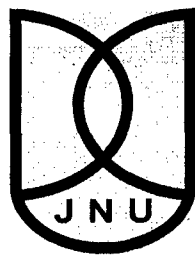


**JESUIT PERCEPTION OF THE MUGHALS
(1580-1759)**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ONENKALA



**Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
New Delhi 110067
2011**



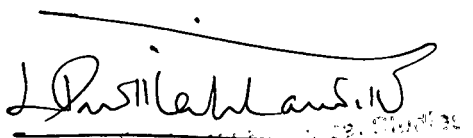
25th July, 2011

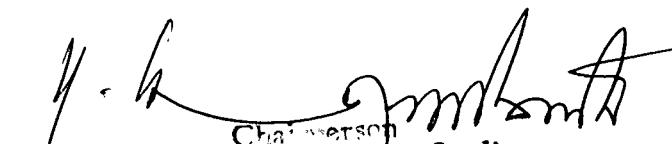
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, 'JESUIT PERCEPTION OF THE MUGHALS (1580-1759)', submitted by ONENKALA in partial fulfillment of requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, is my original work and has not been previously submitted, in part or full, for the award of any other degree of this or of any other university.

ONENKALA

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


Prof. Pius Malekandathil
Supervisor


Chairperson
Prof. Kunal Chakravarty
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
Chairperson

Acknowledgment

I content myself by mentioning certain selected names for the especially valuable help I received from them. It is impossible to acknowledge all the kindness and help I have received while writing this work.

Firstly, it is my pleasant duty to express my sincere and deep sense of gratitude to my Professor Pius Malekandathil for his constant help, academic and constructive criticism, encouragement as well as suggestions and corrections from my research. Dear Sir, I will always be indebted to you for your patience and endurance. I owe a debt of gratitude to you for your continuous support. I am happy to have worked with you and will look forward for your further guidance.

My grateful thanks are due also to Dr. Arvind Sinha and Dr. Yogesh Sharma, they have guided me well throughout my M.A days, making me familiar with medieval European History, particularly Portuguese contacts with India, and they continue to be an inspiration for me.

Under the aegis of the University, Centre for Historical studies, Faculty and staffs members, I have come this far, without whom this work would have been a distant reality.

I owe my sincere thanks to the Librarians and staffs of CHS library and Central library, J.N.U, Vidyajyoti, New Delhi, ICHR and Nehru Memorial Library and Museum who have been a great help for my present work.

The *Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India (Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship)* financially helped me in the course of my research. Though they do not expect an expression of gratitude from me, nevertheless it needs to be stated that, I could not have achieved my goal without this support.

I have hardly any words to express my sense of gratitude to my Father, Mr. I Mangko Jamir and my Mother, Mrs. Tiasola for their utmost affection and care who helped me in every possible way to pursue my studies and complete my present work.

I content myself by mentioning certain selected names for the especially valuable help I received from them. I thank Andreas Kuechle, for his unflinching support and encouragement, for the suggestions and the willingness to help me all throughout my work. I will forever be grateful to you, *Andreas, Vielen Dank fuer alles.*

I am greatly indebted to my friends, Atu Ozukum, Urvashi, Amit Ravi, Theri, Moa, Toshi, Opang, Onen Kichu, Khusboo, the rest of 'was' family for standing by me and giving me their love and support. Thank you all for your encouragements, for standing by me through every oddity. I owe you all my lifetime of Friendship. Above all, I thank God for his blessings and being there for me, in every step of my life.

Onenkala.

Contents

Acknowledgment	1
Contents	3
List of Illustrations	5
List of Maps	6
Introduction.....	7
Chapter-I: From Coast to Mainland - The Nature of Portuguese Expansion in India	20
1. From Trade to Territorial Occupation.....	22
2. Early phase of Collaboration with the Muslim Rulers.....	26
a. Portuguese and Bijapur	27
b. Luso-Golconda Relations	32
3. The Evolving Economic and Political Scenario	33
Chapter-II: The Beginning of Jesuit Mission and their Perceptions of Early Mughals.....	38
1. The Nature of Mughal-Portuguese Relations prior to the Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court.....	39
2. The Arrival of the Jesuits in Mughal Court and the Imaging of the "Other"	43
3. Changing Meaning of the Jesuit Missions.....	55

Chapter-III: Jesuit Images of Conservative Mughals	66
1. Shah Jahan and the Changing Luso-Mughal Relations	66
2. Image of Aurangzeb in Jesuit Letters	76
Chapter IV: Formats of Cultural Expression and Artistic Symbols of Dialogue	80
1. Influence of Christian images on the Mughal Paintings and Architecture	81
2. Creation of Christian Literature	97
Conclusion	101
Illustrations	106
Bibliography	120
1. Primary Sources	120
2. Secondary Sources	122
Appendix	128
Appendix II	129
Glossary	131
Maps	133

List of Illustrations

Picture 1: 'The Virgin Mary'	106
Picture 2: 'A Jesuit Priest early 17th century'	107
Picture 3: 'Jahangir preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings'	108
Picture 4: 'Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas'	109
Picture 5: 'The Emperor Jahangir standing on a globe shooting poverty'	110
Picture 6: 'Portrait of Asaf Khan'	111
Picture 7: 'A Portuguese Gentleman'	112
Picture 8: 'Christ crowned with thorns'	113
Picture 9: 'The Virgin and the Child'	114
Picture 10: 'The Madonna and the Child'	115
Picture 11: 'The Emperor Shah Jahan standing on a globe'	116
Picture 12: 'The Crucifixion'	117
Picture 13: 'Mughal assault on the Portuguese settlement at Hugli'	118
Picture 14: 'Ladies Bathing'	119

List of Maps

Map 1: Portugal.....	133
Map 2: India.....	134
Map 3: India during Mughal Rule	135
Map 4: Goa	136
Map 5: Agra.....	137

Introduction

The Portuguese, who came initially to India for maximizing trade profit by buying commodities at the source and selling them in Europe at higher price, established hegemony over maritime trade and navigation in the Indian Ocean for about one and a half centuries, besides exercising a great amount of power and authority over its coastal terrains. The success of Portuguese enterprise in India depended on their ability in incorporating indigenous assistance and in fragmenting the politically weaker and smaller entities as well as in negotiating with the major political challengers through appeasing mechanisms and devices. They created divisions in the ruling family of Calicut and Cochin to get supporters for themselves, co-operated with the rulers of Cannanore and Vijayanagara for ensuring regular supply of cargo for Lisbon bound vessels, and wanted to be eagerly in contact with the Mughals who had emerged by 1570s as the most important power house in terrestrial India. The Mughals also needed the support of the Portuguese for obtaining bullions for the purpose of activating their economy and for facilitating the travel of Haj pilgrims of Mughal India to Mecca. By the second half of the sixteenth century the Mughals and the Portuguese found to their surprise that the political and economic processes of India had moved to such a direction that the latter could not go ahead without the support and assistance of the former or vice versa and that the balance of power in the region could be well maintained only by a peaceful mechanism of dialogue and negotiations.

Akbar initiated the process of dialogue through the platform of religious discourses, for which he invited the Jesuits from Goa to participate. Though the religious dialogues with the Jesuits and the Mughals started in 1580s against the background of multicultural and pluralistic perceptions of Akbar, it continued up to 1759 and was operational even during the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, when orthodoxy, conservatism and monocultural perceptions got upper hand. During this long span of time the very nature, content and purpose of the dialogue underwent radical changes,

causing different ripples to take origin in realms of art, architecture and cultural life. The nature of religious dialogue attached to the Jesuit missions in course of time began to fade away and the Jesuits later operated and functioned for all practical purposes as ambassadors and negotiators bridging the gulf between the two power centres, without totally erasing the religious frames of the mechanism.

Aims and Objectives

The central purpose of this study is to look into the different meanings of Luso-Mughal dialogues carried out through the agency of Jesuits from 1580 till 1759 and to analyse their changing perceptions of the Mughals. Were the intentions of the Luso-Mughal interactions purely religious and spiritual or were they actually power dialogues between the two, using the frames of religious discourse and interactions? The study therefore tries to investigate into the nuanced relations between the Jesuits and the Mughals at the Mughal court at different time points, highlighting the changing meanings of interactions from the time of Akbar to mid eighteenth century, when Mughal power was getting increasingly eroded. An attempt is also made in the study to find out the exigencies of such a long span of interaction that extended up to about 180 years, and to analyse the traces this interactions left in the larger field of cultural expressions. Before introducing the internal structure of this work, it needs to be situated in the broader historical context, which shall be briefly outlined.

The Portuguese who established a global sea-borne empire comprising sizable areas in Asia, Africa and Brazil in South America, were the earliest among the Europeans to interact with the imperial Mughals of India. However till the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese did not pay much attention to the Mughals and their political processes in North India. The major concerns of the Portuguese officials till then were expansion along the commercially and strategically important locations on the west coast of India. Nor were the Mughals initially considered economically and

politically important by the mercantile group of the Portuguese, despite their expansion along the commercial centres of maritime India. The attention of the Lusitanians got extended from the coastal fringes of India and political boundaries of Deccan to the vast inland power-space of the Mughals only with Akbar's conquest of Surat in 1572. This ushered in a phase of intense civilizational contacts between the two powers of early modern world, the Portuguese and the Mughals, defining and redefining the meanings of socio-economic and political processes of India.

The Portuguese perception of Muslim traders and Muslim rulers was not monolithic: it had different strands, layers and dimensions. The Portuguese on reaching India found that the European crusading approach to the Muslims would not work in the Indian Ocean, where the major bulk of trade was in the hands of this community. Hence they adopted a multifaceted approach, in which the most vulnerable segments of Muslim merchants involved in low-profile peddling trade and coastal commerce like the Marakkars and the Mappillas were incorporated as their economic collaborators to procure cargo, while the big merchants like the al-Karimis linked with Mamluk Egypt, who were responsible for the sustenance of Red Sea – Venice trade, were selectively attacked.¹ These mercantile groups were differently treated by the Portuguese in the succeeding decades depending upon the economic and political utility they had at different time points.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese realized that their commercial and political agenda in the Indian Ocean can be better realized only with the help of emerging powerful Muslim rulers. The increasing threats from the Ottomans along coastal western India and the Persian Gulf by 1550s made the Portuguese establish politico-economic rapport with the sheikhs of Oman and the Safavid ruler of

¹ Pius Malekandathil, 'Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar', in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.) *Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S.Mathew*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 243-4.

Persia.² In India the defeat of their politico-economic collaborator, the Vijayanagara ruler in the battle of Talikota in 1565 made the Portuguese look for another supportive power house that would fill in the economic vacuum created by this development. This they found in the Mughals and the conquest of coastal Gujarat by Akbar in 1572 manifested to the Portuguese the larger potentials of the Mughal political house.³ The new thinking that was made to evolve around religion and the amount of rationalization happening in the court of Akbar were read by the missionaries as favourable atmosphere for their project of Christianization over there. The Portuguese authorities encouraged this with all possible support systems with the assumption that by getting the powerful Indian rulers converted to Christian faith their political hold could be augmented and their European commerce could be better conducted.

Though there were different religious Orders working in India at that point of time, only the Jesuits were involved in the project of religious dialogue with the Mughals. Started as an agent of counter- Reformation in Europe, the Jesuits were specially trained to negotiate with the power groups and elites of the society to forcefully convey the dogmas and values of Catholicism in Protestant Europe. This expertise they transferred to India, particularly to the process of dialogues with the Mughal rulers. It is this period of Jesuit activities at the Mughal court which is of central interest for this study. It commences with 1580, when the Jesuits first entered the court of Akbar and the terminal point of the study is 1759, when the Jesuit Order was suppressed in Portugal by Marques Pombal and all the Jesuits were made to quit India. The central question on the different meanings and the changes in the Jesuit's perception of the Mughals will be

² Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 112-8.

³ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra" presented in the International Association of Asian Historians of Asia, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, p. 4.

approached in its different facets in the subsequent chapters, before arriving at a final conclusion.

In the following historiography chapter, focus is to engage with the available body of work on this topic and point towards the new findings to be expected from this study and approach.

Situating the Historiography

The present research on “Imaging the other: Jesuit Perception of the Mughals (1580-1759)” obviously necessitates its location within the larger historiographical traditions. The historical literature on Indo-Portuguese history and Portuguese perceptions about Indian realities and political houses has been multi-layered carrying different ideological bents. The narratives of Portuguese historians like Antonio Silva Rego⁴ and Antonio Baião⁵ etc., marked a continuum with the Imperialist and positivist historical reconstructions of the heroic achievements of the Portuguese Empire in India and the cultural and technological superiority of the Occident in relation to the decadent Orient. However, much of the traditionalist works such as *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente* and *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*⁶ by Antonio Silva Rego act as a rich reservoir for original documentation illustrating the complex activities of the Portuguese with the Indian Ocean world in general and India in particular.

In sharp contrast to these orientalist perceptions, the Indian nationalist school of the 1960’s and 70’s examined the historical trends marking the Portuguese engagements in

⁴ Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 vols., Lisboa, 1948-55.

⁵ Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa vol.I:Tentativade Historia de sua Origem , estabelecimento, Evoluçãoa e Extinção*, Lisboa, 1945.

⁶ Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.) *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol.I-III,Lisboa,1963.

India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as triggered by the “militant zeal of Catholicism” and reflective of the conflicts and tensions that stemmed from the power assertions of the early colonial Portuguese over local politico-economic and social structures. Thus historians such as K.M. Panikar,⁷ Priolkar⁸ etc., predominantly highlighted the history of resistance by the indigenous communities to the Imperialist Portuguese power. Priolkar in his book, *Goan Inquisition* looks at the Portuguese interface as a Christian conspiracy to colonize India using the tool of religion and religious institutions. Nevertheless, much like the Portuguese Imperialist history, the nationalist historians too relied on the simplistic reading of the Portuguese sources to give a uni-dimensional understanding of the 16th and 17th centuries where an active agent “the Portuguese Empire” was shown as getting engaged with the passive “local societies”.

By the mid and late 1970's the new historiographical reconstructions in Portugal and India brought in shifts from the pre-existing ideological and narrative trends. Scholars such as C.R. Boxer⁹ and M.N. Pearson¹⁰ emphasized upon the need to evoke a new methodology embarking an intrinsic and extrinsic critique of European sources to unveil complex historical processes as a product of the influences exerted by the Portuguese on the Asian life on the one hand and of the Asian people and societies upon the Portuguese on the other hand. Similarly, the studies of Portuguese historians such as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho,¹¹ Luis Felipe Thomaz¹² and Artur Teodor de Matos¹³

⁷ K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese, 1500-1663*, Bombay, 1929 .

⁸ A.K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, Bombay, 1961.

⁹ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese in India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1980; Idem, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, London, 1969.

¹⁰ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1976; Idem, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981.

¹¹ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1981-4.

¹² Luis Felipe Thomaz, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa/London, 1991.

critically examined a variety of Portuguese source materials from the 16th and 17th centuries to deconstruct the traditionalist myth of the Golden age. Intrinsic to such re-readings was the breakdown of the pre-existent notion of the monolithic character of the *Estado da India* and the Portuguese engagements in the Indian Ocean world being limited to “heroic conquests and subjugation” of the Asian societies by the official empire. Alternatively, the new historical reconstructions emphasized upon the need to re-analyze the nature of the Portuguese sea-borne empire in terms of the complexities stemming from the diverse (and often conflicting) interests and objectives of the various social groups constituting the Portuguese community in Asia such as the *fidalgos*, the *soldados*, the *casados*, clergy, mariners, missionaries, private Portuguese traders etc. This involved a deconstruction of the source materials as much of the Portuguese records was written by the elite and for the elite. Thus the new historiographical trends engaged with the reconstruction of the activities of the Portuguese *casados* and *soldados* within Asia which was often marginalized or recorded indirectly in the official sources relative to the *fidalgos*, the State officials and the clergy. Concurrently, the shifting nature of the Portuguese political and commercial engagements within the Indian Ocean world was also highlighted. This prompted the investigation of new angles in Indo-Portuguese history wherein the complex historical processes of the 16th and 17th centuries were linked to the constant adjustments and re-adjustments of the *Estado* and the private Portuguese enterprise in India partly owing to the politico-economic climate of Portugal and partly as a product of larger Asian realities.

C.R Boxer in his seminal work *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825* and through a series of publications has studied in detail the structure and functioning of the maritime mercantile enterprise and overseas empire of the Lusitanians. His studies reveal the complexities emerging from the happy mixing of sword and cross in the imperial projects of the Portuguese. Another angle in understanding the nature of the

¹³ Artur Teodor de Matos, “The Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine Period” in Teotonio R.de Souza(ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985.

Portuguese enterprise in India and Asia was provided by Luis Filipe Thomaz' study on the history of mentalities and the ideological and commercial intervention of the private Portuguese merchants, religious orders and trading officials and soldiers in both the Portuguese spheres of influence and "frontier" zones such as China, Japan, Coromandel and Bengal which lay outside the official control. This exposed how many areas where the Portuguese traded and interacted were not acquired on the basis of the *Estado's* sea-power and hence were not ruled by the *Estado*. Rather some of the pockets of Portuguese settlements scattered across the globe were a product of alternate channels such as extension of the mercantile activities of the private Portuguese traders such as the *casados*, *soldados*, Portuguese New Christians, the clergy, religious orders etc., within the inland and maritime regional trading networks; and, the ideological inroads of Christianity through the trading and proselytizing missionaries.

In this context M.N.Pearson's investigations into coastal western India—traditionally considered as the stronghold of the *Estado da India*—exploded the myth of the 16th and 17th century as periods of politico-economic prosperity of the empire based on its naval supremacy of the seas and military might of the Imperial Portuguese power. Pearson's study of the *Estado's* possessions in Goa and Gujarat traces the cracks within the *Estado* owing to the power contestations between the Portuguese communities (the stratified class and status groups of *fidalgos*, *casados*, *mestiços*, *castiços*, Jewish converts, renegades, exiles, religious etc.) inhabiting such areas; and, the *Estado's* power assertions over these Portuguese socio-economic groups. More importantly he analyzed the fluid control of the official empire (lacking sufficient manpower and resources) over the significant native socio-economic communities of the coastal economic units as early as the mid 16th century necessitating co-operation and collaborations between the Lusitanian colonialists and the indigenous groups.

From mid 1970s one could see a definite and clear shift in the historiographical tradition in India, which was represented mostly in the works of P.S.S Pissurlencar,¹⁴ P.P Shirodkar,¹⁵ K.S.Mathew¹⁶ and Teotonio R.de Souza¹⁷. Their works indicated a shift from the conventional practice of studying the impact of the Portuguese activities in India. Their focus was placed on the critical analysis of Portuguese source materials for the purpose of understanding Indian historical processes on the one hand; and, investigates the influence of the Asian socio-economic and political conditions on the working of the *Estado da India* and the Portuguese people on the other hand. While Pissurlencar elaborated on the history of Marathas and the aspects of indigenous co-operation of the Hindus, Teotonio R. de Souza showed how the happy mixing of religious and political intentions through the instrumentality of *Padroado Real* facilitated the Portuguese to expand in the East. K.S.Mathew sees behind the Portuguese religious interactions some sort of an attitude of a 'superior culture confronting an inferior one', which prevailed althroughout sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The works of Jeyaseela Stephen looks into the nature of trading activities along Coromandel Coast vis a vis the politico-economic processes in the hinterland.¹⁸

The historical literature on the multiple facets of Mughal-Portuguese relationship is relatively meager. Much of what was explored stemmed around the analysis of the religious and cultural effects of the Jesuit missions to the Mughal court by pioneering

¹⁴ P.S.S Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, Bastora, 1952; Idem, *Os Portugueses a as Maratas*, Bastora, 1964.

¹⁵ P.P.Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, 2 vols., Panjim, 1978.

¹⁶ K.S.Mathew, "Provincial Councils of Goa and the cultural Chnages in India during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in K.S.Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultutural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Lisbon/Tellicherry, pp. 555-569.

¹⁷ Teotonio R.de Souza, "The Religious Policy of the Portuguese in Goa, 1510-1800", in K.S.mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultutural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Lisbon/Tellicherry, pp. 437-449.

¹⁸ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Pondicherry, 1998; S.Jeyaseels Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, New Delhi, 1997.

scholars like Edward Maclagan, Fr. Pierre du Jarric and Monserrate. But the Portuguese relationship with the Mughals was not limited to religious engagement of the Jesuits only. Recently, from the 1990's onwards scholars such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam¹⁹, M.N Pearson²⁰, Shireen Moosvi²¹ and Afzal Ahmad have dealt with themes of evolving economic and commercial contacts characterizing the Mughal-Portuguese relations from 1572 till 1663 A.D. Concurrently, both Subrahmanyam and Pearson stressed upon the politico-economic re-orientations within the *Estado* from the 1570s onwards preferring territorial acquisitions to maritime mercantile monopoly; and, their increasing reliance on customs exactions from the Portuguese controlled *alfandegas* (customs houses) from its northern provinces apart from the ports of Cochin and Goa. Pius Malekandathil²² in his article "Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue" argues that the three different phases of dialogues that Akbar had with the Jesuits turned out to be the fulcrum around which the commercial and political relations between the Portuguese and the Mughals began to take concrete shape towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth centuries.

A glimpse of the Mughal-Portuguese relations after the death of Akbar can be gained from Afzal Ahmad's voluminous thesis, 'Portuguese Diplomatic relations with the South-West States in the 17th century (1660-1663).'²³ The work illustrates the shifting trends of state formation under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb precipitating frissure in the previous diplomatic relations of the Mughals with the Portuguese. Afzal

¹⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco Da Gama*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi, 1998.

²⁰ M.N. Pearson, "The Portuguese in India and the Indian Ocean: an overview of the 16th century", in Pius Malekanthathil and T. Jamal Mohammed(ed.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof.K.S.Mathew*, Lisbon/Tellicherry, 2001.

²¹ Shireen Moosvi, *People, Tax and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008.

²² Pius Malekandathil, "Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue", in K.S.Mathew, *Akbar and His Age* (forthcoming).

²³ Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese diplomatic relations with the South-west Indianstates in the 17th century-(1660-1663)*, Ph.D.thesis submitted to King's College, London, 2005.

thus furnishes significant details on the conquering campaigns of the Mughals into the Deccani states and Bijapur (1686); forging new diplomatic alliances with the British ; and, Shah Jahan's attempts at asserting absolute suzerainty over commercially lucrative and militarily strategic port-towns such as Hugli (1632). Nevertheless, the study does not engage in a critical analysis of the effects and implications of the state formation experiments of the Mughals nor the aspects of delicate power equations between the Portuguese and the Mughals. Nor do they provide any idea about how the Portuguese perceived the Mughals at different time points in the process of their dialogues. Thus a re-reading of the sources would enable us to re-conceptualize the complexities and changing trends of the Mughal-Portuguese encounters from 1572 onwards when Akbar invaded Gujarat and came directly in contact with the Portuguese, till 1759 when the Jesuits left Mughal domain following their suppression in Portugal and India by Marquis de Pombal. Our study thus seeks to engage in a critical analysis of the Portuguese documentation on the various types of dialogues that the Portuguese and the Mughals had in domains of polity, commerce and culture to retrace the evolving nature of Mughal-Portuguese relations in a period when the relatively smaller principalities and power houses of the coastal terrains of India rallied either under the Mughals or the Portuguese in their attempts for expansion. Such an analysis thus includes an investigation of the dialogues for the balance of power between the two when the rulers of Gujarat, Bijapur and the Marathas sought the help of the Portuguese at different time periods when faced with the threats of Mughal invasion.

Design of Study

The study is divided into four chapters, besides an introduction and a conclusion. The introductory chapter posits the research problem, analyzes the historiographical trends and indicates the frame within which the study is carried out.

The first chapter synoptically looks into the changing nature of the early Portuguese expansion in different parts of India in general and the varying approaches that the Portuguese maintained with different geographies of India at different time points, depending on their resourcefulness and utility in the larger scheme of the Portuguese. It also highlights how the Portuguese shifted their focus of attention from the coastal terrain to mainland affairs of the Mughals through the bridging done by the Jesuit missionaries.

In the second chapter an attempt is made to analyze the nature of the Jesuit Mission to the court of early Mughals and the way how the Jesuits perceived the early Mughal Emperors, who were generally viewed as liberal rulers. . It attempts to find out how the Mughals, representing a different cultural world, were imaged, understood and written about by the Jesuit missionaries in the processes of religious dialogues and while legitimizing their works through the mechanism of correspondences. The Jesuit missionaries required to send periodic reports to their superiors in Goa, Lisbon and Rome, often justifying the type of activities they were involved in. Through these correspondences at times the Jesuits constructed images and perceptions about their work among the Mughals and the behaviour of the latter in the way their superiors would get satisfied about them.

The third chapter dwells upon the type of relations that the Jesuit priests had with the later Mughal rulers, principally Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, who were often viewed as conservative and orthodox rulers. Attempts are also made in this chapter to examine the way how they perceived these rulers and their world against the background of conflicts between the emerging Islamic conservatism and the earlier phase of liberalism. This chapter also looks into the multiple roles that the missionaries played, including the role played in Indo-Portuguese diplomacy, which was extremely important in maintaining and prolonging power balance in the region during the whole period between 1580 and 1759.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to trace the trails of Jesuit-Mughal dialogues in the way they exerted influence in the realms of art, architecture and literature. Many of the cultural expressions and paintings that the Mughals patronized bear witness of the cultural symbols that were frequently used as impressive devices and mechanisms for the religious dialogues and interaction between the two.

The last chapter is conclusion, where the major findings of the study are summed up.

Method and Sources of Study

The study is primarily deductive and analytical and is based on the available primary and secondary sources. The information gathered from the written sources are corroborated with the help of field study and analyzing the visual sources available both at the sites and in print-forms. The rich bulk of Mughal paintings, out of which many are available in print-forms, exhibit visually the nature of cultural life, behaviour pattern and life condition of the personalities and events analyzed in the study, which are profitably made use of for analyzing the data gathered from written sources.

The study is carried out principally with the help of Portuguese and Persian primary sources available in the form of English translations. My familiarization with Portuguese language helped me to consult some of the original Portuguese primary sources available in print form at Vidyajyoti, New Delhi. A large number of secondary sources available at the libraries of JNU, Vidyajyoti, ICHR and Teen Murti helped to make my argument absorbing the existing corpus of historical knowledge.

