

Dietmar Rothermund

Aspects of Indian and Global History

A Collection of Essays



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Preface

The ten essays reprinted here reflect my manifold interests in teaching and research. They were written in the years from 1996 to the present. The course of my life determined the themes on which I have worked. I studied history and philosophy at the universities of Marburg and Munich in Germany from 1953 to 1956. I then went to the United States on a scholarship which took me to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia where I did my Ph.D. in 1959 with a thesis on American history. I then went to India on a grant of the German Research Council. I thus became a „global“ historian at an early stage. From 1968 to 2001 I taught South Asian history at Heidelberg University. In this period I also spent much time in India.

The history of European expansion grew upon me when I became a member of the „Network“ dedicated to this subject by the European Science Foundation. From 1992 to 1998 I coordinated a research programme of the German Research Council on the reactions of Non-European nations to the challenges of European expansion. This was a very successful programme, many of its members later on became professors at various universities. I learned a great deal by interacting with them.

The motivation for writing about global history I owe to my friend and colleague Peter Feldbauer, Professor of History at Vienna University. He often invited me for lectures. I also belonged for some time to the group of editors of the series „Weltregionen“ (Regions of the World) published in Vienna. Indian colleagues attracted my attention to Indian economic history and the history of Asian maritime trade. I can only mention a few of them: Binay B. Chaudhuri, Ashin Dasgupta, Ravinder Kumar and Om Prakash. My bibliography at the end of this volume indicates my work in all those fields. As a member of the staff of the interdisciplinary South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University I benefited from interacting with my colleagues and my students. This also ap-

plies to the many authors who contributed to the journal *PERIPLUS. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* which I edited from 1991 to 2001.

Parallel to this volume I publish a collection of German essays. These are not translations of the English essays presented here but an independent publication of different essays entitled *Historische Horizonte: Indien, Europa und die Welt*. Dr. Sandra Frey of NOMOS Publishers suggested that I should produce these two volumes and I wish to thank her for this.

Dossenheim/Heidelberg,
September 2015

Dietmar Rothermund

1 Akbar and Philip II of Spain: Contrasting Strategies of Imperial Consolidation

Global historiography benefits from contrasting comparison. Rulers who faced similar problems in different contexts at about the same time are suitable subjects for such a study in contrast. Akbar and Philip both began their reign in 1556 and continued it for more than four decades. They had inherited large realms and expanded and consolidated them with great determination. Since their realms were far apart, they interacted only indirectly. Philip spent the silver mined in his American colonies in his continuous wars and much of it found its way to India where it helped to monetize the land revenue which was the mainstay of Akbar's power. After taking over Portugal whose throne he had inherited in 1580, Philip also became the head of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Akbar was obviously interested in being on good terms with him. In 1582 he dispatched a letter to Philip in which he described his interest in different religions and also asked for copies of the Christian scriptures in Persian and Arabic. He sent the letter with a learned nobleman, Sayyid Muzaffar, who was supposed to explain Akbar's views to Philip personally.¹ But Sayyid Muzaffar did not agree with Akbar's syncretistic views and fled to the Deccan before he could embark for Spain.² If Philip had received the letter, he would probably have sent a diplomatic reply so as to please Akbar who welcomed the Portuguese as traders. They brought silver to India and also protected Mughal ships taking Muslim pilgrims to Arabia. However, this study of Akbar and Philip is not concerned with their interactions or their awareness of each other, but with their respective strategies of imperial consolidation. The most

1 Jorge Flores and Antonio Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Os Firangis na Chancelaria Mogol/ The Firangis in the Mughal Chancellery. Portuguese Copies of Akbar's Documents*, New Delhi: Portuguese Embassy, 2003, p. 86 ff.

2 Ibid., p. 47

obvious contrast in these strategies was in their approach to religion. Akbar's religious tolerance was in striking contrast with Philip's reliance on the Spanish Inquisition which became proverbial for the worst type of intolerance and persecution.

Tolerance versus Intolerance: *Sulh kul* and the Spanish Inquisition

Both Akbar and Philip were faced with the enormous heterogeneity of their subjects. Akbar accepted that the majority of his subjects were Hindus who could not be easily converted. He respected the valour of his chief Hindu adversaries, the Rajputs, and decided to befriend them. He married a Rajput princess and did not force her to embrace Islam and he abolished the poll tax which Muslim rulers imposed on „infidels“. His own religious feelings, influenced by Sufi mysticism, led him to a policy of tolerance, but this also made good sense as far as imperial consolidation was concerned. *Sulh kul* (universal peace) was his formula for tolerance and it also served as an appropriate ideology for keeping peace within his realm.³ While Akbar's Hindu subjects appreciated his tolerance very much, the orthodox Muslim *ulema* criticized him for deviating from the principles of Islam. He certainly did not relish this criticism, but he also tolerated it.

