Tranquebar Initiatives Skriftserie

Picturing the Unknown

Cultural Encounters and Visual Representations in Company Paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries in south Indian Collections of the National Museum of Denmark

LAURA BERIVAN NILSSON

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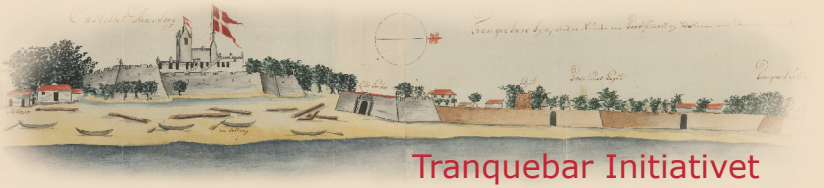
English abstract

Picturing the Unknown: Cultural Encounters and Visual Representations in Company Paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries in south Indian Collections of the National Museum of Denmark.

During the eighteen and nineteenth centuries various European East Indian Companies came to India in the pursued of trade. Also Denmark had a trading post from 1620 to 1845 in Tranquebar situated on the Coromandel Coast and belonging to the king of Tanjore in south India. This article explores the tradition of Company Paintings of Tanjore: a tradition that was developed in the meeting between a European demand for visual documentation to depicture the new and exotic land they were visiting and local Indian artists and painting traditions. This article investigates the many Company Paintings that were collected by Danish governors and travellers and now a part of the collections in the National Museum of Denmark. In the article I present the Danish collectors of Company Paintings, the local Indian artists and their painting techniques, and the ruler of Tanjore, Raja Serfoji II, and his great interest in art and science. This article discusses that the development of the Tanjore Company Painting tradition was not only promoted by the various East Indian Companies in south India, as earlier studies of the Company Painting tradition argues. I suggest that the local Indian elite, especially Serfoji II, also had a visionary interest in promoting a hybrid form of Indian-European paintings. Finally the article presents a catalogue with descriptions of selected paintings hosted by the National Museum of Denmark.



Tranquebar Initiativet

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Dansk resumé

At skildre det ukendte: Kulturmøder og visuel repræsentation i kompagnimalerier fra det attende og nittende århundrede i Nationalmuseets sydindiske samlinger.

I løbet af det attende og nittende århundrede udsendtes folk fra adskillige europæiske ostindiske kompagnier til Indien med det formål at handle. Også Danmark havde fra 1620 til 1845 på den indiske Coromandel-kyst en handelsstation i byen Tranquebar, som hørte under kongen af Tanjores herredømme i Sydindien. Denne artikel udforsker kompagnimaleritraditionen i Tanjore: en tradition som blev udviklet i mødet mellem lokale indiske kunstnere og kunsttraditioner og en europæisk efterspørgsel efter visuel dokumentation, som kunne illustrere det nye og eksotiske land, europæerne var ankommet til. Der fokuseres på de mange kompagnimalerier, som blev indsamlet af danske guvernører og rejsende, og som nu i Danmark er en del af Nationalmuseets samlinger. Jeg præsenterer de danske indsamlere af kompagnimalerier, de lokale indiske kunstnere og deres teknikker, samt kongen af Tanjore, Raja Serfoji II, og hans store interesse for kunst og videnskab. Det diskuteres, hvorvidt udviklingen af kompagnimalerier fra Tanjore udelukkende var fremskyndet af de forskellige ostindiske kompagnier i Sydindien, som tidligere studier af kompagnimaleritraditionen har argumenteret for. Som kommentar hertil foreslår jeg, at den lokale indiske elite, og især Serfoji II, også havde en visionær interesse i at promovere en hybrid form for indisk-europæiske malerier. Afslutningsvis præsenterer artiklen et katalog med beskrivelser af udvalgte kompagnibilleder, som er en del af Nationalmuseets samlinger.

NATIONALMUSEET

Picturing the Unknown

Cultural Encounters and Visual Representations in Company Paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries in south Indian Collections of the National Museum of Denmark

LAURA BERIVAN NILSSON

Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie, nr. 11, 2015

Contents

Introduction

> "I intend to get drawings of everything… I mean to begin a collection of curiosities of all sorts, drawings for my dear children."[1]

This quote originates from the journal (1811-1815) of Maria Nugent, a British lady, who travelled with her husband, General Georg Nugent, on his posting as commander-in-chief in India. The quote indicates how Lady Nugent, akin to many other eighteenth and nineteenth century European travellers, was excited about her first meeting with a new and strange world and the various crafts, costumes, people, and processions that surrounded her. The quote also shows a desire for visual documentation of the exotic new land to present to friends and relatives back home. Even though Lady Nugent like her European contemporaries was writing diaries and travel journals about her experiences in India, pictures became highly desired records and were considered valued possession among travellers (Archer 1972: 3). As part of the pursuit of trade in South Asia, a diverse crowd of governors, missionaries, soldiers, scientists and travellers came to India, and a new hybrid style of paintings called Company Paintings was developed in this encounter. The term 'Company Painting' can be understood as "an attempt by Indian artists to work in a mixed Indo-European style, which would appeal to those employed by various East India companies, hence the name" (Archer 1992: 11; Dallapiccola 2010: 18).

In this article I will present a small selection of the many Company Paintings received by the National Museum of Denmark from Danish governors and civil servants over the years. These officials were posted in the Danish trading post in Tranquebar, situated on the Coromandel Coast in south India. The place belonged to the south Indian principality ruled from the city Tanjore (known today as Thanjavur). Tanjore was a hotbed for Indian art and also became known for its production of flourishing Company Paintings. This article puts forward an outline of the development of the Company Painting tradition in Tanjore, and goes on to present a catalogue of selected paintings hosted by the National Museum of Denmark.

[1] Maria Nugent, *A Journal from the years 1811 to 1815* (1839), p. 90, 109, citation from Archer 1972: 3).

In the first part of the article, I will describe how the various cultural encounters between European travellers, governors, civil servants and soldiers and the local Indian elite and artists came to influence the evolution of the Company Painting tradition in Tanjore. I will particularly discuss how the painting techniques of Indian artists in Tanjore developed in line with these encounters. Furthermore, the article discusses whether the development of the Tanjore Company Painting tradition was mainly promoted by the various East Indian Companies in south India, as earlier studies of the Company Painting tradition argues (Archer 1972;1992), or whether, following the recent studies by Indira V. Peterson (2011), the local elite in Tanjore, especially Raja Serfoji II, also had a visionary interest in promoting a hybrid form of Indian-European paintings.

