CHAPTER IV
The renaissance reformation and counter reformation movements in Europe urged the Jesuits to seek new fields for preaching the message of Christ, Goa became a centre for the Jesuit missionaries backed up by the
Portuguese king. Already there had been attempts to convert the great Mughals in Central Asia, but they generally failed and now in the sixteenth century a fresh urge seized the Jesuits to try once more the lost cause, and circumstances favoured them in the reign of Akbar.

In 1510 the island of Goa was occupied by the Portuguese, under Albaquarque and in a short time the Portuguese power was established in port of the adjoining main land and at several points upon the coast.

Sixteen years after the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese the north of India was invaded by an army from Afghanistan and Central Asia, led by the Turk, Babur who founded the dynasty known as that of the Mughals and the Mughal conquest became consolidated under the celebrated Akbar (1556-1605).

In Europe the society of Jesus had been established in 1539 by St. Ignatius of Loyola and it gained its first hold on India with the arrival in 1542 of St. Francis Xavier. In India it was no means the only order interested in missionary effort, but the zeal and ability of its members soon gave it a predominant position in the field.

Akbar succeeded to the Mughal throne in 1556, lead was for many years occupied in consolidating his power in North India. In 1572, however, he turned his attention to Gujarat and while he was engaged in the seize of Surat during the early part of 1573, he came in contact with the Portuguese Christian Priest and in his inquisitiveness he sent a farman to the principal, at Goa to send some Missionaries. ¹

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¹ The Din-i-Ilahi, Chapter V, Page no. 170 - 166
The ambassador and his interpreter having arrived delivered the letter (Farman) of the king to the priest of the said company dwelling at the college of St. Paul, who rejoiced greatly at the good news, believing that it was the will of our Lord of manifest to this great prince.

The three Jesuit fathers reached the imperial court at Fatehpur in 1580. As soon as the emperor heard of their arrival he received them with many marks of friendship and entertained them in various ways until far into the night. A large quantity of gold and silver was brought to be presented to them. The father thanked him very respectfully, but would not take any of the money. The king was very much impressed by their refusal of the money.

Three or four days later the fathers again visited the king who received them cordially as on the first occasion. As he had asked to be shown the books of the law of the Creator, Holy Scripture the father took with them and presented to him all the volumes of the Royal Bible in five languages, sumptuously bound. The king received these holy books with great reverence and kissed them and one after another he placed them on his head. The Father also presented him two beautiful portraits, one representing the saviour of the world, and the other the glorious virgin Mary, His holy Mother. The king took the portrait of our Saviour in his hands with great reverence, and kissed it and made his children, and several of his courtiers do the same.

Sometimes afterwards, he again sent for the father's summoning, at the sametime, his mullas and qaziz, in order that they might dispute together in his presence, so that he might discover which were in truth the holy scriptures on which to place his faith.¹ The fathers clearly established

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¹ This dispute was referred to by Abu'l Fazl in Akbarnama.
the authenticity and truth of the scriptures contained in the old and New Testaments. The first dispute ended in the complete discomfort of the fathers, took refuge in silence.

After many sittings of discussions the father's were ascertained that the king is at the brink of embracing Christianity the king had to leave for Kabul.

It is not known about the further of Akbar's relations towards Christianity till 1590 when his court was at Lahore.

In 1590 Akbar who had not wanted the fathers of the first mission to leave again wrote to Goa seeking father's for his court for further instructions in Christianity. This request was sent with the Greek sub deacon, Leo Grimon who had recently come to his court. The parwana ordered that supplies and transport and due escort should be provided for the father's and laid down their route in it. Of the two letters carried by Leo Grimon, there have been a translation of these addressed to the father's of the Society.¹

The fathers at Goa were assured by Grimon that the prospects of a mission were favourable. The king was less of a Muslim that ever and has shown signs of a marked respect for Christianity. He had celebrated the day of assumption of the virgin in 1590, by bringing out and paying respect to his picture of our lady. Akbar's proposal was accordingly accepted with enthusiasm. In the end two father's, Duarte-lai-Tao and Christoval-de-Vega and a lay brother called Estevao Rebeiro were selected and left for Lahore.

¹ Payne, C.H., tr. Akbar and Jesuits, Page no. 48
The members of the Mission were well received and they were given a house in Palace. As school was started under their direction which was attended by the sons of nobles as well and by the king's own son and grandson, and pupils were taught and read and write Portuguese.

The father's, however, found themselves strongly opposed by a faction at the court and soon perceived that the king had no intention of becoming a Christian. They accordingly decided to withdraw without delay. Vega left for Goa, but two provincial wished to send him back, as he was understood to be great favourite with Akbar; and in any case Lai-tao was instructed to remain where he was. The mission, however, came shortly afterwards to an abrupt conclusion for reasons which have not come down to us and both missionaries return to Portuguese India.

There was obviously some dissatisfaction at Goa, if not at Rome itself, at the hasty dissolution of the second mission. It was still thought by many that Akbar had been on the point of becoming a Christian. Akbar himself was greatly dissatisfied and once again for the third and last time in 1594, he renewed his entreaties for instruction in the Christian religion, and begged the viceroy at Goa to send him learned priests and brother Benedict-de-Goes, the Marinenian who had been in attendance of Aqua viva at the time of first Mission was again sent with them as interpreter. Father Jerome had already done Evangelistic work for many years in India.

