DORIS DUKE & GANDHI: REVITALIZING CRAFT TRADITION AND THE MUGHAL SUITE AT SHANGRI LA

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ABSTRACT
Doris Duke's first visit to India was in the spring of 1935. As a part of her honeymoon world tour, the South Asian trip included visits to significant monuments of the Mughal dynasty in Delhi and Agra, an interaction that inspired her to commission a series of decorative architectural features based on these precedents. These features were later installed at Duke’s new oceanside Honolulu home, Shangri La. The resulting bedroom, bathroom and dressing room are today referred to as the Mughal Suite. Its walls are adorned with inlays, carving and plasterwork that reflect Mughal motifs, the skills of Indian craftsmen and the vision of contemporary architects. This paper explores the network of interactions that led to the commission of the Suite, and the threads of continuity that run through the transformation of design, craftsmanship and artistry from South Asia to Shangri La.

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The eclectic series of spaces that create the former home of Doris Duke (1912–93) at Black Point, Honolulu, have their inception in her honeymoon world tour of 1935 and subsequent travels through Europe, Asia, and the Middle East (fig. 1). Designed by Marion Sims Wyeth (1889–1982) in a modernist style, the architectural forms at what later became known as “Shangri La” are luxurious and intimate.\(^1\) Doris Duke’s bedroom, dressing room, and bathroom—widely referred to as the “Mughal Suite”—are the most private spaces at the property (fig. 2). This set of rooms, with a screened seating area known as the “Jali Pavilion” on the flat roof above, create a secluded retreat at the heart of the residence (see appendix 1).\(^2\)

Looking out over gardens and ocean to the south and west, screened apertures and windows connect these quiet interiors to the verdant surroundings beyond. The suite is ornamented with marble and plasterwork motifs inspired by the buildings of India’s Mughal rulers (1526–1857) and realized by Indian and Hawaiian artisans. These features were the first of a number of artisanal commissions woven together to create a tapestry of artistic influences at Shangri La.\(^3\) The focus on Mughal inspiration in the bedroom suite is matched elsewhere at the residence by Iranian, Hispano-Moroccan, and Middle Eastern architectural settings that bring distinct stylistic themes to

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\(^2\) A *jali* is defined here as a pierced stone screen of carved decorative design.

\(^3\) Two further major commissions of the 1930s were the Moroccan architectural features (1937–38) and the Iranian tilework (1938–39). All three commissions are summarized in Keelan Overton, “Commissioning on the Move: The Cromwells’ Travels and Patronage of ‘Living Traditions’ in India, Morocco and Iran,” in Mellins and Albrecht, *Doris Duke’s Shangri La*, 93–112; for two Syrian commissions placed through Asfar & Sarkis, see Marcus Milwright, “Doris Duke and the Crafts of Islamic Syria,” *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art*, no. 2 (July 2012), 1–20.

different parts of the residence. It is the decorative features of the Mughal Suite—as the earliest of the artisanal commissions at Shangri La—that are the focus of this paper.

Fig. 1: Shangri La, looking east, Honolulu, Hawai‘i. (Photo: Thalia Kennedy.)

Fig. 2: The Mughal Suite, Shangri La, southern façade. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i. (Photo: David Franzen, 1999.)

INSPIRATIONAL ENCOUNTERS

Doris Duke’s two-month honeymoon journey through India provides the context for the Mughal Suite commission. Doris Duke and James H. R. Cromwell (born in Manhattan, 1896) were married in New York on February 13, 1935 (fig. 3). The Cromwells boarded the SS Conte di Savoia the following day, stopping en route at Monte Carlo, and arrived in Palestine on February 25. They visited the ancient site of Petra, and the Pyramids at Giza outside Cairo, before flying on to the port of Karachi in British India. After two months touring the northern part of the Indian subcontinent, the couple continued in early May to Southeast and East Asia, before arriving in Honolulu from Tokyo aboard the MS Tatsuta Maru in late August. They

4 The bride and her husband will be referred to individually in this paper as “Doris Duke” (or “Duke”) and “James Cromwell,” and as a couple as “the Cromwells.”
5 Details of the trip are taken from three 12” x 20” leather-bound scrapbooks with newspaper clippings and archival materials documenting the marriage and honeymoon of Doris Duke and James Cromwell and the building of Shangri La. These scrapbooks were assembled by James Cromwell and kindly donated to Shangri La by his daughter, Hope Cromwell. The scrapbooks are held in the Shangri La Historical Archives, Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i (hereafter cited as SLHA). Appendix 2 provides a summary chronology of the honeymoon, drawn from details given in the scrapbooks.
6 Littlefield, Doris Duke’s Shangri La, 5
left Honolulu for Los Angeles on December 26, completing a world tour that spanned ten months.

On their return to the United States, the Cromwells took film footage of the artifacts and artworks they had bought on their honeymoon tour, including textiles, metalware, and stonework. Together with the receipts held in the Shangri La Historical Archives (SLHA) and the Doris Duke Papers on the Shangri La Residence, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation Historical Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter DDCFHA), the range and volume of items in the footage display their keen interest in antiques and works of art. While in India, Duke had also attended a lunch in Bombay with Mrs. Jacques Cartier and Mrs. Imre Schwaiger, wives of the French jeweler and Hungarian art dealer respectively, on March 17, 1935—an early context for her lifelong exploration of jewelry and antiques.

Doris Duke also had an existing knowledge of certain architectural styles and fashions in the United States. Prior to her honeymoon, she had been exposed to the Palm Beach vogue for houses with form and ornament reminiscent of foreign climes, which on occasion were drawn from the European and “Moorish” styles of the

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7 Duke Farms Family Rolls, Chapter 2, copy of footage held by the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation Historical Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter DDCFHA); see also lists of items bought on the honeymoon, June 8, 1937, DDCFHA.
8 Imre Schwaiger was a prominent Hungarian art dealer and patron, with business bases in London and India, and colleague of Jacques Cartier; he was notable for his donations of Indian artifacts to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and British Museum. For details of this lunch, please see Scrapbook entitled “India,” 1935, SLHA.
9 Doris Duke purchased a number of items from Imre Schwaiger while on the honeymoon (see appendix 1). She was already an existing client of Cartier, and was inspired by the jewelry and gemstones of India; see Janet Zapata, Ulysses Dietz, and Zette Emmons, Gems from the East and West: The Doris Duke Jewelry Collection (New York: Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, in association with Newport Restoration Foundation, 2003), esp. 5, 15–16, 46.
James Cromwell’s mother, Mrs. Eva Stotesbury, later recorded Duke’s knowledge and affection for her own family residence at Palm Beach, El Mirasol. The Florida amalgam of global influences may have been an important model for the later commissions at Shangri La.

There is no evidence at present to suggest, however, that Doris Duke had planned to act as patron to traditional craftsmen prior to her arrival in India. It is more plausible that a series of encounters and events during her honeymoon inspired Duke to bring Indian artistry to her own domestic setting. To act as patron in this developing context represented a move away from the purchase of artifacts through dealers to an active and beneficent support of living artisans by the commission of traditionally manufactured decorative works. The particular circumstances that surround the Mughal Suite commission form a collage of events that influenced and shaped its genesis, nature, and realization. In this sense, the act of commission and patronage is reflected as a Latourian network of iterative interaction and inspiration between actors, rather than a single, self-contained act.

Aspects of this network can be traced through surviving documentation from the honeymoon trip. The honeymoon scrapbooks (see footnote 5 and fig. 4) include details of transportation, accommodation, photographic records, and visiting cards from a number of leading political and commercial figures. Appendix 2, based on details from the honeymoon scrapbooks and letters written at the time, gives a basic chronology of travel, events, and visits in India. Photographs held at both Shangri La and Duke University show meetings and moments of travel. Finally, writings and newspapers dating to 1935, and interviews carried out in India in 2011, provide additional context and perspective. From this range of material, it is possible to establish a framework through which to explore the informative experiences and motivations for the Mughal Suite commission.