Philip had inherited an even more heterogeneous realm from his father, Emperor Charles V., who had waged four wars against France to defend his scattered dominions. Charles was born in Ghent in what is now Belgium and was imbued with his Burgundian heritage. Burgundy had been one of the wealthiest states of Europe. Charles' inheritance also included the Dutch Netherlands whose population was the most urbanized in Europe. The Netherlands were studded with many rich and well fortified towns with proud citizens.⁴ As emperor, Charles controlled most of Germany and Austria as well as parts of Italy (Milano and Naples). His father had married a Spanish princess and thus Charles inherited the

3 Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, p. 43 f.

4 Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philipp II*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, p.115 ff.

kingdom of Castile. He had faced the armed resistance of many strong Spanish municipalities.⁵ After this resistance was crushed, his son Philip who was born and brought up in Spain inherited the Spanish throne. When he was still a young prince, he ruled this big country and its overseas colonies as a regent whenever his father was absent. Charles abdicated in 1555 and withdrew to a Spanish monastery. It served Philip well, that Charles bequeathed the empire (Germany and Austria) to his brother Ferdinand, Philip's uncle, leaving Spain, the Netherlands and the Italian possessions to Philip. Actually at the beginning of his reign, Philip also had strong links with England as he had married Mary Tudor, „the Catholic“, in 1554.⁶ The marriage contract stipulated that he had no right to rule England. But nevertheless this marriage alliance could have been of great importance for the future course of European history. However, Mary's death in 1558 deprived Philip of this alliance.

Philip was not an aggressive conqueror like Akbar. In fact, he only once participated in a battle – once more against the French – at St. Quentin in the Netherlands in 1557. Otherwise all his wars were conducted by his generals. He was a cautious diplomat, but the defence of his vast realm forced him to wage wars almost incessantly. Throughout his long reign which ended with his death in 1598 he only experienced six months of peace in 1577.⁷ His chief enemies were the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, the Protestants in the Netherlands and – in league with them – England under Queen Elizabeth.

Philip was a devout Catholic and being faced with Muslims and Protestants as his chief enemies, he stressed Catholicism as the leading principle of his realm with a vengeance. Organizing the inquisition not only in Spain, but also in the Netherlands and in Latin America was not just a matter of faith, it also served as an instrument of political consolidation. The Catholic clergy thus became

5 Walther L. Bernecker and Horst Pietschmann, *Geschichte Spaniens*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993, p.81 f.

6 Parker, *Grand Strategy*, p. 147

7 Ibid., p. 2

an arm of Philip's state – and a very strong arm at that. But his reliance on the clergy and the inquisition caused problems even in Spain. This was shown by the rebellion of the Moriscos in 1568. These people were the offspring of the subjects of the Sultan of Granada whose realm had been conquered by the Spanish in 1492. Those who had stayed on in Spain had been assured of the toleration of their faith. But this was changed in 1508 when many of them were compulsorily converted. They remained nominal Christians and continued speaking Arabic and wearing their traditional gowns. The local Spanish lord tolerated this as they were good taxpayers. „Moorish silk“ was their most important product and this industry continued to flourish. Fighting the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, Philip suspected the Moriscos of being a fifth column of his enemies. In 1561 a very harsh new tax was imposed on Moorish silk. A new Archbishop of Granada was appointed who tightened the discipline of the church. In 1568 the government introduced „reforms“, i.e. the enforcement of the ban of Arabic etc. The local lord who had tolerated the practices of the Moriscos was superseded when a zealous clergyman was made the chief of the civil administration of Granada. This man was an old rival of the local lord. He tried to make a mark with his stern measures and thus triggered off the rebellion. The Morisco swept down on Granada and destroyed Christian churches. A cruel war ensued which took about two years and was conducted by Philip's young half-brother, Don Juan de Austria. The Moriscos were crushed and Philip forcibly resettled 80,000 survivors in other provinces of Spain.⁸ Their silk industry was obliterated in this way. The last remnants of Arabic scholarship for which Spain had once been famous were also destroyed at that time.

