

Shangri La: Architecture as Collection
by
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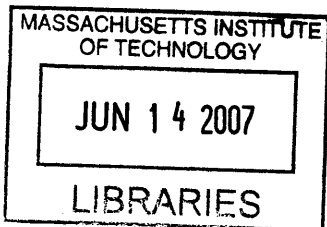
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Abstract

As a young heiress of the Duke fortunes, Doris Duke's interest and investment in art was not highly unusual given her social background. However, her method of acquiring these objects was more unconventional than other collectors of her time. When the term "Islamic" is tacked onto these art objects it further complicates her collection, with issues of matronage and Orientalism at the forefront. Prominent American collectors, such as Isabella Stewart Gardner, exhibited an interest in Eastern art long before Doris Duke planned her honeymoon trip to the Muslim world in 1935. Still, there is very little hard evidence of the Duke's interacting with such people during Doris' childhood. This begs the question, how did Doris Duke develop an interest in Islamic art and culture? Since she was a very private person and collector, it is hard to speculate what inspired her curiosity for Islamic art. What might be a more informative and interesting avenue to follow is the impressive network of connections that allowed her the means to acquire such a substantial collection. Her self-created residence in Hawai'i, Shangri La, is now a visible culmination of the relationships she forged in her fascination with Islamic art and architecture, which she continually developed from its inception in 1937 until her death in 1993. Although Duke was highly dependent upon her advisors during the construction of Shangri La, she was purposeful in the procurement and placement of the objects she commissioned, which showed an independent will that varied from other wealthy American patrons of Eastern art at this time. An examination of these art-oriented relationships will help to trace the refinement of Duke's palette for Islamic art, whose chief architectural accomplishment was one that she truly thought of as Islamic and uniquely her own.

Thesis Supervisor: Nasser Rabbat, Aga Khan Professor of the History of Islamic Architecture

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For my parents and brothers.

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Shangri La: Architecture as Collection
Saima J. Akhtar

In a rare personal account written in 1949, Doris Duke describes her new home to the readers of *Town and Country Magazine*: “The idea of building a Near Eastern house in Honolulu must seem fantastic to many. But precisely at the time I fell in love with Hawaii and decided I could never live anywhere else, a Mogul-inspired bedroom and bathroom...[were] being completed for me in India, so there was nothing to do but have it shipped to Hawaii and build a house around it.”¹ After acknowledging the role that fantasy played in viewing Shangri La, Duke then logically attempts to base her decision to build it on the coincidental timing of her travels, her fascination with Near Eastern styles, and her affinity for Hawai’i. In one line, Duke manages to differentiate her vision of the house from that of the public, in saying that although the house ‘must seem fantastic to others,’ it represents something more logical and personal to her.² In her arrangement of Shangri La, Duke inherently intended for the distinction between the inhabitant and viewer, although her vision of Shangri La is not mutually exclusive from that of the viewer - in that both are fantastic visions. What is unique about Shangri La as a personal construct is that it is a specifically arranged collection that speaks to its creator as well as a larger audience.

¹ DD “My Honolulu House” *Town and Country Magazine* Aug. 1947 pg. 73.

² An interesting feminist reconstruction of fantasy is given in Joan Scott’s article titled “Fantasy Echo: History and Construction of Identity” where the author lists different stages of fantasy that are achieved through dissociation from the real and a reconstruction of history. A similar process occurs with Doris Duke in her construction of Shangri La.

Duke's decision to build Shangri La was incited by a trip to the Near East, South and Southeast Asia while on her honeymoon in 1935.³ She developed a considerable interest in Eastern culture and objects, which determined the stylistic direction of her home. Through her initial collection, Duke provided a small glimpse into what provoked her aesthetically. For example, on her trip to India she commissioned marble pieces for her bedroom after visiting the Taj Mahal, invested heavily in Indian jewelry, and acquired various sculptures and paintings from Thailand and Indonesia.⁴ After returning from her honeymoon, and for the remainder of her life, she built on this collection in a more educated sense by seeking the assistance of art dealers and historians. This is an important turning point in Duke's collection because it is one of the main elements that distinguishes her from other American collectors of Islamic art. She was not only inexplicably drawn to Eastern aesthetics, like the Oriental collectors who preceded her, but was also keen on replicating these aesthetics in an architecturally and historically accurate manner.

1.1 | *Contextualizing Doris Duke in American Collecting*

Duke was not atypical in her interests. She was coming from a genre of collectors who were also provoked by and participated in the Oriental fantasy. Although the bulk of her predecessors were predominantly nineteenth century British Orientalists, such as Gertrude Bell, Richard Burton, and William Wright, who wrote extensively on their experiences with the Near

³ In using the terms "Near East and South Asia," I am staying true to Duke's own references to the modern Middle East and South Asia as she and her husband referred to them in various letters and accounts, including the article in *Town and Country Magazine*.

⁴ She did not purchase all the items in her Southeast Asian collection in 1935. She returned to Bangkok, Thailand in March of 1957 with Francois Duhau de Berenx, an art dealer working at the Star of Siam, and acquired a large number of items at that time. Her Southeast Asian collection was so substantial that in 1960 she hired Berenx to help in creating a Thai Village House, similar to that of Shangri La, in Hawai'i, though ultimately the house never came to fruition. Tingley, *Southeast Asian Collection*: 11-12

East, there were also a number of notable American Orientalists who actively took part in reconstructing their imagined Orient. Granted, Americans were mainly looking at the British example in their quest to capture the art and culture of the East, the distinction lies in the fact that they were constructing these images in varied political backdrops. It is important to note that as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of buildings like the Brighton Pavilion in England and Frederic Church's Olana in New York, the implications of incorporating non-Western elements were slightly different in the United States than Britain, which was more invested in colonialism in the Muslim world.

John Sweetman, author of *The Oriental Obsession*, begins his story of American Orientalism with the impact of Europe's literature on American Romanticism.⁵ Novels such as Washington Irving's *Alhambra* swept the nation with a wave of popularity and its mythical Andalusian tales and vivid language exposed a culture that left Americans wanting more. He then goes on to argue that Americans turned to their own landscapes in search of images that invoked the same Romanticism, and in doing so, they created a paradoxical image of the American Romantic landscape with lands of the East. Thomas Cole's *The Architects Dream*, does just this as it juxtaposes the Western viewer's strong Classical vantage point with Egyptian pyramids on the horizon.⁶ An American architectural example of late Romanticism is P.T. Barnum's *Iranistan* in Bridgeport, Connecticut, a late reaction to The Brighton Pavilion.⁷ Later events, such as the Chicago World's Fair in 1883 showed almost life-like Cairene street scenes, where elements of Islamic architecture blended into the theatrical display of Arab people and

⁵ Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture, 1500-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

⁶ Ibid: 218.

⁷ Ibid: 220. Built in 1848.

culture.⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, as the representation of Islamic elements slowly began to emerge in the art scene, artists and collectors began to actively engage the Islam form.

The category of people who had access to this engagement were usually wealthy, upper-class Americans. Some artisans and collectors were fortunate to base their artistic visions of the East on their travels while others had to rely on Orientalist reconstructions.⁹ Prominent east coast families, such as the Havemeyers and Huntingtons, were also collectors, but they were mainly investing in European art. There were a few exceptions, however, and the most relevant model for Duke is Isabella Stewart Gardner. Gardner, born in 1840, came from a wealthy background and had a tangible access to the East. During her travels, including trips to Egypt, Turkey, and the Near East, she developed an interest in art collecting and hired Bernard Berenson to guide her taste in collecting. Although the majority of her collection is comprised of European paintings and statues, Gardner also invested in a few architectural pieces from the Islamic world. She displayed these collections in her home, which also functioned as a palatial museum, and was established as Fenway Court after her death in 1924.

There is no evidence that Duke knew of or was influenced by Gardner's collections as a young girl, however the similarity in their collecting styles and use of their homes as semi-private museums speaks to the power inherent in art collecting for women at this time.¹⁰ As Anne Higonnet strikingly argues in the case of Isabella Stewart Gardner: "Because they seemed

⁸ Zeynep Celik gives a thorough assessment of the impact of the World's Fairs on both Muslim and Western countries in *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at the 19th century World's Fairs* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

⁹ A doctrine from the Aleppo Temple Shriners (1870), a Boston-based fraternal organization based off of the Freemasons, indicates that the Shriners relied heavily on the writings of Richard Burton and Johann Ludwig Burckhardt to construct over 200 buildings in the U.S. that resemble various Islamic architectural styles. (Aleppo Temple Books) also see John Sweetman's *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (1988) for a brief discussion on Shiner Temples in the U.S.

