

Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures (Mughal-Christian Miniatures)



عمل فرزند ملک

Edited by Khalid Anis Ahmed

Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures

(Mughal-Christian Miniatures)

Edited by
Khalid Anis Ahmed

Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures

(Mughal-Christian Miniatures)



A National College of Arts
Publication

Edited by
Ahmed, Khalid Anis

**Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures
(Mughal-Christian Miniatures)**

A National College of Arts Publication

Copyright © 1995 National College of Arts, Lahore, Pakistan

All Rights Reserved.

No part of this publication may be
reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or
transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise),
without the prior written permission of the Publisher.

ISBN 969 0 10204 4

Distributed by
Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd.
60, Shahrah-e-Quaid-e-Azam, Lahore
277, Peshawar Road, Rawalpindi
Mehran Heights, Main Clifton Road, Karachi, Pakistan.

Layout and Title Designed by Mahmoodul Hasan Jafri,
based on a Painting of "An Old Sufi" by Mughal Artist
Farrukh Beg, and an engraving "Dolor" by Marten de Vos.
Backcover is based on a Painting by an unknown Mughal Artist
and an engraving by Albrecht Dürer "Madonna under a Tree".

Typeset in 10 on 14 point Leawood
Designed, Printed and Bound in Pakistan by
Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., Lahore.

Contents

Acknowledgements — 6

Preface — 7

Prof. Sajida Haider Vandal

Introduction — 9

Khalid Anis Ahmed

History of Mughal Painting,
Intercultural and Artistic Influences — 11

Khalid Anis Ahmed

European Painting and Mughal Miniatures — 29

P. Bach

Mughal-Christian Miniatures — 37

L. Bressan

Mirat-ul-Quds (The Mirror of Holiness)
or Dastan-i-Masih — 79

Nusrat Ali

Khalid Anis Ahmed

Mughal Influences on
European Painting of 17th Century — 93

P. Bach

L. Bressan

Manuscripts & Glossary — 103

List of Illustrations — 104

Bibliography — 107

Index — 108

Acknowledgments

Khalid Anis Ahmed

This book would not have been possible without the continuing interest of several people and the financial support of different organizations. The support of Ms. Erica Dodd, Mr. Ijaz Ahmed Chaudry, Nusrat Ali, Father Saldanha and Tariq Mahmood is acknowledged.

The continuous support and keen interest of Prof. Sijida Haider Vandal and Mr. Luigi Bressan in the creation of this book is gratefully acknowledged.

Iffat Ahmed has been a great help in editing, as she has read the manuscript several times. Faqir Ijaz-ud-Din's help in the earlier stages of the work was invaluable. I would like to thank Mr. Zaheer Salam, Director, Ferozsons for his personal support and participation to get this book published. I am grateful to Mr. Fazal Muhammad Khan's numerous hours of hard work and effort to put together the text and illustrations to achieve excellent results. I am also thankful to Mr. Mahmoodul Hasan Jafri for designing the layout and cover of the book.

The Chester Beatty Library, the Lahore Museum and the Vatican Library very generously gave permission to print the Miniatures and Engravings in their collection. Funds for the publication were given by NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) and the Netherlands Embassy in Pakistan through whose assistance this work was given concrete shape, thus continuing a meaningful encounter of cultures.

Acknowledgments are also due to the following for origin of the Miniature Paintings and Engravings.

- Arts of Asia* (Magazine), August 1974. Plate 25.
 Beach, Milo Cleveland. *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge, 1992. Plates 6, 7, 46.
 Chaitanya, K. *Manuscript. Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, New Delhi, 1979. Plate 33.
 Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Plates 16, 20, 24, 26, 29, 35, 36, 52, 56, 61, 64.
 Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, vi, Boston Plates 42, 43.
 Du Ry, C. J. *Art of Islam*, New York, 1970. Plate 13.
 Falk, T-Archer, M. *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London-Delhi-Karachi, 1981. Plates 27, 40, 41.
 Gascoigne, B. *The Great Moghuls*, New York, 1971. Plate 22.
 Guy, J-Swallow, D. *Arts of India 1550-1900*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990. Plate 11.
 Harle, J. C. *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, New York, 1986. Plate 18.
India Magazine, January 1992. Plate 78.
 Jones, D. *A Mirror of Princes*, Bombay, 1987. Plates 55, 58.
 Kuehnle, E-Goetz, H. *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1926. Plate 14.
 Lahore Museum, Lahore. Plates 28, 32, 65-75.
 Losty, J. P. *The Art of the Book of India*, London, 1982. Plate 31.
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (New Delhi) *Muslims in India*, 1990, Plate 19.
 Okada, A. *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris, 1992. Plates 2, 3, 8-10, 34, 38, 44, 48-54.
 Pal, P. *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, Bombay, 1991. Plates 5, 21.
 Pal, P. *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles, 1989. Plates 4, 23, 30, 76.
 Papadopoulos, A. *L'Islam*, Milano, 1992. Plate 17.
 PIA, *Humsafar* (Magazine), January, 1991, Plate 62.
 Post Cards. 15, 39, 47, 63, 77.
 Robinson, B. W. *Keir Collection. Islamic Painting*, London, 1976. Plate 45.
 The Vatican Library, Rome. Plates 1, 57.
 Welch, S. C. *India Art and Culture 1300-1900*, New York, 1985. 37, 59, 60.

Preface

Prof. Sajida Haider Vandal

The theme of intercultural encounters emerged in my discussions with Mr. Bressan, Papal Nuncio in Pakistan (1989–93), during the course of a dinner at Ijaz Ahmed Chaudry's house. Starting with the impact of colonization on the colonized, the conversation turned to the exchange of ideas that is bound to occur in any encounter between diverse cultures. Did the encounter between the West and the Subcontinent result in the cultural death of arts in India; did whatever survive do so in spite of the colonizer's motives; did the Subcontinent absorb more than it gave to the local arts forever tainted and stunted or, did the encounter enrich the arts of both cultures? We both agreed that the questions merited detailed examination by experts and the results be published by the National College of Arts.

The initial idea was to examine Painting and Architecture through a specific period of time but the scope was narrowed to Miniature Painting and the cross cultural encounter between the Jesuit and the Mughal Court. Scholars from the West and from Pakistan were contacted to contribute to this venture. The result, then, is this book.

It seems appropriate that the book is being published in Lahore, which was a cultural center of fame during the Ghaznavid and Mughal eras and todate

is the cultural heart of Pakistan. Lahore lies on the crossing of the ancient East-West route connecting Central Asia to India, and the North-South link between Kashmir and the Sind. It, thus, played a central role in encounters, through trade and war, between various cultures. Lahore's encounter with the Mughal Emperors [1526–1857] had a lasting effect on the cultural ethos of the city.

The Mughals made Lahore a provincial capital and extended patronage to designers of high calibre, calligraphers, bookbinders, artists, architects and masons. Artists ateliers were established in Lahore where master calligraphists and painters from Persia worked. In the process of consolidating his rule, the third Mughal Emperor, Akbar, settled in Lahore for fourteen years [1584–1598]. During this period there was an unprecedented development in the arts, particularly Miniature Painting, more than fifteen famous works including *Tarikhe Khandan-i-Timurya* and *Muraqqa-e-Bimithol* were illustrated in Lahore. Jahangir continued patronage of painting while his son, Emperor Shah Jahan's main interest was Architecture. It was the Mughals who developed the art of Kashi or Chini work, first introduced to India in the thirteenth century by the Chinese, to the level that Lahore became famous as the center of Kashi work. From its earliest instance of use in external

ornamentation in the tomb of Shah Musa [1519 A.D.] it reached the splendour in tile work of the Wazir Khan Masjid [1634]. Several Mughal monuments adorned with glazed tiles can be seen in Lahore notable among which are the Lahore Fort [First Half of 17th Century], Chauburji [1646 A.D.] and Gulabi Bagh [1655 A.D.]. The city of Lahore is a tribute to the aesthetic sensibilities of its Mughal patrons and the expertise of its artists and craftsmen.

It is noteworthy that the ethos, character and physical shape of Lahore is a result of the encounter of cultures. The historic core of Lahore, the Walled City as laid out by Malik Ayaz, Mahmud of Ghazni's viceroy, and enlarged by Kutbuddin Aibek is an expression of the ruling Turko-Iranian culture which was further enhanced by the Mughals. The British established their cultural domination in Lahore after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 and thus introduced another cultural strain which is reflected in its later development.

First meaningful contact between Europeans and the people of Lahore took place during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.). Having consolidated his accession to the throne, Akbar tried to bring together different and sometimes opposing strands of Indian life into one national policy. He constituted his court to be a place where people of diverse faiths and opinions came together to debate issues. Discussions between Muslims, Hindus and all others were encouraged. When the news reached Akbar of Portuguese occupation of Goa, he sent a special emissary to request the Jesuit Fathers to send a mission to his court. Subsequently a mission arrived in Lahore on 5th of August, 1595 (third mission) that was received most cordially by the emperor. Emperor Akbar assured the mission full security and freedom and called upon the Fathers "to build a church for which a site was pro-

vided near the palace.

Jahangir, Akbar's son and successor, continued to befriend the Jesuits and authorized them to enlarge their mission buildings. These were the earliest structures built by Europeans in Lahore and introduced the innovation of a verandah surrounding a structure different from the traditional inward looking verandahs or walkways opening on the internal courtyard. Lahore as it is today has thus been enriched by the encounter of various cultures. The intercultural encounter between the Jesuits and the Mughal Courts, the theme of this book is a subject which has had little attention from scholars, it is, thus, hoped that it will find its place and be of interest to the public.

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in Miniature Painting in the general public in Pakistan. The National College of Arts has had a continuing involvement with Miniature Painting and some of the most renowned Miniature Painters have been either on the faculty or associated with the College. Ustad Haji Mohammed Sharif, the Pride of Performance Laureate was on the faculty of the college and Sheikh Shujaullah continued the tradition of the great Master. Bashir Ahmed under whose guidance Miniature Painters continue to be trained at the National College of Arts has taken the Art to another dimension, with his students has explored contemporary themes, images and styles, thus taking it forward from the traditional reproduction of works of the old Masters. Khalid Anis Ahmed's return to Pakistan and joining the faculty of NCA was indeed opportune, for he quickly took charge when Faqir Ijaz-ud-din could not continue as editor because of other pressing engagements.

August, 1994.

Principal,
National College of Arts,
Lahore, Pakistan.

Introduction

Khalid Anis Ahmed

It seems quite surprising to bring together Mughal civilization with that of the West and particularly with Christianity. During the Mughal era, starting with Akbar's period in the second half of the 16th century, there had been an intercultural link between the West and Mughal India. The Portuguese had already established colonies in Goa and along the coastal areas by early 16th century. It was Akbar's quest for knowledge about European culture and religion, that lead to the establishment of relationship with the Portuguese. Subsequently, there were three Jesuit missions in 1580, 1591 and 1595 which came to Akbar's Court. This started an intercultural exchange not only with the Portuguese, but also with British, Dutch and ultimately with the rest of Europe and the Mughal Court.

Portuguese (through the Jesuit priests), British and Dutch were all trying to establish trade relation with the Mughals, to gain supremacy over each other. The Jesuit priests realizing that both Akbar and Jahangir greatly admired European arts and crafts (paintings in particular), presented them, not only Christian paintings but also non-religious paintings like portraits of the Portuguese nobles. Later both British and Dutch did the same. Sir Thomas Roe, the British ambassador presented a great number of paintings to the Emperor Jahangir. A great number of Flemish en-

gravings found their way to India as well.

The Imperial Mughal artists made copies of these paintings and engravings. They also painted adapted versions of these paintings and prints for their royal patrons. As the European – Christian works were accessible to the Mughal artists, they were not only exposed to the European – Christian themes, but also to the European artistic traditions. Within a few decades the European artistic tradition had become part of their repertoire, blending in with the Mughal traditions. However, the European artistic influence was very subtle during Akbar and even in Jahangir's reign. As Mughal artists were essentially working for the emperors, therefore, two different styles of painting emerged. Paintings depicting the Mughal Court scenes, Royal and nobility portraits with dazzling, jewel-like quality were more in the typical Mughal style with very subtle European influence.

Mughal artists did not confine to the traditional Mughal style, while painting *Dervishes, Mullahs, Sufis*, ascetics and philosophers. They used a more personal and romantic expression indicating a breaking away from the typical Mughal court style. These paintings depict a strong use of European artistic traditions, like, aerial perspective, spatial depth, chiaroscuro effect, capturing of atmosphere, use of full faces, frontal poses, sub-

dued colours and a humanistic approach. Some of the most prominent Mughal artists like Kesu Das, Basawan, Govardhan, Payag, Bichitr and Abu'l Hasan, etc. capitalized on the European artistic traditions, making it part of their artistic repertoire, producing highly personal and romantic works.

These Mughal-Christian miniatures are now in public and private collections all over the world. A small number of these miniatures have been reproduced in various publications. This particular aspect of Mughal painting had never been studied extensively. Percy Brown in his book "Indian Painting under the Mughals" has a chapter dealing with European influences on Mughal painting, which is by far the most detailed study.

This publication is an extensive study, focusing on the intercultural encounter between the Mughal and Christian-European Civilizations, in the Mughal miniatures. This publication consists of five articles by Pakistani and European authors with eighty illustrations, thus continuing a meaningful intercultural encounter. The first article deals with the historical perspective and artistic influences. The second article is a brief review of the 16th Century European painting, its various Schools and which schools influenced Mughal painting. The third article is on Mughal-Christian miniatures, with references to hundreds of miniatures both in private and public collections and where some of these have been published, including a comprehensive list of publications dealing with Mughal painting.

An important contribution is the article on the rare illustrated manuscript *Mirat-ul-Quds* (mirror of holiness) in the Lahore Museum Collection. These illustrations are being published for the first time with partial translation of the related text. The Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier translated the life of Christ in Persian on the order of Emperor Akbar. This manuscript has been mentioned by numerous writers including E.D.

Maclagan, Vincent Smith and Father Felix.

The last article deals with the Mughal influence on the 17th century European painting, an aspect of this intercultural encounter, which has been neglected so far. Once the contact between Europe and India had been established, we find drawings depicting common life and customs, as well as life of Emperors of the Subcontinent. Mughal miniatures were being brought and collected in Europe, even in the early 16th century. Artists like Peter Mundy, Reynold Elstrack, Puarchas were inspired by Mughal miniatures. Rembrandt, the 17th century Dutch master took great interest in Mughal miniatures. The copies or drawings he made inspired from Mughal miniatures are still considered among the most stunning drawings of his work. Aert de Gelder, Robert Hatfield Ellesworth, Willem Schellinks, etc. were among the artists inspired by Mughal miniatures. Maria Therese of Austria decorated one of the schoenburnn Schloss rooms, the "Million Gulden Room" with 260 Mughal and Persian miniatures.

The 17th century, intercultural exchanges were the first openings for Mutual cultural enrichment of Europe and India. Besides the exquisite miniatures the Mughal Empire brought to Europe, grand costumes, magnificent jewellery, fantastic and exotic items, which are now greatly admired and appreciated throughout the world. The word "Grand Mughal" has become synonymous for opulence and wealth in the West. Another example of the intercultural exchange can be seen in the Fables of French author Jean de La Fontaine. He acknowledged having inspired from the Indian Bidpai (Persian version of David Sahib) published in 1644. Imam Baksh Lahori illustrated the Fables in 1840, in a late Mughal style.

In my opinion this publication will be of great value to scholars and students of arts, it will also be of interest to the Public, both in Eastern and the Western world.

History of Mughal Painting, Intercultural and Artistic Influences

Khalid Anis Ahmed *

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *Taswir*. His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have attained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the *daroghas* and the clerks, he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries.¹

Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's famous historian, wrote a chapter on painting in *A'in-i-Akbari*, a part of *Akbar-nama* which was completed in 1598. This statement of Abu'l Fazl clearly reflects the attitude of the great Mughal Emperor Akbar, towards painting and other forms of art.

It was during Akbar's reign (1556–1605), under his personal supervision and guidance, that a great tradition of Mughal Painting (generally known as Mughal miniatures) developed. This grand tradition was carried on under the Imperial Mughal Patronage of Jahangir, and Shah Jahan for at least a hundred years, till Aurangzeb Alamgir deposed his father Shah Jahan in 1658. Aurangzeb being an orthodox Muslim did not patronize painting as his predecessors. After Aurangzeb, the decline of the Mughal dynasty began. Imperial atelier and the artists did not receive personal royal patronage, as they received during Akbar, Jahangir and even in Shah Jahan's periods. However, Mughal

miniatures were produced for another two hundred years till the end of the Mughal dynasty in 1857, but they were inferior in quality to those produced from Akbar to Shah Jahan's period.

It was Akbar's grandfather Babur (1483–1530) who started the Mughal dynasty after defeating Abrahim Lodhi at Panipat in 1527. Babur was a sixth generation, direct descendant of Amir Timur, a central Asian Turk. His lineage from his mother's side was with Chingiz Khan. He inherited the minor Kingdom of Fargana (in Turkistan) in 1494, when he was only twelve. He captured Timur's capital Samarkand three times, but was driven out by the Uzbeks. So he decided to conquer India, and established a Timurid rule in Hindustan. Babur himself preferred to be of Turkish heritage, as the Timurid descendants were highly cultured, with polished courts. They were great patrons of music, poetry, architecture, art and painting.

Babur himself was an accomplished poet, writer and a calligraphist, he invented the style, *Khatt-i-Baburi*. He wrote

* Khalid Anis Ahmed is Assistant Professor of the History of Art at the National College of Arts, Lahore, Pakistan.

his memoirs "*Babur-nama*" in Turkish prose during his last years in India. Babur had an eye of a painter, he describes flora, fauna, birds, people, buildings of Hindustan and the events of his life with an immaculate detail. Babur died early at the age of 47, he did not have time to illustrate his memoirs with paintings. Being an aesthetic spirit, given the opportunity, he would have achieved great things.

Thus a new dynasty was founded in India by Babur known to the entire world as Moghul - an adaptation of Mughal, the Persian word for Mongol.² Mughals were Muslims and followed Suni sect of Islam. They were also strongly influenced by the Persians.

Humayun, Babur's eldest of the four sons ascended the throne at Delhi in 1530. Humayun inherited many of his father's attributes, like his charming personality, an accomplished poet, a collector of books, rare manuscripts, a great patron of art and painting. However, he did not possess the character or administrative qualities of his father. He wanted to create a court and a cultural centre in Delhi equal to his ancestors in Samarkand and Herat. Humayun was not able to accomplish his goal, as in 1540, he was driven out of Delhi and from his Throne by Sher Shah Suri an Afghan, after a series of defeats. It was during his exile that Hamida Bano Begum gave birth to his son Akbar at Umar Kot in Sind in 1542.³

It was Humayun who introduced the art of miniature painting to India. For fifteen years he remained in exile and homeless, a King without a Kingdom, spending most of his time travelling and in intellectual pursuits. He spent a year at the Safavid court of Shah Tahmasp in Persia. Humayun's experience at the Persian Court had an important effect, on the arts and painting in India later on. Bihzad, the great master, who worked in the Timurid period and also founder of the Safavid school of painting had died

prior to Humayun's stay in Persia. Bihzad's pupils Sultan Muhammad and Muzaffir Ali kept the great master's tradition alive. Some of the most brilliant paintings were produced to illustrate books during this period.

Humayun travelled to various historical cities, visiting poets, scholars and well-known artists in their workshops. In Tabriz he met painters like Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz. Mir Sayyid Ali was a great painter and a poet, whereas Khawaja Abdus Samad was an accomplished painter and a calligraphist. Both of them were pupils of the great master Bihzad. Humayun offered both painters employment at his court and invited them to follow him to Delhi after he had recovered his Kingdom. It was in 1550, several years later, that both artists joined Humayun in Kabul// While preparing to win his throne in India, he and the young prince Akbar took lessons in drawing and painting. At the same time Humayun commissioned Mir Sayyid Ali to illustrate "*Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah*", a famous Persian classic, a grand project with twelve volumes, with one hundred folios, each illustrated (each page measuring 22 by 28 inches).⁴

Humayun regained his throne in 1555 and once again he became the emperor of India. Both painters followed Humayun to Delhi, and continued to work on the first series of paintings. Khawaja Abdus Samad also collaborated with both Persian and Indian artists, thus merging the Persian and the Indian artistic traditions, under the Persian leadership, known as Mughal school of miniature painting.⁵

At this point it would be beneficial to go briefly through the history of painting in India before the Mughals. The Indian Subcontinent has a history dating back to prehistoric times. Bright colours and strong lines are the strongest elements of Indian painting. Most of the ancient paintings have been lost, but there are literary accounts speaking of wall painting. Mural

paintings dating back to about the 2nd century at Ajanta show the greatest tradition of Indian art, for their colour, composition and the draftsmanship of the unknown artists. 12th century Brahminical frescoes at Ellora, show that the tradition of Ajanta murals was still alive. Illustrated palm leaf manuscripts were being painted in Eastern India by the end of the 11th century. In Western India (Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa) the earliest surviving manuscript paintings with Jain and Hindu subject matter date back to the 12th century. These were painted on palm leaves and on wooden covers of the manuscripts. During the 13th century, palm leaf was gradually replaced by paper. Paper was introduced in Northern India in the Deccan by the newly established Muslim court.

Both Eastern and Western Indian styles show a marked change from naturalism of the Ajanta style. These manuscripts were archaic in style, sharp, linear, flat, simple forms, architectural painting reduced to the essential, profile faces with the second eye following the same direction. Their palettes were brilliant, using red, ultramarine and some yellow colour.⁶

In the early 11th century, before the Mughals a number of Islamic Kingdoms had emerged in the Indian Subcontinent. By 1335, Islam had spread from Sind to Bengal with the exception of the extreme south and some Rajput States. Muhammad Ibn Tughluq (1325-51) was Sultan of Delhi, with the disintegration of his sultanate a number of independent Muslim States were formed in Northern India and Deccan. These new sultanates became important cultural and political centers in the 14th and 15th centuries with Persian as their court language. Thus emerged what is known as the Sultanate style, which is visible in their architecture and paintings. This style reflects the origin of their patron's culture in Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. As the new rulers established a court culture of their

own, they were primarily dependent on artists and craftsmen trained in Indian Hindu and Jain traditions.

Nimat-nama "Book of recipes" and *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw were among other illustrated manuscripts from the Sultanate period. Both show an important combination of Persian and Indian artistic, stylistic traits which seem to predict and provide a mode for early Mughal manuscripts.⁷

When the Mughals came to power in India they followed their Timurid tradition to provide Imperial patronage to the arts and painting, Humayun had provided the artistic foundation.

It was during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) that India experienced the most extraordinary transformation of the arts. Akbar founded and developed the Imperial studio (*Kitab Khanah*) similar to the Persian style. A large number of painters, calligraphers, illuminators, gilders, margin-cutters, paper makers, book binders, polishers, colour grinders and gold-beaters, etc. were employed. Akbar asked Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad to head the *Kitab Khanah* and train the court painters. Despite all the military endeavours to control, conquer and expand his Kingdom, he personally supervised the court atelier. He took keen interest in the work of court painters, which resulted in a new eclectic style, merging Persian, Chinese (indirectly), Mongolian, Indian and even European artistic traditions. Akbar though illiterate was very fond of books, he could not read himself but he had books read to him, had discussions with intellectuals, religious leaders of various religions including Christian fathers. Books were translated from Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. He recruited the best artists from all over the country. There were over a hundred artists working in the Imperial *Kitab Khanah*, where number of manuscripts were illustrated. Beside completing *Hamza-nama*, he commissioned *Tuti-*

1. Frontispiece from the first volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, published by Christopher Plantyn, 1578. Vatican Library, Rome.

nama, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, history books like *Babur-nama*, *Akbar-nama*, *Chingiz-nama*, *Zafar-nama*, *Razam-nama*, *Ramayana*, the *Nal Daman*, *Kalilava Dimna*, and *Iyar-i-Danish*, etc. to be illustrated.⁸

A collective approach was used, two or three artists were assigned to a single work. Younger artists assisted the more experienced painters in colouring, whereas the experienced painters were responsible for the composition, drawing and portraiture. Names of the portrait painters, the designers and colourists were recorded on the lower margin of the paintings by court clerks which helped to determine the individual skill and the specialty of these artists. Abu'l Fazl in *A'in-i-Akbari* mentions at least seventeen names, out of which thirteen were Hindus.⁹ Accomplished men came to this centre of learning from all over the orient.

Besides illustrating manuscripts, many other paintings were made to be kept in the albums (*Muraqqas*). Animals, birds, flora, secular subjects, hunting and daily life scenes were depicted. Portraiture became a very important subject matter. Abu'l Fazl writes, "His Majesty sat for his likeness and also ordered to have likenesses taken of all *grandeess* of the realm. An immense Album was thus formed, those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."¹⁰

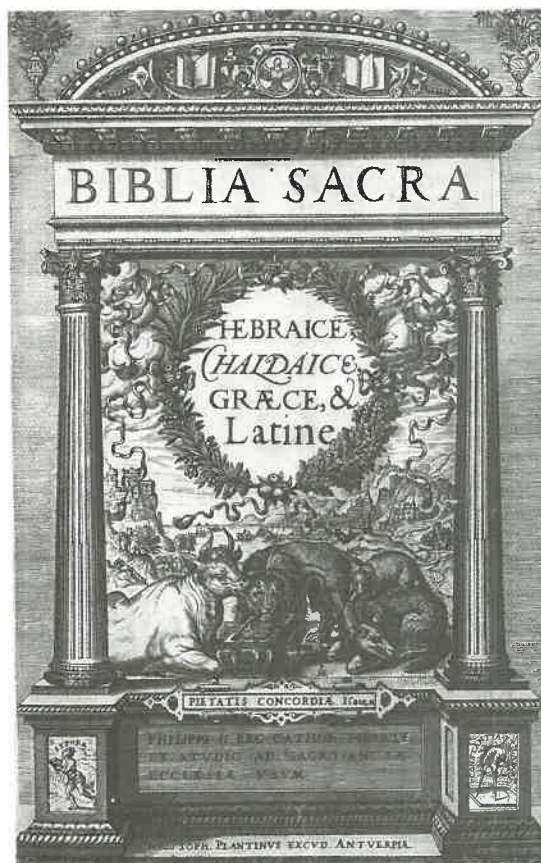
Akbar wanted exact likeness of the per-

son being portrayed. There was remarkable accuracy and expressiveness in the faces, for the body established conventional formulas were followed. Most portraits depict formal but elegant and dignified posture, with full length figure, showing three quarter

body. Mostly male courtiers were painted during Akbar's period, as females were not allowed to appear in the open court. During the later part of Jahangir's period, women became popular subject matter, due to Nur Jahan's (Jahangir's favourite queen) influence.

Religious subject matters were also depicted. As already mentioned, famous Jain, Hindu and Buddhist manuscripts were illustrated. Some Christian religious paint-

ings were copied or painted under the Jesuit influence as early as 1580. Akbar and Jahangir both possessed Christian paintings which were gifts from the Jesuits. Akbar was presented a copy of Plantyn's *Polyglot Bible* of 1569-1572, which contained illustrations engraved by Flemish artists of Quentin Masty School (1466-1530) (Fig. 1). The Jesuit priests from Goa had also introduced a number of European paintings in Mughal India to evangelize and to decorate their churches. The Madonna and Child, Virgin Mary were the most popular subject matters along with other Christian religious themes. There were a few European painters at the Mughal Court, but very little is known about them.¹¹



Christian-European painting had definitely made its appearance at Akbar's court, and Mughal artists were very much familiar with such works, as they had made copies of these works for their patrons. It is interesting to note very little Christian-European influence can be seen in the miniatures painted during Akbar's period, except in the copies made from Christian-European art for the Emperor. Also of the large number of paintings and illustrations produced by the Mughal school, Christian paintings represent only a very small portion of it.

Paintings of the Mughal period, particularly of Akbar and Jahangir's reign reflect the personality of their patron. Akbar was a liberal, tolerant and unorthodox man. He was curious by nature. He used to invite religious leaders and philosophers from various religions, i.e., Muslim, Jain, Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian (Parsee) and Christian for discussions and debates. Akbar respected these religions. He did not favour Christianity over other religions or practised Christianity. Probably Akbar found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, than any other religion examined by him so critically. In fact, Akbar showed his compliance with Zoroastrian rituals by adopting Persian names of the months and days and by celebrating the fourteen Persian festivals and rituals. He also acted in the same way with regard to Hinduism, Jainism and somewhat about Christianity. He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground to think of him, as Zoroastrian, Hindu, Jain or even a Christian.

He could not bring himself to accept frankly anyone of the four creeds, thus in 1582 he invented his own religion *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* or *Din-i-Ilahi* with himself as the religious head.¹² Some of his marriage alliances with Hindu and Rajputs were for political expediency and for keeping the empire together. Akbar created a new religion and a new culture by blending

these religions and various cultural traditions.

He applied the same eclectic approach to the art of painting by blending various artistic traditions, as Persian, Central Asian, Chinese, Indian and European (though very subtle), along with his own contributions. This created a unique, elegant, and a grand style, using rich variety of colours and tones, highly embellished, giving these miniatures, a jewel like quality. Elaborate scenes with figures were painted, based on attentive observation of the nature and event, with very precise drawing, applying a fine thin line. Architectural details were rendered very elaborately. There is a unique combination of realistic and stylistic approach in the rendering of trees, grass and animals. Beautiful borders with flora, fauna, birds and human figures give even greater decorative quality to these miniatures. An art of high merit, worthy of the Imperial Mughal atelier and primarily secular in nature.

Akbar stages a hunt near Lahore, an illustration from the *Akbar-nama*.¹³ Composition and portraits are by Miskin, whereas the colouring was done by Sarwan dated 1590 in Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is a typical work of Akbar's late period.

Akbar's son Salim became Emperor in 1605, after Akbar's death assuming the name Jahangir (world seizer). It was fortunate for the Mughal artists and the Mughal school that a great connoisseur and an art patron succeeded to the throne. Under his patronage the art of painting reached new heights, and various artistic elements which were blended together by Akbar, forming the Mughal style, were properly crystallized. Jahangir had inherited a stable and wealthy kingdom, which enabled him to rule peacefully and follow the pursuit of happiness. He also inherited the royal atelier with over a hundred artists. Jahangir had an artistic personality and showed all the traits of a true de-

scendent of the Timurids. He loved nature, was a keen observer of flowers, plants, animals and birds. He also loved sightseeing, sports, travelling, and was fond of music and poetry. In this respect he was much like his grandfather Babur.

Jahangir's knowledge and expertise of painting was so great that he wrote in his memoir *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, "My liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived to such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits and each face can be the work of different master, I can discover which face is the work of each one of them. If any other person put in the eye and the eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eye and the eyebrow".¹⁴ Jahangir from childhood had been in contact with painting in variety of ways. He had seen and had heard discussions about Western paintings brought by the Jesuit missions. He had lived with frescoes on the walls of the Palaces. As a prince he had employed the artist Aqa Riza whose son Abu'l Hasan grew up in his household, and later became a great painter. He was given the title of *Nadir-ur-Zaman*, the wonder of the world. He, as a prince, had his own atelier.

With this kind of artistic and aesthetic background, Jahangir personally patronized the royal atelier. He also reduced the size of the atelier by keeping only the best artists. Court scenes, flora, fauna, birds and especially portraiture were the popular subject matters. One of the most important developments was the introduction of dynastic and allegorical portraits. In such portraits the Emperor is usually shown in profile, and his head is encircled by a golden-halo (golden nimbus). The use of the golden halo around the Emperor's head started during

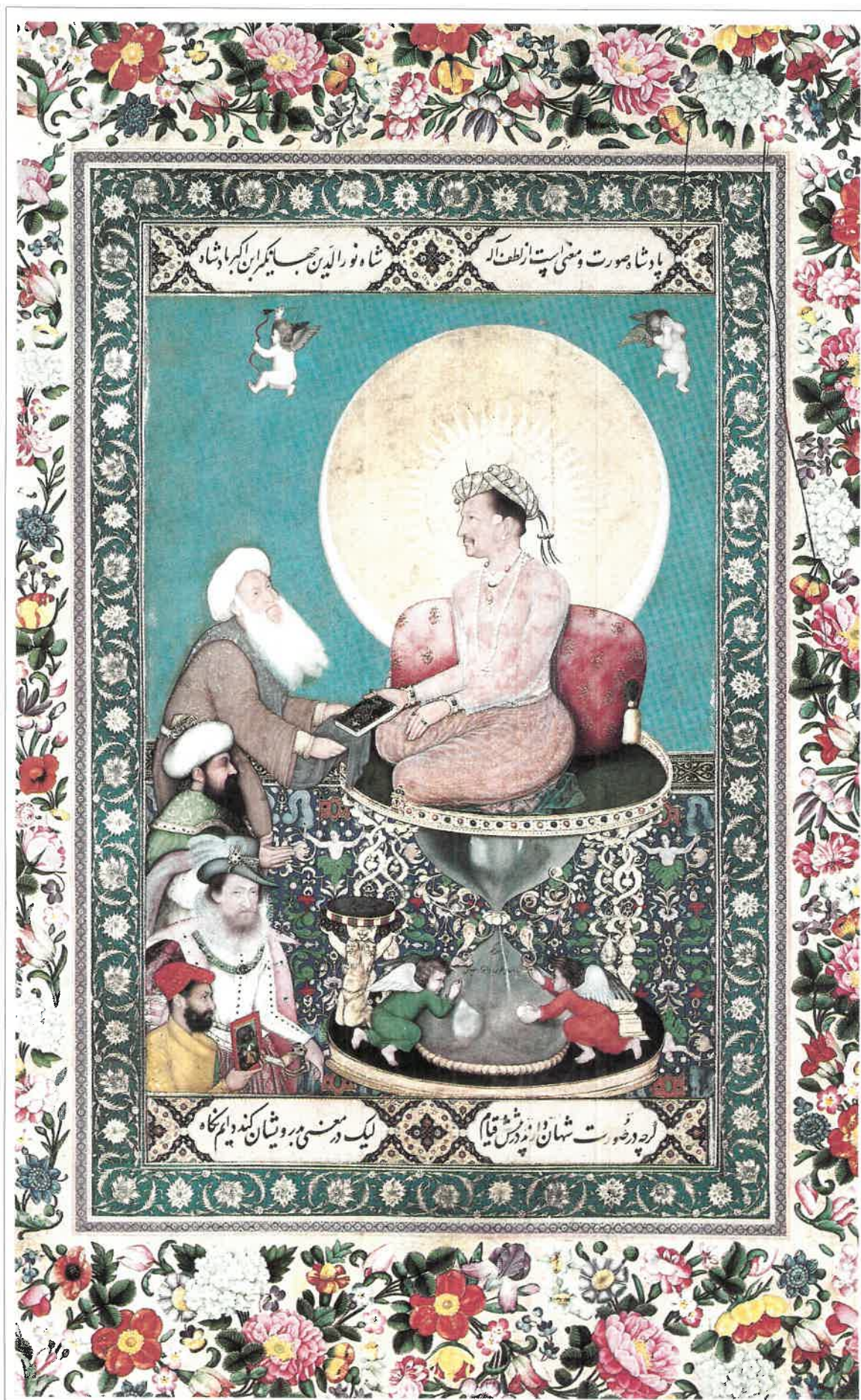
Jahangir's period to distinguish the Mughal Emperor from his subjects. This symbol was strictly used for the Emperor's portraits and not for any other member of the royal family.¹⁵ Jahangir also used the golden halo on his ancestor's portraits. Akbar's portrait with the lion and calf painted by Goverdhan dated 1630, a page from the Kevorkian Album in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,¹⁶ (Fig. 2) is an excellent example of such dynastic and allegorical portraits. The use of European type winged angels or cherubs playing musical instruments and one or two angels holding the crown above the emperor's head in the sky, show definitely Western influence. A golden halo was sometimes also used around the heads of Muslim and Hindu saints, like Mu'in ud-Din Chishti holding a globe and crown dated 1635 by Bichitr, a page from the Minto Album, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.¹⁷ The Emperor is usually dressed in rich fabric, either he is seated on the throne, or stands holding a globe, or appears with his father. Sometimes all three of them together, including his son Shah Jahan. He is also depicted in a variety of court scenes.

An excellent example of many such allegorical portraits is the one showing Jahangir preferring a Sufi Sheikh to the kings dated 1615-1618 by Bichitr, a page from St. Petersburg Album, Freer gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute Washington, D.C. (Fig. 3)¹⁸ highly decorative, magnificent and an outstanding work produced by the royal atelier. Towards the end of Jahangir's reign there seems to be an increase in the use of symbolism as he was attracted by mysticism. He visited and entertained *sufis*, holy men and ascetics. In this painting Jahangir is sitting on an hourglass throne and the two cherubs are writing that the Shah may live a thousand years. Jahangir hands a book of his life to the Sheikh. The Ottoman Sultan folds his hands humbly, James I, King of England (his likeness is probably

2. Akbar with Lion and Calf, Mughal, Circa 1630. Signed Govardhan. A page from the Kevorkian Album. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



3. *Jahangir preferring a Sufi Sheikh to Kings*,
Mughal, Circa 1615–
1618. Signed Bichitr.
A page from the *Saint
Petersburg Album*.
Freer Gallery of Art,
Smithsonian Institute,
Washington, D.C.



from the portrait presented by Roe) waits below, on the bottom left hand corner is the artist himself holding a framed painting. A huge halo encircles the Emperor's head, composed of the sun and the moon, which alludes to his title *Nur-ud-Din* (light of religion). Jahangir seemed to have indulged in the fantasies of being a ruler of the world, and he loved to be portrayed as a superman. Another example of such portrait is Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas of Persia, also from the same Album at Freer gallery, Washington, D.C. (Fig. 22). Here Jahangir is shown much taller, standing on a lion, and the Shah is leaning forward, appearing much smaller and humble, standing on a lamb. Both the lion and the lamb are lying on top of a globe. The same huge halo with the sun and the moon encircles both heads.

It was during Jahangir's period that female portraits began to appear due to the influence of Nur Jahan (Jahangir's favourite queen). Jahangir married Nur Jahan in 1611. Nur Jahan had a very strong personality and exercised complete control over her husband and even helped him in state affairs. A unique example of female portrait is Nur Jahan with a rifle by Abu'l Hasan, probably dated 1617, Rampur State Library, Rampur.¹⁹ She is standing strong and erect holding a rifle, three quarter body with a profile face depicting her strong personality.

During Jahangir's period, miniatures were also collected in albums called '*Muraqqas*'. These were often pasted on large sized papers and broad margins (*hashia*) were decorated with flora, fauna, and birds along with the human figures. Common day subjects were very popular during Jahangir's period. People around him, like courtiers, *mullahs*, *yogis*, *fakirs*, musicians, dancing girls, along with birds, animals, plants and flowers were popular subjects. The paintings show a great finesse, shading, rich modelling and spontaneity. Under Jahangir's influence the insertion of written texts in the mini-

ature itself is eliminated and they appear free from the outside elements, with the exception of the author's name and the seal of the emperor.

As already mentioned Jahangir had a keen and scientific interest in the natural world, he wrote careful observations of birds, animals and flowers in "*Jahangir-nama*" and had them painted. A Turkey cock by Mansur whose title was (*Nadir al-Asr*, wonder of the epoch) is an excellent example of bird painting under Jahangir.²⁰ This painting shows enormous detail, a combination of realism and stylistic rendering, highly refined in taste, worthy of the Mughal Emperor.

Unlike Akbar he was a faithful Muslim but he respected other religions, especially Christianity. He was cordial to the Jesuit priests assuring them of certain freedom, even of worship, and permitting them to establish a Church at Agra and Lahore. The Jesuits knew how Jahangir loved western painting. They presented the Emperor not only Christian paintings but also of non-religious subjects, like the portraits of the Portuguese nobles. A great number of copies or adaptations of Christian paintings were made during Jahangir's period. The Madonna and Child and Virgin Mary were most popular subjects. The Madonna and Child by Kesu, from Jahangir's Album, Berlin (Fig. 14) shows a very Baroque treatment of the drapery and the tree.

