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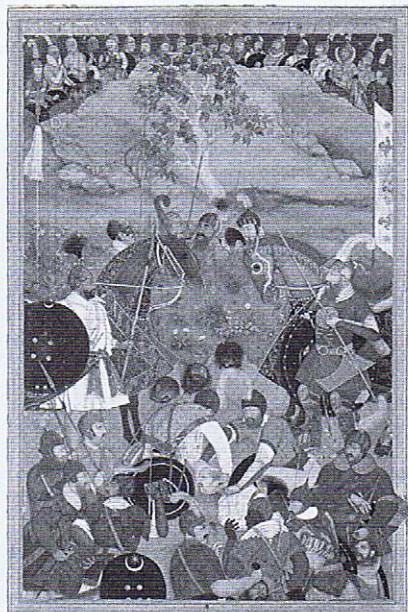
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COVER PLATE

The death of Khan Jahan Lodi by 'Abid, c. 1633, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 94b. Opaque water-colour on paper, image area 31.8 x 20 cm. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, OMS 1618

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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

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Netherlandish naturalism in Imperial Mughal painting

EBBA KOCH

In the context of Dutch art of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt and Schellincks'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.¹ His contemporary Willem Schellincks (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.²

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.



1 *The Arrival in Bethlehem* attributed to the Master LC, c. 1540. Oil on panel, 67.3 x 93.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1916, 16.69



2 World landscape background vista of *Alexander lowered into the sea* by an anonymous Mughal painter, c. 1595–1600, from a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlawi. Opaque watercolour on paper, 24.6 x 16.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913, 13.228.27



3 February, from a Book of Hours by Simon Bening (c. 1483-1561). Vellum, 14 x 10.4 cm approx. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Codex lat. 23 638, fol. 3b

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.³ 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 Proustian detail what he saw during his peregrina-

tions and campaigns in his native Central Asia and the newly-conquered Hindustan.⁴

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.⁵ It seems that the northern European approach best served the Mughals' own close attention to the visible world.⁶ 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'.⁷

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 Sadeler (1550-1600), and Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), were brought to the Mughal court by travellers, traders, and especially Jesuit missionaries.⁸ Here the illustrations of Christophe Plantin's *Royal Polyglot 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.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴

We know of several European painters who went to India during Mughal rule,¹⁵ 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



4 Detail of ascetic with his hair wound into a turban, from *Spiritual men before a shrine* by Govardhan, 1620s. Opaque watercolour on paper, 23.8 x 15.2 cm. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Arts Museums, Cambridge, Mass., private collection, 620.1983. Photo: R. Skelton

