Indian Paintings

The Collection of the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett

Indian Paintings

THE COLLECTION OF THE DRESDEN KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT

Contents

PETRA KUHLMANN-HODICK

Introduction

During the more than fifty years of Aurangzēb's reign (r. 1658–1707), the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent in the Indian subcontinent. Jadunath Sarkar, who wrote the first biography of the ruler based on historical sources, begins his story with an event from the life of the young prince. For the biographer, the most remarkable incident in Aurangzēb's childhood was his demonstration of courage. On May 28, 1633, during an elephant race on the banks of the Yamuna River, just outside Agra Fort, an elephant attacked the child right in front of his own father. While his brothers fled, he confronted the raging animal until help came. His father, Shāh Jahān, rewarded the courageous boy by giving him his weight in gold.[1]

Aurangzēb's power reached its zenith with the conquest of Golconda in 1687 and the annexation of the Deccan. At about the same time, during the reign of Augustus the Strong (fig. 2), the Baroque period began to blossom at the Dresden court. Two famous travellers to India—the doctor François Bernier, who served at the Agra court at the beginning of Aurangzēb's reign, and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, King Louis XIV's jeweller, brought their knowledge of Indian customs, religions, cultures, and political developments to Europe in detailed reports.[2] Their vivid descriptions of the annual weighing ceremony celebrated on the occasion of Aurangzēb's birthday (fig. 3) inspired the workshop of court goldsmith Johann Melchior Dinglinger to produce one of its most famous works, the *Throne of the Great Mughal Aurangzēb* (fig. 4).[3] Saxon perceptions of the Indian court associated with the name Aurangzēb evoked images of unbelievable riches and a grand display of splendour as a demonstration of political power.

During the Renaissance and the Baroque periods, books and prints of costumes were assembled in the European courts as demonstrations of political power and court culture. A collection of this kind, useful for documentary purposes and to serve as a source for preparing opulent festivities, was assembled in Saxony. This electoral *Kunstkammer*, established in 1560, housed important volumes of prints of Turkish costumes.[4] The increase in celebrations under Augustus the Strong led to a demand for new costumes, providing sartorial ideas for the hundreds of guests attending the events who dressed as representatives from every corner of the earth, with the king himself leading the way, appearing as a "Sultān" or an "African."[5] In 1709, two years after the death of Aurangzēb, when Augustus purchased Dinglinger's *Throne of the Great Mughal Aurangzēb*— one of the most elaborate and expensive handcrafted masterpieces of his time—thus shifting the focus towards India, Saxony was in a rather desolate state following the first defeats in the war against the Swedes. The Saxon ruler was forced to give up the Polish crown in 1706 and would regain it only in 1710.

محمود دیا شاه

fig. 1
Cat. 1 | Ca 112/8
Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh (r. 1627–1656)
(detail)
Golconda (Deccan), 1668–1689
Watercolour and gold, 32.1 × 18.7 cm,
image 23.8 × 10.9 cm

Acquisitions of Indian Paintings before 1738

Among the Indian works at the Kupferstich-Kabinett, there is only one portrait album, Ca 112 (cat. 1), which may have become part of the Dresden collection prior to the *Throne of the Great Mughal Aurangzēb*. The endpaper is inscribed, "dies Buch ist ganz von hohen Werth, d. 23. Dec. 1689" (This book is of very high value, the 23 Dec. 1689). Although this inscription does not securely place the volume in Dresden at this time, it certainly was in Germany or was owned by a German.[6] The album contains forty-six posthumous portraits with captions in *nasta'līq* depicting the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Aurangzēb and the rulers and nobles of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty up to the young Shāh 'Abbās, who ruled Golconda until 1629 (fig. 1). Even though the employees in Dinglinger's workshop could have seen the album when they began work on the *Throne of the Great Mughal Aurangzēb* in 1702, there is no evidence of direct imitation. This pictorial world draws largely on contemporary illustrated travelogues and includes Turkish and Japanese motifs and chinoiserie. In contrast to Ottoman and Chinese works in the electoral *Kunstkammer*, for which there is a documented history of their use, the same cannot be said for the Indian works.

Four albums with depictions of rulers and princes represent the main collection of Indian art acquired for the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These acquisitions can be traced to the early years of the museum, established in 1720, which built its collections upon the electoral *Kunstkammer*.[7] The Indian works initially belonged in the group of Eastern works on paper, in particular Chinese and Chinese style prints that were acquired on a large scale. The oldest inventory of the museum, documented in 1738 by the first director, Johann Heinrich von Heucher (1677–1746),[8] records these acquisitions under the category "La Chine."[9] Judging by the notes in the volumes and the labels attached to them, these items were probably not classified as "Sinica" and "Indica" until the nineteenth century. In addition to the four portrait albums, the "Indica" collection also includes depictions of Indian rulers, a set of *ganjīfa* playing cards, two Ottoman volumes of costumed figures,[10] and an album with medallion portraits based on Indian models but presumably produced by European artists.[11]

The works in the Heucher Inventory are given brief descriptions. They are designated as "Indica" on the works themselves[12] and also in the catalogue cards begun in 1906 which record the organisation of the sketchbooks and volumes of drawings according to "Ca" numbers.

An album with portraits of Mughal rulers and regents of Golconda, assembled and bound in Europe about 1700 and mounted in simple Indian paper frames, is recorded under number 11 as "39 Japanese portraits of men, from head to feet, in Maroquin rouge doré in folio" (cat. 2).[13]

Number 12 (cat. 1) contains portraits executed in the same style but with more elaborate frames and is described as "24 folios of the like, which, except for the first are painted on both sides, in Marcoquin rouge d'oré. Placed in a leather bag. Folio."[14]

Number 20 (cat. 3) is an album with "179 Mughal portraits."[15] Like Ca 112, it was bound at the place of manufacture. On the verso, the portraits are inscribed, somewhat awkwardly, in *devanāgarī*, presumably by local workshop employees, with the names of the sitters. There are paintings pasted on the interior and the exterior of the lacquered covers. Both miniatures on the exterior show the same scene of women making music. The miniature on the front pastedown shows a woman opening a book; on the rear endpaper, the same woman is shown closing the book.[16] This poetic, allegorical framing of a book about the history of India, which traces the ruling dynasties of Hindustan back to the age of legends and consists entirely of "illustrated names," is thus given a programmatic character.

According to Heucher, the fourth portrait album, listed in the inventory as number 29 (cat. 4), represents the "House of Tamerlane."[17] Sixty-two portraits, apparently from various series, were pasted into the album, which was bound in Europe. Many of the paintings are executed in the *nīmqalam* (half-pen) style comparable to those in Ca 113; others are similar to earlier paintings produced in Golconda, with a more opaque application of paint. They document the

portraits common in the Deccan at the beginning of the eighteenth century, with all the stylistic variations and developments. In addition to notes in *nasta'līq* and *devanāgarī*, the similarly assembled album Ca 111 features descriptions of the figures in Dutch.[18] On the basis of the handwriting, the inscriptions can be dated to the time the volume was assembled. According to the descriptions, the ten portraits of women at the end of the volume were added later.

A set of portraits of Indian rulers in medallions is designated as Japanese in the Heucher Inventory, number 17: "18 miniature portraits of Japanese kings mounted on a small board" (cat. 5).[19] Under number 3 (cat. 6–7), other Indian works are listed as "2 beautiful paintings—under glass and in a gilt frame."[20] Under number 30 (cat. 88) we find "1 Chinese Almanac."[21] Number 32 (cat. 89) is described as "13 portraits from the Great Mughal's court, a small blue booklet bound with golden decorated paper."[22] The volume itself, however, is labelled "Japanese miniature portraits."

The categorisation of Indian works as Japanese or Chinese was not atypical for the period. For dealers and collectors who usually brought the works with them as members of the East India Company, making them accessible to a European clientele, 'Oriental' and Asian rarities were of equal interest. They were often acquired together from one source and not necessarily recorded precisely. Even in contemporary travelogues, there are frequent summaries, mixtures, and mistakes—most of all when using visual depictions, which usually draw on the models from the countries visited.[23]

These errors are, however, counterbalanced by the great interest reflected in widely printed and illustrated reports and in the booming art market. Important private collections of Asian works on paper, including Indian paintings, had begun in the Netherlands by the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, it is well known that Rembrandt owned a large collection of portraits of Indian princes, which he copied.[24]

For contemporary collectors it was apparently more important to associate the pictures with historic names than to achieve a definitive attribution of the works that came to Europe from India. After being assembled on a single sheet and mounted on a wooden board, the eighteen

cat. 78 | Ca 121/6
Portrait of a Deccani nobleman
showing the digital infrared
reflectograph which reveals the
underdrawing: Kakubhā rāgiṇī
Deccan, 18th century
Watercolour and gold, painted frame
26.3 × 18.9 cm, image 20.2 × 13.2 cm
(see figs. 3a and b)

OLAF SIMON

Research and Restoration

The Technical Investigation and Conservation
of the Indian Paintings
at the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett[1]

In 1821 August Wilhelm Schlegel wrote to Hofrat Wilhelm Dorow from Bonn, who advised him in the acquisition of his collection of Indian miniatures: "In my opinion, we should purchase the collection provided that the pictures have not been entirely destroyed by moisture. Indian art may be less expensive in England, but in mainland Europe you have to be satisfied with what chance throws in your way."[2] Surprisingly, Schlegel never personally examined the collection before purchasing it, even though he must have been aware of its compromised condition.

The seventy-eight Indian miniatures, stored as loose sheets in eight boxes, were donated by Schlegel's niece Augusta von Buttlar in 1848 and have remained at the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden. The sheets were damaged by mould, which, among other things, might account for the scant attention given to them after they entered the collection some 160 years ago. They came to mind only in 2012, when a delegation of Indian restorers visited Dresden. Along with some 350 Indian paintings preserved in four albums from the collection of Augustus the Strong, they became the starting point for a two-year interdisciplinary research project that began in 2015. In addition to art-historical issues, the main focus was the technical examination and conservation of the miniatures.

