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The Diez Albums

Contexts and Contents

Edited by

Julia Gonnella
Friederike Weis
Christoph Rauch



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Ernst J. Grube (*1932–2011*)

In Memoriam



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Notes on Contributors

Serpil Bağcı
is Professor of Islamic Art at the Hacettepe University, Ankara. Her main field of research is Ottoman and Persian painting. Her books include: *Mevlana Müzesi Resimli El Yazmaları* [The illustrated manuscripts in Konya Mevlana Museum], Istanbul, 2003; *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (with Massumeh Farhad), Washington, 2009; *Ottoman Painting* (with Filiz Çağman, Zeren Tanındı and Günsel Renda), Istanbul, 2010.
serpil.bagci@gmail.com

Barbara Brend
read French at Cambridge, and later took an MPhil and a PhD in Islamic Art and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. She has lectured for the British Museum and British Library. As an independent scholar, her principal research is into form and meaning in Persian and Mughal manuscript illustration. Among her publications are: *Islamic Art*, Cambridge, 1991; *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Niẓāmī*, London, 1995; *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amir Khusrau's Khamsah*, London/New York, 2003; *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi*, London, 2010; *Epic of the Persian Kings* (with Charles Melville), London/New York, 2010, catalogue of an exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
bmc.brend@virgin.net

Filiz Çakır Phillip
is Dr Phil in Art History. She is Curator at the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. Her interests emphasise the areas of Islamic arms and armour, Islamic metal work in general as well as the art of the book from Iran.

Filiz Çakır Phillip has i. a. published on Islamic book bindings, Islamic archaeology in Ottoman Lands, and Islamic arms and armour. She is the author of: *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen des 15.–19, Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen des Museums für Islamische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin und des Deutschen Historischen Museums* (*Zeughaus*) *in Berlin*, Berlin 2016; *Enchanted Lines: Drawings from the Aga Khan Museum Collection*, Toronto 2014. Her latest book contribution is on the weapons collection of the National Museum in Herat, Afghanistan.
filiz.phillip@akdn.org

Massumeh Farhad
holds a PhD in Islamic Art History from Harvard University, is a specialist in the arts of the book from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iran with wide curatorial experience. She joined the Freer Gallery of Art|Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in 1995 as Associate Curator of Islamic Art. In 2004, she was appointed Chief Curator and Curator of Islamic

Art. Massumeh Farhad has organized numerous exhibitions on the arts of the Islamic world has written on Safavid painting, including *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, 2009.
farhama@si.edu

Julia Gonnella
has studied Islamic Art and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London and took her PhD at the University of Tübingen. For many years she has been excavating in Syria, particularly in Aleppo, and was teaching at the Free University in Berlin. Since 2009 she is curator at the Museum of Islamic Art and has organized numerous exhibitions, including *Heroic Times. Thousand years of Shahnama* (Berlin 2011 with Christoph Rauch), and *How Islamic Art came to Berlin. The Museum Director and Collector Friedrich Sarre* (Berlin 2015).
j.gonnella@smb.spk-berlin.de

Claus-Peter Haase
is Honorary Professor at the Free University in Berlin, Institute for Art History since 2004. Between 1998 and 2001 he taught Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Copenhagen which cover his main research interest beside Islamic calligraphy. He was the director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin from 2001 to 2009. Since 1985 he worked for the cataloguing project "Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" and since 1987 he was involved in an archaeological excavation project of early Islamic settlements in Syria.
c.p.haase@smb.spk-berlin.de

Oliver Hahn
received his PhD in Chemistry in 1996. After a stint spent as a research associate in the Department for Restoration and Conservation of Books, Graphic Arts and Archival Materials at the University of Applied Sciences in Cologne, he now works for the BAM Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing in Berlin. His areas of special interest include the scientific analysis of manuscripts, drawings, paintings, pigments and inks as well as the preservation of the country's cultural heritage. Hahn is head of the institute's Division 4.5 "Analysis of Artefacts and Cultural Assets". In addition, he is Professor at the University of Hamburg, Arts Faculty, since 2014.
oliver.hahn@bam.de

Robert Hillenbrand
is Professor Emeritus of Islamic Art at Edinburgh University and currently Professor of Art History at St. Andrews University. He has held visiting professorships at Princeton, UCLA, Bamberg, Dartmouth College, and Groningen. From 1992 to 2004 he held a short-term visiting professorship at Leiden and in 2004 he was Distinguished Visiting Professor at the American University in Cairo.

His scholarly interests focus on Islamic architecture, painting and iconography, with particular reference to Iran and early Islamic Syria.

Robert Hillenbrand has published 9 books, 11 edited books and some 170 articles. His books include *Islamic architecture: form, function and meaning* (1994); *Islamic art and architecture* (1999); *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem: An Introduction* (2001); and *The Sheikh Zayed Grand Mosque. A landmark of modern Islamic architecture* (2012).
R.Hillenbrand@ed.ac.uk

Yuka Kadoi
(PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2005) is a historian of Islamic and Persian art. She specialises in the cross-cultural exchanges of objects, ideas and images in pre-modern Islamic Eurasia, especially during the time of the Mongol Empire, and researches aspects of Persian art historiography in the early twentieth century. With the dual background of Islamic and East Asian art histories, she has written, edited or co-edited numerous books and articles, including *Islamic Chinoiserie* (2009); *The Shaping of Persian Art* (2013; co-edited with Iván Szántó); *Arthur Upham Pope and A New Survey of Persian Art* (2016); and *Jades from Eastern Lands: The Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait* (forthcoming).
ykadoi@transoxiana.net

Charles Melville
is Professor of Persian History at Cambridge University. His main research interests are in the history and culture of Iran in the Mongol to Safavid periods, and the illustration of Persian manuscripts. Publications include edited volumes of *Safavid Persia*, London, 1996; *Shahnama Studies*, Cambridge, 2006; *The Persian Book of Kings. Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama* (with Firuza Abdullaeva), Oxford, 2008, and *Epic of the Kings. The art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh* (with Barbara Brend), London, 2010. More recent publications include edited volumes of *Shahnama Studies* II (with Gabrielle van den Berg), Leiden, 2012; *Persian Historiography*, London, 2012, and *Every Inch a King: Kings and kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds* (with Lynette Mitchell), Boston, 2013.
cpm1000@cam.ac.uk

Gülru Necipoğlu
is the Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art and Director of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University since 1993, where she earned her PhD in 1986. She specializes in the medieval and early modern periods, with a particular focus on the Mediterranean basin and the Eastern Islamic lands. She is the editor of *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* and *Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture: Supplements to Muqarnas,* Leiden/Boston. Necipoğlu is the author of *Architecture, Ceremonial Power: The Topkapı Palace*, New York, 1991; *The Topkapı Scroll, Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, Santa Monica, 1995; *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton, 2005. She co-edited with Alina Payne *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, Princeton, 2016, and is an elected

member of the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Steering Committee of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, and the Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio in Vicenza.
gnecipog@fas.harvard.edu

Bernard O'Kane
is Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture at the American University in Cairo, where he has been teaching since 1980. He has also been a visiting professor at Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley.

He is the author of numerous books such as *Early Persian Painting:* Kalila and Dimna *Manuscripts of the Late-Fourteenth Century, 2003*; *The World of Islamic Art*, Cairo, 2007; *The Appearance of Persian on Islamic Art* (2009) and *The Illustrated Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo*, Cairo, 2012. He also edited *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, Edinburgh, 2005; *The Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*, Cairo, 2006 and *Creswell Photographs Re-Examined: New Perspectives on Islamic Architecture*, Cairo, 2009.
bokane@aucegypt.edu

Yves Porter
holds a PhD in Iranian Studies and a *Habilitation à diriger des Recherches* (*HdR*) in the History of Islamic Art. He is Professor of History of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Aix-Marseille. He is specifically interested in Persian writing on the Arts as well as in the art of books and in ceramics from Iran and Muslim India.

He is the author of: *Painters, paintings and books*, Delhi, 1994; *The Art of Islamic Tile*, Paris, 2001; *Palaces and gardens of Persia*, Paris, 2002; *Tombs of Paradise*, Saint-Rémy-en-l'eau, 2003; *The Glory of the Sultans: Islamic Architecture in India*, Paris, 2009; *Le prince, l'artiste et l'achimiste. La céramique dans le monde iranien, X^e–XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 2011. About 80 articles published in scientific publications and large diffusion mainly on Persian technical texts, painting and ceramics, and Indian sultanates architecture.
yves.porter@orange.fr

Julian Raby
is director of FREER|SACKLER of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C., where he has championed a major international exhibition program, and emphasized the museum's dedication to scholarly research.

Between 1979 and 2002 Raby was Lecturer in Islamic Art at the University of Oxford, and the series editor of Oxford Studies in Islamic Art. Much of his research has focused on the Ottomans, in particular the patronage of Mehmed the Conqueror, but he is the author of articles ranging from the earliest illustrations to *Kalila wa Dimna* to the Classical Revival in twelfth-century Syria, and, most recently, Mosul metalwork of the thirteenth century. Much of his work focuses on intercultural relations, and has recently included a curiosity of early globalism – an Ottoman theme on an early seventeenth-century Japanese screen. He is the author of *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*, London, 1982 and *Qajar Portraits*,

London, 1999; and co-author with Nurhan Atasoy of *Iznik. The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1989; and with Zeren Tanındı of *Turkish Bookbinding in the Fifteenth Century. The Foundation of a Court Style*, London, 1993.
rabyju@si.edu

Christoph Rauch
studied Arabic philology, Islamic studies and religion at the University of Leipzig (M.A. 2001) and Library and Information Science at the Humboldt University in Berlin (M.A. 2006). In 2002 he received a fellowship from the Volkswagen-Stiftung at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum and made several research trips to Sanaa/Yemen. Since 2004 he has worked at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, where he was appointed head of the Oriental Department in 2010. His research interests cover Islamic manuscripts and the history of Oriental collections in the Western world. He co-organized several conferences on manuscript collections and the history of Oriental studies, most recently the conference "Studies on Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905): Manuscripts, Politics and Oriental Studies" in 2015. He is co-editor of *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Brill 2015) and *Oriental Bible Manuscripts from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: An illustrated History* (Reichert 2016).
christoph.rauch@sbb.spk-berlin.de

Simon Rettig
is Assistant Curator of Islamic Art at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery – Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. He holds a Diplôme de Premier Cycle from the École du Louvre (2000), a Master Degree from the Aix-Marseille University (2003) where he completed a PhD in History of Islamic Art and Archaeology on the manuscript production in Shiraz under the Aqqoyunlus. Rettig was previously a researcher at the Institut Francais d'Études Anatoliennes (Istanbul) and in the DFG – Emmy Noether Junior Research Group "Kosmos-Ornatus. Ornament in France and Persia ca. 1400 in Comparison" at the Free University (Berlin). His research mainly focuses on 15th century Persianate manuscripts, about which he delivered numerous lectures and wrote several articles. Rettig organized the exhibition "Nasta'liq: The Genius of Persian Calligraphy" at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in 2014 and co-curated with Massumeh Farhad "The Art of the Qur'an: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (2016). Rettig currently prepares a monograph on the Freer's *Khusraw-u Shirin*.
RettigS@si.edu

David J. Roxburgh
is Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Professor of Islamic Art History at Harvard University where he has taught since he received the PhD from the University of Pennsylvania in 1996. In his publications, Roxburgh has pursued several interests – including aesthetics and the history of reception – and approaches to the study of art history. He has focused on primary written sources, manuscript painting, arts of the book, calligraphy, Timurid art and architecture, exchanges between China and the Islamic lands, travel narratives, and the

pre-modern through contemporary histories of collecting, exhibitions, and museums. He has published the following two books: *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden, 2001, and *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven, 2005. Professor Roxburgh has also co-curated exhibitions and written for their catalogues (*Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years*, London, 2005, and *Traces of the Calligrapher: Islamic Calligraphy in Practice, c. 1600–1900*, Houston, 2007). He is currently working on two books about illustrated Arabic manuscripts of the late 1100s through early 1200s and the study of Medieval architecture in Iran through the archive of Myron Bement Smith.
roxburgh@fas.harvard.edu

Karin Rührdanz
received her PhD at the University of Halle/S. in 1974. In 2015 she retired as Senior Curator of Islamic Art at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and Associate Professor of Islamic Art at the University of Toronto. She specialises in Persian and Persianate art of the book and the text-image relationship in Islamic art. Her recent publications include "Between Astrology and Anatomy: Updating Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Iran," *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012); and "The Samarqand *Shahnama*s in the Context of Dynastic Change," in *Shahnama Studies II: The Reception of Firdausi's Shahnama*, eds. Charles Melville and Gabrielle van den Berg, Leiden/Boston, 2012. Her latest article on material in the Diez Albums ("From the Mongols to the Timurids: Refinement and attrition in Persian Painting" in *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*) was just published by Brill.
karin.ruehrdanz@gmail.com

Zeren Tanındı
earned BA and PhD degrees at İstanbul University Department of History of Art. She worked at the Topkapı Saray Museum Library as the curator between 1967–1984. She worked at the Uludağ University in Bursa as professor of Islamic Art History and as Chair of the Department of Art History up until 2010. Currently she is preparing a book on Arts of the Book in Turkish Art and her latest articles: "Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary," *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria-Evalution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Bonn, 2012), 267–81; "The Book in Turkish Art", *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy* (İstanbul, 2012), 9–28; "Quelques corans magrébins conservés dans les bibliotheques d'Istanbul," *Le Maroc médiéval. Un empire de l'Afrique á l'Espagane,* eds. Y. Lintz, C. Déléry, B. Tuil Legnetti (Paris, 2014), 536–39; "A Treasury for Bibliophiles: Ottoman Illuminated Books", *Distant Neighbour Close Memories. 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations* (İstanbul, 2014), 96–109; "Another Distinguished Manuscript from the Book Treasury of Topkapı Saray: The Safavid Album Hazine 2166", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 24 (2015): 165–208.
zeren@uludag.edu.tr

Lâle Uluç
completed her PhD at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University and is currently teaching at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. Her publications include the books *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Arts of the Book in 16th Century Shiraz* (Istanbul, 2006); *Ottoman Material Culture and its European Life*, co-authored with Professor Nurhan Atasoy; and an edited book, *From the Yıldız Palace to the Istanbul University* (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 2015). Some of her articles are "Selling to the Court: Late Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000); "Thoughts on an Illustrated Copy of the *Divan* of Muhammad Khan Dashti from the 1270s (1853–1863)," *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* 5/3 (2012); "An *Iskandarnāma* of Nizami Produced for Ibrahim Sultan" *Muqarnas* 30 (2013); and "The Representation of the Execution of the Safavid Begum from the *Nusretname* of Mustafa Ali," in *14th International Congress of Turkish Arts*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Paris, 2013).
laleuluc@hotmail.com

Ching-Ling Wang
obtained his doctoral degree from Freie Universität Berlin in 2013. He is currently curator of Chinese art at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. His research area is Chinese Painting history, particularly the issues of the exchange between West and East, literati painting and the elite circle, the production of court painting and imperial workshop.
c.wang@rijksmuseum.nl

Friederike Weis
received her PhD at the Department of Art History, Freie Universität Berlin, in 2005. She worked as Assistant Curator at the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin and held a fellowship in the program "Connecting Art Histories in the Museum. The Mediterranean and Asia 400–1650" (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut). Her primary field of research is Mughal and Persianate painting, with a particular focus on cross-cultural perspectives. From 2013–2014 she catalogued the Diez Albums in the database *Orient-Digital* and co-curated an exhibition in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (*Joseph und Zulaikha. Beziehungsgeschichten zwischen Indien, Persien und Europa*, ed. V. Beyer, F. Weis, H. Schulze Altcappenberg, Neu-Isenburg 2014). Since 2014 she is a researcher at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, with the DFG project: "Autonomous pictures? Figural motifs in Persian drawings and paintings in the Diez albums".
friederikeweis@aol.com

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Julia Gonnella, Friederike Weis and Christoph Rauch

The five albums Diez A fols. 70–74, named after the Prussian diplomat and Orientalist Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817), stand out among the most precious objects in the holdings of the Oriental Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: they contain an exceptional number of rare and very finely made artworks from Persianate regions.[1] The albums' contents and contexts were the subject of the symposium, "The Diez Albums of the Berlin State Library: Current State of Research and New Perspectives", held at the Staatsbibliothek on 2–5 June 2013 (see Appendix 1). Most of the papers presented are published here, complemented by some additional articles.

Four of the Diez albums contain more than 400 figurative paintings, drawings and fragments originating for the most part from Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, and Timurid workshops of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, as well as a few Persian, Ottoman, European, and Chinese paintings and prints from later centuries. The fifth album consists of a collection of various calligraphic items, in large part manuscript pages in *nastaʿlīq* from the early fifteenth century.

Between 1784 and 1790, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez was the Prussian envoy at the Ottoman Sublime Porte in Constantinople. During this period, he acquired the first three albums, Diez A fols. 70–72, probably already in the form in which they would enter the then Royal Library (today's Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) on his death in 1817. By contrast, the items now preserved in Diez A fol. 73 and the calligraphies of album Diez A fol. 74 were purchased by Diez as loose folios. Some of these folios were probably acquired directly from the palace, while others were presumably bought on the Constantinople book bazaar and remained unbound during his lifetime. A huge portion of the material in the five Diez albums had been culled from three albums of the Topkapı Palace: H. 2152 (the so-called Timurid workshop album), B. 411 (an album containing mainly early Timurid calligraphies, but also some drawings) – both albums were presumably compiled at the Timurid court in Herat in the second quarter of the fifteenth century – and H. 2153 (this is the larger one of the two so-called Fatih or Yaʿqub Beg albums H. 2153 and H. 2160). These Timurid-Turkman period albums had come into the Ottoman treasury as booty or diplomatic gifts no later than the early sixteenth century. They were reworked, stamped, and annotated at the palace workshop, which is a sign of a connoisseurial activity. There is also evidence that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries several Ottoman sultans not only took aesthetic delight in these albums but

1 The term "Persianate" designates the culture of the geographical area where Persian has historically been the dominant language.

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also made them accessible to court artists as sources of inspiration.

It is our intention to bring together in this volume essays with an emphasis on the acquisition history of the Diez albums and those that examine specific works by reflecting upon their role in the larger history of the arts of the book in Iran.

Lost Traces: The Diez Albums as a Research Challenge

The Diez albums, like any other Persianate album, cannot be analyzed by using the codicological methods of manuscript experts or art historical stylistic expertise alone. Albums never are "closed systems" but represent repositories of collected material based on both random choice and considered selection criteria: on the one hand, the collected items testify to the individual taste and classifying ideas of various compilers and subsequent owners; on the other – a point not to be neglected – they testify to the availability of certain works on paper, which had been stripped of their original context at an undetermined moment, in a certain time and place.[2] The albums thus draw upon many different historical milieus, unlike most surviving Persian manuscripts, which are by and large preserved in their original condition.

The items now preserved in the Diez albums have often been removed and rearranged on album pages over the course of the centuries and thus provide only little information on the place of production, initial function, and history of a certain drawing, painting, or calligraphy. Most traces are lost. For example, the album material rearrangements affected the reverse sides of former manuscript miniatures in the Diez albums; as a result, any text on them was lost, making it hard to identify the scenes they illustrate. Furthermore, text panels and caption boxes were generally cut off or overpainted, which stands in conspicuous contrast to many still intact manuscript pages in the "parent" Topkapı albums H. 2153 and B. 411. Sketches and almost finalized drawn compositions in the Diez albums, representing various stages in the production of manuscript illustrations, remain in a large part mysterious since, apart from formal criteria such as style and composition, nothing allows us to track down a specific court workshop.

The same is true for the technical drawings that served as preparatory designs for decorative motifs to be executed in other media such as textile, wood, leather, and metal: the finished artefacts have not survived, and the drawings themselves were initially conceived as *ephemera* and are therefore devoid of any written information. Furthermore, there are no seals or library marks, and no annotations by readers on the Diez albums' items, unlike for many items in the Topkapı albums. The only recurrent texts are attributive inscriptions of various artists' names in different hands, mostly on high quality drawings. It is unlikely, however, that these are autograph signatures, let alone contemporary with the works they accompany. However, the inscriptions of artists' names might tell us something about the objects' collection history.

2 For the production and role of albums in Timurid and Safavid court culture, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2005.

It is hence clear that the Diez albums represent a challenge for scholars who seek to analyse and assess the history of the items pasted into them.

Exhibiting and Researching the Diez Albums: A Brief Survey

The albums were part of the legacy of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, and entered the library, together with his enormous book and manuscript collection, in 1817. Unlike his collection of more than 17,000 prints and approximately 830 manuscripts, half of which were of Oriental origin, the albums fell into oblivion for the next 140 years. With the exception of Diez A fol. 74, which was briefly registered in the catalogue of Persian manuscripts by Wilhelm Pertsch printed in 1888,[3] they were not taken notice of until 1956, when they were first exhibited in Tübingen. The Diez albums had not been on display in 1910, when a presentation of book art was organised in Berlin corresponding to the famous Munich exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst", at which four folios with miniatures from the Timurid workshop album (TSMK, H. 2152) were shown.[4] In the 1956 exhibition in Tübingen, where parts of the Prussian art collections had been deposited after World War II, all five albums were therefore presented to the general public for the first time.[5] One year later, in 1957, Ernst Kühnel outlined the re-discovery of the albums, then called the "Berlin Saray albums", at the *Orientalisten-Kongress* in Munich.[6] Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu's comprehensive catalogue of the *Diez'sche Klebebände* ("Diez's glued albums") in the *Verzeichnis Orientalischer Handschriften in Deutschland*, published in 1964, was an immediate response to the new interest in the albums.[7] Although often criticised for its limited usability and slightly outdated dynastical attributions, this catalogue remains the basic reference source for the albums; it also became the basis for their cataloguing in the *Orient-Digital* database (www.orient-digital.de).

It was thanks to a ground-breaking symposium on the Topkapı albums H. 2152, H. 2153, H. 2154, and H. 2160 in London in June 1980, organized by the late Ernst Grube,[8] that scholars realized how

3 Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften* (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliotheken, vol. 4), Berlin 1988, cat.no. 48.

4 F. Sarre and F.R. Martin, eds., *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, Munich 1912, vol. 1, cat.no. 649 (plates 6, 8, 14, and 15).

5 Joerg Kraemer, *Persische Miniaturen und ihr Umkreis: Buch- und Schriftkunst arabischer, persischer, türkischer und indischer Handschriften aus dem Besitz der früheren Preußischen Staats- und der Tübinger Universitätsbibliothek*, Tübingen 1956.

6 Ernst Kühnel, "Unbekannte Miniaturen und Zeichnungen aus Berliner Beständen", in *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München 1957*, ed. H. Franke, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 352–354. Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner Saray-Alben", in *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 67–77.

7 Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 8), Wiesbaden 1964.

8 The proceedings of that tenth Colloquy on Art and Archaeology in Asia, held by the Percival David Foundation at SOAS in London, was edited by Ernst Grube, Eleanor Sims and John Carswell

important the Diez album materials were for establishing a deeper and more complete understanding of Persianate art from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At that conference it became clear that many of the drawings and miniatures in the Diez and Topkapı albums fit like jigsaw pieces together or are related to the established canon of famous illustrated manuscripts from that period. Regrettably however, conservation treatment carried out in 1970 had totally changed the appearance of the materials in the four picture albums Diez A fols. 70–73.[9] During the conservation program each item was detached from its original cardboard support and colored paper borders. This had become necessary because of the increasing warping of the surfaces, causing pigments to flake. The insufficient documentation of the initial condition of the objects, of which only a (recently digitized) black-and-white microfilm exists, severely impeded research on the albums, and still does so today. As a lucky side effect, however, the destruction of the albums' context led to some chance discoveries, such as text pages from Timurid-period manuscripts used as stabilizing lining beneath some large miniatures in Diez A fol. 70. Due to the dismantling, scholarly research has primarily focussed since then on the single items in a piecemeal fashion, side-lining the context of the album as a whole.

However, after the conservation treatment each inset was re-framed in a single window mount, allowing the images to be put on display. An exhibition on the Islamic manuscripts of the State Library held in Berlin and Bonn in 1980[10] included seventeen works from the albums Diez A fols. 70, 71, and 73, as well as the entire, still intact, album Diez A fol. 74. Several later exhibitions brought the importance of the albums to the attention of art historians and a broader public. The show *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Washington D.C. and Los Angeles 1989)[11] was a milestone for the understanding of the techniques and concepts of early Timurid art. Many of the sketches, drawings and paintings preserved in the albums in Istanbul and Berlin can be linked to the working processes in these Timurid workshops. The two exhibitions *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* (New York 2002 and Los Angeles 2003)[12] and *Dschingis-Khan und seine Erben* (Bonn 2005 and Munich 2006)[13] had a similar impact on the understanding of the Ilkhanid-period works in the Diez albums. Important groups of miniatures from various *Shāhnāma* manuscripts, spanning a period of about sixty years from *c.* 1330–35 (the late Ilkhanid period) to the middle and late Jalayirid period (1360–70

in *Islamic Art: An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World* 1 (1981).

9 Klaus Appel and Dieter George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", in *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 9 (1971), pp. 227–238.

10 Hars Kurio, ed., *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren: Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Berlin 1980.

11 Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989.

12 Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of Gengis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, New York and New Haven 2002.

13 Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, ed., *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, Munich 2005.

and *c.* 1390), came to scholarly attention thanks to Eleanor Sims' renewed categorization of these images in the course of the *Shāhnāma* exhibition *Heroische Zeiten: Tausend Jahre Persisches Buch der Könige* at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin 2011.[14]

Beyond these major exhibitions, many researchers have contributed to the understanding of the album's manifold content, and also of the albums' context. A milestone was David J. Roxburgh's article "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: MSS. Diez A. Fols. 70–74" in 1995; thirty years after the publication of İpşiroğlu's catalogue, Roxburgh was the first to consider the compilation processes and the provenance of the collected material.[15]

It was during a preliminary meeting for the exhibition *Heroische Zeiten* in the summer of 2010 that an initial impulse for a symposium on the Diez albums arose. After Eleanor Sims, the late Ernst Grube, Julia Gonnella, Claus-Peter Haase and Christoph Rauch had inspected the albums, the need for further investigation became so obvious that the idea took shape to bring the albums again to the attention of researchers. It was decided that a platform should be offered for discussing current research related to different aspects of the albums' materials and also to Heinrich Friedrich von Diez's role as a collector and owner. The then planned and now accomplished digitization of the albums gave another impulse to initiate a symposium in June 2013. It was expected that the unlimited access to the images and the blessings of the so-called Digital Humanities in general would invite researchers to work on that material and would also raise a lot of new questions. Apart from offering the possibility to study the digitized material closely without undertaking time-consuming travel or requesting photographs, the high-resolution images also allow detailed comparison with related objects scattered across collections and institutions around the world. It is a fortunate coincidence that some of the contributors to this volume are also involved in the forthcoming facsimile edition of the so-called Fatih or Ya'qub Beg albums in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2153 and H. 2160). In every respect we must state that the interrelation between the objects in Berlin and Istanbul is an essential premise for all the research. However, more than fifty years after the rediscovery of the Diez albums, there are still many unresolved questions about the Berlin and Istanbul albums, which require extensive further research.

Summary of Contents

The twenty-one articles assembled in the present volume are, for the most part, based on the papers given at the conference. They cover a wide range of old and new questions. Several articles bring to light

14 Eleanor Sims, "Images of Firdausi's *Shahnama* in the Diez Albums in the Berlin State Library", in Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, eds., *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, Berlin and Munich 2012, pp. 28–35 and cat.nos. 18–49. (German edition: *Heroische Zeiten: Tausend Jahre persisches Buch der Könige*, Berlin and Munich 2011.)

15 David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: MSS. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas*, 12 (1995), pp. 112–136.

again the role of the continued Ottoman interest in Persianate albums from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The assemblage of the five Diez albums is investigated, not only by taking Diez's handwritten documents into account but also by comparing the pre-conservation photographs of the album pages with the high-resolution digitized images of the single items, and by analyzing the stabilizing material which had been discovered during the conservation program. Many authors revaluate the previously underestimated role of Jalayirid art by showing that there is more Jalayirid material in the Diez albums than previously thought, and by defining anew the characteristics of the Jalayirid pictorial idiom. Some authors underscore factors that have led to a more systematic – and sometimes more simplified – codification in the arts of the book during the subsequent Timurid period. Several articles explore the material culture of the time by examining typological details, such as weapons, the headgear of rulers, or horse harnesses. Others stress the role of artists by considering workshop traditions, such as the copying of works of earlier masters, and by looking at artistic capacities, the transformation and appropriation of Europeanized ("Frankish") and Sinicized pictorial sources in Persianate images, and the role of attributions to leading artists, stylistic modes, and visual sources in general. Apart from "orphaned" manuscript illustrations, of which several can be tentatively repatriated to often well-known canons, pen and ink drawings (*qalam siyāhī*) receive close attention in many contributions as autonomous forms of artistic expression. Newly applied research methods include scientific investigations of ink and paper and a deepened and widened comparative approach, which relies on the increased accessibility of Persianate and non-Persianate materials from collections worldwide.

This highlighting of some of the focal points, methods of analysis, and insights presented in the articles offers only a general overview. It is hoped that the summaries below of each contribution will help readers navigate their way through this volume.

The first section, **"The Albums and Heinrich Friedrich von Diez"**, focuses on the genesis of the albums as physical objects and their early history and reception. **Julian Raby** provides us with a virtual reconstruction of the appearance of the pages in the three albums Diez A fols. 70–72, giving a sense of the original double-page spreads. Based on the analysis of the digitized microfilm, which shows the condition of the single album pages before the dismounting of all images in 1970, he also presents schematic charts showing the sequencing of images by period and type, and their orientation. This scheme reveals that the three albums were aesthetically, coherently and sensitively compiled at the end of the eighteenth century by an unknown designer. Raby has reasonable doubts as to whether Diez was involved in this process at all as he lacked the profound comprehension of Persianate art necessary for this task. He suspects that someone in the ambit of the Chief Black Eunuch, who was dismissed when Selim III acceded to the throne in April 1789, was responsible for the assemblage of Diez A fols. 70–72. **David J. Roxburgh**'s article focuses on the relation between the albums and their contents, and on the attitude of Diez as an Orientalist. He intro-

duces the reader to some of Diez writings, especially his *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* ("Memorabilia of Asia"), and makes the Orientalist's thoughts and his enlightening character more accessible to us. The many topics Diez covers in his essays and his broad collecting activities make it very plausible that Diez had a concrete interest in his albums, even though no written record showing such an interest has come down to us. Like Raby, Roxburgh emphasizes how different the concept of the albums Diez A fols. 70–72 is from that of the albums in the Topkapı, for instance in the lack of calligraphic material. He sees the clearest evidence of an organizing system in the Diez albums in their size, medium, subject matter, and style. **Christoph Rauch** outlines the Oriental manuscript collection of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, its acquisition, and its contents. Diez last will is quoted at length, revealing that the items of the last two albums, Diez A fol. 73 and 74, entered the Royal Library in 1817 as loose sheets and were only later bound into albums. He also draws attention to Diez's handwritten catalogue, which is an important source for understanding the Orientalist's collection and his attitude towards Persian painting. By considering the further history of the albums in the Royal Library, Rauch also reflects upon the relatively slow increase in interest in book painting in libraries in general during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The second section deals with **"The Diez and the Topkapı Albums"**, underlining the numerous interconnections between the contents of the albums kept in Istanbul and the assemblages of similar items in the Diez albums. **Lâle Uluç** examines the notion of connoisseurship in the Turko-Persian world by reviewing albums preserved in Istanbul libraries. She shows that several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Timurid, Turkman, and Safavid albums, such as H. 2152, H. 2153, H. 2160, F. 1426, and F. 1422, were regularly looked at and perused in the Ottoman palace as a source of artistic inspiration up to the eighteenth century. This is especially evident from identical reproductions of calligraphic specimens in larger calligraphic panels and wall decorations. **Zeren Tanındı** shows that during the fifteenth century copying the works of earlier masters was considered by Timurid and later Aqqoyunlu Turkman artists to be an important way to hone their skills. Up to four similar pictures – monochrome drawings and also small paintings – of the same scene or figure can be found on non-successive pages in the Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, and also, though more rarely, in H. 2152, as well as in the four Diez picture albums (A fols. 70–73). **Simon Rettig's** article deals with the calligraphic materials in *nasta'līq* belonging to the fifth Diez album, A fol. 74. He shows that most of these, along with a couple of other small pages, which were used as lining material in Diez A fol. 70, originally derived from the Topkapı album B. 411. Before being pasted into B. 411, these pages had belonged to manuscripts of Nizami's *Makhzan al-asrār* ("Treasure Trove of Mysteries") and a *Dahnāma* ("Ten Letters"). By examining the *nasta'līq* scripts on this material and on some other pages of Diez A fol. 74, B. 411 and other collections, he is able to identify the scribe of many of the Diez manuscript pages as Ja'far Tabrizi al-Baysunghuri, the celebrated Timurid master calligrapher who headed Prince Baysunghur's *kitābkhāna* in Herat from *c.* 1420 onwards.

The third section, **"The Albums' Contents: From the Mongols to the Timurids"**, comprises five contributions with a focus on the Ilkhanid period and a few observations on later, mainly Timurid art. In his article, **Charles Melville** considers the Diez albums as a visual *jung*, an anthology of images rather than texts and poses the question of what we would understand of the Turko-Mongol period if we relied on the images contained in the Diez albums alone. In his analysis, he considers two essential topics represented in the pictures: the military and outdoor life of the Mongols, and their courtly and ceremonial world. **Yuka Kadoi** focuses on the Mongol enthronement scenes contained in the Diez albums, specifically the numerous enthroned images of the Mongol couple. She categorizes them into three distinct types according to their different format, iconographic peculiarities, and general pictorial style. Kadoi also pays attention to their cross-stylistic connections with other traditions, such as, for example, contemporary Buddhist murals from Uighur Central Asia or the peculiar furniture style of East Asian thrones. **Claus-Peter Haase** looks at the pictorial representations of royal insignia in the Diez albums from the Mongol and Early Timurid period and if they can be considered reflections of dynastic changes, or, alternatively, they are personal expressions of specific rulers. For such a study, the material in the Diez albums is abundant; it includes manifold representations of sovereigns, female consorts, and courtiers, in addition to foreign envoys. The question is of particular relevance as the Mongol period brought about completely new types of garments and headgear, but obviously some older types, including turbans, continued to be used. In her close investigation of the horses depicted in miniatures and drawings from various periods in the Diez albums, **Barbara Brend** attempts to answer the question "to what extent the pictures are reportage of what the artist sees around him, and to what extent he is enclosed in an artistic tradition." Beginning with the early *Shāhnāma* illustrations on a red ground and the pictures of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* type, she moves on to late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century depictions of horses in paintings, mostly from unidentified epics, and in single drawings. Detail observations such as knotted tails, uncommon lead-ropes, and tassels as part of harnesses, open mouths with muzzle hair, and the peculiar traits of Caspian, Turkman, Arab, and Andalusian horse types help to distinguish pictorial traditions from various times and regions. **Filiz Çakır Phillip** provides an overview of weaponry and armament in the paintings and drawings of the Diez albums from the Ilkhanid period onwards. She seeks to determine hilted weapons and armour types in Muslim cultures of the medieval period by retracing the origins of specific forms, such as the curved sabre, and also by comparing them with surviving examples of armaments in other collections. She notices a considerable variety in arms and armour in the Mongol period, which seems to indicate that armament was not uniform but an individual choice by each warrior.

The fourth section is entitled **"The Albums' Contents: Drawings and Sketches"**. In his article dealing with the functional role of drawings, **Yves Porter** considers pen and ink drawings in the Diez albums that embody different stages in the creation of manuscript illustrations,

especially in the Timurid *kitābkhāna*. He differentiates three groups according to their function: first, formal experiences, such as scraps and exercises; second, fore-projects, such as sketches to be approved by the head of the workshop; and third, general layouts already connected to the manuscript page context, such as underdrawings for illustrations. Porter also analyzes Persian texts on painting with regard to what they say about the role of drawings in the creative process. After examining a number of drawings in the Diez albums, he finally reflects upon the construction of a specific "visual Timurid identity" by means of the continuous re-use of pictures. **Friederike Weis**'s article is a detailed study of a Persianate ink drawing of the *Tazza Farnese*, an antique cameo made in Alexandria and which is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. The circular drawing depicts an allegoric gathering of fertility deities and bears an attribution to Muhammad Khayyam. Weis first analyzes all the drawings in the Diez albums that are inscribed with Muhammad Khayyam's name, and asks if these seven drawings can be considered as a coherent group on stylistic, technical, and scientific grounds. She also closely compares the inscriptions with other "signatures" of Muhammad Khayyam in the Topkapı album H. 2152. In the second part of her article, she investigates how and why the cameo was copied by a Persianate artist. **Oliver Hahn** demonstrates the scientific investigation of carbon inks in drawings of the Diez albums. (The scientific results related to the Muhammad Khayyam-group are reported by Weis in the preceding article.) Taking here a Persianate cloud collar drawing as an example, Hahn presents the methods used to determine the chemical compositions of black carbon inks, pigments, and dyes. These methods are UV and IR reflectography, microphotographs under different lights, and X-ray fluorescence analysis. X-ray fluorescence is a suitable method to find characteristic trace elements in organic materials through which different carbon inks can be differentiated.

The four articles gathered in the fifth section, **"Repatriations: the Diez Albums as a Source for Reconstructing Lost Art"**, cover the Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, and early Timurid periods. **Robert Hillenbrand** examines two album paintings, a *Meeting between Rustam and Isfandiyar* (TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 8r) and *Rustam in a Night Battle Against the Turanians* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 24), considering the claims that these two paintings came from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, of which only a canon of 58 images, out of at least 205 original illustrations, is currently accepted. Hillenbrand first outlines the general factors that help to repatriate an image to that canon, such as, for example, the unique form of captions. In a second step, he analyses the two paintings by pointing out some noteworthy stylistic and thematic features that make both paintings likely candidates for the canon. **Bernard O'Kane** suggests that a number of paintings in the Topkapı album H. 2153 are good candidates for the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, which was probably produced during the reign of the Jalayirid ruler Shaykh Uvays (r. 1356–1374). Another group of paintings from *Shāhnāma*-like epics in the Diez albums might even date from the reign of his predecessor Shaykh Hasan Buzurg (r. 1340–1356). One of O'Kane's main arguments is the use of the margin, unknown in any Pre-Jalayirid painting. **Massumeh Farhad** focusses on

pen and ink drawings (*qalam siyāhī*) from the late fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century. After stressing the correlation between several artists' names in the inscribed works in the Diez albums and the lineage of several leading Persianate painters recorded by Dust Muhammad in the Bahram Mirza album preface (H. 2154), she turns her attention to the patronage and artistic activities of the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Ahmad (r. 1382–1410). In the second part, Farhad determines several formal and conceptual characteristics of later fourteenth century drawing by comparing the eight marginal compositions of the *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad (Freer Gallery of Art) with stylistically and thematically related drawings in the Diez and Topkapı albums, and also by pointing out European and Chinese parallels. **Karin Rührdanz** identifies a considerable number of text folios and some miniatures scattered through three of the Diez albums as belonging to the poetic genre *Dahnāma* ("Ten Letters"). While the surviving text fragments had been used as stabilizing support between some large paintings in Diez A fol. 70, five small miniatures that presumably came from the same manuscript were inserted in different, non-consecutive album pages. Rührdanz shows that the miniatures mainly illustrate the reception or sending of a love message because the love poem, being a non-narrative genre, provides no stories. In one single case (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5), the caption, which explains that a candle is being sent to the beloved, was accidentally preserved. Rührdanz shows that the figures, dress-styles, and architectural backgrounds in the Diez *Dahnāma* paintings share many features with miniatures from other Persian manuscripts from about the 1380s to the 1420s.

The sixth and last section, **"Europe, China and Istanbul: The Albums in a Broader Perspective"**, sheds light not only on Persianate paintings that draw upon European or Chinese pictorial sources but also on those few artefacts in the Diez albums that are clearly of non-Iranian origin. **Gülru Necipoğlu** examines ink drawings in the "Frankish manner" (*kār-i farang*) from *c.* 1350–1450 that are preserved in the three first Diez albums and in two Topkapı albums (H. 2152, H. 2153). These Europeanizing images are all pen and ink drawings, sometimes modeled in colored washes with touches of gold. Necipoğlu stresses the engagement of mostly late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century Persianate court workshops with the increased naturalism in figural imagery of late Gothic art (the so-called International Gothic style, *c.* 1360–1433). She also considers the workshops' interest in Chinese art, which was likewise esteemed for its naturalistic mode. Necipoğlu argues that the terms "Frankish" and "Cathayan" (Chinese) seem to have coexisted as connoisseurial stylistic categories at least since Timurid times. In the main section of her article, she studies a considerable number of drawings in the Frankish manner.

Persianate works produced as direct reflections upon Chinese art are the subject of the contribution by **Ching-Ling Wang**. He examines two drawings of *Two Chinese Figures* from the album Diez A fol. 73, identifying them as the Chan Buddhist monks Hanshan and Shide and as the Daoist Immortals Liu Hai and Li Tieguai. The imitation of Chinese brush strokes by the Persianate artist is regarded

by him as the first stage of a transformation process towards a Sinicized Persian style. The circulation of Chinese works in fifteenth-century Iran was important for the creation of this new style, although their original iconographies were not fully understood. The change of iconographic meanings is forcefully shown with the paintings of *The Four Sleepers* and *The Seven Sleepers*, which are preserved in Topkapı album H. 2160.

The Diez albums also include a small number of works of Ottoman origin from the eighteenth century. According to **Serpil Bağcı**, four of these images are from a costume book and eleven are portraits of young men. They seem to have been selected by Diez himself and shed light on his personal interest in Ottoman culture and daily life. Whereas the first group was probably made – like Diez' own costume book, which is now preserved in the British Museum – by city painters, the second group, which is of better quality and shows portraits of pages (*iç oğlan*) and beardless, "smooth-cheeked" "city boys" (*şehir oğlanı*), is attributed by Bağcı to artists associated with the court.

The symposium was accompanied by the exhibition "Masterpieces from the Serail. The albums of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817)" in the Museum für Islamische Kunst (3 June to 1 September 2013), curated by Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch. It was the first ever comprehensive showing of the Diez albums in Berlin itself, introducing the manifold material of the albums and highlighting some of its masterworks. The exhibition also introduced Diez as a person, presenting a choice of his illustrated manuscripts collection as well as books he had written or translated. It also included his handwritten catalogue and several engravings by Antoine Ignace Melling depicting daily life in Constantinople and at the Ottoman palace around 1800. A short catalogue of the exhibition by **Julia Gonnella** can be found in **Appendix II**.

Acknowledgements

First of all, the editors would like to express their utmost gratitude to Eleanor Sims and the late Ernst Grube for their in-depth introduction to the Diez albums during the beautiful summer days of 2009 while they were carrying out the preliminary preparations for the *Shāhnāma* exhibition "Heroische Zeiten", and also for prompting the idea to hold a symposium in the first place. It is deeply sad that Ernst Grube did not live long enough to see this conference happen and we are sure that he would very much have appreciated it, which is why we would like to dedicate this publication to his memory.

The conference created exceptional interest amongst the scholarly community. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire "elite" of Persian painting academia attended, contributing to the enormous intellectual breadth of this unique gathering. We would like to thank those scholars who gave their valuable time to present their fascinating papers, and who offered an amazing panorama of present-day scholarship in the field of Persian painting (see the full symposium program in **Appendix I**). We would also like to thank them for preparing them for publication, for the vivid and inspiring discussions that

followed, and for the patience with which they have waited quite some time to see the results. Many thanks also to those who chaired the sessions and to those who did not participate in the event but who later contributed a paper for publication.

An international symposium of this scale requires the effort of many individuals and we would like to highlight the enormous support of Barbara Schneider-Kempf and her staff for helping us to make it happen. In tandem with the conference we organised the exhibition "Meisterwerke aus dem Serail" at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in the Pergamonmuseum. We would like to express our gratitude to those who have supported us: Stefan Weber and the staff of Museum für Islamische Kunst; and the conservators of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for meticulously preparing the paintings and drawings for the show and expressly for remounting three folios in the original style of the Diez albums (see figs. 9–10 in Appendix II). A special thanks also to Melitta Multani for her patient assistance in organisational matters.

The symposium was made possible by the generous support of the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation, the Verein der Freunde der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and by Ali Sarikhani and Ina Sandmann. Our thanks go once again to the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation for providing funding for the copy editing. Thanks are due to Edward Street who thoroughly copy edited the whole volume. At this point we would also like to single out the considerate support of Julian Raby in the final editing stages. We finally would like to extend our sincere appreciation to Arnoud Vrolijk for having accepted the volume to the series "Islamic Manuscripts and Books", and to Maurits van den Boogert, Franca de Kort, and Kim Fiona Plas (Brill) for seeing the volume through the press. We would like to express our deepest appreciation to all of them.

Notes to the Reader

Notes on Transliteration and Dates

Titles of Persian, Ottoman Turkish or Arabic works and foreign terms and inscriptions are transliterated according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE* system (equivalent to the IJMES transliteration system for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish). For the sake of simplicity, names of rulers, artists, poets, mythological personages, dynasties, and places are not provided with diacriticals, with the exception of the marks for the letters *ʿayn* and *hamza*.

Dates have been given according to the Christian (Gregorian) calendar (but without BC, AD, BCE, or CE). If a *Hijrī* (Islamic lunar) date appears in a quoted inscription, AH precedes the date, and the Christian date is given in brackets, *e.g.* AH 750 (1349/1350).

A Note on the Images

For further reference all images of the Diez albums are available online in high resolution at the Digital Collections of the Staatsbibliothek, accessible via http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de. For each entry related to the albums Diez A fols. 70–73, this database also provides digitized black-and-white photographs of the entire album pages before they were dismantled during the conservation program in 1970.

The Albums and Heinrich Friedrich von Diez

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CHAPTER 2

Contents & Contexts: Re-viewing the Diez Albums

Julian Raby

The Diez albums first came to scholarly attention in 1956, two years after the publication of the earliest extended articles on cognate albums in Istanbul (H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160).[1] Within three years, Ernst Kühnel had published two articles on the Berlin albums,[2] followed in 1964 by Mazhar İpşiroğlu's volume describing their contents.[3] From the outset scholars recognized that the Berlin and Istanbul albums shared many similarities in content, yet neither Kühnel nor İpşiroğlu elaborated on the scope or reasons.[4] They also only fleetingly mentioned some of the considerable dissimilarities, in structure, general appearance, and, to some extent, content. For example, three of the albums – Diez A fols. 70–72 – contain no calligraphy, and no examples of the "Siyah Qalam monsters"

1 I would like to thank Christoph Rauch and Julia Gonnella for their flattering invitation to deliver a keynote address to the conference, and Christoph for his hospitality in locking me in the basement of the library to study the Diez albums. I much enjoyed the frequent exchanges with Friederike Weis, who was very generous in sharing her close knowledge of the albums. I would also like to thank James White for his help with the initial research for this article; Tim Stanley for his advice; Robert Hillenbrand for his perceptive criticisms; Massumeh Farhad for her thoughts on the dating I have used in the charts; and Reid Hoffman for laying out the images and designing the charts. My deepest thanks go to the late Ernst Grube for his organization of the conference in London on the Istanbul albums, and his enormous generosity as a scholar and friend.

The earliest publication of the Diez albums was by Jörg Kraemer in *Persische Miniaturen und ihr Umkreis*, ed. Jörg Kraemer, Tübingen 1956, cat. nos. 33, 46, 47, 53, 69. For the first articles on the Istanbul albums, see Oktay Aslanapa, "Türkische Miniaturmalerei am Hofe Mehmet des Eroberers in Istanbul", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 77–84; Richard Ettinghausen, "Some Paintings in Four Istanbul Albums", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 91–103; Max Loehr, "The Chinese Elements in the Istanbul Miniatures", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 95–89. For the early scholarship on the Diez albums, see David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), p. 133, notes 6 and 7; Eleanor G. Sims, "Images of Firdausi's Shahnama in the Diez Albums in the Berlin State Library", in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Berlin and Munich 2012.

2 Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray'-Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 66–77; *idem*, "Unbekannte Miniaturen und Zeichnungen aus Berliner Beständen", in *Akten des 24. Orientalisten-Kongresses, München 28. August bis 4. September 1957*, ed. Herbert Franke, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 352–54.

3 Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, ed. Wolfgang Voigt, Wiesbaden 1964.

4 Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 76, suggested that the occurrence of signatures by the same "second-rank" artist, Muhammad Khayyam, in the Istanbul and Berlin albums indicated that the two groups had a common origin.

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who feature prominently in much of İpşiroğlu's research.[5]

İpşiroğlu's organization of the images in the Diez albums by type and date makes it difficult to reconstruct their juxtapositions and sequences in the original albums. His approach reflected a prevailing lack of interest in the "phenomenology" of albums, that is the way in which structural arrangement, physical make-up, and decorative framing provide the landscape in which to view an album's contents, and in which to appreciate the cultural intentions of those who assembled the album.[6] Albums at the time were not studied *qua* albums; the emphasis instead was on albums as repositories of contents, at the expense of understanding them as cognitive collections. It is only in the last twenty-five years that scholars, led by David Roxburgh, have pioneered our understanding of compilation and construction in the making of albums from the Muslim world.[7]

For the Diez albums an added complication arose in 1970, when a major conservation programme focused on the contents and tore up the "landscape". Paintings and drawings were lifted from the pages and loosely reattached to large sheets, each in a protective folder.[8] The intention was to better preserve the contents, not to recreate the original appearance. Although the conservators tried to preserve an echo of the original grouping of each album page,[9] they discarded most of the mounting and framing materials, and lost the precise juxtapositions. With each page filed separately, we have lost a sense of double-page openings, and of the arrangement and feel of the album. In short, we have lost the album as a phenomenon.

5 Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Siyah Qalem: vollst. Faks.-Ausg. d. Blatter des Meisters Mehmed Siyah Qalem aus dem Besitz des Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, Istanbul, u.d. Freer Gallery, of Art, Washington*, Graz 1976; *idem*, *Masterpieces of the Topkapi Museum: Paintings and Miniatures*, London 1980; *idem*, *Wind der Steppe. Die schönsten Blätter des Meisters Siyah Qalem*, Graz 1984.

6 *Cf.* Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford 1997.

7 David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2005; Elaine J. Wright, *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library*, Alexandria, VA. 2008. The study of albums in a Western context has developed along several lines. For example, for a codicological approach, see Albert J. Elen, *Italian Late-Medieval and Renaissance drawing-books from Giovannino de' Grassi to Palma Giovane: A codicological approach*, Leiden 1995; on the collecting of drawings into albums, Evelyn Karet, "Stefano da Verona, Felice Feliciano and the first Renaissance collection of drawings", *Arte Lombarda* 124 (1998), pp. 31–51; *eadem* and Peter Windows, "The Antonio II Badile Album of drawings: a reconstruction of an early sixteenth century collection", *Arte Lombarda* 145 (2005), pp. 23–56; and for a study of the cognitive and social aspects of photographic albums, M. Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The afterlife of memory in photographic albums*, Montreal, Que. 2001.

8 Klaus Appel and Dieter George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 9 (1971), p. 231. An unintended consequence of lifting the paintings, removing the glue and backing, and cleaning the reverse of the paintings with an anti-microbial liquid was that the colours gained a new vibrancy.

9 Photographs were taken before the albums were dismantled, and copies of these can be found under the relevant call numbers at http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de.

All credit must go to David J. Roxburgh, who published an article in 1995 that gave a fuller understanding of Diez's bibliophile activities in Istanbul and offered the first contextual review of the albums' contents and assemblage.[10] He argued that the contents of all five Diez albums in Berlin – a total of some 180 pages and more than 400 drawings and paintings – stemmed from purchases Diez made in Istanbul, but that they are not uniform, and have different – and revealing – histories.

Different Albums, Different Histories

The first three albums (A fols. 70–72) were assembled and bound in Istanbul.[11] They have similar Ottoman bindings; the paintings and drawings were mounted in an Ottoman style, on similar gold-speckled paper, with rulings in two principal colour schemes.[12] Together they contain gleanings of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Iranian painting, many of types that survive only in the albums in Istanbul.

A fols. 73 and 74 differed from the coherent group of A fols. 70–72, and from each other. First, both albums were assembled in Germany,[13] and neither used gold-sprinkled paper.[14] Second, the contents were not arranged in the same manner as in the first three albums. Third, their contents are markedly different. A fol. 73 has mixed contents: some of the items are of high quality, mostly drawn from two albums in the Topkapı Palace; some of it is of mediocre or low quality, including one European and one Chinese work, and late eighteenth-century Ottoman items that one might politely call "bazaar work". Significantly, this album lacks the sense of order of A fols. 70–72. The paintings in the first part of A fol. 73 were on separate folios, with a blank page opposite, whereas in the second half – from pages 38 to 73 – the paintings and drawings are on every page, creating facing pages of images.

10 Roxburgh, "Diez".

11 The three albums differ in extent, as A fol. 70 is twice as big as the other two.

12 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 114: the rulings are distinctive and consist of a combination of a thick gold band, an orange or light blue line, and a thin gold line edged with black. Friederike Weis has kindly informed me that she had Oliver Hahn from the BAM Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing analyze some of the rulings, mostly using X-ray fluorescence. In A fols. 70–72 the light-blue rulings consist of a mixture of lapis lazuli and white lead, the orange rulings are of red lead/minium (Pb_3O_4), and the framing "gold" bands are edged with a black carbon ink. The "gold" bands, however, are made of the copper–zinc alloy brass (CuZn) rather than gold (Au). This is in contrast to A fol. 73, where the gold bands always consist of real gold. Only a few of the orange rulings were tested, but at least in the case of the drawing of the *Tazza Farnese* (A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2) they cover real gold rulings which seem to belong to a much earlier mounting, emphasizing the difference between the brass bands used in the late eighteenth century and the earlier gold bands.

Friederike Weis' work has not been published, but was delivered as a keynote lecture entitled "Detecting the originals among the copies: The art historian's view on some Persian drawings in the Diez Albums", Franco-German Summer School "Science and Technology in Cultural Heritage" in Frauenchiemsee on 5 September 2011.

13 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 118.

14 Appel and George, "Saray-Alben", p. 229.

Roxburgh concluded that single paintings as well as entire folios were removed from Tokpapı Sarayı MS H. 2152, with a few additional drawings taken from the largely calligraphic album B. 411.[15] A fol. 73 was, then, a miscellaneous collectanea rather than a "designed" album.

A fol. 74 differs because it has little figural imagery, and comprises mostly calligraphy. It includes texts culled from manuscripts, and even a letter from Diez requesting his stipend from the Sublime Porte. Several of the pages were lifted as complete folios straight from the Topkapı album B. 411, the size of which broadly dictated the size of A fol. 74.[16]

A fols. 73 and 74 were not, however, bound in Diez's time. A previously unpublished passage from his will indicates that he bequeathed to the Royal Library – on 20 February 1817, less than two months before he died – a collection of Oriental paintings, some in three folio-sized volumes, some loose in a large outsize folio folder.[17] Evidently, A fols. 70–72 were already bound, whereas the loose-leaf items were only bound into albums later, perhaps in the 1830s.[18]

These different histories raise questions about Diez's creative role in the formation of not only A fols. 73 and 74, but the three volumes bound in Istanbul, A fols. 70–72. With regard to the latter, Roxburgh surmised that Diez "presented a body of loose drawings and paintings excerpted from several Topkapi albums to a binder who undertook the task of arranging the materials and making three albums in a codex form for Diez".[19] This may not be the case, however, and this present article attempts to unravel more of the history of A fols. 70–72 through a closer understanding of their original structure and appearance.

From Physical Deconstruction to Virtual Reconstruction

Roxburgh was denied a fuller understanding of the albums' design and programmatic construction by the dismemberment they suffered twenty-five years earlier. "Deconstruction" might better convey the meticulous process undertaken in 1970, but

15 On TSMK B. 411, see Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, chapter 3.

16 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 125 *ff*, and p. 136, note 60. The folios were trimmed for inclusion in A fol. 74.

17 This section of his will was not reproduced by Curt Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis in der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek", in *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken*, ed. Gustav Abb, Berlin 1928, pp. 187–200, especially p. 193. I owe the text of the missing section to Christoph Rauch. It reads: "[. . . eine kleine Sammlung morgenländischer Gemälde, größtentheils Scenen aus Firdusis Geschichte der Könige oder Schahname]. Sie sind theils in drei kleinen Folio-Bänden geheftet, theils als lose Stücke, meist Zeichnungen und Zerrbilder, in einer Mappe von Groß Folio-Format zusammengelegt."

18 On the date of Diez's will, see Balcke, "Vermächtnis", p. 191. The call numbers and page numbers were inserted by a Berlin librarian, perhaps Carl Immanuel Kießling in about 1838. See the article in this volume by Christoph Rauch. The same hand can be found on Diez's European manuscripts: Ursula Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez*, vol. 1, parts 1 and 2, Leipzig 1986, pl. iii, and part 3, Wiesbaden 1994, pls. iii and xi.

19 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 115.

it fails to convey the concomitant destruction. The preservation of the albums' contents entailed the destruction of context. It was a process akin to field archaeology, where excavating down the different strata involves the destruction of the upper levels. In this case too "excavation" led to what Appel referred to as chance discoveries: paintings stuck beneath paintings, and text pages used as what he called "eine Art Zwischenkarton", a sort of pasteboarding.[20] While these buried fragments were part of the physical construction of the album pages, they were never intended to be seen and should not be regarded as part of the denotative construct of the albums' maker or patron.

To understand each album as an entity, we need to "recreate" the codex. Fortunately, a microfilm was produced before the albums were disassembled, and, although each page was photographed separately, it is now an easy task to stitch together the images of facing pages. This photographic reconstruction (plates 1–9) reveals that the selection, organization, and mounting of items made A fols. 70–72 more distinctive, more coherent typologically, and more harmonious artistically than has generally been recognized. They were conceived with considerable forethought.

In terms of selection the most notable feature is the absence of text.[21] This is all the more remarkable given the custom of including some calligraphy even in largely pictorial albums, and given that the principal source album, H. 2152, had an extensive section of outstanding calligraphy.

Collectively the three albums A fols. 70–72 provide a conspectus of fourteenth- and very early fifteenth-century figurative painting from Iran, from the Ilkhanids to the Jalayirids and early Timurids.[22] In terms of structure, the broad sequences of related material, the chronological range, the balance of multiple versus single images, and the grouping of paintings versus drawings can be appreciated in schematic form (plates 10–12). They reveal, for example, that A fols. 70 and 71 end with drawings that are late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In both instances this seems like an intentional coda; and in both cases the final pages include drawings signed by or with attributions to Muhammad Khayyam, a placement that I would suggest is purposeful, not accidental. By contrast, in A fol. 72 we begin with drawings, and close with mid fourteenth-century paintings whose monumental size dictated a different scale for this volume. Assuming that A fols. 70, 71 and 72 were intended to be read as a consecutive experience, there is almost a musical sensibility in composition, with an antiphony of visual resonances, and quiet passages that culminate in a crescendo.

In artistic terms, pages were organized to be a series of double-spreads, with an eye for the balance of visual weight

20 Appel and George, "Saray-Alben", p. 231. For a discussion of some of the "buried" texts, see Simon Rettig in this volume.

21 On the absence of text, Kühnel, "Unbekannte Miniaturen"; Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 115. An exception is the gold text heading at the top of a late fourteenth-century painting, *The Lover Sends his Message with the Candle*, A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5.

22 In A fol. 70, pages 12 and 15 respectively, there is an anomalous early Safavid painting, and a Chinese painting, both of large-scale riders with one arm raised.

across the spreads. Items of comparable style, density, theme, and even size were juxtaposed.[23] There was often symmetry in how the picture block was filled: if there were multiple images on one page, there were multiple images on the opposite page. Balance across a double-spread was enhanced by placing items of similar height and width on facing pages, or by creating framing panels of largely similar dimensions, these rulings playing an important role in unifying the items on each page.[24] The execution depended more on eye than precise measurement, but the preference for facing panels of a similar size is evident from:

1. A few instances where the images were cropped, with the cut-off fragments buried as part of the "Zwischenkarton".[25]
2. Numerous instances where several millimetres on one or more sides of an image were masked by a border, an obvious example being the top and right-hand sections of the drawing of the Tazza Farnese (A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2).[26]

23 For example, the images of two kings on horseback, both carrying maces: A fol. 70, p. 14, nos. 1–2.

24 Most of the items were arranged with due respect for their original orientation. In other words, the top of the image faced the top of the album page, the baseline of the image the bottom of the page. There were, however, many instances where an image was too big to be placed horizontally; it was then almost invariably turned so that its baseline was next to the gutter of the binding. This sometimes entailed having an image on one page correctly oriented, whereas the image(s) on the facing page were turned ninety degrees clockwise or counter-clockwise. There are three exceptions to the "gutter rule" on A fol. 72, p. 6 no. 2 (*Man Fighting a Lioness*), p. 9 (*Chinese Children filling a Vase with Flowers*), and p. 10, no. 3 (*Lion*).

25 As in the case of the Jalayirid painting of *Siyavush's Trial by Fire*: A fol. 71, p. 27. See also A fol. 71, p. 9 and p. 13. By contrast, there are a few instances where parts of a painting have been cut off but were mounted so as to be visible on the album page: see A fol. 71, p. 8 (plate 3) where a portion of the left-hand part of the painting has been cut out and mounted so that it can be seen, above a section on the right. On A fol. 71, p. 31 (plate 4) an L-shaped late Jalayirid/early Timurid painting has been supplemented by a fragment of a mid-fourteenth century Jalayirid painting of the type seen on A fol. 71, p. 8 (plate 3). Three other fragments from the group are used to fill sections of a very miscellaneous assembly of paintings on A fol. 72, p. 40 (nos. 4, 7 and 8); *cf.* 41, no. 5. *Cf.* A fol. 71, p. 4 and p. 44, no. 6 for fragments of a painting of trees that has been used to fill in the assemblage. On page 4 the juxtaposition and alignment create a very strange effect. The most bizarre filler occurs on A fol. 71, p. 6, where the centre of the montage of images is occupied by a tiny fragment showing the rump of a horse (almost invisible in plate 3). For an excellent description of the three-stage process of mounting in the Diez albums, see Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 114.

26 On A fol. 71, p. 5 almost 2 cm at top of the Jalayirid painting was masked off, so that the upper part of the curtains could no longer be seen. On A fol. 71, p. 12, up to 3.5 cm was masked off the top of the scene of the man mating with a monkey. For further examples of masking part of a painting, see A fol. 70, p. 1, p. 3, no. 1, p. 8, no. 2, p. 14, no. 1, p. 15; A fol. 71, p. 2, p. 4, no. 1, p. 6, nos. 3 and 4, page 10, p. 32, no. 2, p. 35, p. 41, no. 1, p. 42, nos. 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8, p. 43, nos. 1–7, p. 44, nos. 1–5, p. 45, nos. 2, 3 and 4, p. 46, nos. 1–5, p. 62, p. 63, nos. 1, 2 and 7, p. 64, no. 1. In some cases this entailed masking an area smaller than that masked

3. The equally numerous instances where blank strips were used to enlarge the picture panel so that it was better balanced in size with its mate on the facing page.[27] These strips occurred on four, three, two or even just one side of the picture panel.
4. Instances in A fols. 71 and 72 where the outer border was supplemented by an inner border with ruled lines.[28]
5. A single instance where the border was thicker than standard, and thicker than the border on the facing page (A fol. 72, p. 26).

There was also a clear preference for keeping the framed panel a neat rectangle, and on occasions where the picture area was filled with multiple images that did not entirely occupy the frame, blank paper would be inserted to fill the gap.[29] In several instances key parts of a painting, such as a head or a foot, were carefully preserved by cutting around them. In other words, cropping or masking occurred where the loss was considered inconsequential, as for example parts of a landscape or building, whereas for figural elements partial *découpage* was often preferred.[30] Nevertheless, where a key part of a painting protruded beyond the inner margin, it was never allowed to protrude beyond the outer line of the border.[31]

Further evidence of the compiler's taste is provided by the disposition of paintings and drawings: he chose to have items with similar visual densities on facing pages, and avoided placing line drawings opposite fully-coloured paintings, as he must have found the contrast discordant. In four instances line drawings are placed opposite images from Rashid

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by the borders created when the image was mounted into TSM H. 2152, leading in some cases to a dual loss of detail. For example, A fol. 71, p. 30, no. 1, p. 32, no. 1; A fol. 72, p. 4, nos. 3 and 4, p. 8, no. 2, p. 11, p. 16, no. 2, p. 18, no. 3, pp. 19, 22, 23, 26, 30. On the rulings used for H. 2152, see Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 115. On the dual loss, see, for example, A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 3, p. 29, no. 1, p. 31, no. 1; A fol. 72, p. 4, no. 2; p. 8, nos. 1 and 2 (where the loss at the bottom of the drawing is just under 1 cm); p. 16, no. 2 (where the loss of the painting on the left is about 8 mm); pp. 22 and 23.

27 For example, A fol. 70, pp. 1, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 25; A fol. 71, pp. 7, 8, 11. In A fol. 72, the relative sizing of the framed areas in a double-spread (pp. 1–6) is less uniform.

28 A fol. 71, pp. 58, 59 and 60 (all Rashid al-Din cavalry battles), and pp. 64, 68; and A fol. 72, p. 3.

29 For example, A fol. 70 p. 10, p. 13; A fol. 71, p. 63; A fol. 72, p. 2.

30 For example, A fol. 72, p. 6, no. 3, about 5 mm of the bottom of the drawing was masked, though the camel's foot was not cropped or masked but cut around so that it was pasted over part of the outer border. See the similar case of a camel's foot in the margin, A fol. 72, p. 4, no. 1 (barely visible in plate 8). On A fol. 71, pp. 29 and 30, two paintings of the *Small Shāhnāma* type are placed on facing pages, and in both instances the heads of figures at the top have been preserved by cutting around them, even though this meant having the heads protrude into the large-scale Jalayirid paintings above (plate 4). See also A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 3. Two marked examples of *découpage* occur on A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1, and on A fol. 71, p. 46.

31 There are two exceptions where an element protrudes beyond what should be the main line of the frame, but in both cases the border runs around the protruding area and thus contains the entire image: A fol. 70, p. 12 and A fol. 71, p. 33 (plates 1 and 5).

al-Din manuscripts, but as these were only partially coloured the contrast was not extreme.[32] There is one exception to this rule, and that is the pairing on the same page of a painting and drawing of a princely rider holding a mace, but in this case consonance of theme surely trumped dissonance in manner (figs. 2.1a and 2.1b).

Although the black-and-white microfilm does not allow one to gauge the colour of the mounting pages, a surviving folio from A fol. 71 (pp. 36 and 37) indicates that the mounter was sensitive to the colours in the painting. On page 36, the left half of one double-spread, he has used a paper dyed a pale amethyst, whereas on page 37, the right half of the following spread, he has used a paper dyed a pale burgundy (figs. 2.2 and 2.3). The choice was purposeful: the colours of the mounting pages work excellently with the colours of key elements in the paintings, especially in the case of page 36. The frames in A fols. 70–72 used either a pale blue or an orange inner guard stripe, and it is noticeable how the blue used on page 36 accords perfectly with the painting (fig. 2.2), while the orange used on page 37 is more sympathetic to the colouring of the painting on that page (fig. 2.3). Similar sensitivity can be observed throughout A fols. 70–72, though the "deconstruction" of the albums has left only traces of the effect intended. The choice of orange or blue for the guard stripes seems to have been determined by the painting rather than the spread: thus on page 3 of A fol. 70 orange is used, whereas blue is used on page 4 opposite.

All these factors point to a much more sensitive approach to the mounting of these albums than previously recognized. The result was more orderly and decorative than the placement of items in H. 2153 and arguably H. 2152. In the Istanbul albums items were sometimes placed with little regard for their original orientation.[33] In H. 2153 the items were not given custom-made borders, and there were no frames around clusters of images. In H. 2152, on the other hand, the arrangement was more disciplined, and many items had bespoke borders, including some of the larger single images;[34] in a few instances frames were created to corral the miscellaneous contents of an entire page.[35] Nonetheless, there is a broad contrast in approach between the Berlin and the Istanbul albums. Even if it is too much to describe it as order versus convenience, the Berlin albums project a more determined sense of thematic and aesthetic coherence.

Exceptions to this neatness do occur. Some images in A fols. 71 and 72 are upside down, the majority of these occurring in A fol. 72 (plates 8 and 9). Given how well-conceived many of the double-spreads are, it is difficult to imagine that anyone designed the albums this way, and the most obvious explanation for this unsightly

32 A fol. 70, pp. 23–24; A fol. 71, pp. 63–64; A fol. 72, pp. 15–16, and 17–18 (plates 2, 6, 8 and 9).

33 For example, H. 2152, fols. 44v, 75r, 83v, 88r. See Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 105. Gülru Necipoğlu has observed a greater sense of order in H. 2153 than previously recognized, with the images on the facing pages of many of the double-spreads arranged in comparable or at least consonant compositions. See her contribution to the present volume.

34 For example, H. 2152, fols. 46v, 48r, 51v, 55v.

35 For example, H. 2152, fols. 52v, 89r.



FIGURE 2.1A Princely Rider Holding a Mace, with Two Warriors Fighting on Horseback, *Iran, late fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1.*



FIGURE 2.1B Equestrian Frankish King Holding a Sceptre, with Two Standing Musicians, *Samarqand or Herat, late fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 2.*



FIGURE 2.2 *Recto of a folio showing the eighteenth-century Istanbul mounting of* A Sea Monster Devouring Two Shipwrecked Men, *Iran, mid fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 36.*

orientation is that the mounter made the mistake of inverting several bifolios.[36]

The inverted images raise questions about another possible failure. Several

36 The inverted images in A fols. 71 and 72 form clusters. In A fol. 71 the errant pages are 42 to 45 (fols. 22 r–v, 23 r–v) (plate 5). One explanation is that the images were mounted the correct way up, but the bifolio incorrectly inserted upside down, either in Istanbul or in Berlin, though evidently before the pages were numbered. This would explain how the images on pages 42 and 45 are upside down, while those on the facing pages, pages 41 and 46, which might have belonged to the preceding and the succeeding bifolios, are oriented correctly. If the putative bifolio (22r–23v) was inverted by mistake, the original intention



FIGURE 2.3 *Verso of the same folio, showing the eighteenth-century Istanbul mounting of* Two Riders in Mortal Combat outside a City Gate, *Iran, mid fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 37.*

would have been to have, using their current numbers, page 41 face 45, and page 42 face 46. The paintings on these facing pages would have been consonant in number, scale, theme and style. For example, across the facing pages 42 and 46, there would have been a sequence of three square paintings from a Rashid al-Din manuscript, each depicting an Ilkhan and his consort.

However, this scenario is extremely unlikely: one can tell even from the poor black-and-white photographs that the current order of pages is the intended one, because the mounting pages form matching double-spreads. The opening and closing pages of the bifolio would not match their facing pages if the bifolio had been inverted as suggested above. The alternative, then, is that the mounter got the orientation of this bifolio (22r–23v) wrong before it was bound, and placed the images upside down. This may betray the work of the binder's assistant.

In A fol. 72 the aberrant pages are 1 to 4 and 12, 14, and 16 – the equivalent of folios 1v to 3r (on folio 3v the images are all turned ninety degrees clockwise) and folios 7r, 8r and 9r (plate 8). It is difficult to see how the errors could have been made by inverting bifolios in this album, and one must conclude that the mounter made the same mistake and got the orientation of the images wrong when he was mounting them on the folios. The results are egregious: five of the six drawings on the double-spread A fol. 72, pp. 3–4, including the image of the *Tazza Farnese*, are upside down, while the sixth is turned ninety degrees counter-clockwise.

pictures in A fols. 70–72 seem to be out of the most visually logical sequence. For example, two full-page drawings of riders spearing dragons, one late fourteenth-century, the other slightly later, are now mounted back-to-back, on the obverse and reverse of the same folio (plate 2: A fol. 70, pp. 24, 25). To a European eye, it would be easier to compare them if they were seen face-to-face, and one might assume that their present positions were caused by an inattentive mounter. It is conceivable, though, that the arrangement was prompted by a desire to play with visual memory, that is with sequential rather than synchronous viewing.

In another instance, in A fol. 70, two large paintings of a rider that would, to a modern eye, have formed a harmonious double-spread occur widely separated, on pages 12 and 15 (plate 1). It is possible there was never any intention to pair them, but it is equally possible that their current placement was a mistake by the mounter.

Despite lapses – some of them arguable – in the execution and perhaps even the planning of A fols. 70–72, the harmonization of their contents and their final mounting demonstrate a coherent vision. Similarities occur in facing pages and in sequences over several spreads. This coherence is partial in A fol. 70, but paramount in A fols. 71 and 72 (plates 10–12). If these albums were assembled in the order in which they are numbered, the differences between A fol. 70 and A fols. 71–72 suggest that the commissioner paid increasing attention to what was placed on facing pages and/or provided more detailed instructions to the binders.

Guiding Spirit

A fols. 70–72 display an organizational vision and aesthetic absent from A fols. 73 and 74, and even from some of the cognate albums in Istanbul. This prompts questions about who planned the albums, where he acquired the material, and what his concept was in creating them. Who, in other words, was the mastermind behind the creation of these albums? The two prime suspects are Heinrich Friedrich von Diez or the person who supplied him.

Diez published an account of how he acquired his vaunted Piri Reis manuscript after a Palace eunuch informed him that it and "various Persian works in which there were paintings" ("mit verschiedenen persischen Werken, worin sich Gemälde befunden") had been "abandoned" ("überlassen") to the harem under Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–1789). It seems very likely that Diez's "various Persian works" included the material comprised in A fols. 70–74.[37]

With the accession of Selim III in 1789, members of the harem were obliged to leave the Topkapı Palace and move to the "Old Palace".[38] The eunuch claimed that

37 Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt*, Berlin 1811–1815, vol. 1, p. 39; Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 113, p. 134, note 16. See also the comments in Diez's hand-written catalogue, cited by Christoph Rauch in this volume.

38 On the Old Palace and its relationship to the harem in the Topkapı Palace, see Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and*

the ladies of the harem needed money, which enabled Diez to acquire the manuscripts, presumably through the eunuch who, he says, "knew of my love of books". Diez suggested the Atlas was treated in the harem "probably as a picture-book" ("vermuthlich als ein Bilderbuch"), and justified his purchase on the grounds that the Atlas and other works would be ruined if they were taken to the Old Palace and remained in the hands of the women.

This justification perhaps reflected Diez's male chauvinism, but it was doubtless fuelled by Diez's contact at the Palace, the unnamed eunuch, for it provided a righteous excuse for both seller and buyer. It was probably also prompted by the unbound and damaged state of the Piri Reis manuscript when Diez acquired it.[39] That was not, however, the case with A fols. 70–72, as we shall see.

The key questions are whether Diez purchased the contents of A fols. 70–72 loose, as happened with the contents of A fols. 73 and 74, and whether Diez orchestrated their mounting into albums in Istanbul or acquired the albums already bound.

I find it difficult to credit Diez with their construction for several reasons. Diez demonstrated a deep interest in Persian and Turkish literature, and was prepared to pay sizeable sums for illustrated versions of the *Shāhnāma*, the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, and Nizami's *Khamsa*. Diez bought the *Shāhnāma* from the Ottoman Palace, and admitted he paid a high price, because of the rarity of the paintings. Diez wrote admiringly of Persian calligraphy and illuminated decoration, but criticized the lack of perspective and shadows in Persian figural painting.[40] Nevertheless, other than the five eponymous albums in Berlin, and two volumes of Ottoman costume drawings now in the British Museum, Diez's examples of non-Western paintings are relatively sparse and show no consistent eye for quality.[41]

The Berlin albums are evidence of Diez's curiosity about Persian painting, but this does not mean that he had a tutored eye. His comment that illustrated manuscripts were hard to come by in Istanbul underlines how difficult it would have been for him to become an expert. As Christoph Rauch has forcefully argued, there was in Diez's day almost no appreciation in Europe of Persian painting and certainly

Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire, New York and Oxford 1993, pp. 119 *ff*.

39 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 1, pp. 33–71, especially pp. 40–41. Diez says that he could not have it rebound in the original style of binding, even if he had known the order of the pages, as some of the text went into the gutters and would have been lost by 'our bookbinders'. This surely indicates that Diez did not have his Piri Reis manuscript bound in Istanbul. The manuscript is currently in a binding made in January 1934, according to a note on the endpaper. http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000B58200000007.

40 See the article in this volume by Christoph Rauch.

41 The catalogue of the auction of Diez's effects, held in 1818, reveals that he had a large, but very miscellaneous, collection of European paintings and prints. I am grateful to Christoph Rauch for sharing images of this catalogue.

no understanding of its history. Diez would have had to have been an expert *avant la lettre* to have overseen the arrangement and mounting of A fols. 70–72.

To credit him with such knowledge and sensitivity is also to ignore the ill-considered selection and assemblage of material in the first part of A fol. 73. As the binding of A fols. 73 and 74 was undertaken after the materials entered the Royal Library, Diez can perhaps be forgiven for their arrangement. Nevertheless, it was Diez who collected and preserved the miscellany of often second-rate eighteenth-century European prints, and Ottoman and Chinese paintings. The material is so heterogeneous he must have picked up much of it piecemeal in the bazaar, and, while he acknowledged his bequest included some "caricatures" ("Zerrbilder"), the overall impression is not of a keen sense of connoisseurship – an impression reinforced by the small collection of late eighteenth-century Chinese costume paintings in MS Diez A fol. 75.[42] Conversely, the extraordinary range of Persian material in the second half of A fol. 73 is not an index of Diez's personal taste, as the pages had been lifted in part or in their entirety from an album still in the Topkapı Sarayı, H. 2152.

If Diez had the material in A fols. 70–72 mounted while he was in Istanbul, it must have happened within a period of eleven months at the most.[43] We can pin down the making of the Diez albums in Istanbul with some confidence. The items were presumably removed from the harem apartments in the Topkapı Palace after Selim III's accession on 7 April 1789, and either before or when Abdülhamid's female retinue had to leave. A fols. 70–72 were therefore likely to have been compiled between April 1789 and Diez's departure from Istanbul on 18 May 1790.

If Diez commissioned the mounting of A fols. 70–72 in this narrow window, it seems strange that over the next quarter of a century in Germany he never turned his attention to mounting the remainder of his pictorial gleanings from Istanbul. Furthermore, Diez's very

42 http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000D63E00000000.

43 Diez was recalled for making generous concessions to the Ottomans in the alliance that was signed on 31 January 1790 (not 1791, as stated by Franz Babinger, "Ein orientalistischer Berater Goethes: Heinrich Friedrich von Diez", *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 34 (1913), p. 92). Diez infuriated many in Berlin with his pro-Ottoman sentiments and his general attitude, described by the Foreign Minister Hertzberg as "aussi trop égoiste et trop défiant" (Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, Sechster Theil. Umschwung des inneren Lebens des osmanischen Reiches und der orientalischen Politik während der Revolutionszeit, von dem Frieden zu Kutschuk-Kainardsche im Jahre 1774 bis zum Frieden mit Frankreich im Jahre 1802*, Gotha 1859, p. 744). See Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789–1807* Cambridge, Mass. 1971, pp. 40–60, for a description of the military and diplomatic events of 1789 and 1790. For extended discussion of Diez's activities, drawn mostly from official dispatches, see Zinkeisen *Geschichte*, pp. 467–93, 509–14, 518–611, 671–763. Diez did not return immediately after the signing of the alliance, but stayed a further four months, as is clear from a letter he wrote to Chr. W. von Dohm on 20 May 1790 saying that after his official farewell he had boarded the ship for Hamburg "the day before yesterday" ("vorgestern"): Babinger, "Berater Goethes", p. 92.

large collection of some 800 European manuscripts contained few decorated, prestige products, and consisted mostly of "Gebrauchshandschriften", while the bindings of his manuscripts were equally simple.[44] If Diez masterminded the mounting and binding of A fols. 70–72, it was out of character.

In short, I suggest that Diez purchased the three albums A fols. 70–72 as finished products. Diez chose to buy the albums, but that does not mean he selected the works that went into them, or influenced their arrangement.[45]

To whom, then, can we credit the planning of these albums, if not to Diez? The most obvious candidate is the eunuch mentioned by Diez, or at least someone in the Palace for whom the eunuch was acting as broker. He could have been the Chief Black Eunuch, any of the *Darüssaâde* eunuchs, or any of the ladies of the harem, because, despite Diez's poor opinion of their respect for books, there were female members of the imperial household with bibliophile interests.[46]

Incidentally, a connection with a Chief Black Eunuch can be found in one of Diez's most prized manuscripts, the late sixteenth-century illustrated Shiraz *Shāhnāma* (MS Diez A fol. 1): its flyleaf

44 Winter, *Handschriften*, vols. 1–2, p. 7; *cf.* Balcke, "Vermächtnis", p. 200. Ursula Winter, "Die Bibliothek Diez in der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek Berlin", *Marginalien: Zeitschrift für Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*, 53 (1974), pp. 10–29, especially p. 24, calls Diez "sparsam" when it came to the binding of his own works.

45 The two volumes of Ottoman costume drawings are fine examples of the genre, evidently produced at about the time Diez was in Istanbul, which was between July 1784 and May 1790. (He had been sent out as *chargé d'affaires* two years before he became Envoy Extraordinary in 1786: Zinkeisen *Geschichte*, pp. 471, 760). Such collections of costume drawings were commonly acquired by visiting diplomats, and served as an *aide-mémoire* and a memento rather than an example of Ottoman artistic achievement. For albums of similar date, see Klaus Tuchelt, *Türkische Gewaender und osmanische Gesellschaft in achtzehnten Jahrhundert / Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex Les Portraits des differens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie, aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Istanbul*, Graz 1966. Nurhan Atasoy, *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri. Fenerci Mehmed Albümü / Ottoman Costume Book: A facsimile edition of Osmanh Kiyafetleri by Fenerci Melmed, the original of which is in the private collection of Rahmi M. Koç*, ed. İlhami Turan, Istanbul 1986 publishes another of similar date, though of a very different style. A note on the flyleaf of the so-called Diez costume albums, evidently written after the albums were acquired by the British Museum, records: "These Drawings of Costumes are stated to / have been executed by order of the Sultan / for General Diez, Prussian Ambassador / at Constantinople in the time of Fred+c II / J.M." If correct, the volumes tell us nothing of Diez's connoisseurship of Ottoman or Persian painting. The volumes do not appear to have been part of the auction of Diez's effects in 1818. There seems to be little record of how much Diez paid for the manuscripts he purchased in Istanbul (see the article in this volume by Christoph Rauch). He constantly complained of being ill-remunerated, and wrote several plangent letters to the King and to Hertzberg on his return to Germany, saying that he had not been paid the costs of his journey and expenses, and was facing ruin (Zinkeisen *Geschichte*, pp. 761–2).

46 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 15, assumes "the chief eunuch was the intermediary in the sale."

bears an ownership inscription in the name of the *Darüssaâde* Ağa Beşir. This could refer to one of the most powerful of all the Chief Eunuchs, al-Hajj Beşir Ağa, who died in 1746, and was the founder of a great library in Istanbul.[47] The *Shāhnāma* bears the seal of Sultan Osman III (r. 1754–57), which might suggest it was appropriated as part of Beşir Ağa's entire estate when he died.[48]

A figure worth investigating is İdris Ağa, who had relatively easy access to the imperial library and treasury when he served as *hazinedar-i şehriyārī*, and who was appointed Chief Black Eunuch in June 1783 until he was dismissed in AH 1204 (1789–90). He was succeeded by a leading member of Selim III's faction, Büyük Bilâl Ağa. His dismissal may therefore have been connected to Selim's installation of a new harem in the Palace. One can imagine his loyalty to members of Abdülhamid's harem forced to move to a form of exile, his bitterness at his own dismissal, and his urge to raise funds for himself or the ladies of the harem. However, any connection he may have had with the Diez albums remains speculative.[49] For the moment the person Diez referred to as the "Verschnittene" remains anonymous. It is unlikely he was working alone, and when I mention "the eunuch", that should be taken as shorthand for a possibly more complex network.

Several factors indicate that A fols. 70–72 were assembled shortly before Diez acquired them. When the pages were photographed in 1970 or thereabouts, 180 years after Diez's purchase, they were in reasonable condition, though many of

47 Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial harem*, London 2005.

48 http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000067C00000007. However, the ownership inscription is not in the same hand as al-Hajj Beşir Ağa's *ex libris* in MS 591 in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, which is dated AH 1158 (1745): http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W591/. An alternative scenario is that Diez A fol. 1 belonged to Sarıkçı Beşir Ağa, who was a close companion (*musahip*) of Sultan Abdülhamid I, and became Chief Black Eunuch in 1774 (Meḥmed Ṣüreyyā, *Sijill-i ʿUthmanī: Tazkira-i mashāhīr-i ʿUthmāniyya*, İstanbul AH 1308–1316 [?] (1890–1898 [?]), vol. II, p. 21; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî* (Eski Yazıdan Yeni Yazıya 1,1; Tarih Vakfı yurt yayınları 30, 1; Istanbul, Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996, vol. I, p. 371). However, he was dismissed in 1779, and sent to Mecca, where he died, making it unlikely that he was the direct source for Diez. The manuscript might have been appropriated from Sarıkçı Beşir Ağa's estate by the Sultan, though in this case there is a complicated scenario in which the manuscript was in the royal library under Osman III, came into the hands of Sarıkçı Beşir Ağa, and then returned to the royal library, from where it was sold to Diez.

49 İdris Ağa's dismissal raises questions about the date of the albums. It is possible that the albums were made in the short period between İdris Ağa's dismissal and Diez's departure. İdris Ağa is said to have been dismissed in AH 1204, which began on 21 September 1789. Meḥmed Ṣüreyyā, *Sijill-i ʿUthmanī*, vol. I, p. 311; *idem*, Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Eski Yazıdan Yeni Yazıya, 1, 1; Tarih Vakfı yurt yayınları, 30, 1; Istanbul, Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996, vol. 3, p. 791. On the penury of the Ottoman Court in the latter part of Abdülhamid I's reign and the beginning of Selim III's, see Zinkeisen *Geschichte*, pp. 495, 745 (Selim III sending 50 pack loads of silver plate to the mint).

the gatherings were loose, doubtless due to the heavy nature of the pages, which had pasteboarding under the images, and to their flimsy connection to the bindings. The edges were largely clean, and there were no signs of interference to the images – none had been lifted, as had happened to H. 2152 and H. 2153. In contrast to several other Diez manuscripts which carry clear indications of a Palace provenance,[50] the covers and mounting pages of A fols. 70–72 lack any indication of Ottoman, let alone Palace, ownership. There are no Ottoman seals, library marks, or readers' annotations, and no scrawls or marks other than a few artist attributions, which were probably made before the images were inserted into these albums.[51] The albums had not even been paginated before they entered the Royal Library in Berlin. This absence of notations suggests that the albums were freshly compiled when Diez acquired them. We have no way of knowing if Diez realized the innate contradiction between his criticism of how the imperial harem handled "picture-books" and the pristine condition of A fols. 70–72 when he acquired them.

A date in the 1780s is supported by the construction of the albums: the style of paper binding fits with a late eighteenth-century date, and a Picador watermark on a page from A fol. 72 is datable to about 1780.[52] Nothing suggests these albums were ever in a Palace library, or spent time in the harem, and it seems more likely that the images came from the Palace not as complete albums, but as disjunct material, in some cases as separate paintings, in others as complete folios like those from H. 2152 in the second half of A fol. 73. In this case the contents must have been cannibalized and assembled into albums outside the Palace. The materials used for the mounting and for the paper-covered binding were not of the very highest quality, and point to a commercial rather than a court production, though, as we have seen, care was taken to create an aesthetically harmonious ensemble.[53]

The eunuch could have directly commissioned a binder, perhaps with an assistant to mount the pages. Alternatively, he might have relied on an expert such as a bookseller to value the items, and to contract the mounting and binding.[54] It seems

50 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 134, note 18, and Rauch's contribution to this volume, note 32. On Diez A fol. 1, see above, note 49.

51 On the "signatures", see Kühnel, "Malernamen"; also see the contribution to this volume by Friederike Weis. There is one defaced, probably Ottoman, inscription on the back of a throne in a Rashid al-Din scene: A fol. 71, p. 5.

52 On this type of binding, see Jake Benson, "Satisfying an Appetite for Books: Innovation, Production, and Modernization in Later Islamic Bookbinding", http://www.academia.edu/820713/Satisfying_an_Appetite_for_Books_Innovation. On the watermark, Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 115, p. 134, note 32.

53 *Cf.* Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 114–115. On the use of brass in place of gold, see note 12 above.

54 Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1788–91, vol. 1, p. 298; Orlin Sabev, "Rich Men, Poor Men: Ottoman Printers and Booksellers Making Fortune or Seeking Survival (Eighteenth-nineteenth Centuries)", *Oriens* 37 (2009), pp. 177–90, where he refers to the estates of three booksellers who died in the first decade of the nineteenth century; İsmail E. Erünsal,

unlikely, though, that the binder was solely responsible for the conceptual and artistic organization of the contents. To whom, then, can we credit the planning? If we posit the eunuch, by which, to repeat, I am referring not to an individual but to a network within the Palace, this has interesting implications that can be explored by looking at the programmatic construct of A fols. 70–72.

Decorative or Programmatic?

There are some key features that distinguish A fols. 70–72 from the albums in Istanbul. To recap, there is a developed aesthetic in the way in which images are sequenced over several folios, juxtaposed on facing pages, and mounted and framed with an eye to creating a harmony of colour, tone and saturation. Calligraphy is ignored as an art form, and no interest is shown in text of any sort. These are all clearly conscious choices by the eunuch.

In two other respects – the absence of certain categories of images found in H. 2153, notably the "Siyah Qalam monsters", and of any Timurid material later than about 1420 – there may also have been a choice. However, there is an alternative explanation, which is that the contents of A fols. 70–72 were largely dictated by the available source material. This is a crucial issue, because there is a marked difference between a relatively free selection of items that would reflect a compiler's connoisseurship and intentions, and a selection circumscribed by availability, largely restricting the compiler's contribution to the creation of aesthetic combinations. One is potentially programmatic, the other principally decorative.

Diez was supplied with entire folios from the Topkapı Palace album B. 411, which were eventually incorporated into his A fol. 74. These folios must have been removed by someone with privileged access – for our purposes, the eunuch. It seems highly likely the eunuch adopted a similar approach to removing items from H. 2152 and H. 2153. This would explain why the pages in the surviving pictorial section of H. 2152 have relatively few missing drawings or paintings.[55] Rather than lifting single items from a page, the eunuch removed not only complete folios but possibly whole sections.[56] How selective he was about the folios he removed we cannot tell, but from a stash of folios he could have assembled groups of related material, creating more coherent typological and aesthetic clusters in the three

"Osmanlılarda Sahhaflik ve Sahhaflar: Yeni Bazi Belge ve Bilgiler", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 29 (2007), pp. 99–146. There appear to have been some thirty booksellers in Istanbul in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A comprehensive study of Diez's manuscripts might reveal patterns in terms of bindings and provenance. From the Diez items published among the Staatsbibliothek online facsimiles, there are several that evidently had the same provenance, but none with bindings similar to those of the Diez albums.

55 The painting losses in H. 2152 start at p. 93. There are a maximum of fourteen gaps on a total of nine pages where paintings or drawings seem to have been removed (the pictorial section runs from p. 86 to the last page, p. 198, if we ignore the partially illustrated genealogical tree in the centre of the album).

56 Large-scale removal would also help explain why it was necessary to rebind the volumes in the late nineteenth century.

Berlin albums than in the Istanbul ur-albums. The argument could be made that in this scenario the eunuch was drawing from a restricted supply of folios from a small number of albums. His choices in compiling the Diez albums were therefore circumscribed, and his effective role was to create an attractive rather than meaningful product.

Following this argument, it was a matter of availability rather than eschewal that in A fols. 70–72 there is little Timurid material from the second quarter of the fifteenth century and later. The surviving pictorial section of H. 2152 does focus on material from the fourteenth century, such as the large, rather crude *Shāhnāma* and related paintings from late in the century.[57] Paintings from the same series recur in A fols. 70–72, especially A fol. 72, as well as other fourteenth-century material of the type found in H. 2152. There is also a high proportion of fourteenth-century material in H. 2153. Thus it could be argued that the emphasis in A fols. 70–72 on fourteenth-century images is a reflection of the eunuch's sources rather than any intention on his part, although H. 2153 in particular includes some fifteenth-century Timurid and Turkoman material, as well as chinoiserie, which one might have expected to feature more in A fols. 70–72, if the removal of folios was adventitious rather than critical, and the selection of material purely decorative.

There are, however, more than half a dozen reasons to suggest that the eunuch had a developed sense of purpose. One is the inclusion of so much material derived from copies of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, including images in an ink-and-wash style that reference early copies of that work. In the Diez albums there are close to fifty "Rashid al-Din" miniatures – spanning almost a century in date – spread over 124 pages of A fols. 70–72. By contrast, in H. 2153 there are currently four over almost 400 pages. In H. 2152 there are none. Three possibilities suggest themselves. One is that the eunuch removed most of the "Rashid al-Din" images from H. 2153 and/or H. 2152; this is supported by the distinctive rulings on a few which indicate they came from H. 2153.[58] Another is that he extracted the majority from another album, trace of which has been lost. The third possibility is that, besides extracting some from H. 2153, he cannibalized one or more manuscripts of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, though the text on the back of several of the paintings appears not to be from the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, but from other manuscripts, pages of which were glued to the back to stabilize the miniatures.[59] Whatever the process, the accumulation of "Rashid al-Din" images in A fols. 70–72 implies more planning and purpose than haphazard raids on H. 2152 and H. 2153.

Second, the inclusion of several late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century pastiches of Rashid al-Din images arguably

57 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 98, fig. 52; Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision. Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century,* Los Angeles 1989, pp. 58–63.

58 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116.

59 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116, noted that some of the Rashid al-Din miniatures in the Diez albums have text on the back, and assumed that they were from a manuscript(s) of Rashid al-Din's work. See, however, the contributions of Karin Rührdanz and Simon Rettig to this volume.

indicates that the compiler saw them as the extended influence of a formative moment under the Ilkhanids.[60] A third indication is the inclusion of drawings that are finished works of art rather than preparatory or practice sketches.[61] This may reflect Dust Muhammad's references to the emergence of *qalam-siyāhī* under the Jalayirids, as "black pen" drawings became an autonomous art form.[62]

These observations relate, though, to overall prevalence, and, one can argue, reflect the nature of the eunuch's source materials – availability more than choice. The following four observations, however, relate specifically to juxtapositions that were under the control of the compiler, and more certainly reflect intentionality.

First, while there is a dearth of painting in a classic Timurid style in A fols. 70–72, a notable exception is the initial image in A fol. 70 – a mounted hunting scene.[63] Stylistically anomalous in these albums, it nevertheless occupies a preeminent position. Was it chosen simply as a decorative pendant to the early Jalayirid scene of charging cavalry on the opposite page or did the juxtaposition carry greater meaning? Unusually, both of the paintings on this opening spread bear attributions, the Timurid painting to Darvish Mansur,[64] the fourteenth-century image to Ahmad Musa. As Ahmad Musa was credited by Dust Muhammad as the man "who lifted the veil from the face of painting", the volume opens with what was seen as one of the earliest and – in the context of these albums – one of the latest examples of "[the style of] depiction that is now current", a style invented, Dust Muhammad claims, by Ahmad Musa.[65] Confronting works by the progenitor of that tradition and by a practitioner of its distinctive Timurid expression reads like a synopsis of the history of Jalayirid painting from its Ilkhanid origins to its influence in the early Timurid period.

Secondly, a folio in A fol. 70 includes an image with a clear debt to European art on one side (p. 14) and a Chinese painting on the reverse (p. 15) (plate 1), as if these two images were counterposed to exemplify Dust Muhammad's claim that, "the custom of portraiture flourished so in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury scrivened the rescript of rule in the name of Sultan Abu Sa'id Khudaybanda [r. 1317–35]."[66]

60 For example, the drawing of a Mongol princess, A fol. 72, p. 11; *cf.* H. 2153, fols. 70r and 166r. See also the work of Abd al-Baqi al-Bakuwi in H. 2160: David J. Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing, ca. 1400–1450: Materials and creative procedures", *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), pp. 44–77; Ettinghausen, "Some Paintings", p. 95 and figs. 12 and 13.

61 *Cf.* Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116.

62 A fol. 72 also includes some preparatory or practice drawings of the type found in the Topkapı album H. 2152, which testify to an interest in artistic process.

63 On the anomalous inclusion of a Safavid painting of a rider, see above, note 26. For several late Jalayirid or early Timurid drawings in the style of manuscript narrative paintings, see A fol. 70, p. 26, no. 2; and A fol. 72, p. 1, no. 3, p. 4, no. 2, p. 7 (Kühnel, "Malernamen", fig. 7), A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 4.

64 He may be the painter who worked under Abu Sa'id and was the father of Shah Muzaffar; see Arnold 1930, p. 672; Kühnel 1959, "Malernamen", p. 77.

65 Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes. Sources on Timurid History and Art,* Cambridge, Mass. 1989, p. 345.

66 *Ibid.*

Thirdly, paintings or drawings of similar theme but different date are juxtaposed, hinting at an interest in the development of style. In A fol. 70 these pairings include the galloping riders on pages 1 and 2; the kings on horseback holding maces on page 14; and the riders fighting dragons on pages 24 and 25 (plates 1 and 2).

Fourthly, it is possible that the eunuch and/or his network added attributions to several drawings, attesting to his/their connoisseurship, and to an especial interest in Muhammad Khayyam.[67] In two works in the Diez albums this artist notes he was copying works by ʿAbd al-Hayy. This may be significant, because Dust Muhammad implies that ʿAbd al-Hayy was pivotal in transferring the Jalayirid tradition to the Timurid realm, claiming that after his death "all masters imitated his work."[68]

Such aesthetic and art-historical selectivity points to someone with more than an eye for decoration. We might venture to call him a "connoisseur" of Persian painting. His connoisseurship is also evident in his choice of drawings, for many of those in A fols. 70–72 are finer, more finished, and in many cases earlier than those that survive in H. 2152.[69] In other words, he removed many of the choicest.

For those with access and inclination, the Topkapı Palace offered unparalleled opportunity to learn from surviving examples and from primary texts about the early history of Persian painting. Indeed, our connoisseur might well have gained his understanding of Ilkhanid and Jalayirid painting from another album in the Topkapı Palace, the treatise of Dust Muhammad in the Bahram Mirza Album (H. 2154).[70]

Yet there were instances when the eunuch could have provided stronger visual testimony for Dust Muhammad's account. For example, in A fol. 72 there is a drawing, *Two Mounted Chinese Warriors*

67 On these see the detailed discussion by Friederike Weis in this volume, where she suggests they were likely to have been added in the latter part of the sixteenth century. We should not, however, discount the possibility that the eunuch and/or his network added attributions to several drawings, attesting to his/their connoisseurship. For further discussion, see below, "Appendix: Attributions to Muhammad Khayyam in Diez A fols. 70–72".

68 Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 345. Kühnel, "Malernamen", noted a link between the majority of the signatures in the Diez albums and key figures mentioned by Dust Muhammad. However, his review of the signatures included several in A fol. 73, which was not one of the trio of albums assembled in Istanbul. On Muhammad Khayyam, see Kühnel, "Malernamen", pp. 74–76; and Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 59; Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 85–86, 96, 102, 139. Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116, suggests that the presence of signatures in part guided the choice of images in the Diez albums: "Diez's selection of materials appears to have been governed partially by the presence of either signatures or attributions on the works". He credits Diez with this selection, but it seems highly unlikely that Diez could have known the account of Dust Muhammad.

69 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116 argues against H. 2154 as a likely source and suggests ("Diez", note 20, and p. 120) that only H. 2152 and H. 2153 had any direct connection with the contents of the Diez albums.

70 Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 345; Laurence Binyon, John Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House*, Oxford 1933, pp. 183–188; Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, chapter 6.

in Combat, which Muhammad Khayyam inscribes as after a model by ʿAbd al-Hayy. This drawing was almost certainly removed from H. 2152, but our connoisseur did not remove another version from H. 2152, which is more accurate in details such as the rendering of the spear tip, and less mannered in its draughtsmanship. Although it is unsigned, it is the finer drawing, and might plausibly have been ascribed to ʿAbd al-Hayy.[71] The Palace albums included further works attributed to ʿAbd al-Hayy and works by other artists mentioned by Dust Muhammad, which might have been removed to make A fols.70–72 more historically comprehensive.[72]

The eunuch's fastidiousness did not, however, always extend to grouping paintings from the same manuscript together. Thus a double-page Jalayirid image of the Siege of Baghdad was split and placed on different pages in A fol. 70 (pp. 4 and 7) (plate 1). Even if they were divorced in his source album, he might have sought to rejoin them. There were other instances too where paintings evidently from the same manuscript were not clustered together.[73]

While the eunuch, personally or as part of a network, might have had a broad understanding of Ilkhanid and Jalayirid painting, and recognized the names of some key artists, we should not judge him by the standards of Dust Muhammad himself, who was a librarian with access to the royal holdings and presumably had licence to remove the pages that he wanted to illustrate his account. Nor should we anachronistically impose on him a Western scholarly understanding of Persian painting that has been developed over the course of the last 125 years. His *modus operandi*, I suggest, was not to excerpt individual items to construct an ordained narrative; instead, he made a systematic arrangement of material that had been lifted largely *en bloc*. In other words, he constructed a "vision" of Ilkhanid and Jalayirid painting without following precisely Dust Muhammad's developmental narrative.

In summary, A fols. 73 and 74 were diverse in origin and content, with parts incorporated wholesale from existing albums. A fol. 73 consisted of numerous preparatory drawings, some of them sketches, some complete working drawings for use in other media, reflecting workshop process and praxis. A fols. 70–72, on the other hand, were aesthetically designed and more broadly historical in scope, reflecting a cognition of what has become the received story of the emergence or "unveiling" of Persian painting in the fourteenth century.

The eunuch evidently planned albums A fols. 70–72 with forethought, but whether he originally intended them for Diez seems unlikely, given their many subtleties. By contrast, he might have seized the principal contents of A fols. 73 and 74 in a more opportunistic manner, perhaps – though this is of course conjecture – when he realized that the bibliomane Diez was about to leave. It was indicative that their contents were not turned into albums

71 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 60; Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 140.

72 However, some, such as Dawlatyar and Shams al-Din, featured in A fol. 73: Kühnel, "Malernamen".

73 Two paintings from the story of "the Man and the Monkey Wife" can be found in A fol. 71, p. 12 and A fol. 72, p. 19 . (cf. appendix II in this volume, figs. 9 and 10).

until after Diez's death. In neither instance can the creative credit be given to Diez – his achievement was to have nurtured his contacts and seized the opportunity. He doubtless appreciated the contents, but he would have been precocious if he fully understood the construct of A fols. 70–72.

The credit for conceiving A fols. 70–72 must go to the eunuch and his network. Although his treatment of the Istanbul albums was destructive, it was not born of ignorance, but insight. Interest in Persian painting amongst at least some of the *Darüssaâde* eunuchs under Abdülhamid I is evidenced by Diez's Shirazi *Shāhnāma*. Nevertheless, we have tended to downplay Ottoman interest in the Istanbul albums in the latter centuries, and to limit it to the physical rebinding of several of the Istanbul albums under Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909).[74] The "Diez albums", though, point to a more refined understanding of the "Istanbul albums" at the Ottoman court in the eighteenth century, for A fols. 70, 71 and 72 were not mere dumping grounds for spoils, but informed and visually astute reinventions of material garnered from the fifteenth-century albums.

It was the eunuch who transformed what some saw as "picture-books" into illustrated compendia of early Persian painting, and fulfilled what Dust Muhammad in his introduction to the Behram Mirza album declared as his aim: "That the scattered folios of past and present masters should be brought out of the region of dispersal into the realm of collectedness."[75]

74 *Cf.* Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 116, and especially notes 39 and 40; Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 76.

75 Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 338.

Appendix: Attributions to Muhammad Khayyam in Diez A fols. 70–72

There are only ten images in A fols. 70–72 with signatures and/or attributions. A very high proportion – seven – are connected with "Muḥammad-i Khayyām".[76] These seven carry a total of eight inscriptions, of which three purport to be signatures, while five are terse attributions; one drawing, A fol. 72, p. 13, includes both an extended signature and a terse attribution. The purported signatures are written with a strong calligraphic flourish, and include the artist's patronymic ("b. Maḥmūdshāh") and the definite article "al-" before Khayyam. Two of the three also note that they were after the work of ʿAbd al-Hayy. Of the terse attributions one reads "Qalam-i Muḥammad-i Khayyām", four "Muḥammad-i Khayyām".

Of the total of eight terse attributions in A fols. 70–72, several were surely not penned for the Diez albums. They show variations in their hand, and in their placement on the page, which affects their orientation to a viewer reading the album the correct way up:

"Darvish Mansur" (A fol. 70, no. 1): this occurs on a drawing that was turned ninety degrees clockwise, but was upside down relative to the viewer of the Diez album.

"Ahmad Musa" (A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1): this appears correctly oriented for the viewer of the Diez album but is anomalous in its location – it occurs in the middle of the painting – and in its hand, which differs from any of the those used for the other attributions in the Diez album.

"Qalam-i Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (A fol. 72, p. 7): the attribution is anomalous in its posi-

76 See Friederike Weis' contribution to this volume for a detailed discussion.

tion, phrasing and possibly also in its hand. The drawing was turned ninety degrees when it was mounted in the Diez album, placing the attribution upside down to the viewer.

In contrast, five other terse attributions are much more consistent in their script, and in most cases in their angle, their location towards the bottom left of their respective drawing, and their orientation to the viewer. The hand is a simple *naskh* that slopes downwards at an eight o'clock angle, and has minimal ligatures and relatively short ascenders and descenders. There are differences, though, and these have prompted Friederike Weis to question whether the attributions were written by a single person. Regardless of whether these are by one hand or not, there are reasons for thinking that they may be late additions, perhaps following the spoliation of the Istanbul albums, and before the creation of the Diez albums.

"Qalam ʿAbdallah" (A fol. 70, p. 12): the image was turned ninety degrees clockwise, but the signature appeared at the bottom left of the drawing as one viewed the album page, and was correctly oriented for the reader of the album. In other words, the attribution lies at a right-angle to the depiction of the rider. It was evidently added after the drawing was included – or was being prepared to be included – in an album where the image was turned ninety degrees clockwise.

"Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (*Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon*) (A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1): the drawing was turned ninety degrees counter-clockwise when it was mounted into the Diez album. In that position the attribution was, like most of the others in this group of five, angled at eight o'clock, and positioned towards the bottom left of the drawing. It was correctly oriented for the viewer.

"Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (*Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon*) (A fol. 70, p. 25): the drawing was turned ninety degrees clockwise in the Diez album, but the attribution, which was written on a fairly straight line rather than at an angle, was correctly oriented for the viewer.

"Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (*Tazza Farnese*) (A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2): here the attribution was upside down relative to the viewer of the album. Yet it was evidently intended to be oriented correctly, as the drawing was inverted in the album (see above, note 36). The attribution appears to be under a layer of varnish, as noted by Friederike Weis, suggesting that the attribution was written before the drawing was mounted in the Diez album, though how long before is not clear.

"Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (*Mongol Rider*) (A fol. 72, p. 13): the attribution appeared top left, sloping upwards in the Diez album. The drawing itself, though, was turned ninety degrees clockwise when it was mounted. In other words, if the drawing had not been turned, the attribution would have been correctly positioned for the viewer, and, like the others in this cluster, would have been towards the bottom left of the image, and sloping downwards. This suggests that the attribution was not added with the position of the drawing in the Diez album in mind.

The attributions might have been written when the images were in a prior album, but in that case the first, third and fourth items must have been turned clockwise, and the second counter-clockwise, just as in the Diez albums. That seems quite a coincidence. It also seems unlikely they were added while the drawings were part of H. 2152. First, the only examples with the terse attributions "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" are those in the Diez albums. Second, the hand (or hands) in which they are written does not occur in the surviving pages of H. 2152. While it is of course possible that all these items were incorporated into another album, traces of which have disappeared, this seems unlikely as one would have expected

there to be remnants around the images of ruling frames that could be associated with this lost album. However, the only rulings seem to be either those of the types associated with H. 2152 or with Diez A fols. 70–72.

To conclude, this latter group of five attributions seems to postdate the removal of the drawings from H. 2152. It is possible that the attributions on the first to fourth items were written after the Diez albums were compiled, but this would mean that the attribution on the fifth item was done before, the others after. An alternative explanation is these five attributions were written *before* being inserted into the Diez albums by someone who was aware of how the drawings would be oriented in those albums. This suggests not only planning, but a pretension to connoisseurship and a programmatic intent in the compilation of A fols. 70–72.

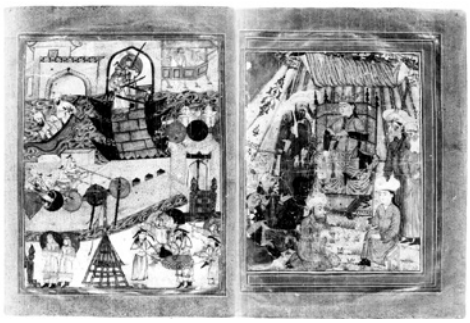
PLATES 1–9 *Diez A fols. 70–72 reproduced in their original sequence of double-page spreads, using black-and-white photographs taken before the conservation programme in 1970.*

PLATES 1–2 *Diez A fol. 70.*

PLATES 3–7 *Diez A fol. 71.*

PLATES 8–9 *Diez A fol. 72.*

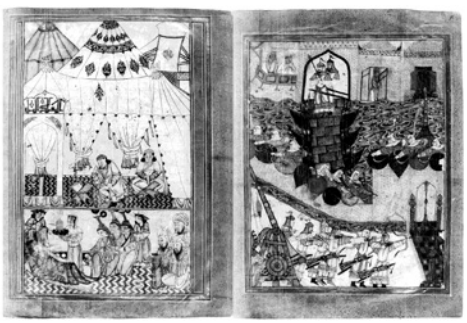
PLATE 10–12 *Charts showing the sequencing of images by period and type. The arrows indicate the orientation of the images, with the arrow heads pointing to the top of the image.*



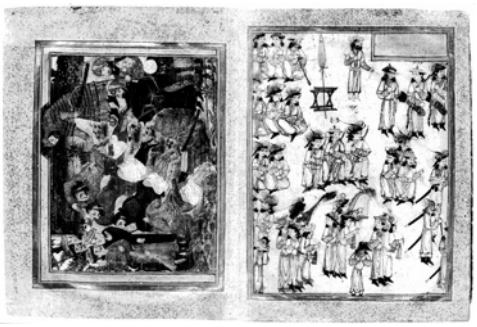
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2–1



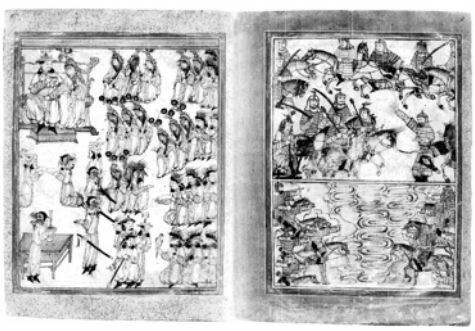
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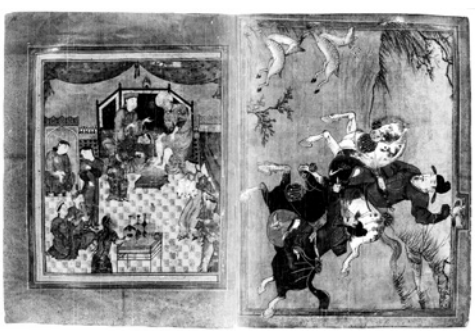
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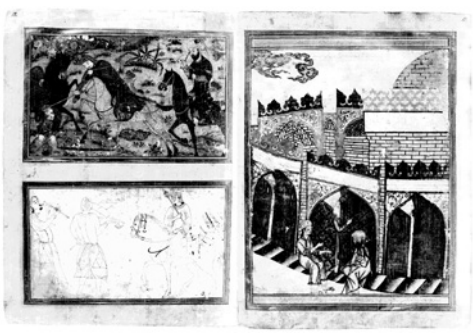
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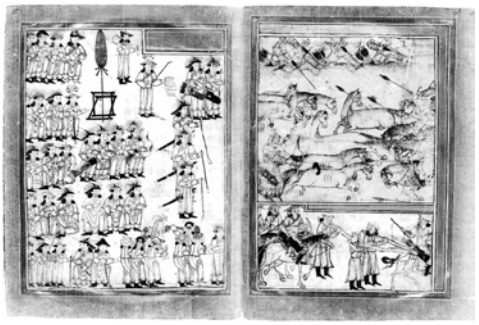
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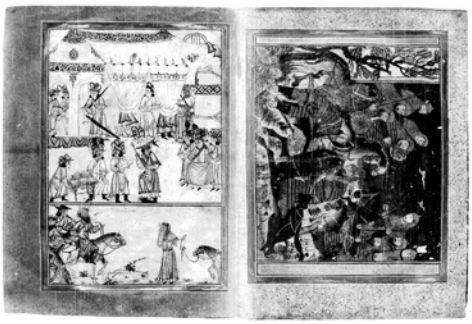
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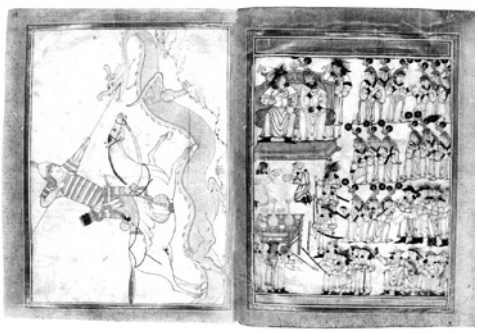
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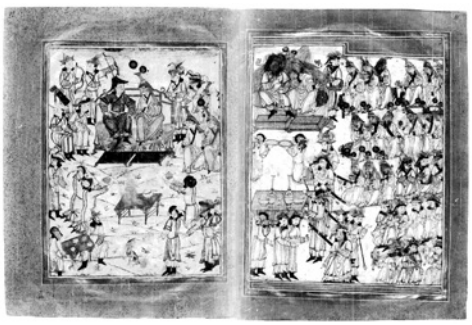
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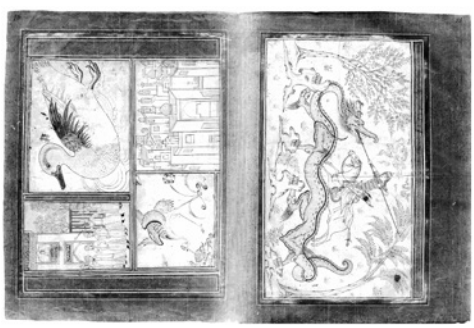
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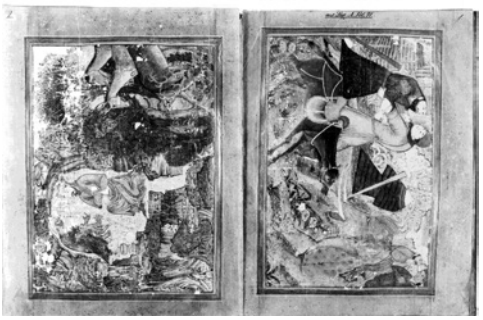
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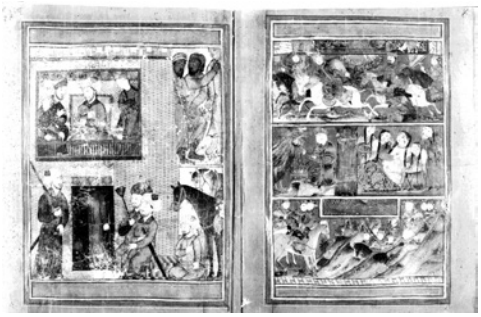
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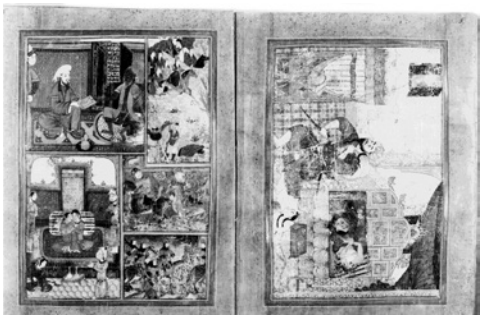
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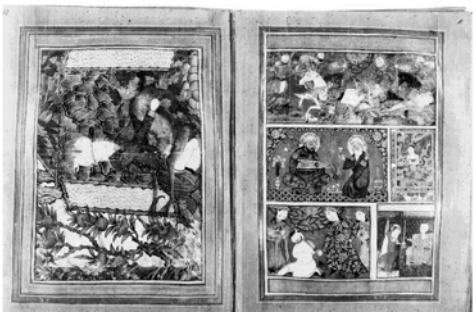
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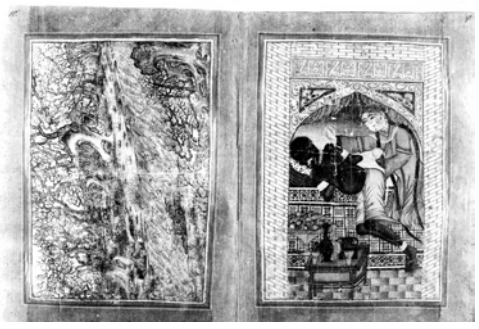
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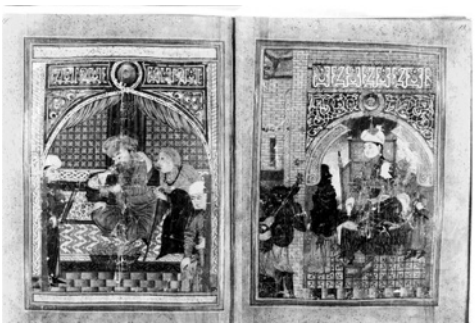
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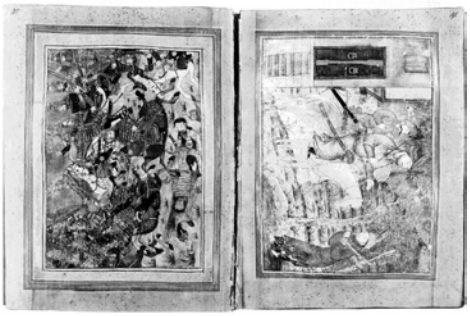
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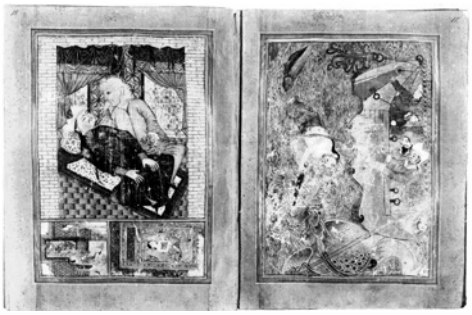
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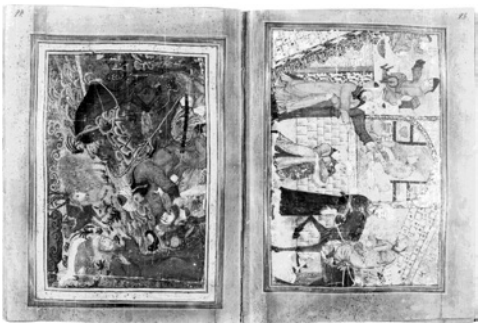
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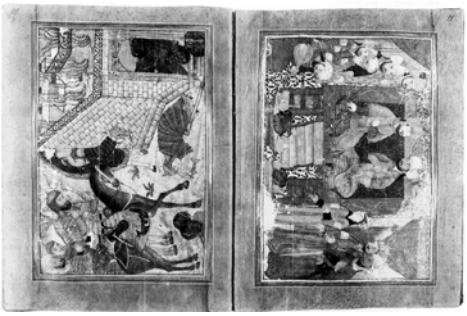
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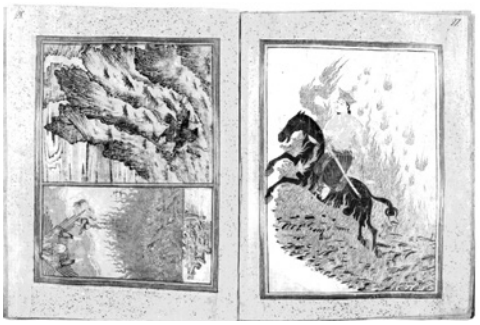
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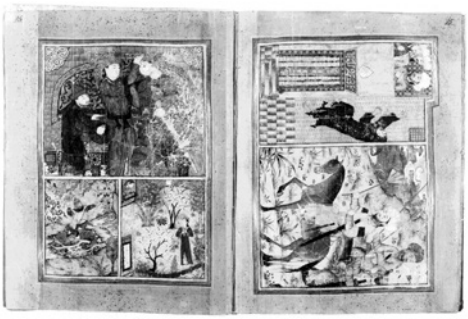
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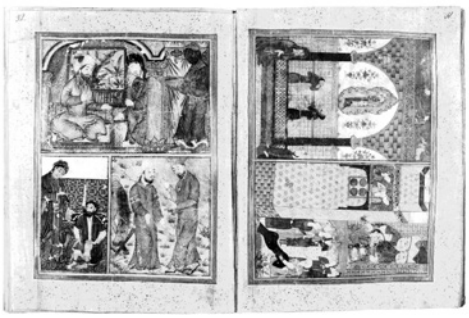
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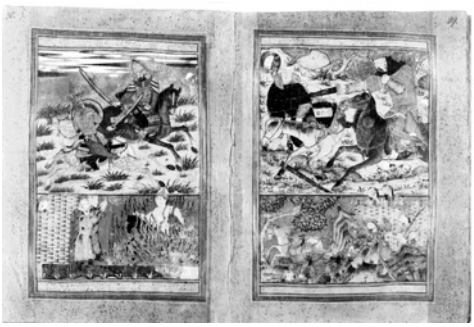
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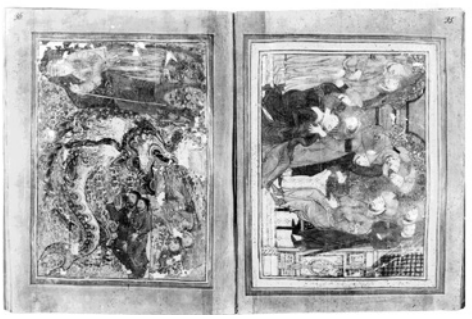
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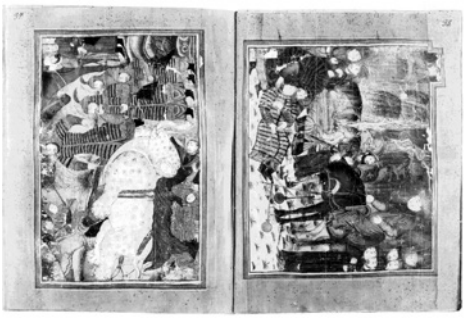
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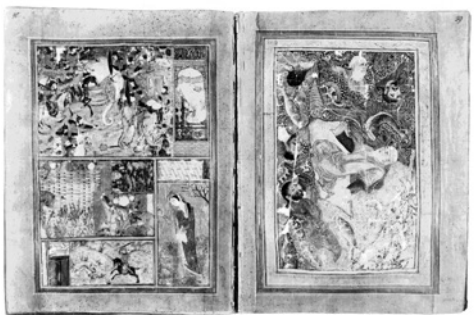
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36–35



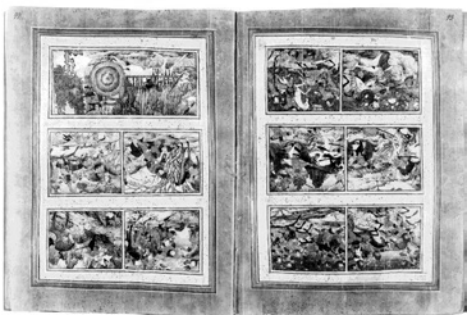
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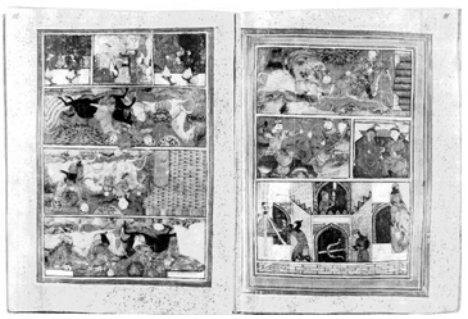
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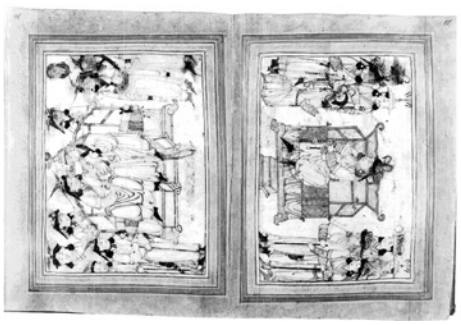
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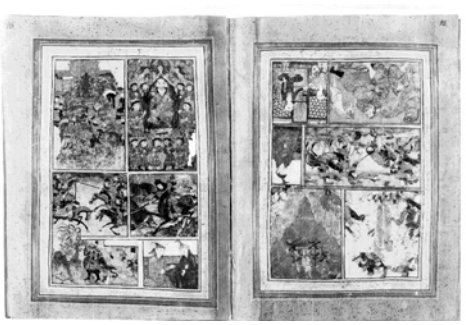
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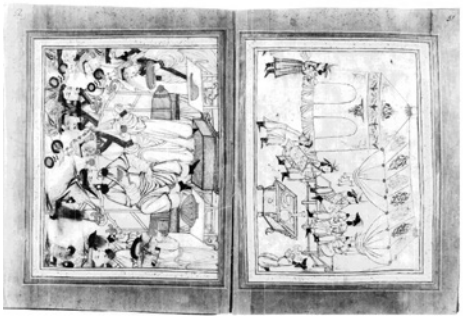
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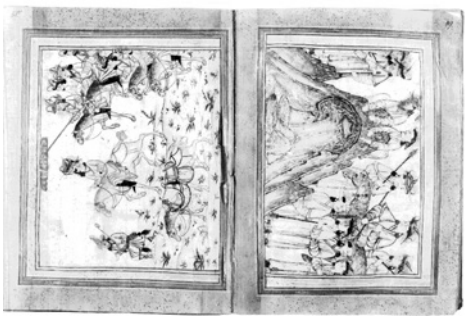
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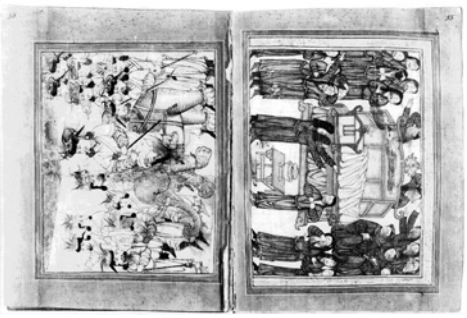
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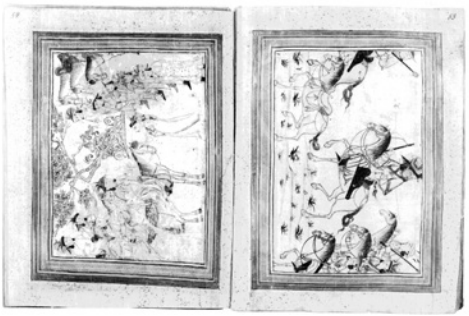
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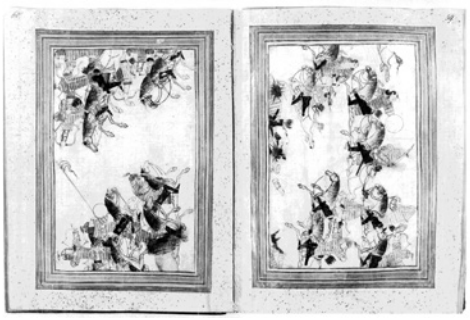
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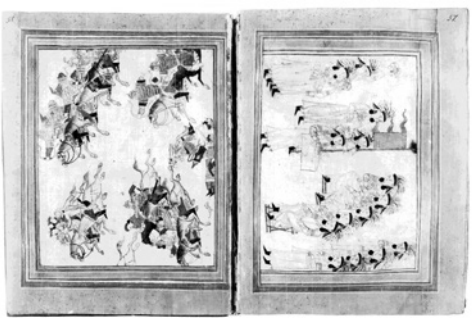
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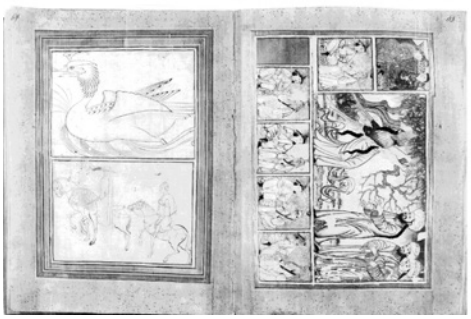
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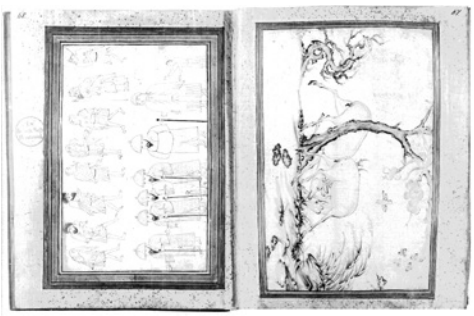
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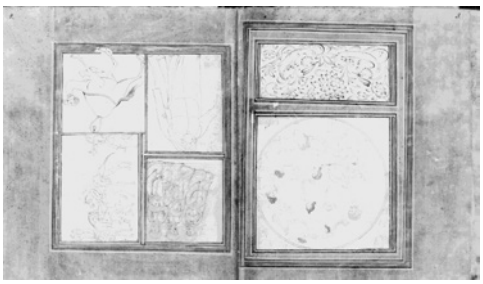
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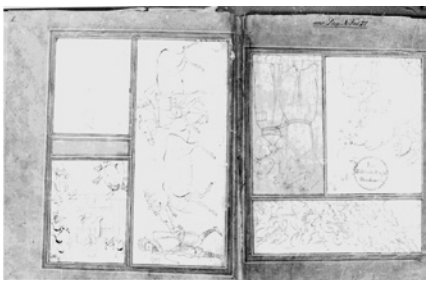
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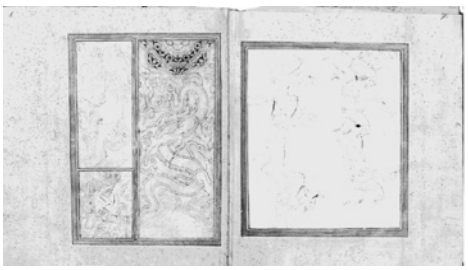
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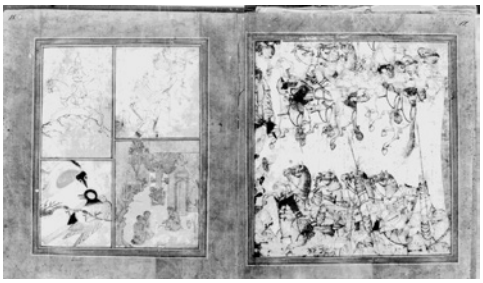
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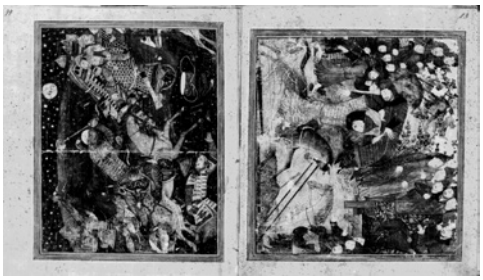
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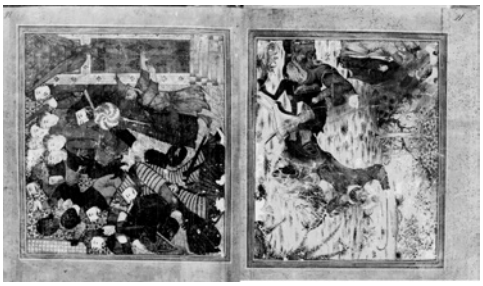
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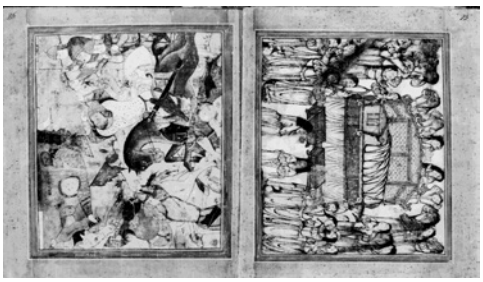
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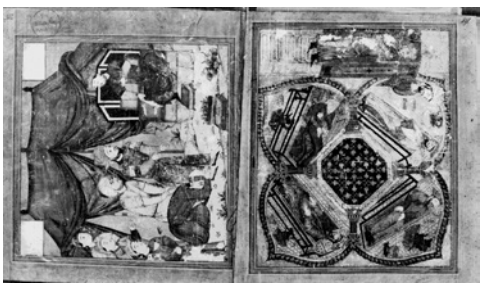
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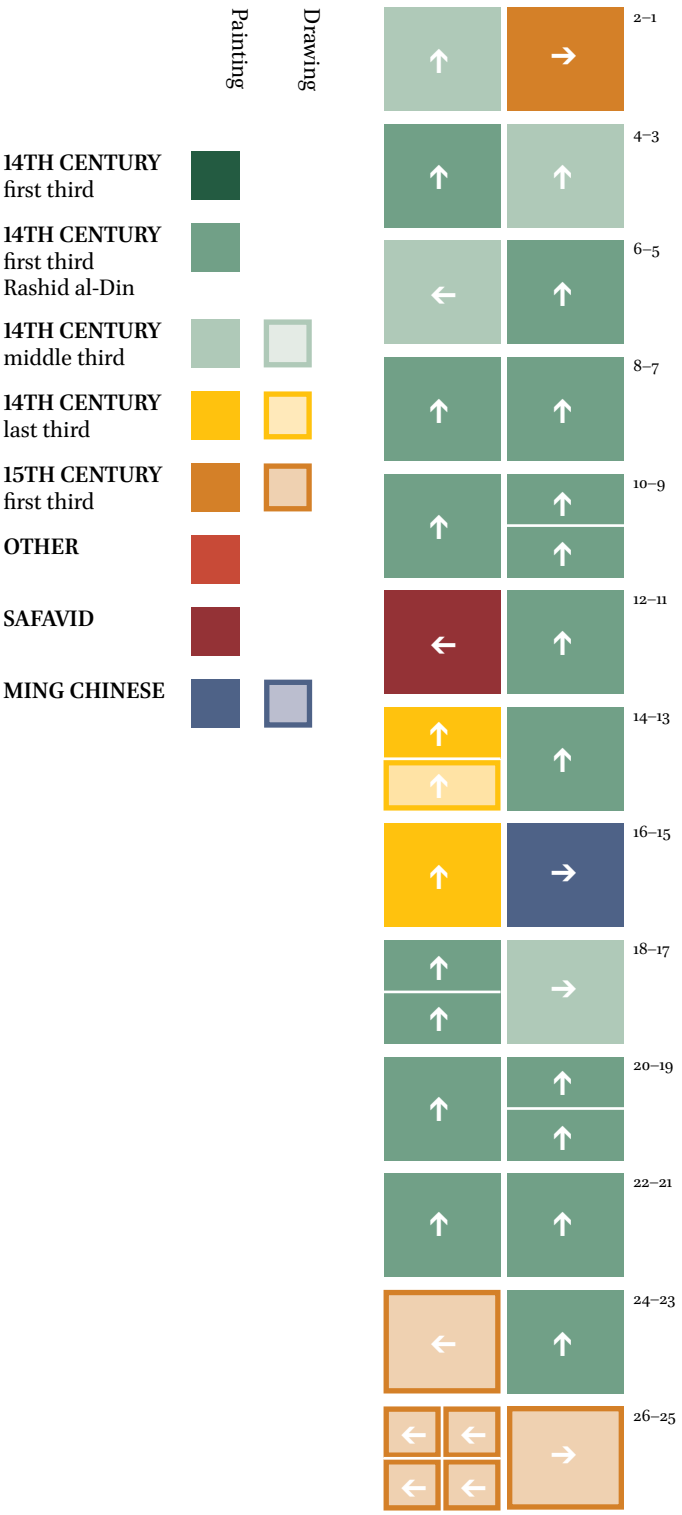
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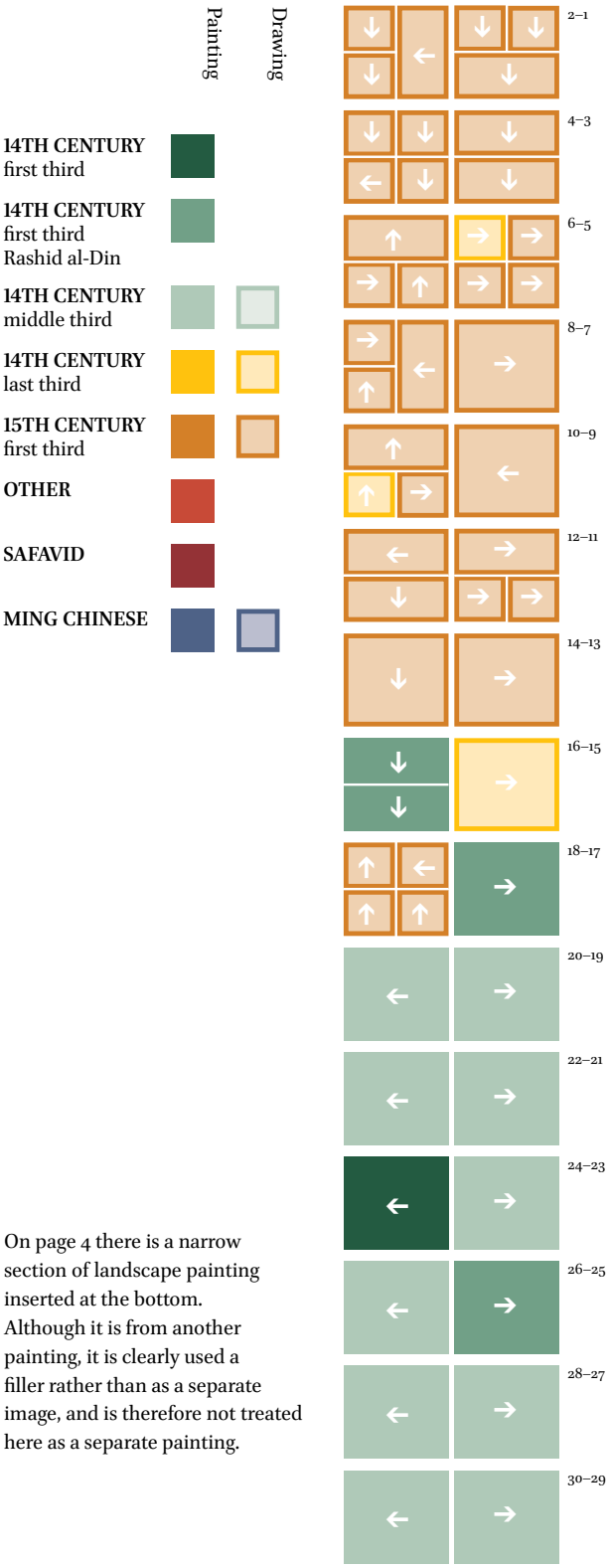
26–25



30–29


Painting
Drawing
14TH CENTURY
first third
14TH CENTURY
first third
Rashid al-Din
14TH CENTURY
middle third
14TH CENTURY
last third
15TH CENTURY
first third
OTHER
SAFAVID
MING CHINESE
2–1
4–3
6–5
8–7
10–9
12–11
14–13
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Painting
Drawing
14TH CENTURY first third
14TH CENTURY first third Rashid al-Din
14TH CENTURY middle third
14TH CENTURY last third
15TH CENTURY first third
OTHER
SAFAVID
MING CHINESE



On page 4 there is a narrow section of landscape painting inserted at the bottom. Although it is from another painting, it is clearly used a filler rather than as a separate image, and is therefore not treated here as a separate painting.

CHAPTER 3

Memorabilia of Asia: Diez's Albums Revisited

David J. Roxburgh

"Food with salt and salt with moderation"	(*Essen mit Salz und Salz mit Maasse*)
"Everyone dines, whatever he finds"	(*Jeder speiset, wie er es findet*)
"Boys who flatter are not attractive"	(*Einschmeichelnde Knaben sind nicht hübsch*)
"A pauper who does not have debts is a great man"	(*Ein Armer, der keine Schulden hat, ist ein grosser Herr*)

Maxims from the *Oghuznāma*[1]

These proverbs, excerpted from several hundred of their kind, typify the diverse sources of knowledge relished by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817) (fig. 3.1). As an Orientalist, Diez embodied several traits common to scholars of the late-Enlightenment period: he wanted to challenge old ideas, displace stereotypes, and disrupt monolithic portrayals of cultures by seeking out new written sources and making them available in translations with commentaries. His initial focus was always local, internal, or context bound – Diez sought to project and preserve the subjective voice, agency, and "self-knowledge" (*Selbsterkenntnis*) of whichever author or source he was writing about. Yet his ultimate objectives were frequently universal, expressions of a desire to point out contacts and affinities between systems and structures of cultural belief. Unlike many of his forebears in Orientalist schol-

Author's note: I would like to thank Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch for convening the conference on the Diez albums at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in June 2013 and for the opportunity to return to materials I had not had the opportunity to revisit since the publication of my first article in 1995. I would be remiss if I did not restate my deep gratitude to Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, who, as Director of the Orientabteilung during my graduate days in 1993, offered up the Diez albums with absolute openhandedness. English translations of German sources were generously prepared for publication by Mira X. Schwerda.

1 Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez* [. . .] *Erster Theil*, Berlin 1811, pp. 188, 193, and 203. The title of the work given in the manuscript (Diez A quart. 31) is: "This is the treatise of aphorisms from the 'Book of Oghuz' known as the 'Speech of the Ancestors'" (*hādhihi al-risāla min kalimāt Oghuznāma al-mashhūr bi-Ātālar-sözī*). For the *Oghuznāma*, see İlker Evrim Bınbaş, "Oguz Khan Narratives", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, New York 1996.

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FIGURE 3.1 *Portrait of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817), anonymous, c. 1791. SBB-PK, Kunstsammlung.*

arship, Diez's observations also reflected firsthand experience gained through several years of residency in Constantinople, where he was exposed to an urbane and cosmopolitan society. He endlessly complained about misrepresentations of the Ottomans and "Orientals" and held that exposing their literary works – spanning multiple genres – to European readers was the key to securing "justice" (*Gerechtigkeit*) for them.[2]

It is a pity that the breadth and depth of his Orientalist scholarship has not yet received the attention that it merits,

2 He made this point directly in *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez . . . Zweyter Theil*, Berlin 1815, p. 105. The passage reads: "Wenn also aus jenen Gründen die Osmanen bisher sehr unrichtig beurtheilt worden: so können Schriften wie die gegenwärtige dazu dienen, ihnen Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren zu lassen." On the issue of "self-knowledge," Diez commented several times, citing an Ottoman saying at the end of the preface to the first volume of *Memorabilia of Asia* (*Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. I, p. xxiv) – "Sie sagen selbst: wir sind wir, das ist, wir wollen nicht werden andere, und wir wollen ihnen (den Europäern) nicht ähnlich seyn" – and devoting the first chapter of the same to the topic "Self-Knowledge of the Muslims." He closed the first volume with the same theme (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 310).

For additional examples of Diez's attitude towards the misunderstood Ottomans, including

whether in general studies on Orientalism or Orientalism in Germany, in particular.[3] Most often Diez makes an appearance through his late-life correspondence (between 1815 and 1816) with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) – who credited Diez as a major source in the composition of the *West-östlichen Divan* – and for his impact on the poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803).[4] Also legendary are Diez's vitriolic exchanges with fellow Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), which oscillated between rebuke and scathing polemic and culminated in Diez's 575-page text *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit des H. v. Hammer zu Wien in Sprachen und Wissenschaften* (Nonsense and Deception in Eastern Literature with Several Hundred Examples of the Rough Ignorance of Mr. v. Hammer of Vienna in Languages and Research [Halle 1815]).[5] Hammer-Purgstall published a rejoinder in the following year.[6] Diez leveled unsparing criticisms against his younger contemporary for his seemingly frequent philological errors, perhaps because he represented too great a threat, *viz.* as direct competition given Hammer-Purgstall's many overlapping interests and activities. (Like Diez, Hammer-Purgstall sought to make available a large number of primary sources in translation with commentary through his journal *Fundgruben*

passages from his correspondence with Goethe, see Ian Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought: From Leibnitz to Nietzsche*, New York 2010, pp. 83–87.

3 Diez's early publications, by contrast, have been studied in great detail by Manfred Voigts, *Frühe Schriften (1772–1784): Heinrich Friedrich von Diez*, Würzburg 2010. There is no point belaboring here the neglect of German Orientalism in Edward W. Said's pioneering work *Orientalism*, New York 1978. It is striking that Diez hardly figures in even the earliest overviews of the development of Orientalist studies in Germany, such as Franz Babinger, "Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls", *Die Welt des Islams* 7/3–4 (1919), pp. 102–29. Nor is he mentioned as a foundational figure of the intellectual tradition in the most recent, and monumental, treatments of German Orientalism, *e.g.* Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*, Cambridge 2009, and Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945*, London 2009.

4 Goethe composed the *West-östlicher Divan* between 1814 and 1819. The relationship between Diez and Goethe is considered at length by Katharina Mommsen, *Goethe und Diez: Quellenuntersuchungen zu Gedichten der Divan-Epoche*, Bern 1995; Katharina Mommsen, "Goethe's Relationship to the Turks as Mirrored in his Works", *Pera-Blätter* 20, Istanbul 2011, pp. 1–26, especially pp. 11–22; Franz Babinger, "Der Einfluss von Hch. Frd. von Diezens 'Buch des Kabus' und 'Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien' auf Goethes 'West-östlichen Divan': Ein Beitrag zur Quellengeschichte des Divans", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 5 (1913), pp. 577–92; and Carl Siegfried, "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und v. Diez", *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 11 (1890), pp. 24–41. For a thoroughly nuanced – and welcome – reappraisal of Goethe's complex relation to Islam and his exchanges with Diez, see Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought*, ch. 4.

5 For more information about Hammer-Purgstall and his exchanges with Diez, see Gerhard Endress, *An Introduction to Islam*, Edinburgh 1988, pp. 12–13; and J.T.P. de Bruijn, "Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph Freiherr von", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, London 1982, vol. XI, fasc. 6, pp. 644–46.

6 Joseph von Hammer, *Fug und Wahrheit in der morgenländischen Literatur, nebst einigen wenigen Proben von der feinen Gelehrsamkeit des Herrn von Diez in Berlin in Sprachen und Wissenschaften*, Vienna 1816.

des Orients, published from 1809.) Though Diez's achievements have been acknowledged, there remains a level of scholarly equivocation over the nature and value of his individual studies and collective research. He is frequently cast as sympathetic to the Muslim Orient, but chiefly as an enthusiastic popularizer of its culture, and is celebrated for his bibliophilism, which significantly contributed to the expansion of primary Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources in Europe. Standing in contrast to the spotty, incomplete attention to his life's work of research and publishing are the so-called Diez albums (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A fols. 70–74), widely studied in the discipline of art history. Diez's collection of Islamic manuscripts, which were bequeathed to the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin upon his death in 1817, may some day be studied *en bloc* and with an intensity equal to that accorded his albums and the European works making up his library.[7]

Redressing characterizations, such as they are, of Diez's brand of Orientalism and his published oeuvre is too large a topic for this modest essay, which focuses instead on Diez's albums in relation to his Orientalist project *in toto*, and on the possible significance and function of the albums in relation to the person and his program.[8] One of the chief sources in this approach is the *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez* (Memorabilia of Asia: Arts and Sciences, Customs, Traditions and Antiquities, Religion and Government from Manuscripts and Personal Experiences Gathered by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez), published as two volumes in 1811 and 1815. As a mixture of scholarship and reminiscence – it might even be regarded as a form of intellectual memoir – the *Memorabilia of Asia* is a fruitful source for understanding the conditions under which Diez conducted his scholarship as well some of his goals and ambitions.

7 The European holdings of his library have been well treated by Ursula Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez*, Leipzig 1986–94, and Renate Schipke, *Initienverzeichnis zu den Sammlungen Diez, Hamilton, und Phillipps*, Berlin 1993. References to the extensive scholarship on Diez's albums and their contents can be found throughout the essays in this volume.

8 My 1995 essay on the Diez albums attempted to identify the mechanisms by which Diez acquired the contents of the albums, their sources, and the period(s) when the albums were compiled, and offered a description of the much neglected Diez A fol. 74. See David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: MSS. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–36. Although scholarship on the albums and their contents has not advanced much since the mid-1990s – soon to change with the publication of the papers from the 2013 conference – new resources and research technologies enable a wholly different mode of study than that available to me in 1993 during fieldwork. The digitization of the Diez albums' contents, as well as of Diez's collection of manuscripts, printed books, and archival materials, now allows for an entirely different kind of research, enhancing the possibility of fresh ideas and conclusions. In addition, microfilm records of the albums before they were disassembled in 1971–72 are now available. The institutional reorganization that followed German reunification in 1990 has, of course, further facilitated this type of research.

Diez's Life and Scholarly Activity

Heinrich Friedrich von Diez was born in Bernburg on 2 September 1751 to the textile merchant Christian Friedrich Diez and Maria Elisabeth Zollicoffer. The young Diez attended the Gymnasium in Bernburg, began his study of law in Halle in 1769 (where he rose through the ranks to become director of the legal office [*Kanzleidirektor*]), and later moved to Magdeburg to work for the local government and pursue the study of language. Through the support of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820), Diez secured the post of Prussian *chargé d'affaires* (*Geschäftsträger*) to the Sublime Porte, Constantinople, and received his orders from King Friedrich II (r. 1740–86) in 1784. The position was renewed in 1786 under King Friedrich Wilhelm II (r. 1786–97), with a promotion to the position of minister and an annual salary of 10,000 thaler. During Wilhelm II's reign, Diez received an *Adelsdiplom*, an aristocratic birth certificate, making him a confirmed member of the nobility (fig. 3.2).

Diez's tenure in Constantinople – which ended in 1790 – overlapped with the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–92 (precipitated by Catherine the Great's annexation of the Crimea in 1787); the Austro-Turkish War of 1787–91, launched by Archduke of Austria Joseph II (r. 1765–90) in alliance with Catherine; the transition of Prussian rule in 1786 from Friedrich II to Friedrich Wilhelm II; and the succession of Ottoman rule in 1789 from Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) to Selim III (r. 1789–1807). Diez's most significant achievement as *chargé d'affaires* was the signing of a formal offensive–defensive alliance between the Ottomans

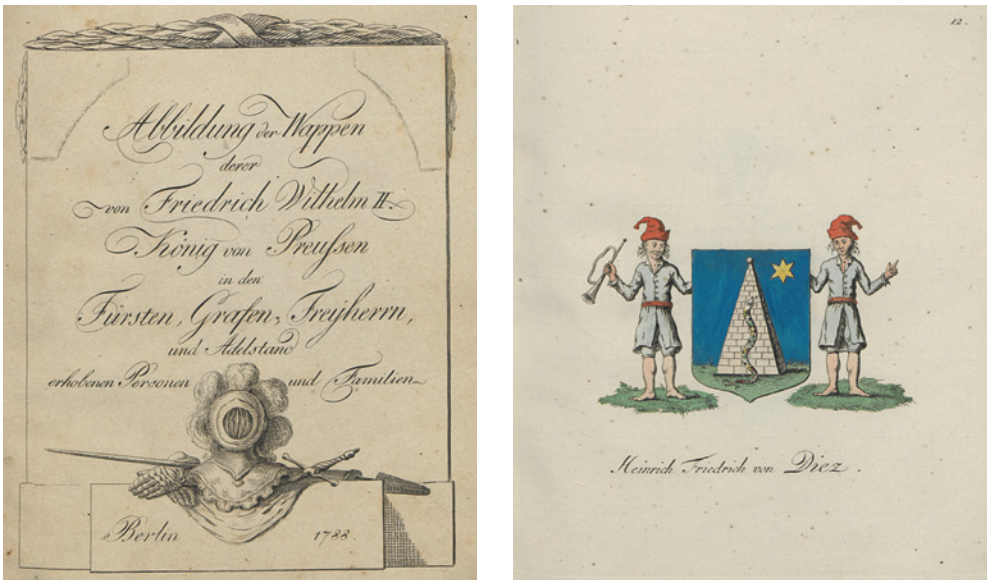


FIGURE 3.2 *Title page and heraldic device of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez. From* Abbildung der Wappen derer von Friedrich Wilhelm II König von Preussen in den Fürsten, Grafen, Freyherrn und Adelstand erhobenen Personen und Familien (*Berlin, 1788*). SBB-PK, *Abteilung Historische Drucke, Sx400b*.

and Prussians on 31 January 1790. Because Diez accepted an Ottoman claim to the Crimea in the alliance without authorization from Berlin, he was removed from office and recalled.[9] Friedrich Wilhelm von Knobelsdorff (1752–1820) succeeded Diez in the post.

Upon his return from Constantinople in 1790, Diez purchased a small property in Philippsthal bei Saarmund near Potsdam, where he was pensioned as a kind of private counsel for foreign affairs, and in 1798 he moved to Kolberg where he held the title of Prelate (*Prälat*). In 1807 he moved to Berlin and purchased a house with a beautiful park on Mühlenstraße, a street in the district of Stralauer Viertel that flanked the River Spree between the Oberbaum Bridge and the lumber market on Holzstraße (fig. 3.3). In rooms decorated and furnished in, respectively, the Turkish, Persian and Chinese manners, he entertained visitors, including the critic and philologist Friedrich August Wolf, and the renowned geographer, explorer, and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. At no. 59 Mühlenstraße, Diez lived as a bachelor with a servant and continued his scholarly endeavors surrounded by an impressive library of printed books and manuscripts, which continued to grow through new acquisitions. Having put these sources to good use, he was elected to the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1814. Diez's last project was to render an Ottoman Turkish translation of the Bible from a manuscript in the Leiden collection, but it remained uncompleted when he died in Berlin on 7 April 1817. In his will, Diez stipulated the conditions of his bequest to the Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin, which amounted to 856 bound "Oriental" and "Occidental" manuscripts, 17,000 printed books, and dissertations.[10] The gift included a coin collection – to be deposited in the Königliche Münzkabinett (now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) – and two portraits of Diez and Sultan Selim III. Collectively, the bequest was to be named the "Biblioteca Dieziana."[11] The portrait of

9 For a description of Diez's diplomatic career, see Karl Pröhl, *Die Bedeutung preussischer Politik in den Phasen der orientalischen Frage: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung deutsch-türkischer Beziehungen von 1606 bis 1871*, Frankfurt am Main 1986, pp. 145–55.

10 The manuscripts were recorded in Diez's unpublished catalogue, *Verzeichnis der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Cat. A 478b), which lists 421 Oriental and 414 Occidental titles. The catalogue is now available online through the Digitalisierte Sammlungen of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

11 For these and further details of Diez's life, see Franz Babinger, "Ein orientalistischer Berater Goethes: Heinrich Friedrich von Diez", *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 34 (1913), pp. 83–100; Curt Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis in der preussischen Staatsbibliothek", in *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken*, ed. Gustav Abb, Berlin 1928, pp. 187–200; Johann Albrecht Freiherr von Reiswitz, "Diez, Heinrich Friedrich von", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 25 vols, Berlin 1957, vol. III, p. 712; Voigts, *Frühe Schriften (1772–1784)*, especially pp. 458–61; and Johann Albrecht Freiherr von Reiswitz, "Heinrich Friedrich Diez (1751–1817): Kanzleydirektor, Freygeist und Freund der Juden", in *Aufklärung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Richard Faber and Brunhilde Wehinger, Würzburg 2010, pp. 175–96.

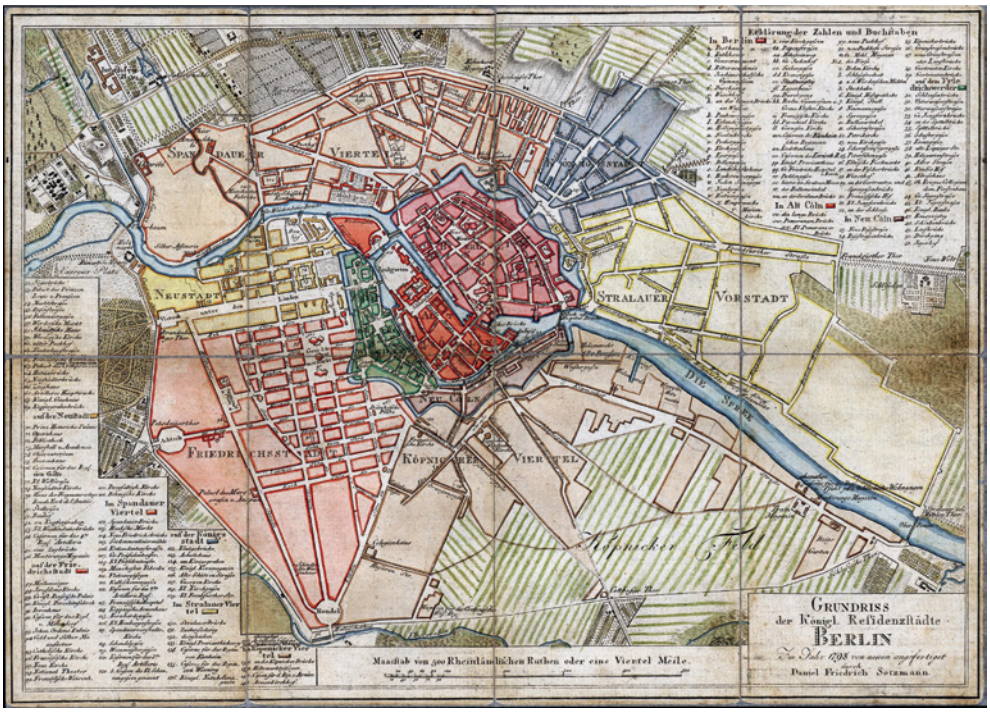


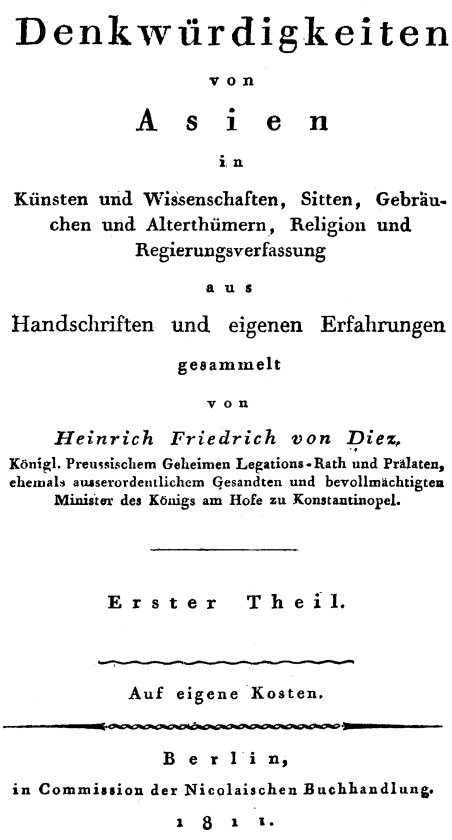
FIGURE 3.3 *Map of Berlin in 1798. From* Grundriss der Königl. Residenzstädte Berlin im Jahr 1798 von neuen angefertiget durch Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann. *Berlin, Zentral- und Landesbibliothek.*

Diez, executed in pastel in Berlin in 1791, is extant (fig. 3.1).[12]

Between his years in Constantinople and his death, Diez pursued his Orientalist studies with extraordinary energy. A string of books authored by Diez and mostly self-published appeared in 1811. These included monographs on the Ottoman poet Uvaysi, Ali Vasi Çelebi's *Humāyūnnāma* (a Turkish translation of the *Anvār-i suhaylī* [Lights of Canopus], completed before 1543), and Kaykavus b. Iskandar b. Qabus b. Washmgir b. al-Ziyar's *Qābūsnāma* (*c.* 1080) written for his son Gilan Shah, and the first volume of *Memorabilia of Asia*, an anthology of studies on diverse topics and texts drawn from his library (fig. 3.4).[13] In 1813, Diez published a work

12 An analysis of the bequest and conditions of the will are presented by Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis."

13 The publication details of these monographs are: *Ermahnung an Islambol: oder, Strafgedicht des türkischen Dichters Uweïssi über die Ausartung der Osmanen*, Berlin 1811; *Über Inhalt und Vortrag, Enstehung und Schicksale des königlichen Buchs, eines Werks von der Regierungskunst, als Ankündigung einer Uebersetzung nebst Probe aus dem Türkisch-Persisch-Arabischen des Waassi Aly Dschelebi*, Berlin 1811; *Buch des Kabus, oder, Lehren des persischen Königs Kjekjawus für seinen Sohn Ghilan Schach: Ein Werk für alle Zeitalter aus dem Türkish-Persisch-Arabischen*, Berlin 1811; and *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*. The first


Denkwürdigkeiten

von

Asien

in

Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung

aus

Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen

gesammelt

von

Heinrich Friedrich von Diez,

Königl. Preussischem Geheimen Legations-Rath und Prälaten, ehemals ausserordentlichem Gesandten und bevollmächtigten Minister des Königs am Hofe zu Konstantinopel.

Erster Theil.

Auf eigene Kosten.

Berlin,

in Commission der Nicolaischen Buchhandlung.

1811.

FIGURE 3.4 *Title page.* Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien. *Berlin 1811.*

on the history of the Ottoman and Russian conflict between 1768 and 1774 written by Ahmet Resmi Efendi, the first Ottoman ambassador at Berlin.[14] The second volume of the *Memorabilia of Asia* appeared in 1815.[15] Three other books were published in 1815, including his comparative philological and literary study of the Cyclops – the Depe Ghöz from the Oghuz epic and the Homeric Polyphemos – Shaykh Muhammad Lalezari's *Mīzān-ül-ezhār* (Balance of Flowers), a treatise on the cultivation of tulips composed during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), and *Nonsense and Deception*, the *ad hominem* critique of Hammer-Purgstall.[16] Diez was

volume of *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* comprises fourteen chapters under the following titles: 1. "Self-Knowledge of the Muslims"; 2. "Four Hundred Sayings of the First Four Caliphs"; 3. "The Power of Love by Jami"; 4. "Description of a Turkish Sea Atlas Manuscript"; 5. "Praiseworthy Monuments of the Greeks"; 6. "Customs of the Country"; 7. "Bible Exegesis"; 8. "The Art of War"; 9. "The Book of Oghuz"; 10. "The Kenite Dynasty before the Flood"; 11. "Questions of Law"; 12. "Selim I as Poet and Intellectual, as Sovereign and Man"; 13. "Stages of the Human Past"; and 14. "What is Man? From Kemal Pasha Zade."

14 Ahmet Resmi Efendi, *Wesentliche Betrachtungen, oder, Geschichte des Krieges zwischen den Osmanen und Russen in den Jahren 1768 bis 1774*, trans. and annotated by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, Halle 1813.

15 *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*. The volume comprises sixteen chapters under the following titles: 1. "On the Culture of Tulips and Narcissus in Turkey by Muhammad Lalezari"; 2. "The Book of Triumph by Buzurgmihr"; 3. "Sayings of the First Four Caliphs"; 4. "Principles of Rule of the Ottoman Ruler Murad I"; 5. "Mirror of the Lands, or Travel Narrative, of Admiral Katibi Rumi"; 6. "Counsels of the Sages"; 7. "The Book of Oghuz by Dede Korkut"; 8. "On the Ignorance of the Past by Fayzi"; 9. "Bible Exegesis"; 10. "Fatality by Hashimi"; 11. "Bayezid II and Selim I as Sovereigns and Men by Nishancı Mustafa Pasha"; 12. "The Topography of Constantinople by Zakariyya Efendi"; 13. "Principles of Eastern Chronologies by Haji Kalfa"; 14. "On the Newly Discovered Oghuz Cyclops Compared with the Homeric"; 15. "Proverbs of Muhammad"; and 16. "Miscellaneous News, Experiences, and Opinions."

16 *Der neuentdeckte oghuzische Cyklop verglichen mit dem Homerischen*, Halle 1815; *Vom Tulpen- und Narcissen-Bau in der Turkey aus dem Türkischen des Scheïch Muhammed*

not exaggerating when he wrote in the first volume of *Memorabilia of Asia* that he would have reproached himself if he "had buried the manuscripts that came into [his] possession, without reading and examining them"; and that "this [reading and study] happened in the hours of leisure, which [he] was able to find in twenty-seven years besides other occupations and studies."[17]

Through these publications Diez hoped to set a new standard for Orientalist research, offering critical analysis founded on the accurate translation and the systematic and comparative study of manuscripts held in public and private collections dispersed across Europe, Turkey, and the Near East. His preface, notes, and commentaries in the two-volume *Memorabilia of Asia* – which together comprise 794 pages – mention many earlier and contemporary scholars, travelers to the Orient, as well as European libraries and manuscript collections (in the Escorial, the Vatican, Paris, London, Oxford, Vienna, Berlin, Turin, Florence, Milan, and Leiden) and public libraries whose holdings presented

> such a large number of books that one wants to scream: What sense does it make to pile up so many thousand Oriental manuscripts in Europe, if those eager for knowledge are not informed of their content, and if there is a general lack of people who are able to read them! And they collect more and more without any scientific progress.[18]

Diez persists,

> It is even possible that in some libraries precious works are buried, which are lost or really rare even in the Orient, and it is more than possible that a thousand other good books remain unknown, which are of importance for the history, customs, tradition, and the mind. Then our libraries would be the graves of Oriental manuscripts, in the reverse sense of Antonio Peretz's saying that good books should be the graves [lit. "burial-places" (*Begräbnisse*)] of scholars, on which, similar to tombstones, their name is inscribed in unerasable fame.[19]

Lalézari, trans. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, Halle 1815; and *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit des H. v. Hammer zu Wien in Sprachen und Wissenschaften*, Halle 1815.

For the cyclops study, also see A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, 2 vols., London 1900, vol. II, p. 263; and Jan N. Bremmer, "Odysseus versus the Cyclops", in *Myth and Symbol I: Symbolic Phenomena in Ancient Greek Culture: Papers from the First International Symposium on Symbolism at the University of Tromsø, June 4–7, 1998*, ed. Synnøve des Bouvrie, Bergen 2002, pp. 135–52.

17 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. I, p. xvi.

18 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. xiv–xv.

19 Ibid. vol. I, pp. xv–xvi. Diez is referring to Antonio Pérez (1534–1611), secretary and statesman to King Philip II of Spain, best known for his *Relaciones de Antonio Perez secretario de estado, que fue, del rey de España don Phelippe II. deste nombre*, Paris 1598, which he composed in exile, and a volume of aphorisms, *Aphorismos de las cartas espanolas, y Latinas de Ant. Perez*, Paris 1600.

For Diez, the library in Paris was the only exception. Since 1787 it had published the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*,[20] which publicized materials from the library and offered excerpts from Oriental manuscripts translated by "knowledgeable men [...] proficient in languages." It was "[s]omething for which the scholarly world must be very grateful."[21]

Admitting that Turkish texts made up the largest portion of his personal library, Diez underscored the fundamental importance of Arabic and Persian literature – not only for its relation to, and utility in studying, Turkish languages – but in and of themselves. He advised, "If one wants to collect the old Arabic and Persian works, one has to search for them in Turkey."[22] Despite the loss of large numbers of manuscripts to fire, Diez counted thirty-five public libraries in Constantinople alone, with "no lack of others" in large cities of the "Turkish realm."[23] He added that during the time he had resided in Constantinople there were several Persians living there "who were sent only to buy up the works of older Persian poets and historians and bring them back to Persia where they had become rare"; some original Arabic and Persian works, especially shorter texts, existed "only in their Turkish translation after their originals were lost or at least were thought to be lost."[24] His publications would set an example and hopefully stimulate an increased, sustained interest that would end with the collective publication of Oriental literature "which is still so obscure to us"; he envisioned studies of individual works, augmented by information on the biographies of their authors and an understanding of the histories of the arts and sciences. Adding that "there are many other rarities about which something should be remarked," especially "Oriental coins, paintings, sea charts and cameos [lit. "cut stones" (*geschnittene Steine*), perhaps lapidary arts] about which I have many things to say," Diez opined,

> All these things mentioned must be put together and united in one place to represent a larger entity and to lead to greater purposes that, as I remarked above, have to be addressed in Oriental studies [*Kunde des Orients*] if it is to enrich our knowledge and not be reduced to a vain game [*eiteln Spielwerk*] and useless pastime [*nutzlosen Zeitvertreib*].[25]

In presenting a selection of important works of Oriental literature through the *Memorabilia of Asia* – which he projected as a series of volumes – Diez stressed the importance of references to the Classical Greek, Latin, and modern European traditions, which would indicate "through the difference of languages the points of unification and divergence of the human mind."[26]

20 The first volume was titled *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi, lûs au comité établi par sa majesté dans l'academie royale des inscriptions & belles-lettres*, Paris 1787. The series, with several changes to its title, continued until 1965.

21 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. I, p. xvi.

22 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. xx–xxii.

23 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxii.

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xix.

26 *Ibid.*

Diez's Albums: Assembly, Composition, Sequence

Curiously, despite several hundred pages of published research and thought, Diez hardly mentioned his treasure trove of paintings, drawings, calligraphies and prints, principally from Western Asia and spanning the Mongol through early modern periods arranged in five albums. He made only cursory references to his albums and illustrated manuscripts in the *Memorabilia of Asia*, his handwritten catalogue (*Verzeichnis der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek*), which enumerated the contents of his library, and his will.[27]

In the section devoted to the *Kitāb-i Baḥrīye* (Sea Atlas) of Piri Reis in the *Memorabilia of Asia*, he explains that before the death of the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid I (on 7 April 1789) the sea atlas had been entrusted, "probably as a picture book, with various illustrated Persian works, in which paintings were found [...] to the women's rooms to provide a source of recreation and conversation pieces."[28] At the accession of Selim III, he recalls:

> the old and young women had to leave and they moved into the old palace. They sought to make some money, and a eunuch who knew of my love of books informed me of this. This is how I obtained the atlas. There was no reason to be concerned about this because otherwise the atlas would have gone to the old palace, would have remained in the hands of the women, and would have become completely torn and ruined.[29]

Another reference to "paintings" and "sea charts" – mentioned above – occurs in the preface to the first volume of *Memorabilia of Asia* in the context of an enumeration of his collection as a totality to be "put together and united in one place."[30] Though he noted there that he had much to say about the unspecified "paintings" and "sea charts," it seems that he died before doing so. Diez also mentioned the *Kitāb-i Baḥrīye* in his handwritten library catalogue – a source discussed in Christoph Rauch's essay – where he listed it together with a manuscript of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) and "other Persian works" (*anderen persischen Werken*). Because of the direct association between the sea atlas and the *Shāhnāma*, Rauch favors an interpretation of the phrase "other Persian works" in the handwritten catalogue – and by extension the "various illustrated Persian works" in the *Memorabilia of Asia* – as a reference to illustrated manuscripts and, less likely, to albums.

Yet another statement about illustrated, pictorial materials occurs in Diez's will: "Together with the Eastern manuscripts given to the Royal Library there was a bequest made up of a small collection of Eastern paintings, primarily scenes from Firdawsi's Story of Kings or *Shāhnāma*."[31] By looking again at the will, Rauch discovered an omission by Curt Balcke, who

27 I discussed references in the *Memorabilia of Asia* and the will in my earlier essay. See Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", pp. 113–114.

28 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. I, p. 39.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxiii.

31 See Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 113.

had first published the text.[32] The passage immediately following the line "Firdawsi's Story of Kings or *Shāhnāma*," presumably referring back to the "small collection of Eastern paintings" of the preceding sentence, reads: "They are partially bound into three small folio-volumes, partially as loose pieces, most [of them] drawings and caricatures [lit. 'distorted pictures'], consolidated in a folder of a large folio format."[33] This passage is the clearest reference to the albums and, most importantly, indicates the different states of completion of the albums at the time the will was drafted. Some of the Eastern paintings comprising the collection were already bound, others held loose in a large folio.

Various forms of physical evidence have made it possible to identify certain albums in the Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, chiefly H. 2152 and B. 411, possibly also H. 2153, as the parent sources of the majority of paintings and drawings constituting Diez's albums.[34] The forms of diagnostic evidence included: methods of repairing and reformatting artworks for mounting in albums; signature rulings framing individual artworks and whole or partial original folios; and stylistic affinities between subsets of Diez's artworks and those still preserved in the Topkapı albums. Combined with a small sample of pre-conservation photography of the Diez albums, seals of the Königliche Bibliothek, watermarks on border papers datable to the 1780s and later (from Genoa or Palermo), and preserved bindings, Diez A fols. 70, 71 and 72 could be identified as a related group of albums of probable Turkish manufacture from the period of Diez's residence in Constantinople, possibly assembled as early as 1786, but more likely between Selim III's accession (after 7 April 1789) and Diez's departure from the city in 1790.[35]

Diez presumably acquired works from a variety of sources, including the palace, private collectors, and booksellers, and he also commissioned copies of specific historical manuscripts. When he returned to Germany in 1790, he carried the already formed albums Diez A fols. 70–72; a collection of manuscripts, some of which originated in the Inner Treasury (Enderun Hazinesi) of the Topkapı Palace (which had perhaps migrated from the Inner Treasury to the Has Oda [Treasury of the Privy Chamber], and thence to the Harem);[36] and a loose corpus of calligraphies, drawings, and whole-album folios, which were later assembled into albums Diez A fols. 73 and 74. Features of artworks mounted in Diez A fols. 73 and 74 indicate parent sources in Topkapı albums H. 2152 and B. 411, in addition to several eighteenth-century Ottoman, Qajar, Chinese, and European works. The bindings of Diez A fols. 73 and 74 suggest that they were manufactured in Europe. Indeed, the passage from the will that was omitted by Balcke but noted by Rauch strongly suggests that Diez A fols. 73–74 had not been

32 Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis." I was not able to locate either the manuscript version of the will or the printed transcription when I worked on my essay in 1993.

33 "Sie sind theils in drei kleinen Folio-Bänden geheftet, theils als lose Stücke, meist Zeichnungen und Zerrbilder, in einer Mappe von Gross Folio-Format zusammengelegt." For the reference, see Rauch's essay.

34 Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", pp. 114–123.

35 See the article by Julian Raby in this volume.

36 The Has Oda comprised objects selected for the sultan's personal use.

assembled as albums before Diez's death in 1817. Rauch proposes that they may not have been fashioned as albums until as late as 1838.

While the origins of the materials making up Diez's albums and the periods and places of the albums' assembly can be determined, the specific ways he acquired these works are not readily apparent. Did the eunuch arrange for Diez's direct access to materials in the women's care and allow him to make his own selection of manuscripts and album materials – if the latter were accessed at the same time as the *Kitāb-i Baḥrīye* – or did the women, or the eunuch, make the selections? Though it is possible that single artworks were removed from the parent album folios – as the frequent vacant spaces in the folios of Topkapı albums H. 2152 and H. 2153 suggest – the physical evidence of the Diez albums indicates that many materials were acquired as whole folios removed from albums. Pre-existing concentrations of related kinds of artworks arranged across runs of pre-eighteenth-century album folios could account for the subsets of materials that Diez acquired and may not be reflections of his personal taste (or the result of his cherry-picking what he liked best from what was made available to him). Diez could have been fully involved in the conception and configuration of the albums, or they may have owed their final form to the creative agency of the person who compiled them.

Reconstructing the folio sequences of Diez's four disassembled albums from pre-conservation photography – enhanced today by digitized complete microfilms not available to me in 1993 – reveals formal and thematic principles that governed their individual formation.[37] Diez A fol. 70 (13 folios, 461 × 347 mm) primarily contains manuscript paintings, one or two on each folio side, the majority oriented to be seen from a single viewing position (unless the internal orientation of the image precluded this). Most of the paintings are from the Mongol period and depict scenes of enthronement, war, and hunting, with the exception of two paintings, one Safavid (p. 12), and one Chinese (p. 15), portraying riders mounted on horses, and seven drawings concentrated over the last three pages (pp. 24–26). Occasionally, compositions of paired artworks suggest affinities in subject matter (pp. 1–2, 21–22); openings are conceived as comparative renderings of the same subject (pp. 21–22) (fig. 3.5); or various works arranged on an album opening structure a unified direction of action depicted in the images.