In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe came to the Mughal court as the British ambassador, he presented a number of European paintings to Jahangir which were secular in nature. There were a number of different portraits including that of the King and the Queen of England. Even the Dutch brought paintings to be presented to the Emperor.²¹

Christian subjects were also painted in Mughal Palaces. Father Xavier mentioned in his letter, that when Jahangir came to Lahore, he found his palace beautifully decorated and adorned with many paint-

4. *Shah Jahan holding a Turban Ornament*, a page from the *Late Shah Jahan Album*, Mughal, Circa 1635. Los Angeles Country Museum of Art.

ings. On the outer verandah in the middle of the ceiling is a good picture of our Saviour in glory surrounded by angels, and on the walls of the halls are some Portuguese figures of large size, beautifully painted. There are a number of other paintings with

Christian subjects.²² It is very evident that the Mughal artists had access to the Christian-European secular paintings and engravings, and they made copies or painted adapted versions for their patrons. It is interesting to note that even during Jahangir's period, Western influence on miniature painting was very subtle and adapted in his own manner. Jahangir wanted to keep paintings of his own people distinct and different. The exceptions were paintings depicting *sufis*, *dervishes* and ascetics, these paintings show a very strong European influence.

In 1620 Lahore became the centre of artistic activity. Jahangir stayed in Lahore for a long time after defeating prince Khusraw. The Imperial Library was shifted to Lahore from Agra. Jahangir had excellent literary and artistic taste. With his guidance and constant supervision Mughal miniatures reached its highest peak. His master artists painted some of the most beautiful, refined, high quality art, worthy of its patron.

Prince Khurram, third son of Jahangir succeeded to the throne, assuming the title of Shah Jahan (1628–1658) (ruler of the world). Shah Jahan was born to

Jahangir's Hindu wife Jodh Bai of the Rajput royal house of Jodhpur. He was the most favourite grandson of the emperor Akbar who kept him under his personal supervision from the time of his birth and always called him '*Shah Baba*'.

At Akbar's death in 1605, prince Khurram was only thirteen, he became close to his father Jahangir. Shah Jahan had a great passion for jewels; he was a great connoisseur of gems and precious stones. He himself was an expert designer and cutter; he was especially fond of emeralds which were coming from Columbia via the Philippines and Europe, this also shows the cultural exchange between the West and the East. His world famous Pea-



cock throne is a prime example of his love for gems and jewels. His tremendous love for jewellery is also obvious from his numerous portraits, holding or inspecting a piece of jewellery. An excellent example of such portraits is Shah Jahan holding a turban ornament dated 1635.²³ (Fig. 4). This painting has a jewel like quality, painted in typical style, strictly used for the Mughal Emperors in Shah Jahan's period. It shows very little foreground with a couple of bushes, a flat background, in pale green colour, slightly cloudy sky and a Halo around his head. The artist seems to be concentrating on the decorative dress, the gems and jewellery worn by the Emperor.

Shah Jahan is also famous for his

✓ patronage of architecture. A great builder like his grandfather Akbar, he built a new capital and a grand fort at Delhi known as Shah Jahanabad. His finest creation was the *Taj Mahal* (crown of the palace) built in the memory of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal who died in 1631. "No other building in the world has captured the romantic imagination of mankind as the *Taj Mahal*. It is an excellent example of cultural encounter, where architectural traditions from India, Persia, Central Asia and also from Europe have blended, through the Mughal vision to give mankind one of the most marvellous realizations of human intelligence".²⁴

Shah Jahan also inherited the imperial atelier with masters like Abu'l Hasan, Goverdhan, Payag, Hashim, Balchand, and Bichitr. Being with his grandfather Akbar and his father Jahangir, who were great patrons of painting and the latter a great connoisseur of painting, Shah Jahan also inherited an interest in painting. Shah Jahan supported the imperial atelier, but not to the extent of Akbar and Jahangir.

As mentioned earlier Mughal miniatures reflect the personalities, and tastes of its royal patrons, who ultimately guided the imperial atelier and created the general artistic and aesthetic vision followed by the artists. From Akbar to Jahangir it was a natural development and continuation. Paintings produced under Jahangir's period show innovative and creative approach with exceptional naturalism, spatial depth, observing visual and technical details due to his analytical, scientific approach towards nature. Most paintings were produced by the collaboration of two or three artists. Shah Jahan though he accepted the Jahangiri style, yet he preferred individual painting, painted by a single artist, having elaborate borders kept in exquisite muraqqas, with beautifully painted front piece *Shamsa* (little sun). Shah Jahan's style on one hand depicts the jewel like dazzling quality, highly decorative, with rich texture, details of the

dress and jewellery, particularly in portraiture. On the other hand one sees a marked European influence in rendering of landscapes depicting *mullahs*, *dervishes* and ascetic figures. Beside portraiture, elaborate, exquisite, ceremonial court scenes of Shah Jahan's grand court, hunting scenes, battle processions, manuscripts, along with the emperor's daily life, '*Shah Jahan-nama*', flora and fauna were popular subject matter.

Shah Jahan was comparatively an orthodox Muslim than Akbar or Jahangir, but he was still a tolerant man. He did not refuse religious freedom to others. He died in 1666, but his rule was over by 1658, as he was confined in Agra for the last eight years of his life by his son Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb Alamgir (1658-1707) was the last of the great Mughal rulers. He was Shah Jahan's third son and came to the throne by eliminating his two elder brothers and deposing Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb had a puritanical personality and was an orthodox Muslim. Aurangzeb ruled for half a century and with him started the decline and decay of the Mughal school of painting, as well as of the Mughal empire. He kept the Mughal empire together and intact due to his strong character, which collapsed rapidly with his death. Aurangzeb did not continue the patronage of the imperial atelier and other arts, as was the tradition with the previous Mughal emperors. Thus artists started leaving the capital, to find support from nobles and rulers in other parts of the country. Still a great number of portraits of the emperor, his sons, and court scenes were produced. These works lack the exquisiteness, splendour and mastery of the Mughal school. The provincial Mughal style continued for another century but the quality of work was inferior. Towards the end of his reign a number of buildings were produced like the Pearl Mosque in Delhi, the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, and the tomb of his wife at Aurangabad, but all these works were

modelled after Shah Jahan's architectural style and lack originality.²⁵

After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, three of his successors were assassinated one after the other. With no stable government, the country was devastated with intrigues and wars. Muhammad Shah (1719–1748) tried to maintain some authority and tried to re-establish the glory of the past till his death in 1748. In 1739 Nadir Shah the Persian emperor sacked the Mughal capital successfully. He emptied the treasury and took away greatest possessions of the Mughal emperors like the world famous peacock throne and the *Koh-i-Noor* diamond. The effects of slaughter and destruction were unbelievable. He did restore Muhammad Shah to the Mughal throne, but with no wealth and reduced territory. In 1857 the Mughal empire ended officially by the British. The power was in the hands of the British and the rulers of provincial courts. Other schools of painting emerged such as the Deccani style in the sultanates of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda, and Rajastani School. In central India Malwa, Datia, Mewar, Bundi, Bikaner, Basoohli, Guler and Orissa. In Punjab Pahari and Kangra school.²⁶

Inter Cultural and Artistic Influences

Contact between the European Continent and India had been there during the middle ages, but it became even greater when the Portuguese reached the Indian Subcontinent by sea in the late 15th century. Their main desire was to get spices and to gain control of the trade of spices, eliminating the Turks and Arabs as intermediaries. Prince Henry the 'Navigator' (1394–1460) grandson of John of Gaunt, a Pioneer of Portuguese discoveries, wanted to reach the Indies, with double aim, to start conversion of the local communities to Christianity and to establish superiority of the Portuguese in trade over the other north European competitors. Vasco da Gama took the first European expedi-

tion to sail across the Indian ocean to Western India in 1498. By 1510, the island of Goa was occupied by the Portuguese and they had established colonies along the coast. They even started to translate Indian classics. Along with spices, aromatics, drugs, dyes, precious stones, textile and saltpetre, used for gunpowder ingredient, were popular trade items. Thus merchants and travellers started visiting India. Other Europeans like the Italian Nicolo de Conti (early 15th century), the English Jesuit Steven Thomas in 1579 and an English merchant Ralph Fitch in 1585 visited various parts of India.²⁷ In 1572 Akbar spent a year in Gujarat and came into contact with Portuguese merchants, he was interested in their activities. In 1573 during the siege of Surat, Akbar received a Portuguese embassy headed by Antonio Cabral. (It seems he went to see Akbar again in 1578). In 1576 Akbar heard some Jesuit priests had rebuked some Portuguese merchants for their dishonesty towards the Mughals, and became eager to hear more about their religion. Padro Tavares (a Portuguese captain) came to the Mughal court and held several interviews with the Emperor. Tavares urged that a holy priest, Father Julian Pereira, vicar general of Bengal be invited, who visited the Mughal court between 1578 and 1580. He also mentioned the Jesuits to the Emperor.

Akbar's curiosity about Western culture, and religion led to his sending a delegation to Goa headed by Haji Habibullah. His mission was considered successful. Akbar's desire to know more about the Christian religion led to formally inviting a Jesuit Mission from Goa. The Jesuit Mission consisting of three priests reached the Mughal court in 1580 and remained there for three years till 1583. Three Jesuit Missions in 1580, 1591 and 1595 came to Akbar's court. Knowing Akbar was interested in their religion and liked paintings, they presented Akbar with a superb and beautifully illustrated edition of

Plantyn's Polyglot Bible of 1569–1572 (Fig. 1 & 57) in eight volumes containing several engravings by Flemish artists of the Quentin Masty School (1466–1530). Father Xavier presented two pictures made in Japan in 1598, one of Christ and one of St. Ignatius Loyola. In 1601 Fathers Pinheiro and Xavier presented Akbar with a pen and ink sketch of the Virgin, which Akbar sent back, so next day Father Xavier presented the Emperor with a representation of our Lady of Loretto on gilded metal. The copy of Borghese Madonna (Fig. 39), highly esteemed by the Jesuits was presented to Akbar by Father Rodolfo Aquaviva. In 1602 the Jesuits brought a copy of the Madonna del Popolo.²⁸ According to the Jesuits account, other religious pictures were presented to Akbar, and later to Jahangir. The Jesuits also brought pictures to decorate their places of worship. This clearly indicates that the most important European influence was the introduction of the Christian religious subject matter to the Mughal artists and to the Mughal school of painting. Before Akbar and the Jesuit relationship started, for the most part, Christian religious subject matter was unknown to the Mughal artists and to the Mughal school of painting. The Emperor asked his artists to make copies or adapted versions of the paintings presented by the Jesuits. Kesu-Das made a number of copies or imitation of Christian paintings. These were bound in an album (Muraqqa) and presented to the Emperor. This practice continued even in Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's period. Many such copies and paintings with Christian subjects have survived. They are now in many public and private collections all over the world. There are at least over two hundred, such works, published in various books. There are many more both in public and private collections which have never been published.

The Madonna and Child and the Virgin Mary were among the most popular subjects. Scenes from the life of Christ like

nativity, adoration of the Magi, flight to Egypt, crucifixion, deposition, Christ and the Apostles, Christian Saints and other Christian themes were depicted not only in the Mughal miniatures but also in the royal palaces. The deposition from the cross painted in Lahore under the personal supervision of Prince Salim in 1598 (Fig. 11), now in Victoria and Albert Museum, is a beautiful painting combining various elements, a copy from a Flemish print, adopted from a lost painting by Raphael. It was not only oil paintings of which copies were made, but a large number of engravings from the port of Antwerp reached India by the end of 16th and beginning of the 17th century. A number of these engravings have been traced to the engravers of the Antwerp and cognate schools, and some are works of the Flemish engravers like Theodor Galle (1571–1633), John and Raphael Sadeler (1550–1600), (1555–1615), John Wierix and his brother. A number of Mughal copies and adapted versions have survived after the famous German engraver Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) primarily from the European copies of his work.²⁹ A drawing of St. John by Abu'l Hasan was inspired from the "crucifixion of the small engraved passion"³⁰ (Fig. 5) by the German master Albrecht Dürer (Fig. 6). Both have exactly same pose, with similar treatment of drapery having angular folds. The rendering of light and shade to create the texture and the physical bulk is very similar to Dürer's work. Abu'l Hasan like many other Mughal artists seems to have studied many European works. He adopted and absorbed their technique as part of his artistic skills, blending it with the Mughal artistic tradition. The same figure of St. John appears in reverse on the border of Jahangir's Album page with other Christian figures³¹ (Fig. 7). It seems to be a common practice with the Mughal artists to repeat the same figure, motif or building in different paintings.

5. *Saint John*, Mughal, Circa 1600-1601. Signed Abu'l Hasan, after an engraving by Albrecht Dürer. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Other Christian elements adopted by the Mughal artists during Jahangir's period, continued to be used later on, were winged angels painted in a variety of ways. Sometimes they appear playing musical instruments; floating on the clouds, holding a canopy above the emperor's head, or holding the Imperial Crown. Sometimes these floating angels are depicted as children, at times they are shown as adults. These are the guardian angels, which often appear in Christian paintings. Winged angels had become part of the Mughal iconography, representing their divine right to be the rulers. A painting of Shah Jahan and Asif Khan dated 1645-50 by Bichitr in the



Author M. Sackler gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. (Fig. 8) shows two winged angels playing musical instruments floating on a golden cloud above the Emperor's head. On the other side appearing partially from the golden cloud is a figure of an old man (could be God the holy father or a guardian saint) looking down directly at the Emperor, and rays of golden cloud reach down to the Emperor's head, which is encircled by a golden halo, again representing the Mughal Emperor as Divine ruler.

The use of the golden halo (Nimbus) as discussed earlier had become part of the Mughal iconography depicting the Mughal Emperors as Divine rulers and separating

6. *Crucifixion of Christ* (From the Engraved Passion), German, Circa 1511. By Albrecht Dürer.



7. A Calligraphy Page from Jahangir's Album, with a border depicting Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint John, Madonna and Child and two other Christian figures, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.



the Emperor from his subjects. The halo is a Christian symbol adopted by the Mughals. During Jahangir's period, frequent representation of the peaceful company of a lion with a lamb, a cow or an ox, appear in the paintings and sometimes on the borders, it had its origin in Christianity. Akbar with a lion and calf is an excellent example depicting all the Christian elements mentioned above, in one picture. Other objects which started to appear in Mughal paintings were medieval ships, galleys, allegorical figures, aquatic monsters, dreadful creatures like half crocodile and half fish all had their origin in the Plantyn's Royal Polyglot Bible.³²

The Jesuits along with the British and Dutch also introduced secular subject matter like the portraits of Portuguese nobles, portraits of British nobilities and royalties, pagan and allegorical themes, like 'venus and a satyr', which came in a consignment of pictures ordered by Sir Thomas Roe, the British ambassador, as presents for Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe found himself embarrassed on opening the box in front of the Emperor, as he had to explain the meaning of the picture (perhaps they were both naked). A Persian painter Muhammad Zaman who was trained in Rome, worked for Shah Jahan for almost eight years. While in Rome he became a Christian, thus he was no longer accepted at the Persian court of Shah Abbas II, who had sent the painter to

Rome.³³ Muhammad Zaman also brought western influence in Mughal painting.

Besides the subject matter there was a subtle European influence (artistic elements) on Mughal Painting during Akbar's reign, which became more apparent dur-

ing Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's periods. A realistic approach both in human figures and landscapes was adopted, with the use of foreground, background (*Dur-numa*), shadows, *Chiaroscuro* (shading), clouds, a better anatomical study of the human figure (particularly of faces), giving portraiture a sense of realism and humanism, which is an important part of European art. Above all there is a sense of plastic realism, three dimensional effect, the il-



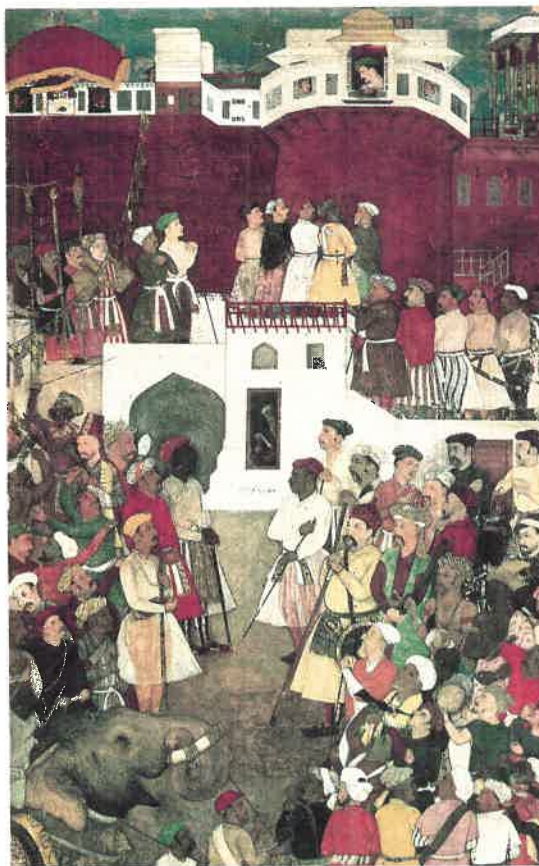
lusion of depth and space through the use of linear perspective (usually not from one viewpoint) and aerial perspective became part of Mughal painting. Over a few decades these western artistic elements were blended in the Persian and Indian traditions, generating a new artistic style, which is very different and distinct, uniquely Mughal, with the traditional use of colour, applying thin, opaque coats of colours like red, blue, green, yellow, orange and gold.

It is important to note Mughal artists when depicting a court scene, or painting royal portraits worked in more traditional and indigenous style with a very subtle use of western artistic elements. Whereas western artistic elements are much more

✓
8. *Shah Jahan and Asif Khan*, Mughal, Circa 1645-1650. Signed Bichitr. Arthur M. Sackler gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

9. *Jahangir at the Jharoka Window*, Mughal, Circa 1620. Signed Nadir-az-Zaman (Abu'l Hasan). A page from the *Jahangir-nama*. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection.

dominant, particularly in depicting the spiritual ascetic scenes, perspective as used by European artists depicting a single (given) viewpoint and from one eye level, a system representing three dimensional objects on a two dimensional surface. Objects appear three dimensional, receding in depth with the same space relationship (buildings, trees, figures near appear larger, clearer and painted with more detail, than those at distance, they become smaller, hazy and less detail is visible). All lines meet at one focal or vanishing point. Mughal artists though familiar with this European artistic element, never fully adopted perspective as used by European artists, particularly when depicting royal portraiture, or court scenes, even during Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's reign. They use traditional Mughal style, using two or three (sometimes four or five) viewpoints. *Jahangir at the Jharoka window* dated 1620 by Abu'l Hasan,³⁴ (Fig. 9) this painting is clearly divided into three planes or sections. The lower section shows a large group of people gathered (divided in two groups) to see the Emperor. Figures in the foreground are smaller than the ones farther away (perhaps officials), these figures are depicted with more detail. Most faces are painted in profile or three quarter view. The use of modeling and shading in the figures and particularly of the elephants is superb. There is some illusion of depth in



this section, but the rest of the picture is flat and two dimensional, the middle section starts with a white boundary wall depicting the courtiers standing above the common crowd and they have a closer view of the King. The third section starts

with a brown fort wall, the Emperor is shown at a window with a profile view. Artists have been able to show a lot more detail in architecture, even the roof tops are visible, with very little sky behind. With this type of approach, seeing from below, middle and above, artists can provide more detailed account of the scene.

Another painting depicts Shah Jahan at the Jharoka window in the red fort dated 1650,³⁵ it shows an almost similar rendering of the scene. The building above shows a little better use of perspective. These paintings clearly reflect the Mughal Emperor's attitude to keep paintings of their own people different and distinct from European paintings. Surprisingly, there are paintings which reflect a greater use of European artistic elements. These paintings depict scenes with holy men, *Mullahs*, *Yogis* and spiritual ascetics by famous court painters like *Miskin*, *Basawan*, *Payag*, *Goverdhan* and others. An excellent example is a night scene of the officers and philosophers seated around a candle at night dated 1650-1655 by Payag,³⁶ (Fig. 10) this painting clearly depicts the use of Western artistic elements, like the use of *Chiaroscuro* (light and



10. *Officers and Philosophers seated around a Candle at Night*, Mughal, Circa 1655. Ascribed to Payag. San Diego Museum of Art.

shade), modelling, true perspective in the landscape, excellent sense of depth, space and capturing the night atmosphere superbly, as if this scene was painted by some European artist. Payag also painted four full faces in this scene, which was very rare and unusual for the Mughal artist, he also captured excellent individual expressions. The background seems very hazy, but one can see a caravan moving at a farther distance. The treatment of human figures, landscape, buildings and the sky is very realistic. There are many other such scenes by different artists, during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns. It appears these artists have let themselves loose from the traditional Mughal style and fully capitalize on the Western artistic elements. It seems most of these artists have developed two modes of painting, one used for royal portraits, court scenes, with glittering details, and the other more personal, deeply romantic and concerned with atmospheric effects and the play of light and shade, truly remarkable, strongly influenced by European paintings or prints.

Khalid Anis Ahmed is Assistant Professor of the History of Art at the National College of Arts, Lahore, Pakistan. He is grateful to Mr. L. Bressan, Prof. Sajida Haider Vandal and Nusrat Ali, Iffat Ahmed and Tariq Mahmood for their assistance in the preparation of his research.

Footnotes

1. Abu'l Fazl, Translated by H. Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, Calcutta, printed for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927, Qausin reprint, 1975, Lahore, 113.
2. Bamber and C. Gascoigne TBI, *The Great Moghuls*, New Delhi, 1971, reprint, 1987, 13-41.
3. Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, S. Chand and Company Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, 3rd Indian Reprint, 1966, 10-11.
4. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, India, 1981, 50-54. Portions of the paintings from '*Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*' have survived, some 60 pages being preserved in the Industrial Museum, Vienna, while twenty-five are in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, at South Kingston.
5. Amina Okada, Translated by Deke Dusinberre, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion, Paris, 1992, 11.
6. J. Guy - D. Swallow, *Arts of India*, 1550-1900,

- Victoria and Albert Museum with Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd., 1990, 28-40.
7. Milo C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, The New Cambridge History of India, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain, 1992, 10-14.
J. Guy - D. Swallow, *op. cit.*, 43-45.
Pratapaditya Pal, Muslim Patrons and Painting in India, *Arts of Asia*, November-December, 1982.
 8. Das Papageienbuch Commentarium Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, Tales of Parrot Akademische, Druck - U Verlagsanstalt, Graz-Austria, 1976, 31-41.
M. S. Randhawa, *Painting of the Babur-nama*, National Museum, New Delhi, 1983,
G. Sen. *Painting from the Akbar-nama*, Lustre Press, Calcutta, 1984.
 9. Abu'l Fazl, H. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, 114.
 10. Abu'l Fazl, H. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, 115.
 11. E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*, 1932, Burns Oates and Washbourne C and D, London, 225-235.
 12. Vincent A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 116-119.
 13. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 127.
 14. J. Guy - D. Swallow, *op. cit.*, 77.
Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, 77.
 15. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, 172-176.
Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 27-58.
 16. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 44.
 17. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 42.
 18. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 37.
 19. Edited by Pratapaditya Pal, *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, Marg Publication, Bombay, India, 1991, 78.
 20. Milo C. Beach, *op. cit.*, 91.
 21. E. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 224-239.
 22. Pratapaditya Pal, J. Leoshko, J. Dye III, S. Markel, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Thames and Hudson and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, printed in Hong Kong by Toppan Printing Co., 1989, 24-27.
Pratapaditya Pal, *Shah Jahan: The Ruler of the World*, The India Magazine, Volume twelve, January 1992, 24-27.
 23. Pratapaditya Pal, Leoshko, Dye, Markel, *op. cit.*, 141.
 24. Pratapaditya Pal, J. Leoshko, J. Dye III, S. Markel, *op. cit.*, 24-27.
 25. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, 98-103.
J. Guy - D. Swallow, *op. cit.*, 99-106.
Bamber and C. Gascoigne TBI, *op. cit.*, 215-243.
 26. See volumes in notes 2-3, J. C. Harle, *op. cit.*, 384-420, D. Barrett - B. Gray, *op. cit.*, 115-159, J. Guy, D. Swallow, *op. cit.*, 109-152.
 27. J. Guy - D. Swallow, *op. cit.*, 153-154.
E. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 23.
 28. E. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 224-229.
 29. Milo C. Beach, *op. cit.*
 30. Milo C. Beach, *op. cit.*, 77.
 31. Milo C. Beach, *op. cit.*, 87.
 32. Percy Brown, see Chapter European Influences, *op. cit.*, 163-179.
E. Maclagan, *op. cit.*
 33. E. Maclagan, Paolo/Muhammad Zaman studied in Rome, where he was sent by Shah Abbas II. He became a Christian. There is a reason to believe that he became a Muslim and performed the Pilgrimage to Makkah towards the end of his life, *op. cit.*, 235-236.
 34. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*
 35. Pratapaditya Pal, J. Leoshko, J. Dye III, S. Markel, *op. cit.*, 47.
 36. Pratapaditya Pal, J. Leoshko, J. Dye III, S. Markel, *op. cit.*, 117.

European Painting and Mughal Miniatures

P. Bach*

Introduction:

16th Century European Painting and National Schools

Wherever the habit was introduced of studying art-related activities successively in the various countries of Europe in which they were carried out, this was done in order to show us more explicitly their differences and their vivid characteristics. It must not be forgotten that these activities are not limited to anyone country, since they spread across the entire Western world. Thus, Renaissance appeared in the north and centre of Europe as well as in Italy, even if the contemporary schools were recognized through distinctive features, the same tendencies did appear everywhere.

In the XVth century, artists were keen to reproduce with an implacable precision the models they had chosen. According to them, portrait dominates, not only when it is a question of highlighting the features, but also in religious compositions where each sacred character is the individual reproduction of a human being. In this effort towards the truth, they are neither afraid of ugliness nor even at times of vulgarity. Likewise, in the previous period, one did not bother to specify

the place of any event being recalled. On the contrary, in the more recent art, scenery is introduced together with the portrait. Locations and buildings are copied to the last detail, and often, it is from these indications that the country of origin of any work can be ascertained. It is the same for all the other accessories, furniture, arms, costumes, scrupulous exactness may be found there. The artists, however, do not break away from the memories of the Middle Ages, by the subject they deal with and by their faith, these are Christian artists capable of feeling and translating religious aspirations with naive sincerity. These characters and these contrasts can be understood if the origin of this art is considered. In Flanders and in Germany, it was born in the densely populated areas of working or middle-class cities where the finesse of Italian taste can scarcely be found. Poetry is not absent, however, it is concentrated in the intimate sentiments and beliefs impregnated with tenderness and mysticism.

1. a. Italy

Renaissance took place at its best in Italy, where people were prompted by a fever for beauty. Italian Art offered its most wonderful geniuses, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) represented especially harmony and grace, Michelangelo's (1475-1564) force, Raphael's (1483-1520) correct-

* P. Bach, Belgian, Assistant Professor of the History of Art, at the Liège University, specialised on engraving of the 16th and 17th century.

11. *The Deposition from the Cross*,
Mughal, Circa 1598.
Victoria and Albert
Museum, London.

*Painted at Lahore
under supervision
of Jahangir*

ness and elegance, Titian and Veronese's, colours. Florence lost its artistic domination. Rome, with Julius II and Leo X came into the limelight with no parallel match. The beginning of the XVIth century is illustrated by an art full of optimism and joie de vivre as manifested in the works of Raphael and Titian. This classical idealism was soon to be jeopardised by Michelangelo, who showed the weakness of man facing God, and in Venice by Tintoretto, who following the discoveries of Copernicus, showed the weakness of man as compared to the cosmos. Thus in the second half of the XVIth century, Art moved towards a period of crisis and discomfort called "Mannerism".

In most cases, we neither know the number nor names of Italian artists of the Renaissance period who served as direct models for the Mughal miniaturists. But we shall see how they influenced the rest of Europe and how Flemish artists transmitted this influence even to the Court of the Great Mughals. Quite a few works by Mughal artists were indeed deeply inspired by the genius of the Italian Renaissance. As Philip Rawson pointed out, "one finds characters dressed in the typical drapés of the Italian cinquecento, sceneries with clumps of trees, cities viewed in perspective from above. One also finds the technique of the "axial" shadowed lines and of, pleated drawing that some Italians such as Leonardo da Vinci borrowed from the works of Dürer and that were later to be

adopted by all European engravers." For example, we know of a Mughal miniature similar to "Deposition of the Cross" engraved by Raimondi from the composition by Raphael.¹

Painter, goldsmith, jeweller and engraver, Marco Antonio Raimondi (1480–1534) was born and died in Bologna, the city where he was influenced by Dürer before working in Rome with Raphael. He was also a student of Bartel Beham. Being the first amongst engravers specialised in the art of reproduction, he interpreted works of Dürer and Raphael. His contemporaries congratulated him for bringing back the old tradition in his taste for full solid forms. His work was consider-



able and his engravings were quite often copied as is the case with the engraving inspired from the painting of Raphael, which was probably reproduced by a Flemish printer and used for "Deposition of the Cross" painted at Lahore in 1598 (Fig. 11) a version inverted from the one by Raimondi (Fig. 12). Probably made under the supervision of Jahangir when he was still a Prince, the miniature shows a combination of details taken from other engravings of which some subjects are apparently borrowed from the "Last Judgement" engraved by Adrian Collaert following the work of Stradanus.

1. b. Flanders

In Flanders, a vigorous Renaissance

took place but it was generally not very noble in its tendencies and less delicate in style. It was centered mostly in big industrial and commercial towns and took its inspiration from the tastes and sensibilities of this circle. Jan and Hubert Van Eyck, thanks to their contribution to the advancement of the technique of oil painting, established a new school of colourists. The Flemish school extends its action up to Holland and then changed under the influence of Italian art introduced by trade relations between Bruges and Italian cities. The painters called "Romanists" had a passionate veneration for the paintings of the Peninsula. However, two painters refused all the innovations coming from Italy.

They were actually the two giants of the XVth century, Bosch and Brueghel, who remained attached to the Flemish realistic tradition.

Jerome Bosch (c. 1450–1516), with his very personal style, paid particular attention to the stigmatization of vices of the society of time and pointed out the dangers to which man was exposed. His boundless repertoire of devilry and drollery, very close to the XVth century manuscripts, and his elegant graphism made some believe that he had perhaps been trained by a miniaturist.

The spiritual heir to Bosch, Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1521–1569) was also a painter cum moralizer. Those who followed the Italian School limited them-

selves to the environment of Courts, Brueghel for his part was more interested in the peasants of Brabant and Campine. He represented the life and customs of his people, in an effort to highlight their crudest and most ruthless aspects.



✓
12. *The Deposition from the Cross*, Circa 1560. By Raimondi after Raffaello.

At the end of the XVIth century, the city of Antwerp became famous for its trade in engravings. The possibility of multiplying an original was in fact the initial justification for engravings.

The art masterpieces it reproduced and vulgarized thus inundated the entire world.

The Christian prints brought by Jesuits as well as the secular works imported by the merchants, supplied models for imitation and transformation. At the Court of the Great

Mughals, these were mainly Flemish prints as identified by the study of the originals and analysis of copies made by Indian and Persians artists. We are going to throw more light on this school and introduce the Flemish artists known and appreciated at the Court of Emperor Akbar and his son and successor Jahangir.

The first Flemish prints to have reached there with certainty were taken from "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum" by Abraham Ortelius, printed by Egidius Van Diest in Antwerp in 1570 and the "Polyglot Bible" (Figs. 1 & 57) printed by Plantyn in Antwerp between 1568 and 1572. The latter, illustrated by renowned engravers of the Quentin Masty school (1466–1530), constitutes one of the masterpieces of the

13. *Saint Matthew the Evangelist*, Mughal, Circa 1587-1588. Signed Kesu Das. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

XVth century. Sponsored by Philip II of Spain, this eight volume work, written in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean, was offered to Akbar by the missionaries.

Pieter Van der Heyden, a creditable engraver of reproductions who was born in Antwerp around 1530, engraved prints based upon the works of Brueghel and Bosch. His contribution to the illustration of the prestigious Bible consists mostly of maps, where one can see sailing boats with Dutch influence, which have inspired Mughal miniaturists.

Other illustrations are by Jan Wierix, amongst which are the Frontispieces, "Crossing of the Jordan", "Baptism of Christ" and also "The Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia" engraved by Jerome Wierix, a colour copy of which, executed by Nini (Indian Museum), is known to us. St. Cecilia is represented in the same posture as that of the statue by the Italian sculptor Stephano Maderno made in 1599 for the Church of Saint Cecilia in Rome. However, in the painting, she keeps her arms crossed over her chest.² The Wierixes came from a family of artists from Antwerp that consisted of three brothers: Jan (1549-1615), Jerome (1553-1620) and Antoine (died in 1624). They worked for the editors Plantyn and Cock, producing more than 3,000 pieces of engravings, including 230 portraits, more or less on the same lines. They had numerous pupils and imitators. Their calligraphies, though quite ordinary, were a source of inspiration for European engravers during a period of twenty years.

Pieter Huys, belonging to the same school as that of the Wierixes, illustrated the Bible with a beautiful *Noah's Ark*, a subject very much appreciated by the Mughal artists; "The Temple of Jerusalem" and the face of a great priest engraved by him, were also copied.³

The son of painter Adrian Huys, brother of Frans Huys, he was born in Antwerp around 1519. His engravings were few in number and sometimes show a style having a more Italian touch, closer to that of Marten de Vos. However, the influence of Wierixes and Dürer cannot be denied in his work as witnessed in these three illustrations of the Bible.

As far as isolated prints are concerned, very few survived three centuries. Certain



works of different origin, as well as copies made by the Mughal painters, were put together in albums or *muraqqas*, a Persian word meaning "patchwork".⁴ One of these albums which is at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, offers us one of the most ancient signed copy dated 1587 is by painter Kesu Das.⁵ (Fig. 13). Saint Matthew is represented sitting and writing, an angel at his side holding the Holy Book and an inkpot. In the background a city can be seen spreading over a vast area almost reaching the sky. This Mughal work with a very European touch, inspired from "Saint Matthew" belonging to the series of "Four Evangelists", was executed in 1562 by Marten Van Heemskerck, a Flemish painter with Italian influence, engraved by Philip Galle.⁶ Jahangir's *muraqqas* are noted for the originality of their presentation and sumptuousness of

their decoration. Court scenes which include painters, cooks, hunters...and also women, show their western influence by the way they are treated. Margins often show characters from European paintings and prints, even though graphic techniques remain Indian.

The greatest number of original prints may probably be found in Jahangir's Album, made between 1608 and 1618, now in Berlin. It contains 25 large sheets, illustrated on both sides, out of which several have been executed by the Sadeler brothers. The Sadelers were great masters in the art of engraving. The sons of a damask-cutler from Brussels, they went off to Antwerp, Venice, Prague, Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt, Verona and Rome. Jan the elder Sadeler was born in Brussels in 1550 and died in Venice in 1600. He contributed to the Berlin Album with his "Saint Jerome" engraved in 1576, based upon a painting by Pieter de Witte (1548-1628). This engraving was later reproduced by Nadira Bano a female artist whose name is given in Persian text on the page of the book held by the Saint in his hand.⁷ She did not hesitate in copying both Latin text of the engraving and the classical representation of the saint reading with a lion at his feet. Amongst the engravings by Jan Sadeler, we also discover "Holy Family" and "Massacre of the Innocents", both copied from Marten de Vos (1532-1603), are present in the famous Jahangir Album. A painter and an engraver who was born and died in Antwerp, Marten de Vos knew Italy well because he had lived there for sometime, particularly in Venice, where he met Tintoretto. His "Dolor" (Fig. 59) was also copied by the great Mughal artist Farrukh Beg "the wonder of the age" (Fig. 60).⁸

Raphael Sadeler, who was born in Antwerp and died in Munich, seems to have been more talented than his brother Jan. An entire series of works found in Jahangir's Album has been attributed to him, amongst these are a spectacular

"Descent to Hell", a "Resurrection", the "Apparition to Mary Magdalene" and "Descent of the Holy Spirit", as well as the "Holy Family" engraved in 1601 after a painting by John Rottenhammer (1564-1623), the copy is coloured.⁹ The influence from R. Savery's (1576-1639) landscapes is also present in this album, thanks to the engraved work of Egidius Sadeler. Egidius or Giles, born in Antwerp around 1575, died in Prague in 1629, was the most skilful of all the Sadelers. He was a student of Jan, but his style of engraving was influenced by Goltzius, which was luminously clear. He was nicknamed the "Phoenix of copper-engravers".

Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617) was a renowned artist who practised brilliantly at Haarlem near Antwerp. He too was known at the Mughal Court particularly thanks to his "The Deposition from the Cross" of 1587 (Rotterdam, Boymans-Böninggen Museum) inspired from a drawing by Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611). Hendrik Goltzius, a native of Antwerp, had visited the artistic capitals of Europe and assimilated, besides the Flemish style, the canons of the Italian Renaissance together with those of mannerism. "The Deposition from the Cross" is a characteristic example of the work of a mannerist, who after putting aside serenity and classical balance of Renaissance, dramatize their works as much through the choice of subjects as through a new representation of reality.

Without being totally absent from Mughal productions, theme of the Passion of Christ was rarely represented since the Al-Quran contests the reality of crucifixion and states that another person was substituted (Surat IV, verse 156).¹⁰ According to Dr. R. Sigalea's study, Mughal painters, while drawing inspiration from Goltzius's engravings, nevertheless modified them to their liking and reversed them. They not only avoided representing the muscles of Christ's body by giving it a smooth aspect, they also

Jan Sadeler
Raphael "
Giles "

changed the number and appearance of angels and "putti" by covering them. The addition of a veil, tied with a belt in the Italian Renaissance style gives ample proof of knowledge of the Mughal artists, who had learnt it from sources other than the engravings they copied. Whatever the number of Flemish models may have been, one wonders to what extent Mughal artists knew of the Italian School. Their paintings are softly coloured, in a chiaroscuro close to Vinci's sfumato, at the same time, as heirs to Persian art who encouraged the brilliance of pure colours, Mughal artists were reluctant to dull them with shades. More of poet than realist, Mughal artists chose to abandon the initial dramatic character, with their choice of shaded colours, despite the subject, thus answered the taste of Mughal emperors. This theme, as we have already seen, was taken up again and adapted in several instances, inspired by Raimondi's "Deposition from the Cross" (Fig. 12), the Mughal miniaturist added some angels and other characters besides composing an outstanding sky.

Some of the added characters apparently came from "The Last Judgement" engraved after the work of J. Stradanus by Adrian Collaert (c.1560-1618), a Flemish print engraver who was born and died in Antwerp. He belonged to a big family of engravers and was the son-in-law of engraver-editor Philip Galle. The Mughal emperors, however, seemed less attracted by dramatic subjects like this one than by the representation full of sweetness of the Virgin. Antwerp engravers rarely touched the subject of the Virgin with the Child, and the models, usually Italian, seem to have been less frequent at the Mughal Court. However, we all know that only one single original is required to give way to a number of actual or interpreted copies, which may have been the case here, considering the insignificant number of representations of the Virgin, a topic apparently very famil-

iar and liked by Indian painters at the time of the Mughals. A Mughal miniature dated 1630 shows a Virgin with the Child made after an original engraving by Egidius Sadeler (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings), this admirable Madonna holding the Child Jesus in her arms is at the India Office Library. At the back of the miniature, there is an inscription, "*Taswir-i-Hadrat-i-Maryam-u-Hadrat-i-Isa*".¹¹

Another romanist, called Bernard Van Orley, better known as a painter than as an engraver, was also appreciated for his Madonnas. Even though he is a bit too smooth, his appeal is due to his pleasant mixture of Flemish and Italian characteristics. Influenced by Raphael, his Virgins are of a remarkable sweetness, one of them, with her face against the Child's, was faithfully copied by a Moghul miniaturist.¹² He worked under the protection of Queen Regent Margaret of Austria at Malines, who seemed to appreciate his exaggeratedly ornamental style, rich and complicated costumes, undulating attitudes, architectures, abundantly decorated, ruins and porches are drawn in the Italian Renaissance style.

Jahangir's Album in Berlin shows the theme of the Virgin several times, we can see among others, a faithful copy of the "Virgin under a Tree" made in 1513 by the German master Dürer, as well as a picture of the Virgin, very European in its conception, which is the work of Kesu Das.¹³ (Fig. 14). In various art collections, some are of Eastern type with Indian faces, others are of European type with Eastern costumes. For example, the British Museum in London has in its possession a remarkable Virgin attributed to Muhammad Afzal.

