3 The murals in the tomb of Ahmad Shah near Bidar
Helen Philon

11 'From the East comes light': Two relics of the Raj in Sussex
David Beavers

18 'The finest piece of bronze which an artist's hand has ever produced':
The life and times of a Japanese incense burner
Gregory Irvine and Anna Jackson

24 Fengshui, opium and bound feet: Chinese watercolours for the West
Ming Wilson

29 Netherlandish naturalism in Imperial Mughal painting
Bobbi Koch

38 The New Khoan and Michael Sullivan Gallery of Chinese Painting
at the Ashmolean Museum
Rose Kerr

43 The Korea Foundation Gallery at the Musée Guimet, Paris
Youngsook Pak

47 The new Korea Foundation Gallery at the British Museum
R.M. Banks

48 The Cloisters Double Intercession: The Virgin as co-redemptrix
Beth Williamson

EXHIBITION REVIEW

55 American Orientalism
David Farmer

BOOK REVIEW

57 Tibetan art
Angus Stewart

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

RUND THE GALLERIES

ROUND THE AUCTION HOUSES

DIARY

The December issue of APOLLO will look back over the events in the art world in 2000, focussing in particular on museum acquisitions: the APOLLO awards for books, exhibitions, acquisitions and individual achievement. There will also be a survey of the attendance figures of temporary exhibitions worldwide.

Any facts or opinions expressed anywhere in the magazine are the responsibility of the individual writers and contributors. APOLLO Magazine Limited, the Publisher and the Editor are not responsible for any injury or losses relative to such materials sustained by anyone. Any material submitted intentionally is also the sole responsibility of the individual contributor. All material is compiled from sources believed to be reliable, but published without responsibility for errors or omissions. APOLLO Magazine Limited accepts advertisements from advertisers believed to be of good repute, but cannot guarantee the authenticity or quality of objects or services advertised in its pages. APOLLO Magazine Limited assumes no responsibility for unclaimed manuscripts or photographs. Return postage should accompany such material. All rights including translation into other languages reserved by the Publisher. Nothing in this magazine may be reproduced without the permission of the publisher.
Netherlandish naturalism in Imperial Mughal painting

EBBA KOCH

In the context of Dutch art of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt and Schellinck's interest in Mughal miniatures seems to have been an isolated phenomenon. We have a group of over twenty drawings, stunningly Mughal in spirit, which Rembrandt (1606–69), or perhaps also his circle, copied from Mughal miniatures. His contemporary Willem Schellinck (1627–78) went a step further, and produced several oil paintings which can be described as proto-orientalist, evoking fantastic scenes from the Mughal court which incorporate elements copied from Mughal miniatures.

While the Dutch fascination with Mughal art appears to be confined to two particular individuals during the seventeenth century, Mughal artists, on the other hand, studied the arts of Northern Europe consistently and systematically over a period of about one hundred years, from roughly the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries. This interest is part of a highly creative and complex syncretism, which successfully fused traditions of various origins – Central Asian, Timurid, Persian, Indian and European – to create a distinctively Mughal form of artistic expression, reflecting the universalistic attitude of the Mughal dynasty.

I came to Mughal art as a European art historian; having previously studied Netherlandish art with Otto Pächt in Vienna. I have always been intrigued as to why Dutch and Flemish art came to play such a prominent role in Mughal culture. In order to find an answer to this question, we have to see how this Dutch and Flemish trend first arose under Akbar (1556–1605), asserted itself under Jahangir (1605–27), before being subjected to systematization under Shah-Jahan (1628–58), when it was channelled into certain areas, to make it play a strictly defined role in a representational system in which non-artistic ideas were expressed through purely formal means.
To anticipate, we can state that the common denominator in this cross-cultural relationship was a close observation of the visual world. From the very beginning, after having established their rule in India in 1526, the Mughal emperors ensured that their own interests were reflected in the art they patronised. Above all, this involved their deep love of nature, which can legitimately be described as a dynastic quality. This concern was first expressed in a literary form by the founder of the Mughal dynasty, the Central Asian prince Babur. In his justly famous autobiography, the Baburnama, he describes in almost Froustian detail what he saw during his peregrinations and campaigns in his native Central Asia and the newly-conquered Hindustan.