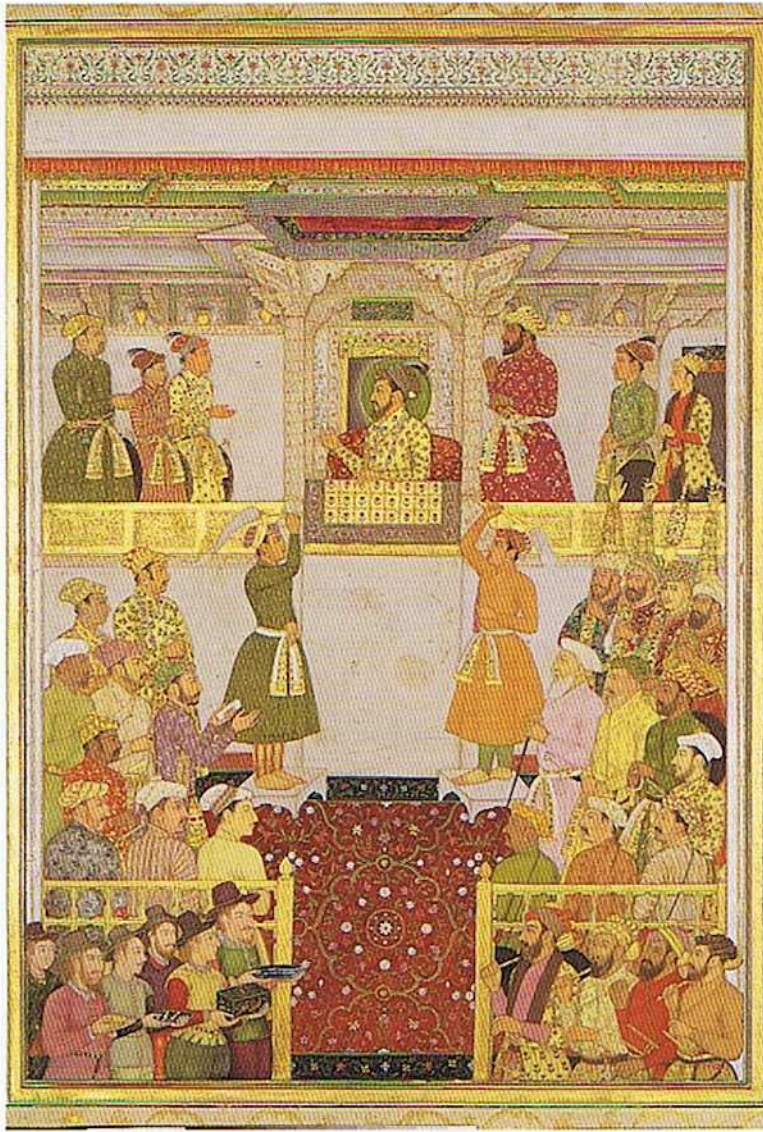
the sultan with a painting showing the otherwise commonplace, but under the circumstances surprising subject of Bacchus, Venus and Cupid.¹⁶ Dutch painters also reached the Mughal court, but this has not been noted by historians of Mughal art. They came through the Dutch East India Company, which had 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 Moghul (*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.



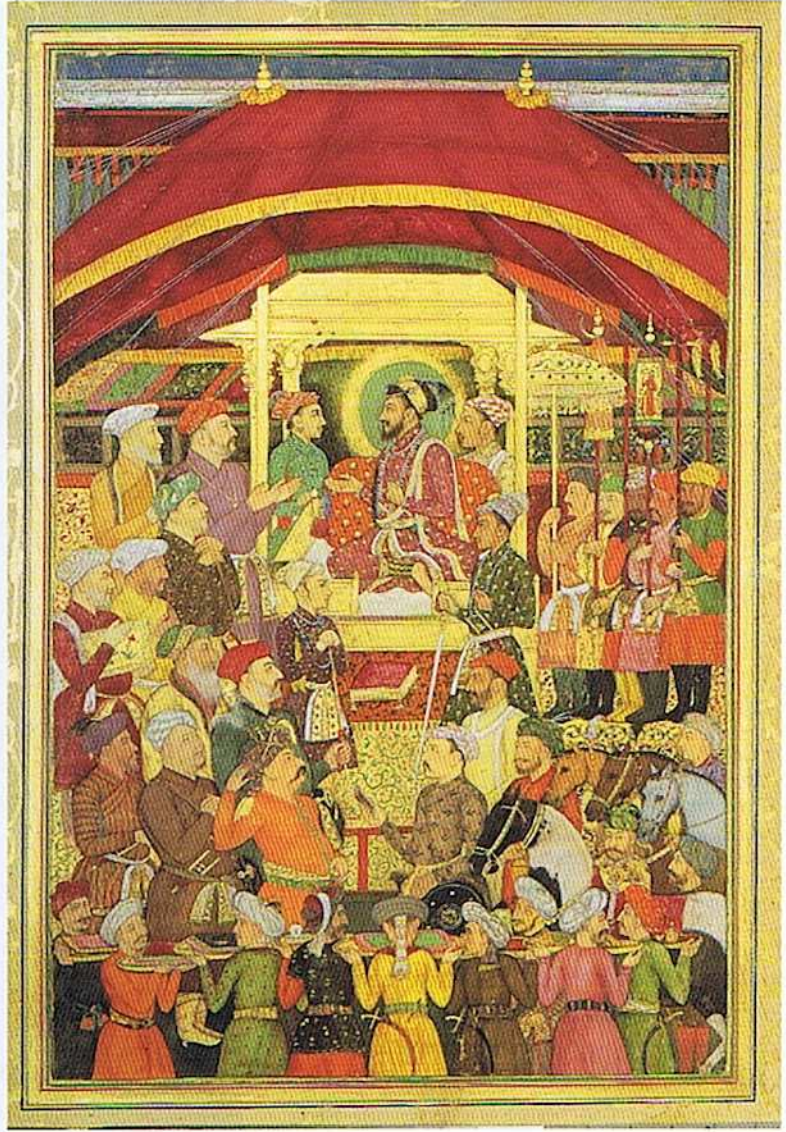
5 Indian peasants labouring in their fields and a distant landscape with ships, background vista of *Faridun and the gazelle* by Mukund, 1595, from a *Khamisa* of Nizami. Opaque watercolour on paper, 17.2 x 10.7 cm. British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Or. 12 208, fol. 19a