On being informed that the father's (third time) had reached Lahore, the king sent one of his captain to welcome them on his behalf, shortly afterwards they went to pay their respect to him and met with a courteous reception. Akbar assigned to them a pleasant residence near the rivers. He paid the father's extraordinary personal honour not only he allowed them to sit in his presence but to occupy part of the cushion on which he himself and the heir to the throne sat.
It seems to the missionaries that the conversion of Akbar was possible even than they witnessed his reverential treatment of their images and his devoted participation in their services. He used to trace images of our Lord and the blessed virgin Mary and keep them for a time in his arms inspite of their heavy weight. One day he attended a holy service with bended knees and with clasped hands like a Christian. On the festival of assumption of the virgin he sent costly silken and linen hangings for the adornment of the chapel. Both Akbar and Prince M exhibited special devotion to the european books and handed it over to them for their own use. He allowed them to start a school which attracted sons of some of the feudatory princes. The site for church of Lahore mooted and a church was ultimately built. The heir apparent himself, M. Salim became the firm friend and protector of the mission. A Portuguese artist who had come with the father's was directed to copy a portrait of the virgin Mary which they possessed, images of the infant Jesus a crucifix were likewise copies by the court craftsmen.

Regular religious debates were no longer in vogue but disputes occasionally took place. Both Akbar's and Prince Salim's attitude towards Islam was not quite definite. In Lahore there was no mosque and no copy of Quran. Whatever King's actual faith was, it was not Islam but his own sect Din-i-Ilahi.

A series of letters is for the period of 1595-1600 and most of these letters published in Europe shortly after they were written and another three letters covers the years 1604-1685; these are in manuscripts in the British Museum. For the intermediate period 1600-1604, which is not covered by those letters in question. We have to rely almost entirely on

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Extract translations of these letters published in 1896 - Histories of Guzman and Guerreiro, See Maclagan E. D. The Jesuits and the Great Mughals Chapter IV.
Guerreiro and have not the original documents on which he based his narrative.

In 1598 Akbar left to invade the Deccan taking with him Father Jerome Xavier and brother Goes. Father Pinheiro left behind alone in Lahore turned his attention towards Evangelism. In a trouble that inevitably followed Pinheiro succeeded obtaining the pardon of prisoners condemned to death with the help of a local Subedar or Viceroy. After the death of Viceroy (Khwaja Shamsuddin) and the appointment of his successor's (Zain Khan Koka) effort were made to divert the mission and a great crowd assembled outside the church, but the only result was that the maligners of the mission were imprisoned. Some valued relics were stolen but the Kotwal gave what assistance they could do to him. Towards the end of sixteenth century father Pinherio received the assistance of father Corsi. Then father Pinheiro set out to visit father Xavier at the king's camp in the Deccan.

Jery soon after this interview, Akbar marched to the Deccan. His immediate object was to over come the Sultanates of Ahmad Nagar and Khandesh, but his ultimate aim was the extinction of the Portugese settlements in India. The position of the jesuit father in the camp become accordingly a difficult one. Akbar returned to Agra with father Xavier and Pinherio.

Akbar gave christians a permission to purchase lands and to build a Church¹ and they built one in 1599. In the same year the Lahore chapel was completed to which Akbar sent costly silk cloths and gold for its adornment.² He also sent from his own collection a picture of Mary for the Chapal.³

Another churcuh was built in 1597 and the governor of Lahore, with the

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1. Agra Dioceses Calendar 1907, Page no. 201
2. J.A.S.B. LXV. 1896, Page no. 66
3. Memories, A.S.B. 1916, Page no. 174

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consultation of Akbar, was personally present at the opening ceremony of the church. Lands were granted for their residence and for building churches, chapals and cemeteries. Another church was built in 1604 at Agra which was patronised by Prince Salim. This church was sometimes referred to as Akbar Badshah Ka Girja.¹

Like his father Jahangir was also very much liberal towards christians, the liberty of Prince Salim was interpreted as his love for Christ and they expected that he would be converted to the religion of Christ. On the whole Jahangir was kind to the christians, if not christianity. At Agra he paid an allowance of five to seven rupees per day for the maintenance to each christian and occasional grants were made for their festivals. Jahangir granted six bighas of land for an Armonian in the name of the Lord Jesus which originally belonged to Hindu.

A church was built for the Jesuits at Jaipur through the courtesy of Raja Jai Singh. The Portuguese built a portable church in imitation of Akbar’s portable mosque. In 1926, Jahangir confirmed the purchase of a piece of land by the Christian and made it a rent free inam (gift).²

Since his childhood Jahangir had an special liking for Christian paintings. He himself supervised the artist when they paint in the Mughal atelier. He ordered his painters to prepare the copies of christian painting, presented to him by foreigners. Sir Thomas Roe, an English, and as director of East Indian Company presented him a great number of Christian paintings and the emperor ordered to his artists to make their copies as they are.

