

FATHER JEROME XAVIER AND THE THIRD JESUIT MISSION TO THE MUGHAL COURT: HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

The *Mir'āt al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness) marks an exceptional moment in the relations of an Islamic ruler with the members of a Catholic order and, in a broader sense, interactions between East and West.¹ It was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) from the Spanish Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier (1549–1617), a great-nephew of Saint Francis Xavier (d. 1552), who lived at the Mughal court from 1595 to 1614 as a guest of both Akbar and Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Although the specific date of the commission is unknown, at the end of his text Father Jerome states that he submitted it to the emperor in the capital of Agra on May 5 of “the year one thousand six hundred and two after the birth of our Lord Jesus.”²

Of the nineteen identified copies of this original and heretofore unstudied text on Christ's life, only three are illustrated.³ Albeit incomplete, the copy acquired in 2005 by the John L. Severance Fund of the Cleveland Museum of Art (hereafter CMA) is the most significant with respect to both the number of miniatures and artistic considerations.⁴ A total of twenty-seven miniatures illustrating both Biblical and apocryphal episodes have been identified as belonging to it. These are now spread between Cleveland and various European collections, but several missing miniatures have yet to be located. The miniatures are of consequence for a number of reasons, particularly because they provide stylistic evidence suggesting that the manuscript was produced soon after the text was presented to Akbar. Because the colophon of the manuscript is missing, this is noteworthy. The miniatures also add to our knowledge of the development of Mughal painting in a period of transition, when Prince Salim, the future Jahangir, opposed his father's rule and established, in the summer of 1600, his own

court and scriptorium (*kitābkhāna*) in Allahabad.⁵ One in particular, cat. no. XIII, *Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness* (see Chapter 4 for cat nos. I–XXVII), is of extreme relevance in this context. Due to a fortunate coincidence, this miniature, the only one signed by an artist—Muhammad Sharif (d. 1612)—strongly implies that this copy was illustrated under the prince's patronage in that same city, between 1602 and 1604. It was in the latter year that the prince went back to his father's court, and Sharif Khan, as he was also known, apparently stopped working (see chapter 3.3). In 1605, soon after Jahangir's accession to the throne, Muhammad Sharif also returned to the capital of Agra. According to the emperor's own memoirs, the artist was for him more than a friend or a family member.⁶ He then received from Jahangir one of the highest titles in the entire Mughal Empire and was sent to command an army in the Deccan. After having such grand privileges conferred on him, Sharif apparently stopped working as a painter. In fact, his last miniature seems to have been of Salim or a young Jahangir visiting a hermit.⁷

Finally, a number of these miniatures do not follow iconographic conventions well established in the West. They are instead directly inspired by Father Jerome's text. These reveal how local artists used text as the main source for their work, resulting in a remarkable and unique group of paintings showing the fusion of different cultures.

Father Jerome's compliance with Akbar's request reflects an old and ingrained Catholic tradition of producing new versions of Christ's life. This was only possible because the canonical Gospels present conflicting views on different aspects of his life, including the chronology of certain events and the identification of specific

locations, as well as of individuals and their genealogies. As a result, over the centuries authors have creatively used the freedom provided by the lack of a codified text to speculate and make deductions about various parts of Christ's life. Often they did this to better suit their own purposes. As Father Jerome's text evidences, these purposes varied depending on the period and circumstances. Interest in Jesus Christ's earthly life began soon after his death. Around A.D. 170, Tatian the Assyrian, produced the *Diatessaron*, which may be regarded as the earliest biographical study of Jesus. Like many of the works that followed, this one was based on the canonical Gospels, which apparently were then harmonized for the first time into a single text. In subsequent centuries, numerous other versions were composed and copied in monastic scriptoria.⁸ Most also include episodes from the apocryphal gospels, while many fused legends from various sources. The insertion of commentaries from the church fathers and scholastics as well as of the authors' own reflections soon became the norm. Like others before him, Father Jerome incorporated comments and explanations of his own into the text. These tend to follow the elucidation of parables and events or simply add some information of historical importance. Curiosity in the human reality of Christ did not decline with the end of the Middle Ages and the advent of the Renaissance. On the contrary, during this period various vitae were written and printed in different languages. Like the *Mir'āt al-quds*, these are not straightforward biographies of Jesus and are not concerned exclusively with his human existence. They are acts of faith and, as with Father Jerome's text, faith alone explains and justifies their existence. It is as such that the *Mir'āt al-quds* must be understood.

