



# The Indian Miniatures in the Canter Visscher Album

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Some years ago the Rijksmuseum acquired an eighteenth-century album containing two hundred and seven folio pages of Dutch text, followed by twenty-eight pages with Indian miniature paintings pasted on them. Two separate hand-made maps were folded and inserted loose. We know of many Indian miniatures collected in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but this album is unique because the miniatures have been kept in the original context in which they were brought together by a Dutch officer of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the mid-eighteenth century.

The text in the album is in two sections.<sup>1</sup> The first part is a history of the emperors of the Mughal dynasty, who ruled over large parts of the Indian sub-continent from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This 'genealogical history of the Hindustani empire' begins with the Central Asian ruler Timur or Tamerlane (1370-1405) and ends with Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).<sup>2</sup> The second section gives an overview of the position of the VOC on the Coromandel Coast (south-east coast of the Indian sub-continent), the relationship with the other European trading companies, local rulers and traders. The most detailed description is of the VOC office in Masulipatnam.

< Detail of  
cat. no. 1 (p. 214)

The twenty-eight Indian miniatures at the back of the album begin with fourteen portraits of the Mughal emperors and their forefathers, traced in a direct line back to Timur. In the text the author refers to these portraits which 'are in his possession and can be seen in order after this description'.<sup>3</sup> The other miniatures depict the activities of the Mughal emperors and queens. The maps, finally, can be connected to the contemporary history of the VOC on the Coromandel Coast. The first is of 't Eyland Dieuw of Diewy' (fig. 1). This is the island of Divi in the River Krishna delta, about fifteen kilometres south of Masulipatnam. The Company had once planned to move its office there from Masulipatnam, and this may have been why the author made this detailed map, or had it made for him. In his text he refers to it with the words 'the map at the back is speculative'.<sup>4</sup> The second map (fig. 2) depicts the siege of Masulipatnam in 1742 by a band of Marathas (a Hindu faction from Maharashtra which wanted to form their own state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pursuing their goals chiefly through marauding expeditions). An ad hoc army led by the Dutch forced them to withdraw.<sup>5</sup>

The album was written and compiled by Adrianus Canter Visscher (Harlingen 1707-1782 Dokkum). After studying



Fig. 1  
 Map of the Island  
 of Divi on the  
 Coromandel Coast,  
 India, Deccan,  
 1675-1725.  
 Ink, watercolour,  
 53.5 x 75 cm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
 NG-2008-60-30;  
 purchased from  
 Mr J.D. Feikema,  
 Amersfoort.



*Fig. 2*  
PHILIP TIDEMAN,  
*The Siege of*  
*Masulipatnam,*  
*India, Deccan,*  
1675-1725.  
Ink, watercolour,  
53,5 x 63,5 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
NG-2008-60-29;  
purchased from  
Mr J.D. Feikema,  
Amersfoort.

law he took a post as a junior merchant for the VOC in 1731. Arriving in Batavia in 1733, he was appointed public prosecutor and cashier in Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast.<sup>6</sup> There he married Alida Keyser, who died a year later, in 1735, after the birth of their daughter Magdalena Adriana. Canter Visscher went back to Batavia in 1744 and returned to the Republic in 1745, arriving there in 1746. He settled in Dokkum. He was a brother of the clergyman Jacobus Canter Visscher (1692-1735), who had worked in Batavia and Cochin, and had gained some recognition with his book *Malabaarsche Brieven*.<sup>7</sup> Adrianus was the *grietman* or local magistrate of Dantumadeel from 1758 until his death in 1782. He was a director of the VOC, representing Friesland at various times between 1752 and 1764 and between 1779 and 1782.<sup>8</sup>

The album is not dated. There is reference in the text to the reign of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah (fols. 59, 67), who ruled from 1719 to 1748. Canter Visscher also referred to the 'present Governor-General Mossel'.<sup>9</sup> This was Jacob Mossel, who held the post from 1750 to 1761. Some years earlier, from 1738 to 1743, he had been governor of Coromandel, which also included Masulipatnam. Mossel's governorship tallies with the 'four and a half year administration' mentioned by Canter Visscher.<sup>10</sup> At that time Canter Visscher was Mossel's subordinate and must have known him well.<sup>11</sup> However it is more likely that Canter Visscher wrote his account later, after his return from Asia. As governor-general in Batavia, Mossel wrote a memorandum about the VOC's precarious situation, which was discussed at the meeting of the Lords XVII in 1753. As a VOC director, Canter Visscher would have been aware of what went on there. The meeting may well have given him an opportunity to share his views on the Company's position on the Coromandel Coast

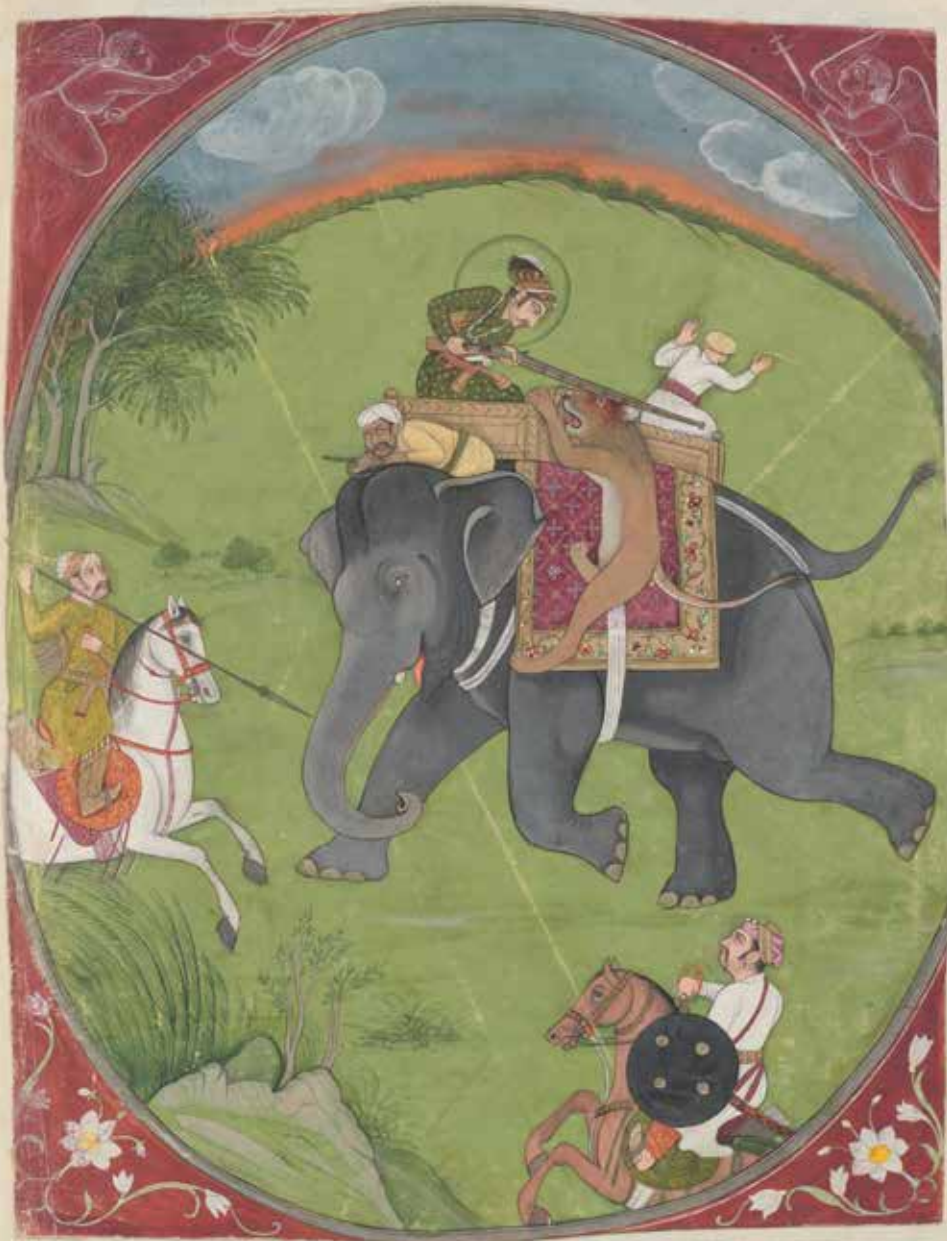
with the VOC board. In the section about the VOC in India he examines the issues of the day, addressing himself specifically to 'Your Lordships' – in all probability the Lords XVII.<sup>12</sup> This would date the text to around 1753. Unfortunately there is no way of telling whether it was actually presented to the Lords XVII.

The album remained in the family for almost two and a half centuries. Adrianus's daughter, Magdalena Adriana, married (1752?) Daniel Jan Camerling, senior officer and member of Haarlem City Council.<sup>13</sup> The album passed down to the mother of the last owner by way of their son, Daniel Jacobus Canter Camerling (1754-1816). The Rijksmuseum acquired it in 2008.<sup>14</sup>

### Twenty-Eight Indian Miniatures

Adrianus Canter Visscher most probably acquired the miniatures after he returned from Asia in 1746, for the Republic was the centre of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century trade in Indian miniatures.<sup>15</sup> Those in Canter Visscher's album have various inscriptions: Persian names in Nastaliq script of the people represented in the portraits, their names or a short description of the scene written on the back in Dutch by an earlier collector, and the Dutch captions adopted by Adrianus Canter Visscher written below or beside them. The earlier Dutch inscriptions make it likely that the miniatures had been in the Netherlands before they came into Canter Visscher's possession. Almost half, thirteen of them, had come from the same collection: the Dutch captions to cat. nos. 1, 6, 10, 16-24, 26 and 28 are in the same handwriting, which can be dated to between 1720 and 1740.<sup>16</sup>

The Indian miniatures can be divided into two groups: the rulers' portraits and the genre scenes depicting hunting and other pursuits of the rulers, harem ladies and functionaries



Prins Akbar van den Mogol, jehangir  
op de jagt besprongen van een dier



Cat. no. 2 (p. 215)



Cat. no. 3 (p. 216)



Cat. no. 4 (p. 217)



Cat. no. 10 (p. 223)



Cat. no. 5 (p. 218)



Cat. no. 12 (p. 225)



Cat. no. 13 (p. 226)

in the Mughal administration. Canter Visscher collected the portraits as illustrations to his treatise about the genealogy of the Mughal emperors. He assembled them from two incomplete older series, plus a loose sheet showing Aurangzeb (cat. no. 11). The small bust portraits (cat. nos. 2-5, 12-14) were probably an almost complete series as far as Bahadur Shah, which had been wrongly identified by an earlier Dutch collector. The larger portraits of Timur, Babur and Shah Jahan (cat. nos. 1, 6, 10) are the remnants of another series.

There were many other series of portraits of the Mughal dynasty in early Dutch collections.<sup>17</sup> Collecting portraits of rulers, such as Roman emperors and other influential people, in prints and other art forms, is a European tradition that began in the Renaissance. The series of portraits of the Mughal emperors that came to Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries slotted in perfectly. There was no tradition of loose-leaf dynastic portrait series in India. The Mughal emperors did have portraits made of all of the members of the dynasty up to the reigning emperor, but in scenes that showed them sitting in a semi-circle around Timur, or a portrait of the reigning emperor alone with Timur, the dynasty's founder, or just with Babur, the forefather who established the Mughal Empire in the

Indian sub-continent (see, for example, the original from which cat. no. 15 derives). They regarded their descent from Timur as the justification of their rule.