11 Letter from Eva Stotesbury to Maurice Fatio, May 23, 1935, DDCFHA. This letter records that Doris Duke “saw Malmaison several years ago when she was stopping with Mrs. Ned McLean.” For images of El Mirasol in the 1920s, see http://www.serianni.com/el_mirasol.htm.
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

The Cromwells, throughout their tour in India, were hosted by and met with a number of notable figures, dignitaries, and politicians. Among their most significant interviews was a meeting with Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), who by 1935 was a leading political force in the movement for India’s independence from British rule. On March 16, 1935, the couple traveled 470 miles to the central Indian plains by train to meet Gandhi at his ashram, the All-India Village Industries Association (AIVIA) in Wardha (fig. 5). During the course of this interview, the couple engaged with Gandhi’s views on crafts industries and the importance of their revival for the prosperity and economic independence of India’s rural poor.

The notion of a rural and industrial crafts revival held long-standing interest for Gandhi. As early as 1919, in his weekly publication Young India, he wrote of the neglect of Indian art and warned, “[India’s] rare and industrial art and handicrafts are

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13 See Scrapbook entitled “India,” 1935, SLHA; and Appendix 2.
14 Photograph of Gandhi, March 16, 1935, PH.DD067o, DDCFHA, reproduced here as fig. 5. A summary of the meeting’s discussion was also printed in the Hindu Times, March 19, 1935.
not extinct. They merely require due recognition and encouragement. But if that is not immediately forthcoming it will be too late. We shall then be guilty of strangling them with our own hands.”

Gandhi’s own early enthusiasm for a crafts industry revival reflected a wider interest in Indian crafts activities, championed by a number of Indian and British officials, educators, and historians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and beyond. Under these and comparable charges, individual crafts industries were encouraged against a wider politico-economic backdrop of crafts revivalism. Of particular relevance here, marble inlay work at Agra was championed in the nineteenth century by British administrators, and patronized by northern Indians throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Notably, in 1920, Gandhi himself publically supported statements that urged “wealthy Indians to patronize Agra marble work.”

By the time of the Cromwells’ visit to AIVIA in 1935, Gandhi had ceased other political activities and was actively promoting his theories of crafts education as a solution to India’s mass poverty. He wrote of the “numberless” village and town crafts in need of public support, and encouraged a greater emphasis on sustaining the poor through “creative handicrafts.” Gandhi stated to a United Press reporter, just two weeks before the Cromwells’ visit to Wardha, that the aim of AIVIA was to “seek to revive and encourage as many industries as are necessary for the moral and material growth of village life.” He called for people of all castes and creeds to help artisans find markets for their products, and to encourage the revival of lost industries and arts through their economic support.

The Cromwells’ encounter with the Mahatma was brief, less than an hour of discussion before he returned to a convention of artisans being held that day at AIVIA. James Cromwell, himself an economist and supporter of mass industrial production in the United States, questioned Gandhi on this aspect of economic development, proposing it as a possible response for India in fulfilling the needs of the masses. Gandhi replied that, in the case of India, traditional rural and handicrafts industries were a better solution to poverty. These industries, he felt, would discourage the subjugation of the artisan and rural poor through mass machine production and monopolies.

The meeting had a profound impact on the young Doris Duke, who was reported as saying: “I felt in meeting this world famous advocate of peace and non-violence, that I had talked to a Messiah, comparable to Confucius, Buddha, Christ or

16 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in Young India, May 31, 1919, 3.
17 Abigail McGowan, Crafting the Nation in Colonial India (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1–19.
21 Young India, January 28, 1920, 5.
Mohammed.” She is also recorded as admiring Gandhi’s work for the emancipation of Indian women. How far Gandhi’s message of crafts revitalization as a solution to mass poverty struck a chord with the couple is not clear from surviving written evidence. It is clear, however, that the couple arrived in India against the backdrop of a wider crafts revival movement in the subcontinent, which formed a part of Gandhi’s vision for an independent and self-sustaining India, and to which Duke was exposed. The young woman was evidently impressed with Gandhi and may have found his visionary message compelling. Even from the pages of history, it is difficult to ignore Gandhi’s fervent belief in crafts and rural industry revival. An understanding of the subsequent commission of traditional arts in Agra must include some consideration of this meeting and its impact on Doris Duke.

**Mughal Architecture**

Returning from the *ashram* at Wardha, the Cromwells then travelled from Bombay into northern India, arriving at the British administrative capital of New Delhi in late March 1935. They stayed at the fashionable Cecil Hotel, where they were hosted to lunch by the Viceroy of India, Lord Willingdon (1931–36), and his wife Lady Willingdon, as well as Commander-in-Chief Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode (1930–36) and Lady Chetwode. Honeymoon photographs held at Duke University include pictures of the Viceroy’s palace and gardens, and the Cromwells with the Chetwodes. The Cromwells took sight-seeing tours around the city, reportedly also accompanied by the Chetwodes. A photograph survives of Doris Duke at the Quwwat al-Islam (from 588/1192), an early Islamic monument in South Asia. The couple also made the trip to the nearby city of Agra, a former capital of the Mughal empire (632/1526–1274/1857) and a significant railway and commercial center by the early part of the twentieth century. The Cromwells’ visit to Agra was to provide the moment of artistic inspiration for the Mughal Suite commission.

Agra had long been a popular destination for American and European tourists and visitors. The historic city had been the subject of restoration and promotion in the first decades of the twentieth century, most particularly under the oversight of the British Viceroy, Lord Curzon (1899–1905), who took an “active personal interest” in the renovation of significant monuments. The British administration is recorded as developing parks and gardens around historic buildings. Photographs survive from the Cromwells’ tour of the Agra Fort (973/1565–1037/1628), with captions written on

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26 *Hindu Times*, March 19, from Scrapbook entitled “India,” 1935, SLHA.
27 Newspaper clippings from the SLHA Scrapbook report the Cromwells’ lunch with the Viceroy; the SLHA Scrapbook also includes the table placement for lunch with the Chetwodes on March 29, 1935. Estimates for work from Agra workshops survive in the DDCFHA (one addressed to J. H. R. Cromwell at the Cecil Hotel in Delhi is dated March 28, 1935).
28 Photographs of the viceroy’s palace and the Cromwells’ with the high commander and his wife Lady Chetwode, 1935, PH.DD067i and PH.DD067c, DDCFHA.
30 Where Hijra dates are given, the Gregorian conversion follows.
31 Photograph of Doris Duke at the Quwwat al-Islam, 1935, PH.DD067w, DDCFHA.
33 Ibid., 85.
34 Ibid., 29–30.
the reverse in Duke’s handwriting identifying locations and buildings. These photographs show Duke admiring the marble surfaces at the Moti Masjid, or Pearl Mosque (1057–63/1647–53, fig. 6), and an image of the same building’s courtyard. The couple also photographed a white marble pool located in front of the Khas Mahal (completed 1046/1637), a part of the emperor Shah Jahan’s private residences. It is evident from this photographic record that the buildings and architectural features of Shah Jahan’s reign (1037/1628–1067/1658)—typified by marble surfaces, fluid curvilinear features, and lobed and pointed arch forms—particularly caught the Cromwells’ attention.