The same principles informed the arrangement of Diez A fol. 71 (34 folios, 352 × 267 mm), which is also made up predominantly of manuscript paintings from the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. The way a large number of them were originally formatted prevented unified orientation from a single viewing position and so they were mounted toward the gutter, to be seen by the rotation of the album 90 degrees clockwise or counterclockwise. Many folio sides were composed of multiple works arranged laterally in bands or to form grids (pp. 6, 7, 11, 18, 25–26, 28, 29–30, 31–32, 40, 41–42, 43–44, 45–46, 63, and 64). The same principle of thematic and/or stylistic affin-

37 See the Digitalisierte Sammlungen of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, "Diez-Album (Microfilm vor Restaurierung)", Hs. or. sim. 5363, 5364, and 5365.

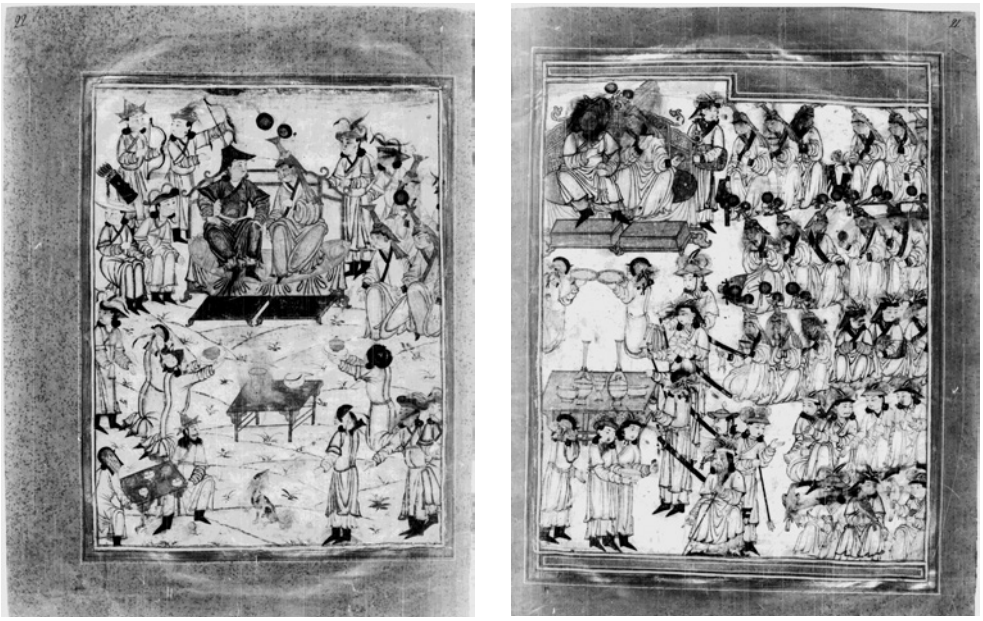


FIGURE 3.5 *Album opening. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, pp. 22–21.*

ity was applied to construct album openings of facing pages (*e.g.* pp. 13–14, 27–28, 29–30, 43–44, 47–48, 51–52, 53–54, and 59–60) (fig. 3.6). Like Diez A fol. 70, Diez A fol. 71 ended in a few pages of drawings, several of them large-format compositions (pp. 64–68).

The construction and arrangement of album Diez A fol. 72 (fifteen folios, 341 × 292 mm) exhibits many of the same principles as Diez A fols. 70 and 71, but begins with several pages of drawings from the late 1300s and 1400s (pp. 1–18); these are mounted as single works or as composites with occasional indications that factors other than size – chiefly content – guided their grouping (*e.g.* pp. 8, 12, and 13–14) (fig. 3.7). The last third of the album is made up of manuscript paintings from the Mongol and post-Mongol periods (pp. 19–30). Diez A fols. 70–72 share the same colored paper borders, multiple rulings around the inset composition, orange and pale blue rulings framing individual artworks, and colored papers used to fill the interstices between artworks or as framing borders.

Albums Diez A fol. 73 (sixteen one-sided sheets and twenty-one double-sided folios, 397 × 372 mm) and Diez A fol. 74 (twenty folios, 487 × 365 mm) were less labor-intensive, constructed from individual items attached to sheets of paper or from whole or partial album folios extracted from historical albums, all bound together: they have the feel of being left over, raw materials for what might have been configured into albums resembling Diez A fols. 70–72. Diez A fol. 73 contains drawings that depict diverse themes and date from the late 1300s through the 1400s, but the album opens with several Ottoman paintings, and one European and either one or two Chinese prints. Diez A fol. 74 is assembled predominantly of

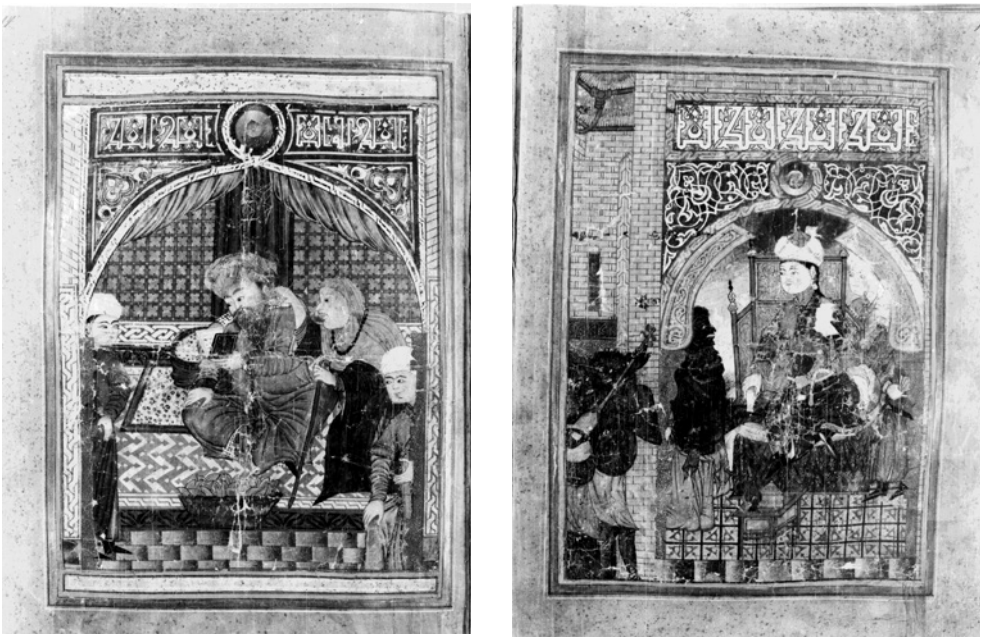


FIGURE 3.6 *Album opening. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, pp. 14–13.*

calligraphy.[38] In their manner of assembly, Diez A fols. 73–74 are not dissimilar from another album in the Diez bequest, namely Diez A fol. 58, which comprises printed, hand-colored, and sketch maps, topographic views, sea charts, and images of Turkish and British warships, mostly from the 1700s (figs. 3.8 and 3.9). Each of the seventeen individual items is attached to a strip of paper, the strips gathered together and attached to a pasteboard binding covered in flecked paper and trimmed with a light brown leather. Diez A fol. 58 was assembled before Diez's death, however, for it is listed in his handwritten catalogue. This predominantly cartographic album offered a practical and easy solution to the task of organizing loose materials of different original sizes and formats. Its expeditious mode of compilation was adopted in the posthumously compiled Diez A fols. 73 and 74. Perhaps this had been Diez's intention.

Altogether, Diez A fols. 70–72 – assembled during Diez's lifetime, with or without his oversight and involvement – differ in their effect and nature from the historical albums of Greater Iran because calligraphic materials were excluded from them. The same applies to materials possibly extracted from illustrated manuscripts: the paintings were cropped from their original text folios, a de-textualization that had probably occurred before Diez acquired them. Diez's albums privileged the image over any kind of textual relation they might once have had or illustrative function they might once have served. It is only Diez A fol. 74 that possessed a similarity to historical albums from Greater Iran, but this is simply

38 For a description of its contents, see Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", pp. 123–132.



FIGURE 3.7 *Album page with drawings grouped by shared subject matter.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 12.*

because many of its folios were unchanged (other than their borders being trimmed) and had been extracted from albums, and as a whole this album combined drawings with calligraphies. (The topic of calligraphy is addressed in the essay by Simon Rettig.) But like Diez A fol. 73, fol. 74 was likely compiled after Diez's death. The basic features governing the arrangement and internal division of the separate artworks assembled in Diez's albums Diez A fols. 70–72 were size, medium, subject matter,



FIGURE 3.8 *Qibla guide, dated [1]151 H. (1738–39), Constantinople, signed by al-ʿAbd al-Faqir al-Mubarur al-Mukhtariʿ, from an* Album with Maps. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 58, fol. 10r.*

and style. These offer the clearest evidence of an organizing system, whether Diez's or that of the person who was responsible for compiling his albums.[39]

Diez's Collections: Reminiscences of Asia

Apart from the reference to the "'Sea Atlas' and various illustrated Persian works" in *Memorabilia of Asia*, Diez makes only a few other allusions to the topic of the visual arts and collecting, and to the social and cultural norms associated with these

39 The nature and scope of evidence for other contemporary contexts has permitted more complex investigations of agency in the making of albums and of how knowledge was constituted and disseminated through additional forms of hand-made and printed objects. For example, see Chanchal Dadlani, "The 'Palais Indiens' Collection of 1774: Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth-Century India", *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), pp. 175–197; and Chanchal Dadlani, "Transporting India: The *Gentil Album* and Mughal Manuscript Culture", *Art History* 38 (2015), pp. 748–61.

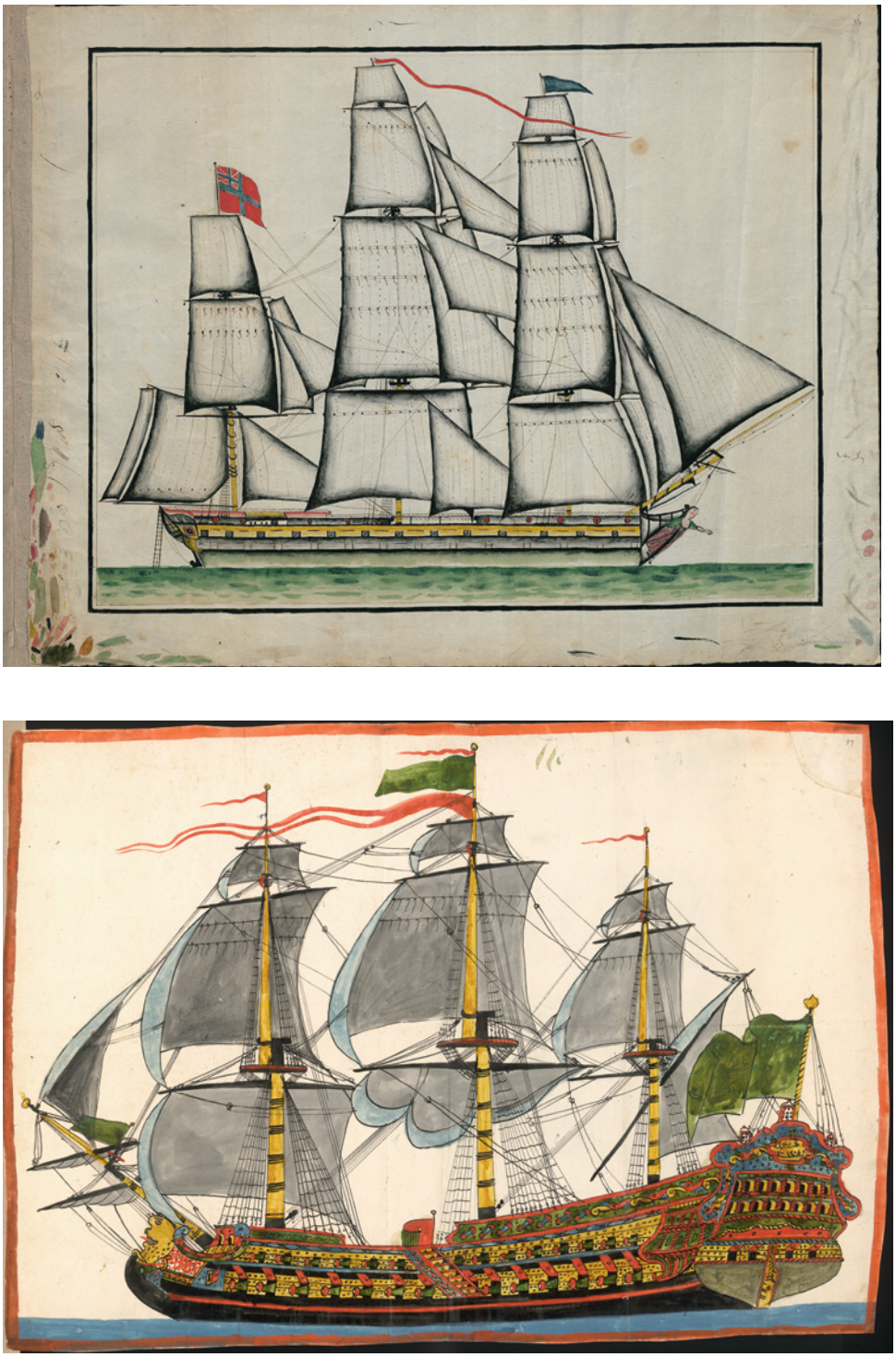


FIGURE 3.9 *Paintings of Turkish and British warships, eighteenth century, from an* Album with Maps. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 58, fols. 16r and 17r.*

practices in Europe and the Ottoman lands. The most complete statement on this subject is in the section titled "Customs of the Country," where he writes:

> Europeans were often surprised to find the living rooms of noble Ottomans so devoid of furniture, that there was nothing to see except for carpets and couches. And when one perceived that during their meals just as little splendor appears, except for portable small round and low tables covered with leather, except for metal bowls and dishes – at the most a few pieces of china – and apart from wooden spoons, neither gold or silver ornaments are set: so one could judge that the people neither know the fine arts or comforts of life or know how to use their money. Yes, when one has finally realized that there is a lack of expensive amusements, that nothing is spent on theatrical performance, operas, balls, and concerts, that card games and all gambling are forbidden and regarded as nefarious, that one does not hear of wine drinking and public feasts, that no collections of coins, minerals, paintings, engravings, anatomical specimens, plants, works of art, and such like are compiled, that one does not ruin oneself with mistresses and that in general the second gender does not contribute to public expenditure and pleasure because it is not allowed to appear in public, then not only the common notion of the lack of culture, humanity and liberality has slipped out of one's mouth, but one has also persuaded oneself that the people are devoted to only the lowest avarice, not devising for more or thinking of more than piling up money. Such the European in the Orient is accustomed to evaluate everything inaccurately, because he applies himself and the customs of his country as a standard.[40]

Here, Diez prepares the way for an objective assessment of cultural difference, specifically which forms were assigned value in distinct societies, by pointing out the risk of using one's own culture as a "standard" (lit. "yardstick" [*Maassstabe*]). He sets up a broad distinction between the historical practices of European collecting and collections – as well as the culture of the domestic and public spaces – and those in Ottoman lands before using the stereotype as a foil. The passage prefaces two inventories of the personal property of the sixteenth-century grand viziers Rustem Pasha and Sinan Pasha, which Diez presented to contradict European perceptions of the lack of expenditure on luxury items. The large manuscript holdings, opulent objects of various precious materials, sometimes gold and silver encrusted with jewels, and woven textiles and carpets enumerated in the inventories established how much the Ottomans valued the fine arts.[41]

Elsewhere, Diez addresses coin collections, one of which he himself had assembled:

> There is no public collection of Oriental coins in Constantinople. In my time, I only knew a certain Jazidschi Achmed Efendi, former

40 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. 1, pp. 92–93.

41 For the inventories in Ottoman Turkish and in German translation, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 97–105.

> Pasha of "the two horse tails" [*von zwey Rossschweifen*], who had compiled a coin collection for himself. I was also told about one Hassib Efendi as the owner of a similar collection. Neither man prepared a description of their collection, and after their death they were requisitioned for the public treasury and melted down in the mint.[42]

Diez's comments should not be taken as a negative judgment on the fate of numismatic collections in Ottoman lands *per se*. He certainly laments the double loss, first when the coins were smelted down to be made into bullion, and then when no written record was kept preserving information about such historical collections. This was a point that he made elsewhere in his writings. In an expanded discussion of the inventories of the Ottoman grand viziers he noted the many manuscripts he had acquired from the booksellers' markets in Constantinople but nevertheless expressed the wish that such free-floating inventory – books sold and acquired in repeating cycles of commodification and decommodification – be locked up inside the walls of libraries in Berlin or Vienna so that the public could study them and make new discoveries.[43] He regretted both the loss and the movement of objects of diverse media that might be useful as sources of historical study and cultural understanding.

One direct reference to Ottoman art concerned a certain Idris Bey,

> a rich man [...] a very skillful painter, especially of boxes. He also possessed the exquisite skill of cutting out all kinds of shapes of small flowers, plants, and trees. He cut out these little figurines from paper with scissors. He did this only for pleasure and gave away the figurines glued on paper, signed with his name, as gifts to friends and acquaintances. I own one of these specimens.[44]

Other opportunities to talk about the visual arts might have stemmed from philological inquiries related to literature and literary practice. These include his excursus on the etymology of the Arabic *jamaʿa*, which he relates to the Latin *colligere* ("to gather, collect") and *congregare* ("to congregate"), and his discussion of the terms *ṣūrat* and *naqsh*, recognized as "form" (*Gestalt*) and "picture" (*Bild*), but treated only in relation to their meaning and usage in Ottoman poetry.[45]

While it might have been too early, in Diez's lifetime, for art historical approaches to the albums and illustrated manuscripts in his possession – a topic

42 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 472. The text continues: "The mentioned pasha had a special pleasure in taking apart pocket watches and putting them together again. I once found him during such an occupation, where a large table in front of him was covered with all sorts of small parts of watches."

43 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 879. The transit of objects and people between states of commodification and decommodification was first theorized by Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge 1986, pp. 64–94.

44 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 472. For a recent study of Ottoman decoupage, see Filiz Çağman, *Kat'ı: Cutout Paper Works and Artists in the Ottoman World*, ed. Selmin Kangal, Istanbul 2014.

45 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 785–86 and 940.

addressed in Rauch's essay in this volume – or simply an assessment of their aesthetic and technical merits, it is still reasonable to consider their place in the *collective* endeavor of Diez's Orientalist studies, avocations, and professional life. On the last, Diez's bequest of printed books, manuscripts, albums and coins, with portraits of Diez and Selim III, were to be set up as a permanent memorial and a foundation for future scholarship. Years before his gift to the Königliche Bibliothek, Diez lived out his life at no. 59 Mühlenstraße surrounded by an impressive library and the various things he had collected over the years – fitting accessories of his villa life. The aesthetic differences manifested by the things he had collected were apt parallels to the rooms he had decorated in the Chinese, Persian, and Turkish manners.[46] Several other categories of objects can be added to those materials given to the Königliche Bibliothek. Personal items not protected by his will and sold publicly in Berlin in 1818 are known from an auction catalogue.[47] While Diez is named as the primary former owner of these objects, the catalogue mentions unspecified "others"; because the listings do not indicate the specific source of individual objects, the catalogue cannot be used to reconstruct the shape and scope of other parts of Diez's collection and personal effects. But the categories are themselves instructive. The title page lists: "art and natural curiosities of different kinds, [such] as prints, paintings, drawings, antiques, weapons, mathematical and physical instruments, models, *objets d'art* in marble, alabaster, glass, meerschaum, Chinese and Turkish works, *naturalia* and so forth." Such types of object, considered both individually and as an organized set, were entirely normative for naturalist and antiquarian collectors of eighteenth-century Europe.[48] Diez alluded to this framework of collection – suggesting both private collectors and public institutions – in his preamble to the inventories of Ottoman grand viziers. Within this microcosm, the visual materials

46 *Turquerie* and *chinoiserie* were especially popular and widespread throughout Europe in the eighteenth century, the most conspicuous example close to Berlin being the Chinese House (Chinesisches Haus) of Frederick the Great's Sanssouci summer palace at Potsdam. For an introduction to the monuments and grounds, see Hans-Joachim Biersberg, *Schloss Sanssouci: die Sommerresidenz Friedrichs des Grossen*, Berlin 2005.

47 *Verzeichniss der von dem Königlichen Geheimen Legationsrathe und Prälaten Herrn von Diez und anderen hinterlassenen Kunst- und Naturmerkwurdigkeiten verschniedener Art, als Kupferstiche, Oelgemälde, Zeichnungen, Antiken, Pasten, mathemat. u. physikalische Instrumente, Modelle, Kunstgegenstände in Marmor, Alabaster, Glas, Meerschaum, chinesische und türkische Arbeiten, Naturalien u dergl. welche den 8ten Juni und folg. T. d. J. Vormittags um 11 uhr am Dönhofsplatze Nr. 36 durch den Königl. Auctionskommissarius Bratring gegen gleich bare Bezahlung in kling. Preuss. Cour. meistbietend versteigert werden sollen*, Berlin 1818. The catalogue is bound in the first volume of Diez's handwritten library catalogue (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Cat. A 464/30).

48 The best study of this mode of collecting remains Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. by Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, Cambridge 1990. Also see Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, la tulipe: Collections françaises au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1988.

assembled by Diez constituted the physical traces of Oriental cultures and were thus sources of great historical value.

It seems a truism today to observe that collecting is a process of self-fashioning and operated always, and simultaneously, as a construction and expression of social position.[49] Diez was no different than any other collector despite his numerous proclamations that simply accumulating material without studying it was a pointless, wasteful endeavor. On the plane of Diez as a person, there are other ways to think about the albums. Throughout his *Memorabilia of Asia* – through which he intended to reveal the "self-knowledge of Muslims" (*Selbsterkenntnis der Muhammedaner*) – he draws frequent parallels between his own activities as a statesman, gentleman, man of letters, bibliophile and coin collector, and those of Ottomans of comparable social status. Aside from the many texts that he translated and commented upon, the most direct physical evidence of this cultural confluence is suggested by the preservation of a letter that was written on his behalf in Constantinople (Diez A fol. 74, p. 19) and an engraving depicting the ambassador of Morocco visiting Vienna in 1783 (Diez A fol. 73, p. 3, no. 1). These are the most obviously self-reflexive artifacts preserved in the albums.[50] More generally the contents of the albums represent traces of history and serve collectively as a *lieu de mémoire*; they represent a gathering of objects that Diez not only associated with a time and place in his biography, but also understood as a portal to historical cultures, and hence were doubly reminiscent to Diez of a notional Orient whose contours were slowly becoming clearer through the steady expansion into the 1800s of resources, institutional collection and pedagogy, as well as scholarship. On the register of Diez's Orientalist study, it is plausible to view multiple points of relation between the albums' contents and his interest in literature on statecraft and the art of rule, evident in his publications about the *Qābūsnāma* and the *Humāyūnnāma*, and frequent allusions to the Arabic and Persian versions of the *Kalīla va Dimna* (Kalila and Dimna) penned by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and Abu al-Maʿali Nasrallah, respectively. It is not inconceivable that Diez might have considered some of the paintings mounted in the albums to be related to the *Kalīla va Dimna* (some are clear-cut examples, *e.g.* Diez A fol. 72, p. 6, no. 3). A still larger number related to kingship – a recurring theme of Diez's scholarship – through depictions of royal life in scenes of battle, enthronement, ceremony, and hunting, embodied particularly in the *Shāhnāma*, a manuscript that Diez singles out in his will. Numerous other paintings depicted narratives from the diverse genres of Arabic and Persian literary traditions, a cultural breadth that Diez sought to convey through the texts he selected for translation and commentary. In this way, the contents of Diez's albums can be understood as a potential resource – even if one untapped during his lifetime – for Orientalist research. Diez would be pleased to know that his work continues today.

49 The formative study of collecting practices through sociology is Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, London 1986.

50 See Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", pp. 120 and 124–125.

CHAPTER 4

The Oriental Manuscripts and Albums of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and the Perception of Persian Painting in His Time

Christoph Rauch

Introduction

In this article I will address the Oriental manuscript collection of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, which includes the five albums Diez A fols. 70–74. His books and manuscripts came into the Royal Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek, today the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) as a bequest in 1817. Whereas his outstanding library of about 17,000 printed books and his collection of more than 430 Occidental manuscripts has been dealt with in several publications over the last century,[1] his likewise important collection of Oriental manuscripts has never been examined thoroughly. In fact, Diez's 410[2] Oriental manuscripts doubled the number in Berlin at that time and can be regarded as a starting point for the further extensive acquisitions made during the nineteenth century.

First, I will outline some aspects of this collection regarding content, provenance, and circumstances of acquisition. In this context I discuss the acquiring of the collection by the Royal Library in Berlin and

* My thanks to the two co-editors of this volume, Julia Gonnella and Friederike Weis; and to Claus-Peter Haase. Without their continuous enthusiasm for the subject, this project (conference and exhibition) would never have been accomplished. I have profited very much from conversations with them as well as from comments on an earlier version of this article. I am also grateful to Robert Giel, curator at the Manuscript Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, for comments on a first draft of this article and for his help in deciphering some difficult passages of Diez's narrow handwriting.

1 Curt Balcke, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez und sein Vermächtnis in der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek", in *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken*, ed. Gustav Abb, Berlin 1928, pp. 187–200; Ursula Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1986 and vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1994 (*Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* NF 1, 1–3); *idem*, "Die Bibliothek Diez in der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek Berlin", *Marginalien: Zeitschrift für Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*, 53 (1974), pp. 10–29; Ines Kolbe, *Die Sammlung Diez in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Eine Analyse ihrer Aufstellung, Katalogisierung und Sichtbarkeit*, Berlin 2013 (unpublished master thesis, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin).

2 421 numbers of Oriental manuscripts are listed in Diez's *Verzeichniß* (see note 3). Twelve numbers, including the Diez albums, were added later to the catalogue, whereas fifteen numbers turned out to be printed books and thus are not part anymore of the manuscript collection. Eight books were already missing when the *Biblioteca Dieziana* was transferred to the Königliche Bibliothek in 1817. This brings the number of Oriental manuscripts in the segment "Diez A" to a total of 410 numbers today.

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its cataloguing history. Diez's personal manuscript catalogue, compiled soon after his return from the Golden Horn in 1790, already set a standard: although only a draft, it is an outstanding work with regard to coverage. Moreover, it provides evidence for the knowledge of Oriental manuscripts in the Western scholarly world at that time.[3]

With the Diez albums in mind, in a second step, it will be necessary to focus on what happened to those objects consisting exclusively of illustrations after their acquisition by the Royal Library. This will help us to better understand the long neglect of the Diez albums, also caused by the fact that they were not regarded as books. An important observation is that a fair part of the material, namely Diez A fols. 73 and 74, was not even bound into an album at all when it came into the Royal Library in 1817.

The last part of this essay will discuss Diez's perception of Islamic painting in order to understand whether the albums had any influence on his thoughts on Oriental cultures or not. As the artwork in the albums was widely disregarded in his catalogue and writings, one has to ask if there was any discourse on the quality and aesthetics of Persian painting among his contemporaries.

3 Diez, Heinrich Friedrich von, *Verzeichniß der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek*. SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 478b: The catalogue is accessible online: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000B0860000000.

Diez and Orientalism[4]

Heinrich Friedrich von Diez was born on 2 September 1751 in the Anhaltinian town of Bernburg. From 1769 onwards he studied law at the University of Halle and thereafter started a juridical career in Magdeburg.[5] As a young man he was a committed Freemason and from 1772 published some essays on social and political issues which show him to have been a typical representative of the *Sturm und Drang* era in Germany.[6] Bored by his administrative occupation and already interested in Oriental languages, Diez looked for a new challenge and was, in special circumstances,[7] selected by Frederick the Great (Friedrich II) as envoy in Constantinople, where he spent the years from 1784 to early 1790. His mission was a difficult one. After its defeat against Russia in 1774, the Sublime Porte had lost strategic influence and the Prussian government – represented by Diez – intended to dictate the conditions for a contract between the

4 On Diez's life and scholarly activities, see also the article by David J. Roxburgh in this volume.

5 A comprehensive biographical survey is Bernd Ulbrich, "'Der so wunderliche als treffliche Mann . . .': Das Lebenswerk des Heinrich Friedrich von Diez", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Anhaltinische Landeskunde* 11 (2002), pp. 117–139.

6 For this period of his life, see the new edition of Diez's early works and biographical essay compiled by Manfred Voigts: *Heinrich Friedrich Diez, Frühe Schriften*, Würzburg 2010.

7 When Diez arrived in Berlin for an audience with the king, he realized that he had to speak French with him, a language Diez knew little of. It was his fortune that the king was ill and Diez had to wait some weeks for the audience. In this period Diez learnt some French.

two Empires. After several years, Friedrich Wilhelm II – Friedrich II had died in 1786 – came to the conclusion that the self-confessed Turkophile Diez was not the right person for this task and withdrew him already in 1790.[8] From 1790 until his death in 1817 he lived the life of a retired scholar; he was provided with a decent pension and devoted himself to collecting and studying books. He first settled in Philippsthal, near Potsdam, in a countryside residence which still exists today, then moved to Kolberg in 1797, and finally returned to Stralau, close to Berlin, where he purchased a house with a beautiful garden on the shores of the river Spree. Among the visitors he received there were prominent Berlin scholars and celebrities like Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), and the later Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV (r. 1740–1761).

Diez was clearly one of the more impressive characters of his time and a scholar with encyclopaedic knowledge. Yet as an Orientalist, he might be long forgotten had he not been mentioned in Goethes *West-Östlicher Divan*[9] and had his huge and important library not survived. Nevertheless, his importance for the development of Oriental studies is beyond dispute and shall be discussed here briefly. Widely known is his correspondence with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), as is his polemic with Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1859).[10] Even if many aspects of his scholarly life are almost forgotten, his merits, especially for the development of Turkish studies, are noteworthy. Diez was the first to bring the *Kitāb-i Dede Qorqūd*, a Turkish national epic, to the attention of European scholars,[11] and his translation of the *Qābūsnāma*, a Persian mirror for princes, increased understanding of the Islamic civilisations at that time. His works, almost completely printed at his own expense, reflect his interest in the origins of Asian cultures, literatures, and politics, as well as everyday issues and ethics.

With regard to education, Diez did not come from a theological or philological

8 For his diplomatic career, see Karl Pröhl, *Die Bedeutung preußischer Politik in den Phasen der orientalischen Frage: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung deutsch-türkischer Beziehungen von 1606–1871*, Frankfurt a.M. 1986; Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, Sechster Theil. Umschwung des inneren Lebens des osmanischen Reiches und der orientalischen Politik während der Revolutionszeit, von dem Frieden zu Kutschuk-Kainardsche im Jahre 1774 bis zum Frieden mit Frankreich im Jahre 1802*, Gotha 1859, pp. 592–593.

9 Chapter "Von Diez" in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-Östlicher Divan*, Stuttgart 1819, pp. 510*ff*, begins with the statement: "Einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf mein Studium, den ich dankbar anerkenne, hatte der Prälat von Diez."

10 See Sabine Mangold, *Eine „weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft": die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Pallas Athene, Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 11), Stuttgart 2004, pp. 48–51; Katharina Mommsen, *Goethe und Diez: Quellenuntersuchungen zu Gedichten der Divan-Epoche*, Frankfurt a.M. 1995 (2nd ed.).

11 For Diez's contribution to Turkish studies, see Barbara Flemming, "Goethe und Diez im Jahre 1790", in *Turkologie für das 21. Jahrhundert: Herausforderungen zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Materialien der vierten Deutschen Turkologen-Konferenz Hamburg, 15.–18. März 1999*, ed. Hendrik Fenz and Petra Kappert, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 129–147, in particular pp. 140*ff*.

background. With the exception of Oriental languages that he had already studied in Magdeburg, he did not come into contact with Oriental culture before his stay in Constantinople. In his dispute with Hammer-Purgstall, he referred to himself as a "Lover of the Orient" and not as an "Orientalist"[12] – an attitude he shared with his opponent, whose *Fundgruben des Orients* had been published by a *Society of Enthusiasts*. Taken as a whole Diez was an amateur, a polymath, one still influenced by the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment. Despite his undoubted knowledge of Oriental cultures and languages, later generations regarded him rather as a person who did much to explain the Orient to the public than as an academic specialist.[13] In 1814 Diez became a member of the academy in Berlin (*Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften*).

On the other hand, Diez's importance for Oriental studies must not be overestimated and cannot be understood without a closer look at contemporary developments in German universities. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the emancipation of Oriental studies from theology and Biblical studies. Scholars like the famous Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791) in Göttingen, Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (1734–1815) in Rostock, and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) in Jena and Göttingen all held chairs in Oriental studies and were interested in Arabic and Arab culture. However, their research continued to be related primarily to Biblical or philological questions. Diez, in contrast, wrote on tulips, fables and cyclopses, thus treating a variety of cultural and historical aspects of Asia. A broad interest in various issues, including Oriental themes, was typical for the period of the Enlightenment. Although Diez tried to base his studies almost exclusively on original texts by Turks, Arabs, and Persians,[14] we must point that he remained outside the early academic Oriental studies tradition and cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the pioneer Arabist Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774) or Michaelis, Tychsen and Eichhorn.[15]

At the end of his life Diez became a devout Christian. As one of the directors of the Prussian Bible Society, he worked hard on his last big project, a Turkish edition of the Bible, based on a manuscript in Leiden. Although the work was well advanced and

12 In the introduction to his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Diez writes: "Ich habe mich zwar nie anders als blossen Liebhaber ansehen dürfen […]" (p. XVI) and "[…] der Schlüssel zu ihrem Geist und Herz ist ihre Schriften mit Liebe zu studieren." (p. XVII). Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt*, Berlin 1811. See also Mangold, *Eine weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft*, pp. 49–50.

13 Franz Babinger, "Der Einfluß von Hch. Frd. von Diezens ‚Buch des Kabus' und ‚Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien' auf Goethes ‚Westöstlichen Divan'", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 5 (1913), pp. 95 and 99.

14 See his introduction to the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, which is discussed in detail below.

15 For a history of early Oriental (Arabic) philology, see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955 and Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*, Cambridge 2009.

Arabic letters had been produced and sent to Berlin especially for that project, due to his illness and death in 1817, he was not able to complete what was, he said, his favourite work.[16]

Diez as a Collector

Diez's primary merit lies in his activities as a collector of books. His library of 17,000 volumes was that of a polymath who classified the titles in his catalogue according to the world's historical periods. It is one of the most important remaining private libraries in Germany from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Aside from books, Diez collected many other things. It is said that he had Oriental interiors in his house; he even furnished a Persian, Turkish, and Chinese room.[17] Only a few traces are left of this. His coins,[18] some Chinese wood-cuts and paintings,[19] maps and images[20] are, together with his albums, the remains of his collection of artefacts and curios, which was probably large. The file on the acquisition of the Diez collection by the Royal Library mentions the transfer of a piece of craftwork supposed to be from the Topkapı Palace to the Royal cabinet of curiosities.[21] The catalogue of an auction of some of his personal belongings in Berlin after his death gives an impression of what the educated and wealthy collected at that time, including engravings (portraits, *vedute*, and classic motives), rock samples, and technical devices.[22] The catalogue of the 1817 auction of the books of Oluf Gerhard Tychsen gives a similar impression of what an Orientalist collected beyond the field of books: seals, seashells with inscriptions,

16 Franz Babinger, "Ein orientalistischer Berater Goethes: Heinrich Friedrich von Diez", *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 34 (1913), pp. 83–100, here p. 98. The work was completed by Jean Daniel Kieffer (1767–1833) and published in Paris in 1819 (*Nouveau Testament: en turc*) and 1827 (*L'Ancien Testament: en turc*).

17 Ulbrich, "Das Lebenswerk", p. 130.

18 His coin collection today is part of the Münzkabinett (numismatic collection) of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

19 A set of five paper scrolls (Diez A fol. 75) has been catalogued by Walter Fuchs, *Chinesische und Mandjurische Handschriften und Seltene Drucke*, Wiesbaden 1966 (*VOHD* XII, 1). It is also accessible online at http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000D63E00000000.

20 Diez A fol. 58 contains several maps and illustrations he collected in Constantinople.

21 "[eine] kleine Kapsel, worin unter Marienglas, verschiedene, angeblich von Frauen aus dem Harem des Sultans künstlich nachgeahmte Pflanzen und Blumen befindlich sind." *Akten d. Preuß. Staatsbibliothek betr. Vermächtnisse*, vol. 1, f. 127, (SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Acta III F1).

22 *Verzeichniß der von dem Königl. Geheimen Legationsrathe und Prälaten Herrn von Diez und andern hinterlassenen Kunst- und Naturmerkwürdigkeiten verschiedener Art, als Kupferstiche, Oelgemälde, Zeichnungen, Antiken, Pasten, mathemat. u. physikalische Instrumente, Modelle, Kunstgegenstände in Marmor, Alabaster, Glas, Meerschaum, chinesische und türkische Arbeiten, Naturalien u dergl. welche den 8ten Juni und folg. T. d. J. Vormittags um 11 Uhr am Dönhofsplatze Nr. 36 durch den Königl. Auctionskommissarius Bratring gegen gleich baare Bezahlung in kling. Preuß. Cour. meistbietend versteigert werden sollen.* Berlin 1818. This auction catalogue is bound into the first volume of the catalogue of his library (SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 464/30). However, as the title already indicates, the objects in question did not come solely from Diez.

amulet-scrolls, and a Turkish tobacco-pouch are listed here, attached to the collection of Oriental manuscripts.[23]

Unfortunately, we only have limited information on Diez's activities on the book market in Constantinople. He never wrote an account of his time at the Bosporus and most of his personal notes were destroyed on his order after his death. Beside his manuscript catalogue, we find only very limited information in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*. Hence we have to turn to the accounts of his contemporaries to see what their experience in the book bazaars of Constantinople was. The Danish theologian Frederik Christian von Haven (1728–1763), who travelled with the German cartographer and the only surviving member of the famous Yemen expedition Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), headed to the book market shortly after arriving in Constantinople in 1760. Niebuhr's biographer, the Danish Orientalist Stig Rasmussen (b. 1944), reports that von Haven acquired his first thirty-six manuscripts there. But he behaved in Istanbul as if he were in a bookshop in Göttingen or Copenhagen and was soon expelled by the people in the bazaar after he was uncomplimentary about a book.[24] Von Haven noted in his travel diary that this experience in the book market made him ill and unfortunately prevented him from making further visits to the city.[25]

The scholar and traveller Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811)[26] also complained greatly about the book-dealers in Constantinople after arriving there in 1806. In his diary he gives an account of the several kinds of cheating by this guild.[27] Nevertheless, Seetzen – like von Haven – was not able to speak the vernacular. In contrast, according to his accounts, Joseph von Hammer's excursions to the book bazaar and his communication with book-dealers were part of his daily life in Constantinople.[28] Hammer and Seetzen met several times in Constantinople and

23 Anton Theodor Hartmann, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Olai Gerhardi Tychsen Celeberrimi nuper in Academia Rostochiensi Linguarr. Orientall. Professoris qua continentur Libri tam typis expressi, quam manuscripti Numi Orientales et occidentales* [...]*: Quorum Venditio fiet inde a Die IX. Aprilis Anni MDCCCXVII*, Rostock 1817.

Diez corresponded intensively with Tychsen and sent him his complete collection of more than 400 coins, for which Tychsen offered a description. However, after about two years all contact was broken off due to a dispute over a theological issue, not untypical for Diez. See Ramona French, *Oluf Gerhard Tychsen – ein deutscher Orientalist des 18. Jahrhunderts: eine Untersuchung seiner Korrespondenz als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orientalistik*, Rostock 1984 (*unpublished dissertation*), p. 42.

24 Introduction of Stig Rasmussen to Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Zürich 1997, p. 19.

25 Cited after Rasmussen in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 19–20.

26 Seetzen started his journey in 1802 – he was sent by Ernst II, Herzog of Sachsen-Gotha and Altenburg, in order to collect manuscripts and antiquities, and to do research. He was murdered in Yemen ten years later. His enormous manuscript collection is kept in Gotha.

27 Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthalts in Konstantinopel und der Reise nach Aleppo 1802–1803*, Hildesheim 2012, pp. 357–8.

28 Josef Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben 1774–1852*, Wien 1940, p. 88.

the latter profited from Hammer's experience. Hammer gave him the advice that he might get cheaper prices for books when he engaged agents at the book market and provided them with lists of requested titles, but that it would also be necessary to personally visit the bazaars in order to discover unexpected treasures.[29] Obviously, hostile reactions of locals were recorded in cases where Europeans asked for a manuscript of the Quran.[30]

It is difficult to reconstruct Diez's network or the contacts with brokers he established in Constantinople. As he had a good command of spoken Turkish, Diez most likely had close relations with locals. In his handwritten catalogue he hardly ever mentions dealers from the market and other locals by name. A certain number of copies was commissioned by Diez himself. The Shaykh of the Derwish Monastery in Galata, ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Üsküdari, who was addressed by Diez as his very good friend, organized the copying of several texts for him.[31] According to his catalogue, he also had excellent relations with the staff at the Sublime Porte and they copied important political documents for him.[32] Actually, about ten volumes from his collection contain documents, reports, and letters related to his diplomatic activities that Diez had decided to preserve.

Only in some cases did Diez mention prices in his catalogue. Sometimes he seems to attempt to justify the high amount of money he had spent. He paid 360 piastres for his illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma* (Diez A fol. 1); 200 for the similarly illustrated *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Diez A fol. 3); and 230 piastres for Nizami's *Khamsa* (Diez A fol. 7). According to Diez, illustrated manuscripts were rare and for that reason very expensive. He reported that he had met Persians who had been sent to Constantinople in order to obtain illuminated Persian manuscripts, because they wanted to reanimate the art of illumination in Iran itself.[33] However, the considerable number of precious works in his collection underlines Diez's appreciation of beautiful manuscripts.

A summary of Diez's acquisitions in Constantinople is not complete without his often-cited report on how he got hold of the Piri Reis atlas (*Kitāb-i Baḥrīye*, see Appendix 2, fig. 2) and other works. They were kept in the harem and not in the Palace library at that time. After the death of Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–1789), his nephew Selim III (r. 1789–1807) became his successor, causing a change of personnel in the inner harem of the palace. In this situation, Diez tells us, a eunuch hinted that he could acquire manuscripts from residents of the harem who were eager to raise some money before being removed to more remote areas of the Seraglio – this was a palace intrigue. Diez argued that by his acquisition he saved these objects from damage by residents of the harem. We should quote the complete reference from his *Denkwürdigkeiten*:

> Es scheinen auch die nachfolgenden Kaiser den Atlass zu ihrem Gebrauch an sich behalten zu haben,

29 Seetzen, *Tagebuch*, p. 87.

30 Seetzen, *Tagebuch*, p. 63.

31 For example, the manuscripts "Diez A oct. 11" and "Diez A oct. 109", which both contain mystical poems. Compare the respective entries in his handwritten catalogue.

32 This is "Diez A quart. 126".

33 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 4.

> bis er auf den Sultan Abdul Hamid gekommen, der im Jahre 1789 starb und den Atlass, vermuthlich als ein Bilderbuch, mit verschiedenen persischen Werken, worin sich Gemälde befunden, seinen Frauenzimmern überlassen hatte, um ihnen dadurch Zeitvertreibe und Gegenstände der Unterhaltung zu verschaffen. Als nun die alten oder jungen Damen nach der Thronbesteigung des Sultan Selims III. den kaiserlichen Pallast räumen und das sogenannte alte Serai beziehen mussten: so suchten sie alles zu Gelde zu machen, und da ich durch einen Verschnittenen, der meine Bücherliebe kannte, davon benachrichtigt ward: so gelang es mir, den Atlass an mich zu bringen. Ich durfte mir daraus um so weniger Bedenken machen, weil sonst doch dieser Atlass mit in den alten Pallast gewandert, mithin unter Frauenhänden geblieben und gänzlich zerrissen und verdorben worden seyn würde.[34]

The expression "verschiedene persische Werke, worin sich Gemälde befunden" has been hitherto interpreted as referring to parts of his albums. This idea is supported by the fact that the objects in question are closely related to H. 2152, H. 2153, and other albums from the Topkapı Palace Library.[35] The story of the acquisition of the atlas in his *Denkwürdigkeiten* is repeated in his handwritten catalogue, but here it differs in an important detail:

> So ergriff ich die Gelegenheit, neben dem Schahname und anderen persischen Werken zugleich den gegenwärtigen Atlaß für einen hohen Preis, der für Verschwendung gehalten werden könnte, wenn hier nicht die Seltenheit die Sache bei mir selbst gerechtfertigt hätte, an mich zu bringen.[36]

The phrase "dem Schahname und anderen persischen Werken" clearly identifies his *Shāhnāma* manuscript, copied in AH 1002 (1593) (Diez A fol. 1). David J. Roxburgh and others have already noted that some manuscripts had their origin in the Palace library, but that the *Shāhnāma* is explicitly mentioned in Diez's catalogue proves that he acquired it together with the atlas and did not buy it from the local book market. In this light, "verschiedene persische Werke, worin sich Gemälde befunden" in his *Denkwürdigkeiten* is not necessarily related to the albums but can rather mean any other valuable manuscript from one of the Ottoman libraries in Diez's collection.[37] One may still presume that Diez also acquired parts of his albums together with the *Kitāb-i Baḥrīye* or at a

34 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 39. See also the translation of this passage in David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136, here p. 113.

35 This is extensively discussed in Roxburgh, "Diez".

36 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, fols. 65v–66r.

37 The *Shāhnāma* (Diez A fol. 1) bears the seal of Sultan 'Uthman b. Mustafa (r. 1754–1756), but also the illustrated *Rawżat al-shuhadā'* (copied around 1600, Diez A fol. 5), with the seal of Mahmud b. Mustafa (r. 1730–1754), and the *Khamsa* of Nizami (Herat, about 1440–1450, Diez A fol. 7), with the seal of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), have a provenance in the libraries of Ottoman sovereigns.

later opportunity from servants of the harem, but the only reliable argument we have remains the close relationship of the content of the albums in Istanbul and Berlin. One could imagine that Diez complained about the high price for the *Kitāb-i Baḥrīye* and some other precious manuscripts not only in his catalogue but also to the harem's servant in person, who thereupon added material from the albums in order to satisfy Diez. We must admit that the removal of the paintings and drawings from the Topkapı albums and the transfer of these items from the Palace to Diez remain unclear as there is no direct link in any of the sources we know.[38] We are thus not able to verify the story of the acquisition of the atlas as presented by Diez at all. It is very likely that treasures from the Palace were in some cases also sold on the bazaars.[39] However, the only place where Diez mentions the albums at all is his will.[40]

Diez bought most of his Oriental manuscripts in Constantinople, but substantial parts – about a fourth of his collection – he acquired from private persons or at auctions after his return to Berlin:[41] some of his manuscripts are related to the so-called *Türkenbeute*.[42] Furthermore, in 1804 he obtained the complete collection of the forty-nine manuscripts of Henric Benzelius (1689–1758), Archbishop of Upsala.[43] Among this specific collection we find a beautiful Kufic parchment Quran

38 For a plausible attempt to reconstruct the sale of the albums and the persons involved see the contribution of Julian Raby in this volume.

39 See, for instance, the contribution of Lâle Uluç in this volume.

40 Balcke, "Vermächtnis", p. 193: "Mit den Morgenländischen Handschriften soll zugleich an die Königl. Bibliothek als Vermächtniss kommen eine kleine Sammlung morgenländischer Gemälde, größtentheils Scenen aus Firdusis Geschichte der Könige oder Schahname."

41 Auctions were an important source in an era when access to Oriental manuscripts in public or royal libraries was very restricted. Diez's catalogue as well as the many auction catalogues from that time give evidence of how many Oriental manuscripts already circulated between scholars and on the book market in Germany. The catalogue of Tychsen's library (already mentioned) lists about 100 Arabic manuscripts he owned, but he himself never traveled to remote places.

42 *Türkenbeute* is the expression for belongings looted from the Turkish army in the several wars between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe. Manuscripts with such a provenance appeared on the market from time to time. In Diez's collection for example a *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* from Liwayi (Diez A oct. 192) bears the inscription "Gott Lob! denn 6. Augusty 1685. Alls wir [...] bey Gran dem Türckischen Bluthund in die Flucht Geschlagen, Habe ich Unter andern auch dieses Buch inn Nachhauen bekommen [...]." For a complete transcription, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der Türkischen Handschriften*, p. 121*f.* Another manuscript (Diez A oct. 197) came from a Turkish prisoner in 1741.

43 Henric Benzelius travelled between 1712 and 1718 in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, where he acquired manuscripts. From April 1714 on he spent fifteen months in Constantinople. Diez A oct. 114, for example, on the inner side of its front cover contains the information that Benzelius acquired the manuscript in Pera in 1714. Benzelius handed the collection down to his nephew Lars Benzelstjerna (1719–1800), who was Bishop of Västerås. See Carolus Emanuel Aurivillius, *Recensio Codicum Manuscriptorum, ab Henrico Benzelio,* [...] *in Oriente collectorum, quos, Ejus post fata, in Bibliotheca sua instructissima servabat Laurentius Benzelstjerna*, Upsala 1802.

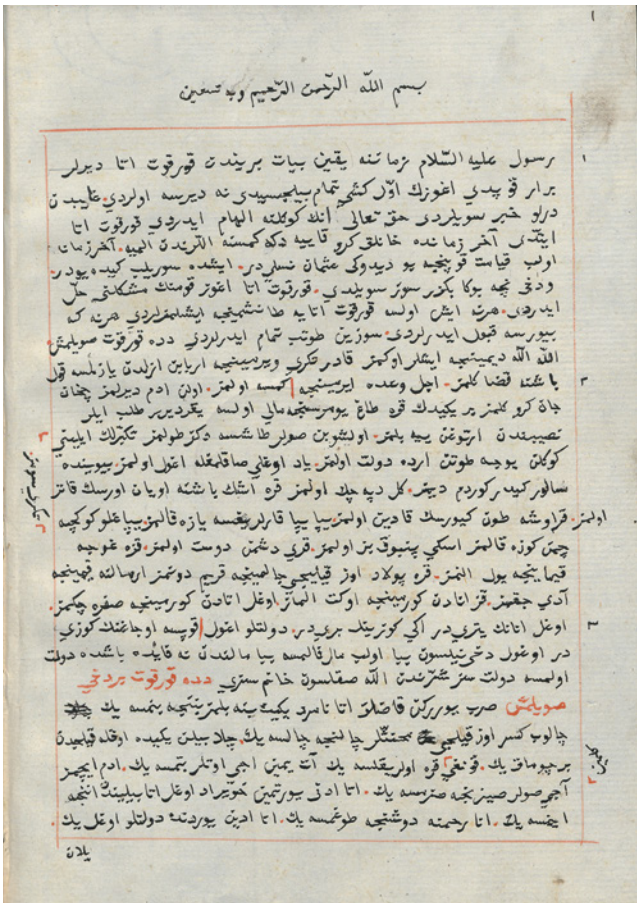


FIGURE 4.1
Diez's personal copy of the Dresden manuscript of Kitāb-i Dede Qorqūd , *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 61.*

and some Syriac and Coptic manuscripts. About half a dozen of his Turkish manuscripts he himself copied from sources in various German libraries (fig. 4.1).[44] Diez also struggled to get his hand on a copy of the *Thousand and One Nights*, as it was *en vogue* to have one, yet difficult to obtain. From his catalogue we learn[45] that – together with a copy of Qazwini's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* and the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri – he received three recently copied volumes of these famous Arabian tales from the Tunisian Jew Mordechai (Ibn al-Najjar) in Paris (fig. 4.2). The same Mordechai also sold a mysterious manuscript of the *Alf layla wa-layla* to the German Orientalist Maximilian Habicht (1775–1839), who edited the text in Breslau.[46]

44 Diez A fol. 61, Diez A quart. 132, Diez A oct. 180, Diez A oct. 181, Diez A oct. 127 and Diez A duodez. 12.

45 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 601 1.

46 The manuscript on which Habicht's edition (twelve volumes, printed in Breslau between 1825 and 1843, vols. 9–12 edited by Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer) was based, turned out to be a forgery. Habicht was a roommate of Mordechai when he lived in Paris to study

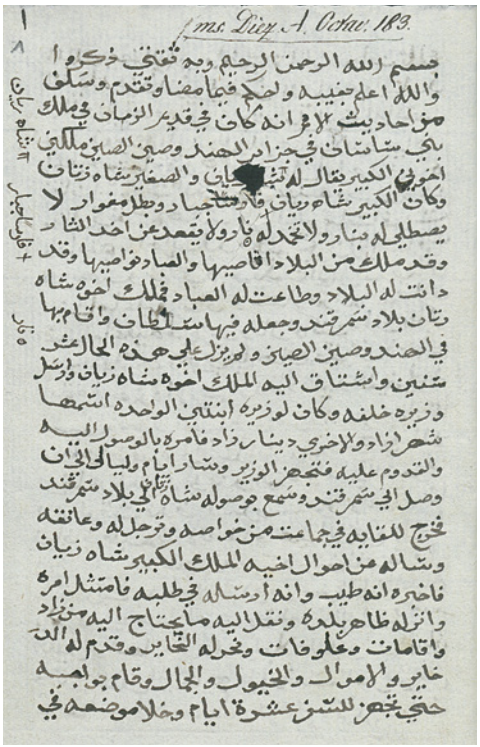


FIGURE 4.2 *First page of the* Alf layla wa-layla, *copied by the Tunisian Mordechai in Paris for Diez. The hole in the fifth line of the page goes through the complete book block and was caused by the spear of a French customs officer, as Diez notes in his* Verzeichniß *on p. 601; SBB-PK, Diez A oct. 183, fol. 1r.*

General Characteristics of Diez's Collection

Diez collected exclusively for the purpose of his research and not as a patron or with the intention to resell. His publications after his return to Germany are completely based on his own collection of Oriental manuscripts.[47] Bearing this in mind, his collection should be examined alongside his activities as a scholar. Of his 410 Oriental manuscripts, the majority are in Ottoman Turkish (about 250 volumes);

with de Sacy. See Robert Irwin, *The Arabian nights: a companion*, London 2004, (first ed. 1994), p. 21. An amusing account of a search for a copy of the famous tales by Hammer-Purgstall and a British traveller called Clarke in Cairo in the year 1801 is published in Josef Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben 1774–1852*, Wien and Leipzig 1940, pp. 111–12.

47 Books published by Diez related to Oriental studies and his collection: *Über Inhalt und Vortrag, Entstehung und Schicksale des königlichen Buchs, eines Werks von Regierungskunst, als Ankündigung einer Übersetzung nebst Probe aus dem Türkisch-Persisch-Arabischen des Waassi Aly Dschelebi* (Berlin 1811): based on analysis and partial translation of Diez A fols. 26 and 51, Diez A quart. 12 and Diez A oct. 35; *Ermahnung an Islambol oder Strafgedicht des türkischen Dichters Uweïssi über die Ausartung der Osmanen* (Berlin 1811), originally published in *Fundgruben des Orients* III; *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien: in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung* (Berlin 1811/1815). This publication, maybe a reaction to the "Fundgruben des Orients", contains several smaller studies, all from Diez himself; *Buch des Kabus oder Lehren des persischen Königs Kjekjawus für seinen Sohn Ghilan Schach: Ein Werk für alle Zeitalter* (Berlin 1811): translation and commentary on Diez A fol. 2; *Wesentliche Betrachtungen oder Geschichte des Krieges zwischen den Osmanen und Russen in den Jahren 1768 bis 1774 von Achmed Efendi* (Berlin 1813): based on a translation of Diez A quart. 30, a manuscript copied at Diez's behest from a copy in the house of the author; *Vom Tulpen- und Narcissen-Bau in der Türkey* (Halle/Berlin 1815): Diez A oct. 111 and Diez A quart. 52; *Der neuentdeckte oghuzische Cyklop verglichen mit dem homerischen* (Halle/Berlin 1815): Diez A fol. 61 is a copy made by Diez himself from the manuscript in Dresden.

other significant groups are in Arabic (about 100 volumes) and Persian (about 50 volumes). Some minor groups are in the Chagatai, Tatar, Syrian, Ethiopian, and Coptic languages. That the majority is in Turkish is striking especially in contrast to earlier collections brought from Constantinople, in which Arabic acquisitions dominated.[48] On the other hand, it corresponds to the collection of Seetzen, who acquired about 180 manuscripts in Constantinople, about sixty per cent of which were in Turkish.[49] The large share of Turkish works might also be evidence that they were better represented on the book market in the eighteenth century than was the case before. Further research is needed here. It can also be assumed that manuscripts in Turkish – being the language of the Ottoman threat to Europe – were not widely collected in earlier times. Not least we should keep in mind that among scholars Ottoman Turkish literature was considered inferior to and derivative of the Arabic and Persian heritage.[50] However, this was not Diez's opinion. He regarded Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as being equally important for the Oriental cultures and stated that many old Arabic or Persian works were only available in Turkey and had been lost elsewhere. Moreover, some works in question were only accessible in Turkish translations.[51] Diez even argued that the essence of a work like the fables of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* might improve through translations.[52] It is hard to say if

48 Compare the huge collection of Levinus Warner (1618–1665), who lived in Constantinople from 1645 until his death, in which Turkish texts seem to have formed less than ten per cent of the total. The collection was bequeathed to Leiden University Library. See Arnoud Vrolijk *et al.*, *Turcksche boucken: The Oriental collection of Levinus Warner, Dutch diplomat in seventeenth-century Istanbul*, Leiden 2012, p. 111. With regard to Diez we should keep in mind that only 300 of the 410 volumes were acquired in Turkey, making the proportion of Turkish works acquired in Constantinople even larger.

49 See Hans Stein, "Zur Geschichte und Erschließung der orientalischen Handschriften in Gotha", in *Orientalische Buchkunst in Gotha: Ausstellung zum 350jährigen Jubiläum der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha*, Gotha 1997, p. 27.

50 See for example Joseph von Hammer's introduction to his anthology *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweyhundert persischen Dichtern*, Vienna 1818, p. v. In contrast to Ottoman Turkish, Chagatai was by many scholars regarded as the authentic language of the old Turks and was therefore rather a subject for research.

51 "Wenn man daher die alten arabischen und persischen Werke sammeln will: so muss man sie in der Türkey suchen [...]" and "Zu dem allen kömmt noch, dass mehrere Werke, besonders kleinere Schriften der Araber und Perser, jezt nur noch in türkischen Uebersetzungen vorhanden sind, nachdem die Originale verloren gegangen oder wenigstens für verloren gehalten werden." Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, pp. XXII–XXIII. Here he again quotes his observation that Persians traveled to Constantinople in order to collect works by their poets which had been lost in their own country.

52 Diez argued on the assumption that the source of the *Humāyūnnāma* (the Turkish translation of the well known collection of fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna* resp. *Anvār-i Suḥaylī*) was a lost Pahlavī text. Although contemporaries of Diez had already discussed the authorship of the Indian Bidpai, he rejected an Indian connection for the work. Comparing several Arabic, Persian, and Turkish adaptations, amongst others those of

this fascinating perspective was mainly the product of his Turkophile attitude or if he really denied the common idea that the oldest known version of a text is the most authentic and the best. We have to acknowledge that Diez was first and foremost arguing as an enthusiast, not as a philologist.

Looking at the contents of his manuscripts, we can observe that the majority of the material belongs to the fields of literature (171 volumes of poetry and prose) and philology (74), followed by history and politics (59). The figures show that Diez was primarily interested in literature and language. We can also presume that the portion of Arabic manuscripts would have been larger if he had been more devoted to Islamic studies. However, his main focus was to understand the cultures through their respective languages and literatures. Religious issues, including Islamic law, were of minor interest to Diez.

The old literary sources of the Asian cultures, including proverbs, were his main interest. For this purpose he studied the old Turkish myths of *Dede Qorqud*, the *Humāyūnnāma* and the Persian *Shāhnāma*. Diez explains in his handwritten catalogue that his illuminated *Shāhnāma* manuscript was the most important in his catalogue because of its enormous significance for the history of Asia, going back through all the dynasties down to the first king, Gayumars.[53]

As Diez's collection was built along his research interests it is not surprising to find not only old, rare, and illuminated copies among his collection.[54] Most of his manuscripts were copied during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Diez probably acquired many of them unbound or with a damaged binding. Many of the volumes were (re)bound in Berlin, their fly leaves bearing a watermark with a heraldic eagle, the letter *R*, and the inscriptions *STOLPE* and *JGA 1796*, thus dating the process to the year 1796 or later. Sometimes the original binding was preserved. In his catalogue Diez added "Franzband" following the description of all the manuscripts (re)bound in that way.[55] The front covers of the manuscripts each bear a label with title and author, perhaps the work of his Turkish assistant who accompanied Diez from Constantinople back to Berlin.[56] Small flags with the same information written by Diez himself were stuck to the inner side of the boards. These flags are

Husayn Vaʿiz Kashifi (d. 1505) and the Turkish by ʿAli Celebi (d. 1544), he came to the conclusion: "[…] daß das pechlewische Original, wenn man es noch hätte, dem Werke des Aly Dschelebi wenig mehr gleichen würde. Es würde jedoch höchst lehrreich seyn, das erstere im leztern nachgelesen zu haben, um zu erkennen, wie es von den beyden Arabern, den beyden Persern und dem Osmanen im Zeitlauf von zwölf Jahrhunderten nach und nach verbessert und vervollkommnet worden […]." Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Über Inhalt und Vortrag, Entstehung und Schicksale des königlichen Buchs, eines Werks von Regierungskunst, als Ankündigung einer Übersetzung nebst Probe aus dem Türkisch-Persisch-Arabischen des Waassi Aly Dschelebi*, Berlin 1811, p. 105.

53 Compare the appendix to this article.

54 However, as we will see later, high prices might have been a natural barrier to further acquisitions of this kind.

55 See, for example, Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 105.

56 Only some cursory indications are given on the existence of that Turkish servant; see Balcke, "Diez und sein Vermächtnis", p. 189.

arranged in order to enable the titles to be read when the volumes were stored in a horizontal position (fig. 4.3).[57]

Diez's Handwritten Catalogue

We can understand the importance the Oriental manuscripts had for Diez from his introduction to the first volume of his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, an anthology in which Diez presents miscellanies on different Orient-related subjects based on the study of his own collection.[58] He denies the credibility of travel accounts and other secondary sources and points out that the original books of the Asians are the only reliable source for understanding their history and culture. Further he complains that European libraries and private collections accumulate huge numbers of manuscripts, yet nobody bothers to make their contents accessible to scholars interested.[59] Although Diez was basically right when he



FIGURE 4.3
Manuscripts from Diez's collection showing the tabs he inserted with title and author of the works. The label on the front cover was probably written by his Turkish servant or secretary.

57 In contrast to the procedure with his manuscripts, Diez wrote the title on the top edge of many of his printed books in his library.

58 With regard to the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, see also the contribution of David J. Roxburgh in this volume.

59 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, pp. XIII–XVII.

complained about the limited information he could find on important manuscript collections, nevertheless by the end of the eighteenth century some work in this field was being done. There was the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, which was published from 1787 onwards in Paris and in which Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) and others regularly presented detailed descriptions of Oriental manuscripts. Another important publication was *The Oriental Collections: Consisting of Original Essays and Dissertations, Translations and Miscellaneous Papers; Illustrating the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*, published in London in three volumes by William Ouseley (1767–1842) between 1797 and 1799. Its second volume included a first catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum. Works like these might have inspired Diez to produce a comprehensive catalogue of his own collection.[60]

He started to file his manuscripts in 1791, soon after his return from Constantinople. Perhaps "catalogue", though the standard translation of *Verzeichniß*, is not an adequate expression to describe this work, which is filled with much more extensive data. It assembles detailed information on the contents, the context, and the authors of the works, alongside translation examples and transcripts of texts, and also notes provenance issues. Diez also added many codicological details as well as remarks on the quality of paper, binding, calligraphy, and illumination. In a preamble to his catalogue, he introduces the characteristics of Oriental paper and ink at length. In a way he follows the concept later in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, mixing detailed descriptions of books and their content with reflections on the opinions of other scholars. The entire catalogue comprises more than 850 narrowly written folio pages, about 600 of them pertaining to Oriental manuscripts. The making of the catalogue occupied Diez for a long time. To his friend Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820) he wrote:

> Nachher habe ich ein räsonnierendes und ein kritisches Verzeichniß über meine 300 morgenländischen Handschriften und ein bloßes Nominal-Verzeichniß über meine 300 abendländischen Handschriften verfertigt und daraus ist wieder ein Foliant erwachsen, welcher mir mehr Mühe gemacht hat als alles, was ich jemals gemacht habe. Beide Werke sind aber so beschaffen, daß sie noch

60 The second half of the eighteenth century saw the birth of academic journals. Many journals like *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (Jena) or *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur* were published with the intention to inform readers about new publications, discoveries, and new trends in literature and the sciences. The journals made Oriental manuscripts of several libraries known, thereby compensating for the lack of catalogues. Many almanacs and journals, often short-lived, were published in Germany and Austria, Hammer-Purgstall's *Fundgruben des Orients* being only the most famous and successful example. These journals, especially the reviews and notes on manuscripts and books, are important sources for the history of Oriental studies.

> viele Nachträge zulaßen, die mit der Zeit erfolgen sollen . . . Ich bin aber vorjetzt der Arbeit müde.[61]

In his will Diez had explicitly forbidden the catalogue to be published because he had not been able to complete it.[62] In the same text he also denied that he had ever planned to publish it. This is quite surprising as he had put so much time and energy into this project. Essentially it was a source for his own studies and publications. He added five indices to the Oriental section of the catalogue, two at the beginning with names of the authors and titles of works (fig. 4.4), and three at the end, which comprised the Turkish and Persian poets and the Ottoman rulers. He very probably found it difficult to control his work the more details, corrections and amendments he added. For a better understanding of the characteristics of the catalogue, a complete transcription of the first entry, which is a description of the illustrated *Shāhnāma* manuscript, is added as an appendix to this article. Although Wilhelm Pertsch mentioned it as an important source for his own catalogues of Turkish and Persian manuscripts, published in 1889,[63] it seems that Diez's handwritten catalogue, at least its section on Oriental manuscripts, has been given the attention it deserves only in the present day and awaits further study.

Accession of the Manuscripts and Albums to the Royal Library

According to his will, the *Biblioteca Dieziana*, Diez's roughly 17,000 printed books and 836 manuscripts were given to the Royal Library in Berlin on the condition that the collection was kept together in perpetuity arranged according to his classification system, the five epochs of human civilisation.[64] His brother and nieces appealed against the will at the court in Berlin, because Diez had given a considerable amount of money to the poor in Berlin. The lawsuit was dismissed in 1824. However, creating a *fait accompli*, director Friedrich Wilken had immediately in 1817 transferred the books to the

61 Brief an Dohm aus Kolberg vom 8.10.1803, zitiert nach Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften*, vol. 2, p. 1.

62 Balcke, "Diez", p. 193.

63 His appreciation of Diez's catalogue found its expression in the words: "Von Vorarbeiten, welche ich habe benutzen können, ist vor allen Dingen der Katalog zu nennen, in welchem Diez seine eigenen Handschriften beschrieben hat. Dieser Katalog ist zwar etwas redselig, aber doch sehr gut, mit Fleiß, Gewissenhaftigkeit und Sachkenntnis gearbeitet." Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der türkischen Handschiften*, pp. IX–X. Before Pertsch was commissioned with the catalogue of Turkish manuscript, the Orientalist Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889) worked for many years on a catalogue, of which only a handwritten draft has survived. However, in 1870 he reported to the library director that there remained only to revise the catalogue of Diez in order to complete his work. See Christoph Rauch, "The 19th century cataloguing projects of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts at the Royal Library in Berlin", in *Proceedings of the Wetzstein Conference*, ed. Boris Liebrenz and Christoph Rauch, Leiden, forthcoming.

64 These five groups are formed by the Orientals (*Morgenländer*), the Greeks, the Romans, the authors of the Middle Ages, and the recent authors (*die Neuern*), see Balcke, "Diez", p. 195.

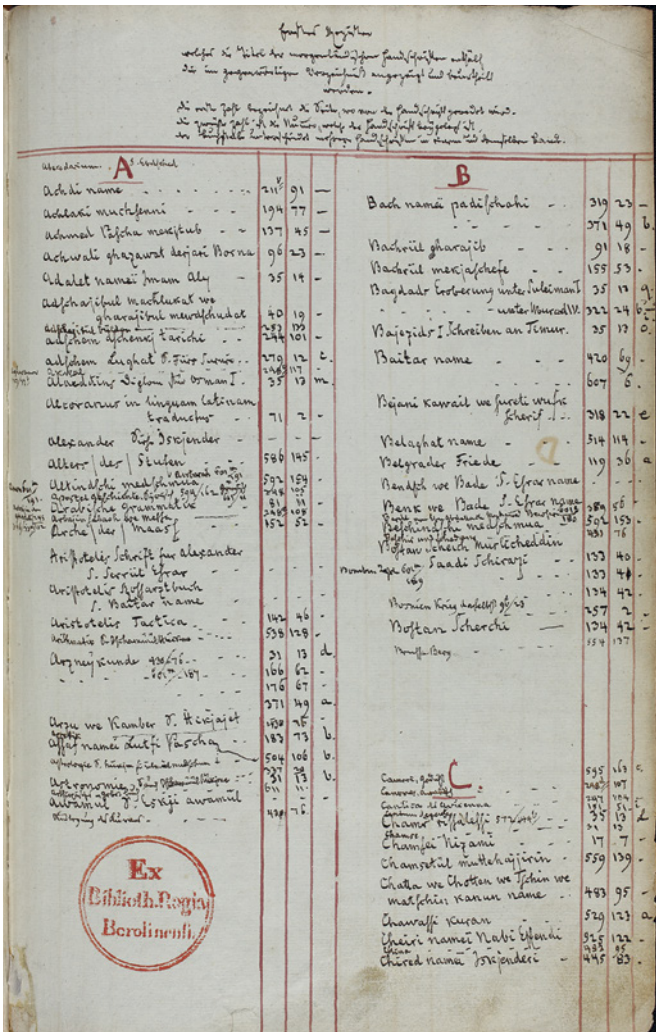


FIGURE 4.4
"Erstes Register welches die Titel der morgenländischen Handschriften enthält, die im gegenwärtigen Verzeichniß angezeigt und beurteilt werden," Diez, Verzeichniß der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften, *SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 478b, p. 3.*

Royal Library.[65] There the manuscripts were arranged in new mahogany book cases according to the classification in Diez's catalogue.

Diez had not described the albums in his catalogue because they were not regarded as books or manuscripts. However, he was well aware that they contained fragments of manuscripts because he mentioned them in his will, identifying them as illustrations from *Shāhnāma* manuscripts. It had been his deliberate decision to add them to the book collection. This decision

65 Friedrich Wilken (1777–1840) was a German Orientalist and director of the Royal Library in Berlin from 1817 until his death. See Eugen Paunel, *Die Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: ihre Geschichte und Organisation während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte seit ihrer Eröffnung; 1661–1871*, Berlin 1965, pp. 160–168 and 190–192.

prevented them from being sold after his death, as his other art objects were.[66] In his already extensively quoted will Diez not only mentioned them as *morgenländische Gemälde* (Oriental paintings), but also provided some information on the condition of the albums: "Sie sind theils in drei kleinen Folio-Bänden geheftet, theils als lose Stücke, meist Zeichnungen und Zerrbilder, in einer Mappe von Groß Folio-Format zusammengelegt."[67] This important passage was unfortunately omitted in Balckes transcription of Diez's will. As "lose Stücke [...] zusammengelegt" clearly implies something being filed together loosely and unbound, we can conclude that Diez A fols. 73 and 74 were bound only after their transfer to the Royal Library. Although this detail escaped the attention of David J. Roxburgh, who reconstructed the history of the albums in his pioneering *Muqarnas* article from 1995, it nevertheless supports his point that Diez A fols. 70–72 were already arranged as albums in Constantinople, probably by a bookbinder in the bazaar, and that the two remaining albums (Diez A fols. 73 and 74) were bound later in Berlin.[68] As Diez himself did not list them in his *Verzeichniß*, Friedrich Wilken likewise specified only up to shelf-mark Diez A fol. 65 in his handlist of 1818.[69] Since the paper used for flyleaves and as support for the objects seems to have been industrially made, we can even presume that the paintings were not fixed in place immediately after the material came to the library but more probably around 1838. In that year the registrar of the library, Carl Immanuel Kießling, created his inventory "*Codices manuscripti Dieziani. A. Codices manuscripti orientales*" (fig. 4.5).[70] He kept the numbering of Diez's handwritten catalogue and added, among other things, the albums Diez A fols. 70–72 (*Morgenländische Gemälde*), Diez A fol. 73 (*Eine Sammlung verschiedener morgenländischer Bilder, Zeichnungen*), Diez A fol. 74 (*Fragmente morgenländischer Handschriften*), and Diez A fol. 75 (*Fünf chinesische Gemälde*). Probably Kießling ordered the binding of Diez A fols. 73 and 74 and paginated the albums Diez A fols. 70–72, as the typeface is close to that of his inventory and differs from the pagination in the other two albums. As Diez A fol. 74 contains almost exclusively fragments of manuscripts and calligraphic specimen and Diez A fol. 73 almost exclusively images,[71] the concept behind the composition of Diez A fols. 73

66 Obviously his album with Ottoman costumes, which was later acquired by the British Museum, was not part of the library. See the contribution of Serpil Bağcı in this volume.

67 "Testament des Geheimen Legationsrats und Prälaten Heinrich Friedrich v. Diez" (copy), in *Akten d. Preuß. Staatsbibliothek betr. Vermächtnisse*, vol. 1, fol. 33. (SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Acta III F1). Compare Balcke, "Diez", p. 193.

68 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 122.

69 *Codices manuscripti Dieziani, I Codices manuscripti Orientales*. It is filed in *Alte Manuscripten Kataloge*, part 16 (SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 473).

70 This catalogue is part of the collection of handwritten manuscript catalogues of the Oriental Department and has the shelfmark Or. HB A 8.

71 With the only exception of one calligraphic object, Diez A fol. 73, p. 35 no. 1.

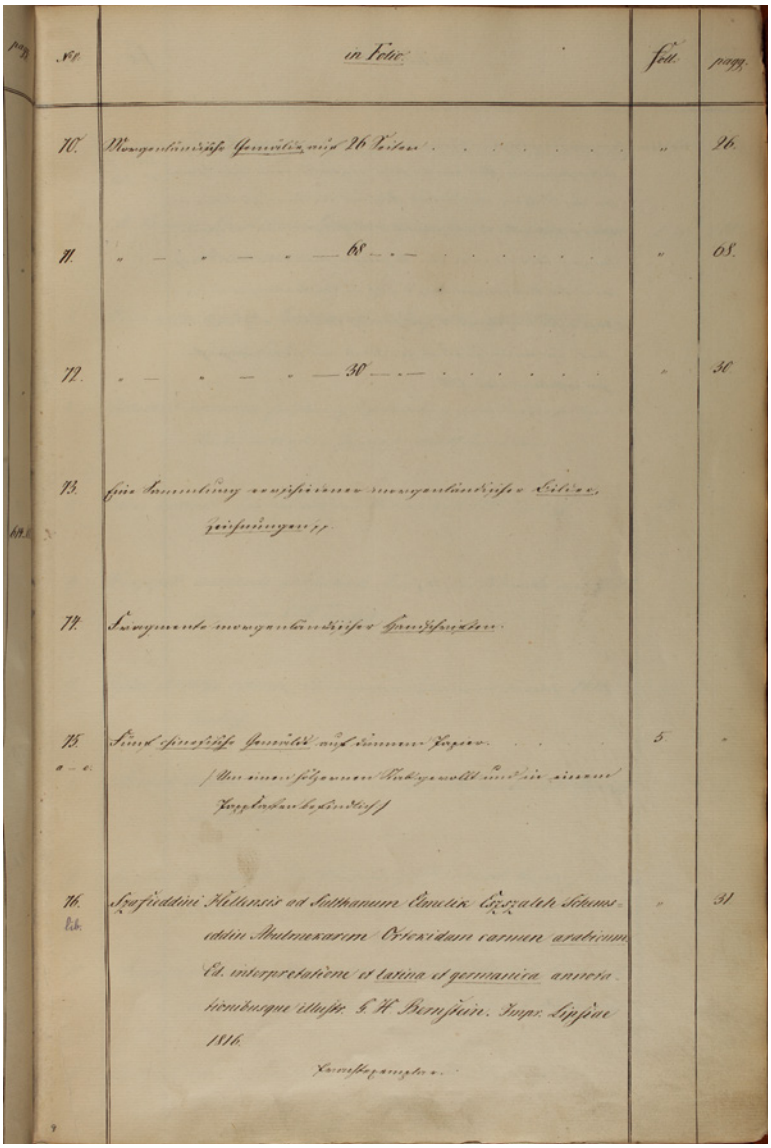


FIGURE 4.5 *Page from Kießling's manuscript catalogue from 1838, where the Diez albums were registered for the first time; Diez A fols. 73 and 74 are still without pagination.* (Codices manuscripti Dieziani. A. Codices manuscripti orientales, *fol. 9r.*)

and 74 was simply to distinguish between objects containing script and those without. At the same time, Kießling added the albums 70–73 and 75 to the library's catalogue for non-script material, the *Libri Picturati* (manuscripts containing only illustrations).[72]

72 *Libri Picturati* (Ms. Cat. A 504), fols. 4 and 5. Kießling writes at October 17th 1838: "Die in

Diez's Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Abyssinian, and Syriac manuscripts – nearly his whole collection – were included in the nineteenth century's published catalogues of the Royal Library.[73] To have a better understanding of what happened to the Diez albums we need to assess the library's attitude to illustrated manuscripts more generally.

The Awareness of Illustrated Persian Manuscripts in the Royal Library

Private collectors in England and elsewhere were already from the eighteenth century on interested in Indian and Persian miniatures.[74] What is of interest here is the libraries' perspective. The documentation of early purchases is often fragmentary. In Berlin the accession of manuscripts has been continuously recorded since 1828. As the Diez collection shows, illustrated manuscripts from the Islamic world were until this time a kind of "by-catch" at the Royal Library in Berlin. We have, for comparison, some information on intentional acquisitions, for example from the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, where a collection of illustrated manuscripts was acquired in 1677.[75] Beside several other important acquisitions, the library benefited later from the fine Hammer-Purgstall collection, which contained several illustrated masterpieces.[76] The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris acquired the collection of Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) in 1667, which included

dem vorliegenden Katalog verzeichneten [...] morgenländischen und chinesischen Gemälde sind in die betreffenden Kataloge der Königlichen Bibliothek, mit den nöthigen Hinweisungen auf den vorliegenden Katalog, ebenfalls eingertragen worden." Kießling, *Codices manuscripti Dieziani. A. Codices manuscripti orientales*, fol. 2.

73 Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 10 vol., Berlin 1887–1899, Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der türkischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin idem, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1888, Eduard Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, 2 vols., Berlin 1899, August Dillmann, *Verzeichniss der abessinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878. A catalogue including two Coptic manuscripts of the Diez collection is soon to be published in the series *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*.

74 There is no room here to cover the extensive field of collecting illustrated Persian and Indian manuscripts, especially for the many private collectors who were already active, for instance in England in the eighteenth century. For the private collections of Indian art in England, see Lucian Harris, *British Collecting of Indian Art and Artifacts in the 18th and early 19th Centuries*, Brighton 2002 (PhD thesis).

75 See Dorothea Duda, "Islamische Kunst und der Westen: am Beispiel Wien (14.–18. Jahrhundert)", in *Europa und die Kunst des Islam 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hermann Fillitz and Elisabeth Liskar, Vienna 1985 (Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte: Wien, 4.–10. September 1983), pp. 43–56, here p. 51.

76 This collection was partly acquired in 1848, and partly entered the library later based on a testation; see Kurt Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften in der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek", in *Kultur des Islam: Referate einer Vortragsreihe an der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 16.–18. Juni 1980*, ed. Otto Mazal, Vienna 1981, pp. 73–90.

several illustrated Persian volumes.[77] Of interest is the acquisition of the collection of Oriental manuscripts and albums from Richard Johnson (1753–1807) by the India Office Library in 1807. To get hold of the 64 albums with drawings and miniatures and 716 manuscripts, the library "departed from its original intention, of not going into any considerable expense in forming a Collection of Eastern Books".[78]

Perhaps stimulated by Diez's generous endowment, the library in Berlin too substantially enlarged its Oriental manuscript collection over the following years. The 205 Oriental manuscripts acquired in 1829 from the collection of Sir John MacGregor Murray (1745–1822) and the thirty-four manuscripts acquired in 1833 from the collection of Earl Waclaw Rzewuski (1784–1831) both included illustrated Persian manuscripts of outstanding quality. In 1844 the Prussian Prince Albrecht (1809–1872) donated a *Shāhnāma* manuscript to his brother, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, which entered the library with the shelfmark Ms. or. fol. 359. At the king's request, the curator in the Royal Library, Eduard Buschmann (1805–1880), a close associate and secretary to the Humboldt brothers, wrote a comprehensive treatise on this manuscript with interpretations of all its miniatures.[79] Alexander von Humboldt presented this treatise to the king and wrote in an accompanying letter that the manuscript was in better condition than that of Diez and that it would make a wonderful gift to the Royal Library.[80]

Several other illustrated Oriental treasures were purchased by the Royal Library in the course of the nineteenth century. I want to mention here only two of the most important. In 1861, twenty-five folios of the Jahangir album (Libri picturati A 117) were acquired for the library by Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) during the diplomatic mission of Freiherr Julius von Minutoli (1804–1860) to Teheran. The 1,000 reichsmarks paid in 1884 for the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw from a Moghul workshop (Ms. or. fol. 1278) was at that time the highest amount paid by the Royal Library for a single Oriental manuscript.[81]

77 See Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1997, pp. 224–5.

78 See A. J. Arberry, *The Library of the India Office*, London 1938, p. 37; and Ursula Sims-Williams, "'White Mughal' Richard Johnson and Mir Qamar al-Din Minnat", British Library blog 2014: http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2014/04/white-mughal-richard-johnson-and-mir-qamar-al-din-minnat.html. I am grateful to Ursula Sims-Williams for pointing me to this collection.

79 Eduard Buschmann, *Erläuterung einer prächtigen Handschrift des Schâh-nâmeh oder Königsbuches des Firdûsî, und vorzüglich der darin enthaltenen Bilder*, manuscript, 1844 (Ms. or. fol. 360).

80 "Ich glaube nicht, dass es in London od. Paris ein prächtigeres Exemplar giebt, als das von Prinz Albrecht mitgebrachte. Es hat ihm an 2000 Thaler gekostet und nach dem Preise, des sehr unvollständigen, von dem Gesandten Dietz gekauften Exemplares, ist es gewiss über 1600 r. werth. Ew. Kön[igliche] Majestät werden damit der Königl[ichen] Bibliothek, der ich nur etwas mehr Unverbrennbarkeit wünsche, ein köstliches Geschenk machen." Letter from Alexander von Humboldt to Friedrich Wilhelm IV of 23 February 1844. Berlin, GStA, 2.2.1. No 21336, fol. 95.

81 See Johann Klatt, "Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 7/5 (1890), pp. 177–196, here p. 185.

Illustrated Persian Manuscripts in Catalogues

It is generally assumed that the late discovery of the Diez albums was due to the ignorance of cataloguers like Wilhelm Pertsch and the general focus of scholars on texts alone. Their invisibility and neglect after their appropriation by the Royal Library and their unexpected reappearance in the Tübingen exhibition of 1956[82] has been emphasized by nearly everybody who mentions the albums. Oleg Grabar even asserted the Diez albums "were, so to speak, discovered at Tübingen by a soldier of the occupation forces."[83]

The indifference to illustration and illumination in the catalogues of the nineteenth century, however, applies generally to Western as well as to Oriental manuscripts. Whereas some cataloguers, like Wilhelm Ahlwardt in his *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften*,[84] almost completely ignore artistic elements, or, like Moritz Steinschneider in his *Verzeichniss der Hebräischen Handschriften*, describe them in a pejorative way,[85] Wilhelm Pertsch in his catalogues of Persian and Turkish manuscripts at least provides the reader with detailed descriptions of non-illustrative illuminations and gives folio numbers indicating where miniatures are placed. It is striking that in several German-language catalogues of the nineteenth century the terms "Miniatur" (miniature), "Bild" (image), and "Gemälde" (painting) were used synonymously in the same volume.[86] This clearly indicates that a consistent terminology had not yet been defined; however, illustrations did not totally escape the attention of cataloguers. A more important reason for the ignorance of the albums is that since the directorship of Friedrich Wilken, who initiated the rearrangement and inventory of the manuscripts, it has been common practice in the Royal Library to draw up separate inventories for those objects containing solely illustrations (see above).

82 The catalogue of the exhibition in Tübingen mentions Rudolf von Reibnitz as the person who rediscovered the albums. See *Persische Miniaturen und ihr Umkreis*, ed. Jörg Kraemer, Tübingen 1956, p. VIII. Rudolf von Reibnitz was curator of the manuscript collection at the University Library in Tübingen.

83 Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting*, Princeton 1999, p. 9 (originally published as *La peinture persane*, Paris 1999).

84 To mention an example here briefly: for most of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts that Ahlwardt described he did not mention the double page illustration of the Holy Places in Medina and Mecca. On the other hand, he does not fail to mention simple rulings and chapter headings of mediocre quality. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 3, pp. 425–6.

85 Moritz Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss der hebräischen Handschriften*, 2 vols., Berlin 1878 and 1897, vol. 2, p. 76: "An der Ausschmückung ist eine Mühe verschwendet worden, welche nur von der beispiellosen Geschmacklosigkeit übertroffen wird, die selbst bei einem deutschen Juden des XVIII. Jahrh. überrascht. Ganze Seiten enthalten nur scheussliche Figuren von Menschen, Tieren und anderen Gegenständen [...]."

86 See the catalogues of Joseph Aumer, Wilhelm Pertsch and Gustav Flügel (Joseph Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, Munich 1866; Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften*; Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols., 1865–67).

Neither Pertsch for the Persian and Turkish manuscripts nor Valentin Rose[87] for the Latin manuscripts included any objects from the *Libri Picturati* catalogues in their works. It was simply regarded as an autonomous section of material.

We have already seen that a certain interest in illustrated manuscripts had already arisen in the Royal Library during the nineteenth century. However, cataloguing projects for illustrated and illuminated manuscripts started, in Berlin as everywhere in Europe, if at all, not earlier than the turn of the twentieth century. As for Paris, Edgar Blochet published a first survey of illustrated Oriental manuscripts in 1898.[88] In the field of Medieval manuscripts the Austrians were the pioneers, and the detailed descriptions in the *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*,[89] started in 1905, became a model for other projects carried out later.

In 1926 a first volume of the new catalogue series *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen-Handschriften der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* was published, describing the miniatures and illuminations of more than 100 manuscripts from the collection of Thomas Phillipps. This project was initiated by the head of the Manuscript Department Hermann Degering (1866–1942), who became in charge in 1922 and was the first holder of this position to be interested in the artistic aspects of manuscripts.[90] The publication on the Jahangir album in 1924 shows that interest in publishing on illustrated manuscripts was developing, for Oriental and Occidental manuscripts alike, at roughly the same time.[91] A catalogue for the *Libri*

87 From its foundation in 1886 to 1905, Valentin Rose (1829–1916) was head of the Manuscript Department. For a history of the Manuscript collection, see Hans Lülfing, "Die Handschriftenabteilung", in *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek 1661–1961, Bd. 1 Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Horst Kunze *et al.*, Leipzig 1961, pp. 319–380.

88 Edgar Blochet, *Inventaire et Description des Miniatures des Manuscrits Orientaux Conserves a la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1900 (previously published in *Revue des Bibliothèques* 8 (1898–1900), followed by *idem*, *Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Catala Frères, 1910, and *idem*, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1914–1920.

89 *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, ed. Franz Wickhoff, Leipzig 1905–1938. Within that period 22 volumes have been published.

90 Under the custodianship of Degering a permanent exhibition was opened in 1925, the "Schausammlung der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek". In the introduction of the catalogue prepared for this occasion Degering wrote that book art (*Bildschmuck*) was a main criterion for the choice of Western as well as Oriental objects, and that the exhibition had already been planned for 1914 but that the execution was prevented by the political circumstances. With the exception of a Coptic evangeliary (Diez A fol. 40) no Diez manuscripts were included in that exhibition but several Persian and Moghul manuscripts represented Persian book art, such as Indian miniatures from the Libri Picturati collection (Libri pict. A 91) and a *Shāhnāma* from Shiraz (Ms. or. fol. 359). See Hermann Degering, *Katalog der Schausammlung der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek*, Berlin 1925.

91 Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien: aus dem Jahângîr-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1924. The Indian paintings were already very well represented in the first permanent exhibition of the Royal Library organized by the director

Picturati was planned but the work on this project was interrupted by the Second World War. The catalogue still remains unpublished. After the Oriental department was founded in 1919, it was from then on no longer the task of the Manuscript Department to catalogue Oriental works. The Diez albums, together with other Oriental manuscripts from the *Libri Picturati*, were transferred to the Oriental collection not earlier than 1932–1943, when Karl Christ (1878–1943) was head of the Manuscript Department. Christ decided to break up the collection group.[92] However, the big cataloguing projects of Oriental manuscripts had already ceased by the end of the nineteenth century and were restarted only with the long-term project *Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* in 1957. In the publication series (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*), Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu's catalogue of the albums Diez A fols. 70–73 was published in 1964.[93] Finally, in 2013 the book art module of the database "Orient-Digital" was launched; this contains the descriptions and digitized images of all Islamic miniatures in the Berlin collection, based on the information from the printed catalogues.

Early European Speculations on Islamic Calligraphy and Images

It remains unclear to what extent Heinrich Friedrich von Diez appreciated his albums and whether there is a closer connection between him and his five albums than just the provenance from his library.[94] On the one hand we already know that Diez, as an Orientalist of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, collected books and manuscripts primarily in order to satisfy his personal interest as a scholar, regardless of the appearance or decor of a manuscript. We might interpret Diez's illustrated manuscripts and artworks as the result of a pure passion for collecting which infected so many in the Baroque and Enlightenment periods. On the other hand, Diez's Oriental manuscript collection formed a substantial basis for the library's holdings of illustrated Islamic manuscripts and this could also suggest that he was a connoisseur of Islamic art. To find an answer to this question we must first ask whether the *pictorial* part of Diez's collection contributed anything to his understanding of Oriental cultures, and secondly if a somehow unprejudiced appreciation of Persian miniatures was at all possible for him and his contemporaries. Finally, to what extent did he pay attention to the ornaments, illuminations and illustrations of his manuscripts?

Research into the early history of Oriental studies is still fragmentary. Little

Georg Heinrich Pertz (1795–1876) in 1847. In his short catalogue four albums of Indian paintings – including the famous Jahangir album acquired in 1861 – are listed, but no illustrated Persian manuscript. The permanent exhibition (*Buch- und Schriftmuseum*) comprised more than 200 works and was probably the first permanent exhibition of that kind. See Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Die Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin in den Jahren 1842 bis 1867*, Berlin 1867, p. 31.

92 See Kolbe, *Die Sammlung Diez*, p. 27.

93 In addition, a catalogue of illustrated Islamic manuscripts of the Berlin collection by Ivan Stchoukine was published in 1971.

94 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 112.

or no study has yet been done on the perception of Islamic art or calligraphy in Germany in the period before the famous Munich exhibition of 1910.[95] Accounts of Islamic ornaments and paintings were still very rare at the time of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez. Carsten Niebuhr was one of the first travellers who published a reproduction of a Kufic Quran leaf. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, in the first volume of his *Fundgruben des Orients*, presented an engraving of a calligraphic inscription in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna, which had its origin in a mosque in Hungary. Hammer stated that travellers had neglected Islamic epigraphy so far because Arabic inscriptions – although beautiful to look at – were difficult to read.[96] However, Jakob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834) had discussed the development of the different Arabic calligraphic scripts in a publication as early as 1780.[97] Furthermore, travellers had in their publications discussed the phenomenon of aniconism and the artistic achievements of the Orientals. One example is the Italian scholar and writer Giambattista Toderini (1728–1799), who reflected on the attitude towards paintings among the Ottomans and reports on Persian and Armenian artists portraying the sultans.[98] In Germany, an early discussion of the *Bilderverbot* is found in numismatic treatises. One of the pioneers in this field is the German Arabist Johann Jacob Reiske. He raises the question why Arabs and Turks, who are known for strictly conforming to Islamic law, minted coins with figurative motifs, whereas he does not know of any Persian coin with images. Assuming that the Persians loved pictures, this observation irritated Reiske.[99] Johann

95 For research on the Arabic script in Europe, see Claus-Peter Haase, "Arabisch für Nichtleser", in *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*, ed. Andrea Lermer and Avinoam Shalem, Leiden 2010, pp. 128*ff.* See also Eva-Maria Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt: die Münchner 'Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst' 1910 in Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, Frankfurt 2011.

96 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, "Türkische Innschrift einer Moschee", *Fundgruben des Orients* 1 (1809), p. 98 and plate 2. Hammer-Purgstall presented several contributions on Islamic art in his *Fundgruben* and must be regarded as one of the first scholars in the German-speaking world who cared about Islamic art and painting; see Annette Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit, London 2000, pp. 117–27, here pp. 117–8. Hammer was very much interested in Persian miniatures, as his private collection proves. He also ordered copies of miniatures from manuscripts in the Hofbibliothek, see Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p. 82.

97 Johann Georg Christian Adler, *Descriptio codicum quorundam Cuficorum partes Corani exhibentium in bibliotheca Regia Hafniensi et ex iisdem de scriptura Cufica Arabum observationes novae*, Altonae 1780.

98 Giambatista Toderini, "Critica disquisizione se le figure d'uomini, e d'animali sieno proibite dall'alcorano", in *idem*, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787, vol. 3, pp. 45–75.

99 Johann Jacob Reiske, "Briefe über das arabische Münzwesen von Johann Jacob Reiske mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen von Johann Gottfried Eichhorn", *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, 10 (1782), pp. 165–240 (part two of three), here

Gottfried Eichhorn, who edited Reiske's essay posthumously, remarked that in fact there are Persian coins with images, but still the question remained: how could Islamic believers, for whom the use of images was forbidden, mint coins with portraits?[100] Eichhorn's explanation for this was that, first, coins were minted by dynasties who adopted Islam only after they entered Islamic lands; secondly, he observed that all coins with images date to the epoch around the Crusades, suggesting that European influence was responsible for the phenomenon.

In France it was the traveller Jean Chardin (1643–1713) who reflected on Persian paintings in his travel account (see below),[101] while at about the same time in academic works like Barthélemy d'Herbelot's (1625–1695) *Bibliothèque Orientale*[102] or in Silvestre de Sacy's *Notices et extraits* this topic was totally ignored. Some Persian paintings or miniatures from the Qajar period were reproduced in Hammer's *Fundgruben des Orients*[103] and in the *Oriental collections* of William Ouseley.[104] It is interesting that Hammer as well as Ouseley briefly described the content of the paintings reproduced without discussing any aesthetic aspects; they were apparently only interested in their value as historical sources.

Probably one of the first accurate European reproductions of a Persian (or Ottoman) miniature is the "Assumption of Muhammad" from a sixteenth-century *Zübdet al-tavārīkh* in the *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, published 1787 in Paris by the French-Armenian Orientalist Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807). It was explicitly his intention to include this Oriental artwork into his *Tableau général* in order to illustrate the history of Muhammad in a more authentic manner than it was the case in all previous Western publications.[105] Being an Armenian born

pp. 166 and 167. See also Stefan Heidemann, "Die Entwicklung der Methoden in der Islamischen Numismatik im 18. Jahrhundert – War Johann Jacob Reiske ihr Begründer?", in: *Johann Jacob Reiske – Leben und Wirkung: Ein Leipziger Byzantinist und Begründer der Orientalistik im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein, Leipzig 2005, pp. 147–202.

100 Reiske, "Briefe", p. 186: "Wie konnten Bekenner des Islam, der den Gebrauch der Bilder untersagt, ihre Münzen mit Bildern versehen?"

101 Jean Chardin, *Voyages De Mr. Le Chevalier Chardin, En Perse, Et Autres Lieux De L'Orient, Tome 5: Contenant la Description des Sciences & des Arts liberaux des Persans*, Amsterdam 1740, pp. 310*ff.*

102 Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliotheque Orientale ou Dictionaire Universel: Contenant Generalement Tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient* [. . .], Paris 1697.

103 Josef von Hammer-Purgstall, "Probe einer Uebersetzung des Schahnahme", *Fundgruben des Orients* 3 (1813), pp. 57*ff.* and plate 1: "Simurg bringt den Zal dem Sam".

104 *The Oriental Collections: Consisting of Original Essays and Dissertations, Translations and Miscellaneous Papers; Illustrating the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*, 2 vols., London 1798, plate "Rustam and the White Giant" before p. 53. In a footnote on p. 53, Ouseley explains: "In compliance with the advice of several ingenious Orientalists, I shall occasionally diversify the pages of these Collections with copies of original Asiatick paintings."

105 See Alberto Saviello, *Imaginationen des Islam: Bildliche Darstellungen des Propheten Mohammed im westeuropäischen Buchdruck bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2015, pp. 259–268.



FIGURE 4.6 *The* Gulshān-i rāz *of Mahmud Shabisteri was highlighted by Diez for its beauty. It was copied in Persia in* AH *994 (1586).* SBB-PK, *Diez A oct. 3, fols. 25v/26r.*

in Constantinople he was obviously unprejudiced towards the different nature of Islamic visual art. Like the aforementioned Hammer and Ouseley he did not discuss aesthetic aspects of that image, even though it must have been a completely new experience for the beholder.

Diez's Statements on Persian Miniatures and Illumination

In order to examine Diez's attitude towards illustration and illumination, his own manuscript catalogue is of particular interest. The *Gulshān-i rāz* of Shabistari (Diez A oct. 3) is a small Persian anthology written on coloured paper and illuminated with two miniatures. In terms of its paper, it was, according to Diez, the rarest book among his manuscripts. In his catalogue he provides us with a detailed and rhapsodic description of the animals and plants in the margins of this manuscript and concludes: "Es ist das einzige Buch, was ich mit solchem Papier gesehen habe und wirklich viel schöner aussieht als man es beschreiben kann."[106]

106 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 258: "It is the only manuscript of that kind I have ever seen and it is even more beautiful than I can describe."

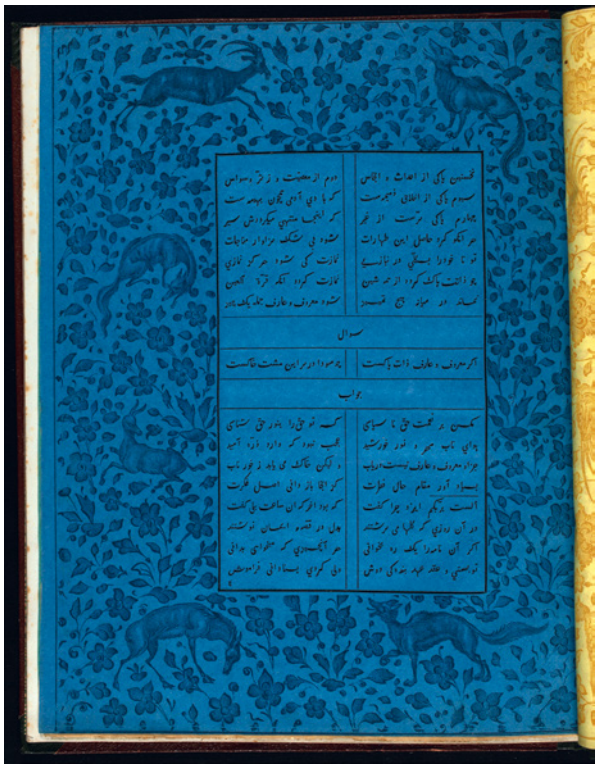


FIGURE 4.7
Diez's copy of the Gulshān-i rāz *became the model for the illumination of the margins in Hammer-Purgstall's edition of the work. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall,* Mahmud Schebisteri's Rosenflor des Geheimnisses, *Pesth and Leipzig 1838, p. [27], SBB-PK, 4 B 3942.*

Hammer-Purgstall used this manuscript as a model for the ornaments in his edition and the transliteration of this work in 1838 (figs. 4.6 and 4.7).[107]

With regard to illumination and illustration we find some more outstanding manuscripts in Diez's collection: a *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, copied in Shiraz at the end of the sixteenth century (Diez A fol. 3), a *Shāhnāma*-manuscript from the same period (Diez A fol. 1), and Nizami's *Khamsa*, copied in Herat in about 1450 (Diez A fol. 7). These three manuscripts belong to the finest pieces of art in the Berlin collection (fig. 4.8). In his *Verzeichniß*, Diez provides us with a detailed description of the ornamentation and composition of the pages and notices the bright and lively colours of the miniatures. As an example, I paraphrase here from the very comprehensive description of his *Shāhnāma* in order to make it clear that he had an eye for the aesthetic quality of the work in question.[108] Diez describes the content of the miniatures in a cursory way, saying that they were painted in bright colours, and that although the manuscript was copied 216 years ago the miniatures looked as

107 Mahmud Schebisteri, *Rosenflor des Geheimnisses: Persisch und Deutsch*, Pesth and Leipzig 1838.

108 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 4. For a complete transcription of the description, see the appendix to this paper.



FIGURE 4.8 *Nishapuri*, Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā', *SBB-PK*, *Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 3.*

fresh as if they had been painted in the present. Diez reflects on the observation of Mouradgea d'Ohsson, that *Shāhnāma* manuscripts may contain an irregular number of images and, above that, the scenes illustrated are not necessarily identical in different copies.[109] He also refers to the reproduction of *Shāhnāma* scenes in the Oriental collections.[110] It remains hard to understand why, after such an exhaustive discussion of illustrations in his *Shāhnāma* manuscripts, he never mentioned the numerous *Shāhnāma* illustrations in his albums at all. He also describes details of illumination, as the six colours of the borders, the coloration of the headpieces, as well as the ornaments of the binding (figs. 4.9 and 4.10).

109 Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau historique de l'Orient*, vol. 1, Paris 1804, pp. 3–4, n. 1: "Tous les exemplaires, persans et turcs, sont embellis de plusieurs dessins copiés des anciens manuscrits : ils représentent des batailles, des combats singuliers, des faits héroïques ; enfin, les événements les plus remarquables et les plus fabuleux de l'antiquité : ces dessins, en couleur et en or, ne laissent pas d'être curieux, quoique tracés par des pinceaux peu habiles, chez des peuples où la peinture et même le dessin sont encore dans l'enfance. Tous sont relatifs aux matières mêmes dont parle le Schahnamé, et chaque exemplaire en présente un certain nombre, 60, 70 ou 80, plus ou moins grands, selon le format du volume. Il faut parcourir divers de ces exemplaires pour y retrouver la collection complète, formée d'environ 150 dessins : c'est ce qui nous a engagé d'acquérir trois des exemplaires persans les plus riches, pour en donner les estampes avec l'analyse du Schahnamé."

110 Diez, *Verzeichniß*, p. 1.



FIGURE 4.9
Firdawsi, Shāhnāma, *Iran AH 1002 (1593)*, ʿUnvān, *SBB-PK, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 1, fol. 18v.*

However, the detailed description of this manuscript in his *Verzeichniß* gave Diez the opportunity for general reflection on painting and craftsmanship among the Persians on the following page, which I paraphrase and summarize here as well. The digression relies on a comparison between European and Persian art. He notices a superiority of the beauty of colours in Persian paintings. Apart from that, it was not possible to compare the Persian masters with European, because the Persians did not understand the art of drawing. They ignored the rules of perspective and the delicate rendering of light and shadow. Therefore they did not capture the inner nature of what they painted. He then cites the common opinion that, first, the religion of Islam bans the use of images, and, secondly, that the Persians did not continue their tradition in sculpture for many centuries and therefore also lost the technique of painting. But Diez disagrees with this and argues that the ban of images by the Islamic scholars cannot be used as a satisfactory justification for the fact that the Persians produce many bad paintings. Furthermore, he states



FIGURE 4.10
Firdawsi, Shāhnāma, *Iran AH 1002 (1593). The figure shows Rustam defeating the Khaqan of Chin, fol. 253v, SBB-PK, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 1.*

that the monuments and sculptures of the antique Persians were still visible in Persepolis, Kermanshah, and other places. The Persians only needed to be trained again in the technique of painting and drawing. He refers to Bihzad as the most famous Persian painter, and also to an Armenian painter called Rafael.[111]

These pejorative but well-thought-out statements on Persian painting and his enthusiastic description of the *Gulshān-i rāz* show that Diez was aesthetically receptive to splendid ornamentation and the beauty of colours in miniatures. However, he was unable to develop an appreciation for the artistic expression in miniature painting if it did not comply with Western concepts of tonal modelling and perspective. Even though he was eager to shed European prejudices and preoccupations, it seems that he was unable to cope with themes and concepts unknown to him when judging Persian manuscript

111 Mentioned by Toderini. See Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, p. 57.

illustrations. Diez's summary in his will of the drawings and sketches of what became Diez A fol. 73 as *Zeichnungen und Zerrbilder* (drawings and caricatures) supports this argument.[112]

Diez was not alone in this perception of Islamic miniature painting. The German Orientalist Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760–1834) was professor in Halle and the first to translate parts of the *Shāhnāma* into German.[113] He published a brief description of a *Dīvān* of Hafiz in the Berlin collection (Ms. or. fol. 108) and with regard to miniatures came to the same conclusions as Diez:

> Solcher Gemälde, die ich, ohne allzu weitläufig zu werden, nicht detaillieren kann, sind in dem ganzen Codex überhaupt sechs; […]. Die Vorstellungen haben Bezug auf den Inhalt dieser Oden, ob man gleich gestehen muß, daß es dem Mahler theils an Erfindungsgeist, theils an Schönheits- und Dichtergefühl gemangelt hat. Das lebhafte Kolorit ist an diesen Gemälden das beste, und man muß überdies eine gewisse Art von Verschwendung des Mühsamen und Künstlichen bewundern; das Übrige aber nuzt nicht. An Zeichnung, Perspektive, Vertheilung des Schattens und des Lichts, Draperie und was dergl. mehr ist, fehlt es ganz. Der Geschmack ist tatarisch, und hat bekanntlich viel Gleichheit mit dem Sinesischen und Japanischen.[114]

The reasoning of Wahl is so close to Diez's that one might conclude that the latter relied on Wahl. In fact it is more likely that both of them relied on Chardin's chapter "De la Peinture" in his *Voyages*.[115] Here we already find the same derogatory arguments on Persian drawing techniques of perspective, light, and shadow as well as considerations on antique Persian monuments and the reference to the Arabian scientist Ibn al-Haytham, whom Diez too mentions briefly.[116]

Compared to other Orientalists of the time, Diez was much more attentive to codicological and artistic aspects. Nevertheless, his ideas about Islamic paint-

112 Diez, *Testament*, fol. 33. It certainly would be useful to analyse this against the background of contemporary intellectual concepts of arts and aesthetics, such as the writings of Friedrich Schiller or Johann Gottfried Herder, but this is not feasible within the scope of this paper.

113 On him, see Mojtaba Kolivand, "The Response to the *Shahnama* in the German-Speaking World", in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Berlin and Munich 2012, pp. 72–80.

114 Samuel F.G. Wahl, "Oden des persischen Dichters Hafyz, mit vorhergehender Beschreibung des Berliner Kodex von dem ganzen Diwân", *Magazin für Alte, besonders morgenländische und biblische Litteratur* 3 (1790), pp. 100–1.

115 See Chardin, *Voyages*, pp. 310*ff.*

116 Known in the Middle Ages as Alhazen, Ibn al-Haytham (*c.* 965–1040) was a famous Arabian optician, mathematician, and astronomer. Diez and Chardin presumably refer to the *Kitāb al-manāẓir* (Book on Optics). Chardin called him "Ebne Heussein", Diez wrote this as "Ebnu Husein". See the transcribed section of Diez's catalogue in the appendix to this paper.

ing were to a significant part not a result of immediate individual and unprejudiced observation of the works in question but were based on one of the very rare detailed older reports on it, *i.e.* Chardin's. Diez's interest in the paintings was inspired by general curiosity, but for the answers to the scholarly key questions of his time – the origin and characteristics of peoples and cultures – pieces of art were not, in his view, an appropriate medium.[117]

Concluding Remarks

This article has attempted to present a first overview of Diez's Oriental manuscript collection, which formed an important part of his private library as it was the starting point for much of his scholarly work – this is also attested by his very comprehensive handwritten manuscript catalogue. With regard to his albums, we can conclude that the purchase of the material in Diez A fols. 70–74 by a European in Constantinople at the turn of the eighteenth century was a nearly unparalleled event and must alone justify calling them the "Diez albums". Although he had very broad scholarly interests and a modest discourse on Islamic art had already developed in Germany, the existence of the albums in his library is only understandable within the context of collecting curiosities in the Baroque and Enlightenment epochs. The long disappearance of the albums in the Royal Library, however, must be considered in context with administrative decisions and the history of cataloguing projects in the library. The article shows once more how interwoven the histories of manuscript collections and libraries in Europe are with the development of Oriental studies in Germany.

Appendix: Transcription of Diez's *Shāhnāma* Description in the Catalogue

What follows is a complete transcription of Diez's description of the *Shāhnāma* manuscript in his collection (Diez A fol. 1) from his *Verzeichniß der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek* (Ms. Cat. A 478b, pp. 2–5). Later additions from the margins and other pages are marked with curly brackets. I have added subtitles in squared brackets to help the reader navigate through the text. The orthography has been left as it is, though punctuation has been modestly adapted where necessary. It is not intended to present a critical or annotated edition of the text, but a few clarifications and references are provided in footnotes.

117 In her analysis of Jewish studies in the nineteenth century and their relation to the visual, the Dutch scholar Irene Zwiep argues: "For early nineteenth century scholars, art equaled the manipulation and beautification of omnipresent nature, and accordingly could never assume a specific nationality. Like philosophy, a discipline that was supposed to reign supreme over all human endeavour, it was considered universal and thus entirely *hors categorie* as far as any cultural-nationalist agenda was concerned." Irene Zwiep, "The Wissenschaft des Judentums and the visual", *Jewish Culture and History* 12/3 (2010), *Special issue: Image Conscious. Jewish Visuals and Visualising Jews through the Ages*, pp. 411–425, here p. 414.

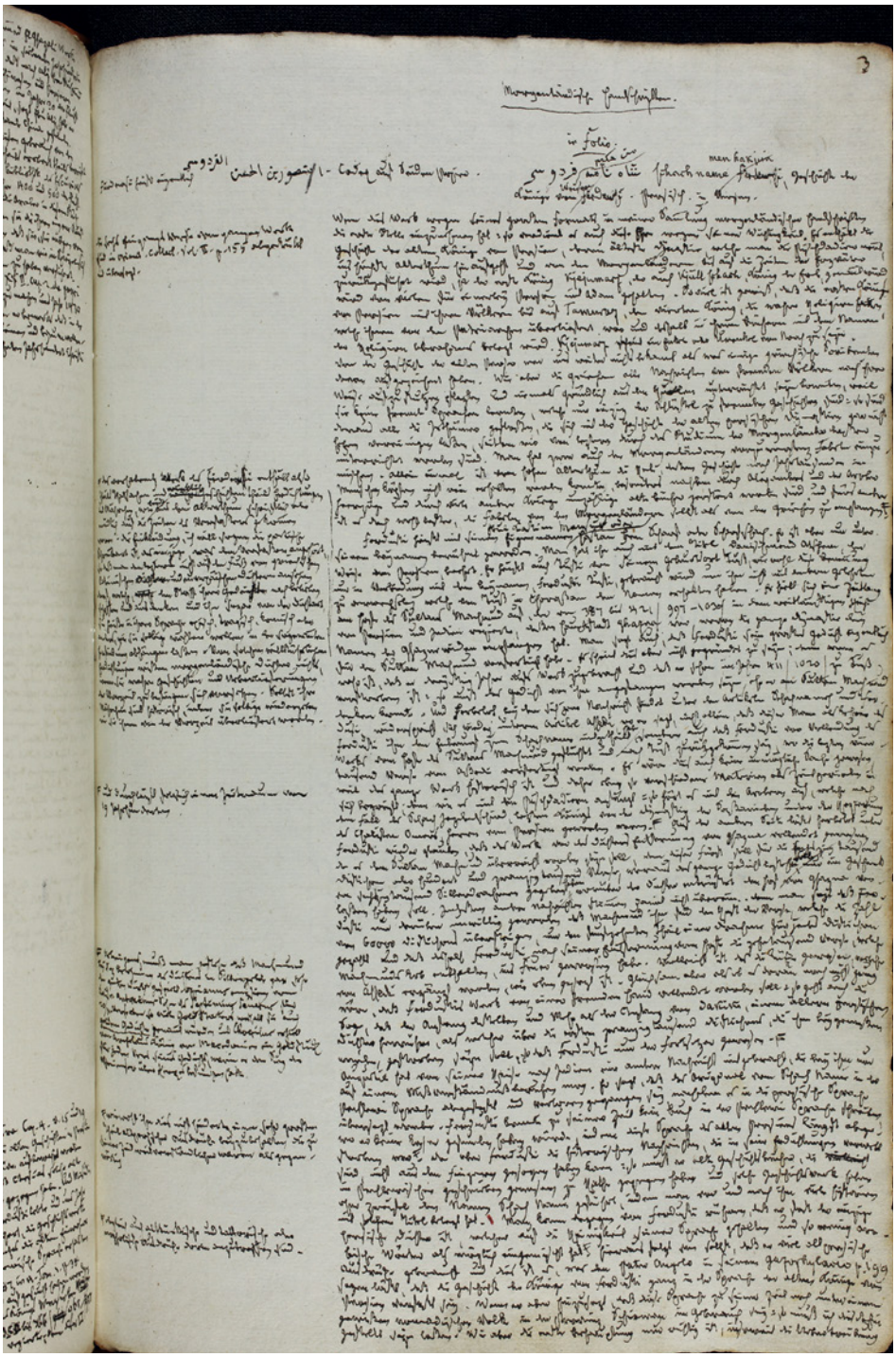


FIGURE 4.11 *Beginning of the description of the* Shāhnāma *manuscript in Diez's handwritten* Verzeichniß der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften, *SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 478b, p. 3.*

[p. 3]
1- Codex auf Seidenpapier شاه نامه من حكيم فردوسي, Schachname men Hakim Ferdausi, Geschichte der Könige vom Weisen Ferdausi. Persisch in Versen.
{Firdausi heißt eigentlich منصور بن الحسن الفردوسي
Die sechs Eingangsverse vom ganzen Werk sind in Orient. Collect. Vol. 11. p. 155 abgedruckt und übersetzt}

Wenn dies Werk wegen seines großen Formats in meiner Sammlung morgenländischer Handschriften die erste Stelle einzunehmen hat: so verdient es auch diese schon wegen seiner Wichtigkeit. Es enthält die Geschichte der alten Könige von Persien, deren älteste Dynastie, welche man die Pischdadian nennt, ins jüngste Alterthum hinaufgeht und von den Morgenländern bis auf die Zeiten der Erzväter zurückgeführt wird, ja der erste König Kjejumarz, der auch Kjällkhash, König der Erde, genannt wird, wird von vielen für einerley Person mit Adam gehalten. So viel ist gewiß, daß die ersten Könige von Persien mit ihren Völkern bis auf Tamuraz, den vierten König, die wahre Religion hatten, welche ihnen von den Patriarchen überliefert war und deshalb in ihren Büchern mit dem Namen der Religion Abrahams belegt wird. Kjejumarz scheint ein Enkel oder Urenkel von Noah zu seyn.

[On Persian History and Historiography]
Von der Geschichte der alten Perser war uns weiter nichts bekannt als was einige griechische Scribenten davon aufgezeichnet haben. Wie aber die Griechen alle Nachrichten von fremden Völkern nach ihrer Weise zu nutzen pflegten und niemals gründlich aus den Quellen unterrichtet seyn konnten, weil sie keine fremden Sprachen lernten, welche nur einzig der Schlüssel zu fremden Geschichten sind. So sind daraus alle die Irthümer geflossen, die sich mit der Geschichte der alten europäischen Dynastien gar nicht haben verringern lassen, seitdem wir von leztern durch das Studium der Morgenländer besser unterrichtet worden sind. Man hat zwar auch den Morgenländern vorzuwerfen Fabeln einzumischen. Allein einmal ist vom hohen Alterthum die Rede, dessen Geschichte nach Jahrtausenden an Menschen Kräften nicht rein erhalten werden konnte, besonders nachdem durch Alexanders und der Araber Heerzüge und durch viele andere Kriege unzählige alte Bücher zerstört worden sind, und fürs andere ist es doch wohl besser, die Fabeln von den Morgenländern selbst als von den Griechen zu empfangen. {Das vorhabende Werk des Firdausi enthält also theils Thatsachen und wirkliche Geschichten theils Erdichtungen und Mährchen wie beyde aus dem Alterthum schriftlich oder mündlich auf die Zeiten des Verfassers gekommen waren. Die Einkleidung, ich will sagen die poetische Schreibart ist das einzige, was dem Verfasser angehört, so daß man den lezteren nicht auf den Fuß von griechischen lateinischen und europäischen Dichtern ansehen muß, welche, den Stoff ihrer Gedichte nach Belieben schaffen und ausdenken und ihn sogar von der Dichtart, der Größe in ihrer Sprache episch, tragisch, komisch oder anders, wie sie selbige mahlen wollen in der sogennanten Erfindung abhängen lassen. Von solchen willkührlichen Erdichtungen wissen morgenländische Dichter nichts, wenn sie wahre Geschichten und Überlieferungen der Vorzeit zu besingen sich vorsetzen. Selbst ihre Mährchen sind historisch, indem sie selbige wiedergeben, wie sie ihnen von der Vorzeit überliefert worden.}

[On Firdawsi and the History of the *Shāhnāma*]
Ferdußi heißt mit seinem Eigennamen Abul Kaßim Mansur oder Hasan ben Schach oder

Schach Schach. Er ist aber nur unter seinem Beynamen berühmt geworden. Man hat ihn auch mit dem Titel Danischmand Atschem, der Weise von Persien beehrt. Er heißt auch Tußi nach seinem Geburtsort Tuß, wie wohl diese Benennung nur in Verbindung mit dem Beynamen, Ferdußi Tußi, gebraucht wird um ihn nicht mit anderen Gelehrten zu verwechseln, welche von Tuß in Choraßan den Namen erhalten haben. Er hielt sich eine Zeitlang am Hofe des Sultans Machmud auf, der von 387 bis 421 /997–1030/ in dem weitläufigen Reiche von Persien und Indien regierte, dessen Hauptstadt Ghazna war, wovon die ganze Dynastie den Namen der Ghaznawiden empfangen hat. Man sagt auch, daß Ferdußi sein großes Gedicht eigentlich für den Sultan Machmud verfertigt habe. Es scheint dies aber nicht gegründet zu seyn, denn wenn es wahr ist, daß er dreyßig Jahre aufs Werk zugebracht und daß er schon im Jahre 411/1020/ zu Tuß verstorben ist, so muß das Gedicht von ihm angefangen worden seyn, als er an Sultan Machmud denken konnte. Und Herbelot,[118] bey dem sich die Nachricht findet unter den Artikeln Schahnameh und Ferdußi widerspricht sich wieder unterm Artikel Assedi, wo er sagt, nicht alleine, daß dieser Mann als Lehrer des Ferdußi ihm den Entwurf zum Schachname mitgeteilt habe, sondern auch daß Ferdußi vor Vollendung des Werks vom Hofe des Sultans Machmud geflüchtet und nach Tuß zurückgekommen sey, wo die lezten viertausend Verse von Assedi verfertigt worden. Es wäre dies auch keine unmögliche Sache gewesen, weil das ganze Werk historisch ist und daher eben so verschiedene Materien als Zeitperioden in sich begreyft, denn wie es mit den Pischdadian anfängt – so hört es mit den Arabern auf, welche nach dem Fall des Schach Jezdeschird lezten Königs von der Dynastie der Saßaniden unter der Regierung des Chalifen Omars, Herren von Persien geworden waren {und durchläuft zeitlich einen Zeitraum von 19 Jahrhunderten}. Auf der anderen Seite läßt Herbelot unter Ferdußi wieder glauben, daß das Werk vor des Sultans Entfernung von Ghazna vollendet gewesen, da es dem Sultan Machmud überreicht worden seyn soll, denn dieser Fürst soll für die sechzigtausend Distichen oder hundert und zwanzigtausend Verse, wieviel das ganze Gedicht enthalten soll, nur ein Geschenk von fünfzigtausend Silberdrachmen gegeben haben, worüber der Dichter entrüstet den Hof von Ghazna verlassen haben soll. Indessen andere Nachrichten stimmen damit nicht überein. Denn man sagt, daß Ferdußi nur darüber unwillig geworden, daß Machmud ihm für den Wert der Verse, welche die Zahl von 60000 Distichen übersteigen, nur den fünfzehnten Theil einer Drachme für jedes Distichon gezahlt und daß deshalb Ferdußi nach seiner Entfernung vom Hofe die zehntausend Verse, welche Machmuds Lob enthalten, ins Feuer geworfen habe. Warscheinlich ist das die Lücke gewesen, welche von Assedi ergänzt worden, wie oben gesagt ist. Gleichsam aber als ob es daran noch nicht genug wäre, daß Ferdußis Werk von einer fremden Hand vollendet worden soll, so geht auch die Sage daß der Anfang desselben und mehr als der Anfang von Dakīkī, einem älteren persischen Dichter herrühre, als welcher über die ersten zwanzigtausend Distichen, die ihm beygemessen werden gestorben seyn soll, so daß Ferdußi nur der Fortsetzer gewesen. {Übrigens muß man gestehen, daß Machmud bey der Belohnung des Dichters in Silbergelde gar sehr den guten Wirth gespielt. Oppianus empfing vom Caiser Antoninus Sohn des Septimius Severus für 20 Halbverse eben so viele Goldthaler weshalb sie auch goldene Gedichte genannt wurden und Choerilus erhielt von Archelaos König von Makedonien ein Goldstück für jeden Vers

118 Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliotheque Orientale.*

seines Gedichts, worin er den Sieg der Athenenser über Xerxes besungen hatte.}

Anquetil[119] hat von seiner Reise nach Indien eine andere Nachricht mitgebracht, die bey ihm nur auf einem Mißverständnis beruhen mag. Er sagt, daß das Original vom Schach Name in der Pachlawi Sprache abgefaßt und verloren gegangen sey nachdem es in die persische Sprache übersetzt worden. Ferdußi konnte zu seiner Zeit kein Buch in der Pachlawi Sprache schreiben wo er keine Leser gefunden haben würde, und wo diese Sprache des alten Persiens längst abgestorben war {wiewohl ihn dies nicht hinderte, einen sehr großen Theil altpersischer Ausdrücke beyzubehalten die zu seiner Zeit viel verständlicher waren als gegenwärtig}. Da aber Ferdußi die literarischen Nachrichten, die in seine Erdichtungen verwebt sind, nicht aus den Fingern gesogen haben kann, so muß er alte Geschichtsbücher, die im Pachlawischen geschrieben gewesen, zu Rathe gezogen haben, und solche Geschichtswerke haben ohne Zweifel den Namen Schach Name geführt, indem man vor und nach ihm viele Historien mit solchem Titel belegt hat. {Wir wissen ja selbst aus der Heiligen Schrift, Esra 4 V. 15 und 19, Cap. 6 V. 1 und 2, Esther Cap. 6 u. 5 daß die alten Geschichten in Persien aufgezeichnet und im königlichen Schatz oder Archive aufbewahrt worden. Diodorus meldet dies ebenfalls und versichert, daß Ctesias solche alten Geschichten auf Membranin[120] geschrieben, zu Rathe gezogen habe. Und Masudi, ein arabischer Geschichtsschreiber, der einige Zeit vor Ferdußi lebte und ums Jahr 336/947/ eine allgemeine Geschichte schrieb, versichert, die Geschichtswerke der Matschus oder Magen benuzt zu haben, welches die alten Einwohner von Persien waren, bei welchen sich die Pachlewische Sprache erhalten habe. Notices et extraits des manuscrits. á Paris 1787 in 4° Tom. 1 p. 38. Es ist also kein Zweifel, daß Ferdußi solche Quellen aufgesucht haben werde. Sie wurden schon gesammelt unter der Regierung des Königs Mansur ben Nuh, der aus der Dynastie der Samaniden in den Jahren 350–364/961–977/ über Transoxanien und einen Theil von Persien regierte, denn dieser Regent hatte vier Gelehrten genannt Sejjad, Yezdan, Chorschid und Schemdan aufgetragen, aus den alten zerstreuten Nachrichten des Landes eine Geschichte der alten Dynastien zu verfassen und dies Werk ward ihm unter dem Namen Schach Name oder Geschichte der Könige übergeben. Wenn also gleich Firdausi an 30 Jahre auf sein Werk verwandt haben soll, vor jenen Männern zu schreiben angefangen haben wird: so würde er doch hinterher die Sammlung, welche Mansur veranstalten ließ, haben benutzen können, wie das obgedachte Gedicht des Dakiki als welches erst unter Mansur II. erschien der von 366–387/977–997 regierte. Es muß daher ein Irthum seyn, wenn in Tableau historique de l'Orient à Paris 1802 Tom. 1 p. 2 Mansur genannt wird, dessen Sohn er vielmehr gewesen. Eben so irrig ist es, wenn gesagt wird, daß das erste Schach Name dem ersten Mansur im Jahre 990 übergeben wurde, denn Mansur I. war schon im Jahre 977 verstorben.}

[On the Importance of the Work with Regard to the Old Persian Language]

Man kann dagegen von Ferdußi rühmen, daß er fast der einzige persische Dichter ist, welcher auf die Reinigkeit seiner Sprache gehalten und so wenig arabische Wörter als möglich eingemischt hat {obgleich auch alttürkische und tatarische oder mongolische Ausdrücke darin anzutreffen sind.} Hieraus folgt von selbst,

119 Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil Du Perron, *Description Historique Et Géographique De L'Inde*, 3 vols., Berlin 1786–87 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez qu. 369–371).

120 An expression for *parchment*.

daß er viel altpersische Ausdrücke gebraucht, und das ist es, was den Pater Angelo in seinem Gazophylacio[121] p. 199 sagen läßt, daß die Geschichte der Könige von Ferdußi ganz in der Sprache der alten Könige von Persien verfaßt sey. Wenn er aber hinzusezt, daß diese Sprache zu seiner Zeit noch unter einem gewißen nomadischen Volk in der Provinz Schirwan in Gebrauch sey, so muß ich dies dahingestellt seyn lassen. Wie aber die erste Behauptung nur richtig ist, insoweit die Uebertreibung.

[p. 4]
davon abgestreift wird, so mag es wohl mit der zweyten eine ähnliche Bewandniß haben. {In jedem Fall indessen ist die Sprache des Ferdußi von seiten der alten Ausdrücke eine große Schwierigkeit zum Verständniß seines Werks. Diese Schwierigkeit wird noch durch den Styl vermehrt, der voller Figuren und Feinheiten ist. Dies ist die Ursache, daß die Perser selbst erkennen, daß nur die gelehrtesten Leute unter ihnen im Stande sind, Ferdußi vollkommen zu verstehen. Man kann daraus urtheilen, daß es eine sehr mißliche Sache mit den Übersetzungen ist, welche davon gemacht worden. Wenigstens würde Ferdußi schlecht gekannt seyn, wenn er darnach geschätzt werden sollte. In Persien hat es an gelehrten Männern nicht gefehlt, welche in Wörterbüchern und anderen Schriften die altpersischen Wörter zu erklären gesucht haben um den Schlüssel zum Verständniß der alten Dichter, besonders des Ferdußi, zu liefern. Man wird selbst in gegenwärtiger Sammlung unter Nr. 12 lit. c. in 8 S. 279 ein solches Werk antreffen,[122] was von Sururi zu Isfahan vor zweyhundert Jahren verfaßt worden. Ich finde auch in Hyde Historia relig. Vet. persar. Oxoniae 1760 in 4° p. 433[123] daß daselbst ein Wörterbuch genannt wird unterm Titel Ferhenk lughat Schachname, welches sich ausschließlich mit der Sprache des Ferdußi beschäftigt zu haben scheint. Alleine das sind alles bis jezt für uns verborgene Schätze geblieben, die nicht gekannt noch weniger benuzt worden.}

[On Translations of the Work]
Nach Herbelot ist das vorhabende Werk von Canameddin Fattah Abu Ali al-Hindi al-Esfahani[124] im Jahre 675/1276/ in die arabische Sprache übersetzt worden. {Unterm Titel Tawarichi Schach name Die Geschichten aus dem Buch der Könige, ist vom Werke des Ferdußi eine prosaische Abkürzung gemacht worden, welche gesucht und selten ist und einem gewißen Tawer-Kül zum Verfasser hat, der sie im Jahre Christi 1649 geschrieben haben soll. Die arabische Übersetzung unterm alten Titel Schach Name findet sich in der Bibliothek des Escorials. Casiri, Tom. II p. 67 no. 1655 führt es an und nennt als Übersetzer الفتح عيسى بن علي بن محمد الاصفهاني Elfattich Issa ben Ali ben Muhammed Elisfahani. Dieser hat die Übersetzung auf Geheiß des Königs El Adl

121 Angelus la Sancto Josepho, *Luġat-i farang wa-pārsī = Gazophylacium Linguę Persarum: Triplici Linguarum Clavi Italicę, Latinę, Gallicę, nec non specialibus pręceptis ejusdem linguę reseratum; Opus Mißionariis Orientalibus, Linguarum Professoribus, Sacrorum Bibliorum Scrutatoribus, Mercatoribus, cæterisque Regionum Orientalium lustratoribus perutile, ac necessarium*, Amsterdam 1684 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez fol. 69).

122 The manuscript is Diez A oct. 12; see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften*, no. 172.

123 Thomas Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, Eorumque Magorum* [...], Oxford 1700 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez qu. 173).

124 Qiwam al-Din al-Fath Ibn 'Ali al-Bundari al-Isfahani, see GAL I, 321, S II, 554.

Ebn Bekir aus der Dynastie der Ejubiten verfertigt. Da Casiri hier noch öfter genannt werden wird, so ist es billig den Titel seines Werks herzusetzen. Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis sive librorum omnium Mss. quos Arabice ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos bibliotheca Coenobii Escurialensis complectitur recensio & explanatio opera & studio Michaelis Casiri Syro-Maronitae etc. Es sind zusammen 1851 Handschriften in beyden Foliobänden verzeichnet und vielerley Abhandlungen und Auszüge mit eingemischt.[125] Außerdem ist das Schach Name vom Tatar Aly Effendi in türkische Verse übersezt und im Jahre 1510 dem Sultan von Ägypten Kansue Ghuri übergeben worden. Nachher hat man noch eine türkische Übersetzung in Prosa verfertigt, welche einem gewissen Medhi zu Constantinopel zum Verfasser hat und im Jahre 1621 dem osmanischen Sultan Osman II. gewidmet ist.

In Muhammad Beys Allgemeine Geschichte Dschamit tewarich oder Medschamit tewarich wird gemeint, daß Sejjid Hassan unter den circassischen Königen zur Zeit des Ghuri in Cairo aus der Geschichte der Könige von Mewlana Firdewsi Tußi ein Büchlein übersezt habe, worin die Mißverständnisse des Firdußi und anderen Geschichtschreibern über Alexander Zulkarnein von jenem widerlegt werden.}

[Reception of the Work in Europe]

Man hat in der neuesten Zeit auch angefangen, sich in Europa mit der Übersetzung zu beschäftigen, kleineren Stellen nicht zu gedenken, die sich bey Herbelot, Jones und anderen finden lassen, wie eine größere Probe in folgendem engländischen Werk: The poems of Ferdosi, translated from the Persian by Joseph Champion. Vol. I. London 1788 in 4°, S. 448. In der Vorrede macht der Übersetzer eine fließende Erzählung von der Entstehung des Originals und den Schiksalen seines Verfassers, wobey man nur das einzige zu vermissen hat, was freylich die Hauptsache dazu wäre, daß man nicht erfährt, aus welchen Quellen die Erzählung geschrieben ist. Wenn man aber auf die Widersprüche und Anachronismen achtet, worin sich Champion ohne es selbst zu merken verwickelt, so überzeugt man sich, daß er aus europäischen Scribenten aufgegriffen was er vorgefunden und das Übrige aus seinem Kopfe hinzugesezt habe. Um daraus nur einen einzigen Beweis inter omnium zu geben: So schreibt er auf S. 36

> Daß Ferdußi im Alter von 70 Jahren am 25ten Tage des Inspendarmus, lezten Monats vom europäischen Jahre / Februar/ im Jahre der Flucht 374 dies Heldengedicht geendet, welches aus hunderttausend Linien besteht, und es dem Sultan überreicht habe –

da Mahmud erst im Jahre 387 nach seines Vaters Sebukjteghin Tod zur Regierung kam und sich erst im Jahre 389 zum unabhängigen Herrn von Chorasan machte, denn mit ihm fängt eigentlich erst die Dynastie der Ghaznawiden an: so giebt die gesunde Vernunft daß er nicht schon im Jahr vorher als Sultan ein Werk angenommen haben konnte, was sein Lob enthält und obenein durch ihn veranlaßt worden seyn soll. Und wenn Ferdußi im Jahre 374 das Alter von 70 Jahren gehabt haben soll: so würde er im J. 911, wo er gestorben, 111 Jahre alt gewesen seyn, wovon keiner etwas gehört hat. Kurz, Champion sagt nicht einmal ein Wort von der Handschrift, wonach er übersetzt hat, ob dies gleich unter den

125 The two volumes were published in Madrid in 1760 and 1770; the shelfmarks of the copies in Diez's library are Bibl. Diez fols. 83 and 84.

literarischen Nachrichten, welche man von ihm erwarten muss, die erste hätte seyn sollen. Und wenn es nun auf das Werk selbst losgeht: so sieht man keine Sylbe von der langen prosaisch-poetischen Vorrede, welche auf meinem Exemplar 17 enge geschriebene Folio Blätter in sich faßt und worin viele Nachrichten von Ferdußi und seinem Werk vorkommen; man sieht auch nichts von andern folgenden 3 1/2 Blättern, welche verschiedene zur Einleitung kommende kleine Gedichte enthalten und worin unter anderem ein Lobgedicht auf Sultan Machmud zu lesen ist, dessen Lob gleichwohl nach den obgedachten europäischen Nachrichten von Ferdußi ausgemerzt worden seyn soll. Der Übersetzer fängt also, ohne alle Vorbereitung, seine Uebersetzung mit Kjejumarz an. Die Übersetzung aber läßt sich im Original nicht erkennen, geschweige ihm ähnlich finden, denn zwey, oder mehrere Verse des Originals sind in einem willkührlichen Vers zusammengeschmolzen oder eins ist zu mehreren Versen aufgebleht, und das alles im europäischen Geiste, wo man vom morgenländischen nichts verspürt. Und wie überhaupt die Europäer alles nach ihrer Weise mischen und beurtheilen ist es schon ein großer Mißbrauch daß Herbelot, Richardson, Jones, Champion und andere Nachsprecher das Werk des Firdußi für eine Epopöe erklärt und den Verfasser mit Homer verglichen haben, während doch zwischen beyden großen Scribenten im Geiste und in der Sache und im Zweck gar keine Vergleichung stattfindet. Wann also auch der Champion sein Werk vollendet, von dessen Fortsetzung ich noch nicht gehört habe: so werden wir doch durch ihn eine getreue Übersetzung von der Geschichte der Könige zu besitzen nicht sagen dürfen, {umso weniger, da gar keine Erläuterungen und Anmerkungen beygefügt worden, denn morgenländische Gedichte müssen mit Hülfe von Sachkenntnis erläutert werden, wenn sie Nutzen haben und uns über die eigentliche Sinnesart der Morgenländer Aufschluß geben sollen.}

{Von Ferdußi haben in Europa gesprochen Hyde, Herbelot, Jones in Orient. poes. asiat. bez. du Perron in seinen Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung des Zend-Awesta sowie:

> Richardson in der Vorrede zum pers. Wörterbuch.
> Ouseley in Oriental collections.
> d'Ohsson in Tableau de l'orient.
> Scott Waring in der Einleitung zu seiner Reise nach Schiraz.[126]
> Bruchstücke des Textes sind gegeben in Wilkens Chrestom. pers.[127] und von Hageman in Illustratio monumenti Persepolitani[128]
> Versuche zur Übersetzung sind gemacht[129] von Champion in eigenen Worten.

126 Edward Scott Waring, *A Tour to Skeeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad etc.: To which is added a history of Persia, from the death of Kureem Khan to the subversion of the Zund Dynasty*, London 1807.

127 Friedrich Wilken, *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Persicae cum chrestomathia maximam partem ex auctoribus ineditis collecta et glossario locupleti*, Leipzig 1805 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez qu. 308).

128 Gottfried Ernst Hagemann, *Monvmenti Persepolitani E Ferdvsio Poeta Persarvm Heroico Illvstratio*, Göttingen 1801 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez qu. 575).

129 Diez did not mention Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl, who was the first to present a German translation: *Von dem Schiksal des Homer und andrer klassischen Dichter, bei den Arabern und Persern: und Probe aus der persischen Epopöe Schaah Nämeh*, Halle, Hendel, 1793 (shelfmark in Diez's library: Bibl. Diez oct. 1203A).

> Ludolf in Wielands deutschem Merkur von 1800.[130]

Biographien aus Dschamis Baharistan und Dewlet Schahs Leben der pers. Dichter[131] sind mitgetheilt in der Wiener Antholog. pers.[132] u. Notices et Extraits Tom. IV. Man hat auch Notice sur le Schah Name de Ferdoussi et traductions de plusieurs pièces relatives à ce poëme ouvrage posthume de M. de Wallenbourg in Vienne 1810.}

[Translation of a Short Poem from the *Shāhnāma*]

Die Erfahrung daß jeder der ihm angeborenen Natur gemäß zu handeln pflegt hat Ferdußi in folgenden Worten ausgedrückt:

> Der Baum der bitter ist, hats in seiner Natur.
> Wenn du ihn gleich pflanztest im Garten des Paradieses
> Wenn du ihn gleich aus dem Flusse des Paradieses bewäßertest
> Wenn du auch seine Wurzel mit Honig besprengtest und mit Milch beträufeltest
> So würde doch am Ende seine Natur wirksam werden
> und er würde nur bittere Früchte tragen.

[Comparison of Firdawsi with Homer]

{Weil Homer hier einmal genannt worden, so will ich wenigstens nicht unbemerkt lassen, wie ich ihn nach dreymaliger Lesung gefunden habe im Vergleich mit Ferdußi. Er hat nach meiner Meynung allerdings wahre Geschichten vor Augen gehabt und besungen. Da aber sein Ziel war, eine wahre Geschichte nach seiner Art aufzustellen und sie zum Mittel der Selbsterkenntnis zu machen, wo alle Menschen, die sich immer gleich geblieben, ihre Schwächen und Laster und sogenannten Tugenden, ihre Thorheiten und Einsichten, ihre Unternehmungen und Handlungen wiederfinden könnten: so hat Homer alle Personen, welche er erscheinen läßt, so sprechen lassen, wie sie im Herzen gedacht haben und er hat ihre Handlungen von der Vorstellung und Zweydeutigkeit entkleidet, damit sie gerade so in die Augen fallen mögen, wie sie manchen Lüsten und Leidenschaften und Gesinnungen des Herzens eingegeben zu werden pflegen.

Dies ist nebst der biblischen Historia die wahreste Geschichte des Menschen, die sich gedenken läßt und mit dem Unterschied, daß auf dem Schauplatz der Welt die Menschen immer anders sprechen als sie denken und daß sie durch Verstellung und Gleißnerey ihre wahren Lüste und Begierden und inneren Gesinnungen zu verbergen suchen, um ihre Handlungen für etwas anders erscheinen zu lassen als sie sind. Es sind weder die äußeren Begebenheiten, wie sie mit ihren falschen Anstrichen und Farben aufeinander gefolgt sind, noch die Namen der Personen und ihren Schwänken und Tracten, beyde sage ich, sind es nicht, welche die wahre Geschichte ausmachen, denn die Geschichte solcher bemäntelten Begebenheiten und verkleideten Personen ist weiter nichts als Betrug. Die wahre Geschichte ist diejenige, welche uns die wahrhaften und geheimen Triebfedern aller Handlungen und Begebenheiten und den inneren verborgenen Menschen mit seinen

130 *Der neue teutsche Merkur*, 31/1 (1800), pp. 88–109.

131 *I.e.* the *Taẕkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* of Dawlatshah al-Samarqandi (d. 1494).

132 Bernhard Jenisch or Ignaz von Stürmer (ed.), *Anthologia Persica, Sev Selecta E Diversis Persis Avctoribvs Exempla In Latinvm Translata* [...], Vienna 1778.

verschwiegenen Gedanken und Gesinnungen, mit seinen versteckten Lüsten und Leidenschaften und seinen als Tugenden ausstaffierten Lastern schildert und aufdeckt. Wenn also die Helden des trojanischen Krieges wieder aufstehen und sich in Homers Geschichten so entlarvt und häßlich erkennen würden, wie sie wirklich im Inneren gewesen: so würden sie sich eben so sehr über sich selbst schämen als über den großen Geist erstaunen müßten, der das Innerste ihrer Herzen durchschauet und ihr Verborgenes offenbar gemacht hat. Von dieser Seite betrachtet hat Homer unter allen großen Scribenten der Griechen und Römern oder anderen Völkern niemals seinesgleichen gehabt. Es ist also von dieser Seite an gar keine Vergleichung mit Ferdußi zu denken. Lezterer ist nur ein Geschichtsschreiber wie alle andere, welche die Menschen darstellen und noch obenein verschönern, wie sie sich äußerlich mit Schminken und Harren, mit Vorwänden und Gleißnereyen zu zeigen für gut gefunden haben. Was es aber zwischen beyden Dichtern ähnlich giebt, besteht darin, daß Ferdußis Gedichte unter den Persern bis in die neueren Zeiten stückweise abgesungen zu werden pflegen, wie die Homerischen ehemals unter den Griechen. Man findet davon die Nachricht in Voyages en Perse á Amsterdam 1711 in 8° Tom IX p. 242/43, denn Chardin wohnte einer Festlichkeit des Statthalters zu Bander Abbassi bey, wo er ein langes historisches Stück aus Ferdußis Geschichten absingen hörte, und er bezeugt, daß dies bey Festlichkeiten etwas Gewöhnliches sey.}

In *The oriental collections consisting of original essays and dissertations, translations and miscellaneous papers*, Vol. I, London 1797, Vol. II 1798, in 4° wird hin und wieder von Ferdußi gesprochen und es werden auch einzelne Verse übersetzt.

[Beginning of the Actual Manuscript Description]

Es ist ein äußerst kostbares Exemplar, was ich besitze. Es enthält 806 Blätter oder 1612 Seiten, worunter dreißig Gemälde in lebendigen Farben begriffen sind. Jede Seite ist in einem Rahmen von sechserley Farben eingeschlossen. Alle Ueberschriften der Gedichte und Abtheilungen stehen auf goldenen Leisten, die schwarz eingefaßt sind. Der Band ist von schwarzem Korduan, der innerlich und äußerlich mit goldenen Verzierungen bedruckt ist. {Die Gemälde insbesondere stellen gewisse Begebenheiten dar, die im Buche selbst beschrieben sind, nämlich Schlachten, Zweykämpfe und andere Heldenthaten. Sie sind nicht in allen Exemplaren dieselben, es sey in der Vertheilung oder in der Zahl, denn es finden sich bald mehr bald weniger Gemälde. Muradscha d'Ohsson in Tableau historique de l'Orient tom. I à Paris 1804 will in mehreren Exemplaren zusammen 150 verschiedene Gemälde angetroffen haben, welche er in Kupfer stechen lassen will. Das Schah Name im Britischen Musäum enthält 91 Miniatur Gemälde. The oriental collections Vol II S. 187}. {Aus dem eben gekauften Schahname Neßr sind in The Oriental Collections 1798 vol. II pp. 45–55 die Erzählungen von Rustams sieben Stationen هفت منزل übersezt, welche Rustam bestanden, um den König Kjekjaus von den Banden des weißen Dämons zu befreyen. Auf p. 64 ist aus dem Schahname das Gemälde von Rustams Kampf mit dem Dämon Arzenk ديوار ژنك mitgetheilt, in vol. III pp. 164–174 stehen die Nachrichten von Kjejumars, Sirmank, Guschrif, Tamuras und Dschamschid.}

Dies Exemplar ist sehr schön und deutlich geschrieben, aber eigentlich vollendet im Monat Muharram des Jahrs der Flucht 1002/1593/ von der Hand eines gewißen Jußuf

ben Hußäin ben Jußuf Kjatibi. Die Handschrift ist also 216 Jahre alt, welches ihr einen vorzüglichen Werth giebt. Trotz des Alters aber sind alle Farben der Gemälde so lebhaft und wohl erhalten, als wenn sie erst heute aufgetragen worden wären. Dies ist auch von der ganzen Handschrift zu sagen.

[On the Book Market Situation and Prices]

Als ich während meines Aufenthalts zu Konstantinopel diese Handschrift suchte und kaufte, waren gerade einige Perser anwesend, welche eigens aus ihrem Lande abgeschickt waren um alte persische Handschriften mit Gemälden aufzukaufen, als worauf man in Persien die Kunst wieder vervollkommnen wollte, welche sehr in Verfall gerathen sein soll. Dieser Umstand diente dazu, alte persische Handschriften dieser Art sehr zu vertheuern. Ich mußte daher für das vorliegende Exemplar 360 Piaster oder 240 Thaler bezahlen. Indessen, so hoch mir auch dieser Preis geschienen: so finde ich doch, daß andere das Werk noch theurer bezahlt haben. Denn in den angeführten Oriental collections Vol. 11 S. 187 wird ein Exemplar zum Preise von 700 Rupien oder 70 Pfund Sterling /420 Th[aler] und ein anderes sogar zu 1500 Rupien /150 Pfund Sterling oder 900 Thaler angegeben. Im Grunde haben solche Werke keinen feststehenden Werth. Der orientalische Liebhaber, wenn er sie gerade sieht und kauft, ist im Stande, zehntausend Thaler für ein Werk zu geben, was ein anderer morgen zufällig für 100 Thaler erhalten kann, wenn Geld und Concurrenz mangelt. So viel ist aber gewiß, daß kein Preis zu hoch sein kann, dessen Ferdußi, der König des Orients nicht werth sey, besonders wenn er äußerlich so schön ausgestattet ist wie der unsrige, denn die Morgenländer pflegen den Werth ihrer Handschriften nach denselben Grundsätzen zu schätzen, welche von den Europäern bei den ihrigen angenommen und von Professor Causse in zwey Dissertationen De librorum manu scriptorum pretio, Francofurti ai Viadrum 1766 und De caro librorum manu scriptorum pretio ibid. 1767 sehr gut abgehandelt worden.

[p. 5]

[On Miniature Painting]

{Was die Gemälde insbesondere bey Ferdußi wie bey anderen unten vorkommenden persischen Scribenten betrifft: so übertreffen sie die unsrigen nur allein in der Schönheit und Lebhaftigkeit der Farben, welche nicht vergehen, ob es gleich nur Wasserfarben sind, denn in Oel wird im ganzen Orient nichts oder eher wenig gemalt. Man hat jenen Vorgang gewöhnlich der trockenen Luft des persischen Landes zugeschrieben, allein diese Erklärung ist unzulänglich, da die Erfahrung lehrt, daß die persischen Farben sich in den Gemälden, die bey uns aufbewahrt werden, eben so gut erhalten als dort. Die Ursache muß also wohl in der Natur der Farbmaterialien und ihrer Zubereitung gesucht werden. Außerdem kann zwischen den persischen Gemälden und den Werken unserer Meister keine Vergleichung angestellt werden. Die Perser verstehen sich nicht auf die Zeichnung noch auf die Perspective noch auf Vertheilung des Lichts und Schattens. Sie treffen daher die Natur des abgebildeten Gegenstandes nicht. Die Gesichter haben oft noch Aehnlichkeit wenn sie selbige im Profil malen. Aber sie im ganzen getreu vorzustellen, gelingt den Persern nicht, weil sie den Schatten nicht anzubringen wissen und die Stellung nur übel und unnatürlich ausdrücken. Ein Araber Ebnu Husein [Ibn al-Haytham] soll davon gehandelt haben und seine Schrift soll auch ins Persische übersetzt sein, wie Chardin anführt. Allein sie wird nicht mundiert. Man will den Grund von dem allen darin suchen, daß ihnen rechtlich die Religion den Gebrauch der Bilder untersage und das sie zweytens die

Bildhauerkunst nicht mehr treiben, worin sie sich ehemals ausgezeichnet haben. Beyde Gründe aber sind nicht genugthuend. Denn die vielen Gemälde, welche von den Persern gemacht wurden, beweisen ja, daß die Religion sie nicht an gutem Malen hindern würde, da sie selbige nicht hat vom schlechten Malen abhalten können. Und wenn gleich die Perser seit mehreren Jahrhunderten der Kunst ihrer Vorfahren im Bildhauen entsagt haben, wovon man die Denkmäler noch jetzt zu Persepolis, zu Kirman-Schaah und an anderen Orten sehen kann. So weiß man erstlich nicht, ob das nicht eigentlich die Werke der Egyptier sind, welche zu verschiedenen Zeiten Sesostris und Cambyses nach Persien geführt haben. Zweytens haben alle Bildsäulen auf den Abzeichnungen, welche Europäer davon gemacht haben genau den selben Fehler, der ihren Gemälden vorzuwerfen ist. Drittens scheint es mir überhaupt ein Irrthum zu seyn, wenn man behaupten will, daß eine Nation erst geschickte Bildhauer haben muß, um geschickte Maler hervorzubringen. Denn Maler und Bildhauer sind voneinander unabhängig, indem beyde nur die Natur nachzuahmen haben. Die Kunst ist also nur, die Natur getreulich abzubilden und zu diesem Zweck fehlt den Persern wie allen Morgenländern weiter nichts, als daß sie sich darin unterrichten lassen und dann Hand anlegen wollten, denn Leute mit so vortrefflichen Naturgaben, wie alle Morgenländer besitzen, können nichts zu schwer zu finden, sobald sie nur den Vorsatz und Willen dazu fassen. Bichzat ist der berühmteste persische Maler gewesen, der schon lange tot ist. Vor ohngefähr 40 Jahren starb zu Constantinopel ein Armenier genannt Rafail der in der Portrait Malerey vortrefflich gewesen seyn soll. Seine Werke werden noch jetzt sehr gesucht.}

[Some smaller and scattered notes on p. 1 in the *Verzeichniß* are also related to the *Shāhnāma*. They have been excluded here, as is the list of thirteen other manuscripts Diez had heard about.]

The Diez and the Topkapı Albums

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CHAPTER 5

The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums: A Story of Connoisseurship

Lâle Uluç

Introduction: Two Topkapı Albums

This paper grew out of the study of two albums from the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2153 and H. 2160,[1] alternately named the Fatih, Ya'qub Beg or Saray albums in modern scholarship.[2] Although their compilation dates, as well as the time of their arrival at the Ottoman palace remain uncertain, the imprint of the oval imperial seal of Selim I (r. 1512–20), bearing his *ṭughrā* on the first and last pages of H. 2160, shows that it was among the holdings of the Ottoman treasury by this sultan's reign.[3] These two albums contain both images and calligraphic

1 I would like to express my thanks to Filiz Çağman for answering, as always, all kinds of questions about the Topkapı Palace, its library, the albums, the seals and notes they bear, the stylistic analyses of the images within them, and any others that I could think of; Nenad Filipovic for help involving various historical sources; Bora Keskiner for long discussions comparing notes on the Ottoman eighteenth century in general and Ahmed III, as well as eighteenth-century calligraphy in particular; Michael Chagnon for editorial suggestions and enjoyable conversations on methodology; and Shreve Simpson for asking me to think about connoisseurship, albeit for another purpose. The abbreviations used in this paper are: TSMK for Topkapı Palace Museum Library, TSMA for Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, and IUK for Istanbul University Library.

2 There is a large body of material that treats various aspects of these albums. The most extensive coverage is found in the proceedings of a colloquium organized by Ernst Grube in 1980, held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the proceedings of which were published in an identical format twice. See, *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), ed. Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims; and *Between China and Iran*, ed. Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, no. 10*, London 1985. For the pre-1980 historiography of these two albums, see Ernst J. Grube, "The Problem of the Istanbul Album Paintings", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 1–31, appendix, pp. 17–31, and for post-1980, see Lâle Uluç, "The Historiography of the Topkapı Saray Albums Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160", in *Fatih Albums: Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160*, facsimile publication, Istanbul forthcoming.

3 Ottoman imperial seals (*mühr-i hümāyūn*) bearing a sultan's *ṭughrā* were used only during the lifetime of the reigning sultan. According to Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanlı mühürleri*, trans. Ümit Öztürk, Istanbul 1999, p. 25, they were destroyed after the sultan's death, and indeed there do not seem to be many surviving imperial seals. Selim I had two seals; an oval imperial seal and a round personal seal. His personal seal, which is preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum, was used for sealing in the treasury even after his death, and until the Republican period; see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi mühürler seksiyonu rehberi*, Istanbul 1959, p. 14. For the reproduction of the impressions of both of Selim's seals, see Günay Kut and Nimet Bayraktar, *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri*, Ankara 1984, pp. 22–23.

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specimens, with the colophons on a significant number of the latter providing important clues to their history. Most of the images, however, are devoid of texts, and even though many carry attributive inscriptions of artists' names in different hands, most of these seem to be later additions. Some images recur as many as four times, indicating that they were produced as workshop practices,[4] while, in a few instances, compositional units from one picture are pasted across the two albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, showing that they are interrelated.[5]

Early Album-Making: The Timurid Example

Existing evidence suggests that the practice of album-making may have started in the first half of the fifteenth century under the Timurids. The most concerted efforts were directed towards fine calligraphy (*ḥusn-i khaṭṭ*), since this was considered the highest form of artistic expression in the Islamic world. The earliest manifestation of a focused collection appears to be an album of calligraphic samples compiled for the Timurid prince Baysunghur (d. 1433) (TSMK H. 2310), which is also the earliest extant album. Although undated, the illuminated dedication medallion in the center of its opening page bears Baysunghur's name, and internal evidence suggests that it was originally compiled between 1426 and the year of the prince's death.[6] Two more illuminated medallions above and below the central one were added to its opening page during a later reworking of the album, probably at the Ottoman palace, when it was also given new margins and rebound.[7] At the same

4 A scene commonly named as *The Procession with Chinese Porcelain* on H. 2153, fol. 130r can be given as an example: TSMK H. 2153, fol. 91v, and H. 2160, fols. 88v–89r have copies of details from this scene; see *Islamic Art*, ed. Grube and Sims, figs. 384–386 and 402. For some other examples, see *op. cit.*, figs. 53–54, 58–63, 74–75, 83–85, 105–109, 140 and 142, 174–175, 185–186, 195–197, 283–284.

5 A scene commonly named *The Night Procession* can be given as an example. Although it is found in the first album, H. 2153 (fols. 3v–4r), an initial section of the scene, *Two Dancing Girls*, was cut and inserted into the second album, H. 2160 (fol. 77v). See *Islamic Art*, ed. Grube and Sims, figs. 49 and 51. On this issue, also see Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims, "Signposts to Central Asia", *HALI: Carpet, Textile and Islamic Art* 140 (2005), p. 23.

6 David J. Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to Us': Album Making, Collecting and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids", PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996, pp. 27–38, 48–59, 410–488; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven 2005, pp. 68–86.

7 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 77, suggests that this reworking took place at the Ottoman palace around 1600. He cites both stylistic reasons, saying that it was "brought into line with contemporary album aesthetics", and the oval-shaped imperial seal on the front flyleaf of the album, which he declares to be that of Ahmed I (r. 1603–17). This, he claims provides a *terminus ante quem* of around 1600 for the reworking of the H. 2310. There is, however, a problem with this reasoning, since the imperial seal on the page does not belong to Ahmed I, but to Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). It bears the date AH 1115 (1703), the year of Ahmed III's accession to the Ottoman throne. Interestingly Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to Us'", pp. 410–413, identifies the seal correctly as belonging to Ahmed III, but misidentifies it in his later publication. Although it is certainly possible that the reworking and the new margins of the album were provided at the Ottoman palace during the 1600s, it is impossible to assert this with certainty. If a *terminus*

time the opening page was inscribed with the title "Catalogue of scripts by the seven masters" (*fihrist-i khuṭūṭ-i ustādān-i sabʿa*), as well as the names of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (d. 1298), and six of his most celebrated followers, giving their names and the number of pages that bear their calligraphy in the album.[8] Such specificity points to a practice of collecting that is closely linked to a burgeoning concern with history of art, not only at the Timurid palace, but also at the Ottoman one.

The material collected within this carefully constructed album presents the genealogy of the pre-Timurid practitioners of the art, concentrating on the calligraphic legacy of Yaqut, by assembling signed specimens by the master calligrapher (for example on fols. 1v–7v) together with a number of copies of the very same text executed by several of the six calligraphers named in the opening page of the album.[9] Although it appears somewhat difficult to follow the logic of the construction of the album, one should keep in mind that its primary aim was most probably to bring together the work of these exemplary masters for purposes of emulation and comparison. Many of the texts that were chosen to be included have multiple copies, but they do not always include a colophon. In some instances two copies of the very same text carry the name of the same calligrapher, in others none of the five or six copies of an identical text carry a name. The album as a whole appears to have been compiled not only to preserve the cherished works of renowned calligraphers but also to provide a platform for its owner and viewers to exercise and improve their connoisseurship. As Thomas Lentz remarks, the rare specimens in this album are assembled as "art", and thus both document Baysunghur's "role as a collector of historical examples" and show his exercising of "the principles of connoisseurship". Lentz adds that surviving evidence seems to indicate that it was "only with calligraphy and poetry" that Baysunghur functioned "as a collector and connoisseur in the modern sense of the word, not with painting".[10]

The earliest album to comprise both images and calligraphic specimens has also been ascribed to Baysunghur's patronage in earlier scholarship but was renamed the "Timurid workshop album" by David Roxburgh (TSMK H. 2152).[11] A well-known page from this album (fol. 31v) has the same short proverb, "blessings continue

ante quem can be set at all, this can only be to the eighteenth-century reign of Ahmed III.

8 The number that is given on the title page to specify the pages with the calligraphies of each of these calligraphers in the album does not, however, match the number of folios that are actually included in the album that carry the names of these calligraphers. This may well be due to later re-bindings, while the album may have had matching number of pages with the amounts specified on the title page at the time of its arrangement with this title page. The album was rebound for the last time during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909), when it was moved from the Topkapı to the Yıldız Palace; see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 76. Also see Zeren Tanındı, "History of the Palace Albums: Bindings, stamps and annotations", in *Fatih Albums: Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160*, facsimile publication, Istanbul forthcoming.

9 Examples are reproduced by Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 68–86. Also see Lâle Uluç and Bora Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album*, forthcoming.

10 Thomas W. Lentz, "Painting at Herat under Baysunghur ibn Shah Rukh", PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985, p. 173.

11 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 85–149.

through gratitude",[12] signed by Ahmad al-Rumi, which is repeated both by the prince himself and a number of other calligraphers.[13] A second page (fol. 21v) from the album contains the same proverb written in larger letters with a colophon signed by Baysunghur, who refers to his work as a calligraphy exercise (*mashq*) (fig. 5.1).[14] The arrangement of these either signed or attributed lines in the same page facilitate comparative viewing and suggest a similar purpose for the more organized inclusion of the longer texts, alternately copied by different hands in Baysunghur's calligraphy album H. 2310. Such a pastime is also suggested a century later by Malik Daylami, in his preface for the album of the Safavid official Amir Husayn Beg (TSMK H. 2151), dated AH 968 (1560–61), since he mentions that the participants of social gatherings (*majlis*) did in fact sometimes practice calligraphy while at the gathering.[15]



FIGURE 5.1 *Calligraphic exercise signed by the Timurid prince Baysunghur* "Bi-l-shukr tadūmu al-niʿam" (*blessings continue through gratitude*), *c. 1430, Herat, Timurid period. Istanbul, TSMK H. 2152, fol. 21v.*

The so-called Timurid workshop album, TSMK H. 2152, carries the imprint of the oval-shaped imperial seal of Sultan Selim I bearing his *ṭughrā* that is stamped on H. 2160 as well, indicating that both of these albums were already in the Ottoman treasury during this sultan's reign.[16] In his study on the Persian albums, Roxburgh pairs H. 2152 with another album from the Topkapı collection, B. 411, which he names the Timurid calligraphy album. He dates the compilation of both H. 2152 and B. 411 to the period following Baysunghur's calligraphy album, H. 2310, but before the death of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (r. 1405–47), since they contain dated

12 *Bi-l-shukr tadūmu al-niʿam*. Lentz, "Painting at Herat", p. 158.

13 It was published for the first time by Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Arts of Calligraphy", in *Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th to 16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, London 1979, pp. 7–34, at p. 18, ill. 7. Also see Lentz, "Painting at Herat", pp. 493–495, cat. no. 117; Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Washington DC. 1989, p. 115, fig. 39.

14 *Mashshaqahū al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf al-muftaqir li-llāh al-laṭīf Bāysunghur aḥsana-llāhu ʿawāqibahū*. Lentz, "Painting at Herat", pp. 499–500, cat. no. 119; David J. Roxburgh, "'The Eye is Favored for Seeing the Writing's Form': On the Sensual and the Sensuous in Islamic Calligraphy", *Muqarnas* 25 (2008), pp. 275–298, at p. 292, fig. 20.

15 Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden 2001, p. 19; David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden 2001, p. 71.

16 For the Ottoman imperial seals (*mühr-i hümāyūn*), see above, note 3.

material spanning this period.[17] He further posits that they were assembled at the Timurid *kitābkhāna* at Herat, though not for a single patron: "the practitioners active in the workshop were the albums' primary audience."[18]

Although compilation by practicing artisans of the book seems a reasonable assumption for H. 2152, it is harder to defend for B. 411, which is largely a calligraphy album, and calligraphic specimens appear to have been widely admired and avidly collected. B. 411 includes examples that resemble those from the earlier calligraphy album of Baysunghur, H. 2310, as well as a section (fols. 138r–166v) from an even earlier, unfinished anthology dated AH 816 (1413) and commissioned by the Timurid prince Iskandar Sultan (d. 1415) while he was the governor of Shiraz (1410–14).[19]

Aqqoyunlu and Early Ottoman Albums

An album from the Ottoman imperial collection, now preserved at the Istanbul University Library and commonly called the *Baba Naqqash Album* (F. 1423), is related to the two early Timurid examples (TSMK H. 2152 and B. 411). The *Baba Naqqash Album* includes a group of works created by the members of Mehmed II's (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) court scriptorium, but its compilation is generally attributed to the Ottoman workshop during the reign of Mehmed's son, Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512).[20] Although it is not known exactly when any of the Istanbul albums arrived, or alternately whether they were compiled there, we do know that the imprint of

17 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 92. A firm conclusion about the date of the images in H. 2152, however, is not really possible; David Roxburgh's claim that whenever the album "began its westward journey", its contents can be no later than the reign of Shahrukh (d. 1447), is a connoisseurial judgment, which is apt to vary.

18 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 88–90.

19 Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content", in *Timurid Art and Culture; Iran and Central Asia in the 15th Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Leiden 1992, pp. 116–132; Priscilla P. Soucek, "Eskandar b. 'Omar Šayx b. Timur: A Biography", in *La civiltà Timuride come fenomeno internazionale*, ed. Michele Bernardini, 2 vols., *Oriente Moderno* 15 (1996), vol. 1, pp. 73–87, at p. 74; David J. Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century", in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson, Princeton 2001, pp. 119–142, at pp. 123, 128–130; Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 107, 112.

20 A. Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih devri Saray nakışhanesi ve Baba Nakkaş çalışmaları*, Istanbul 1958; Zeki Velidi Togan, *On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries*, Istanbul 1963, pp. 44–45; Julian Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 42–50, at p. 47; Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, London 1989, p. 76; Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles", *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), pp. 136–171, at pp. 138 and 167, n. 15; Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, London 1993, pp. 58–60; J. Michael Rogers, "Ornament, Prints, Patterns and Designs East and West", in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, London 1999, pp. 133–165, at p. 135; Banu Mahir, "XVI. yüzyıl Osmanlı murakka yapımcılığı", in *Uluslararası sanat tarihi sempozyumu. Prof. Dr. Gönül Öney'e armağan*, İzmir 2002, pp. 401–411, at pp. 401–2.

Bayezid II's oval-shaped imperial seal bearing his *ṭughrā* on the first and last pages of the Timurid album TSMK B. 411 shows that it was already within the Ottoman treasury during his reign. This is only a *terminus ante quem*, however, since it may well have reached the Ottoman court even earlier. If the *Baba Naqqash Album*, IUK F. 1423, was indeed compiled during the reign of this sultan, it shows that the Timurid–Turkman period albums generated an immediate response in the Ottoman context, even though the practice of album-making may have simply been continued by conscripted or immigrant Timurid–Turkman artists for their new patrons.[21]

Chronologically, the albums TSMK H. 2153 and H. 2160, compiled either at Aqqoyunlu Tabriz or Ottoman Istanbul come next. The mixture of materials they include resembles that of the Timurid workshop album, TSMK H. 2152, and suggests that they were also workshop compilations. In a surviving preface composed by Khvaja ʿAbdallah Marwarid in AH 897 (1492) for an album for Mir ʿAli Shir Nava'i (d. 1501), which is no longer extant, the author implies that the reason for the assemblage of the album was to preserve and protect the examples collected in it.[22] This statement of purpose on the part of

21 Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600): Ein Beitrag zur türkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte", *Der Islam* 46/3 (1970), pp. 263–302; Lâle Uluç, "The Common Timurid Heritage of the Three Capitals of Islamic Arts", in *Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi; 3 Capitals of Islamic Art: Masterpieces from the Louvre Collection*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 39–53, at pp. 40–48; Lâle Uluç, "Ottoman Safavid Relations in the Sixteenth Century and the Importance of the *Nakkaşhane*", *Cultural Innovation in the Muslim World* (*15th–19 century*), ed. Juliette Dumas and Richard Wittmann, Istanbul, forthcoming (also published in a shorter Turkish version as "Onaltıncı yüzyılda Osmanlı-Safevi kültürel ilişkileri çerçevesinde nakkaşhanenin önemi", *Osmanlılar IV, Doğu Batı* 54 [2010], pp. 23–61).

22 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 23. A copy of Marwarid's preface is found in his *inshā'* manual, titled the *Sharafnāma* (IUK F. 87, fols. 74r–76r); see Hans Robert Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Sharaf-Nāmā des Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*, Wiesbaden 1952, pp. 49–50, 131–135. Its autograph copy is included in the so-called *Shah Tahmasp Album*, IUK F. 1422 (fols. 79 and 89) from *c.* 1560; see Uluç and Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album*. It was also used as the preface of two later albums with some additions. The first of these is a Safavid album, TSMK H. 2156 from *c.* 1572–80; see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 22–24; Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, p. 22, notes 21–25. The second is an Ottoman album dated AH 980 (1572) compiled during the period of princedom of the Ottoman sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95), which is why it is known as the Murad III album (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 313); see Dorothea Duda, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Islamische Handschriften I: Persische Handschriften*, Vienna 1983, pp. 109–160, figs. 348–397; Dorothea Duda, "Das Album Murads III in Wien", *Ars Turcica, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Türkische Kunst, München vom 3. bis 7. September 1979*, 2 vols., Munich 1987, vol. 2, pp. 475–489; Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, exhibition catalogue, Washington, D.C. 1987, cat. no. 11; Aimée Froom, "Adorned like a Rose: The Sultan Murad III Album (Austrian National Library, Cod. Mixt. 313) and the Persian Connection", in *Pearls from Water, Rubies from Stone: Studies in Honor of Priscilla Soucek*, ed. Linda Komaroff, with the assistance of

the album compiler ʿAbdallah Marwarid, who was coeval with the Aqqoyunlu ruler Yaʿqub Beg (r. 1478–90), might also have been the primary reason for the assemblage of the material that had been gathered in the latter's *kitābkhāna* and bound into the albums TSMK H. 2153 and H. 2160 at some indeterminate point. It is, however, harder to assert that their primary audience was just the workshop practitioners, especially since both the portraits of Sultan Mehmed II and the European prints they include imply some level of involvement by persons other than just the members of a workshop. This is also suggested by later, extant Safavid and Ottoman album prefaces, which indicate that album-making as a practice involved not only the various artisans of the book, but also the patrons, who ordered the binding into volumes of some of the choice specimens of calligraphy and painting they had collected.[23]

Although the Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 were at first named after Mehmed II as "Fatih (conqueror) albums", especially because of the famous portrait representing him smelling a rose from H. 2153, fol. 10r, the possible involvement of their Aqqoyunlu patron, as well as the fact that a large number of calligraphic specimens invoking Yaʿqub Beg's name are included within the albums, led to their being named after this sultan, both by Turkish and European scholars. However, the allegedly unsophisticated outlook of the Ottomans with respect to the arts of the book advanced in certain Safavid sources,[24] and echoed in some of the modern European scholarly writing, was also invoked to suggest a venue for their compilation. This was posited in the late 1970s by Basil Robinson, who assumed that the "simple and unsophisticated workmanship" of the albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 indicated that they were "mounted and bound by craftsmen" in the Ottoman court in Istanbul "with little or no knowledge of the treasures they were handling".[25] Robinson's simplistic view is countered by both the attributions on the

Jaclynne J. Kerner, *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006), pp. 137–154.

23 Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, pp. 55–57; Emine Fetvacı, "The Album of Ahmed I", *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012), pp. 127–139, at p. 130; Serpil Bağcı, "Presenting Vaṣṣal Kalender's works: The prefaces of three Ottoman *Murakkas*", *Muqarnas* 30 (2013), pp. 255–313, at p. 263.

24 The Safavid historian Budaq Qazvini, *Jawāhir al-akhbār* (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Dorn 288, fols. 134r–v), reports an occasion in the second half of the sixteenth century when the royal Safavid gifts sent to Istanbul included "fifty illustrated manuscripts copied by unrivaled master-calligraphers". Qazvini implies his disapproval of sending so many valuable manuscripts to the Ottoman palace and mentions that Ibrahim Mirza, who was the nephew of Shah Tahmasp, also objected to this situation, saying that these manuscripts were irreplaceable and that the Ottomans could not appreciate their value or beauty, only to be answered by the Shah that "he needed peace and security more than books that he never saw or read", cited by Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, New York 1992, p. 250; Abolala Soudavar, "The Early Safavids and Their Cultural Interactions with Surrounding States", in *Iran and the Surrounding World 1501–2001: Interactions in Culture and Cultural politics*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Rudi Matthee, Seattle 2001, pp. 89–121, at p. 105.

25 Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503", in *Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th to 16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, London 1979, pp. 215–247, at p. 243.

images mounted in the Topkapı albums, some of which may have been added after they reached Istanbul, and especially by Gülru Necipoğlu's analysis of the arrangement of the European and Europeanizing images in H. 2153, which strongly suggests that these albums reached their final form at the Ottoman palace.[26] The research presented in this paper also attests to the educated interest of the Ottoman court in albums through the nineteenth century.

Later Albums from the Ottoman Imperial Collection

Preparing albums appears to have become popular by the middle of the sixteenth century in the Safavid realm, to be closely followed at the Ottoman court as well. The popularity of the practice is indicated by the cluster of four Safavid albums with prefaces that identify their royal and courtly patrons between 1544 and 1567, all preserved in Istanbul libraries. The earliest is an album (TSMK H. 2154) compiled in AH 951 (1544–45) for one of the brothers of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76), Bahram Mirza (d. 1549),[27] followed by a second one bearing the names and titles of Shah Tahmasp himself dated to *c.* 1560 (IUK F. 1422).[28] The next two were produced for Safavid officials, Amir Husayn Beg, completed in 1560–61 (TSMK H. 2151), and Amir Ghayb Beg, compiled in AH 972–73 (1564–66) at Herat (TSMK H. 2161).[29] A last important album from the same period, exclusively containing calligraphic samples, was also compiled for the Safavid prince, Bahram Mirza and is dated to *c.* 1537–49 (TSMK B. 410). It follows the same principles as the earlier calligraphy

26 Gülru Necipoğlu, "Between Europe and China: The Saray Albums Considered in Light of the Frankish Manner", in *Fatih Albums: Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160*, facsimile publication, Istanbul, forthcoming. Also see Gülru Necipoğlu's article from the present volume.

27 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 245–307.

28 Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la bibliothèque de l'université de Stamboul*, Paris 1933, pp. 40–43; Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA. 1981, vol. 1, pp. 20 and 238, date it to *c.* 1530–58, because of the dates of office of the author of the preface of the album, Shah Quli Khalifa (d. 1558). Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 184, 196–212, remarks that the latest date found on a calligraphy specimen in the album is 1562–63 and suggests that although Shah Quli Khalifa must have started it before 1558, the year in which he died, it was not completed until shortly after 1562–63. Alexander H. Morton, "The Chūb-i Ṭarīq and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia", in *Etudes Safavides*, ed. Jean Calmard, Paris 1993, pp. 222–245, at p. 228, note 9, interprets the phrase *jihat-i kitābkhāna* (for the library of) used in the preface followed by the titles and name of Shah Quli Khalifa and writes: "The preface makes it clear that the album was not made for Shah Tahmasp, as Edhem and Stchoukine thought but for Shah Quli Khalifa." Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century*, London 2003, p. 233, follows this interpretation, remarking: "it seems to bear no possible interpretation other than that of Morton." Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 3, translates the passage as "for the library of the renowned [...] exalted *amir* Shah Quli Khalifa", but in the same publication (p. 1) remarks that "Shah Quli Khalifa assembled it for Shah Tahmasp." Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, p. 30, also considers it to have been assembled by Shah Quli Khalifa for Shah Tahmasp; see Uluç and Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album*.

29 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 212–239.

album of the Timurid prince Baysunghur (TSMK H. 2310); it contains calligraphic specimens of the six scripts (*aqlām-i sitta*) associated with Yaqut al-Musta'simi and two generations of his students, but also displaying the scribal genealogical lines of the more recent *nasta'līq* script from the time of its formulation by Mir 'Ali al-Tabrizi up to the period of the completion of the album.[30]

At roughly around the same time, during the mid-1500s, an album primarily featuring calligraphic specimens, and commonly known by the name of the eminent Safavid calligrapher Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri appears to have been prepared at the Ottoman court studio as well (IUK F. 1426).[31] Its opening pages have facing illuminated medallions, the center of one of which is left empty for a dedication. The next double folio opening has calligraphies signed by Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri on both pages (fols. 2v–3r).[32] An Ottoman assemblage is suggested by the album's illumination program, which is almost entirely in the distinctive new Ottoman illumination style dubbed the *şükūfe* (flower) style, which had begun to dominate the Ottoman decorative vocabulary from the 1540s onward. Its creation is attributed to the illuminator Kara Memi (d. *c.* 1570), who became the head of the corps of the *Rūmī* painter-designers (*naqqāshān*) of the Ottoman court *naqqāshkhāna* in 1552.[33] Besides calligraphic specimens, the album includes two *qalam-i siyāhī* images and a three-dimensional decoupage flower garden, framed by cartouches of poetry by Ottoman poets.[34] Çağman has identified the

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80, 227, and 347, note 6. Also see Uluç and Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album.*

31 Filiz Çağman, "Ottoman Art", in *The Anatolian Civilizations*, exhibition catalogue, 3 vols., Istanbul 1983, vol. 3, pp. 97–315, at p. 147, cat.nos. E.63–64; Filiz Çağman, "The Earliest Known Ottoman 'Murakka' Kept in Istanbul University Library (F.1426)", in *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art* (Warsaw, 1983), ed. Tadeusz Majda, Warsaw, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990, pp. 75–77; Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, pp. 104–109, figs. 49r–g; Mahir, "XVI. yüzyıl Osmanlı murakka yapımcılığı", pp. 403–5. For Shah Mahmud Nishapuri (d. 1545), see Qadi Ahmad Qummi, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī* (*circa A.H. 1015/ A.D. 1606*), trans. V. Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, pp. 100, 134–138.