As the recipient of an imperial commission, Father Jerome was well aware of the importance of this specific task in the achievement of the Jesuits' ultimate goal: the emperor's conversion. Although his missionary zeal and profound spiritual beliefs were unquestionably of great assistance, the commission presented formidable challenges. To give a general overview of Jesus's life and teachings in a necessarily short text is in and of itself worthy of praise. To write it while a guest at a Muslim court and having limited access to relevant sources presented an extra number of dilemmas. Translating it from Portuguese, the language in which he first

composed it,⁹ into a non-Romance language even with assistance required additional confidence. Further difficulties arose from the nature of the subject. The theological content and many of the dogmas presented and often discussed in the text are difficult enough for most Christians to fully grasp. To Muslims, many aspects of the Christian doctrine are simply unacceptable. This was one of the challenges posed by the complex environment in which the Jesuit author lived and worked.

Father Jerome had a career that cannot be considered anything but exceptional. During the almost two decades that he lived at the Mughal court, he produced a remarkable corpus of work that included the *Mir'āt al-quds* and other religious texts as well as secular works. A substantial collection of contemporary sources has survived, allowing a better understanding of his life and work and specifically of the period spent at the Mughal court.¹⁰ As a result of the highly organized and centralized system established by the Society of Jesus soon after its foundation in 1540, considerable information was compiled about the activities of each province, as well as of each of its members. This was periodically collected, copied, and often translated and published in various European countries and languages. Annual reports of their activities, as well as missionaries' correspondence, were regularly sent to Rome, where the order has its headquarters. The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI) in Rome is the main depository of the original correspondence, though original letters or copies of them are also found in the archives of other cities.¹¹

Father Jerome led the third Jesuit mission to the Mughal capital after being chosen by his counterparts in Goa. The first mission to the court of Akbar was headed by Father Rudolf Acquaviva and remained at Fatehpur Sikri between 1580 and 1583. Among the consequences of this first contact was the presentation of various paintings and a significant number of Western books introducing Akbar to certain European artistic conventions. As is well known, among the latter was a copy of the so-called Polyglot Bible,¹² the illustrations of which exerted considerable influence on Mughal court painting. In 1591, Father Duarte Leitão headed the second mission, which remained in Lahore for less than a year. After the two missions, the Jesuits rightly feared that the goal of converting the emperor was simply unreal-

istic and therefore decided not to send other missionaries. However, Akbar's interest in religious matters and specifically in Christianity led him to ask a third time for Jesuit missionaries.¹³ Acknowledging the emperor's interest, the viceroy himself, D. Matias de Albuquerque (r. 1591–97), pressured the Jesuit head (Provincial¹⁴) in Goa to send a third mission.¹⁵ According to a contemporary Jesuit source, the viceroy alleged that "other religious men wished and were asking to go if the Jesuits would not oblige."¹⁶ Curiously, the third mission to the Mughal court would last for almost two centuries, until 1773, when Rome suppressed the order.¹⁷

Such assignments mixed pious endeavors with diplomatic skills and had the full support of the Portuguese viceroy in Goa.¹⁸ The head of the *Estado da Índia*¹⁹ took advantage of the missionaries' knowledge of Mughal affairs of state to guide him in his own dealings with the Mughals.²⁰ Furthermore, the viceroy was also under direct pressure from Philip II (r. 1556–98), the Spanish Habsburg monarch who in 1580 became king of Portugal and its overseas territories (between 1580 and 1640 the two Iberian crowns were united under Spanish Habsburg rule).²¹ In 1596, in a letter to Viceroy D. Matias de Albuquerque, the king refers to Akbar's complaints that the missionaries of the second mission had left the court "too early." In that same missive, Philip II also asked the viceroy to thank the Provincial in Goa for sending religious men to the Mughal court again and requested that the viceroy "favor such things," i.e., the missions. In addition, the ruler demanded to be kept informed about the progress of the mission.²² Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) also showed interest in Father Jerome's mission, as Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) had years earlier, when the first mission was sent.²³ Although it is unknown whether the letter ever reached Akbar, in December 1592 Clement VIII wrote to the emperor and lauded his interest in Christianity. In the missive, the pope recommended the missionaries to Akbar, exhorting him to listen to their words and accept their religion.²⁴

