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THE "PALAIS INDIENS" COLLECTION OF 1774: Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth-Century India

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Source: *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 39, GLOBALIZING CULTURES: ART AND MOBILITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (2010), pp. 175-197

Published by: Freer Gallery of Art, [The Smithsonian Institution](#) and Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23075927>

Accessed: 20/11/2014 22:58

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THE “PALAIS INDIENS” COLLECTION OF 1774

Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth-Century India

Abstract

Among the works acquired by the French military officer Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726–99) during his tenure in India was a group of architectural studies known today as the *Palais Indiens* (1774). Painted on hand-fabricated graph paper, these large-format plans and elevations depict monuments from Delhi, Agra, and Faizabad, and are some of the first European-commissioned representations of Indian architecture. This essay argues that in the *Palais Indiens*, architecture functions as a category of historical inquiry and is used to forge connections between the Mughal past and the changing sociopolitical landscape of eighteenth-century India. It also demonstrates that the creators of the collection developed a new, heterogeneous visual language for the description of architecture, drawing on French and Indian representational conventions. The essay concludes by situating the *Palais Indiens* and Gentil in relation to later traditions of architectural representation in India, as well as to later collecting trends in Awadh.

IN 1778 THE FRENCH ARMY OFFICER and political operative Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726–99) appeared at the court of Louis XVI at Versailles. Recently returned from India, where he had served the French East India Company (Compagnie des Indes Orientales, or CDIO) for twenty-six years, Gentil presented the court with a sizable collection of paintings, albums, and manuscripts, all amassed during his tenure on the subcontinent. Among these was the *Palais Indiens*, a group of architectural plans and elevations representing palaces, forts, mosques, and mausolea in Delhi, Agra, and Faizabad. The collection highlights a noteworthy period of French scholarly and cultural activity in India, which has been eclipsed by the later British dominance of the subcontinent.¹ Considering the French presence complicates the narrative of cross-cultural encounter in India, which has focused on British artists, intellectuals, and patrons. In the decades following the *Palais Indiens* commission, interest in depicting Indian architecture would intensify under the patronage of the British, seen for instance in the landscapes of William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell in the 1780s and 1790s, and the Company School paintings of the early 1800s.² One of the earliest European-commissioned depictions of Indian architecture, the *Palais Indiens* collection was distinct from these later and better-known works in conception, execution, and audience.

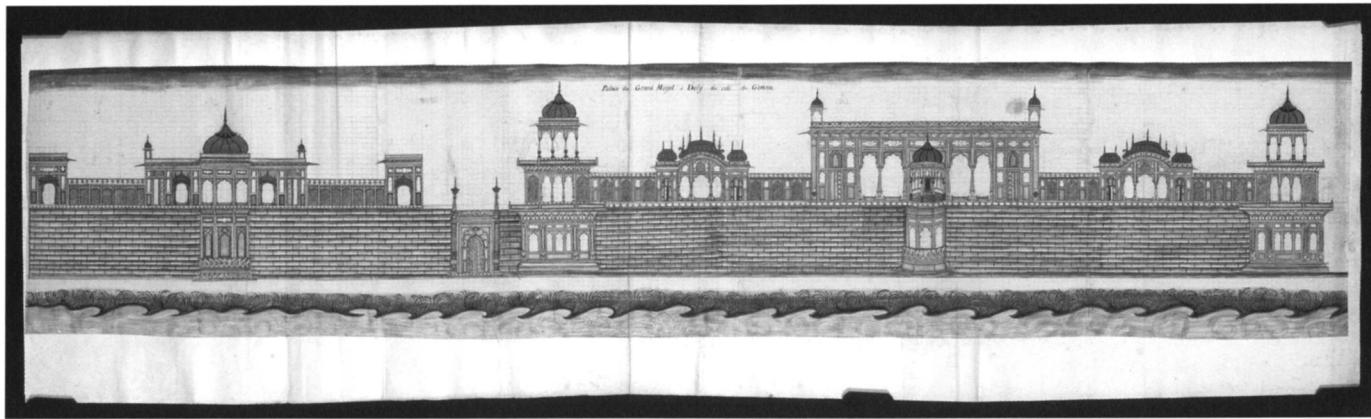
Commissioned by a Frenchman, executed by an Indian artist or artists, and taking as its subject architectural monuments from north India, the *Palais Indiens* exemplifies the rich complexities surrounding global image circulation in the late eighteenth century. The present article aims to explore two interrelated points concerning these architectural studies. First, the *Palais Indiens* posits the architec-

tural monument as an object of historical inquiry; this is especially evident when the commission is analyzed in conjunction with the rest of Gentil's rich and wide-ranging collection, with its emphasis on historical works. The visually distinctive, unified representational system developed in the studies serves to canonize the Mughal architectural past, and is manipulated to suggest continuities between historical icons of Mughal architecture and the buildings of Awadh, the region of northeastern India that grew from a dependency of the Mughal empire into a semi-autonomous state over the course of the eighteenth century. During this period the Mughal dynasty, which controlled most of north India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, began to cede political, economic, and military power to regional states and European trading companies, particularly the French and English East India companies. At the same time, symbols of Mughal authority retained currency and occupied a central role as Indian and European powers alike vied for dominance in India.³ In connecting the monuments of the Mughal emperors and the Awadhi nawabs, the *Palais Indiens* collection embodies the contestations over the Mughals' legacy that defined the political and social landscape of the time. Considering the paintings in conjunction with Gentil's broader collection allows us to examine the ways in which he was personally subject to these cultural currents, and how they affected his self-representation.

The second point concerns the visual language resulting from the encounter between Gentil and the artists in his employ. Drawing on Indian and French representational systems, the artists of these paintings developed a new, heterogeneous visual language for the description of architecture. Gentil's role as patron was partly responsible for this fusing of Indian and European visual idioms, as he likely provided some of the models for these works in the form of plans and elevations executed by military engineers working for the CDIO. At the same time, the artists incorporated conventions of architectural representation then prevalent in north India. Suggesting an openness to the integration of these myriad techniques, the encounter evident in the *Palais Indiens* thus involved not only the adoption but also the transformation of multiple visual languages.

Representing Architecture, Writing History

The *Palais Indiens* consists of plans and elevations of palaces, forts, mosques, mausolea, and garden complexes in Delhi, Agra, and Faizabad. The majority of this collection (twenty-four folios) is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. In addition, three folios in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, were most likely part of the original group.⁴ A substantial portion of the group focuses on major monuments in Delhi: three studies are dedicated to the city's Jami' Masjid, three to its Red Fort, and one to the mausoleum of Safdar Jang (r. 1737–53, d. 1754),



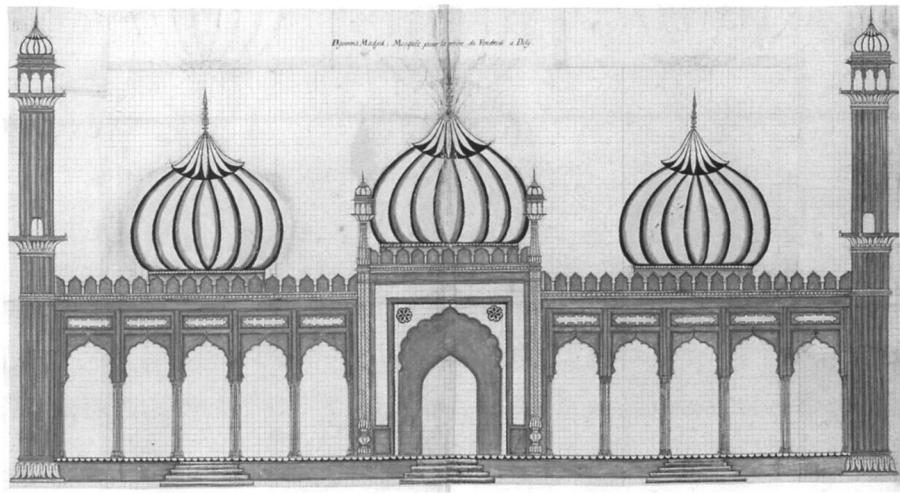
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¹
Riverside facade of the Red Fort of Delhi, India, ca. 1774. Watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fol. 3. Photograph BnF

who had served as prime vizier of the Mughal empire as well as the nawab of Awadh. In addition, the collection contains seven renderings of Delhi palaces and one of the city's Tripolia Gate. Beside the Delhi paintings, the *Palais Indiens* includes representations of the mansions and gardens of the Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (d. 1659) in Agra. Finally, the collection also depicts four structures in the Awadhi capital of Faizabad, including the palace of Shuja' al-Daula (r. 1753–75), who was the reigning nawab during Gentil's residence in Awadh, and the son of and successor to Safdar Jang. The *Palais Indiens* thus crosses temporal and geographical boundaries to connect Mughal historical icons with the architecture of Awadh. The inclusion of Safdar Jang's tomb is particularly telling, as it highlights a major Awadhi contribution to the canon of Mughal architecture in the Mughal capital city of Delhi.

Although the *Palais Indiens* has been briefly discussed by other scholars, it has not been the subject of sustained analysis.⁵ As a result, basic yet critical questions regarding the scope of the collection have not adequately been addressed. Nor have prior analyses properly accounted for the unique format and monumental scale of these studies, and more importantly, the implications of the size and format for viewing the works. Most of the paintings range from approximately half a meter to one meter in width and roughly two meters in length. Though the *Palais Indiens* is always referred to and catalogued as an album, the original paintings were executed as individual large-scale scrolls, requiring a viewer to unroll each of them individually. (They were bound in the early nineteenth century, and then subsequently unbound for conservation purposes).⁶ Thus the viewer experienced the architectural studies on a monumental scale. Such a format suggests a limited audience for these paintings, in contrast, for instance, to the aquatints that would later be produced by the Daniells in the late 1790s and early 1800s.