In the second part of the article, a catalogue with a selection of Company Paintings collected by Danish collectors will be presented according to the pictorial theme of the painting.

Collectors of Company Paintings

With 300.000 artefacts, the ethnographic collection at the National Museum of Denmark is one of the largest ethnographic collections in the world. The oldest artefacts in the collection, including the Company Paintings, originate from the Royal *Kunstkammer* established around 1650 by the Danish King Frederik III. In 1825 the Royal Kunstkammer was dissolved and the ethnographic artefacts became a part of the Royal Art Museum's Ethnographical Department. During the nineteenth century, the ethnographical department grew considerably through expeditions and gifts from Danish colonies around the world. Likewise, the Company Paintings were collected by Danish governors and civil servants posted at the Danish trading post Tranquebar. In 1620, Admiral Ove Gedde on behalf of the Danish King Christian IV established the trading post in Tranquebar (Fihl 2014). In 1845 the trading post was sold to the British Empire, but for more than 200 years the trading post was occupied by Danish governors, travellers, and civil servants who brought local artwork, artefacts, manuscripts and souvenirs back to Denmark. In the following, some of the collectors of Danish Company Paintings will be presented.

Fuglsang's collection

Niels Studsgaard Fuglsang (1759-1832) was educated as a theologian at the University of Copenhagen in 1792 and soon after he travelled to Tranquebar to serve as minister in charge of the Danish Zion Church congregation. He stayed in Tranquebar until 1802, after which he returned to Denmark and settled as a minister in the town Slagelse. His experiences from Tranquebar had a great impact on him, and he gradually developed an interest in Indian literature, religion, and history, and wrote several articles about these subjects. During his stay in Tranquebar, he collected around 150 artefacts such as religious items, handwritten scripts, and Company Paintings. After his death, his widow sold the collection of artefacts to the Royal Art Museum's Ethnographical Department.

Around 70 Company Paintings in Fuglsang's collection are depictions of castes and occupations represented by a husband and wife standing next to each other holding different tools and artefacts related to their trade. All of the paintings have the same background with greyish clouds, a yellow-green earth, and a horizon with palm trees. The use of muted colours, perspective, and shades in the painting from Fuglsang's collection is typical of the hybrid Indian-European painting style (Mishra 2011: 22). Fuglsang did also collect around 20 paintings illustrating Hindu gods and goddesses. These paintings are not presented in this following catalogue, but likewise hosted by the National Museum of Denmark.

Mourier's collection

The Danish Governor Konrad Emil Mourier (1795-1865) arrived in Tranquebar in 1832 with his wife Constance Mourier (1808-1865). Mourier functioned as a governor in Tranquebar until 1838. During his time as a governor, Mourier collected around 80 artefacts such as musical instruments, weapons, religious objects, and manuscripts, which are now part of the collections at the National Museum of Denmark. A particularly interesting artefact in the Mourier collection is a small book with the title *East Indian People: collected by Constance Mourier, Trankebar 1834*. The book contains a card with a painted head of a person placed on a background that is very similar to the backgrounds of the Company

Paintings collected earlier by Fuglsang. The book also contains 81 costumes along with hairstyles painted on transparent mica, which makes it possible to place each costume on the card with the head of a person and thereby create 81 different folk types. The folk types represent men and women from different castes and occupations and their typical costumes, see Fig. 1 with an example of one of these costumes from the book.

Fig. 1. The two cards to the left are to be combined into the third card to the right. The first is with the head and the next is with a costume painted on mica. To the right, the mica costume card has been placed on the card with the head. The cards belong to a book containing 81 costumes painted on mica. Donated in 1840 to the Royal Art Museums Ethnographical department.

Inventory number: D.2037. From Tranquebar, Tanjore. Collector: Constance Mourier. Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson.

Unknown collection

Unfortunately, a great part of the Company Paintings painted on mica in the collections of the National Museum does not have any information about collectors, proveniences, dates, or titles. The paintings depict different forms of religious festivals, hunting scenes, transportation scenes, landscapes, and performing artists. Furthermore, there are a few paintings that illustrate crime and punishment motifs. In comparison with the motifs in Fuglsang's and Mourier's collections, the motifs of the ano-

nymous collection are slightly more dramatic and romantic. Meetings between officials and soldiers (most likely British), and local Indians are also portrayed in the paintings. For an example, see Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. A tiger hunt on elephants (title in Danish "En tigerjagt paa elefanter"). The painting illustrates two men wearing European suits and top hats, while riding elephants during a tiger hunt.

Width: 14,5 cm, length: 10 cm. Painted on mica. Inventory number: Du.452. Collector: Unknown. Photograph: John Lee & Arnold Mikkelsen. Entered the Royal Art Museum: Unknown

The Tradition of Company Paintings

As mentioned earlier, the Company Painting style was developed in line with the demand of souvenirs and visual documentation from India as requested by the employed and other actors connected with the various European East Indian companies. However, the arrival of the Portuguese in India as early as 1498 may also have had an impact on the development of the Company Painting style. Today we unfortunately have no vestiges left from that period to substantiate this assumption (Dallapiccola 2010:18). The earliest known examples of paintings similar to the later

Company Paintings can be traced back to the late seventeenth century, where the Italian traveller Niccolao Manucci collected paintings in India to illustrate his journeys. When Manucci was living in Madras between 1701 and 1705 he collected 78 paintings made on his requirements to directly illustrate the Indian life to which he refers to in his writings (Archer 1992:15). The subjects of the paintings were gods, goddesses, religious ceremonies, processions, temples, and rituals, which were meant to satisfy the Europeans' curiosity about Indian society and religion (ibid.). During the eighteenth century the British, French, Dutch, and Danish trading companies were operating in south India. By the end of the eighteenth century the British East Indian Company, also called John Company, had assumed a broad political and administrative role in India. The Company was established to pursue trade with the East Indies and through the years it gained control over half of the world's trade with commodities such as cotton, silk, indigo dye, salt, saltpetre, tea, and opium. It was a period where knowledge about the world was expanding and so was the growing curiosity in the west about countries in the east, and in the picturesque and the exotic (Archer 1972:1).