¹⁰ Higonnet, Anne. "Private Museums, Public Leadership: Isabella Stewart Gardner and the Art of Cultural Authority" in *Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage*: 86.

to be both homes and institutions, private art museums allowed women to move from private towards public roles without opposition. Denied many other forms of self-expression and social power, women gave shape to their desires through the transformation of feminine homes into public institutions.”¹¹ On the contrary, in creating Shangri La Duke was able to move from the public realm to the private in order to escape the glare of the public eye. In following Higonnet’s argument, however, Duke was able to give shape to her desires through the public image of Shangri La and eventually eternalized her influence on the American study of Islamic art through the establishment of the Doris Duke Foundation of Islamic Art.

My purpose in writing this introduction is to contextualize Duke’s entry into the existing pattern of American collecting. While she displayed many of the same collecting characteristics as the wealthy artists and patrons who preceded her, I intend to show that Duke’s creation of Shangri La from her collection differentiates her from the rest.

1.2 | Overview of Thesis

I will begin with a brief biographical overview of the Duke family. This will help to trace and better understand the development of Doris Duke’s persona as a collector. The close ties she developed with her father, James Buchanan Duke, shaped her character at an early age. His death left her with an inheritance that forced her to make important decisions that later paved the way for many of her interests, including art and architecture.

The second chapter follows Duke in her encounters with the Near East, South Asia, and Hawai’i. While it is evident that her honeymoon tour in 1935 sparked an aesthetic interest in the East, Duke’s decision to build Shangri La was not solely due to a progression of events. Her

¹¹ Ibid: 86.

exposure to these countries engaged her in a unique vision that she tried to recreate through Shangri La. This chapter elaborates on some of the most important relationships she forged in her mission to build her Hawai'ian residence.

The third, and final, chapter is devoted to Shangri La's arrangement as a collection. In following her architectural gestures, Duke begins to monitor and weave the input of her advisors into its design while maintaining the final word on any decision. The tensions that arise as Duke attempts to stay true to original Eastern inspirations and her own comforts as a resident marks Shangri La's shift from a personal collection to an architectural fantasy.

2.1 | *Biographical Sketch: The Duke Family*

The origin of the Duke wealth begins with the discovery of The American Tobacco Company, founded by Doris Duke's grandfather, Washington Duke, who expanded his business with the help of his sons, Ben and James Buchanan Duke (Fig. 1).¹² By 1863, the Duke brothers, took over the business and it became one of the most successful tobacco companies in New England. At the age of thirty-seven, J. B. Duke was showing signs of strong entrepreneurial leadership by investing in plots of land and selling shares of his tobacco company to jumpstart a new energy company, Duke Energy. At this time, he also made his first of four large residential investments in Hillsborough, New Jersey, which became Duke Farms.¹³ The latter three, Lynnewood Hall in North Carolina, Rough Point in Newport, Rhode Island, and Doris Duke's childhood home in New York City, were purchased after his marriage to Nanaline Holt Inman in 1907.

Nanaline Holt Inman (Fig. 2) was a widow when she married J. B. Duke and had a modest upbringing in Macon, Georgia.¹⁴ With the recognition that Nanaline was coming from less fortunate background, J. B. Duke was quick to accommodate his wife's new social inclinations as evidenced in the flurry of his estate activity. Three years after his marriage, he put in his first bid to buy the Rough Point estate, originally built by Frederick Vanderbilt in 1889. After an unsuccessful attempt, he invested in the family's first home in New York City in

¹² Durden, *The Dukes of Durham*: 26.

¹³ MacLeish, *Doris Duke and Newport Restoration Foundation Timeline*: 1. The original purchase was a 327 acre plot of land, which grew to 2,700 acres with the establishment of Duke Farms - now owned by the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation. The Newport Restoration Foundation is based in Duke Farms and its archives hold early documentation of DD's interactions as well as collections that DD had begun outside of her interest in the Near East and South Asia.

¹⁴ Zapata, "A Legacy of Glamour: The Jewelry of Nanaline Holt Inman Duke" in *Gems of the East and West: The Doris Duke Jewelry Collection*: 34.

1912, where Doris Duke was born. He also purchased a family home in North Carolina in 1919 and after much persistence, became the owner of Rough Point in 1922.

J. B. Duke was quite close to his daughter and conveyed to her much of his philosophy on life while she was still a young girl. His death in 1925, although tragic, was a significant milestone in Doris Duke's life. As a 12 year-old girl, she managed to cope with his death and quickly took on the responsibilities that accompanied the Duke name. J. B. Duke established trusts and foundations for Doris Duke's future benefit before she was eight years old. This included a philanthropic organization called The Duke Endowment, whose purpose was to provide money towards education and health-care in the two Carolinas and The Doris Duke Trust, from where J. B. Duke allocated two-thirds of the total income as well as one-third of his residuary estate to Doris Duke. All in all, she would receive payments from this hefty inheritance in various portions at three different ages until 30.¹⁵

2.2 | *The Duke Estates*

The heavy responsibilities of caring for her father's various estates and foundations showcased Doris Duke's will and determination at a young age. Her handling of his estates, in particular, gives an interesting glimpse into the relationships she developed with both parents and highlights the entrepreneurial traits she inherited from her father. It is clear in her early decisions that she gave preference to the estates that both she and her father were heavily involved in. At the age of 15, she launched a legal battle against the executives of the New York estate (Fig. 5), including her mother, to prevent its auction.¹⁶ The significance of this residence was not only

¹⁵ Durden, *Dukes of Durham*: 34.

¹⁶ MacLeish, *Doris Duke and Newport Restoration Foundation Timeline*: 3. References the *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1927.

that it was just four blocks from the Metropolitan Art Museum, but it was where young Doris spent her childhood years and most likely associated the house with those early memories. This house was later donated by Doris Duke to the New York University Fine Arts Department in 1958. She also made the decision to keep Duke Farms, despite “her mother and the executors of the estate want[ing] to dispose of it.”¹⁷ Since the property was one of the first purchases her father made, and his creation from the ground up, she wanted to repair the dilapidated areas of the property and live on it part time. The one estate that both she and her mother agreed upon was Rough Point, where the Duke family would summer and interact with other socialites in the Newport, Rhode Island vicinity. At this point, it is that she began to utilize real estate as a vehicle to express her assertion and independence.

As the former Vanderbilt residence, Rough Point (Fig. 6) had quite an affluent neighborhood surrounding it. For this reason, it is an especially interesting residence because it was the place where Nanaline Holt Inman felt most comfortable in terms of her social inclinations. While the Duke’s only summered in Newport, it was in the heavily European decorated interior of Rough Point that Doris Duke began to interact with the wealthy families of the East Coast. One of Duke’s closest childhood friends, Alletta Morris (Fig. 3), came from such a family and kept diary that chronicled their daily activities as young girls.¹⁸ Being an only child, Duke was not in the company of girls like Alletta often and the lack of young company was compounded by events in Duke’s life that forced her to mature more quickly than her peers. It is premature to assume that her curiosity to travel was only driven by fantasies to discover

¹⁷ MacLeish, *Doris Duke and Newport Restoration Timeline*: 3. References the *New York Times*, Sept. 25, 1927.

¹⁸ MacLeish, et al. *Rough Point: The Newport Home of Doris Duke*: 8.

exotic people and places, if she had any of these preconceive notions.¹⁹ Instead, it is more reasonable to suggest that her upbringing instilled in her a personality that was itching to be different, explore and most importantly, get away.

The final residence that will be discussed, Duke Farms (Fig. 4), had a major role to play in Doris Duke's architectural interests. Her fight to preserve the farms after J. B. Duke's death also incited a love for conservation and horticulture, which is reflected in her designs for the greenhouse display gardens of Duke Farms. During this activity she promoted environmental causes through the establishment of Independent Aid, now the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation.²⁰ The foundations mission helps to aid the preservation of the cultural and environmental aspects of Duke's estates, including estates that once belonged to her father. By the time Duke was touring parts of Europe, the Near East, and Asia, she had already developed a keen eye for the built form through her experience with the Duke estates. It was with this social, entrepreneurial, and architectural experience that Duke entered the Orient.

