The Mughal *Padshah*

A Jesuit Treatise on Emperor Jahangir's Court and Household

By

Jorge Flores

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Darbar of Jahangir (detail), possibly by Manohar or Abu'l Hasan, *ca*. 1620–25. It shows a Jesuit priest, probably the Florentine Francesco Corsi, taking part in that daily ceremony. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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ISSN 2211-4610
ISBN 978-90-04-30752-0 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-30753-7 (e-book)

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Some, who were supreme yesterday, are no one today. Some fell due to their own faults, others by way of rumours, and others because they believed that the world, with all its tricks, could not beat them

JERÓNIMO XAVIER, *at Jahangir's court in Lahore, 1607*

• • •

A very small fault, or a trifling mistake, may bring a man to the depths of misery or to the scaffold, and consequently everything in the kingdom is uncertain. Wealth, position, love, friendship, confidence, everything hangs by a thread

FRANCISCO PELSAERT, *Dutch Factor in Agra, 1626*

• • •

Some people, mindful of the Qur'anic verse, "and make not your hands contribute to your destruction," employ themselves in well-wishing for kings from afar. Others throw their hearts and souls into danger and remain day and night in visible proximity around kings

MUTRIBI, *at Jahangir's court in Lahore, 1627*

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Preface

Those specializing in Mughal history are well aware of the renewed interest in the figure of Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Long overshadowed by his charismatic father Akbar, Jahangir has been characterized consistently as a weak and shallow ruler, more given to rituals and empty gestures than to strong political and military action. But recent work on Jahangir and the Mughal political culture of the period has put this emperor—his reign, court, and persona—at the heart of important historiographical developments. His capacity as collector, patron and naturalist, which was signaled before by art historians, has been further investigated. The richness of the political and religious debates taking place in his court has been unearthed thanks to the analysis of new texts and the reconsideration of older ones. This is precisely where the research on Jahangir dovetails with the history of the Society of Jesus, namely through the prominent figure of Jerónimo (Jerome) Xavier, who in 1595 headed the third Jesuit mission to the Mughal court, and there remained for almost twenty years. This is likewise the point at which the Portuguese *Tratado da Corte e Caza de Jamguir Pachá Rey dos Mogores* (*Treatise* in the shorthand English form), probably written by Xavier in late 1610 or early 1611, enters the discussion.

I came across this intriguing text on Jahangir's court and household about fifteen years ago, and explored it for the first time in the edited volume accompanying the exhibition 'Goa and the Great Mughal', Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (2004).[1] Ever since then, I have toyed with the idea of publishing the *Treatise*—though academic careers are built on monographs, and not so much on the publication of primary sources. More and more during these past years I have become convinced of the benefit to the wider reading public of rendering the *Treatise* into English. My goal is to frame the work as an integral part of a large and complex web of contemporary texts and conversations in, or about the court of Jahangir. These range from European Protestant and Catholic authors like William Hawkins, Jerónimo Xavier, Thomas Roe and Francisco Pelsaert to Central Asian and South Asian writers such as Mutribi, ʿAbdus Sattar, Keshavdas, and Jahangir himself.

What is more, the figure of Xavier has been chiefly studied (and rightly so) as a missionary, and particularly as a religious intellectual invested in the production of texts in the Persian language concerning the Christian faith that

1 Jorge Flores, 'Two Portuguese Visions of Jahangir's India: Jerónimo Xavier and Manuel Godinho de Erédia', in Jorge Flores and Nuno Vassallo e Silva, eds., *Goa and the Great Mughal* (London, 2004), 44–67 [48–56].

could presumably 'speak' to Akbar and Jahangir. The recent English edition of the Cleveland Museum of Art illustrated copy of the *Mir'at al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness) is a case in point. Notwithstanding, Xavier was also a *homo politicus*, and that is what the *Treatise*, if he ever penned it, tells us. He was in fact schooled in the Mughal court, and was a sharp observer of its ritualized power relations, shifting political and religious currents and social dynamics. He must have seen it (and experienced it) as a place both of high expectations and serious dangers, just as his 1607 assessment of courtiers' fortunes illustrates.[2] At least in this regard—the exordia show it—Xavier is strikingly close to another observer of, and participant in the Mughal court, namely Mutribi. What the poet from Samarqand wrote some twenty years later about the potentially 'toxic' effects of the court differs very little from the Spanish missionary's own judgment. To be too close to the ruler is to put oneself at risk, as they would probably agree.[3]

Oddly enough, I have decided to write a substantial introduction to contextualize an early-seventeenth century text that, with its nineteen folios, is far from being long. While probing the *Treatise* word by word (and number by number . . .), trying to make sense of its nature and rationale, its relationship with Mughal history and political culture, the history of the Jesuit mission to the *Mogor*, and the history of the Portuguese Asian Empire was of course patent. Additionally, I came to understand that the task implied engaging with courtly studies, the intricacies of early modern political ethnography, as well as the history of the book and reading practices. The intersectionality of all these fields and research paths, which I aim at in the introduction, is as powerful as it is challenging.

I am very grateful to the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid) and the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), where three of the four manuscripts of the *Treatise* are kept, for their committed assistance. Special mention is due the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), which houses the most complete manuscript copy of the text, the one that is published in this volume both in English translation and in its Portuguese original form. The help provided by this institution, in particular by Paulo Tremoceiro regarding access

2 '*alguns que ontem erão supremos oje são nada. Huns cayrão por culpas, outros por murmurações outros por não se yrem gloriando de que não pode o mundo, com todas suas manhas, derruba los a elles*'; Jerónimo Xavier to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in India, Lahore, 4 August 1607, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol. III (Lisbon, 1963), 101–02.

3 'Twenty-Fourth Meeting: Permission to Return Home', in *Conversations with Emperor Jahangir by "Mutribi" al-Asamm of Samarqand*, trans. and ed. Richard C. Foltz (Costa Mesa, CA, 1998), 90. Pelsaert's quote is taken from *Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, trans. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (rpt., New Delhi, 2001), 56.

and permissions, was crucial to the outcome of the present project. I have also counted on generous financial support from the European University Institute, Florence, where I have been teaching since 2010.

For the translation of the *Treatise* I am indebted to Rex Nielson, Anne McGinness and Oliver Dunn, while for the transcription of its different versions I have resorted to the work of José Escribano Paez and especially Luís Cunha Pinheiro, who worked specifically on the Lisbon manuscript. To Sara Tropper I owe the excellent English-language editing of the introduction. Several colleagues and friends have helped me by solving problems, offering suggestions and providing close readings of the introduction and the *Treatise* itself. I am therefore extremely grateful to Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, Corinne Lefèvre, Ebba Koch, Ines Županov, João Paulo Salvado, Joan-Pau Rubiés, Jos Gommans, José Pedro Paiva, Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, Munis Faruqui, Muzaffar Alam, Rui Manuel Loureiro, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Uroš Zver (who has also prepared the index). Seminar audiences in Chicago, Vienna, Florence and Paris, where the *Treatise* was 'paraded' throughout this long journey, have contributed to making this project a better one. I am thankful to Brill for having accepted this work for publication. Jeroen Duindam, Series Editor of 'Rulers & Elites' received the proposal with great enthusiasm, and the two anonymous readers contributed enormously to the quality of the book. Last but not least, I owe a debt of thanks to Ivo Romein and his team for their impeccable editorial work.

Finally, a word of gratitude to the institutions that either gave permission to reproduce the illustrations included in this book or provided photos of copyright-free materials. This is acknowledged in due place, but I am thankful to the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, the Saxon State and University Library Dresden, the Chester Beatty Library, the Freer Gallery of Art (Smithsonian Institution), and the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. The latter museum houses the magnificent Mughal painting chosen as illustration cover of the book, which manages to convey in a single image the quintessence of the *Treatise*: Jahangir holding his *darbar* and a Jesuit priest (probably the Florentine Francesco Corsi) observing and participating. That is surely what the Jesuit missionary who wrote the *Treatise* (either Jerónimo Xavier or Manuel Pinheiro, as we will discuss in the introduction) did. As a European member of the Mughal elite, he would have taken part in that daily ceremony at Jahangir's court, while as a Jesuit missionary presumably reporting to the Portuguese viceroy in Goa, he would have taken the time to vividly recount it.

Jorge Flores
Florence, June 2015

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PART 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

The Threads and Knots of an Unusual Jesuit Text

1.1 The Text: Outline and Profile

At the core of this book lies an unpublished Jesuit text about the court and household (*corte e casa*) of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1569–1627; r. 1605–27). Originally composed around 1610, the document exists today in four known versions in two languages but its authorship is not completely clear. Hereafter designated as *Treatise*, the complete title of the Portuguese version we have selected for the English translation of this text is *Tratado da Corte e Caza de Iamguir Pachá Rey dos Mogores; em que brevemente se trata dos Reinos que tem; e de seos tizouros, e o grande estado e preheminencia com que se serve de suas portas para dentro; suas mulheres, filhos, e seos grandes capitais* ('Treatise of the Court and Household of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals, briefly addressing his kingdoms, and his treasures, and the great majesty and pre-eminence by which he is served in his court; his wives, children, and his chief captains') (fig. 1).[1] It consists of 19 folios and evidences clear internal organization, anchored in the following 11 sections, or 'chapters':[2]

'On the Court of the Great Mughal' (ff. 2r–3r, §1–9);
'On the Children and Kin of this King' (ff. 3r–4v, §10–21);
'On the Occasions when the King Appears before His people; and the Order of His Household' (ff. 4v–6r, §22–28);
'On the King's Wives, and How they are Served inside the Palace, and on the Riches of their Garments, and of their Persons' (ff. 6r–7v, §29–34);
'Expenses of His Household' (f. 7v, §35–37)
'Expenses with the Animals, and Other Things Pertaining to the Service of this King' (ff. 7v–8r, §38–40);
'On the King's Treasures and Revenues' (ff. 8v–9v, §41–47);

1 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), Casa Real, no. 7240, cap. 897 (original numbering cx. 49-B). Details about the ANTT copy of the *Treatise* may be found below, 85–86. For the English annotated edition of the *Treatise*, see text A, while the Portuguese original corresponds to text B.

2 For easier reference, we have numbered the extant paragraphs (§1–55). This system does not however apply to the last section of the text (ff. 12r–19r), due to its specificity and layout.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307537_002

'On His Captains and their Greatness' (f. 10r, §48–50);
'On the Kingdoms this King Possesses (f. 10v, §51–52);
[Afterword] (ff. 10v–11r, §53–55);
'Revenues of the Sons of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals, and of His Captains' (ff. 12r–19r)

The *Treatise* contains the key elements known to have triggered seventeenth-century European interest and imagination concerning the Mughal Empire. To be sure, many of the themes discussed in this text were, or meanwhile became, important Western *topoi* on the 'Great Mughal', emperor, court and state. It starts by describing Agra as an imperial abode, before going on to elaborate on the different members of the royal family. Much attention is given to the description of Jahangir's wives and the imperial harem, coming on the heels of a detailed analysis of the Mughal emperor's daily routine and the choreography of his public appearances. Numbers and lists dominate the next sections, as the author audits the court's expenses and seeks to calculate the value of Jahangir's treasury and revenues. This is followed by a summary of the number of nobles who served the emperor and their respective hierarchy and incomes, which acts as a sort of prologue to the long and final section of the *Treatise*. Before engaging with this rather repetitive but intriguing list (fig. 6), the author provides an incomplete and inaccurate count of the 'kingdoms' (i.e., provinces, *suba*s)[3] that formed Jahangir's empire.

In contrast to the Jesuit annual letters (*cartas ânuas*) sent from the Mughal mission to Rome, along with the institutional and personal correspondence of the two priests who can be identified as possible authors of the text, the *Treatise* does not concern itself with the progress and setbacks of missionary work in Jahangir's court and empire. Noticeably absent from the text are the narrative devices typical of such documents.[4] Much to the contrary, the *Treatise* alludes to Christianity very rarely, and the disapproving observations about Jahangir as someone unable to 'adhere firmly to any creed' are not made with an eye toward his hoped-for conversion, but rather as additional proof of an unfit and 'lost' ruler, swayed exclusively by whim (§28). The conversion was an illusion nurtured at the time by the Jesuit priests in the imperial court, just as they had previously dreamed of the transformation of Akbar (r. 1556–1605)

3 The Persian and Indian words are italicised, with their plurals indicated by the letter *s*. Diacritical marks are omitted, but the Perso-Arabic *ain* and *hamza* are indicated respectively by ' and '.

4 For an analysis of these elements, see Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi, 1999).

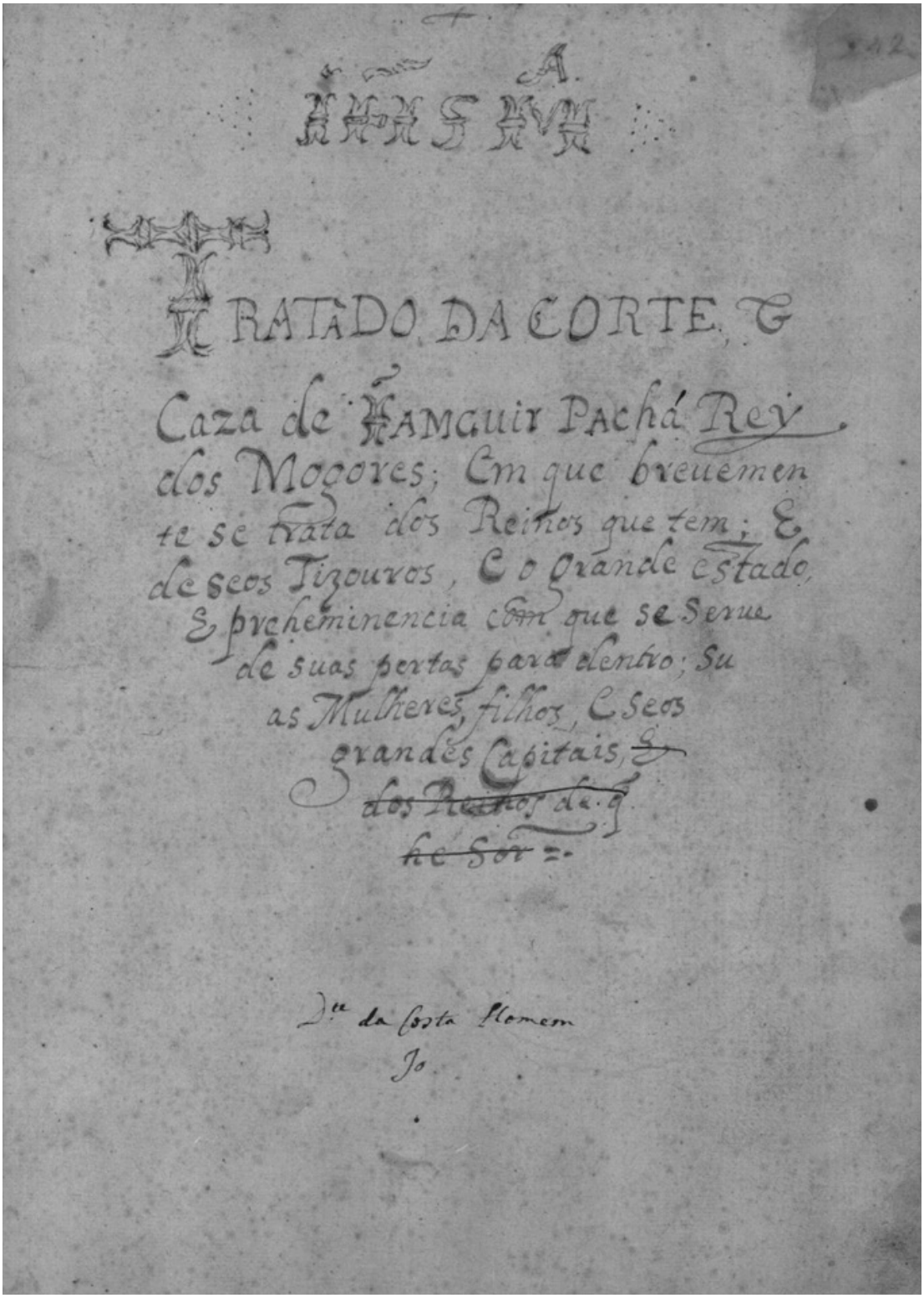

FIGURE 1 *Frontispiece from* Tratado da Corte, *1610–11* (*ANTT MS*).
SOURCE: LISBON, ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO, CASA REAL, NO. 7240, CAP. 897.

into a Catholic sovereign, but the *Treatise* does not engage with such notions. Furthermore, the only references in the text pertaining to Jahangir's relationship with the missionaries in his court were unlikely to have been composed by the author of the *Treatise*. They are to be found in the brief section that we have designated here as 'Afterword' (§54–55) and were probably added by the anonymous copyist of the Lisbon version of the text.

The overwhelming majority of the Jesuit reports—like the account of the Italian missionary Antonio Rubino concerning Vijayanagara (1608), to give a relevant contemporary example also from the Indian subcontinent—combines ethnographic information with religious matters, and considers the spiritual and the temporal powers alike.[5] The *Treatise* does not entirely follow this model, even though it evokes other Jesuit writings about the Mughals. For example, the *Treatise* situates Jahangir much as the *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores* (1582), written by the Catalan Antoni Montserrat (or Antonio Monserrate, 1536–1600), situates Akbar.[6] An identical parallel can be established between the *Treatise* and the *Relação das cousas mais notaveis, que observei no reino do Gram Mogol* ('Account of the most notable things I observed in the kingdom of the Great Mughal'), written from memory in Goa, in January 1670, by the Portuguese António Botelho (1600–70?), but clearly reporting on the final years of Shahjahan's rule (r. 1628–58).[7] This model, however, is not an exclusively

5 Published and discussed by Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism. Antonio Rubino's Account of the History and Religion of Vijayanagara (1608)', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001), 210–56.

6 Monserrate's *Relaçam do Equebar* is published in *Documenta Indica* (hereafter DI), eds. Joseph Wicki and John Gomes, 18 vols. (Rome, 1948–88), vol. XII, 645–52. The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (hereafter ARSI), holds several copies of this text in Portuguese, Latin, and Italian. Besides these manuscripts, there is another Portuguese copy in the ANTT, published in *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente—Índia*, ed. António da Silva Rego, 12 vols. (rpt., Lisbon, 1991–2000), vol. XII, 665–78, and a final copy in Latin in Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Histórico de la Compañia de Jesús de la Provincia de Toledo, E-2: 104, 11. The *Relação* was published in English translation by Henry Hosten, 'Fr. A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s., VIII, no. 5 (May 1912), 190–221. This text somehow served as a prolegomenon to Monserrate's *Commentary*, a later and lengthier work on Akbar and the Mughals, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate S.J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, trans. J. S. Hoyland, annot. S. N. Banerjee (rpt., New Delhi and Madras, 1992).

7 António Botelho, 'Relação das cousas mais notaveis que observei no Reino do Gram Mogor em perto de seis annos', London, The British Library, Additional Manuscripts, no. 9855, ff. 17r–40v (hereafter Botelho, *Relação*). There is a Latin version of Botelho's text in ARSI (Goa, 46 I, ff. 267r–83v), and I recently came across a third copy (in Portuguese), addressed to the famed Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira (1608–97) and kept in Florence, Archivio di Stato

Jesuit one, as in the same period the Franciscans also engaged with *relazione*-like reports.[8]

With these characteristics, and bared of religious purpose, the *Treatise* constitutes an ethnographic appraisal that could have been drawn up by a merchant or a traveler—any good observer who, given to curiosity and with the necessary writing skills, knew the Mughal court well. In structure and choice of themes, the *Treatise* resembles other contemporary texts, such as that of William Hawkins. This employee of the East India Company (EIC), who spoke Turkish, was assigned during the third journey organized by the Company to establish commercial relations with the 'Great Mughal'. In August 1608, Hawkins arrived in Gujarat and sojourned at Jahangir's court (where he maintained a tense relationship with the Jesuit priests) between April 1609 and November 1611. His account, published for the first time in 1625 by Purchas in his *Hakluytus Posthumus*, includes an important section—'A briefe discourse of the strenght, wealth, and government with some customes of the Great Mogol, which I have both seen and gathered by his chiefe officers and over-seers of all his estate'[9]—that resonates in every way with the *Treatise*. Curiously enough, two of the four known versions of the *Treatise* make implicit reference to Hawkins.

Both of these documents—the Jesuit report and the narrative of the EIC official—belong to a generation of European texts about the Mughal Empire that predates Sir Thomas Roe's arrival on the scene. Much has been written about Roe as British ambassador to the court of Jahangir in 1615–19.[10] The

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di Firenze, Miscellane Medicea n. 14, ins. 29. António Botelho was a member of the Mughal Jesuit mission during the reign of Shahjahan and his *Relação* refers particularly to the period 1647–52. Relevant excerpts of this text have been published in English translation by Anthony da Costa, 'A Jesuit Account of the Transfer of the Mughal Court from Agra to Delhi in 1648', *Indica* 35, no. 1 (1998), 57–65; id., 'The Taj Mahal and Akbar's Tomb', *Indica* 36, no. 2 (1999), 137–41. Botelho should certainly be read together with Heinrich Roth, a contemporary fellow Jesuit who wrote *Relatio rerum notabilium regni Mogor in Asia* (Aschaffenburg, 1665).

8 See Megan Amstrong, 'The Missionary Reporter', *Renaissance and Reformation* 34 (December 2011), 127–58.

9 Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrims*, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905–07, 1st ed. 1625), vol. III, 1–51. Hawkins' text is also available in *Early Travels in India, 1583–1619*, ed. William Foster (rpt., New Delhi, 1985), 60–121 [98–121].

10 Colin Mitchell, *Sir Thomas Roe and the Mughal Empire* (Karachi, 2000); Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington, KY, 1970); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected Histories. Mughals and Franks* (New Delhi, 2005), ch. 6 ('The Company and the Mughals between Sir Thomas Roe and Sir William

chronicle of Roe's diplomatic mission, together with his correspondence, achieved an unparalleled projection at the time, being widely read in Europe[11] but also known in Goa.[12] Roe undoubtedly constitutes a landmark where Western views of Emperor Jahangir, the imperial household and the Mughal court system are concerned. Thanks to the British ambassador, these perceptions became much more complex. Indeed, that complexity resonates nowadays in the ways in which modern scholars controversially engage with the 'Roenian moment'.[13] But perhaps the discussion of new documents, like the *Treatise*, will help to make better sense of the British texts that resulted from Roe's embassy and, more broadly, to understand the European appreciation of the Mughal court society during one of its most interesting periods. To these two 'layers'—Portuguese-Jesuit and British—a third element should be added, namely the Dutch tradition of reporting on the Mughals. We refer to the so-called Van den Broecke school, which included Francisco Pelsaert and

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Norris'), 143–72; Ania Loomba, 'Of Gifts, Ambassadors, and Copy-Cats: Diplomacy, Exchange, and Difference in Early Modern India', in Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani, eds., *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture. Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2009), 41–75.

11 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Thomas Roe to India, 1615–1619*, ed. William Foster (rpt., New Delhi, 1990). Regarding the many seventeenth-century editions and translations of Roe's *Journal*, *ibid*., lxxiv–lxxxvi, of note is the German translation, *Beschreibung und relation dess berühmbten, Thomas Roe, im jahr 1615. zum grossen könig Mogol*, in Johann Theodor de Bry and William Fitzer, *Orientalische Indien* (Frankfurt, 1628), which also includes Hawkins' account.

12 No Portuguese or Spanish translations of Roe's *Journal* were published at the time, but the Jesuits in Goa were familiar with it and had access to some version of this text. Among the forbidden books held in the library of the St Paul College was, according to António Botelho, 'a small commentary on the Empire of the Mughal King and its magnificence, author Thomas Reus, an English nobleman' (*um comentário pequeno que trata do Imperio del Rei Mogol e sua magnificência, autor Thomas Reus fidalgo ingles*) (Botelho, *Relação*, ff. 38v–39r).

13 The debate has developed around the possibilities of cultural understanding between the British ambassador and the Mughal emperor. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ, 1996) has argued for a fundamental miscommunication between Roe and Jahangir, while William R. Pinch, 'Same difference in Europe and India', *History and Theory* 38, no. 3 (Oct. 1999), 389–407, and especially Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Par-delà l'incommensurabilité: pour une histoire connectée des empires aux temps modernes', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54, no. 5 (2007), 34–53, have contested the idea of an absolute incommensurability between the ambassador and the emperor, and their respective worlds.

Geleynssen de Jongh. Such writers decisively shaped the Company discourse on the Mughal Empire.[14]

To a certain extent, the *Treatise* was a difficult, if not a 'dangerous' text for a Jesuit to write. True, any member of the Society of Jesus knew that to observe and to document the ethno-political landscape of his particular mission was an integral part of his work.[15] However, the systematic use of missionaries as informers by the *Estado da Índia* could pose problems. Despite the evident religious failure of the Mughal mission by the end of the sixteenth century, Portuguese decision-makers insisted on the presence of Jesuit priests in the imperial capital, so that these could 'inform of everything pertaining to that King, as they actually do'.[16] The missionaries were not unaware of this fact, and they were equally cognizant that their transmission of political information to Goa, and from there to Europe, could profoundly damage their position at the Mughal court.

This context of precarity helps to frame the guidelines provided by the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615) in 1601, which stipulated that 'the missionaries, especially those from the *Mogor*, should not write about the things of State, since that does not belong to our profession'.[17] A few years earlier, in a letter sent to the Provincial of India, Acquaviva had explained in greater detail his position on the need for separation between temporal and spiritual matters in light of what was determined by the 12th canon of the Fifth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus. If it might result in a benefit for Christianity, the missionaries could 'provide some advice or assistance' (*dar algún consejo o ayuda*). However, they should not lose sight of the fact that 'there might also grow discord and other similar problems, when the gentile

14 D. H. A. Kolff and H. W. van Santen, eds., *De geschriften van Francisco Pelsaert over Mughal Indië, 1627: Kroniek en Remonstrantie* ('s-Gravenhage, 1979), 1–58. Also see James D. Tracy, 'Asian Despotism? Mughal Government as Seen from the Dutch East India Company Factory in Surat', *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 3 (1999), 256–80. I am grateful to Jos Gommans for calling my attention to this important aspect.

15 Županov, *Disputed Mission*, ch. 2.

16 '*para avisarem de tudo daquele rey como o fazem*'; Philip II to viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, Lisbon, 21 November 1598, in *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, ed. J. H. Cunha Rivara, 6 fascs. in 10 vols. (rpt., New Delhi, 1992), fasc. 3, 919.