In south India, the Anglo-Mysore Wars (1767-1799) also had a big impact on the development of the Company Painting tradition. The Anglo-Mysore wars were a series of wars fought in southern India between the Kingdom of Mysore and the British East Indian Company. A great number of British troops were employed by the British Crown and the East Indian Company and sent to India to fight. The fourth war resulted in the overthrow of Mysore and the killing of Tipu Sultan in 1799. During the wars the British soldiers patrolled south India, and were garrisoned in towns in the region. Many of the British officers came from cultivated backgrounds and some were also amateur painters and painted motifs of Indian landscapes and their inhabitants. It was also a popular trend among the soldiers to collect local made pictures of local customs and bring them back as souvenirs (Archer 1972: 15). As a result of the increasing demand of paintings, Indian artists from and around Tanjore prepared standard sets of paintings that illustrated distinctive local styles and sold them at the British military stations or to travellers along halting places at the rivers (Archer 1992: 17).

Even though there was a great demand for paintings that depictured

local life in India, the European buyers were not especially fond of the traditional Indian painting style. As George Foster, a civil servant from the East India Company writes in a derogatory style in his journal:

> "The Hindoos of this day have a slender knowledge of the rules of proportion, and none of perspective. They are just imitators, and correct workmen; but they posses merely the glimmering of genius."[2]

Michael Symes, an officer in the East India Company, concurs with Foster by relating:

> "The representation of the costumes of the country, I am persuaded, are as faithful as a pencil can delineate: the native painters of India do not posses a genius for fiction, or works or fancy; they can not invent or even embellish, and they are therefore utterly ignorant of perspective; but they draw figures and trace every line of a picture, with a laborious exactness peculiar to themselves."[3]

These quotes indicate that the Indian artists were perceived as not having the ability to reflect upon their own work and techniques. They were workmen who could accurately depict pictures, but didn't have the artistic imagination or technique for illustrating perspective as the European artists did.

Charles Francis, stationed as a medical doctor in Bengal, met a Hindu painter in Punjab and commented:

> "[He is] a man of very considerable taste for miniature paintings. Some of his likenesses… were exceedingly faithful [but] like the whole race of artists in India, he is deficient in a knowledge of all those refinements of the art, which are to be acquired by the taste being

[2] George Foster, *A Journal from Bengal to England* (1798), p. 80, citation from Archer 1972: 3.

[3] Michael Symes, *An Account of an embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by the Governor-General of India in the year 1795* (1800), London, p. 252, citation from Archer 1972: 4.

> rightly directed, and by the diligent study of first-rate works; by education in fact. When the value of an acquaintance with the intellectual treasures of England is universally diffused throughout India, it is to be hoped that native artists will find means of becoming more generally enlightened upon those branches of their profession, in which in present they are so deficient."[4]

According to Mildred Archer (1972), Indian artists were both adaptable and eager to please their new patrons. This resulted in a change of their traditional painting style and techniques. They started to introduce the use of light and shade, a more subdued use of colour, perspective drawing, and a choice of motifs that matched the European demands for visual documentation of Indian local life.

Art and Science in Tanjore

Most of Danish Company Paintings in the National Museum of Denmark were produced in the city of Tanjore. Tanjore was already a flourishing centre when Rajah Ekoji I (ruled from 1676-83) founded the Maratha dynasty in Tanjore. Despite spending much of his time as a ruler to fight the Kingdoms of Mysore and Madurai, he devoted himself to scholarly and literary pursuits and was greatly interested in art and music. During his rule, the city of Tanjore was embellished and many temples in the area were refurbished and enlarged (Dallapiccola 2010: 11-12). However, during the eighteenth century many political changes as a result of the Carnatic and the Anglo-Mysore wars had a great impact on the whole region of southern India. In 1773 Tanjore fell to the forces of the Nawab of Arcot and the British East India Company. As a result the then king, Tulajaji II (reign 1763-1787), was taken captive. A few years later the East India Company changed its policy and reinstalled Tulajaji, but only as a dependant of the British. Shortly before his death, Tulajaji adopted the boy Serfoji (1777-1829), who later as Serfoji II (reign 1798-1832) came to have a great impact on the development of the Company Paintings from Tanjore. Serfoji was entrusted to the

[4] Charles Francis, *Sketches of native life in India* (1848), London, p. 26-27, cited from Archer 1972: 3.

care of Christian Friedrich Schwartz, who served at the Danish-Halle Lutheran mission in Tranquebar (Dallapiccola 2010: 12). After the death of Tulajaji, Amar Singh, the half-brother of Serfoji, was appointed as regent because of Serfoji's status as a minor. Amar Singh denied Serfoji an education, but Schwartz interfered and sent Serfoji to Madras, where the Lutheran missionary William Gericke educated him. As a product of his education Serfoji became familiar with Urdu, French, German, Danish, Greek, Dutch, and Latin and he became a very cosmopolitan ruler. At the end of the Mysore Wars, the British installed Serfoji II as the ruler of Tanjore, but he was forced to surrender the administration to the British. As a consequence of Serfoji's lack of political and administrative power, he was able to devote most of his time and resources into strengthening further Tanjore's position as a great centre of art and science (Dallapiccola 2012: 12). Serfoji II had an extensive interest in natural sciences particular in medicine and ophthalmology, while maintaining a religious life style firmly rooted in the Hindu tradition. (Nair 2012: 16).

The initiatives of Serfoji II to support art, culture, and science in Tanjore began to attract several high-ranked company officials, missionaries, scientists, and travellers who were keen to visit him, his palace, and his great library. The library itself contained an eclectic collection of maps, dictionaries, artwork, and literature on music, dance, medicine, architecture and so on (Nair 2012: 33). The British lady Charlotte Clive wrote in her diary about Serfoji II: "[He is] handsome, tall, stout-looking man, talking good English, and with very pleasing manners" (Archer 1992: 43) Serfoji II also had a great interest in European art and paintings. A British traveller, Viscount Valentia, who travelled in India among other countries between 1802-1806, describes Serfoji's drawing room as:

> "…Furnished with English chairs and tables; and on the latter were paper, colours and every implement of drawing, another amusement, which he is very fond of."[5]

Along with his interest in European art Serfoji II supported the production of paintings that combined Europeans and Indian painting traditions and the production of Company Paintings flourished at his court.

[5] George Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt:1802-1806* (1994), New Delhi, p. 513, citation from Nair 2012: 31.

