

Architectural Exchange in the Eighteenth Century
A Study of Three Gateway Cities:
Istanbul, Aleppo and Lucknow



Views of Istanbul with Aya Sophia and the Sultan Ahmed mosque, by Cornelius Loos, 1710-11.

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines architectural exchange amidst connected civilizational networks—European, Islamic, Hindu—with the intent to appreciate the richness and extent of this phenomenon. Emphasis is placed on mobility—of people, ideas, materials, artisans—and the way this mobility powers the process of architectural exchange. The influence of Asian architecture and landscapes on European sites has received extensive scholarly attention. However, this dissertation examines the lesser known architectural interplay between Europe and West and South Asia during the eighteenth century. The cities of Istanbul, Lucknow and Aleppo—urban centres governed by Islamic rulers—are chosen as exemplars of a wider phenomenon of architectural exchange that was not exclusive to Europe. The aim of this dissertation, then, is to argue that architectural exchange is neither rare nor exceptional.

To do so, this dissertation surveys and synthesises the findings of disparate studies that document architectural exchange—studies which often focus on specific buildings—to interpret the breadth and depth of this global phenomenon. This perspective is inspired by the scholarship of world systems theorists and scholars who privilege the phenomenon of travel, particularly Geoffrey Gunn, Eric Leed and Andre Gunder Frank, who have convincingly destabilised Eurocentric representations of world history, and encourage recognition of parallels and equivalencies between competing civilizations, as well as the central role travel plays in the formation of these changing cities and civilizations. This sheds light on the *reciprocity* of architectural exchange and the many instances whereby European techniques, themes or motifs were incorporated into Asian buildings or landscapes. This scholarship has also inspired the notion of a ‘gateway city’—simultaneously a port, portal or even the Sublime Porte—which is used to conceptualise sites that were located amidst dynamic networks of cultural exchange. The ‘gateway city’ enhances the interpretation of architectural exchange and even enables understanding of the port-ability of architecture. Moreover, it enables understanding of architectural

exchange occurring beyond, and independently of, Europe, either within the Islamic world or within local networks of exchange in West and South Asia. The contribution of this dissertation is to provide a dynamic and interconnected view of architecture in the selected cities in the eighteenth century, as well as challenging historical convictions about 'decline' and stasis in this period of Ottoman and Mughal history.

Declaration

I, Elise Kamleh, certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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(Elise J. Kamleh, nee Ehrlich)

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During the course of the study I travelled to Spain, Greece and Iran. These travels provided me with further information about architectural exchange. Prior to the commencement of research I had travelled to Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, China, and India, which sharpened my knowledge of particular details through first hand experience. This current project has been a culmination of the exploration of various interests, where my archaeological, anthropological, historical, linguistic and architectural studies have been deployed to uncover the widespread patterns of architectural exchange.

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Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amravati (London, India Museum: W.H Allen And Co, 1873), Plate XIII, opposite page 116.

Part 2 Case Studies: The main entrance to Topkapi, known as the Middle Gateway of Topkapi Palace, Istanbul. Mehmed Fatih's gate towers were modelled after the Byzantine gate of Sta. Barbara. Their construction may have involved some European artists. İlhan Akşit, *The Topkapi Palace* (Istanbul: Akşit, 1994), 15. Further information about the gateway from Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1 (March 2004): 35.

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Fig 5.0.a H. Sophia from the shores of the Bosphorus, by Cornelius Loos, 1710-11. Alfred Westholm, *Cornelius Loos, Teckningar från en expedition till Främre Orienten 1710-1711* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseums Skriftserie N.S. 6, 1985), 3b.

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Fig 5.5 Engraving of 'the Sultan's New Palace on the Bosphorus', by Thomas Allom (this is the Çirigan Palace of Mahmud II, 1808-1839). From *Thomas Allom's Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, illustrations by Thomas Allom, descriptions by Robert Walsh ed. and introduction by Mark Wilson (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006), 65.

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Fig 5.7 Melling's drawing of the pavilion of Nestabad on the shores of the Bosphorus, 1793. Cornelis Boschma et Jacques Perot, *Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763-1831) Artiste-Voyageur* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1991), 26.