In order to respond to the naturalistic tastes of their patrons, Mughal artists did not turn to Chinese art, which — one might have thought — would have been much closer to the Mughals’ Central Asian antecedents, but instead studied and assimilated European art, and in particular the works of German, Flemish and Dutch masters. It seems that the northern European approach best served the Mughals’ own close attention to the visible world. The resulting naturalism sets Mughal painting apart from earlier and contemporary Islamic artistic schools and has even led some scholars to deem it ‘un-Islamic’.

In the first phase of the Mughal reception of European art, prints by artists working for the great printshops of Antwerp, such as Raphael (1560/61-1632) and Jan Sadeker (1550-1600), and Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), were brought to the Mughal court by travellers, traders, and especially Jesuit missionaries. Here the illustrations of Christophe Plantin’s Royal Polyglott Bible proved particularly influential. The Bible had been sponsored by Philip II of Spain, edited by his personal chaplain Benito Arias Montanus, and printed by Plantin in Antwerp between 1568 and 1572. In 1580, the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court presented a copy to the emperor Akbar, who received it with great enthusiasm.

These European prints became a sort of virtual pattern-book; they were collected and pasted into albums called muraqqa’s, together with Mughal and Persian paintings and calligraphies. Mughal artists used the European models in a variety of ways, ranging from direct copying to combining various elements taken from different pictorial contexts and fusing them into a new pictorial whole. From these graphic sources Mughal artists also adopted western allegory in order to express Mughal ideas of rulership, much to the disappointment of the Jesuits, who had conceived of the images as instruments of their evangelization.

Paintings as well as prints reached the Mughal court. We are less well informed about their reception, but all the evidence suggests that Mughal artists — who conceived painting in the first instance in the context of the illustrated book — would have been particularly interested in illuminated manuscripts or individual miniatures. Furthermore, small oil paintings on copper, often copied by Dutch and Flemish artists from prints, must have been especially attractive to Mughal artists; indeed, they may have furnished ideas for how to translate prints into small-scale paintings.

We know of several European painters who went to India during Mughal rule, among them Cornelis Claesz. Heda from Harlem, a pupil of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, who was court painter to the Emperor Rudolph II (reigned 1576-1612) in Prague. Heda eventually reached the court of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II (reigned 1579-1627) at Bijapur, south of the Mughal empire, where he delighted
the sultan with a painting showing the otherwise commonplace, but under the circumstances surprising subject of Bacchus, Venus and Cupid. Dutch painters also reached the Mughal court, but this has not been noted by historians of Mughal art. They came through the Dutch East India Company, which had first been approached by the Mughal emperors for assistance with artistic matters during the reign of Jahangir. Pieter van den Broecke, the well-known Director of the Western Quarters of the Company at Surat, wrote to the Governor General Pieter de Carpentier in a letter dated 6 April 1626 that 'the Great Moghal [Den Grooten Mogol] had asked him whether a delegation headed by a painter could travel to Europe in a Dutch ship to buy works of art, but that he had refused the request. A Dutch painter named Hendrick Arendsz. Vapoer, who was also a factor, was imprisoned at Agra from 1622 to 1623; he was one of several Dutchmen held by the Mughals in retaliation for the capturing of a Mughal ship by the Company. A few years later Vapoer returned to Agra, this time as a senior factor (opper koopman) to serve as the Company’s representative, one of his responsibilities being to mediate in the event of a crisis. Vapoer seems to have been quite successful because the Dutch records say that he was greatly respected by Jahangir and his grandees.

