

On the Way to Lahore: August Schoefft in Iraq

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Disregarding much of a career that stretched six decades and four continents, the fame of Hungarian-born painter August Theodor Schoefft (1809-1888) rests today primarily on his work for different subcontinental courts undertaken between 1838 to 1842; and the memory of even this short period remains lopsided, his episodic, though extraordinarily productive, stay in the Panjab outshining the rest of it. For one thing, he himself, too, regarded this chapter of his life his crowning achievement, constantly copying and reworking the paintings he had made during this period, nostalgically revivifying its faded imagery and staying in contact with exiled members of the former ruling dynasty of the Panjab. The latter, in turn, would acquire a great deal of Schoefft's work which their predecessors had commissioned from him during their last decade in power.ⁱ Testimonies of a wayfarer from the early years of steam power, the rest of his oeuvre is mostly lost or dispersed; scattered around the world between Russia and Mexico. In terms of artistic accomplishment as well as documentary value, his judgement about his Lahore-inspired works accords with poshumous opinion and it seems to be accurate. Yet, August Schoefft did not appear out of nowhere and did not descend into obscurity after his South Asian sojourn. In fact, he has been recently rediscovered in his native Hungary where both his early work and his international career enjoy growing recognition.ⁱⁱ In this study, offered in honour of Professor Muhammad Ikram Chaghatai and his lifelong interest in Pakistan's Central European connections, our aim is to outline, even if vaguely, an unnoticed moment in the life of Schoefft: one segment of the journey which brought him from Budapest (then more commonly known as Pesth-Buda) to Lahore.ⁱⁱⁱ We are interested in the Western Asian portion of his transottoman itinerary.

To call Schoefft's wanderings an odyssey would be a misnomer, for the painter, unlike the Greek hero, did not embark on the journey to find his way back to his wife, but he set out alongside his spouse, Josepha Landau/Lindbau, shortly after their wedding in 1836.^{iv} Their decision to complicate the standard maritime route to India (via Egypt) with risky overland detours further stretched this unusual honeymoon idea. Adolphe-François Loève-Veimars (1799-1854), another newly-wed, for example, left behind his Russian wife, when, in 1840, he was appointed French consul-general in Baghdad and embarked on a less arduous itinerary towards Ottoman Iraq. By the time Loève-Veimars moved in what was to become his lavish Baghdad residence, it had already been visited and depicted by the Schoeffts. Unlike Loève-Veimars, August and Josepha Schoefft probably did not have a precise route in their minds at the time of their departure. However, it is likely that the marriage may have been a prompter for the journey. Although both bride and groom were natives of Pesth, the wedding took place in remote Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia (in what is now Romania), thus nominally already in the Ottoman Empire which lost its effective control over the province as a result of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1829. There is no clear explanation for the unconventional circumstances of the wedding: a purported disagreement with the marriage on the part of the parents is sometimes referred to in biographies as a possible reason, yet this might have been only a pretext.^v The artistic boom in Russian-occupied Bucharest may have been a further stimulus for the painter to arrange his wedding and establish a career there, but there must have been other underlying factors. Neither of these suggestions clarify the rationale behind the sudden reversal of the young artist's publicly announced intention to do his share in the renewal of the arts of Hungary which he declared just before he would leave the country for almost a decade. Indeed, Bucharest and its hinterland also proved to be only a short stopover, for the young couple would not stay there for more than a few months.

At the time of his wedding, Schoefft enjoyed the protection of Count István Széchenyi (1791-1860), the most powerful and

extraordinary patron one could boast with in Hungary. Still affectionately known in his native country as the greatest Hungarian, Széchenyi's complex projects aiming to modernise the country and integrate its economy into its wider region were reaching full steam in these years. Visual arts were but one constituent of his schemes and young Schoefft was to play the lead character of this subchapter, had he not left the local scene prematurely. It has been suggested that Széchenyi, who put high hopes in the burgeoning talent of the young painter and his presumed ability to elevate Hungarian national painting to an international level, was forced to reach out for other artists after Schoefft's departure, and that Schoefft was effectively lost for Hungarian art history after his departure.^{vi} It might well be, however, that the connection between Széchenyi and Schoefft not only outlasted the journey but, on the contrary, its idea, at least partly, was the brainchild of the count himself.