¹⁹ It is speculated that Doris Duke may have visited the Islamic exhibit in London in 1931 because of photographic evidence of her and her mother in London at that time. In the Duke Farms library there is a copy of *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London 1931 and an Islamic catalogue of 1931. This information is mentioned in both: Bier, Carol *Doris Duke's Shangri La*, Introduction and Littlefield footnote #3 in Hibbard's unpublished manuscript, 87.

²⁰ The Doris Duke Charitable Foundation has many branches that provide grants to benefit people in the medical, artistic, and social work fields. The Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art also branches from this foundation and is responsible for the care, upkeep, and study of Shangri La. See <www.ddcf.org> for more information.

3.1 | *Engaging in the Near East and South Asia: People, Places, and Politics*

At the age of 22, Doris Duke married James Cromwell, a hopeful U.S. politician and son of the prominent Stotesbury family from Philadelphia. This powerhouse couple had enough monetary support behind them to embark on a ten-month honeymoon tour of the world. They boarded the *Conte di Savoia* on February 13, 1935 and stopped in several countries including Gibraltar, France, Egypt, India, Thailand, and the Philippines. Elaborate world cruises were not extraordinary for people who could afford them, but what is unique about this trip is that in addition to these stops, Duke requested a supplemental itinerary that amended the amount of time they spent in India, Singapore, and China and added a stop in Honolulu, which became their final destination.²¹

A scrapbook that James Cromwell kept of the honeymoon tour holds a significant number of newspaper clippings that document their activity during this time. Along with receipts from various commissions and purchases, these clippings provide important insight into what areas had the most impact on Duke and indicate which activities garnered the foreign media's attention. Many of the news stories narrate portions of her visits in Egypt and India. Both the amended schedule and these clippings point to the impact that India, especially, had on Duke and Cromwell.

An examination of a few of these clippings paints a colorful picture of the activities and people the couple were engaging. The 'Near East' section of Cromwell's scrapbook begins with an interesting image of Duke and Cromwell in Egypt, most likely Cairo, which was the first stop on their tour outside of Europe (Fig. 7). While the name of the newspaper it originated from is left anonymous, so too is the image label, leaving the 'tour guide' unidentified. From the

²¹ Hibbard, *Shangri La: Doris Duke's Home in Hawaii*: 2. Also cited Littlefield footnote #3.

appearance of his hat, he may be a prominent imam of a mosque in Cairo, pointing out the importance and function of the features of the surrounding mosques. While Cromwell is closely following the gestures and gaze of the imam, Duke's eyes are fixated on something other than what is being discussed. This can be accounted for in two ways: either Duke was aware of the camera pointed in her direction, which caused an uneasiness that she often displayed with the public eye, or she immediately held a proper pose to reinforce the dubbed image of her as 'the richest girl in the world.' Either way, photographic moments like these captured a body language between the couple that hinted at the larger image they wanted to promote while on their honeymoon tour.

This image of Duke was so striking that it reappeared in the newspapers of India in March of 1935. Several newspaper clippings from this location indicate the amount of media frenzy the couple caused while travelling through India. Duke and Cromwell met with several politicians and locals, including Mahatma Gandhi, who supposedly refused them a few times before agreeing to meet. There is no photographic or written evidence of Cromwell and Duke meeting with Gandhi, but photomontages like this (Fig. 10) suggest that there was a considerable amount of effort made by Duke to meet Gandhi. Newspaper interviews of the couple are mainly one-sided, with the sole voice being Cromwell's, who may have utilized the trip as an opportunity to promote his political views.

A personal photo, not from a publication, shows the couple interacting with the locals of Jammu, a remote area near the Kashmir valley in northern India. An article from the *Bombay Sentinel* released an interview with Cromwell around the same time this photo was taken. In the interview, Cromwell voices his concern over the growing rate of poverty in India and blames the Bank of England for causing it, meanwhile referring to the U.S. as a pawn being played by

Britain. The *Sentinel* then attempts to give Duke a voice by writing: “Mrs. Cromwell, who is only twenty-two and worth six million dollars, fully shares her husbands views of economic reforms.”²² Even if Duke had no intention of participating in the political propaganda of the trip, she had no choice because she was immediately pulled in by her husbands activity.

Regardless of Cromwell’s political aims and affiliations, Duke remained the domineering figure in determining the routes and outcome of the trip. She was awakened and driven by the aesthetic value of the East and her husband’s interests served to add to the element of interaction with local authority figures and residents. This probably ended up serving Duke in a positive way in terms of making connections with local art dealers and firms, because it was during this stay in India that she commissioned the set of marble bedroom and bathroom pieces that were modeled after the Taj Mahal. These pieces were pivotal in Duke’s decision to create Shangri La, turning back to the statement she made in *Town and Country Magazine*: “..a Mogul-inspired bedroom and bathroom...[were] being completed for me in India, so there was nothing to do but have it shipped to Hawaii and build a house around it.” At first, it seems that Duke intended for these pieces to act as the centerpieces of Shangri La, although later, in collaboration with her architect and advisors the plan was slightly altered.²³ Regardless, it remains one of the most striking and meaningful rooms in the house.

²² “Britain Cause of Poverty” in *Bombay Sentinel*, March 1935 from J. Cromwell scrapbook.

²³ Duke purchased a rare thirteenth century Iranian mihrab in 1940 from Hagop Kervorian, which was installed in the central axis and focal point of the house. The mihrab was originally for the tomb of Imamzada Yahya at Veramin, Iran. It is signed and dated by its potter, ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, adding to its value. Littlefield, *Doris Duke’s Shangri La*: 37-39.

3.2 | *Honolulu, Hawai'i*

The couple arrived in Honolulu from Japan in August of 1935, initially planning on staying for a few weeks, but extended their stay for four months. After returning to Cromwell's Stotesbury house in Florida, Doris Duke decided that she preferred Hawai'i over Florida for the location of their new home. In the divorce proceedings against Cromwell in 1943, Duke proclaimed that Hawai'i was "one of the most beautiful places in the world. It has a marvelous climate all year round, and I love the ocean, and I like the people." At this time, Honolulu was not as accessible for everyday travelers and did not have the same notions of a popular vacation spot for tourists. Judging from her persona, it is likely that Duke chose Honolulu for its remote location and quiet quality of life (Fig. 11).

For the design of their new Honolulu house, Cromwell suggested the Beaux-arts trained Marion Syms Wyeth, who was the architect of the Stotesbury mansion in Florida.²⁴ An initial elevation sketch drawn by Wyeth in 1936 shows a house that turns its back on the ocean and interacts very little with the natural qualities of Honolulu that Duke grew fond of (Fig. 12). Both Cromwell and Duke began to work with Wyeth in developing the initial plans of the house. In a letter to Wyeth, Cromwell states that the design should incorporate a separate guest house with "two double guest-rooms...a miniature kitchen and sports-room connected with the pool. We got this idea from India and the purpose, of course, is not to have our guests continually in our hair, and vice versa!" The basic plans for the house were finalized a year later in 1937 with very little planned for the ornamentation that would soon embellish the walls of these spaces.

²⁴ There is a brief discussion of Wyeth's background in Hibbard's unpublished manuscript. Other than his beaux-arts architectural training, and his slight familiarity with Persian styles based on homes designed in Florida, including the Stotesbury mansion, little else is known about his work or interests with Eastern styles.

Interestingly enough, the rooms of the guest-house, as described by Cromwell, emerged with a façade that pays homage to a Safavid Chihil Sutun-inspired style rather than a Mughal one.

