

## Hannah Baader

# The Object on Stage

### Imaging the Moghul Court in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Dresden

I. Barbur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty and author of his own biography, the »Baburnama,« proudly tells his readers of the world's largest diamond, which, he explains, he owned at least briefly, having gained it through military force with his son's help. He estimates its value as half the daily living expenses of the entire world population.<sup>1</sup>

The diamond Barbur describes here was already identified with the so-called Koh-i-Noor looted by the Persian Nadir Shah in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At present the stone is set in the crown of British royal consorts, as a visual and symbolic center; it is set in a manner allowing it to be removed and worn as an individual jewel. The last person to wear the crown with the Indian jewel was Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (1900–2002), who as the wife of George VI was the last empress of India until its independence in 1947. She wore the crown with the Koh-i-Noor during the coronation ceremonies in 1937, and when she died in 2002, the insignia rested on her coffin as it lay in state in Westminster Hall (fig. 1).

It is not clear whether the story of the Koh-i-Noor can actually be traced back to Babur (and from there to the thirteenth century). But what is certain is that Barbur's descendants Shah Jahan (1592–1666) and Aurangzeb (1618–1707) possessed a diamond considered one of the world's largest jewels. The French diamond dealer Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who traveled through India a number of times, saw the stone in 1655 at the court in Agra.<sup>2</sup> He wrote down a precise description of the object, but also composed a sketch contained in the printed version of his writings as an engraving. In the same text

Tavernier described a large diamond placed on the front side of the so-called Peacock Throne;<sup>3</sup> this jewel is repeatedly identified with the Koh-i-Noor.

When Nadir Shah plundered Delhi and Agra in 1736, he looted the richly adorned Peacock's Throne – the throne of the Mughuls – and brought it to Persia. The first mention we find of the name »Koh-i-Noor,« »mountain of light,« in the sources is in reference to a newly captured stone, as part of the booty.<sup>4</sup> Nadir Shah was murdered; later, as a *quid pro quo* for military support, the stone made its way via Afghanistan – where its owner likewise died a violent death – back to India, becoming the property of the Maharaja of Lahore in the Punjab, today in Pakistan. In 1849, the Punjab was annexed by the British, thus becoming part of the British Empire in India, as such administered by the East India Company.<sup>5</sup> The Maharaja's property was confiscated and handed to the company as a settlement of open debts and reparations for the costs of the preceding war.<sup>6</sup> The youngest son of the Maharaja was assigned the task of bringing the diamond to England by ship, in order to offer it to Queen Victoria on the occasion of the East India Company's 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations. The Koh-i-Noor was handed to Victoria in July 1850. At the time it was still considered one of the world's largest diamonds.

A year after its arrival in England, the diamond was exhibited in the world's fair at London's Crystal Palace, where it drew huge crowds of – often disappointed – viewers.<sup>7</sup> The British press reacted to the stone's popularity with articles and caricatures. For the sake of both visibility and protection, the diamond was displayed in



Fig. 1  
Prince Charles (left), Prince Andrew (second left), Prince Edward (right) and Viscount Linley stand vigil at the coffin of the Queen Mother.  
Photo: Reuters

a cage, with a crown placed above the bars pointing to its owner, the English queen. A year later, in 1852, the diamond was newly cut in Amsterdam, by the time the center of the European diamond trade, in the presence of the prince consort. In the process, its weight was diminished from 186 to 105 carats; the radical procedure was motivated by a desire to intensify the brilliance and sparkle of the stone.

This act displays a telling attitude towards the colonies: a thing from colonized territory is declared raw material, technologically transformed into a »cultivated« form. While the procedure involves an invocation of ideas about the relationship between form and material, particularities are at work in the case of diamond cutting: through the procedure, a form emerges that was interpreted as a transcending of the stone's materiality – when the carbon is processed in such a way that it appears to be the glimmering, infinite reflection of pure light. The diamond's material value is expressed not only in its weight but also in the purity of its effects of light.

The stone's history, tied repeatedly as it was with bloody events, attests not only to this object's physical biography through various cultures but also to the stories accompanying the biography and having an effect back on it.<sup>8</sup> As jewels, stones are consistently ascribed with their own influence – something that is, however, not inherently talismanic-protective in the case of the Koh-i-Noor but rather involving bad luck for every male bearer. Within the legend's continuation, the female Queen, Victoria, »frees« the Orient from the curse of political instability and is able to neutralize the Oriental power of the jewel. But the legends the Koh-i-Noor generated steer our view to another question: that of the economic and cultural value of a thing – including in the shift and in its transformations from one culture to another.