The fact that Akbar commissioned the *Mir'āt al-quds* is not as surprising as one might perhaps think. His fascination with Christian texts was revealed as early as 1578, when he wrote to the Jesuits in Goa asking for "the foremost books of the Law and the Gospels." He clearly stated that he desired "to know the Law and what

is perfect in it," for he wished to "acquire it."²⁵ Such concern is again revealed in 1582, when an informed Akbar wrote to Philip II:

It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books, such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Psalms, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books—which are profitable to all whether translated or not—be procurable in your country, send them.²⁶

And in 1583, when writing to the Jesuit Provincial, he stated that he "want[ed] to know the truth on the Book of Celestial Jesus's Law."²⁷ It is also noticeable that two decades later the emperor still displayed an active interest in Christian matters. In 1602, through a *farman* (decree), Akbar extended imperial protection to those who, following their "own free will, should become Christian."²⁸ This happened in the same year that Father Jerome submitted the text under discussion.

It is common knowledge that the Koran and literature from the Islamic lands give considerable emphasis to Jesus and Akbar was surely not the first Muslim ruler who had access to and commissioned works in which the life of Christ was treated, some of them illustrated. He seems, nonetheless, to have been the first ruler to have ordered a new text on the subject from a Christian author. The *Mir'āt al-quds* deals with the life of a major historical figure and the founder of Christianity, which was per se sufficient to attract Akbar's attention. His interest in history is partly explained by the influence that Timurid ideas had at the Mughal court. In contrast to their Safavid counterparts, who were far more interested in new illustrated versions of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), Mughal rulers perceived themselves as the heirs of the Timurids, and, like them, used history to their advantage.²⁹ History had, of course, been employed in various periods and regions to establish lineage and justify legitimacy of rule. In the Islamic lands, works such as the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* (Compendium of Chronicles) by Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) legitimized the Mongols' role in history. This text became relevant for the successor states of the Ilkhanids, such as the Jalayirids (1336–1442) and particularly the Timurids (ca. 1370–1506). During the rule of the latter dynasty, various illustrated copies were commissioned.³⁰

Akbar certainly continued this trend, going even further in his efforts to acquire and establish new knowl-

edge of his Timurid ancestors and past.³¹ Besides sponsoring an illustrated version of the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* (also known as the *Chingiznāma* [History of Chinggis (Ghenghis)], ca. 1596), and at least two works on his own life, both referred to as the *Akbarnāma* (History of Akbar, ca. 1590 and 1604), around 1581 he commissioned the *Tārīkh-i alfi* (History of the Millennium, ca. 1592–94), a new history of the Muslim world, meant to commemorate the first millennium of Islam.³² Other works based on the lives and feats of historical figures include the *Zafarnāma* (History of Timur, ca. 1584), a book of conquests dealing with the founder of the Timurids, and various versions of the *Bāburnāma* (Memoirs of Babur, ca. 1589, ca. 1593, and 1597–98), a biographical history of his grandfather, Babur (d. 1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty. Besides these, fiction and the fabulous, as described in texts such as the *Ṭūṭīnāma* (The Tales of a Parrot, ca. 1560), greatly appealed to Akbar. As a ruler of millions of Hindus, he was most certainly used to fantastic tales being mixed with religion. His varied interests in religion led him to order translations and illustrations of Sanskrit classics such as the *Razmnāma* (Book of Wars, ca. 1582–86), an abridged version of the great Hindu epic the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Rāmāyana* (History of Rama [the Hindu god], ca. 1584–89).

It is clear that he commissioned works dealing with the feats of historical figures, who more often than not were endowed with mythical and mystical associations. His own history, the *Akbarnāma*, is a good example of this, as is the *Ḥamzanāma* (History of Hamza, ca. 1562–77), a mythical history of the Prophet's paternal uncle, which became the most ambitious project ever undertaken by his scriptorium.³³ Christ's life with its many miracles had every element required to attract the emperor's attention and that of other audiences, literate or not. It was indeed extremely suitable material for the emperor's inquisitive mind. It is also noteworthy that the arrangement of ideas and Biblical episodes in the *Mir'āt al-quds* finds parallels in other Mughal manuscripts. Among these is the *Ḥamzanāma*, with its "loosely organized narrative, which takes many an unpredictable turn, and is enhanced with optional episodes," as Seyller has noted.³⁴

Although the *Mir'āt al-quds* has never before been the subject of study, the text was reproduced in Europe