Canter Visscher's portraits have much in common with these earlier series put together in Europe in terms of composition and style. Like his predecessors, Canter Visscher confused some of the portraits. The names and the order of the Indian emperors are correct, but he was not always accurate in his identification of the portraits (see the catalogue). He wrote that he had found the right names in pictures of their seals (cat. no. 3) and from an 'old travel guide'.<sup>18</sup> Canter Visscher's portraits of the Mughal dynasty are copies at the end of a long series of copies. The painters in the Mughal Empire had already treated the portraits of the forefathers, particularly those who had never ruled in the Indian subcontinent, with little care.

At first glance the second group of miniatures seem to bear no direct relationship to Canter Visscher's history of the Mughal dynasty. However, the Dutch captions he gave them show that he actually did recognize that most of them were depictions of specific historical events or portraits of prominent figures from the history of the Mughal Empire.



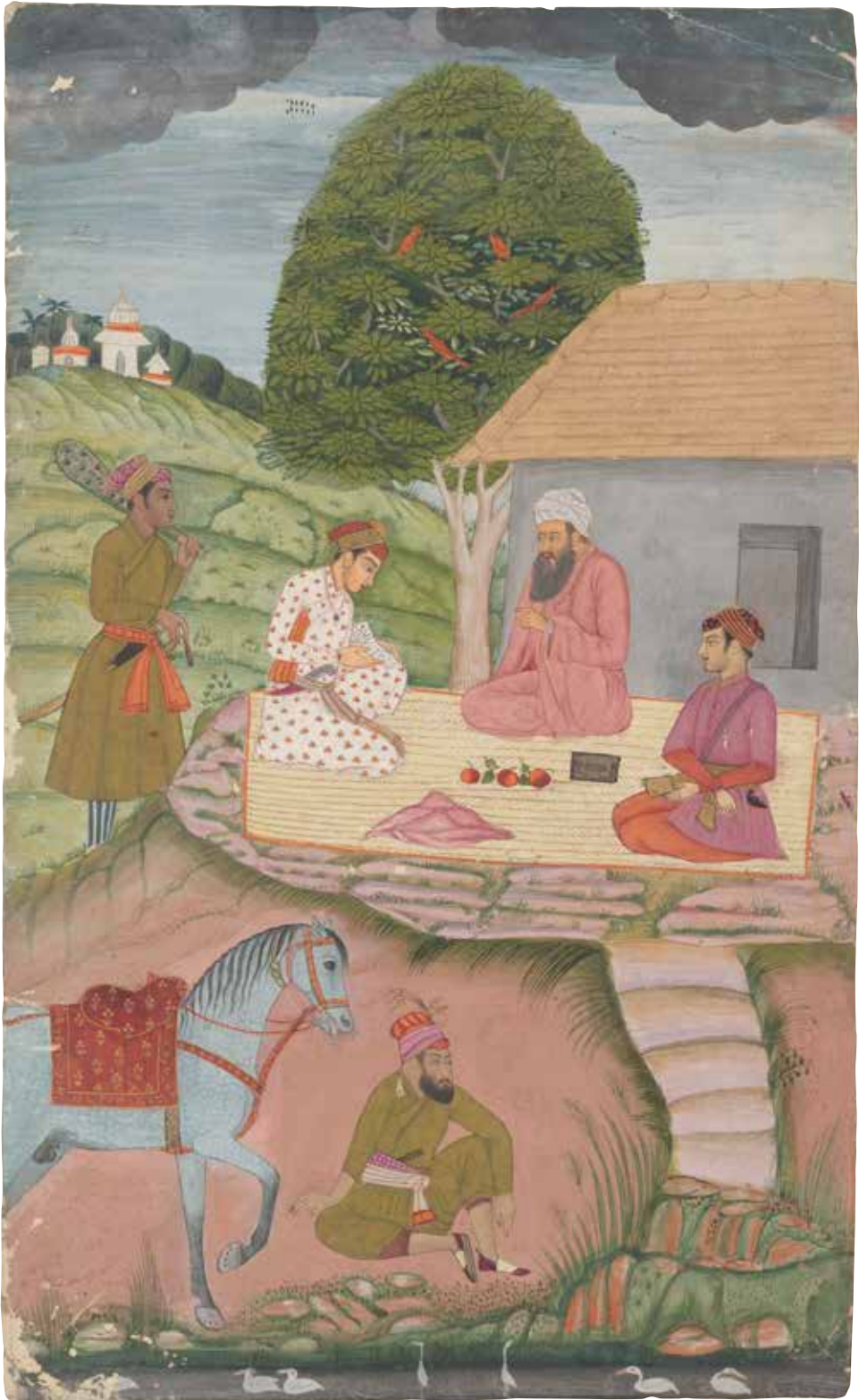
In that sense they do form part of his historic overview. A case in point is *Akbar Gives the Timurid Crown to Shah Jahan in the Presence of Jahangir* (cat. no. 15), which Canter Visscher wrongly interpreted as *Prince Jehaan Badur Proclaimed Mughal Emperor by the Army ...*. The miniature of the prince who was imprisoned in Gwalior Fort (cat. no. 23) and the *Portrait of Hayat Khan* (cat. no. 26), one of Shah Jahan's courtiers, who had been identified by the earlier Dutch collector as the grandfather of a governor of Surat – an identification accepted by Canter Visscher – also relate to historical events or people.

Like the earlier collector, Canter Visscher identified the main figure in one of the two lion hunts as Prince Parviz, the second son of Jahangir (cat. no. 16). In fact it is the father, not the son, who is portrayed here. He did not link the other hunting scene (cat. no. 24) to a historical figure, although as far as he was concerned the hunter was obviously also a Mughal emperor or prince. Canter Visscher's interest in these hunting scenes probably went beyond the historical associations. For Europeans, big game hunting was particularly spectacular (cat. nos. 16, 24). In Europe, animals like lions, tigers and rhinoceroses could only be seen at fairs or in royal menageries and so were particularly fascinating. For the Mughal emperors, however, the hunt was a status symbol. It was an important royal privilege, where they rode on an elephant, another colossal and powerful beast on which they could impose their will. Their mastery of these animals was a way of showing that they were capable leaders able to protect their subjects.

Lastly, Canter Visscher also collected a considerable number of miniatures with portraits of ladies of the harem (cat. nos. 17-22, 27-28). Catalogue numbers 17-22 are inscribed with names and notes in Dutch stating that they were the wives and daughters of

the Mughal emperors. For the most part these exotic-sounding names are made-up, corrupted or linked to the wrong woman. There are no portraits of royal or noble women, in the sense of physical likenesses, in the art of the Indian subcontinent. Those portraits are always idealised. With their retinue of female servants, the women spend their time in private rooms and gardens, out of reach and out of sight of any man apart from their own husbands.<sup>19</sup> In Europe, however, portraits of royal women in harems were in great demand. We know of a surprisingly large number of them in the same style and with the same fictitious names. The history of the Mughal emperors in François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië* (1726), for example, is illustrated with ten portraits of ladies identified by their caption as consorts and daughters of the Mughal emperors.<sup>20</sup> Four miniatures of ladies with similar kinds of names in similar settings were inserted in an album of Indian miniatures originating from the Dutch Republic, now in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.<sup>21</sup> Lastly, there are three such sheets in an American private collection.<sup>22</sup> The fact that the women were often shown bathing or in diaphanous robes would certainly have contributed to their popularity (cat. nos. 27-28).

Canter Visscher clearly regarded his Indian miniatures as historical sources. They served to support and expand his 'genealogical history of the Hindustani empire'. They also perfectly embodied Canter Visscher and his contemporaries' expectations and exotic fantasies. Portraits of powerful rulers, hair-raising hunting events and harem scenes reinforced prejudices about the East: fabulous wealth, high-handed potentates, rulers living extravagant lives and sensual women. And there was perhaps yet another reason why European collectors were attracted to these Indian miniatures. Compared with European prints and drawings,



among which they were usually collected, they were just as realistic and so totally understandable, but also beautifully coloured.

### Dating and Stylistic Analysis

Apart from the depictions of women, all the miniatures in the *Canter Visscher Album* are derived from miniatures made in the imperial workshop. Copying existing images is standard practice in Indian painting. However the *Canter Visscher* copies are extremely far removed from their original examples. They are greatly simplified and less refined.<sup>23</sup> They were copied from various examples. The visit to a holy man (cat. no. 25) is quite close to the example from the imperial Mughal workshop, as is the coronation scene (cat. no. 15), albeit a sloppy copy of the front page of Shah Jahan's 'Minto album'. The portrait of Hayat Khan standing (cat. no. 26) was probably made from a preliminary study, a drawing such as Shah Jahan's court painters made from life and kept to use later in a larger composition, not to make a portrait in its own right like this. It was typical of painting in the Aurangzeb period and also afterwards, to make finished portraits in their own right of less important functionaries in Shah Jahan's court.<sup>24</sup> The example for the Persian prince on horseback (cat. no. 23) is harder to track down. He is dressed as a Mughal nobleman, but wears an Ottoman turban. The two hunting scenes (cat. nos. 16, 24) stem from originals from Jahangir's period, which however had already been copied by Shah Jahan's court painters. Jahangir's lion hunt (cat. no. 16) is painted in a rather obscure mixed Rajasthan-Deccan style, and the tiger hunt (cat. no. 24) with a number of the same galloping horsemen in a mountain landscape, is in the same style as that of the harem ladies (cat. nos. 17-22). We also know of a number of miniatures in other collections featuring incidents in lion hunts in

this same style and bearing old Dutch captions.<sup>25</sup> Evidently there was great interest in this subject in the Republic.

As there were no examples of portraits of queens and princesses from the imperial workshop available, these scenes (cat. nos. 17-22, 27-28) had to be put together from various sources. Naked and half-naked girls were represented at the beginning of the eighteenth century, probably for an Indian audience outside the courts.<sup>26</sup> The examples for the two miniatures of women washing or talking to one another (cat. nos. 27-28) are part of this trend. The ladies described in Dutch as Mughal queens and princesses, were always portrayed while they relaxed and were entertained in the harem. They are always shown in different kinds of idle pursuits: waiting for their husband, like heroines in Hindi love poetry wait for their lover (cat. no. 17), listening to music (cat. no. 18), watching dancers perform (cat. no. 19), reading in a tent (cat. no. 20), in a sham audience (cat. no. 21) and during a massage (cat. no. 22). The portrayal of the doll-like little women is stereotypical; empresses, princesses, servants and musicians look exactly the same. In infinite variations they dwell in an environment that is always assembled from the same components: pavilions in gardens with ponds, fountains and other water features, cypresses, deciduous trees, flowering shrubs and sometimes a slender weeping willow. This made it easy for painters to achieve a large output.

*Canter Visscher's* miniatures have stylistic similarities to painting styles from the Deccan, the large plateau of central and south India. Apart from the harem ladies (cat. nos. 17-22, 27-28), most hark back to miniatures from the time of Shah Jahan (1628-58). The rapid production and varying quality point to a far wider public with a taste different from that of the emperor and his court. This is typical of the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Unlike his

predecessors, this Muslim emperor was an orthodox Muslim and not in favour of painting. Dignitaries in his circle would consequently not have promoted miniature art. The court painters sought their living elsewhere, at other courts, or turned to the free market and focused on a different kind of clientele. This must have been the usual course of events for superfluous artists trained in the imperial workshop. We are somewhat better informed about this in the period from the late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, painters trained at the court of the Golconda Sultanate in the Deccan, when temporarily redundant, set up stall in the market there and worked for a local clientele. Their customers would include Europeans, like the Italian traveller Nicolao Manucci who passed through in 1686,<sup>28</sup> and VOC officers.<sup>29</sup> Later, when they had been put permanently out of work by the capture of the sultanate by Aurangzeb in 1687, they travelled round looking for commissions. In 1689, for instance, some did work for the VOC ambassador Johannes Bacherus in Aurangzeb's camp.<sup>30</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, all kinds of mixed styles had come into being as a consequence of the regular exchange of painters trained at the imperial and the Golconda court and in market stalls. French travellers in Aurangzeb's empire reported that they saw miniature paintings produced on market stalls in Agra and Delhi. They maintained that the quality of the market goods was significantly less than that of the miniatures made at the courts of dignitaries.<sup>31</sup> It seems there were painting stalls like this in many more towns in the Mughal Empire.