Executed on hand-fabricated graph paper, the paintings follow a consistent format, with a large-scale elevation or plan accompanied by an inscription providing information such as the building's owner, location, and construction materials (Fig. 1). A standardized color palette further unifies the paintings: in all but one instance, the elevations use red for the main structure, with accents in gold, green, yellow, and black, while the plans are articulated in a similar palette of red and green. Buildings are never shown in use, and the paintings feature no people at all. Moreover, landscape is also absent in most of the images, and when it does appear, is kept to a bare minimum: simple strips of blue, grey, green, and yellow signify sky, water, and riverbeds, stylized swirls indicate clouds, and abstract plant forms rep-



2

Jami' Masjid of Delhi, India, ca. 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fol. 12. Photograph BnF

Gateway of the Red Fort of Delhi, India, ca. 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fol. 14. Photograph BnF

Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, India, ca. 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, AL 3858. Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2010 – photograph by the author

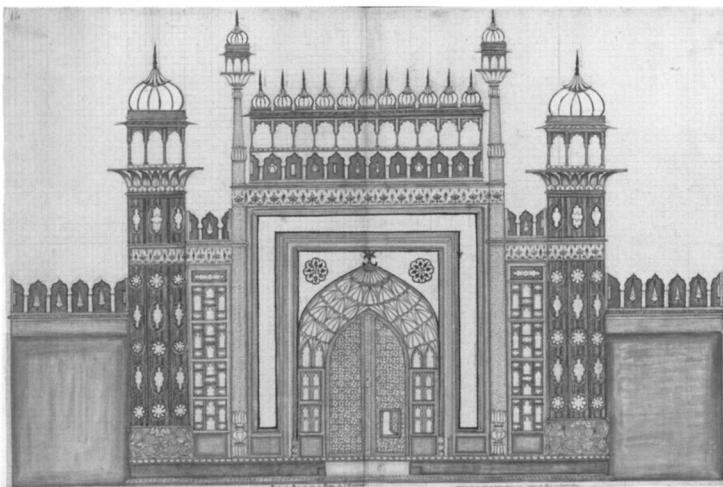
Façade of a Delhi Palace, India, ca. 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fol. 13. Photograph BnF

Plan of the Jami' Masjid of Delhi, India, ca. 1774. Large-format plan divided into two folios. Watercolor and ink on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fols. 8–9. Photograph BnF

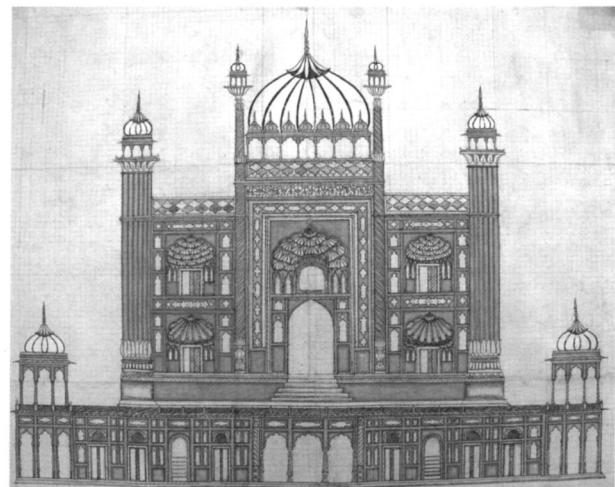
resent vegetation or garden plots. A sense of flatness pervades the elevations, and the few plans included in the collection are relatively spare. It is not known if Gentil or the collection's artists were responsible for the inscriptions, but stylistically these appear to have been included when the images were first painted. The inclusion of explanatory labels and texts was also characteristic of the illustrated works commissioned by Gentil (see p. 183).

In developing the pictorial vocabulary of the *Palais Indiens*, the artists drew on and manipulated elements of Mughal architecture to produce images that emerge as variations on a type, rather than as singular, individualized depictions. For instance, the trademark Mughal building materials of red sandstone, white marble, and gold and copper sheathing inform the red, white, and gold palette of the paintings, while the architectonic and ornamental elements of the compositions are characteristic of Mughal architecture: cusped arches, baluster columns, bulbous domes, bangla roofs and cornices, shallow chhatri domes, jali screens, pishtaq entranceways, muqarnas vaulting, and pietre dure mosaic work. Having developed this fixed set of formal features, the artists reproduce them in varying patterns to produce the different elevations. The domes of the Jami' Masjid in Delhi (built 1650–56; Fig. 2), for example, are seen in miniature in the chhatris of the gateway of the Delhi Red Fort (built 1639–48; Fig. 3); the floral frieze of the gateway, in turn, is repeated in the mausoleum of Safdar Jang (built ca. 1753–4; Fig. 4), also in Delhi; and the domes and chhatri-topped minarets of the Jami' Masjid and mausoleum of Safdar Jang are one and the same. A shared visual vocabulary can be seen particularly in the multiple palace elevations for which the collective group is named. All of these paintings are long, horizontally oriented panoramas of riverside facades, composed of different combinations of the elements identified above.

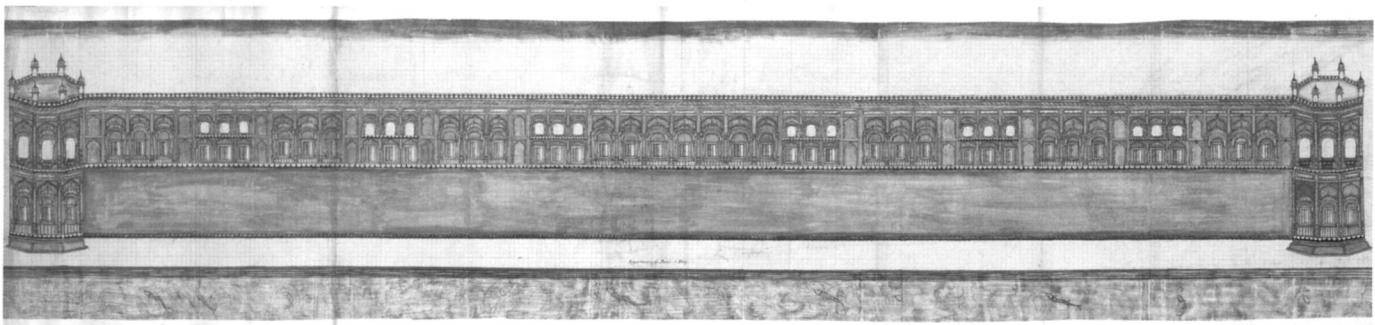
The paintings' repeated and modular architectural morphology is underscored by their articulation on graph paper. In the elevations, architectonic elements such as walls, columns, towers, stringcourses, and cornices correspond to the rows and columns marked on the paper. In the *Facade of a Delhi Palace*, for example, rows of squares are filled in with alternating colors and patterns to render elements such as a plinth, a foundation wall, intermediate stringcourses, friezes, eaves, and a cornice (Fig. 5). The areas between are filled in with single- and double-storey arcades, repeated in regularly alternating patterns to create a unified facade.



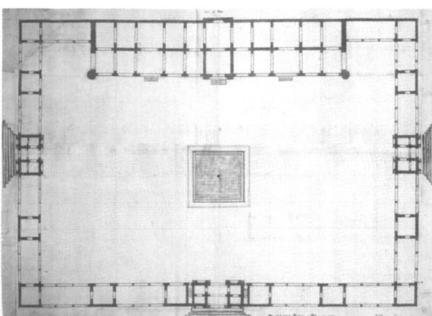
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Like the elevations, the plans rely on units of graph paper to articulate information about the monuments. A set of conventions, including red lines to indicate walls and single green squares for columns, articulate structural units. These elements are then integrated in order to illustrate the overall organization of a building. The plan of the Jami' Masjid in Delhi, for example, employs these conventions to graphically represent a series of monumental gateways and rooms surrounding a central courtyard (Fig. 6). Although this plan is spare, it conveys the defining aspects of the building, such as symmetry and regularity.

This methodical compositional system suggests that the monuments in question have been carefully surveyed and systematically reproduced, rather than invented or imagined. In addition, textual glosses imply that the paintings are based on on-the-spot observation. An inscription along the lower edge of one of the paintings, for instance, states that the structure is built of red stone, inlaid with white and black marble and under domes of white marble ("pierre rouge incrustée en marbre blanc et noir: la dessus des Dômes en marbre blanc"). Moreover, the legibility afforded by the paintings' monumental scale means that the viewer can easily comprehend how the paintings are composed and, by extension, how the structures are built.

While such pictorial strategies imply fidelity to an original, closer analysis reveals the ways in which the artists take representational license, not only by reusing standardized architectural elements but also, and most notably, with respect to the depiction of ornament. The artists imbue the buildings with a lavish decorative sensibility. In the painting of the monumental marble and sandstone gateway of



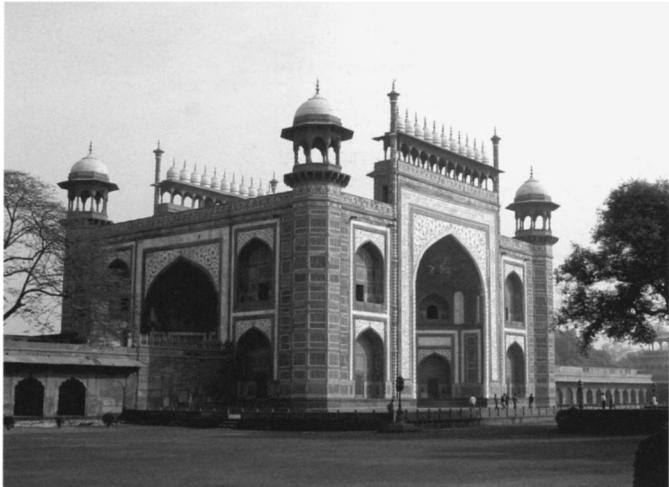
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Gateway of the Red Fort of Delhi, ca.
1638–47. Photograph by the author

the Red Fort, inscribed *Porte du Fort où est le Palais de l'Empéreur* (see Fig. 3), an exquisite ornamental program is rendered with a wealth of detail, including a rich chevron pattern on the engaged minarets, intricate muqarnas netting in the central vault, extensive incised relief on the metal door, a jewel-toned floral frieze running across the pishtaq, carved cartouches running the length of the side towers, and, at the capital and base of these towers, floral motifs and vegetal scrolls that virtually curl off the page. While striking, the sensuous decoration is curious given that many of these ornamental features are absent from the actual gateway, a relatively austere building featuring a continuous sandstone facade with limited panels of ornamental relief (Fig. 7).