¹ Maclagan, op. cit. Page no. 198 - 199
² Monserrate, Commentaries, fol.85 (a) Bloachman, op. cit. i. 46
Shahjahan was succeeded on the throne. He was an orthodox muslim and he had neither sympathy nor any positive disliking for either the christians or the Portuguese. He confirmed the purchase of lands by the christian at Lahore which were resold by Oliveira.¹ After the Bengal fracas he officially prosecuted the christians, and closed their churches at Agra and Lahore. The attitude of the common people was very hostile to the christians, the converts were always pelted in the street, their services were Jeered at and sometimes social stigma was attached to converts. Asaf Khan was probably the only noble who was more or less sympathetic towards the Christians.

Shahjahan's prosecution of the Christians and Jesuits was to some extent mitigated by the friendly sympathies of his son Darashikoh. He attended their parties and used to make friendly visits to them as Jahangir had done. The liberal attitude of Dara once more lit up the hope of the christians and they expected his coersion in no time. Manucci says that Dara died all but Christian. According to him, Dara died praying for the safety of his son Dara Shikoh, he attended their parties and used to make friendly visits to them as Jahagir had done. The liberal attitude of Dara once more lit up the hope of the Christian and they expected his coersion in no time. Manucci says that Dara died all but Christian. According to him, Dara died praying for the safety of his soul:

"Muhammad has taken my life
Oh, the son of God, grant me my life".

Aurangzeb's relation with the Christians is mysterious. Aurangzeb, who presented the shias and hindus was not unnecessarily hard on the christians. Soon after his ascension, he wished father Busi to accompany

¹. J.A.S.B. XXI, 1925. Page no. 58
him to Kashmir. In 1671 he confirmed the grant of a piece of land granted by Jahangir. He asked for a Persian translation of the Gospel, but it is not known whether he read it or not. During the reign of Aurangzeb, there was hardly any official interference with the Christian method of worship. When the jazia was imposed on the non-Muslims the Christians were not exempted. Except three noble men, all the governors were imicably disposed towards the Christians. Qadis particularly took the cue from Aurangzeb and seized the slightest occasion to make searches, to impose fines on them to send them to jail when unable to harm them, at least to insult them.

Position of the Europeans and Christians in the later Mughal period did not depend on the grace of the officials but on their own capacity. The Christianity in India was no longer needed patronage of the officers of the central government, the Europeans, English, Dutch, French etc. had strengthened their position sometimes by bribe and by tact. Within 50 years of the death of Aurangzeb, they gathered strength enough to consolidate their political position and ultimately to supplant the Mughal supremacy by their own.

In spite of the existence of an excellent and flourishing school of indigenous paintings in royal atelier the courts artists of Akbar and Jahangir looked on European art as an ideal, as the fashion of the time, to which Indian talent should strive to attain. Abu'l fazl, in describing the progress of painting under Akbar, alluded to the masterpieces recently produced in India and spoke of them as worthy to be compared with the wonderful works of European painters who have attained worldwide fame.

2. J.P.R.S.V. 1916 Page no. 24
3. Annual Report, 1670 - 78
4. Indian Antiquary XXXV, 1906, Page no. 205 - 206
As early as 1580 we find Akbar having copies made of pictures of the Virgin and of Christ which the father's had with them and in 1597 the Prince Salim is reported to have begged for the loan of the picture of St. Ignatius Loyola that he might have it copied in royal atelier by his painters. Nor did the practice of copying European pictures cease with the death of Jahangir, and it is indeed alleged by some authorities that the rage for copying European pictures in the royal atelier reached its height towards the end of the reign of his successor. The emperor Shahjahan being, so desirous of these copies as to have every European painting which he could obtained copied by the artists of his court.

In latter Mughal period the rage for copying European pictures continued and the painters of Sultanates of Deccan were also copying European pictures as well.

Akbar gave the stamp of her ardoxy to the Mughal school of painting much against the thinking of his time. For him painting was not only an art but means to realize God, and art cut across narrow sectarianism that divided men and men. His thinking came into full play at the conclaves of religious leaders (Father) at Fatehpur Sikri. The Portuguese merchants, he came across and the three jesuit missions he had invited to his delibrations brought about a new awareness, both for the emperor and his court, of the world at large. This new awareness of the emperor in turn, reinforced his attitude towards God realisation through painting.

The jesuits knew well in time their royal host's love for Christian paintings. The rich collection of European paintings which the jesuit missionaries brought as present already mentioned in details, aroused in
Akbar a deep interest in this genre. Plantyn's polyglot Bible and a fine copy of the Borghese Madonna among these presents impressed the Akbar most. The engraved like illustrations in the Bible by flemish artist of the St. of Quantin Matsys were a feast for the royal eyes.

A large number of European specimens available in India in this period were prints published by the Plantyn's firm at Antwerp for religious propaganda.¹ Besides these prints, books, woodcuts and engravings, silken and woolen tapestries worked with stories from Old Testament were also brought here.