3.3 | *Key Contacts*

Between the finalization of the plans in 1937 and the full architectural completion of the house in 1939, Duke engaged in a flurry of networking activity. These contacts became her means for acquiring the art pieces that would soon articulate the character of her house and her understanding of the East. The first contact was established in France, on a two month European vacation through friends living in Marrakesh. Rene Martin, a Moroccan art dealer and designer, immediately sketched possible layouts for the foyer, living room, and master bedroom of Shangri La. Upon returning the States, Cromwell and Duke made a heavy contribution towards the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, headed by Arthur Upham Pope.²⁵ In turn, Pope organized a five week trip through Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey in 1938. During this time, he put Duke in touch with the remainder of the dealers who played a major part in the development of Shangri La – two antique dealers, Rabenou from Tehran and Asfar (of Asfar & Sarkis) from Damascus, and a graduate student from New York University, Mary Crane (Fig. 14).

Out of all the dealers, Mary Crane maintained one of the most influential and potent relationships with Duke since their introduction in 1938. Before she accompanied Duke on the visit to Iran, Crane was completing her Masters in Fine Arts at NYU with a concentration on Islamic arts. Her thesis was published in 1938 under the title “History of the Textile

²⁵ The DDFIA cataloguing of Duke’s library shows that she owned all nine volumes of Pope’s Survey of Persian Art, although it does not specify when she acquired them. He edited these volumes starting in 1930. DDFIA, *Catalogue of Books*: 15.

Ornamentation of Muslim Egypt in the Fatimid Period.”²⁶ Itching to explore her interests, Crane participated in one of Pope’s many photographic expeditions to Iran. These photographic expeditions took place between 1932 and 1939, and with the help of many students and aids, he was able to cover most of Iran in less than 14 years. Crane’s duty on the 9th expedition in 1939 was to serve as part of the Architectural Index staff and documented itinerary based on valuable material published by earlier travelers and authorities.²⁷ These skills were perhaps well developed from Cranes documentation of monuments for Duke, which she continued to do until 1941.²⁸

This introduction was especially important because once Crane was pushed in Duke’s direction by the hands of Pope, she was immediately entrusted with the task of providing detailed descriptions of monuments both during and long after the trip (Fig. 15). The relationship blossomed as Duke’s reliance on her deepened and based on the frequency of contact between the two, Crane was eventually given the responsibility of acting as Duke’s personal artistic and historic consultant. Crane made great contributions to Shangri La while she worked with Duke, including designs for the Playhouse, flooring and color schemes for several rooms, as well as acquiring many pieces of art for display once she had a feeling for Duke’s artistic palette. When Duke limited her travelling in the pre-war year of 1939, Crane traveled on her behalf to check up on the orders from Rabenou and Asfar & Sarkis. She single-handedly was allowed to delve more extensively into Duke’s artistic life than any of the other dealers and one of the reasons

²⁶ Currently on hold in the Fine Arts library at NYU and the New York Public Library. Her dissertation was also used in composition of articles for Middle Eastern Conference put together by Carol Bier in 1998 at the University of Michigan: see < <http://www.lib.umich.edu/area/Near.East/Textiles/RT34.html>>.

²⁷ Gluck, et al. *A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman*: 262.

²⁸ “Re: responses to your questions about the SL archives.” Email to Sharon Littlefield. 30 April 2007.

why this might be the case is that Crane was the only woman Duke worked with in the creation of Shangri La.

The remaining dealers were also introduced through Arthur Upham Pope and knew him in the same capacity as Mary Crane – as a part of the Iranian expeditions. While their relationships with Duke remained much more businesslike than with Crane, they still contributed a great deal to the aesthetic variety of Shangri La. A. Rabenou was an Iranian art dealer who supplied items such as the tile work in the patio, living room lanai, and courtyard, which now has a strong Safavid theme.²⁹ Asfar & Sarkis were prominent Syrian dealers who were also given lengthy orders for tile work and provided many of the components that filled the Damascene room in Shangri La. Interestingly enough, they were also the dealers of the original Turkish and Baby Turkish rooms in the early 1930s, when they sold the shells of these rooms to Hagop Kervorkian. By the time Duke heard of the rooms in the 1970s and tried to acquire them, Asfar & Sarkis were long out of the picture.

These dealers and designers had a much more integral role to play in Shangri La than just supplying items. They were also trying to make a profit out of dealing with one of the richest women in America as well. Just as funding the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology spoke volumes to Arthur Upham Pope, Duke's willingness to invest in historically significant and beautiful Eastern items spoke to them. Granted, many of them were given guidelines to work with, in the end, they determined the markets that Duke was buying from and the quality of items she was getting. In the next chapter, I will discuss how Duke specifically catered these items to personalize her own space. However, it is important to note that although

²⁹ Hibbard: 20.

she had the means to afford whatever she wanted, she was working with a specific set of people who pointed her towards an equally specific set of items.

4.1 | *Shangri La: General Layout*

In describing the nuanced arrangement of rooms and items in Shangri La, it is first necessary to understand the layout as a whole. The first part of this section will briefly discuss the main components of the house, the Eastern models that inspired them, and the implications involved in choosing these models. I will then discuss aspects of two rooms of the house in particular, the Playhouse and the Turkish Rooms, in order to give a sense of how Duke resolved conflicts between her dealers, workers, and architect, her sense of historical accuracy, and how she catered these spaces to fit this sense of accuracy. It is interesting to see that when Duke decided to go with her own instinct over the designers, it was not always based on catering the plan to fit her needs, rather, it was sometimes due to events related to the onset of World War II or her own personal problems as well. Shangri La became a living and breathing reflection of Duke's moods and desires that enhances the notion of her home as a constructed personal fantasy.

Duke mostly drew inspiration from the form, function, and materiality of palatial monuments and civic structures that she was exposed to on her various trips to the East. The layout of Shangri La resembles a slightly altered Islamic civic royal complex, with a foyer that opens up to a central courtyard and surrounding rooms that are loosely organized around the idea of *pardah*, or separation of spaces. What is interesting about this plan is that there are instances of gender division as well as areas where private and public spaces are separately accessible (Fig. 16). The first room to be built in Shangri La was Doris Duke's bedroom, which developed as a result of her highly impressionable trip to India. Inspired by the techniques she witnessed in the mausoleum of Taj Mahal, she immediately commissioned a marble bedroom and bathroom suite

for herself and attempted to capture the nuanced patterned lighting behind the screened jalis.³⁰ In her early artistic gestures, Duke inherently began to adapt the Indian jali into a sleek modern screen designed to be pushed back into a wall, reused as a decorative pavilion, or serve as a natural transition between interior and exterior spaces, extremely suitable for its Hawai'ian context. Since Duke's bedroom was one of the first rooms to be commissioned, it had spatial precedence over the rooms surrounding it, including her husbands. Following the idea of successive levels of privacy, this placement gave her access to her own private courtyard, a semi-private pond area, and the public Mughal Garden.

These three levels of privacy also play with the visual hierarchy present throughout the residence, much like the Taj Mahal which is built on a visual display from its entrance. Unlike the axial visual plan of the Taj Mahal, the jali's in Shangri La are the objects that create instances of privacy and power. In an article entitled *Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces*, Gulru Necipoglu discusses the role of the gaze as instrumental in designating zones of privacy to the social organization of Islamic palaces, where the women were kept away from public view.³¹ The role of the one who gazes is assigned to Duke in the plan Shangri La. The arrangement of rooms, courtyards, and gardens gave Duke a sense of privacy while permitting her to observe others without been seen, thus giving her the power of the gaze. This arrangement granted Duke complete control as the patron and resident of the house.

I would like to briefly elaborate on the meaning of power as it relates to Doris Duke and Shangri La. In "Vision and Power," D. Ruggles discusses the power associated with women's

³⁰ The initial commission was for a home in Florida which was later relocated to Hawai'i. Littlefield, *Doris Duke's Shangri La*: 5.

³¹ Necipoglu: 303.

patronage in the pre-modern Islamic era.³² She mentions women like Shajar al-Durr, Gawhar Shad, and Nur Jahan, who served as prominent Muslim queens and contributed a heavy hand in terms of architectural patronage during their reign. What transformed the status of these women, and others during their time, was their ability to use wealth to open doors of visibility. Women were more likely to associate their names through charitable acts of patronage, which had less power associated with them than palatial monuments. Nonetheless, wealth equated to visibility, which in turn, entrusted them with a sense of power. In shaping the world in this silent manner, women did not necessarily need to be physically seen to know where to insert their names to be recognized as authorities. As D. Ruggles notes, “agency is not so much dependent upon visibility as on the ability to see...walls, screens, and veils that kept strangers from looking in did not necessarily prevent women from gazing out,”³³ and Duke exercised this very notion in her playfulness with jali’s and *mashrabiyya* screens in Shangri La. As an extremely private individual, Duke’s wish to be recognizable and in control was limited to a residence that she regarded as a safe haven, a world in which her architectural maneuvers were guaranteed to work in her favor.