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-

hold. Furthermore, information had become available that Shah Jahan did not really appreciate the art of painting and that he did not like figures 'because of the Moorish Law'. Thus Koedijk's journey to the Mughal capital was abandoned and he was sent instead as a factor to Ahmedabad. Shah Jahan, however, kept pursuing his aim and when in 1656 he learned that painters and a surgeon had arrived at Surat, he requested the authorities of the Company to send them to him immediately. The Company gave in,



6 Europeans bring gifts to Shah-Jahan, c. 1650, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 116b. Opaque watercolour on paper, image area 33.8 x 23.7 cm. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, OMS 1621



7 Shah-Jahan receives the Persian ambassador Muhammad-'Ali Beg in the *Diwan-i 'Amm* of Burhanpur on 26 March 1631 attributed to the 'Kashmiri Painter', c. 1633, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 98b. Opaque watercolour on paper, image area 30.7 x 20.2 cm. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, OMS 1619

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 Emanuelz. 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.¹⁷ 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 1664.¹⁸ 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

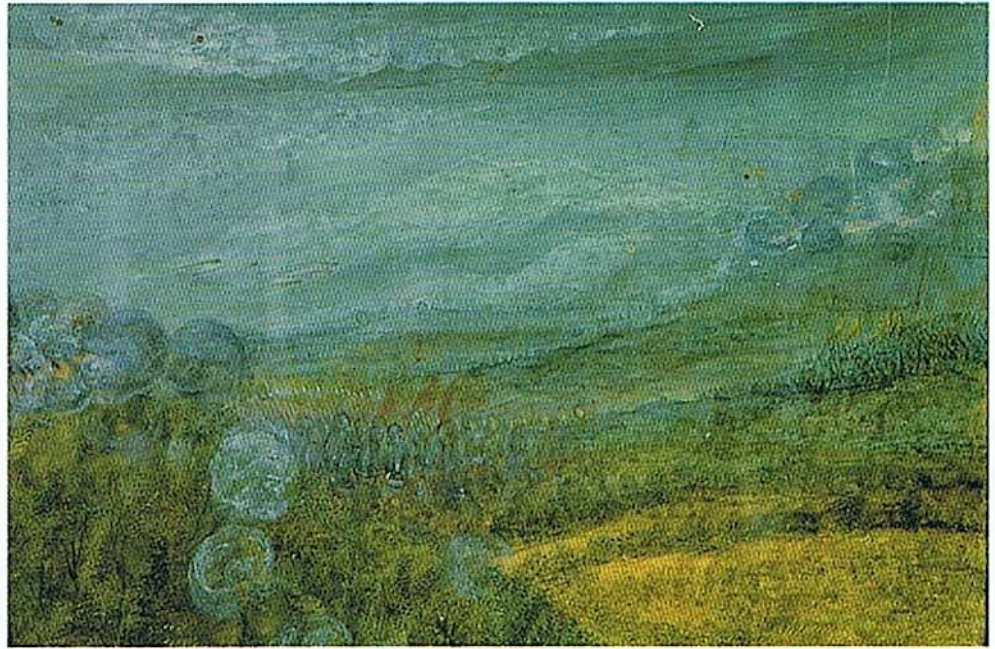
view with aerial perspective (Fig. 2), and – as Robert Skelton has pointed out – to Mughal landscapes representing the Labours of the the Months (Fig. 5).¹⁹ In a revolutionary move away from the highly stylized formulae of Persianate and Indian landscape painting, Mughal artists adapted the world landscape, 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.²⁰ 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 Govardhan, one of the foremost masters of Jahangir's court atelier.²¹