Chapter-I: From Coast to Mainland - The Nature of Portuguese Expansion in India

The Portuguese who came to India in 1498 had different strands of expansionist agenda, which changed from time to time on the basis of fluctuating economic and political importance of its various regions. In this process there eventually appeared a clearly discernible body of patterns and layers in their scheme of actions. When the Portuguese power was based only on some sea-going vessels equipped with European artilleries, they did not go for any territorial occupation. Their main concern then was to control the traffic in the Indian Ocean for the purpose of gaining upper hand in sea-borne trade. Possession of landed territory was then viewed as a stumbling block that hindered them carrying out their sea-borne commerce. However this policy was later abandoned and replaced by a policy of establishing factories at key strategic commercial locations like Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore. These factories were eventually fortified and these fortresses began to differentiate the Portuguese enclaves not only from the country side but also from the native cities that existed in their vicinity. The phase of acquisition of strategic commercial locations and their fortifications was followed by the phase of territorial occupations like the occupation of Goa in 1510. The possession of landed territories in convenient places was subsequently followed by the phase of commercial expansion that the Portuguese private traders and the adventurers made in the eastern space of the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile the Portuguese private traders and the adventurers also began to enter the Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda and conduct trade there, while many others used to get their trade connected with the Portuguese trade in Goa. These scattered settlements of diasporic Portuguese

adventurers and private traders were linked with the official segment of Goa through the *Padroado* missionaries and institutions.²⁴

In these multi-layered processes, the Portuguese remained to be a sea-borne power and their main focus was coastal India. However by mid sixteenth century we find the Portuguese moving more and more from coastal terrains into the interior of India. In Goa, they occupied two agrarian provinces of Bardez and Salcete in 1543, which took them a little further into the interior of Goa. The frequent commercial interaction of the Portuguese traders from Goan with the Vijayanagara kingdom made the former penetrate deeper into the markets of Deccan. Against the background of intense commercial relations with Hampi and the political support of the Vijayanagara rulers, Goa got an added substance of power. However with the defeat of the Vijayanagara ruler in the battlefield of Talikotta in 1656, the Portuguese lost a major mainland power that used to help them in conducting commerce and maintaining political equilibrium in the region. It was at this juncture that the Portuguese turned towards the emerging mainland-centered political house of the Mughals. The move towards the mainland of Mughal India was not a political venture and had no weapons of war or wheels of commerce to support the endeavour; it was intended to be a religious debate that was to happen in the Mughal court, though later it became an embassy like institution. The Jesuits who got involved in the religious discussions were few in number at every stage. However the amount of impact that the various Jesuit embassies exerted among the Mughals and the results that they brought to the Portuguese were so great that the mission of the Portuguese Jesuits in the mainland domain of the Mughals becomes an interesting facet of medieval Indian history. In fact the attention of the Lusitanians got extended from the coastal fringes of India and political boundaries of Deccan to the vast inland power-space of the Mughals with the Akbar's conquest of Surat in 1572. This ushered in a phase of intense civilizational contacts between two

²⁴ For details see Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 68-70.

TH-20676



powers of early modern world, the Portuguese and the Mughals, defining and redefining the meanings of socio-economic and political processes of India.

1. From Trade to Territorial Occupation

The anti-Muslim sentiment in Portugal resulting from centuries of Muslim domination and gold hunger combined to spur the Portuguese on a quest to seek a maritime route to the mysterious 'Indies' from North Africa to Atlantic, winning territorial empires in Brazil and West Africa, and then in 1498 finally reaching India. With the discovery of the Cape route to the fabled Indies, the Portuguese hoped to eliminate both the Muslim-dominated Middle East and the Italian and Catalan merchants of the Mediterranean from the spice trade between Europe and the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese came to India principally for trade. The discovery of sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama was followed by repeated commercial voyages being dispatched to India by the Portuguese crown. Pedro Alvares Cabral led the first group of vessels that moved to India for trade in 1500.²⁵ These early crown officials established a chain of factories along coastal Kerala for the purpose of trade. The first factory was in Cochin and later they established factories in Cannanore and Quilon. The Portuguese factor that looked after the trading activities of these factories formed important economic and political figure in factory-centered trading arrangement.²⁶ For the first time the factory

²⁵ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime trade of India, 1500-1663*, New Delhi, 2001, p.38; , Ks. Mathew , *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth century*, New Delhi, 1983, p.1-10.

²⁶ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth century*, p.10, Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, pp. 86-7.

was fortified in 1503 in Cochin to protect the Portuguese personnel, cargo and wealth.²⁷ This was followed by erection of fortifications around the factory and the Portuguese settlements that appeared along the west coast of India in places like Cannanore (1508) and Quilon (1519).²⁸ Eventually the crown wanted that a chain of fortresses should be erected near major trading centres of west coast of India so that commodity movements to Red sea and Persian Gulf could be controlled effectively.

Along with the official move to bring the major commercial centres of west coast of India under the Portuguese crown, the Portuguese private traders expanded to east coast of India in an attempt to escape from the centralized trade of the state happening along west coast of India.²⁹ The studies of Jeyaseela Stephen show how commercially oriented settlements were set up by Portuguese *casados* along the Coromandel Coast, particularly in Punnaikayal, Vedalai, Nagapattinam, Devanampattinam, Pulicat and Mylapore.³⁰ The Portuguese private traders expanded from southern Coromandel to Pegu almost encircling the Bay of Bengal.³¹ Thus when the crown was expanding along west coast of India for the purpose of his official trade, the Portuguese private traders were expanding along the east coast of India for the purpose of extending their individual commercial activities.

Through the approval of the Pope, Portuguese trade and navigation was extended to different parts and regions of India, where others were not allowed to in their trade and discovery, they tried as much to keep the other foreign communities at arm's length. The Portuguese in the process of their expansion into the Indian ocean set up different urban units, their presence was felt everywhere from Goa to Bengal, Coromandel to

²⁷ Pius Malekandathi, *Portuguese Cochin*, p.73.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.148-9.

²⁹ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, p.70.

³⁰ S.Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Pondicherry, 1998.p.90; S.Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, society and Political System, 1500-1600*, New Delhi, 1997. p. 91.

³¹ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, pp.163-178.

Japan for meeting their needs, for mobilization of resources and for the promotion of trade. For the first time in 1502, Vasco da Gama introduced a device whereby the ships plying in the Indian Ocean had to take a pass from the Portuguese authorities else they would be captured and charged. Therefore with the introduction of *Cartaz* system the Portuguese asserted their supremacy over the Indian Ocean, which of course was humiliating for the all the merchants, nobles and rulers concerned.³²

The pattern of Portuguese expansion in India had different layers and dimensions. For almost one decade after their arrival in Calicut, i.e., up to 1510, they focused only on trade by patrolling the major trade routes of western Indian Ocean giving less importance to territorial occupations. However from 1510 onwards with the conquest of Goa, the Portuguese began to move towards territorial possessions and establish their power in the major commercially and politically strategic centres of Indian Ocean, which in turn led to the establishment of a chain of Portuguese settlements along west coast of India, particularly in Cannanore, Quilon, Chaul, Bassein, Diu and Daman. The need to control the trade moving towards Red Sea and Persian Gulf made the Portuguese carry out their official expansion along the west coast of India. However the Portuguese private merchants and adventurers who wanted to promote their private initiative moved over to the east coast of India, laying foundation for a vast chain of mercantile settlements in Coromandel and Bengal. Meanwhile, the religious expansion carried out under the aegis of Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries from 1550 onwards gave a mainland-oriented dimension to the frames of Portuguese expansion.

This first phase of trade was followed by the desire of the crown to localize his power centre in a place relatively away from the frequent attacks of the Zamorin of Calicut, which finally led to the conquest of Goa in 1510.³³ Goa provided the Portuguese an

³² Luis Filipe Thomaz, “ *Precedents and parallels of the Portuguese Cartaz System* “, in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed(ed.), *Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 67-85.

³³ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p. 149.

ideal location that would help them to control the trade emanating from Kerala and Gujarat. The major conquest of a landed territory that the Portuguese initially made in Asia was Goa.³⁴ Their all other possessions of Kerala were gifts granted to them by the local rulers.

Henceforth we find the Portuguese involving increasingly in the local politics of various regions of India to gain control of commercial locations or landed territories. Using force, the Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511 with a view to getting access to the corridors of South East Asia. Similarly in 1515 Hormuz was captured to gain access to the traffic in the Persian Gulf.³⁵ After having secured these major doors of two different commercial worlds, the Portuguese started focusing on grabbing more territories and commercial pockets in India. A good many of the newly occupied places were commercial centres like Bassein (1534), Diu (1536) and Daman (1559); however a considerable chunk of agrarian land in their vicinity was also occupied during this time.³⁶ The highly activated agrarian zones of Salcete and Bardez were added to the existing island of Goa in 1543 making the extent of Goa increase more than triple in its size.³⁷

The long chain of agrarian terrain stretching from Thana to Daman, often known as the Northern Province of the Portuguese, was made to evolve as the principal cultivating space of the Portuguese during this period, as to supplement the share from rural Goa.³⁸ Along with these processes, the Portuguese were looked upon as the new masters of the coastal terrain. Initially the Estado da India was a maritime and commercial

³⁴ Pius Malekandathil, "A City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa, 1510-1700", *Studies in History*, 25, I, 2009, p. 17.

³⁵ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin*, p.149; K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century*, p. 20.

³⁶ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, pp. 69-70.

³⁷ Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor", p.21.

³⁸ Lalthanpuui Sailo, *Urbanization and Political Economy of Bassein, 1534-1739*, M.Phil Thesis submitted to the Department of History, JNU, 2009, pp. 45-58.

enterprise and the king of Portugal possessed a few fortified ports as bases for his fleet. However as the sixteenth wore on, the Portuguese came to acquire more and more territories and ruled directly the African and Asian populations numbering in millions.

2. Early phase of Collaboration with the Muslim Rulers

Though the Portuguese came to India with a crusading spirit, in course of time they had to cope with the reality that the major traders and rulers of the India Ocean regions were Muslims. They could not keep the Muslims outside their commercial agenda because of their religion. Thus in Malabar we find the Portuguese collaborating with the Marakkars and the Mappillas for conducting trade. The entire food supply of Malabar from Coromandel Coast was done by the Marakkars, while they were also the principal suppliers of spices from the hinterland to the foreign merchants stationed at the ports of Kerala.³⁹ The Portuguese crusading spirit at this point of time was turned only against the *al-karimi* merchants, who were then called the *paradesi* Muslims.⁴⁰ Against the background of increasing rapport with the Muslim traders some of the Portuguese men married Muslim ladies and widows of the deceased soldiers of the Muslim fighting force.

These developments went hand in hand with the change in the Portuguese official perception, which demanded that the Portuguese in India should join hands with the supportive Muslim rulers to avert greater enemies and threats that the Portuguese were then experiencing in the Indian Ocean. The anti-Muslim sentiment in Portugal resulting

³⁹ Pius Malekandathil, "Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar", Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed(ed.), *Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew, Tellicherry, 2001*, pp.243-4. S Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, pp. 42-62.

⁴⁰ Pius Malekandathil, " Merchants, Markets and Commodities", p.243.

from centuries of Muslim domination was temporarily kept in abeyance in India because of the exigencies of the times and common interests as well as areas of mutual collaboration were identified in the new course of development. While the increasing threat from the Ottomans made the Portuguese establish long-standing rapport with the Omanis, the fall of Vijayanagara kingdom made them look towards the Mughals as their potential emerging allies in India.

The Portuguese by this time realized that the success of their both the intra-Asian trade and the Indo-European commerce depended upon access to hinterland markets which were as controlled by strong Muslim dynasties. Even before the establishment of contacts with the Mughals, the Portuguese maintained different types of contacts with the Muslim political houses of Deccan.

a. Portuguese and Bijapur

Bijapur, which was of course contiguous to the Portuguese capital of Goa, was the major contestant for power in this region. It was from Adil Shah of Bijapur that Afonsode Albuquerque captured Goa in 1510.⁴¹ Both Yusuf Adil Shah and the Portuguese entered the political scenario of India almost at the same time, probably the gap between the two being only less than a decade. The loss of Goa made Adil Shah make repeated attacks on Goa. In 1543 the Portuguese tricked the Sultan into ceding the areas of Salcette and Bardez and caused a renewed conflict.⁴² Ibrahim Adil Shah had been deceived but he could not take any decisive action against the Portuguese as the disloyalty of his nobles and his involvement in the politics of Vijayanagara kingdom, as well as the threats from the states of Golconda, Berar and Ahmadnagar made his

⁴¹ M.A. Nayim., *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686)*. (A study in Diplomatic History). Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974. p. 214.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

position too insecure.⁴³ But not so long after these events, Adil Shah marched his forces into the disputed districts and reoccupied a considerable chunk of them. The Portuguese forces, which were then deployed in Gujarat, were brought back and made a severe attack on the Bijapuri port of Dabhol, plundering it thoroughly and then hastened towards Goa without giving them chances for intervention.⁴⁴

The agrarian districts of Salcette and Bardez were again taken by the Portuguese; Adil Shah had to confirm the Portuguese in possession of the two districts.⁴⁵ As we had seen earlier in 1534 the towns of Bassien, Chaul and Bombay were ceded to the Portuguese by Bahadur Shah, king of Gujarat and with this the size of Portuguese possessions in the konkan increased considerably. Both the kings of Gujarat and Bijapur agreed upon to provide political and military help to the Portuguese, and also agreed that all the inhabitants of these two territories would be free to trade and practice any religion.⁴⁶ However after the battle of Talikota on 2nd January 1565 Adil Shah tried to recover the lost territories and the commerce from the Portuguese, with the help of Ahmadnagar and the Zamorin of Calicut, and to expel the Portuguese from the Indian sub-continent once and for all. This led to the outbreak of a severe war in 1570-1571.⁴⁷ The year 1570 was marked by the unsuccessful siege of Goa by Ali Adil Shah, and the year 1592 by the siege of Chaul. Seeing no hope the Bijapuris had to make a mutual agreement with the Portuguese and by their contract the merchants from both sides would have freedom

⁴³ M.H.Rama Sharma, *History of Vijayanagar Empire*. Bombay, 1980. pp. 185-195.

⁴⁴ F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I, Frank Cass & co. Ltd. 1966, p. 201.

⁴⁵ R.S.Whiteaway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*. Vol. I. Westminster, 1899.p.329; Danvers, I, p. 485.

⁴⁶ Ahmad, Afzal, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-west Indian States in the 17th century-(1660-1663)*, Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, King's College, University of London, 2005. pp. 114-115.

⁴⁷ M.A Nayim,, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686)*. (A study in Diplomatic History). Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974. p. 225.

to carry on without hindrance from any parties and the ships of the Sultan was not to be molested even if they were found without a *cartaz*.⁴⁸

Relations were tensed throughout the century, while in 1570 Bijapur joined in a major attack on Portuguese areas. It must have been due to the tense relations that officially Goa did not trade very much with Bijapur. However many Portuguese renegades and adventurers living in Bijapur played vital role in supplying Bijapuri commodities in Goan port.⁴⁹ Some of the strands of Bijapuri trade used to merge into Portuguese commercial circuits at Dhabol, Bhatkal and Chaul. However, one major trade item, cotton cloths, was obtained from Gujarat in preference to Bijapur, and Goa's food came mostly from the Kanara area further south. Certainly Portuguese activities had very little influence on the progress of Bijapur. The area was conquered by the Mughals in the 1680s, but the Portuguese played no role in this.⁵⁰

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese-Bijapuri relationship took a new turn. While for the Portuguese their two rivals, the Dutch and the English were challenging their autonomy, the Bijapuris on the other hand were always living under the constant fear of the Mughal army. Keeping the Mughals away from the territories of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar was beneficial for both the Portuguese and the rulers of the two states; for the Portuguese, because the kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar stood as a barrier between them and the Mughals; for the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar because it was a question of the survival of their empires.⁵¹ The Portuguese understood that it was better for them to help these territories because with the conquest of these kingdoms by the Mughals it would worsen their situation. Therefore the Portuguese strategized to keep the Mughal Emperors, Akbar and later Jahangir, busy with their own

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.226.

⁴⁹ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, p.71.

⁵⁰ M.A Nayim., *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686)*. (A study in Diplomatic History). Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974. p. 183.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.228.

internal political troubles by maintaining spies at the court and providing support to the rebel princes and also to the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar with arms and ammunition, so that they would be able to oppose the Mughals effectively, naturally in exchange for their promises not to give any facilities to the other Europeans.⁵² But the diplomatic relations between them did not materialize as the Portuguese attacked the ships of their allies and that time the latter did not hesitate to open talks with the English and the Dutch.⁵³

The Portuguese relationship with the Bijapuris was initially shaped by hostile atmospheres, as the Portuguese captured Goa from the Adil Shahis with the help of other Deccan sultanates. While the inimical atmosphere continued between the Portuguese and the Adil Shahis, many Portuguese traders moved to Bijapur and began to engage in its trade. The bullions, silver and gold brought to Goa by the Portuguese for conducting trade in India were taken by some of these Portuguese renegades to Bijapur to conduct individual private trade there. While some of the bullion were consumed for minting coins in Bijapur, a considerable share of them were taken to Mughal terrain for meeting the demands of Mughal mints. However the private traders and the adventures conducted trade in Bijapur formed a significant layer reinforcing the trade of Goa. The renegades used to send cargoes either to Chabol or Bhatkal or sometimes to Goa where their commodities merged into streams of Portuguese trade. When the Mughals started encroaching on the southern kingdoms of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which had commercial interests on the western coast of India, these states were obliged to approach the Portuguese for help. The alliance between the Bijapuri state and Ahmadnagar was considered desirable by the Portuguese as they thought that, as long as these two were united, the Mughals would be kept at a distance from their boundaries, while by the terms of the treaty of friendship neither the Dutch nor the English would be given any shelter in their dominions, a condition that stood

⁵² Ibid., pp. 229-230.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 229.

them in good stead later in 1623 and 1638, most beneficial for all the parties.⁵⁴ The ambassadors of Bijapur instead of dealing as diplomats, they indulged in private trade between Goa and the neighboring areas without paying any costume duties since, as ambassadors, they were not liable to pay any. The illegal commercial activities went on, and in the year 1623, the sultan of Bijapur, the sultan of Ahmadnagar and the sultan of Golconda formed an alliance to expel the Dutch and the English from their territories in favour of the Portuguese.⁵⁵

The Portuguese, however, did not stop their protests against the commercial activities of the Bijapuri governors and retaliated by capturing a ship belonging to the sultan at the port of Daman and confiscating all the goods and persons travelling in it, even though the ship carried a Portuguese *cartaz*, in addition some horses were also seized at the port of Chaul.⁵⁶ Shastry argues that in fact, this was a Portuguese retaliation to the port authorities of Dabhol⁵⁷. A year before of one of their own ships was captured by the Bijapuri sultan. The Portuguese instead of reconciliation became hostile to their ally and therefore Adil shah closed all his ports to the Portuguese and offered support to the Dutch and interrupted Portugal's trade in textiles from the territory of Balaghat.⁵⁸

Mughal Emperor Akbar entered the territories of Ahmadnagar and found his way into the kingdom of Bijapur, in 1595-98.⁵⁹ After this, the Bijapuri rulers never experienced uninterrupted peace. *Pietro Della Valle* in his accounts testifies that the ruler of Bijapur makes war frequently and bravely against the great Mughal, upon whom he borders,

⁵⁴ Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-west Indian States in the 17th century- (1660-1663)*, , King's College, University of London, 2005, p. 271.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁵⁶ M.A Nayim., *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686)*. (A study in Diplomatic History). Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974, p. 230.

⁵⁷ B.S.Shastry, '*The Portuguese Commercial relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*', (edited) *Essays in Goan History by Teotonio D' Souza*, pp. 39-47.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 254; F.C.Danvers, II, p. 262.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150; Akbarnama, III, 1171.

this commenced in 1610 and lasted until 1637.⁶⁰ Eventually the relationship with the Portuguese became much more fragile and submissive than it used to be. Every time they failed to pay tributes to the Mughals, an army arrived to collect it by force and the sultans had to look for Portuguese support. But during the early decades of the seventeenth century, the dreams of these Deccan rulers were more often overshadowed by the expansion southward of the Mughal empire and in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Marathas also contributed to ruining their hopes.

b. Luso-Golconda Relations

The Portuguese maintained similar type of relationship with the markets of Qutub Shahis of Golconda. Though the Portuguese relationship with Qutub Shahis was belligerent in nature as there were more of military clashes happening between them, the economic co-operation between the two was highly prospective. The Portuguese began to bank upon the Qutub Shahis for obtaining textiles as well as precious stones including diamonds, gems, rubies etc.,⁶¹ Thus we find many Portuguese traders moving to the diamond mines of Golconda, to buy precious stones.⁶² Some of the private Portuguese traders and adventurers settled down in Golconda conducting trade in precious stones. Both in Golconda as in Bijapur these private traders married local Muslim ladies for the purpose of acceptability into their markets and social circles.⁶³ These renegades who on the one hand conducted their business with the help of their Muslim relatives also maintained commercial rapport with Portuguese trading world. This type of relationship ensured exposure for the commodities to a larger market.⁶⁴ Eventually with *Padroado* authorities, they tried to consolidate and integrate these

⁶⁰ The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India, (edited), Edward Grey, vol, I, p.150.

⁶¹ S Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, pp. 134-134.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁶³ Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations.*, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

renegades with the official Portuguese system erected churches, near the settlements. They admonished them and brought them back to Lusitanian faith. Some of these Portuguese traders were involved in textile trade in the fewer villages of Golconda, and were instrumental in collecting cotton textiles for further trade with South-East Asia.⁶⁵

During this period we find that the relatively smaller principalities and power houses of the coastal terrains of India getting rallied either under the Mughals or the Portuguese in their attempts for expansion. The rulers of Gujarat, Bijapur and the Marathas sought the help of the Portuguese against the Mughals at different time periods when faced with the threats of Mughal invasion.

3. The Evolving Economic and Political Scenario

By 1570s there was a thorough re-alignment happening in India and this was necessitated mainly by the relative erasure of the Vijayanagra kingdom from the political map of India and the consequent economic changes emanating out of it. The Mughals had an important impact on the economy of Deccan, which had so far been a separate economic zone, symbolized by its gold money as against the silver money of northern India.⁶⁶ Shireen Moosvi has yet again shown a distinctively higher rate that prevailed in the Deccan throughout the 17th century.⁶⁷ By the end of Akbar's reign there were three mints making silver rupees and eight under Shah Jahan,⁶⁸ which shows that the Deccan and Konkan ports were at that point of time important doors, through which the larger economic processes of Mughal world got dynamics. The Portuguese ports

⁶⁵ S Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast.*, p. 78.

⁶⁶ Shireen Moosvi, *People, Tax and Trade in Mughal India.* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 36.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.44.

located along the Konkan coast supplied the large bulk of silver and gold that the Mughals needed for minting and for activating their inland agrarian economy.⁶⁹

Concomitantly it should be said that the political processes of Deccan were intrinsically linked with the horses supplied to its rulers by the Portuguese. The Portuguese used to take horses regularly to Goa from Hormuz and from Goa they were taken to different principalities of Deccan to meet their war needs. The Mughals realized that any handling of the Deccan kingdoms would go futile unless and until the Portuguese, who were the principal suppliers of horses were not effectively tackled. The need for horses rose high in Deccan because of the frequent wars between Vijayanagar and Deccan sultanates.⁷⁰ Tome Pires writes that horses were brought from all the kingdoms in Arabia, from Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay, and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of Deccan and Vijayanagar but when Goa was taken from the Moors, Vijayanagar got its horses through Bhatkal.⁷¹ Very often horses were imported from Hormuz to Goa from where they were taken to Hampi, through land route.⁷² Sometimes Bhatkal and Barcelore were also used for importing horses to Vijayanagar territories. However a considerable number of private Portuguese traders used to import horses from Persian Gulf region to Chaul, Bassein from where they were taken to the markets of Bijapur and the horse trade was a lucrative trade in the 16th to 17th century.⁷³

Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his edited book, '*Sinners and Saints of Vasco da Gama*'⁷⁴ stresses the relation between the Portuguese and the Mughals. He has given three clear strands about the relation; firstly there was the strand of commercial

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷⁰ S.Jeyaseela Stephen, Portuguese in the Tamil Coast, p. 214.

⁷¹ Suma Oriental of Tome Pires. An account of the East, from the Red Sea to China. Written in Malacca and India, vol, I, p. 58.

⁷² S.Jeyaseela Stephen, Portuguese in the Tamil Coast, p. 213.

⁷³ M.A Nayim,, External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686). (A study in Diplomatic History). Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974. p. 232-33.

⁷⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco Da Gama, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, pp..

activities between the Mughals and the Portuguese. Mughals used to bank immensely upon Surat, which was supplied with silver reals and other goods, while the Portuguese received custom revenues from their ports of Diu and Daman. They also obtained Gujarati textiles for Goa, for the purpose of further export to Europe. Sanjay Subrahmayam also focuses on the Mughal motives and intentions behind the attempt to get safe conducts for the Hajj pilgrimage from Surat, and they very often merged with their desire to get bullions through the Haj channels. The Portuguese, who were the *cartaz* issuing authorities, collected revenue from it. The Mughals needed bullions mainly for minting coins and monetizing the economy of their mainland agrarian base. Though the Mughals had their own vessels and they also imported horses and goods; however most times they were sailing under the Portuguese license, which made dependence on the Portuguese inevitable. The Mughals eventually got well acquainted with sea faring activities and during Shah Jahan's time things changed considerably. He was well informed about the affairs of his ships and also received dispatches and reports from the officials on matters related to sea-trade.⁷⁵ This clearly makes a stand point that though the Mughals were not the tough competitors in the sea yet it is clear that even for them the maritime trade remained an important mechanism in their attempt to mobilize resources for their empire.

With the incorporation of the religious exercise of Haj as an important component around which the nature of the Portuguese-Mughal relationship should revolve, and with the increasing leniency being shown by Akbar, the Portuguese began to take extraordinary care of the persons travelling to Mocha for Haj pilgrimage. In the *cartaz* the details of the person traveling on pilgrimage should be explicitly made. It was also further agreed that ever year a free *cartaz* would be issued to an imperial ship leaving for Mocha from Surat according to the desire of Akbar and the ship furnished with the pass would be exempted from custom-duties on her return to the Gujarat coast which is said to have continued during the time of Jahangir and his successors, despite the great

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.

loss it caused to the revenue of the customs house and eventually on the finance of Portuguese India.⁷⁶

As we had seen earlier the Portuguese came to India as a consequence of the ongoing conflicts between the Muslim-Christian powers in Europe and to get potential allies to fight against the Muslims as well as to get spices at cheaper prices by doing away with Muslim intermediaries. However on realizing that the major traders in the Indian Ocean and the principal rulers in Indian subcontinent were Muslims at that point of time, the Portuguese developed a scheme of actions for India, in which Muslims were increasingly incorporated as collaborators. This led the Portuguese to integrate the Muslims more and more either as commercial intermediaries or as supportive political players for the purpose of safeguarding their interests. Even the private commercial ventures of the Portuguese traders also were safe guarded by licensing with the Muslim markets. They eventually also realized that the Muslim terrains offered the largest demand for the commodities brought from Europe. And the Muslim terrains happened to be the largest producer of precious stones which was famous in Europe. These historical realities made the Portuguese enter into economic collaboration with the Muslim principalities at different levels despite the outward warfare and conflicts on notices at the peripheral level.⁷⁷

Thus the scheme of actions while moving from coastal terrains to mainland space indicated the changing meanings that the Portuguese presence and activities gained in India. Unlike the other types of actions that the Portuguese carried out in other eco-spaces, the type of job that the Portuguese were asked to carry out in the Mughal courts of mainland India was principally religious and spiritual, through which domains the players of religious dialogues moved and penetrated into the realms of economy and polity. The religious group that was entrusted with the job of interacting with the

⁷⁶ Smith, V.A, Akbar the Great Mogul. 1919, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁷ As we have seen above the alliance and the tensions that was happening between the Bijapur and the Mughal Kingdom with the Portuguese.

Mughals was the Jesuits. During the sixteenth century one of the most conspicuous weapons of militant Catholicism was the newly founded Society of Jesus. In many parts of Europe, they served as diplomats, court preachers, confessors, and educators of the high and mighty.