Cooperation with institutional partners such as the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung Berlin (BAM; Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing Berlin), Papiertechnische Stiftung Heidenau (Paper Technology Foundation Heidenau), Hochschule für Bildende Künste Dresden (Dresden Academy of Fine Arts), Technische Universität Dresden (Technical University of Dresden), Institut für Holztechnologie Dresden (Dresden Institute of Wood Technology), and Carsten Wintermann (papierrestaurierungdresden) served to answer a variety of technological questions. Methods used included radiation diagnostics, digital infrared reflectography (IRR), ultraviolet radiation (UV), digital radiography, and scientific methods such as X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF), Raman spectroscopy, and spectrophotometry (VIS).

The actual restoration, however, could not have been conducted without the expertise of our colleagues from India. A concept for the conservation and restoration of the objects was developed and implemented in cooperation with restorers from the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS) in Mumbai. The results of the Kupferstich-Kabinett's first cooperation with an Indian institution are presented in this article.

Fig. 1a
Cat. 4 | Ca 111/43 (fol. 39)
Sukh Singh
Deccani Mughal, late 17th–
early 18th century
Watercolour and gold, 16.6 × 9.9 cm

Fig. 1b
Inscriptions on verso seen via transmitted
light in *nāgarī*: S[…]ingh; in *nastaʿlīq*:
Suḵẖah Singh; and in Dutch: Sockeng

The painting method used for the Indian miniatures is similar to the European gouache technique.[3] The support consists of a special paper called *wasli*. It is made by bonding two or more sheets of thin paper that are then burnished with a polishing stone to produce a smooth, glossy texture. The making of a painting began by outlining the composition in red or black. As these outlines shone through the subsequently applied layer of chalk or white lead, the contours could be drawn in black ink. The different pictorial planes, from the background to the foreground, were then created in corresponding colours. The pigments of each newly applied layer were condensed by turning the paper over and smoothing it, from the back, with a polishing stone (*agate*) or a Kauri snail (Latin: *cypraea tigris*). The enamel-like gloss characteristic of miniatures—the key difference between them and Western watercolours—was created using this process. The painting was completed by adding details such as contours and shadows, physiognomic features, and jewellery with a very fine brush made of a single squirrel hair.

The manufacture of Indian miniature paintings traditionally involved a number of participants. The master painter (*musawwir*, *ustād*) was responsible for the overall composition and the execution of the artistically more demanding elements; several subordinate painters (*shāgird*) employed in his workshop (*tasvīrkhāna*) took care of the simpler parts. In addition there was an assembler and a paper manufacturer (*wasligar*), who provided the miniature with a more or less elaborate paper frame. At times, a special painter (*naqshanavī*) added artistic ornaments to the frame. Calligraphers (*khusnavīs*) often added magnificently executed religious or lyrical texts on the verso of the mounted miniatures.

In the context of investigating the studios of court painters appointed to Mughal rulers such as Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān, art-historical research has in recent decades identified a number of artists and their workshops. In general, however, Indian miniatures were rarely signed, especially if they were not commissioned by the court and manufactured for lesser nobles or the European market, which is probably the case with the Kupferstich-Kabinett's Indian collection.[4]

From a technical point of view, the two consignments of early eighteenth- and nineteenth-century miniatures preserved in Dresden are of a hybrid character indicative of the underlying cultural exchange that took place between India and Europe.

Indian miniatures were usually provided with a broad paper frame so that they could be either bound into albums or protected when the sheets were held when viewed.[5] These frames come in lavishly ornamented and simple monochromatic versions. The sheets from the Schlegel Collection, on the other hand, were completely pasted on larger, sometimes five-ply cardboard of different formats. The protruding edges were then decorated with a painted frame, whose design is reminiscent of European wooden picture frames of the classicist era. Cavettos, common about 1800, with their specific depth were imitated using a brown resin containing colour and gold.[6] Numerous nail holes on all four sides of the illuminated frames suggest that a former owner had affixed the miniatures to a wall.[7] In the Indian context, this form of mounting is rather unusual. It could therefore have been either manufactured in India for a European collector or the European market or produced in Europe right away. In a paper analysis examining their material composition, the cover papers, added later to protect the miniatures, were discovered to be of Indian origin, leading to the hypothesis that they were likely made in India.[8]

In conformity with the traditional form of preserving Indian paintings at Mughal courts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the miniatures from Augustus the Strong's collection are mounted in albums. Two albums have an Oriental binding (cat. 1 and 3) characterised by a lack of protruding edges; instead, the fore-edge is often covered with a flap.[9] Conversely, the other two albums (cat. 2 and 4) have European bindings; in two of them, the watermarks in endpapers and interleaving sheets suggest that they are of Dutch or English manufacture.[10] The gold embossed geometric patterns on the front and back covers of these albums, however, have a somewhat orientalising look for the European eye; here, too, the form of presentation combines Indian and European styles, thus raising questions about makers, clients, and trade routes.

Technical Investigations: Inscriptions, Signatures, Pigments

A variety of technical methods is available for tracing the provenance and dissemination of works of art. One of the simplest is examining the works in reflected light, raking light, or transmitted light. Initially used to analyse condition and to locate and document damage, these methods also reveal underdrawings and inscriptions that have been overpainted that may provide information about manufacturing processes or clues as to origin. When examined in transmitted light in connection with digital post-processing, writings in *nastaʿlīq*, *nāgarī* and Dutch, were found on roughly thirty miniatures—both those pasted into albums and those mounted on paper backings. These inscriptions, mostly mentioning the sitter, in different languages provide evidence of the number of hands through which the works may have passed (figs. 1a and b). For those miniatures from Augustus the Strong's collection that are mounted in albums, a custom-made "light wedge" was used during the examination to protect the pages of the book.

Using digital infrared reflectography, it was possible to visualize inscriptions that had been painted over, and, in individual cases, obtain information on workshop practices.[11] Under the dark blue of the sky at the upper left of the *Baṅgālī rāgiṇī*, for example, a line written in a local *nastaʿlīq* script was found that described the subject matter as "night time conversation with a cheetah" (figs. 2a and 2b). The inscription probably was to be painted over by an artist after completing the picture.

Infrared radiation can be used to make certain colours or underlying layers transparent. In *Portrait of a Deccani Nobleman*, for instance, a completely different first composition became visible that had been painted over. Originally the artist had sketched in black ink a scene from the *Kakubhā rāgiṇī* showing a young woman frightened by the cry of a peacock sitting on a roof (figs. 3a and b).

In the miniature *A Visit to a Shrine*,[12] an underdrawing with sketches of figures drawn in different directions, which was subsequently painted over with a completely different scene, can be detected with infrared reflectography and, in parts, with the naked eye. This discovery supports the assumption that artists re-used papers for the manufacture of *wasli*.[13] The ink lines, visible in transmitted light, bear no relation to the actual subject matter and might be indicative

Fig. 2a
Cat. 59 | Ca 122/14
Baṅgālī rāgiṇī
Hyderabad, early 18th century
Watercolour and gold, painted frame
28 × 19.5 cm, image 21.3 × 13.1 cm

Fig. 2b
Digital infrared reflectograph (detail)
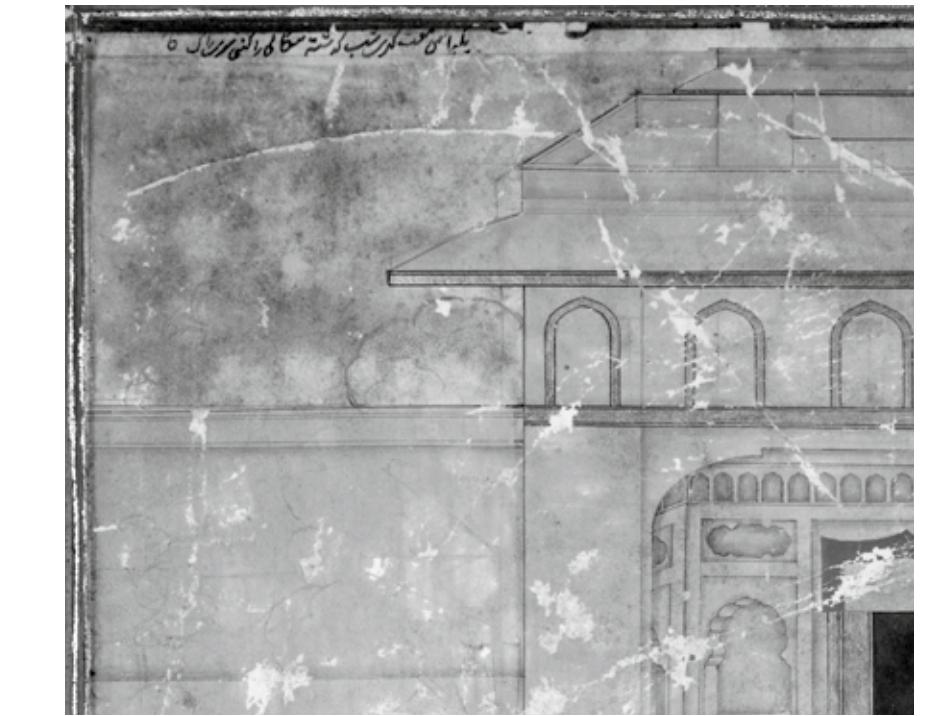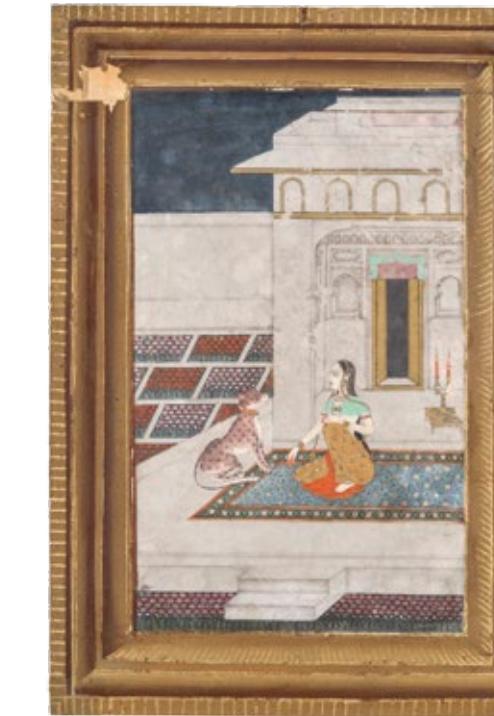
Indian Paintings recorded
in the Heucher Inventory
of 1738