17 '*os missionários, principalmente os do Mogor, não escreverão de coisas pertencentes ao Estado, por não ser de nossa profissão*'; J. Wicki, 'Dois compêndios das ordens dos Padres gerais e congregações provinciais da província dos Jesuítas de Goa, feitos em 1644', *Studia* 43–44 (January–December 1980), 446.

kings or their viceroys and captains view them [the Jesuit missionaries] as mediators to negotiate peace'.[18]

Of course, the Jesuit priests (from the Mughal mission or from any other mission) did often give 'advice' and 'assistance' to the Portuguese. But such practice remained a controversial one within the Society, and it is clear that, when in written form, this kind of information was frequently excluded from the works published by the Jesuits in Europe.[19] This may help to explain the fact that the *Treatise* never found its way into the communication channels of the Society of Jesus, nor apparently circulated between India and Europe through those circuits.

1.2 The Context: Mughal–Portuguese Relations

1.2.1 *From Babur to Jahangir*

The Mughal Empire was founded in 1526 when a Chagatai Turk named Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur defeated a force of Afghans at the battle of Panipat outside of Delhi. Babur came to India as an outsider: he was a native of the Ferghana Valley in Central Asia, and held the title of *padshah* or 'emperor' as the ruler of Kabul. He saw India for the first time only in 1524, and subsequent to his victory at Panipat ruled from Agra for just four years before his death in 1530.[20] During the almost two centuries that followed, until the end of Aurangzeb's reign (r. 1658–1707) in 1707, the Mughal empire, based in northern India, would grow relentlessly, encompassing multiple cultural and geographic zones as it spread across South Asia. Eventually, though not without setbacks, its borders were extended to Kashmir in the north, Sind in the west, and Chittagong (eastern Bengal) in the east. The empire reached its zenith in

18 '*puédense también componer discordias y cosas semejantes, quando los reys gentiles o V. Reys y capitanes los toman por medianeros para hazer las pazes*'; Claudio Acquaviva to Francisco Cabral, Rome [December 1597], *DI*, vol. XVIII, 866.

19 A letter by one Bartolomeu André to Philip III concerning Guinea in the early seventeenth century is a good case in point. Written from the port of Salvador (Sierra Leone) on 20 February 1606, this letter was included in the following year in Fernão Guerreiro's *Relação annual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas missões . . .*, 3 tomes, ed. Artur Viegas (Coimbra and Lisbon, 1930–42), t. II, 209–12. However, Guerreiro removed from it the 12 political *apontamentos* (notes) that André had originally included. See José da Silva Horta, *A 'Guiné do Cabo Verde'. Produção textual e representações (1578–1684)* (Lisbon, 2011), 349–50.

20 On Babur, see Stephen Dale, *The Garden of Eight Paradises: Babur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483–1530)* (Leiden and Boston, 2004).

1689 when, following the overthrow of the sultanate of Golconda, it gained control of Jinji at the southern tip of the Indian peninsula. At that point, the political space of Mughal India had grown to subsume virtually the entirety of the Indian subcontinent.[21]

By this time the success of the Mughals as 'Indian' rulers was so firmly established that it is easy to forget just how improbable the encounter between the Portuguese and the Mughals actually was—the former being recent arrivals to India from Europe, the latter even more recent arrivals from Central Asia. The truth is that the Mughals wrestled for a long time with a crucial choice: should they return 'home' or, conversely, expand south and claim a new 'motherland' in a place that was already identified with other groups? Had the Mughals returned to their 'natural' space, it is clear that they would have never met the Portuguese. Instead, the Mughal rulers became firmly rooted in the Hindustan, giving the empire an unexpected southern as well as maritime configuration.

In 1572–73, the Mughals conquered the sultanate of Gujarat. Akbar, who participated directly in the campaign, saw the ocean for the first time, sailed by ship and observed the commercial world of the ports. This was a markedly different environment from the northern imperial capitals with which he had been familiar. Soon afterward, in 1574–76, the emperor's attention turned to the eastern side of the subcontinent, as he conquered the sultanate of Bengal. By the end of the 1570s the Mughal Empire, until then a continental power that saw its main political rivals in Bukhara and Isfahan, had acquired a maritime dimension—strengthened in the 1590s with the further conquest of Sind and Orissa—that altered its strategic priorities, its political physiology, its ethnic composition, and even its core mentality. Suddenly, the emperor came to concern himself with the overseas journeys of Indian pilgrims departing from Gujarat to Mecca, and with the suppression of pirates in the Ganges Delta. Mughal officials in the new provinces began interacting with maritime merchants and, through them, gained access to new, 'exotic' products. And members of the ruling dynasty soon started to think of the sea as both a source of revenue and of novelties, owning ships and investing in trade operations within the wide network that stretched from the Red Sea to insular Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, the empire's foreign relations also shifted as a result of its new, somewhat unexpected maritime orientation. Mughal relations with the Ottomans, who were also interested in the Indian Ocean, became more nuanced and complicated. To the east, in Lower Burma, the Mags—improbable

21 For a synthesis, see John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, vol. 1.5. *The New Cambridge History of India* (New Delhi, 1995).

neighbours of the Mughals in Babur's time—now became unavoidable ones. And whenever the empire got close to the coast, it inevitably came into contact with the Portuguese, who had held a strong interest of their own in Gujarat and Bengal since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Once the independent sultanates of these lands were eliminated, the Portuguese and the Mughals came face-to-face. Though earlier interactions between them, dating back to the 1530s, laid the groundwork for this contact, their interrelations acquired an entirely new significance in light of the double maritime frontier of Timurid India that emerged in the 1570s.

Finally, this new seafaring dimension of the Mughal Empire also became entangled, during the closing years of the sixteenth century, with a strategic turn towards a new continental zone, but one clearly distant from Central Asia. The Deccan Plateau and its sultanates (Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda) became a primary focus of Mughal expansion, and remained so throughout the seventeenth century. And this, in turn, shaped their relations with the Portuguese in Goa (an integral part of the Bijapur sultanate before 1510), who could not ignore the Mughal mobilization in the Deccan. Thus at the turn of the seventeenth century, by land as well as by sea, the heirs of Timur in India found themselves truly at the threshold of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*.[22]

Beginning in 1580, the Jesuit missionaries occupied a pivotal position in the relationship between the Portuguese and the Mughals. The embassy of Akbar to the capital of the *Estado da Índia* in 1579 represented a watershed in this relationship. One 'Abdullah ('Ebadolá'), who participated in the Gujarat military campaign of 1572–73, arrived in Goa in September 1579 alongside Domingues Pires, an Armenian Christian who was living in the Mughal capital and who then served as an interpreter.[23] Akbar's ambassador delivered to the viceroy Dom Luís de Ataíde (1568–71) a *farman* (imperial edict), requesting that two 'learned priests' be sent to the imperial court along with 'the principal books of the Law and the Gospel'. Having arrived in Goa, 'Abdullah was questioned about the Akbar's power. The information 'Abdullah provided was presented according to a thematic grid that, with some variations, would thereafter be used whenever the Portuguese and the Jesuits described the Mughal ruler, his court and state: tributary kingdoms and the empire's dimensions, the capital city, the imperial treasury and the security apparatuses of the king, the available horsemen and war elephants, the variety and quantity of the animals

22 This section drew extensively on Jorge Flores, *Nas margens do Hindustão: O Estado da Índia e a expansão mogol, ca. 1570–1640* (Coimbra, 2015), ch. 2.

23 M. S. Renick, 'Akbar's first embassy to Goa. Its diplomatic and religious aspects', *Indica* 7, no. 1 (1970), 33–47.

belonging to the emperor's household.[24] This type of data—though not its extent or detail—is strikingly similar to that included in the *Treatise* some thirty years later.

The first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court, comprising the Italian Rodolfo Acquaviva, the Catalan Antonio Monserrate, and Francisco Henriques (a Persian educated in Ormuz) arrived in the capital Fathpur Sikri in February–March 1580. Facing vicissitudes of various kinds, the mission was extended until the beginning of 1583, and its religious implications and misunderstandings are well known. The theological debates in which the priests were asked to engage with *qazis* and *mullas*, were, in the former's judgement, invariably won by them. Enthusiasm over the apparently favourable signs given by the Mughal ruler to the Jesuits, and hopes of converting the emperor to Christianity led the Pope to write to Akbar.[25] However, there was also a gradual disillusionment on the part of the missionaries (culminating in their ultimate return to Goa), which grew from the painful realization that they had been used merely as instruments in the service of the emperor's politico-religious agenda and of his intellectual curiosity.[26]

Akbar turned his court into a laboratory of religious experiments, participating actively in a combination of rituals from various religions, a phenomenon that the Sunni *mullas* interpreted as heresy and a renunciation of orthodox Islam. It is in this context that the emperor took an interest in having Catholic priests at his court. After arriving in Fathpur Sikri, the Jesuits began to participate regularly in the religious discussions that took place in the *'Ibadat Khana*

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24 A Portuguese translation of Akbar's *farman* was included in a 1578 letter sent by Pero Tavares (the Portuguese captain of Satgaon, in Bengal) to the Jesuit Provincial of India (*DI*, vol. XI, 428–9). For an English translation, see John Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal Court. The first Jesuit mission to Akbar (1580–1583)* (Bombay, 1980), 1. The information given by 'Abdullah is to be found in an appendix to Tavares' letter, *DI*, vol. XI, 429.

25 Gregory XII to Akbar, Rome, 18 February 1582, *DI*, vol. XII, 572–4. Published in English translation by Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal Court*, 119–20.

26 There is an extensive bibliography about this mission. Besides the classic study by Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), 23–45, see John Correia-Afonso, 'Documents of the first Jesuit mission from Goa to the Great Moghal', in Luís de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro, eds., *Actas do II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1985), 293–9; and Adriano Mariotti, 'La prima missione dei Gesuiti all corte di Akbar (1580–1583)', in Enrico Fasana and Giuseppe Sorge, eds., *India tra Oriente e Occidente. L'apporto dei viaggiatori e missionari italiani nei secoli XVI–XVIII* (Milan, 1991), 75–100.

(Hall of Prayer), as both paintings[27] and chronicles[28] of the period attest. The 'Books of the Law' repeatedly requested by Akbar from the missionaries were later translated into Persian. Once available in the court language—and particularly with the intervention of Jerónimo Xavier after 1595 as will be discussed below—Christian literature would become a major tool for intellectual exchange between the Jesuits and the Mughal emperor.

The artistic impact of the mission is also well known: Christian images and allegorical biblical scenes were incorporated into the work of the most prominent artists of Akbar's court; mural paintings with Christian themes could be seen in Fathpur Sikri; paintings and engravings brought by the priests, especially those included in the copy of the Antwerpian Polyglot Bible (1569–72) offered to Akbar, were quickly disseminated and adapted.[29] The actual agents of these novelties—the Jesuit missionaries—were not to be ignored by the court painters: among the extant representations is the portrait of a Jesuit missionary painted by Manohar *ca*. 1590: long black robes, glasses in one hand, a book in the other.[30]

Following a brief and failed mission in 1590–91, the Jesuits entered the Mughal court for the third time in 1595.[31] Jerónimo Xavier, the Navarrese Superior of the mission, travelled from Goa in the company of Manuel Pinheiro and the

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27 See the painting made by Narsingh *ca*. 1604, which represents the emperor presiding over a session of *'Ibadat Khana* and where two Jesuits can be seen. One is undoubtedly R. Acquaviva, the other is probably A. Monserrate (Dublin, The Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 3, f. 263b). Also see H. Heras, 'Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's religious discussions', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* n.s., III, nos. 1–2 (1927), 191–202, esp. 201–2.

28 Abu'l Fazl, *The Akbar Nama*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols (rtp., New Delhi, 1993), vol. III, 368–9; 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, trans. and ed. G. Ranking et al., 3 vols. (rpt., New Delhi, 1986), vol. II, 267.

29 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology* (New Delhi, 2001), ch. I ('The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors'), 1–11; Gauvin A. Bailey, 'Counter Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal painting', 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1996, vol. I, 47–54; id., *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580–1630* (Washington D.C., 1998), 19–26.

30 Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3619 Gc. See Amina Okada, 'The Representation of Jesuit Missionaries in Mughal Painting', in Jorge Flores and Nuno Vassallo e Silva, eds., *Goa and the Great Mughal* (London, 2004), 190–9; A. Okada, ed., *Miniatures de l'Inde impériale. Les peintres d'Akbar* (*1556–1605*) (Paris, 1989), 198–9. For a contemporary Mughal representation of a Jesuit Priest, see fig. 3.

31 For a survey of the third Mughal mission until Jahangir's death in 1627, see Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 50–98.

lay brother Bento de Góis, both Azoreans. They became first-hand observers of Akbar's transformation into a divine figure until he died ten years later and was succeeded by Jahangir. The Jesuit's initial fear, aroused by the circumstances of the succession, that the new emperor would be an orthodox Muslim would fade with time. Jahangir adopted a line of continuity relative to Akbar and, developing new and intriguing forms, the Mughal emperor's close connection to Christianity was strongly manifest through art during his reign. More than during his father's rule, Jahangir multiplied the mural paintings inspired by Christian imagery within the imperial palaces. Jerónimo Xavier saw Jesus, Mary and various saints painted on the walls of the palace of Agra and enthusiastically wrote that it appeared more like the court of a Christian king than that of a Muslim ruler.[32] The Jesuit mission to Jahangir's empire was at its peak, which created a sentiment of euphoria that soon spread to Goa. But, as in the case of Akbar, Christianity had not 'conquered' the emperor. Rather, it was Jahangir who had appropriated the Christian religion.

1.2.2 *The Early 1610s*

The August 1613 Portuguese capture off Surat of a Mughal ship returning from the Red Sea provoked a major political crisis between the *Estado da Índia* and the Mughal Empire. It took two years, under the mediation of Jerónimo Xavier, Manuel Pinheiro and others, to overcome the tension.[33] Nevertheless, the years leading up to this crisis, which parallel the writing of the *Treatise*, constitute a period of affinity between the imperial capital and the capital city of the *Estado da Índia*.[34]

In 1606, while holding his court in Lahore, the Mughal emperor gave thought to sending an embassy to the king of Portugal.[35] Parallel discussions were held in Madrid three years later regarding the possibility of sending a Portuguese ambassador from Goa to the court of Jahangir, in order to congratulate him upon his ascension to the throne. In 1606, Jahangir was tempted to choose an

32 Xavier to Father Juan Ximenez de Oco, Agra, 20 October 1609, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Histórico de la Compañia de Jesús de la Provincia de Toledo, E-2: 104,12. See Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, ch. III ('Jahangir and the Angels: recently discovered wall paintings under European influence in the fort of Lahore'), 12–37; Bailey, 'Counter Reformation', 235–65.

33 On this conflict, see Jorge Flores, *Nas margens do Hindustão*, ch. 7.

34 For the profile and role of Goa as a viceregal court, and consequently as the nexus for the political communication between the Portuguese and the Mughals, see Catarina Madeira Santos, *'Goa é a chave de toda a Índia'. Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505–1570)* (Lisbon, 1999).

35 Annual letter of 1606 (André Nabais, Goa, 20 November 1606), ARSI, Goa, vol. 33 I, f. 188v.

intellectual—a man named Naqib Khan—for the planned mission to Philip III's (r. 1598–1621) court. This idea greatly pleased the Jesuit missionaries, who knew Naqib Khan well: 'He is a very learned Muslim scholar, and a chronicler, and not against the Portuguese', wrote Jerónimo Xavier at the time.[36] Without mentioning names, Philip III also mulled over the profile of his putative representative to the Mughal court—'neither a religious person, nor one that resorts to trade as means of negotiation'.[37] An eminently political figure, therefore, one removed from religion and commerce alike, and one after all not unlike a person like Thomas Roe, which was the profile that came to prevail among the English some years later.

Neither of the two embassies materialized, but the politico-diplomatic contact between Agra and Goa became quite intense during the early 1610s. Muqarrab Khan—a Muslim from India, close to Jahangir, who had made his career as a *mutasaddi* (governor) of Surat and Cambay—was a key figure in this context.[38] It is known that a Mughal embassy to Goa was planned in 1607–09, but it was aborted after reaching Gujarat. Even so, both the letter and the gift that Jahangir sent then to the Portuguese viceroy eventually reached its destination by the hand of Manuel Pinheiro. The emperor's desire to receive in exchange European body armour came to the knowledge of the viceroy, Rui

36 '*É um muito bom letrado dos mouros, e seu cronista, e não mal afeito aos Portugueses*'; Xavier to the Provincial of India, Lahore, 25 September 1606, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* (hereafter *DUP*), 5 vols (Lisbon, 1960–67), vol. III, 82; the same to the same, Agra, 24 September 1608, *DUP*, vol. III, 118–9, 123–4. On Sayyd Ghiyas-ud-Din 'Ali Naqib Khan (d. 1614), who contributed to the Persian version of the *Mahabharata* prepared at the Mughal court, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World. Studies on Culture and Politics* (New York, 2012), ch. 6 ('Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir (1608–1611)'), 280–1, 285, 287, 289. Also see Shah Nawaz Khan, *The Maathir-ul-umara, being biographies of the Muhammadan and Hindu officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India from 1500 to about 1780 AD*, trans. and ed. H. Beveridge and Baini Prashad, vol. II (rpt., New Delhi, 1999), 381–84.

37 '*que não seja religioso, nem leve fazenda por via de negociação*'; Philip III to viceroy Rui Lourenço de Távora, Lisbon, 11 March 1611, in *Documentos Remetidos da Índia, ou Livros das Monções* (hereafter *DRI*), ed. Raimundo António de Bulhão Pato and António da Silva Rego, 10 tomes (Lisbon, 1880–1982), t. II, 89.

38 On Muqarrab Khan, see Jorge Flores, 'The Sea and the World of the *Mutasaddi*: A profile of port officials from Mughal Gujarat (c. 1600–1650)', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, 21, no. 1 (2011), 55–71; Avril Powell, 'Artful Apostasy? A Mughal Mansabdar among the Jesuits', in Peter Robb, ed., *Society and ideology. Essays in South Asian History presented to Professor K. A. Balhatchet* (New Delhi, 1994), 72–96; Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'An Aristocratic Surgeon of Mughal India: Muqarrab Khan', in Irfan Habib, ed., *Medieval India 1. Researches in the History of India, 1200–1750* (New Delhi, 1999), 154–67.

Lourenço de Távora (1609–12), who immediately informed Philip III. During the following years, the subject was invariably addressed in the correspondence between Portugal and India. The Portuguese king finally announced in March 1611 to the viceroy of Goa the sending of the 'body armours that you have requested, one to the *Mogor* and the other to the captain of Surat his favourite [Muqarrab Khan]; they are both engraved and golden, but one is more exquisite, and I am sending them to you aboard these ships'.[39]

In 1610–11, the embassy of Muqarrab Khan to Goa finally took place, during a moment of great Portuguese euphoria regarding the relations between the *Estado da Índia* and the Mughal Empire. In early September 1610, on the eve of the departure of Muqarrab Khan from Agra, Jahangir authorized the conversion of three of his nephews to Christianity. The sons of the Sultan Danyal (1572–1605)—Tahmurs, Baisunghar and Hoshang—became, respectively, Dom Filipe, Dom Carlos and Dom Henrique. They were soon seen in the imperial capital memorizing prayers and wearing Portuguese clothing. The event could not fail to have considerable repercussions among the Jesuits. The topic thereafter was frequently brought up in correspondence between the missionaries and Rome, and it quickly was included in the collected letters that the Society prepared and propagated in Europe.[40] A 'Relation from Goa from 26th of December Anno 1610 about the conversion and baptism of three young boys and cousins [*sic*] of the mighty king of Mogor in India' was published in Augsburg the following year as one of three disparate texts (the middle one) that comprised a German pamphlet (the other two being a description of the military successes of Sigismund III in Russia and an account of the Spanish-Dutch war in Ternate).[41] The hopes placed in the conversion of Akbar some decades earlier were now transferred with renewed enthusiasm to Jahangir.

It was in this atmosphere that Muqarrab Khan left Agra in the company of Manuel Pinheiro and travelled all the way to the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, entering Goa in February 1611. Yet before the arrival of Jahangir's representative, Rui Lourenço de Távora already had written to inform Philip III of

39 '*os corpos d'armas que pedistes, um deles para o mesmo Mogor e outro para o capitão de Surrate seu valido, os quais mando que se vos enviem nestas naus, gravados e dourados, e um deles com vantagem*'; King to the viceroy of India, Lisbon, 11 March 1611, in *DRI*, t. II, 89.

40 *Raguagli d'Alcune Missioni fatte dalli Padri della Compagnia di Giesv nell'Indie Orientali* . . . (Rome, 1615), 5–38 [14–33]; Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, cod. 49-V-18, ch. 39, ff. 336v–37v.

41 *Drei merkliche Relationen. Erste von der Viktoria Sigismunds III., des Königs von Polen und Schweden, welche er über die Moskowiter erhalten und die Festung Smolensk, am 13. Juni 1611 erobert hat* . . . (Augsburg, 1611). I thank Mariusz Kaczka for the translation from the German of the Goa text.

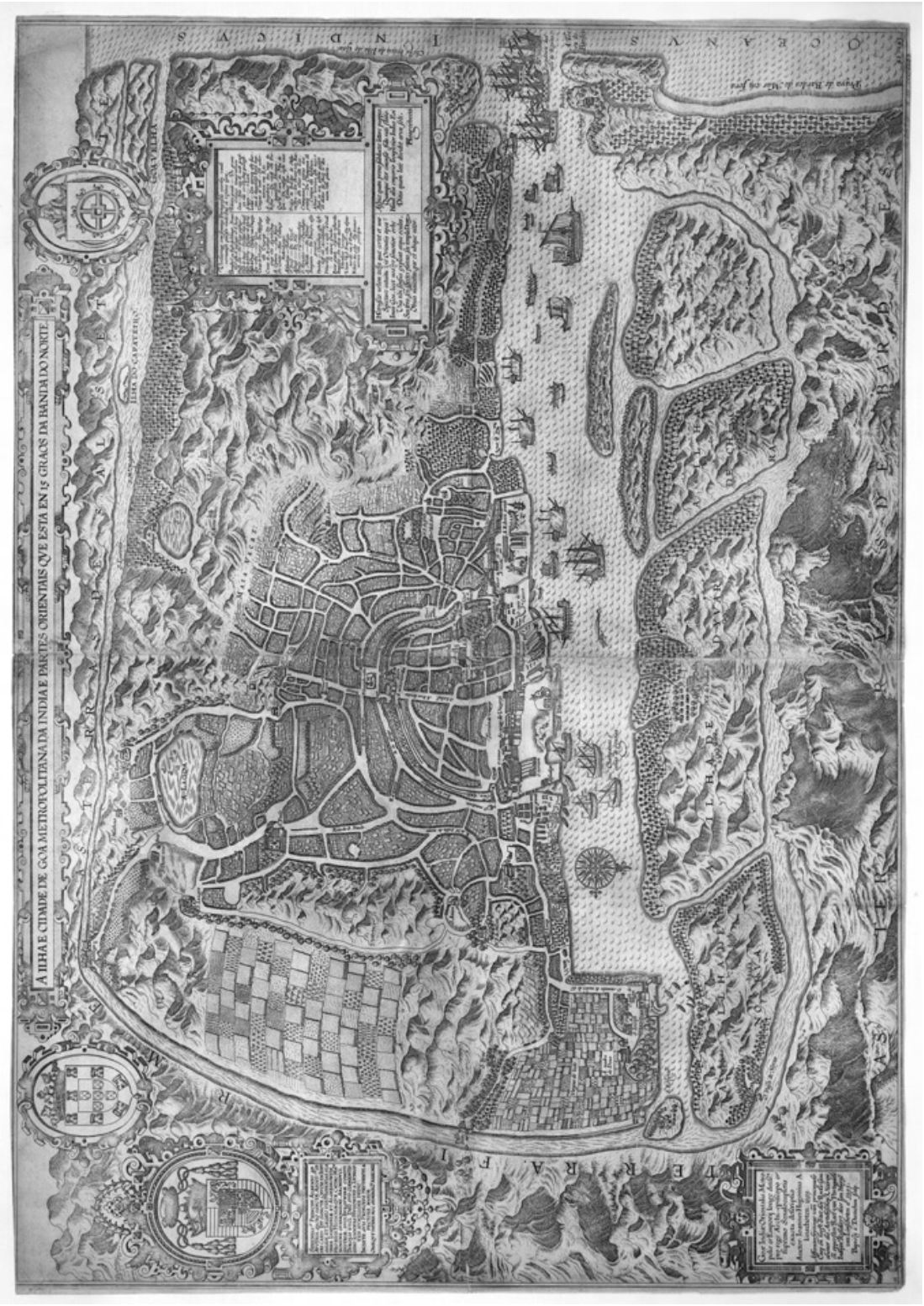

FIGURE 2 *Th City and Island of Goa, from Jan Huygen van Linschoten's* Itinerario, *engraved by Baptista van Doetichum* (*Amsterdam, 1595*).
SOURCE: DRESDEN, SAXON STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, SLUB/KS A2614.

the most recent developments. The Mughal ambassador had written to him en route, as also did Pinheiro, who was particularly concerned over the manner in which the viceroy intended to receive Muqarrab Khan. The Jesuit missionary sought to impress upon Lourenço de Távora the difference in status between the Mughal emperors and the other Asian rulers—'persuading me to show more honour to him than to all the other ambassadors of the neighbouring kings'. The viceroy responded by admitting the need to treat this ambassador differently, but refused to compromise the dignity of the state he represented: 'There is some truth in this, but not to the point of compromising the respect due to the authority of the State and to Your Majesty's service', he noted in his letter to Philip III. Furthermore, in the same document, Távora emphasized that because 'this King is rather vain, and as he thinks he is more honoured than all the other kings of these parts, one should at least adopt the same style that we follow with the Xá [Shah 'Abbas], if not more'.[42]

At the same time, the Portuguese viceroy was preparing to send an ambassador to the Mughal emperor, who was supposed to travel with Muqarrab Khan on his way back to Agra. Furthermore, Lourenço de Távora suggested to Philip III that the king write directly to Jahangir. The king of Portugal would do so in February 1612, reaffirming to the 'Allmighty King of the Mughals' (*muito poderoso rey do Mogor*) their mutual friendship. In this letter Philip III also conveys congratulations over the presence of a Mughal ambassador in Goa, exults over the conversion of the emperor's three nephews to Christianity, and asks the emperor to protect the Jesuit priests living in his court, hoping that these 'will write me much news about you and your things, which will please me'.[43]

We possess detailed information about the reception and presence of Muqarrab Khan in Goa, who received various presents, participated in commercial negotiations and purchased exotic commodities for his emperor.[44] Such acquisitions included a turkey, among other animals immortalized by the painters of the Mughal court.[45] Following the conversion of the three nephews

42 All of the above citations are from the letter sent by Rui Lourenço de Távora to Philip III, Goa, 29 December 1610, ANTT, Miscelâneas Manuscritas do Convento da Graça, box 2, t. III, 361–3.