Throughout the empires of Spain and Portugal, Jesuits energetically confronted peoples of high and low cultures in East Asia, South East Asia, South Asia, Central Africa, and the Americas and encouraged them to get converted to Catholicism and to adopt Western modes of behavior and values. Perceiving themselves as spiritual descendants of the early apostles, the Jesuits resolutely pressed their evangelical campaigns and remained remarkably optimistic about the ultimate prospects of success of their evangelical campaigns, despite many obstacles⁷⁸.

The above discussion shows synoptically the nature of Portuguese expansion in India at different time points. There were different layers and strands in this expansion process, which was carried out by different segments of people from various social cultural and economic backgrounds. The Official expansion along the west coast of India was followed by the expansion along the east coast of India by the Portuguese private traders. The third layer of expansion spearheaded by the Portuguese missionaries, however, was a highly significant one. In the process of shifting of interests of the Portuguese from the coast to the mainland the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, played a vital role. In the succeeding chapters attempts would be made to unravel the meanings of interactions that the Jesuits had in the court of the Mughals and the type of perceptions that they developed about the Mughals.

⁷⁸ Dauril Alden, *Changing Jesuit perceptions of the Brasil during the Sixteenth century*, University of Washington, year 1992, pp. 205.

Chapter-II: The Beginning of Jesuit Mission and their Perceptions of Early Mughals

The first half of the sixteenth century was hectic with several developments that had a lot of bearing upon India. On the one hand the entry of the Portuguese in India brought out a chain of developments that altered the nature of power relations in Deep South Konkan and Gujarat coasts. On the other hand the establishment of Mughal power house initiated a series of new political processes in north India. The entry of the Portuguese from the sea-side and the Mughals from the land-side gave a shattering impact on the various political houses that were then in deep slumber.⁷⁹ Meanwhile the founding of Jesuit Order in Europe by the end of 1530s and the entry of the first batch of Jesuits in India in 1542 happened as another remarkable event that made this period significant, as the Jesuits for a long period of time served as bridges between the Portuguese and the Mughals through their dialogue processes. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, particularly with Akbar's rise to power and with his rule being extended to coastal Gujarat and Bengal, the Portuguese began to feel the pressure of a larger land-locked kingdom of the Mughals. This was a time when the Mughals were emerging from their tiny possessions into larger empire through marriage relations and conquests. Many Historians maintain that Akbar did not wage a war against the Portuguese though there was more than one occasion where he wanted to attack them because of their lack of inconsistency on sea-faring. They maintain that Akbar desisted from attacking the Mughals for want of a navy. Akbar needed the support of the Portuguese for ensuring safe passage of the members of royal harem and other people to go for pilgrimage to Mecca. His concern for the pilgrims traveling to Mecca made it inevitable to have a working relationship with the Portuguese. Since Mecca pilgrimage

⁷⁹ The Portuguese by 1510-30 had almost consolidated their hegemony in western India, and Babur the first ruler of the great Mughal dynasty defeated the last Lodi ruler in 1526, making their power more pronounced during Akbar's time.

was also a channel through which Akbar used to get bullions, which the pilgrims brought as return cargo, he wanted voyages to Mecca to happen uninterruptedly. Akbar realized that the bridging between the Portuguese and the Mughals can be effectively done by inviting the Jesuits for religious dialogue.⁸⁰ The Jesuits got involved in a variety of exercises, besides religious dialogue, at times traveling with the Emperor through different parts of the Empire, often discussing religious matters with the elites and power groups of the city. In the midst of the entire processes the Jesuit missionaries were also trying to understand the Mughals, the Mughal world and their mentality and were transmitting these pieces of information to their immediate superiors in Goa, Lisbon and finally to Rome. It is through these writings that we get a detailed picture of their interaction with the Mughals and of the way how they perceived the Mughals as the “other”. This chapter proposes to look into the historical context of Jesuit mission in Mughal court and the type of images that the Jesuit missionaries derived from their dialogues with the accommodative and liberal Mughal rulers like Akbar and Jahangir.

1. The Nature of Mughal-Portuguese Relations prior to the Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court

The Mughals did not come in contact with the Portuguese much before 1570s. When Humayun tried to conquer Gujarat in mid-1530s, the Mughals felt the weight of Portuguese power for the first time. Those Portuguese soldiers and artillerists whom Bahadur Shah borrowed to ward off Mughal threat in Gujarat gave a bitter experience to Humayun. Though the number of the Portuguese soldiers then engaged in the warfare with Gujarat against the Mughals was only 50, the experience was so memorable that

⁸⁰ Pius Malekandathil, “Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue”, A Paper presented in the International Seminar on *Akbar and his Milieu*, held at Tellicherry, 8-10 February, 2007, pp. 3-9.

the Mughals never ever dared to attack the Portuguese after that.⁸¹ The Mughals came into close contacts with the Portuguese almost four decades later, when they captured coastal Gujarat and Bengal. Akbar for the first time saw sea water when the frontiers of his kingdom were extended to the maritime borders of Bengal and Gujarat, where he found that the hectic trade of these two regions was carried out by the Portuguese. In 1573, Akbar met the Portuguese Antony Cabral in Surat,⁸² which sources mention as the first acquaintance with the Portuguese. Akbar was in a serious of siege with Surat which was under the rebellious Mirzas and having got the news that the Portuguese were assisting his enemies, he made friendly overtures. Therefore Dom Antonio de Noronha, the then Viceroy of Goa dispatched an embassy under Antonio Cabral to meet the Emperor at Surat.⁸³ K.S.Mathew says that Akbar established friendly contacts with the Portuguese at Surat in this context. Akbar was so much impressed by the Portuguese that he wore the dress of Portuguese merchants at Cambay.⁸⁴ With the occupation of the main trading centres of Gujarat including Surat, Ahmadabad, Broach and Cambay, Akbar's control over the commerce of the region became complete and 50-60 Portuguese private traders from Cambay visited him for exemption from customs duty on goods imported to Cambay, which the Emperor happily conceded.⁸⁵

Almost same was the type of interaction that the Portuguese and the Mughals had in Bengal immediately after Mughal occupation. As the private traders and adventurers used to concentrate more in Bengal, Akbar wanted that two Portuguese men should visit him from Bengal. Pedro Tavares, to whom Akbar later gave a *farman* for the establishment of the Portuguese settlement of Hughli in 1580, was one among the two.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2010, p.71.

⁸² Sir Edward Maclagan 'The Jesuits and the Great Mogul. Chap. II, Vintage Books. 1990. p. 23

⁸³ Father Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*. trans, by C.H.Payne, New Delhi, 1926. p. 14.

⁸⁴ K.S.Mathew, "Akbar and Portuguese Maritime dominance", in Irfan Habib(ed.), *Akbar and His India*, New Delhi, 2005, p. 259.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 259.

⁸⁶ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*. Patna. 1979. pp. 51-2.

Akbarnama refers to this in the following words: “The tribute of Bengal consisted of choicest productions of Bengal, and of fifty four elephants. Along with these came a European, named Partab Bar (J.J.A Campos views that this must have been the same Pedro Tavares⁸⁷) , one of the chief merchants of the ports of Bengal, who was accompanied by Basurba, his wife; he was graciously received at court, and his sound sense and upright conduct won the favour and esteem of the Emperor”⁸⁸ On the request of Pedro Tavares, Akbar exempted the Portuguese traders of Bengal from paying customs duty.⁸⁹

After 1575 when Akbar built *Ibadat Khana*, he initiated religious dialogues with the learned men from Hinduism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism. For the religious dialogue on issues and themes of Christianity Akbar initially looked for a Catholic priest then working in Bengal. It was Fr. Gil Eanes Pereira, who was a priest from the diocese of Cochin and then was working among the Portuguese settlers of Satgaon that was first brought to the Mughal court for dialogue on Christian themes. At that point of time Bengal was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Cochin. Fr. Gil Eanes Pereira, in turn recommended to the Emperor the Jesuits of Goa as competent people to discuss on issues and themes related to Christianity.⁹⁰ It was against this background that Akbar sent ambassadors to Goa to get learned members from that Order for the dialogue.

The desire of the Mughals for negotiations and dialogues was necessitated by several factors. Besides the need for clearing passage to Mecca pilgrimage there was also a political exigency. By this time it is also believed that Akbar had differences with the powerful Turani nobles in Gujarat such as Shihab al-din Khan, and Qilij Khan. Sanjay Subrahmanyam says that ‘it is not inconceivable in turn that Akbar was playing a dual

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.52.

⁸⁸ H.M.Elliot John Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. VI, New Delhi, 2008, p. 59.

⁸⁹ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*. Patna, 1979. pp. 53-4.

⁹⁰ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.II, Bangalore, 1988, pp. 427-8.

game: on one hand, he wished to show to the orthodox within his court (including his aunt Gulbadan), to the Uzbeks, and even to the Ottomans, that he was firmly opposed to the Firangis, on the other he was willing to use the Portuguese against those of his nobles who were politically suspect.⁹¹ Whatever Akbar's intention was he tried best to protect his consolidated Empire and to avoid any trouble with the Portuguese that would intensely affect his family and their plans for the Haj Pilgrims to Mecca.

Akbar was in constant correspondence with the custodians of the holy place of Pilgrimage. Not only did a large number of Indian Muslim every year go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but Akbar frequently sent large amount of money to be distributed among the holy men, scholars and poor people of Mecca and Medina⁹². A constant correspondence had to be maintained between the Mughal court and the Sharif of Mecca during Akbar's reign. But all these could be done only when they get permission from the Portuguese who were ruling on the western coast which was the main exit for the *Haj* Pilgrimage and since both the powers did not want to enter into direct conflict, the only way was to negotiate.

As early as 1573 Akbar had made an agreement with the Portuguese that the latter would issue free *cartazes* (pass) to a Mughal imperial ship going for Haj pilgrimage from Surat to Mecca and it also formed one channel for the import of goods, like bullions for the minting of coins in the Mughal Empire. Wanting to have a regular movement of the Haj pilgrimage from the Surat port, and also due to the possibility of importing precious metals, Akbar started negotiating with the Portuguese. Akbar's religious tolerance and policies are often viewed as being linked to his transformation of the nobility into a composite ruling group including within its ranks a fairly large

⁹¹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Explorations in connected History: Mughal and The Franks'. Oxford University Press. 2005. p. 66.

⁹² There is a need to re-think about his concerns for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca since his attitude towards the religion becomes somehow cold later.

number of Shias and Rajputs⁹³. Father Pierre Du Jarric, writes that during Akbar's reign there were kings who were pagans and other Mahometans, and although he professed at least outwardly the Islamic faith, he placed most trust in the former than the latter⁹⁴.

2. The Arrival of the Jesuits in Mughal Court and the Imaging of the "Other"

When the *farman* of Akbar of 1578 reached Goa requesting for the missionaries from Jesuit order, the viceroy initially suspected that the invitation might be a political game played at the Portuguese against the background of intensified tension between the two. Naturally Akbar's political considerations were in the forefront of his mind. It would be useful to have at his court Portuguese who could give him information about Europe and the lands from which these potentially troublesome intruders came, and if necessary, could serve as intermediaries with their authorities on the Indian Shore.⁹⁵ When the Jesuits came to Fatephur Sikri for the first time in 1580 there were already Portuguese residents who came along with Portuguese captain Tavares. Monserrate writes in his commentary that there were Christian Europeans who were in the Mughal army in 1581 which Akbar took them to Kabul.⁹⁶ So it was nothing foreign for the people in North India especially on the precincts of Mughal cities to have Europeans who even came as merchants, lapidaries, goldsmiths, physicians etc, in the Mughal

⁹³ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Akbar's Personality Trait and World Outlook: A Critical Reappraisal' in Meena Bhargava (ed.), *Exploring Medieval India*, New Delhi, 2010. p.353.

⁹⁴ Father Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*. trans, by C.H.Payne, New Delhi, 1926, p. 15.

⁹⁵ Neiel Stephen F.B.A, *A History of Christianity in India, the Beginning to AD. 1707*, Cambridge University Press. 1984. p.171.

⁹⁶ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. Vintage Books, 1990. p. 268.

Empire. Even Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh are said to have employed Europeans in the Mughal Army later.⁹⁷

If we are to agree with N.R.Farooqui⁹⁸ who argues that Mughal diplomacy was governed by the political exigencies and geopolitical realities, that it had characteristics of a modern diplomatic apparatus, then we find diplomatic reasons behind Akbar's invitation of the Jesuits to his court. However the Jesuits were enthralled by the invitation of the Emperor not knowing that though agreeably a liberal ruler he was enthused for diplomatic relations mainly for the purpose of safety of his family members and of acquiring wealth from outside without any hassles.

When the letter from the Emperor reached Goa, the Viceroy, the Archbishop etc, were hesitant to send the mission and some stated that they had no confidence on Agarenius⁹⁹. But since Akbar had referred to religion in the letter, they had to make a decision which was later unanimously accepted and decided on November 10, 1579 to dispatch the mission as the king wished for. Eventually a group reached Akbar's court at Fatehpur Sikri on February 27, 1580¹⁰⁰ with a fascinating mission of converting the Muslim empire into "Christian empire". Monserrate writes that while on their way to Akbar's court, they stopped at Surat. There many visitors, on seeing the pictures of Mary and Jesus Christ, kissed them and reverently placed them upon their heads¹⁰¹. He must have misunderstood this as genuine respect. Their behavior should not be mistaken as reverence to Christianity¹⁰² but a respect shown to the people and their cultural world

⁹⁷ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, I, 1653-1708 (trans. William Irvine), New Delhi, 1913. p. 226.

⁹⁸ N.R.Farooqui, "Diplomacy and Diplomatic Procedure under the Mughals" in Meena Bhargava (ed.), *Exploring Medieval India (16th-18th century)*, New Delhi, 2010, p. 93.

⁹⁹ Monserrate refers to Agarenius for Musalman in his '*commentary*', trans, by J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, Oxford University Press, New Delhi., 1922. p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Manucci, *Storia do Mongor*, trans. by Irvine, vol.I, New Delhi, 1913, p. 140.

¹⁰¹ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his Journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi., 1922. p. 9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

which gained importance because of the simple fact that they were summoned by Akbar, whom they all thought was the most powerful person in India.

Akbar reveals his 'political agenda' in selecting the Jesuits from the Portuguese power centre of Goa, while there were already Christians (Armenians) in Delhi, Bengal and Cochin. Invitation of missionaries from Goa is suggestive of Akbar's desire to interact with the Portuguese power centre using the missionaries affiliated to that place. The first Jesuit mission comprised three personnel having different cultural backgrounds. They were Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva, an Italian, who later met with martyrdom at Cuncolim after his return to Goa, Fr. Antonio de Monserrate, a Catalan, and finally Fr. Francis Henriques who was a Persian from Hormuz.¹⁰³

The Jesuit fathers were received cordially and were offered large sums of money which they did not accept with much courtesy. They were provided with quarters in the palace and given food from the royal table. Abul Fazl along with Hakim Ali Gilani looked after the comforts and health of the guests. Father Monserrate was appointed tutor to Akbar's son, Murad.¹⁰⁴ Against the background of warm reception and respect that they got in the court the Jesuit missionaries seem to have overestimated Akbar's favorable interest towards the Christian religion and probably missed the point that he invited the missionaries out of intellectual inquisitiveness.¹⁰⁵

Akbar did show a great amount of respect to European customs. Moreover he was very much eager to experience and feel strange customs he had never seen. The desire of Akbar to know more about foreign cultural practices and curious behaviour and rituals could be contrasted with the over enthusiasm of the Jesuit missionaries to convert the ruler to Christianity. The next day after the Fathers reached Fatephur Sikri they

¹⁰³ Pius Malekandathil, "Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue", p. 2. H. Hosten, Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and inscriptions on their tombs, Agra (1580-1803). Nabu Public Domain reprints, New Delhi, 2011, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, Oxford University Press, 1922, p.VII.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. IV.

enquired about Akbar's mind regarding Christianity, but he excused and questioned the Christian perception of 'God begetting a son from a virgin, having suffered on the cross, and having been killed by the Jews'¹⁰⁶. However the Fathers were given full freedom to preach and practice, and make conversions in the kingdom. Though Akbar made several inquiries about the new religion he stated candidly that he found the 'doctrines of Trinity and Incarnation'¹⁰⁷ to be stumbling blocks in embracing Christianity. But that could not exactly be the only reason because if Akbar was to embrace this new religion he would have to give up everything, including probably the Empire. Since his aim was just to keep a cordial relation with the Portuguese, he tried to keep the Jesuit missionaries in good humour and at times he attempted to keep himself away from the Jesuits so that he might not be compelled to give a definite answer to their invitation to embrace Christianity. However they were still convinced enough that the king wanted to convert to Christianity. Akbar told the Fathers to be cautious in their speech being made before such religious personalities like the Mullahs, "for they (the Mullahs) were unscrupulous villains".¹⁰⁸ However the Jesuits took it as an encouragement from a Muslim king for their Christianization ventures. This made the missionaries also resort to open criticisms of Mullahs and the discussions on their enmity between the Mullahs and the Christians were something delightful to the Jesuits.

Akbar permitted the Jesuit priests to live freely in his empire and build their churches wherever they wanted, in the way it was allowed in Turkey.¹⁰⁹ However the Jesuits were keen on getting the king converted to Christianity. For a king who was open and accepted every religion on equal footing this was not something that he could decide that easily, because of the larger politico-cultural implications that it would create. However, despite this, the Jesuit perception was that deep in his heart Akbar

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.29.

¹⁰⁷ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar. 1580-1582*, Oxford University Press. 1922. p. 101.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 40-58.

wanted to become a Christian. This is reflected in the writing of Fr. Monserrate who makes Akbar say: “if there is no other way of my becoming a Christian without rousing a tumult, I will pretend that I wish to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and will go to Goa to be baptized”.¹¹⁰ These words naturally encouraged the Fathers and a depiction of Akbar being ready even to go to Goa to get baptized under the pretext of undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca was an image that aroused too much of expectation in Goa and Europe. Here we find the Jesuit missionaries beginning to perceive the Mughals in the way their superiors in Goa and Europe would like Akbar to behave and they credulously pass on this imagery to the European audience.

Meanwhile the visit of Akbar and his three sons to the chapel of the Jesuits with several nobles and the amount of reverence that Akbar showed to the pictures of Christ and Virgin Mother made the Jesuits overjoyed and think that the course of developments was towards embrace of Christianity. They went as far to asking Akbar to give them a Persian teacher for learning the language and eventually for getting Christian dogmatic books translated into the language of Mughal court. Akbar happily accepted their request. Monserrate’s writing shows that Akbar praised their own efforts more than once and eulogized the superiority of Jesuit missionaries though there were many learned men in the court being summoned by Akbar. These exercises were meant to keep the Jesuits in good humour and make them feel that they were important in the court of the Mughals, whose returns Akbar expected in the form of security and safe passage that the Portuguese would give to the royal ladies on pilgrimage to Mecca. The Jesuit writing throws light into the intriguing plan of Akbar, who selectively sent children for Portuguese and Islamic education. When the second son was sent to the Jesuit fathers to be educated by them, Akbar sent his other sons, Salim and Danyal for Islamic teaching. The Jesuits had the children of higher nobility for education under them. The Jesuit narrative on the allocation of royal children between the Jesuit

¹¹⁰ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, p. 48.

education system and Islamic education system clearly indicates the nature of training processes that Akbar resorted to his would be successors.¹¹¹

The Jesuits perceived Akbar as a friendly person, who highly regarded the Christian religion and gave them immense opportunities which he conferred to no one, that his kindness to the Fathers was more than once opposed and suspected by the Musalmans.¹¹² Akbar's half brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim (1554-1585) planned to attack Akbar, and once lost hundred cavalries by drowning while trying to cross the Indus. Referring to that, Monserrate writes that, 'it was undertaken out of express enmity to the religion of Christ'¹¹³. The latter joined Akbar's force in February 8, 1581 and when they got time Akbar with much interest asked about the contents of his sacred books, pictures etc., but his curiosity did not exceed more than the externality of the books and pictures and had nothing to do with the actual content of the religion. During Akbar's encampment he partly spent his time in artisan work or discussions, ordering the learned men to initiate a debate on holy books. Here it should not be forgotten that besides his usual self indulgence in hearing religious debates it was a sort of amusement so as to remain active at the halting places. Though Akbar did not hesitate to give reverence and kissed the picture of Christ publicly and sometimes pretended to be thinking seriously,¹¹⁴ he at every occasion seemed to have doubt about the story of

¹¹¹ Ibid., 53.

¹¹² One of them being Khwaja Shah Mansur who supports Mirza Muhammad Hakim against Akbar, who was enraged of the latter's attention towards the Christians. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, pp. 65-67 .

¹¹³ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, p. 72. But we should also keep in mind that even before the entry of Jesuits and Akbar's interest in Christianity taking shape, Mirza Hakim made abortive attempts to displace the former when he had difficulties at home due to rebellion of the Uzbegs in 1566 and the Bengal revolt in 1579-80, though attempts in 1581 were said to have been aroused due to Akbar's alienation from the orthodox Muslims. Here we see that Monserrate had taken this subject too closely to Christianity rather than it being more general looking into the previous attempts of Hakim.

¹¹⁴ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 35.

Christianity, more for his pretence to keep away from talking about conversion and less for inquisitiveness.

However the Jesuit letters give the impression that Akbar somehow managed to get the process of religious discussions on Christianity pushed by making casual inquiries about Christian dogmas and doctrines. Thus on December 1, 1581 when Akbar reached Fatehpur Sikri, he started fresh inquiries especially about the Trinity. But the old zest for discussion was gone, his support to the Jesuit Father's arguments and his respect for their books also began to diminish by this time, all this was distasteful to the Fathers. During the early mission, the Jesuits only concentrated on the king and his family for conversion and so long as they looked favorably on the Jesuits, there were also nobles and officials who made advances from time to time towards the acceptance of the Christian faith¹¹⁵. In the initial stages the sons of nobles came to the father's school to learn Portuguese. But almost to the end of the sixteenth century, the conversion of the lower classes also started happening. On this Maclagan writes,

*"On occasions the Fathers would be present, spending long hours with the crowd in readiness to answer questions; it was in that way that the Jesuits got most easily in touch with all classes of people"*¹¹⁶

Eventually the Jesuits realized that it was almost impossible to convert any influential noble so long as the Emperor did not seek to conversion; as a matter of fact it was an obeisance to have followed what the latter revered.

It is said that the newly converts were provided economic help by the Fathers who got funds in the early days from the king, which more or less indicates that the Fathers were also engaged in what they were sworn for, to work with the needy. But protestant writers like Thomas Roe, Whittington, Terry and others, have criticized that the Jesuits were not real Christians but were baptizing for the sake of money, that they, for want of

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 274.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 274.

means were content to wear crucifix.¹¹⁷ That kind of blame game was conspicuous for the fact that the Jesuits were very influential in the court and at that time they were the most powerful in the Indian Ocean.

It is the large bulk of letters that they sent to their superiors of Goa, Lisbon and Rome which give a tentative picture of how the religious dialogues between the two were like. Through these sets of correspondences and letters, they were constructing a certain type of image and perception about the Mughals for the western audience, which continued to remain in the cultural domain for long. The letters and reports written by individual missionaries and the annual reports submitted by the provincial at Goa, especially during the early days when the Mughal mission enjoyed the favour of Akbar and his successor Jahangir was mainly to secure publicity for the Jesuit successes in the mission field. Therefore their letters could supplement a source of high importance; we should also not forget that sometimes their works might have been written for the own attention and merely for completing their tasks of writing. When the Jesuits were writing their letters they must have realized their struggle in Europe, within and outside the religion.

Maclagan valuing the works of Jesuits writes that, 'though they may at times be coloured by enthusiasm, the letters from Mogor are not open to any charge of intentional falsehood, as in many instances they candidly admit failure and we may in general accept them when they tell of success'¹¹⁸. But it is somehow absurd and hard to believe their entire story of success just because they claim to have truly mentioned some of their failures.

Through the dialogue process the Jesuits conveyed the sense of their cultural superiority and the relative inferiority of the Mughal world. During the early days of their dialogues at Fatehpur Sikri, the Jesuits started attacking vigorously Islam and prophet Muhammed

¹¹⁷ Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 1921, p. 223; Foster's Roe, p. 275; Maclagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 278.

¹¹⁸ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 17.

in a manner unfit for the people normally engaged in any dialogue, following which Akbar himself had to advise them to be less vigorous in their words.¹¹⁹ Monserrate writing about Haji Begum, mother of Hakim and wife of Humayun, that she was devoted and had maintained hundreds of poor people by her alms, and that hers would have been the life of a heroine, had she only been a Christian¹²⁰. For the Fathers everything good they saw in the people and within the Court were attributed to Christianity, to be a standoff against all the other religions.

For the purpose of talking directly to the ruler and various co-sharers of Power, the Jesuits learned Persian very soon. The early Jesuits perceived that Akbar was not actually interested in listening to what they conveyed. Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva depicts the characteristic feature of Akbar during the process of dialogue: “He was a bad listener and never heard an explanation till the end and started a new subject of discussion before listening to the explanations given to the earlier queries”.¹²¹ They came with the ardent desire to convert the Emperor in the way the king of Tanore(1548-1552) and the king of Maldives(1552) were earlier converted to Christianity¹²². It was a time when missionaries in general believed that by converting the ruler the entire subjects could be brought to Christianity. The perception of the first Jesuit mission was that Akbar could hardly be convinced to get converted to Christianity and seeing the futility of the dialogical process the missionaries wanted earnestly to return to Goa, which Akbar did not allow immediately.¹²³

The Jesuit priests eventually realized that they were banked upon by the Emperor mainly to get connected with the European world. Monserrate hints at it when he refers

¹¹⁹ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar*, 1580-1582, p. 38.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹²¹ Fr. Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 30.

¹²² Pius Malekandathil, “*Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue*” pp. 6-7.

¹²³ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 37.

to the response of Akbar on returning to India after his successful expedition to Kabul. When Monserrate congratulated the Emperor for the successful expedition in Kabul, the latter was very much pleased and wanted that the message of this development should reach Spain.¹²⁴ Later in Lahore the Akbar disclosed to Rudolf Acquaviva his intention of sending an embassy to the king of Spain¹²⁵ and he was very particular that one of the priests should be there in the embassy, so that what they saw in Mughal domains might be well depicted before the Spanish crown, who at this point of time was also the ruler of Portugal too. Jesuit letters show that Akbar wanted the same priest who had been with him in camp to accompany his ambassadors, of whom one should sail to Spain and the other to stay at Goa.¹²⁶ Either this was to convey to the king of Spain the nature and weight of Akbar's power through language of the priests who had first-hand information about the extent and impressiveness of his Empire¹²⁷, or else it was just a pretence to ward off the suspicion of the attacks that was happening in western India between the Portuguese and the Mughal officials.¹²⁸

Akbar is presented as being curious to know about the number of the Apostles and their names. In this endeavor it seems that a great ruler like Akbar who had so many armies in his kingdom was comparing himself to the king of the Christians of which a great power like Portugal was worshipping.¹²⁹ And by the end of the first mission it was clear to the Jesuit priests that Akbar was not eager to embrace Christianity; instead was trying

¹²⁴ One time Akbar asked the Fathers about the Pope's dignity and greatness and the meaning of the term 'Pope'. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, p. 172.

¹²⁵ His purpose of the embassy was to invite Philip II of Spain to join Akbar in a league against the Turks. *Ibid.*, 172.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹²⁷ It is proved by Akbar's Eagerness to send an Embassy to Spain. *Ibid.*, 163.

¹²⁸ On the other hand Akbar swore himself he had no responsibility about the wanton attacks in Daman which Monserrate writes critically of Akbar that he was swearing falsely. *Ibid.*, 168.