## II.

The following discussion will focus on a Western object containing an early, small representation of the large diamond on the Peacock Throne; the work treats both the question of value and that of an object's status. The unique size of the Indian stone is here not determined by real physical size but generated in a play of proportions; its material value is played off against artistic means, to the distinct benefit of the latter.

Measuring 142 x 114 x 58 cm., the spectacular object was produced between 1701 and 1708 in Dresden by the goldsmith Johann Melchior Dinglinger, his two brothers, and additional associates (fig. 2). »The Birthday of the Grand Mogul Aurangzeb« was created for August II, Elector of Saxony who from 1697 until his death – with one significant interruption between 1704 and 1707 – was also King of Poland. Dinglinger apparently prepared the object without a commission, working on it for six or seven years in the conviction that his patron could do nothing but purchase it.

The theatrical object can easily be classified as both an Oriental fantasy and a work of immeasurable material excess. It presents the viewer with the qualities of an imagined Orient marked by pomp, sensuality, and despotism.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the work is an example of an early Oriental renaissance in Raymond Schwab's sense of that term.<sup>10</sup> It is based on a highly detailed study of all the information on the Moghul court available around 1700 at the Wettin court in Dresden – information synthesized into the work. At the same time, particularly against the backdrop of the immense sum of 50,000 talers August spent on the work while the Great Northern War was still in progress, it reflects a Western absolutism partly based on the disempowerment of the Saxon estates, an economic exploitation of the populace by the court, and claims to power in Poland.<sup>11</sup> In this way the work attests to the sort of mirror-relationship between court cultures, manifest even between East and West.

Scholars who have studied the spectacular object include von Watzdorf, Warncke, and Syndram; since the 1990s it has been exhibited in a new arrangement in the New Green Vault museum in Dresden.<sup>12</sup> The new display is no longer based exclusively on a graphic reproduction of the work from 1739, but also relies on a written document. This is Dinglinger's own, highly detailed description and explanation of the scenery with all its individual figures, amounting to several printed pages, which he delivered to August the Strong in 1708 together with the gold-work.<sup>13</sup> It is one of the most complex descriptions of an artwork in the German language; as such, it reinforces the unique status of »The Birthday of the Grand Mogul Aurangzeb.«

The artwork was conceived as a stage, upon which 132 small figures move about, each being around 5 cm high, together with things and animals (fig. 2). In the original arrangement some of these figures probably were moveable. Their architectural setting is a throne hall fashioned out of silver and gold above a wooden core. The outer walls and floors of the hall are made of pure silver, and the central compartment is gilded. Three staircases framed by artfully wrought silver balconies, organize the symmetrically centered space on different levels. Silver and gold mirrors on the back walls reflect and multiply the figures and objects within this complex setting, emphasizing the precious material through a play of light and colors.

In the middle, visually and spatially separated by a large baldachin held by two dark, winged dragons with long, winding tails, is the throne of the emperor of India, Aurangzeb. His guards surround him while vassals approach him reverently in proskynesis and throw themselves down before him on the steps. Smaller architectonic structures resembling pagodas are placed on the back walls; they are adorned with sitting Hindu deities with numerous uplifted arms – according to Dinglinger, depictions of the goddess Bhavani.

Screaming demons frame the second, gilded portion of the balcony; together with the idols and the black dragons on the balconies and baldachin they are the most manifest reference to religious difference.<sup>14</sup> The screaming devils have drooping breasts, a number of arms, and horns; like the dragons they are made of blackened silver, thus standing in strong visual contrast to the gleaming surfaces of the staircases and mirrored walls. On the base of each of the two demons there is an inscription with the signature of the artist and both of his brothers.<sup>15</sup>

Nearly all the other figures are made from pure gold. This is covered with painstakingly fashioned enamel work, shaped into various forms and patterns and imitating an abundance of costumes, hats, turbans, breeches, caftans, and so forth. In addition, pearls, turquoise, rubies, and more than 5,000 small diamonds adorn the figures in astonishing variations. Among the – exclusively male – figures we can distinguish four larger groups, consisting of four emirs together with accompanying dignitaries or »omrahs,« as Dinglinger designates them, »men of high rank and repute.« He furnishes their names, indicates their function, and describes the things they have taken along with them.<sup>16</sup> As if they were part of a piece of choreography or a procession, the emirs and surrounding dignitaries cross the stage from different directions. The theatricality evident in this scene is of a specific nature, as it depicts the moment when the dignitaries offer the ruler gifts on his birthday.