43 '*me escrevam muitas novas suas e de todas suas coisas, para com elas me alegrar*'; Philip III to Jahangir, Lisbon, 15 February 1612, *DRI*, t. II, 163–4.

44 Viceroy to the king, n.p., n.d. [Goa, 1613], Panaji-Goa, Historical Archives of Goa, Monções do Reino, book 12, f. 23; 'Da Missam do Mogor', Biblioteca da Ajuda, cod. 49-V-18, ff. 331v–61r.

45 The *Jahangirnama. Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans. and ed. Wheeler Thackston (Washington D.C. and New York, 1999), pp. 133–4; Mansur, *ca.* 1612, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 135–1921. A miniature painting by Bulaqi *ca*. 1625 shows

of Jahangir, the governor of Surat appears to have agreed to convert secretly in Goa in a baptismal ceremony performed by the Jesuit visitor Nicolau Pimenta. The description of this ceremony echoes the Catholic trope of the hidden conversion in the early modern period.

Among the Portuguese, Muqarrab Khan would thereafter be known as Dom João de Távora (taking upon himself the surname of his godfather, the viceroy Rui Lourenço de Távora), even though they were quickly disillusioned with the 'imperfect' conversion of Jahangir's emissary and would soon refer to him as 'traitor'. 'This embassy of the *Mogor*, with all its preparations and hopes, turned out to be fantastic. Once back in his land, the ambassador became again a Moor, with little regard for Christianity', wrote the viceroy of Goa in 1613.[46] The emperor's nephews soon apostatized and, under such circumstances, the project to transform the Mughal sovereign into a Christian one—as the king of Portugal had entreated of Manuel Pinheiro[47]—became a chimera; Philip III himself would acknowledge this in 1615.[48]

It was prior to the disillusionment of 1613–15—when the two courts used to exchange ambassadors, letters, and gifts at great pace, and with the conversion of members of the imperial family and the Mughal elite to Christianity serving as a backdrop—that a Jesuit missionary authored the *Treatise of the Court and Household of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals*. The political context of the document is thus one in which there was an absolute necessity to define the status of the Mughal emperor vis-à-vis the *Estado da Índia*, as well as to rank Jahangir by comparison to other Asian rulers. The Portuguese in Goa, namely Rui Lourenço de Távora, sought facts about the Mughal imperial authority and the political texture of Jahangir's court, and the Jesuit missionaries living in Agra were well placed to provide information. Quite plausibly, then, the *Treatise* was prepared as a means of meeting such a need, just as we know of so many other reports of the same genre that were sent to the viceroys

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Muqarrab Khan presenting to the emperor exotic animals that he had brought from Goa (Rampur (India), Raza Library, album 1, f. 7a.).

46 '*esta embaixada do Mogor, e todo o concerto e esperanças que dela se tinham foi tudo fantástico, e o embaixador tanto que tornou para sua terra continuou em ser mouro como dantes, com pouco crédito da Cristandade*'; Rui Lourenço de Távora to Philip III, n.p. n.d. [Goa, 1613], Historical Archives of Goa, Monções do Reino, bk. 12, f. 23.

47 Philip III to Manuel Pinheiro, Lisbon, 31 January 1612, ARSI, Goa, vol. 46 I, f. 74r. It remains unclear whether Philip III was aware of Pinheiro's 'talents for conversion', as recognized by his Jesuit brothers in 1594 (see below, n. 57).

48 '*a pouca esperança que se pode ter da Cristandade e que ele* [Jahangir] *os anos passados tinha dado*'; Philip III to viceroy Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, Lisbon, 14 February 1615, *DRI*, t. III, 230.

of Goa by the priests of the Mughal mission, many of which have unfortunately been lost. One strong indication that the *Treatise* might have been conceived as an instrument for political action is that this text cannot be found, in any of its four versions, in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome—unlike, for example, the aforementioned reports made by Monserrate and Botelho—nor is any mention made of this text in the Jesuit reports published during these years.[49]

1.3 The Authorship: Xavier or Pinheiro?

Of the four known versions of the *Treatise*, the two shortest entirely ignore the question of individual authorship. The two principal manuscripts—one of which is held in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (the National Archives of the Torre de Tombo) in Lisbon (hereafter ANTT MS) and the other, which is kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (the National Library of Spain) in Madrid (hereafter BNE MS)—attribute authorship to a Jesuit missionary of the Mughal mission, but they diverge regarding his identity. We will begin with the Lisbon manuscript, which, in its conclusion, states that was Jerónimo Xavier 'who made this treatise' (*este tratado fez*), and goes on to stress that the text is the outcome of its author's unique Mughal experience: 'He has passed 18 years at the King's court; being very close to the King, and present in his house and court, as well as acquainted with so many people inside and outside it, he was obviously schooled in its every detail' (§54).

The great-nephew of Francisco Xavier, Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi (1549–1617) occupied the central position in the Jesuit mission to the Mughal court at the turn of the sixteenth century.[50] In 1568 he entered the Society of Jesus and adopted the surname of his great-uncle. Following years as a novice and

49 No reference is made to the *Treatise* or its content, for example, in the *Raguagli d'alcune missioni* . . ., dated 1615.

50 Henry Hosten was perhaps the first modern historian to focus on Jerónimo Xavier. He devoted to this figure a considerable number of articles published in the early twentieth century, some of which are cited later. Following Hosten came Edward Maclagan and his classic work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, while Angel Santos Hernández, S. J., dedicated to Xavier a somewhat traditional biography, *Jeronimo Javier S. J. Apostol del Gran Mogol y Arzobispo electo de Cranganor, en la India, 1549–1617* (Pamplona, 1958). Even if equally dated, and heavily weighted toward theological issues, the best work on Jerónimo is still that of Arnulf Camps, O. F. M., *Jerome Xavier, S. J., and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire. Controversial works and missionary activity* (Schönek-Beckenried (Switzerland), 1957).

student living in both Alcalá and Toledo in Spain, in late September 1581 Jerónimo Xavier disembarked in the capital of the *Estado da Índia*. Thirteen years later, after serving in different capacities in Bassein, Cochin, and Goa, he was chosen to lead the third mission to the court of Akbar, arriving in Lahore in May 1595. In 1615, Jerónimo returned definitively to Goa and became rector of St Paul College before being elected archbishop of Cranganor. His death in 1617, however, prevented him from assuming this last position.

Jerónimo Xavier lived for nearly two decades in the heart of Mughal India. During this time, he minutely observed the vicissitudes and transformations of the empire, closely associating with two of its most important rulers and in 1605 witnessing a significant dynastic transition.[51] Xavier wrote numerous letters about the empire of Akbar and Jahangir, some of which he addressed to his superiors in Goa and Rome and others to family and friends.[52] Having no knowledge of Persian prior to 1595, he learned it at the court of Akbar, thus gradually becoming schooled in the political language of Timurid India and simultaneously equipping himself with a tool essential to his missionary endeavours. With the help of Mughal intellectuals like 'Abdus Sattar,[53] Xavier wrote various works in that language, most of which were of a religious nature. Notable among these is the *Mir'at al-Quds* (Mirror of Holiness) and the *A'ina-yi Haqq-numa* (Fountain of Life).[54]

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51 For his perspective on the death of Akbar and the subsequent rise of Jahangir, see M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, ch. 3 ('On the End of the Akbari Dispensation'), 88–122.

52 Some of his letters have been published by Hosten, 'Some Letters of Fr. Jerome Xavier, S. J., to his Family (1593–1612)', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., XXIII (1927), 131–6. Regarding the other letters, most have been included in *DI*, vols. XVII and XVIII, and *DUP*, vol. III. For an exhaustive list of these materials, see Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 39–50.

53 Sattar was a scholar in his own right and not a mere passive 'collaborator', as historians of the Jesuit mission have described him until recently. For a reassessment of the Sattar-Xavier scholarly partnership, see Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, ch. 6 ('Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir (1608–1611)'), 249–310.

54 See *Mir'at al-quds* (*Mirror of Holiness*)*: A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar. A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145*, ed. Pedro Moura Carvalho, trans. and annot. Wheeler M. Thackston (Leiden and Boston, 2012); *Fuente de Vida. Tratado Apologético dirigido al Rey Mogol de la India en 1600* (Donostia (San Sebastián), 2007). On Xavier's Persian works, see Ángel Santos Hernández, 'La obra literaria persa de un jesuita navarro: El P. Jerónimo Javier', *Estudios eclesiásticos* 29, no. 113 (1955), 233–50. Also see A. Camps, 'Persian Works of Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit at the Mughal Court', in Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956–1998*, (Leiden, 2000), 33–45; Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, 203–21; Hosten, 'Fr. Jerome Xavier's

If he really authored the *Treatise of the Court and Household of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals*, Xavier did so after writing most of these other works (if not all of them) and most likely during the last third of his Mughal experience. Assuming this was the case, the author then dedicated himself to composing a text of a nature and purpose quite distinct from those that characterize his prior intellectual work. There is no doubt, nonetheless, that the *Treatise* has much in common with the content of Xavier's correspondence that was sent to Europe from the Mughal court.

Differently from the ANTT MS, the author of the BNE MS begins by emphasizing that 'religious and trustful persons who lived in his court for many years made this treatise in the year 1610', and then goes on to attribute concrete authorship of the text to Father Manuel Pinheiro (1556–1619).[55] Nonetheless, the scribe almost recognizes a collective Jesuit authorship of the text by underscoring Xavier's role in overseeing the writing of the *Treatise*: 'The venerated Father Geronimo Xavier, a person of known virtue and a nephew of the blessed San Francisco Xavier, lived in this court for twenty some years and was very close to this King, who treated him with great consideration. *This Father approved all of which is written here as being true, and further noted that what is said is short when compared with what could have been said*'.[56]

Regarding Manuel Pinheiro, unfortunately, much less is known than Jerónimo. They belong to the same generation and both had long and concurrent experiences in Mughal India with privileged access to two successive emperors. Born in Ponta Delgada (São Miguel, Azores) in 1556, Pinheiro embarked a ship for India in 1592 and became a member of the third mission to the Mughal court in 1595. In December 1594, just prior to leaving for Akbar's court, the missionary was evaluated in Goa. Pinheiro became a priest seven years earlier and had entered the Society at the age of sixteen. Found to be robust, he had engaged in serious conversion work since arriving in India and quickly became skilful in confessing in the Konkani language. On the eve of his departure to the Mughal capital, Pinheiro was appraised by his peers: 'Weak

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Persian Lives of the Apostles', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s., 10, no. 2 (1914), 65–84.

55 '*hizose este tratado el año de 1610, por perçonas religiosas, y fidedignas que en su corte asistieron muchos anos*'; BNE MS, f. 69r, *DUP*, vol. II, 77).

56 '*El venerando padre Geronimo Xavier perçona de conocida virtud, y sobrino del bienaventurado San Francisco Xavier assistio en esta corte beintitantos años, y fue deste rey muito querido y tratado con mucha estimacion*; este padre aprovo todo lo aqui dicho por verdad, y dixo que lo dicho era poco para lo que se podia dezir'; BNE MS, f. 69r (*DUP*, vol. II, 77). Emphasis added.

FIGURE 3 *A Jesuit Priest, Mughal India*, ca. *1595–1600, attributed to Kesu Das.*
SOURCE: DUBLIN, THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, IN 44.5.

intelligence, mediocre judgment, ordinary prudence, experience among the Christians, does not know much about cases of conscience, efficient in transactions, sanguine, choleric talent for conversion'.[57]

Pinheiro spent the next two decades primarily in Lahore and Agra before returning to Goa in 1615, where he died around four years later.[58] The Azorean Jesuit was proficient in Persian, translated *farmans* into Portuguese, and closely supervised the acquisition of that language by the Italian Jesuit Francesco Corsi (1573–1635) in Lahore between 1600 and 1605.[59] By all appearances, he was the most 'acculturated' of the Jesuits in the Mughal court and someone that, according to Xavier, Jahangir 'knew and loved for years'.[60] But Pinheiro did not engage in intellectual activity comparable to that of Xavier in the imperial court and, besides his correspondence, he is not known to have authored any other writings as part of the Mughal mission. It is interesting, however, to spotlight his role as a 'field missionary', forming the fulcrum of the intense interactions between Agra and Goa beginning in 1607, via Gujarat (a feature that the Jesuit historiography of the time itself highlights).[61] It is not impossible that Pinheiro wrote the *Treatise* and left it in Goa in 1611, when he accompanied Muqarrab Khan to the capital of the *Estado da Índia*. Alternatively, on that same occasion, he may have carried the text written by Xavier. It is also not implausible that the document bears a shared authorship, as the BNE MS essentially admits: a text prepared by Pinheiro and edited by Xavier. Finally, Jerónimo might have penned a kind of 'composite' text, one in which contributions from this or that missionary were incorporated among those who were in Mughal India during the first years of Jahangir's reign—the Portuguese Manuel Pinheiro and António Machado or the Italians Francesco Corsi and Giuseppe di Castro (1577–1646).

The question of the authorship of the *Treatise* remains unresolved at this point. Both Jesuit priests could have claimed intimate knowledge of the imperial court and close relations with Jahangir. Some circumstances favour the authorship of Xavier, including his higher position in the mission and his

57 '*Poco ingenio, juizio mediocre, prudencia ordinaria, experiencia de la cristandad, sabe casos poco, efficax en los negocios, colérico sanguino, talento para la conversión*'; First and second catalogues of the Province of India, Goa, 15 December 1594, *DI*, vol. XVI, 960.

58 Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 51.

59 Francesco Corsi to the Provincial of India, Agra, 22 January 1627, *DUP*, vol. III, 181.

60 '*ha annos que o conhece e ama*'; Xavier to the Provincial of India, Agra, 24 September 1608, *DUP*, vol. III, 111.

61 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação annual das coisas*, t. III, ch. VII ('Da jornada que o Padre Manuel Pinheiro fêz de Lahor a Goa, e de Goa a Cambaia, em benefício do Estado da Índia'), 20–5.

intense intellectual production while at the Mughal court. It is however true that his theological work, far more relevant in the framework of the Society of Jesus, distances Xavier from the *Treatise*, a text that the Jesuits in Rome would probably have underrated. On the other hand, there are striking similarities between the themes explored in the *Treatise* and Xavier's letters written from the Mughal court, and this we shall explore in the second half of the present introduction. But there are also elements that point to the authorship of Pinheiro, namely his fundamental role in the political and diplomatic relations between the imperial court and the capital of the *Estado da Índia* at the moment the *Treatise* was written. In the collections of letters by Jesuits published in Europe in various languages in the early seventeenth century, the pieces written by Pinheiro are placed alongside those written by Xavier.[62] But when it came to making visual associations between the Mughal court and a Jesuit missionary, Jerónimo was the one to be selected by European seventeenth-century engravers.[63]

Either way, and apart from the curiosity whether this text does or does not add to the long and diverse list of works produced by or attributed to Jerónimo Xavier, the question of the *Treatise*'s individual authorship is of little importance. Independent of its author—and both of the two possible authors had spent nearly fifteen years in Mughal India by the date of the *Treatise*'s writing—we are dealing with a Jesuit text, but one that is eminently political, concerning the court of the emperor Jahangir. It is a document written around 1610, in a context of intense relations between Goa and Agra that required any Portuguese viceroy to acquire as much information as possible about the Mughal ruler and his power.

1.4 The Readership: The (at Least) Four Iberian Lives of the *Treatise*

1.4.1 *Problems of Chronology and Transmission*

The *Treatise* was never published, in any language, and therefore could not have aspired to enjoy the same European fortune as Thomas Roe's *Journal*. Nevertheless, it met a reasonable circulation in manuscript form, and it is today

62 See *inter alia Avvisi della missione del Regno del gran Mogor, cavati da una del P. Gerolamo Sciavier del 98 e da un' altra del P. Emanuele Pigneiro del 99, tradotti dalla lingua portoghese dal P. Gasparo Spitilli di Campli* (Rome, 1601).

63 See the depiction of Jerónimo Xavier side by side with Akbar in an interfaith debate held at the Mughal court, included in Cornelius Hazart, S. J., *Kerckelycke Historie vande Gheleele Wereldt*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1667–71), vol. 1, 274–5.

known that—standing side by side with printed texts, even challenging them at times—manuscript materials demonstrated tremendous vitality in early modern Europe. There are even cases in which, following Harold Love, one can speak of 'scribal publication', so large is the number of handwritten copies available for specific texts.[64] The persistence of a manuscript culture was particularly strong in the Iberian Peninsula, as the work of Fernando Bouza, among other historians of books, reading and printing in the early modern period has demonstrated.[65] We believe that the many lives of the text at hand, all of them in manuscript form, constitute a case worthwhile exploring in this context.

As noted above, four versions of the *Treatise* have come down to us. The Portuguese version held in Lisbon—*Tratado da Corte, e Caza de Iamguir Pachá Rey dos Mogores* (ANTT MS)—is the most complete and it seems to be very close to what would be the (now lost) original text, but we know nothing about its travails between the early seventeenth and the late twentieth centuries. There is also an extensive Spanish version, under the title *Relacion de la Corte del Gran Mogor, i sus Grandeças* (BNE MS), which is part of the miscellaneous codex 'Descripcion de la India Oriental, govierno della e sucessos acaecidos en el año de 1636'.[66] This codex first belonged to Dom Jorge Mascarenhas (d. 1652), Marquis of Montalvão and first viceroy of Brazil (1639), later probably to his 6th son, the bibliophile Jerónimo de Mascarenhas (1611–72), and eventually to the 4th Duke of Uceda.[67] Uceda's library was confiscated in 1711 by Philip V

64 Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts. Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst, MA, 1993).

65 Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 2001); Ana Isabel Buescu, 'A persistência da cultura manuscrita em Portugal nos séculos XVI e XVII', *Ler História* 45 (2003), 19–48.

66 'De la Corte del Gran Mogor y sus Grandezas'; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 3015, no. 10, ff. 63r–69v. (the title of the *Treatise* in the BNE MS corresponds to the title of its first section; it seems therefore that the title page of the *Treatise* itself did not survive in this version of the text). BNE Ms. 3015 is composed of diverse documents dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and written both in Portuguese and Spanish. It gathers a total of 38 texts of political, ethnographic and geographic nature that encompass the entire Portuguese Empire. The manuscript was published in its entirety in *DUP*, vol. II (Lisbon, 1962) [*Treatise*, 69–78].

67 On Jorge and Jerónimo de Mascarenhas and their Spanish political and intellectual connections, see Lorraine White, 'Jorge Mascarenhas: Family Tradition and Power Politics in Habsburg Portugal', *Portuguese Studies* 14 (1998), 65–83; Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas, 'Jerónimo de Mascarenhas retratado por Pedro de Villafranca', *Locus Amœnus* 2 (1996), 175–80.

(r. 1700–46), and no wonder that the BNE MS was later to be found in the *Libreria del Rei* (i.e., El Escorial).[68] It is mentioned in the second, much-revised edition of the *Epítome de la Bibliotheca Oriental* by León Pinelo, published in 1737–38 under the direction of Andrés González de Barcia.[69] This text is very similar to the ANTT MS, though it evidences some variations. While in some sections of the *Treatise* this version offers more synthesis, it also contains intriguing interpolations that cannot be found in the Lisbon text. This perhaps indicates that the BNE MS is not simply a translation into Spanish of the ANTT MS and that, after all, it may not be based on the latter.

Additionally, two other versions have been identified, both of which are held in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History) in Madrid. They are both substantially abbreviated versions, clearly related to each other, in spite of some significant differences. One version is in Spanish, hereafter designated as RAH MS1,[70] and the other version is written in Portuguese and will hereafter be identified as RAH MS2.[71] The two appear to derive from the BNE MS, although both include information that is found in neither of the two longer texts (ANTT MS and BNE MS). Naturally, this makes their provenance and classification more difficult to establish.

The differences between the four manuscripts, along with the possible reasons for the discrepancies, are important and call for detailed analysis, beginning with the very lineage of the documents. Leaving aside the already-

68 It was later incorporated in the National Library. Several manuscripts were transferred from El Escorial to the Biblioteca National in the nineteenth century, where this particular codex has been kept since at least 1896. On the library of Uceda (Don Juan Francisco Téllez-Girón Pacheco), see *inter alia* Margarita Martín Velasco, 'La biblioteca del IV Duque de Uceda. Una colección europea entre el Barroco y la Ilustración', *Teka Kom. Hist. OL PAN* (2009), 219–32.

69 Antonio de León Pinelo, *Epítome de la Biblioteca Oriental, y Occidental, nautica, y geografica*, ed. Andrés González de Barcia, t. I (Madrid, 1737), 376. The title and description of the version of the *Treatise* identified by González de Barcia—"Relacion de la Corte del Gran Mogor, i sus Grandeças. M.S. fol. Empieça: El Rei Janguir, Gran Mogor; i acaba: sin dilación"—shows that the text corresponds to the BNE MS, since both begin and end with exactly the same words. It is clear that this copy was not in the royal library when the *Epítome* was first published in 1629, as León Pinelo makes no mention of it. On González de Barcia (1673–1743) and his relation with León Pinelo's work, see Jonathan Carlyon, *Andrés González de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library* (Toronto, 2005), 87–117.

70 'Breue relaciõ de las tierras, Poder y Casa del Grã Mogor, embiada por los pes de la comp[a] de Iesus que residen en su corte'; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 9/3716, doc. 8.

71 'Breve Relaçao das terras, poder e casa do grao Mogor'; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Salazar y Castro, K-61, ff. 195r–199v.

addressed issue of authorship, these variations show up in content as well as in the interventions of the anonymous individuals responsible for each of the textual versions. At times, an amanuensis basically becomes a second author: he trims the text or adds to it, enriches the vocabulary and bothers to explain certain words. We are therefore presented with a quintessential case of 'scribes with agency', the sorts of editors that are capable of transforming a given text (namely the *Treatise*) according to their background or the profile of its expected readers.[72]

For the moment, we will put aside the two anonymous *digests* from the Real Academia de la Historia, for they are too short and fragmentary to be grouped with the other manuscripts, and so we will concentrate first on the ANTT MS and the BNE MS. All signs point to the *Treatise* having been written in the Mughal court during the final months of the year 1610, or possibly during the first months of 1611. Unlike Botelho's *Relação*, written almost twenty years after the Mughal experience of its author, whoever penned the *Treatise* did not have to plumb the recesses of his memory.[73] The ANTT MS refers to the baptism of the three Jahangir nephews, which occurred in September 1610, and states that it took place 'about a year ago' (*haverá um ano*) (§19). It is not known whether this estimate refers to when the manuscript was produced or when it was copied. It is certain, though, that the text does not refer to the apostasy of those same princes in 1613. However, the tomb of Akbar in Sikandra—praised in the Lisbon manuscript as 'one of the seven wonders of the world because of its greatness and the perfection of its workmanship' (*uma das sete maravilhas do mundo pela grandeza de sua obra*) (§21)—was not yet complete when this text was put together, while we know that the date of the mausoleum's completion is 1613.[74] Finally, the *Treatise* does not make any reference to Nur Jahan (1577–1645), a central figure in Mughal politics following her marriage to the emperor in May 1611, and one whom western observers of Jahangir's empire viewed quite negatively.[75]

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72 I borrow the expression 'scribes with agency' from Christian Lee Novetzke, 'Orality and Literacy/Performance and Permanence', in Francesca Orsini, ed., *The History of the Book in South Asia* (Farhnam and Burlington, VT, 2013), 67–102 [75].

73 On the complex relation between seeing and writing, or between observation, memory and writing (both travel notes and travel accounts), see for a later period Marie-Nöelle Bourget, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010), 377–400.

74 On Akbar's tomb, see below 50, n. 31.

75 As did many other Europeans—like Pelsaert (*Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, trans. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (rpt., New Delhi, 2001), 50)—the Portuguese made a rather critical assessment of Nur Jahan. António de Andrade, for

Copied later (no doubt in the capital of the *Estado da Índia*) by someone of unknown identity but who does not seem to have been a priest, the text—that is, its most complete Portuguese copy (ANTT MS)—was undoubtedly at some point in time in the hands of one Duarte da Costa Homem, who signed the title page of the manuscript (fig. 1). In all probability, this is the same Duarte da Costa Homem who travelled from Lisbon to Goa in 1602, serving as the treasurer of the *Estado da Índia* from 1627 to 1630 and then again in 1634.[76] The date on which the ANTT MS was actually copied is, however, uncertain. In its closing lines, the copyist remarked in a sort of afterword that Xavier lived for eighteen years in the Mughal court (though it was actually a little longer) and that he came back to Goa at the end of this period (§54). This reference to the missionary's return to the capital of the *Estado da Índia* (but not to his death in 1617) dates the copy to 1615 at the earliest. As to the BNE MS, it seems to have been copied two or three years after the *Treatise* itself was first written *ca.* 1610–11. It is there noted that Xavier had lived in the Mughal court 'for twenty-some years' (*beinte tantos años*) and, at the mention of the conversion of Jahangir's nephews in 1610, the text states that this happened 'three years earlier' (*ha tres años*).[77] Both the ANTT MS and the BNE MS refer to Francisco Xavier as a saint, while his canonization occurred as late as 1622. But this does not definitively establish the date of the *Treatise*, as it was relatively common to refer to Francisco Xavier as a saint prior to his canonization.[78]

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example, noted in 1623 that 'today she governs everything' and went on to blame her for the emperor's refusal to convert to Christianity (letter to the Provincial of India, Agra, 14 August 1623, *DUP*, vol. III, 168). If Nur Jahan had a visible presence in the Mughal court when the *Treatise* was written, its author would certainly not have failed to mention her. On the historiographical distortions of the figure of Nur Jahan in her much-debated relationship with Jahangir, see Corinne Lefèvre, 'Comment un 'conquérant du monde' devient l'esclave d'une femme. L'historiographie de l'empereur moghol Jahangir (r. 1605–1627)', in S. Benoist et al., eds., *Mémoires partagées, mémoires disputées: écriture et réécriture de l'histoire* (Metz, 2010), 93–118.