Customers from other social classes of the Mughal Empire were able to buy miniatures in the markets. Judging by the great quantity of Indian miniatures with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch connections,<sup>32</sup> the Dutch

not only bought them as souvenirs, they saw them as tradable too. The captions to the portraits in the Canter Visscher Album in Nastaliq, a script that was in use in the Mughal Empire, most probably originated with the painters or suppliers of these market miniatures. The great influence of Deccan painting on Canter Visscher's miniatures makes it likely that painters trained by experienced Golconda painters had an important share in them. Pupils of painters from the imperial court must have introduced the Mughal imperial examples. The miniatures with the specially adapted subjects of 'royal harem lady' and 'accident during a lion hunt' (cat. nos. 17-22, 24) with Dutch captions, suggest a workshop that specialized in producing work for clients from the Republic. Looking at the stereotypical trees in the harem gardens and mountain landscapes that feature in similar portraits, the Mughal dynasty portraits (cat. nos. 1-14) were probably made in that same workshop.<sup>33</sup> The other miniatures most likely came from other workshops in markets. We have yet to discover which town or towns with a VOC trading post was home to these workshops.

It can be concluded on stylistic grounds that Canter Visscher's miniatures date from the 1675-1715 period. He probably only added the miniatures to his album around 1753. According to the date attributed to the handwriting, the previous Dutch owner probably acquired a number of the miniatures around 1720 or shortly afterwards. It is very possible that they were already in the Republic. To sum up, we can say that the Indian miniatures in the Canter Visscher Album are typical examples of the kind of miniatures that were specially made for the market in the Republic and the rest of Europe – a market served by VOC officers trading on their own account.

## NOTES

- 1 For the content of Canter Visscher's writings and information about the author I have made grateful use of the memo drawn up in June 1996 by Professor Jos Gommans, based on a research project undertaken by students at Leiden University and of Ria Schuurman's thesis *Het 'Canter Manuscript'. Een kroniek en een remonstrantie*, Groningen 1996 (unpubl. thesis University of Groningen). Both are kept with the documentation of the Canter Visscher Album, inv. no. NG-2008-60. Hereafter the album is referred to by indicating folio numbers only.
- 2 'genealogische histoire van het Indostanse rijk'; fols. 13-17.
- 3 'onder hem berusten en in rang agter dese beschrijvinge te sien sijn'; fol. 73.
- 4 'tot speculatie verselt het kaartje hieragter'; fols. 134-44.
- 5 Jos Gommans et al., with contributions by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., *Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company 6: India, Persia, Arabian Peninsula, Voorburg and elsewhere* 2010, pp. 374-75.
- 6 For biographical information about Adrianus Canter Visscher, see note 1 and the digitized VOC archives: [www.openarch.nl/show.php?archive=ghn&identifier=d1b852ee-070e-42bd-a7db-85068c13be95&lang=nl](http://www.openarch.nl/show.php?archive=ghn&identifier=d1b852ee-070e-42bd-a7db-85068c13be95&lang=nl), consulted on 6 August 2015.
- 7 Jacobus Canter Visscher, *Malabaarsche brieven behelzende eene naukeurige beschrijving van de kust van Malabaar, door J.C.V. in leven bedienaar des Evangelies te Couchim op Malabaar, later te Batavia. Nu uitgegeven door zijn broeder C.T. Visscher, predikant te Pingum*, Leeuwarden 1743.
- 8 Femme S. Gaastra, 'Friesland en de VOC', in Philippus H. Breuker and Antheun Janse (eds.), *Negen eeuwen Friesland-Holland. Geschiedenis van een haat-liefde-verhouding*, Zutphen 1997, pp. 184-96, esp. pp. 188-89, 193.
- 9 'presenten Gouverneur-Generaal Mossel'; fol. 78.
- 10 'vier en half jarig bestier'; fol. 185.
- 11 This was rightly pointed out by an anonymous peer reviewer of this article.
- 12 'Uweledele Agtbaarhedens'; fols. 4, 205-06.
- 13 Marion H. Peters, *In steen geschreven. Leven en sterven van VOC-dienaren op de kust van Coromandel in India*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 171.
- 14 Magdalene Adriane Elisabeth (1791-1822), the daughter of Daniel Jacobus Canter Camerling, married Jacobus Constantijn Helmolt. They had a son, Daniel Adolf, who called himself Camerling Helmolt (1816-1897). He married Mientje Albarda and they had a son, Jan Daniel Camerling Helmolt (1853-1929). Jan married Eugenie van Lierop and their son was called Daniel Adolf Camerling Helmolt (1886-1960). He married Cornelia van Ketwich Verschuur (1881-1975). This couple were the parents of Maria Eugenie and her sister Petronella Steffanie Camerling Helmolt (Amersfoort 18 Dec. 1912-1914 Nov. 2008 Amersfoort) who was a year younger. Petronella married Martinus Feikema, and it was one of their sons, J.D. Feikema, who sold the album to the Rijksmuseum in 2008. This family lineage was researched by M. Feikema. For the Camerling Helmolt family (which has died out) see *Nederland's Patriciaat*, vol. 3, The Hague 1912, pp. 147-49.
- 15 Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsen-album. Zeventiende-eeuwse Indiase portretten op bestelling', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 44 (1996), pp. 167-254, English summary: 'The Witsen Album: 17th Century Indian Portraits to Order', pp. 266-70. To Appendix 1 can be added: **1647**: In a list of diamonds and other precious stones, a silver bowl on a foot, fabrics and thirty-two oil paintings including some by Rembrandt and Lievens, 'een chinees schilderijtge daer de Migool ter jacht gaet' (a Chinese painting of the Mogul hunting), probably a depiction of Shah Jahan on horseback with a falcon in his right hand. These expensive objects had a combined value of more than 8,000 guilders. See John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2002, pp. 181, 184. **1668**: During Cosimo de' Medici's visit to the Republic (1668-69) with special interest in the trade in the East and everything that had to do with it, he was introduced to a variety of collectors and shops selling rarities in Amsterdam, such as the one owned by the merchant Matthijs de Boer, who had 'pitture dell' Indie', in other words Indian miniatures. On 5 January 1668, as a special tribute, the States-General's tax collector for the district of Holland, Johannes Wyttenbogaert (1608-1680), gave him an art book containing portraits of the

- Mughal emperors as a gift. '... , doppio di che fu da S.A. il Sig. Wittemboghert, che gli regalo un libro assai stimabile di ritratti del Mogor ...' in G.J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de' Medici, prins van Toscane, door de Nederlanden*, Amsterdam 1919, p. 83, and in Lodewijk Wagenaar (ann.) and Bertie Eringa (trans.), *De twee reizen van Cosimo de' Medici 1667-1669*, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 72, 85.
- 1702:** A book of East Indian drawings, a packet or journal of Mr Laurens Schellinks's East Indian journey 'een omslagh met Oost-indische teekeningen, een pakje of journael wegens mr Laurens Schellinks Oost-Indische reijs' is mentioned in the 1702 description of the surgeon Laurens Schellinks's estate (1640-1693 or 1698). See Stijn Alsteens and Hans Buijs, *Paysages de France. Dessinés par Lambert Doomer et les artistes hollandais et flamands des xvie et xviiè siècles*, Paris 2008, pp. 40-41, note 15.
- 16 With many thanks to Robert-Jan te Rijdt, curator of the Print Room of the Rijksmuseum, for the dating.
- 17 Oval portrait busts in a circle around that of Aurangzeb mounted on imitation Japanese paper, c. 1700, whereabouts unknown, see G.P. Rouffaer, 'De Hindostansche Oorsprong van het "Negenvoudig" Sultanszegel van Atjeh', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 59 (1906), pp. 349-84, pls. 2-3; a series of eighteen portraits up to the young Muhammad Shah in Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, inv. nos. 360-7346 to 7363, c. 1720, unpublished; two series of eight dating from c. 1720, and six dating from c. 1720, in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, see Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften 1: Persische Handschriften*, 2 vols., Vienna 1983, inv. no. Min. 44, fols. 1-11; a series of nineteen oval portraits in the Print Room in Dresden, inv. no. Ca 116, unpublished. Some are now known only from their publication in Henri Abraham Châtelain, *Atlas Historique, ou nouvelle introduction à l'histoire, à la chronologie & à la géographie ancienne & moderne. Représentée dans de nouvelles cartes, où l'on remarque l'établissement des états & empires du monde, etc ...*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1719, figs. on p. 110, c. 1702; François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, Dordrecht/Amsterdam 1726, chapter 'Levens der Groote Mogols', passim, of c. 1719.
- 18 'oude rysbescrijver'; fols. 146, 154. The seals of the Mughal emperors consisted of the name of the reigning emperor in Nastaliq script in the centre, and in a circle around it the names of his forefathers back to Timur at the top of the circle. In some travel journals these seals were published with the names in Latin script.
- 19 Amina Okada and Roselyne Hurel, *Pouvoir et désir. Miniatures indiennes du San Diego Museum of Art*, Paris 2002, no. 25; J.P. Losty and Malini Roy, *Mughal India: Art, Culture and Empire*, exh. cat. London (British Library) 2012, pp. 122-34; John Seyller, 'Two Mughal Mirror Cases', *Journal of the David Collection* 3 (2010), pp. 130-59.
- 20 Valentijn 1726 (note 17), p. 212, Padmana, Queen of Chitor; p. 224, Noer Mahal; p. 231, Tadjoe Mahal, Consort of Sjah Djihaan; p. 234, Noer Djihaan, Queen of Viziapoer; p. 247, Raukenara Begum; p. 250, Rana Deva, Daughter of Radja Rana; p. 258, The Princess Noer el Tadjoe, Daughter of Dara Sjekoe, The Princess Begoem Saheb Eldest Sister of Eurang Zeeb and Noer Begoem and Hhamed Mahal.
- 21 Duda 1983 (note 17), inv. no. Min. 64, fol. 39 (Tage Melet), fol. 40 (Oreng Abadi), fol. 43 (Rosnar filla de Xa Gian), fol. 48 (Begum Saeb); Josef Strzygowski, *Die Indische Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn*, Vienna 1923, pls. 10A, 10D.
- 22 Unpublished.
- 23 The portrait of Shah Jahan on a throne on a terrace by the Mughal emperor's painter Govardhan from c. 1630, see Okada and Hurel 2002 (note 19), cat. no. 3, and a portrait attributed to the Deccan from c. 1680-1700, after a Mughal court portrait from c. 1650 for the local market, see J.P. Losty, *Indian Miniature Paintings from the Lloyd Collection and Other Properties*, London 2011, cat. no. 10, give an impression of some of the preceding copies of the portrait of Shah Jahan (cat. no. 10).
- 24 The portraits of Sarafra Khan, a master of ceremonies at Shah Jahan's court, are a similar case. In depictions of Shah Jahan's audiences, this corpulent man stands with folded hands resting on a stick among the group of courtiers, see Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, new trans. by Wheeler Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama, an Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, London 1997, no. 80 in cat. nos. 11, 14, 22, 39, 43. Two contemporary preliminary studies of him are known, one from around 1640-50, see Linda York