Cat. 1–4
Four Portrait Albums
of Indian Rulers

The opulent lands of the Great Mughals attracted a wide array of Europeans to India seeking economic opportunities. Beginning with the presence of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, along with some Germans and Italians,[1] the European presence in India expanded vastly over the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2]

Art objects as well as written and painted materials became popular ways of representing India. Manuscripts and paintings began to arrive in Europe, mainly in the Netherlands, via the factors of the Dutch East India Company, for royalty and aristocrats as well as scholars and shareholders in the company.[3] The Indian painting albums in the Kupferstich-Kabinett (Ca 110–Ca 113) that can be broadly categorised as Deccani Mughal in style consist largely of individual portraits of Indian rulers and of their officers and noblemen. These join the corpus of known portrait albums of similar style and period in other European collections,[4] often reflecting upon the close relationship that existed between collectors, painters, and engravers. Ca 112 demonstrates how European travellers and collectors shared their works with engravers, thus becoming a part of history in their famous published travelogues.

During the reign of Aurangzēb (r. 1658–1707), artists from the Mughal imperial atelier became increasingly desperate for work, as his rule brought about a precipitous decline in imperial patronage of illustrated manuscripts and *muraqqaʿ*. The closing of ateliers led to the dismissal of master painters and their assistants, who established their own workshops[5] and sought new patrons—not only among noblemen and the rich[6] but also among Europeans.[7] The craftsmanship of these artists who had worked in the service of the kings[8] now suffered, as they quickly produced multiple works of mediocre quality to meet the demand.[9] Indian art now travelled as a part of the ongoing Indo-European trade.

James Frazer (1713–1754), a collector and an official of the East India Company in Surat, wrote to the English novelist John Cleland (1709–1789) regarding the sale of Persian manuscripts and portraits in his possession.[10] Frazer inquires if any of Cleland's friends in London would be interested in buying them and says that he already has an offer from a gentleman called Mons. Martin[11] and could easily send them to France if there were a lack of interest. This exchange demonstrates the lively market for these manuscripts, not only in Amsterdam but in England and France as well.[12]

The Dresden portrait albums that are similar to the type of portraits produced in Golconda in the 1660s for European audience can be grouped into four standard types. The first type includes rulers from Tīmūr (r. 1370–1405) until Aurangzēb, sometimes extending as far as the Emperor Farrukh Sīyar (r. 1713–1719).[13] The second type includes about 179 kings and queens of India from Rājā Yudhiṣṭhira until Aurangzēb.[14] The third type includes the Mughal rulers from Akbar until Aurangzēb, portraits of rulers of Gol-

conda, mostly ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (r. 1626–1672), Abū'l Hasan Qutb Shāh (r. 1672–1686), and the Bijapur rulers Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh (r. 1627–1656) and ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (r. 1656–1672). Sometimes there are a few portraits of their dignitaries and of Safavid rulers such as ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629), ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666), and Sulaimān (r. 1666–1694).[15] And the fourth type includes a selection from the previous three categories along with other loose sheets, probably remnants of other albums that were dispersed.[16]

The four albums of Indian portraits that are now in Dresden, when compared to other albums around Europe, bear witness to the Indian workshop production in the eighteenth century.[17]   NB

Notes | 1 Subrahmanyam 2017, p. 16. | 2 The Dutch established factories at Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam in 1606 and at Pulicat in 1621; the English East India Company established theirs at Masulipatnam and Negapattam in 1611 and at Pulicat in 1621. | 3 Subrahmanyam 2017, p. 31. | 4 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Smith-Lesouëf 232 and 233; British Museum, London, inv. nos. 1974 6-17 02, 1974 6-17 04, and 1974 6-17 011; Witsen Album, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-00-3186; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, inv. no. MIK I 5066-68 68 and some folios in MIK I 5004; and the collections of Count Abate Giovanni Antonio Baldini and Simon Schijnvoet reproduced in Chatelain 1719 and Valentijn 1726. | 5 Lunsingh Scheurleer/Kruijtzer 2005, p. 52. | 6 Michell/Zebrowski 1999, p. 157. | 7 For example, the Dutch East India Company ambassador Johannas Bacherus commissioned "Camping with the Mughal Emperor" in 1687 from a Golconda artist. See Lunsingh Scheurleer/Kruijtzer 2005, p. 52. | 8 De Bruin 1737, p. 220. | 9 Bernier 1699, p. 190. | 10 Ms. Top Oxon. B. 43 in MS. Frazer 277, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Frazer collection at the Bodleian comprises original manuscripts and copies. Proficient in Sanskrit and surrounded by Brahmins, Frazer, who translated the *Śāstras*, knew his collection was highly valued abroad. | 11 Martin had received a letter at Surat from Pondicherry (capital of French India in 1664), five years before, advising him to procure Persian manuscripts, especially those brought into India by the Afghans as per the orders from the Royal Academy of Sciences and was offering Frazer double the costs for his collection. | 12 In this concern the Vatican Barberini album is mentioned as one of the earliest examples from the period between the reigns of Mughal emperors Jahāngīr (r. 1605–1627) and Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658) and is typical of albums of portraits in seventeenth-century European collections. See Subrahmanyam 2017, p. 133; also Kurz 1967. A later album in Dresden, Ca 111 (cat. 4), is one example for a compilation of artworks by a collector to form an album of Indian paintings; the unique subject of Ca 113 (cat. 3), resonates upon the popularity and demand of Indian artworks with historical evidence amongst Europeans for at least two more copies of this album belonged to famous collectors along with the discovery of two other similar albums in London and Bodleian. | 13 See cat. 5 (Ca 116); see also Nationaalmuseum van Wereldculturen Leiden, inv. nos. 360–7346–360–7363, and the collections of Count Giovanni Antonio Baldini (1654–1725) and Simon Schijnvoet reproduced in Chatelain 1719 and Valentijn 1726, respectively. | 14 Cat. 3 (Ca 113); cf. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. IM9–1912; and Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Ind. Misc. d. 3. | 15 Cat. 1 and 2 (Ca 112, Ca 110); cf. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Smith-Lesouëf 232 and 233; British Museum, London, inv. nos. 1974 6-17 04 and 1974 6-17 011; Musée Guimet, Paris, inv. no. 35.491, 35.492; Witsen Album, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-00-3186. | 16 Cat. 4 (Ca 111); cf. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1974 6-17 02; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Canter Visscher album, inv. nos. NG-008-60-1 to NG-2008-60-28; inv. no. NG-2008-60; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Min. 44 and Min. 64; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, inv. no. MIK I 5066-68 and some folios in MIK I 5004; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung, Libri pict. A91. | 17 See Appendices, pp. 242–51.

Cat. 1 | Ca 112

Assembled along with other albums of Indian paintings and an incomplete set of play-ing cards, Ca 112 (fig. 1) formed part of the rich collection of Augustus the Strong (r. 1694–1733).[1] The album contains two handwritten lists of the names of the rulers portrayed, one of them along with a note referring to Edward Gardner.[2] The album is mentioned in the 1738 inventory of Johann Heinrich Heucher as "24 Blat[3] derglei-chen,[4] 17 davon die Blätter, das erste ausgenommen auf beyden Seiten bemahlt, en Marcoquin rouge d'oré. Steckt in einem ledernen Beutel. Folio"[5] (24 folios of the like, which, except for the first are painted on both sides, in morocco rouge d'oré. Placed in a leather bag). The album consists of forty-six portraits, each separated by a sheet of Indian paper: forty standing, four seated, one double, and one group. Reading from right to left, as the book is in its original Islamic binding, the portraits of the rulers are grouped by dynasty, with the first being a portrait of the third Mughal emperor of India, Akbar (r. 1556–1605), and the last a group portrait of the fifth *shāh* of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 1588–1629), and Mīrzā Barkhurdār, the ambassador of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1605–1627).[6] The album represents the rulers of four dynasties—Mughals, Qutb Shāhīs of Golconda, 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijapur, and Safa-vids—along with Hindu *rājās* and other dignitaries and high-ranking personages belonging to these dynastic courts.[7]

Executed with great uniformity, these miniatures are mounted on album leaves with a floral border executed in gold against a sprinkled background. In the margins are arabesque designs similar to the kind found on monuments of the time of Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658). Painted in watercolour and lavishly decorated with gold, most of the portraits on facing pages seem to be in dialogue, as in the visual representations known as *sawāl-u jawāb*, or question and answer (figs. 4a and 4b). The exceptions are the portrayals of Safavid men and of Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh, two sons of Shāh Jahān, who but look away from each other (Ca 112/41 and 42). In light of the history between these two brothers, who conspired to remove their elder brothers, Dārā and Shujā', in the war of succession, and the episode of Aurangzēb convicting Murād of killing a fellow officer and hence executing him in 1661, it is reasonable to assume that the artist or artists made this compositional change deliberately.