The exterior of the house is dominated by the Playhouse, a guesthouse which takes after the royal garden pavilion Chihil Sutun, or Hall of Forty Pillars, built in 1647 (Fig. 17-20). Chihil Sutun stands in the midst of a lush, walled rectangular formal garden fronted by a long reflecting pool and water channels and has a large masonry hall with attendant rooms, much like the layout

³² In Ruggles’ introduction to *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, she gives a brief overview of the meanings associated with political, charitable, and economic acts of power as they related to women’s patronage. A huge factor in all of this is the women’s visibility in society, but it is important to note that there is a large difference between access to visibility for a Western female patron such as Doris Duke and Indian royalty, such as Nur Jahan. The parallel I am attempting to draw between the two is linked more to their power to act on wealth and how this allowed them visibility in their own right. Ruggles: 6-7.

³³ Ruggles, “Vision and Power” in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*: 7.

of Duke's Playhouse. The portico in front of the Playhouse also resembles the talar of Chihil Sutun, with its twenty high wooden columns and vaulted halls.³⁴ The functionality of the two spaces is as similar as their outward appearance. Following the plan of Chihil Sutun, one passes into the main interior space (used as a conference room in the Playhouse), there are subsidiary rooms on either side filling up the two corners (used as female and male private quarters in the Playhouse), and on the side are shallow porches opening up to the exterior.³⁵ The art work inside the Playhouse, made in nineteenth century Iran during the reign of the Qajar dynasty, followed the same themes of historical subject matter and scenes of courtly life as the original reception rooms in the Chihil Sutun.³⁶

Water surrounds the Playhouse on all sides, including the Kashmiri-style gardens that lay just beyond the pool. The elements of the gardens most closely resemble the gardens of Kashmiri Achabel Bagh and Shalimar Bagh. The Garden of Achabel has a body of water in front of a garden and is divided into three passages with three accompanying terraces, each having either a private or public function. The second garden, Shalimar Bagh, is in the *chahar bagh*³⁷ form and is separated into four terraces in descending levels to accelerate the run of the waterfalls and cascades, much like the Garden of Achabel. In the original design scheme, the top level could not be seen from below and was reserved for the ladies of the court. It was most noted for the intricacies associated with the cascading waterfalls, from which Duke borrowed the

³⁴ Michell: 254.

³⁵ Blair & Bloom: 194-195.

³⁶ In her article entitled *Shah 'Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar, The Chihil Sutun, and its Wall Paintings*, Sussan Babaie discusses the wall paintings in the Chihil Sutun as one of its most important decorative programs. After she visited the site in 1938, Doris Duke invested in many 19th century Iranian paintings, perhaps in an effort to stay true to the beauty of the original Chihil Sutun. Babaie: 126.

³⁷ Literally meaning "four gardens"; a garden divided into four by axial canals or walkways. It is a form that was initially developed for formal tomb gardens during the Mughal empire, such as in the Taj Mahal. It is also used for planning pleasure gardens like the ones in Kashmir being described above. Michell: 273.

idea for the niches behind her Mughal-inspired waterfall. These niches were traditionally used to hold colored flowers with lanterns that would glow and colorfully illuminate the cascades at night. Since gardens are typically meant to invoke notions of Islamic paradise, it is likely that Duke wanted to surround herself with imagery associated with Paradise. However, as seen in the plan, she is more clearly using the gardens to create boundaries between her living quarters and the guest house to stay true to her notion of *pardah*.

In shifting the focus to the powerful patron, rather than powerful architecture, Duke claims her authority as the designer when she selects which architectural features she wants to refashion. As will be discussed later in reference to the playhouse, Duke may have been guided through the monuments of Iran by Mary Crane but she was the individual behind the camera as she snapped a picture of Crane standing in front of the Chihil Sutun. She later specified certain elements of the Chihil Sutun for Crane to research, revealing her intention to incorporate these features into Shangri La.

Oleg Grabar in “The Architecture of Power,” discusses the role of simplicity in the selection of architectural features for the domestic preference of wealthy Muslim patrons of Islamic architecture: “it was traditional for the rich families of most Islamic countries to make public display of their wealth in charitable foundations and tombs, but for their domestic life they preferred seclusion...the exteriors give no hint of the riches within.”³⁸ Likewise, the exterior of Shangri La is limited to a simple white façade with no markings, very few window-openings, and beautifully carved wooden doors decorated with Arabic calligraphy. There are very few walls in the interior of Shangri La that are left unembellished and the absence of detail on the outside of the residence is a complete contrast to the visually stimulating rooms found inside.

³⁸ Grabar, “The Architecture of Power” in the *Architecture of the Islamic World*: 65.

Duke's desire to keep the entrance to her home low-key was a reflection of both her personality and personal intent for using Shangri La. Grabar further elaborates on the existence of similar-looking buildings in palatial cities:

Closer to palaces as understood in the West are the complexes of buildings erected by Islamic rulers in remote areas away from the cities. Their purpose was primarily for administration or private pleasure. From outside they are often indistinguishable from fortified, but inside they are furnished with every luxury.³⁹

The tendency to design buildings with discrete façades and lavish interiors is a feature of domesticity, but it is also a feature shared by royal structures constructed outside palatial complexes for personal use. Shangri La is also tucked away in one of the most private neighborhoods on the outskirts of Waikiki, now the most popular tourist destination in Hawai'i. Duke was very purposeful in choosing the location for her residence, commanding power through her decision to enjoy her wealth in privacy.

Duke's direct exposure to the Taj Mahal, Chihil Sutun, and various other Islamic palaces gave her the ability to quickly adapt these spaces to her own taste. She also took advantage of her knowledge of the tradition, after having visited various royal Muslim homes with her husband, to reverse the notion of the *pardah* in her own home. Although there are a confluence of Islamic types that made their way into Shangri La, the palatial type is predominant because for her, it was the most visually influential type on her visits to the Near East and South Asia.

Shifting to the influence of the interactions between Duke and her advisors, the living room is a layered and colorful example of the many personalities that participated in the creation of Shangri La. Immediately after returning from her European trip in 1937, Duke showed Wyeth the sketches and watercolor drawings designed by Rene Martin (Fig. 23). Many of Martin's

³⁹ Ibid: 58.

suggestions were initially incorporated into the house, however after a design consultation with Duke two months later, the blueprints showed omissions of Martin's insertions, including the arched colonnade over the mantel of the fireplace (Fig. 24-25). By involving so many voices in the design process, Duke began to serve as the mediator of artistic disputes between the dealers, designers, and Wyeth. Yet, this was common and an integral part of Shangri La's evolution. Duke not only moderated the inputs of her consultants but made intentional decisions about the modifications of the design. This intentionality is part of what makes Shangri La Duke's personal construct.

4.2 | *Snapshot: The Playhouse*

The origins of the initial design for the Playhouse are still unknown. Since the final plans for the Playhouse were approved in May of 1937 and Duke's first trip to Iran did not take place until March 1938, it is either possible that Duke saw images of the interior and exterior of the Chihil Sutun after her honeymoon or that the initial plans of the Playhouse were loosely based on the Diwan-i 'Amms of India that couple visited on their trip to Delhi and Agra. The Diwan-i 'Amm's of Shah Jahan predates the Chihil Sutun of Isfahan by eight years but both are architecturally and materially similar in many respects. Both show the same flat-roofed hypostyle construction erected on a grid pattern with an elongated plan.⁴⁰ In an article titled, "Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan", Ebba Koch argues that the Indian use of the term *chihil sutun* as well as Shah Jahan's architectural references were a direct nod towards the most famous and ancient Chihil Sutun of Persia – the audience halls of

⁴⁰ Koch, 143.

Persepolis.⁴¹ Whether Duke was reminded of the Diwan-i ‘Amm of Delhi when she visited the Chihil Sutun with Mary Crane is hard to deduce, but the fact that it left a lasting impression on her is undebatable.