![Doris Duke at the Moti Masjid, Agra Fort, 1935. (Doris Duke Charitable Foundation Historical Archives Photograph Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.)](image_url)

The couple’s visit to the nearby Taj Mahal complex (from 1031/1632, fig. 7) also had great impact. Famed around the world today for its white marble form, the mausoleum itself holds the graves of Shah Jahan and his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. James Cromwell wrote from India that his wife “had fallen in love with the Taj Mahal and all the beautiful marble tile, with their lovely floral designs with some precious stones.” He refers here particularly to the *parchin kari* (driven-in work) and carved marble designs of the central mausoleum. Such white marble surfaces and carving, inlaid with precious stones in stylized floral motifs, often appear as a dynastic trademark in Shah Jahani buildings. The use of gemstone inlays, in particular, are reserved solely for architectural spaces associated with the emperor and his immediate family. The examples at the Taj Mahal may be considered the zenith of this decorative genre.

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35 Letter from James Cromwell from Calcutta to his mother, Eva Stotesbury, April 1935, SLHA.
The carvings and inlays resonated with Doris Duke to a degree that demanded more than a passing appreciation. Cromwell recorded that his wife was determined to create a new bedroom and bathroom suite decorated with “tiles like those in the Taj” for Malmaison, his lakefront home on the grounds of the Stotesbursys’ Palm Beach mansion, El Mirasol. The bathroom was to have a sunken bath with marble panels to window height, while the bedroom was to have six jali doors. Cromwell also recorded his own preference for a roof garden accessed by an exterior staircase and including a jali door and window, which was similar to the “Jali Pavilion” later realized at Shangri La (see below). He concluded that his wife “will certainly have the loveliest and most original suite in Florida.”

Rai Bahadur Seth Lachhman Das

A further interaction occurred in Agra before the couple returned to Delhi. James Cromwell wrote to his mother that Duke had gone to the “tile factory in Agra, where they will do such work, and got all the advice.” Agra had long been renowned as a place of craftsmanship and artistry, the last vestiges of the great Mughal court ateliers extant in the city’s workshops. A 1910 guide to Agra records: “The especial manufacturers of Agra are beautiful hookka pipes, gold lace of all descriptions, native

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37 Letter from James Cromwell from Calcutta to his mother, Eva Stotesbury, April 1935, DDCFHA.
38 It is notable that, although buildings of the Mughal emperors clearly inspired the commission and its inlaid panels “a-la Saja [sic] Jehan,” James Cromwell referred to the bedroom as being “Hindo Persian” in style. See letter from James Cromwell from Calcutta to his mother, Eva Stotesbury, April 1935, DDCFHA. The absence of the term “Mughal” reflects the wider deconstruction of a “Mughal” identity by British historians at the time, who notably passed over the achievements of the preceding empire and instead emphasized the ancient Hindu, subsequent Buddhist, and later foreign influences in their accounts of the subcontinent’s art history. All else was reflective of an interim period of corruption and degeneracy, an interpretation that usefully supported British scholars of the time. For further reference, see Thomas R. Metcalf, “Past and Present: Towards an Aesthetic of Colonialism” in Paradigms of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representations and Design, ed. G. H. R. Tillotson (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1998), 17–24.
39 Letter from James Cromwell from Calcutta to his mother, Eva Stotesbury, April 1935, DDCFHA.
40 Ibid.
shoes, inlaid work in marble, and this finely-wrought inlaid work is very largely appreciated by the European visitors....The marble-work and the carpets of Agra have been awarded the highest prizes in all the great exhibitions of the world, and are pronounced to be almost unrivalled by critics of standing in Europe." 41 The Cromwells visited a manufacturer of this type in Agra.

From the later details of the commission, we know that initial test pieces—two backgammon boards—and the subsequent estimate for work came from the Indian Marble Works workshop, located in Rakabganj in Agra. 42 It is likely that the workshops visited by the Cromwells in Agra were part of this same company. The name given in association with the commission appears in subsequent documentation as Rai Bahadur Seth Lachhman Das. 43 Investigation through today’s inlay artisans and workshops has confirmed that Rai Bahadur Seth Lachhman Das’s family is still resident in Agra, and that he was the director of the Indian Marble Works and the Rakabganj workshop. 44

Throughout the 1930s, Seth Lachhman Das, who has since been described by his great nephew Barun Chandra as a sensitive and artistic man, endeavored to support local artisans and their families by winning them commissions for work. Family history relates that he supported over 400 artisans from his workshop in the district of Rakabganj and worked with artisans in a number of different traditions. Although his business records were subsequently destroyed in flash floods, the family relates that the workshop provided inlaid objects and works of art for prominent Indians and British, including the viceroy. The workshop was subsidized by Seth Lachhman Das’s brother, the financier Seth Kishan Chandra, and made little profit, as it was established with social and artistic philanthropy in mind. 45 His mode of winning commissions for craftsmen resonates with the crafts revival espoused and encouraged by Gandhi. Techniques of manufacture included marble inlay, stone carving to create screens and columns, glasswork, gilt work, carved and molded gypsum, and wall painting. 46 Some small pieces of inlay work made by the workshop in the 1930s are displayed today in the family’s home.

41 Mukerji, Agra in Pictures, 82.
42 Two undated invoices from Indian Marble Works, DDCFHA.
43 Details of insurance claim for marble, New Delhi, March 8, 1938, SLHA.
44 In an interview held in Agra on December 6, 2011, Rai Bahadur Seth Lachhman Das’s descendants related that his family held a prominent position in Agra since their move from nearby Mathura in the eighteenth century. As wealthy traders, they received recognition from the Maratha rulers in the eighteenth century, and from the British in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The British conferred the honorary title “Rai Bahadur” on Hindu subjects during their period of rule. Grateful thanks to Barun and Meenakshi Chandra for their kind welcome into their workshops and home, and for so generously sharing information about their family’s history.
45 Interview with Barun Chandra, great-nephew of Rai Bahadur Seth Lachhman Das, in Agra on December 6, 2011.
46 A number of techniques, including carved and molded plasterwork, painted ceiling designs, and gilded work, survive in the ground floor chambers of the family’s mansion. Barun Chandra recalls that the walls and ceilings of these rooms were used to experiment and recreate these artistic techniques and effects. The family holds individual pieces completed by the workshop artisans as heirlooms, including carved marble pieces and a small section of inlaid marble with a single carnelian flower. The family has in recent decades returned to commercial artisanal industry, selling European-style inlay panels to domestic and international clients.
From James Cromwell’s letters and his description of the honeymoon visit to the Agra “factory,” it is clear that Duke met master artisans and saw them at work using traditional Mughal methods of craftsmanship. It is notable that Seth Lachhman Das’s main showroom, where clients were shown historic examples of local artistic traditions, was a hammam (bath house) in the nearby district of Chhipitola, described today by the family as the shahi hammam (king’s bath house). Barun Chandra recollects that the hammam contained examples of marble inlaid work; he recalls that it was dismantled in the 1940s and the marble inlay work was subsequently distributed among family members. Earlier descriptions of Agra confirm the existence of a Mughal bathhouse in Chhipitola.\(^\text{47}\) One record reads, “The entrance is by a fine archway, with elaborate carvings and an inscription that tells us it was built by Allah [sic] Verdi Khan in 1620 A.D.”\(^\text{48}\) Was this the same historic bathhouse to which Seth Lachhman Das took his clients in Chhipitola? Did Doris Duke visit this royal bathhouse with him, and if so, was this yet another experience in the network of encounters that inspired her commission of the Mughal Suite and, more particularly, the bathroom component?