Paintings occupy the central position on each page accompanied by *nasta'līq* inscriptions in the glowing tinted backgrounds, which have minimal representations of sky and ground. The stamped binding in dark red leather—probably goat skin—show-cases the impressed decoration of inlaid and gilded medallions (see fig. 1). Although in good condition, the text is extruding from the case due to shrinkage over time.

A similar album of forty-eight portraits (fig. 2)[8] is known to have belonged to Count Giovanni Antonio Baldini (1654–1725), as described by Antonio Vallisnieri of Padua in the *Giornale dei letterati d'Italia* (1722). Vallisnieri catalogued Baldini's collection (now dispersed) with Baldini's assistance.[9] This album includes an inscription in Italian on the front page, apparently in Baldini's hand: "It contains forty-seven portraits[10] in miniature of the princes of Mogol that were collected during a voyage in the year 1690 in Persia and Oriental India by the Dutch painter Mr. Claudio Le Brun.[11] The burgo-master of Amsterdam, Witsen, had said portraits copied, and I saw the copies in his house in 1714"[12] (fig. 3).

The collection of Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717), the burgomaster of Amsterdam and the director of the Dutch East India Company from 1693 onwards, was sold upon his death. It is clear from Baldini's statement that an album similar to the one in Paris belonged to Witsen, as confirmed by the mention of such a set in the auction catalogue of Witsen's collection, Amsterdam, March 30, 1728, no. 9: "Een ditto Boek met 46 Mo-golse Portraiten, zynde heele Stand-beeldjes van de Grooste des Ryks" (A similar book with 46 Mogul portraits of full-length figures of the greatest of the empire).[13]

A detailed comparison between the Dresden and the Baldini albums, which prob-ably were made side by side, provides an opportunity to look closely into the art of reproduction and the market for Indian miniature paintings among Europeans in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Although a full discussion is beyond the scope here several observations can be made while studying the two albums.

The portraits in Ca 112 are grouped by dynasty. Within these groups are carefully ordered portraits of the dignitaries of each dynasty either facing each other or their ruler. For example, folio Ca 112/7 depicting Ikhlās Khān (d. 1656), the military commander who became the governor of a province on the border with Golconda during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (r. 1627–1656) of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur (1490–1686) is shown facing Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh. Another example is the depiction of Shāh Rājū (Ca 112/15), the *pīr*, or spiritual guide, of Sultān Abū'l Hasan (r. 1672–1687), the eighth *sultān* of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687), who is shown facing Sultān Abū'l Hasan (Ca 112/16). This system of relating portraits is occasionally absent in the Baldini set.[14] One reason could be that the folios were mixed up during binding or that the binder did not recognize the figures portrayed. That could not have hap-pened with Ca 112, as all the portraits are inscribed with the names of the sitters.

In the Baldini album, the depictions of Sultān Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712; folio 233–3v) and Bābur (r. 1526–1530; folio 233–4r) on facing pages are rather suspicious. Although the style of painting is similar to that of the other folios, the settings of these two portraits are more elaborate, with added elements such as carpets and cushions. Bābur, who is not depicted in Ca 112, is shown surrounded by manuscripts, and Bahā-dur Shāh I is relaxing in front of a fountain. At the turn of the seventeenth century, many artists left the imperial atelier where they had produced works according to the wishes of the emperor, and began to produce works, sometimes multiple copies, for the market and thus had more independence. For the latter, the main aim was to sell, and they did not confine themselves to the aesthetics of courtly art. With the aim of luring customers or fulfilling demand, folios could easily be altered, added to, or reduced, as may have been the case here.

The physiognomic significance of the portraits in Baldini's album was noted by the Bolognese Baroque painter Carlo Cignani (1628–1719)[15] and by Vallisnieri. In the inscription on the front cover of Smith-Lesouëf 233, Baldini stated, "Signore Carlo Cignani, having attentively considered the portraits of this book in the month of November 1716 said that almost all the heads could have been done by Titian or Tin-toretto." Commenting further, Vallisnieri stated, "The complexions of the faces are fine, lively, and correctly drawn."[16] While the faces are indeed finely rendered, those in the Dresden album were executed using a different technique, as can be seen by comparing the depictions of Mīrzā Nāsir in both albums (Ca 112/14 and fig. 6). Apart from the differences in brushstroke, the artist of the Dresden image characterized Mīrzā Nāsir as a thin man with lines of wisdom on his forehead, a prominent Adam's apple, protrud-ing collar bones, and a turban almost superficially balanced on his head. The Baldini artist elaborated on his old age through the wrinkles around his eyes but kept the attributes to a minimum. The portraits in the Baldini album are executed using firmer lines than those in Dresden, and the rulers have haloes, which are often absent in the Dresden set. In the depiction of Neknām Khān[17] in the Dresden album (Ca 112/20), the artist tried his hand at hatching, which envelops Neknām Khān's face and body. These differences establish the fact that there was more than one artist or even two different groups of artists in either same or different workshops involved in making these two similar sets of portraits.

By putting an end to historical painting in 1668 and shifting the Mughal capital to Aurangabad in 1681, soon after conquering the Deccan sultanates of Bijapur and Gol-
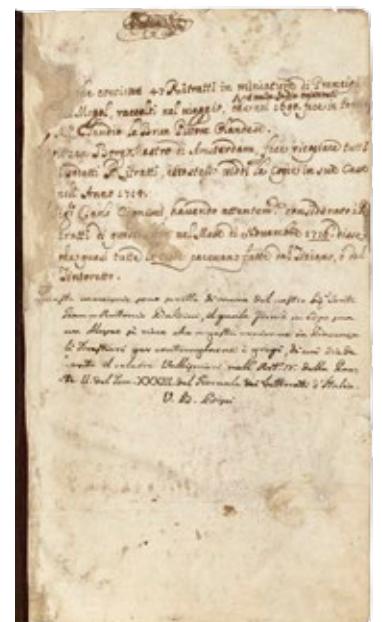
Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629)
26 × 13 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Shāh ʿAbbās-i buzurg
(Shāh ʿAbbās the Great)

Ca 112/2
Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666)
24.3 × 11.8 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Shāh Sulaymān

Ca 112/3
Safī II (r. 1666–1694)
24.4 × 11.8 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Shāh ʿAbbās

Ca 112/4
**The bow bearer of
Shāh ʿAbbās I (ʿĀlam Khān [?])**
24.2 × 11.7 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Kamānbardār-i Shāh ʿAbbās
(Bow bearer of Shāh ʿAbbās)
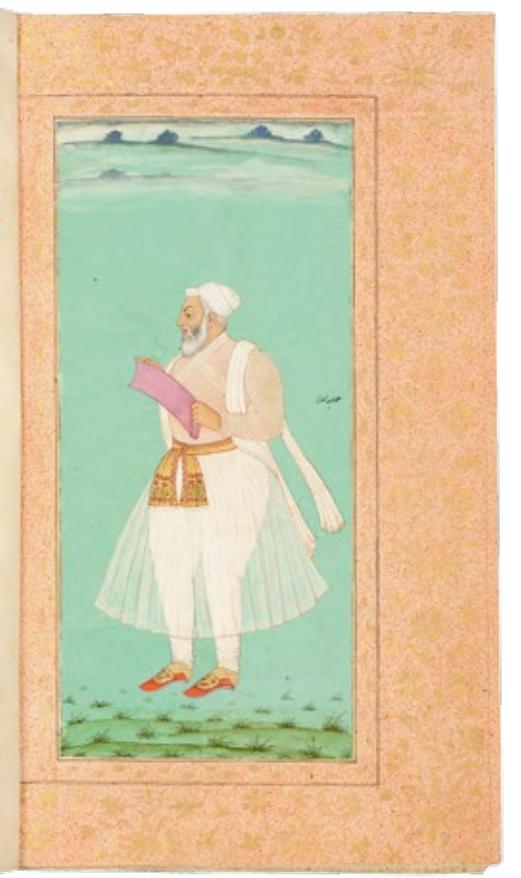
Ca 112/1

Ca 112/2

Ca 112/5
ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (r. 1656–1672)
24.5 × 11.7 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh
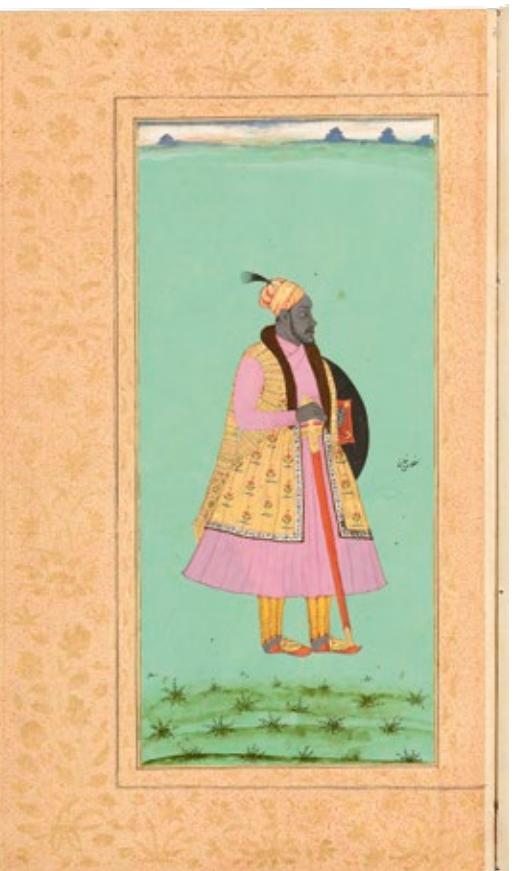
Ca 112/6
Mullāh ʿAbdul Mali
23.8 × 11 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Mullā ʿAbd al-Mali [?]