76 Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Índia*, box 17, doc. 184; box 26, doc. 34. Due to his age, it is unlikely that this is the same Duarte da Costa Homem that gave advice to the Portuguese king in 1644 about the possibility of growing pepper in Ceylon (ibid., box 27, doc. 129). Likewise, he cannot be the person bearing the same name that, residing in the port of Kung, was appointed in 1650 royal financial superintendent (*administrador da fazenda real*) in Persia and Sind (ibid., box 36, doc. 12, box 37, doc. 168, box 42, docs. 5, 109; Letter from Duarte da Costa Homem to the Viceroy, Kung, 18 November 1653, *Assentos do Conselho de Estado*, ed. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, 5 vols. (Bastorá-Goa, 1953–57), vol. III, 551–4).

77 BNE MS, ff. 64r, 69r (*DUP*, vol. II, 71, 77).

78 I thank Ines Županov and Cristina Osswald for providing me information on this.

1.4.2 *How Did a Manuscript Travel from Goa to Lisbon?*

We cannot establish precisely when the *Treatise* was sent to Portugal, under what conditions or by what means, or whether it was the only copy that travelled from Goa to Lisbon or Madrid. However, the network of correspondents in Asia associated with the Portuguese polymath Manuel Severim de Faria (1584–1655) can help us to understand the mechanisms by which texts such as the *Treatise* moved back and forth between India and Portugal during this period. A Portuguese member of the Republic of Letters, Manuel Severim de Faria regularly received texts of an ethnographic nature from individuals in Asia and other parts of the world. Consider the case of the Jesuit Manuel Barradas, who in 1634 sent from Goa to Severim de Faria three 'brief treatises' (*tratadinhos*) that he had written while held captive in Aden. He sent them to Portugal by way of 'two copies addressed to a man from Lisbon whom I do not know, but this year I will send his name so that Your Mercy may know' (*dirigidos por duas vias a hum homem de Lisboa que eu não conheço, mas este ano mandarei o nome dele para V M o saber*). One year later, Barradas was convinced that his three works reached Severim de Faria, since the person who volunteered to carry them from Goa to Lisbon was after all deemed reliable: 'noble and trustworthy, according to what a *fidalgo* who came last year from that kingdom [Portugal] told me. This *fidalgo* is Cristovão Roiz de Castel Branco, who is a relative of that person, whose name is João de Barros de Castel Branco. Due to the haste with which I have asked him [João de Barros] this favour, I was unable last year to provide you with the name of the man to whom they [the treatises] were sent'.[79]

What these excerpts make clear is the considerable improvisation at work in the sending of texts of this sort from Goa to Lisbon. Barradas entrusted two copies of his three *tratadinhos* to a man whom he had never seen and whose name was unknown to him. He was equally unable to identify the person to whom this man was expected to hand over the Jesuit's works upon arrival in

79 '*é nobre e de crédito segundo me disse um fidalgo que o ano passado veio desse Reino, e se chama Cristovão Roiz de Castel Branco, que é seu parente que se chama João de Barros de Castel Branco. E pela pressa com que lho pedi não pude o ano passado mandar declaração do homem a que foram dirigidos*'; Father Manuel Barradas to Manuel Severim de Faria, Salsete, 15 December 1635, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (hereafter BNP), Reservados, 7640, ff. 95r–95v. On Severim de Faria, see Liam Matthew Brockey, 'An Imperial Republic: Manuel Severim de Faria Surveys the Globe, 1608–1655', in Maria Berbera and Karl A. E. Enenkel, eds., *Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters* (Leiden, 2012), 265–85. I am grateful to Maria Augusta Lima Cruz for giving me access to her unpublished article 'Manuel Severim de Faria and the diffusion, preservation, and creation of knowledge regarding the history of Portuguese India and Asian cultures'.

Lisbon, and who was entrusted with eventually delivering them to Severim de Faria. Barradas goes on to explain his procedure:

> I have kept the drafts of the three brief treatises that I sent last year. And I keep them because I want to make sure that the copies have reached Your Mercy's hands. In case they didn't, I will copy them again and will gladly send them again to Your Mercy. As you will see, they deal with Ethiopia and the Red Sea. The ones I am sending this year concern the gods of these gentiles, and I am dispatching them in two copies. Due to the lack of a scribe, I have decided to send, as one of the two copies, the draft that I intended to keep with me. I do hope Your Mercy receives at least one of the two. This will give me enough satisfaction, since my sole desire is to please those who are interested in learning about the curiosities of the world.[80]

Two interesting points emerge from this letter. According to Barradas, an author would typically keep the original draft (*borrão*) of his works in Goa, not necessarily because he intended to save it, but so that he could copy it again in the unfortunate event that the copies sent to Portugal did not reach their intended recipient. In urgent situations, when a scribe could not be found quickly enough in the capital of the *Estado da Índia* to duplicate the text, its author could run the risk of sending the *borrão* to Lisbon together with a single copy.

The correspondence exchanged during this same period between Álvaro Tavares and Severim de Faria shows similar practices regarding copying and sending from Goa to Lisbon documents of an ethnographic nature about Asia.[81] The way in which Diogo do Couto's *Soldado Prático* was sent from India to Portugal also sheds light on these procedures. The manuscript was sent to Portugal in January 1612 with a note to be delivered in Lisbon to Couto's brother-in-law, the Augustinian friar Adeodato da Trindade, who was living in the Convento da Graça. In his absence, the text should be delivered to

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80 '*Dos três tratadinhos que mandei o ano passado me ficou o borrão, o guardo para saber que chegaram à mão de V M, e quando não os tornarei a tresladar e mandar levando VM gosto. Pertencem à Etiópia e ao Mar Roxo como deles lá verá. Os que vão este ano são dos deuses desta gentilidade, vão por duas vias e não fica cá treslado na minha mão porque o borrão que primeiro me ficou vai em uma destas vias por falta de escrivão, mas espero que algum destes chegue à mão de VM. Isso me basta que eu nestas coisas só pretendi sempre somente dar gosto a quem mostrava levado de saber curiosidades do mundo*'; Barradas to Severim de Faria, Salsete, 15 December 1635, BNP, Reservados, 7640, ff. 95r–95v.

81 Álvaro Tavares to Severim de Faria, Goa, 15 February 1635, BNP, Reservados, 7640, ff. 101r–101v.

Dom Francisco da Gama, the count of Vidigueira, or to Francisco Vaz Pinto, who until the previous year had served as a member of the *Conselho da Índia* (Council of India).[82]

Thus, in this period the movement of a manuscript between India and Portugal was marked by a high degree of unpredictability. Was the *Treatise* subjected to similar caprice? Probably yes. If it was conceived as a document reserved for the eyes of the viceroy, the king, and a few select others, it may have been handled, at least in theory, more carefully. Even so, a manuscript from Asia would likely pass through many hands before reaching those of the sovereign in Spain. The multiple copies of manuscripts prepared in India constituted a safety precaution against loss between Goa and Lisbon. But the main reason for duplication in Portugal may have lain in the desire to satisfy the curiosity of the many persons receiving and passing on such texts. Such is the telling case of an account of Ceylon written in 1638 by one Constantino de Sá de Miranda, which includes twenty-four watercolour sketches of the island and its Portuguese forts.[83] Sá de Miranda decided to compose this work because he knew that a manuscript of this sort, requested by the king from the captain-general of Ceylon, had reached the royal palace in Spain damp and damaged. The work was dispatched to Philip IV presumably in the *naus* that left India at the end of 1638 or the beginning of 1639. However, it was first received in Portugal by one of Sá de Miranda's relatives, who had spent more than two months copying text (and images?) before sending it on to the king and, before Philip IV, to . . . Manuel Severim de Faria:

> It is two months now that I have been copying this book, which came from India to His Majesty. Before I send out the book, I am sending it to Your Mercy, so that you will have the chance to copy it. From the copy that I am keeping for my self, Your Mercy will be able to take whatever you deem relevant, and I will also give Your Mercy the copy of the island [i.e., the copy of a map], which is divided according to Corolas, Disavas and Kingdoms. [. . .] Regarding what additionally can be said about the island of Ceylon, I refer to that book, which does not say the worst. Once Your Mercy finishes looking at it, please kindly send it to Santa Clara, so that I can later send the book to whom I am ordered.[84]

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82 António Coimbra Martins, *Em torno de Diogo do Couto* (Coimbra, 1985), 43.

83 Saragoza, Biblioteca Universitária, Ms. 13 [Formas de todas as fortalezas de Ceilão], published in Jorge Flores, *Os olhos do rei. Desenhos e descrições portuguesas da ilha de Ceilão (1624, 1638)* (Lisbon, 2001), 101–88 (introductory text, 11–57).

84 *Há dois meses que estou copiando este livro, que me veio da Índia para El Rey. Antes que o mande o envio a V M para que o passe, e da cópia que me fica poderá V. M. mandar tirar o*

This means that the description of Ceylon by Constantino de Sá de Miranda—a work prepared on the island and sent from Goa to Philip IV in Madrid—first stopped in Portugal. It remained for some time in the possession of one the author's relatives to whom he had sent the manuscript. This man, who lived in the south of the country (in the Algarve), allowed the manuscript, which was addressed to the king, to be examined first by his friend (patron?) Manuel Severim de Faria. To send it from his place in Montes Novos (Loulé) to his interlocutor's house in Évora and back, he made use of the Mosteiro de Santa Clara—also in Évora, where one of Faria's nieces, Sister Brites do Espírito Santo, was a nun—as a sort of 'mailbox' for the manuscript.

The tortuous history of Miranda's account of Ceylon demonstrates how documents of this sort enjoyed little security before being brought into the presence of the king. It is likewise not improbable that the circulation of the *Treatise* within the heart of the imperial and Portuguese bureaucracies involved the use of family and private networks for exchanging texts and news between the two worlds. We specifically refer to the network of the Gama family, which during these years facilitated the delivery of *Soldado Prático* to Lisbon as well as helped fantastic stories about Mughal India to spread in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the one about a divining ape that lived in the court of Jahangir.[85] While Rui Lourenço de Távora was the viceroy of the *Estado da Índia* in Goa (1609–12), his son-in-law Dom Francisco da Gama was the president of the *Conselho da Índia* in Lisbon (1608–14). When, in March 1611, Philip III wrote to Rui Lourenço de Távora about dispatching an ambassador to Jahangir's court, the letter was actually signed by the Count of Vidigueira (*conde almirante*) and by the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo.[86] Furthermore, Francisco da Gama himself was not unfamiliar with Mughal India, which constituted one of his regular preoccupations during his first term as viceroy of Goa from 1597 to 1600.

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que lhe parecer digno de suas memórias e também lhe darei a V. M. a cópia da ilha, que vai repartida com as linhas com Corolas, Disavas e Reinos. [...] *O mais que da ilha de Ceylão pudera dizer remeto a esse livro em que se não diz o pior. Como V. M. o vir façama de o remeter a Santa Clara, para* [*eu*] *o enviar a quem se me ordena'*. F. de Mello to Manuel Severim de Faria, Montes Novos (Loulé, Portugal), 21 June 1639, BNP, Reservados, cod. 7640, ff. 185r–186r.

85 'Relação mui verdadeira que veio da India e mandou o Viso-Rey Ruy Lourenço de Tavora a seu genro o Conde da Vidigueira, sobre um Bogio que adevinhava na corte do Mogor', Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, CV/1-3-d, f. 210r. On this story, its diffusion and multiple variations and meanings, see Jorge Flores, 'Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvelous between Mughal India and Habsburg Iberia in the early seventeenth century', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 1 (July 2007), 553–81 [559–68].

86 Quoted above, n. 37.

The centrality of this set of practices with regard to the circulation of texts between India and Portugal makes clear that there could have existed, at a very early stage, quite a few copies (some probably meanwhile lost) of the *Treatise*. This assumption is the key to tackling the quantity and diversity of the manuscripts known to be available in the Iberian Peninsula in the early seventeenth century. It is important at this juncture to reconsider some of the main problems pertaining to the four known versions of the *Treatise*. Was the ANTT MS copied from the (lost) original in Goa? If so, when? Is the BNE MS based on the ANTT MS, having been copied later? Was it copied in India or in the Iberian Peninsula? And regarding the two abbreviated versions in the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH MS1 and RAH MS2), were they copied from the BNE MS and prepared in Madrid? How is it possible to explain the differences between the texts and the significant interpolations contained in each of the three versions today located in Spain?

1.4.3 *Textual Practices*

We have no definitive answers to these questions. But while both the chronology and authorship of the various copies of the *Treatise* remain unknown, it is possible to elaborate on the textual practices and 'editorial' strategies these four copies reveal. To this end, the differences between the two more extensive versions are significant. It is obvious, for example, that the person responsible for the BNE MS wished to weaken the political tenor of the text, and alternatively adopted a tone akin to that of a travel narrative. This version of the *Treatise* is more 'accessible', as it seems to target the curious reader rather than the government official. It employs superlatives that are absent from the ANTT MS—*riquíssima* (very rich), *custosíssima* (most costly)—and there is a systematic effort towards cultural translation that likewise is not evident in the Lisbon manuscript.

The copyist of the BNE MS is obviously concerned with helping the reader understand the meaning of words and expressions that were familiar to someone living in Goa but were unknown in Madrid. In referring to the gifts that the Mughal nobles used to give to Jahangir during the daily public audience (§25), the ANTT MS simply writes *sauguates*, without any additional explanation and making no effort to employ an equivalent term for this odd word; it takes for granted that the reader is already familiar with the expression. Quite to the contrary, the BNE MS remarks that the nobles 'offer him [Jahangir] gifts, which are called sauguates, something very common in that monarchy'.[87] And when

87 '*le offrecen los suios presents, a que llaman sauguates, cossa mui usada en aquella monarquia*'; BNE MS, f. 64v (*DUP*, vol. II, 72).

enumerating the various categories of the 40,000 men who served Jahangir, the ANTT MS simply records '*bois de palamquim*' (§38) as one of them, whereas the BNE MS explains: 'boys [*bueies*], which is the name given to those who carry the palanquins; these are stands [*andores*] that transport a person, and each of these is carried by four men'.[88] The same applies to the *carreteiros das carretas* (ANTT MS, §38), which in the Madrid manuscript are the object of a longer and colourful description: 'pushers of the carts in which one moves around, pushed by elegant men that run fast, and these carts are beautifully adorned and well decorated'.[89]

The interpolations identified in the BNE MS, relating to the addition of sentences and paragraphs that are not part of the ANTT MS, also render the text more illustrative and interesting. Describing the daily schedule of the emperor Jahangir, the Madrid manuscript includes a comment directed at its readers about the length of days in the north of India, an observation that is not included in the Lisbon manuscript: 'Please note that in this parallel the days almost equal the nights all year round; and during the year it varies little'.[90] Truly significant is the long paragraph added in the BNE MS regarding the 'Expenses with the animals and other things of his service' (f. 67r), which is not included in the ANTT MS. In this passage, the origin of which is unknown, the scribe reveals his interest in the artisanal work of the *officiales que ordinariamente trabajan en las obras reales del palacio* ('the officials that ordinarily work in the royal workshops of the palace', i.e., the craftsmen employed in the *karkhanas*), along with the annual costs involved.[91] Intriguingly, these costs are given in ducats, when all the other computations in the same text are made in escudos. Could this be a sign that this brief section on the *karkhanas* came from a different source?

This evidence suggests that the scribe of the BNE MS was either working off of a version of the *Treatise* different from that of the ANTT MS or that he had personal knowledge about the Mughal Empire and South Asia that allowed him to expand on certain subjects and provide additional information. In the passage in which the *Treatise* refers to Jahangir's daily sun worship, the

88 '*bueies que assi los llaman a los que cargan los palanquins que son ciertos andores que llevan una perçona, y con cada uno cargan quarto hombres*'; BNE MS, f. 66v (*DUP*, vol. II, 74).

89 '*carreteros de las carretas en que se camina tiradas de hermosos bueies que andam velozmente, y son mui galanas y buen lavradas*'; BNE MS, f. 66v (*DUP*, vol. II, 74).

90 '*advirtase que en este paralelo los dias son quasi iguales con las noches todo el año; y en el discurso del haçe el sol poca diferençia*'; BNE MS, f. 65r (*DUP*, vol. II, 72).

91 BNE MS, f. 67r (*DUP*, vol. II, 75). On the *Karkhanas*, see Tripta Verma, *Karkhanas under the Mughals. From Akbar to Aurangzeb. A study in economic development* (New Delhi, 1994).

ANTT MS states that the king makes *salama* (from the Arabic *salam*) to the sun (§28), whereas the BNE MS employs a different term with an identical meaning: *namaça* (from Hindi, *namaste*, and Sanskrit *namas*).[92] It is clear that the Madrid manuscript is not simply a copy of the Lisbon text.

There are even clear discrepancies between the two primary manuscript versions of the *Treatise* regarding its intended purpose, even though we are not entirely sure about the audiences for whom the texts were produced. Through its copyist, the BNE MS evinces concern for its readership and seeks to nurture some 'proximity' with its 'public'. According to the copyist of this version, Father Manuel Pinheiro had opted to omit in this account much additional information about the Mughal Empire for one simple reason: 'to prevent readers from believing the account to be fantastic, he refrained from saying many things that in our Spain would seem doubtful and even incredible'.[93] Was this precaution expressed by the author, or rather by the scribe? Is this a sincere apprehension or does it function more as a teaser to entice the reader who is specifically drawn to these incredible things? At any rate, the author adopts here a textual strategy common to other Jesuit texts of the time, namely Joseph Francisco Tomás Gumilla's *Orinoco ilustrado* (1741–45). With respect to the latter, Margaret Ewalt argues that, 'to safeguard his truth claims against accusations of hyperbole' Gumilla 'asserts his missionary ethos and employs *prolepsis*, a rhetorical figure that prevents or anticipates objections readers might have in order to appeal to the reader's sense of authority'.[94]

In this context, one could expect the BNE MS to simply omit a long and relevant section of the *Treatise*, which the ANTT MS includes in its entirety. This apparent lacuna seems to be due to an 'editorial' decision made by the copyist of the BNE MS, who is clearly more concerned with the reception of the *Treatise* than with the corrupted character of his own version of it. In fact, the section entitled 'Revenues of the Sons of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals, and of his captains' (fig. 6) represents one-third of the entire text (ANTT MS, ff. 12r–19v) and reads very much like an appendix. This is an extraordinarily dry addendum, even for the most curious reader of the time, given that it includes a bulky account of the ranks and salaries of Mughal *mansabdar*s.[95] Nevertheless,

92 BNE MS, ff. 65r–65v (*DUP*, vol. II, 72).

93 '*por no dar occasion a que la tengan por fabuloza dexa de dezir muchas cosas, que en nuestra España pareceran dudosas, y pareseran increybles*'; BNE MS (f. 69r, *DUP*, vol. II, 77).

94 Margaret R. Ewalt, *Peripheral Wonders. Nature, Knowledge, and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth-Century Orinoco* (Lewisburg, 2008), 45.

95 *Mansabdar*s were Mughal officers (not necessarily nobles, though) holding a numerical rank (*mansab*) determined by the emperor.

it constitutes an interesting source for any modern historian of Mughal India, as we will discuss in the second half of this introduction. The copyist of the BNE MS undoubtedly saw this list. We do not know whether or not he eventually copied it, but it is certain that he decided not to incorporate it within the manuscript. Hence the explicit mention of 'a list that we did not include here in order to avoid prolixity'.[96] The copyist then provides the reader with three summative estimates that can be ascertained from the list: 1) the number of imperial *mansabdars*; 2) the military contingent with which the *mansabdars* contributed to the imperial army, expressed in the (theoretical) number of war horses they maintained and kept at the disposal of the emperor; 3) the salaries of these 'captains' in relation to their contingents.[97]

The textual practices in the two shorter manuscripts held in the Real Academia de la Historia are equally telling. One in Spanish (RAH MS1) and the other in Portuguese (RAH MS2), these two abbreviated versions of the *Treatise* bear no significant differences apart from certain details up until the conclusion of RAH MS1. It is clear that the two documents were written (in Madrid?) based on the same text. RAH MS1 identifies at its outset that it originated from a Jesuit source. The title notes that this *Breve relacion* was 'sent by the priests of the Society of Jesus who live in his court' (*enviada por los Padres de la Compa de Iesus que residen en su corte*). Another interesting detail comes at the conclusion of the text, where the copyist directly addresses the reader, noting that 'other things came [written in that account] that I could not copy and that one will be able to see in greater detail in the published account that is expected' (*otras cosas veniam que no pude trasladar que vedran más copiosas en la relacion impressa que esperamos*). But, as should be clear by now, the *Treatise* was never a text at the service of the editorial machinery of the Society of Jesus and, contrary to the expectations of this copyist, it was never published. As to the RAH MS2, while it surgically excises any reference to the text's Jesuit origins, it nevertheless seems to constitute a faithful translation of the RAH MS1, though directed towards other readers, or perhaps even a specific reader.

Considering the short length of the two texts, there is no room in these versions for chapter breaks, even though the RAH MS1 marginalia, penned by the same hand, regularly points the reader to the topics being addressed in the body of the text: *mugeres* (women), *gastos con animales* ('expenses with animals'), *su renta* ('his revenue'). Both texts in the Real Academia de la Historia

96 '*una lista que aqui no se pone para evitar prolixidad*'; BNE MS, f. 69r (*DUP*, vol. II, 78).

97 Ibid. The numbers are respectively: 1) 4,986 *mansabdars*; 2) 923,150 horsemen; 3) 87,961.495.000 escudos. Slight differences when compared to the final numbers provided by the ANTT MS: 1) 4,924 *mansabdars*; 2) 938,560 horsemen; 3) 86,589.247.500 escudos.

begin by inverting the order of the topics followed by the ANTT MS and the BNE MS such that they begin with a brief account of the kingdoms of the Mughal Empire, a section that comes near the end of the other two texts. Then, both the RAH MS1 and the RAH MS2 take up the sequence of themes as presented by the two longer versions of the *Treatise*.

Curiously, it is in these two digests of the *Treatise* that we get a grasp on the author, the 'I' of the text. In a comment about the magnificence of the city of Agra, one reads the following: 'a well-travelled English captain, who had been to Constantinople and to the great cities of Europe, except Lisbon, told me that it exceeded them all'.[98] Further on, the author refers to some of the Mughal viceroys 'whom I had seen' (*que eu vi*), and he reveals that he had been at some point in the capital of Gujarat (*estando eu em Amadabá*). A final novelty along these lines comes in the last section of the text in an allusion to the Mughal offensive in Deccan, which was headed by Parvez (1589–1626). In March 1610, Jahangir's son assumed leadership of the military campaign in the south. Both the RAH MS1 and the RAH MS2 note that this offensive could result in the end of the *Estado da Índia* in less than two years and that it was necessary to plead with God to impede the 'barbarian' Jahangir. The Spanish text (RAH MS1), closer to the Jesuit agenda, goes even further and expresses hope for the emperor's conversion: 'May God stop him and convert him, amen' (*Dios le detenga y le convierta amen*). But this is a sentiment that does not at all drive the RAH MS2, a text in which all references to the Jesuits had been removed.

The RAH MS1 concludes precisely on this point, but the RAH MS2 continues for a few more folios (197v–199v). Whoever authored this Portuguese version had a specific interlocutor in mind. The text makes frequent reference to an unknown *Vossa Reverendíssima* (Your Most Reverend); that is, to a distinguished religious person, and probably a bishop. One may assume that this text was written in Madrid by a Portuguese and then sent to Lisbon to another Portuguese.[99] The scribe/author extends the text considerably, not by

98 '*Dizia-me um Inglês capitão bem entendido que estivera em Constantinopla, e nas grandes cidades da Europa, tirando Lisboa, que a todas excedia*' (same passage in RAH MS1). The Englishman that has been to Constantinople, and with whom the author of the *Treatise* conversed in Agra, is of course William Hawkins. Both Xavier and Pinheiro knew Hawkins, and both Jesuits had been to Lisbon.

99 Could it possibly be Dom Aleixo de Meneses (1559–1617)? Archbishop of Goa (1595–1612) and governor of the *Estado da Índia* (1607–09), this prominent Augustinian friar dealt extensively with the 'Mughal dossier' while in Goa. Upon his return to Portugal, Meneses lived between Lisbon and Madrid until his death, serving successively as viceroy of Portugal (1614–15) and president of the Council of Portugal (1615–17). On Aleixo de Meneses, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Dom Frei Aleixo de Meneses (1559–1617) et l'échec

including specific excerpts from the known longer manuscripts of the *Treatise*, but rather by introducing elements that are entirely unique to this version. This addendum assumes two thematic directions. It begins as a political lament over the lack of knowledge regarding the *Mogor*, which is attributed to those who had the power to decide about the *Estado da Índia* in Madrid:

> There are few people in the Council of Portugal who know about this more than what they were able to hear, and in the Council of Castile none. Considering the great maladies of India as well as the great greed of those who come to India without the slightest concern for Portugal's honour, everything will soon be lost if God does not prevent it from happening [...]. And the worst is that all those that witness this here [in India] and lament it, do not dare to write it to His Majesty because their letters will end up in the hands of the relatives of many of those who are guilty.[100]

It is fascinating to see a text devoted to the political ethnography of Mughal India, and specifically to the imperial court, so quickly transformed into a reflection on the abandonment and possible loss of Portuguese India, an invective that touches briefly on various tropes related to the 'maladies of India' as portrayed in the contemporary works of Diogo do Couto, Francisco Rodrigues Silveira and others.[101]

The RAH MS2 then resumes its primary thrust and explicitly announces this change to its interlocutor: 'and now, setting aside this subject, I wish to provide Your Most Reverend with a brief account of these two cities of Cambaia and

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des tentatives d'indigénisation du christianisme en Inde', *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 103 (1998), 21–42; Carlos Alonso, *Alejo de Meneses, O. S. A. (1559–1617), Arzobispo de Goa (1595–1612): Estudio biográfico* (Valladolid, 1992).

100 '*E no Conselho de Portugal há poucos que disto saibam mais que o que ouvem, e no de Castela ninguém. Pelo que segundo grandes males da Índia o pedem e a grande cobiça dos que vêm a ela sem lembrança alguma da honra de Portugal nos mostra, em breve se Deus não dá algum talho se perderá tudo* [...]. *E o pior é que todos isto cá vêem e o choram, não ousam ao escrever a Sua Magestade porque vão as cartas dar em as mãos dos parentes de muitos culpados*;' RAH MS2, f. 198r. On the Council of Portugal, the organism representing the kingdom of Portugal in the royal court during the Iberian Union, see Santiago Meléndez Luxán, *La Revolución de 1640 en Portugal, sus fundamentos sociales y sus carateres nacionales. El Consejo de Portugal, 1580–1640* (Madrid, 1988).