The Artists in Tanjore

In Tanjore, Company Paintings were produced mainly by artists from the Mochi caste (leather and shoe-makers). As illustrated also in the citations above, Europeans had mixed views of the skills of the Mochi painter as we can also detect in the following note from Captain Charles Gold's book *Oriental Drawings* (1806) about a drawing of a "lame beggar and his family" painted by a Mochi painter:

> "The Moochys, or Artists of India, usually paint in the stile represented in the present drawing, … and some finish their pictures in the delicate and laboured manner of a miniature, though they at the same time are entirely devoid of truth in colouring and perspective, and constantly err on the side of ornament and gaudiness of dress, excepting where the subject does not admit of much finery and decorations, as with beggars; and then they possess considerable merit as to costume and character. On the suggestion of Europeans, some of the country artists have been induced to draw series of the most ordinary casts or tribes, each picture representing a man and a wife, with the signs or marks of distinction on their foreheads, and not in their common, but holiday clothes." (Gold in Archer 1992: 17).

Even though Gold was not very fond of the painting techniques of the Mochis, he did give credit to their depiction of local costumes and characters. The note also reflects, how the Europeans request for paintings of local castes and tribes might have been an attempt to understand the unknown, and what they saw as a seemingly complex Indian society through visual order and categorisation. Gold's description of the Tanjore Mochi's work relates very much to the paintings collected by the Danish missionary Fuglsang, and which are presented later in the catalogue of this article.

As mentioned earlier, Serfoji II was eager to develop art in his kingdom, and he employed some of the best Mochi painters at his court and introduced them to new materials and painting techniques inspired by European painting traditions. During the Age of Enlightenment, the ability to imagine objects 'out of sight' was valued. This was the case both in the natural sciences and in the fine arts, which required the practitio-

ners to equip themselves with exceptional powers of distanced observation and special techniques (Nair 2012: 32). Inspired by this trend and by painters such as William Daniell and his works of *Oriental Scenery*, Serfoji II made regular orders from England of new instruments and technologies such as the *camera obscura*[6] to modernize the production of artwork in the palace in Tanjore (ibid.). The artists learned to modify their colour schemes and flat patterns. Bright patches of colours were replaced by soft rounded form, and light and shade were indicated by soft washes of colour. The favourite subjects among the artists were costumes, castes, crafts, trades, and transportation. Also naturalistic depictions of plant and animal life, religious processions, and festivals were popular motifs (Mishra 2011: 22).

Another crucial factor in developing the Company Painting tradition was the influence of the Hyderabad painting style. Because of political unrest, a number of artists from Hyderabad migrated to Tanjore in the late eighteenth century in search of work (Dallapiccola 2010: 163). In the early Tanjore paintings (around 1770) one can see the influence of the Hyderabad style in the way the people in the paintings are placed against a plain brightly coloured background. The background is typically green, blue, or yellow with a band of turbulent clouds across the top. Around 1800, a more realistic background emerged and the paintings from this period show a man and woman usually placed against a landscape of trees and bushes (Archer 1992: 45). A great part of the paintings from the Fulgsang's collection demonstrates this development as we can see in Fig. 3.

[6] Optical device that led to the invention of the photographic camera (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Fig. 3. A storyteller who accompanies his speech with the instrument Kudukudupei and drinks alcohol. Depicted with his wife carrying the bottle. (Title in Danish "En historiefortæller som ledsager sin tale med instrumentet Kudukudupei som drikker spirit og hans kone med bottelen").

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm. Gouache on paper. Inventory number: D.1696. Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839. Collector: N.S. Fuglsang. Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Materials and Techniques

The selected Company Paintings presented in this article and in the adjacent catalogue are mostly painted on paper or mica, which is a thin transparent slice of silicate mineral. Mica-paintings were in high demand among the Europeans and were at times mass-produced. Often different artists used the same standard model for their paintings but placed them on different background, as illustrated in Fig 4.

Fig. 4. In the left case the transparent mica painting of a women is placed on a white background and the right case on a black background.

Width: 7 cm, length: 11 cm. Painted on mica. Inventory number: Du.446. Collector: Unknown. Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson.

Mica paintings were easily transported home as souvenirs and often sold in convenient boxes (Branfoot 2007: 73). In addition to paper and mica, one of the museum's portraits of Raja Serfoji II is painted on precious ivory as seen in Fig. 5.

Fig. 5. Serfoji II, King of Tanjore. (Title in Danish "Serforjee Maha Rajah af Tanjour"). Miniature portrait of Serfoji II at the age of twenty five, two years after he was installed as ruler in 1798. The portrait is painted on ivory.

Height 18,5 cm. Inventory number: Dc.197. Gouache on ivory with a silver frame. Provenience: Tanjore. Approx. 1800. Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1840. Photograph: John Lee.

Both the vegetal and mineral colours used by the south Indian artists were prepared by following traditional recipes. Mineral colours such as chrome yellow, vermillion, Indian red, and white were crushed to a powder in a stone mortar and then grounded to a fine paste. The paste was then scraped from the sides of the mortar with a piece of ivory and placed

in prepared coconut shells. River water and gum were then mixed with the paste (Dallapiccola 2010: 14). Charcoal for sketching was prepared from tamarind tree twigs. The twigs from the tree were placed inside an iron tube and heated to red hot in the fire. After being cooled down the twigs were ready to draw a uniform line (ibid.). The brushes used for paintings, were made from hair of a variety of animals. Squirrel's hair was suitable for delicate finishing work, camel and goat hair were used for broad brushes and the bristles of hogs for rough work.

Concluding Remarks
Picturing the Unknown or Reinventing the Known?

Earlier studies of the Company Painting tradition and in particular the extensive research made by Mildred Archer suggest, that the development of the Company Paintings was mainly a result of the East Indian Companies' demand for a visualization of the new and strange world into which Europeans had been transported. However, Indira V. Peterson brings forward a new perspective on the studies of the Company Paintings from Tanjore. She argues that Serfoji II was one of the most important supporters of the development of the south Indian Company Painting tradition (Peterson et al. 2011: 19). According to Peterson, it was not just the Europeans who wanted to document Indian local life. Serfoji II also had a great interest in documenting the material culture and ethnic relationships of his time. Also his own kingship was visualized in the Company Paintings by a great number of self-portraits.