In fact, elements from at least two other Mughal-era monuments—the gateway of the Taj Mahal (Agra, built ca. 1647; Fig. 8) and the tomb of Safdar Jang (Fig. 9)—appear in the painting. The profile and proportions of the painted building, as well as the inclusion of ornamental motifs such as floral pietre dure, strongly recall the Taj Mahal gateway without precisely replicating the full architectural and ornamental program of that building. For instance, the elaborate pietre dure work is not reproduced in the spandrels of the central arch, but rather in horizontal friezes. The building's inscription and the stacked, pointed side arches of its facade do not appear in the painting at all. Close examination of the side towers in the painting reveals that, while they are visually distinct from those of the Taj Mahal gateway, they closely resemble the side towers of the tomb of Safdar Jang, with their alternating panels of quatrefoils and cartouches (Fig. 10). The amalgamation of these forms exemplifies the inventiveness and license that marks the *Palais Indiens*, as well as demonstrating its interest in the depiction of ornament.

This use of lavish ornament as a key descriptive feature is significant. The architectural idiom expressed in the *Palais Indiens* is exemplified in the mausoleum of Safdar Jang, which was based on Mughal sepulchral prototypes but featured the ornamental aesthetic that would come to define the architecture of Awadh in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its surfaces are replete with lavish floral and geometric designs that are recalled in the ornate compositions in the *Palais Indiens* (Fig. 11 and Fig. 12). A key example of later Awadhi architecture that features a similar sensibility is the Bara Imambara complex of Asaf al-Daula (built ca. 1784–91), the monumental congregational space used by Shi'i's particularly during



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8
Gateway of the Taj Mahal, Agra, ca. 1647. Photograph by the author



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9
Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, Delhi, ca. 1753–4. Photograph by the author



10
Side tower, Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, Delhi, ca. 1753–4. Photograph by the author

the month of Muharram, and sponsored by Shuja‘ al-Daula’s son and successor. The deployment of an ornate ornamental program in this structure represents the persistence and further development of the idiom (Fig. 13). In the buildings of the Bara Imambara complex, interior and exterior spaces are richly animated with an array of curvilinear shapes, floral motifs, and complex geometric patterns, demonstrating how the ornamental forms articulated in the *Palais Indiens* were integral to the ongoing development and expression of an Awadhi architectural identity.⁷

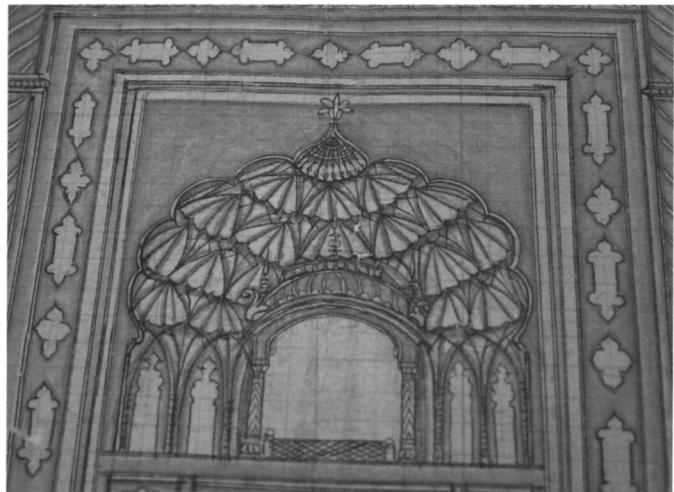
Besides exhibiting an ornamental aesthetic associated with Awadh, the *Palais Indiens* represents Mughal and Awadhi architectural monuments alongside each other. In describing them, the artists concentrate on developing a consistent visual vocabulary and systematic method for the representation of architecture. What emerges is a coherent canon of built forms, unified in style and palette. But the *Palais Indiens* paintings “effect,” rather than “reflect” reality, curiously implying methodical, on-the-spot observation of buildings while actually offering subjective portrayals that draw on a heavily ornamental aesthetic. Whether or not this balance between the observed and the imagined is maintained consciously, the visual continuities developed in the collection ultimately suggest historical continuities. The Mughal architectural icons function as the symbolic foundation of an image of Awadhi sovereignty.

The inclination to connect a chronologically, geographically, and stylistically disparate group of architectural monuments encapsulates the cultural and power dynamics of late eighteenth-century Mughal India. The contestation over the appropriation of Mughal architectural codes and symbolic practices was keenly felt during this period, as regional successor states and early European colonial powers sought to solidify their legitimacy and authority in the subcontinent. The historicization of architecture evident in the *Palais Indiens* is all the more meaningful given these shifts in the balance of power. The *Palais Indiens* demonstrates how architecture occupied a central position in these negotiations and allowed various parties to connect to the historical legacy represented by certain Mughal buildings. The collection of images in Gentil’s album suggests that the historical legacy of Mughal Delhi, and in particular its architectural signs of political and cultural power, remained relevant in the Awadhi historical imagination. At the same time, a contemporary, newly developing Awadhi aesthetic is imposed on the icons of the



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Detail of vault, Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, Delhi, ca. 1753–4. Photograph by the author



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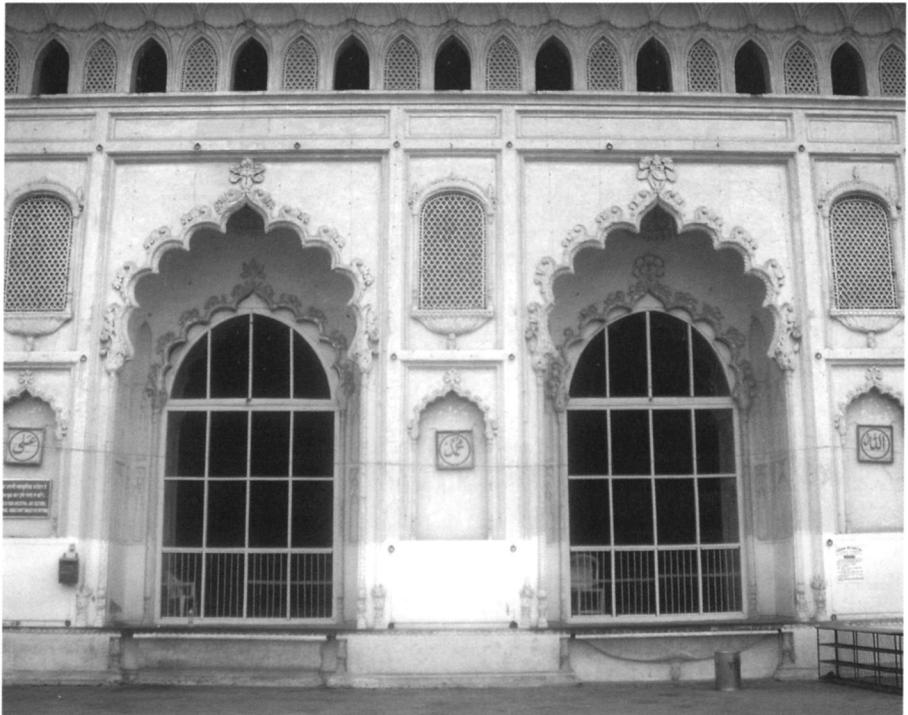
Detail of Fig. 4.

Mughal past, visually eliding past and present. For Awadh, associating with such a strong cultural history was meaningful for political reasons. For Gentil, as I will discuss below, the commission was one example amongst many which demonstrated his professional and personal investment in contemporary Awadhi politics and the production of north Indian historical narratives.

Collecting Authority

Gentil's patronage and collecting activities evidenced connections to other Europeans working in India in the eighteenth century. He was an associate of Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805), the famed French scholar who had lived and worked in India from 1754 until 1762 and was renowned for his translation of the Zoroastrian *Zend Avesta*. After Anquetil-Duperron's return to France, when he began publishing his histories and translations of Persian and Sanskrit texts, Gentil regularly corresponded with and sourced manuscripts for him.⁸ Anquetil-Duperron represents not only Gentil's connection to a broader community of French scholars and collectors, but also to contemporary and later British epistemological endeavors. Anquetil-Duperron was a correspondent and colleague of the English philologist William Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 and is credited with the discovery of linkages between Indo-European languages. One of Jones's most prominent supporters was Warren Hastings, the governor-general of British territories in India from 1774 to 1785 and an active patron of British artists and intellectuals in India.

Gentil's commissions and his own writing stand out not only for their relatively early date, but also because they demonstrate how personally involved he was in the production of historical narratives. Documenting and connecting to a Mughal historical legacy became a matter of urgency and fell into the purview of both his personal writings and commissioned works, including the *Palais Indiens*. These contributed to Gentil's broader endeavor of acquiring authority on and over India. Despite the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French still maintained an interest in India and were concerned with thwarting British expansion. The British insistence on the expulsion of all French citizens from Awadh in 1775, and their ongoing suspicion of Gentil, also testified to a British concern with alliances between regional rulers and French governmental representatives.