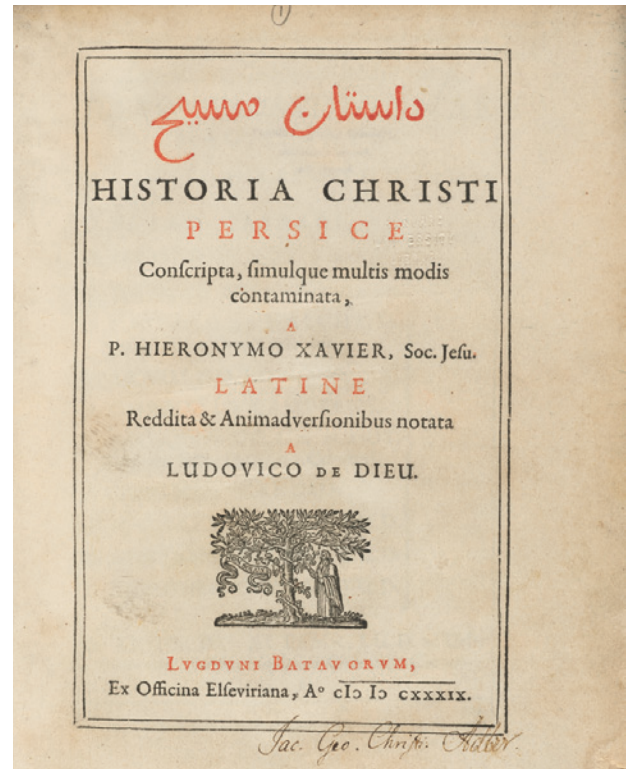


Fig. 0.1. Title page of the *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu.*, translated from the original Persian into Latin by Louis de Dieu (Leiden, 1639). Houghton Library, Harvard University, NC6.D5683.639r. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

less than four decades after it was completed. As discussed in chapter 2.5, as early as 1639 in Leiden, the Dutch Protestant and Orientalist Ludovico de Dieu (d. 1642) published the text in Persian, side by side with its translation into Latin (figs. 0.1 and 0.2).³⁵ The basic purpose of the book was to denounce Catholics' excesses and the use of non-canonical sources when discussing such matters. With their ability to adapt to the indigenous traditions of the diverse regions in which they found themselves, the Jesuit missionaries became a target for Protestant criticism. And Father Jerome, even if living on the subcontinent, was not immune to the fierce arguments evoked by Protestants in Europe. In many respects, de Dieu and his followers had grounds for certain objections. Father Jerome reproduced, for example, a number of stories and legends belonging to Christian tradition that he presented as fact. In this he



Fig. 0.2. Opening pages of the *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta*. Houghton Library, Harvard University, NC6.D5683.639r. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

was certainly less prudent than Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298), the medieval author of the *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend), a major source for the *Mir'at al-quds*. Voragine occasionally acknowledged his doubts and left it to the reader to judge whether certain stories were factual.³⁶ Father Jerome did not, for the simple reason that he could not afford to do so. If these stories had not been narrated as historical truths, his interlocutors at the Mughal court and the emperor himself would have given little credit to his magnum opus.

The defense of such positions ultimately led de Dieu and others to overlook Akbar's genuine interest in Christianity and the importance of Father Jerome's work while at the Mughal court. Other than faith, Father Jerome used a great deal of tact and subtlety while writing the *Mir'at al-quds*. This was necessary because he wished to reach a larger audience and not only the

emperor. His work was meant to be read and discussed at the court—as the author solicits at the beginning of the text, “it is requested that it be ordered that it be read repeatedly in imperial gatherings because it is the basis of teaching”³⁷ He might have the emperor's protection but he clearly could not afford to have the court against him. Besides, the Jesuit mission had developed an evangelization program in the capital that it wanted to expand. Without the support of at least some members of the court, this would not have been feasible. Father Jerome's diplomatic skills are visible when, for example, in the preamble to his text he uses only the Gregorian year³⁸ but at the end of the text, the regnal year is also employed.³⁹ He had necessarily to be faithful to the New Testament, but he was also aware that Muslims would not accept it in its entirety and occasionally he compromises. He preferred, for example,

to explicitly ignore objections to divorce and treats the transubstantiation in a vague manner. Yet he was also bold when he described Jesus as the “King of Kings.”⁴⁰ Although this is a Biblical reference,⁴¹ Father Jerome was certainly aware of the weight that such titles carried in the Islamic lands.