**Francis Barrington Blomfield**

On their return to Delhi, at the recommendation of the Viceroy and his wife Lady Willingdon,\(^\text{49}\) the Cromwells sought out the Blomfield architectural firm—two British brothers with a well-established practice in Delhi—to undertake the commission.\(^\text{50}\) The Cromwells engaged the younger brother, Francis Barrington Blomfield (b. 1895), to create the Mughal designs for the suite, and spent some time with him in Delhi. This time of personal interaction between the Cromwells and Blomfield marked the beginning of what appears to have been a trusted relationship and strong foundation on which to develop the artistic vision for the suite. In particular, a honeymoon photograph shows the Cromwells visiting Shah Jahan’s Fort at Shahjahanabad (1048–58/1639–48) accompanied by Blomfield, his assistant, and the art dealer Imre Schwaiger (fig. 8). A further photograph shows the main entrance fortifications to Shahjahanabad, and the caption on reverse, written in Doris Duke’s handwriting, reads “The Fort at Delhi.”\(^\text{51}\) It is notable that a number of designs later used for the Mughal Suite were taken from prototypes at the Red Fort in Delhi (see appendix 3 for a table of design prototypes). This group visit to the Red Fort may have held considerable significance for the commission as a moment in which client and architect observed Mughal designs together.\(^\text{52}\)


\(^{48}\) Mukerji, *Agra in Pictures*, 65–66. The exact identity of Ali Verdi Khan is not clear in this context, but the name suggests a high-ranking official, local Muslim governor, or princeling.

\(^{49}\) Letter from Eva Stotesbury to Maurice Fatio, May 23, 1935, DDCFHA.

\(^{50}\) The elder of the two brothers, Charles, had arrived in India in 1913 to work for the Delhi Public Works Department and was closely involved in the design and construction of many of the bungalows of New Delhi, prior to setting up his own company. The younger Francis joined his brother in India in 1927. Their first commission was the expansive Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. See Giles Tillotson, “C. G. Blomfield: Last Architect of the Raj,” *South Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2008): 133–139.

\(^{51}\) Photograph of Shah Jahan’s fort, 1935, PH/DD067q, DDCFHA.

\(^{52}\) See “Inlaid Panels” section below for further discussion of the significance of the Red Fort hammam as a prototype for the Mughal Suite at Shangri La.
THE COMMISSION—DESIGN & PRODUCTION

The initial work for the commission was rapid. Blomfield charged the Agra workshop with the task of creating the two backgammon boards as test pieces, and then to execute his designs for the inlaid panels, jali screens, and marble features for the suite. The Cromwells received estimates at the Cecil Hotel for the work, which commenced over the coming months. Eva Stotesbury engaged the services of Maurice Fatio, a Palm Beach–based architect, to design the form of the new suite at Malmaison. She wrote to Fatio, “in view of the exquisite Hispano Moresque you did for me at ElMirasol—especially the Kiosk, I have selected you as the only architect capable of reproducing the Taj Mahal into Palm Beach-esque.”

The Cromwells left Delhi in early April, passing through the Mughal city of Lahore, before heading to Peshawar and beyond, to the Afghan border at the Khyber Pass. From there, they traveled northeast to Kashmir and the cool of Lake Dal, Srinagar. Then turning back to the plains, the couple returned to Delhi to review the initial drawings prepared by Blomfield. James Cromwell wrote at this time: “We stopped off in Delhi on our way back from Cashmere just to see his tentative drawings, estimates and ideas, and were extremely pleased with what we saw….Mr.

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53 Letter from F. B. Blomfield to Indian Marble Works Co., April 2, 1935, DDCFHA.
54 Undated estimate, DDCFHA; design drawings held in SLHA, AD.sl.SL007 series.
55 Undated invoice from Indian Marble Works; letter to James Cromwell, March 28, 1935, DDCFHA.
56 Letter from Eva Stotesbury to Maurice Fatio, May 23, 1935, DDCFHA. For a brief description of Maurice Fatio’s work in Palm Beach, see Ash, Private Palm Beach, 140–149.
57 Photograph of Lahore Fort, PH.DD067s, DDCFHA.
58 Details of the visits to Lahore, Peshawar, and the Khyber Pass are given in the Scrapbook entitled “India,” 1935, SLHA, and confirmed with DDCFHA photographs PH.DD067s, PH.DD067l, and PH.DD067d, respectively. The Kashmir trip is discussed by James Cromwell in a letter to his assistant, Miss Knox. See letter from James Cromwell to Miss Knox, May 28, 1935, DDCFHA.
Blomfield seems to have exceptionally good taste.” The Cromwells traveled to Calcutta and into the eastern foothills of the Himalayas, where they viewed the spectacular scenery and visited the famous tea plantations of Darjeeling. They left India from Calcutta by air on May 4, 1935, taking in sunrise over Mt. Everest before flying on to Rangoon, Bangkok, and beyond.

Given the transitional itinerary of the clients, the project developed through an elaborate network of communications that ran between the Cromwells in Asia and later the United States, Francis Blomfield in New Delhi, the artisan workshop in Agra, the architect in New York, Mrs. Eva Stotesbury in Palm Beach, and eventually the transportation company, site architects, and overseers at the site in Hawai‘i. The complexities of the design and manufacture process are evident from correspondence between Blomfield and Cromwell, which details the development of individual motifs, and demonstrates the paths of communication. Doris Duke’s own role as client is incorporated in these letters, in which James Cromwell regularly passes on her responses to Blomfield’s drawings and recommendations.

The relay of his wife’s wishes and thoughts, both to Blomfield and also to Eva Stotesbury, elucidate Duke’s close interest and involvement in the design process. Among the many archival documents relating to the Blomfield commission survive two small sketches, one of which is signed “Doris Duke” in her own handwriting (fig. 9). Although there is no date or further written information relating to the sketches, it is possible that these sketches express something of her design vision. Duke also carefully planned the bedroom doorways, which were to have a marble jali screen, a glass door for cold weather, and a mesh screen door.

Fig. 9: Sketch, signed by Doris Duke. (Doris Duke Papers on the Shangri La Residence, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation Historical Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.)

59 Extract of letter received from James Cromwell from India, 1935, DDCFHA.
60 Scrapbook entitled “India,” 1935, SLHA, contains newspaper clippings giving details of departure from Calcutta on May 4, 1935.
61 Don Hibbard has thoroughly documented the process of communication and architectural execution in Shangri-La: Doris Duke’s Home in Hawaii.
62 Letters from James Cromwell to F. B. Blomfield on May 22, 1935, and July 20, 1935, DDCFHA.
63 Extract from letter received from James Cromwell from India, 1935, DDCFHA.
The Blomfield practice in Delhi took on something of the traditional role of the Mughal *darogha*—an overseer responsible for the quality of workmanship and for ensuring orders for the workshop at good prices—and of draughtsman and designer, historically an artist of established reputation responsible for *tarah* (composition).\(^6^4\) Rai Bahadur Seth Lachman Das, as the director of the artisan workshops at the Indian Marble Works in Agra, shared responsibility for the reasonable use of materials and for the quality of workmanship and materials obtained and used under his charge. The relationship between Blomfield and the Indian Marble Works in Agra is clear from the former’s instructions. Blomfield specified that only the highest quality materials be used,\(^6^5\) and laid out clear details for the commission and expectations that the artisans be meticulous in realizing his designs.\(^6^6\)

The resulting designs included the marble inlaid dado and floor bathroom panels, marble *jalis* of geometric and floral design, marble architectural features, and decorative plasterwork achieved through molds.\(^6^7\) The features perhaps most easily recognized as drawing on the Mughal stylistic canon are the geometric *jali* bedroom doorways, and the floral *jali* windows and inlaid marble panels in the bathroom (fig. 10).

![Fig. 10: Color drawing of Mughal features, C. G. and F. B. Blomfield, Delhi, 1935. (Shangri La Historical Archives, Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.)](image)

**Inlaid Panels**

In accordance with Doris Duke’s original inspiration and instruction, a number of the individual designs and materials for the inlaid panels were based on specific examples at the Taj Mahal (for a summary of design precedents, see appendix 3). For example, one design prototype is identifiable by eye from the upper face of Shah Jahan’s cenotaph at the Taj Mahal and then simplified by Blomfield to create a


\(^{65}\) “All marble is to be inspected and passed by the Architect before the work is commenced. The inlaid work is to be in semiprecious stones exactly in accordance with the Architect’s drawings and instructions.” Cited from Estimate No. 1—Bathroom from Blomfield, DDCFHA.