The Playhouse was not fully in place until the end of the year in 1938. Upon returning from Iran, the architects of Shangri La were given various photographs of the Chihil Sutun to help guide them through the fine detailing of the Playhouse. Despite the painstaking efforts on Duke’s behalf, Mary Crane also played a vital role in determining the final features of the Playhouse. In a letter dated September of 1938, Crane includes sketches of columns from various palaces and audience halls in Iran (Fig. 21-22). Many of the column options are prefaced with descriptions quoted from Jean Chardin’s *Voyages in Persia* and the color selection of a “Chinese red” was suggested after she looked at 15th century miniature paintings that showed it “was a favorite color, if not exclusive...for the slender columns of small pavilions.”⁴²

Since Duke was not much of a communicator herself, as evidenced in her unresponsiveness to Mary Cranes letters, it is hard to tell what exactly she asked Crane to send her in terms of historical documentation.⁴³ In noting Cranes diligence over quoting resources and detailed drawings, it might be that Duke considered Chardin’s descriptive accounts of the Chihil Sutun to be “accurate” enough for her. This creates a layered complexity behind the Oriental visions that produced rooms like the Playhouse in Shangri La. An American trained scholar, Crane, documents the scholarship written on the Chihil Sutun by a French traveler, Chardin, which is then incorporated into Doris Duke’s creation of the Playhouse. In the end,

⁴¹ Koch, pg. 152.

⁴² Letter from Crane to Duke dated September 1938.

⁴³ This has nothing to do with Crane in particular. In Cranes letters, she mentions that they speak on the phone to discuss design matters and Crane usually responded to these phone calls with letters including sketches, etc. Duke also relied on James Cromwell as the letter-writer to Wyeth during the construction of Shangri La.

these layered meanings are filtered by one person, because it is Duke's discretion that determines the validity and accuracy of the architectural features that make her Shangri La.

4.3 | *Snapshot: The Turkish Rooms*

The Turkish rooms in Shangri La are another example of Duke's efforts to remain, in a sense, historically accurate. The history behind these rooms is complex and begins with the Syrian dealers Asfar & Sarkis. The rooms were originally part of an aristocratic Syrian household in Damascus, part of the Al-Quwwatli family home in 1797 (Fig 26). In the 1920s, the Quwwatli family sold the interior of two of the rooms to Asfar & Sarkis as well as the Nur al-Din rooms, both later donated to two different institutions by Hagop Kervorkian who bought the rooms from Asfar & Sarkis in the 1930s. The Quwwatli room was donated to New York University's Hagop Kervorkian center in 1974 (Fig. 27). When Duke heard about the interior of the Quwwatli home, she offered to buy the interior from NYU and acquired it soon after (Fig. 28), making it the latest architectural installation in Shangri La.

At seventy years-old, Duke had to go to great lengths to install the Quwwatli rooms in Shangri La. A room that once contained a billiards room, a bathroom, and an office was majorly renovated to accommodate the newly acquired interiors of the Quwwatli family (Fig. 28).⁴⁴ The ceiling in between the two rooms was demolished and the floor was lowered in order to maintain the structural integrity and decoration of the rooms. Above all, a room that was originally part of a Syrian home was renamed the "Turkish and Baby Turkish" rooms by Duke, who may have been referring to the Ottoman occupation of Syria until 1918. Whether or not Duke was this historically astute is not relevant, for it did not matter to her which items were displayed in the

⁴⁴ Littlefield, *Doris Duke's Shangri La*: 30.

Turkish rooms or where the additions came from. The fountain that is in the center of the main Turkish room is listed in the DDFIA Museum System as an “18th and 20th century” item from the “culture of Syria and Hawaii.”⁴⁵ The mixed usage of panels and inlay work bought from Hawai’i to repair the existing framework of the fountain can account for it being labeled Hawai’ian and Syrian in the same instance. Yet, this one element of the Turkish room is a powerful example of the tension that occurred while Duke was trying to remain historically “accurate” while catering to her own aesthetics.

4.4 | *Post-war Shangri La*

The pre-war period of Shangri La, pre-1939, affected its production as much as the post-war period. Items would take longer to ship and Duke and Cromwell would have to beware of the United State’s political affiliation with the countries that they were visiting. During their 1938 trip to Iran organized by Pope, they tried to cut through red tape to fly over the airspace in Turkey, which was only possible after Duke requested a friend of hers from the State Department secure a permit to fly over Turkey in a private charter.⁴⁶

The post-war period affected not only Duke’s artistic dealings but personal as well, and this hardship is noticeable in the architecture of Shangri La. After its completion in 1939, Duke began to create local social circles including the Olympic diving champs, the Kahanamoko brothers. Other notable visitors included Earl Flynn, Loretta Young, Jody Castrall, and Bernard

⁴⁵ I am quoting the information given by category, and not a statement explicitly written by The Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art. The DDFIA keeps a record of all of its items, including architectural items, in a computerized system called The Museum System. It lists each item by category, including “classification, date label, culture, period, style, medium, description, historical attributions,” etc.

⁴⁶ Hibbard: 20.

Laffarty.⁴⁷ Many of these relationships were strained with the advent of WWII, when Duke began to travel less and took a five year hiatus from Shangri La, during which time she lost a child, finalized her divorce with James Cromwell, and joined the United Seamen's Service.⁴⁸

During this time, Duke would intermittently visit Shangri La to make significant remodeling changes, perhaps as a reflection of frustration with her personal life. The prominent mihrab that was placed in the central axis of the house, and many other valued objects, were put into storage in 1941 following the attacks on Pearl Harbor. She returned to Hawai'i for a longer period of time in 1946, at which point she fully immersed herself in the relocation of objects and constant renovation of Shangri La.

Throughout her life Duke maintained a connection with art and the built environment as a means to convey herself and deal with her frustrations. The post- and pre-war period in which Shangri La was constructed was a tricky time for the construction of a 'Near Eastern' style house in Hawai'i, especially given its proximity to Japan. For this reason, it was difficult for Duke to maintain solid friendships and relationships while she was first living in Shangri La, and her quirky personality traits took over soon after, as she further secluded herself from the public eye. In this sense, Shangri La constantly worked in her favor, whether she was in the mood to entertain guests or disappear by sinking into her private and personally constructed fantasy.

⁴⁷ Interview with Deborah Pope. Shangri La, Hawai'i. 10 April 2007.

⁴⁸ Hibbard: 30.

5 | *Conclusion*

One of the first questions that comes to my mind after this thorough examination of Duke's persona is: how did Western collectors of Islamic architecture envision themselves as focal points and representatives of Islamic culture against a Western backdrop? Much of this has to do with the patrons status in American society, which point in history they developed an architectural interest in Islamic culture, and how they saw themselves as socially-conscious individuals. Although these factors influenced, and sometimes detracted, Duke in her quest to build Shangri La, I am not convinced that she concerned herself with any of them. In looking at Shangri La from the perspective of the matron, I have portrayed a very self-centered drive to collect, build, and live. Yet, it is exactly this image that incites questions of accuracy and the interesting moments of tension that occur between Duke's accuracy and her fantasy.

In dealing with the constructs of feminist history, Joan W. Scott introduces "fantasy as a formal mechanism for the articulation of scenarios that are at once historically specific in their representation and detail and transcendent of historical specificity."⁴⁹ Her introduction of levels of fantasy are very relevant to the role that Shangri La continued to play for Doris Duke throughout her life. Although the residence narrates a somewhat anachronistic history, it is a representative image of Duke's fantasy, in which she reconstructs elements of her own version of accuracy with support of her advisors. Shangri La then set the stage for her reenactments; it served as a structure where she could escape personal conflict for elongated periods of time, interact with native Hawaiians and re-emerge just long enough to satisfy social requirements (Fig. 29). Duke's engagement with Shangri La satisfied her artistic and social desires and gave

⁴⁹ Scott: 288.

her a palpable history. Above all else, it has and will continue to perpetuate the image of an intriguing persona for years to come.