With all this emphasis on Catholicism, one should have expected that Philip was an obedient servant of the pope, but this was not so. With most popes who held office during his long reign he had serious political conflicts.⁹ But these conflicts concerned only temporal affairs, not the dogma of the church. In matters of faith, he

8 Bernecker/Pietschmann, *Geschichte Spaniens*, p. 101

9 Ibid., p. 80 f.

was very dogmatic. He also spent hours in intense prayer. His Catholic subjects worshipped him. They called him „the prudent king“ and compared him to King Solomon, a comparison which Philip cherished.¹⁰ In this respect he was not unlike Akbar who also had a high opinion of himself. However, while Akbar did not interfere with the belief of others, Philip felt called upon to fight heretics. When his Dutch subjects converted to Protestantism, he sent his army against them. To some extent he was successful in purely military terms, but in the long run he could not crush their resistance which flared up again and again.¹¹

The intolerant king then directed his wrath against Protestant England which supported the Dutch rebels. When English ships also boldly attacked Spanish ports, he resolved to invade England and to reclaim it for Catholicism. Philip then equipped a mighty Armada which carried troops for the invasion. Additional troops stationed in the Netherlands were supposed to join them in this venture. Philip had carefully planned this, but it did not work. The English ships were better armed and were designed so as to outmanoeuvre the cumbersome Spanish ships. They badly mauled the Armada in 1588.¹² The failure of this risky venture was a blow to Philip from which he never recovered. He restored the Armada which later on won some maritime battles against the English navy, but all this at an enormous cost. Even his Spanish subjects then lost faith in their „prudent king“.

Organizing the Early Modern State

Both Akbar and Philipp had to solve the problem of organizing an early modern state, depending on expensive armament like the artillery and a large standing army. For this there had to be a reliable tax base and an efficient territorial administration. In this Akbar was also more successful than Philip although the „prudent king“ was a hardworking bureaucrat, devoting attention to every

10 Ibid., p. 97

11 Ibid., p. 117 ff.

12 Ibid., p. 251 ff.

detail of his administration. Akbar was saved from getting bogged down in bureaucratic detail by being an analphabet. He got to the heart of the matter by discussing it with his ministers and taking bold decisions. One of these bold decisions resulted in the compilation of the *Dassalnama*, a land revenue survey of his realm conducted for a period of ten years in which all emoluments paid from revenue assignments were paid directly through his treasury. The survey permitted the calculation of an average *jama* (revenue assessment) on which subsequent assignments could be based. It also absolved Akbar from making an annual decision on the revenue rate, taking into consideration the vagaries of the monsoon. Traditionally this decision had been left to the ruler, because it was bound to be arbitrary and only the ruler could bear the responsibility for it. Akbar's realm was too large for this type of decision which could not reflect regional variations. Akbar's method of revenue assessment fitted in very well with his system of granting *mansabs* (i.e. graded revenue assignments) according to the rank of the respective officer in his army or at his court. Each *mansabdar* was graded in terms of two amounts, one referring to the number of troops which he had to maintain and one stipulating his personal salary. In this way both military officers and „civil servants“ could be included in this scale. The *mansab*-system established a rational hierarchy.¹³ Appointments and supervision were left to Akbar, but he did not interfere with the normal work of his *mansabdars*. While the *mansab* was a hierarchically ordered rank, it did not necessarily reflect the hierarchy of command in a military campaign. Akbar could nominate the commander as he pleased, he could also select the governor of a province according to his judgement and even appoint a commander of a fortress in that province who was equal in rank to the governor as a *mansabdar*. With this flexible system Akbar could organize his state very well, reserving only essential decision for himself and refraining from „micromanagement“.

13 Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 85

Philip, by contrast, was a compulsive „micromanager“ who drafted and signed hundreds of documents every day. He hardly attended meetings which he considered to be a waste of time. He was the first king to create a modern bureaucratic machine and also built an impressive archive at Simancas in order to preserve the government papers. Although he could not read, Akbar was also conscious of the need for preserving state papers and instructed his officers to keep them in archives. Philip not only preserved state papers, he also generated them very assiduously. A visitor once described the bureaucratic cottage industry of the royal household: Philip signed the documents, the queen sprinkled sand over them so as to dry the ink, the princesses took the finished documents to the desk of the private secretary who put them together for dispatch to the government departments etc.¹⁴ There were councils for each of the major territorial divisions, e.g. Castille, Aragon et al. in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands etc. There were also councils for finance, the inquisition etc.¹⁵ These councils were run by experienced civil servants and Philip hardly ever attended their meetings. Philip also prided himself on having a network of ambassadors and spies which made him the best informed ruler in Europe. He wanted to rule the whole world by remote control and when he had annexed Portugal, medals were struck with the motto *Non sufficit orbis* (The world is not enough).¹⁶ Even Akbar would have refrained from such hybris.