In particular, Peterson uses the miniature portrait of Serfoji II painted on ivory, which was donated to the Danish King and is now a part of the collection in the National Museum of Denmark, as an example of the developing technical skills of Serfoji's artists, see Fig. 5. As can be seen in the paintings presented in this article, Serfoji II and his artists developed a hybrid style of portraits for him combing Indian and European traditions. All portraits show a three-quarter view of Serfoji's face, which became a standard model for his portrait during his reign (ibid.). According to Peterson, these portraits were meant to present Serfoji II as a divine king, as well as a modern enlightened ruler (ibid.). In line with this argument Peterson emphasizes that Tulajaji II and his successors recog-

nized the usefulness of portraits as instruments in political and social negotiations with their foreign allies (Peterson 2008: 46). During the time of Serfoji II's kingship, portraits in Company Painting style became part of the ceremonial gift exchange between the Tanjore Court and the European East Indian Companies. According to Peterson, it would seem that Serfoji II preferred the size and aesthetic of Company style portraits for his multiple audiences and purposes (ibid.: 48).

These arguments lead us to the question of how we today should understand the Company Paintings and what they are picturing? On one hand, Company Paintings document the gaze of the past on the different ethnic and social groups of south India. From a natural scientific perspective, the paintings represent ideal types of people as a European way of understanding, ordering, and classifying the unknown. On the other hand, Company Paintings also document a desire from the local Indian elite to portray social life in Tanjore in a positive way. Thus a harmonious coexistence among the heterogenic castes and religious communities in Tanjore is depicted, including presentations of people in their finest clothes and life without distress (Peterson et al. 2011: 10, 21). Furthermore the royal portraits in Company Painting style also seem to have played a role in the display of power and status for both a European and Indian audience. Hence, it seems that not only the Europeans, but also the local Indian elite had an interest in the production of the Company Paintings.

As the title of this article suggests, the cultural encounters between the various actors in and around the European East Indian Companies, the Indian rulers and the local artists were crucial to the development of the Company Painting tradition. In line with this, Crispin Branfoot argues that South Asian Company Paintings are, in essence, a pictorial response to the cultural encounter between Europe and South Asia (Branfoot 2007: 78). The study of cultural encounters in the Middle East, and in Asia has been dominated by post-colonial theory drawing on Edward Said's work on *Orientalism* (1978). Said argues that in the west, a Eurocentric image of Asian cultures has been constructing an exotic 'other' which have legitimized the European domination of the areas (Said in Fihl & Puri 2009: 13). A similar argument to Said's is made by Volker Lengbehn, who has studied the role of postcards and visual culture on the construction of German imperialism. As Volker Langbehn

emphases: "Feeding and creating a new a taste for exotica and a fascination with Otherness, picture postcards disseminated news and views in images that captured the world and delivered it to the consumers in their living rooms. In the words of John MacKenzie, it is "the supreme expression of control through a particular type of slanted visual understanding," a "homogenization of difference," or "a centralization of knowledge" and power."" (Langbehn 2010: 7).

Following the argument of Langbehn, the production of Company Paintings can be seen as an attempt by the Europeans to construct and visualize 'the other' as a way of constructing and strengthen own national identities and domination of the Indian regions. However, if one considers the argument of Peterson, we also need to take into consideration, how the local elite in Tanjore had an interest in creating a visual tradition that could depict a more European (and what could be interpreted by Serfoji II as a more modern) perspective of local India. His support of the Company Painting tradition could also be perceived as a way to visualize for a wider European audience the local elite's kingship and control over the heterogenic groups of people living a ordered and harmonious life in Tanjore. In that case, one cannot unambiguously connect the development of the Company Paintings with the strengthening of European domination over India. The local interests in the production and development in the Company Paintings as a visual culture, as we see it in the case of the Tanjore Company Paintings, also need to be taken into consideration.

Catalogue

With a selection of Company Paintings hosted by the National Museum of Denmark

A short introduction note: It is important to note that many of the presented photos of Company Paintings in the following catalogue have been edited and cropped. Therefore not all of the paintings are shown in full size. The original Danish title in the inventory list is translated into English and presented along with each painting. I have written the descriptions for the paintings based on a comparison with the descriptions of similar paintings in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and in Lindenau-Altenburg Museum (Dallapiccola 2010, Archer 1992, Werner et al. 2011). Another important thing to bear in mind is that the descriptions made of the symbols of the different castes in the paintings are not to be seen as direct explanations of castes in south India at the time of the production of the paintings. The descriptions I have made are rather simplistic and do not reflect the complexity of castes in Tanjore. Instead of seeing the paintings as direct documentation of castes in Tanjore, the symbols, such as the different *tilakas*[1] in the paintings, can be interpreted as an attempt to visualize and order the seemingly complex castes and communities for a European audience.

[1] Mark worn on the forehead or on other part of the body. These marks, like many other symbols, practices, and rituals in the Hindu traditions, have multiple meanings. Factors such as the gender and marital status of the person wearing it, the occasion for which the mark is worn, the shape and materials with which it is made, the particular sectarian community (*sampradaya*) from which one comes, and, occasionally, one's caste, may play a role in how the mark will be interpreted (Narayanan 2014: 1).

Caste and Occupation

A Brahmin man and his wife
(in Danish "En Brahmin og hans kone")

The Brahmins are known to dominate the traditions of Holy Scriptures and to claim a position at the top of the caste hierarchy due to perceptions of ritual purity. Characteristics of the male Brahmins are the shaving of the forehead and the way the hair is arranged like illustrated in this painting. The Brahmin man in this picture carries what seems to be a palm manuscript under his arm and wears white clothing, which is also typical for Brahmins. His wife carries a basket with something that could be cotton. She wears a red sari and a nose ornament.

Width: 10 cm, length: 14,5 cm
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.451
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: John Lee & Arnold Mikkelsen

Inspiration for description above: *Peoples of the Earth: Guide to the Ethnographic Collection*, edited by Hans Christian Gulløv et al. (2007: 87).

Ambadden, a Tamil barber
(in Danish "Ambadden, en tamilsk barber")

A barber sits on the ground and shaves a man's forehead with a razor blade on a stick. He wears a white dhoti and a red and black woven turban with a golden band. The man he shaves sits on the ground and looks in a mirror, which he carries in his left hand. The man wears a dhoti with a red border and a gold necklace and earrings. In front of the two men are several artefacts used for shaving.

Width: 25 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1656
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: National museum of Denmark

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 13.29 and 13.40, from Tanjore, late 18th century; Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 41, from Tanjore 18th century.