- Leach, *The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogues of Oriental Art 1: Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, Cleveland 1986, no. 27, and one copied by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), see Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De Mogol-miniaturen van Rembrandt', in Hanneke van den Muyzenberg and Thomas de Bruijn (eds.), *Waarom Sanskrit. Honderdvijfentwintig jaar Sanskrit in Nederland*, Leiden 1991, pp. 95-115, esp. p. 109, figs. 8-9. Two finished portraits of him are known, made long after his rule: a version from c. 1720 and one from c. 1775-80, see Strzygowski 1923 (note 21), pl. 47D and Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London 1981, no. 281.
- 25 For an incident where the hunted lion turns against its attacker and pounces on the head of the elephant the hunter is riding: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1895-A-3065, see Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996 (note 15), p. 228, fig. 19; a hunting party in which a donkey in a red enclosure is used as bait to get the lion within shooting distance, unpublished, Leiden, Museum Volkenkunde, inv. no. 646-6, and a more general lion hunt scene, see Rolf Weber, *Porträts und historische Darstellungen in der Miniaturensammlung des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin*, Berlin 1982, fig. 95 (inv. no. MIK 1 5171).
- 26 Losty and Roy 2012 (note 19), figs 123, 131; Yedda A. Godard, 'Un album de portraits des princes timurides de l'Inde', *Athar-e Iran*, vol. 2, Paris 1937, pp. 11-33, fig. 66; Ernst Kühnel, *Moghul Malerei*, Berlin 1955, no. 17.
- 27 John Seyller, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India: The Freer Ramayana and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of 'Abd al-Rahim*, Zürich 1999 (*Artibus Asiae Supplementum Series 42*).
- 28 Niccolao Manucci, trans. William Irvine, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, 4 vols., London 1907-08.
- 29 Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996 (note 15); Gijs Kruijtzer, 'Pomp before Disgrace: A Dutchman Commissions Two Golconda Miniatures on the Eve of the Mughal Conquest', *Journal of the David Collection* 3 (2010), pp. 160-82.
- 30 Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Gijs Kruijtzer, 'Camping with the Mughal Emperor: A Golkonda Artist Portrays a Dutch Ambassador in 1689', *Arts of Asia* 35 (2005), no. 3, pp. 48-60. Apparently some painters trained in Golconda style continued for a long time after 1687 to produce series of ruler portraits in the kind of the Witsen Album, as is shown by two albums, an album of forty-six portraits of c. 1680, see: sale, London (Sotheby's), 3 April 1957, no. 49; and an album of nineteen portraits of c. 1700, see: sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 April 1976, no. 267.
- 31 Archibald Constable (trans. and ann.) and Vincent A. Smith (second ed.), *Travels in the Mogul Empire a.d. 1656-1668 by François Bernier*, London and elsewhere 1914, pp. 254-59; Surendranath Sen (ed.), *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949, pp. 55, 65.
- 32 Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996 (note 15).
- 33 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 220-21.







## APPENDIX

### Catalogue of the Twenty-Eight Indian Miniatures in the Canter Visscher Album

I would like to thank Dr Malini Roy, visual arts curator at the British Library, London, for her help with the dating and attribution of the places where the miniatures were made.<sup>1</sup> I have followed the generally accepted way of spelling in modern English literature for the names of the Mughal emperors and princes, etc. Dr J.T.P. de Bruijn had already translated the Nastaliq script of nos. 9-14 and 26 in 1978; he believed it to be authentic and dated it to the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. I am grateful to Dr A.A. Seyed Gohrab, Associate Professor of Persian and Iranian Studies at Leiden University, for checking the transliterations. The Rijksmuseum purchased the Canter Visscher Album from Mr J.D. Feikema, Amersfoort.

#### **Reconstruction of the way the small portraits (nos. 2-5, 7-9, 12-14) were mounted (figs. 1-3):**

- The small portraits were originally pasted on a larger piece of paper. There was a short title in black Nastaliq script on the back.
- A cover sheet of a different kind of paper was put over it and an earlier Dutch collector wrote his caption on it in reddish brown.
- Canter Visscher wrote the captions below the miniatures.
- In the case of cat. no. 9, another collector swapped the paper which was originally under the portrait with the cover sheet. The cover sheet is now mounted on the album folio; the portrait is stuck on it, with the original backing sheet with the Nastaliq inscription in black ink over it.
- In the case of cat. no. 13, the original cover sheet is missing and a later owner in the twentieth century stuck 'tissue paper' over it.
- In the case of cat. no. 14, the original backing sheet with the portrait is now folded over so that it simultaneously serves as the cover sheet and the Nastaliq inscription is now on top.
- During a recent restoration a number of backing sheets were mounted on the album folios more securely, and as a result some of the Nastaliq inscriptions are no longer visible.

#### **Key to abbreviations:**

cv: The caption Canter Visscher gave to the miniature

EDI: Earlier Dutch inscriptions

N: Inscription in Nastaliq

NT: New title given by the author, followed by life dates or reign (r.)

5

Lange omme  
Mou Ma  
54

Lange omme. Musgoh. Iem van Abo. Sed. Vafte. Koning  
of. mogel. Van. Gro. stan. Verbet. dyl. Wa. de. 1743.

< Fig. 1

A page of the Canter Visscher Album (cat. no. 5) with a caption in reddish brown on the cover sheet by an earlier Dutch collector. Canter Visscher's own caption is in black below.

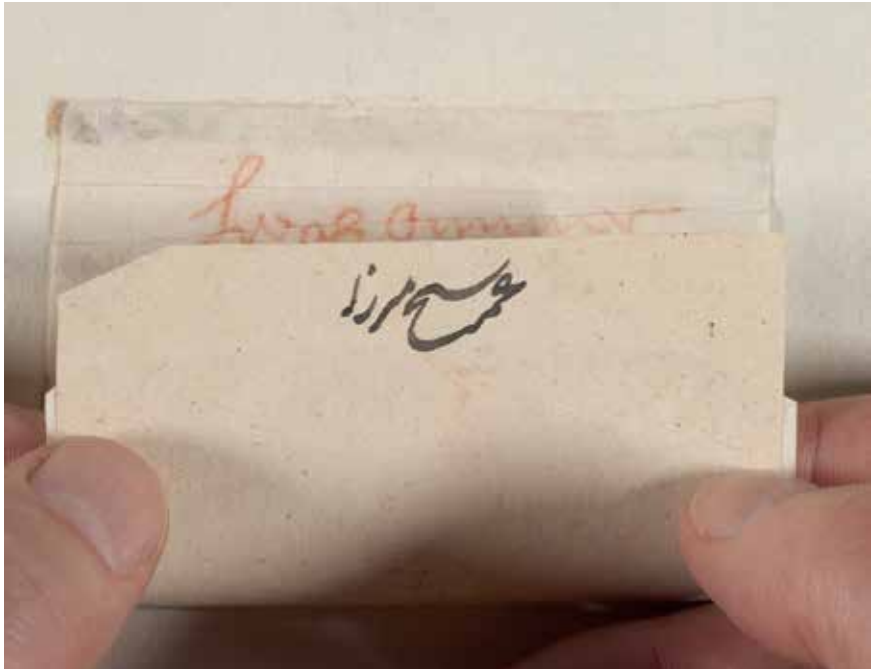


Fig. 2

Portrait Bust of Umar Shaykh (cat. no. 5) without cover sheet.

Fig. 3

Inscription in Nastaliq on the back of the cover sheet (cat. no. 5).



## I

CV 'Den groten Tamerlaan  
eerste koning of mogul  
van Indostan presumptief  
overleden int begin van  
de vijftiende eeuw'

(The Great Tamerlane,  
First King or Mogul of  
Hindustan, presumably  
died at the beginning of  
the fifteenth century)

EDI Verso: *Eerste coningh van  
Hindoustan gen[aa]mt  
Tammirlaan* (First King  
of Hindustan called  
Tamerlane)

N —

NT **Portrait of the Seated  
Timur in Chain Mail  
(1370-1405)**

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 12.5 x 16.8 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-1



The miniature shows the subject against a uniform green background as he sits on a throne, leaning on a bolster. His face is in three-quarter profile. He wears a helmet with a plume and chain mail. He holds a spear in his right hand.

Timur is the first in the series of successive rulers of the Mughal dynasty or, as Canter Visscher called it, the 'Indostanse rijk' (Hindustani Empire). This portrait is in line with portraits of Timur in earlier Dutch collections, owned by Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717), Count Giovanni Antonio Baldini (1654-1725) published in the *Atlas historique*, Simon Schijnvoet (1652-1727) published in *Oud- en nieuw Oost-Indië*, and an unknown collector.<sup>2</sup>

In Europe, Timur was better known as Tamerlane and had acquired a reputation as a barbaric conqueror from Central Asia. Canter Visscher calls him the founder of the 'Indostanse rijk', famous 'wegens sijn magtige overwinningen' (for his mighty victories). He did not know the place and time of his death (fols. 13-14).

- 
- CV 'Miraan Sjah tweede koning of mogul van Indostan soon van Tamerlaan men bepaalt sijn dood a° 1458' Miran Shah, Second King or Mogul of Hindustan, Son of Tamerlane; his death determined as 1458)
- EDI Cover sheet, in black ink: *Miraan Sjah*; in red ink: 2
- N —
- NT **Portrait Bust of One of the Central Asian Ancestors**
- 

Deccan, 1675-1715  
 Brush and bodycolour on  
 Indian paper, 2.3 x 2.8 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-2

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The miniature is of a bust with a halo behind the head and a parasol above it. The face is in three-quarter profile. The sitter has a moustache and a beard. The turban is Persian.

Canter Visscher believed that this represents Miran Shah (c. 1367-1408), the second in the series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. According to him, Miran Shah was shot dead by a blind rajah in 1458 after a 46-year reign in Persia (fol. 14). Miran Shah was the third son of Timur. He was soon eclipsed by another son, Shah Rukh (1405-1474), who had also inherited a part of Timur's empire.<sup>3</sup>

The only known contemporary portrait of Miran Shah is on a seal.<sup>4</sup> Canter Visscher's portrait with the face in three-quarter profile and Persian turban points to portraits of the Persian ancestors of the Mughal emperors, but does not correspond to other portraits of this one, Miran Shah.

CV 'Mierjsa Sultaan  
Mhamoeth derde koning  
van Indostan van sijn  
regeringe, en dood, en  
van wien gesproten is  
niets te vinden'  
(Miersja Sultam  
Muhammad, Third King  
of Hindustan, of his  
government, and death,  
and his descendants  
nothing could be found)

EDI Cover sheet, in black ink:  
*Miersa Sultaan Mamuth*;  
in red ink: 4

N —

NT **Portrait Bust of Humayun**  
(r. 1530-43 and 1555-56)



Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 2.1 x 2.8 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-3

This portrait is a bust with a halo behind the head and a parasol above it. The face is in three-quarter profile and has a moustache and a beard. The turban is wound around a cone.

Canter Visscher identified the sitter as Sultan Muhammad, son of Miran Shah and the third in the series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. Canter Visscher was able to find little about this descendant of Timur, apart from the fact that his name appears on the seals of the Mughal emperors (fols. 14-15).