In one respect, however, Philip confessed his shortcomings: he did not know how to examine budgets and control his financial affairs.¹⁷ This was a major drawback in view of his constant military campaigns. Four times in his reign he had to declare the bankruptcy of his state. As states cannot really go bankrupt, this just amounted to a suspension of debt service which was resumed once his creditors had agreed to a rescheduling of the debt. Spain was

14 Rosemarie Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts*, Dublin: Four Courts, 2004. p. 79

15 Parker, *Grand Strategy*, p. 22

16 *Ibid.*, p. 4 f.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 41

thus constantly burdened by a mountain of debt which was only occasionally diminished by windfall gains from the colonies. In the meantime the Spanish troops in the Netherlands mutinied whenever they did not receive their pay.¹⁸ Philip was also besieged by military contractors who had recruited troops for him at their own expense and had to wait for refunds.¹⁹ The taxbase of Philip's state was not as solid as that of Akbar's realm. Spanish taxation mostly relied on the sales tax. There were also peculiar taxes like those on the sheep.²⁰ There were about 7 mill. people in Spain at that time and 4 mill. sheep. The *Mesta*, a national corporation of the shepherds which organized the seasonal transhumance from North to South and back again, enjoyed the special protection of the Spanish crown which could rely on the tax derived from this source. The settled agriculturists were often aggrieved by this custom as they had to tolerate the grazing sheep. The export of wool was very profitable for Spain. Philip also tried to increase the taxation of the Netherlands which was resented by the people and inflamed the spirit of rebellion. The introduction of the Spanish sales tax (*alcabala*) at 10 per cent in 1572 triggered off a strike of the merchants. It had to be enforced with the aid of the military.²¹

Akbar did not face such troubles. He left a full treasury to his successor. This was due to his wise restraint in military matters. Unlike his successors he hardly ever conducted campaigns which did not yield handsome dividends. Achieving control over Gujarat and Bengal gave him access to the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Bengal. Although he would have loved to retrieve the ancestral lands of his dynasty in Central Asia, he never embarked on a campaign like that launched by Shah Jahan later on. For Akbar the control of Kabul and Kandahar was sufficient for guarding the Western border of his empire. He did conquer Kashmir, but the Pashtoons of what is now the Northwestern Frontier Province

18 Ibid., p.133

19 Friedrich Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre. Das Netzwerk Philipps II. im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, München: Oldenbourg, 2002, p. 197 f.

20 Bernecker/Pietschmann, *Geschichte Spaniens*, p. 52

21 Parker, *Grand Strategy*, p. 123

could not be subdued by him. His famous Hindu general, Maharaja Jai Singh, tried twice to penetrate this area. Akbar's witty companion, Raja Birbal, lost his life in one of these campaigns. Finally Akbar did not pursue this line of conquest any longer, the more so as it would not have been very profitable. He also refrained from conquering the distant Southern highlands which would not yield as much revenue as the fertile Gangetic plains which provided the main financial support of Akbar's empire. The epithet „prudent king“ would have been better applied to Akbar than to Philip.

The Methods of Incorporation and Networking

Unlike the later modern state which depends largely on impersonal institutions, the early modern state had to rely on personal ties of the monarch with the ruling elite of his realm. These were no longer the ties of feudal vassalage and homage. Whereas the feudal lord based his strength on the control of his hereditary territory, the new ruling elites owed their position to the monarch who appointed them. In the Islamic realms, military slavery had often served as a recruiting ground for the ruling elite. The Mughal empire no longer depended on such slaves as competent warriors from Western and Central Asia made a beeline for India in order to serve the Mughal.²² In Akbar's time this attraction was so great that he could select the best candidates for his *mansabdar*-system. The *mansabdars* were the shareholders of his realm. They had to control the enormous military labour market. There were about four million warriors available for recruitment in Akbar's realm.²³ It would have been dangerous to leave the majority of them unemployed. For the incorporation of the *mansabdars* in his court, Akbar practiced a highly elaborate court etiquette. Although Akbar could be quite informal when he was so to speak „off-duty“, he was a stern disciplinarian when enforcing court etiquette. Even the distance from his throne which a courtier had to observe when attending his court was minutely determined by the emperor's proto-