1. c. Germany

In Germany, Renaissance offered similar characteristics, torn by the conflict between German expressionism and Italian influences. Two great artists mainly personified it were Dürer and Holbein. They

integrate intimately into the aesthetics of Renaissance, even if, at times, they still retained their German temperament. The former, a painter and an engraver with a more powerful and deep talent, has been able to render evangelical subjects, while giving them a familiar and local touch. He has created compositions with painful and touching expressions. The latter was basically a portrait-painter with an unrivalled precision, but one finds in his works, as in the case of Dürer, a taste for subjects where the sufferings and miseries of life are rendered with a heart-gripping realism.

The German School has also contributed to the infiltration of European artistic tastes at the Court of the Great Mughals. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), a famous master, born and died in Nuremberg was one of the strongest personalities offered to us by the history of prints. Often copied by his successors, he was brilliantly illustrated in Jahangir's Album. In Jahangir's Album Dürer's "Flag Carrier" (Marteau-Vever Collection, Paris) reproduced by Jerome Wierix, as well as a modified reproduction of the monkey on the tree, a rare exotic element shown on a copperplate engraved after 1498. The "Madonna with a monkey", was copied by Jan Wierix at the age of 17.¹⁴ The result of a long meditation, as can be shown from the variety of preparatory sketches, this work helps us to fully discover the personality of Dürer. Executed with a masterly precision, it shows the Virgin with such a sober expression, near the bank of a quiet river, a topic so dear to his



Christian heart. He actually made a series of Madonnae, where his burin gently caresses their smiling or worried faces in their motherly fondness. It was with this spirit that Jan Wierix also wanted to reproduce "The Virgin under a Tree" en-

graved in 1513 by Dürer, which can be found in Jahangir's Album in Berlin.¹⁵ It was also very faithfully copied by an anonymous miniaturist of the Mughal Court, the Virgin sitting under a tree is holding the Child in her arms, with her forehead leaning against his cheek. In the original engraving however, the Child Jesus looks at us, whereas, in the miniature, at the Windsor Royal Library, the Mughal artist shows him in a halo of maj-

esty. Almost at the same time, in 1600, Saint John of the 1511 "Crucifixion" by Dürer was very skillfully copied by young Abu'l Hasan when he was only 13.¹⁶ Other copied elements have also been found, such as the Black King from one of his magnificent "Worship of the Three Magi", his Saint Peter or Saint Paul in his famous "Four Evangelists" as well as the Saint Peter in the cure of the disabled, originally engraved by Dürer in 1513.¹⁷ Thus, through copies, Mughal artists have been able to discover a genius for graphic, eclectic and poetic expression, remaining at the same time faithful to reality since he tells us "Watch nature attentively, but never try to deviate in the vain hope that you would find something better by yourself. Actually, art is hidden in nature, whoever can extract it possesses it".

In Jahangir's Album in Berlin, one

14. *Madonna and Child*, Mughal. Signed Kesu Das. *Jahangir Album*. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

comes across marginal paintings of great hunters and European farmers copied from a calendar composed by Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550). His engravings show that he is both a miniaturist and an engraver. Born in Nuremberg like Dürer, he was undoubtedly the best of all the German masters of the Dürer School. His brother Barthel Beham (1502–1540) was also known to the Mughal painters. At first, his career was similar to Hans Sebald's, but he eventually moved to Munich and then to Italy where he distanced himself from the good-natured realism of the northern parts of Europe.

Georges Pencz (1510–1550), a painter and an engraver from Nuremberg trained by Dürer, was also one of the European artists known at the Court of Jahangir through a few prints.

The whole of western engraving art had by then become completely dependant on Dürer. Artists from the south attempted to appreciate the variety and flexibility of his engravings. They even borrowed some of his themes and patterns. This was particularly true of his landscapes, which sometimes gave peculiar results, as it became the fashion to include (whether they fitted well or not in their Mediterranean world) Alpine heights, tree trunks with stripped bark, castles with pointed roofs etc. It must be noted here, however, that this was not a "one-way" exoticism, since at the same time their counterparts from the north included Roman architectural pieces behind their Gothic themes. We came upon the same bipolar influences between Italy and Flanders, they are repeated here, in the same way, since engravings circulated easily, especially between Nuremberg and Venice, two cities with very strong business relations. It is therefore not surprising to find these different stylistic features and the same type of influences wherever engravings were imported. We discover them in India during the era of the Mughals, who were particularly open to innovations and

specifically in landscapes.

P. Bach, Belgian, Assistant Professor of the History of Art, at the Liège University, specialised on engraving of the 16th and 17th century. She is grateful to L. Bressan, J. P. Huet and S. Mahmud for assistance in the preparation and translation of her research.

Foot Notes

1. D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes. The Mughals and the Medici*, Marg Bombay 1987, 156; J. Guy-D. Swallow, *Arts of India 1550–1900*, Victoria and Albert Museum London 1990, 70–71.
2. J. Jennes, *Invloed der vlaamsche prentkunst in India, China en Japan tijdens de XVI eeuw*, Leuven Davidsfonds 1943, 59 plate IV; E. MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London 1932, 255 and plate p. 120.
3. J. Jennes, *op. cit.*, 47 (but we have to note that Jennes depends from the research of E. MacLagan).
4. R. Sigalea, *Jésuites et Moghols unis dans la peinture*, Paris Historia Sp. 18, 72.
5. E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 255.
6. A. J. J. Delen, *Historie de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges, des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIème siècle*, Nobele Paris 1969, 157 (2nd part).
7. J. Jennes, *op. cit.*, 60; E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 255. Nadira Bano was the daughter of Mir Taki and may be the same person as the wife of Dara Shikoh.
8. S. C. Welch, *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture 1300–1900*, Metropolitan Museum New York 1988, 221–225.
9. J. Jennes, *op. cit.*, 58; E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 249.
10. R. Sigalea, *op. cit.*, 69.
11. T. Falk-M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in India Office Library*, London-Delhi 1981, n. 57 (see: J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design 1500–1700*, British Museum, London 1983, 85).
12. M. Bussagli-C. Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of Art of India*, New York-Bombay, 298 plate 372.
13. E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indian Book Paintings from Jahangir's Album in the State Library*, Berlin-London 1926; E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 12.
14. A. J. J. Delen, *op. cit.*, 110 (2nd part).
15. E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 249 and 251.
16. D. Barrett-B. Gray, *Les trésors de l'Asie. La peinture Indienne*, Sikra Genève 1963, 87.
17. Text of Dürer, from: J. Laran, *L'estampe*, Pr. Universitaire Paris 1959, Vol. I, 48.

Mughal-Christian Miniatures

L. Bressan*

Mughal painting is intimately associated with the emperors of that great dynasty. For more than one hundred years, all the great artists were working at the Imperial court, which had its own atelier. Therefore we can understand the strict connection between their art and the personality of the emperor and his court. But there is also a contribution coming from the "Indian" cultural environment, the great Persian tradition, the Central-Asian heritage, Chinese influences and the new contacts with Europe.

We note for example an increase in the use of shadows, the introduction of *chiaroscuro* (shading), clouds in the sky, the sharing of nature in the drama of the painted features, a different treatment of the landscape, a naturalist imagery, an anatomical study of human portraits—and above all, perspective, not always from a single focal point. In addition, there is plastic realism of the features which will become three-dimensional and give a sense of depth, an "illusion of space", and a suggestion of volume. In a few decades a style was developed with contributions of Asian and European traditions that would survive many generations and spread over wide areas of the subconti-

nent. Incorporating various motifs and symbols, the Mughal artists perfected their style in a naturalist representation of their subjects, in the indication of depth and true perspective, while applying their traditional colours (such as red, blue, yellow, green).¹

We could now inquire if this has been a truly intercultural exchange, or just an addition of material. In effect, all the commentators recognize an enriching development of Mughal painting through the years, and this came from the absorption of European techniques, through the mediating and blending genius and tradition of the Mughal painters.

In a number of Mughal paintings we can recognize, if not a precise European painting, at least, indications of a Western school, sometimes it is that of A. Dürer, other times Raffaello, and quite often Flemish painters, later we can also see the Baroque influence, as in fleecy clouds and turquoise skies or grandiose forms. In some cases it is possible to recognize the Western original of a miniature.

Features of the Mughal-Christian Paintings

Another aspect of the Western influence was introduction of European features in Mughal miniatures, sometimes it is a hut, sometimes it is an animal or a landscape copied from European engraving, or a

* L. Bressan obtained his Ph.D. in Law. He has publications on International Relations, History and Art, representative of the Holy See in Pakistan from 1989–1993. Now Vatican Nuncio in Thailand.

typical Flemish scene. In some cases the Mughal artists dedicated an entire miniature to a Western subject, and this was quite frequent with portraits. In some cases we see mythological scenes from the Greek tradition, but most frequently we note Christian features, even if this would be surprising for a Muslim dynasty.

This was done not for religious purposes, but for aesthetic goals. The frequency of Christian subjects is easily explained by the presence and cooperation of the Jesuits² and by the large religious production existing in Europe, brought to Asia generally as prints by merchants, travellers, Diplomatic Envoys (Portuguese, British, Flemish). When we do not know the author, we might doubt that a Christian painter has done the work, but in other cases it is clear that there was a Muslim or a Hindu painter at the service of the Mughal emperor or of his nobles, and we know that at least two emperors (Akbar and Jahangir) were very interested in getting copies of Christian paintings, often the artists did not limit themselves to copying, but they gave a new interpretation and composition. Here we find the origin of the "Mughal-Christian Miniatures".

To get a complete list of such paintings, it would be necessary to go around all the Museums in the world as well as to the private collections and in private houses. Here we try to give a description of what we could find in various publications or personal researches,³ dividing the list into different points.

A. Christian pictures in Mughal buildings

1. Religious painting on walls

We know that the Emperor Akbar had installed in his court at Fatehpur, Christian paintings including a Crucifix, in his eclectic spirit this was both devotional and aesthetic. Something similar happened in 1602 at Agra with a famous Roman painting the "Madonna del Popolo". From the reports of the Jesuits we know that many

people went to the Jesuit church to see this Madonna, some for curiosity and others with trust to obtain graces, the Emperor himself not only went to the chapel, he even had a copy made of the life-size painting. The different style and large dimensions were unusual for Mughal painters, they did not succeed in making a proper copy.⁴

Six years later, Jahangir insisted on getting the Madonna and again kept the picture with him for some days, and he placed a copy of the Borghese Madonna (of St. Luke) in his palace covering another Madonna painted on the wall.⁵ In the same palace there were many Christian paintings, to the point that the Jesuits themselves were surprised to discover that "the verandah looks, in fact, as though it belonged, not to a Muslim King, but to a King of great (Christian) devoutness—All this decoration is very offensive to the Moors who will not tolerate portraits".

Among the paintings they found there was a ceiling with Jesus Christ in glory surrounded by angels, and in different rooms, St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Bernardine of Siena, St. Paul, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose and several Madonnæ. The Emperor had only prints from Europe, and he asked the Fathers which colour should his painters add.

Particularly interesting was the description of the hall "where the King sits when he shows himself to the people, — above (the throne) on the right was a painting of Christ with the globe of the world on His left hand, and on the other side Our Lady very well painted".⁶

An English visitor tells us that in Lahore, where he arrived in 1611, he found a similar situation, "that in this gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, over the door is the Picture of our Saviour, opposite on the left-hand of the Virgin Mary".⁷ Thirty years later Fray Sebastian Manrique could still see in the Palace of Lahore the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan.⁸ Jahangir decorated the mausoleum

of his father Akbar at Sikandra with frescoes (or murals) of Christian themes, a Crucifix, a Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, St. Ignatius, and angels and cherubim on the domed ceiling, these paintings were white-washed by Aurangzeb.⁹

Manohar

2. Mughal miniatures with Christian murals

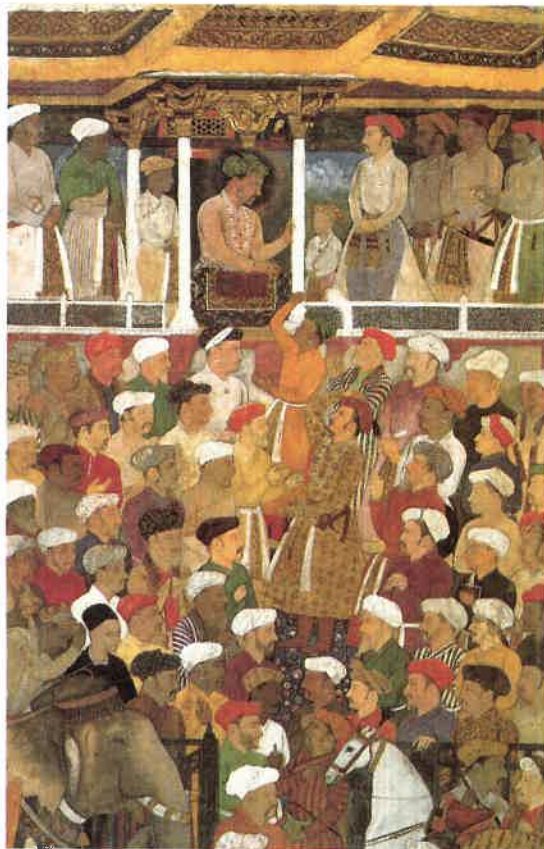
Among the miniatures we have today, one painted by Payag around 1650 in *Shah Jahan-nama*, preserved in Windsor Castle, represents Jahangir receiving the Prince, on the wall above we can clearly see the pictures of Jesus Christ with the globe in his hand and of the Blessed Virgin (and two Western portraits). Below there are two wise Muslims observing the globe, beneath, a lion and an ox happily together, as Isaiah had said it should be in the messianic times.¹⁰ In another miniature, representing the reception of Jahangir and Shah Jahan by Begum Nur Jahan in 1617, we again note on the wall of the pavilion two minute representations of Jesus and the Virgin, and a larger drawing with two hinds near a source of water, a quite common subject in Biblical illustrations reflecting Psalm 41, 2.¹¹

In another miniature painted by Manohar around 1620 we see the emperor on his throne with all the court (and among them also a Jesuit Father), again a Virgin Mary on the wall and angels on the capitals of the two main pillars¹² (Fig. 15).

The Western style angels are in effect,

another subject represented in palaces, not only in the Imperial palaces but also in provincial residences. For example, in two miniatures of Bishndas (attr.) representing the governor Zafar Khan in Kashmir with poets and scholars.¹³ In a reception offered by

Shah Jahan (attr.) to Payag around 1640, all the upper frieze of the wall was decorated with Europeanized cherubs, beneath the throne there is a scene with two wise men, a lion peacefully drinking at the same source with an ox. The scene seems to have been inspired from the Biblical prophecy and the Plantyn Bible.¹⁴ Even closer to the illustration of peace from this Bible is the decoration of the thrones in a miniature signed by



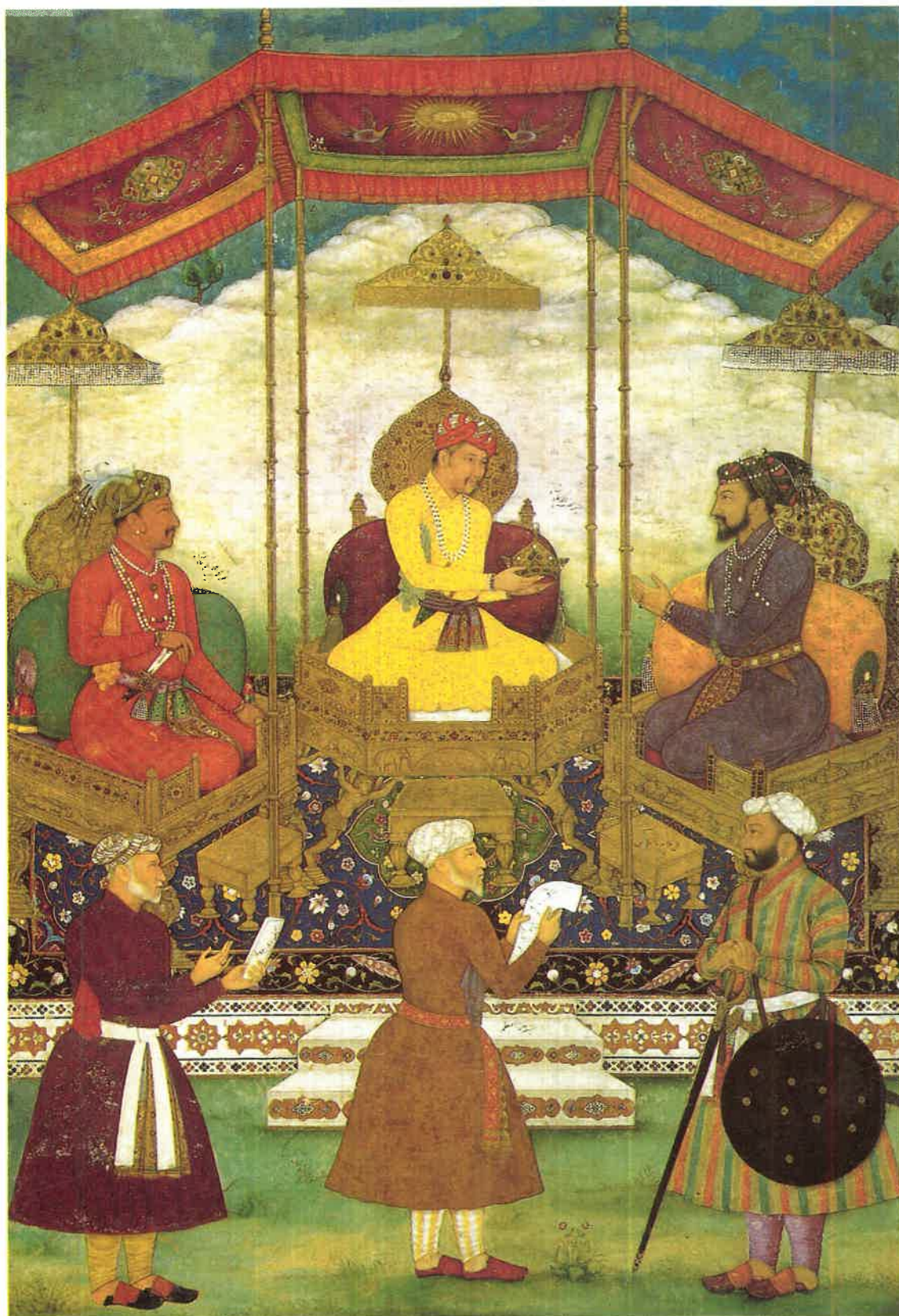
15. Emperor Jahangir in Darbar, Mughal, Circa 1620. Attributed to Manohar. Inscribed "done by the most humble of the slave-born". From a manuscript of the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* (the memoirs of Jahangir). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

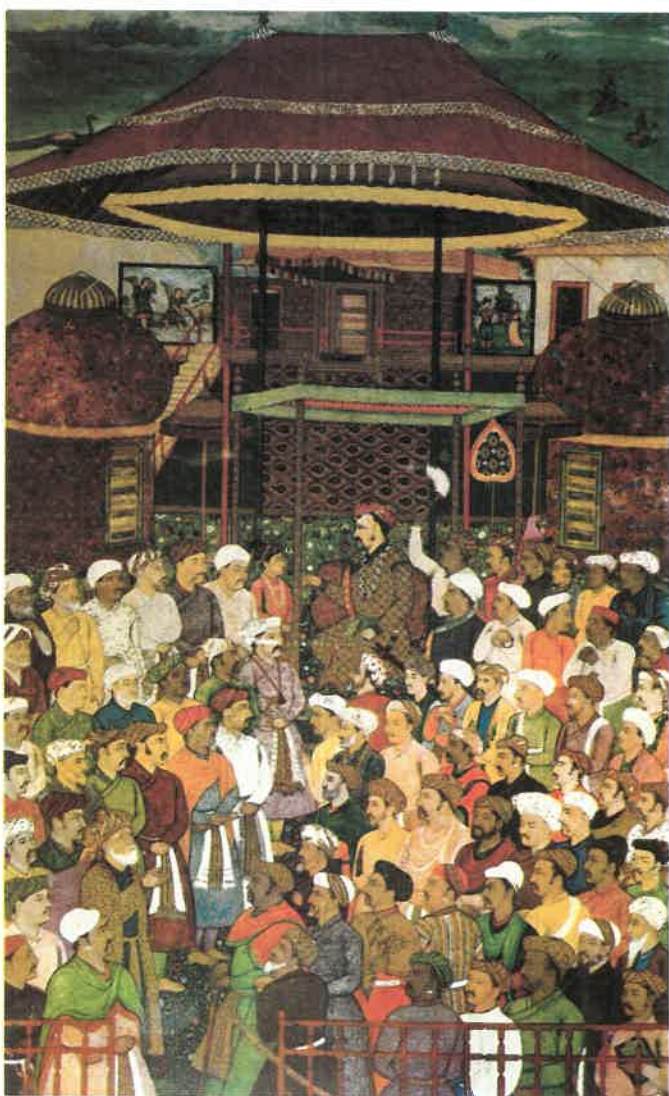
Bichitr, in which Akbar is handing his imperial crown to Shah Jahan (Fig. 16). This feature "lion and ox or lamb in peace" is reproduced in many other miniatures.¹⁵

A little more surprising is to find Angels in a miniature "Shah Jahan honours the religion orthodoxy", in one frieze we can see two little Cherubs pouring down roses.¹⁶

The largest of the *Jahangir-nama* illustrations include two folios with the "accession of Jahangir" (Fig. 17), in both Angels appear (in one Angels in glory, in the second the Archangel Raphael) in the decoration of the background (on a gateway and on the throne), these miniatures are by Abu'l Hasan and were highly appreciated by the Emperor, who consid-

16. Akbar hands his
Imperial Crown to
Shah Jahan, Mughal,
Circa 1631. Signed
Bichitr. A page from
the *Minto Album*.
Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin.





ered them as "one of the chefs d'oeuvre of the age".¹⁷

The great Miskin has a miniature with a "Physicians' duel" (Fig. 18), dated 1595 AD, on the wall there are three different features of European origin. On the left four boys are playing, in the centre there is an angel explaining or dictating a text from a book, almost certainly a reference to St. Matthew. Below a young man explaining to a lady or young man the content of a book, probably a reference to the Bible or more precisely to the Apocalypse.¹⁸

These miniatures confirm what the Jesuits, Fr. Manrique and Mr. Finch have told about the palaces. In effect we know that such Christian pictures were present in Fatehpur (even before the arrival of the

Jesuits), there was perhaps the chapel, a remnant of an Annunciation in *Maryam-ki-Kothi*, in Sikandra at the Akbar's tomb (with different fashioned figures, covered or eliminated under Aurangzeb), in Agra as we have already seen a statue of the Virgin remaining in the Catholic Cathedral, in Lahore (as Finch had seen in 1611, and Father Andrade S. J. describes in 1623). On the walls of the Lahore Fort it is still possible to see a number of tile-mosaics with Angels, some in Europeanized style.¹⁹

The ceiling of a small tower of the same Fort called *Kala Burj* is still decorated today with angels closely patterned after a European model, one is holding a Western hat and seems to be inspired by a representation in the Plantyn Bible.²⁰ In Lahore, angels are also represented in the Lal Burj, but here the European influence is less evident,²¹ while those of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in Agra (Ram Bagh) are quite close to those of the Kala Burj, but in worse condition.²²

B. Christian subjects in Mughal features

One of the most interesting miniatures concerning the relations between the Mughals and Christianity is certainly that of Jahangir holding in his right hand a little picture of a Renaissance Virgin Mary (Fig. 19). Perfection of the colour and of the two portraits indicate that it is the work of a master, unfortunately we don't know his name. The miniature is at the National Museum of Delhi, surrounded by a rich calligraphy.²³ Parallel to this, but without showing the same veneration and quite different in disposition, is a miniature in which Jahangir is inspecting a golden cast-metal image of a child with

17. *Accession of Jahangir* (with a European Couple and the Archangel Raphael), Mughal, Circa 1618. By Abu'l Hasan. Institute for the People of Asia, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.

18. *Physicians Duel*,
Mughal, Circa 1595.
Signed Miskin. An
illustration from the
Khamisa of Nazami.
British Library,
London.

his hands joined in prayer. There seems full probability that the artist intended to represent Jesus Christ.²⁴

In another painting we can see the same Emperor at a window holding the globe, in the window below, the young Jesus with a cross, a work realized around 1620 by two distinct masters, Hashim (Jahangir) and Abu'l Hasan (Christ) (Fig. 20). It was not rare to see two and sometimes three artists working on the same miniature.²⁵

Equally eloquent concerning the encounter between Christian features and Mughal art is a miniature representing an Indian artist engaged in drawing, as we can recognize a Madonna, it could be the work of Kesu Das.²⁶

A quite surprising document is a miniature from the 17th century in the British Museum, in which three different subjects are gathered, nymphs bathing (a common feature in the Persian and Mughal art), an anointing after bath, situated in baptisterium, with an angel sculpted on it and two other painted on the arch, above, a European cleric with a book and two angels at his side (most probable the European original had Jesus holding the Tables of the Law).²⁷

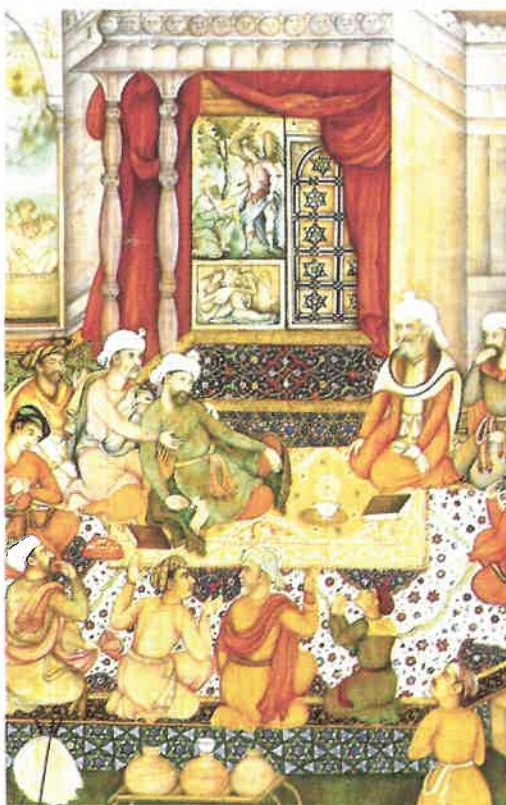
Astonishing in this sense is a miniature painted by Daulat in 1604-05, representing the sufi Abu'l Adyan praying on a mat over a fire (Fig. 21), in the procession of people standing around it is possible to recognize two Jesuit Fathers, and perhaps

a third also. May be the painter had been inspired by the "three Magi", in the back, near the gate of the town there is a lady, the only woman of the group, with a child in her arms, from the style and the lack of movement, it looks like an insertion of

a painting of the Virgin Mary and her child Jesus. Behind the person who following her at the gate, there is a man, the only one without a hat, with a very different face from the others and with a red cloth, he looks like Jesus on his way to Calvary in western painting. Wellesz notes, "the compositional scheme of Pl. 35 (this miniature) goes back as far as to Duccio's (di Boninsegna) famous 'Entry (of Jesus) into Jerusalem' ".²⁸

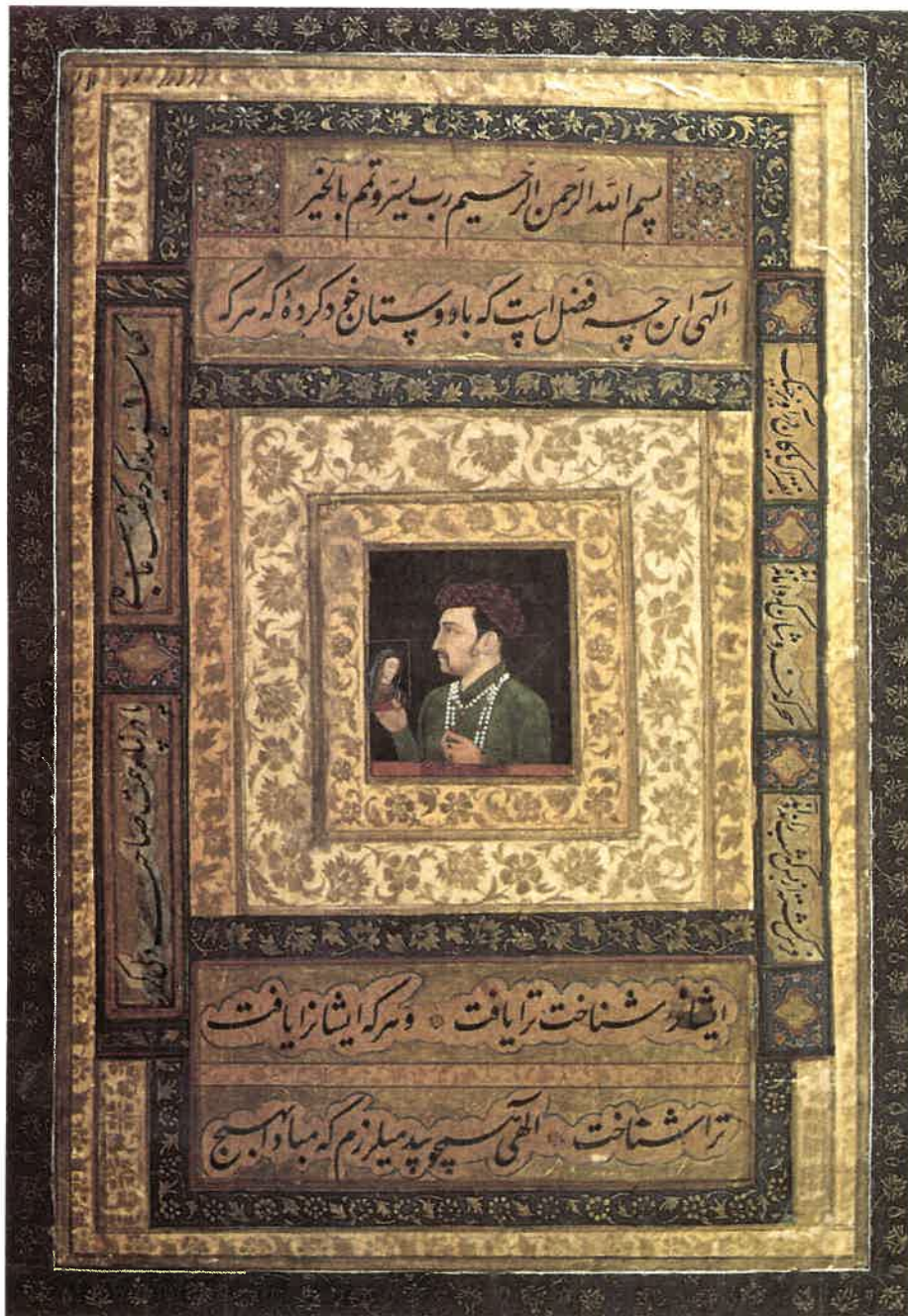
In the background of a mini-

ature representing a musician on one side and a *sufi* on the other, with Prince Salim and a friend in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, a European village is clearly visible (or perhaps a monastery) with its church.²⁹ In the background of a hunting scene made around 1595 and inserted in the "*Khamisa* of Nizami", we recognize distinctly a church.³⁰ Even more evident, a Christian bell-tower appears in a miniature dated ca. 1660, representing a Mughal prince conversing with a Muslim priest, the entire background is Flemish, but the tower looks more Italian.³¹ The cross of a church is seen in the background of another painting representing three young sons of Shah Jahan riding (Shah Shujah Bahadur, Aurangzeb



Bahadur, Murad Bakhsh), the miniature was painted by Balchand around 1635.³² A page of "Dara Shikoh Album" in the India Office Library presents a lady standing in a landscape with a church in the middle distance.³³

of Padua and four paintings inspired by Albrecht Dürer, a St. John from a Crucifixion (1511) (Fig. 7), a St. Peter from The Healing of the Cripple (1513), Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus from a print of Dürer (1513), and a man presenting a gift, one



19. *Jahangir with a Madonna*, Mughal, Circa 1630. National Museum, New Delhi.

In *Jahangir Album* in the State Library of Berlin a page of calligraphy has, as usual, borders decorated with flowers, but this time with the insertion of Christian paintings, we can recognize a St. Anthony

of the Wise Men of the Adoration of Magi.³⁴ A few pages later in a border, a woman sitting in a Florentine chair with a child, this was inspired by a Madonna and Jesus.³⁵

On a similar page in the Louvre Museum of Paris, Indian dancing girls/young men are mixed with European figures (like the Burgundian Standard-bearer of A. Dürer dated 1502), a Mercur, a person holding a child whose features are of a woman, but the face is of a man, it again comes from an engraving of A. Dürer's "Oriental family" dated 1469, some think that the intention was to represent a Madonna.³⁶

A similar example is in an opening page of "Akbar-nama", here Mansur painted two angels (but their features are inspired at least in part from the Persian tradition), a man kneeling in prayer (with an Indian face, but an attitude that recalls Jesus in the Gethsemane), a young man presenting a gift (may be one of the Magi) and a poor man sitting and waiting (perhaps inspired by Lazarus of the Gospel parable).³⁷

Another Christian element in a number of Mughal miniatures is the appearance of angels in Western style, as we have already seen in decoration of walls of the imperial halls. In a painting by Bichitr, Jahangir appears sitting on his hourglass throne, with a background of rich Florentine decoration, he is giving the book of his life to a *mullah*, preferring him to the Sultan of Turkey and King James I of England (the portrait taken from a contemporary painting); while in a corner the artist shows a miniature. Two angels are watching the imposing hourglass and would like to collect some of the last sand falling down inside, there are two others in the sky, one is covering his eyes crying, and the other is carrying the broken arrow of Jahangir's life³⁸ (Fig. 3).

A throne made by Austin of Bordeaux, presented to Jahangir by his father-in-law in 1619 is adorned by many sculptures of little angels and the canopy has two cherubim supporting a medallion.³⁹

Around the year 1620, Abu'l Hasan painted Jahangir standing on a globe (richly decorated, supported by an ox standing

on a big fish, all from European drawings) and killing the Abyssinian Malik Ambar with an arrow. One angel from heaven is presenting him arrows, while the second a magnificent sword.⁴⁰ Quite similar, probably by the same painter is a miniature in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, where again the Emperor stands on a lion, shooting arrows at a black figure, which represents poverty, the angels in heaven have a royal crown above his head, and another Cherub walking on the floor presents him spare arrows.⁴¹

In another quite famous miniature representing a visionary encounter between the Shah Abbas of Persia and Jahangir (Fig. 22), Abu'l Hasan painted Jahangir standing over a lion. The lion is seated on the globe, while the "smaller" Persian emperor is standing over a sheep (which is pushed toward Europe), both are in peace (a Biblical as well as local inspiration), two little angels are smiling at the sides of the rulers.⁴²

Shah Jahan did not refuse to be "honoured" by the Cherubs. In a miniature painted in 1627, we see the emperor surrounded by three sons, and above two angels bestow a crown upon him.⁴³ In 1629 Hashim represented him standing alone on a globe, with the lion and the lamb peacefully together, from heaven one angel presenting him a sword, another a crown and the one in the middle is supporting a round canopy or parasol emblazoned with his genealogy.⁴⁴ In a quite similar representation, the emperor is again standing on the globe, the lamb is licking nose of the lion, on the sides two crowds of wise men honour Shah Jahan. Over him two typically renaissance Cherubs support a western golden crown, the scene recalls the crowning of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁵ The adulatory attitude of the painters reached its culmen in a miniature by Bichitr (Fig. 8), where we see one angel pouring roses of blessing upon him, another playing a musical instrument and singing. Almighty God with a blessing



20. Portrait of Emperor Jahangir at a Window of his Palace, below is a head and shoulder of the youthful Christ holding Cross, Mughal, Circa 1620. Jahangir's portrait by Hashim and Christ's painted by Abu'l Hasan. A page from the *Minto Album*. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

21. Sufi Abu'l Adyan Praying on Fire (with two Jesuits, Virgin and Child and Christ going to Calvary), Mughal, Circa 1604-1605. By Daulat. British Library, London.



right hand extended towards him, sending his light to the Emperor's nimbus, and in this beam we note a dove, a clear Christian symbol of the Holy Spirit and a reference to the Baptism of Jesus.⁴⁶

Given the use of this image and the fact that we already know that Jahangir had insisted upon getting a nice painting of the dove-Holy Spirit,⁴⁷ we can question if the dove we see under a panoply over the head of Shah Jahan in a court scene painted by Bichitr around 1650 was just a decorative element or was it alluding to an inspiration from heaven. The same dove is surrounded by a nimbus of light. Below the throne we see the leitmotif to illustrate the Golden Age peace, the lamb this time had two lions at his side.⁴⁸ The reference to the dove-Holy Spirit seems even more evident in a miniature of Abu'l Hasan painted in 1615, again in a panoply over Jahangir sitting in "darbar", the head of the dove has a nimbus, and there are two big renaissance angels support-

22. *Jahangir's Dream*, Mughal, Circa 1618. Signed Abu'l Hasan. A page from the Saint Petersburg Album. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

23. *Seated Jahangir and Akbar*, Mughal, Circa 17th. By Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

ing a crown.⁴⁹

The glorification in heaven of the first two emperor-patrons of arts, Akbar and Jahangir, can be seen in a miniature of the 17th century, among Baroque turquoise clouds the two Emperors are in full light and two angels present to them the palm of victory and the incense of glory⁵⁰ (Fig. 23).

The introduction of winged Angels as a decoration in the sky and most of the time also as a glorification of a person is a characteristic of the Jesuits and Western Renaissance influence. Apart from the examples described here, we could add that Emperor Babur,⁵¹ and Humayun⁵² had a similar honour, with the addition of the Biblical symbol of peace, harmony between lion and bull or lamb. A later portrait of Akbar, under the direction of M. Faqirullah Khan (ca. 1650) has a canopy supported by two angels.⁵³ Another portrait of the aged Akbar by Govardhan has three *putti* in heaven (the one in the middle with a crown) and at his feet a lion and a calf are in perfect harmony⁵⁴ (Fig. 2).

This was not reserved for the imperial power, prince Dara Shikoh, favourite son and intended heir of Shah Jahan, appears in a miniature dated 1633, depicted on horseback, and in heaven the Angels are playing music.⁵⁵ In a portrait of Asif Khan, chief of the army painted by Bichitr are two Cherubs coming from heaven (and in the background a town, which reveals

the Western inspiration).⁵⁶ Around 1638, the same artist painted Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jahan, seated in conversation with the Rajput ruler Gaj Singh of Marwar, two angels support a canopy over the heads of the two leaders.⁵⁷

There is also a miniature of the same period with Europeanized Cherubs hovering over a love-scene, painted in a pure Indian style.⁵⁸

Another element in the Mughal portraiture that has a clearly Christian inspiration is golden nimbus adorning the heads of the Mughal rulers. Even if in itself it appears as a minor detail, it shows the encounter of cultures and artistic expressions. In fact nimbus traces its origin to Asia, in the early Persian civilization,

in the Buddhist tradition and later in Indian religious art. From there it went to Byzantium and Europe, where it was accepted reluctantly at the beginning of the Christian art, and later became a sign of holiness. With the rise of Islam it disappeared in the Near East, and it began to reappear under the Abbasids (Baghdad), the reason was Greek artists (who used such signs were being employed). In the 14th century it ceased to be used, when Persia closed its doors to the West, rarely it was used except exclusively for the religious founders and as a golden flame.⁵⁹

Akbar was still reluctant to employ it, but Jahangir took it as a symbol to distinguish the Emperor, not for his sanctity, but for his divine character, as he believed.