\(^{66}\) The US-based architect Maurice Fatio appears to have had scant input, if any, into the design of the Mughal features. Fatio was later replaced, with the move of the project to Honolulu, by the New York architect Marion Sims Wyeth, as detailed below.

\(^{67}\) For the molded plasterwork pattern, see Blomfield’s drawing, AD.sl.SL007.20, SLHA. Other details are discussed in greater detail below.
harmonious and elegant interpretation (figs. 11, 12). Blomfield’s design replicates both the choice of materials—in this case, jade and carnelian set into white marble—and the particular floral details. The flower on Shah Jahan’s cenotaph has been identified by horticulturalists as a fantasy flower, based on a campanula or bellflower. Blomfield made some minor alterations in proportion and design, simplifying the number of stems on the plant, for the commissioned panel.

![Image of pietra dura ornamentation](image)

*Fig. 11: “One of ten drawings of details of pietra-dura ornamentation on the cenotaphs of Shah Jahan and his wife Mumtaz Mahal, at Agra.” Watercolor, ca. 1840. (©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)*

Blomfield also drew from other Mughal buildings for his design inspiration. On July 4, 1935, he wrote to Cromwell that his designs were “all copies of actual inlaid work either at Delhi or Agra.”68 It has been possible to identify a number of individual inlaid motifs from other Mughal monuments in Agra and Delhi that informed Blomfield’s designs (see appendix 3). Two design prototypes were taken

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68 Letter from F. B. Blomfield to James Cromwell, July 4, 1935, DDCFHA.
from the Hall of Public Audience throne niche at the Mughal Fort in Agra. 69 A number of designs were also derived from inlaid panels at the Red Fort in Delhi. It is perhaps no accident that one of the inlaid panels in Shangri La’s bathroom clearly draws its inspiration from a design in the hammam (bath house) in the same Delhi fort. The arrangement of individual floral motifs set into dado marble panels used in the bathroom at Shangri La is also reminiscent of the same hammam, perhaps a significant prototype for the scheme of inlaid bathroom panels. 70 As noted earlier, it is possible that the arrangement of inlaid dado panels in a bathroom setting was discussed as a formal precedent during the Cromwells’ visit to the Red Fort with Blomfield in 1935 (see fig. 8). 71

Despite the point-to-point comparisons made above, a number of floral designs in the bathroom at Shangri La are not readily matched with existing inlaid panels in either Agra or Delhi. By example, the stylized clematis design (appendix 3, panel 3-2) has not been clearly matched with a seen Mughal design. The use of lapis in certain tulip-style designs (fig. 13 and appendix 3, panels 9-1 and 9-3) also appears unusual. Given Blomfield’s adherence to extant Mughal prototypes in the other panels, and his written confirmation that all panels were “copies of actual inlaid work,” it is unlikely that he strayed far from historical prototypes in Delhi and Agra for these ostensibly unidentifiable panels. 72 Rather, it is possible that the anonymous designs were inspired by prototypes no longer in existence or found. The loss of historic Mughal decorative features has been noted. Early twentieth-century textual accounts describe Mughal-period buildings and palaces in Agra with “walls beautifully carved and having figures of vases and flowers” that are now lost. 73 Further records indicate the loss or dismantling of specific buildings. Shah Jahan’s hammam at Agra Fort, dismantled in part by the British in 1886, remained in some part in the fort over the course of the next century. Other remnants were held in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and the State Museum in Lucknow. 74 As a further example, the Sawan Pavilion and Shah Burj at the Red Fort in Delhi both feature inlaid marble dado panels, from which the gemstones have been removed. 75 Although the floral silhouettes remain, records of the particular combination of colored stones used for these various designs are now lost.

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70 Individual floral motifs at dado level also appear in other buildings at the Red Fort in Delhi (see appendix 3). In this case, the hammam motifs may be the most relevant for comparison, given the shared functionality with the bathroom at Shangri La. For a photograph of the hammam at the Red Fort in Delhi, see Koch, Mughal Architecture, fig. 132, as well as 113 and 109–115 for general information on the fort.
71 This should be considered in conjunction with the possible influence of the shahi hammam in Rakabganj in Agra, the workshop and client display area of Seth Lachman Das, cited earlier.
72 Letter from F. B. Blomfield to James Cromwell, July 4, 1935, DDCFHA.
74 Discussion of the location and identification of sections of inlaid marble from the hammam, to include findings after Blomfield’s 1935 visit to Agra to identify Mughal inlaid designs, is noted in Ebba Koch, “The Lost Colonnade,” 255–268. Koch identified elements of the inlaid colonnade during fieldwork in Agra in 1980 and 1981.
In light of these circumstances, those inlaid designs at Shangri La not readily matched with extant historic motifs may provide critical evidence of designs that have since disappeared from the fabric of Mughal India—but which now survive in copied or modified form in Honolulu. As such, the bathroom in particular takes on new significance, as a pattern book of Mughal design that may outlive original precedents.

**Jalis**

The clear design precedent for the bedroom *jali* screens was a design at the tomb of Itimad al-Daula in Agra (1036–7/1626–28). The design chosen by Blomfield replicates a geometric five- and ten-figure design in marble screens on the upper story of the mausoleum (see central panel fig. 10 and fig.14). Blomfield also created designs for the *jalis* in the bathroom windows using Mughal precedents, but here the Delhi architect took greater artistic license. Instead of creating simple pierced stone screens, as the Cromwells had requested, Blomfield superimposed representations of flowering plants—taken from the relief-carved marble dado panels at the Taj Mahal—over the geometric design of each *jali*.76 Cromwell wrote to Blomfield on May 22, 1935, “Mrs. Cromwell was disturbed about the panel design of the jalis shown on your rough sketch as she wanted them without panels like the jalis surrounding the tomg [sic] of Mumtaz at the Taj. I believe your original design was a geometrical design generally similar to the Taj jalis.”77 Blomfield responded on July 4, writing to Cromwell that “the floral designs… superimposed on the jali work will be different in each window. These designs are taken from the dado panels in the main entrance to the Taj.”78 Cromwell replied again on July 20 that “Mrs. Cromwell was somewhat disturbed by the floral design superimposed on the jali work, as she feared it might be too ornate…however, she has the utmost confidence in your good taste….If you feel sure that your floral design will not be too ornate, we shall be entirely willing to have you proceed according to your own design.”79 The client, it seems, was willing to

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76 See Blomfield’s drawing, AD.sl.SL007.20, SLHA.
77 Letter from James Cromwell to F. B. Blomfield, May 22, 1935, DDCFHA.
78 Letter from F. B. Blomfield to James Cromwell, July 4, 1935, DDCFHA.
79 Letter from James Cromwell to F. B. Blomfield, July 20, 1935, DDCFHA.
follow Blomfield’s lead, for his designs were later realized and installed in the bathroom (fig. 15).

Fig. 14: Jalis, upper story, tomb of I’timad al-Daula, Agra, completed 1628. (Photo: Thalia Kennedy.)

Fig. 15: Jali window (41.51.2), bathroom, Mughal Suite, Shangri La, July–August 1946. (Doris Duke Charitable Foundation Historical Archives Photograph Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.)

ARCHITECTURE & INSTALLATION

In late August 1935, the Cromwells left Japan for Honolulu, where they planned to stay for only a few weeks. On arrival, Doris Duke fell in love with O’ahu, and the couple extended their visit to several months. Inspired by the island and its relaxed lifestyle, a plan developed to build a new house at Black Point as a winter residence, in lieu of the extension to Malmaison in Palm Beach. The plans for the Florida house were abandoned. Doris Duke engaged the New York–based architect Marion Sims Wyeth (1889–1982) for the new Hawai‘i project, which was to incorporate the already commissioned Mughal Suite features. Wyeth was well known for his architectural work in Palm Beach, having designed many houses for its wealthy residents.  