Shah Jahan made repeated requests to the Company for a painter and finally, in 1651, it was planned to send him Isaak Koedijk who was also to serve as a factor and ‘agent’ (in the sense of informant), to keep careful notes of what happened at the Mughal court and to send these at every opportunity to the director at Surat. However, objections were raised to Koedijk’s journey because he wanted to travel with his wife and children, and an peripatetic ‘Moorish’ court was deemed an unsuitable place for a Dutch house-
albeit grudgingly, to the emperor’s request, and it was decided internally that the painters would go as factors and that one of them should also serve as an ‘agent’. Consequently, the two painters – Jorephas Vosch van Wijk bij Duurstede and Abraham Emanuelsz. van Meteren van Leiden – and the surgeon Johan Elpen van Gadenbusch travelled in January 1657 from Surat to the court of Shah Jahan. They were very well received, especially by the emperor’s eldest son, prince Dara Shikoh, who became the ‘droga’ (darogha) or supervisor of van Meteren. Van Meteren offered the prince a painting for which he got a handsome amount of money and a robe of honour. Vosch left the Mughal court in the same year to return to Surat, but van Meteren stayed on; it is not known for how long because the outbreak of the War of Succession between Shah Jahan and his sons in 1657 ended the correspondence. Later, in 1662, the distinctly eccentric Michael Sweerts, who was born in Brussels in 1618, made his way to India via Persia, before dying in Goa in 1664. Dutch and Flemish painters who ventured into the East Indies tended to have been unsuccessful at home and therefore went to seek their fortunes abroad. Once the officials of the Dutch East India Company became aware of the attraction these adventurer painters represented to the Indian courts, they used the artists and their special access to the rulers to further their own trade interests. For the Mughals, however, they provided additional artistic information.

Whatever the sources of transmission, the impact of Dutch and Flemish painting manifested itself clearly towards the end of the sixteenth century, when pictures in the manner of Joachim Patinir (c. 1480-1524) (Fig. 1) and Simon Bening (c. 1483-1561) (Fig. 3) gave rise to a Mughal version of the so-called Weltlandschaft or world landscape, combining a bird’s eye view with aerial perspective (Fig. 2), and – as Robert Skelton has pointed out – to Mughal landscapes representing the Labours of the the Months (Fig. 5). In a revolutionary move away from the highly stylized formulae of Persianate and Indian landscape painting, Mughal artists adapted the world landscape, which became the most common background of later sixteenth-century Mughal painting. Like their European counterparts, Mughal world landscapes exhibit all the features of the genre, namely wide panoramic vistas with multiple viewpoints depicting not individual but universal landscapes composed of generic elements, such as naturalistic mountains and fantastical rock formations, valleys, rivers and seas, harbours, castles and villages or cities, with human figures reduced in scale and significance. In Mughal world landscapes, while the system and the painting technique were derived from Dutch and Flemish models,
the individual components were often replaced by Indian or Persianizing elements, as is evident when Fig. 1 is compared with Fig. 2, or Fig. 3 is compared with Fig. 5.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Dutch- and Flemish-inspired naturalism led to minutely-observed nature studies and psychological portraiture under the enlightened patronage of the Emperor Jahangir. Portraits which – as Cary Welch has suggested – strikingly anticipate works by Rembrandt appear in Spiritual men assembling before a shrine at Kashmir (Fig. 4), a work datable to the 1620s, which is attributed to Gowardhan, one of the foremost masters of Jahangir’s court atelier.22

This naturalistic trend was brought to its conclusion under Shah-Jahan, the builder of the Taj Mahal. Under the guidance of the emperor, the artists of his court atelier fully explored art’s potential as a vehicle of imperial ideology. Dutch- and Flemish-inspired naturalism was assigned a specific role in this venture. Shah-Jahan and his painters developed a remarkably consistent representational system according to which an illusionistic mode, characterized by a detailed and sensuous rendering of surfaces and textures, was deliberately contrasted with – but at the same time integrated into – abstract linear compositions and figure arrangements.