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*.²² The principles of official Shah-Jahani 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 'Amm* (Fig. 6). My understanding of the Shah-Jahani 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,²³ 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,²⁴ in which he analyses the arrangement of the protagonists and the increasing psychological interaction between them and the



8 Distant Himalayan range, detail from *Conquest of a hill fortress* by Payag, c. 1640. Opaque watercolour on paper, 34.3 x 23.9 cm. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Arts Museums, Cambridge, Mass., private collection, 638.1983



9 Distant landscape with mountains from the *Battle of the Amazons* by Jan Breughel the Elder (1568-1625), the foreground figures by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), 1597-99. Oil on panel, 97 x 124 cm. Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci, Stiftung Preussischer Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg, Inv. no. CK I 10021

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-Jahani 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-Jahani 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 *qarina*, 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.²⁵ 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-Jahani 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).²⁶ In another scene from the *Windsor manuscript*, *Shah-Jahan receiving the Persian ambassador Muhammad-'Ali Beg* of c. 1633, the Persians as the representatives of a rival foreign power suffer what might be termed three-dimensional humiliation (Fig. 7).²⁷ 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-Jahani 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



10 Detail of *Jahangir receives Khurram on his return from the Mewar campaign* by Balchand, c. 1635, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 43b. Opaque watercolour on paper, image area 30.4 x 20.1 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 annunciation* 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, 1975.1.113

here again most unrestrainedly in the backgrounds as opposed to the formal main scenes. The free illusionism of Shah-Jahani background vistas comes very close to Netherlandish landscapes of the later sixteenth century. The distant Himalayan range of Payag's *Conquest of a hill fortress* (c. 1640) (Fig. 8) compares very well with landscape backgrounds by Jan Breughel the Elder (1568-1625), such

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).²⁸

In Shah-Jahani 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-Jahani 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).²⁹