Ca 112/7
Ikhlāṣ Khān (d. 1656)
23.9 × 11 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Ikhlāṣ Khān

Ca 112/8
**Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh
(r. 1627–1656)**
23.8 × 10.9 cm
Inscribed recto (*nastaʿlīq*):
Mahmūd ʿĀdil Shāh

Ca 112/5

Ca 112/6

Ca 112/3

Ca 112/4

Ca 112/7

Ca 112/8

Ca 113/2
Parikṣit II
18.4 × 11.5 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): parichata

Ca 113/3
Janamejaya III
18.9 × 11.5 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): janmejaya

Ca 113/4
Aśvatthāman
18.9 × 11.4 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): asvamedhā

Ca 113/5
Unidentified
18.7 × 11.6 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): rājā ādhīna

Ca 113/6
Unidentified
18.9 × 11.9 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): manjalāpa

Ca 113/7
Unidentified
19.2 × 11.7 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): chatraratha

Ca 113/8
Unidentified
18.3 × 11.7 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): dīpapāla

Ca 113/9
Unidentified
18.3 × 11.7 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): ugrasaina

Ca 113/10
Unidentified
18 × 11.6 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): sūrasaina

Ca 113/11
Unidentified
17.6 × 11.9 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): śrīpata

Ca 113/12
Unidentified
17.7 × 11.6 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): anajaya

Ca 113/13
Unidentified
18.4 × 12 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): rājā sarajaga

Ca 113/14
Unidentified
17.7 × 11.9 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): suṣitapāla

Ca 113/15
Unidentified
18.1 × 11.5 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): harada-urāma

Ca 113/16
Unidentified
18.6 × 12 cm
Inscribed verso (*devanāgarī*): sūrajaratha

Ca 113/2

Ca 113/3

Ca 113/4

Ca 113/5

Ca 113/6

Ca 113/7

Ca 113/8

Ca 113/9

Ca 113/10

Ca 113/11

Ca 113/12

Ca 113/13

Ca 113/14

Ca 113/15

Ca 113/16

From the Bequest of
Gertrud Rennhard

An Early Nineteenth-Century Copy of the *Shāhnāma*
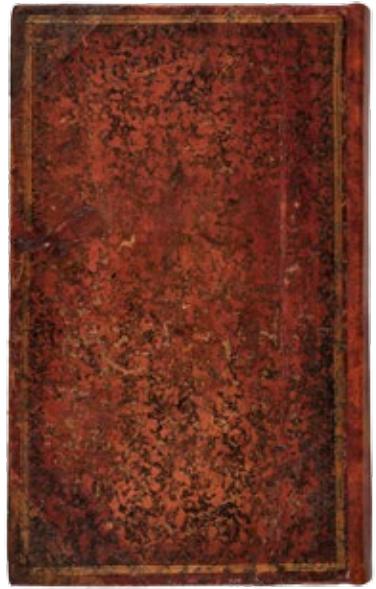
Ca 2017-1/1 (p. 1)
Front page with ornamental head
(*'unvān*) and invocation *basmala*

Cat. 86 | Ca 2017-1
**Illustrated manuscript of the *Shāhnāma*
by Firdausī, written 976–1010**
brown leather binding (modern), gold-
embossed margin, 29.5 × 20 × 7.6 cm
Mughal India, 18th century; calligraphy
nasta'līq, black ink; headings in red ink;
golden and bluish black borders; added
in the same calligrapher's hand are parts
of the Iranian epic *Humāy and Humāyūn*
by Khvājū Kermānī, written in 1331, begin-
ning of text missing; ornamental head-
piece (*'unvān*) in lapis lazuli and gold,
inscribed with the *basmala* (invocation
of God).
Illustrations in the northern Indian style,
probably Kashmir, late 18th–early 19th cen-
tury (before 1814), 96 illustrations of the
Shāhnāma and 4 illustrations of *Humāy
and Humāyūn*, 24 large and small areas
left blank for illustrations; watercolour,
gold, and silver
Donation by Roland Steffan and Hans-
Jörg Schwabl, Dresden, from the estate
of Gertrud Rennhard, Küsnacht, Canton
of Zurich

The Iranian *Shāhnāma* (The Book of Kings) is among the most complex ethical, myth-
ological, and historical lyric poems of world literature, to be considered alongside with
Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Indian *Mahābhārata*, the Tibetan *Gesar* saga, and Dante's
Divine Comedy. It is divided into fifty chapters, each devoted to one Iranian king, and has
between 55,000 and 66,000 verses (there are several different versions). It took the author,
Abū'l-Qāsim Firdausī, thirty-five years to complete the epic, in 1010. Firdausī took over
from Abū-Mansūr Daqiqī, who died after completing only the first few chapters.

The first part covers the mythical age. It relates history from the first man, Keyu-
mars, who became the first king, until the great king Kay Khusrau and the conflict
between Iran and Turan. The hero of these battles is Rustam, born in Zabulistan (pres-
ent-day Zabul in southern Afghanistan).

The second phase deals with the heroic age. It briefly mentions Garshāsp and his
son Narimān, under whom the doctrine of Zarathustra is spread. The battle against
Turan and its ruler Afrāsiyāb, begun by Rustam, is won by the hero Isfandiyār, the
grandson of Luhrāsp. After heroic battles against evil forces and sinister predators,
Isfandiyār is sent by his father to capture the ruler Rustam. However, Rustam shoots
the hero in the eye with the feather of a Sīmurgh.

Part three deals with the historical age. It begins with Darab and Dārā, known to
the Greeks as Darius, and his war against Alexander the Great. His victory and succession
as Shāh of Iran culminated in the fall of his nation to this ruler from the West. Little is
said about the history of the Parthians, but a selection of stories, legends, and romances
from the Sasanian period is included. The epic ends with the Arab invasion of Iran and
the death of the last Sasanian ruler, Yazdigerd III (r. 632–51), who was killed at Marv.

The work exerted a profound impact during the Mongol and Timurid periods
(1222–1506) as well as under the last monarchs of the Qājār and Pahlavī dynasties in
the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This ongoing fascination is surprising, for the
epic, which was composed in the early days of the Islamisation of Iran, deals exclusively
with the pre-Islamic history of the country and its great kings and heroes. Firdausī
dedicated the epic to Sultān Maḥmūd-i Ġaznavī (971–1030), who was of Turkish
descent and initially did not like it, perhaps because of his own literary naivety. The
Sunni ruler also may have disliked Firdausī's *Shī'a* leanings, which were not in favour
in Iran at the time. A central motif of the *Shāhnāma* is the conflict between the rulers
of Iran (roughly present-day Iran and Afghanistan) and those of Turan (Central Asia),
which had for centuries been settled and dominated by Turks.

The epic deals with this conflict at all levels, political as well as ethical, and offers
a wide range of interpretations of the role of the key figures. On the one hand, Firdausī
depicts Iranian heroic virtues and superhuman strength in a manner that might be seen
as "nationalistic." On the other hand, the poet tempers this exaggeration with the real-
ity that the early Turanian kings belonged to the same Iranian dynasty. Only one ruler
on the Turanian throne, who is deceived by the devil, is of Arabic origin: Żaḥḥāk, out
of whose shoulders grow man-eating snakes. It is this very Żaḥḥāk who subjugates Iran
and becomes one of its great kings. Also included among the great kings is Alexander
the Great, known by his Eastern name, Iskandar or Sikandar. According to the ancient
Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism, Alexander is condemned for vanquishing Darius III
and looting Persepolis. But Firdausī has Alexander mourn the murder of Darius as
unjustified; he relates his succession in accordance with Hellenistic tradition and
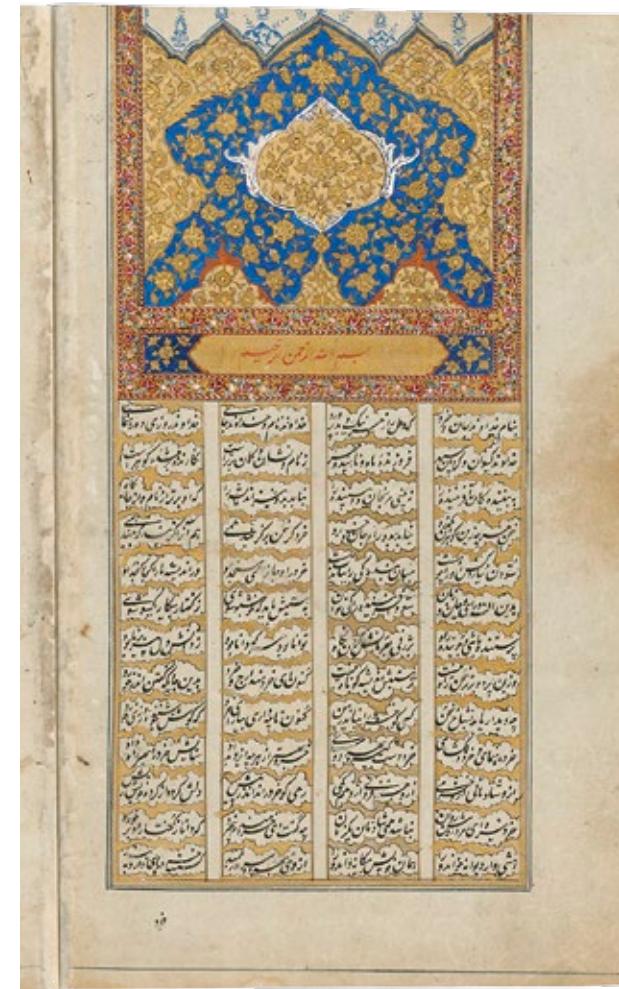
Ca 2017-1/1 (p. 1)

includes Alexander's heroic deeds among those of the Iranian heroes. Some of the kings
and heroes are described, warts and all, in a way so human that readers might recognise
themselves in these characters. In satire, Firdausī also immortalises his own experiences
with Sultān Maḥmūd-i Ġaznavī and the poor remuneration he received. This, too, has
contributed to the author's role as a sceptic facing an autocrat's overwhelming power
and to his status as a role model in the eyes of some Iranian writers.