Cromwell wrote at the time that Wyeth’s familiarity with Florida’s architecture made him an ideal architect for the new house in Hawai‘i, which would "more or less copy the Hispano-Moresque house…in Palm Beach." Wyeth devised a full architectural plan for the site, including the Mughal commission

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81 Letter from James Cromwell to William J. Cross, Jr., May 6, 1936, SLHA.
in the bedroom suite, and ground was broken in March 1937. The house took just under two years to complete.\textsuperscript{82}

The Mughal Suite, like the rest of the residence, is constructed of poured concrete, painted in white. It is rectangular in plan and divided into three areas (bedroom, dressing room, bathroom) (see appendix 1). Primary access to the suite is provided through a private, arcaded lānai. In the early 1940s, the original Mughal-style arcade (fig. 16), which formed the entrance passage to the Mughal Suite, was replaced with the Hispano-Moroccan counterpart seen today.

![Fig. 16: Original Mughal-style arcade, Mughal Suite, Shangri La, 1938–1939. (Shangri La Historical Archives, Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.)](image)

The plain rectangular design and flat roof of the structure provides a subtle foil for the Mughal architectural features. The rectangular bedroom, the first of the suite’s spaces, is dominated by seven striking, full-length pierced jalis (height: 90 inches; 41.7.1a–b and 41.7.3–8a–b), which also act as sliding doorways to the gardens outside.\textsuperscript{83} These geometric jalis provide partial viewing of the gardens and ocean (fig. 17). They are framed with arched marble architraves, each embellished with lotus roundels in a Mughal style. The use of pierced screens for windows and doors created a wistful light in the room and were designed to allow breezes to cool it during the hottest months. Following the original instructions dating to the 1935 honeymoon, the jalis and accompanying mesh screens slide across and create an easy flow of air, light, and movement between the bedroom and the gardens outside. This connection of interior and exterior spaces further reflects indigenous Indian design and encourages a movement of air well suited to tropical climates.\textsuperscript{84} On the east wall, an extended Mughal-style arch (41.7.9) creates an elongated niche that frames the bed, replete with a contemporary Syrian headboard (67.22). Facing the bed on the opposite side of the room (south wall) is a fireplace. This was originally a white fireplace, designed by Blomfield in a clean, contemporary style reminiscent of trends in New Delhi, with yellow marble lotus designs at its upper corner spandrels.\textsuperscript{85} It was later replaced by a

\textsuperscript{82} Littlefield, Doris Duke’s Shangri La, 9–10.
\textsuperscript{83} DDFIA accession numbers are provided in parenthesis.
\textsuperscript{84} The interplay between interior and exterior space is a common theme at Shangri La, notable also in the central courtyard, whose walls surround a space that is open to the sky, and in the living room, where a retractable window descends into the basement.
\textsuperscript{85} For Blomfield’s architectural drawing, see AD.sl.SL007.7, SLHA.
A north-south axis provides access from the bedroom to the further two spaces, each of which is demarcated from the other by arched doorways (41.50.1, 41.7.2). The shapes of the architraves, though each different, are all drawn from the canon of Mughal architecture (see fig. 17). Moving through the arched door (41.7.2) from the bedroom into the second part of the suite, the dressing room, a different visual effect is achieved (fig. 19; also see fig. 17). Although the bedroom suite has a flat roof, a domed effect is realized in the dressing room through the construction of wood vaults covered in plasterwork and inset with small mirrors (78.4). Hawaiian craftsmen completed this plaster and glass ceiling, but such ceilings are reminiscent of palaces in India and fit well within the theme of the suite. The inspiration for this

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87 The Shish Mahal at Lahore Fort is a demonstrable example of glass plasterwork ceilings used to dramatic effect in the Mughal context; see G. H. R. Tillotson, Mughal India (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990), 134. Glass ceiling decorations additionally appear in
glittering display did not, however, come from India. The design has recently been identified as being drawn from the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad, Iran, which the Cromwells had visited as part of their tour to Iran in 1938.\textsuperscript{88}

The wood doors inlaid with mother-of-pearl (64.30a–b), which lead to the bathroom, return the viewer to India.\textsuperscript{89} The bathroom beyond is a tribute to Mughal materials, craftsmanship, and design (fig. 20). A scheme of architectural features and ornament in white, yellow, and green marble expresses the Mughal idiom: the pointed arches over the doors; four windows with sliding \textit{jalis} (41.51.2–5); two built-in cabinets (41.51.1, 41.51.6); the arched niche over the bath, with its lotus basin and lotus bud frieze along the underside of the arch (41.50.2); floor and wall surfaces of white marble panels; scrolling decorative friezes both in white marble and white plaster; lotus designs in arch spandrels; scrolled floral inlays in the marble floor; and the inlaid dado panels of individual flowering plants. The white marble \textit{jalis} and inlaid floral dado and floor panels dominate the decorative effect in this secret space of luxurious contemplation.

Rajput palaces, influenced by earlier Mughal design; see George Michell, \textit{The Majesty of Mughal Decoration} (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 31.

\textsuperscript{88} Overton, “From Pahlavi Isfahan to Pacific Shangri La,” 85 n. 64.

\textsuperscript{89} These doors are currently on loan and were recently published in Sabiha el-Khemir, \textit{Beauty and Belief: Crossing Bridges with the Arts of Islamic Culture} (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 2012), 242.
Outside the suite, reached by an exterior staircase, the roof too has Mughal character. The first shipment of carved marble was damaged in transit from India in 1936. After a convoluted exchange with insurers, shippers, and architects, replacements were obtained and shipped in 1938. The first set of jalis was used to create a dramatic screen surround for a roof terrace over the bedroom suite, known as the “Jali Pavilion.”

The bedroom suite was fitted with antiques and contemporary items purchased during the Cromwells’ honeymoon and subsequent trips to Iran, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, including a trip in 1938 to the Middle East and Iran. Other areas of the property were subsequently developed to incorporate Mughal themes. In the so-called “Allée”—a long garden located to the north of the main house and later known as the “Mughal Garden”—lobed pools, a long water channel with lotus-shaped fountainheads, and marble chinikhanas (china houses) set behind a flowing waterfall were in place by the late 1930s and early 1940s, homage to the idealized geometric gardens of Mughal India. The original fireplace designed by Blomfield was later replaced by a Mughal-style fireplace (41.28) copied from a marble prototype at the Mughal fort in Lahore. It was ordered from the Chishty Brothers in the same city, and delivered to Hawai’i in 1965. At around the same time, brickwork designs in the “Mughal Garden,” also inspired by prototypes at the fort at Lahore, were laid along the length of the original water channel and pools (fig. 21).

Fig. 21: Mughal Garden (formerly “Allée”), Shangri La. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai’i. (Photo: David Franzen, 2006.)