A messenger and his wife
(n Danish "En brevdrager og hans kone")

A man is elegantly dressed in a black jacket with a white pattern and a dhoti with a red border. He wears a red turban and a *Vaishnava naman* as a sign of his devotion of Vishnu. In his hand he holds a letter with a red lacquer stamp. The letter seems to be European. Next to him stands his wife in a red and white sari with a blue border. She wears gold jewelleries and carries a brass vessel in her left arm.

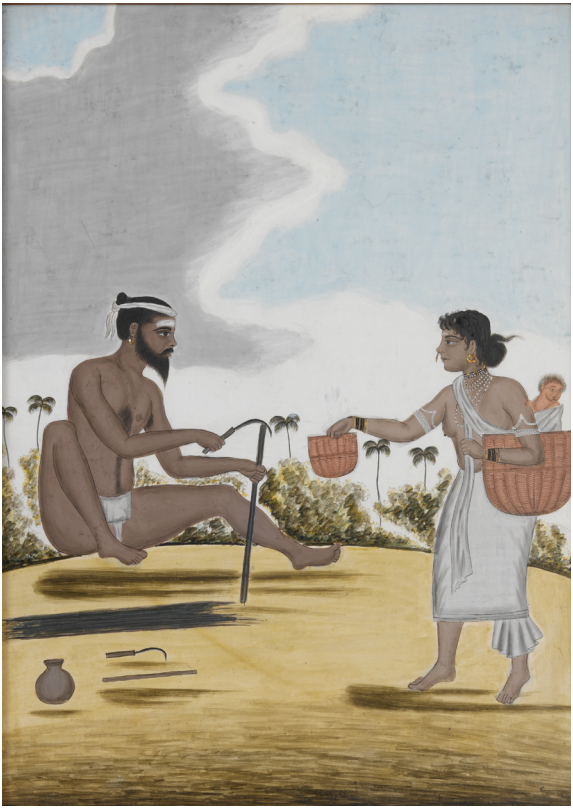
Width: 25 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1694
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: National museum of Denmark

Inspiration for description above: Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 96, from Tanjore 18th century.

A silk weaver and his wife
(in Danish "En silkevæver og hans kone")

A man weaves a white piece of textile. He wears a white turban. On his forehead is a *Vaishnava namam* as a sign of his devotion of Vishnu. Next to him stands his wife, who wears a red sari with a dark border. She carries a spindle in her hand. Behind the couple is a house with red roof tiles.

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1670
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: National museum of Denmark

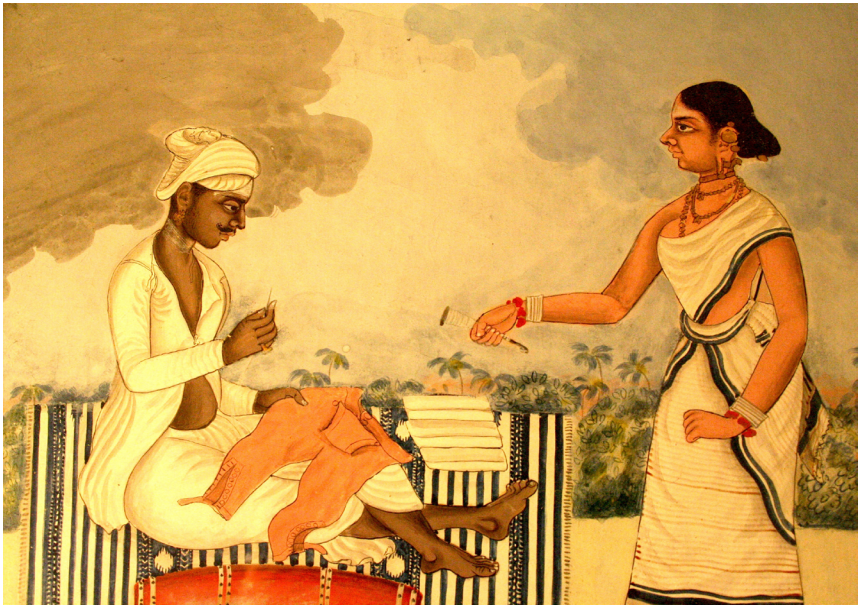


Kuraven, a basket maker and his wife
(in Danish "Kuraven. En kurvemager og hans kone")

A man sits on the ground dressed in simple clothing with a white kerchief around his head. He splits his material with a knife. Next to him stands his wife with one basket in her hand and one under her arm. She carries a baby on her back wrapped in white clothing.

Width: 26,7 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1656
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: National museum of Denmark

Inspiration for description above: Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 48, from Tanjore 18th century.



A Tamil tailor and his wife
(in Danish "En tamilsk skrædder og hans kone")

A tailor sits on a woven carpet and sews a pair of presumable European pants. He wears a white jacket and a white dhoti. In his right hand he holds a needle and thread. The thread is connected to the thread that his wife carries with her right hand. She is dressed in a white sari with a dark border.

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1669
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 44, from Tanjore 18th century.

Gosaven, a potter
(in Danish "Gosaven, en pottemager")

A potter works at his wheel while his wife, with a wooden spoon, puts the finishing touches to a pot. The man wears *vibhuti* on his forehead and body made by three horizontal marks, which is worn by devotees of Shiva. He has a white clothe wound around his head and a kerchief tied to both of his upper arms and around his neck. Inside the kerchief seems to be an object. The woman wears a black and red sari with a white pattern. In front of the couple are several pots in different shapes.

Width: 26,7 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1675
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 13.29 and 13.40, from Tanjore, late 18th century; Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 49, from Tanjore 18th century.

Tatsen, a carpenter
(in Danish "Tatsen, en tømmermand")

A carpenter sits on the ground and carves a wood plank. In front of him lie different sorts of wood carving tools. He wears a white dhoti with a red border and a woven turban. On his arms and body are several *vibhuti* marks, made by three white horizontal marks, which is worn by devotees of Shiva. His wife stands next to him and wears a red sari with a white pattern and a black border. In her hand she carries a wooden box that seems to be a toolbox.

Width: 25 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1676
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 13.39, from Tanjore, late 18th century.

Seraph-Seddi. (A money exchanger)
(in Danish "Seraph-Seddi. (pengeveksleren)")

Two *Chettis* sit on the ground. One of them counts and the other measures what seems to be different kinds of metal. On the forehead they both wear *vibhuti* marks, which is a sign of their devotion to Shiva. On the ground next to them are several piles of metals that seem to be gold and silver. Behind them is a building with a lock on the door. The money exchanger's wife stands next to him and wears a red and white sari with a black border. In her hand it seems like she carries a lens.