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Fig 5.16 View of Versailles from the orange orchard, engraving brought back by Mehmed Efendi. Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West, France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 77.

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Fig 5.19 Sa'dâbâd-drawing of the canal, smaller cascades and pavilions by D'Ohson, late eighteenth century. From Sedad Hakki Eldem, *Sa'dâbâd* (Istanbul: University of Istanbul, 1977), Fig 25, 43.

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Fig 5.22 Cascades of Sa'dâbâd. After Sedad Hakki Eldem, *Sa'dâbâd* (Istanbul: University of Istanbul, 1977), 54, Fig 43.

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Fig 5.43.a Bayildum, Mahmud I's pavilion at the Beşiktaş Palace, Istanbul, engraving c. 1770's. From D'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman*. Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no.1 (2004): 41, Fig 11. **Fig 5.43.b** Engraving (1867) of the front view of the long upright, decorated, wooden pillars of the Chihil Sutun (began 1647) in Imperial Naqsh-i Jahan Palace of Isfahan. Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999) 67, Figure 5. **Fig 5.43.c** A recent view of the Chihil Sutun (Chehelsotoon) in Isfahan. Photograph the author.

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Fig 5.51 Panorama of Istanbul from Şemaki House in Yenişehir, near Bursa. From Günsel Renda, “Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses”, *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978), Fig 16, 728.

Fig 5.52 Panorama of Istanbul from Mehmed Ali Aga Konak in Datça, near Marmaris. From Günsel Renda, “Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses”, *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér, (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978), Fig 15, 728.

Fig 5.53 Wall Painting on exterior of Edhem Bey Mosque, Tiranë, Albania, 1791-1821. Interior wall paintings were finished in 1820-3. H. T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans, Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World* (London: Hurst and Company, 1993), 77, Plate 4.

Fig 5.54 The models of the gardens carried by architects in the 1720 circumcision festival in Istanbul. B. Deniz Çaliş, “Gardens at the Kaiğithane commons during the Tulip Period (1718-1730)”, in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity, Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 2007), 242, Fig 3, 244, Fig 5.

Fig 5.55 1700-1725, View of the Bosphorus’ on the cover of a writing box, including architectural detail, by Derviş Hasan Eyyubi. Topkapi Palace Museum. Günsel Renda, “Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends,” in *A History of Turkish Painting*, Renda, Erol, Turani, Ozsezgin, Aslier (Seattle-London: Palasar SA, University of Washington Press, 1988) 59, Plate 49.

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Fig 5.57 Detail of a landscape by Rakkamehu Mehmet, on the lacquer binding of a manuscript, 1732. Günsel Renda, “Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends,” in *A History of Turkish Painting*, Renda, Erol, Turani, Ozsezgin, Aslier (Seattle-London: Palasar SA, University of Washington Press, 1988), 61, Plates 52, 53, and 54.

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Fig 6.3.a The Desert Route to India, Syria and Mesopotamia. To illustrate the Desert Route from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf as described in the journals of William Beawes, Gaylard Roberts, Bartholemew Plaisted and John Carmichael, 1745-175. Douglas Carruthers ed., *The Desert Route to India*.

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Fig 6.5 Eighteenth century engraving of 'The City of Aleppo', 1794. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History Of Aleppo, Volume I, Description Of The City And The Parts Adjacent* (London: Robinson, 1794), Frontispiece.

Fig 6.6 Illustration of the Hajj caravan in Cairo in 1705, from Paul Lucas. Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant* in Andre Raymond, "A Divided Sea: The Cairo Coffee Trade in the Red Sea Area during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in *Modernity and Culture*, eds. Leila Fawaz Tarazi and C.A Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 49, Illustration 2.2.

Fig 6.7 Scanderoon, one of the main ports to Europe for Aleppo, in about 1700. Corneille Le Bruin, *Voyage au Levant*, in Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square, English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Melbourne: Macmillan Press, 1967), opposite 162.