90 Details of the damage and insurance claim are held in DDCFHA box 1 folder 4 and SHLA SL.2 MSS.002 boxes 8 and 9.
91 For a full discussion of the influence of the 1938 Middle East and Iran tour, see Overton, “From Pahlavi Isfahan to Pacific Shangri La”; for an interactive description of the same tour, see http://exhibits.library.duke.edu/exhibits/show/dorisduke/doris-duke/interactive-map.
92 For a full discussion of the development of geometric gardens in Mughal India, and their allegorical associations with the heavenly realm in Islamic theology, see Elizabeth Moynihan, Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India (London: Scholar Press, 1982).
93 Chishty Bros., Architects & Engineers, “Adjustment of measured Mughal fireplace in existing room of Lahore Fort, Lahore (West Pakistan), Sketch Plan,” architectural drawing, February 16, 1965, AD.sl.SL008.76, SLHA.
A CONTINUING TRADITION

Although Doris Duke and James Cromwell divorced in 1940, she continued to visit India throughout her life, each time inspired anew by what she saw and experienced. It appears, from archival records, that Duke’s last trip to India was in 1988 or late 1989, the conclusion of a lifelong fascination with the subcontinent and its cultures and artistic history.\(^{95}\)

The commission of the Mughal Suite some fifty years earlier represents the genesis of Duke’s passion for artisanal patronage—the core around which her wider vision for Shangri La was formed. The suite is not simply a replica of Indian design, but rather the adaption of the highest quality craftsmanship and design from within an established canon into a new circumstance. As such, it may be considered both a significant moment in ongoing tradition and an act of revitalization. At the time of Duke’s commission, newspapers reported:

American wealth, drawn from the tobacco fortune of the former Doris Duke and her husband, James H. Cromwell, has saved India’s ancient art of marble-carving as exemplified in the beautiful Taj Mahal. Copies of some of the carved windows, inlaid doors and panels of the famous temple are on their way to the United States. They were ordered by the couple while visiting India on their honeymoon last year, thereby providing an impetus for the centuries-old industry which had almost died out in modern times….The result is a transparency and brilliancy unrivalled, say experts, since the dynasty which produced so many marvels of architecture in India….Stirred by the Cromwell’s [sic] patronage to a dying art, several maharajahs are considering following their example by engaging the newly discovered craftsmen for special inlay and carving work in their palaces.\(^{96}\)

The wider network of encounters and influences from which the point of commission evolved was demonstrably complex. Each contributing encounter formed part of a wider whole, experienced through the prism of a young American woman’s eyes. The threads of psychology and symbiosis are complex and compelling, and present an alchemy through which the commission occurred.

Against the wider canvas of crafts and rural industry revival in India, most pertinently championed at the time by Gandhi and discussed at their meeting in 1935, Doris Duke brought income and impetus to this area of artisanal industry. Her commission created a pattern book of Mughal inlaid design, which may conserve for posterity motifs and images of which the original Indian examples are now lost, or removed from their original context. The holistic design approach around which key features were developed—visual vocabulary, materials, and craftsmanship—are clearly recognizable within the Mughal canon, but now set into a new context and time. In this way, the Mughal Suite at Shangri La represents not solely an instance of private artisanal patronage; it is also an ambassador for the Mughal artistic traditions of India, a moment of dialogue between East and West, as historic motifs are

\(^{95}\) Travel details from Doris Duke’s life are held by the DDCFHA.

\(^{96}\) The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, June 22, 1936, and the Portsmouth Times, Ohio, June 14, 1936.
translated and transformed into a new milieu, and realized on the shores of O‘ahu, Hawai‘i.
APPENDIX 2:
1935 HONEYMOON CHRONOLOGY
(WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO INDIA)

Note: Details in this chronology are drawn from inclusions in the Scrapbook entitled “India,” preserved in the Shangri La Historical Archives (SLHA). Additional references are made to correspondence from James Cromwell, Francis B. Blomfield, Mrs. Eva Stotesbury, and Mr. Maurice Fatio, dating between April 2 and July 22, 1935, held in the SLHA and DDCFHA.


February 14, 1935: Telegrams of congratulations received on board SS Conte di Savoia.

February 25, 1935: Depart Monte Carlo for Cairo on board SS Conte di Savoia.

February 1935: Details of visit to Petra.

February 27, 1935: Receipt for helicopter flight over the Pyramids; stay at Shepheard’s Hotel in Cairo. Newspaper clipping describes Doris Duke Cromwell’s meeting with Princess Mdavani (Barbara Hutton) and Princess Agha Khan at Mena House (near Pyramids).

Reported as arriving in India by air at Karachi (arrival date unclear); receive card from William A. Myatt of Daily Gazette, Karachi.

March 1, 1935: Train receipt ticket to Jodhpur, Rajasthan.

March 4, 1935: Receipt of payment to State Hotel, Jodhpur; leaflet for Kaiser-i-Hind Hotel, Jaipur (on same page); purchases made in Jaipur at Messrs. S. Zoroaster & Co., Jaipur.

Tickets and receipts show travel to Amber – Udaipur (photograph survives of Lake Palace) – Mount Abu – Bombay.

March 12, 1935: United Press reports arrival of Cromwells in Bombay; the couple altered their itinerary in order to see Gandhi.

March 14, 1935: Train ticket from Bombay to Wardha for meeting with Gandhi (approx. 470 miles from Bombay to Wardha).

March 16, 1935: Accompanied by United Press correspondent to meeting with Gandhi; Gandhi is in meeting at his All-India Village Industries Association when Cromwells arrive.
March 17, 1935: Lunch at Taj Mahal Hotel with Mrs. Jacques Cartier, Mrs. Irme Schwaiger.

Visit Towers of Silence (Parsi) in Bombay.

Reception given by Mr. Abdul Razak Abdulla at 6 p.m., Hotel Majestic; formal welcome given by Mr. Joachim Alva (Bombay Students’ Brotherhood); the toast proposed by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, a prominent businessman and economist. Event attended by prominent members of commercial community and the Persian and Chinese consuls. Overnight train to Baroda; stay at the Residency (a friend had offered an introduction to the Maharaja in telegram of February 14, 1935).


March 20, 1935: Record of sporting event held in the arena at Baroda in honor of the Cromwells, from 4:45 p.m.

March 25, 1935: Belated newspaper report of stay at Taj Hotel, Bombay.

March 28, 1935: K. Lal & Co. and The Indian Marble Works send estimates for marble/inlay work from Agra to Mr. Cromwell at Hotel Cecil, Delhi.

March 29, 1935: Lunch in New Delhi with Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode and others. The Cromwells also reported in newspaper clippings as having lunch with the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon during their stay in Delhi, though the date of the lunch is unclear.

Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode reported in early April newspaper clippings as having accompanied the Cromwells to historic sites during their time in Delhi.

Card held in scrapbook of S. C. Selek, an interpreter provided by Thos. Cook in Delhi.

March 30, 1935: Mr. Cromwell attends meeting of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Delhi.

Jewelry and gemstone items purchased from Mr. Irme Schwaiger, Delhi.

Undated cards from Banaras Brocade Museum and traders appear post-Delhi.

April 2, 1935: Blomfield commissions The Indian Marble Works to make two backgammon sets with Makrana marble for the Cromwells—the first with mergus green/black marble points and “men” of
white marble and lapis; the second with points in grey and pink, and “men” of black marble and mergus green.

April 3, 1935: The Cromwells reported in newspaper clipping as passing through Lahore on the way to Kashmir via Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

April 3, 1935: Card gives address of 7 Commissioner Road, Peshawar.

April 6, 1935: AP report delivered from Lahore, and reported in several US newspapers, about couple being ill with ptomaine poisoning, picked up in Agra.

Reports of couple heading down Ganges, before turning north again to visit Kashmir.

April 7, 1935: Letterhead from Kashmir Residency, Srinagar, with written note giving date.

Mr. Cromwell later writes to Miss Knox on May 28, 1935, from SS Indrapoera of Doris Duke Cromwell’s week-long illness in Kashmir with a wisdom tooth problem.

April 18, 1935: Blomfield writes to Mr. Cromwell via Thos. Cook in Delhi regarding estimates, fee schedule, and completed drawings.

Mr. Cromwell later writes from Calcutta of their stopping off in Delhi to inspect Blomfield’s tentative drawings, ideas, and estimates.

April 23, 1935: Newspapers report the Cromwells staying at Star of India Hotel, Calcutta.