The only visual testimony of the cooperation between the two men is a portrait of Széchenyi, finished or copied after the departure of the artist by his father, Joseph Schoefft (1776-1851), a notable painter of his own right. The portrait depicts the count in a Hungarian national attire and features two details of importance for our discussion. The first is an 1836 issue of *Jelenkor* ('Present times'), Széchenyi's own journal, laying on a rock beside the seated protagonist. *Jelenkor* was the outlet where the count promulgated his ideas and where some of the few scattered reports about Schoefft's overseas achievements would appear during the journey.^{vii} The other significant element is a commanding promontory in the background: the Iron Gates, a narrow, rocky gorge through which the Lower Danube broke through towards the Black Sea with barely navigable rapids until its regulation. Overtowering the formidable landscape like a super-hero, Széchenyi is depicted by Schoefft as the embodiment of 'present times', ready to curb the untamed forces of nature. As noted by Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky, Schoefft would later reuse the same powerful composition, without the outdoor setting, for a portrait of Maharaja Sher Singh (r. 1841-43) in 1841.^{viii}

The regulation of the Lower Danube was made possible by the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1829. It was Széchenyi who realised the potential of a navigable Danube as an outlet for Central Europe to the Black Sea and took the initiative of opening the region up to maritime trade. The perspective appeared particularly lucrative for the recently improved farmlands of Hungary and for the Serbian boatmen of the Lower Danube, while it frustrated Vienna, the imperial capital on the Danube, which enjoyed easy access to the Adriatic Sea. Széchenyi, therefore, did as much as he could to counter Austria and assume the direction of affairs, be them finances, engineering, or diplomacy. The 1836 issues of *Jelenkor* are replete with optimistic accounts about the milestones of progress which Széchenyi's team made on turning the waterway suitable for navigation and, at the same time, establishing commercial shipping. A drought in 1834 provided opportunity to blow up the most dangerous rocks and create the long-awaited navigable passages. In the same year, he approached British steam engine firms, including James Watt Jr. (of the Boulton and Watt partnership), and investors to develop fluvial shipping between Austria and the Lower Danube. To provide vessels for the enterprise, he was instrumental in setting up the first major naval shipyard in Europe, not far from Buda, under the direction of Robert John Fowles, another Briton. Once launched in 1836, the first steamboat, named *Árpád*, was put to use for Széchenyi's shuttle-diplomacy between the Danubian capitals, carrying bankers, engineers, and monarchs, including Prince Alexandru Ghica of Wallachia (1834-1842). While Prince Ghica used the newly-gained autonomy of his country for economic gains, he had to exercise restraint with any naval cooperation with Széchenyi, lest he enrage Russia. A letter from Széchenyi to the Prince (10 June 1835), requesting protection for August Schoefft, proves that the painter's relocation from the Middle to the Lower Danube region might have been coordinated with his patrons.^{ix} There are no similar assurances known from Széchenyi along further stations of his journey and it is unlikely that Széchenyi's protective powers could follow him beyond the Bosphorus. Yet, in a letter dated 21 September 1833, the count boldly envisioned how the mainland ports would reach out as far as India by means of the Danubian steam shipping: Making the Danube navigable will attract trade from India, etc. [...] It would do some damage to English interests, and, therefore, they secretly

strive against the success of our enterprise, which, however, is a great argument for the Russian government to support our cause.”^x