The Hellenistic rulers were impressed by the persuasive power of Iran's royal ide-
ology. The ceremonies of the Iranian court were highly appreciated by some of the
caliphs and undoubtedly by Iran's Mongolian Il-Khān dynasty (1256–1340). The literati
in Herat in the circle of Prince Bāysunqur (d. 1432/33) undertook a slight revision of
the *Shāhnāma*, to which he added a new introduction. Some of the interpolated verses,
Arabicised terminology, and Islamic orientation have been traced back to this version
by the most recent editor of the epic, Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh.

Interest in the work during the Timurid period had an impact on the Mughals. The
Mughal emperors were descendants of Tīmūr, and they held Iran's literary heritage in
high esteem. In addition to the Turkic languages, Iranian was one of the languages spoken
at court. A large number of manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* were copied during the heyday
of imperial rule under Akbar (r. 1556–1605), and it continued to be copied until the
beginning of the reign of Aurangzēb (r. 1658–1707). Manuscripts with numerous textual
errors and misspelled names, produced especially during the period of decline between
the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, are indicative of the epic's dissemination
among the less educated, though affluent, population. The selection of illustrations for
many of these late manuscripts contributed to the popularity of the work.

The Dresden manuscript dates to the late Mughal period and probably originates from the North Indian province of Kashmir.[1] The text is not dated, and the high quality of the calligraphy suggests a wealthy client or a professional writer hoping to attract wealthy customers.[2] There are many places where areas of various sizes were left blank for illustrations and ornamental headings.[3] Following an old tradition, the illustrations are always accompanied by at least two lines of text; here they are on the top and the bottom of each page. The calligrapher's text is framed by margins and subdivided into four columns by another hand. The same person might have added the red headings that occur in almost all the early chapters but less often in the second half of the book. Most of the spaces left blank for illustrations and the numerous textual gaps of varying lengths appear in the last third of the manuscript—evidence that it is incomplete. If the manuscript had been finished, these lacunae would have been filled in and the cycle of illustrations completed.

The manuscript's design is indicative of its recipients in the Mughal Empire. The main chapters of the epic following the courts of fifty Iranian kings are not particularly emphasised; some are omitted in the chapter headings. The manuscript begins with the rhymed epic. Missing is one of the two prose introductions, either by the author or the editor Bāysunqur, that usually begin the Iranian versions. Richly illuminated headings (*'unvān*) can be found in the early chapters, near the middle of the book (no. 64, p. 634) and in the chapters that deal with Luhrasp's accession to the throne (no. 72, p. 759), which, since late Timurid times, has been considered the central episode of the epic. Accordingly, one would expect another illumination at the end of the epic, though it is missing here as are a number of other illustrations. The second *'unvān* roughly marks the centre of the projected series of illustrations. It shows the Iranian hero Bīzhan killing the Turanian Humān in a duel, then, clad in his victim's armour, sneaking through enemy lines (no. 65, p. 654).

The Iranian kings were somewhat neglected by the illustrators; they are represented on their thrones or in action in only twenty-three scenes. On the other hand, there are twenty-six illustrations that emphasise the heroic achievements of Rustam. Most of the remaining forty-seven illustrations show the exploits and military achievements of other Iranian heroes. There are fourteen illustrations showing women as protagonists, two of them as witches (no. 30, p. 195 and no. 77, p. 826) and two as rulers (no. 83, p. 914 and no. 87, p. 953). This is a greater number of illustrations of women compared to other pre-Islamic Iranian representations.

The Iranian love epic *Humāy and Humāyūn* by Khvājū Kermānī (1290–1349 or 1352)[4] begins on page 1391, right in the middle of the preface. This text, by the same calligrapher, was also left unfinished. CPH

Notes | **1** The Mughal Indian series of richly illustrated manuscripts might be based on the model of a work with a similarly extensive cycle and a similar selection: The British Library, London, MS Add. 5600, Rieu II 536; Titley 1977, no. 105, Mughal period, early seventeenth century, 90 illustrations. | **2** A note inscribed on the left endpaper of the volume mentions the son of Dīvān Sardār Mohkam Chand (d. 1814), First Minister of Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīngh, the first Sikh ruler of Punjab (b. 1780, r. 1797–1839), as the owner of this manuscript: "This (book) belong(s) to [added and corrected later] / Sardar Maharaj Chand Kumari / S /o [son of] / Sardar Mokham Chand Sahib Kumari / Rais azam [illegible, crossed out], Amritsar [written earlier and by a different hand than the first line]." During the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846), between the Sikh empire of Punjab and the East India Company, the *Shāhnāma* manuscript might have been plundered by the English. More than 120 years later, at the end of the 1960s, the book was purchased by Gertrud Rennhard in Delhi. A note inserted in the book on a piece of paper dating from this time states: "Written for: / Diwan Mokham Chand / Courtier of Maharaja Ranjit Singh / Ruler of Punjab 1797–1839 / Diwan Mokham Chand enjoyed the title of Sardar Maharaj, from the Sikh Court. / Sardar Maharaj Mokham Chand was a powerful Courtier and General of Sikh Court. / Indo-Persian style, by Kashmiri Artist / Names of painter and transcriber not known definitely. The most popular writer of those days in the Sikh Court at Lahore was Pandit-Tota Ram. It is believed that this is his work. / It is possible that the book has been written and prepared earlier and presented to Sardar Maharad ['d' crossed out] Mokham Chand by some one." | **3** Manuscripts such as these are not uncommon; see e. g. The British Library, London, inv. no. A.18804, 1719, with 97 illustrations; see Titley 1977, p. 46, no. 112; see also Staatsbibliothek Berlin, ms. Minutoli 134, with 94 illustrations, dated Kashmir 1245H/1830 (Steiner et al. 1971, no. 73); New York Public Library, ms. Spencer, Indo-Pers. 13, with 93 miniatures, c. 1815–1820 (Schmitz 1992, no. III.4, p. 169–175). | **4** See De Bruijn 2009; and Bürgel 1990.

Ca 2017-1/2 (p. 7)

Ca 2017-1/3 (p. 12)

Ca 2017-1/4 (p. 15)

Ca 2017-1/5 (p. 17)

Ca 2017-1/6 (p. 19)

Ca 2017-1/7 (p. 20)

Ca 2017-1/8 (p. 29)

Ca 2017-1/9 (p. 30)

Ca 2017-1/10 (p. 33)

Ca 2017-1/11 (p. 38)
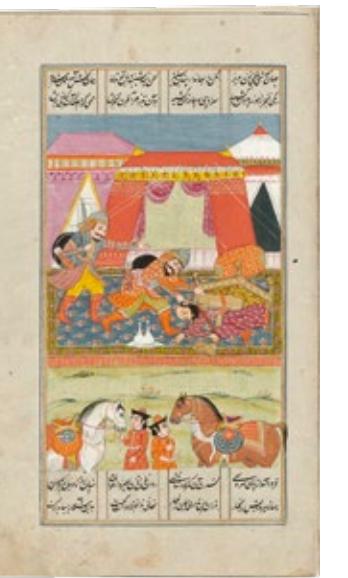
Ca 2017-1/12 (p. 52)
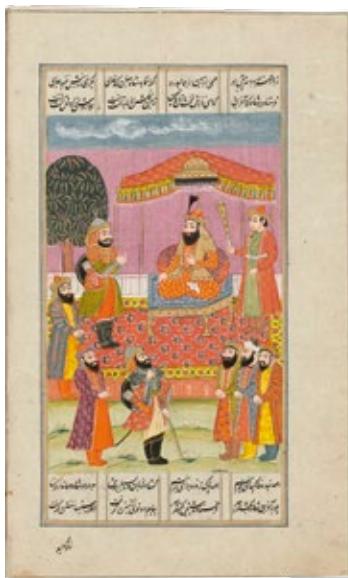
Ca 2017-1/13 (p. 57)
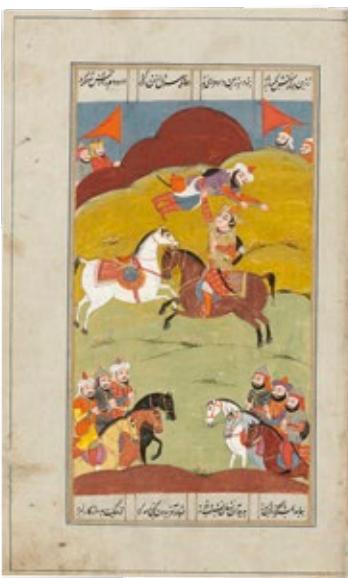
Ca 2017-1/14 (p. 64)

Ca 2017-1/15 (p. 75)
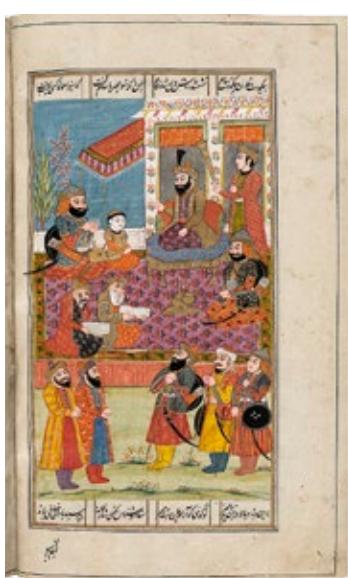
Ca 2017-1/16 (p. 76)

Ca 2017-1/17 (p. 88)