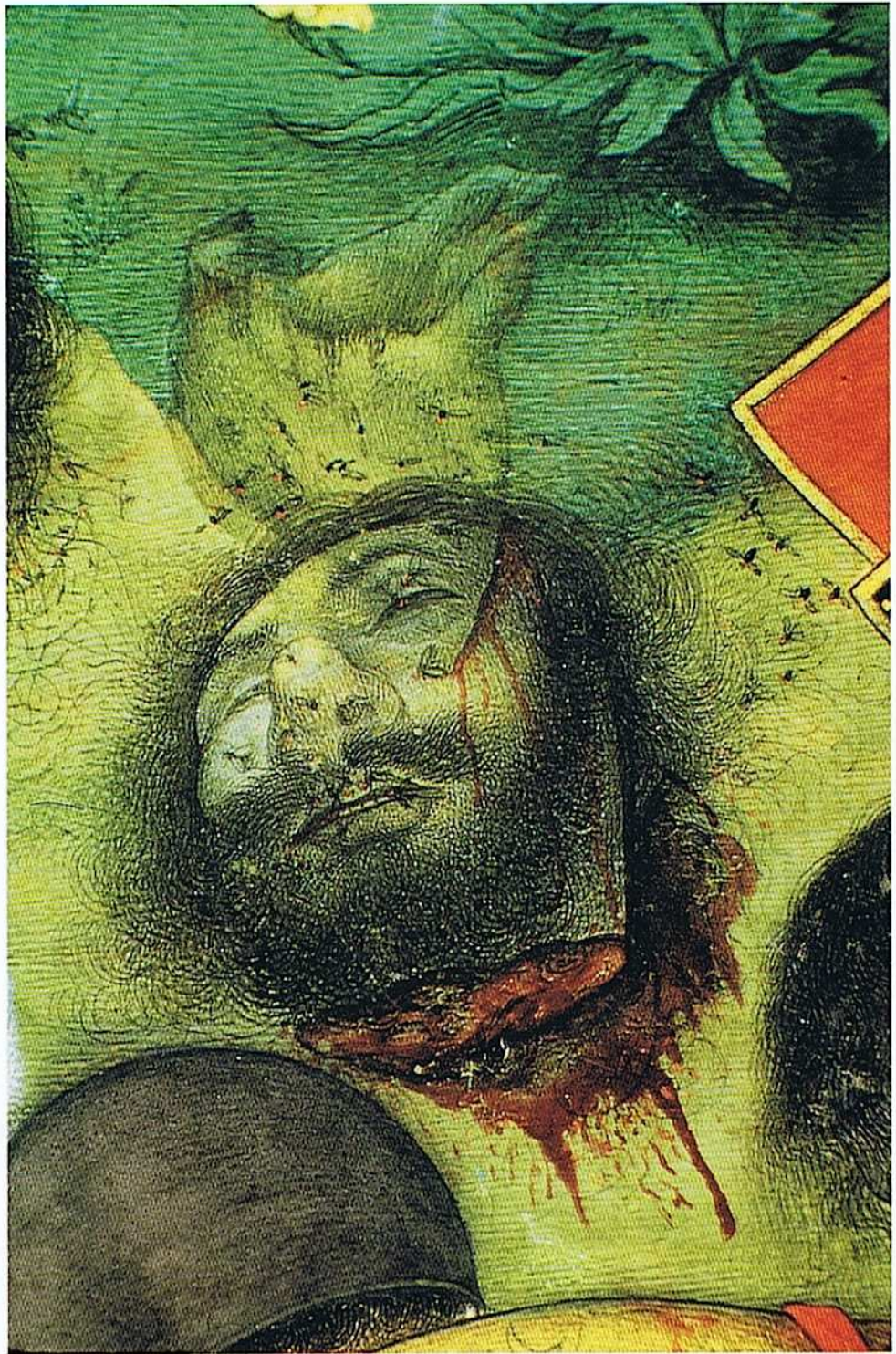
This meticulous contemplation of the visual world led to surprisingly similar aesthetic results in seventeenth-century Mughal book painting in opaque watercolour and in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Netherlandish oil painting, as is evident when the brocades in Fig. 10 are compared with those in Fig. 11. It has been argued, most recently by Julien Chapuis,³⁰ 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 *firang* (Europe) with the power to 'lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning'.³¹ 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 'Abid'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

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).³²

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).³³ 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 Middelhamis* of 1689 in the National Gallery.³⁴ 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 *Dara Shikoh hunting nilgais* (a type of antelope) (c. 1640) (Fig. 14).³⁵ 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



12 Detail of *The death of Khan Jahan Lodi* by 'Abid, c. 1633, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 94b. Opaque watercolour on paper, image area 31.8 x 20 cm. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, OMS 1618

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 16.³⁶ However, Payag, the painter of *Dara 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



13 *Shah-Jahan and his sons on elephants hunting lions* attributed to Payag, late 1650s.
Opaque watercolour on paper, 25.5 x 41.7 cm. Keir Collection.
Photo: R. Skelton



14 *Dara Shikoh hunting nilgais* by Payag, c. 1640.
Opaque watercolour on paper, 15.8 x 22.1 cm.
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, S1993.42a

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 Coun-

tries 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 methodological 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 'Toward a Global History of Netherlandish Art' at the 87th Annual Conference of the College Art Association in Los Angeles, 10-13 February 1999. A German version 'Niederländischer Naturalismus in der Malerei der Grossmoguln' was presented to the session 'Begeg-

nung Ost-West: Wege zwischen Asien und Europa' at the 10. Österreichischer Kunsthistorikertag 'Das Fach Kunstgeschichte und keine Grenzen?' in Innsbruck, 30 September to 3 October 1999; it will appear in its proceedings.