Despite several attempts at clarification, the Schoeffts’ stay in Istanbul remains scarcely known, while their further itinerary, until their arrival in Bombay, is conjectural.^{xi} According to a certain Antal Szentiványi, with whom Schoefft apparently maintained regular correspondence during the journey, the painter refused employment at the Porte, and kept on continuing his travels, together with his wife.^{xii} Szentiványi’s unclear account singles out the monuments of Mount Sinai when he states that they went to Syria and thence to Egypt in search for themes, followed by Arabian and Persian lands, finally reaching Babylon which city belongs to India.”^{xiii} A French report from 1845, on the other hand, maintains that the artist travelled downstream the Tigris and even visited Persia before leaving for Bombay from Basra.^{xiv} Szentiványi may have hinted on the fact that in the 1830s and 40s the easiest access to Iraq was by boat from Egypt via Bombay, for which reason a number of European travellers from the Ottoman capital to Ottoman Iraq willingly added a lengthy detour to the Subcontinent.^{xv} For instance, when Adolphe-François Loève-Weimars, mentioned above, was appointed consul-general to Baghdad on 13 August 1840, he first sailed to Egypt, then continued on to Syria, where he stayed for several months, probably monitoring *en route* the volatile situation in Egypt under the pro-French Muhammad ‘Ali government.^{xvi} Then, instead of moving on to Iraq via the much shorter but more arduous itinerary between Damascus, Deir Ezzor, and Mosul, he sailed from Suez to Bombay, thereby boarding another ship plying the route between Muscat, Bushehr, Kharq and Basra. In the absence of roads, the only viable option for approaching the interior of Iraq from the south was the upstream boatripe on the Tigris.

The main question here is whether Iraq was just another necessary stopover on the couple’s journey towards Bombay or if it was a destination on its own right. Given that the detour to India was by default included in most travels to Iraq, it would

seem that the Schoefft either visited Mesopotamia on the way to India, hence they chose the land route, or specifically arranged for a trip to Baghdad while already in India. While Szentistványi's remark can be interpreted in a way that they took the maritime route between Egypt and Bombay, a series of paintings and drawings by the artist indicates otherwise. The *Crossing the Tigris*, his main surviving composition from Iraq, exists in several versions in different media, the largest signed copy being in the Austrian National Gallery, Vienna.^{xvii} Engravings after the composition have been published in 1845 issues of *L'Illustration* and *L'Album*, respectively.^{xviii} Schoefft's work depicts the *kalak*, the ancient buoyant raft of Mesopotamia, made of wooden planks which are kept afloat by inflated goatskins. Under the watchful eyes of a groom, four lunged horses swim behind the raft, their heads resting on it. Staffed by a single paddler, the passengers of the *kalak* include Mrs. Schoefft, intrepidly gazing the beholder, and his husband, engaged in conversation with their guide. The mountainous landscape on both banks of the Tigris locates the scene in Northern Iraq, probably Kurdistan, thus they must have journeyed across the vast expanses of land between Anatolia and Mesopotamia during 1837. A lost painting, mentioned in 1858 inventories as *The Patriarch of Mosul*, adds further evidence to this supposed northern approach.^{xix} Some travellers of the period, like the archaeologist Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894), are known to have arrived in 1840 in Baghdad from the north, aboard a *kalak*. Indeed, the buoyed rafts were used both for crossings and for long-haul trips between Diyarbakır and Basra. In the case of the painting, in accordance with its widely used title, we probably see a crossing, and not a descent, as it was interpreted when it was first exhibited in Paris in 1844.^{xx}

The *kalak* was a necessary means of transport for any traveller in Iraq, and the perfect subject for a Romantic artist.^{xxi} However, the other noteworthy surviving work by Schoefft from his Iraq period, a portrait depicting Colonel Robert Taylor (1788-1852), suggests that Iraq's shift from manpower to steam power completely stole his attention from Assyrian palaces and