This is not a portrait of Sultan Muhammad, it represents Humayun. The turban wrapped around a cone only occurs during his reign. The portrait corresponds to other known illustrations of Humayun.<sup>5</sup>

- CV 'Aboe Zeid soon van Mieraan Sjah vierde koning of mogul van Indostan, ik vind niet wanneer hij gestorven is' (Abu Sa'id Son of Mieran Shah, Fourth King or Mogul of Hindustan, I cannot find out when he died)
- EDI Cover sheet, in black ink: *Sultaan abou Seyied*; in red ink: 3
- N —
- NT **Portrait Bust of Timur (1370-1405)**



Deccan, 1675-1715  
 Brush and bodycolour on  
 Indian paper, 2.4 x 3.0 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-4

This portrait is a bust with a halo behind the head and a parasol above it. The face is in three-quarter profile and has a moustache and beard. The headdress is a Timurid crown. In Mughal painting the Timurid crown only features when it is being handed over by Timur or Akbar to a successor (as in cat. no. 15).

Canter Visscher identified this as a portrait of Abu Sa'id (c. 1451-69), son of Sultan Muhammad and the fourth in the series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He mentioned that this monarch ruled in Persia for twenty-eight years. It corresponds to the portrait of Umar Shayk in Valentijn and to that of Abu Sa'id in an album in the Print Room in Dresden.<sup>6</sup> This is not a portrait of Abu Sa'id, it represents Timur.



- CV 'Seegh Ommer Miersjah soon van Abou Zeid vijfde koning, of mogul van Indostan verliet dese wereld a° 1493'  
(Umar Shaykh, Son of Abu Sa'id Fifth King, or Mogul of Hindustan, departed this world in 1493)
- EDI Cover sheet, in red ink:  
*Seigh Ommer Miersja nr. 5*  
(Umar Shaykh no. 5)
- N Verso, mounted on paper, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Omar Sheikh Mirzâ*<sup>7</sup>
- NT **Portrait Bust of Umar Shaykh (1456-1494) or Another Central Asian Ancestor**



Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 2 x 2.2 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-5

Bust with halo. The face is in three-quarter profile with a moustache and beard. The turban is Persian.

Canter Visscher identified the sitter as Umar Shayk (1456-1494), the fifth in the series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. Canter Visscher tells us that this monarch was peace-loving, had his court in Samarkand and was found dead in 1493 after a fall from a terrace (fol. 15). Canter Visscher is mistaken here: it was not Umar Shayk, but his grandson Humayun who died from a fall.

This portrait is similar to the portrait of Umar Shayk in the *Atlas historique*.<sup>8</sup>

CV 'Beber bij anderen  
genoempt Bahar soon van  
Seegh Ommer Miersjah  
sesde koning of mogul van  
Indostan de natuur begaf  
hem a° 1630 (sic)  
(Babur or called Bahar by  
others, Son of Umar Shayk  
Sixth King or Mogul of  
Hindustan nature left him  
in 1630)

EDI Verso: *de sesde coningh van  
hindostan gen[aam]t Babur*  
(the Sixth King of  
Hindustan called Babur)

N —

NT **Portrait of the Seated  
Babur (r. 1526-30)**

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 13,3 x 17 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-6



The subject sits with his legs drawn up on a throne on a terrace covered with a floral rug. His face is in three-quarter profile and he has a black beard and moustache.

Canter Visscher stated that the sitter was Babur (r. 1526-30), the sixth in the series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He correctly wrote that Babur settled in Delhi and died in 1530 (fol. 15). In 1528 he defeated Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan of Delhi at the Battle of Panipat. He was the first of Timur's descendants to settle with his court in Delhi.

The portrait corresponds reasonably well to the Mughal imperial portraits of Babur and to those in earlier Dutch portrait series.<sup>9</sup>

CV 'Hoemajoen soon van Baber sevendē koning of mogul van Indostan sijn levensdraad is afgesneden a° 1552'

(Humayun Son of Babur Seventh King or Mogul of Hindustan his thread of life severed in 1552)

EDI Cover sheet, in red ink:  
*Hoemojoen nr. 7*

N —

NT **Portrait Bust of the Old Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707)**

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on Indian paper, 2.7 x 3 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-7



The miniature is a bust with a halo behind the head. The face is in profile and the beard and moustache are white.

Canter Visscher identified this seventh ruler of the 'Indostans rijk' as Humayun (r. 1530-43 and 1555-56). He reported that Humayun was ousted and found refuge with Shah Tahmasp of Persia. He reconquered his empire with the aid of this shah after eleven years but died soon afterwards (fols. 15-16). For Mughal painting it was of importance that Humayun brought two master painters from the Persian shah's workshop back to Delhi with him.

The sitter is not Humayun. The turban in this portrait is wound as was the custom for members of the imperial family from the time of Shah Jahan. The portrait shows Aurangzeb as an old man (see also cat. no. 11). For portraits of Humayun, see cat. no. 3.

CV 'Ackber soon van Hoemojoen agtste koning, of mogul van Indostan: hij voerde de eernaam van Akebar betekente so veel als de onnavolgbare, hij verliet dese wereld, eerse hem verliet a° 1605' (Akbar Son of Humayun Eighth King or Mogul of Hindustan: he carried the name of honour Akebar which meant as much as unparalleled, he left this world ere it left him 1605)

EDI Cover sheet, in red ink:  
*Ackber nr. 8*

N —

NT **Portrait Bust of Akbar**  
(r. 1556-1605)



Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 2.8 x 3 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-8

The portrait is the bust of a man with a halo behind his head. His face is in three-quarter profile. He wears a turban and has a moustache, but no beard. He holds a flower in his right hand.

According to Canter Visscher, this was the eighth ruler of the 'Indostanse rijk': Akbar (r. 1555-1605). He praised Akbar as an excellent monarch, who was politically adept and good at waging war. He was, said Canter Visscher, a brave man who conquered Gujarat, fought the Portuguese and added areas in the Deccan to his empire. He encouraged the sciences and the arts, had towns constructed and palaces built (fols. 16-18). Akbar did indeed lay the foundations for the Mughal Empire, expand the area, organize the governance of the country and extend the imperial library with writers and painters.<sup>10</sup>

This portrait corresponds to other portraits of Akbar, for example that made for Manucci in Golconda in 1686 and in the portrait group of the same place and date in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.<sup>11</sup>

- CV 'Sja Selim, of Sja Jehaan soon van Ackber negende koning of mogul van Indostan, hij nam bij zijn komste tot de troon den titul van Jehangier, of oppervorst der wereld aan hij gaf de geest 1627' (Shah Selim, or Shah Jahan Son of Akbar Ninth King or Mogul of Hindustan, on taking the throne he took the title of Jehangier, or Supreme Ruler of the World, he surrendered to the ghost 1627)
- EDI Verso, in red ink: *Jehangier nr. 9 sijn [?] [...]*
- N Cover sheet, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Jahângir*
- NT **Portrait Bust of Jahangir (r. 1605-1628)**



Deccan, 1675-1715  
 Brush and bodycolour on  
 Indian paper, 2.7 x 3 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-9

The portrait is a bust of a man with a halo behind his head. His face is in profile and he has a moustache. He wears a turban, has a pearl in his ear and holds a cup in his right hand.

Canter Visscher was correct when he identified the sitter as Jahangir (r. 1605-28), the ninth ruler of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He describes Jahangir as the successor of Akbar, but thought that his behaviour was very different from his father's. Jahangir was excessively lustful on account of his 'impure love of Nour Mahal', an official's widow, whom he made his chief consort and named Nur Jahan (1577-1645). He left the business of government to her. In Europe this behaviour was compared to the biblical story of David and Bathsheba (fols. 18-21) and it clouded the view of his actual deeds. Jahangir continued Akbar's policies, and was much engaged with the painters in his workshop. Selim was his name as a prince; Jahangir as Mughal emperor.

The portrait is similar to other Mughal imperial portraits of Jahangir.<sup>12</sup>

- CV 'Sulsaan Corrom tweede soon van Jehangier, tiende koning of mogul van Indostan; bij sijn verheffinge tot de troon nam hij de naam aan van Cha Jehan of koning der wereld de natuur begaf hem a° 1663 na een sevenjarige gevangenisse' (Sultan Khurram Second Son of Jehangier, Tenth King or Mogul of Hindustan; on his elevation to the throne he took the name Sha Jahan or King of the World, life deserted him in 1663 after a seven-year imprisonment)
- EDI Verso: *Sja Sjahaan soon van Sjanghier nu de 10de coningh van Hindoustan* (Sha Jehan Son of Jahangir now the 10th King of Hindustan)
- N Verso, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Shâh-e Jahân Pâdshâh*
- NT **Portrait of a Seated, Older Shah Jahan (r. 1628-58)**



Deccan, 1700-15  
 Brush and bodycolour on  
 Indian paper, 13.4 x 16.7 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-10

In this portrait a man sits on a throne with a parasol, a royal attribute, on the back of the chair (cf. cat. no. 15). He has a white beard and a black moustache, and wears a turban.

Canter Visscher correctly stated that this was Shah Jahan (r. 1628-58), the tenth in his series of successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He was able to record the principal events of Shah Jahan's rise and fall (fols. 21-27). As a prince he was called Khurram. He was given the title of Shah Jahan, by which he is best known, by his father in 1616 after his successful campaign in the Deccan. In 1643 he had the Taj Mahal in Delhi built as a mausoleum for his wife Mumtaz Mahal. He had his painters' workshop depict historic moments in his life. He fell ill in September 1657, and his four sons began the battle for succession. It was not Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent, who was the victor, but Aurangzeb, another of his sons (cat. no. 11). In 1658 he had his father imprisoned in Agra, where Shah Jahan died in 1666.

The portrait is fairly similar to portraits of Shah Jahan made at the Mughal court and portraits of him in earlier Dutch collections.<sup>13</sup>

## II

CV 'den groten AurengZeeb  
derde soon van Cha Jehan  
ellefde koning, of mogul  
van Indostan; verwisselde  
het leven met de dood  
a° 1707'  
(The Great Aurangzeb  
Third Son of Shah Jahan  
Eleventh King or Mogul  
of Hindustan; exchanged  
life for death 1707).

EDI —

N On paper, in Nastaliq script:  
*Pādshāh Owrangzib*

NT **Portrait Bust of Aurangzeb**  
(r. 1658-1707)

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 4.8 x 5.9 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-II



The portrait is a bust with a halo behind the head. The face is in profile. Moustache and beard are white. The subject leans forward with the palms of both hands aloft in prayer in front of a window.

Canter Visscher was right when he identified this portrait of the eleventh in the series of the successive rulers of the 'Indostanse rijk' as that of Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707). He wrote in detail about the bloody battle to succeed Shah Jahan (fols. 27-42). Having defeated and killed his three brothers, Aurangzeb had himself installed as the new Mughal emperor under the title Alamgir. He went to the Deccan, where in 1685 and 1687 he conquered the great sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda and this considerably extended the Mughal Empire to the south. Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim.

Aurangzeb is often shown as an old man, praying or bent over the Quran. See, for example, his portrait made for the Italian adventurer Niccolao Manucci and those in Châtelain's *Atlas historique* (1705-1721).<sup>14</sup>

- CV 'Sjalem Badur vijfde soon van AurengZeeb twalifde koning, of mogul van Indostan, hij veranderde zijn naam in Badur cha zijn levensdraat wierd afgesneden a<sup>o</sup> 1712' (Shah Bahadur Fifth Son of Aurangzeb Twelfth King, or Mogul of Hindustan, he changed his name to Bahadur his thread of life was severed 1712)
- EDI Cover sheet, in red ink:  
*Badursja nr. 12*
- N In Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Bahâdur-Shâh*
- NT **Portrait Bust of the Older Shah Jahan**



Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 3 x 3.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-12

The portrait is a bust of a man with a halo behind his head. The face is in profile. The moustache is black and the beard white.