These principles are most clearly expressed in the history paintings of Shah-Jahan, works whose ambition makes it inappropriate to describe them as miniatures. They illustrate Shah-Jahan’s official history, above all in the so-called Windsor Castle Padshahnama.23 The principles of official Shah-Jahi painting take a canonical form in the genre of the formal group portrait showing the twice-daily ceremony of the emperor receiving his court in his most public audience hall, the Diwan-i ‘Amam (Fig. 6). My understanding of the Shah-Jahan group portrait was greatly helped by two early twentieth-century studies dealing with related issues, albeit in entirely different cultural contexts. The first is Heinrich Schäfer’s analysis of Egyptian art,24 and of particular relevance in this context are his arguments concerning the contrasting use of linear and illusionistic modes. The other is Alois Riegl’s classic study of the Dutch group portrait,25 in which he analyses the arrangement of the protagonists and the increasing psychological interaction between them and the viewer. Turning to Riegl for hermeneutic inspiration seems particularly justified by virtue of the fact that the systematic use of the group portrait in Shah-Jahan painting is as unique in Islamic or Indian art as its Dutch counterpart is in the context of seventeenth-century western art.

These cross-cultural comparisons through space and time might raise objections from scholars who view such macro-historical endeavours with suspicion, but they are extremely useful in helping to decipher the complexities of Mughal artistic syncretism, since it too is cross-cultural and historicizing. In other words, the approach adopted is determined by the subject being investigated.

From the comparisons with Egyptian art and the Dutch group portrait, it emerges that the key to the Shah-Jahan representational system lies in the selective use of the side view. This artistic convention was used – like an attribute – in all formal representations of the impe-
rial family and it was also preferred for the ruling elite. The settings had to provide a correspondingly structured linear environment for the profile figures, and the planar compositions were arranged according to garima, the imperial ideal of bi-lateral symmetry on both sides of a dominant central axis. It appears that the profile view was considered as the most prestigious form of representation, because it did not subject the figure portrayed to the negative effects of three-dimensional representation. The Mughal conceptualists seem to have been thinking here on the lines of Plato, who, in the tenth book of his Republic, condemned illusionistic art as a distorting and demeaning form of representation which does not show things as they are but only as they appear to the eye. Also, in the face of Shah-Jahan’s increasingly orthodox Islamic attitude, the stylized profile view must have been more acceptable than the more realistic three-dimensional renderings.

In Shah-Jahan painting three-quarter and frontal views were thus used for those who did not form part of the innermost court circle, preferably for persons of no rank, but also for foreigners and rebels. A particular telling example from the Windsor Castle Padshahnama, *Europeans bring gifts to Shah-Jahan* of c. 1650, shows the whole of Mughal court society in profile, while three-quarter views are assigned to unranked standard-bearers, to the European delegation, and to a group of mace-bearers opposite the foreigners, who are keeping a watchful eye on them (Fig. 6). In another scene from the Windsor manuscript, *Shah-Jahan receiving the Persian ambassador Muhammad-Al-Beg of c. 1633*, the Persians as the representatives of a rival foreign power suffer what might be termed three-dimensional humiliation (Fig. 7). The ambassador is shown with his belly protruding, in contrast to the less corporeal Mughal court, and his delegation has to appear not only in three-quarter view but is in addition seen from behind, which — according to Shah-Jahan visual standards — was a particularly pronounced pictorial slight. The written description of the court reception is, however, conventional and pays due respect to the Persians. Visual images and written texts were clearly intended to make different points, and it was the task of illusionism to make the pictorial message explicit.

Free three-dimensionalism was otherwise only allowed in landscapes, and as the scenery of a *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* of c. 1595, or of a *Battle of the Amazons* of 1597-99, executed in collaboration with the young Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) (Fig. 9). In Shah-Jahan painting, programmatic statements were thus expressed through aesthetic means; artistic style could serve as a key to interpretation. The linear formal idiom stood for the power structure of Shah-Jahan rule, for the forces that regulated the system. The use of naturalism was much more complex: besides expressing genuine aesthetic interests, naturalism had to grade strata within the power structure and identify that which was outside it; at the same time, it also had to support the system, permeating it subtly but thoroughly to give Shah-Jahan’s ordered world the utmost appearance of reality. To this end, naturalism was suppressed in the main scenes and only retained on an almost microscopic level, in order not to disturb the two-dimensional abstract system (Fig. 10).