Because the gifts are being transported into the ruler's reception room, Dinglinger represents objects on a stage. His work appears like a theater in which things and animals rather than persons have the main roles. The viewer sees a procession of elaborately crafted vases and pitchers, a table, a once functioning clock, a tiny atlas, little swords and daggers, and two antique votive hands. Servants, mostly on carrying devices, bring in all these objects. In

this presentation of things en miniature, the Dresden object can narrate something about the challenges tied to things. To only mention a few of their qualities: things can be given from one person to another; they have a specific weight; they cannot move themselves but have to be carried, albeit not necessarily by their owners. They can be revered – as in the two pyramids, with two praying men standing before them – or, as with the votive hands, they can even be ascribed with agency. But what is the role this artwork, itself an assembled thing, takes on or can take on within a Kublerian »family of things« or their Latourian »parliament?«<sup>17</sup> If we also consider Dinglinger's description of the individual objects, it becomes clear that his work not only centers on the tension between materials and things, but also on the question of how things relate to language, signs, and meanings.

Placed imposingly in the center of the spectacular composition sits Aurangzeb, on the cushion of the Peacock Throne, in order to receive his gifts (fig. 2). In a peculiar way, the entire composition of the Dresden work resembles depictions of the Adoration of the Magi. Within Christian art, these Adorations are the most important orientalizing theme: they show the kings from the East bringing the newborn child gifts, likewise coming from the East: incense, myrrh, and gold. On the Dresden stage a doll representing an Oriental king, Aurangzeb, who was still living at the time of the work's creation, received gifts from his dignitaries. But in a striking inversion of Christian iconography, most of these gifts are Western luxury objects – almost as if they were piece of booty from a Western court.

Dinglinger's work does reveal forms of social interaction that emerge in connection with things, but conceals the social, economic, and material premises of their production. We see this with, for instance, the acquisition of the raw materials from which the small objects are made, whether gold or diamonds. But this concealing of production-conditions notwithstanding, in its own way Dinglinger's work presents us with »negotiations« between material values and those of human work or handwork. He insists on the wealth of artistic invention as the impetus behind these negotiations. In this way he continuously explores what is meant by a »thing« and by »things« – perhaps also as a kind of play on the »thing-Ding« concealed within his name.

In order to produce his complex scenery in all its details, Dinglinger had recourse to many graphic and textual sources. As von Watzdorf has shown, he took his models and ideas from illustrated texts such as the 1681 edition of Olfert Dapper's »Asia, oder ausführliche Beschreibung des Großen Moghul« (first published 1672), Simon des Vries's »Ost- und Westindische Dinge« of 1682, and Arnoldus Montanus's »Denkwürdige Gesandtschaften der Ost Indischen Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederlanden« of 1670.<sup>18</sup> At the same time he used antiquarian sources such as Lorenzo Pignario and Joachim von Sandrart. From his inventories, we know that the goldsmith's collection of books included descriptions of voyages to the Orient and India.<sup>19</sup> He owned an edition of »Voyages contenant la Description des Etats du Gran Mogol, de l'Hindoustan, etc.« (Amsterdam 1699) by François Bernier, a French »doctor« who had worked at Aurangzeb's court starting in 1658.<sup>20</sup>

Dinglinger must have also studied the travel book of the Protestant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, translated into German in 1681 as »Beschreibung der Sechs Reisen...[i]n Türckey, Persien und Indien.«<sup>21</sup> Alongside general descriptions of India's customs and religions, Tavernier's report mainly treats a material that fascinated both the goldsmith Dinglinger and his sponsor August the Strong: diamonds. Until the eighteenth century this stone had been found exclusively in India; large quantities of diamonds had only reached Europe relative late, their special – but quickly extreme – valuation only beginning in the fourteenth century, as a result of developments in cutting technique.<sup>22</sup> Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, was the first European to visit the Indian diamond mines, which he describes in detail. He furnishes information on their locations, the diamond trading routes, regulations, and practices, and relevant weights and measures, and repeatedly points to the most beautiful and largest stones, including those in Aurangzeb's possession. Tavernier describes Indian cutting methods, in his eyes inferior to those in the West. He also informs readers about the difficult working conditions of the miners, whose number he estimates as over 60,000. His descriptions may not only have interested Dinglinger, but also August the Strong: this not only because the Saxon elector cultivated a passion for the stones but also because he had a political and economic interest in mining. Saxony had rich silver mines – one of the chief reasons for the region's prosperity<sup>23</sup> – that August adminis-



Fig. 2  
Johann Melchior Dinglinger,  
*The Birthday of the Grand Mogul Aurangzeb*,  
1708, Dresden. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe

tered in a new form of state monopoly. Knowledge about the state administration of Indian diamond mining may have thus interested him as much as Tavernier's description of the Moghul court with its ceremonies and its wealth.