According to Canter Visscher, this is Bahadur Shah (r. 1707-12), the twelfth ruler of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He described the battle for succession that flared up between Aurangzeb's sons (fols. 44-51). The second son, Prince Muhammad Muazzam, was the final victor in this battle. Earlier, after his victory in the Deccan, he had been given the honorary title of Shah Alam; now he adopted the imperial title of Bahadur Shah. During his reign he had to deal with many uprisings.<sup>15</sup>

This portrait is not of Bahadur Shah, however, but of the older Shah Jahan. The sitter's turban stems from his time (cf. cat. nos. 7, 9-11). Shah Jahan's turban, decorated with a heron's feather and a string of pearls, rubies and emeralds, is part of his standard representation (as in cat. no. 10). For portraits of Bahadur Shah, see cat. no. 14 in which he is shown as an old man, which he was when he came to the throne.



CV 'Modsoedin ouste soon van Badurcha dertiende koning of mogul van Indostan, na nauwelijks een jaar de troon beklommen te hebben wierd hij door sijn broeders soon Azem Tarra in name Farocher, overwonnen, ontroont, en onthoofd'  
(Muhammad Muizz-ud-din Oldest Son of Badurcha Thirteenth King or Mogul of Hindustan, barely a year after ascending to the throne he was defeated, dethroned and beheaded by his brother's son Azem Tarra in the name of Farrukhsiyar)

EDI —

N Verso, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Jahândâr Shâh*

NT **Portrait Bust of a Central Asian Ancestor**

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on Indian paper, 2.1 x 2.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-13



The portrait is a bust with a halo behind the head and a parasol above it. The face is in three-quarter profile. He has a moustache and a beard.

Canter Visscher thought that this was a portrait of the thirteenth ruler of 'Indostanse rijk', Jahandar Shah (r. 1712-13). The succession of the Mughal emperors was often linked to conflict, murder and intrigue, but in the early eighteenth century the emperors followed hard on one another's heels and the perils of succession multiplied. On the rumour of the death of Bahadur Shah (r. 1707-12) his eldest son, Prince Muizz-ud-din, and the son of his second son, Farrukhsiyar, made their move. In March 1712, having disposed of the relevant rivals, Muhammad Muizz-ud-din proclaimed himself emperor in Delhi under the title Jahandar Shah. He was indeed defeated by a son of a brother, Farrukhsiyar, as Canter Visscher described. (fols. 50-56).

This is not a portrait of Jahandar Shah, but probably of one of his Central Asian ancestors, judging by the Persian turban. Portraits of Jahandar Shah are rare. He was only in power for ten months.<sup>16</sup>

CV 'Farocher soon van den prins Asem Tarra veertiende koning of mogul van Indostan werd door den rijxcanselier, en den souba van Golconda de oog en uyt gestoken, en gaven hem a° 1719 voor een afscheid uyt dese wereld de bittere kelk' (Farrukhsiyar Son of Prince Asem Tarra Fourteenth King or Mogul of Hindustan had his eyes put out by the Chancellor and Souba (Governor) of Golconda and in 1719 gave him the bitter chalice for a departure from this world)



EDI —

N Mounted on paper, folded double, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Farrokh Shir Pesar-e Mohammad Azim*

NT **Portrait Bust of Bahadur Shah (r. 1707-12)**

Deccan, 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 2.3 x 2.5 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-14

The portrait is a bust of a man with a halo behind his head. The face is in profile. He wears a turban and has a white moustache and beard.

Canter Visscher stated that this was Farrukhsiyar (r. 1713-19), the fourteenth ruler of the 'Indostanse rijk'. He wrote that Farrukhsiyar was a son of Azim ush-Shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah, and hence the grandson of Bahadur Shah. He defeated his uncle Jahandar Shah (cat. no. 13) with the help of the two Sayyid brothers (descendants of the prophet Mohammed) to whom he gave the highest offices in his administration, and within a very short time they had become the actual rulers of the country. Finally they had Farrukhsiyar imprisoned and killed, and placed his first cousin, Rafi-ud Darajat, on the throne (fols. 54-59; see also cat. no. 15).

This is not a portrait of Farrukhsiyar, but of one of his predecessors, Bahadur Shah (cat. no. 12).<sup>17</sup> The turban is wound as was usual in the period of Shah Jahan. Farrukhsiyar did not live long enough for his hair to turn white.<sup>18</sup>

CV 'Prins Jehaan Badur bij het leger voor Mogol uytgeroepen terwijl prins Nikosjeer tot Agra die waardigheid aannam verselt van zijn twee sonen den rijkskanselier en twee ammerauwen'  
 (Prince Jehan Badur Proclaimed Mogul by the Army while Prince Nikosiyar assumed the throne in Agra accompanied by his two sons, the Chancellor and two Emirs)

EDI —

N —

NT Akbar Gives the Timurid Crown to Shah Jahan in the Presence of Jahangir

Deccan, last quarter  
 seventeenth century  
 Brush and bodycolour on  
 Indian paper, 19.5 x 27 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-15

Three thrones have been erected under a three-part canopy. Each of the thrones bears a Mughal emperor. The emperor in the middle hands a crown to the man on his left. The thrones have backs with parasols attached (cf. cat. no. 10).

Canter Visscher interpreted the scene as a recent episode from Indian history (fol. 59). The twenty-year-old Prince Rafi-ud Darajat (see cat. no. 14) died after a reign of only three months on 11 June 1719. The Sayyid brothers then put his eighteen-month-old brother on the throne under the imperial title of Shah Jahan II, here 'Jahaan Badur'. In the interim a rival group had proclaimed the Mughal prince Nikosiyar emperor in Agra. This prince had spent the majority of his life in captivity as a result of the punishment imposed on his father, who had rebelled against his own father, Aurangzeb. In August 1719 the Sayyid brothers succeeded in taking Nikosiyar to Delhi and imprisoning him. Unfortunately Shah Jahan II was also not a well man and reigned for only around five months. The Sayyid brothers kept his death a secret until they had found a suitable successor. This was another young cousin of Farrukhsiyar. As emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48) he would render the Sayyid brothers powerless.<sup>19</sup>

The scene pictured here has nothing to do with the power struggle in 1719. What we see are three successive Mughal emperors from the first half of the seventeenth century. In the middle Akbar gives the Timurid crown to his grandson Shah Jahan, while on the right Jahangir, son of Akbar and father of Shah Jahan, looks on. Before them stand their chief ministers. This page in the Canter Visscher Album is a simplified copy of a miniature by the Mughal imperial painter Bichitr dating from 1630-31, in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. This miniature was the pendant to one with the same composition of seated and standing figures by the imperial painter Govardhan, from the same period, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. In that painting the central figure is the primogenitor Timur, who hands over the imperial crown to Babur, while Humayun on the left of him looks on. Their chief ministers also stand before them. These two pages were probably the pages at the beginning and the end of Shah Jahan's 'Minto Album'.<sup>20</sup>



CV 'Prins Perwees soon van den negenden mogul Jehangier op de jacht besprongen van een tijger' (Prince Parviz Son of the Nineteenth Mogul Jahangir pounced on by a tiger during the hunt)

EDI Verso: *Prins Perwees zoon van Sjangier en broeder van Sja Sjahaan op de jacht besprongen van een tijger* (Prince Parviz Son of Shah Jahangir and Brother of Shah Jahan pounced on by a tiger during the hunt)

N —

NT **Jahangir Escapes Death at the Lion Hunt through Presence of Mind**

Deccan or Rajasthan,  
1675-1700  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 17 x 25.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-16



A wounded lioness jumps on the back of an elephant ridden by a monarch. In the sudden proximity of the voracious beast, the mahout makes himself as small as possible, and his assistant is on the point of jumping off the elephant's back. The scene is contained in an oval within a vertical rectangle. Cherubs hover in the upper corners with a long-handled parasol and a sword. Like the globe, crown and canopy, these are royal attributes which in Mughal art depict the divine sanction of rule when they are presented from the heavens. These attributes were used in portraits of Mughal emperors with other visual representations of their serene and just administration, like a carnivorous animal and a hoofed animal side by side.<sup>21</sup>

Following the former owner, Canter Visscher interpreted the main figure as Prince Parviz (1589-1626), the second son of Jahangir. It is also interesting that he refers to an attack by a tiger rather than a lion.

The main figure in this hunting scene is not Prince Parviz, but his father Jahangir. The royal attributes in the upper corners do not tally for a prince who never reigned. This scene is an entirely specific hunting incident when Jahangir was attacked by a lioness so suddenly that he had no time to draw his sword and so hit the animal on the head with the butt of his musket. The beast dropped dead. Later in his life Jahangir remembered this glorious moment and recorded it in his memoirs.<sup>22</sup> The hunting incident was so appealing that, like that in cat. no. 24, it was depicted repeatedly.<sup>23</sup>

CV 'de prinsesse Moenisja  
dogter van den negenden  
mogol Jahangier'

(The Princess Moenisja  
Daughter of the Ninth  
Mogul Jahangir)

EDI Verso: *Den coningh  
Sjangier's dochter gen[aam]  
t de princes Moenisja* (The  
King Jahangir's daughter  
named the Princess  
Moenisja)

N —

NT **A Princess Waiting for  
her Husband at a Window**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 17 x 25.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-17



A princess sits at a window watching for the arrival of her sweetheart. A servant girl brings her a cup of wine. In the empty inner courtyard with a view of a made-up bed, two cooing pairs of doves allude to what is about to happen. The theme of a woman waiting for her lover was borrowed from the poetry of the Hindu courts of Rajasthan.

We do not know of a daughter of Jahangir with the name Moenisja (Mihr-un Nisa?) as in Canter Visscher's title.

- CV 'de koninginne  
chandohaan, vrouwe van  
cha jehan tiende mogul  
van Indostaan'  
(The Queen Chandohaän,  
Wife of Shah Jahan Tenth  
Mogul of Hindustan)
- EDI Verso: *De prinses  
Chandahaan huysvrouw  
van den coningh Sja  
Sjaahan* (The Princess  
Chandohaän, Wife of the  
King Shah Jahan)
- N —
- NT **A Princess Pampering  
Herself in a Pavilion in  
a Garden of Delights**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 17 x 26.6 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-18



A princess relaxes in a pavilion. A servant girl brings her refreshments; another fans her with a screen. In front of the pavilion there is a terrace covered with a floral rug with a table on it with two vases of flowers (cf. cat. no. 21).

We do not know of any queen named Chandohaän as in Canter Visscher's title.

CV 'Cirendi medevrouwe  
van den tienden mogul  
cha jehaan'  
(Cirendi Wife of the  
Tenth Mogul Sha Jahan)

EDI Verso: *Cirendi huysvrouwe  
van den overleden coningh  
Sja Sjahaan* (Cirendi Wife  
of the Dead King Shah  
Jahan)

N —

NT **A Princess Entertained  
by a Dance Performance**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 16.8 x 26 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-19



A princess in a covered gallery is being entertained by a dancer performing in front of her, accompanied by music played on drums and cymbals. A third woman keeps time with the music by clapping.

We do not know of any woman named Cirendi as in Canter Visscher's title.