32 Mahir, "XVI. yüzyıl Osmanlı murakka yapımcılığı", figs. 5–7.

33 Kara Memi's work is found in Ottoman court manuscripts starting from the 1540s. A book of royal expenses from Süleyman's reign (r. 1520–66) has two entries: one under AH 949 (1542) mentions that "*naḳḳāş Kara Memi*" was donated 20 *filūrī* (ducats) and another under AH 952 (1545) specifies that "*naḳḳāş Kara Memī*" was donated 30 *filūrī* for illuminating a manuscript ("*kitāb tezhībi içün*") (TSMA, D. 1992, fols. 10r and 32r); cited by Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman", p. 169, note 47. Also see A. Süheyl Ünver, *Müzehhib Kara Memi*, Istanbul 1951; J.M. Rogers, "Kara Mehmed Çelebi (Kara Memi) and the Role of the *ser-nakkâşân*", in *Süleymân the Magnificent and his Time, Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 7–10 March 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, Paris 1992, pp. 227–238; Gülbün Mesara, "Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın sernakkaşı Karamemi", in *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, ed. Ali Rıza Özcan, Ankara 2009, pp. 361–377.

34 Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman*, pp. 104–109 reproduces the *qalam-i siyāhī* examples, as well as a detail of the flower garden. For

lines of poetry around the flower garden as belonging to the spring *qaṣīdas* of the Ottoman poets Mesihi (d. 1512–13) and Baki (d. 1600). Since the latter composed these lines for the Ottoman grand vizier Semiz Ahmed Paşa, she suggests that this album may have been compiled for the same vizier and was left uncompleted on his death in 1565.[35]

images of the flower garden, also see Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in Ottoman Culture*, Istanbul 2002, pp. 72–73.

35 Çağman, "The Earliest Known Ottoman 'Murakka'", pp. 75–77; Filiz Çağman, "L'art du papier découpé et ses représentants à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique", in *Süleymân the Magnificent and his Time, Acts of the Parisian Conference, Galeries Nationales deu Grand Palais 7–10 March 1990*, ed. G. Veinstein, Paris 1992, pp. 249–264, at pp. 250–252; Filiz Çağman, *Kat'ı: Osmanlı dünyasında kâğıt oyma sanatı ve sanatçıları*, Istanbul 2014, pp. 85–87. Also see Serpil Bağcı *et al.*, *Otoman Painting*, Ankara 2010, pp. 229–230. For sixteenth-century albums compiled at the Ottoman court, see Mahir, "XVI. yüzyıl Osmanlı murakka yapımcılığı", pp. 405–409, and notes 18, 25. These include two albums that are thought to have been assembled at the Ottoman court studio during the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520–66), which are a calligraphy album, TSMK H. 2248 similar to the *Shah Mahmud Nishapuri Album* (IUK F. 1426) and a second one with the calligraphic specimens of the Ottoman calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari (d. 1566), TSMK A. 3654, both with illuminations in the Ottoman flower (*şükūfe*) style attributed to Kara Memi; the album assembled for Murad III (r. 1574–95) before his accession to the throne (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Mixt. 313); and another from the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) (TSMK H. 2165). For references to the album of Murad III, see above, footnote 22.

The Practice of Album-Making

Although album-making should certainly not be seen in a teleological light, the earlier albums must have provided models both for images and calligraphic exercises, as well as for modes of collecting and album organization for later generations.[36] The practice of including calligraphic samples of the same text penned by several calligraphers, seen in the Timurid prince Baysunghur's calligraphy album (TSMK H. 2310), recurs in the later album TSMK H. 2153 on a double folio opening with identical calligraphies signed by Shaykh Mahmud al-Heravi (fol. 116v)[37] and ʿAbd

36 Çağman, "The Earliest Known Ottoman 'Murakka'", pp. 75–77, refers to the *Shah Mahmud Nishapuri Album* (IUK F. 1426) as the earliest Ottoman *muraqqaʿ*, rather than just as an album, suggesting a fundamental difference between the mid sixteenth-century examples that arrange the specimens in a regular manner within each page in new, decorated margins with standardized illumination, and their earlier counterparts.

37 Shaykh Mahmud al-Heravi was a student of Jaʿfar Baysunghuri (active in 1433), but was taken to Shiraz by the Qaraqoyunlu prince Pir Budaq (d. 1466) when the Qaraqoyunlu army invaded Herat in 1458 during the troubled time that followed the death of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh in 1447. He became the head of Pir Budaq's *kitābkhāna* in Shiraz and remained attached to the Qaraqoyunlu prince until the latter's death in 1466; see Soucek, "The Arts of Calligraphy", pp. 28–30 and 34, notes 69–72 for references. Also see Mahdi Bayani, *Aḥwāl va āthār-i khūshnūwīsān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1966–69, vol. 3, pp. 891–894; Yoshifusa Seki, "Calligraphic Works in the two Albums of Sultan Yaʿqub", *Nāmeh-ye Bahārestān* 11–12 (2007), pp. 75–172 (in Persian); Yoshifusa Seki, "Shaykh Maḥmūd of Herat", *Nāmeh-ye Bahārestān* 16 (2010), pp.

al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi (fol. 117r),[38] both of whom were famed calligraphers attached to the Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu Turkman courts respectively (figs. 5.2–5.3). Furthermore, juxtaposing these two pages takes the practice of including multiple copies of the very same text in an album one step further, since the same text is also organized in an identical arrangement, the only difference being the signature of the artist in the colophon. This implies that the latter scribe must have replicated the earlier work and that these pages were deliberately designed to be bound facing one another. A second similar arrangement is seen on fols. 142v–143r of the same album. Here a calligraphy sample signed by Sultan ʿAli al-Mashhadi on fol. 142v is juxtaposed with its cut-paper version bearing the name of the *qāti*ʿ master Shaykh ʿAbdallah al-Imami on fol. 143r. Besides having the same measurements (16.5 × 9.3 cm) and appearance, these two samples, one in ink and the other in cut-paper, match exactly when their images are electronically superposed.[39]

These fifteenth-century examples, in turn, appear to anticipate later Safavid practices. They can, for example, be compared to the juxtapositions from the Safavid albums, such as a page from the Amir Husayn Beg album that has identical calligraphies, one of which is signed by Shah Mahmud [al-Nishapuri] (TSMK H. 2161, fol. 118r).[40] Potentially, they represent a competitive exercise that is parallel to the practices of poetry in alluding to or emulating previous work.[41] Calligraphies with exact multiples and near-duplicates that abound in later Safavid albums show that this was a practice that was continued.[42]

Connoisseurship in the Turko-Persian World

The attributive notes from the two Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, some of which are carelessly written, show that

45–60 (in Persian). Although Bayani states that Shaykh Mahmud joined the Aqqoyunlu court after Pir Budaq's death, Soucek does not mention this. Seki addresses this problem and explains that there is no evidence of his continued presence at the Turkman court during the Aqqoyunlu period, adding that the Topkapı album H. 2153, which contains many signed calligraphic samples, does not contain any signed by this calligrapher with an Aqqoyunlu reference.

38 ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi was known by his penname Anisi and was attached to the Aqqoyunlu court, first at Shiraz under Khalil Sultan and then at Tabriz under Yaʿqub Beg; see Qadi Ahmad Qummi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 100–101; Priscilla P. Soucek, "ʿAbd-al-Raḥīm Ḵʷārazmī", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I/2, p. 143; an updated version is available online at www.iranicaonline.org, last accessed 16 January 2014.

39 See *Fatih Albums: Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160*, facsimile publication, Istanbul, forthcoming. Also see Uluç and Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album*.

40 Roxburgh explains that Bahram Mirza's album (TSMK H. 2154) also "contains numerous examples of near-duplicate calligraphies, as well as some duplicated multiples"; see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 293 and 218, fig. 115.

41 As is explained by Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal*, Costa Mesa, CA. 1998, p. 102.

42 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 222, 269, and 293–94.



FIGURE 5.2 *Calligraphy sample signed by Shaykh Mahmud al-Heravi, c. 1460, Tabriz, Qaraqoyunlu period. Istanbul TSMK H. 2153, fol. 116v.*



FIGURE 5.3 *Calligraphy sample signed by 'Abd al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi, Tabriz, last quarter of the fifteenth century, Aqqoyunlu period. Istanbul, TSMK H. 2153, fol. 117r.*

beginning at an indefinite moment, the images in these albums were evaluated by subsequent generations of courtly connoisseurs;[43] they constitute some of the earliest evidence of connoisseurial activity in the Turko-Persian world.[44] This is not surprising since connoisseurship is closely linked to the history of collecting, and albums are repositories of collected material. Their contemporary owners or viewers were clearly aware of the history of both collecting and album-making. The earliest reference to album viewers can be found in the preface (*muqaddima*) to the album compiled for Shah Tahmasp's brother, Bahram Mirza (d. 1549). Dust Muhammad, the compiler and author of the preface of this album commonly known as the *Bahram Mirza Album* (TSMK H. 2154),[45] wrote in AH 951 (1544–45) that it would be offered to the gaze (*naẓar*) of connoisseurs and cognoscenti (*arbāb-i baṣīr u baṣīrat*).[46] One interpretation of this statement is that it refers specifically to a group with discriminating visual and mental perception, who had access to the court and the treasures of its scriptorium.[47]

A second reference to album viewers also comes from the preface of a Safavid album, but one that was compiled for a courtly patron rather than a royal one, Amir Husayn Beg (TSMK H. 2151).[48] Malik Daylami, the author of the preface of this album dated AH 968 (1560–61), states that it was assembled and adorned "in order that the members of the assembly (*majlis*) of [...] [Amir Husayn Beg] might enjoy fully all sensory pleasures, and likewise people of understanding and insight (*ahl-i fahm u baṣīrat*) might take full pleasure in seeing the subtlety of calligraphic specimens and viewing the beauty of pictures".[49]

The author of the preface of a third Safavid album compiled for another courtly patron, Amir Ghayb Beg (TSMK H. 2161) in AH 972 (1564–65), Mir Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadi,[50] does not refer specifically to the viewers but mentions that it was deemed necessary to organize specimens of calligraphy and depiction since they were discussed in assemblies (*majālis*).[51]

43 Some of the attributive notes appear to have already been in place before the individual images bearing them were trimmed and pasted in the albums, since the notes were also cropped during the trimming process; see, for example TSMK H. 2160, fol. 5v. Others, however, appear on the pink paper that frames the images; see, for example TSMK H. 2153, fol. 15r. This latter case implies that the note must have been added either during or after the process(es) of assemblage. Also see, Zeren Tanındı, "Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums, H. 2153 and 2160", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 37–42, at p. 39.

44 Richard Ettinghausen, "Some Paintings in Four Istanbul Albums", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 92–103, at p. 94, however, underlines one, saying that its "crude way of dealing with a painting is certainly not the manner in which a connoisseur would have made this attribution".

45 For this album, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 245–307; for its preface, see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 4–17.

46 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 11; also cited by Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 251.

47 Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, p. 57; Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 251.

48 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 185 and 212–223; for the preface, see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 18–21.

49 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 20.

50 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 24–29, also cited by Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 185 and 223–239.

51 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 28.

The album compilers themselves were also undoubtedly among the group of courtly connoisseurs mentioned in the prefaces. In the *Bahram Mirza Album* (TSMK H. 2154), its compiler, Dust Muhammad, placed his own attributions in illuminated headings above his insets, thus demonstrating his own connoisseurial involvement in the samples chosen, as well as investing them with more credibility than the scribbled attributions of the images in the earlier albums TSMK H. 2153 and H. 2160.

Connoisseurship in the Ottoman World

An extremely interesting letter preserved in the *Munsha'āt* (collected writings) of Mesihi (d. 1512–13), an Ottoman poet of the Bayezid II period, provides the earliest known document that attests to the process of connoisseurship from the Turko-Persian world.[52] Unlike the attributions on the insets from the Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, Mesihi's letter provides a clear image of the entire method of reaching a connoisseurial judgment, as well as the existence of calligraphy enthusiasts and their need for expert advice. In it, Mesihi writes that he is sending a formerly requested calligraphic specimen (*mashq*) of Yaqut al-Musta'simi to an unknown recipient. He then establishes the authenticity of the sample by specifying that two well-known fifteenth-century calligraphers, Sayyid Murtaza and Asadallah, had seen and validated it.[53] The letter demonstrates the huge contemporary value set on such calligraphic pieces by the evaluation of the two expert calligraphers, who Mesihi reports to have said that even if a person simply brought the news of the existence of such a piece, he would deserve to be given a gift of more than 10,000 *akçes* (silver coins), but that the value of the work itself would be more than one thousand gold pieces.

The Ottoman bureaucrat, historian, and polymath Mustafa 'Ali also provides evidence for the continuing interest in connoisseurship among calligraphers and collectors of the Ottoman world of half a century later by praising some for their fine ability in distinguishing master calligraphers, in other words connoisseurship, as well as for being skilled practitioners themselves. Mustafa 'Ali refers to their fine ability of identifying "the fake scatterers of jewels" (those who are not master calligraphers), and the value of this skill only in reference to calligraphy, which is not surprising when the organization of his work, the *Menāḳıb-ı hünerverān* (*Epic deeds of Artists*) is considered. Out of the five chapters that make it up, four are devoted

52 Mesihi, *Gül-i şad-berg*, Münşe'āt, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi, Mektup no. 40. I would like to thank Nenad Filipovic for bringing this letter to my attention. He is in the process of preparing a detailed study and critical edition of this document to be published in the near future. It is, in itself, a very important source for the study of Ottoman cultural and intellectual history.

53 These are most probably the Timurid calligraphers Mawlana Murtaza and Asadallah Kirmani mentioned by Mustafa 'Ali, see, *Mustafa 'Âli's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*, ed. and trans. by Esra Akın-Kıvanç, Leiden 2011, pp. 198 and 324.

to calligraphy while only one section in a chapter on the arts of the book is dedicated to painting.[54] Furthermore, according to Esra Akın-Kıvanç, the relatively few painters' accounts that is included in Mustafa 'Ali's work is still more than those found in any of "the thirteen Ottoman art-historical texts" composed after he completed his book in 1587.[55]

Ottoman calligraphers' connoisseurship activity is apparent throughout the following centuries, and is even continued in present-day Turkey. It is demonstrated by later calligraphers' attributions of unsigned works to the hand of revered masters and specifically to Şeyh Hamdullah, who was attached to the court of sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). All of the dated manuscripts of the Quran he copied are from this sultan's reign,[56] but many undated, and unsigned calligraphic specimens, Qurans, religious texts, and manuscripts, are attributed to his hand. These attributions postdate his death, and are accompanied by systematic scholarly remarks and numerous connoisseur calligraphers' endorsements over several generations. The endorsement notes on various copies of the Quran from the Istanbul state museums, written from the seventeenth century onwards, suggest that they were seen and evaluated by connoisseurs, possibly as they entered the Ottoman imperial treasury. An example is a manuscript of the *Sūrat al-Naba'* (Q LXXVIII) from the Topkapı collection (TSMK Y. 100), which has authentication notes by two calligraphers.[57] One is simply signed Mehmed Efendi, who is therefore impossible to identify with accuracy. The second name, Suyolcuzade Mustafa Eyyübi, however, is more specific and can be identified. The year of this calligrapher's death, 1685,[58] thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for his note. A second example is a copy of the Quran from the Topkapı collection (TSMK E.H. 215) that provides authentication notes from eighteenth-century calligraphers.[59]

Although their reliability is certainly debatable, authentication notes naming famous calligraphers increase in the nineteenth and especially the twentieth centuries. Two small manuscripts from the Sakıp Sabancı Museum in Istanbul (Ms. nos. 101–296 and 100–280)[60] bear four and five nineteenth-century authentication notes bearing the dates 1240/1824 and 1287/1870 respectively; these attribute both of them to Şeyh Hamdullah. In the first example they are written on the back flyleaf of the manuscript (fig. 5.4),[61] while

54 *Mustafa 'Âli*, ed. Akın-Kıvanç, p. 142.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, p. 200.

57 Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Istanbul 1992, p. 154.

58 Müstakimzade Süleyman Sa'duddin Efendi, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, ed. İbnü l-Emin Mahmud Kemal [İnal], Istanbul 1928, p. 536.

59 Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, p. 94. The calligraphers supplying the authentication are: Sayyid Abdülhalim (d. 1758), who was the son of Yedikuleli Sayyid Abdullah (d. 1731) and Hvoca Mehmed Rasim Efendi (d. 1755); see Müstakimzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, pp. 241 and 465.

60 Approximately 14 × 10 cm. each.

61 A copy of the *Sūrat al-An'ām* (Q VI) with notes by: Ömer Vasfi (d. 1824), Mahmud Celaleddin (d. 1829), [Kebecizade] Mehmed Vasfi (d. 1831), Ebu Bekir Raşid (d. after 1856), and Mehmed Vasfi. See Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, 220; Ayşe Aldemir-Kilercik,

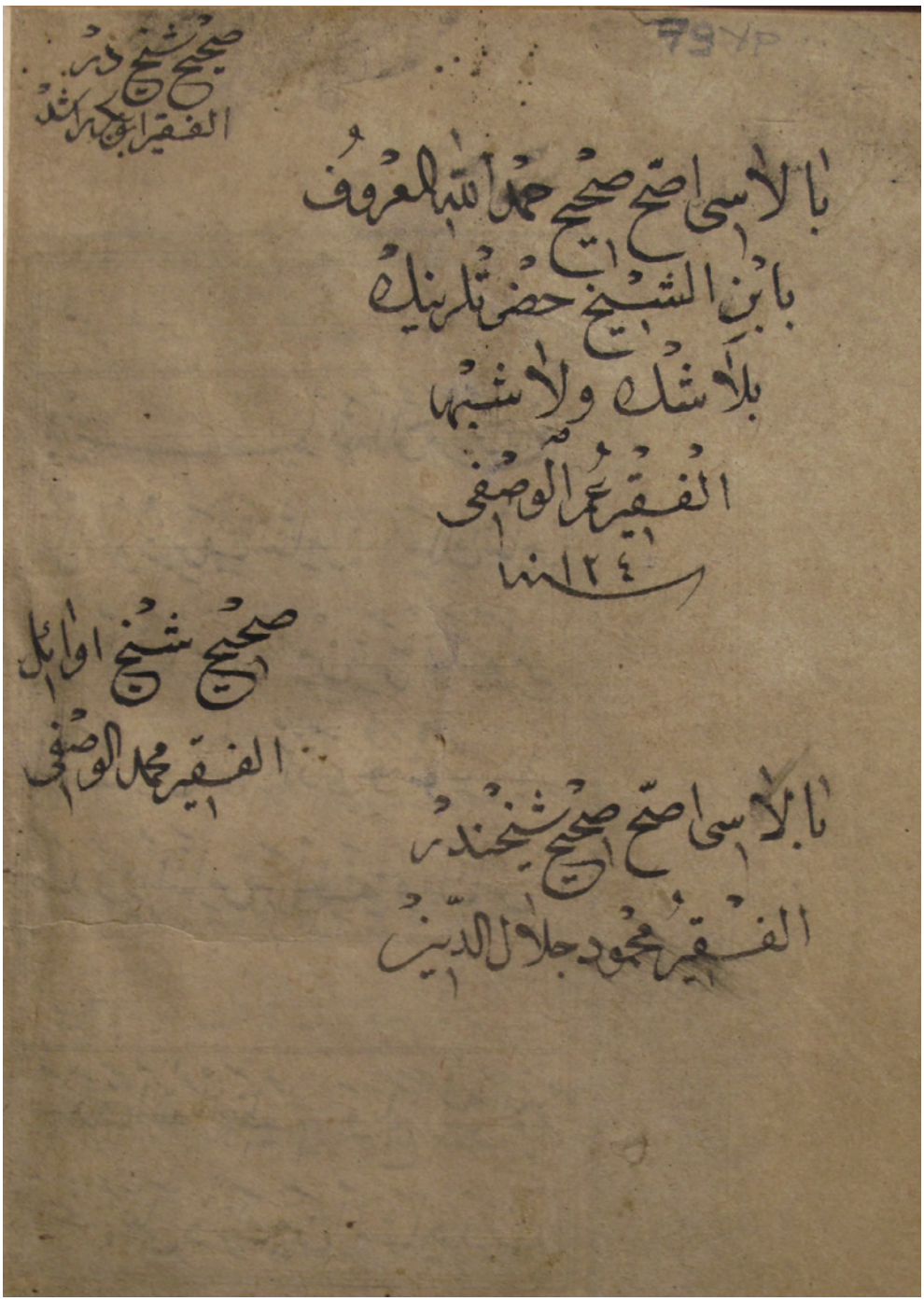


FIGURE 5.4 *Back flyleaf of a copy of the* Sūrat al-Anʿām (*Q VI*), *undated, with authentication notes by: Ömer Vasfi* (*d. 1824*), *Mahmud Celaleddin* (*d. 1829*), [*Kebecizade*] *Mehmed Vasfi* (*d. 1831*), *Ebu Bekir Raşid* (*d. after 1856*), *and Mehmed Vasfi, dated* AH *1240* (*1824*), *attributing this manuscript to the Ottoman calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah. Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Ms. 101–296.*

in the second, they are in the marginal area around the illuminated borders of the last page (fig. 5.5).[62] During the first half of the twentieth century, more manuscripts appear to have been attributed, not just to Şeyh Hamdullah, but also to other famous calligraphers whose works were especially sought after by collectors.[63]

In addition to these notes, the erudite eighteenth-century Ottoman scholar Müstakimzade's work *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn* of 1759,[64] comprising biographies of calligraphers, also contains ample evidence of connoisseurship. An example is the author's own dating of the period of activity of a certain Seyyid Murtaza. Müstakimzade writes that it is clear from his work that Seyyid Murtaza must have been alive during the conquest of Istanbul (*feṯḥ-i Istānbūl ʿaṣrında ḥayātda idüghi āṣ̲ārından āyāndur*).[65] This statement shows that Müstakimzade had seen the calligrapher's signed work and attributed it to a chronological timeframe, presumably based on a comparison of its visual properties to dated works of the conquest period.

Evidence from the Istanbul Albums

Ottoman connoisseurial activity is additionally manifested by the many albums that are still among the holdings of the Istanbul museums. Besides the so-called *Baba Naqqash Album* from the Istanbul University Library (F. 1423), which was most probably compiled at the Ottoman palace, the two interconnected albums TSMK H. 2153 and H. 2160, which include many attributive notes, manifest some of the earliest interest in albums and album-making. This interest, once again, appears to be principally in the areas of the collecting and connoisseurship of calligraphy. Although these two Topkapı albums include Ottoman works and appear to have acquired their final form in the Ottoman palace, they do not seem to have had much impact on Ottoman manuscript illustrations. Their discernible history after they reached the Ottoman palace was outlined, separately, by both Filiz Çağman and Julian Raby.[66] Besides the

"Notes of certification regarding attribution of the artist in examples of Ottoman calligraphy", unpublished paper, read at the 33rd conference of MELCom International-Middle East Libraries Committee, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, 23–25 May 2011; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son hattatlar*, Istanbul 1970, pp. 189, 263, 308, 451.

62 A copy of the Quran with notes by: Mehmed Hulusi (d. 1874), Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (d. 1876), Abdullah Zühdi (d. 1879), Mehmed Şefik Beg (d. 1880), and Mehmed Şevki Efendi (d. 1887). For the calligraphers, see İnal, *Son hattatlar*, pp. 19, 137, 163, 389, 403. Mehmed Şefik Beg's note is of further interest, since it is dated AH 1287 (1870), and refers to the endorsement by Mustafa İzzet Efendi, which was probably supplied at an earlier date, specifying his agreement with it (*Üstādumuz ʿālimlerüŋ reʾīsi mevlānā Muṣṭafā İzzet Efendiʾnün taṣdīḳ itdügi gibi ben de taṣdīḳ ediyorum*), see Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, p. 220; Aldemir-Kilercik, "Notes of certification".

63 See Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, pp. 83–227.

64 According to the introduction written by İbnülemin İnal to Müstakimzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 61, the numerical value 1173 of the letters in the title *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn* of the book was used to express the chronogram of the date of its composition.

65 Müstakimzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 518.

66 Filiz Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 31–37, at pp. 34–35;



FIGURE 5.5 *The colophon page of a copy of the Quran, undated, with authentication notes by: Mehmed Hulusi (d. 1874), Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (d. 1876), Abdullah Zühdi (d. 1879), Mehmed Şefik Beg (d. 1880), dated AH 1287 (1870), and Mehmed Şevki Efendi (d. 1887), attributing this undated manuscript to the Ottoman calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah. Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Ms. 101–280.*

imprint of the oval-shaped imperial seal of Selim I (r. 1512–20) bearing his *ṭughrā*, the front flyleaf of H. 2160 also has a note dated *Dhū l-ḥijja* 983 (March 1576). While the seal shows that it was among the holdings of the Ottoman treasury by the reign of Selim I, a note saying that the album was transferred from the Privy Chamber (*has oda*) of Murad III (r. 1574–95) to the

Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album", p. 47.

palace treasury[67] suggests that it, possibly together with its companion volume H. 2153, may have been kept in the *has oda* after reaching the Ottoman palace until their removal to the imperial treasury in 1576.

The account of Domenico Hierosolimitano (d. 1622), who was the Third Physician to the person of Sultan Murad III sometime between 1576 and 1595[68] clarifies this statement. He refers to "two large libraries" within the palace grounds, one of which was "communal", while the other was "more private [and] joined to his rooms". His *Relazione* additionally confirms that Murad III kept books "in his [own] room", where "there are, one on each side, two cupboards with glass doors, and in these cupboards there are always some two dozen illuminated books, which he is accustomed to read often. The cupboards are low, so that sitting in the Turkish fashion, one can see the books that are there through the transparency of the glass, and [so] he can conveniently take them out, and he is accustomed to reading them."[69] Domenico's account is authenticated by an Ottoman illustration from the period of Murad III, which represents the sultan seated in his library between two cupboards full of books (Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums, inv. no. 1985.219.2, fol. 217r).[70]

The next Ottoman notations on these albums are two marginal notes dated AH 1024 (1615) and AH 1025 (1616–17) (H. 2160, fol. 4r and H. 2153, fol. 87v), one of which invokes the name of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17), who may have written the notes himself. Ahmed I is said to have built a reading room (*okuma odası*) in the Topkapı Palace, which must have been similar to the "more private" library of Murad III referred to by Domenico.[71] This is also the time when direct visual evidence of an Ottoman reaction to an image from these albums manifests itself in an illustration from a manuscript of the *Fālnāma*, compiled for Sultan Ahmed I in 1614–16 (TSMK H. 1703, fol. 6v).[72] The Ottoman vizier Kalender

67 Note on H. 2160, fol. 1r: "*sene 983 māh-i ẕī-l-ḥiccede oṭadan ḥıfẓ olunmagha çıḳan kitābdur*".

68 *Domenico's Istanbul*, trans. Michael Austin, ed. Geoffrey Lewis, Warminster 2001, pp. i–ii.

69 *Domenico's Istanbul*, trans. Austin, p. 21.

70 The illustration is included in a manuscript of the *Cevāhirü l-gharā'ib Tercümetü baḥri l-acā'ib* of Cennabi (d. 1590), a work on the wonders of the world, see Edwin Binney 3rd, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, exhibition catalogue, Portland, OR. 1979, pp. 33–39, cat. no. 17.

71 Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı*, Istanbul 1960, pp. 196–197; Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, Istanbul 1982, p. 45; Feridun Akozan, *Tarihi mekanları, kitabeleri ve anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun: Topkapı Sarayı*, Istanbul 2002, pp. 377–379; Stéphane Yerasimos, *Constantinople: Istanbul's Historical Heritage*, Paris 2000, p. 223, all report Ahmed I's reading room, but unfortunately they do not cite their sources. It is said to be the room in front of the bedroom of Murad III in the harem complex, which has cupboards and niches that resemble those found in contemporary libraries. It is possible that this information may have been provided by the last few remaining caretakers of the Topkapı palace to its early Republican period researchers, who have, in turn, passed it on in their work.

72 The image represents the poet Sa'di (d. 1292) dressed as a monk, but it is modeled after an image representing two Chinese royal grooms, which has survived in three versions on silk, two of which are included in TSMK H. 2153 (fols. 123r and 150r), and the third in the *Bahram Mirza Album* (TSMK H. 2154,

Paşa (d. 1616), who prepared Ahmed I's *Fālnāma*, is credited with the compilation of two additional albums for Ahmed I, a calligraphy album (TSMK H. 2171)[73] and the so-called *Ahmed I Album* (TSMK B. 408),[74] which includes a mixture of calligraphic specimens and images. The preface to Ahmed's calligraphy album (H. 2171) expressly mentions his enjoyment of fine books and albums,[75] while the contents of the album include calligraphic specimens that are identical to those from the fifteenth-century albums TSMK H. 2152, H. 2160,[76] and IUK F. 1423.[77] These albums thus testify both to Ottoman activity in album-making in this period and imply considerable access to the materials from the imperial collection.[78]

Chronologically, the last imprint on the interconnected albums TSMK H. 2153 and H. 2160, before their nineteenth-century rebinding, is that of the oval-shaped imperial seal of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) bearing his *ṭughrā* on both of the albums. This seal does not necessarily mean anything other than that it was impressed on the holdings of the Ottoman treasury for an inventory during this sultan's reign, since it is found on a large number of manuscripts from the Topkapı collection.[79]

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fols. 33v–34r). Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums", p. 35; *Islamic Art*, ed. Grube and Sims, figs. 83–86; Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, fig. 163; Massumeh Farhad, with Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, exhibition catalogue, Washington, D.C. 2009, pp. 148–149; Bağcı, "Presenting *Vaṣṣāl* Kalender's Works", pp. 269–273, fig. 16.

73 *Topkapı à Versailles. Trésors de la cour ottomane*, exhibition catalogue, Paris 1999, cat. no. 146; Farhad with Bağcı, *Falnama*, pp. 68–70; Bağcı, "Presenting *Vaṣṣāl* Kalender's Works", pp. 259–263.

74 A. Süheyl Ünver, "L'album d'Ahmed Ier", *Annali dell'istituto universitario orientale di Napoli*, N.S., XIII (1963), pp. 127–162; Farhad with Bağcı, *Falnama*, pp. 68–70; Fetvacı, "The Album of Ahmed I"; Bağcı, "Presenting *Vaṣṣāl* Kalender's Works", pp. 263–269.

75 Bağcı, "Presenting *Vaṣṣāl* Kalender's Works", pp. 262, note 35.

76 TSMK H. 2152, fols. 1or and 42v; TSMK H. 2160, fol. 8or and TSMK H. 2171, fol. 41v, has the same phrase written in similar arrangements. See below, figs. 13–17 and footnote 119.

77 Two phrases are found in identical compositions in the *Ahmed I Calligraphy Album* and the *Baba Naqqash Album*. The first is the phrase "*Allāhu walīy al-tawfīq*" (God is the protector of achievement) on TSMK H. 2171, fol. 65v and IUK F. 1423, fol. 9. The second is "*Allāhu walīy al-hidāya*" (God is the protector of striving towards the right path) on TSMK H. 2171, fol. 67v and IUK F. 1423, fol. 5.

78 The concern of the Ottoman court, as has been stated above, appears to have been concentrated on calligraphic examples. Fewer books were illustrated at the Ottoman court studio from the seventeenth century onwards, but the production of calligraphic examples and calligraphy albums appear to have continued without a break. The absence of biographies of painters (*naqqash/musavvir*) in the Ottoman art historical texts referred to by Esra Akın-Kıvanç must also have been the outcome of the court's lack of interest in the illustrated book; see above notes 54–55.

79 It therefore does not imply anything more specific than their having been part of the imperial collection at this date. It was, however, customarily stamped on one of the first few pages on most manuscripts, as indeed it is found on H. 2160. Its presence on fol. 172r of H. 2153 is therefore somewhat curious and may imply that the folios of this album may have been shuffled after this date, possibly during its nineteenth-century rebinding. Ahmed III had a second endowment seal made that was stamped on the books that he endowed. An example is a manuscript

Ahmed III, His Library and His Passion for Books

In 1703 the newly enthroned sultan Ahmed III transferred the imperial court back to Istanbul after almost half a century of residence in Edirne,[80] which had functioned as the *de facto* seat of government. Although Istanbul had remained the official capital during this time, the palace in Istanbul appears to have suffered some neglect. This is felt in the account of the French traveler Tavernier, who passed through the city in 1668. He reports that during the absence of the imperial household, large quantities of European globes, books and maps became covered in dust,[81] indicating a slight state of neglect, which was probably inevitable while the court was away.

Ahmed III, who was himself both a poet with a *dīvān* to his name, and a master calligrapher,[82] began the building of a library within the palace grounds in AH 1131 (1719), which was completed within a year.[83] In his account of its inauguration ceremony, the contemporary Ottoman historian Raşid Efendi describes how the sultan felt that the "countless peerless books" which were kept in closets were close to being damaged by dust as well as moths, and suffered from being forgotten, and that they should not be inaccessible to "those with an aptitude for learning (*müstaʿiddān*)" who wished to examine them. Raşid Efendi adds that the sultan founded his library so that the servants of the inner palace (*enderūn*) could read and study these books.[84]

The members of the palace secretarial institution (*ḳalemiyye*),[85] and the

today preserved at the Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami 148, which is among the books that were transferred to the Süleymaniye Library from the tomb of the Queen Mother, Turhan Valide Sultan; see Kut and Bayraktar, *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri*, pp. 28–29.

80 Raşid Mehmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, six vols., Istanbul 1865, vol. 3, pp. 70, 82.

81 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation de l'interieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1675, pp. 142–143, cited by Emil Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, Heidelberg 1919, p. 111; Heidrun Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Ḥüseyn b. Ǧaʿfer, genannt Hezārfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1971, p. 68.

82 Müstakimzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 76. For an in-depth study of the calligraphic work of Sultan Ahmed III, see Philippe Bora Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher and Patron of Calligraphy", PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2012.

83 TSMA D. 2362/10, gives the inauguration day as 27 *rebīʿu-l-evvel* 1131 (17 February 1719) and Raşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, vol. 5, pp. 176–177 provides the completion date as 10 *Muḥarram* 1132 (24 September 1719); see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri: tarihi gelişimi ve organizasyonu*, Ankara 2008, pp. 196–199, notes 1026–1040.

84 *bī-nihāye kütüb-i nefise vü nüsakh-ı laṭīfe dōlāblar zevāyāsında ghubār-beste-i nisyān u ṭamaʿ-i sūsa vü dīdān olub ekṣeri ʿarża-i telef… mertebelerine varmış idi.* Raşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, vol. 5, p. 129, cited by Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", p. 50. The *vaqf* deed itself (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, Defter 90, Hazine-i Evkaf-ı Sultan Ahmed Han-ı Sâlis, 3) is cited by Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, pp. 195–196, note 1023.

85 For the *ḳalemiyye* strata, see Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medreses* prescribed in a *ferman* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973/1565", *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004), pp. 183–218, at pp. 184–185, with all relevant secondary literature.

müsta'iddān were clearly aware of the value and desirability of the rare books kept in the treasury and some may even have profited from the looser control that was a result of the absence of the imperial household by assisting in their unauthorized sale to outside collectors.[86] The Italian writer Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, who came to Istanbul with the newly assigned Venetian *bailo* in 1679, refers to a certain Italian renegade Mustafa Aga, who had been a page of the court. Marsili says that Mustafa Aga provided him with Greek manuscripts from the "Saray, with the help of his friends".[87] There were also rumors that the same Mustafa Aga had sold fifteen rare Greek manuscripts, as well as an extremely important Latin one, which all came from the Ottoman palace to the French ambassador Girardin in 1687.[88] Ahmed III appears to have taken

86 Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677*, London 1680, pp. 184f, relates a story about the Istanbul palace, which also seems to indicate the neglect it suffered during the prolonged stay of the main body of the court in Edirne. While describing the Istanbul palace fire of 1665, he says that it was started by two "women of lower rank", who had stolen some of the precious jewels from a royal cradle due to their "being in the Seraglio at large without observance", and set fire to their quarters in fear, when the Queen Mother wished to have the cradle found; cited by Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek*, pp. 116–117, note 1. Ahmed Refik published an imperial order dated AH 1040 (1630) mentioning the theft of a valuable turban ornament (*kymetlû hassa sorguç*) from the court by a palace official (*oda başı*) who was a native of Üsküb. It specifies that the imperial ornament was stolen during the troubled time that led to the murder of Sultan 'Osman II (r. 1618–22) and sent to a Jewish resident of Üsküb, who, in turn, sent it to Venice to sell. The document then decrees that the said Jew should be brought to Istanbul and investigated in the Imperial Council (*divan-ı hümayun*); see Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Onbirinci asr-ı hicrîde İstanbul hayatı: 1592–1688*, Istanbul 1988, p. 52. This document shows not only that theft of valuable items from the imperial treasury did occur, especially when there was room for neglect at the palace, but that these items invariably found clients, and most frequently among the Venetians. I owe this reference to Nenad Filipovic, who is preparing a paper dealing with this case. Also see Tülay Artan, "Bir Hazine Defteri, 1680", in *Filiz Çağman Armağanı*, Istanbul forthcoming, notes 5 and 10, citing TSMA D. 14 dated AH 1091–92 (1681–85) about the delivery of some aigrettes (*sorguç*) found in the house of Mehmed Aga, an official (*Dülbent ağası*) of Mehmed IV, to the inner treasury (*Enderun Hazinesi*).

87 Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Scritti inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*, Bologna 1930, p. 183, cited by Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Ḥüseyn b. Ğa'fer*, pp. 62–63, note 4. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Impero Ottom*ano, Amsterdam 1732, vol. 2, p. 170, says that he had also bought from the *muḫallefāt* of the same Mustafa Aga, who was executed in 1691, "copious Arabic and Greek manuscripts".

88 Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek*, pp. 121–122, and 127. The sixteen manuscripts under discussion here are today preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Jacobs discusses the Ottoman seals on them and claims that fifteen of these manuscripts carry the princely seal of Sultan Mustafa I (r. 1617–18 and 1622–23), while one has the imperial seal of the same sultan. The imperial seal he reproduces, however, is the oval-shaped imperial seal of sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), which shows that this particular manuscript was in the imperial collection during this sultan's reign. The supposed "princely seal" he reproduces as that of sultan Mustafa I does not belong to this sultan either, since it does not have any specific sign that shows that it belongs to anyone other

measures against such occurrences in 1716, since he issued an order prohibiting the sale of precious books by Istanbul bazaar merchants to foreign customers.[89]

Ahmed III's passion for books and his own library, which was well known to his courtly circle, was clearly the reason why he had the rich library of his grand vizier and son-in-law, Şehid ʿAli Paşa, confiscated by an imperial decree even though it had been endowed as a pious foundation (*vaqf*) before the Paşa's death during an Ottoman–Habsburg conflict in 1716. To enable the sultan to confiscate this valuable library, the *shaykh al-islām* of the time issued a legal opinion (*fetvā*) saying that the books, which contained works of philosophy (*felsefe*), astronomy, and astrology (*nücūm*), as well as history/biography (*tārīḫ*), and poetry (*eşʿār*), were full of lies, and therefore the library could not be left as a pious foundation (*vaqf*), but should instead be confiscated.[90] As a result, some of these books were added to the royal collection.

A telling remark from the 1721 account of the Ottoman envoy to the Safavid capital Isfahan, Dürri Efendi, demonstrates Ahmed III's appreciation for his library. Dürri Efendi explains that when the Safavid shah asked him how the Ottoman sultan passed his days, he replied that on the two days of the week of the Imperial Council (*dīvān-i hümāyūn*) meetings, he deals with the administrative staff, and "for another two days he goes to the library that he had built, with the *shaykh al-islām*, the *ṣadr*s and other scholars to discuss Quran interpretations and the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet".[91]

Although his library in the inner palace was completed only in 1720, Ahmed III appears to have started to plan the endowment of several libraries as pious foundations within a year of his accession, since he endowed a library inside the tomb of his grandmother, Turhan Valide Sultan

than an owner named Mustafa. It may therefore, have just as easily been a seal used by, for example, the renegade Mustafa Aga. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık ve sahaflar*, Istanbul 2013, p. 104, also mentions Greek manuscripts that were bought by the Jesuit Besnier for the French ambassador Girardin, citing Robert Walpole, ed. from manuscript journals, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, London 1817, p. xvii. Also see Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*, pp. 100–107, where the author cites some other examples.

89 Raşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, vol. 4, p. 238, cited by Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", p. 62. According to Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 186, this prohibition was effected by Ahmed III's bibliophile grand vizier Şehid ʿAli Paşa.

90 İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II, Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a kadar Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, Ankara 1988, pp. 70–77; Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, pp. 190–191. This was a legal subterfuge effected only so as to be able to avoid the scandal of abolishing the sacrosanct and perpetual legal nature of the Paşa's endowment and enable the sultan to add some of the rare books it contained to his own, imperial collection. Also see Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artists and Ottoman Collectors: Arts of the Book in Sixteenth Century Shiraz*, Istanbul 2006, pp. 470–474.

91 "*tefsīr-i şerīf ve eḥādīṯ-i nebevī.*" Dürri Efendi's account is included verbatim in Raşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, vol. 5, p. 381. Also see, Tahsin Yazıcı, "Dürri Efendi" *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 7/6, p. 598; an updated version is available online at www.iranicaonline.org, last accessed 16 January 2014.

in the Yeni Cami complex in Eminönü[92] in AH 1116 (1704).[93] He then had a library built attached to the tomb and had the books transferred there at its completion in AH 1137 (1724–25).[94] The contemporary historian Çelebizade ʿAsım explains that Ahmed III built the library after he realized that keeping the books within the tomb limited their accessibility, which was hindering their use. According to Erünsal, however, the endowment document (*vaqfiyye*) of the library shows that the sultan must have deeded the books to the tomb with the intention of eventually transferring them to a library that he planned to build.[95] Ahmed III also appears to have endowed a second small library within the mosque of the complex that he built for his mother Gülnuş Valide Sultan (d. 1740) in Üsküdar in AH 1124 (1712).[96]

Archival sources additionally demonstrate that even before the commencement of the building of his own library within the palace, Ahmed III had started a re-organization of the books that were kept in the imperial treasury. A document dated *Muḥarram* 1131 (November 1718) shows that the royal swordbearer (*silahdar aga*), the head of the Privy Chamber (*has oda başı*), and the head treasurer (*hazinedar başı*) had transferred some books from the Underground Treasury (*bodrum hazinesi*) to the Privy Chamber (*has oda*).[97] Furthermore, the sultan appears to

92 Kut and Bayraktar, *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri*, pp. 28–29; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, 8 vols., Ankara 1988, vol. 3, part 2, p. 550; İsmail E. Erünsal, "Kuruluştan Tanzimata kadar Osmanlı vakıf kütüphanelerinde yapılan kataloglama çalışmaları", *Orhan Şaik Gökyay armağanı, Journal of Turkish Studies* 6 (1982), pp. 97–110, at p. 105; İsmail E. Erünsal, "Osmanlılarda kütüphane ve kütüphanecilik geleneği", in *Osmanlı, volume XI: kültür ve sanat*, ed. Güler Eren, Ankara 1994, pp. 699–719, at p. 707; Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, pp. 201–202, notes 1052–1057.

93 Both its *vaqf* deed dated *Muḥarram* 1116 (6 April–6 May 1704) (Şer'i Siciller Rumeli Sedareti 161, fols. 19v–25r) and an entry in a document dated 18 *Ṣafar* 1116 (22 June 1704) (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Divan-ı Hümayun, Ruus no. 1, 57) record the monthly wages that were to be paid to its five officials (four *ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb* and one *kātib-i kütüb*), cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 201, note 1053.

94 Telhisizade Mustafa Efendi, *Cerīde*, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi 7500, 179, gives the beginning date as 2 *ẕī-l-ḥicce* 1136 (2 August 1724) and Çelebizade ʿAsım, *Tārīḫ-i İsmaʿīl ʿĀsım Efendī*, Istanbul 1283, pp. 250–251 provides the completion date, AH 1137 (1724–25). Both cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 201, notes 1052 and 1055.

95 Çelebizade ʿAsım, *Tārīḫ-i İsmaʿīl ʿĀsım Efendī*, p. 250. The *vaqf* deed dated AH 1139 (1726–27) (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar 2742) shows that the transfer was effected in AH 1137 (1724–25) and a catalogue prepared. A second deed dated AH 1138 (1725) (Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami 1200, fol. 122r) shows that four officials (*ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb*) continued to be employed. All cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 201, notes 1054 and 1056.

96 Raşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, vol. 3, p. 347, gives the completion date of the complex as 15 *Muḥarram* 1124 (24 February 1712). The existence of this small library is evidenced by the foundation records on some of the books from the Gülnuş Valide Sultan section of the Istanbul Süleymaniye Library; see Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 183, notes 964–965.

97 TSMA D. 2362/12, 3a–b, cited by Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 196, note 1024.

have personally followed the developments related to his books. His concern is highlighted by a second archival document, a communication that he evidently received from a palace official. It gives detailed information about a hardworking binder, who – the writer of the document suggests – the sultan should commission for the binding of various books. Ahmed's decision is also written on the same document, and according to Erünsal, in his own hand. It specifies that although the better known binder Bursevi Mehmed would like the job, he is not reliable enough, and that ten books should be sent immediately to the hardworking binder, who should be paid ten *aqçe*s for the job.[98]

Perusal of the Albums in the Ottoman Palace

With all the activity involving books, their annotation, preservation, and organization, as well as the endowment of libraries as pious foundations by the sultan and his close circle,[99] it appears that the early albums of the imperial library came under the scrutiny of the connoisseur calligraphers at the court. As a result, some of the calligraphic specimens they include were reproduced identically, but as larger calligraphic panels during the reign of sultan Ahmed III. The first such specimen is a calligraphic composition in *thuluth* script beginning with the word "*tawakkaltu*"[100] as part of a set of famous paranaetic formulas written in identical calligraphic compositions (*istīf*). Its earliest examples are seen in two mid-sixteenth-century Safavid albums from the imperial collection, which are today preserved in the Istanbul University Library. The first is from the so-called *Shah Mahmud Nishapuri Album* (F. 1426 fol. 46v) and is signed by the calligrapher and illuminator Zayn al-Din Mahmud *muẕahhib*.[101] The second is from the *Shah Tahmasp Album* (F. 1422, fol. 53v).[102]

An eighteenth-century replica of this model from the Topkapı Palace collection (TSMK E.H. 2717) not only displays the same "*tawakkaltu*" composition with an identical text, but also an identical

98 "*On akçe meremmet-i kitābhānem vazifesin buna verelüm. Bursevī Mehmed istiyor, lākin, işine mukayyet degüldür. On aded kitap şimdi gönderülsün*". Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Ibnülemin-Hatt-ı Hümayun 388, cited by Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, pp. 196–197, note 1025. Bursevi Mehmed was one of the calligraphy masters at court and had, among others, designed the monumental inscriptions of the Gülnuş Valide Sultan complex built by Ahmed III in his mother's name in Üsküdar; see Müstakīmzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 456.

99 Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, pp. 181–205.

100 *Tawakkaltu bi-maghfirat al-muhaymen / Huwa ghafūr dhū-l-raḥma* (I put my trust in the forgiveness of God the Protector / He is all-forgiving and compassionate).

101 Reproduced in Muammer Ülker, *Başlangıçtan günümüze Türk hat sanatı*, Ankara 1987, pp. 195–196; Nihat Çetin and Uğur Derman, *Islam kültür mirasında hat sanatı*, Istanbul 1992, p. 41; Uğur Derman, *The Art of Calligraphy in the Islamic Heritage*, Istanbul 1998, p. 210.

102 Reproduced in Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 199, fig. 101. Also see Uluç and Keskiner, *The Catalogue of the Shāh Ṭahmāsp Album*. A third Safavid example exists in another Istanbul album, once again in an identical composition and using two distinct colors (TSMK H. 2172, fol. 64r).

arrangement of the letters and two distinct colors to highlight the two layers of the calligraphic design.[103] It is dated AH 1126 (1713), and signed by Abdullah Vefa'i (d. 1727–28), who was a famed calligrapher of the Ahmed III period as well as being among the palace calligraphy masters.[104]

The second specimen, which became a model for eighteenth-century individual panels (*levha*), comes from the Topkapı album H. 2153. It is a calligraphy exercise beginning with "*hajjajnā*" written in soot ink, in *thuluth* (fol. 20r) (fig. 5.6),[105] flanked by two *ghazals* of Kamal Khujandi (d. 1400) in *nasta'līq*. One of the *ghazals* is dated AH 871 (1466) and signed by Shaykh Mahmud al-Heravi, suggesting that the exercise may also be by his hand. The same album includes a second exercise with almost the same text, but as a decoupage example (*qat'*) (fol. 196r) (fig. 5.7).[106] Its earliest dated eighteenth-century replica is found on a calligraphic sample in which the "*hajjajnā*" exercise in *thuluth* is followed by two *ḥadīth*s of the prophet Muhammad in *naskh* dated AH 1187 (1773), and signed by Mehmed Vasfi (d. 1831) (fig. 5.8),[107] known as Kebecizade, who was a scribe attached to the court (*kātib-i sulṭānī*).[108]

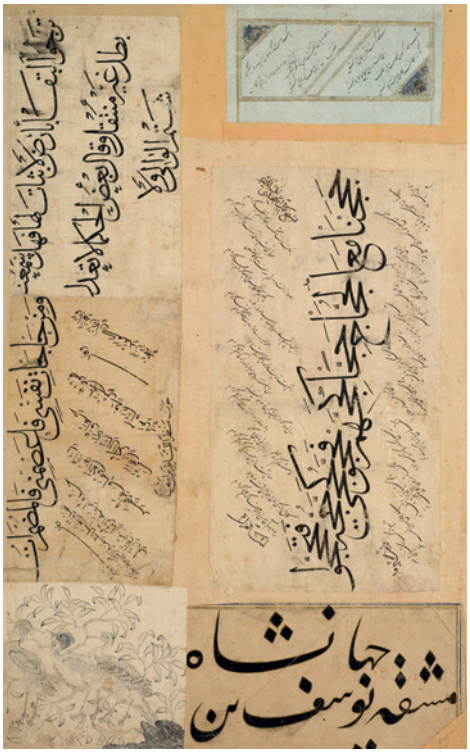


FIGURE 5.6 *A calligraphy exercise beginning with* "hajjajnā" *written in soot ink, in* thuluth *script, flanked by two* ghazals *of Kamal Khujandi (d. 1400) in* nasta'līq *script, one of which is dated AH 871 (1466) and signed by Shaykh Mahmud al-Heravi, Tabriz, Qaraqoyunlu period. Istanbul, TSMK H. 2153, fol. 20r.*

103 Reproduced in Filiz Çağman and Şule Aksoy, *Osmanlı sanatında hat*, exhibition catalogue, Istanbul 1998, p. 86.

104 Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necib, *Devha-tül-küttab*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat, Istanbul 1942, p. 137; Müstakīmzade, *Tuḥfe-yi ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 292.

105 The full text reads: *Ḥajjajnā ma'a l-ḥujjājī ḥajjan ka-ḥajjajahum fa-ḥajjū ka-ḥajjī ḥajjuhū fataḥajjajū.*

106 In this example, the text is incomplete. It consists of repeated sections with no sense of order: *taḥajjaja taḥajjaja taḥajjaja bi-ḥujjājī taḥajjajat ḥajjajtu bi-ḥujjājī ḥajjajnā.* Once again a third example exists in the Istanbul album TSMK H. 2172, fol. 65v. with the text: *Ḥajjajnā ma'a l-ḥujjājī ḥajja fa-ḥajjajū.*

107 This calligraphic sample was sold at auction in Istanbul by the auction house Nişantaşı Müzayede, auction catalogue, 12 May 2011, Istanbul, lot no. 172. It is now in a private collection in Istanbul. Its dimensions are 13 × 20 cm.

108 He had received his diploma (*ijāzat*) in AH 1181 (1767), six years before he wrote this sample. İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, p. 451.



FIGURE 5.7 *A calligraphy exercise beginning with* "hajjajnā" *in decoupage calligraphy, in* thuluth *script, Tabriz, Qaraqoyunlu period. Istanbul,* TSMK *H. 2153, fol. 196r.*

This was half a century later than the first known eighteenth-century "*tawakkaltu*" composition on a panel (mentioned above), written by one of Ahmed III's court calligraphers, Abdullah Vefa'i in AH 1126 (1713) (TSMK E.H. 2717).[109] The "*tawakkaltu*" composition, however, was repeated in an identical two-layered design, with alternate colors, towards the end of the eighteenth century. An example from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.94) is dated AH 1199 (1784–85) and signed by a scribe, also attached to the Ottoman court, Ibrahim Ezher, who specifies himself as such ("*kātib-i sarāy*") in his signature on the panel.[110] This "*tawakkaltu*" panel, which is roughly from the same period as the first known eighteenth-century example of the *ḥajjajnā* composition written by Mehmed Vasfi in AH 1187 (1773) (fig. 5.8), suggests that the *ḥajjajnā* example might also have been made into a panel earlier, during the Ahmed III period.

These two compositions starting with *tawakkaltu* and *ḥajjajnā*, both of which were found in albums from the Ottoman treasury, appear to have become popular choices as decorative texts for reproducing on panels from the eighteenth century onwards, and were repeated throughout the nineteenth century.[111] One of the later panels (*levḥa*) of the *ḥajjajnā* exercise that is signed by Galatalı Ahmed Na'ili and dated AH 1224 (1808) is in the İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal calligraphy collection from the Istanbul University Library (no. 1851) (fig. 5.9).[112] This example is very

109 Çağman and Aksoy, *Osmanlı sanatında hat*, p. 86.

110 Reproduced in Binney, *Turkish Treasures*, pp. 236–237. The written sources of the period do not seem to mention this calligrapher. We can, however, understand that he must have been working at the Ottoman palace since he specifies this by the words, *kātib-i sarāy* (a scribe attached to the court), which follow his name in his signature.

111 For later versions of the same composition, see Nabil F. Safwat, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries*, London 1996, pp. 172–173; *Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi kitap sanatları ve hat koleksiyonu*, exhibition catalogue, Istanbul, Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2012, pp. 300–301, 342–343, and cat.nos. 161, 184.

112 An older inventory number for the work is İbnülemin 57. The text of the exercise reads: "*ḥajjajnā ma'a al-ḥujjaji ḥajjan ka-ḥajjajahum ḥajjan fa-taḥajjū*". It is almost identical to that of TSMK H. 2153, fol. 20r, missing the two words "*fa-ḥajjū ka-ḥajjī*". There is a prayer in



FIGURE 5.8 *A calligraphic panel* (levḥa) *replicating the calligraphy exercise beginning with* "hajjajnā" *in* thuluth *script, followed by two* ḥadīths *of the prophet Muhammad, dated* AH *1187 (1773), signed by Mehmed Vasfi (d. 1831), who was known as Kebecizade, and was a scribe attached to the Ottoman court* (kātib-i sulṭānī). *Istanbul, Ottoman period, Istanbul, private collection.*

interesting, since the *ḥajjajnā* exercise is followed by two *ḥadīth*s of the prophet Muhammad. But more importantly, the top half of the panel has another *ḥadīth*, which is written in the *ṭughrā* form. This is an additional significant indication that this exercise might have been made into a panel during the reign of Ahmed III, because this sultan was the very first calligrapher who had written this particular *ḥadīth* of the prophet Muhammad in the shape of a *ṭughrā.* Furthermore, his original design of the same *ḥadīth* in a *ṭughrā* shaped composition survives in two signed copies (TSMK GY 425 and GY 947), one of which is dated AH 1123 (1710) (fig. 5.10).[113] The sultan's signature is in the form of a couplet, each line of which is located on either side of the *ṭughrā*-shaped composition. The inclusion of this original composition of Ahmed III, in conjunction with the *ḥajjajnā* exercise, supports the hypothesis that the same composition had been made into a panel during Ahmed III's reign. An undated fragment from the

thuluth script under it followed by the colophon which reads "*katabahū al-ḥājj Aḥmad al-maʿrūf bayna-l-kuttāb bi-Nāʾilī al-sākin fī Abī Ayyūb al-Anṣārī* 1224". For the calligrapher, see İnal, *Son hattatlar*, p. 222.

113 The text of the *ḥadīth* is: *shafāʿatī li ahli-l-kabāʾiri min ummatī* (My intercession is available even for the most sinful among my community). Philippe Bora Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III's *Hadith-Tughra*: Uniting the Word of the Prophet and the Imperial Monogram", *İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, 2 (2013), pp. 111–125, analyzes and interprets this particular use of the form, which he refers to as a *ḥadīth-ṭughrā.* Also see Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", pp. 111–125.



FIGURE 5.9 *A calligraphic panel* (levḥa) *replicating the calligraphy exercise beginning with* "hajjajnā" *in* thuluth *script, dated* AH *1224 (1808), and signed by Galatalı Ahmed Na'ili followed by two* ḥadīths *of the prophet Muhammad and preceded with a third in the* ṭughrā *form, Istanbul, Ottoman period. Istanbul, İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal calligraphy collection* IUK *no. 1851.*

Wellcome Library in London (inv. no. 9),[114] for example, seems also to be somewhat earlier than the one by Mehmed Vasfi dated 1773. Another panel consisting of the *ḥajjajnā* exercise in *thuluth*, together with two *ḥadīths* in *naskh*, signed by Mehmed

114 Although its first half is missing, the text of the Wellcome *ḥajjajnā* exercise is almost the same as that of TSMK H. 2153, fol. 20r. It reads: "[. . .] *ḥajjū ka-ḥajji ḥajjan fa-taḥajjajū*". Nikolai Serikoff, ed., *Islamic Calligraphy from the Wellcome Library*, Chicago 2007, p. 89, fig. LXIII, cat no. 9.



FIGURE 5.10 *A* ḥadīth *of the prophet Muhammad in the shape of a* ṭughrā*, dated* AH *1123 (1710) and signed by Sultan Ahmed III, Istanbul, Ottoman period. Istanbul,* TSMK GY *425.*

Vasfi's teacher Mustafa Kütahi,[115] is yet another indication that earlier exercises of the same text must have existed.

The Evidence from the Eighteenth-Century Sinan Aga Tekke

Lastly, some instances of eighteenth-century transfers of calligraphic compositions from Topkapı album pages into monumental scale on a wall can be seen in the Sinanova tekija or the Sinan Aga Tekke (Sufi lodge) in Sarajevo, Bosnia. The walls of the entrance hall of this lodge are covered by consecutive lines of epigraphy, which include dated specimens that demonstrate that they were written in the interval between 1732 and 1748.[116] While the text of the top two lines is continuous, the organization of the rest resembles an album page with calligraphic samples written in a variety of scripts, mostly in black, but

115 From the collection of Uğur Derman, see *The Art of Calligraphy*, p. 225, plate 88. İnal, *Son hattatlar*, p. 222, refers to the teacher–student relationship between these two calligraphers.

116 Mehmed Mujezinović, "Kaligrafski zapisi u Sinanovoj Tekiji u Sarajevo i njihova konzervacija" (Les épigraphes caligrahiques du monastère musulman dite de Sinan à Sarajevo, et leurs conservation), *Nase Starine* 8 (1958), pp. 95–104; Snježana Buzov, "Wall-less Walls: Calligraphy at the Hadži Sinanova Tekija in Sarajevo", in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Islamic World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and Irvin Cemil Schick, Edinburgh 2013, pp. 67–82.



FIGURE 5.11 *West wall of the entrance hall of the Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*

individually framed in red, all arranged next to one another (fig. 5.11).[117] Some of these framed compositions are identical to calligraphic exercises preserved in the Istanbul albums that can be dated to the fifteenth century. Two are found in the so-called *Timurid Workshop Album* (TSMK H. 2152). The first one "*Bi-l-shukr tadūmu al-niʿam*" (blessings continue through gratitude), which is on the west wall of the entrance hall (fig. 5.12) is identical,

117 Buzov, "Wall-less Walls", pp. 78–79, has also remarked on their resemblance to *mecmūʿas* (miscellany/anthology), saying that the calligraphy on these walls must have originated from, and should be considered within, the traditions of the arts of the book.



FIGURE 5.12 "Bi-l-shukr tadūmu al-niʿam" *from the west wall of the entrance hall of the Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*

both in its script and in its arrangement, to the particular calligraphic exercise from the album H. 2152, mentioned above, that was first written by Ahmad al-Rumi and then repeated by the Timurid prince Baysunghur and a number of other calligraphers (fol. 31v), as well as a second time by the prince himself in a larger version, once again preserved in the same album (fol. 21v, fig. 5.1).[118] The second is either a prophetic *ḥadīth* or a saying attributed to ʿAli b. Abi Talib, "*Uluww al-himma min al-īmān*" (the elevation of benevolence is from faith). It is found both in the album H. 2152, and in H. 2160, written twice in the first (fols. 1or and 42v; fig. 5.13) and once in the second (fol. 8or; fig. 5.14), in all three instances in monumental characters. The first rendition of the phrase on H. 2152, fol. 1or was probably written for the Timurid prince Baysunghur, since there is a calligrapher's signature in smaller oblique writing to the bottom left of the phrase, in *tauqiʿ* script, which reads "*Aḥmad, aqall-i ʿibād al-sulṭān Bāysunghur*" (Ahmad the least of sultan Baysunghur's slaves).[119] He was probably the same calligrapher who had signed his name as Ahmad al-Rumi in the exercise on H. 2152, fol. 31v. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the same *ḥadīth* or saying was repeated in

118 See above, notes 11–13.

119 *Islamic Art*, ed. Grube and Sims, fig. 7; Lentz, "Painting at Herat", p. 503, cat.no. 121; Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to Us'", pp. 673–674. Also see above, note 76.



FIGURE 5.13 "Uluww al-himma min al-īmān" (*the elevation of benevolence is from faith*), *signed* "Aḥmad, aqall-i ʿibād al-sulṭān Bāysunghur", c. *1430, Herat, Timurid period. Istanbul, TSMK H. 2152, fol. 10r.*



FIGURE 5.14 "Uluww al-himma min al-īmān" (*the elevation of benevolence is from faith*), *probably Tabriz, Turkman period. Istanbul, TSMK H. 2160, fol. 10r.*



FIGURE 5.15 "Uluww al-himma min al-īmān" (*the elevation of benevolence is from faith*), c. *1603–17, Istanbul, Ottoman period. Istanbul,* TSMK *H. 2171, fol. 41v.*

the calligraphy album of the Ottoman sultan Ahmed I (TSMK H. 2171, fol. 41v; fig. 5.15) and then in the middle of the eighteenth century on the walls of the Sinanova Lodge, where it is seen in a similar arrangement above the arch of the entrance gate, on its right side (figs. 5.16–5.17). Interestingly, the examples from the albums H. 2152 and H. 2160 may also have been intended to serve as models that were to be repeated as epigraphy on a monumental scale, since in all three instances the phrase is written in large letters (*jalī*) across the entire page of the albums.[120]

A significant set of graffiti dated AH 1161 (1748) on the west wall of the main ceremonial hall (*semahane*) of the same Sinanova Lodge is signed by a *mullā* of Sarajevo, Şeyh Seyyid Feyzullah.[121] Both the rank of this *mullā* and other personages connected to the Sinanova Lodge, as well as the repetition of calligraphy samples from Topkapı albums, suggest that the calligraphy on the walls of this Sufi lodge was carrying an idea that was developed within the Istanbul elite culture and then taken into the provinces.

This hypothesis is supported by the existence of several calligraphic compositions from the walls of the Sinanova Lodge that repeat eighteenth-century compositions written by Sultan Ahmed III and calligraphers from his courtly circle. The most remarkable is a calligraphic panel of a Quranic verse (QUR 23:14)[122] signed by the sultan himself, as Ahmed b. Mehmed Han, in which the verse is divided after the word *Allāh* and the second part is written in much smaller letters placed at the upper left hand corner of the panel in a rectangular frame (fig. 5.18).[123] The Sinanova

120 On this idea, see Thomas W. Lentz, "Dynastic Imagery in Early Timurid Wall Painting," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), pp. 253–265.

121 Mujezinović, "Kaligrafski zapisi", p. 100; Buzov, "Wall-less Walls", p. 70.

122 "*Fatabārakallāh/Aḥsan al-khāliqīn*". Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", p. 154, gives the inventory number of this panel as TSMK 06-31655. None of the curators at the Topkapı Palace Museum, however, were able to confirm that this work was among their holdings. Its present whereabouts is therefore unknown to me.

123 This arrangement, placing a part of a phrase written in much smaller letters in a separate rectangular frame, is also an idea that appears to have been inspired by an earlier album from the Ottoman treasury. The album TSMK B. 411 mentioned above, which is attributed



FIGURE 5.16 *Entrance gate, Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*



FIGURE 5.17 "Uluww al-himma min al-īmān" (*the elevation of benevolence is from faith*), *on the right hand side of the entrance gate, Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*



FIGURE 5.18 *A calligraphic panel bearing the Quranic verse* (QUR 23:14)*:* "Fa-tabārak Allāh/Aḥsan al-khāliqīn" *signed by Sultan Ahmed III as Ahmed b. Mehmed Han, c. 1703–1730, Ottoman period. Istanbul, present whereabouts unknown.*

example, which is above the arch of the entrance gate, on its left side (figs. 5.16 and 5.19), uses the same script (*thuluth*), and separates the text after the word *Allāh*; the same second part is written, once again, in much smaller letters in a small rectangular arrangement, but placed just below the last word (*Allāh*) of the first part of the verse.[124]

A second example is seen twice on the walls of the Sinanova Lodge, both on the north wall of the entrance hall (fig. 5.20) and, in a slight variation, above the arch of

to the Timurid Herat workshop of the middle of the fifteenth century, has a page with the *basmala* written in large letters (*jalī*) across the entire page, which divides the verse into two and places the second part above the last word (*Allāh*) of the first part; see Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, Edinburgh 2006, p. 259, fig. 7.7. For TSMK B. 411, see notes 17–19 above.

124 The same calligraphic composition is also found on a Tekfur Saray tile on the wall of the Karaağalar Mescid within the Topkapı Palace grounds, redecorated during the reign of Ahmed III; see Bora Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III's Calligraphy on Tekfur Sarayı Tiles", in *14th International Congress of Turkish Arts*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel, Paris 2013, pp. 431–435. The text is once again divided after the Word *Allāh* and the second part is written in smaller letters above the word *Allāh* in a rectangular arrangement.



FIGURE 5.19 *The Quranic verse (QUR 23:14):* "Fa-tabārak Allāh/Aḥsan al-khāliqīn", *and a calligraphic composition comprising the names of God, the prophet Muhammad, and the four righteous caliphs on the left hand side of the entrance gate, Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*

the entrance gate, on its left side (fig. 5.19). It comprises the names of God, the prophet Muhammad, and the four righteous caliphs. The example from the north wall is written in an identical arrangement to that on several tiles from the Ahmed III period (1703–30), which were probably produced in the Tekfur Saray kilns.[125] The most sig-

125 Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III's Calligraphy on Tekfur Sarayı Tiles"; Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", pp. 182–188, figs. 64–72.



FIGURE 5.20 *A calligraphic composition comprising the names of God, the prophet Muhammad, and the four righteous caliphs on the north wall of the entrance hall of the Sinanova Lodge, first half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman period. Sarajevo, Bosnia.*

nificant examples of this same calligraphic composition are found on the northern wall of the Ocaklı Sofa, within the Imperial Harem (*Harem-i Hümayun*) at the Topkapı Palace, flanking the fireplace. Six more extant Tekfur Saray tiles bear the same composition. Two are still in situ, flanking the *mihrab* of the Damad İbrahim Paşa Mosque in Nevşehir. They are dated 1727, the same year as the construction of the mosque by this favored son-in-law and grand vizier of Ahmed III, Damad İbrahim Paşa (d. 1730).[126] The most significant use of this composition for the present argument, however, is its third appearance on the west wall of the same mosque, where it is simply written on the wall itself, framed by a red border (fig. 5.21),[127] suggesting that the Sinanova examples were following such a precedent.[128]

126 Two are among the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London: one is dated 1727 (inv.no. 1756–1892), the other is undated (inv.no. 420–1900). Two others from the Nevşehir Museum are dated 1728 and 1730. The same composition is used in other parts of the Turko-Persian world as well. One example is found in the harem mosque of the eighteenth-century palace in the citadel of Khiva, Uzbekistan.

127 Keskiner, "Ahmed III as a Calligrapher", p. 187, fig. 70.

128 One last instance of a connection to the Istanbul courtly circle is the appearance of a framed phrase "*tawakkaltu 'ala-Allāh*" (I put



FIGURE 5.21 *A calligraphic composition comprising the names of God, the prophet Muhammad, and the four righteous caliphs on the west wall of the Damad İbrahim Paşa Mosque, 1727, Nevşehir.*

Conclusion

The repetition of the calligraphic examples from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century albums preserved in the Ottoman treasury demonstrates that they were continuously perused by courtly readers. Further evidence that sheds light on the Ottoman interest in the manuscripts from the royal treasury is found in the extensive notes that were added to some of the illustrated Persian manuscripts after they had reached the Ottoman palace. The royal Safavid *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi that had been produced for Shah Tahmasp, but was sent to the Ottomans as a diplomatic gift in 1568, provides the most outstanding example.[129] Around a century and a half later, during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807), a page of explanation in Ottoman Turkish was inserted within the manuscript

my trust in God) from the north wall of the entrance hall of the Sinanova Lodge on a calligraphic panel dated AH 1172 (1758) by the calligrapher Mehmed Sa'id Dedezade (d. 1759), who was a member of the Ottoman elite. He was the grandson of the chief judge of Rumeli (*Rumeli Kazaskeri*) Seyyid Mehmed Dede, and the son-in-law of *shaykh al-islam* Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1703); see Şevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları*, Istanbul n.d., p. 164, for information about this calligrapher and a reproduction of the panel in question. Even though this particular panel is a decade later than the Sinanova examples, these were often repeated phrases and may well have had an earlier application.

129 Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*; Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp*, New York 1976.

for each of its 258 illustrations,[130] an operation that was repeated for some other illustrated Persian manuscripts from the Ottoman treasury.[131]

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a renewed interest in the Topkapı albums generated through the rise of the history of Islamic art as a scholarly discipline in Western academia. This was when Western scholars and connoisseurs of Islamic art, who were closely related to the European art market in things Islamic, started to look at them as well, but with the eyes and tools of Western art history. The first manifestation of this activity was the photographing of some folios that were mostly from the Topkapı albums H. 2152, H. 2153, and H. 2160 by the Syrian-born, but Istanbul-based photographer Pascal Sébah (1823–86).[132] Sébah's photographs were later acquired by the Hungarian Museum of Applied Arts, and the director of the museum at the time, Eugène (Jenö) Radisics de Kutas (1856–1917), published a group from them in an article of 1888.[133] This earliest known

130 Ünver Rüstem, "The Afterlife of a Royal Gift: The Ottoman Inserts of the *Shāhnāma-i Shāhī*", *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), pp. 245–339. The Ottoman chronicler Ahmed Feridun Paşa writes in his work *Nüzhetü l-aḫbār der sefer-i Sigetvār*, dated AH 976 (1569), that this *Shāhnāma* had 259 illustrations when it had reached the Ottoman palace as a gift in 1568. Today the manuscript has 258. He also mentions that it had a gem encrusted (*muraṣṣa'*) binding, which it must have lost at some point, possibly at the same time as the addition of these pages. The gems and precious metals from the *muraṣṣa'* binding may have been used for the generation of much-needed funds for military campaigns. An archival document (TSMA D. 38) dated 12 *Safer* 1204 (21 October 1790) records the collection of gold and silver objects from various persons from the court, starting with the sultan himself; see İsmail Baykal, "Selim III devrinde 'imdad-ı sefer' için para basılmak üzere Saraydan verilen altın ve gümüş avanî hakkında", *Tarih Vesikaları* 13 (1944), pp. 36–50. I owe this reference to Nenad Filipovic, who wishes to prepare a detailed study of this document. During its rebinding, this royal *Shāhnāma* appears to have been bound not by a newly prepared Ottoman binding, but by a sixteenth-century Shiraz one that was available within the Ottoman treasury, since both its outer covers and doublures are identical to those from typical bindings found on almost all luxury Shiraz manuscripts from the middle of the sixteenth century, when Shiraz Qurans, and some of the illustrated manuscripts, were easily as large as the *Tahmasp Shāhnāma*.

131 A Shiraz copy of the *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* of Jami from *c.* 1590 also has page-long explanations in Ottoman Turkish inserted for all of its thirteen textual illustrations; see Lâle Uluç, "Zülkadirli Şiraz valilerinin son döneminden resimli bir *Yusuf ve Züleyha* nüshası" (A Copy of the *Yusuf and Zulaikha* of Jami from the End of the Gubernatorial Period of the Zulqadir Governors of Shiraz), *Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy'a armağan*, ed. Baha Tanman, Istanbul 2014, pp. 387–422 (in Turkish). For another, see Christiane J. Gruber, *The Timurid "Book of Ascension" (Mi'rajnama): A Study of Text and Image in a Pan-Asian Context*, Valencia 2008, p. 211, fig. 5.6 and pp. 346–352.

132 For Sébah's studio, see Engin Özendes, *From Sébah & Joailier To Foto Sabah: Orientalism in Photography*, Istanbul 1999. Although these albums were re-bound for Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) at the Yıldız Palace, there is no known evidence of a renewed study of their contents during the rebinding process; see Tanındı, "History of the Palace Albums".

133 Jenö Radisics, "A Szilágyi Dániel-féle fényképgyüjtemény" ("The Dániel Szilágyi Collection of Photographs"), *Müvészi Ipar* (Industrial

scholarly publication about these albums was followed by many others in the following century.[134]

The *tawakkaltu* compositions from the Istanbul albums (IUK F. 1426, fol. 46v and F. 1422, fol. 53v)[135] and the *ḥajjajnā* exercise (TSMK 2153, fols. 20r and 196r) (figs. 5.6–5.8) appear to have become popular texts for calligraphic panels from the beginning of the eighteenth century. In addition, some of these calligraphic phrases were also written directly onto mosque walls. In the same century, calligraphic samples from the albums were reproduced on the walls of the Sinanova Lodge in Sarajevo, some of which are also found on later panels that were used in diverse dervish lodges.[136]

The repeated reuse of the first two compositions at the Ottoman court, as well as the recurrence of calligraphic exercises from a Timurid album on the walls of a provincial Sufi lodge in the middle of the eighteenth century, show that these earlier albums were treasured, perused, and referred to regularly over time by scribes, scholars, and connoisseurs at the Ottoman palace. The albums themselves thus constitute visual documents that testify to the existence of a shared culture on either end of the early modern Turko-Persian world, stretching from Herat all the way to Sarajevo, via Istanbul.

In addition, the study of the Istanbul albums must have generated a rare stratum of people who became connoisseurs themselves, who could later use their expertise for further attributions. The Topkapı albums, with the wide variety of examples they include, which had been chosen from the artworks accumulated in the royal workshops of Timurid, Turkman, Safavid, and Ottoman courts, continue to perform this function of enabling new generations of scholars and connoisseurs to become familiar with the book arts and taste of these earlier dynastic periods.

Art) 3 (1888), pp. 20–26, 60–65, 119–127, and plates I–III, IV, V, IX–XI; see Tatjána Kardos and Iván Szántó, "The Dániel Szilágyi Collection of Photographs: A 19th-century photography collection documenting Persian album paintings in the Istanbul libraries", in *Artisans at Crossroads: Persian Arts of the Qajar Period, 1796–1925*, Budapest 2010, pp. 70–74; Iván Szántó and Tatjána Kardos, "The Mediation of Photography: Persian Paintings in European Printed Books and Journals", in *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó, Newcastle-on-Tyne 2012, pp. 143–159.

134 Uluç, "The Historiography of the Topkapı Saray Albums."

135 See above, notes 101–104.

136 For examples see *Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi kitap sanatları*, pp. 33, 240, figs. 7, 147; also see Rado, *Türk hattatları*, p. 201, who reproduces a panel by Mahmud Jalal al-Din (d. 1829) that repeats the composition comprising the names of God, the prophet Muhammad, and the four righteous caliphs.

CHAPTER 6

Repetition of Illustrations in the Topkapı Palace and Diez Albums

Zeren Tanındı

Illustrations in manuscripts were the most widespread category of Islamic visual culture and illustrated stories, events, or information in the text in pictorial idiom. Images that were usually produced specifically for the original text were later copied along with the text when new versions of the book were produced.[1] Sometimes designs which were created for a particular text became a model for illustrations of a very different text in a different region and at a different period.[2] This can be explained by the transfer of works and images from one place to another when the artists migrated. In some very rare cases the binding, calligraphy, illumination, and illustrations belonging to one manuscript were copied exactly during the same period or subsequently.[3] There are also examples of different copies of the same text produced in the same country, at the same period, and in the same studio that have illustrations, illumination and bindings with different designs.[4] This original approach shows how the artists used their creativity.

Single page miniature paintings in albums and those in manuscripts tell us that major illustrated book projects undertaken by the court studio began with a lengthy process of producing preliminary designs for the calligraphy, binding, illumination, and illustration. For calligraphers and miniature painters in particular, copying the works of earlier masters was a way of improving their skills, and we know that this kind of imitation was an

1 Priscilla Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh: 1386–1482", 2 vols., PhD diss., New York University, 1971, pp. 38–213; Norah M. Titley, "Persian Miniature Painting: The Repitation of Compositions During the Fifteenth Century", *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archaologie München 7.–10. September 1976,* Dietrich Reimer Verlag in Berlin 1976, pp. 471–491; Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princeley Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989, pp. 376–379; Ada T. Adamova, "Repetition of Composition in Manuscripts: the Khamsa of Nizami in Leningrad", *Timurid Art and Culture, Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Leiden 1992, pp. 67–75.

2 Serpil Bağcı, "Old Images for New Texts and Contexts: Wandering Images in Islamic Book Painting", *Muqarnas. Essays in Honor of J.M. Rogers*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Anna Contadini, XXI (2004), pp. 21–32.

3 Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebî: An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammad and its Place in Islamic Art*, Istanbul 1984, pp. 19–20; *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman. Exhibition Catalogue. Topkapı Palace Museum*, Istanbul 2000, pp. 164–201.

4 Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting*, Istanbul 2011, pp. 133–142.

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accepted method from the fact that they wrote the names of the original artists on their copies.

In this article I will discuss the examples of this practice mainly in two Topkapı Saray albums, H. 2153 and H. 2160, together with some examples from H. 2152, then compare them with examples in the Diez album. I wish to begin by mentioning some very overt examples of the repetition of compositions and single images in the two Topkapı Saray albums.[5]

Repetition of Compositions and Single Images in the Saray Albums H. 2153 and H. 2160

Two Young Women in Chinese Style Costume Seated on a Sofa

In album no. H. 2153 there are four similar pictures of the same scene (fols. 42r, 146v, 148r, 150v).[6] Three of these are virtually identical (fols. 42r, 146v, 148r). An inscription, "the work of the master artist Shaykhi" (*ʿamāl-i ustād Shaykhī naqqāsh*), is written in a *taʿlīq* script on sized, cream-coloured paper (fol. 146v).[7] The women's garments are richly gilded and the front of the couch is decorated with a design of coloured flowers on scrolling branches. The woman on the left holds a book which has a cover design of a medallion and cornerpieces that are depicted in detail. A broad gilded frame surrounds one of the pictures (fol. 148r).[8] One of the pictures differs significantly from the rest (fol. 150v).[9] First of all, it is painted on fabric, and two servants, one of whom is holding a large blue and white Chinese jar, are included, standing on either side of the women. The hairstyles and clothing of these standing figures are richly embellished, and the garments of the seated women are more densely gilded than in the other three paintings. The cover of the book held by the woman on the left is also shown in detail and has a broad border, as well as medallion and cornerpieces. The floral decoration is a common feature of all four paintings, but the inclusion of colourful butterflies is another distinctive feature of this fourth example. This painting, which is thought to have been the model for the other three, dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, and may have been produced in Herat or another

5 This subject, apart from the Diez Album examples, is studied briefly in: Zeren Tanındı, "Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums: H. 2153 and 2160", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 39–41; Zeren Tanındı, "Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums: H. 2153 and 2160", *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums, A Colloquy held 23–26 June 1980*, ed. Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims, New York 1985, pp. 39–41.

6 *Islamic Art*, figs. 105, 107–109.

7 The painter Shaykhi was first studied in detail by Filiz Çağman in "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine 762 No.lu Nizami Hamsesi'nin Minyatürleri". PhD diss., University of Istanbul 1972, pp. 142–146. Also see Filiz Çağman, Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Islamic Painting*, Istanbul 1979, cat.no. 45; Basil W. Robinson, "Turkman School to 1503", *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray, London 1979, pp. 241–242; *Islamic Art*, fig. 109; David J. Roxburgh, "The Timurid and Turkman Dynasties of Iran, Afghanistan and Cenral Asia, c. 1370–1506", in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhibition catalogue, ed. David J. Roxburgh, London 2005, cat.no. 220; Zeren Tanındı, "Artists Represented in the Two Saray Albums", *Saray Albums. H. 2153, H. 2160* (forthcoming).

8 *Islamic Art*, fig. 107.

9 *Ibid.*, fig. 105.

place where copying Far Eastern paintings was a common practice at this period. This and other miniature paintings might later have been taken to the Qaraqoyunlu or Aqqoyunlu Turkman palace studio, and the other three copies must have been made in Tabriz in *c.* 1470–1480, during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period.

Young Man Seated and Mounted on a Horse

Album no. H. 2160 includes two groups of small-scale pictures on different subjects, each with four repetitions. Some of these show a seated man holding a falcon (fols. 32v, 36r, 43r, 53r),[10] while the other group depicts a young man on a horse (fols. 15v, 61r, 75r, 89v).[11] Three of the pictures in the two groups are placed in the margin; only one of those portraying a man holding a falcon is carefully arranged in the centre of the page, where it is surrounded by examples of calligraphy (fol. 36r). One of the album images illustrating a horseman spearing a leopard is bounded by calligraphic exercises on two sides, while another small picture showing a young man on a horse has been pasted in the right corner of the field within a gold frame (fol. 61r). There are three repetitions of *Horseman Spearing a Leopard* in Saray album H. 2153 (fols. 14r, 147v, 154r), which I discuss below. A small image of a young man on a horse is also repeated as a black ink drawing in album H. 2153, fol. 3v. It is pasted in the top right corner of the album page within a gold frame.

All but two of these small pictures are painted in polychrome. The exception is the one depicting a seated man holding a falcon, which is painted in tones of pink (fol. 43r), while the other is unpainted and its details are not visible (H. 2153, fol. 3v). The headdresses, facial expressions, horses, and colours of the saddles and designs vary in all the other pictures. Seven of them have "miniscule work" (*kār-i khurdak*) written in an identical hand on one edge (H. 2160, fols. 15v, 32v, 36r, 53r, 61r, 75r, 89v).[12] Some of the letters have been cut off and in one case the writing is worn (fol. 43r). These pictures can be attributed to Shiraz or Tabriz *c.* 1470–1480, during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period.

Old Man Riding a Donkey and His Young Servant

One of the two pictures in this category is painted on fabric and the other on sized paper (H. 2153, fol. 15r; H. 2160, fol. 75v).[13] In both pictures the old man riding a donkey and his servant are in the foreground. The one on fabric – which is thought to have originally belonged to a larger picture – has a hill, a bull, and a man who may be playing a musical instrument reclining under a tree in the background. The bull, trees, and the tiny plants on the ground and the hills are drawn in the black pen drawing (*qalam-i siyāhī*) technique. The attribution "the work of master Muhammad Siyah Qalam" (*kār-i ustād Muḥammad Sīyāh Qalam*) is written

10 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Fatih Albümüne bir bakış. Sur l'album du Conquérant*, Istanbul 1955, fig. 117.

11 Only fol. 61r has been published; see *Islamic Art*, fig. 142.

12 For the meaning of this attribution, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums Reconsidered in the Light of 'Frankish' Images", *Saray Albums. H. 2153, H. 2160*, n. 24. (forthcoming).

13 *Islamic Art*, figs. 174–175.

on the top, outside the drawing area (H. 2153, fol. 15r).[14] The second picture, which was probably based on the first, is larger and painted on sized paper. There are no figures behind the hill, but the blue sky is filled with white clouds, and there is a tree with green foliage, as well as large clumps of flowering plants on the ground. At the lower edge of the picture are the words "the work of master…" (*kār-i ustād*…), with the last letters cut off (H. 2160, fol. 75v). Albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 contain other examples of attributions cut off in this way, showing that the attributions were written before the pictures were pasted into the albums. The version of the man travelling with his servant painted on fabric can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century and the other version to the second half of the same century, probably to the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period.

Man Combing His Horse's Tail

One of these pictures (H. 2160, fol. 71r) on this theme is lightly painted in tones of chestnut brown in places, on sized, ivory-coloured paper.[15] The field is empty apart from motifs beneath the horse's hooves indicating the ground. Below the picture is an attribution reading "exercise by 'Abd al-Baqi al-Bakuyi" (*mashq-i ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bākūyī*). Another repetition of the theme is painted on sized, cream-coloured paper, and there is an imposing tree with abundant green foliage and clumps of flowers and leaves in the background (H. 2160, fol. 86v).[16] The texts above these two pictures on different pages of album H. 2160 belong to the same work, showing that the pictures were originally designed for facing pages. Both images can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.

A Hunting Party Setting Out

One of the pictures is painted on sized, cream-coloured paper and some of the details have been left unpainted (H. 2153, fol. 14r). The second version is painted on worn, sized, dark cream-coloured paper and bears the attribution "the work of master Muhammad Siyah Qalam" (*kār-i ustād Muḥammad Sīyāh Qalam*) (H. 2160, fol. 84r).[17] Both pictures probably date from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Stout Male Figure Dancing

There are three versions of this theme in both of the albums. One of them is a full-page painting on fabric showing a figure with white hair and beard in a red robe. The attribution, "the work of Mir Khalil" (*kār-i Mīr Khalīl*), is written in the lower left cor-

14 For the *qalam-i siyāhī* technique and Muhammad Siyah Qalam, see Filiz Çağman, "Glimpses into the Fourteenth-Century Turkic World of Central Asia: The Paintings of Muhammad Siyah Qalam", in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhibition catalogue, ed. David J. Roxburgh, London 2005, pp. 148–189; Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

15 *Islamic Art*, fig. 75. The same attribution also appears on one other image in H. 2160, fol. 45r. See Richard Ettinghausen, "Some Paintings in Four Istanbul Albums," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), p. 95, fig. 58.

16 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, New York 1966, p. 86, fig. 47; Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat.no. 78; *Islamic Art*, fig. 74; Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

17 İpşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture*, p. 91, fig. 51; Ernst J. Grube *et al.*, *Islamic Art: Topkapı Sarayı Collection*, Tokyo 1978, cat.no. 62; *Islamic Art*, fig. 293; Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

ner (H. 2160, fol. 73v).[18] Another is painted on paper and although the dancing movement is similar to the first painting, the figure's facial expression is very different (H. 2153, fol. 134v).[19] In the upper left corner is the attribution "both are Cathayan work" (*har du kār-i Khatāy*), referring to this picture and another dancing man wearing a blue robe on the same page (H. 2153, fol. 134v). The two dancing figures are arranged symmetrically on either side of a calligraphic exercise on the album page. Both the picture said to have been made in the Cathayan manner and the almost identical drawing of a blue robed figure on the same page are painted on sized, ivory-coloured paper, and framed by narrow gold borders (H. 2153, fol. 52r).[20] As in the previous example, these pictures are arranged symmetrically on either side of a calligraphic exercise and a picture belonging to the Muhammad Siyah Qalam group. Perhaps these two pages were originally intended to be arranged facing each other. The pictures are datable to the fifteenth century.

A Young Chinese Man and Two Women in His Retinue

In the two versions of this scene the three figures are in the foreground, the man in the centre and the two women, one carrying a blue and white porcelain jug, to one side. On the right, behind the hills in the background are depicted two male figures with strange facial expressions. One of the pictures is on worn, sized, pale green paper (H. 2153, fol. 15v),[21] and the other on sized, cream-coloured paper (H. 2153, fol. 138r).[22] The latter has tiny hills towards the left in the background with white clouds in the sky, and between the two figures on the left side is written "the work of the master artist Shaykhi" (*kār-i ustād Shaykhī naqqāsh*). Based on the facial expressions of the two figures behind the hills we can say that the picture on fol. 15v is the work of a more accomplished artist and was probably the model for that on fol. 138r. While the former can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, the latter was probably made in Tabriz *c.* 1480, during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period.

Two Chinese Men in Official Dress

Two of these scenes are in album H. 2153 (fols. 123v, 150r) and the third one in album no. H. 2154, also in the Topkapı Saray Library.[23] The latter covers a double page (fols. 33v–34r) and includes a horse that the figure on the right is holding by its reins. At the top of the picture is an attribution in *nasta'līq* script explaining that the portraits are by a Cathayan painter. This attribution was written in the middle of the sixteenth century after the pictures were pasted into the album. All three versions are painted on fabric and can be dated to the early fifteenth-century Ming period. The figure on the right also appears in an Ottoman copy of a *Fālnāma* (the Book of Omens)

18 *Islamic Art*, fig. 63; Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

19 *Ibid.*, figs. 61–62. For Chatayan works, see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation" (forthcoming).

20 *Ibid.*, figs. 58–59.

21 *Ibid.*, fig. 185.

22 *Ibid.*, fig. 186; Filiz Çağman, Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts,* ed. and expanded by J.M. Rogers, London 1986, cat.no. 75.

23 *Islamic Art*, figs. 83–85.

dating from the early seventeenth century (TSMK H. 1703, fol. 8v).[24]

ʿAmal-i Khvaja Shaykh Aḥmad Udī

This attribution occurs in one picture (H. 2153, fol. 151r) (fig. 6.1).[25] The picture measures 7.4 × 11.7 cm and is arranged among calligraphic exercises in *nastaʿlīq* script on green and dark beige paper. Some of these exercises that were written by Aqqoyunlu Turkman scribes have gilded decoration. The attribution is written in a masterly *nastaʿlīq* script in the lower right corner of the picture, which depicts a rearing dappled horse being lassoed by an infantry soldier wearing armour; it is painted in polychrome on sized, cream-coloured paper. The picture is surrounded by two plain borders, one broad and gilded, the other narrow and blue. The soldier may represent Rustam, one of the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*, capturing his horse Rakhsh. The picture is elegantly and beautifully produced, and may have been made in Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century during the Timurid period. It is probably a study for a miniature intended to illustrate a copy of the *Shāhnāma*. There is a similar picture dating from the middle of the sixteenth century in another Saray album, H. 2154 (fol. 71r) (fig. 6.2). In two corners of this picture are attributions written in *nastaʿlīq* script inside decorated frames; these explain that it is the work of Dust Muhammad after a sketch by Bihzad.[26] The connection between these two pictures prompts the question whether the painter Pir Sayyid Ahmad Tabrizi might be the same person as Shaykh Ahmad Udi. According to Mustafa ʿAli's biographical treatise on calligraphers and painters written in 1586–87 and titled *Menāqıb-i-hünerverān* (Exploits of the Artists), Pir Sayyid Ahmad Tabrizi was the pupil of Jihangir of Bukhara and the teacher of the famous painter Bihzad of Herat, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1468–1507).[27] The composition of a hero trying to catch a horse was originally painted by Ahmad, whose pupil Bihzad made a sketch of the picture, on which the Safavid writer and painter Dust Muhammad must have based his image on fol. 71r of H. 2154 around 1540.

Nobles beneath a Blossoming Branch

One of two full-page paintings inspired by Chinese artists is painted on sized, light cream-coloured paper; in the top left corner is the attribution "the work of the painter Shaykhi" (*kār-i Shaykhī naqqāsh*) in reference to the famous painter Shaykhi of the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period (H. 2153, fol. 172v).[28] The second painting of the same theme is painted on worn, sized, dark cream-coloured paper (H. 2153,

24 Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, exhibition catalogue, Washington, D.C. 2009, p. 297; Bağcı *et al.*, *Ottoman Painting*, pp. 194–195.

25 This image is unpublished. For the artist, see Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

26 For album H. 2154 and Dust Muhammad, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400 – 1600 From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2004, pp. 245–307 (for Rustam image, see fig. 158).

27 Esra Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa ʿAli's Epic Deeds of Artists. A Critical Edition of the Earliest Otoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*, Leiden and Boston 2011, p. 264.

28 *Islamic Art*, fig. 172.

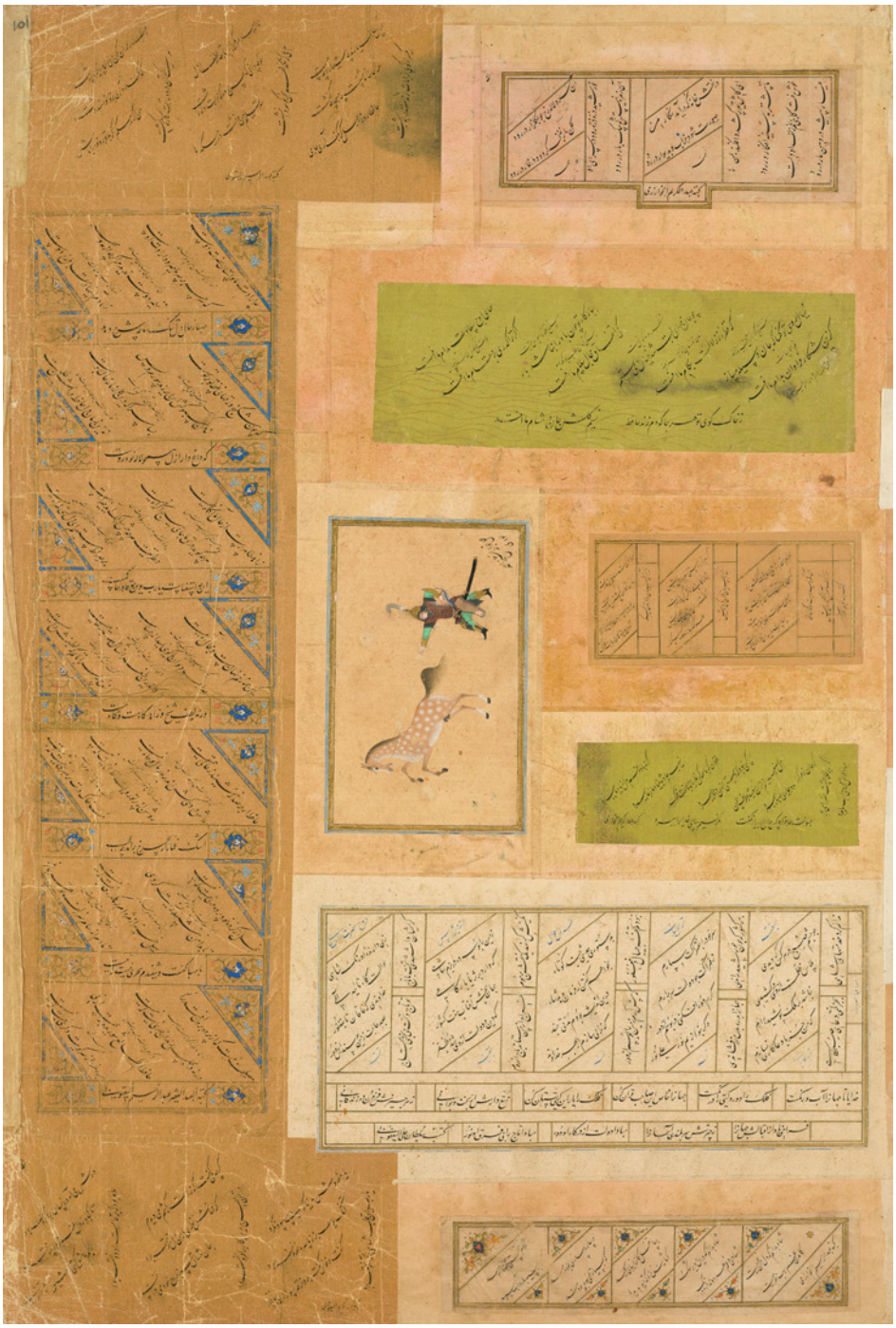


FIGURE 6.1 Rustam Lassoing Rakhsh, *Saray album, Timurid, Herat, first half of fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 151r.*



FIGURE 6.2 Rustam Lassoing Rakhsh, *Saray album, Safavid, Herat, c. 1540. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2154, fol. 71r.*

fol. 36r).[29] There are versions of the blossoming branch in both pictures in album H. 2153 (fols. 30v, 51v).[30] These pictures were probably made in Tabriz *c.* 1470–1490, during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period.

Mating Dogs

Four pictures in the albums depict this subject (H. 2153, fols. 14r, 51v, 101r; H. 2160, fol. 76r). One of them is painted on fabric. The sketch of one of the dogs has been left unpainted, while the other has been covered with light yellow paint, destroying its pictorial quality. A plain blue border surrounds the scene (H. 2153, fol. 14r).[31] The second picture, which has been pasted into the upper right corner of the album page, is painted on white, sized paper (H. 2153, fol. 51v).[32] Here one of the dogs is painted in dark grey and salmon pink, and the other in shades of light grey. In the lower left corner is the attribution in a fine *nastaʿlīq* script, "the work of the master Shaykhi" (*kār-i ustād Shaykhī*). The top of the head of one of the dogs has been cut off at the edge of the page. On the same page there is a design of flowering branches, birds and butterflies made on paper of the same colour and with the same attribution; "the work of the master Shaykhi". The calligraphic exercises flanking this picture are the work of Sultan Ali, and one of them was inscribed in Tabriz in AH 882 (1477–78). The pictures on this page are compatible in terms of both their design and date, and must have been made in Tabriz around 1480. The third version of the mating dogs scene is in album H. 2160 (fol. 76r).[33] One dog is painted in shades of grey and the other in shades of chestnut brown. This page actually belongs to album H. 2153, but was mistakenly placed in album H. 2160 when it was last rebound. All but one of the pictures on this page have been torn, so that the integrity of the composition has been

29 *Ibid.*, fig. 110; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 77.

30 *Ibid.*, figs. 111–112.

31 This image is unpublished.

32 *Islamic Art*, fig. 197.

33 *Ibid.*, fig. 196.

partially lost, and two pictures have been removed. The fourth version is painted on dark cream-coloured paper and also shows people watching the scene (H. 2153, fol. 101r);[34] here one of the dogs is painted in shades of dark grey and the other in tones of dark beige. The facial expressions of the dogs, the way their bodies are painted, the hairy tips of their curving tails and the figures of the watchers demonstrate that this is the work of a master painter. The versions in H. 2153, fol. 51v and H. 2160, fol. 76r attributed to Shaykhi must date from the late fifteenth century, during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period, and the others probably from the first half of the same century.

A Ruler Giving an Audience

The black ink drawing depicting this scene is long and narrow, as if it had been designed for a scroll. It is surrounded by a narrow gold border and arranged on the same page with a long narrow black ink drawing of ducks that seems to have come from another scroll. At the centre of the picture the ruler is seated on his throne; to the right of the throne are placed two statesmen and a young man holding a sword, which he is presenting to the ruler. Under the trees on the left of the throne are servants who are facing the ruler. The subject is from *Khusraw and Shirin*, one of the poems in the *Khamsa* by the famous poet Nizami, in which Khusraw asks for his father's intercession (H. 2153, fol. 72v).[35] The picture is attributed to the late fourteenth-century Jalayirid period. Undoubtedly the figures and natural features in the picture are characteristic of those in the Jalayirid period pictures produced in Tabriz and Baghdad. Pinpricks along the contours of the figures show that this picture was used as a template, and we find a copy of the throne and the section of the picture to the right of the throne in album H. 2160 (fol. 45v).[36] This part of the picture has been transformed into two pictures; these are the continuation of each other, and are pasted onto different pages of the album. In one of them the sultan is seated on his throne, with two servants behind the it and a statesman to his right (fol. 36v), and in the other a statesman with his hands joined in front of him is shown with a young man holding a sword. Both pictures are encircled by a narrow gold border and a broad illuminated border. Together they seem to have been designed as the frontispiece for a book. The types of the figures and colours show that the picture may have been executed in Tabriz around 1480 during the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period. The picture on fol. 36v is on the same page as calligraphic exercises in *nastaʿlīq* by two famous scribes of the era, Shaykh Muhammad al-Yaʿqubi and ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khvarazmi, indicating that the album compiler's knowledge of the subject fed into his design.

Dragon Capturing a Deer in the Forest and Hunters

The picture is drawn in the black pen technique, and in the lower centre there is an attribution, "the work of Muhammad master of black pen drawing" (*ʿamal-i ustād Muḥammad Sīyāh Qalam*), written in excellent *nastaʿlīq* (H. 2160, fol. 34r) (fig. 6.3).[37] In this area there are

34 *Ibid.*, fig. 195.

35 This image was first identified by Priscilla Soucek in "Illustrated Manuscripts", pp. 26–27, 217–218; also see *Islamic Art*, fig. 23.

36 *Islamic Art*, figs. 25–26.

37 *Ibid.*, fig. 461.



FIGURE 6.3 Forest Scroll, *Saray album, Timurid, Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 34r.*

two galloping horsemen, one of whom has shot an arrow at a dragon that has captured a deer. This figure is sketched in outline. On the right hand side of the scene is another horseman, who is preparing to plunge his spear into the dragon. The dragon and deer are drawn in the black pen technique, and are attributable to the early fifteenth century. A painted version of the dragon that has caught a deer on sized, ivory-coloured paper can be seen in album H. 2153 (fol. 50v). On the facing page are two painted mounted figures in poses partially reminiscent of those of the two mounted figures that appear on the left side of the black pen picture. These two pictures are arranged on facing pages and are surrounded by a narrow gold border; at the bottom of the right hand picture, within a gold cartouche, is a gilded legend giving the name of the painter, "the work of al-ʿabd ʿAli" (*ʿamal-i al-ʿabd ʿAlī*). Both pictures were probably produced in Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century, during the Timurid period.[38]

Warriors in Combat

In album H. 2153 there is a battle scene inscribed *Muhammad Siyah Qalam* (fol. 77r) (fig. 6.4).[39] This is partially painted in light chestnut and blue on sized, ivory-coloured paper. When examined carefully pin holes are visible, and on the reverse is a drawing of three figures on horseback that has been copied from the "forest scroll" on fol. 34r of album H. 2160 (fig. 6.3). So this battle scene was copied from an earlier model onto paper which had already been used. The picture was probably made in Herat in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Floral Drawing

In album H. 2153 there is a black ink drawing consisting of a large, lobed circle filled with large composite stylized flowers and leaves on sized, pale cream-coloured paper (fol. 79r) (fig. 6.5). When the reverse side of this mid-fifteenth-century drawing is examined closely, a design consisting of plants in clumps with fairies wandering between them and pinpricks marking the outlines of the first drawing can be seen. The design is repeated in a more elaborate fifteenth-century version on fol. 94r of H. 2153, where it has been partially coloured (fig. 6.6).[40]

Apart from the repetitions discussed above, there are some others consisting of single or groups of figures in albums H. 2153 and H. 2160. Dancing figures from a picture depicting musicians and men and women dancing (H. 2160, fol. 70v)[41]

38 *Ibid.*, fig. 24. The painter Sultan ʿAli must be the Mawlana ʿAli mentioned in the *ʿArżadāsht* (report) by the calligrapher Jaʿfar, who was in charge of the library in Herat and whose patron was the Timurid prince Baysunghur (d. 1433). At the time this report was being written, Mawlana ʿAli was busy producing his sketch for an illustration in the preface to the *Shāhnāma* (H. 2153, fol. 98r). See M. Kemal Özergin, "Temürlü sanatına āit eski bir belge: Tebrizli Ca'fer'in bir arzı", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 6 (1976), p. 494; Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge, MA. 1989, p. 323; Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

39 Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 103; Roxburgh, "The Timurid and Turkman", cat. no. 163.

40 *Islamic Art*, fig. 476.

41 Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 76; *Islamic Art*, fig. 53.



FIGURE 6.4 Warriors in Combat, *Saray album, Timurid Herat (?), middle of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 77r.*



FIGURE 6.5 Floral Drawing, *Saray album, Timurid Herat (?), middle of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 79r.*



FIGURE 6.6 Tinted Drawing, *Saray album, Timurid Herat (?), middle of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 94r.*

have been repeated on separate pages of H. 2153; one in a black pen drawing on sized, ivory-coloured paper, and the others painted in polychrome (H. 2153, fols. 111v, 135v, 169r).[42] The group of figures in the right hand corner of a picture depicting Chinese porcelain being carried (H. 2153, fol. 130r)[43] is repeated in the same album, this time partially coloured in light blue and light chestnut (H. 2153, fol. 91v).[44] The figure in the same scene who holds a spear in one hand and a metal vessel in his left hand appears again in album H. 2160, fol. 89r,[45] painted on sized, green paper; this time he carries a blue and white porcelain vessel in his right hand, while the elderly male figure at the left edge who is carrying a blue and white vase is repeated on fol. 88v in album H. 2160, here on pale green paper.[46] The figure with a length of undulating cloth rippling from behind his shoulders who is riding on a strange animal is another motif repeated in album H. 2153 (fols. 29v, 103r, 137v).[47] A male figure who has pulled up his dark grey and chestnut-coloured robe to reveal his bare legs is repeated twice in album H. 2160 with minor differences (fols. 46v, 65r).[48] One of the figures, who has turned right, has a bald head, no headdress, and a black beard. The other facing the viewer has a hat and a white beard. In album H. 2153 a figure with long hair in the picture of a wall, which is positioned in a section on the lower right of a picture illustrating a monastery, stands at the edge in a similar pose (fol. 131v).[49] The elderly woman who is leaning on a stick as she walks along (H. 2153, fols. 90r, 144v, 146r)[50] and an elderly woman seated (H. 2153, fols. 29v, 121r)[51] are other details that are repeated either alone or integrated into a composition.

Two soldiers talking at the right edge of a large picture depicting a night journey in album H. 2153 (fols. 3v–4r)[52] are repeated in a similar pose on the right side of a picture of two mounted soldiers in combat in the same album (fol. 138v).[53] In both cases the painters have set this pair of figures near the right edge, almost set apart from the centre of the action.

Repetitions of Images in Topkapı Saray H. 2152, H. 2153, H. 2160 and Diez Albums

Combat Scene (Figs. 6.7–6.8)

When a page in the Topkapı album H. 2153 (fol. 87r) is viewed lengthways, the main combat scene is in the centre, flanked symmetrically by two pages from Sa'di's *Bustān* written by the calligrapher 'Abd al-Rahim al-Sultani, while at the top is a text in gilded *dīvānī* or *ta'līq* script by 'Abd al-Hayy, who was a writer and master of *dīvānī* during the reign of the Timurid sultan Abu Sa'id (r. 1451–69) (fig. 6.7).[54] In one

42 *Islamic Art*, figs. 53–56.
43 Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 79.
44 *Islamic Art*, fig. 385.
45 *Ibid.*, fig. 386.
46 *Islamic Art*, fig. 402.
47 *Ibid.*, figs. 172, 477–478.
48 *Ibid.*, figs. 204–205.
49 Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 78.
50 *Islamic Art*, fig. 490.
51 *Ibid.*, fig. 477.
52 *Ibid.*, fig. 49.
53 *Ibid*, fig. 45.
54 Qadı Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters. A Treatise by Qādī Ahmad Son of Mīr-Munshī (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, p. 84. There are two other prose texts by this scribe written in



FIGURE 6.7 Combat Scene, *Saray album, Jalayirid Tabriz (?), late fourteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 87r.*



FIGURE 6.8
Combat Scene, *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 65.*

corner is a drawing of seated dervishes and in another a drawing of a mounted nobleman. The way the picture is arranged on the page makes it clear that specific rules of design are being followed. The combat scene illustration is surrounded by lobed shapes that seem to emphasize the violence of their struggle. The explanation for these shapes is written in Persian in *nastaʿlīq* script in the upper left corner: "thick dust from under the hooves of the horses". In other words, these are clouds of dust kicked up by the violence of the horsemen's movements.[55]

A repetition of this black pen combat scene illustration in the Diez album (Diez A fol. 71, p. 65) bears an annotation in Persian in *taʿlīq* script explaining that it is "a copy after the original of the Master ʿAbd al-Hayy the painter by the most unworthy of slaves Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam" (*naql az qalam-i ustād ʿAbd al-Ḥayy naqqāsh kamtārin-i bandagān-i Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām*) (fig. 6.8),[56] confirming claims in written

taʿlīq in album H. 2153 (fols. 75r, 74v). One of these is written on a large sheet of dark pink paper decorated with gold flecking, and gives the name of the scribe as ʿAbd al-Hayy b. Shaykh Muhammad al-Bukhari (fol. 74v).

55 *Islamic Art*, fig. 457; *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları: Büyük Moğol İmparatorluğu* (*Genghis Khan and his Heirs: The Great Mongol Empire*), exhibition catalogue, Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 7 December 2006–8 April 2007, Istanbul, 2006, cat.no. T20.

56 Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray' – Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), p. 74; Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben; Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden, 1964, fig. 12; J.M. Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. by Sheila R. Canby, Bombay 1990, fig. 3. See also: Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The Dīwān of Sultan Aḥmad Ğalā'ir in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.", *Kunst des Orients* 11/1–2 (1976/1977), pp. 77–78, fig. 21; *Islamic Art*, fig. 458; Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 139–141. For a codicological study of the Diez album, see David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136. For attributions of ʿAbd al-Hayy, see Tanındı, "Artists Represented" (forthcoming).

sources that following the death of ʿAbd al-Hayy other painters copied his work.[57] The Topkapı picture is probably an original work by ʿAbd al-Hayy from the late fourteenth century, while the Diez picture is attributable to the first half of the fifteenth century.

In view of the connection between the picture of two warriors in combat and the repetition of the same scene in the Diez album, we can conclude that the text in gilded *dīvānī* or *taʿlīq* script by the scribe ʿAbd al-Hayy (mentioned above) was not included in the album folio at random, but was deliberately selected by the album's designer, who knew about the painter ʿAbd al-Hayy and the eponymous calligrapher.

***Images of Ducks* (Figs. 6.9–6.10)**

On the upper part of the Topkapı album page there is a large space where a painting once existed but was later removed, although its colours remain (H. 2153, fol. 46v) (fig. 6.9). To the lower left there is an elegantly drawn black pen picture depicting a dragon playing with a ribbon. In the Diez album there are various Chinese images of lions playing with ribbons, but none are a repetition of this example (Diez A fol. 73, pp. 7, 40, 68). Next to the dragon depiction, there is another black pen technique painting showing a duck moving in water.[58] The album designer evidently took care to arrange compatible pictures or illustrations of similar techniques on the same page. In the Diez album there is also black pen drawing of a duck which is inscribed in *taʿlīq*: "Pen of the Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy, painter Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam [copied?]" (*qalam-i Khvaja ʿAbd al-Ḥayy naqqāsh Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshah al-Khayyām*) (Diez A fol. 70, p. 26) (fig. 6.10).[59] When we compare both, the Topkapı duck seems to have been the original which Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam later copied.

***Mounted Figure* (Figs. 6.11–6.12)**

This black pen painting is in the Topkapı album H. 2152, fol. 50r (fig. 6.11).[60] The centrally mounted picture is surrounded by black pen drawings and a painted image. At the back of the figure there is an attribution but it is illegible. The repetition of the picture is in the Diez album and is incribed in *taʿlīq*: "Pen of the humblest of the slaves, Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam" (*qalam-i kamtārin-i bandagān-i Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshah al-Khayyām*) (Diez A fol. 72, p. 13) (fig. 6.12).[61] The Topkapı picture is probably datable to the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, while the Diez picture is datable to the first half of the fifteenth century.

57 Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting", pp. 76–80.

58 *Ibid.*, fig. 20; *Islamic Art*, fig. 169.

59 Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray' – Alben", p. 74; İpşiroğlu, *Saray – Alben*, fig. 6; Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", fig. 1; Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting", fig. 17; *Islamic Art*, fig. 170.

60 Album H. 2152 is known as Baysunghur or Timurid Workshop Album. For the catalogue of the H. 2152, see David J. Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to us': Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) Under the Timurids and Safavids", 3 vols., PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania 1996, pp. 662–770. For fol. 50v., see pp. 712–714; also see Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez", p. 115.

61 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, fig. 8, Tafl. LV; Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", fig. 2; *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New York 2002, cat.no. 20, fig. 220.



FIGURE 6.9 *Image of a* Duck, *Saray album, Tabriz or Herat, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 46v.*



FIGURE 6.10 *Image of a* Duck, *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol, 70, p. 26, no. 1.*

Horseman Spearing a Leopard (Figs. 6.13–6.14)

There are four versions of this subject in the Topkapı albums (fols. H. 2153, 14v, 147v, 154v; H. 2160, fol. 61v). One of them is a black pen drawing on sized, cream-coloured paper. The image is pasted just below an undated Arabic calligraphic work written in *thuluth* and *naskh* script (fol. 14v) (fig. 6.13). Behind the mounted figure are traces of a drawn figure that is impossible to identify exactly. The second version is painted on fabric (H. 2153, fol. 147v).[62] In the upper right corner is a flowering branch and a bird, as well as stones indicating the ground beneath the leopard's feet. The figure is painted in polychrome, and powdered mother-of-pearl has been added to the paint used for the quiver and the bird. In the upper left corner are the words "the work of the master Shaykhi" (*'amal-i ustād Shaykhī*), attributing the work to the Aqqoyunlu Turkman artist Shaykhi. In another repetition of the scene, the figure is painted in polychrome on sized, ivory-coloured paper. As I mentioned before, a small image showing a young man on a horse has been pasted in the right corner of the field within a gold frame (H. 2160, fol. 61r).[63]

In the last two pictures the horse is again white, and the ground is left unpainted. In the upper right corner of this picture another mounted figure is depicted inside a gold frame. This belongs to the abovementioned group of small pictures (H. 2160, fols. 15v, 75r, 89v). In the fourth repetition the whole picture is painted, and the main figures are portrayed in a detailed country setting, inside a gold and blue frame. The words "the work of Shaykhi" (*kār-i Shaykhī*) is written in the upper right corner (H. 2153, fol. 154v). The black pen drawing belonging to this group can be attributed to the early fifteenth century, perhaps to the Jalayirid period, and the others to the Aqqoyunlu Turkman period *c.* 1470–90. One is a drawing which is similar to the horseman in the Diez album (Diez A fol. 73, p. 75, no. 1), but in this painting the animal being speared is a Chinese lion not a leopard and probably dates from the early fifteenth century (fig. 6.14).[64]

Dervishes (Figs. 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, and 6.18)

The Topkapı album H. 2153 has two pictures representing dervishes. One of them is a drawing on heavily-worn, sized, cream-coloured paper and depicts two groups of dervishes in conversation (fol. 136v) (fig. 6.15).[65] This image is pasted into the lower left of the folio. Next to it there is an

62 Robinson, "Turkman School to 1503", fig. 144; *Islamic Art*, fig. 140.

63 *Islamic Art*, fig. 142.

64 İpşiroğlu, *Saray Albeni*, fig. 256.

65 *Islamic Art*, fig. 18.



FIGURE 6.11 Mounted Figure, *Saray album, Timurid Herat or Tabriz, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 50r.*



FIGURE 6.12
Mounted Figure, *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 13.*



FIGURE 6.13 Horseman Spearing a Leopard, *Saray album, Jalayirid Tabriz (?), early fifteenth century. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 14v.*



FIGURE 6.14 Horseman Spearing a Chinese Lion. *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 75, no. 1.*

unsigned *taʿlīq* calligraphic work of similar size. In the middle there is an unsigned *naskh* inscription and in the upper left a *nastaʿlīq* inscription by ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khvarazmi. On the right three tiny black pen images are pasted. One of them bears the attribution "the work of Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy" (*ʿamāl-i Khvāja ʿAbd al-Ḥayy*).

The figures in the second picture are painted on well sized, ivory-coloured paper, and only one of the figures is repeated, with a posture different from the first one (H. 2153, fol. 32r) (fig. 6.16).[66] At the lower left the attribution "the work of Shaykhi al-Yaʿqubi" (*ʿamal-i Shaykhī al-Yaʿqubī*) is written in a masterly *nastaʿlīq* script. We can conclude that this painting was made in 1478–1490 by the painter Shaykhi, who is known to have worked at the court of the Aqqoyunlu sultan Yaʿqub in Tabriz. The drawing is probably attributable to the first half of the fifteenth century.

The coloured painting is positioned in the upper right corner of the album page, next to an illuminated calligraphic work by the scribe ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Yaʿqubi, who worked for Sultan Yaʿqub. In the large area below, there is an inscription in *nastaʿlīq* written by ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khvarazmi – another scribe at the court of Sultan Yaʿqub – at the age of twelve. In the lower part of the page is a *nastaʿlīq* calligraphic work by Sultan ʿAli al-Sultani. The picture is set in a composition that reflects elaborate courtly design.

A black pen drawing repetition of the dervish figures can be found at the top of one of the Diez album paintings (Diez A fol. 71, p. 68) (fig. 6.17). Let us now compare the dervishes in the upper row with the coloured Topkapı dervishes. In the Diez painting, the figure on the far right is an addition to the original, and the two figures in the middle of the row have different poses. The six figures with large headdresses in the lower row in the Diez painting are probably dervishes and the slightly bearded figure standing on the far right with a child beside him is also a dervish.[67]

In the left margin of one Topkapı Saray album page there is an early fifteenth-century depiction of two dervishes with similar large headgear and outfits that are reminiscent of the Diez dervishes (H. 2152, fol. 45r) (fig. 6.18).[68] The Diez dervishes are

66 Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat.no. 52; Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503", p. 242, fig. 142; *Islamic Art*, fig. 17.

67 İpşiroğlu, *Saray Alben*, fig. 15, Tafl. LX. Some details from the Topkapı Album pictures illustrate children with their mother: H. 2160, fol. 89v, see Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat.no. 76; H. 2153, fol. 23v, see Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı,* cat.no. 98; H. 2153, fol. 131v, see Çağman, Tanındı, *Topkapı*, cat.no. 78.

68 For the catalogue of H. 2152, fol. 45r, see Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to us'", pp. 705–707. Istanbul Military Museum has some similar Sufi order headdress (nos. 7952, 8355). I would like to thank Filiz Çakır Phillip for bringing them to my attention.



FIGURE 6.15 Dervishes, *Saray album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 136v.*



FIGURE 6.16 Dervishes, *Saray album, Tabriz, Aqqoyunlu Turkman, c. 1478–90. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 32r.*



FIGURE 6.17 Dervishes, *Diez album, Tabriz or Herat, fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 68.*

in a rather primitive style when compared with that of the Topkapı dervishes. The painter of the Diez dervish has executed a kind of collage by bringing the Topkapı dervish figures together in his drawing. The Diez dervish image can be dated to the fifteenth century.

Rustam Killing a Dragon (Figs. 6.19, 6.20, and 6.21)

This black pen drawing inside a gold and blue frame in the Topkapı album is pasted on the lower part of the folio (H. 2153, fol. 48v) (fig. 6.19). Above this image is a double page text from the ghazals of Kamal Khojandi, copied by Shaykh Mahmud, at *dar al-salām* Baghdad, *c.* 1460, dating from the Qaraqoyunlu Turkman period. Between the lines of the text are two tiny miniatures depicting hunting scenes. On the right side of the folio are two calligraphic works by the Aqqoyunlu Turkman scribe ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Sultani, written on light pink paper. At the right top corner is a Madonna attributed to Istanbul, *c.* 1470.[69]

The higher quality black pen drawing probably illustrates Rustam, the hero of Firdausi's *Shāhnāma*. Both Topkapı Saray albums (H. 2153 and H. 2160) contain a large number of single page images from the *Shāhnāma*, dating from before the sixteenth century.[70] This black pen drawing

69 For the Madonna portrait, see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation" (forthcoming).

70 Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from Fourteenth Century Shah-Namehs", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), pp. 19–48. Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* illustrations in H. 2153 and H. 2160 have recently been studied by Serpil Bağcı; see "Shahnama Folios in the Palace Albums: Remains of a Jalayirid Manuscript", *Saray Albums H.2153, H.2160* (forthcoming).

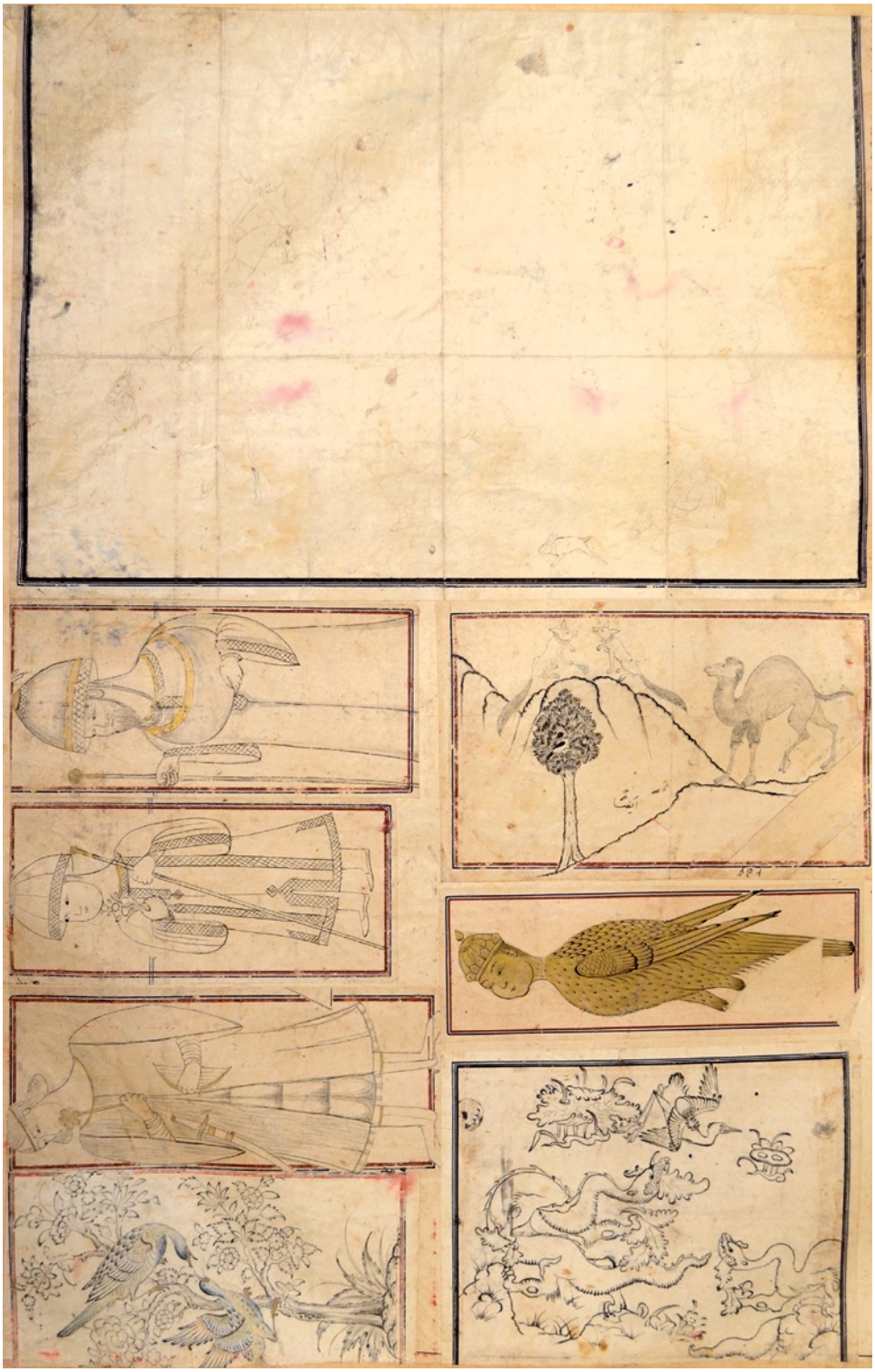


FIGURE 6.18 Dervishes, *Saray album, Timurid Herat, first half of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 45r.*



FIGURE 6.19
Rustam Killing a Dragon, *Jalayirid Tabriz (?), late fourteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 48v.*

of Rustam was first studied by Klimburg-Salter, who attributed the picture to the late fourteenth-century Jalayirid period, as one of the earlier works of ʿAbd al-Hayy executed in Tabriz.[71] The repetition of the same picture may be found in the Diez album (Diez A fol. 72, p. 14) (fig. 6.20).[72] The Diez version, which presumably dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, is not as technically outstanding as the Topkapı illustration. Another coloured version of the same illustration with slight differences can be found in the same Topkapı album (H. 2153, fol. 113v) (fig. 6.21). In this large, full-page picture inside a gold and blue frame, the name "Rustam" is inscribed at the head of the main figure. It differs from the other two paintings in having onlookers placed behind the hill in the background. The illustration may be attributable to Shiraz or Tabriz *c.* 1470.

***Polo Players* (Figs. 6.22 and 6.23)**

This Topkapı album picture is executed on ivory-coloured paper and is set inside a U-shape formed by *taʿlīq* or *dīvānī* calligraphic works (H. 2153, fol. 85v) (fig. 6.22).[73]

71 Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting", pp. 50, 52, 80, fig. 12.

72 İpşiroğlu, *Saray Albeni*, fig. 49.

73 These U-shape designs are discussed by Gülru Necipoğlu in her article "The Composition and Compilation" (forthcoming).



FIGURE 6.20
Rustam Killing a Dragon, *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century, SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 14.*



FIGURE 6.21 Rustam Killing a Dragon, *Saray album, Shiraz or Tabriz, Aqqoyunlu Turkman*, c. *1470. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 113v.*



FIGURE 6.22 Polo Players, *Saray album, Tabriz, Aqqoyunlu Turkman*, c. *1480. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 85v.*



FIGURE 6.23 Polo Players, *Diez album, Timurid Herat (?), first half of the fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 12, no. 2.*

Two of them are signed by the Aqqoyunlu Turkman scribe Najm Masʿud al-Yaʿqubi. In the upper and lower two corners on the left side are two small black pen drawings. All the works of art on this folio are arranged symmetrically. In the Diez album there is a repeated image in the form of a drawing of the two figures in the central field of a picture of polo players (Diez A fol. 72, p. 12, no. 2) (fig. 6.23).[74] The Diez example is datable to the first half of the fifteenth century, while the Topkapı picture can be dated to *c.* 1480 in Aqqoyunlu Turkman Tabriz.

74 İpşiroğlu, *Saray Alben*, fig. 47, Tafl. LVI. Similar details can be seen in one of Muhammad Juki's *Shāhnāma* illustrations, which is datable *c.* 1444, Herat. See Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi*, London 2010, pp. 106–107.

Concluding Remarks

The numerous repetitions of pictures in Topkapı Saray Library albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 must indicate that the painters were honing their skills by making identical or similar copies of works by ancient masters. However, it is also possible that most of the repetitions were studies or exercises by individual artists. As in the case of the spearing of the dragon which has caught a deer, the intention may have been to make a partial, or as in the case of *Khusraw* in the presence of his father, a complete copy of a picture in a new style, rather than making an identical copy of a work by an earlier master. In this way the artist could repeat the composition but at the same time introduce variations. He could take a detail he has used in one picture and insert it in a different composition, or transfer individual figures or groups of figures into large compositions.

All these album pictures reveal that artists carefully examined the works of past masters. Copying pictures from the famous masters of the past, whether individual details or in their entirety, sometimes altering and using them in new compositions, must have been one of the main ways in which artists developed their skills and endeavoured to attain perfection. The legitimacy of the tradition of copying in pictorial art also meant that these pictures represent a rich archive relating to Chinese art of the fifteenth century and earlier whose originals are now lost.

CHAPTER 7

Ja'far Tabrizi, "Second Inventor" of the *Nasta'līq* Script, and the Diez Albums

Simon Rettig

The last of the so-called Diez albums accessioned as Diez A fol. 74, which contains mostly only calligraphy, received very little scholarly attention in comparison to the four other volumes until the publication of the seminal essay by David Roxburgh in 1995.[1] If Roxburgh focused primarily on the material and its original provenance in the four first albums (Diez A fols. 70–73), he also provided for the first time a detailed and exhaustive account of what the fifth album, Diez A fol. 74, contained.[2] The thorough codicological investigation further led Roxburgh to two decisive conclusions. First, most of the calligraphic items acquired by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez had been cannibalized from albums kept in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, notably a Timurid calligraphic album, now accessioned Bağdat 411.[3] Secondly, in contrast to the first three albums (Diez A fols. 70, 71, and 72), which were likely created in Istanbul at a time when Diez was residing in the capital of the Ottoman Empire as the Prussian *chargé d'affaire* (1786–1790), the albums Diez A fols. 73 and 74 were assembled and bound later in Berlin.[4]

1 David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136. Prior to this essay, the album had been treated only in short, incomplete catalogue entries: Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1888, pp. 19–20 no. 699a; Jörg Kraemer, *Persische Miniaturen und ihr Umkreis. Buch- und Schrifkunst arabischer, persischer, türkischer und indischer Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin aus dem Besitz der früheren Preussischen Staats- und der Tübinger Universitätsbibliothek*, Tübingen 1956, pp. 19–20, no. 33; Ivan Stchoukine *et al.*, *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1971; Dieter George *et al.*, *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren*, Berlin 1980, p. 60, no. 47.

2 Roxburgh, "Diez", Appendix 1, pp. 123–132.

3 I will henceforward refer to Bağdat 411 as B. 411 in the present essay. On this album, see David J. Roxburgh, *"Our Works Point to Us": Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Philadelphia 1996, vol. 1, pp. 39–48 and 60–69; vol. 2, pp. 489–643. An overview of B. 411 has also been published in David Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2005, pp. 106–117.

4 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 113 and p. 122: "[…] when Diez left Istanbul in 1790, he carried a corpus of loose calligraphic materials, loose drawings, and whole album folios which were subsequently assembled into albums in Berlin (mss. Diez A fols. 73–74)." According to recent research, these two albums were mounted in the Prussian *Königliche Bibliothek* in 1837–1838, twenty years after Diez bequeathed his collection to the institution. I am very indebted to Christoph Rauch for providing me with this information. See his essay in the present volume.

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An examination of the organization of the diverse materials compiled in the Diez albums makes evident the intellectual process that lay behind the mounting of these last two volumes. Indeed, with the exception of a calligraphic folio pasted onto a page and a preparatory sketch for an illustration accompanying some text, both in Diez A fol. 73, all the heterogeneous written material that Diez had in his possession was intentionally gathered into one single volume.[5] The album maker(s) probably used a rather crude classification, which established a mere dichotomy. On one hand indeed drawn, painted, sketched or pounced figurative or decorative materials, were all displayed together in the first four albums. The written samples and specimen, as varied as they may be – extracts from profane and religious texts, correspondence, epigraphic designs, illuminations with inscriptions, and even an inscribed drawing (Diez A fol. 74, p. 24) – were, on the other hand, assembled into the last volume. Such an arrangement could be primarily due to the teleological nature of the works contained in the albums and consequently proceeding from a very basic logic reflecting the nature of these works: drawings versus written items. The fact that the person responsible for the creation of the last two albums in Berlin chose to present paintings, drawings, and written material in an obviously separate fashion brings into question how Europeans of the early nineteenth century envisioned, understood, and categorized this non-Western material. In parallel, the conception of the Diez album A fol. 74 calls also into question how Diez and his contemporaries perceived calligraphy in Arabic scripts. In his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, published in 1811, Diez praised the genius of several medieval authors, but he seldom considered the generic visual forms of the manuscripts he collected.[6] Nevertheless, Diez wrote from 1790 on a detailed catalogue of the works he owned entitled *Verzeichnis der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek*.[7] The entries provide much more codicological information as well aesthetic considerations regarding script, illumination, and painting. Diez also added at the end of the volume two chapters in which he deals with

5 The calligraphy is located on p. 35 of the album Diez A fol. 73, whereas the sketch was mounted onto p. 70 of the same album.

6 *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien* consists of translations by Diez of various texts composed in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages. Diez did not comment on the physical aspect of the manuscripts he used. The only reference occurs in the description of the goods and properties of Süleyman the Magnificent's vizier Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561). Under number 19 of the inventory are mentioned 8,000 beautiful and well-copied Qur'ans (*schön geschriebene erhabene Kurans*). In a note, Diez indicated that what made these manuscripts valuable was the calligraphy, see Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen and Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung aus Handschriften und eigenen Erfahrungen gesammelt von Heinrich Friedrich von Diez*, Berlin 1811, vol. 1, pp. 96–97, 99–100.

7 Now kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under the accession number Ms. Cat. A 478b, the manuscript is handwritten and autograph. It is entirely digitized and accessible online: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000B0860000000. Nevertheless, the content has not been yet the subject of a systematic analysis. See also the contribution of Christoph Rauch to this volume.



FIGURE 7.1 *Opening page of Diez A fol. 74 with six pieces.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 74, p. 1, nos. 1–6.*

Oriental paper and illustrations in Islamic manuscripts.

The overall aspect and internal organization of Diez A fol. 74 has received surprisingly little attention so far. The calligraphic compendium seems to be organized mimetically by following a scheme of another material abundantly present in the collection of books owned by Diez and which may have served as a visual model for the conception of the album: the Islamic manuscript and the Persian belletristic codex in particular. Illuminations, decorated pages and notably an illuminated opening roundel have indeed been displayed at the beginning of the album on page 1 (fig. 7.1).

It is followed by written pages (pp. 2–23), with a drawing seemingly placed in order to "act" as if it were an illustration accompanying the text of the surrounding pages (p. 24).[8] The volume terminates with text fragments again (pp. 25–35), and the sole manuscript folio with a colophon, a device

8 Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 127–130.

in which the copyist usually attests to the completion of his work, was placed on the very last page of the album. Two illuminated medallions are pasted below the colophon and serve here as decorating finials (p. 36). Diez A fol. 74 should therefore be understood as an artificial construction mirroring the classical inner structure of a manuscript in Arabic script. The direction of reading and the navigation through the volume diverge nevertheless as the album was fashioned like a Western book, thus supporting the idea that it was not only mounted in Berlin but also by someone other than Diez, who would have been more familiar with the tradition of Islamic manuscripts.

Nevertheless, in this essay I shall consider this arrangement of calligraphic specimens from a new angle, since the content of the fifth and last of the Diez albums has not been studied alongside the written material discovered in Diez A fol. 70. By doing so, it is possible not only to question and investigate the modes of creation of these two volumes, but also, and most importantly, to connect the calligraphic works to their source – the Timurid calligraphic album B.411. Furthermore, this relationship allows a reconsideration of one of the functions of a section of B. 411: to shed light on the achievements and the career of the major figure of Persian calligraphy in the first half of the fifteenth century – Jaʿfar Tabrizi.

Works in *Nastaʿlīq* by Jaʿfar Tabrizi in Diez A fol. 74

A large proportion of the calligraphic materials in Diez A fol. 74 consists of text fragments penned in *nastaʿlīq*. *Nastaʿlīq* or *naskh-i taʿlīq*, a codified hanging script that gradually emerged in Western and Southern Iran during the second half of the fourteenth century, was used to transcribe works of various content composed in Persian, mainly poetry.[9] Apart from two fragments, the pieces presented in Diez A fol. 74 are all attributable to the first third of the fifteenth century.[10] Furthermore, it is striking that only one name is linked to the signed works in *nastaʿlīq* in the album: Jaʿfar Tabrizi al-Baysunghuri. Jaʿfar is undoubtedly one of the most celebrated calligraphers of the first half of the fifteenth century and his fame was unrivaled until the rise of Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi (d. 1520) under the rule of the Timurid prince Husayn Mirza (r. 1469–1506).[11]

9 For an overview of the development of *nastaʿlīq* from the late fourteenth century to 1500, see Priscilla Soucek, "The arts of calligraphy", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, Paris 1979, pp. 7–35, and more recently Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, Edinburgh 2006, pp. 274–286. Blair summarized the research led by Elaine Wright regarding the emergence of the new script: Elaine Wright, "The Calligraphers of Širaz and the Development of *Nastaʿlīq* Script", *Manuscripta Orientalia* 9/3 (2003), pp. 16–26. See also Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (*Occasional Papers*), Washington, D.C. 2012, pp. 231–254.

10 Diez A fol. 74, p. 1, n. 3 and n. 5. The style of the scripts suggests a date of production between 1450 and the early sixteenth century. The two fragments, both unsigned, were certainly culled from albums, yet unidentified. See Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 123–124.

11 For a biography of Jaʿfar Tabrizi and a list of works penned by him, see Mehdi Bayani, *Aḥvāl va āthār-i khushnivīsān*, second edition, vol. 1, Tehran AH 1363 (1984–1985), pp. 114–123.

The calligrapher joined the court of Baysunghur Mirza (1397–1433) *c.* 1420 in Herat where he was appointed chief director of the *kitābkhāna*, the "library-cum-workshop". He dwelled there probably until his death, which may have occurred sometimes around 1435–1440.[12]

With five specimens signed by Jaʿfar, the album Diez A fol. 74 seemingly offers an overview of the second and last part of his career, from his time in Herat and in the service of Baysunghur. By closely studying these examples, it is possible to characterize the style of *nastaʿlīq* that he practiced at that time (fig. 7.2).[13]

Sheila Blair recently described it as "a smooth nastaʿlīq typical of early times in which the individual graphic units are placed at a 30° angle to the horizontal writing line".[14] Furthermore, the spacing between letters and groups of letters is extremely regular. A controlled, albeit noticeable, variation in the thickness of the stroke also characterizes Jaʿfar's calligraphy as well as an elongated and slightly curved upper ascending stroke of the *kāf* letter. One may note also that these upper strokes of the *kāf* are often placed at a wider angle than the other diagonal strokes. These features define in fact the *nastaʿlīq* of Jaʿfar at Herat when he achieved what would be later regarded as the first "classical form" of *nastaʿlīq*. Three fragments (Diez A fol. 74 p. 2 n. 1 and p. 23, top and bottom left calligraphies), all signed by Jaʿfar, exemplify his hand from the Herati period, as does Diez A fol. 74 p. 27, which provides the name of Baysunghur in the top inscription.[15] Large folios on pp. 20–22 are unsigned but through an examination of the lines copied in *nastaʿlīq*, they can be putatively attributed to Jaʿfar Tabrizi. Interestingly, some of the Jaʿfarian materials share the same original source with items in other albums in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum, notably H. 2153 and H. 2160.[16]

In Diez A fol. 74, an entire group of folios (pp. 30–36), once part of the first section of the Timurid calligraphic album B. 411 as it is governed by the same codicological features, presents pages from a *Makhzan al-asrār* (*Treasury of Secrets*) by Nizami (d. 1209) copied by Jaʿfar in 1417 at Yazd.[17]

12 It is usually said that Jaʿfar died in the 1450s. Nevertheless, his last known and dated work is an anthology in oblong format (*safina*) dated 1431–32; see Arthur Arberry, Mojtaba Minovi, and Edgar Blochet, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures, volume I MSS. 101–150*, ed. J.V.S. Wilkinson, Dublin 1959, pp. 41–42, no. 122, and Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 155.

13 Jaʿfar's signature is visible on calligraphies on Diez A fol. 74, p. 2, no. 1 ("Jaʿfar" in *nastaʿlīq*), Diez A fol. 74, p. 23 top ("Jaʿfar al-Tabrīzī" in *taʿlīq*), Diez A fol. 74, p. 23 bottom left ("Jaʿfar" in *nastaʿlīq*), Diez A fol. 74, p. 27 ("Jaʿfar" in *nastaʿlīq*) and Diez A fol. 74, p. 30, folio 4 ("Jaʿfar al-Ḥāfiz al-Tabrīzī" in *riqāʿ*). See Roxburgh, "Diez", Appendix I, pp. 124, 127, 130, and 132.

14 Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, p. 279.

15 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 130.

16 The calligraphies in these two albums have never been the subject of a detailed analysis. See Filiz Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160" in *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums. A Colloquy held 23–26 June 1980*, ed. Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims, London 1985, pp. 32–33; and Zeren Tanındı, "Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums, H. 2153 and 2160", in *Between China and Iran*, p. 37.

17 Diez A fol. 74 pp. 30–35 present nine pages of the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, whereas p. 36 has



FIGURE 7.2 *Page of calligraphy signed by Jaʿfar.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 74, p. 27.*

Priscilla Soucek argued that the *Makhzan al-asrār* folios may have been penned by another practitioner called Jaʿfar from Tabriz since "the *nastaʿlīq* script has an angularity and uneven spacing not found in Jaʿfar's work from Herat".[18] Yet a copy of Assar's *Mihr-u Mushtarī* dated 1419 and signed by Jaʿfar al-Katib al-Tabrizi presents a very similar *nastaʿlīq*, inconsistent and unbalanced in its overall aspect, a demonstration that the calligrapher was in the process of transforming his script, or, to be more precise, bringing it to a more mature and achieved form (figs. 7.3 and 7.4).[19]

four, including the colophon page. Each page consists of seventeen lines of text on four columns. Rubrics are written in gold *thuluth*. The headings bear cipher "evidently to ensure that the pages were pasted into the album in the correct order"; see Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 132.

18 Soucek, *Arts of Calligraphy*, p. 24.

19 Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*, New York 1992, pp. 130–131.



FIGURE 7.3
Folio with colophon from Nizami's Makhzan al-asrār, *signed by Ja'far al-Hafiz al-Tabrizi, Yazd, dated 1417.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 74, p. 36.*



FIGURE 7.4
Folio with colophon from Mihr-u Mushtarī *by 'Assar, signed by Ja'far al-Katib al-Tabrizi, dated 1419. Washington,* D.C., *The Art and History Trust Collection on loan to the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, LTS1995.2.36, fol. 79r.*

Both examples here, however, show full mastery by Jaʿfar of the *riqʿa* style in the colophons.

Following Roxburgh's conclusions, it can be asserted that the whole aforementioned material in Diez A fol. 74 was not only culled from the Topkapı album B. 411 but also penned by Jaʿfar Tabrizi al-Baysunghuri. At present only one sole work signed by the master calligrapher is visible in B. 411.[20] The sheer number of calligraphic specimens by Jaʿfar in the fifth Diez album and their presence in other albums as well testify to his pivotal role in the history of calligraphy in Iran in the first half of the fifteenth century, and especially the part he played in the early developments of the *nastaʿlīq* style. Later sources mention him as the successor of Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, the alleged "inventor" of *nastaʿlīq*, although Jaʿfar was the pupil of Mir ʿAli's son ʿUbaydallah.[21] Jaʿfar not only excelled in writing *nastaʿlīq* but also mastered the other codified cursive scripts (the "six scripts" or *aqlām al-sitta*), as shown in some of the materials in Diez A fol. 74 culled from the album B. 411 and the *Makhzan al-asrār*'s colophon.[22] Moreover, he trained numerous students, among whom Azhar Tabrizi and Shaykh Mahmud Haravi stood out; both contributed to disseminating Jaʿfar's style to other centers.[23] Jaʿfar was then considered a key practitioner of the Timurid period and placed at the very beginning of the chain of transmission between the masters of *nastaʿlīq*, right after Mir ʿAli Tabrizi. In fact, his name is the first to be mentioned in Mustafa ʿAli's *Menāqıb-ı hünerverān* at the beginning of the chapter devoted to the masters of *nastaʿlīq*, as being "the endless treasure, the principal [and] impeccable master of that group [of calligraphers]" working in Baysunghur's atelier.[24] The accumulation of Jaʿfarian items in Diez A fol. 74 led Roxburgh to postulate whether Diez had been aware of the importance of the Timurid chief calligrapher of the Herati *kitābkhāna* and consequently if it were a conscious choice by the Prussian amateur to present a visual selection of works by the celebrated practitioner.[25] In reality, it

20 Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK) B. 411, fol. 162v. See Roxburgh, *Our Works*, vol. 2, pp. 639–640.

21 These sources are: Dust Muhammad, in his preface to the Bahram Mirza's 1544–1545 album, in Wheeler Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden 2001, p. 10; Mustafa ʿAli in the *Menāqıb-ı hünerverān*, in *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*, ed., trans. and with a commentary by Esra Akın-Kıvanç, Leiden 2011, p. 206; Qazi Ahmad in the *Gulistān-i Hunar*, in *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi* (*circa A.H. 1015/1606*), trans. Vladimir Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, p. 100. For Qazi Ahmad's text in Persian; see also *Gulistān-i Hunar*, ed. Ahmad Suhayli Khvansari, Tehran AH 1352 (1973), p. 57.

22 Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 125–126. For instance, Diez A fol. 74 p. 23 bottom left consists of a page with text in Arabic written in *muḥaqqaq* and *naskh* as well as Persian in *nastaʿlīq*. The upper piece shows how Jaʿfar had equally mastered the *taʿlīq* script.

23 David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden 2001, p. 125.

24 Mustafa ʿAli, *Epic Deeds*, p. 206. See also Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 82–83.

25 Roxburgh, *Our Works*, vol. 2, p. 95.

may be merely fortuitous that many items signed by Ja'far ended up in an eighteenth-century album created in Berlin since Ja'far's calligraphic works were removed from a single source, that is the Timurid album B. 411.[26] Regarding the materials in *nasta'līq*, several other questions remain to be answered. One may wonder, for instance, when Diez acquired these folios from the Topkapı Palace and whether he received them all at once with the first three albums already mounted. The first of these albums accessioned as Diez A fol. 70 in fact sheds new light on this issue.

The Calligraphic Fragments in Diez A fol. 70

The conservation and restoration of the four first albums undertaken in the early 1970s revealed an unexpected discovery, which has received little attention. When each painting was detached from its initial support in Diez A fol. 70, it exposed a certain number of written fragments that the conservators interpreted as lining between two paintings pasted together on their reverse.[27] Although the use of pieces of paper as lining was certainly not an uncommon practice in album-making in the Islamic world, the lining only appears to have been employed in the first Diez volume mounted in Istanbul, as opposed to Diez A fols. 73 and 74 created in Berlin after Diez returned. As a result, Diez A fols. 71 and 72 do not present any trace of a lining. This unique use of lining in Diez A fol. 70 seems even more surprising and intriguing for two reasons. First, only calligraphic folios seem to have served as a lining, when one would have expected to find instead paper of mediocre quality unsuited to receive any kind of text, or battered and torn paper.[28] Secondly, some of these written pages definitely came from one of the same sources as other fragments that were later integrated into Diez A fol. 74, notably the Timurid calligraphic album B. 411. Indeed, toward the end of the album Diez A fol. 70, between pages 24 and 25, material was inserted that once belonged to the copy of the *Makhzan al-asrār* by Nizami, signed by Ja'far Tabrizi. Diez A fol. 70 p. 23 bears one folio of Nizami's work (no. 2) whereas p. 24 presents eight folios (nos. 2–8).

In other words, a full page culled from the Topkapı album B. 411, which initially had nine folios of the *Makhzan al-asrār*, was dismembered and thereafter integrated into Diez A fol. 70. Like their

26 Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 121–123.

27 Klaus Appel and Dieter George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 9 (1971), pp. 227–238. The authors defined these written pieces as "Zwischenkarton Textfragmente."

28 According to archival material in the Staatsbibliothek, no precise report during the ongoing conservation work has been written nor have photographs have been taken that would allow us to see how the supposed lining material was organized between the pages. Furthermore, the first and last pages, which were respectively numbered 1 (verso) and 26 (recto), now accessioned Diez A fol. 70, p. 1 and 26, as well as the pages 12 (recto) and 13 (verso), and 14 (recto) and 15 (verso), and 20 (recto) and 21 (verso) do not present paper fragments. It is thus impossible to know whether there were ever any paper fragments or whether they were destroyed during the conservation process of 1970–71.

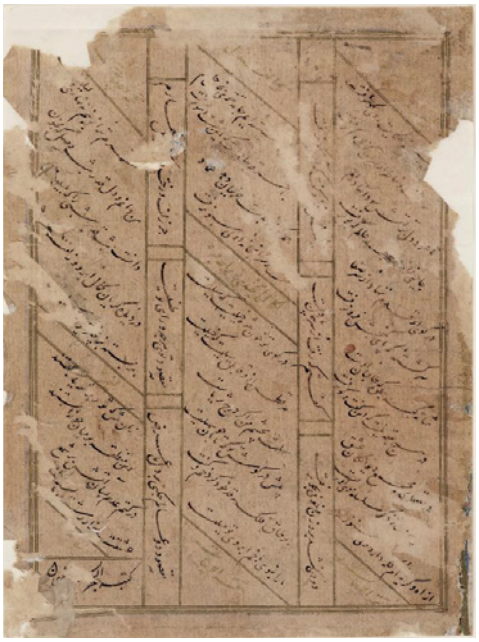


FIGURE 7.5 *Folio of calligraphy signed by Jaʿfar al-Baysunghuri. Probably Herat, c. 1425–1430. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 16, no. 5.*

counterparts in Diez A fol. 74, they bear ciphers.[29] If one considers that the album Diez A fol. 74 was created in Berlin in 1837–38, the presence of materials that originated from the same source undoubtedly indicates that the *Makhzan al-asrār* folios from B. 411 were available all together *and* at the same time as the drawings and paintings mounted into Diez A fols. 70, 71, and 72. Furthermore, another fragment signed by Jaʿfar Tabrizi appears as well in Diez A fol. 70 (fig. 7.5).

The piece consists of three main columns of text in *nastaʿlīq* written diagonally, which alternate with two vertical lines. Despite a slightly different format, it may recall two other pages now in Diez A fol. 74 and both taken from the album B. 411.[30] The layout strikingly also resembles other pages penned by Jaʿfar in *nastaʿlīq* with an upper inscription in *thuluth* providing the name of Baysunghur Mirza.[31]

Considering the importance of Jaʿfar Tabrizi al-Baysunghuri in the history of Persian calligraphy and his prominence in the lineage of *nastaʿlīq* master calligraphers, it is rather surprising that works by him, and especially the ones bearing his signature, would have served as lining in the first volume of the Diez albums. Why were they not shown alongside other works by Jaʿfar inside the Diez calligraphic album? We may putatively consider at this stage that Diez A fol. 70 initially had an appearance other than its current one. Indeed, it is plausible that the album once presented the calligraphic materials alongside the paintings and drawings,

29 Six ciphers are still legible (2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8). Thus, the nine pages correspond to the beginning of the *Makhzan al-asrār*, which complement the rest of the poem now in Diez A fol. 74. Interestingly, one can still notice the opening illuminated medallion on the recto of the first folio (Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, n. 5).

30 Diez A fol. 74, p. 26 and p. 27. Only the latter is signed by Jaʿfar Tabrizi, whereas the former may well be attributed to him on the stylistic grounds of the script. The two fragments present, moreover, the same outer arrangement of ruling lines (*jadval*) consisting of two gold and one blue, characteristic of some sections in the album B. 411; Roxburgh, "Diez", pp. 130–131.

31 A similar fragment is pasted onto fol. 5r of the album H. 2153. Another one can be seen on fol. 7v of the same album. The album H. 2160 offers pages of calligraphies by Jaʿfar with comparable arrangement as well.

as is the case in some albums made in the fifteenth and sixteenth century.[32] The person responsible for the creation of Diez A fol. 70, if one considers that the operation occurred in Istanbul, either in the Palace itself or possibly in the bazaar, followed a visual pattern he was familiar with. As suggested previously, the vast majority of the materials mounted in the five Diez albums were probably acquired by Diez at the same time. It appears at present difficult to discern what provoked the disruptive change in the fabrication of the album Diez A fol. 70, but the numeral discrepancy between pictorial and written materials may be its cause.[33] Realizing that there would not be enough calligraphic samples to juxtapose with the paintings and drawings, the album-maker perhaps decided to paste the latter together, so covering the former. Consequently, he obliterated the initial visual effect and ultimately defined an ontological dichotomy for the remaining material assembled in the subsequent albums.[34]

Furthermore, a few pieces with calligraphy still present traces of the late eighteenth-century Ottoman light blue and/or orange framing lines that border every painting and sketch in the album Diez A fol. 70, as well as the fifteenth-century Timurid thick gold ruling lines that originally enclosed whole pages in the Topkapı B. 411 volume.[35] It is still difficult to determine whether the blue and orange lines were added around the calligraphy samples during the creation of the album or whether they are the result of the recent disassembling. This issue definitely requires further research and a closer examination of the pages. Yet the idea that the calligraphy may have been originally visible challenges the context(s) of creation of the albums at the time of the presence of Diez in Istanbul and later in Berlin after his return. One may also wonder what exact role Diez played in the overall process. Was he offered the first three volumes already bounded alongside the material now comprised in albums Diez A fols. 73 and 74 as loose leaves?[36] Did he ultimately play any role in the conception of the first three albums? The transformation of the first album at an early stage

32 Apart from the so-called Baysunghur Calligraphy Album (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2310), made in Herat between 1427–1433, and which contained only calligraphic specimens, other later volumes offered multifarious visual materials, both pictorial and calligraphic. For instance, the album H. 2152 has written material clustered at the beginning and drawings and paintings in the second part, where H. 2153 and H. 2160 often show the two types combined on the same page. On the Baysunghur Calligraphy Album, see Roxburgh, *Our Works*, vol. 2, pp. 409–488 and Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 37–83.

33 The proportion of calligraphies composes globally less than ten percent of the graphic materials comprised in the five Diez albums.

34 It may explain also the later arrangement in the albums Diez A fols. 73 and 74 used by the Prussian Royal Library with the separation between written and drawn samples.

35 See, for instance, Diez A fol. 70, p. 3, n. 3; p. 6, n. 3; p. 7, n. 3; p. 7, n. 7; p. 9, n. 4; p. 10, n. 3; p. 10 n. 5; p. 11, n. 5; and p. 16, n. 5.

36 It is now established that the material, with the exception of the almanac (Diez A fol. 74, pp. 3–18) and the letter addressed to the Ottoman treasurer (*defterdār*) (Diez A fol. 74, p. 19), originated from the women's harem in the Topkapı Palace, through the intermediary of the chief eunuch; see Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 114 and p. 134, n. 24, and Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 15. See also Julian Raby's and Christoph Rauch's essays in this volume.

of its fabrication obviously constitutes a conundrum for using written fragments as lining and ultimately "sacrificing" them. Indeed, this process seems to have no logical explanation since the calligraphic folios could have been simply removed from the album under construction and given to Diez with the loose material that was later assembled in Diez A fol. 74.

The Early Career of Jaʿfar Tabrizi Revealed

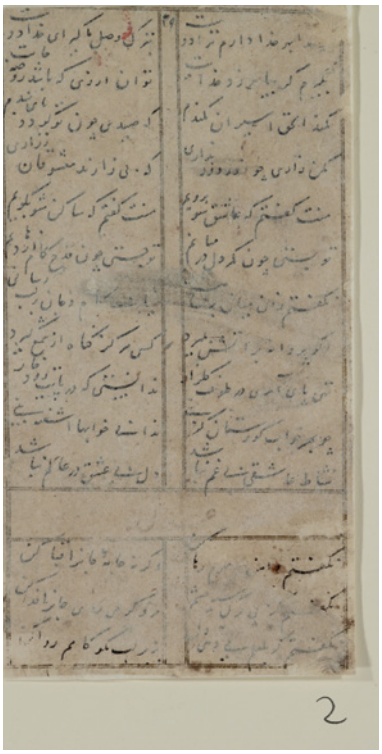
Among the lining written fragments in the album Diez A fol. 70, sixty-six constitute a single large group (fig. 7.6).

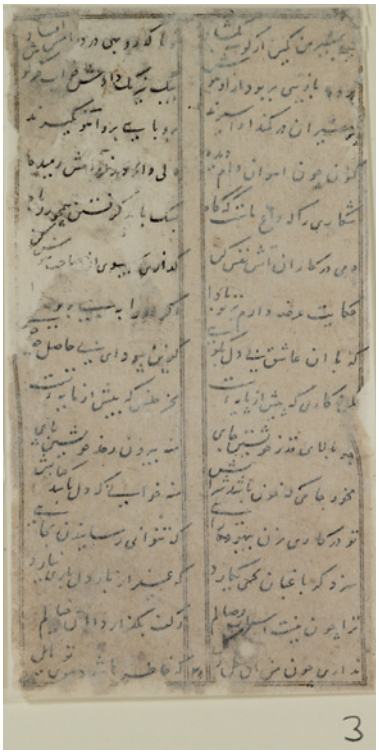
They all originally belonged to one single work, a copy of the *Ten Epistles* (*Dahnāma*), a poem in the *mathnavī* form and a poetic genre very much in favor in the fourteenth century. Penned here by one single copyist – as the consistency of the calligraphic *nastaʿlīq* hand suggests – this work also included several illustrations now in Diez A fol. 71, an album that was certainly also arranged in Istanbul at the same time as Diez A fol. 70.[37] Yet one painting of the same group is now part of Diez A fol. 73, created later in Berlin – indicating that loose leaves from the dismembered *Dahnāma* were part of the unbound material that Diez brought back to Prussia with him.[38] There is also evidence that prior to clustering them between paintings and drawings in the first Diez volume, the *Dahnāma* pages were already part of an album: like the *Makhzan al-asrār* folios, they bear ciphers, written in the central vertical column. The folios, most of which are now fragmentary and have been damaged by the lining, present a neat form of the *nastaʿlīq* style with the verses arranged in a format of two columns of fifteen lines. The rubrics are written in gold *thuluth*. The calligrapher's hand presents some peculiar characteristics: the letters and words seemingly stick to the horizontal writing line (also called the baseline) and they are placed most often at a twenty-degree angle to the line. As a result, this *nastaʿlīq* style still presents a strong visual horizontal effect. Moreover, there is little variation in the thickness of the stroke in general. Additionally, the upper ascending stroke of the *kāf* not only presents a smooth angle but is also not attached to the vertical stroke of the letter. Although somewhat "archaic" in appearance, the overall effect of the *nastaʿlīq* script is elegant and neat. It shows in fact a significant stylistic difference with the numerous examples written by Jaʿfar Tabrizi, especially with the works created in Herat. Indeed, in Jaʿfar's calligraphy from the 1420s, as briefly described above, fluidity and sinuosity are prominent. The placement angle to the baseline of some graphic units is more important (over a thirty degree angle) as well as the angle of the upper stroke of the *kāf*, which is also most often – if not only – attached to the vertical stroke of the letter. It appears close neither to the style of Jaʿfar's contemporaries, such as that of Shams al-Din Baysunghuri, also working in Herat, nor to that of his students, who on the contrary further emphasized the variation of the thickness of the stroke and the undulation of the writing.

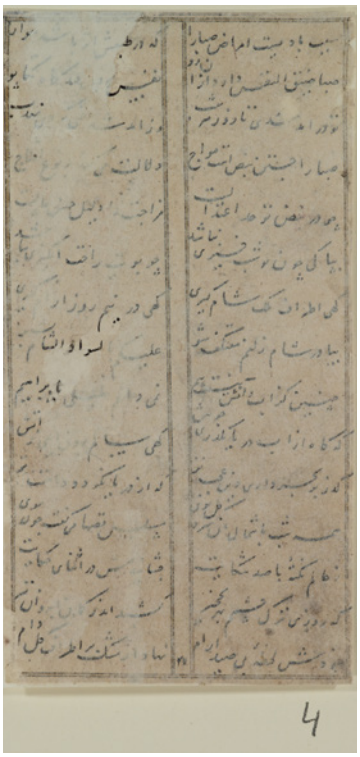
Nevertheless, the *nastaʿlīq* of the *Dahnāma* folios is strikingly reminiscent

37 Diez A fol. 71, p. 6 no. 2; p. 11, no. 4; p. 11, no. 5; p. 18, no. 2; p. 18, no. 3; p. 26, no. 3; p. 40, no. 5; p. 42, no. 5; p. 45, no 6. The paintings are the subject of the essay by Karin Rührdanz in the present volume.

38 Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 1.


2


3


4


5



FIGURE 7.6 *Page with seven folios from a* Dahnāma, *unsigned, n.d. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, nos. 2–8.*

of the style visible in a manuscript of *Khusraw u Shīrīn* by Nizami copied by ʿAli b. Hasan, better known as Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, who is also considered as the "inventor" of the *nastaʿlīq* style (fig. 7.7).[39]

The date of the completion of the manuscript is now lost as the colophon is damaged, but scholars generally agree on dating it to the early fifteenth century.[40] Both *nastaʿlīq* scripts of the *Khusraw-u Shīrīn* and of the *Dahnāma* in Diez A fol. 70 share the characteristics mentioned above: the impression of horizontally; little variation in the thickness of the stroke; and the unattached upper stroke of the *kāf*. Another common particularity of the two examples appears in the occasional appearance of the three dots for the *sīn* and *shīn* letters aligned under or above the stroke, instead of the traditional triangular display, as the in word *kas* on the third line of Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 2 (fig. 7.8).

A close examination of the *nastaʿlīq* in the undated *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir – the calligraphy is also attributed to Mir ʿAli Tabrizi on the grounds of a later inscription – leads to similar remarks.[41] Another copy of the same work, completed in Baghdad in 1407, shows the very same kind of *nastaʿlīq*.[42] The colophons indicate that the copyist was Mir ʿAli's son, ʿUbaydallah, about whom Dust Muhammad in his preface to Bahram Mirza's 1544–45 album wrote: "His calligraphy is of such degree that the cognoscenti of the age cannot distinguish between his writing and that of his father."[43] This assertion was also made by other sixteenth-century compilers and writers both in Iran and in the Ottoman sphere, notably Mustafa ʿAli in the *Menāqıb-ı hünerverān*:

> The most famous of his pupils [*i.e.* Mir ʿAli Tabrizi] was Monla ʿAbdullah, his own talented son, whose firm writing was a testament to his high standing and whose agreeable style was an indisputable witness to his excellence. He was known for having modeled his calligraphy on that of his gifted father.

Mustafa ʿAli adds: "And a talented pupil of Monla ʿAbdullah was Mawlana Jaʿfar

39 Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1931.29. For a biography of Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, see Bayani, *Khushnivīsān*, vol. 1, pp. 441–446; Priscilla Soucek, "Alī Tabrizi", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, London 1985, vol. 1, p. 881; and "Mir ʿAli Tabrizi", *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, Oxford 2009, vol. 2, p. 537.

40 Soucek, *Arts of Calligraphy*, pp. 18–19, pl. 1. See also Sheila Blair, *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art*, Edinburgh 2014, pp. 180–181.

41 Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.29. Recently, Blair argued that the copyist of the *Dīvān* was ʿAli b. Ilyas, the calligrapher who transcribed the *Three Poems* of Khvaju Kirmani in Baghdad in 1396 (British Library, or. 13188), and not ʿAli b. Hasan. Nevertheless, a careful examination of *nastaʿlīq*, both in the *Dīvān* and the *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, definitely points to the hand of ʿAli b. Hasan. Blair, *Text and Image*, pp. 179–182. On the *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and for a reevaluation of its marginal drawings, see also the essay by Massumeh Farhad in the present volume. Farhad is also currently preparing a monograph on the manuscript.

42 Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, inv.no. 2046; see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), pp. 229–230.

43 Thackston, *Prefaces*, p. 10.



FIGURE 7.7 *Nizami,* Khusraw u Shīrīn, *signed by 'Ali b. Hasan, Tabriz,* c. *1400. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1929.31, p. 34.*

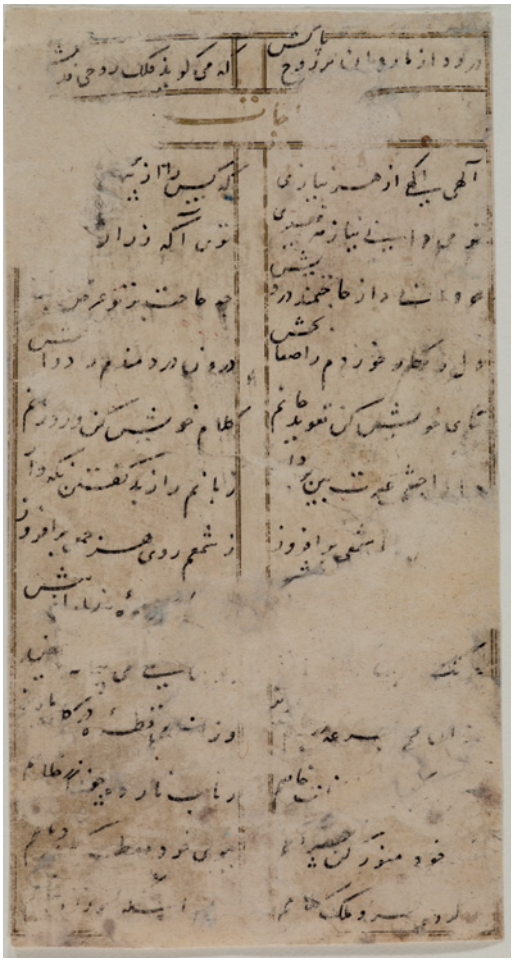


FIGURE 7.8 *Folio from a* Dahnāma, *unsigned, n.d.* *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70 p. 2, n. 2.*

of Tabriz."[44] Among sixteenth-century writers, whether Persian or Ottoman, a divergence exists regarding the chain of transmission for the early development of the *nastaʿlīq* script and who was the master of Jaʿfar Tabrizi: Mir ʿAli Tabrizi or his son ʿUbaydallah.[45] As both of them wrote the same form of *nastaʿlīq*, it is certain that Jaʿfar was trained in their style. In addition, several other calligraphers active between 1370 and 1410 in Tabriz and Baghdad practiced this style of the hanging script as well, which seemed particularly appreciated at the Jalayirid court, hence the name "royal Jalayirid *nastaʿlīq* style" that I attribute to it.[46]

44 Mustafa ʿAli, *Epic Deeds*, pp. 214–215. Mustafa ʿAli refers to Mir ʿAli Tabrizi's son by the name of ʿAbdullah and so does Dust Muhammad; see Thackston, *Prefaces*, p. 10 and n. 27.

45 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, p. 258.

46 Copyists include, among others, ʿAli b. Ilyas (see note 42) and Hafiz Ibrahim, who copied a *Kalilā wa Dimnā* in Baghdad in 1392;

Some fragments now displayed on folios located at the end of the album B. 411 present writing samples in *nastaʿlīq* from two different sources.[47] They show some similarity with the folios of the *Dahnāma* in Diez A fol. 70 and therefore with Mir ʿAli Tabrizi's *nastaʿlīq* as well as with the "royal Jalayirid style". None of them is signed and there are no later attributions. Ultimately, any known album includes specimens signed by or attributed to Mir ʿAli Tabrizi or his son. Mustafa ʿAli, who granted the master calligrapher the title *qıdvetü'l-küttāb*, "leader of scribes," wrote that he was "a master inventor *par excellence* and the supreme guide of the most illustrious masters"[48] and the Ottoman author mentioned ʿUbaydallah as well. However, he did not begin his chapter about the masters of *nastaʿlīq* with the inventor of the style, but instead with a mention of Baysunghur's atelier in Herat and the most famous and prominent figure among the artists of the time, Jaʿfar Tabrizi.[49]

Probably sometime in the 1420s, Jaʿfar composed a text whose importance was first noted by Habiballah Faza'ili.[50] In this document, the Herati master calligrapher recounts the birth of the *nastaʿlīq* style, stating that it was first developed by scribes from Shiraz and then improved by Tabrizi copyists until "the time when Khwaje Amir ʿAli-ye Tabrizi brought this script to perfection."[51] Yet an undated page of calligraphy, signed by Jaʿfar in Herat suggests another idea for the appearance of *nastaʿlīq*. Mounted in the Gulshan Album in the early seventeenth century, it is the only folio presenting calligraphy samples by the Timurid master in the volume (fig. 7.9).[52]

Two different pieces constitute the page; the signature of the largest one is located on the lower left side under the smaller folio. Jaʿfar states in it that he wrote the piece by following "the method of the inventor of the prototype ʿAli b. Hasan al-Sultani."[53] This phrase was incidentally used as well by the famous calligrapher Mir ʿAli Haravi in a *mufrādāt* (an exercise of combined single letters) dated 1531–32 that opens the Gulshan album.[54] Most of authors of album prefaces and treatises reemployed the expression *vāżiʿ al-aṣl* ("inventor of the prototype") *à propos* Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, first apparently used by Jaʿfar. However Jaʿfar's colophon on the Gulshan Album page is the only known one that

see Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XII au XVII siècle*, Paris 1997, p. 72, no. 35.

47 TSMK B. 411, fols. 167r, 167v, and 168r. According to David Roxburgh, these folios are a later addition to the album B. 411; Roxburgh, *Our Works*, vol. 2, pp. 641–642.

48 Mustafa ʿAli, *Epic Deeds*, p. 214.

49 Mustafa ʿAli, *ibid.* p. 206. See also Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 82–83.

50 Tehran, Majlis Library, n. 1632; see Habiballah Faza'ili, *Taʿlīm-i Khaṭṭ*, Tehran 1362 (1983), p. 265; and Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 37 and p. 53, n. 50. The document is unsigned but the attribution to Jaʿfar by Faza'ili and validated by Soudavar is based on the calligraphic style. No reproduction has been published, to my knowledge.

51 Wright, *Look of the Book*, p. 252. Wright reproduced the English translation by Soudavar.

52 On the Gulshan Album, see Kambiz Eslami, "Golšan Album", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, New York 2003, vol. 11, pp. 104–108.

53 *ʿala ṭarīq-i vāḍiʿ al-aṣl ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan al-Sulṭānī*. See Soucek, *Arts of Calligraphy*, p. 18.

54 *Mufrādāt-i naskh-i taʿlīq ʿala ṭarīq-i vāżiʿ al-aṣl Khvāja Mīr ʿAlī Tabrīzī*. Tehran, Golestan Palace Library, ms. 1663, fol. 1v.



FIGURE 7.9 *Folio from the* Gulshan album, *early seventeenth century; calligraphies signed by Ja'far al-Katib, n.d. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, ms. 1663.*

mentions Mir ʿAli Tabrizi by his patronym (*nasab*), as being the son of Hasan. The authenticity of the two Gulshan album pieces by Jaʿfar – and especially that of the signatures – has consequently been called into question.[55] The calligraphy clearly presents a very refined version of Jaʿfar's style, showing characteristics of the Herati period. However, there is fluidity and grace in the lines, which are both typical of later masters' styles, notably of his students'.

A small inscription in red in the first marginal band contiguous with the central zone of text acknowledges the margins to be the work of Lutfallah the illuminator (*ʿamal-i Lutfallāh Muẕahhib*). That he was responsible for the illuminations on the whole page, including the various elements surrounding the lines of text, remains unclear. What seems certain, however, is that the combination of the two written panels on one sole page could have not been done in Baysunghur's time but rather results from a later arrangement, probably in the seventeenth century at the time of the creation of the Gulshan album. Furthermore, the Jaʿfar's large signature, whose format now fits perfectly the width of the left *qitʿa* above it, is not in its original position but was clearly cut out and rearranged in a fashion that it would make the viewer believe the three elements on the page were harmoniously combined during the initial completion of the folio. This page of the Gulshan album by Jaʿfar raises another issue. To this day, it is the only known work that explicitly refers to the real identity of Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, whose name was ʿAli b. Hasan, associated here with the *laqab* (nickname with honorific value) "al-Sultani."[56] If the signature can be truly attributed to Jaʿfar, every subsequent mention of the "inventor" of the *nastaʿlīq* script always referred to him by the reverent name of Khvaja Mir ʿAli Tabrizi. In that sense, only one of his pupils or a calligrapher who knew him could provide his patronym. In contrast, if Jaʿfar's pieces and signature in the Gulshan album appear to be later forgeries, it can only mean that the person responsible for it had a manuscript copied by ʿAli b. Hasan, possibly even the Freer *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, and could make the connection between the two persons.

Since the early sixteenth century, the expression *vāżiʿ al-aṣl* ("inventor of the prototype") has been generally used to denote Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, either in treatises, formulae opening, or closing calligraphic exercises (*mufrādāt*).[57] One of these created by the sixteenth-century master calligrapher Shah Mahmud Nishapuri was integrated into the album made for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza.[58] Shah Mahmud employed the canonical phrase "following the method of the inventor of the prototype" for Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, but he also added"[…] and the method of the second inventor Jaʿfar Tabrizi."[59] This

55 I am grateful to Abolala Soudavar for having raised this issue during the discussion of my paper at the Berlin symposium.

56 Soucek, *Arts of Calligraphy*, p. 18.

57 Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi's *Ṣirāṭ al-Suṭūr* (*The Path of Written Lines*), composed in 1514, is the earliest reference; *Qaẓi Aḥmad*, p. 116. See also Wright, *Look of the Book*, p. 252 and p. 368 n. 40, in which she addressed the list of other references provided in Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image* and in Thackston, *Prefaces*.

58 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 259–260.

59 *ṭarīq-i mukhtariʿ al-thānī*. Both terms *vāżiʿ* and *mukhtariʿ* have Arabic roots. *Vāżiʿ* (or *wāḍiʿ*) implies the idea of initial creation and being at the very inception of some-

statement implies a fundamental idea that has been so far neglected: calligraphers and treatise authors from the sixteenth century onwards acknowledged that Mir ʿAli Tabrizi was truly the "originator" of the *nastaʿlīq* script, the man who developed the initial method for writing the new codified calligraphy known as *naskh-i taʿlīq*. But it seems that they were no longer able to identify visually his calligraphic style – a fact that may be simply due to the scarcity of his works in the collections of princely libraries and workshops. Another possible explanation could be seen in the very absence of calligraphic examples signed by or attributed to Mir ʿAli Tabrizi in any known album, whether Timurid or Safavid. On the contrary, the profusion of examples by Jaʿfar Tabrizi and his direct link to Mir ʿAli, as narrated in the histories of calligraphy, made him ultimately regarded as the first great master calligrapher for the *nastaʿlīq* script. Indeed, Jaʿfar is the one who brought change to the script significant enough for him to be regarded as an influential inventor. As a result, the section devoted to fragments in *nastaʿlīq* in Bahram Mirza's album opens with works by Jaʿfar and by one of his most renowned pupils, who in his turn refined Jaʿfar's style, Azhar Tabrizi.[60] The place occupied by Jaʿfar may even eclipse the role played by Mir ʿAli in the development of the *nastaʿlīq* script.

An unsigned calligraphy appears on fol. 120r of the Album H. 2153 in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum (fig. 7.10). The inscription accompanying the verse reads *naql min khaṭṭ-i Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Jaʿfar Tabrīzī*: "Copy/imitation of the style of writing of our master Kamal al-Din Jaʿfar of Tabriz."

With its large curvilinear strokes for descending letters and a vibrant and fluid rhythm of the lines with a swaying display in relation to the baseline, the style of *nastaʿlīq* resembles visually more a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century hand than Jaʿfar's. If the term *naql* includes the notion of verisimilitude, this piece is ultimately not a mimetic copy of Jaʿfar's *nastaʿlīq*. But the calligraphy emphasizes another idea: the author of this fragment followed "the method of the second inventor" of the script, *i.e.* Jaʿfar Tabrizi. Therefore, if there is knowledge of the history of the formative period of the *nastaʿlīq* script represented by the figure of Mir ʿAli and to a lesser extent by his son ʿUbaydallah, it seems that the visual intrinsic quality of Mir ʿAli's style – the "royal Jalayirid form of *nastaʿlīq*" – has been

thing; in other words, it could be translated by "originator." *Mukhtariʿ* has a similar meaning, although it can also signify the "innovator." Dust Muhammad is one of the few to not use *wāżiʿ al-aṣl* for Mir ʿAli Tabrizi but *mukhtariʿ* instead; see Thackston, *Prefaces*, p. 9. Nevertheless, he added "the descent of this chain can be traced no further back to him," suggesting without employing the expression that Mir ʿAli should be considered as *wāżiʿ al-aṣl*. See Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, p. 98. Shaykh Mahmud, the prominent pupil of Jaʿfar, in the colophon of a *Khamsa* of Nizami completed in 1461 in Baghdad, stated also that "Our master and our teacher […] Jaʿfar is the originator (*mukhtariʿ*) of this elegant and splendid script;" see Soucek, "The Arts of Calligraphy", pp. 28–29.

60 Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 257–258. For an exhaustive list of Jaʿfar's and Azhar's calligraphies mounted into the album H. 2154, see Roxburgh, *Our Works*, vol. 2, p. 794 and pp. 822–834.

forgotten. Instead, it is his disciple Jaʿfar, associated with the Timurid workshop of Baysunghur in Herat, who appears as the trailblazer who mastered *nastaʿlīq* for later generations of master calligraphers. His works were treasured and occupied an important place in albums, particularly in B. 411 when it was created.

An earlier manuscript comprising the *Kulliyāt* of Humam Tabrizi and the *Dahnāma* was completed by the calligrapher in AH 816 (1413).[61] The *nastaʿlīq* is similar to the style of Mir ʿAli and differs slightly from the royal Jalayirid style, notably in terms of spacing and rhythm. The script closely resembles the *nastaʿlīq* of the unsigned and unattributed folios that belong to different manuscripts and are pasted into the end of the album B. 411 on fols. 167r, 167v, and 168r. Together with the *Dahnāma* fragments in Diez A fol. 70, they are surely part of the second phase of the album's constitution (fig. 7.11).

It is thus possible to ascribe these examples to Jaʿfar's early career. They support the argument the the calligraphic materials originally gathered in the Timurid calligraphic album offered a diachronic overview of the evolution of Jaʿfar's *nastaʿlīq*: fragments penned in a script that was close to the one practiced by his master, folios from the *Makhzan al-asrār* showing a more transitional style, and lastly pages created in Herat, which show a fully developed *nastaʿlīq* in its classical form that would serve as a model for the next generations of calligraphers. In the context of a Jaʿfarian calligraphic presentation, the folios from the *Dahnāma* now in Diez A fol. 70 are of special importance. With a *nastaʿlīq* stylistically resembling the script of the unsigned pages in the Album B. 411, the copy should be seen as an *oeuvre de jeunesse* by the young Jaʿfar.