It is therefore common in his portraits, and it would be tedious just to list them. Sometimes it is very large as in the encounter with the Shah Abbas of Persia (Fig. 22), with different circles (the diameter is ten times the head of the Emperor), or in the miniature representing him giving the book of his life to a *Sufi Sheikh* (Fig. 3), where there is a combination of a round large nimbus with another smaller one having flames.⁶⁰ Shah Jahan did not refuse such a symbol of imperial authority, neither did "the orthodox" Aurangzeb.⁶¹ Rarely is the nimbus used for others than the emperor, and certainly not for mere Princes and Sheikhs.⁶²



C. The life of Jesus

If we simply follow the Gospel, we recognize the Annunciation in a miniature preserved at St. Petersburg⁶³ and in one from the Jahangir's Album in Berlin.⁶⁴ The visitation of Mary to her kin Elizabeth is the subject of a miniature dated 1678, it is basically a reproduction of an Italian print, even if tinged with orientalism.⁶⁵ In a copy of the book of Fr. Jerome Xavier (Collection of M. F. Charles, London) about "the life of Christ" we can see Joseph, painted as a Portuguese, in Bethlehem asking for a room, but receiving refusals, upstairs a woman sweeps the house.⁶⁶

Very illustrative is the following analysis of E. D. Maclagan, in his time Secretary General of the Historical Society of Punjab on the existing miniatures related to in-

fancy of Jesus:⁶⁷ "At the India Office there are two pictures in grisaille and gold of the Virgin and Angels adoring the Christ-Child outside the stable. Another in monochrome of the Child adored by a beautiful group of winged angels,⁶⁸ while another

study of the same subject, based probably on some European woodcut is in Chester Beatty's Collection⁶⁹ (Fig. 24). Among the two pictures in the Bodleian Library is a representation of Christ enthroned with a globe in his hand.⁷⁰ A remarkable item among the coloured pictures in Jahangir's Album is the Holy Family previously mentioned, which is based upon a known engraving of Raphael Sadeler after J. Rotterhammer (1564-1623).⁷¹

One of the borders of the same Album portrays the Moorish King, copied from Dürer's Adoration of the Magi.⁷² An Adoration of the Magi was among the pictures exhibited by Colonel Hanna in London in 1890.⁷³

The Circumcision is depicted in a slightly coloured picture in the British Museum,⁷⁴ and there is an outline sketch tinted with pink at the India Office which possibly represents the same subject.⁷⁵ Again we find the same representation in a miniature at the Chandigarh Museum where the Virgin is holding a Child in front of an altar, surrounded by many men who are consulting books.⁷⁶

Jahangir's Album at Berlin just mentioned contains a miniature, almost European in style, with Mary and the Child

24. *Virgin and Angels Adoring the Christ-Child outside the Stables*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

Jesus.⁷⁷ In the India Office Library, there is another miniature "Virgin and Child" painted in 1630, the immediate prototype is a Flemish engraving by Egidius Sadeler, after a work of Parmigianino, copies of which exist in the Vatican and in Mu-

century wanted to represent St. Joseph, not having any other model he painted a Jesuit, in this case the miniature represents the Holy Family. Others observed that a priest is not part of the original composition, from his girdle hangs a

25. *Mary and Child Jesus* (with Portuguese, Indians and Angels), Late Mughal, Circa 1750–1755. National Museum, New Delhi.



26. *Virgin standing with the Child* (visiting an Old Man "Saint Anthony Abbot" with a stick), Mughal, Circa 1590. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



nich.⁷⁸ A Nativity almost Western in style, probably a copy from an Italian print, can be seen in the Goloubew Collection, Boston.⁷⁹ Three stages of Christ's birth are illustrated and illuminated in the first page of the "*Mirat-ul-Quds*" of the Lahore Museum⁸⁰ (Fig. 65). In the "Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection" (Los Angeles) there is a miniature from the same period (1601–1605) with the Angels' pronouncement to the shepherds about the birth and mission of Jesus in Bethlehem.⁸¹

Particular interest is aroused by a miniature in which we see the Virgin with Child, an attendant and a priest (Jesuit). Some have interpreted this work by suggesting that the painter in the early 17th

century wanted to represent St. Joseph, not having any other model he painted a Jesuit, in this case the miniature represents the Holy Family. Others observed that a priest is not part of the original composition, from his girdle hangs a

watch and the pectoral crucifix has been turned into trimmings and buttons.⁸² A splendid Adoration of the late Mughal school (around 1750–1775) (Fig. 25) is among the treasures of the National Museum, New Delhi. In the center is the Virgin nourishing the Child, two of the magi are presented as Portuguese, one as a Catholic Priest. Several Angels and Portuguese are standing around, three of them as well as a young European lady and one Indian man is reading or consulting the Bible.⁸³ A scene by Kesu Das totally unprecedented in Mughal imagery, a man killing children by drowning and quartering them, while the mother is crying, this could well be a reference to the

"massacre of the Innocents" in the Gospel.⁸⁴

A clear reference to an engraving of Bernard van Orley (1492–1542) is in a Madonna with Child painted by Ghulam-i-Shah Salim during Jahangir's



reign. The face of the Virgin reveals the Indian-Mughal milieu, the painter found it difficult to execute her hands and fingers because the original was expressing a movement unusual for an Indian miniaturist. This artist elaborated carefully the drapery of the robe, possibly inspired by the drapery of a Buddhist monk.⁸⁵

More closely reproduced is the engraving of A. Dürer dated 1513 "Madonna under a tree", an unknown Mughal artist has simplified the drawing a bit, but he added colours to it with a superb result that is in accordance with the Mughal taste, it would not have displeased the German master (front cover).⁸⁶ While we will consider other miniatures with the Virgin Mary in the following section, we could not omit mention to a surprising amalgamation of elements in a miniature of the Chester Beatty Library (Fig. 26), we

can see the Virgin standing with the Child, visiting an old man (who looks more like St. Paul or Anthony in the desert, but perhaps the painter was thinking of St. John Baptist) with a lady kissing one of his feet (Mary Magdalene in the Gospel is



27. *Virgin and Child in the Temple with Saint Anna the Prophetess*, Mughal, Circa 1610. India Office Library, London.

28. *Presentation of Jesus to the Temple of Jerusalem*, Mughal, Circa late 16th. Signed Paras. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

doing the same to Jesus).⁸⁷

Another quite interesting representation of the Child Jesus is a miniature with his mother Mary and her mother St. Anne (an encounter that the Gospel does not mention).⁸⁸

Following the life of Christ as the Gospel proposes, we have two miniatures with the Virgin and Child in the Temple, with Anna the prophetess, in one there is a Portuguese holding a book and a servant holding a musket⁸⁹ (Fig. 27). In the second there are only four ladies besides Jesus.⁹⁰ More composite and of Baroque style are two miniatures on the same event. Among many persons, all dressed as Portuguese we can follow the encoun-

29. *Christ Preaching
Disciples in a House*,
Mughal, Circa Early
17th.
Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin.

ter of the aged Simeon with the prophetess Anna.⁹¹

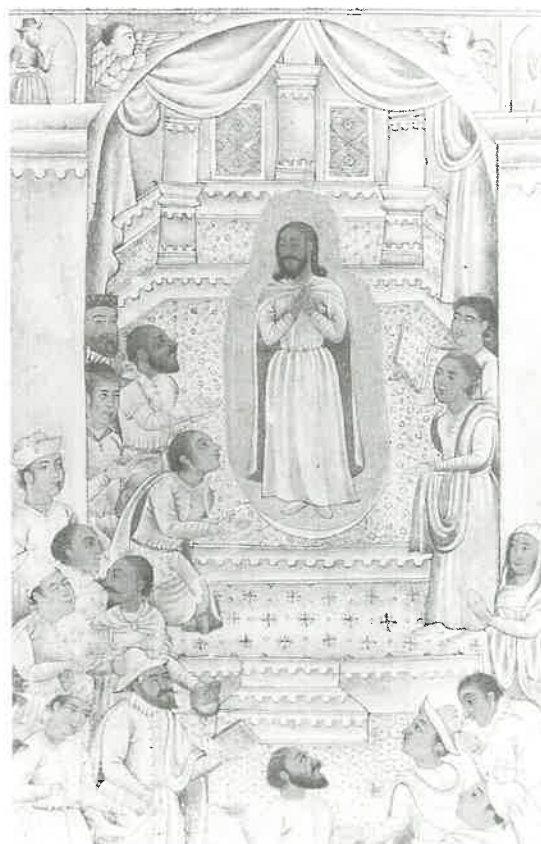
The flight into Egypt is the subject of a miniature of Muhammad/Paul Zaman after an Italian print, and a European engraving of the Virgin and Child resting during the Flight into Egypt has been surrounded by a Mughal border, inserted in the Dara Shikoh Album.⁹² We have already seen that underneath a portrait of Jahangir at a window, there is a picture of young Jesus with a cross (Fig. 20). In the Lahore Museum there is a miniature of the late period in Baroque style, which represents Jesus in the temple when he was a little older (three-four years of age)⁹³ (Fig. 28).

The book on the Life of Jesus in the same Museum has a miniature illustrating Christ assisted by Angels in the desert after his fasting⁹⁴ (Fig. 71). The one depicting St. John Baptist (see below) the painter did not represent Jesus Christ, but a lady (the synagogue?) and we have seen that the descent of the dove appears in another context (upon the emperors). In another quite defaced miniature of the same book, it is possible to recognize the miracle of Christ healing a man with the withered hand⁹⁵ (Fig. 73). The marriage of Cana (or the Last Supper?) in monochrome is in the India Office.⁹⁶

Still concerning the miracles of Jesus, the British Museum has two miniatures related to the "storm on the sea of Galilee", the first is a real Mughal mini-

ature, even if the persons are painted in European costume.⁹⁷ The second, where the scene of the Gadarene swine is added, is a European engraving, tinted and mounted in a Mughal frame.⁹⁸

Regarding the teaching of Christ, a miniature shows Christ is instructing many disciples, some painted as Europeans and some as Indians in a house.⁹⁹ (Fig. 29). Christ preaching surrounded by men on one side and women on the other is represented in a miniature at the Lahore Museum.¹⁰⁰ Among the parables at least the one about the "good shepherd" is a miniature by Miskin.¹⁰¹ Also the parable of the "good samaritan" has most probably found an illustration.¹⁰² In the Chester Beatty Li-



brary there is a half-length painting of Christ after a European original.¹⁰³

The Passion of Christ, a subject so common in Europe, we do not find the richness of miniatures that the Christians might expect, but we also know that the Muslims have a certain repulsion for it. Until now, the researches have indicated the existence of a miniature of Christ in Agony in Gethsemane¹⁰⁴ and some marginal illustrations could be inspired by the same event. Other miniatures represent directly or indirectly the trial of Jesus and his suffering. Two miniatures represent Christ with a Crown of Thorns, one was inspired by Italian art and a second is very close to the drawing of A. Dürer dated 1512, the Mughal drawing is mounted on

an album leaf (with a calligraphy that has nothing to do with the subject represented).¹⁰⁵ We have seen earlier that it is possible the man inserted in a strange way into a procession around a sufi, could be Christ on his way to the Calvary. In a miniature a man being nailed to the ground, painted around 1600, could also have been inspired by a Christian tradition of the nailing of Christ to the cross.¹⁰⁶

The Crucifixion itself, even though Akbar already had a painting of it in his palace, does not appear in many miniatures. Crucifixion attributed to Kesu Das is in the (ex-) Imperial Library in Tehran, with a tortured body of Christ depicted with anatomical (Western) accuracy.¹⁰⁷ The only other exception is a painting in which Jahangir is celebrating the "sprinkling of rose water" (*Ab-pashi*), a European merchant appears in the scene, he is holding a print with Christ on the cross, behind him a Mughal painter tries to copy it.¹⁰⁸

The deposition from the cross and the entombment have a quite large number

of illustrations. Most famous is the one painted in Lahore in 1598 (Fig. 11), under



there is a lake with a boat.¹¹⁰ An unknown Mughal artist has represented an Angel supporting the body of Christ, while two are at his sides, and two little angels

the personal supervision of Jahangir, while he was still a prince (the exact circumstances being recorded by the Jesuits). The foreground is very similar to an engraving of Marc'Antonio Raimondi after a lost painting by Raffaello Sanzio (Fig. 12), for the background the Mughal artist (or artists) used figures which originally belonged to the "Last Judgement" of Adrian Collaert after John Stradanus (van Straet), along with another painting representing St. Mary the Egyptian.¹⁰⁹

Another miniature from the British Museum has European and Oriental elements. The people around the cross are placing the body of Christ in a coffin, the Virgin and St. John in the foreground appear unconnected with the narrative. The faces are almost Chinese, in the background

30. *The Entombment of Christ*, Mughal, Circa after 1610. Navin Kumar, New York.

31. *The Last Judgement and Resurrection of the Dead*, Mughal, By Nanha and Manohar. Circa 1605. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, London.

32. *Mary, Mother of Jesus with Ministering Angel*, Mughal, Circa Mid. 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

appear in the sky near the cross. This slightly coloured miniature (in a private collection) is clearly inspired by an engraving done in 1587 by Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1617).¹¹¹

The entombment of Christ is the subject of three quite similar miniatures. One is now in New York (Fig. 30), the second in Philadelphia, and the third in a private (Indian) collection.¹¹² The Women at the Tomb, a painting very close to the European original, is an illustration from the Jahangir's Album which is in Berlin.¹¹³

The Resurrection is reproduced in a miniature from Jahangir's Album in Berlin, where two prints of Raphael Sadeler (Resurrection and descent into hell) are decorated with Mughal frames, it is indirectly represented, as far as we know, through the scene of Magdalene "Noli me tangere". The "Day of Pentecost" is represented in a European print decorated by a Mughal artist.¹¹⁴

The Ascension has an extraordinary version, as the only Christian religious leaders known to the Mughal artists were Jesuit Fathers, they dress Jesus as a Jesuit, two of the Apostles in the same way, with the others depicted also as Portuguese.¹¹⁵ Christ ascending into glory, standing on a crescent holding the globe with a cross in one hand and a book in the other, surrounded by many angels has been the subject of a Mughal miniature dated 1620.¹¹⁶

The Last Judgment by Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead have been painted by Nanha and Manohar (Fig. 31) after an engraving of Adrian Collaert by John Stradanus (1523–1605), the one used in 1598 for the deposition from the cross,

and therefore many figures are the same. Christ in Majesty with a crown of little angels is sitting in the centre in a cloud of glory, at his right the Blessed Virgin, at his left St. John the Baptist and the Magdalene. In the lower part, the bodies are waking up and looking toward the heavens. It seems that in this example the artists amalgamated elements coming from different authors.¹¹⁷

A manuscript which contains more miniatures on the life of Christ

was on sale at Sotheby, London, 1965, we could not find out for sure where it is located now. It was the "*Dastan-i-Masih*", translated into Persian during Akbar's reign and profusely illustrated, it seems it is in the E. Binney Collection.¹¹⁸

D. Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus

Apart from the representations listed until now, in relation to the life of Christ, there are many others, as Col. Maclagan already showed sixty years ago.¹¹⁹ The great number is also an expression of the honour that Muslims themselves attribute to Mother of Jesus.

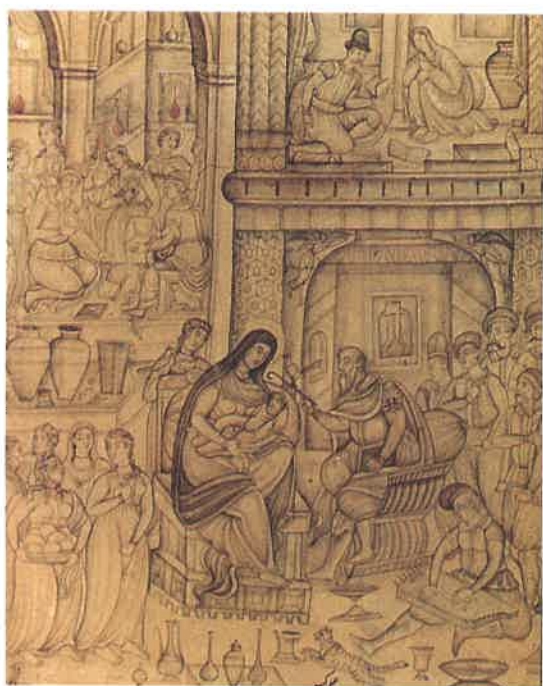
To get an idea of the existing miniatures we prefer to list them by Museums and Libraries:



Lahore, National Museum: A Madonna holding a book inscribed with Persian characters and at her side a ministering Angel (Fig. 32), and in "*Mirat-ul-Quds*", the Presentation of the Virgin to the temple (Fig. 68) (with S. Anne, four



"Portuguese" and three Jesuits), the offering of a Madonna painting to Akbar, and a Madonna with Child surrounded by Portuguese¹²⁰ (Fig. 69).



– New Delhi, National Museum: Birth of Mary (Fig. 33), an eighteenth century miniature, quite close to the European engraving of Cornelis Cort (Fig. 34) after Tadeo Zuccaro and with Deccani characteristics.¹²¹ A European woman



33. *Birth of Mary*, Mughal, Circa 18th. National Museum, New Delhi.

34. *Birth of the Virgin*, Circa 1581. Engraving by Cornelis Cort, after Tadeo Zuccaro. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

in pseudo-classical dress, seated on a Florentine chair under a tree in a hilly landscape, holding a book, while a child approaches her, is certainly inspired by



35. *Virgin and Child*, Mughal, Circa Late 16th. By Kesu Das. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

36. *Virgin Mary stands Praying in a Landscape*, Mughal, Circa 1595–1600. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

37. *Artists at Work*
(one painting a
Madonna), Mughal,
Circa 1585. Attrib-
uted to Kesu Das.
Saatsbibliothek,
Berlin.

a European engraving, and the source
was probably a Madonna with Jesus.¹²²

- Calcutta, Indian
Museum: Ma-
donna and Child,
a Mughal copy
from a European
engraving.¹²³
- Dublin, Chester
Beatty Library: a
drawing, slightly
coloured, of the
Virgin and Child
by Kesu Das (Fig.
35), an adapta-
tion of a Euro-
pean engraving.
The Virgin is
holding the Child
in her arms and
is seated in front
of an elaborate
building, beside
them an elderly
man is holding a
book and a stick.
On the right is a
musician, there are
groups of attendants
and musicians, it seems
to be the presentation
of Jesus in the temple
(see above).¹²⁴ In a sec-
ond miniature, heavily
painted from the years
1595-1600, the Virgin
Mary stands praying in
a landscape dotted with
small European build-
ings, and a Cherub ap-
pears in the clouds¹²⁵
(Fig. 36).

- St. Petersburg, State Li-
brary: The Virgin and
Child with the inscrip-
tion "O Lord of the Age"
"Ya Sahib-ul-zaman".¹²⁶

Museum of the "Coenobium": There are
two miniatures with the Holy Family,

in one receiving presents from two In-
dians, and in the other with the Angel

of the Annuncia-
tion, the little An-
gels with three
crowns, and in
heaven God the Fa-
ther (this painting
seems inspired by
Rubens). In a third
miniature there is a
portrait of a Euro-
pean lady, but on
the wall there are
two paintings of a
Madonna praying,
in the middle a
third Madonna (in
Raffaelesque style),
is working while
the Little Jesus is
playing with a piece
of wood.¹²⁷

- Berlin

(a) State Library:
Madonna and Child
with the subscrip-
tion, "Taswir Hazrat Isa

bin Maryam" (Picture of
the Lord Jesus, son of
Mary).¹²⁸ The "Album of
Jahangir" contains the ad-
aptations of Dürer's "Vir-
gin under a tree" and of
"Madonna of the Ape".
Another Madonna in a
Florentine chair (both in
illustrating borders of
calligraphic texts) and
the miniature with an In-
dian artist painting a Ma-
donna (Fig. 37) (already
seen), and Virgin attrib-
uted to Kesu Das, even
though she is almost Eu-
ropean in her concep-

tion.¹²⁹

(b) Museum of Ethnology: Madonna by
the Mughal Master Balchand.¹³⁰





39. *Madonna Borghese*, "Salus Populi Romani", Saint Mary Major, Rome.



40. *The Virgin Mary*, Deccani School, Circa 1640–1660. India Office Library, London.



(c) Sarre Collection: The Virgin is attending the Child in a cradle, with a female servant standing by.¹³¹

- Munich: A Mughal Madonna was shown in the 1910 Exhibition.¹³²
- Paris: Institut Néerlandais (Custodia Foundation) has a Madonna and Child (Fig. 38) by Manohar (c. 1600), clearly inspired by the Madonna Borghese (Fig. 39) (of St. Mary Major, Rome) brought to India by the Jesuits.¹³³
- London:

(a) British Museum: An unusual representation of the Virgin and Child attributed to Muhammad Afzal.¹³⁴

(b) India Office Library: In its Johnson collection there are several pictures with the Virgin, in one, the Christ Child is so orientalized that he wears gold bangles and bracelets. In another mother and child stand on a snake and crescent (Fig. 40), as from the prophecy of the Bible. In a third the mother has a dark complexion, with the Child holding a book (Fig. 41). Another miniature where

41. *The Virgin Mary with infant Christ*, Deccani School, Circa 1640–1660. India Office Library, London.

42. *Birth of Mary*,
Mughal, Circa 1683.
Monochrome drawing
on paper.
Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston.

a woman is honoured by two Angels is probably related to the Virgin Mary.¹³⁵

Oxford, Bodleian Library: It contains several miniatures on the subject, a Madonna with a blue mantle set in a panel of Indian design,¹³⁶ in another, the Madonna with Child are monochrome while three European women at her side are coloured, and three Cherubs are hovering in the sky.¹³⁷ In a third miniature the Virgin is enthroned, with a number of Angels in the sky and personages in the foreground, among them in pre-eminent position is a monk. A Madonna (with Indian bracelets) adoring the Child, with an Angel who really looks more like a Roman soldier with wings.¹³⁸

Great Britain has more miniatures: One that looks quite rare was exhibited in 1890 by Colonel Hanna with the Virgin descending near a temple (a Hindu temple).¹³⁹ Most still are in private collections.

India: We know that in the Coronation Exhibition of Delhi 1911 Mr. Imre

Schwaiger presented a Virgin with angels,¹⁴⁰ Mr. L. Bulaqi Das of Delhi exhib-

ited a Virgin with Child at the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1922.¹⁴¹

United States collections: We find again a Birth of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 42) (very close to the above-mentioned Italian model of T. Zuccaro) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.¹⁴² A "mother and child in landscape" (Fig. 43), in the same Museum, is inspired from a European copy suggesting "the Virgin and infant Jesus".¹⁴³

The Collections of E. Binney in Portland and San Diego Museum of Art have one of the finest representation of a maternity, it is also considered an image of the Madonna and Child (Fig. 44). Mary is reclining on a dazzling gold carpet and the background consists of an open pavilion.¹⁴⁴ In the same Collection there is a Nativity with the Virgin Praying, quite close to that of the Chester Beatty Library, it is

included in an Aurangzebi Album (which is quite surprising!) and mounted in a





larger leaf decorated with flowers and animals.¹⁴⁵ Two other Mughal miniatures from the same Collection, a lady and a child in a landscape. A lady seated on a throne with wings and a man talking to her are influenced by European models and probably represent Mary and Jesus.¹⁴⁶

The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 45) also inspired a Mughal artist. Mary is in clouds above a landscape, crowned by God the Father and Christ, with the Dove of the Holy Spirit in an oval, over her head.¹⁴⁷

✓ E. Other Christian subjects: Saints

Abu'l Hasan painted in 1600 a St. John (Fig. 5) the Apostle from Dürer's Crucifixion of Christ¹⁴⁸ (Fig. 6), later a print of the same Saint was included, with the other three Evangelists in Jahangir's Album, now in Berlin.¹⁴⁹ Kesu Das painted a St. Matthew, with an Angel (Fig. 14), close to the Euro-

pean model by Philip Galle after Marten van Heemskerck¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 46).

A vignette of St. John Baptist is among the prints used to decorate the Berlin Album of Jahangir.¹⁵¹ The same Saint preaching near the river Jordan is represented in a miniature of the Lahore Museum (Fig. 70), with the Virgin, some people and two Jesuits,¹⁵² and appears in a symbolic miniature with Indian and western elements.¹⁵³ St. Mary Magdalene has a number of miniatures. We have already seen two in which she appears, a third is in the John Rylands Library of Manchester,¹⁵⁴ a fourth, with ministering Angels, is represented in a lovely night landscape.¹⁵⁵ A fifth with long hair and an alabaster cup is at Kensington¹⁵⁶... and certainly many more could be found.¹⁵⁷

Among the Saints of the Church's history, St. Margaret of Assyria (3rd century, according to the tradition) and St. Catherine of Siena (Fig. 47) have been associated in a common decorated page of the Album that Prince Dara Shikoh offered to his beloved wife Nadira Begum. The two Saints were reproduced in origi-



nal European prints. Under the first is an inaccurate inscription "St. Margarita, liberastia rugentibus praparastis ad escaul", the original Biblical text should have been "Liberasti me a rugentibus

44. *The Virgin and Child*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Ascribed to Basawan. San Diego Museum of Art.

45. *The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin*, Mughal, Circa 17th. Keir Collection, London.

46. *Saint Matthew*,
Circa 1565, Signed
Philip Galle after
Marten Van
Heemskerck.

praeparatis ad escam" (You have freed me from the fangs of those who would devour me" Eccl. 51.5). The engraving of St. Catherine is dated, Ant. Carenzanus for 1583 (made by Anthony Caranzani, 1583).¹⁵⁸

Very similar is the situation in a second miniature, the principal item is a portrait of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1590–1627) as musician, above him are mounted two Flemish engravings with St. Catherine of Siena (wrongly it has been said St. Theresa) and St. Francis of Assisi, with the vision of the six seraphic wings and the stigmata (the identical wounds suffered by Christ on the cross) in his body, the folio was included in a Jahangir Album.¹⁵⁹

St. Margaret could be the original subject of a miniature by Manohar (c. 1590–95) (Fig. 48), where a lion is trying to seize a young lady, who is holding a branch of a tree (palm of victory) and a roll with a text that in original was most probably in Latin.¹⁶⁰

We have already seen a representation of St. Anthony of Padua in a marginal decoration of a page of calligraphy (Fig. 7), as well as the insertion of St. Anthony Abbot or St. Paul the Hermit in some miniatures. Impressive is the picture of St. Cecilia, which is a copy of a print of Jerome Wierix, and corresponds to the well-known statue of Stephano Maderno (1599), with the holy martyr lying in the foreground, attended by two women.¹⁶¹ St. Agnes, virgin and martyr, holding a spray of flowers and standing between two trees, is represented in a miniature

at the Baroda Museum.¹⁶²

It is interesting to note that even a woman had participated in the artistic society and in this intercultural encounter. A miniature of St. Jerome, a copy of one of Pieter de Witte (1548–1628), is signed

by "Nadira Bano" (the wife of Dara Shikoh?).¹⁶³ Another St. Jerome (340–420) had been painted by Kesu Das¹⁶⁴ (Fig. 49).



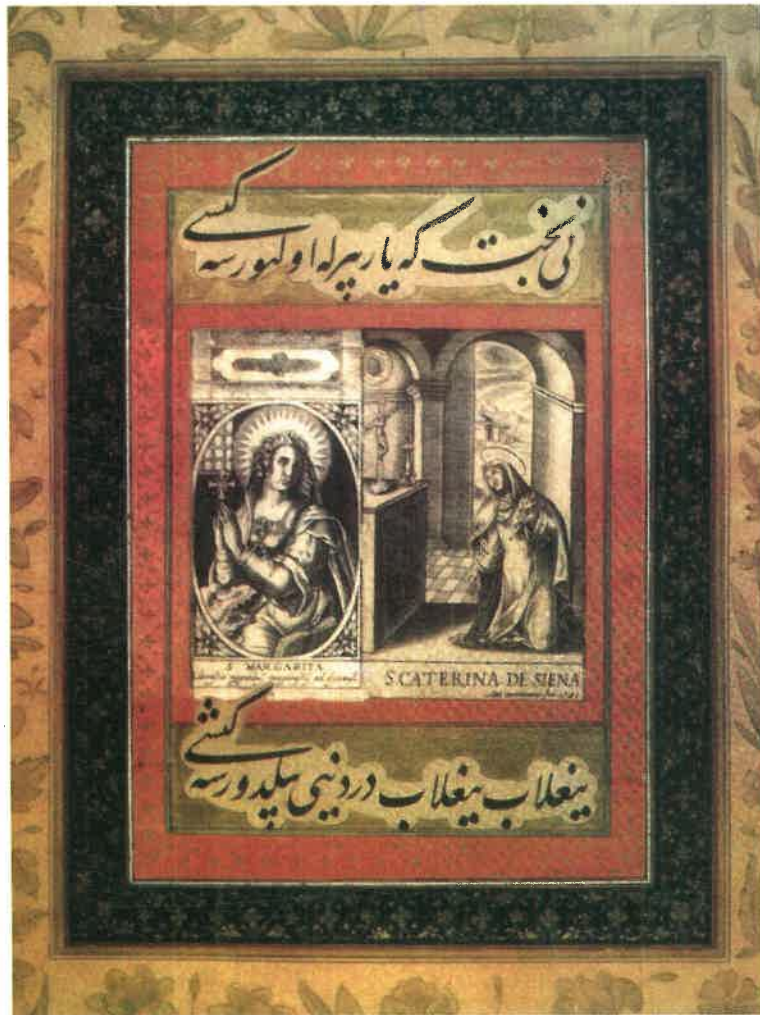
F. Old Testament

We intentionally do not consider here as they deserve, the miniatures related to the Old Testament, because if some elements of the New are common between Muslims and Christians, many more from the Old Testament would be so, and it would be impossible to say if a miniature was inspired by one or the other religious tradition. From December 1991 to May 1992 an exhibition was held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, "Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting".¹⁶⁵

Only three miniatures are from the Mughal school, but many more exist. The Angel of Tobias (Fig. 50) with a fish is possessed by different Museums, Louvre, Guimet and Bharat Kala Bhavan–Varanasi (Fig. 51)... and in a "darbar".¹⁶⁶ Kesu Das made two versions (Figs. 52 & 53) of the European engraving by Georges Pencz of Joseph telling his dream to his father and brothers (Fig. 54). The Mughal painter has been quite faithful, but he added a completely new landscape. It is quite interesting to note that the figure of Jacob becomes that of king Akbar (Fig. 67) in the painting of the Lahore Museum (where the Jesuits present a painting of Christ to him) and also appears in a number of

other miniatures.¹⁶⁷ The love of Zulaikha for Joseph is represented in many Persian paintings. Among the Mughal miniatures just one with the same subject is known until now,¹⁶⁸ while another one represents Joseph/Yusuf in the slave market.¹⁶⁹ A miniature painted by Mohammed Zaman around 1670–75 deals with the sacrifice of Abraham.¹⁷⁰

Dear to Shah Jahan (who put four seals in four different years of royal “inspection”) was a miniature of Daniel in the lion’s den. All the spectators are dressed in Portuguese costume, so is Daniel, with hands tied and eyes downcast, in the attitude of the Flemish “Man of Sorrows”.¹⁷¹ There are at least two representations of the Noah’s ark (Fig. 55), starting from the admirable miniature done by Miskin around 1590.¹⁷² A draw-



47. *Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Margaret*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Dara Shikoh Album*. India Office Library, London.

ing of a nude man seated on a rock beneath a tree, with a lion’s skin on his shoulder, a mattock between his legs, and a dejected expression and attitude looks like the representation of Adam after the expulsion from Eden¹⁷³ (Fig. 56). Two miniatures from the Jahangir’s Album in Berlin most probably represent Adam forced to leave Eden, and his children Cain and Abel.¹⁷⁴ A miniature at the Lahore Museum represents the Jewish people bitten by snakes and recognizing their sins and invoking Moses to be saved (Fig. 72), the snakes are Indian cobras. In a second miniature we can see the people collecting manna, while water is springing from a rock and Moses is praying in a cave.¹⁷⁵ The first among the two events just mentioned (Moses and the plague of Serpents) is the subject of another miniature, again taken from a “Life of Christ” (*Dastan-i-*

48. *Allegorical Figure*, Mughal, Circa 1590–1595. By Manohar or Basawan. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

✓ 49. *Saint Jerome*,
Mughal, Circa 1580 –
1585. Signed Kesu
Das.

Musée Guimet, Paris.



50. *Angel of Tobias*,
Mughal, Circa 1590.
Signed Hosein.

Musée Guimet, Paris.



✓ 51. *Angel of Tobias*,
Mughal, Circa 1590.
Ascribed to Kesu Das.
Bharat Kala Bhavan
Museum, Varanasi.



✓ 52. *Joseph Telling His
Dream to His Father*,
Mughal, Circa 1580 –
1585. Signed Kesu
Das.

Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin.





53. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*,
Mughal, Circa 1585.
Ascribed to Kesu Das.
Saint Louis Art
Museum.

54. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*,
Circa 1544. Anony-
mous engraving after
Georges Pencz.
Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston.



55. *Noah's Ark*,
Mughal, Circa 1582-
1584. By Miskin.
Freer Gallery of Arts,
Smithsonian Institute,
Washington, D.C.

56. *A Nude Man Seated on a Rock Beneath a Tree*
(Adam), Mughal.
Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin.

57. Frontispiece from the First Volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible* published by Christopher Plantyn, Circa 1578. Vatican Library, Rome.



58. *Allegorical Figure*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Signed Basawan. Musée Guimet, Paris.



Masih). It has a different composition and belongs to the E. Binney Collection.¹⁷⁶

Solomon is also often represented.¹⁷⁷

In one miniature, the king is with the Queen of Sheba, he is quite aged and he looks like Joseph's father by Georges Pencz just mentioned above.¹⁷⁸ Three angels in a landscape are probably a reference to the apparition of three "men" to Abraham



at Mamre (Gen: 18), all three have western features, but oriental wings and decorations, the one in the center is seated in a Florentine chair.¹⁷⁹

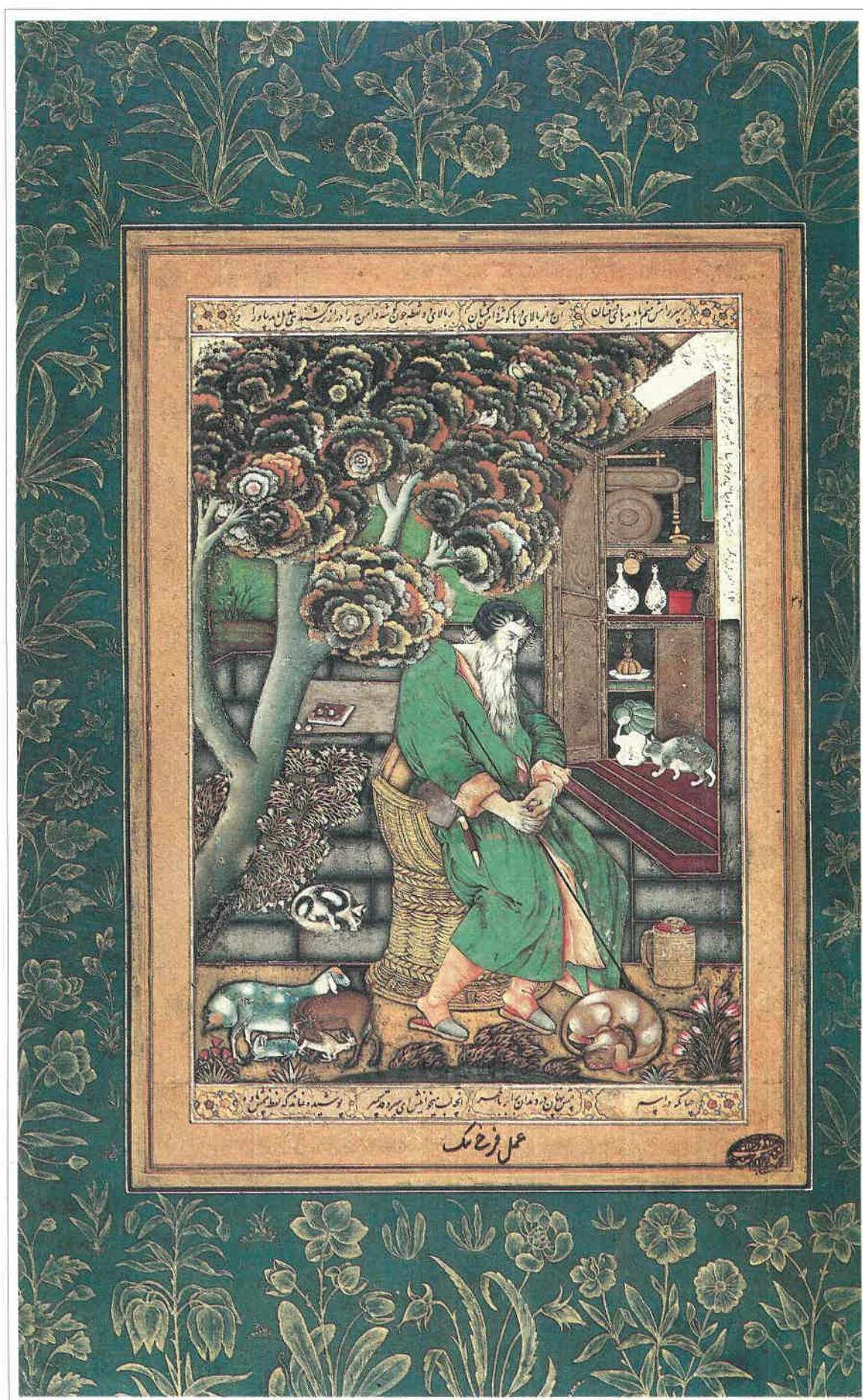
Another area of connection between Christian and Mughal art is that of symbolic features. For example, the Plantyn Bible had a number of such engravings. Basawan elaborated them with great liberty, and their relation to Christianity is no longer clear, even if the European

background is evident. The first page of the Bible, for example, has an engraving with a lady standing on an altar, holding a book in her left hand (Fig. 57), and this representation has been the model for some Mughal miniatures.¹⁸⁰ A sketch in the Guimet Museum of a Praying Lady (Fig. 58), painted around 1590, is obviously inspired by Western model. The

landscape is European and God the Father in heaven is showing a scroll.¹⁸¹ The Mughal artists were combining several elements from different sources so it is not always possible to recognize the original painting and its meaning. For example, a certain number of miniatures with an old man reading a book to a young lady, both with European features, an Evangelist explaining the Gospel to the Church? St. Luke checking his Gospel with Mary?¹⁸²

59. *Dolor* (Hollstein 209). Marten de Vos (1532-1603). The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York.

60. *An Old Sufi*
(recto), Mughal, Circa
1615. Inscribed *Nadir
al Asr* (wonder of the
age) Farrukh Beg.
Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York.