¹ See P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogol-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetekend', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, vol. xxxii, 1980-81, pp. 10-40; M. Royalton Kisch, *Drawings of Rembrandt and His Circle*, exh. cat., British Museum, 1992, pp. 141-51, nos. 62-67; both include references to the older literature.

² See Scheurleer, op. cit., plate 13; J. Auboyer, 'Un maître hollandais du XVII^e siècle s'inspirant des miniatures mogholes', *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. II, 1955, pp. 251-73; R.J. Del Bonta, 'Reinventing Nature: Mughal Composite Animal Painting', in S.P. Verma (ed.), *Flora and Fauna in Mughal Art*, Bombay, 1999, pp. 69-82, fig. 13.

³ 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.

⁴ The *Bābur nāma* is available in three English translations: *Bābur-Nāma, Memoirs of Bābur*, translated from the original Turki text of Zahir'ud-din Muhammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzi by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922; (reprinted New Delhi, 1970); Zahir al-Din Muhammad Bābur, *Bābur nāma*; Chaghatay Turkish text with 'Abd ul-Rahim Khānkhānān's Persian translation, Turkish transcription, Persian edition and English translation in 3 vols. by W.M. Thackston, *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures*, no. 18, Cambridge, Mass., 1993; *The Baburnama-Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, translated, edited, and annotated by W.M. Thackston, Washington DC and New York, 1996.

⁵ 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. XLV, 1982, pp. 251-62, especially pp. 256-57, with further literature.

⁶ The interest of the Mughals in detailed representation did not pass unnoticed by contemporary Dutch observers. F. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, English translation by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, 1925 (reprinted Delhi, 1972), p. 26, who was in charge of the Agra factory in the 1620s, mentions that 'the Moslems [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.

⁷ For example, M.S. Ipsiroglu, *Das Bild im Islam: Ein Verbot und seine Folgen*, Vienna and Munich, 1971, p. 14, where he considers observation from nature as 'foreign to the Islamic Orient'.

⁸ See E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932 (reprinted New Delhi, 1990) pp. 222-67; M.C. Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and its European Sources', *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bulletin*, vol. LXIII, no. 332, 1965, pp. 63-91.

⁹ E. Koch, 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors', in C.W. Troll (ed.), *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, vol. I, *The Akbar Mission & Miscellaneous Studies*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 14-29; reprinted in E. Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Studies*, New Delhi, 2000 (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Beach, op. cit., pp. 63-91.

¹¹ Koch, op. cit. in n. 5 above, especially p. 257.

¹² Maclagan, op. cit., p. 225, for pictures presented by the Dutch to the Mughal court.

¹³ The genre of individual miniatures independent of books is studied in C.S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer 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 I's ambassador at the Mughal court in the years between 1615 and 1618. See M.C. Beach, 'The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for his Style', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. xxxviii, 1980, pp. 7-33, especially pp. 14-15.

¹⁴ E. Koch, 'The Just Hunter: Renaissance Calendar Illustrations and the Representation of the Mughal Hunt', in C. Burnett and A. Contadini (eds.), *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, papers of a colloquium held at the Warburg Institute and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 15-16 March 1996, London, 1999, pp. 167-84, especially pp. 169-70.

¹⁵ Maclagan, op. cit., p. 235.



15 *Woodscape* by Gillis van Coninxloo (1544-1607), 1598. Oil on wood, 44 x 63 cm. Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Inv. no. 751

²⁶ We know these details from a letter which Heda wrote in 1610 from Ibrahim's residence at Nauraspur, for which see A. van der Willigen, *Les artistes de Harlem*, 1870, pp. 152-56, supplement B and C. See also H. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Harlem, 1942; reprinted with introduction by B.W. Meijer and with 90 additional illustrations, Amsterdam, 1983, p. 541. See also O. Kurz, 'Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen Prag und Persien zur Zeit Kaiser Rudolfs II', in *The Decorative Arts of Europe and the Islamic East: Selected Studies*, chapter XIV, London, 1977, pp. 5-6; for an English translation of the relevant passage, see M. Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, London, 1983, p. 95.