Conclusion

The overall arrangement of the material that Diez acquired clearly shows the visual separation of written fragments from drawings and paintings. This notion is apparent in the distinct nature of the five albums: four volumes displaying the "illustrative" and "decorative" elements, and one sole volume gathering almost all the calligraphic pieces, even if it were not initially conceived and organized this way if we take into consideration the dual material in the album Diez A fol. 70. Furthermore, the majority of calligraphic materials originated from the Timurid album B. 411 and most probably belonged to a section of the album that showcased works in *nastaʿlīq* by the greatest master of the first half of the fifteenth century: Jaʿfar Tabrizi al-Baysunghuri. Therefore, the Diez calligraphic album also emphasizes the work and enduring legacy of the "the second inventor" of the *nastaʿlīq* script, a figure whose work, to a certain extent, is superior to that of the "originator" of *nastaʿlīq*, Mir ʿAli Tabrizi, associated with the Jalayirid dynasty and the courts of Tabriz and Baghdad *ca.* 1400.

Roxburgh has outlined the idea lying behind the conception of the Album B. 411: "As a totality, the album resembles a model book, offering to its viewer a

61 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 1531. The first colophon is signed by Jaʿfar b. ʿAli Tabrizi (fol. 127v), whereas the second one gives the name of Jaʿfar al-Tabrizi al-Hafiz (fol. 161r). See Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, p. 73.

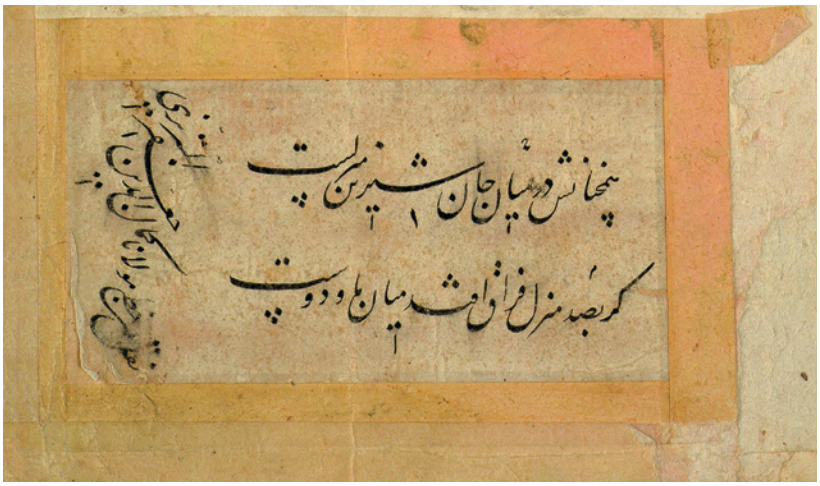


FIGURE 7.10 *Unsigned calligraphic specimen, n.d. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 120r (detail).*



FIGURE 7.11
Page with four folios from an unidentified work, unsigned, n.d. Istanbul, TSMK, B. 411 fol., 167v.

multifarious range of calligraphies for contemplation and study."[62] It should be further stressed that the Timurid calligraphic album B. 411, seen alongside calligraphic material included in Diez A fols. 70 and 74, encapsulates the transformative process of the *nastaʿlīq* script by Jaʿfar. It epitomizes Jaʿfar's calligraphic breakthrough whose success ultimately redounded on Baysunghur's patronage and eventually overshadowed Mir ʿAli Tabrizi and his Jalayirid patrons.

62 Roxburgh, "Diez", p. 85.

The Albums' Contents: From the Mongols to the Timurids

∵

CHAPTER 8

The Illustration of the Turko-Mongol Era in the Berlin Diez Albums

Charles Melville

Introduction

Despite the remarkable work done already on the compilation and construction of the Diez albums, notably by David J. Roxburgh,[1] many questions remain that will no doubt only partly be resolved in the papers arising from this pioneering symposium. As noticed by earlier scholars and demonstrated in detail by Roxburgh, the Diez albums were constructed primarily from earlier assemblages existing in the Topkapı Saray Museum Library, namely H. 2152 and H. 2153 (to which Roxburgh adds B. 411), which makes it doubly difficult to identify the source of the paintings, texts and drawings they contain. If we could be sure of the system behind Diez's collection and groupings of the images (only partly by subject matter and size?), it might help at least to recover their original associations, assuming such associations existed in the albums from which they were mainly taken:[2] H. 2152 was probably compiled in Herat for Prince Baysunghur (d. 1433), and H. 2153 perhaps for Sultan Yaʿqub Aq Qoyunlu (d. 1490) and completed *c.* 1511.[3] Even some very obvious groups (*e.g.* a set of early fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma* pictures)[4] are distributed over different folios in the same one album (Diez A fol. 71), as are the small enthroned couples (almost certainly from the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*) in the same volume. Some other possibly related images, tentatively identified as pertaining to "other epics", seem to be split over different

1 David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136.

2 This itself is not certain, according to the remarks of Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-namehs", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), p. 19. By "system", I mean if he chose the items directly from the original albums and retained the same groupings, or acquired them in a random manner and followed his own arrangement. This question was addressed specifically in the symposium presentation by David J. Roxburgh (included in this volume).

3 See Filiz Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1981), pp. 31–34.

4 For which see M.S. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 1–7, and most recently, Eleanor Sims, "Images of Firdausi's *Shahnama* in the Diez Albums in the Berlin State Library", in *Heroic Times: A thousand years of the Persian* Book of Kings, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, pp. 28–35, coining the name "Diez Small Shahnamas" for the group and acknowledging the earlier work of Marie Lukens Swietochowski in *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, ed. Marie L. Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni, New York 1994, pp. 68–81 [p. 81].

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volumes.[5] Many of these paintings share common traits (especially size and palette), but is this enough to determine whether they were taken from a single manuscript rather than being separate sketches or individual studies? If from a manuscript, what has happened to the texts on the reverse?

Clearly, this work of affiliation is important because if one item in a stylistically and technically coherent group of images can be identified confidently with a text, then it enables the others to be carried along with it. Much of this work has already been done and is the basis for the generally accepted groupings and typologies established in M.S. Ipşiroğlu's studies, which remain the most comprehensive effort to categorise the contents of the albums.[6] One can continue trying to refine the identity of the works involved and the list of topics and genres, and this is a great and diverting exercise. Its difficulties remain much as articulated by Nurhan Atasoy in connection with the *Shāhnāma* paintings in the Istanbul albums with which the Diez albums are so intimately connected:

> To add to the difficulties, the paintings which belong to the second half of the 14th and to the beginning of the 15th centuries may also be illustrations to books other than the *Shah-nameh*.
>
> Although it is not always difficult to determine the theme of certain scenes, the fact that some scenes, especially battles, fit several themes equally well does not make the researcher's job any easier. Another difficulty is that throughout the centuries several popular themes were adopted by other literary works, and one cannot easily include or exclude these from the *Shah-nameh* tradition.[7]

If this is true of the *Shāhnāma*, how much more so of other less heavily illustrated or lesser known works. While the scenes identified as illustrating Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* and Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, early examples of which are available for comparison,[8] can be taken more or less at face value, other epics and texts are no doubt barely familiar, or even unknown. A substantial number of paintings with similar size and colour values and enigmatic topics (perhaps from the Sistan cycles) of the post-Ilkhanid period fall into this category.[9] I have one or two

5 *Cf.* Sims, "Images", p. 31, and see below.

6 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*; accepted with some reservations, and not precluding the chance for improvements, *cf.* the somewhat tart remarks in Sims, "Images", p. 29 and her useful survey of earlier and subsequent work, pp. 28–30. As already noted (n. 4), Sims herself has carried out the most thorough evaluation of the *Shāhnāma* paintings to be found in the Diez albums.

7 Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", p. 20.

8 See especially Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-Dīns *Ta'rīḫ-i Mubārak-i Ġāzānī* in den Berliner Diez-Alben", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran and Paris 1997, pp. 295–306, for a pioneering discussion here.

9 *E.g.* A fol. 71, nos. 1, 15, 19, 23, 24, 33, 35, 37; A fol. 72, nos. 20, 28, *etc*. Firuza Abdullaeva suggested (personal communication) an association of these images with the *Samak-i Ayyār*, an idea considered in more detail, though inconclusively, by Karin Rührdanz, "From the Mongols to the Timurids: Refinement and attrition in

suggestions of my own to offer in the course of what follows, on the more familiar ground of the *Shāhnāma* – which no doubt others have observed as well. But rather than attempt more such identifications, which rely for a start – in so far as they are possible at all – on a comparable focus on the Istanbul albums,[10] not to mention on other productions of the period, I wish to concentrate on what the albums tell us of the world being illustrated: that is the Turko-Mongol period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. My approach is to regard the volumes as a sort of visual *jung*, an anthology of images rather than texts, which is nevertheless representative of a particular period in its different aspects. If, as Julian Raby suggested in his opening lecture,[11] Diez's compilation is indeed (or reveals) a more or less deliberate history of Persian painting into and beyond the Jalayirid period, that does make them all the more like a set of *jung*s without words. But leaving the development of Persian painting aside,[12] if we relied on the images contained in the Diez albums alone, what would we understand of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: how could we write their history? Put slightly differently, which pictures help to illustrate the history of the Mongol and Timurid period?

M.S. İpşiroğlu has already outlined such an approach, based largely on material from Istanbul, in his preliminary remarks on the history of Mongol culture,[13] and paintings grouped under the headings of "Heroic epic: Firdausi's *Shāhnāma*", "War pictures from Rashid al-Din", "Rulers as a symbol of power", "Works of light literature", and "Religious painting". Although Firdawsi's epic casts its shadow over both the literature and the art of the Mongol period, in which indeed it was given a fresh currency by courtiers such as ʿAla al-Din Juwaini, anxious to provide a legitimacy for the Mongol khans in acceptably Iranian terms,[14] I will not focus on the paintings from the *Shāhnāma*, already benefiting from a considerable amount of attention. In fact, by deliberately not identifying the images to be discussed, by title or by tale, we can perhaps better appreciate how the world of the *Shāhnāma* and

Persian painting", in *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville, Leiden 2016, pp. 172-192.

10 For an exhaustive introduction to the Istanbul volumes and their historiography, see the rich collection of studies in Ernst J. Grube, Colloquies on Art and Architecture in Asia, no. 10, published in *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1981); the editor's introduction, "The Problem of the Istanbul Album Paintings", pp. 1–30, and several of the articles, are preoccupied with the "Siyah qalam" paintings. There is remarkably little cross-reference to the Diez albums. The planned facsimile edition of H. 2153 will greatly aid comparative work across these albums.

11 See the contribution of Julian Raby in this volume.

12 Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie. The art of Mongol Iran*, Edinburgh 2009, especially pp. 182–192, 208–210, 217–223, provides an analysis of this in the context of the chinoiserie elements in these pictures.

13 M.S. İpşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*, trans. E.D. Phillips, London 1967, pp. 15–36. He is once again very concerned with the "Siyah qalam" paintings.

14 See especially, Asadollah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Livre des Rois, miroir du destin. II – Takht-e Soleymān et la symbolique du Shāh-Nāme", *Studia Iranica* 20/1 (1993), pp. 33–148 [pp. 54–74].

the observed world of the Mongols converge. It is liberating not having to assume or guess that an image is from one work or another, but to concentrate on the pictures themselves. It is an "observed world" because it is not the world as the Mongols themselves depicted it. The artists of the period, like the chroniclers and other creative writers, participated in the life of the Mongols largely as bystanders, producing a record of their perceptions tinged, very probably, by a clear sense of what would appeal to their patrons and to their peers.

Jean Aubin has provided the most trenchant exposé of the dangers of mistaking the artistic and cultural achievements of the early Timurid period for an indication of the refined (and reformed) nature of Mongol rule, and the same could be said of his grim reading of the early Ilkhanate also.[15] Nevertheless, a dominant theme in the history of the period between the destruction of the ʿAbbasid caliphate in Baghdad (1258) and the advent of the Safavids (1501) concerns the process of the acculturation of the new ruling elites (essentially military and "desert dwellers") to the *mores* of Islamic rule and, more particularly, Iranian tradition (essentially sedentary and urban).[16]

A second persistent, and related, theme is the role of religion and the religious establishments in government and society in what were essentially secular polities adhering to dynastic law and steppe tradition; a particular element of this is the growing significance of institutionalised mysticism and the political influence of Sufi *shaykhs*. This process was already well underway in the Saljuq period, as the hagiographies of numerous saintly figures and their interactions with the ruling elite attest: examples are Jalal al-Din Rumi during the transition from Saljuq to Mongol rule in Anatolia, Safi al-Din in Ardabil and Amin al-Din Balyani in Kazarun in the Ilkhanid period, and the rise of the Naqshbandis and Niʿmatallahis under the Timurids.[17]

A third topic that marks the Mongol period, and perhaps to a slightly lesser extent the subsequent Timurid century, is the heightened visibility of women – that is, the women of the elite – and their independence not only in political and economic affairs, but latterly also as patrons

15 Jean Aubin, "Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz", *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957), pp. 71–88; also *Émirs mongols et vizirs persans dans le remous de l'acculturation*, Studia Iranica, Cahier 15, Paris 1995.

16 For the Ilkhans, see my article, "The Mongols in Iran", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly art and culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New Haven and London 2002, pp. 36–61; and Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*, Cambridge 2008, especially pp. 6–11. For the first half of the fifteenth century, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran*, Cambridge 2007, especially pp. 1–12; for the second half, Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian politics and acculturation in medieval Iran*, Leiden 2007.

17 See for the Saljuqs, Omid Safi, *Religion and Politics in Saljuq Iran. Negotiating ideology and religious enquiry*, Karachi 2006, especially pp. 125–157; Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion*, especially pp. 178–207, 224–244. For the Mongol period, see for example Monika Gronke, "La religion populaire en Iran mongol", and Denise Aigle, "Le soufisme sunnite en Fārs. Šayḫ Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī", in Denise Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, pp. 205–230 and 231–260, respectively.

of cultural activity.[18] This period also saw Iran become a significant part of a new world order, with implications for commercial and cultural transactions over an enormous territorial expanse stretching from Eastern Europe to the Indian subcontinent and, most particularly, to China.[19] How much of this is evident from the selection of materials preserved in the Diez albums, and if we were unaware of these topics, would the contents of the Diez albums suggest them to us as subjects for consideration?

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the whole corpus of images and every aspect of Turko-Mongol history, which also requires a treatment of the literature of the period (scarcely recoverable from the sparse textual materials in the albums), both romantic and popular literature and scientific writing.[20] There is occasional evidence in the albums of an interest in reading and written culture (Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 1; 71, p. 14). Despite the misgivings of Jean Aubin, there is also the evidence of extraordinary artistic vigour and brilliant talent: some of the paintings and drawings (not to mention the calligraphy) are of quite outstanding inventiveness, beauty and craftsmanship. This too must be seen as an aspect of the Iranian world under the Mongols, and of the patronage exercised not only by the princes of the ruling houses, but also – more particularly – by members of the bureaucracy and court officials.

In this paper I shall briefly explore the evidence in the Diez albums of the military and outdoor life of the Mongols and the overlapping, though juxtaposed, topic of their courtly and ceremonial world, as two aspects of the nature of their rule and its representation.[21]

An Outdoor World and a Military Life

The Mongols were a people in arms and fighting was a way of life. It is no surprise therefore to find this reflected in the art of the period and represented also in the Diez albums.[22] Nevertheless, given the

18 Ann K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of the administrative, economic and social history 11th–14th century*, Albany 1988, especially pp. 287–296; Bruno De Nicola, "Unveiling the Khātūns: Some aspects of the role of women in the Mongol Empire", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2011. See also Priscilla P. Soucek, "Tīmūrid Women: A cultural perspective", in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, patronage and piety*, ed. G.R. Hambly, New York 1999, pp. 199–226.

19 The two works of Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A cultural history of Islamic textiles*, Cambridge 1997 and *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge 2001, best explore these topics.

20 See Karin Rührdanz's contribution to this volume, and Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez", p. 125 for the contents of A fol. 74, pp. 3–18, clearly part of an almanac (*zīj*).

21 Many of the pictures discussed here are reproduced in the catalogue of the 2005–6 Bonn – Munich exhibition, with annotations by Karin Rührdanz; see "Die Diez-Alben", in *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: das Weltreich der Mongolen*, ed. Claudius C. Müller and Hebriette Pleiger, Munich 2005, pp. 254–274. I am grateful to Christoph Rauch for drawing this to my attention.

22 See Robert Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting*, Edinburgh 1977, pp. 61–68; and my article, "The Horrors of War and the

total range and number of illustrations in the five albums, military scenes are relatively few and dispersed. The greatest concentration is the group of small battle paintings seemingly from a manuscript of the *Shāhnāma*,[23] and others elsewhere also representing the endless combats narrated in Firdawsi's epic.[24] Overall, however, the images of warfare illustrate a number of points. First, in terms of the physical appearance of the protagonists, there is little to distinguish the combatants, who all carry similar arms and armour, the appearance of which remained quite constant across the period covered.[25] It is as though the Mongols are fighting themselves – as indeed soon turned out to be the case. Secondly, various types of military activity and tactics are represented: siege warfare, as in the celebrated pictures of the assault on Baghdad;[26] open battle between two massed armies (Persian: *bā anbūh*) and individual exploits within a battle *mêlée*; single combats (rather more frequent than one finds described in the sources, though common in the *Shāhnāma*);[27] and cavalry charges. There is occasionally an interesting painting of troop manoeuvres: Diez A fol. 70, p. 9, no.1 appears to show the commander ordering a circling movement (fig. 8.1); another drawing (Diez A fol. 72, p. 7) shows archery exercises, as also practised by the Mamluks (*qabaq*).[28] Thirdly, on the whole, the vigour, energy and sheer *élan* of the Mongol fighting machine remains constant across the images as we progress through time, though the mess and muddle of some encounters is tidied up in others.[29] There is little to match the frightening quality of the violence displayed in the Diez A fol. 72, p. 24 battle scene, identified by Robert Hillenbrand as depicting Rustam in combat and originating in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[30] This seems to project the action onto a personal and emotional experience, rather than reproducing a generic formula (fig. 8.2).

Arts of Peace: Images of battle in Persian manuscripts", in *Nomadic Military Power in Iran and Adjacent Areas in the Islamic Period*, ed. Kurt Franz and Wolfgang Holzworth, Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 155–191.

23 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Albeni*, plate XXV; Sims, "Images", nos. 38–43; the likely identification of Rustam killing a floppy white *div* (Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 5) suggests a *Shāhnāma* provenance (as more obviously does a second group, Sims, nos. 44–47).

24 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 71, p. 20 (battle scene) and 71, p. 30, no. 1 (single combat). See also Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 186–187 for a discussion of other Rashidiyya-style battle scenes.

25 For a brief account of Mongol weapons and armour, see Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*, Barnsley 2007, pp. 49–57, 63–65; Michael Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries shown in Works of Art", in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. R. Elgood, London 1979, pp. 30–63; M.M. Khorasani, *Arms and Armor from Iran: The Bronze Age to the end of the Qajar period*, Tübingen 2006, but without any particular section on Mongol arms.

26 Diez A fol. 70, p. 4, no. 1 and p. 7, no. 1.

27 See Charles Melville, "Serial Killers: The mise-en-page of Firdausi's 'Davazdah rukh'", *Persica* 23 (2009–10), pp. 73–107 [p. 74].

28 See David Ayalon, "Notes on the furūsiyya Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), pp. 31–62 [p. 55–56].

29 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 71, pp. 60–61.

30 See his contribution in this volume.



FIGURE 8.1 Military Manoeuvres. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 9, no. 1.*



FIGURE 8.2 Rustam Leads a Cavalry Charge. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 24.*

It is noticeable, too, how few hunting scenes are depicted (especially if one discounts fighting with dragons), when we recall the important role played by the hunt in the training and discipline of the Mongol forces, as well as its status as a royal pastime, not to mention the necessity of providing food.[31] The only other outdoor or field sport that is illustrated is the game of polo, for instance in two similar paintings very probably from a *Shāhnāma*.[32]

If the archetypal activities of fighting and hunting seem rather sparsely represented in the Diez albums, there is nevertheless considerable evidence of the outdoor quality of Mongol existence and, at the same time, of the artists' engagement with the natural world. The albums are full of examples of the minute observation of, and pleasure in, nature and the landscape, and the animals, plants and birds that inhabit it. This is particularly striking in Diez A fol. 73, which contains numerous fine studies of foliage and birds,[33] including water fowl.[34] This is a long-term trait in Persian art and one that, as in this period, received a great stimulus from the invigorating impact of Chinese models. Nevertheless, alongside the highly stylised studies of leaves and *sīmurgh*s, there is a realism and physicality in many of these depictions, not an abstracted or idealised rendering of the living world, which was perhaps inspired and encouraged by the steppe-dwellers' practical and down-to-earth attitude to their surroundings.

One of the few "pure" landscapes is the famous scene of a river in spate rushing through a bleak winter woodland;[35] but landscape is an important element in many others, notably in the depiction of a lone rider galloping down from a high pass (fig. 8.3), which possibly represents a messenger on the Mongols' celebrated *yam* system – although his headgear suggests a royal figure and his *paiza* is not visible, he is clearly a man in a hurry.[36] A second,

31 Diez A fol. 70, p. 1, a rather decorative sketch, is the only true hunting scene. See May, *Mongol Art of War*, pp. 46–47, on the training provided by the ring-hunt, and especially Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Asian History*, Philadelphia 2006, pp. 211–222.

32 Diez A fol. 72, p. 21 and 27; discussed and illustrated by Sims, "Images", pp. 111–112, nos. 33, 34. There is no need to assume that they cannot be from the same manuscript just because they duplicate each other: there are plenty of such scenes in the *Shāhnāma* or other epics to allow a demonstration of polo skills to be depicted twice in one manuscript (the same goes for nos. 35 and 36, showing opponents being lifted from the saddle, pp. 114–115). See also the drawing at A fol. 72, p. 12, no. 2 (two polo players).

33 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 5, p. 7, no. 3, p. 64, no. 5, p. 76, no. 3 (foliage); p. 3, no. 3, p. 25, no. 4, p. 41, no. 1, p. 66, no. 1 (birds).

34 Diez A fol. 73, p. 41, no. 4, p. 47, no. 4, p. 50, no. 3, p. 67, no. 1.

35 Diez A fol. 71, p. 10. For a discussion of this picture and its companion piece, the autumn landscape, see Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 220–222.

36 Diez A fol. 71, p. 28, no. 1. For the *yam* and the *paiza*, see *e.g.* Sheila Blair, "A Mongol Envoy", in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane, Edinburgh pp. 44–60; she is sceptical of this identification (personal communication, 27 June 2014). See also Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 222–223 (fig. 6.13), who calls the figure a hunter; İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 33–34, is merely descriptive, though he



FIGURE 8.3 A Rider on the Yam (Postal) System. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 28, no. 1.*



FIGURE 8.4 Giv Approaches Kay Khusraw in Turan. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 3.*

not dissimilar, scene also pictures a lone rider, startled by the sight of a fire blazing up behind the rocks on his horizon line.[37]

Many of the landscapes are harsh and forbidding, but a lush flower-strewn meadow from a somewhat later period is the setting for a monochromatic drawing of the encounter between two male figures (Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 3; fig. 8.4):[38] perhaps to be identified as Giv recognising the youthful Kay Khusraw, marking the end of his long search in Turan for the son of Siyavush:

> *He saw a spring glistening from afar,*
> *a youth tall as a cypress of calm mien*
> *A cup of wine to hand, a fragrant bouquet of colours on his head*
> *Divine charisma and the banner of wisdom appeared above him.*[39]

The setting and the action, if not the detail, allow some such interpretation of the scene.

The Mongols were accustomed to the open spaces of the steppes and they shunned cities; residing in towns was against the *yasa* of Chinggis Khan. The court was essentially peripatetic and we see this reflected in several pictures in

does not consider the picture to be related to the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*; *cf.* Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 270 (fig. 299), likewise.

37 For this enigmatic image, see Diez A fol. 71, p. 4, no. 1; İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 47.

38 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 104.

39 Firdawsi, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, II, Costa Mesa 1990, p. 423, lines 55–57.

the albums of the Mongols on the move, sometimes in procession or travelling as a group.[40] Rather few of the paintings in the albums are of indoor scenes; executions and the reception of petitioners all take place out of doors.[41] This observation holds good throughout the period:[42] from the *qoruq* or reservations enjoyed by the early Ilkhans, who were buried in these secluded locations, until the time of Ghazan the convert khan, to the garden enclosures inhabited by Timur outside the city walls of Samarqand and Shahrukh in the outskirts of Herat.[43] Such shelters as were constructed are generally depicted as flimsy, open-sided wooden kiosks or tented pavilions, in which almost all the activities of the court are represented. Typical of such scenes are the preparations for feasting, under a series of awnings and tented spaces (Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, no. 1; fol. 71, p. 51).[44] It is indeed the outdoor environment for these princely settings, clearly observed by the artists present (who may have witnessed less of the military action), that most convincingly demonstrates the nature of the Mongols' projection of their authority and way of life, illustrated to a remarkable degree in the Diez albums.

A Courtly and Ceremonial World

M.S. İpşiroğlu has a brief section on the ruler as a symbol of power, correctly noting the monumental nature of the example he uses to illustrate the theme, the influence of eastern art and the sheer force of kingly power that radiates from the immobile, haloed figure presiding over the bustling scene below him.[45] There are several variations on such scenes in the albums, depicting what is essentially an Iranian vision of kingship and its attendant charisma (*farr*). Among them is a standard painting of three figures seated on a dais, in a rather indeterminate setting but with tent flaps draped open on either side, as is so often the case (fig. 8.5). This is undoubtedly a scene from the *Shāhnāma* (or a related epic) and perhaps depicts Rustam, his white-haired father Zal (or an ageing shah) in the centre, and another prince on his left.[46]

40 *E.g.* A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3; 71, p. 25, no. 2 (riding out); 71, p. 50; 71, p. 53 (prince on a journey); 71, p. 56 (ruler on an elephant). The latter two are reproduced in Komaraoff and Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 43 (fig. 39), 136 (fig. 161) and Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", pp. 272 (fig. 300), 269–270 (fig. 298).

41 See A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 3 (execution) and A. fol. 72, p. 30 (reception).

42 And earlier, see for example David Durand-Guédy's studies of the Saljuq period, *e.g.* "Ruling from the Outside: A new perspective on early Turkish kingship in Iran", in *Every Inch a King: Comparative studies on kings and kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds*, ed. L. Mitchell and C. Melville, Leiden 2013, pp. 325–342.

43 For the latter, see recently Charles Melville, "The Itineraries of Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (1405–47)", in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy, Leiden 2013, pp. 285–315.

44 *Cf.* Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 188 (fig. 5.25); and Tomoko Masuya, "Ilkhanid Courtly Life", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 75–104 [p. 82, fig. 86]; Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 264 (fig. 292).

45 İpşiroğlu, *Painting and Culture*, pp. 51–54, 99; a similar image in Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 4.

46 Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 3; İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 57–58, merely describes this as



FIGURE 8.5 Rustam and Zal with Kay Khusraw. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 3.*

It is possibly a scene from the end of the reign of Kay Khusraw, for instance when the shah holds a final audience with Zal and Rustam on one side (and others, not shown here, on the other).[47] One has the sense in the sources that the Mongol khans were often rather informal and approachable, as in the account of Ghazan's conversion in 1295,[48] and again in the way Ghazan, like a nomad chief, distributed robes and rewards by hand to all his retainers at the tented enclosure near Ujan in July 1302.[49] Such events were, nevertheless, governed by a strict etiquette, and this is clearly to be observed in the numerous court scenes that depict the spatial arrangement of the different ranks of officers and officials.

In the Diez albums there are three pairs of similar depictions of scenes to the left and right of an enthroned ruler and his consort, who appear on the right hand side of the double page.[50] These remarkable scenes have frequently been illustrated, though not as a group, and

three kings at a meal; it is an isolated placement in album A fol. 73.

47 *Cf. Shāhnāma*, ed. Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, IV, 349, lines 2786–87; trans. Dick Davis, *Fathers and Sons: Stories from the Shahnameh of Ferdowsi*, II, Washington D.C. 2000, p. 198. Alternatively, it might be a scene from a Sistan epic, depicting princes of the ruling house, as it would be odd for Zal to take centre stage in the presence of a Shahanshah.

48 See Charles Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām: The conversion Sultan Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khān", *Pembroke Papers* 1 (1990), pp. 159–177 [p. 163].

49 *Cf.* especially Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, p. 80.

50 Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1; fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1; fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1; fol. 70, p. 20; fol. 70, p. 21; and fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1. See also the paper by Yuka Kadoi in this volume.

seldom subjected to analysis.[51] Although hierarchical in terms of the formal spatial arrangements, they are relatively informal in subject matter, depicting what is essentially a celebration, either at a feast or most probably immediately following the coronation of the ruler. For a start, at the coronation itself, the ruler was raised onto the throne by the leading amirs and it is reported that the courtiers removed their hats and slung their belts over their shoulders, and then kneeled,[52] which is not depicted in any of these scenes. On the other hand, the intention that a picture of the throne, the khatuns, the princes and the amirs at the time of the coronation was to be provided in the manuscripts of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* is clearly stated in Rashid al-Din's text, starting with the account of Ögedei.[53]

The most detailed description of a feast that followed such an event concerns the coronation of Möngke Qa'an in 1251. In a magnificently adorned tent, the King of the World was seated on the throne "in the manner that has been depicted (*ṣūrat yāft*)", with the princes assembled on his right like the necklace of the Pleiades and his seven exalted brothers standing respectfully in his service. On his left were the khatuns, sitting like black-eyed houris, and silver-limbed *sāqī*s circulated with qumiss and wine in ewers and goblets. In the midst of the noyans and amirs their chief, Menggeser Noyan, stood like a slave among the *qurchi*s (quiver bearers). Among the *bitikchi*s (scribes), viziers, chamberlains (*ḥujjāb*) and deputies (*nuvvāb*), arranged in rows according to their rank and position, was their head, Bulgha Aqa. The other amirs and the entourage outside the court stood in a fitting way in their proper place.[54]

This account, with small variations, could apply to all the Diez album court scenes. On the right hand page, to the left of the chief wife, are the serried ranks of the khatuns in their nodding *boghtaq*s, sometimes holding pomegranates and sometimes flowers, with attendants occasionally clutching a bag.[55] They take up a considerable part of the scene;

51 Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrationen", pp. 297–299 for the formative view. See also Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 190, and more recently, Rachel Ward (ed.), *Court and Craft: A masterpiece from Northern Iraq*, London 2104, especially pp. 124–128 (figs. 16–17). It is not certain how separated left and right halves of these pictures should be matched; Ward combines A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1 (left) with A fol. 70, p. 21 (right). I would also match A fol. 70, p. 20 with p. 23, no. 1 (as does Kadoi, fig. 5.27), and A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 with p. 10, no. 1. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 22–23, has different combinations, followed by Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", pp. 258 (fig. 286), 260–261 (fig. 288) and 263 (fig. 290).

52 Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, ed. M. Rawshan and M. Musawi, 4 vols. Tehran 1994, pp. 636 (Ögedei), 806 (Güyük), 829 (Möngke), 1154 (Arghun).

53 As noted by Rührdanz, "Illustrationen", p. 298; see Rashid al-Din, p. 617, repeated at the outset of the account of each subsequent khan.

54 Rashid al-Din, p. 830; based on the more flowery but otherwise detailed account of ʿAta-Malik Juwaini, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, III, ed. M. Muhammad Qazvini, London, pp. 33–38, trans. J.A. Boyle, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, Manchester 1958, pp. 570–573.

55 Ward, *Court and Craft*, p. 11; *cf.* Topkapı Saray, ms. H. 2153, ff. 23v and 53v.

seemingly below them are the "men of the pen" in a rather small group of three or four *bitikchi*s (scribes). Below them again, in the foreground, sit *qushchi*s (falconers) in a row. Kneeling before the throne are two food servers (*susunchi*s). At right angles to these ranks, standing in a line, are three or four swordsmen, possibly sword bearers (*ildüchi*s) or, in view of the account of Möngke's enthronement celebration mentioned above, brothers of the Qa'an; they face a similar row on the left hand side of the picture. In the bottom left foreground, different groups in two different pictures are seemingly either offering food to a seated figure, evidently of senior rank (Diez A fol. 70, p. 21), or are being warded off by his attendants (Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1); in the third scene, a single figure attends to the wine (Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1).

On the left hand page, that is, to the ruler's right, there are again variations and similarities between the three Diez pictures, though this area seems to be reserved for the "men of the sword". In each, there stands the solitary figure of a man holding a tent peg and a mallet, implying, as noted by Ward, that the ceremonies were taking place in a tented space.[56] He is perhaps the camp master (*yurtchi*), though apparently not a Mongol.[57] In two of the three paintings (Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1, and Diez A fol. 70, p. 20; and in H. 2153, f. 166r–fig. 8.6) there stands a folded parasol, and it is possible that the nearby groups were the *sukurchi*s (parasol bearers). Immediately to the right of the throne are groups that must be the princes (*shāhzāda*s), while at right angles to these and facing the opposite page are three or four figures carrying swords. In the middle of the page, in all three drawings, is a group of three or four archers. The remaining groups are not clearly distinguished, except for the musicians visible in the immediate foreground among the other attendants and courtiers.

Parallel but different sets of pictures are found in the Istanbul album H. 2153,[58] which conform very closely to this pattern (figs. 8.7 and 8.8). We may note, however, that the group in the right foreground in fols. 53v and 148v are apparently not falconers, and on fol. 148v there is only one server, and the group of scribes includes one with a turban. Karamağaralı's discussion of these scenes is largely descriptive, although he does seek, inconclusively, to identify the ceremonies by comparison with the paintings in the Paris MS *supplément persan* 1113.[59]

56 Ward, *Court and Craft*, p. 125.

57 As also noted by Rührdanz, "Illustrationen", p. 298, n. 15.

58 See Beyhan Karamağaralı, "Camiu't-tevarih'in bilinmeyen bir nüshasina âit dört minyatür", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 2 (1966–1968), pp. 70–86, and Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, ed. and trans. J.M. Rogers, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The albums and illustrated manuscripts*, Boston 1986, p. 69, pls. 43–44 (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 2153, ff. 23v and 148v); *cf.* Tomoko Masuya, "Ilkhanid Courtly Life", especially pp. 81–84 and fig. 85; also in Sheila Blair, "A Mongol Envoy", p. 47 (fig. 3.1).

59 Karamağaralı, pp. 73, 75. He does also refer to the Diez images, at that time in Tübingen, and the Rampur MS, see below. Thanks to Gennady Kurin for going through his article.



FIGURE 8.6 Court Scene. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fols. 166r (left) and 23v (right).*

Without a text, the specific occasions depicted cannot be ascertained with any certainty. Possibly the number of princes beside the ruler or the swordsmen in the central column might distinguish different moments of dynastic history;[60] it is a pity that the captions in the Diez pictures, if they existed, have been blanked out, though it might be possible to identify the scenes by comparing them with those in the Raza Library, Rampur MS P. 1820, if one could assume that the latter were closely following an earlier model.[61] However, unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case. As noted by Schmitz and Desai, the composition of all eleven double page scenes of the ruler's court (*ṣūrat-i takhtgāh*),

60 Blair, "Mongol Envoy", p. 49, implies that H. 2153, fol. 148v shows the coronation of Hülegü Khan, on the basis that the seven sons "standing to the right of the ruler's throne" are the same number as Hülegü's sons. This, however, could equally apply to other khans, starting with Ögedei, and the "princes" in the picture are not to the right of the throne.

61 See Barbara Schmitz and Ziyaud-Din A. Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings and Illustrated Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur*, Rampur and New Delhi 2006, pp. 171–179 [p. 173] and pls. 238–39 (the enthronement of Chaghatai Khan) and 242–43 (the enthronement of Güyük). The former is described as the Mughal "historicizing style" of *c.* 1590–95, the latter dated Herat, *c.* 1470–90. Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's illustrated history of the world*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. XXVII, Oxford and London 1995, p. 97, figs. 60–61, reproduces the enthronement of Timur Öljeitü. Thanks to Friederike Weis for reminding me of the Rampur MS.



FIGURE 8.7 Court Scene. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 53v.*

in which the ruler's name is mentioned, is very similar. Leaving aside the state of finish, and the fact that some scenes are adorned with extravagant bursts of plants and flowers, one clearly observable distinction is that none of the scenes contains a folded parasol, and in all of them, the royal couple is served by only one kneeling attendant, not two. The depiction of the throne scene of Möngke (fig. 8.9) conforms in a generic way to the description in Rashid al-Din (see above), but does not differ significantly from any other painting. Even those that Schmitz and Desai allocate to the late fifteenth century, and which might therefore be expected to be closer to the fourteenth-century originals, bear little resemblance to the scenes in the Diez albums; see, for example, the *takhtgāh* of Qubilai (fig. 8.10) and the second coronation of Abaqa Khan (fig. 8.11).[62] At best, we might note a passing similarity

62 Raza MS P. 1820, pp. 123–124 (Qubilai) and 228–229 (Abaqa), dated *c.* 1470–90. Thanks to Abusad Islahi for providing these images.



FIGURE 8.8 Court Scene. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 148v.*

between the scenes of Chaghatai's court and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 (in the absence of a parasol), and between Güyük's court and H. 2153, fol. 148v (the single kneeling servant).[63]

It is not to be expected that the figures would be labelled, a practice not seen in the Ilkhanid period and only occasionally later, both in a Diez picture and a *Shāhnāma* finispiece of a possibly similar date.[64] The very large numbers of wives are common to all the rulers. The account of Möngke's celebrations suggests that his

63 Schmitz and Desai, figs. 238–39 (Chaghatai) and 242–43 (Güyük); also noted by Karamağaralı, p. 76.

64 Diez A fol. 74, p. 24; see Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez", pp. 127–130 and fig. 6; the names would probably have been painted over in the finished work. The finispiece is in the Malek Library, Tehran, ms. 6031, f. 340v, ostensibly depicting Baysunghur's court, but probably added in the nineteenth century; see now Shiva Mihan, "*The Bāysonghori Shāhnāmeh* in the Malek National Library", in press. The names written in gold are not visible in photographs.



FIGURE 8.9 The Court of Möngke Qa'an, *Rashid al-Din,* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. *Rampur, Raza Library, MS P.1820, pp. 93–94.*

brothers stood before the throne. It is of interest that Ghazan Khan's "testament" of 1304 enumerates the main office holders of the royal household and that these numbers permit quite a close identification of the main groups in the Diez pictures, for instance nine *sukurchi*s, one *yurtchi*, ten *ildüchi*s, five *qushchi*s, and so on.[65] This does not necessarily mean that the same numbers applied to the Great Qa'an's imperial court, although the institutions of the *keshig* do seem to have been rather conservative. It seems perhaps more likely that these drawings indeed depict the earlier reigns, rather than the Ilkhanid court, if only because the personnel are all Mongol (at least, wearing Mongol attire) – there is no suggestion of Persians or turbaned Muslims, even among the scribal group,[66] with the sole exception of the man with mallet and peg, who wears Mongol headgear in the Rampur MS paintings.

These pictures and others of similar scenes but on a lesser scale,[67] therefore, tell us several things about the Mongol

65 See Charles Melville, "The *Keshig* in Iran: the survival of the royal Mongol Household", in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff, Leiden 2006, pp. 135–64 [p. 153] and the sources cited.

66 With the exception noted above, in H. 2153, fol. 148v.

67 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, no. 1 and p. 22, no. 1; A fol. 71, p. 47, 48, 52, 62; *cf.* Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", pp. 259 (fig. 287) and 262 (fig. 289); Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 189

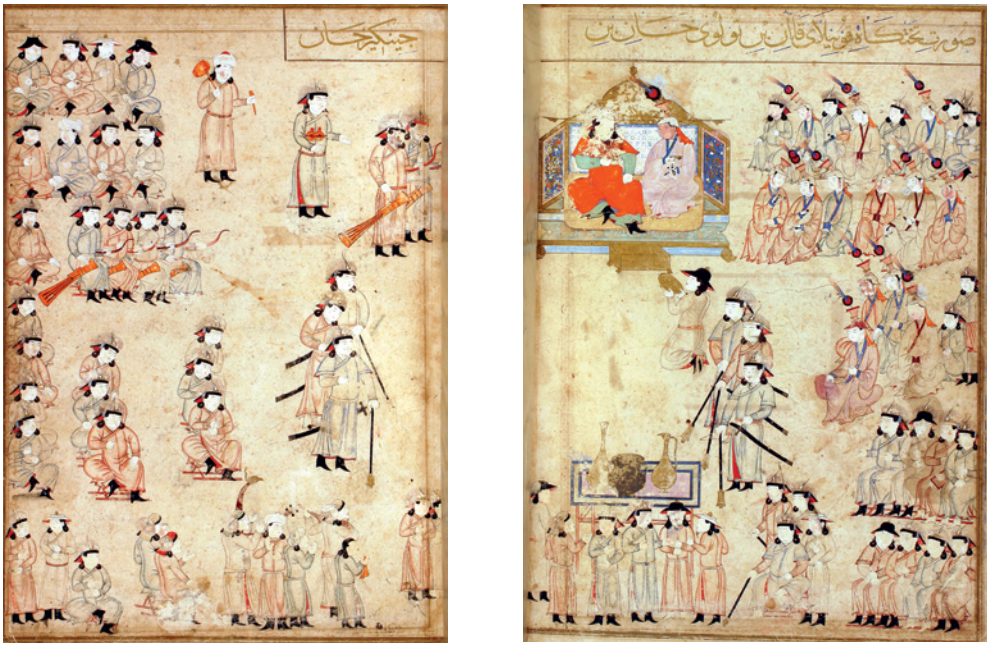


FIGURE 8.10 The Court of Qubilai Qa'an, *Rashid al-Din,* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. *Rampur, Raza Library, MS P.1820, pp. 123–124.*



FIGURE 8.11 The Court of Abaqa Khan, *Rashid al-Din,* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. *Rampur, Raza Library, MS P.1820, pp. 228–229.*

period. Notably, they confirm visually the impression from the historical literature of the time, that the Mongols brought their own traditions with them and persisted in maintaining the institution of the bodyguard (*keshig*) as the core of court and the government. In addition, they reveal the strength of the hierarchical organisation of court, and the implied strict etiquette that had to flow from that – we can also observe this in accounts of breaches in correct behaviour, which could have serious consequences, as in the case of Batu Khan and Güyük.[68] Secondly, they confirm the visibility and prominence of women in the Mongol environment, a characteristic already well documented. The series of small images of enthroned couples, clearly intended to stand at the head of genealogical trees, as indicated in Rashid al-Din's chronicle and noted by several scholars,[69] reinforces this point, and explains the emphasis placed by the chroniclers on naming the wives and daughters of the khans, and on their marriages within the royal household.[70] Both the enthronement celebrations and the depictions of rulers and their consorts emphasise the persona of the ruler, such an essential element in Iranian culture and one underpinned and given particular expression in the *Shāhnāma*, with which the new Mongol regime in Iran was encouraged to identify. Nevertheless, enthronement scenes in the *Shāhnāma*, by the time the text came to be illustrated *c.* 1300, very rarely depict a consort – not, interestingly enough, in the enthronements in the Great Mongol ("Demotte") *Shāhnāma*, a generation later than the production of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*;[71] nor do illustrations of the early mythical shahs (Jamshid and others) or the Saljuq sultans, in the earliest surviving copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, depict their queens. This serves merely to emphasise the difference between the Perso-Islamic "gaze" and the Turko-Mongol one, and the corresponding importance of the Diez illustrations for revealing the contrast.

The same may be said of the mourning scenes found in the Diez albums (Diez A fol. 71, p. 55 and 72, p. 25), in both of which women are depicted expressing grief in a characteristic fashion, gesticulating unrestrainedly and tearing their hair.[72] These

(fig. 5.26); Ward, *Court and Craft*, p. 128 (no. 17).

68 Allegedly over a lapse of protocol at a feast, recorded in the *Secret History*; for a discussion, see Hodong Kim, "A Reappraisal of Güyük Khan", in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian nomads and the sedentary world*, ed. R. Amitai and M. Biran, Leiden 2005, pp. 309–338 [pp. 314–320].

69 Especially Rührdanz, "Illustrationen"; also Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 184–185, and see C. Melville, "Genealogy and Exemplary Rulership in the *Tarikh-i Chingiz Khan*", in *Living Islamic History: Studies in honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, ed. Y. Suleiman, Edinburgh 2010, pp. 129–50, especially 140 and figs. 9.4 and 9.5 for the genealogical trees in the Tashkent ms. 1620.

70 Anne F. Broadbridge, "Marriage, Family and Politics: The Ilkhanid-Oirat connection", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (2016), pp. 121–135. I am grateful to the author for an advance copy of her work.

71 See for convenient examples, Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *Legacy of Genghis Khan*, figs. 37 (Zav), 51 (Iskandar).

72 These paintings, again, have been frequently reproduced; see *e.g. ibid.*, p. 251 and figs. 87

appear also to be court ceremonial scenes, with the ruler's bier placed on a throne, as discussed by Sheila Blair.[73] While the public and private participation of women along with men in ritual mourning is commonplace, and attested, for example, in the account of the death of Ghazan Khan,[74] the Diez images make plain the mingling of both sexes, often more or less indistinguishable, although in A fol. 71, p. 55, one row of the ladies wear headscarves.

Both the depictions of the court and the position of women within it changed rapidly as time and the process of Islamisation progressed; not only do the turbaned figures of the religious classes and the civilian bureaucracy find their place in the assembly (*majlis*), but women are often omitted, both from coronations and even from weddings.[75] In depictions of scenes of mourning, women continue to be present, as in the celebrated image of mourning over the coffin of Muhammad Sultan son of Jahangir,[76] although increasingly they are segregated from the men (fig. 8.12) and occasionally retain their veils (fig. 8.13), as in depictions of mourning for the death of Timur in 1405.

The Ilkhans' conversion to Islam is suggested by the scene of two men sitting in a tent mosque reading the Qur'an (Diez A fol. 70, p. 8, no. 1),[77] which also serves to underline the normative outdoor existence of the Mongols in Iran. In another scene, two turbaned figures are in discussion at the gateway to a religious complex, which Karin Rührdanz plausibly identifies

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and 112; Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 265 (fig. 293).

73 Sheila Blair, "The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids", in Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *Legacy of Genghis Khan*, p. 106 and p. 128 (fig. 153), for the comparable scene of mourning for Alexander from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. Although effaced, a closer examination of the inscription on the back of the throne in A fol. 71, p. 55 might reveal the identification of the scene.

74 Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, p. 1325.

75 See Melville, "Genealogy", pp. 140–144, for a brief discussion and Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, Paris BnF, MS *supplément persan* 1113, f. 227r (enthronement of Ghazan; two ladies, some turbans); ʿAli Yazdi, *Ẓafarnāma*, Baltimore, J.W. Garrett MS, ff. 82v–83r (enthronement of Timur), see *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian art and culture in the fifteenth century*, ed. T.W. Lentz and G.D. Lowry, Los Angeles 1989, pp. 264–265. Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, National Library of Russia, MS Dorn 289, fol. 242r (enthronement of Hülegü, no wives). For the consort (and her ladies) being present at the wedding of Timur's son Jahangir, *cf.* Yazdi, *Ẓafarnāma*, MS Dorn 295, f. 99r (absent) with Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 77-11-297, fol. 88v (present).

76 ʿAli Yazdi, *Ẓafarnāma*, dispersed MS of 1436, reproduced in Eleanor Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian figural painting and its sources*, with Boris I. Marshak and Ernst J. Grube, New Haven and London 2002, p. 144 (fig. 59). She considers the figures on the left hand page to be men, although it seems more likely that all but the first two stooped and bearded figures are in fact women. Yazdi's description of the occasion, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. S.M.M. Sadegh and ʿA. Navayi, Tehran 2008, pp. 1185–1186, is not dissimilar to Rashid al-Din's account of the universal mourning at the death of Ghazan.

77 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 26, no. 30, does not specifically identify the tent as a mosque. For other reproductions, see *e.g.* Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy of Genghis Khan*, p. 116 (fig. 134); also Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 266 (fig. 294).

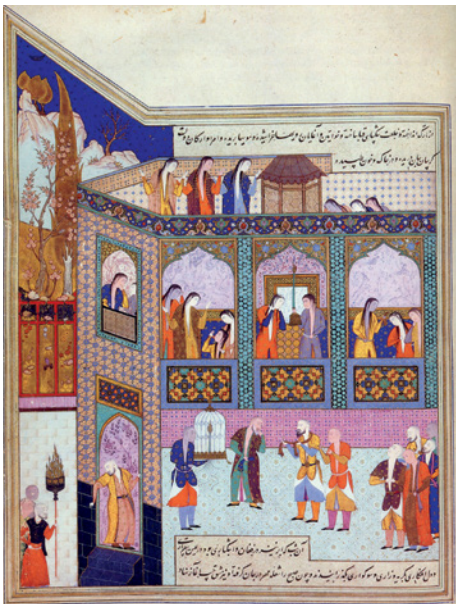


FIGURE 8.12 Mourning the Death of Timur, *ʿAli Yazdi, Ẓafarnāma. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, MS 708, p. 714.*



FIGURE 8.13 Mourning the Death of Timur, *ʿAli Yazdi, Ẓafarnāma. St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Dorn 295, fol. 535v.*



FIGURE 8.14 A Prince Visits a Dervish. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 2.*

as Ghazan Khan's mausoleum in Tabriz.[78] The more familiar engagement of the ruler with the Muslim religious groups is found in an illustration of the visit of a shah to a dervish (Diez A fol. 71, p. 2: fig. 8.14), witness not only to a common literary theme made particularly popular in Saʿdi's *Gulistān*, but also to the growing influence of Sufi *shaykhs* in the public arena, especially in connection with conversions to Islam,[79] and already depicted in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[80]

78 Diez A fol. 70, p. 13. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 25–26, no. 29, purely descriptive; *cf.* Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 267 (fig. 295).

79 See n. 17 above, and especially Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Sufis and Shamans: some remarks on the Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42 (1999), pp. 27–46.

80 See Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The illustration of the Great Mongol* Shahnama, Chicago and London 1980, pp. 114–115, 120–121, both from the Iskandar cycle; colour images in Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 113, 163 (figs. 131, 190).

Conclusions

To return to our original question concerning the visual representation of the Mongol world of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and how consistent this might be with what we understand from more explicit documentary witnesses (which have their own particular relationship with what we might call objective reality), there is much that reinforces our knowledge of the Turko-Mongol period in the Diez albums, concerning the open air life and contours of the court, and the engagement with both the natural world and the supernatural. The latter can be taken either as a symbol of kingly prowess (man versus beasts and dragons), an acknowledgement of the spiritual authority of men of piety and religion, or a superstitious or practical concern with the movements of the heavens and their possible effect on human activity, as for example in the picture of the astronomers that illustrates the well documented developments in observational astronomy undertaken with royal patronage from Hülegü Khan to Ulugh Beg.[81] This scene also occurs out of doors, rather than in one of the observatories established by royal patronage in Maragha, Tabriz, and Timurid Samarqand.

There is less to be revealed of everyday life and the society of the subject population, though the picaresque elements of many of the enigmatic scenes in A fol. 71 may contain elements of contemporary realities if subjected to detailed scrutiny. Above all, the albums are witness to the richness and vigour of cultural life under the Ikhans and their Timurid successors (particularly the princely ateliers of the latter), which is surely one of the great hallmarks of the long-term encounter between the Turko-Mongol and Perso-Islamic traditions that reached such an intense pitch in this period.

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81 Diez A fol. 72, p. 16, no. 1, see Rührdanz, "Illustrationen", pp. 302–303 and fig. 10. Rührdanz equates this with a scene from Rashid al-Din, where Ghazan summons the *shaykhs*, religious doctors and Sufi mystics to advise them, to their astonishment. See also, Rührdanz, "Die Diez-Alben", p. 268 (fig. 296) for a more general description. For an introduction to Mongol support for astronomy and astrology (already of course highly regarded sciences in the Middle East), see A. Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam*, Ankara, Turkish Historical Society, ser. 7, no. 38, 1960, *e.g.* pp. 224–225, 233–236; George Saliba, "Horoscopes and Planetary Theory: Ilkhanid patronage of astronomers", in Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 357–368.

CHAPTER 9

The Mongols Enthroned*

Yuka Kadoi

Introduction: Revisiting the Genesis of Persian Painting

The introduction to *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings* (2004) poses a question: "why illustrated *Shahnama*s suddenly became popular around 1300".[1] A similar question may arise: why does the history of Persian manuscript painting as a whole start with this date? This chronology, which was largely formulated by twentieth-century authorities on Persian painting, such as the late Basil W. Robinson (1912–2005), remains valid in many ways. First, the lack of surviving examples of illustrated manuscripts safely attributable to Iran or broadly the Persian lands before 1300 makes it impossible to elucidate pre-Mongol Persian book painting traditions. Second, the absent chapter in the pre-1300 history of Persian painting is often linked with the destructive impact of the Mongol invasion, which significantly affected the chance of their survival. However, the establishment of a Mongol-ruled dynasty in Iran, called the Ilkhanate (1256–1335), in turn, generated the revival of Persian culture.[2] Thanks to the patronage of the Ilkhanids, who portrayed themselves as the legitimate successors of Persian civilisation, the production of richly illustrated manuscripts was greatly promoted, and this served to form the basis of what came to be known categorically as "Persian painting". The renaissance of the pictorial arts in West Asia also owed much to the availability of materials, especially large-size paper, which became more obtainable and affordable in Iran than before,[3] as well as to the increase in the number of artists and artisans, who were brought from conquered lands to Ilkhanid courtly workshops, especially those located in the Ilkhanid capital Tabriz.[4]

* The author would like to thank Christoph Rauch, Julia Gonnella, and Stefan Weber for giving me an opportunity to present a paper at the Diez albums symposium in June 2013. My sincere thanks also go to the editors of the current volume, Christoph Rauch, Julia Gonnella, and Friederike Weis, as well as to the individuals mentioned below, for their support and advice during the preparation of the present chapter. All errors are my own.

1 Robert Hillenbrand, "New Perspectives in *Shahnama* Iconography", in *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, Aldershot 2004, p. 1.

2 *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* (2002), for instance, demonstrated the reformulation of Persian visual culture in Mongol Iran (see *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New York 2002).

3 Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, New Haven 2001, pp. 178–195.

4 This point is summarised in Blair's recent study of Ilkhanid Tabriz (Sheila Blair, "Tabriz:

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While West Asia undoubtedly experienced the blossoming of pictorial arts under the Mongols, as hinted at by Dust Mohammad (fl. 1531–1564), a Safavid chronicler of the arts who wrote the preface to the Bahram Mirza album (Topkapı Saray Library, H. 2154),[5] it remains "difficult, if not impossible, to define an Ilkhanid pictorial style",[6] and, above all, the origins of Persian painting. Historiographically speaking, the discussion of pictorial genealogy was popular during the formative period of Persian painting scholarship in the early twentieth century. Over the decades, manifold genealogical links with ancient pictorial traditions, for example those of Manichaean,[7] Sasanian,[8] Sogdian,[9] Byzantine,[10] 'Abbasid Arab,[11] and Chinese,[12] were proposed. Such a complex pictorial ancestry is concisely summarised in Robinson's chronology of Persian painting in his *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles* (1967)[13] and recently in *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (2002).[14] There thus seems to be a general agreement as to the pre-existence of the pictorial arts in the Persian lands of West Asia before the rise of the Mongols exerted a decisive cultural impact and reshaped the Persian pictorial style from the fourteenth century onwards. Yet the uniqueness of these non-Persian visual ingredients deserves extensive investigation so as to discern the characteristics of early Persian painting.

This study looks at the stylistic and iconographic peculiarities of enthronement scenes from fragmentary early fourteenth-century paintings mounted in the Diez albums, which are now in the collection of the Oriental Department at the Berlin State Library. Referring to

International Entrepôt under the Mongols", in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer, Leiden 2013, pp. 321–356).

5 According to Dust Mohammad, "Then [*i.e.* after the Sasanian period], the custom of portraiture flourished so in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury scrivened the rescript of rule in the name of Sultan Abu Sa'id Khudaybanda [the Ilkhanid sultan, r. 1317–35]). Master Ahmad Musa, who was his father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction, and the [style of] depiction that is now current was invented by him" (Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge, MA. 1989, p. 345).

6 Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting*, Princeton 2000, pp. 42–43.

7 See Thomas W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting*, Oxford 1924.

8 *Ibid.*

9 See Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art*, Berkeley 1981; Boris I. Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana*, New York 2002.

10 See Terry Allen, "Byzantine Sources for the Jami' al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din", *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985), pp. 121–136.

11 See Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva 1962, pp. 135–142.

12 See Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran*, Edinburgh 2009, pp. 123–236, for the Chinese contribution to the formation of Persian painting style during the early fourteenth century.

13 Basil W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles*, London 1967, p. 32.

14 Eleanor Sims, with Boris I. Marshak and Ernst J. Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*, New Haven and London 2002, pp. 1–6.

comparative examples found in the Istanbul Saray albums and other sources from China, Central Asia, and South Asia, it looks closely at enthroned images of the Mongol couple according to three types,[15] and focuses on their cross-stylistic connections with other pictorial traditions.[16] The Diez couple enthronement images are particularly rich in visual sources, not only for the study of iconography, but also for the understanding of the material culture of Mongol Eurasia. Some fifty years have passed since the publication of the descriptive catalogue of the Diez albums compiled by Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu (1908–1985) in 1964;[17] it is now time to cast new light on the significance of the Berlin "Saray" albums and to consider afresh the early history of Persian manuscript painting by incorporating, for instance, codicological observations on the physical condition of the albums and historiographical notes on the creator of the Diez albums, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817).[18] In fact, the Diez albums should be observed not purely as a repository of early fourteenth-century Persian painting but essentially as a collection of paintings and drawings that mirrored Diez's own interest in the pictorial culture of the Islamic world.[19]

Due to the lack of accompanying text, as well as Diez's interventions and other involvements in the compilation of the albums,[20] it remains difficult, if not

15 I follow Rührdanz's typology of the Mongol enthronement scenes from the Diez albums (Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-dīns Ta'rīḫ-i mubārak-i Ġāzānī in den Berliner Diez-Alben", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole, actes du colloque de Pont-à-Mousson, 26–28 octobre 1992*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 297–298).

16 Thus the current paper excludes the discussion of the male ruler's enthronement scenes found in the Berlin and Istanbul albums, such as Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 4 (Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, pl. IV) and H. 2152, fol. 60 (Yuka Kadoi, "Beyond the Mandarin Square: Garment Badges in Ilkhanid Painting", *Hali* 138 [2005], fig. 4). Among several studies on the Mongol enthronements in frontispieces (with the focus on the ruler's image), see, in particular, Teresa Fitzherbert, *"Bal'ami's Tabari": An Illustrated Manuscript of Bal'ami's Tarjama-yi Tārīkh-i Tabarī in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington* (*F.59.16, 47.19 and 30.21*), unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh 2001, pp. 12–75; Marianna Shreve Simpson, "In the Beginning: Frontispieces and Front Matter in Ilkhanid and Inju Manuscripts", in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff, Leiden 2006, pp. 213–247.

17 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*.

18 Pioneering investigations have been made by Roxburgh (David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 [1995], pp. 112–136).

19 It is difficult to grasp the essence of the Diez albums without understanding the mindset of Diez, who knew the state of the manuscripts before he cannibalised them. Although it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to embark on the study of his psychology, Diez must have developed an obsessive idea of the process of forming a collection. For a biographical background of Diez, see the chapters by Rauch and Roxburgh in the present volume.

20 Roxburgh has suggested that, judging by the materials and mode of assembly, Diez presented a body of loose drawings and paintings excerpted from several Topkapı

impossible, to identify the subject of each Diez enthronement scene with certainty. Although this study does not attempt to relate an unidentifiable enthronement scene to a specific ruler or historical event, it is generally considered on stylistic grounds that this particular group of paintings was detached from early fourteenth-century copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), the so-called "the first world history" which was compiled by the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) in response to commissions by the Ilkhan Mahmud Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) and Öljeitü (r. 1304–16).[21] As will be discussed below, the Diez enthronement images are stylistically related to the earliest surviving illustrated codices of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* from the lifetime of Rashid al-Din, namely the 1314 (AH 714) Arabic copy (divided between the collections of the Edinburgh University Library [Or. MS. Arab 20] and the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art in London [MSS 727]) and the 1317 (AH 717) Persian copy (Topkapı Saray Library, H. 1653 and H. 1654).[22] Given the revival of scholarly interest in the life of Rashid al-Din and the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* in recent years[23] – a 2014 exhibition in

albums to a binder who undertook the task of arranging the materials and making three albums (*i.e.* Diez A fols. 70–72) in a codex form for Diez; this happened during Diez's residence in Istanbul between 1786 and 1790 (Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 115). It is interesting to speculate whether this anonymous binder was fully responsible for each detail of assembling the materials or whether Diez was involved in this process. The present chapter, however, regards Diez as being solely responsible for all the aspects of the compilation of his albums.

21 For an overview of this historical work, see Charles Melville, "Jāmeʿ al-Tawārik̲", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XIV (2008), pp. 462–468. See also Melville's chapter in the present volume on the history and culture of the Mongols depicted in the Diez albums.

22 The London and Edinburgh copies of the "World History" or "Compendium of Chronicles" have been widely published: for the London copy, see Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London 1978; Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, Oxford 1995; for the Edinburgh copy, see David T. Rice, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn*, Edinburgh 1976; the "digital book" of the Edinburgh portion is available online at http://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/UoEsha~4~4a (accessed 19 May 2015). The Istanbul portion (1317) remains largely unpublished: it was studied by İnal in the 1960s (Güner İnal, "Some Miniatures of the Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh in Istanbul, Topkapi Museum, Hazine Library No. 1654", *Ars Orientalis* 5 [1963], pp. 163–175; *eadem*, *The Fourteenth-Century Miniatures of the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, Hazine Library No. 1653*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan 1965) and was displayed at the Turks exhibition in London in 2005 (*Turks: A Journey of A Thousand Years, 600–1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh, London 2005, cat.no. 34). For a comprehensive bibliography of the extant manuscripts of Rashid al-Din's Compendium of Chronicles, see Kazuhiko Shiraiwa, "Rashid al-Din 'Rekishi Shusei' Genzon Shahon Mokuroku", *Sanko Shoshi Kenkyu*, 53 (2000), pp. 1–33. Please note that the current chapter opts for the following transliteration, regardless of Arabic or Persian: *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.

23 Much has been written on the life and career of Rashid al-Din over the last few years:

Edinburgh was, for instance, timed to coincide with the 700th anniversary of the production of the Edinburgh and London portions of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*[24] – it would be appropriate to explore the Diez albums in view of the reappraisal of Ilkhanid manuscript industry and patronage.

Type 1: Double-Page Enthronement Scenes (Diez A fol. 70)

Diez album A fol. 70 contains six examples of large, full-page enthronement illustrations: Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1 (attendants); Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1 (the enthroned couple); Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 (attendants); Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 (attendants); Diez A fol. 70, p. 21 (the enthroned couple); and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no.1 (the enthroned couple). Grouped as Type 1 and sub-grouped as the enthroned couple and attendants, this is one of the most eye-catching and monumental groups of paintings found in the Diez albums, and their visual singularity encourages us to puzzle over their original contexts. Although it is not entirely impossible to look at each as an individual single-page painting, they are likely to have constituted double-page illustrations in a codex format. They are not necessarily from the same manuscript but could have been individual pages from different manuscripts.

There is another, rather isolated full-page illustration of the enthronement scene in the Diez albums (Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 1).[25] Yet compared with a couple image found to one side of the possible double-page pair (Diez A fol. 70, p. 20, and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1; fig. 9.1),[26] in which the couple is enthroned at the top, Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 1 is different in that it depicts the enthroned couple in the centre; moreover, it appears to function as a single-page image rather than as a pair with the left- or right-hand-side image of attendants. This illustration is thus excluded from the discussion of Type 1 in this chapter.

Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Īlkhāns and Their Vizier Rashīd al-Dīn*, Frankfurt am Main 2011; *Rashīd al-Dīn: Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, eds. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, London and Turin 2013; Stefan T. Kamola, *Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in Mongol Iran*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Washington 2013.

24 The anniversary exhibition took place in the Edinburgh University Library in 2014 (2 August–31 October). For this exhibition, see Yuka Kadoi, "Exhibiting 'World History': The 700th Anniversary of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*", *Orientations* 45/7 (2014), pp. 56–62. Besides the aforementioned publications, the illustrations in the Edinburgh and London copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* remain one of the popular subjects of investigation in the study of medieval Islamic painting: Mika Natif, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Alter Ego: The Seven Paintings of Moses in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*", in *Rashīd al-Dīn: Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, pp. 15–37.

25 *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, cat.no. 19.

26 This pairing was suggested in the 2005 exhibition of the Mongol Empire in Germany (*Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, Munich 2005, cat. no. 290).

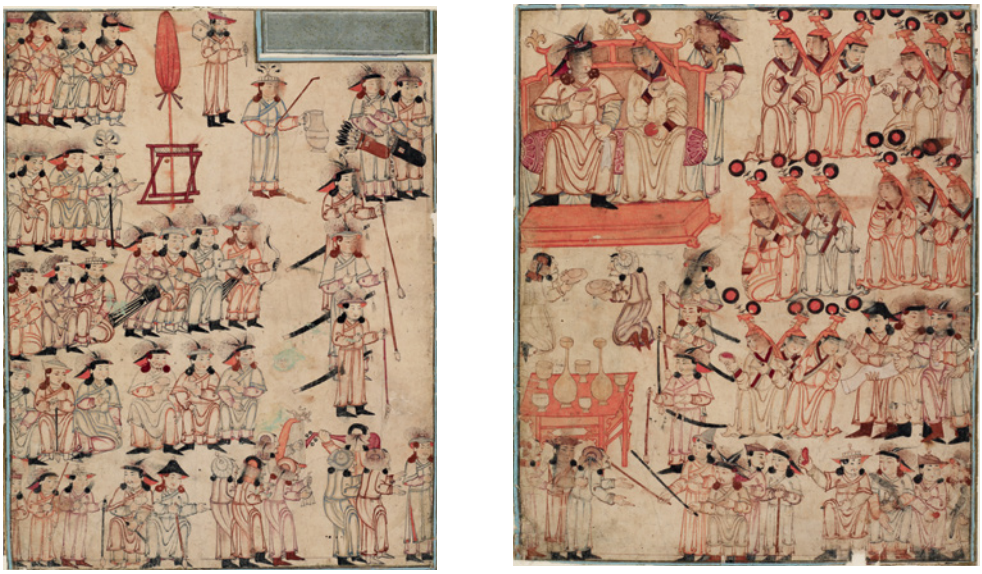


FIGURE 9.1 Enthronement Scene, *illustrations from the Diez albums, West Asia, early fourteenth century, 39.7 × 30. 6–30.7 cm* (*left*) *and 36.0 × 29.5 cm* (*right*). SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and p. 23, no. 1.*



FIGURE 9.1
Detail of Enthronement Scene (*fig. 9.1, right*).

If the six illustrations were originally in pairs, three pairs could have been proposed; each pair should consist of an enthroned couple on one side and a group of attendants on the other. Yet what makes their original layout and pairing obscure is that Diez seems to have assembled the Type 1 enthronement illustrations with no intention of following the original pairing sequences or of creating a new visual order. Type 1, for instance, appears in Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1 (attendants), followed by Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1 (attendants), and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 (the enthroned couple). After some pages of non-enthronement images, Type 1 reappears in Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 (attendants). Diez A fol. 70, p. 21 (the enthroned couple) and p. 23, no. 1 (the enthroned couple) sandwich another image of the centrally

located couple in Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 1. Diez might have intended to gather the enthronement images between Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1, and between Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1. But it remains unclear why these images were chosen in this particular sequence, and why Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1 was isolated from other enthronement images.

Clearly, Diez's main criterion when assembling disparate paintings or drawings was harmony of size rather than stylistic or iconographic consistency. Roxburgh explains the method of assembly in Diez A fol. 70 as follows: each inset consists of a two-ply sheet made by attaching the reverse surfaces of paintings or drawings of similar, if not exactly the same, sizes to each other; in order to conceal the obvious discrepancy in size, items such as strips of coloured paper, window mounts, and colourful rulings were added to each page.[27]

Assuming that Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1 (fig. 9.1) originally constituted a double-page composition, the enthroned couple should be located on the right hand side so as to enhance the profile of the enthronement image as a double-page illustration. By doing so, all the visual attention is given to the enthroned couple, and in fact a group of the Mongols are depicted as looking towards them. If the couple image is located on the left side, this does not work out as two full-page illustrations, since two groups of the Mongols look in totally different directions.

While the overall size of Type 1 illustrations at first glance evokes the type of large sheet of paper used in the London, Edinburgh, and Istanbul copies, the detailed measurement of each Type 1 reveals its complicated codicological background:[28] the left-hand-side page (Diez A fol. 70, p. 20; attendants) is nearly four centimetres taller (39.7 × 30.6–30.7 cm) than the right-hand-side page (the enthroned couple; Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1; 36.0 × 29.5 cm), while the width of the illustrations is different by only one centimetre. The same degree of difference in height between the attendant page and the enthroned couple page is also discernible in other possible pairs (see table 9.1).

The height of the three enthroned couple illustrations (currently ranging from 36 to 37.8 cm) might originally have been equal to that of the three attendant illustrations (currently ranging from 39.7 to 39.9 cm). Differences in height (*c.* 2–4 cm) here indicates the following two scenarios: there is no inter-codex relationship as such among the two types of illustrations at all; or the upper part of the enthroned couple illustrations, in which a caption box or some sorts of image may have existed, was cut off by the top margin when the illustrations were detached from manuscripts

27 Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 114.

28 The pages used in the Khalili portion of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* manuscript, for instance, currently measure 43.5 × 30 cm, but the original sheets would have measured some 50 × 36 cm; the pages used in the Edinburgh portion currently measure 42 × 32 cm (Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 17 and p. 38). The sheets used in the Istanbul Persian copies (H. 1653, 54.2 × 37.7 cm; H. 1654, 55.7 × 38.8 cm; see Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 110, note 10) are currently larger than those used in the Arabic copies.

TABLE 9.1 *Pairing of the Enthronement Illustrations from Diez A fol. 70*

Left (attendants)				Right (the enthroned couple)			
Folio no.	**Size (cm)**	**Text**	**Ruling**	**Folio no.**	**Size (cm)**	**Text**	**Ruling**
Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1	39.9 × 29.6–30.4	Nos. 2–6	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1	37.1–37.2 × 30. 8	Nos. 2–6	Orange
Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1	39.9 × 29.6–30.4	Nos. 2–6	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 21	37.7–37.8 × 30.2	None	Blue
Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1	39.9 × 29.6–30.4	Nos. 2–6	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1	36.0 × 29.5	Nos. 2–4	Blue
Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1	39.9 × 29.7–30.2	Nos. 2–8	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1	37.1–37.2 × 30. 8	Nos. 2–6	Orange
Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1	39.9 × 29.7–30.2	Nos. 2–8	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 21	37.7–37.8 × 30.2	None	Blue
Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1	39.9 × 29.7–30.2	Nos. 2–8	Orange	Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1	36.0 × 29.5	Nos. 2–4	Orange
Diez A fol. 70, p. 20	39.7 × 30.6–30.7	None	Blue	Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1	37.1–37.2 × 30.8	Nos. 2–6	Orange
Diez A fol. 70, p. 20	39.7 × 30.6–30.7	None	Blue	Diez A fol. 70, p. 21	37.7–37.8 × 30.2	None	Blue
Diez A fol. 70, p. 20	39.7 × 30.6– 30.7	None	Blue	Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1	36.0 × 29.5	Nos. 2–4	Blue

or when they were rebound together as a codex.[29] In addition, small pieces of text were attached to the reverse surfaces of Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1 (nos. 2–4) and some other enthronement illustrations, but not on the reverse surface of Diez A fol. 70, p. 20. These textual fragments appear to have nothing to do with the content and size of their respective obverse images, but they are more likely to have been used as a filling support to straighten the effect of gluing the reverse surfaces of two sheets together.[30]

Inconsistency in size for any possible pairing is mainly due to the method of assembly employed in Diez A fol. 70. Diez did not create a two-ply sheet by attaching the reverse surfaces of any of these enthronement scenes to each other. It is therefore appropriate to look at the proportional relationship, not between Diez

29 The caption box is discussed further below.

30 See Klaus Appel and Dieter George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 9 (1971), p. 231, fig. 65. The existence of text on the reverse surfaces of Rashidiyya-style illustrations has been pointed out in Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 116. See Rührdanz's chapter in the present volume for the text pages pasted onto the reverse surfaces of some of the enthronement scenes that are derived from other manuscripts, not necessarily from the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.

A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1, but between Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, nos. 1–2 (two Rashidiyya-style illustrations: battle scene [above; 25.4–25.6 × 27.4 cm] and prisoners [below; 13.0–13.2 × 26.9–27.1 cm]; no text on reverse)[31] and Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 (39.7 × 30. 6–30.7 cm) or between Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1 (36.0 × 29.5 cm) and Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1 (39.7 × 22.4 cm; post-Mongol illustration; a rider killing a dragon; text on reverse, nos. 2–9).[32] As it stands, however, Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1 do not perfectly match their respective reverse pages in terms of size.

More than the current images of the four pages, their pre-conservation photographs should be consulted for an understanding of the original contexts of the enthronement scenes in relation to other paintings and drawings within the same folio.[33] One of the pre-conservation photographs (fig. 9.2) reveals that a long strip of coloured paper was originally attached to the top margin of Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, no. 1, the right margins of both Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, no. 2, as well as in a space between no. 1 and no. 2, so as to keep a proportional balance with the reverse page, namely Diez A fol. 70, p. 20, which was wider and taller than the combination of no. 1 and no. 2. of Diez A fol. 70, p. 19. The same type of adjustment was clumsily made on Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1, in which a strip of paper was originally added both to the top and bottom margins of the illustration so as to keep a proportional balance with Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1. Yet the current appearance of the pages does not leave an impression that there were such additions in the past.

On the left side of the enthronement image (Diez A fol. 70, p. 20), a small piece of blue-coloured paper was, and is still, attached in the top right. This device is also seen in other attendant pages (Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1) and one page of the couple enthroned (Diez A fol. 70, p. 21). The small paper here appears to have been intended as camouflage for damaged areas, but this effectively imitates the caption box, suggesting the previous existence of a caption – most probably a heading of the throne room (*takhtgāh*), as exemplified in later copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (*e.g.* figs. 9.10, 9.12, and 9.13).[34] On the other hand, this serves to conceal textual evidence for the identification of the Mongol couple depicted in this enthronement scene. Whatever Diez's real motivation behind this act might have been, this box is useful to indicate a border of the window mount, so as to give an impression that the pages with the caption box in the top right originally came from the same manuscript. This impression is

31 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pl. 10.

32 See Appel and George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", fig. 66 (above). This photograph, which was taken during the conservation project carried out on the Diez albums in 1971–1972, shows how Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 25 originally faced each other as a double-page illustration in a codex format. I am grateful to Friederike Weis for bringing this photograph to my attention.

33 When the conservation project was undertaken in 1971–1972, the bindings of Diez A fols. 70, 71 and 72 were removed, and each folio was disassembled. See Appel and George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", pp. 227–232.

34 See the discussion below of the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* manuscript.



FIGURE 9.2 *Pre-conservation photographs. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 19 (right above), p. 20 (left above), p. 23 (right below) and p. 24 (left below).*

particularly visible in Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 21.

In considering the original format of Diez A fol. 70, which was bound as a traditional Islamic book,[35] Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 21 can reasonably be observed as the verso and recto of the double-page illustration. Although Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 21 should be swapped in order to follow the original double-page composition of the enthronement image, their visual relationship works in the current layout, despite the loss of the original compositional concept.

35 For the binding of Diez A fol. 70, see Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 114.

On the other hand, Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1 (the enthroned couple – right) and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 (attendants – left) appears to follow the correct pictorial sequence of the enthronement scene if they are to be viewed in a codex format, although this does not mean that these two pages originally constituted a double-page illustration. Above all, it remains unclear if Diez was ever interested in keeping original features of the manuscripts from which the enthronement scenes were detached.

The margins and the text box of Diez A fol. 70, p. 20 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1 are highlighted by a distinctive ruling system.[36] Consisting of a light blue line, a gold line edged with black, and traces of the gold band, this appears to have imitated the original rulings of the manuscripts from which the enthronement scenes were detached.[37] The same light blue colour is used in the rulings of Diez A fol. 70, p. 21, while the colour orange is used instead of light blue in the rulings of Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1, Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1. The different use of colour in the ruling system serves to divide the six illustrations of the enthronement scenes into two groups – one with the light blue line and another with the orange line – and this corresponds to some extent to the difference in the manner of rendering humans between the orange sub-group (Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1, Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1, and Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1) and the light blue sub-group (Diez A fol. 70, p. 20, Diez A fol. 70, p. 21, and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1): the former emphasises the slant eyes and well-balanced bodies of the Mongols, while the latter depicts their eyes as rounder and their bodies as fatter. Yet the exact inter-relationship of the three illustrations within one sub-group, irrespective of whether the three illustrations with the light blue or orange line were all from the same manuscript, cannot be determined.

In terms of iconography, all of the Type 1 illustrations are stereotypically structured. The image size of the enthroned couple is nearly two times larger than that of attendants. Each side of the opening page is occupied by approximately forty people, including musicians, falconers, and other courtiers: female attendants are located on the page of the enthroned couple, while male attendants are dominant on the left side of the enthronement scene. In some illustrations, for example Diez A fol. 70, p. 21, the faces of the royal couple and many attendants are rubbed out, the result of an iconoclastic act that happened at some stage of history. But in general there are no obvious traces of over-painting and the images can thus be considered to retain their original features.

Four examples found in the Istanbul Saray albums are, in terms of iconography and size, related to the Type 1 enthronement image, although the Istanbul pages differ in many stylistic details from the Diez pages.[38] The facial features of the Mongols in H. 2153, fol. 148v (the enthroned couple)

36 The ruling system of Diez A fol. 70 has been discussed by Roxburgh (Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 114).

37 For example, see the rulings of the London *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*), in which the basic composition of the multi-layered rulings evokes those used in the Diez enthronement scenes, apart from the different use of colour.

38 In comparison with Type 1, the Istanbul enthronement scenes have been studied in detail by Beyhan Karamağarali, "Camiu't-tevarih'in bilinmeyen bir nüshasina âit dört



FIGURE 9.3 Enthronement Scene, *illustrations from the Istanbul albums, West Asia, fourteenth century, 34.5 × 30 cm* (*left*) *and 39 × 30.2 cm* (*right*). *Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 23v and fol. 166.*

are more articulated than those found in Type 1;[39] the other three examples from Istanbul (H. 2153, fol. 23v [the enthroned couple] and H. 2153, fol. 166 [attendants]; fig. 9.3; see also H. 2153, fol. 53v [the enthroned couple])[40] pay more attention to the chromatic components of Mongol dress than Type 1, while the clothing of the Mongols is lightly coloured. It can be argued that these three examples from Istanbul were not necessarily from the

minyatür", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 2 (1966–1968), pp. 70–86.

39 H. 2153, fol. 148v: Karamağarali, "Camiu't-tevarih'in", fig. 4; Michael J. Rogers, Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, London 1986, no. 44; Sheila S. Blair, "A Mongol Envoy", in *Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane, Edinburgh 2005, fig. 3.1. Blair associates this illustration with Hülegü Khan (r. 1256–65; Genghis Khan's grandson; the founder of the Ilkhanid state), because of the "seven sons standing to the right of the ruler's throne, the same number of sons that Hülegü had" (Blair, "A Mongol Envoy", p. 49).

40 H. 2153, fol. 23v: Karamağarali, "Camiu't-tevarih'in", fig. 1; *Ben Mehmed Siyah Kalem, İnsanlar ve Cinlerin Ustası*, Istanbul 2004, pp. 250–251; Rogers, Çağman and Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum*, no. 43 (measurements of 34.5 × 30 cm); Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, fig. 59; H. 2153, fol. 166: Karamağarali, "Camiu't-tevarih'in", fig. 2 (measurements of 39 × 30.2 cm); H. 2153, fol. 53v: Karamağarali, "Camiu't-tevarih'in", fig. 3 (mistyped as fol. 54B; measurements of 36 × 30 cm); *Ben Mehmed Siyah Kalem*, p. 274.

workshop that was responsible for Type 1. Another enigma is some trace of the text box in the top right of H. 2153, fol. 166: as in Type 1, this feature suggests the existence of a text panel or possibly covers a damaged area. The previous existence of a text panel is equally discernible at the top of H. 2153, fol. 23v, if it is showed as the right side of the double-page enthronement illustration next to H. 2153, fol. 166 on the left. The difference in height (34.5 cm on the right and 39 cm on the left) evokes Type 1's proportional relationship between the right and left side pages. Finally, H. 2153, fol. 23v, constitutes yet another riddle: it labels itself below the enthroned couple as the work of the Frankish or European style (*kār-i farang* [frankish – *i.e.* European]),[41] although this is not stylistically European at all to our contemporary eyes. This indicates one of the important notions for the understanding of the Persian aesthetic mindset towards exotic artworks – something from the west (frankish) and something from the east (*khiṭāy/khaṭāy* or *chīnī*).[42]

In considering further the visual peculiarity of Type 1, the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254–1324) makes a detailed observation on "the Fashion of the Great Kaan's Table at His High Feasts", especially as to how levels of social status are indicated on ceremonial occasions:

> And when the Great Kaan sits at table [*i.e.* throne] on any great court occasion, it is in this fashion. His table is elevated a good deal above the others, and his sits at the north end of the hall, looking towards the south, with his chief wife beside him on the left. On his right sit his sons and his nephews, and other kinsmen of the Blood Imperial, but lower, so that their heads are on a level with the Emperor's feet.[43]

This is exactly how the Type 1 enthronement image is structured: the Mongol ruler is depicted sitting on the left next to his consort, who is positioned on the right (fig. 9.1 – detail). In particular, the words "with his chief wife beside him on the left" are worth reconsidering in the context of this chapter. This was one of the established customs in medieval Mongol society, and is also reflected in the depictions of the Mongol couple in Yuan mural painting (fig. 9.4).[44] This suggests that the painters of Type 1 were familiar with the culture of Mongol Eurasia.

41 Noted in Rogers, Çağman and Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 69. For the notion of "Frankish" in the Berlin and Istanbul album paintings, see Necipoğlu's chapter in the present volume.

42 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, for a compressive study of the notion of China in Persian art under the Mongols.

43 Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, trans. and ed. Henri Yule, London 1875; reprinted, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, New York 1993, vol. 1, Book Second, Chapter XIII, p. 381.

44 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 183–184. This particular positional concept is also mentioned by Carpini and Rubruck (cited in Nancy S. Steinhardt, "Yuan Period Tombs and Their Decoration: Cases at Chifeng", *Oriental Art* 36/4 [1990–1], n. 29). The equal seating position among the ruler and his consort suggests the importance of women in Mongol society (for further information, see Bruno De Nicola, *Women in the Mongol Empire*, forthcoming).

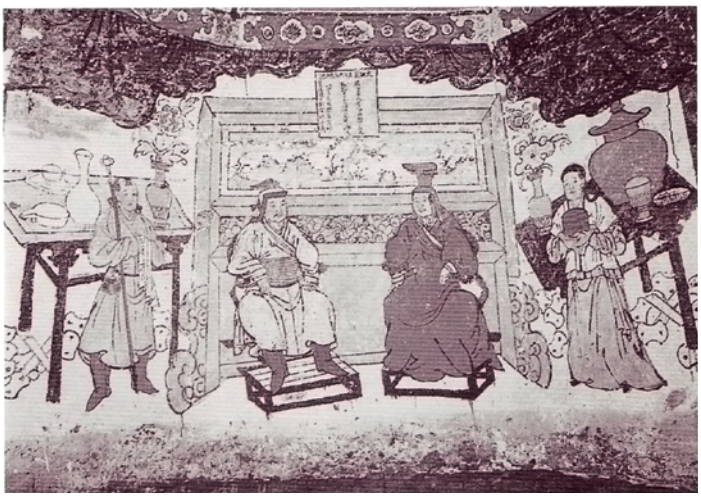


FIGURE 9.4
A mural on the north wall of a tomb in Dongercun, Pucheng County, Shaanxi Province, 1270 (after Kadoi, Islamic Chinoiserie, fig. 5.22).

This leads us to the cultural background of the painters who were engaged in the Rashidiyya workshops in general and the painters who were involved in the executions of the Mongol enthronement scenes of the Diez albums in particular.[45] It has been widely suggested that, since the Mongols themselves did not have an established pictorial tradition, they actively employed skilled painters from different cultural spheres. Rashid al-Din's endowment deed (*waqfiyya*), for instance, lists slaves (*ghulām*) among the staff of the atelier, including Turks, Greeks, Georgians, Indians, Ethiopians, Slavs, Armenians, and others; their occupations included painters (*naqqāsh*).[46] A mixture of disparate pictorial styles used in Type 1, as well as the Edinburgh, London, and Istanbul copies of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, demonstrates the familiarity of the painters with various pictorial styles and, more specifically, the involvement of Turkic Uighur muralists and painters, whose pictorial style was still under the spell of ancient Central Asian Buddhist and Manichaean traditions. Many pictorial aspects of Type 1 are indeed comparable to those found in contemporary Uighur pictorial sources, such as a Uighur block-printed edition of the *Vishvantara-Jātaka* from Turfan, Xinjiang (Berlin-Brandenburgische

45 The question of the painters who were involved in the illustrations of Rashid al-Din's "World History" has been widely discussed: see David T. Rice, "Who were the Painters of the Edinburgh Rashid al-Din?", *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 181–185; Rice, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashīd al-Dīn*, pp. 5–9; Anatoli Ivanov, "The Name of a Painter Who Illustrated the World History of Rashid al-Din", in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, London 2000, pp. 147–150. Kühnel addressed the question of the painters of the Diez albums in the late 1950s (Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray'-Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 [1959], pp. 66–77).

46 Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 40. For the *waqfnāma*, see Birgitt Hoffmann, *Waqf im mongolischen Iran: Rasiduddins Sorge um Nachruhm und Seelenheil* (Freiburger Islamstudien 20), Stuttgart 2000.



FIGURE 9.5 *Uighur block-printed edition of the* Vishvantara-Jātaka, *Turfan, Xinjiang, Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, U 3904.*

Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, U 3904; fig. 9.5).[47] Several historical pieces of evidence for the influential role of the Uighurs in their administrative and religious capacities as "steppe intelligentsia" across the Mongol empire also explain the appearance of Uighur pictorial ingredients in Type 1.[48]

What makes Type 1 particularly Uighur is the way in which clothing and accessories are depicted, especially the women's headgear (Mong. *boγthaγ*, Chin. *gugu*). The origin of this distinctive accessory can be traced back to pre-Mongol times.[49] This peculiar headgear was incorporated into Mongol formal dress by around the 1220s and was used in the Mongol court in China, as exemplified in the portraits of Yuan empresses,[50] and possibly also in West Asia. Besides contemporary Uighur pictorial sources, for example thirteenth-fourteenth century mural paintings from Turfan in the collections of St. Petersburg and Berlin (fig. 9.6 A–B),[51] actual examples made in textiles, such as a fragmentary

47 See *Turks*, pp. 35–36. This fragment from the Turfan collection is part of the collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and I would like to thank Christoph Rauch for providing the information on the Turfan collection.

48 For further discussion on the Uighurs in the Mongol empire, see Johan Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 150–151 and 180–181. See also Charles Melville, "The Chinese-Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period", *Iran* XXXII (1994), pp. 83–98.

49 See a mural from Bezeklik datable to the tenth to eleventh century that depicts a Uighur female donor with the *boγthaγ/gugu* (Inv. Nr.III 4453); Marianne Yaldiz *et al. Magische Götterwelten: Werke aus dem Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin*, Berlin 2000, no. 326.

50 See *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, cat.nos. 348–355.

51 The St. Petersburg painting was shown at the exhibition of Ibn Battuta at the State Hermitage Museum in 2015 (*Podarok Sozercajushhim Stranstvija Ibn Baattuty*, St. Petersburg 2015, cat.no. 255). For the Berlin painting, see *Turks*, cat.no. 14. I am most grateful to Lilla Russell-Smith for the information of the Berlin painting.





FIGURE 9.6 A–B Female donor, *thirteenth–fourteenth century, Qocho (Gaochang), Xinjiang, China, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, ВДсз 869 and* Female donor, *thirteenth–fourteenth century, Cave 3, Turfan, Xinjiang, China, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, III 8618.*

headgear in the Doha collection (fig. 9.7),[52] are also evocative of the *boγthaγ/gugu* depicted in Type 1.

In accordance with such an extravagant female outfit, the men are portrayed as wearing elaborate Mongol brimmed hats with a variety of accessories, including feathers and flying ribbons, and the high-ranking status of the enthroned ruler is also indicated by his imposing hat, not by his robe. Often depicted as an indication



FIGURE 9.7 *Silk textile fragments of a female hat (reconstructed), Mongol Eurasia, thirteenth century, Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, CO.118.2000.*

52 *Focus on 50: Unseen Treasures from the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar, Doha*, ed. Joachim Gierlichs, Doha 2010, pp. 64–65. This piece has been reconstructed with pearl decoration; it was originally stabilised by a wooden support, as attested by archaeological finds in Mongolia (see *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, cat.no. 73). For another example of the the *boγthaγ/gugu*, see *Podarok Sozercajushhim Stranstvija Ibn Baattuty*, cat. no. 256.

of the Mongol ethnic background in early fourteenth-century paintings from West Asia,[53] this type of headgear is also reminiscent of actual examples discovered in Mongolia (fig. 9.8).[54] None of the Mongol men in Type 1 wears a turban, a symbol of Muslim men.

Lightly coloured and delineated in black, the painters of Type 1 are consistent in the rendering of robes. Regardless of social ranking or gender, the same, Tartar-style dress – with a right–left diagonal crossed fastening – is worn by all the enthroned couples and attendants. This type of clothing recalls those depicted in Yuan murals (*e.g.* fig. 9.4),[55] actual Mongol robes discovered in Inner Mongolia,[56] or those housed in museum collections outside East Asia (fig. 9.9).[57] In terms of the



FIGURE 9.8 *Silk hat, Mongol Eurasia, thirteenth century, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar, M-020* (*after* Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, *cat. no. 63*).



FIGURE 9.9 *Dress sewn from a lampas-woven textile, silk with gilded lamella of animal substrate, Eastern Islamic world or China; first half of the fourteenth century. Height: 130 cm; width including both sleeves: 195 cm. David Collection, Copenhagen, 23/2004* (*photographed by Pernille Klemp*).

53 See Schroeder's list of Mongol hats depicted in fourteenth-century Persian painting (Eric Schroeder, "Ahmad Musa and Shames al-Dīn: A Review of Fourteenth Century Painting", *Ars Islamica* 6 [1939], pp. 120–121).

54 See *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, cat. no. 63.

55 See also Yunyan Shen, "Yuan mubihua zhong de yuandai fushi [Costumes in Yuan murals]", *Gugong wenwu* 90/8 (2001), pp. 32–41.

56 *E.g.* a yellow-lined silk robe, L. 142 cm, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot (*Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan*, ed. Adam T. Kessler, Los Angeles 1993, fig. 104); this magnificent Mongol robe is unearthed in 1978 from Onggut tombs at Dasujixiang Mingshui, Daerhanmao Mingan United Banner.

57 The Mongol robe is also collected as Islamic art by several other museums: the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (*e.g.* Gierlichs, *Focus on 50*, pp. 62–63); and the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (*e.g. Chefs-d'œuvre islamiques de l'Aga Khan Museum*, ed. Sophie Makariou,

depictions of dress, Type 1 follows the early fourteenth-century copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* rather than other examples from Ilkhanid ateliers. Surviving illustrations of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (Tabriz, *c.* 1335), for instance, explore a variety of colouring in each robe worn by the major characters, including the use of gold, red, and blue.[58]

Along with the costume elements discussed above, some features of the throne used in Type 1 also establish a strong stylistic connection with the early fourteenth-century copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.[59] With a footstool in front, this type of throne is depicted as being partially painted in red, evoking the lacquered decoration used in East Asian-style thrones – such as the thrones of Chinese imperial emperors[60] – and elaborately structured, with the edges of the backrest decorated with dragon-head carvings.[61] Although none of the Chinese thrones have been archaeologically discovered in Mongol West Asia, the painters of Type 1 must have been familiar with this style of furniture from East Asia, either through pictorial sources or actual examples.

While many interesting parallels can be made between Type 1 and early fourteenth-century Ilkhanid painting, it is equally necessary to observe any stylistic and iconographic differences among them. One fundamental difference is the absence of the consort image in the enthronement scenes of the London, Edinburgh, and Istanbul Ilkhanid copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.[62] Structurally, too,

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Paris 2007, cat.no. 13). This type of robe was initially preserved in burial contexts, particularly in Tibet, with which the Mongol Empire established a close relationship, but began to appear on the art market in the late twentieth century.

58 For further discussion on the depictions of dress in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, see Yuka Kadoi, "Textiles in the Great Mongol Shahnama: A New Approach to Ilkhanid Dress", in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, ed. Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring, Turnhout 2014, pp. 153–165. The relationship between the Diez albums and the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* is discussed in Hillenbrand's chapter in the current volume.

59 Donovan studied this type of throne in detail: David Donovan, "The Evolution of the Throne in Early Persian Painting: The Evidence of the Edinburgh Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh", *Persica* 13 (1988–9), pp. 1–79.

60 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 176, fig. 5.15. It is interesting to note that the Chinese emperors depicted in the London Rashid al-Din manuscript do not sit on any throne (Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, K4–K18).

61 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 176. This type of dragon-headed carving is reminiscent of those made in jade originating from Yuan China (see *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, cat. no. 206).

62 It should be noted that the Edinburgh, London, and Istanbul copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* are from a section of the world history of Islamic countries and their neighbours in Volume 2, while Type 1 is likely to have been from a section of the history of Genghis Khan, his ancestors, and his successors down to the period of Mahmud Ghazan in Volume 1 (see the following discussion on the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* below). The absence of the consort image in the enthronement scenes of the Edinburgh, London, and Istanbul copies is thus not surprising, since there is no necessity to follow the Mongol composition of the enthroned couple in the copies that do not deal with the Mongols; instead of emphasising its extravagance, the enthronement scenes of the Edinburgh, London, and

Type 1 emphasises a sense of verticality. It arranges a group of people in parallel lines without the aid of any landscape elements – evoking how figures are depicted in Buddhist texts – while the three *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* illustrations present a group of people horizontality.[63]

In the context of fourteenth-century Persian painting in general and Type 1 in particular, the adjective "Buddhist" can be used in a generic sense, given the complex religio-cultural matrix of the Mongol empire.[64] Yet Type 1 indicates that the use of figural representation for teaching or promoting ideology – the core of the Buddhist tradition – was assimilated into the Muslim cultural sphere of the Mongol empire: this could have laid a revolutionary foundation for figural arts in Islamic West Asia during the fourteenth century, in particular, fostering the figural representation of Muhammad.[65] Besides, some other forms of Buddhist idioms, such as the lotus pattern, were fully integrated into the visual culture of Mongol West Asia, even if the converted Mongols (after 1295) and their Muslim subjects might have become disassociated themselves with any visual evocation of the idol worshippers.[66]

Of particular note is the iconographic resonance of Type 1 on post-Ilkhanid Persian painting. A Persian copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal [renamed the Asiatic Society] in Calcutta (Kolkata) – "an unknown copy" which was first published by Basil Gray in 1954[67] – contains twenty-one illustrations, including an enthronement scene of Chaghatay (a son of Genghis Khan; d. 1242) and his consort

Istanbul copies scale down the size and focus on the ruler surrounded by a few attendants. Among other Ilkhanid pictorial examples, see the enthroned couple image that occurs in the so-called Small *Shāhnāma* (north-west Iran or Baghdad, *c.* 1300; *e.g. The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, cat.no. 33).

63 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 190, fig. 5. 28.

64 According to Elverskog, the Mongol initially came into contact with Tantric Buddhism through Tangut, Uighur, and Tibetan mediation, and these three groups seem to have been present, directly or indirectly, in the socio-cultural fabric of Ilkhanid Iran. Rashid al-Din, for instance, drew information on Buddhism from Sanskrit and Chinese sources (Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, pp. 150–151).

65 See Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, p. 167. For the figural representation of Muhammad in fourteenth-century Persian painting, see Robert Hillenbrand, "Images of Muhammad in al-Biruni's Chronology of Ancient Nations", in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, pp. 129–146.

66 For an overview of Buddhist elements in the art of Mongol West Asia, see Yuka Kadoi, "Buddhism in Iran under the Mongols: An Art-Historical Analysis", in *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies*, eds. Tomasz Gacek and Jadwiga Pstrusińska, Newcastle upon Tyne 2009, pp. 171–180. See also Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, pp. 173–174, for a concise overview of Buddhist–Muslim relations in Mongol Eurasia.

67 Basil Gray, "An Unknown Fragment of the 'Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh' in the Asiatic Society of Bengal", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 65–75, with sixteen illustrations (out of twenty-one) from the Calcutta copy (figs. 9–24). The following discussion is based on Gray's article, since I have so far had no opportunity to consult the Calcutta *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* manuscript. I am thus most grateful to Iván Szántó, who saw this manuscript on display at the Asiatic Society in February 2012, for his eyewitness account of the general appearance of the Calcutta *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.

(fig. 9.10).[68] Although it is not intended as a double-page illustration, this page, which measures approximately 47.0 × 32.5 cm, or 39.0 × 25.5 cm inside the margins,[69] follows the basic compositional principal of the right side of Type 1. The enthroned couple is located in the top left, surrounded by densely arranged attendants. In contrast to Type 1, which is devoid of landscape, however, the Calcutta page pays chromatic and decorative attention to its naturalistic background.[70] This may have intended to suggest a sense of depth, although landscape elements such as plants and grasses can function merely as space-fillers. The overall nature of the landscape setting in this illustration, equally visible in other illustrations in the Calcutta manuscript, is less authentically Chinese-inspired than is the case with early fourteenth-century Ilkhanid manuscript painting.[71] This landscape element alone does not contradict the widely agreed attribution of the Calcutta *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* to the late fourteenth century.[72]



FIGURE 9.10 Chagatay Khan and His Consort, *page from a copy of the* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Iran, probably late fourteenth century,* c. *39.0 × 25.5 cm, Asiatic Society, Kolkat, D. 31, fol. 58v* (*after Gray, "An Unknown Fragment", fig. 15*).

The availability of this very Mongol model of the enthronement scene in various workshops in Iran, Central Asia, and South Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is demonstrated by the Paris *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Bibliothèque nationale, suppl. persan 1113; Herat, *c.* 1430–1434). Since a detailed comparison between Type 1 and the Paris manuscript has already made by Rührdanz, it should be

68 Gary, "An Unknown Fragment", cat.no. XII, p. 72.

69 This is according to the overall measurements of the manuscript suggested by Gray (Gray, "An Unknown Fragment", p. 66). Gray does not provide the measurements of each illustration.

70 An observation of colouring in this illustration is based on its black-and white reproduction used in Gray's article in 1954, although from this reproduction it is impossible to say exactly which colours are used in this page. The emphasis on colourfulness in the illustrations of the Calcutta *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* was also observed by Iván Szántó in February 2012 (personal communication, 22 May 2015).

71 The development of landscape depictions in early fourteenth-century Ilkhanid manuscript painting and its Chinese connections has been discussed in detail throughout the three chapters of manuscript painting in Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 123–236.

72 See Gray, "An Unknown Fragment", p. 66. This manuscript does not have a colophon.



FIGURE 9.11 Mahmud Ghazan and His Consort, *double-page illustration from a copy of the* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Herat,* c. *1430–1434, 26.8 × 43.5 cm* (*double-page*), *Bibliothèque nationale, suppl. persan 1113, fols. 227v–228.*

sufficient to refer to a double-page illustration in the chapter on Mahmud Ghazan (fig. 9.11) which echoes Type 1 in terms not only of the arrangement of Mongol attendants but also of the seating position of the enthroned couple.[73]

Among the enthronement scenes from other later copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, the occurrence of the "historicising" images of the enthroned Mongol couple found in a Persian copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* in the Raza Library in Rampur, Uttar Pradesh, India (P.1820, M.K.85) is particularly noteworthy.[74] The Rampur

73 Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-dīns Taʾrīḫ-i mubārak-i Ġāzānī", p. 299, fig. 4. For the identification of each illustration in the Paris manuscript, see Francis Richard, "Un des peintres du manuscrit Supplément person 1113 de l'histoire des Mongols de Rašhīd al-dīn identifié", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole, actes du colloque de Pont-à-Mousson, 26–28 octobre 1992*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 307–320.

74 For the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, see Barbara Schmitz and Ziyaud-Din A. Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings and Illustrated Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur*, Rampur and New Delhi 2006, cat.no. IV.1, pp. 171–179. For further discussion of historicising illustrations found in the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, see Yael Rice, "Mughal Interventions in the Rampur Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh", *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012), pp. 150–164. I am particularly indebted to Stephan Popp and Meenakshi Khanna, who facilitated my communication with

manuscript, with eighty-two illustrations, is a fragment from a section of the history of Genghis Khan, his ancestors, and his successors down to the period of Mahmud Ghazan in the first volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. Originally copied in the fourteenth century, the manuscript was subject to pictorial enhancement in various courts in Iran and Central Asia (probably in Herat around 1475–1490) before it entered the possession of the Mughal court under Akbar (r. 1556–1605) for further pictorial additions in the 1590s. The enthronement images found in the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* are classified largely according to the following two types:[75] the Mughal historicising image of Chaghatay Khan (fig. 9.12) shows its indebtedness to the Mongol prototype, and is thus more closely associated with the Diez image, while the scene of Güyük Khan (a grandson of Genghis Khan; d. 1248) (fig. 9.13) is worked in the fifteenth-century style, as in the Paris *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. In terms of landscape depictions, too, the Mughal historicising image is devoid of landscape elements, as in Type 1, while the fifteenth-century image contains flowers on the ground between figures, a pictorial device which was popularly used in the illustrations produced by the School of Herat.[76] However, in the Mughal historicising image, the Mongol ruler, his consort, and all attendants have "Mughal faces",[77] while the characters depicted in the fifteenth-century image are what we widely describe as "Timurid" or "Turkman" in appearance.

Apart from the pictorial style discussed above, the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* as a whole is particularly relevant to the discussion of Type 1 in the Diez albums in that the size of the Rampur double-page enthronement scenes is nearly the same as that of Type 1.[78] Furthermore, the existence of the heading on the top of the left page and partially on the right page provides a useful visual clue as to how the caption box may originally have appeared in Type 1; this is clearer evidence than provided by the right side of the Mongol prototype of enthronement used in the Calcutta *Jāmiʿ*

the Raza Library, as well as to the Director of the Library and to the library staff members, particularly Abusad Islahi, for supplying the images of the illustrated pages from the Rampur manuscript.

75 The manuscript contains several Mongol-style couple enthronement images (see Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, pp. 175–179; fols. 34v–35, 54v–55, 70v–71, 78v–79, 94v–95, 124v–125, 154v–155, 174v–175, 214v–215 and 232v–233). Some of them have been published in the following publications: Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, pls. 238–239 (fols. 54v–55) and pls. 242–243 (fols. 78v–79); Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750*, Oxford 1924, pl. 1 (right side only; fols. 70v–71); Rice, "Mughal Interventions", fig. 6 (right side only; fols. 70v–71); Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, figs. 60–61 (fols. 154v–155).

76 Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, p. 175. For a concise overview of the School of Herat in fifteenth-century Persian painting, see Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva, 1961, pp. 109–125.

77 Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, p. 175.

78 See the measurements of Type 1 in Table 1. The Rampur manuscript as a whole measures 45.5 × 32.5 cm; the measurements of the text box range from 39.5 to 41.6 cm in height and from 27 to 28 cm in width (Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, p. 170).



FIGURE 9.12 Chagatai Khan and His Consort, *double-page illustration from a copy of the* Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Iran, fourteenth century* (*manuscript*), *India,* c. *1590–1595* (*painting*), *36.0 × 27.0 cm* (*right*), *37.8 × 26.5 cm* (*left*), *Rampur, Raza Library, P. 1820, M. K. 85, fols. 54v–55.*



FIGURE 9.13 Guyuk Khan and His Consort, *double-page illustration from a copy of the* Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Iran, fourteenth century* (*manuscript*), *Central Asia* (*possibly Herat*), c. *1470–1490* (*painting*), *37.2 × 30.0 cm* (*right*), *40.6 × 30.0 cm* (*left*) *Rampur, Raza Library, P. 1820, M. K. 85, fols. 78v–79.*

al-tavārīkh (fig. 9.10).[79] This also suggests that Type 1 is likely to have belonged to a section of the history of Genghis Khan, his ancestors, and his successors down to the period of Mahmud Ghazan in the first volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, as in the Rampur manuscript, and that Type 1 was unlikely to have functioned as a frontispiece but was inserted into the narrative of each khan.[80]

Apart from the Paris and Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* manuscripts, the impact of Type 1 can equally be discerned in another type of work that was illustrated in the post-Ilkhanid period. The composition of an open-air scene of the Gulbenkian Anthology (Shiraz, 1410–1411; fig. 9.14) prepared for the Timurid prince Iskandar Sultan (r. 1403–1415),[81] for instance, shows its striking iconographic similarity to Type 1. This enthronement scene is unique in many ways: as part of the *Tārīkh-i guzīda* (Select History; compiled in 1330) of Hamdallah Mustawfi Qazvini (*c.* 1281–1344), it should pictorially go under the title of the marriage of the Prophet to Khadija,[82] although all the characters here are depicted as typically attired Mongols. The right side of the enthronement scene is missing, if it was meant to follow the exact prototype of the double-page enthronement scene. Furthermore, it is delineated as a square painting that evokes the distinctive shape used in Type 3.[83] Drawn with light colouring and guiding, this particular illustration is also different from other lavishly coloured pictures found in the Gulbenkian Anthology. A detailed discussion on this image within the whole pictorial programme of the Gulbenkian Anthology is beyond the scope of this study, but it is clear that this enthronement scene shares a stylistic affinity with a group of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century drawings from the Diez albums rather than the paintings typical of the School of Shiraz.[84]

79 The captions for the Rampur enthronement scenes (figs. 12 and 13) read: "the throne-room of Chaghatay Khan ibn Genghis Khan" (pp. 54–55) and "the throne-room of Güyük Khan ibn Ogodei Khan ibn Genghis Khan" (pp. 78–79) (Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, pp. 175–176).

80 According to Blair, the large double-page enthronement was meant to illustrate the second section of each khan, called *surat-i takht* (Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 95).

81 Basil Gray, "The School of Shiraz from 1392 to 1453", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, London 1979, p. 134, fig. 74; Robert Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting*, Edinburgh 1977, cat.no. 65; Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, fig. 68, p. 100; Bloom, *Paper before Print*, p. 189, fig. 75; they point out the indebtedness of the Gulbenkian Anthology illustration to an earlier, probably Ilkhanid prototype. I am most grateful to Jorge Rodrigues for having given me an opportunity to study the Gulbenkian Anthology and provided me with further information about this manuscript. My thanks also go to Ilse Sturkenboom for sharing her observations on the Gulbenkian Anthology (this manuscript is discussed in detail in her doctoral research into the illustrated manuscripts of the *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*).

82 Hillenbrand notes: "Although this painting goes under the title of 'Marriage of the Prophet to Khadija', it is hard to credit this identification" (Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting*, p. 37).

83 See the discussion of Type 3 below.

84 *E.g.* drawing of designs in medallions, including a Mongol man and a women (both



FIGURE 9.14 Enthronement Scene (*left*), *pages from the Anthology prepared for Iskandar Sultan, Shiraz, 1410–11, 27.3 × 18.0 cm, Lisbon, Caloste Gulbenkian Foundation, L. A. 161, fols. 260v–261.*

Taken together, the iconography of the Mongol couple enthroned exerted a long-lasting impact on the subsequent painting tradition of the Persian cultural realm, not only in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* but also for other subject matter.

enthroned separately) (fol. 73, p. 47, no. 5; *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, fig. 223). Gray notes: "Close inspection reveals that the outline of this drawing has been given by the use of a pounced skin: for the dots are visible beneath the line. The upright shape shows that it cannot come directly from an Ilkhanid original but from some later 14th century miniature, like those preserved in the Diez Albums" (Gray, "The School of Shiraz from 1392 to 1453", p. 134).

Type 2: Medium-Sized Enthronement Scenes (Diez A fol. 71)

Medium-sized illustrations of the Mongol couple enthroned (fig. 9.15; Diez A fol. 71, p. 52; 21.8 × 27.3–27.4 cm) can be categorised as Type 2, although only two examples are found in Diez A fol. 71.[85] As in Type 1, this type of enthronement image may have originally been part of a manuscript, most probably the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* of Rashid al-Din.

85 Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-dīns Taʾrīḫ-i mubārak-i Ġāzānī", fig. 2. Apart from Diez A fol. 71 p. 52, Diez A fol.71, p. 48 (20.8 × 27.3 cm; *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, cat.no. 289) belongs to Type 2.



FIGURE 9.15 Enthronement Scene (detail), *illustration from the Diez albums, West Asia, early fourteenth century, 21.8 × 27.3–27.4 cm.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 52.*



FIGURE 9.16 *Cup, Golden Horde (Southern Russia), c. 1350, 10.5 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, CKu – 597.*

Focusing on the enthroned couple rather than giving an overall picture of Mongol ceremony, Type 2 is stylistically comparable to the enthronement scenes used in the London and Edinburgh copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. This suggests the familiarity of the painters of Type 2 with the Rashidiyya style. A compositional parallel of Type 2 can also be seen in the Rampur *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, for example a scene of Ariq Böke (a grandson of Genghis Khan; d. 1266) and his wife that occupies the upper half of the page.[86]

Within the Diez albums, the pictorial style of Type 2 is evocative of Type 1, although it remains unclear what the intercodex relationship is between the two types of enthronement image, and whether or not they originate from the same manuscript. Type 2 is framed by a ruling system similar to that employed in Type 1, apart from some slight differences: Diez A fol. 71, p. 52, for instance, contains both traces of blue and orange in its margins, while Type 1 is consistent in the use of either blue or orange. The lack of text makes it difficult not only to identify the enthroned couple in Type 2, but also to clarify its location within the page.

Since detailed observations of thrones and outfits have been made on Type 1, it is sufficient here to look at the depictions of other types of portable objects, for instance the metal cups held by the enthroned couple. This type of shallow drinking vessel evokes those discovered in Golden Horde territory in southern Russia (fig. 9.16).[87] Although this kind of representation could be considered as a pictorial device rather than a faithful depiction of the model available to the painters, the enthronement scenes of the Diez albums

86 Fol. 57 (unpublished; for its description, see Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, p. 157).

87 *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, cat.no. 258. For the art of the Golden Horde, see *The Treasures of the Golden Horde*, ed. Mikhail B. Piotrovsky, St. Petersburg 2000.

are clearly visual reminders of the material richness of Mongol society at that time.[88]

Type 3: Miniature-Sized Enthronement Scenes (Diez A fol. 71)

Diminutive illustrations of the Mongol couple enthronement constitute yet another distinctive group of paintings in the Diez albums. Type 3 is a genuine "miniature" in the sense that its size measures merely *c.* 6–7 cm by 6–7 cm and does not have any text.[89] Diez A fol. 71 contains eleven examples of Type 3. This chapter presents all the eleven miniatures together for the sake of giving an overview of Type 3 (fig. 9.17), yet in reality they are pasted randomly across different pages. All of the Type 3 illustrations are found in the pages ranging from Diez A fol. 71, p. 41 to Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, often combined with other illustrations of different sizes and themes. The two couple enthronement images, for instance, sandwich an isolated Jalayirid-style painting (Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, nos. 4–6),[90] while on another page of the same folio (Diez A fol. 71, p. 63) the image of the angel is surrounded by six enthronement miniatures in a visually pleasing spacing.[91] The pre-conservation photograph of the latter page, however, shows that the miniatures were originally pasted together without spacing between each miniature (fig. 9.18). This was, once again, due to Diez's intention to standardise the size of each folio as a single album page rather than as a group of disparate paintings and drawings, a method of assembly which was also employed in the compilation of Diez A fol. 71.[92]

Type 3 can be divided into two subgroups on stylistic grounds (see table 9.2).

One group (described as the less colourful group in the following discussion) is drawn in pale colour. Another group is a more colourful one (described as the more colourful group in the following discussion), and this group is further divided into two groups – four miniatures and two miniatures – owing to not only the use of different types of throne but also because of the position of the khan and his consort. The latter group of miniatures was perhaps executed by those who were unfamiliar with this important Mongol custom, did not pay particular attention to the issue of position, or got confused with its mirror image at some stage in executing this type of miniature. The measurements of the eleven miniatures range from 6.3 to 7.9 cm in height and from 5.6 to

88 See, for example, Blair, "A Mongol Envoy", pp. 45–60, for a close study of the *paiza* depicted in Diez A fol. 71, p. 50. Some of the early fourteenth-century paintings from the Diez albums were displayed at the exhibition of the so-called "Courtauld Bag" in 2014, which focused on material culture in Mongol West Asia (see *Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq*, ed. Rachel Ward, London 2014).

89 I use the term "miniature" in the discussion of Type 3, although this contentious term evokes the de-contextualisation of Persian manuscript paintings that occurred in the art market during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Table 9.2 for the measurements of Type 3 illustrations.

90 Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, fig. 5.21.

91 *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, cat.no. 21.

92 See Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", pp. 114–115.



FIGURE 9.17 Mongol Ruler and Consort (*eleven examples*), *illustrations from the Diez albums, West Asia, early fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 41, no. 4 (7.9 × 7.4 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 4 (6.9 × 6.9–7.0 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 6 (6.4 × 5.6–5.9 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 45 no. 5 (7.1 × 3.4–3.5 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 6 (6.6 × 6.8 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 1 (6.6–6.7 × 6.7 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 2 (6.4–6.5 × 6.5); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 3 (6.7–6.8 × 6.6 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 5 (6.3 × 6.2–6.4 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 6 (6.5–6.6 × 6.8–6.9 cm); Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 7 (6.7 × 6.7–6.8 cm).*

TABLE 9.2 *Type 3 illustrations from Diez A fol. 71*

Folio no.	Colour*	Size (cm)	Position**	Seating***	Ruling
Diez A fol. 71, p. 41, no. 4	More	7.9 × 7.4	F/M	Throne	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 4	More	6.9 × 6.9–7.0	M/F	Throne w/b	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 6	More	6.4 × 5.6–5.9	M/F	Throne w/b	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 5	More	7.1 × 3.4–3.5	?/F	Throne w/b	n/a
Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 6	More	6.6 × 6.8	M/F	Throne w/b	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 1	More	6.6–6.7 × 6.7	F/M	Throne	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 2	Less	6.4–6.5 × 6.5	M/F	Cushion	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 3	Less	6.7–6.8 × 6.6	M/F	Cushion	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 5	Less	6.3 × 6.2–6.4	M/F	Cushion	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 6	Less	6.5–6.6 × 6.8–6.9	M/F	Cushion	Blue
Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 7	Less	6.7 × 6.7–6.8	M/F	Cushion	Blue

* More (more colourful than the less colourful group); Less (less colourful than the more colourful group)
** F (Female); M (Male); ?(missing)
*** w/b (with backrest)

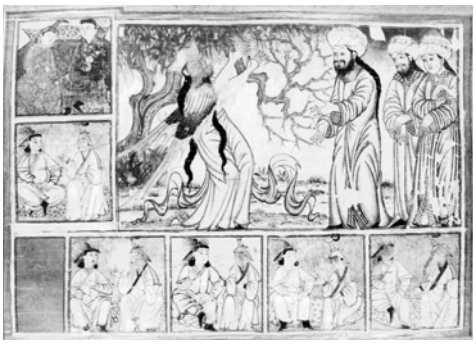


FIGURE 9.18 Angel and Three Figures / Mongol Ruler and Consort (*six scenes*), *pre-conservation photograph.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 63.*

7.4 cm in width.[93] Diez A fol. 71, p. 41, no. 4 is currently the largest and Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 5 is the smallest among the miniatures used in the compilation of Diez A fol. 71, but their size is likely to have been adjusted when they were separately bound into an album format, together with other illustrations of disparate sizes.[94] The ruling system used in Type 3 is evocative of that used in Type 1, although none of the miniatures contain the orange colour in their rulings.

The enthronement couple depicted in the eleven images are shown in relaxed poses devoid of formality; they appear to be having a conversation with each other, complete with lively hand gestures.[95] As in the case with Type 1 and Type 2, all the

93 Except Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 5 (the left side of this picture, most probably depicting a Mongol khan, is now lost).

94 See the pre-conservation photographs of Diez A fol. 71.

95 See Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, p. 183. For further discussion of sedentary postures in Turco-Mongol iconography, see Emel Esin, "Oldruğ-Turuğ: The Hierarchy of Sedent

characters in Type 3 are clad in typical Mongol garb: all men wear the feathered hats, and all women wear the *boγthaγ*/*gugu*. In one sub-group, the couple wear uncoloured robes (delineated by red or blue), while in another sub-group, their dress is coloured in red, blue, green or yellow, further accentuated by the use of gold to indicate embroidery.[96] Furthermore, each sub-group of miniatures employs a different type of seating device: in the less colourful group, the couple sits on the cushion, while two types of coloured throne – with a backrest for the couple sitting in an iconographically erroneous manner (Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 41, no. 4) or without a backrest for the rest of the couples – are used for the more colourful group.

In general, it is difficult to trace any intention on the part of the painters to individualise each image by distinctively different facial appearances or dress, even though each painting is meant to portray a specific Mongol khan and his consort. Although art historians are eager to find – or tend to create – a meaning in each visual representation, whether figural or ornamental, it is possible to view these miniatures from a different angle, namely, that they were not intended at all as realistic portraits of particular individuals. The intention here was, it appears, to standardise these small miniatures as identical images of the Mongols. The sense of de-individualisation embodied in Type 3 differs in many details from the Chinese tradition of imperial portraiture, which takes an individualistic approach to each model.[97] Rather Type 3 evokes, if not Uighur, an early phase of portraiture in the Buddhist painting of Tibet during the fourteenth century when the concept of icons was about to move from generic figural imagery to the realistic representation of actual individuals.[98]

As far as the published materials are concerned, no examples comparable to Type 3 can be found in the Istanbul Saray albums. However, a fourteenth-century copy of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* in the collection of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan contains small, square-shaped illustrations of the Mongol couple on a cushion-style throne without backrest or carpet (fig. 9.19).[99]

Postures in Turkish Iconography", *Kunst des Orients* 7 (1970–1), pp. 1–29.

96 See Kadoi, "Beyond the Mandarin Square" for further discussion of sartorial peculiarities and accessories used in Mongol dress and their representations in Ilkhanid painting.

97 For Yuan imperial portraiture, see Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245–1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court", *Artibus Asiae* 54/1–2 (1994), pp. 40–86.

98 See Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, p. 170. For an early history of Tibetan portraits, see David Jackson, *Mirror of the Buddha: Early Portraits from Tibet*, Seattle 2011.

99 *Sobranie Vostochnykh Rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, ed. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov, Tashkent, vol. 1 (1952), no. 22. This manuscript is also listed in Ėl'mira Marufovna Ismailova *et al.*, *Oriental Miniatures of Abu Raihon Beruni Institute of Orientology of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences*, Tashkent 1980, cat.nos. 1 and 2; Elena Artemovna Poliakova and Zukhra Ibragimovna Rakhimova, *Miniatiura i Literatura Vostoka*, Tashkent 1987, pp. 88–91; and recently in *The Treasury of Oriental Manuscripts: Abu Rayhan al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, ed. Abu Rayhan

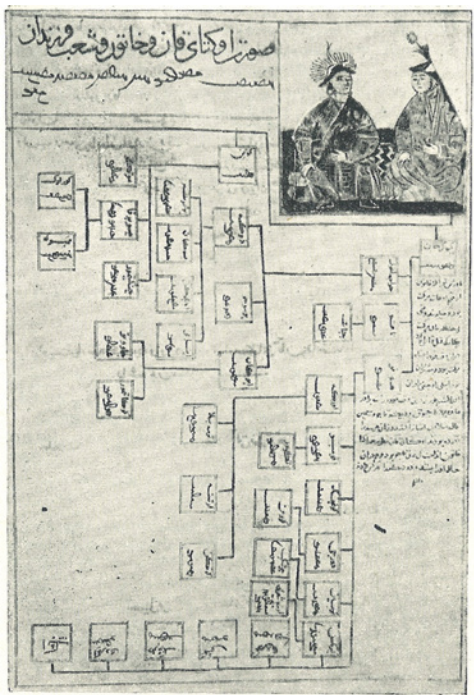


FIGURE 9.19 Ogodei Khan and His Consort, *illustration from a copy of the* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, West Asia,* c. *1300, Abu Rayhan al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 1620, fol. 109* (*after* Sobranie Vostochnykh Rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR, *pl. XIVB*).

According to previous publications, the picture, measuring 9.5 × 9.3 cm, is placed at the beginning of the narrative of Ögodei (a son of Genghis Khan; d. 1241) in fol. 109 of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, and a similar image of the couple is placed in the fol. 191, which narrates the life of Hülegü Khan (r. 1256–65; a grandson of Genghis Khan; the founder of the Ilkhanid state).[100] Although they are not exactly identical in terms of colour schemes, the repetitive use of similar images for different narratives in this manuscript also indicates that there was no intention to stress a sense of individualism in this type of painting.

Like the Uzbek example, Type 3 is likely to have been originally used at the beginning of the narrative of each Mongol khan. Alternatively, it is possible to speculate that it was originally part of the genealogical charts used in one of the volumes of the Compendium of Chronicles.[101] Two examples from the collection of the Topkapı Saray Library – one is an Ilkhanid copy of Rashid al-Din's *Kitāb-i nasab-nāma-yi muluk* or *Shuʿab-i panjgā*

al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent 2012, p. 96. For a brief history of the publication of this manuscript, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, "Structure and Function of the Genealogical Tree in Islamic Historiography (1200–1500)", in *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan*, eds. İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel, Istanbul 2011, p. 489, n. 67. I have so far been unable to consult this manuscript.

100 Poliakova and Rakhimova, *Miniatiura i Literatura Vostoka*, pls. 6 and 7. Another illustration from the same manuscript (Bartan Bahadur and his wife, the grandparents of Genghis Khan; see Ismailova, *Oriental Miniatures*, no. 1; Poliakova and Rakhimova, *Miniatiura i Literatura Vostoka*, pl. 8; *The Treasury of Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 13) is, however, worked in the style that evokes the Rabat *Kalīla wa Dimna* (probably Baghdad, *c.* 1300; MS 3655, Bibliothèque royale; see Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, pp. 213–214, fig. 6.7).

101 A detailed discussion on the origins of the genealogical tree in Islamic historiography is beyond the scope of the current chapter. It is, however, important to note that Rashid al-Din was arguably "the first historian who effectively used the genealogical tree as a narrative device and made it an independent genre" (Binbaş, "Structure and Function of the Genealogical Tree", p. 487).

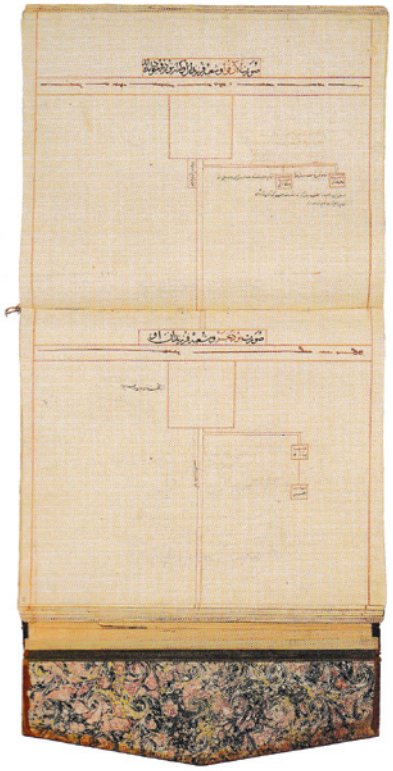


FIGURE 9.20 Kitāb-i nasab-nāma-yi muluk *or* Shu'ab-i panjgāna (*"Genealogy of the Five Peoples"*) *of Rashid al-Din, Iran (Tabriz), c. 1300, 42 × 35.5 cm. Istanbul, TSMK, Ahmet III, 2937, fols. 96v–97 (after Turks, cat. no. 164).*

(Genealogy of the Five Peoples) (Tabriz, *c.* 1300) with square-shaped rulings but without illustrations (fig. 9.20), while the other is an early fifteenth-century copy of Turco-Mongol Genealogy by Husain b. 'Ali Shah (probably Samarqand, *c.* 1405–1409) with round-shaped illustrations of rulers[102] – give some clues as to how the Type 3 miniatures may have been placed in the Turco-Mongol geological tree. In these manuscripts, the identification of the figures depicted seems to have been mostly reliant on caption texts outside the illustration rather than on actual images. This may have also been the case with Type 1 and Type 2, which do not particularly distinguish which royal couple is supposed to be depicted in which image.

As a final remark on Type 3, it is intriguing to find an echo of Type 3 in other models of enthronement scenes in later copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. In the Rampur manuscript, the square-shaped, archaising image of the enthroned couple is used to represent a Mongol ruler and his consort in the upper right corner, such as Jochi (a son of Genghis Khan; d. 1227; fol. 32v), Khubilai (a grandson of Genghis Khan and the founder of the Yuan dynasty in China; r. 1260–1294; fol. 119) and Hülegü (fol. 168v), while the rest of the characters are clearly depicted as being Mughals by their appearance.[103] Moreover, the square-shaped illustrations of anonymous Mongol couple images are combined with the enthroned images of Möngke (fol. 90) and Temür Öljeitü (r. 1295–1307 as the emperor of the Yuan dynasty) (fol. 152), both without their wives and worked in the Mughal style.[104] The appearance of the couple on the upper right – who are unidentified, though shown as Mongols – is somewhat out of place in the illustrations that centralise the specific khans, in comparison with the visual assimilation of Type 3

102 *Turks*, cat.nos. 164 and 167.

103 Fols. 32v, 119 and 168v (all unpublished; for their descriptions, see Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, pp. 175–177).

104 Schmitz and Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings*, pl. 244 (fol. 90); Rice, "Mughal Interventions", p. 154, fig. 5 (fol. 152).

into a Type 1-style open-air scene in the Gulbenkian Anthology (fig. 9.14). Having been decontextualised, however, Type 3 comes alive uniquely as a visual reminder of the Mongol lineage in the Persian pictorial culture of sixteenth-century South Asia.

Concluding Remarks

The three types of enthronement scenes in the Diez albums discussed above offer a fascinating insight into the cultural patronage and visual propaganda of the Mongols, who controlled a vast area of the Eurasian continent and brought a new concept of figural imagery into the Islamic heartlands of West Asia. Besides their significance as the visual remains of Mongol Eurasia, each enthronement scene is thought-provoking in many ways: it has lost its original context as a manuscript illustration but has been reborn as an album painting, thanks to Heinrich Friedrich von Diez. What is now embodied in the three types of enthronement scenes is thus derived from a dual iconographic identity from early fourteenth-century Mongols and an eighteenth- to nineteenth-century Prussian bibliophile.

Having investigated the iconographic and codicological aspects of the Diez enthronement scenes in detail, this study, it is hoped, will encourage further investigation into early fourteenth-century Persian manuscript painting and the enigmas surrounding their real origins and mysterious art histories.

CHAPTER 10

Royal Insignia in the Periods from the Ilkhanids to the Timurids in the Diez Albums

Claus-Peter Haase

The royal insignia of Muslim rulers have often been enumerated, but there does not seem to exist a comprehensive study of their pictorial representations and of the changes which were introduced by new dynasties or new hierarchies.[1] The forms of crowns, caps, diadems, turbans, and other headgear in particular are formally significant and their variations reflect changes of government ideology, and in addition perhaps expressions of a personal style by the ruler. The latter applies especially to the Sasanian kings, whose images were differentiated by the details of their complicated crowns. The crown ring with its applications in the form of stepped crenellations came into use only in the Achaemenid period and seems to have provided the general outline for later Western and Eastern crown design. In the Roman Empire it was used only for certain deities, such as the personifications of towns. Apparently no early original example is preserved from either Iran or the West, and no continuous series of this crown type is attested from pre-Islamic to early Islamic periods.[2] On the contrary, after the first representations of a caliph on coins of ʿAbdalmalik (from *c.* 695) with a high (felt) cap from Parthian princely models (*kulāh*), some examples of a middle-size cap in the Byzantine style of soft textile headgears are represented, also interpreted as a small size "turban". It is mentioned that the Umayyad caliph Hisham (r. 724–43) clad himself in Iranian style with long mantle and trousers.[3] Of the alleged representations of this ruler the only one showing his headgear is the nearly life-size stucco relief of him seated on a throne from Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in Sasanian attire and garment. This does not seem to show him wearing a stepped crown but a ring with some bud-like applications,

1 A. Shapur Shahbazi, "Coronation", in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (EIr) VI (1993, updated 31 October 2011; internet 12 June 2015), pp. 277–279; Said Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shiʿite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, Chicago and London 1984, pp. 178–180; Sholeh A. Quinn, "Coronation narratives in Safavid chronicles", in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 311–331.

2 "*Crown*" i–iv, in: EIr VI, 1993, pp. 407–425; compare the illustration of this scene in the Edinburgh Rashid al-Din chronicle; David Talbot Rice, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-Din*, Edinburgh 1976, pl. 50.

3 *Cf.* al-Masʿudī, *Murūj al-dhahab. Les prairies d'or*, ed. and trad. by Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1861–1877, vol. V, pp. 471–472.

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as far as the damage lets us see.[4] For the Sasanian attire of the rigidly frontal image with legs extended at the bent knee and softly folded trousers, a ceremonial image of a king interpreted as Khusraw I is preserved in the crystal intaglio at the centre of a Sasanian bowl.[5] The much-destroyed wall painting of an enthroned ruler with ceremonial attendants in the central niche of the reception hall in Qusayr Amra shows him perhaps wearing a soft cap and sitting, slightly turned off the frontal view, in Byzantine attire, according to the watercolour copy by Mielich in 1901. It may represent the caliph Hisham, though this is not unanimously accepted.[6] In the Umayyad palace Khirbat al-Mafjar, a stucco sculpture from the entrance facade could represent Hisham or perhaps his successor al-Walid II ibn Yazid (r. 743–44) wearing a soft cap or very small turban.[7]

Royal Headgear

In early Islamic Iran, the Sasanian royal images with the crowns of Khusraw II and Yazdegerd III remained on the silver coinage in circulation for more than a hundred years.[8] Examples of crowns are also recorded later for regional dynasties, for example in the coin images of 962 and 969–70 of the Buyid rulers, which still show variations of the wings on Sasanian crowns.[9] These variations include a "vegetalized" form in which the wings lose their feathery details but retain the curved and pointed outlines, as opposed to the crenellation form – a motif which will occasionally be recognized again in the fourteenth and later centuries. But then the former uniquely royal symbol, worn in addition to kings only by angels, appears to be usurped by petty rulers and multiplied without the superior royal ceremonial. The shape of crowns mentioned in chronicles for the Samanids and some other more or less independent dynasties who were famous for their revival of certain Iranian traditions remains unknown.[10] In 1030, the Ghaznavid Masʿud, a Turk,

4 Daniel Schlumberger, *Qasr el-Heir el gharbi*, Paris 1986, pp. 15, 22, believes that the Sasanian crown with wings and a central round stone is recognizable, but I do not believe we can be so certain here.

5 Paris, Cabinet des médailles, from Ernst Herzfeld, *Der Thron des Khosrô*, in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1920, (1–24, 103–147), p. 14, interpreted as Khusraw I (531–579), see internet kornbluth photography, http://www.kornbluthphoto.com/CupChosroes.html (12 February 2016).

6 Claude Vibert-Guigue and Ghazi Bisheh, *Les peintures de Qusayr 'Amra*, Beirut 2007, pl. 141a and drawing pl. 15c, after Alphons Mielich, in Alois Musil, *Kusejr 'Amra*, Vienna 1907, pl. XV.

7 Kept in Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum; Helen Evans and Brandie Ratliff, *From Byzantium to Islam*, New York 2012, p. 205, fig. 85.

8 "*Arab Sasanian Coins*", EIr II 1986 (M. Bates, last updated 15 December 2011) www.iranicaonline.org/articles/arab-sasanian-coins, 12 June 2015), pp. 225–226. Illustrations for the following descriptions are easily found by using the Encyclopaedia Iranica article quoted here.

9 "*Crowns*" iv, EIr VI/4, 1993 (A. Shapour Shahbazi, updated 2011; 12 June 2015), p. 422.

10 George C. Miles, "Numismatics", in: Richard N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. IV: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 375–376, pl. 28.3; "*Crowns*" iv, EIr VI/4, 1993 (Shahbazi), p. 422.

received the traditional Iranian regalia of a crown (*tāj*), a necklace (*ṭawq*), and a sword (*shamshīr*) from the caliph – a mixture of the new Islamic spiritual, as well as political, responsibility of the caliphate and the Iranian royal tradition. In the ʿAbbasid caliphate and in the Saljuq period, turbans (*ʿamāma*) are also mentioned as being worn by rulers.[11]

Generally, it is well known from images like those in the Saray albums in Istanbul and Berlin that the Mongol period brought completely new forms of hierarchic garments and headgear to Iran, and that at the same time other forms of head coverage continued to be used.[12] The earliest series of album paintings of scenes, most probably at the late Ilkhanid rulers' court, has been proven to belong to a lost volume on the Mongols within the chronicles prepared for Rashid al-din *c.* 1307–17.[13] They evidently do not show enthronement scenes,[14] as none of the ceremonial behaviour described for them in texts is visible – for example, the courtiers removing their girdles and hats to show respect to the new ruler. The headgear of the ruler varies from a two-pointed black hat with flower ornament[15] (fig. 10.1) to the more usual cap with two dark fluffy heron's feathers, three bluish and black eagle's feathers, and a bush of owl's feathers,[16] which looks more formal on that occasion (fig. 10.2). Simpler are the three bluish and black feathers with the owl's bush[17] on a ruler's hat, while the courtiers' ranks have only one to three ordinary black feathers with the owls' bushes. The richer feathers, and sometimes also his dimensions, single out the ruler in other scenes.[18] Therefore persons

11 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Q. Ghanī and ʿA.A. Fayyāż, Tehran 1972, pp. 52–53; pp. 423–24; "*Crowns*" iii, EIr VI (2011), pp. 418–420 (E.H. Peck); compare the illustration of this scene in the Edinburgh Rashid al-Din chronicle, Talbot Rice 1976, pl. 50. For the first Safavid enthronement the description of the regalia handed over to Shah Ismaʿil is given by Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh Ḥabīb al-siyar*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Cambridge MA. 1994, p. 567.

12 Simpson 2007, pp. 378–393, on the book art representations from the Ilkhanid to the Timurid periods. I cordially thank Marianna Shreve Simpson for referring me to her well documented article. Linda Komaroff has analysed the transfer of new Mongol symbols and ornaments from drawings to the art of book and to other media, especially the court textiles, Komaroff 2002, pp. 169–195.

13 Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd ad-Dīn's Taʾrīḫ-i Mubārak-i Ġazanī in den Berliner Diez-Alben", in: *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 295–306.

14 For images of enthroned rulers see also the articles by Yuka Kadoi and Charles Melville in this volume.

15 Diez A fol. 70, p. 22.1; Dschingis Khan und seine Erben 2005, cat.no. 285; but see the bestowing of honorific girdles on Diez A fol. 71, p. 47, Dschingis Khan und seine Erben 2005, cat.no. 287.

16 Diez A fol. 71, p. 47, Dschingis Khan und seine Erben 2005, cat.no. 287.

17 Diez A fol. 70, p. 21, to which belongs the left-hand page with further court members S. 11, Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, 2005, cat.no. 288; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, to which belongs the left-hand page p. 20, Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, cat.no. 290, both unconvincingly described as "enthronement scenes"; *cf.* also the "close-up" scene Diez A fol. 71, p. 48, Dschingis Khan und seine Erben 2005, cat.no. 289.

18 Travelling ruler with baldachin, Diez A fol. 71, p. 50; ruler riding on an elephant, Diez A fol. 71, p. 56.





FIGURES 10.1 AND 10.2 *Double Page with* Ilkhanid Court Scene, *early fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 1 and p. 23, no. 1.*

with only one or even without these special feathers should probably not be taken for members of the dynasty. The couples sitting on broad cushions in the simpler, smaller paintings (Diez A fol. 71, p. 63 nos. 1–3, 5–7) may thus be lower tribal princes who wear only owls' feathers; their wives wear tall, unadorned hats (*boghtaq*).[19]

The artists of the early fourteenth century used particular style mixtures for illustrating these world history chronicles, and similarly in the Ilkhanid scenes. This is reflected in some drawings and sketches from a later period which are also preserved in the albums. Iranian artists were curious about the exotic outfits of the new political elite and their foreign guests or envoys – they either drew these from life or copied Chinese-style depictions of them with Iranian techniques. An elegant drawing in an Istanbul Saray album is proudly signed by one 'Abdul-Baqi al-Baku'i as a copy (*mashaqahu*), probably from a Chinese image.[20] It shows two princes or high officials sitting at a guest reception – it may be a detail from a banquet scene – and it clearly depicts their signs of rank. Both wear tall hats in cap form with owl-feather bushes flanking a central feather from a heron or of some similarly rare bird reserved for the Mongol nobility. One of their short-sleeved mantles closes to the left, the other one to the right. On the shoulders of the left official a cloud-shaped ornament corresponds to the princely rank, whereas the other has only

19 Except for the more fully coloured small painting Diez A fol. 71 p. 63. 1, from which the upper part is missing where a high feather on the male person's hat could have been cut away.

20 Topkapı Saray Library, Album H. 2160 fol. 45r.

the round pectoral brocade on the chest part of his mantle, which is known as an honorific attribute for Chinese courtiers.[21]

Only from the period of the heirs of Timur does the turban (*ʿamāma*) appear to have been regularly adopted by the Mongol-Turkish dynasty, as some datable images in manuscripts and a drawing in the Diez Album A fol. 74, p. 24 make clear.[22] Here Shahrukh sits on a high throne above his courtiers, wearing a small turban. But in certain cases it also appears in older images of rulers, as in the richly gilded scene of a ruler sitting in state with one leg raised on the cushion on a blue throne, with courtiers sitting and attendants running around him, while three victory angels exalt him from the golden sky (Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 4, fig. 10.3).[23] The painting is badly preserved, but it looks as if two courtiers hold the ceremonial fly whisk and lance from both sides behind his throne. And while courtiers and attendants seem to carry the caps with owl-feather bushes, the nimbed ruler wears a high white turban either with gold embroidered *ṭirāz* ornament near both ends or with two golden agraffes which fasten ends upwards. In his right hand he holds an unusually long arrow, and in his left a small bow. This points to a triumph ceremony, as indicated by the flying victories. The two courtiers closest to him wear the golden cloud shoulder necklaces. The style points to the beginning of the fourteenth century, like some of the paintings in the so-called Small *Shāhnāmas*.[24] But the markedly feminine victory angels and the frontal setting recall official rulers' images from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, like the famous



FIGURE 10.3 Ruler in Triumph Scenery, *early fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 4.*

21 For the Ilkhanid cloud collar see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, Los Angeles 1989, pp. 216–217 and catalogue 116; drawings for its ornaments are preserved in the Diez album A fol. 73, p. 41. 2, 54. 1, 56. 3, 60. 2; Cammann 1951, pp. 1–9.

22 Analysed and identified by David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 126–130.

23 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Malerei der Mongolen*, Munich 1965, pp. 12–14, fig. 17, pl. IV, no. 8.

24 *Cf.* two leaves in the David Collection, Copenhagen, inv. 12/1990; 19/2006, Kjeld von Folsach, *For the Privileged Few: Islamic Miniature Painting from the David Collection*, Humlebaek 2007, pls. 7 and 8.

patron's images of Badr al-Din Lu'lu', ruler of Mosul. İpşiroğlu compared these in his detailed description, confounding it with the tradition of the Late Antique author's portrait which also stands in front of the title but shows the person in different attire.[25] The victory angels remain valiant in some other representations, as in the double-page triumph image of a rich throne scene with, opposite it on the right, the booty parade in the Istanbul album (H. 2152, fols. 60v/61r), probably from the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[26] The many attendants and courtiers here wear varied headgears, but also some turbans are recognizable, while the ruler has the two-pointed hat in a small version and a beautiful light red short-sleeved mantle with heavy golden applications on the shoulders and at the lower seam.

The Frontal Image

The frontal image of the ruler "sitting in state" is used to especial effect in some images of the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* of around 1335, for instance in the throne scene of Shah Zav, in which both feet are placed on the ground in Late Antique fashion, with a golden three-fold crown and jewels in vegetal layout.[27] The courtiers wear Mongol hats and fur rimmed caps, except for the anachronistic *shaykh al-islām* (grand vizier?) to the right with a turban and green gown.[28] The crown may reflect the wing forms on the old Sasanian examples, as presented for victory angels in the late Hariri manuscript of 734/1334, probably painted in Egypt.[29] This could be a deliberate "historical" form here, as it also appears in the image of Mahmud of Ghazni putting on the royal robe sent by the caliph, in Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.[30]

This Sasanian crown form reappears in Iranian–Mongol royal images, but was not introduced to Byzantium and its Late Antique traditions, as images like that of Emperor Theophilos in the early twelfth century with a ring-form crown show, nor does he sit in frontal attire but slightly turned on the axis as in antiquity.[31] But in the West, the tripartite depiction of a royal crown becomes the rule, as in France, and

25 In the Arabic *Kitāb al-aghānī*, vol. 17 in Istanbul, Millet Ktph., and vol. 4 in Cairo, Dar al-kutub, dated 1218–19.

26 İpşiroğlu 1965, pl. 11 and p. 95.

27 Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, preserved miniature no. 14, Catalogue *Legacy of Genghis Khan*, frontispiece; Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago and London 1980, believe that this attire is meant to mark out the foreigner or undeserving ruler with the intention of criticising contemporary Mongol rule, which does not seem quite convincing.

28 Ms. Sackler, from the Vever Collection, published *e.g.* in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New York 2002, p. 41, fig. 17; this catalogue publishes several other of the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* images of shahs sitting in state; *cf.* Anushirvan, in Komaroff and Carboni 2002, fig. 45, p. 48, with the same type of crown.

29 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, A. F. 9, fol. 2r; Dorothea Duda, *Die Handschriften in arabischer Sprache*, Vienna 1992, pp. 21–22, pl. 49.

30 Ms. Edinburgh, Rice 1976, pl. 50, pp. 138–139; *cf.* also the throne scene with Shah Lohrasp in the same manuscript with the crown of this shape, *ibidem*, pl. 16, pp. 70–71.

31 Ioannes Skylitzes, Chronicle, ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. graecus vitr. 26-2.



FIGURE 10.4
Drawing of a King on Horseback with Two Musicians, *copy after a late Gothic picture, early fifteenth century (?). SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 2.*



FIGURE 10.5
Three Kings Enthroned at a State Banquet, *late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 3.*

this was well known to the successors of the Ilkhans, as we know from Diez album A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 2 (fig. 10.4).[32] It shows a king riding with long club or sceptre and a high tripartite crown with vegetal features; the two tall musicians facing him may not belong to the same scene. From details the drawing appears to be an able copy of a late Gothic original, perhaps done from gifts by French or English envoys to the Ilkhanid, or rather a later, smaller Iranian, court.[33] Kings of different empires were differentiated by at least their crowns, even when they were clad more or less in the same garments. One such scene in a rather simple painting (fig. 10.5; Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 3) shows three of them sitting in different poses on one broad throne; while the guests of honour in the centre and on the left wear undifferenti-

32 Diez A fol. 70, p. 14.2; İpşiroğlu p. 71, fig. 2.

33 For the possible connections of this drawing with figural imagery of late Gothic art, see Gülru Necipoğlu's article in the present volume.

ated, indented crowns, the host on the right is singled out by the crown with attachments with vegetal forms which we interpret as the Iranian crown.

How to Recognize the Ruler

Diez A fols. 70 to 73 preserve a series of colourful gouaches with mainly tall, sober figures, mostly under a dark blue sky. In minutely represented surroundings with palaces and tents, there are some unidentified court scenes. Their style has been described as unexpectedly naturalistic, but the paintings are not of equal quality.[34] Mostly they are datable to the second half of the fourteenth century, but with respect to their comparability to the style of the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* some may even be earlier. The throne of a beardless young ruler with his tripartite bejewelled crown is set in a tent; there is an ardent discussion taking place, according to the gestures, among mostly turban wearers (fig. 10.6; Diez A fol. 70, p. 3, no. 1).[35] Except for two of the participants behind the African to the left, none of the persons shows Mongol features or garments, a distribution also found in the images of the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*. Here, perhaps a scene with Iskandar, his counsellor Aristotle and some young scholar is given, but the presence of an African speaks more for an adventurous epic. While details of the golden throne ornament and of the tent are given great attention, the figures are stiff and are drawn rather summarily.



FIGURE 10.6 Court Reception in a Tent, *second half fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 3, no. 1.*

From a different context comes the image of another young ruler in his palace, framed sumptuously by an elegant arch and an emphasized frieze with a blue glazed ceramic inscription (fig. 10.7; Diez A fol. 71, p. 13, no. 1). This technique was fashionable from the thirteenth century, and the inscription warning against worldly rule – "The kingdom belongs to God" – continues a tradition from the Saljuq well into the Mongol and Timurid periods. He wears a turban with gold ornaments above a reddish golden cap and rich earrings. His attendants seem to hide to the right behind the throne, one clutching his club, as a dangerous-looking black guest receives the beaker from the ruler, and a black band swings unusual rhythms. The architectural spandrel ornament helps in the approximate date of the image, as its features closely resemble the glazed relief ceramics at the mausoleum of the Mongol Khan Buyan Quli in Bukhara, dated to his

34 İpşiroğlu 1964, pp. 35–37.

35 Diez A fol. 70, p. 3. 1; İpşiroğlu p. 37, fig. 2; see also the royal tent scene with an embassy in petition attire, Diez A fol. 72, p. 30.



FIGURE 10.7 Enthroned Ruler in a Palace Hall with Black Visitor and Musicians, *second half of the fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 13, no. 1.*



FIGURE 10.7A Bukhara, Mausoleum of Buyan Quli Khan, *1358, detail of ceramic spandrel above entrance.*



FIGURE 10.8 Royal (?) Visit at a Noble House, with Court Attendants Waiting at the Door, *second half of the fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 8.*

death in 1358 (fig. 10.7a), which may have been designed after earlier similar book art examples. These simpler representations are related to another series of even more colourful and beautifully drawn scenes, of which one has recently been identified as an illustration of a *Bahmannāma* epic, probably from the second half of the fourteenth century (Diez A fol. 72, p. 29).

Dramatic epic entanglements may be illustrated by two pictures (fig. 10.8: Diez A fol. 71, p. 8; and fig. 10.9: Diez A fol. 71, p. 32, no. 1), which seem to show the same palatial building from outside and its upper floor from inside – according to the colour and shape of the balcony parapet. It is doubtful that the owner is a prince – no golden cap is found under the turban and there is no feather attached to it. But the compositions and the precise drawing of details such as the architectural ornament place them very close to a former image (fig. 10.2), as well as to the image of the king visiting the mausoleum of his forefathers (Diez A fol. 72, p. 29; see fig. 16.13). This latter has been luckily identified to illustrate the rare *Bahmannāma*



FIGURE 10.9 Visitor and Host inside the Same House. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 32, no. 1.*

epic, but it stems from an as yet unknown manuscript and is currently dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.[36] The same colourful plants as in the garden to that palatial building also grow on the battlefield, where a knight or prince in gilded armour strikes down an enemy with his club, attended by a person looking very similar to the owner of the palatial building (fig. 10.10; Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1). Under the same blue sky on the hills there are also exceptionally beautiful roses drawn, their detailed naturalism resembling the painstaking exactness of the architectural ornaments in the former images.

Even more impressive in the vivid communications and pictorial detail is the scene of a reception banquet given by a dark-faced ruler and his partly also dark-faced court and attendants for a royal guest sitting on the ruler's right side (fig. 10.11; Diez A fol. 71, p. 21). The only indication of his rank, besides the beautiful high throne, probably in gilded lacquer, is the gold cap under his turban. His turban is white and that of the pink-faced guest grey and dark red, but in spite of this one could guess that the scene illustrates an Indian princely court; also the two large black iron bottles or cauldrons on the table suggest Indian manufacture.

An exciting and not as yet identified scene is even more thoroughly drawn and delicately coloured (fig. 10.12; Diez A fol. 71, p. 5). A thief is quickly escaping towards a red rope hanging from an open window above the closed door, by which he had entered the bedroom. He is watched and perhaps recognized by a slave girl who had been sleeping on the floor. He carries the short sabre with which he has cut off the head of the sleeping owner, with Mongol features, of the palatial building and a sack of stolen goods. The owner had been sleeping in a throne-like gilded bed richly ornamented with figurative scenes, perhaps in lacquer painting. Equally rich and elegant ornaments decorate the walls, and a heavy purple curtain and finely engraved candelabra indicate the wealth of the owner. He was evidently a king, but unfortunately his crown is hidden in the thief's sack, and he had clearly not laid a turban aside as that would have been left there by the robber. The ably drawn details, the fine colour shades and the vivid expression of movements and faces reminds us of the best paintings of the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, even if that probably belongs to an earlier period.

Quite different in the natural setting of meagre bushes on a meadow against the sea, but similar in the magnificently tall and elegant figures, is the encounter of a king with an important sword carrying person whom he is criticising severely according to the gestures (fig. 10.13; Diez A fol. 71, p. 32, no. 3). Also the latter's horse

36 Eleanor Sims in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Berlin and Munich 2012, cat.no. 37 and p. 32.



FIGURE 10.10
Duel with Victorious King in Gilded Armour. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1.*



FIGURE 10.11 Court Banquet Scene with Reception by a Host with a Dark Face and his Courtiers, Perhaps in India, *second half of the fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 21.*



FIGURE 10.13 Crowned Person and Noble Man at a Sea Shore, *second half of the fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 32, no. 3.*

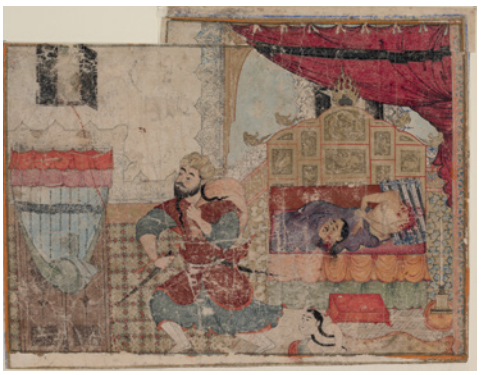


FIGURE 10.12 A Murderer Escapes with a Bundle from a Royal Sleeping Place via a Rope, *second half of the fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 5.*

shows the painter's ability in the way in which it is bending his head down and away in shame. The king has a badly preserved tripartite golden crown, and the other wears a golden cap under his turban and a green gown with *ṭirāz* embroidery on the upper arms. The folds are drawn

less diligently and with fewer outlines and shades of colour, as in the following images.

Different dates from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth century have been assigned to a series of at least five paintings illustrating the travels of a king to various curious places.[37] Under the deep blue sky enigmatic scenes appear and are commented on by the king and bystanders or even by animals, such as the two horses obviously feeling sorrow about the dead owner in front of his palace (fig. 10.14; Diez A fol. 71, p. 33).[38] In another image in the series the king himself shows the "finger of astonishment" at his mouth while observing a crippled man walking with the help of a movable scaffold around his chest which hangs down from ropes extended along his path (Diez A fol. 72, p. 20). Usually he wears a tripartite golden crown which here has probably been cut at the margin. Its elegant flowery forms may for us appear like a fairytale illustration, but they are probably more "naturalistic" than the simpler ring shape or "arcaded" gold crowns drawn in a generalistic manner in other paintings. The vivid sceneries are not quite matched by the drawing abilities of the painter, as the partly awkward attire of some figures and the repetitive drawing of folds and plants show. But the proportions of figures and faces, and the painting technique with coloured fold lines in garments and textiles indicate Timurid influence, making the first third of the fifteenth century the most probable period of manufacture here. Some of the observed details appear in the paintings of the Anthology of Baysonghur dated to 830/1427, which in their compositions are of higher quality.[39]

To an intermediate period similar to that of fig. 10.5 may be dated four paintings of royal events, two with a colourless (fig. 10.15: Diez A fol. 72, p. 27; fig. 10.16: Diez A fol. 72, p. 21) and two with a golden sky (fig. 10.17: Diez A fol. 72, p. 30; fig. 10.18: Diez A fol. 70, p. 16, no. 1), but all with naturalistic as well as some Chinese "mushroom" features in the details of flowers and ornaments, though here the representation of human figures shows less diligence and inventiveness. The royal attributes are especially generalized and do not give the careful details we observed above. We believe that this allows for a later date of these paintings, to the first third of the fifteenth century. In the fully developed Timurid style in Iran, later originated the only two images of crowned ladies in the Diez albums. One shows a conventional private banqueting scene of two lovers in a palace room (fig. 10.19; Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 2) – a crowned princess and her young guest with four attendants. Her crown in an "arcaded" form is another example of the stylized representations, as they are used especially in the increasing copies of epics and other widespread literary works from the 1430s. The other, which is rather

37 *Cf.* Diez A fol. 71, p. 33; Diez A fol. 71, p. 19; İpşiroğlu p. 41, fig. 11; Diez A fol. 71, p. 29. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 26. 1; Diez A fol. 72, p. 20; İpşiroğlu p. 41 fig. 10. These have in common the presence of a dwarf-like figure with prominent pointed red hat, whom İpşiroğlu calls a court jester; other pictures in a similar style but with different personnel may be added, such as fighting scenes.

38 For a discussion of this painting and four others that all show a three-eyed horse, see Barbara Brend's article in the present volume.

39 Settignano, Villa I Tatti, *cf.* the image of probably Timur, with a Mongol brimmed high hat and golden cloud collar, Catalogue *Eredità dell'Islam* 1993, pp. 365 *f.*, cat.no. 221 (Ernst Grube).



FIGURE 10.14
A Royal Rider Witnesses the Death of a Hero after a Club Fight. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 33.*



FIGURE 10.15
A King and three Princes at a Polo Game, *second half of the fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 27.*



FIGURE 10.16
Courtier and Prince at a Polo Game, *second half of the fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 21.*



FIGURE 10.17 Court Reception Scene under a Tent, *second half of the fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 30.*



FIGURE 10.18 Court Ceremony of Washing the Feet of a Guest in the Presence of a Queen, *late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 16, no. 1.*



FIGURE 10.19 A Queen or Princess and her Lover, Iran, *fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 2.*

badly preserved and is probably an epic scene of female rivals (fig. 10.20; Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3), is different in that the crown of the princess is in the form of an ornate ring – a shape which is also worn without ornaments by two of her entirely female entourage riding in the mountains. There she sees a queen kneeling on the ground, possibly in prayer, next to her horse with one female attendant – the queen's crown is a combination of a golden cap and the indented or "arcaded" gold ring. The simple drawing lines and a reduced colour scheme point to an early Timurid painting.[40] A similar crown

40 For an interpretation of this damaged and unfinished drawing as *Encounter of Shirin and Khusraw*, see Serpil Bağcı's article in this



FIGURE 10.20 Princess or Queen Riding out, *fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3.*



FIGURE 10.21 Crowned Rider at a Falcon Hunt, *Timurid sketch painting after an earlier original, first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 12.*

combination with a blue cap is worn by the early Safavid rider in a falconry hunt (fig. 10.21; Diez A fol. 70, p. 12).[41]

In the series of Ilkhanid representations of rulers the depictions were intended to convey realistic details of the actual Mongol regalia of a ruler. Also the *World Chronicle* of Rashid al-Din "documents" other authentic shapes of crowns and headgear used by the rulers of early and neighbouring empires as far as this was possible. But as for the shape of crowns it occasionally inserts the Iranian ideal, in varying combination of a more or less high cap and a metal ring, when no other shape may have been known. Also in the early illustrations of epics, like the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, the royal symbols do not appear to illustrate alone the contemporary use.[42] While for the garments, and especially for the symbolic Mongol golden cloud collar, contemporary ceremonial and fashions appear on princes, like the one greeting Shah Zav, who sits in state, the Mongol ruler's head-

volume. Bağcı suggests that the drawing was made by an Ottoman court artist in the late sixteenth century.

41 İpşiroğlu p. 71, fig. 1, gives the identification of the falconer's gesture, which in this copy remains without the falcon and other details, cat.no. 221.

42 Robert Hillenbrand has treated the illustrations to the chronicles in the ateliers of Rashid al-Din. See Robert Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* 2002, pp. 143–150. A thorough analysis by him of the Edinburgh manuscript is underway.

gear of feathers is never used in the last Ilkhanid years. The old Iranian crown is shown throughout for the Shahs; even the remnants of the wings attached to its Sasanian form remain recognizable in outline, even if transmuted to some vegetal forms in the interior ornament. Also in the course of the history of the petty post-Ilkhanid principalities in Iran and Central Asia, the remembrance of Iranian regalia remained vivid in epic and popular illustrations of courts and royal events. For the person of the king it was only marginally combined with Mongol symbols and fashion, but among the courtiers and amirs the fanciful variety of Mongol period society was generally represented by different headgears and ornaments.

The question remains whether any rulers of Iranian origin, like the Kart dynasty of Herat, had already introduced the turban as the normal headgear worn on any occasion, except perhaps for the enthronement – but no image pertaining to them has been identified, whether in the chronicles or in the manuscripts of epics under their patronage. But we believe that the high-quality image of rulers with gold (thread?) caps under turbans shown in figure 13 might originate from exactly this period before the conquests of Timur (*c.* 1350–1380). This rapidly spreading custom did not make the recognition of the ruler any easier – while the kind of feathers on the Mongol ruler's head caused some difficulties and confusion among the beholders, the turban may conceal a ruler scene in some other images in the Diez albums. With the rise of the Timurid principalities under the sometimes unstable rule of the successors of Timur, especially Shahrukh, the traditional Iranian royal signs for a while lost their glory and sophistication and became much abbreviated in shape. The interesting documentary drawing of the court, now dated to the early period of Shahrukh's reign (Diez A fol. 74, p. 24, fig. 10.3), shows him wearing a turban – a sign of change – while the noblemen and amirs retain their Mongol headgear.

CHAPTER 11

The Depiction of Horses in the Diez Albums

Barbara Brend

Horses appear in rather more than half the Diez pages, usually actively carrying riders, occasionally standing waiting; they are depicted in a variety of different ways. It has seemed desirable to study these depictions both for the intrinsic interest of the individual pictures, and for any light they might shed on groups of work in the albums or any connections with work beyond them. In consideration of this wider aim, remarks on pictures that portray horses are not confined to equestrian matters only. An interesting question that has arisen, and one that cannot perhaps be finally settled, is how much is life and how much art: to what extent are the pictures reportage of what the artist sees around him, and to what extent is he enclosed in an artistic tradition?

Shāhnāma Illustrations on a Red Ground

Fifteen pictures in a very distinctive style were identified by İpşiroğlu in his catalogue as illustrations to a particular *Shāhnāma*; of these thirteen include horses.[1] The pictures are in a horizontal format, and, with one exception, on an abstract red background, though they contain landscape elements such as mountains, plants, and clouds, and man-made features in the form of castles and a tent. In scenes of warfare, such as a pursuit (fig. 11.1), warriors wear armour that appears to be of a mail construction, rather than lamellar, and helmets are frequently shown with two rings above the brow, suggestive of a defence for the eyes but seemingly flush with the surface. The non-equestrian scenes both include a richly patterned textile with golden Chinese lotuses on a blue ground. Shading to create effects of volume is stylised but sophisticated.

The horses in this group are finely drawn: it seems that they were first roughed out in red, then coloured, and then had some detail added in ink. They are well proportioned with a rather short neck and an upright head carriage. It is the elegant head in particular that catches the attention: set with small ears, it is distinctly conical in shape, broad at the slightly domed brow and cheek, and with a large eye, but tapering downwards at the muzzle. This head appears to me strikingly similar to that of the so-called "Caspian" type, a breed named after the region where it was re-discovered in 1965 by

1 M.Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 1–11; Eleanor Sims in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Berlin and Munich 2012, nos. 18–32.

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FIGURE 11.1 Pursuer Attacks with a Lance, Shāhnāma. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 7, no. 1.*

Louise Firouz.[2] It has been put to me that the Caspian horse is too small and delicate to have been used by warriors, but I understand that its size is rather variable, and that it is strong, links having been hypothesised between it and the chariot horses of the Achaemenians and the riding horses of the Sasanians.[3] When the painters of this *Shāhnāma* needed to depict horses they may have looked about them and seen descendants of these horses of antiquity, that were ancestors of the modern Caspian. This is not to say that the manuscript was produced in the Caspian region, since the horses might once have had a much wider currency.[4] What seems clear, however, is that there is an indigenous Iranian contribution to these pictures, in contrast to the Mongol context that is demonstrated by the rich textiles.

Though some horses are portrayed standing, the majority are in rapid motion in a posture that requires comment. Widely represented in the Diez collection as a whole, this shows the horse with head somewhat drawn in, forelegs slightly bent, and rear legs extended with the hooves turned upwards. In Western art, particularly in the late eighteen and early nineteenth centuries, we see a posture known as the "flying gallop" in which both the fore and the hind legs are extended; however, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century Eadweard Muybridge proved by

2 For details of the Caspian horse I have relied chiefly on Brenda Dalton, *The Caspian Horse*, Warrington 1999.

3 Though notionally up to 12.2 hands/1.27 m in height according to the British breed standard, heights of 13 hands/1.32 m have been noted (Dalton, pp. 78 and 109). The twentieth-century examples were found drawing carts and acting as pack animals (Dalton, pp. 1–2; for possible links to antiquity, see pp. 2–4).

4 Among the horses portrayed on the East Stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis, which appear to be from twelve to thirteen hands high, the type might perhaps be related to the Sargatian of the Yazd area (Gerold Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Berlin 1966, pl. XVI).

multiple photographs that a galloping horse is never actually in this position.[5] Similarly, the Diez posture is not part of a gallop on the flat; it does, however, approximate to that of a horse as it rises over a jump, if the angle of the body were transposed to a horizontal alignment, or with the *haute école* movement *capriole* in which the highly trained horse leaps from the ground and then kicks out with the rear legs. Thus the Diez posture is in a sense "flying", though not strictly speaking a "gallop". The posture is seen in Chinese art,[6] and in Sogdian painting;[7] it is occasionally seen in *Varqa va Gulshāh*[8] but it is not typical of the horses in *mīnāʾī* decoration. Possibly the conception of the posture was re-introduced into Iran under the Mongols, since it is found in the Small *Shāhnāmas*, seen here as of the 1290s, and widely but not exclusively in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* of 1314, and in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* of *c.* 1335.

Marie Lukens Swietowchowski made a very convincing case for an association between this Diez *Shāhnāma* group, the Gutman *Shāhnāma* of the Metropolitan Museum, and the dispersed *Muʾnis al-Aḥrār* copied by Muhammad b. Badr al-Din Jajarmi in Ramadan AH 741 (February–March 1341).[9] In making her case Swietowchowski referred to a range of features of style, palette, costume, armour, landscape, and so on, but also mentions the portrayal of horses. With A.H. Morton having made the case for Isfahan as the place of origin of the *Muʾnis al-Aḥrār*,[10] Swietowchowski would locate both *Shāhnāma*s there and date them some lustrum earlier, *c.* 1335, before conditions in Isfahan deteriorated following the death in that year of the Il-Khanid Abu Saʿid and his vizier Ghiyath al-Din. As Swietowchowski observes, the Diez pictures are rather larger than those of the Gutman *Shāhnāma.* They are also more sophisticated in drawing and shading; and in the matter of horses, they are more distinctive in their "Caspian" head, while the Gutman horses have blunter heads on arched necks. Thus it seems likely that the Diez *Shāhnāma* is a little earlier than the Gutman and that it, or its tradition, serves as a model, the Diez pictures being perhaps of *c.* 1330.

5 William F. Edgerton, "Two notes on the flying gallop", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56/2 (1936), pp. 178–88.

6 Ceramic: Margaret Medley, *T'ang Pottery and Porcelain*, London and Boston 1981, fig. 41: the posture poses a problem for three-dimensional work, but the figure of a woman rider playing polo, seventh or eighth century, solves it with a support under the horse's belly. Wall paintings: Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, Berkley, Los Angeles, and London 1984, pls. 117, 140.

7 Mario Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, Geneva 1963, p. 45. In Sasanian art the rear hooves may appear at an indeterminate point that is neither up nor down (Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, trans. Azizeh Azodi, London and New York 1996, pl. XXVIIa).

8 Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Le roman de Varqe et Golšâh", *Arts Asiatiques* 22 (1970), *e.g.* nos. 15, 24.

9 Marie Lukens Swietowchowski *et al.*, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York 1994, especially pp. 69, 72–73, 81.

10 Morton in Swietowchowski and Carboni, *Epic Images*, pp. 49–57.



FIGURE 11.2 Mahmud's Forces Feign Flight, *c. 1314–15, Tabriz. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections Department, MS. Or. 20, fol. 129v.*

Pictures of *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* Type

A number of pictures in the Diez albums, with and without horses, are related by type of subject matter and by style to the great *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* produced in Tabriz, whose fragments, one in the Edinburgh University Library and the other in the Khalili Collection, are both considered to be dated by the colophon of the latter to 714/1314.[11] Horses are similarly portrayed in both the Edinburgh and the Khalili portions of the manuscript; no distinction is made between the body shape of mounts in Arab and those in Mongol contexts, though among the latter a knotted tail is more frequent, and a few have a red pompom on the noseband. Horses are often shown parallel to the picture plain in groups of twos and threes, an arrangement that is probably more a matter of pictorial convention and the limitations of the page than of actual Mongol practice (fig. 11.2). The horses appear to be quite long-legged, with long tapering necks, small and narrow heads, and short manes with bushy forelocks; occasionally the head is turned away from the direction of travel. Their nostrils are perhaps to be understood as having been slit in a procedure intended to improve their breathing. For the most part they gallop across the page with rear hooves turned up, but in a few cases, their rear hooves are turned downwards as though the horse were in the early stage of a jump and had not yet left the ground, a posture that calls to mind works of the ancient Middle East such as Assyrian stone-carving.[12]

The association of the Diez pictures with the manuscript is by way of subject matter – battles, pursuits, and scenes of royal ceremony – and a palette which, in addition to ink, is chiefly red, blue, and brown, in a *nīm-qalam* manner.[13] Costume

11 For the manuscript, see David Talbot Rice, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn*, Edinburgh 1976; Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, London and Oxford 1995.

12 Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, London 1964, pl. 88.

13 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 15–34.



FIGURE 11.3 Pursuit by Mongol Warriors. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 58.*

is of a Mongol character, including the use of lamellar armour. Though some of the Diez pictures have a horizontal format equivalent to those in the manuscript, others have more height and, in consequence, action may range over a wider field. The composition of a scene of mass pursuit (fig. 11.3) is more similar to *Faramurz Pursuing the Kabulis* (fig. 11.4) of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7095), datable *c.* 1335, than it is to any in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh.* The same is true of the horses in this example and the group in general. Though bearing riders attired like those in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, and when galloping having their rear hooves up, the mounts in the Diez group are curiously unlike those in the manuscript fragments. They appear shorter overall, and their necks are distinctly so. Their forms are more rounded, necks more arched, and in particular cheeks have a marked circular swell, while tails are usually, but not invariably, knotted. They are indeed more like Mongolian ponies; they bear a considerable resemblance to many, though not all, of the horses in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. There is also a difference in the depiction of harness. In both the manuscripts and in the Diez pictures the reins are drawn in red or black; they are thin, and seem to be cords since they are sometimes visibly tied to the bit. However, in the Diez pictures and in the *Shāhnāma*, but not in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, there is a third cord that runs from the left side of the bit to the region of the saddle, and is presumably a lead rope.[14] This suggests that the Diez artists may have known more about

14 By the good offices of Dr Judith G. Kolbas (email of 14 February 2014), I learnt from Dondog Khaidav that the Mongol term for this item is *tsulbuur.*



FIGURE 11.4 Faramurz Pursuing the Kabulis, Shāhnāma, *c. 1335, Tabriz. Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7095.*

Mongol horse equipment than did the artists of 1314. As İpşiroğlu emphasizes, it is less than certain that the Diez pictures were intended to illustrate a *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*.[15] Were the Diez artists using other models, now lost? Or were they observing actual practice? Curiously, the horses that are closest to the type in the 1314 fragments – long necks, in-drawn heads, and bushy forelocks – appear in a very mannered picture in which a rider and his entourage confront a group of distinguished but dismounted persons (Diez A fol. 71, p. 54). In this the artist is at pains to display his skill in the detail of a tree, with rocks, fungus and clouds, so that it seems his horses may be a deliberate exhibition of his familiarity with the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* manuscript.

For the most part the depiction of horses in this group is very constant, so that it is not easy to estimate how many projects may have been intended. That there was considerable repetition in the work seems clear from the frequent use of identical postures, and in a scene which seems to show a skirmish connected with rustling (fig. 11.5) the horses' heads are drawn with extreme stylisation, resolved into curving lines. The artist tries to introduce some variety by having three horses turn their heads away from their direction of travel, a trope that will be found in other Diez pictures.[16] It seems likely that work of this sort ceased with the death of Abu Saʿid in 1335.

15 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 15–16.

16 Swietowchowski and Carboni, *Epic Images*, no. 12, shows the motif in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.



FIGURE 11.5
Conflict over Horses. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, no. 1.

Illustrations to Unidentified Epics and to a *Shāhnāma* to the Mid-Century

Several groups of pictures with epic subject matter share a vision of the epic horse. The most eloquent portrayal is perhaps that of a night engagement, which seemingly shows Rustam riding Rakhsh at the head of a troop in the pursuit of his enemies (fig. 11.6),[17] though this does not match an event in Firdausi's *Shāhnāma* and so may be from a successor epic. Rakhsh, who is in a flying gallop of almost Western form, appears tall and slim, his long neck arched and his relatively small head drawn in. Though his mane flies out, the hair is short. His coat is a light yellowish copper, with red speckles on the quarters "Like roses spread on a bed of saffron", the confirmation of his identity.[18] It seems clear that the type of horse that the painter has in mind is one that has been known as Turcoman or Turkmen, the horse of the Turkman raiders, now chiefly represented in the development known as Akhal Teke. These are particularly valued for speed, endurance, and courage, and a golden coat is a favoured feature. The horse in the *Night Pursuit* is rather like the type in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* fragments of 1314, though it is more elegant and lacks their hairiness. The picture has, however, closer similarities to the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*: the paint is of an equivalent density; the putative Rakhsh resembles the Rakhsh in *Rustam Shoots Isfandiyar*; and the dynamic composition with putative Rakhsh springing to the right seems to

17 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Albeni*, p. 48, the inscription "*Rustam-i Zāl*" is noted. Also see the contribution of Robert Hillenbrand in this volume.

18 A.G. Warner and E. Warner, *The Sháhnáma of Firdausí*, London 1905, I, p. 379.



FIGURE 11.6 Rustam Leads a Pursuit (?), (*Successor epic*). *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 24.*

derive from *Single Combat of Rustam and Fur* (fig. 11.7), in which, though the rear hooves are down, the harness is similarly black and set with white studs.[19]

19 Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, New Haven and London 2002, fig. 188; B.W. Robinson, "The Arts of the Book: Persia, Turkey and Pre-Mughal India", in *Islamic Art in the Keir Collection*, ed. B.W. Robinson, London and Boston 1988, pp. 4–5.



FIGURE 11.7 Combat of Iskandar and the Fur. *Keir Collection, Dallas Museum of Art, PPr.*

Perhaps painted between the 1340s and the 1370s, a number of pictures from unidentified epics depict the Turkman horse with varying degrees of emphasis. Often the head is very much drawn in; sometimes it is turned away from the direction of movement. Sometimes the upper line of the neck has a slight tendency to a downwards curve at its base, the "swan neck" sometimes seen in the breed. Tails are tied in a knot. The lead rope is included less often. These horses are engaged in warfare, peaceful competition, or they carry their riders to encounter strange – and so far unexplained – sights.[20]

Two pictures, a scene of battle in which the central horse turns its head away from the line of movement (Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1), and a scene in which the horse waits riderless, while a warrior attacks the naked posteriors of four prone men (Diez A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1), employ a moderate degree of extension into the margin. This might date them to a modest interval after the *Kalīla va Dimna* pictures in Istanbul University Library, which are thought to have been produced for Abu Saʿid.[21] Two scenes of polo (Diez A fol. 72, p. 21 and

20 For example:
Diez A fol. 71, p. 8, riders below a throne balcony.
Diez A fol. 71, p. 19, a turbaned rider confronts a woodcutter.
Diez A fol. 72, p. 20, a crowned rider observes a man slung from a chain.
Diez A fol. 72, p. 23, a rider lifts another from the saddle before spectators (Gonnella and Rauch, *Heroic Times*, no. 36).
Diez A fol. 72, p. 28, a mounted warrior arrives at a door.

21 The pictures are preserved in the album F. 1422, Jill Sancha Cowan, *Kalila wa Dimna: An animal allegory*, New York and Oxford 1989. See also, Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History*

p. 27),[22] which have some softening and elaboration, may be of the 1350s. Datable towards the end of this period are pictures in which compositions have opened out a little, and figures of persons have become a little suaver or more bland.[23] Horses that may be datable about the 1370s have open mouths and, as Bernard O'Kane has observed, have muzzle hair.[24]

Five pictures stand out; they appear to be from an early phase of the period. The principal horse is of markedly Turkman character; it has a dark chestnut coat, a colour well represented in other pictures, but is distinguished by having three eyes, the third being vertical and at the level of the forelock – conveniently in the epic group the bridle does not include a browband.[25] It is not at present clear what narrative is represented. The three-eyed horse immediately calls to mind Ashqar Devzad, who appears in the fantastical epic concerning the deeds of Amir Hamza, the uncle of the prophet Muhammad.[26] Ashqar's father, Arnais, is a demon in the form of a horse and his mother, Laneesa, a fairy. The most celebrated illustrated copy of this work is the great but largely lost opus in separate pages produced for the Mughal emperor Akbar in the 1560s and 70s.[27] An early version is the *Qiṣṣa-i Amīr Ḥamza* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 4181), also produced in India, and datable to the fifteenth century.[28] Unfortunately, the Diez pictures do not correspond to incidents depicted in either of these works. Thus it may be that we have to do with a different three-eyed horse, but it is perhaps more likely the epic has a lost branch in which Ashqar has a greater role.

Since the narrative is missing, the five pictures will be described following their order in the Diez albums. In the first (Diez A fol. 71, p. 1), the three-eyed horse, riderless, grips the trunk of an elephant, while two men struggle behind him. In the upper right is a turbaned man, and indeed several such appear in other pictures, suggesting the possibility of an Arab context. In the second (Diez A fol. 71, p. 22), the horse is ridden by a warrior who, it seems, is accepting the submission of a burning castle, in which a number of Zangis have

of Calligraphers and Painters, Leiden 2001, pp. 12–13.

22 Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, nos. 33–34.

23 For example:
Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1, rider unhorsed by a blow from a mace.
Diez A fol. 71, p. 25, no. 2, turbaned rider carrying a mace.
Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 1, rider dispatched with a sword stroke.
Diez A fol. 71, p. 32, no. 3, dismounted conversation by water (fragment).
Diez A fol. 71, p. 37, combat near unconscious civilians.

24 Bernard O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayrid Connection", *Oriental Art* 49/2 (2003), pp. 2–18, especially pp. 4–5.

25 The horse may possibly appear in other pictures with the third eye not clearly shown, for example in Diez A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1.

26 Ghalib Lakhnavi and Abdullah Bilgrami, *The Adventures of Amir Hamza: A complete and unabridged translation by Musharraf Ali Farooqi*, New York 2007, especially pp. 566–69. Their transliteration is adopted here.

27 John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and storytelling in Mughal India*, Washington, D.C. and London 2002.