Width: 27,5 cm, length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1683
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Tambiran and his servant
(in Danish "Tambiran og hans opvarterske")

A temple manager and his servant. They both wear ochre robes. The temple manager wears an ochre turban tied around his head. In his left hand he carries a parasol, which suggests that he claims to have a high status in society. Both him and his servant wear *rudraksha* beads, which are used for prayer, and *vibhuti* marks. The temple manager also called Thambiran is part of the pandaram community and is a devotee of *Saive Siddhanta*, which is a tradition that is practised in the south of India and predominantly in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. The name *pandaram* means 'sage' in Tamil.

Width: 22,4 cm, length: 32,2 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1678
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 15.28, from Tamil Nadu, 1830-1835; Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 10, 11, from Tanjore 18th century.

A Muslim man who sells pearls and related things at people's doors, and his wife
(in Danish "En Mohrman som sælger perler
og andre ting angående til folks døre og hans kone")

A Muslim merchant stands next to his wife. He wears a red dhoti or lungi with a white belt in the waist. Over his shoulder he carries a black shawl with fringes. On his head he wears a white skullcap, which indicates his belief in Islam. His wife wears a white sari.

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1677
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

A female Muslim dancer. Musician with the instrument sarangi
(in Danish "En mohrsk danserinde.
Musikant med instrumentet Sasangi")

The dancer wears a red garment with a gold border and a floral pattern. Her head is partly covered by a shawl. On her feet she wears gold coloured shoes with upturned toes. The musician next to the dancer wears a jama jacket tied at his right armpit, which indicates that he a Muslim. A Hindu wearing a jama would often tie his jacket at the left armpit. He is playing the instrument called sarangi, which means 'a hundred colours' indicating its ability to produce a large palette of tonal colour and emotional nuance.

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1686
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

A Sikh and his wife
(in Danish "Sick og hans kone")

The man carries a spear, a shield and a dagger. On his feet he wears red shoes with upturned toes. One can see that the man belongs to the Sikh community by his turban and the way his hair is arranged. To understand why these features are characteristic for Sikhs one has to go back to the history of the Sikh Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), who established an order called the khalsa order. It was important that the members of the order were identifiable and the members were therefore ordered to wear five articles of faith also called the five K's. The painting indicates that the depictured Sikh meets three of these articles: *kes*, uncut hair, *kangha*, a comb, which keeps the hair in a bun under a turban and the kirpan, a dagger, which is a part of the khanda symbol that is used as a common symbol for the Sikh religion. Next to the Sikh stands his wife dressed in a red sari with a floral pattern.

Width: 23,3 cm, length: 32 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1695
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 80, from Tanjore 18th century; Aktor 2011: 463-464.

Busaritsi who with fire dances for the Mariamma goddess
(in Danish "Busaritsi som med ild
danser for Mariamma gudinden")

A female dancer, who dances with fire to honour the smallpox goddess, Mariamman. She wears a white sari with a coloured pattern and a blue blouse and jewelleries. She wears a red *tilaka* on her forehead and has small rattles tied to her feet. In one of her hands she carries a box containing an open flame. In the other hand she carries a stick and a bunch of margosa leaves. According to one of the many stories around Mariamman, she was a wife of a Tamil poet Tiruvalluvar who was a Parayiar. She got smallpox and went from house to house begging for food while fanning herself with margosa leaves to keep of the flies from her sores. When she recovered, people worshipped her as a goddess of smallpox, and hung up margosa leaves over their doors to keep the smallpox away. The man next to the dancer beats a round tambourine with two sticks.

Width: 23,5 cm, Length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1690
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector. N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 13.33, from Tanjore, late 18th century. Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 17, from Tanjore 18th century; Whitehead in Dallapiccola 2010: 178.

A Muslim. Sanadei and his wife
(in Danish "En Mohr. Sanadei og hans kone")

A Muslim holding a water pipe also called hookah made by coconut shell. He wears a jama with a floral pattern, a turban with gold and beige stripes and coloured shoes with upturned toes. His wife wears a blue and beige coloured sari with a floral pattern. In her right hand she carries a white flower.

Width: 23,5 cm, length: 34,5 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1685
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Paraiyar of the lowest caste, who skins animals and sews shoes
(in Danish "Parier af ringeste kast, som flår dyr og syr sko")

A Paraiyar couple. Both man and wife wear scarce clothing. On both of their white clothing one can detect soil stains. In their hands they carry a pair of shoes with upturned toes. The woman also carries tools that seem to be used for shoemaking. The Paraiyars were considered by other caste groups to be one of the lowest ranking castes. One of their traditional occupations was the skinning dead animals and making shoes, which by other castes were considered to be ritually polluted work.

Width: 26,7 cm, Length: 38 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1702
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Pambaddi, snake charmer - The man with a magudi instrument, and his wife
(in Danish "Pambaddi, slangedanser -
Manden med magudiinstrument og hans kone")

A snake charmer plays the *magudi* instrument which is a polyphony instrument used for attracting snakes. It is not the tone that attracts the snake but the movement of the instrument. The snake charmer wears blue trousers and a long white jama. An orange band is tied across his chest. On his head he wears a turban with feathers, small banners and an aigrette. His forehead is dusted with *vibhuti* made by ash of cow dung and a black vertical mark. His wife is dressed in a simple sari with a red border. In her hand she holds a cobra snake, which is expanding its hood. On her head and under her arm she has a snake basket. The snake charmers were by other caste considered among the lowest ranking castes. As we find many Company Paintings that picture snake charmers in the different European collections, it seems as if the motif was popular among the Europeans.