Themes from the Old Testament - "Adam" line-by-line copies by an unknown court artist is nearer to European style. But the court artist tried to bring about an Indian atmosphere by painting bird and animal. It is in Gulshan album and its European sources are unknown. It is one of the rich collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. No. 332 (1965). Noah's ark is enhancing the beauty of the collecting of miniature in Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, possibly the painting from the Diwan of Hafiz attributed to Muskin an eminent court artist circa 1590. A verse of Quran is devoted to Noah, and he figures in such poetical test as the Diwan of Hafiz and Qasis-al-Anbya. It has been suggested that this illustration comes from an otherwise lost volume of Hafiz to which a known illustration of King Solomon may also belong. An immediate comparison to this composition is found in the 1595. Anwar-i-Suhaili, where a very similar boat scene is inscribed to Muskin while not of Noah's ark, that work too shows a figure over boards. It may be a stock motif added for dramatic interest.

Solomon and the queen of Shieba, enthroned was catalogued as

being of the Shahjahan period, c.1630 in the Sotheby auction catalogue¹ and has always been exhibited with that dating; when it was on display at Los Angeles in connection with the symposium on Indian art in October 1970, it was seen by Robert Skeleton of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who credited it to Mir Kalan Khan, one of the major painters of Muhammad Shah. This attribution was confirmed by Cary Welch in Feb.1972. Europeans subject matter still tempted the Indian artists, and this unlikely composition often produced work of marvellous artistic quality, several Mughal copies and adaptations of an engraving by George Pencz, "Joseph telling his dreams to his father", dated 1544, are known. The present work Joseph telling his dreams to his father as the latter of two versions copied by Kesheo Das, the earlier being in the Chester beatty Library, Dublin, it may be that this is an illustration copied specially for Salim, who is known to have requested copies of paintings owned by his father. Here Kesheo retained the original arrangement of the figures, although the rather intricate modelling of the clothing in the print is simplified. Moreover, the background has been opened upto include the favourite Mughal device of distant mountains. The birds at the top were added to lengthen the proportion of the illustration so that it would match the facing page. The verse calligraphy is done and signed by Mir Ali.

Several Mughal style miniatures, all of them presenting a strong look of Persian influence, have been catalogued late 17th or 18th century in sale catalogues. At Sotheby's (July 10, 1968, lot 98), this miniature was described as painted in India under strong Persian influence, probably by an artist of Persian origin. "Robert Skelton of the Victoria and Alebrt Museum has attributed it to the artist Mohammad Nadar Samarqandi, a court painter of Jahangir and Shahjahan, dating it 1651 and has existed on its'

¹. Sotheby auction catalogue (Dec.10th 1962 pt. 28)
Kashmir origin (A miniature with similar attribution was sold at Sotheby's March 7, 1973 lot 243). It is also a subject from the Yusuf and Zulai Khan. The story of Yusuf's love for the Potiphar's wife was written by the Persian poet named as Yusufwa Zuli Khan. Yusuf the Biblical Joseph, would normally be portrayed with a flaming halo just like any other muslim saint. A manuscript of this text in the Chester Beauty Library, Dublin (MS 31) contains other miniature by Mohammad Nadar Samarqandi.

A painting of Yusuf in the salve market is also painted in the seventeenth century and other paintings on the christian themes from the Old Testament, as Moses¹, Sarah (wife of Abraham)², David in the lion's Den³, Expulsion from the Paradise⁴ and Angels of Tobias could easily be traced, but others such as Creation of Adam and Eve only in one composition appear to be very rare. On the other hand, legends from the New Testament from the bulk of the European paintings, available to the Mughal court artists. The spectrum of such themes was very broad.

There are a few miniatures on christian themes which show little or no western influence. They tend to show Jesus as a traditional religious leader or as a Jesuit (that is a traditional christian religious leader as seen in the Mughal empire) and to show his disciples and the people around Him as Jesuits or as Portuguese or as some of each. Frequently one of the Three Magi is shown as Portuguese, General Maclagan⁵ and scholars before and since right down to the Reverend John Butler in 1974 are inclined to attribute a fair number of these as illustrations for father Jesome Xavier's,"Persian Life of Christ" and particularly to a copy of this book said

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1. Voyage of Dewnton, Page no. 8, also Leigh Ashton, The Art of India and Pakistan no. 751 (i)
2. C.F. VXA, Clive Album, f. 76
5. Edward D. Maclagan, 'Mughal Painting on Christian subjects in Muslim World', Vol.23 (1933), Page no. 351

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to be in the Lahore Museum. Since the preface to Xavier's book is dated (Agra), 1602. It is found difficult to think that the use would not have been made of European prototypes for its illustrations since they abounded by them and the Jesuits were making constant use of them as was the court. In order to save this attribution Butler made the perverse sugestion that "If it would seem that the copy of Jerome Xavier "Persian Life of Christ" presented to Akbar was illustrated, with pictures made without European models but with oral instructions from the fathers. We find it beyond belief that the learned fathers would permit such iconographically wrong (not to mention historically wrong) portrayals of Jesus as a Jesuit or of His followers as Jesuits or Portuguese.