28 Ivan Stchoukine *et al.*, *Illuminierte Islamische Handschriften* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 16), Wiesbaden 1971, no. 61, especially fols. 149r and v.

been beheaded. In the third (Diez A fol. 71, p. 23), the horse is ridden by a youthful, beardless, turbaned man, who is welcomed by other turbaned men in a town, or perhaps more specifically near a bazaar. In the fourth picture (fig. 11.8), a turbaned and bearded man has dismounted from the horse and, observed by a woman, is pulling the hair and beard of a prostrate man, near a flock of sheep and goats. The horse's head is necessarily in-drawn, since the reins are looped over the pommel; the lead rope is loose from the saddle, and he is perhaps considered to be "ground-tied". In the fifth (Diez A fol. 71, p. 33), a crowned rider is looking at a warrior prostrate on the ground.[29] Since the riders are not identical, it seems that the horse is, at the least, an important linking feature in this narrative. Later than these pictures and in a slightly naive style is a picture in which the three eyes of the horse cannot be doubted. In it a warrior, wearing a garment of snow-leopard, has thrown his opponent into the air (Diez A fol. 72, p. 26).[30]

Of a comparatively small format, and perhaps for a more provincial or a less exalted readership than the group that displays the heroic Turkman horse, is a number of *Shāhnāma* illustrations: to İpşiroğlu's list of seventeen pictures two minor emendations may be proposed.[31] In their landscapes these pictures suggest a tradition from the picture of a Mongol rider at the foot of rocky mountains (Diez A fol. 71, p. 28, no. 1) or similar, striated rocks being a notable feature. Their horses show traits from both the Turkman and more rounded types. They have some vitality and variation in leg postures, but in some cases the arched necks are improbably thin. The bridle may now include a browband. In one scene of pursuit (Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 4), the exaggeration of a horse's fixed eyes and flared muzzle, perhaps a consequence of repetition, suggests a modern cartoon. One picture stands apart from the others by reason of greater height and more detailed landscape; the subject might have been given preferential treatment, or the picture might be from another manuscript from the same source. In *Rustam's Last Shot* (fig. 11.9), the background includes more exotic vegetation, but the treatment of rock appears to match that in the rest of

29 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 40, the identification "Iskandar and the dying Dara" is proposed, but the central eye seems clear.

30 Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, no. 35.

31 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 49–50, the list (renumbered) is as follows:
1) Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 5.
2) Diez A fol. 71, p. 26, no. 2.
3) Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 1 (this is on a larger scale than the others but might be a later development).
4) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 1.
5) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 2.
6) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 3.
7) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 4.
8) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 5.
9) Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 6.
10) Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, no. 1.
11) Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, no. 2.
12) Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, no. 3.
13) Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, no. 4.
14) Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, no. 5.
15) Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 5 (this appears to be an error for Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 2).
16) Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 2.
17) Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 5.
See also Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, nos. 38–47, where ten of the seventeen are selected for reproduction.



FIGURE 11.8 Dismounted Rider Attacks Shepherd (*?*). *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 24.*



FIGURE 11.9 Rustam's Last Shot. Shāhnāma. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 26, no. 2.*

the group. The hero, wearing a surcoat of snow-leopard, clambers out of the pit by standing on the armoured body of Rakhsh. Rustam's nose is sharp and his moustache flowing. Many of the horses in this *Shāhnāma* are shown as armoured or barded. This usage had been almost entirely absent in earlier manuscripts and paintings, an exception being a horse that appears in the three-eyed group beside the burning fortress (Diez A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1). It seems likely that this *Shāhnāma* series is later than that, but it is puzzling that such an enthusiasm for barding should erupt in a relatively minor work. It seems likely that Mongols did not bard their horses, because life on the steppes demanded long distances ridden and rapid warfare.[32] Possibly as Mongol practise fell away during the course of the century, successor states in Iran, being sedentary, began to forge horse-armour, but it is perhaps more likely that painters accepted a pictorial influence.

Two pictures may be associated with this group largely on grounds of similarities in the human figure. *Sam Discovers Zal in the Simurgh's Nest* (Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 3)[33] has the hero in a snow-leopard surcoat like that of Rustam, and he also has a sharp nose and flowing moustache; the rock, however, is managed in a somewhat different mode, in concentric flakes rather than striated bands. A very interesting feature of this picture is the trio of horsemen on the right, Sam's companions. Shown very small and hence distant, two waiting and one riding away on a diagonal course, these are horses of the type in the *Shāhnāma* set, but used for a perspective effect that would seem to have been learned from an Italian work.[34] The second picture, rather damaged and in a horizontal format, shows a *Battle of Siyamak and the Black Div* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 67, no. 5). It is distinguished by having a red ground but does not seem to be one of the earlier *Shāhnāma* group: its horses have the very curved necks of the group at present under discussion, and a human combatant rather resembles the Rustam and Sam just mentioned in nose and moustache. This *Shāhnāma* group and its outliers are perhaps to be dated about the mid-century.

Probably of the third quarter of the century, and possibly a development from

32 A comparison might be made with the differing practice of Arabs and Sasanians in the seventh century.

33 Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, no. 48.

34 It calls to mind Sassetta's "Journey of the Magi" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 43.98.1), which is, however, datable to the 1430s.



FIGURE 11.10 Mounted Warrior Nears Conflagration in Mountains. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 4, no. 1.*

the same workshop, are three equestrian subjects from an unknown narrative that can be associated by their relatively large size and mannered style with three non-equestrian pictures.[35] Features of the non-equestrian pictures are oddities of costume, a background of exaggerated plant life, and a long face slightly tilted forward that to the modern eye creates a lugubrious expression. The equestrian subjects are: *Mounted Warrior Approaches a Conflagration on a Mountain* (fig. 11.10; Diez A fol. 71, p. 4, no. 1); *Battle* (Diez A fol. 71, p. 20); *Warriors in Single Combat* (Diez A fol. 71, p. 30, no. 1). The horses are of

35 Diez A fol. 71, p. 3, couple standing under an orange tree; Diez A fol. 71, p. 16, couple entertained under flowering trees; Diez A fol. 71, p. 38, lady on a balcony.

a moderately stocky variety with copious manes; in the latter two pictures dappled grey markings give a strong sense of hair. The majority are in a slightly contracted flying gallop, which gives an impression of energy, and one has his head turned back. Again the bridle includes a browband. Particular features are: that the horses' eyes are rendered in gold; and that in the battle scene the majority are barded and wear a chanfron whose form recalls the "cloud collar" motif, a borrowing from Chinese art like that seen below (fig. 11.14). A battle scene in İpşiroğlu's list (Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 1) that is larger than the preceding *Shāhnāma* illustrations, but in which elephants have golden eyes, may be a linking piece between these two groups.

Studies in Ink of Models from China and Europe

Inscriptions on the Diez pictures that name artists were published by Ernst Kühnel in 1959.[36] A very important piece in this respect is a small brush drawing of a horse without a rider or any accompanying detail (fig. 11.11);[37] the fact that the original paper has an irregular edge and has been laid down on another sheet suggesting that it was valued and conserved with care. It is inscribed in red down the left side: *mashq-i mīr dawlatyār*. The use of red is evidently a reference to the Chinese practise of signing with a red seal imprint, so it seems very probable that this is indeed the signature of the artist Amir Dawlatyar, and that, in the term *mashq*, or "exercise", he is acknowledging or asserting that he has copied from a Chinese model. Amir Dawlatyar is known from Dust Muhammad's album preface of 1544 as a slave of Abu-Sa'id and a pupil of Master Ahmad Musa who was particularly skilled in *qalam-i siyāhī*, or ink drawing.[38] Abu Sa'id's reign being from 1316–35, and Ahmad Musa being seen as a principal figure in the illustration of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* at the end of that reign, Dawlatyar's main activity would have been in the second quarter to middle of the century. His drawing of the powerful horse, in flying gallop left, calls to mind Chinese ceramics and painting.[39] The blunt head is indrawn, eyes staring focused forwards rather than sideways, with a broad nasal bone; the cheek is a prominent curve, the body short, and the neck thick. Indeed, the neck is fused into the chest in a way that suggests some failure of memory of a model or error in copying, though it hardly detracts from the vigour of the whole.

36 Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray'-Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959) pp. 66–77.

37 Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 69.

38 Laurence Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: Including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House January–March, 1931*, repr. New York 1971, p. 184; Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13. It is not clear if Dawlatyar's skill was with the pen or the brush.

39 The horse's physical type, though not its posture, corresponds to those in Sullivan, *Arts of China*, pl. 186, *Horse and Groom*, attributed to Li Lung-mien, *c.* 1040–1106; Zhang Hongking *et al.*, *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting 700–1900*, London 2013, no. 46, *Horses and Grooms*, Zhao Mengfu, Zhao Yong, Zhao Lin, 1296 and 1359. See also depictions of horses from the Istanbul albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, and comparative Chinese works, *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), fig. 70–78.



FIGURE 11.11 Horse in the Chinese Manner, *by Dawlatyar. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 5.*

The mane and tail are flowing and demonstrate a borrowing from Chinese brush painting since they are not drawn in the Persian manner in a continuous line, but are instead rendered in impressionistic strokes. The conformation of the horse may be compared with that in a more naive work (Diez A fol. 73, p. 72, no. 5), described by İpşiroğlu as a woodcut,[40] and presumably also derived from a Chinese ceramic or other decorative item: in it the horse is indeed flying over water with appendages like those of a dragon trailing from its shoulders.

A further piece in Chinese style is close in spirit to the horse by Dawlatyar, and might perhaps be by him at a different stage in his development. It is a close view of an exotically armoured warrior turning a forest ridge while leading a fiery charger, the hair of both flying (fig. 11.12). The horse's forelock divides in the manner of those in Tang ceramics.[41] Again the horse's eyes are set to stare forward like those of a predator, denying the equine side vision of a prey species. The horse has ornate tassels at neck and chest.

A speculation may perhaps be ventured as to the possibility that another drawing has an association with Dawlatyar's *Horse in the Chinese Manner:* it is the only other work in which a riderless horse is the sole subject, with no ornament or background (fig. 11.13). Again it gallops. The posture is similar, save that the head here is in full profile and the feet are a little less drawn up. This horse is lighter in build, and its neck is slim and curved: it is a depiction that we might expect to see towards the end of the fourteenth century. We read in Dust Muhammad's preface of a succession of instruction from Dawlatyar to Shams al-Din, who worked for Sultan Uvays (1356–74), and from Shams al-Din to ʿAbd al-Hayy, which brings us to the time of

40 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Albeni*, p. 121.

41 Medley, *T'ang Pottery*, pl. E.



FIGURE 11.12 Chinese Warrior Leading a Horse. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 29, no. 12.*

Sultan Ahmad (1382–1410). Furthermore, we read that ʻAbd al-Hayy instructed Sultan Ahmad in drawing, and a horse's head by the latter in Topkapı Sarayı is in similar style (H. 2153, fol. 29v).[42] Might it be that one of this chain of pupils, at an early stage in his development, drew a modernised version of Dawlatyar's exercise? Unusual emphasis is given to the hair on the back and belly of the later horse, and the tail has a bushy quality like that of a fox. Might not this mean that the later artist is examining the technique of brush strokes in the Chinese mode?

ʻAbd al-Hayy is known to have had a role in giving currency to Chinese forms. In a drawing whose reference to a Chinese style is evident, an inscription in ornately knotted form by Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam acknowledges that he is copying the work of the master ʻAbd al-Hayy (fig. 11.14), who in his turn evidently has a Chinese style in mind.[43] Muhammad b. Mahmudshah is known to have been associated with Baysunghur, the grandson of Timur, in Herat, and so his work is datable to between the later fourteenth century and the 1430s. The drawing is of two combatants on ornately

42 Barbara Brend, "A Brownish Study: The *kumral* style in Persian painting, its connections and origins", *Islamic Art* 6 (2009), pp. 81–98, pl. VI and fig. 5.

43 Kühnel, "Malernamen", pp. 74–75. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 73, here refers us to a corresponding work in the Topkapı Sarayı (H. 2153, fol. 87r). See *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), fig. 457, and William Watson, "Chinese style in the paintings of the Istanbul albums", p. 72 in the same, who sees this as a Buddhist *bai miao* work.



FIGURE 11.13 Study of a Horse. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 7, no. 10.*

barded horses, who attack each other with spears. The action is almost surrounded by cloud that could mean dust or more probably an aerial setting. Complexity of detail and stylised postures – with spears oddly held – indicates a tradition from Yuan art rather than a record of recent Mongol warfare. The horses appear quite stocky with short blunt heads and cloud-collar chanfrons, but their bodies – and indeed those of their riders – are largely lost in a maze of detail, whose effect is decorative rather than descriptive.

A drawing of a Mongol rider loosing his bow is claimed by Muhammad b. Mahmudshah as his own (Diez A fol. 72, p. 13), in an inscription resembling that on the previous picture, and a further small inscription of *Muhammad Khayyam*.[44] The rider has a very elaborate version of the Mongol feathered hat; the horse is plump in body with a neat head and a moderately arched neck, the more extreme features of the early century having been smoothed away. The lead rope is duly included. It is clear that the drawing is intended to evoke past glories, perhaps even to represent Chinghiz Khan himself, and it must again be based on memories of pictures that Muhammad has studied and copied. The rider's upper body is reasonably poised, but the position of his leg is unconvincing, since any sense of the pelvis and thigh bone is totally absent, a weakness that may derive from the attempt in the combat scene to copy what may have been foreshortening in his model. This aspect of the seat of riders is much more convincing in a sketch, bearing a small note *qalam-i Muḥammad Khayyām* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 7), of a rider shooting upwards, presumably at a gourd, a subject that

44 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Albeni*, p. 81, remarks that this drawing corresponds to one in Topkapı Sarayı (H. 2152, fol. 50v). This may intend H. 2153, fol. 50v (*Islamic Art* 1 (1981), fig. 24) but the resemblance to that work in colour is not close.



FIGURE 11.14 Combat in Chinese Manner, *by Muhammad b. Mahmudshah after ʿAbd al-Hayy.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 65.*

perhaps benefited from the artist's direct observation. Two further drawings, both large, bear small inscriptions in the form *Muhammad Khayyam* (Diez A fol. 70. p. 24, no. 1, and p. 25);[45] both are of dragon slayers and the dragons evidently derive from the same model. In a dark clear line similar to that of the drawings previously discussed, these seem rather naive. In both the horse resembles that ridden by the Mongol archer in general outline, but is less accomplished, and is shown galloping with rear hooves planted, a mode that sees some revival about this period.

In a clear thin line and presumably of the second half of the century is a drawing that takes its inspiration from a European model in which a mounted king contemplates two musicians (Diez A 70, p. 14, no. 2). It is the content rather than the style that is Europeanised as the horse retains a round cheek and a knotted tail. Two further scenes with European figures may well have been felt as exotic on account of the deference shown to a female rider. One, in which a lady is accompanied by a gentleman and a page on horses walking to the left (fig. 11.15), suggests close attention to a European model in its seemingly accurate costume. The horses of the couple have a short back and copious mane, suggestive of an Andalusian or Lusitano, and are ridden with heavy European bits.[46] The page's

45 Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 77, notes one of these, but seems to suggest that the name on the other is *Djelāl*.

46 For an approximate comparison, I offer from the Jean Dufournet, *Les Très riches heures*



FIGURE 11.15 European Couple with a Page. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 64, no. 2.*

horse is rather lighter, perhaps an Arab with his in-curved nose and flaring nostrils. The artist is clearly intent on experimentation: he simplifies his scheme by the omission of three rear legs that were presumably present in his model, and for the three rear legs that he does show he employs a brush stroke of variable width that must have been learned from Chinese models.

In the second picture a lady is attended by a gentleman alone, but is followed by a lurcher and carries a small dog, possibly its puppy (fig. 11.16); they are travelling towards the right. The artist places the figures in a Chinese landscape, and employs Chinese brush strokes and wash. Though an impression of European costume is suggested, the form of the horses has been – it would seem deliberately – brought back to the Persian artistic tradition: long-backed and slim, necks long thin and curved, and one has a knotted tail. The eyes stare and the muzzles are emphasised to an exaggerated extent. The artist has included the legs that are omitted in the other drawing: those of the gentleman's horse correspond to a mirror image of those of the page's horse; the lady's horse would have to be pacing at a slow speed, since it raises two legs on its left side. A new feature is a horse blanket that meets across the horse's chest, like that on Humay's horse as he waits at Humayun's gate in the Khvaju Kirmani fragment (British Library, Add. 18113), whose illustrations may be of the

du duc de Berry, Bibliothèque de l'image, 1995, p. 29, the month of May, datable before 1416, though in this the ladies are riding side-saddle.



FIGURE 11.16 European Couple in a Chinese Landscape. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 15.*

early 1390s.[47] At first sight this picture may seem less competent than the previous one, but the remarkable skill of the brushwork reveals a very fine artist. I suggest that he is fully in control of his work and that his intention is satirical. The painter might well be ʿAbd al-Hayy. However that may be, it seems very probable that this artist worked on the marginal drawings in the *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad: the landscape work matches well, and the lady's costume, a cap with split brims and a coat with long sleeves, is seen in the right margin of fol. 23r.[48]

47 I repeat the view expressed since 1991 that the paintings in Add. 18113 predate its text of 798/1396 (Brend, "Brownish Study", p. 92, note 56).

48 F.R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a MS. of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair*, Vienna 1926, pl. v; Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India*, Washington, D.C. 1978, p. 24.

Illustrations in Colour for Lost Works of the Turn of the Fourteenth Century or Later

Pictures in colour tend to have a less experimental and more narrative character, though their precise subjects may remain uncertain. Such is the case in a large and dramatic work in upright format that shows an onslaught on fleeing forces by a city gate (fig. 11.17). A remarkable feature is that its principal hero is considerably larger than various lesser figures who are nearer the viewer, so that size lends him speed. His horse and several others are in flying gallop with one set of heels raised, but others are in a variety of postures, milling about in the confusion of battle. Apart from the matter of size, the form of the horses is not distorted. Several are barded, some with alternating bands of gold and (oxidised) silver; the horses of the hero and his chief opponent wear chanfrons that are not in a sinicising cloud-collar form but instead bear three prongs. Kühnel notes, and rightly discounts, an attribution to Ahmad Musa.[49] İpşiroğlu adds the observation that various figures are matched in a *Shāhnāma* illustration in the Topkapı Sarayı, *Manuchihr Slays Tur* (H. 2153, fol. 102r), a picture that Basil Gray dates to *c.* 1370.[50] The Diez picture is rather more forceful and possibly a little earlier, or by an older hand, yet in it there is already a suggestion of the well balanced horse and the barding in silver and gold seen in the *Combat of Humay and Humayun* in the Khvaju Kirmani Add. 18113.[51]

Very distinctive in the Diez collection is the *Fire Ordeal of Siyavush* (fig. 11.18), whose ostensible subject is unmistakable in spite of the fact that the hero is not robed in white as specified in the *Shāhnāma*. The image is large and has no precise borders, so that it calls to mind, together with wall paintings and scrolls, the original state of some illustrations in the Khvaju Kirmani fragment in the British Library.[52] The young prince wears a crown with a central cap surmounted by a finial, a light green surcoat, light purple overtrousers, and high-heeled boots. The horse is black, as required by the text, and long-legged in the Turkman way; in flying gallop with rear hooves raised, it is portrayed at an angle and is thus in a credible leaping position. The depiction is not, however, realistic in every respect and its exaggerations seem deliberate rather than accidental. In an effect almost equivalent to perspective, the forelegs legs appear longer and are emphasised by passing beyond the zone of the fire. The head also is remarkable. On a thin and arched neck, it is strangely proportioned, the swell of the muzzle and open mouth almost matching that of the cheek. It may be that, either in life or in art, an Arab strain had been added to the Turkman. The Siyavush horse is very similar to those of the second couple in European costume (Diez A fol. 72, p. 15), though its exaggeration is directed to drama, rather than to satire. The works may well be by the same artist, who may be ʿAbd al-Hayy.

49 Kühnel, "Malernamen", pp. 66–68.

50 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 59. See Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva 1961, pp. 43–44.

51 Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 47.

52 Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 46, 18b, p. 47, fol. 31r.



FIGURE 11.17 Onslaught at a Castle Gate. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1.*

The harness of Siyavush's horse is set with many studs and is further adorned with four tassels of white hair, at the throat, the chest, above the tail, and one on a projection from the noseband. Tassels are worn by other and earlier horses among the Diez pictures, but since they were not in such profusion comment has been



FIGURE 11.18 Fire Ordeal of Siyavush. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 27.*

reserved until this point. Tassels are not used in the either of the Diez *Shāhnāma* groups; red tassels are seen at neck or chest of a few horses in *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* style; putative Rakhsh and the three-eyed horse group do not use them, but one appears in a picture with extension into the margin, and some later-century epic horses have them on nose and chest (Diez A 71, p. 25, no. 2, and 71, p. 29, no.1). The tassel bears an evident resemblance to the yak-tail *tugh* of the Mongol standard, but it was not introduced by the Mongol conquest, though that may have given rise to some revival of its use, and its original source may have been the steppe.[53] Single tassels are seen

53 The word "tassel" is used here with the intention of neutrality. In the fourteenth century the item, if used in fact and not simply an element of the artistic vision, may or may not have fabricated from yak tails, possibly

already under the chin of some horses in *Varqa u Gulshāh* and on *mīnā'ī* pottery of the thirteenth century, and earlier in the "Rustam series" wall paintings of Panjikent of the eighth; but multiple tassels as in the Siyavush picture are paralleled in the seventh-century wall paintings at Afrasiyab in Samarqand, and in Sasanian rock carvings at Takht-i Rustam.[54] The tassel is evidently decorative, and it is a mark of status since not all horses wear them; it may have been considered apotropaic, but a practical function seems to have been to protect the horse's neck from a sword slash.[55]

The Siyavush horse seems to emerge from the epic tradition of Tabriz,[56] though it may have been made at Baghdad. Curiously, there seems to be some slight reflection of this picture in two illustrations in a manuscript of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of al-Jurjani (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Petermann I 386).[57] This was copied for, or perhaps simply presented to, the young prince Baysunghur in 814/1411–12. Its pictures are rather rubbed and much simpler than the *Siyavush*, but in *Iskandar Comforts the Dying Dara* (fig. 11.19) we again have horses that are tall, have a markedly curved neck, a tassel at the throat, and a flaring muzzle, here surrounded by distinct hairs.[58] There is also a sartorial link, since Dara, like Siyavush, wears a pair of light purple overtrousers, which have the unusual feature of being gathered into a band below the waist. Furthermore, in the second illustration (fol. 54v) a king, perhaps Malikshah, wears a surcoat of light green and a crown with a central cap, like that worn Siyavush, and he is addressed by a prince who holds his chin forward rather as Siyavush does. It thus appears likely that the manuscript

imported from Mongolia, but in sixteenth-century pictures it appears to be made from horse tails. By the good offices of Anthony Wynn of the Iran Society (email of 8 May 2013), I see that David Laylin, brother of Louise Firouz, would call the item "*mangouleh*", but as Steingass renders this "strap or thread by which anything is hung", I think it takes me back to tassel.

54 Single tassels: Melikian-Chirvani, "Varqe et Golšâh", *e.g.* no. 24; Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, pp. 44–45. Side tassels: Frye, *Heritage*, pls. 98, 99, Sasanian stucco horsemen. Paired tassels: Frye, *Heritage*, pl. 79, at Naqsh-i Rustam the horses of Ahura Mazda and Ardashir I have low hanging tassels below their bellies; pl. 95, a dish showing Peroz makes it clear that this form of tassel is light and flies up when the horse gallops. Multiple tassels: EIr, Afrāsiāb ii. Wall Paintings, fig. 2, a horse led in procession on south wall; Roman Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sasanians*, trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons, London, 1962, pl. 220, Naqsh-i Rustam, Hormizd II, the horse has side and low hanging tassels; tassels also hang from a standard.

55 In the United Kingdom, tassels known as "beards" are worn by the Drum Horses of the Household Cavalry. Peter J. Ashman of the Life Guards Association informs me (email of 25 January 2014) that they were first worn in 1865 and are seen as protective against a sword slash. Presumably they were adopted from the East. As they must be light in terms of defensive equipment, it seems probable that the ratio of inconvenience to protection is favourable.

56 In the fifteenth century his high-heeled boot would be more typical of the Turkman painting than of Timurid.

57 Stchoukine, *Islamische Handschriften*, no. 1.

58 It is not easy to distinguish if muzzle hairs are emphasised in the *Siyavush*, but the muzzle shape corresponds to the type where this is a feature; see O'Kane, and note 24 above.



FIGURE 11.19 Iskandar Comforts the Dying Dara. *SBB-PK, Petermann I 386, fol. 27r.*

painter knew the Siyavush picture, or at least a tradition from it.

The *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* has been assigned to Herat, but it seems possible that this derives from the connection with Baysunghur.[59] The forward set of the faces it contains hints at a style of Shiraz,[60] and this agrees with the "soft leaf" or "floral" illumination of the frontispiece. A dating of 1411 is difficult to reconcile with its style, and so I suggest that the manuscript was some twenty to thirty years old when presented to the prince. It would seem likely that it was produced some time before the *Epics* of 800/1397 (British Library, Or. 2780), its figures being somewhat like those of *Chinghiz Khan in the Mosque at Bukhara* but its horses not resembling any in that work.[61] The "Siyavush" picture, which would precede it, might then be datable late in the reign of Uvays (r. 1356–74) or in that of his son Husayn (r. 1374–82).[62]

A large hunting scene in horizontal format (Diez fol. 70, p. 1)[63] bears an inscription naming the artist as Darvish Mansur. Kühnel has speculated that the artist might be Mansur, who was active under the Timurid Abu Saʿid (r. 1459–69), father of the late-fifteenth-century painter of Herat, Shah Muzaffar. This seems to be within the realm of the possible. The costume suggests the fifteenth century in the Persian lands east of the deserts, while the limited landscape allows for the mid-century. The horses might be a crossbreed with some degree of Arab parentage since the line of their nose is slightly concave. Their mouths are shown open in the way of the later fourteenth century. One is in the flying gallop with rear hooves up in

59 Stchoukine, *Islamische Handschriften*, no. 1. The scribe associates himself with the peoples of Khurasan (*al-aqwām al-khurāsāniyya*) but this might be asserted as a courtesy to Baysunghur.

60 The style is not Muzaffarid at its mannered extreme but shares the feature of the forward face. Shiraz painting can often be seen to follow the lead of Baghdad, and the forward set face seems to come from Arab painting.

61 For the human type, see Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Tîmûrides*, Paris 1954, pl. XIII; for the horses, see Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz 1303–1452* (*Occasional Papers*), Washington, D.C. 2013, pls. 89–90.

62 Two minor pictures, seemingly of eastern Iran in the fifteenth century, perhaps still follow the lead of the dramatic black horse: A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 3 is the mount of a dragon slayer; while A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 1 is that of a spectator while a warrior is lifted from a saddle.

63 Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 77.

the standard posture in Tabriz, but four are galloping with rear hooves planted, the posture that found considerable acceptance in Herat from the first half of the fifteenth century onwards.[64]

A large picture with no companion pieces is that of a rider who, having a raised gloved hand, has just loosed a hawk (Diez A 70, p. 12); it is inscribed with the name of ʿAbdallah. İpşiroğlu sees this as a copy made in the later sixteenth century of an earlier work.[65] The depiction of the rider corresponds to some extent with figures by a sixteenth-century ʿAbdallah recorded by Martin, but these studies do not include horses.[66] The horse in the Diez picture has a look of the Safavid period since it is full-bodied and sleek, with a small head on a moderately curved neck. A white flash down the nose causes this to seem more concave than it actually is; a bushy tassel hangs under its chin. While the striped saddle-cloth is a feature of the artist's own time,[67] the up-raised rear hooves and the bows that tie the rider's costume suggest that he has some knowledge of Jalayirid work.[68]

A narrow picture, perhaps as illustration to a *masnavī* copied in two columns, or possibly a result of trimming, shows a group of ladies riding; one is dismounted and either praying or fainting (Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3). The round caps that the ladies wear show them to be Ottoman, the use of gold frogging on their coats suggesting perhaps the second half of the sixteenth century.[69] The horses have notably thick necks that they hold rather upright, and their legs seem thin for the weight of their bodies. These features are seen in some Ottoman illustrations from the late fifteenth century onwards.[70]

Sketches of the Time of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (1382–1410) and Their Legacy

In the period when Sultan Ahmad was the main fount of patronage it appears that

64 For Herat's use of the posture with rear hooves down, see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. 1989, cat.no. 32, cat. no. 62; Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Tîmûrides*, Paris 1954, pls. LXXXI–LXXXIII. The hooves-up position continued to be seen in copies of *Mihr va Mustarī*, confirming a tradition from Tabriz.

65 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 71, does not mention the name. Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 77, attaches the name ʿAbdallah to a different picture, (Diez A fol. 70, p. 15), which, however, İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 71, characterises as Chinese work of the seventeenth century, and which I shall forebear to discuss.

66 F.R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey From the 8th to the 18th Century*, London 1912, pl. 101.

67 See Sheila R. Canby, *Shah ʿAbbas: the Remaking of Iran*, London 2009, p. 39, no. 2, "Horse and groom" (British Museum, ME 1948,1211,0.14). The saddle cloth seems to be much in fashion by the late fifteenth century, Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, London and New York 1996, pls. 99–100.

68 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, Tafel XLVIII, 72; LV, 83; LVI, 85.

69 See also the contribution of Serpil Bağçi in this volume.

70 Barbara Brend, "A 14th-century *Khamseh* of Niẓāmī from Western Iran with early Ottoman Illustrations", *Islamic Art* 5 (2001), figs. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9.

the Arab horse became the ideal, at least so far as art was concerned, either because the rise of Timur obstructed contacts to the east or because it suited his innate taste. Intimations of a growing interest in the Arab have been noted above, and this becomes manifest in a number of the sketches. The newly preferred type of horse is typified by a drawing of an encounter in the mountains (fig. 11.20). The horses are refined and have a look of liveliness rather than submission. The bodies are compact, necks are arched but less emphatically than previously, and the high carriage of the head conveys alertness; the nostrils are flared, the profile of the nose is slightly concave, and the tail high-set. In the lower horse and rider we have a very good match for Humay as he waits at Humayun's gate in Khvaju Kirmani Add. 18113 (fig. 11.21) –



FIGURE 11.20 Encounter of Two Riders in the Mountains. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 1, no. 3.*



FIGURE 11.21 Humay at Humayun's Gate, *fragmentary* Khamsa *of Khvaju Kirmani, illustrations c. 1390–92, text 798/1396, Baghdad. The British Library, Add 18113, fol. 18v.*

even to the full chin of the rider. The horse in the drawing has a saddle-cloth, that in the painting a blanket that meets across his chest: this might indicate a recognition of the Arab's thin coat.

Various sketches of horses approximate to this type; interesting among them are two examples of a very speedy notation of numerous figures in hunt and battle (Diez A fol. 73, p. 34, no. 4; p. 76, no. 4).

The style was continued under the Timurids, as shown in four studies of literary subjects. Horses with an upright carriage of the head appear in a work in *nīm-qalam* in which an older man bows to a younger in a floriferous landscape (fig. 11.22). This may be Giv's discovery of the young Kay Khusraw from the *Shāhnāma*. The technique with its very soft attack is like that seen in marginal



FIGURE 11.22 Giv Discovers Kay Khusraw (*?*), Shāhnāma (*?*), *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 3.*

ornaments in the Anthology of 1410–11 (British Library, Add. 27261) for Iskandar Sultan, whose workshop benefited from the fall of Sultan Ahmad: in particular, it resembles a version of Khusraw seeing Shirin bathing.[71] The heads of the pairs of horses are similar in form, in both cases that on the left having light ears against a dark mane, and that on the right being more even in colour. A drawing that is accompanied by text is undoubtedly the *Shāhnāma* subject *Suhrab Drags Gurdafrid from her Horse* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 70, no. 1).[72] The horses of the two principals are barded, but a third horse on the left is drawn in careful detail and much resembles those in the picture previously discussed. It might almost seem that the combat scene could be an actual vector of Sultan Ahmad's style to Herat, but the since Gurdafrid's horse gallops with its rear hooves down in the preferred Herat posture it seems probable that this is where the picture originated.[73] A more problematic drawing is, as Eleanor Sims has observed, a mirror image of *Rustam Dragging the Khaqan from his Elephant* in Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma* of 833/1430 (Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 6).[74] It appears that two different hands may have been at work. Rustam is drawn with a smooth pale line; the opposing warriors are slightly smaller in scale, in a darker line, and seem to have been produced by pouncing. Rustam's Rakhsh is a little fiercer, a little more like a horse of the fourteenth century with a threatening indrawn head, but galloping with rear hooves down; the horses of Chin appear to be well mannered Arabs of the 1430s or 40s. This might be an exercise set by a master for a pupil, or possibly the interval between the two phases was longer. Horses and riders resembling the principle warrior in mirror image may be a further exercise (Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 1). The fourth drawing, a group of three

71 Barbara Brend, "Beyond the Pale: Meaning in the Margin" in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, London and New York 2000, p. 46, pl. 13.

72 Lentz and Lowry, *Princely Vision*, cat.no. 65; Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, no. 56.

73 A picture seemingly from the same manuscript was once in the hands of the Timurid 'Ala' al-Dawla b. Baysunghur, Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi*, London 2010, p. 28, pls. 24, 25.

74 Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, no. 55.

riders (Diez A fol. 73, p. 9, no. 4), was identified in 1989 by Lentz and Lowry as matching three spectators in a scene of Bahram Gur hunting (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.28.13); they date the sketch to *c.* 1425–50.[75]

The question of how much in the Diez pictures was observed from life and how much was received from artistic tradition has no simple answer. It should, of course, be acknowledged that none of the pictures aim at scientific accuracy, and that instead they emphasise features that characterise the horses as suitable to their purpose, be it the illustration of a narrative, historical or legendary, or an exercise in drawing. My argument for the *Shāhnāma* pictures on a red ground is that the painters copied at least the head of horses that they saw about them, since it seems unlikely that they drew on an artistic tradition from elsewhere or from antiquity. The interesting contrast between the slim Turkman horses of the manuscript of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* of 1314, together with various unidentified epics, and the more rounded forms of some horses in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* and in some Diez pictures of "*Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*" type may suggest that the Turkman was observable in life and apt for the purpose, but that Chinese artistic traditions gradually penetrated the higher levels of patronage. Studies that draw on Chinese and to a limited extent on European work are seen about the third quarter of the century. In the last quarter of the century the artists turn their attention to Arab horses. Since the shift is considerable and lasting it seems likely that this is a reflection of a trend in real life, possibly resulting in part from the extension of Jalayrid interests towards Mesopotamia. Horses of Arab type were to predominate in the paintings of the fifteenth century, though Turkmans, in what is surely a strictly artistic tradition, have a late flowering in the second quarter of the fifteenth century as the formidable mounts in Shiraz style.

75 Lentz and Lowry, *Princely Vision*, pp. 342 and 377, on which the numbers 3a and 3b are unfortunately switched.

CHAPTER 12

Brave Warriors of Diez

Filiz Çakır Phillip

Five albums (Diez A fols. 70–74) kept in the Berlin State Library are named after Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, the former possessor of these albums, and contain paintings, drawings, calligraphy, and engravings.[1] The contents of the albums come from a broad geographical area, particularly from Iran, Turkey, China, and Europe, and contain artworks that can be dated to a period between the late thirteenth and the late eighteenth centuries.[2]

Within the albums, especially in Diez A fols. 70–73, there are paintings and drawings related to the art of war in the Muslim cultures of the medieval period onwards from Central Asia to Iran. These artworks are the topic of this essay, which aims to provide a general overview of arms and armour illustrated.

According to the division proposed by İpşiroğlu, the content of the albums can be divided into four groups: Seljuq-Mongol; Chinese-Mongol; late Ilkhanid up to the early fifteenth century; and drawings, studies, and sketches.[3] The dates are debated by more recent art historians, but no definite solutions have yet been proposed. The depictions show evidence of the status of warrior culture in Islamic art, and the importance of arms and armour for written and illustrative sources to tell their stories, as emphasized by Sharaf al-Din ʿAli Yazdi in his *Ẓafarnāma*, completed around 1425:

> An Army numerous beyond counting,
> victorious and invincible.
> in combat like mad elephants enraged –
> all with spear, mace and dagger,
> with alligator-skin shield thrown over leopard horse-armour,
> with no fear of either death or sharp blade,
> with no dread of water of flight from fire,
> in courage, unique; in striving, united;
> against blows, anvils; against attack, mountains.[4]

1 For detailed information, see the introductory essay in this volume. The drawings and paintings of the Diez albums were displayed in several exhibitions, but only once together with the Saray albums from the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. See *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları. Büyük Moğol İmparatorluğu*, exhib. cat., Sabancı Üniversitesi, Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 7 December 2006–8 April 2007, Istanbul 2006.

2 David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and his Eponymous Albums, MSS Diez A fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), p. 112.

3 M.S. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 133.

4 Wheeler M. Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿu't-tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, Cambridge, MA. 1999, pp. 63, 70.

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The Diez A fols. 70–72 contain the largest group of paintings bearing the most impressive depictions of war from the perspective of the victorious warriors, comprising combat between two warriors,[5] battles,[6] and the occupation of a city.[7] The paintings, especially those from the fourteenth century, are related to the most important Ilkhanid manuscripts of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* and *Shāhnāma*.[8] The Ilkhanids propagandized Mongol heritage and patronized the Iranian national epic intensively in these lavishly illustrated manuscripts. The arts of war as pictorial subjects are not a coherent subject within the albums: they were executed in a variety of styles by various artists over the course of time. The depictions incorporate weapons and warriors mounted on horses with barding. The descriptions and stylistic critical remarks made by İpşiroğlu also include the first discussions of the different types of arms and armour within the Diez albums.[9]

The Armament of the Warriors (in the Diez albums)

The defensive armament of the thirteenth- to sixteenth-century warrior was comprised of a helmet fitted with neck protection, such as an aventail, and armour that would be combined with shoulder-, arm-, knee-, and leg-guards. Additional defensive armour included the shield, which is frequently depicted in paintings.[10] For a long time, bow and arrow, sword, and mace were the weapons of the mounted warrior of Central Asia,[11] but lances and spears were also popular offensive armaments.

In general, arms and armour were manufactured in different variations. Different material combinations were also used. Their selection depended on the needs and rank of the users. The variations in arms and armour and their spread could be explained by the functioning of the Muslim courts. The courts of the successors of the Mongolian Ilkhanids, the Jalayirids, and the Timurids were very mobile in the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries because of the climate and the turn of the pasture year, a vestige of nomadic culture. Until the time of Aqqoyunlu rule in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the court seems to have controlled and taxed the

5 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 71, p. 41, no. 1.

6 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 71, p. 58 and p. 59.

7 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 70, p. 4 and p. 7.

8 İpşiroğlu classified these paintings and drawings as belonging to the group of "Chinese-Mongolian Miniatures." The paintings of the Diez albums are closely related to the paintings of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* from the fourteenth century, kept in Edinburgh, London, and Istanbul. The general relation to the Saray albums in Istanbul has been extensively researched by Roxburgh in "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez", pp. 112–136. Diez A fols. 70–72 to the albums H. 2153, Diez A fol. 73 to H. 2152 and B. 411, and Diez A fol. 74 to B. 411.

9 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 7, 67.

10 Filiz Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama: On the Forging of Heroes and Weapons", in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, p. 61.

11 Stephen Turnbull, *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Conquests, 1190–1400*, Oxford 2003, p. 17; *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, exhib. cat. Schloss Schallaburg, Munich 2006, pp. 96–98.

entire supply of foods, and handicraft production for the army and court stock through a particular market, the so-called *urdū bāzār*, where arms and armour were doubtless sold and possibly repaired.[12] Rashid al-Din Fadlallah (*c.* 1249/50–1318), the vizier of both Ilkhanid rulers, Ghazan and Ulcaitu, advanced the following proposal in the fourteenth century for making the transportation of weapons easier:

> They make implements and weapons using their own capital and sell them in the markets. Therefore they make better types of weapons than they used to, and they are available in the markets. Wouldn't it be better for funding for weapons to be brought in cash? Instead of our having weapons made and giving them to the soldiers, we can distribute cash to them so that they can purchase cheaply weapons that suit them, and nothing will be wasted.[13]

Knowing that the distribution of military equipment was the state's responsibility, and taking the proposal presented by Rashid al-Din into consideration, we can easily explain the variety found in arms and armour; this may well have been state-financed individual choice made by the soldiers.

12 Bert Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs", in *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6), ed. Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart, Cambridge 1986, pp. 530–31.

13 Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 750.

The Helmets

A helmet with a conical bowl formed from one single piece of sheet steel was a commonly used type in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such helmets have an aventail of mail that was attached to holes or eyelets, so-called vervelles, around the lower edge, and a slide bar for the nose-guard mounted with rivets. The nose-guard was an increasingly popular feature in the fifteenth century due to Mongol influence.[14]

The painting *Suhrab Unhelms Gurdafarid*[15] from Diez's small *Shāhnāma* shows the conical helmet of Gurdafarid with mail aventail,[16] which goes back to the Iranian tradition of the Sasanian

14 Filiz Çakır Phillip, "A Turkmen 'Turban' Helmet", in *Hali: Carpet, Textile and Islamic Art*, Issue 155 (2008), p. 62.

15 Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 2. Gordafarid is the heroic female warrior who appears in the *Shāhnāma*. We do not know anything about her education, or how and by whom she was trained. For the training of warriors, see Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama", p. 60. Nicolle mentions that during the times of the Crusades, female members of the Syrian-Arab elite could have worn armour during the defence of a castle. David Nicolle, *The Age of Tamerlane* (Men-at-Arms Series), Oxford 1990, pp. 14–15.

16 In the *Shāhnāma* her helmet is described as being a "Rumi helmet", and Sohrab's helmet is described as a "Chinese helmet." See Dick Davis (trans.), *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, London 2006, pp. 191–92. In the miniature, *Suhrab Unhelms Gurdafarid*, Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 2, the artist has made no distinction between the helmets and their types. The illustration shows the interpretation of the 1330s in Isfahan of Ilkhanid Iran.

dynasty.[17] Further examples of this type of helmet can be found in *Cavalry Riding Out*,[18] *Mounted Warriors in Single Combat*,[19] *Mounted Warriors Chase a Fleeing Enemy*,[20] and *Bizhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irman*.[21]

The earliest surviving fourteenth-century helmet can be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[22] The conical bowl of the helmet is made of one piece and is faceted in ten sections. Around the base of the bowl are six surviving vervelles for the attachment of a curtain of mail as neck protection.[23] The helmet bears in an inscription the name of Sultan Mahmud Jani Beg Khan. It is, according to the name inscribed, the helmet of Jalal al-Din Jani Beg Ibn Oz Beg, ruler of the Blue Horde branch of the Golden Horde of the Mongols in Western Siberia, Khvarazm, and Southern Russia between 1342 and 1357.[24] İpşiroğlu erroneously describes the helmet type in the paintings as *spangenhelm*,[25] while the depictions show the faceted sections of this kind of conical, bowl-shaped helmet. The helmet in the Metropolitan Museum clearly proves that these helmets are not of the *spangenhelm* type. The heroes killing dragons in the Diez albums[26] also wear this kind of single-piece, faceted helmet with a variation of cheek flaps. Their aventail, which is visible in the depictions, is clearly shown as mounted permanently behind the nose-guard, preventing the exposure of the warrior's face. The hoistable nose-guard was affixed with a screw.

The depictions found in the Diez albums reveal that the warriors also wore helmets with neck protection made of materials other than metal mail. Neck protection could be fashioned from a piece

17 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 4, Tafel I; Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, eds., *Heroische Zeiten: Tausend Jahre persisches Buch der Könige*, Munich and Berlin 2012, p. 104, with further references. Aventail made of mail hanging from the lower rim of the helmet covered and protected the warrior's head, face, and neck. This kind of head and face protection made of mail was in use during the Sasanian Dynasty in Iran, as the sculpture of the mail-clad horseman shows in the *īvān* of Khusraw II, Taq-i Bostan, Iran. See also Prudence Oliver Harper *et al.*, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire*, exhib. cat., New York 1978, p. 90; B.A. Litvinsky, "Helmet in Pre-Islamic Iran", in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 2003, p. 180.

18 Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 5.

19 Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 1.

20 Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 1.

21 Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 5.

22 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Helmet, Mongolian, fourteenth century, acc.no. 2007. 86. Another helmet of a different type, Askeri Müze, Istanbul, inv.no. 15723, is attributed to the Ottoman ruler Orhan (1281–1362), who in the year 1324 was titled Bey by his father Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Dynasty. David Alexander called this helmet into question, since according to its inscription Orhan is titled Sultan, a title first used by the Ottomans in a later period. See David Alexander, "Two Aspects of Islamic Arms and Armour", *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984), p. 97. Therefore, the Metropolitan Museum example must be considered the earliest example of this period.

23 Donald J. La Rocca, "Recent Acquisitions of Tibetan and Mongolian Arms and Armor in the Metropolitan Museum of Art", in *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 50 (2008), p. 29.

24 *Ibid.* See also footnote 22.

25 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 7, 67. A *spangenhelm* consists of several plates fixed on braces forming the framework for the helmet.

26 Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1 and p. 25, as well as Diez A fol. 72, p. 14.



FIGURE 12.1 *Helmet, Mongolian, fourteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc.no. 2007.86.*

of leather, as found in *Mongolian Armour-Clad Archers Approaching*,[27] or of overlapping leather or steel plates, a variation also used in the cheek flaps and found in the Diez albums.[28]

The absence of padding in existing examples of helmets suggests the user would have worn a quilted cap or small turban underneath. Some of the paintings in the Diez albums show the coloured inside of the helmet, mostly red, which could be interpreted as the padding of the helmets or the headwear underneath.[29] One folio of a cavalry battle shows the actual small turban that was worn beneath the helmet.[30] This type of helmet, in a style thought to have originated in Iran, became the norm over a wide geographic area during the fifteenth century, being equally

27 Diez A fol. 71, p. 61.

28 Diez A fol. 71, p. 20; p. 26, nos. 1 and 2; p. 30, no. 1; p. 34; p. 40, no. 3; p. 58 and 59.

29 Diez A fol. 71, p. 44, nos. 1 and 5; p. 45, no. 2.

30 Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 2.



FIGURE 12.2 Hero Killing a Dragon. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1.*

common among the Turkmen, especially the Aqqoyunlu, the early Ottomans, and the Mamluks,[31] and was until the sixteenth century favoured for its robust construction.

The Armour

The development of armour was radically affected by the Mongol conquest and subsequent establishment of the Ilkhanid state, although it may not have caused an immediate change in the production of arms and armour.[32] According to the outstanding Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din Fadlallah (*c.* 1249/50–1318), the locals were first unable to reproduce Mongol armour.[33] The types of armour did not change in the fourteenth century in the wide geographical area of Mongol rule. Rashid al-Din also states in his compendium of chronicles that most of the craftsmen in the markets learned later how to make Mongol weapons,[34] which then ensured the longevity of Mongol types of armour during the century.

31 Çakır Phillip, "A Turkmen 'Turban' Helmet", p. 62.

32 Michael V. Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East From the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries as Shown in Works of Art", in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. Robert Elgood, London 1979, p. 36.

33 Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 749.

34 *Ibid.*

Mongol armour was originally a product of Central Asian and Far Eastern traditions. In general, the Central Asiatic armour coat was popular over a widespread area.[35] The Central Asian warrior used two kinds of armour, soft and hard, which differed in the manner of preparation. The soft armour was made of leather,[36] crude silk, and hemp, and the hard armour of mail and iron plates.[37] The two armour types were also combined or worn over each other.[38] The soft armour, when worn separately, was often covered with coloured material and sometimes had lamellar tassets and shoulder guards, like the examples in the painting of a *Shāhnāma* manuscript in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum,[39] produced in Tabriz *c.* 1370–89.[40]

This simple leather armour was strong enough to protect the warrior's body from stabs, strokes, and blows. Such armour involved multiple layers of garments and was used by simple soldiers who were not able to afford armour made of steel. During the time of the Crusades, for example, the use of such armour was as much accepted as the use of iron or steel.[41] Leather armour is often found depicted in the paintings of the Diez albums, where the artists have played with the colours of the armour to distinguish the armies in a battle scene or in combat. Colourful examples are found in *Battle on a River*,[42] *Mounted Warriors in Single Combat*,[43] *Mounted Warriors Chasing Mongolian Enemies*,[44] and *Mongolian Armour-Clad Archers Approaching*.[45] However, there is no certain confirmation of the use of unified armament. Different types of armour suits were in use with additional supplements such as shoulder-, arm-, leg-, and knee-guards, and the helmet, all of which are delightfully depicted with ornaments in the illustrations.

The combination of soft and hard armour, along with other types of armour such as scale and lamellar armour, can be seen in the Diez albums. Brigandine, *qazāghand* in Persian, inner armour of mail or small plates covered by fabric,[46] was

35 Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East", p. 40.

36 The Mongolian word for leather armour is *öpçīn*. Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer Neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, vol. I–III, Wiesbaden, 1963–67, pp. 41, 111.

37 A sort of lamellar armour called *kühä* in Mongolian. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 1963, p. 111.

38 *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, 99; Filiz Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons: The Weapons Collection of the Herat National Museum", in *National Museum Herat*, ed. Ute Franke and Martina Müller-Wiener (Areia Antiqua 3), Berlin 2016, p. 431.

39 Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 2153, fol. 102r.

40 Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East", p. 42.

41 David Nicolle, "Kriegstechnologie und Waffenherstellung 1050–1350 n. Chr.", in *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig*, exhib. cat., Mainz 2004, p. 100.

42 Diez A fol. 70, p. 9, no. 2.

43 Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 1.

44 Diez A fol. 71, p. 58 and 59.

45 Diez A fol. 71, p. 60 and 61.

46 L.A. Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", *Ars Islamica*. 10 (1943), p. 5; L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*, Geneva 1952, pp. 39–40; Claude Cahen, "Un Traité d'armuerie composé pour Saladin", *Bulletin*

also in use and is unfortunately difficult to identify in the illustrations.[47] However, the various depictions in the miniature *Cavalry Battle in Front of a City Gate*[48] could be counted as examples of this type of armament. The miniature was dated, judging by its similarities to a manuscript folio in Istanbul,[49] to the last decade of the fourteenth century.[50] Surviving brigandine from the fifteenth century is rare.[51] A preserved example of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century brigandine in the National Museum of Mongolian History in Ulaanbaatar[52] provides an impression of this armour type.

An almost timeless armour type is the coat or shirt of mail. It is made of interlinked steel or iron rings and was used in many parts of the world. In Mongolian it was known as *köhä*,[53] in Persian as *jawshan*[54] or *zirih*,[55] and in Arabic as *zirh*,[56]

d'Etudes Orientales 12 (1948), p. 138; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Westward Journey of the Kazhagand", *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* (1983), pp. 8–35; David G. Alexander, *The Arts of War: Arms and Armour of the 7th–19th Centuries*, London, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. XXI, 1992, p. 20; Filiz Çakır Phillip, *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Museums für Islamische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, und des Deutschen Historischen Museums* (*Zeughaus*) *in Berlin*, Berlin 2016, p. 73.

47 According to Nicolle, there are similarities between *qazāghand* and the Turkish *cebe*, which he derives from the older form *jubbah*. Nicolle, "Kriegstechnologie und Waffenherstellung 1050–1350 n. Chr.", 112. Steingass states that the term *juba* means "a coat of mail, a cuirass; any kind of iron armour" and is from Arabic *jubbat*. F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 2010, p. 356. However, *cebä* has Mongolian provenance and simply means "armour", and the false vocalization as *juba* must be differentiated from the Arabic *jubba*. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 1963, p. 284. Elgood employs *juba* as a kind of armament made of iron and also derives the term from the Arabic *jubbat*. Robert Elgood, *Hindu Arms and Ritual: Arms and Armour from India, 1400–1865*, Delft 2004, p. 248. The term *cebe khāna* refers in general to arsenal or armoury, indicating the comprehensive assignment of this term.

48 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1.

49 Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2153, fol. 102r.

50 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, pp. 59–60.

51 Examples in miniatures of the fifteenth century are found in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, inv.no. I. 4628. The earliest existing brigandines are: a Mamluk brigandine that bears the name of the Mamluk Sultan al-Zahir Saif al-Din Çaqmaq (r. 1438–53), kept in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv.no. M 124; the Ottoman brigandine of the Great Vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474) in Askeri Müze in Istanbul, inv.no. 249; and the brigandine, in a kaftan design, of Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) in the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv.no. 13/23, dated *c.* 1470. There is, however, no known Persian example in any collection.

52 National Museum of Mongolian History, Ulaanbaatar, inv.no. D. 1256. See also *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 100.

53 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 1963, pp. 111, 483.

54 Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 378; Cahen, "Un Traité d'armuerie composé pour Saladin", p. 138; Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdausis Schahname*, Hildesheim 1965, p. 278; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Bargostvān", *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. III, 1988, p. 795.

55 Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 616.

56 Rudolf Zeller and Ernst F. Rohrer, *Orientalische Sammlung Henri Moser Charlottenfels*, exhib. cat., Vienna 1955, p. 35.



FIGURE 12.3 *Warriors wearing brigandines in* Battle in Front of a City Gate. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1.*

but also as *sābigha*. Despite its use by the Romans in the third and second century BC, we have no information about its actual origin.[57] Mail armour looks simple in its construction, but its manufacturing was very elaborate, and therefore such mail was highly prized. For a long time ownership was reserved for wealthy rulers and princes. Mail was made as coats and shirts in different lengths with short sleeves, often with a pointed collar and a slit down the back. It was also made into trousers and for use as an aventail. The painting *Suhrab Unhorses Hujir, Commander of the White Castle, and Takes Him Prisoner*,[58] showing the mail shirt of Sohrab, depicted in blue, like the aventail of his helmet, and

57 Schwarzlose mentions its application by Arabs and gives some sources. See Friedrich Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 322.

58 Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 3.

Rustam Stares at the Unhorsed Shangul, King of Hind and Ally of Afrasiyab,[59] are the earliest examples in the Diez albums showing this type of armour.[60]

A disadvantage of mail armour was its weight, up to ten kilograms, which nonetheless was lighter in comparison to armour used in the West. The weight might have been a minor issue for cavalry.[61]

Lamellar armour is also known by the name *jawshan*. Lamellae are made of leather, horn, or metal. Leather straps hold them together over the shoulders. The drawing *Chinese-Mongolian Warrior Reining in His Horse*,[62] dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century,[63] shows lamellar armour based on an Asiatic type, while the drawing *Suhrab in Combat with Gurdafarid*,[64] dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, shows an Iranian type.[65] In a scene from the great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, dated to the 1330s, Bahram Gur is depicted in such armour held with straps over his shoulders while slaying a dragon.[66] Narrow additional straps and buckles held the armour together on the sides of the body. Lamellar armour was more affordable than mail armour.[67]

As shown in the depictions of the Diez albums, lamellar armour was used very often by the warriors of the fourteenth century, as in the illustrations of *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. If we were able to speak of a standard type of armour, this would be lamellar armour for the Ilkhanid Dynasty of the fourteenth century.[68] The painting *A Mounted Duel at a Princely Court*[69] shows the opponents and spectators with this type of armour in different colours, while the painting *Rustam Unhorsing an Opponent and Throwing Him into the Air*[70] shows the hero *par excellence*, Rustam, wearing the same kind of armour under his famous tunic of fire- and waterproof tiger skin, the *babr-i bayān*.[71]

59 Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 1. Both paintings dated 1330–35, Eleanor Sims, "Fifteen Paintings from the 'Diez Small Shahnama'", in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroische Zeiten*, p. 104.

60 The paintings of Diez's small *Shāhnāma* represent the earliest example of this armour type in the fourteenth century. Remarkably, they are knee-long, with short sleeves.

61 E. Jaiwant Paul, *Arms and Armour: Traditional Weapons of India*, New Delhi 2005, pp. 108–09. Comparable armour in the Western world at the same time weighed more than twenty kilograms. A Western warrior with all armament had in general to carry more than thirty-five kilograms. For this reason Oriental armour became attractive and was sought after.

62 Diez A fol. 73, p. 29, no. 2.

63 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 89.

64 Diez A fol. 73, p. 70, no. 1.

65 The scenery shows the combat between Suhrab and Gurdafarid, while Suhrab is catching Gurdafarid with his lariat. Gurdafarid is wearing spaulders (shoulder guards). İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 117. For the tradition of using a lariat in combat, see also Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama", p. 61.

66 A folio from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, Iran, probably Tabriz, early fourteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Grace Rainey Rogers Fund, acc.no. 1943.658.

67 Jaiwant Paul, *Arms and Armour*, p. 108.

68 Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East", pp. 36–46.

69 Diez A fol. 72, p. 23.

70 Diez A fol. 72, p. 26. Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroische Zeiten*, p. 114.

71 Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama", p. 61. For Rustam with his tiger skin over his armour, see also Diez A fol. 71, p. 26, no. 2. Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroische Zeiten*, p. 124.



FIGURE 12.4
Wrestlers. *Armour is shown laid on the ground with helmets, straight swords, and a mace.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 1.*

Another type of armour is scale armour, made by varying the manufacturing process used for lamellar armour. Scale armour consists of hundreds of small overlapping plates in finest elaboration, which are mounted or fixed with rivets vertically onto a shirt of leather or fabric. The resistance of such armament to attack was achieved through the narrow overlapping plates, which at the same time allowed the warrior more freedom of movement than did lamellar armour. The narrow plates could also be made of raw leather, which is lighter than iron but still efficient and flexible. Scale armour was of Mongolian origin and seems to have been used by warriors as armament in Iran in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are no known existing Iranian examples, but it is mentioned that among the gifts sent by Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1596–1628) to Ferdinando I de' Medici (r. 1587–1609) there was scale armour made of leather,[72] which shows us that it was used or at least was kept in the royal arsenals for a very long time. Information about this type of armament is mostly taken from illustrated manuscripts, such as the Diez albums in Berlin and the Saray albums in the library of Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul.[73]

Like the warrior himself, the animals used for riding, largely horses but also elephants,[74] were protected by armour. The animal's head was protected by a shaffron,[75] whereas the body would be protected by lamellar armour, as seen in *The Surrender of a City; Rustam, on Wounded Rakhsh in the Pit, Looses an Arrow to Dispatch His Treacherous Half-*

72 Detlef Heikamp, "La Medusa del Caravaggio a l'armatura dello Scia Abbas di Persia", *Paragone* 17/191/193, Florence (1966), pp. 69, 75; Çakır Phillip, *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen*, pp. 206–207.

73 *E.g.* Diez A fol. 72, p. 24; TKS, H2153, fol. 41v.

74 For information about war elephants, see Turnbull, *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Conquests*, p. 19; Nicolle, *The Age of Tamerlane*, pp. 13, 33.

75 There are existing shaffrons in the Topkapı Palace Museum and Askeri Müze in Istanbul, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection. See also Bashir Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, The Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection, Milan 2007, pp. 338–45; Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama", p. 59.

Brother Shaghad; Mounted Warriors Chase a Fleeing Enemy; and *Cavalry Battle in Fire*.[76] The horses were endowed with *quṭās*,[77] a decoration of Turco-Mongolian origin in the form of a bush of hair attached to the bridle that was believed to have an apotropaic function. The hair used for decorating the *quṭās* is the same as the Turco-Mongol dynasties used for the *tūgh* or *sülde*.[78]

The Shield

The round, domed Iranian shield, *sipar* in Persian, was carried as a defensive weapon on the arm of the non-dominant hand. Leather straps were fixed to the rear side, often together with quilted padding or a knuckle pad. Shields could be made of various materials. Among those used were leather, wood, steel, iron, bronze, and brass, as well as canes tightly braided with silk and silver wire.[79] Shields made of cane are believed to have been used by the Seljuqs, but the spread of such shields first took place after the Mongolian invasion.[80] The leather shields were called *qalqa* by the Mongols.[81] The depictions in the Diez albums show different types of shields, as in *Cavalry Battle in Front of a City Gate*; *Siege of Baghdad*; *Armament of a Warrior*; *Mounted Warriors in Single Combat; Four Mounted Warriors in Combat*; and *Battle in a Palace*.[82] The album even contains exceptional depictions of steel shields shown in *Kay Khusraw, Mounted on the White Elephant of the Khaqan of Chin, Escorted by Gudarz and Fariburz into Battle with Afrasiyab*; and *Rustam Slays the White Div with a Blow of His Mace to the Head*.[83] The paintings *Cavalry Battle* and *A Mounted Warrior Slays His Opponent with His Mace*

76 Diez A fol. 71, p. 22; p. 26, no. 2; p. 43, nos. 1 and 2; p. 46, no. 2.

77 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1967, pp. 485–86.

78 Horse hair was the commonly used material. *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, 24; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1965, p. 618. The Persian word for *quṭās* is *ghazhghāv*, which according to Steingass is "A sea-horse or cow, of the hair of whose tails they make little tufts to hang round the necks of horses, as well for ornament as to defend them from fascinating eyes; a sort of ox found on the mountains of Tibet". Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 887.

79 C. Dercon *et al.*, *The Future of Tradition – The Tradition of Future 100 Years after the Exhibition "Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art", in Munich*, exhib. cat., 2010, 107–10 (catalogue entry Filiz Çakır Phillip); Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons", p. 431.

80 David Nicolle, "Arms and Armour in the Album Paintings", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), p. 62; Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons", p. 431.

81 Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East", p. 48. The Mongolian *qalqa* derives its origin from the Turkish *qalqān*. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1967, pp. 418, 501–03.

82 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1; p. 4, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 26, no. 1; p. 30, no. 1; p. 42, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 72, p. 22.

83 Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 1 and p. 43, no. 5. There are existing steel shields from the fifteenth century in international collections: Askeri Müze, Istanbul, Mamluk shield, inv.no. 17410; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Turcoman shields, acc.nos. 36.25.610 and 925.49.34; Royal Armouries, Leeds, Timurid shield, inv.no. 26/127A.



FIGURE 12.5 Battle in a Palace. *Shield coloured red and white.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 22.*

show shields with a sun motif,[84] which has its origin in pre-Islamic Iran.[85]

Archery: Seizing the World with Arrows

It is said about the Mongols that they "shot their arrows like rain," a common but excellent metaphor that is proof of the Mongols' extensive use of the bow and arrow in the thirteenth century.[86] The bows were made out of wood and horn, the arrowheads of iron, steel, bone, or horn.[87] The Mongolian conduct of war was characterized by a high level of discipline combined with command coordination and traditional nomadic strengths like flexible maneuvers and fierceness. Rashid al-Din points out that "Genghis Khan seized the world through his strategy and tactics by sword and arrow."[88] Weaponry had remained unchanged for decades, as reported by the monk Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who was in the service of Pope Innocent IV in Mongolia, seemingly as a missionary but also acting as a spy, in 1246. He wrote: "Moreover they are enjoined to have these weapons following; two long bows or one good one at least, three quivers full of arrows, and one axe and ropes to draw engines withal."[89]

The Mongols generally used four variants of arrows; apart from their usual

84 Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1, and Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 3.

85 Filiz Çakır Phillip, "A Question of Protectoral Function: Form and Ornament of a Special Group Armour in the Museo Stibbert, Florenze", in *14th International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel, Paris 2013, p. 230; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Sun Shield", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 6 (1992). He provides a very detailed introduction to the "Sun Shield" theme. The third part of his essay in particular makes the Iranian impact on Islamic Art clear.

86 Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, founder of the Mughal dynasty, used this metaphor in his autobiography: "The enemy attacked us front and rear, raining in arrows on us." A.S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nama in English* (*Memoirs of Bābur*), 2 vols., London 1922, p. 140.

87 D. Sinor, "The Inner Asian Warriors", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. C1, No. 2 (1981), p. 140; Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons", p. 427.

88 Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 521.

89 J. de Plano Carpini, "The Voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini", in John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville with Three Narratives in Illustration of it*, New York 1964, pp. 235–36; Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, p. 380; Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons", p. 427.



FIGURE 12.6 Ambushed by the Enemy. *Warriors shoot arrows with composite bows.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, no. 1.*

arrows they also used sounding, ardent, and poisoned arrows. Sounding arrows were used for sharing information over a wide distance and to frighten their enemies. Poisoned arrows were prepared with toxins from snakes and plants.[90] Sometimes arrows were used to convey secret information.[91]

The importance of the arrow and its strength were cited in the Mongolian tradition to emphasize the collective strength of the Mongols. "One arrow is easy to break but ten together is difficult" – wisdom that goes back to Alan Koa, an ancestor of Genghis Khan who demonstrated to her sons that remaining united strengthens a group.[92] The quiver as holder and keeper of arrows was therefore treasured by the Turco-Mongol rulers, who awarded it apotropaic and talismanic importance in their culture.[93]

The style of the Mongolian quiver was long and rounded. It was fashioned of leather and had an almost elliptical opening at the top. This type of quiver, the *sadaq*,[94] seems to have been used on the Central Asian steppes. A tenth-century example of a quiver with nineteen arrows exists in Ulaanbaatar.[95] The miniatures *Cavalry Battle in Front of a City Gate*, *Siege of Baghdad*, and *Mongolian Enthronement Scene* show this type of quiver,[96] which was in use until the end of the thirteenth century. A fourteenth- or fifteenth-century

90 *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 100.

91 Rashid al-Din stated that "Baraq sent a group of envoys to Abaqa Khan, and with them he also sent *beläg* [gifts] for Negüdär Oghul. Among the gifts was an arrow of the type the Mongols call *toghana*. When they gave it to him they made an extremely discreet motion to indicate that there was something in the arrow. He slit it open in private, and in the middle of the arrow he found a letter." Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿu't-tawarikh*, p. 522.

92 Jean-Paul Roux, *Türklerin ve Moğolların eski dini*, Turkish translation of *La Religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Payot 1984), Istanbul 2002, pp. 88–89.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

94 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1963, pp. 336–40; Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 663. Another Mongolian term for quiver is *qōr*. See Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1963, pp. 427–28. Persian words for quiver are *tīrdān*, *tīrkash*, or *tarkash*. See Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 296, 341.

95 Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar, quiver with arrows, inv.no. U-2001–8-10. See *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 84.

96 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1; p. 4, no. 1 and p. 23, no. 1.



FIGURE 12.7
Battle on a River, *with reflex bows. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 9, no. 2.*

example from Mongolia or Tibet shows its successor.[97]

Diez album pages, like *Hunting Scene; Cavalry Battle in Front of a City Gate; Mounted Warriors in Single Combat; Mongolian Feast; Rustam, on Wounded Rakhsh in the Pit, Looses an Arrow to Dispatch His Treacherous Half-Brother Shaghad; Mongolian Horseman in Mountain Landscape; Mounted Warriors in Single Combat; Kay Khusraw, Mounted on the White Elephant of the Khaqan of Chin, Escorted by Gudarz and Fariburz into Battle with Afrasiyab*; and *Mongolian Archer*, a drawing of a Mongol archer on horseback, depict quivers with an attached cheetah tail.[98] While İpşiroğlu describes the tails as purely a decoration,[99] Turnbull suggests that the cheetah's tail on the quiver may have been used for wiping clean retrieved arrows,[100] which is implausible. Nicolle argues that the "leopard's tail wrapped around the arrows in some quivers does become common in the 15th century. It may have been to separate different kinds of arrows or could simply have held the arrows steady when riding."[101] As the illustrations of the Diez albums show, the tradition of having a leopard's or cheetah's tail on the quiver existed and was common much earlier than the fifteenth century, as shown further below. Lentz and Lowry also suggest the tail was decorative, but while referring to Grabar and Blair they add that it may well have had a specific Turco-Mongol connotation.[102] Sims mentions the leopard's tail over the quiver

97 The Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection, London, inv.no. R-776. See Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, p. 390. For further Tibetan or Mongolian examples of later periods, see Donald J. LaRocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas: Rediscovering the Arms and Armor of Tibet*, New York 2006, pp. 188–92.

98 Diez A fol. 70, p. 1, p. 2, no.1; p. 14, no. 1 and p. 22, no.1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 26, no. 2; p. 28, no. 1; p. 30, no. 1; p. 40, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 72, p. 13.

99 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 67.

100 Stephen Turnbull, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1980, p. 39.

101 Nicolle, *The Age of Tamerlane*, p. 40.

102 W. Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Version: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Washington, D.C. 1989, p. 348; Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago 1980, pp. 25, 27, 33.



FIGURE 12.8
Mounted Warriors in Single Combat, *with cheetah's tails on their quivers.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1.*

but does not explain further.[103] A dividing function, as suggested by Nicolle, would at first glance seem likely, since the tail is often depicted drawn between arrows in the quiver.

However, that would not have been the only single or primary function, since tails from other animals or different materials could have been used instead of the leopard's or cheetah's. Alexander takes the tail for that of a snow leopard and interprets the feature as a "badge" of what he calls a "hunter warrior." The badge signifies in his opinion "that the hunter had killed a snow leopard, and this marked his elevation from novice to adept."[104]

The cheetah's tail did not, however, escape the attention of a Chinese painter of the Yuan court who painted Khubilai Khan hunting with his servants in 1280,[105] leaving no doubt about the origin of its use. The specific Turco-Mongol connotation must be found in a transcendental or apotropaic function related to the shamanism of the Central Asiatic steppes. An indication of the Turco-Mongol connection and Central Asiatic origin is the disappearance of the feature from artists' repertoire no later than the end of the fifteenth century.

Training in the skills of archery and the mastery of such skills was part of the royal educational program and was a sign of status for warriors and rulers.[106]

Training in the use of the Mongolian composite bow started at the age of five. The bows were made of mulberry or elm wood, and the ends of the composite bows were made of horn from Central Asian wild sheep or the Mongolian gazelle. The bowstring was made of leather. Every Mongolian warrior had a minimum of two or three bows and three quivers, as mentioned by de Plano Carpini.[107]

103 Eleanor Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*, New Haven 2002, p. 103.

104 David Alexander, *Furusiyya*, Riyadh, King Abdulaziz Public Library, 1996, p. 146.

105 Liu Kuan-tao, *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, dated 1280, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

106 Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, p. 379.

107 *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 98; de Plano Carpini, "Voyages de Johannes de Plano Carpini", pp. 235–36.



FIGURE 12.9 Mongol Archer on Horseback, *signed Muhammad Ibn Mahmudshah al-Khayyam, Iran, early fifteenth century. Ink and gold on paper.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 13.*

The quiver was also the symbol of the imperial guard, the *qūrçī*,[108] of the Mongols, who would stand to the right of the ruler bearing the quiver during ceremonies, as shown, for example, in Mongolian enthronement scenes and in *Mongolian Feast*.[109] Fight scenes with composite bows are found in *Battle on a River*, *Ambushed by the Enemy*, and *Mongolian Armour-Clad Archers Approaching*,[110] to mention just a few of the depictions from the albums.

The Diez albums contain drawings that were used for the design of artwork. Quivers and bow cases were beautifully decorated, especially when intended for royal use.[111] *Simurgh Motif for a Quiver*[112] shows the design for such a royal use.[113]

108 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1963, p. 429.

109 Diez A fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1; p. 11, no. 1; p. 20, and p. 22, no. 1.

110 Diez A fol. 70, p. 9, no. 2; p. 19, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, pp. 60 and 61.

111 For more on working with design in the *kitāb khāna*, see M.K. Özergin, *Temürlü Sanatına ait eski bir belge: Tebrizli Cafer' in bir arzı*. Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, vol. VI, 1976, pp. 471–518; Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 323–27.

112 Diez A fol. 73, p. 49, no. 1.

113 İpşiroğlu unfortunately described the drawing without mentioning its function as a design for a quiver. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Albeni*, p. 101; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Version*, p. 192, with comparison quiver in the miniature of a *Shāhnāma* cop-



FIGURE 12.10
Straight swords depicted in The Surrender of a City. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 22.*

The Sword: Thrusting, Slashing, and Cleaving

The swords of the warriors in the paintings of the Diez albums, mostly from the early fourteenth-century compendium of histories of Rashid al-Din, are straight and have a single-edged blade, as seen in *Wrestlers*, *Conversation in a House*, *The Surrender of a City*, *Horsemen on a River*, *Mounted Warriors in Single Combat*, and *Entertainment on a River*.[114] The swords of the early Islamic world were also straight and had a single-edged blade.[115] There are, furthermore, illustrations of slightly curved sabres with single-edged blades, which seems to be an innovation of the eighth and ninth centuries. The Avars carried this slightly curved sabre as a sidearm when they invaded Hungary in the eighth century.[116] The edged weapons were used in three ways: to thrust, to chop, and to slash. A straight, rigid, sharply pointed double-edged sword is most effective for thrusting, while a slightly curved sword, which is heavy towards the point, with a chisel-shaped blade and additional thickness at the back is the best choice for chopping. A light, thin, extremely keen, and strongly curved blade is, on the other hand, excellent for slashing.[117] The curved sword or sabre was the ultimate edged weapon for a mounted warrior, since cutting and slashing were ideally done from a higher position on horseback. This function was generally associated with and trea-

ied for Baysunghur in 1430. Tehran Gulistan Palace Library, no. 61. For a further drawing of a quiver design, see also Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2153, fol. 71v.

114 Diez A fol. 71, p. 1; p. 8; p. 22; p. 25, no. 2; p. 29, no. 1; and p. 32, no. 3.

115 Abd al-Rahman Zaky, "Medieval Arab Arms", in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. Robert Elgood, London 1979, p. 365; Alexander, *The Arts of War*, p. 13.

116 Helmut Nickel, *Ullstein-Waffenbuch: Eine kulturhistorische Waffenkunde mit Markenverzeichnis*, Berlin 1974, p. 185; Alexander, *The Arts of War*, p. 13.

117 F. Karel Wiest, "The Sword of Islam: Edged Weapons of Muhammedan Asia", in *Arts of Asia* vol. IX No. 3 (1979), p. 73.

sured by the Central Asiatic Turco-Mongol warrior.[118] The long, slightly curved sword or sabre is believed to have already been in use by ʿAbbasid cavalry in the ninth century as well.[119] The mention of such a sabre by al-Kindi in the ninth century proves its existence in the early Islamic period.[120] The earliest existing sword has been dated to the ninth century; it was excavated at Nishapur in Iran, and can be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[121]

The sabre with a slightly curved blade seems to have its origin with the old Turkic nomadic tribes of the Inner Asian steppes.[122] An example of a slightly curved sabre from the tenth century of Mongolian origin may provide good evidence of this.[123] According to Kobylinski, the nomadic peoples, in this case the T'u Chueh, had in fact adopted it from the Chinese and brought it to the Near East.[124] The earliest depiction of a sabre is kept in the National Museum in Tehran and is originally from Nishapur. It is dated to the tenth or possibly the eleventh century.[125] The depiction is from a mural painting, presumably from the time of the Ghaznavids (977–1186), and shows a horseman. Knowledge of the weaponry of the Central Asiatic horse people was taken over by the Qarakhanids and imparted to the Ghaznavids.[126] The manuscript of al-Sufi, which is dated 1009–10, also depicts sabres.[127] Evidence of the development of the Iranian sabre is not found in paintings until the thirteenth century.[128]

118 Alexander, *The Arts of War*, p. 13.

119 James W. Allan and Brian Gilmour, *Persian Steel: Tanavoli Collection*, Oxford 2000, p. 195.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 192; Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour, *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking*, Oxford 2006.

121 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 40.170.168. James W. Allan, *Nishapur: Metalwork of the Early Islamic Period*, New York 1982.

122 Hans Stöcklein, "Arms and Armour", in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, Oxford 1939, vol. III, p. 2572, vol. IX, pl. 1423; Bernd Augustin, "Waffen", in *Morgenländische Pracht*, ed. Claus-Peter Haase, Jens Kröger, and Ursula Liener, Hamburg 1993, p. 183; Alexander, "Two Aspects of Islamic Arms and Armour", vol. II, p. 99; Allan and Gilmour, *Persian Steel*, p. 195.

123 Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar, inv.no. U-2001–8-9.

124 Lech Kobylinski, "Persian and Indo-Persian Arms", in *Persian and Indo-Persian Arms and Armour of 16th–19th Century from Polish Collections*, ed. Antoni Romuald Chodyński, Malbork 2000, p. 59.

125 Nicolle and Allan date the mural painting to the tenth century. David Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour*, Madrid 1976, p. 124; James W. Allan, *Early Persian Metal Technology, 700–1300 AD*, Oxford 1979, p. 89; Allan and Gilmour, *Persian Steel*, p. 195. Wilkinson dates this mural painting to the eleventh century by comparison to depictions in the *Qābūsnāma* (dated 1082). Charles Kyrle Wilkinson, *Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration*, New York 1986, pp. 208–09.

126 Allan, *Early Persian Metal Technology*, p. 90; Allan and Gilmour, *Persian Steel*, p. 195.

127 The manuscript of al-Sufi is kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See also Allan, *Early Persian Metal Technology*, p. 88.

128 Nicolle interprets a sword depicted in a ceramic bowl dated between the twelfth and thirteenth century as a sabre. This sword was, however, already examined and identified as European by Prof. Paul Post in 1927 and cannot therefore be considered in this context. The ceramic bowl is kept in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, inv.no. I. 4843. The report by Post, curator of the Collection of the Zeughaus Berlin, gives the following information: "Auch das Schwert ist rein europäisch, sowohl die gerade Klinge – die Krümmung



FIGURE 12.11 The Fire-Ordeal of Siyawush, *Western Iran, 1390–1410. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 27.*

However, the curved sabre was the predominant type of weapon in the thirteenth century.[129] A wonderful example of a curved sabre, double-edged in the last third of the blade, is kept in the Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection.[130]

der Schüssel erweckt die falsche Vorstellung eines Krummschwertes – mit angedeuteter Blutrille in der Mitte wie der Griff mit gerader Parierstange und scheibenförmigen Knauf." Friedrich Sarre, "Drei Meisterwerke Syrischer Keramik, Neuerwerbungen der Islamischen Kunstabteilung" in *Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Heft 1, Berlin 1927, p. 9. See also Çakır Phillip, *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen*, p. 83.

129 Allan, *Early Persian Metal Technology*, p. 90; Allan and Gilmour, *Persian Steel*, p. 195.

130 The Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection, inv.no. R-249. Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, pp. 38–39, cat.no. 9; Augustin, "Waffen", pp. 186–87. There is a forthcoming description of this sabre by James Allan. See



FIGURE 12.12 *Sabre, c. 1200. The Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection, inv.no. R-249.*

This sabre was dated *c.* 1200 and attributed to Khorasan on the grounds of its ornamentation.[131] Another slightly curved sabre, kept in a private collection in North America, is dated to between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth century and shows the common usage of this type.[132] Furthermore, depictions on Mamluk metalwork from the end of thirteenth and from the beginning of the fourteenth century provide us with visual evidence of this type of slightly curved sabre.[133]

Slightly curved sabres appear in depictions from the early fourteenth century in the miniatures of the Ilkhanids.[134] The Diez albums miniatures *Siege of Baghdad*; *Preparations for a Mongolian Feast*; *Farud Slays Riwniz at the Foot of His Qalʿa;* and *Mongolian Enthronement Scene*[135] provide examples of slightly curved sabres together with the straight sword mentioned above.[136] According to Mayer, the straight sword was in use until the end of the fourteenth century by the Mamluks, even until the end of their rule, for ceremonial purposes such as the chairing of sultans and caliphs.[137]

Early dateable paintings in the Diez albums show swords with straight blades, as in *The Surrender of a City*.[138] The existing medieval swords from the Alexandria and Aleppo arsenals of the Mamluk period, which were brought to Istanbul after the occupation of Egypt and Syria by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), show that European swords were also in use by Muslim warriors.[139] Evidence of Italian, French, and German swords with Arabic inscriptions related to the Mamluks can be found among others in the collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum and Askeri Müze in Istanbul, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.[140]

"Social and Economic history of Metalwork, 1050–1250", in *From the Mongols to Modernism* (The Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. II), ed. G. Necipoğlu and B. Flood, Oxford 2016–17.

131 Augustin, "Waffen", pp. 186–87.

132 The sabre belongs to Oliver S. Pinchot and was on display during the exhibition "Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353." See also Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353,* New York 2002, p. 13.

133 Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no. LP 16.

134 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, inv.no. H. 1653 (*Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*).

135 Diez A fol. 70, p. 4, no. 1; Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 2; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1.

136 B.W. Robinson, "The Sword of Islam", *Apollo Annual*, London 1949, p. 57.

137 Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", p. 8; Zaky, "Medieval Arab Arms", p. 379; A.R.E. North, "Sword of Islam", *Sword and Hilt Weapons*, London 1994, p. 138.

138 Diez A fol. 71, p. 22.

139 For early Islamic swords in the Topkapı Palace Museum, see Ünsal Yücel, *Islamic Swords and Swordsmiths*, Istanbul 2001.

140 Askeri Müze, Istanbul, inv.no. 2360. The Arabic inscription reads "Deposited by His Exalted Highness in the treasury of Alexandria in the year 770." (AD 1368); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 29.150.143, bears an inscription with the following information: "Donation of al-Malik al Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh to the armoury in the frontier city of Alexandria in the year 822 [1419]." A medieval Italian sword in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto,

The existing swords with straight blades, which are generally accepted as booty, could on the other hand also be evidence of trade between Europeans, especially between the Milanese in Italy and the Ilkhanids in Iran. Milan was one of the earliest centres producing weapons for trans-regional trade. The earliest documentation of this trade in weapons and their production goes back to 1066. It was an important part of the state economy.[141] Milan's advantageous geographical location brought it additional export profits. The importance of Lombardy in comparison with the cities of Florence and Venice with reference to the production of weapons was mentioned by Lorenzo Fasólo da Pavia (1463–1518) and Giorgio Vasari (1511–74).[142] Milan exported weapons not only to Spain and Portugal but also to North Africa and the Near East.[143] According to the thirteenth century chronicles of Bonvesin da la Riva (1240–1315), "a marvellous number of armorers, who daily produce every type of arm [...] and all are of tempered and polished steel, brighter than a mirror" and "all these types of arms pass from this city to other Italian cities, where they are ultimately exported to the Tartars and the Saracens."[144] In this context we must mention that the Ilkhanid ruler Ulcaitu (1280–1316) was interested in an alliance with the Europeans against the Mamluks and that he had trade relationships with them. At his instigation, fifteen hundred pieces of armour and helmets were obtained from Europe through Frankish merchants in 1312,[145] to be used against the Mamluks; this onset ended unsuccessfully.[146] These circumstances could provide another explanation for why we find depictions of straight sword in Ilkhanid paintings.

The personal weapon of the warrior was the slightly curved sabre, also seen in *Siege of Baghdad*, *Salutation*, *Kay Khusraw Executes Afrasiyab*, and *The Fire-Ordeal of Siyawush*.[147] The basic materials of hilted weapons were usually iron and steel. For high-quality pieces, however, watered steel was used. It combined hardness with

Acc. No. 930.26.46, with an Arabic inscription on the blade, gives similar information about the sword having been donated to the armoury in the frontier city of Alexandria in 1368–69.

141 Stuart W. Pyhrr and José A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, New York 1998, p. 4., after Emilio Motta, "Armaiuoli milanesi nel periodo Visconteo-Sforzesco", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. 5, 41, nos. 1–2, Bologna, 1914, p. 188, n. 2.

142 Marco Spallanzani, *Metalli Islamici a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Florence 2010, p. 4.

143 Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 4.

144 *Ibid.*, after Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, "L' arte milanese dell' armatura". in *Storia di Milano*, vol. 11, *Il declino spagnolo* (1630–1706), Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, Milan 1958, p. 708. Thomas and Gamber's publication is still the best, most precise, and most well-documented work about the Milanese production of weapons. See also Çakır Phillip, *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen*, p. 195.

145 "fünfzehnhundert Panzer und Helme durch fränkische Kaufleute aus Europa herbeigeschafft", Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane, das ist der Mongolen in Persien, 1200–1350* (Nachdruck der Ausgabe Darmstadt 1842–43), Amsterdam 1974, p. 227.

146 Çakır Phillip, *Iranische Hieb-, Stich- und Schutzwaffen*, p. 195.

147 Diez A fol. 70, p. 4, no. 1; p. 9, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 3; and p. 27.



FIGURE 12.13 Warrior on Horseback. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 1.*

elasticity and could be sharpened very easily.[148] From the beginning of the fourteenth century onward until the early Safavid Period, the curved sabre in its shape was established as Iranian weaponry.[149] *A Leopard, a Peacock, and a Combat Scene*[150] shows an example from the beginning of the fifteenth century.[151] The Iranian sabre called a *shamshīr* (and its Indian variant, the *talwār*) became more popular after its development in the time of Shah ʿAbbas.

Like the curved sabre, the *qılıç* is another type of weaponry[152] that has a Central Asian origin. Its shape was already established by the end of medieval times, and it was in use across a wide geographical area in the Near East. The *qılıç* presumably existed in the time of the Seljuqs, who were unsurpassed as horsemen in the eleventh century. This type of sword was used on horseback as well as on foot. Its typical shape, with a slight curve and enlargement at the point of the blade, the so-called *yalmān*, clearly distinguishes it from the Iranian *shamshīr*.[153] The *yalmān* accounts for the last quarter of the blade and is double-edged at the point, as can be observed in *Cavalry Battle in Front of a City Gate*, *Warrior on Horseback*, and *Cavalry Battle*.[154] This type of sword was, like the *shamshīr*, further developed in the sixteenth century.[155]

148 Çakır Phillip, "Wars and Weapons", p. 430.

149 Kaweh Pur Rahnama, "A Persian's View of Polish-Persian Cultural Relations and Militaria", in *Persian and Indo-Persian Arms and Armour of 16th–19th Century from Polish Collections*, ed. Antoni Romuald Chodyński, Malbork 2000, p. 83.

150 Diez A fol. 72, p. 12, no. 1.

151 For a description of the drawing, see İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 81.

152 In most Turkic languages *qılıç* means sword or sabre, which also applies to the term as a Turkish element in New Persian. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1967, pp. 496–98.

153 The terms *yalmān* and *qılıç* have been established among experts.

154 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1; Diez A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 5.

155 The most famous *qılıç*s are: the *qılıç*s of Sultan Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople, both from the second half of the fifteenth century, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv.no. 1/90, and with a slightly different shape of curvature, inv.no. 1/375; the *qılıç* of Shah Tahmasb, sixteenth century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv.no. I.S. 3378/1, 2. See Ahmet Ayhan, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Arms Collection*, Istanbul 2011, pp. 62–64; James W. Allan, "Early Safavid

The Mace and Pole Weapons: Smashing, Lancing, and Spearing

Alongside swords and sabres, the Diez warriors are depicted using maces and pole weapons like lances and spears. Three types of maces are depicted in the Diez albums: a round-headed mace, as in *Preparations for a Mongolian Feast*, *Wrestlers*, or *Finding a Fallen Warrior*;[156] a mace with a six-flanged head, as in *Mounted Warriors in Single Combat*, *Hero Killing a Dragon*, or *Rustam Slays the White Div with a Blow of His Mace to the Head*;[157] and the ox-headed mace, the so-called *gurz-i gāv paykar* or *gurz-i gāvsār*, as in *Cavalry Battle* or *Nocturnal Battle*.[158] The latter originated in the pre-Islamic Iranian tradition.[159]

Thrusting was the function of the lances and spears, and for this they were preferred by warriors to swords.[160] The heads of the lances and spears, which could be flat, double-edged, or double-sided, had very sharp tips. A double-edged spearhead from the fourteenth to fifteenth century in Central Asia is in the Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection.[161] The shafts were quite long and made of wood or metal. Lances and spears were used for fighting in battle, as pictured in *Mounted Warriors Chase a Fleeing Enemy*, *Cavalry in Pursuit*, *Ruler on Elephantback Watches a Single Combat*, *Cavalry Battle in Fire*, *Pursuing Horsemen*, and *Cavalry Battle*, in which a warrior unhelms his enemy with his lance.[162] They were obviously also very useful when a hero had to kill a dragon, as in *Hero Killing a Dragon* and *Hero Killing a Dragon in Landscape*,[163] or a *hizabr* lion in *Mounted Hero Fighting a Winged Lion*.[164]

Besides the main and personal weapons of a warrior depicted in paintings and drawings of the Diez albums, there are also depictions of catapults and other siege equipment. The Mongols used catapults when besieging fortifications and cities, as illustrated in *Siege of Baghdad*.[165]

Rashid al-Din describes the use of catapults during the occupation of Baghdad.[166] He also mentions that the catapult-makers were from Cathay during the time of

Metalwork", in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby, Milan 2003, pp. 226–27.

156 Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 71, p. 1 and p. 33.

157 Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1; p. 24, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 5.

158 Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1; and Diez A fol. 72, p. 24.

159 See Çakır Phillip, "The Shahnama", pp. 61–62.

160 Wiest, "The Sword of Islam", p. 74; Ayhan, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Arms Collection*, p. 22.

161 Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection, Inv. R -933. See Mohamed, *The Arts of the Muslim Knight*, p. 278. For examples of Mamluk and Safavid lances kept in Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, see Ayhan, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Arms Collection*, pp. 24–26.

162 Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, nos. 1 and 4; p. 46, nos. 1 and 2; p. 60; Diez A fol. 72, p. 17; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1.

163 Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1, and Diez A fol. 70, p. 25.

164 Diez A fol. 73, p. 75, no. 1.

165 Diez A fol. 70, p. 7, no. 1.

166 Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 397; Turnbull, *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Conquests*, p. 31.



FIGURE 12.14 Siege of Baghdad, *with catapult probably from a* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Tabriz, 1310-18. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 7, no. 1.*



FIGURE 12.15 Siege of a Walled City, *folio probably from a* Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh *of Rashid al-Din, Tabriz, 1310–18. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 4.*

Khubilai Khan.[167] Hülägü, the grandson of Genghis Khan and conqueror of Iran, ordered Cathay to send "a thousand households of Cathaian catapult men, naphtha throwers, crossbow men" to Iran,[168] whereupon the destruction of Baghdad occurred in 1258.

Final Reflection

The depictions of the warrior, his armament, and weapons mirror his importance in the Central Asiatic background of the Ilkhanids and their successors. The royal commissions of illustrated manuscripts, like the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* and *Shāhnāma*, show the emergence of propaganda for the descendants of the Mongols and the intensive patronage of the Iranian national epic. As proposed by Komaroff,

167 "The qa'an ordered Bayan to go in pursuit of him with a troop. Before that there had not been any large Frankish catapults in Cathay, but Talib, a catapult maker from this land, had gone to Baalbek and Damascus, and his sons Abubakr, Ibrahim and Muhammad, and his employees made seven large catapults and set out to conquer the city." Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿu't-tawarikh*, p. 450. Another folio shows the utilization of catapults as Mahmud Ibn Sebuktigun attacks the fortress of Zaranj in Sistan. Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab 20, fol. 172v. See also Sims, *Peerless Images*, p. 94.

168 Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿu't-tawarikh*, p. 478.

the purpose of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* is to be understood "as an attempt to display the Mongol commitment to Iran's cultural heritage, while also exalting the history of the Mongols themselves."[169] The merging of the nomadic tradition of the Mongol warrior with the high culture of Iran found its expression in the illustrations of those manuscripts. One purpose was to show the glorious success of the Mongols and Ilkhanids as a nation of warriors; the other was to show the understanding of and participation in the history and tradition of Iranian culture, which also exalted warriors and heroes. The manuscript of the *Shāhnāma*, which was illustrated several times in Muslim courts, shows the importance of the ruler and his right to rule as the central topic of Islamic rulership. It was regarded as an indisputable and powerful symbol of the tradition of Iranian kingship.[170] For that reason the commissioning of a *Shāhnāma* manuscript was attractive for rulers from an ideological perspective, as mentioned in the content of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[171] It is interesting that the production of these manuscripts and their detached folios was important to the Mongols, the conquerors of Iran, who fairly quickly internalized Iranian kingship. The Iranization of the Mongols and their successors was from then on inevitable.

Although we know that the Diez albums were heterogeneously arranged in later times, the preponderance of images depicting warriors in the battlefield or conquering castles and cities, as well as the drawings of a single warrior or hero, show us the importance of the contextualization of the themes of the glorious past, whether for the artist's portfolio or the collector in general.

169 Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, p. 146.

170 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

171 Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History*, pp. 24–25.

The Albums' Contents: Drawings and Sketches

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CHAPTER 13

Models, Sketches, and Pounced Drawings in the Diez Albums: First Steps in the Making of Illustrated Manuscripts*

Yves Porter

Rise and let's deliver our life to the qalam *of this Painter*
For under the round of His compass
He holds such amazing paintings
HAFIZ, *ghazal* no. 79

Introduction

The compilation of paintings and drawings kept in the Diez albums establishes a real "library of forms", a stock of references from different periods and lands. There are hundreds of drawings in this collection. Some, bearing signatures, look almost like completed works. Others are obviously copied from existing works, such as the *Tazza Farnese*, or from some pre-Timurid paintings or drawings.[1] Series of drawings are clearly devised as projects for the decoration of portable objects, such as textiles, book bindings, or even metalwork.[2] But many of the remaining drawings, to which this article is mainly devoted, demonstrate different moments in the creative process of a painting. Indeed, we can easily suppose that the making of illustrations for a Persian manuscript goes through a course of several possible steps. Moreover, the drawings collected in the albums reveal and point out the multiple ways of creation, by accumulating, copying, inventing, and further sifting graphic materials. Finally, the album drawings also show the diversity of the actors that bring these works to life, and to some degree, their specialization.

As far as the identification of the different kinds of drawings is concerned, we ought to examine the nature of the different sorts of paper, the grain, thickness, constitutive materials, and other peculiar specifics; the quality and nature of these materials might indeed help us

* I would like to address my warmest thanks to Richard Castinel for his enduring support, and for his help with the words in this paper; thanks also to Stephen Gibbs for his re-reading and corrections.

1 On this subject, see Zeren Tanındı's contribution "Repetition of Pictures in the Topkapı Saray and Diez Albums" in this volume. I cordially thank her for pointing out to me several missing references, which have consequently been added here.

2 That the designers of the *kitābkhāna* were working on different media is indicated by the *ʿarżadāsht* from Baysunghur's library; see, for instance, Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden 2001, pp. 43–44. Besides, some drawings might also have been used for purposes of performance; see David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden 2001, pp. 70–71.

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understand which kind of "drawing" we are dealing with.[3] The temporal stratification of technical stages could be another method applied to classify these objects. In any case, three different aims or functions, though not mutually exclusive, can be singled out:

– Formal experiences, both for experimental and creative purposes, but also reflecting didactical and training works; these would include scraps, exercises, and pounced drawings;
– Preparation for integration into the pictorial project (fore-project, general sketch, and approval of a project); and
– General layout in connection with the page context (under-drawings on manuscript folios, and main compositional drawing).

The albums illustrate part of the creative process which takes place in the *kitābkhāna* in the making of an illustrated manuscript. Moreover, the drawings can be used for mere decorative purposes, to be translated into a variety of media. Many other issues deriving from these technical considerations, such as the number and the very choice of the painting subjects and their possible programmatic tenure in a manuscript, should also be considered, although these questions are not the subject of this paper.

Indeed, all the decisions that constitute the very first project for a manuscript, such as its format, kind of paper, style of calligraphy, and number and subject of paintings, are probably made according to the desire of the patron, but through a collective or collegial process, implying the leading figures of the workshop too.[4] Thus, the drawings show us not only different stages, but also different artistic levels, some works being clearly made by pupils, for instance, under the guidance of a senior artist. Undeniably, behind this accumulation of graphic material, there is not only a "pedagogical" aim, but also the building up of a specific visual identity or community. Furthermore, the albums draw on the memory of the workshop and on the transmission of knowledge and know-how.

The subjects of the drawings, although numerous, are not unlimited. Moreover, they suggest canons of representation, or at least iconographical trends that allow us to identify characters such as Majnun, Iskandar, Khusraw or Bahram Gur, as well as specific episodes in the stories of these heroes. The repetition of such features leads to a synthesis of these characters and participates in the elaboration of an archetypal visual idiom.[5]

Some paintings are obviously inspired – on different levels – by pre-existing compositions. We can thus deduce that the whole – or part – of the outline was reproduced from older paintings or sketches,

3 Unhappily, this kind of exploration, which would need scientific observation, was not possible given the limitations of this publication.

4 On the question of *modus operandi*, see Robert Hillenbrand, "New Perspectives in *Shahnama* Iconography", in *Shahnama*: *The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. R. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh 2004, p. 3. See also Yves Porter, "The Making of Persian Illustrated Manuscripts", in Y. Porter, *Image and Décor in the Persianate World*, Yarshater lectures, London 2013, (forthcoming).

5 It would be interesting to question whether these figures can be considered archetypes or fall into a "restricted set of stereotyped images"; see below.

kept together in an album. Other compositions are, in contrast, totally original. Consequently, we might wonder whether and to what extent the *kitābkhāna* framework allowed for innovation. As Thomas Lentz and Glenn Lowry wrote:

> How is one to characterize this painting of so few apparent innovations, one virtually devoid of the bold formal leaps that characterized much of pre-Timurid painting? Its uniformity, balance, compositional coherence, and impeccably precise technique were not so much derived from individual artistic inclinations as from a larger conception of painting that involved integrating a restricted set of stereotyped images into a composition. This aesthetic process froze both image and style; rather than exercising a free hand, the Timurid artist illustrating a manuscript operated under constraints of subject, expression, scale, narrative requirement, and vocabulary. His creative role was determined by his ability to manipulate effectively the methods of illustration dictated by the manuscript.[6]

There are hundreds of drawings in the Diez albums; only a few examples will be reviewed here. We will first try to determine how precisely the different categories of drawings kept in the albums match what we can perceive of the specific Persian vision of such pieces of work. A second point will deal with the ways we can understand some of the examples of the so-called "first steps", as illustrated first by scraps, then by studies of single heroes, and finally by general sketches for compositions. Beyond the question of pouncing and the repetition of compositions, the third part will be devoted to the possible formal identity emerging from the process used in the *kitābkhāna*. Through these different angles, we will try to analyze some aspects of the system of the production of Persian illustrated manuscripts during the Timurid period. Indeed, as already pointed out by David Roxburgh, we will confirm that most of the material studied here actually belongs to this period.[7]

Naming and Perceiving Drawings

The *Canons of Painting*, written by the poet-painter Sadiqi in the early seventeenth century, is the only Persian treatise on painting known to this day.[8] Curiously, there is almost nothing about drawings in it, most of the poem referring to colours and other techniques, such as oil-based lacquer-painting. The only very brief mention concerning drawing is to be found in a description of illumination techniques

6 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989, pp. 176–177. More generally on "constraints", see also Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, Princeton 1999, pp. 127–137.

7 David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection.* New Haven and London 2005, p. 145.

8 See text edition in Yves Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre. Essai de literature technique indo-persane*, Tehran 1992, pp. 198–207; and *idem*, "From the 'Theory of the Two *Qalams*' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology and Practice in Persian Classical Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), pp. 109–118.

(*naqqāshī*).[9] This silence is puzzling, but is it significant? Can we deduce from it a hierarchy of values, for instance, that would situate drawing at the lower levels of art?

In fact, two different "levels" of drawings have to be clearly distinguished among the works assembled here: those bearing signatures undoubtedly have an intrinsic artistic value; in the Diez albums, these are represented by works "signed" by Muhammad al-Khayyam, for example.[10] Moreover, Sadiqi himself used to sell his own sketches and ink drawings, as mentioned by Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi.[11] Besides, we find in Persian sources, such as Mirza Haydar's account, that Ustad Baba Hajji was without equal in painting design (*ṭarrāḥī-i naqsh*) and charcoal sketching (*zughāl giriftan*).[12] Similarly, Qadi Ahmad says in a poem about Mirak Naqqash that:

> His drawing in charcoal (*nigār-i zughāl*) by its fluency
> Is superior to work by the brush of Mani.[13]

These laudatory descriptions, although perhaps somewhat exaggerated, show at least the esteem in which the drawings of renowned artists were held.

The second category corresponds to preliminary steps in the making of a manuscript illustration. This stage is much more difficult to evaluate in terms of artistic significance, although the preservation of hundreds of them in the albums seems to point towards a certain recognition.[14]

In the *ʿarża-dāsht* of Baysunghur's library, the place of drawings is also secondary. Two different kinds of these are mentioned in this document, corresponding in reality to two categories of draughtsmen: the first are the outlines of paintings or illuminations, made by the painters themselves; the second are designs to be executed on a variety of media for decorative purposes, which are the work of *naqqāshān* or designers.[15] According to this text, each artist appears to be responsible for a majority of the steps leading to the completed page he is in charge of, from sketch (*ṭarḥ*) to colouring (*būm, rangāmīzī*) and details (*chihra*, faces, but also

9 "Do not haste while making your drawing / Do not neglect the curls of the scrolls (*jush-i rismān*)." See text edition in Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre*, p. 201, line 84.

10 The question of authenticating signatures, or analyzing scribal attributions, is a somewhat unexplored issue, especially in the study of the Timurid and later albums.

11 See Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre*, p. 169.

12 Laurence Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, (London, 1933), reprint, New York 1971, p. 191; Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, Cambridge, MA. 1989, p. 362.

13 Qadi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, trans. V. Minorsky, Washington 1959, p. 180. Persian edition by A. Suhayli Khvansari, *Gulistān-i hunar*, Tehran 1973, p. 134.

14 On the question of "black-line" drawings, see Filiz Çağman, "Glimpses into the Fourteenth-Century Turkic World of Central Asia: The Paintings of Muhammad Siyah Qalam", in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh, London 2005, pp. 148–156.

15 Many examples of this kind are preserved in the albums; however, only one single pouncing falling into this category will be discussed here: Diez A fol. 73, p. 7, no. 6 (ill. 12): *Corner Piece* (*lachak*) *with Dragon*.

taḥrir, outline).[16] Alongside this principle and through this very document, we can discern specific skills, leading us to think that some of the artists were specialized in specific techniques or subject matter (illustrative compositions, decorative designs, illumination motives, probably geometric patterns – especially on decorative architectural schemes appearing in illustrations, and others). Beyond such a division of the work, the activity of the *kitābkhāna* also had to cope with the training of younger artists and to elaborate didactic materials for this purpose. This "pedagogic" facet does not appear at all in the *ʿarża-dāsht*.

In addition, a much more segmented organization has to be pointed out in the Mughal workshops, where this temporal division of tasks was often performed by three different artists.[17] The documentation is certainly too scarce to draw definitive conclusions about the organization of tasks in Timurid workshops, but we can underline that scraps and exercises made by apprentices were not worth mentioning in official documents.

The Persian texts on painting, and more generally those on the arts of the book, although not very explicit or prolix in technical matters, use different words to designate drawings, sketches and outlines, such as:

- *angāra*, *nirang*: preliminary sketch;
- *ṭarḥ*, or *aṣl-i ṭarḥ*: drawing, underdrawing, or general composition;
- *qalam-i siyāhī*, *ṭarḥ-i musavvida*: drawing in black line; and
- *charba*, *garda-yi taṣvīr*: pouncing.[18]

Nirang/angāra: Sketch; and *ṭarḥ*: Drawing

According to Asadi-i Tusi's *Lughat-i furs*, written during the eleventh century, the word *nirang* means plainly: "the colour used by the painters".[19] However, in the much later dictionary *Burhān-i qāṭiʿ*, we find the following definition: "This is the first step, which painters draw with charcoal and finger."[20]

As we will see further on, the use of charcoal is not evidenced by the drawings kept in the Diez albums, that is, except for pouncing; this might imply that the understanding of the word *nirang* in *Burhān-i qāṭiʿ* is modern and derived from Europeanized practices.

In fact, it is curious to verify that the word *nirang* does not appear in the technological literature, apart from an occasional mention in Dust Muhammad's *dībācha* (preface). In this text, *nirang* is used, according to W. Thackston, to mean "magic"; thus he translates, in the

16 See Persian version in Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 43; I do not completely agree with Thackston's translation.

17 On the organization of Ottoman workshops, see Filiz Çağman, "Behind the Ottoman Canon: The Workshops of the Imperial Palace", in *Palace of Gold and Light: Treasures from the Topkapı*, Istanbul 2000, pp. 46–56.

18 For this terminology, see also Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre*, pp. 68–70.

19 Quoted by ʿA.A. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* (electronic version), Tehran n.d.

20 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khalaf Tabrīzī, *Burhān-i qāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʾīn, Tehran 1982, vol. 4, p. 2225. This dictionary was written in the early nineteenth century; the present edition was completed and annotated by Muhammad Muʾin in the mid-twentieth century.

introduction to the *Preface*, where God is compared to a painter: "Neither did he use a magic incantation (*nirang*) nor did he mix colours."[21]

Obviously, this rendering of the word *nirang* does not illustrate its double meaning of both "magic" and "sketch". Despite this lack of use in the Persian texts, it should be underlined that the opposition between a first step, represented by the sketch or the under-drawing (*nirang*), followed by a second, meaning "the colouring" (*rang-āmīzī*), does occur, as already mentioned, especially in the marginal notes of Akbar's illustrated manuscripts.

A somewhat unexpected source for Persian technological vocabulary is to be found in India; indeed, *munshis* (or secretaries) were often recruited from among Hindu pundits, and they were frequently compelled to learn high-standard Persian in order to take up their duties. As a consequence, several of these pundits wrote dictionaries and lexicons in order to explain what they considered strange or little-used words and expressions. Indeed, some Indo-Persian poets, such as Bidel Dihlavi, used to compose poems in a bombastic language, making exaggerated use of uncommon expressions, in what is known in Persia as *sabk-i hindī* (Indian style), or *iṣṭilāḥātī* style.[22]

Anand Ram Mukhlis – writing in eighteenth-century Mughal India – is among the most prolific of these scholars.[23] Although his land and era seem far removed from Timurid Central Asia, his knowledge of traditional and old-fashioned Persian technicalities allows us to use his work in our lexicographic inquest. He mentions several kinds of drawings; among these, he uses *angāra* for "sketch"; this word is notably employed in his definition of *ustukhvān-bandī* (composition):

> *Ustukhvān-bandī*, meaning making the sketch (*angāra*) right and building up the composition (*tarkīb bastan*); for instance, if you want to write a piece of calligraphy or to make a drawing, first you draw its composition (or general outline) with a black line (*ba ṭarḥ-i musavvida*); after this, it is required to set one's heart upon the work with it.[24]

These definitions, although not commonly used in technical literature,[25] might designate the very first steps in drawing, as opposed to the final outline for the composition. However, according to these definitions, it is difficult to establish a clear difference between the first mere scraps

21 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 5.

22 See, for instance, Hamidreza Ghelichkhani, *Terms of Codicology and the Related Arts in the Divan of Bidel Dihlavi*, New Delhi 2011.

23 See Tasneem Ahmad, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Medieval India: Mirat-ul-Istilah*, Delhi 1993. This English translation is unhappily quite inaccurate, and very much summarized; therefore I prefer to rely on the original Persian text here.

24 Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, *Mir'āt al- iṣṭilāḥ*, Ms. Khudabakhsh Library, Patna no. 796, fol. 11v.

25 A throughout exploration of *poetical* literature would show, on the contrary, that this vocabulary is widely used, especially in the *sabk-i hindī* poetry; this could probably point towards oral transmission.

and exercises (these are termed *mashq* in calligraphy),[26] or the first creative outbursts, and the second (or later), general and "final" outline for a composition.

Another locution, *aṣl-i ṭarḥ*, probably also means "composition"; we find it in Mirza Haydar Dughlat's account of the painters in the Herat *kitābkhāna*. Thus he writes about Bihzad:

> His pen is more forceful and his drawings [draftsmanship] and compositions [articulation] are better than those of Shah Muzaffar.[27]

About Khvaja Mirak Naqqash, he points out:

> His drawings/compositions (*aṣl-i ṭarḥ*) are more mature than those of Bihzad, although his production is lesser than Bihzad's.

About Qasim ʿAli:

> His works are very different from those of Bihzad; any expert can recognize that his style (*uslūb*) is rougher (*durushtar*) than Bihzad's, and his compositions less harmonious (*aṣl-i ṭarḥ-i ū bī-andāmtar ast*).[28]

It must be pointed out that Mirza Haydar – almost the only author allowing himself to criticize old masters – is not really clear when he refers to "*aṣl-i ṭarḥ*": does he mean an actual "drawing" or is he referring to the more theoretic and abstract notion of "composition"?

Drawings in Black-ink or Charcoal

Dust Muhammad says about Amir Dawlatyar:

> [He] was ennobled by being a pupil of Master Ahmad Musa and was outstanding in this regard, especially in pen-and-ink drawing (*qalam-i siyāhī*; see fig. 13.1).[29]

While the texts make little mention of the topic of the kind of ink or pigment used for these *qalam-i siyāhī* (according to Dust

26 The word *mashq* is heavily used in the context of calligraphy exercises; see, for instance, Muḥammad Bukhārī, *Favā'id al-khuṭṭūṭ*, ed. N. Māyel Heravi, *The Art of Bibliopegy in Islamic Tradition*, Mashhad 1993, p. 385. However, the term *mashq* does not seem to be limited to calligraphy: it appears in at least two inscriptions on fifteenth-century Persian drawings: TSKM H. 2153, fol. 104v (*mashq-i Ustād Muḥammad Siyāh Qalam*, see F. Cağman, "Glimpses", p. 149), and Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 5 (*mashq-i Mīr Dawlatyār*, see fig. 1). I would like to thank the editors for pointing out these references to me.

27 Mirza Haydar Dughlat, quoted by T.W. Arnold in Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature*, p. 190. Between square brackets: W.M. Thackston's translation, *A Century of Princes*, p. 361.

28 Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature*, pp. 190–191. These translations are my own and slightly differ from T.W. Arnold's in Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature*, and Thackston's, *A Century of Princes*, pp. 361–362. Arménag Sakisian, "Esthétique et terminologie persanes", *Journal Asiatique* 226/1 (January-March 1935), pp. 144–150, proposes still other translations.

29 W. Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13. See also Cağman, "Glimpses", p. 149.



FIGURE 13.1 Galloping Horse, *inscribed* mashq-i Mīr Dawlatyār. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 5.*

Muhammad) or *ṭarḥ-i musavvida* (according to Mukhlis), very few sources attest to charcoal drawings. We have already mentioned Mirza Haydar's account of Ustad Baba Hajji, who was without equal in painting design (*ṭarrāḥī-i naqsh*) and charcoal sketching (*zughāl giriftan*),[30] as well as Qadi Ahmad's praise of the drawings in charcoal (*nigār-i zughāl*) by Mirak Naqqash.[31]

As pointed out earlier, I do not know of any clear case of charcoal drawings in the albums, apart from the use of this material in the transfer for pouncing, as will be seen below. Of course, without a fixative, charcoal drawings would have proven fragile and prone to fading away. Therefore, charcoal lines might have been at some point overdrawn in blackish ink in order to prevent fading.

Charba, kāghaz suzan zadan and *garda-yi ṭaṣvir*: Pouncing

Anand Ram Mukhlis, in his *Mir'āt al-iṣṭilāḥ*, provides the following definition for both *kāghaz suzan zadan* and *garda-yi taṣvīr*:

> The explanation means the kind of paper that draughtsmen and painters use for drawing persons or animals in black line on paper; they outline it with pin-holes, then they put it on a fresh sheet of paper and rub it with charcoal wrapped in a thin piece of cloth; later the drawing appears and they draw the composition (*ustukhvān bandī*) right with a black line (*ba siyāh qalam*); but this [practice] is only for the beginners in this craft (*va īn ʿamal barāyi mobtadyān-i īn fann ast*).[32]

The definition of *garda-yi taṣvīr* is almost the same as the previous one; indeed, Anand Ram Mukhlis only adds a verse to the latter:

> Like the eyelashes of idols, the pen of the painter takes out the darkness/nightfall;
>
> Maybe his black eye has fallen into charcoal pouncing-powder.[33]

30 Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature*, p. 191; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, p. 362.

31 Qadi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers*, p. 180; Persian edition: A. Suhayli Khvansari, p. 134.

32 Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, *Mir'āt al-iṣṭilāḥ*, fol. 215r. See also Ghelichkhani, *Terms*, pp. 293–294.

33 Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, *Mir'āt al-iṣṭilāḥ*, fol. 225v; also quoted by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Rāmpuri, *Ghiyāth al-lughāt*, Lucknow 1930, p. 396.

In his *Chamanistān*, the same author quotes another verse:

> His *charba* prevailed on the violet-haired ones and his *garda* was victorious over the dust of the line of the tulip-cheeked ones.[34]

The dictionary *Chirāgh-i hidāyat* further provides the following definition for *charba*:

> A thin paper or a deer skin used by painters for tracing and duplicating a drawing or a sketch; [the poet] Tughra'i says: 'The sheet of paper gave through the pen of the painter the wedding banquet to the *charba* / So much did the *garda* flash with strength [on it].'[35]

If *charba* usually means "a thin paper", and *garda* can be translated by "charcoal powder used for pouncing", obviously the poets – especially those writing in the complicated *sabk-i hindī*, or "Indian style" – love using this kind of doublet, the technical meaning of each lexical unit being, therefore, quite diluted.

After these lexicographic preliminary remarks, we can now consider more taxonomic issues. If we had to categorize the different kinds of drawings, a possible sorting could take into account their "chronological" development, from the very first steps to the final outline. In this case, we probably could single out the following three major stages: (a) scraps and training exercises; (b) sketches and pounced drawings; (c) final drawings.

The problem is that it is not often possible to know with certitude at which stage each drawing was produced. Furthermore, the re-use or copying of ancient materials in new compositions complicates the process. The example of pounced drawings will demonstrate that it is not easy to know if these were made from existing old paintings or if they were realized simply from contemporary sketches. To be sure, the Persian terms we have come across do not help us in sorting the names of drawings according to a chronological development of the work.

However, we can at least recognize that the material assembled in the albums emanates from artists of all sorts: some are long-established masters, accustomed to creating new scenes for old epics; others are expert designers, producing models to be duplicated on various media; still others are young trainees, sometimes repeating ancient formulae. Persian sources confirm at least these categories.

Some Drawings in the Diez Albums: The Tangled Paths to Creation

Some of the drawings kept in the albums are undoubtedly exercises and experiments which obviously remain very remote from the "final" stage, the latter being represented by the paintings

34 Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, *Chamanistān*, Ms. Khudabakhsh Library, Patna, no. 865, fol. 93r. On *charba*, see also *Risāla-yi jild-sāzi*, in *Ṣaḥḥāf-yi sunnatī*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1978, p. 146.

35 Sirāj al-Din 'Ali Khān Ārzu, *Chirāgh-i hidāyat* (in addition to Ghiyāth al-Din Rāmpuri's *Ghiyāth al-lughāt*), Lucknow 1930, p. 37.

included in manuscripts. Among these drawings, we thus find works emerging from the very first outbursts in the creative process, together with the almost "final" tracing of the programmed paintings. In very few instances, the drawings are the folios from manuscripts, the only missing step before completion being colouring. The drawings and scraps display some of the tools used to elaborate the tangled recipe of a composition. They also show us, from a more general point of view, an ensemble of reflections on the forms.

Scraps

What we term "scraps" here corresponds to exercises (or *mashq*; see fig. 13.1) that are supposed to train the painter and make him nimble-fingered; we could thus compare this part of the artist's work with the practice of scales by a pianist. These scraps or exercises are also supposed to allow the painter to find the right position, proportion, and rendering for each figure, in the context of a general composition still in gestation. However, due to the unfinished and composite aspect of these exercises, it remains very difficult to ascertain if they are the work of confirmed masters or of young apprentices. In most of the examples, these scraps appear as composite drawings; their different parts or subjects are meant to be included (or to come from) different final compositions.

Exercise-scrap in Various Ink Colours (Diez A fol. 73, p. 31, no. 1; fig. 13.2) is a good example of this kind of composite drawing; there is a figure of a young, half-naked boy (maybe a sketch for Majnun?), together with head studies, a winter landscape in red chalk colour, clouds, curls and whirls, and even crude brush-strokes. Some figures are made up of minute coloured dots, as if they were the result of pouncing.

Exercise with Men and Felines (Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 6) is another exercise-leaf; the figures of men in different attitudes,



FIGURE 13.2 *Exercise-Scrap in Various Ink Colours.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 31, no. 1.*

together with felines and goats diversely oriented, are drawn in a carmine-coloured ink.

Many other examples of such scraps and exercises to be found among the albums pages could be listed here; they have a shared approach in that they mix details from "finished" paintings, or devised to be incorporated in such compositions, together with mere exercises or simple brush strokes made by beginners to test their ability, or to verify the flexibility and "response" of a fine, squirrel-hair brush.

Preparatory Drawings for Single Figures/Heroes

Single figures often appear as heroic characters or archetypes, and are then easily recognized; they could be compared to their counterparts appearing in late twelve- or early thirteenth-century Persian ceramics, either on *minā'ī* or lusterware; indeed both media display images devoid of a related text, the image conveying a meaning by itself.[36] In some cases, the name of the hero can thus be recognized, as well as the episode corresponding to his story. These preparatory drawings, a step removed from mere scraps, are also used to test the positions, proportions, and soundness or justness of the figures later integrated into larger compositions.

But these studies can also be used for training purposes; indeed, *A Young Man Fighting with a Lion* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 6, no. 2) is an accurate drawing showing a young man (Khusraw?) with one knee resting on the back of the lion, while his arm is lifted, a dagger in his hand, ready to stab the animal. The lines are carefully drawn, although several steps and underdrawings (or "repentirs") can be observed. Curiously, we find in Diez fol. 73, p. 34, no. 3 a "copy" of this drawing, obviously much less accurate, the lines being drawn by a much more insecure, almost trembling hand. Perhaps this loss in quality indicates that the "first" version was used as a training model for the "second" one?

In some cases, the iconography of the hero does not seem to be definitively fixed. Thus Diez A fol. 72, p. 5, no. 4 (fig. 13.3) clearly represents *Khusraw About to Hit a Lion with His Naked Fist*. This fine drawing in black ink has the hero and the lion pasted separately and in different directions on a framed fresh sheet of paper; the young Khusraw is shown elegantly holding a fold of his robe with his left hand, while his right arm is bent and ready to strike a blow. However, we can underline that most of the Timurid versions of this episode show Khusraw holding the mane of the lion with his left hand instead of the fold of his cloth, this iconographic trend proving somewhat repetitive (fig. 13.4).[37] It is, therefore, probable that this uncommon rendering of the episode belonged to the pre-Timurid stock and was slightly adapted on later versions.

In contrast, Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 2 verso is a black ink drawing showing *Majnun in*

36 See Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 4–5.

37 See, for instance, Iskandar Sultan's *Anthology*, Shiraz 1410, reproduced in Arménag Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1929, pl. XXX, fig. 44. *Khamsa* of Nizami, *c.* 1410–20 (Cartier collection), reproduced in Binyon *et al.*, *Persian Miniature*, pl. XXXII–C. 42 (b). *Khamsa* of Nizami for Shahrukh, fol. 72v, reproduced in A.T. Adamova, *Persian Painting and Drawing of the 15th–19th Centuries from the Hermitage Museum*, Saint-Petersburg 1996, no. 1/4, pp. 102–103.



FIGURE 13.3 Khusraw About to Hit a Lion with His Naked Fist. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 5, no. 4.*



FIGURE 13.4 Khusraw About to Hit a Lion (*detail*), *Iskandar Sultan's* Anthology, *Shiraz, 1410. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation.* (*After A. Sakisian*, La miniature persane, *pl. XXX, fig. 44*).

the Desert Feeding a Gazelle; the composition is quite close to the same episode in other Timurid versions of the *Khamsa*.[38] Very slight variations are to be observed here in the positions and distribution of the hero and the game.

38 See, for instance, *Khamsa* of Shahrukh, Herat, 1431, fol. 200r, reproduced in Adamova, *Persian Painting*, no. 1/22, pp. 130–131. See also *Khamsa* 1446–7, TSMK, H. 786, fol. 126r, reproduced in Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la Khamseh de Nizami au Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris 1977, pl. XXVII a.



FIGURE 13.5 Two Studies of Rustam on Rakhsh. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 1.*

Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 1 shows *Two Studies of Rustam on Rakhsh* (fig. 13.5). This drawing actually has two warriors on horses, both riding from right to left, but in different stages of completion and in various ink colours. The horseman on the right is very lightly drawn in a pale brownish hue, while the left part of the other is overdrawn with a more visible blackish ink. Eleanor Sims showed recently that these two figures are both studies for (or from) *Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin* scene, illustrated in Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma.*[39] Another study for this very painting (Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 6) will be analyzed below. Indeed, this is a rare case for which we have at our disposition several studies (and, therefore, several stages) for the same painting.

Besides, a small detail on this page shows traces of an obviously used pouncing; it is, however, unconnected with the horsemen and displays a kind of dragon-headed trumpet or an arm for a palanquin. Furthermore, the page was used as a protective under-hand, this function being suggested by the brush-strokes in a red chalk hue visible at its bottom.

39 Eleanor Sims, "Images of Firdausi's Shahnama in the Diez Albums in the Berlin State Library", in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, eds. J. Gonnella and C. Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, p. 34 fig. 5; see also Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, fig. 57, p. 172.



FIGURE 13.6
Two Camel Riders. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 9, no. 3.*

Diez A fol. 73, p. 9, no. 3 (fig. 13.6): this very quick sketch of *Two Camel Riders* seems reminiscent of two fighters in a battle scene from *Layla and Majnun* in Iskandar Sultan's *Anthology*; the whole composition was later repeated on the *Khamsa* of Shahrukh.[40] These figures, although largely reconstructed in a renewed composition, might have been used much later for the same scene, often ascribed to Bihzad, in the *Khamsa* made in Herat in 1493, now in the British Library (fig. 13.7).[41] In spite of the very long use of these figures, extending almost throughout the whole Timurid century, it is not easy to determine at what stage the sketch was drawn.

Of course, these studies of single figures are intended to be later integrated into larger compositions.

40 See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 379, 7a–7b.

41 Reproduced in Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peinture des manuscrits Timûrides*, Paris 1954, pl. LXXX.



FIGURE 13.7 War of Clans (*detail*), Khamsa *of Nizami, Herat, 1493. London, British Library, Add. 25900, fol. 12rv.*

Sketches of General Compositions

In the examples below we find some very quick drawings (such as *Hunting Scene*, Diez A fol. 73, p. 34, no. 4; *Battle Scene*, fol. 73, p. 76, no. 4) together with some very accurate ones (*The Prophet Muhammad and his Companions*, Diez fol. 72, p. 2, no. 2). If some of these drawings are mere steps in the making of more ambitious works, one of the questions arising from sketches of general compositions deals with their use as a fore-project to be approved by the chief painter. There is obviously little evidence for this practice in the Timurid *kitābkhāna*; even rare documents such as the *ʿarża-dāsht* from Baysunghur's library do not mention it.[42] However, a comparison with habits in the Italian Renaissance, a period in which famous painters used to work according to an approved contract-project in the form of a drawing, could shed some light here.[43]

The study of such compositions helps determine different uses and/or goals for this corpus of drawings. Thus Diez A fol. 72, p. 2, no. 2 is a black ink drawing figuring *The Prophet Muhammad and his Companions*; a similar subject is to be found in the *Kalīla and Dimna, c.* 1410–20, kept in the Gulistan Library, although our drawing most probably predates Timurid times.[44] It clearly shows two different stages, probably not realized by the same person: the first is a very fine drawing with hair-like brush-strokes, while the second intervention looks much less accurate. The thicker black lines are trembly and shaky as if made by an old artist, or by a very insecure young one. One can deduce that this double intervention indicates a drawing used for teaching purposes.

Hunting Scene (Diez A fol. 73, p. 34, no. 4) is a horizontal, landscaped drawing in black ink displaying a hunting party, sketched in a quite nervous, quick yet secure hand. However, if this kind of genre scene is often found on frontispieces, here one of the horsemen is plunging his spear

42 See text and translation in W. Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 43–44.

43 See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford 1972, especially chap. I and fig. 1.

44 Reproduced in Binyon *et al.*, *Persian Miniature*, pl. XXXIV–B. 44 (c).



FIGURE 13.8 *Study for a* Battle-Scene (Manuchihr kills Tur ?). *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 4.*

into a dragon, which seems an odd detail given the presence of more ordinary game. Therefore, one can doubt that this drawing is a preparatory sketch for such a frontispiece. Indeed, despite a general composition with many figures, it looks more like an exercise than a project to be developed.

In contrast, *Battle Scene* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 4, fig. 13.8), also horizontal in format, shows a scene, quickly drawn in reddish ink, which recalls *Manuchihr Kills Tur*; it appears in a dispersed *Shāhnāma* manuscript from Tabriz *c.* 1370.[45] The army of "Manuchihr" moves in from the left, the hero hitting the back of his escaping foe with a spear. On the left are a series of horsemen with drums and trumpets, one of them holding a banner. This "left" part of the army is similar to the painting mentioned above. It is, however, difficult to ascertain if this study was made in the 1370s – *i.e.* contemporary with the page in Istanbul – or later.

Some rare studies, such as *A Scene from Miʿrāj* (?) (Diez A fol. 73, p. 03, no. 4, fig. 13.9) display some indications suggesting later integration into a layout. This is yet another horizontal composition, apparently illustrating a scene from the Prophet's *Miʿrāj*, with angels amidst whirling clouds. The drawing is made in both reddish and black ink. Curiously, the left inferior corner shows a square shape separated from the rest of the composition by a non-continuous red line; it holds the detail of a squinch decorated with clouds and the half of a polylobed arch. This unexpected "patch" probably takes into account the general layout of the illustration, thus preparing for the final composition of the page. This square section might then be shifted to the top of the painting or elsewhere, in a stepped layout.

Diez A fol. 73, p. 71, no. 7 (fig. 13.10) is clearly a sketch illustrating *Iskandar Before Nushaba/Qaydafa* (according to the text illustrated, *i.e.* the *Shāhnāma* or *Iskandarnāma*, this story appearing in both epics). The ladies are all veiled with

45 TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 102r, 38.5 × 34 cm; reproduced in Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 43.



FIGURE 13.9 *Study for the* Mi'rāj (?). *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 3, no. 4.*

a kind of *hijab*, in a very unusual manner, while Iskandar is seated, with his hands crossed over his lap, in a pose suggesting modesty. I do not know of any final version resembling this composition. Could it mean that this fore-project was refused?

Three Horsemen (Diez A fol. 73, p. 9, no. 4) and *The Blacksmiths of King Jamshid* (fol. 73, p. 77, no. 1) are well-known details from larger compositions.[46] The first one is a detail taken from the scene of *Bahram Gur Hunting*, illustrating the *Khamsa* made for 'Ismat al-Dunya (Herat, 1445–46); this image was copied later at least twice.[47] The same pattern can be observed with the *Blacksmiths* from Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma*.[48] We can wonder why these two drawings show only a small part of the complete illustration. Besides, it is very difficult to ascertain when these drawings were made: before or after their better-known Timurid painted versions? In 'Ismat al-Dunya's copy, *The Three Horsemen* mount horses which are brown, white, and black, from foreground to background. The drawing shows quite accurately twelve hoofs; three legs of the middle (white) horse rest on the ground, while its rear right hoof is lifted. This detail

46 See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, pp. 174–174, cat. no. 63 and fig. 62.

47 TSMK, H. 781, fol. 154v (24.1 × 16 cm), reproduced in Lentz and Lowry, p. 112, cat.no. 32; For "copies": Nizami's *Haft-Paykar*, *c.* 1425–50, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 13.228.13, fol. 10r (14.9 × 11.4 cm), reproduced in Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 175, cat. no. 62; Bal'ami, *Tarjuma-i Tārikh-i Ṭabarī*, 1470, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms.144, fol. 157v. See also Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 377.

48 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 379; see also Sheila Blair, "Jamshid Invents the Crafts", in *Heroic Times*, ed. J. Gonnella and C. Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, fig. 3, p. 57.



FIGURE 13.10 Iskandar before Nushaba/Qaydafa. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 71, no. 7.*

is clearly drawn in Diez A fol. 73, p. 9, no. 4; the "final" renderings, although figuring the twelve hoofs, prove not as accurate. The drawing fits the dimensions of this detail in 'Ismat al-Dunya's illustration quite perfectly; however, no sign of tracing or pouncing can be seen. On the other hand, the dimensions of the Metropolitan Museum's *Haft Paykar* are notably smaller (14.9 × 11.4 cm, versus 24.1 × 16 cm for 'Ismat al-Dunya's *Khamsa*). Despite these distinctions in size, the slight differences between the Diez drawing and the painted pages make it difficult to ascertain the order in which these works were created.

Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin (Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 6, fig. 13.11) is a large (29.7 × 22 cm) vertical drawing for a battle scene. The drawing is finely executed in very thin black lines. To the right, an elephant is on the front-line, while a hero lassoes its main rider. Barbara Brend has suggested that this drawing might have inspired the episode of *Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin*, illustrated in the *Shāhnāma* of Muhammad Juki.[49] Indeed,

49 Royal Asiatic Society, MS. 239, fol. 155v: 19.4 × 13.6 cm; Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi.* London 2010, pp. 82–83.



FIGURE 13.11 Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 6.*



FIGURE 13.12 Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin (*detail*). Shāhnāma *of Baysunghur, Herat, 1429–1430. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, MS 716, fol. 109v.*

it is a sketch for the same episode, but the closest painted example is actually to be found in the *Shāhnāma* of Baysunghur (fig. 13.12). It is also noteworthy that the drawing is reversed when compared with this "final" painting.[50] Eleanor Sims wonders whether the drawing was made before or after the painting. The drawing is definitely clearer than the painting: on the drawing, the mahout holding an elephant-goad is clearly sitting above the head of the pachyderm, whereas on the painting, another horse rider was added just behind the mahout, in such a way that this person seems to be riding the horse. As noted earlier, Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 1 shows two studies of *Rustam on Rakhsh* also used for this illustration. The main difference between both drawings consists in the direction followed by the characters: in the general drawing of the battle, Rustam rides from left to right, whereas in the study he rides from right to left, as is the case in the "final" version. This suggests that the study was made *after* the main drawing.

We will come back later to the rich material concerning Baysunghur's copy of the *Shāhnāma* preserved among the pages of the Diez albums.

Suhrab Fighting with Gurdafarid (Diez A fol. 73, p. 70, no. 1) is almost the only unfinished whole page from an illustrated manuscript preserved in the albums. The text zone consists of two horizontal text columns plus a third angled towards the left (the back of the page displays the same layout). Neither this kind of layout nor the rather small format of this page (22 × 12 cm) are frequent in copies of the *Shāhnāma*.[51] Some anthologies, such as Baysunghur's, use a four column layout in addition to an angled text in the margin.[52] The same layout of our page (two horizontal text columns plus an angled one) can be observed in the *Khamsa* of Shahrukh.[53]

Four distiches (or *bayt*) are written on this page in stepped cartouches; the outline for the illustration is finely drawn in a brownish ink. Only a few details of the architecture in the background display two black lines filled in with gold; the same hues, together with a faded lapis-blue line,

50 Already pointed out by Sims in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, cat.no. 55, pp. 135–136.

51 The sixty-nine copies of the *Shāhnāma* preserved in UK libraries all measure between 23 × 15.8 and 47.5 × 31.5 cm; data taken from Barbara Brend and Charles Melville, *Epic of the Persian Kings: The Art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 248–251. See also Yves Porter, "The making of Persian illustrated manuscripts", forthcoming.

52 See Sims, in Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, cat.no. 56, pp. 136–137.

53 Dimensions: 23.7 × 13.7 cm. Adamova, *Persian Painting*, no. 1, p. 96.

are used for framing the page (*jadval*).[54] The very visible ruling (or *maṣṭar*) shows that the illustration generously overlaps the text zone. If some of the drawings from the albums could be considered outlines of unfinished paintings, pasted later onto fresh sheets of paper, this page is probably the only one preserved displaying the whole layout (the copied text plus the drawn image); thus it represents the last stage in its making, before the colouring (or *rang-āmīzī*).

Many questions arise from the study of these drawings: to what extent are these works representative of the different steps to be carried out through to the completion of a painting? Who created these general compositions? Were these drawings named "*ṭarḥ*", or even "*aṣl-i ṭarḥ*", and then, were they the speciality of the *ṭarrāḥ*/draughtsman-designer? Indeed, as suggested earlier, we could imagine that the tasks to be executed by the painters of a royal *kitābkhāna* were distributed among the artists, according to their skills. This case is well-known, thanks to the marginal references on the illustrated manuscripts made for the Mughal Akbar, for instance.[55] However, this task-division (*ṭarḥ*/drawing, *rang-āmīzī*/colouring, and *chihra*/faces – plus details?) is less clear in the works produced for the Central Asian Timurids. In any case, the *ʿarża-dāsht* from Baysunghur's library – the only known report of the "work in progress" in a Timurid workshop – does not allow us to conclude that a similar system of production was used.[56] In other words, it is still difficult to determine if each artist only participated in a limited number of stages during the making of an illustration, or if he took charge of the whole creative process from first sketch to the adding of colour and faces.

Copies and Repetitions

The number of works representing copies contained in the Diez albums, but also, beyond the albums, the paintings copied throughout Timurid manuscripts illustrations, is really a matter of astonishment. Thus Lentz and Lowry point out:

> Distillation of an image by means of duplication and refinement gradually removed the spontaneity and freedom of the preliminary impression, leaving in its place the frozen, idealized image sought by the Timurid house in this category.[57]

Beyond the question of a special taste for *frozen images*, "sought by the Timurid house", which could be an interesting subject for discussion, the fact is that the material contained in the albums points towards the repetition and re-use of materials. First the pouncing will be quickly surveyed here, as this constituted a clear, almost mechanical, way of reproduction. In a second stage, we will come back to the question of the repetition of compositions

54 The *jadval* is usually made by a specialist; thus in the *ʿarża-dāsht*, Khvaja ʿAtay Jadvalkesh is working on the ruling of various manuscripts; see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 43.

55 John Seyller, "Scribal Notes on Mughal Manuscript Illustration", *Artibus Asiae* 48 (1987), pp. 247–277.

56 See Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 43–44.

57 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 173.

and the meaning of this in the Timurid creative processes.

Pounced Drawings

Very little literature is available on pouncing in modern studies on Persian painting. Titley provides a short account of it in her *Persian Miniature Painting*.[58] Roxburgh adds further details on this subject, concerning above all their chronology:

> Evidence of semi-mechanical transfer processes, such as pouncing, show two things: first, the vast majority of materials bearing the traces of physical transfer date to after about 1400; and the second, few of the late fourteenth-century drawings show pouncing (and hardly any of the earlier materials do so). If the fourteenth-century materials had in fact been used for reproduction, we would expect a greater incidence of pinholes among other signs of transference (for example, powdered chalk and charcoal).[59]

Pouncing is generally made on paper or on parchment (*charba*); however, preserved examples of the latter are very rare.[60] Only several instances on paper are preserved in the Diez albums; here are some examples.

In *A Bearded Man Holding a Young Girl by Her Collar* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 1, no. 1), a man resembling Rustam holds up his fist while holding a Chinese girl (?) by her collar. The outline shows different stages: a preliminary line is drawn in a brownish ink, while a second outline appears in charcoal black. The latter probably attests to the effective use of this pouncing.

Some examples, such as *Master and Pupils* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 4), show a blackish outline, and were obviously much used. Some parts of the drawing seem to have been white-washed later, probably to give it new legibility.[61] On the other hand, *A Horse and His Groom* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 3) displays an outline made in reddish brown ink, but this pouncing does not appear to have been much used, since no traces of charcoal appear.

The case of *Corner Piece* (*lachak*) *with Dragon* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 7, no. 6, fig. 13.13) is completely different. The blackened surface of this pouncing suggests repetitive use, probably for decorative purposes such as book-binding.

Finally, *Birds, Clouds, and a Monkey* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 72, no. 2, fig. 13.14) provides yet another specific case. Only the figure of the monkey is partially dotted with pin-holes; the drawing, probably damaged, was later re-pasted onto a fresh sheet of paper, and the figure of the monkey completed. This kind of "restoration" indicates that some drawings (including pouncing) were sufficiently esteemed as to deserve such special attention.

The main question that arises from the study of these pounced drawings is in what order these works were made and used. A pounced drawing showing a guard seen

58 Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London 1983, pp. 216–218. See also Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre*, pp. 68–69; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, pp. 172–173 and 343.

59 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 145.

60 See for instance TSMK H. 2152, fol. 52r; ill. in Titley, *Persian Miniature*, fig. 68.

61 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, cat.no. 66, ill. p. 177.



FIGURE 13.13 Corner Piece (*lachak*) with Dragon. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 7, no. 6.*



FIGURE 13.14 Birds, Clouds, and a Monkey. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 72, no. 2.*

from the back is kept in a Topkapi album; as shown by Lentz and Lowry, the figure is taken from *The Slaying of Siyavush*, from the *Shāhnāma* of Baysunghur, and its size fits perfectly with the detail of this painting.[62] This example will undoubtedly bring up the question – why make a pouncing of such an elementary figure (simple, yet bold),[63] and to what end? The simplest answer – although not necessarily convincing – would be that it responds to pedagogical aims. Were other details from this painting also used for pouncing? Was this operation made before or after the illustration in Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma*? As we will see, several paintings from this manuscript are represented in the drawings of the Diez albums.

Pouncing as a technique for beginners is clearly stated by Anand Ram Mukhlis.[64] In some cases – the *Corner Piece With Dragon*, for instance – the destination of the drawing is intended to be repetitive: the design has to be used twice or four times in order to provide a symmetrical design (the pouncing can be turned over and thus be used on both sides), as can be observed on book-bindings or embroideries, but could also have figured on mural paintings, for instance. However, it seems obvious that both the learning process and the repetitive decorative purpose exclude the work of master painters; these works can, therefore, be clearly ascribed to a secondary category of "painters" (or rather, "designers").

62 TSMK (H. 2152, fol. 62v, 8.7 × 5.1 cm).

63 The formula consisting in showing figures entirely from behind has already been used, among others, in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*; see, for instance, Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago 1980, no. 42, pp. 140–141.

64 "But this [practice] is only for the beginners in this craft"; Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, *Mir'āt al-iṣṭilāḥ*, fol. 215r.

The Repetition of Compositions

The subject of the repetition of compositions in Timurid illustrated manuscripts has already been treated, among others by Adamova, and by Lentz and Lowry.[65] These repetitions could be understood as an identifying signature in the creation of a visual identity.

The phenomenon probably began with the copy of Jalayirid models; it continued later with a sort of internal self-quotation all through the Timurid period. A striking extract of Dust Muhammad's *Preface* stresses this phenomenon, when he writes that Baysunghur Mirza asked that the album of Ahmad Jalayir be copied "in the

65 On this subject, see Zeren Tanındı's contribution "Repetition of Pictures in the Topkapı Saray and Diez Albums" in this volume. I would like to thank her for pointing out to me Norah M. Titley's, "Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of Compositions During the Fifteenth Century", *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archaologie, München 7–10 September 1976*, Berlin 1979, pp. 471–490. See also A.T. Adamova, "Repetition of Composition in Manuscripts: the *Khamsa* of Nizami in Leningrad", in *Timurid Art and Culture, Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, Leiden 1992, pp. 67–75. Eight examples of repetition are displayed in Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, pp. 376–379. On the *Khamsa* illustrations, see also Priscilla Soucek, *Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh*. PhD dissertation, New York University, 1971.

same format and ruling, and with *the same subjects of paintings* [emphasis by the author]".[66] In a similar way, the *Anthology* of Iskandar Sultan holds at least six illustrations which were copied throughout the Timurid century, some on several occasions.[67] Thus fol. 131v, showing *Layla and Majnun Fainting in a Camp*, has been copied no less than five times;[68] the scene of *Shirin holding Khusraw's Portrait* in the same anthology has been copied at least twice.[69]

Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma* includes at least one painting that was obviously copied from an older page.[70] As we have seen, some of the drawings in the Diez albums were also used as inspiration, or drawn from paintings in this manuscript.[71] However, besides some repetitions, most of the other compositions from this *Shāhnāma* were not only completely new, but also extremely audacious. Besides these borrowings, *Jamshid Teaching the Crafts* did inspire later illustrations, as already noted.[72] Moreover, it should be emphasized that this legendary theme is clearly differently composed in Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma* and in his own *Anthology*.[73]

The practice of repetition may sometimes have led to iconographical errors, and even to surprising aberrations. We have already pointed out the example of the mahout and the added horse-rider in the painting of *Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan*. Some other, sometimes puzzling examples could be mentioned, such as the scene of *Iskandar Before Nushaba*, from the *Anthology* of Iskandar Sultan, which happens to be reused for a copy of *Humay Seeing the Portrait of Humayun*. In the first painting, Iskandar is seated on the left of the room, with his hands crossed over his

66 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13.

67 British Library Add. 27261. See in particular fol. 38r, *Shirin Holding Khusraw's Portrait*; fol. 61r *Farhad and Shirin at Bisotun*; fol. 109r, *Battle of Clans*; fol. 131v *Layla and Majnun Faint*; fol. 160v *Bahram Gur in the Black Pavilion*; fol. 225v, *Iskandar Before Nushaba*. See also P. Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content", in *Timurid Art and Culture, ed.* L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, Leiden 1992, and Adamova, "Repetition of Composition".

68 These are:
– 1) Page from Keir collection, Herat 1425–30; for this and following see also Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 378.
– 2) *Khamsa* of Shahrukh, Herat 1431, reproduced in Adamova, *Persian Painting*, p. 134;
– 3) *Khamsa* of 'Ismat al-Dunya, Herat 1445–6, TSMK H. 781, fol. 138r;
– 4) *Khamsa* of Pir Budaq, Baghdad 1461, TSMK H. 761, fol. 140r;
– 5) *Khamsa* of 'Ali Farsi Barlas, Herat 1494–5, British Library Or. 6810, fol. 137v.

69 1) British Library, Add. 27261, fol. 38r; 2) *Khamsa* of Shahrukh, Herat 1431, fol. 55r, Adamova *Persian Painting*, pp. 98–99; 3) *Khamsa*, Herat, copied 1442, British Library Add. 25900, fol. 41; Shirin's face was repainted in Mughal India.

70 *Isfandyar Fighting with the Rhino-Wolves*, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 73v. See Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnama*, pl. 6.

71 Diez A fol. 73, p. 76, no. 1: *Two Studies of Rustam on Rakhsh*; Diez fol. 73, p. 77, no. 1: *The Blacksmiths of King Jamshid*; Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 6: *Rustam Lassoing the Khaqan of Chin.*

72 Chester Beatty (cat. vol. I, pl. 36), made for Uzun Hasan, Tabriz 1470; see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 377.

73 See Blair, "Jamshid Invents the Crafts", p. 55, ill. 1. For Baysunghur's *Anthology*: Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. I. 4628, p. 12.

lap, while Nushaba, on her throne, is looking at the king's portrait. In the painting from *Humay and Humayun*, it is the young prince who is seated on the throne, looking up towards the portrait of the princess hanging from the wall, while a winged fairy with crossed hands over her lap, and thus in the same position as the Macedonian, occupies the seat where Iskandar was in the first painting.[74]

However, the quota of innovation seems much higher than the one for repetition.

This process of self-quotation stopped – significantly – with the end of the dynasty.[75]

Conclusion

Is what remains in the albums representative of the state it was in when created? Some paintings such as the *Crafts Taught to Men by Jamshid* are only represented by a small partial drawing; the same occurs with the three horsemen from *Bahram Gur Hunting* in the *Khamsa* of ʿIsmat al-Dunya. Probably a fair number of drawings represent first steps for paintings that were never finalized, or that are now lost to us. However, if we take into account drawings, unfinished paintings, and scattered illustrated pages pasted into the albums, to include them in a global process leading to a "definitive" painting, we have to consider that these "final" stages are actually not "final" at all. In other words, the paintings chosen for manuscripts can also be considered simply steps in a dynamic and continuous creative process of a visual Timurid identity, as can the drawings pasted into the albums.

Although it would seem anachronistic to talk about mass production, it appears that the large quantity of illustrated manuscripts ordered by the Timurid family reveals a certain pressure to produce. This pressure could explain – at least in part – the reuse of materials, whether in the form of drawings or paintings. But rather than considering repetition as a symptom of a lack of imagination, the reuse of ancient materials could also be perceived as a way for new generations of artists to pay tribute to a secular tradition of image-making. Besides, if repetitions reappear almost cyclically, these remain, in fact, a minority of cases. Actually, and especially towards the end of the Timurid century, the renewal of the visual idiom constitutes the bulk of the production coming from Herat's royal workshop. Re-composition, at times using partial quotation, is then used in a language not devoid of serendipity.

Pasted drawings and paintings illustrate a spatial pattern resulting in a sort of a patchwork, which is actually the very meaning of *muraqqaʿ* (or "album"). It therefore leads to the parcelling out of references through the re-composition of illustrations. This explains how hard it is to connect the sequences in the development of a work because, instead of a linear development, we are confronted with the use of resources coming from both the variegated collection of documents stocked in the library and occasional external or experimental materials.

The albums could also be compared, at least to some extent, to those used by

74 See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 378, fig. 4a–b.

75 Repetitions of Timurid paintings during Safavid times are very rare; one example is provided by Titley, *Persian Miniature*, p. 74 and fig. 35.

mosaic makers in the Late Mediterranean Antiquity, with the subsequent dislocation of their classical themes.[76]

In temporal terms, the mechanism could also be observed as a kaleidoscopic process, where the "final" painting appears as a freeze-frame. But the production of illustrations also reflects what happens in literary, poetical creation; in this field, the *Khamsas* of Jami or Nava'i, for instance, have a responsive dimension towards those written by Nizami and Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. This textual interplay reminds us of what literary critics (Kristeva or Genette, among others) term *intertextuality*; in the visual arts, it finds a parallel in the form of internal quotation (or, if we consider the Timurid workshops as a whole "self", self-quotation). As Montaigne wrote: "Nous ne faisons que nous entregloser" (*Essais*, III, xiii).

Of course, when the "self" changes, as happened after the fall of the Timurids, the whole stock of references also shifts. Indeed, this system appears to alter drastically at the time of the Safavids, thus showing the specific Timurid tenure of its visual idiom. Moreover, although Safavid albums do exist, their contents differ greatly from their Timurid counterparts, particularly concerning the variety and significant scope of their drawings.

76 On this topic, see Janine Balty, *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1993, pp. 252–253; on the same topic applied to Umayyad visual arts, see Nadia Ali, "Qusayr 'Amra, la peinture du personage trônant sur l'eau: aspects pratiques de la fabrication d'une image", *Annales Islamologiques* 40 (2006), p. 128.

CHAPTER 14

A Persianate Drawing of the *Tazza Farnese*: A Work by Muhammad Khayyam?*

Friederike Weis

Since the beginning of research on the Diez albums, a black-line ink drawing of an antique composition (fig. 14.1), bearing a shakily written attribution to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" in the lower right corner outside the circular frame (fig. 14.7a), has aroused scholarly interest. In 1964, the archaeologist Horst Blanck identified the image carved into the front side of the *Tazza Farnese*, a well-known antique cameo (fig. 14.2),[1] as the model used for it.[2] He has shown how accurately the Persianate drawing replicates the antique relief, cut from sardonyx (a type of banded agate), which he interprets as a gathering held by the Greek god Dionysus. Erika Simon has convincingly re-identified the bearded god leaning against a tree trunk on the left as Neilos, the Ptolemaic-Egyptian god of the Nile: not only is he accompanied by a royal Egyptian sphinx, he is also holding a so-called *rhyton*, a horn from which liquid, such as Nile water, was poured.[3] This attribute distinguishes him from Dionysus, who is generally shown holding a *cornucopia* filled with fruit. Most scholars agree that the *Tazza Farnese* cameo was produced in Ptolemaic Egypt, probably in Alexandria, in the latter half of the second century BC.[4] Called a *tazza* ("cup") because of its enormous size, the cameo was additionally named "Farnese" after the Italian princely family

* This essay presents the results of an analysis which was carried out in 2011 during my research project on biblical themes in Islamic book painting within the program "Connecting Art Histories in the Museum: The Mediterranean and Asia 400–1650", a cooperation between the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence – Max Planck Institut. Fourteen drawings from the Diez albums were investigated by focussing on their stylistic, technical, and material aspects. The scientific part of the analysis was undertaken by Oliver Hahn, who was assisted by Lars Lühl and Renate Nöller (BAM Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing). I am most grateful to Gerhard Wolf and Hannah Baader, who initiated this study as the heads of the CAHIM project. I would also like to thank Claus-Peter Haase and Julian Raby for their thoughtful comments on the final draft of this paper. Special thanks are due to the co-editors of this volume, Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, for their advice and support.

1 However, no Persianate drawing of the back of the cameo, where the mask of Medusa is carved, has survived.

2 Horst Blanck, "Eine persische Pinselzeichnung nach der Tazza Farnese", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 79/2 (1964), pp. 308–312.

3 Erika Simon, "Alexandria – Samarkand – Florenz – Rom: Stationen der *Tazza Farnese*", in *Bilder erzählen Geschichte*, ed. Helmut Altrichter, Freiburg 1995, pp. 15–28, especially pp. 17–19.

4 *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Ulrico Pannuti, *La collezione glittica*, vol. II, Rome 1994, cat.no. 68, p. 92.

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who owned the valuable piece since 1586 until it came to its present location, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.

As yet unaware that the *Tazza Farnese* was the direct model, Ernst Kühnel was the first to write about the drawing in 1959, calling it "a circular composition showing a design borrowed from antiquity".[5] He thought that it depicted Dionysus accompanied by several enigmatic figures.[6] In his opinion, Muhammad Khayyam had adopted the human figures and the sphinx from various antique sources in an eclectic manner, adding only the gnarled tree on the left (fig. 14.16) in his own "Persian-Mongolian" idiom.[7] Ernst Kühnel knew the corpus of drawings credited to Muhammad Khayyam[8] quite well through descriptions and reproductions of some of his eleven signed works in the Timurid workshop album (TSMK, H. 2152), published by Arménag Sakisian,[9] and Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu,[10] and also first hand through the seven drawings with signatures or attributive notes pasted into the Diez albums (figs. 14.1 and 14.4a–f). He classified all these works as copies of models from the past, which prompted him to call Muhammad Khayyam an "epigone and eclectic".[11]

Some forty years after Kühnel's rather pejorative judgement, David J. Roxburgh gave a new appraisal of such imitative practices by stating that Muhammad Khayyam, as a Timurid-period calligrapher and draftsman, had "the habit of remaking and refining selected designs, correcting what he may have perceived as unfortunate formal slips, miscalculations of line, awkwardnesses of composition", and that he thus proceeded in a similar way to his artist peers, the poets and calligraphers.[12] However, because of the "often eccentric subjects and varied finesse of execution", Roxburgh suspected that Muhammad Khayyam was active as a draftsman only for recreational purposes."[13] From this perspective it seems conceivable that the *Tazza Farnese* was one of Muhammad Khayyam's models chosen to develop his skills as a draftsman by translating the unfamiliar form of the antique composition into his own graphic language.

However, two fundamental questions arise in this context. The first is whether and how it can be ascertained that Muhammad Khayyam actually executed the *Tazza Farnese* drawing as well as the other works credited to him by means of

5 Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner Saray-Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 67–77, here p. 76: "eine kreisrunde Komposition mit einem der Antike entnommenen Vorwurf".

6 *Ibid.*

7 The gnarled tree is indeed stylistically close to Sinizising trees in Persianate paintings, but it is nonetheless a faithful copy of the tree as it is depicted on the cameo.

8 Although his full name was Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam, according to the signatures, the artist will be here referred to throughout as Muhammad Khayyam, which is the short form of his name appearing in the attributive notes.

9 Arménag Bey Sakisian, *La miniature persane du 12e au 17e siècle*, Paris 1929, pp. 60–61.

10 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna bir bakiş* (*Sur l'album du conquérant*), Istanbul *c.* 1955, figs. 118–122.

11 Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 76: "dem Epigonen und Eklektiker".

12 David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2005, pp. 140 and 314.

13 *Ibid.*



FIGURE 14.1 *Drawing of the* Tazza Farnese (*here: original format of the sheet containing the drawing without later paper support*), *attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2.*

various inscriptions. The second is how and why the Persianate draftsman translated the three-dimensional image carved in sardonyx into the medium of paper. Put another way, if the *Tazza Farnese* drawing was not to be understood as an idiosyncratic exercise in style, as many scholars have interpreted it to be, what then could have been its purpose?

In order to answer the first question, whether the *Tazza Farnese* drawing can be regarded as an essential part of the artist's oeuvre and whether there was such an oeuvre at all, I will in the following present all information available on Muhammad Khayyam. I will then examine the seven drawings in the Diez albums, of which three are signed by "Muḥammad b.



FIGURE 14.2 Tazza Farnese, *sardonyx cameo, Ptolemaic artist, probably second century BC, Alexandria. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 27611.*

Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām"[14] and four are simply attributed to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām", by means of a two-fold approach: an art historical stylistic examination of the drawings, and a scientific analysis of the inks used in the drawings, their signatures, and attributions. The results of the scientific analysis, carried out by Oliver Hahn from the BAM Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing, allow us to speculate about the actual role of the signatures and attributions. As we shall see later, the results of this first analysis have serious implications for the question asked in the second part of the study: what was the initial purpose of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing? It might just be that the drawing was *not* a work by Muhammad Khayyam, who perhaps was simply a calligrapher who only made very few, if any, drawings. If one thus regards the drawing of the *Tazza Farnese* as a singular artistic phenomenon created by an anonymous draftsman and not in the light of an eccentric artist's opus, another explanation for its creation needs to be found.

14 "Muḥammad, son of Maḥmūdshāh the tent-maker". One of the signed drawings (Diez A fol. 72, p. 13) also includes a short attribution to the same artist, which is odd. This double-crediting will be discussed later on.

Muhammad Khayyam – A Timurid-period Calligrapher-draftsman?

Little is known about the life and work of Muhammad Khayyam, whose full name, according to the signatures, was Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam. A calligraphic exercise page in *riqāʿ* script bearing multiple lines of the Arabic saying "Through gratitude favours continue"[15] suggests that he was active at the court of the Timurid prince Baysunghur (1397–1433) in Herat: the third line in the right-hand column is signed with an unusual flourish by Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam (figs. 14.3 and 14.5a) as *kataba al-ʿabd* ("written by the slave") *Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām.* It appears directly beneath the line signed by Baysunghur himself, above which the model by Ahmad al-Rumi can be seen.[16] Given the immediate proximity of Baysunghur's and Muhammad Khayyam's calligraphic lines and the fact that the upper part of the *kāf* written by

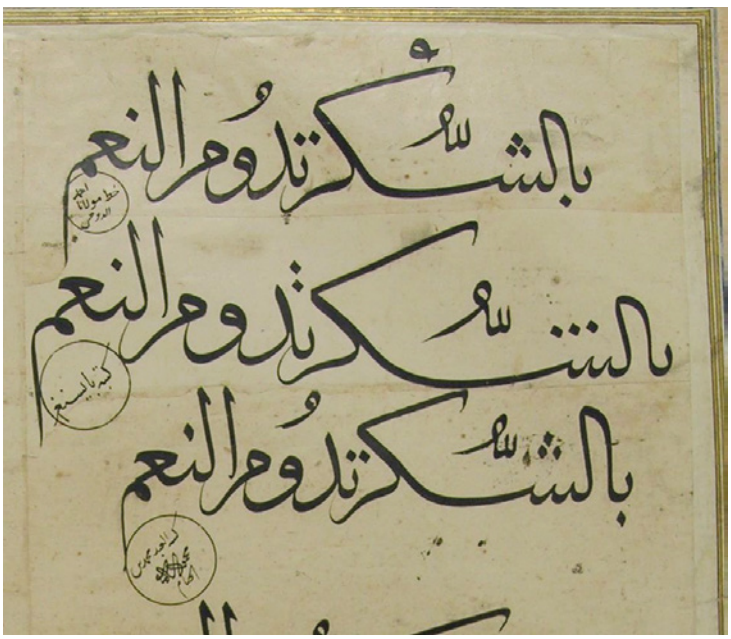


FIGURE 14.3 *Detail of a calligraphic exercise page, before 1433, Herat. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 31v.*

15 *Cf.* Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989, fig. 39 and pp. 113–115; see also the article by Lâle Uluç in the present volume, who translates the proverb as "blessings continue through gratitude". She demonstrates the re-use of this calligraphic line in later Ottoman art.

16 For a complete illustration and detailed discussion of the calligraphic exercise page, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, fig. 41 and pp. 85–86.

Muhammad Khayyam almost touches the *kāf* in Baysunghur's preceding line – whereas all other lines on the page are neatly detached from one another – one is tempted to assume that he was an important member of the prince's retinue.[17] According to Arménag Bey Sakisian, another calligraphic specimen, dated 1409, is also signed by Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam.[18]

Apart from the calligraphic evidence, in the scholarly literature Muhammad Khayyam is also known as a draftsman through a total of nineteen drawings, all black-line brush drawings,[19] of which fifteen bear his unusual and distinctive signature in *taʿlīq* script (where the *dāl* of "Maḥmūd" forms a knotted flourish with the *shīn* of "shāh", *cf.* figs. 14.5b–e, g, i and k) reading "pen of the least of the servants (*kamtarīn-i bandagān*) Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām".[20] This wording can be interpreted as meaning a servant of some ruler, here probably Baysunghur.[21] Such statements of humility and obeisance in Persian do not seem to have been unusual in calligraphers' signatures written during the fifteenth century.[22] Three of the signatures bear the additional information that they were modelled on drawings by ʿAbd al-Hayy (figs. 14.5c, d and i), a celebrated artist who was in the service of the Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad (r. 1382–1410) in Baghdad before he was taken by Timur to Samarqand in 1393. Eleven of the fifteen signed drawings are still bound into the so-called Timurid workshop album (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2152; figs. 14.5g–l),[23] as is the calligraphic

17 The conspicuous proximity of the two lines, however, seems to be due to the fact that Baysunghur's calligraphic line had been written on a separate piece of paper, which was then pasted between Ahmad al-Rumi's and Muhammad al-Khayyam's lines and signed afterwards. What this means for the extent and trustworthiness of Baysunghur's personal contribution to the calligraphic exercise page remains unclear.

18 Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. 60. It is possible that this sheet was removed from the Timurid workshop album H. 2152. Its present whereabouts are unknown: Gülru Necipoğlu kindly informed me that it does not exist in any of the Topkapı albums in their present condition.

19 Only one of the black-line drawings of this group, showing a crane, is unusual because it is fully coloured; for a reproduction in colour, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, fig. 55.

20 *qalam-i kamtarīn-i bandagān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām.*

21 For this interpretation of *kamtarīn-i bandagān*, see Gülru Necipoğlu's article in this volume. By contrast, David J. Roxburgh interprets this formula as meaning "the least of the servants [of God]" (Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 139).

22 *Cf.* Necipoğlu's article in this volume. Two petitions preserved in H. 2153, fol. 98v and 119v can serve as examples: they are signed with the formula *banda-yi kamtarīn-i bandagān* or simply *banda-yi kamtarīn* ("the most insignificant servant") by two calligraphers who probably worked for the Aqqoyunlu sultan Yaʿqub (r. 1478–1490). They are quoted in Persian and translated into English by Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden 2001, p. 47.

23 The formerly termed "Baysunghur album" has been renamed "Timurid workshop album" by Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, pp. 93–106. For a list of Muhammad Khayyam's drawings in this album, see David J. Roxburgh,

exercise page (fig. 14.3). The other four signed drawings[24] – three in the Diez albums (figs. 14.4a–c), plus one depicting *Khusraw Spying Shirin Bathing* in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva (fig. 14.5f)[25] – probably once belonged to the Timurid workshop album as well. The remaining four drawings (figs. 14.1 and 14.4d–f) bear only short attributions, mostly written in an insecure *naskh*, reading "pen of Muḥammad Khayyām"[26] (fig. 14.7b) or simply "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (figs. 14.7a, c–d), and are not fully-fledged signatures. They are also pasted into the Diez albums but had been probably extracted from the Timurid workshop album too.

The accumulation of fifteen separate works on paper all signed by one and the same draftsman is unparalleled in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Persianate art. Drawings and paintings bearing authentic signatures seem to have been exceptional in that period, such as, for example, the signature by the Jalayirid artist Junayd appearing in the architectural decoration in an illustration from the *Khamsa* of Khvaju Kirmani of 1396,[27] and the signature-like inscription on a small drawing depicting a horse's head (TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 29v), presumably written by the executor of the drawing, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (r. 1382–1410) himself.[28] In contrast, the vast majority of inscriptions found on drawings and paintings bound in the old Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 (the so-called Fatih albums or Ya'qub Beg albums), which mostly contain fifteenth-century material, are mere attributive notes: most of them seem to have been added in a *nasta'līq* hand by librarians or artists in the service of the subsequent owners of the images in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The attributions were probably done before the images were bound or re-bound into albums at the Ottoman court around 1514.[29]

"Persian Drawing, ca. 1400–1450: Materials and Creative Procedures", *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), pp. 44–77, here p. 73, note 61, 1a-c.

24 *Cf.* Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 139, and Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 73, note 61, 1a, b and d.

25 Inv.no. 1971–107/398, for an illustration, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, cat.no. 83 or Basil W. Robinson et al., *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: Miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi*, Geneva, 1992, cat. no. 15.

26 *qalam-i Muḥammad-i Khayyām.*

27 The signature on *Celebrations for the Consummation of Humay's Marriage to Humayun* (British Library, Add. 18113, fol. 45v; for an illustration, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, cat. no. 13) reads: *'amal-i Junayd naqqāsh sulṭānī* ("work of Junayd the royal painter"). For an extensive study of the painting, its inscriptions, and the manuscript, see Sheila S. Blair, "A Romantic Interlude: The Wedding Celebrations from a Manuscript with Three Poems by Khwaju Kirmani", in *idem.*, *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art*, Edinburgh 2014, pp. 172–227.

28 The drawing is reproduced in İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*, fig. 112; for a translation of the inscription, see Massumeh Farhad's article in this volume.

29 See the articles by Lâle Uluç and Gülru Necipoğlu in the present volume. Necipoğlu and Uluç draw attention to the fact that some of the attributive notes were cropped when they were trimmed and pasted into the albums. For such cropped inscriptions, see also Zeren Tanındı, "Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums, H. 2153 and 2160", in *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 37–41, here p. 39 (for example TSMK, H. 2160, fols. 66r and 78r).



FIGURE 14.4A Swimming Duck, *signed by Muhammad Khayyam*, c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 26, no. 1.*



FIGURE 14.4B Two Mounted Chinese Warriors in Combat, *signed by Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 65.*



FIGURE 14.4C Mongol Rider, *signed by Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 13.*



FIGURE 14.4D Six Mounted Archers, *attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 7.*



FIGURE 14.4E Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon, *attributed to Muhammad Khayyam, c. 1400–50, Samarqand or Herat. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1.*



FIGURE 14.4F Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon, *attributed to Muhammad Khayyam, c. 1400–50, Samarqand or Herat. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 25.*

However, during or after this process of compilation some new attributive inscriptions seem to have been added.[30] The old attributions, which in most cases begin with *kār-i…* or *ʿamal-i…*, name various fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painters such as Ahmad Musa,[31] Shaykhi, and Muhammad Siyah Qalam.[32] According to Zeren Tanındı, only two can be accepted as the original signatures of Shaykhi al-Yaʿqubi and Muhammad Siyah Qalam on the grounds they are written in a more elaborate form than the other notes.[33] It is common scholarly opinion that Muhammad Khayyam's fifteen signatures in *taʿlīq* script from H. 2152 (Timurid workshop album) are genuine too, although some of them have a strange location and orientation in relation to the drawings: the signature on the *Two Mounted Chinese Warriors in Combat* (fig. 14.4b), for example, is even upside down relative to the viewer. This seems to imply that the drawing was already mounted on an album page when it was "signed" in this way.[34] One also wonders why not a single biographical note on Muhammad Khayyam has survived in any of the historic Persian sources documenting the artistic production at Persianate courts. Could this perhaps be explained by Roxburgh's assumption that Muhammad Khayyam's drawings were only recreational in nature and thus not part of the official workshop production? But why then do several of the fifteen drawings actually betray the work of a master (*cf.* figs. 14.4a–c), while others look like they were executed by a young inexperienced trainee (*cf.* figs. 14.5f and 14.5h)?[35] These inconsistencies raise the question of whether all of Muhammad Khayyam's signatures can be judged authentic and, hence, whether he was a draftsman after all. Moreover, given Muhammad Khayyam's scanty calligraphic output and the silence about him in writings on calligraphy, one might also doubt that he was a professional calligrapher.[36]

30 In a note related to the paragraph "Connoisseurship in the Turko-Persian world" of her article in this volume, Lâle Uluç remarks that some attributive notes in H. 2153 and H. 2160 appear on the pink paper that frames the images, which implies that these notes were written only during, or even after, the album's assemblage.

31 For an attribution to Ahmad Musa, see, for example, H. 2153, fol. 16v, published in Basil Gray, "History of Miniature Painting: The Fourteenth Century", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, Paris and London 1979, fig. 62.

32 For a synopsis of attributive inscriptions naming Shaykhi and Muhammad Siyah Qalam, see *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), figs. 14 and 15.

33 Tanındı, "Some Problems" pp. 38–39, figs. 17 (H. 2153, fol. 32r) and 19 (H. 2153, fol. 104v).

34 Among the fifteen drawings "signed" by Muhammad Khayyam there is one further example where the "signature" is upside down relative to the viewer: it shows *Two Princes on Horseback* (TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 56v, no. 1, a drawing of second-rate quality, hitherto unpublished).

35 Most of the eleven signed drawings in the Timurid workshop album, with the notable exception of the coloured drawing of *A Crane* (fig. 14.5l), look rather simplistic; see, for example, two studies of lions, published in İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*, figs. 120 and 121.

36 Most scholars believe that he was a calligrapher by profession, although to the best of my knowledge he is not mentioned in any treatise dealing with Timurid calligraphy: Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. 60; Kühnel, "Malernamen", p. 74; Roxburgh, "Persian



FIGURE 14.5A–L *Details of signatures by Muhammad Khayyam from: a) calligraphic exercise page (fig. 14.3); b)* Mongol Rider (*fig. 14.4c); c)* Two Mounted Chinese Warriors in Combat (*fig. 14.4b); d)* Swimming Duck (*fig. 14.4a); e–f)* Khusraw Spying Shirin Bathing, c. *1400–50, Iran, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva; g–h)* Two Warriors on Horseback in Combat (*TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 45v, no.1); i–j)* Lion with a Curly Mane (*TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 85r, no. 5); k–l)* Crane (*TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 64v, no. 4*).

To summarize, the only *usable* information on Muhammad Khayyam that we have thus far is his distinctive extended signature in a flourished *taʿlīq* script reading "pen of the least of the servants Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām" and the reference to the famous Jalayirid master artist ʿAbd al-Hayy in three of the signatures. These two pieces of information will form the basis of the following analysis.

The Three Drawings in the Diez Albums Credited to Muhammad Khayyam through Extended "Signatures"

Comparing the graphic qualities of Muhammad Khayyam's signature on the calligraphic exercise page (figs. 14.3 and 14.5a), which is not in *taʿlīq* script, with those on the three drawings in the Diez albums (figs. 14.5b–d), with the one on the Geneva drawing (fig. 14.5e), and with three signatures on drawings that are still in the Timurid workshop album (figs. 14.5g, i and k), it can be stated that they all seem to be written in different hands.[37] Although the signatures on the *Mongol Rider* (figs. 14.4c and 14.5b), the *Two Mounted Chinese Warriors in Combat* (figs. 14.4b and 14.5c), the Geneva drawing (figs. 14.5e–f), and the Topkapı drawings (fig. 14.5g–l) are written in a similar *ductus*, and although the one on the *Swimming Duck* (figs. 14.4a/5d) – which is partly erased on the right side and in a less secure hand – shows a very similar arrangement of the words, letters, and ligatures as the one on the *Chinese Warriors* (figs. 14.4b and 14.5c), all seven seem to vary in the flow of the line and also partly in the placement of the words. Moreover, the double-knotted ligature linking "Maḥmūd" to "shāh" has been reduced to a single knot flourish in the drawing depicting a *Mongol Rider* (figs. 14.4c and 14.5b), in the Geneva drawing of *Khusraw Spying Shirin Bathing* (figs. 14.5e–f), and in the *Combat of Two Warriors on Horseback* (figs. 14.5g–h). This remarkable variation can also be found in three more drawings in H. 2152.[38]

These observations are corroborated by the results of an X-ray fluorescence analysis of the carbon inks of the three extended signatures in the Diez albums.

Drawing", pp. 59–61, and Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 139 and 314. However, J.M. Rogers does not regard the artist Muhammad Khayyam as a calligrapher-draftsman at Baysunghur's court since he assigns him a period of activity to the "later 15th century" or "c. 1460" in Tabriz (J.M. Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", in *Persian Masters: five centuries of painting,* ed. Sheila R. Canby, Mumbai 1990, pp. 21–38, here p. 25, and J. Michael Rogers, "'The Gorgeous East': Trade and Tribute in the Islamic Empires", in *Circa 1492*, ed. Jay A. Levenson, New Haven and London 1991, pp. 69–74, here p. 73).

37 The same can be said of the other signatures of Muhammad Khayyam in the Timurid workshop album on H. 2152, fol. 51v, no. 3, fol. 56r, no. 3, fol. 56v, no. 1 and no. 6, fol. 61r, no. 3, fol. 71v, no. 1, and fol. 87v, no. 10. Only four of the eleven "signed" images have been published; see Ipşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*, figs. 118, 120–122.

38 H. 2152, fol. 56v, no. 1 (*Two Princes on Horseback*), fol. 56v, no. 6 (*Two Branches with Perching Birds*), and fol. 71v, no. 1 (*A Man on Horseback Attacked by a Bear*), all hitherto unpublished.

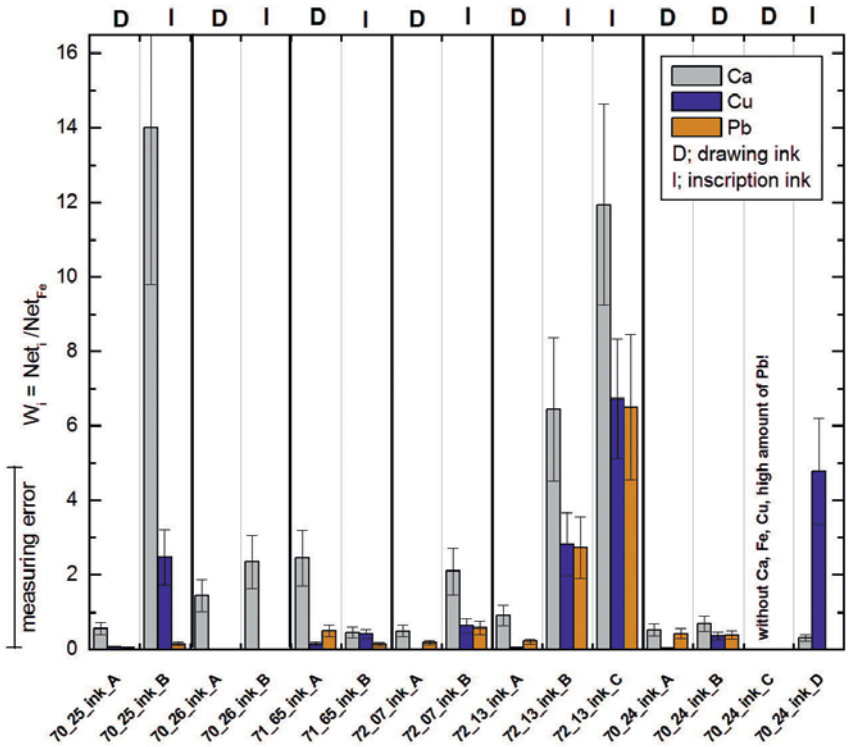


FIGURE 14.6 *Diagram with semi-quantitative results summarizing the net peak intensities from different trace elements (calcium (Ca), copper (Cu), and lead (Pb)) that were normalized to iron (Fe): Oliver Hahn, BAM.*

According to Oliver Hahn,[39] the elemental chemical compositions of the signature inks differ between one another; moreover, they differ from the inks used in the respective drawings.[40] In a bar diagram (fig. 14.6), these differences are made visible by the diverging heights of three bars, each indicating a different characteristic trace element found in various amounts in most of the carbon inks used here – calcium, copper, and lead – in relation to iron (Wi=Neti/NetFe). In fact, not only the bars representing the inks used in the signatures (fig. 14.6: 70_26_ink_B, 71_65_ink_B, and 72_13_ink_B), but also those of the inks used in the drawings (fig. 14.6: 70_26_ink_A, 71_65_ink_A, and 72_13_ink_A) vary significantly. One can therefore assume that the draftsmen not only did *not* sign the drawings immediately after their completion – otherwise the signature's ink would be identical to the drawing's ink – but also that the three "signatures" were written at different times

39 For a thorough description of the methods used in the scientific analysis, as explained on the basis of another drawing from the Diez albums (Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 1), see the article by Oliver Hahn in the present volume.

40 The black inks in the seven drawings of the "Muhammad Khayyam-corpus" in the Diez albums are all carbon inks. This has been proven by examination under infrared light.

and places, presumably by three different people. One might consider three different scenarios. First, Muhammad Khayyam visited the Timurid workshop on several occasions and was urged by the present artists, who were aware of Muhammad's familiarity with works of the celebrated 'Abd al-Hayy, to sign his own drawings already mounted in the Timurid workshop album.[41] If Muhammad Khayyam had written the signatures at intervals of several years or even decades this would offer an explanation for their differences in detail and *ductus*. The second possible scenario would be that the signatures referring to Muhammad Khayyam along with the abbreviated attributions were added not long after the assemblage of the Timurid workshop album in the early decades of the fifteenth century,[42] partly by Muhammad Khayyam himself and partly by other artists who had access to the inner circles of the Timurid court.[43] If that were the case, one would need to consider at least some of the drawings as authentic works by Muhammad Khayyam, while others were – possibly erroneously – credited to him by his admirers. The third scenario is that many if not all of the signatures and attributions were added much later, far away from Herat and the Timurid workshop. To my mind this last scenario is the most likely of the three, for two reasons. First, most of the signed or attributed works are enormously different in style and artistic quality and therefore do not seem to have been made by the same person.[44] Second, it appears strange for an amateur draftsman to sign or authorise others to sign such a large number of works at a time when signatures by painters and draftsmen were extremely unusual, notwithstanding the humble wording *kamtarīn-i bandagān* and

41 Julian Raby suggested this scenario about the possible role of the extended signatures. He argued that this would perhaps have been a self-conscious moment in the creation of a testament to a tradition (personal communication). I agree that it could explain the strange location of some of the signatures: instead of being written next to the baseline of the drawing, they are often applied near the outer edge of the album page because this position was more convenient for the writer's hand.

42 The Timurid workshop album seems to have been compiled in Herat not later than the death of Shah Rukh in 1447 since it contains no material datable to a later period, *cf.* Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 92.

43 *Cf.* Gülru Necipoğlu's article in this volume.

44 Having compared all nineteen drawings of the corpus (the twelve non-Diez drawings were available to me as high-resolution, digitised images), I cannot find there any significant consistencies in style that would betray the hand of one and the same draftsman, with two possible exceptions: first, two studies of lions that share many features (such as the particular shape of the ears and the mane) and these are traced in a similar way, combining short brush strokes and long sinuous lines (*A Lion Licking its Paw* (H. 2152, fol. 56r, no.3, published in Ipşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*, figs 121) and *A Lion Biting the Head of a Man* (H. 2152, fol. 87v, no. 10, hitherto unpublished); and, second, the drawing of *Khusraw Spying Shirin Bathing* (fig. 14.5f) and the *Two Princes on Horseback* (TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 56v, no. 1, hitherto unpublished) that both show a similar treatment of the horses and figures. See also my discussion below of the striking stylistic differences between the two drawings of the *Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon*, both bearing a short attribution to Muhammad Khayyam.

Muhammad's alleged familiarity with the opus of ʿAbd al-Hayy. It is, however, still possible that a small number of the drawings in the corpus and their signatures are actually autograph works. It would be necessary to further consider this possibility by undertaking a close stylistic and scientific examination of the eleven drawings in the Timurid workshop album.

The following question would be who started to add fake signatures by imitating Muhammad Khayyam's presumably authentic signature on the calligraphic exercise page or another, now lost calligraphy sheet that perhaps already included the wording *kamtarīn-i bandagān* at the beginning,[45] or simply by replicating a genuine signature by Muhammad Khayyam on one or two of the drawings – and when and why this person did so. The next question would be why four more drawings in the Diez albums were inscribed only with short attributive notes instead of "signatures". An answer to these questions might lie in a close examination of the drawings credited to Muhammad Khayyam, especially those in the Diez albums. All nineteen drawings are drawn in black lines. They depict a broad range of subjects: scenes of combat, single figures, groups of figures, and animals (mostly lions),[46] and are generally dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that the drawings do not match one single regional or individual style. This could partly be explained by the fact that at least the three signed drawings in the Diez albums – the *Swimming Duck* (fig. 14.4a), *Two Mounted Chinese Warriors in Combat* (fig. 14.4b), and the *Mongol Rider* (fig. 14.4c) – seem to be direct copies of prototypes in the Timurid workshop album and the Yaʿqub Beg album H. 2153,[47] which were themselves apparently based on earlier, now lost, Chinese, Ilkhanid or Jalayirid models. One might hence assume that the draftsmen tried to respond to valued works from the past by imitating their specific motifs and graphic idioms, which was common practice in the Timurid era.[48]

45 It may be that the ur-signature came from a now lost calligraphic specimen by Muhammad Khayyam, perhaps the one mentioned by Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. 60.

46 The eleven drawings in the Topkapı album H. 2152 are described by Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", n. 61. Four of them (one depicting a crane, the other three showing lions) are published in Ipşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*, figs. 118 and 120–122; for the coloured drawing of a crane, see also the plate in Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, fig. 55.