101 Diogo do Couto, *O primeiro soldado prático*, ed. António Coimbra Martins (Lisbon, 2001); Francisco Rodrigues Silveira, *Reformação da Milícia e Governo do Estado da Índia Oriental*, eds. B. N. Teensma, Luís Filipe Barreto and George D. Winius (Lisbon, 1996).

Amadabá'.[102] The author goes on to elaborate on Cambay in a long digression that is not found in any of the other extant versions of the *Treatise*. The account stems from his travels and personal experience—'soon after we arrived here' (*pouco depois que aqui chegamos*)—but it also touches upon themes that were common in other European texts of the period about Gujarat. In fact, part of this excerpt seems to derive from the Jesuit annual letter of 1595, composed by the Provincial of India, Francisco Cabral. Cabral's composite *ânua* includes excerpts from a letter written from Cambay by Manuel Pinheiro in January of that same year, when he was travelling in Xavier's company to the court of Akbar.[103] Pinheiro's description of Gujarat met with considerable European success as a result of its inclusion in Peruschi's *Informatione del regno et stato del Gran Re de Mogor*.[104] In this text, the Azorean Jesuit speaks about the precise themes addressed by the RAH MS2, including a hospital for birds—a detail that became a trope in European accounts of Gujarat—as well as the religious practices of the *Vratyas*.[105]

In the end, the author of the RAH MS2 fails to expand on the city of Ahmadabad: 'I would have many other things to note, especially about the greatnesses of Ahmadabad, where the viceroy of Gujarat resides, but there is no time left'.[106] And he concludes the *Breve Relação* with a promise to his interlocutor: 'next year, if Our Lord so wishes, I will write about this subject, something that Your Most Reverend will be happy to present to friends, and that the dearest ones will take pleasure from reading in one afternoon in the country house'.[107]

We come full circle with this intriguing closing line of the RAH MS2. The *Treatise* is a text written in Jahangir's court by a Jesuit missionary, and most probably was meant to be a political instrument in the hands of a Portuguese viceroy of Goa. Multiple peregrinations, versions and copyists-authors later,

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102 '*e assim deixando esta materia, quero dar a V. R. breve notícia destas duas cidades Cambaia e Amadabá*'; RAH MS2, f. 198r. The excursus on Cambay corresponds to ff. 198r–199v.

103 Annual letter of Francisco Cabral (Provincial of India) to the Jesuits in Europe, Goa, 29 November 1595, in *DI*, vol. XVII, 358–422 (Pinheiro's letter, 370–7).

104 Giambattista Peruschi, *Informatione del regno et stato del Gran Re di Mogor* . . . (Rome, 1597).

105 Hannah Chapelle Wojciehowski, *Group Identity in the Renaissance World* (Cambridge, 2011), ch. 6 ('The Animal Hospitals of Gujarat: The Collective Unbound'), 271–311.

106 '*muitas outras coisas tinha que apontar, e maiores grandezas de Amadabá onde reside o vice-rei de todo o Guzarate, mas não tenho tempo*;' RAH MS2, f. 199v.

107 '*o ano que vem, querendo Nosso Senhor, farei uma coisa nesta materia que V. R. folgue de comunicar aos amigos de fora e se recriem os carisimos de ler numa tarde na quinta*'; RAH MS2, f. 199v.

the text (or rather transformed versions of it) ended up in a noble house in Portugal, used, as rhetorically suggested in RAH MS2, as a means to entertain the guests. Between political intelligence and recreational reading, or intelligence matter disguised as leisure fare, an early modern manuscript bore a fair flexibility of use and intent. The lives of the *Treatise* show some of the many ways in which the Mughal court could be imagined between India and Iberia in the early seventeenth century. Like all other things, texts also have their social lives.[108]

108 Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988). Also see Paula Findlen, ed., *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500–1800* (London and New York, 2013).

CHAPTER 2

Reading the *Treatise*

2.1 The Jesuit Missionary as Political Observer (Actor and Thinker)

With the *Treatise* at the centre of our reflection on the Portuguese (European) knowledge of the Mughal court and the imperial authority at the time of Jahangir, we must rethink the Jesuit role in the production of that knowledge. If, for the sake of argument, we assume for the moment that Jerónimo Xavier indeed wrote the *Treatise*, then the figure of the missionary is not here the main object of interest. This Xavier is not the 'same' Xavier who penned the *Fuente de Vida*. While the latter was invested in defending the Christian religion in an Islamic but also multi-religious landscape, the former was concerned with the figure of the emperor, the imperial cult and the Mughal elite during Jahangir's reign.

This 'other' Xavier equally surfaces in many of his letters, a set of writings in which the Catholic priest often gives way to the political actor. He also reveals himself in the *Rudimenta Linguae Persicae*, an early seventeenth-century trilingual dictionary (Latin-Portuguese-Persian) prepared at the imperial court and whose authorship has been attributed to the Superior of the Mughal Jesuit mission.[1] Together with the dictionary, and a brief Persian grammar included in the beginning of the volume (ff. 1r–14r), this manuscript incorporates short thematic vocabularies in its closing pages. Among them, we find lists related to the imperial officialdom (ff. 119r–119v) as well as the names and titles of those who worked in the 'King's household' (ff. 120r–121r); the same subject matter as the *Treatise*.

Xavier was a sharp observer of the Mughal court, but he was also a protagonist, a courtier capable of conceptualizing politics and engaging in dialogue with the emperor on the proper behaviour of a sovereign. This Xavier is the one who translated Cicero's *De Officis* into Persian, a work that, significantly, he was criticized by Claudio Acquaviva in 1608 for having spent time preparing—the Superior General of the Society of Jesus did not find the task appropriate for a

1 London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Ms. 12198. Although attributed to Xavier, it is evident that a work of this nature would have to have been the fruit of a collective endeavour, reflecting input both from Jesuit missionaries and Mughal intellectuals at court. I am preparing a work on this manuscript in collaboration with Stefano Pellò.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004307537_003

Jesuit missionary.[2] More relevant than Cicero's lost translation (if Xavier ever came to complete it) is his *Adab-us-saltanat*, or *Directório de Reyes* (Duties of Kingship), which should be read in the framework of the ethical-political literature of the period. Xavier wrote it with Jahangir in mind, and we know that in 1609 he personally proferred it to the emperor.[3]

The *Adab-us-saltanat* is an exemplar of an established genre in early modern Europe, and was particularly relevant in the Spanish context, one with which the missionary was certainly acquainted.[4] In that same context, it is possible to identify another important strand that, with its origins in medieval Iberia, consists of a fertile combination of Christian and Islamic literatures of *specula principis*.[5] If Xavier was familiar with the latter, as he probably was, such knowledge must have been rather useful in fashioning his book as a piece of *Akhlaq* literature, typical of Indo-Persian political culture.[6] Was this his true intention? Only a detailed study of the text can tell.[7] At any rate, it comes as no surprise that Jahangir enthusiastically received the *Adab-us-saltanat*, a positive reaction that Xavier—as he noted in a letter to a fellow Jesuit—did not anticipate: 'I now wrote him a *Directorio de Reyes*, on proper governance. He

2 Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 36–7.

3 Two copies are in existence. The first, which belonged to Giovanni Battista Vechietti, is now in London, housed in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. The second, more polished copy is at the Casanatense Library in Rome and was sent to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus. See Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 23–4; Adel Sidarus, 'A Western Mirror of Princes for an Eastern Potentate: The *Adab Al-Saltanat* by Jerome Xavier SJ for the Mogul Emperor', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 63, nos. 1–2 (2011), 73–98. For a recent and far more enlightening contribution, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Mediterranean Exemplars: Jesuit Political Lessons for a Mughal Emperor', in Lucio Biasiori and Giuseppe Marcocci, eds., *Orientalizing Machiavelli: Western Political Thought, Islam and the East* (forthcoming).

4 For an overview, see Diego Suárez Quevedo, 'De Espejos de Príncipes y afines, 1516–1658. Arte, literatura y monarquía en el ambito hispano', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 19 (2009), 117–56.

5 Hugo O. Adeline-Bizzarri, 'Los Espejos de Príncipes en Castilla: entre Oriente y Occidente', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 79, no. 1 (2005), 7–30.

6 See a survey of this literature in Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam, c. 1200–1800* (New Delhi, 2004), 26–80.

7 'If Xavier actually had in mind the *akhlaq* tradition, why did he choose to entitle his work *Adab-us-saltanat*, the term *adab* referring to the competing (more religiously oriented) tradition of political writing in the Muslim world?' (Corinne Lefèvre, personal communication, April 2015).

liked it, surprisingly. He told me that he himself had read it and considered it to be very good'.[8]

Alongside Jerónimo Xavier, an Iranian Shʿi intellectual named Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Thani spent time in Jahangir's court. In 1612–13, Baqir penned a text belonging to the same genre and addressed to Jahangir; his work, titled *Mau'izah-i Jahangiri* (Admonition of Jahangir or Advice on [the art of] Governance), should therefore be paired with the *Adab-us-saltanat*.[9] The headings of the four chapters that constitute the *Directorio de Reyes* share several features with different sections of Baqir's work. The third part of Xavier's book, focusing on 'the doctrine and direction to be given by the King to his Grandees and Officials', parallels the attention that Baqir pays to the 'pillars of the citadel of empire'.

An in-depth study of the *Adab-us-saltanat* and an exploration of its thematic affinities with the *Mau'izah-i Jahangiri* lie beyond both the scope of the present work and the skills of its author. However, even this briefest of considerations serves to demonstrate how a text like the *Treatise* can be fully understood only if read together with many other texts composed in the same period, place and circumstances. It should be construed, then, as a piece of a larger mosaic corresponding to the diverse modalities of political and religious observation and (inter)action taking place in Jahangir's court. Such a phenomenon indeed took myriad forms. It appeared in the guise of religious dialogue, like the frequent nocturnal debates between the emperor and several interlocutors (Jesuits included) as recorded by ʿAbdus Sattar in the *Majalis-i Jahangiri* (Assemblies

8 '*Aora le hize un Directorio de Reyes de como se avia de aver en el govierno. Estrañamente le contento. El me dicho que el mismo lo leya y que estava muy bueno*'; letter to Father Juan Ximenez de Oco, Agra, 20 October 1609, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Histórico de la Compañia de Jesús de la Provincia de Toledo, E-2: 104, 12, f. 2r.

9 Sajida Sultana Alvi, trans. and ed., *Advice on the Art of Governance. Mau'izah-i Jahangiri of Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Sani. An Indo-Islamic Mirror for Princes* (Albany, 1989). Also see Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India. Rulers, Histories, 'Ulama' and Sufis* (New Delhi, 2012), ch. 10 ('The Shiʿis at Jahangir Court: Profile of Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Thani, a Scholar and Soldier'), 219–31. Two other similar books were dedicated to Jahangir: Nur al-Din al-Khaqani's *Akhlaq-i Jahangiri* (1622) and ʿAbd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi's *Risala-i nuriyya-i sultaniyya* (ca. 1605). The *Akhlaq-i Jahangiri* has been studied by Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam*, 71–74, while an analysis of the *Risala-i nuriyya-i sultaniyya* is provided by Corinne Lefèvre, 'Mughal early modernity and royal *adab*: Shaykh ʿAbd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihwali's Sufi voice of reform', in C. Mayeur-Jaouen and L. Patrizi, eds., *Adab and Modernity* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Corinne Lefèvre for calling my attention to these two works.

of Jahangir), 1611.[10] The dialogical mode also marks the brief (albeit intense) contact towards the end of his reign between Jahangir and an old Samarqandi poet named Mutribi, who happened to put those interesting conversations on paper.[11] Finally, one might also compare and contrast the descriptive and analytical *Treatise* with a fictional poem authored by Keshavdas (d. 1617) in 1612, an intriguing critical eulogy of the Mughal emperor entitled *Jahangirjascandrika* ('Moonlight of the Emperor Jahangir's Glory').[12]

The reflection on Jahangir as sovereign—his court and rulership, his religious and ethnic policies, his authority and relationship with the imperial elite—acquired different forms in his own time. It became a conversation (literal and metaphorical) that materialized in different literatures, from dialogue to advice, to poem, to lexicography, to treatise-account. It took place outside the ruler's court (presumably Keshavdas' case) but especially inside it, and expressed itself in a variety of languages: Persian, Brajbhasha, Portuguese and Latin. It was conducted by people with different backgrounds and pertaining to rather different intellectual traditions: Sattar, Baqir, Mutribi, Keshavdas, and Xavier. If we place the *Treatise* and its author onto such a broad and rich canvas, we must certainly identify both as products of Agra's cultural climate as much as of Rome's.

2.2 The Mughal *Padshah*

Mughal historiography has largely overlooked Jahangir. In point of fact, it took almost a full century for Lisa Balabanlilar's *The Emperor Jahangir* to replace Beni Prasad's 1922 biography of the emperor.[13] To understand Jahangir as Mughal *Padshah*, which is what the *Treatise* impels the modern historian to

10 Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, ch. 6 ('Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir'), 249–310; Corinne Lefèvre, 'The Majalis-i Jahangiri (1608–11): Dialogue and Asiatic Otherness at the Mughal Court', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, nos. 2–3 (2012), 255–86.

11 Richard C. Foltz, trans. and ed., *Conversations with Jahangir by 'Mutribi' al-Asamm Samarqandi* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1998).

12 Stefania Cavaliere, trans. and ed., *Moonlight of the Emperor Jahangir's Glory. Critical Edition and English Translation of the Jahamgira Jasa Candrika by Kesavadasa* (Naples, 2010). Also see Allison Busch, 'Hidden in Plain View. Brajbhasha Poets at the Mughal Court', *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2010), 267–309; Busch, 'Literary Responses to the Mughal Imperium: The Historical Poems of Keshavdas', *South Asia Research* 25, no. 1 (2005), 31–54. Busch translates the poem's title as 'Moonlight of the Fame of Jahangir'.

13 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir* (London, 1922); Lisa Balabanlilar, *The Emperor Jahangir: Power and Kingship in Mughal India* (London, 2015).

do, a natural point of departure is John Richards' 1978 article on the features of imperial authority under Akbar and his successor.[14] Since then other scholars like Ebba Koch, Muzaffar Alam, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Azfar Moin, to name only a few, have contributed to a deeper understanding of the political, ideological and spiritual textures of Jahangir's reign.[15] They have explored new sources (including visual materials), re-read old ones and somehow put forward a novel research agenda, but none of them has devoted a comprehensive study to this emperor. Besides Balabanlilar, it is the French historian Corinne Lefèvre who has to be credited for her systematic, fresh attempt to understand Jahangir as a sovereign.[16]

Broadly speaking, the field of research at stake is that of Mughal political culture in the early seventeenth century: Jahangir's public image and imperial cult, imperial discourse and its multiple manifestations, the court society, the Mughal elite and the political idioms in place. The *Treatise* crisscrosses this set of issues and thus can be considered a valuable tool for its study. However, the text has its flaws as a (European) 'source'. It pays no heed to Jahangir as naturalist,[17] while the cultural life of his court—and the emperor's central role as collector and patron—is totally ignored.[18] Likewise, this Jesuit work is surprisingly mute about Jahangir's complex religious policy,[19] and makes no

14 J. F. Richards, 'The Formulation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and Jahangir', in J. F. Richards, ed., *Kingship and Authority in South Asia* (Madison, 1978), reprinted in Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The Mughal State, 1526–1750* (Delhi, 1998), 126–67. Also see J. F. Richards, 'Norms of Comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers', in Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, 1984), 255–89.

15 See these authors' works included in the bibliography.

16 While her much-awaited monograph on Jahangir and the imperial elite has not yet come to light, see from the same author, 'Pouvoir et noblesse dans l'Empire moghol. Perspectives du règne de Jahangir (1605–1627)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 62, no. 6 (2007), 1287–312; 'Recovering a Missing Voice from Mughal India: The Imperial Discourse of Jahangir (r. 1605–1627) in his Memoirs', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 4, (2007), 452–89.

17 M. A. Alvi and A. Rahman, *Jahangir: The Naturalist* (New Delhi, 1968); Ebba Koch, 'Jahangir as Francis Bacon's Ideal of the King as Observer and Investigator of Nature', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, 19, no. 3 (2009), 293–338.

18 Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta, 1978); Corinne Lefèvre, 'Curiosité et pouvoir: les collections de l'empereur mogol Jahangir (r. 1605–1627)', *Études Épistémè* 26 (2014), online http://episteme.revues.org/341.

19 On this, see Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India*, ch. 9 ("Religion and State during the Reign of Mughal Emperor Nur al-Din Jahangir (1605–1627): Non-Juridical Perspectives'), 197–218; M. Athar Ali, *Mughal India. Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society, and Culture* (New Delhi, 2006), ch. 16 ('The Religious World of Jahangir'), 183–99.

mention at all of the fiery debates then taking place in the Mughal court.[20] The *Treatise* is largely a static text, deprived of motion and of a sense of spatial and chronological change. It also lacks flesh-and-blood characters and human voices. In short, it constitutes a kind of temporal snapshot of the Mughal court, with Jahangir always at the forefront but simultaneously serving as backdrop to the narrative.

2.2.1 *Capital and Citadel, Family and Harem*

The initial sections of the *Treatise* seem to reflect the direct observation of the author as well as his mental baggage. He often employs the word 'curiosity', a term that cropped up everywhere for much of everything in Europe at his time.[21] Some parts of the text are written as if the author was following one of the several instructions for travellers produced during the English Renaissance.[22] But this is in clear contrast with other sections of the text, particularly the latter ones, where the missionary often gives the impression of being driven by an eminently Mughal 'script'. At any rate, the *Treatise* touches upon many of the topics that came to constitute the key themes of European writing on the Mughals in the seventeenth century.

The text begins with an open view of Agra, the imperial capital at the time (§1–9).[23] It does not refer to any other Mughal capital, nor does it mention the mobility of the court, or the regular circulation of the Mughal emperor between capitals. And yet the Jesuit missionaries of Jahangir's court had direct experience of these movements. Xavier was particularly acquainted with such a practice, since he lived in Lahore during the first years of Jahangir's reign

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20 Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, ch. 6 ('Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir'), 249–310; Corrine Lefèvre, 'The Majalis-i Jahangiri (1608–1611): Dialogue and Asiatic Otherness at the Mughal Court', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, nos. 2–3 (2012), 255–86.

21 The *Treatise* mostly employs curious as synonym of noteworthy, interesting/interested, and entertaining. On the multiple meanings of curiosity in this period, see Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe. Word Histories* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 122 *et seq*.

22 Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology* 9, nos. 2–3 (1996), 139–90.

23 On Agra as Mughal capital, see I. P. Gupta, *Urban glimpses of Mughal India. Agra, the imperial capital (16th–17th centuries)* (New Delhi, 1986); Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London, 2006); id., 'Agra', in Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 15–38. There is yet no work for Agra comparable to the one by Stephen Blake on Delhi, *Shahjananabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739* (Cambridge, 1991).

and in 1608 travelled in the emperor's company to Agra.[24] What is more, the theme met a certain European impact, as the pages Thomas Roe devoted to the traveling Mughal court were still read in late seventeenth-century Italy: the Italian translation of the British ambassador's views on the 'citta portatile' of the Mughal emperors was included in Zani's *Il Genio Vagante*.[25]

The *Treatise* describes the city, unfortunately without caring to combine word and image.[26] The Jesuit writer certainly put on paper what he saw, but we should also consider that his European, Iberian background was one where description and visual representation of cities acquired a central role in the political culture of the time. The views of Spanish cities commissioned by Philip II (r. 1556–98) to Anton van den Wyngaerde are a case in point.[27] Furthermore, the Hispanic Baroque culture promoted the eulogy of cities based on ideas of (urban) nobility directly related to a city's origin and affluence.[28] Along the same lines, and as was common practice in early modern Europe, the city of Agra is presented in the text as a female entity; while noting the

24 Jerónimo Xavier to the Provincial of India, Agra, 24 September 1608, *DUP*, vol. III, 113–14. On the Mughal's court mobility, see M. Gaborieau, 'Villes de toiles et villes de pierre: les capitales mogholes étaint-elles des camps?', in Pierre Clément et al., eds., *Cités d'Asie: Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale* 35–36 (1994), 15–34; Lisa Balabanlilar, 'The Emperor Jahangir and His Pursuit of Pleasure', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Series 3, 19, no. 2 (2009), 1–14.

25 'Descrizione del campo del Gran Mogol, tratta dale memorie del Sig. Tomaso Roe . . .', in Valerio Zani, *Il Genio Vagante. Biblioteca curiosa di cento, e piu Relazioni di Viaggi stranieri de'nostri tempi*, vol. 3 (Parma, 1692), pp. 293–96. Zani mixes Jahangir and Shahjahan, saying that the latter was Akbar's son and the ruling emperor at the time of Roe's visit to the Mughal court.

26 There are no sixteenth- or seventeenth-century visual depictions of Agra. Drawn in the 1720s and inscribed in *Devanagari* script, the first known map of Agra is today housed in the Maharaja Sawai Man Sing II, Museum, Jaipur, and has been studied by Ebba Koch in the works cited above, n. 23.

27 Richard Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley, 1989); Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven, CT, 2000). For the broader European context, one should consider Georg Braun's *magnum opus* (with engravings by Franz Hogenberg), *Civitates Orbus Terrrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1572–1617).

28 Nieves Romero-Díaz, 'Revisiting the Culture of the Baroque: Nobility, City, and Post-Cervantine Novella', in Nicholas Spadaccini and Luis Martín-Estudillo, eds., *Hispanic Baroques. Reading Cultures in Context* (Nashville, TN, 2005), 162–83.

emperor's preference for this capital, the author refers to Agra as the 'princess' and 'lady' (*senhora*) of all the cities of the Mughal Empire.[29]

The *Treatise* paints a fairly predictable portrait of Agra. European (and Mughal) visions of the city, including those authored by other Jesuit missionaries like Monserrate, date back to Akbar's period, and our text does not add anything really new. To be sure, it cannot rival other contemporary views of the Mughal capital, such as Pelsaert's more informed description. Our text underscores the city's strong 'complicity' with the Yamuna River (rightly identified as a tributary of the Ganges) and consequently conveys the image of Agra as an unwalled riverfront garden city, with both rich and poor architecture. The imperial capital is presented as the economic nexus of Jahangir's domains as well as the heart of a remarkably efficient web of transportation covering Mughal India. Marvelling at the city's abundance and prosperity, the author was struck by an overpopulated, permanently congested place, but he certainly exaggerated regarding its population when saying that the city 'has more than a million people' (§4).[30]

The *Treatise* then zooms in on the Red Fort of Agra and the life going on within it. Attention is paid in the first place to the imperial family (§10–21), a section of the text that closes with a short reference to Jahangir's late father, Emperor Akbar, with no elaboration on the relationship between the two while Jahangir was Prince Salim. To a certain extent, this reference serves as a pretext for the author to praise Akbar's impressive but still unfinished tomb, built under Jahangir's patronage.[31] Apart from Akbar, the *Treatise* lists and briefly

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29 For the early modern German city imagined as female, see Ulinka Rublack, 'Wench and Maiden: Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period', *History Workshop Journal* 44 (1997), 1–21. In his *Fabrica do que falece à cidade de Lisboa* (1571), Francisco de Holanda depicts Lisbon as a (fortressed) woman, holding the ship of São Vicente and the two ravens.

30 Gupta, *Urban glimpses*, 29–31, puts forward substantially lower numbers: 200,000 people in the late sixteenth century and 700,000 inhabitants in the middle of the following century.

31 In a letter to the Jesuit Provincial of India dated 1608, Jerónimo Xavier described Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. He then considered the mausoleum to be 'one of the rare things that one could see in the Orient', and further promised his interlocutor to send him a drawing of the building once it was finished (Agra, 24 September 1608, *DUP*, vol. III, 114). The excitement with which Xavier refers to Akbar's tomb in this letter matches the tone of the mausoleum's description in the *Treatise*, and that might constitute an argument in Jerónimo's favour as putative author of this text. Jahangir himself describes his father's tomb in his memoirs (*Jahangirnama*, ed. Thackston, 98–99), while 'Abdul Latif—who accompanied a Safavid ambassador in a visit to the tomb in 1621—also wrote an enthusi-

deals with twenty-one individuals: five sons, three daughters, the emperor's mother, three sisters, four grandchildren, four nephews and one first cousin.

The Jesuit writer did not envisage the Mughal imperial family as a locus of love and affection. References to familial bonds are virtually absent from his terse presentation of each family member, the two exceptions being Jahangir's relationship with his mother ('whom he loves very much' §16), and with prince Khurram ('he is fond of him' §12). Rather, emphasis is put on the great wealth and majesty of the individuals in question, as if the imperial family was to be primarily thought of as an economic body and an opulent, but competitive cast of characters. The *Treatise* equally depicted Jahangir's family as a highly politicized space, one where struggle over succession and power frequently spilled into treason and violence. Hence, we hear of Prince Khusrau's rebellion, imprisonment and punishment in 1606–07 (§10),[32] or the poisoning of Jahangir's first cousin (§19) and the same likely fate of another cousin of the emperor, 'because this is the end that the majority of the relatives and brothers of Moorish kings eventually meet' (§20).

The author also understood the dynamics of princely households, and thus linked the different members of the family to the physical space they occupied within the imperial citadel. When referring to the Agra Fort in his description of the city, the Jesuit mentions in the first place the three palaces of the emperor's three adult sons (§3). Khusrau (b. 1587) effectively lived in the Agra Fort, but was by then just a blind prisoner under the custody of a loyal Rajput noble. Parvez (b. 1589)—still the favoured heir in 1610–11, according to the text—was fighting in the Deccan region and consequently maintained his own household there, which was seen by the Jesuit author as capable of rivalling his father's. Jahangir's two infant sons are said to live within the emperor's household, as was the usual practice until a prince become a teenager. The

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astic description of it (Z. A. Desai, 'A foreign dignitary's ceremonial visit to Akbar's tomb: A first hand account', in Iqtidar Alam Khan, ed., *Akbar and his Age* (New Delhi, 1999), 188–97). From the European end, see Hawkins, who considers the mausoleum to be 'one of the rarest monuments of the world' (in Foster, ed., *Early Travels*, 120–21), besides the later description by A. Botelho (Anthony da Costa, 'The Taj Mahal and Akbar's Tomb', *Indica* 36, no. 2 (1999), 137–41). Also see Peter Mundy's drawing of the tomb, in Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, ed. Richard Carnac Temple, vol. II: *Travels in Asia, 1628–1634* (London, 1914), between 210–11. On Akbar's tomb, and Jahangir's political programme associated to it, see Uroš Zver, 'King, Sufi and Messiah: The Tomb of Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605)', MA Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2013.