We are inclined to guess that none of these Lahore pictures was ever a part of any book of father Xavier's. Father Hosten visited the Lahore museum prior to 1922 and reports of this manuscript:

"The label above it said, "New Testament pictures as drawn for the emperor Akbar".... The book bore Akbar's seal and the subject of it was the life of our Lord in Persian by father Xavier, Date: 1602. Size: 10 inches X 6 inches. It contained 79 leaves with 15 lines per page and was interleaved with 11 pictures. Many pages of the life of our Lord are missing, and it looks as if most of the pages belong to another treatise.¹

Robert Skelton who has visited the Lahore museum and who has examined many of the paintings we are here concerned with feels, on the basis of some hasty manuscript comparison, that the Lahore text to which they are related and the rubies on the pictures themselves do not seem related, to any version of Jerome Xavier's Life of Christ.²

¹ Nosten, op. cit., Page no. 181
² Robert, W. Skelton's record.
We venture to suggest that many, perhaps all, of these pictures were painted to illustrate some earlier Persian version of the Gospels and that they were painted before the flood of Europan christian pictures. We know that Persian Gospels existed. We also know that Akbar ordered the translation into Persian of Hindu and other religious texts, including the Gospels which he asked Abu'l Fazal to translate and that the Hindu texts, at least were illustrated. The Jaipur Razmnama, the Persian translation of the Mahabharatha made and illustrated for Akbar around 1585-87 before the first Jesuit mission has some picture that are equally unachronistic. One of these is "The white horse is being taken carefully to the zenana, that the family of Krishna may see it, when Anusal takes if forcibly away" which shows the Krishna scene very like a Mughal court scene in almost every respect, even to a saintly picture painted on a Mughal canopy. If Krishna could be put in a Mughal court. We guess that Christ could easily have been put in the robes of one of his priests and that His followers could easily have been portrayed like the only christians than known priests (most Jesuits) and Portuguese laymen. Some what similar unachronism, of putting a leading follower of Christ in the clothes of a Jesuit Priest which he would never have worn, occured as recently as the late 1950 when a popular Bengali film of the early Bapti missionary and Bengali folk hero William carry constantly shows him in the white robes of a "Park Street Jesuit" which, we have to say, he would have shunned. To dress Christ and christians in this way really makes considerably sense it has a certain logic. But once European christian pictures arrived at the Mughal court its logic would be lost.

The ascension of Jesus who is dressed as a Jesuit is described above.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, op. cit., vol.1, passim in
4. This film, carry Sahiber Munshi, from a book of the same title by Pramatha Nath Bishi, is a perennial favourite in Bengal.
It is a very Mughalish painting but all of the people in it are dressed as Jesuits or as Portuguese. It has been attributed to father Xavier’s Life of Christ.¹ One of the Portuguese in the painting is lying on his back, with one, hand under his head, and his knees raised, watching the ascension. Maclagan reports what may be a some what similar figure, In the State Museum at Berlin there is a curious seventeenth century picture in which a woman with an Indian type of face and wearing a cross on her necklace is seated on a chair with a child. A man who resembles a saint from an Italian picture is standing by with a book in his hand, but in the foreground are two Europeans, one pouring out wine and one lying back in a helpless attitude. The seat on which the woman is sitting is tilted back at an unsteady angle.²

The emperor Akbar placed the Iranian artists, Mir Sayed Ali and Abdul Samad incharge of the Mughal studies, the works that emerged were in a new and different style which mixed hindu (Rajput) and muslim Indian elements with those of imperial Safavid Iran.³ Thus a recognizable Mughal style was formed under his reign, and when this highly Persianized early Akbari style was under going a process of transformation by synthesis with indigenous stylistic elements, the European (religious) works, through Jesuits came as a boon to inspire the Mughal artists on their attempts to solve many of their technical problem. This interest of the emperor and the court artist in European religious art is evident in the interesting pictures copied and coloured by Kesheo Das from European engravings or drawings.⁴ Similar studies made by such leading Akbari painters as Basawan, Sanwala and Muskin also testifying to their serious interest in European works.⁵ Gradually, their works began to show a considerable improvement on the

1. In the Catalogue when the collection of Adwin Binney 3rd was exhibited in Ann Arbor, Maclagan.
3. L.P.I. Pl. XIX; Bull-MFA, No 332 fig. 1 and 1A; IBP, Pl. 42 Unsigned picture of Madonna on the same folio of the Berlin Album.
5. For Basawan, Supra, Chapt. 7; for Sanwala cat. CB, III, Pl. 81; Muskin: J.G.M. Plate facing p. 23.
technique of shadowing, depiction of perspectives and effective modelling. In Jahangir’s atelier the impact of European art became even more apparent.

This art of painting as practiced in Akbar’s art atelier, Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari, making specific mention of the branch or branches of art in which they specialized. However, it is not impossible to trace the special characteristics, individual style and quality of a number of leading painters of the time as Abul Hasan Daulat, Manohar Bishan Das, Mansur, Farrukh Beg, Nanha, Bichitra and Goverdhan.

The leading painters enjoyed a better status in Jahangir’s time in the Mughal hierarchy. From the evident of Roe it appears that the painters enjoyed an exulted position in the Mughal court. Some of these leading painters copied European (christian) pictures in their own style and setting or they used them as models or used their symbols in their non-religious paintings.