Babylonian temples.^{xxii} Major (later Colonel) Robert Taylor had been arguing for the benefit of armed steamers to fight Russian advances since his appointment as Political Agent of the Persian Gulf in 1822. He was given a free hand in creating a multi-purpose fleet which, by degrees, he developed into his own private empire under the triangular protection of the East India Company, the Pasha, and Baghdad's merchant elite. Schoefft's (or was it Széchenyi's?) interest in Iraq may well have prompted by the then ongoing British experiments to clarify the possible navigability of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Karun, which came in the wake of the exploration of the Indus by Alexander Burnes (1805-1841) in 1831.^{xxiii} The *Jelenkor* provided accounts about the arrival of steam power to the Tigris and Euphrates in the form of two eponymous vessels.^{xxiv} In 1835, Captain Francis Chesney (1789-1872) transported the pieces of the Liverpool-built *Tigris* and *Euphrates* from Aleppo to the banks of the Euphrates where they were assembled and sent to Baghdad in the next year, on behalf of the family firm of Taylor and his nepotistic network that would become known as Lynch & Co. from 1841. Soon thereafter, as also reported by the *Jelenkor*, the enterprise nearly succumbed to a fatal disaster in which the *Tigris* sank in the Euphrates, killing most of the crew onboard.^{xxv} Although this setback proved that only the lower Tigris (below Baghdad) was navigable for armed steamboats, shipping in Mesopotamia would quickly turn into a highly lucrative business for Lynch & Co. and an important leverage for Britain over Ottoman Iraq and, via the navigable Karun, also Qajar Iran.

At the height of his power, Taylor's *diwan khana* is said to have outshined even that of the Pasha. In Layard's description from 1840: The evening was spent in the harem.... in the beautiful domed chamber, decorated with the most exquisite designs in colours, and inlaid in ivory and precious woods, and with mirrors and innumerable pieces of glass let into the walls and ceilings, which reflected the lights on every side and produced the most charming effect. The house had belonged, I believe, to one of the families of Mamelukes, who, as in Egypt, had in former times ruled Baghdad. It had been fitted up in the most luxurious and

elegant fashion, with baths and fountains, nearly every room being painted with exquisite Eastern designs in rich but harmonious colours. The windows of the receptions rooms overlooked the Tigris, whose rapid streams, sweeping beneath, cooled and refreshed the air... Narguiles, after the Aleppo fashion, smoked through long flexible tubes, coiled on the floor, were brought to each person, the ladies then included, and the somewhat monotonous bubbling of the air passing through the water, ... accompanied the conversation.”^{xxvi}

Three years before Layard, August Schoefft had depicted what was probably the same Baghdad residence. Although the painting has been lost, a visitor to Schoefft’s Paris exhibition in 1844 described the painting in remarkably similar terms: *Le salon du miroir, en style persan dans le harem de Mirza Hadi, ancien ministre de Kermancha, est décoré avec un goût et une légereté qui feraient honte à beaucoup de nos architectes. Le salon n’est fermé que de trois côtés. Le quatrième se compose de quelques colonnettes légères dont les chapiteaux sont tout en glace; il communique à une cour plantée, formant promenade et conduisant aux bâtiments d’entrée. Mirza Hadi est sur un riche divan, occupé à fumer sa pipe pendant que ses odalisques exécutent devant lui les danses les plus gracieuses qui sont répétées à l’infini et doivent présenter un coup d’oeil ravissant, car les murs et les plafonds sont entièrement de morceaux de glace taillés en losange et fixés les uns près des autres par des baguettes dorées. Des ornements en glaces bleues, vertes, rouges ou dorées, ajoutent à la richesse de ce magnifique salon. Le palais de Mirza Hadi est aujourd’hui la propriété d’un Français, autrefois homme de lettres distingue, aujourd’hui consul, M. Loève-Weymar.*”^{xxvii}

Little is known about Mirza Hadi of Kirmanshah, other than that as war minister he belonged to the Kirmanshah retinue of Muhammad ‘Ali Mirza Dawlatshah (r. 1809-1834), the oldest son of Fath-‘Ali Shah (r. 1797-1834), upon whose death he was forced into emigration in Iraq.^{xxviii} He might have maintained contacts with the successor of Dawlatshah, Bahram Mirza (r.