32 On this, see Munis D. Faruqui, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504–1719* (Cambridge, 2012), 222–23; John A. D'Silva, 'The Rebellion of Prince Khushru according to Jesuit sources', *Journal of Indian History* V (1927), 267–81.

six-year old Shahryar (b. 1605) 'is not yet captain due to his tender young age' (§13), notes the *Treatise*, but unfortunately it does not expand on the princely rites of passage from childhood to boyhood.[33] Khurram (b. 1592)—by then an adult prince age 18 or 19, who would become emperor Shahjahan in 1628—had already moved to a separate residence at the imperial court, comparable (again in the Jesuit's view) to Jahangir's own palace. Munis Faruqui has pointed out how 'failure to build a strong household meant certain death' for a prince, and Khurram was then starting to climb the political ladder by setting up a 'predatory household'. Perhaps the eminent rise of Khurram, sanctioned by the emperor, explains the above-mentioned Jesuit's observation on the affection Jahangir felt for the princely would-be-emperor.[34]

We now move to the royal women and their treatment in the text. Maryam-uz-Zamani, the emperor's mother, lived 'inside the *Draba* [the imperial palace compound] in a large palace worthy of her person' (§16), while the other female members of the family lived in the women's quarters, very close (*parede meyo*) to the emperor. The *Treatise* renders a gendered description of the Mughal imperial family, corresponding after all to a heavily gendered reality. In the Jesuit account, as in the Mughal court, women are discussed, yet remain invisible. Being a very senior woman in court, namely the Queen Mother, Jahangir's mother emerges in the text as a powerful figure, but her name is not mentioned. Concurrently, there is no word about any of Jahangir's wives, while his three daughters and three sisters are neither identified by their names nor merit even a brief individual note. Ruby Lal rightly underscored 'the absence of mothers' in Mughal sources and, more broadly, 'the invisibility of the Mughal women—or of most of them—in the public pronouncements and activities of the empire'.[35] The *Treatise* clearly echoes such a phenomenon. The author goes on to point out that, much to their despair, the emperor systematically refused to allow his daughters and sisters to marry any possible pretenders, be them some unidentified 'powerful kings' or the Safavid ruler himself.[36] The

33 Faruqui, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire*, 70–1, 77–84.

34 Ibid., 90, 112–66.

35 Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (Cambridge, 2005), 183.

36 To the best of my knowledge, there is no reference in the available sources to such a marriage proposal by Shah 'Abbas. The Mughal emperors engaged in competition with the Safavid rulers regarding claims of universal rule, and it is possible that the mention in the text to Jahangir's refusal is linked to that political atmosphere. See Ebba Koch, 'How the Mughal *padshahs* referenced Iran in their visual construction of universal rule', in Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodzicjczyk, eds., *Universal Empire. A Comparative approach to imperial culture and representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2012), 194–209; and

missionary attributes Jahangir's attitude to his 'his great pride and arrogance, which I presume will be the bane of this barbarian's existence' (§15). But we know for a fact that such refusal corresponded to a mature political strategy, also adopted by other Mughal emperors, meant to avoid the proliferation of princely competitors.[37]

The leitmotif of the emperor as father figure, which had developed during Akbar's reign, continued under Jahangir's rule and was thus palpable in the *Treatise*. Both this motif and the sense of continuity between the two emperors are perceptible as well in the Jesuit's depiction of Jahangir's harem. The *Treatise* emphasizes the minute 'bureaucratic' attention accorded by the emperor to the female quarters of his household, being ever-informed about disputes among his many wives, conducting inquiries, administering justice, choosing female guards and other officials. In sum, Jahangir seems keen on putting in place and overseeing an efficient system of internal government (§30). Like the court itself, the harem is a space of power, where the emperor's gestures and rites and practices are mimetized. The women of the harem vied for royal favour, very much like the *amir*s (noblemen) who jockeyed for the emperor's approbation in other areas of the imperial citadel. In both arenas, Jahangir intervened and arbitrated. The Jesuit portrayal of Jahangir strongly resembles the picture sketched of Akbar by Abu'l Fazl. In both instances, the emperor emerges as a gifted ruler—of harem, household, and empire alike.[38]

Europeans observers of Mughal India invariably wrote about the imperial harem, often blending reality and imagination in their views. A late seventeenth-century French engraving representing Aurangzeb depicts the 'serail de l'empereur' on the right side of the Mughal ruler, while the title under the image further notes: 'il a plusieurs femmes legitimes, et miles concubines, gardez dans son serail par 200 eunuques'.[39] Scholars have pondered both the historical value and the fictional quality (with their recognizable rhetorical devices) of these accounts and representations, and the *Treatise* can certainly

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Corinne Lefèvre, 'Jahangir et son frère Sah 'Abbas: compétition et circulation entre deux puissances de l'Asie musulmane de la première modernité', in D. Hermann and F. Speziale, eds., *Islam in the Indo-Iranian World during the Modern Epoch* (Berlin and Tehran, 2010), 23–56. The image that better reflects the Mughal perspective on the relationship with Safavid Iran and its ruler is the painting by Abu'l Hasan, 'Jahangir embraces Shah 'Abbas', *ca.* 1618 (Washington D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 42.16A).

37 Faruqui, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire*, 38.

38 Rosalind O'Hanlon, 'Kingdom, Household, and Body: History, Gender, and Imperial Service under Akbar', in O'Hanlon, *At the Edges of Empire. Essays in Social and Intellectual History of India* (New Delhi, 2014), 470.

39 François Jollain, 'Le Grand Mogol' (Paris, *ca.* 1686).

be subjected to similar scrutiny.[40] Remarkably, the early modern Catholic missionary almost acts here as a modern anthropologist, eschewing disapproval and cultivating a sense of 'cultural relativism'. Shock may have been mitigated by the existence in the contemporary European courts of roughly commensurable realities: consider the female households and the women's quarters within a given European court, namely the Spanish.[41]

In this regard, Xavier or Pinheiro differs from Pelsaert who, when describing the Mughal *mahals*, could not refrain from making the following closing remark: 'the ladies of our country should be able to realise from this description the good fortune of their birth, and the extent of their freedom when compared with the position of ladies like them in other lands'.[42] Differently, the author of the *Treatise* somehow provides a 'unbiased' (for a Catholic) assessment of the imperial harem, to the point of 'rationally' recounting—in fact almost approving—Jahangir's firm intervention designed to forestall 'revolts' among the women (§30). Albeit practically 'neutral' from a moral viewpoint, this portrait is yet a strongly gendered one. The Mughal emperor emerges as a womanizer, unable to resist chasing beautiful women (§29), while his tight control of the harem 'exudes' masculinity.[43]

Unlike many other European authors, the author of the *Treatise* does not elaborate (or confabulate) on how he accessed privileged information about an overtly secluded, forbidden space. Other Jesuits, like António Botelho, did disclose their sources. Writing much later, Botelho provides intriguing details

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40 On the Mughal harem, see Lal, *Domesticity and Power*; K. S. Lal, *The Mughal Harem* (New Delhi, 1988); Bonnie C. Wade, *Imaging sound. An ethnomusicological study of music, art, and culture in Mughal India* (Chicago and London, 1998), ch. III. For a comparison with the Ottoman case, which attracted massive attention in early modern Europe, see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem. Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford, 1993).

41 Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, eds., *The Politics of Female Households. Ladies-in-waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2013); Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, 'Women's Quarters in Spanish Royal Palaces', in Jean Guillaume, ed., *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organization intérieure des grands demeures à la fin du moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1994), 127–36. Also see Anne Walthall, ed., *Servants of the Dynasty. Palace Women in World History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005).

42 Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, 66. *Mahal* means place, palace, and was used to designate the women's quarters of the imperial palace. The same as *zanana*.

43 On manliness and the Mughal ruler and his elite, see O'Hanlon, 'Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India', in O'Hanlon, *At the Edges of Empire*, 376–432; Ali Anooshahr, 'The King who would be Man: the Gender Roles of the Warrior King in Early Mughal History', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18, no. 3 (2008), 327–40.

about the Mughal harem at the time of Jahangir based on oral reports given by Gujarati merchants, or rather, by their female (improvised) commercial agents, who used to do business in the regular fair called the Mina Bazar, organized for the royal women within the harem.[44] The *Treatise* fails to acknowledge the apparent political power of the imperial harem but, by identifying the wives of the emperor as 'the daughters of his chief captains and of other people, such as daughters of petty Kings' (§29), recognizes it as a favoured arena for the consolidation of political and ethnical alliances, crucial for the stability of the empire.

Inviolable, the 'women's quarters' are drawn as a luxurious city inside the Agra Fort: 500 women, served by 3,000 female maids and servants, the riches of all together amounting to more 50 million gold escudos. Endless eunuchs assured, in a highly controlled manner, the entanglement of this closed space and the outside world (§34). The Jesuit missionary grasped well the eunuchs' pivotal role in the Mughal Empire, their political and social relevance: these men 'are much esteemed in all these kingdoms, and there is no captain or any other person of stature who does not have many in his service'. Jahangir forbade child castration in 1608 and violations were supposed to be harshly punished.[45] Notwithstanding, the market for eunuchs in Mughal India continued to flourish and—the *Treatise* notes in 1610–11—the imperial court was no exception, since the emperor himself seems to have been dependent on their service and loyalty.

2.2.2 *An Emperor on Display and in Command*

The *Treatise*'s characterization of Jahangir differs radically from that of Akbar, penned some thirty years earlier by Antonio Monserrate.[46] Neither a physical description of the emperor nor aspects of his inner life are provided in our text. Azfar Moin has emphasized Jahangir's interior and exterior dimensions, or the balance between 'his public life and profane self'. Still according to Moin, the *Jahangirnama* is the place for the emperor's 'self-effacement,

44 Botelho, *Relação*, f. 36v. Botelho also says to have relied on information given by a Bengali Christian woman who 'spent some years in the royal Mal [*mahal*]'. On this, and related to women's agency in the harem, see Lisa Balabanlilar, 'The Begums at the Mystic Feast: Turco-Mongol Influences in the Mughal Harem', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 1 (February 2010), 123–47.

45 On this subject see Gavin Hambly, 'A note on the trade in eunuchs in Mughul Bengal', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, no. 1 (1974), 125–30.

46 Hosten, 'Fr. A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar'.

modesty, and "profanity" '.[47] The *Treatise*, yet, treats exclusively his outer mode, or, better, provides a European missionary's perception of his courtly life and public image. True, it depicts Jahangir as an almsgiver (§37, §40, §54), one of the kingly virtues of the Indo-Persian world.[48] What is more, the intriguing last paragraph of the *Treatise* (written by the copyist of the ANTT MS or by the author of the text?) goes on to remark on Jahangir's religious tolerance—the emperor never insisted upon general conversion to Islam, and in fact expressed disdain for those who abandoned their 'religion of birth' (§55).[49] Such an attitude is very much in line with Jahangir's parallel interest in Hinduism and his active involvement with Indian culture.[50]

Notwithstanding, as much as Jahangir's charismatic father inspired proximity, according to other Jesuit writers, the *Treatise* marks the 'world seizer' by a strong sense of aloofness. Monserrate was interested in Akbar also as a human being, and therefore decided to draw his psychological portrait. Monserrrate's Akbar was a warrior and a doer, while Xavier's or Pinheiro's Jahangir is definitely not.[51] All in all, the Jahangir of the *Treatise* is quite a negative character. Twice he is called a barbarian (§15, §28); an arrogant, cruel, vengeful, and areligious sovereign who abuses his power, does nothing but follow 'his appetites' (§28) and is predicted to eventually lose himself (§15).[52] In many ways, the *Treatise*'s harsh evaluation of Jahangir anticipates the seventeenth-century

47 Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 180. This idea however has been questioned by Ali Anooshahr in his review of Moin's book included in *The Medieval History Journal* 18, no. 1 (April 2015), 183–91.

48 Sholeh A. Quinn, 'Through the Looking Glass: Kingly Virtues in Safavid and Mughal Historiography', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 3 (2010), 150. For Jahangir as almsgiver, see Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 200.

49 Curiously enough, and according to the Portuguese chronicler Castanheda, Jahangir's grandfather (Emperor Humayun, r. 1530–40, 1555–56), was surprised to learn in Mandu in 1535 that a Portuguese interpreter named António Gonçalves had decided to convert to Islam (Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, ed. Manuel Lopes de Almeida, 2 vols. (Porto, 1979), vol. II, 726).

50 See Rajeev Kinra, 'Handling Diversity with Absolute Civility: the Global Historical Legacy of Mughal Sulh-i Kull', *Medieval History Journal*, 16, no. 2 (October 2013), 251–95; Ebba Koch, 'My Garden is Hindustan: The Mughal *Padshah*'s Realization of a Political Metaphor', in Michel Conan, ed., *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity* (Washington, DC, 2007), 159–75.

51 J. Richards has stressed Jahangir's lack of interest in leading military campaigns (Richards, 'The Formulation of Imperial Authority', 161).

52 Hawkins also noted Jahangir's cruelty: 'he delighteth to see men executed himselfe and torne in peeces with elephants' (in Foster, ed., *Early Travels*, 108).

European debates about Mughal despotism put forward by François Bernier, but also by Edward Terry (chaplain to Thomas Roe) before him.[53]

It is mainly in the section titled 'On the occasions when the King appears before his people, and the order of his household' (§22–28) that the *Treatise* seeks to capture the Mughal imperial ideology and Jahangir's own contribution to it. Strangely enough, the author says nothing about the importance of Timurid memory and cult among the Mughal emperors.[54] But he was of course well aware of Jahangir's claim to universal sovereignty and performance as sacred king. The text notes that his vassals praise him as 'lord of the world and King of Kings' (*shahanshah*) and they 'appear to worship him like God' (§22).[55] It goes on to explain how they perform the prostration, or *sijda* (§22), a description that should be read together with an earlier and somewhat veiled reference to the *darshaniyas*, or those who had the honor of seeing the emperor's face (§9).[56] One of the concrete steps Jahangir took in order to mark such claim to universality was the abolition of custom taxes in his domains. The *Treatise* here gives voice to the emperor in the first person in order to explain the rationale for such decision: 'He would say: how could he possibly deny freedom to those who seek his protection, him being Lord of the world? As soon as

53 See Sylvia Murr, 'La politique "au Mogol" selon Bernier: appareil conceptuel, rhétorique stratégique, philosophie morale', in Jacques Pouchepadass and Henri Stern, eds., *De la royauté à l'État. Anthropologie et histoire du politique dans le monde indien* (Paris, 1991), 239–311; Corinne Lefèvre, 'Entre despotisme et vertu: les représentations de l'Inde dans *A Voyage to East-India* d'Edward Terry', in Isabelle Gadoin and Marie-Élise Palmier-Chatelain, eds., *Rêver d'Orient, connaître l'Orient: Visions de l'Orient dans l'art et la littérature britanniques* (Lyon, 2008), 99–112. (Terry's *Voyage* dates from 1655, but its first and shorter version was published by Purchas in 1625).

54 Lisa Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire. Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia* (London and New York, 2012): Corinne Lefèvre, 'In the Name of the Fathers: Mughal Genealogical Strategies from Babur to Shah Jahan', in *Religions of South Asia* (special issue edited by S. Brodbeck and J. Hegarty on *Genealogy and History in South Asia*) 5, nos. 1–2 (2011), 409–42.

55 António Andrade wrote in 1623 that Jahangir 'looks like a God on (of) earth' (*parece hum Deus da terra*), which seems to correspond to the Mughal formula 'Shadow of god on Earth' (letter to the provincial of India, Agra, 14 August 1623, *DUP*, vol. III, 166). For Jahangir as sacred king, see Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 177.

56 Xavier frequently observed the 'darsanins' (*darshaniyas*) daily venerating Akbar early in the morning, as he extensively comments in a letter to Francisco Cabral, Lahore, 8 September 1596, *DI*, vol. XVIII, 545–47.

he began his reign he immediately decreed that all who came to his lands were free of any tributes and taxes' (§47).[57]

The Jesuit writer revisits a day in Jahangir's life, recalling his rigid routine and trailing the emperor as he traverses between public and private spaces ('appears', 'goes out', 'retreats', 'goes inside').[58] The author of our text was familiar with the extraordinarily regulated nature of Jahangir's time, with a fixed schedule corresponding to each and every imperial move. About a dozen key moments that took place between sunrise and late night shaped Jahangir's ritualized existence.

A typical day started with Jahangir worshipping the sun, 'something that only this King and his father did' (§28). In fact, Akbar introduced this practice in the 1580s, which invariably struck the attention of the Catholic missionaries in his court. In 1596 they mentioned supernatural phenomena occurring twice during this daily ceremony: fire came from the sky and 'melted gold ran as water', a Jesuit report noted.[59] The sun is closely associated with Mughal kingship, and Jahangir was well aware of solar symbolism and its weight in his public performance.[60] The worship of the sun was followed by the emperor's appearance at the *jharoka-i darshan* (viewing window), situated on the outer palace wall and facing a courtyard between two gardens on the riverfront. Here Jahangir could be 'viewed by all' (§23) early in the morning, basically 'to comply with the ancient requirement of Persian and Indian kingship to be accessible—at least visually—to all his subjects'.[61] It was also a sort of lifeproof

57 The Jesuit missionary António de Andrade would later comment the abolition of taxes by Jahangir along the same lines, and cared to underline the emperor's 'liberality' (letter to the provincial of India, Agra, 14 August 1623, *DUP*, vol. III, 167). Asad Beg also stressed the abolition of several taxes by Jahangir and saw it as a sign of the emperor's indifference to riches (Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, ch. 3 ('On the End of the Akbari Dispensation'), 160–61).

58 The imperial daily routine, which had room to accommodate changes from emperor to emperor, is explained *inter alia* by I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire* (rpt., New Delhi, 2004), 45 *et seq*; and Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, and its Pratical Working up to the Year 1657* (rpt., New Delhi, 1980), 68 *et seq*. For a detailed analysis of the spaces and architecture where the Mughal emperors evolved in their daily routine, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and imperial ideology, passim*.

59 'Avisos del año de 96 de la India y Japon'; Lisbon, ANTT, Casa Cadaval, bk. 26, ff. 357r–357v.

60 See Catherine B. Asher, 'A Ray from the Sun. Mughal Ideology and the Visual Construction of the Divine', in Matthew T. Kapstein, ed., *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience* (Chicago, 2004), 161–94; and Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, esp. 221–23.

61 E. Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, 133. This significant daily event was visually captured in a painting by Abu'l Hasan, *ca.* 1620, today part of Prince and Princess

test, with the emperor publicly displaying his good health and consequent ability to rule.[62]

The next public appearance was at noon (§24), but the climax of the Mughal emperor's public daily schedule was the *darbar*, or imperial audience, which took place in the *diwan-i'amm* (hall of public audience) at 4.00 pm.[63] This is the ceremony that drove Thomas Roe to trace his famed theatre metaphor: 'This sitting out hath soe much affinity with a theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors; the vulgar below gazing'.[64] In fact, the relationship between the emperor and the imperial elite was largely 'lived' in this public assembly, where positions and ranks were announced, justice was administered, gifts were exchanged, and rituals were performed. The *Treatise* underlines the ways in which the spatial organization of this crucial event mirrored the social hierarchy in the Mughal court (§25–26). The most important nobles were entitled to be physically close to the emperor, the mid-ranking and minor captains stood behind the high elite, while the servants of

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Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, Geneva, M. 141. Even if for Akbar's period, Jerónimo Xavier offers a lengthy and lively description of this ceremony in one of his letters (J. Xavier to Francisco Cabral, Lahore, 8 September 1595, *DI*, vol. XVIII, 545–47).

62 Failure to appear at the *jharoka* when seriously ill in 1605 was a sign of Akbar's demise, as noted by Xavier (Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'On the End of the Akbari Dispensation', in Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, 130) The same missionary had already dealt with a similar episode in 1596, also involving Akbar. Hit by a deer while watching a fight between animals, the emperor became unable to display himself regularly to his people. Still, Akbar made the effort 'of showing himself in one of these windows at least a quarter of an hour everyday, even though this further compromised his health' (Xavier to Francisco Cabral, Lahore, 8 September 1596, *DI*, vol. XVIII, 580). Also see Roe, *The Embassy*, ed. Foster, 86–87.

63 'In the time of Jahangir there stood as yet no permanent audience hall in the *diwan-i 'amm* courtyard and also the *diwan-i khass* was established as a ceremonial building type only with Shahjahan. Jahangir's *jharoka* projected from the eastern wall of the courtyard of *diwan-i 'amm* and in front of it a tent (*iwan az parcha*) functioned as audience hall, as Shahjahan's historians later tell us. Two concentric rectangular ranges of wooden railings (*mahjar*) enframed the space of the courtyard in front of the *jharoka* to control and regulate access, and is particularly noteworthy that Jerónimo Xavier was the first to describe these railings (§26). He still saw the inner wooden railing without its silver decoration which Jahangir added in 1613' (Ebba Koch, personal communication, April 2015). For a contemporary Mughal depiction of Jahangir's *darbar*, see fig. 4.

64 Roe, *The Embassy*, ed. Foster, 87.

FIGURE 4 *Darbar of Jahangir,* Jahangirnama, *Mughal India,* ca. *1620–25, possibly by Manohar or Abu'l Hasan.* SOURCE: BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, 14.654, FRANCIS BARTLETT DONATION OF 1912 AND PICTURE FUND.

all these people were expected to gaze at Jahangir from a distance and occupy the lesser area of the courtyard.[65]

65 In a letter to Father Juan Ximenez de Oco, Jerónimo Xavier provides a masterly description of a high-ranking noble publicly humiliated by the emperor in the *darbar*. This

Jahangir would then move to the *diwan-i khass* (hall of private audience) in order to chat 'with his closest and favourite subjects', and later to the *ghusul khana* ('bath-room') where even more restricted meetings on 'matters of war and the affairs of the Kingdom' took place (§27). The emperor's day obviously ended in his sleeping pavilion (*khwabgah*, 'house of dreams'): there, before falling asleep, Jahangir would listen to 'some good historians and tellers of tales who recount stories that happened throughout the world' (§27). This was probably a reference to Naqib Khan, a Persian literate from Qazwin who served Akbar and whom Jahangir considered to be a world-class historian.[66] Jerónimo Xavier knew Naqib Khan since Akbar's years and thought very highly of him, the more so because the Jesuit missionary, as we have noted earlier, considered the Muslim intellectual to be close to the Portuguese.[67]

The recurrent visits to the imperial harem throughout the day—four, according to the text—are duly recorded in the *Treatise* (§23).[68] The author likewise noted the importance of leisure and entertainment in Jahangir's life, which included three daily shows with animals (§23–25) as well as several other named and undisclosed 'games' and 'pastimes'. The vocabulary of recreation is quite central in this section of the text, to the point of potentially

'captain' used to stay 'in the high place where the King sits', but one day Jahangir made him stay down (*baxo*) and told him to wait until he was called to come up (*arriba*). The man stood there during many *darbars* and was eventually allowed to come up on a very rainy day, but together with several minor captains ('*que no eran de los Mayores*') below his rank (Agra, 20 October 1609, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Histórico de la Compañia de Jesús de la Provincia de Toledo, E-2: 104, 12, f. 1v).

66 'Today there is no historian like him in all the world. He has the entire history of the world from creation till today on the tip of his tongue. Such a memory only God can give to a person'; *The Jahangirnama*, ed. Thackston, 34.

67 'This king has a very learned man in his service whose job consists of reading him stories, both at night when he wants to sleep and during the day when he wishes to rest. This learned man held this same position with this king's father. He was highly regarded then, for his erudition [*por suas letras*], for being *said* [sayyid], i.e., a descendent of Muhammad, and for knowing all types of stories' (Jerónimo Xavier to the provincial of India, Lahore, 24 September 1608, *DUP*, vol. III, 118, 123; the same to the same, Lahore, 25 September 1606, *ibid*., 82). On Naqib Khan, see above, 16 n. 36.

68 This daily relationship was widely represented in visual form. The painting by Govardhan *ca*. 1620, which depicts the emperor close to his bed being waited by Nur Jahan and other women (page from the Minto Album, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 7A. 4), is a good case in point. Also see an earlier image (*ca*. 1605–10) showing Jahangir and his wifes in a garden pavilion (Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum).

weakening in the reader's mind the notion of Jahangir as a 'proper' ruler.[69] In fact, work and pleasure are often merged in Jahangir's daily schedule for the Jesuit writer, who seldom describes the emperor actually working. The *Treatise*'s portrayal of Jahangir diverges, then, from that of some 'workaholic' rulers of early modern times, be they the Spanish king Philip II his father's contemporary, or the Chinese emperor Kangxi (r. 1662–1772), his grandson's contemporary.[70]

Among Jahangir's indispensable tasks as emperor (one that did not involve paperwork, though), was to regulate his relationship with the Mughal elite, and particularly with the imperial disciples. Interestingly, the *Treatise* never employs the term *khanazad* ('son of the house')—or *murid* (disciple) for that matter—in order to explain what binds a noble to the emperor, or to elucidate the threads of subordination and authority connecting the disciple to his master, the slave to his lord. This personal link of devotion, which confered to the imperial service an eminently familial and hereditary nature, was instituted by Akbar (under Abu'l Fazl's inspiration) and later adopted by Jahangir.[71] The Jesuit writer understood what was at stake, for he highlights the importance of presenting gifts to the emperor. He particularly mentions the act of giving *nazr*, a practice that dated back to Akbar's reign. This entailed those favoured nobles who held higher *mansabs* giving the emperor gold coins, or *muhr*s (§9).[72] The passage of dinars from the hands of a noble to the hands of the emperor—the author of the *Treatise* must have witnessed it time and again—was a gesture laden with symbolic meaning that reaffirmed one's loyalty to Jahangir.

The dark side of imperial discipleship could surface, however, when a Mughal 'noble-devotee' died, with a perfect spiritual relationship quickly turning, according to the *Treatise*, into a material nightmare. The text presents Jahangir as a ruler preying rapaciously on the property of those who served

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69 For an interpretation of Jahangir's attachment to spectacles with animals, see Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 202–03. Regarding the general role of recreation in the Mughal court, see Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals. History, Art and Culture* (London, 2004), 199 *et seq*.