Also the symbolism of evil had developed under the European-Christian influence, but the Chinese tradition of the "dragon" looks stronger in this case, the same had already influenced the Western world.¹⁸³

We have seen that sometimes the Mughal artists were using European engraving and inserting them with border decoration in the album. "We still have extant, a remarkable collection of original engravings in the Berlin Album of Jahangir, which contains no less than eleven specimens. Massacre of the Innocents and a Holy Family on the way to Nazareth, both by John Sadeler after Marten de Vos (1531-1603), and a Flaying of Marsyas (possible introduced as a Martyrdom of St. Bartolomew" by Theodore Galle after John Stradanus (1523-1605). A vignette of St. John Baptist, prints of the four Evangelists, the "Adoration of the Magi", as well as the already mentioned Resurrection, Noli-metangere, and the Pentecost.¹⁸⁴

Finally we should at least mention that a number of other miniatures could have been inspired by Christian paintings. Wellesz writes in this regard, "We remember that Christian images used to be copied, with greater or fewer modifications, by Akbar's artists. Adaptations of such images to very different subjects appear in the illustrations of manuscripts... 'Sita purging herself by fire' might almost be mistaken for a Christian martyr. The various birth scenes in manuscripts of the *Akbar-nama* are reminiscent of presentations of the Birth of the Virgin (Mary). The youth bending over the ship's side, in a page of the *Darab-nama*, follows undoubtedly some Italian prototype. Many similar examples could be given".¹⁸⁵

A proof that the painters were generally taking the European models for their artistic values and not (with some exceptions) for their religious content. In fact there are some miniatures where Christian elements and civil events are con-

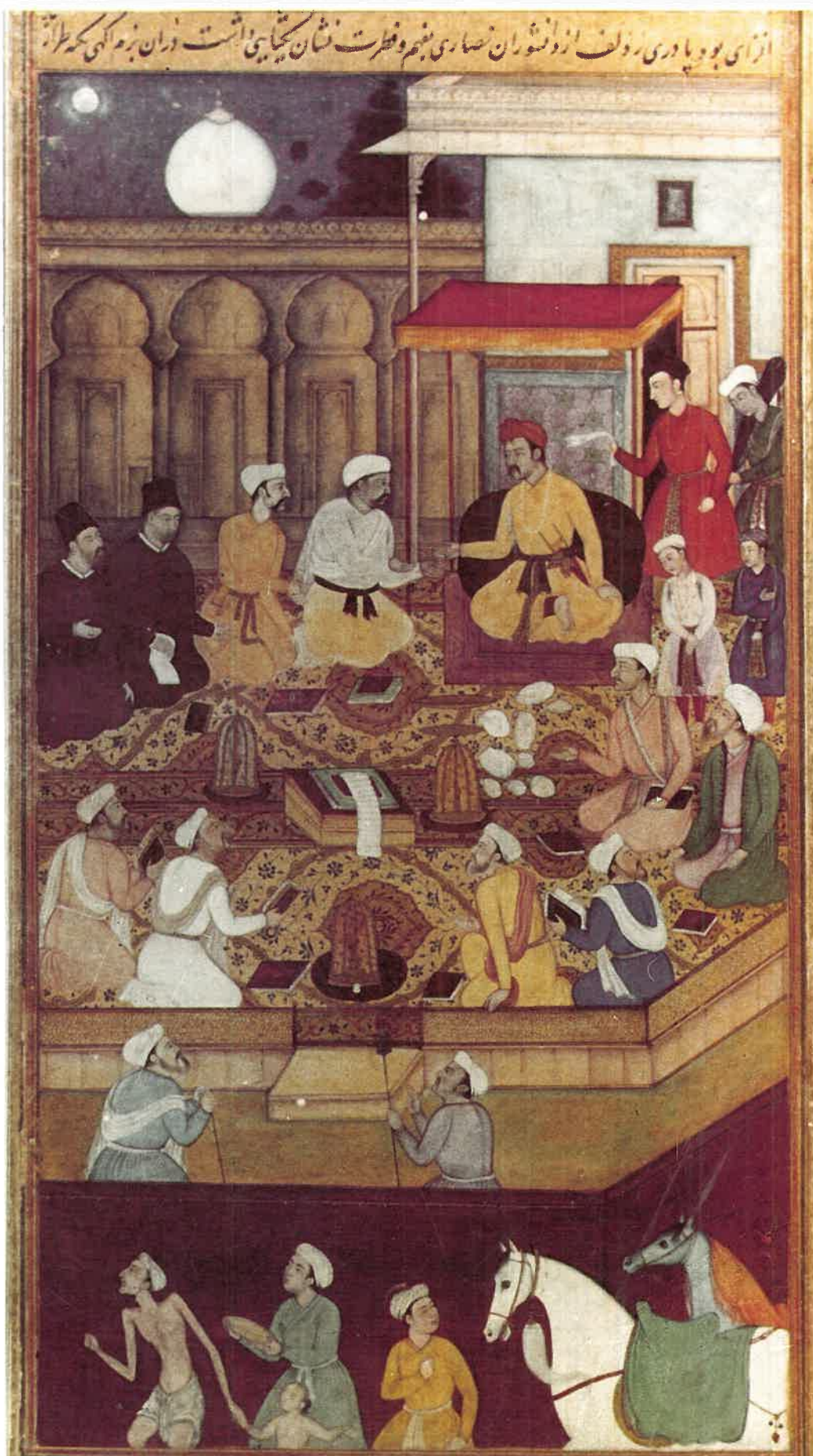
nected. For example, a splendid miniature of Farrukh Beg, where the painter took the portrait of the "dolor" (suffering) (Fig. 59) of the Dutch engraver Marten de Vos (1532-1603) and reproduced the old mystical man (Fig. 60) in a very close resemblance, but covered the Christian features of the original (a village with a church and a painting on the wall with an Assumption or Transfiguration) with a splendid great tree, designed with vivid colors and minute strokes. Certainly the European inspiration and the mastership of the Mughal artist have produced this painting, dated 1615, is one of the most beautiful of miniatures.¹⁸⁶

Concerning the liturgical celebrations of Christians we have a Mass depicted by a Mughal artist of the early seventeenth century. A priest is praying at the altar decorated with a Virgin and Child, while eight angels appear in the sky. However, the bystanders are oddly unconcerned. A young man with a halo is offering something to an aged person.¹⁸⁷

Miniatures with Jesuits

We are aware that the Jesuits played a great role in this encounter of artistic traditions and it seems right that the Mughal miniatures should have given attention to them as well. In effect their presence, their activities, and their costume, did not escape the Mughal artists (we know that apart from the Goans, who had another style of painting, there were no Christian painters in Hindustan). We have already mentioned how they portrayed Jesuits with Mary and the Child Jesus, in the Presentation of Mary in the temple and in the Sermon of St. John Baptist, as well as in the Ascension of Christ, and in a procession around a *sufi*.

A very significant miniature is the work of Nar Singh for the *"Akbar-nama"*, it shows two Jesuits disputing with the Muslim doctors before Akbar (Fig. 61). One is undoubtedly Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva (it has the written notation "*Padri Rodolf*"),



61. *Two Jesuits
Disputing with Muslim
Doctors before Akbar*
(Father Rodolfo
Aquaviva and
Antonio Monserrate),
Mughal, Circa Late
16th. By Nar Singh.
Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin.

62. Akbar Receiving Gifts, Two Jesuits Presenting a Bible, Mughal, Circa 1590. Johnson Collection. India Office Library, London.



63. Accession of Jahangir with a Jesuit, Mughal, Circa 1618. By Abu'l Hasan. Institute for the people of Asia, Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.



64. A Jesuit Wearing Blue Cloak and Yellow Robe Stands Before a Landscape, Mughal, Circa 1595-1600. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



they wear very dark soutane and cloak.¹⁸⁸ The same Jesuits, one young and the other older with a beard, but this time shorter, appear again in a different court scene. Many people are bringing gifts to Akbar (Fig. 62), one is with a cheetah, several have books (paintings?), and also the Fathers standing have a large a book, which could be the "Plantyn Bible".¹⁸⁹ In another "reception" (this time of a deputation guided by the Hindu leaders Vivekaharsha and Udayaharsha in 1610) we can see the Emperor Jahangir on his throne and in the courtyard there is a mixed crowd of Arabs, Turks, Persians, and a Jesuit.¹⁹⁰

In a *darbar* (court reception) of Jahangir (Fig. 63) painted by Manohar around 1620 now in Boston, there is a thin figure of a Jesuit, probably the Florentine Fr. Corsi.¹⁹¹ A similar representation appears in a miniature in the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, with the Emperor sitting in his throne surrounded by courtiers.¹⁹² In another more grandiose scene in honour of Jahangir, which takes place in open air, it is possible to clearly recognize in the crowd a Jesuit (Fr. Corsi or Fr. Xavier?). The upper part of the front door is decorated with angels, the miniature is painted by Abu'l Hasan.¹⁹³

Other miniatures include personages which could be Jesuits in the intentions of the painter, but we are not so sure. For example in a miniature of Poona representing a religious conference, another at Udaipur where Jahangir is at the window, below there is a crowd of courtiers, among whom stands a man with European features, who might well be Fr. Jerome Xavier.¹⁹⁴ In the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, there is a miniature about Alexander the Great at sea, in the boats there are several Europeans and in one, three persons look like Jesuits.¹⁹⁵

In one case the representation of a Jesuit could be a bit polemical. In 1616 Abu'l Hasan painted the Muslim 13th-century mystic poet Sa'di presenting a

book to the Emperor (certainly the Quran), he is surrounded by other mystics. In the lower part of the miniature, the Ottoman Sultan and the Persian Shah are represented as being rejected. In the upper part in a corner, someone who looks like a Jesuit in a very dejected attitude is hiding a book under his cloak (the Bible?) and has retracted his hands into the sleeves of his brown cloak. For some author he represents Hinduism... while the Emperor is under a Christian canopy.¹⁹⁶

There are some Mughal portraits of Jesuits, even though we are not sure about the corresponding names. One is in the Chester Beatty Library, the Father is wearing a blue cloak, yellow-brown robe and stands before a landscape of trees, a large river and hills (Fig. 64). The artist has combined his own observation of the Priest with reported knowledge of European scenes.¹⁹⁷ A second quite similar representation is in the National Museum of India (New Delhi). A Jesuit is again in front of a hilly landscape wearing a large hat, in his left hand he is holding a book and in the right a rosary.¹⁹⁸ Closer to the one in Dublin is a drawing by Manohar (c. 1595) in the Musée Guimet. The Father in one hand has a book and in the other spectacles.¹⁹⁹

In this way respect was paid to these men of a different religion and culture who came to the subcontinent and to the Muslim Court. With the emperors, the nobles, and the painters, the Jesuits and European travellers contributed much to the cultural exchange between Asia and Europe. They were pleased to see the interest the Mughals took in the arts. Personally convinced of their importance (particularly after the guidelines of the Council of Trent) they promoted the growth of arts all over the world. The Jesuits could not establish permanent Christian communities in the Mughal empire, but their presence was not fruitless and is witnessed in the history of painting, therefore, part of the culture of the

subcontinent.

The miniatures we have considered are also a testimony to the openness of the Muslim rulers, society and to their artistic ability. If today these miniatures are cherished by all the greatest Museums in the world, it is because their message has become universal and their value is highly appreciated. It is the nature of a cultural exchange, not to deprive the cultures involved of their characteristics, but rather to enrich them with other contributions, while allowing the local elements to develop, such intercultural exchanges become beneficial to all.

Addendum

The British Museum Press has just published a book with some new elements, which are listed with some personal comments. J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, London 1993.

Plate 7: BM 1974. 6-17.021 (28). Christ crowned with thorns, copy (c. 1700-50) of a Jahangir miniature after a European Engraving.

Plate 24: BM 1965. 7-24.05. Christ's entry into Jerusalem, an illustration from the "Dastan-i Masih" (Life of Christ), composed by Fr. J. Xavier, S. J. and presented to Akbar (c. 1592), among the three people looking at Christ, one is a Jesuit.

Plate 44: BM 1983. 10-15.1. The Crucifixion with oriental landscape. On one side is Mary with a group of women and on the other side twelve men (among them two Jesuits). Listed by Abu'l Fazl, possibly of Kesu Das, c. 1590, to whom another crucifixion is attributed in the Gulistan Palace, Tehran. The figure of Christ might be modeled after a crucifix.

Plate 59: BM 1920. 9-17.015. Equestrian deity (Bellona? Mercur?), in a Flemish landscape with several ships, houses a castle and a church by Mir Kalan Khan c. 1620.

Plate 71: BM 1920.9-17.031. With three different Gospel events. Storm on the Sea

of Galilee, Healing of the Gadarene possessed man and the swine, Jesus and Peter after the miraculous fishing. In the background there is a European village transformed with a minaret.

Plate 73: BM 1954. 5-8.02 Portrait of the heir of France (Dauphin) Francois de Valois (son of Francis I). Later 16th century European print pasted on an Album leaf, surrounded by Mughal decoration of three Angels in the upper part, and of a lion with a calf in peace in the lower part.

Plate 74: BM 1920. 9-17.032. Storm on the Sea of Galilee (but given that the holy man in the boat looks more like St. Peter. The miniature could represent also the "boat of the Church" in the storms of history... or possibly the journey of St. Paul on sea); end of the 17th century.

L. Bressan obtained his Ph.D. in Law. He has publications on International Relations, History and Art; representative of the Holy See in Pakistan from 1989-1993. New Vatican Nuncio in Thailand.

Footnotes

1. For the history of the Mughals: B. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, TBI-New Delhi 1987; R. P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad 1956; R. C. Majumdar-H. C. Raychaudhuri-K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, London 1958, book II, "The Moghul Empire", 425-630 (by K. Datta). - For the Moghul painting: J. C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, Penguin Books 1986, 355-371 (Painting); Kr. Chaitanya, *Manuscript, Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, New Delhi 1979, 1-38; D. Barrett-B. Gray, *La peinture indienne*, Flammarion Genève 1978, 19-75; S. C. Welch, *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture 1300-1900*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1986; M. Cleveland Beach, *The New Cambridge History of India I/3 Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge 1992; M. Baqir, *Miniatures: Lahore Museum Collections*, Lahore 1964; A. Nabi Khan, *Muslim Art Heritage*, Islamabad s.d.; C. M. N. Sahay, *Indian Miniature Painting*, in *Arts of Asia*, July-August 1974, 25-41; D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes: The Mughals and the Medici*, Marg Publications Bombay 1987 Italian edition: *Lo specchio del Principe*, L'Elefante Roma 1991; A. Kumar Das, *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, Bombay 1986; J. Guy-D. Swallow, *Arts of India: 1550-1900*, Victoria and Albert Museum,

- 1990, 57–108. (*The Age of the Mughals*, by S. Stronge); P. Pal, *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, Marg Publications, Bombay 1991; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion Paris 1992; P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughal A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750*, Cosmo New Delhi 1981, 163–179.
2. For the presence of Jesuits: J. S. Narayan, *Acquaviva and the Great Mogul*, Patna 1945; D. Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva*, Piacenza 1819; E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London 1932; J. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters from the Mughal Court (1580–1583)*, Heras Institute Bombay 1980; J. Rooney, *The Hesitant Dawn: Christianity in Pakistan 1579–1760*, Islamabad–Rawalpindi 1984, 18–40. In general: R. Iyer, *The Glass Curtain between Asia and Europe*, London 1965. We don't deal here with the doctrines and tenets of Islam in relation to painting; see: (Egyptian ex-Minister of Culture) Sarwat Okasha, *The Muslim Painter and the Divine*, London 1981 (hostility and sponsorship).
 3. Most of the consulted bibliography is indicated in the Notes; a fundamental study remains that of E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, op. cit., 222–267 (*The Missions and Mogul Painting*); we know for example that in 1938 several Moghul–Christian miniatures were in Hyderabad (India), now they have been dispersed (see: M. Lederle, *Christian Painting in India through the centuries*, Heras Bombay, s.d.[1981?], 54). In the impossibility to visit many Museums, most of this research is “ex libris”; the footnotes are not just references, but integrating the text.
 4. E.D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, op. cit., 227–234 (with accurate description).
 5. A. Camps, *Jerome Xavier S. J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, Fribourg 1957, 205–207; we have recognized two miniatures inspired by the Madonna Borghese, better known today as “Salus Populi Romani”: one Moghul and one Deccani.
 6. *Ibidem*, 207; letter of Fr. J. Xavier, dated 24.9.1608 from Agra. In a letter dated August 26, 1598 the Father wrote: “in quanto la imaginas fueran mejores mejor” (as better the pictures are it will be better for us) (see Rome, Arch. S. J., Goa 46/1, ff. 229–231 about the interest of the emperor for the pictures).
 7. E. D. Maclagan, *The Earliest English Visitors to the Punjab 1585–1627*, in *Notes on Punjab and Mughal India*, Lahore 1988 (re-edition), 301: William Finch.
 8. – *The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641*, *ibidem*, 325.
 9. Description by the Italian Manucci, from: Kr. Chaitanya, *Manuscript, Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, op. cit., 69.
 10. F. 194r of *Shah Jahan-nama*, Royal Library, Windsor Castle. The Biblical reference is to Is. 11,6: the modern version says: “calves and lion cubs will feed together”; the Vulgate was “the calf and the lion, and the sheep will stay together”.
 11. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., No. 07.258; reproduced also in A. K. Das, *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, Vakils Bombay 1986, 38–39, plate X; with western and Persian influences, also the Chinese is present in this miniature. There are three replicas of this picture: Wantage Album (Victoria and Albert Museum), Kevorkian Album (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum (Jaipur). A fifth version was among the paintings of the late Col. Hanna.
 12. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Cat. n. 14.657 “Jahangir in *darbar*”.
 13. Manuscript “*Masnavi*”, Royal Asiatic Society, London (Ms. Persian 310, fols. 19v and 20).
 14. Reception for Yadgar Beg from the “*Padshah-nama*”: Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Ouseley Add. 173, No. 13. In the Antwerp Polyglot Bible there is effectively a title page representing the peace among animals: an ox and a lion drinking from the same fountain, a wolf and a lamb sitting together. About this miniature E.D. Maclagan writes: “in the background of the throne itself can be dimly discerned a part of the lower edges of two panels sufficient to enable us to identify the subjects as Christ and the Virgin” (*The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, op. cit., 242).
 15. A page from the “Minto Album”, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 7.19; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 33 plate 32. See previous note and note 52.
 16. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., from “*Shah Jahan-nama*” c. 1650, Nos. 42.17a–18a; the emperor has a nimbus: D. Jones, *The Mirror of Princes*, Bombay 1987, 63, plate 7; B. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, op. cit., 200–201.
 17. *Jahangir-nama*, c. 1618, Institute for the Peoples of Asia, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad; M. C. Beach, *The New Cambridge History of India. Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge 1992, 98–99 plates 71–72.
 18. “*Khamisa*” of Nizami, dated 1595, British Library, London, Or. 12208, f. 23v; presented by C. W. Dyson-Perrins.
 19. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, op. cit. 237–241. Chapter XV of this study (*The Missions and Mogul Painting*) is still the basis for every research on the subject; about the Lahore J. Ph. Vogel, *Tile-mosaics of the Lahore Fort*,

- Calcutta 1920, section "plates" reproduces angels (painted more in Persian style) in n. 15; 19; 20; 24; 26; 31; 40; 55; 58; 63; 64; 85; 86; while in the n. 80; 89; 90 the Angels look more Europeanized, even if the influence may not have been direct, but through Persia. Jahangir also used narwhal ivory to make a ring "adorned with angels bearing offerings at either side and a Michelangesque face of Christ as Pantocrator at the front" (S. C. Welch, *India and Pakistan, Art and Culture*, op.cit., 205 (from the: M. Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur).
20. E. Koch, *Jahangir and the Angels: Recently discovered wall paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore*, in *India and West* (Seminar in honor of. H. Goetz), South-Asia Studies No. XV, New Delhi, 1983, 173-195 and plates. Other paintings with European influence and Angels (more close to the Persian style) are in the Wazir Khan Baths (S. M. Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, Lahore 1957, 214-222 [they are true fresco painting... the buono fresco of the Italians], but direct survey shows that these murals are not really "frescos"). The "Plantyn Bible" is a solemn edition printed in Anvers by Chrytopher Plantyn between 1569 and 1572 in seven volumes, using Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Aramaic, Syrian; a copy was presented by the Jesuits to Akbar in 1580.
 21. A study (to be published in 1993) has been conducted in the last two years by Ilahy Cooper. In the Lahore Fort a pavilion called *Diwan-e-Khas* or *Sadari* contains paintings of Christian saints (Gregory the Great, Anthony Abbot, John Evangelist and possibly Lucy, and two men in prayer). The mentioned study and recently Milo C. Beach (Director, Freer Gallery of Art and A. M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D. C.) support the idea that they are from the xvi-xvii century. M. C. Beach, *The New Cambridge History of India. Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge Univ. Press 1992, 86-89.
 22. E. Koch, *Notes on the painted and sculptured decoration of the Nur Jahan's pavilions in Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra*, in *Facts of Indian Art* (Symposium at Victoria and Albert Museum 1982), London 1986, 51-65.
 23. It holds the No. 58.58/31. It is reproduced on the front page of M. Bussagli, *La via dell'arte tra Oriente e Occidente: due millenni di storia*, Giunti Firenze 1986; India Ministry of FF Affairs, *Muslims in India*, New Delhi s.d., 4. The original is surrounded by a vast calligraphy; it is possibly the work of Hashim.
 24. Victoria and Albert Museum, 116-1921. I. M.; C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings*, Qausin, Lahore, 1977, plate 5; another copy almost identical exists in Calcutta: N. Roy, *Mughal Painting*. Indian Museum, Calcutta 1975, 190 plate 23, Cat. VM 678. The child could be Buddha or a dwarf? But most probably (see the attitude of prayer, with joint hands) was a statue of Jesus. A similar young boy is painted by Sanwala c. 1585, but walking in a rocky country (Diwan, Rampur, f. 74, S. P. Verma, *Art and material culture in the painting of Akbar's Court*, New Delhi 1978, 32-33 plate 28).
 25. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 7 (12); the same library has a corresponding miniature by the two artists again with Jahangir holding the world and below, the Sultan of Turkey with a book (ibidem Ms. 7/13), and in the Musée Guimet, Paris there is a miniature (No. 3676B) again by the two artists with Jahangir holding a portrait of Akbar.
 26. Fol. 21a; from: E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei aus dem Jahangir-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1920 (English ed.: *Indian Book Painting*, London 1926); E. D. MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, op. cit., 223 and 251; S. C. Welch, *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture 1300-1900*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1988, p. 178, plate 105 (ca. 1585). The painting looks like a Madonna; but it could be disputed. Another miniature of the same time, with the same painter doing the same portrait again in blue, but without the painted background is in the Keir Collection, V. 42, dated ca. 1590 (B. W. Robinson and AA, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, Faber London 1976, p. 248, plate 117).
 27. It holds the No. 1920 9-17 036. The drawing does not indicate the hand of a master; probably he did not realize the meaning of the different subjects: J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design 1500-1700*, British Museum London 1983, 86-87, plate 94.
 28. British Library, London, "Nafahat al-Uns", f. 135v; P. Pal, *Master Artists*, op. cit., 87; 90-91; the indication of the Jesuits and the Virgin has been made by other research; E. Wellesz, *Akbar's religious thought reflected in Mughal painting*, Allen and Unwin London 1952, 41 and plate 35.
 29. AA, *The world's great religions*, Time Incorporated, New York 1957, 117 and 309 (Metropolitan Museum of Art). The same western village in "four men listening to music" in Calcutta Museum: N. Roy, *Mughal Court Painting*. Indian Museum, Calcutta 1975, 166 plate 13, Cat. IM R. 210.
 30. British Library, London, Or. 12208, f. 19a; J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art*, op. cit., 81, and plate 80.
 31. Collection of M. Demotte, Paris (ca. 1660): P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, New Delhi 1981, plate LXVI.
 32. Victoria and Albert Museum, London I.M. 13-1925, Minto Album; reproduced in color in "Arts of Islamic World", Autumn-Winter 1990 (No. 19), 39; a western village with its church can also be seen in the background of a miniature of Balchand "Royal lovers on a terrace", c. 1633, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass; a church is clearly visible in the miniature representing the assault of Hugli by the Mughals in 1632 (*Shah Jahan-nama*,

- Windsor Castle: L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Faber London 1947-48, n. 773, plate 138).
33. India Office Library, Dara Shikoh Album (Add. Or. 3129, f. 28).
 34. Fol. 5a, from E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indian book paintings*, *op. cit.*, plate 30; E. D. MacLagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 248-249. For St. John and the Virgin we also have two separate miniatures (see below). An Adoration of the Magi (probably on silk or other similar material) brought by the Jesuits in the subcontinent 1608 aroused extraordinary enthusiasm, and Jahangir in Agra asked that his portrait might be inserted into the border, and in his Memoirs he writes on 1st June 1608: "in beauty no other work of the Frank painters had ever been seen" (E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, 234).
 35. Fol. 11b. Another lady on a Florentine chair nourishing a child is in the Knellington Collection, Harvard University Art Museum, and there too she is classified as "Madonna and Child" (S.C. Welch, *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture 1300-1900*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1988, p. 164, plate 100).
 36. I. Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1929, Plate V. The painter did not cover the feminine breast. This miniature corresponds to a Persian one, originated from Ispahan in the early 17th century, there too the child looks like the infant Jesus, but the person who carries him on the shoulders is a woman (British Museum, London, 1922 7-11 01 and J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design*, London 1983, 84-85, who is in doubt if the lady is a nurse, or a Madonna possibly derived from a Magdalene or a St. Mary the Egyptian; also for Rogers the child looks like Jesus). It seems (we have just a photocopy) that all the personages in these borders, most of whom were women, have been made "masculine" (later?) through the addition of little moustaches on their faces. But the original is certainly in A. Dürer. cfr. W. L. Strous, *The intaglio prints of A. Dürer*, New York 1977, plate 14 (pages 49-50). It is a case of "cultural return".
 37. British Library, London, Or. 12988, f. 1b; J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, British Library London 1982, 94 and Plate XXX-70.
 38. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., No. 42.15A; B. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, *op. cit.*, front-page and page 129. The original of King James I was inspired probably by a painting of John de Critz (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 46). The big nimbus around Jahangir is justified also by his titles "light of the faith", "World-seizer". Also when hunting Jahangir is assisted by an Angel (British Library, Ms.)r. 7573, f. 218v; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 45 plate 45).
 39. Keir Collection, V.70: B. W. Robinson and AA, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, Faber London 1976, p. 259-260, plate 127.
 40. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS7, 15; P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, 76-77.
 41. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 75.4.28 (repr. in: R. Strong, *The Indian Heritage*, Victoria and Albert Museum April-August 1982, plate 48), c. 1625. Jahangir is nimbate and the poverty is represented by an old emaciated black man. Also here the earth rests on a fish (in accordance with an old Islamic tradition), but on this fish an old man is reposing with a book: he is Manu the Hindu lawgiver. Jahangir had ordered that bells should be suspended above the wall of Agra so that suppliants could gain his attention at any hour...but in 1624 he ordered that blind or sick should be driven from his sight when he was leaving the palace.
 42. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 45.9; 1618-20 circa; P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, 81-83. The Angels appear in another symbolic painting of "friendship" between the two rulers, here seated together (B. Lewis & AA. *The World of Islam*, Thames and Hudson London 1980, 317). Among the presents brought by the Jesuits was also an "atlas" offered to them by the Archbishop of Goa, the "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum" by A. Ortelius, printed in Antwerpen 1570 (J. S. Narayan, *Acquaviva and the Great Mogul*, *op. cit.*, 43; J. Jennes, *Invold der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indie, China en Japan*, Leuven 1943, 44); this may have inspired the Moghul painters on ships and marine monsters. Jahangir with a big Angel is in Calcutta: N. Roy, *Mughal Court Painting*, Indian Museum Calcutta 1975, 176 plate 18, Cat. IM R.14174/S.102.
 43. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms 7A. 10; it is the work of the Master Balchand, contained in the "Minto album".
 44. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., 39.49, Smithsonian Institute; P. Pal, *op. cit.*, 111-114.
 45. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (miniature of Hashim); AA, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, 53 (plate 35).
 46. Collection H. Vever, Paris: I. Stchoukine, *La peinture Indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris 1929, plate 29. Now in Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. S1986.403 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion Paris 1992, 172, plate 208).
 47. E. D. MacLagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 240; letter of Fr. Andrade 13th August 1623.
 48. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, "Shah Jahan-nama", f. 50v; B. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, *op. cit.*, 145
 49. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., 46.28; P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, 74. In the paintings there is also a strange bearded figure holding a mace, with the inscription "the Emperor of Rome in Ancient Times". A painting by Govardhan c. 1630 represents Timur handing the imperial crown to Babur, with Humayun on the other side, the three covered by a panoply, with a

- clear dove surrounded by a nimbus (Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 8-1925; J. Guy-D. Swallow, *Arts of India*, *op. cit.*, 56). The dove appears over Shah Jahan conversing with *Khan-i-Khannan*: R. Roy, *Mughal Court Painting*, Indian Museum Calcutta 1975, 180 plate 19; cat. CM 688.
50. This miniature belongs to the Robert Hatfield Ellsworth; P. Pal, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, *op. cit.*, 201, plate 212.
 51. I. Stchoukine, *Les miniatures Indiennes*, *op. cit.*, plate XIV; E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 256.
 52. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London 1912, vol. II, plate 211. Plate n. 212 reproduces Akbar, and the angels are painted as putti in the upper border. They are also located in the same space in the plate n. 211 (Humayun) and 213 (Jahangir); in the second they are represented as young persons supporting a monstrosity in which it is possible to recognize a dove; the emperors are painted in Persian style, but the borders are decorated in the Moghul fashion. Below there are the two usual animals, but in that of Jahangir they are still in peace, in the other the ox is a big bull, and the two are to attack each other. The original meaning of the representation was lost! The same book has also (vol. I, p. 79) a miniature of Shah Jahan, with angels (cfr. E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 177); see also: A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 41 plate 41 (Jahangir from the Musée Guimet), 209 plate 246, (Humayun, now in Arthur A. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute).
 53. Collection of M. Cartier, Paris: P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, New Delhi 1981, plate XXVI, two Angels (one with a crown and one with a globe) appear in a miniature of the Musée Guimet (MA.3543) with Akbar and Shah Jahan (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 32 plate 31).
 54. A page by Govardhan from the "Kevorkian Album", Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121-10.22v (A. Okada, *op. cit.*, 44 plate 44); also in L. York Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings of Art Catalogue of Oriental Art*. Part one, Indiana 1986, 91 Plate 26, ref. 71.78. This subject of peace represented as harmony between bull or lamb and lion is met quite often. Chester Beatty Library, Akbar Handing the Imperial crown to Shah Jahan by Bichitr c. 1631 (sculpted on the thrones); Musée Guimet, Babur by Payag, c. 1640; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.: Jahangir and Shah of Persia, c. 1618 and Jahangir suppressing a rebellion (see the globe), both by Abu'l Hasan; Windsor C. Library, Accession of Shah Jahan, by Bichitr c. 1628 (there are two lions), later we find "variations", the bull and the lion are to fight (Humayun seated in landscape, by Payag c. 1645. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Inst., Washington, D. C.) or just two lions in the same attitude (Majnun and Laila's Messengers, by Govardhan [?] c. 1640, Chester Beatty Libr., Shah Jahan Album).
 55. Keir Collection, from: B. Gray, *The Arts of India*, Phaidon Oxford 1981, 150.
 56. I. Stchoukine, *Les miniatures indiennes*, *op. cit.*, Plate 38. The plate 67 represents Farrukhsiyar, again with angels.
 57. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection, Museum Associate Purchase (M. 80.6.6.); P. Pal, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, *op. cit.*, 35 (plate 26). In some miniatures it is possible to see a "holy man" ministered to by Angels (cfr. Johnson Collection in India Office, Colonel Hanna Collection in London), but if the art is coming from Europe, the content is not necessarily Christian (the Angels ministering to Jesus) but could be most probably a reference to the Muslim Ibrahim-bin-Adham (see: E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 250). The same administered by Angels appears in a late miniature c. 1730 (T. Falk-S. Digby, *Painting from Mughal India*, Colnaghi Museum, London 1979, N. 24).
 58. In the Collection of Babu Sitaram Shau of Benaras (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*. A survey of some new material, Bombay 1926, plate 46, miniature by Mehr Chand); another similar in E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 256. Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, I, C 24343, f. 13a, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, (Leipzig 1924), I, plate 25.
 59. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, *op. cit.*, 172-174.
 60. See above Notes 42 and 38. It is interesting to remark that in a miniature in which Jahangir holds the portrait of his father Akbar, both have a nimbus; in the corresponding one with the Virgin Mary, the emperor does not have it, but the colour is arranged to create some light around his head (cf. Guimet, Paris, No. 3.676.B and National Museum Delhi, No. 58.58/31); otherwise also in the court scenes Jahangir appears with a nimbus.
 61. For Shah Jahan see for example Chester Beatty Library, Ms 50, f. 5, where not only the emperor but also his son Prince Dara Shikoh has a nimbus; in another the son does not have the nimbus but only the emperor; the emperor has one when seated on the Peacock Throne (Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, San Diego; A. K. Das, *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, *op. cit.*, 46-49). For Aurangzeb: Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Od.51, f. 8 around 1660: the emperor in prayer; India Office Library, London, No. J.2.2: Aurangzeb in his old age reading the Quran, with nimbus and flames.
 62. See previous Note for Princes. A Sheikh holding a globe with the imperial crown (Sa'di by Bichitr 1635), Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms 7. fol. 14.
 63. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 252, who cit.

- Weber, *Indian Antiquary*, VI, December 1877, 67.
64. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Jahangir-Album, fol. 10b, from E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, Berlin 1920.
 65. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting*, *op. cit.*, plate 173, only the young Mary has a nimbus. The painting is attributed to Muhammad Zaman.
 66. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 202 (reproduction) and 252-253; A. Camps, *Jerome Xavier S. J.*, *op. cit.*, 14-30 does not mention this copy of the life of Christ, but probably Mr. Charles gave it to one of the big Museums who have different copies of it; apart from the one of Lahore, it seems that others do not have miniatures, certainly not the one in the Vatican Library.
 67. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 253; the footnotes are ours.
 68. India Office Library, London, Johnson Collection, Book 6, No 1-2; Book 1, No. 1a. In this last we see eight winged angels kneel in a circle to adore the Christ Child who lies on a bed of gold.
 69. Now: Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 11A, No. 19. "The Virgin and Child" by Kesu, an adaptation of an European engraving.
 70. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Douce, oR. A.1.; Ethé, *Catal. Pers. MSS*, II (2069) 2384.
 71. E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, *op. cit.*, plate 41; Jahangir Album, fol. 1b.
 72. *Ibid.*, plate 30.
 73. Maclagan gives Catalogue (Dowdeswell) No. 124.
 74. Maclagan gives: (British Museum, London) Indian Drawings, Book XIII, 1920-9-7-0276A.
 75. Maclagan: (India Office Library, London), Johnson Collection, Book 14, No 3.
 76. This painting was at the National Museum of Lahore, No. M-645/MSS-46. During Partition this painting was transferred to East Punjab, Chandigarh Museum, India.
 77. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Jahangir-Album, fol. 2a, from E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, Berlin 1920.
 78. India Office Library, J. 14.2, inscribed in the back "*taswir-i Hadrat-i Maryam-u Hadrat-i Isa*"; J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art*, *op. cit.*, page 85, No. 88. The original of E. Sadeler is in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 51 3-8 1027).
 79. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 251; A. K. Coomaraswamy. Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Part VI (Mughal Painting), Boston 1930, p. 50, plate 83.
 80. M. A. Chaghatai, *Mirat al-Quds*. An illustrated manuscript of Akbar's period about Christ's life, in Lahore Museum Bulletin, 1/2 (July-December 1988) 103.
 81. N. Brosh, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, Jerusalem 1991, 122 plate 46.
 82. British Museum, 1960 12-15 01, Purchased from the Brooke Sewell Fund; J. M. Rogers, *op. cit.*, page 85, No. 89; M. Bussagli-C. Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, New York-Bombay, page 298, Plate No. 372.
 83. Reproduced in the front-page of *Arts of Asia*, July-August 1974. A European print "Adoration of Magi" is inserted in the Berlin Album of Jahangir (E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 248). Samshodhan Mandal, Pune, has a miniature where the Magi are not kings, but queens, an adaptation to the feminine affection for a child (see M. Lederle, *Christian Painting in India*, *op. cit.*, 54); a similar painting with women honouring Christ is exhibited in the National Museum of New Delhi (from a picture I could get, but the style does not look Mughal).
 84. British Library, London, Ms. Or. 4615 fol. 46. A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 96 plate 98.
 85. M. Bussagli-C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 298, plate No. 372: British Museum, London.
 86. M. Bussagli, *Indian Miniatures*, MacMillan New Delhi 1976, plate 31; M. Bussagli, *La via dell'arte*, *op. cit.*, 17-19; E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 249-251; M. Lederle, *Christian Painting in India*, *op. cit.*, 14; L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Faber, London 1947, n. 666; etc. The miniature is in Windsor Castle. A copy of a miniature "Madonna with Child", which looks closer to the style of another great German painter, Lucas Cranach, was available in the market of Islamabad (Pakistan) and is now in a private collection. Probably the copyist, who must be Indian, added some "Mehndi" of distinction on the hand and a "bindia" on the forehead of the Virgin. It has not been possible to find where the original is located.
 87. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 44 (4). The reference to the lady kissing the foot of the ascetic man could be referring to the evangelical scene of the dinner in the house of Simon, or to the "noli me tangere". The man has a staff in form of a T (characteristic of St. Anthony Abbot). The same ascetic man with a T, but this time partially covered by his hand, appears with little changes in a group of two holy persons and two musicians, mentioned before (cfr. Note, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, from, *The World's Great Religions*, *op. cit.*, 117).
 88. New York, James Ivory Collection, c. 1590 (from, D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, 102).
 89. India Office Library, London, J. 14.4, it is a tinted drawing and painted around 1610.
 90. Private Collection (from, D. Jones, *op. cit.*, 99), painted early 17th century.
 91. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms 11 A (13); India Office Library. Johnson Album 14, n.3.
 92. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature*, *op. cit.*, plate 173b (for the first), India Office Library (Dara Shikoh Album) Add. Or. 3129, f. 42v. The Massacre of the Innocents and a Holy Family on the way to Nazareth, both by John Sadeler after Marten de Vos (1531-1603) are included in the Berlin Album of Jahangir (E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 248).