1835-1837), a brother of Muhammad Shah of Persia (r. 1834-1848), whose adviser, Major Henry Rawlinson would succeed Taylor in September 1843.^{xxix} By that year, both London and Istanbul had concluded that Taylor's extravagance had crossed the line and he had been promptly replaced with the more astute Rawlinson. The ownership history of the property, linked to Nawab Sir Iqbal al-Din of Oudh, needs further research.^{xxx} Whoever the owner and subsequent tenants were, the two descriptions apparently refer to the same residence which was quickly grabbed by Loève-Weimars from the British, seizing the opportunity created by the undignified dismissal of Taylor. A self-congratulatory despatch by the French consul-general, dated 10 November 1846, shows his enjoyment in a long-awaited moment of *schadenfreude* as he describes the circumstances of the departure of Colonel Taylor, who alone held the threads of relations established throughout the interior of the country during Colonel Chesney's expedition, and of the dislocation of the English quarter where I introduced myself after the dismissal of Taylor, by having one of my agents buy it and renting out the British residence, and planting on it the French banner."^{xxxi}

Both the building and the painting which it depicted must have been outstanding examples of their respective genres; unfortunately both seem to have vanished without further visual record.^{xxxii} Beyond this lost painting depicting a lost palace, the exact purpose of Schoefft's activities in Iraq also remains obscure. Having arrived in India early in 1838 and having made a fortune there by finding an immensely wealthy clientele, his Mesopotamian intermezzo may have quickly lost its importance for him, too. On their homeward journey half a decade later, the couple stopped at the court of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo but skipped Iraq. Now rich and famous, they returned to a Central Europe that was rather different from the one they had left behind. Yet, their guiding star remained constant. Back in Pest-Buda, the first record finds them in the company of some engineers at a welcome dinner on 13 December 1842, hosted by Count Széchenyi.^{xxxiii} This time the *Jelenkor* did not display its

On the Way to Lahore...

Iván Szántó

usual verbosity, and no one divulged what had transpired over the meal.

Beaux Arts – Galerie Orientale. Revue d l'Orient. Bulletin de la Société Orientale, 7:25-28 (1845), 95

Bonhams London 26 September 2019

Der Humorist, 9:104 (18 April 1855), 415

Jelenkor, 61 (30 July 1836), 246-247

Jelenkor, 56 (13 July 1842), 208

Journal des Artistes, 19:2 (1844), 215

Hasznos Mulatságok, 2 (25 November, 1840), 170

L'Album – Giornale letterario e di Belle Arti, 10 (6 September 1845)

L'Illustration – Journal universel, 5:126 (26 July 1845), 343–346

Illustrations



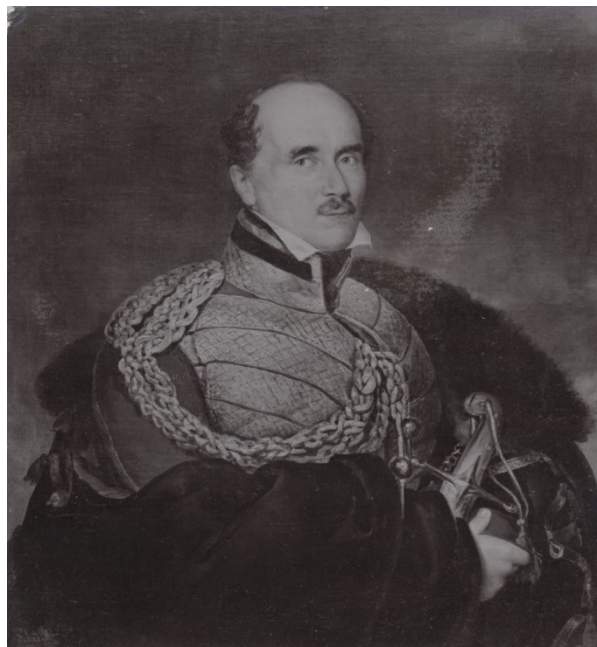
On the Way to Lahore...