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13
Detail of the Bara Imambara of Asaf al-Daula, Lucknow, ca. 1784–91.
Photograph by the author

It was only by embedding himself in Awadhi society that Gentil could gain access to privileged information necessary for his work as a French political operative. In a dispatch to his superiors, written in Faizabad in January 1773, Gentil asserts his ability to provide reliable and thorough intelligence about India. He insists that the position in which he finds himself could be useful in allowing him to report on current events in India, and provides a lengthy and detailed account of the political situation on the ground.⁹ The repeated use of the word *témoignages*, which invokes observation, testimony, evidence, and accounting, emphasizes how important it was for Gentil to establish himself as a credible reporter, firmly in a position to relay accurate information.

Although the Gentil collection comprised texts on law, religion, lexicography, poetry, calligraphy, and numismatics, and included Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic manuscripts, the majority of Gentil's own writing related to Mughal and Awadhi history.¹⁰ This interest is best exemplified by his illustrated works, which included an atlas of the Mughal empire (*Empire Mogol divisé en 21 soubahs ou gouvernements tiré de différens écrivains du pays en Faisabad en MDCCCLXX*, 1770); a history of the Mughal emperors (*Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol*, 1772); and the so-called Gentil Album, a multi-part album illustrating events and figures from the Mughal and Awadhi courts and featuring proto-ethnographic views of Hindu and Muslim religious festivals and figures (*Recueil de toutes sortes de dessins sur les Usages et coutumes des Peuples de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol*, 1774).¹¹

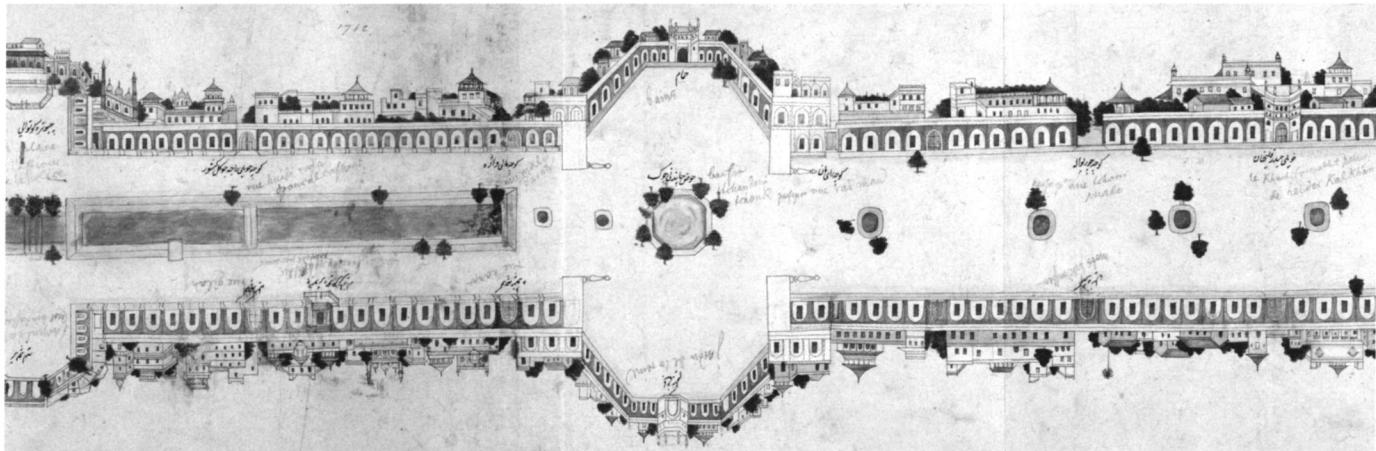
Rather than merely recounting Indian history as a series of distantly observed events, Gentil uses visual and textual narratives to present it as an ongoing process in which he actively participates. In 1764 Shuja' al-Daula entrusted Gentil with the task of brokering a peace settlement with the English after the defeat of allied Mughal and Awadhi forces at Baksar.¹² The meeting during which the treaty was

ratified is depicted in the “Gentil Album,” complete with an illustration of Gentil himself. In addition, Gentil boasts of the praise and recognition Shuja‘ al-Daula bestowed upon him after he procured agreeable terms for negotiation:

This prince, pleased with the opening of this negotiation and wanting to place me in the position of negotiating as an equal with the two Indian lords, who were at the head of the English, bestowed upon me all the titles that an Indian grandee can possess, calling me *Rafioudoulah, Nazemdjenk, Bahadour, Tadbir-oul-Moulouk.*¹³

Here Gentil emphasizes that the crucial role he played in these negotiations earned him the Persian titles “Uplifter of the State,” “Leader in War,” “the Valiant,” and “Counsel of Kings.” His ability to act as a broker with the English translated into a capacity to earn the respect usually accorded to “Indian lords” (*seigneurs Indiens*). That Gentil adopted his Persianate titles fully is indicated by the seal bearing them found on many of his manuscripts. He also bestowed lavish praise on the nawab in his memoirs, describing him as “a prince gifted with a superior genius” (*prince doué d'un génie supérieur*) and the “best friend of the French in these distant lands” (*le meilleur ami des Français dans ces contrées lointaines*).¹⁴ These statements invoke his intimate acquaintance with Shuja‘ al-Daula and in so doing remind the reader how deeply Gentil was involved in affairs of state.

Gentil claimed another connection to Indian history through his marriage to Thérèse Velho, an Indo-Portuguese woman with ties to the Mughal court. In one of his historical accounts Gentil asserts that Velho’s grandmother Juliana, a native of Goa, had been entrusted with the education of the Mughal prince Shah ‘Alam I (later the emperor Bahadur Shah I, r. 1707–12) and later provided him with political counsel, thus occupying a prominent position in Mughal government.¹⁵ So valuable was her advice, Gentil reports, that Bahadur Shah I awarded Juliana gifts equal to 900,000 rupees, four villages producing 50,000 rupees in annual revenue, and the Palace of Dara Shikoh.¹⁶ This extraordinary account of Juliana’s role in Mughal history concludes by quoting Bahadur Shah I as saying, “if this woman were a man, I would make her vizier” (*si cette femme étois homme, je la ferois Vizir*). (Gentil goes on to recount that Juliana’s descendants fled Delhi during an attack by Ahmad Shah Abdali, seeking refuge at the court of Shuja‘ al-Daula in Faizabad, where they were welcomed and offered a pension. Subsequently, Gentil met and married Thérèse Velho in Faizabad.) Gentil also emphasizes Juliana in his memoirs, which contain a chapter devoted to “Renowned Women of India”: alongside sovereigns and leaders such as Razia, Nur Jahan, Jahanara, and Begum Sumru, Gentil tells the tale of Juliana.¹⁷ By including narratives of Juliana in his historical



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Street plan of Chandni Chowk in Delhi (detail), mid- to late 18th century. Watercolor and ink on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, AL 1762. Photograph © V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London

works, Gentil consciously integrates his wife, through her lineage, into Mughal history, and by extension, inserts himself into that history. This personal connection might also account for the plans and elevations of Dara Shikoh's Agra palace and the palace of Safdar Jang in Delhi, formerly Dara Shikoh's Delhi residence, in the *Palais Indiens*.

In considering Gentil's *Palais Indiens* commission, it is tempting to cast him as an outsider attempting to capture the unfamiliar. As demonstrated above, however, the space that Gentil occupied at the Awadhi court was complex and layered. Through his commissions, he attempted to offer French audiences the mechanisms to encounter Indian history, architecture, and cultural practices, assigning himself the role of mediator between France and India. That Gentil actually translated many historical works (with the help of *munshis*, or "scholar-scribes") and provided first-person accounts of historical events in his memoirs and other writings makes clear the active part he played in the conceptualization and execution of his commissions, and how integral they were to his self-representation.

The importance accorded to architectural representation in this project of mediation is evident not only in the *Palais Indiens*, but also in a series of city plans of Shahjahanabad (Mughal Delhi) now in the V&A.¹⁸ A group of large, minutely detailed, extensively labeled watercolors combine to form a monumental plan of the Red Fort and the two main avenues leading away from it, Chandni Chowk and Faiz Bazaar (Fig. 14). Multilingual textual glosses, in Persian and French, provide the names of mosques, bathhouses, squares, and mansions (*havelis*); the plans also contain survey information in Latin.¹⁹ Evidence suggests that at the very least Gentil acquired, if he did not commission, the plans and was responsible for their transfer to Europe: included in the eighteenth-century catalogue of works acquired by Gentil and cited above (see note 4) is an entry recording *2 rues de Dely* (Two streets of Delhi). The entry is listed alongside other paintings that eventually entered the V&A collection, such as the *Tombeau de saftardjangue*, and is labeled as entry number ten. Paper analysis I conducted on the street plans reveals that they bear labels with the number ten, which were subsequently covered during mounting.²⁰ Thus the two Delhi street views referred to in the catalogue are almost certainly the plans of Chandni Chowk and Faiz Bazaar kept in the V&A today.²¹ Like the *Palais Indiens*, these renderings concentrate on architecture as a primary focus of representation and object of historical interest.