Fig 6.8.a The Madrasa Al-Hallawiyya (1124), Aleppo, previously the Byzantine Cathedral of St Helena. Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nūr A-Dīn (1146-1174)" in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, eds. Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzar Bornstein (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1986), Fig 22. **Fig 6.8.b** The classical columns incorporated into the entrance of the fortress of Sousse in Tunisia. Lessing Archives. http://www.123rf.com/photo_3455263_gate-of-ancient-ribat-of-sousse-tunisia.html (accessed January, 19, 2012).

Fig 6.9 Part of Herzfeld's drawing of the incorporation of the classical entablature into the building of al-Shu'aybiyya in Aleppo, before the later additions. Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nūr A-Dīn (1146-1174)" in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* eds. Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzar Bornstein (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1986), Fig 23.

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Fig 6.12 David Bosanquet, factor in Aleppo from 1722-31, wearing Ottoman dress. Ralph Davies, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square, English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 99.

Fig 6.13.a A Plan of the City of Aleppo from Alexander Russell, 1794. Russell lists the gates of Aleppo first, capitalizing the letters to show their importance to the city. Gate I (Bab Antakee) leads to Antakya (Antioch) and Gate K (Bab al Jideida) is the gate or door (Bab) to the Judayda quarter. Alexander Russell,

The Natural History of Aleppo (London: Robinson, 1794) Vol I, Plate I, 13. **Fig 6.13.b** References to the Plan of the City from Alexander Russell, 1794. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* (London: Robinson, 1794) Vol I, Plate I, 13.

Fig 6.14.a Engraving of the interior of a house in Aleppo. The Turkish lady is dressed in a cape and robes and is lying on a lounge. She is smoking and preparing to drink coffee and is accompanied by a woman servant. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History Of Aleppo* (London: 1794) Vol. I, Plate III. **Fig 6.14.b** Part of the engraving of the decorative interior of a palace in Aleppo with seated Ottoman officials. The commander of the Janissary corps (centre), and the governor (right) are dressed in furs accompanied by a servant. An ‘Aga’ was the name given to the commander of the Janissary corps by Russell, and he called the Turkish governor the ‘Bashaw’. The ‘Cady’ (Qadi), or learned head of the religious scholars, is partially in view to the left of the engraving. He also performed the function of a judge. The view through the window shows an internal courtyard. From Alexander Russell, *The Natural History Of Aleppo* (London, 1794) Vol. I, Plate II. This commentary on the illustration is taken from Russell’s explanation to the engraving as well as Abraham Marcus’s caption to this illustration in *The Middle-East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), Fig 5.2.

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Fig 6.17 Detail of stonework of Beit Ajiqbash. Robin Fedden, *Syria, An Historical Appreciation* (London: Robert Hale, 1956), 36. Illustration 5, between pages 84 and 85.

Fig 6.18 The musicians and their various dress playing in a court, with views of a mosque and inner court of a great house through the windows, as well as the elaborate stonework of the court and the raised stone platform, the ‘Mustaby’. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* (London: 1794), Vol. I, Plate IV, 152, 153.

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Fig 6.20 Seventeenth century map of Aleppo, showing the location of the great mosque of Aleppo in relation to the citadel. Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City, Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2004), Fig 8.

Fig 6.21 Map of Old Jerusalem, showing the location of the Haram al-Sharif, the Aqsa Mosque, and the Dome of the Rock. Map after Saïd Nuseibeh and Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 14.

Fig 6.22 Al-Zawiya al-Muhammadiyya on the Haram, Jerusalem, 1700-1701. “Catalogue of Buildings” by Yusuf Natsheh in *Ottoman Jerusalem, The Living City: 1517-1917*, eds. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, Architectural Survey by Yusuf Natsheh, Part II (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), Pl. 43.2, 962.

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of the lotus flower at the top of the southwest column. **Fig 6.24.e** Enlarged view of the chrysanthemum heads along the southeast column of the Sabil Mustapha Agha. Yusuf Natsheh "Catalogue of Buildings" in *Ottoman Jerusalem, The Living City: 1517-1917*, eds. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, Architectural Survey by Yusuf Natsheh, Part II (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), Pl. 48.1, Pl. 48.2, Pl. 48.3, Pl. 48.4, 977, 978.