The representation of the Moghul court at the court of the Wettins in Dresden can be read politically on many levels, beginning with individual elements such as the elephant, seemingly referring to the Danish order of elephants to which August belonged<sup>24</sup> and continuing with the emblem of the sun, appearing on the back panel of Aurangzeb's throne. In allegorical apparatuses for festivals at the Dresden court, that motif served to emphasize August's sun-like position and appearance.<sup>25</sup> But the Moghul rulers likewise had themselves glorified through the sun-emblem, here tying themselves to an iconographic tradition going back to Timur.<sup>26</sup> This moment of overlaid representational forms, in which those of the Dresden court are mirrored in counterparts in Dinglinger's miniature court in Agra, reveals the general mutually mirroring function that pre-modern courts could take on.

Following a brutal act of force against his father and brothers, Aurangzeb would rule over an immense empire for forty years; around 1700 he could be considered one of the world's most powerful emperors. Dinglinger's miniature court presents a model of monarchy to which the Dresden court could relate. Similarities could be emphasized, delimitation simultaneously maintained. Specific elements of Moghul rule were compatible with the political absolutism that August enforced in Dresden und Poland against the Saxon estates and Polish nobility.<sup>27</sup> One of the reasons for the special fascination emanating from the court in Agra may be the fact, underscored by all travelers, that with the Moghuls a Moslem dynasty dominated a largely Hindu population. This was of particular interest to a religiously ambiguous figure such as August, who similarly to Aurangzeb as a Moslem over Hindus, reigned as a Catholic convert over Protestants in Saxony, and as an originally Protestant king in Catholic Poland.

Dinglinger studied many aspects of Tavernier's report. He made use of even the smallest details in its meticulous description of the Peacock Throne – for instance in the peacock, almost invisible beneath the throne's baldachin – as well as in elements of the artwork's action, in particular the festivities surrounding the royal birthday. These lasted five days and took in, alongside the presentation of gifts, in which the ruler was weighed on a large scale, with the determined bodily weight then distributed in silver, gold, and rice among his subjects. The black scale placed in the forefront of the Dresden stage refers to this ritual, with the tiny gold and silver coins in the baskets before the scale-pans evoking the money's distribution. The question of the accumulation and circulation of things or values and the position of the king within this process are immanent to the presentation. While the ruler is proffered precious objects, he distributes the counterweight of his body, measured as money, to his people. In this manner the ruler forms, at one and the same time, the end of one cycle when he draws things to himself like a magnet and the beginning of another cycle that is set in motion by his weight. But this exchange process is not equally valued, rather marked by a gap between giving and taking.

If the small black scale represents the scale used to measure Aurangzeb's weight, its actual form and size corresponds to those scales goldsmiths and diamond dealers use to weigh gold and jewels. A late sixteenth-century example that is comparable in size and basic structure is located in the Royal Cabinet of Mathematical and Physical Instruments of the Dresden State Art Collections.<sup>28</sup> Dinglinger must have used a similar apparatus in his everyday work. In a literal reading, then, his stage's black scale would be

understood as the scale with which Dinglinger weighed the gold, diamonds, and rubies he processed for his »Birthday of the Grand Mogul Aurangzeb« and charged to the elector's account. From this perspective what is being weighed here is not the king's body but rather the materials composing the work.

The invoice Dinglinger presented the elector in 1708 is preserved in the Dresden archives.<sup>29</sup> The list of expenses does not contain any information on the weight of the stones he used, but does list their pecuniary value:

1,037 ½ rt [= reichstalers]	in silver
6,842 ½ rt	in gold
145 rt	in emeralds, rubies, and pearls
7,148 rt	in diamonds
4,000 rt	the large diamond
28,000 rt	for work incurring large expenses
11,000 rt	in interest on the capital
	I was not able to advance myself but
	made use of from others over the six
	years at 4 percent reichsthalers

The entire bill amounts to the huge sum of 58,485 reichsthalers. With all the material used being calculated in a unified currency, the thaler, together with labor and interest, the list offers some precise information on values. Only through the list we gain a clear sense of the special status and relative value of the great diamond decorating Aurangzeb's throne: it in itself cost 4,000 talers – more than half the outlay for the circa 5,000 small diamonds.