This meticulous contemplation of the visual world led to surprisingly similar aesthetic results in seventeenth-century Mughal book painting in opaque watercolour and in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Netherlandish oil painting. As is evident when the brocades in Fig. 10 are compared with those in Fig. 11. It has been argued, most recently by Julien Chapuis, that in Netherlandish painting the detailed rendering of surface and texture was a visual strategy designed to intensify the attention of the beholder, to draw him into picture, and thus to reinforce the message of the painting. The Mughal historian and thinker Abu’l Fazl, who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century, came to a similar conclusion when he credited the illusionistic skills of the painters of *firangi* (Europe) with the power to ‘lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning’. The painters of Shah-Jahan used naturalism for this very purpose, and to heighten the message of a painting, microscopic observation could be invested with seventeenth-century drama to produce a greater didactic effect. This is the case in *Ahd’s Death of Khan Jahan Lodi* (c. 1633), from the Windsor Castle Padshahnama, where the extremely realistic rendering of the severed heads of Khan Jahan’s followers vividly demonstrates the fate of rebellion against imperial authority. One needs, however, a very strong magnifying

---

10 Detail of Jahangir receives Khurram on his return from the Mewar campaign by Balthasar, c. 1633, from the Padshahnama, hol. 43. Opaque watercolour on paper, image area 30.4 x 20.3 cm. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. OMS 1607

11 Detail of brocaded robe of the angel in *The announcement* by Hans Memling (c. 1430/40-94), 1480-89. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 76.5 x 54.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.113
glass or a photographic enlargement to explore this amazing realism fully, to detect, for instance, the blood-filled flies hovering over the severed heads (Fig. 12).12

Naturalism was extremely carefully controlled in official Mughal court painting. Outside this official context, however, the painters of the court atelier were not compelled to maintain such a careful equilibrium between formal linear composition and illusionism, and were therefore able to handle the two modes more creatively.

This is particularly apparent when it comes to hunting scenes. In a scene representing Shah-Jahan and his sons hunting lions on elephants datable to the late 1650s, the conflicting demands of planar figure arrangement and illusionistic landscape are mastered to striking dramatic effect (Fig. 13).13 The great nullah or ravine which runs at an angle of almost ninety degrees deep into the background becomes the main subject and ordering force of the composition, like a road leading into a painting, the quintessential device of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting, realized most famously by Meindert Hobbema in his Avenue at Middelharnis of 1689 in the National Gallery.14 In the Lion hunt, the central ravine — according to the principle of qarina — bisects the composition and at the same time creates an effect of depth. Branching off from the perpendicular nullah — like ribs off the spinal column — are horizontals parallel to the picture plane disguised as small ridges and furrows of the terrain; they allow the painter to integrate the emperor and his sons on their elephants in hierarchically correct profile into the spacious illusionistic landscape, seen from above and rendered in naturalistic detail.

Netherlandish-inspired naturalism seems to express itself without restraint in a hunting scene showing Shah-Jahan’s son Dana Shikoh hunting nilgais (a type of antelope) (c. 1640) (Fig. 14).15 However, what appears at first glance to be one of the most — if not the most — naturalistic landscape in all of Mughal painting, is revealed on closer inspection as a careful construct, based on the arrangement of the principal figures in hierarchical side view. As in the Lion hunt, the system of succeeding horizontals parallel to the picture plane takes its cue from the flat figure arrangement, but nevertheless manages to introduce depth into the landscape. In the entire painting these depth-producing horizontals are rendered as small ridges and furrows, dotted with shrubs or small trees and grass populated by fleeing and hiding animals so that we are unaware of their compositional function.