¹²⁹ It indicates how the Jesuits were constantly talking about their 'King', which they so revered and worshipped, that it must have intimated him in some way to have inquired so much. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.

to find a new religion¹³⁰ and this idea eventually got cemented on seeing different religious teachers being invited to the court to find out something different from them for Akbar's new religion. As it says Akbar was showing greater leniency towards the Hindus, forbidding the sale of buffalo-flesh in the meat market, watching the dawn and worshipping the rising sun¹³¹. In fact Akbar gave the royal order to worship sun four times a day (in the morning, the evening and at noon and midnight),¹³² which externally might appear to be a ritual practice built upon the past memories and Hindu cultural roots of the city-dwellers.¹³³ Akbar's practice of drinking only Ganga water (and that too collected from Sorun in sealed jars) and adding Ganga water with locally collected water for cooking every food item in the royal kitchen of Agra¹³⁴ was as Pius Malekandathil says in fact a cultural impact of such dialogues with Hindu cultural world.¹³⁵ Therefore it is certain here that Akbar was influenced not only by Christianity alone but also by many other religious systems, as well. Akbar's cultural borrowing from one religion had nothing to do with the embrace of that religion with which that cultural practice was intimately linked.

When the first group of Jesuits wanted to go back to Goa, Fr. Francis Henriques, who knew Persian very well was allowed first to return (1581), Fr. Antonio Monserrate from Catalonia was sent second (in 1582) and the Italian Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva was permitted to leave Fatehpur Sikri only in 1583. The accounts of the first group of Jesuit missionaries give the impression that there was a hierarchy of preference for Akbar

¹³⁰ 'Din-i-ilahi', it was about this time (i.e. in 1582) that Akbar first publicly promulgated his new religion, the *Din-i-Ilahi*, or 'Divine Faith'. Fr. Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, trans by C.H. Payne. New Delhi, 1999. p. 226.

¹³¹ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, p. 184.

¹³² Abul Fazl, (Trans. H. Blochmann), *The Aini Akbari*, vol.I. D.K. Publishers, Delhi, 1989. p. 210.

¹³³ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700", A paper presented in the *International Association of Asian Historians of Asia*, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, p.5.

¹³⁴ Abul Fazl, (Trans. H. Blochmann), *The Aini Akbari*, vol.I, pp. 57-8.

¹³⁵ Pius Malekandathil, "*Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra*", pp. 5-6.

while dealing with these three Jesuits. The Hormuz-born Fr. Francis Henriques and who knew Persian was given relatively less attention, while the Jesuit priest Antonio Monserrate from Catalonia, which was then a part of Spain, was given greater importance at times taking him for his political trips.¹³⁶

In 1581 Akbar took Fr. Antonio Monserrate to Kabul, while fighting against his half-brother Mirza Muhamad Hakim. At a time when the Spanish king Philip II became the king of Portugal (1580), the selection of a Spanish Jesuit by Akbar to accompany his military trip to Kabul obviously carries certain types of meanings other than pure religious. Monserrate was given a responsibility to accompany the Mughal embassy, which was sent to Spain to felicitate Philip II on becoming the king of Portugal, a job that fell on his shoulder because of his Catalan origin.¹³⁷ That the Italian Jesuit Rudolf Acquaviva with renaissance background was made to stay longer in Fatehpur Sikri shows the cultural streams of dialogue that Akbar wanted to have along with religious dialogues.¹³⁸

The first mission of the Jesuits had given lot of hopes to the Portuguese, though the missionaries returned to Goa in despair. The reason for their disappointment was that Akbar evaded all their attempts to convert him and they thought religiously the mission was a failure. But politically speaking the viceroy and administrators of Goa viewed the Jesuit mission as a success that opened doors for both the Mughals and the Portuguese to interact and negotiate in an amicable way.

¹³⁶ Monserrate accompanies Akbar's campaign to Kabul against his half brother, Mirza Hakim. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar*, p. 72.

¹³⁷ Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Vol. XII, Rome, 1964, p. 83. However he did not reach Spain; After a short stay in Goa, he was sent to Ethiopia and on his way thither he was taken a prisoner by Arab pirates.

¹³⁸ Rudolf Acquaviva after much difficulty and promising to return if he could, arrived at Goa in 1583 and the next July he was murdered at Conculinum. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar*, p. 192.

3. *Changing Meaning of the Jesuit Missions*

Till 1590 nothing is heard about the mission. In that year when Akbar's court was at Lahore¹³⁹ he again sent a letter to the Viceroy at Goa for sending another group of Jesuits his court.¹⁴⁰ In the same year Akbar received the second group of Jesuit missionaries at Lahore, to which he had shifted his power base from Fatehpur Sikri around 1585.¹⁴¹ Unlike the liberal Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore being the heartland of orthodox Islamic teachings could not tolerate the teachings of Fr. Duarte Leitão, Fr. Christoval de Vega and Brother Estevão Ribeiro who were in the mission. They did not get the response that they had expected. The missionaries were soon frustrated on the futility of their efforts and hence they returned to Goa, which Akbar did not actually like.¹⁴² The picture that the correspondences of second Jesuit missionaries give is that Akbar had no intention of becoming a Christian at any juncture of time; but he wanted to continue the dialogues, whose actual purpose the Jesuit missionaries were then unable to trace. The mission abruptly came to an end shortly afterwards. In 1594 Akbar was greatly dissatisfied and dispatched another message to Goa for dispatching another mission to his court.¹⁴³

On receiving the letter of Akbar requesting for a team of Jesuit missionaries in 1594, the Jesuit superiors were bit reluctant to send them for the futile exercises happening in Mughal court in the name of religious dialogue. However the viceroy realized that it was not a futile endeavour, even if it was so as far as religious conversion was concerned. He quickly pointed out to the Jesuit authorities about the political advantages deriving out of Jesuit missions in Mughal court and finally got it done. The

¹³⁹ C.H. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 1926, p. 229.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁴¹ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 46.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.46.

¹⁴³ C.H. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p.51.

new team comprising Father Jerome Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict De Goes reached at Akbar's court in Lahore on May 5, 1595. They started a school in Lahore to cater to the educational needs of the son of Akbar and sons of great nobles.¹⁴⁴ While Fr. Emmnauel Pinheiro was doing some conversion work among ordinary people in and around Lahore Jerome Xavier and Benedict de Goes used to accompany Akbar in his political and military trips to Kashmir and Deccan.¹⁴⁵ However Akbar purposely avoided core issues of religion like Trinity and divinity of Christ from being discussed, probably fearing that such a discussion would take matters to the level of conflicts and he did not want the Jesuits to leave his court as had earlier happened.¹⁴⁶ This reveals that the fathers did not engage only in their mission work but also played a significant political role, even if they were only giving him advises, the king still needed them because the king might have thought important to be with the Jesuits to negotiate with the Portuguese on complicated political issues arising out of trade in Guajarati ports and matters connected with the safe passage of pilgrims to Mecca.

The Emperor maintained that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all faiths something to defend his own faith, which was outside the ken of the Fathers who hailed from a society which relied on the inquisition to punish those who differed from the established norms. They mistook Akbar's toleration and search for knowledge as proof that he had abandoned Islam.¹⁴⁷ During the last years of Akbar the platform of religious dialogue between the Jesuits and the Mughals had turned out more as venues for diplomatic dialogues of two power entities, in which religion formed only a smaller component.

In Agra, Akbar still refused to acknowledge the divinity of Christ however he accepted with much delight a book of Xavier's composition describing the life, miracles and

¹⁴⁴ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp.50-65.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.56.

¹⁴⁷ S.M.Burke, *Akbar: The Greatest Mogul*, New Delhi. 1989, p. 12.

doctrine of Christ.¹⁴⁸ The Jesuit priests were accused of being spies and thieves by a discontented Portuguese in Agra but later confessed the falsity of his claims.¹⁴⁹ When Mildenhall, an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth arrived at Agra in 1603 his main objective was to obtain free access for English ships to the Mughal Ports. When Akbar consulted the Jesuits at Agra and Lahore on this issue they were filled with rage. There was much disparagement between them,¹⁵⁰ evidently suggesting their disapproval on the Mughal move to accommodate a commercial competitor from Europe. Abul Fazl was an intimate friend of the Jesuits; however, after Abul Fazal's death, they continued to keep their relation going with prince Salim and Father Xavier is said to have visited the prince in 1603 at Fatehpur Sikri, then a deserted city with a few prominent buildings alone surviving among a multitude of ruins.¹⁵¹ In November 1604 prince Salim returned to Agra, but the next year Akbar died. Eventually the nature of Portuguese-Mughal relations got changed, as there was a certain amount of estrangement happening in their relationship after the death of Akbar. This was due to various reasons, the main among them being Mughal attacks on the Deccan states as well as the arrival of the English Ambassador captain Hawkins in 1608 on a diplomatic mission and the subsequent growing influence of the English in Mughal court, who very often manipulated the situation in the court against the Portuguese.¹⁵²

Many have perceived Jesuit mission in India engaging in educational and social programmes but it had permeated not only in those spheres; but spread to a wide variety of realms stretching from culture to economics of the region. Obviously one of the major objective of the Jesuits was to convert the emperor Akbar, and through him the people. In this task the fathers failed. Akbar was an encouragement at first and a bitter disappointment later. Akbar was no doubt liberal in inviting all the leaders from

¹⁴⁸ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*, chp, xiv, p.62.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁵¹ Vincent Smith in *J.U.P.H.S.*, II, ii, 1921, pp. 59-67.

¹⁵² Afzal Ahmed, *Indo-Portuguese trade in 17th century (1600-1663)*, p.38.

different religions but he had not the slightest wish to become a Christian. The fact that he was interested in foreign culture and invited them to his court should be seen more as a part of his curiosity than motivation. It was his interest in comparative theology and probably his apprehension about the emerging “sea borne power of the Portuguese” that made him invite the Jesuits.

It should be stated that Jahangir maintained the same liberal spirit and continued with the tradition of religious interactions with the Jesuits. However, the nature of interactions varied by this time, thanks to the contextual difference. The exigency and need for the Mughals to depend on the Portuguese for the safe passage of Haj pilgrims to Mecca disappeared with the entry of new actors, the English and the Dutch, in the Indian Ocean, challenging Portuguese maritime hegemony. Moreover the Portuguese hold over the navigational lines between Gujarat and Red Sea had waned, which made the Mughals realize that the Jesuits no longer represented the masters of the Indian Ocean, but only one of the different contestants of power in the Indian Ocean. Hence the nature and content of interactions that the Mughals and the Portuguese had, began to vary considerably.

The initial correspondences of the Jesuits indicate that during the first part of his reign Jahangir used the Jesuits to get prophet Mohammed attacked in their teachings, which he is said to have enjoyed. He also got the three sons of his deceased brother Daniel baptized at Agra.¹⁵³ This was something that Akbar did not want to happen during his time and these details show that Jahangir was allowing Christianity to enter the royal household. However a connected reading between the two gives the impression that it was purposely done by Jahangir to keep these princes unacceptable before the Muslim majority and thus keep them away from any possibility of succeeding to the Mughal throne.¹⁵⁴ Some hold the view that the actual intention of Jahangir behind this marriage

¹⁵³ Joseph Thekkekdath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.II, p. 432.

¹⁵⁴ H Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*. Calcutta, 1907, p.11.

was to get Portuguese women for these princes.¹⁵⁵ However, the Jesuits thought that he was just trying to be fair to the Christian religion, for Jahangir had more than once showed the sign of him wanting to embrace Christianity. But he might also have thought that if he were to get converted to Christianity, then he would be denied of the freedom to have more than one wife; but Jahangir as we know had several of them and he liked spending time in his harem.¹⁵⁶

While Akbar was keen on showing the extent of his Empire to the Jesuit missionaries by taking them frequently for his military tours with the evident purpose of impressing them, initially Jahangir did not venture to impress them by taking them for military tours against the background of waning Portuguese power; instead he was fascinated by the curiosities that the missionaries brought. It ranged from hats to paintings. Thus when Fr Pinheiro in 1610 presented a number of hats in Portuguese style, Jahangir was particularly pleased with one of the hats and on one evening in the presence of a number of nobles and power magnets placed it on his head. Some of those present saw in this a symbolic action, and supposed that Jahangir had at the same time placed on his head the whole law of the Christians.¹⁵⁷

The Jesuit letters also mention that Jahangir was just fascinated or amused by the religion and the paintings that the missionaries brought and he wanted this style to be emulated in the court paintings. C.H.Payne writes that Jahangir publicly professed his connection to Christianity but nonetheless he had his own motives- for he knew Portuguese help could come handy if he was to go against his father, Akbar.¹⁵⁸ Things had taken such a turn that to be a Christian came to mean almost same as getting linked

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁵⁶ Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 67; Thekkedath, *History of Christianity*, p. 432.

¹⁵⁷ Niel Stephen F.B.A, *A History of Christianity in India, the Beginning to AD. 1707*, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 345.

¹⁵⁸ C.H.Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits, with an account of the Travels of Father Benedict Goes and the mission to Pegu.*, trans C.H.Payne, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, p. 63-76.

with the authority of Goa, therefore Jahangir made himself clear that he wanted to get converted, which Payne observes as, 'nothing more than a hobby'¹⁵⁹.

Though Father Jerome Xavier and Emmanuel Pinheiro were getting old they continued to influence affairs at Jahangir's court. They were replaced by Father Francis Corsi and Father Joseph De Castro.¹⁶⁰ By 1627 we find Jahangir resuming the tradition of taking Jesuit missionaries along with him for military tours. Jahangir took them during his expedition to Kabul and Kashmir in 1627.¹⁶¹ Jahangir's fascination for Christianity was not without political interests. He wanted to establish good relations with the Portuguese and receive curious presents. However by this time it was his fascination for European cultural traditions and painting traditions that began to dominate. The political strand connected with the dialogue process still continued in a feeble way. Thus when the English were received by Jahangir in his court we find the Jesuits sensing the entry of a potential threat for them in the Mughal court and protesting it vehemently. The Jesuit priest Pinheiro first went to Goa obviously to report the matter and then returned to Cambay in June to make a successful protest in 1609 against the intrusion of the English at Surat.¹⁶² However this protest did not mean cessation of Portuguese ties with the Mughals. Fr. Pinheiro is said to have returned to Agra on July 9, 1610, though he later went back to Goa on February 5, 1611.¹⁶³

As mentioned earlier the Portuguese in spite the restoration of peace had to continue their diplomatic struggle against the English in the Mughal court after the coming of English ambassador Thomas Roe to Ajmer in 1615.¹⁶⁴ Thomas Roe aimed at securing full freedom of trade for his countrymen and bringing the English and the Mughals into

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.

¹⁶⁰ Maclagan., p. 75.

¹⁶¹ Maclagan., p. 77.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁶⁴ Foster's Roe, p. 77.

alliance against the Portuguese.¹⁶⁵ However a considerable number of members of the royal family like Prince Khurram, Muqarril Khan and Asaf Khan, who were deeply under the influence of the Jesuits, opposed the project of Thomas Roe, obviously indicating the ways how the Jesuit influence was made to penetrate into the realm of political economy. We can never exactly pin-point what made the Jesuits so influential to the courtiers when their only mission was to spread the true faith. Whatever the fact might be, we are certain that the Jesuits were indirectly playing a political role, though reasons might also be just that the Jesuits wanted to protect their own people and their commercial interests. In the account '*Travels of the Jesuits 1698-1711*' by J. Lockman, he states that the 'Muslims, subject to the Great Mogul, had advanced almost to the extremity of the Peninsula...'¹⁶⁶ It is interesting here to note that almost 150 years since Akbar, the Mughal kingdom was still strongly existent whereas the Portuguese power in India by that time had almost perished.

The accounts of Thomas Roe titled *Early travels in India* mention the nature of resistance that the Jesuits raised against him in the court. The Jesuits were diving deep into his secrets and belittling the value of his presents being given to Jahangir.¹⁶⁷ Thomas Roe feared that because of the influence of the Jesuits over the king, the English embassy would be made to be futile and the English fleet would be defeated. The Jesuits were pouring huge gifts and getting support from the all-powerful Asaf Khan for keeping the English away from the court. All these made the negotiation between Roe and the court more impossible, clarifying us that Jesuits still tried to get hold of their stay in the mainland empire.

Thomas Roe has written extensively about how the Jesuits entertained and practiced their religion in the kingdom, their church and glorious success. But, 'on the whole' as

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁶⁶ J.Lockman(ed.), *Travels of the Jesuits 1698-1711 into the Various parts of the World compiled by the Letters to the Jesuits of France*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 373.

¹⁶⁷ Foster's Roe, p. 78.

Edward Maclagan writes, Sir Thomas Roe and Father Corsi appear to have maintained a good mutual relation creditable to them both. While staying in the court they tried to keep informed about news of each other. It seems like though in the heart of hearts they were trying to cover up their own interest yet they tried to be mutual to the outside world and accepted the view that as Christians they should accord with one another till his return journey to Europe in 1618.¹⁶⁸ Later years it seems that the Protestant English at Agra maintained a friendly attitude towards the Jesuits and even participated in the Christmas and Easter festivities of the Catholic Jesuits. The English sources refer to the strenuous efforts that the Jesuits were making to bring over Jahangir to Christianity and the tests that Jahangir used to resort to counter the claims of Christian religion.¹⁶⁹

The Jesuit priests saw different phases of developments in the court of Jahangir ranging from the dominant role of Europeans interacting with the Mughals to the level of sharing space with the rival European powers of the English and the Dutch, where the Jesuits fell from the position of the most favoured Europeans to the position of one of the favoured European groups in the court. However they did not leave aside their hope of getting the emperor converted to Christianity. In the later years of Jahangir's reign, the Jesuits thought that he might get converted to Christianity due to his much respect he showed to this faith. Jahangir kept the Fathers in a condition of mingled hope and despair, by ceaseless change of aptitude and by promise which came to nothing.¹⁷⁰ Yet they were doubtful because of the queen Nur Jahan, who would not let her husband do that. The Jesuit sources passed on the information to Goa and Europe that the king and even the Queen Nur Jahan used to visit the church at Lahore, and that the king went so far as to express a desire to eat and drink in it, arousing too much hope in Goa.¹⁷¹ To the end Jahangir showed sporadic interest in the affairs of the Jesuits and even to make

¹⁶⁸ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*, chp, xiv, p.86.

¹⁶⁹ Manucci, *Storia da Mongor*, I, p.160.

¹⁷⁰ Neiel Stephen F.B.A, *A History of Chrsitianity in India, the Beginning to AD. 1707*, p. 345.

¹⁷¹ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*, chp, xiv, p.72

promises of conversion; however none of which was ever kept.¹⁷² There was however no progress of the mission in the imperial court and Jahangir died of Asthma on his way from Kashmir to Lahore on October 28, 1627.¹⁷³

Some alleged that Jahangir intended to become a Christian, and others said that he had been baptized in secret but when we look at other sources when the king was ill in 1627 in Kashmir and had sent for the Jesuits he promised that he would become a Christian if he was healed; but when he really recovered he excused himself and presented to the Jesuit priest a fine Calvary carved in amber.¹⁷⁴ Looking at the evidences, we can conclude that Jahangir did not die as a Christian because throughout his lifetime he never tried to embrace the faith. The desire of the early Mughal rulers to know the truth behind Christian belief system was misunderstood by the Portuguese as a thirst for getting converted to Christianity. The problem of understanding the “other” emerged from the medium through which the Portuguese tried to look at the Mughals. They could see the Mughals only as a power group having the potentials of being Christians, which if it happens would help the Portuguese to get their mercantile agenda materialized in India in a big way.

During the short period between 1613 and 1614, there was a heightened tension between the Portuguese and the Mughals on the question of capturing of a Mughal vessel returning from Mecca and Jidda. The turbulence following this was so intense and acute that the newly converted princes got reverted to Islam and the churches of Agra and Lahore were closed and the Christians of Lahore had to migrate to Agra.¹⁷⁵ However Jahangir did not allow the tension to escalate any further. He took initiative to maintain good rapport with the Jesuits, among whom Fr. Corsi and Fr. De Castro were well versed in Persian, as well. This rapport with Jahangir and the temporary conversion

¹⁷² Neiel Stephen F.B.A, *A History of Chrsitianity in India, the Beginning to AD. 1707*, p. 347.

¹⁷³ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*, chp, xiv, p.91

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.92.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.82.

of three princes helped the Jesuits to convey to Goa and Europe a picture of conversion potentials and baptism stories in the Mughal court and also fabricated stories of Jahangir's conversion at the moment of his death and circulate them in western world.¹⁷⁶ These stories of conversion were made to take rounds in key centres of European ecclesiastical and political circles so that the larger exercise which the Jesuits were performing in the court of Mughal in the name of religious dialogue might get acceptability and legitimization. Xavier writes a long letter to the Jesuit General dated 15 December, 1613 that it was impossible for the Muslims to receive the Gospel. Either they could not make up their minds to renounce Islam or if they had forsaken it, they found it only too easy to return.¹⁷⁷ In spite of the short phase of conflict that occurred in 1613-14, the Portuguese- Mughal relations remained quite till 1632 when Shah Jahan, the Mughal emperor ordered an attack on the Portuguese settlement at Hughli in Bengal where they had been settled since 1579 on the strength of a *farman* from Akbar.

The above discussion shows that though the Portuguese and the Mughals started their interactions in an informal way even before the entry of the Jesuits, there appeared a definite and systemic format for the interactions between the two with the Jesuits emerging as the bridging factor between two. Though no Mughal representative was stationed at Goa as embassy of the Mughals, the Jesuits who went to Mughal court for religious dialogue eventually turned out to be the official embassy of the Portuguese at the Mughal power centre. Akbar used to take Jesuit missionaries frequently for military tours for giving an impressive picture of the weight of Mughal power and through their eyes he wanted the image of the Mughals to go to Europe. In that way he eventually transformed the Jesuits from being religious missionaries to the level of transmitters of Mughal cosmos to larger world and as negotiators between the Portuguese and the Mughals on matters related to commerce, culture and polity. Europe and Lusitanian

¹⁷⁶ Arnuf Camps, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, Schoenck, 1957, pp.70-2;

¹⁷⁷ Neiel Stephen F.B.A, *A History of Chrsitianity in India, the Beginning to AD. 1707*. Cambridge University Press. 1984. p. 347.

power centres actually saw the Mughals through the eyes of the Jesuit missionaries, even though the Jesuit perceptions varied from time to time. During the period from 1580 till 1628 one notices a large shift in the Jesuit perception, which goes well with the changing nature of the context within which the Jesuits shaped their perceptions. The Jesuit perception till the entry of the English ambassador in Mughal court is easily discernable because of the Jesuit perception of cultural superiority that goes well with their notion of hegemony in the Indian Ocean that they maintained till then. However with the entry of the English in the court and after the conversion of the Jesuits as one of different European representatives in the court, we find the language of the Jesuits getting increasingly softened and the Jesuit criticism of the Mughal and Islamic practices increasingly diluted.

Chapter-III: Jesuit Images of Conservative Mughals

Though the Jesuits reached the Mughal court as part of the religious liberalism and dialogue initiated by Akbar and followed by Jahangir, the Jesuits were warmly received also by later Mughal rulers, particularly Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, who are often viewed as conservative and orthodox rulers. Obviously the aspects of religious dialogue and openness to religious pluralism that had existed to a considerable degree in the earlier missions began to fade away by this time, as many other customs and institutions of Akbar's times did. However, the later Mughals also made it a point that the Jesuits should be there in their capital city, exercising freedom of religion and interacting with them on matters related to trade and polity. This chapter tries to see how the Jesuits perceived the later Mughal rulers principally Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Attempts are also made in this chapter to examine the way how they perceived these rulers and their world against the background of conflicts between the emerging Islamic conservatism and the earlier phase of liberalism. It also looks into the multiple roles that the missionaries played, including the role played in Indo-Portuguese diplomacy, which was extremely important in maintaining and prolonging power balance in the region during the whole period between 1627 and 1707. It will also look into the changing character of the Portuguese activities and the processes of continual re-definitions that they resorted to while pursuing dialogues with the later Mughals.

1. Shah Jahan and the Changing Luso-Mughal Relations

The liberal religious tradition initiated by Akbar and continued by Jahangir took a different turn with Shah Jahan (1627-58), when Islamic orthodoxy tightened hold over the religious domain. Akbar, who initiated dialogue processes with the Portuguese

through the agency of the Jesuits, never ventured to capture a Portuguese enclave during his tenure, nor did Jahangir. However the elements of conservatism and orthodoxy began to tighten their hold over the social life of Agra with the death of Jahangir. The Qadiriyya sheikh Abdul Haqq and his son Nurul Haqq began to criticize vehemently the ideology of *wahadat-al-wujud* (unity of Being)¹⁷⁸, which allowed religious tolerance and accommodation to prevail in the Mughal kingdom since the time of Akbar. They argued that this ideology helped only to undermine the interests of the Muslims as a collectivity and Islam as an ideology. So they wanted *Sharia* to be rigorously enforced and bring pristine Sunni orthodoxy back to the kingdom. However Jahangir expelled Abdul Haqq and banished Nurul Haqq to Kabul for joining hands with Prince Khurram in the rebellion. When Prince Khurram ascended the throne as Shah Jahan, he immediately allowed Abdul Haqq to return to Delhi and appointed his son Nurul Haqq as the *qazi* of Agra, which evidently shows the nature of ideological support that Shah Jahan banked upon for consolidating his political position.¹⁷⁹ Meanwhile the Naqshbandiyya Saint Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who believed that he was the renewer (*mujaddid*) of the first millennium of Islam sent by God to restore Sunni orthodoxy mobilized a large number of followers in the power centre of Agra.¹⁸⁰ These were the major religious thought processes and ideological frames within which the social base of Shah Jahan's regime was constituted.

¹⁷⁸ *Wahadat-al wujud*, meaning Unity of Being or Existential Unity, advocated the principal that everything is emanating from one and the same Being to which everything is also moving. This doctrine initially put forward by Ibn Arabi and later spread by Attar, al-Rumi and others suggested that if everything is from and moving towards one and the same Being with an essential unity between the creator and the created, then why should one exclude the other, which eventually helped to develop inclusive and multicultural approaches within Islam. However the orthodox strand upheld the notion of *wahadat-al-shuhud* (Unity of Perception) first put forward by Alaud Daula Simnani (d.1336) and argued that ideas undermining the divine transcendence were heretical. According to them the unity is something seen at the perception level. Mir Gisu Daraz, Abdul Haqq, Ahmad Sirhindi and others used *wahadat-al-shuhud* to clamour for exclusivism and for introducing Sunni orthodoxy.

¹⁷⁹ S.A.A.Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol.II, Delhi, 1983, pp. 231-247.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp. 365-7.

Obviously the policies of Shah Jahan were shaped by these ideological moves towards restoration of Sunni orthodoxy based on the notion of *wahadat-al-shuhud* (unity of Perception), and enforcing *Sharia*. Against this background the relationship between Shah Jahan and the Portuguese began to shake and quake on several occasions. The wheels of Luso-Mughal dialogues seemed to get derailed in 1632 when Shah Jahan attacked Hughli, the principal mercantile settlements of the Portuguese in Bengal. Obviously capturing of the Portuguese settlement of Hugli by Shah Jahan's forces in 1632 was motivated by political and commercial reasons. Shah Jahan attacked the Portuguese settlement of Hughli for not having helped him earlier, when he raised the standard of revolt in 1621.¹⁸¹ The total destruction of the Portuguese settlement of Hughli and the eventual deportation of about 4000 Portuguese to Agra along with Augustinian and diocesan priests¹⁸² was a serious blow to the Portuguese shattering severely their confidence-level. Concomitantly the Jesuit letters reflect the change of religious attitude in Agra with the dominance of orthodoxy in Shah Jahan's court.