- The same Album has a print of the Virgin and Child, possibly representing a rest during the Flight to Egypt (ibidem, 247).
93. National Museum, Lahore, cabinet of Paintings, C-I S. No.104 c.2 (is classified a "St. Simeon blessing the Child Jesus").
 94. Lahore Museum, "Mirat-ul-Quds".
 95. Ibidem. The ms. is classified as no. M-645/MSS-46 "Mirat-ul-Quds"; but the man is carrying something, it seems a sheep, and therefore it could be a representation of the parable of the "Good Shepherd".
 96. Johnson Collection, Book 6, No. 6.
 97. British Museum, London, 1920 9-17 032, around 1650. We can see two boats struggling against the tempest and a passenger (Jesus) in an attitude of prayer.
 98. Ibidem, 1920, 9-17 031. The margins are illuminated with gold, birds, animals and hunters.
 99. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 11 A (46). This is also an adaptation of a European engraving.
 100. National Museum of Lahore, No. M-645/MSS-46.
 101. India Office Library, Johnson Album 16, n.1; the subject derives from an engraving of Raphael Sadeler. Two other miniatures in the India Office Library (Johnson Album 6, n. 8; R. Dent Collection, n. 447. cfr. T. Folk, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, n. 40 and 59) could represent the same subject, but we have to remark also that the figure of shepherd was a common subject in Mughal painting.
 102. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Indian MSS, Drawing, vol. 12 (and vol. 7), from: E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 254; P. Pal, *Court Painting of India*. Kumar Gallery, New Delhi 1983, M 13 (Imperial Mughol), ca. 1600.
 103. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 11A. No. 50 (direct information from the Library).
 104. E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 254, who assured that this miniature was for sale in London; Wellesz writes, "On one of the last pictures of the *Hamza-nama* already, one of the figures seems to have been inspired by a 'Christ in the Garden of Gethsemani' (E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, *op. cit.*, 41).
 105. Ibidem, and P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, London 1924, 168; for the second, *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney 3rd. 1 Mughal and Deccani Schools*, Portland Oregon 1973, 93 Cat. n. 67; the inspiring drawing of Dürer is from "The Engraved Passion" dated 1512. A painting mentioned by the same Maclagan (*op. cit.*, 249) reproduces a group of persons and a judge, this is Caiphas after an engraving of Dürer in the trial of Christ (see: G. Marteau-H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Decoratifs*, Paris 1912, II plate 179. A miniature with a thief bound to a Column recalls closely Christ to a column (cfr. S. C. Welch, *The Art of the Mughal India*. Catalogue of an Exhibition, New York 1963, plate 24, attributed to Aqa Riza Jahangiri, lent by Fogg Art Museum).
 106. N. Roy, *Mughal Court Painting*. Indian Museum, Calcutta 1975, 154 plate 6, Cat. IM R.338/S.29.
 107. This is affirmed by A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion Paris 1992, 96.
 108. Rampur State Library, by Govardhan (?), 1615. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, New Delhi 1981, 24 plate 1 (Jahangir celebrating the festival Ab-pashi).
 109. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS 133-1964, f. 79b; J. Guy-D. Swallow, *Arts of India 1550-1900*, Victoria and Albert Museum 1990, 70-71; D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, 156. For the engraving of Raimondi (1470-1534) see J. P. Boulanger-G. Renisio, *Raphael dans les collections francaises*, Paris 1983, 350 engraving 30.
 110. British Museum, London, 1920 9-17 0276b: J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art*, *op. cit.*, 86. Another slightly different version was presented at the Festival of Empire Exhibition 1911 (see: E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 265, note 159).
 111. R. Sigalea, *Jésuites et Moghols unis dans la peinture*, Paris, Historia Special 18 (1992) 69. The painting of B. Spranger (after Goltzius) is in the Boyamans-von-Boeningen Museum (Rotterdam). The same Goltzius has a "Mousquetaire de la garde", engraved by Visscher (Bibliot. Nationale de Paris), reproduced in a Moghul miniature existing in the collection of Jean Soustiel (ibidem).
 112. The first: Navin Kumar, New York; P. Pal, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, *op. cit.*, 109; for the second: Free Library, Philadelphia, from M. C. Beach. *The Grand Moghul. Imperial Painting in India 1600-1660*, Williamstown Mass 1978, 157, No 55; the third in private collection. P. Pal, *Court Painting of India*. Kumar Gallery, New Delhi 1983, Cat. M 14 (Imperial Mughol), ca. 1625.
 113. E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 254. E. Kuehnle-H. Goetz, *Indian Book*, *op. cit.*, plate 41 and p. 4.
 114. Album of Jahangir, fol. 8 A (resurrection); Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 248; cf. also Note 87.
 115. Portland Art Museum, Oregon/USA, Edwin Binney Collection; D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, 11. Christ is already ascended carrying the cross (which excludes the possibility that it is the glorification of St. Ignatius). The miniature is not the work of a master. Pentecost is the subject of a European print included by Jahangir in his Album now in Berlin (see: E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 248).
 116. N. Brosh, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, Jerusalem 1991, 121, plate 45. Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection, Los Angeles.
 117. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, MS. A. S. ("Khamisa" of Mir Ali Shir Nava'i), f. 5b; J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, British Li-

118. Kr. Chaitanya, *Manuscript, Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, op. cit., 68; Sotheby *Catalogue of Fine Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London 1965, Nos. 56–63, p. 16–18. The Collection of Mr. Binney 3rd (Portland, Oregon) has at least two leaves from a "Dastan-i-Masih" ex. Coll. H. Hodgkin; the illustrations are different from the manuscript in Lahore, (*Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney*, op. cit. 51 n. 28).
119. E. D. MacLagan, *The Jesuits*, op. cit., 247–252.
120. For the first: C-I S.No. 102 (reproduced in: S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore 1922*, plate VI); for the others three: no. M-645/MSS-46 (never reproduced)
121. R. C. Majumdar, *The Mughul Empire*, Bombay 1974, plate 66. The Italian original engraved by Cornelius Cort is in Metropolitan Museum of Art, 51.501-3285; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 24 plate 23.
122. A. K. Das, *Dawn of Mughal Painting*, Vakils Bombay 1982, plate XV. It is quite similar to the little "Madonna" in a border (see Note n. 36)
123. Kr. Chaitanya, *Manuscript, Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, plate 45 (classified as "Moghul"). In an oval form, the miniature reflects a painting of Quentin Mastys.
124. Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 11 A. 19. Kesu was one the Akbar's artists, but the painting appears subsequent.
125. Ms. 44.6.
126. *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Imperiale Publique de St. Petersburg* (1852), 424; in this section we are heavily indebted to E. MacLagan, op. cit., 248–254 for the old publications.
127. A. Papadopoulo, *L'Islam et l'art musulman*, Cittadelles 1976; Italian edition, Garzanti-Milano 1992, p. 472, plates N. 561 (beginning of 17th cent.), 565 (by Mohammed Zaman 1670–1675) and 560 (beginning of the 17th cent.). The Museum is better known as Institute for the Peoples of Asia, Academy of Sciences.
128. Weber, *Indian Antiquary*, VI-December 1877, 352–353.
129. E. MacLagan, loc. cit.; E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Indian Book*, op. cit., plates 30; 40; 39.
130. E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, op. cit., 12; cat. I. C. 24338, 12b.
131. E. Kuehnel-H. Goetz, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1922, plate 141.
132. *Ars Asiatica*, XIII (1929). p. 83, plate 77.
133. Lugt Collection, Inv. 1974-T-67 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 141, plate 160, who sees also influence of H. Wierix); inspired by the same "Salus Populi Romani" (Madonna Borghese) is also a Deccani Madonna, c. 1640, India Office Library, Deccani 444 i, Johnson Album 14/6.
134. *Indian Drawings*, Book XVIII, No. 9–17-0208.
135. Johnson Album 14, No. 2, 9, 10; Album 6, No. 3–4. The first is reproduced in T. Folk-M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, n. 57. Also the decoration of the dress is Indian, but the reference to E. Sadeler is clear, kept in British Museum 31154/1713/51-3-8-1027 (F. Parmensins Inventor. EG.S. sculp.)
136. Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS, I*, No. 1594.
137. MS. Douce, Or. b,2,36; op. cit. II, No. (2065) 2350.
138. MS. Douce, Or. C. 4; op. cit., No. (2064) 2379. There is another Madonna: in Douce, Or. b.1, fol. 1; Douce Or. a 1, fol. 43, this reprod. in E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought reflected in Mogul Painting*, Allen Unwin, London 1952, plate 37. The Angel is offering a book, and another book is open on the floor with a hemistich of the Persian poet Mohammed Shams-ud-Din, better known as Hafiz (xiv cent.). "Thine duty is to pray; this is enough"; the painting could be of Kesu Das.
139. Catalogue (Dowdeswell), No. 22.
140. Catalogue, plate 69.
141. Record of the 4th meeting of the Commission, 1922, 104. Stuart C. Welch reproduces a Mother nourishing her child; she could be Mary with Jesus (both without nimbus). The model is European, but hands and feet are decorated in Indian style; unfortunately he does not indicate where the painting is located (S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Asia Society, New York 1963, plate s.n., [2], page 35); an aged man reading to a noble lady and again this lady in a room while a young man (Angel?) is instructing people. L. York Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings of Art. Catalogue of Oriental Art*, Part one, Indiana 1986, 51–53, plate 14 and 14 (A), ref. 71.89, the second being from the Chester Beatty Library.
142. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston VI, *Mughal Painting* 1981, 50 plate XL (n. Inv. 14.687).
143. Ibidem, 49–50, n. Inv. 14.688 and 14.689.
144. Ascribed to Basawan, also in San Diego Museum of Art, Inv. Bacq 769 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 87 plate 84). There are two other copies, the one in the Binney Collection Cat. n. 51 (*Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney 3rd*, 1 *Mughal and Deccani Schools*, Portland Oregon 1973, 76 plate 51); the second in the Sheldan Collins Collection (see: M. Brand-G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*. Havard University. Asia Society Gallery, New York 1986, 101 plate 66).
145. *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney*, op. cit., Cat. n. 65.

146. Ibidem, n. 29 b-d; the Catalogue considers b-c certainly "Christian". See also British Library, Johnson Album 16,6 (J. P. Losty, *Indian Book Painting*, The British Library, London 1986, plate 22) for another noble woman seated and a man presenting a written book.
147. Keir Collection. V. 53 (early 17th century, after a European engraving). B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book*, Faber London 1976, p. 254, plate 121.
148. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Reitlinger gift. Another St. John inspired by the same painting of Dürer is inserted into a border of a miniature, as we have seen. The Dürer's model was not probably his colour Crucifixion, but the engraved "Small Passion", dated 1511. M. C. Beach, *The New Cambridge History. Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge 1992, 76-77, plates 51-52.
149. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, op. cit., 248.
150. C. J. Du Ry, *Art of Islam*, H. N. Abrams New York 1970, 248 (repr.). Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce Or. A I, fol. 41v. (dated 1587/88); L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Faber London 1947-48, n. 645; M. C. Beach, *The New Cambridge History of India*, op. cit., 54-55. The Mughal version is signed by Kesu and dated 1588; an inscription on a book under the left arm of St. Matthew (as it was in the original) reveals that the painter is of the European origin.
151. E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 248. As we have seen, St. Peter appears in a border decoration.
152. National Museum of Lahore, No. M-645/MSS-46. The woman could represent the "synagogue", she does not have a nimbus, even if she looks as a Madonna, there is also a well.
153. A. Papadopoulos, *L'Islam*, op. cit., plate 562 ("dialectics" by Abu'l Hasan after J. Sadeler, but with two different representations, St. Petersburg, Institute for the Peoples of Asia).
154. *Indian MSS, Drawings*, vol. 6; E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 255. The miniature is signed "Ali Quli".
155. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, India Society 1910, plate 17 (private collection of this author).
156. India Museum, Kensington, I. M. 235-1901 gift from executor of late Sir Robert Nathan.
157. For example one is in: Victoria and Albert Museum, E. I. D. Department, Green Volume, D. 1188-1903; another was in the collection of the Gaikwar of Baroda, and in 1929 a third was property of Mr. Imre Schwaiger; a fourth of Dr. Sarre of Berlin (cfr. E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 247 and 255 and his Notes 112 and 169-170).
158. India Office Library, London, Dara Shikoh Album, f. 43.
159. From Naprstek Museum, Prague (R. Strong, *The Indian Heritage*, Victoria and Albert Museum April-August 1982, Plate 44), by Farrukh Beg 1610/11.
160. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 81-8-8. we can recognize also an influence from the "Sol Justitiae" of A. Dürer (1499); a painting by Basawan of a Woman on a Monster's Head c. 1590 could be inspired by the same Christian subject, this is in Musée Guimet n. 3619 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 141, plate 161; 89, plate 90).
161. E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 120 (reproduction); 255 and Note 172. India Museum, Kensington, Wantage Bequest (I. M. 30-139 [1921]). Also Fr. Vanni (1565-1639) has a similar painting of St. Cecilia.
162. Baroda Museum, P. G. 5c. 81 (O. C. Gangoli, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda 1961, 26, "Later Mughals" 1).
163. Tehran Museum, Album (from: E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 255, Note 172 a).
164. Musée Guimet, Paris, MA 2476 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 97, plate 100).
165. N. Brosh-R. Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, Jerusalem 1991; still important is T. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*, British Academy Schweich Lectures 1928. Most of the works considered are Persian or Turkish.
166. E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 254; I. Stchoukine, *Les miniatures indiennes*, op. cit., p. 18. The Angel of Tobias by Kesu Das in Varanasi, Inv. 9947, and that of Hosein, in Musée Guimet, n. 3619, see A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 102 plate 109; 25 plate 25 (St. Petersburg). But apparently there are not so many Mughal miniatures on the Old Testament, as we have among the Persian miniatures.
167. The original by Pencz is also in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, P. 2355; the two paintings of Kesu in Chester Beatty, Ms 41, 2 and in St. Louis Art Museum 403-1952 (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 103, plates 110-112; M. Branbd- G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, Asia Society Gallery, New York 1986, 100). Two examples of reproduction of this "Joseph's father" in L. York Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings of Art. Catalogue of Oriental Art*, Part one, Indiana 1986, 108 n. 30 (a European couple dining, possibly the Biblical Isaac, Rebecca with Esau and Jacob) and 30 A (the man in a border decoration).
168. N. Brosh, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, Jerusalem 1991, 70 plate 16, dated c. 1750, from the "Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection", Los Angeles.
169. T. Falk-M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, 55 plate 20, c. 1600-1605, Johnson Album 7/2, probably by Farrukh Chela.
170. A. Papadopoulos, *L'Islam*, op. cit., plate n. 563 (which could be also Iranian, St. Petersburg,

- Institute for the Peoples of Asia).
171. Now in The British Museum, The Keir Collection; J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design*, *op. cit.*, 85, plate 91.
 172. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, p. 15, plate 9; a very similar representation by Miskin we have in "The Chinese princess thrown into the waters of the Tigris near Baghdad", painted c. 1596-97, now in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (India); see: P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and plate 18; he affirms that a number of aquatic animals represented here and in other miniatures of Miskin are coming from prints of the "Plantyn Bible" (*ibidem*, pp. 29-36). A slightly different image of the Noah and his family in the Ark is contained in the "Divan of Hafiz" by an unknown painter (British Library, London, Greville XLI, f. 113: J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book*, *op. cit.*, 94 and plate 28/73). A Persian-Mughal painting with the prophet Elias saving the prince Nur-ad-Dar is dated 1564 (in British Museum, London). M. Bussagli, *Indian Miniatures*, The MacMillan Co., New Delhi 1976, 32. In London we have a miniature with Idris instructing mankind in the art of weaving, c. 1590, and for the Jewish-Muslim tradition he was the Biblical patriarch Enoch (T. Falk-M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, 47 plate 4, Johnson 8/5).
 173. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 11A, No 3. The picture is obviously a copy of a European painting or print probably by Giulio Romano.
 174. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Jahangir-Album, fol. 6b and 13a; M. C. Beach, *The New Cambridge History of India. Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge 1992, 83-86, plates 59 (in the upper part Adam and the Angel, down left: five cats, right, 9 Hindu mystics) and 60 (Adam with Eve and the two little children; they are going to the field, Adam going to work and a cow with calf). The Biblical interpretation of the two paintings is personal, but seems evident. The angel with the sun at the entrance of Eden appears also in "Khamisa of Nizami", c. 1595, with a shepherd and a farmer in European dresses (Abel and Cain?), a man feeding an animal and a woman carrying a basket (Adam and Eva?). J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design*, British Museum, London 1983, 81, plate 80; British Library, Or. 12208.
 175. Lahore Museum, No. M-645/MSS-46. Another miniature in the same volume represents a young boy on a stair, probably he is the young Samuel.
 176. *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney...* *op. cit.*, Cat. n. 28a. Moses is on the top of a mountain. There are some Jewish, some Portuguese and some Indians. A miniature classified as "A hermit. Mughal c.1605", represented in the origin Moses praying and Moses talking to God, who appears in heaven (T. Falk-M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, 56 plate 27, Johnson 1/1b).
 177. For ex. in Keir Collection, V. 52 (ca. 1605). B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book*, Faber London 1976, p. 253-254, plate 120.
 178. *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of E. Binney*, *op. cit.*, 105 n. 80.
 179. M. Brand-G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India*, New York 1981, *op. cit.*, 101 plate 64 (painted ca. 1585, in the Chester Beatty Library).
 180. For example an allegorical figure by Basawan: a lady is standing on a table with two young girls honouring her, one is offering incense. In heaven God shows her a long written scroll (the revelation?). See: Musée Guimet, Paris, MA 2475; quite similar is the one from the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, where the lady is on an altar, with a fire in her hand; another is presenting a flower, God is in heaven (worship of God?) (Musée Guimet) (see following two footnotes for references. M. Brand-G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India*, *op. cit.*, New York 1986, 99-101).
 181. Praying Lady, c. 1590-1600, n. 3619 B (A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 87 plate 87).
 182. Musée Guimet, Paris, n. 3618Jb. Similar in style is a seated feminine figure with a young lady (angel?) ministering (British Library, London, 1956 10-13 02), and we may also note a European angel reading with its wings hidden under a cloak, by Mushfiq (c. 1590: *ibidem*, 1947 10-11 02). All seem to be free adaptations of drawings from the "Plantyn Bible" (see: P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, 10-12; D. Jones, *A Mirror of Princes*, *op. cit.*, 10-20; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 87 plates 84-87; 89 plates 89-90).
 183. Description of evil demons were common also in Persian tradition, a big mythical bird-demon (simurgh) with two persons in his beak was painted by Basawan c. 1590 (now: Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan), a few European elements are already present. The same in a miniature of Miskin (c. 1595-1600), where simurgh is a monster, over a world of animals (British Museum, London, 1920 9.17.05) (see: P. Pal, *Master Artists*, *op. cit.*, 7 and 29 with plates), the persons have assumed European costumes in a miniature from the "Khamisa of Nizami", where we can see a high tower (The Tower of Babel?), and simurgh carrying a person (Icarus?) British Library, Or. 12208, f. 195a; J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art*, *op. cit.*, 81 and plate 80); N. M. Titley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, British Library London 1981.
 184. E. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, *op. cit.*, 248.
 185. E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, *op. cit.*,

- 41; A. Okada writes: "Subtle allusions to Western art can be detected...although they are so skillfully integrated into the overall Mughal aesthetic that they are barely noticeable. In the Birth of Prince Salim, for instance, the posture and the dress of the queen holding her newborn infant in her arms inevitably evokes the Madonna and Child of European engravings" (*Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion Paris 1992, 97).
186. S. C. Welch, *India and Pakistan. Art and Culture 1300-1900*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1988, 221-224, plate N. 147a (folio from an Imperial Album, dated 1615, private collection) and print from Metropolitan Museum, H. Brisbane Dick Fund 44.62.6. In the Jahangir's Album of Berlin there is a miniature which seems to reproduce a hermit, fol. 13a. In the Keir Collection (No. V. 4) a miniature ca. 1570 reproduces the visit of Hamza to the three daughters of the Byzantine emperor, but there are no Christian symbols (B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Paintings and the Arts of the Book*, Faber London 1976, p. 237, plate 30); in the India Office Library (Johnson Album 14, n. 8a) we see a miniature painted ca. 1630 with a "Christian knight fighting with a Saracen foot-soldier". The Johnson Album 22, n. 11a of the India Office Library has a lady of European demeanour who is giving a sign of Christian blessing. The Navin Kumar Collection (New York) contains a miniature with an Armenian Family (c. 1650).
 187. From J. Marmanners, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, Oxford University Press 1990, 323 (Bodleian Library, Z.11.3?).
 188. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 3, fol. 263b. The miniature is signed, "Nar Singh". The scene is in the "Ibadat-khanah" or "House of Worship". The companions of Aquaviva were A. Monserrate (who arrived a few days later) and Henriquez.
 189. Published by "Humsafar" PIA Magazine, 14/1 (1991) 9, it must be the same as the one in India Office Library, Johnson Collection, Book 8, No. 6. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits*, op. cit., 257 doubts the certainty that these are Jesuits, but for the published miniature there is no question.
 190. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay 1926, 71-72 and plate n. 28-29 (private collection, first piece of the roll "A Jaina Deputation").
 191. Maclagan, ibidem and his long Note 187, and reproduction on page 70, see also above our Note 12.
 192. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, (1924, reprod. 1981) p. 146; E. D. Maclagan, loc. cit.
 193. From the *Jahangir-nama*, c. 1618; see above Note 17.
 194. E. D. Maclagan, op. cit., 257, who gives these references: (1) Bahrata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona (Heras, Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious Discussions, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, III/1928, 191-202). (2) Udaipur (*Coronation Darbar Exhibition Catalogue* 1911, Plate 38, but it is not sure that it is still there, Maclagan reproduces it on p. 83. In the India Office Library (Johnson Album 14, n. 5) there is a miniature painted ca. 1650, with a Christian priest kneeling at his prayers with a rosary.
 195. The miniature was done c. 1595, it is coming from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran 1913, rep. in R. C. Craven, *Indian Art*, 204). The event in the life of Alexander is apocryphal. May be he is a European priest, one of the three persons depicted (at Patna in Bihar) with a bottle and a cup in foreground (see: P. Brown, *Indian Painting*, op. cit., 178, and plate LXVIII).
 196. Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore, W. 668, f. 37, painted 1616; P. Pal, *Master Artists*, op. cit., 75; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 55-58. In effect it was two pages composition, signed Abu'l Hasan, the second in Freer Gallery of Art corresponds with that mentioned in Note 49, the portrait looks quite similar to one listed below in Note 198, but nobody has noted him as a Jesuit.
 197. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 44. 5. It is a quite naturalistic, realistic miniature.
 198. National Museum of India, New Delhi; *Enciclopedia Universale dell'arte*, De Agostini Novara 1987, IX (Moghul), plate 287.
 199. Musée Guimet. N. 3619 Gc; A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Paris 1992, 144 plate 165).

Mirat-ul-Quds (The Mirror of Holiness) or Dastan-i-Masih.

A Manuscript in the Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan

Nusrat Ali * - Khalid Anis Ahmed

Among the unique antiquities in the Lahore Museum, the rare manuscript titled *Mirat-ul-Quds* (The Mirror of Holiness) is one of the most precious possessions. It has been property of the Lahore Museum before 1916,¹ and carries the Accession No. M-645/MSS-46. This manuscript starts with folio No. 1 and ends on folio 79, (measuring 20.5 by 11 cm.). There are only 54 folios remaining, because 25 folios are missing. Missing folios are 14-21, 24, 29, 38-41, 50, 65-73 and 75. Besides these 25, some additional folios are missing, as the manuscript ends abruptly on folio 79. Folio 76 is bound after 77.

The Persian text is beautifully written in 'Nastaliq' style on Samarkandi paper. There are 15 lines on each page. The first two folios are ornamented with rich blue arabesque designs, with floral and other patterns around the border in gold, black, red, green and orange colours. However, the front folio has been completely painted. The margins (*Jadwals*) are ruled in gold, blue, black and green colours; headings and quotations are written in black and sometimes in red colour. The manuscript is illuminated with eleven miniatures, including the front folio. There is one painting each on folio 1, 2, 3, 8, 33, 43, 47, 54, 58, 64 and 79. All

paintings with the exception of three (i.e. 1 on folio 1, 7 on folio 47 and 10 on folio 64) are on the reverse side. These paintings were prepared separately on a different paper and then pasted on the folio, at the space left by the calligrapher. The joints were retouched to give a finished look. With the passage of time these joints have peeled off. Beside the front folio all the paintings are badly damaged. Their poor condition makes it rather difficult to do critical analysis. The binding is recent and has been embossed on both sides with floral and other patterns. The edges of the leaves are gilded. These paintings depict various aspects of Jesus Christ's life.

The preface on the back of folio 5 by Father Jerome Xavier reads that the manuscript was completed on the 15th day of *Urdubihisht*, 1602 AD. This manuscript was prepared during late Akbar's period and bears his round small seal called *Uzuk*.² It is almost in the middle, about an inch on the right side of the opening folio. Just above the seal it is written in a different handwriting, that this book "*Miracles of Hazrat Masih*" (the Lord Christ) was priced five hundred rupees and given in the custody of Muhammad Murad Beg. There is a Persian couplet in extempore in the calligrapher's handwriting which reads,

"The reflection of your face is visible in the mirror

* Nusrat Ali is Keeper of Paintings at Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. She has specialised on Indian Miniatures and has published various papers on the subject.

with the sun and the moon you are in harmony with day and night."

This calligraphy is by Mahram 'Koka', foster brother of Hazrat Kamran Mirza, dated 19th *Jamadi-ul-awal*, 1013 AH (September 19, 1604 AD). It is dedicated to the son, the light of the eyes (Part of the writing is not clearly readable), may God give him long life, *Raqim* (calligrapher) and may God pardon his sins (exact translation). Most likely the manuscript was bound a few times, as the pages have been cut off, thus making it difficult to read. Last time the manuscript was repaired in June 1991 by the conservation department of the Lahore Museum.³

This manuscript was prepared during late Akbar's reign. Akbar an eighth generation direct descendent from the house of Timur had a great liking for the arts and painting.⁴ Akbar was illiterate, as he ascended the throne at a very young age, still he was very fond of books being read to him. Akbar had gathered a large number of scholars, theologians of various religions from all over the orient and the West. He listened to the religious texts and spent hours discussing philosophies and religions with various religious leaders i.e., Muslim, Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Zoroastrian and Christian.⁵

In 1573 Akbar received a Portuguese embassy headed by Antonio Cabral. He sought information about the European culture from the Portuguese ambassador and requested for a mission to become more acquainted with Christianity. Subsequently, three Jesuit missions from Goa in 1580, 1591 and 1595 came to Akbar's court.⁶ The first two missions tried but failed to convert Akbar to Christianity and were replaced by a third mission headed by Father Jerome Xavier. Father Xavier showed Akbar various illustrated books on Christianity, which he greatly admired. Akbar asked Father Xavier to translate these books in to Persian language (official language of the Mughal Court). During Akbar's reign a great number of books

from other languages like Greek, Turkish, Arabic and Sanskrit, etc. were translated as well as illustrated with paintings.⁷

Akbar had formed an imperial atelier (*Kitab Khanah*). He had over a hundred artists working under the guidance of Persian artists, Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad. Both of them were brought to India by Humayun from the Safavid Court of Shah Tahmasp.⁸ Akbar personally supervised the imperial atelier. Father Xavier translated *Mirat-ul-Quds* on Akbar's order in 1602. The missionary wrote that he had been a priest for at least forty years and spent six to seven years learning the Persian language, before he started translating the book, with the assistance of Abu-Sattar Ibn Qasim of Lahore.⁹

Mirat-ul-Quds deals with the life of Jesus Christ. This manuscript is also mentioned in the memoirs of Jahangir. Though the calligrapher's name is mentioned in the book, yet the name of the artist or artists are not mentioned anywhere in the manuscript.

Besides the manuscript in the Lahore Museum, there are other manuscripts dealing with the life of Christ, prepared on different occasions, some of which are mentioned below:-

1. Two copies are in the Khuda Baksh Oriental Library, Bankipur, Patna, the complete copy is dated 1627 and the incomplete copy is of a later date.
2. The Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta has two copies. One is dated 1604 and also bears Akbar's seal. The other copy is of a later date.
3. The School of Oriental and African Studies has one manuscript. The first page bears Xavier's own handwriting, '*Espelho sto e puro em q se trata da vida e maravilhosa doctª de Jesu xº nº sº.*'
4. In the British Museum there are two copies, one is dated 1618 and

one is apparently from the 18th century, the former seems to have been brought from Aleppo before 1686 and the latter belonged to Claude Martin of Lucknow.

5. The Bodleian Library at Oxford has a copy which bears an illuminated cross on the first page and is alleged to be the original copy presented to Akbar.
6. Another copy is in the Lindsey Collection in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.
7. A copy which belonged to Richard Johnson, the Banker of Warren Hastings is in the India Office Library.
8. The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has one copy.
9. The Casanatense Library at Rome has a copy.
10. There is a copy at the Gotha Library which is enriched with autograph notes written by Jerome Xavier himself.
11. The Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, possesses a copy of which the introduction and some of the following pages are missing.¹⁰

The manuscript at the Lahore Museum is the oldest and was prepared at Agra. It begins with the birth of Mary, describes the life, teachings and miracles of the Christ after nativity and childhood. It consists of four chapters.

1. Nativity and the infancy of Christ.
2. His miracles and teachings.
3. His sufferings and death.
4. His resurrection and ascension.

In an effort to eliminate the possibility of errors, while preparing the manuscript in Persian language, references were repeatedly made to the Gospel and some legends.

Painting both in Europe and in the sub-continent had started from the same medium i.e., fresco. Europeans adopted oil painting and the artists in the subcontinent concentrated on miniature painting. In the west painting mostly was patron-

ized by the Church, European artists excelled in murals and large paintings on the walls and ceilings of churches. Muslim artists on the other hand did not paint large paintings with figures in their religious buildings, as this was prohibited in Islam. Thus they concentrated on book illustrations. During the Mughal period, miniature paintings depict, Emperor's daily life, battle, court, hunting scenes, genera, flora, fauna and portraiture. However, Mughals contributed the most to develop the art of book illustration. We also know the names of the artists and calligraphers engaged in writing and illustrating new books, copying the old and even translating from other languages. Akbar was a liberal man with cosmopolitan thinking. He was keenly interested in understanding the basis of other religions besides Islam. He had books on Hindu, Jain and Buddhist religions (major religions in India) translated and illustrated like the famous Hindu epic *Mahabharata* (*Razam-nama*).¹¹

European art was introduced to India in 1570, when a priest brother Amaha Lisbon, an artist and designer, constructed churches in Goa and decorated them with religious paintings.¹² Akbar being inquisitive about the western culture and religion, sent a delegation under the leadership of Haji Habib Ullah to Goa in 1578.¹³ This delegation also included artists to study and to copy European art. The Jesuit priests had introduced Western – Christian art to the Mughal Court, as they presented not only religious, but also non religious paintings, like the portraits of the Portuguese nobles to Akbar. They also brought paintings to decorate their churches.¹⁴ Mughal artists became familiar with the European-Christian art, hence, painter Kesu Das had presented to Akbar an album of Christian paintings in 1588. ✓

The paintings in the manuscript are based on the Mughal pattern, mixed with European style. The costumes, head-dresses, hats, face modelling, treatment

of the drapery, treatment of foliage, architecture, perspective, capturing atmosphere and in the arrangement of compositions, European style have been used. Colours in these paintings are subdued and treated in the European manner. It is interesting to note that in painting No. 3, the king's throne bears the marking . Most likely this painting was copied from European painting or an engraving. These paintings show a strong European influence because Xavier was translating the manuscript from Latin and these books were illustrated by the European artists. Mughal elements can be seen in some paintings, like a Mughal dress, an ewer, mountain goats and in the architectural decoration.

There are three different styles of paintings in the manuscript. The front page (painting No. 1) is in Persian style. It seems six pieces have been joined together while the border was pasted separately. It appears that these six pieces have been cut from some early Persian paintings. The features of the figures, their hair styles, flat round fluffy faces without modeling, with just variations of complexions are the main characteristics of early Persian paintings. Such round and fluffy faces were distinguished features of the Mongol School, depicting Chinese influence on the early Persian painting. Stylized dragon shaped golden clouds were also adopted by the Mughal artists, another feature of Persian paintings derived from China. This practice was discontinued by the Mughal artists during the middle of Akbar's reign, the sky was painted plain blue and clouds were painted with a combination of colours instead of just gold.

Paintings 2, 3, 5, 6, 10 and 11 were painted in completely European style or were copied from some European – Christian paintings or prints. Paintings 4, 7, 8 and 9 show a dominant Mughal style with some European features (a combination of the two artistic traditions, depicting the

inter-cultural encounter). Like the use of Mughal costumes, *dupatta*, Mughal turbans, ewers, mountain goats and the Persian style spongy rocks mixed with the European costumes, illusion of depth and perspective (not the typical European single view), three quarter or full faces, modeling of the figures, of the drapery and the use of subdued colours are the main features of this style.

The artist or artists who painted these illustrations have not been mentioned, at least ten of the paintings with the exception of the front page bear great similarity of style with each other. During Akbar's period it was a common practice that two or more artists worked on a single painting. The paintings in *Mirat-ul-Quds* depict a very mature style developed during late Akbar's period. Probably these were painted during 1595–1604. These may have been the works of Basawan or Kesu Das. Both the artists had made copies and painted adapted version of Christian paintings, German and Flemish engravings. As mentioned earlier Kesu Das or Kesu Kalan (Kesu the elder) even presented an album of Christian paintings to Akbar in 1588.¹⁵ However, after a careful study we feel very strongly that these paintings may have been the work of Basawan. Basawan contributed illustrations to some of the most celebrated manuscripts like *Hamza-nama*, *Tuti-nama*, *Razam-nama*, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, *Darab-nama*, *Baharistan*, *Yoga-vasishta*, *Amritakunda*, *Khamasa* of Amir Khusraw and *Akbar-nama* etc.¹⁶ By 1585 his art had peaked in maturity and reflects an original and highly personal style, depicting a beautiful blending of Indian, Persian and the western pictorial traditions. According to Abu'l Fazl in *A'in-i-Akbari* Basawan was ranked fourth on the list of seventeen finest painters during Akbar's period. The knotty trunk with twisted and interlaced branches of trees, treatment of foliage, treatment of the rocks, depiction of edges of the ground by the water, water well, placing of a sin-

gle ewer. Use of perspective in architecture, capturing illusion of depth and space. Realism in figures with front, three quarter and profile faces, postures, modeling of the faces and capturing of realistic gestures. The modeling and rendering of the drapery are many of the features similar to the paintings attributed or ascribed to Basawan during the end of Akbar's period. *Mirat-ul-Quds* was completed by Father Xavier in 1602 and was calligraphed in 1604. Most likely these illustrations were being completed during the same period.

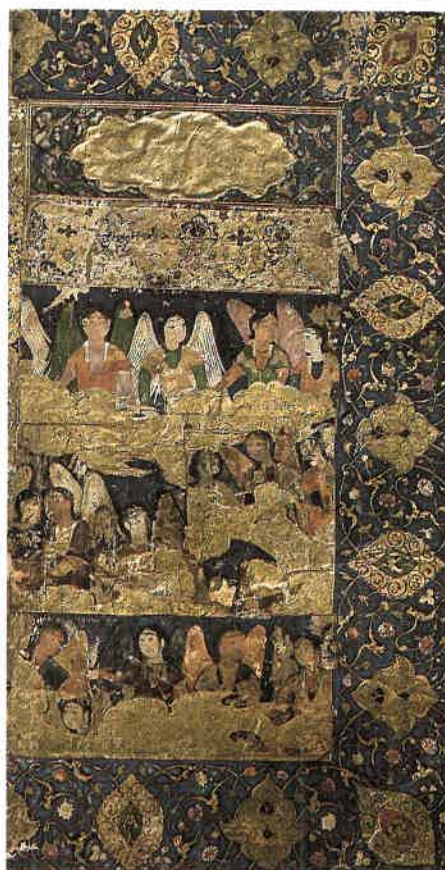
Text, description and comments about the eleven paintings in *Mirat-ul-Quds* follows:-

Painting No. 1

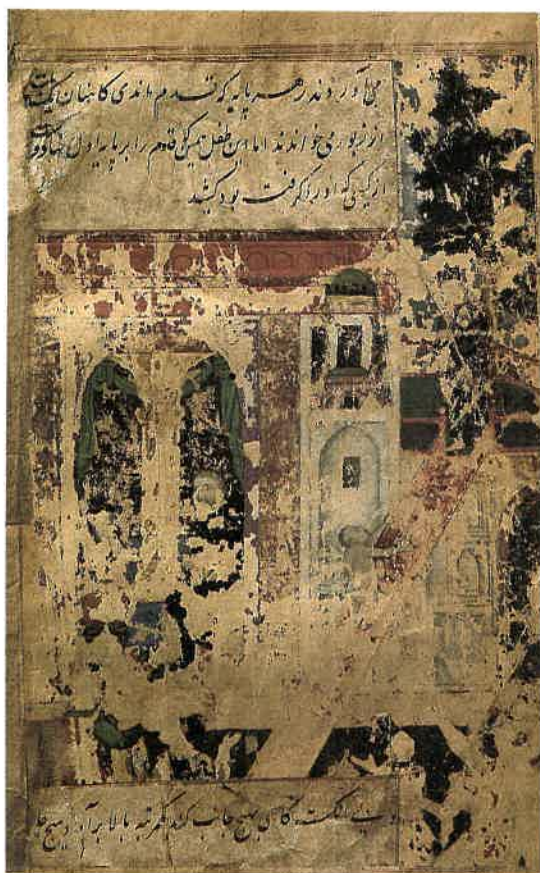
Angels talking about Christ's birth (Fig. 65).

Description and Comment:

This painting is on the front page. It is very different from rest of the ten paint-



65. Angels talking about Christ's Birth, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.



ings. It is rendered in typical Persian style depicting angels talking about the birth of Mary. It appears six pieces have been cut from early Persian paintings and pasted together. The angels have flat, round fluffy faces without any modelling, with a slight variation in complexion. These winged angels are painted in side poses with three quarter and front faces peeping through the golden sky in early Persian style (Mongol School).

Painting No. 2

Presentation of Jesus to the Temple (*Ibadat Khanah*) (Fig. 66).

This painting is inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', tacked at the top with 2½ lines. There is one line at the bottom and the inscription is in black ink. There are golden, black, green and blue rules on the unpainted border on four sides. One inch plain space is left at the top and at the bottom.

Text: The related text is at the back

66. Presentation of Jesus to the Temple (*Ibadat Khanah*), Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

67. A painting of Jesus is being presented to a King, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

page of the painting. It reads "as soon as the Lord set his foot on the first step, he was pulled up. He climbed the stairs without looking in any direction. The priests were reciting *Zaboor* (Psalms) at that time."¹⁷ (A legend).

Description and Comments:

This painting depicts the scene described in the text. It is badly rubbed and in poor condition, most of the colours and details have been lost. It depicts the child Christ climbing the stairs. He is in middle of the stairs by himself. A priest holding a book is waiting at the top. There are three (could be four) priests at the bottom watching in amazement, which is visible in their gestures. This painting is rendered in a typical European style. The priests are wearing European costumes, elaborate architectural treatment (most of which has been lost) is European. Realistic treatment of curtain folds in the archway may have been copied from some European painting. The foliage in the background painted realistically depicts depth and illusion of perspective in European style.

Painting No. 3

A painting of Jesus is being presented to a king (Fig. 67).

Inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', one line is at the top and there are four lines at the bottom, inscribed in black ink.

Text: A king sent an artist to paint a picture of the Christ. The artist tried many times, but failed. Christ took pity and gave him a picture of himself painted on cloth. The artist saw that the picture did resemble him. He went back and presented the picture to the king, who cherished the picture. With the blessing of the picture, the king achieved many victories. (A legend).

Description and Comments:

This painting is pasted on the back of



folio three. It is slightly in better condition. It depicts a king seated on a throne with a beautiful red canopy, wearing a gold and blue crown. He is being presented a picture of Christ by the artist, there are three figures standing behind the artist watching the presentation. With the exception of one all the faces have lost their colour. This painting may have been copied from European painting or a print. The costumes, headdresses, hats (Portuguese), architecture both in the foreground and the background is typically European, depicting the illusion of depth and perspective. The most significant proof of this being European copy, is visible in the lower portion of the royal throne which bears a square marking with English (Roman) alphabets **IFC SAR**. The only Mughal touch is the ewer placed in the right corner of the painting.

Painting No. 4

Presentation of Mary to the Temple (*Ibadat Khanah*) (Fig. 68).

Inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', there are three words at the top and one line is at the bottom of the page. It is a full page painting without any border.

Text: When Mary was three years old, she was taken to the worship house. According to the custom she was to be brought up under the supervision of the pious ladies, till she became an adult, along with daughters of the nobles. Mary had to climb fifteen steps. It was customary that on each step the priests recited a chapter of *Zaboor* (Psalms), thus fifteen chapters were to be recited. As soon as Mary took the first step, she climbed to the top without any help. People watching were extremely surprised. (A Legend, an ancient story handed down to Christians from generation to generation.)

Description and Comments:

This painting is pasted on the back of folio eight. It shows Mary climbing the steps, while a lady is trying to hold her hand. A priest (Jesuit) is waiting at the top, while two priests (Jesuits) and four other people in the bottom right corner are watching in amazement that Mary is climbing the stairs by herself. The gestures of the figures express the feeling of surprise and amazement. This painting depicts a mixture of the Mughal and European styles. The tree foliage in the foreground and in the middle of the painting is painted in dark green tones often used in Mughal miniatures. The background trees are depicted in typical European manner, creating tremendous illusion of depth. The canopy with its pillars and the architectural details, costumes, hats and headdresses are rendered in European fashion (Portuguese). Mary and the lady are wearing *dupattas* worn by the Mughal ladies. The halo with golden rays around Mary's head is in the European style.

Painting No. 5

Madonna and child celebrating a holiday (Fig. 69).



68. *Presentation of Mary to the Temple (Ibadat Khanah)*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

Inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*'. There is only one line at the bottom in black ink. Golden, green, black and blue rules are at the two sides. The lower end of the painting is plain.

Text: A disease had spread in the city and people were troubled, so they went to Mary and requested her if she could help them to get rid of this disease, they would celebrate this day as a holiday. The disease vanished immediately and celebrations were held. This celebration became customary in other cities as well. Christian throughout the world celebrate this day as holiday and walk in a procession to the churches holding candles. (A popular legend).

Description and Comments:

This painting is also in very poor condition and most of the colours and detail have been lost. This painting is pasted on the back of folio thirty-three. The Madonna and child are seated behind a decorated table to celebrate. This could also

69. *Madonna and Child Celebrating a Holiday*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.



be a copy from European painting or a print. There are twelve or may be thirteen figures arranged in a very rhythmic composition. All the figures are wearing European costumes (Portuguese). The halo encircling the Madonna and the child with golden rays and treatment of the costumes is European. The curtain hanging above in the archway with light and shade modeling of the folds is also in the same style.

Painting No. 6
Baptism of the Christ (Fig. 70).

There is no border. This painting is inscribed in Persian 'Nastaliq'. There is $\frac{1}{4}$ line at the top and one line at the bottom in black ink.

Text: When Youhana (John) was going to Baptise Christ, he asked Jesus that he should baptise him (Youhana), as the Christ was the Holy Father. But Christ insisted that Youhana (John) should baptise him. Thus Christ was baptised and

he prayed for Youhana (John). Mt. 3: 13-15.