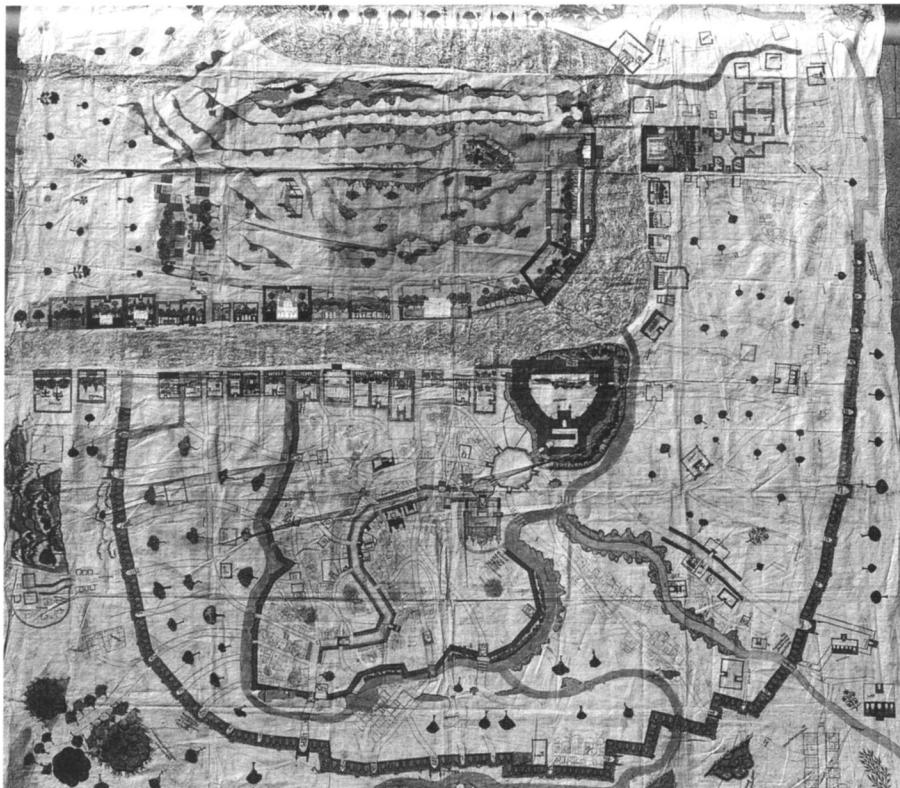
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Murar, *The Siege of Daulatabad*, from the *Pādshāhnāma*, ca. 1635. Opaque pigment and gold on paper. The Royal Collection, RCIN 1005025, fol. 144r. Photograph The Royal Collection © 2009, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Visual Heterogeneity in the *Palais Indiens*

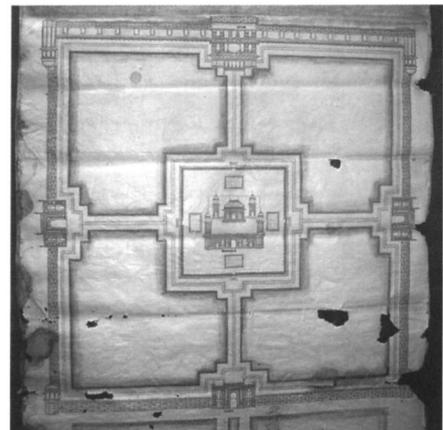
While the *Palais Indiens* evidences important conceptual connections to Gentil's other commissions, it also echoes eighteenth-century French architectural studies documenting buildings in India that were produced by CDIO military engineers. The practice of producing archival copies of architectural studies and maps was formalized by Louis XVI in 1776, when he ordered visual records of the French colonies to be deposited at Versailles.²² The *Palais Indiens*, too, was deposited at Versailles by Gentil after his return to France in 1778, pointing to its shared function with the French military plans, both serving as records of French expansion and interest in India. In the case of the *Palais Indiens*, however, artists working in Faizabad drew on both Indian and French representational conventions to produce their architectural renderings, suggesting collaboration between Gentil and those in his employ.

Prior to the *Palais Indiens*, architecture seldom served as the primary subject matter in Mughal and Rajput painting (the styles most current in north India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).²³ Architectural representation did not emerge as a distinct genre in the classical Mughal painting canon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as did portraiture and studies of flora and fauna.²⁴ When architecture appeared in manuscript and single-page painting, it often functioned as pictorial background, providing a generic setting for courtly scenes or lending



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Map of Agra, after 1722. Pigment on cloth. Jaipur City Palace Museum, Jaipur. Photograph courtesy Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Trust, The City Palace, Jaipur



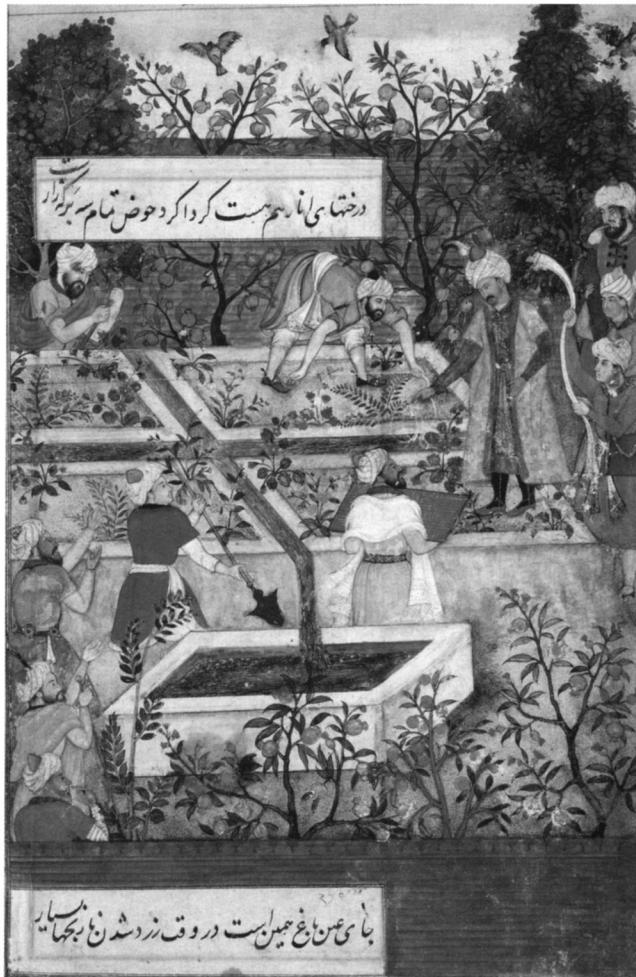
17

Plan of the funerary complex of 'Itimad al-Daula, 18th century. Watercolor and ink on paper. Jaipur City Palace Museum, Jaipur. Photograph courtesy Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Trust, The City Palace, Jaipur

geographical specificity to historical ones. A 1633 painting from the *Pādshāhnāma*, the imperial chronicle of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1627–58),²⁵ features a sizable rendering of the Daulatabad fortress, in south India, during a siege (Fig. 15),²⁶ but the architectural monument is not the sole focus of the painting. Moreover, architectural representation is linked to textual narrative. In the seventeenth-century Mughal context, architectural rendering did not function on its own, but instead required an accompanying textual description for full elucidation.

There are, however, more examples of architectural representations in city plans and topographical paintings from the eighteenth century. In a map of Agra from after 1722, now in the Jaipur City Palace Museum, a series of garden plots along the Yamuna River are represented in plan, while individual buildings within these zones are rendered in elevation (Fig. 16). Emphasizing structures in the city that required repair, and containing extensive notes on building and area measurements, the map serves as a renovation and construction aid.²⁷ An eighteenth-century plan of the tomb and garden of 'Itimad al-Daula in Agra from the same collection, also conceived as a multiperspectival painting, contains elevations of the complex's central structure (Fig. 17).²⁸ These images suggest possible conventions for representing elevations being developed through topographical paintings and site plans.

If illustrations of architecture *per se* are not found in seventeenth-century Mughal and Rajput visual culture, there is evidence of a tradition of gridded plans for practical use, a tradition which the *Palais Indiens* adopts and transforms. Such plans were widespread in the post-Timurid eastern Islamic world, with Ottoman, Iranian, and Central Asian examples dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries extant today.²⁹ Although there are no surviving Mughal plans, there is pictorial

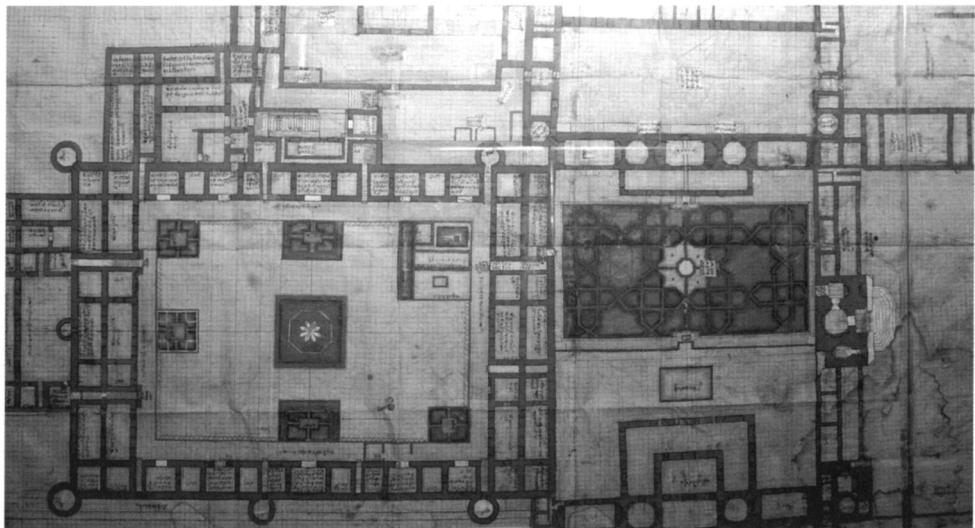


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Scene of a garden being constructed, with a supervisor holding a gridded plan, from a *Baburnāma*, ca. 1580. Opaque pigment on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IM 1913-276. Photograph © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