For such landscapes, Mughal artists must have studied wooded landscapes by artists such as Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607) and Jan Breughel the Elder, as is suggested by a comparison between Figs. 15 and 16.16 However, Payag, the painter of Dana Shikoh hunting nilgais, did not slavishly copy a particular Netherlandish landscape. Rather, he drew inspiration from Netherlandish compositional models and illusionistic techniques in order to portray the scenery of his own Indian surroundings according to the Shah-Jahani system.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Mughals’ sustained interest in Netherlandish art had profound consequences. They followed its development for approximately a century and used it throughout that period as a source of naturalistic information. Techniques of illusion were systematically abstracted
from it for the aims of Mughal art. In the process the Mughals perfected the skills they needed to realize their own artistic intentions. The result was that an artist like Payag could adopt an eclectic approach, which drew upon the whole range of Netherlandish illusionism, from fifteenth-century microscopic naturalism in the manner of Jan Van Eyck to the freer techniques of seventeenth-century landscape painting.

There can be few more fascinating cases of cross-cultural inspiration than the one which has been the subject of the present article. However surprising it may seem, it is evident that the art of the democratic and bourgeois milieu of the Low Countries evoked a congenial response in an entirely different cultural and social context, at a court in Mughal India which was famed for its oriental absolutism and exotic splendour. What is more, the close connection between form and meaning in Shah-Jahani art makes it a methodologically exemplar of general art historical relevance: it should serve to remind us that formal analysis need not be seen in opposition to a contextual approach but rather as a starting point for art as history.

This article was originally prepared as a paper for the session "Towards a Global History of Netherlandish Art" at the 87th Annual Conference of the College Art Association in Los Angeles, 10-12 February 1999. A German version 'Niederländischer Naturalismus in der Machtrei der Großenmogul' was presented to the session 'Begegnung Ost-West: Wege zwischen Ästhetik und Europa' at the 10. Österreichischer Kunstwissenschaftertag 'Das Fach Kunstgeschichte und keine Grenzen' in Innsbruck, 10 September to 3 October 1999; it will appear in its proceedings.

See F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogul-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetekend?', De Kromme van het Rembrandtius, vol. xxxii, 1980-81, pp. 10-40; M. Royalton Koch, Drawings of Rembrandt and his Circle etc., British Museum, 1992, pp. 141-51, nos. 62-67; both include references to the older literature.


E. Koch, Shah-Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi, Graz, 1988, especially pp. 8-9 and p. 22; Verma, op. cit.


In this context I am focusing on the Dutch and Flemish element. As to German art, I would like to draw attention to the interest of the Mughals in Dürer, which makes the court of Jahangir (rul. 1605-27) a major player in the international Dürer revival around 1600. See E. Koch, The Baluster Column - a European Motif in Mughal Architecture and its Meaning, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. xiv, 1982, pp. 251-62, especially pp. 256-57, with further literature.

The interest of the Mughals in detailed representation did not pass unnoticed by contemporary Dutch observers. P. Polsen, Jahangirs India: The Iconography of Francisco Pelsaert, English translation by W.H. Moreland and F. Goyl, 1926 (reprinted Delhi, 1972), p. 26, who was in charge of the Agra factory in the 1620s, mentions that the 'Moolems [i.e. the Mughals] want to see everything from close by, when specifying which paintings should be sent by the Dutch East India Company as presents for Jahangir. For example, M.S. Ispengula, Das Bild im Islam: Ein Verbot und seine Folgen, Vienna and Munich, 1973, p. 14, where he considers observation from nature as foreign to the Islamic Orient'.


Koch, op. cit., pp. 257.

Macagian, op. cit., p. 223, for pictures presented by the Dutch to the Mughal court.

The genre of individual miniatures independent of books was studied in C.S. Wood, Almohad Abâbiyy and the Origins of Landscape, Chicago and London, 1993, pp. 141-46. The Mughals were also interested in English portrait miniatures which they came to know through Sir Thomas Roe, James's ambassador at the Mughal court in the years between 1615 and 1618. See M.C. Beache, 'The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for his Style', The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, vol. xxvii, 1984, pp. 7-33, especially pp. 14-15; see further.