When the captives were brought to Agra, the Jesuits were highly sympathetic towards them. They received these captives from Hughli to the religious services in the Jesuit church of Agra, which Shah Jahan did not like. Consequently there was a violent attack on the Jesuits and their church at Agra in 1634. The straining of relationship had begun much earlier. In 1633 the soldiers of Shah Jahan invaded the Jesuit residence of Agra and took away the bell-churches, besides imprisoning and ill-treating the Jesuit priests.¹⁸³ These developments happened at a time when conservative Sufi sheikhs and orthodox ulemas were gaining an upper hand in the social life of the capital city, which influenced also the Mughal approach towards Jesuits. Thanks to the efforts and mobilization of Qadiriyya Sheikh Abdul Haqq, the Naqshbandiyyas and the Mujaddid, who wanted to get the Mughal Empire reverted to pristine Sunni orthodoxy, the type of

¹⁸¹ J.J.,A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p.128.

¹⁸² Edward Maclagan. *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, pp. 99-105.

¹⁸³ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.II, pp. 433-4.

religious liberalism that had existed in the metropolitan city of Agra for about eighty years began to give way to religious orthodoxy and rigour.

The dwindling of religious tolerance in the city of Agra was recorded by the Jesuits while depicting the manner in which the soldiers of Shah Jahan rushed into the church while mass was being celebrated and attacked the Jesuits. They were expelled from their college and had to take asylum in an inn. Though the Jesuits were not expelled to Goa, because of the intervention from Asaf-Khan, Shah Jahan's father-in-law, their church edifice was destroyed and they were prevented from proselytizing among the Muslims.¹⁸⁴

Once Shah Jahan ascended the throne he acted as the serious Muslim ruler, and it is said that till the fifth year of his reign he had nothing much to do with the Portuguese. It was after that that Shah Jahan started the attack and capturing of the Portuguese at Hughli in Bengal followed by a short but sharp persecution of Christians generally in the Mogul dominions¹⁸⁵. Despite his Hindu mother, Shah Jahan did not follow the liberal religious policy instituted by his grandfather, Emperor Akbar.

The growth of the Portuguese settlement at Hughli came towards the close of 1579 or early 1580. But the privilege that Akbar gave to the Portuguese to build their establishment at Hugli by virtue of a *farman* in A.D. 1579-80, was well maintained by his son and successor Jahangir.¹⁸⁶ When Shah Jahan, then Prince Khurram was defeated in the revolt in 1621 he fled to Bengal and resided in Bradwan. From there he asked Miguel Rodrigues, the Portuguese Governor of Dacca (or Hoogly), to help him with men and artillery and promised in return immense riches and vast tracts of land. When Rodrigues declined to help the Prince being a rebel son, he swore to revenge.¹⁸⁷ Another

¹⁸⁴ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 104.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁶ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p.50.

¹⁸⁷ Fr. Hosten Manrique, Trans, *Catholic Herald of India*, May 8, 1918, p. 354.

source is that the Portuguese actually went to help him with a few ships and then deserted him.¹⁸⁸ When Shah Jahan ascended the throne in 1627 he tried as earliest to avenge on the Portuguese in Hughli and not only that, the year before the siege of Hughli he had lost 50000 horses fighting against Adil Khan of Bijapur and he blamed the Portuguese for helping the former.¹⁸⁹

The settlement at Hughli was founded by Tavares¹⁹⁰ which was independent of the Mughal court and also from the Portuguese viceroy at Goa. It is understood that Shah Jahan had an ill feeling towards the Portuguese from the start because more than once the Portuguese in Hughli did not give support to the ruler. Shah Jahan found opportunity enough to lend support to attack the settlement there when the *Firangis* tried to help the King of Arakan against the Mughals.¹⁹¹ When a *Farman* to exterminate the settlement to Qasim Khan went all in vain, the Mughal army appeared within the Portuguese settlement in Hughli on June 26, 1632. The growing apprehension of the Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan that the Portuguese had been gaining considerable power and strength in Bandel and Hughli, was one of the prime factors that led to the siege of Hughli in A.D. 1632.¹⁹²

In 1632 he ordered all Hindu temples recently erected or in the process of erection to be torn down. Christian churches at Agra and Lahore were also demolished. H Hosten writes that the religious pictures adorning the walls of Jahangir's apartment were daubed in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan, a less tolerant ruler.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ Fr. Cabral, Fr. Besse's trans. *Catholic herald of India*, Feb. 6, 1918, p. 111.

¹⁸⁹ Faria Y Souza, *Asia*, Steven's trans., Vol. III, p. 402.

¹⁹⁰ Tavares is also mentioned in chapter-2. He went to Akbar's court in 1577. See J.J.A.Campos, *The History of Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 51-54.

¹⁹¹ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p. II.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. II.

¹⁹³ Rev H Hosten, *Jesuits Missionaries in Northern India and their inscriptions on their Tombs: Agra (1580-1803)*. Calcutta, 1907, p. 12.

The Fathers have no non-sensely written about Shah Jahan's character that he was the mortal enemy of the Christian name and the implacable enemy of the Portuguese and of the Christian name¹⁹⁴. Not only the Fathers but the Europeans as a whole viewed him as violent and anti-Christian. It is said that the Jesuits also exercised a lot of their influence in Bengal and the Portuguese in Hughli dealt with slavery on the Mughal subjects and maintained a rigid attitude towards all non-Christian in their own settlement. The treatment meted out to the locals by the *Firangis* must have been severe but Edward Maclagan cites that the religious aspect¹⁹⁵ between the Mughals and the Portuguese was minimal and that the punishment of Hughli was much apart from religion.

If a Mughal story is to be believed when Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Emperor Shah Jahan was in Bengal, she was greatly offended at the sight of the Holy pictures and images in the Portuguese churches and hence she prevailed upon the Emperor to crush the power of the Portuguese in Bengal.¹⁹⁶ It is quite contrary to Jahangir's reign where even his wife is said to have dined with the Jesuits. Even if Nur Jahan's incident is true it is probable that this should not be the most genuine reason why the Mughals attacked the Portuguese settlement in Hughli.

The first years of Shah Jahan's reign as H Hosten says, were marked by a fierce, though short, outburst of fanaticism, and the Jesuit Missionaries stationed in his dominions passed through the ordeal persecution.¹⁹⁷ He blames the sudden change in the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between them and the Mughal Princes is to be

¹⁹⁴ Foster, *English Factories (1634-36)*, p.241.

¹⁹⁵ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁶ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*. Patna, 1979.p.II.

Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, Irvine's ed., Vol, I, London, 1913. P.175.

¹⁹⁷ Rev H Hosten, , *Jesuits Missionaries in Northern India and their inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*, Calcutta, 1907, p.20.

sought for in Bengal.¹⁹⁸ The Jesuits slowly understood the variations during the time of Akbar to the intolerable attitude of Shah Jahan.

We see a sudden shift of enagement, not that the relation of Akbar and Jahangir with the Portuguese was completely mutual, but during Shah Jahan's reign known to be an orthodox Muslim he openly showed his discontentment against the non-believers. The attack in Hughli goes far beyond political differences and the Portuguese accounts show how the Mughals stormed the churches and hung the images of the saints on the trees¹⁹⁹. The Mughals destroyed all the Portuguese buildings with the exception of the Jesuit College where the Mughal officer stayed.²⁰⁰ This could not co-incidentally just be an attack on the people but they were also trying to shatter the image and hold of Christian ideology and their worshipping material over the larger populace of Bengal as the religion of the Portuguese the masters of the sea.

Manucci²⁰¹ mentions about the number of captives either Portuguese or half castes that were taken to Agra in chains, but what is important here is that Shah Jahan like a true orthodox Muslim ruler did not waste time in punishing these captives. While there were different methods to deal with the category of prisoners, one most important transition was due to the fear of being put to death, the prisoners renounced their faith²⁰². This more or less supports the above argument that truly Shah Jahan was making himself receptive and acceptable to the emerging powerful group of conservatives, who began to dominate the social base of the power centre. However, the Jesuits perceived it as a religious war waged against the Christians. May be Shah Jahan started the assault as revenge for not getting support but what we see is, the Jesuit priests who had not much

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁹⁹ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. p. 102.

²⁰⁰ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 1979. p.V.

²⁰¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mongor*, III, p. 179.

²⁰² H.Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and inscriptions on their tombs: Agra*, p. 2.

to do with the political upheaval in Hughli, were imprisoned, whipped, beaten and laden with chains²⁰³. It was only through the interference of Asaf Khan again that they were saved from being trampled by the elephants.

Though the Jesuit Fathers were given permission to move freely in Agra after the first permission it took years to conceal the wounds that they had suffered. By 1633 the influence of the Jesuits in Agra had waned down, and they could not do much to help the prisoners. Bernier writes,

*“Before the catastrophe at Ogouli, the missionaries had not escaped the resentment of Chah- Jehan, he ordered the large and handsome Church at Agra which, together with one at Lahor, and been erected during the reign of Jehan-Guyre, to be demolished. A high steeple stood upon the Church, with a bell whose sand was heard in every part of the city”.*²⁰⁴

During Shah Jahan’s reign his officials attacked the churches and made sure that the people discontinued attending the church. Times have changed for the Jesuits because unlike Akbar’s and Jahangir’s time, they were prohibited from proselytizing among the Muslims. The Jesuits saw no good change and they could not afford to expect a better relation with the Mughals as did by their ancestors. The Portuguese established in Hughli again in 1633, it is surprising because Shah Jahan was at that time badly disposed with the Christians but J.J.A.Campos opines that it is true the Portuguese returned to Bengal with full liberty and a grant of 777 *bighas* of rent free land by July

²⁰³ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 104.

²⁰⁴ Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*, London, 1891, p.177.

1633.²⁰⁵ The Portuguese were also given religious and commercial privileges in Bengal. It is rather hard to understand how the Portuguese could be allowed to return to Hughli just after a year from the assault, though Father Hosten is of the opinion that Shah Jahan did not grant liberty to the Christians brought from Hughli.²⁰⁶

But by 1640 the enmity had settled down and they were celebrating Christmas in a house constructed out of the materials from their former church and were allowed to have their own divine service.²⁰⁷ It is to be noted that the Jesuit mission in the Mughal Empire was not at all eventful and there was no progress considering Shah Jahan's bitter rivalry towards the Portuguese in general.²⁰⁸ It is said that in Fr. Antonio Botelho's short sketches shows Dara Skikoh and his brothers and also of the king Shah Jahan but it is clear that the Jesuit Fathers had little or no personal contacts with the king himself.²⁰⁹ The number of staff maintained in the mission during the reign of Shah Jahan was three; a fourth one attached to Mirza Zulqanain, and in 1650, after the founding of Delhi, another Jesuit priest was posted intermittently to that city.²¹⁰ By this time there were no important Jesuit official staying in the court knowing that the mission was unsuccessful and the Mughal rulers having no attachment to the Jesuits.

But one thing the Jesuits had good relation was with the English during this bitter period. Whether commercial or other reasons²¹¹ on the whole it was friendly and useful.

²⁰⁵ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p.141; Foster, *The English Factory in India, 1630-33*, pp. 308-309.

²⁰⁶ J.J.A. Campos, "Bengal Past and Present" in *Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, 1907, pp. 49-50.

²⁰⁷ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 104.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.107.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.109.

²¹⁰ Francois Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage of Francois de Laval to the East Indies, Maldives, Moluccas and Brazil*, vol. II, part I, London, 1888, p. 252.

²¹¹ It is said that in 1637 when Englishmen Drake was shot Father Joseph de Castro sent a surgeon and a palanquin from Agra, and on his death, they sent information of the incident to the English at Surat. Foster, *English Factories, 1637-1641*, p. 15.

The Jesuits saw that the Muslims were still unfriendly with them and when they were celebrating Easter by hanging an effigy of Judas in the streets, the officials thought that the Christians were burning the effigy of Prophet.²¹² The Jesuit priests viewed that the Muslims as very hostile and Maclagan once again cites that, 'though Shah Jahan grew kinder as he grew older, he was never as friendly as his father and the effects of the persecution in Huglhi were still felt'²¹³. Though there were fairly adequate numbers of Jesuit priests for the mission from time to time during Shah Jahan's reign we know nothing worthy of their efforts were sought. It can also be that the Fathers had little or no personal contact with Shah Jahan himself and that even at the end of his life Shah Jahan must have remained unfavorable about the Jesuits.

When Jahangir lived, the Jesuit priests were respected and honoured in the court, and they took it to be symptoms of advancements of Christianity²¹⁴, but since Shah Jahan's time their perceptions changed. However the Jesuit images also show that orthodoxy could tighten hold over religious domain only during the initial years of Shah Jahan as eventually the atmosphere of religious tolerance and dialogues started prevailing upon the city under the influence of Dara Shukoh. Jesuit priests like Fr. Buys were taken by Prince Dara Shukoh during his political trips. Keeping Jesuit priests in the entourage was developed almost as a cultural mechanism to convey the message of religious tolerance based on *wahadat -ul-wujud* (unity of being) that the early Mughal rulers and the later aspirants for throne actually wanted to uphold. The Jesuits viewed Dara as tolerant as Akbar and Jahangir and was also curious regarding the philosophy of Hindus. In 1650 when Dara first went to Delhi it was his function to revive the intercourse between the Jesuits and the court, which had been interrupted for some years.²¹⁵ With the Jesuits he was said at times to drink wine in moderation, and like

²¹² Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 111.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.111.

²¹⁴ H.Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and inscriptions on their tombs, Agra*, p. 27.

²¹⁵ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.116.

Akbar and Jahangir, he took pleasures in hearing them dispute with men of other religions.²¹⁶ Dara is said to have secured an order for respectable treatment for the Jesuit Fathers in the future when a Governor of Agra was uncivil to them.²¹⁷ Though Dara's known interest in scientific questions made him remain closer with some of the Jesuit Fathers, his relationship with Christianity does not go beyond that, though at times we might want to believe that Dara was getting close to the religion or at least Manucci writing that he died but as a Christian²¹⁸.

2. Image of Aurangzeb in Jesuit Letters

Contrary to the ultra-conservative pictures circulating among popular circles about Aurangzeb, the Jesuit images about Aurangzeb are different. It is said that when Aurangzeb went to Kashmir soon after his accession he wanted that Father Busi should accompany him²¹⁹, justifying that if Aurangzeb had an ill feeling at all; he would not have asked that to a Christian priest. Granting religious freedom to them, he did not interfere in their worship and confirmed them to hold the properties granted to them by Jahangir. To support the statement, Rekha Joshi writes that even the war of succession was not merely a military or political episode, it symbolized the climax of a cultural conflict which had started ever since the beginning of the 17th century.²²⁰ Aurangzeb was the victim of the circumstances and environment in which he was placed.²²¹ Many historians have viewed Aurangzeb for his non-liberalism and the fall of the Mughal

²¹⁶ H.Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and inscriptions on their tombs, Agra*, p. 115.

²¹⁷ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.115.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.116.

²¹⁹ Manucci, *Storia do Mongor*, II, p. 154.

²²⁰ Rekha Joshi, *Aurangzeb- Attitudes and Inclinations*, New Delhi, 1979, p.7.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Empire but Rekha Joshi wants us to believe that it was not that Aurangzeb wanted it to happen but he was forced to deal with the situation contrary to the peaceful chapter that Akbar inherited. However it is true that the Christians were not allowed to have statues in their churches, as the notion of statues violated the Islamic precepts.

Edward Maclagan even suspects that at one point of time there was a faint hope that Aurangzeb himself was turning his thoughts towards Christianity.²²² This is a very blank judgment because Aurangzeb no doubt must have displayed his concerns about the superiority of European Arts and Science but he had only asked the *qazi* to pay heed that the Christians does not take over the religion and faith from the Muslims.²²³ That there was in no way that he ever wanted to be Christianized, the fact remains that the accession of Aurangzeb did not bring any sudden change in the attitude of the court towards the Jesuits. For a time at least Aurangzeb gave fresh orders which forbade a Hindu to change his religion for any faith but that of Islam.²²⁴

When *Jazia* or poll-tax was imposed in 1679 on non-Muslims, Aurangzeb exempted all Christians of the empire from the tax.²²⁵ This happened principally because of the representation that the viceroy of Goa made to Aurangzeb in favour of Christians. Both the Mughal rulers and the Portuguese had developed by this time a perception that the Christians of Agra, though lived within the imperial capital city, formed a part of the world of the Portuguese, who were being somehow equated as being the champions of Christian religion in the Indian Ocean. However after the death of Father Busi in 1667, the new regime with its rigid and almost fanatical adherence to Muslim principles entailed a nearly complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the Jesuit Fathers. Though much useful work was done during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, it lacked

²²² Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 121.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.121.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.122.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.123.

the glamour attached to the missionary enterprise during the later Mughals. The traditions of the society looked to success rather in the baptism of kings and princes or in striking conversion on a large scale.²²⁶ The Jesuits in Mughal terrain had now no hope of progress at the court and the tendency was to look for such openings as seemed possible for rapid evangelization elsewhere, but it is not surprising that their efforts in the other localities led to nothing.

The accommodating tone of the Portuguese who had by this time lost most of their possessions in the Indian Ocean either to the Dutch or the many of the local rulers could also be heard in their writing, where the sense of superiority had watered down to a level of equality with the Mughals. At times the scars of wounds received from Shah Jahan's early treatment had made them move cautiously, leaving aside their haughty behaviour and superior attitude that they had earlier maintained during their dialogues with Akbar and Jahangir. The power of the Jesuits in the Mughal courts changed visibly with Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb's enthronement. Though their physical presence was there, the meanings of their presence changed diminishing considerably their impact on the socio-cultural life of Mughal world.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the society had five churches only in Mughal domains: one at Narwar,²²⁷ one at Jaipur, and one at Agra and two at Delhi.²²⁸ The Jesuits had a hard time because their resources were quickly disappearing and Indian rulers did not give help to them like the former times. The Goa administration could no longer afford to send help to the residences in Mogul territory as there was also no hope of further evangelizing in the area. Just as in India, the tribulations in Europe further worsened things for the Society. In 1759 a decree was issued by the king of Portugal

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 125.

²²⁷ The Jesuits stationed a missionary at Narwar from about the year 1742, but there was no question of conversions, and the congregation consisted of the retainers of the Christian nobleman.

²²⁸ Edward Maclagan., *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.136.

banishing all Jesuits from Portugal and all their possessions including India. With that the provincial centre of the Jesuits at Goa and consequently at Mughal came to a halt.

The above discussion shows the ups and downs in the Luso-Mughal relations during the period between 1627 and 1707 and the way how the Jesuits depicted the Mughal as the “other” moving more and more out of their world of alliances and partnerships. Politically the weakening of the Portuguese as a decisive naval force in the Indian Ocean with the entry of the Dutch and the English contributed to their elimination. Culturally the tightening of the hold by the conservative and orthodox elements in the Mughal court and power base contributed to the Portuguese peripheralization and marginalization as far as their relationship with the Mughals was concerned. That the Jesuits were not expelled from the Mughal cities till 1759 by any Mughal ruler shows that the Mughal rulers, however conservative they were, earnestly wanted the culturally and religiously different priests to be there in their major cities, as they thought them to be the principal bridge to get connected with the Portuguese and their world of commerce.

Chapter IV: Formats of Cultural Expression and Artistic Symbols of Dialogue

The frequent and deeper economic interactions and religious dialogues that the Portuguese had with the Mughals had significantly influenced the way by which cultural expressions were articulated in the imperial cities and the court of the latter. The Mughals were deeply impressed by the superior naturalism of European art. There were constant efforts to imbibe the European style of cultural and artistic expressions in the Mughal imperial cities and there were at times attempts from the part of Mughal artists and painters to bank upon European themes, cultural idioms and styles. Abul Fazl remarks that 'painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions, which the artist has of any of the mental states; so much so, that the people may mistake a picture for reality'.²²⁹ Obviously the Mughal style of painting was a court-art patronized and nurtured by the Mughal emperors for their own pleasure and study.²³⁰ According to Abul Fazl, they were stored like valuable in the royal libraries and only occasionally brought out for discussion and criticism,²³¹ though the contemporary European travelers advanced the contrary view that they decorated the walls of the palaces.²³² The influence of religious pictures brought to the Mughal court by the Jesuits from 1580s onwards played a decisive role for the development of Mughal painting, particularly in the first half of the seventeenth century. This chapter proposes to study the new cultural elements and traditions that entered the urban life of Mughal India, mainly as a result of Luso-Portuguese dialogues. The study focuses on

²²⁹ Abul Fazl, *The Aini Akbari*, trans. by H. Blochmann, vol.I, Delhi, 1989, p. 103.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-15.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

²³² Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000, p. XV.

the various cultural images that the Jesuits brought to the Mughal court which began to fascinate the artists and the architects, in the same way as their Mughal patrons. It also studies the extent to which the Mughal patronage and taste were influenced by western art, particularly the Christian, which the Jesuits introduced in the Mughal court as a development of religious dialogues.

1. Influence of Christian images on the Mughal Paintings and Architecture

The Jesuit missionaries were the major transmitters of European art and artistic ideas to the Mughal court during Akbar's reign. In fact the foreign objects of art, which the Mughals admired for their realism,²³³ were also used as a mechanism to augment the status of the ruler. Though Islam forbids representing the image of any living creature, Mughal rulers, particularly Jahangir, wanted themselves to be represented in the way the Christian saintly personalities were artistically represented, often with halo around their head. This type of artistic representation of emperor with halo was one way by which Jahangir tried to elevate himself to the status of saints of the Christian world, which the Portuguese who were the masters of the Indian Ocean used to venerate.²³⁴ As a painting with halo was reserved only for depicting a saint, Jahangir ventured to appropriate sainthood by this artistic mechanism and he wanted this to be accepted by

²³³ Ebba Koch, "*Pietra Dure and other artistic contacts between the Court of the Mughals and that of the Medici*", *Marg*, vol. xxxix, no. I, p. 30.

²³⁴ See the painting of Jahangir standing on a globe shooting poverty painted by Abul Hasan (1620). There is a halo around his head, while on the globe were depicted a lion and a sheep resting together. Two angels carry a crown over his head. Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000, III. 91. In another painting of Abul Hasan, Jahangir is shown embracing Shah Abbas, where the halo is made larger enough to serve as background for the painting, while they were represented as standing on Indo-Persian terrain of the globe where a lion and a sheep rest together See *Ibid.*, III.90. Also included in the illustration no. 4, 5, 6, 7.

the Jesuits dialoguing with him by frequently commissioning the painters to depict his figure with halo.²³⁵

Edward Maclagan writes, ‘the religious aspects of the question in its relation to Christianity was intensified in India by the fact that the arts of painting and sculpture were in peculiarly close alliance with the Christian religion as represented by the Portuguese and the Jesuits’.²³⁶ Contrary to that Ashok Kumar Srivastava opines that the Quran does not forbid the art of painting per se, but only suggests avoidance of idolatry.²³⁷ He further opines that unlike Christianity and Buddhism, Islam has never used the art of painting as an instrument for propagation of its religious beliefs and faith.²³⁸ It rejected painting simply because it rejected idolatry. In all the truth it is just that the images brought by the Europeans particular the Jesuits²³⁹ was studied and experimented with, and that somehow it was integrated with the mainstream of the Mughal Paintings.

The Jesuits could not convert especially any of the Mughal rulers, and they could not carry out their conversions as largely as they wanted to, particularly after Akbar and Jahangir’s reign. Hence Christianity during Mughal India was identified with the prominent and constant use of pictures and images. The images of Christianity, which then was viewed as the religion of the Portuguese who dominated the coastal India, really fascinated the Emperor and the power-sharers of the Mughal world. It is quite natural that they wanted themselves to be represented in the way Christian themes were painted and this they used as an ‘artistic’ language to show their power and status vis-a-vis the Portuguese.

²³⁵ See picture 3, 4, 5 & 11

²³⁶ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 222.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

²³⁹ This study mainly concentrates on the Jesuits and their influences in the Mughal art and court.

The Mughals had a progressive outlook always trying to acquire new techniques and forms of knowledge. It is said that they even welcomed Ottoman engineers to improve their artillery.²⁴⁰ But later Akbar sent a special envoy to the Portuguese to find out what new articles were available in their enclaves. European paintings were welcome and successfully imitated and at times adapted incorporating local needs and background. Agra is mentioned more than the other courts in the sources since during the Mughals, there were a lot of interactions happening between them, especially through the Jesuits who built churches on the precincts of Agra town.

The different Mughal architectural structures that we see today are evidences of Luso-Mughal interactions that happened in the realm of architecture. The Mughals not only used red sand stones but also enriched them with white marbles. For constructing these buildings the Mughals had more than just one reason. For example the building of Fatehpur Sikri palace complex was on the context of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat and the arrangement of the various edifices of this palace complex show us that he wanted to identify himself as the axis of the world.²⁴¹ Many scholars have intensely studied the nature of Mughal architecture; however this study attempts to look into the complexities of European influence on the architectures and paintings of the Mughals.

Hazel Conway in *Understanding the Architecture* has written that "architecture should express our aspirations and our sense of optimism about the future; without losing a sense of historical continuity"²⁴². It is important to understand and study the depths of the European influence especially the Portuguese on the architecture and paintings of the Mughals, as to understand the nuanced meanings of cultural processes in the region during the early modern period. Catherine B. Asher has rightly opined that the evolution

²⁴⁰ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1990, p. 254.

²⁴¹ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700", A paper presented in the *International Association of Asian Historians of Asia*, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, p. 4.

²⁴² Hazel Conway, *Understanding Architecture*, London, Newyork,Routledge 1994, pp. 1-10.

of imperial Mughal architectural taste and idiom was directly related to political and cultural ideology.²⁴³ From the start India was dominated by non-Muslims, even if the rulers were Muslims. Just as indigenous religions and traditions were tolerated and in many cases respected by the Mughals, so too, they incorporated in their patronage of the arts, literature and music many indigenous elements also.

Agra was the capital city of the Lodis from 1506 onwards and for the Mughals for about seven decades.²⁴⁴ Through the formats of art and architecture the Mughals tried to inscribe into the urban space of Agra the meanings of the power and position that they possessed. In a way Mughal construction techniques and styles were borrowed from the west, as well as Central Asia. Using the artisans collected from a wide variety of places, the Mughals erected a large number of magnificent buildings, tombs and memorial structures in the city of Agra, which showed the power, wealth and the meanings of the ideology of the ruler. The edifices were the important constituents of Mughal conceptualization of power and authority and through these edifices; people were attracted into the city space.²⁴⁵ Although Agra existed before the advent of the Mughals, it had never achieved such grandeur in the past.

Through the various imaginaries, metaphorical traditions and memory evoking structures²⁴⁶ the city of Agra was made as an eye catching power centre which attracted not only the locals but also the Europeans who were always impressed by the beautiful, magnificent buildings and gardens. It was Akbar who initiated the process of constructing edifices on a large scale in Agra, where he articulated his notions of sovereignty through architectural devices. He wanted to transform the city of Agra as the best visible form for perpetuating memories about him in the city, which he

²⁴³ Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India, The New Cambridge History of India*. 1995. p. 1.