Description and Comments:

This painting is at the back of folio forty-three. It is in very poor condition and most of the colours have been lost. The figures of Christ and Youhana (John) are preserved. Christ's figure is rendered in European manner with almost full face, front view of his body, his face, beard and clothes show beautiful modeling. Rest of the figures are wearing European costumes. Above in the right hand corner, the twisted tree trunk and the foliage are treated very realistically. This painting is rendered in European style.

Painting No. 7

Christ seeking help from the Holy Book against Satan (Fig. 71).

This painting is inscribed in Persian 'Nastaliq', there is one line at the bottom in black ink.



70. *Baptism of the Lord Christ*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.



There are golden, black, green, blue rules on two sides of the unpainted border.

Text: Christ was meditating and fasting in the woods. Satan tried his best that Christ should abandon his meditation and stop fasting. Christ with the help of the Holy Book made Satan leave unsuccessful. God sent food from heaven. After this incident lots of people from the city came to pay respect to the Christ. Mt. 4: 1-11.

Description and Comments:

This painting is badly damaged, the colour and the figures have been lost. The figure of the Christ and the three winged angels are hardly visible. The background is in better condition, showing spongy rocks in Persian style. The rest of the background depicts marked European influence in capturing the depth and perspective through the use of tonal gradation and in the size of the city. It seems this part of the painting has been taken from a European painting or a print.

Painting No. 8

People praying to Moses and seeking protection from the snakes (Fig. 72).

This painting is inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', there is only one line at the bottom of the page in black ink. There are golden, black, blue, and green rules on the right side of the painting.

Text: When Moses led the Israelites from Egypt to Jerusalem, God as punishment had snakes spitting fire follow them. Due to snake bites a number of people died. The Israelites realizing their mistake, told Moses that they were ashamed of their sins and asked for his forgiveness. Moses took mercy on them and prayed to get rid of the snakes. This story is in the fourth book, chapter twenty-one of the Torah. See: Num. 21: 4-9.

Description and Comments:

This painting is on the back of folio fifty-four. Most figures including Moses are in Mughal style costumes, long cloaks, thin tight *pajamas* and turbans. The snakes (Indian Cobras), the big tree trunk at the top left corner is shaded and painted with twisted roots, even the rocks above are rendered in European style.

Painting No. 9

Christ is asking a Samaritan woman for a drink of water (Fig. 73).

This painting is inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', there is one line at the top and one line at the bottom of the page in black ink. There are golden, black, blue and light green rules on one side of the unpainted border.

Text: Christ got tired of the extremely bad treatment by the city people and thus departed. On his way he passed Samaria (its old name is *Sichar*). He stopped at a place given to Joseph by his father Jacob outside the city. There was a well where the children of the Prophets had been drinking water. Christ sent his disciples to

71. *Christ Seeking Help from the Holy Book Against Satan*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

72. *People Praying to Moses and seeking Protection from the Snakes*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.



Description and Comments:

This painting is on the back of folio fifty-eight, depicting an outdoor scene. In the foreground Christ, the lady, the disciples, two Jesuits and some other people are painted close to the well. All the figures are in European costumes, with the exception of the Christ, who is dressed in Mughal style clothing, with a cloak and tight *pajamas*. A halo around his head with the golden rays and holding a cross is typically European. The perspective and illusion of depth has been created with the size of trees. The town in the distance depicts European influence.

Painting No. 10

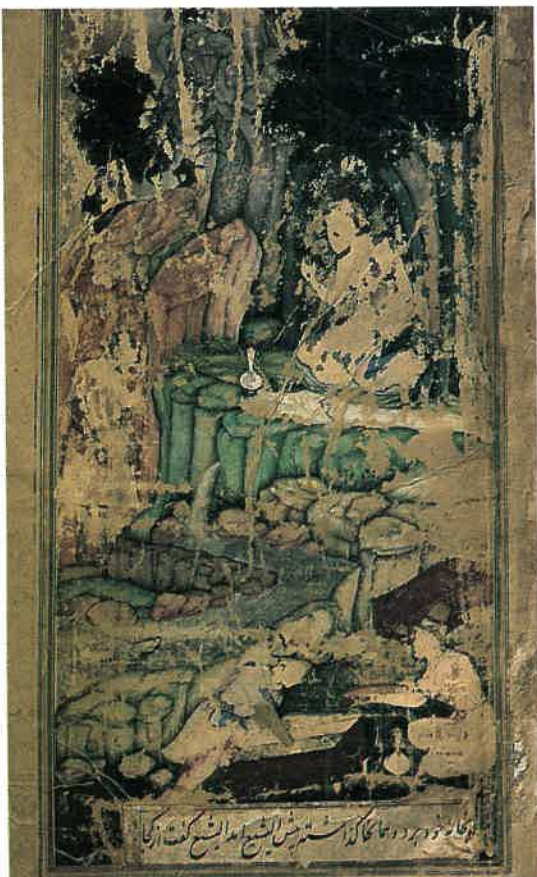
The Syrian army chief Naaman offering gifts to *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) (Fig. 74).

This painting is inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', there is only one line at the bottom of the painting in black ink. There are golden, black, blue and light green

73. *Christ is Asking a Samaritan Woman for a Drink of Water*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

bring some food from the city. In the meantime a lady came to fetch water from the well, Christ asked her for some water. The lady refused to give him water, saying that you look Jewish. The Samaritans and the Jews have no relations with each other. Christ told her if she only knew who he was, she would have asked him for the water of immortality (*Ab-i-Hayat*). She replied she would like to have some. Christ asked her to bring her husband. She replied she had no husband. Then Christ told her that she had been married five times and the man she was cohabiting with was not her husband. The lady said, "You must be a prophet and I knew there will be a prophet, who will preach like this." In the meantime the disciples came back and saw Christ talking to a female alone (as he had always avoided talking to any female alone before). The lady ran towards the city and kept saying aloud, "Oh! people come and see this man, he is a prophet." On hearing this lots of people came to see the Christ. Jn. 4: 1-41





rules on three sides and one side has plain border.

Text: Naaman, the Syrian army chief offered gifts to *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha). *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) declined the offer. One of *Yousha's* (Elisha) disciples went to see Naaman without his knowledge. He told Naaman that *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) would like to have some gifts for his sons. Naaman was delighted and told the man to take as many gifts as he could. The disciple took the gifts to his house and later went to see *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha). *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) told the disciple about his lies and prayed that he became a leper and would remain childless. This story about *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) was mentioned by the Christ. Lk. 4: 27, 2 kings. 5: 1-27.

Description and Comments:

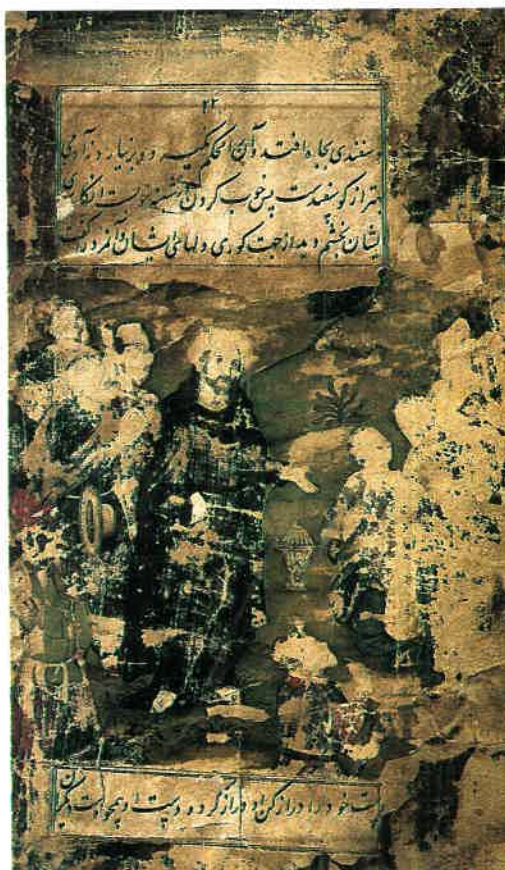
This painting is on folio sixty-four. All the figures have been badly rubbed, the features and the colour have been lost. This is an outdoor scene. In the fore-

ground the disciple is picking out gift from a box, while Naaman is watching him. Both of them are wearing European costumes and hats. Above on a rock platform *Hazrat Yousha* (Elisha) is sitting with an ewer in front, under a covered rock niche. The illusion of depth and perspective are captured in the rocky landscape. The treatment of the rocks is very European with the use of light and shade. The extreme top left rocks are rendered in Mughal style and two mountain goats are peeping through the rocks, a very common feature in the Mughal miniatures.

Painting No. 11

Christ healing a man's withered hand (Fig. 75).

This painting is inscribed in Persian '*Nastaliq*', there are three lines at the top and one at the bottom in black ink. There are golden, black, blue and light green rules (almost rubbed) at the top edge portion.



74. *The Syrian Army Chief Naaman offering Gifts to Hazrat Yousha (Elisha)*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

75. *Lord Christ Healing a Man's Withered Hand*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

Text: On a Sabbath Jesus was preaching to a gathering of people. In this gathering a man had a withered hand. Some people in this gathering wished that Jesus would heal his hand, so they could curse Jesus for working on the Sabbath. As Jews don't work on Sabbath due to the law of Sabbath. Jesus knew their intentions, and asked the man to stand up. Some people objected and said healing on a Sabbath is against the Jewish law. Christ replied to heal somebody on a Sabbath is better than killing somebody. Jesus also asked which one of you will not save his sheeps if they were to fall in a well on a Sabbath. Then he healed this man's hand. Mt. 12: 9-14.

Description and Comments:

This painting is on the back of folio seventy-nine. It is badly rubbed, the figures have lost their colours and features. The figure of Christ is in somewhat better condition. All the figures including the Christ are wearing European costumes and hats. The treatment of the folds (very little of the costumes are visible) is very realistic with the use of light and shade. The landscape most of which has vanished show low rolling hills creating depth. This painting like the rest of the paintings shows marked European influence.

Nusrat Ali is Keeper of Paintings at Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. She has specialised on Indian Miniatures and has published various papers on the subject. This research is a combined effort of Nusrat Ali and Khalid Anis Ahmed. They are grateful to Mr. Moeen Nazami, Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar, T. I., and Rev. L. J. Saldanha, Iffat Ahmed and Tariq Mahmood, for their help in preparation of their research.

Footnotes

1. E. D. MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., London, 1932, 203 & 217; J.U.P.H.S., 1932, 111. (Hosten), Part 1, p. 181; Accession records prior to 1903 are not avail-

able at the Lahore Museum. We have checked all the Accession records from 1903 to 1935, the manuscript *Mirat-ul-Quds* has not been entered on any of the registers.

Father Felix o.c. published an article entitled "The Mughal Seals" in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Special Number), Vol. V, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916. On page 111 he mentions a small Persian manuscript kept in the Lahore Museum, labelled 'New Testament' pictures drawn for Akbar. The real title of the book which is missing should be "*Ain Kitab Majurat Hazrat Masih*". It was composed by the famous Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier. This confirms that the manuscript *Mirat-ul-Quds* was acquired by the Lahore Museum sometime prior to 1916. This to the best of our knowledge is the earliest published reference to the existence of *Mirat-ul-Quds* in the collection of the Lahore Museum.

2. Father Felix o.c., *J.P.H.S.*, op. cit., 111.
3. Waseem Ahmad, *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2, July-December, 1991. Repair and restoration of a rare manuscript *Mirat-ul-Quds* of Akbar's period in the Lahore Museum.
4. V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542-1605*, Clarindon Press, Oxford, 1917, 9.
5. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 161-183.
6. E. D. MacLagan, op. cit., 23-26, 46-48, 50-65. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 137, 172, 175, 254-256, 259-300.
7. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 423.
8. Amina Okada, translated by Deke Dusingberre, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Flammarion, Paris, 1992, 11.
9. A. Rogers, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Reprint Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, Pakistan, 1974, Vol. 1, 389, Vol. 11, 82. E. D. MacLagan on page 217 mentions that a note in the Manchester copy of 'Abdu-s-Sattar's own book states that he was the son of Muhammad Qasim, Firishta, the historian. This statement seems incorrect as V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul* on page 461 mentions, "*The Tarikh-i-Firishta* or '*Firishta's History*', is a general history of India compiled by Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, Surnamed Firishta, who was born about 1570. Which makes Firishta only 32 year of age in 1602 when *Mirat-ul-Quds* was translated. Abdu-s-Sattar will be too young to collaborate with Xavier. This Abdu-s-Sattar must be a different person. We have not been able to find any other references about Abdu-s-Sattar.
10. Arnulf Camps O. F. M., *Jerome Xavier S. J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, controversial works and missionary activities, *Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire Suisse*, Schoneck - Beckenried, Switzerland, 1957, 14-15.

- E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 203-204, notes 217-218.
11. *Abu'l Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by H. Blochmann, printed for Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1927, 115.
 12. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, New Delhi, 1981, 165.
 13. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, 165.
 14. E.D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 222-267.
 15. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, 167-168.
 16. Amina Okada, *op. cit.*, 77-94.
 17. There is no legend about Christ child climbing stairs of the temple. According to the old testament it was Young Samuel, who stayed in the temple, and was serving the Lord with great generosity.
 Arnulf Camps O. F. M., *op. cit.*, 16. A. Rogers criticized Xavier as follows:
 "In fact, a more extraordinary jumble of scripture record and the wildest legends and fables has probably never been produced."

Mughal Influences on European Painting of 17th Century

P. Bach - L. Bressan

Until now, we have analyzed the influence of European art on the artistic style and features of the Mughal painting. One can also ask if in this intercultural encounter Mughal paintings had any impact on the European art.

The answer is positive, even if the splendour of the different European schools in XVI and XVII centuries was not prepared to accommodate another style. Certainly the Indian influence would be much stronger in the XIX century, with enrichment of the ways and features of painting.¹

A. NATIONAL EUROPEAN ARTISTIC SCHOOLS

1. Italy

This consideration could not be done, without taking into account the artistic environment of Europe. Even though national Schools all over Europe were blooming and emancipating themselves, the superiority of Italian art was still not seriously disturbed in the XVIIth century. It is true that Italy no longer had artists of the same talent as those of the previous century, but they still set the prevailing style of painting and feeling of the time. When we try to define what, in art, distinguishes the XVIIth century from its predecessor, we come across words like "Counter-Reformation" and "Baroque".

The former is related to morals, the latter to plastic arts. By reforming the Church from the inside, the Council of Trent also defined the evolution of Italian painting in the XVIIth century. Art became a way of attracting people to Church. The splendour of art, rites and sacred music were there to glorify the triumphant Church. Thus were born in Italy, Baroque art, the art of *trompe-l'oeil*, the pump, and art that established a direct contact with the people.

Bernini, a painter, sculptor and architect, was a true dictator of arts under the reigns of several Popes, from Urban VIII to Innocent XI. One particular and innovating aspect of this art was "obscurism", a realistic and popular art, represented in Italy by Caravaggio. This artist shows a brutal realism in the representation of his characters and thus brings religious scenes nearer to the people. He makes use of *chiaroscuro*, not in the manner of Leonardo da Vinci, in a shaded and poetic way, but by violently contrasting light with shadows. His influence on all of western painting was considerable. Finally, in Rome, there was an anti-Baroque party which adopted again, simple, clear, symmetrical and well measured designs, classicism.

2. Flanders and Holland

The main artistic centres of Europe in

the XVIIth century were Flanders and Holland. In Antwerp, a remarkable expansion of Baroque painting took place. It is different however from the Italian painting, as the popular spirit is visible both in the style, which is full of life, optimism, colours, and in the themes, where landscapes, still-life, genre subjects and paintings of animals appear. Whereas Italian Baroque remained a court art, in the great mannerism tradition, Flemish Baroque freed itself progressively from the "noble painting" such as religious and mythological paintings and aristocratic portraits. Thus developed a healthy and lavish School, impregnated with local life, the main representative of which in Flanders was Rubens. His prolific genius expressed itself in the most varied works, life and colours project themselves out of them. His style is based on the extolling of energy, the search for dynamic effects, the adoption of upward or whirling movements and the taste for buxom nudes and opulent shapes. He was open also to contribution coming from other regions of the world, including the East, as from Persia.²

In Holland, a country of militant Protestantism, religious paintings, nudes and consequently a major part of mythological subjects, were almost banned. What remained were portraits, landscapes, still-life, scenes from daily life and very rare Biblical scenes. A few talents emerged however, amongst which were Frans Hals for portraits, Vermeer van Delft for intimate subjects, Ruysdael for landscapes and lastly Rembrandt, the greatest and most renowned Dutch painter, to whom this phrase of Malraux is so well suited, "Representing is neither to idealize nor to give an expression, it is showing a soul". Rembrandt's chiaroscuro, where shadows and light intertwine, creates an expressive intensity, a mysterious and emotional climax. He expresses human sentiments with attitudes, gestures, and special lights. His characters seem immersed in a pro-

found introspection, inhabited by their internal sufferings. The engraver matches the painter in their pursuit of light; he works in etchings, thus obtaining effects of an extreme finesse and a new freedom in sketching styles where only a few lines suggest and define. As for his self-portraits, they show in our opinion the Christian thinker's humility and the philosopher's sincerity.

Through his numerous paintings, engravings and drawings, we discover to what extent Rembrandt loved the East. He did not hesitate to use turbans, jewellery and various other accessories in order to recreate a faraway exoticism. He actually took interest in Indian Mughal miniatures and the copies he made out of them are considered among the most stunning drawings of his work. These were not the only copies he made, but totalling twenty-three, they are nevertheless a major part of them. The inventory of Rembrandt's assets, drawn up in 1656, mentioned an album with "curious minute drawings",³ generally considered to have been Mughal miniatures used as models by Rembrandt. For Lunsingh Scheurleer, this hypothesis is not very realistic, since in the XVIIth century, miniatures were often referred to as "Mughal" or "East Indian" miniatures or "Surats".⁴ Most of the drawings represent one or two standing characters (Fig. 76), but a riding horseman (Louvre Museum, Paris), a group of sitting exegesis specialists (British Museum, London) and Emperor Timur, considered to have been the ancestor of his dynasty, surrounded by his descendants and his courtiers (Louvre Museum, Paris). We also know of some half-length portraits, two of an Indian woman (Boymans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam) and two of Shah Jahan, displayed at the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. Most of the time, such portraits were designed without any background, while in his drawings Rembrandt usually makes backgrounds out of large shadows. There are different types of mini-

atures representing the Shah with one or several of his sons, but apart from the copy of the portrait of "Shah Jahan with one of his sons" (Fig. 77) made by Rembrandt, the models used by the master are not known. A number of Mughal miniatures have been touched up with bright colours, while others are almost monochrome. Rembrandt remained loyal to his own style and contrary to Indian miniaturists used pens and brushes to apply the tinting which so well characterizes him. On a very few drawings, he added a coloured touch of red and yellow. These drawings have something peculiar in the sense that they are not actual copies, neither technically nor in their style. Rembrandt thus



gives a more natural aspect to Indian characters, as if they had been drawn directly. As far as characters and composition are concerned, he shows a more obvious Mughal influence in an engraving dated 1656, "Abraham receiving Angels".

His other compositions from Indian miniatures, mentioned as a set in his inventory, were also dated at the same time; it is true that they reflect the style of a certain number of his late drawings.⁵

The style of his miniatures seems to have influenced other painters, in particular Aert de Gelder, one of his students who was born in Dordrecht in 1645. This influence is rather obvious in the "Group of Orientals" (Mauritshuis Museum, The Hague), a painting close to Rembrandt's

drawing (Private coll., London) in style and technique. One of its most evident characteristics is undoubtedly the manner of suggesting eyes by putting small dark dots with the help of a pen.

Rembrandt is therefore not the only one to copy Mughal artists. Willem Schellinks (1627-1678), a painter, designer, engraver and poet, who was born and died in Amsterdam, belonged to the same Dutch School. He travelled to England, France, Italy, especially to Sicily, Malta, Germany and Switzerland. His peculiarity was that he painted and grouped faces very well, thus he often gives more substance to the paintings of his contemporaries. He too borrowed some elements from

Mughal miniaturists, at least a famous composition in the Musée Guimet (Paris), depicting a fantasy Mughal scene, (Fig. 78) the emperor Shah Jahan, seated with his daughter Jahanara on a carpeted platform, is watching a parade of palanquins and litters with his four sons, Jahangir and Akbar floating in the clouds. This part of the painting was inspired from a 17th century, Mughal miniature "seated Jahangir and Akbar" by Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (Fig. 23). The portraits reveal a close knowledge of Mughal miniatures, but the theatrical setting is an original conception of Schellinks, inspired by certain western paintings such as those of the Italian Arciboldo, which serves as an example

76. *Shah Jahan*, Netherlands, Circa 1654-56. By Rembrandt van Rijn. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

77. *Shah Jahan and His Son*, Netherlands, Circa 1654–1656. Rembrandt van Rijn. Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

of this encounter between two arts and cultures. Schellinks painted also other compositions with the emperor Shah Jahan and his children.⁶

3. Germany, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland

National Schools of the rest of Europe followed more or less the same artistic evolution, without bringing about changes worth mentioning in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. There is however an exception in XVIIth century Germany where, after an outstanding (thanks to Dürer) previous century, art was in full decline.⁷

In England, painting limited to portraits was first entrusted to foreigners, amongst which was Holbein. Then, in Elizabethan times, came a few better assimilated artists such as Hans Eworth, who combines Holbein's influence with Florence's mannerism. English painting was well-known at the Court of the Great Mughals, several portraits including Queen Elizabeth's (Bodleian Library, Oxford), were copied



by Mughal miniaturists. The English

78. *Shah Jahan and His Four Sons*, Netherlands, Circa Late 17th. By Willem Schellinks. Musée Guimet, Paris.



painter John Storey, according to Percy Brown, had been to India around 1583. We know through Sir Thomas Roe, the King's ambassador, that the Emperor wanted to have an English painter in his service, and this after he had seen some works of the English School, among which was a portrait of the best English miniaturist of the time, Isaac Oliver.⁸ Likewise, a few English artist-engravers of the second half of the XVIIth century had drawn inspiration from Mughal miniatures, especially to represent the Emperor. The first of them, Reynold Elstrack, worked under the reign of James I from 1598 to 1625 together with Francis Delaram and Simon Van de Passe. He was followed by Puarchas who, in 1625, took his inspiration from two miniatures, one of which was brought back to Europe by Sir Thomas Roe.⁹

In France, art appeared in the XVIth century with the same general characters as in Flanders, realistic but with a certain elegance. Francis I, in 1528, decided to set up the Fontainebleau School, the Italian artists Rosso and Primatice worked out its principles. Painter Jean Fouquet was the main talent of the Tours School. The des Clouet family, reproduced, in very faithful portraits, kings and princes of the Valois Court. The "Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry" are the masterpieces of the miniatures of the period, they were done in part by the Limbourg brothers. In the XVIIth century, painting remained between Baroque and Classicism. Then, in the second half of the XVIIth century, Louis XIV imposed his authority even in the field of art. In that way, painting reflected unity and majesty for the sole purpose of magnifying the image of the King, artistic creation being subject to the doctrine of the Academies founded by Louis XIV.

The successes of the Italian Renaissance were as marked in Spain as elsewhere and they had the same characteristics of artificiality, it was only the will of

the princes that motivated the coming of artists or the import of their works. It was Domenicos Theotokopoulos, called El Greco, who best personified the Iberian genius. A sharp portrait-painter, as he grew older, he elongated and deformed human shapes more and more, making them look like flames. If El Greco was indeed a man of the Renaissance, he was by no means an admirer of classical antiquity, he was mostly himself. He had a tormented soul, sick with a spiritual distress which led him to search for realistic equivalents to what could not be expressed by the shapes passed on to him by his XVIIth century masters. It is a great period for the Spanish School, where religious paintings were plentiful. Velasquez (1599-1660) was indeed The Master, in the highest sense of the word, in his portraits, his paintings of everyday life, he can be singled out for his genuineness and subtlety, and for his knowledge of light.

Portuguese painting has only one artist of European fame, Nuno Gonçalves. He was indeed aware of Flemish painting, but his mind worked quite differently, less pleasant and more monumental as in his work "Retable of Saint-Vincent", in which appear the Princes of discovery and conquest. We know that a few Portuguese artists had been employed at the Mughal Court to decorate palaces with murals; actually, the first European painter ever at the Mughal Court was Portuguese, he was part of the third Jesuit mission to Lahore in 1595.¹⁰

In Switzerland, the conflict between the Gothic and the Renaissance created a crisis which was revealed in an extravagant and fantastic style.

B. FLEMISH ENGRAVING

It is not very likely that Mughal artists knew about those different national Schools and their stylistic characteristics. At most, they could have had a vague

idea and perhaps they did know a few names, thanks to the manuscripts and other gifts offered to the Emperor, that may have been true for the English School, but in any case, such possible knowledge could in no way be compared to their understanding of the Flemish School, which they liked and copied. Why this Flemish predominance? The reason was simple, Flemish artists were masters of reproduction engraving.

In Europe, the main difference between XVIth/XVIIth centuries and XVth century graphic arts lies in the birth and the tremendous development of reproduction engraving. It is therefore necessary to distinguish creations by artist-engravers such as Dürer, H. Goltzius or Rembrandt from the more mechanical productions of Huys, Galle, Collaert, Wierix..., engravers who generally interpreted other artists' works.

It should also be pointed out that most of the original engravers belonged to the first part of the XVIth century and their number declined considerably when reproduction engraving developed stupendously.

As we have previously seen through a few examples, it is undoubtedly the Flemish School which was the most eager to develop reproduction engraving. The trading of engravings between the biggest editor of prints, Jerome Cock, and their most famous publisher, Christopher Plantyn, influenced the important trade which took place in the XVIth century between Paris, Antwerp and Frankfurt, the three biggest commercial centres of books and engravings. It may be noted that this activity included all the aesthetic trends of the XVIth century and that all the artistic personalities of the time gathered at Cock's shop. All or nearly all artistic life, was thus focused at the port of Antwerp, which was buzzing with activity; it was in this melting-pot that the momentum of a very brisk trade of works of graphic art worked out. These prints, maps and collections did not circulate exclusively in the coun-

try. Throughout the XVIth century, engravings from Antwerp flooded whole of Europe and even reached America, not to mention India when it opened to the outside world. Some meticulously coloured engravings became substitutes for paintings all over the world. Thus there may be found at the Court of the Great Mughals, names famous in the history of engraving such as Pieter Van der Heyden, Adrian Collaert, Hendrik Goltzius, the Sadeliers, the Wierixes, the Behams..., all famous for their productions, the mixture of various European artistic trends, as well as of course, the individual characteristics of any given artist.

We have seen through a few examples, that Mughal artists knew these Western artists and took inspiration from them. They did not hesitate in dealing with religious subjects, although not without a certain confusion as they took from here and there elements of different religious themes, whether they belonged together or not. The ignorance of religious and Biblical subjects, if not exactly copied, leads to their complete misunderstanding. However, they have assimilated in a remarkable way the various trends in styles, recreating a composition work mixing Indian and European graphic elements.

C. EUROPEAN COLLECTIONS AND ENGRAVING OF MUGHAL MINIATURES

In this intercultural environment, however, the same infatuation with the Mughal School cannot be found among Europeans during the same period. This is due to the simple fact that the works of Mughal miniaturists were not subject to the same large scale trading as compared to that of European engravings during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. They remained practically unknown to the general public, except for a few, until the XIXth century. Moreover, if occasional

rare European artists took inspiration from them with enthusiasm, Rembrandt is the most obvious example, the general stylistic trend and the spirit of that period did not encourage an opening towards the East. It was mainly Italy which attracted artists, with its particular interest for classical antiquity, nature and man. Mughal art, however, influenced certain artists, as we have seen.

The same Flemish engraving art contributed to spread the knowledge of the Mughal miniature painting in Europe.

Naturally, after the establishment of contacts between Europe and India, not only do we encounter depictions of the life and customs but we also find drawings about the subcontinent which were done in western regions. In fact the religious interest in their beliefs and customs increased, it is reflected in books and paintings. Quite a number were based on fantasy or oral information,¹¹ others such as a Procession by Shah Jahan in 1632 and the Modes of transporting women in India, both drawn by Peter Mundy (1608–67) reflect direct experience.¹²

Travellers such as N. Manucci brought back collections of Moghul miniatures,¹³ but by then Bishop Laud (1573–1645), Chancellor of Oxford University (1635–41) was already collecting them, bequeathing them later to the Bodleian Library.¹⁴ In the same period an album of Mughal miniatures was offered to the Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644), according to a tradition sent to him by the Mughal emperor himself, and now it is in the Vatican Library.¹⁵

The engravers started as early as in the second decade of the seventeenth century to use Mughal miniatures to represent the great emperor, beginning with Reynold Elstrack, followed by Puarchas in 1625 who used some miniatures, one brought back to Europe by Sir Thomas Roe.¹⁶ The same emperor (still represented in Mughal miniatures) appears in the front page of the John de Laet's *De*

Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India vera Commentarius, printed in Holland in 1631.¹⁷ Three years later in London T. Herbert wanted to print books about his experiences in Asia, and again he reproduced a Mughal miniature with a young man offering a cup of wine to a young lady who is dancing.¹⁸ In the second half of the century we find engravings inspired by Mughal miniatures in the *"China ...illustrata"* of the Jesuit A. Kircher (1667) and in *"Noord en Oost Tartarye"* of N. Witsen (1692), both published in Amsterdam, from the Flemish school the Mughal painters have learned and now they send their product, which is judged worthy to be reproduced.¹⁹

In the following century interest was even greater, and several Mughal miniatures were engraved by the Frenchman Bernard Picart for the *"Atlas historiques"* of Chatelain, and in his own encyclopedia *"Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde"* (Amsterdam 1723), translated into English and published in London in 1731.²⁰ Another author who used Mughal miniatures was François Valentyn in his *"Out-en Nieuw Oost-Inden"*, published again in Amsterdam in 1724;²¹ a "Corte del Gran Mogol" appears in the volume: "Lo stato presente di tutti i Paesi e Popoli del Mondo", published in Venice 1741 by G. B. Albrizzi.

The succession of works would continue, but to witness the interest, let's observe that the empress Maria Therese of Austria (1717–1780) adorned one of the rooms of the Schoenbrunn Schloss (Wien), called the "Million Gulden Room" (because of its value) with 260 Mughal and Persian composed miniatures, dated 1620–1630.²²

In the XVIIIth century, exchanges and dialogue did exist, even if only in very rare examples, they were the first openings for a mutual cultural enrichment of Europe and India. The Mughal Empire brought to us, besides the meticulousness of the drawings and their graceful graphic character, besides the costumes, objects

and other exotic items, a very particular flavour which still makes us even nowadays, dream.

D. EUROPEAN 17TH CENTURY LITERATURE ON MUGHAL

However, even more important in bringing the influence of the Mughal experience to Europe was the publication of several letters of the Jesuits, as their Society had the custom of publishing a selection from them each year from 1581 to 1614, and this selection was spread around the world. Later, some compilations were printed, while other letters appeared in reports and books dealing with the work of the Jesuits in the world and particularly in Asia. Several such books had already been published in the XVI and XVII centuries, and a mention of the Mughal mission found its place in them. At Brescia in 1582 the Jesuit J.B. Peruschi published at Rome a book entitled "Informatione del regno e stato del grand Ré di Mogor" (Information on the kingdom and state of the great king of Mogor), which was immediately translated into French, Portuguese, German and Latin, and some editions in an abridged form. At Liège in 1601, another Jesuit, J. Oranus, published a volume "Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana, hoc est de rebus apud eas Gentes Patribus Soc. J. ann. 1598 et 99 gestis" (things of Japan, China and Mogor, i.e. activities of the Jesuits in those regions in the years 1598 and 1599), with the text of two letters from Lahore. This volume too had various versions. In the years 1608-1614 P. du Jarric SJ published a book on "Akbar and the Jesuits (1580-1605) and several other books by Jesuits appeared in the XVIIth century with much information about the different regions of the world, as well as about the Mughals.²³

Naturally the letters and news from the Jesuits were followed with great interest by Catholics in Europe and elsewhere, "but it was not the Catholic world alone

that took an interest in the Jesuit Letters...There is something in the Letter to please every taste (of knowledge and curiosity). But what is strange, even the businessman was stirred by them and dreamt of new markets and of prospects of trade which they opened before his eyes".²⁴

Certainly this was a contribution to the knowledge of the world and the establishment of new relations. But without entering into the field of commerce, as we remain in the cultural exchange, we have one of the most interesting examples of cultural encounter and exchange in the Fables of the famous French author Jean de La Fontaine. He himself in the introduction of his second collection of tales (1678) acknowledged that he had received much inspiration from the Indian Bidpai (through Persian version of David Sahib published by S. Puget, Paris 1644 and other translations available in Europe) and his "Songe d'un habitant du Moghol" (dream of an inhabitant of the Mogor kingdom) was probably inspired by his encounter with François Bernier, who had spent many years in the Mughal country, at least thirty of his stories have an Oriental origin. Much later, in 1840, Imam Bakhsh of Lahore illustrated the fables of La Fontaine in a late Mughal style, stressing the "return" of some of them to the place of their birth, and contributing to the progress of understanding between peoples and cultural enrichment for all.²⁵

Miss P. Bach has contributed particularly about the individual painters and the Flemish engraving industry, L. Bressan concerning the European drawings and literature.

Footnotes

1. P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Cosmos New Delhi 1981, pp. 24ff; 163-179; P. Rawson, *Indian Art*, Elsevier Paldon 1977, 32-50 (western knowledge of Indian Asia).
2. R. A. Ingrams, *Rubens and Persia*, in *Burlington Magazine* 1974, n. 853, 190-197 (seven drawings in the Ruben's Costume Book of the British

- Museum, classified as Courtly Persian miniature paintings).
3. H. Bevers and AA, *Rembrandt. Le maître et son atelier*, Flammarion Paris 1991, 141 document 1956/12, n. 203.
 4. L. Scheurleer, *Mogol-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetebrandt*, in *De Kroniek van het Rembrandt-huis* 1 (1980) 15.
 5. For four drawings after Moghul miniatures: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (14. R.H.); J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calif. (85 GA. 44); Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (No. 1, 207); see: P. Pal, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles County Museum of Arts 1989, 195–197; J. Auboyer, *Un maître hollandais du XVII siècle s'inspirant des miniatures mogholes*, in *Arts Asiatiques* II/a (1955), 251–73.
 6. Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (oil on wood); P. Pal, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, *op. cit.*, 197–198; – *Shah Jahan: the ruler*, in *The India magazine*, January 1992, 27 (colour reproduction); J. de Loewenstein, *A propos d'un tableau de W. Schellinks s'inspirant de miniatures mogholes*, in *Arts Asiatiques* V/4 (1958) 293–8.
 7. It is worthy to note that even Dürer, living before the Mughals, was interested in Oriental art and had some Indian paintings; cf. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, page 24, citing; W. M. Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (s.p.); the painter noted as important the gift of “a child's head painted on linen...from Calicut”. We can ask if his famous Rhinoceros (1515) was inspired by some Indian painting.
 8. P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, *op. cit.*, 174.
 9. A. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge 1952–64, vol. II 179. For this diplomatic Envoy: *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615–1619* (autobiography), edited by W. Foster, London 1926.
 10. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, 178.
 11. C. Hazart, *Kerckelycke Hystory van de gheheelte Werelt*, I, Antwerpen 1687: van den Coninck represents the encounter of Fr. Aquaviva with Akbar; on f. 90; on page 274; Fr. J. Xavier in the court (by A. Diepenbeck– P. de Inde); see also plate 70, p. 145: portrait of the Father).
 12. Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Rawlinson A. 315); reproduced in: S. Crowe–S. Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughul India*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, 180–181.
 13. Manucci (who was in the subcontinent 1656–1717) sent to Europe, it seems to Venice and through the Jesuits, some volumes of miniatures (AA, *Storia di viaggiatori italiani d'Oriente*, Electa Milano 1985, 122); in the Marciana Library (Venice) there is at least one miniature with a Hindu ascetic; since 1741 a volume of portraits, sent by Manucci and originally in the same San Marco Library at Venice, is now in the “Cabinet des Estampes” at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, O. D. No. 45 (résèrve). W. Irvine, *Travels through Mughol India 1653–1708* (abridged edition of the “*Storia do Mogor*” of Niccolao Manucci), Lahore 1913/1976, ix. Also the Dutch Ambassador to Golconda 1686, Laurent Pit, brought back miniatures. The first to organize a collection was the Italian Conte Abbate Giovanni Antonio Baldini (1654–1725), and part of his miniatures were engraved by the Frenchman Bernard Picart [1673–1733] (*ibidem*: R.W. Lightbown, *Oriental art and the Orient in Late renaissance and Baroque Italy*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42 [1969], 228–79). Also E. Delacroix did copy Mughal pictures, including a portrait of Shah Jahan.
 14. P. Pal, *Romance*, *op. cit.*, 195, referring to Lightbown, *op. cit.*
 15. BAV, Barb. VII.80. Probably it was sent by a Jesuit Father to Rome, O. Kurz, *A volume of Moghul Drawings and Miniatures*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes* London, 30 [1967] 251–71; it is not a sumptuous “muraqqa” and it contains portraits of the Mughal emperors and courtiers, and of a lady in a garden; therefore it seems improbable that it was a present from the emperor.
 16. P. Mitter, *Much maligned monsters. History of European reaction to Indian art*, Oxford 1977, 68–72 (interesting also for the following five Notes); A. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge 1952–64, vol. II, 179; 387ff; M.C. Beach, *The new Cambridge history of India. Mughol and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge 1992, 109 plate 79, with a reproduction from “*Puarchas his Pilgrimes*”, London 1625, vol. II.
 17. Johannes de Laet, *De imperio Magni Mogolis sive India vera Commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus*, Ludguni Batavorum, Ex Officina Elzeviriana Anno 1631; the front page is the work of C. Cl. Thuyssend.
 18. T. Herbert, *A relation of some Years Travail*, London 1634; the engraving “A Man and Woman of Industan” is reproduced by P. Mitter (*op. cit.*, plate 37).
 19. A. Kircher, *China Monimentis qua Sacris qua Profanis... illustrata*, Amsterdam 1667; P. Mitter, *op. cit.*, plates 31 and 38; N. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, Amsterdam 1692: Witsen was the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and he had come into possession of a set of Golconda miniatures, which he used here, and are now in the

- Rijksmuseum (H. Goetz, *The Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings in the Rijksprentkabinet*, Amsterdam 1958, 31).
20. B. Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*... Amsterdam 1723, 8 voll.; the English edition, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known World*; F. Mitter, *Much maligned Monsters*, *op. cit.*, 64–68, plate 31; R.W. Lightbown, *Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, *JWCI* 32 (1969) 265ff.
 21. F. Valentyn, *Out en Nieuw Oost-Indien*..., Amsterdam 1724, 5 voll.; F. Mitter, *op. cit.*, plate 39; also in another work (Beschrijving) he has at least one miniature with Dara Shikoh and his son Sipihri (reprod. in H.G. Rawlinson, *India. A short cultural history*, Cresset London, p. 337).
 22. J. Strzygowski, *Die indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schoenbrunn*, Wien 1925. Quite instructive about the cultural mobility is the case of the Gulistan (Rose-garden of Sa'di) painted in Agra 1628–29; in 1638 it was sent by Shah Jahan as a gift to Charles I; it stayed in the British Royal Library until 1827 when George IV sent it as a present to Fateh Ali Shah (of Persia); from him to an heir...and again back to Europe in the Chester Beatty Library, Ind. Ms. 22 (see: J.P. Losty, *The art of the book in India*, British Library, London 1982, 98–99).
 23. E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London 1932, 10–19; J. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuits Letters and Indian History*, Bombay 1955 (for a list of publications p. 178–181); R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum. Asiatische Missionsliteratur* (I: 1245–1599; II: 1600–1699 etc.), Herder Roma 1964. Among others: A. Viegas, F. Guerreiro: *relação anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões 1600–1609*, (new edition Coimbra 1930–1942, 3 voll.). An integral collection of all the letters sent before 1597 has been published recently (J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica. Mon. Historica S.J. 1540–1597*, 1–18, Roma 1948–1988). Most of the letters sent after that year are still waiting to be published and are in the Roman Archives of the Jesuits. In 1663 Father Roth published at Neuburg a short “*Relatio rerum notabilium Regni Mogor*” (report on the kingdom of Mogor).
 24. J. Correia-Afonso, *op. cit.*, 101–104.
 25. A. Okada, *L’océan des contes*, in *Historia (Paris) Spécial 18 (Juillet 1992)*, 90–100; R. Radouant, *La Fontaine. Fables*, Paris 1929 (Fr. Bernier after spending many years among the Mughals was back in France in 1669, and met La Fontaine, he published his report “*Travels*” on 1670–1671, and in 1690 it appears at Bologna; La Fontaine was using particularly “*Le Livre des Lumières ou la Conduite des Rois*, composé par le sage Pilpay, indien” [Bidpai], Paris 1644). The book illustrated by Imam Baksh appeared at Paris in 1840, “*Le Songe d’un habitant du Moghul*”.