47 For the counterparts in the Topkapı albums, see the article by Zeren Tanındı in the present volume. See also Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", fig. 20 (H. 2152, fol. 50b) for the *Mongol Rider*; Islamic Art 1 (1981), fig. 457 (H.2153, fol. 87r) for the *Chinese Warriors*, and *ibid*., fig. 169 (H.2153, fol. 46v) for the *Swimming Duck*. There are numerous other examples where a drawing in the Diez album has a counterpart in one of the Topkapı albums, such as Diez A fol. 73, p. 75, no. 1 (*A Rider Fighting a Lion*) corresponding to H.2153, fol. 147v and H. 2160, fol. 61r (for illustrations, see *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), figs. 140 and 142); see also the article by Zeren Tanındı in the present volume.

48 *Cf.* Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 171–179, and Appendix III; see also Tanındı, "Some Problems", pp. 39–40; and the articles by Zeren Tanındı and Yves Porter in the present volume. For another drawing which was clearly modeled on an Ilkhanid prototype, compare Diez A fol. 72, p. 11, no. 2 (*Mongol Lady Walking with Two Pages*) and Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, no. 1 (*Preparations for a Mongol*

As mentioned earlier, two of the Diez albums' drawings (figs. 14.4a and 14.4c), and also one depicting a recumbent lion with a curly mane mounted in the Timurid workshop album (fig. 14.5j),[49] bear the additional information that they were copied from or at least inspired by works of ʿAbd al-Hayy.[50] The first documentary source that mentions ʿAbd al-Hayy as an eminent protégé of Sultan Uvays is the *Taẕkira-i Shuʿarā* (Memorial of Poets) written by Mir Dawlatshah in 1487.[51] According to Dust Muhammad, the Safawid calligrapher and chronicler of the arts who wrote the frequently quoted preface to the so-called Bahram Mirza album (H. 2154) in 1544/45,[52] ʿAbd al-Hayy was active as a painter and draftsman in the late fourteenth century under the Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad (r. 1382–1410) in Baghdad.[53] Dust Muhammad explains that ʿAbd al-Hayy was a pupil of Shams al-Din, who had been in the service of Sultan Ahmad's predecessor, Sultan Uvays. After Shams al-Din had stopped working, ʿAbd al-Hayy "took up the pen of uniqueness and instructed Sultan Ahmad in depiction".[54] Shams al-Din in turn had been trained by the Ilkhanid artist Amir Dawlatyar, himself a pupil of the legendary Ahmad Musa. In 1393, after the conquest of Baghdad, ʿAbd al-Hayy was taken by Timur to Samarqand. In another chronicle of the arts, written in 1541, Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat praises ʿAbd al-Hayy as the only masterful painter worthy of mention who was active before Bihzad and Shah-Muzaffar.[55] He also reports that ʿAbd al-Hayy destroyed many of his works after he had stopped working as an artist for religious reasons.[56] Unfortunately, none of the extant drawings or miniatures from the late fourteenth century can safely be attributed to ʿAbd al-Hayy.[57] Dust

Feast). For drawings modeled on Chinese prototypes in the Diez albums, see the article by Ching-Ling Wang in the present volume.

49 TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 85r, no. 5; for an illustration, see Ipşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumunaş*, fig. 122; *cf.* also Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", n. 61c.

50 The inscriptions on Diez A fol. 71, p. 65 and Diez A fol. 70, S. 26, Nr. 1 were once probably almost the same (the beginnings of the two lines are erased on the latter): *naql az qalam-i ustād / khvāja ʿAbd al-Ḥayy naqqāsh / kamtarīn-i bandagān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām*. The inscription on H.2152, fol. 85r, no. 5, reads *rasm-i Khvāja ʿAbd al-Ḥayy / qalam-i kamtarīn-i bandagān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām* ("drawing of Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy / pen of the least of the servants Muhammad son of Mahmudshah al-Khayyam").

51 Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi, "The Tadhkirat al-shu'ara", in *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, selected and trans. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge MA. 1989, pp. 11–62, here p. 12.

52 For an analysis of Dust Muhammad's preface to the Bahram Mirza album (H. 2154) and its erroneously perceived status as a "normative history of art", see David J. Roxburgh, "Lifting the veil from the face of depiction: Dust Muhammad's preface", in *ibid. Prefacing the image: The Writing of Art History in sixteenth-century Iran*, Leiden 2001, pp. 160–200, especially pp. 160–7.

53 Dust Muhammad, "The Bahram Mirza Album Preface by Dost-Muhammad", in Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 4–17, here p. 13.

54 *Ibid.*

55 Mirza Muhammad-Haydar, "Tarikh-i Rashidi", in Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, pp. 357–362, here p. 361.

56 *Ibid.*

57 Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The Diwan of Sultan

Muhammad mentions only one of ʿAbd al-Hayy's outstanding students by name: Pir Ahmad Baghshimali.[58] He does not mention Muhammad Khayyam as another of his pupils and probably did not know of him. But what purpose then might the reference to ʿAbd al-Hayy in Muhammad Khayyam's "signatures" have served?

It is difficult to say how many people were involved in inserting Muhammad Khayyam's extended "signatures" into the drawings. Several of the fifteen "signatures" might be replicas of the first signatures applied to a couple of selected drawings, perhaps those containing the mentions of ʿAbd al-Hayy. However, one might doubt the authenticity of these inscriptions too. Ernst Grube already questioned the trustworthiness of the "lengthy 'acknowledgement'" of master ʿAbd al-Hayy by Muhammad Khayyam inscribed on the drawing of the *Swimming Duck*.[59] It cannot be claimed with certainty when exactly the practice of forging signatures started, but it is possible that some of the fake signatures were written by Iranian artists or scribes employed by the later Ottoman owners of the Timurid workshop album, which then still contained all of the nineteen drawings.[60] One might be particularly tempted to attribute the "signatures" to the patronage of the bibliophile sultans Murad III (r. 1574–95) and Ahmed I (r. 1603–17),

Ahmad Gala'ir in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.", *Kunst des Orients* 11/1–2 (1976/77), pp. 43–84, especially p. 79, has suggested that ʿAbd al-Hayy illustrated the margins in the *Dīwān* of the Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad. Massumeh Farhad argues in her discussion of the *Dīwān* in this volume that only some of the drawings can be credited to him. For inscribed attributions to ʿAbd al-Hayy in the Topkapı albums H. 2153, fol. 21r, fol. 136v and H. 2160, fol. 70r, see the articles by Zeren Tanındı and Gülru Necipoğlu in the present volume; for other possible works by ʿAbd al-Hayy, see the article by Barbara Brend in this volume. In the Bahram Mirza album Dust Muhammad himself attributed a miniature to ʿAbd al-Hayy in the caption above the illustration depicting an *Angel Inspiring the Sleeping Author* from the *Khamsa* of Khvaju Kirmani of 1396 (TSMK, H. 2154, fol. 20v); another attribution to ʿAbd al-Hayy appears beneath a drawing on fol. 21r of the album H. 2153 (erroneously referred to as H. 2154 by Ernst Grube, "Patterns of Migration", in *HALI*, 113 (Nov.-Dec. 2000), pp. 105–107, fig. 5).

58 Dust Muhammad "The Bahram Mirza Album Preface", p. 13. B.W. Robinson has tried to ascribe some miniatures to Pir Ahmad Baghshimali, assuming that he worked first in Baghdad, then in Samarqand, Shiraz and from 1414 until his death in 1420 in Herat (B.W. Robinson, "'Zenith of his Time': The Painter Pir Ahmad Baghsimali", in *Persian Masters: five centuries of painting,* ed. Sheila R. Canby, Mumbai 1990, pp. 1–20).

59 Grube, "Patterns of Migration", p. 106. In his article Grube also presents two album paintings, one showing *Two Cranes and Two Ducks in a River* (sold at Sotheby's London 13 April 2000, lot 31), the other a *Flying Crane* (London, private collection) that bear the attribution *qalam-i khvāja ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Maḥmūd Shāh Khayyām* (figs. 1 and 7), who was presumably the father of Muhammad al-Khayyam.

60 In contrast to the albums H. 2153 and H. 2160, which were entirely or partly assembled in the early sixteenth century at the Ottoman court (*cf.* the article of Lâle Uluç in this volume), the Timurid workshop album seems to have been compiled in Herat not later than the death of Shah Rukh in 1447 since it contains no material datable to a later period, *cf.* Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 92.

who left handwritten notes in two of the old Topkapı albums (H. 2160 and H. 2153).[61] Since the album H. 2160 as well as the Timurid workshop album (H. 2152) bear the imprint of the oval-shaped imperial seal of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520), which was destroyed immediately after his death in 1520, it can be safely assumed that these two albums at least were kept in the treasury of the Topkapı Palace from the time of his reign.[62] In fact, most scholars agree that the albums were part of the booty taken by the Ottomans from the Safawids after the Battle of Çaldıran near Tabriz in 1514. Perhaps some of the "signatures" and attributive notes referring to Muhammad Khayyam, as well as some of the earlier mentioned attributions to other Persianate artists in H. 2153 and H. 2160, were written by Safawid artists whom Sultan Selim I had brought from Tabriz to his own court scriptorium in Istanbul.[63] However, it might be relevant that it was several decades after the death of Selim I that the Ottoman sultans obtained the Bahram Mirza album (H. 2154) of 1544/45 containing Dust Muhammad's above-mentioned eulogy on ʿAbd al-Hayy.[64] While studying the newly arrived album in the Ottoman treasury, the then reigning Sultan (Sülayman, Selim II or Murad III) and his library staff might have noticed Dust Muhammad's final remark on ʿAbd al-Hayy: "After the *khvāja*'s [ʿAbd al-Hayy's] death all masters imitated his works."[65] It can thus be tentatively argued that the viewers of the Timurid workshop album only then, or slightly later during the reign of Ahmed I, assigned the Timurid calligrapher Muhammad Khayyam – known to them through his strikingly flourished signature on Baysunghur's calligraphic exercise page or on another, now lost specimen of calligraphy[66] – the role of one of those imitators by declaring that three of the works in the album were copies done by Muhammad Khayyam after ʿAbd al-Hayy's work. By writing the "signatures" in a traditional, but rarely used and therefore even more authentic-looking script on the three drawings, they placed Muhammad Khayyam at the end of a chain of tutelage reaching from the Ilkhanid era, represented

61 *Cf.* Filiz Çağman, "On the Contents of the Four Istanbul Albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160", in *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 31–36, especially p. 34; Tanındı, "Some Problems", p. 39; see also the article by Lâle Uluç in the present volume, especially the passage under the subtitle "Evidence from the Istanbul album".

62 I owe this information to the article by Lâle Uluç in the present volume.

63 For the Safavid artists imported by Selim I from Tabriz and their possible interventions in H. 2153 and H. 2160, see the article by Gülru Necipoğlu in the present volume.

64 It is not clear when the Bahram Mirza album came into the Ottoman treasury. As a *terminus post quem* for the arrival of the album in Istanbul one might take the date of the death of Bahram Mirza, 1549. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 316–17, suggests that "many of the Safawid albums found their way to the Ottoman court through diplomacy in the time of peace brokered under Sülayman [r. 1520–66] and perpetuated by his heirs Selim II (r. 1566–74) and Murad III (r. 1574–95)", for example, during the Safawid embassy sent in 1576 from Qazwin to Istanbul to celebrate the accession of Murad III.

65 *baʿd az vafāt-i khvāja hama-yi ustādan tatabbuʿ-i kārhā-yi īshān kardand* (Dust Muhammad "The Bahram Mirza Album Preface", p. 13).

66 Perhaps the signature on the calligraphic specimen, dated 1409, mentioned by Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. 60.

by Amir Dawlatyar and Ahmad Musa, to the Jalayirid and early Timurid periods, represented by Shams al-Din and ʿAbd al-Hayy. Or to put it more bluntly, Muhammad Khayyam, alias Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam, once a courtier and calligrapher at Baysunghur's court in Herat, was perhaps transformed by the Ottomans sometime around the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries into the fictive Timurid draftsman Muhammad Khayyam via forged signatures.

This hypothesis finds further support in *Menāqıb-ı hünerverān* (the "Epic Deeds of Artists") by the Ottoman poet, bureaucrat, and historian Mustafa ʿAli (1541–1600). Mustafa ʿAli completed the book in 1587 in Istanbul, where he was then seeking employment at the court of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595).[67] It is therefore likely that Sultan Murad III and his courtiers knew the *Epic Deeds*.[68] In this work Mustafa ʿAli not only expresses his great admiration for the artistic patronage of calligraphy and painting at the Timurid courts, beginning with Prince Baysunghur, but also makes extensive reference to two artists from Tabriz who worked the greatest part of their lives at the Ottoman court: Shah Quli, who joined the imperial painting workshop (*naqqāshkhāna*) in Istanbul in *c.* 1520, where he soon became its head;[69] and Vali Jan, who worked for Sultan Murad III from *c.* 1580 onwards.[70] Both artists are associated with finished single drawings with no narrative purpose in the so-called Ottoman *sāz* style,[71] which – and this is significant in our context – apparently has its precursors in earlier black-line drawings that were available to the artists of the Ottoman *naqqāshkhāna* in the Topkapı albums H. 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2160.[72] While studying the material assembled in the Timurid

67 For a recent edition, see *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*, ed. and trans. Esra Akın-Kıvanç, Leiden and Boston 2011.

68 One can assume that Murad III felt personally addressed by this work as its preface is full of flattering remarks on his benevolence towards artists and men of learning, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 164–165.

69 *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds,* p. 268. See also Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, Washington and New York 1987, pp. 30 and 100–103. For a drawing of a *peri* bearing a probably contemporary attribution to Shah Quli, see Walter B. Denny, "Dating Ottoman Turkish Works in the Saz Style", in *Muqarnas* 1 (1983), pp. 103–121, p. 107, and pl. 6; for a drawing of a dragon attributed to Shah Quli, see the exhibition catalogue *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam*, Paris 2001, cat.no. 81 and pp. 92–93.

70 *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds*, pp. 271–272. For works credited to Vali Jan, see, *e.g.* Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften I: Persische Handschriften*, Vienna 1983, figs. 386 and 387 (cod. mixt. 313, fols. 43r and 47r) and Denny, "Saz Style", pls. 17–20.

71 The term *sāz* means both the reed from which the *qalam* is cut and a fantastic forest inhabited by wild animals. The *sāz* style is typical of the Ottoman *naqqāshkhāna* in the sixteenth century; *cf.* Atıl, Süleyman, pp. 26–27 and 97–107. The favourite subjects depicted in this style are curving leaves and palmettes, *peri*s, and dragons. Many examples of this style can be found in the album of Prince Murad (later Murad III), dated 1572 (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, codex mixtus 313); *cf.* Duda, *Islamische Handschriften I*, Tafelband, figs. 348–369, Textband, pp. 109–160.

72 *Cf.* Denny, "Saz Style", pp. 104–106.

workshop album (H. 2152), some *sāz*-style artists or their patrons, namely Vali Jan and his patron Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1596), or Shah Quli or other artists who worked for Sülayman (r. 1520–1566) and Selim II (r. 1566–1574), perhaps credited several of the black-line drawings to the Timurid calligrapher Muhammad Khayyam, either by means of fake signatures[73] or through attributive notes. By doing so, they might have sought to underscore the stylistic impact these Timurid drawings had on the development of their own artistic style. By turning Baysunghur's courtier and calligrapher Muhammad Khayyam into a follower of the Jalayirid artist ʿAbd al-Hayy – known to them through Dust Muhammad's preface and attributions to this artist, in place before the albums reached the Ottoman court – they invented an otherwise unattested artistic persona to be associated henceforth with late Jalayirid and early Timurid black-line drawings.

Another link between the Timurid and the Jalayirid traditions was established by writing Muhammad Khayyam's and ʿAbd al-Hayy's names on the drawing depicting a crouching lion with an anti-naturalistic, ornamental-looking curly mane in the Timurid workshop album (fig. 14.5j).[74] It is striking that this particular type of lion[75] also occurs in the famous Jalayirid *Kalīla va Dimna* manuscript (Istanbul University Library, F. 1422, datable 1370–74), which was probably made for Sultan Uvays (r. 1356–74)[76] and in another Jalayirid manuscript – the *ʿAjā'ibnāma* (History of Wonders), made for Sultan Ahmad (r. 1382–1410).[77] Both Jalayirid manuscripts, as many others, were kept in the Ottoman palace for some time.[78] Since the *Kalīla va Dimna* manuscript came to the Ottoman court in an album sent as a gift by Shah Tahmasp to mark the coronation of Sultan Murad III in 1574,[79] it is tempting to assume that at

73 Interestingly, Mustafa ʿAli complains in an anecdote inserted in the third chapter dealing with Persian calligraphers of the fifteenth century about the common practice of art collectors and artists exploiting the ignorance of other collectors by selling them drawings by Mani and calligraphic pieces by Mir ʿAli with forged signatures (*Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds,* p. 236; see also comment by Esra Akın-Kıvanç on p. 39). This shows that fake signatures already existed in the fifteenth century.

74 See figs. 121 and 122 in İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*.

75 For another lion of the same type, see Diez A fol. 72, p. 10, no.3.

76 For images, see Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century*, London and New York 2003, pls. 15, 18, 19 (F.1422, fols. 25v, 18v, 6v: *The Battle of the Lion and Shanzaba*) and 83 (*The Jackal Asks the Cause for the Lion's Lament*) (F.1422, fol. 20r). For the assumption that Sultan Uvays was the patron of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, p. 241.

77 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Pers. 332, fols. 50r and 75v.

78 In the Parisian manuscript of the *ʿAjā'ibnāma* an Ottoman seal was scratched out, *cf.* Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: manuscrits du XII^e au XVII siècle*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1997, cat.no. 33. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı ("Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), pp. 221–264, especially p 232) have shown that many more Jalayirid manuscripts entered the Ottoman palace before or during Bayezid II's reign (r. 1480–1512), such as the Freer Gallery *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad.

79 *Cf.* O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, p. 233.

least this "signature" on the drawing of the lion with a curly mane was added during the latter's reign.

The Five Drawings in the Diez Albums Credited to Muhammad Khayyam through Abbreviated Attributions

But what can be said about the four Diez albums drawings that merely bear attributions – often rather scrawled than carefully written – in *naskh* to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" instead of "signatures" in *taʿlīq* script (figs. 14.1/7a, 4d/7b, 4e/7d, and 4f/7c), and about the drawing of the *Mongol Rider* that carries both an extended signature and an abbreviated attribution (figs. 14.4c and 14.7e)? Roxburgh asserts that the terse attributions are "likely to be near contemporary additions" because "all of the attributions are in the same hand and [...] their script is consistent with a date early in the 1400s."[80] He therefore believes that Muhammad Khayyam actually executed the *Tazza Farnese* drawing.[81] However, if one looks closely at these attributions (figs. 14.7a–e), it is hard to confirm that they are all in the same hand given the various ways of writing "Muḥammad".[82] Here again, Oliver Hahn's analysis has shown that in three of the four drawings (figs. 14.4d–f), the carbon inks used for the attributive notes are different from the inks in the related drawings and that they are also different from one another (fig. 14.6: 72_07_ink_A and 72_07_ink_B; 70_24_ink_A-C and 70_24_ink_D; 70_25_ink_A and 70_25_ink_B). However, the carbon inks used for the *Tazza Farnese* drawing and its attribution are much purer than those of the other six drawings in the "Muhammad Khayyam-corpus". It has therefore not been possible to include the *Tazza Farnese* drawing in the bar diagram (fig. 14.6). But it can at least be stated that the person, or people, who inserted the attribution into the *Six Mounted Archers* (fig. 14.7b) and the two drawings depicting a *Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon* (figs. 14.7c and d) did not use the same ink pot as the person responsible for the drawing. However, it is possible, though not very likely, that the attributions were written by the same scribe at different moments.[83] But what might have been the function of these abbreviated attributions?

In contrast to the three "signed" drawings in the Diez albums that are based on earlier prototypes in the Topkapı albums H. 2152 and H 2153 (figs. 14.4a–c), for the drawings that only bear short attributions to Muhammad Khayyam (figs. 14.1 and 14.4d–f) no precise Timurid, Jalayirid, Ilkhanid or Chinese models have yet been found, although fighting dragons as well as mounted archers are quite a common

80 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 338, n. 104.

81 *Ibid.*

82 However, a certain graphic similarity can be noticed among the attribution on the *Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon* (Diez A fol. 70, p. 25 – fig. 14.7c) and the attribution added on the "signed" *Mongol Rider* (fig. 14.7e).

83 *Cf.* Julian Raby's article in the present volume. A comparison of the close-up views of the four single attributions (figs. 14.7a–d) and the fifth additional attribution (fig. 14.7e) reveals, however, at least three different ways of writing "Muḥammad"; there are differences in the ligatures, the shape of the *mīm*, and the angle at which it slopes downwards.











FIGURES 14.7A–E *Details of short attributions to Muhammad Khayyam from: a*) Tazza Farnese *drawing* (*fig. 14.1*); *b*) Six Mounted Archers (*fig. 14.4d*); *c*) Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon (*fig. 14.4f*); *d*) Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon (*fig. 14.4e*); *e*) Mongol Rider (*fig. 14.4c*).

motif in Persianate art.[84] One may thus put forward the hypothesis that a "signature" was supposed to denote Muhammad Khayyam as the (alleged) executor of a drawing modelled on a specific prototype from the past – which in three cases is ascribed to ʿAbd al-Hayy. In contrast, a short attributive note in *naskh* script might have been meant to credit the original design to Muhammad Khayyam – that is, not the execution of the drawing itself but its prototype. The fact that the drawing of the *Mongol Rider* not only bears a "signature" beneath the front part of the horse, which is well incorporated in the drawing, but also carries an attribution on the left reading "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" (fig. 14.7e), lends strength to this hypothesis. The "signature" and attribution are written in different but seemingly related carbon inks (fig. 14.6: 72_13_ink_B – signature; 72_13_ink_C – attribution)[85] which both differ substantially from the ink used in the drawing (72_13_ink_A). The drawing was thus ascribed to Muhammad Khayyam twice. Due to the apparent similarities of the inks that were used for the two inscriptions, one can say that they were probably written in the same place and close in time. The only reasonable explanation for this double-crediting seems to be that while the extensive "signature" declares Muhammad Khayyam the executor of the drawing, the short attribution simultaneously denotes him as the inventor of its design or prototype. I have not found any other evidence in Persianate drawings datable to the fifteenth century acknowledging such a two-part process in the creation of a drawing consisting of the appropriation of a specific design or prototype and its final execution, apart from the three "signatures" of Muhammad Khayyam in which ʿAbd al-Hayy is mentioned as the author of the prototype and the signatures on two drawings of a crane assigning them to Mahmud Shah Khayyam (perhaps the father of Muhammad Khayyam) after works by ʿAbd al-Hayy (now in private collections).[86] The earliest sixteenth-century examples I am aware of at present are two drawings originating from the Bahram Mirza album, which have been discussed by Roxburgh.[87] One is coloured and shows *Rustam Lassoing Rakhsh*; it is pasted in the Bahram Mirza album (H. 2154, fol. 71r). The prototype or original design (*ṭarḥ*) for this has been credited to Bihzad and the execution (*kār*) to the painter Dust Muhammad (a pupil of Bihzad – not to be confused with

84 *Cf.*, *e.g.*, a Jalayirid black-pen drawing showing *Rustam Killing a Dragon* (H.2153, fol. 48v, published by Zeren Tanındı in the present volume).

85 Although the intensities of the trace elements Ca, Cu and Pb (in relation to Fe) clearly differ in the inks of the two inscriptions, the relationship of these trace elements to one another has almost the same pattern in both inks. This finding is hard to interpret correctly.

86 Published by Grube, "Patterns of Migration", figs. 1 and 7. Furthermore, Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", n. 61, 1b, mentions a drawing of a lion wearing a bell collar by Muhammad Khayyam (H. 2152, no. 4, fol. 85r, illustrated as fig. 120 in İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, *Fatih albumuna*) which bears an inscription stating that it was "copied (*naql az*) after the pen of Master Haybat, the painter by the least of the slaves Muhammad Mahmud Shah al-Khayyam."

87 See the three following notes.

his namesake the chronicler).[88] The other is a black-line drawing showing *Two Caracals and Two Deer* bearing the inscription "copied (*naql*) from the work of Mawlānā Valī [the teacher of Bihzad's father], executed (*ṣavvarahu*) by the servant Bihzād"[89] (now in the Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, no. AKM95).[90] The inscriptions, which were probably written by Dust Muhammad (the compiler of the album), invite us to reflect on the act of drawing as an imitative practice and also testify to a strong awareness of a workshop tradition. Such an awareness seems also to have been a concern for those who attributed the designs or prototypes of the four Diez album drawings (figs. 14.1, 14.4d–f) to Muhammad Khayyam, despite the fact that these short inscriptions – with one exception (fig. 14.7b)[91] – give just the artist's name and do not include the Persian terms for "design" (*ṭarḥ*) or "copy from" (*naql az*).

Interestingly, the person who apparently regarded Muhammad Khayyam as the inventor of the prototypical design of the *Mongol Rider* (fig. 14.4c) seems to have deliberately ignored the fact that the drawing owes much to a not yet identified Ilkhanid (and not Timurid) prototype, as is apparent from the eagle- and owl-feathered headgear and the distinctive Mongolian lead rope attached to the harness.[92] Perhaps the unusual double-crediting of the drawing to Muhammad Khayyam was just a trick to suggest that the very similar version of the *Mongol Rider* (mentioned above), which is still mounted into the Timurid workshop album (H. 2152, fol. 50v), was a copy of the "original" prototypical Diez *Mongol Rider* (fig. 14.4c) by Muhammad Khayyam, and not vice versa, as has been proposed by Roxburgh.[93] Despite the librarian's attempt to reverse the order in which the two drawings were made, Roxburgh is certainly right, since the *Mongol Rider* in H. 2152, fol. 50v is finer and less "robust" than the Diez *Mongol Rider* and thus seems to have preceded the Diez drawing.[94]

The hypothesis (signature = executor of the drawing *versus* attribution = inventor of its prototype) finds further support by comparing the two attributed drawings with the same subject matter: a *Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon* (Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1 – fig. 14.4e; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 25 – fig. 14.4f). If one compares the two

88 *ṭarḥ-i ustād Bihzād / kār-i ustād Dūst Muḥammad*,; *cf.* Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 288–291, fig. 158, and David J. Roxburgh, "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), pp. 119–146, fig. 5.

89 *naql az kār-i Mawlānā Valī ṣavvarahu al-ʿabd Bihzād*.

90 *Cf.* Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 285–6 and fig. 153; Roxburgh, "Bihzad", pp. 125–129, and David J. Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct?": F.R. Martin and the Bahram Mirza Album, *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), pp. 32–57, fig. 7; see also Filiz Çakır Phillip, *Enchanted Lines: Drawings from the Aga Khan Museum Collection*, Toronto 2014, cat.no. 3.

91 *qalam-i Muḥammad-i Khayyām*.

92 For the third cord at the horse's bit, presumably a lead rope, which seems to have been a distinctive feature of Mongolian harnesses, see Barbara Brend's article in the present volume.

93 For a reproduction of H. 2152, fol. 50v and a stylistic comparison of the two drawings, see Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", figs. 19 and 20 and pp. 59–60.

94 Zeren Tanındı also shares this view; see her article in the present volume.

warriors and their horses, it is obvious that the two drawings are based on the same prototype (*ṭarḥ*), despite the fact that the directions of the attack are mirrored and the landscape settings and the dragons' postures are partly different. In contrast, in style and artistic ability, the two drawings differ so much from each other that it can be ruled out that they were executed by the *same* draftsman: whereas the horse on page 24 (fig. 14.4e) looks very dynamic and naturalistic in its motion, the horse on page 25 (fig. 14.4f) is much less convincing in this respect and its bulgy rear does not fit anatomically with its front. This discrepancy also applies to the warriors themselves: the determined gaze and bodily tension of the warrior on page 24 (fig. 14.8a) is almost palpable, while the one on page 25 (fig. 14.8b) has a rigid, almost decorative posture and looks quite intimidated. The drawing techniques are also different: whereas the mane of the horse on page 24 (fig. 14.9a) consists of extremely thin brush strokes rendering each and every hair, the strokes forming the mane of the horse on page 25 (fig. 14.9b) are almost ornamentally drawn in neatly detached, curved lines. A further divergence is that the drawing on page 25 bears tonal washes in some areas, as can be seen in the patches on the dragon's skin and the filled ornaments of the quiver of arrows (fig. 14.9b), whereas the other drawing has no washes at all: tonal density is achieved here through tightly drawn strokes, particularly noticeable in the horse's head and pastern joints (fig. 14.9a). Despite these stylistic and technical differences, the carbon inks used for drawing the horses and their riders are quite similar to each other, as can be seen by comparing the height of the bars representing the relative concentrations of calcium and copper – both set in relation to iron (fig. 14.6: 70_25_ink_A and 70_24_ink_A). This suggests that the two drawings were produced in the same workshop. Nevertheless, given the dissimilar levels of artistic achievement and the differences in style and drawing techniques, they were probably executed by two different artists who followed a common prototypical design which was allegedly created by Muhammad Khayyam. One might thus say that they worked "in the manner of Muhammad Khayyam". Similarly, as Gülru Necipoğlu persuasively shows in her article in the present volume, drawings in the Diez and Topkapı albums bearing the attributive note *kār-i farang* or simply *farang* were not to be understood as works executed by Frankish masters but as works "in the Frankish manner".[95] In the same vein, I would interpret the other short attributive notes applied to other drawings in the Diez albums as works "in the manner of" Darvish Mansur,[96] Ahmad Musa,[97] ʿAbdallah,[98] Mir Dawlatyar,[99] and Sultan (?).[100]

But things get still more complicated: in the artistically more accomplished composition of the dragon fight on page 24 (fig. 14.4e), three different types of carbon inks were used in the drawing itself (fig. 14.6: 70_24_ink_A, B, and C).

95 See Necipoğlu in this volume.

96 Diez A fol. 70, p. 1 (*kār-i Darvīsh Manṣūr*).

97 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, no. 1 (*kār-i Aḥmad Mūsā*).

98 Diez A fol. 70, p. 12 (*qalam-i ʿAbdallāh*).

99 Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 5 is an exception in this group since it bears the inscription "mashq-i Mīr Dawlatyār" meaning "model (or exercise) of Mir Dawlatyar" instead of *kār-i* […] ("work of […]") or *qalam-i* […] ("pen of […]").

100 Diez A fol. 73, p. 61, no. 4 (*ʿamal-i Sulṭān* (?)).



FIGURE 14.8A *Detail of fig. 14.4e.*



FIGURE 14.8B *Detail of fig. 14.4f.*

The linescan of the feathered arrows (fig. 14.10a) serves as an example of the ink of type "A", which was essentially used in the main part of the composition consisting of the warrior and his horse. The corresponding curve diagram (fig. 14.10b) shows the intensity distribution of the trace elements in the various measuring spots marked by square dots. Another linescan has been taken from the dragon's horns (fig. 14.11a). In the corresponding curve diagram (fig. 14.11b), the increase of the various net peak intensities of calcium (Ca), iron (Fe), lead (Pb), and copper (Cu) is clearly visible once the linescan has reached the inked area that covers the last two thirds of the measured section – when compared to the first third of the section, which reveals only the components of pure paper. The quantification of the amounts of trace elements in relation to iron shows that the ink used for drawing the dragon actually slightly differs from the ink of type "A", which was mainly

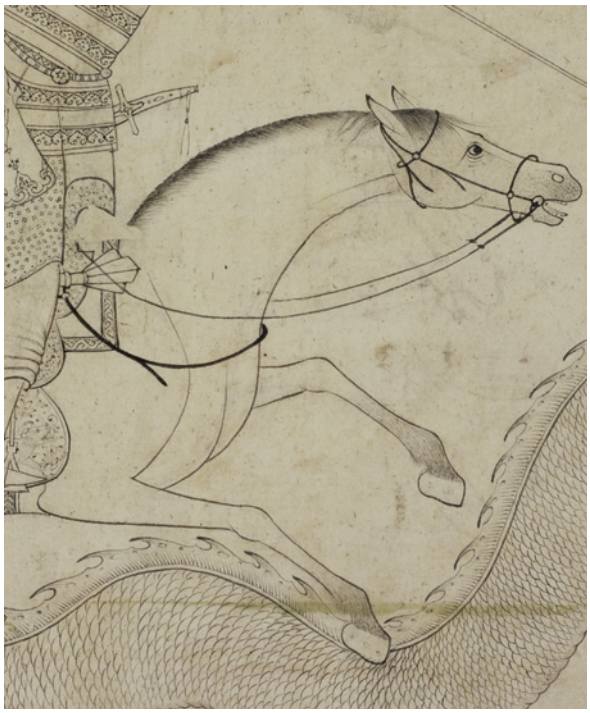
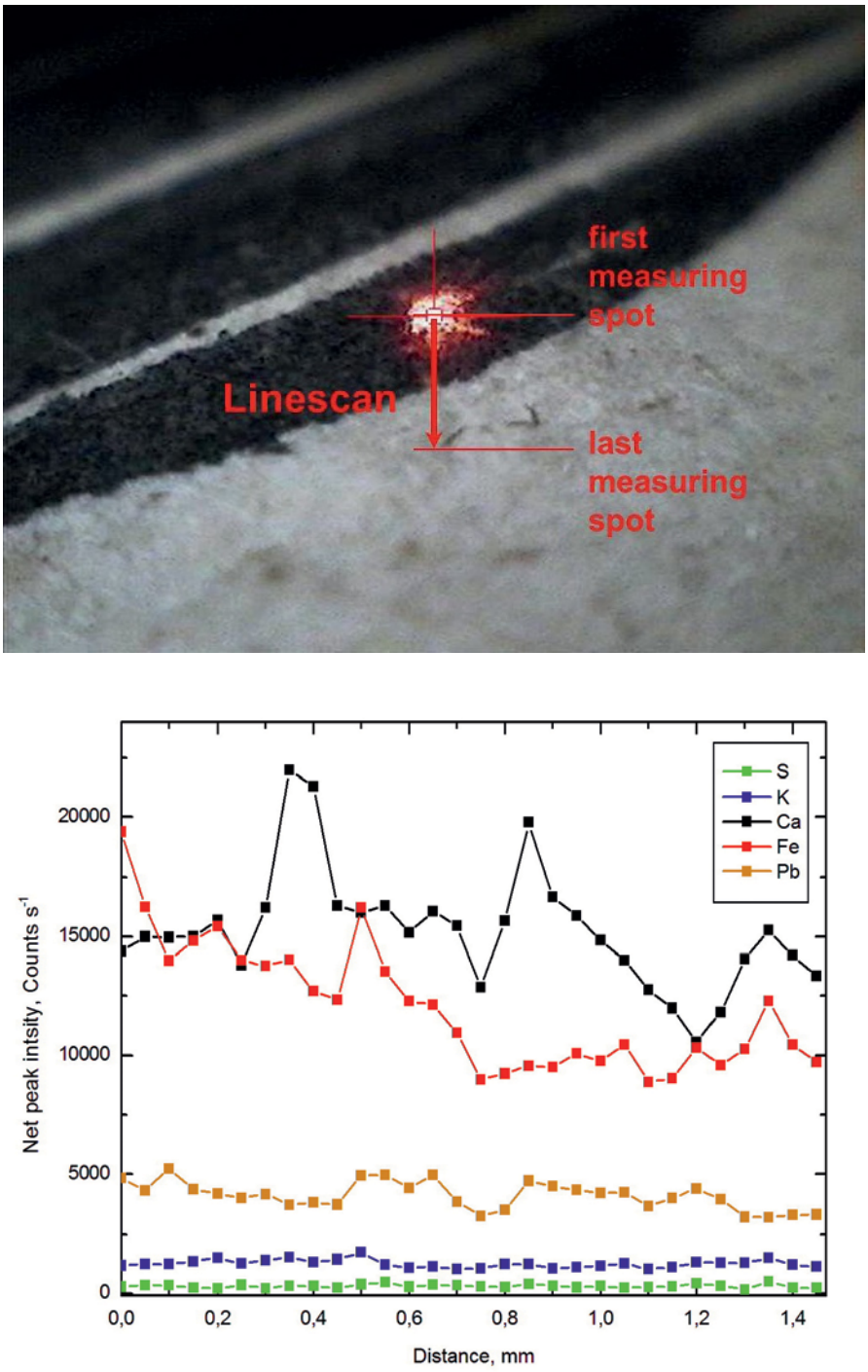


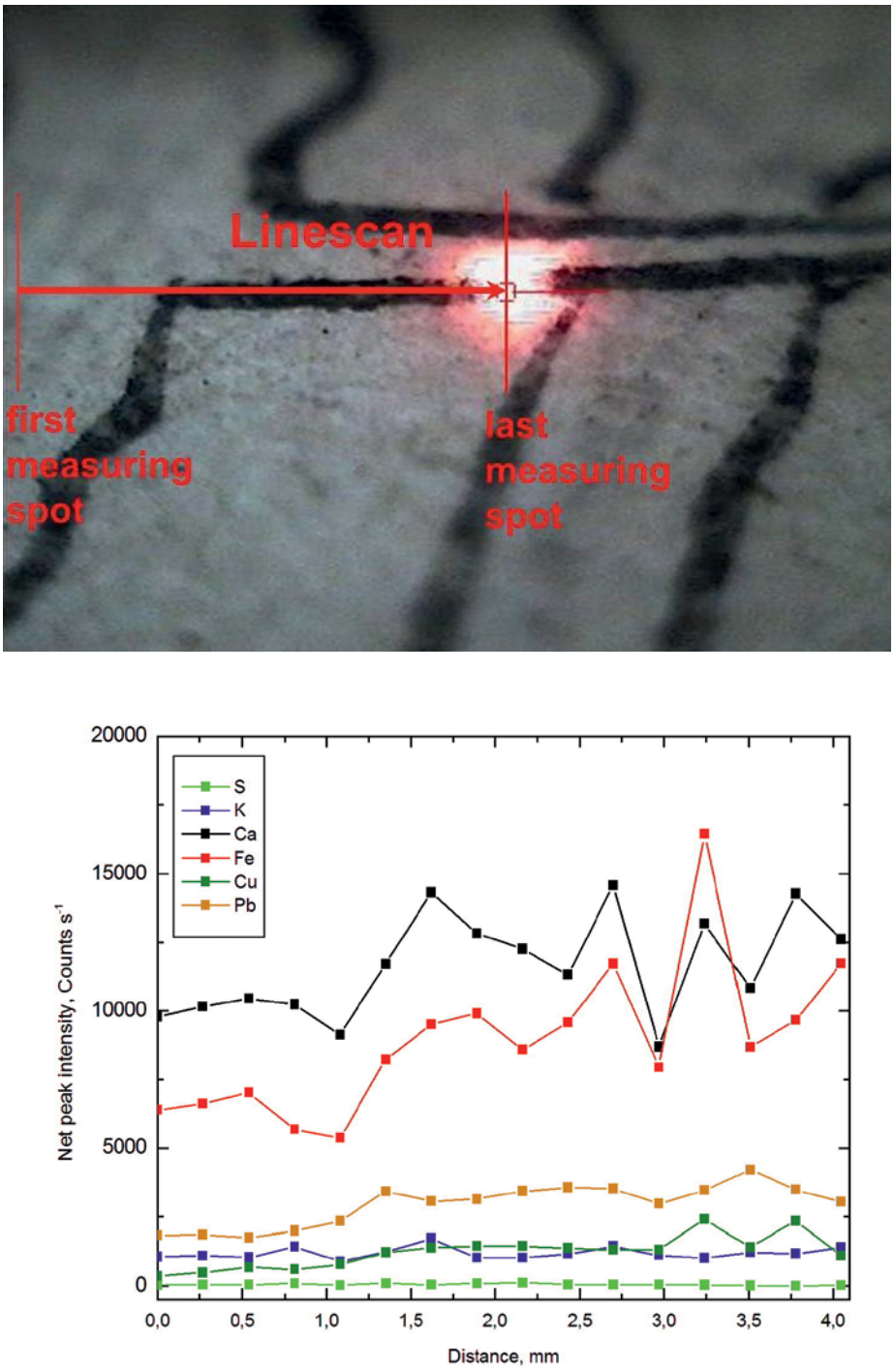
FIGURE 14.9A
Detail of fig. 14.4e.



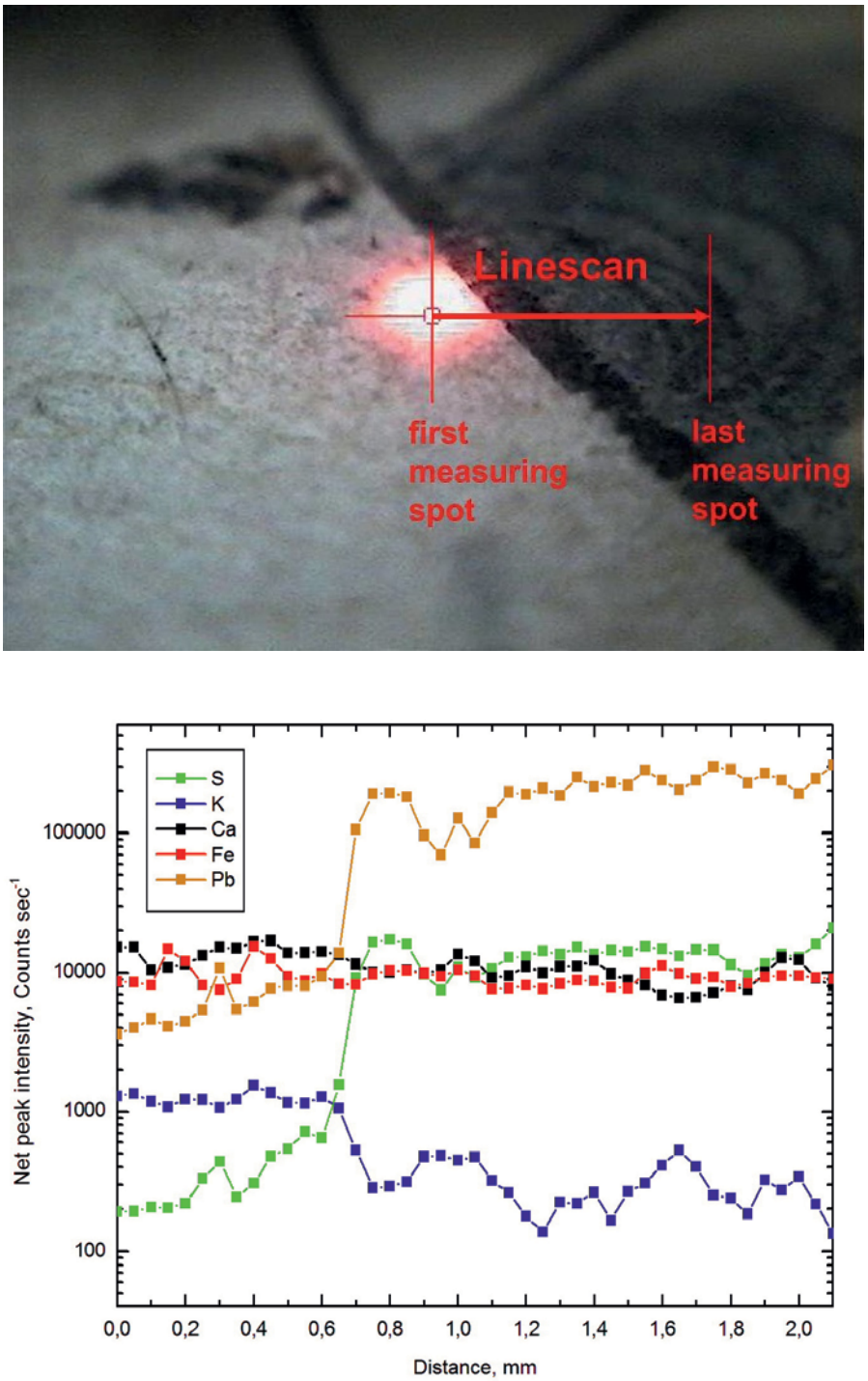
FIGURE 14.9B
Detail of fig. 14.4f.



FIGURES 14.10A–B *a*) *Linescan of feathered arrows* (*detail of* Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon, *fig. 14.4e*); *b*) *corresponding curve diagram showing the net peak intensities of various trace elements: Oliver Hahn,* BAM.



FIGURES 14.11A–B *a*) *Linescan of the dragon's horns* (*detail of* Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon, *fig. 14.4e*); *b*) *corresponding curve diagram showing the net peak intensities of various trace elements: Oliver Hahn,* BAM.



FIGURES 14.12A–B *a*) *Linescan of the genitals of the horse* (*detail of* Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon, *fig. 14.4e*); *b*) *corresponding curve diagram showing the net peak intensities of various trace elements: Oliver Hahn,* BAM.

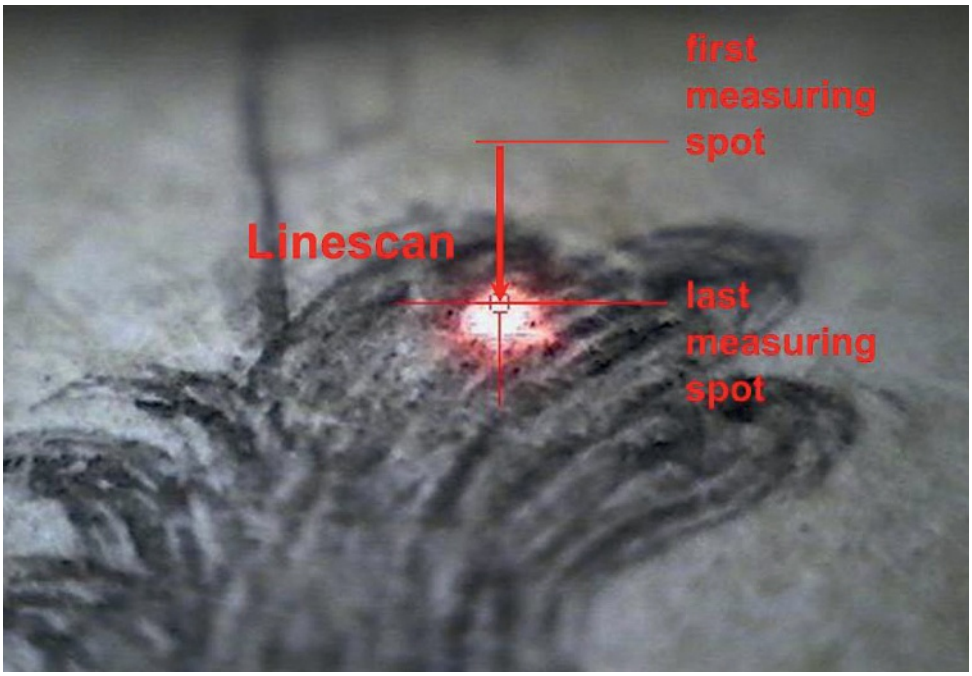
used for the rider and his horse (fig. 14.6: 70_24_ink_A). The carbon ink of type "B" (fig. 14.6: 70_24_ink_B) has not only been found in the ink used to draw the dragon but also in the inks of the boulder beneath its paws. The diagram based on a third linescan from the genitals of the horse (figs. 14.12a and 14.12b) shows that a very high amount of lead (Pb) was used exclusively in this part of the drawing. This mixture of white lead pigment and carbon ink makes the genitals look slightly greyish.[101]

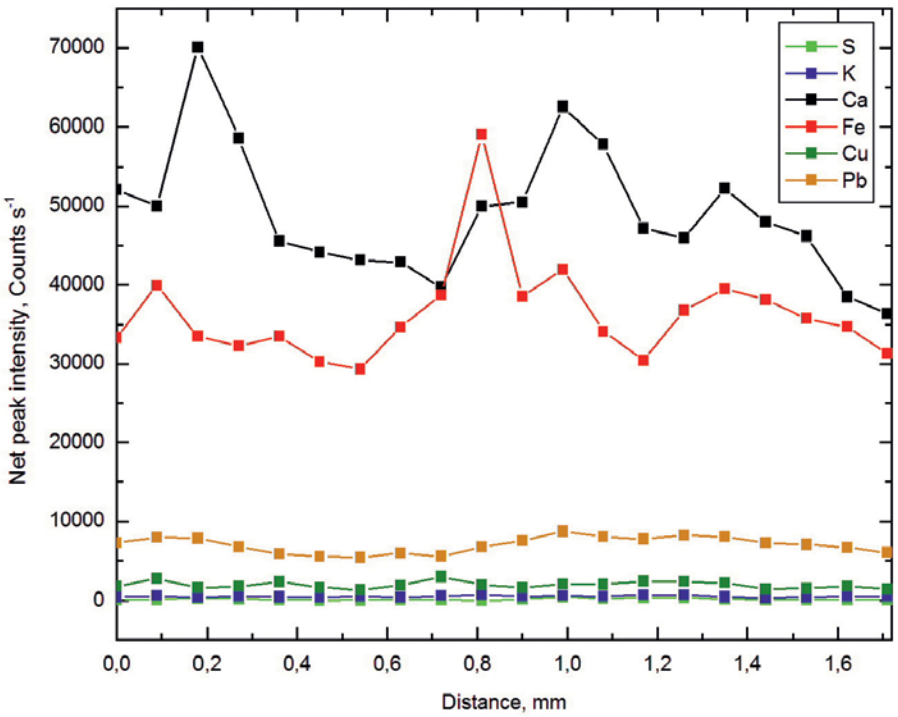
There are three possible interpretations for the use of three different inks. A: The drawing was carried out in three different stages by three different artists. B: The three parts of the drawing were done in a row by one, two or three artists who used three different inkpots for, one, the rider and his horse, two, the dragon and the boulder, and, three, the genitals of the horse. C (a combination of A and B): The drawing was done by two artists working almost simultaneously who used two different inkpots for the whole composition. A later owner of the drawing might not have been pleased that the horse had no visible gender. He therefore added the genitals, transforming the warrior's mount into a stallion. I would opt for the third solution (C) because the drawing at first glance looks like one solid homogenous piece. Nevertheless, the graphic style of the horse seems to be different from that of the dragon if one takes into account the more natural treatment of the horse's hair and skin in comparison to the more stylized dragon's appearance. Maybe two draftsmen were at work here: one specialized in the depiction of horses and the other in dragons.

First Conclusion

What can be concluded from this is that Muhammad Khayyam was either an incredibly multi-talented calligrapher, copyist-draftsman, and inventor of prototypical designs, or, alternatively, that Muhammad Khayyam's name in the extended signatures and abbreviated attributions was regarded as a kind of "quality label" connecting these works to a century-long workshop tradition. In my opinion, the second option is more likely. The artist's name might have been added in most, if not all, cases by those who evaluated the images of the Timurid workshop album at the Ottoman court in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Through the authentic-looking extended "signatures" in *taʿliq* script, they established a major link between the late Jalayirid and early Timurid workshop traditions represented by ʿAbd al-Hayy and Muhammad Khayyam respectively. Apparently, the Persianate traditions were then still considered relevant for the production of finished single drawings in the *sāz* style created at the Ottoman court. However, it cannot be ruled out that some of the extended signatures and brief attributions had already been written under the previous Timurid, Turkman or Safavid owners of the album, and that some of the terse attributions were penned only much later, in the late eighteenth century, shortly after the drawings had been removed from the

101 In the bar diagram (fig. 14.6: 70_24_ink_C), however, the markedly high level of lead cannot be shown since the ink does not contain any detectable traces of iron to which it could be set in relation.





FIGURES 14.13A–B *a*) *Linescan of Triptolemus' hair* (*detail of the* Tazza Farnese *drawing, fig. 14.1*); *b*) *corresponding curve diagram showing the net peak intensities of various trace elements: Oliver Hahn,* BAM.

Timurid workshop album.[102] Today we might consider Muhammad Khayyam's name as a surrogate for quite a number of anonymous, probably early Timurid-period artists whose names have not been passed down to us and will probably never be known. At any rate, the practice of inserting these inscriptions can be regarded as a sign of an emerging art historical connoisseurship which perhaps started already in the fifteenth century but certainly gained more importance from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, when chroniclers, such as Dust Muhammad and Mustafa ʿAli, wrote about painters and draftsmen active at Persianate courts.

However, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing is an exception within this corpus for at least two reasons: first, the inks' purity and, second, the fact that its design is clearly not of Persianate but of antique Western origin. The purity of the drawing's ink can be shown in the curve diagram (fig. 14.13b) corresponding to a linescan taken from the dense hair of the young male figure in the centre of the composition (fig. 14.13a).[103] The concomitant purity of the ink of the attribution does *not* prove, however, that drawing and attribution were done by the same person using the same inkpot since similarities of inks can only be evidenced on the basis of detected amounts of various trace elements and not on the basis of the inks' purity. Furthermore, the ink of the attribution looks more blackish than the rather brownish ink in the drawing. Scientifically speaking, no convincing link can be found either between the *Tazza Farnese* drawing and the other drawings ascribed to Muhammad Khayyam, nor between the *Tazza Farnese* drawing and its attribution. This thus challenges the established ideas about the existence of an *authentic* corpus of drawings by Muhammad Khayyam. As significant doubt has been cast over the authorship of the drawing, there is now much room left for speculation about the question of the initial function of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing, and this is explored in the second part of this study.

Original and Copy: The Special Case of the *Tazza Farnese* Drawing

This section begins with an introduction to the *Tazza Farnese* cameo and its presumed travel from West to East and back; it also gives a detailed comparison of the cameo and the drawing. I will then move on to the last stage of the analysis, exploring how the Persianate draftsman might have managed to transform the carved image into a drawing and why he might have done so.

The image on the concave side of the *Tazza Farnese* (fig. 14.2) has been interpreted by Simon as an allegory of Ptolemaic rule in the guise of a symbolic image of the fertile Nile Valley. On the left the god of

102 *Cf.* in this volume the article by Julian Raby, who argues that most of the abbreviated attributions to Muhammad Khayyam were done by someone in the ambit of the eunuch mentioned by Diez. This may or may not have been the Chief Black Eunuch of Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–1789).

103 The curve diagram (fig. 14.13b) does not reveal any rupture or relevant change between the net peak intensities of the trace elements contained in the paper in the first half of the linescan and of those detected in the inked area in the second half of the scan. The same can be said about the linescan which was taken from the attribution.

the Nile (Neilos) is leaning at a tree trunk with a *rhyton* in his left hand. At his feet an Egyptian sphinx is crouching. Upon its back sits a female deity of fertility, who is holding two ears of corn in her right hand. She probably represents the Egyptian goddess Isis-Demeter or Ge.[104] The standing figure behind her seems to depict the Greek hero Triptolemus, who represents the art of agriculture, although the knife he is holding in his left hand is unusual (fig. 14.14).[105] Two personifications of the Etesian winds, which blow during the summer, helping to increase the level of the Nile water, and two female figures on the right, so-called *horae* who stand for the harvest seasons, are also present.[106] Before the antique bowl entered the Palazzo Farnese in Rome in 1586, it was in the possession of Pope Paul II (1464–1471) who bequeathed it to Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484), from whom Lorenzo de' Medici acquired it in 1471.[107]



FIGURE 14.14 *Detail of fig. 14.2.*

Due to the very existence of the Persianate drawing of the *Tazza Farnese,* it has always been surmised that the cameo was in Iranian possession for some time before the second half of the fifteenth century. Burchard Brentjes, for example, proposes the hypothesis that the *Tazza* had entered the Sasanian treasury in the early fifth century in Armenia.[108] He agrees with

104 Simon, "Stationen der *Tazza Farnese*", p. 15. Ulrico Pannuti, *La collezione glittica*, vol. II, Rome 1994, cat.no. 68, p. 91. identifies her instead as Euthenia, the personification of the abundance produced by the water of the Nile; *cf.* also *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, IV/2, Zürich and Munich 1988, p. 63, no. 1.

105 According to Simon, "Stationen der *Tazza Farnese*", p. 17, the knife can be associated with wine-growing since such knifes were used for cutting grape-vines.

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 19, and 20.

107 For the acquisition of the piece by Lorenzo de' Medici, see Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*, New York 1982, pp. 390–395; *cf.* also the autobiographical note by Lorenzo in which he calls the *Tazza Farnese* "la scudella nostra di calcedonio intagliata", quoted in Ulrico Pannuti, "La « Tazza Farnese »: Datazione, interpretazione e trasmissione del cimelio", *PACT Belgium* 23 (1989) (*Technology and Analysis of Ancient Gemstones*, ed. Tony Hackens and Ghislaine Moucharte), pp. 205–215, here p. 214; and Lorenzo's inventory (dated 1492) in which the *Tazza* is called "una schodella di sardonio et chalcidonio et aghata entrovj piu fighure et di fuori una testa di Medusa, pesa lb. 2, o. 6, f.[iorini] 10'000", quoted in Pannuti, *La collezione glittica,* cat.no. 68, p. 91.

108 Burchard Brentjes, "Die „Tazza Farnese" und ihre Wege durch Iran", in *Archaelogische*

Klaus Parlasca that the *Tazza* might have been brought to Armenian territory around 88 BC when the Ptolemaic treasure was looted by Mithridates VI, king of Pontus and Armenia Minor (r. *c.* 120–63 BC), on the island of Kos.[109] The Sasanians possibly brought the *Tazza* with other treasures to Seleucia-Ctesiphon. After the surrender of the capital to the Arabs in 637, the Sasanian booty came to Baghdad, where it finally entered the possession of the Mongol invaders in 1258. After the end of Mongol-Ilkhanid rule, the *Tazza* remained in Baghdad in the hands of the Jalayirid dynasty, whose treasury was plundered by Timur twice (in 1393 and then in 1401). Timur probably carried it to Samarqand. From there the cameo was perhaps brought to Herat by Shah Rukh in 1409.[110]

Apart from Brentjes' reconstruction of the itinerary of the *Tazza Farnese*, there are many more proposals for how the cameo travelled to Persia and then back to the West.[111] But none of them has proven definitely convincing yet. However, two things can be said for certain: first, the cameo is so well preserved that it was probably never buried underground;[112] and,

Mitteilungen aus Iran, ed. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung, Aussenstelle Teheran, vol. 28, Berlin 1995–96, pp. 319–327, here p. 326; and Burchard Brentjes, "The 'Tazza Farnese' and its Way to Harāt and Naples", *Oriente Moderno* 2 (1996), pp. 321–326, here p. 323.

109 Klaus Parlasca, "Neue Beobachtungen zu den hellenistischen Achatgefäßen aus Ägypten", *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 13 (1985), pp. 19–22, here p. 21.

110 Brentjes, "Die 'Tazza Farnese'", pp. 326–7 and Brentjes, "The 'Tazza Farnese'", pp. 323–4.

111 Blanck, "Eine persische Pinselzeichnung", p. 312 believes that the *Tazza* was a gift to Timur by the Sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Naṣir Faraj, in 1402 and that it was brought later to Venice by an embassy sent by an Islamic ruler from the East; Pannuti, "La « Tazza Farnese »", pp. 211–14 argues on the basis of historic sources that the *Tazza* was still in Europe during the reign of Frederic II, head of the House of Hohenstaufen, who bought a "magnum scutellam de Onichio" in 1239 from two provincial merchants at a very high price (1230 *uncias* (ounces of gold)) and that it was perhaps sold again in 1253 by Conrad IV, son and successor of Frederic II, as a "vasa de onizilio et calzedono" and could have been then transported to the East. Brentjes, "Die 'Tazza Farnese'", p. 322 and "The 'Tazza Farnese'", p. 323 assumes that in 1470, the *Tazza* came back to Italy as a gift to Pope Paul II from the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan of Tabriz (r. 1453–78), who had plundered the Timurid treasure in Herat in 1458; Rogers (J.M. Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror: Between East and West", in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, London 2005, pp. 80–97, here p. 93) also thinks that it was Uzun Hasan who sent the *Tazza* back to Europe from Tabriz as a gift – perhaps through the Franciscan Lodovico da Bologna in 1460–1 – assuming that the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler had obtained it shortly before from the Comnene treasury of Trebizond. For the most recent speculations about the Tazza's itinerary (from Alexandria to Rome to Constantinople to Italy, and perhaps via Constantinople to Samarqand and then to Herat and from there back to Italy), see Marina Belozerskaya, *Medusa's Gaze: The Extraordinary Journey of the Tazza Farnese*, Oxford 2012.

112 In a conversation, Agnes Schwarzmaier suggested that the remarkably good condition of the *Tazza Farnese* could be due to the fact that it was preserved in a church treasury from the Byzantian period onwards before it finally entered the possession of Pope Paul II. In that case only a substitute of the famous

second, its outstanding value must have been clear to all of its owners throughout the centuries. It is hence unlikely that it was ever treated as a commodity even though cameos were already traded by Italian merchants during the extended thirteenth and early fourteenth century to Mongol Iran.[113] Be that as it may, it is not clear how Pope Paul II acquired the *Tazza Farnese*. Its exact whereabouts before 1471, when it finally came into Lorenzo de' Medici's possession from Paul II's bequest, will probably never be revealed to us.[114]

I think that is likely that the *Tazza Farnese* itself, and not only a two-dimensional copy of it, was in the Iranian artist's studio because the drawing (fig. 14.1) reproduces the cameo's composition extremely accurately (fig. 14.2). Nevertheless, five differences can be counted. The first is the diverging size of the drawing: whereas the original *Tazza* has an inner diameter of 15.7 cm,[115] the diameter of the inner circle of the drawing is half a centimetre larger (16.2 cm). Second, as has been noted by Blanck, the draftsman did not reproduce the ears of corn that the goddess seated on the sphinx is holding in her right hand (fig. 14.14).[116] In the drawing, the goddess holds instead the end of the drawbar of a plough which is carried by Triptolemus (fig. 14.15). Third, also noted by Blanck, the shaggy hair of the hero was transformed into a more Persianate looking hair bun,[117] reminiscent of Timurid depictions of angels' or fairies' hair dresses.[118] Fourth, a difference which has not previously been detected: the draftsman shows Triptolemus without the knife in his left hand (*cf.* figs. 14.14 and 14.15). Nevertheless, he has managed to faithfully reproduce the bag of seed wrapped around Triptolemus' left forearm. He even repeated inconspicuous details, such as the small field of ears appearing directly behind the head of the *hora* at the right margin (*cf.* figs. 14.1 and 14.2).[119] Fifth, the right paw of the sphinx

cameo, such as a very accurate drawing, could have travelled to Persia.

113 *Cf.* Jacques Paviot, "Les marchands italiens dans l'Iran mongol", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 71–86, especially p. 80.

114 In the 1457 inventory of the collection of Pope Paul II (1464–71), no mention is made of the *Tazza Farnese* (Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*, p. 391), although it is certain that Lorenzo acquired it from Paul II's bequest in 1471. For the subsequent owners and fate of the Tazza, see Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*, Berlin and New York 2007, p. 247 and Belozerskaya. *Medusa's Gaze*, pp. 152–225.

115 *Cf.* the size of the *Tazza* given in Pannuti, *La collezione glittica*, p. 91: maximum diameter 21.7 cm; diameter of inner circle 15.7 cm; diameter of the outer circle 18.1 cm.

116 Blanck, "Eine persische Pinselzeichnung", p. 312.

117 *Ibid.*

118 For comparison, see, *e.g.*, a double-page illustration from a treatise on religious observances in the British Library *Anthology* made for Iskandar Sultan (1384–1415) in 1410–11 (Add. 27261, fol. 362v–363r) showing a *View of Mecca, Pilgrims, and Angels* (for an illustration, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, cat.no. 35), and a decorative margin with an angel carrying a lamb on a page from a dispersed *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi, dated *c.* 1425–50, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, M. 66A (for an illustration, see *ibid.*, cat.no. 44A).

119 Although the ears might resemble a "typically Timurid spiky bush" as Gülru Necipoğlu notes in her article in the present volume, they are nonetheless faithfully copied from the cameo. *Cf.* also Simon, "Stationen der *Tazza Farnese*", p. 20 who remarks that this



FIGURE 14.15 *Detail of fig. 14.1.*

was omitted by the draftsman, which, on the cameo, is in a lighter colour than the dark brownish torso of the sphinx. The high precision in duplicating the figures of the antique allegory suggests that the draftsman deliberately omitted or altered figural elements that he did not fully comprehend or that he simply overlooked due to the peculiarities of the carving of the multi-coloured sardonyx. By contrast, the 5-mm-difference in size between the cameo and the drawing might have been caused accidentally by the use of preparatory drawings.

But if the Persianate artist actually had the original *Tazza* in front of him while he was preparing and finally executing the drawing, why did he not seek to reproduce the mix of milky white and amber in the sardonyx, most noticeable in the two-fold colour of the crouching sphinx (fig. 14.2)? Did he perhaps consider that the colour scheme of the image could be improved? Or did he want to create a superior version of the antique theme? In Italian art theory such a competitive imitation is called *paragone*, designating a rivalry between sculptors and painters in the imitation of nature in the best possible way. In a broader sense the word *paragone* can also refer to a drawn or painted depiction of a statue, or of any other piece of sculpture, if that image aims at outdoing the work of a sculptor by replicating or transfiguring it by pictorial means.[120] There are two hitherto unnoticed features of the drawing that seem to support this hypothesis. First, almost all of the contours, especially noticeable in the draperies of the figures' clothes (figs. 14.16 and 14.17), are washed. The washes evoke a sense of volume and thus recall the sculptural quality of the image. The second feature has been noticed by Oliver Hahn: in contrast to the other six drawings, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing has an extremely shiny surface, visible to the naked eye when the work is lit from the side (figs. 14.18 and 14.19) – an effect probably caused by several superimposed layers of starch. In Persian paper production, usually one layer of starch paste was

detail was often overlooked and thus never depicted in European engravings of the *Tazza Farnese* (*cf. ibid.*, fig. 5 and n. 16).

120 The term *paragone* (Italian for "comparison") originally refers to Italian art theory and practice from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. For a recent detailed study, see Sefy Hendler, *La guerre des arts. Le Paragone peinture-sculpture en Italie XV^e–XVII^e siècle*, Rome 2013.



FIGURE 14.16 *Detail of fig. 14.1.*



FIGURE 14.17 *Detail of fig. 14.1.*

spread on the dried sheet of paper in order to make it non-absorbent.[121] Afterwards the sized sheet was burnished,[122] and only then handed to a calligrapher, painter or draftsman. Here, however, a final starch coating was spread over the entire sheet containing the drawing (fig. 14.1) *after* its completion, a practice not yet detected for any other drawing pasted into the Diez albums. The comparison of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing with a page from a Persian-Ottoman dictionary probably produced in Iran in 1407, both photographed lit from the side (fig. 14.18), shows the difference between the "normal" light reflection of a sized and burnished sheet of paper and the much more "polished" character of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing's surface. There, light also reflects from the coating *above* the ink lines, especially noticeable in the area of the dense hair of the female figures (*horae*) on the right. It thus seems that the draftsman – or a contemporary or a later owner who knew that the drawing was an adaptation of a cameo – tried to imitate the shiny surface of the antique bowl. In her recent book on the *Tazza Farnese*, Marina Belozerskaya has raised the interesting question of whether the drawing "might [...] have been interpreted as a 'reflection' of the bowl [the *Tazza*]".[123] She argues that in several anecdotes of Nizami's *Khamsa*, an epic much read and illustrated in the Timurid period, paintings were discussed as "reflected images" comparable to reflections in a mirror.[124] It might thus well be that those who compared the original cameo and

121 Under ultraviolet light, starched surfaces show a blue fluorescence. See the article by Oliver Hahn in this volume.

122 *Cf.* Helen Loveday, *Islamic Paper: A Study of the Ancient Craft*, London 2001, pp. 42–44.

123 Belozerskaya, *Medusa's Gaze*, p. 114.

124 *Ibid.*; for a discussion of the meaning of the Persian terms for "reflection" in Nizami's *Khamsa*, see Priscilla Soucek, "Nizami on Painters and Painting", in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen, New York 1972, pp. 9–21.

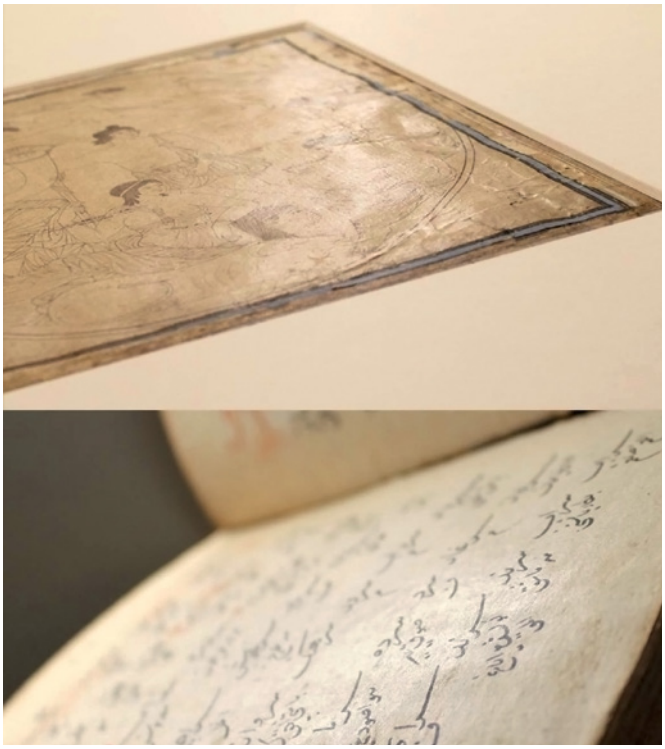


FIGURE 14.18 *Detail of the drawing of the* Tazza Farnese *viewed in side light, attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2 in comparison with a page from a Persian-Ottoman dictionary viewed in side light, dated 13 Rağab 807* (*14 January 1407*), *Iran.* SBB-PK, *Hs. or. 14386, fol. 25r* (*photo: Oliver Hahn*).



FIGURE 14.19 *Detail of the lower right corner of the drawing of the* Tazza Farnese *viewed in side light, attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2* (*photo: Friederike Weis*).

the drawing (the "reflected image") took intellectual delight in discussing the merits of each. Marina Belozerskaya's idea is worth examining since the first anecdote she mentions in this context is the famous contest between a Greek and a Chinese painter, recounted by Nizami in the fifth part of the *Khamsa*, which deals with the life of Alexander the Great (*Iskandarnāma*). In brief: during Iskandar's visit to the Emperor of China, a discussion arose about whether the Greeks or the Chinese had the best painters. To settle the argument a Greek and a Chinese artist were asked to decorate two opposite walls of a room, separated by a curtain. Once the work was done and the curtain raised Iskandar saw two identical paintings. He therefore decided to look at the two works individually with the curtain replaced in the middle. He then found out that the Chinese painter had polished his wall in order to reflect the Greek painting like a mirror. Iskandar thus declared the Greek superior in painting and the Chinese in polishing, but concluded that "both are an aid to vision".[125] This story is not only about the respective merits of producing and receiving a painting: it also seems to stress the innovative capacity of Greek artists on the one hand and the capacity for imitation of Chinese artists on the other. In this light, the "Greek" cameo would represent the wall of creation, and the drawing with its mirror-like coating and its mirror-like circular shape the "Chinese" wall of imitation. From this perspective, a more appropriate attributive note on the drawing would have been *naql az kār-i rūmī* ("copy of a Greek (Eastern Roman) work") or simply *kār-i rūmī* ("in the Greek (Eastern Roman) manner").[126] But it bears instead the attribution to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" in the lower right corner, which also seems to be covered by the shiny varnish (fig. 14.19).[127] Two alternative conclusions can be drawn from this: either the attribution and the varnish are more or less contemporary with the drawing, or the varnish was applied after the attribution had been written several decades after the completion of the drawing. The final coating of the drawing might have been carried out when the *Tazza Farnese* was still in Samarqand, Herat or Tabriz, before it was brought back to Europe in the 1450–60s or, later, when the *Tazza* was no longer available for direct comparison but was still in the memory of those who kept the image as a record of the original cameo.

But how was the composition transferred to the paper in the first place? Compared to the other six Muhammad Khayyam drawings in the Diez albums, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing stands out because of its stylized linearity, which is based on *unweighted* (although washed) contours (*cf.* figs. 14.1, 14.16–17). In contrast, the lines of the other six drawings (figs. 14.4a–f) are lightly weighted. This can be seen, for example, in detail images of the two draw-

125 *Cf.* Soucek, "Nizami on Painters", p. 12.

126 The term *rūmī* in Persian usage refers to the East Roman (or Byzantine) empire, which included the Greek territory.

127 The detail view of the lower right corner photographed in side light shows that the attributive note in black ink almost vanishes under the reflecting surface. In contrast, the rulings of the drawing, consisting of a thick light blue stripe framed by two gold bands edged in black lines, remain clearly visible since they were applied only in Diez's time *over* the final varnish coating.

ings that show a *Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon* (figs. 14.9a and b). While the other six drawings were probably swiftly and securely drawn free-hand – thanks to extensive training in duplicating common motives – the uniformly outlined *Tazza Farnese* composition seems to have been carefully retraced from a preliminary line drawing. This procedure seems to have involved a pounce or stencil. That such a method was used is supported by two facts: one, the drawing is almost free from errors or alternative lines, which one would expect in a greater number if it were directly drawn from the cameo,[128] and, two, it has no central puncture in the surface of the paper, which would betray the use of a compass, but is nonetheless inscribed in an almost perfect circle.[129]

But how can we determine what method of transferral was employed? The first thing to note is that, if held up to the light, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing does not reveal any pin marks or pinholes (figs. 14.20 and 14.21). Pinholes are the most common traces of pouncing in the drawings of the Diez and Topkapı albums.[130] They occur mainly in preparatory drawings for decorative motives meant to be transferred to another medium.[131] But they can sometimes also be found in drawings that were probably intended as pounces for manuscript illustrations.[132] A large drawing depicting a *Princely Couple Riding at a Riverside Attacked by a Dragon* (fig. 14.22) serves as an example of a drawing pounced from a "parent" design by means of pinholes (fig. 14.23). This was done by placing a preliminary drawing over the blank sheet of paper that would receive the final drawing. The contours of the drawing were then pricked with



FIGURE 14.20 *Back of the* Tazza Farnese *drawing viewed in transmitted light, attributed to Muhammad Khayyam, c. 1400–50, Samarqand or Herat. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2 (photo: Friederike Weis).*

128 An alternative line is visible, for example, along the left thigh of the bearded figure on the left (fig. 14.16).

129 For an example of a circle frame which was drawn by means of a compass, see Diez A fol. 73, p. 65, no. 9 (*Lioness Feeding its Cub*). The paper bears a puncture at the centre of the circle that is clearly visible beneath the belly of the lioness.

130 *Cf.* the list of drawings with pinholes in the Topkapı albums in: Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", n. 75–76.

131 As, for example, Diez A fol. 73, p. 49, no. 1 and 2 (*Designs for a Bowcase Showing a Simurgh*).

132 Such as Diez A fol. 73, p. 39, no. 1 (*Heaven Inhabited by Angels and Scholars*), perhaps intended as illustration for a manuscript made for Iskandar Sultan, and Diez A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 4 (*A Scholar and Pupils Seated in a Garden*), *cf.* also Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 64.



FIGURE 14.21 *Detail of the* Tazza Farnese *drawing viewed in transmitted light, attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no 2 (photo: Friederike Weis).*



FIGURE 14.22 *Princely Couple Riding at a Riverside Attacked by a Dragon, c. 1400–50, Iran.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 62.*



FIGURE 14.23 *Enlarged detail of* Princely Couple Riding at a Riverside Attacked by a Dragon *viewed in transmitted light,* c. *1400–50, Iran.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 62* (*photo: Friederike Weis*).

a stylus, penetrating the paper, thereby leaving pinpricks or pinholes in the sheet beneath – these constituted the proto-outline of the final drawing. In another method, a semi-transparent deer skin or sheet of paper was laid over the original design, which was traced by pricking its contours into the transparent skin. Charcoal powder was then spread through the perforations so that on a blank sheet of paper placed beneath, trails of powder dots remained. Over these stippled outlines, the lines of the final drawing were executed.[133] Trails of powder dots are still visible in, for example, a roughly executed drawing of a *Dancing or Fighting Couple* (fig. 14.24).[134] The *Tazza Farnese* drawing, however, does not reveal any remnants of

133 *Cf.* Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 61.

134 However, researchers have found little evidence for this second pouncing method in the material surviving from the fifteenth century: *ibid.*, p. 62 and fig. 7; Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, New Haven and London 2001, pp. 189–190, fig. 75 ("An open-air Mongol court" from an *Anthology* made for Iskandar Sultan in 1411, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, L.A. 161, fol. 260v). As Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, p. 173, note 20, and cat. no. 66, point out, the drawing of *A Scholar and Pupils Seated in a Garden* (Diez A fol. 72, p. 18, no. 4) was a "much-used pounce". Charcoal powder has been apparently forced through the pinholes marking



FIGURE 14.24
A dancing or fighting couple, c. *1400–50, Iran.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 1, no. 1.*

pouncing powder marks or of pinpricks, even if scrutinized under a high precision microscope. As the two above-described pouncing methods can be discarded, the transfer of the cameo's design must have been done in a different manner. Perhaps the main contours of the drawing were traced by placing the rather thin paper directly upon a preliminary drawing (*cf.* fig. 14.20).[135]

Last but not least, one might ask in what sense the *Tazza Farnese* drawing can still be considered a Timurid work of art[136] given the numerous stylistic and technical differences between this drawing and the other drawings in the "Muhammad Khayyam corpus". The facial features of the allegorical figures, such as the slim-cut, almond-shaped eyes, the long arched eyebrows contrasting with rather small-shaped mouths, and the prominently curved alar wings of the noses generally betray a Persianate style. One might say that the draftsman's lack of interest in anatomical plasticity, which is apparent from the lack of inner contours and shading rendering muscular details, also seems

the outlines in order to transfer the design to another surface.

135 The semi-transparency of the paper would be even more obvious without the sheet of Japanese paper which was glued on its back as an additional support when the Diez albums were dismantled during a conservation project in 1970/71.

136 In J.M. Rogers' opinion, however, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing was, like the other drawings credited to Muhammad Khayyam, made by a Turkman artist in Tabriz *c.* 1460: Rogers, "'The Gorgeous East'", p. 73. In a more recent article (Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror", p. 93), he slightly shifts the date of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing to the 1450s, but still believes that it was done in Tabriz for the Turkman ruler Uzun Hasan.

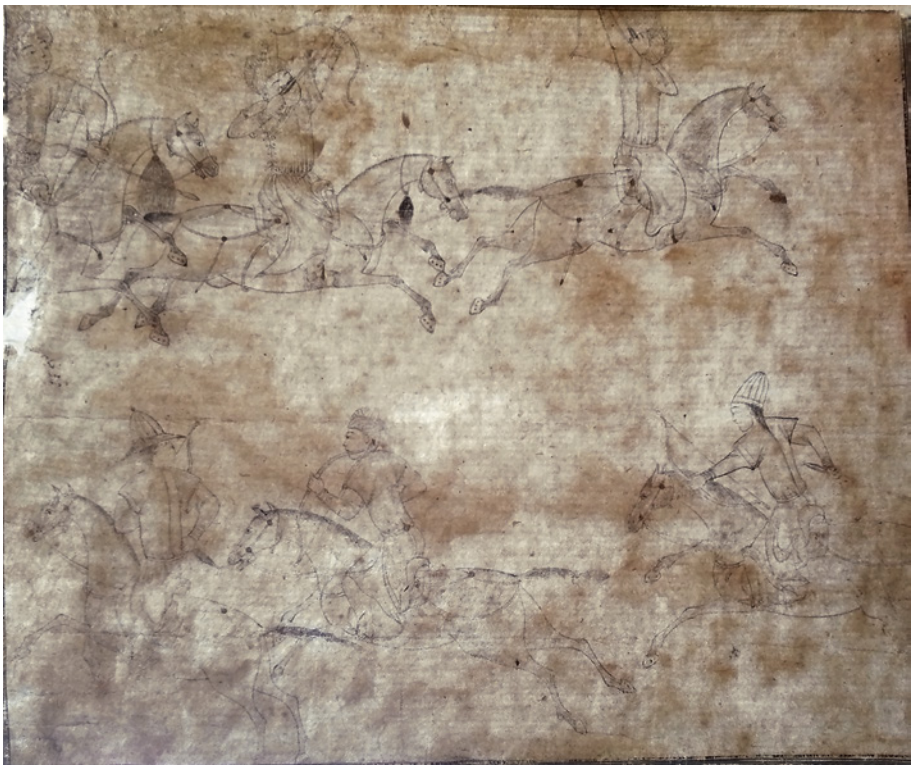


FIGURE 14.25 *Detail of* Six Mounted Archers *viewed in transmitted light, attributed to Muhammad Khayyam,* c. *1400–50, Samarqand or Herat.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 7* (*photo: Friederike Weis*).

to point to non-Western production. But there is actually one material aspect evidencing more clearly a Timurid-period origin (apart from the carbon ink, which was the only ink type used in Iran at that time): this is the fluffy texture of the paper, which can be seen in the two photographs showing the *Tazza Farnese* drawing viewed in transmitted light (figs. 14.20 and 14.21). On the basis of the data collected by Helen Loveday in her study on Islamic paper,[137] it can be said that the uneven, floccular distribution of fibres within the sheet – resulting from the way in which the raw materials, usually linen and hemp, were beaten after maceration – is indicative of a rather early date of paper production, not later than the mid-fifteenth century.

137 According to the findings of Loveday, the fibres in Persian paper in the early period until *c.* 1450 tend to clump because they are not sufficiently separated and fractured to bond uniformly. Only from the fifteenth century onwards does the fibre distribution get more uniform due to improved beating techniques which increased the surface area and flexibility of the fibres; see Loveday, *Islamic Paper*, pp. 49–50, 60–61, and 83–84; for comparison see also fig. 8 (Persian paper late fourteenth century) and fig. 9 (Persian paper late sixteenth century); see also Bloom, *Paper*, pp. 72–73.

The fluffy quality of the paper can also be seen in the other six Diez album drawings of the "Muhammad Khayyam-corpus", for example, in a photograph of the *Six Mounted Archers* viewed in transmitted light (fig. 14.25).

Second Conclusion

In answer to the second question about the initial purpose of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing, it is clear that the antique "Greek" origin and outstanding value of the *Tazza Farnese* cameo were certainly known at the Persianate court in Herat, or perhaps Samarqand, where the graphic copy was probably made in the early fifteenth century. It seems that the drawing was intended as an autonomous piece of art rather than an exploratory study done for recreational purposes or a mere visual record. Not only does it constitute an extremely accurate copy, it also ingeniously imitates the sculptural quality of the cameo by means of its washed linear contours and the mirror-like surface coating. Was it perhaps perceived as a "reflection" of the Greek model, challenging the viewer to judge the aesthetic values of original and copy? Or was it seen as a *paragone*, an artful translation of a low-relief into a superior two-dimensional representation? Although the drawing seems to have actually been made in the Timurid period, it is not clear when and where the attribution to Muhammad Khayyam was added. At any rate, the person who shakily wrote the inscription further enhanced the value of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing as a piece of Persianate art in its own right, simply by stating that Muhammad Khayyam was the author of the graphic design.

Final Comment

Due to the scarce information available on the workshop practices at the Timurid courts in general and on the calligrapher Muhammad Khayyam in particular, this study inevitably includes a lot of speculation. However, this speculation is based on the results of a scientific analysis, which, taken together with art historical analysis, may challenge established scholarly ideas about the "authorship" of single masters in the creative procedures that led to finished black-line drawings in the early Timurid period, especially those "by" Muhammad Khayyam. Moreover, the present study may invite researchers to search for further drawings kept in the Diez and Topkapı albums that can be thought of as singular artistic phenomena in a similar way as the Persianate drawing of the *Tazza Farnese* and to further consider how, why, and by whom they were produced.

CHAPTER 15

Scientific Investigation of Carbon Inks: An Analytical Challenge[1]

Oliver Hahn

The Persian cloud collar drawing (fig. 15.1) was executed mainly with black carbon ink. Further pigments and dyes were used for coloration. In contrast to art historical approaches, this paper focuses on natural sciences and features the physical material. There are hardly any reliable experimental methods of analyzing black carbon inks in drawings or manuscripts. This is not surprising: it is still an analytical challenge to differentiate between black carbon inks without destroying the samples. Because these drawing materials consist mainly of organic materials (carbon black and binders), non-destructive techniques are limited.[2]

Carbon Inks

The Persian drawing that was investigated in this study was executed with black carbon ink. According to its generic recipe, this oldest writing and drawing material is produced by mixing soot with a binder dissolved in a small amount of water. Thus, along with soot, binders such as gum arabic (ancient Egypt) or animal glue (ancient China) belong to the main components of soot inks. From Pliny's detailed account of the manufacture of various soot-based inks,[3] we learn that, despite its seeming simplicity, the recipe for the production of pure soot of high quality was not an easy task in Antiquity. Therefore, we expect to find various detectable additives that might be indicative of the time and place of this ink's production.

Among the first raw materials employed in the Arabian sphere to produce inks were soot from stone pine resin, fish glue, and gums. Later more expensive raw materials were used, such as sandarac resin from the sandarac tree, styrax resin from the bark of the oriental sweetgum, and ladanum resin from various species of rock roses.[4]

1 This paper is related to the postdoctoral research project from Friederike Weis carried out in 2011 within the program "Connecting Art Histories in the Museum: The Mediterranean and Asia 400–1650", a cooperation between the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence – Max Planck Institut.

2 The differentiation of iron gall inks, by means of non-destructive techniques for example, is simpler. Oliver Hahn, "Analyses of iron gall and carbon inks by means of X-ray fluorescence analysis: A non-destructive approach in the field of archaeometry and conservation science", *Restaurator: international journal for the preservation of library and archival material* 31/ 1 (2010), pp. 41–64.

3 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, Book XXXV, 25.

4 Armin Schopen, *Tinten und Tuschen des arabisch-islamischen Mittelalters. Dokumentation – Analyse – Rekonstruktion*, Göttingen 2006.

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FIGURE 15.1 Persian Cloud Collar Drawing. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 1.*

By means of different analytical techniques (ultraviolet and infrared reflectography, X-ray fluorescence analysis, and VIS-spectrophotometry), we wanted to prove that the black ink material was really a pure carbon ink. We tried to differentiate between various carbon inks, and we sought to identify the colorants.

Ultraviolet and Infrared Reflectography

Both techniques belong to the means of non-destructive, multispectral analyses of cultural heritage artefacts. They can also be used for the investigation of manuscripts and drawings.

In general, infrared reflectography is used to reveal underdrawings in paintings. The method, which was established by van Asperen de Boer in the 1960s, is based on the fact that certain materials (*e.g.* pigments) absorb very little infrared radiation in the spectral range between 0.8 and 2 μm (near infrared). Radiation incident on carbon-based underdrawings is strongly absorbed and becomes "visible" by means of appropriate cameras. In addition, the method provides an appropriate technique to distinguish between carbon-based (carbon ink) and non-carbon-based (iron gall ink, plant ink) drawing and writing materials.[5]

Ultraviolet photography is a convenient tool to visualize older compositions, hidden signatures, and retouched areas of works of art.[6] Ultraviolet fluorescence is a kind of luminescence. A substance (*e.g.* a binding material) irradiated by ultraviolet light emits light in the visible range of color. Under ultraviolet light, old paint or varnish layers emit more fluorescent light than "modern" materials do. Retouched or restored areas appear darker under investigation. Ultraviolet reflectography makes it possible to visualize text fragments that have become discolored over time. Furthermore, it can be used to analyze the binding media used for paper preparation.

The measurements were carried out with a three-color USB microscope (Dinolite AD413T-I2V), which was extremely useful in determining the ink typology and surface morphology. The microscope possesses in-built LED illumination at 395 and 930 nm and an external white light source (fig. 15.2).

X-ray Fluorescence Analysis

X-ray-based techniques are quite common in investigations of objects of artistic or archaeological value. Analyses with X-ray fluorescence are among the standard investigation techniques and are one of the most suitable methods to obtain qualitative and semi-quantitative information about the elemental composition of a great diversity of materials.[7] Hence, the importance of X-ray techniques for the study of art and archaeological objects was emphasized by, for example, a spe-

5 Ralf Mrusek, Robert Fuchs, and Doris Oltrogge, "Spektrale Fenster zur Vergangenheit—Ein neues Reflektographieverfahren zur Untersuchung von Buchmalerei und historischem Schriftgut", *Naturwissenschaften* 82 (1995), pp. 68–79.

6 Miroslav Hain, Ján Bartl, and Vlado Jacko, "Multispectral analysis of cultural heritage artifacts", *Measurement Science Review* 3 (2003), pp. 9–12.

7 Reinhold Klockenkämper, *Total-Reflection X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis*, New York 1997. Hans Mommsen *et al.*, "X-Ray fluorescence analysis with synchroton radiation on the inks and papers of incunabula", *Archaeometry* 38 (1996), pp. 347–357. Michael Mantler and Manfred Schreiner, "X-ray fluorescence spectrometry in art and archaeology", *X-Ray Spectrometry* 29 (2000), p. 1.

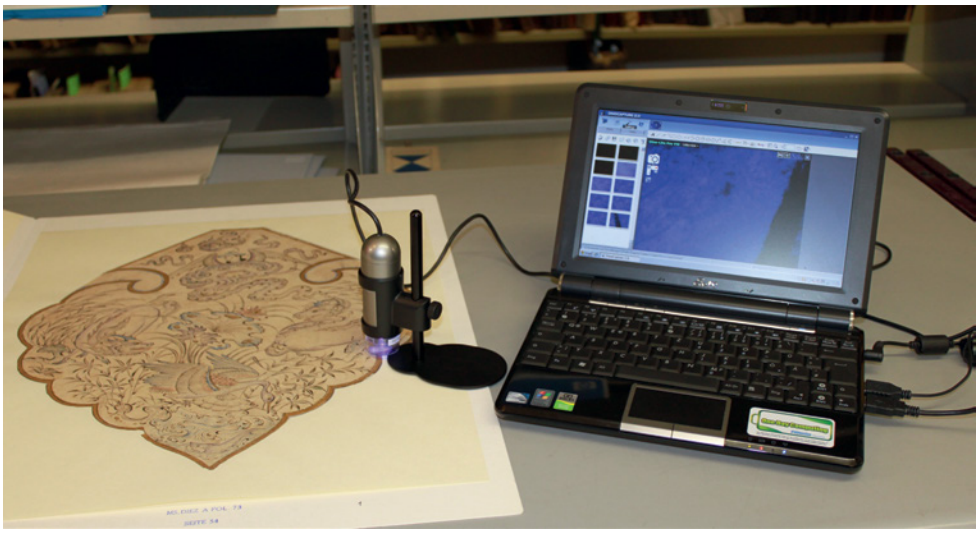


FIGURE 15.2 *Investigation with the three-color USB microscope. The instrument is mounted on a small stand.*

cial millennium edition of the journal *X-Ray Spectrometry on Cultural Heritage* (vol. 29/1 [2000]). However, though X-ray fluorescence analysis is a convenient technique for the investigation of inorganic compounds, it is in general not suitable for the determination of organic materials. The method is therefore used here to find characteristic trace elements in the organic-based drawing materials to differentiate between varying carbon inks, which is usually not possible by means of visual examination or with other non-destructive techniques.[8]

Analyses were carried out on the spot with the mobile energy-dispersive micro-X-ray spectrometer ArtTAX® (Bruker Nano GmbH, Berlin, Germany, fig. 15.3), which consists of an air-cooled, low-power molybdenum tube (1), poly-capillary X-ray optics (measuring spot size 70 µm diameter, 2), an electro-thermally cooled Xflash® detector (3), and a CCD camera for sample positioning. In addition, open helium purging in the excitation and detection paths widens the range of the detectable elements without vacuum to $z > 11$. All measurements were made using a 30 W low-power Mo tube, 50 kV, 600 µA, and an acquisition time of 15 s (live time) to minimize the risk of damage. For better statistics, we performed line-scan measurements; after measurement, at least ten individual measurements were averaged for one data point.[9]

8 Hahn, "Analyses of iron gall and carbon inks", pp. 41–64.

9 Heike Bronk *et al.*, "ArtTAX®: A new mobile spectrometer for energy dispersive micro X-ray fluorescence spectrometry on art and archaeological objects", *Fresenius` Journal Analytical Chemistry* 371 (2001), pp. 307–316.

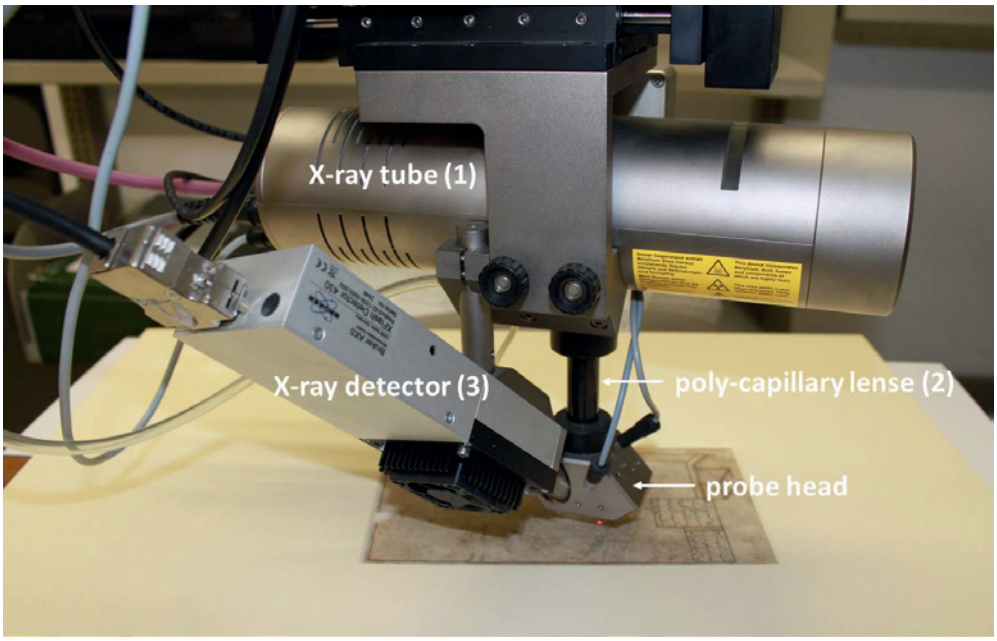


FIGURE 15.3 *Investigation with X-ray fluorescence analysis* (ARTAX, *Bruker Nano GmbH*).

Results

The investigation started with ultraviolet and infrared reflectography for ink classification (fig. 15.4). It is obvious that the ink stroke appears very dark under infrared light. The first conclusion is that the drawing ink contains pure carbon. In addition, the ultraviolet photograph displays a weak fluorescence – an indication that the paper was only slightly sized.

After classification of the drawing material, we have to ask whether the drawing was executed with one or more than one carbon ink. Thus, the next step is the analysis of possible trace elements in the carbon inks. In addition to carbon, carbon inks contain secondary components, such as salts of the elements potassium, calcium, copper, iron, manganese, or aluminum, among others. The varying composition of these different components is a characteristic property of historic carbon inks and makes possible their exact determination. Because they are individually prepared, there is no general type of "carbon ink". Instead, we have to consider carbon *inks*, in plural form. Ageing phenomena have no influence on the applied method of analyses, because even if the chemical composition of the binder changes due to chemical corrosion processes that alter the organic material, the proportion of metal components, *i.e.*, the elemental composition, remains the same.

Fig. 15.5 represents two full X-ray fluorescence analysis spectra collected from two different areas: the black line exhibits a measurement in the black carbon ink, the red curve indicates a paper measurement. Although the two spectra show small variances, they look very similar. This is not surprising. As mentioned before, the carbon ink contains mainly

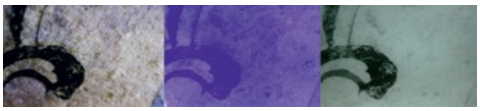


FIGURE 15.4 *Microphotographs under visible* (*left*)*, ultraviolet* (*middle*)*, and near-infrared light* (*right*).

organic compounds. Light elements such as carbon, oxygen, and nitrogen are not detectable with X-ray fluorescence analysis. For a reliable determination of trace elements within the drawing material, the interfering fluorescence from the paper background and the inhomogeneity of the samples have to be taken into account.

To estimate the presence and the real amount of trace elements, line scans were performed. As an example, fig. 15.6a displays the net peak intensities as a function of distance. The measurement starts within the paper area; one measurement is conducted after another; finally, the line-scan measurement ends in the area of the ink. It is obvious that the carbon ink contains sulfur (S), iron (Fe), copper (Cu), zinc (Zn), and barium (Ba) as trace elements.

Based on the results of the line-scan measurement, it is possible to determine qualitatively the trace elements or inorganic impurities within the ink material. However, a quantitative analysis may be necessary to differentiate among different carbon inks. Because light elements, which are not detected with energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence analysis, are the main components of the ink as well as the paper, an absolute quantification of trace elements is not possible. Thus, the determination of a "fingerprint" representing the semi-quantitative amount of a trace element in relation to one main compound makes it possible to distinguish between different carbon inks. In the fingerprint model, the ink-paper system is regarded as a three-layer-system with a top layer of pure carbon ink, a diffusion layer with a linear decreasing amount of carbon ink, and a bottom layer consisting of pure paper. The primary X-ray fluorescence intensity can be expressed as the sum of the contributions from the carbon ink and from the paper. After all, this leads to the fingerprint value, which depends on three parameters: the transmission of the entire system; the penetration depth of the carbon ink into the paper; and the ratio of the absorption coefficients. For a certain minor constituent "i" (such as Cu or Zn), a fingerprint value "Wi" or relative concentration can be specified.[10] In this study, relative concentrations were normalized to the element iron, which is the main trace element in the carbon inks investigated.

Fig. 15.7 displays the semi-quantitative results.[11] The diagram summarizes the net peak intensities from different trace elements that were normalized to iron. Because each result, first, displaces the mean value of ten individual measurements and, second, shows normalized concentrations, it takes into account the

10 Wolfgang Malzer, Oliver Hahn, and Birgit Kanngießer, "A Fingerprint model for inhomogeneous ink paper layer systems measured with micro X-ray Fluorescence analysis", *X-Ray Spectrometry* 33 (2004), pp. 229–233. Timo Wolff, *Referenzprobenfreie quantitative Mikro-Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse*, Technische Universität Berlin 2009.

11 Due to the fact that carbon inks mainly consist of organic materials, it is not possible to calculate the exact concentrations of the trace elements. For this reason the diagram displays only semi-quantitative results.

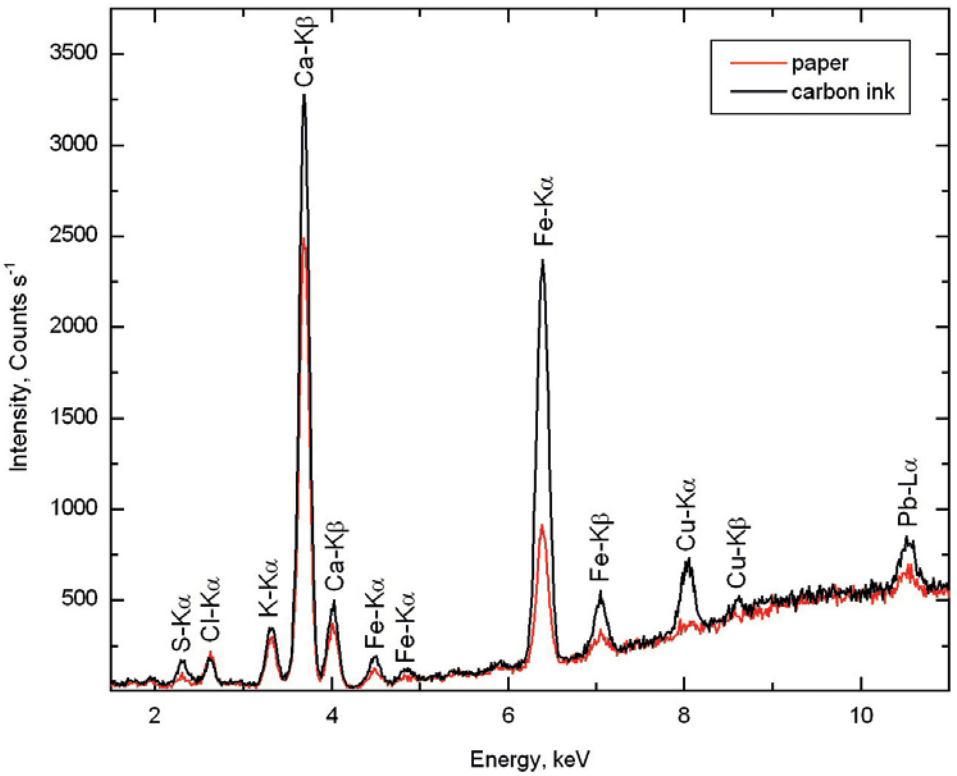


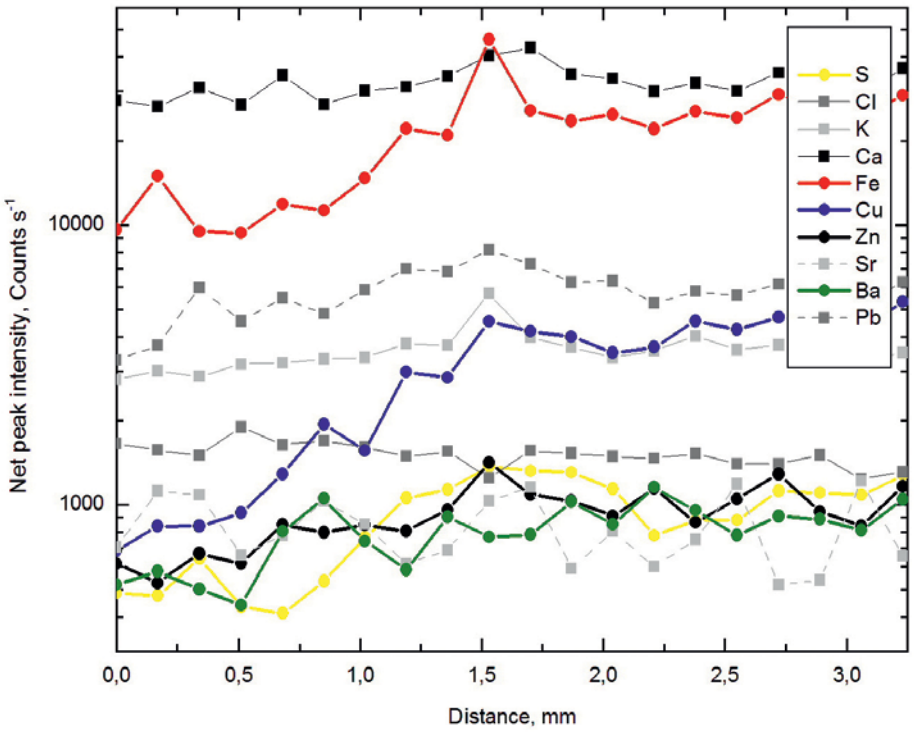
FIGURE 15.5 *X-ray fluorescence analysis spectrum of the black ink (black curve) in comparison with paper (red curve).*

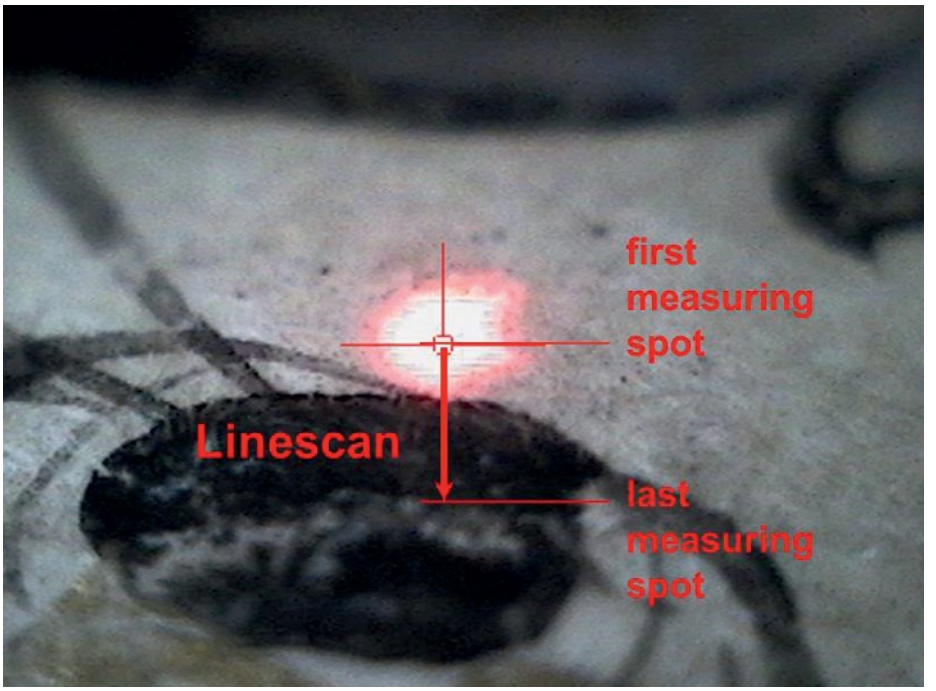
heterogeneity of the samples as well as the variety of layer thicknesses. In addition, error bars indicate the measuring flaw. It was possible to differentiate between two different carbon inks: measurements "ink01" and "ink02" indicate the same type of carbon ink, whereas measurement "ink03" proves the presence of another carbon ink.

Colored Inks

The collar was not only drawn with black carbon inks, it was also colored with various pigment-based and dye-based inks. Colored pigment-based inks such as orpiment, cinnabar, and azurite have been known since Antiquity. Natural or artificially produced minerals are finely ground and dispersed in a binding medium. As in black carbon inks, water-soluble binders such as gum arabic or egg white were used. Dye-based inks were mainly manufactured with various organic plant or insect dyes (*e.g.* Brazil wood, kermes). To stabilize the volatile material, the dyes were mixed with a mordant (*e.g.* alum).

As an example, fig. 15.8 shows a line-scan measurement that starts in a paper area and ends in a green color area. The results show that the green color contains





FIGURES. 15.6A AND 6B *X-ray fluorescence analysis line scan of a carbon ink stroke.*

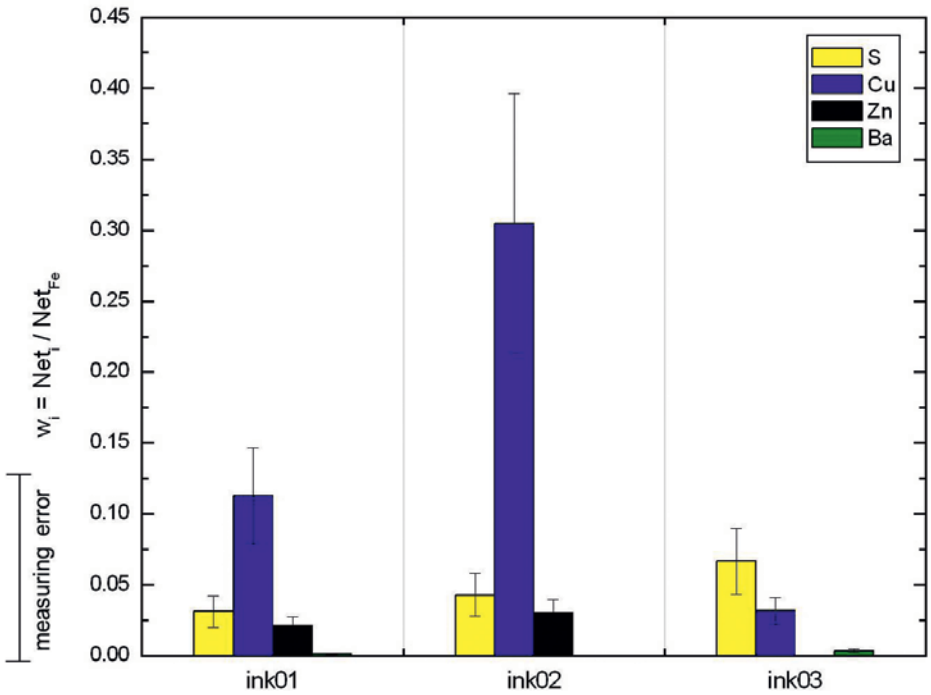
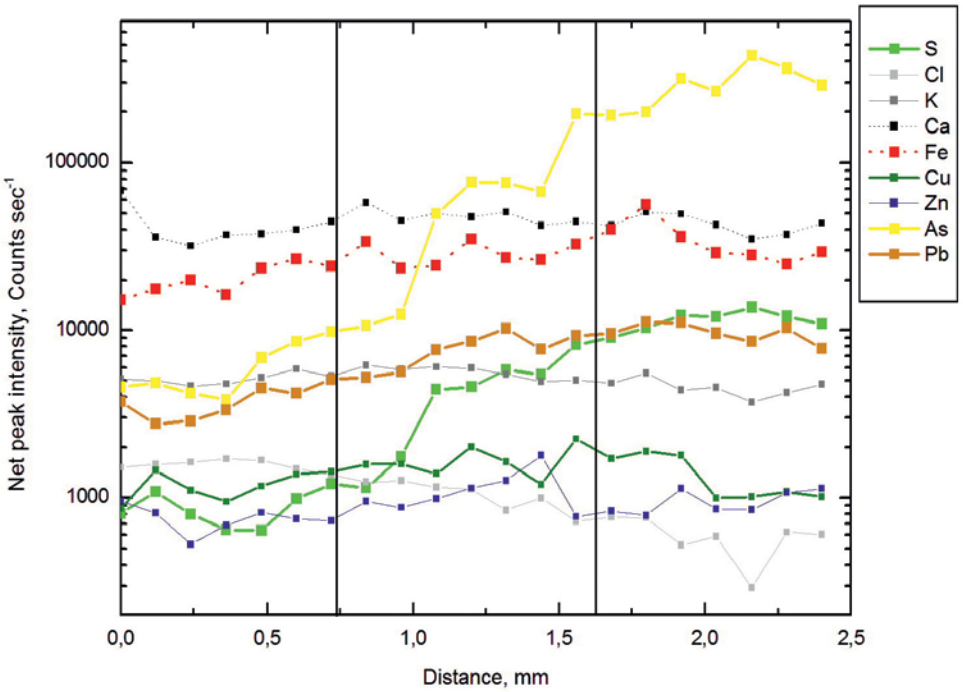


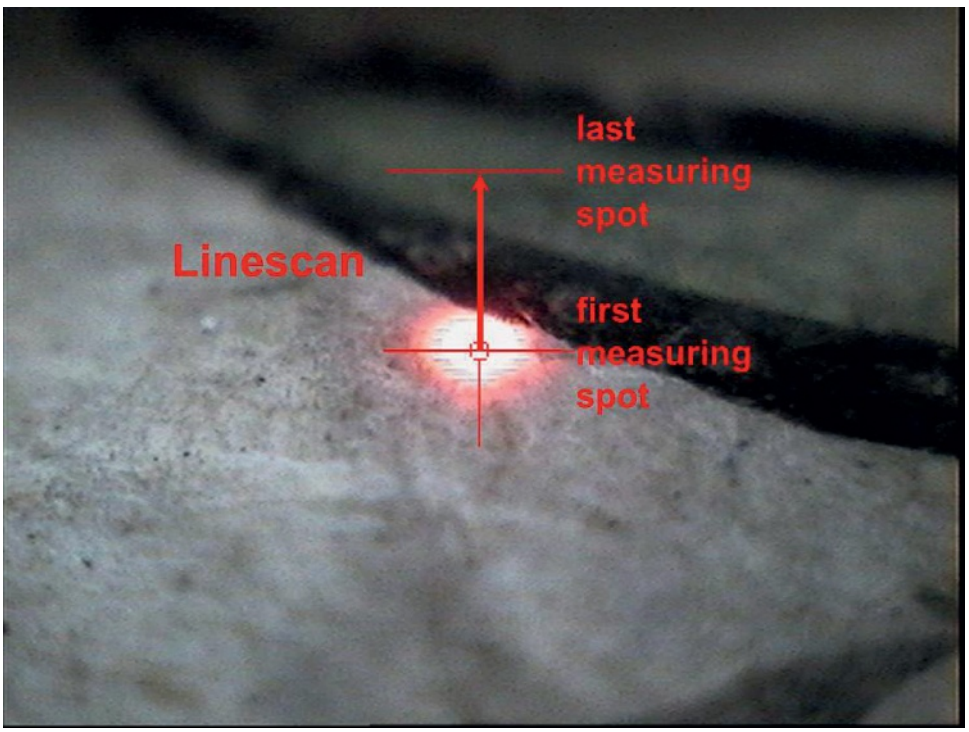
FIGURE 15.7 *Semi-quantitative analysis of three different black ink spots.*

arsenic (As) and sulfur (S). Both elements indicate the presence of yellow orpiment (As_4S_6) or orange realgar (As_4S_4).

Like carbon inks, dye-based inks consist mainly of organic materials. Hence, an investigation with X-ray fluorescence analysis would be unrewarding. With the aid of a spectral photometer, the color value of a colorant can be quantitatively determined on the basis of its reflective spectrum in the range of visible light (380 nm to 730 nm). This is an optical method of analyzing the surface. The sample to be examined is illuminated with visible light. The sample material interacts with the visible light by absorbing or reflecting it in a specific way, thereby appearing colored. The reflected light characteristic of a specific pigment is measured with a photometer and recorded in the form of a reflection curve. This reflection curve represents the correlation between the intensity of the reflected light and its wavelength. Comparison with a databank makes it possible to ascribe the pattern to a particular pigment or dye.[12] The examinations were carried out with the aid of the spectral photometer SPM 100 made by the Gretag Imaging AG company (Regensdorf, Switzerland). Only the surface layer can be analyzed using this method. Corrosion processes hamper the analyses (fig. 15.9).

12 Robert Fuchs and Doris Oltrogge, "Painting materials and painting technique in the Book of Kells", in *The Book of Kells, Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin (09/1992)*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony, Dublin 1994, pp. 133–171, pp. 147–191, p. 603.





FIGURES 15.8A AND 8B *Line scan of a green coloration.*

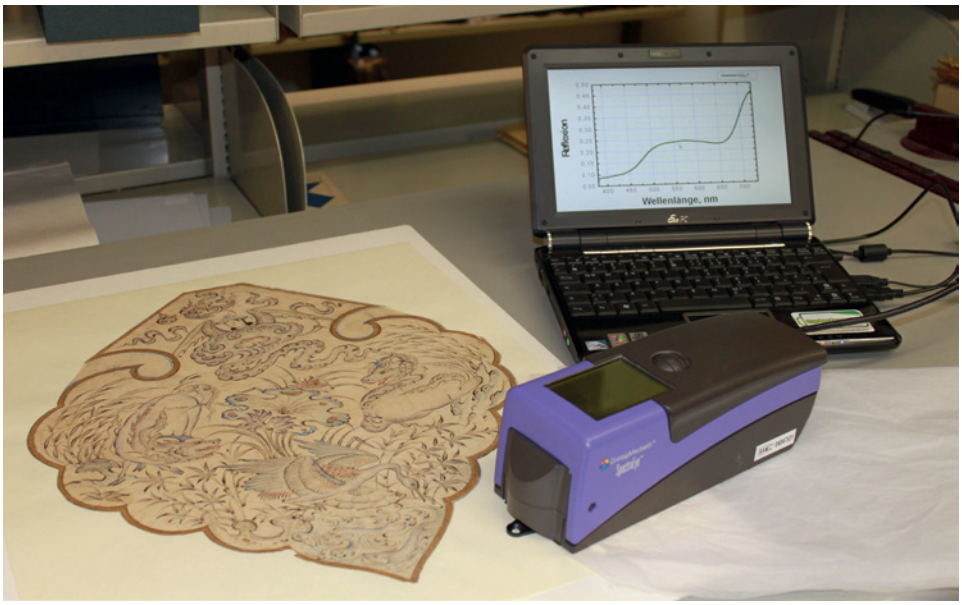


FIGURE 15.9 *Visible spectroscopy of a drawing.*

The table displays the various colorants that were investigated. Different organic or inorganic components were used for the coloration. Blue areas were colored with lapis lazuli and lead white; for red areas, cinnabar, red ochre, or brazil wood was used; green areas contain a mixture of orpiment with indigo.

Conclusion

This paper summarizes the use of different scientific methods for the analysis of one carbon black drawing. The determination of inorganic components in the black materials leads to elemental composition fingerprints that make it possible to differentiate between different carbon inks that do not appear different to the naked eye. This differentiation permits the classification of different carbon inks to answer questions about the genesis of the drawing or the ascription of later amendments or corrections. Accompanying analyses reveal the materials that were used for the coloration.

Carbon inks were in wide use all over the world. Therefore it is not possible to create a comprehensive database containing all information about the special features of carbon inks. However, starting from a smaller reference system, *e.g.* a set of similar drawings, it is possible to distinguish between different carbon inks.[13]

All in all, the results of this case study should encourage art historians working with drawings to enlist support from experts in materials analysis. In general, cooperation provides additional support in those cases in which material evidence allows us to gain more insight into the formation and the life of a cultural object,

13 See the diagram of fig. 14.6 in the contribution from Friederike Weis in this volume.

TABLE 15.1 *Colorants*

	Pigments / Dyes	**Elemental Composition / Dye Plant**
White	Lead white	$2PbCO_3 \times Pb(OH)_2$
Blue	Lapis lazuli	$Na_{8-10}Al_6Si_6O_{24}S_{2-4}$
Red	Cinnabar	HgS
	Red ochre	Fe_2O_3
	Brazil wood	Flavonoide dye, *e.g. Caesalpinia sappan* L.
Green	Orpiment + indigo	As_4S_6 + *Indigofera tinctoria*

and can bring to light evidence that may be taken as a starting point for further research. The most important precondition for these results is the definition of precise research questions or hypotheses. The author hopes that scientific methods and materials analysis will soon become an integral part of the field of art history and other cultural sciences.

Repatriations: The Diez Albums as a Source for Reconstructing Lost Art

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CHAPTER 16

The Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*: Some Proposed Repatriations

Robert Hillenbrand

Introduction

The notion that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, whatever its original condition at the end of the Ilkhanid period, had sustained some losses before its fatal transfer into the predatory hands of Georges Demotte (1877–1923) in the years shortly before the First World War, has been aired at intervals over the past sixty years or so. It was never considered in the 1930s for the simple reason that the albums in Istanbul and Berlin, with their rich haul of isolated paintings plainly removed from fourteenth-century manuscripts, were at that stage scarcely known. Nor was it part of conventional wisdom that what one might call the "canon"[1] of paintings from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* might not only have been incomplete, but that some illustrations that had originally been part of that manuscript had later found other homes.

Perhaps the most tantalising remark to that effect was made in 1959 by Richard Ettinghausen, who noted casually that since 1939, when Doris Brian published a list of the leaves of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, "many more have been found, though none have been published so far".[2] Apparently he never justified or amplified this claim in print.[3] Ivan Stchoukine had expressed a similar opinion a year earlier, but rather more circumspectly.[4]

1 In this article, the words "canon" and "canonical" will refer exclusively to the fifty-eight paintings of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as listed by Doris Brian, "A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycle in the Demotte Shah-Nameh", *Ars Islamica* 6 (1939), pp. 96–112. I should like to thank Julian Raby for his penetrating comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2 Richard Ettinghausen, "Notes on some Mongol miniatures", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), p. 57.

3 The nearest he got to this was his statement that the image of Gayumarth among his courtiers on fol. 55v of H. 2153 (fig. 16.1) "may very well have been part of that celebrated manuscript [he means the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*] with whose style it fully agrees"; see Richard Ettinghausen, "Some paintings in four Istanbul albums", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), p. 94. Ettinghausen's article is almost entirely taken up with a discussion of the so-called "Siyah Qalam" paintings. One might note that the facial types of the Gayumarth painting do not recur in any of the fifty-eight canonical images of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, which seems to diminish (though not destroy) the claim that it was once part of that manuscript.

4 Ivan Stchoukine, "Les Peintures du Shah-Nameh Demotte", *Arts Asiatiques* 5 (1958), p. 83, where he proposes that the present gap in the canon "might in part be filled by the paintings which seem to belong to the same manuscript and which are at present incorporated in" H. 2153; in footnote 2 on that page he singles out the painting of the murder of Daqiqi (H. 2153, fol. 112a; fig. 16.2) as

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FIGURE 16.1
Gayumarth Enthroned, Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, date uncertain. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 55v.*



FIGURE 16.2
The Murder of Daqiqi, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 112r.*

one such leaf. In an earlier article ("Notes sur des peintures persanes du Sérail de Stamboul", *Journal Asiatique* 226 [1935], pp. 119–23), he had described a heterogeneous group of paintings from H. 2153, among which he defined six (fol. 55v – see n. 3 above – plus fols. 72r, 125v, 155v and two images on 157v) as being executed in a style similar to that of the "Demotte" (*i.e.* Great Mongol) *Shāhnāma* and of mid-fourteenth-century date. Unfortunately, their subject-matter apparently has nothing to do with the *Shāhnāma*, with the exception of two images which he identifies as scenes from that text: one (fol. 157v) showing a seated man with a sword by a grotto, and the other (fol. 55v) depicting Gayumarth and his court. He then lists a further ten (fols. 23r, 28r [with an attribution to Ahmad Musa], 28v, 54r, 55v, 65v, 104r, 112r, 113r, and 118r) which he dates slightly later, to the second half of the fourteenth century, but without specifically suggesting that any of them formed part of the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma*. He places the image of the murder of Daqiqi (fol. 112r) in this second group, whereas the implication (no more) of footnote 2 in the article that he published 23 years later is that this particular painting is indeed from the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma*. It seems that in the interim he had changed his mind. But it also appears that he did not study these paintings with a view to deciding whether or not they



FIGURE 16.3 The Simurgh Carries Zal to its Nest, Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, date uncertain. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 23r.*

Ernst Grube too echoed this view, suggesting that five paintings in the album in the Topkapı Sarayı Library known as H. 2153 came from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, but he also never investigated the matter in the requisite detail, though he did identify which paintings these were.[5] Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair touched on the topic in their 1980 book,[6] and even conceded that the image in H. 2153, fol. 8r, of Rustam and Isfandiyar meeting (see fig. 16.4 – which has been misidentified as "Zal welcoming Bahman")[7] might have come from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.

might once have belonged in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. So there is a frustrating obliqueness about his remarks. Dorothea Duda discusses fol. 112r at some length; she puts it alongside fol. 23r, 28v, 55r, 65v, 112v, and 156v in the period 1350–75, and more specifically from 1358 onwards ("Die Buchmalerei der Ğala'iriden", *Der Islam* 49 (1972), pp. 154–165). But she too was not looking for lost leaves of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.

5 Ernst J. Grube, "Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century. A Research Report", *Supplemento no. 17 agli Annali, Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 38/4 (1978), pp. 24–25 (fols. 22v, 23r, 65v, 112v, and 156v, depicting respectively Minuchihr slaying Tur; the Simurgh carrying Zal to its nest [fig. 16.3]; Zal shooting wildfowl; Zal shooting a tree; and Sam seeing the infant Zal in the Simurgh's nest (fig. 16.5]) See too *idem, Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from Collections in the United States and Canada. Exhibition catalogue. In collaboration with Alberta Maria Fabris*, Venice 1962, p. 16, where he repeats Ettinghausen's statement that many other paintings from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* are now known. But the format of Grube's report, which is essentially that of a survey, did not, most regrettably, lend itself to a detailed presentation of the evidence supporting his attributions. His insights would have been valuable.

6 Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago 1980, p. 10.

7 Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-Namahs", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), p. 33. She notes resemblances between the twenty-eight *Shāhnāma* fragments of fourteenth-century date which she presents in her article, and whose origin she places in Tabriz, and two major manuscripts, the *Kalīla va Dimna* (F. 1422) and the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma* (p. 23), but she ventures no opinion on whether any of these paintings are from the latter manuscript. Moreover, the generalised fourteenth-century dating which she proposes for all of these images leaves wide open the question of a more specific date for any one of them. Incidentally, her identification of H. 2153, fol. 8r (fig. 16.4) as the meeting of Bahman and Zal would, if it were correct, exclude this painting from inclusion in the Great Mongol



FIGURE 16.4 Rustam Meets Isfandiyar, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 8r.*



FIGURE 16.5 Sam Sees Zal in the Simurgh's Nest, Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, date uncertain. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 156v.*



FIGURE 16.6 Zal Shoots Waterfowl while Rudaba's Ladies-in-Waiting Watch, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 112r.*

They also noted a couple of other possible, and to their minds lesser, candidates,[8] but

Shāhnāma since this scene is already depicted in that manuscript (Brian 18).

8 See Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 39 for a discussion, and dismissal, of other "possibles", notably H. 2153, fols. 65v (Zal shooting waterfowl [fig. 16.6]), 112a (assassination of Daqiqi), 28v (enthroned monarch), 55r (Jamshid teaching the crafts), 156v (Sam sees Zal in the Simurgh's nest (fig. 16.5), and 55v (the court of Gayumarth). They regard as still less likely three others – fols. 113r (execution of Mani or of Faramarz), 157r (Isfandiyar killing the dragon), and 54v (Tahmina sits with Rustam on a carpet), illustrated in Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", figs. 14, 18, and 25. For these three images they add the proviso (n. 22 on p. 198) that they "appear to be somewhat later". They conclude: "For a variety of practical reasons this [*i.e.* the possibility that images other than, perhaps, Rustam meeting Isfandiyar were formerly part of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*] no longer seems likely." But these practical reasons are not specified. This is a pity, but their conclusion that the painting of Rustam and Isfandiyar in H. 2153, on fol. 8r, could indeed be from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (though "this is only a hypothesis") opens the door to the possibility that the present canon is incomplete. Given their general scepticism about possible additions to the canon, that is a crucial admission. I enquired of Oleg Grabar on 27 November 2010 (less than two months before his death) what his views were on this matter, adding that I thought that H. 2153, fols. 22v, 65v, 112r, and 112v, as well as one or two from the Berlin album material, were originally from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. He replied – on the same day – "In 1959 RE was one of the few to have seen the Istanbul albums and to recognize paintings which were probably from the DSN. I am not sure that the ones you mention are the ones he had in mind, but it seems logical to me [...]. I never went back systematically on the subject of album paintings from the Great Mongol Shāhnāma [...].

they too did not pursue the matter. And there it has rested.

In the context of a project of mine, now nearing completion, namely a book-length attempt to reconsider the multi-layered significance of this great manuscript within the development of fourteenth-century Persian painting generally, and to pinpoint its specific contribution to that process, it seems appropriate to resurrect this thorny question. This will inevitably involve some recapitulation of earlier scholarship.[9]

The Fate of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* after 1336

A photograph taken by the Armenian-Iranian Antoine Sevrouguin (late 1830s–1933) in the late nineteenth century shows the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* open at the page depicting the hunting feats of Bahram Gur.[10] This document provides the visual proof that at this time the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* in bound form was in Iran, probably in the royal library. But that is all it proves. It says nothing about how long it had been in the library in which it was photographed, though what looks like a very free copy of one of its paintings, namely the celebrated scene of the Bier of Iskandar, was formerly in a *Khamsa* of Nizami in the Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul (H. 762), a manuscript associated particularly with the Aqqoyunlu sultan Yaʿqub Beg (r. 1478–90) and produced over an extended period from the later fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. This free copy depicts the suicide of Shirin.[11] The presence of still more echoes of this greatest of Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts in the same *Khamsa* provides further evidence to suggest that in the early sixteenth century the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* was, like that *Khamsa*, in the Persian royal library.[12]

But neither sixteenth-century echoes of paintings from this manuscript nor the nineteenth-century photograph say anything about the state of this masterpiece at either time, and in particular about whether, and to what degree, it

The problem seems to me now what was the history of the manuscript itself. Could pages have escaped before the manuscript would have been put together in the shape known by let us say Demotte?".

9 See especially Sheila Blair, "On the Track of the 'Demotte' *Shahnama* Manuscript", in *Les Manuscrits Du Moyen-Orient: Essais de Codicologie et de Paléographie*, ed. François Déroche, Istanbul and Paris 1989, pp. 125–131; Abolala Soudavar, "The Saga of Abu-Saʿid Bahador Khan: The Abu-Saʿidnama", in *The Court of the Il-Khans 1290–1340: The Barakat Trust Conference on Islamic Art and History, St John's College, Oxford, Saturday 28 May 1994* (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 12), ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert, Oxford 1997, pp. 95–218; and Sheila Blair, 'Rewriting the History of the Great Mongol Shahnama", in *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, Aldershot 2004, pp. 35–50.

10 Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Legacy of the Great Mongol *Shah-nama*", *Islamic Art* 5 (2001), p. 50, fig. 16.2.

11 See Jonathan M. Bloom, "Epic Images Revisited: an Ilkhanid Legacy in Early Safavid Painting", in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew Newman, Leiden 2003, pp. 239–240.

12 Bloom notes several other echoes of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* in this *Khamsa* (*ibid*., pp. 240–241). *Cf.* too Blair and Bloom, "Legacy", pp. 43–44.

might have been tampered with in the years after Ilkhanid work (as distinct from repair work) on it ceased, presumably when the Ilkhanid dynasty effectively ended in 1336 – or maybe even later. But scholars have noted the possibility that an album variously known as the Yaʿqub Beg or Fatih album (H. 2153),[13] and thus associated with the principal patron of that same *Khamsa* that contains several echoes of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, does number among its disparate images some that may have been removed in the late fifteenth century from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[14] A further hypothesis is that its presence in the royal Persian library in Tabriz inspired several large-scale, richly illustrated *Shāhnāma*s, namely the "Big-Head" *Shāhnāma* of AH 899 (1493–1494), the extremely incomplete royal *Shāhnāma* from the earlier part of the reign of Shah Ismaʿil, and of course the *Shāhnāma-yi Shāhī* of Shah Tahmasp.[15] But thereafter the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* seems simply to have disappeared from sight; there is nothing from it in the Bahram Mirza album of AH 951 (1544–1545). It is of course possible that Dust Muhammad, who compiled that album, overlooked it, but it seems more likely that by that time it was – for reasons that one can only guess at – no longer available to him. So for three centuries it fell out of sight. It was the Qajars who brought it back into the limelight, re-margining it and repainting some of its pictures.

The disappearance of the manuscript itself, once it had been gutted in France, means that the option of scrutinising it closely in search of physical evidence that paintings had been removed from it is not available. And the very varied estimates that have been made of how many paintings the manuscript was planned to contain[16] strongly suggest that it would be unwise to state categorically that a given detached painting now in a Berlin or Istanbul album could not possibly have come from it. This caveat is all the more

13 On the reason for this attribution, see Stchoukine, "Notes", p. 118.

14 Bloom, "Epic Images Revisited", p. 243. Bloom notes that there is no evidence to suggest that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* ever left Iran, but that "It is possible, however, that several paintings were removed from the manuscript in the late fifteenth century and incorporated in the Istanbul album, Topkapi Palace Library H. 2153, thought to have been prepared for Yaʿqub Beg, the Aqquyunlu Turkoman ruler of Tabriz who once owned the Khamsa [H. 762] and had pictures added to it . . . the Great Mongol Shahnameh must have been available for dismemberment – and possibly copying – as early as Sultan Yaʿqub's reign in Tabriz", but it "must not have been available to [. . .] Dust Muhammad in 951/1544–1545 when he prepared his album of painting and calligraphy for Bahram Mirza", for "Dust Muhammad characteristically removed sample paintings from whatever manuscripts he had at hand to represent the artists he discussed in his album" (*ibid.*, p. 243). If the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* did indeed remain in Tabriz, it is odd that Dust Muhammad should have been unaware of it.

15 Blair and Bloom, "Legacy", pp. 44–45.

16 For a brief account of the issues involved, see Farhad Mehran, "Missing Paintings in Dismantled Persian Manuscripts", *Student* 4/1 (June, 2001), pp. 65–67 and 75–77. But this is not the last word: see notes 24–25 below. Note that Mehran confined his investigation to the better-preserved second volume of the original manuscript, whereas most of the contenders for repatriation belong to the content of the first volume.

necessary given that no two manuscript copies of the *Shāhnāma* are identical, and that it is therefore very hard to establish beyond doubt what episodes were or were not in the original text of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.

Setting these problems aside for the moment, it is important to recognise that the albums in Berlin and Istanbul prove that many key manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (and the word "key" needs emphasis here) had been plundered – the word is not too strong – over the centuries to provide top-quality material for those very albums (*cf.* Bernard O'Kane's article in this volume on the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*). Only one of these albums, H. 2154, is dated to a particular year, namely AH 951 (1544–1545),[17] and that leaves open the question of where or when the others were compiled, and for what patrons – though scholars have speculated on these matters, and recent scholarship has shed a flood of light on the Persian album generally.[18] Moreover, the peregrinations of important manuscripts could be extensive, as the case of the Juki *Shāhnāma* shows.[19] The fortunes of war, the reciprocal obligations of gift-giving, or even the appointment of a prince to high office in some distant location could easily result in a given manuscript embarking on some unexpected travels. Manuscripts could be as nomadic as their owners.

All this is merely to point out the obvious – namely that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* could have been part of several successive libraries before being photographed in Tehran in the later nineteenth century – and there is no certainty as to its fate between then and its arrival in Paris shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. Moreover, its high quality, and its role as perhaps the defining manuscript of fourteenth-century Persian painting, made it a prime candidate for vandalism, as befell the Ilkhanid *Miʿrājnāma* paintings in the Topkapı Sarayı (H. 2154), the Khvaju Kirmani manuscript in the British Library, and of course the great fourteenth-century *Kalīla va Dimna* in the Istanbul University Library. Indeed, it would be downright strange if there were no leaves from this manuscript in these

17 David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (*Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas, Volume IX*), Leiden 2001, p. 27; for further detail, see *idem, "Our Works Point to Us": Album Making, Collecting, and Art* (*1427–1565*) *Under the Timurids and Safavids*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996, I, pp. 239–240. For detailed discussion of H. 2154, commonly known as the Bahram Mirza album, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 235–350 and II, pp. 771–998.

18 See David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London 2005, pp. 21–35.

19 James V.S. Wilkinson, *The Shah-Namah of Firdausi: The Book of the Persian Kings. With 24 Illustrations from a Fifteenth-Century Persian Manuscript in the Possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. With an introduction by Laurence Binyon*, London 1931, pp. 1–4; Basil W. Robinson, "The Shahnama of Muhammad Juki", in *The Royal Asiatic Society: Its History and Treasures*, ed. Stuart Simmonds and Simon Digby, Leiden 1979, p. 92; and, most recently, Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnama of Firdausi*, London 2012, frontispiece, pp. 1–5 and 148–153; see also the magisterial study by Alexander H. Morton, *ibid.*, Chapter VII, "Notes and Seal Imprints on Folio 536b", pp. 163–175.

albums, especially given that at least one of their functions was – judging by their contents – to display the masterpieces of past times. One might argue that an album with such pretentions that lacked material from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* would be like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. Indeed, one plausible theory suggests that while the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* had little impact on later Persian painting, "its 'rediscovery' at the Safavid court in Tabriz at the beginning of the 16th century reinvigorated the tradition of large-format, heavily illustrated royal copies of the *Shāhnāma* as a vehicle for the expression of contemporary history".[20] That said, it remains strange that, if the Mongol masterpiece could have impacted so powerfully on H. 762, no comparable impact of its paintings has yet been noted in the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma.* Had it gone to ground? So much, then, for the general context of what follows.

Reconstructing the Original Form of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*: Problems and Current Approaches

The parameters of a search for the putative lost leaves of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* have been significantly extended in the past few years by research along lines undreamt of in previous scholarship. The work by Farhad Mehran and Amin Mahdavi, both of whom were closely involved in the original Cambridge-Edinburgh project[21] to create a searchable database of digital *Shāhnāma* images, has applied advanced statistical techniques to problems of *Shāhnāma* illustration. This has revolutionised earlier estimates of how many illustrations were planned for this great manuscript. The techniques deployed by Mehran and Mahdavi have proved to be especially fruitful in predicting both the textual content and the original planned pictorial cycle for *Shāhnāma*s that have survived in an incomplete form. The likelihood that such predictions are accurate increases steeply as more of a manuscript survives. The latest estimate by Mahdavi, in his doctoral thesis of 2004, which takes the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as a test case, revises upwards the original estimate of 280 folios and 120 illustrations made by Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair in 1980,[22] and Sheila Blair's revision of 1989 of 300 folios and 190 illustrations,[23] to 380 folios and at least 205 illustrations.[24]

These estimates, moreover, are correlated to a much more detailed reconstruction of the text of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* than any previously proposed. This in turn makes it possible to widen the search for leaves outside the currently accepted canon of fifty-eight images and indeed to look for just those subjects that the statistical model created by Mahdavi

20 Blair and Bloom, "Legacy", p. 45.

21 Directed between 1999 and 2004 by Professors Charles Melville (University of Cambridge) and Robert Hillenbrand (University of Edinburgh) and funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Board.

22 Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 12.

23 Blair, "On the Track", p. 127.

24 M. Amin Mahdavi, *An Event-Driven Distribution Model for Automatic Insertion of Illustrations in Narrative Discourse: A Study Based on the Shahnama Narrative*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 190–191 (with the reasons for an estimate of up to 216 illustrations).

suggests as likely candidates for the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as originally planned. Since this is at best a matter of probabilities rather than certainties, it would be wise to consider a range of possible subjects between the fixed points established by the canon. It is important to note at this point that Mahdavi himself never undertook the task of matching extant paintings in the albums to those pictorial gaps that he had identified in his model. That was not his interest. It is even more important to remember that his model is just that – a model – albeit one that employs a technical method not used in earlier attempts to reconstitute the original manuscript or to identify possible missing leaves. He lists 11,218 possible *Shāhnāma* subjects, which he terms "events in the narrative", of which 5,843 feature as illustrations in the corpus of 118 *Shāhnāma*s in the database that he constructed.[25] So the range of optional topics for illustration is indeed wide in almost any substantial passage of the text. And it is most important of all to remember that there is no way of discovering how much of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as originally planned was completed, or indeed whether it was ever completed to plan. For instance, later modifications might have been made so as to finish the project faster, and such modifications could very well have resulted in the omission of many images that had earlier been intended to form part of this manuscript. It is even possible that a painting originally intended for the manuscript, and completed proleptically, did not in the end form part of it.

These multiple uncertainties, however, should not impede a serious search for possible missing leaves, especially as the accepted canon of fifty-eight images highlights some omissions that would be truly startling even in standard *Shāhnāma* iconography, let alone in a royal manuscript with more than twice the normal number of paintings. It is high time that more attention was paid to the implications of these remarkable omissions, for example to the strangely thin pictorial coverage of some of the early sections of the epic. And while the iconography of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as it is known today is anything but standard, it is worth remembering that the plethora of other early fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma*s, when considered together as a group, had indeed resulted in the creation of a basic iconography constructed around a norm of roughly one hundred images. So it would be unwise to deploy the argument that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* was produced at a time when there was no such thing as a standard *Shāhnāma* iconography. This, for all its individual variations, was liable to feature a clutch of firm favourites, for example the stories of Zahhak, Zal, and above all Rustam, which are not well represented in the current canon of fifty-eight images. Given, too, that the number of illustrations planned for the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* was seemingly about twice the total in any other surviving fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma*, as just noted, the absence of such central images becomes even stranger, until one recalls the likelihood that almost three-quarters of the originally planned illustrations are missing from the surviving canon.

An obvious drawback in trying to repatriate to that canon any given image in the Berlin or Istanbul albums is the absence of an accompanying *Shāhnāma* text. It is

25 Mahdavi, *Shahnama Narrative*, vol. 1, p. 164.

true that three of the images in H. 2153[26] have captions[27] of the type found in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* and – one must stress this – in no other earlier Persian illustrated manuscript, or in any other fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma*.[28] That said, for centuries the *sura* headings of expensive Qur'ans had borne such decoration, and the heading on the opening folio of the second volume of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, preserved in the Louvre, is of similar design.[29] Parallels from the unillustrated manuscripts of the *Majmūʿ* of Rashid al-Din, also now in Paris, might also be cited; these differ in design from one heading to the next. But when used as captions to *pictures* – a small but crucial distinction – such panels remain, it seems, unique in the context of illustrated *Shāhnāma*s dated in the eighth century AH/fourteenth century AD.[30] This, then, is the strongest *prima facie* evidence of all that these three images – Rustam meets Isfandiyar (fig. 16.4), Zal shooting waterfowl (fig. 16.6), and the murder of Daqiqi (fig. 16.2) – are indeed refugees from that masterpiece. Any alternative explanation involves the theory that yet another ambitious and richly illustrated but unfinished *Shāhnāma* was created in the fourteenth century in addition to the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* and the great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, and is represented only by these three paintings. But this is a feeble and unconvincing "solution" that invites the application of Occam's razor, a point made by Schroeder more than seventy years ago. In the present case, one might recast Occam's principle as follows: "no more manuscripts should be hypothesised than are necessary". Incidentally, the lack of captions in other candidates for repatriation is not significant, since it was more common in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* for captions to be placed outside than within the picture frame, and this ensured that they would be lost in the process of trimming the image before pasting it into an album.

Another factor that could be considered in this context in the same album is the pairing (on each side of the same folio, or

26 Namely fols. 8r (*Rustam Meets Isfandiyar*), 65v (*Zal Shooting Waterfowl*) and 112r (*Murder of Daqiqi*).

27 For a preliminary discussion of these captions, see Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 6 and Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, MA. 1942, pp. 37–38 and n. 16. There is more to discover about these captions.

28 A somewhat modest variation on these captions can be seen in the undated *Shāhnāma* and the *Epics* manuscript dated AH 800 (1397), both of which seem originally to have formed a single volume, but one into which the illustrations were inserted later, probably between AH 812 (1409) and AH 817 (1414). See Elaine Wright, "Firdausi and More: A Timurid Anthology of Epic Tales", in *Shahnama*, ed. Hillenbrand, pp. 70–79. By the time of the Baysunghur *Shāhnāma*, the captions had become minor masterpieces of illumination (Sheila Blair, "Jamshid Invents the Crafts", in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian* Book of Kings, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, p. 56).

29 Blair and Bloom, "Legacy", 49, fig. 1.

30 The *Shāhnāma* and *Epics* volume dated AH 800 (1397) might seem to contradict this, but its illustrations are, as noted above (n. 28), probably of the second decade of the fifteenth century, when decorative captions to paintings were beginning to make a comeback (Wright, "Firdausi", p. 79 and figs. 6.2 and 6.4).



FIGURE 16.7 Minuchihr Slaying Tur with a Spear, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 22v.*

on successive folios) of certain paintings which had something in common.[31] There is nothing strange in the notion that the compiler of the album would have wished in some cases to mount close to each other various disparate images that belonged together, either because they came from the same manuscript or because they were by the same artist, or indeed for both these reasons. And it is of course highly likely that the artists who worked on the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* produced paintings for other projects, so that style is only one of several yardsticks that need to be applied in the case of leaves that might be candidates for the canon. Nevertheless, style, when taken in conjunction with the size of the image and with subject matter drawn from the *Shāhnāma*, can help to pinpoint images that were formerly part of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* or intended for that manuscript. In any event, the folio numbering of H. 2153 could be yet another factor that sheds light on the problem of repatriation tackled in this paper.

31 *E.g.* fols. 22v and 23r (*Manuchihr Slays Tur* [fig. 16.7]; *The Simurgh Carries Zal to its Nest* [fig. 16.3]); 28r and 28v (*Two Riders in a Wintry Landscape with Bears* – this has an attribution to Ahmad Musa; enthronement scene with an elephant outside the half-open door [fig. 16.8]); 54v, 55r, and 55v (prince and princess seated in a palace, with an attribution to *ustad* Mustafa; Jamshid teaching the crafts [fig. 16.9]; Gayumarth and his court [fig. 16.1]); 112r, 112v, and 113r (*Murder of Daqiqi* [fig. 16.2]; *Zal Shooting a Tree* [fig. 16.10]; *Execution of Mani or of Faramarz*); and 155v, 156v, and 157v (*Man Surrounded by Monkeys; Sam Views Zal in the Simurgh's Nest* [fig. 16.5]; *Man and Woman by the Seashore*).



FIGURE 16.8 Enthronement Scene with an Elephant Outside, Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, date uncertain. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 28v.*



FIGURE 16.9 *Jamshid Teaches the Crafts, Shāhnāma, Tabriz, date uncertain. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 55r.*



FIGURE 16.10 Zal Shooting a Tree, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 112v.*

But these images, like other possible candidates, have no associated *Shāhnāma* text. Thus a crucial diagnostic instrument, namely the calligraphy of the text itself, is removed, and currently there are no plans to try to remove images from any of the albums in an attempt to examine their reverse sides. In the case of the Diez albums (see the later discussion in this paper), a blank reverse need not necessarily imply that that particular image never had any text on the reverse. The manoeuvres carried out by Demotte when he arranged for pages with images on both sides to be split apart are sufficient proof of that.[32]

So the attempt to identify previously lost leaves from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* is fraught with difficulties. The two most obvious objective criteria, namely the paper itself and, as just noted, the calligraphy used for the text, are either unavailable for analysis or permanently lost in the case of paintings in the Istanbul and Berlin albums, which are pasted onto the page, so that in many cases[33] neither their paper nor their reverse sides can be properly examined, and which have been trimmed to remove the accompanying text. Once their subject matter has been identified, it may be possible to state with some degree of certainty that there could perhaps be a missing illustration at that point in the text. That has been done in the case of the scene of Rustam meeting Isfandiyar.[34] But this is a somewhat blunt instrument for identifying lost paintings, especially in view of the very varied estimates that scholars have made as to the length of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* and the number of paintings it might have contained. These factors make it impossible to attempt more than an educated guess at the original text of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, and it follows that it would be unwise to be dogmatic about what episodes could or could not have formed part of the original plan for the cycle of illustrations. The only remaining method seems to be that of looking closely at the paintings themselves for clues, and this kind of connoisseurship, besides being somewhat out of fashion, is also notoriously subjective.

In the particular case of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, that task is rendered still more complicated by the fact that a pictorial cycle of such size and complexity, and composed of such physically large paintings, must have required the talents of a whole team of artists. And of course each member of that team would have painted in a different way, whether subtly or obviously, from anyone else. It is plain that, in this manuscript, the concept of a house style – of which more anon – was much less rigidly enforced than it was, say, in the Rashidiyya school of the previous generation or than it was in late Timurid Herat, in the school of Bihzad, whose paintings have traditionally been the prime target of connoisseurship in Persian painting.[35] And since no two of these connoisseurs can agree on very much, their opinions must be viewed with suspicion. So any attempt to use this same method in the case of the

32 Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, pp. 2–12.

33 The reverses of some of the Berlin images have been examined, but there is no published description of the reverse of any of the Istanbul images.

34 Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 10.

35 David J. Roxburgh, "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), pp. 119 and 121.

Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* must generate some reservations.[36] Indeed, especially in the matter of identifying the hands of individual painters, I employ it reluctantly, and with little confidence in its results.[37]

That said, this manuscript marks a moment when book painting had taken a quantum leap forward, and painters were now much more ambitious and experimental on all fronts. It might therefore be more accurate to postulate multiple co-existing house styles, some looking backwards, others prophetic of new developments. And the minute study of details, as opposed to broad-brush attempts to nail down a given style, or to identify the work of a given painter, can yield valuable results.[38] Indeed, the more trivial the detail, the more likely it is to reflect an instinctive mannerism on the part of the artist that is liable to be repeated elsewhere.



FIGURE 16.11 Rustam and Isfandiyar Parley, *dispersed* Shāhnāma, *1341* (*New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 57.51.36*).

An Analysis of *Rustam Meets Isfandiyar* (fig. 16.4)

This paper considers the claims of two paintings to be brought back to the canon, one now in Istanbul and one now in Berlin. The one in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı H. 2153, fol. 8r, measures twenty-eight and a half by sixteen and a half centimetres. It depicts the meeting of Rustam and Isfandiyar, a somewhat uncommon theme in *Shāhnāma* iconography, though it does occur in another fourteenth-century manuscript, now in New York.[39] Its claim to

36 Early attempts in this direction were made by Eric Schroeder, "Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Din: A Review of Fourteenth-Century Painting", *Ars Islamica* 6 (1939), pp. 131–142, and Eustache de Lorey, "L'École de Tabriz. L'Islam aux prises avec la Chine", *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 9/1 (1935), pp. 34–38.

37 Stchoukine's attempt in this direction was more thorough than those of Schroeder and de Lorey, and led him to postulate a team of at least twelve artists working on this manuscript for some thirty years (Stchoukine, "Peintures", p. 85, with summary conclusions on pp. 95–96).

38 See Bernard O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections", *Oriental Art* 49/2 (2003), pp. 2–10 for the use of this method in analysing paintings attributed to the school of Muhammad Siyah Qalam and to the great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*.

39 In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (accession no. 57.51.36). This is from the 1341 *Shāhnāma* (fig. 16.11) and is a busy, crowded scene with eight figures and two horses; see M. Shreve Simpson, "A Reconstruction and Preliminary Account of the 1341 Shahnama

inclusion rests on several factors. These include its format: a depressed oblong that favours a stringing out of the participants along a single plane. Several paintings from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* use this format and have similar dimensions, notably *Rustam and Isfandiyar Attacking Each Other* and *The Biers of Rustam and Zavara*.[40] In spite of the limited space available, the artist has taken some pains in depicting a tree, perhaps a magnolia, engulfed in blossom; it is conceived in a thoroughly Chinese spirit, even though its execution betrays technical flaws when judged by the highest standards in that tradition. It spreads out luxuriantly behind the richly embellished building on the left. Embowered in this spectacular springtime display (compare *Ardashir and Bahman Fighting* or *Garshasp Enthroned*)[41] is one of the stock personae of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*: a court lady who strikes an elaborately casual pose, propped up on her elbow as she lounges in a window-seat while clutching the edge of a wall. She casts an eye at once bored and cynical on the diplomatic embrace being enacted below. Her presence may well be a signal that this sign of peace is precarious; if so, it is a case of dramatic irony, for the two heroes will be fighting each other before long. She typifies the ever-watchful, ever-calculating ladies who from a high vantage point peer down curiously at the events unfolding below, from which they are pointedly excluded. They serve as a mute chorus to these momentous scenes.[42] No other fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma* has this distinctive emphasis on inquisitive courtly women.

Two novelties within this well-defined genre are noteworthy. One is the gazebo perched at first-floor level, an architectural feature not found in the paintings of the canon. Its scale is somewhat awkward, for the young woman leaning out of its window is simply too large for the space available, as if indeed she were imprisoned in a doll's house. But the window itself, with its geometrically patterned shutters, has plenty of parallels in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, as do the balustrade, the gridded resplendent window grilles below, and the arched two-leaved door. In some ways, of course, the architecture here does have much in common with the screen-like, two-dimensional facade structures found repeatedly in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, where complex architectural forms are ruthlessly simplified into flat surfaces. But this painting goes somewhat further, not only in the design of the whole, which suggests an actual building rather than an architectural screen, but also in the painter's exploitation of various perspectival

With Some Further Thoughts On Early Shahnama Illustration", in *Persian Painting From the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, London 2000, pp. 226–227 and pl. 15.

40 Brian 20 and 24 respectively. It may be relevant that these paintings cluster fairly close together in the manuscript (see note 47 below).

41 Brian 41 and 15 respectively. In the case of Brian 41 the burgeoning blossom above the head of Ardashir could refer to his imminent victory, in which case the barrenness of the tree above the head of Bahman would be an obvious signal of impending defeat.

42 For the idea that they may refer obliquely to the malign influence of high-born women at court, see Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 49, and Soudavar, "Saga", p. 157.

devices, such as the openwork ornament of the balustrade (which reveals what lies behind it), the sharply angled upper wall, the diagonal slant of the roof, and the open or half-open shutters, to suggest depth. Even the hand with which the lady steadies herself curls round the corner of a wall and thus implies the third dimension. Moreover, this is plainly a pavilion, so it adds much to the repertoire of fictive buildings depicted in Ilkhanid painting.[43] Especially notable are its diminutive size but lavish decoration, its perky vermilion roof-kiosk,[44] its landscape wall painting on the first floor, depicting deer beneath leafy trees,[45] its gilded *fleur-de-lis* crenellations in the appropriately luxurious colours of blue and gold,[46] its blue-tiled plinth, and its geometrically patterned door.

Above that door, moreover, is an oblong panel on which is set the caption to the picture in the standard form employed in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, namely in a rich golden *thulth* set against a decorative background which, in the finished pictures, varies from one painting to the next, and which is, as already noted, unique to this manuscript. In this case, the background is deep blue sprinkled with stars, and its position – incorporated into the painting rather than placed above it – also has many parallels in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[47] It reads *ṣūrat-i Rustam va Isfandiyār* ("Picture of Rustam and Isfandiyar"). This is of course quite inappropriate as an epigraphic panel in an actual building, so an element of humour is perhaps discernible here – a painting which comments on itself within itself.

The second novelty in this painting, and the most striking aspect of the building, is that its principal exterior wall is entirely taken up with ornamental brickwork in square Kufic, whose principal theme is the name 'Ali rendered both correctly and in mirror writing. Several surviving monuments of the first half of the fourteenth century, at Natanz,[48] Khiav,[49] and Ardabil[50]

43 So far there has been no sustained attempt to integrate this evidence from book painting into the overall history of Ilkhanid architecture.

44 *Cf.* the structure crowning the temple that Samson is destroying in Rashid al-Din's *World History*; see David T. Rice, ed. Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashid al-Din*, Edinburgh 1976, pl. 15.

45 *Cf.* the encounter between Isfandiyar and Gushtasp in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (colour illustration in Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art*, London 1991, p. 142, pl. 95).

46 *Cf.* Brian 53.

47 There are six examples among the fifty-eight canonical paintings: Brian 14, 18, 19, 20, 33, and 54. Note that Grabar and Blair suggest that the right place for the painting under discussion (H. 2153, fol. 8r) is at fol. 145v, in other words in the same group of illustrations as four of the six paintings whose captions are incorporated into the overall design, and indeed it is sandwiched between two such paintings (Brian 18 and 20) – another reason for regarding it as a picture formerly in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.

48 Sonia P. and Hans C. Seherr-Thoss, *Design and Color in Islamic Architecture*, Washington, DC. 1968, p. 123, pl. 55.

49 Donald N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khanid Period*, Princeton 1955, pl. 177.

50 Roloff Beny, *Persia: Bridge of Turquoise*, London 1975, pl. 52. Two further examples from Azerbaijan which date from the same period could be cited: the mausolea at Karabaghlar and Barda'a – see Leonid S. Bretanitskiĭ, *Zodchestvo Azerbaidhzana XII–XV vv. i ego mesto arkhitekture Perednego*

for example, have similar overall square Kufic decoration on their exterior facades. Only the choice of red as the principal colour strikes a false note, since there is no parallel for this in contemporary architecture. So here we catch the artist using not his eyes but his imagination.

The stationary horse bisected or otherwise abbreviated by the margin recurs in several illustrations in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*,[51] as do the hats[52] and even the trio of birds.[53] The contorted branches of the tree take up a theme familiar throughout the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, perhaps even to the extent of commenting on the action. Thus the happy meeting between Rustam and Isfandiyar which defuses tension and averts war is celebrated by the branches closest to them bursting into blossom. This may well be yet another example of the pathetic fallacy to which the painters of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* occasionally had recourse.[54] The damage which the central and right-hand section of this painting has undergone makes it hard to reach definite conclusions about these parts of the painting, but enough remains to make it clear that while the main figures are strung out at intervals along a more or less frontal plane, there are enough indications of secondary planes by means of overlapping coulisses. Above all, the uncomfortable spatial relationship between the building itself and the men outside it is sufficiently in accord with the practice elsewhere in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*[55] to make it plausible that this painting was a product of the same atelier. In relation to the building, the heroes embracing each other are of colossal size, the clearest possible signal that what counts in this story is the human beings, who tower over their setting.

Not surprisingly, there are also numerous lesser points of contact between this picture in H. 2153 and several paintings from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. For example, the facial types encountered in this Istanbul image have clear parallels in several paintings there. Thus the flushed face and protuberant eyes of the principal attendant find parallels among the courtiers attending Zav and in Faramarz's rout of the Kabulis.[56] Overlapping horses are something of a signature feature of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[57] So too are the carefully individualised attendants who look after the horses or ride them, or the courtiers in an enthronement scene, a striking advance on the undifferentiated attendant courtiers or riders in the *World History* of Rashid al-Din. In the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* there is sometimes an entire gallery of such faces, whether attending a monarch[58] or watching his heroic feats from a safe distance.[59] One landscape detail in H. 2153, fol. 8r, offers similarly close points of contact with canonical paintings from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, namely the closely packed

Vostoka, Moscow 1966, p. 172, pl. 94, and p. 175, pl. 97.

51 *E.g.* Brian 18, 31, 37–8, 42, 46, and 49.

52 *Cf.* Schroeder, "Ahmed Musa", p. 121 (types a [11 examples in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*], c [six examples] and cc).

53 *E.g.* Brian 22.

54 *E.g.* Brian 10, 20, 41, and 42.

55 *E.g.* Brian 3, 6, 14–15, 17, 28, 32–3, 44, 49–50, 52, and 54–7.

56 Brian 14 and Brian 25.

57 *E.g.* Brian 5, 16, 19, 25, 27, 30, 33–4, 36, and 41.

58 *E.g.* Brian 11, 14–15, 17, and 28.

59 *E.g.* Brian 33.

overlapping planes of the landscape, with a brown horizon to each coulisse, from which sprout continuous clumps of grass.[60] Secondary passages such as these, while they have a generic similarity to landscape elements in other manuscripts,[61] can as it were betray the fingerprints of a single artist and his own particular method of tackling such subject matter, for instance in the distinctive colour combination of dirty cream and a dull bottle green.

Another tiny detail in this painting, the bushy hair of Rustam's sidelocks, which could alternatively be read as earflaps attached to a round helmet, recurs repeatedly in the battle between Rustam's and Isfandiyar's families[62] and in the single combat in which Rustam and Isfandiyar test each other,[63] a scene which has the same unusual gold background as the present picture. Indeed, it is likely enough that a single artist would be charged with a series of successive related images in a given section of the epic. The same phenomenon can be recognised in a trio of images involving Zal, depicted as chubby-cheeked and so young as to seem baby-faced, two of them in H. 2153, while the third, which is safely in the canon, depicts Zal shinning up a tree to reach Rudaba's balcony.[64] These, then, are two sets of examples in which the location of an event in the poem becomes a key factor in determining whether a given detached painting was originally intended as part of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.

It seems, then, that a formidable tally of resemblances to canonical images from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* can be found in this album painting, and these parallels cover a remarkably wide range. First, one may cite the dimensions of the picture and the unique emphasis on the decorative caption, plus the codicological evidence suggesting that there is a missing picture at this point in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[65] But in addition to all these factors, this painting also employs certain major distinctive themes which recur in the canonical paintings of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. These include the watching woman, the major pictorial role allocated to the tree, the disposal of the principal figures *seriatim* across the frontal plane, the uncomfortable relationship between the figures and the architecture, the overlapping horses cut off by the frame, the interest in individual faces, the gold background, and the particular treatment of the coulisse system for rendering successive planes.

An Analysis of *Rustam Attacks the Turanians by Night* (fig. 16.12)

The second candidate for admission to the select band of ex-Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*

60 *E.g.* Brian 13, 14, and 20. The repetition of certain individual details – it would be easy to draw up a long list – in both the Rashid al-Din *World History* and the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* suggests that preparatory drawings may have existed for such details.

61 Such as the Morgan Bestiary; for an example, see Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva 1961, p. 21.

62 Brian 19.

63 Brian 20.

64 Zal shoots a tree (fig. 16.10); Zal shoots water-birds (fig. 16.6); and Brian 9. *Cf.* n. 31 above for possible further cases of this phenomenon.

65 Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, p. 10.



FIGURE 16.12 Rustam Attacks the Turanians by Night, *probably from the Great Mongol* Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, before 1336.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol.72, p. 24.*

paintings is a battle scene from the Diez albums measuring twenty-seven and half by twenty-one and a half centimetres (Diez A fol. 72, p. 24).[66] It depicts Rustam – or at least a warrior in a tiger-skin cuirass, even if his headgear is not Rustam's[67] – launching a night-time charge on the Turanians.[68] İpşiroğlu noted an inscription over his shoulder reading "Rustam-i Zal" and an illegible signature over his head and to the right.[69] This scene seems to fall into the Sistani part of the epic,[70] and in this respect one might also cite another

66 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 48; he categorises it as post-Ilkhanid, as does Basil Gray, "History of Miniature Painting: The Fourteenth Century", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, London 1979, p. 97, pl. 63, and p. 98.

67 For some of the variations in the iconography of Rustam, see Basil W. Robinson, "Persian painting and the national epic", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982), pp. 277, 296–297, and figs. 1, 8–9, 11–13, 15, 19, 20–22, and 24.

68 See Arthur G. Warner and Edmond Warner (tr.), *The Shahnama of Firdausi*, London 1909, vol. 4, p. 226; nor is this the only night attack in Firdausi's text.

69 İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben*, p. 48.

70 Saghi Gazerani kindly informs me that it comes at the end of the episode of Bizhan and Manizha (another notable absentee from the iconography of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*). *Cf.* Eleanor G. Sims, "Images of Firdausi's Shahnama in the Diez Albums in the Berlin State Library" in



FIGURE 16.13 Bahman Sees the Bodies of Garshasp, Nariman, Sam, and Rustam in Their Coffins, Shāhnāma, *Tabriz, date uncertain.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol.72, p. 29.*

painting from the Diez albums, the image of Bahman looking at the four dead kings, an episode from the *Bahmānnāma*[71] and one which, incidentally, has several points of contact with images from the canon of Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* paintings (fig. 16.13).[72]

In this scene of a nocturnal battle, the artist signals by the midnight blue sky, festooned with stars, and the huge full moon, that this attack is occurring at night,[73] but otherwise there is no hint of darkness and light plays evenly over the whole scene. The instant impression of this painting is *echt* Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* both in its sombre blaze of colour and in the unsparing violence which bursts the confines of the page. Equally typical is the way that it uses all the space, down to the straggling

Gonnella and Rauch (eds.), *Heroic Times*, p. 34.

71 See the comments by Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India: The British Library Collections*, London 1983, pp. 45–47 and pl. 3, and those of Sims, "Images of Firdausi's *Shahnama*", pp. 32 and 116–117.

72 The claims of this painting to be included in the canon merit close investigation.

73 Grube notes the predilection for night scenes on the part of painters who worked on the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (*Muslim Miniature Paintings*, p. 16). *Cf.* also H. 2153, fol. 22v (Manuchihr slaying Tur; see fig. 16.7).

leafless black branches of a tree in the top left-hand corner and the foot of the fallen warrior neatly filling the bottom left-hand corner.

But this is no tidy painting. Rustam's savage irruption causes instant panic. Discarded bits and pieces of military equipment litter the foreground.[74] His impetuous desire to get at the enemy and deliver a killer blow with his ox-head mace[75] is conveyed by the way he strains forward in the saddle, and that same diagonal defines, in mirror fashion, the chaotic jumble of his fleeing foes, again a device familiar in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[76] Here attention focuses on the immediate target of Rustam's bloodlust, a cringing warrior looking back, his hands raised, palms upward, imploringly but to no avail, as he attempts to ward off the predestined blow. His teeth are bared in a rictus of terror as his doom descends on him. Similar images recur in other battle scenes in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*.[77] Most of his fellow riders have eyes only for the safety of the margin, into which the horse in the corner has all but disappeared, bolting at full tilt out of the page. Two of the enemy have turned their backs so completely that their faces are invisible; this *repoussoir* device is something of a trademark in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. The clotted mass of seven figures does duty for a whole army reduced to hopeless rout.

Meanwhile, further back, Rustam's troops – upright, steady, maintaining a disciplined formation and looking straight ahead with their banners and *tūgh*s held aloft with repetitive geometry at a forty-five degree angle – present a powerful contrast to the headlong, disordered flight of the Turanians. That contrast depends to some degree on the discriminating use of overlap, for example in the case of the horses. This arresting image fits comfortably into the pattern of battle scenes in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* and indeed is packed with quotations from them: the grisly predella containing a disregarded corpse with outflung arm and half-open mouth contorted in agony, the fallen and broken lance and banner, and the discarded quiver and drum with its trailing straps and linked drumsticks nearby;[78] the use of a banded technicolour cuirass; the ruffled sleeves; the heads swathed in mail shown from behind and the faces half muffled in mail (both devices used to sinister effect); the banded, plumed conical helmet; and the disappearing horse – not to mention tiny and apparently insignificant details like the use of strong black outlines,[79] the technique of rendering cloth by contrasting darker with lighter versions of the ground colour, or rendering the hand as a semi-circle. Yet it is also a strikingly original image, from the rolling eye of the central war horse to the resplendent figure of Rustam himself in his panther- or tiger-skin cuirass.

The handling of tiny details is consistently assured. Rustam's leopard-tail quiver has a striding gold three-clawed dragon on a black ground, and a similar

74 *Cf.* Brian 19, 25 and 27.

75 This is normally an attribute of Faridun.

76 *E.g.* Brian 25, 27, and 30.

77 Brian 25.

78 This motif first appears in the *World History* of Rashid al-Din (Rice, *Illustrations*, pl. 39).

79 This practice sometimes leads to surprising solecisms, such as the black outline to Rustam's back, which goes under rather than over the yellow metal studs of his cuirass.

beast in gold on his circular light blue saddlecloth. Rustam's red boots have black slip-ons with clusters of golden dots, while his saddle has a high scarlet pommel. The cuirass favoured by the fleeing Turanians is banded or gridded in contrasting bronze and red, while one of them trails an engraved silver scabbard.

Close study of this painting reveals – as indeed do many other images from the established canon of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* – that it has suffered grievous damage over the centuries. It has been delaminated and is quite thin. There are no signs of text on the reverse side, but this is not surprising; the experiments of Demotte or his assistants in splitting apart pages of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* give ample precedent for this in recent times, and there is no reason to doubt that such techniques were known in the medieval period. And since it is standard in the Diez albums for paintings to have lost the text that was formerly on their reverse sides, it seems probable that the process of delamination was a familiar and relatively easy one, practised on an industrial scale and surely a trick that artists in a workshop would learn as a matter of course. But the process obviously tends to distress the pages and paintings which are treated in this way. So not surprisingly the surface of this painting is badly abraded in places, and it may well be that the night sky has suffered repainting, as has the mane and neck of Rakhsh and the whole of the roan behind Rakhsh. There has also been repasting of a thin strip a couple of centimetres across at the far right side, all the way down; and at some stage the painting was folded down the middle. At nine o'clock there is paper loss, an oblong hole. Under magnification it becomes plain that the paint surface has flaked away in places and is rough. Rustam's face has lost almost all its features and is a muddy mess.

The inner frame consists of a gold strip with inner and outer outlining in black. The outer frame gives the impression of being light blue with an upper outline in gold, but the damaged portions show clearly that this light blue was painted onto the ultramarine of the sky and then in turn had a gold surface applied to it. This gold surface had three thin black lines close together as its upper frame. It therefore looks as though the frame was not only added later (*cf.* Julian Raby's article in this volume) but also that it made serious inroads on the painting itself. A black line marks the horizon and the outline of the mace. The outline of Rakhsh is done with a double line, the inner brown, the outer black. In other words, strong black outlines are standard procedure, for which again parallels in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* come to mind.[80]

Closing Reflections

The detailed discussion of these two paintings invites some general remarks on the whole problem of repatriation. The set of paintings on which the book by Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, like the foundational articles by Doris Brian, Eric Schroeder, and Abolala Soudavar, was based has provided a reassuringly solid foundation for determining the stylistic parameters of the paintings in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, since each has an accompanying text. The page size, the paper type, the six-column layout, the

80 *E.g.* Brian 2 and 38.

marginal lining, and the calligraphy all combine to create a consistent profile for this manuscript, a profile by which subsequent candidates for inclusion could be assessed. Not one of these elements, moreover, is essentially a matter of subjective opinion, although the marginal lines are sometimes inconsistent. But as is well known, the paintings in the albums have been removed from their original context, which means that all this supporting data has been lost. So art historians who try to identify the provenance of these dispersed leaves have lost all too many of their bearings and are forced to search for clues in the paintings themselves. That is when subjectivity becomes a problem. And even then, there are difficulties galore ahead.

Take the issue of dimensions, for example. In the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* there is no such thing as a standard size of painting. The dimensions vary from fourteen by twenty centimetres to twenty-seven by twenty-nine, and, given that the current canon accounts for only a little more than a quarter of the probable original total, it is likely enough that still larger and still smaller paintings formed part of the original complement of illustrations. So one should beware of excluding possible candidates on those grounds. Even a manuscript as conservative in its layout as the Edinburgh fragment of Rashid al-Din's *World History* can confound expectations by including, alongside scores of much larger illustrations, the diminutive box in which Moses fells the giant Og – truly the joker in the pack.[81]

A problem of quite a different kind is posed by the continuation of characteristic features of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* into the next generation. There is no reason to suppose that the talented artists – particularly the *most* talented artists – of that masterpiece simply stopped painting in 1336 or thereabouts. On the contrary, it is likely enough, as noted above, that they continued to work on other projects and for other patrons. So some of their surviving work, for all that it might seem to fit into the canon of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, may very well not belong there.

Moreover, it seems probable that this masterpiece stood as a benchmark for the following generations, remembered as the very ideal of a royal *Shāhnāma*; this was the one to beat. This would explain an otherwise puzzling aspect of the Diez albums – the substantial number of big, ambitious *Shāhnāma* scenes that they contain. Their presence documents, in the most telling fashion, how this one manuscript had changed the course of *Shāhnāma* illustration. The fact that some of these scenes depict episodes from the Sistani epics suggests that already at this time the *Shāhnāma* was being expanded and infiltrated by other elements; and it seems that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* already had this feature.

And just as some painters working on the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* were old-fashioned, working for example in a modified Rashidiyya style,[82] so too others were well ahead of their time. So it is legitimate to expect foreshadowings of Jalayirid modes in some of the paintings in the canon. It is also entirely possible that the well-established canon of fifty-eight paintings that currently make up the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* does not include

81 Rice, *Illustrations*, 64, pl. 13.

82 *E.g.* Brian 20 and 32. *Cf.* Stchoukine, "Peintures", pp. 85 and 95.



FIGURE 16.14
Man Climbing Up a Rope, *unknown text, uncertain provenance, probably after 1340.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol.71, p. 25, no. 1.*

specimens of the work of all the masters who worked on this masterpiece – there would be nothing strange in that if there were between 205 and 216 paintings originally, as Mahdavi estimates. In the current state of knowledge, of course, the present canon must remain the basic yardstick by which potential additions to it are judged; it is merely salutary to remember how approximate that yardstick must be, excluding as it does some three-quarters of the probable original total of paintings. As noted earlier, one cannot postulate a single house style, as one encounters in the Rashidiyya school. Rather, the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* contains several co-existing house styles, or at least several quite distinct groups of paintings whose internal consistency suggests the impact in each case of a single formidable artistic personality, a scenario explored in depth by Eric Schroeder[83] and Ivan Stchoukine[84] generations ago.

Finally, one should expect to encounter direct quotations from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* in later work. Some are so specific that there is little doubt that this manuscript was the source. Typical examples include a clumsy calque of Zal climbing up to Rudaba (fig. 16.14),[85] or the faceless figure disappearing enigmatically into a doorway,[86] or the woman watching

83 Schroeder, "Ahmed Musa", pp. 132–134.
84 Stchoukine, "Peintures", pp. 83–96.
85 Diez A fol. 71, p. 25, no. 1. *Cf.* Brian 9.
86 Diez A fol. 71, p. 8; *cf.* Brian 8. It must be admitted, however, that this motif is already to be found in the Edinburgh fragment of the *World History* of Rashid al-Din (fol. 1r).



FIGURE 16.15 Mounted Ruler Contemplating a Dead Warrior, *unknown text, uncertain provenance, probably after 1340.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol.71, p. 33.*

the main scene from an upper storey (fig. 16.15).[87] On the other hand, there are many that are of a more generic nature, notably the numerous reprises of the great set-piece battles of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*,[88] or a dead body spread-eagled in the upper part of a picture[89] or at its base,[90] or reduced versions of the great enthronement scenes,[91] or a startled horse swerving round to face the viewer[92] or to avoid being gored by a horned animal.[93] Not surprisingly, it is sometimes hard to tell original and copy apart. The sheer number and range of these

Recent unpublished research by Sheila Blair has shed a flood of light on this theme and highlighted its Chinese origins. See her paper (forthcoming in *Iranian Studies*) "Illustrating History: Rashid al-Din and his *Compendium of Chronicles*".

87 Diez A fol. 71, p. 33.

88 Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 4; Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1 (which seems to be Jalayirid, to judge by the use of the margin); Diez A fol. 70, p. 20; or Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 1. In some of these cases it is less the entire scene which owes much to the example of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* but rather a particular detail. For example, in Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 1, the archer who has his back to the viewer can be seen in Brian 27.

89 Diez A fol. 72, p. 28.

90 Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no 6; Diez A fol. 71, p. 43, no. 1.

91 Diez A fol. 71, p. 8; Diez A fol. 71, p. 21.

92 This too is found in Diez A fol. 72, p. 28. *Cf.* also the probably Jalayirid Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1. It is noticeable how many of these later versions of details from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* turn up in Diez album A fols. 71 and 72.

93 Diez A fol. 71, p. 46, no. 5 (*cf.* Brian 33).

borrowings speaks for the immense impact of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* on the painters of the next couple of generations.

What, then, given this range of expression within the canon of fifty-eight paintings, would tend to exclude a given painting from being considered as a possible addition to that canon? Space is too short to discuss this issue in detail, but certain disqualifying features stand out, and three of them deserve brief consideration here.[94] These are figures of disproportionate size; certain facial features; and a distinctive type of turban. Several fourteenth-century paintings in the Diez albums contain figures so huge that they not only dominate the pictorial space but destroy the balance of the whole picture. Their heaviness and their frozen quality are profoundly at odds with the spatial subtlety that is such an abiding trademark of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma.* Similarly, big round unlined faces, or exclusively beardless ones, or those with almond eyes aslant, carefully trimmed beards and well-barbered moustaches – a type well represented in H. 2153 in Istanbul – might well be signals of a later period. The canon contains not a single face of either kind. But against this one must remember once again that the canon includes only about a quarter of the original number of images probably planned for the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. So it is more than likely that some paintings which were originally part of this masterpiece should have features not found in the canon as presently constituted. Finally, a turban fashion that recurs frequently in fourteenth-century paintings in the Diez albums but not in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* has several distinctive features, which may include a high crown topped by a coloured triangular patch, a single broad decorative band of diminishing width, a loop under the chin, and six or more overlapping pleats (fig. 16.16). Given that the paintings of the canon illustrate a wide range of turbans that nevertheless do not include this particular type, which is very common in the Diez albums, such turbans may provisionally be taken in general as evidence of later work. The three elements discussed in this paragraph, and no doubt many other characteristics in these subtle and complex paintings, await a more detailed analysis, which may well modify the very tentative conclusions reached here.

This paper has advanced the claims of only two of the scores of fourteenth-century paintings contained in the Berlin and Istanbul albums to be part of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* as originally conceived. I believe that strong cases could be made for at least a further seven paintings, making a grand total of nine. But that discussion is for another time and place. This paper will have achieved its aim if it brings the whole issue of repatriation back into general discussion.

94 For general remarks on this enigmatic group of paintings, see Sims, "Images of Firdausi's *Shahnama*", p. 31 and *eadem*, "Four Paintings, Probably from one or more Post-Ilkhanid Manuscripts of the *Shahnama*", in *Heroic Times*, pp. 111–112.



FIGURE 16.16 Captive Brought Before Enthroned Ruler, *unknown text, uncertain provenance, probably after 1340. SBB-PK, Diez A fol.71, p. 35.*

CHAPTER 17

The Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*

Bernard O'Kane

Early Jalayirid Painting

Is or was there any such thing as the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*? Before attempting to answer this question, it may be useful to summarize very briefly the state of knowledge (or rather our lack of it) regarding early Jalayirid painting.