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Figures

Fig. 1: Doris Duke with J. B. Duke, 1943



Fig. 2: Doris Duke with Nanaline Holt Inman Duke, 1923



Fig. 3: Doris Duke with Alletta Morris in Newport, Rhode Island



Fig. 4: Duke Farms in Hillborough, NJ, created in 1893



Fig. 5: Duke house in New York, New York, Purchased in 1912

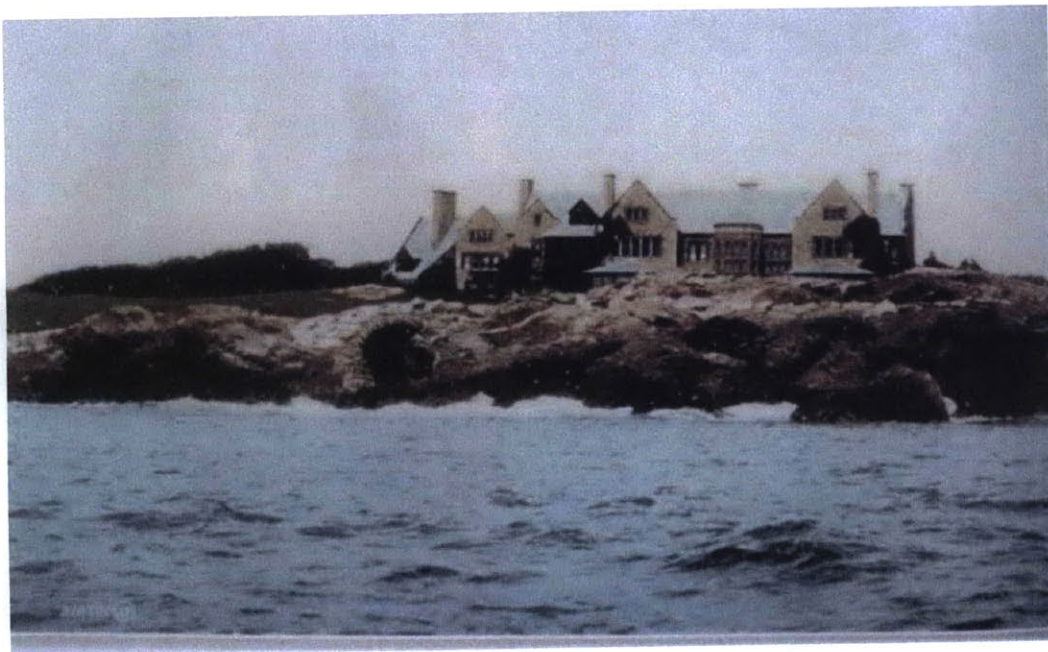


Fig. 6: Rough Point, Rhode Island, Old Vanderbilt house purchased in 1922



Fig.7: Doris with Cromwell and unidentified Egyptian man, 1935 Fig. 8: Indian newspaper clipping



Fig. 9: Photo in scrapbook of couple in remote area of Jammu, Northern India with locals



Fig. 10: Indian newspaper story of Duke/Gandhi meeting



Fig. 11: Aerial view of island of Oahu, Hawai'i. Waikiki is to the far left and the location of Shangri is circled.

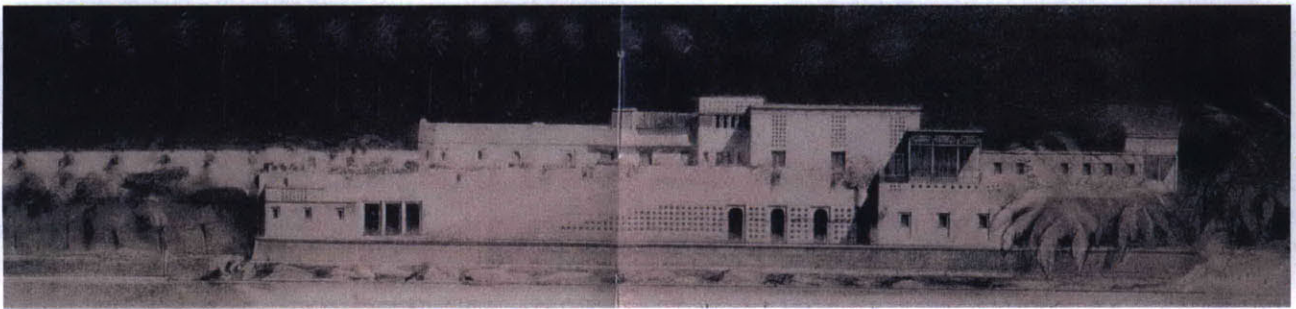


Fig. 12: Initial elevation sketch of Shangri La by Wyeth in 1936



Fig. 13: Current elevation of Shangri La

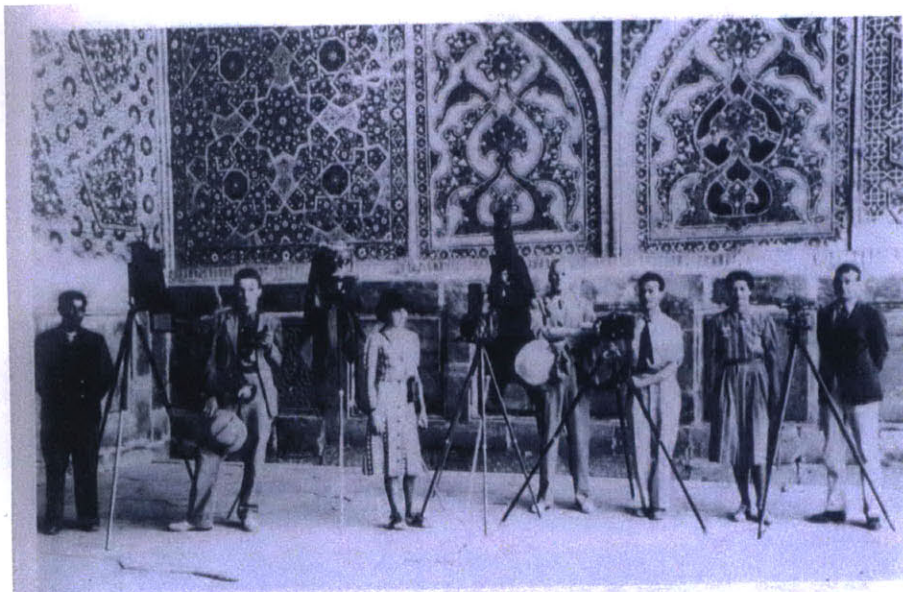


Photo. *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute*, Courtesy SoPA

THE INSTITUTE CREW IN MASJED-I JAMI', ISFAHAN, MAY 1939

Left to right: Sarkis, Arthur's nephew Richard Pope, epigrapher Mary Crane, AUP, Stephen Nyman, Margaret Surre Wilber, and Donald N. Wilber

Fig. 14: Sarkis and Mary Crane accompanying Arthur Upham Pope on his 9th expedition of Iran in 1939



Fig. 15: Doris Duke's photo of Mary Crane in front of the Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, Iran in 1938