CV 'Meheroen Nissa een der vrouwen van Aurangzeb ellefde mogul'

(Meheroen Nissa one of the Wives of Aurangzeb Eleventh Mogul)

EDI Verso: *Meheroen Nissa een der huysvrouwen van den coningh Orangzeeph* (Meheroen Nissa One of the Wives of King Aurangzeb)

N —

NT **A Princess in her Tent**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715

Brush and bodycolour on Indian paper, 16.5 x 26.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-20



A princess sits reading in a round tent made of costly fabric while a servant girl brings her a cup of wine. Her tent is standing inside a tall enclosure of tent cloth. A noble lady's closed sedan chair carried by two men arrives in front. When the Mughal Emperor and his army travelled through the country the entire household, including the harem, went with them. The princesses and noblewomen had their own tents and sedan chairs. Here a camp has been pitched en route.

Aurangzeb did not have a wife with a name like Meheroen Nissa.

- CV 'Joodabhay dogter van een heijdense raja en bijwif van Aurengzeeb' (Jodhbai Daughter of a Heathen Rajah and a Concubine of Aurangzeb)
- EDI Verso: *Joodabhaj dogter van een heydens ragie, een bijwif van OranghZeeph* (Jodhbai Daughter of a Heathen Rajah and a Concubine of Aurangzeb)
- N —
- NT **A Princess Looks Out from an Elevated Seat**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on Indian paper, 19.8 x 28.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-21



A princess is seated in an elevated pavilion covered by a three-piece canopy. The pavilion forms the end of a large, lower-lying space. Servant girls standing in the lower section and flanking the princess are fanning her. More female servants stand by. The architectural setting is reminiscent of the architectural layout of Shah Jahan's audience halls in Delhi and Agra.<sup>24</sup> In an album page in Berlin, as here, there is a pond and other water features in the centre of Shah Jahan's audience hall.<sup>25</sup> In Canter Visscher's miniature Shah Jahan and all the male dignitaries are transformed into a queen and servant women.

Jodhbai was a daughter of Raja Man Sing of Jodhpur, and wife of Akbar. It is not clear what Canter Visscher and the earlier Dutch collector based their identification on.

CV 'de eerste koninginne van den mogul Aurengzeeb, dogter van den ammerauw sja Nawaaschan, en moeder van den prins Asem Tarra mitsgaders grootmoeder van de veertiende mogul Farocher'

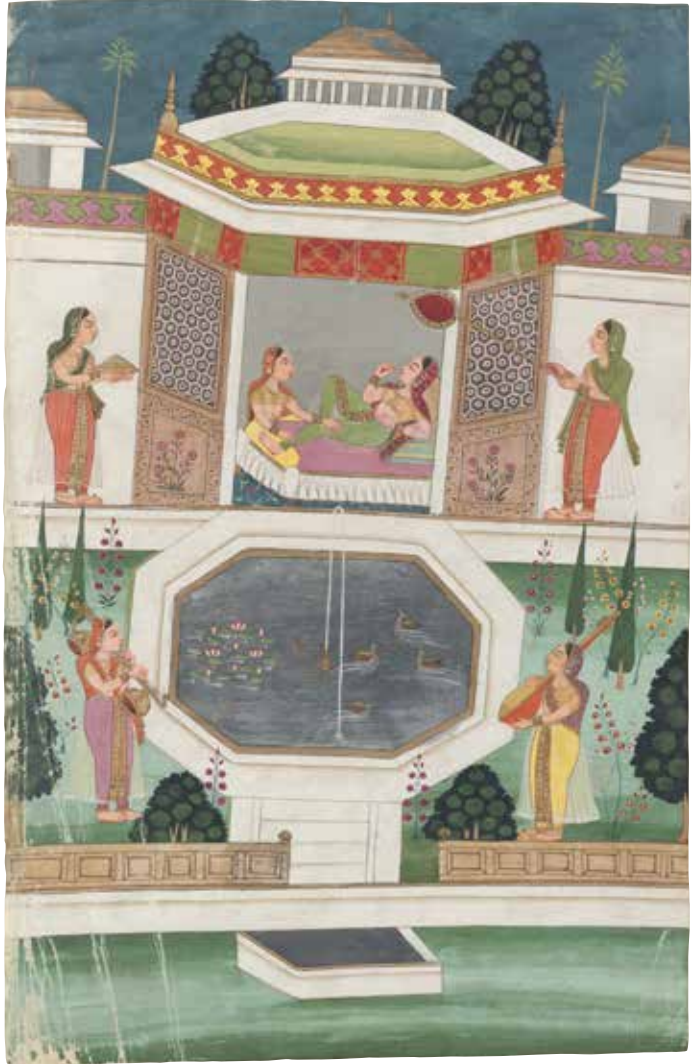
(The First Queen of the Mogul Aurangzeb, Daughter of the Emir Nawas Khan and Mother of the Prince Azam Tara, Grandmother of the Fourteenth Mogul Farrukhsiyar)

EDI Verso: *De coninghin, doghter van den amerauw sja nawaas chan moeder van den princen Asem Tarra* (The Queen, Daughter of the Emir Nawas Khan Mother of the Prince Azam Tara)

N —

NT **A Princess Being Pampered in a Pavilion**

Deccan, c. 1675-1715  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 17.3 x 26.8 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-22



A hexagonal pavilion covered with tiles in a honeycomb pattern stands in front of a high wall. A princess has stretched out on the bed inside it.

A daughter of Nawas Khan married Aurangzeb in 1637 and died a year later in childbirth.<sup>26</sup> Azam Tara is probably meant to be Azam Shah (1653-1707), one of Aurangzeb's sons. Canter Visscher confused him with Farrukhsiyar's father, Azim al-Shan (1664-1712), a son of Bahadur Shah and therefore a grandson of Aurangzeb's. It is not clear what Canter Visscher and the earlier Dutch collector based the identification of the queen on.

CV 'Een persiaanse prins  
dienst soekende bij den  
mogol Aurengzeeb dog is  
op 't casteel Gewaleer in  
een eeuwige gevankennisse  
geset.'

(A Persian Prince Seeking  
Employment with the  
Mogul Aurangzeb but  
Placed in Eternal Captivity  
at the Fort of Gwalior)

EDI Verso: *Een persiaanse prins,  
dienst soekende bij  
Oranghseep, dogh is op 't  
casteel Gwaleer in eeuwig  
gevankennisse geset*

N —

NT **Young Nobleman with  
a Large Turban on  
Horseback**

Deccan, 1675-1700  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 17 x 25 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-23



A prince or nobleman rides a white horse whose legs and belly are dyed red with henna. He is armed with a dagger in his belt, a quiver on one side and a bow on the other.<sup>27</sup> At the front of his saddle there is a drum used in falconry and he holds a stick that looks like a shepherd's crook in his right hand. He is dressed as a Mughal prince or noble, only his gigantic turban is Ottoman Turkish. Despite the caption, there is nothing Persian about this equestrian portrait.

The fort of Gwalior lies to the south of the city of Agra in the state of Madhya Pradesh. It was a notorious state prison in the Mughal period. Famous prisoners included the sons of Darah Shikoh, the elder brother of Aurangzeb and intended successor to the Mughal throne, and Murad Baksh (1624-1661), another brother, rivals in the battle for succession who were put to death there. We do not know which unfortunate Persian prince it is meant to be here.

CV 'een tijger jacht'  
(A Tiger Hunt)

EDI Verso: *een tijgerjacht*

N —

NT A Fatal Accident during a  
Lion Hunt

Deccan, 1675-1715

Brush and bodycolour on

Indian paper, 16,5 x 24,7 cm

Inv. no. NG-2008-60-24



A hunt is taking place in a mountainous landscape. One of the hunters lying on the ground has been pounced on by a lion. A prince riding an elephant rushes to his aid with a bow and arrow, his mahout with a spear, and his elephant tries to pull the lion off his victim by curling his trunk around its middle. Other armed members of the hunt gallop to the scene of the disaster.

Canter Visscher's miniature is a simplified version of an imperial Mughal miniature of a horrifying moment during a lion hunt. In other versions the horse that the victim fell from runs away. The hunting incident was so appealing that it, like that in cat. no. 16, was repeatedly interpreted by Mughal painters.<sup>28</sup> The painting workshop that made this miniature in Canter Visscher's album produced at least two more.<sup>29</sup>

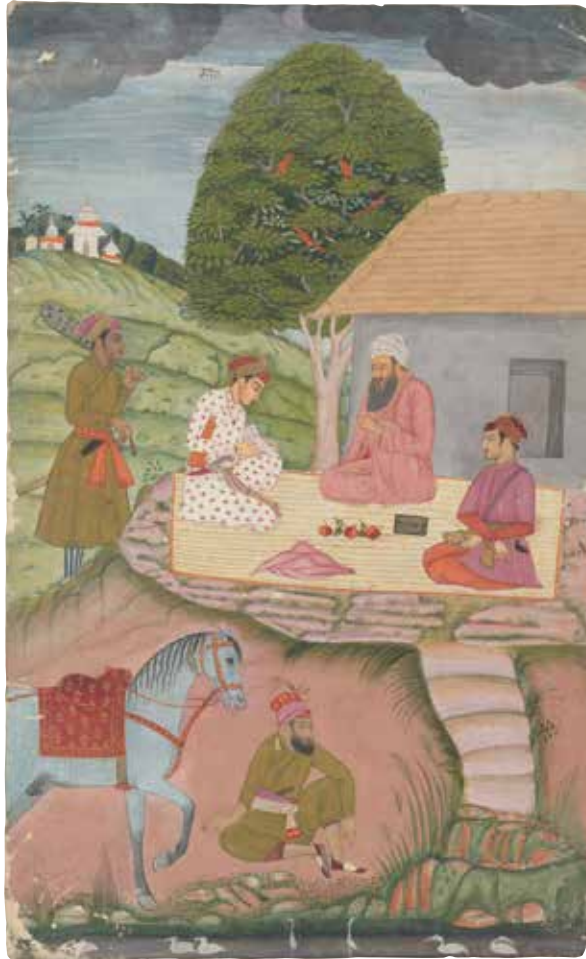
CV 'twee jonge prinsen een  
visite gevende aan een  
grote heilige of fackier  
om van hem de zegen  
te ontvangen'  
(Two young princes visiting  
a great holy man or Fakir  
to receive his blessing)

EDI —

N —

NT **Two Princes Visit an  
Islamic Holy Man**

Mughal-Deccan, early  
eighteenth century  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 14.4 x 23.4 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-25



A cottage has been built on a plateau on a mountain slope; beside it stands a large tree. A simple rug is spread out on the square in front. On it sit an Islamic holy man and two princes who have come to visit him. The holy man is explaining something to the prince on his right, who has a text on his knees. A servant stands behind him with a peacock feather fan. In the foreground the still saddled horse of one of the princes awaits, while a servant sits beside it.

A visit to an Islamic or Hindu holy man is a well-known subject in Indian miniature painting. It may be a specific historic event, or a scene from a story.<sup>30</sup> It can also, as here, be a general rendering of a meeting of secular and spiritual power. The theme stems from the idea that world leaders need help from a counsellor who is in contact with the divine.<sup>31</sup> The Mughal emperors had links with various Sufi orders.<sup>32</sup> Canter Visscher's miniature is a copy of a Mughal miniature from around 1640 in the album in the Gulshan Library, Teheran.<sup>33</sup>

- CV 'Den grootvader van den gewesenen Sourats gouverneur MierSjabetchan' (The Grandfather of the former Governor of Surat MierSjabetchan)
- EDI Verso: *grootvader van den Sourats gewesenen goeverneur Mier Sjabetchan*
- N Verso, in Nastaliq script, in black ink: *Navâb Hayât-Khân*
- NT Portrait of Hayat Khan, Shah Jahan's Personal Attendant († 1658)

Deccan, 1675-1715  
 Brush and bodycolour on Indian paper, 12.7 x 17.2 cm  
 Inv. no. NG-2008-60-26



A Mughal nobleman stands against a light green background. Some blue streaks indicate the sky, clumps of plants represent the ground. His long coat (*jama*) is fastened to the right, as was usual for Muslims. His costume was common at the court of Shah Jahan. He is portrayed without a halo and is therefore not a Mughal prince or emperor.<sup>34</sup> He holds a yak's tail fan by the handle so that the tassel hangs over his shoulder.