Macagian, op. cit., p. 233.
15 Woodscene by Gillis van Coninxloo (1544-1607), 1598. Oil on wood, 44 x 63 cm. Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Inv. no. 751

We know these details from a letter which Heda wrote in 1610 from Brabant's residence at Naus, for which see A. van der Willigen, Les artistes de Harlem, 1820, pp. 152-56, supplement B and C. See also H. Gerson, Ausstellung und Nachlaß der Holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts, Harlem, 1942; reprinted with introduction by J.W. Meijer and with 30 additional illustrations, Amsterdam, 1983, p. 514. See also O. Kurz, Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen Frankreich und Persien zur Zeit Kaiser Rudolfs II. in der Dolcezza Art of Europe and the Islamic East. Selected Studies, chapter xi, London, 1977, pp. 5-6, for an English translation of the relevant passage, see M. Zebrowski, Decorative Painting, London, 1983, pp. 1-5.


Sweerts came to Persia as a lay brother and travel companion of François Palla, first Bishop of the Missionary Brothers of the Missionary Brothers of the Third Order. He started his journey to China in November 1661. However, the painter fell out with the Palla mission and separated from it in 1662, apparently before they reached Istanbul. See Rolf Kullen, Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1612-38, Brussels 1644, translated and edited by Diane L. Webb, Doornspijk, 1996, pp. 68-11. See also U. Thiem and F. Becker (eds.), Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 348-50. I would like to thank Alexander Wiel of the Kunsthistoriesche Museums, Vienna, for drawing my attention to this article and for helping me with the literature.

See Koch, op. cit. in n. 14 above; R. Sloten, Landscape in Indian Painting, in W. Watson (ed.), Landscape in Provenence, a Conference held 25-27 June 1979, Landscape and Archaeology in Asia, no. 9, London, 1990, pp. 150-71, especially p. 159.

The European landscape is characterized in these terms in W.S. Gibson, 'Mirror of the East: The World of Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting', Princeton, 1989, p. x.

C.S. Welch, Imperial Mogul Painting, London, 1928, p. 85, plate 24, where the whole painting is reproduced.

The manuscript is lost today, as its name indicates, at the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. Its paintings were recently exhibited for the first time, in India, England and in several museums in the United States, including the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington D.C., and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See M.C. Beveridge, E. Koch, and W.M. Thompson, King of the East: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, exh. cat., London and Washington D.C., 1997, pp. 131-42. For the issue under discussion, see E. Koch, 'The Hierarchical Principles of Shah Jahan Painting', ibid., pp. 131-42.


16 Woodscene by an anonymous Mughal painter, second quarter of the 17th century. Opaque watercolour on paper, 26 x 17.5 cm. British Museum, inv 1942.1-24.03.

Photo: R. Skelton

Beach, Koch and Trickston, op. cit., no. 19.

Ibid., no. 17.

Braeckel-Braecke, Flamische Malerei um 1600: Tradition und Fortschritt, exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1997, nos. 29 and 68. Under no. 68, Klaas Eerde discusses the two versions of the Battle of the Amazons, and attributes the landscape to Jan Brueghel the Elder and the battle scene to Rubens.

Koch, op. cit. in n. 22 above, p. 141.


Beach, Koch and Trickston, op. cit., no. 16, where the whole painting is illustrated.


Koch, op. cit. in n. 33 above, especially p. 33.

For examples of woodscapes by Contini and Jan Brueghel the Elder, which could have served as sources for the Mughal woodscapes in the British Museum, see Hans Detweiler, 'Die Ausmalung der Waldlinien in den Niederlanden', in Jan Brueghel der Jüngere: Das erste Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei, exh. cat., Kunsthistoriesche Museums, Vienna, 1993, pp. 191-202, especially figs. 1 and 7.