70 See Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King. A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven, 2014); Silas Hsiu-Liang Wu, 'Emperors at Work. The daily schedules of the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng Emperors 1661–1735', *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* n.s. VIII, nos. 1–2 (August 1970), 218–27.

71 J. F. Richards, 'Norms of comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers', in Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority. The Place of 'Adab' in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, 1984), 255–89.

72 Cf. D. Streusand, *The Formation of the Mughal Empire*, 138 *et seq*. These were coins of almost pure gold, seldom in circulation and therefore mainly meant for hoarding.

him faithfully throughout their lives, unmoved by the misery that he knowingly inflicted on their widows and orphans. This image largely matches the seventeenth-century Western perception of the Mughal nobility's system of inheritance: over fifty years later François Bernier would draw up a damning indictment of the Mughal political system, based precisely on the appropriation of the noble's assets by the ruler and the absence of private property in Mughal India. Bernier's views were widely diffused by other European authors, thus shaping an enduring European discourse on the Mughal Empire and its political nature. As we know today, their concern was not so much the Mughal Empire itself, but rather Europe's absolute monarchies and their excesses. More than Shahjahan's or Aurangzeb's wrongdoings, the tyrannical tendencies shown by Louis XIV and Colbert were at stake.[73] Writing *ca.* 1670, but referring to his Mughal courtly experience during Shahjahan's reign, the Jesuit António Botelho dismantled Bernier's argument beforehand:

> The widespread idea among us that the King seizes all the property of those who die is an abuse and *libere dictum*. When some *Umbrao* in his service dies—one who has received *Jaguires* and fortresses as rewards—the King seizes everything, even if they had children and wives. It is then checked whether the deceased were in debt to the royal treasury, and later, at his discretion, the King gives back to, and takes care of his children and wives. The King seizes all the property only of those who die without heirs, be them moors or gentiles; that happens often with the Gujarati gentiles who are very rich merchants.[74]

As the author of the *Treatise* did in 1610–11, Bernier clearly exaggerated in 1670–71, and both misunderstood the true nature of the system. In fact, the emperor kept a very small percentage of the property of the deceased nobles. Furthermore, this only applied to the highest category of *mansabdars* (5,000 *zat*),[75] precisely those who 'have so many lands and revenues like small kings, and such strong households like those kings' (§48). At any rate, this practice presumably corresponded to the principle that every nobleman was subordinate

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73 Murr, 'La politique "au Mogol" selon Bernier'; Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600–1800* (Oxford, 1995), 28–34; Peter Burke, 'The Philosopher as Traveller: Bernier's Orient', in J. Elsner and J. P. Rubiés, eds., *Voyages and Visions. Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999), 124–37.

74 Botelho, *Relação*, f. 30v. *Jaguires* are the *jagirdars*, those who possessed a *jagir* (rent-free grant). As to *umbrao* see below, n. 90.

75 The *zat* was the personal numerical rank held by a *mansabdar*.

to the emperor. Yet, even in these cases the property was not completely confiscated. In most instances, the emperor only appropriated the *mutaliba*, or the sum that the imperial treasury had loaned to the deceased. In sum, it is questionable as to whether this practice had any great impact on the finances of the Mughal nobility.[76]

Be that as it may, the *Treatise* is sensitive to the extremely volatile political fortunes of member of the imperial elite: 'favouritism is ephemeral, and a few rumours and grumbles compel the King to deprive them of their positions and captaincies. And thus they fall from his grace, and he destroys them' (§41). Such sentiment is very much in line with that of Jerónimo Xavier's, included as exordium to the present work or, more specifically, with the many individual cases of disgraced Mughal nobles upon whom Xavier elaborates in his correspondence.[77]

2.3 Jahangir by the Numbers

2.3.1 *Figures, Lists, Archives*

At this point, we shall consider the last two-thirds of the *Treatise*, where numbers decisively overtake the prose and even come to mould it. Here, 'to have' and 'to spend' are the main preoccupations, and a notable figure is associated with each and every instance of these verbs. Irrespective of any correspondence to reality, the overwhelming sense of accounting is meant to 'take the measure' of Jahangir's court and household, and, through its systematic quantification, to reflect the *Mogor*'s unrivalled greatness.

This effort can certainly be compared to the ordinary practice of any colonial administrator of the time, when confronted with the need to classify and construct the world to the advantage of a given imperial order. Despite the divide between the *Indias occidentales* and Mughal India, as well as between

76 On this, see M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (Bombay, 1970), 63–68; and Firdos Anwar, *Nobility under the Mughals* (*1628–1658*) (New Delhi, 2001), 45–48. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, 28, has highlighted unconsidered aspects of the property rights of the Muslim *amir*s and *mansabdar*s and the ways in which they differed from those of Hindu rajas integrated in the Mughal system. The same author has shown that François Bernier was after all right as far as palaces and gardens were concerned. See Ebba Koch, 'Palaces, Gardens and the Property Rights under Shahjahan', in Ali Anooshahr and Ebba Koch, eds., *The Mughal Empire under Shah Jahan* (forthcoming).

77 See Xavier's telling descriptions of the demise of prominent Mughal nobles like Sharif Khan, Hakim 'Ali Gilani, and Mirza 'Aziz Koka in his letter to the Jesuit Provincial of India, Lahore, 4 August 1607, *DUP*, vol. III, respectively 96–7, 100–1 and 102–3.

a missionary (albeit presumably writing for the political power) and a secretary, the author of the *Treatise* is not unlike, in this respect, someone like Juan Díez de la Calle (1599–1662) and many Spanish officials bearing an identical profile. Juan Díez and others spent a good part of their careers enumerating and describing provinces, cities, dioceses, churches and convents, councils and officials, both in Spain and in New Spain.[78] List-making played an absolutely central role in these people's work, and the same holds true for Xavier, or Pinheiro, when one of them (or both) penned the *Treatise*. At any rate, we are dealing here with a remarkable manifestation of a phenomenon strongly embedded in (at least) the Western culture.[79]

The *Treatise*, however, can take us far from the early modern European list and lead us in a totally different direction. To be sure, the various chapters of this Jesuit text (not exclusively its last two-thirds) touch upon several topics addressed in Abu'l Fazl's *A'in-i Akbari* (*ca*. 1595). Among myriad issues, the household, the treasuries, the harem, the animals and the stables, the *mansabdar*s and the grandees of the empire, the imperial finances and administration, as well as the characteristics and rents of all the provinces ('Account of the Twelve Subahs'), are minutely described in the first three books of this work.[80] We cannot infer from this, however, that the author of the *Treatise* necessarily consulted the *A'in-i Akbari*. The first extensive and documented European contact with this text dates from the late eighteenth century, when Francis Gladwin (d. 1812) rendered it into English. It was a hard and patchwork-like endeavour, as one can conclude from the translator's closing words to the second volume of Abu'l Fazl's work: 'the accounts of the Zemeendary troops cost me a great deal of trouble collecting; and I found such difficulty in ascertaining the dates, and in reconciling the contradictions in the several histories of the Princes of Hindostan, that I had nearly resolved to relinquish the task altogether'. As an appendix to volume II of the *A'in-i Akbari*, Gladwin decided to publish the '*Tukseem Jumma*, or *Rent Roll*' of the Mughal Empire, a document consisting of an endless 'forest' of numbers corresponding to the 'assessment

78 See Guillaume Gaudin, *Penser et gouverner le Nouveau Monde au XVII^e siècle. L'empire de papier de Juan Díez de la Calle commis du Conseil des Indes* (Paris, 2013).

79 On this, see Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge, 1977), ch. 5 ('What's in a list?'), 74–111; Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists, from Homer to Joyce* (London, 2009). For early modern scientific lists, see James Delbourgo, 'Listing people', *Isis* 103, no. 4 (December 2012), 735–42.

80 The *A'in-i Akbari* corresponds to the third volume of the *Akbar Nama*. Abu'l Fazl, *The A'in-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, ed. D. C. Phillot and Jadunath Sarkar, 3 vols. in 2 (rpt., New Delhi, 2001).

of the lands of Hindostan'. It was another Persian scholar, namely his Swiss friend Colonel Polier (d. 1795), who passed it on to him: 'this Gentleman was at pains to collate, with several manuscripts, the copy from which this part of the translation is made', Gladwin remarked.[81]

Gladwin's interjections show that his and Polier's analysis of endless numbers related to the Mughal Empire, and ultimate 'reconstruction' of the *A'in-i Akbari*, implied the collation, comparison and 'dissection' of disparate Indian manuscripts. The variety of indigenous texts and the 'technical' expertise to which both scholars could resort at the end of the eighteenth century is certainly not comparable to Xavier's or Pinheiro's in the early 1610s. However, the type of information that the *Treatise* offers did circulate through the channels of the Mughal bureaucracy and was certainly accessible in Jahangir's court, either in written form or through oral reports provided by courtiers-informants. As against other contemporary European writers, the Jesuit missionary does not pretend to have had exceptional access to secret material in order to prepare his work. As we have seen in the first part of this introduction, the author is pratically absent from the *Treatise* and, consequently, he does not feel the need to style himself as an artful 'discoverer' of hard-to-find indigenous texts. But it is clear that he saw some relevant, unidentified 'fragments' of Mughal sources.

The later sections of the *Treatise* focus on: i) the expenditure of Jahangir's household (§35–37), including expenses with a variety of animals (§38–40); ii) the imperial treasuries and the empire's revenues (§41–47); iii) a brief list of the Mughal provinces (§51–52); iv) the *mansabdari* system and the *mansabdar*'s salary scales (§48–50, ff. 12r–19r).[82] When collecting and organizing the data, the Jesuit missionary unconsciously echoed the efficiency of the imperial administration. This was built on control and inspection, and

81 *Ayeen Akbery: Or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar*, trans. Francis Gladwin, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1783–86), vol. II, respectively 214, iii. On Polier, see Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, *An European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I'jaz-i Arsalani* (*Persian Letters, 1773–1779*) *by Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (New Delhi, 2001); and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Career of Colonel Polier and Late Eighteenth-Century Orientalism', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, 10, no. 1 (April 2000), 43–60.

82 The ANTT MS makes all the computations in gold escudos of 12 *reales*, and not of 8 *reales* (1 gold escudo = 12 reales of silver). The gold-silver ratio adopted by its author is 1 (escudo): 2 (rupees), which conforms to the ratio proposed by all the European writers dealing with Mughal finances at the time (crowns, florins). The BNE MS varies between escudos and ducats, while the RAH MS1 uses ducats and the RAH MS2 cruzados. At any rate, we refer to gold coins worth 360 reis.

thus based itself on the primacy of the record and the archive.[83] Accounting and accountability were not an exclusive preoccupation of the early modern European state,[84] as the Mughals and other non-Western polities equally paid great attention to it. The painful exercise of copying and presenting in the *Treatise* the *mansab* salary scales resonates, in Portuguese language, such Mughal concern with imperial financial management.

Despite obvious differences in form and content, most of the information contained in the *Treatise* has a clear correspondence with the European politico-social vocabulary of the time. Household, courtiers, servants, expenditures, and court ceremonials, these are all elements that any European reader of the Jesuit text could easily 'translate', as plenty of direct equivalents existed in the Western courtly world.[85] Some European writers of the time, like John Selden in his *Titles of Honor* (1614), have even envisaged a sort of global or comparative history of this field, adding examples from Africa and Asia to a European framework.[86] 'Briefed' by Roe, Selden elucidates that 'from that Title of *Shah*, the Eastern name *Padischah* is made, [...] that is the *Greatest King* or *Emperor*, which name the great *Mogor* uses in his stile'.[87] But other topics, such as the specific nature of the imperial nobility's revenues, or the horse as a tool to gauge the Mughal Empire's economic affluence and military capacity, must have surprised those who learned about them in Lisbon or Madrid. Besides, there is an inevitable exotic dimension embedded in this type of information that several European authors of the time were prone to explore.

A comparison between the *Treatise* and another seventeenth-century (albeit later) Portuguese text on the Mughal Empire can be illuminating in this regard. In his *Itinerario* (1649), the Portuguese Augustinian friar Sebastião Manrique (d. 1669) claims to have consulted in Rajmahal (West Bengal) 'the book which contained entries of the values and amounts of all the items of income, not only of that Principality [Bengal], but of all the the kingdoms and lands of the Emperor, as also the number of all the military horse [*sic*] which were

83 Hare Krishna Mishra, *Bureaucracy under the Mughals, 1556 AD to 1707 AD* (New Delhi, 1989).

84 Jacob Soll, *The Reckoning: Financial Accountability and the Making and Breaking of Nations* (New York, 2014).

85 See Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2003). For a global comparison of royal courts across time and space, see Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, eds., *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective* (Leiden and Boston, 2011).

86 John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (5th ed., London, 1672, 1st ed. 1614), part I, ch. VI, 63–78, ch. VII, 105–06.

87 Selden, *Titles of Honor*, 77.

maintained out of these revenues'. Access to this book, according to this missionary, was given in a manner that would have been possible for the author of the *Treatise* in 1610–11. Manrique met the 'chief administrator of the Royal Estates', a certain Mirza Kamran, who agreed to show him the book, provided 'that the book should not leave his house, and that I must go there to inspect it'. The missionary goes on to tell of his experience:

> I thanked him most profusely for the favour he was doing me, and so next day, early in the morning, I went off to find him at his house. [...] He then made over the book, which was folio size and more than two fingers thick. It was written in the Industane character, of which I had some knowledge, but so little that I was obliged to spell it out and also ask many questions. In this way, although with great labour, I copied out faithfully the information given in this and the next chapter.[88]

While this story is alluring, the truth is that Manrique often imagines his privileged access to Mughal sources. To compose chapter LXXV of the *Itinerario*, the missionary notes, 'I rely above all upon the books in the Royal Nacassares, which are the homes in which are deposited the income and annual tributes of that Ruler'. For a full two chapters, Manrique makes pointed reference to the reliable information he supposedly gathered from such books, in striking contrast—he emphasizes—to the 'imaginary things' that one could then read (in Europe) about the Mughal Empire.[89] Imaginary, however, are the books the Augustinian friar claims to have consulted, since no one really knows what the 'Nacassares' were. Ironically, he relies heavily (without providing attribution) on what other European authors wrote concerning Mughal India, and especially on Joannes de Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (1631).

Hence the context of Manrique's list of *mansabdars*, which he dates from 1640. While the list is not a carbon copy of an analogous one-page estimate provided almost ten years earlier by De Laet, it is still rather similar in terms of structure and content. De Laet, from his side, admittedly draws on Hawkins and Roe concerning other data, but in order to organize the 'list of all the Ommerauwi and Mancebdari who after the death of Achabar became servants of King Selim Ziahaengier' he supposedly resorted to 'a fragment of an Indian

88 *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629–1643: A Translation of the Itinerario de las Missiones Orientales*, eds. C. Eckford Luard and H. Hosten, 2 vols. (London, 1927), vol. II, ch. LXXV, 274–5. Manrique's *Itinerario* was first published in Spanish (Rome, 1649).

89 Ibid., 272, 281, 292, 294.

History'.[90] We cannot know whether the 1631 list really derives from a vernacular history but, to be sure, De Laet's indigenous sources are frequently Dutch texts in disguise. In the closing pages of Chapter IX, Part I of *De Imperio*, he digresses on 'The Kings of India' based on what he gathered 'from Indian Writers', even if promptly admitting that he only had second-hand access to those (anonymous, fragmented) testimonies through 'my Dutch sources'. Similarly, in the preface to Part II of his work, the Flemish geographer directly bids the 'kind reader' to note that the following fragment 'we have freely translated it from the Dutch, believing it to be an extract from a genuine chronicle of the Mogol empire, and have everywhere maintained historical truth'.[91] However, the text does not draw from a 'genuine chronicle of the Mogol empire', but rather from the account of another Dutchman, namely Francisco Pelsaert, even if Pelsaert may have had access to indigenous materials when writing both the *remonstrantie* and the 'chronicle'.[92] De Laet, like Manrique or Xavier-Pinheiro, wrote at a time when indigenous records still represented 'good currency' for Europeans; from Mexico City to Istanbul to Ethiopia to Agra, European writers often privileged them over European sources or, as the Mughal case specifically shows, tended to fictionalize access to 'genuinely' native texts.[93]

An early eighteenth-century English account of the Mughal Empire dedicates four chapters to the topic 'Of Mansebs and Mansebdars' (ff. 96r–111v), with Chapter 2 (ff. 100r–103r) corresponding to 'An account of the Annuall Pension of all Mansebdars from haft hazaree, or seven thousand, to ajek

90 Joannes de Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India vera, Commentarius ex variis auctoribus* [1631], English translation *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, trans. J. S. Hoyland, annot. S. N. Banerjee (rpt., New Delhi, 1974), 113–4. 'Ommerauwi' is a corruption of *Umara*, or nobles, the plural form of *amir*.

91 Ibid., 125–7, 131.

92 *Jahangir's India*, xv; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India*, eds. Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma (Calcutta, 1957). Jos Gommans believes that 'the more historical information from the period before his [Pelsaert's] Indian tenure was really retrieved from Mughal historians, either orally or on the basis of (daily) chronicles' (personal communication, April 2015).

93 For the Mexican case, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World. Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, 2011), 60–129. Elaborating on a how a Catholic priest named Belchior da Silva had access in the late 1590s to 'some old books' containing 'the catalogue of all the kings that ruled Ethiopia' that were housed in one of the churches of the country, the Portuguese chronicler Diogo do Couto states that 'the local chroniclers always have more authority concerning the fundamentals of their kingdoms and the origin of their kings than the foreign ones' (*Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimento dos Mares, e Conquistas das Terras do Oriente* (rpt., Lisbon, 1974), decade VII, bk. 1, ch. 8).

Beetee, or twenty taken out of the Kings Dafters or books of accounts'.[94] Has this anonymous author really consulted the 'Kings Dafters'? The same question can be posed about Paul Rycaut's claim some thirty years earlier, in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1670): 'The computations I have made of the value of the Offices, of the strength and number of their soldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Registers and Records'.[95] Did Rycaut consult a document similar to that prepared by a certain Abdüsselam Efendi, an Egyptian mathematician, astrologer, and imperial Chief Treasurer of the Ottoman state who, in the early sixteenth century, decided to compile statistics for all personnel on the palace payroll for the previous four decades or so?[96]

Be that as it may, it is rather significant that Sebastião Manrique, just like Joannes de Laet before him, felt the need to add rigour to his estimate by linking it with a 'true' document from the Mughal chancellery, which he presumably had consulted. Manrique himself implicitly admits that, by resorting to that 'proof', he would avoid demonstrations of incredulity among his European readers, like the ones that had taken place in Rome some time before: in the *Breve Relatione de i regni di Pegu, e degli imperj del Calaminan, Siamom, e gran Mogor* (Rome, 1648), the missionary wrote that Shahjahan 'placed an army of 400,000 horses in the field' to conquer the Deccan, but no one could believe it.[97] This desire, if not absolute need, to substantiate the authenticity of one's text by resorting to Mughal documents is also evident in the imprecise description of Niccolò Manuzzi's *Storia do Mogor*[98] included in the 1737–78 edition of León Pinelo's *Epítome* (1629). González de Barcia, responsible for this edition,

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94 Anonymous, 'Description of Mogul Empire', 1704, London, The British Library, Additional Manuscripts, no. 61358, ff. 96r–111v.

95 Quoted and discussed by John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities. Information Flows in Istanbul, London and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford, 2013), 53–64. Ghobrial takes for granted that Rycaut and other Europeans his contemporaries accessed Ottoman documents.

96 Cornell H. Fleischer, 'Math to Manage the Empire: A Close Reading of an Ottoman Chancery Document of 1525', unpublished paper presented to *The 2008 Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America* (Chicago, 2008).

97 *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, vol. II, ch. LXXV, 273. Modern Portuguese translation of this book as *Breve relação dos reinos de Pegu, Arracão, Brama, e dos impérios Calaminhã, Siammon e Grão Mogol*, ed. Maria Ana Marques Guedes, trans. Raffaella d'Intino (Lisbon, 1997). On the issue of verosimility among the British authors who wrote on Mughal India at the time of the *Treatise*, see Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, 15–16. Also see above, 37, n. 93.

98 *Mogul India, 1653–1708, or Storia do Mogor*, 4 vols., trans. William Irvine (rpt., New Delhi, 1990). On Manuzzi and his work, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be Alien.*

states that Manuzzi 'asked the Indians to translate the Mughal chronicle from Persian, the originals of which were kept in the harem'.[99] What is suggested here is a rather interesting association between the imperial archive and the imperial harem, both being inacessible and forbidden spaces—therefore most sought after by the Europeans, and likely melded in their imagination.

2.3.2 *Household Expenses and Imperial Revenues*

We will return in the final pages of this introduction to the *Treatise*'s fascinating discussion of the *mansabar*'s salary scales. For now, and also from the expenditure's side, it should be noted that the text accords great relevance to the costs of the imperial household—an overwhelming structure, or 'machine' (*máquina*) involving 40,000 men—even if it fails to mention important sections like the kitchen or the library. In sum, the fragmentary list of domestic and military expenses included in the *Treatise* represents a bit more than 32 million rupees (roughly 16 million escudos), but it is known that the real number should not have exceeded 14 million rupees.[100]

Combining military and symbolic needs, the imperial stables kept 12,000 horses and 5,000 elephants, the *Treatise* notes. It does not detail the different categories of ones and the others, but the numbers put forward match those provided by other primary source material.[101] We know that Mughal mobility depended on the existence of thousands of animals accustomed to carry heavy loads and prepared to overcome long distances. The author mentions 7,000 camels,[102] an equal number of working oxen and towing cattle and 800 working

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Travails & Encounters in the Early Modern World (Waltham, MA, 2011), ch. 3 ('Unmasking the Mughals') 133–72.

99 '*traduzir à los Indios, de Persiano, la chronica del Mogol, de los originales que estaban en el serrallo*'; León Pinelo, *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental*, ed. A. González de Barcia, vol. I (1737), 370.

100 The numbers given by the *Treatise* are contrasted in this section of the introduction with the estimates put forward by Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c. 1595. A Statistical Study* (New Delhi, 1987).

101 See Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, 234–8, who follows the information provided by Abu'l Fazl, Firishta, Hawkins and Pelsaert; Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 111–26.

102 The text does not mention the importance of she-camels, often employed to communicate rapidly across Mughal India or in speedy military operations. António de Andrade stressed their use in 1623, when reporting on Khurram's rebellion against Jahangir: the Armenian Mirza Zulqarnain, a close collaborator of the Jesuit missionaries, informed the emperor about the prince's movements 'by way of courriers mounted on she-camels that are able to walk sixty to seventy leagues in one day and one night' (António de Andrade

female mules and male mules.[103] These and other animals gave logistical support to the imperial army as well as literally transported the Mughal court from one imperial city to the next. Where military expenses are concerned, the *Treatise* neglects a set of important items, particularly the costs incurred with the arsenal and the *ahadis*.[104]

As noted above, the *Treatise* is a 'motionless' text and consequently does not expand on the several facets (political, social, symbolic) of imperial hunting. However, the central place occupied by hunting in the Mughal court is reflected in the expenses listed with animals like 200 cheetahs, 300 dogs and 1,100 hawks and falcons. To these one should add domestic and court animals, many of them used in animal fights ('1,500 gazelles for jousting', 100 lions, besides horses and elephants) and associated with the daily ritual appearances of the emperor. Other kinds of animals, such as cats, tamed doves and 'nightingales and other songbirds of various breeds', were long linked to the Mughal household and could not fail to occupy a central role in the life of a naturalist ruler like Jahangir.[105]

From the imperial household the *Treatise* moves to the imperial treasury, the discussion of which can be contrasted with information from other contemporary European descriptions.[106] The emphasis is put on the hoarding strategy adopted by all the Mughal emperors since Babur.[107] The Jesuit goes on to identify the place where the treasure was kept in the Red Fort, Agra—'several very large buildings in the midst of his palace, wherein there is a tower, with its roof overlaid with fine gold' (§43)—and notes that it amounted to 500 million escudos (§44). The description of the premises is to the point,[108] but the

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to the Provincial of India, Agra, 14 August 1623, in *DUP*, vol. III, 177); Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 126–8.

103 The *Treatise*'s estimate does not differ much from those already known. See Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, 238–42; Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 128–9.

104 The *ahadi*s were cavalrymen directly dependent on the Mughal emperor, and thus not subjected to the normal military hierarchy of the empire.

105 On the role of animals in the Mughal court, see Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals*, 213–23.

106 See Hawkins, in Foster, ed., *Early Travels*, 101–03, whose estimate was later on recovered by De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, 107–12.

107 The Mughal emperors' 'hunger' for the treasures of the kingdoms successively submitted to imperial authority is a topic the Portuguese have underscored since Humayun's period. See Jorge Flores, *Nas margens do Hindustão*, 66–8.

108 'We know from Shahjahani sources that the Mughal treasury was kept in the vaults on the ground floor of the East wing of the so called *Machchhi Bhawan* and to all likelyhood it was there already in Akbar's and Jahangir's time. On the upper floor of the wing stand the

number provided is far from realistic: between gold, silver, and unminted metal, the imperial 'reserves' corresponded ten years earlier to something between 139 and 166 million rupees, while precious stones and jewels amounted to an equivalent sum. In the highest possible estimation, we have 332 million rupees, or 166 million escudos, and this in no way corresponds to the *Treatise*'s computations. Imagination—Jesuit and European imagination—may explain such a high number, and the same applies to the inclusion in the *Treatise* of an interesting but false anecdote. The text notes that Akbar has left unfinished a building covered of gold and emeralds (and emeralds did not exist 'in his lands', the author rightly stresses),[109] but his successor opted for simply destroying it. 'There was enough green in the fields', Jahangir may have said on the occasion to justify his eccentric decision,[110] and so there was no need to keep the 'emerald house' intact. Jahangir's gesture is thus one of pure waste, a bitter manifestation of the 'greatnesses of these Kings' (§46).