22 Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, p. 41, 83

23 *Ibid.*, p. 74

col.²⁴ As a special sign of incorporation the members of the ruling elite would be presented with honorific garments (*khilat*) which had been touched by the emperor. These honours were distributed quite generously. Akbar had a workshop near his palace for the manufacture of such garments.²⁵ But there was an even more intimate method of incorporation: the admission to the order *Din-i-Il-lahi* (Faith in God) founded by Akbar. It has often been assumed that Akbar wanted to establish a new syncretistic religion under this name. His Muslim critics attacked him for this. But actually he imitated the pattern of the Sufi orders. He was the *pir* (spiritual master) and those admitted by him were his *murids* (disciples). Their devotion to the master was absolute. Prostration was the adequate form of greeting the master in the assembly of this order whose membership was restricted.²⁶ This was certainly one of the most intense forms of incorporation practiced by a ruler.

Philip had a similar instrument of incorporation in the form of the Order of the Golden Fleece of which he became the head in 1555 as successor to his father, Emperor Charles V. The order had been founded by Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1430. The rulers of Burgundy had also established the most elaborate form of court etiquette in Europe which was in due course adopted by all other European courts. Just as Mughal court etiquette, this was a powerful form of hierarchical incorporation. Becoming a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece was the highest mark of distinction. The members of the order were considered to be of equal status and addressed each other as „Cousin“. This included the emperor or king as head of the order. Fictitious kinship had always been a potent instrument of incorporation. Philip was very proud of being head of this distinguished order. His dress was always an austere black with no decorations. But he always wore the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Initially the order had only 21 members, but in due course it had been substantially enlarged. In 1556 Philip nominated a whole batch of new members and it is interest-

24 Mukhia, *Mughals*, p. 83

25 Ibid., p. 104, 164

26 Ibid., p. 91

ing to note whom he included in it at that time.²⁷ First of all he included his son Don Carlos and among Spanish noblemen the Almirante de Castilla and the Duque de Cardona. He also took care to nominate eminent German and Austrian princes such as Duke Heinrich of Braunschweig and the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrolia as well as a young Moravian nobleman, Vratislav von Pernstein, who later on became chancellor of Bohemia. Italy was also well represented by members of distinguished families: The young Ferrante Francesco, Marchese de Pescara, the Conte de Santa Fiore and Antonio Doria of the famous Genuese family who had served Charles V as a military officer. Philip also incorporated three leading members of the aristocracy of the Netherlands: William of Orange, Count Philip Hoorne and Philip Croy, Duc d'Arschot. This sample shows that he tried to include representatives of several parts of the empire and not only leading members of the Spanish aristocracy. In addition to admitting influential men to the Order of the Golden Fleece he also paid substantial „pensions“ (annual gratifications) to key members of the imperial bureaucracy and conducted a lively correspondence („*buena correspondencia*“) with them which kept him well informed. Some pensions were also granted to noblemen such as the Austrian Count Hohenems or the German Duke Ernst of Braunschweig who conducted military campaigns and recruited troops for him.²⁸ Philip's „networking“ was amazing and it served him well.

Mirrors of the Mind: Fatehpur Sikri and the Escorial

The building of Akbar's new capital Fatehpur Sikri and of Philip's monumental palace, the Escorial, were planned by the two rulers almost at the same time. Both rulers devoted much attention to the design and execution of these buildings which reflected their personalities. Akbar was attracted to Sikri by the Sufi saint, Salim Chishti, who lived there. The saint had predicted the birth of Akbar's son who was then named after him. Akbar regarded Salim

27 Edelmayer, Söldner, p. 169

28 Ibid., p. 177 ff., 187 ff.

Chishti as his spiritual father. The saint died in 1571 and his tomb is located in the middle of Akbar's capital. It is a place of pilgrimage even today. Philip conceived of a plan for a church, monastery and palace which should house his father's tomb. For Akbar the site of his new capital was predetermined by Salim Chishti's place of residence.²⁹ Unfortunately this place lacked a sufficient supply of water and so Akbar had to abandon it in 1586. The site of the Escorial, however, was not predetermined. It was finally located at the foot of a mountain range, the Sierra Guadarama, because of the ample supply of water available there.³⁰ Both Fatehpur Sikri and the Escorial were not fortified so as to withstand the attack of an enemy. They were abodes of rulers who relied on their standing armies. The Escorial was not shielded by any defences and Fatehpur Sikri was surrounded by a thin wall which was a symbol rather than a fortification.