This diamond is a small-format representation of the great diamond owned by the Moghul ruler – hence one stone representing another (fig. 2). Here, a play of proportions is catalyzed in which the size of the authentic Moghul-diamond is artfully exceeded.

Dinglinger's invoice for August the Strong reveals a complex economy in which various values are reckoned together: the value of human work, the value of raw materials, interest on the credit he needed to himself take out to finance his work. If we add up the material value and financial outlay, we arrive at nearly the same sum Dinglinger charged for his »work,« »Arbeit.« The invoice also makes clear the general difficulties the court jeweler faced: jewels not only have symbolic value but also function as a guarantee for capital. For this reason goldsmiths have to always fear their work being transformed into its material value and thus frequently destroyed. At the Dresden court, both pawning and restoring jewels to raw material, the removal of individual stones, and so forth, which is to say their recapitalization, was an ongoing, as it were basic practice in nearly all the treasuries. The work of goldsmiths was thus in constant danger of being melted down or chopped up into separate parts.<sup>30</sup> In his »Birthday of the Grand Mogul Aurangzeb,« Dinglinger tried to overcome this split between value and material – to bring them into elaborate balance through an inventiveness that was as excessive as it was precise.

### III.

In a family of things, Dinglinger's work and the Koh-i-Noor in its Victorian-imperial version can be understood as two facets of the transition from a pre-modern to modern colonial history of Europe. Both important differences and some commonalities are here apparent in the approach taken to foreign things, which is marked by fascination and demarcation. Indian diamond is being used and exhibited in both cases, whether on the body or head of the queen or within a miniaturized rendition of the Agra court. In both cases, the diamond's India origin is a basic element of its staging at a European court. This is not least of all made possible by the stone's specific

characteristic of being both »material« and a »thing.« But differences that can be located in the shift into modernity are telling. Where in the one case what is involved is the concrete appropriation of a foreign object, Dinglinger's skill is focused on miniaturization – on a witty imitation of the stone as an object of desire and consequently on play. With nigh-obsessive playfulness, his work presents some

of the concerns and worries that things could encounter within pre-modernity. In the negotiation between material value, work, and objectivity, Dinglinger develops a materiality of things that while certainly not unproblematic, is nevertheless strongly poetic. Here again, in Victoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff's words, we could speak of an aesthetics of difference.