In common with a previous Dutch owner, Canter Visscher thought that this was a portrait of the grandfather of an official in Surat, the port on the northwest coast of the Mughal Empire with European trading companies' settlements. However, this same man was portrayed at various times standing close to Shah Jahan during his audiences.<sup>35</sup> The clothes, the attribute and his face with mutton-chop whiskers and pearls in his ear are indeed very similar to those earlier depictions of the personal assistant to Shah Jahan, Hayat Khan, as mentioned in the Nastaliq inscription.

CV 'Twee Moorse dames  
haar gewaschen  
hebbende malkanderen  
onderhouden'  
(Two Moorish Ladies  
Talking after Washing)

EDI —

N —

NT A Princess and her  
Confidante Conversing  
with One Another

Deccan, early eighteenth  
century  
Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 12,5 x 19 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-27



A princess and her confidante sit together on a terrace by the water. The woman on the right pours wine for the woman on the left. They relax against comfortable cushions on a cloth spread out on a rug decorated with a lively floral pattern. There are mountains in the background with thunderclouds massing above. There is no indication that the women have just washed themselves, as Canter Visscher's title suggests.

The two ladies, sitting or standing together, with one in a veil offering a cup of wine to the other in a turban, is a motif that dates from the seventeenth century, but it became a popular theme in the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Canter Visscher's miniature is a rather clumsy copy of such a miniature from around 1710.<sup>37</sup>



CV 'een vrouwe die haar  
wascht'

(A Woman Washing)

EDI Verso: *een vrouwe die  
wascht*

N —

NT **A Girl Washing**

Hyderabad, possibly  
Deccan, early eighteenth  
century

Brush and bodycolour on  
Indian paper, 9 x 16.7 cm  
Inv. no. NG-2008-60-28



A girl sits on a stool and pours water over her outstretched left foot. Two water pots stand beside the stool. Her hair is loose and she is naked apart from a diaphanous wrap, which serves only to emphasize her nakedness. She wears ornaments in her ears and around her neck, arms, wrists and ankles. Washing in this way is extremely impractical. It is a pretext to show a woman naked.

## NOTES

- 1 Dr Roy generously turned down my proposal to name her as co-author. Her attributions allowed me to tighten up the conclusion, and I am extremely grateful to her.
- 2 Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum. Zeventiende-eeuwse portretten op bestelling', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 44 (1996), pp. 167-254. English summary: 'The Witsen Album: 17th Century Indian Portraits to Order', pp. 220-21; Henri Abraham Châtelain, *Atlas Historique, ou nouvelle introduction à l'histoire, à la chronologie & à la géographie ancienne & moderne. Représentée dans de nouvelles cartes, où l'on remarque l'établissement des états & empires du monde, leur durée, leur chute, & leurs differens gouvernemens. La chronologie des consuls Romains, des papes, des empereurs, des rois etc ...*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1719, figs. after p. 110; François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indië. Vervattende een naauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten*, 4 vols., Dordrecht/Amsterdam 1724-26, vol. 4, 1726, p. 173, and in the Millionenzimmer of the Schloss Schönbrunn near Vienna, see Joseph Strzygowski, *Die Indische Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn*, Vienna 1923, pl. 45 top.
- 3 *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 11, London 1993, p. 785.
- 4 Thomas W. Lenz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles/Washington 1989, pp. 225, 355, cat. no. 127.
- 5 See Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book 1560-1660*, London 2002, p. 150, pl. 112, the emperor on Timur's left; Dorothea Duda, 'Die Kaiserin und der Grossmogul. Untersuchungen zu den Miniaturen des Millionenzimmers im Schloss Schönbrunn', in Karin K. Troschke (ed.), *Malerei auf Papier und Pergament in den Prunkräumen des Schlosses Schönbrunn*, Vienna 1997, pp. 33-55, 48, figs. 26-27.
- 6 Lenz and Lowry 1989 (note 4), p. 104, fig. 38, p. 220, cat. no. 147; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1993 (note 3), p. 784; Valentijn 1726 (note 2), p. 187; Dresden Print Room, inv. no. Ca 111, no. 53, unpublished.
- 7 Read by Susan Stronge, curator of the Asian Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 3 July 2013.
- 8 Châtelain 1719 (note 2), p. 110, no. 37, upper right.
- 9 *Timur Gives the Imperial Crown to Babur*, Stronge 2002 (note 5), pls. 57, 59, 112; Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters: Indian Miniatures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Paris 1992, p. 19, no. 13, p. 41, no. 41, p. 118, no. 129; Valentijn 1726 (note 2), p. 193; Châtelain 1719 (note 2), p. 110, no. 37, upper right.
- 10 Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, New York 1985; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 7, Leiden 1993, p. 314.
- 11 Niccolao Manucci, trans. William Irvine, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, 4 vols., London 1907-08, vol. 1, pl. on p. 120; Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften*. *Persische Handschriften*, 2 vols., Vienna 1983, vol. 1, inv. no. Min. 64, fol. 19, fig. 457, the third on Timur's right.
- 12 Okada 1992 (note 9), pp. 45, 47-48, 55-58; Rosemary Crill and Kapil Jariwala (eds.), *The Indian Portrait 1560-1860*, London 2010, pls. 13-14.
- 13 Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch (with new trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston), *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, London 1997, cat. nos. 2B, 44; Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Graz 1988, pl. 55; Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Painting: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*, Los Angeles 1993, no. 79; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996 (note 2), no. 5; Châtelain 1719 (note 2), p. 110, no. 38, upper right.
- 14 Respectively Manucci 1907-08 (note 11), frontispiece and Châtelain 1719 (note 2), p. 110, lower left.
- 15 *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1993 (note 10), p. 315.
- 16 J.P. Vogel, *Journal van J.J. Ketelaar's Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore 1711-1713*, The Hague 1937, pls. on pp. 80, 172.
- 17 William Dalrymple and Yuthika Sharma, *Princes and Painters in Mughal India 1707-1857*, New York 2013, cat. no. 3; Milo Cleveland Beach et al. (eds.), *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 2, Zürich 2011, p. 574.
- 18 Terence McInerney, 'Chitarman 11', in Beach 2011 (note 17), pp. 547-62, figs. 2-5; J.P. Losty and Malini Roy, *Mughal India: Art, Culture And Empire: Manuscripts and Paintings in the British Library*, London 2012, fig. 103.
- 19 William Irvine (ed. and suppl. by Jadunath Sarkar), *Later Mughals*, vol. 1, New Delhi 1971.
- 20 Susan Stronge, 'The Minto Album and its Decoration c. 1612-1640', in Elaine Wright,

- Muraqqa: Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 2008, pp. 82-105, cat. no. 54; Stronge 2002 (note 5), pp. 149-50, pl. 112. Variations of both court miniatures are known with the company grouped in the same way, but with some figures expanded. Daniel J. Ehnbohm, *Indian Miniatures: The Ehrenfeld Collection*, New York 1985, cat. no. 23; John Seyller, 'Hashim' in Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, Bombay 1991, pp. 105-18, pl. 10; an almost identical composition in the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1993-183; Losty and Roy 2012 (note 18), pp. 113-14.
- 21 E.g. Ebba Koch 1988 (note 13), pl. 54, where there are cherubs and a sword, a canopy and crown above the head of Shah Jahann; Abolola Soudavar (contr. by Milo Cleveland Beach), *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*, New York 1992, nos. 129a-b, d.
- 22 Wheeler M. Thackston (trans., ed. and ann.), *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, Washington and elsewhere 1999, p. 403.
- 23 Francesca von Habsburg et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa: Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th to the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by Imad al-Hasani*, Milan 1996, pls. 111/ fol. 11 recto, 115/ fol. 15 recto, 158/ fol. 20 recto; Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings in the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 2, London 1995, p. 963, c. 1650; Leigh Ashton (ed.), *The Art of India and Pakistan: A Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition Held at The Royal Academy of Art, London 1947-48*, London 1949, no. 708, pl. 134, c. 1610; Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750*, Oxford 1924, pl. 43, c. 1623.
- 24 Beach and Koch 1997 (note 13), fols. 19, 32, 43-44; Koch 1988 (note 13).
- 25 Almut von Gladiss, *Albumblätter. Miniaturen aus den Sammlungen indo-islamischer Herrscherhöfe*, Berlin 2010, cat. no. 34.
- 26 Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 2nd rev. ed., Calcutta 1925, p. 50.
- 27 Painting with henna is an Indian and Persian custom to indicate that it is a victor's horse, see Ivan Stchoukine, 'Portraits Moghols IV. La collection du Baron de Rothschild', *Revue des arts asiatiques* 9 (1935), pp. 190-208, esp. p. 202.
- 28 Linda York Leach, *The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogues of Oriental Art 1: Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, Cleveland 1989, pp. 39-43, no. 11, c. 1580;
- B.N. Goswamy and Eberhard Fischer, *Wunder einer Goldenen Zeit*, Zürich 1987, nos. 38-39, 1610 and 1615; Thackston 1999 (note 22), pl. on p. 402, Sackler Gallery, c. 1600; Andrew Topsfield, *Paintings from Mughal India: Bodleian Library*, Oxford 2008, no. 28, c. 1640-50. The original Mughal court version probably only depicts a typical life-threatening situation in a lion hunt and in later versions the prince was replaced by Jahangir, see Soudavar 1992 (note 21), no. 130, c. 1600.
- 29 Duda 1983 (note 11), inv. no. Min. 64, fol. 24, Abb. 462 and Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, inv. no. MIK I 5031, see Rolf Weber, *Porträts und Historische Darstellungen in der Miniaturensammlung des Museums für indische Kunst Berlin*, Berlin 1982, fig. 94.
- 30 Losty and Roy 2012 (note 18), a page from the *Anwar-I Suhaili* (Lights of Canopus), fig. 44, Mughal 1604-11.
- 31 For ideas about monarchy in old Persia and in Mughal-India, see Soudavar 1992 (note 21), pp. 410-16.
- 32 Losty and Roy 2012 (note 18), figs. 79, 94; Rochelle L. Kessler, 'In the Company of the Enlightened: Portraits of Mughal Rulers and Holy Men', in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art: From the Arthur M. Sackler Museum*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 16-41.
- 33 Yedda A. Godard, 'Un album des portraits des princes Timurides de l'Inde', *Athar-e Iran*, vol. 2, Paris 1937, pp. 179-211, esp. p. 200, no. 71.
- 34 Under Jahangir the traditionally adopted portraits of members of the Mughal dynasty had such a Divine Glory. For their creation and meaning in Mughal painting see Soudavar 1992 (note 21), pp. 410-16.
- 35 Beach and Koch 1997 (note 13), no. 28 in fols. 12, 14, 19, 30, 32, 38, 43-44.
- 36 Sven Gahlin, *The Courts of India: Indian Miniatures from the Collection of the Fondation Custodia*, Paris, Zwolle 1991, no. 34, pl. 28; Von Gladiss 2010 (note 25), nos. 1, 31.
- 37 Losty and Roy 2012 (note 18), no. 123.