The contrast between these two monuments of imperial glory would immediately strike even a casual visitor. Fatehpur Sikri harbours a beautiful ensemble of buildings of warm red sandstone, the Escorial is a huge block of grey granite of austere simplicity. In both these buildings their creators celebrated themselves. Akbar might have acknowledged it; Philip would have rejected this thought although this is what he actually did. Both rulers were great patrons of the arts and obviously did not only wish to collect and admire works of art but also to commission such works according to their own taste. Akbar showed amazing originality in guiding those who built Fatehpur Sikri and Philip transferred the art of the Italian Renaissance to Spain whose art was rather provincial before his time.

The most impressive Mughal building which was erected almost immediately preceding Fatehpur Sikri was Humayun's tomb in Delhi which was completed in 1565 and was influenced by con-

29 Attilio Petruccioli, *Fatehpur Sikri*, Berlin: Ernst&Sohn, 1992, p. 8

30 George Kubler, *Building the Escorial*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, p.61

temporary Persian architecture.³¹ In Fatehpur Sikri the further development of this style is in evidence in the mighty gate, the Buland Darwaza, and the adjacent great mosque. But even these buildings are loftier and lighter than Humayun's tomb. The palace complex probably shows Akbar's influence most directly. Instead of one imposing structure there is a rhythmic sequence of courtyards and pillar halls.³² These halls and their ornaments reflect the Hindu style of wooden buildings whose delicate carvings are here transferred to stone – presumably according to Akbar's wishes. Historians of architecture have also pointed out that the grouping of the buildings to some extent reflects the structure of Mughal camps with their many tents.³³ Akbar had to spend several months in camp every year so as to inspect all parts of his empire. This may have inspired him to design his new capital as an encampment chiselled in stone. There are, however, some buildings which would not be found in a camp and are unique in their design. Among them is the Diwan-i-Khass, a small audience hall. It is a square building with a central pillar on which Akbar's throne was placed. The throne was accessible by passages which traversed the building diagonally. There is a balcony along the walls which connects these passages. Under this elevated structure there is a hall which could accommodate those who would only listen to the discussion going on literally over their heads. The structure clearly indicates the nature of the transactions. Akbar occupied a central and exalted position but was accessible from all sides to those whom he had invited to discuss matters of state or philosophical problems with him. Since the building had a dimension of about 12 by 12 metres, its internal space was limited and encouraged an exchange of views at close quarters. The entire design of Fatehpur Sikri signaled openness and accessibility, the very opposite of the forbidding structure of the Escorial.

31 Heimo Rau, *Stilgeschichte der indischen Kunst*, Graz: Akademische Verlaganstalt, 1987, p. 365

32 Petruccioli, *Fatehpur Sikri*, p. 9 f.

33 Ibid., p. 13

Philip was a Catholic Puritan who preferred an austere style. This style had its precedent in the Portuguese „plain style“ which was a reaction against the ornate style favoured by the Portuguese king Manuel I, Philip's maternal grandfather.³⁴ As a young prince, Philip had toured Europe. In his company was a courtier, Juan de Herrera, who was three years junior to him. Herrera was a man of technical ingenuity and artistic sensibility. He probably had an influence on Philip's growing interest in art and architecture even at that time. Later on Herrera became the main architect working on the completion of the Escorial.³⁵ But after the European tour he first spent some years as a military officer in Italy. When he returned to Philip's court he was still too young and inexperienced to work as a royal architect. It was probably at his recommendation that Philip invited Juan Bautista de Toledo to take up this position. Toledo was born in Spain but had spent most of his life in Italy.³⁶ He had worked as Michelangelo's assistant for some time and had then settled down in Naples as royal engineer and architect. He arrived in Madrid in 1559 and his wife and daughters were to follow him later. They perished at sea and Toledo obviously never recovered from this shock. He designed the plans for the Escorial but then annoyed the king by his irregular habits. Toledo died in 1567 before the building of the Escorial could begin. His task had been a very difficult one. The Escorial was to contain a monastery of the Hieronymite order, a huge church with the tomb of Charles V. and other members of the Habsburg dynasty and the palace of the king – all in one large building with a facade 200 m long and 20 m high. The building enveloped the church whose big cupola attained a height of 90 m. Philip's bedroom was placed in such a way that he could have a look at the altar when he woke up in the morning. The Escorial was raised on a vast platform of slabs of granite. A perceptive author has called this product of Philip's imagination a „stonescape“.³⁷

34 Kubler, *Escorial*, p. 127

35 Ibid., p. 20 ff.

36 Ibid., p. 22 ff.

37 Ibid., p. 98 ff.