and textual evidence for a history of drawn architectural plans in Mughal India, where standardized modular planning governed architectural design.³⁰ Indeed, the use of gridded plans had become a well-established aspect of architectural practice in Mughal India by the time the *Palais Indiens* was painted, and cannot necessarily be explained by the influence of Europeans as has sometimes been assumed.³¹ A well-known manuscript painting from the *Baburnāma* (ca. 1580), showing a garden being laid out while an overseer holds a gridded plan, attests to this tradition. In the painting, a gardener holding a string across the axis of the garden conveys the correspondence between garden and plan (Fig. 18).³² In addition, Mughal textual sources reference architectural plans (*tarḥ*, *tarah*, and *naqshā*) in various contexts. The *Pādshāhnāma* and *'Amal-i Sālih*, chronicles of the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, report that the emperor ordered plans of buildings he liked, and also approved plans before construction was to begin on his major building projects.³³ On multiple occasions, Shah Jahan's successor Aurangzeb ordered plans of noblemen's houses, and the *Kalimāt-i Tāiyabāt*, a collection of imperial decrees, describes Aurangzeb's consultation of a plan as he prepared to attack a fort in the Deccan.³⁴ Over the course of the seventeenth century, drawing architectural plans grew into a specialized task assigned to chief or master architects (*ustād me'mār*), who were differentiated in rank, responsibility, and pay from engineers and technical supervisors (*muhandis*) and masons (*bannā*).³⁵



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Plan of Amber fort, late 17th or early 18th century. Watercolor and ink on paper. Jaigarh Fort Museum, Jaipur. Photograph courtesy Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Trust, The City Palace, Jaipur

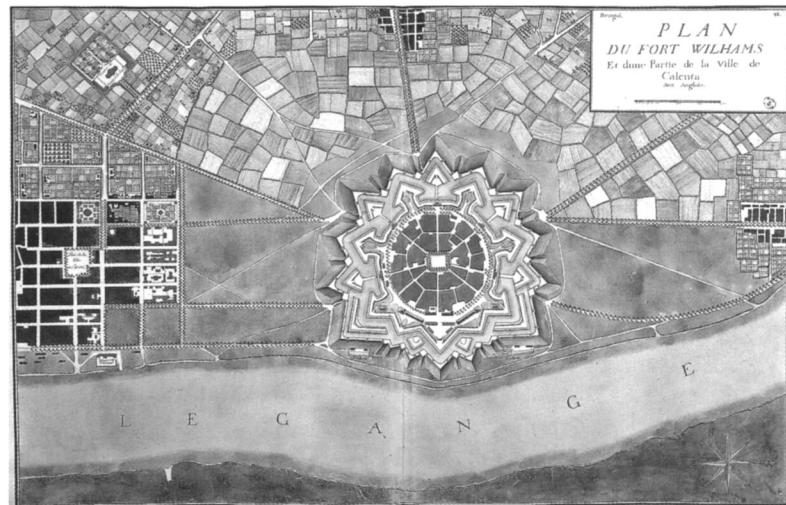
A select group of eighteenth-century building plans from Jaipur collections exhibit striking visual similarity to the *Palais Indiens* plans.³⁶ They are painted on hand-fabricated graph paper, with walls and supports articulated in simple lines of red and green. Despite the stylistic echoes between these two groups of plans, however, they serve dramatically different functions. A plan of the palace at Amber, just outside Jaipur, encapsulates the characteristics of the Rajput plans, which all bear concrete relationships to processes of building construction or renovation (Fig. 19).³⁷ While the *Palais Indiens* plans are economical with detail, the Amber plan contains extensive pictorial and textual information. Individual building features are far more clearly articulated; the layouts of gardens, for example, are rendered as detailed patterns, rather than as stylized green squares. In addition, each of the rooms is labeled either with the name of its occupant or its function, and building renovations are also recorded on the plan. Related examples from Jaipur demonstrate the same detailed and process-oriented approach, serving as progress reports on completed and proposed renovations on the fort of Jaigarh and Man Mandir in Benares. The *Palais Indiens* plans, by contrast, serve as idealized records of built structures. The *Palais Indiens*, then, draws on techniques of architectural representation firmly established in India since at least the seventeenth century, but also signifies a divergence from the earlier tradition, serving a commemorative rather than technical function.

As mentioned above, the *Palais Indiens* paintings also exhibit modes of representation seen in architectural studies prepared by French military engineers working in the subcontinent. Given Gentil's background as a French military officer and governmental representative, it is probable that he had access to such documents or was familiar with their conventions. Surviving pictorial evidence of the CDIO's documentary and mapping activities includes maps, plans, and views of European and Indian cities from the eighteenth century, including the French-founded towns of Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore; the growing British colonial centers in Calcutta and Madras; the Dutch outposts at Negapatnam, Cochin, and Colombo; and regional Indian capitals and strongholds, such as Tanjore. The largest collection of these is housed in the Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Archives de France, Aix-en-Provence.³⁸ In addition to maps and plans of entire cities, there are also



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Draftsmen at work, from the Boileau Album, Madras, 1785. Watercolor and ink on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS 75-1954 [5]. Photograph © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



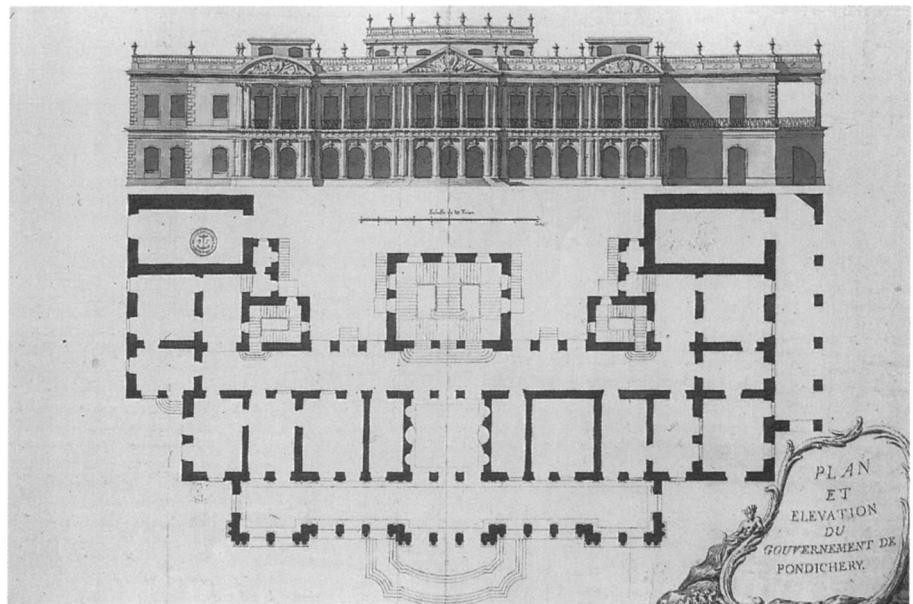
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21
 Plan of Fort William, Calcutta, ca. 1779. Watercolor and ink on paper. Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, 25 DFC 361 A. Photograph FR.ANOM

architectural studies of major French governmental, commercial, and military buildings: the Governor's Palace and *blanchisserie* in Pondicherry (see Fig. 22), the French magazine at Mahé, and the Loge at Chandernagore. A significant portion of the material is dedicated to documenting the architecture of other European colonial powers, such as the British-built Fort William in Calcutta (see below), and the Indian forts at Daulatabad and Arcot.

This body of material represents a rich deposit of drafting techniques that circulated throughout the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century. That Indian artists were well aware of such techniques is shown in a 1785 painting in the V&A that depicts an Indian draftsman working on a watercolor ground plan of a *trace italienne*, the iconic star-shaped fortification that grew popular in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Fig. 20). In the Indian context, the plan most immediately recalls plans of Fort William included in the CDIO studies (Fig. 21).

A comparison between a pair of paintings from the *Palais Indiens* and a 1755 study of the Governor's Palace in Pondicherry (Fig. 22) is particularly suggestive of such an assimilation of French drafting conventions. Inscribed *Plan et Elevation du Gouvernement de Pondichery*, the French study features a front elevation and ground-floor plan. It is rendered on unlined paper, in contrast to the graph paper used in the *Palais Indiens*. Significant here is the correspondence between plan and elevation. Features such as the projecting central facade and receding, niched wings of the building are clearly delineated in the plan. Similarly, a plan and an elevation of the palace of the Mughal prince Dara Shikoh from the *Palais Indiens* are drawn in correlation to each other (Fig. 23 and Fig. 24). In the elevation, three large, octagonal towers frame two prominent bangla pavilions, with smaller,



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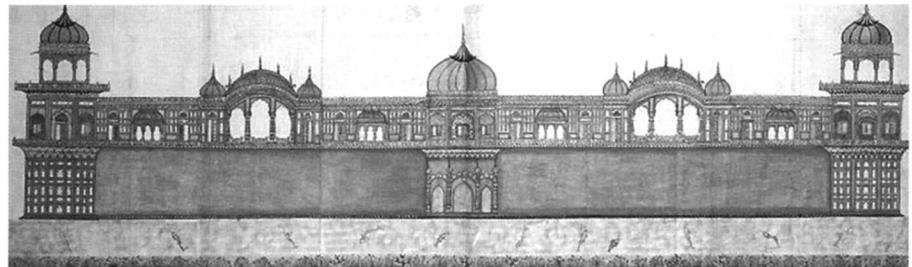
22
Plan and elevation of the Governor's Palace in Pondicherry, 1755.
Watercolor and ink on paper.
Archives nationales d'outre-mer,
Aix-en-Provence, 26 DFC 81 A.
Photograph FR.ANOM

subsidiary pavilions and chambers interspersed. The plan includes not only the building's major features, such as the three towers, but also every column, doorway, and window of the facade. The pillared towers are indicated by red octagons surrounded by squares, while the columns of the bangla and subsidiary pavilions are articulated as series of green squares. Red-filled squares signify the walls of the intervening rooms. Despite Indian traditions of drawn plans, there are no known examples of correlated plans and elevations earlier than this. Thus, although the *Palais Indiens* plans evidence north Indian representational conventions, and the elevations a level of detailed execution associated with Mughal and Rajput painting, the overall format of a coordinated plan and elevation reflects the conventions of French architectural studies.