**ABU’L HASAN**

Abu’l Hasan was the son of a painter Aqua Raza, who entered Jahangir’s employ by atleast 1988 A.D. A series of marginal drawings in Muraqqa-e-Gulshan or Gulshan Album, signed as well as dated 1599, proves that the artist was then copying European prints as were of course, many other Mughal painters of the time.

Abu’l Hasan’s first major work found in the British museum Anwar-i-

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2. Roe, pp 189, 190, 199 - 200.
Suhailli manuscript. The copy of Durer's St. John painted in 1599-1600 is claimed to have been painted by him when he was only thirteen. His early acquaintance with European materials certainly helped him to develop his individual style. His portrait studies are accurate and lively that can be seen in a number of copies prepared from European engravings which are associated with Abu'1 Hasan. Of these the fully coloured miniature of the youthful christ underneath the portrait of Jahangir in the Chester Beatty collection deserves special attention.\footnote{1} Another fine copy of Holy Family with St. John signed by Abu'1 Hasan can be seen in the Berlin Album.\footnote{2} Abu'1 Hasan's name, but this should not prevent us from attributing many of the European details painted on the hashiyas to Abu'1 Hasan as most of the hashiyas details are unsigned. The hashiya showing some figure of St. John, though drawn in reverse may have been decorated by him.

Abu'1 Hasan's familiarity with Christian pictures since his childhood provided him with and wide use of iconographic symbols prevalent in European religious art, such as the halo, cherubs, cupid, angels, globe, orb, the gestures of the hands, the animals, the sun and the moon and so on. The most remarkable picture in the iconographic series is found in the Chester Beatty Library attributed to Abu'1 Hasan in which symbolic elements are combined with many new one's. In an early example of symbolic pictures exalting the kingship of Jahangir, Abu'1 Hasan's miniature showing Jahangir setting out for hunting shows an interesting feature, a winged angel modelled as a European original kissing an interrupt of the emperor. In another picture, Jahangir shooting the arrow on the head of a dark complexioned man and he balances his feet on the back of a lion sitting with a goat in a globe and the globe is resting on an enormous fish. The western inspired cupid is supplying arrows and another hanging golden bells from

\footnote{1}{Cat. CB, I, 30 No.12 unpublished}
\footnote{2}{I.B.P. Pt. 41.}
above and the two cupids are also bringing a crown of gold from above too. In an attempt to portrait and imagining meeting of the emperor visualized in a dream. Abu'l Hasan depicts the scenes set against an immense halo composed of the resplendent sun and a fantastic crescent moon in the blue sky. Jahangir profoundly stands on a huge globe and embraces the bending figure of the dark complexioned Shah. The figure of Jhangir is bigger in size than the Shah is made to stand on a meek lamb. A pair of winged cherubs. In the same way Abu'l Hasan painted many protraits of Mughal emperor Jahangir, used christian symbols according to the situation and the setting to exalt the dignity of the emperors and he also continued this practice of iconographical symbols to paint for a good many years during Shahjahan's reign and later on, this practice was used abundantly by the painters, taken from European religious painting complete the compositon. The Freer Gallery of Art has another miniature of interesting iconographic content, painted by Abu'l Hasan. One of the numerous assembly scenes with Jahangir as the presiding figure. Jahangir is shown seated on a throne under a red canopy and he rests his feet on a globe placed on a golden stand. The globe has a key hole. On the red canopy are painted a pair of winged cherubs in gold who hold an arabesque in their hands on which the name of the emperor is written. Above it is another canopy painted in green, violet and purple where a western type crown is held by a golden winged cherub indicating divine authority of Jahangir's sovereignty. Emperor Jahangir conferred the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman on Abu'l Hasan but Jahangir did not mention anywhere in Tuzuk the date and the occasion of it, as many as fine versions of picture.

**BICHITRE**

Another leading painter of Jahangir's court studios who further developed the iconographical drawing. We are not aware of his earlier
activities. His few works were associated with Jahangir. Although his main works were drawn in Shahjahan’s time, Bichitre in modelling through the use of shadow and inconoraphical symbols derives from his interest in European prints and paintings for he is known to have copied motifs from Durer. There is a remarkable picture by Bichitre portraying a conversation between Shahjahan and an old courtier. In this picture there are two angels, representing christian symbolic art. In the clouds, one of whom plays a musical instrument and the other pours rose leaves on the head of the emperor. The Holy Dove and the Padre Eterno with both hands raised in benediction are shown. In another painting Shah Shuja enthroned with Maharaja Gaj Singh who ruled Mewar (Nasli and Alice Heeramanecck Collection L, 69. 24. 246)¹, representing an event of 1638. The painting seems to be a commemoration of Raja’s association with the Mughal prince who was his cousin. In this painting two European (Christian) type of Cherubs shown holding a canopy over the emperor and the Maharaja Gaj Singh. A further symbolic drawing of Bichitre is in the Chester Beatty Library, shows Jahangir is standing holding an orb in his right hand. As Arnold and Wilkinson point out this the right part of a double page composition, the other part showing an old darvesh clad in pure white.² The Sheikh is shown as symbolically presenting the emperor a globe on which is written, "The same world occur on the picture of the emperor". In these pictures the iconographical symbolism is restricted to the globe and the orb, which are adopted from christian engravings. Bichitre continued painting into the 1640s.