Ca 2017-1/18 (p. 95)
**King Mihrāb hears of his daughter
Rūdāba's folly**

Ca 2017-1/19 (p. 118)
**The birth of Rustam and the advice
of the Bird Sīmurgh to Zāl**
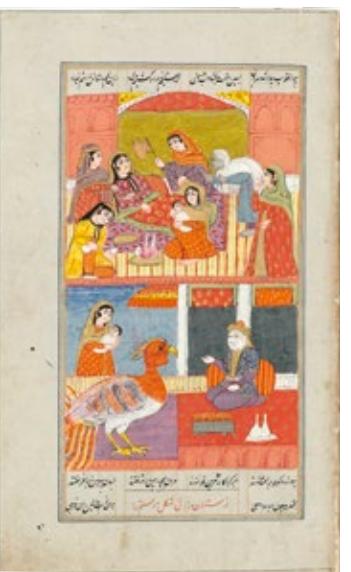
Ca 2017-1/20 (p. 123)
**The boy Rustam slays Zāl's
white elephant with his mace**

Ca 2017-1/21 (p. 126)
**Rustam takes revenge for his ancestors
in Fort Dizhbār**

Ca 2017-1/22 (p. 134)
Rustam fights Tuvurg

Ca 2017-1/23 (p. 143)
Rustam fights a dragon
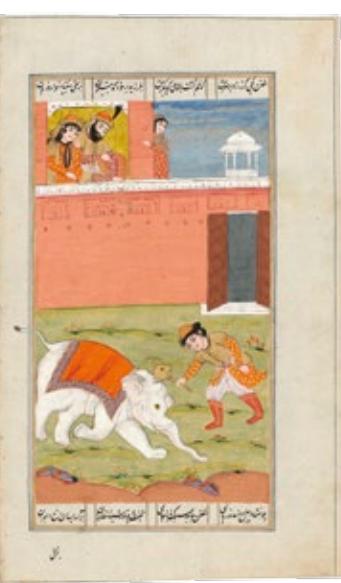
Ca 2017-1/24 (p. 170)
**Zāl captures wild horses for Rustam;
Rustam lassoes Rakhsh**
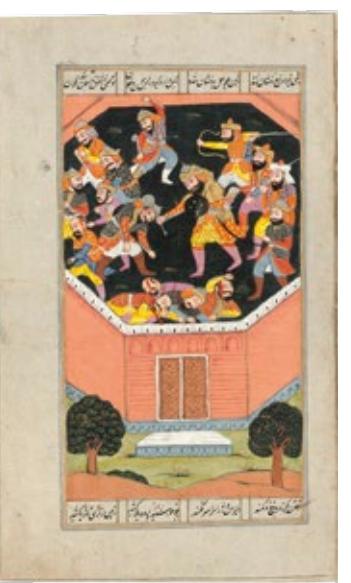
Ca 2017-1/25 (p. 174)
The Great King Kay Qūbād I at court

Ca 2017-1/26 (p. 176)
**Rustam lifts King Afrāsiyāb of Turan
by the belt**

Ca 2017-1/27 (p. 186)
**An army of Dīvs capture Kay Kāvūs
and his retinue**

Ca 2017-1/28 (p. 189)
**Rustam's first labour:
His horse Rakhsh slays a lion**

Ca 2017-1/29 (p. 193)
**Rustam's third labour:
He and his horse slay a dragon**

Ca 2017-1/30 (p. 195)
**Rustam's fourth labour:
He cleaves a witch in half**

Ca 2017-1/31 (p. 197)
**Rustam's fifth labour:
The capture of the Demon Aulad**

Ca 2017-1/32 (p. 199)
**Rustam's sixth labour:
He slays the Dīv Arzhang**

Ca 2017-1/18 (p. 95)

Ca 2017-1/19 (p. 118)

Ca 2017-1/20 (p. 123)

Ca 2017-1/21 (p. 126)

Ca 2017-1/22 (p. 134)

Ca 2017-1/23 (p. 143)

Ca 2017-1/24(p. 170)

Ca 2017-1/25 (p. 174)

Ca 2017-1/26 (p. 176)

Ca 2017-1/27 (p. 186)

Ca 2017-1/28 (p. 189)

Ca 2017-1/29 (p. 193)

Ca 2017-1/30 (p. 195)

Ca 2017-1/31 (p. 197)

Ca 2017-1/32 (p. 199)

Biographies

Short Biographies of Persons indicated in the Index with an asterisk (*)

Shāh ʿAbbās I (1571–1629; r. 1588–1629)
Shāh ʿAbbās I was the fifth ruler of the Safavid dynasty in Iran (1501–1722), which was in contact with the Mughals in India and often served as a source of inspiration for Mughal art and architecture. Under his rule, Iran reached its greatest territorial expansion.[1] In 1598 Isfahan was made the new capital, which saw the increased production of manuscripts such as the *Shāhnāma* that became an important demonstration of imperial patronage and ideology.[2]

Shāh ʿAbbās II (1632–1666; r. 1642–1666)
Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā, the seventh ruler of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, reigned as Shāh ʿAbbās II. He took an active interest in governance and worked towards the consolidation of the Iranian Empire. His reign was marked by a significant increase in the activities of the western trading companies and consistent struggle with the Mughals, who aimed to conquer Kandahar in order to prove their hereditary descent from Timūr (r. 1370–1405).[3]

ʿAbd al-Jaʿfar Beg (ʿAbd al-Jabbār Beg)
ʿAbd al-Jaʿfar Beg (Servant of the Powerful) was a *wazīr* of the seventh king, ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (r. 1626–1672), of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687).[4]

Mullāh ʿAbd al-Samad Mullāh ʿAbd al-Samad was the secretary of the ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (r. 1626–1672).[5]

Mullāh ʿAbdul Mali Mullāh ʿAbdul Mali was a spiritual guide to a king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687).

ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (1614–1672; r. 1626–1672)
ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh was proclaimed seventh ruler of Golconda after his father's death. He continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Iran and evoked the Shāh's name during his Friday sermon at Golconda.[6] The Mughals considered this practice, along with the recitation of the names of the Twelve *Shīʿa Imāms*, a sin. It was thus only a matter of time until ʿAbdullāh was forced to sign the Deed of Submission to the Mughals in 1636.[7] Painting during the time of ʿAbdullāh came in contact with foreign elements and spread the popularity of European themes such as the Virgin and Child and the Holy Family.[8]

ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīn (Shāh Alauddin; śāha alāvadīna; r. 1445–1451) Shāh ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīn was the final ruler of the Sayyid dynasty in India (1414–1451).

ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīn ʿOmar Khiljī (r. 1296–1316)
Shāh ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīn was the second ruler of the Khiljī dynasty in India (1290–1320).

ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (1638–1672; r. 1656–1672)
Upon the death of his father, ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II succeeded to the throne as the eighth ruler of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur (1490–1686), an Indo-Islamic kingdom in the Deccan. The decline of the mighty Bijapur sultanate that began with his predecessor continued during his reign, marked by attacks mounted by the Hindu warrior Śivājī (r. 1674–1680).[9]

Azīm ush-Shān (1664–1712) ʿAzīm ush-Shān, the second son of Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712), was appointed viceroy of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa by his grandfather Aurangzēb. Upon his father's death, ʿAzīm announced himself emperor of the Mughal dynasty and minted coins in his name. In spite of having the support of the court, he was soon challenged by his brother Jahāndār Shāh (r. 1712–1713) emerged victorious.

Abū Saʿīd (r. c. 1451–1469) After Shāh Rukh's death, Abū Saʿīd (d. 1469), grandson of Mīrān Shāh, claimed the throne of Samarkand. With him, the Timurid Empire entered a new phase of disintegration whilst the line of Mīrān Shāh continued to play a prominent role in what remained.

Abūʾl Hasan Qutb Shāh (1600–1687; r. 1672–1687) Abūʾl Hasan Qutb Shāh was the eighth and last *sultān* of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687). A great patron of the arts and follower of the famous saint Shāh Rājū, he was nicknamed Tānā Shāh (King of Taste). After the fall of Bijapur in 1686, the Mughal army was free to concentrate on Hyderabad and ultimately captured Golconda the following year. Tānā Shāh's defeat marked the end of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty and the beginning of the Nizām dynasty under the control of the Mughals in Hyderabad. The arts had flourished under Qutb Shāhī rulers, and the tradition continued into the early eighteenth century under the Mughals.[9]

Ahmad Khān Ahmad Khān was probably a *wazīr* to a king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687).

Akbar (1542–1605; r. 1556–1605) Akbar succeeded his father, Humāyūn, as Mughal ruler at the age of thirteen under the guidance of regent Bairām Khān, Humāyūn's friend and general, whom he dismissed in 1560, taking over the administration himself. Akbar's rule was aimed at establishing a strong administration, expansion, and liberal social policies. Questioning the Muslim religious establishment, Akbar abolished *shariʿa*, a practice of collecting taxes from Hindu pilgrims, in 1563, and *jizya*, an annual tax imposed on the property of non-Muslims, in 1579. He also celebrated the Hindu festival of light, Diwali. Despite his inability to read or write, Akbar exerted a spectacular influence on literature and the visual arts. Various manuscripts were illustrated during his reign such as the *Tūtīnāma* (Tales of a Parrot), *Hamzanāma* (Stories of the Adventures of Hamza), *Razmnāma* (Book of Wars), and *Akbarnāma*, his biography compiled by his friend Abūʾl Fazl.[10]

Māhārāna Amar Sīngh I (1559–1620) Amar Sīngh I, the Māhārāna of Mewar, was the eldest son of Māhārāna Pratāp.