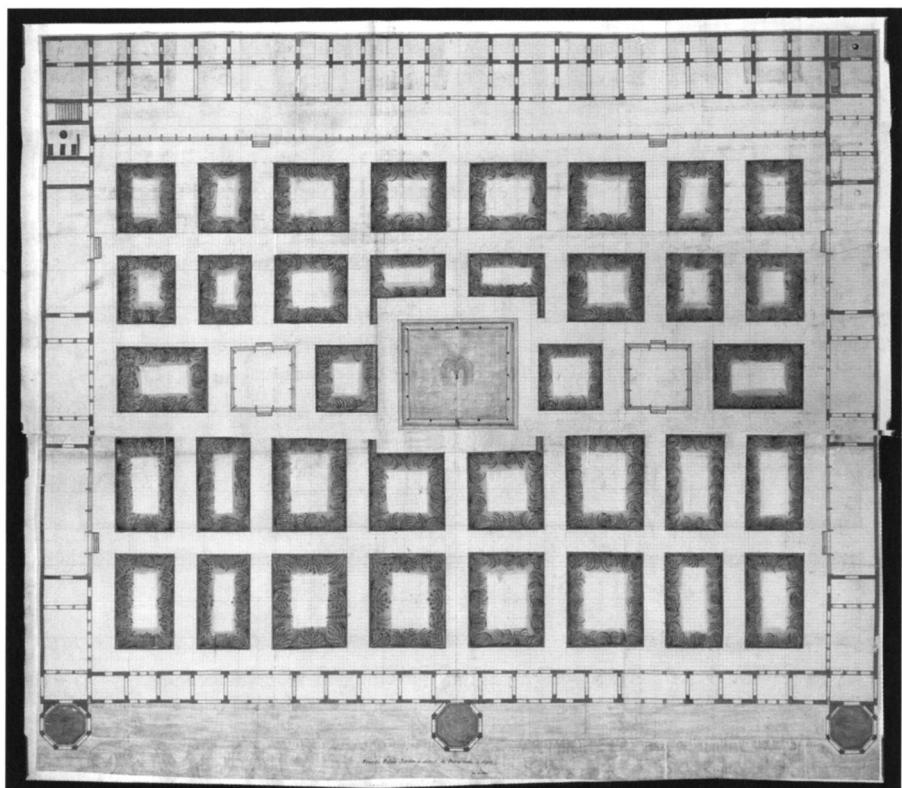
The visual heterogeneity of the *Palais Indiens* also raises questions about artistic agency. Although very little is known about the artists involved in the *Palais Indiens* commission, evidence suggests that at least one artist based in Faizabad executed some of the paintings. Firstly, the studies include an inscription alluding to an architect working for Shuja' al-Daula. It is also known that Gentil employed manuscript painters based in Faizabad for his numerous commissions, and three artists in particular are mentioned in his writings—Mahan Singh, Mihr Chand, and Nevasilal.³⁹ The mastery of Mughal and Rajput painting techniques evident in these studies suggests the hand of an experienced and well-established artist. An amalgamation of Mughal, Rajput, and French painting and drafting techniques would have been well within the practice of artists working at Faizabad, and a collaboration between Gentil and his artists on this commission would have followed the patterns of other examples from his collection, in which Gentil wrote texts illustrated by artists working with him in Faizabad (see p. 183 above).

Conclusions

The *Palais Indiens* was commissioned and executed at a time when Mughal architecture began to be drawn explicitly into historical discourse. Rather than reflecting Gentil's personal taste for the depiction of architecture, the collection points to



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Facade of the palace of Dara Shikoh in Agra, ca. 1774. Watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, AL 1761. Photograph © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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Plan of the palace and garden of Dara Shikoh in Agra, ca. 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Od. 63, fols. 17–18. Photograph BnF

a growing historical consciousness about the Mughal cultural legacy and its articulation in the reception and representation of monuments. This preoccupation with representing Indian architecture would intensify in the nineteenth century, particularly as British trade and colonial ambitions increased. Certainly, the Gentil material did not have a direct influence on these subsequent practices; nor did the later traditions constitute a unified category of representation. In landscape paintings by William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell, architecture was but one compositional component. Their body of paintings exhibited connections with notions of the picturesque developed in Europe, drawing less on Indian representational conventions.⁴⁰ Later Company School paintings, in which architecture grew into a distinct genre of representation, more compellingly echo Gentil's commissions in conception, but are distinctive in execution.⁴¹ The historical contexts and pictorial conventions that came to bear on the *Palais Indiens* represent a specific moment in the history of European depictions of Indian architecture.

Similarly, Gentil's experiences in Awadh anticipated but were distinct from the multicultural collecting community that would grow there over the next sev-

eral decades, particularly in Asaf al-Daula's Lucknow of the late 1770s and 1780s. After the new nawab moved the capital of Awadh to Lucknow in 1775, when British dominion had been established over much of eastern India, a number of English East India Company affiliates settled in Lucknow and contributed to the artistic life of the province. Among these were Antoine Polier, Claude Martin, and Richard Johnson. Franco-Swiss in origin, Polier rose through the ranks of the Company military units until 1766, after which, because of regulations prohibiting foreign officers from ascending beyond the rank of major, he sought employment at the court of Shuja' al-Daula, whose service he entered in 1773 as an engineer and field officer.⁴² Polier was a collector of Indian manuscripts and paintings and his Persian letters reveal sustained correspondence with the artists in his employ.⁴³ Claude Martin, an English East India Company officer who came to Awadh in 1776 as superintendent of the nawabi arsenal, owned a sizable and eclectic collection, including weapons, paintings, manuscripts, and decorative objects from India and Europe.⁴⁴ Richard Johnson, a Company administrator and merchant based in Lucknow between 1780 and 1782, accumulated an extensive collection of paintings, which was sold to the East India Company Library in 1807; it serves as the core of the Indian Miniatures section of the current Asian and African Collections, British Library, London.⁴⁵ These developments both echo and depart from the period of cultural activity in Faizabad largely defined by Gentil, with his French affiliation and his unparalleled intimacy with Shuja' al-Daula and integration into Awadhi court and political life.

The *Palais Indiens* and its related commissions evoke the circulation of images that affected late eighteenth-century India and beyond. Indian and French representational traditions intersect in the album, pointing to the international artistic milieu of Faizabad in the 1770s, and the cultural variety of art objects accessible to artists and patrons. While the paintings ostensibly fulfill a strictly documentary objective, they also embody the historical perceptions and political aspirations of the time and place where they were produced. Even as European colonial powers gained political and economic strength during this period, Mughal cultural authority remained a persistent force, its legacy contested and claimed in artistic projects such as the *Palais Indiens*.

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NOTES

Historical place names are used throughout the following text (Madras rather than Chennai, and so on).

- 1 Though the French presence in India has not been as extensively examined as that of the British, important studies on this topic include Susan Gole, *Maps of Mughal India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998); Jean-Marie Lafont, *Indika: Essays in Indo-French Relations, 1630–1976* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000); and idem, *Chitra: Cities and Monuments of Eighteenth-Century India from French Archives* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001). Sanjay Subrahmanyam discusses French patrons and collectors, with an emphasis on Antoine Polier, in “The Career of Colonel Polier and Late Eighteenth-Century Orientalism,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 10, no. 1 (April, 2000): 43–60. Lucian Harris briefly comments on the French presence and Gentil’s tenure in Faizabad in his essay, “The Exploration of Nawabi Culture by European Collectors in 18th-Century Lucknow,” in *Lucknow: Then and Now*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (Mumbai: J.J. Bhabha for Marg Publications, 2003), 104–17. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi raise the issue of British–French relations in India in their Introduction to *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I’jāz-i Arsalānī (Persian Letters 1773–1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Maya Jasanoff considers relationships between French and British collectors in her study on collecting in the British Empire, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East, 1750–1850* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006).
- 2 See Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786–1794: The Complete Aquatints* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980); and *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1992), esp. 129–53; Vidya Dehejia and Pratapaditya Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Giles Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000); and John Bonehill and Geoff Quilley, eds., *William Hodges 1744–1797: The Art of Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
- 3 Well-known studies on this topic include Richard Barnett, *North India Between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals, and the British, 1720–1801* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Michael Fisher, *A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, the British, and the Mughals* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1987); and Chris Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 4 Though some scholars have linked the V&A folios to the *Palais Indiens* paintings, they have concentrated solely on stylistic connections. Proof of the relationship rests on a largely unexamined eighteenth-century catalogue kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (hereafter, BnF), which includes the titles of all of the *Palais Indiens* paintings in Paris, and three additional titles: *Séral et jardin du palais du grand mogul à dely*, *Palais de darachetto àgra* and *Tombeau de safardjangue*. The first two titles match the inscriptions on two of the studies in London, and are recorded accordingly in the V&A’s catalogues: Archer, *Company Paintings*, 132; and Victoria & Albert Museum, *Art of India: Paintings and Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Surrey: Emmett Publishing, 1988).