April 24, 193: Receipt from A. Pliva Tea Room and Restaurant, Darjeeling; card shows stay at Mount Everest Hotel, Darjeeling, together with a Happy Valley Tea List.

April 25, 1935: Letter from Blomfield about check received in error; recommendation to employ Thos. Cook as agents.

May 1, 1935: Mr. Cromwell writes from Mount Everest Hotel, Darjeeling, authorizing Thos. Cook in Delhi as agents, and for Blomfield to arrange packing and shipping.

May 2, 1935: Telephone conversation, and subsequent letter from Mr. Cromwell to Blomfield, discussing order of marble pieces; Blomfield makes reference to Mr. Imre Schwaiger’s showroom in Bombay.

May 4, 1935: Newspapers report the Cromwells flying out of India from Calcutta to Bangkok; room order also present for Minto Mansions Hotel, Rangoon.
May 5, 1935: Telegram sent on behalf of Mr. Cromwell from Calcutta placing order for marble; requests reply to Oriental Hotel, Bangkok (couple having left Calcutta).

May 8, 1935: Cromwells stay in Bangkok for 12 days (Oriental Hotel), including 3-day trip to Angkor on this date; subsequently, also visit Siem Riep, Cambodia.

May 16, 1935: Blomfield sends sketches to Mr. Cromwell at Raffles Hotel, Singapore.

May 22, 1935: Mr. Cromwell writes to Blomfield from Raffles Hotel, Singapore, discussing initial designs and estimates, and requesting altered designs to be submitted to them in Hong Kong by mid-July at the latest.

May 23, 1935: Mrs. Stotesbury writes to Maurice Fatio about new commission.

May 28, 1935: Mr. Cromwell writes to Miss Knox from SS Indrapoera.

May 29, 1935: Newspaper reports of Doris Duke Cromwell spending 5 days in the hospital in Singapore, before embarking on 5-week cruise of Indian Ocean.

June 1, 1935: Grand Hotel Preanger; Sultan of Johore, Malay Peninsula—the Cromwells reportedly borrow the Sultan’s yacht for their cruise.

June 11, 1935: Letter from Maurice Fatio to Miss May Coleman about receiving drawings from Blomfield for Malmaison, to be sent directly to Mrs. Stotesbury when she returns from her yacht.

June 13, 1935: The Cromwells (under the pseudonym “Dorjim”) cable Blomfield in relation to doors and windows of bedrooms; Blomfield confirms by return.

July 3, 1935: Eva Stotesbury telegrams Doris Duke Cromwell. Delighted by proposed addition to Malmaison, recommends Maurice Fatio as the only “capable” architect, and that he will cable Blomfield and is preparing plans for the couple’s approval; thanks her for “delicious tea.” Sent care of Manuel Quezon, the yacht Seabelle.

July 4, 1935: Blomfield writes to Mr. Cromwell via Thos. Cook in Hong Kong, detailing marble/inlay designs, and forwarding on two sketches.
July 20, 1935: Mr. Cromwell writes to Blomfield from Hong Kong, giving responses to drawings, and requesting help with furniture for the bedroom.

 Scrapbook documents show the Cromwells following an itinerary of Peiping – Shanghai (Cathay Hotel) – Peking – Manila (Manila Hotel) – Tokyo.

 Note showing that the Cromwells can be reached c/o Coupon, Kobe, Japan.

August 29, 1935: The Cromwells arrive in Honolulu aboard SS *Tatsuta Maru* from Japan.

October 16, 1935: Mrs. Stotesbury writes to Cromwells in response to new plans for construction of house in Honolulu.

December 26, 1935: The Cromwells depart Honolulu for Los Angeles aboard SS *Monterey*. 
APPENDIX 3:
TABLE OF MUGHAL DESIGN PRECEDENTS FOR INLAID PANELS & SCREENS (BATHROOM, MUGHAL SUITE, SHANGRI LA)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panel No.</th>
<th>Design Precedent</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Flower</th>
<th>Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panel 01 - 1</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panel 01 - 2</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Marble Screen (inner face)</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Papaver Orientale (Poppy)</td>
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<td>Panel 01 - 3</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type B</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panel 02 - 1</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Marble Screen (outer face)</td>
<td>Jade</td>
<td>Lilium Martagon (Turkscap Lily)</td>
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<td>Panel 02 - 2</td>
<td>Red Fort – Pier Panel, Diwan-i Khan</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade, Malachite</td>
<td>Flower Type D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panel 02 - 3</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Marble Screen (outer face)</td>
<td>Jade</td>
<td>Lilium Martagon (Turkscap Lily) Flower Type C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panel 03 - 1</td>
<td>Agra Fort, Diwan-i Am Throne Niche</td>
<td>Agate, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type D</td>
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<td>Panel 03 - 2</td>
<td>Carnelian, Lapis, Jade</td>
<td>Clematis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panel 03 - 3</td>
<td>Agra Fort, Diwan-i Am Throne Niche</td>
<td>Agate, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type D</td>
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<td>Panel 04 - 1</td>
<td>Lapis, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type E</td>
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<td>Panel 04 - 2</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Lower Cenotaph S.J.</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Papaver Orientale (Poppy)</td>
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<td>Panel 04 - 3</td>
<td>Lapis, Jade</td>
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<td>Panel 05 - 1</td>
<td>Red Fort – Pier Panel, Diwan-i Khas</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type F</td>
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<td>Panel 06 - 1</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Base, Upper Cenotaph S.J.</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Campanula (Bellflower)</td>
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<td>Panel 07 - 1</td>
<td>(?), Jharoka, Red Fort, Delhi</td>
<td>Lapis, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type G</td>
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<td>Panel 07 - 2</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Top Face, Up. Cen. S.J.</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Fantasy Campanula (Bellflower)</td>
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<td>Panel 07 - 3</td>
<td>(?), Jharoka, Red Fort, Delhi</td>
<td>Lapis, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type G</td>
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<td>Panel 08 - 1</td>
<td>Agra Fort, Diwan-i Am Throne Niche</td>
<td>Jade, Carnelian?</td>
<td>Tulipa (Tulip)</td>
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<td>Panel 08 - 2</td>
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<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
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<td>Jade, Carnelian?</td>
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<td>Panel 09 - 1</td>
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<td>Tulipa (Tulip)</td>
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<td>Panel 09 - 2</td>
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<td>Anemone (Windflower)</td>
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<td>Panel 09 - 3</td>
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<td>Tulipa (Tulip)</td>
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<td>Panel 10 - 1</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type B</td>
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<td>Panel 10 - 2</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Marble Screen (inner)</td>
<td>Jade</td>
<td>Lilium Martagon (Turkscap Lily)</td>
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<td>Panel 10 - 3</td>
<td>Red Fort, Delhi – Garden Pavilion, Dado</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Flower Type A</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bathroom Window – 1 (41.51.5)</th>
<th>Taj Mahal – Carved Marble Dado Panel – Outer Areas of Mausoleum</th>
<th>Marble - Makrana</th>
<th>Fritillaria Imperialis (Crown Imperial)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bathroom Window – 2 (41.51.4)</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Carved Marble Dado Panel – Outer Areas of Mausoleum</td>
<td>Marble - Makrana</td>
<td>Gloriosa (Glory Lily)</td>
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<td>Bathroom Window – 3 (41.51.3)</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Carved Marble Dado Panel – Outer Areas of Mausoleum</td>
<td>Marble - Makrana</td>
<td>Narcissus (Daffodil)</td>
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<td>Bathroom Window – 4 (41.51.2)</td>
<td>Taj Mahal – Carved Marble Dado Panel – Outer Areas of Mausoleum</td>
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<td>Floor Design</td>
<td>Dado Panel, Diwan-i Khas, Red Fort, Delhi</td>
<td>Carnelian, Jade</td>
<td>Campanula (Bellflower)</td>
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