The Jalayirids, a Mongol tribe, were one of several petty principalities that emerged as successors to the Ilkhanids. They controlled the territory of ʿIraq-i ʿArab and Azerbaijan for most of their reign (*c.* 1336–1410). The first Jalayirid ruler, Shaykh Hasan-i Buzurg (r. 1340–1356) ruled in his own name initially from Baghdad, but his earlier possession of Tabriz just after the death of Abu Saʿid, where he ruled in the name of a puppet Ilkhanid khan, and his later orderly retreat to Baghdad, may have enabled him to maintain in his possession the most important manuscripts of the Ilkhanid atelier. We have no definite knowledge of illustrated manuscripts made under Shaykh Hasan's reign.[1]

Shaykh Hasan-i Buzurg's successor was his son Shaykh Uvays (r. 1356–74). Despite continuing battles with surrounding powers – the Qara Quyunlu, Shirvan-Shah and Golden Horde to the north and the Muzaffarids to the east, Uvays was able to expand from Baghdad to Azerbaijan, with Tabriz being taken in 1358, and ʿIraq-i ʿAjam (northern central Iran) added to his territory shortly afterwards. Uvays based himself in Tabriz for the rest of this reign. His artistic interests and abilities were chronicled by Dawlatshah as follows:

> He was a refined and artistic ruler, handsome, generous, and quite capable in various arts. He drew pictures in the Wasiti style at which painters were astonished. Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy, the most outstanding exponent of

1 Although there are several candidates, such as the *Garshāspnāma* of 1354 (see Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 60–5), which would fit as easily into his dominions as those of any other candidates. The Cairo *Kalīla and Dimna* was written in 1343 and was still in Jalayirid hands when the illustrations were added some forty years later. It may also therefore have been planned in Shaykh Hasan's reign; see Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late-Fourteenth Century*, London 2003, Appendix 18. The copy of *al-Mā' al-waraqī wa 'l-arḍ al-najmiyya* (also known as the *Allegory of Alchemy*) of Muhammad b. Umayl b. ʿAbdallah, dated 11 Muharram AH 740 (20 July 1339), Topkapı Saray Library, Ahmet III, 2075, also seems to have had its frontispiece added at around the same time as the paintings of Cairo; it too may have been designed for the library of Shaykh Hasan. For this manuscript, see Bishr Farès, "Figures Magiques", in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen, Berlin 1959, pp. 156–69, figs. 3a–b.

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> the art in his day, was his protégé and pupil.[2]

Even allowing for poetic license, that Uvays should be credited with being not just a pupil but a teacher of painting is clear evidence for his love for it, and marks him out as a likely patron. Other evidence for the importance of the arts to the period of Uvays comes from the well-known preface by Dust Muhammad to the Bahram Mirza album (dated 1544). In it, Shams al-Din, one of the most important artists of his day, is also credited as the master of Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy. According to Dust Muhammad, Shams al-Din received his training from Ahmad Musa, the chief artist of the Ilkhanid court, during the reign of Sultan Uvays, indicating both the continuity of Jalayirid with Ilkhanid painting and the flourishing of the royal atelier at the time.[3]

But the almost complete lack of major dated metropolitan manuscripts between the *Jamiʿ al-tavārīkh* of 1314[4] and the Jalayirid *Khamsa* of Nizami and the *Mathnavī*s of Khvaju Kirmani manuscripts of the 1380s and 90s[5] makes establishing a chronology for paintings between these dates problematic. This is all the more so with regard to paintings in albums, whether specifically made as practice drawings or sketches for the albums, or orphaned from their original manuscripts.[6] This would account for some of the many disagreements in the past on the dating of the some thirty paintings in the Topkapı Saray albums that have been identified as *Shāhnāma* illustrations.[7]

In 1970 Nurhan Atasoy made the only major study to date of these paintings, dividing them into six groups and dating all but one of the groups between 1330 and the end of the fourteenth century, the exception being early Timurid.[8] At that time she also dated the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* to the period 1330–1375.[9] There is now general agreement that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* dates from the 1330s[10] and that the Istanbul University Library *Kalīla and Dimna* is from the reign of Sultan

2 Mir Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Taẕkirat al-Shuʿarā'*, 197, trans. W.M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989, p. 12.

3 W.M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Supplements to Muqarnas, Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture, 10), Leiden 2001, p. 13.

4 Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London 1995.

5 Ursula Sims-Williams, "An illustrated 14th century Khamsah by Khvaju Kirmani", http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2013/07/an-illustrated-14th-century-khamsah-by-khvaju-kirmani.html#sthash.LuYdLHQk.dpuf (accessed 5 June 2014). One manuscript from this period is the *Garshāspnāma* of Tusi in the Topkapı Saray Library (H. 1511), whose colophon is dated to AH 755 (1354): Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 44–65.

6 I would like to thank Jere Bacharach, Robert Hillenbrand and Tara Garcia for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

7 Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-Namehs", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), pp. 19–48.

8 Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", pp. 32–3.

9 Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", p. 32.

10 Robert Hillenbrand, "The Art of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New York and London 2002, p. 158.

Uvays (1356–74).[11] This gives us some physical and stylistic characteristics to seize upon. One of these physical characteristics, being incontrovertible, is perhaps the firmest basis on which to establish a post-Ilkhanid date. This is the use of the margin, unknown in any pre-Jalayirid manuscript.[12] Admittedly, with the paintings pasted into the Istanbul and Diez albums that are missing text it can be problematic to ascertain the extent to which the margin space was used or was intended to be used. Even so, considerations of size may be of some help here, as any beyond the maximum (especially the maximum width) of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* pages are likely to have extended, or to have been planned to be extended, beyond the text space of the manuscript.[13]

All credit goes to the organizers of the symposium on the Diez albums for the detailed reproductions given to the participants, but the lack of similar documentation for the albums in the Topkapı Saray (admittedly an enormous undertaking) is a serious barrier to research.[14] To give just one example of this, the published reproductions of *The Meeting of Zal and Rudaba* show only the painting;[15] but by chance I was able to copy a photograph, kindly provided by a colleague, that demonstrates that it has eleven lines of text in six columns above the painting (fig. 17.1). For many of the illustrations published in Atasoy's article, we still have only her small black and white reproductions on which to base stylistic analysis, a significant barrier to connoisseurship. With the ongoing refurbishment of the Topkapı Saray Library rendering the originals inaccessible, this paper can therefore attempt only some preliminary observations.

Core Paintings of the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*

I will focus first on two of the paintings in the Istanbul manuscripts whose attached text is crucial to their analysis. The first

11 O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, Appendix 15. The main dissenting voice in its dating is that of Adamova, who assigns it to the second quarter of the fourteenth century (despite the lack of plausible patrons for such an elaborate royal manuscript at that time): A.T. Adamova, *Mediaeval Persian Painting: The Evolution of an Artistic Vision*, tr. and ed. J.M. Rogers, New York 2008, pp. 33–4.

12 Adamova, *Mediaeval Persian Painting*, p. 33, writes: "As the Great Mongol Šahnama pages were later remargined and in many cases the text surrounding the miniatures was re-written we cannot be certain that the paintings of this manuscript did not originally extend into the margins." I would argue that, despite the later tampering with some of the paintings, we have a sufficient corpus of original intact paintings and text, all without use of the margin, to suggest that this was still an unknown feature.

13 Obvious qualifying examples among those examined in Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", are fig. 6, *The Simurgh Carries Zal*, 31 × 19 cm); fig. 18, *Isfandiyar Kills the Dragon*, 46 × 33.5c m); fig. 19, *Battle*, double page, each c. 40 × 31 cm, apart from those mentioned in detail below.

14 Such documentation is apparently forthcoming, but not imminent. At the same time, for those images that I do have of the Istanbul albums I warmly thank Filiz Çağman, Zeren Tanındı, and Banu Mahir for their kindness in permitting the detailed photography which has made all the difference to my own ability to analyze some of these paintings.

15 Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", fig. 21, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray, Paris and London 1979, pl. XXII.



FIGURE 17.1
The Meeting of Zal and Rudaba, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 17rv.*

is *Rustam Lassoing the Witch*[16] (fig. 17.2). This has often been previously identified as *Rustam Killing the Witch*, but the text that specifies that he cleaved her in two with his sword ("bi khanjar miyānish bi du nīm kard") is not present on this page but at the top of the following; the earlier text describes how Rustam lassoed the witch before killing her. This is exactly what the painting shows, with one of Rustam's hand on the hilt of his sword and one on the sheath, as he prepares to administer the fatal blow.

The page has been tampered with in several ways. There are six columns of text in twelve lines, but the first seven lines have been pasted onto the page. Nevertheless, the layout and calligraphy are identical to the text below, and together with the continuity of the text they suggest that the original had somehow become detached and was reassembled. Atasoy was of the opinion that the whole of the margin to the left of the text had been added, but, apart from some damage to the horse's neck, I see no evidence of this. There is however, a clear horizontal line, exactly at the level of Rustam's left foot, separating the original from an addition. But the addition almost certainly reproduces what would have been there in the original, such as all of the lower body of the witch, and there is remarkable continuity in many areas, such as the exact matching of the drawing and colours of the sash and skirt of the witch. The rocky ground is also

16 Details of this can be found in Bernard O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections", *Oriental Art* 49/2 (2003), figs. 4, 7a, 9b.



FIGURE 17.2
Rustam Lassoing the Witch, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 103v (photo: B. O'Kane).*

distinctive in both, with ridges indicated by dot and dashes of a darker colour with a light wash below, a feature to which we will return. This continuity suggests that the original artist was responsible for the addition – although when this happened is a matter of speculation (I also discuss this further below). Rock faces, among the earliest in Persian painting, are present in both the original and the addition.[17]

The subsequent illustration of *The Watchman Retreats with His Ears in Hand* (fig. 17.3) has been captioned previously as *Rustam Falling Asleep at the Fifth Stage*.[18] While not inaccurate, in that Rustam is asleep, and it is part of Rustam's Fifth Course, it is not, as has been suggested, a scene where Turks passing by catch his horse and take it away, and where Rustam is grieved when he cannot find his horse upon awakening.[19] Rather, it recounts how Rustam let his horse Rakhsh graze upon some crops. While he was sleeping a watchman (*dashtivān*) in the employment of Awlad hit his leg with a stick

17 For a detail of the rock faces in the original section, see Bernard O'Kane, "Rock Faces and Rock Figures in Persian Painting", *Islamic Art* 4 (1991) (published 1993), fig. 14, and for a detail of the added section see O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam", fig. 4.

18 Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", fig. 24.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 46.



FIGURE 17.3
The Watchman Retreats with His Ears in Hand, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 100v (photo: B. O'Kane).*

and upbraided him for letting Rakhsh eat the corn, whereupon Rustam tore off the man's ears. In the painting the watchman is shown exiting left, howling, with blood streaming down his face and holding an ear in each hand. The figure on the right previously identified as a Turk is merely a rock figure – an inadvertent tribute to the artists' newfound ability in this manuscript to animate the landscape.[20]

It has been suggested that the text at the top of the painting, which has been pasted in, was irrelevant,[21] but in fact it continues exactly at the point where the text of *Rustam Lassoing the Witch* left off. The breakline[22] matches the action exactly, and it also matches with the continuing text below the painting.

The fact that the text is continuous between *Rustam Lassoing the Witch* and *The Watchman Retreats with His Ears in Hand* is significant. The style of the paintings is identical, the first is a recto, the second a

20 The topic is discussed in detail in O'Kane, "Rock Faces".

21 Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums", p. 46.

22 "Sabuk, dashtivān gūshhā bar girift, gharīvān va'zu mānda andar – shigift"– the watchman of the fields took his ears and went off, howling, amazed at him (Rustam). The concept of the breakline, which comes immediately before a painting in a manuscript, and in Persian manuscripts usually corresponds very closely to the subject of the painting, is discussed in Farhad Mehran, "The Breakline verse: The Link between Text and Image in the 'First Small' Shahnama", *Shahnama Studies* I, ed. Charles Melville, Cambridge 2006, pp. 151–70.

verso, and so it they must have originally been one folio that was split down the middle before being pasted in the album. This, long before Demotte's butchery of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, is not the only example of this in Istanbul albums. I have argued similarly for two of the contemporary Jalayirid *Kalīla wa Dimna* pages in the Istanbul University Library.[23]

Paintings of Awlad's watchman are not common, the only earlier example being one in a narrow horizontal strip format from the 1341 Inju *Shāhnāma*, where it is combined on the same page with two other strips illustrating *Rustam and the Witch* and *Rustam Lassoing Awlad*.[24] The fact that two large paintings were devoted to two of these scenes in this manuscript suggests that, if we had all the paintings, or if the manuscript's execution had been carried out as planned, it would have been very densely illustrated. This – and the quality of the paintings – greatly increases the probability that it came from the royal atelier.

The page with *The Watchman Retreats with His Ears in Hand*, in addition to the pasting in of the text, was also altered at a later stage. Rakhsh's legs were differently arranged, with their original positions rather crudely disguised by painting over them with criss-cross plant leaves. Strangely, the text was also painted over at the bottom right with a rock formation from which two dwarf trees grow. When might this have taken place?

Additional Paintings of the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*

To answer this we should first examine another related painting that shows evidence of additions similar to the enlargement of the bottom of *Rustam Lassoing the Witch*, namely *Zahhak Nailed to Mt Damavand* (fig. 17.4). This was also originally accompanied by text, as fragments of the parallel lines dividing the text space into columns are just visible beyond the top border to the right and left of Zahhak's head (fig. 17.5 top). There seem to have been three extensions, all of landscape elements: a horizontal strip at the top extending all the way to the edge of the page in the left margin; a horizontal strip at the bottom that ends where the margin begins; and the rest of the margin (fig. 17.5 bottom). The rock faces that were present in the original and additions of *Rustam Lassoing the Witch* are also found here, the largest extending across the original and the marginal addition. The strongest argument for the near contemporaneity of the additions is the continuity in the treatment of rocks, one in which the ridges are marked by concentrated dots of colour, from which streaks of a lighter shade define the nearby contours.

This method of painting rocks appears in the three paintings of this manuscript discussed so far, but it is particularly significant in that it is found in one of the Siyah Qalam group of demon paintings (and in many other Istanbul album paintings), but in no other illustrated manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have

23 O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, p. 237.

24 B.W. Robinson *et al., L'Orient d'un collectionneur: miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi*, Geneva 1992, pp. 106, 217. For the range of manuscripts illustrating this scene, see http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/card/cescene:-1254091826.



FIGURE 17.4 Zahhak Nailed to Mt. Damavand, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 82r (photo: B. O'Kane).*

argued elsewhere that this is the single most important clue we have to dating the Siyah Qalam material,[25] so there is no need to emphasize the point here. However, the narrowness of its known chronological range is relevant in dating the addition to a time close to the original.

It has been argued in particular that *Zahhak Nailed to Mt. Damavand* must have had the additions made after it was copied in Baysunghur's *Shāhnāma*, on the grounds that the Baysunghur *Shāhnāma* illustration copies the original layout of the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* painting without the additions.[26] However, this is by no means clear. The Baysunghuri artist has cropped the right edge of the original composition, omitting the holder of the royal parasol that shelters the king.[27] He has similarly cropped the left side, but also made extensive use of the margin. The text above the Jalayirid painting originally extended above the head of the man hammering a nail into Zahhak's right hand, as the remains of the double gold lines of a columnar text division tell us (fig. 17.5); the Baysunghuri artist, also working with six columns of text, has instead enlarged his composition so that the text stops above Zahhak's right elbow. It is therefore extremely unlikely that the Baysunghuri artist's alterations tell us anything about the presence or absence of the Jalayirid additions. I would maintain that the

25 O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam", pp. 2–4.

26 Adamova, *Mediaeval Persian Painting*, p. 36.

27 http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/card/ceillustration:950346324.



FIGURE 17.5
Details of fig. 17.4, showing remains of columnar text division (top); left marginal addition with rock face (bottom left); lower addition with distinctive rocky ground (bottom right).

distinctiveness of the rocky ground narrows the chronological possibilities of these additions to the Jalayirid period, and probably to an even narrower range very close to the original.

Why then were the original Jalayirid paintings altered? Presumably because the patron died and his successor was not interested in continuing the project. Instead of assembling the bifolios into quires for binding, they may have been split and mounted in albums. The compilation of albums is a practice that we know started at least as early as the reign of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (1382–1410).[28] The size and quality of the paintings argues for a royal atelier, so the choice of original patron comes down to Hasan-i Buzurg (d. 1356) or his son Uvays (d. 1374), a gap of eighteen years. I have suggested elsewhere that the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* paintings are contemporary with the Istanbul University Library *Kalīla and Dimna*, within the reign of Sultan Uvays.[29] The choice presents a conundrum either way: opt for Hasan and one has an uncomfortable gap between 1356 and the dated Jalayirid *Khamsa* of Nizami and *Mathnavī*s of Khvaju Kirmani of the 1380s and 90s;[30] opt for Uvays and one has an uncomfortable gap between the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* (accepting a date for it of *c.* 1335) and the reign of Uvays (r. 1356–74). Probably non-royal or provincial illustrated manuscripts like the *Garshāspnāma* of Tusi in the Topkapı Saray Library (H. 674), dated AH 755 (1354)[31] and the Muzaffarid *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi, Topkapı Saray Library (H. 1511) of AH 772 (1371)[32] are not of much help in this respect.

Jalayirid Diez Album Paintings

However, in the Diez albums there are several candidates for royal painting in the 1340s-1350s, in particular a series of illustrations from *Shāhnāma*-like epics. Many of these may have come from the same

28 O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam", n. 72.

29 O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, p. 233.

30 See note 2.

31 Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures".

32 Bernard O'Kane, "The Bihbihani Anthology and Its Antecedents", *Oriental Art* 45/4 (1999/2000), p. 11.



FIGURE 17.6
Battle Scene, c. *1335–1355*. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 17, no. 1.*



FIGURE 17.7
Torture of Captives, c. *1335–1355*. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1.*

manuscript originally.[33] Their scale is the first criterion that might suggest a royal patron. Their width, probably corresponding to the text columns, was around 27 or 27.5cm, close to the 29cm width of the text space of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. This is exceeded in a couple of paintings that make use of the margin, a clear sign, as discussed above, of post-Ilkhanid painting. The first of these is a battle scene (fig. 17.6). Here the artist painted over the original rulings, but there is no doubt that this was the work of the same painter. The second, showing four unhappy warriors lying down with buttocks exposed (fig. 17.7), looks to be a scene of punishment (although I am happy to accept the

33 A preliminary dating (*c.* 1330–1350) and grouping of some of these can be found in *Heroic Times: A Thousand Years of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch, Munich and Berlin 2012, cat.nos. 33–37.

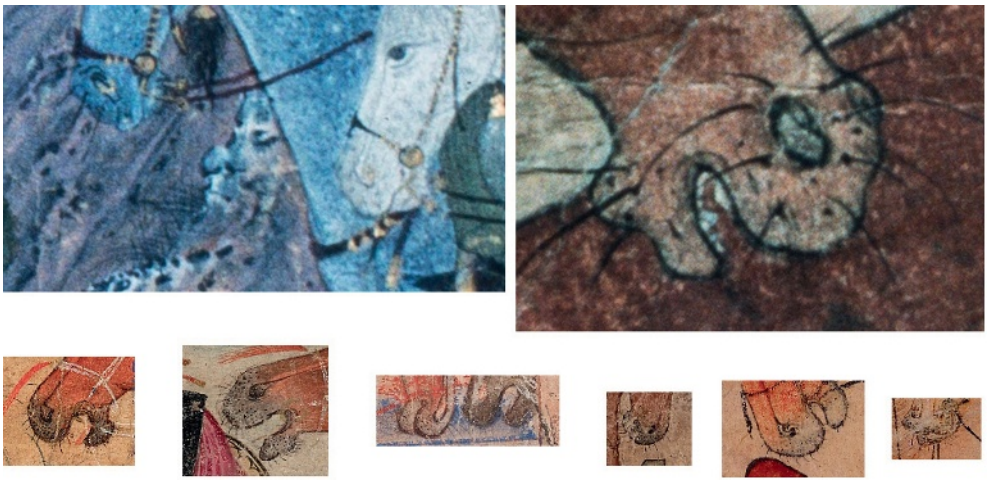


FIGURE 17.8 *Horses with hairy muzzles*
Top row: left to right: details of fig. 17.4, fig. 17.2.
Bottom row: left to right: details of Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 1; Diez A fol. 71, p. 33; Diez A fol. 71, p. 37; Diez A fol. 72, p. 26; Diez A fol. 72, p. 27.

suggestion that Abolala Soudavar made while viewing the painting at the exhibition that it could be one of branding rather than whipping).[34] Here again there are faint ruler lines visible under the figures in the margin extension, although in this case they are much less obvious than in the previous example.

Another exclusively Jalayirid characteristic, mentioned above, is the depiction of horses with hairy muzzles; this occurs in many of the group of Diez epic paintings (fig. 17.8). Several of these also include a plant with green or blue leaves at the base shading to yellow and red, sometimes dotted near the tip, a form that is also a Jalayirid characteristic, appearing in the Istanbul University *Kalīla and Dimna*, for instance (fig. 17.9). Yet another characteristic that not only links many of the paintings in this group, but is unique to the group, is a distinctive way of depicting grass. It is rendered in small, parallel, mostly vertical strokes (fig. 17.10), as in the painting of an Amazonian woman striking a man, watched by astonished onlookers. While I believe that these small unconscious characteristics may be crucial in determining date and provenance, the big picture also supports a date in the 1340s–50s for this group. The figures are large relative to the landscape, like most in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, but are markedly different from their much smaller scale in the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* illustrations.

34 The backhanded "striking" pose and small size of the implement argue against whipping. Could the red substance in the metal oval tray held by the nearby figure be a wax-based paste to alleviate burning? Wax pastes were common ancient burn remedies. See Roberto Fernandez, "The Historical Evolution of Burn Surgery": http://www.dmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Fernandez-Historical-Evolution-of-Burn-Surgery.pdf (accessed 4 June 2014).



FIGURE 17.9 *Leaves with red-dotted tips*
Clockwise from top left: details of The Crane Deceives the Crab, Kalīla and Dimna. *Istanbul University Library, F. 1422, fol. 25r;* ibid., Kardanah's Escape, Kalīla and Dimna, *Istanbul University Library, F. 1422, fol. 19v; Diez A fol. 72, p. 27; Diez A fol. 72, p. 20; Diez A fol. 71, p. 29, no. 1; Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 1.*



FIGURE 17.10 *Grass*
Left to right: details of Diez A fol. 71, p. 15; Diez A fol. 71, p. 24; Diez A fol. 72, p. 20; Diez A fol. 72, p. 23.



FIGURE 17.11
Manuchihr Kills Tur, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 102r (photo: B. O'Kane).*

As pointed out by Robert Hillenbrand in this volume, it is also very likely that several of the painters of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* continued to work for Jalayirid patrons, presumably developing their style along the way. The continuity in master–pupil relationships is made explicit by Dust Muhammad in the preface to the Bahram Mirza album: from Ahmad Musa at the time of Abu Saʿid to his pupil Amir Dawlatyar, to his pupil in turn Ustad Shams al-Din, who worked at the time of Sultan Uvays.[35] Intriguingly, Ustad Shams al-Din is said, when Sultan Uvays died, not to have entered anyone else's service – could this be the reason for the incomplete state of the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* pages? Dust Muhammad also tells us that Shams al-Din was installed in the house of his own pupil ʿAbd al-Hayy, "constantly enjoying leisure", a state which may well have been conducive to tinkering with the pages of an unfinished project in an album.[36]

We know of two others album pages that have text in the same format and calligraphy as those mentioned above. One, *The Meeting of Zal and Rudaba* (mentioned above) is another of the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* paintings that was copied in the Baysunghur *Shāhnāma* (fig. 17.1). The breakline of the text corresponds to the action of the painting: "They kissed and clung intoxicate with love. What lion hunteth not the onager?"[37] The second is *Manuchihr Kills Tur* (fig. 17.11). The painting corresponds to the moment when, as Tur admitted defeat and tried to flee, Manuchihr speared him from behind.

35 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Trans. Warner and Warner: http://etcweb.princeton.edu/shahnama/v1.htm, p. 272.



FIGURE 17.12 *From left to right:*
Bahram Gur Fighting the Wolf, *Cambridge, MA., Harvard Art Museums, 1960,190.*
Isfandiyar Fighting the Wolves, *reign of Shaykh Uvays (1356–74). Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 73v.* Isfandiyar Fighting the Wolves, *Shāhnāma, 833/1430. Teheran, Gulistan Palace Museum, ms. 716, p. 393.*

But this is an exceptional case where the action depicted[38] (Warner 1:221) takes place in the text thirty-three couplets later than the break verse (Warner 1:219).[39] One of the characteristics of most manuscripts in general, and of early ones in particular, is the faithfulness with which they adhere to the subject matter suggested by the breakline, so the lack of adherence here is all the more surprising.[40] The subject matter of the text before the breakline is merely the massing of Manuchihr's army, so it is perhaps not surprising that the artist wanted to pick a nearby, more dramatic, moment to illustrate, even if this still does not explain why the calligrapher broke off at an earlier point.[41]

Given that the Baysunghur *Shāhnāma* has copies of three earlier paintings from the same album, one can also assume that all three were in the same manuscript. That being the case, *Isfandiyar Fighting the Wolves*, now without text, must also have been part of the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*. A more detailed comparison of a Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* version of a similar subject (*Bahram Gur Fighting the Wolf*), and of the Jalayirid original and its Timurid copy is worthwhile for the light it can shed on the arc of development within the century of the production of all three (fig. 17.12).

Comparing first the Ilkhanid and Jalayirid paintings, the vertical format of the Jalayirid painting enabled the artist to open up the landscape and create a much greater sense of depth. It is not that he used vanishing point perspective – the bushes and tree-stumps on the rocky horizon at the bottom of the painting are even smaller than those at the top – but

38 *Ibid.*, 1:221.

39 *Ibid.*, 1:219.

40 Although other folios mentioned earlier have some text pasted in, there seems to be no evidence for this here.

41 I thank Jere Bacharach for this observation.

the spaciousness of the setting creates an arena that stretches from the main action in the foreground to the gradually receding planes of the far mountaintops wreathed in clouds. Two flying geese at the top right have had their bodies truncated, indicating that a portion the top of the painting has been cut off. Despite the text of the Bahram Gur incident describing the arrows that he shot at the wolf, or the use of his sword to behead the monster, the painting depicts him at rest afterwards. The Jalayirid painting shows the height of the action, the wolves weakened by arrows but still a potential threat, about to succumb to the blow of the curved sword that Isfandiyar intends to deliver.

Although the Timurid painting was a close copy of the Jalayirid one, the differences between them are almost as marked. The landscape has been simplified, with the top horizon reduced to two peaks. Instead of the Jalayirid natural brown colour of the ground, devoid of flowers, the Timurid ground is lightened and provided with regular tufts of grass, and the steppe and horizon are dotted with flowering shrubs and trees. The rocks have changed from rugged natural outcrops to coral-like clumps. The springtime atmosphere is enhanced by decorative birds dotted throughout the painting. Isfandiyar's horse has been prettified and reduced to a size that means it would be unlikely to support its rider. The hero retains his former pose, but the element of tension – will he triumph? – is vitiated by his gaze, which is now serenely cast towards the distant horizon over the head of the wolf. The Timurid artist tried to accentuate the drama by depicting blood gushing from both wolves, but in the Jalayirid painting the lower wolf is still a potential threat. By moving it to the right to accommodate his more vertical format, the Timurid artist destroyed any remnant of menace.[42]

The paintings of the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* (together with their contemporaries in the Istanbul University *Kalīla and Dimna*) thus stand at a pivotal point in Persian painting. The more frequent use of a vertical format often ensured a larger proportion of the page was taken up with painting rather than text than was the case with the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*. This, and a greater naturalism in landscape, texture, and figural depiction, permitted more vivid dramas, and created an opportunity to fuse different currents of artistic practice such as those that made Mughal painting so exciting over two centuries later. One could argue that, exquisite as later Persian painting might be, it was a step back from the masterpieces of the middle Jalayirid period.

Conclusion

To return to the question with which we opened this paper: is or was there any such thing as the Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*? In the Istanbul albums there are paintings of the finest quality from one or possibly even more *Shāhnāma*s that certainly date from the Jalayirid period. Several of them have text of the same dimensions that suggest they belonged to the same manuscript. Others have enough similarities in format and style to suggest strongly that they were

42 The only adequate analysis of the aesthetics of this manuscript to date is Robert Hillenbrand, "Exploring a Neglected Masterpiece: The Gulistan *Shahnama* of Baysunghur", *Iranian Studies* 43 (2010), pp. 97–126.

also part of the same manuscript. If it becomes possible to detach the paintings from their mounts and to examine their backs, or if more refined carbon dating can be carried out, the evidence for matches should become more conclusive. But even if we do not have the relatively neat package of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, we have enough to suggest that its Jalayirid successor was both as prolific in its paintings and as powerful in its artistry to more than match it, well deserving the epithet of "great".

CHAPTER 18

The *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and the Diez and Istanbul Albums

Massumeh Farhad

The Diez and Istanbul albums include an exceptional body of paintings and drawings from the latter part of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century when the Jalayirid dynasty controlled much of western Iran and eastern Iraq. Among these works, the large-scale folios from the so-called Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* have received considerable scholarly attention, while the ink drawings (*qalam siyāhī*) are lesser known.[1] Ranging from carefully observed figural compositions to studies of Chinese motifs and European subjects, the images vary in scale, subject matter, and style. Together, they offer invaluable insight into the creative imagination and artistic processes of the Jalayirid period. The importance of pen and ink drawings as a form of artistic expression is further attested by a series of marginal compositions in a *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (r. 1382–1410) in the Freer Gallery of Art (F1932.29–37). This paper is intended as a series of preliminary observations on Jalayirid drawings in the Diez and Istanbul albums and their relationship to the images in Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān* with the aim of underlining the pivotal role of this body of work in the larger history of the arts of the book in Iran.[2]

1 For a discussion of folios from the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, see Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from the Fourteenth Century Shahnamehs", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), pp. 19–48; Dorothea Duda, "Die Buchmalerei der Ğalā'riden (2. Teil) Die Malerei in Tabrīz under Sulṭān Uwais und Ḥusain", *Islam* 49 (1972), pp. 153–220; Bernard O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connection," *Oriental Art* 49/2 (2003), pp. 2–18; and Serpil Bağcı, "Shahnama Folios in the Palace Albums: Remains of a Jalayirid Manuscript", forthcoming; see also O'Kane's article in this volume. For articles on early drawings, see Armenag Sakisian, "Persian Drawing," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 69/400, (1936), pp. 14–20; Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in the den Berliner Saray Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 66–77; Marie Lukens Swietochowski, "Drawing", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7 (1996), pp. 538–39; Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Sussan Babaie, *Persian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1989; David J. Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing, ca. 1400–1450: Materials and Creative Procedures", *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), pp. 44–77, and *ibid., The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collecting*, New Haven and London 2005.

2 The author, in collaboration with Ali Ferdowsi, is working on a monograph on the Freer *Dīvān*.

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FIGURE 18.1
Left-hand folio of an Audience Scene, *from a Jāmiʿ al-Rashīdī, Iran, fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 20.*

Ink Paintings in the Diez Albums and the Reign and Patronage of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir

Interest in the expressive quality of the line is already evident in some of the earliest images in the Diez albums. Assembled towards the beginning of A fol. 70, the illustrations originally belonged to a monumental copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Rashīdī*, an early fourteenth-century compendium of chronicles. A typical example is the left-hand folio of an audience scene, where the figures are defined in black, red, blue, or brown contours and augmented with light washes of color (fig. 18.1).[3] The emphasis on the silhouetted male and female courtiers against a blank background is clearly a deliberate choice, for folios from other versions of the same text depend more extensively on opaque watercolor, resulting in a different visual effect.[4]

By the second half of the fourteenth century, artists had largely abandoned the type of line and color compositions seen in the *Jāmiʿ al-Rashīdī* folios in favor of either polychrome illustrations or pure pen and

3 Other folios from the same manuscript are Diez A fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1; Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1; Diez A fol. 70, p. 21; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 23, no. 1. Karin Rührdanz has proposed that these folios may belong to the first volume of the *Tārīkh-i Ghazānī*, written for Ghazan; see "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-Dīn's Tā'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ġazānī in den Berliner Diez-Alben," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 295–306.

4 TKS H. 2153, fol. 23r; see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı. *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, Istanbul 1979, fig. 3, no. 9.

ink drawings.[5] A small number of such works appear at the end of Diez A fols. 70 and 71. Others are included in A fol. 73 but most are found in A fol. 72, which includes 191 Jalayirid and early Timurid drawings.[6] According to David Roxburgh, the contents of Diez A fols. 70–72 originated from a number of sources in the Topkapı Palace Library, including the celebrated H. 2152 album, which were collated into codices.[7] Although possible scenarios for the assemblage of the different albums have been discussed elsewhere in this volume,[8] the organization and authorship of the drawings deserves some attention. Several of the compositions bear attributions to leading artists of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, whose lineage (*silsila*) was recorded in Dust Muhammad's preface to the Bahram Mirza album, prepared in 1544 for Shah Tahmasb's brother.[9] Except for the signature of the early fifteenth-century artist Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam, the other inscriptions are more hastily executed and resemble a series of *aide-mémoire* to record and preserve the names of certain artists. It is unclear when and where these attributions were added to the folios; they could have been penned sometime in the late fifteenth century in Tabriz or not long after the images, and several leading Persian painters who were familiar with the works, had arrived in Istanbul following the battle of Chaldiran in 1514.[10] Even if they were added in Istanbul, the correlation between the inscribed works, now preserved in the Diez and Istanbul albums, and the Bahram Mirza album preface is quite extraordinary and deserves further study. In composing his preface, Dust Muhammad must have drawn on a known narrative and collective memory of the formation and genesis of Persian painting, which was also preserved among the works that arrived from Tabriz. Together, the autonomous compositions and the sixteenth-century Safavid preface formalize for the first time an art historical cannon for Persian painting in both word and image.[11]

5 As Roxburgh has pointed out, while Chinese art played a critical role in the growing importance of the "autonomy" of pen and ink drawings, calligraphy, which was so central to Persian aesthetics, must have also been instrumental to this development; see "Persian Drawing," p. 51. It was also in the late fourteenth century, when *nasta'līq* evolved into the quintessential style for transcribing Persian text.

6 M.Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebänder aus den Berliner Sammlungen. Beschreibumg und stilkritische Anmerkungen*, Wiesbaden 1964; David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums" Mss Diez A Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136.

7 Roxburgh, "Diez," pp. 115 and 119.

8 See articles by Julian Raby, Christoph Rauch, and David Roxburgh in this volume.

9 For a discussion of this important work, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, ch. 6; Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner 'Saray' Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 66–77, was the first scholar to discuss the attributed works in the Diez albums.

10 In reference to the works compiled in the albums, Basil W. Robinson has suggested, "the pile of loose drawings may have been in folders inscribed with the artists' names from which the attributions were taken." He also suggests that the folios arrived in Istanbul after the battle of Chaldiran; see Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray, Boulder, CO. 1979, p. 243. I am grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu for this reference.

11 David Roxburgh was the first scholar to address this important topic; see *The Persian Album*, ch. 6.



FIGURE 18.2 Galloping Horse, *inscribed with the name of Amir Dawlatyar, Iran, fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 5.*



FIGURE 18.3 Large Plane Tree, *inscribed with the name of Shams al-Din, Iran, fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 50, no. 4.*

The opening folio of Diez A fol. 70 shows a battle scene in front of a fortress. It bears an attribution to the artist Ahmad Musa, who follows the legendary painters of the past in Dust Muhammad's narrative. According to the author, the artist "lifted the veil from the face of depiction" during the rule of the Ilkhanid monarch Abu Saʿid (r. 1316–35). The preface claims that one of Ahmad Musa's students was Amir Dawlatyar, who was also employed at Abu Saʿid's court and excelled at ink drawings (*qalam siyāhī*). In the Diez albums, a composition of a spontaneously conceived galloping horse is inscribed with the artist's name (fig. 18.2). Another student of Ahmad Musa was Shams al-Din, who worked for the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Uvays (r. 1356–74) and completed a *Shāhnāma* that was square in format. His name appears in a partially effaced inscription on a drawing of a large plane tree (fig. 18.3).[12] Dust Muhammad maintains that following Sultan Uvays's death, Shams al-Din decided to devote himself exclusively to training ʿAbd al-Hayy, who in turn took care of his master's needs.[13] The *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī* maintains that "in purity of brush, in finesse and solidity, and indeed in all characteristics of painting, he [*i.e.*, ʿAbd al-Hayy] has no peer." Towards the end of his life, the artist, who was believed to be a saint (*wālī*), repented for having been a painter and "whenever he found his works he washed them off and burned them. For

12 Unfortunately, the inscription has been painted over with gold, but as Kühnel first noted in "Malernamen", p. 72," the words "ustād [...] Shams al-Dīn naqqāsh [...]" are visible. The last word on the second line could be "Mūsā," probably referring to Shams al-Din's master, Ahmad Musa.

13 Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphy and Painters: Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture* (Supplements to *Muqarnas*, vol. 10), Leiden 2001, pp. 12–13.



FIGURE 18.4 Swimming Duck, *inscribed with the name of Muhammad al-Khayyam, Iran, early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 26, no. 1.*

this reason his works are very rare."[14] In both the Diez and Istanbul albums, some of ʿAbd al-Hayy's compositions are known through copies by a fifteenth-century follower, Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam. Although omitted from Dust Muhammad's preface, Muhammad al-Khayyam was a talented and versatile practitioner of pen and ink drawings. In addition to copying the work of ʿAbd al-Hayy, the artist based some of his compositions on Chinese or European models (fig. 18.4).[15] While still active, ʿAbd al-Hayy also instructed the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Ahmad, Uvays' son and successor, "so that the sultan himself produced a scene in the *Abūsaʿīdnāma* in *qalam-siyāhī*."[16] Neither the manuscript nor Ahmad Jalayir's ink drawing have been yet identified, but a composition of a horse's head (H. 2153, fol. 29v) includes the following inscription, "My world-seizing [*jāhāngīr*] horse has conquered the universe. Work of Sultan Ahmad, the ready, the enflamed."[17]

According to Dawlatshah Samarqandi, the fifteenth-century author of the *Taẕkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* (Memorial of Poets), Sultan Ahmad was blessed with many other qualities:

> He was a talented ruler, a patron of the arts, and of a poetic disposition. He composed good poetry in Persian and Arabic and was proficient in many crafts, such as painting, illumination, bow-making, arrow-making, inlay, etc. and wrote the six pens [...]. In the science of music and the modes, he was a master, and several books in this science were written by him. Khvaja ʿAbdul Qadir was in his retinue and it is said was his pupil.[18]

14 *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*. Selected and translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Cambridge, MA 1989, p. 361.

15 His name appears on Diez A fol. 70, p. 26, no. 1, which is a pen and ink drawing of an almost identical duck in H. 2153, fol. 46v; Diez A fol. 71, p. 65, a drawing of two warriors in combat, relates to a composition in H. 2153, fol. 87r; Diez A fol. 72, p. 13 depicts a rider; and Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2, represents the celebrated Tazza Farnese, which has been attributed to Muhammad al-Khayyam. One of the artist's trademarks is the knotted ligature of his signature. For a discussion of his work, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 139–41. See also Friederike Weis' article in this volume.

16 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13.

17 Barbara Brend has offered a slightly different translation: "My horse Jahangir [World grasper], who has grasped [eclipsed] the universe entire, Work of Ahmad, Emperor, excellently executed." See Barbara Brend "A Brownish Study: The Kumral Style in Persian Painting, its Connections and Origins", *Islamic Art* 6 (2009), p. 98; figs. 5 and C in color.

18 Thackston, *Century of Princes*, pp. 12–13.

The Jalayirid ruler's skills and interests must have been critical to the efflorescence of the arts, music, and poetry in the late fourteenth century, but his reign was far from stable. He ascended the Jalayirid throne in 1382 and secured control over Baghdad and Tabriz after killing his brother, Husayn (r. 1374–82). Two years later, Timur (r. 1370–1405) sacked and occupied Tabriz and installed his son Miranshah as governor. Sultan Ahmad fled to Baghdad, which became the Jalayirid center of power. In 1393, Timur also attacked Baghdad; Sultan Ahmad, after losing much of his belongings to the invading armies, took refuge at the Mamluk court. According to the historian, Sharaf al-Din ʿAli Yazdi, at this time Timur ordered some of Sultan Ahmad's female family members, his son, Ala al-Dawla, and his favorite musician, ʿAbd al-Qadir Maragha'i, to be taken to Samarqand.[19] The retinue probably also included the artist ʿAbd al-Hayy.[20] The Jalayirid ruler was back in Baghdad in 1394 and maintained control of the city until 1399, when he fled for a second time in the face of Timur's approaching forces. Timur reoccupied Baghdad in 1401, looted the treasury, and destroyed most of the city, except for the mosques and the madrasas. This time, Sultan Ahmad sought the protection of the Ottoman ruler Bayazid I (r. 1389–1402) but was arrested by the Mamluks in Damascus. When Timur died in 1405, the Jalayirid ruler was released and returned once again to Baghdad. He was executed in 1410 while defending Tabriz from Qara Yusuf (r. *c.* 1388–1420), a former Qara Qoyunlu friend and ally, who had turned against him.[21]

Given Sultan Ahmad's troubled rule, it seems all the more remarkable that he was able to support several leading artists and pursue his own interest in poetry. In addition to the celebrated musician ʿAbd al-Qadir, other artists at Sultan Ahmad's court included the calligraphers Mir ʿAli ibn Hasan al-Tabrizi, identified as the "inventor of the *nastaʿlīq* script,"[22] Mir ʿAli ibn Ilyas al-Tabrizi, the calligrapher of the celebrated *Three Mathnavī*s of Khvaju Kirmani, dated 1396 in the British Library (Add 18113), and his son Ubayd Allah b. ʿAli, who signed six colophons in a second copy of the *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad (Ms 2046), now in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (TIEM).[23] Maʿruf Baghdadi was another calligrapher who was at Sultan Ahmad's court; he later left for Isfahan and eventually

19 According to Yazdi, ʿAbd al-Qadir eventually joined the court of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh in Herat and died in 1435 from the plague; as quoted in E.G. Brown, *Literary History of Iran*, reprint, vol. 3, Cambridge 1984, pp. 191, 384. The musician's portrait is also included in a Timurid enthronement scene in Diez A fol. 74, p. 24; see Roxburgh, "Diez," figs. 6 and p. 127.

20 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13.

21 *Ibid., Century of Princes*, p. 14. In short, Sultan Ahmad controlled Baghdad between 1382–93, 1394–99 and 1405–10.

22 Mehdi Bayani, *Ahvāl va āsār-i khushnivīsān*, vols. 1–2, Tehran AH 1363 (1984–85), p. 442; Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Art of Calligraphy", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray, Paris and London 1979, p. 18. The only known work by Mir ʿAli ibn Hasan Tabrizi is a copy of Nizami's *Khusraw va Shirin* in the Freer Gallery of Art (F1931.29–37). Simon Rettig is preparing a monographic study on this manuscript.

23 For a discussion of this manuscript, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid books in the libraries of Istanbul", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), pp. 229–30.

joined the atelier of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh in Herat. Some of the leading painters included ʿAbd al-Hayy, Junayd, whose signature is included in Khvaju Kirmani's *Mathnavī*, and Pir Ahmad Baghshimali.[24] Samarqandi also mentions Sultan Ahmad's deep respect and admiration for the celebrated poet Hafiz and his unsuccessful efforts to convince him to relocate from Shiraz to Baghdad. Hafiz, however, corresponded regularly with the Jalayirid ruler, composed panegyrics in his honor, and remained a major source of poetic inspiration for Sultan Ahmad.[25]

Even if short-lived, transient, and episodic, the rich artistic and cultural milieu of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's court must have stimulated and encouraged the arts of the book, ranging from spontaneous pen and ink compositions, now preserved in the Diez and Istanbul albums, to extraordinary manuscripts, such as the British Museum *Three Mathnavī*s of Khvaju Kirmani or the Freer Gallery *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir.

The *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and the Diez Albums

The Freer *Dīvān* is probably the first extant collection of poetry by a reigning monarch in the Islamic world and is deservedly known for its eight marginal compositions in pen and ink. The volume also includes several other noteworthy features.[26] It opens with a narrow, finely illuminated *ʿunvān*, inscribed in kufic, which reads, "And what is my success except through God?" Although the manuscript lacks a colophon, the final folio (337v) includes two scribal inscriptions that must have been added later. The first one is fitted into a cartouche at the top of the folio and states, "The book was completed with the help of the ever-bestowing king in the month of Ramadan, in the year AH 508 [1115]." As Sultan Ahmad had not yet been born at that time, Thomas Arnold proposed that "such a strange date could only have been intended to mean 805 (=1402–3 AD)," an opinion that has been repeated by most subsequent scholars.[27] In 1402–3, however, Sultan Ahmad was in exile, and the city of Baghdad was under Timurid control, circumstances that did

24 For Maʿruf Baghdadi, see Bayani, vols. 3–4, pp. 913–15. B.W. Robinson discusses the career of Baghshimali in "'Zenith of his Time': The Painter Pir Ahmad Baghshimali", in *Persian Masters: five centuries of painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, Bombay 1990, pp. 1–21.

25 Thackston, *Century of Princes*, pp. 12–13.

26 The Freer *Dīvān* consists of 337 folios with eight marginal drawings on fols. 17r, 18r, 19r, 21v; 22v, 23r, 24r, and 25v. These have been removed and numbered separately (F1932.30; F1932.31; F1932.32; F1932.33, F1932.34; F1932.36; and F1932.37), and the original leather binding is catalogued as F1932.29. F.R. Martin first published the manuscript as a monograph, *Miniatures from the period of Timur in a MS of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jala'ir*, Vienna 1926. Although it is regularly sited in the literature, the main discussions on the manuscripts have been Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Timûrides*, Paris 1954, pp. 35–37; Deborah-E. Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The Diwan of Sultan Ahmad Gala'ir in the Free [sic] Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.", *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77), pp. 43–84; Esin Atıl, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India*, Washington, D.C. 1978, pp. 14–27.

27 Thomas Arnold, "Description of the Manuscript", in Martin, *Sultan Ahmad Jala'ir*, p. 7.

not favor Jalayirid manuscript production. Although a more precise dating of the *Dīvān* awaits further research, it is tempting to propose that the volume was perhaps completed in the 1390s, when Sultan Ahmad was not on the run and was surrounded by some by his favorite painters and calligraphers, who contributed to the production of the volume.[28] The second inscription appears diagonally in the blank space below and states, "the writing of Khvaja Mir ʿAli, Mercy be upon him." It is unclear whether the notation refers to Mir ʿAli b. Hasan Tabrizi, the "inventor" of *nastaʿlīq* or Mir ʿAli b. llyas al-Tabrizi, responsible for the British Library Khvaju Kirmani. Based on the close examination of the calligraphy, Simon Rettig has proposed that the *Dīvān* was probably penned by Mir ʿAli b. Hasan Tabrizi.[29] The other more extensive copy of Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān*, now in Istanbul, is not illustrated but includes several lavishly illuminated double folios. The calligrapher Ubaydallah, the son of Mir ʿAli b. Ilyas, signed six colophons, two of which are dated to Shaʿban and Ramadan AH 809 (January and February 1407). At this time, Sultan Ahmad was back in Baghdad, following Timur's death in 1405.[30]

At some point in the life of the manuscript, a certain Ibadallah Muhammad Ismaʿil, the son of the late Muhammad Ibrahim, added the text of Saʿdi's *Dīvān* to the margins of the Freer copy. The scribe began the text with a lengthy commentary on how best to index Saʿdi's work and completed it for Mulla Muhammad ʿAli b. Hajji Muhammad Jaʿfar, a Kashani merchant (*tājir-i kāshānī*).[31] Both the Freer and the TIEM *Dīvān*s include seal impressions of the Ottoman ruler Bayazid II (r. 1481–1512), suggesting that they were part of the Ottoman royal library at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Swedish art historian and collector F.R. Martin acquired

28 Adel Adomava has also suggested that the manuscript may have been completed prior to the early fifteenth century; see *Medieval Persian Painting: The Evolution of an Artistic Vision*, translated from the Russian and edited by J.M. Rogers, New York 2008, pp. 58–59.

29 I am grateful to Simon Rettig for sharing his views. For a discussion of the two Mir ʿAlis, see also Rettig's contribution to this volume. As Priscilla Soucek has discussed, there has been some confusion about Mir ʿAli ibn Hasan al-Tabrizi, who has been identified by his student and follower, Jaʿfar al-Tabrizi, as the inventor of *nastaʿlīq*, and Mir ʿAli ibn Ilyas, another accomplished Jalayirid calligrapher; see "Arts of Calligraphy", p. 18. In her recent publication, *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art*, Edinburgh 2014, p. 182, Sheila Blair has argued that the *Dīvān* was copied by the Mir ʿAli b. Ilyas, the calligrapher of the Khvaju Kirmani manuscript.

30 See Çağman and Tanındı, "Jalayirid books", pp. 229–230; the authors also lists two other selections of Sultan Ahmad's poetry; one is dated to 1397–98 and is in the Sulaymaniye Library (Ayasofya Ms. 3924); the other is housed in the Topkapı Palace Library and is also signed by Mir ʿAli b. Ilyas and dated to 1406–7 (Ms. H. 909). Çağman and Tanındı also mention the signature of Mir ʿAli in the colophons of the TIEM *Dīvān*, but I was unable to locate it.

31 Ivan Stchoukine, who first drew attention to Saʿdi's text in the margins, suggested that it was completed in AH 1052 (1643) based on the date on fol. 311r (*manuscrits Timûrides*, pp. 36–37). A closer look at the numerals indicates, however, that they have been altered and that the date still needs definitive deciphering. I am grateful to Wheeler Thackston for his help in reading the preface to Saʿdi's text.

the *Dīvān* in 1912 from a Persian dealer in Istanbul, and it entered the Freer collection in 1932.[32] Interestingly, neither the Freer nor TIEM *Dīvān* appears to have been completed. The Freer copy includes six blank folios. Two of them incorporate a pair of couplets, suggesting that the spaces may have been reserved for full-page illustrations, perhaps ones similar to those in the British Library Khvaju Kirmani. The TIEM *Dīvān* also includes a blank double-page opening, which may have been intended for illumination.

Written on polished ivory paper, the text of the Freer *Dīvān* is organized in two columns, encased in fine rulings. The mystically inspired verses, which include *qasīda*s (mono-rhythmic poems), *ghazal*s (odes), *rubā'ī* (quatrains), and *qīta*'s (fragments) are separated by cartouches inscribed with the invocation "and may the eternal and mighty God protect his kingdom and his reign;" they are copied in blue and gold ink. The blessing clearly refers to Sultan Ahmad, whose name is also integrated, often in gold, into the last lines of many of the poems.[33]

In her study of the manuscript, Deborah Klimburg-Salter discusses the literary merits of the *Dīvān* and maintains that Sultan Ahmad's poetry is "decidedly pedestrian."[34] Although Ali Ferdowsi agrees that the verses lack particular originality in structure and imagery, he stresses their authorship and reminds us that they are the work of a beleaguered ruler rather than a professional poet. Ferdowsi also underscores Sultan Ahmad's tremendous output. The number of lines in the TIEM *Dīvān* is close to ten thousand, roughly twice the number in the *Dīvān* of Hafiz.[35]

The eight illustrated folios in the Freer *Dīvān* appear as a cluster at the beginning of the volume between fols. 17r and 25v. They are executed in black ink with occasional grey washes and traces of blue or brown; gold is reserved for fol. 21v (fig. 18.5). Except for fol. 24v, where two small figurative cartouches flank the last couplet, all the other compositions occupy the margins of the manuscript, "as if the poems are placed over them."[36] Whether engaged

32 Martin describes his acquisition of the *Dīvān* in his monograph, *Sultan Ahmad Jala'ir*, ch. 8.

33 The ruler/poet is referred to as "Ahmad", "Ahmad Uvays", or "Ahmad ibn Uvays".

34 Klimburg-Salter, "Sufi Theme", p. 61.

35 Ali Ferdowsi, "The Reluctant Sovereignty of Sultan Ahmad Jalayer", paper presented at the 10th Biennial Iranian Studies Conference, 6–9 August 2014, Montreal, Canada. Ferdowsi has determined that the poems in the Freer *Dīvān* appear in a later section of the TIEM copy, and therefore the two volumes seem to follow different orders.

36 Atıl, *Brush of the Masters*, p. 17. This interest in the periphery of the written text as a site for artistic exploration can be traced back to the extant folios of the earlier Jalayirid *Kalīla va Dimna*, now in the Istanbul University Library (F. 1422), where the idea of colonizing the margins is fully explored. In these illustrations, however, the compositions still originate in the center of the page and expand into the margins. A closer parallel to the Freer *Dīvān* are the marginal compositions in a copy of the *Sharafnāma* in the British Library (Or. 13529), which has been dated to *c.* 1405; for a discussion and illustrations, see Barbara Brend, "Beyond the Pale: Meaning in the Margin", in Robert Hillenbrand ed. *Persian Painting: From the Mongols to the Qajars. Studies in Honor of Basil W. Robinson*, London 2000, pp. 39–57. Another text that includes autonomous marginal compositions is Iskandar Sultan's *Anthology*, dated 1411 (British Library, Add. 27261); see Priscilla



FIGURE 18.5
Angels Amidst Clouds, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.33, fol. 2rv.*

in an amorous encounter, herding buffalos, or setting up tents, the figures seem to occupy a distinctly private world, one that is at once recognizable and familiar and at the same time mysterious and detached, lending the work an otherworldly quality.

Since their publication in 1926, scholars have marveled at the drawings' skilled execution and subtle lyricism. Martin, who attributes them to the Timurid period, maintained, "if Behzad is called the Memling of Herat, the painter of these borders could be called the van Eyck of Samarkand."[37] Their refinement led Ivan Stchoukine to suggest that they were more typical of the Safavid than the Jalayirid period, and he argued that the marginal compositions were added together with Sa'di's *Dīvān* in the mid-seventeenth century.[38] Stchoukine must have been

Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, *Supplements to Muqarnas* 6, Leiden 1992, pp. 115–31; and David J. Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century", in *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (2001), pp. 119–142. Both the Diez and Istanbul albums also include designs that were intended for margins, such as Diez A fol. 73, p. 51, no. 1 and H. 2153, fol. 68r, a series of works that has been attributed to Amir Dawlatyar.

37 Martin, *Sultan Ahmad Jala'ir*, p. 18.

38 Stchoukine, *Manuscrits Tîmurides*, pp. 35–37.

unaware of the Diez and Istanbul albums, which include many pen and ink images that relate directly to those in the Freer *Dīvān*, confirming that the images were also created in the later Jalayirid period.

The thematic relationship of the drawings to the text has been another topic of extensive debate. The *Dīvān*'s mystically inspired verses have no predominant theme or narrative and are replete with metaphors on love, yearning, and companionship and do not readily lend themselves to pictorial representation."[39] Klimburg-Salter, who first discussed the relationship of text and image in the *Dīvān*, noted that all of the drawings included a profusion of birds, and she proposed that they depicted six of the seven valleys from the *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*, Attar's celebrated mystical work.[40] This hypothesis has been repeated by several subsequent scholars but without any further analysis or explanation. Although the relationship of text and image in Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān* is outside the scope of this paper, a close reading of the poetry suggests that there is no explicit link between the drawings and Sultan Ahmad's verses.[41]

At first glance, the drawings display a distinct formal harmony and visual integrity. Upon closer examination, however, subtle stylistic and technical differences emerge, suggesting that they may be the work of more than one artist.[42] Still, all eight compositions exhibit an extraordinary mastery in applying what Roxburgh has coined the "weighted line." Considered a fundamental feature of Persian drawing, "it was a line that firmly established the outline and inner contours of a figure against a background. It served to diagram or map out a form and the line's quality left little or no room for ambiguity."[43] In the Freer *Dīvān*, as in the late fourteenth-century drawings of the Diez albums, the strokes not only define the individual elements but also "map" the overall composition.

At least two of the marginal drawings depend on consistently fine lines that are accented with discrete darker passages. *Landscape with Two Couples* (fig. 18.6) depicts a well-dressed youth on the left. He is casually leaning against a tree, while gesticulating towards his elegant female companion. The sinuous figures are characteristic of the Jalayirid period and relate to a large drawing in Diez (fig. 18.7), which portrays a woman coyly offering a fruit to a female companion. A young man, who has wrapped his leg around a tree trunk, is observing the exchange. The women in the *Dīvān* and in the Diez drawing are dressed in long flowing robes, share the same hairstyle, and communicate with subtle hand gestures. Although the pose of the men

39 For example, the verses on fol. 17r, loosely translated here, begin with Sultan Ahmad lamenting the absence of the beloved, who is in someone else's company; he continues to describe the beloved's attributes and concludes that he [Sultan Ahmad] should abandon himself to love in a manly way, and that in truth, one's annihilation[in love] is another gift.

40 See Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi theme", pp. 61–68.

41 In her discussion of the manuscript, Esin Atıl, *Brush of the Masters*, pp. 17–27, also relates the drawings to Attar's valleys. I am grateful to Ali Ferdowsi for his insights into Sultan Ahmad's poetry.

42 Barbara Brend has also proposed that the marginal drawings of the *Dīvān* were the work of several artists.; see "Brownish Style", p. 87.

43 Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 53.



FIGURE 18.6
Landscape with Two Couples, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.31, fol. 18r.*



FIGURE 18.7
Woman Offering a Fruit to a Female Companion Observed by a Young Man, *Iran, late fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 69, no. 1.*

differs, both figures use the tree trunk as a prop, a popular compositional device that was used well into the fifteenth century.[44] Another related composition is Diez A fol. 73, p. 67, no. 2 (fig. 18.8), which portrays a man offering a fruit to his female companion. His full face, pencil-thin mustache, and sideway glance at the young woman, who is dressed in typical Jalayirid attire, recall the standing pair in *Landscape with Two Couples*.

In the Freer *Dīvān*, an empty bed under the shade of a tree separates the standing pair on the left from a man and a woman seated in the lower right corner of the folio. The prominent design of ducks on the bedding draws attention to this centrally placed feature, which may carry a symbolic meaning.[45] Unlike the conversing pair on the left, the two figures in the lower right seem detached and pensive, and their expression suggests a sense of melancholy. The portrayal of the woman recalls the subject of a finely drawn composition in Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 4 (fig. 18.9) who is shown in a similar pose and in an equally pensive mood.

The juxtaposition of light, delicate and darker, more insistent lines also characterizes *Gathering of Scholars*, where a group of six learned men are seated in the lower left corner of the margin (fig. 18.10). Carefully arranged in clusters of twos and threes, the figures appear under the shade of a large, leafy tree teeming with agitated birds. The composition anticipates a drawing of a group of turbaned men, probably dateable to the first half of the fifteenth century, which is included in Diez A fol. 72, p. 4, no. 4 (fig. 18.11). Here, the male figures are portrayed in two tightly arranged rows and appear more homogeneous in their expressions and appearance. Their contours tend to be more evenly weighted than those of the men in the *Dīvān*'s marginal composition, which are almost invisible.

In *Gathering of Scholars*, a large, carefully shaded tree trunk separates the figures from an empty platform enclosed within a Chinese-styled balustrade. Unlike the bedding in fol. 18r, which is integrated both physically and conceptually into the composition, the platform sits somewhat awkwardly to the side. The architectural element recalls two Chinese painting fragments in the Istanbul albums (H. 2154, fol. 28v and H. 2153, fol. 33v) and indicates the kind of pictorial sources that were available to Jalayirid artists. The inclusion of the platform not only suggests familiarity with Sinicized imagery, but also affirms the desire to appropriate such elements even if they are incongruous with the rest of the composition.[46]

Pastoral Scene (fig. 18.12), the first marginal composition in the Freer *Dīvān*, depicts a buffalo herder in the lower right corner and a couple with a child in the upper left margin. The folio is formally and iconographically more complex than

44 For Timurid examples, see Diez A fol. 72, p. 6, no. 1 and Diez A fol. 72, p. 11, no. 1, where women are depicted with their legs wrapped about a tree trunk.

45 Esin Atıl has suggested that the disorderly pillows may suggest that the couples had recently used the bed; *Brush of the Masters*, p. 22.

46 For examples of such balustrades, see H. 2154, fol. 28v and H. 2153, fol. 33v, reproduced in *Islamic Art: An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World* 1 (1981), figs. 99 and 100.



FIGURE 18.8
Man Offering a Fruit to his Female Companion Iran, *late fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 67, no. 2.*



FIGURE 18.9 Woman Seated Against a Bolster in a Landscape, *Iran, late fourteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 4.*

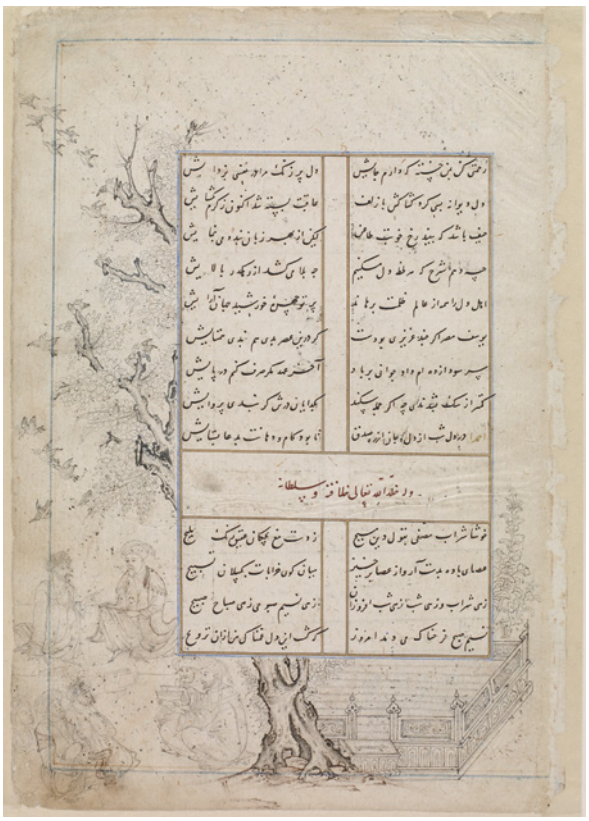


FIGURE 18.10
Gathering of Scholars, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.32, fol. 19r.*



FIGURE 18.11
Group of Turbaned Men, *Iran, first half of the fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 4, no. 4.*



FIGURE 18.12
Pastoral Scene, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.30, fol. 17r.*

the previous two works, as is its style of drawing. While the ducks in the water are rendered with light, nervous strokes, the contours of the flocks of geese and the vegetation use darker, heavier lines.[47] The drawing's tonal modulation lends the work a sense of depth and recalls a composition of a man slaying a dragon in TKS H. 2153, fol. 48v. In both works, the artist carefully alters the weight and intensity of his lines to create a subtle sense of movement and space. A second version of the dragon scene, attributable to the first half of the fifteenth century, can be found in Diez A fol. 72, p. 14 (fig. 18.13). It is rendered with harder, more uniform lines, which have flattened the composition, resulting in a more two-dimensional visual effect than in the earlier version in the Istanbul album.[48]

47 Several compositions of ducks are also included in the Diez albums. In addition, Muhammad al-Khayyam's drawing (Diez A fol. 70, p. 26, no. 1), based on a work by 'Abd al-Hayy, (TSMK H. 2153, fol. 46v); other examples appear in the border design of Diez A fol. 73, p. 51, no. 1.

48 For a reproduction of the dragon scene in H. 2153, see Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme," fig. 12 and also fig. 19 in Zeren Tanındı's article in the present volume. The stylistic differences in pen and ink drawings of the late



FIGURE 18.13
Warrior on Horseback Slaying a Dragon, *Iran, first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 14.*

The most notable feature of *Pastoral Scene* is the figures – the buffalo herder in the lower right corner and the couple with a child in the upper left margin. Both in physiognomy and attire, they stand apart from the more classical willowy Jalayirid types, such as the protagonists in *Landscape with Two Couples*. The vignette of the man riding the buffalo recalls Chinese models, which are also present in the Istanbul albums,[49] but southern Iraq was equally known for its marshes and may have served as a possible source for the carefully observed scene.[50] The stooped elderly man and the younger woman carrying a child in the upper left of the folio, on the other hand, evoke European or "Frankish" (*kār-i farang*) parallels.[51] Dressed in a long robe with ample folds, the woman is wearing a wimple, a type of headgear that was popular in Europe

fourteenth century and early fifteenth century will be discussed at the end of the article.

49 *Islamic Art*, figs. 172, 173, 175A, 176, and 177.

50 I am grateful to Ali Ferdowsi for this observation.

51 I am borrowing Gülru Necipoğlu's term, which she discusses in her article in this volume, "Persianate Images Between Europe and China: The "Frankish Manner" in the Diez and Topkapı Albums, ca. 1350–1450." My thanks to Gülru Neçipoğlu for making her paper available to me before publication.

during the fourteenth century.[52] The figure's appearance is quite distinct from other females in the Freer *Dīvān*, such as the two in the *Landscape with Two Couples*, and must represent a different type.

The unusual pairing of a female cradling an infant and an older male may have also been inspired by a Western model, such as depictions of Mary carrying Jesus and accompanied by the more elderly figure of Joseph.[53] European imagery was already circulating in Iran in the early fourteenth century and continued to serve as an artistic source of inspiration, as is evident from the content of the Diez albums.[54] Diez A fol. 72, p. 5, no. 1 depicts a late fourteenth-century or an early fifteenth-century tinted drawing of four holy figures (fig. 18.14). Rendered in pen and ink, the spontaneously drawn composition is clearly based on Christian imagery. A more enigmatic composition is the painting of a church interior (Diez A fol. 71, p. 31, no. 1), which portrays several worshipers gazing at an apparition or wall painting of the Virgin and Child, set in a flaming halo. Although



FIGURE 18.14 Four Holy Figures, *Iran, late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 5, no. 1.*

dressed differently than the woman in the Freer *Dīvān*'s *Pastoral Scene*, the Virgin carries the infant in the same manner, and the child is shown in an almost identical pose (fig. 18.15).

Another fourteenth-century "mother and child" vignette is included as a wall painting in *A Poet's Dream*, a detached illustration from the British Library Khvaju Kirmani, which is now in the Bahram Mirza album (H. 2154, fol. 20r).[55] When Dust

52 For a European example, see the *De Lisle Psalter* (Arundel 83) in the British Library http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=470; see also Necipoğlu's article in this volume.

53 A possible source would be the Holy Family's flight to Egypt, but representations of the scene show the Virgin riding on a donkey, which is absent in this image.

54 Gülru Necipoğlu's article in this volume offers detailed discussion of the religious and secular "Frankish" paintings in the albums and their probable sources. For Ilkhanid use of European imagery, see Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, Oxford 1995, pp. 51–54.

55 Although the manuscript is dated to AH 789 (1396), Adel T. Adamova following Barbara Brend's earlier suggestion in *Islamic Art*, London 1991, p. 141, argues that the illustrations were completed before Timur took 'Abd al-Hayy to Samarqand; *Medieval Persian Painting*, pp. 38–39. In her recent publication, Brend suggests that the illustrations "may be tentatively dated to c. 1390;" *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi*, London 2010, p. 18. She also reproduces the painting on p. 16.



FIGURE 18.15 Worshipers Gazing at an Apparition or Wall Painting of the Virgin and Child, *Iran, late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 31, no. 1.*

Muhammad compiled the album in the sixteenth century, the painting was identified as the work of ʿAbd al-Hayy. As already noted, this Jalayirid painter was known for his mastery of ink drawings (*qalam siyāhī*); he even taught the technique to Sultan Ahmad. Based on the delicate wall painting in *A Poet's Dream*, it is tempting to attribute also some of the marginal drawings in the Freer *Dīvān*, such as *Pastoral Scene*, to Sultan Ahmad's eminent teacher.[56]

The most lyrical composition in the Freer *Dīvān* forms a double-page opening and depicts a *Camp Scene* (fig. 18.16). The right-hand folio is executed with firm undulating strokes, accented with light washes of ink and touches of color. Here, a group of men and women are setting up camp, while others are preoccupied with mundane chores, such as washing, cooking, and tending to the animals and children. One couple seems to have momentarily emerged from under the block of text into the inner gutter to walk into the facing folio, where several horses, long-haired goats, and sheep are roaming about the rocky landscape. In addition, several figures are either arriving or departing.[57] As in most of the *Dīvān*'s other marginal drawings, the figures appear mainly in pairs; several women are dressed in full robes and wimples, including one female, who is seated in front of a tent with an infant in her lap in another "mother and child" vignette. Two playful toddlers at the

56 Based on the wall painting in *A Poet's Dream*, Blair and Bloom first proposed that ʿAbd al-Hayy may have also been responsible for the drawings in Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān*. They argued, however, that *A Poet's Dream* was by the contemporary artist Junayd, whose signature appears on fol. 45v of the British Library Khvaju Kirmani; See Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, New Haven and London 1994, p. 34. Necipoğlu also draws a parallel between the wall painting in *A Poet's Dream* and the Freer *Dīvān* image in "Between Europe and China: The Saray Albums Reconsidered in the Light of the 'Frankish' Manner", forthcoming. In *Persian Painting*, London 1993, p. 48, Sheila R. Canby proposed that the drawings may be the work of Sultan Ahmad himself.

57 The two halves show certain stylistic differences, suggesting that they may be by two different artists. This and other stylistic issues will be discussed in greater depth in the monographic study on the manuscript.



FIGURE 18.16 Camp Scene, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.34-F1932.35, fols. 22v and 23r.*

very edge of the right-hand folio confirm Jalayirid interest in direct observation.

The most notable feature of the double-page composition is the meticulously observed, staggered tents on the right outer margin. Such temporary architectural structures were ubiquitous throughout Asia and were also incorporated into paintings, such as the Ming hand scroll of *Lady Wenji's Encampment in the Desert*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[58] None of the depictions, however, rival the elegant drawing in the Freer *Dīvān*, which captures the surface details of the tents as well as their form and structure with remarkable accuracy and precision.[59]

In her essay in this volume, Gülru Necipoğlu has noted the striking stylistic similarity of some of the female figures in *Camp Scene* and the women in *Triumphal Procession* (H. 2153, fol. 92r), a fragmentary drawing, which is based on an European original. While the Istanbul composition faithfully recreates the original, the figures in the *Dīvān* have been transformed according to Jalayirid pictorial ideals and seamlessly integrated into the composition. Another formal likeness is the smooth, sweeping contours of the

58 *Lady Wenji's Encampment in the Desert*, MMA 1973.120.3; see *Islamic Art*, fig. 44.

59 For contemporary tents similar to those depicted in the *Dīvān*, see Peter Alford Andrews, *Nomad Tents Types in the Middle East*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1997, nos. 5a, 6a.



FIGURE 18.17 Couple Riding, *Iran, late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 15.*

horses in the *Triumphal Procession* and the left-hand folio of *Camp Scene* (fig. 18.16). Emerging from behind the text block, the horses in the *Dīvān* are resting or grazing in a more fully articulated landscape with heavier outlines and more pronounced modeling than the setting on the facing folio. In the extreme lower right corner, a pair of figures carrying heavy loads of firewood is walking out of the composition. Their short, belted robes, elongated feet, and distinct hairstyles, appear once again to be inspired by Western examples.[60] The younger man on the left, whose pulled-back hair is gathered around his neck, recalls several European-inspired figures in the Diez and Istanbul albums, such as the man wearing a wreath in the *Triumphal Procession* (mentioned above), and the male rider in *Couple Riding* (fig. 18.17). Much like the margins of *Pastoral Scene* (fig. 18.12), the double-page *Camp Scene* skillfully fuses European and Chinese pictorial motifs with later Jalayirid pictorial ideals. Even if the exact provenance of the Freer *Dīvān* is yet to be determined, its marginal compositions confirm the sophistication and cosmopolitanism of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's court.[61]

60 For example, see the resemblance of the man on the right to the figures in the foreground of *Performance of Crusade Play at Charles V's Play* (fol. 473v) in *Grandes chroniques de France*, Paris *c.* 1375–80, reproduced in Elizabeth Morrison and Ann D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500*, Los Angeles 2010, no. 26.

61 Interestingly, the appropriation of Western pictorial imagery is primarily evident in Jalayirid pen and ink drawings and less

The availability of Western pictorial sources to Jalayirid artists is also illustrated in *Angels Amidst Clouds* (fig. 18.5), the most exuberant and colorful of all the *Dīvān*'s marginal compositions. It depicts a host of celestial beings among swirls of gold clouds that cascade from a jagged opening at the top of the folio. The figures are dressed in flowing blue and maroon robes and have elegant blue wings. Although nimbler and more agile than their Il-Khanid counterparts, the figures seem to relate to some of the angels in Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of History), suggesting a stylistic link to the earlier fourteenth century.[62]

The subject of heavenly creatures was clearly popular in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century because the Diez albums include a number of such compositions. None, however, relates directly to those in the *Dīvān*. The earliest are two small paintings, which were probably intended as a double-page frontispiece (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 4 and Diez A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 3; fig. 18.18). Each half depicts a seated winged figure among gold clouds; one angel holds a sword and the other a tray of flames. A second drawing portrays another heavenly being among swirling clouds (fig. 18.19). Outlined with fine, even strokes and highlighted with light washes of ink, the drawing is more typical of the first half of the fifteenth century. A third drawing (Diez A fol. 73, p. 39, no. 1) represents a host of male and female winged figures standing among coiling clouds, while a group of turbaned men are observing the scene from the lower right. The image intimates a possible narrative content, and its minute prick marks suggest that it was used as a pounce for a manuscript illustration.[63]

One of the most unusual features of the *Angels Amidst Clouds* is the serrated opening at the top of folio, which suggests a space beyond. Three angels intently peer through the crack as the stream of gold clouds spills on to the margin below. This pictorial device, which is also indebted to Christian religious iconography, has been skillfully appropriated in the *Dīvān* to differentiate between a terrestrial and celestial sphere.[64] The masterfully conceived composition anticipates some of the exuberant *mirʿāj* scenes of the fifteenth century with their spirited angels, swirling clouds, and *oculi*, such as the *Prophet's Night Journey* in a *Khamsa* of Nizami, completed between *c.* 1475 and 1505.[65]

The seventh composition of the *Dīvān*, *Two Women* (fig. 18.20) has often been overlooked in the scholarly literature as

apparent in the painted manuscript illustrations of the period.

62 See *Muhammad leading Hamzah and the Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqaʿ* in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, fig. 35.

63 For Diez A fol. 73, p. 43, no. 1, see also Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989, cat.no. 61. Lentz and Lowry date the drawing to *c.* 1425–50 Herat.

64 For an example of a Western model, see *God Speaks to Moses and Aaron*, from a copy of the *Old Testament*, France, 1364–80, London, British Library, Landsdowne 1175, fol. 53v; http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=4404.

65 Keir Collection, III. 207; for an illustration see, Eleanor Sims with Boris Marshak and Ernst Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*, New Haven and London 2002, no. 66.



FIGURE 18.18 Angel Holding a Sword Seated Among Gold Clouds, *Iran, late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 3.*



FIGURE 18.19 Heavenly Being Among Swirling Clouds, *Iran, late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez, A fol. 73, p. 43, no. 1.*



FIGURE 18.20
Two Women, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.36, fol. 24r.*



FIGURE 18.21 River Scene, *Iran or Iraq, late fourteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1932.37, fol. 25v.*

it departs from the other illustrated folios in its overall format.[66] Its marginal design is confined to the lower edge, where several ducks glide along a stream, recalling almost identical vignettes in *Pastoral Scene* (fig. 18.12) and *River Scene* (fig. 18.21). The faint contours of the birds, coupled with the surrounding text of Sa'di's *Gulistān*, almost obscure the drawing. *Two Women* is also the only folio in the *Dīvān* to include compositions within the body of text. Flanking the last couplet, a small cartouche on the left depicts a reclining semi-nude female holding on to drapes or ribbons. She appears to be moving to the melody of a second female, who is playing a spiked fiddle (*sitār*) in the facing cartouche. A falcon rests on a perch on the left and a small animal sits on her lap. The meaning of the two small scenes defies easy explanation, but the figures may refer to Sultan Ahmad's pleasure-loving court and his passion for music.[67]

It is unclear whether the margin of fol. 24r of the *Dīvān* was to be decorated solely with a few ducks in a stream or whether it was never completed. An almost identical vignette, however, is incorporated into a far more elaborate composition for the final illustrated folio (fig. 18.21). Meticulously conceived, the *River Scene* represents a stream gently flowing down into the lower margin, where ducks are floating across the lightly rippling waves. Through bravura strokes, dashes, and dabs recalling Chinese ink painting techniques, but now adapted to Jalayirid aesthetics, the composition pulsates with life. As in the earlier fourteenth-century landscape scene in Diez A fol. 71, p. 10, the artist has excluded humans from his drawing and instead has used every stroke to animate the setting. While the Ilkhanid image depends on vibrant hues and firm, angular strokes, the *River Scene* relies on lines of varying intensity, highlighted with occasional light washes that infuse the drawing with a calm and measured rhythm. In both instances, the artist has masterfully used

66 Esin Atıl chose not to reproduce it in *Masters of the Brush*, and although Deborah Klimburg-Salter reproduced the folio in "A Sufi Theme," she did not discuss it in the context of Attar's valleys.

67 The verses on fol. 24v are about yearning for the beloved and do not seem to relate directly to the two small compositions.

his medium to transform nature into a powerful, abstract design.

Conclusion

The ink drawings of the Freer *Dīvān* display a remarkable thematic originality and technical virtuosity, qualities that are echoed in many drawings of the Diez and Istanbul albums. Delicate modulated lines appear alongside quivering strokes, while ink washes introduce a sense of space, volume, and texture. Jalayirid artists clearly had access to both Sinicized and Frankish pictorial sources, which they appropriated, transformed, and synthesized into a Jalayirid pictorial idiom. Far more research is needed to tease out the technical and thematic differences of late fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century pen and ink drawings, but the content of the Diez albums and the marginal compositions of Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān* present an unprecedented starting point.

A preliminary overview of the Diez albums suggests a notable aesthetic shift from the highly charged and boldly conceived Jalayirid epic paintings (Diez A fol. 71, p. 24) to smaller, more lyrical compositions, attributable to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, such as the paintings of the *Dahnāma* (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5; A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 2) or the images of the two angels mentioned above (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 4 and Diez A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 3).[68] Similarly, the pen and ink drawings in the Diez albums indicate a subtle technical and stylistic change in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. As already discussed in the context of the two compositions of a man slaying a dragon (H. 2153, fol. 48v and Diez A fol. 72, p. 14), Jalayirid lines tend to be softer and more varied to convey a sense of space and texture. Moreover, artists seem to favor more lyrical, emotionally charged scenes, as is evident in the marginal compositions of the Freer *Dīvān* and the related drawings in the Diez albums. Another such example is a fragmentary drawing of a woman peering through the opening of a tent towards her companion, as her attendant looks on (fig. 18.22). Executed in red ink, the artist has modulated the sweep and density of his lines to define the figures, as well as the tents and the surrounding vegetation. His use of line lends the forms a sense of volume and infuses them with an emotional poignancy. A similar lyricism is evident in the drawing of the female seated against a bolster in a landscape (fig. 18.9). The artist has used finely textured, colored lines to define her form as she pensively gazes into the distance, holding a handkerchief.

These compositions stand apart from the fifteenth-century drawing of an artist such as Muhammad al-Khayyam. His elegant *Mongol Rider* (fig. 18.23) relies on firm, even contours, accented with darker passages and touches of gold. The preference for more uniformly weighted lines, which tend to flatten the composition, is also evident in several other drawings in the Diez albums, such as the image of a rider killing a dragon (Diez A fol. 70, p. 24, no. 1), or the fantastic drawing of a dragon and two *sīmurghs* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 58, no. 2), which are also dateable to fifteenth century.

This firmer, more insistent style of drawing seems also ideally suited to the

68 For a discussion of the *Dahnāma* (Book of Ten), see Karin Rührdanz's essay in this volume.



FIGURE 18.22 Woman Peering Through the Opening of a Tent Towards her Companion, *Iran, late fourteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 40, no. 5.*



FIGURE 18.23 Mongol Rider, *signed by Muhammad al-Khayyam, Iran, early fifteenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 13.*



FIGURE 18.24 Rising Sīmurgh *for a quiver case, Iran, late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 49, no. 1.*



FIGURE 18.25 Turtle Surrounded by Birds, *Iran, late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 51, no. 2.*

elaborate designs, intended for robes, saddles, quiver cases, or book covers that have been preserved in the Diez albums, such as a pair of medallions with two deer under a tree (Diez A fol. 73, p. 49, no. 4 and Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 2)[69] or the drawings of a rising *sīmurgh* for a quiver case (fig. 18.24 and Diez A fol. 73, p. 49, no. 2). The practical application of a number of the compositions, such as a highly stylized turtle surrounded by equally abstracted birds (fig. 18.25) is less certain, but they are some of the most original and imaginative works in the albums and were clearly valued for their intrinsic artistic merits. In both subject matter and execution, these fifteenth-century drawings are far removed from the earlier, more intimate Jalayirid images with their lyrical mood and more textured use of line.

By looking at the pen and ink drawings in the Diez albums in light of the marginal compositions in the *Dīvān*, a fuller and more complex view of artistic production in the later Jalayirid period emerges. Despite the unstable military and political environment, Sultan Ahmad's reign marks an extraordinarily creative and innovative moment for the art of pen and drawings. Artists explored new subject matter, techniques, and formats and developed a highly original pictorial idiom that replaced the energy and bravura of the earlier decades with a new poetic lyricism and refinement. Whether nestled in the borders of a manuscript or created autonomously, the pen and ink compositions in particular offer a singular view of Jalayirid

69 For a similar design on the cover of an *Anthology* from Yazd, dated AH 810 (1407) in the Topkapı Palace Library (H. 769), see Oktay Aslanapa, "The Art of Bookbinding", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, pl. 33.

artistic ideals. Only by considering these works closely in relation to the illustrated manuscripts of the period can we begin to appreciate and understand the vibrant cosmopolitanism and dynamic creativity of the late fourteenth century before the Timurids ushered in greater codification of the pictorial arts.

CHAPTER 19

Illustrated Messages of Love in the Diez Albums

Karin Rührdanz

Strictly speaking, most of the dispersed folios dealt with here were not part of the albums, because they were not intended to be seen. These invisible text fragments had been used as stabilising supports between large paintings in Diez A fol. 70.[1] A few small miniatures, however, which had presumably been cut from the same manuscript as the discarded text folios, ended up in the albums Diez A fols. 71 and 73. Ipşiroğlu had already grouped four of these miniatures (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5; p. 45, no. 6; p. 42, no. 5; p. 18, no. 2; figs. 19.4–7) under the theme "Lady and maid" and dated them to the beginning of the fifteenth century.[2] The small, intimate miniatures differ markedly from the action-filled, frequently large pictures that come immediately to mind when the Diez albums are referred to. As will be shown, these unpretentious pictures represent the earliest known illustrations to *mathnavī* poems of the *Dahnāma* genre.[3]

Like the so-called Saray albums, the Diez albums allow us to glimpse a period of extensive pictorial exploration which in its scope and daring was unique in the history of Persian painting. In the fourteenth century, most pronouncedly in its second half, and to a lesser degree during the early fifteenth century, the direction Persian miniature painting would take was determined. The kind of pictures in the albums, full of strange events and bizarre actions, would not be encountered again in the following centuries.[4] Classical works of polite literature[5] such as the *Shāhnāma*, post-*Shāhnāma* epics, *Kalīla va Dimna*, and scholarly texts like Rashid al-Din's

1 Klaus Appel and Dieter George, "Die Saray-Alben der Staatsbibliothek und ihre Restaurierung", *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 9 (1971), p. 231 and fig. 65.

2 Mazhar Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 61, nos 86–89. In fact, two of them show a young man, in the latter case with a male servant. To this group at least Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 1 (fig. 19.8), should be added, and most probably also Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 5.

3 In the course of my research I heavily relied on the support of Maria Subtelny. I am profoundly grateful for her help in all matters of Persian poetry. I would also like to thank the libraries and manuscript collections that allowed me to inspect manuscripts or provided images of complete manuscripts or parts of them: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; British Library, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon; Keir Collection; and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. I am also thankful for the opportunity to study some relevant manuscripts, for instance from the Majlis Library, Tehran, and from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, online.

4 For a few examples, see Diez A fol. 70, p. 6; Diez A fol. 71, pp. 2, 13–14, 22, 24, 26 (no. 1), 36, 39; Diez A fol. 72, pp. 19–20.

5 For differentiation of polite and popular works, see William L. Hanaway, "Variety and Continuity in Popular Literature in Iran", in *Iran: Continuity and Variety*, ed. Peter Chelkowski, New York 1971, pp. 59–75.

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Chronicles inspired paintings, but so too did popular literature, in particular prose romances.[6] Rich opportunities opened up for Persian painters in the course of the fourteenth century before the eventual closing of all avenues but one, the visual expression of romance and mystical ideas. Located at the opposite end from prose romances, the manuscript that can be partially reconstructed from the fragments in the Diez albums shared in the formation of a visual language for the romantic *mathnavī*. However, as a particular type of *mathnavī*, it falls short of action and is mainly based upon the exchange of messages, thus forming the strongest contrast possible to the narrative paintings that predominate among the miniatures in the Diez albums.

Messages, whether sent as letters or delivered orally by trusted messengers, have a natural place in romantic *mathnavī*s. It seems, however, that they were rarely depicted, probably because such works offer other more attractive episodes for illustration, ones which would clearly mark the progress through the text for the reader. Tellingly, two of the few early miniatures showing the reception of a love message are found in a *mathnavī* called *Bishr va Hind*, about which Basil Robinson wrote: "This poem has very little in the way of a story."[7] When messages prevail and their exchange completely dominates the structure of the text, thereby pushing aside the adventures and trials the lovers usually experience in romantic stories, we are in the realm of the *Dahnāma* ("Ten Letters"), or its sub-genre, the *Sīnāma* ("Thirty Letters").[8] In 1963, Syed Hasan defined the genre as follows:

> It is a kind of romantic *mathnawī* written in similar metre and diction, but it is a purely [*sic*] love poem in which the main purpose of the poet is to describe the emotions and the sentiments that arise in the hearts of the lover and the beloved. The element of story is very meagre and there is as little of the narrative as is required to bind the different pieces together into definite form.[9]

6 See my contribution "From the Mongols to the Timurids: Refinement and attrition in Persian painting", in *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville, Leiden 2016, pp. 172–192; the paper was originally presented at WOCMES III in July 2010.

7 Basil W. Robinson, "Two Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Marquess of Bute, Part I", *Oriental Art* 17/4 (1971), p. 333; for illustrations, see figs. 5 and 7. The volume (Bute MS 351) that contains two poems was attributed by Robinson to the atelier of Iskandar Sultan; see also *idem*, "'Zenith of his Time': The Painter Pir Ahmad Baghshimali", in *Persian Masters: five centuries of painting*, ed. Sheila Canby, Bombay 1990, p. 15. Another depiction of such an episode is found in a *Khamsa* of Nizami from the same period. See Yael Rice, "An Early Fifteenth-Century Khamsa from Shiraz in the Bryn Mawr College Library", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), fig. 8.

8 That the general similarity was also recognised by contemporaries can be deducted from the fact that a *Sīnāma* might be titled *Dahnāma*, as happened in Katibi's *Kulliyyāt*, MS 2615/3 of the Majlis Library Tehran, p. 169. I am grateful to Bita Pourvash for her help in this case.

9 Syed Hasan, "Dah Namehs in Persian", *Indo-Iranica* 16/4 (1963), p. 1.

In 1963, this scholar listed six *Dahnāma*s, all but one from the fourteenth century,[10] and in a later article added two *Sīnāma*s.[11] Tourkhan Gandjei in his contribution to the subject came up with a partially different list of six Persian *Dahnāma*s and four Turkish ones.[12] The latest text in his table dates to mid-fifteenth century. Shortly afterwards, Rashid ʿAyvadi included seven texts in his discussion of Persian *Dahnāma*s.[13] Based upon the most recent overview – composed in connection with the edition of such a text by Mihri Baqiri[14] and including works which deviate somewhat from the main structure and content of the "typical" Persian *Dahnāma* – there are now judged to be about thirteen texts.[15] Two of these were composed in the late thirteenth century, eight in the fourteenth, and three in the fifteenth. Nearly all these works are usually better known by their individual titles, such as *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq, Rawżat al-muḥibbīn, Maḥbūb al-qulūb* and *Muḥibb va Maḥbūb*. All these poems were composed in the *hazaj* metre.

While keeping within the limits of the genre, the texts display some variety. In one of the earliest preserved works, the *Sīnāma* (*ʿIshqnāma*) by Fakhr al-Sadat, all thirty letters are composed by the author inspired by a distressed lover,[16] whereas in the *Dahnāma* or *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq*, completed in 1307 by Awhadi Maraghi,[17] both lover and beloved have an equal share in the ten messages. Most texts lack a noticeable narrative. Awhadi, for instance, just states the fact that somebody had fallen madly in love and had started sending

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 1–20. There may have been earlier works as a mention of "old" *Dahnāma*s in Awhadi Maraghi's work suggests; see *ibid.*, p. 5.

11 Syed Hasan, "Sī-nāma in Persian", *Indo-Iranica*, 26/2–3 (1973), pp. 62–71.

12 Tourkhan Gandjei, "The Genesis and Definition of a Literary Composition: The Dah-nāma ('Ten love-letters')", *Der Islam*, 47/1 (1971), pp. 60–64.

13 Rashīd ʿAyvażī, "Dah-nāma-gūy dar adab-i pārsī", *Nashrīyya-yi Dānishkāda-yi adabiyyāt va ʿulūm-i insānī-yi Tabrīz*, 27 (no. 116, 1354 [1975–76]), pp. 525–560. I would like to thank Nasrin Askari, who supplied me with this article.

14 Mihrī Bāqirī, *Dah-nāma-yi 'Rūḥ al-ʿāshiqīn': chashm-andāzī bar vaqāyiʿ-i ʿaṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Tehran 1388 (2009–10), pp. 57–60.

15 This preliminary list would comprise:
Fakhr al-Din ʿIraqi (d. 1289) [or by Shaykh ʿAtaʿi]: *ʿĀshiqnāma.*
Humam Tabrizi (d. 1313–14) : *Suḥbatnāma* (both texts should be placed on the fringes of the genre).
Awhadi Maraghi (d. 1337–38): *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq.*
Rukn-i Sa'in Haravi (d. 1363): *Tuḥfat al-ʿushshāq.*
ʿUbayd Zakani (d. 1371): *ʿUshshāqnāma.*
ʿImad al-Din Faqih (d. 1371–72): *Dahnāma* (this also deviates from the typical *Dahnāma*).
Shah Shujaʿ (d. 1384): *Rūḥ al-ʿāshiqīn.*
Ibn-i Nasuh Shirazi (d. 1390–91): *Maḥabbatnāma.*
Ibn-i ʿImad (d. 1397–98): *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn.*
Saʿd al-Din Hariri (d. after 1398): *Maḥbūb al-qulūb.*
ʿAyshi (d. after 1405): *ʿIshratnāma.*
ʿImad ʿAziz Bukhari (d. after 1416): *Rawżat al-ʿāshiqīn.*
ʿArifi Haravi (d. about 1449): *Dahnāma.*
To these two *Sīnāma* should be added:
Amir Husayn Husayni al-Haravi (Fakhr al-Sadat, d. *c.* 1319): *ʿIshqnāma.*
Katibi (d. 1434–35): *Muḥibb va Maḥbūb.*

16 For author and work, see Hasan, "Sīnāma", pp. 62–63.

17 For Awhad al-Din b. Husayn, see Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Awḥadī Marāgaʾī", *EIr* III.

messages to the beloved.[18] ʿUbayd Zakani's *ʿUshshāqnāma*, in contrast, integrates the exchange of love letters into a romantic story, although not a very elaborate one.[19] It is therefore disputed whether this work should be counted among the *Dahnāma*s, as is also the case with Salman Savaji's (d. 1376) *Firāqnāma*.[20]

It appears that Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq* remained influential, and set the standard for the period when the genre was popular. Other *Dahnāma*s followed more or less rigorously its intricate but lucid structure. The division into shorter passages is repeated in each of the ten sections of the *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq*. The first part of each section starts with the letter, includes a *ghazal*, and finishes with one or two *mathnavī* verses. Next comes a short *mathnavī* passage on the reception of the message and a formal conclusion (*khulāṣat-i sukhan*). This second part is followed by a story (*ḥikāyat*) in the case of Awhadi's work featuring love and famous lovers such as Layla and Majnun, Mahmud and ʿAyad, the candle and the moth *etc*. With a few more verses (*tamāmī-yi sukhan*), the section is closed and the transition made to the next.[21] Two major variations were introduced by later authors. A number of the otherwise typical *Dahnāma*s omitted the exemplary stories;[22] Katibi in his *Muḥibb va Maḥbūb* added a section describing in detail the beauty of the beloved before the exchange of messages begins.[23]

The zenith for *Dahnāma* compositions was obviously the second half of the fourteenth century. A considerable number of manuscripts which preserved the texts for us were written in the first half of the fifteenth century. They testify to the popularity in particular of one *Dahnāma*, Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq* during this early period. The illustrated

18 *Kulliyyāt-i Awḥadī Iṣfahānī maʿrūf bi Marāghī*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1340 (1962), p. 456.

19 *Kulliyyāt-i ʿUbayd Zākānī*, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl, Parvīz Atābakī, Tehran 1343² (1964–65), pp. 120–148.

20 Gandjei, "Genesis and Definition", p. 66.

21 *Kulliyyāt-i Awḥadī*, ed. Nafīsī, pp. 455–479.

22 This holds true, for instance, for Ibn-i ʿImad's *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn* (Bodleian Library, Ms Fraser 82), Saʿd al-Din Hariri's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* (BnF, suppl. pers. 1531) and ʿUbayd Zakani's *ʿUshshāqnāma* (which, instead, emphasises the main love story; see reference in note 19), while Shah Shujaʿs *Rūḥ al-ʿāshiqīn* includes *ḥikāyat* only with the sixth and seventh sections (see reference in note 14).

23 For the author Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Abdallah Nishapuri, see Hasan, "Sī-nāma", p. 67; Edward G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (*AD 1265–1502*), Cambridge 1920, pp. 487–489; for the peculiarity mentioned, see Hasan, "Sī-nāma", p. 70. In this context, Maria Subtelny pointed to a possible influence from Mahmud Shabistari's poetical explanations of the mystical connotations of every part of the beloved's face; see Robert A. Darr, *Garden of Mystery: The Gulshan-i rāz of Mahmud Shabistari*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 135–144. For the text of Katibi's *Sīnāma*, see also manuscripts in the Majlis Library (note 8) and in the British Library, Add. 7768, fols. 293v–334v. In the British Library manuscript (dated 1453), another difference can be found in the effort to describe the beauty of the beloved, and in the topics dealt with in the letters, unmistakably understood in a mystical way through the use of the word *ishārat* in the titles wherever possible. With no critical edition at hand it is impossible to say whether this reflects the author's intention. However, another copy (Bodleian Library, Elliot 177), dated 1484, displays the same kind of headlines.

anthologies produced in the first half of the fifteenth century in Shiraz as well as in Herat are the most important evidence. Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq* was included in the Gulbenkian Anthology (dated 1411),[24] as well as in an anthology now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (partly dated 1411).[25] The anthology made in 1420 for Baysunghur at Shiraz contains ʿUbayd Zakani's *ʿUshshāqnāma*,[26] and another anthology in the British Library had Ibn-i ʿImad's *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn* added about two decades after the main texts had been copied.[27] Interesting too is an anthology completed in 1438 which, besides the *Dīvān* of Salman Savaji, contains *Dahnāma*s by four different authors.[28] In all these cases the *Dahnāma*s appear in the margin column, and it is only in the Gulbenkian Anthology that Awhadi's text was illustrated with a miniature representing the lover at the feet of his beloved (fol. 65v, fig. 19.1). That a margin text was provided with a miniature confirms that *Dahnāma*s were not only deemed worthy of being included in anthologies in the early fifteenth century but also of being illustrated.

While the miniature in the Gulbenkian Anthology is the earliest *Dahnāma* illustration so far discovered in a dated manuscript, there is more evidence pointing to early illustrated *Dahnāma*s. Of particular interest is a leaf now in the Keir Collection (fig. 19.2). It represents late Jalayirid painting and was dated by Robinson to the end of the fourteenth century.[29] The couplet included in the picture proves that the folio once belonged to a copy of Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq*.[30] This leaf also reminds us that we should look for illustrated *Dahnāma*s not in margin columns but in copies where their texts are placed in the central field, which offers a more fitting space for illustration. The

24 Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, LA 161, fols. 57v–66r. I would like to thank Ilse Sturkenboom for pointing me to the *Dahnāma* in this anthology. For the contents of the anthology, see Priscilla Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content", in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Leiden 1992, pp. 116–131.

25 13.228.19, fols. 88v-97r, see Abraham V.W. Jackson, Abraham Yohannan, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts Including Also Some Turkish and Arabic Presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York by Alexander Smith Cochran*, New York 1914, p. 79–90. For correction of the authors' verdict on the manuscript, see http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/446553.

26 Museum für Islamische Kunst Berlin, I. 4628, pp. 343–357, see Ernst Kühnel, "Die Baysonghur-Handschrift der Islamischen Kunstabteilung", *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931), pp. 133–152.

27 Or. 13802, see Norah M. Titley, "A Khamsa of Niẓāmī Dated Herat, 1421", *The British Library Journal*, 4 (1978), pp. 161–186.

28 Egyptian National Library Cairo, 156 m Adab Farsi; see *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-fārisiyya*, I, Cairo 1966, p. 168, no. 710. The authors represented are Awhadi, Ibn-i ʿImad, Rukn-i Sa'in Haravi and Ibn-i Nasuh Shirazi. The *Firāqnāma* is also included. I thank Noha Abou-Khatwa for providing me with the catalogue information.

29 Basil W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, London 1976, pp. 143–144, no. III.28, pl. 17.

30 The verse speaks about the arrival of a letter which prompted the lover to tear his robe; see *Kulliyyāt-i Awḥadī*, ed. Nafīsī, p. 465, verse 9887.



FIGURE 19.1 The lover meets his beloved, Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq, *Awhadi Maraghi, Shiraz, 1410–11. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation,* LA *161, fol. 65v.*

fragments in the Diez albums belonged to such a manuscript with a simple two-column layout.

The discarded pages in Diez A fol. 70 (fig. 19.3) represent only a fraction of the original manuscript. Sixty-six leaves[31] are preserved. This would not pose a significant problem for the reconstruction of the manuscript if we had an edition of the text to compare it with. As it stands, so far not even a manuscript containing the same work has been discovered – it may be that, like a *Dahnāma* called *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, which is only known through one manuscript, a single copy alone survives.[32] To estimate the original number of folios in the corpus, we have to bear into mind two things: first, the highest of the numbers that can still be read on about two thirds of the pages is 101 (fig. 19.9);[33] second, the numbers designate pages rather than

31 Diez A fol. 70, p. 2, nos. 2–4, p. 3, nos. 2–5, p. 4, nos. 2–4, p. 5, nos. 2–6, p. 6, nos. 2–3, p. 7, nos. 2–7, p. 8, nos. 3–4, p. 8, nos. 5–9, p. 9, nos. 3–8, p. 10, nos. 2–6, p. 11, nos. 2–8, p. 17, nos. 2–8, p. 18, nos. 3–8, p. 22, nos. 2, 5, 6, p. 23, nos. 3–4.

32 Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. persan 1531, fols. 129v-162r ; see Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* III, Paris 1928, p. 179–180, no. 1508.

33 Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 5.



FIGURE 19.2
The lover in distress after being rejected, Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq, *Awhadi Maraghi, Baghdad?, late fourteenth century. Keir Collection, no. III.28.*



FIGURE 19.3
Folio of an unidentified Dahnāma *fragment, about 1400. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 11, no. 6.*

folios.[34] The text is written in two columns with fifteen lines per page in small *nastaʿlīq*. The written surface is more or less all that is preserved of the folio. It covers about 13.5 × 6.5(–7.0) cm and is ruled in gold. Captions take up the width of both columns and are executed in gold on plain paper. The use of gold for rulings and headlines remains the only illumination preserved in the fragments.

The structure of the text reflects the model of Awhadi's work in a simplified manner, as far as the first two parts of each section are concerned. The message (here usually called *payghām*) includes a *ghazal* and finishes with a conclusion (*khulāṣat-i sukhan*). This is followed by the report on the delivery of the message, the reaction of the addressee, and the engagement of a new messenger. Then a new section starts with the message sent in reply. There is no third part centring on an exemplary story. As important as this variation is, however, this *Dahnāma* owes its special flavour to another change. The lover and his beloved – here called *muḥibb* and *maḥbūb* as well as *ʿāshiq* and *maʿshūq* interchangeably – are supported in their endeavours by a number of go-betweens: Moon and Sun; *bād-i ṣabā*, the Zephyr, and *shamāl*, the North Wind; Comb and Mirror; Candle and Moth; and Rose and Nightingale. The numbers of the messages are not included in the captions but are implied by references to the various messengers. Their involvement determines the area of poetic metaphors from which the vocabulary of each message is selected. The introduction of ten different messengers looks like an ingenious way to bring some variety and diversion back into the *Dahnāma* without concocting a background story.

With one exception, the same messengers as listed above are involved in the exchange of letters between lover and beloved in a *Dahnāma* which appears in the lists of Gandjei and ʿAyvadi under the title *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*. Its author has been identified as Shaykh Saʿd al-Din Hariri by ʿAyvadi on the basis of information contained in the text of *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*.[35] It can also be inferred from the poem that the author lived in Baghdad and Tabriz before he sought the patronage of the Shirvanshah Shaykh Ibrahim,[36] to whom the work was dedicated in AH 800 (1397/1398). As already mentioned, this *mathnavī* is preserved in one manuscript only as part of an anthology which also contains two works by an earlier poet, Humam al-Din Tabrizi.[37] It was copied by Jaʿfar b. ʿAli Tabrizi in 1413.[38] The employment of the calligrapher Jaʿfar

34 The leaves share the deplorable trait of most items in the Diez albums: they lack any text on the back. This looks especially odd for text pages used as filling material, *i.e.* with no incentive to split them in order to preserve both sides of the leave separately. However, in several cases the text seems to continue immediately on pages with consecutive numbers.

35 ʿAyvażī, "Dah-nāma-gūy", pp. 545–547.

36 *Ibid.*, 545, 548; Gandjei, "Genesis and Definition", p. 62.

37 Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. persan 1531; see reference in note 32. For Humam al-Din Tabrizi, whose *Suḥbatnāma* is counted among the "predecessors" of the typical *Dahnāma* (see note 15), see George M. Meredith-Owens, "Humam al-Dīn b. ʿAla' Tabrīzī", *EI*[2] III.

38 This is obviously the famous Jaʿfar Baysunghuri, best known for his work in Herat for the Timurids Shahrukh (d. 1447) and his son Baysunghur (d. 1434). Prior to 1420, he was active in western Iran; see Mahdī Bayānī,

Tabrizi and the luxurious copy suggest that the three texts included in the volume were popular at the courts of the late Jalayirid and early Timurid period.

However, although the *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* and the text fragments in Diez A fol. 70 share the unique characteristic if having ten messengers involved, and overwhelmingly the same ones, their texts differ. In addition, Hariri's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* is more thoroughly structured and attaches the messengers in different order to the lover, respectively the beloved. How both works relate to each other is a case for historians of literature to determine.

Most probably, the manuscript to which the text fragments in Diez A fol. 70 belonged had been illustrated. It seems that several miniatures in Diez A fols. 71 and 73 once were part of the manuscript (figs. 19.4–8).[39] Because they also lack text on the back,[40] final proof cannot be provided. Fortunately, we can rely on more than the measurements of the written surface[41] and the mere visual impression since a caption has been accidentally preserved with one of the paintings (fig. 19.4). This headline establishes the connection between the miniature and the text fragment. It accompanies the picture of a young man sitting in an alcove while a maiden holding a large candle lifts a curtain to leave the room, and reads: "Sending the candle to the beloved and with the candle the lamentation of the lover" (Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5).[42] The "speaking" gesture that the young man is making with his left hand indicates that he is the sender of the message. In another picture (fig. 19.5 – Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 6), he is on the receiving end when a mirror is brought to him, the very messenger dispatched by the beloved. In yet another case (fig. 19.6 – Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 5), it seems to be the young woman who conveys a message while the miniature Diez A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 2 (fig. 19.7) may allude to the Sun acting as a messenger on behalf of the beloved. As for the fifth painting (fig. 19.8 – Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 1), it does not seem profitable to speculate where it may once have belonged in the text.

Although it can be assumed that there were further miniatures, the preserved specimens point to the prevalence in the pictorial programme of compositions representing the sending and receiving of messages as the minimal element of action contained by the *Dahnāma* text. The only chance for diversification was exploited by the incorporation of the various messengers into the compositions.

Various characteristic elements in the pictures are likewise displayed in miniatures originating from Baghdad, Tabriz, Shiraz and Herat over a period from about

Aḥvāl va āthār-i khūshnavīsān, I, Tehran 1363 (1984–85), pp. 114–123, no. 181.

39 Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5 (fig. 19.4), p. 18, no. 2 (fig. 19.7), p. 42, no. 5 (fig. 19.6), p. 45, no. 6 (fig. 19.5), and most likely Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 1 (fig. 19.8). Counting the miniature on Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 5 among the *Dahnāma* illustrations would necessitate the assumption that its width was considerably altered.

40 Information kindly provided by Christoph Rauch.

41 The width of the pictures varies between 6.6 and 7 cm (with the exception of Diez A fol. 71, p. 40, no. 5, mentioned above). These measurements fit the width of the written surface of the text pages.

42 *Firistādan-i shamʿ-rā pīsh-i Maḥbūb va-zārī-yi Muḥibb bā shamʿ.*



FIGURE 19.4
The lover sends his message with the candle, *unidentified* Dahnāma, *about 1400.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, no. 5.*



FIGURE 19.5
A message is returned to the lover by the mirror, *unidentified* Dahnāma, *about 1400.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 45, no. 6.*



FIGURE 19.6 The beloved sending(?) a message, *unidentified* Dahnāma, *about 1400. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 42, no. 5.*



FIGURE 19.7 The beloved and her messenger, the Sun, *unidentified* Dahnāma, *about 1400. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 18, no. 2.*



FIGURE 19.8
Three female attendants carrying wine and sweets, *unidentified* Dahnāma, *about 1400. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 56, no. 1.*



FIGURE 19.9
Folio of an unidentified Dahnāma *fragment, about 1400. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 22, no. 5.*

the 1380s to the 1420s.[43] Among those are the slim, elongated, low-waisted figures in upper garments which are buttoned at the front and allow for a deep neckline exposing layers of clothes beneath. They wear loose turbans or – in the case of women – fancy scarves covering mainly one side of the head. The simple architectural background is structured and decorated in the same way with tile panels, wooden frames and wall paintings in blue, and is complemented by the same carpet and cushion ornaments. Their arrangement in the few *Dahnāma* illustrations preserved in the Diez albums compares best to the smaller, less imposing manuscripts from this period. The construction of a simple architectural background by the use of ornamented rectangles and the keeping of the miniature within the limits of the written surface, though without including verses in the picture itself, point to a relationship with manuscripts such as the Jalayirid *Kalīla va Dimna* copies,[44] the *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 1386–88,[45] and the *Bishr va Hind* (Bute MS 351), mentioned above.[46] The illustration to Awhadi's text in the Gulbenkian Anthology can also be cited here, although its position in the margin column forced the painter to work in an unusual space.[47] In any case, the simple compositions featuring two or three figures only which illustrated the Diez album *Dahnāma* faithfully reflected the nature of the text with its mood of solitude and intimacy.

Illustrated *Dahnāma*s remained scarce over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From time to time, however, they seem to have caught the attention of a patron. It is of particular interest that a *Dahnāma* anthology was prepared for the Timurid Sultan Abu Saʿid (r. 1452–69)[48] – little is known, however, about his patronage of illustrated

43 Given that both Hariri's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* and Katibi's *Muḥibb va Maḥbūb* had been dedicated to Shirvanshah rulers, it is also possible that the manuscript could have been produced for a patron there. For the involvement of the Shirvanshahs in the production of illustrated manuscripts during the period in question, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), pp. 224–227.

44 As well as the dated (1391) manuscript suppl. persan 913 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, made for the Jalayirid Sultan Walad, the re-used miniatures (controversially attributed to dates between 1375–85 to the 1420s) which have been placed into a Timurid copy (TSMK, H. 362, dated 1431) contain comparable elements. See, on both manuscripts, Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century*, London 2003, pp. 280–287, 256–260; for illustrations in the latter copy, see in particular *ibid*., pls. 46, 47 and 77.

45 British Library, Add. 13297, copied in Baghdad. See Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum*, London 1977, pp. 143–144, no. 324A; Norah M. Titley, "A Fourteenth-Century Khamseh of Niẓāmī", *The British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1971–72), pp. 8–11; Priscilla Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's 'Khamseh': 1386–1482", PhD dissertation, New York University, 1971, pp. 205–240.

46 See note 7.

47 See note 24.

48 Jean Aubin, "Abū Saʿīd", *EI*² I; Abbas Zaryab, "Abu Saʿīd Gūrakān", *EI*² II.

manuscripts.[49] This renders the illustrations a rare document featuring painting under this ruler. In the volume, now in the Chester Beatty Library, Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq* appears in the company of Amir Husayni's *Sīnāma*/*ʿIshqnāma* and Salman Savaji's *Firāqnāma*.[50] Of the six miniatures, three illustrate the *ʿIshqnāma* and reflect the idiosyncrasy of the text, which has only the author/lover speaking about his passion. The one miniature (fol. 58r, fig. 19.10) accompanying Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq* represents a characteristic *Dahnāma* subject, an old woman who has handed over a letter to a young man. Stylistically, this miniature connects well to the Herat manuscript illustration of the late 1440s, in particular to the copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* dedicated to Ulugh Beg.[51] Visual enrichment of the composition through the incorporation of scenes from domestic life brought the painting into line with the artistic development that had taken place over the first half of the fifteenth century.

In a less sophisticated way, provincial painting responded to the challenge to visualise the exchange of love messages. One example is a small volume containing Ibn-i ʿImad's *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn* and most probably originating from north-eastern Iran in the late fifteenth century. Some effort was invested into the four simple but neatly executed paintings, including the use of gold and silver and detailed textile ornamentation.[52] Two illustrations show the beloved having received a letter; the last miniature represents the eventual meeting of the lovers. The first one placed before the exchange of messages borrowed from another story depicting Majnun, the archetype of a lover feeding gazelles.[53]

Thus, the Diez albums illustrate for us one more literary genre visually explored by artists in the formative period of Persian miniature painting. While the rise in popularity of the *Dahnāma* dates from the early fourteenth century, these texts may have attracted attention in the form of illustration somewhat only later, when painting transferred its focus from

49 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1989, p. 367; but recently Eleanor Sims, "The *Nahj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Saʿid ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: An Illustrated Timurid Ascension Text of the 'Interim Period'", *Journal of the David Collection* 4 (2014), pp. 88–147.

50 Per 149, see *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, I, ed. J.V.S. Wilkinson, Dublin 1959, pp. 84–86; Sims, "Nahj al-Faradis", p. 106–110. In the context of this anthology, the *Firāqnāma* was obviously counted among the *Dahnāma*s; see note 20.

51 Topkapı Saray Museum, H. 786, see Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Niẓāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris 1977, pp. 50–54, no. VII; *idem*, "Sultân ʿÂlî al-Bâvardî un peintre iranien inconnu du XV^{e} siècle", *Syria* 44 (1967), pp. 401–408.

52 Bodleian Library, MS Fraser 82; see Eduard Sachau and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, I, Oxford 1889, col. 783, no. 1265; Basil W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1958, p. 71, nos. 617–620.

53 An allusion to Majnun's love for Layla in the poem allowed for the introduction of this subject; see *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn: Dāh-nāma-yi Ibn-i ʿImād*, ed. Saʿīd Nafisī, Tehran 1314 (1935), p. 12.

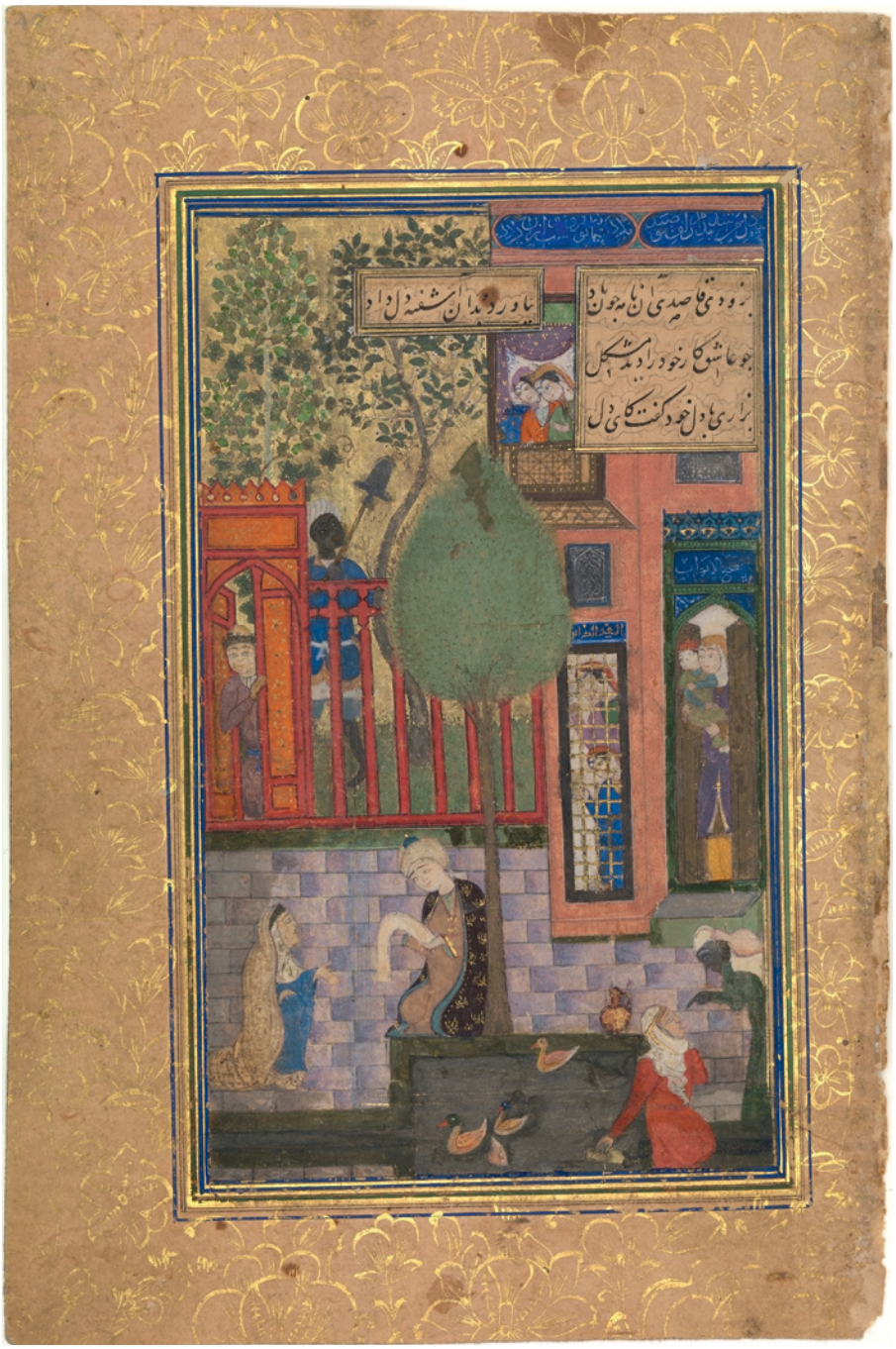


FIGURE 19.10 The lover and his go-between, Manṭiq al-ʿushshāq, *Awhadi Maraghi, Herat? 1460s. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Per 149, fol. 58r.*

the heroic to the romantic epic. Fitting well into this change could not, however, fully compensate for the lack of a story which could provide action to be depicted. Tellingly, in the Gulbenkian Anthology the moment when the lover has stopped sending messages and has gone into action is represented (fig. 19.1). Falling back upon subjects developed for narrative texts was another way of escaping the static depiction of the reception of a letter, or at least its repetition within a manuscript. This points to a development which might parallel, or might even have impacted, the formation of pictorial programmes of another non-narrative genre, the collections of lyrical poetry, which took place about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Europe, China and Istanbul: The Albums in a Broader Perspective

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CHAPTER 20

Persianate Images between Europe and China: The "Frankish Manner" in the Diez and Topkapı Albums, *c.* 1350–1450

Gülru Necipoğlu

The so-called Saray albums in Berlin and Istanbul have mainly been examined to map the transformation of the Persianate artistic tradition through an infusion of Chinese elements in the post-Mongol era. The fascinating Europeanizing images of these albums have therefore largely escaped attention and most of them remain unpublished. This state of affairs can partly be explained by the overwhelming prominence of Chinese and Sinicizing images in the albums. Nonetheless, the sidestepping of works affiliated with the Western pictorial tradition has distorted the global outlook encompassed by the albums, which originated roughly between 1250 and 1350, when Europe and China were brought into contact by the *Pax Mongolica*.[1] Although the Eurasian "world system" collapsed with the fragmentation of the Mongol empire, its artistic repercussions would continue to be felt long thereafter, as demonstrated by the extraordinary contents of the Saray albums.

By taking a close look at the earliest examples of Europeanizing images (*c.* 1350–1450) preserved in the Diez albums and two Topkapı albums (H. 2152, H. 2153), this essay attempts to reframe the Berlin and Istanbul albums anew, within a wider transnational framework.[2] Topkapı

Author's Note: I am grateful to Christoph Rauch for enabling me to examine the Diez albums in Berlin in 2010, and for inviting me to participate in "The Diez Albums at the Berlin State Library: Current State of Research and New Perspectives" conference he co-organized with Julia Gonnella in June 2013. I also thank Gerhard Wolf for giving me the opportunity to deliver a longer version of my Berlin lecture as guest faculty scholar at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max Planck Institute in December 2013, which formed the basis of the present essay. I benefited from comments made on both occasions and by Thomas W. Lentz, who read a draft of this essay.

1 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350*, New York 1989; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, Harlow, England and New York 2005; Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan, eds., *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, Leiden and Boston 1999; Stefano Carboni and Linda Komaroff, eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and New Haven 2002; Linda Komaroff, ed., *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, Leiden and Boston 2006.

2 This is an expanded version of a subsection in my article, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums Reconsidered in Light of 'Frankish' Images", in a volume of studies edited by Filiz Çağman and Selmin Kangal, accompanying the facsimile of two interrelated Topkapı albums (H. 2153 and H. 2160), MAS Matbaacılık, Istanbul (forthcoming, 2016). On the Saray albums, see Ernst Grube, "The Problem of the

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album H. 2152, formerly named after the bibliophile prince Baysunghur (d. 1433), has recently been renamed the "Timurid workshop album" as its primary audience seems to have been the artists and calligraphers of the royal scriptorium in Herat. Believed to have been compiled there during the first half of the fifteenth century, it mostly contains works from the early Timurid courts (1370–1506).[3] Europeanizing images mounted in the Diez albums were likely removed from this album for Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, the eminent Prussian orientalist and ambassador to the Ottoman court in Istanbul (1784–91).[4] Since the Diez albums, assembled at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, comprise specimens largely detached from manuscripts kept at the Topkapı Palace, they provide only indirect clues about the original page layouts of these works.

As for Topkapı album H. 2153, its folios most probably approximated their present layout in the Ottoman court workshop shortly after 1514, when Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) invaded the Safavid capital Tabriz.[5] The contents of this album, comprising texts and images datable from the late thirteenth through the early sixteenth century, are thought to have originated mainly from the booty of Tabriz, where they had ended up after circulating in various court treasuries and workshops. These prized materials were compiled together with others collected in the Ottoman palace treasury and workshop, including early Italian Renaissance engravings (*c.* 1460–80) and Europeanizing polychrome painted portraits commonly associated with the patronage of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), which are not considered in the present essay.[6]

Istanbul Album Paintings", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 1–30.

3 David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600*, New Haven and London 2005, pp. 85–147. There is no evidence that a single patron prompted this album's assembly, pp. 88–90.

4 See David J. Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing, c. 1400–1450: Materials and Creative Procedures", *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), pp. 44–77, especially p. 73 n. 67; David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 115–123, especially pp. 122–23. The Diez albums include some later works dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but these are easily distinguishable from earlier ones.

5 On the compilation of H. 2153 (and its smaller companion H. 2160) in the court workshop of Selim I, and the differing codicological aspects of these paired albums, see my forthcoming essay, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums". The hypothesis that these two albums may have been assembled at the Ottoman court, either during the reign of Bayezid II or Selim I, was first put forth in Julian Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 42–49. They were alternatively named the Fatih albums, after the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (d. 1481), and the Ya'qub Beg (d. 1490) albums, with reference to an Aqqoyunlu Turkmen ruler, because of mounted works associated with them. Both labels wrongly imply that the interrelated albums were compiled for one of these rulers, an implication contradicted by the presence of calligraphies dating after their reigns, the latest being from AH 917 (1511–12). Therefore in the forthcoming facsimile publication, they are referred to as "Saray albums" with inventory numbers H. 2153 and H. 2160.

6 The Italian engravings were collected in Mehmed II's court and not acquired as booty from Tabriz, as some scholars have speculated: See Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums"; and Gülru

H. 2153 can be characterized as a veritable assemblage of "wonders" (*ʿajāʾib*), as it comprises the largest known Islamic collection of exotica in the Chinese and European manners.[7] It combines works that represent these foreign visual idioms with images attributed by inscriptions to old and new masters of the Persianate painting tradition, which was collectively embraced in the Turko-Mongol dynastic courts of the eastern Islamic lands. This unique album thereby constructs an art historical genealogy within which some specimens of Europeanizing Ottoman court painting have been contextualized.

Selim I was fond of the figurative arts and aspired to expand the Western horizons of the Persianate painting tradition cultivated in the Ottoman court, much like his grandfather Mehmed II, whom he proclaimed as his role model.[8] The group of painters and calligraphers he transferred from Tabriz to his own court workshop must have collaborated with their Ottoman colleagues in assembling the bifolios of H. 2153, along with its less monumental companion, H. 2160, which lacks European and Europeanizing works. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, large scale images were exclusively mounted in H. 2153, with some of their scraps and smaller specimens reserved for H. 2160, which is dominated by calligraphy. This systematic selection suggests that the respective programs and differing formats of both albums were determined around the same time. The first and last pages of the latter album bear imprints of the oval sovereignty seal of Selim I (this differs from his round treasury seal, which continued to be used after his death), indicating that H. 2160 was already a bound codex in his reign. By contrast, H. 2153 lacks its first and last pages, which were maybe stamped with seals. Composed of symmetrically designed bifolios on both sides, which were possibly intended to be kept in a box, it could have been bound as a volume later in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.[9]

While examining the bifolios of this album, dismantled in the twentieth century, I discovered to my surprise a rather consistent visual logic governing the compositional schemes of many facing pages in H. 2153, which was previously presumed to have been haphazardly assembled. The original appearance of these bifolios can be reconstructed on the basis of the consecutive sequence of their current folio numbers; this corresponds to the order

Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople", *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), pp. 1–81; especially pp. 18–20, p. 65 n. 94 and n. 95.

7 The only studies that discuss the European and Europeanizing works are two pioneering essays by Julian Raby: "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album", and "Samson and Siyah Qalam", *Islamic Art* 1 (1981), pp. 42–49, 160–163. Other studies that briefly touch upon inspiration drawn from Western European models in some images of H. 2153 are J.M. Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", in *Persian Masters, five centuries of painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, Bombay 1990, pp. 21–38; and Bernard O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections", *Oriental Art* 49/2 (2003), pp. 2–18.

8 On Mehmed II as the role model of Selim I and the latter's interest in the figurative arts, see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", pp. 45–52.

9 On the differing codicological aspects of these paired albums, see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".

at the time they were torn apart, which I have double checked against their matching tear marks. Only a few intact bifolios in H. 2153 have not been separated. The album's symmetrically designed bifolios often feature centerpieces around which smaller items are arranged in comparable page layouts (U-shaped, L-shaped, or flanking both sides) and in looser compositional schemes.[10] The types of image brought together in these systematic *mise-en-pages* invite comparison with one another and evoke suggestive visual parallels. There are no such symmetrically composed bifolios in this album's companion (H. 2160) and in the Timurid workshop album (H. 2152) compiled in the early fifteenth century. Nor do we find comparable page layouts in the Diez albums, assembled much later, or for that matter in sixteenth-century Safavid albums.

Curiously, early Europeanizing images of the Istanbul and Berlin albums that will be examined here are all pen and ink drawings, sometimes modeled in colored washes with touches of gold. This technique, known as "black pen" (*qalam-siyāhī*, or *siyāh qalam*), emerged in the illustrated manuscripts and now-lost mural paintings of two successive Mongol dynasties, the Ilkhanids (1256–1335) and Jalayirids (1335–1432). One of the forerunners of that technique is a copy of the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), produced in Tabriz in AH 714 (1314–15). Its ink and wash drawings against a blank background are both delineated and tinted in a limited range of colors (black, brown, red, and blue), with highlights in gold and silver. Comparable examples in the Diez albums (fols. 70–72) and the Topkapı album H. 2153 were probably detached from early fourteenth-century copies of that historical work.[11]

The "black pen" technique has correctly been interpreted in the scholarship as a Persianate response to Chinese ink paintings and woodblock prints, one initiated by the Ilkhanids, who were vassals of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), under which China became part of a vast Eurasian imperium. I would like to emphasize, however, that this technique also resonates with the *grisaille* method deployed in late medieval manuscripts and frescoes around the same time in the Latin West.[12]

10 See my reconstructions of bifolios mounted with European and Europeanizing images in "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".

11 The "black pen" technique is discussed in Marie Lukens Swietochowski, "Drawing", *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. 7, 1996, pp. 538–39. On Timurid murals and Jalayirid precedents, see Thomas W. Lentz, "Dynastic Imagery in Early Timurid Wall Painting", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), pp. 251–265. For the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* illustrations, see Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-Dīn's Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ġazānī in den Berliner Diez-Alben", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 295–306; Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London 1995; Sheila S. Blair, "The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids" and Robert Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 105–167; Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. J.M. Rogers, Boston 1986, p. 69, pls. 43, 44.

12 Examples include French manuscripts in *grisaille* illustrated by the Parisian painters Matthew the Parisian (*c.* 1200–59) and Jean

This parallel may have facilitated transcultural exchanges through a shared aesthetic interest in the expressive qualities of the line. In fact, thirteenth-century French royal manuscripts – possibly illustrated in the then fashionable *grisaille* technique, with a restricted palette of colored washes against a blank background – were dispatched twice to Qaraqorum, the capital of Yuan China, by the crusader king Louis IX of France (Saint Louis, r. 1226–70) during his sojourn in the Levant. The first time was in 1249, when the king sent gifts from Cyprus, then ruled by the French Lusignan dynasty (1192–1489), including a tent chapel with Christian depictions, chalices, and books. The second dispatch in 1253 from Saint Louis' camp in Palestine was via William of Rubruck, a Franciscan friar born in French Flanders, and reached the court of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–59) in Qaraqorum in 1254. The friar carried with him vestments and illuminated manuscripts, including a Latin Bible donated by the French king, a richly illuminated Psalter "with many beautiful pictures" presented by the queen, a versified vernacular Bible profusely illustrated with gilded polychrome miniatures, other volumes, and a book in Arabic.[13]

As is well known, William of Rubruck encountered in Qaraqorum a small Roman Catholic community comprising French-speaking Hungarians captured in Belgrade in 1241–42. Among them was a Parisian silversmith named Guillaume Boucher, who fashioned a silver crucifix worked in the "French style" for Qaraqorum's Christian community, which included Armenians who disapproved of Latin Christian iconography. He also sculpted an image of the Virgin, once again in the "French fashion" (*more gallicano*) and protected by two hinged doors with carvings of the Gospel history. Master Boucher moreover constructed a fountain spouting different kinds of liquor at the reception hall of the Khan's palace, consisting of a monumental silver tree with four lions at its roots and gilded "serpents" entwined around it, crowned by an angel playing a trumpet.[14] This may be imagined as a hybrid mechanical device, with its lions and serpent-dragons in a Chinese style, and its angel in the French manner. According to Juvayni's (d. 1283) *History of the World Conqueror*, Möngke Khan's palace pavilions, which were "painted with pictures", had been

Pucelle (*c.* 1300–55), and an Italian manuscript produced in Naples during the reign of the Angevin king, Robert of Anjou (r. 1309–43). See Vicenzo Boni, "Lezioni di Musica: il Boezio Napoletano," *ALUMINA*, 29 (2010), pp. 16–23. Giotto di Bondone (1267–1337) used *grisaille* in the dadoes of his frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, completed about 1305; see also grisaille murals discussed in Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy*, University Park, PA. 2009.

13 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson with David Morgan, London 1990; Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: a French artist at the court of the Khans*, Baltimore 1946; Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations, *French Historical Studies*, 30/3 (Summer 2007), pp. 351–394.

14 *Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, trans. Jackson; and Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*.

built by "artisans of every kind [...] brought from Khitai [Cathay], and likewise craftsmen from the lands of Islam," in their respective styles.[15] These precedents must certainly have left a lasting mark on the taste for foreign styles and visual hybridity in subsequent Mongol dynasties who converted to Islam, such as the Ilkhanids and Jalayirids, the Turko-Mongol Timurids, and their Turkmen successors (including the Qaraqoyunlu, Aqqoyunlu, and Ottoman dynasties).

The Taste for Frankish Fashions in Post-Mongol Court Cultures

The thriving Christian communities of European merchants – primarily Genoese and Venetian, but also Pisan, French, and Catalan – in the Ilkhanid capitals of Iran (Tabriz and Sultaniya) and other urban centers diminished rapidly with the anarchy following the death of this Mongol dynasty's last ruler, Sultan Abu Sa'id (r. 1316–35). The downturn was intensified by unsafe road conditions and the catastrophic effects of the Black Death in Europe between 1348 and 1350. Although the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Uvays I (r. 1356–74) tried to restore trade with Venice to its former level under the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id, by sending letters in 1369 and 1373 that invited merchants to Tabriz and offered them road security as well as reduced dues, commercial traffic dwindled. Following the demise of Sultan Uvays and the Timurid invasions shortly after, no trace was left of the Venetian and Genoese merchant colonies in Iran.[16] The Jalayirid capitals Tabriz and Baghdad continued to function as major emporia, but from then on the centers of international trade shifted to the Mamluk ports of Syria-Egypt and to Ottoman Bursa.[17]

While scholars have been eager to study the artistic exchanges of medieval Islamic

15 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, translated by John Andrew Boyle from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, 2 vols., Manchester, UK 1958, vol. 1, pp. 236–239. The terms "Khitai" and "Khitayan" in this context may specifically refer to the Khitans in the Khitai region of Mongolia, recently conquered by Möngke Khan. On the transnationalism of Yuan culture, see Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271–1368*, London 2014.

16 Jacques Paviot, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire mongol", in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole: études*, ed. Denise Aigle, Tehran 1997, pp. 84; Luciano Petech, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire mongol", *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), pp. 549–574, especially pp. 569–570; and Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, trans. F. Raynaud, 2 vols., Leipzig 1885–86, reprint Amsterdam 1959, vol. 2, pp. 64–140, especially pp. 128–131. On post-Mongol Tabriz, see Judith Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, Leiden and Boston 2014.

17 In addition to n. 16 above, see Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*; Tom Sinclair, "Some Conclusions on the Use of Coins on the Ayas-Tabriz Route", in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th Century Eastern Anatolia*, ed. Deniz Beyazıt, Istanbul and Paris 2012, pp. 87–103; Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001, pp. 10–24; Şerafettin Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya İlişkileri. I. Selçuklu'lardan Bizans'ın sona erişine*, Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000; Halil İnalcık, "Bursa: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticâret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar", *Belleten* 24 (1960).

courts with Byzantium and other Eastern Christian communities, there is a general resistance to assess the growing impact of Frankish visual culture in the post-Mongol period.[18] Parallels have been noted between the increased naturalism of the late Gothic and the Jalayirid styles, but entertaining the possibility of a cross-cultural exchange with the Latin West tends to be rejected in favor of Chinese "influence" and "contacts" with indigenous Christian painters.[19] Even studies that acknowledge the presence of Western European elements in Jalayirid and early Timurid works from the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, especially in the depictions of winged angels, have downplayed these elements and shied away from scrutinizing their visual sources.[20]

The fascination in late fourteenth-century Islamic courts with Frankish figurative arts is well attested in the Ottoman capital Bursa, under Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402). After crushing the crusader armies at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, this ruler demanded a ransom of figural tapestries produced in Arras (northern France), depicting "appropriate ancient histories," in exchange for the captive son of Philip the Bold, the founder of the Valois Duchy of Burgundy (1364–1477). In response to the request, the duke sent, among other items, a series of the finest-quality Arras tapestries portraying "the history of King Alexander [the Great], with the major part of his life and his conquests."[21] One

18 For instance, a study on the Byzantine sources of early fourteenth-century illustrations in the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* mentions Rashid al-Din's correspondence and exchange of books with Western scholars, but categorically asserts that manuscripts from Europe did not provide models for this work. See Terry Allen, "Byzantine Sources for the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn", *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985), pp. 121–136, especially p. 122. The availability in Rashid al-Din's scriptorium in Tabriz of Chinese handscrolls and woodblock printed books, Byzantine religious manuscripts, and Frankish vernacular histories, as models for the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, is hypothesized without providing concrete examples in Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, pp. 45–54, p. 64, pp. 68–69. Blair states that the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* reveals "inspiration of Italian works by the likes of Simone Martini, Lorenzetti, and their contemporaries", and a "willingness to echo contemporary Italian and French art", but again without substantiating these claims: see her "Religious Art of the Ilkhanids", pp. 112–124, pp. 162–165.

19 Dorothea Duda, "Die Buchmalerei der Ǧalāʿiriden (1. Teil)", *Islam*, 48 (1972), pp. 28–76, especially pp. 55–56; "Die Buchmalerei der Ǧalāʿiriden (2. Teil): Die Malerei in Tabrīz unter Sulṭān Uwais und Ḥusain", *Islam* 49 (1972), pp. 153–220, especially pp. 165–215.

20 On Europeanizing Jalayirid angels, see Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The Dīwān of Sultan Aḥmad Ǧalāʾir in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.", *Kunst des Orients* 11/1–2 (1976/1977), pp. 43–84; and Frederik Robert Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a Ms. of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair*, Vienna 1926. For the marginal illuminations with angels of a Timurid dispersed *Shāhnāma* attributed to Herat (*c.* 1425–50) which "betray European influence" from Italy or Flanders, see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. 1989, pp. 128–129.

21 Jean Froissart, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises: Chroniques de Froissart*, ed. J.A. Buchon, vol. 13, Paris 1825, p. 401, p. 408, p. 412, p. 417, especially pp. 420, 422. The tapestries that were associated with Bayezid I's claim to be the new Alexander are discussed

of those Alexander tapestries was carted as booty from the Ottoman royal treasury in Bursa to Timur's capital Samarqand, after he had vanquished Bayezid I at the Battle of Ankara in 1402. The Damascene Arab chronicler Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn ʿArabshah, who had been forced in his youth to move to Samarqand upon Timur's invasion of Syria, admired this ten-cubit-wide "curtain" featuring inscriptions and lifelike representations of humans and animals against naturalistic landscapes with architectural monuments. Declaring the tapestry "one of the wonders of the world," whose "fame is naught to the sight of it," he praised its figural images, which appeared almost animated: "with their mobile faces they seemed to hold secret converse with you and the fruits seemed to approach as though bending to be plucked."[22]

A similar enthusiasm for naturalistic imagery in the International Gothic style (*c.* 1360–1433) is also attested in Nasrid Granada, another Islamic capital situated along the fluid frontier with Christendom, like Ottoman Bursa. In the Alhambra Palace, the Hall of Justice, within the Court of the Lions, attributed to Muhammad V (c. 1362–91), features three contiguous vaulted ceilings adorned with polychrome figural paintings on leather in a medieval European style.[23] These paintings, created in the differing geo-political context of the Islamic West, depict courtly themes, echoing the imagery of the French tapestries that so captivated Ottoman and Timurid beholders alike. Their secular subject matter ranges from a meeting of seated Nasrid amirs to mythology, hunting, jousts between Christian and Muslim knights distinguished by heraldic coats of arm, and representations of noble men courting or playing chess with attractive blond ladies dressed in fashionable Frankish attire. Imbued with the iconography of chivalry and courtly love, these visual narratives are enacted against a background of castellated palaces, from whose Gothic-arched open belvederes amorous couples and ladies gaze at exuberant landscapes with fountains, birds, roaming animals, and wild beasts.[24] Such Europeanizing mural paintings were apparently widespread in the mansions and palaces of Nasrid al-Andalus according to the North African scholar Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406). He somewhat scornfully regarded these pictures on walls and the adoption of "Galician" clothing fashions as signs of foreign domination:

with additional bibliography in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", pp. 3–4.

22 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Tamerlane, or Timur, the Great Amir*, trans. J.H. Sanders, London 1936, pp. 216–217.

23 See essays in Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pine, eds., "Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings", Special Issue, *Medieval Encounters* 14/2–3 (2008).

24 On the early development of a culture of "courtly love" in eleventh-century al-Andalus, and parallels between the themes of Arabic Taifa poetry and the Provençal literary tradition, see Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of a Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.*, Leiden 2002. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century "contacts" between the "courtly cultures" of Iberia and southwestern France, with reference to the genre of "idyllic romances", see Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean: Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ*, London and New York 2007.

> The [Muslim] Spaniards are found to assimilate themselves to the Galician nations in their dress, their emblems, and most of their customs and conditions. This goes so far that they even draw pictures on the walls and [have them] in buildings and houses. The intelligent observer will draw from this the conclusion that it is a sign of domination [by others].[25]

While drawing such a conclusion may well have been justified, Ibn Khaldun overlooked the reciprocity of artistic exchanges between the Nasrids and their Castilian allies, both of whom deployed a shared language of courtly culture.[26]

Europeanizing ink drawings mounted in the Berlin and Istanbul albums provide further evidence for a hitherto underestimated engagement with figural imagery from the Latin West in Persianate court workshops around the same time. The existence of a global perspective encompassing both China and Europe is, in fact, suggested by the attributive inscriptions of these albums, which identify some images as "Cathayan work" (*kār-i khaṭāy*/*khiṭāy*) and others as "Frankish work" (*kār-i farang*/*firang*). I interpret the two terms as "work in the Cathayan (Chinese) manner" and "work in the Frankish (European) manner," given that the albums contain only a few original images from China and the Latin West.[27] Instead, they are dominated by the works of ethnically diverse Persianate artists, who copied or created hybrid interpretations of models from both artistic traditions. That the same terms could also be epithets or nicknames of artists working in those particular manners is suggested in Dihkhuda's modern Persian dictionary, which simultaneously defines *farangī-sāzī* as an individual who works in a European manner and a work made in a European style.[28]

We do not know when and where the attributions were written, but most of them are in similar hands and seem to have been added close to the time the albums were compiled, sometime between the fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth. One may speculate that those in H. 2153 and its companion H. 2160 could partly have been written by

25 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., Princeton, N.J. 1980, vol. 1, p. 300.

26 On reciprocal artistic exchanges, see Robinson and Pine, eds., "Courting the Alhambra"; and Jerrilyn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*, New Haven and London 2008.

27 The Mongol word for China is *Khitai*, from which Cathay originates; the term may have been derived from the "Khitan people who ruled north China as the Liao dynasty", see McCausland, *The Mongol Century*, 8. Here I am using the term China generically; Yuan China comprised lands in Mongolia, Inner and Southeast Asia.

28 In her article on the genre of Europeanizing painting in late Safavid Iran, Landau cites ʿAlī-ʿAkbar Dihkhudā's, *Lughatnāmah*, 15 vols., Tehran 1372–73 (1993–94): Amy S. Landau, "From Poet to Painter: Allegory and Metaphor in a Seventeenth-Century Persian Painting by Muhammad Zaman, Master of Farangī-Sāzī", *Muqarnas* 28 (2011), pp. 101–131. A Timurid workshop petition from *c.* 1427–28, included in H. 2153 (fol. 98r), does mention an artist whose name was "Khaṭāʾī": Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden 2001, pp. 43–46, on p. 43.

the Safavid painter-decorators and calligraphers that Selim I imported from Tabriz, who likely worked together with their Ottoman counterparts in mounting and reformatting the gathered materials on their current bifolios. It was probably they who added new attributive inscriptions to preexisting ones. In fact, some previously written attributions were cropped during that process.[29] The attributive and evaluative inscriptions are all in Persian (except for two early seventeenth-century marginal notes in Turkish scribbled by or for Sultan Ahmed I). Sometimes complemented by qualitative appraisals and aesthetic judgments, they often display specialized expertise. Such connoisseurial remarks were informed by the collective workshop memory and knowledge of Persianate practitioners familiar with the artworks mounted in the albums, which native Ottoman painters were unlikely to have possessed. Therefore the hypothesis that most attributions in H. 2153 and H. 2160 were written by the Ottoman sultan Ahmed I in the early seventeenth century is, in my view, unfounded.[30]

According to David Roxburgh, attributive inscriptions in the Diez albums are near contemporary additions in the same or similar hands, consistent with a date early in the 1400s, like those of the Timurid workshop album from which they probably originate.[31] It is nevertheless possible that some of the inscriptions could have been added in late Timurid Herat. In these albums, aesthetic appraisals appear mainly on calligraphies, and there are relatively few images with written attributions to artists. This emerging practice may have gained momentum with two no-longer-extant late Timurid albums, only the prefaces of which have survived. Despite the brevity of both prefaces, the lost contents of those albums could have featured more extensive inscriptions, signaling a growing attention to connoisseurship and authorship.[32]

29 See Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums". According to Basil Robinson, when the works assembled in these two albums around 1514 arrived in Istanbul as booty from Tabriz, they were probably "loose drawings" in folders with some form of identification of artists written on them: see Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503", in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray, Boulder, CO. 1979, pp. 215–247, especially p. 243. Another possible scenario is that the materials acquired from Tabriz consisted of some unbound bifolios with already pasted items, accompanied by mostly loose specimens in folders that were assembled in the Ottoman court workshop.

30 See Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".

31 On inscriptions with artist's names in the Diez and Timurid workshop albums, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 338 n. 104; Ernst Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner "Saray" Alben", *Kunst des Orients* 3 (1959), pp. 66–77. The Timurid workshop album (H. 2152) was reconstructed between 1790 and *c.* 1909 after the removal of its contents, which are now pasted in the Diez albums (fols. 70–73); see Roxburgh, "Diez and his Eponymous Albums", pp. 122–123.

32 One of these prefaces was written in 1492 by the Timurid stylist of Herat, Marvarid, for an album owned by Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501); the other preface was composed by the historian Khvandamir (d. *c.* 1535) for an album of painting and calligraphy assembled by the painter Bihzad. See Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 22–23, and pp. 41–42. Moreover,

Since the Timurid workshop album (H. 2152), believed to have been compiled earlier in Herat, bears on fol. 3r the imprint of Selim I's oval sovereignty seal (used only during his lifetime), it too was in his possession. However, there is no evident sign of additions to the contents or inscriptions of this album at the Ottoman court, in contrast to the pair of interrelated Topkapı albums (H. 2153 and H. 2160) compiled later, around 1514. The notable proliferation of attributive inscriptions and qualitative appraisals in these paired albums testifies to an augmented art historical consciousness, which would subsequently become codified in Dust Muhammad's preface to another Saray album, dedicated in 1544–45 to the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza (H. 2154). Nevertheless, the speculation that some inscriptions of earlier Saray albums (H. 2152, H. 2153 and H. 2160) might have been added in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century, after the Bahram Mirza album reached the Ottoman court, seems rather unlikely.[33]

To return to the terms "Frankish" and "Cathayan," they certainly coexisted as stylistic categories from at least Timurid times. For instance, in his Chaghatay-Turkish literary work titled *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb* (The Beloved of Hearts), which was written in 1500–01 and includes a section on different professions, the Turkic poet and statesman of Timurid Herat, Mir ʿAli-Shir Navaʾi (d. 1501), expects the skilled "illuminator" (*mudhahhib*) to master the "Cathayan" (*khaṭāʾī*) and "Frankish" (*farangī*) manners.[34] The same two designations appear in an earlier

biographies of artists suddenly appeared in late-Timurid chronicles and biographical anthologies of poets.

33 For this hypothesis, see Friederike Weis's article in the present volume, in which she proposes that the signatures and attributions related to Muhammad al-Khayyam in H. 2152 and in the Diez albums were added in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century at the Ottoman court. We do not know exactly when the Bahram Mirza album entered the Topkapı Palace treasury collection. Even if it arrived as a gift in the mid to late sixteenth century, I doubt that practitioners of the Ottoman court workshop at that time possessed the necessary connoisseurial expertise or even ambition to identify album images with such detailed attributive inscriptions, in contrast to their predecessors. Moreover, the paired albums H. 2153 and H. 2160 (*c.* 1514) and the earlier Timurid workshop album (H. 2152), which were kept at the royal treasury (Hazine, hence their inventory numbers beginning with "H"), remained largely inaccessible beyond the inner court circles of the Topkapı Palace. The highly privileged Safavid master of the Cathayan manner and "black pen" technique, Shah Quli, who joined the Ottoman court scriptorium under Sultan Süleyman in 1520 and served as the chief of the corps of painter-decorators from the 1540s until his death in 1556, may have gained access to the contents of these early albums. But he died before the arrival of the Bahram Mirza album in Istanbul, probably after the Ottoman-Safavid peace treaty signed at Amasya in 1555. While the few artists who were Privy Chamber pages or royal "intimates", may have consulted the three early Saray albums, the rarified context in which they were kept considerably reduced their accessibility to ordinary court painters like Vali Jan, another Safavid master of the "black pen" technique who joined the Ottoman court workshop in the early 1580s; see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".

34 ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, *Mahbûbü'l-kulûb: İncelememetin-sözlük*, ed. Zuhak Kargı Ölmez, PhD diss. Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara 1993,

Timurid text, this time in Persian, by ʿAbd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, in which he describes his embassy in 1442–44 to Calicut and Vijayanagar on behalf of the ruler of Herat, Shahrukh. A temple the author encounters in India is eulogized as having been carved entirely with wonderful "Frankish and Cathayan designs" (*naqsh-i farangī va khaṭāʾī*).[35] Only mentioning the term *khaṭāʾī*, the Timurid painter Ghiyas al-Din Naqqash expressed a similar admiration for the lifelike figural imagery of Chinese "idol temples" he encountered during an embassy to the Ming court that left Herat in 1419, returning in 1422.[36] Both terms, then, could sometimes, though not always, signify somewhat foreign, wondrous naturalistic representations with an exotic flavor. However, such metaphorical literary uses should not imply that "Frankish" and "Cathayan" were indiscriminately applied to any foreign style.

Attributive inscriptions in the Berlin and Istanbul albums indicate that the two terms were well established, despite their occasional imprecision. Europeanizing ink and wash drawings in the albums are left unattributed, except for one example, which I have named *Eight Figures in European Attire*. This image, analyzed in the next section, is reasonably identified by an inscription as a "Frankish work" (*kār-i farang*) (fig. 20.1). Yet several distinctly Sinicizing ink drawings in the Diez and Topkapı albums have been labeled Frankish works, unlike Europeanizing ones, which are never confused in the albums as Cathayan. For instance, the inscription "Frankish work" (*kār-i farang*) in *nastaʿlīq* script appears on two Sinicizing images in H. 2153: one of them is an early fourteenth-century Mongol Ilkhanid audience scene (fol. 23v); the other is an early fifteenth-century black ink drawing of a standing Chinese woman holding a floral spray (fol. 112r). Another example of a misattribution in a different *naskh* hand in the Diez albums, reading "Frankish work," accompanies a Timurid black ink drawing (*c.* 1400–30) in the Cathayan manner, which depicts two Daoist Immortals (Liu Haichan and Li Tieguai) pointing at a toad (Diez A fol. 73, p. 55, no. 2a). This shows that the confusion was common, and not confined to H. 2153. If the latter drawing was extracted from the Timurid workshop album, like several others in the Diez albums, the confusion may well have originated in Herat. Since indigenous Ottoman artists were generally well acquainted with European images, such misattributions were more likely inscribed by Iranian artists affiliated either with the Timurid, Turkmen, or early Safavid courts, or perhaps with that of Selim I. The images mislabeled as Frankish may have appeared more foreign or exotic to them than those Cathayan works with which they were familiar.

These two foreign traditions of depiction seem to have been considered in a way commensurate with each other because

p. 226, fol. 62v; ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb*, Istanbul 1889, p. 119.

35 Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge, MA. 1989, p. 75.

36 Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, pp. 279–297. See also David J. Roxburgh, "The 'Journal' of Ghiyath al-Din Naqqash, Timurid Envoy to Khan Balïgh, and Chinese Art and Architecture", in *Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations: Art and Culture Between Europe and Asia*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiss, Berlin 2010, pp. 90–113, especially pp. 97, 110.

of a shared, yet differently accomplished, emphasis on naturalism. This commensurability explains why elements from both traditions were seamlessly woven together in hybrid works mounted in the albums. It also explains the concomitant imprecision of their attributive inscriptions. I suggest a date not later than the first decades of the sixteenth century for these inscriptions, judging by the greater precision with which both stylistic categories came to be used from the mid-sixteenth century onward in Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal primary sources.[37] In the following section, I individually examine and reflect upon Persianate ink drawings from *c.* 1350 to 1450 that exemplify the Frankish manner in the strict sense. Although my primary interest in them is not driven by connoisseurship, formal analysis is indispensable as a means to contextualize these unfamiliar album images; I then address their broader implications in the epilogue.

Late Medieval Persianate Ink Drawings in the Frankish Manner: The Jalayirid Tradition

Like its Byzantine counterpart in Greek, *pharangoi*, the term *farang* generally referred to Western Europeans, but it could sometimes specifically allude to the French or Italians who, upon the creation of the Latin Empire (1204–1261) after the Fourth Crusade, came to dominate the Levant during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[38] It was within this context that the Frankish manner began to supplant Byzantine and other Eastern Christian artistic traditions, as one of the preferred foreign visual idioms that Persianate artists drew upon for inspiration. One of several channels of transmission for French and Italian sartorial fashions or luxury objects in the Ilkhanid and Jalayirid domains could have been the

37 Yves Porter, "'From the Theory of the Two Qalams' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology, and Practice in Persian Classical Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), pp. 109–118, especially pp. 113–114; and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures", in Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, eds., *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, Princeton, N.J. 2016, pp. 132–155. Interestingly, the term "*rūmī*" typically used in medieval texts is conflated with "*farangī*" in a mid-sixteenth-century Safavid version of the famous parable of a contest between Byzantine-Greek and Chinese painters, now involving "Chinese-Cathayan" and "Greek (*rūmī*)-Frankish (*farang*)" figural painters (*ṣūrat-garān*), in which the former triumph; see 'Abdī Beg Shirāzī (Navīdī), *Āyīn-i Iskandarī*, ed. A. Rahimov, Moscow 1977, pp. 107–12; discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, "*The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight and Desire*", *Muqarnas* 32 (2015), pp. 23–61, on p. 48, guest edited by Olga Bush and Avinoam Shalem, containing the proceedings of their conference "Gazing Otherwise: Modalities of Seeing" held at the Kunsthistorisches Institut-Max Planck Institut, Florence, on 10–12 October 2012.

38 On the term "*pharangoi*", see Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London and New York 1995, p. 8. French culture was the dominating influence throughout the thirteenth century and to a lesser degree in the next century, which saw the rising dominance of Italians in the Levant (p. 107). French customs and tastes were also adopted in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, which between 1342 and 1375 was ruled by the pro-Latin, Frankish Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus.

trading networks of the Angevin kingdom of Naples (1266–1435), a dynasty of French origin whose cultural influence extended throughout the eastern Mediterranean and beyond. A related northern channel of dissemination may have been Angevin Hungary, which under King Louis the Great (r. 1342–82) encompassed a vast territory from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The king even temporarily occupied Naples when his brother was murdered there.

As noted above, *Eight Figures in European Attire* is the only Europeanizing ink and wash drawing in the Diez and Istanbul albums that bears the attribution "Frankish work" (*kār-i farang*), and correctly so (figs. 20.1, 20.2a–d). Rendered on a strip-like, horizontal band of brownish paper, it portrays standing figures characterized by Frankish physiognomy, hairstyle and attire. The black ink drawing with clear contour lines, sometimes delineated in blue and red, is subtly modeled by means of colored washes in gray, blue, and pink, which give volume to the figures. Awkwardly drawn necks and shoulders suggest that this is not the original work of a "Frank," as a literal translation of the attribution implies, but rather a "work in the Frankish manner." The attributive inscription may alternatively refer to the epithet of an artist working in that manner, whether a "Frank" or not.

The drawing can be ascribed to a Persianate court painter who seems to have had access to a Frankish model in grisaille, probably French or Italian. This raises the question of whether album images in the Frankish manner embody drawing techniques determined by their models or instead reflect the artists' own stylistic idioms.[39] In general, the ink drawings seem to have more closely recorded the foreign subjects of their putative prototypes than their styles. The marked emphasis on outline and contour is a symptom of the concern with the legibility of the model. Yet this observation is complicated by the tendency of some, if not all, artists to modify both the style and subject matter of their foreign sources in works that can best be characterized as creative translations. The purposes of album drawings in the Frankish manner range from study exercises, and copies of motifs for use in other compositions, to finished works of art made for their own sake.

Eight Figures in European Attire, comprising isolated individuals lined up next to one another without interaction, appears to have been a figure study focusing particularly on costumes. The late medieval clothes, headgear, and archaic Crusader-type armaments, such as the swords and small round shield, are characteristic of a period before the end of the fourteenth century, when more closely fitted and shorter-length male attire became the norm. The two standing figures wearing robes modeled in blue and pink washes are women with somewhat masculine physiognomies (figs. 20.2a, 20.2b). The one in profile holds a fruit basket and wears a tiara, her hair in a ponytail hanging down her back. The remaining six monochrome male figures, by contrast, are all worked in gray wash. The falconer on the far

39 On "models" in the Latin West, see Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages* (*ca. 900–ca. 1450*), trans. Michael Hoyle, Amsterdam 1995.



FIGURE 20.1 Eight Figures in European Attire, *Baghdad or Tabriz*, c. *1370. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 54v.*



FIGURES 20.2A–D *Details from* Eight Figures in European Attire. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 54v.*

right wears a Latin scull-cap (*coif*) and a long robe partly covered by a cape, as he clutches a little bird in one hand, with a falcon perched on the other hand (fig. 20.2d).[40]

Based on internal stylistic grounds, Bernard O'Kane has plausibly assigned this previously published album drawing to the Jalayirid courts in Tabriz and Baghdad *c.* 1350–70.[41] The crosshatched rectangular panels decorating the chests and arms of some costumes accord well with this attribution, as crosshatching is one of the diagnostic features he enumerates among the characteristics of the Jalayirid style. A more precise date around the 1370s may be suggested by my reconstruction of the bifolio on which *Eight Figures in European Attire* is mounted. It has U-shaped, symmetrical layouts on both facing pages, each organized around a central painting from the same Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, datable to the 1370s (figs. 20.3a and b). The Europeanizing drawing is pasted adjacent to one of those *Shāhnāma* paintings, with which it may well be coeval. The two contiguous images are framed by partly damaged, nearly identical rulings that were created before both works were removed from their original support and mounted in the present album page (a thin and a thick gold stripe, edged in black lines and an outer line in lapis lazuli). Three parallel vertical working lines drawn in black ink are visible on the standing falconer, whose cape crosses over the gold rulings that were subsequently added to frame this horizontal study sheet as a prized artwork worth preserving (fig. 20.2d).

Written by the same hand as that of the Europeanizing drawing, an attributive inscription in *nastaʿlīq* script on the adjacent *Shāhnāma* painting identifies it as the "work of Master Ahmad Musa" (*kār-i ustād Aḥmad Mūsā*). According to an oft-quoted passage from the calligrapher Dust Muhammad's preface to the Bahram Mirza album, this pioneering court painter of the last Ilkhanid ruler, Abu Saʿid (d. 1335), revolutionized figural painting through an unprecedented naturalism, paralleling that of the Frankish and Cathayan depiction traditions, inventing the painting style still current at the mid-sixteenth-century Safavid court.[42] Several images in H. 2153 are attributed by inscriptions to Master Ahmad Musa, who may have continued to work under the patronage of the Jalayirids.[43] On the page facing

40 While some falconers depicted in Frederick II's falconry book *De arte venandi cum avibus* (The Art of Hunting with Birds, 1240s) also wear medieval skull-caps and short or long robes with a cape, these are polychrome illustrations painted with opaque pigments in a relatively archaic style. See Ms. Pal. Lat. 1071, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

41 O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections", pp. 2–18.

42 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 12. The Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* is attributed by some scholars to Master Ahmad Musa's pupil, Shams al-Din, based on Dust Muhammad's preface, stating that he painted a *Shāhnāma*; see Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnama of Firdausi*, London 2010, p. 12.

43 Dust Muhammad's album preface does not make it clear whether Ahmad Musa, who was trained by his father in the late Ilkhanid period, continued to be active under the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Uvays I (r. 1356–74). Priscilla Soucek has assumed a long career to reconcile Ahmad Musa's hand with manuscripts created under Sultan Uvays; discussed in Bernard, O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting:*



FIGURES 20.3A AND 20.3B *Symmetrical bifolio with U-shaped page layouts around two centrally placed paintings from a Jalayirid* Shāhnāma *of Firdawsi, Baghdad or Tabriz, 1370s. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fols. 55r–54v.*

that of *Eight Figures in European Attire*, an attribution identifies a small painting as the "work of Ahmad Lajin," who was either a contemporary of the fourteenth-century painter Ahmad Musa, or maybe Ahmad Musa himself. Both pages on the reverse of the bifolio have similar U-shaped, symmetrical layouts (H. 2153, fols. 54r, 55v). One of their centrally positioned paintings is from the same Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, inscribed "pen (*qalam*) of Ahmad Lajin." This indicates that the recto and verso of the bifolio, like many others in that album, were mounted with closely related works from the same period.[44] Some attributions to Master Ahmad Musa are accompanied by aesthetic appraisals in Persian. For instance, one of the paintings from the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* is inscribed in

Kalila wa *Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century*, London and New York 2003, p. 238.

44 These attributions "in a later hand" are accepted as plausible in Adel T. Adamova, *Medieval Persian Painting: Evolution of an Artistic Vision*, trans. J.M. Rogers, New York 2008, p. 35. Referring to the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma* paintings, she writes: "Their author must have been either Ahmad Musa himself, or a pupil and contemporary of equal talent". For attributions to Ahmad Musa, see H. 2153, fols. 16v, 22v, 23r, 28r, 28v, 35r, 54v, 85v, 157r. Attributions to Ahmad Lajin are in H. 2153, fols. 55r, 55v, 72r, 107r, 112r, 112v, 134r, 157v. On the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*, see

a *nastaʿlīq* hand as the "work of Ahmad Musa, it is made exceedingly well" (fol. 35r, *kār-i Aḥmad Mūsā bi-ghāyat khūb sākhta ast*). The painting of a wintry landscape with two riding hunters is identified in a similar hand as "work of Master Ahmad Musa, very good!" (fol. 28r, *kār-i Ustād Aḥmad Mūsā bisyār nīk*).

Another published ink and wash drawing mounted in H. 2153, labeled here as *Celestial Vision*, has likewise been attributed to Jalayirid Baghdad or Tabriz and dated to around the last quarter of the fourteenth century (fig. 20.4).[45] I interpret this image as the product of an uninhibited fusion of Europeanizing and Sinicizing elements. It is a highly accomplished, finished work of art rendered on brownish paper in black ink, with gray and blue washes. Framed by elaborate rulings in gold, black, and lapis lazuli, it features a vertical fold mark in the middle. The vibrant energy of this tinted "black pen" image reverberates with the album's corpus of polychrome paintings from the Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*. One of the *Shāhnāma*-related images in the same album, depicting the hero Rustam killing a dragon, is even worked in the "black pen" technique.[46]

On the right side of the Sinicizing landscape of *Celestial Vision*, a bent tree curving downwards frames a five-clawed imperial dragon's enormous two-horned face. The beast is ascending a steep rocky cliff from a deep gorge, with an abbreviated waterscape below (denoted in the foreground by waterfowl among bamboo shoots), toward a celestial sphere of concentric circles, which is ringed by an effulgent blue halo and Chinese cloud bands, or fiery swirls denoting light. The elusive gleaming object hovering in the sky that the dragon is reaching out to clutch may be identified as a flaming pearl of perfection amidst clouds, a metaphor of transcendent wisdom and spiritual enlightenment.[47] The upper left side of *Celestial Vision*, on the other hand, depicts a Christian scene of enlightenment. It represents the miraculous appearance to two men atop a mountain of a fiery six-winged seraph (lit. "burning one," or high-ranking angelic being near the Divine Throne). One of the men is standing in awe with raised hands, while the other is fearfully recoiling on the

also Serpil Bağcı's forthcoming article in the facsimile edition of H. 2153 and H. 2160, "*Shāhnāma* Folios in the Palace Albums: Remains from a Jalayirid Manuscript".

45 O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam", p. 14. A Jalayirid attribution was suggested earlier in Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme", p. 53.

46 The "black-pen" *Shāhnāma* image (H. 2153, fol. 48v) is illustrated in Zeren Tanındı's article in this volume.

47 I thank Eugene Y. Wang for bringing to my attention the *Nine Dragons* handscroll in black ink with touches of red on paper, dated 1244 and signed by the Southern Song artist Chen Rong (active 1235–62). It features a double-horned dragon that has just "grasped the pearl of wisdom" emitting cloudlike flames or light. The handscroll bears colophons by Daoist scholars and priests active in the early fourteenth century. See Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting*, Boston 1997, pp. 90–95, fig. 92; pp. 197–201. The spherical object in *Celestial Vision* could also be interpreted as a Buddhist "Wish-Granting Jewel", or precious pearl (*cintāmani*), through which one obtains the wisdom of enlightenment; see Eugene Y. Wang, "The Emperor's New Body", in *Secrets of the Fallen Pagoda: The Famen Temple and Tang Court Culture*, ed. Eugene Y. Wang *et al.*, Singapore 2014, pp. 64–65.



FIGURE 20.4 Celestial Vision, *Baghdad or Tabriz*, c. *1375–1400. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 120v.*

ground with his face turned towards the heavenly vision.

This section of the drawing seems to have been inspired by images of supernatural encounters on a mountaintop that could have circulated among the Latin Christians of the Levant and beyond. Prototypes for the probably late fourteenth-century Jalayirid ink drawing may have resembled Taddeo Gaddi's *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (1327–30) fresco in the Baroncelli Chapel (Church of Santa Croce, Florence), or Pietro Lorenzetti's *Stigmata of St. Francis* (*c.* 1320) in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi. These subjects circulated by means of tempera on panel paintings, a later example being Gentile da Fabriano's *Stigmata of St. Francis* (1419), which is in the International Gothic style.[48] The visually powerful cleavage at the center of the Sinicizing landscape in *Celestial Vision* accentuates the duality of the miraculous apparition, consisting of a Latin Christian seraph on the left and a Chinese luminous pearl on the right. Whether he was familiar with the iconographic intricacies of these motifs or not, the inventive artist has translated his presumably Frankish model into the prevailing Cathayan mode, thus turning this hybrid image into a cosmic site of encounter where Europe meets Asia.

The Timurid Tradition Mediated by Jalayirid Precedents

The Timurid workshop album (H. 2152) features three Europeanizing ink drawings, all of which are individual figure studies. These simple drawings on undamaged off-white paper are rendered in a starkly linear mode with thick calligraphic strokes and minimal modeling. The three somewhat inconspicuous images depict figures in Frankish attire and hairstyle, yet they are stylistically Persianate works attributable to the Timurid courts of Samarqand or Herat and datable to the first half of the fifteenth century. The relatively flat figures, drawn in a clear, concise manner, differ in style from the two subtly modeled Jalayirid drawings considered above and from other Europeanizing images in H. 2153, to which I shall turn later.

Only one of the three drawings has been published. Drawn in black ink with gray wash and highlights in gold, red, and orange, it depicts a lion-rider taming his mount by holding a snake as a whip. Another snake is wrapped around his waist as a belt, while a third snake encircles the lion's neck like a collar. While the iconography and drawing style of this image are Persianate – resonating with the stories of Sufi saints who used snakes to domesticate lions – the rider's attire appears to be Frankish.[49] The second figure study

48 The relevant paintings by Taddeo Gaddi and Gentile da Fabriano are reproduced in Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums", figs. 23–24. O'Kane hypothesized that the "two apostle-like figures awestruck before a multi-winged angel" were "perhaps derived from a Transfiguration scene;" see his "Siyah Qalam", p. 11. Klimburg-Salter compared the dark tipped wings of angels in Sultan Ahmed Jalayir's *Dīvān* (Collected Poems) with those of the "archangel" in this album drawing, and noted the European influence on them, in "A Sufi Theme", p. 53.

49 Published in Raby, "Samson and Siyah Qalam", fig. 479 (H. 2152, fol. 51v), where he

represents a man with a disproportionately thick neck, wearing a short robe with a laurel wreath on his head and holding a baton, who is walking with a greyhound (fig. 20.5). The boldly calligraphic lines of this drawing, without any modeling or colored wash, are in black and brown ink, with some touches of blue. Its model was probably a medieval classicizing image from the Latin West.

The third figure drawing is mounted next to two others, each framed by rulings (fig. 20.6). The figure on the left represents a standing Frankish nobleman with a headband and sword, who is holding a scepter tipped with a rosette and a multi-string object that might be a musical instrument. His hairdo, ermine-lined robe, pointed Gothic boots, and even the slanted positioning of his feet, evoke medieval European imagery. Yet the figure in this black ink drawing is almost identical to the two accompanying figure studies of dervishes in its linear style, with shading in gray and gold highlights, as well as in its physiognomy, particularly the eyes. The three contiguous figures have been cut out from originally larger drawings of figures standing in a line. Their crude "chocolate-colored" rulings were added when the Timurid workshop album was reconfigured following the removal of the contents that are currently pasted in the



FIGURE 20.5 Man Wearing a Laurel Wreath and Walking with a Greyhound, *Samarqand or Herat, first half of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2152, fol. 96v.*



FIGURE 20.6 Standing Frankish Nobleman, *mounted next to two figure studies of standing dervishes, Samarqand or Herat, first half of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2152, 45r.*

suggested that the prototype was "perhaps the lion-riding, snake-wielding demon, Tarish, in the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy of Abu Maashar's astrological treatise". For a late sixteenth-century Safavid painting of a lion rider holding a snake-whip in one hand and another snake in the other hand, which forms a collar around his submissive mount's neck, see p. 160, fig. 486.

Diez albums. Copies of these dervishes, now five of them led by one holding a beggar's cup, appear in a fifteenth-century study sheet (Diez A fol. 71, no. 68) featuring dervish-like standing figures in two parallel horizontal registers. Some of the dervishes represented in the latter sheet are seen in two other study sheets in a Topkapı album (H. 2153, fols. 32r, 136v).[50]

The Diez albums, in turn, contain three unpublished Europeanizing black and gray ink drawings on well-preserved, off-white paper. Unlike the Timurid workshop album's single-figure Frankish studies, these are more complex images with interactive groups of human figures and implicit narrative content. Likely removed from the Timurid workshop album, the drawings with secular subjects can be identified as Timurid works dateable to the early fifteenth century. One of them depicts an equestrian Frankish king accompanied by two standing men playing musical instruments (fig. 20.7). This purely linear drawing against a blank background has delicate contour lines in gray, with subtle accents in black. The figures sport Frankish costume and accoutrements, such as the king's crown and fleur-de-lis scepter. The standing musicians wear belted robes with what would seem to be hanging triangular purses. Their musical instruments decorated with animal heads recall those of musicians represented in the late thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Songs of Santa Maria), attributed to King Alfonso X of Castile and Leon, which is illustrated with polychrome paintings in opaque pigments. The Diez album drawing may have been based on a medieval French or possibly Iberian source, but the hand of its Persianate artist is betrayed by such details as facial features and the manner in which the horse is drawn, with its tail tied in a knot.[51]

The next two ink drawings in the Frankish manner belong to groups of consecutively ordered Timurid ink drawings in the Diez albums.[52] Both drawings depict amorous Frankish couples on horseback. The probably earlier *Riding Couple with an Attendant* (*c.* 1400) is a line drawing in black and gray ink, with fine gray lines picked up by calligraphic brush strokes in black (fig. 20.8). Rendered against a blank background, it represents a riding aristocratic couple followed by a male attendant on horseback. The woman wears a long robe with hanging sleeves, a wimple covering her neck, and a wide-brimmed hat

50 The three study sheets are discussed in Zeren Tanındı's article on the repetition of illustrations in the present volume. Roxburgh observes that the Timurid workshop album's "chocolate-colored" rulings, which are missing in materials that migrated from it to the Diez albums, "have had an unfortunate effect on the album, contributing to its careless and shoddy appearance;" see Roxburgh, "Diez and his Eponymous Albums", pp. 122–123.

51 This drawing in the Frankish manner is grouped together with two polychrome paintings, also featuring riders (Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, nos. 1, 2; and p. 15), one of them Persianate and the other Cathayan, as if to set up a visual comparison. If so, the sequencing of works mounted in the Diez albums may in places have retained the consecutive order and even composition of folios from which they were removed. Clues provided by sequencing patterns in the Diez albums were noted by Julian Raby and David Roxburgh in their lectures at the 2013 conference in Berlin.

52 The consecutive ink drawings are Diez A fol. 71, pp. 64–68; and fol. 72, pp. 1–15.



FIGURE 20.7 Equestrian Frankish King with Two Standing Musicians, *Samarqand or Herat, first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 70, p. 14, no. 2.*



FIGURE 20.8 Riding Couple with an Attendant, *Samarqand or Herat, first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 71, p. 64, no. 2.*



FIGURE 20.9 Riding Couple with a Dog, *Samarqand or Herat, first half of the fifteenth century.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 15.*

bordered by a fringe.[53] Her male companion, with hair in a Frankish style, wearing a "bowler hat" whose wide brim curves upwards, affectionately wraps his arm around the lady's shoulder. The attendant with a peaked hat is garbed in a short robe. The horses have long manes and tails without a knot, yet the back straps of their harnesses are tied in the Mongol fashion (*i.e.* forming an inverted-V attached to a semicircular loop).

The second drawing, *Riding Couple with a Dog* (*c.* 1420s or 1430s), is also executed in black and gray ink, but with heavier lines, and is more elaborately modulated in gray washes (fig. 20.9). Although an ambitious finished artwork, it contains some awkward details, such as clumsy hands, and physiognomies verging on caricature. The

53 A wimple is a garment around the neck and chin, usually covering the head, which was particularly fashionable among women in the Latin West *c.* 1300–1400.

drawing portrays a courting aristocratic couple on horseback, with the man similarly placing one arm around the woman's shoulder, as a dog wearing a collar with a bell merrily runs along behind them. Unlike the previous drawing, set against an empty background, this one features the added backdrop of a Sinicizing landscape. The background scenery closely resembles a landscape drawing in black ink and gray wash that belongs to the same consecutive group of Timurid drawings in the Diez albums (fol. 71, p. 67).[54]

The woman in *Riding Couple with a Dog* fashionably holds a somewhat deformed lapdog. She wears a robe with pleated hanging sleeves and a peaked hat with tie strings fastened by a tassel hanging over her wimple. Such tiny lapdogs, signifying fidelity, became a status sign in the late medieval period, particularly among French royalty and nobility, but to some extent in Italy as well. The lady's devotee is offering her a pomegranate, a common symbol of fertility in Europe. Once again, the horses have long manes and the back straps of their harnesses are tied in the Mongol fashion, but one of them now features the additional detail of a knotted tail. Another element of hybridity that has been introduced into this drawing in the Frankish manner is the man's exotic costume with a Sinicizing "cloud collar" and his Mongol hairdo, tied on both sides in a bun with ribbons.

A surprisingly close parallel to the two Diez album drawings of riding couples is provided by the stock imagery of early fourteenth-century French Gothic ivory mirror cases, carved with representations of courting couples hunting or riding alongside male attendants (figs. 20.10 and 20.11). Remarkable parallels include the peaked headdresses, with or without wimples, and the elegant long robes with hanging sleeves worn by the noble ladies, who are adoringly embraced by their chivalric companions. The French-style hairdo of the men and the hooded gowns of attendants are also comparable. Originating in classical literary sources, hunting as a metaphor for the love-hunt was commonly deployed as a trope in medieval chivalric romances. With the growing availability of ivory in the first half of the fourteenth century, which declined thereafter, domestic objects made of this luxury material – such as mirrors, combs, and caskets – were increasingly decorated with low relief secular scenes of courtly pastimes and episodes from popular romances, expressing the virtues of courtly love and chivalric deeds.[55] These profane subjects also found their way into religious manuscripts, a relevant example being the tinted ink drawing *Hunters Hawking* which forms a *bas-de-page* scene in the Queen Mary Psalter (*c.* 1310–20), the Latin text of which is accompanied by explanations in French. It depicts a mounted man and a woman wearing a wimple, accompanied by a male servant on foot holding a lure and a female attendant riding behind the

54 For the consecutive groups of Timurid ink drawings, see n. 52 above.

55 Paula Mae Carns, "Cutting a Fine Figure: Costume on French Gothic Ivories", in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Woodbridge, United Kingdom, and Rochester, NY. 2005, pp. 55–91; Peter Barnet, ed., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, exhibition catalogue, Detroit, MI. 1997; Richard Randall, "Medieval Ivories in the Romance Tradition," *Gesta* 28 (1989), pp. 30–40.



FIGURE 20.10 *Carved ivory mirror case depicting a courting couple hunting with attendants, France (Paris), c. 1330–50. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 222–1867.*



FIGURE 20.11 *Carved ivory mirror case depicting a courting couple hunting with attendants, France (Paris), first half of the fourteenth century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA 118.*

couple.[56] Comparable manuscripts or mass-produced portable ivory objects could have reached Tabriz or Baghdad under the Mongol Jalayirids, if not earlier under their Ilkhanids predecessors.

This brings us back to the Topkapı album H. 2153, which contains an unpublished drawing related to the two drawings of riding couples in the Diez albums (fig. 20.12). This is the astonishing representation of a triumphal procession in black ink, subtly modeled with shading in black and gray against a blank background. Its foreground represents a convoy of horses tied from the neck by a strap to parallel rods that must have been connected to a ceremonial cart on wheels on its missing right side. The strip-like format and drawing style of this partially preserved image recalls several black ink drawings on horizontal bands of paper in the Istanbul and Berlin albums, which are generally attributed to the Jalayirid courts of Baghdad and Tabriz.[57]

The *Triumphal Procession* drawing is executed on a piece of brownish paper with tattered edges that lack rulings. It features marks of spilled water and a horizontal fold in the middle. Consonant with its foreign subject matter, the figures represented in this drawing have Frankish physiognomies, hairstyles, and attire. The costumes worn by the male and female

56 For this drawing in the Queen Mary Psalter (Royal MS 2 B. vii, fol. 151r), created in London or East Anglia; see the fully digitized manuscript on the British Library website. http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitised manuscripts/illuminated-manuscripts/page/21/#sthash.iNUtdEu8.dpuf.

57 Duda, "Die Buchmalerei der Ğalā'iriden;" and Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme".



FIGURE 20.12 Triumphal Procession, *Baghdad or Tabriz, late fourteenth to the first decade of the fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 92r.*

spectators on horseback, who populate the background of *Triumphal Procession*, bear a striking resemblance to those of the riding couple drawings in the Diez albums. The spectators here include two women, each wearing the same distinctive peaked headdress, with tie strings fastened by a tassel hanging over a wimple that covers their neck and shoulders. The long robes of both women have pleated hanging sleeves, and the one in the front row once again holds a tiny lap dog. The courting gentleman with a Frankish hairdo on the far left amorously offers her a round fruit, which may be a pomegranate, as in one of the Diez album drawings (fig. 20.9). He wears a robe with an ermine-lined cape or shawl, as does the other man depicted in profile on the right. The latter holds his horse's reins and wears a robe with pleated hanging sleeves and a hood over his head. The horse rider at the center is a young man, wearing pointed shoes and a costume with a fitted upper part and short skirt. His head is crowned by a circular laurel wreath in the manner of ancient Roman triumphs.