- 1992). Although the third title matches no entries in the catalogues, a painting bearing a close stylistic similarity to the *Palais Indiens* images, catalogued by the V&A as “An unidentified Muslim building,” unmistakably recalls the mausoleum of Safdar Jang and must be the “Tombeau de saftardjangue” from the eighteenth-century catalogue. Including these three important examples from the V&A enables a more comprehensive analysis of the *Palais Indiens*, as I illustrate in this article. Lafont ascribes the first two of these paintings to the *Palais Indiens*, based on stylistic similarities alone, in *Chitra*, 130.
- 5 The *Palais Indiens* collection is mentioned in Francis Richard’s excellent introduction to the Gentil materials at the BnF, “Jean Baptiste Gentil Collectionneur de Manuscrits Persans,” *Extr. de Dix-huitième siècle* 28 (1996): 91–110. In addition, three of the folios are published in Lafont, *Chitra*, and a recent exhibition in Delhi featured facsimiles of selected folios, see idem, *Lost Palaces of Delhi* (Delhi: EurIndia and Art Heritage Gallery, 2006). Banmali Tandan’s recently published chapter on the studies, in *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh, 1722–1856: Its Evolution in an Aesthetic and Social Context* (Cambridge: Zophorus, 2008), appeared after preparation of this article.
- 6 See Lafont, *Lost Palaces of Delhi*, 4.
- 7 On the architecture of Awadh, see Catherine Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Banmali Tandan, *The Architecture of Lucknow and Its Dependencies, 1722–1856: A Descriptive Inventory and an Analysis of Nawabi Types* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 2001); idem, *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh*; and Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Lucknow: City of Illusion*

- (Munich and New York: Alkazi Collection of Photography and Prestel, 2006). For a discussion of the newly emerging eighteenth-century ornamental idiom, see Chanchal Dadlani, “Twilight in Delhi? Architecture, Aesthetics, and Urbanism in the Late Mughal Empire” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2009), chapters 1 and 3.
- 8 Besides Duperron’s translation of and commentary on the *Zend Avesta* (Paris: N. M. Tilliard, 1771), he published a treatise on Islamic law, *Législation orientale* (Amsterdam: Chez Marc-Michel Rey, 1778); an account of the history and geography of northern India, *Des recherches historiques et chronologiques sur l’Inde, et la description du cours du Gange et du Gogra*, published as part of Jean Bernoulli’s edited volume on the history and geography of India, *Description historique et géographique de l’Inde* (Berlin: C. S. Spender, 1786–9); and a Latin translation of the Sanskrit *Upanishads* (Strasbourg: Levrault, 1801).
- 9 BnF, Manuscrits occidentaux, n.a.f. 9366, Lettre de Gentil, fol. 458. Richard states that these are copies of letters sent to the Ministre de la Marine, “Jean Baptiste Gentil,” 96.
- 10 For a full description of the Gentil collection in the BnF, see Richard, “Jean Baptiste Gentil,” 102–9.
- 11 These manuscripts are, in order: British Library, India Office Library Collection, Add. Or. 4039; BnF, Manuscrits occidentaux, fr. 24219; and V&A, Asian Collection, IS 25–1980. In addition to Richard’s commentary on the Gentil albums, Archer briefly discusses the scope of Gentil’s commissions in *Company Paintings*, 117–18. The atlas is reproduced in Gole, *Maps of Mughal India*.
- 12 Gentil, *Mémoires sur l’Indoustan, ou Empire Mogol* (Paris: Petit, 1822), 240–41.
- 13 “Ce prince, charmé de l’ouverture de cette négociation, voulant me mettre à même de traiter, d’égal à égal, avec les deux seigneurs Indiens, qui étaient à la tête des Anglais, me donna tous les titres qu’un grand de l’inde peut porter, m’appellant *Rafiqoudoulah, Nazemdjenk, Bahadour, Tadbir-oul-Moulouk*.” Ibid., 244.
- 14 Ibid., 247.
- 15 BnF, Manuscrits occidentaux, *Histoire des pieces de Monnoyes qui ont été frappés dans l’Indoustan*, fr. 25287, fols. 115–22.
- 16 Ibid, fol. 121. The palace was reportedly later sold to Safdar Jang by Juliana’s descendants at an undervalued price; see Lafont, *Chitra*, 11.
- 17 Razia (r. 1236–40), a ruler of the Delhi Sultanate, was the daughter and successor of Shams-ud-din Iltutmish; Nur Jahan (1577–1645), the “favorite wife” of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, is often perceived as a co-ruler rather than consort; Jahanara (1614–81) was the daughter of Shah Jahan and a noted patron of architecture; and the legendary Begum Samru (d. 1836) was a Kashmiri-born dancer who married a German named Walter Reinhardt, converted to Catholicism, and later led an independent army. She maintained residences in Sardhana and Delhi.
- 18 These are published in Susan Gole, “Three Maps of Shahjahanabad,” *South Asian Studies* 4 (1988): 13–27.
- 19 While the Chandni Chowk plan contains multilingual labels, the Faiz Bazaar plan is labeled exclusively in Persian.
- 20 My thanks to Nick Barnard at the V&A for facilitating this process.
- 21 Archer points to stylistic similarities between the plans and Joseph Tieffenthaler’s *Historique et Geographique de l’Inde* (Berlin: Spener, 1786) and dates them to 1774; see *Company Paintings*, 132. Gole offers a different interpretation, dating the plans to ca. 1750 based on their inclusion

- of buildings that were destroyed in the late 1750s; see "Three Maps of Shahjahānabad," 25. This dating is problematic, since the plans could have been produced after the buildings were destroyed, using earlier visual or textual records. See also Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London: Sotheby Park Bernet, 1981), 121, for visual connections between this plan and a similar one of the Red Fort by the artist Nidhamal. Lafont also mentions the plans in conjunction with the *Palais Indiens* album, but does not provide his reasons for their inclusion in this group, or interpretation regarding dating; see *Chitra*, 130.
- 22 Lafont, *Chitra*, 24.
- 23 For a general introduction to this material, see Milo Cleveland Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- 24 Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York: H.N. Abrams 1992), 148–65, 216–25.
- 25 See Milo Cleveland Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1997), 80.
- 26 Ebba Koch, "The Hierarchical Principles of Shah-Jahani Painting," in Beach, Koch and Thackston, *King of the World*, 131–43. While Koch discusses accurate architectural representation as a specific feature of the *Pādshāhnāma*, Beach considers the *Pādshāhnāma* as exemplary of broader trends in Shah Jahani painting; see *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 131–32, 167. In addressing the painting "Vishnu with Lakshmi and Attendant Ladies," by Ruknuddin, he asserts that "its Mughal affiliation" is evident through visual characteristics such as "the specificity of its architecture." Koch also suggests a possible use of European models for techniques of architectural representation in the *Pādshāhnāma*, pointing to angled bird's-eye city views, overhead aerial views, and multiple perspectives. As Koch acknowledges, there has been no systematic study of the use of European geographical works in Mughal painting during this period.
- 27 This map and its dating are discussed in Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (New Delhi: Bookwise, 2006), 34, and Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1989), 201.
- 28 My thanks to Ebba Koch for sharing this plan with me. She has attributed it to the eighteenth century; see Koch, *Complete Taj Mahal*, 49, 76.
- 29 For an analysis of examples in comparative perspective with early modern Ottoman architectural plans, see Gülrū Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 16th-century Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 3 (Sept. 1986), 224–43; see also her comparative chapter on plans and scrolls in *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995). See also R. Lewcock, "Architects, Craftsmen, and Builders: Materials and Techniques," in *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. G. Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 112–43.
- 30 For a discussion of modular planning in Mughal architecture, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development, 1526–1858* (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 110.
- 31 For contrasting views on potential European influences on the planning of Jaipur, and implications for graphic plans, see Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans*, 44; Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India: 1750–1850*, trans. Agnes George and Elenore Zettersten (London: Faber, 1968), 193–95; and Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 11–31 and 43–46. The goal of this essay is not to engage with the question of the origins of these conventions.
- 32 The painting is also cited in this context in Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models"; E.S. Smart, "Graphic Evidence for Mughal Architectural Plans," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, 6 (1974): 22–23; and Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 15.
- 33 Qaisar, *Building Construction*, 14.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 For a full discussion of the status of architects and the professionalization of architecture in the Mughal empire, see ibid., 34–42.
- 36 The plans discussed in this section are published in Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans*. In addition to documenting each of them, Gole provides a brief overview of their textual inscriptions and discusses their dating.
- 37 The plan is currently held at the Jaigarh Fort Museum, where I was granted limited access. No cataloguing information is available.
- 38 See Alexis Rinckenbach, *Archives du Dépôt des fortifications des Colonies: Indes* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, 1998). For an additional introduction to this material, see Lafont, *Chitra*.
- 39 Archer, *Company Paintings*, 117–18.
- 40 For an alternative perspective on the Hodges paintings, see Natasha Eaton, "Hodges's Visual Genealogy for Colonial

India," in Bonehill and Quilley, *William Hodges*, 39.

- 41 Jean-Marie Lafont (*Chitra*, 11) has pointed out that earlier, French-commissioned art should not be assimilated into the later category of "Company School" painting.
- 42 Alam and Alavi, *European Experience*, 1–9; Jasanooff, *Edge of Empire*, 45–7; Subrahmanyam, "The Career of Colonel Polier," 46–7; Lucian Harris, "Archibald Swinton: A New Source for Albums of Indian Miniatures in William Beckford's Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1179 (June, 2001): 360–66; and Natasha Eaton, "Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750–93," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (Winter, 2006): 227–50.
- 43 Alam and Alavi, *European Experience*, 54–5.
- 44 Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Very Ingenious Man: Claude Martin in Early Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 155–76; and Jasanooff, *Edge of Empire*, 74–5.
- 45 Falk and Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, 14–29.