#### Notes

- 1 See The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor, Zahir-du-din Mohammad Babur. Transl. and ed. by Wheeler M. Thackston. New York 2002 [4 May 1526], p. 328.
- 2 Jean Baptiste Tavernier: Travels in India. Transl. of the French edition of 1676 by Valentine Ball. London 1925, vol. 2: Indien, book 2, ch. XXII, p. 97. – Comp. vol. 1: Indien, book 2, ch. X, pp. 314–319.
- 3 Ball 1925 (note 2), ch. VIII, p. xxx.
- 4 Edwin Streeter: The Great Diamonds of the World. London 1882, p. 118.
- 5 See in general Ramkrishna Mukherjee: The Rise and Fall of the East India Company. Bombay 1973, p. 348.
- 6 Mukherjee 1973 (note 5). – Streeter 1882 (note 4), p. 118.
- 7 Danielle C. Kinsey: Imperial Splendor: Diamonds, Commodity Chains, and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain. PhD Diss. University of Illinois 2010, pp. 68–69. – D C Kinsey: Koh-I-Noor: Empire, Diamonds and the Performance of British Material Culture. In: Journal of British Studies, 48, 2009, n. 2, pp. 391–419.
- 8 See Avinoam Shalem: Objects as carriers of real or contrived memories in a cross-cultural context. In: Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte, 4, 2005, pp. 101–119. – Richard H. Davis: Lives of Indian Images. Princeton 1997.
- 9 Edward Said: Orientalism. New York 1978. – Alexander Lyon Macfie: Orientalism. A Reader. New York 2000.
- 10 Raymond Schwab: La Renaissance Orientale. Paris 1950.
- 11 See Erich Haenel: August der Starke. Dresden 1933. – Karl Czok: August der Starke. Sein Verhältnis zum Absolutismus und zum sächsischen Adel. In: Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 131, 3, Berlin 1991.
- 12 Erna von Watzdorf: Johann Melchior Dinglinger. Berlin 1962, vol. 1, pp. 131–178. – Joachim Menzhausen: Am Hofe des Großmoguls: Der Hofstaat zu Delhi am Geburtstage des Großmoguls Aureng-Zeb. Kabinettstück von Johann Melchior Dinglinger, Hofjuwelier des Kurfürsten von Sachsen u. Königs von Polen, gen. August der Starke. Munich 1965. – Gerald Heres: Die museale Aufstellung der Kabinettstücke Dinglingers im Grünen Gewölbe. In: Dresdner Kunstblätter, 25, 1981, pp. 25–31. – Karsten Peter Warncke: Johann Melchior Dinglingers »Hofstaat des Großmoguls.« Form und Bedeutung eines virtuosen Goldschmiedekunstwerkes. In: Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1988, pp. 159–188. – Karsten Peter Warncke: Sehen, Fühlen und Verstehen. Johann Melchior Dinglingers Hofstaat des Großmogul. In: Dresdner Kunstblätter, 48, 2004, pp. 278–281. – Dirk Syndram: Der Thron des Großmoguls im Grünen Gewölbe zu Dresden. Leipzig 2009. – Thomas Glück: Überlegungen zur Figurenaufstellung von Johann Melchior Dinglingers Hofstaat des Großmogul. In: Barockberichte Salzburg, 42/43, 2005, pp. 795–799.
- 13 The text was published in full for the first time in von Watzdorf 1962 (note 12), vol. 2, pp. 392–400. – Menzhausen 1965 (note 13), pp. 8–88 and in part in Syndram 2009 (note 12).
- 14 See von Watzdorf 1962 (note 12), vol. 1, pp. 170.
- 15 Dinglinger Deo Inceptum 1701. Germanis Dinglingianis inventum, and Deo Finitum 1708. Dreißig künstliche Confectum: »Begun by Dinglinger in 1701, invented by the German Dinglinger, Completed with God's help in 1708, artfully made in Dresden.« Dinglinger signed his work at least three times: two additional signatures are hidden in the interiors of two prominent figures, Aurangzeb and the white elephant.
- 16 The figures visually emphasized in Dinglinger's artwork and especially mentioned in his text are »Cha Chanon« (in a sedan), »Mir Miron« (on a carrying chair), and »Chani Alem«, accompanied by a group of Africans and an unnamed first vizier.
- 17 Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. Oxford 2005. – George Kubler: The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things. New Haven/London 2008 (1962). – Arjun Appadurai: The Social Life of Things. Commodities in a Cultural Perspective. Cambridge 1986. – Martin Heidegger: What is a thing? Translated from the German by William B. Barton, Jr./Vera Deutsch; with an analysis by Eugene T. Gendlin. Lanham 1985.
- 18 Von Watzdorf 1962 (note 12) vol. 1, pp. 131.
- 19 Von Watzdorf 1962 (note 12), p. 33.
- 20 François Bernier: Voyages de François Bernier, cont. La description des États du Grand Mogol, de l'Hindoustan, du Rayaume de Kachemire [...]. Amsterdam 1699. – François Bernier: Histoire de la dernière Revolution des États Du Grand Mogol. Paris 1671.
- 21 Les Six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes: pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes, Paris 1676. – German: Beschreibung der Sechs Reisen, welche Johan Baptista Tavernier, Ritter und Freyherrn von Aubonne. In Türckey, Persien und Indien, innerhalb vierzig Jahren, durch alle Wegen, die man nach diesen Ländern nehmen kann, verrichtet [ ... ]. Geneva 1681. Another German-language edition was published in Nuremberg in 1681.
- 22 See Godehard Lenzen: Produktions- und Handelsgeschichte des Diamanten. Berlin 1966. – Tjil Vanneste: Global Trade and Commercial Networks: Eighteenth Century Diamond Merchants. London 2011, pp. 42–50.
- 23 Der Silberne Boden. Kunst und Bergbau in Sachsen. Exhb.cat. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Ed. by Manfred Bachmann. Stuttgart/Leipzig 1990.
- 24 Warncke 2004 (note 12), p. 2157.
- 25 Von Watzdorf 1962 (note 12) vol. 1, p. 95.
- 26 Ebba Koch: Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology. Collected Essays. Delhi 2001, pp. 67 and 253.
- 27 See Haenel 1933 (note 11). – Czok 1991 (note 11).
- 28 I thank Claudia Reufer for her help in research on historical gold and diamond scales.
- 29 As the scholarly literature has emphasized, this is more than August paid for Pillnitz Castle. – See von Watzdorf 1962 (note 13) vol. 1, p. 131.
- 30 John F. Hayward: Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620. London 1976.

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