Dante (d. 1321), Boccaccio (d. 1375), and Petrarch (d. 1374) were the first authors to revive the imagery of the classical Roman triumph in order to express medieval allegorical concepts. The earliest examples of triumphs staged in Italy included the condottieri Castruccio Castracani's 1326 entry to Lucca, and Cola di Rienzo's 1347 procession in Rome. Interest in triumphs peaked in the generation of Petrarch and his friend Cola di Rienzo, who briefly rejuvenated the ancient Roman Republic: the former was crowned *Poetus Laureatus* in 1341 and the latter's triumphal procession in Rome culminated in his coronation with six wreaths (made of laurel, oak, ivy, olive, myrtle, and silver).[58] Petrarch's poem entitled *Trionfi* (Triumphs, *c.* 1356–60 to 1374) would inspire images in diverse media in a serial genre. Among extant forerunners of this genre are representations of the *Triumph of Fame* in two late fourteenth-century north Italian manuscripts of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (On Illustrious Men), one of them dated 1379.[59]

The *Triumphal Procession* drawing in H. 2153 comes closer to the allegorical Petrarchan concept of the triumph of virtues than to a classical Roman one. The late medieval attire of male and female spectators in this fragmentary drawing reinforces the themes of chivalry and courtly love that pervade its iconography. The previously discussed drawing of a man wearing a laurel wreath and walking with a greyhound in the Timurid workshop album not only lacks the themes of chivalric courtship and triumph, but is a simpler figure study executed in a boldly linear, calligraphic style (fig. 20.5). I have not found a direct Frankish visual source for the *Triumphal Procession* drawing, whose subject is indirectly related to a number of procession scenes assembled

58 Margaret Ann Zaho, *Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers*, New York 2004, pp. 1–69.

59 *Triumph of Fame*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 6069I, fol. 1r; and MS Lat. 6069F, fol. 1r; reproduced in Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford 1974, p. 12, pls. 18, 20. Sara Charney, "Artistic Representations of Petrarch's *Triumphus Famae*", in *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*, ed. Amilcare A. Iannucci and Konrad Eisenbichler, Ottawa, Canada 1990, pp. 223–233.

in H. 2153 and its companion H. 2160.[60] The Europeanizing triumph represented in this ink drawing thematically resonates with the *Triumph of Fame* in grisaille, dated 1379, forming the frontispiece to Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* manuscript mentioned above. Generally attributed to Altichiero da Zevio (d. 1390) or his workshop, that frontispiece depicts illustrious all-male spectators on horseback, some of them wearing laurel wreaths, who are gazing at the horse-drawn cart of Fame represented within a mandorla in the sky above.[61] This image has been related to a no longer extant grisaille fresco painted around 1335 by Giotto di Bondone in the palace of Azzone Visconti, the ruler of Milan (r. 1329–39). A follower of Giotto, Altichiero was involved in painting another lost cycle of frescoes, possibly under Petrarch's supervision, in the Sala Virorum Illustrum (Hall of Famous Men) in the Carrara Palace in Padua. Executed between 1367 and 1379 for Francesco I of Carrara, the ruler of Padua (r. 1350–88), these frescoes were also in *grisaille*.[62]

Some surviving paintings indicate how widely this type of fourteenth-century Petrarchan imagery must have circulated. One of them is a fresco in the Campo Santo in Pisa (1330s or *c.* 1350) representing the *Triumph of Death*.[63] It features aristocratic male and female hunters on horseback, wearing wimples and peaked hats, while a woman sitting with companions in a nearby garden holds a small lapdog. A later portable example is a *Triumph of Fame* painting on a northern Italian *cassone* or wedding chest (*c.* 1400), which likewise represents male and female spectators on horseback, some of them wearing peaked hats.[64]

The pervasiveness of Petrarchan triumphal imagery makes it plausible that a lost variant of this genre may have inspired the *Triumphal Procession* drawing, which is a less hybrid image than the Timurid

60 See the procession scenes with a Chinese carriage on wheels (H. 2153, fol. 73r), a Chinese palanquin (H. 2160, fol. 67v), a Jalayirid royal parade (H. 2153, fol. 153r), and the probably late fifteenth-century Sinicizing Aqqoyunlu *Night Procession* and *Procession with Chinese Porcelain* (H. 2153, fols. 3v–4r; fol. 103v). Interestingly, a late fifteenth-century Italian Renaissance *Triumph of Fame* engraving from the Triumphs of Petrarch series, associated with Mehmed II's court, is mounted in H. 2153, fol. 159r.

61 *Triumph of Fame*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 6069I, fol. 1r; see Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, pl. 20. Spectators in the second frontispiece from the late fourteenth century lack laurel wreaths (MS. Lat. 6069F, fol. 1r), illustrated in pl. 18.

62 See Edith W. Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts of Giangaleazzo Visconti*, University Park, PA. 1991, p. 3, pl. 1; Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, pp. 115–118.

63 I am grateful to Hannah Baader, Senior Research Scholar at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz-Max Planck Institut, for bringing to my attention the Camposanto fresco. It is generally attributed to Buonamico Buffalmacco (active 1315–36), late 1330s; Luciano Bellosi, *Buffalmacco e Il Trionfo della Morte*, Milan 2003. Andrea Orcagna (d. 1368) painted a now-lost fresco on the same subject in the church of Santa Croce, Florence.

64 The *cassone* panel, whose present whereabouts is unknown, is illustrated in Callman, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, pl. 25. See p. 12 n. 34 for differing attributions to Giovanni dal Ponte (*c.* 1420–30) and the circle of Agnolo Gaddi (*c.* 1400 or earlier).

drawings of riding couples in the Diez albums. Based on formal characteristics, this drawing can be attributed to the Jalayirid courts in Baghdad and Tabriz, from the late fourteenth to the first decade of the fifteenth century. It may not be a coincidence that *Triumphal Procession* is mounted next to an even more ragged and brightly colored Jalayirid painting of a black raptor in a rocky landscape.[65] A Jalayirid rather than Timurid provenance for *Triumphal Procession* seems to find further support in the ink drawings that adorn the wide margins of a celebrated copy of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's (r. 1382–1410) *Dīvān* (Collection of Poems) in the Freer Gallery of Art. This manuscript's unsurpassed *qalam-siyāhī* drawings in black ink, highlighted in gold and touches of washes in blue and brown, exemplify a lyrical taste for naturalism (fig. 20.13). It has long been recognized that the exquisite figural drawings set against Sinicizing landscapes are informed by a familiarity with Western European visual models, which evidently decreased in Timurid Herat.[66] The ink drawings of this incomplete manuscript, thought to have been produced in Baghdad or Tabriz for Sultan Ahmad himself, must have been created by a leading court artist sometime between the late fourteenth century and the ruler's death in 1410.[67]

What makes the details reproduced here from a double-page *Camp Scene* in the *Dīvān* relevant for the provenance of *Triumphal Procession* is not their unusually refined drawing style (the album drawing is a less accomplished study with awkwardly rendered arms and hands), but rather the elegant courtly figures with similar large round eyeballs, tiny puckered lips, and pointed noses (figs. 20.14, 20.15, and 20.16). The naturalistic gestures of these figures and the representation of horses are also similar. Moreover, the Frankish costumes worn by spectators on horseback in *Triumphal Procession* remarkably resemble their Persianate Jalayirid versions in the *Dīvān* drawings. Note, for example, the woman with a wimple and the man with a peaked hat in one of the details (fig. 20.16), the tall lady

65 Framed by complex rulings, the painting of this bird of prey has been copied in a newer looking version in the same album (H. 2153, fol. 99r).

66 Awareness of Chinese and Western European models in the *Dīvān* has been acknowledged in Martin, *Poems of Ahmad Jalair*, and Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme", p. 53, without reference to specific sources. Western European parallels are noted, but direct "influence" is rejected in Duda, "Die Buchmalerei der Ğalā'iriden", where China is declared the primary source of inspiration. The *Dīvān*'s style is described as "Chinoiserie, clearly reflecting Chinese ink painting", in Basil Gray, "The Fourteenth Century", in Basil Gray ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, pp. 93–120, on p. 118. See n. 71 below for the hypothetical attribution of the *Dīvān* paintings to the artist ʿAbd al-Hayy or Junayd. Massumeh Farhad's essay in this volume suggests that probably two artists contributed to the *Dīvān* and that some works can perhaps be attributed to ʿAbd al-Hayy.

67 Massumeh Farhad's essay in the present volume discusses the controversial dating of the Freer *Dīvān*. She compellingly proposes that the manuscript, which seems to have been a personal copy of Ahmad Jalayir, was probably produced when this ruler was in control of his territories and not in exile. In the absence of further research, she leans toward a pre-fifteenth-century date.



FIGURE 20.13 Camp Scene, *double-page from the* Dīvān *of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Baghdad or Tabriz, late fourteenth to the first decade of the fifteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Purchase F1932.34 and F1932.35.*

with wimpled headdress standing with her male companion next to a tent in another detail (fig. 20.15), and the mother sitting with her baby in front of a different tent and wearing a wimpled headdress and a robe with hanging sleeves (fig. 20.14). What is more, the crosshatched straps of the latter tent are identical to the saddle straps of the central horse in *Triumphal Procession*. Given that crosshatching has been identified as one of the diagnostic features of the Jalayirid court style, this is a telling clue indeed (fig. 20.12).

Unlike *Triumphal Procession*, which copies a Frankish model, the *Camp Scene* eloquently integrates Europeanizing and Sinicizing details by translating them into a distinctive Jalayirid pictorial idiom. The cosmopolitan flavor of Jalayirid fashions is captured in this double-page drawing and in others in the *Dīvān*, such as the ermine-lined robes with hanging sleeves worn by a standing aristocratic couple in a garden scene. Comparable versions of these costumes were fashionable among Frankish nobility in the Latin West and the Levant.[68] The formation of a transnational community of taste was stimulated by extensive networks of trade, diplomacy,

68 For ermine-lined robes and hanging sleeves in the *Dīvān* and other related images, see Martin, *Poems of Ahmad Jalair*, pl. II and XIII; Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme", p. 45, fig. 2; p. 47, fig. 3.







FIGURES 20.14, 20.15 AND 20.16 *Details from* Camp Scene, *double-page of the* Dīvān *illustrated above in fig. 20.13* (*Two details of F. 1932.34, and one detail of F. 1932.35*).

and conquest.[69] The internationalism of fourteenth-century fashions, which Ibn Khaldun observed in Nasrid al-Andalus in the quotation above, is also documented in a painting of the *Chronicon Pictum* (*c.* 1373–76) illustrated in the International Gothic style for the Angevin ruler of Hungary, King Louis the Great (d. 1382). In this painting, which retrospectively represents the 1285 Mongol invasion of Hungary, captive European women wear stylish robes in the latest Frankish fashion, with hanging sleeves and wimples over their headdresses.[70]

Close parallels between the *Dīvān* and *Triumphal Procession* drawings raise the possibility that the Diez album's early Timurid representations of courting couples in the Frankish manner could have been mediated by the late Jalayirid pictorial tradition. We know that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's favorite court painter and intimate, Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy, was carried off by Timur from Baghdad to Samarqand (in 1393 or, less likely, 1401), where he spent the rest of his life and transmitted Jalayirid artistic practices to his pupils. This renowned artist must have brought to Samarqand portfolios containing not only his own works but also his collection of pictorial models, which perhaps included Frankish originals. Dust Muhammad explains in his album preface that Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy was trained by a student of the previously mentioned Ilkhanid master, Ahmad Musa (called master Shams al-Din), who flourished in Baghdad during the reign of the Jalayirid ruler Uvays I (d. 1374). It is pointed out that this ruler's successor, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir of Baghdad, was trained in depiction by ʿAbd al-Hayy and mastered drawing in the "black pen" (*qalam-siyāhī*) technique. Dust Muhammad adds that after ʿAbd al-Hayy's death in Samarqand, "all masters imitated his works."[71] It is therefore not unlikely that the two Timurid drawings of riding couples in the Diez albums derived from Jalayirid models in the Frankish manner, unless they were copies of early fourteenth-century European works made after a considerable time lag.

The corpus of early fifteenth-century Timurid ink drawings assembled in the Diez albums is, in fact, believed to have evolved from the late Jalayirid tradition. While additional research is required to differentiate between Timurid and Jalayirid drawings mounted in these albums, it is possible that they may contain more Jalayirid examples than previously assumed. The two drawings of Frankish riding couples belonging to that corpus could conceivably be attributed to ʿAbd al-Hayy's students or followers. Possible

69 Among other things, Italian merchants in Ilkhanid Tabriz traded in furs, including ermine. Additional goods included textiles, luxury objects, leather, metals, precious stones, cameos, and pearls; see Paviot, "Les marchands italiens", pp. 80–82.

70 The manuscript painting is reproduced in Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums", fig. 28. French high culture had already infiltrated the Hungarian Kingdom before Angevin rule.

71 Timur deported ʿAbd al-Hayy from Baghdad in 1393 according to Duda, who attributes the *Dīvān* drawings to the artist Junayd; see "Die Buchmalerei der Ğalā'iriden", p. 214. The date 1401 is preferred in Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme", pp. 69–79, where the *Dīvān* drawings are ascribed to the artist ʿAbd al-Hayy. For Dust Muhammad's comments, see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 13.

candidates include artists in the circle of Muhammad b. Mahmudshah al-Khayyam, who seems to have been an esteemed courtier and intimate of the Timurid prince Baysungur Mirza. This conjecture is supported by his authentic signature with a distinctive double-knotted flourish that appears next to Baysunghur's signature on a collective calligraphic exercise sheet. Created during a courtly gathering of the prince with his entourage, the sheet was mounted in the Timurid workshop album as a record preserving the memory of that occasion (H. 2152, fol. 31v). I would add that al-Khayyam's identity as an intimate of Baysunghur finds further support in the wording of his signatures in that album, some of which were removed and remounted in the Diez albums. In these signatures, the signatory humbly refers to himself in Persian as one of the "least of the servants [of the ruler, presumably Baysunghur]" (*kamtarīn-i bandagān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūdshāh al-Khayyām*), echoing the typical wording of several calligraphers' signatures in the Saray albums.[72]

The inconsistencies that have recently been noted in al-Khayyam's signatures, which feature either one or two knotted calligraphic flourishes, imply that the modern concept of an invariable autograph signature was not prevalent in the Timurid workshop in Herat. The use of varied inks in his fifteen signatures and in four attributive inscriptions, simply referring to his name (*Muḥammad-i Khayyām*), could suggest that they were written at different times and in different places. This would be in keeping with artistic practices that prevailed in the Herat workshop, whose members were assisted by apprentices and sometimes worked in different locales, touching up preliminary sketches during several sessions (perhaps with interruptions) to complete them as artworks.[73] Such a process of layering is documented by unfinished ink drawings in the Berlin and Istanbul albums, which provide precious insights into the drawing techniques and working procedures of artists. These albums also record the names of long forgotten practitioners and amateurs like al-Khayyam, who are omitted from the list of masters in Dust Muhammad's album preface and other primary sources. The traces of their fertile artistic imagi-

72 The calligraphic exercise sheet is reproduced and discussed in Friederike Weis's essay in this volume. Usually the Persian expression *kamtarīn-i bandagān* is interpreted as the "least of the servants [of some monarch]". It does not generally refer to being a slave of God, which is often expressed in Arabic (*aqall-i 'ibād*, for instance). For calligraphers who signed their petitions as *kamtarīn-i bandagān* in H. 2153 (fols. 98v, 119v), see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 47, p. 239.

73 Conclusions to be drawn from the new results of scientific analysis are not straightforward and await further examination of the evidence. For a different interpretation, see Friederike Weis's essay in this volume, in which she discusses the use of varying inks (signifying to her many different hands) and observes that al-Khayyam's signature and attributive inscriptions referring to him are not consistent or by the same hand. Proposing that these were probably added (forged) in the Ottoman court in the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, she doubts that Muhammad al-Khayyam was actually a draftsman-calligrapher. I have suggested above that most attributive inscriptions in the three early Topkapı albums likely date from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

nation imprinted in these albums shed light on the important role assigned to the visual arts in courtly gatherings (*majlis*), where some rulers (like the Jalayirid monarchs Uvays I and his son Ahmad) were not only avid connoisseurs but also practitioners. Especially since al-Khayyam does not seem to have been known outside the inner circles of the Timurid court, it seems probable that the many signatures and attributive inscriptions referring to him were added not long after the completion of the Timurid workshop album in the early decades of the 1400s.

This otherwise unknown courtier's signatures that accompany three ink drawings in the Cathayan manner state that they were copied from (*naql az*) the "pen of the painter-decorator, Master ʿAbd al-Hayy" (*qalam-i ustād ʿAbd al-Ḥayy naqqāsh*). Such study exercises (called *mashq*), based on copying admired models, were a workshop practice shared by the calligraphers and painter-decorators of Persianate royal and elite court workshops (*kitābkhāna*/*kutubkhāna*/*naqqāshkhāna*) in the post-Mongol eastern Islamic lands. That al-Khayyam transcribed the original drawings of ʿAbd al-Hayy in a flattened, linear style is revealed by two of his models preserved in the Topkapı album H. 2153, assuming that those models are not copies themselves. This album is a rich repository of rare Jalayirid works, including ink drawings inscribed with attributions to ʿAbd al-Hayy, and even the fragmentary painting of a horse's head ascribed in a note to his royal pupil, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (*kār-i Aḥmad-pādshāh*).[74] Significantly, none of the images in H. 2153 (or its companion H. 2160) bears an attributive inscription referring to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" or his knotted signature. These are entirely confined to ink drawings mounted in the Timurid workshop album, some of which have migrated to the Diez albums, implying that he was unknown to those who compiled the paired Topkapı albums H. 2153 and H. 2160.[75]

Besides copying works in the Cathayan manner, this Timurid courtier may also have harbored an interest in Western visual sources, if the attributive inscription "Muḥammad-i Khayyām" that accompanies the celebrated *Tazza Farnese* (Farnese Cup) drawing can be trusted (fig. 20.17). Mounted in the Diez albums, the drawing is a close copy of a Hellenistic

74 Works attributed by inscriptions to Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy include H. 2153, fols. 21r; 136v; and H. 2160, fol. 70r. The horse head is mounted in H. 2153, fol. 29v. Al-Khayyam's "copies" (*naql*) of ʿAbd al-Hayy's drawings depicting *Two Mongol-Chinese Warriors in Combat* and of a *Swimming Duck* are in Diez A fol. 71, p. 65; and Diez A fol. 70, p. 26. His models preserved in H. 2153 (fols. 46v, 87r) were presumably in Herat until the 1450s, after which they traveled to Turkmen courts with other materials; see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 85, pp. 139–40, p. 302.

75 The works of Muhammad al-Khayyam are discussed in Kühnel, "Malernamen in den Berliner "Saray" Alben", pp. 66–77; Klimburg-Salter, "A Sufi Theme", p. 55, pp. 77–78; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 346; Basil W. Robinson, *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfévrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi*, Geneva 1992, p. 108; and Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 85, pp. 139–140, p. 302. Robinson speculates that he was probably trained by ʿAbd al-Hayy at the Jalayirid court. According to Kühnel, it is unclear whether this artist was trained by his master in Samarqand or Herat.



FIGURE 20.17 *Drawing after the* Tazza Farnese, *attributed by an inscription to "Muḥammad-i Khayyām," Herat or Samarqand, before 1433.* SBB-PK, *Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2.*

sardonyx cameo from Ptolemaic Egypt.[76] Its attributive inscription in *naskh* script differs from his knotted signatures, but is similar to three attributions referring to him and to other attributions in the Diez and Timurid workshop albums.[77]

The *Tazza Farnese* drawing most probably migrated from the latter album to the Diez albums. Not only does its inventory number fall within the consecutively ordered group of Timurid drawings mentioned above, but its format is echoed in several comparable ink drawings in another Diez album (fol. 73).[78] Those drawings similarly comprise roundels within square frames, the two parallel gold rulings of which are lined in black ink with an outer line in lapis lazuli. (The original rulings of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing can be seen beneath its late eighteenth-century, light blue frame.)[79] The black ink drawing that carefully copies the priceless cameo was conceivably made in Herat or Samarqand in the early 1400s, rather than in Aqqoyunlu Tabriz in the 1460s, as some scholars have speculated without sufficient

76 For the *Tazza Farnese* drawing, see Weis's detailed analysis in this volume; Kühnel, "Malernamen;" Horst Blanck, "Eine persische Pinselzeichnung nach der Tazza Farnese", *Archäeologischer Anzeiger* 79/2 (1964), pp. 307–312; Burchard Brentjes, "The 'Tazza Farnese' and its way to Harāt and Naples", *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 15 (76), Nr. 2, *La Civiltà Timuride come fenomeno internazionale*, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 321–324; and Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 1–3.

77 Based on the similarity of these attributive inscriptions, Roxburgh believes that they were written in the early 1400s by the same hand; see n. 4 above. In her essay in this volume, Weis speculates that the attributive inscription of the *Tazza Farnese* drawing was probably applied with varnish contemporaneously with the drawing or after the attribution had been written, several decades following the completion of the drawing, before the cameo was brought back to Europe in the "1450–60s or, later".

78 Diez A fol. 73: p. 57, no. 1; p. 65, no. 8; p. 65, no. 9; p. 69, no. 3. "The majority of fifteenth-century drawings in ms. Diez A. fol. 73 came from album H. 2152", according to Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums", p. 120. For Timurid drawings removed from H. 2152 and pasted into Diez A fols. 70–73, see pp. 122–123.

79 One of these drawings depicts a grinning lion nursing her cub, which resembles several lion drawings in the Timurid workshop album that carry Muhammad al-Hayyam's distinctive signature. See *Lion Nursing Her Cub*, black and gray ink drawing on paper, probably Herat, before 1433: Diez A fol. 73, p. 65, no. 9.

evidence.[80] The conjecture that the cameo could have reached Rome via Aqqoyunlu Tabriz or Ottoman Istanbul is contradicted by the stronger probability that it was bought around 1450 from Genoese or Venetian merchants by the King of Naples, Alfonso of Aragon (r. 1442–58), although where and when these merchants got hold of it is unknown. King Alfonso, who brought to an end the Angevin Kingdom of Naples, is believed to have either sold the cameo or given it as a gift to the Venetian cardinal Ludovico Trevisan. Upon that cardinal's death in 1465, the antiquarian Venetian pope Paul II (1464–71) appears to have acquired his treasures. When that pope too died, it was purchased in 1471 by Lorenzo de' Medici in Rome during the papal coronation of Sixtus IV, and became one of the most precious artworks of the Medici collection.[81]

Whatever the uncertain details of its peregrinations, the Tazza Farnese was in all likelihood copied at the Timurid court, before it was brought to Italy. It has been speculated that the precious cameo was acquired by Timur either as a diplomatic gift or as booty in one of his campaigns, perhaps plundered from the Jalayirid treasury in Baghdad. The cameo subsequently arrived in Italy, probably via Italian merchants whose merchandise already included antique cameos in Ilkhanid times.[82] If so, it may have come into the possession of the Genoese or Venetian merchants mentioned above during the turmoil of civil wars that followed the Timurid ruler Shahrukh's death in 1447. Whether a work of "Muhammad-i Khayyam" or not, the *Tazza Farnese* drawing closely reproduces the unfamiliar allegorical imagery of its Hellenistic prototype with subtly washed fine lines in black ink. It quite accurately records the antique relief carving except for a few missing details and some hybrid elements that

80 The *Tazza Farnese* drawing is attributed to Aqqoyunlu Tabriz *c.* 1460 in J. Michael Rogers, "'The Gorgeous East': Trade and Tribute in the Islamic Empires", in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay A. Levenson, Washington D.C., New Haven and London 1991, pp. 69–76, on p. 73. See also J. Michael Rogers, "Ornament Prints, Patterns and Designs East and West", in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, London 1999, pp. 133–166, on p. 143 n. 47; and J.M. Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror: Between East and West", in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell *et al.*, London and New Haven 2005, pp. 80–97, on pp. 93–94. For a refutation of Roger's attribution, see Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 73 n. 55.

81 On primary sources in Latin and Italian that document the somewhat hypothetical peregrinations of the cameo, see Marina Belozerskaya, *Medusa's Gaze: The Extraordinary Journey of the Tazza Farnese*, New York 2012; Antonio Giuliano, "Novità sul tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico", in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Florence 1994, pp. 320–321, no. 43; Luke Syson and Dora Thorton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaisssance Italy*, Los Angeles 2001, p. 85, p. 87.

82 For the appealing speculation that Timur acquired the Tazza Farnese as booty in Jalayirid Baghdad, see Brentjes, "The 'Tazza Farnese' and its way to Harāt and Naples", pp. 321–324. However, according to Brentjes, it was in Baghdad since the Arab conquest of Ctesiphon in 637, a claim which seems farfetched. On the trade in cameos during the Ilkhanid era, see Paviot, "Les marchands italiens", pp. 80–82. In this volume, Weis argues that the cameo was never treated as a commodity, given that its owners knew its value.

have crept into it, such as a hero's Mongol hairdo with a bun, a Sinicizing tree with a gnarled trunk on the left, and a typically Timurid spiky bush on the right.[83]

To return to the two Diez album drawings of riding couples in the Frankish manner, they can be attributed to the circle of Timurid artists who perpetuated the Jalayirid legacy transmitted by Khvaja 'Abd al-Hayy. The thorny problem of attribution is complicated by the mercurial unpredictability of these artists' styles, which changed according to their different models. Conventional categories of personal or regional style become particularly problematic with images that are based to such a degree on copying. Another complicating factor is the roughly contemporaneous development of the late Jalayirid and early Timurid artistic idioms, which may better be conceptualized as an international style, not unlike their International Gothic counterpart.[84] Whatever the authorship or provenance of the three drawings with Frankish riding couples may have been, they are finely attuned to the Persianate aesthetics of Jalayirid and Timurid images of outdoor scenes portraying ardent aristocratic couples, one sometimes offering a round fruit to the other. Such images have aptly been characterized as "visual poetry," constituting "painted analogues to the qasidas and *ghazal*s."[85] Persian lyrical poems mounted in the albums are permeated with similar themes of courtship and affectionate camaraderie, often overlaid with Sufi overtones. This hints at why the Frankish iconography of courtly love and chivalry must have been especially appealing.

Three Drawings in Brown Ink

The last three Europeanizing images from H. 2153 that I will consider here constitute an even more puzzling group, only one of which has attracted attention. They are all drawn in brown ink, rather than in black, and also differ in that their subjects were apparently inspired by biblical imagery. Their iconographies come closer to Latin Christian than to presum-

83 Identical examples of the spiky bush appear in drawings from the Timurid workshop album reproduced in Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 14, figs. 15 and 16. For a detailed discussion of missing or transformed details, see Weis's essay in this volume.

84 See *The International Style: The Arts in Europe Around 1400*, Baltimore, MD. 1962, which includes works from France, England, Flanders, the Netherlands, Burgundy, Germany, Bohemia, Austria, Italy, Catalonia, and Spain. Here the style is defined as spanning three-quarters of a century (1360–1433) with some of its features already intimated in the 1320s. The ideological underpinnings of the nineteenth-century term "International Gothic" are discussed by Scott Nethersole in his review of a recent exhibition in Florence entitled "Bagliori dorati. Il gotico internazionale a Firenze, 1375–1440", in *Renaissance Studies* 27/5 (2013), pp. 754–764.

85 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 346. Examples of outdoor scenes with aristocratic couples and companion groups in the albums include: H. 2153 (fols. 24v, 25r, 121v, 47r); and Diez A fol. 72, p. 6, no. 1; fol. 72, p. 11, no. 1; fol. 73, p. 67, no. 2; fol. 73, p. 69, no. 1. For enthroned royal couples in early fourteenth-century Mongol Ilkhanid audience scenes, in which the emperor offers a pomegranate or round fruit to his queen, and the queen holds a pomegranate or fruit, see Diez A fol. 70, p. 21, and p. 23; Diez A fol. 71, p. 48; and H. 2153, fol. 53v.

ably more familiar Eastern Christian prototypes, regardless of their drawing style. The considerably worn out state of these drawings on brownish paper differentiates them from newer-looking works on off-white paper in the Berlin and Istanbul albums, which are attributable to the fifteenth-century Timurid, Aqqoyunlu, and Ottoman courts. Since no comparable images are found in the Diez and Timurid workshop albums, a late Jalayirid provenance may provisionally be proposed for these drawings. If not produced in a Jalayirid context, they could be ascribed to the Qaraqoyunlu Turkmens (*c.* 1388–1468), who were initially vassals of the Jalayirids. Having succeeded their masters by capturing Tabriz and Baghdad under Qara Yusuf (d. 1420), following this ruler's demise, the Qaraqoyunlu were forced to become vassals of Shahrukh. Upon the latter's death in 1447, they regained independence under Jahanshah (r. 1438–67), who, from his capital Tabriz, reigned over a vast kingdom stretching from eastern Anatolia to Herat, until the dynasty was brought to an end by the Aqqoyunlu Turkmens. Production of royal manuscripts under the Aqqoyunlu dates much later, after their capital was transferred from Diyarbakır to Tabriz in 1468, gaining momentum around 1478–90 when Shiraz no longer boasted a princely atelier.[86]

The unpublished first brown ink drawing in this group is elaborately modeled, with some of its parts both drawn and tinted in brown, black, gray, blue, green, red, orange, yellow, and gold (figs. 20.18a and 20.18b). Its damaged brownish paper has a horizontal fold mark in the middle and its tattered edges preserve an old frame with rulings in gold, black, and lapis lazuli. This enigmatic ink and wash drawing represents a seated androgynous figure with Frankish physiognomy and hair, who is wearing a lavishly draped robe and holding, with both hands (from above and below), a celestial sphere that emanates light. I propose that it was inspired by the image of a seated angel holding an orb, such as the mid-fourteenth-century panel paintings of Guariento di Arpo (*c.* 1348–54), who flourished in Padua and Venice as a forerunner of the International Gothic style, and was influenced by Giotto (fig. 20.19).[87]

The halo of *Seated Angel Holding an Orb* has been transformed into an exotic hair style that frames the angel's forehead. Resembling mountains, the wing-like peaks in the background are faintly painted with feathers. The angel's braided hair with central forelock is decorated by a lobed half-rosette pendant attached to a diaphanous orange ribbon tied in a fluttering knot at the back. Seated on

86 Barbara Brend's "A Brownish Study: The *Kumral* Style in Persian Painting, Its Connections and Origins", *Islamic Art* 6 (2009), pp. 81–93, traces the use of brown ink in some late fifteenth-century polychrome paintings in Turkmen Shiraz to their origins in Jalayirid Tabriz, particularly to the ink drawings of the Freer Gallery *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. On manuscript production during Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu princely rule in Turkmen Shiraz, see the excellent dissertation of Simon Rettig, "La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503", University of Aix-Marseille, 2011, especially p. 19 n. 24, p. 39, pp. 238–244.

87 Davide Banzato, Francesca Flores d'Arcais, and Anna Maria Spiazzi, eds., *Guariento e la Padova carrarese*, Padua and Venice 2011.



FIGURES 20.18A AND 20.18B Seated Angel Holding an Orb, *with a detail, Baghdad or Tabriz, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 20v.*



FIGURE 20.19 *Guariento di Arpo*, Angel Seated on a Throne with an Orb in one Hand and Scepter in the Other, c. *1348–54*. ALG *176193*.

a semi-perspectivally rendered throne with a cushion, the angel rests on a stool one foot that sports a string-tied sandal with a Chinese bowknot. Similarly knotted sandals are worn by a man in short trousers in the Sinicizing painting of a procession with Chinese porcelain in the same album, generally attributed to Aqqoyunlu Tabriz and dated to *c.* 1470–90, although it is sometimes ascribed more broadly to fifteenth-century Iran or Central Asia (see Fig. 20.27a).[88] Whatever his Frankish source may have been, the artist of *Seated Angel Holding an Orb* has interpreted it through the lens of the Cathayan-inspired Persianate visual tradition, which is betrayed by the telltale detail of the sandal's Chinese bowknot.

The second unpublished drawing in the Frankish manner, *King Getting Undressed in Front of a Reclining Female Nude*, depicts an intriguing couple (fig. 20.20). Delineated in brown ink with touches of black and gray, it is modeled with a pinkish brown wash. The drawing is rendered on a worn piece of paper, framed by partially preserved, tattered rulings in gold, black, and lapis lazuli. It has pinholes and is punctured in several places, with some of its missing patches repaired. This image represents a standing man in the nude, who impatiently pulls off his robe as he is staring at a nude woman, who is partly covered with a sheet and reclining on a couch. In contrast to her Frankish physiognomy and hairdo, the man has typically Persianate facial features, particularly his eyes. Yet his legs and feet are curiously represented in a Europeanizing pose. His pointed oriental helmet-crown, topped by two long feathers, suggests that this hybrid drawing may have been inspired by the stories of ancient kings and prophets, such as *David Lies with Bathsheba*. If so, its artist possibly interpreted his model as a secular scene resonating with Persian romance literature.[89] While nude

88 For the broader attribution, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 188–189.

89 The pinholes were also noted in Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", p. 75 n. 76, where the drawing is not discussed further. A painting representing the subject, "David Lies with Bathsheba", is included in a French manuscript from Paris, datable to the 1240s: *The Morgan Picture Bible*, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (MS. M.638, fol. 41v).



FIGURE 20.20 King Getting Undressed in Front of a Reclining Female Nude, *with two details, Baghdad or Tabriz, late fourteenth to early or mid-fifteenth century. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 115v.*

women are occasionally depicted in some literary narrative scenes in the medieval Persianate painting tradition, male nudes were entirely unprecedented. The exaggerated, crisp drapery folds and stiff nude bodies of the album drawing resonate with their counterparts in late Gothic imagery. The modeling of the rigid bodies recalls that of nude couples seen in Memmo di Filippuccio's frescoes, painted *c.* 1310–15 in a vaulted tower chamber at the Palazzo del Podestà in San Gimignano.[90]

Clear signs of age and formal characteristics suggest a date ranging from the late fourteenth to the early or mid-fifteenth century for *King Getting Undressed*, which is mounted in one of the few intact bifolios of H. 2153 that have not been disassembled. The page on which it is pasted articulates the growing visual autonomy of images in its vertically stacked tripartite layout, without any calligraphic specimens (see figs. 20.25a–d). The image in the Frankish manner is accompanied by a fifteenth-century Persianate ink drawing of two warriors on horseback, and the fragment of a polychrome painted paper handscroll from early fifteenth-century Ming China. With depictions from three different artistic traditions – Persianate, Cathayan, and Frankish – this page faces one featuring two vertical scroll fragments. One of these is a decorative Chinoiserie frieze in black ink, and the other belongs to the same handscroll from Ming China, the remaining parts of which are pasted on the reverse side of the bifolio, and scattered throughout the album. The Frankish ink drawing, relegated to the lowest register of this tripartite page, is noticeably marginalized by the visual prominence of Cathayan imagery on both sides of the bifolio.

The third brown ink drawing in the Frankish manner is well known, unlike the previous two unpublished images (figs. 20.21a and 20.21b). Its Biblical subject was brilliantly identified by Julian Raby as *Samson Rending the Lion*.[91] The extensively repaired drawing on creased paper is torn in one corner and several missing patches have been replaced and reworked. It is rendered in brown ink with pinkish brown wash and touches of red and gray. Lacking framing rulings, this is an experimental study sheet with two nearly identical lion riders, who are rending the jaws of their respective mounts. The more accomplished lion rider on the right is subtly modeled in gray and brown washes, unlike its sketchy copy on the left, delineated in simpler brown and red lines. Reworked sections of the rider on the right include the hand with which he grips the lion's lower jaw, the upper part of his front leg, and the clumsy juncture between his skirt and the lion's mane, which have been redrawn on replaced patches of paper. Although more than half of his face is

90 I thank Frank Fehrenbach for this observation. The frescoes in the Room of the Podestà include two lovers in a bathhouse and later in bed; the former is reproduced in Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, p. 139, fig. 125. A comparably modeled brown ink drawing of a male nude in a similar pose and wearing a Western crown is featured in Bartolomeo Squarcialupi's illustrated medical treatise from Padua, datable to the end of the fourteenth century; reproduced and discussed in Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, p. 107, fig. 97. I owe this reference to Vera-Simone Schulz, research assistant at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz-Max Planck Institut.

91 Raby, "Samson and Siyah Qalam", pp. 160–163.



FIGURES 20.21A AND 20.21B Samson Rending the Lion, *with a detail, Baghdad or Tabriz, late fourteenth to early or mid-fifteenth century. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 137v.*

missing, his Europeanizing physiognomy and hairstyle are still discernible, as are the two fluttering ribbons tied around his forehead, and his pointed headgear topped by two long feathers.

This drawing provides further evidence for the common workshop practice of copying models, many examples of which exist in H. 2153 and in other Saray albums.[92] The drawing style of *Samson Rending the Lion* exhibits previously unnoted and close parallels to that of *King Getting Undressed*, an observation that is especially true for the lion rider on the right. These two drawings are strikingly similar in paper type, color scheme, modeling technique, and the rendering of the drapery folds. Also notable are the men's pointed headdresses; these differ in type, but feature two similar long feathers on top. Moreover, like *King Getting Undressed*, the Samson drawing is mounted on a textless page with a tripartite layout. Pasted next to a Jalayirid black ink drawing of a landscape with a royal procession overseen by angels, and a fragment of the same Ming-period Chinese handscroll, this page too promotes comparison between the Persianate, Cathayan, and Frankish pictorial traditions (see fig. 20.26). The juxtaposition of the Jalayirid landscape with the Samson drawing hints that those who assembled the page possibly saw a connection between these two images.[93]

An astounding painted analogue to the Europeanizing *Samson Rending the Lion* drawing has been noted by Raby in the same album.[94] Colored in tones of brown, red, gray, and white, this polychrome *Lion Rider*, painted with opaque pigments, is part of a study sheet that depicts nomads belonging to the inscrutable "Siyah Qalam" group (fig. 20.22). That group constitutes a subcategory of the Cathayan manner and is mainly confined to two interrelated Topkapı albums (H. 2153 and H. 2160). Unlike its experimental Frankish counterpart, the similarly repaired study sheet with *Lion Rider* is framed by partially preserved rulings in gold, black, and lapis lazuli that announce its status as a prized artwork. In both images, the position of the rider's fingers in relation to the lion's jaws is amazingly alike. But the "Siyah Qalam" *Lion Rider* differs in several details, including the lion's longer mane and raised shaggy tail, the positioning of the lion's front paws with respect to the rider's legs, the distinctive bare feet of the rider, and his hat. More significantly, the beast with a shaggy tail is a "mythical" Chinese lion, whose eyes and hind legs have flame-like motifs. Despite differences in detail and style, the two images are clearly interrelated. Raby has therefore persuasively suggested that the "Siyah Qalam" corpus, with its various subgroups, had a "European connection," at least in this particular example.[95] Yet it is

92 On repeated illustrations in the Diez and Topkapı albums, see Zeren Tanındı's article in the present volume.

93 Another Jalayirid landscape with an attributive inscription that reads, "work of Ahmad Musa", is mounted in H. 2153, fol. 85v.

94 Raby, "Samson and Siyah Qalam", pp. 161–162. Another ink drawing from the "Siyah Qalam" group carries more distant echoes of the Samson iconography: it depicts two demons, one of which is riding and rending the jaw of a dragon, while the other demon hands him a rope (H. 2153, fol. 37r).

95 A similar Chinese lion is represented in an ink drawing mounted in H. 2153, fol. 132r. Çağman rejects the European connection of the "Siyah Qalam" *Lion Rider*, proposed by



FIGURE 20.22 "Siyah Qalam" *Rider, Iran or Central Asia, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 29v.*

unclear which image preceded the other, or whether they were created around the same time and place, the provenance of the "Siyah Qalam" corpus itself being a highly debated question.[96] Given the experimental character of *Samson Rending the Lion*, one may speculate that it is an adaptation of the Sinicizing iconography of the "Siyah Qalam" *Lion Rider* to a Frankish model by means of creative translation.

A German Renaissance engraving from *c.* 1475 by the monogrammist F.V.B. has been identified by Raby as the closest model for the Europeanizing Samson drawing

Raby, and regards this image as belonging to the core group of the "Siyah Qalam" corpus connected with Central Asia, which she dates from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth century. See Filiz Çağman, "Uzak ve Yakındoğu Arasında bir Başka Geçit: Mehmed Siyah Kalem", in *Türkçe Konuşanlar: Asya'dan Balkanlar'a 2000 Yıllık Sanat ve Kültür*, ed. Doğan Kuban, Istanbul 2007, pp. 459–473, especially pp. 465–466.

96 This corpus has been attributed to the Jalayirid, Timurid, and Aqqoyunlu courts, without considering an equally possible Qaraqoyunlu provenance; for the latter possibility, see my "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums". See also Adamova, *Medieval Persian Painting*, p. 63, who argues that although the artist "Muhammad Siyah Qalam", whose name appears in numerous attributive inscriptions in H. 2153 and H. 2160, is generally believed have been active in Aqqoyunlu Tabriz under the ruler Ya'qub Beg (1478–90), he may have worked "much earlier and been famous already in the mid-15th century".



FIGURE 20.23 Samson Rending the Lion, *Monogrammist* FVB, *German engraving*, c. *1475. London, British Museum, E, 1.96.*

(fig. 20.23), whose iconography can be traced back to eleventh- and twelfth-century French Romanesque prototypes. Later versions include fourteenth- to fifteenth-century illustrated manuscripts or block-book editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* (Paupers' Bible).[97] Although the engraving recalls the drawing *Samson Rending the Lion*, with its depiction of the lion rider's windblown cape, his posture, and the tail curling between the lion's hind legs, it differs in other respects, particularly the way in which one of the riders' legs is grabbed by the lion (the German engraving by contrast shows only one free front leg of the rider).

In actuality, none of the known Western prototypes provides an exact parallel to the album drawing *Samson Rending the Lion*, which is a hybrid image. The capes of the paired lion riders in this Europeanizing drawing, and its Sinicizing "Siyah Qalam" version, find a much closer parallel in an early fifteenth-century Ming period copy of a Southern Song (1127–1279) painting in the same album. A formerly unnoticed, telling detail in that Chinese painting is an almost identical windblown cape worn by a herdsman in the distant horizon, which is tied in the front in a similar bowknot (fig. 20.24). It therefore seems more likely that an earlier prototype of the German engraving, possibly in a manuscript or portable object, was among the sources of *Samson Rending the Lion*, for which I suggest a date from the late fourteenth to the early or mid-fifteenth century.[98]

97 Four Northern European engravings of lion riders, including that of the monogrammist FVB are illustrated in Raby, "Samson and Siyah Qalam", pp. 160–163, figs. 480–483. For a *unicum* fifteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* scroll manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library, compared to other examples dating from 1300 to the early sixteenth century, see Funda Berksoy, "Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Biblia Pauperum Rulosu: Rulonun Önemi, Türü İçindeki Yeri ve Fra Angelico'nun Lex Amoris Panosu ile Olan Benzerliği", *Journal of Turkish Studies, Şinasi Tekin Hatıra Sayısı III*, 32/1 (2008), pp. 89–105.

98 Raby admits that, given the popularity of the subject in Western European art since the Romanesque period, "there is no need to assume that the Islamic version was copied after the German engraving of the 1470s;" see his "Samson and Siyah Qalam". O'Kane speculates that an earlier example may have arrived in Ilkhanid or Jalayirid Iran; see O'Kane, "Siyah Qalam", p. 10. Images in multiple media related to the Samson and the Lion theme are illustrated in a study on the Capella Palatina in Palermo, where the two album drawings in H. 2153 (fols. 137v, 29v) are attributed to "eastern Iran or Central Asia, 14th–15th century": Ernst J. Grube and Jeremy



FIGURE 20.24 *Detail from* Peasants with Water Buffaloes Returning Home through a Rainstorm, *early fifteenth century, probably a Ming-period copy of a Southern Song original. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fol. 103r.*

Epilogue: "Three Eyes" of the World

The Diez and Topkapı albums uncover the imbrication of the purportedly "pure" Persianate artistic tradition with foreign idioms of naturalistic depiction. The hybridity of some images in these albums demonstrates that the well-known workshop practice of copying models was complemented by a thus far underestimated crossbreeding of the Persianate, Cathayan, and Frankish styles of depiction. We have seen that the page layouts of several folios in H. 2153 deliberately draw attention to this phenomenon by juxtaposing images from these three artistic traditions, thereby inviting a visual comparison between them (fig. 20.25a–d, and 20.26). I have argued elsewhere that this implicit comparative agenda is a design strategy pervading that album as a whole, with its unusually extensive corpus of imagery selectively drawing upon Frankish and Cathayan models.[99] Mid-fourteenth- to mid-fifteenth-century Europeanizing images analyzed in the present essay reveal that artists employed in Persianate court workshops simultaneously derived inspiration from both of these foreign visual cultures, characterized by a differently expressed yet shared emphasis on naturalism.

In this connection, it is worth fully quoting the previously mentioned passage from Dust Muhammad's preface to the Bahram Mirza album, where he attributes the invention of the Persianate painting tradition practiced in the mid-sixteenth-century Safavid context to the Mongol Ilkhanid artist, Master Ahmad Musa. It was he who, about two hundred years ago, revived the art of figural painting with a fresh new naturalism, rivaling that of the Frankish and Cathayan masters of depiction:

> The custom of portraiture/figural painting (*ṣūrat-sāzī*) flourished in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury scrivened

Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Capella Palatina*, Genoa and New York 2005, pp. 204–207. Another early example in fol. 43v of the abovementioned Queen Mary Psalter (*c.* 1310–20) is a tinted ink drawing of Samson rending the lion, where the rider wearing a short robe without a cape has a similar pose astride a lion whose tail is curling between its hind legs. See n. 56 above for this digitized manuscript. For a naked lion rider in a comparable pose and a windblown cape, identified as Hercules, see Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed, Naples 1340*, Paris, Leuven and Walpole, MA. 2010, p. 138, fig. IX.1, fol. 229r. I thank Vera-Simone Schulz for this reference. The Chinese painting is published and dated in Toh Sugimura, *The Encounter of Persia with China: Research into Cultural Contacts Based on Fifteenth Century Persian Pictorial Materials*, Osaka 1986, XVII, p. 215.

99 Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".



FIGURES 20.25A–D *Front and reverse sides of the bifolio mounted with* King Getting Undressed in Front of a Reclining Female *Nude. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2153, fols. 114r–115v (top), and fols. 114v–115r (bottom).*

> the rescript of rule in the name of [the Ilkhanid] Sultan Abu Saʿid Khudaybanda. Master Ahmad Musa, who was his own father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction (*taṣvīr*), and the [style of] depiction that is now current was invented by him.[100]

A subtext of this preface and the Safavid literature on the visual arts in general is that artists who succeeded Master Ahmad Musa in the eastern Islamic lands engendered a superior realism in Persianate pictorial arts by uniting outer and inner vision.[101] Dust Muhammad's passage quoted above (1544–45) precedes that of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* (1550), where it is similarly declared that Giotto (d. 1337) "became so good an imitator of nature that he banished completely that rude Greek [Byzantine] manner and revived the modern and good art of painting, introducing the portraying well from nature of living people, which had not been used for more than two hundred years." Vasari's account ends with the Latin text of Giotto's epitaph in Florence Cathedral that was commissioned many years later in 1489–90 by Lorenzo de' Medici in the artist's own voice: "I am the one who revived the dead art of painting."[102]

Vasari's and Dust Muhammad's strikingly similar "inventions of tradition" were retrospective assessments that built upon oral traditions embedded in the collective memories of artists and patrons. Like Vasari, whose teleological art historical narrative privileged the contribution of Tuscany to the birth of a new kind of painting that heralded the Renaissance, Dust Muhammad's account foregrounds the role of Timurid Herat in transmitting the mode of depiction invented by Master Ahmad Musa, via Ilkhanid and Jalayirid intermediaries, to contemporary Safavid artists.[103] Originating himself from the environs of Herat, Dust Muhammad served Safavid royal patrons who had governed that provincial capital as princes, namely Shah Tahmasp (in 1516–22), and his brother Bahram Mirza (in 1529–33). Both brothers were trained there in painting by the last practitioners of the late Timurid workshop, some of whose members, including the famous painter Bihzad, Tahmasp transferred to his own court workshop in the Safavid capital Tabriz upon his accession in 1524. Highlighting the legacy of Herat in Khurasan, Dust Muhammad's linear storyline marginalized other artistic centers no longer ruled by the Safavids, such as Baghdad (in Ottoman Iraq), and Samarqand (in Uzbek Central Asia). It also largely left out the names of Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu Turkmen painter-decorators who once practiced

100 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, p. 12.

101 See my discussion of Dust Muhammad's preface, along with other sixteenth-century Safavid written sources on the arts, in "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures".

102 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by Gaston du C. de Vere, 10 vols., London 1912–15, pp. 69–94. http://www.casasantapia.com/art/giorgiovasari/lives/giotto.htm.

103 On the pro-Herati perspective of Dust Muhammad that privileges the Timurid over the Turkmen artistic heritage of the Safavids, see David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden 2001, pp. 144–146; and Rettig, "La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503", p. 171.

in the now Safavid centers of Tabriz and Shiraz in Iran, not to mention the contemporary practitioners of Persianate court workshops in the Ottoman, Uzbek, and Mughal domains.

This teleological Herati viewpoint foregrounding Safavid Iran has left its indelible imprint on the modern historiography of what is known as "Persian Painting," not unlike the impact of Vasari's narrative on the era conventionally labeled "the Renaissance." The Saray albums in Berlin and Istanbul "unveil" a wider art historical perspective with their exceptional contents, some of them attributed by inscriptions to artists and calligraphers excluded from Dust Muhammad's canon, though many coincide with named masters cited in his preface and other sources. These albums enable us to rethink the internationalism of Persianate arts cultivated in diverse post-Mongol courts in the eastern Islamic lands, without of course denying the distinctiveness of regional, dynastic, and personal idioms. The unusual contents of the albums testify to a relatively short-lived experimentation with imagery in "exotic" manners and large formats (full- or double-page, and handscrolls), some of them intended for textiles, luxury objects, and mural paintings. A reevaluation of this extraordinary corpus will have to be accompanied in the future by comparative codicology, chemical analysis of paper and pigment or ink types, and by determining the measurements of individual works, so as to establish connections more systematically between the Diez and Topkapı albums, as well as related specimens in other collections.[104]

The Europeanizing works examined here document the development of drawing in the "black pen" technique as an autonomous artistic genre, going beyond preparatory sketches and mere study exercises. This ink and wash technique that later came to be known as "half pen" (*nīm qalam*) was especially prevalent in murals, judging by the paintings of palatial interiors in manuscripts. One early example mounted in the Bahram Mirza album is a painting ascribed by Dust Muhammad's caption to the celebrated Jalayirid artist Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy (*c.* 1390), whose royal pupil Sultan Ahmad Jalayir specialized in the "black pen" (*qalam-siyāhī*) technique. It depicts a palace interior with a figural mural painted in grisaille, of a standing woman holding her baby against the backdrop of a Sinicizing landscape.[105]

If my dating and contextualization of the Frankish manner album drawings is correct, their creation overlapped with the development of International Gothic (*c.* 1360–1437), a pan-European style extending over a wide area. It may not be a coincidence, then, that both Giotto (1226–1337) and Ahmad Musa (*c.* 1316–35) flourished at

104 A preliminary step in this direction is the forthcoming facsimile edition of H. 2153 and 2160, with its comprehensive index of artists, calligraphers, measurements, and types of composite rulings that frame images and calligraphies.

105 The painting, *The Poet's Dream*, was removed from a celebrated Jalayirid manuscript, the *Three Masnavīs* of Khvaju Kirmani in the British Library (Add 18113); it is reproduced in Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnama*, p. 16, pl. 9. See also Lentz, "Dynastic Imagery in Early Timurid Wall Painting". Although the manuscript's colophon gives the date 796 (1396), Brend and Adamova assign an earlier one (*c.* 1390) to its illustrations, and accept Dust Muhammad's attribution of *The Poet's Dream* to Khvaja ʿAbd al-Hayy. See Adamova, *Medieval Persian Painting*, pp. 37–40.

a time when visual cultures in the West and East alike were being invigorated by a fusion of Eurasian artistic traditions in diverse media, prompted by the wider circulation of luxury goods and artists during the *Pax Mongolica* (*c.* 1250–1350). The emergence of the International Gothic style, which has generally been framed within a Eurocentric paradigm, may therefore be reconceptualized as partaking in a broader Eurasian framework.[106] Likewise, the presumption that contemporaneous late medieval artists in Persianate court workshops almost exclusively directed their gaze toward China has to be modified, judging by the Frankish manner ink drawings of the Saray albums that have not previously been scrutinized as a group. The resonant aesthetics of international styles cultivated in late medieval Islamic and Christian courts would be replaced by less fluid artistic boundaries imposed by the classicizing antiquarianism of the Renaissance and the invention of single-point perspective.

The turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries was a time when artistic "influence" constituted a marker of authority and cosmopolitanism. Hence, books created for the Timurid prince Baysunghur Mirza in the Herat workshop were largely based on those of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. The prince may have acquired some of those books in Tabriz, where he was sent in 1420 by his reigning father, Shahrukh, to seize the city upon the death of its Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen ruler, Qara Yusuf. It has been proposed that manuscripts from Sultan Ahmad's library were taken to the Timurid prince Iskandar-Sultan's (d. 1414) library in Shiraz and from thence to Herat. Several artists too traveled from Sultan Ahmad's court workshop to Shiraz, while others remained in Tabriz, where they were "discovered" in 1420 by Baysunghur. The prince brought back to Herat some artists from that city, where the head of his court workshop originated, the calligrapher Kamal al-Din Jaʿfar Tabrizi.[107] After Baysunghur's departure, rule of Tabriz reverted to the Qaraqoyunlu, who accepted vassalage to Shahrukh (d. 1447).

We learn from Dust Muhammad's album preface that Baysunghur even commissioned a book "after the pleasing manner of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir of Baghdad's miscellany [*jung*]" in exactly the "same format and layout and with the same scenes depicted." Since this Timurid prince died in 1433 before its completion, his son ʿAla'uddawla had it finished in the Herat workshop by employing the same team and sending someone to Tabriz to bring Khvaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Zarkub, who "ennobled the leaves of painting in Herat with the subtlety of his brush and touched up some places in the scenes of the miscellany and painted with captivating colors and finished it off with blood,

106 On the International Gothic Style (or International Style), see n. 84 above.

107 See Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Arts of Turkey and India: The British Library Collections*, Austin, 1984, pp. 31–32; O.F. Akimushkin, "The Library-Workshop (*kitābkhāna*) of Bāysunghur-Mīrzā in Herat", *Manuscripta Orientalia* 3/1 (1997), pp. 14–24; Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 39–41. On the manuscript production of the Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu Turkmen dynasties in Shiraz, see Rettig, "La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503".

sweat and tears."[108] During the turmoil following Shahrukh's death in 1447, the rival Timurid prince Ulughbeg (d. 1449) invaded Herat and carried leading members of its workshop to his own capital, Samarqand, "where he showed them great favor, made them his attendants," and commissioned them to make new works.[109] This state of affairs confirms the dependence of Timurid patronage not only on the skills of Tabrizi, Shirazi, and Baghdadi artists steeped in the Jalayirid legacy, but also on the circulation of manuscripts and painter-decorators, through which workshop practices and lore became transmitted across a wide area extending from Anatolia to Central Asia and India.

Despite the glance cast at the Western European tradition by artists employed in late medieval court workshops of the eastern Islamic lands, the major catalyst behind the new expressive naturalism of Persianate pictorial arts was Yuan and early Ming China. The priority of status assigned to the Cathayan manner on the pages of H. 2153 that are reproduced here (figs. 20.25a–d and 20.26), and in the Saray albums in general, accords well with a saying the Castilian ambassador to Timur, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, attributed to the Timurids when he visited Samarqand in 1404:

> The goods that are imported to this city [Samarqand] from Cathay indeed are of the richest and most precious of all those brought there from other foreign parts. They say that those of Cathay are the most skillful people in the world, and the saying is that they have two eyes, that the Muslims are blind, and the Franks have one eye. Thus they [Cathayans] possess an advantage in the goods they make over all the nations of the world.[110]

Versions of this saying, which originated in the twelfth century, circulated widely in the post-Mongol Timurid, Turkmen and Safavid courts. Its source has been traced back to the Chinese subjects of the Mongols, who proudly claimed that only they themselves saw with two eyes, and the Fu-Lang (of the Far West) saw with one eye, while everybody else was blind.[111]

108 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 13–14. Baysunghur also commissioned the replica of a Jalayirid *Kalīla va Dimna* manuscript for his library: See O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, p. 214.

109 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 13–14.

110 Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Madrid, 1999, p. 313; Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange, London 1928, p. 289. I have slightly modified Le Strange's translation by comparing it with the Spanish version. Le Strange interpreted the ambiguous "they" in the last sentence as referring to both the Cathayans and Franks, but the passage is embedded in a broader discussion on the undisputed prestige of Cathayan goods.

111 For the sources of this old saying in China and its repetition by Hayton, Clavijo, Zakariya al-Qazvini, and Ibn Fadl-Allah al-'Umari, see Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 330, p. 350 n. 2. According to Jackson, it first appeared in a twelfth-century source, which suggests that it originally referred, not to the Franks, but to the Byzantines. Overlooked by Jackson, is an earlier version of this saying recorded by Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tha'alibi (d. 1038), according to which the Chinese themselves say, "Except for us, the people of the world are all blind –



FIGURE 20.26 *Folio with* Samson Rending the Lion. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2153, fol. 137v.*

A variant of the same saying that decorously bypasses the humiliating blindness of the Muslims was recorded by Giosafat Barbaro, the Venetian envoy to Tabriz in 1474. The ambassador quotes the following remark by the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78): "The world has three eyes; the Cathayans have two of them and the Franks one." Barbaro recalls that while he was in Tana he had heard from an ambassador who returned from Cathay in 1436 that their ruler said in an audience, "We Cathayans have two eyes and you Franks one, whereas you (turning towards the Tatars [i.e., the Mongols] who were with him) have never a one."[112]

It is precisely this hierarchical ranking that guides the proportion of Cathayan to Frankish images in the Saray albums. The internalization of these two foreign traditions of naturalistic depiction by the late fifteenth century can be observed in a bifolio of H. 2153 that I have reconstructed (figs. 20.27a and 20.27b).[113] It juxtaposes two full-page Persianate paintings commonly attributed to the Aqqoyunlu court workshop in Tabriz (*c.* 1470–90). One of the paintings represents a Sinicizing procession with Chinese porcelain, and the other is an allegorical depiction of a Christian monastery incorporating Europeanizing features.[114] The previously unnoted juxtaposition of these two well-known images on the same bifolio is a revelation that speaks to the selective integration of Cathayan and Frankish elements into the mainstream metropolitan tradition of Persianate painting, a synthesis that had already started in the late Jalayirid period. Nonetheless, it is worth observing that the impact of the Frankish manner on Aqqoyunlu narrative manuscript painting remained noticeably muted, partly due to the somewhat closed system of

unless one takes into account the people of Babylon, who are merely one-eyed:" cited from the *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* (Book of Curious and Entertaining Information) in Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, p. 159. I suggest that the "people of Babylon" may refer to the Sasanian lands ruled at that time by the 'Abbasids. For an ancient tradition concerning the "two eyes" of the world, possessed by the Sasanians and Romans, see Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*, Berkeley 2009.

112 See "Travels of Giosafat Barbaro", in *Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, trans. William Thomas and S.A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, New York 1964, p. 58.

113 For this and other reconstructed bifolios, see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums".

114 For the somewhat speculative hypothesis that the *Monastery* painting, with its depiction of frescoes that incorporate some elements from "Western European art", was created for Uzun Hasan's Orthodox Christian wife, Theodora Komnene, between 1469 and 1474; see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Painter, the Metaphorical Hermitage and the Christian Princess", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series 16 (2002), pp. 37–52, especially pp. 42–44, pp. 47–48. Melikian-Chirvani believes that "illuminated Gospels and Books of Hours would have been brought back from Europe by the mission led by a Franciscan monk, Lodovico da Bologna, which left Tabriz in 1460 and traveled to France, the Lowlands, and Burgundy before returning to the Āqquyūnlū court in 1461".



FIGURES 20.27A AND 20.27B *Bifolio with two full-page polychrome paintings* c. *1470–90:* (*a*) Procession with Chinese Porcelain; (*b*) Monastery. *Istanbul, H. 2153, fols. 130r–131v.*

conventions governing that mode of image-making intended to illustrate texts.

An unexpected aspect of my reframing of the Saray albums is the new perspectives they offer on the Jalayirid pictorial tradition. The polychrome *Monastery* painting, attributable to Aqqoyunlu Tabriz, represents a later stage of restrained assimilation, heralded by former engagements with visual models from the Latin West, on which this essay has focused. The album drawings that have been analyzed here document for the first time the copying and imaginative transformation of Frankish prototypes, particularly by court artists of the Jalayirids and, to a lesser degree, their early Timurid successors. While it is hoped that future research may yield more detailed information on the types of European works available to these artists, they seem to have stayed fairly *au courant* with the latest trends abroad, judging by the comparisons with French and Italian exemplars I have proposed. Early imitative practices, which culminated in a late fifteenth century process of synthetic integration and codification, demonstrate that subsequent artistic exchanges with the West were rooted in up till now unnoticed precedents.

Yet another version of the saying on the world's "three eyes" circulated at the Safavid court in Tabriz during Shah Tahmasp's reign in 1540, shortly before the compilation of the Bahram Mirza album for his brother in 1544–45. The Venetian

envoy Michele Membré was told during an audience with Shah Tahmasp and his brother Bahram Mirza the following variant of that adage: "Well do they say that all nations have one eye and the Franks two."[115] I would argue that this conspicuous transformation of the old saying hints at the rising prestige of the Frankish visual tradition. Yet the likes of Europeanizing images assembled in former albums hardly found an echo in the sixteenth-century "classical" Safavid tradition of albums and manuscript paintings. The modification of the saying can therefore be read as a conceit that now entitled Persianate artists to one eye, rather than none, an eye that united the powers of outer and inner vision.[116] The Bahram Mirza album lays claim to all three eyes with its combination of Persianate, Cathayan, and Frankish images (though only two), thus assuming an omnivoyant, all-seeing supremacy.[117]

In the course of Shah ʿAbbas I's reign (1587–1629), the increased status of the Frankish manner would eclipse that of its Cathayan counterpart.[118] That change of attitude was foreshadowed by the late fifteenth-century Ottoman works added to H. 2153, when this album came close to its present configuration in the court workshop of Sultan Selim I. Besides the Aqqoyunlu *Monastery* painting, its latest Europeanizing images are several Ottoman painted portraits attributed to Sultan Mehmed II's (d. 1481) court artists.[119] Those portraits are mostly study exercises that now respond to Italian Renaissance models, instead of Frankish International Gothic imagery. They are all polychrome paintings, unlike the earlier Europeanizing ink and wash drawings examined here. Rather than depict exotic Frankish foreigners and

115 Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, translated with notes by A.H. Morton, Warminster, United Kingdom 1999, p. 22. It was the Qurchibashi who said: "Ben diceno che tutte le generazion hano uno occhio, e li Franchi ne hano doi". See Michele Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, ed. Francesco Castro, Naples 1969, p. 25.

116 This is implied by Dust Muhammad's preface and other Safavid album prefaces from the second half of the sixteenth century; see Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures", and "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures".

117 An ambiguity toward the Frankish manner is sensed in Dust Muhammad's preface and his inclusion of only two Frankish images in the Bahram Mirza album. For the observation that this album features no Iranian works responding to European images, unlike the many responses to Chinese imagery, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 301–302; the two Frankish images are reproduced in figs. 167 and 168 on p. 302.

118 Sheila R. Canby, "Farangi Saz: The Impact of Europe on Safavid Painting", in *Silk & Stone: The Art of Asia, the 3rd Hali Annual*, ed. Jill Tilden, London 1996, pp. 46–59; and Amy S. Landau, "Muhammad Zaman, Master of Farangī-Sāzī". Two late sixteenth-century Europeanizing ink drawings by Aqa Riza and Sadiqi Beg are published in Stuart Cary Welch and Kimberly Masteller, *From Mind, Heart, and Hand: Persian, Turkish, and Indian Drawings from the Stuart Cary Welch Collection*, New Haven, London, Cambridge, MA. 2004, pp. 56–59 and pp. 68–71. These are among the earliest extant Safavid images in a European idiom; they became more prevalent from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.

119 On these portraits, see Raby, "Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album", pp. 42–49; and Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", pp. 37–45.

exoticising foreign narrative subjects, the Ottoman portraits eagerly embrace the latest Western techniques of naturalistic depiction for self-representation.

To give an example, one of the bifolios I have reconstructed features symmetrical, U-shaped page layouts organized around two centrally placed, famous bust portraits of Mehmed II in profile that face each other: the sultan's engraved Florentine portrait labeled *El Gran Turco*, and his painted bust portrait attributed to the Ottoman court painter Sinan Beg. These meaningfully juxtaposed portraits are accompanied by two calligraphies quoting Persian poems that pointedly eulogize the beloved's face.[120] The unified *mise-en-page* of the bifolio invites comparison between the European and Europeanizing manners of image-making promoted in Mehmed II's court, which his grandson Selim I sought to revive.[121] On the bifolio's reverse side, two symmetrically mounted Florentine engravings with matching colors occupy center stage, their calligraphic character reverberating with the linear aesthetic of adjoining calligraphies in black ink. Like most calligraphy specimens that accompany the album's Italian engravings, the poems referring to Mehmed II's coupled bust portraits were signed by two celebrated calligraphers, ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi al-Yaʿqubi and his brother ʿAbd al-Karim. These brothers, who worked for the Qaraqoyunlu prince Pir Budaq (d. 1466) and the Aqqoyunlu Sultan Khalil (d. 1478), continued to flourish in Tabriz, primarily under the last Aqqoyunlu rulers, Yaʿqub Beg (r. 1478–90) and Rustam Beg (r. 1492–97).

My reconstruction of the bifolio featuring Mehmed II's portraits shows that the album's Italian engravings were almost certainly mounted at the Ottoman court. After all, it is highly unlikely that Yaʿqub Beg would have commemorated his father Uzun Hasan's (d. 1478) archenemy, Mehmed II, by displaying this sultan's paired portraits in such blatant fashion. Assembled in all likelihood around 1514, the album H. 2153 expands the former horizons of the Western gaze by assigning a prominent place to early Italian Renaissance engravings from Florence and Ferrara (*c.* 1460–80), collected in the court of Selim I's grandfather. The grandson's own multicultural tastes explain his interest in preserving the truly unique works in foreign visual idioms collected in this unusual album. Admiringly exhibited on

120 This bifolio (H. 2153, fols. 144r, 145v) is reconstructed and discussed together with the accompanying poems in Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums", fig. 1a–b. The two portraits of Mehmed II are also reproduced and analyzed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", p. 18, fig. 7a–b; and p. 36, fig. 19. At the time I wrote that article, I had no idea that the portraits were paired in a symmetrically composed bifolio. The visual contexts of those portraits and other works in the album H. 2153 had not been noted before because publications, including my own, were preoccupied with different questions.

121 On Selim I's emulation of his grandfather, see n. 8 above. The letter a Florentine banker sent in 1519 to Michelangelo urged him to come to Selim I's court, or to send another first rate artist, shortly before the sultan's death in 1520. The letter explained that Selim I was fond of figural arts, unlike his late father Bayezid II, and had recently bought the statue of a reclining nude (see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", p. 48).

symmetrically composed bifolios, next to equally prominent calligraphy specimens signed by the innovative Khvarazmi brothers, the rare Italian engravings echo the delicate linear pen strokes of accompanying calligraphies in *nasta'līq* script.[122]

With its suggestive page layouts, H. 2153 visually prefigures the comparison Dust Muhammad's preface sets up in the Bahram Mirza album (1544–45) between Persianate art and works from the Frankish and Cathayan traditions. The remarkable intersections of these two albums (H. 2153 and H. 2154), and the earlier Timurid workshop album (H. 2152), which in turn was a major source for the Diez albums, affirm their complementarity as an unmatched visual archive for the artistic imaginaries and creative practices of post-Mongol court workshops from the fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries.[123] What is more, the album H. 2153 begins to hint at the subsequent replacement of China by Europe, as the principal source of foreign inspiration for the Persianate pictorial arts that would be cultivated in the early modern Islamic courts.

122 For a discussion of the source of the Italian engravings and my reconstructions of the bifolios on which they are mounted, alongside calligraphies by the two Khvarezmi brothers, see Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums", figs. 1a–b, 1c–d, 3a–b, 4a–b, 5a–b, 5c–d. The distinctive type of *nasta'līq* script associated with these two brothers apparently fell out of fashion in Safavid Iran, but it seems to have been highly appreciated in the Ottoman context, perhaps through the influence of 'Abd al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi al-Ya'qubi's students who may have joined Bayezid II's and/or his successor Selim I's courts. (Oral communication with Simon Rettig, who suspects that the move of these calligraphers from Tabriz to the Ottoman realm started as early as the 1490s and reached a peak during the Safavid period, between 1501 and 1514.)

123 On the "*paragone*", or "intercultural artistic comparison" in Dust Muhammad's preface, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 295–304.

CHAPTER 21

Iconographic Turn: On Chinese Buddhist and Daoist Iconography in the Diez Albums

Ching-Ling Wang

> O good man! All these blind people were unable to tell of the form of the elephant. And yet, it is not that they did not say anything at all about it. The elephant has all of the features you mention, and yet they were unable to "see" the complete elephant.
>
> *Mahāyāna mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Nirvana Sutra*), ch. 39[1]

The Blind Men and the Elephant

The fable "The Blind Men and the Elephant", in the Buddhist sutra, suggests that people see truth in different ways depending on their experiences; or that people tend to describe the whole based on a partial truth they have grasped. In the story, the elephant is a metaphor for Buddha's law, the ultimate truth, while the blind people represent the ignorance of the individual. We can reuse this metaphor: the elephant can be seen as art historical "truth" (if there is such a thing) and the blind people are ourselves, the art historians, who try hard to explain the "truth" with the limited research materials that we can access. When looking at Islamic art from the perspective of a researcher of Chinese art history, at times I have the feeling of being blind. However, and I hope perhaps because of my "blindness", there may be a chance that I can contribute and bring some fresh insights simply by being an outsider to Islamic art history. In this essay, I shall try to explain "the elephant" that I have "seen". I hope only that my humble opinions might shed fresh light on some matters.

For a long time scholars in the fields of Chinese and Islamic art history have tried to discuss, define, and identify the interactions and exchanges between Chinese and Islamic art. In their articles published in 1954 Max Loehr (1903–1988) and Oktay Aslanapa (1914–2013) had already identified Chinese elements in Persian miniature paintings.[2] The most detailed and intensive discussion of this issue was undoubtedly the conference "Between China and Iran", held in 1980 in London. The conference proceedings, published several years later, are still a most important reference.[3] More recently there have been contributions from scholars researching in both fields.[4]

1 Kosho Yamamoto (trans.), *The Mahayana Mahaparinirvana Sutra*, Ube 1973, ch. 39, p. 457.

2 Max Loehr, "The Chinese Elements in the Istanbul Miniatures", in *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 85–90; Oktay Aslanapa, "Türkische Miniaturmalerei am Hofe Mehmet des Eroberers in Istanbul", in *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 77–84.

3 Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims eds., *Between China and Iran: Paintings from Four Istanbul Albums*, London 1985.

4 For example, regarding the issues surrounding the exchanges between Chinese and Persian painting, see: Filiz Çagman and Zeren Tanindi,

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This essay is a case study: it examines specifically two pages of drawings included in the Diez Album, both depicting *Two Chinese Figures* (Diez A fol. 73, pp. 53 and 55, figs. 21.1 and 21.2). In this essay, I will first identify the Chinese Buddhist and Daoist iconographic content of these two sketches and trace them back to their prototypes. Secondly, I will discuss the circulation of the Chinese prototypes in the Persian world and discuss their meaning in a trans-cultural context between China and Persia.

Two Drawings of *Two Chinese Figures* in the Diez Album

In the fourth volume of the Diez albums, now in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, there are two pages of drawings of *Two Chinese Figures*. On both pages, two male figures are depicted. After remounting, *Two Chinese Figures* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 53, fig. 21.1) contains four fragments.[5] Each was painted on the same kind of paper; two of these have an identical border frame painted with thin ink outlines and filled in with gold. All of them share the same style of brushwork and they can be joined together. Judging by the material, border frame, and the similarity of painting style, these four fragments were originally cut from one larger work. Although these fragments can be joined together, at least one piece is missing (most likely three, the lower right and left corners too); however, it is not difficult for us to visualize the whole image after they are rejoined.

The drawing depicts two Chinese figures in wide loose robes facing toward the left of the work. The man standing on

"China, Chinoiserie and Islam in the Fifteenth Century", in *The Topkapi Saray Museum: Manuscripts*, ed. J.M. Rogers, New York 1986, pp. 114–156; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Siyah Qalem and Gong Kai: An Istanbul Album Painter and a Chinese Painter of Mongolia", in *Muqarnas* 4 (1987), pp. 59–71; Sugimura Toh, *The Chinese impact on certain fifteenth century Persian miniature paintings from the albums* (*Hazine Library nos. 2153, 2154, 2160*) *in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul*, PhD dissertation, University of Michigan 1981; Sugimura Toh, *The Encounter of Persia with China: Research into Cultural Contacts based on Fifteenth Century Persian Pictorial Materials*, Osaka 1986; Sugimura Toh, "Chinese Influence on Persian Paintings of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", in *Senri Ethnological Studies* 32 (1992), pp. 135–146; Sugimura Toh, "Tōzai ajia no kōryū [Interactions between East and West Asia]", in *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū, Tōyō* [Comprehensive Catalogues of World Art: East Asia], Tokyo 1999, vol. 17, pp. 277–288; Wang Yong, "Zhongguo huihua dui posi ximihua de yingxiang [The Influence of Chinese Painting on Persian Miniature Painting]," in *Yilangxue zai zhongguo lunwenji* [Proceedings of Iranian Studies in China], ed. Ye Yiliang, Beijing 1998; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven & London 2005; Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran*, Edinburgh 2009; Jennifer Purtle, "The Far Side: Expatriate Medieval Art and Its Languages in Sino-Mongol China", in *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011), pp. 167–197; and many others.

5 During the conservation project which took place in 1971–1972, the original bindings of Diez A fols. 70, 71 and 72 were removed, and each folio disassembled. The materials of Diez A fol. 73 were removed from the folio, while fol. 74 remained intact. See: David J. Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74", in *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 112–136, here p. 114.



FIGURE 21.1
Two Chinese Figures: Hanshan and Shide, c. *1400–1450, 30 × 36.1 cm.* *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 53.*



FIGURE 21.2
Two Chinese Figures: Li Tieguai and Liu Hai, c. *1400–1450, 30 × 36.1 cm.* *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 55.*



FIGURE 21.3 *Reconstruction of the original composition of Diez A fol. 73, p. 55 and 53, made by the author.*

the left side is leaning on a (presumably straw) broom. The other figure, standing on the right, is barefoot; he is pointing at something towards the lower left of the frame with his left index finger; his right hand is grappling with his sleeve, while a bottle gourd is tied to his waist with a ribbon. Both male figures are depicted with strong, almost overly exaggerated, laughing facial expressions, and hair in disarray.

The other drawing of *Two Chinese Figures* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 55, fig. 21.2) contains one larger sheet on which one small fragment is attached. It depicts two male figures facing toward the right. The figure standing on the left has a beard, and bare feet with bindings on his legs; he is leaning on a walking stick. The other figure is holding his right sleeve with his left hand while his right index finger is pointing toward the lower left. In the right lower corner is a fragment showing a toad. A border frame runs around both the larger sheet and one of the smaller fragments, indicating that the border was painted later, after the smaller fragment was attached to the larger sheet of paper. The two figures depicted in Diez A fol. 73, p. 55 (fig. 21.2) wear the same costumes as those in Diez A fol. 73, p. 53 (fig. 21.1); both have the same facial expressions and the same disarrayed hair, and both were executed in the same painting style. Moreover, each group of figures forms a semi-circular composition. Thus I propose that these two pages should be seen together as a whole composition which has been separated and pasted onto two different pages (fig. 21.3).

For some time these figures were accepted by the art historians of Islamic



FIGURE 21.4
Attributed to Yan Hui, Hanshan and Shide, *ink and colour on silk, hanging scrolls, fourteenth century, each 127.6 × 41.8 cm. Tokyo National Museum.*

art history as "Chinese *lohans*".[6] The word "*lohan*" is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit word "*arhat*". In Buddhist iconography, an *arhat* is a disciple of Buddha and a saint appointed to witness the Buddha's law and to save the world. Regarding the iconographic identification of these four figures, I have a different opinion. They should be identified as the Chan (Jp.: Zen) Buddhist monk-poets Hanshan (fl. ninth century) and Shide (fl. ninth century) in Diez A fol. 73, p. 53 (fig. 21.1); and as the Daoist immortals Liu Hai (also known as Liu Haichan, fl. tenth century) and Li Tieguai (fl. sixth to seventh centuries) in Diez A fol. 73, p. 55 (fig. 21.2).

Hanshan and Shide are historical figures from the Tang dynasty (618–907). Hanshan (lit. "Cold Mountain") was famous for his poems and lived on Mt. Tiantai (Taintaishan) in China's Zhejiang province.[7] Due to the fame of his poetry,

6 The most recent publication of these two pages is in the exhibition catalogue *Turks: A Journey of A Thousand Years, 600–1600*, in which David J. Roxburgh also identified them as *lohans*. See David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of A Thousand Years, 600–1600*, London 2005, pp. 224–245 and 420.

7 Zanning, *Song guaoseng zuan* [Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled during the Song Period], thirteenth century, vol. 22, in

iconographically he is often depicted with a brush or a scroll, sometimes both. Shide (lit. "Foundling") was an abandoned child discovered by the Chinese Chan monk-poet master Fenggan (fl. ninth century). Later Shide became a monk in the Guoqing-Monastery (Quoqing si) in charge of the kitchen and other miscellaneous affairs. Thus, iconographically, he is usually depicted with a broom to signify his work in the monastery. Hanshan and Shide were good friends; they often travelled together and accompanied each other. In the Buddhist tradition they are respectively honored as emanations of the bodhisattvas Manjushri (*Wenshu pusa*) and Samantabhadra (*Puxian pusa*). The figure on the left in the drawing of *Two Chinese Figures* (fig. 21.1) is holding a broom; therefore we can identify him as Shide. Since Hanshan and Shide usually appear as a pair, the other figure can be identified as his associate Hanshan, although he does not hold a brush or scroll in this iconography.

Liu Hai and Li Tieguai are legendary figures. According to legend, Liu Hai lived during the turmoil of the Five Dynasties period (907–960).[8] He served as grand councillor to the warlord Liu Shouguang (?–914). It was later said that he learned Daoism from Zhong Liquan and Lü Dongbin, two of the Daoist Eight Immortals (*baxian*) and became an Immortal himself. Later he became known as Haichanzi (lit. "Master Sea Toad"); thus iconographically he is depicted accompanied by a three-legged toad.

Li Tieguai (lit. "Iron-crutch Li"), a Sui dynasty (581–618) Daoist, was one of the most popular of all Daoist adepts and was one of the Daoist Eight Immortals. Iconographically Li is always depicted walking with the aid of an iron crutch. According to the *Liexian quanzhuan* (*Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals*, 1598), Li attained the Dao at an early age. One day he said to his disciple, "My physical body will remain here – if my ethereal soul does not return in seven days, you may cremate my body." On the sixth day the disciple's mother fell ill and he had to rush home, so he cremated the body. On the seventh day Li's spirit returned, but his body was gone. He thereupon possessed the corpse of a crippled beggar who had starved to death, and came back to life. Because of this, his form is that of a crippled man, although he was not like this originally.[9] The left figure in the drawing of *Two Chinese Figures* (fig. 21.2), with the walking stick, can therefore be identified

Wenyuange siku quanshu [Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature], eds. Ji Yun and Lu Xixiong, 1782; reprint, Beijing 2006, vol. 1047, pp. 306–307 and 313–317; Li Fang, *Taiping guangji* [The Extensive Records of the Taiping Era], 978, vol. 55, in *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 1047, p. 530.

8 Zhao Daoyi, *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* [Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages], fourteenth century, vol. 49, pp. 22–23; reprint in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* [Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature continued], Shanghai 2002, vol. 1295.

9 Wang Shizhen comp., *Liexian quanzhuan* [Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals], 1598; reprint, Shanghai: *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* [Collective Publication of Ancient Chinese Print], 1961, vol. 1, p. 2. For the English translation of the biography of Li Tieguai in *Liexian quanzhuan*, see Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, Chicago 2000, p. 331.

as Li Tieguai; and the right figure with the toad should be identified as Liu Hai.

The style of both drawings, especially the overly exaggerated laughing facial expressions, can be traced back to the painting tradition of Yan Hui (fl. late thirteenth to early fourteenth century), who specialised in figure painting, especially Buddhist and Daoist images. One of the few references to Yan Hui's life is found in Zhang Su's (fl. thirteenth century) *Huaji buyi* (*Supplement to the "A Continuation of the History of Painting"*, preface dated 1298). In this treatise he was reported to be active towards the end of Song dynasty (960–1279) and was said to be capable of painting landscapes, figures, demons, and deities. His painting was highly celebrated and appreciated by contemporary literati.[10]

A pair of hanging scrolls, *Hanshan and Shide* (fig. 21.4), attributed to Yan Hui, now in the Tokyo National Museum collection, clearly demonstrates this exaggerated laughing facial expression.[11] Also worth noting is the depiction of Hanshan's and Shide's hair, painted in ink wash; their faces and hands, painted with fine, even, and uninflected linearity; and their clothes, depicted with curvilinear and undulating strokes. Whether this pair of hanging scrolls was truly painted by Yan Hui is still debatable, but scholars commonly date them to the fourteenth century and consider them to be following in Yan Hui's painting tradition. Both drawings of *Two Chinese Figures* in the Diez albums share the same depiction in style, which suggests they also follow the same painting tradition. It also suggests that the painter of both drawings strongly intended to mimic Yan Hui's (or at least a Chinese) manner of painting.



FIGURE 21.5
Attributed to Yan Hui, Hanshan and Shide, *ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll, fifteenth century, 64 × 31 cm. Private collection.*

Regarding the composition, we can also compare both drawings in the Diez albums with another *Hanshan and Shide* (fig. 21.5) hanging scroll attributed to Yan Hui in which the composition of the main figures Hanshan and Shide also form a half circle facing towards the right.[12] This painting, although attributed to Yan Hui, is most likely a fifteenth-century copy by one of the Zhe School painters who closely followed Yan Hui's painting tradition. The format and composition of the scroll suggests that this painting could perhaps also have been the left-hand scroll of a paired couplet: the other scroll probably depicted

10 Zhuang Su, *Huaji buyi* [Supplement to the *A Continuation of the History of Painting*], 1298; reprint, Hefei 2008), vol. 2, p. 6.

11 Yamato Bunkakan, ed., *Gen jidai no kaiga: Mongoru sekai teikoku no isseiki* [Painting of the Yuan Dynasty: One Century of the Mongolian Global Empire], Nara 1998, pp. 96, 154.

12 China Guardian Auctions, *Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* (*4*), Beijing 2005, lot. 1158.



FIGURE 21.6 *Attributed to Yan Hui*, Liu Hai and Lie Tiegui, *ink and colour on silk, hanging scrolls, fourteenth century, each 191 × 79.8 cm. Kyoto, Chionji Temple.*

Li Tieguai and Liu Hai, who would have formed a left-facing semi-circular pair.

Iconographically, not only Hanshan and Shide, but also Li Tieguai and Liu Hai are common themes in Yan Hui's painting. The paired couplet of hanging scrolls now in the collection of the Chionji temple in Kyoto, Japan, depicts these two Daoist immortals (fig. 21.6). The painting *Li Tieguai* now in the Palace Museum Beijing is another example.[13]

The Chan Buddhist monks Hanshan and Shide and the Daoist immortals Liu Hai and Li Tieguai were absorbed into Chinese folk belief; together they were called the "Four Immortals" (*sixian*). Although the pictorial evidence includes no exact example of Yan Hui depicting the four immortals, we do see that by, at the latest, the early fifteenth century, there are already combinations of these four figures in iconography. The earliest extant example is *Four Immortals Offering Birthday Wishes to the God of Longevity*, painted by the court painter Shang Xi (fl. *c.* early fifteenth century) and now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 21.7).[14] Given the style, composition, motif, and iconography, we can say that both drawings in the Diez albums have a close relationship with the painting tradition of Yan Hui or his followers, for example the Zhe School painters. The evidence shows that by the sixteenth century, the iconography and the painting tradition of Yan Hui and the Zhe School had arrived in western Asia. This can be verified by a sixteenth-century Persian copy of Chinese painting of Liu Hai and Li Tieguai (H. 2160, fol. 36v), now preserved in Istanbul.[15]

It is worth examining the symmetric semi-circular compositions of both drawings in the Diez albums. Could the format of the original model of these two pages be a paired couplet? If we observe these two drawings closely, we can see that the right figure in fig. 21.1, Hanshan, is looking towards the ground and pointing at something with his finger. As previously mentioned, the toad appearing on the other page (fig. 21.2) was cut and pasted onto the border, while the right figure, Liu Hai, is looking down at it and pointing to it with his finger. I suggest that we can combine

13 See Bunkakan, 1998, pp. 94–95, 154; Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiandingzu, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanji* [Comprehensive Catalogue of Chinese Painting], Beijing 1999, vol. 7, p. 23.

14 Chen Jiejin and Lai Yuzhi, eds., *Zhuisuo zhepai* [Tracing the Zhe School in Chinese Painting], Taipei 2008, pp. 74–75, 171–172.

15 For the image of H. 2160, fol. 36v, see: J.M. Rogers, *Topkapi*, 1986, pl. 102.



FIGURE 21.7 *Shang Xi*, Four Immortals Offering Birthday Wishes to the God of Longevity, *ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll*, c. *1450, 93.8 × 143.8 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.*



FIGURE 21.8
A Crouching Cat, *fifteenth century, 18.2 × 18 cm. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2160, fol. 66v.*

the two pages, thus forming a circular composition with both Hanshan and Liu Hai pointing to the toad on the ground; and we can further identify the subject matter of the whole composition as the theme "Four Immortals: 'Liu Hai playing with his toad' (*Liu Hai xi chan*) while Li Teiguai, Hanshan and Shide have joined to watch", which is a popular theme in Chinese folk art.



FIGURE 21.9 Two Dogs, *fifteenth century, diameter 20 cm. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2160, fol. 48r.*

The Circle Composition

The circular composition that is formed reminds us of the compositions of other published images of miniature paintings now in the collection of Topkapı Saray Museum, such as *A Crouching Cat* (H. 2160, fol. 66v, fig. 21.8), which depicts a cat curled in a circle. Another page depicts *Two Dogs Playing* (H. 2160, fol. 48r, fig. 21.9).[16] *The Four Sleepers* (H. 2160, fol. 48v, fig. 21.10) depicts three figures and a tiger sleeping, and *The Seven Sleepers* (H. 2160, fol. 83r, fig. 21.11) depicts seven figures and a dog sleeping.

Surprisingly, *A Crouching Cat* has an extremely close similarity to the fifteenth page of an album painted by the Chinese scholar Shen Zhou (1427–1505) in 1494 (fig. 21.12). This album, according to Shen Zhou's colophon on the first page, was painted for his own amusement. The album contains motifs of flowers, fruits, birds, insects, and animals, all objects that can be seen easily in daily life.[17] On this album page, Shen painted a cat curled in a circle using ink wash in different tones. Although this similarity was noticed in 1971, scholars in the field of Chinese art history have seen it as a coincidence.[18] Strikingly, not only are the compositions of the two paintings similar, but the stripes of the two cats and their physical structures, especially the shoulders, back, and tail, are all almost exactly identical. The

16 Oktay Aslanapa identified this work as two bears, but from the character of the tails, I think these animals should be identified as dogs. See Oktay Aslanapa, "Türkische Miniaturmalerei am Hofe Mehmet des Eroberers in Istanbul", in *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 77–84, especially p. 82 and p. 83. Another scholar also identified the motif as dogs. See J.M. Rogers, *Topkapi*, (ed.), 1986, p. 154.

17 For research into Shen Zhou's painting, see Richard Edwards, *Field of Stone: a study of the art of Shen Zhou (1427–1509)*, Washington 1962; He Yanquan, Chen Jiejin and Chen Yunru *et al.*, *Ming si dajia tezhan: Shen Zhou* [Special Exhibition of Four Masters in the Ming Dynasty – Shen Zhou], Taipei 2014.

18 It was first noticed by Li Lincan in 1971 when he visited the collection in Topkapı Saray Museum in Istanbul. See Li Lincan, *Yishu xinshang yu rensheng* [Art Appreciation and Life], Taipei 1984, pp. 45–47. Also see Song Yu, *Zhongguo guhua yu shenghuo* [Ancient Chinese Painting and Life], Taipei 1976, pp. 60–61; Toh, *The Encounter of Persia with China*, pp. 60–61.



FIGURE 21.10
The Four Sleepers, *fifteenth century, diameter 30.8 cm. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2160, fol. 48v.*



FIGURE 21.11
The Seven Sleepers, *fifteenth century, diameter 29.5 cm. Istanbul,* TSMK, *H. 2160, fol. 83r.*



FIGURE 21.12 *Shen Zhou*, A Cat, *album leaf, 1494, 34.6 × 57.2 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.*



FIGURE 21.13 *Anonymous*, The Four Sleepers, *hanging scroll, fourteenth century, 77.8 × 34.3 cm. Tokyo National Museum.*

only difference is the head: the cat in the Chinese version faces frontwards, whereas the one in the Persian version faces slightly upwards in three-quarter profile.

Michael Barry dates *A Crouching Cat* (fig. 21.8) and the other paintings with similar composition to between 1478 and 1490. However, he does not explain his reasoning.[19] If his dating is correct, the Persian version is earlier than Shen's painting. Could it be that Shen was influenced by Persian miniature painting? Although Barry's dating is still debateable, the field of Islamic art history commonly accepts that this group of Persian paintings were painted in the second half of the fifteenth century, and thus that the two cats were painted around the same time. We can then further ask whether this "coincidence" is really a coincidence, and if not, whether the Persian version was influenced by Shen's version, or vice versa.

When we examine the iconography on the other page of this group, *The Four Sleepers* (fig. 21.10), the three figures depicted and the tiger can be identified as Hanshan, Shide, Fenggan, and his tiger. The iconographic content of this page indicates Chinese origin.[20] On this page, the figures and the tiger are all depicted as having fallen into a deep sleep. This image can be identified as *The Four Sleepers* (fig. 21.13), a conventional Zen painting iconographic subject established since the thirteenth century. The first accounts of Hanshan, and Shide together with Fenggan and his tiger appear in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (*Jingde-Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, 1004), as a pictorial subject. The "Four Sleepers" became a popular theme during the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties in China.[21]

19 Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzâd of Herât (1465–1535)*, Paris 2004, pp. 326–327.

20 Toh, *The Encounter of Persia with China*, pp. 45–66.

21 Naomi Noble Richard and Melanie B.D. Klein, eds., *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan*, New York 2007, cat.no. 15; Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, Boston 1970, p. 71; Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Meister der Meditation in Bildern und Schriften*, Zürich 1993, pp. 129–134.

Turning our attention to another page, *The Seven Sleepers* (fig. 21.11), there is a further circular composition in which seven sleeping figures and a dog are depicted. We will examine this in more detail later.

These four miniature paintings are unsigned, but judging from the style, they should be attributed to the same artist or at least to the same workshop. The circular composition appeared for only a very short time, in the second half of the fifteenth century.[22] These works are the production of the Tabriz School after the style of Chinese originals.[23] Regardless of their iconographic content, the circular composition of these works is noteworthy. Where does it originate? If we shift our eye from west Asia to fifteenth-century China, it will not be difficult to understand the origin of the composition. The painting *Grand Harmony* (fig. 21.14), painted in 1465 by the Chenghua Emperor, Zhu Jianshen (1447–1487, r. 1464–1487) and now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, can provide some clues. The painting depicts three figures gathered together. They share the same face and facial features – in fact at a first glance it looks like one face, but closer examination reveals three faces. The theme of the painting is a fictional story, "Three Men Laughing by Tiger Creek" (*Huxi sanxiao*), depicting historical figures, the Confucius scholar Tao Yuanming (365–427), the Daoist Lu Xiujing (406–477), and the Buddhist



FIGURE 21.14 *Zhu Jianshen*, Grand Harmony, *hanging scroll, 1465, 48.7 × 36 cm. Beijing, Palace Museum.*

monk Huiyuan (334–416). It was said that Huiyuan was a recluse on Mt. Lu (Lushan) and that due to his restrained personality, he never saw his guests off across the Tiger Creek (Huxi), a stream in front of his residence. One day Tao Yuanming and Lu Xiujing came to visit, and the three of them talked so congenially that Huiyuan did not realise that he had already crossed the Tiger Creek before he had seen Tao and Lu off. When they noticed, the three of them looked at each other and burst out laughing. In the Chinese painting tradition, the subject, when painted, usually depicts the three standing next to the Tiger Creek embracing one another and laughing. One of the early examples is the Southern Song

22 J.M. Rogers, *Topkapi*, 1986, p. 154.

23 Barry, *Figurative Art*, p. 326. For the painting style of Tabriz School, see: Ernst Kühnel, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing", in *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Anthur Upham Pope, London and New York 1939, vol. III, pp. 1843–1844.



FIGURE 21.15 *Anonymous*, Three Men Laughing by Tiger Creek, *ink and colour on silk, album leaf, thirteenth century, 26.4 × 47.6 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.*



FIGURE 21.16 *Anonymous*, Grand Harmony, *in* Collected Works of Group of Immortals of Quanzhen Daoism, *1483. Beijing, National Library of China.*

(1127–1279) painting *Three Men Laughing by Tiger Creek* (fig. 21.15), now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Of the figures in the Chenghua Emperor's work, one wears a Confucian hat, one has no hair and wearing a Buddhist monk robe, and the other wears a Daoist hat.[24] Accordingly, we can be sure it represents Tao Yuanming, Huiyuan, and Lu Xiujing, since these three figures are representatives of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. The painting signifies the three philosophies (or religions, if we may call them so) combined into one great harmony.

The Chenghua Emperor's painting *Grand Harmony* (fig. 21.14) was painted in 1465. In 1483 he oversaw the construction of the catalogue of *Quanzhen qunxian ji* (*Collected Works of Group of Immortals of Quanzhen Daoism*), in which he included a copy of *Grand Harmony*.[25] The image included in the catalogue is similar to the Emperor's own painting, except that there is a red circle on the scroll being held by the hands of the three figures. The red circle here signifies the Daoist inner alchemy (*neidan*), an array of esoteric doctrines combined with physical, mental and spiritual practices to prolong life and create an immortal spiritual body (fig. 21.16).[26] It is very unlikely that the Chenghua Emperor created the compositional schema of the *Grand Harmony*. Research has revealed that the imperial and royal taste in art in fifteenth-century China among the Emperors and nobles was deeply associated with Zhe School and popular culture.[27] It is more likely that

24 National Palace Museum (ed.), *Songdai shuhua ceye mingpin tezhang* [Famous Album Leaves of the Song Dynasty], Taipei 1995, pp. 156–157, 270–271.

25 For the iconography of *Grand Harmony*, see Ni Yibin, "Yituan heqi xianzong hua, xiyu cantu jie chuancheng [*Grand Harmony* Painted by Emperor Chenghua and Its Transmission to West Asia]", in *Zijincheng* [Forbidden City] 175 (2008), pp. 96–103.

26 Sun Ji, "Yituan heqi [A Grand Harmony]", in *Wenwu tiandi* 164 (2005), pp. 36–39.

27 Shih Shou-chien, "Zhepai huafeng yu guizu pinwei [The Style of Zhe-School and the



FIGURE 21.17
Three Chan Eccentrics: Fenggan, Hanshan and Shide, *diameter 29.2 cm. Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2154, fol. 55r.*

the composition of *Grand Harmony* was influenced by a Chinese folk woodblock print of the fifteenth century.

The impact of the Chinese folk woodblock influenced not only Chenghua Emperor's painting but also professional Chinese painters. In the Topkapı album is a Chinese painting, *Three Chan Eccentrics* (H. 2154, fol. 55r, fig. 21.17) attached to an album page.[28] The Chinese painting, which can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, is also a circular composition. It depicts the Chan monks Fenggan, Hanshan, and Shide embracing each other. They are looking at a scroll which is being held out by Hanshan and Shide. This suggests that the circular composition of the four miniature paintings by the Tabriz School painter in Istanbul collection was indeed influenced by a fifteenth-century Chinese image (painting or woodblock),

Taste of the Nobles]", in *Fengge yu shibian* [Style and Transmission], Taipei 1995, pp. 181–228; Ni Yibin, "Yituan heqi xianzong", pp. 96–103.

28 I misidentified this work (H. 2154, fol. 55r) as a woodblock print in one of my articles published in 2014. I would like to use this opportunity to correct my own mistake. See Wang Ching-Ling, "Luansheng mao zhi mi shijie: youguan zhongguo yu posi huihua jiaoliu de yige mianxiang [The Mystery of Twin Cats: A Case Study of Sino-Persian Exchange on Painting]", in *Gugong wenwu yuekan* [National Palace Museum Journal Monthly] 372 (2014), pp. 22–31.



FIGURE 21.18 Ma Yourong Returning Home with Honour, *Chinese Suzhou woodcut print on paper, seventeenth century. SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 21, no. 1.*

and that the composition of both drawings in the Diez albums would likely derive from the same or a similar source. It is worth noting that there are also Chinese woodblock prints preserved in Persian albums, for example, *The Twenty-four Acts of Filial Piety* (H. 2153, fol. 124v), a Ming dynasty woodblock print.[29] The Diez albums also include a woodblock print, *Ma Yourong Returning Home with Honour* (Diez A fol. 73, p. 21, no. 1, fig. 21.18) which, judging by the style, can be identified as a product of one of the Suzhou workshops and can be dated to the seventeenth century. One should not neglect the influence of Chinese woodblock prints and such kinds of visual cultural material on Persian painting.

Now let us return to the "cats" issue. Was the cat painted by Shen Zhou influenced by Persian painting? Alternatively, was the cat painted by the Persian painter influenced by Shen Zhou? Because this specific "Chinese cat" was painted by Shen Zhou and was dated 1494 and because the style of the "Persian cat" dates it to the second half of fifteenth century, it would have been almost impossible for Shen Zhou's "Chinese cat" to serve as the prototype. However, it was not the only cat painted by Shen Zhou. According to seventeenth-century collector Gao Shiqi's (1645–1704) account book, there was at least one other scroll of a cat painted by Shen Zhou in Gao's collection.[30] Although this scroll now only exists in a textual document, we can assume there must have been multiple paintings of cats painted by Shen Zhou.

If one examines the previously mentioned fifteenth-century Chinese painting, *Three Chan Eccentrics* (fig. 21.17), more closely, one can see the scroll held by Hanshan and Shide is actually a painting with motifs of cats and rats (fig. 21.19). The cat appears in the middle of the scroll, the position where the red circle of Daoist inner alchemy appears on the scroll in the image of *Grand Harmony* painted in 1483 (fig. 21.16). Judging from the painting style of the scroll which appears on *Three Chan Eccentrics* (fig. 21.19), one can relate it



FIGURE 21.19 *Detail from* Three Chan Eccentrics: Fenggan, Hanshan and Shide. *Istanbul, TSMK, H. 2154, fol. 55r.*

29 Toh, *The Encounter of Persia with China*, pl. 85, p. 216.

30 Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun shuhua mu* [List of Calligraphy and Painting in Jiangcun's (Gao Shiqi) Collection], eighteenth century, reprint; Hong Kong 1968.

to Shen Zhou's style. It is worth noting that Shen Zhou's paintings were very popular in his day and that there were many forgeries of them circulating on the market. Shen Zhou had a very easy-going personality and was very generous; on occasions when people brought forgeries of his paintings to him to request that he append a colophon, he never rejected them. Is there a possibility that the Chinese artist who created *Three Chan Eccentrics* (fig. 21.17) had directly or indirectly accessed Shen Zhou's painting and depicted one of his paintings (or a forgery) on the scroll? The circular composition of this group of four paintings in Istanbul reveals its prototype to be a Chinese image. Moreover, the content of *The Four Sleepers* (fig. 21.10) is without doubt Chinese Chan-Buddhist iconography.

Returning to the image of the seven sleeping men and a dog (fig. 21.11), the iconographic content suggests them to be the Christian saints of the Seven Sleepers. According to the legend, they were seven young men who lived around the year 250.[31] The Christian version, the story of the "Seven Sleepers", has a parallel Islamic version documented in the *Quran* recounting the story of a group of young believers, in addition to one dog, who resisted religious persecution from their people by escaping to a cave, where they slept for 309 years.[32] The depiction of a dog on the page suggests that this work is based on the record in *Quran*, and hence it should be seen as an Islamic theme instead of Christian one.

The depiction of *The Four Sleepers* (fig. 21.10) follows its Chinese prototype (fig. 21.13) so closely that the artist likely had direct access to the original Chinese image or a copy. The depiction of *The Seven Sleepers* (fig. 21.11) is thus most likely a creation of the Persian artist based on the schema of *The Four Sleepers.* The Persian painter might not have fully (or completely) understood the Chinese iconography of *The Four Sleepers*; however, this image of three men and a tiger sleeping together is such a close parallel to the story of *The Seven Sleepers*, with which he was probably familiar, that he used it as the prototype for his *Seven Sleepers*. Further examination of the style of these four Istanbul miniature paintings reveals they are all painted in the same style with consistent fine, even linearity; stylistically they are entirely Persian, except for the Chinese influence in the composition and in some iconographic elements. Hence we may see this group of works as the creation of Persian painters after they had absorbed

31 At this time the Roman Emperor Decius (*c.* 201–251) was trying to force people to abandon their Christian beliefs. To avoid persecution the seven men took refuge in a cave outside the city and prayed. The emperor ordered the cave to be sealed as punishment. The seven young men fell into a deep sleep in the cave for around 180 years. They woke up again in the reign of Theodosius II (401–450), by which time Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire. The cave of the Seven Sleepers was found between 1927 and 1928 near Ephesus in modern Turkey. For the legend of the Seven Sleepers, See Pieter W. van der Horst, "Pious Long-Sleepers in Greek, Jewish, and Christian Antiquity," published on the website, http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/13th/papers/Horst.pdf (viewed on December 15th, 2013).

32 *Quran* 18: 7–26.

the essence of the Chinese prototypes and transformed them into their own style.

Similarly, the two Diez drawings are also influenced by Chinese prototypes. The difference is that both Diez drawings are close imitations of a Chinese work. This can be verified by the painter's depiction of the hair, the face, and the clothes with specific brush strokes and ink wash. Also, they are not coloured: they are more like sketches than paintings, which indicates they were executed as practice or for study. David J. Roxburgh dates these two works to the early fifteenth century.[33] In this case, the Berlin Diez drawings are earlier than the Istanbul miniature paintings. The Istanbul miniature paintings can be seen as the finalized Persian production after the painter had appropriated the Chinese style and iconography for his own work. On the contrary, the manner in which both *Two Chinese Figures* in the Diez album follow the style of the Chinese prototype as closely as possible may be seen as the first stage of this process of artistic transformation.

A Work by a *Farang*?

In the empty space between Liu Hai's right foot and his toad in the lower right of the drawing *Two Chinese Figures, Li Tieguai and Liu Hai* (fig. 21.2) is a Persian inscription, "kār-i farang", literally translated as "a work done by a *farang*" (fig. 21.20).[34] It is not possible to determine who wrote this inscription: it could have been the painter himself, the person who collated the album, or someone else. It is also not possible to determine when this inscription was added, whether at the time or later. This inscription leads to a rather complicated question. Regardless of who added this description and when that might have been, it can be interpreted in at least two ways: both drawings were painted by a *farang*; or the prototype image that both drawings followed was the work of a *farang*.

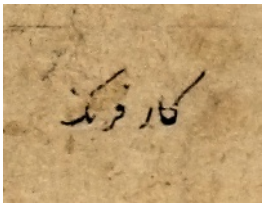


FIGURE 21.20
Detail from Two Chinese Figures: Li Tieguai and Liu Hai. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 55.*

The narrow definition of the word *farang* is "European", but in the field of Islamic art history the term "Frankish" is also used to indicate miniature paintings influenced by a European painting style.[35] Could both drawings have been painted by a European? Or might the prototype of both drawings be a European image? Evidently, neither is possible, but a marginal definition of the word *farang* can refer to anything that is of foreign origin. A Chinese painting or image would certainly be considered foreign by a Persian painter or viewer. However, there is another possibility, that the person who wrote

33 Roxburgh (ed.), *Turks*, p. 420.

34 I thank Yves Porter for helping me to identify and translate this Persian inscription.

35 For the "Frankish" impact on Persian painting, see Gülru Necipoğlu's article in this volume, although in her paper "Between Europe and China: The 'Frankish Manner' in the Topkapi Palace and Diez Album", given on 5 June 2013 at the Diez albums conference in Berlin, the inscription on Diez A fol. 73, pp. 53 and 55 is not mentioned.

the inscription actually misinterpreted the image's Chinese origin and attributed both drawings as European.

At this point we should examine the issue of the connoisseurship of Chinese painting in the fifteenth century Persian world. David J. Roxburgh has pointed out that on fol. 96v of Bahram Mirza's album of 1544–45 (H. 2154) is a Chinese painting which carries a caption by the calligrapher Dust Muhammad: "From the collection of outstanding works by the superlative Chinese masters".[36] In the same album, on fol. 34r, is another Chinese painting with a Persian inscription: "These paintings are from the collection of good works by the Chinese masters."[37] This indicates that in the sixteenth century, in western Asia, there was already a clear understanding of Chinese painting. In the field of Chinese art history, scholars like Craig Clunas also use these examples as concrete evidence of encounters with Chinese painting by the Persian world.[38] But the Persian understanding and connoisseurship of Chinese painting in the fifteenth century remains unclear. The inscription appearing on the Diez drawing *Two Chinese Figures, Li Tieguai and Liu Hai* (fig. 21.2) actually complicates the discourse and forces us to rethink the issue. What exactly was the Persian understanding of Chinese painting in the fifteenth century? The answer in fact might be more complicated than we expect.

Conclusion

Regarding both Diez drawings of *Two Chinese Figures* (figs. 21.1 and 21.2), this paper clarifies their iconographical con-

36 The style of H. 2154, fol. 96v is very close to H. 2154, fol. 32r; they could have been cut from the same Chinese painting and separately pasted onto different pages in the same album. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 270–272, 295.

37 Barry paired H. 2154, fol. 33v and H. 2153, fol. 150r together, suggesting that they were cut from the same painting, and posed the question: "Is this the painting offered by the Chinese emperor to Shâh Rukh in 1417? Which in these two fragments shows two dignitaries together holding the bridle of a magnificent white stallion (might it not be the horse offered five years before by Shâh Rukh to the Chinese emperor?)" See Barry, *Figurative Art*, p. 115. The problem is, besides H. 2153, fol. 150r, there are at least another two images that can be paired together with H. 2154, fol. 33v. Roxburgh paired it with H. 2154, fol. 34r, and yet there is also H. 2153, fol. 123r and a Persian copy H. 1703, fol. 6r. For all the illustrations, see: Grube and Sims (ed.), 1985, figs. 83A, 83B, 84, 85 and 86. I tend to agree with Roxburgh, for the reason that these two images are in fact included in the same album; however, it still requires further investigation. See Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 295–297. The question Barry posed is rather tricky; looking at the official documents of the Chinese Ming court, there were no paintings given as gifts or tributes from west Asia. Most gifts given by Chinese emperors were made of gold, silver, silk, textiles or porcelain, and thus the painting is rather unlikely to have been offered by a Chinese emperor to Shahrukh in 1417. For the research of diplomatic tributes from west Asia to Ming China, see Zhang Wende, *Ming yu tiemuer guanxishi yanjiu* [The Relationship between the Ming Dynasty and the Timur Empire], Beijing 2006.

38 Craig Clunas made this argument in his series of lectures "Chinese Painting and Its Audiences", for the A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts held at the National Gallery, Washington D.C. (2012 series).

tent; it interprets the images as depicting the Chinese Chan-Buddhist monks Hanshan and Shide, and the Daoist Immortals Li Teiguai and Liu Hai. Although they are now divided over two pages, judging by the composition, they should be considered as one circular composition, the prototype of which was likely to have been a fifteenth-century Chinese painting or woodblock print. Regarding style, we can see that the Persian painter is attempting to mimic the style of the Chinese prototype, which can be traced back to the painting tradition of Yan Hui and his followers of the Zhe School. The circular composition of both the Diez drawings can be related to a group of miniature paintings by a Tabriz School painter now in the Istanbul collection. There is no evidence that shows Persian painters in the fifteenth century understood the iconographical content of the Chinese paintings or images (such as woodblock prints) that they were able to access; those images were used more as a form of fresh artistic stimulus. They learned from them (taking ideas about composition and brush strokes) or copied them (without clearly understanding the iconographical content), following a process of appropriation; they then synthesized their own style of painting. The importance of both Diez drawings is that the imitation of Chinese brush strokes signifies the first stage of this transformation process, before the Persian painter transformed the Chinese style into a Persian one.

Being rather blind to the whole of Islamic art, I fear the contribution of this paper is rather limited. The Buddhist fable "The Blind Men and an Elephant" also has an Islamic version, "The Elephant in the Dark", presented by the thirteenth-century Persian poet Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–1273) and teacher of Sufism in his *Tales from Masnavi*. In Rumi's retelling, a Hindu had brought an elephant for an exhibition and put it in a dark room. Crowds of people went there to experience the elephant and each visitor felt it with his palm in the darkness. Depending upon which part of elephant they encountered, they reached different conclusions about what the elephant looked like. Rumi taught this story as an example of the limits of individual perception: "The sensual eye is just like the palm of the hand. The palm has not the means of covering the whole of the beast."[39]

To solve the problem, the Sufi poet presented his solution to finding the real truth:

> If each of us held a candle there,
> and if we went in together,
> we could see it.[40]

When discussing issues of interchange between Chinese and Persian painting, it would be good advice to scholars that they should "each hold a candle and go in together." I hope this essay at least sheds a little light on these matters.

Epilogue

The Diez albums contain a great quantity of images inspired by or appropriated from Chinese works, and these require

39 Jalal al-Din Rumi, *Tales from Rumi*, trans. A.J. Arberry, London 1961, p. 208.

40 "Elephant in the Dark," in *The Essential Rumi*, trans. Coleman Barks (1985), San Francisco, 1995, p. 252.

further investigation. This was also the topic of Klaas Ruitenbeek's presentation on 5 June 2013 at the Diez conference. Due to personal circumstances his presentation is not included in this volume. On his behalf, I summarize his arguments. In his presentation he focused on the works in the albums that resemble Chinese works or seem to have been Chinese-inspired. A number of these works (mostly in colour) copy Chinese paintings, and sometimes prints, quite faithfully, sometimes to such a degree that, when looking at photographs only, it is hard to believe that they are not Chinese. A careful inspection of the originals proved beyond a doubt that they were made outside China, in Persia, with only one exception: the Suzhou woodcut print *Ma Yourong Returning Home with Honour* (fig. 21.18). Another group (mostly fine line drawings) copy Chinese motifs such as lions, dragons or phoenixes more freely or show other designs that are common in Chinese decorative arts, especially lacquer, silverware or blue-and-white porcelain from the Tang to the Ming dynasty. Here there is clearly a two-way interaction: for example, the lappets that frequently delineate the designs seem to be of Persian origin and were adopted in China during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Tracing back these motifs to their possible pictorial sources and following their development and transformation in a transcultural context is a fascinating topic that requires further efforts and cooperation between scholars in the fields of both Islamic and Chinese art history.[41]

41 Klaas Ruitenbeek, "Chinese Inspiration: The Chinese Motifs in the Diez Albums, their Sources, Reception and Derivatives" on 5 June 2013 at the Diez conference. The examples in the Diez albums that he used in his presentation to form his arguments are: Diez A fol. 70, p. 15; Diez A fol. 71, p. 10; Diez A fol. 71, p. 65; Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 1; Diez A fol. 72, p. 9; Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 5, no. 2; Diez A fol. 73, p. 7; Diez A fol. 73, p. 9; Diez A fol. 73, p. 21, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 27, no. 4; Diez A fol. 73, p. 40, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 41-2; Diez A fol. 73, p. 44; Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 4; Diez A fol. 73, p. 46, no. 10; Diez A fol. 73, p. 51, no. 2; Diez A fol. 73, p. 57, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 58; Diez A fol. 73, p. 64, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 65; Diez A fol. 73, p. 66, no. 2; Diez A fol. 73, p. 67, no. 1; Diez A fol. 73, p. 72, no. 5.

CHAPTER 22

The Ottomans in Diez's Collection

Serpil Bağcı

Compared to the abundant number and variety of its Persianate contents, the Diez albums' Ottoman collection is remarkably small, yet it is sufficient to shed light on Diez's interests as a collector. Apart from one sixteenth-century image, all Ottoman paintings are included in Diez album fol. 73, pp. 11–23.[1] These images, consisting of eighteenth-century individual album paintings, are mounted on consecutive folios as a group. In addition to these paintings, album fol. 74 includes several text pages in Ottoman Turkish, which, in contrast to the calligraphic samples, appear to have been purchased for their content rather than their fine writing.[2] In this essay I will first introduce and analyze this unpublished body of Ottoman material in relation to its original context, then highlight its importance in Diez's collection, and finally discuss his preference for the specific paintings in it.

The Diez albums include fifteen Ottoman paintings. One is included in Diez A fol. 71, which otherwise mainly comprises fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Persian (or Persianate) material. Fourteen Ottoman works are included in Diez A fol. 73. Within the overall ensemble of the Diez albums, these Ottoman paintings have been largely ignored, even though they are of particular importance.[3] Since they are absent from the first three albums, fols. 70–72, but are all compiled in one album, which most likely was bound in Berlin, they are generally considered to have been collected from Istanbul markets, rather than purchased from the

Author's note: I would like to thank Massumeh Farhad, Gülru Necipoğlu, and Leslie M. Schick for their contributions and comments to this essay.

1 The only image with different provenance inserted among them is a Chinese colored woodcut (Diez A fol. 73, p. 21, no. 1), which does not pertain to the works in the albums.

2 One folio from a text (Diez A fol. 74, p. 2, no. 2, recto and verso), which seems to have been removed from an anthology, is part of a story that I will analyze below in relation to the paintings. The others belong to an astrological-prognosticative book, a *malhama* or *ikhtiyarat* text, which must have been transcribed in the eighteenth century (Diez A fol. 74, pp. 3–18).

3 Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, in his catalogue of the collection, gathers all of these images under one catalogue entry. He attributes the paintings to the eighteenth century and defines them as colorful, schematic samples of Ottoman folk art, and as images of popular culture related to traditional shadow theater: *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen. Beschreibung und stilkritische Anmerkungen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 88. David J. Roxburgh, in an article focusing on a formerly unknown source for the Diez albums (Topkapı Palace Library, album B. 411) and the content of Diez A fol. 74, which was not explored previous to his work, mentions the Ottoman paintings together with two engravings. He suggests that they were bought in Istanbul from a bookseller: "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Ms. Diez A fols. 70–74", *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), p. 120.

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Topkapı Palace.[4] This suggestion seems to be relevant for four images, whose subject matter and style are closely related to the costume books and other paintings executed by the so-called "bazaar painters," contemporaneous with Diez's sojourn in Istanbul. However, the remaining ten images, in terms of both thematic and stylistic features, reveal a direct association with a certain group of rather sophisticated painters, suggesting that their provenance was indeed the Topkapı Palace. These images, all produced roughly in the mid-eighteenth century, display a thematic coherence and must have been personally selected by Diez for inclusion in his album/collection. Collated separately, together with a few pages of text, they directly echo his interest in contemporary Ottoman culture and daily life.

Before analyzing the paintings in two main groups according to their style and possible dating, I will discuss the only Ottoman image inserted among the Persianate content of fol. 71; this stands apart from the rest of the Ottoman material in terms of its subject and style. Previous scholars did not identify the provenance of this painting, which is sixteenth-century Ottoman.

Encounter of Shirin and Khusraw

This painting, measuring 13.9–14 × 7.3–7.6 cm,[5] is a fragment of an illustration depicting a group of young women on horses, one of whom has dismounted and prostrates herself (fig. 22.1).[6]

It is most likely a scene from a Khusraw and Shirin manuscript, translated from Nizami's celebrated version by the fifteenth-century Ottoman poet Sheykhi (d. 1431), a favorite *mathnavī* of the Ottoman readers and patrons.[7] The painting depicts the coincidental encounter of the main protagonists as they each hunted separately. Stunned by the beauty of each other and realizing that they had finally met, they threw themselves from their horses and prostrated themselves before each other.[8] The surviving fragment of the painting shows Shirin and her maids-in-waiting. The trimmed right part of the painting probably depicted Khusraw and his entourage.

The style of the painting strongly suggests that it is the work of a court artist, who might be the celebrated painter Osman (d. after 1598), the dominant artist of the royal workshop or one of his colleagues of the same circle, and it is datable

4 Roxburgh, *idem*.

5 I benefited from the library's database of Oriental manuscripts (Orient-Digital) for all measurements I state in this paper.

6 Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3.

7 Five illustrated copies of Sheykhi's *Khusraw u Shirin* survived from the late fifteenth century. For these manuscripts, see Ayşin Yoltar, *The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413–1520*, PhD dissertation, New York University 2002, pp. 282–351; Serpil Bağcı, *et al., Ottoman Painting*, Istanbul 2010, pp. 153–57. For another copy dated to *c.* 1575, see Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and the British Museum*, London 1981, cat. no. 59. Several images from an eighteenth-century album in Istanbul University Library (T. 9365) suggest other copies of the text, dispersed or unfinished.

8 Faruk K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhî'nin Husrev ü Şîrin'i. İnceleme-Metin*, Istanbul 1963, pp. 96–97.



FIGURE 22.1
Encounter of Shirin and Khusraw.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 6, no. 3.

to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The image is damaged; it has several cracks and tears at the bottom, and the paint on the ground has flaked off, indicating that rather than belonging to a codex, it must have been kept as a single page for a long time. The unfinished trees on the left seem closely related to those depicted in late sixteenth-century Ottoman court painting, which are rendered in different tones of dark green. In addition, the foreleg of Shirin's horse is unfinished. All these features confirm that the painting was never completed and was kept in the court workshop, from where it eventually found its way to the collection compiled for Diez.

Although the main projects of the Ottoman court workshop in the second half of the sixteenth century mainly included illustrated histories of the dynasty, several literary works were illustrated for sultans and courtiers. Compared to the historical manuscripts, these modest literary books are quite small, similar in size to the image in Diez's collection.[9]

9 Either composed or translated, almost all of the surviving manuscripts are in Turkish. These include the *mathnavī* of Ottoman poet Hamdullah Hamdi (d. 1503), *Yusuf u Zulaykha* and *Leyla vü Majnun*, and a prose story book, *Kırk Vezir Hikayesi* (The Story of Forty Viziers), translated from a now lost Arabic original

The *Encounter of Shirin and Khusraw* must be from an unfinished copy of *Khusraw u Shirin*, and it points to the probable existence of another illustrated literary work belonging to this small group.

As the only Ottoman work included in Diez A fol. 71, this painting also stands out as a unique piece among the works of the first three Diez albums (A fols. 70–71). These albums assemble material taken from the Topkapı albums H. 2152 and H. 2153, which comprise mainly fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century paintings and drawings from Iran and Central Asia. Although we do not know at what point this painting was included in A fol. 71, it seems most likely to have been mounted on p. 6 in order to replace a missing work. In fact, in contrast to the Diez albums, both of the Topkapı albums H. 2152 and H. 2153 contain folios with blank spaces showing traces of removed works. The small painting mounted in Diez A fol. 71, whose provenance was probably not known by Diez, must have been taken from a group of images kept in the palace library and inserted on p. 6 to make the folio marketable.

Four Images from a Costume Book

A group of three similarly sized images from Diez's collection depict various members of the Ottoman military. They appear to be the work of an artist most likely working as a professional independently of the court.

Two of these are almost identical to the images included in Diez's two-volume costume album (*Costumes Turcs*), now in the British Museum.[10] The London album was purchased from the Berlin-based Asher and Co. in 1858, and, to my knowledge, is the only work from Diez's collection not kept in Berlin's libraries. The two companion albums include 114 and 111 paintings respectively and constitute the most comprehensive costume book from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The images here are organized and indexed in French for each section and sub-section, and the figures are grouped according to hierarchy, profession, sex, religion, provenance, and ethnicity.[11] The rich content,

in the fifteenth century. Two illustrated copies of the former *mathnavī* are now housed in Chester Beatty Library of Dublin (ms. no. 428; V. Minorsky, and J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin 1958, pp. 50–51; Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitologyası*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 408–421) and the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (Yah. Ms. Ar. 1124; Na'ama Brosh and Rachel Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* Tel Aviv 1991, p. 75). For another copy that was formerly in the Kraus collection of New York, see Ernst J. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Centuries in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus*, New York n.d., pp. 241–244. See also Bağcı *et al.*, *Ottoman Painting*, pp. 188–89. Two illustrated copies of *Kırk Vezir Hikâyesi* are housed in Istanbul University Library (ms. T. 7415) and Uppsala University Library (ms. 111). See Bağcı *et al., Ottoman Painting*, p. 204, and J. Carl Tornberg, *Codices arabici, persici et turcici. Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Uppsala 1849, p. 63.

10 British Museum, 1974-6-17-012 and 1974-6-17-012 (2). Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, pp. 7–20, nos. 5–6.

11 The organization follows the imperial/official hierarchy of the Ottoman state, emerging from the inner court of the palace, proceed-

and elaborately systematic order of the images, indicate a professional, even an official production. On the flyleaf of its first volume, the album has a note explaining its provenance: "These drawings of costumes are stated to have been executed by order of the Sultan for General Diez, Prussian ambassador at Constantinople in the time of Fredrc II [Frederick II]."[12] However, as Nurdan Küçükhasköylü argued in her dissertation on late eighteenth-century costume albums, there is currently no information confirming that sultans presented any envoy with costume books. Besides, the note appears to have been written by the same hand which recorded the name of the company Asher & Co. and the date 1853; the handwriting is, therefore, most likely that of the German dealer or the British Museum librarian. In other words, much like other European officials appointed in Istanbul, Diez too must have commissioned the London album from a local artist.[13]

One of the images from Diez's Berlin collection depicts an Ottoman soldier with a tall headgear, wearing a distinctive vest coat patterned with colorful lozenges. A sword and a red pouch with tassels are tucked into his thick waistband (fig. 22.2).[14]

The inscription written above, on the left, identifies the figure as "*Būrsalı eşbāhı* [Likeness (of a man) from Bursa]".[15] His physiognomy and outfit are almost identical to the image of "*Soldat asiatique de Brusa*" in Diez's British Museum album (fig. 22.3) categorized under the heading of "*Toutes Sortes de Militaires*".[16] Two other contemporary costume albums include the image of the same figure, identified as "from Bursa".[17]

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ing to the second court, and spreading to the city. The images start with the sultan, his family and other members of the inner court of the palace; the following figures are from the bureaucratic and military class, and the other groups cover the portraits of city dwellers.

12 The note is considered an authentic inscription proving that it was commissioned directly by Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1774–1789). See: Titley, *Turkish Manuscripts*, p. 7; Metin And, "I. Abdülhamit'in Prusya Elçisine Armağan Ettiği Osmanlı Kıyafetleri Albümü. Çarşı Ressamları", *Antik & Dekor* 19 (1993), pp. 20–23.

13 Nurdan Küçükhasköylü, Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri (1770–1810), PhD dissertation, Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2010, pp. 67–69.

14 26.6–27.1 × 18.2 cm. Diez A fol. 73, p. 19, no. 2.

15 *Eşbāh* is plural form of the Arabic-Ottoman word *şibh* or *şebih*, meaning resemblance, likeness, or portrait. Even though I cannot come up with a philological explanation for the use of the plural, another album painting, which survived in a costume book datable to the reign of Selim III (r. 1789–1807), has an inscription which includes the word in the same meaning, suggesting the wide usage of the term: *ṭūlūmbācı eşbāhı*, *i.e.* likeness of a fireman (Topkapı Palace Museum, A 3690, fol. 84v).

16 Vol. 1, fol. 133.

17 The first one attributed to *c.* 1779–80 is in Poland: University of Warsaw Library, BUW, Prints Room, inv. zb.d. 1362, c. 171, no. 574. *c.* 1779–80. See *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th and 19th Centuries* (Exhibition Catalogue), Istanbul 1999, pp. 272–323; Küçükhasköylü, Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri, pp. 49–56; *Distant Neighbour Close Memories: 600 years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, Istanbul 2014, pp. 309–15. The second one, datable to 1786, is in France: Archives Municipales de Bourg-en-Bresse, ms. 65. See Küçükhasköylü, Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri, pp. 61–65. For the image, visit: http://www.bourgendoc.fr/gsdl/cntgfngm.



FIGURE 22.2
Likeness [of a man] from Bursa. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 19, no. 2.*



FIGURE 22.3
Soldat Asiatique de Brusa. *London, The British Museum, 1974-6-17-012 (1), no. 133a.*

The *Bursalı* category recalls the customary content of costume albums, with figures identified in reference to a particular place. However, the image is classified under the subtitle "Janissaries" in other costume albums dating to the 1780s and 90s, whereas there was no military group that consisted uniquely of the locals from a specific geographical area, such as "Janissaries of Bursa". Thus, this figure may represent a group of Janissaries from Bursa that were professionally involved in various vocations besides the military, or it may be the portrait of a certain personage or type of person known as *Bursalı*.

A second image of virtually identical dimensions by the same artist most likely found its way into Diez's collection from the same assemblage of costume album paintings (fig. 22.4).[18] This time, the figure is identified by his profession, which is directly related to Diez's career: "*Balyoz yāsaqcısı* [bodyguard of the *bailo* (ambassador)]".[19] A costume album of 1660, now housed in the University of Manchester's John Rylands Library, includes an image showing a *yāsaqcı* with a Turkish inscription in Roman characters (*jassachsi*) and in Dutch explaining his job as "standing on guard outside the gate and every ambassador has two to four the same".[20] Another costume album, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London, is known by the name of its original owner, Stratford Canning (1786–1880). It dates to around 1810 and includes an image depicting a European strolling through the Hippodrome Square in Istanbul, accompanied by an interpreter and infantryman or constable.[21] In fact, the physiognomy and outfit of the figure are quite similar to a certain "*Jannissaire habillé en pirpiri*" in the Diez album of the British Museum,[22] a "constable" according to the nineteenth-century Redhouse Turkish–English dictionary.

The last image, which may be a part of a costume book, depicts a young man on a plain background, mounted on a horse and holding a stick (fig. 22.5).[23] Its

18 26.9–27.2 × 18.3 cm, Diez A fol. 73, p. 19, no. 2.

19 *Balyoz*, normally defining the *bailo* (the commercial and political representative of Venice), was apparently also used as a generic name for ambassadors, as seen in a document recording the gifts given to the English ambassador (*Balyoz*) Robert Ainslie on his departure from the capital in 1792. See *Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrîfât-ı Kadîme'si. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Teşrifât*, ed. H.M. Arslantürk, M. Tosun, S. Soyluer, Istanbul 2012, p. 182.

20 Ms. 2, fol. 113r. For information on the album, and a list of the paintings and labels, see Jan Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester*, Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 29–37. Schmidt read the Ottoman word written in roman letters "*jassachsi*" as *haseki* (p. 34).

21 The album, which includes 128 paintings, today in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London (D.22–150, 1895), was commissioned from a local artist by Stratford Canning. Canning was the first secretary to Robert Adair, the English ambassador to Istanbul, who started his mission in 1808. For the album, see Charles Newton, "Stratford Canning's Pictures of Turkey", *The V & A Album* 3 (1984), pp. 77–84, and Küçükhasköylü, Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri, pp. 132–45. For the painting visit the museum's website: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O916882/at-meydani-or-the-hippodrome-watercolour-anonymous-greek-artist/

22 Vol. 1, fol. 91.

23 Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 1. Dimensions: 22,4–22,5 × 18,5–18,7 cm.



FIGURE 22.4
The Bodyguard of the Bailo. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 17.*



FIGURE 22.5
Cündi. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 1.*

dimensions, and the paper with chain lines, are closely related to the *Bursalı* and *Yasaqcı* paintings. The figure is identified as "*Cündī uzun*?" (tall? horseman) by the same hand that wrote the labels for the two others. *Cündi*s were horsemen skilled in various equestrian sports, including javelin (*cirid*) throwing, which was practiced as a spectator sport. Apart from many album paintings portraying horseman figures dressed in similar outfits and bearing javelins, an image in the Canning album mentioned above depicts two *cündi*s playing *cirid*, which indicates the popularity of these spectacles around the years of Diez's sojourn in Istanbul.[24] The young *cündi* is depicted with slightly darker complexion, a feature that individualizes the figure and probably implies that he is from Ottoman Egypt, the province where the "best" *cündi*s were from. In the 1582 circumcision festivities, the performance of the *cündi*s from Egypt was elaborately described in contemporary accounts of the festivities.[25] It is tempting to propose that this specific *cündi* was a real personage from Egypt who was known as "the Tall" (*Uzun*).

Although larger and not directly related to them, a narrative painting similarly executed by a so-called bazaar painter may be added to this series of three images (fig. 22.6).[26] The artist's style is rather simple: it is quickly executed with coarse lines and diluted pigments, and brings to mind figural decorations on eighteenth-century Ottoman ceramics. It depicts two lovers looking at each other; each has an arm around the other. They are standing in front of a tavern, which is implied by the presence of a huge wine jar and someone standing in the doorway. Even though the painter's style does not seem particularly sophisticated, the outfits of the figures (especially that of the woman) are rendered with attention to detail in line with the fashion of the late eighteenth century, which can be followed in contemporary manuscript and album paintings. The object held by the man is very similar to the containers of the water carriers (*saka*), a popular image in costume albums, and signifies his profession.[27] Although compositionally simple, the scene takes place in a specific setting, and, rather than depicting a routine moment from urban life, seems to illustrate a particular incident with individualized

24 For the painting see the museum's website: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O916907/two-men-playing-the-game-watercolour-anonymous-greek-artist/.

25 The celebrated *Sūrnāme* (The Book of Festivities) executed in *c.* 1587 in the royal workshop includes many images showing *cündi*s, one of which is devoted to their performance (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1344, fols. 42v–43r). For the image, see Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun. Düğün Kitabı*, Istanbul 1997, pp. 42–43. The section describing the *cündi*s' spectacles in Ottoman writer Mustafa 'Âli of Gelibolu's (d. 1600) *Cami' ül-buhūr der Mecālis-i Sūr* (Gathering of the Seas on the Scenes of the Celebration) of 1583, specifies their provenance as Egypt (*Mısır Cündileri*). See Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri I Manzûm Sûrnâmeler*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 537–541.

26 Diez A fol. 73, p. 23 Dimensions: 28.6 × 37.3–39 cm.

27 For an image of the water carrier with his container see, for instance, the Canning album on the website of the Victoria and Albert Museum: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O916934/a-saka-or-water-carrier-watercolour-anonymous-greek-artist/.



FIGURE 22.6 A Couple in Front of a Tavern. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 23.*

protagonists. It was most probably executed in relation to a story with real or fictitious characters, one well known to the storytellers/listeners of the city. Stories involving protagonists from varying social strata among the urbanites of Istanbul were popularly read or told in public spaces, especially after the mid-seventeenth century. A recent study on a seventeenth-century Ottoman manuscript, now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, shows that the storytellers had their abbreviated stories collected in illustrated anthologies (*mecmua'*).[28] Most of the images in the manuscript illustrate a story or a protagonist described briefly in the text. In other words, the images seem to be visual prompts for the storyteller, who would then convey his performance without a standard text. The Paris anthology's simple images, created with a rather crude brush and diluted colors, are contextually related to our painting, and the lovers may be the characters of a particular story.

Eleven Album Paintings from the Court Collection

Compared to the images above, which were most likely executed by professional city

28 Tülün Değirmenci, "An Illustrated *Mecmua*: The Commoners Voice and the Iconography of the Court in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting", *Ars Orientalis* 41 (December 2011), pp. 186–218.

painters, a second group of Ottoman paintings in Diez's collection consists of images of rather better quality, attributable to artists associated with the court, indicating a royal provenance. They are depictions of young men either in specific settings and entertaining themselves, or standing without any implied narrative context. Regardless of their context, the sitters of these images are always well-dressed, handsome youths, strongly suggesting a specific thematic interest by Diez.

Seven of these paintings depict young male figures. These are quite closely related to one another in terms of the physiognomy, posture, and outfit of the sitters, and can be thematically linked to the rest of the images. Except for one figure which can be identified by his profession, all the others are well-dressed, handsome boys without any trace of facial hair on their rosy cheeks. Evidently they are portraits of young pages, dandies, or "city boys," who will be discussed below.

One of these boys has been depicted with richer attributes than the others: he has a pen tucked into his colorful waistband, a dagger with gold-studded bone handle, a bejeweled golden sheath, and a gemstone ring, indicating his rather wealthy and educated background (fig. 22.7).[29] Another accessory, a gold key, suspended from a silver fob chain, suggests that he is a page (*iç oğlanı*) who has the authority to access locked spaces in a court or a mansion. The cracks on the golden frame and the tiny remains of another work at the right edge strongly suggest that the painting has been removed from an album.

A second beardless young man, standing on a tiny green hill and holding a rosebud in his raised left hand and a tulip in full bloom in the other, sports typical eighteenth-century headgear with a rosebud inserted into its muslin wrapping (fig. 22.8).[30] This somewhat small portrait is framed with gold lines and colored paper and has margins of marbled paper. Similarly garbed with different colors, a third young man, holding flowers, is depicted in a garden lined with flowering plants (fig. 22.9).[31] He wears a gemstone ring and, tucked into his waistband decorated with a tasseled cord, carries a bejeweled dagger. Like the previous image, this painting is carefully framed and enlarged. In all likelihood it was also meant to be included in an album. The framing consists of a gold line, this time with pressed chain motif (reminiscent of eighteenth-century bindings) and a marbled paper with red designs that match the boy's dress.

Three of the boyish young men are dressed in winter clothes. One of them wears two fur-lined kaftans, holds a tulip in his right hand, and lifts his outer kaftan with his other hand to show the shorter inner one (fig. 22.10).[32] Except for the difference in the color of the fur lining the kaftans, the last two paintings of this group depict the same boy in the same posture, wearing the same outfits, and standing on the same rug (figs. 22.11–12).[33] Apparently copied from each other, it is difficult to say which one is the original. The technique of

29 Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 3.

30 Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 3. Dimensions: 17.7 × 8.8 cm.

31 Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 3. Dimensions: 19.5 × 10.5–10.6 cm.

32 Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 4.

33 Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, nos. 1 and 2. Their measurements are also almost same: no. 1: 23.2 × 15.8–16.2 cm, and no. 2: 23–23.1 × 16.8 cm.



FIGURE 22.7
A Page. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 3.*



FIGURE 22.8
A Page or a City Boy. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 3.*



FIGURE 22.9
A Page or a City Boy. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 3.*



FIGURE 22.10
A Page or a City Boy, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 4.*



FIGURE 22.11
A Page or a City Boy, *Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 1.*



FIGURE 22.12
A Page or a City Boy. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 13, no. 2.*

the painter is in fact identical, suggesting that these two portraits are of the same boy by the same artist, and that the sitter might be a real person. I have argued elsewhere that a certain Iranian young man depicted in two different paintings in the celebrated Sultan Ahmed I album (*c.* 1610) in the Topkapı Palace can be identified by another portrait of him in a contemporary album in the Chester Beatty Library of Dublin, which carries an inscription giving his name.[34] Many young men and women identified by their names and at times their associations, such as "Ca'fer Agha, one of Sultan Osman's pages" (*"Sultan Osmanın içoğlanlarından Ca'fer Ağa"*), included in an album of many portraits signed by the celebrated Ottoman artist Levni (d. after 1730). Most of Levni's handsome young men, whose outfits, accessories, and postures are quite similar to those in our images, are identified with quite precise names, such as "Yusuf Beg from Bursa [*Būrsalı Yūsuf Bīg*]" and "Mehmed Shah, one of the youths of Bursa [*Būrsa tazelerinden Mehmed Şāh*]".[35] All these portraits of such specific individuals tempt one to conjecture that Diez's boys were – whether real or fictitious – also personages who were well known through their adventures or stories developed around them.

The last young man portrait, surrounded by a silver frame and marbled paper margin, represents a barber (fig. 22.13).[36] He holds a razor and a strop, which is tucked into his long red apron. Another important feature of his costume is his high-heeled clogs, footwear designed for the wet floor, which he wears even though he is standing on a small rug. Two other barber boys depicted in exactly the same pose by the famous Ottoman artist Abdullah Buhari (d. after 1745), now in the University Library in Istanbul and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, show the popularity of the theme. Buhari was celebrated for his album paintings showing young individuals, most of which are signed and dated.[37] His barber boy is depicted in a

34 Serpil Bağcı, "Presenting *Vaṣṣāl* Kalender's Works: The Prefaces of Three Ottoman Albums", *Muqarnas* 30 (2013), pp. 255–314, here p. 266.

35 These images are included in an album now in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, album H. 2143. For a monographic study on Levni and all images included in this celebrated album, see Gül İrepoğlu, *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Colour*, Istanbul 1999.

36 Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 2. Image: 18–18.2 × 10.5–10.7 cm; with margin: 25–25.1 × 17.5–17.7 cm.

37 Istanbul University Library, T. 9364. The album compiles twenty-two portraits by him, many of which are signed and dated between 1735 and 1745. See Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul*, Paris 1933, pp. 23–24. The other barber boy by Buhari is in an album now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (*arabe* 6077, fol. 11v). This boy is depicted in a specific setting, a barber shop with a mirror hung on the wall. For the painting, see *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit* (exhibition catalogue), Recklinghausen 1985, p. 76. Some other works, including flower paintings and erotic scenes by him are included in albums of the Topkapı Palace Library (H. 2143, H. 2155, YY. 1043, YY. 1086). Another erotic scene signed by him is now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M85 237 49) (Edwin Binney, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland Or. 1979, pp. 104–106). For Buhari and his works, see Armenag Sakisian, "La Peinture a Costantinople at Abdullah

more elegant and wealthier outfit, with an apron of a quite expensive cloth, a turban of different colors and featuring a golden attachment, but wrapped around a small cap with a pompom in the same mode as that of our barber (fig. 22.14).

The last four paintings of Diez's Ottoman collection also depict young men, but this time as the protagonists of narrative scenes. A relatively small painting, surrounded by a golden frame and gold-sprinkled pink paper margin, is related to late eighteenth-century costume album imagery (fig. 22.15).[38] It depicts a young man, most probably an Istanbulite, in a pleasant room with a view of city houses and a minaret, surrounded by trees. Sitting comfortably on a sofa, he is calmly drinking coffee and smoking his tobacco pipe. The missing tobacco case indicates that the painting was trimmed on the left edge before it was framed with a gold-sprinkled margin. The sitter's physiognomy and plain yet fashionable outfit imply that he is a middle-class city dweller enjoying some leisure time in a coffee shop. Many images assembled in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century costume albums depict coffee shops, including their denizens and tobacco smokers, thus showing the interest of European clients in these Ottoman spaces.

Another image also represents a social genre scene (fig. 22.16).[39] The elaborate tones of the colors, finesse of the brush, and voluminous bodies of the figures point to the command of the artist, whose masterly style suggests an affiliation with the court. The image depicts the supper of two young men, who sit around a table consisting of a metal tray placed on a wooden inlaid base. The man on the left wears tall red headgear which folds over at the back, indicating his relation to the military class, most likely to the corps of *Bostancı* (gardeners), the imperial guards and the guards of the shores and waters of Istanbul.[40] His outfit is in keeping with the fashion of the time, and his fur-lined kaftan suggests his relatively high social status. He is drinking wine, served by the young page sitting across from him holding a wine carafe. The page, however, does not respectfully stand or kneel, as might be expected; rather, he sits as a close friend, indicating that they are sharing an intimate moment. Although it is not possible to know who these persons were, and whether they were specific individuals or not, similar gatherings are narrated in popular stories told and read in the city.

Boukhari. Miniaturiste turc du XVIII[e] Siècle", *La Revue de l'Art ancient et modern* 32 (1928), pp. 191–201; Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture turque d'aprés les Manuscrits illustrés. IIme Partie, de Murad IV à Mustafa III* (*1623–1773*), Paris 1971, pp. 127–30; Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı: 1700–1850*, Ankara 1977, pp. 41–43, 213–15; Banu Mahir, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Women's Fashion in the Miniatures of Abdullah Buhari", *P Art Culture Antiques* 3 (2000), pp. 64–75; Bağcı *et al., Ottoman Painting*, pp. 276–78.

38 Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 2. Dimensions: 22.4–22.5 × 18.5–18.7 cm, together with the margins: 19.2–19.3 x 13–13.3 cm.

39 Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 1. Dimensions 16–16.2 × 23.7–23.8 cm.

40 In the late eighteenth-century costume albums the figure sporting this headgear, which is called *barata* (Reşat E. Koçu, Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü, Ankara 1967, pp. 24–25), is identified mostly as *Bostancı*.



FIGURE 22.13
Barber Boy. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 2.*



FIGURE 22.14
Buhari, Barber Boy. *SBB-PK, Istanbul University Library, album T. 9364, fol. 9r.*



FIGURE 22.15
City Boy in a Coffee Shop. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 15, no. 2.*



FIGURE 22.16 Royal Gardener and Cupbearer. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 11, no. 1.*

Even though it was written in the seventeenth century and describes events from the reign of Murad IV (1623–40), one of the most popular city stories, *Hançerli Hanım Hikâye-i Garîbesi* (The Wondrous Story of the Lady with a Dagger) includes many episodes which take place in taverns. In one of the scenes, young Süleyman, the main character, is brought to a tavern where the beautiful young apprentice of the owner (*muğbeçe*) with rose cheeks keeps filling his wine cup. The two sit together, and share their drink. The more they drink, the more intoxicated they get. They sit side by side and eat from each other's lips.[41] I am certainly not suggesting that this painting portrays Süleyman and his handsome waiter, but it is tempting to propose that it depicts a scene from the daily life of the Istanbul which nurtured these popular stories. In fact, these well-liked narratives were widely told, read and known, and illustrated versions were even printed into the nineteenth century. They must have interested Diez, who apparently had a keen curiosity for Ottoman culture, as demonstrated by his rich collection of manuscripts on various topics.[42]

Two further paintings which must have been executed by the same painter that painted the supper scene survived but are missing their lower sections (figs. 22.17–18).[43] The obvious thematic and stylistic accord between them, as well as their identical frames and margins, suggest their companionship. The surviving sections of these images display waterfront houses with lavish gardens that feature elaborately pruned trees lined along the garden wall, orderly tulip beds, domed arbors, and pools with gilded water spouts. The missing parts evidently showed young people being entertained. One of them features a rose-cheeked young man with large, languorous eyes, dressed similarly to the pages mentioned above. The other one is unfortunately missing its protagonists. However, the tiny sections of two headgears that remain enable us to imagine the sitters as a man and a woman sharing an intimate time. Similar waterfront houses with gardens constituted a popular theme in contemporary landscape murals which adorned the interiors of secular buildings in the eighteenth century, including the Topkapı Palace. The lacquer binding dated AH 1141 (1728–29) and covering a copy of the Timurid world history *Rawẕat al-Ṣafā'* (Gardens of Purity), written by Mirkhvand (d. 1498), features a small landscape signed by the artist Abdullah Buhari (mentioned above) and is directly related to our paintings (fig. 22.19).[44] The similarity of the

41 Several literary historians discussed this famous story. For the specific quotation, see Ali Budak, *Batılılaşma ve Türk Edebiyatı. Lale Devrinden Tanzimat'a Yenileşme*, Istanbul 2008, p. 344.

42 The catalogue of the Turkish, Persian and Arabic manuscripts he collected in Istanbul, in his own handwriting, is housed in Staatsbibliothek of Berlin (ms. Cat. A 478). It is accessible through the online digital collection of the library: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000B0860000000.

43 Diez A fol. 73, p. 19, no. 1, and fol. 73, p. 21, no. 2, fol. 73, p. 19, no. 1: with margins: 17.5–18.5 × 19.5–19.8 cm; without margins: 14.5–15.2 × 13.6–13.7 cm; fol. 73, p. 21, no. 2: with margins: 14.3–14.6 × 20–20.2 cm; without margins: 10.8–11 x 13.1–13.2 cm.

44 Topkapı Palace Library, ms. E.H. 1380. For the image on its back cover, which depicts houses and arbors on the banks of a winding river, see Günsel Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western



FIGURE 22.17 Boy in the Garden of a Waterfront House. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 19, no. 1.*



FIGURE 22.18 A Couple in the Garden of a Waterfront House. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 21, no. 2.*



FIGURE 22.19 *Buhari*, A Waterfront House on the Bosphorus. *Istanbul, TSMK, ms. E.H. 1380, outer cover of the lacquer binding.*

pavilions and gardens can be explained by the common imagery of the age. However, the sky, which is streaked with clouds, and the sea, dotted with sailing boats, in the background of the paintings are almost identical. Buhari's rather prototypical, static and indifferent figures (fig. 22.20) that survive in the royal collection are similar to the two young boys having supper and to the one in the garden of waterfront house (figs. 22.16–17). The similarities of our three paintings to Buhari's works justify an attribution to him or to one of his close followers, and roughly to the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Numerous paintings depicting young and "beautiful" men or adolescents were included in Ottoman albums from the earliest examples. Most of the sitters of these paintings are pages (*iç oğlanı*), as some are identified in the costume albums. Nevertheless, at least some of these young men must have belonged to a specific urban class, called "city boys" (*şehir oğlanları*), which was an important social group in large Ottoman cities. Even though their presence is documented in sixteenth-century Ottoman texts, they became increasingly visible in cities from the beginning of the seventeenth century. This was a time when cities started to become congested, and economic reasons and several revolts prompted the migration of a mostly young population from the provinces of the empire to Istanbul and other cities. The most elaborate description of them is in *Mevāidün-nefā'is fi kavā'idil-mecālis* (Tables of Delicacies on the Etiquette of Salons), expanded and finished in 1599 by the celebrated Ottoman bureaucrat and prolific writer Mustafa 'Ali of Gelibolu (d. 1600). In the title of a chapter on the boys, he defines them as "Beardless [boys] (*sāde-rūyān*)". 'Ali starts his section by saying, "These beardless, smooth-cheeked, handsome and sweet-tempered servant boys" are more desirable than women to many dishonorable men. He informs the reader about the characteristics of boys from different provinces, and emphasizes the superiority of those coming from the inner provinces (*i.e.* Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne, *İç-el*). 'Ali's entry on the "Beardless boys" refers to the sexual desirability of handsome adolescents, and combines the city boys and pages/slaves (*ġılmān*) by mentioning them together.[45]

Trends", in *A History of Turkish Painting*, Seattle and London 1988, fig. 53.

45 He states that "the narrow-waisted boys of *İç-el* surpass all others in beauty, in perfection – in all ways [...] Anyone of the handsome lads of the Inner Provinces is said to vanquish all of them in outward gentleness and inward contrariness. They seem submissive, but when their disposition is soured, they apparently tend toward obstinacy. It is said that they keep the lovers who flutter around them unfulfilled, dispossessing them of wealth and power." For the whole chapter, see the translation of D.S. Brookes, to which I owe all the quotations used here: *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century Mustafa Âli's Mevā'idü'n-Nefā'is fī Ḳavā'idi'l-Mecālis "Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings"*, annotated Eng. trans. by Douglas S. Brookes, Cambridge, MA. 2003, pp. 28–30. For the Ottoman text, see Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî ve Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fî-Ḳavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*, Ankara 1997, pp. 283–84. Marinos Sariyannis explores different texts from the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries, including by Evliya Çelebi and Katip Çelebi, perhaps the most important writers of the seventeenth century, to understand several meanings attached to the term of "city boy", which

The origin of these boys is also stressed in relation to their social class. They might have belonged to either the lower or upper classes; from the latter apparently came more cultivated boys, frequently described as dandies or wits (*zārif* or pl. *zürefā*). In fact, most of the accounts also stress the refinement of those that understand and appreciate music, literature and other arts. The Ottoman writer Aşık Çelebi (d. 1571), in his 1566 biography of poets *Meşa'irü'ş-Şü'ara* (Station of the Poets' Pilgrimage), mentions poets whom he introduces as city boys of Istanbul, such as Sihri-i Sani (the Second Sihri).[46] Numerous sixteenth- to eighteenth- century texts of prose and poetry that recount the events/stories that took place in the big cities of the Ottoman world build their story lines around these deceitful, seductive, coquettish, and lecherous city boys or dandies, who appear to have been important characters in social and cultural life. Thus, many seventeenth-century costume albums include images of these boys, such as one housed in the British Museum (1928-3-23-046), datable to the 1620s.[47] The labels, both in Ottoman Turkish and English, identify the youths – they are similar to those in Diez's collection, yet depicted in the different style of a city artist of the early seventeenth century – at times with reference to their family or provenance, as if they were illustrating Mustafa 'Ali's description of them.[48] The John Rylands Library album of 1660 (mentioned above) also contains images of city boys (*şehir oğlanı* and an *Istanbul oğlanı* with his master).[49]

roughly repeat 'Âli's description: "'Mob,' 'Scamps' and Rebels in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11/1–2 (2005), pp. 4–9. For their desirability in sexual contexts, see Leslie P. Peirce, "Seniority, Sexuality, and Social Order: The Vocabulary of Gender in Early Modern Society", in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. M.C. Zilfi, Leiden 1997, pp. 175, 178, Tülün Değirmenci, 'Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatında Görselin 'Okunması': İmgenin Ardındaki Hikâyeler (Şehir Oğlanları ve İstanbul'un Meşhur Kadınları', Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies 35 (2015), pp. 22–55, and Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, Durham 2005.

46 For the transliteration of the text, see Filiz Kılıç, Âşık Çelebi, Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ. *İnceleme-Metin*, Istanbul 2010, vol. 11, p. 957.

47 The portraits of three Ottoman Sultans, Ahmed I (r. 1603–17), Mustafa I (r. 1617–18; 1622–23) and Osman II (r. 1618–22), indicate that it was compiled in the first years of 1620s, most likely for a European who resided in Istanbul during the reigns of three of them. For the descriptive list of the album which brings together 122 images showing different Ottomans including the Sultans and courtiers, see Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, pp. 2–7.

48 The portraits depict pages ("a court page" [*iç oğlanı*, fol. 30v], "a page of a pasha" [*paşa peyki*, fol. 59v]), city boys ("a youth" [*civan*, fol. 114v], "a gentleman" [*çelebi*, fol. 112v]), a drunken city boy ([*serhoş*, fol. 72v]); boys identified in reference to their middle-class fathers ("a son of a gentleman" [*çelebizade*, fol. 130v], "a son of a janissary" [*kuloğlu*, fol. 116v], "a son of a cavalryman" [*sipahizade*, fol. 118v]); or in reference to their provenance ("a Circassian boy" [*çerkes oğlanı*, fol. 87v], "an Egyptian boy" [*Mısır oğlanı*, fol. 73v]); or, in reference to their profession ("a coffee server" [*kahveci*, fol. 109v]).

49 Fols. 11r and 133v. Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts*, pp. 34–35.

In his 1793 *Hūbānnāma* (Book of Male Beauties – accompanied by one on female beauties entitled *Zenānnāme*), Fazıl of Enderun (d. 1810), a contemporary of Diez, introduces cities, districts and lands – both Ottoman and non-Ottoman – with a focus on their inhabitants (*i.e.* the beautiful boys). In the longest section of this book, entitled "city dwellers of Istanbul (*Şehriyān-ı bilād-ı İslāmbol*)," Fazıl presents an elaborate description of the beautiful boys of Istanbul. After mentioning the cosmopolitan and crowded demographics of Istanbul, he states that its population blended diverse varieties of people. According to Fazıl, who was a zealous admirer of young men, the boys of the city are commonly coquettish, flirtatious, unpredictable, and untruthful. As masters of whims, wiles, and reproach, their usual manner was to torture the lovers, and they were habitual mockers and cheaters. Fazıl refers to their inherited elegance and refinement, highlighting the fact that their parents were also from the city. Born healthy and flawless, they were spoiled by the pampering people around them. He also underlines their intelligence, culture, and wisdom.[50]

The section on *Şehriyān-i bilād-ı İslāmbol* is accompanied by two separate representations of two young boys, one of whom is quite similar to the depictions of the boys in Diez's collection, in his physiognomy, complexion, clothing, posture, and in the rose he is holding (fig. 22.21). The only difference is the interior setting created for Fazıl's boy, who stands under a curtain, which is introduced into the scene in keeping with late eighteenth-century fashion.

The accounts of Fazıl and of earlier writers and poets show that this group of young men – either city boys, young professionals, or pages/slaves – were the subject of love and sexual desire among the middle-aged men of the Ottoman elite – and perhaps also its women, whose love life and desires are much less known. Early modern Ottoman love poetry takes most of its inspiration from these boys and their beauty and manners, which enslaved their lovers.[51]

The eleven portraits of young boys assembled by Diez, then, represent a popular image in Ottoman visual and literary culture which is rooted in its social life. As mentioned above, these images are included in numerous albums that survived in the royal collection. The paintings in the albums in the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Istanbul University Library (whose collection consisted of works transferred from the former) show a rich thematic variety; they depict young and old men and women of all walks of life, such as courtiers, citizens, artisans, lovers, dancers, musicians, dervishes, and legendary heroes. However, in contrast to Diez's Persianate collection, which displays a

50 Fazıl Enderuni, *Hūbānnāme*, Istanbul University Library, ms. T. 5502, fols. 32r–36r. *Hūbānnāme* was printed in the nineteenth century together with other works of Fazıl: *Defter-i Aşk, Hūbānnāme, Zenānnāme*, Istanbul AH 1286 (1869). For the transliterated text, which misses some verses of the illustrated manuscript of the Istanbul University, see Ercümend Muhib, *Hûbanname ve Zenanname*, Istanbul 1946, pp. 29–32.

51 The theme of boys as beloveds (*mahbub*) in Ottoman literature from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century is analyzed comprehensively in Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*.



FIGURE 22.20
Buhari, A Page or a City Boy, *Istanbul University Library, album T. 9364, fol. 4v.*



FIGURE 22.21
A Youth from Istanbul. *Fazıl Enderuni*, Hūbānnāme, *AH 1206 (1793), Istanbul University Library, ms. T. 5502, fol. 35v.*

rather coincidental cross-section of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Eastern Islamic arts on paper, his Ottoman assemblage mirrors his personal interests in the social and cultural life of Istanbul, where he spent four years. Apart from a few portraits of officials from the Ottoman military class that belong to the traditional repertory of costume albums, which were mostly meant for a European clientele, Diez's selection was almost entirely focused on the loose-leaf images of young men, some of whom are depicted in narrative contexts, notably omitting depictions of women altogether. Diez's awareness of the phenomenon of city boys becomes evident in a tiny footnote in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, when he translates a Persian love poem by the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), in which Selim refers to the city boys (*Tiflan-i shahr*).[52] In the footnote, he explains the term thus: "The poet compares them to the city boys [*Stadtkindern*], i.e. youngsters born in the capital, and who have a bad reputation under the Ottomans because they have given themselves up to pleasure/desire".[53]

Surviving in the Diez album fol. 74 is a folio with a text fragment that was most likely excerpted from an anthology (*mecmua'*); it also points to the fact that Diez was interested in Ottoman homoerotic culture.[54] This partial narrative, aside from sixteen folios from an astrological manuscript, is the only Turkish text compiled in the albums which was apparently kept for their content.[55] The fragmentary text is a first-person narrative, whose narrator recounts two nights that he spent with a fairy-faced (*perī ruḫsār*) boy. Even though it is not particularly defined, the setting is apparently a tavern in a garden with a river. An abridged and rough translation of the story goes as follows:

According to the narrator, one night, after hours of cheer and drinking, when his inebriation had become extreme and with the permission of the master of the handsome ones, the cup bearers and musicians, the star-like beauties (*i.e.* the boys) scattered around like the stars of a

52 The original verse of Selim's poem reads: "*Majnun-i dasht u shahna-ye virana mirisad / Tiflan-i shahr mujda ki divana mirisad* (Here comes the Majnun of wilderness, the lord of solitude / Good news, city boys, here comes the madman)." Selim, *Dīvān*, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Fatih 3830, fol. 15r (I thank Müjgan Çakır for her help accessing the manuscript). It is translated by Diez thus: "The Majnuns run to the deserts, and the riders to the ruins / It is the fun-loving city boys who run to the folly." In the footnote he further interprets the verse: "Majnun, Leila's lover, lived according to the story in the desert, while mounted travelers tend to use ruins and dilapidated buildings as staging posts, so that they can remain undisturbed and look for treasures." Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierunggeverfassung*, Berlin 1811, p. 254. I am grateful to Massumeh Farhad and Zeynep Yürekli for their assistance with my translation.

53 Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 254, fn. 3.

54 Fol. 74, p. 2, no. 2 (recto and verso).

55 See footnote 2 above. The only similar material, included also in Diez A fol. 74, (p. 1, no. 4 recto and verso), is a Persian story on an orator who has an ugly voice. The Turkish note at the top of the page reads "this story has been remained, do not let it to be lost", indicating that it also belonged to a *mecmua'* of an Ottoman owner.

constellation, and they proceeded to the corners of the room. He also chose one of the fairy-faced beauties, held his hand, and (filled) with hundreds of desire and playfulness went to a nook, and had happy and festive hours until the morning, spending the time either embracing him or drinking from the fountain of the water of life (*i.e.* from the lips of his companion). When the sun rose and the gentle morning draught perfumed the souls, it woke up the cypress-figured, rose-bodied one. After walking elegantly in the garden for a moment, the boy bade farewell to him and left, saying that he would come back in the evening. Our narrator looked after him, helplessly, and spent all day sleeping, sitting by the river, and weeping bitterly in expectation of the coming evening. Resenting the hours of the previous night that he had spent sleeping, he accused himself of not being appreciative enough of the treasure that he earned so easily. Finally the night came; shining candles (*i.e.* boys) appearing like stars illuminated the earth. As soon as he saw the full moon among the stars (*i.e.* his beloved) our narrator, overcome by emotion, went forth to meet him, and to kiss his foot. The boy was extremely kind; he took the narrator's hand and, compassionately, put his arm around his neck. They sat on the golden throne and started to eat and drink. The rest of the text is a poem depicting the drinking party with musicians and dancers.

This fragmentary text recounting the love affair of a learned member of the Ottoman elite (as can be deduced from his Turkish, which is decorated with poetic metaphors) with a city boy, along with Diez's informative note on them in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, reflect his curiosity in social and sexual inclinations, and in young Ottoman males. These textual "documents" shed light on our understanding of Diez's interest in the pictorial depictions of the youths which he exclusively collected in Istanbul.

APPENDIX 1

Conference Programme

"The Diez Albums at the Berlin State Library – Current State of Research and New Perspectives"

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 2–5 June 2013, organized by the Oriental Department of the Staatsbibliothek in cooperation with the Museum für Islamische Kunst

Sunday, 2 June 2013

Opening of the conference and the cabinet exhibition "Meisterwerke aus dem Serail: Die Klebealben des Heinrich Friedrich von Diez" in the Mshatta-Hall of the Museum of Islamic Art (Pergamonmuseum)

Greetings:
Barbara Schneider-Kempf, Stefan Weber, Julia Gonnella

Keynote Lecture:
Julian Raby
Contents and Contexts – Re-viewing the Diez Albums

Monday, 3 June 2013

Session 1: Diez and Albums
Part 1:
Christoph Rauch (*Berlin*)
Introduction
Heinrich Friedrich von Diez: New Insights on his Oriental Manuscript Collection Based on his Handwritten Catalogue
David J. Roxburgh (*Cambridge MA*)
Reminiscences of Asia: Diez's Albums from Cover to Cover

Part 2:
Chair: Julia Gonnella (Berlin)

Simon Rettig (*Washington D.C.*)
The Calligrapher, the Collector, and the Album: Toward a Reassessment of the Calligraphies and Inscriptions in the Diez Albums
Lale Uluç (*Istanbul*)
The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums in the 18th Century

Session 2: Epics and History
Part 1:
Chair: Marianna Shreve Simpson (Philadelphia)

Robert Hillenbrand (*Edinburgh*)
The Great Mongol Shahnama: some Proposed Repatriations
Bernard O'Kane (*Cairo*)
The Great Jalayirid Shahnama in the Albums

Part 2:
Chair: Adel Adamova (St. Petersburg)

Charles Melville (*Cambridge, UK*)
The Illustration of the Mongol era in the Berlin Diez albums
Karin Rührdanz (*Toronto*)
Illustrated Love Letters in the Diez Albums
Saghi Gazerani (*Teheran*)
Scenes from the Sistani Cycle of Epics and the Popular Medieval Literature

Tuesday, 4 June 2013

Session 3: Drawings and Sketches
Part 1:
Chair: Sheila Canby (New York)

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Zeren Tanındı (*Bursa/Istanbul*)
Repetitions of Images in the Topkapı Saray Albums: H. 2153, H. 2160 and H. 2152
Yves Porter (*Aix-en-Provence*)
Models, Sketches and Pounced Drawings: First Steps to Creation

Part 2:
Chair: Linda Komaroff (Los Angeles)

Eleanor Sims (*London*)
The Scythian Stag and the Fighting Camels
Massumeh Farhad (*Washington, D.C.*)
The Divan of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and the Diez and Istanbul Albums

Session 4: Kings and Horses
Chair: Teresa Fitzherbert (Oxford)

Barbara Brend (*London*)
Some Observations on the Depiction of Horses in the Diez Albums
Claus-Peter Haase (*Berlin*)
Later Mongol and Early Timurid Representations of Rulers in the Diez Albums – Reflecting Changes of Ceremonial and Style
Yuka Kadoi (*Edinburgh*)
The Mongols Enthroned

Wednesday, 5 June 2013

Session 5: East and West
Part 1:
Chair: Sheila Blair (Boston)

Ladan Akbarnia (*London*)
The 'Cathayan' Aesthetic in Diez Album Drawings
Ching-Ling Wang (*Berlin/Florenz*)
Iconographic Turn: On Chinese Buddhist and Daoist Iconography in the Diez Albums

Part 2:
Chair: Kjeld v. Folsach (Copenhagen)

Gülru Necipoğlu (*Cambridge MA*)
Between Europe and China: The "Frankish Manner" in the Topkapı Palace and Diez Albums
Klaas Ruitenbeek (*Berlin*)
Chinese Inspiration: The Chinese Motifs in the Diez Album, Their Sources, Reception and Derivatives
Friederike Weis (*Berlin*) *in cooperation with Oliver Hahn* (*Berlin*) *– with a comment by Gerhard Wolf* (*Florenz/Berlin*)
A Persian Drawing After the Tazza Farnese: a Work by Muhammad-i Khayyām?

Final Discussion (Eleanor Sims, Claus-Peter Haase, David J. Roxburgh)

APPENDIX 2

Masterpieces from the Serail: The Albums of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817)

Julia Gonnella

Brief catalogue of the special exhibition put on by the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin at the Pergamonmuseum from 3. June to 1. September 2013

A Works around the Person of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez

1. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (see article Roxburgh, fig. 3.1)

Pastel on paper; Berlin, 1791.
SBB-PK, Kunstsammlung, K. 44

2. Diez Album, Fol. 74 (fig. 1)
The only Diez album to survive in its original condition, this primarily contains calligraphic specimens. Right: three undated samples, one of which is signed Ja'far al-Tabrizi. Left: a folio from a Timurid *Shāhnāma* manuscript. (*cf.* articles by Raby, Rettig, and Roxburgh)

Ink, pigments and gold on paper, first half of the fifteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 74, p. 23 and 28

3. Two Book Bindings from the Diez Albums
In 1970–71, four of the five Diez albums were disassembled and then restored. The book bindings have been kept separately ever since.



FIGURE 1

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Carton, leather; Constantinople, late eighteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fols. 71 and 72

4. Original Folio from One of the Diez Albums (see article Raby, fig. 2.2)
The conservators have kept one (double-sided) folio from the Diez albums in its original condition. Left: *Sea Monster Devouring Two Shipwrecked Men* (a scene from a seafarer's tale); right: *Man in Front of a* (*Headless*) *Horse*. (*cf.* article by Raby).

Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, 1350–1400.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 36

5. A Leaf from an Ottoman Costume Album: The Bodyguard of the Bailo (see article Bağcı, fig. 22.4)
The Diez Albums also contained contemporary material that Diez acquired in the bazaar in Constantinople. (*cf.* article by Bağcı).

Colored inks on paper; Turkey, late eighteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 17

6. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Verzeichnis der morgenländischen und abendländischen Handschriften in meiner Bibliothek* (see article Rauch, figs. 4.4 and 4.11). (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Berlin, 1790 and after.
SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Cat. A 478b

7. Portolan by Piri Reis (fig. 2)
Diez acquired this outstanding copy of the coastal atlas by the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis (born *c.* 1465 in Gallipoli), from the



FIGURE 2

Topkapı Palace, probably together with most of the images in the albums. The illustration shows the map of Constantinople from the north. (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Ink, pigments and gold on paper; Turkey, late seventeenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 57, fol. 28a–b

8. Nizami, *Khamsa*
During his stay in Constantinople, Diez acquired countless manuscripts. His acquisitions include a lavishly illustrated copy of a *Khamsa* written by the Persian poet Nizami (*c.* 1140–1205). On display: *Khusraw Spies Shirin Bathing*.

Ink, pigments and gold on paper; Herat, mid 15th century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 7, fol. 53r

9. A Dispatch from the Prussian Minister Ewald Friedrich Graf von Hertzberg (1725–1795) to Diez in Constantinople, Dated 7 March 1789 (fig. 3)
From Diez's time as Prussian envoy to Constantinople one letter survives by the influential Prussian minister Graf von Herztberg; it is written in code and has Diez's translation of the words above the lines. it.

SBB-PK, Handschriftenabteilung, Signatur Diez C quart. 123, fol. 103v–104r

10. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Buch des Kabus oder Lehren des persischen Königs Kjekjawus für seinen Sohn Ghilan Schach*
The *Qābūsnāma* is a famous Persian *Mirror of Princes* written by the Ziyarid ruler Kaykawus (*c.* 1050–1087) for his son and successor Gilanshah (*c.* 1087–1090) around 1080. In 1811,

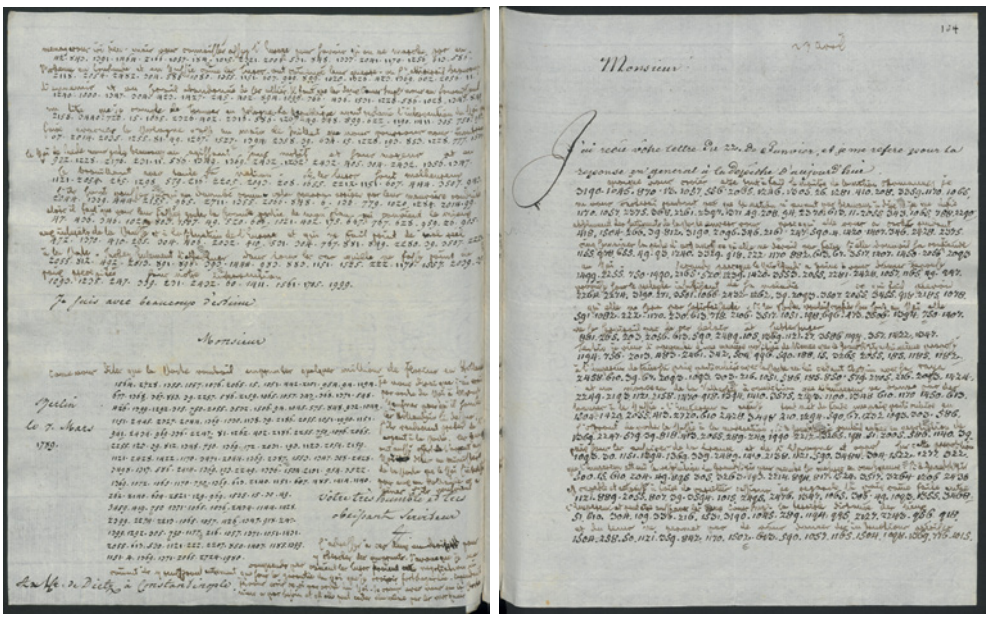


FIGURE 3

Diez translated this important work of Persian literature into German. It was of great inspiration for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-oestlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan). (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Berlin 1811.
SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Bibl. Diez oct. 270

11. Kaikawus ibn Iskandar ibn Qabus, *Qābūs-nāma* (The Book of Qabus)
For his translation, Diez used a Turkish version of the *Mirror of Princes*, the manuscript of which is now also kept in the Staatsbibliothek. (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Ink on paper; Turkey, 1698.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 2

12. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-oestlicher Divan*
Goethe wrote his West-Eastern Divan between 1814 and 1819. It was strongly inspired by the poems of Hafiz, which had only just been translated into German by the Viennese orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856). In addition, Goethe also consulted Diez; there is a lively exchange of letters between the two dealing on oriental matters. Goethe also sought Diez's advice on the appointment of a Professor of Oriental Languages in Jena. (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Stuttgart 1819.
SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Signatur Yl 9601/10<b>

13. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur. Nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit des H. v. Hammer zu Wien in Sprachen und Wissenschaften*
Unlike Goethe, Diez showed little esteem for his Viennese colleague, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, and wrote a polemic against him. (*cf.* article by Rauch).

Halle 1815.
SBB-PK, Zt 982

14. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Fug und Wahrheit in der morgenländischen Literatur. Nebst einigen wenigen Proben von der feinen Gelehrsamkeit des Herrn von Diez*
Von Hammer-Purgstall responded immediately to Diez's accusations with a slanderous pamphlet of his own. (*cf.* articles by Roxburgh and Rauch).

Vienna 1816.
SBB-PK, Zt 983

15. Antoine Ignace Melling: *View of Constantinople* (fig. 4)
Antoine Ignace Melling (1763–1831) was a German architect, painter, and traveller who lived in Constantinople only a few years after Diez's stay in the city. He became particularly famous for his *vedute*: "Of all the European painters who have attempted to paint views of the Bosphorus, I was most convinced by Anton Ignaz Melling, whose pictures I cannot see often enough" (Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories of a City*).

Copper engraving; *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Strasburg 1819.
SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Libri impr. rari fol. 325 Taf. 9

16. Antoine Ignace Melling: *An Interior View of a Public Café in Tophane*
Copper engraving; *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Strasburg 1819.



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Libri impr. rari fol. 325 Taf. 26

17. Antoine Ignace Melling: *The Second Interior Courtyard of the Serail*

On the suggestion of Sultan Selim III's sister, Hatice Sultan, Melling was employed as Imperial architect and landscape gardener, which gave him privileged access to the palace. This view shows the Kubbe Altı, the Imperial council, in which the Grand Vizier, the ministers of state, and other leading officials, held their meetings. The Sultan's audience chamber is located in the second interior courtyard.

Copper engraving; *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Strasburg 1819.

SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Libri impr. rari fol. 325 Taf. 13

18. Antoine Ignace Melling: Interior View of the Harem (fig. 5)
Particularly intriguing is Melling's famous depiction of the harem, which might have been where many of the paintings from the Diez albums were originally kept.

Copper engraving; *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Strasburg 1819.
SBB-PK, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Libri impr. rari fol. 325 Taf. 14

B The Album Paintings and Drawings

1. A Drawing of the "Tazza Farnese"
(see articles Weis, fig. 14.1; Necipoğlu, fig. 20.17)
Pigments on paper, signed by Muhammad-e Khayyam, Herat or Samarqand, early fifteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Necipoğlu and Weis).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 3, no. 2

2. River Landscape in Chinese style (fig. 6)
Pigments on paper; Iran, early fourteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Necipoğlu and Weis).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 3, no. 2

3. Preparation for a Celebration; Woman Complaining to the Mongol Ruler Ghazan Khan



FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

From a *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles) by Rashid al-Din.
Pigments on paper; Iran (Tabriz?), early fourteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 18, nos. 1–2

4. Racing Horses; Mongol Warriors with Prisoners (see articles Brend, fig. 11.1; Çakır Phillip, fig. 12.6; Kadoi, fig. 9.2)
From a *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Rashid al-Din.
Pigments on paper; Iran (Tabriz?), early fourteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Brend and Çakır Phillip).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 19, nos. 1–2

5. Apparition of an Angel (fig. 7)
Probably an illustration from *The Life of the Prophet.*
From a *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Rashid al-Din
Pigments on paper; Iran (Tabriz?), early fourteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 63, no. 4

6. Enthronement Scene with Mongol Ruler and Consort (see article Haase, fig. 10.1)
From a *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Rashid al-Din.
Pigments on paper; Iran (Tabriz?), early fourteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Haase, Kadoi, and Melville).
SBB-PK, Diez A, fol, 70, p. 22

7. Cloud Collar with Angel, Qilin, Goose, and Tortoise (see article Hahn, fig. 15.1)
Black ink, pigments, and gold on paper; Iran, 1400–1450. (*cf.* articles by Farhad and Porter).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 54, no. 1

8. Shoulder Flap with Flying Phoenix
Black ink, pigments, and gold on paper; Iran, 1400–1450. (*cf.* articles by Farhad and Porter).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 63, no. 2

9. Medallion with Swimming Tortoise (see article Farhad, fig. 18.25)

Black ink, pigments, and gold on paper; Iran, 1400–1450. (*cf.* article by Farhad).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 51, no. 2

10. Two Lions in Mountainous Landscape (fig. 8)
Black ink on paper; Iran, fifteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 40, no. 1

11. Man with Female Ape in an Embarrassing Embrace (fig. 9)
Unidentified episode from a popular story or seafaring tale.
Pigments on paper; Iran, 1350–1400.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 12

12. Man with Female Ape and Offspring (fig. 10)
From the same manuscript as 11: unidentified episode from a popular story or seafaring tale.
Pigments on paper; Iran, 1350–1400.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 19

13. Female Servant Washing the Feet of a Man with Turban (fig. 11)
Unidentified episode from an epic (*Shāhnāma* or *post-Shāhnāma*?). (*cf.* article by Haase).
Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, late fourteenth century (?).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 16, no. 1

14. Iskandar Visiting a Hermit (fig. 12)
From a copy of a *Shāhnāma* (The Book of Kings) or an *Iskandarnāma* (The Book of Alexander).
Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, 1300–1350(?). (*cf.* article by Melville).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 2

15. Fight between Two Men and between Horse and Elephant (see article Çakır Phillip, fig. 12.4)
Unidentified episode from an epic (*Shāhnāma* or *post-Shāhnāma*?). (*cf.* article by Çakır Phillip).



FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, 1300–1350(?).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 1

16. Torture of Prisoners (see article O'Kane, fig. 17.7)
Unidentified episode from an epic (*Shāhnāma* or *post- Shāhnāma*?)
Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, 1350–1400. (*cf.* article by O'Kane).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 6, no. 1

17. Slaughter in a Palace (see article Çakır Phillip, fig. 12.22)
Unidentified episode from an epic (*Shāhnāma* or a post- *Shāhnāma*?). (*cf.* article by Çakır Phillip).
Pigments and gold on paper; Iran, fourteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 22

18. Mounted Warrior Fighting a Dragon (see articles Farhad, fig. 18.13; Tanındı, fig. 6.20)
Black ink on paper; Iran, fifteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Farhad and Tanındı).
SBB-PK, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 72, p. 14

19. Dragon Fighting Two Phoenixes
Black ink on paper; Iran, fifteenth century.
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 58, no. 2

20. Dervishes (see article Tanındı, fig. 6.17)
Black ink on paper; Iran, early fifteenth century. (*cf.* article by Tanındı).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 68

21. Riding Couple with Dog (see articles Brend, fig. 11.16; Farhad, fig. 1817; Necipoğlu, fig. 20.9)
Black ink on paper; Iran, first half of the fifteenth century. (*cf.* articles by Brend, Farhad, and Necipoğlu).
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 72, p. 15

22. Album Page, Remounted According to the Pre-conservation Arrangement (fig. 13)
1: *Rustam Stares at the Unhorsed Shangul, King of Hind*, from a *Shāhnāma*: Isfahan, 1330–1335.
2: *Lute-Player and Boon Companion*, Shiraz, early fourteenth century.
3: *Angel*, Iran, mid-fifteenth century.
4: *Kay Khosrau Executes the Turanian Ruler Afrasiyab*, from a *Shāhnāma*, Isfahan, 1330–1335.
5: *Lady with Servant*, Iran, fifteenth century.

Pigments and gold on paper
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 11, nos. 1–5

23. Album Page, Remounted According to the Pre-conservation Arrangement (fig. 14)
1: *Court Scene*, Iran, fifteenth century.
2: *Duck*, Iran, 1400–1450.
3: *Heron and Tortoise*, Iran, 1400–1450.
4: *Cityscape*, Iran, 1400–1450.

Black ink on paper
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 70, p. 26, nos. 1–4

24. Album Page, Remounted According to the Pre-conservation Arrangement
1: *Dragon*
2: *Men in Conversation*
3: *Panel with a Stag beneath a Tree*
4: *Panel with Eagle Attacking Fox*
5: *Lion*
6: *Bough in Flower*
7: *Man and Veiled Women*
8: *Lion and Phoenix*

Black ink on paper; Iran, 1400–1450
SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 73, p. 71, nos. 1–8



FIGURE 13



FIGURE 14

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