Amar Sīngh (1613–1644) Rāo Amar Sīngh Rāthor was the eldest son of Gaj Sīngh, the Māhārāna of Marwar. Achieving high esteem for his valour and might, he was a courtier at Shāh Jahān's court and served as the governor of Nagaur.[12]

Muḥammad Amīn Khān Turānī (d. 1721) Muḥammad Amīn Khān, son of Muḥammad Saʿīd Mīr Jumla, an important politician at the Deccani and Mughal courts, served as prime minister of Golconda during the reign of ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (r. 1626–1672). Both Amīn and his father shifted their political allegiance and left Golconda to serve the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658).

Aurangzēb (1618–1707; r. 1658–1707) Upon Shāh Jahān's death, his four sons commenced a struggle for the throne. Aurangzēb emerged victorious, crowning himself emperor with the title ʿĀlamgīr (World Seizer). Akbar's ideology, which had already begun changing during Shāh Jahān's rule, saw a full transformation under Aurangzēb, who devoted seven years to learning the *Qurʾān*. Royal patronage of manuscripts and book illustration declined during his rule, and artists often went to other courts and cities in search of work. The writing of the chronicles of his reign, the *ʿĀlamgīrnāma,* was brought to a halt in his tenth regnal year. He was considered a vigorous ruler for half a century, but the empire declined rapidly after his death, ultimately coming under the control of the British East India Company in 1858.[13]

Āzād Khān (1631–1716) Āzād Khān was a favourite of Emperor Shāh Jahān. In 1670 he became deputy *wazīr* to Aurangzēb and full *wazīr* in 1676, retaining the office until the end of Aurangzēb's reign. He was regarded as a kind and sympathetic figure that was closely related to the imperial family.[14]

Muḥammad Aʿzam Shāh (1653–1707; r. 1707) Muḥammad Aʿzam Shāh was the eldest son of the sixth Mughal emperor, Aurangzēb (r. 1658–1707), and his consort Dilras Bānū Begum, a Safavid princess. Emperor Aurangzēb's death initiated a war of succession among his sons for control of the Deccan. Aʿzam ascended the Mughal throne less than one month after Aurangzēb's death but was soon challenged by his brother Muʿazzam, who then ascended the throne as Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712).[15]

Bābur (1483–1530; r. Farghana 1494; Kabul 1504; Delhi 1526–1530) The Mughals were descendants of the Timurids and shared a cultural legacy similar to the Turko-Mongol rulers of Central Asia. Zahīr ud-Dīn Muḥammad was born in 1483 in Farghana, a region of Central Asia, during the dissipation of the Timurid Empire. He inherited the throne as an eleven year old and later established the Mughal Empire in India.[16]

Bahādur Shāh I (1643–1712; r. 1707–1712) Prince Muʿazzam, later known as Bahādur Shāh, became the seventh ruler of the Mughal dynasty in India (1526–1858). He was born in Burhanpur in the Deccan, the second son of Aurangzēb (r. 1658–1707), governor of the Deccan. Muʿazzam rebelled against Aurangzēb in 1670 and 1680 in an attempt to claim the throne but was dissuaded by his mother. When Aurangzēb died without appointing an heir, Muʿazzam, then governor of Kabul, was quick to take charge after defeating his brothers and other contenders to the throne. He ascended the Mughal throne at age sixty-three on June 19, 1707, with the title Bahādur Shāh I.

Bhao Sīngh (d. 1678) Bhao Sīngh, a *wazīr* of Aurangzēb, was the *rāo* (*rājā*) of Bundi (r. 1658–1678). He defeated Atmarām Gaur of Sheopur, who had attacked Bundi at the instigation of Aurangzēb in 1660, and became the governor of Aurangabad under Prince Muʿazzam.[17]

Chatra Sal Rāo (d. 1658) Chatra Sal Rāo was a Rājput prince, who died in the war between Prince Dārā and Aurangzēb in 1658.[18]

Daniyāl (1572–1604) Daniyāl was a son of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605). He served as the viceroy of the Deccan from 1601 to 1604.[19] His mother was a cousin of Akbar's first wife from Amber. While Akbar had seven wives, Daniyāl had nine. Like his father, Daniyāl was notorious for his appetite for worldly pleasures. Both Daniyāl and his brother Murād succumbed to alcoholism and predeceased their father. His lineage ended when Shāh Jahān killed Daniyāl's sons during a battle against Shāhryar for the throne of the Mughal kingdom.[20]

Dārā Shikōh (1615–1659) Dārā Shikōh, the heir apparent, was the first son of Shāh Jahān's with his favorite wife, Mumtāz-i Mahāl, and was granted the title *Shāhzāda-e Buland Iqbāl* (Prince of High Fortune). He was forty-three when the war of succession began. When news of Shāh Jahān's illness reached his younger brother Aurangzēb in the Deccan, Aurangzēb carefully planned a joint action with his brother Murād to dispose of Dārā and his fourth brother, Shujāʿ (d. 1661), leading to his successful victory over Dārā in the battle of Samugarh.[21] A great patron of the arts and literature, Dārā is credited with the translation of about forty Upaniṣads from Sanskrit into Persian.[22]

Diler Khān (d. 1683) In traveller and writer Nicolao Manucci's (1638–1717) accounts of the Mughals,[23] Aurangzēb ordered Diler Khān to succeed Bahādur Khān in 1678 in conducting the war against the Marātha warrior Śivājī. He died at Aurangabad.

Farkhunda Akhtar (d. 1712) Farkhunda Akhtar was the brother of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719–1748), the tenth ruler of the Mughal dynasty in India.

Farrukh Sīyar (r. 1713–1719) Farrukh Sīyar was the grandson of Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712) from his son ʿAzīm ush-Shān. After the deposition of Farrukh Sīyar, several puppet rulers controlled the Mughal Empire for brief periods of time until Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719–1748) was put on the throne.[24]

Fath Jang Khān (Ghāzi ud-Dīn) Fath Jang Khān served as a chief *wazīr* during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzēb (r. 1658–1707).[25] A Sunni Turk, son of Qilich Khān, he, together with Safshikan Khān, played a prominent role in the battles preceding the fall of Bijapur (1685–1686). He was made the *sūbadār* (governor) of Gujarat province during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712).

Fīrōz Shāh Sūrī (r. 1554) Fīrōz Shāh was the third ruler of the Sūr dynasty in India (1540–1555).

Sultān Fīrōz Shāh Tughluq (r. 1351–1388) Fīrōz Shāh Tughluq was the fourth ruler of the Tughluq dynasty in India (1320–1414).

Gaj Sīngh (1595–1638; r. 1618–1638) Rājā Gaj Sīngh was the ruler of Marwar. He succeeded his father, Suraj Sīngh, whose sister was a wife of Jahāngīr and the mother of Shāh Jahān. Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son Jaswanth Sīngh; while his other son, Amar Sīngh, was killed by order of Shāh Jahān in 1644.[26]

Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn Balban (r. 1266–1286) Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn was the ninth *sultān* of the Mamlūk dynasty in India (1206–1290). He was a former slave and a son-in-law of Sultān Nāsir ud-Dīn Mahmūd.

Shāh Ghiyās ud-Dīn Tughluq I (r. 1320–1325) Shāh Ghiyās ud-Dīn was the founder and first ruler of the Tughluq (also Tughlaq or Tughluk) dynasty in India (1320–1414). The Tughluq was a Muslim dynasty of Turkic origin that ruled the Delhi sultanate in medieval India. Its reign began in Delhi in 1320, when Shāh Ghiyās ud-Dīn assumed the throne with the title Ghiyās ud-Dīn Tughluq.

Hasan Khān Hasan Khān was a *wazīr* to a king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687). Mīr Jumla (1320–1414), who was known for his civil and military administration, sent Hasan Khān to Pegu in Myanmar to begin commercial relations with its ruler.[27]

Humāyūn (1508–1556; r. 1530–1540, 1555–1556) Humāyūn, Bābur's eldest son, became ruler and encountered massive difficulties in his efforts to retain and expand his father's conquests in India. Conflicts with the Pashtun rebel Shēr Shāh Sūrī (r. 1540–1545) ended with Humāyūn fleeing to Agra and then to Lahore in 1540. There, Humāyūn employed two Safavid artists, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Samad, as well as other artists from the Safavid court in Tabriz who later played a crucial role in the development of painting under the Mughals. Poor administration and famine had weakened Sūr's control in India, and Humāyūn, after his exile in Iran, successfully restored the Mughal rule in India by 1555.[28]

Husain Shāh Husain Shāh was probably a *wazīr* to a king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda (1496–1687).

Ibn-i Khātūn (Shaikh Muḥammad Khātūn, Muḥammad Ibn-i Khātūn) Muḥammad Ibn-i Khātūn was the prime minister to Sultān ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh (r. 1626–1672) of Golconda. Ibn-i Khātūn was permitted to sit beside ʿAbdullāh's throne in 1629.[29]

Shāh Ibrāhīm Lōdī (r. 1517–1526) Shāh Ibrāhīm was the third and final ruler of the Lōdī dynasty in India (1451–1526).

Ibrāhīm Shāh Sūrī (r. 1555) Ibrāhīm Shāh was the fifth ruler of the Sūr dynasty in India (1540–1555).

The Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett's collection of Indian paintings bears witness to the rich art of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century, mainly Mughal style, works from the Deccan, and the fascinating history of its reception in the West. It consists of two groups that came to Dresden during the Baroque and the Romantic eras, respectively. The first group, recorded in the earliest inventory compiled in 1738, predominantly consists of albums and sets of ruler's and noble's portraits. A second group of seventy-eight paintings contains a wide variety of topics. It entered the museum in 1848 as part of the bequest of the philologist August Wilhelm Schlegel. This scholarly catalogue publishes the entire holdings of Indian paintings in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett for the first time, including an illuminated *Shāhnāma* that entered the collection in 2016 as a donation.