KESHOE DAS

The painter whose name is closely associated with coloured copies of

¹. S.C.Welch, AMI, no. 44 (colour); Beach Heeramanneck no. 216.
². Cat. CB, 30-I; 1, frontispiece (colour).
European (religious) works is Keshoe Das. There are no definite means to
connect him with the Salim studio, though a number of his works occur in
Jahangir’s Murqaqas. When Jesuit priests brought religious pictures and
the illustrated books with christian pictures of the court of Akbar as gifts,
Keshoe Das, the court artist of emperor Akbar, prepared a series of
miniature copied from European original of these christian pictures he had
bounded up in a Murqaq (Album) and presented to the emperor Akbar in
1588. There are two versions of Joseph telling his dream to his father by
Keshoe Das with little variation in presentation. A picture of Virgin Mary,
almost European in its composition which is stated to be the work of the
painter Keshoe Das and it is an interesting study of an Indian painter who is
occupying in drawing a picture of Madonna.\textsuperscript{1} Another picture which is also
a copy of St. Matthews and an Angel with its much European in contents can
be seen at the Boldeian Library at Oxford. It has a sign date of the artist
Keshoe Das. He was famous for copying christian picture from the
European engravings among the court artists of Akbar.

\textbf{BASAWAN}

Our knowledge of Basawan’s life is also helessly limited. W. Slaude
and S. C. Welch devoted considerable attention to the study of this great
Mughal master and the style of his painting put no definite information of his
life or ancestry could be supplied by them. From a signed folio of the
Cleveland Tutinama, it is apparent that Baswan worked in the Akbar studio
from the early days. He achieved considerable fame as he probably took
charge of the atelier after Daswant’s death in 1585. The list of his qualities
as a painter as given by Abu’l Faz’l is formidable. A supremely elegant

\textsuperscript{1} Maclagan, op. Cit., Page.no. 226
miniature showing the Madonna and Child placed within a wholly Mughal setting has been attributed to Basawan by S. C. Welch (a flower from Every Meadow, p.99) who also noted that its borders are identical with those of the Berlin Jahangir album. The unidentified couplet set into gold floral arabesques at the top and bottom of the page.

**MANOHAR**

Many of the Jahangirnama's illustrations, portrait studies of the emperor and his leading courtiers and picture of royal assemblies are painted by him. But Manohar is not mentioned in Abu'l Fazl's admittedly shortlist of the principal Akbari painters presumably he was then only a rising young artist. He was the son of an Akbari painter Baswan. Manohar must have been sufficiently at home with the European engravings. He studied them and carefully copied them as exercise in modelling and perspective.¹ European elements can be noticed in two Jahangirnama miniature, a state procession and Jahangir's visit to Akbar's Tomb. The European (Christian) elements are prominently developed in his painting of Solomon holds court² seated in a domed octagonal throne near chinar tree. Two christian type angels are presenting him vessels of gold. Other figures and the angels surrounded the throne. In the foreground are various animals paying homage and the birds perch on the canopy of the throne.

It seems that he might have stopped working in the last year of Jahangir's reign or at the begining of Shahjahan's reign, soon after the fine study of Dara Shikoh's wife horse called Dil Pasand was painted.³

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¹ S.C.Welch, attributes as tinted drawing showing a presentation scene, copied one or more European engravings to Manohar; AO 111, 226, fig. 11.
² B.W.Robinson (ed) Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book, pl. 120.
³ India Office Library, Johnson, 111 f, I: HFA, 1911 ed., Pl. CXXV.
MUSKIN AND OTHER COURT PAINTERS

There is a beautiful coloured painting of Noah's Ark which is considered one of the best collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi. Probably this painting from Diwan of Hafiz must have been attributed to Muskin. In the Johnson collection, India Office Library, there is a painting of a good shepherd. Muskin is clearly written on it. There were also many artists who contributed paintings christian themes, but these painters did a very little work in the field. Nini a court artists of the reign of Jahangir evidently copied the martyrdom of St. Cielia from an Italian print by Jerome Wierix, Madonna and Child fig. 372, BM No.88 painted by slave of Shah Salim named Gulam Mirza. Unsigned picture of Christ, the virgin Mary and St. Anns a fully coloured copy of Tobias and a coloured version of a Europian picture showing a visit painted by Sanwala, a court painter. One of the Painters of Mohammad Shah painted Solomon and queen of Shieba. Under his patronage a coloured copy of the virgin Mary, Child and Angel, signed by an unknown painter named Mohabat Khan. Many other painters of the court of Mughal emperor's paintings using Christian symbols to an end of the later Mughal period.

Akbar and Jahangir used European paintings either in original or as copies for the adornment of their palaces and other buildings, some time as frescos or framed as hangings or wall paintings. We have a record telling of the existence of this class of pictures at Fatehpur Sikri, at Sikandra, at Agra, at Lahore and at Delhi.