Fig 6.25 Fig 6.25 The courtyard of Beit al-Azem in Hama, with a reception room off the upper terrace (now a museum). Ross Burns, *Monuments of Syria, An Historical Guide* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), Plate 8.

Fig 6.26.a The Azem Palace, Damascus, in the eighteenth century painted by an unknown artist. Abdulqader Rihawi, *Damascus, Its History; Development And Artistic Heritage*, (Damascus, 1977), frontispiece. **Fig 6.26.b** Part of the Azem Palace in Damascus. Photograph by Angeline Kamleh, 2006. **Fig 6.26.c** Part of the Azem Palace in Damascus, view of courtyard fountain and building. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azm_Palace (accessed January 30, 2012).

Fig 6.27 The location of the Azem Palace in relation to the Umayyad Mosque, the madrasas and khans of Damascus. Warwick Ball, *Syria, A Historical and Architectural Guide* (New York: Interlink Books 1998), Fig 2, 53.

Fig 6.28 Beit ed Din, 1795-1830, Emir Beshir II (1788-1840). Colonel Churchill, *Mount Lebanon, A Ten Years Residence, From 1842-1852, Describing The Manners, Customs, And Religion Of Its Inhabitants, With, A Full & Correct Account Of The Druse Religion, And Containing, Historical Records of the Mountain Tribes, From, Personal Intercourse With Their Chiefs And Other Authentic Sources*, In Three Volumes, Third edition (London: Saunders and Otle, 1853), Vol III, Lithograph opposite page 263.

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Fig 7.0.a Replica of the Taj Mahal in the Husainabad Imambara, built in Lucknow. Surendra Sahai, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period 1192-1857* (New Delhi: Prakash Books, 2004), 159.

Fig 7.0.b Map of Central and Southern Asia after Onians showing trade routes and commodity flows within these regions and beyond, 1500-1800. John Onians ed., *The Art Atlas* (New York and London: Abbeville Press, 2008), 192.

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Fig 7.7 A royal portrait of Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797), a watercolour by a Lucknow artist in 1780. Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and ed. by E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 33.

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Fig 7.9.a Nasir ud Din Haidar at table with a British officer and lady. Gouche by a Lucknow artist, 1831, and **7.9.b** Ghazi ud Din Haidar at a banquet for Lord and Lady Moira. Gouache by a Lucknow artist 1814. Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and eds. Harcourt and Hussain (London: Paul Elek, 1975), Fig 20, 177, and Fig 19, 176.

Fig 7.10 A view of the Palace of Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah at Lucknow, by William Hodges, 1784. Banmali Tandan, *The Architecture of Lucknow and its Dependencies, 1722-1856, A Descriptive Inventory and Analysis of Nawabi Types* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, PVT Ltd., 2001), Fig 13.

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Fig 7.12 Danish House in Tranquebar on Prins Christians gade (Prince Christian Street) with Mughal arch. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), Fig 8.

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Fig 7.16 Clay Stupa at Taxila designed as a huge Corinthian capital, c.2nd century A.D. From John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), fig 4.70, 132.

Fig 7.17 Pillars from Hindu temples forming a colonnade of the Quwawat-ul-Islam mosque, Delhi. Satish Grover, *Islamic Architecture in India* (New Delhi: Galgotia Publishing Company, 1996), 5, Fig 1.04.

Fig 7.18 Lat ki mosque (1405) in Dhar, reused Hindu materials. Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2000), 132.

Fig 7.19 The Arhai (Adhai)-din-ka-Jhompra mosque in Ajmer (c.1205) reused Hindu temple pillars. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. PVT. Ltd., 1975), Plate VI, Fig. 2. **Fig 7.19.b** The Golden Temple at Amritsar, when it was rebuilt in 1764 and later included materials taken from Mughal structures. Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2000), 291.