²⁴⁴ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700", A paper presented in the *International Association of Asian Historians of Asia*, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, p. 1.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁴⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "*Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra*", p. 1.

attempted by renaming the very new city as Akbarabad.²⁴⁷ Akbar provided it with systematic planning in all necessary spheres so that it developed into a city of great eminence. It became the model city of the Mughals and its reputation enhanced by its establishment as the capital of the Mughal Empire under him. That part of Agra, where the Jesuits resided during the hey-day of religious dialogues, eventually got enlarged with the increase in Christian population, mainly because of the converts and some Armenians conducting trade in the city.²⁴⁸

As Akbar spent most of his regnal years including the last days in Agra, the city evolved as a symbol for Mughal power and Jahangir followed his father's step. He ascended the throne in 1605 and lived in the city of Agra continuously from 1607 to 1613 and later in 1618 Jahangir made Agra to evolve as the converging point for various artistic and architectural traditions borrowed from Europe as well as West Asia, besides the ones from India. Jahangir banked upon paintings as the best medium for articulating his notions of power. Unlike the architectural structures and edifices erected in public space that speak to the elites and the masses alike on a long-term basis, the range and reachability of paintings was then very much restricted only to an elite audience, who were placed in the different ladders of authority or who had access to the corridors of power.²⁴⁹

The easy accessibility of the emperor to the public was a matter of great surprise to the European travelers who visited the court of the Mughal emperors.²⁵⁰ The accessibility of the emperor to the public greatly assisted the efficiency of the Mughal administration as it helped to prevent chances of manipulation by any single person or group at the court. Through the process of dialogue Akbar managed to bring the best out of these

²⁴⁷ Niccolao Manucci, *Mogul India (Storia da Mogor)*, tran, by William Irvine, vol. I & II, New Delhi, 2005, p. 130.

²⁴⁸ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 286.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-258.

²⁵⁰ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his Journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*, New Delhi, 1922. p.198.

communities for his state building ventures. In fact Akbar wanted to develop the new cultural process initiated by religious dialogue as the central part of the life in his empire, with its concentrated experience in the capital cities including Agra. Though Akbar's dialogue with the Portuguese was more a dialogue seen between two powers, an underlying element in it was his earnest desire to know about the west and its cultural traditions. It was against this background that Akbar and Jahangir tried to collect as many Christian paintings as possible from the Jesuits, who with their start of their missions used a number of European pictures as aids to evangelization and as objects of veneration in their churches.

Maclagan in his work gives some evidences that though the pictures are not any more but suspects of being previously existed in the artistic features of the Mughal palaces. This is inferred from the Christian wall paintings indicated in one of the beautiful illustrations to the copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* prepared for Akbar in 1593 by painter Maskin. These European elements in the *Khamsa* was not the sign of a passive acceptance of 'superior' painting techniques but a creative and meaningful response by the Mughal artists in the form of articulating their own ideas. Indeed, to use the language of modern technology, the *Khamsa* is a fine example of the Mughal artists' ingenuity in "uploading" these foreign elements into their own aesthetic and semantic structures.²⁵¹

The painting depicts an incident in an oriental building on the walls of which there are three paintings of a European type; one showing four children scantily clad in some form of bath²⁵², the second a personage writing at the dictation of another, and the third a man probably St. Mathew writing under the supervision of an Angel²⁵³. Figures of

²⁵¹ Gregory Minissale, "The Synthesis of European and Mughal Art in the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizami". Asianart.com, Articles, p. 1.

²⁵² The reason for including the bathtub scene in this picture was perhaps to cast an aspersion on the consistent nudity found in European art, in contradiction to the rather more sacred imagery found in the painting next to it. Ibid., p.7.

²⁵³ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 1990. p. 241.

nude women are totally absent in the paintings relating to the periods of Akbar and Jahangir, but are occasionally observed in the mid seventeenth century.²⁵⁴ Another picture confirms more close accounts given by the Jesuits, it represents the empress Nur Jahan entertaining Jahangir and one of the princes in the year 1617, and in the background is a portion of a pavilion, on two panels of which are shown a *Madonna* and an *Ecce Homo*²⁵⁵. In the Darbar of Jahangir, the emperor sits on a terrace in front of a wall on which there is a small painting of the Virgin Mary. Depiction and painting of Mughal rulers against the background of Christian paintings and themes eventually became a new module of communication in the format of Luso-Mughal religious dialogues, which often branched out into power dialogues on the basis of exigencies.

At a time when the Portuguese dominated over the waters of Indian Ocean, particularly from mid-sixteenth century till the first quarter of the seventeenth century, there was an increasing attempt to emulate the cultural images and formats that the Jesuits introduced in the court. Whatever maybe the ultimate verdict of expert opinion by different scholars, there is no doubt that the study of European pictures by the court painters of the Mughals introduced some changes which influenced their work. As Maclagan opines that it is very difficult to say how far the influence of the Jesuits on the Mughal art had happened because importation of pictures could also be due to the merchants and other agencies²⁵⁶. However the process of copying and collecting of pictures must have certainly been encouraged by the Jesuits.

On the other hand we also know that Jesuits were almost exclusively responsible for the remarkable acceptability which Christian subjects enjoyed among the Mughal painters of the seventeenth century. There are some pictures portraying Christian subjects

²⁵⁴ Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, p. 90. See Picture 14.

²⁵⁵ C. Stanley Clarke, *Mogul Paintings, Period of the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, HMSO, London, plate 9.

²⁵⁶ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. Chapter XV, p. 248.

connecting the Christian religion which presents the history of the Jesuits mission. The Jesuits, who had been to the court of Akbar since 1580 representing the world of the Christian Portuguese traders, set up a Church in Agra which eventually became a door for the entry of different forms of knowledge from Renaissance Europe in the city.²⁵⁷

Akbar initiated the tradition of incorporating Christian themes and objects in Mughal art-forms, by asking to make copies of paintings of Mary, Jesus Christ, angels and St. Ignatius Loyola on his would be Mausoleum at Sikander, which remained there till Aurangzeb ordered them to be erased in the last quarter of seventeenth century.²⁵⁸ Thus, Manucci says, 'the tomb of Akbar, which was completed later during the time of Jahangir(1613), had a dome-ceiling decorated with angels and cherubims, while its principal gateway was decorated with the paintings of the Christian themes and personalities like the crucifix, the Virgin Mary and St. Ignatius, the founder of Jesuit Order. These paintings remained there as language of memory and souvenirs of the religious dialogue till Aurangzeb erased them later with a coat of whitewash'.²⁵⁹

The bulk of the Mughal sacred pictures received their inspiration from small engravings introduced in Europe. It is thus not uncommon that European engravings were inserted. We know that Jahangir held a large collection of European prints and we already know a number of them were utilized as the basis of the large wall pictures with which Jahangir adorned his palace at Agra. Father Xavier in 1608²⁶⁰ described how at evening meetings Jahangir would send his librarian to fetch his collection of prints and how he

²⁵⁷ Niccolao Manucci, *Mogul India(Storia do Mogor)*, vol.I, p.140; François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668*, Delhi, 2005, pp.286-7; F.Pierre du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, New Delhi, 1999.

²⁵⁸ Niccolao Manucci, *Mogul India(Storia do Mogor)*, vol.I, pp.137-8.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁶⁰ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 248.

would at night by night go through them and obtain from the Jesuit Fathers explanations of their meanings for example of God, the Faith, Crucifixion etc.²⁶¹

In the works of the Fathers we also sense their feeling of superiority because of the fascinations shown by the Mughal courtiers, for Xavier writes again of how Jahangir when employing his artists to paint a picture from an engraving, required them to consult the Fathers as to the colours to be used for the costumes.²⁶² But infact the European prints were nevertheless kept in the Mughals portfolios, partly on account of their artistic merit and partly as curiosities.²⁶³

Jahangir also used to keep the pictures of Christ and Blessed Mary in his bed-chamber in 1598, which might not mean that he was converted to Christianity. Father Guerreiro convinces us that Jahangir had scenes of Chrstian art painted on the walls of his palace in Agra.²⁶⁴ His liking for them was most probably because of the fact that they happened to be the objects which the Portuguese, the masters of the Indian Ocean revered and everything that any dominant power respects and reveres would evoke a certain amount of attraction among others including the Mughals.

The leading Mughal painter, Kesho the elder had an album of Christian pictures that had been copied. The images and sketches of the first page of the *Antwerp Plantijn Polyglot Bible*,²⁶⁵ which the first group of Jesuits gave to Akbar in 1580, began to loom very much in the paintings and architectural formats of the Mughals for almost half a century. One of them was copied by Kesho and bound up in an album which he presented with a dedication to the Emperor in 1588. The baluster columns depicted in the sketches of the Bible became an important ingredient of many of the architectural

²⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 247-48.

²⁶² Ibid., p.249.

²⁶³ Ibid., p.246.

²⁶⁴ H.Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and Inscriptions on their tombs, Agra (1580-1803) Calcutta.* 1907, p.12.

²⁶⁵ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.19.

structures of Agra and Delhi, the most important among them being baluster columns of Machchhi Bhawan, Agra (1637) and Zana Mina Bazar, Agra (1637).²⁶⁶

The depiction of four animals –ox, lion, lamb and wolf- on the title-page of the Antwerp Plantijn Bible, symbolically denoting peaceful co-existence of animals under the Messianic rule prophesied by Isaiah was emulated by the Mughal imperial painters as to show that the same Messianic peace was prevailing under Jahangir's reign. Most of the paintings on Jahangir had lamb and lion or ox and lion being depicted as taking rest at the foot of his throne.²⁶⁷ However these cultural symbols are depicted in Mughal paintings with a modified meaning, whereby the person on throne was equated as king Solomon, and the wisest king in Semitic tradition, as there is no notion of Messiah in Islam. The message given in these paintings is that under Jahangir the inimical entities as lamb and lion peacefully co-exist,²⁶⁸ meaning Jahangir was the new Solomon, under whose reign the various groups with mutually conflicting religious ideologies and versions would peacefully co-exist. The representation of a lion lying down with a lamb on the globe symbolizes the just rule of Emperor Jahangir.²⁶⁹

It illustrates the peaceful assembly of wild and tame animals brought together by the power of the ruler's justice. The theme is borrowed from Plantijn's Royal Polyglot Bible presented to Akbar in 1580. The first title page of this illustrated royal Bible depicted a lion lying down with the lamb under the just rule of the Messiah as prophesied by Isaiah.²⁷⁰ This particular motif has been frequently employed in the allegorical portraits of both Jahangir and Shah Jahan as a symbol of the Golden Age.

²⁶⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700", A paper presented in the *International Association of Asian Historians of Asia*, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, p.7.

²⁶⁷ For the paintings see Ashok Kumar.Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, p.84.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p.84

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p.84.

²⁷⁰ Ebba Koch, "Pietre Dure and other Artistic contacts between the Court of the Mughals and that of the Medici", *Marg*, Vol. xxxix p. 52, fig. 34.

Portraits of Jahangir holding a globe symbolizes universal power which appears to have been adopted and adapted from western engravings.²⁷¹ Jahangir and his artists were greatly inspired by the theme of the crucifixion of Christ.²⁷² He had the grave of his father Akbar at Sikandara painted with Christian frescos. Niccolao Manucci saw a picture of Christ on the cross in the walls of Akbar's tomb at Sikandara.²⁷³ In a painting of the durbar of Jahangir is seen a part of the picture of the crucifixion painted on the wall above the emperor's throne.²⁷⁴ When the third mission came to Mughal court Akbar showed the Jesuit Fathers at least twenty volumes of Christian literature, which he had collected from the previous Jesuits missionaries. It must also be noted that the Christian churches on the precincts of the Mughal dominion also served as a storehouse of a variety of religious pictures which could exercise influence and promote their conversion for Christianity.²⁷⁵

Besides Plantijn's royal Polyglot Bible which Akbar received from the Jesuit missionaries in 1580, two other bound books printed at Antwerp, the *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti* of 1585 and the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* of 1593, were also known in India.²⁷⁶ St. Mathew and the Angel by Kesho is a copy of an engraving by Maeren van Heemskerckst first published in 1562.²⁷⁷ Just as the Jesuit Fathers were perceiving and writing about everyday happenings of the Mughal court and its people; we see in the same way a portrait probably of a Portuguese either being imitated in the painting school of the Mughals from a western original or

²⁷¹ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.252-253.

²⁷² For the paintings see Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, p.84-85.

²⁷³ Nicolo Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mughal India 1633-1708*, vol. I, p. 141.

²⁷⁴ Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, p. 85.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.83.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.85.

²⁷⁷ Leigh Ashton, ed., *"The Art of India and Pakistan"*, London, 1949, p. 144, cat.no. 645.

based upon the artist's personal observation of the foreign visitors to the Mughal court.²⁷⁸

The most common Christian subjects dealt in the Mughal art are the Virgin Mary or Virgin and Child.²⁷⁹ Maclagan writes that the traditional treatment of the Virgin and Child in European art has through these representations influenced the type adopted by convention in modern Indian pictures of Devaki and the infant Krishna.²⁸⁰ We are now clear that the subject of the Virgin or Virgin and child must have been very familiar to the Indian painters in Mughal times.²⁸¹ It is also said that Berlin Museum of Ethnology has a Madonna painted by the artist, Balchand.²⁸² The use of Nimbus and the introduction of the Renaissance Cherub represent features of interest in connection with the Christian influence. This use was said to have been revived during the reign of Jahangir, a less known fact that it may reasonably be held due to the growing acquaintance with Christian art acquired through the Jesuits. Tavernier and Perry write that there is a gradual change after the time of the early Mughals, under which the solid looking disc nimbus gave way to the form of halo separated from the head.²⁸³ The decorative use of Cherub may be also ascribed to Jesuit origin. The introduction of the winged angels in illustration²⁸⁴ has as an oriental feature and has a history of its own.²⁸⁵ But the employment of cherubs of the renaissance type for decorative purposes is a characteristic for which the Jesuit influence may reasonably be held responsible. For example, reception of a Persian embassy by Shah Jahan was decorated with a wall

²⁷⁸ See picture 7.

²⁷⁹ See picture 9.

²⁸⁰ Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.250.

²⁸¹ See picture 9

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

²⁸³ Tavernier- Perry, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XII, 1907, pp. 20-28.

²⁸⁴ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 256.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

behind the throne by such cherub.²⁸⁶ We also find adornments of angels and cherubs in pictures of Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and of Shah Jahan²⁸⁷ all executed in the seventeenth Century, but under the influence of paintings brought by the Portuguese.

In another picture depicting a conversation between Shah Jahan and an old courtier, there are two angels in the clouds, among whom one plays a musical instrument and the other pours rose leaves or some similar emblem of blessing on the head of the emperor.²⁸⁸ The famous miniature by painter Narsing shows the Jesuit priests sitting on the ground at Akbar's right, clothed in black or dark blue; undoubtedly the two Jesuit Fathers must be Rudolf Aquaviva and Monserrate or Henriques.²⁸⁹

In many of the paintings executed under Jahangir the imageries from *Polyglot Bible*²⁹⁰ were increasingly resorted to as to legitimize his political positions and attitudes towards multiculturalism. Shah Jahan, who ascended the throne in 1628 in Agra and resided in the city during the period between 1628-9, 1631-33 and 1657-1666 transformed it into a marvelous city of memorials in white marbles.²⁹¹ Thus the city of Agra was a site where different languages of power and authority were constantly written and re-written using the scripts of architecture and art-designs. Agra rose to its pre-eminent position because there was a need for a new centre in close proximity to this area.²⁹²

²⁸⁶ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 256.

²⁸⁷ F.R.Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, vol. II. Newyork, 1982, plates 211, 212 and 213, p. 79.

²⁸⁸ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p.259.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²⁹⁰ A version of Bible in which different texts, often in different languages, were laid out in parallel columns.

²⁹¹ Nurul Hasan, *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India*' ed. By Satish Chandra. New Delhi, 2005, p.226.

²⁹² I.P. Gupta, *Agra the Imperial Capital 10th to 17th century: Urban Glimpses of Mughal India*, New Delhi, 1986, pp.1-10.

When we look at the activities of the Jesuits at the Mughal court we should not ignore the influence of Jesuit missionaries on the symbolic representations of the Mughal emperors. As already mentioned, when the first Jesuit mission reached the court on 5th March 1580, they presented to Emperor Akbar a set of the Antwerp Polygot Bible and other pictorial materials.²⁹³ This gift giving culture as Ebba Koch says had brought together means of evangelization to initiate a dialogue between Mughal art and European forms of representation. Another most significant gift to Akbar from the first Jesuit mission was an atlas of the world.²⁹⁴ This atlas served the purpose of introducing detailed geographical knowledge in the Mughal court. The Jesuit priest Monserrate reports that on one occasion, while the Jesuits were with Akbar, the emperor called for an atlas and asked where Portugal was in relation to his own kingdom²⁹⁵

The Jesuits played the role of being the transmitters of new ideas in the art of Mughal paintings and architecture. Akbar always wanted to have new experiences and his universal approach towards religion made the Jesuits to take up their mission and keep the dialogue process going forward. A letter addressed in 1582 by Akbar probably to Philip II of Spain²⁹⁶ reads, “Therefore we associate at convenient reasons with learned men of all religions and thus derive profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspiration”.²⁹⁷ Here Akbar means to say that they should not stick only to the religion in which he was born but to try and understand from every religion, and not exclude him from the possibility of ascertaining the truth, which is the noblest aim of the human intellect.

²⁹³ J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, 1580-1582*. Oxford University Press. 1922. p. 36.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.28.

²⁹⁶ A letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for the Christian scripture’, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xvi 1887, pp. 135-9. Also Maclagan, p. 44 note 57.

²⁹⁷ E. Rehatsek – ‘A letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for the Christian scriptures’ *Antiquary*, Vol-XVI (1887), pp. 135.9.

The letter which Akbar sent to the authorities of Goa before the arrival of the Jesuits mentions about Akbar asking for getting two learned priests, who should bring with them the chief books of the law and the Gospel. It seems that Akbar wanted to get himself exposed to European culture and ideas through the medium of these learned priests. Jesuits taught the Mughal court the meaning of the images and explained the pictures that they brought with them, although they remained for a long span of time as mere 'curiosities'. The royal Polygot Bible had various volumes; the first title page and its reverse engraving-allegories representation with allusions to the royal patron Philip III have acquired a particular significance for the symbolism of the Mughal court painting in the later period, as we had seen earlier.

The first page shows the full title of the Bible arranged on and between architectural frames. It encloses also, a landscape and four animals – ox, lion, lamb and wolf illustrating symbolically the Messiah prophesied by Isiah and the union of the nations in the Christian faith and the four languages in which the old testament appears in the Polygot Bible.²⁹⁸

The second title page shows the allegorical representation of the Piety of Philip II (*Pietas Regia*), a woman crowned with a laurel wreath and surrounded by various attributes, symbolic arrangements and inscriptions explaining and amplifying the qualities of Philip II as protector of the Catholic faith.²⁹⁹

Grenville has written that the animals of the *Pietatis Concordeai* were introduced individually in the assembly of the Solomonic animals. This exemplified the European sheep lying near a lion at the feet of the Solomon's throne. The knowledge of the

²⁹⁸ Pius Malekandathil, Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue, p.5; Ashok Kumar, p. 74.

²⁹⁹ Pius Malekandathil, "Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700", A paper presented in the International Association of Asian Historians of Asia, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008, pp. 6-7.

techniques of a European allegory gave Jahangir and his artist the means to express in painting concepts of rulership which had hitherto been formulated only in writing, as by Khwandamir for Humayun and by Abul Fazal for Akbar. Because of the royal utility of these images the reaction to the sacred images the Jesuits had brought with them was better than they had expected.³⁰⁰

There are records from the time of Akbar when the pilgrims going to Mecca were forced to have pictures of Mary and of Jesus stamped on their passports.³⁰¹ However we later find that Shah Jahan's soldiers hung the images of Christian saints on trees³⁰² during their attack on the Portuguese at Hugli in 1632.³⁰³ This shows an attitude not of any political difference but of the faith, the reason being that the orthodox rulers like Shah Jahan could not take it.

Atleast during Akbar's and Jahangir's rule, they not only tolerated the use of images and paintings of the Christians, but also had a feeling of sympathy and toleration. Jahangir showed an unusual interest in European paintings, particularly the ones having Christian themes.³⁰⁴ He was in possession of a variety of such pictures like those of Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, the Crucifixion, St. John the Baptist, St. Anne etc., which decorated the walls of the palace.³⁰⁵

Paintings were not new to the Mughals, as Akbar for instance took lessons in painting and it was an age which had fine painters in India where the king encouraged weekly

³⁰⁰ *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, trans. J.S.Hoyland, and. S.N. Banerjee, pp. 9, 60, 176.

³⁰¹ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 223.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p.102.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ William Fosters (ed.), *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, London, 1929, pp. 83, 89, 93.

³⁰⁵ Joseph Thekkekdath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.II. , Bangalore, 198 8, pp.438-439.

exhibitions.³⁰⁶ What happened with the entry of the Jesuits was that there appeared a fusion of east-west traditions and the emergence of new art forms.

The Mughals might have on their part understood the nuances of priestly theological arguments regarding the pictures because they were caught up in a comparable tension between Islamic prohibition of pictorial representations and their own inclination to depict the visual world.³⁰⁷ Abul Fazal acknowledged the superiority of European arts which used to attract audience to the extent of confusing a picture for reality.³⁰⁸ However he continued to maintain that pictures were more inferior to the written letter.³⁰⁹ It may though seem that Akbar's interest in the European images must have been enhanced by the influence of their use provided by the priests. The argument they put forward was well fitted to recommend the picture of Akbar's own environment. *Ashok Kumar* opines that by the end of Jahangir's reign, if not earlier, European realism had been incorporated as an integral part of Mughal painting.³¹⁰ Under Jahangir, Mughal painting reached its zenith, declining slowly under Shah Jahan and further accelerated the process of decay with Aurangzeb's unsympathetic attitude.

2. *Creation of Christian Literature*

The dialogue, when it moved from the frontiers of pure religion to politico-cultural dimensions, was concurrently supplemented by literary production. A lot of Persian

³⁰⁶ The major painters of the Mughal times were Abd-us Samad, Daswanth, Basawan, Kesho and Maskin. For details see Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, trans by Blochmann, vol. I, p.p. 107-109.

³⁰⁷ Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. xv-xvii.

³⁰⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), I, p. 103.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³¹⁰ Ashok Kumar, *Mughal Painting*, p. 104.

literary works were produced by the Jesuits, obviously on Christian religious themes, but foreseeing an audience, in the way perceived by the process of their dialogues. The Jesuits were most advanced in their learning, it was also recognized that a missionary in Mughal terrain should if possible acquire knowledge of three languages, viz., Hindustani, Arabic and Persian.³¹¹ It is quite a wonder that most of them having already knowledge in Latin and Greek, writing letters in Portuguese having come from different nation, they were determined to learn the common language in 'Indostan'.

In the first mission- the Fathers prepared in Persian a summary of Gospel narratives, together with discussions of disputed points and submitted it to Akbar. Father Monserrate also prepared for Akbar a summary of events of Christ's passion and presented it to him when he was encamped upon the Indus in 1581.³¹² It was through Father Jerome Xavier that the bulk of the literary work of the Jesuits in Mughal terrain was produced. It is seen that Akbar himself was anxious for translations of the scriptures and at early stage he has asked Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel. Fr. Jerome Xavier, the most creative among the Jesuit missionaries, prepared some important works in Persian language. One of the important works by him is called *Mirat-ul-quds* or 'Mirror of holiness' (spoken of by the Jesuits as the 'mirror of purity'), which dwells upon the life, miracles, death and doctrine of Christ and was also called the *Dastan-i-Masih*. It was finished in 1602, and was read to Akbar. Prince Salim is said to have perused it 'from end to end'.³¹³ The dialogue was written in Portuguese during the Deccan war of 1601 and Akbar himself was introduced as one of the speakers in the character of a philosopher in search of truth.

An important work is *Ain-yi haqq-nama* meaning *The Truth Showing Mirror*, in which the notions of Trinity, divinity of Christ and integrity of Bible, the bone of contention

³¹¹ 'The Persian works of Father Jerome Xavier', in Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 203.

³¹² The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., trans. J.S.Hoyland, and. S.N. Banerjee, p. 67.

³¹³ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp.222-258; Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.II, p.436.

between the Muslim and Christian scholars were discussed from a Christian point of view. This is the most important book of Fr. Jerome Xavier.³¹⁴ The discussions were presented as being between a Catholic priest and a free thinker, shown almost equivalent to Akbar, in which the author makes arguments concisely which Akbar could read in leisure.

An equally significant work is the “Lives of the Apostles”, entitled *Dastan-i, ahwal-i hawariyan-i hazrat-i Isa*, i.e., History of the Vicissitudes of the Apostles of the Lord Jesus which was produced in installments; the sources employed were the Acts of the Apostles and ancient legends.³¹⁵ Meanwhile the Jesuit missionaries also formulated a corpus of treatises on statecraft and duties of king from Christian point of view, obviously with the intention of making the king Akbar familiar with Christian notions of sovereignty. *Adabu's saltanat* meaning the “Duties of Kingship” was an attempt to define the Sultan’s model of kingship from a Christian and European perspective.³¹⁶ Other sets of books like Catechism, History of lives of Saints and Apostles written in Persian language were all meant for teaching the potential converts and aspirants about the Christian religion.

With the help of some colleagues Fr. Jerome Xavier produced a Hindustani catechism in 1611.³¹⁷ Apart from Fr Xavier there were other Fathers of the Mughal mission, who had composed books in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and also Sanskrit. Fr Henry Roth, a German in 1660 composed a Sanskrit grammar who gave a new direction to the Mughal mission. Seeing that majority of the people in the Empire were Hindus, he paid more attention to the Hindus, which made him focus on the composition of Sanskrit

³¹⁴ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, p. 436.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

³¹⁷ Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*. *Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire*, 1957 ,pp. 14-38, 92-178, 191-8.

grammar.³¹⁸ Francois Bernier was acquainted with him and derived from him much of his information concerning the superstitions, strange customs and doctrines of the natives of Hindustan.³¹⁹ The concern for a translation of the Gospels seems to mark a change in Jesuit missionary methods since the time of Francis Xavier, who never arranged for the translation of any part of the scriptures into any Indian Languages. The change was probably due to the exigencies of a mission to Muslims.

Thus we see that the religious dialogue initiated by Akbar for interacting with representatives of different belief system turned out to be the best device for negotiations between the Portuguese and the Mughals. Symbols of Christian world were increasingly taken and circulated to create a new meaning for the political authority of the early Mughal rulers against the background of increasing challenges from the Sunni orthodox elements. The various forms and elements of European art were imitated, adapted and improved upon as to suit the needs of the Mughals and the different Mughal paintings and architectural structures executed under the influence of Jesuit interactions speak volumes on the complex cultural processes that happened beneath the surface level. Though the impact they created seems to have been relatively less, these works collectively manifest the type and levels of interactions that happened between the Jesuits and the Mughals through the platform of religious dialogues.

³¹⁸ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, p.438.

³¹⁹ Letter of 4th October 1667 to Monsieur Chapelain. A. Constable and V.A. Smith(ed.), *Travels in the Mogul Empire. AD 1656-68*, pp. 300-49.