As he mentions twice, the text is divided into four parts.⁴² These are preceded by a short and enticing preamble: Father Jerome begins his work with a brief account of the legend involving Jesus and Abgar V (r. 4 B.C.–A.D. 7; 13–50), the ruler of Edessa (modern Urfa in southeastern Turkey), then a kingdom in Upper Mesopotamia. The Jesuit constructed his own version of Christ’s life, incorporating episodes that he thought would be relevant in a Mughal context. At first, some events do not seem to fit into coherent story lines, but when further explored their relevance is assured in most instances. The episode involving Abgar exemplifies how Father Jerome fully appropriated an old story to better suit his own purposes and, not less important, to reach Akbar.

Over his reign of forty-nine years, the Mughal emperor showed a unique interest in religion, and in the early 1580s tried to establish his own thoughts as a religious doctrine, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* (Divine Faith).⁴³ Among the religions from which he borrowed was Christianity, which he esteemed highly. Substantiating such a view are not only the *Mir’āt al-quds* but also Jesuits records and other contemporary sources, including Mughal ones. The historian Abdul Qadir Bada’uni (d. ca. 1615) states, for instance, that Akbar “firmly believed in the truth of the Christian doctrine” and ordered a translation of the Gospels.⁴⁴ His attraction to Christianity is also apparent in one of the most spectacular Akbari buildings, the Buland Darwarza, the grand entrance to the Friday Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri, the city built by him almost forty kilometers from Agra.⁴⁵ Finished in the 1570s, the so-called Gate of Magnificence is set in the south wall of the vast courtyard of the congregational mosque and was probably enlarged in 1601–2 to commemorate Akbar’s victory in Gujarat. Its façade is decorated with several Koranic and other religious inscriptions.⁴⁶ One, almost certainly selected by the emperor himself, reads: “Jesus, peace upon him, has said: ‘The world is a bridge; pass over it, and do not inhabit it.’”⁴⁷ The city was built in the place where the

Sufi shaykh Salim al-Din Chishti (d. 1572) had foretold Prince Salim’s birth, while the mosque was intended to serve also as a school for the shaykh’s disciples. Sufis commonly employed metaphors in their teachings, and the Sufi flavor of the inscription fitted the environment. At the same time, the saying enhanced the mystical dimension of Christ while showing Akbar’s unambiguous interest in the founder of Christianity.⁴⁸

In a metaphorical sense, Akbar was also a builder of bridges, who consistently worked to reach the many minorities in his vast empire. The Jesuits in general, and Father Jerome in particular, followed his example. The very title *Mir’āt al-quds*, or Mirror of Holiness, reflects such interests. It reveals not only a knowledge of medieval Western literature but also an awareness of Persian literature and Sufi metaphors involving the use of mirrors. To attract the attention of the emperor and convey his message more effectively, Father Jerome used a language that can be characterized as simple, direct, and uncomplicated, with an abundant use of idiomatic expressions. Although he had the assistance of a translator, it is clear that this was a premeditated choice. The survival of such a large number of copies confirms his good judgment; these were almost certainly used by the Jesuits and perhaps by Catholics of other religious orders in their evangelization work while on the subcontinent.

NOTES

1. In the course of this study, the uniformity of the text of the Cleveland manuscript was compared and confirmed by Wheeler M. Thackston against an unillustrated copy in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Ms. 12171; the illustrated copy in the Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645); and Ludovico de Dieu’s printed version, *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu., Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu* (Leiden, 1639). Minor variations are understood as copyists’ errors. The folios in Cleveland are identified by the three letters “ASI,” followed by the number of the image provided by the CMA. The London folios are identified with the letter “L,” followed by the respective folio number of the manuscript, and the letter “a” or “b” (for recto or verso). A concordance by W. M. Thackston (entitled “Order of Folios in the Cleveland *Mir’āt al-quds*”) is provided in Appendix II.