Fig 7.20 Location of some of the nawabi buildings in Lucknow in relation to the river Gomti in the nineteenth century. Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 68.

Fig 7.21.a Calcutta-Old Court House and Writers Building (artist T. Daniell, 1786). *Oriental Scenery, Twenty-Four Views in Hindoostan*, London, 1797. Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), Illustration 5. **Fig 7.21.b** Esplanade Row and Council House, Calcutta, artists Thomas and William Daniel, 1797. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), Plate 9a.

Fig 7.22 Gate of Government House, Calcutta. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), Plate 29a.

Fig 7.23.a Constantia (La Martiniere) a building initiated by Claude Martin in 1795, in Lucknow. Surendra Sahai, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period 1192-1857* (New Delhi: Prakash Books, 2004), 158. **Fig 7.23.b** The Red Fort in Delhi from Delhi Gate. Constantia also has many parallels with Mughal masonry structures (for example the Red Fort of Delhi), such as the central massing, and the use of sandstone. Virginia Fass, *The Forts of India*, foreword by the Maharaja of Jaipur, text by Rita and Vijay Sharma and Christopher Tadgell (London: Collins, 1986), 22.

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Fig 7.37 Stone Chariot with moveable wheels, Vithalla Temple, Hampi, Karnataka. Satish Grover, *Masterpieces of Traditional Indian Architecture* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2004), 84.

Fig 7.38.a Konark Temple, Orissa. Satish Grover, *Masterpieces of Traditional Indian Architecture* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2004), 52, 53. **Fig 7.38.b** Close up of one of the wheels of the stone chariot of the Konark Temple. Satish Grover, *Masterpieces of Traditional Indian Architecture* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2004), 58, 59.

Fig 7.39 Central Persian Hall of the Bara Imambara with adjoining Chinese and Indian Halls, the Chinese Hall is on the eastern end (left), the Indian Hall is on the western end (right). Peter Chelkowski, "Monumental Grief: The Bara Imambara" in *Lucknow, City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn Jones (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 127, Fig 62.

Fig 7.40 Rumi Darwaza, or the ‘Constantinople Gate’, Lucknow. Banmali Tandan, *The Architecture of Lucknow and its Dependencies* (New Delhi: Vikas, 2001), Ill 15.

Fig 7.41 Location of the ‘Rumi Darwaza’ gateway in relation to the rest of the Bara Imambara complex, which is situated in lower right section of the drawing by W. Sypniewski. Peter Chelkowski, “Monumental Grief: the Bara Imambara, in *Lucknow, City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 113, Fig 51.

Fig 7.42 The current main core of Topkapi Palace, the courts, mosque, terraces, kiosks, pools, pavilions, chambers, and gates of the palace. Isometric drawing by İlban Öz. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power, The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge Massachusetts, and London, England: MIT Press, 1991), Plate 12.

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Fig 7.44.a The second gateway of Topkapi. İlhan Akşit, *The Topkapi Palace* (Istanbul: Akşit, 1994), 11. **Fig 7.44.b** the middle gateway, the Gateway of Salutations or Respects (Bab-ül Salaam), in Topkapi in Istanbul. İlhan Akşit, *The Topkapi Palace* (Istanbul: Akşit, 1994), 8.

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Fig 7.47 Government house 1798-1803, Calcutta. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), Plate 27b.

Fig 7.48 Replica of the Taj Mahal in the Husainabad Imambara, built in Lucknow. Surendra Sahai, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period 1192-1857* (New Delhi: Prakash Books, 2004), 159. **Fig 7.49** the Taj Mahal at Agra, built by Shah Jahan as a mausoleum for his wife Mumtaz Mahal in 1674. Photograph by author.

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Fig 8.0 Stone Chariot with moveable wheels, Vithalla Temple, Hampi, Karnataka. Satish Grover, *Masterpieces of Traditional Indian Architecture* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2004), 84.

Fig 8.1 The Shantadurga (Maratha) temple erected in 1738 displays significant exchanges with elements of Portuguese church architecture built in the area. It is near Ponda in Goa. George Michell, *Hindu Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 167, fig 149.

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