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters an attempt was made to look into the different meanings of Luso-Mughal dialogues carried out through the agency of Jesuits from 1580 onwards, when the Jesuits first entered the court of Akbar, till 1759 when the Jesuit Order was suppressed in Portugal by Marques Pombal and all Jesuits were made to quit India and to also trace their changing perceptions of the Mughals. The interaction between the Portuguese and the Mughals began as a religious dialogue at a time when the inquisitive Mughal ruler Akbar wanted to know more about the religious tenets, traditions and practices of different religions. However eventually it acquired meanings other than religious, as well, and for all practical purposes. Jesuits became a door for the Mughals and the Portuguese to interact between the two on a variety of issues and realms that interested both. Despite several oddities both the parties saw to it that the Jesuits were there in the principal Mughal cities, even though in the later phase their presence was made to be rather 'ceremonial' with not much function to perform. However the Jesuits vividly depict an image of the Mughals over years through their correspondences prepared during their stay and activities in the Mughal cities from being active participants of religious dialogues and power-negotiations to being passive observers of events and processes that made Mughal polity and religion shift towards orthodoxy and conservatism. These letters manifest the fluctuating nature of the relationship that existed between the Mughals and the Portuguese during this period.

1. The Jesuit interaction with the Mughals helped in producing a larger source material to the readers, which shows how the history of the interactions between these two powers through the Jesuits opened up a different chapter in the world of religious and diplomatic alliance. Interestingly, the Jesuit's changing perceptions of the Mughals during these 180 years, as available to us through their correspondence, did not get the attention they deserve. Similarly, the use of cultural expressions in art, architecture and

literature has not been used for an analysis of the dialogues. Therefore, we could expect that this study might add new findings to the general scholarly discussion about the Jesuit-Mughal dialogues.

2. There were different layers and strands in the Portuguese expansion in the East, which was carried out by different segments of people from various social, cultural and economic backgrounds. Though the official expansion along the west coast of India sponsored by the Portuguese crown and the mercantile expansion along the East coast of India carried out by Portuguese private traders were sufficiently studied; the layer of expansion spearheaded by the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries, particularly the Jesuits did not get sufficient space in the existing historiography. The cultural practices, art-traditions and religious idioms from the Portuguese world entered the Mughal space through these Jesuits, who eventually became much more important and valuable than any territorial possession of the Portuguese in the East, because of the type of negotiations and bridging they made between the expanding Mughals and the shrinking Portuguese.

3. The intense interactions and dialogues initiated through the agency of Jesuits bridged the gulf between Muslims and the Christians, making the Portuguese go back from their initial 'crusading spirit' with which they had come to the East and move towards a policy of accommodation and tolerance, creating a certain amount of communal harmony at least in the initial days of religious dialogue. The dialogue processes created an atmosphere in which the Muslims from Mughal domains and the Christians from the Portuguese terrains learned the lessons of living in mutual trust and inter-dependence.

4. At a time when the Mughals were expanding their frontiers, Akbar was keen to have Jesuits in his court as a bridging factor between the two power houses. Akbar himself seems to have generated a certain type of perception about the Jesuits by this time from his interaction with other Portuguese people. Obviously their image and position as the best learned and trained scholars of Europe must have impressed Akbar very much and

it is quite natural that he wanted these best personnel to be a part of his intellectual world. Akbar evidently wanted these Jesuits to transmit the achievements and glory of the Mughals to the European world, particularly through their writings and correspondences. It was with this explicit objective that Akbar took the Jesuit priests of the first mission in his company, while going for wars and hunting. Jesuits were seen initially as a door for the Mughals to reach out to the larger world at a time when the frontiers of the Mughals began to be expanded from the regional limits of north India to the maritime fringes of Gujarat and Bengal.

5. The Jesuit perception of the Mughals for the initial thirty years, i.e., till the entry of the English ambassador in the Mughal court, was marked by an attitude of cultural superiority of the Portuguese, reflecting the haughtiness stemming from their hegemony in the Indian Ocean. However, with the entry of the English in the court and after the Jesuits saw themselves only as one of different European representatives in the court, we find the language of the Jesuits getting increasingly softened and the Jesuit criticism of the Mughal and Islamic practices increasingly diluted. The language of arrogance and haughtiness started disappearing from the Jesuit letters by this time and the tone began to change into that of accommodation and participatory efforts.

6. With the orthodox and conservative elements tightening of hold over the social and cultural life of Mughal world, the nature of relationship between the Portuguese and the later Mughals changed considerably affecting terribly the content of interactions between the Mughal rulers and the Jesuits. The capturing of Hughli in 1632 and the consequent persecution of Jesuits in Agra in 1633-4 by Shah Jahan's forces for admitting the Portuguese captives from Bengal in their church made the Jesuits depict him as a persecutor of Christian religion. The Jesuit image of Shah Jahan shows how his anti-Portuguese and anti-Christian stand got diluted and softened over years thanks to the influence and good will of Dara Shukoh.

7. The Jesuit perceptions about Aurangzeb emerging from their correspondences are entirely different from the ones spread in popular circles. The Jesuit image of Aurangzeb was conditioned chiefly by the appeasing policy that the latter resorted to the Portuguese and the Christians, who exempted the Christians from paying *jazia* or poll-tax. The Jesuit perceptions about the Mughal rulers depended very much on the degree of assistance and support that the latter extended to the Portuguese or their religion. However the Jesuits did not move out of Mughal Agra till 1759, despite the oddities and tribulations that they had to face from 1630s on.

8. Many of the art-forms and painting traditions that the Mughals commissioned to execute were influenced by the Jesuit world. Symbols of the Christian world including the image of co-existence of lion and lamb under Messianic rule or the depiction of person with halo around the head were increasingly taken and circulated to create a new meaning for the political authority of the Mughal rulers. Akbar got some of the images of Christian veneration painted onto his mausoleum, making his place of last abode turn into an epitome of the dialogical processes that he initiated.

9. Jahangir believed that possession of European paintings of Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, the Crucifixion, St. John the Baptist, St. Anne etc., added more value to his collections, even though they went against Islamic teachings. The Jesuit letters show how the Mughal rulers rose above the level of religion to uphold the value of artistic masterpieces coming from renaissance Europe. Jahangir showed an unusual interest in imbibing the European pattern of paintings.

10. When the dialogue moved from the frontiers of pure religion to politico-cultural dimensions, it was concurrently supplemented by literary production. Besides the realms of art, the Jesuits produced a lot of Persian literary works on Christian religious themes, foreseeing an audience in the way perceived by the process of their dialogues. This contributed to the dissemination of new ideas into Persian language and adaptation of Persian to accommodate the meanings of Christian theology. Though the impact they

created seems to have been relatively less, these works collectively manifest the type of perception that the Jesuits had about the Mughal religious and cultural world when they dialogued with them at different time points.

11. Jesuits played a vital role by shifting their base to the mainland through their mission to the Mughal courts. It cannot be denied that both the Portuguese and the Mughals needed to come up with a conspicuous decision to avoid political upheavals, maintaining balance of power in the region. We cannot jump into the conclusion that the intention of the Jesuits was purely religious knowing that though it started principally as a religious work and they tried to carry so till the end, their mission is seen as not excluding the economical and political dialogues. No doubt the religious dialogue turned out to be the official embassy to the Mughal courts in course of time.

Thus the Jesuits' perceptions about the Mughals did not remain static; on the contrary it changed with time and circumstances. The Mughals and the Jesuits understood the 'other' much better over a long span of years, consequent to which the nature and colour of the images varied from time to time. Even though the overall impact of the Jesuits in the Mughal court was less, the kind of perception that they had about the Mughal world and the works they produced opened a medium which gave the world a whole new meaning for the Mughal activities in India at different time periods.

Illustrations



Picture 1: 'The Virgin Mary'

School of Jahangir, c. 1605-15, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Note: All the illustrations have been taken out from Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*. New Delhi, 2000.



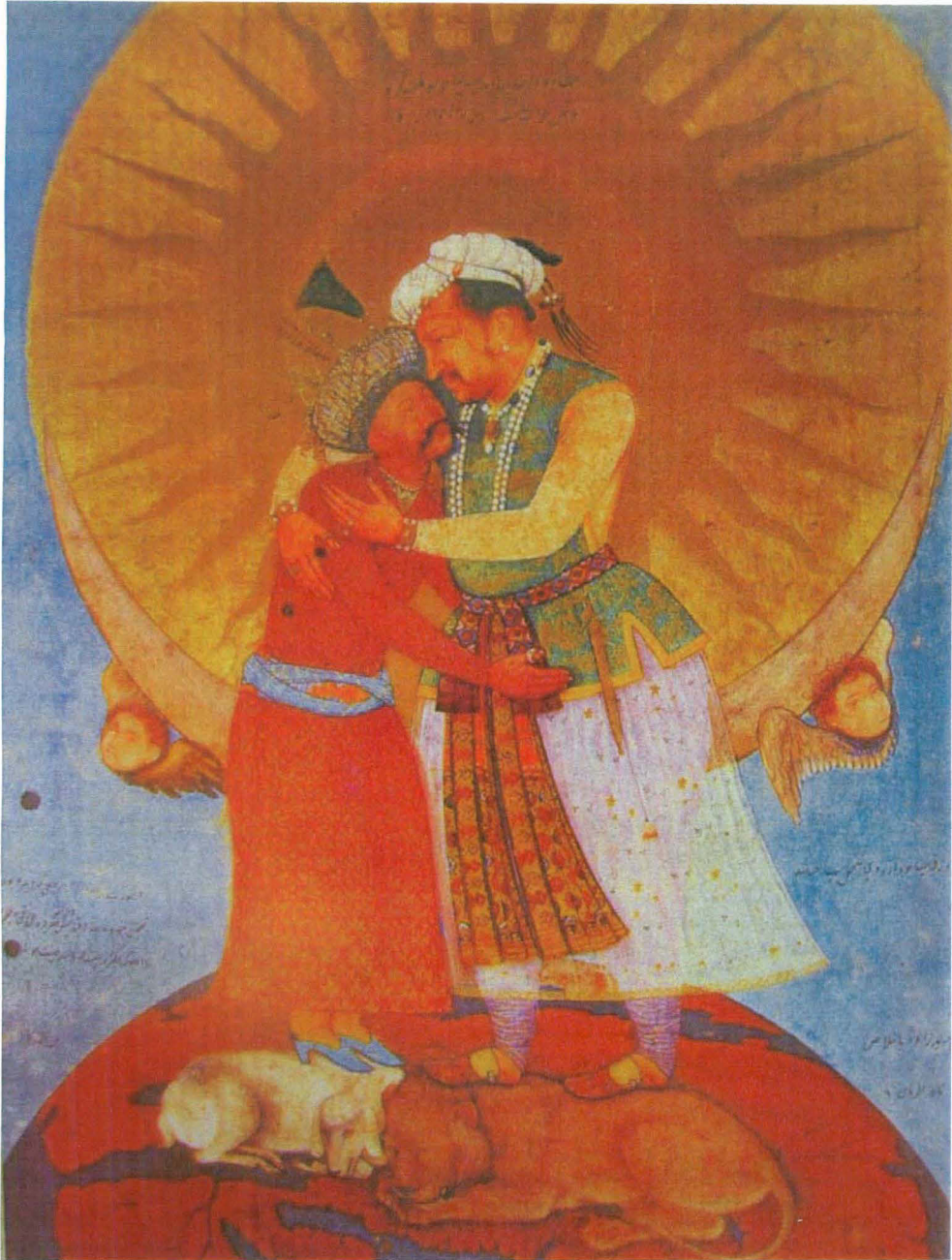
Picture 2: 'A Jesuit Priest early 17th century'

National Museum, New Delhi.



Picture 3: 'Jahangir preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings'

By Bichitr, c. 1615-20, from the Leningrad Album, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Influence of Christian painting is well depicted here, seen in this picture are two angels above Jahangir's head.



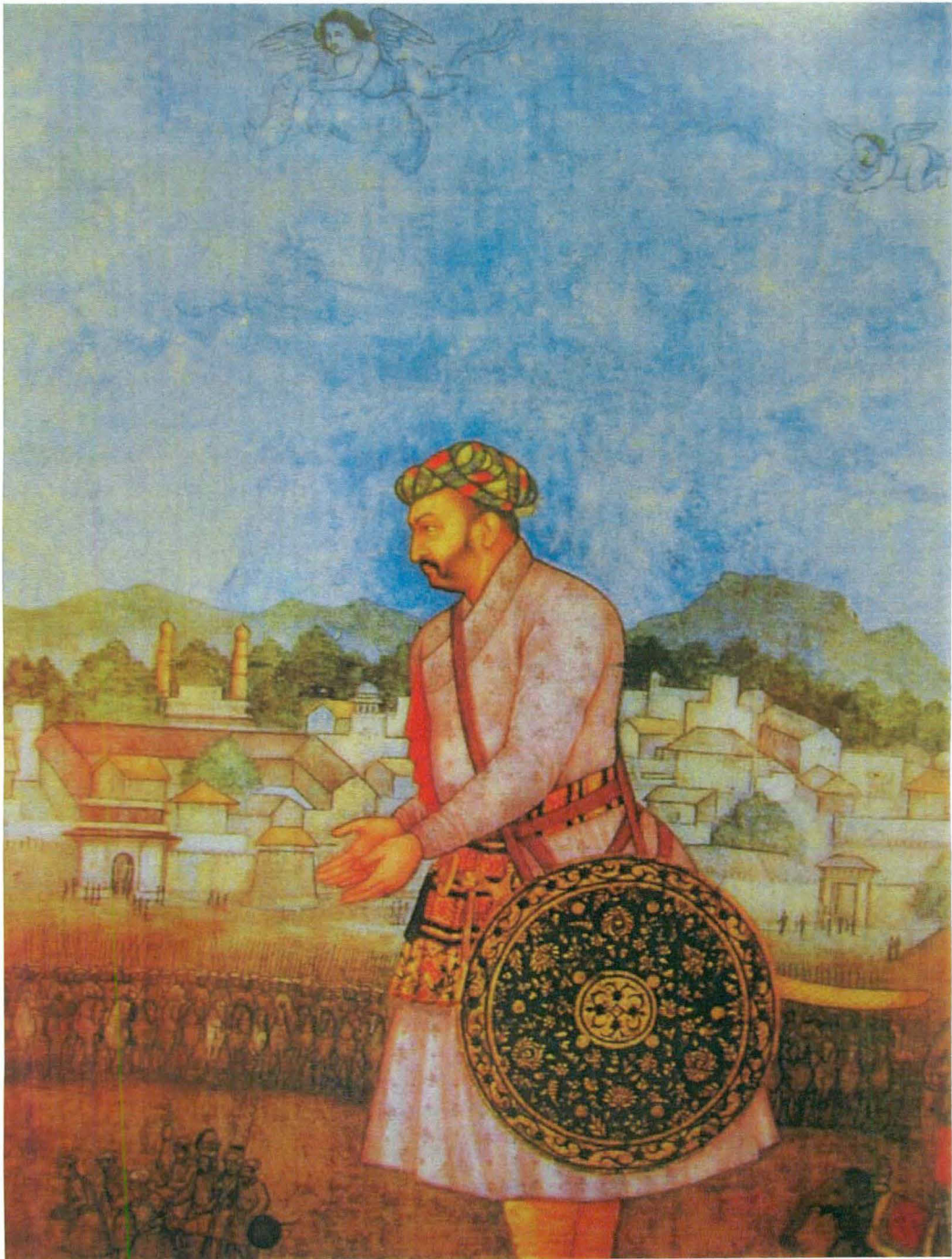
Picture 4: 'Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas'

By Abul Hasan, c. 1618-20, from the Leningrad Album, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Jahangir is shown embracing Shah Abbas, where the halo is made larger enough to serve as background for the painting, while they were represented as standing on Indo-Persian terrain of the globe where a lion and a sheep rest together. See Ashok Kumar, *Mughal Paintings*, III.90.



Picture 5: 'The Emperor Jahangir standing on a globe shooting poverty'

By Abul Hasan, c. 1620, Nasli and Alice Heermaneck collection, Los Angeles county Museum of Art. There is a halo around his head, while on the globe were depicted a lion and a sheep resting together. Two angels carry a crown over his head. Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000, III. 91.



Picture 6: 'Portrait of Asaf Khan'

By Bichitr, c. 1630. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Picture 7: 'A Portuguese Gentleman'

Early 17th century. Golubew collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Picture 8: 'Christ crowned with thorns'

Late 16th century, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



Picture 9: 'The Virgin and the Child'

Later Mughal Style, 18th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. This Picture almost became popular for the Mughal rulers with the coming of the First Jesuits Mission, (1530).



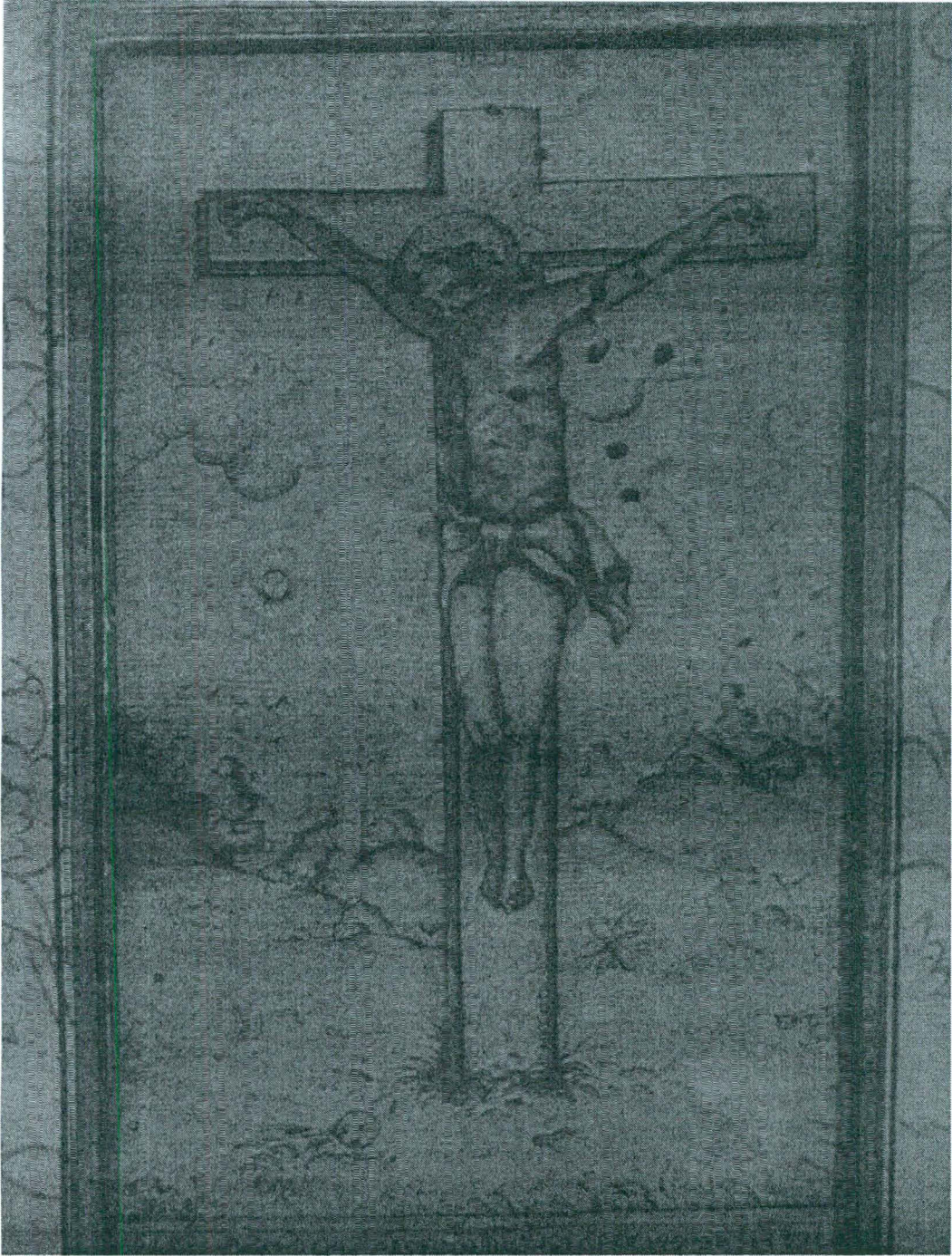
Picture 10: 'The Madonna and the Child'

By Mukund, School of Akbar, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



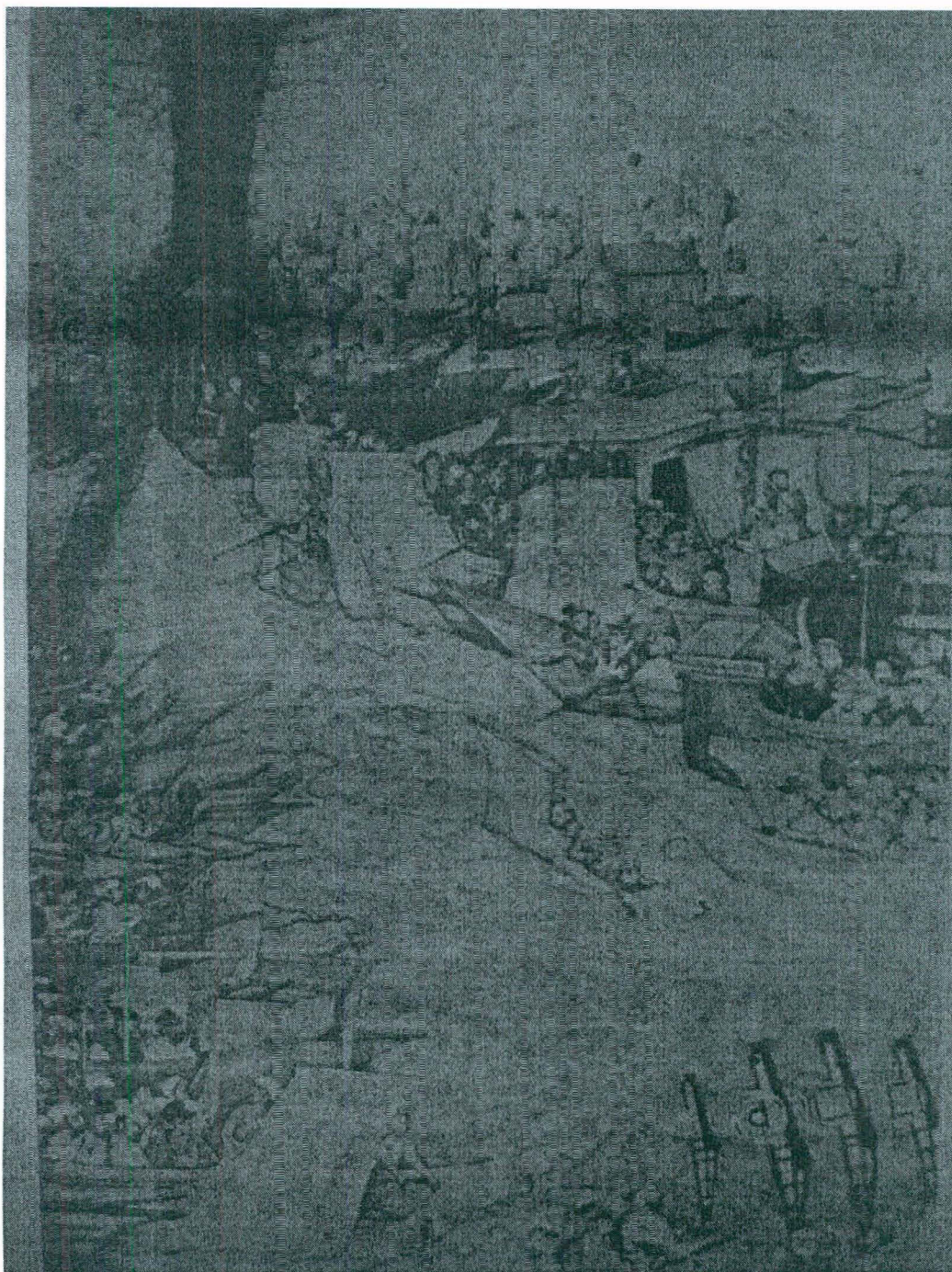
Picture 11: 'The Emperor Shah Jahan standing on a globe'

By Bichitr, School of Shah Jahan, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



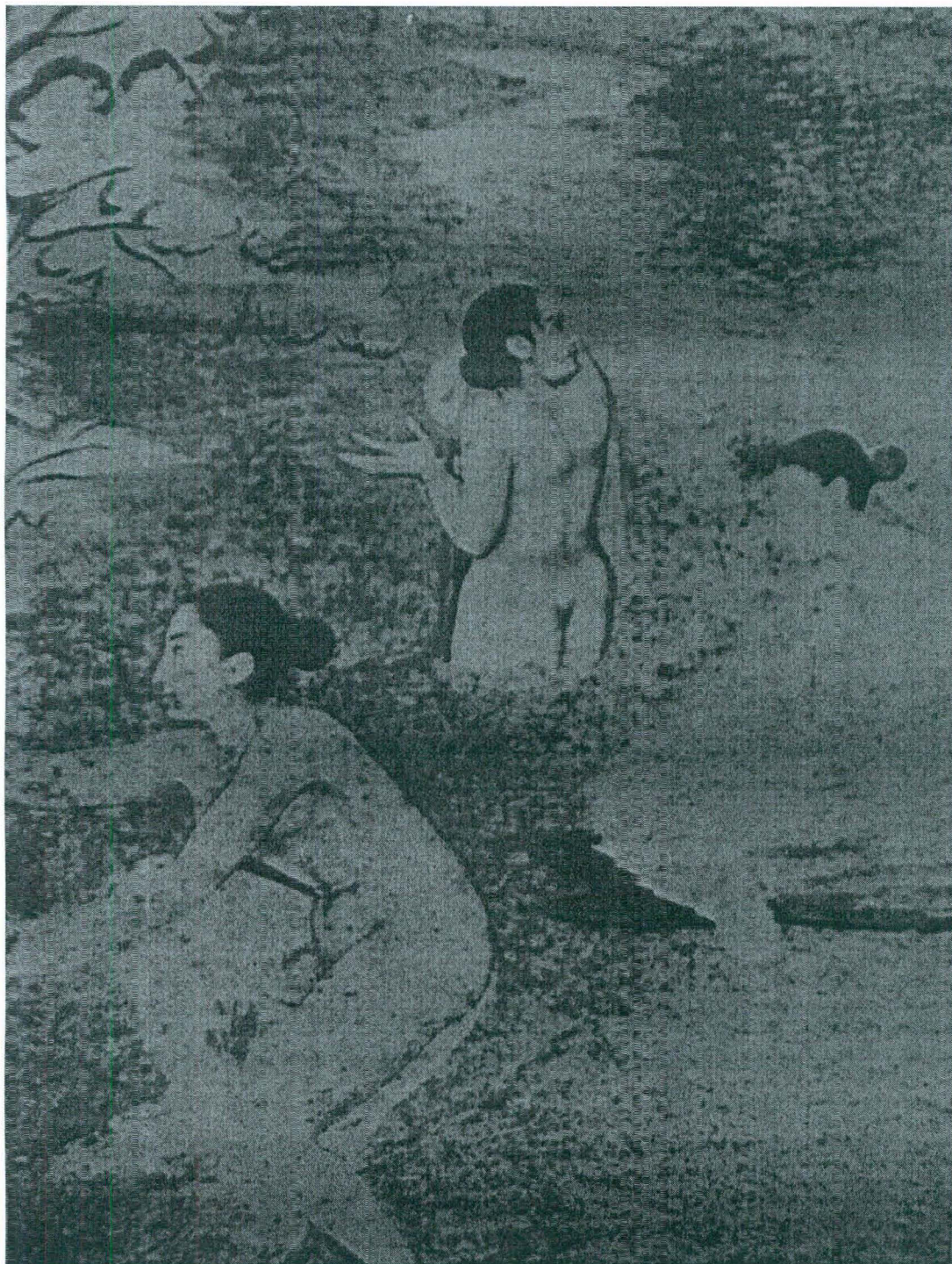
Picture 12: 'The Crucifixion'

C. 1615. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. This Picture of the Christ in thorr s also attracted a lot of attention to the Mughals.