²⁷ P.A. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persie en Hindostan in de eerste helft der 17^e eeuw', *De Nederlandsche spectator*, no. 33, 16 August 1873, pp. 260-63, and 23 August 1873, pp. 265-66, drawing on the records of the Dutch East India Company. I am grateful to Professor Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York for sparing time on a Sunday to translate Leupe's article. See also Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

²⁸ Sweerts came to Persia as a lay brother and travel companion of François Pallu, first Bishop of the Missions Étrangères, who started his journey to Cochinchina from Paris in November 1661. However, the painter fell out with the Pallu mission and separated from it in 1662, apparently before they reached Isfahan. See Rolf Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1618-Goa 1664*, translated and edited by Diane L. Webb, Doornspijk, 1996, pp. 8-11. See also U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. XXXII, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 348-50. I would like to thank Alexander Wied from the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, for drawing my attention to this artist and for helping me with the literature.

²⁹ See Koch, *op. cit.* in n. 14 above; R. Skelton, 'Landscape in Indian Painting', in W. Watson (ed.), *Landscape Style in Asia*, a colloquy held 25-27 June 1979, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 9, London, 1980, pp. 150-71, especially p. 158.

³⁰ The European world landscape is characterized in these terms in W.S. Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth: The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, Princeton, 1989, p. x.

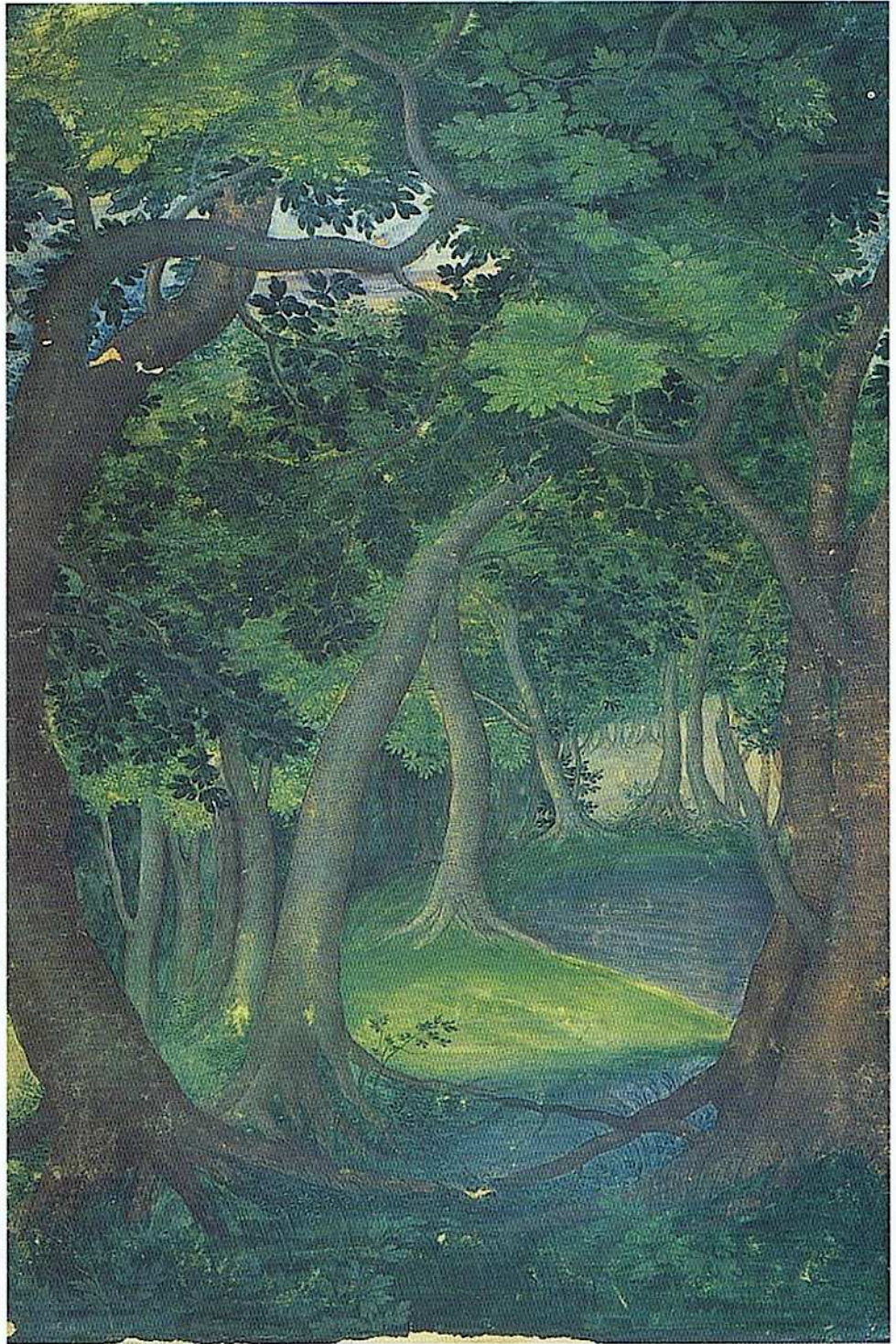
³¹ S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, London, 1978, p. 87, plate 24, where the whole painting is reproduced.