Manuscripts

A'in-i-Akbari: The statues of Akbar. By Abu'l Fazl.

Akbar-nama: The history of Akbar. Official chronicle of the reign of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) by his biographer, Abu'l Fazl (1551–1602).

Anwar-i-Suhaili: Lights of Canopus. Anthology of tales by Husain Vaiz-i-Kasifi. Two manuscripts were prepared for Akbar and one for Jahangir. These tales were very popular in the Mughal Court.

Babur-nama: The memoirs of the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India. Emperor Babur (r. 1526–30) written in Chagatai Turkish during the last years of his life in India and later translated in Persian during Akbar's reign.

Baharistan: The Spring Garden. An anthology of uplifting tales by Nur ud-Din 'Abd ur-Rehman Jami (1414–1493).

Chingiz-nama: The history of Chingiz Khan (Gengis Khan).

Darab-nama: The story of Darab, son of Zal, in the Islamic tradition grandfather of Alexander the Great by Abu Tahir Tarasusi.

Diwan-i-Hafiz: An anthology of poems by the great Persian poet Hafiz in Shiraz.

Hamza-nama or *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*: The story of Amir Hamza. The Persian epic describing the legendary exploits of Amir Hamza, companion and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad.

Iyar-i-Danish: Adaptation of *Anwar-i-Suhaili* (Lights of Canopus) by Abu'l Fazl.

Kalila va Dimna: Nasr Allah's Khalila va Dimna, a book of fables based ultimately via Arabic, Syriac and Pahlavi translations on the Sanskrit Pancatantra (the five books). The fable is one of the earliest India literary forms. Through the translations in the above languages the stories spread ultimately to Europe in the middle ages.

Khamsa of Nizami: An anthology of the five poems of the Persian poet Nizami (1140–1202).

Khamsa of Mir Ali Shir Navai: Five Masnavi poems, in Chagatai (eastern Turkish) in imitation and on the same theme as the *Khamsa* of Nizami, by the great poet Navai (1440–1501).

Khamsa of Amir Khusraw: The quintet of masnavi poems composed in imitation of the five poems of Nizami by Amir Khusraw of Delhi.

Mirat-ul-Quds (Mirror of Holiness) or *Dastan-i-Masih*: Life of Christ translated in Persian by the Jesuit Priest Father Jerome Xavier on the orders of Emperor Akbar. There are eleven such manuscripts in various collections. The manuscript in the Lahore Museum was completed in 1602 and is illuminated with eleven miniatures.

Nafahat-al-uns: Breath of Fellowships - notices of famous saints and *sufis*, by Persian poet Nur-ud-Din 'Abd ur-Rehman Jami (1414–93). Jami brought up to date two earlier works in Arabic.

Nal Daman: A masnavi narrating the romance of Rajah Nal of Ujjain and his sweetheart Damanti, translated in Persian by Faizi.

Nimat-nama: The book of recipes of Nasir ad-Din Shah of Mandu, in Persian with methods for cooking all sort of delicacies and aphrodisiacs.

Padshah-nama: The official chronicle of the emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1627–58), by 'Abd al-Hamid Lahori.

Ramayana: Sanskrit epic recounting the romantic adventures of the Gods Rama and Sita, attributed to Valmiki.

Razam-nama: Book of war. A Persian adaptation of the Mahabharata. The famous Sanskrit epic, describing the struggle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas.

Shah Jahan-nama: The history of Shah Jahan's reign by Mohammad Salah Kamboh Lahori.

Tuti-nama: Tales of a Parrot, by Ziya ad-Din Nakhshabi. A Persian adaptation of famous Sanskrit tales (*Shukasaptati*).

Tuzk-i-Jahangiri: The memoirs of Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–1628).

Zafar-nama: The book of victories of Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi, the history of Timur. It was compiled by the author at the command of Timur's grandson Ibrahim Sultan in Shiraz in 1425.

Glossary

Ab-i-Hayat: water of Immortality, nectar

Bagh: garden

Bin: son

Bindia: a dot put on the forehead by the Hindu's (usually red)

Darbar: royal audience

Darogha: intendant

Dervish: Mohammedan friar vowed to poverty and austerity

Din-i-Ilahi: a religion invented by Akbar.

Dupatta: scarf

Dur-nama: compositional technique incorporating a "distant view" in a painting or drawing.

Fakir: a beggar

Grantee: person of high rank or eminence

Hadrat or *Hazrat*: lord

Hashia: border

Humsafar: travelling companion

Ibadat Khanah: house of worship

Isa: Jesus

Jadwal: margin

Jamadi-ul-Awal: fifth month of the Islamic calendar

Jharoka: balcony window where the monarch appeared

Kala Burj: black tower

Khatt-i-Baburi: a style of script invented by Emperor Babur (founder of the Mughal Empire in India)

Kitab: book

Kitab-khanah: library and, by extension, imperial manuscript atelier

Koh-i-Noor: the famous Mughal diamond

Kokah: foster brother

Maryam: Mary

Maryam-ki-Kothi: Mary's house

Masih: Christ

Mehndi: Henna

Mojurat or *Mojazat*: miracles

Mullah: Muslim preacher

Muraqqa: album

Nadir ul-Asir: wonder of the epoch

Nadir uz-Zaman: wonder of the world

Nur ud-Din: light of the religion

Nastaliq: a style of Persian Script

Padri: Catholic priest

Pajama: tight pants, pants

Raqim: calligrapher

Shah Baba: a pet name of Shah Jahan used by Akbar

Simurgh: mythical bird-demon

Shamsa: little sun

Sufi: Islamic mystic

Taswir: picture or painting

Tarikh-i-Firishhta: Firishhta's history

Tauhid-i-Ilahi: religion invented by Akbar (same as *Din-i-Ilahi*)

Urdubehist:

Uzruk: a small round seal of Emperor Akbar

Ya Sahib-ul-Zaman: O'Lord of the age

Yogi: an ascetic who practices yoga

Youhana: John

Yousha: Elisha

Yusuf: Joseph

Zaboor: Psalms

List of Illustrations

1. Frontispiece from the first volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, published by Christopher Plantyn, 1578. Engraving, 39.3 x 28.1 cm. Vatican Library, Rome. BAV, ST. BARB. x. 14; 15; 18; 20.
2. *Akbar with Lion and Calf*, Mughal, Circa 1615-1618. Signed Govardhan. A page from the *Kevorkian Album*. Gouache on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers and Kevorkian Collection). Inv. 55. 121-10.22v.
3. *Jahangir preferring a Sufi Sheikh to Kings*, Mughal, Circa 1615-1618. Signed Bichitr. A page from the *Saint Petersburg Album*. Gouache on paper, 25.3 x 18.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. Inv. 42.15B.
4. *Shah Jahan Holding a Turban Ornament*, a page from the *Late Shah Jahan Album*, Mughal, Circa 1635, opaque watercolour on paper, 36.7 x 23.8 cm. Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heermanek Collection, Museum Associate Purchase, Inv. M. 78.915.
5. *Saint John*, Mughal, Circa 1600-1601. Signed Abu'l Hasan, after an engraving by Albrecht Dürer. Ink drawing with colour highlights on paper. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. 1978-2597.
6. *Crucifixion of Christ* (From the Engraved Passion), German, Circa 1511. 118 x 74 mm. By Albrecht Dürer.
7. *A Calligraphy Page from Jahangir's Album, with a border depicting Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint John, Madonna and Child and two other Christian figures*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Inv. MS. A117, f. 5a.
8. *Shah Jahan and Asif Khan*, Mughal, Circa 1645-1650. Signed Bichitr. Gouache and gold on paper, 26.3 x 18.7 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. Inv. S198.
9. *Jahangir at the Jharoka Window*, Mughal, Circa 1620. Signed Nadir-az-Zaman (Abu'l Hasan). A page from the *Jahangir-nama*. Gouache on paper, 11.6 x 6.5 cm. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, M. 141.
10. *Officers and Philosophers seated around a Candle at Night*, Mughal, Circa 1655. Ascribed to Payag. Gouache on paper, 10.5 x 17.1 cm. San Diego Museum of Art, Inv. Bacq 916.
11. *The Deposition from the Cross*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Gouache and gold on paper, 19.4 x 11.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. IS 133-1964 (f. 79b).
12. *The Deposition from the Cross*, Circa 1560. By Raimondi after Raffaello.
13. *Saint Matthew the Evangelist*, Mughal, Circa 1587-1588. Signed Kesu Das. Gouache on paper. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Douce Or. Al. fol. 41v.
14. *Madonna and Child*, Mughal. Signed Kesu Das. Gouache on paper. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. *Jahangir Album*, fol. 2.
15. *Emperor Jahangir in Darbar*, Mughal, Circa 1620. Attributed to Manohar. Inscribed "done by the most humble of the slave-born". From a manuscript of the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* (the memoirs of Jahangir). Opaque watercolour on paper, 34.8 x 19.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Bartlett. Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund INV. 14.654.
16. *Akbar Hands his Imperial Crown to Shah Jahan*, Mughal, Circa 1631. Signed Bichitr. A page from the *Minto Album*. Gouache on paper, 29.7 x 20.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. 7, No. 19.
17. *Accession of Jahangir* (with a European Couple and the Archangel Raphael), Mughal, Circa 1618. By Abu'l Hasan. Institute for the People of Asia, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.
18. *Physicians Duel*, Mughal, Circa 1595. Signed Miskin. An illustration from the *Khamsa* of Nazami. Gouache on paper, 17.5 x 10.9 cm. British Library, London, MS. Or. 12208.
19. *Jahangir with a Madonna*, Mughal, Circa 1630. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. 58. 58/31.
20. *Portrait of Emperor Jahangir at a Window of his Palace, below is a head and shoulder of the youthful Christ holding Cross*, Mughal, Circa 1620. Jahangir's portrait by Hashim and Christ's painted by Abu'l Hasan. A page from the *Minto Album*. Gouache on paper, 17.1 x 9.2 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. 7 No. 13.
21. *Sufi Abu'l Adyan Praying on Fire* (with two Jesuits, Virgin and Child and Christ going to Calvary), Mughal, Circa 1604-1605. By Daulat. British Library, London. "Nafahat al-uns". f. 135v.
22. *Jahangir's Dream*, Mughal, Circa 1618. Signed Abu'l Hasan. A page from the *Saint Petersburg Album*. Gouache on paper, 23.8 x 15.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. Inv. 45.9.
23. *Seated Jahangir and Akbar*, Mughal, Circa 17th. By Robert Hatfield Ellsworth. Opaque watercolour on paper.
24. *Virgin and Angels Adoring the Christ - Child outside the Stables*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A partly coloured drawing on paper. 15.4 x 10.8 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Inv. 11A. 13.
25. *Mary and Child Jesus* (with Portuguese, Indians and Angels), Late Mughal, Circa 1750-1755. National Museum, New Delhi.
26. *Virgin standing with the Child* (visiting an Old Man "Saint Anthony Abbot" with a stick), Mughal, Circa 1590. 8.2 x 5 cm; with border 19.8 x 11.8 cm. Chester Beatty library, Dublin. Inv. 44.4.
27. *Virgin and Child in the Temple with Saint Anna the Prophetess*, Mughal, Circa 1610. A tinted drawing. India Office Library, London. Johnson 14.4.
28. *Presentation of Jesus to the Temple of Jerusalem*, Mughal, Circa late 16th. Signed Pars. A drawing slightly coloured on paper 26.3 x 16 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. C-2. CAT 104.
29. *Christ Preaching Disciples in a House*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. 14.4 x 9.1 cm; dimensions of the page 23 x 14.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Inv. MS.11A.
30. *The Entombment of Christ*, Mughal, Circa after 1610. Opaque watercolour on paper, 16.6 x 9.8 cm. Navin Kumar, New York.
31. *The Last Judgement and Resurrection of the Dead*, Mughal, By Nanha and Manohar. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, London. Inv. MS. A.8, f.5b.

32. *Mary, Mother of Jesus with Ministering Angel*, Mughal, Circa Mid. 17th. Gouache on paper, 12.7 x 7.3 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. C-1 CAT. 102.
33. *Birth of Mary*, Mughal, Circa 18th. National Museum, New Delhi.
34. *Birth of the Virgin*, Circa 1581. Engraving by Cornelis Cort, after Tadeo Zuccaro. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Elisha Wittelsey Collection). Inv. 51.501-3285.
35. *Virgin and Child*, Mughal, Circa Late 16th. By Kesu Das. A drawing slightly coloured on paper, 19.5 x 14.6 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
36. *Virgin Mary stands Praying in a Landscape*, Mughal, Circa 1595-1600. Opaque watercolour on paper, 13.1 x 6.9 cm; with border 20 x 12 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Inv. 44.6.
37. *Artists at Work* (one painting a Madonna), Mughal, Circa 1585. Attributed to Kesu Das. Opaque watercolour on paper, miniature; 41 x 25.5 cm; folio 60 x 42 cm. Saatsbibliothek, Berlin.
38. *Madonna and Child*, Mughal, Circa 1600. Signed Manohar. Ink drawing with colour highlights on paper, 7.5 x 5.3 cm. Custodia Foundation, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (Lugt Collection). Inv. 1974-T-67.
39. *Madonna Borghese*, "Salus Populi Romani", Basilica of Saint Mary Major, Rome.
40. *Madonna and Child*, Deccani School, Circa 1640-1660. Tinted drawing on paper, 145 x 93 mm. page 351 x 232 mm. India Office Library, London. Inv. 443.
41. *The Virgin Mary with infant Christ*, Deccani School, Circa 1640-1660. Tinted drawing with gold and Gouache, 136 x 70 mm. page 414 x 296 mm. India Office Library, London. Inv. 444. JA6, No. 3.
42. *Birth of Mary*, Mughal, Circa 1683. Monochrome drawing on paper, .14 x .185 m. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inv. 14.687.
43. *Mother and Child in Landscape*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Gouache on paper, .112 x .158 m. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inv. 14.689.
44. *The Virgin and Child*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Ascribed to Basawan. Gouache and gold on paper, 22 x 13.3 cm. San Diego Museum of Art. Inv. Bacq 769.
45. *The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin*, Mughal, Circa 17th. Keir Collection. V.53.
46. *Saint Matthew*, Circa 1565, Signed Philip Galle after Marten Van Heemskerck.
47. *Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Margaret*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Dara Shikoh Album*. India Office Library, London. Inv. f. 43.
48. *Allegorical Figure*, Mughal, Circa 1590-1595. By Manohar or Basawan. Ink drawing with colour highlights on paper, 11.6 x 8.1 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection). M. 81-8-8.
49. *Saint Jerome*, Mughal, Circa 1580-1585. Signed Kesu Das. Gouache on paper, 17 x 10 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris. MA 2476.
50. *Angel of Tobias*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Signed Hosein. Gouache on paper, 18.8 x 13.2 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris. no. 3619 Ha.
51. *Angel of Tobias*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Ascribed to Kesu Das. Gouache on paper. Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi. Inv. 9947.
52. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*, Mughal, Circa 1580-1585. Signed Kesu Das. Gouache on paper. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. MS.41, No. 2.
53. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*, Mughal, Circa 1585. Ascribed to Kesu Das. Gouache on paper, 21.4 x 10.8 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum (gift of J. Lionberger Davis). Inv. 403-1952.
54. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*, Circa 1544. Anonymous engraving after Georges Pencz. 11.2 x 7.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Harvey D. Parker Collection). Inv. P. 2355.
55. *Noah's Ark*, Mughal, Circa 1582-1584. By Miskin. Freer Gallery of Arts, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.
56. *A Nude Man Seated on a Rock Beneath a Tree*, (Adam), Mughal. 16.9 x 9.1 cm; page: 35.5 x 21.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. MS.11A.3.
57. Frontispiece from the first volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible* published by Christopher Plantyn, Circa 1578. Engraving, 39.3 x 28.1 cm. Vatican Library, Rome. BAV ST.BARB. X15.
58. *Allegorical Figure*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Signed Basawan. Ink drawing with colour highlights on paper, 19.8 x 11.8 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris. No. 3619 Ja.
59. *Dolor* (Hollstein 209). Marten de Vos (1532-1603). Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York. Department of Prints and Photographs, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund. 44.62.6.
60. *An Old Sufi* (recto), Mughal, Circa 1615. Inscribed *Nadir al Asr* (wonder of the age) Farrukh Beg. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
61. *Two Jesuits Disputing with Muslim Doctors before Akbar* (Father Rodolfo Aquaviva and Antonio Monserrate), Mughal, Circa Late 16th. By Nar Singh. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. MS.3 fol. 263b.
62. *Akbar Receiving Gifts, Two Jesuits Presenting a Bible*, Mughal, Circa 1590. Johnson Collection. Gouache and gold on paper. 224 x 134 mm. page: 417 x 286 mm. India Office Library, London. Inv. JA8, No. 6.
63. *Emperor Jahangir in Darbar*, Mughal, Circa 1620. Attributed to Manohar. Inscribed "done by the most humble of the slave-born". From a manuscript of the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* (the memoirs of Jahangir). Opaque watercolour on paper, 34.8 x 19.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Francis Bartlett. Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund INV. 14.654.
64. *A Jesuit Wearing Blue Cloak and Yellow Robe Stands Before a Landscape*, Mughal, Circa 1595-1600. Opaque watercolour on paper, 10.4 x 5.9 cm; with border 17.6 x 10.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Inv. MS.44.5.
65. *Angels Talking about Christ's Birth*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. Front page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache and gold on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.

66. *Presentation of Jesus to the Temple (Ibadat Khanah)*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 16 x 10 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
67. *A painting of Lord Jesus is being presented to a King*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 12 x 8 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
68. *Presentation of Mary to the Temple (Ibadat Khanah)*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
69. *Madonna and Child Celebrating a Holiday*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 18 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
70. *Baptism of the Lord Christ*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
71. *Christ Seeking Help from the Holy Book Against Satan*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
72. *People Praying to Moses and Seeking Protection from the Snakes*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
73. *Christ is Asking a Samaritan Woman for a Drink of Water*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
74. *The Syrian Army Chief Naaman offering Gifts to Hazrat Yousha (Elisha)*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 18 x 9.5 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
75. *Christ Healing a Man's Withered Hand*, Mughal, Circa Early 17th. A page from *Mirat-ul-Quds*. Gouache on paper, 20.5 x 11 cm. Lahore Museum, Lahore. Inv. M-645/ MSS-46.
76. *Shah Jahan*, Netherlands, Circa 1654-56. By Rembrandt van Rijn. Ink and wash on paper, 22.5 x 17.1 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard c Hanna, Jr., Fund.
77. *Shah Jahan and His Son*, Netherlands, Circa 1654-1656. Rembrandt van Rijn. Ink and wash on paper. Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.
78. *Shah Jahan and His Four Sons*, Netherlands, Circa Late 17th. By Willem Schellinks. Oil on wood, 70 x 89 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

Bibliography

- Abu'l Fazl. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927; reprint Lahore, Qausin, 1975.
- Ahmed, W. *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2, July-December, 1991.
- Archer, M. - Falk, T. *Indian Miniatures in Indian Office Library*, London - Delhi and Karachi, 1981.
- Ashton, L. *The Arts of India and Pakistan*, Faber, London, 1947-1948.
- Baqir, M. *Miniatures: Lahore Museum Collection*, Lahore, 1964.
- Barett, D. - Gray, B. *Les trisors de l'Asie La Peinture Indienne*, Sikra Genève, 1963.
- Bartoli, D. *Missione al Gram Mogol del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva*, Piacenza, 1918.
- Beach, M. C. *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, The New Cambridge History of India, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain, 1992.
- Bevers, H-AA. *Rembrandt le maître et son atelier*, Flammarion, Paris, 1991.
- Brand, M. - Lowry, D. G. *Akbar's India*, New York, 1981.
- Brosch, N. *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, Jerusalem, 1991.
- Brown, Percy. *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, India, 1981.
- Bussagli, M. - Sivaramamurti, C. *5000 Years of Art of India*, New York - Bombay.
- Camps, A. *Jerome Xavier S. J. and the Muslim of the Mogul Empire*, Fribourg, 1957.
- Chaitanya, Kr. *Manuscript Moghul and Deccani Traditions*, New Delhi, 1979.
- Chandra, M. *Tuti-nama*, Tales of Parrot, Akademische, Durck - Uverlagsanstalt, Graz - Austria, 1976.
- Clark, S. C. *Indian Drawings*, Qausin, reprint Lahore, 1977.
- Conway, M. N. *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*.
- Correia, J. - Afonso. *Jesuits Letters from the Mughal Court (1580-1583)*, Heras Institute, Bombay, 1980.
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Boston Museum of Arts*, Boston, 1930.
- Crowe, S. - Haywood, S. *The Gardens of Mughal India*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972.
- Das, A. K. *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, Bombay, 1986.
- Delen, J. J. A. *Historire de la Gravure dans les anciens. Pay - Bas et dans les Provinces belges, des origines Jesqu'a la fin du XVI ème siecle*, Nobele, Paris, 1969.
- Falk, T. - Digby, S. *Painting from Mughal India*, Colnaghi, Museum, London, 1979.
- Father Felix, O. C. *The Mughal Seals*, Punjab Historical Society, Vol. V, No. 2, Calcutta, 1916.
- Gangoli, C. O. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Painting in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda, 1961.
- Gascoigne, B. *The Great Mughals*, New Delhi, 1971; reprint 1987.
- Gray, B. *The Arts of India*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1981.
- Gupta, N. S. *Catalogue of Painting in the Central Museum Lahore*, Lahore, 1922.
- Guy, J. - Swallow, D. *Arts of India 1550-1900*, Victoria and Albert Museum, Mapin Publishing Company, 1990.
- Harle, C. J. *The Art and Architecture of the Indian subcontinent*, Penguin Book, 1986.
- Hazart, C. *Kerckelycke Hystory van de Gheheelte Werelt I*, Antwerpen, 1687.
- Herbert, T. *A Relation of some year Travial*, London, 1834.
- Hind, A. *Engraving in England in 16th and 17th Centuries*.
- Ingrans, A. R. *Rubens and Persia*, Burlington Magazine, 1974.
- Iyer, R. *The Glass Curtain between Asia and Europe*, London, 1965.
- Jennes, J. *Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkurnst in India, China en Japan tijdens de XVI eeuw*, leuven Davidsfon - ds, 1943.
- Jones, D. *Mirror of Princes, the Mughals and Medici*, Marg, Bombay, 1987.
- Khan, N. A. *Muslim Art Heritage*, Islamabad.
- Kircher, A. *China Monuments qua sacris qua Prsfanis... illustrata*, Amstradam, 1667.
- Kuehnel, E. - Goetz, H. *Indische Buchmalerei aus dem Jahangir Album der Staatsbibliothek zu, Burlin, Burlin, 1920.*
- Kuehnel, E. - Goetz, H. *Indian Book Paintings from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin*, London, 1926.
- Latif, M. S. *Lahore*, Lahore, 1957.
- Leach, B. L. *Indian Miniature Paintings of Art, Catalogue of Oriental Arts, Part. I*, Indiana, 1986.
- Lederle, H. *Christian Painting in India through the Centuries*, Heras, Bombay, 1981.
- Lewis, B. & AA. *The World of Islam*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1980.
- Losty, J. P. *The Art of Book in India*, British Library, London, 1982.
- MacLagan, E. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Burns Oats & Washburne C & D, London, 1932.
- MacLagan, E. *The Earliest English Visitors to the Punjab, 1585-1622*, Reprint Lahore, 1988.
- Majumdar, C. R. *The Mughul Empire*, Bombay, 1974.
- Marmanners, J. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Marteau, G. - Vever, H. *Miniatures Persanes exposées au Nusée des Arts Decoratifs*, Paris, 1912.
- Martin, R. F. *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912.
- Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Paintings*, Bombay, 1926.
- Mitter, P. *History of European Reaction to Indian Art*, Oxford, 1977.
- Narayan, S. J. *Acquaviva and the Great Mogul*, Patana, 1945.
- Okada, A. *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Trans. Deke Dusingrre, Flammarion, Paris, 1992.
- Okasha, S. *The Muslim Painter and the Divine*, London, 1981.
- Pal, P. *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Thames & Hudson, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Hongkong, Topan Printing Company, 1989.
- Pal, P. *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, Marg Publication, Bombay, India, 1991.
- Papadopoulo, A. *l'Islam et l'art Musulman*, Cittadelles, 1976.
- Picart, B. *Cérémonies et Costumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du monde*, Amsterdam, 1723, Vol. 8.
- Radonlant, R. *La Fontaine. Fables*, Paris, 1929.
- Robinson, W. B. - AA. *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, Faber, London, 1976.
- Rogers, M. J. *Islamic Art and Design 1500-1700*, British Museum, London, 1983.
- Rogers, A. *The Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I*, Reprint Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1974.
- Rowney, J. *The Hesitant Dawn: Christianity in Pakistan 1579-1760*, Islamabad, Rawalpindi, 1984.
- Roy, N. *Mughal Painting Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1975.
- Scheurleer, L. *Mogol Miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetebrandt in -de Kroniek Van hat Rembrandt huis I*, 1980.
- Sigalea, R. *Jesuites et Moghols unis dans le peintures*, Paris Historia, S. P.
- Smith, A. Vincent. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, S. Chand & Co., Ramnagar, New Delhi, 3rd Indian reprint, 1966.
- Stchoukine, I. *La peinture Indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929.
- Schoukine, I. *Minatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929.
- Strong, R. *The Indian Heritage*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1982.
- Strous, L.W. *The Integlio Prints of A Dürer*, New York, 1977.
- Strzygowski, J. *Die indischen miniaturen in Schlosse Schoenbrun*, Wien, 1925.
- Titely, M. N. *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, British Library, London, 1981.
- Tripathi, P. R. *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1956.
- Verma, P. S. *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, New Delhi, 1978.
- Vogel, P. J. *Tile - Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, Calcutta, 1920.
- Welch, C. S. *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture 1300-1900*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985.
- Welch, C. S. *The Art of the Mughal India, Catalogue of an Exhibition*, New York, 1963.
- Wellesz, E. *Akbar's Religious Thoughts Reflected in Mughal Painting*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1952.

Index

Place-names are indicated in italics.

A

Abdus Samad (Khwaja, Shirin Qalam), 12, 13, 80
 Abel, 59, 77
 Abu'l Adyan (Sufi), 42, 45
 Abu'l Hasan (Nadir-ur-Zaman), 10, 16, 19, 21, 23-24, 26, 35, 39, 41-42, 44-45, 57, 66-67, 72, 76, 78
 Abu'l Fazal, 11, 14, 27-28, 68, 82, 91
 Abu Sattar Ibn Qasim, 80, 90-91
 Abraham, 62, 95
 Abraham Lodhi, 11
 Adam, 59, 61, 77
 Agnes (Saint), 58
 Agra, 19-21, 38, 41, 70-71, 81, 102
 Ahmednagar, 22
 Ajanta, 13
 Akbar, 9-16, 19-23, 25, 28, 31-32, 38-41, 46, 51-53, 58, 64-68, 70, 72, 74-78, 83, 90, 95, 100-101
 Albrizzi, G. B., 99
 Alexander the Great, 68, 78
 Amah (Brother), 81
 Ambrose (Saint), 38
 Amsterdam, 94-96, 99, 101-102
 Andrade (Father), 41, 71
 Anna (the Prophetess), 49-50
 Anne (Saint), 49, 53
 Anthony Abbot (Saint), 24, 38, 43, 48-49, 57-58, 70, 73, 78
 Antwerp, 23, 31-34, 69, 94, 98
 Aqa Riza, 16, 74
 Aquaviva, Rodolfo (Father), 23, 64-66, 69, 71, 78, 101
 Archiboldo, 95
 Asif Khan, 24, 46
 Aurangzeb, 11, 21-22, 39, 41-42, 47, 56, 69, 72

B

Babur, 11-12, 16, 46, 72
 Balchand, 21, 43, 54, 71
 Bankipur, 22, 80
 Baroda, 58, 76
 Bartolomew (Saint), 64
 Basawan, 10, 26, 57, 59, 62, 75-77, 82
 Basoohli, 22
 Beham, Bartel, 30, 36, 98
 Beham, Hans Sebald, 36
 Bengal, 22
 Berlin, 19, 33-35, 43, 47, 52, 54, 57, 64, 72-74, 76, 78
 Bernini, 93
 Bernardine of Siena (Saint), 38
 Bernier, François, 100, 102
 Bichitr, 10, 16, 18, 21, 24-25, 39-40,

44-46, 72
 Bihzad, 12
 Bijapur, 22, 58
 Bikaner,
 Bishndas, 39
 Bosch, Jerome, 31-32
 Brown, Percy, 10, 28, 69, 72, 74, 78, 91, 97, 101
 Brueghel, Pieter, 31-32
 Brussels, 33
 Bundi, 22

C

Cabral, Antonio, 22, 80
 Cain, 59, 77
 Calcutta, 27-28, 54, 70-72, 74, 91, 93
 Caravaggio, 93
 Caranzane, Anthony, 58
 Catherine (Saint), 57-59
 Cecilia (Saint), 32, 58, 76
 Cock, Jerome, 32, 98,
 Clouet, 97
 Collaert, Adrian, 30, 34, 51-52, 98
 Cologne, 33
 Columbia, 20
 Corsi (Father), 67
 Cort, Cornelis, 53, 75

D

Daniel, 59
 Dara Shikoh, 36, 43, 46, 50, 57-59, 71-73, 76, 102
 Datia, 22
 Daulat, 42, 45
 Daccan, 13
 Delaram, Francis, 97
 Delft, Vemeer Van, 94
 Delhi, 12-13, 21, 28, 36, 41, 43, 48, 53, 56, 67-70, 72-74, 78, 91, 100
 Diest Egidius Van, 31
 Dublin, 16, 40, 45, 47-48, 53-54, 59-61, 65-67, 70, 71, 73-74, 76-78
 Duccio, 42
 Dürer, Albrecht, 23-24, 30, 32, 34-37, 43-44, 47, 49-50, 53-54, 57, 71, 74, 76, 96, 98, 101

E

El Greco, 97
 Elisha (Prophet), 88-89
 Elizabeth (Queen of England), 96
 Ellora, 13
 Elstrack, Reynold, 10, 97, 99
 Ellsworth, Robert Hatfield, 10, 46, 72, 95
 Eworth, Hans, 96
 Eyck (Brothers), 31

F

Fargana, 11
 Farrukh Beg, 33, 63-64, 76
 Fathpur-Sikri, 38, 41
 Faqirullah Khan, 46
 Felix (Father), 10, 90
 Finch, William, 41, 69
 Fitch, Ralph, 22
 Fontaine, Jean de La, 10, 100, 102
 Fouquet, Jean, 97
 Francis of Assisi (Saint), 58
 Frankfurt, 33, 98

G

Gaj Singh, 46
 Galle, Philip, 32, 34, 57-58
 Galle, Theodor, 23, 64, 98
 Gama, Vasco da, 22
 Genghiz Khan, 11
 Gelder, Aert de, 10, 95
 Ghulam-i-Shah Salim, 49
 Goa, 9, 22, 69, 71, 80-81
 Golconda, 22, 101
 Goltzuis, Hendrik, 33, 52, 74, 98
 Goncalves, Nuno, 97
 Govardhan, 10, 16, 21, 26, 46, 71-72, 74
 Gregory (Saint), 38, 70
 Gujarat, 13, 22
 Guler, 22

H

Hafiz, 75, 77
 Haji Habibullah, 22, 81
 Hals, Frans, 94
 Hamida Banu Begum, 12
 Hashim, 21, 42, 44-45
 Hastings, Warren, 81
 Heemskerck, Marten Van, 32, 57
 Henriquez, (Father), 78
 Herat, 12
 Herbert, T, 99
 Heyden, Pieter Vander, 32, 98
 Holbine, 34, 96
 Hosein, 60
 Humayun, 12-13, 46, 72, 80
 Huys, Adrian, 32, 98
 Huys, Frans, 32
 Huys, Pieter, 32

I

Ignatius Loyola (Saint), 23, 39, 74
 Imam Bakhsh, 10, 100, 102
 Innocent XI, 93

J

Jacob (Prophet), 58, 76, 87
 Jahanara Begum (Princess), 95
 Jahangir, 9, 11, 14-16, 18-21, 23-27, 30-36, 38-39, 41-47, 49-52, 54, 57-59, 64, 67-74, 78, 80, 95
 Jarric, P. du, 100
 James 1st (King of England), 16, 44, 97
 Jerome (Saint), 33, 58, 60
 Jesuits, 9-10, 14, 19, 22-23, 25, 36, 38-39, 41-42, 45-46, 48, 51-53, 55, 57-58, 64-76, 78, 80-81, 85, 88, 90, 99, 100-102
 Jodh Bai, 20
Jodhpur, 20
 John (Saint), 23-24, 35, 38, 43, 49-52, 57, 64, 76, 86
 John of Gaunt, 22
 Joseph, 47-48, 58-62, 76, 87
 Johnson, Richard, 81
 Julius II, 33

K

Kabul, 12
 Kamaran Mirza, 80
Kangra, 22
Kashmir, 39
 Kesu Das, 10, 19, 23, 32, 34-35, 42, 48, 51, 53-54, 57-58, 60-61, 67-68, 73, 75-76, 81-82,
 Khurram (Shah Jahan as prince), 20
 Khusrau (Prince), 20
 Kircher, A, 99

L

Lahore, 15, 19-21, 23, 30, 38, 41, 48-53, 57-59, 68-70, 73-77, 79-81, 83-90, 97, 100-101
 Laud (Bishop), 99
 Leo X, 30
 Limbourg (Brothers), 97
 Louis XIV, 97
Lucknow, 81
 Luke (Saint), 38, 62

M

Maclagan, E, 10, 28, 36, 47, 49, 52, 69, 71-76, 78, 90-91, 102,
 Maderno, Stephano, 32, 58
 Magdalene, Mary (Saint), 33, 49, 52, 57, 71
 Mahram Kokah, 80
 Malik Amber, 44
Mahwa, 13, 22
Manchester, 57, 74, 81
 Manohar, 39, 51-52, 54-55, 58-59, 67
 Manrique, Sabistan (Father), 38, 41, 69
 Manuchi, N, 69, 99, 101
 Mansur (Nadir al-Asar), 19, 44
 Margaret (Saint), 57-59
Marwar, 22, 46
 Matthew (Saint), 32, 41, 57, 76
 Michelangelo, 29-30
 Mir Sayyid Ali (Nadir ul-Mulk), 12-13, 80

Miskin, 26, 41-42, 50, 59, 61, 77
 Monserrate (Father), 65, 78
 Moses (Prophet), 59, 77, 87-88
 Muhammad Afzal, 34, 55
 Muhammad Ibn Tugluq, 13
 Muhammad Murad Beg, 79
 Muhammad Shah, 22
 Muhammad Qasim or Kasim (Firishta), 90
 Muhammad Zaman (Paul), 22, 25, 28, 50 59, 73, 75
 Mumtaz Mahal (Queen), 21
 Mu'in ud-Din Chishti, 16
 Murad Bakhsh, 43
 Mundy, Peter, 10, 99
Munich, 33, 55
 Muzaffir Ali, 12

N

Naaman, 88-89
 Nadir Shah, 22
 Nadira Banu Begum, 33, 36, 57-58
 Nanha, 51-52
 Nar Singh, 64-65, 78
 Nur Jahan, 14, 19, 39, 41, 70
Nuremberg, 35-36
 Nur ud-Din (Jahangir), 14, 19

O

Oranus, J, 100
Orissa, 22
 Oliver, Isaac, 97
 Oiley, Bernard Van, 34, 49

P

Pahari, 22
 Paras, 49
Pargue, 33
Paris, 28, 35-36, 44, 55, 60, 62, 70, 72, 74, 76-77, 81, 94-96, 101-102
 Passe, Simon Van de, 97
Patna, 69, 78, 80
 Parmigianino, 48
 Paul (Saint), 35, 38, 49, 58, 68
 Payag, 10, 21, 26-27, 39, 72
 Pencz, Georges, 36, 58, 61-62, 76
 Pereira, Julian (Father), 22
 Peruschi, J. B., 100
 Peter (Saint), 35, 43, 68
 Philip II (King of Spain), 32
 Picart, Bernard, 101
 Pinheiro (Father), 23
 Plantyn, Christopher, 14, 31-32, 62, 70, 98
Poona, 78
 Primatice, 97
 Prince Henry (the Navigator), 22
 Puarchas, 10, 97, 99, 101
 Puget, S, 100
Punjab, 22, 47, 69, 73, 90

R

Raimondi, Marco Antonio, 30-31, 34, 50-51, 74
Rajistan, 13, 22

Rajput, 13, 20, 28, 46, 68, 70
Rampur, 19, 70
 Raphael, 29-31, 34, 37, 74
 Rawson, Philip, 30
 Rijn, Rembrandt Van, 10, 94-96, 98-99, 101
Rome, 25, 33, 62, 69, 81, 100
 Rosso, 97
 Rottenhammer, John, 33, 47
 Roe, Thomas, 9, 19, 25, 97, 99, 101
 Rubens, Peter Paul, 54, 94, 101
 Ruysdael, 94

S

Sadeler, Egidius, 33-34, 48, 75
 Sadeler, John, 23, 33, 64, 75, 76
 Sadeler, Raphael, 23, 33, 47, 52, 74
 Sadi (Poet), 67, 72, 102
 Salim (Jahangir as Prince), 15, 23, 42, 78
Samaria (Sichar), 87
Samarkand, 11-12
Saint Petersburg, 16, 18, 45, 66, 76-77
 Sanzio, Raffaello, 51
 Savery, R, 33
 Schellinks, Willem, 10, 95-96, 101
 Shah Abbas, 19, 25, 28, 44, 47
 Shah Baba (Prince Khurram), 20
 Shah Jahan, 11, 16, 20-28, 39-40, 42, 44-47, 59, 72, 94-96, 99, 101
Shah Jahanabad, 21
 Shah Shuja, 42, 46
 Shah Thamasaf Safavi, 12, 80
 Sher Shah Suri, 12
Shiraz, 12
 Shiba (Queen), 62
Sikandra, 39, 41
 Simeon, 50
 Smith, Vincent, 10, 28, 90
 Solomon (King), 62
 Spranger, Bartholomeus, 33, 74
 Story, John, 97
 Stradanus, J, 30, 34, 51-52, 64
 Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 58
 Sultan Muhammad, 12
Surat, 22

T

Taj Mahal, 21, 28, 101
Tehran, 51, 68, 76
 Theresa (Saint), 58
 Therese, Maria (Empress of Austria), 10, 99
 Thomas', Steven, 22
 Timur (Amir Tamur or Tamerlane), 11, 72
 Tintoretto, 30
 Titian, 30
 Tobias, 58, 60, 76
 Tarares, Padro, 22

U

Udayaharsha, 67
Umar Kot, 12
 Urban VIII (Pope), 99

V

Valentyn, François, 99
Velasquez, 97
Venice, 33, 101
Verona, 33
Veronese, 30
Vinci, Leonardo da, 29-30, 34, 93
Vivekaharsha, 67
Vos, Marten De, 32-33, 62, 64, 74

W

Wierixes (Brothers), 23, 32, 35, 58, 75,
98
Witte, Pieter de, 33, 58

X

Xavier, Jerome (Father), 10, 19, 23, 47,
67-69, 79-81, 83, 90-91, 101

Z

Zafar Khan, 39
Zulaikha, 59
Zuccaro, Tadeo, 53, 56