Iván Szántó

Joseph Schoefft after August Schoefft: *Count István Széchenyi at the Iron Gates*. Oil on canvas, after 1836. Veszprém, Laczkó Dezső Museum



August Schoefft: *Crossing the Tigris*. Oil on canvas, before 1850. Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere



August Schoefft: *Captain Robert Taylor*. Oil on canvas, 1837. Private collection, Photograph National Portrait Gallery, London

Endnotes

ⁱ Fakir Syed Aijazuddin: *Sikh Portraits by European Artists*. London, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979.

ⁱⁱ Ágnes Mészáros – Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky: *Brushing with Fate: The Art and Adventures of August Schoefft*. London, Kashi House (in press); “Ágnes Mészáros: Schoefft Ágoston pesti festő Angliában / August Schoefft, a painter from Pest (Hungary) in England”, *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 40 (2015), 175-200; Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky: “Schoefft Ágoston (Pest, 1809–London, 1888) pesti festő indiai útja”, in: Mihály Dobrovits: *Az előkelő idegen. II. Nemzetközi Vámbéry Konferencia*. Dunajská Streda, 2006, 173-209.

ⁱⁱⁱ Previous literature about his early travels concentrated on their route, as well as their chronology, although these could not be (and still cannot be) reconstructed. The impetus for the journey and its goals have been largely overlooked or explained away as mere adventureism. Moreover, most publications suggest that the many lands on his way to Bombay, Bengal, and the Panjab, were nothing more than the necessary mileage. His activities in Iraq have never been discussed. See, for example, Bernard Le Calloc'h: “Kérdések a Schoefft Ágoston festette Kőrösi Csoma-arcképről”, *Földrajzi Közlemények* 1992:1-2, 81-83.

^{iv} For data about Landau, see Mészáros 2015, 191, n. 81.

^v Péter Gaboda: “Kőrösi Csoma Sándor egyetlen hiteles portréjának története”, *Keletkutatás*, 1995:1, 5-21.

^{vi} Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky: *Régi dicsőségünk... – Magyar történelmi képek a XIX. században*. Budapest: Corvina, 2001, 36.

^{vii} *Jelenkor* (13 July 1842), 208. About further reports, see Szvoboda Dománszky 2006, 177-178.

^{viii} Szvoboda Dománszky 2001, 38. The lost 1841 painting is known from an autograph copy of ca. 1850, now in the Princess Bamba Collection, Lahore.

^{ix} Béla Majláth (ed): *Gróf Széchenyi István levelei*, vol. 1. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1889, letter no. 403, 640.

^x Majláth 1889, letter no. 207, 316-317.

^{xi} For a summary of suggestions regarding the Schoeffts' itinerary: Gaboda 1995, 6.

^{xii} *Hasznos Mulatságok* 2 (25 November, 1840), 170 (by Antal Szentistványi).

^{xiii} Given that the British Foreign Office would take over Iraqi affairs from the Bombay government in 1843, this statement is not completely inaccurate.

^{xiv} *Beaux Arts – Galerie Orientale. Revue d l'Orient. Bulletin de la Société Orientale*, vol. 7:25-28, Paris, 1845, 95.

^{xv} Pierre de Vaucelles: *La vie en Irak il ya un siècle vue par nos consuls*. Paris: A. Pedone, 1963, 12.

^{xvi} Leslie Brückner: *Adolphe François Loève-Veimars (1799-1854). Der Übersetzer und Diplomat als interkultureller Mittlerfigur*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013, 400-406; on French motives behind the appointment, see Mehdi Mousavi: “France among the Most-Favored Nations: The French Commercial Policy and Influence in Iran (1815-48)”, *Iranian Studies* 54:1-2 (2021), 143-168.

^{xvii} Vienna, Österreichische Nationalgalerie, inv. no. 7781; cf. Bonhams London 26 September 2019, lot 49.

^{xviii} “Collection de Tableaux et d’Études pittoresque sur l’Inde par M. Schoefft”, *L’Illustration – Journal universel*, 5:126 (26 July 1845), 343–346; *L’Album – Giornale letterario e di Belle Arti*, 10 (6 September 1845).