2. ASI.278–79.
3. Other than the copies in Cleveland and Lahore, eight miniatures belonging to a third illustrated copy were in the Howard Hodgkin Collection until 1965, when they were sold on the art market, as discussed below. Two other miniatures, one now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. IS 170-1950 (fig. 4.2), the other in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M46 (fig. 4.9), were probably part of this same manuscript, since they share stylistic elements and similar dimensions; moreover, the borders of these two paintings, especially the floral scrolls, are identical. These two works were once mounted in the same album, which has since been dismembered.
4. CMA, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.
5. Although Salim occasionally visited Agra, disagreements with his father led him to return to Uttar Pradesh, where he remained until 1604, a year before Akbar's death. Following his accession to the throne in 1605, courtly production was unified in the capital.
6. Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed., and annot. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York, 1999), 28.
7. Linda York Leach, *Paintings from India*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 8 (London, 1998), 37–38, n. 12.
8. For a non-exhaustive list of these versions, see Sargent's foreword in Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter, 2004), ix–x.
9. Portuguese was then the lingua franca and the language taught in all Asian territories under Portuguese rule. By 1587, Father Jerome was fluent in the language: see the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant to the Provincial (see n. 14 below) of Goa, from Kochi, December 29, 1587: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), Goa 13, fols. 381r–382v.
10. From May 1595 to 1614; by February 27, 1615, he was already in Chaul: see the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Ituren, S.J., from Chaul, December 4, 1615, in H. Hosten, S.J., "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier, S.J., A Missionary in Mogor," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., 23 (1928): 123–26.
11. Copies of the correspondence were often sent to Lisbon, as all missionary work in territories under Portuguese rule was dependent on the Portuguese *Padroado* (the privilege of patronage extended by the pope to the king of Portugal for the spreading of Christianity, particularly in Asia). Jesuit correspondence occasionally found its way to other cities; see "A Collection of Letters and Papers Relative to the State of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1582 to 1693," British Library, London, Add. Ms. 9854 and Add. Ms. 9855, said to have originally been in the Goan archives. Add. Ms. 9854 contains at least five missives signed by Father Jerome Xavier.
12. *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine: Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate, et studio ad sacrosanctae excud.*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569–72 [under the auspices of Philip II, king of Spain]).
13. *Annua* of 1595, sent by Father Cabral S.J., Provincial of Goa, to Rome, November 29, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 32, fol. 539r).
14. The leading father in a certain province, who, aided by consultants and consultors, oversaw both the spiritual and practical matters of his fellow Jesuits in that same province. Provincials were appointed by the General of the Order (the title given to the head of the Society of Jesus), and were responsible for sending annual reports for the General informing him of local developments.
15. Letter sent by Father Francisco Fernandez, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General of the Order, from Goa, November 7, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 209r); and *annua* sent by Father Cabral, S.J., Provincial, from Goa, November 29, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 32, fol. 539r).
16. Letter sent by Father Gomes Vaz, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 25, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 256v).
17. By means of a brief by Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–74), and following the suppression of the order in Portugal in 1759.
18. The head of the *Estado da Índia* (Portuguese State of India) received the title of viceroy or governor depending on his background and the specificities of the period. Nevertheless, viceroys and governors had the same basic functions and powers.
19. In the sixteenth century, the *Estado da Índia* comprised not only all the territories under Portuguese rule in the subcontinent but also all her other possessions in the Indian Ocean, from the eastern coast of Africa, to the island of Hormuz, Malacca, Timor, Macao, and many other small territories such as Oman, Flores, and Mollucas. It ended in 1961, when the Indian army invaded Goa. Daman and Diu, the other two territories also under Portuguese rule at that time, were also annexed by India.
20. This becomes clear when, for example, Father Jerome reveals that Akbar's intention was to capture Goa and the other Portuguese possessions on the coast: see his letter to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Srinagar, August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 344v).
21. In 1580, Philip II of Spain (r. 1554–98) inherited the throne of Portugal through his mother, Isabella of Portugal (d. 1539; consort of Charles V), ruling as Philip I of Portugal until his death in 1598.
22. Letter of Philip II to Viceroy D. Matias de Albuquerque, sent from Lisbon, January 28, 1596. Reproduced in Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, ed. and comp., *Arquivo portuguez-oriental*, 10 vols. (Nova Goa, 1861; repr. New Delhi and Madras, 1992), 3: 583–95, doc. 206, XV.
23. [Louis Delplace], *Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in Causa Societatis Iesu, 1540–1605* (Florence, 1887), 119, no. 219, dated March 1581. Here the pope also exhorted the emperor to listen to the missionaries and to "not take long in his deliberation."
24. Epistle sent by Pope Clement VIII to Emperor Akbar, from Rome, December 17, 1592 (ARSI, Instit. 194, fols. 252r–253v).