Picture 13: 'Mughal assault on the Portuguese settlement at Hugli'

By Murad, Shah Jahan Nama, Windsor Castle Library. The attack on the Portuguese in Hugli by the Mughals is mentioned particularly in chapter-3.



Picture 14: 'Ladies Bathing'

Mid 18th century, Musée Guimet, Paris.

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

- Allami, Abul-L-Fazl, *The A-in-i-Akbari*, trans by H. Blochmann, 3 Vols., Delhi, 1989.
- Baião Antonio, *A Inquisição de Goa vol.I: Tentativa de Historia de sua Origem, estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção*, Lisboa, 1945.
- Baldaeus, Philip, *A true and exact description of the most celebrated East Indies, coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as also of the Isle of Ceylon, with all the adjacent Kingdom, Principalities, Cities, Chief Harbours, Structure, Pagan Temples, Products and Living Creatures*, London, 1672.
- Barbosa, Duarte, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, tran. by Mansel Longworth Dames, 2 Vols., New Delhi, 2002.
- Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668, London, 1891.
- Bowrey, Thomas, *A Geographical Account of Countries Around the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679*, ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, London, 1905.
- Cabral, Pedro Alvares, *The Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, Trans. by Williams Brooks Greenlee, New Delhi, 1995.
- Carre, Abbe, *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and Near East, 1672-1674*, New Delhi, 1948.
- Cummins, S, *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette, 1618-86*. vol. II, Cambridge, 1962.

- Foster, William(ed.) *The English Factories in India. 1637-1641 to 1661-1664*, Oxford, 1906-1927.
- Foster, Wiliam(ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-1619*, London, 1929.
- Freyer, John, *New account of East India and Persia being nine years travels 1672-1681.* (ed.) William Crooke, London, 1909-1915.
- Godinho Vitorino Magalhães, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1981-4.
- Grey, Edward(ed.), *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans.by Havers, London, 1892.
- Hamilton, Alexander, *A New Account of the East-Indies Being the Observations and Remarks of Alexander Hamilton from the years 1688-1723*, 2 Vols., New Delhi, 1995.
- Hoyland, J.S, and Banerjee S,N,(Tran.), *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., on His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, Oxford, 1922.
- Linschoten, John Huyghen Van ,*The Voyages of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, edited by Arthur Coke Burnell, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1988
- Lockman, J, *Travels of the Jesuits 1698-1711, into various parts of the world compiled from their letters to the Jesuits of France.* Vol II, New Delhi. 1995.
- Manucci, Niccolao, *Mogul India or Storia do Mongor, 1653-1708*, trans, and edited by William Irvine, 4 vols., New Delhi, 1990.
- Matos, Artur Teodor de, 'The Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine Period' in Teotonio R.de Souza (ed)., *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 90-101.
- Perera, SG, *The Jesuits in Ceylon (In the XVI and XVII century)*, Madura. 1941.

- Purchas, Samuel, 1577-1626, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims: containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and lande travels by Englishmen and others*, Vol. X, Glasôw, 1905-1907.
- Pyrard de Laval, Francois, *Voyage of Francois de Laval to the East Indies, Maldives, Moluccas and Brazil*. Vol II, Part I, London, 1888-90.
- Rego, Antonio da Silva (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 vols., Lisboa, 1948-55.
- Tavernier, Jean Baptiste de, *Travels in India*, trans, and edited by Valentine Ball, 2 Vols., New Delhi, 1995.
- Thomaz, Luis Felipe, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa/London, 1991.
- Wicki, Padre Iosephus (ed.), *Documenta Indica, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, Vol. 1-16, Rome, 1948-63.

2. Secondary Sources

- Ahmad, Afzal, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-west Indian States in the 17th century- (1660-1663)*, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis submitted to King's College, University of London, 2005.
- Alden, Dauril, *Changing Jesuit perceptions of the Brazil during the Sixteenth century*, Washington, 1992.
- Bethencourt, Francisco and Ramada Curto, Diogo, (ed.) *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, Cambridge, 2007.

- Beveridge, Annette S, *The Emperor Akbar-A contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century*, Vol. II , trans. by Frederick Augustus, Calcutta, 1989.
- Borges, Charles J and Feldmann, Helmut, (ed.) *Goa and Portugal, Their Cultural Links*, New Delhi. 1997.
- Boxer, C.R, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, London, 1969.
- Boxer, C.R, *Portuguese in India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1980.
- Brown, Percy, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924.
- Burke, S.M, Akbar, *The Greatest Mogul*, New Delhi, 1989.
- Camps, Arnuf, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, Schoenck, Switzerland, 1957.
- Campos, J.J.A., *The History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, New Delhi, 1998.
- Catherine, B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India: The New Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1992.
- Chaudhuri, K.N, 'European trade with India' in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib(ed), *The Cambridge History of India*. Vol.I: C. 1200-C. 1750. Cambridge, 1982.
- Danvers, Frederick Charles, *The Portuguese in India- being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire*, 2 Vols., London, 1894.
- Das Gupta, Ashin, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat. C. 1700-1750*, New Delhi, 1994.
- David, Charles, *Portuguese Voyages (1498-1663) Tales from the Great age of Discovery*, London, 2000.
- Diffie, Bailey W., and Winius, George D, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*, vol I: *Europe and the World in the age of expansion*, Oxford, 1977.

- Disney, Anthony R., *Twilight of the Pepper Empire- Portuguese trade in South West India in the early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard, 1978.
- Goldie, Francis, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, Dublin, 1897.
- Gopal, Surendra, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th century- A Study in the Impact of European expansion on pre-capitalist economy*, New Delhi, 1975.
- I.P.Gupta, *Urban Glimpses of Mughal India*, Discovery, Delhi, 1986.
- Habib, Irfan, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India, 1556-1707*, New York, 1963.
- Hasan, S. Nurul, *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India*, Amritsar, 1980.
- Hosten, Rev H, *Jesuits Missionaries in Northern India and their inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*. Calcutta, 1907.
- Hough, James, *History of Christianity in India*, Madras, 1839.
- Hoyland, J.S. and S.N. Banerjee, *The commentary of Father Monserrate*, S.J. Oxford, 1922.
- Joshi, Rekha, *Aurangzeb- Attitudes and inclinations*, New Delhi, 1979.
- Maclagan, Edward, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, New Delhi, 1990
- Malekandathil, Pius, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663*, (A volume in the South Asian study series of Hiedelberg University, Germany), New Delhi, 2001.
- Malekandathil, Pius & Mohammed, Jamal, (edited), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Tellicherry, 2001.
- Malekandathil, Pius, "From Merchant Capitalists to Corsairs: The Response of the Muslim Merchants of Malabar to the Portuguese Commercial Expansion (1498-1600)", in *Portuguese Studies Review*, Volume 12, no. 1, Winter-Spring, 2004-2005, pp. 75-96.

- Malekandathil, Pius “*Akbar, the Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue*”, A Paper presented in the International Seminar on *Akbar and his Milieu*, held at Tellicherry, 8-10 February, 2007.
- Malekandathil, Pius “Studding Memory onto Urban Space: A Study on the City of Agra: 1558-1700”, A paper presented in the *International Association of Asian Historians of Asia*, 20th Conference, JNU, November 14-17, 2008.
- Malekandathil, Pius “A City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa, 1510-1700”, *Studies in History*, 25, I, 2009.
- Manrique, Fr. Hosten’s Trans, *Catholic Herald of India*, May 8, 1918.
- Martin, F.R, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*. 2 vols., London, 1912.
- Mathew, K.S, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1983.
- Mathew, K.S., *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany*, New Delhi, 1997.
- Mathew, K.S, Souza, Teotonio R. de and Malekandathil, Pius, *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultutural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Lisbon/Tellicherry, 2001.
- Moosvi, Shireen, *People, Tax and Trade in Mughal India*, New Delhi, 2008.
- Nayim, M.A, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686): A Study in Diplomatic History*, Hyderabad, 1974.
- Newitt Malyn, *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire*, Exeter, 1986.
- Panikkar, K.M, *Malabar and the Portuguese, 1500-1663*, Bombay, 1929.
- Payne, C.H, *Jahangir and the Jesuits, with an account of the Travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu*, New Delhi, 1997.
- Payne. C.H. (Trans) *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar By Father Pierre Du Jarric, S.J.*, New Delhi. 1999.

- Pearson, Michael, N, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1976,
- Pearson M.N, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981.
- Pissurlencar P.S.S, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, Bastora, 1952
- Price, Major David, (trans) *Memoirs of the Emperor Janhangeir*, London, 1829.
- Priolkar, Anant Kakba, *The Goa Inquisition*, Bombay, 1961.
- Richards, John F, *The Mughal Empire: The New Cambridge History of India*. Cambridge, 1993.
- Rizvi, S.A.A. *A History of Sufism in India*, vol.II, Delhi, 1983.
- Sailo, Lalthanpuui, *Urbanization and Political Economy of Bassein, 1534-1739*, M.Phil Thesis submitted to the Department of History , JNU, 2009.
- Sharma, M.H.Rama, *The History of Vijayanagar Empire: Beginning and Expansion*. 2 volumes. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1980.
- Shastri, B.S., *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History*, 1st ed. I.B.H. Prakashana, Bangalore, 1981.
- Shirodkar, P.P, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, 2 vols., Panjim, 1978
- Smith, E, *Moghul Architecture of Fathepur Sikri*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1909.
- Smith, Vincent A., *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930.
- Smith, Vincent A., *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1919.
- Souza, Teotonio R, de, (ed.) *Essays in Goan History*, New Delhi, 1989.
- Souza, Teotonio R de, *Indo-Portuguese History. Old Issues, New Questions*. NewDelhi, 1985.
- Souza, Teotonio R.de, *Medieval Goa, A Socio-economic History*, New Delhi, 1979.

- Stephen, S.Jeyaseela, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, New Delhi, 1997.
- Stephen, S.Jeyaseela, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Pondicherry, 1998.
- Srivasta, A.L., *Akbar the Great. Vol. II. (1556-1605)*, Agra, 1967.
- Srivastava, Ashok Kumar, *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions*, New Delhi, 2000.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The Political Economy of Commerce, Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic history*, Longman, London, 1993.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *Sinners and Saints*, New Delhi, 1998.
- Thekkedath, Samuel Joseph, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II. (1542-1700), Bangalore, 1982.
- Varadarajan Lotika, *Indo-Portuguese encounters- journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, New Delhi, 2006.
- Whiteway, R.S, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550. Vol. I.*, Westminster, 1899.
- Winius, George D., 'Private trading in Portuguese Asia: a substantial will-o-the-wisp' in Vasco da Gama, FCG, Lisboa, 1999, vol. II, pp. 91-100.

Appendix

Records of the first three journeys of the Jesuits into the Mughal Court.³²⁰

Year	Place	Names of the Jesuits
1. 1580	Fatehpur Sikri	Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva Fr. Francis Henriques Fr. Antony de Monserrate
2. 1591	Lahore	Fr. Edward Leitam (Fr. Edward Leioton) Fr. Cristopher de Vega A companion (not mentioned)
3. 1595	Lahore	Fr. Jerome Xavier Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro Bro. Benedict Goes

³²⁰ H.Hosten, *Jesuits Missionaries in Northern India and their inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*, pp. 7-10; Thekkadath, pp. 427- 436; Monserrate, *Commentary*, p.4.

Appendix II

Names of Jesuit Fathers who lie buried in the Cemetery at Agra.³²¹

Inscriptions in the Martyrs' Chapel, Agra:

1. Fr. Emmanuel d'Anhaya Clericus	August 1633, in Prison
2. Fr. Emmanuel Garcia, Clericus	March 23, 1634, in Prison
3. Fr. Francis Laufrauki	July 1, 1634
4. Fr. Anthony da Fonseca	Aug 7, 1634
5. Fr. Francis Corti <i>or</i> Corsi	Aug 1, 1635 (Italian)
6. Fr. Anthony Machado	April 4, 1636
7. Fr. Joseph de Castro	December 15, 1636
8. Fr. Anthony Cesques	June 28, 1656 (German)
9. Fr. Francis de Souza	December 4, 1657
10. Fr. Albert Dorville	April 2, 1662
11. Fr. De Mattos <i>or</i> Paul de Mattos	Sept. 12, 1664

³²¹ H.Hosten, *Jesuits Missionaries in Northern India and their inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*, pp. 3-4.

12. Fr. Henrique <i>or</i> Henrico	April 6, 1667 (German)
13. Fr. Henriquez <i>or</i> Henrico	June 20, 1668
14. Fr. Joseph da Costa, S.J.	March 21, 1685, Delhi
15. Fr. Marcus Antonius Santucci	Aug 1, 1689 (Italian)
16. Fr. Matthew de Peyra <i>or</i> de Payva	Aug, 1689
17. Fr. Anthony de Magasthenes <i>or</i> Magallens <i>or</i> de Magalhaes	Oct 17, 1702, Delhi
18. Fr. Joseph de Payra	Jan 7, 1706 Buxar, Buried Feb. 19, Agra
19. Fr. Philipp Le Conceycad	Oct , 1710, Delhi
20. Fr. Augustino Borgia	Oct.8, 1711 (?) (German)
21. Fr. Antam Gabelsperger	March 9, 1741, (German)
22. Fr. Francis da Cruz	May 22, 1742, Delhi
23. Fr. Matto Rodriquez	Oct.6, 1748, Nazware <i>or</i> Narwar
24. Fr. Andrew Strobl	March 30, 1752, Agra
25. Fr. P.F. Xavier	1767, Foyabad <i>or</i> Faizabad(?)
26. Fr. Joseph Tieffentaller, S.J.	July 5, 1785, Lucknow
27. Fr. F.X. Wendell, S.J.	March 29, 1803, Lucknow

Glossary

Alfandegas: Customs houses

Cartaz: A passport issued by the Portuguese authorities for a non-Portuguese ship or ships to travel in the Indian Ocean.

Casado(s): It literally means a married man or men (settlers). This term was mostly used for the Portuguese bachelors who used to marry women of India (and or Asian) origin.

Castiços: It means 'pure', children born from Portuguese parents.

Ecce Homo: In art, it is a standard component of cycles illustrating the passion and life of Christ.

Estado da India: Portuguese colonial possessions in Asia and Eastern Africa are commonly known as the *Estado da India*, which denominated an area from Mozambique in the South-east African coast till Nagasaki in Japan.

Farman: A royal order issued by a Muslim ruler.

Fidalgos: A Portuguese nobleman.

Jazia: A tax levied in the medieval period by the Muslims rulers on their Hindu subjects as a compensation of not being converted to Islam.

Marakkars: They were Tamil-speaking Muslims of Cormandel, particularly in the coastal regions. Now-a-days the community is found in the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Mestiços: A person of mixed racial ancestry.

Padroado Real: Royal Patronage

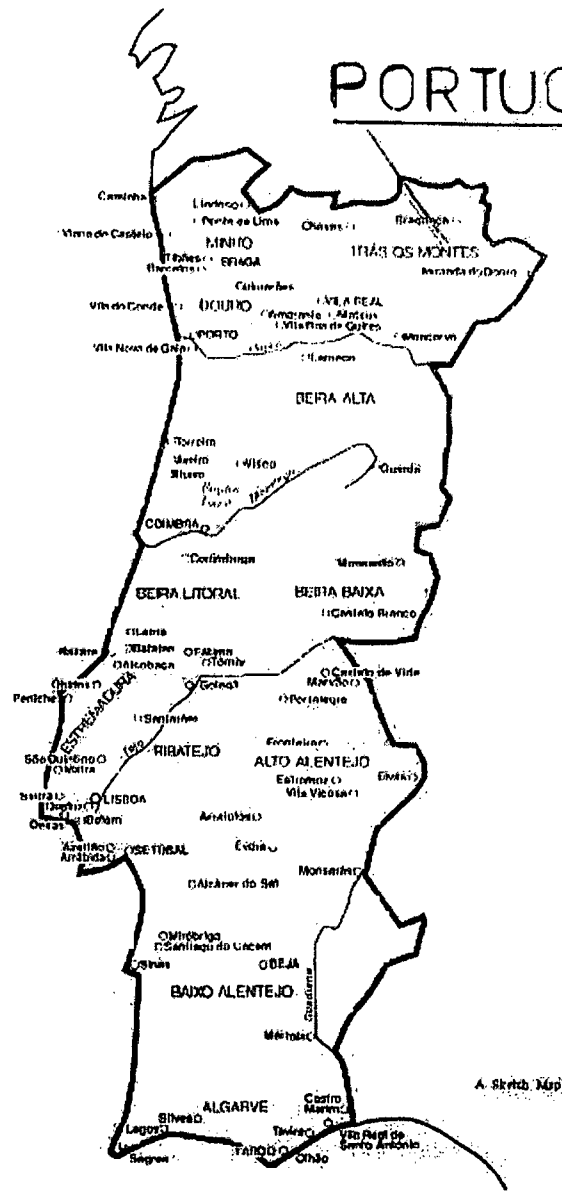
Qazi: It is a judge ruling in accordance with the Laws of *Sharia*.

Sharia: The code of conduct or the religious law of Islam.

Soldados: A Portuguese soldier

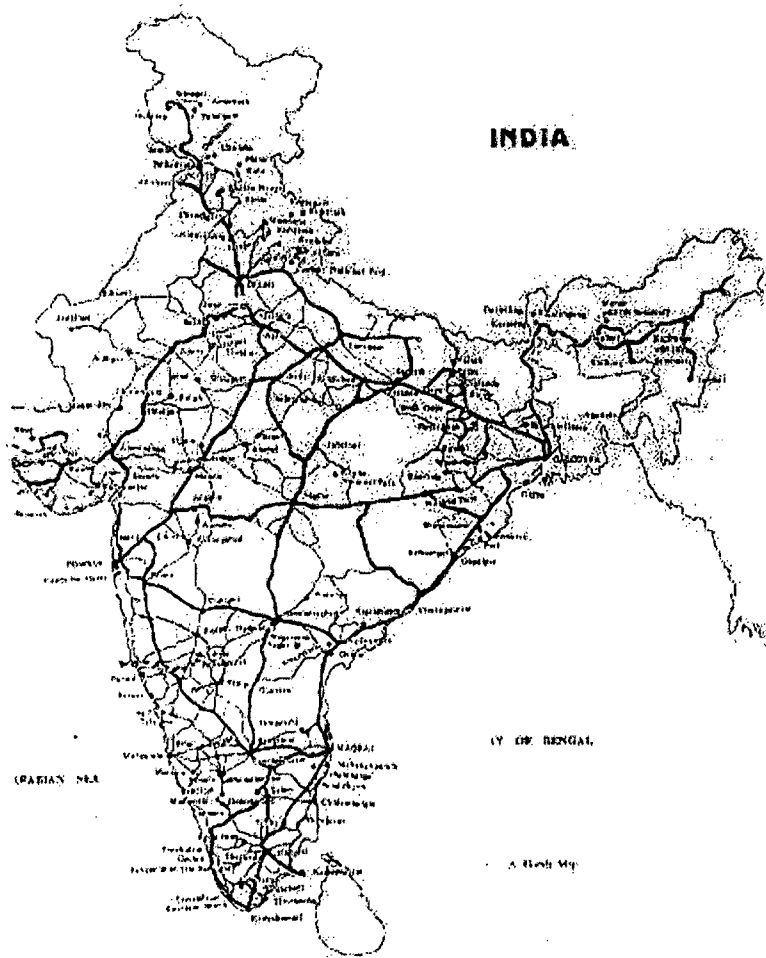
Zamorin/Samorin/Samudri: It is a title marking sovereignty and used by the ruler of Calicut.

Maps



Map 1: Portugal

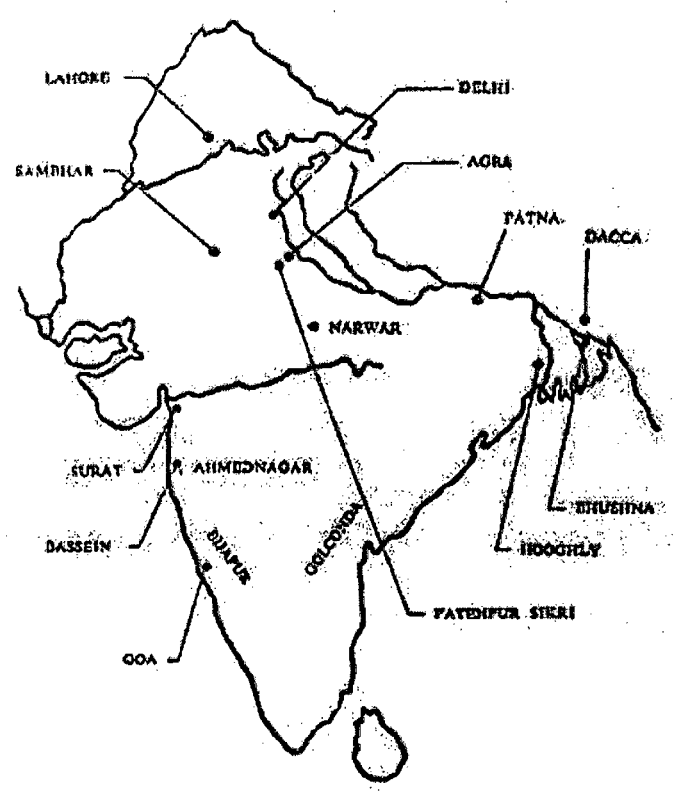
Ref: Borges & Feldmann, *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, p. 18.



Map 2: India

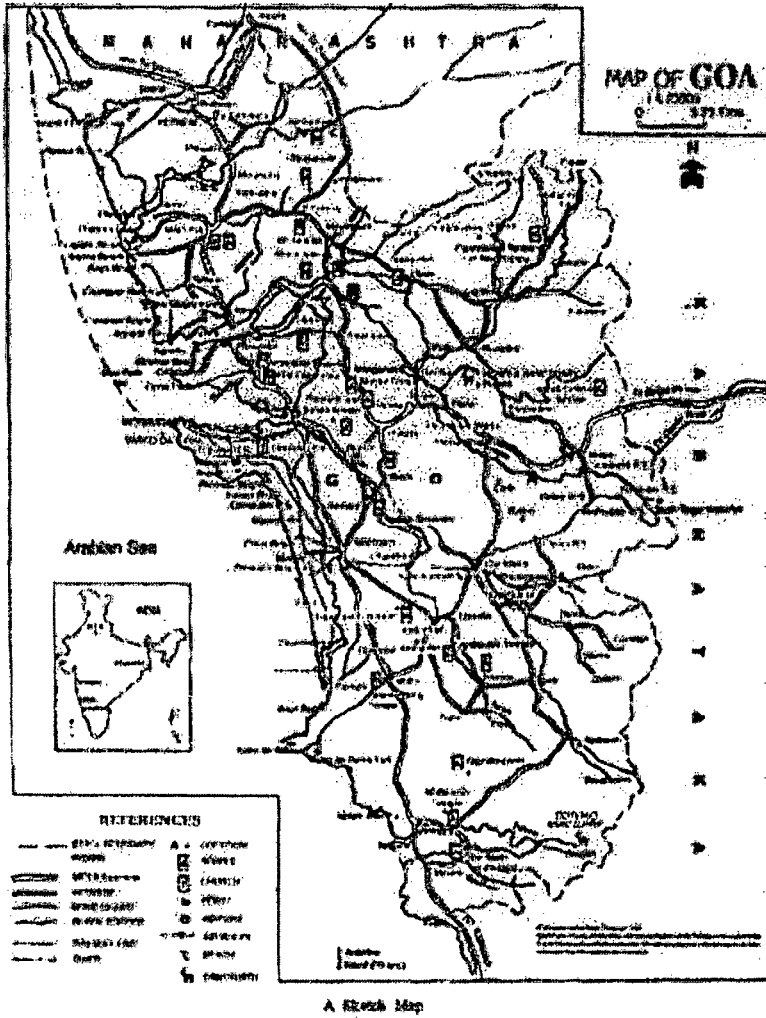
Ref: Borges & Feldmann, *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, p. 1.

MUGHAL DOMINIONS



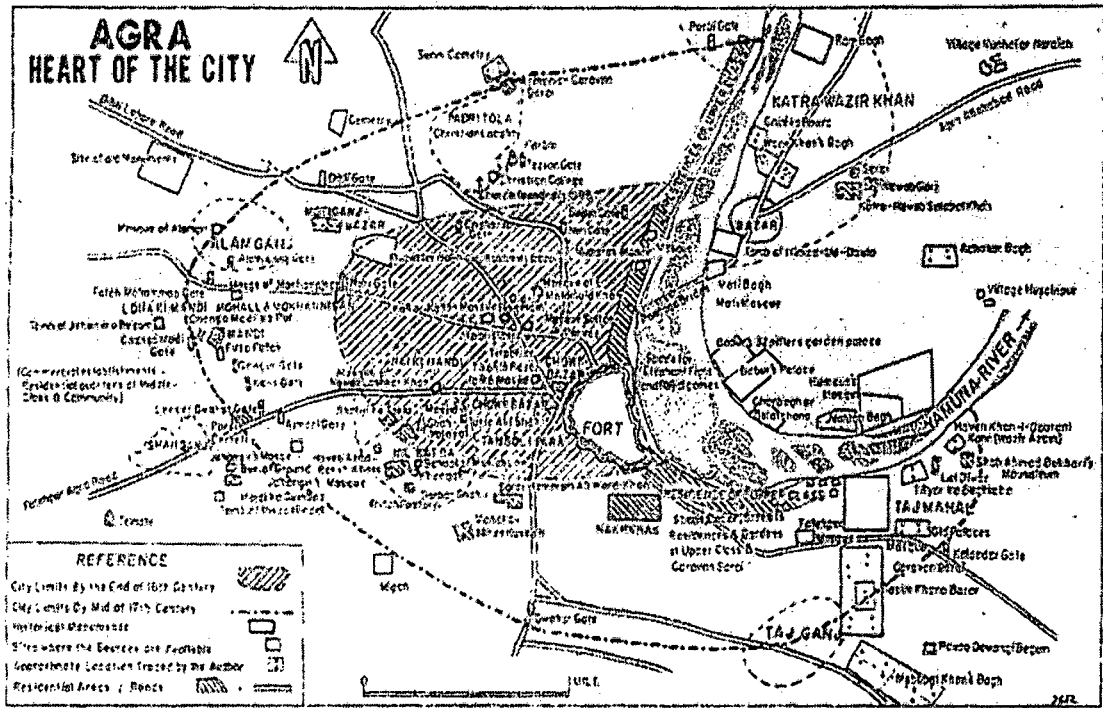
Map 3: India during Mughal Rule

Ref: Thekkedath., *History of Christianity in India*, p. 442.



Map 4: Goa

Ref: Borges & Feldmann, *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, p. 20.



Map 5: Agra

Ref: I.P.Gupta, Urban Glimpses of Mughal India, facing, p. 18.