³² The manuscript is kept 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 DC, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See M.C. Beach, E. Koch and W. Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, exh. cat., London and Washington DC, 1997, pp. 131-42. For the issue under discussion, see E. Koch, 'The Hierarchical Principles of Shah-Jahani Painting', *ibid.*, pp. 131-42.

³³ H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, E. Brunner-Traut (ed.), 1919; translated into English and edited with an introduction by J. Baines, Oxford, 1974; reprinted with revisions, 1986.

³⁴ A. Riegl, 'Das holländische Gruppenporträt', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. XXII, 1902, pp. 71-278. See also A. Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, translated by E.M. Kain and D. Britt, Los Angeles, 1999.

³⁵ Plato, *The Republic*, Books VI-X, with an English translation by P. Shorey, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1935; latest reprint 1994, pp. 424-33, Book X, p. 598.



16 *Woodscape* by an anonymous Mughal painter, second quarter of the 17th century. Opaque watercolour on paper, 26 x 17.5 cm. British Museum, BM 1942.1-24.03. Photo: R. Skelton

³⁶ Beach, Koch and Thackston, *op. cit.*, no. 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 17.

³⁸ Breughel-Brueghel: *Flämische Malerei um 1600: Tradition und Fortschritt*, exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1997, nos. 29 and 68. Under no. 68, Klaus Ertz discusses the two versions of the *Battle of the Amazons*, and attributes the landscape to Jan Breughel the Elder and the battle scene to Rubens.

³⁹ Koch, *op. cit.* in n. 22 above, p. 141.

⁴⁰ J. Chapuis, 'Early Netherlandish Painting: Shifting Perspectives' in M.W. Ainsworth and K. Christiansen (eds.), *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1998, pp. 3-21, especially pp. 15-19.

⁴¹ Shaykh Abu'l Fazl Allāmi, *Ā' in-i Akbari*, Persian text edited by H. Blochmann, vol. 1, Calcutta, 1867-77, p. 11; English translation by H. Blochmann, 2nd edition, revised and edited by D.C. Phillot, 1927; reprinted New Delhi, 1977-78, pp. 102-103; here as translated in E. Koch, 'Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of

Lahore', in J. Deppert (ed.), *India and the West*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 193, note 73.

⁴² Beach, Koch and Thackston, *op. cit.*, no. 16, where the whole painting is illustrated.

⁴³ E. Koch, 'Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting', *Occasional Papers*, no. 1, 1998, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, pp. 33-34, fig. 19.

⁴⁴ N. Maclaren expanded by C. Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600-1900*, 2 vols., London, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 176-79.

⁴⁵ Koch, *op. cit.* in n. 33 above, especially p. 33.

⁴⁶ For examples of woodscapes by Coninxloo and Jan Breughel the Elder, which could have served as sources for the Mughal woodscape in the British Museum, see Hans Devisscher, 'Die Entstehung der Waldlandschaft in den Niederlanden', in *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1993, pp. 191-202, especially figs. 1 and 7.