Width: 25 cm, Length: 35 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1711
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

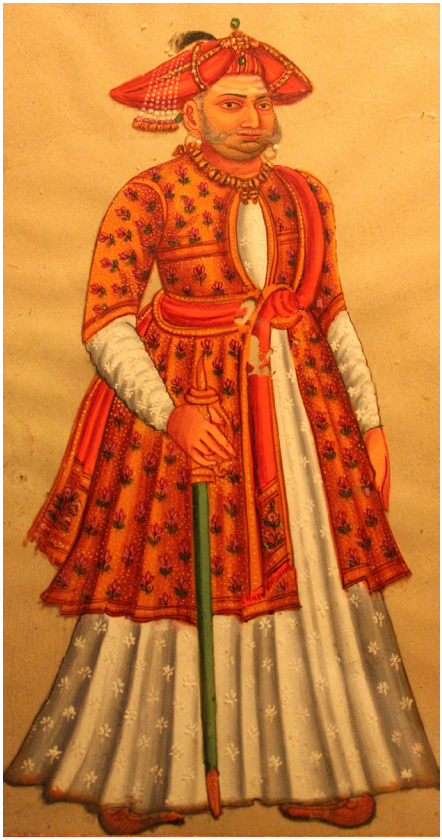
Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 15.18, from Tamil Nadu, late 18th century: Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 2, from Tanjore 18th century.

Kingship

Serfoji II of Tanjore

This photo shows a close-up of a painting that portraits Serfoji II and one of his servants. Serfoji wears a bejewelled red turban with an aigrette and a full-length jama jacket. Around his chest he wears a shawl and necklaces of beds and pearls with gold pendants. On the forehead the king wears a red *tilaka*.

Width: 27 cm, Length: 39 cm
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1717
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson



Serfoji II of Tanjore
(in Danish "Serfeski, Rajah af Tanjore")

Portrait of Serfoji II as older man. He wears a red bejewelled turban with an aigrette and a jama jacket. In his right hand he carries a sword. On his forehead he wears *tripundra* marks.

Width: 10,7 cm, length: 6,3 cm
Gouache on mica
Inventory number: Du.447
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

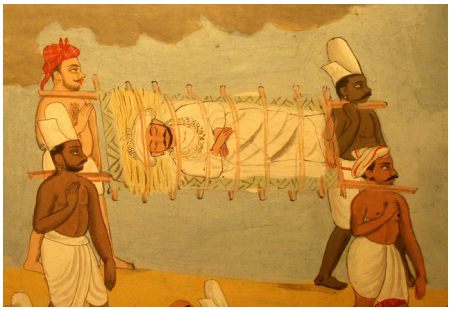
Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 15.29, from Tamil Nadu 1830-1835. Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, cat. No. 99, from Tanjore 18th century.

Processions and transportation

A funeral procession
(in Danish "Et ligtog")

Following the Hindu tradition, the dead body is cremated and the corpse is carried and followed to the burial grounds by relatives and musicians. In this painting several people with wind instruments (*ekkalam*) and drums are leading the procession. The following quote is part of the written memories of the Icelandic sailor Jón Olafsson, who was posted in Tranquebar in 1622. In this part of his memories he describes a funeral procession that seems comparable with the procession illustrated in the painting collected by Fuglsang. However, it should be noted, that the painting most likely was produced around 1800 and therefore much later than at the time, where Jón Olafsson was in Tranquebar. He noted:

> "But on the day when every corpse must be carried out through the south-west gate of the city, into a certain place set aside for them, where bodies are usually burned, an arbour of leaves is made there, having four doors, and in it is heaped dry dung, whereon the body is laid. Now when the body is carried out of the house of the dead man, and on it the deceased is laid on a bed, and many-hued cloth laid over him, and over the whole is a hung silken cloth of various splendid hues. And when they raise the body to their shoulders (it is generally borne by four men) all at once, eighteen

drums are beaten in time, and three trumpeters sound their instruments. Two men walk on the right side of the deceased and one on the left: one man walks on each side of the corpse with a small bundle of hay in either hand. These bundles of hay are dipped in oil, and fire put to them, so that they give a great flame and blaze… it is easy to recognise by the beating of drums when they are accompanying the dead out to be burned, for all goes then in mournful fashion."[1] (Olafsson 1932: 132-133)

Width and length: Unknown
Gouache on paper
Inventory number: D.1718
Entered the Royal Art Museum in 1839
Collector: N.S. Fuglsang
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: British Museum, cat. No. 14.5 from Tiruchchirappalli, 1820-1830.

[1] *The Life of the Icelander Jón òlafsson: Traveller to India* (1932). London

Transport in an open palanquin

This miniature painting illustrates the transportation of an elite couple maybe in a wedding ceremony. The palanquin is decorated with flowers. Accompanying the couple there seems to be some musicians and a female dancer, probably a *devadasi* who by her dance invokes auspiciousness.

Width and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.449
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Inspiration for description above: Puri 2014: 206-207.

A palanquin
(in Danish "En indisk karet ")

Six men and several guardians transport a closed type of palanquin. The men are wearing white clothing and red, white and blue turbans and belts. All the men have the same moustaches and have white marks on their foreheads.

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.450
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

The king of Thanjavur (Tanjore)
(in Danish "Rajahen af Tanjúr")

The king is carried on an elephant in an elaborate howdah. A man sitting on the neck of the elephant controls the elephant.

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.451
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Hook-swinging festival
(in Danish "Hinduistisk ? eller den såkaldte svingefest")

South India has been a region of multiple religious traditions. In the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities, processions during religious festivals are important public events. Many of the Company Paintings from the anonymous collection contains illustration of these events. This painting illustrates a hook-swinging festival. Hooks through the muscles on the back of the man seemingly suspend the man who hangs from the pole. The men on the ground swing the man hanging from pole around while musicians are playing. According to Branfoot this practice was associated with local deities and was typical for lower ranking communities (Branfoot 2007: 76-77). During the later 19th century, the growing influence of European missionaries and the criticism voiced by the Western-educated Indian elite led to a campaign to ban hook-swinging in eastern and southern India, the main areas where it was practised (ibid.).

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.449
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Dramatized events

A fight with a big sea serpent
(in Danish “En kamp med en stor søslange”)

Four men try to kill an enormous snake that is strangling a fifth man in a boat. The men use axes, a knife and a spear to kill the snake. The men wear blue, white and red clothing and turbans, and red shoes with upturned toes.

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.452
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Captured robbers
(in Danish "Fangede røvere")

Three men have captured what appear to be four Brahmin men.

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.452
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

Robbers capturing a traveller
(in Danish "Røvere som plyndre en reisende")

Three men have captured a man and keep him on the ground. His belongings seem to be scattered on the ground. This and the above paintings might have been illustrations for a story.

With and length: Unknown
Painted on mica
Inventory number: Du.452
Entered the Royal Art Museum: Year unknown
Collector: Unknown
Photograph: Laura Berivan Nilsson

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