^{xix} Mészáros 2015, 182.

^{xx} “Navigation sur le Tigre; L’auteur s’est représenté descendant le Tigre, en kelleck avec sa famille”; 1453. *Journal des artistes*, 19:2 (1844), 215; see also *Beaux Arts – Galerie Orientale. Revue d l’Orient. Bulletin de la Société Orientale*, 7:25–28 (1845), 95.

^{xxi} For a historical and linguistic perspective, see Ela Filippone: “Goat Skins, Horses and Camels: How did Darius’ Army Cross the Tigris?”, Céline Redard (ed.): *Des contrées avestiques à Mahabad, via Bisotun. Etudes offertes en hommage à Pierre Lecoq. (Civilisations Du Proche-Orient Série III. Religion et Culture 2)*. Paris: Recherches et Publications, 2016, 25–60.

^{xxii} Private collection. National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive and Library, NPG reference negative: No. 36512

^{xxiii} Jonathan P. Parry: “Steam Power and British Influence in Baghdad, 1820–1860”, *The Historical Journal*, 56:1 (March 2013), 145–173; for repeated attempts in 1837, 1838, and 1838 to reach Mosul by steamboats, see R. E. Cheeseman: “A History of Steamboat Navigation on the Upper Tigris”, *The Geographical Journal*, 61:1 (January 1923), 27–34.

^{xxiv} *Jelenkor*, 1836: 61, 30 July, 246–247.

^{xxv} *Jelenkor*, 1836: 61, 30 July, 247 (the same issue also discusses the feasibility of the Transylvanian-born physician Johann Martin Honigberger’s return to the Lahore court).

^{xxvi} Sir Austen Henry Layard: *Autobiography and Letters from his Childhood until his Appointment as H. M. Ambassador at Madrid*, 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1903, 340–341; quoted also in Terence Clark: “Iraq”, in: Hugh Arbuthnott, Terence Clark, Richard Muir (eds): *British Missions Around the Gulf, 1575–2005. Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman*. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2008; 101.

^{xxvii} *Journal des Artistes*, 19:2 (1844), 215; see also *Beaux Arts – Galerie Orientale. Revue d l’Orient. Bulletin de la Société Orientale*, 7:25–28 (1845), 95: “... l’intérieur d’un palais persan qui appartenait au résident anglais de Bagdad, et qui est aujourd’hui la propriété de notre consul, M. Loève-Weymar.”; “Kunstaussstellung im Monate April”, *Der Humorist*, 9:104 (18 April 1855), 415: “Ein persischer Harem, ein zierliches, leichtes, offenes Gebäude, mit reichem Ornamenten und Spiegel- plafond, im Hintergrunde auf einer Estrade der Gebieter, vor ihm tanzende und musicirende Mädchen inorientalischen, den weiblichen Formen anpassenden Gewändern, im Vordergrunde die eigentliche Gemahlin des vornehmen Harembesitzers. Zwei Perserinnen, etwas trunken von dem von Muhamed schwerverspönten Getränke, in nachlässigen Stellungen”. All these references are quoted also in Mészáros 2015, 197–198.

^{xxviii} Willem Floor: *Kermanshah City and Province 1800 – 1945*. Washington, D.C.: Mage, 2018, 295.

^{xxix} Muhammad ‘Ali Sultani: *Tariq-i ilat wa tawayif-i Kirmanshahan. Juqrafia-i tarikhi wa tarikhi-i mufasssal-i Kirmanshahan*, vols. 1-2. Tehran: Saha, 2002 (1380).

^{xxx} Clark 2008, 96-97.

^{xxxi} Quoted in Brückner 2013, 443.

^{xxxii} While the British may have returned to the same site in the 1850s, J. Hyslop’s exterior views of the residency and later depictions do not record the glass and mirror halls where the famed receptions were set. See Clark 2015, pls. 17-18.

^{xxxiii} István Széchenyi: *Napló*. Ed. Ambrus Olványi. Budapest: Gondolat, 1979, 995.

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