25. Letter sent by Akbar to the “head fathers of the Order of S. Paul,” from Fatehpur Sikri, December 1578. Reproduced in António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1905–86), vol. 12, *Índia, 1572–1582*, p. 432, doc. 48.
26. Letter sent by Akbar to Philip II, from Fatehpur Sikri, Rabi’ al-Awwal 990 (corresponding approximately to March 25–April 23, 1582). Reproduced in Jorge Flores and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Os Firangis na chancelaria Mogol: Cópias portuguesas de documentos de Akbar, 1572–1604 = The Firangis in the Mughal Chancellery: Portuguese Copies of Akbar’s Documents, 1572–1604* (New Delhi, 2003), 87.
27. Copy of Akbar’s *farman* translated into Portuguese, dated June 1583: British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 5a.
28. In a *farman* reproduced in a letter sent by Father Manuel Pinheiro, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., from Lahore, September 9, 1602 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 46r).
29. In that respect they came closer to their Ottoman contemporaries, particularly under Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95), when there was a boom in the production of illustrated historical manuscripts. For a discussion of this period, see Emine F. Fetvacı, “Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566–1617” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005).
30. See Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din’s Illustrated History of the World*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 27 (London, 1995), 99–102.
31. Dates of illustrated manuscripts below are from Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 214–28. For more general works on these and other illustrated manuscripts from Akbar’s reign, see Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660* (Williamstown, Mass., 1978); Milo Cleveland Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1987); Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (Paris, 1992); Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1995); and J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993).
32. Abū ’l-Faẓl ‘Allāmī, *The Ā’in-i Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann, ed. D. C. Phillott, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1927; repr. New Delhi, 1989), 1:201. The hijri year of 1000 corresponds to 1591–92.
33. For the *Hamzanāma*, see John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, D.C., and London, 2002).
34. *Ibid.*, 12.
35. *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu., Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu* (Leiden, 1639). See n. 1 above.
36. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 1:168, no. 45; 275, no. 67; 277, no. 68.
37. L4a.
38. ASI. 278–79.
39. L145b, L146a.
40. ASI.70.
41. Revelation 19:16.
42. L2b and ASI.277. According to Father Jerome, these are: Christ’s childhood (part 1); his miracles and teachings (part 2); his trials, tribulations, and death (part 3); and his Resurrection from the grave and Ascension into Heaven (part 4).
43. This might be considered an eclectic and elitist movement influenced by various religions and based on Sufi sources, which did not survive its founder. See Aziz Ahmad, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. “Dīn-i Ilāhī.”
44. ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badā’ūnī, *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1884–1925), vol. 2, *The Reign of Akbar, from 963 to 1004 A.H.*, trans. W. H. Lowe, 267. As an orthodox Muslim, Bada’uni had a profound aversion to Akbar’s interest in other religions and the fact that he protected the members of the Society of Jesus at the court. Although highly critical, the historian’s work confirms Akbar’s interest in Christianity.
45. For the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, see Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, eds., *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar’s India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York, 1985), 34–55.
46. For the list of inscriptions on the Buland Darwarza and the translation of the secular ones, see Z. A. Desai, comp., “Inscriptions,” in Brand and Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*, 228–29.
47. Desai, “Inscriptions,” 228 no. 19. According to Tarif Khalidi, ed. and trans., *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2001), 106, no. 99, it was al-Mubarrad (d. 898) who attributed the saying to al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728 or 737). For the Buland Darwarza and a different translation of the inscription, see Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London, 2000), 219–20.
48. Akbar was not the first Muslim ruler to inscribe a major monument with references to Jesus. A number of these were built in various periods and regions, but only on a few occasions did they have an ecumenical purpose, as seems to have been the case with the Fatehpur Sikri monumental gateway. More often than not, the inscriptions have a strong religious message, intended to show the strength of Islam. For example, the inscribed mosaic band (dated 72 [692]) in the inner octagonal arcade of the Dome of the Rock, bears a Koranic quotation (Koran 4:171) that is used to deny the Trinity and Christ’s divinity. For this inscription, see Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (London, 1996), 107, and for a discussion of its meaning, see Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd al-Malik’s Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman’s Glosses,” *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105, esp. 23–57. A second example is the Ghurid minaret of Jam, built by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din in 570 (1174–75), which is inscribed with Sura 19. For an interpretation and discussion, see Janine Sourdél-Thomine, *Le minaret Ghouride de Jām: Un chef d’oeuvre du XIIIe siècle*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 29 (Paris, 2004), 153–57.