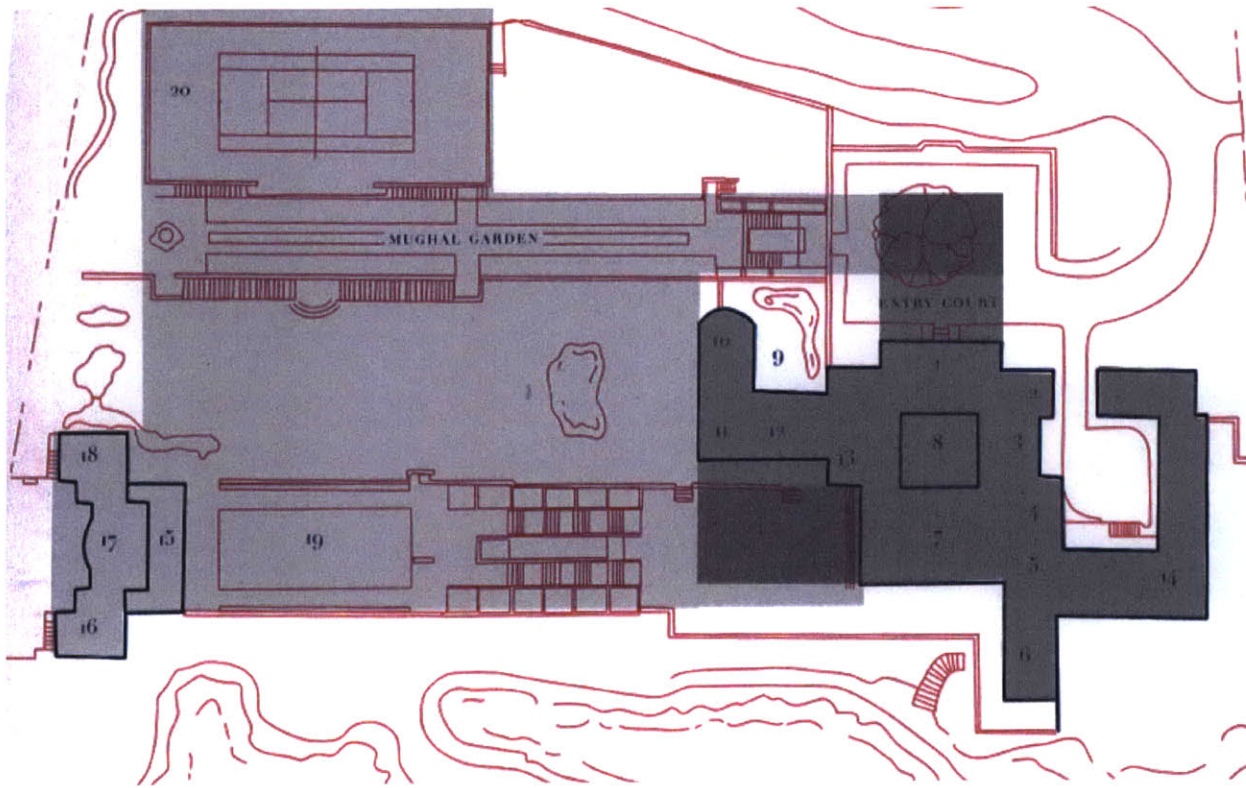


Fig. 16: Plan of Shangri La. Dark grey areas indicate private spaces, light grey highlights the public spaces.



Fig. 17: Current elevation of Playhouse



Fig. 18: Elevation of Chihil Sutun, Iran

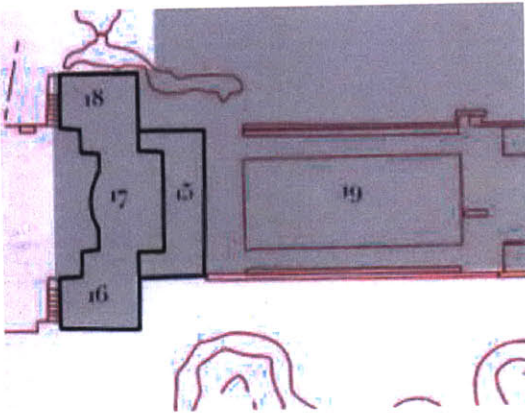


Fig. 19: Plan of Playhouse

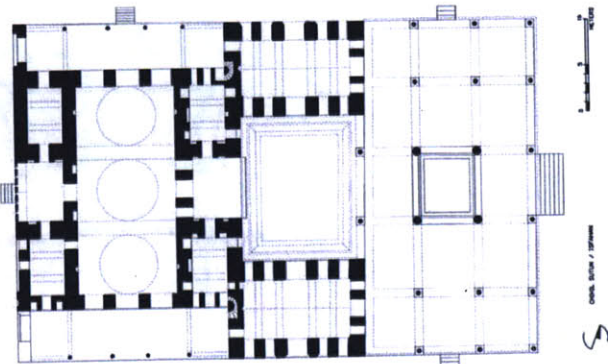


Fig. 20: Plan of Chihil Sutun, plan from archnet.org

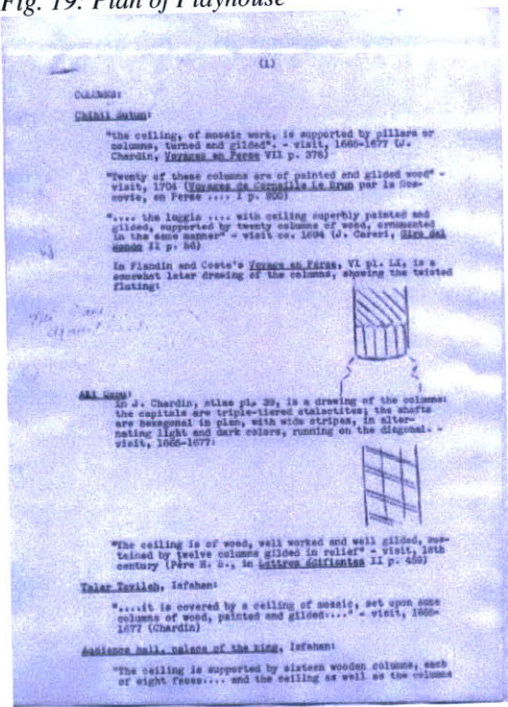


Fig. 21: Letter from Mary Crane to Doris Duke, 1938



Fig. 22: Detail of roof and columns of Playhouse



Fig. 23: Rene Martin's watercolor drawing of Shangri La living room

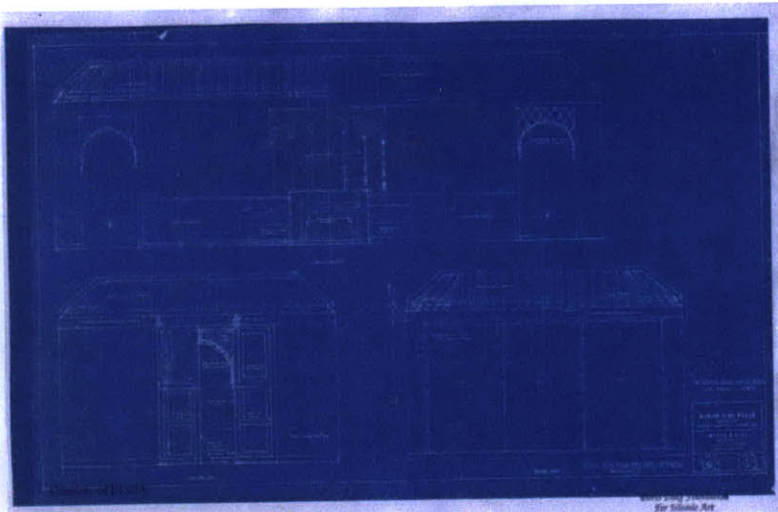


Fig. 24: Wyeth's blueprint of living room elevation showing changes to Martin's suggestions



Fig. 25: Current interior of living room

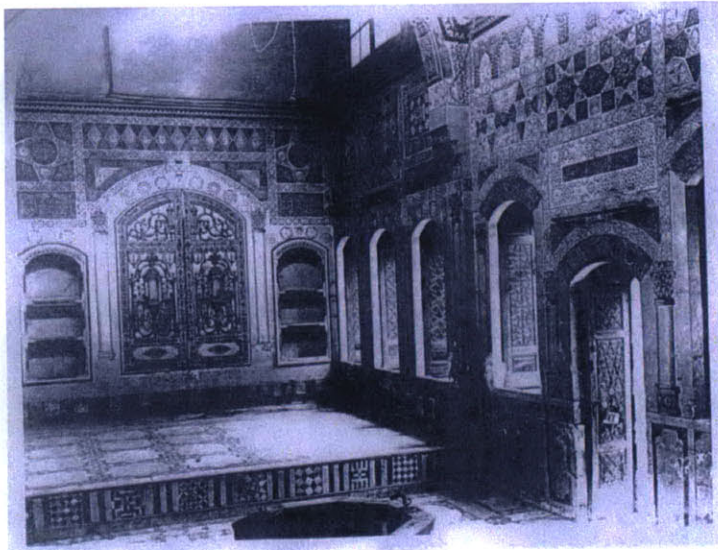


Fig.26: Al-Quwwatli home, Damascus, Syria, 1797



Fig.27: Al-Quwwatli room in NYU Hegop Kervorkian Center, 1974



Fig.28: Al-Quwwatli room in Shangri La as Turkish and Baby Turkish rooms



Fig. 29: Doris Duke at Shangri La, in an Indian magenta and blue kurta-pajama overlooking the Pacific Ocean.