Regarding the total annual revenue of the Mughal state (*jama'*) the *Treatise* calculates it in 50 million escudos (§45). This is rather close to the estimate suggested by modern historians of the Mughal Empire, based on the available numbers for *ca*. 1595: 99 million rupees, or 49,5 million escudos. The Jesuit author is also correct when noting that 'whatever is left over, he [Jahangir] hoards' (§45), even if he does not care to quantify this annual *superavit*. In the last decade of Akbar's reign it corresponded to *ca*. five million rupees.[111]

2.3.3 *Mansabdars and Mansabs*

The *Treatise's* last section is comprised of a long list of imperial *mansabdars*, a topic that constitutes one of the preferred themes among the European

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Diwan-i Khass and the *Hammam*, and on the terrace space between them are two thrones, the black one of Jahangir and the white marble throne of Shah Jahan. The tower called Shah Burj which indeed has a gilded copper roof is near bye' (Ebba Koch, personal communication, January 2015). Also see Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development* (*1526–1858*) (reed., New Delhi, 2014), 109.

109 Kris Lane, *Colour of Paradise. The Emerald in the Age of Gunpowder Empires* (New Haven, 2010); Ebba Koch, 'The Mughals and their love of precious stones' (unpublished paper, 2011).

110 I resort here again to Ebba Koch's expertise (personal communication, January 2015): 'the report about the emerald house of Akbar is entirely fictional. It is not mentioned in any sources I know and there is no place in the Agra fort which possibly tally with the description'.

111 On this, see Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, 193 *et seq*., which substancially corrects the older work by Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals* (rpt., New Delhi, 1972).

observers of the Mughal Empire. Indeed, the total number of nobles, their military power and revenues corresponds to a Western *topos* of Mughal India. Many contemporary Europeans tried to make sense of the complex *mansabdari* system and, with different agendas, both British Raj scholars[112] and successive generations of post-1947 Indian historians[113] were to follow them in that effort through the analysis of Mughal sources. Created by Akbar in the 1570s, the system was adjusted in the closing years of the sixteenth century and had somehow stabilized since then. In short, it gave the emperor effective control over the Mughal army, which was a rather heterogeneous body of people pertaining to extremely varied ethnic groups, religions and social strata. Military contingents, administrative positions and political management depended in Mughal India on thousands of *mansabdar*s who received a salary and whose qualities and performance were assessed by the emperor. Here is an informed summary by Jos Gommans of how the system was put in place and worked in practice:

> From its very beginning, the mansabdari system took the form of a decimal ranking system [...]. Although mansab created a hierarchy of amirs that was linked to the emperor at its apex, it was certainly not a hierarchy of military command. [...] Mansab indicated, however, the degree to which its holder stood in the emperor's favour. As such, mansab was an accurately calibrated kind of honour, to be conveniently raised and reduced by the emperor pending the almost permanent assessment of the mansabdar's performance. [...] But, as the degree of the mansabdar's honour could vary with his real military stature, one single rank could hardly meet both criteria at the same time. [...] Therefore, after two decades of working with single ranks, Akbar introduced the system of double ranking in which mansabdars were granted a personal rank (*zat*) and a military one (*sawar*). Zat indicated the holder's position in the hierarchy of imperial honour. It was higher than, or equal to, second,

112 The state of the art in the 1930s is reflected in W. H. Moreland's seminal article 'Rank (*mansab*) in the Mogul State Service', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1936), 641–65, reprinted in Alam and Subrahmanyam, eds., *The Mughal State*, 213–33.

113 See *inter alia* Irfan Habib, 'Mansab System, 1595–1637', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 29 (1967), 221–42; id., '*Mansab* salary scales under Jahangir and Shahjahan', *Islamic Culture*, CIX, no. 3 (July 1985), 203–28; Shireen Moosvi, 'Evolution of *Mansab* system under Akbar until 1596–7', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, 2 (1981), 175–83; M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire. Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility* (*1574–1658*) (New Delhi, 1985); R. Ahmad Alavi, *Studies in the History of Medieval Deccan* (New Delhi, 1977), ch. 3 ('New light on Mughal cavalry'), 20 *et seq*.

> sawar rank, which represented the number of mounted retainers the mansabdar was supposed to maintain. The salary of the mansabdar was calculated on the basis of both ranks, each requiring different tables of conversion.[114]

The Englishman William Hawkins seems to have been the first European to try to quantify and rank the most prominent Mughal nobles. It is not however plausible that Hawkins had access to reliable information on the subject, for he provides a list (full of imprecisions) of 41 *mansabdar*s with *zat* ranks between 3,000 and 5,000. Before presenting this list, he mentions the *mansab*s of Sultans Parvez and Khurram and, an obvious mistake, the emperor's and his mother's, who did not hold *mansab*s.[115] Unlike Hawkins, the author of the *Treatise* does not provide the names of Jahangir's 'captains'. Besides mentioning Sultan Khusrau—'imprisoned and presently dependent on the King's favour' (f. 12r), in a clear reference to the outcome of the prince's revolt against his father in 1606—, the Jesuit alludes to Princes Parvez (with 12,000 horses) and Khurram (with 10,000 horses).[116]

The fourth and last person he singles out was the most important Mughal noble of the empire after the members of the imperial family: *Chana Chana*, 'the King's great favourite like Dom Alvaro de Luna, and that is the reason why the King has given him so much' (f. 12r). *Chana Chana* is of course a corrupted version of *Khan-i Khanan* ('Lord of Lords'), the highest of the imperial titles, which was normally attributed exclusively to one noble at a time. The reference is therefore to Mirza ʿAbdur Rahim (1556–1627), son of the Persian Bairam Khan, who had been regent during the early years of Akbar's reign (1556–60). ʿAbdur Rahim's long life was divided between political service, military command and a passion for books, languages, and art illustrated by his impressive library and established reputation as cultural patron. He served Akbar, who chose him to be Salim's tutor in 1582. Prince Salim became Emperor Jahangir and ʿAbdur Rahim served him as ruler too, with extreme devotion. The *Khan-i Khanan* had to face several periods of political disgrace during Jahangir's reign, but overall he was able to retain sizeable influence until his death in 1626.[117]

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114 Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 85. Excellent summary of the *mansabdari* system also in Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, 59–68.

115 '[…] the ranks assigned in Hawkin's lists […] are little more than curiosities', writes Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, xii (Hawkins' list, 90–91).

116 On Parvez's and Khurram's *zat*s, see n. 76–7 of text A.

117 C. K. Naik, *ʿAbdu'r Rahim Khan-i Khanan and his literary circle* (Ahmadabad, 1966); Anne Marie Schimmel, 'A dervish in the guise of a prince: Khan-i Khanan ʿAbdur Rahim as

This explains the intriguing comparison made in our text between him and Don Álvaro de Luna (*ca.* 1393–1453), the all-powerful constable of Castile under Juan II (1405–54), even if Luna ended up executed in 1453 and ʿAbdur Rahim met a happier end.[118] According to the *Treatise*'s inflated estimate, ʿAbdur Rahim held a *mansab* of 8,000 and his salary, if taken together with those of Parvez and Khurram, corresponded to more than seven million escudos a year, i.e., about fourteenth and a half million rupees.

In a previous section of the *Treatise*, titled 'On his captains and their greatness' (§48–50), the missionary had already addressed the basics of the *mansabdari* system. One hundred nobles had between 5,000 and 1,000 horses each. Of these, twenty belonged to the highest rank (5,000 *zat*) and were 'like small kings'. It is clear that, in line with what we know today about the evolution of the *mansabdari* system, the author did not consider the *mansabdars* with *zat* ranks between 900 and 100 to be nobles, even if acknowledging that they still maintained a 'costly way of life, great households, and much revenue'.[119] Between 90 and 10 *zat*, there were innumerable *capitaiszinhos*: 3,646 minor captains according to the Jesuit's own calculations (*Treatise*, ff. 17r–19r), 250 of which bore a personal rank of 10 *zat* and 'receive no payment whatsoever until they deserve' (f. 19r).

I shall stress here once again that, with the exception of the princes and the *Khan-i Khanan*, the Jesuit missionary is completely silent when it comes to the identity of the Mughal nobles, and evinces no interest in the ethnic diversity of the imperial elite. He provides a long 'roster' of thousands of people, but does not single out even one specific name. If, like Athar Ali has done with Hawkins' figures,

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patron', in Barbara Stoler Miller, ed., *The power of art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (New Delhi, 1992), 202–23; Corinne Lefèvre, 'The Court of ʿAbd-ur-Rahim Khan-i Khanan as a Bridge Between Iranian and Indian Cultural Traditions', in A. Busch and T. de Bruijn eds., *Culture and Circulation. Literatures in Motion in Early Modern India* (Leiden, 2014), 75–106; John Seyller, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India. The Freer Ramayana and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of ʿAbd al-Rahim* (Zurich and Washington D.C., 1999), esp. ch. II, 45–63.

118 On Álvaro de Luna, see *inter alia* José Manuel Ortega Calderón, *Álvaro de Luna: riqueza y poder en la Castilla del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1998). Speaking of ʿAbdur Rahim, the Portuguese chronicler Diogo do Couto notes that he was granted 'the title of Chanchana, corresponding to the constable of the Kingdom, which in their language means *Lord of the Lords*' (*Ásia*, decade X, pt. I, ch. 9).

119 In its §49, the *Treatise* mentions 500 of these 'captains', but the later calculations in the same document (ff. 14v–17r) suggest double the sum (1,002). In Akbar's time officers ranked 500 *zat* or higher were nobles, but in the seventeenth century the threshold became 1,000 *zat* (Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, 63).

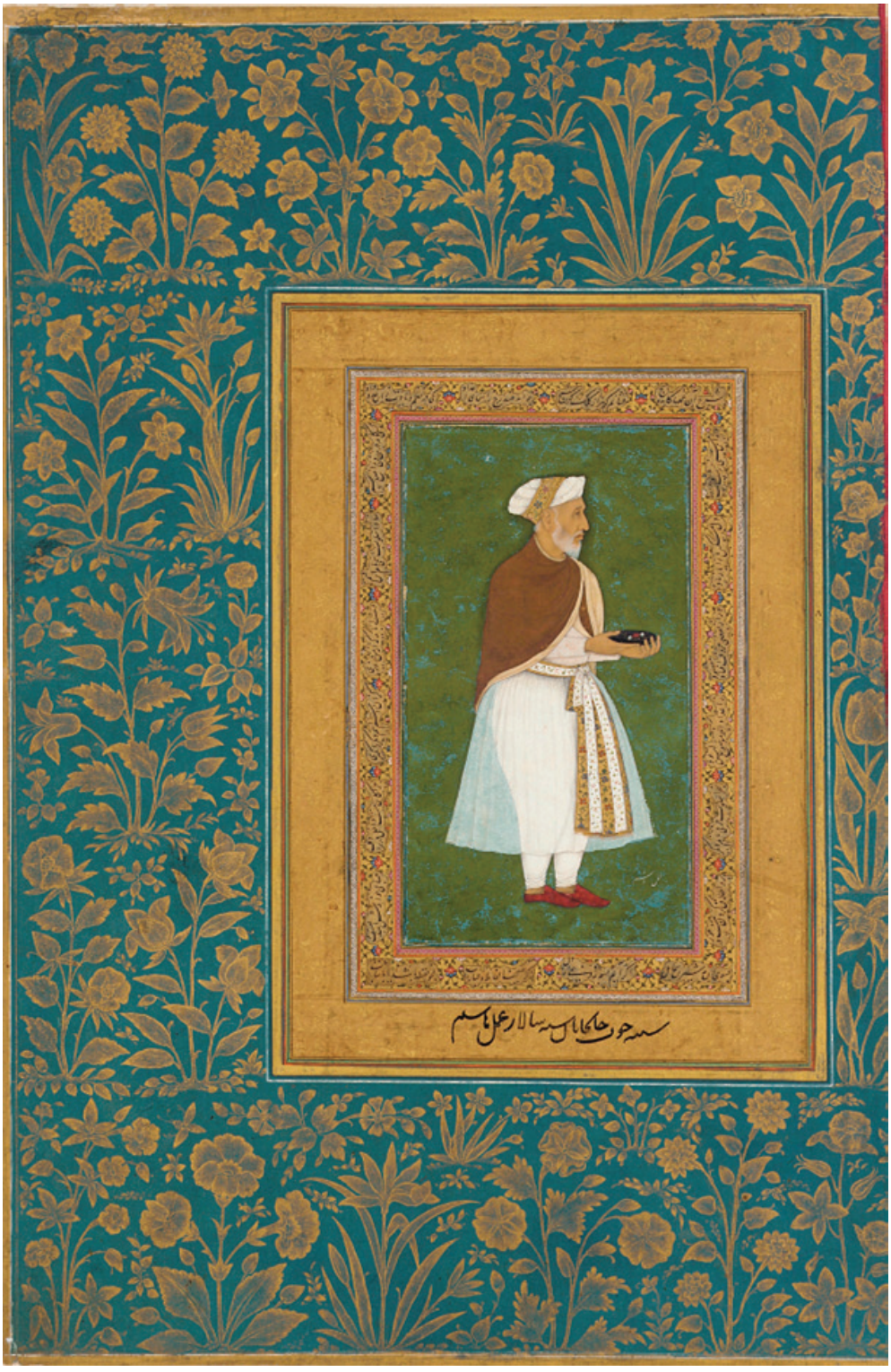

FIGURE 5 *'Abdur Rahim* Khan-i Khanan, *Mughal India*, ca. *1626, by Hashim.* SOURCE: WASHINGTON, D.C., FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, PURCHASE, F1939.50A.

we were to submit the *Treatise*'s list to a thorough test of accuracy, several mistakes would be found. The numbers indicated for the Mughal princes broadly coincide with those found in other sources, but it is also true that around 1610–11 there were other Mughal nobles holding a *mansab* higher than 5,000 *zat*: Raja Man Singh and Qulij Khan are two cases in point and neither of them is mentioned in the *Treatise*. It is likewise improbable that 'Abdur Rahim's *mansab* was by then 8,000 *zat*, since it did not exceed 6,000 *zat* in 1612–13.[120]

The Jesuit missionary probably had access to a list of the empire's *mansabdars*, a document from the Mughal chancellery that he, or someone else, copied and adapted. It was definitely not a list of the *suwar*, the rank that established an officer's troopers (*tabinan*) dependent on each *mansabdar*. It rather corresponds to a list of the *zat*, or the level that defined the personal rank of the officer and his respective salary, including money for horse maintenance.[121] At any rate, to copy and translate such a long and complex document, a document of restricted access and thus probably consulted under pressure, was of a certainty no easy task. The erasures and corrections that riddle this section of the ANTT MS are the copyist's responsibility. However, the several wrong computations throughout have to be attributed to the author of the text, and may well reflect haste and fatigue.

Next, the missionary provides systematic reference to the different categories of the Mughal officer's horses, on a scale that ranged from one to six. He ranks the warhorses on the basis of a classification that the *A'in-i-Akbari* established *ca*. 1595.[122] Hence, the 'horses no. 1' mentioned in the *Treatise* must correspond to Arabian horses, while 'horses no. 2' refer to Persian horses. 'Horses no. 3' are *mujannas* (a mixed breed, from a Persian or a Turki horse), no. 4 *turkis* (imported from Turan) and no. 5 *yabus* (bred in India, crossing a Turki and a local variety). At the bottom of the scale, Abu'l Fazl mentions a sixth category of home-bred Indian horses, subdivided in three groups: *tazis, janglas*, and *tattus*. It seems that whoever compiled the *Treatise*'s list did not want to go as far as introducing a distinction between different poor-quality breeds (which after all did not have a place in the imperial stables), and therefore decided to group them all under one single category: 'horses no. 6'.

Following this indication about the specific quality of a *mansabdar*'s horses, the *Treatise* estimates the annual salary of each *mansabdar* of a given *zat* rank, and then calculates the total salary amount for that category. To give a single

120 See n. 78 of text A.

121 These two lists were prepared separately. See William Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls. Its organization and administration* (rpt., New Delhi, (1994), 9–11).

122 Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, vol. 1, 243–5. Also see Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 114–5.

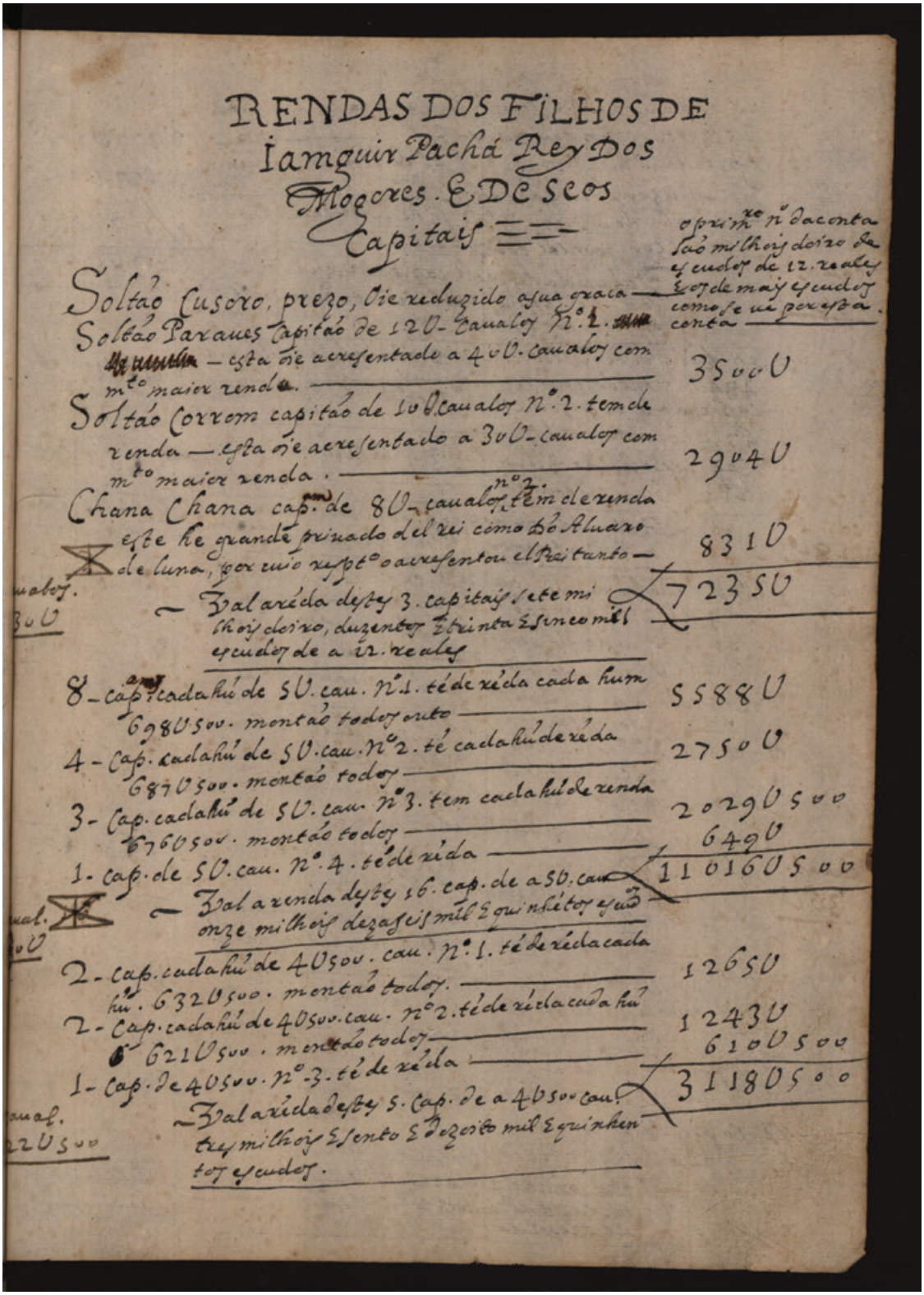

FIGURE 6 *'Revenues of the Sons of Jahangir . . .'*, Tratado da Corte, *1610–11, f. 12r* (ANTT MS).
SOURCE: LISBON, ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO, CASA REAL, NO. 7240, CAP. 897.

example, one among the 207 entries the text includes: '3 captains each of 5,000 horses no. 3. Each possesses a revenue of 676,500 [escudos]. All amount to 2,029,500 [escudos]' (f. 12r). At the end of each grade, the missionary provides a partial sum, before moving on to the next, lower, grade: 'The value of the revenues of these 16 captains of 5,000 horses amounts to eleven million sixteen thousand five hundred escudos' (f. 12r). The author performs these calculations more than forty times.

It is of course tempting to use the *Treatise*'s estimates as a tool for the study of the Mughal elite during Jahangir's reign, more so because the Mughal chronicles do not provide any list of *mansabdar*s between the late sixteenth century—those of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi (*ca*. 1592) and Abu'l Fazl (*ca*. 1595)—and the estimates by Lahori, Waris and Salih, all three dating to the period of Shahjahan (1637 and 1647, 1657, 1658).[123] Moreover, the Jesuit author provides a list that covers from 5.000 *zat* to 10 *zat*—a total number of *ca*. 5,000 men distributed by 42 grades[124]—, something that only Abu'l Fazl was able to present. This Western estimate of the Mughal aristocracy, then, surely constitutes the most detailed available computation (Mughal numbers included) of the entire first half of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, some instances would result in absurd amounts that all other available sources contradict. What the *Treatise* calls 'revenues of the captains', i.e., the *mansabdar*s' salaries, correspond in this text to an annual sum of 86 million escudos, or 172 million rupees, which represents almost the double of the *jama'*. Around 1595, the expenditure with these salaries (including the payment of the *suwar*, which the missionary does not consider in his estimate) was around 81 million rupees, while the total annual budget of the empire was, as noted earlier, 99 million rupees. Conversely, the total (nominal) number of horses presented by the Jesuit author approaches accuracy. The *Treatise* gives a figure of around 100,000 horses and if—as is common practice when calculating the real military contingents of each *mansabdar*—we reduce that number to a quarter or to a third, then we obtain a figure compatible with the 26.000 horsemen calculated by Moosvi.[125]

123 For a discussion of these authors and their estimates, see Ali, *The Apparatus*, xiii *et seq*.

124 Between 5.000 and 2.000 *zat*, units of 500; between 2.000 and 800 *zat*, units of 100; between 800 and 150 *zat*, units of 50; between 150 and 10 *zat*, units of 10. There is also one isolated mention to 120 *zat*.

125 Moosvi, *Economy of the Mughal Empire*, 289. The total number of horsemen in the Mughal empire at the time—between *ahadi*s, *mansabdar*s and *zamindar*s' contingents (the latter are often neglected or ill-estimated)—was somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000.

How, then, should the modern historian read such a peculiar document? We return here to questions posed earlier in this introduction. Does the *mansabdar*'s list included in the *Treatise* correspond to a faithful copy and translation of a Mughal document dated from the early seventeenth century, therefore constituting in of itself a relevant 'Mughal' source for the study of the imperial elite of the period? Or is it more of a free adaptation of a document from the Mughal chancellery intended to convey and accentuate a certain image of the empire and its ruler, and thus bolster its authenticity? Does the *Treatise*'s 'roster' of the Mughal nobility in Jahangir's early years of rule relate to a Jesuit, European 'manufacture', even if based on courtly conversations and concealed lists? Essentially, we may ask, does it point towards reality or representation? The answer probably lays midway between these two extremes.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

The '*Treatise of the Court and Household of Jahangir Padshah King of the Mughals*', which we publish here in its most complete version (ANTT MS), is a complex text where authorship, reproduction, circulation, diffusion and readership are concerned. As we know it today, the text undoubtedly went through many steps and many hands (most of them undisclosed) in India, between India and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in the Peninsula itself. It is of course a 'Portuguese' and 'Jesuit' text, but it is also much more than that. If we label it too simply, we will fail to really understand it.

The *Treatise* is in fact a text with many faces and many readings. It seems to have been conceived in the first place as an intelligence report, produced at the Mughal court in Agra by a Jesuit priest for the eyes of the Portuguese viceroy of Goa at a time of particular need for such kind of information on the *Mogor* in the capital of the *Estado da Índia*. But once in Lisbon and Madrid, where people bearing a different profile must have accessed it, the political report was transformed into a different thing, or into several different things. The *Treatise* became then a more accessible work, one that the person unschooled in things Mughal could understand and take pleasure from reading, or just skimming (BNE MS). The entertainment component is even more apparent in the two abridged versions of the *Treatise*, one retaining (in fact, accentuating) the religious flavour of a text originally penned by a Catholic missionary (RAH MS1), the other simply erasing it (RAH MS2). Additionally, the individual

These numbers are put forward by Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, 116–7, and based on the available estimates for the annual importation of horses to Mughal India.

responsible for the latter version decided to orient his digest of the *Treatise* in an unexpected direction; a written piece of entertainment, meant to offer an agreeable reading, became a tool of imperial political discourse, with the description of the *Mogor* serving as pretext for a lament on the decadence of Portuguese India together with an attack on the people who then sat on two important bodies of the Hispanic Monarchy—the Council of Castile and the Council of Portugal.

As far as seventeenth-century European knowledge and conceptions of the *Mogor* are concerned, the *Treatise* constitutes only one stone in a much larger edifice. It is a cornerstone, however, serving as the foundation for other bigger and far more visible stones. For Jahangir's period, we particularly refer to Thomas Roe's and Francisco Pelsaert's works. For the later periods, Sebastião Manrique, François Bernier and Niccolò Manuzzi, among many others whose writings have decisively moulded Western notions of the Mughal Empire and its rulers. The *Treatise* is to be placed and understood in the context of the political and intellectual life of the Mughal court in the early years of Jahangir's reign, where European actors and voices were fewer than in later periods. In this sense, the *Treatise*'s counterpart is Hawkins' work, not Roe's.

At any rate, the *Treatise* was destined to circulate through European circuits and presumably captivate European readers outside of the mainstream. Pelsaert's words were widely read thanks to De Laet. Hawkins was known through Purchas (and De Bry), while Roe and Bernier became huge editorial successes in seventeenth-century Europe. England, the Netherlands and France seem to have formed the axis of the dominant European images of the Mughal Empire. The *Treatise*, as many other contemporary texts on the Mughals, mostly served an Iberian audience, more limited in number and keen on appraising the manuscript as much as the printed book.

Does this difference make the *Treatise* ontologically different from the other texts mentioned? Probably not. It is an earlier (certainly not longer) text, but not necessarily a better one in terms of the quality and originality of the information conveyed. However, the rhetorical techniques employed by several European authors heavily invested in self-fashioning and intent on impressing vast audiences back home, are not to be found in the *Treatise*. And, in its last section, which consists of a lengthy and repetitive list of *mansabdars* and *mansabs* that manages to express in dry numbers and endless computations the relationship between Jahangir and his elite, the 'Portuguese' and 'Jesuit' text turns into an indigenous document. No Roe or Bernier would have tired their readers with such a Mughal litany.