It is said that before the arrival of the first Jesuit Mission, Akbar had christian paintings in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri. The fathers when they arrived, were told that he had in his dinning room pictures hung up (Imagines Suspensus) of Christ, Mary, Moses and Mohammed and he treated that of Mohammed with less respect than the rest. Traces of Christian themes
in the paintings can be seen at Maryams House (Maryam Ki Kothi), Fatehpur Sikri in the remains of a Hall said to have been the offertyory of the Jesuit Chapel in the palace complex. These frescos of the Akbar period are said to represent the "Annunciation" and the Fall rendered in Mughal style.

When Francis Sebastian was at Agra in 1641, the interior of the portico of the Akbar's tomb at Sikandra was, he states, covered from the summit of the dome to the base with "cunning paintings", the most remarkable being one of the virgins. Father Batelho who was at Agra between 1648 and 1654 writes about figures painted by skillful hands. Tavernier who saw the tomb in 1665 speaks that there was at the gate of the garden, a painting representing the tomb covered by a black pall with many torches of wax and two Jesuit fathers at the ends and Manucci writing later states that the figures on the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix the virgin Mary and St. Ignatius Loyols. According to Catrou, the crucifixion was by Aurangzeb's orders covered over with a hanging of gold brocade which Manucci had to lift in order to see the forbidden art below.

But in Cartous story the representation of the virgin Mary and St. Ignatius were status so it is all confusing and ambiguous but it is definite that there were some sacred figures on the tomb and the principal gateway of the garden but, somehow, all these figures were entirely destroyed for there are now no trace of them left.

During Akbar's life time we have no record of European wall paintings at the palace at Agra, but his successors, Jahangir ordered to adorn the various portions of the palace with the pictures, representing christian or European subjects. Father Xavier gives and interesting account of these in

3. Tavernier (Crooke), 1925, 1, Page no. 91
a letter of September 24, 1608.\(^1\) In Agra, on the wall of one of his halls he had lifesize picture painted of the Pope, the Emperor, the King Philip and the Duke of Savoy, all on their knees adoring the Holy Cross which was in their midst. A copy of a print which he had of this subject\(^2\) but even the traces of these paintings are also not available.

Finch, an English traveller, who was at Lahore in 1611 gives a minute account of a picture to be seen on the walls of the Dewan-i-Khas, known as Bari Khwabgah. In this painting there is a scene of the Darbar of Jahangir with portrait of many of his nobles, but there was also in the same room a picture of our saviour over the door on the right of the king's picture as you entered, and a picture of the virgin Mary opposite it on the left hand.\(^3\)

Through the writing of father Andrade in 1623, it is known that Jahangir his principal hall (Sua Sala Principal) with a copy of a picture of the virgin Mary and he also relates how Jahangir had a picture of Christ copied on the roof of Varandah in his palace at Lahore. One of the painters of Jahangir earlier was thrashed and scolded by him because he painted an owl over the head of Christ in place of a dove in a painting and he was also strictly told to paint it correctly.\(^4\) The picture of adorning the building of Lahore with christian themes was not confined to the king's palace, but similar paintings were to be seen in the mansions of the great Minister, Asaf Khan. Father Sebastian Manriques had seen the paintings of the Ark of Noah and the life of John, the Baptist on the walls of a building in a garden of the minister Asaf Khan when he visited him in 1641.\(^5\)

When Delhi was inaugurated as the Capital in 1648, the practice of

\(^1\) Substance of this reproduced by the Chronicler Guerreiro in the last volume of his Ralacam which is translated in C.H.Paynes, op. cit., 1930, Page no. 63-65.
\(^2\) Wessel, Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, Page no. 289
\(^3\) Finch in Foster's Early Travels in India, 1921, Page no. 153
\(^4\) Andrade's letter of August 14th, 1623; Maclagan op. cit., Page no. 240
\(^5\) J.P.H.S., 1911, 1. Page no. 99
painting Christian themes was not discontinued. Under the rule of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, most of the wall paintings on subjects seems to have gradually died out in all the Mughal palaces and buildings but their existence in some instances can be confirmed by their representation in portfolio pictures which reproduced the architectural features of the Mughal palaces. In a copy of Nizam's Khamsa prepared for Akbar in 1593, painted by muslim depicts an incident on the walls of which there are three paintings of European type, one of them a man (probably St. Matthew) written under the supervision of an angel. Another painting, represents the Empress Noorjahan entering Jahangir and one of the princes in the year 1617, and in its background on the two panels of which are shown Madonna and an Ecce Homo.

In a further picture in the Badleian Library, Oxford, painted in C. 1628, Ouseley Add.173, No.13, in which Emperor Shahjahan receiving a Persian ambassador in Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Public Audiences and behind the emperor's throne has a frieze of Europeanised Cherubs.

The recent discovery of the remnants of Christian paintings in Akbar-ki-Sarai in South Delhi, adjacent to the royal tomb of Hamanyun, is considered by experts to "represent" the themes of the Holy Family and the Annunciation.

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2. Stanley Clarkes, Mughal Painting, the period of the Emperor Jahangir and Shahjahan 1922, Pl. 9.
3. Reproduced in Binyon and Arnold's court, Painter's of the Grand Mughals, 1921, Pl. XXXVI.
4. German News (Magazine), March 30th,1978, Article on Christian Themes in Mughal Art by A.K.Thomas, Page no. 8-9