

*Europe, China and Istanbul:
The Albums in a Broader Perspective*



Persianate Images between Europe and China: The “Frankish Manner” in the Diez and Topkapı Albums, c. 1350–1450

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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 The fascinating Europeanizing images of these albums have therefore largely escaped attention and most of them remain unpublished.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.

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- 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: Courty 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

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 Gülu

H. 2153 can be characterized as a veritable assemblage of “wonders” (*‘ajā’ib*), 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 trans-

ferred 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 *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* (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 *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* illustrations, see Karin Rührdan, "Illustrationen zu Rašid 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 Vincenzo 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 for-

mer 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 İnalçık, “Bursa: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret 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-tavārikh* 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-Tawārikh* of Rashid al-Din”, *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-tavārikh*, 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 Ğalāʾiriden (1. Teil)”, *Islam*, 48 (1972), pp. 28–76, especially pp. 55–56; “Die Buchmalerei der Ğalāʾiriden (2. Teil): Die Malerei in Tabriz 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 Ğalāʾir 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 'Arabshah, 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:

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.

with additional bibliography in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation", pp. 3–4.

22 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Arabshāh, *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).

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/khīṭāy*) 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 “Khitian 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 ‘Alī-‘Akbar 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 “Khaṭāī”: 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 sul-

tan 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

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,

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 *Mahbûb al-ḳulûb* (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 ‘Ali-Shir Nava’i (d. 1501), expects the skilled “illuminator” (*mudhahhib*) to master the “Cathayan” (*khatā’i*) and “Frankish” (*farangī*) manners.³⁴ The same two designations appear in an earlier

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 ‘Ali Shīr Navā’ī, *Mahbûbül-kulûb: İnceleme- metin-sözlük*, ed. Zuhak Kargı Ölmez, PhD diss. Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara 1993,

Timurid text, this time in Persian, by ‘Abd 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 khaṭā’ī*).³⁵ Only mentioning the term *khaṭā’ī*, 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*

p. 226, fol. 62v; ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī, *Mahbūb 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 Balīgh, 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.

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 *nasta’līq* 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 Tiegua) 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

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 Iskandari*, 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

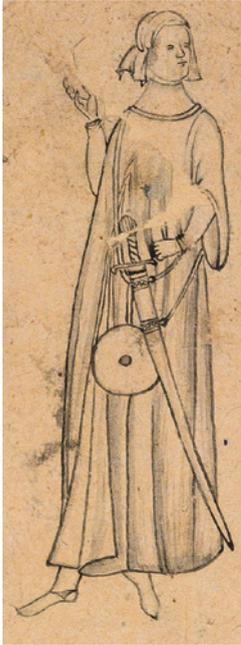
idioms.³⁹ In general, the ink drawings seem to have more closely recorded the foreign subjects of their putative prototypes than their styles. The marked emphasis on outline and contour is a symptom of the concern with the legibility of the model. Yet this observation is complicated by the tendency of 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 *nasta’līq* 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 Sa’id (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

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

Kalila wa Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century, London and New York 2003, p. 238.

a *nasta'liq* 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

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.

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 Tamındı’s article in this volume.



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 mountain-top 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 *Divân* (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

50 The three study sheets are discussed in Zeren Tanımdı'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.

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

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.*

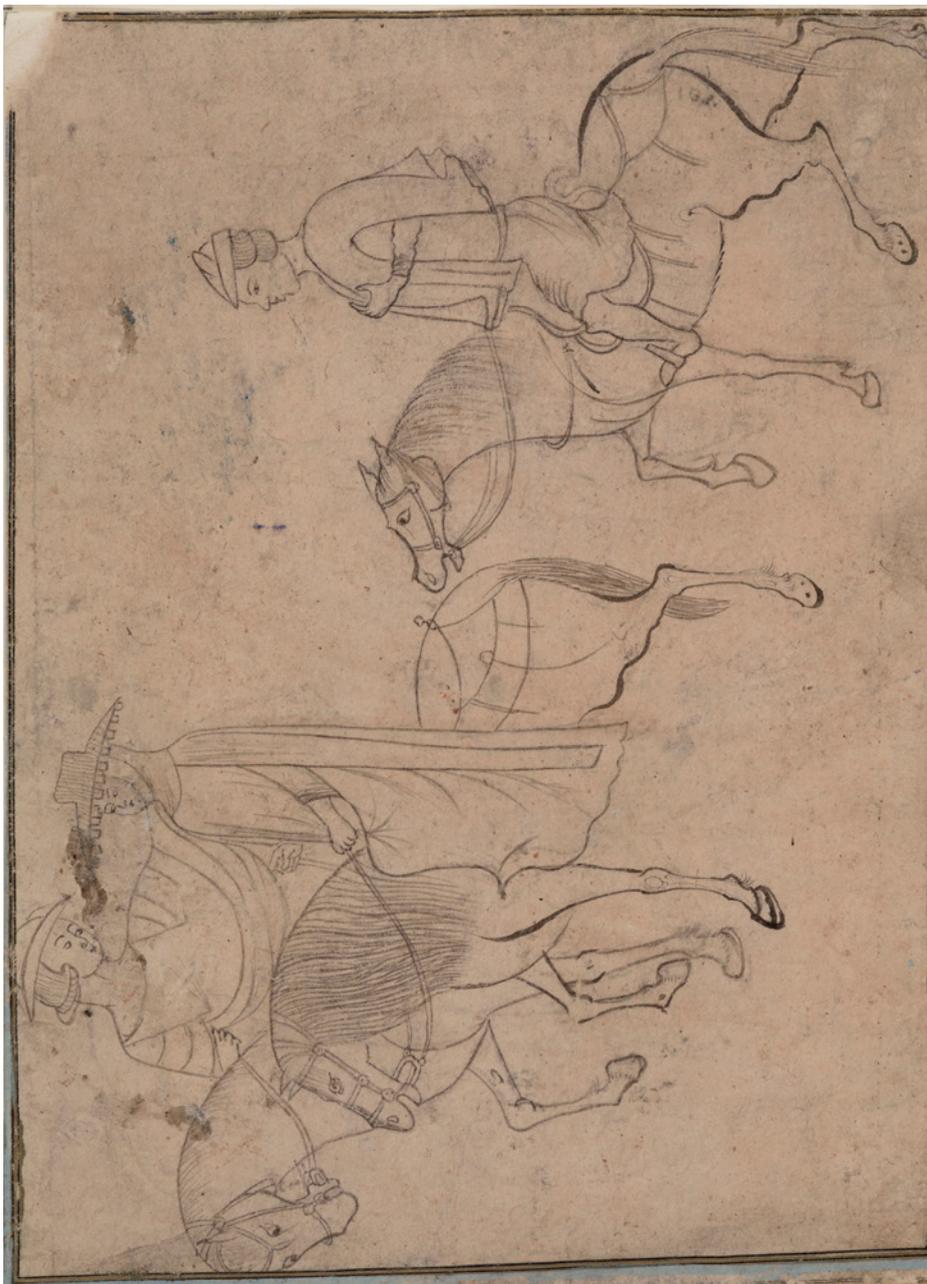


FIGURE 20.8 Riding Couple with an Attendant, *Samarqand or Herat*, first half of the fifteenth century. *SBB-PK, Diez A fol. 71, p. 64, no. 2.*



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 with-

out a knot, yet the back straps of their harnesses are tied in the Mongol fashion (*i.e.* forming an inverted-V attached to a semi-circular 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 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 *Divān* 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 *Divān*, 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 *Divān* 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 *Divān* 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 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 'Abd al-Hayy and mastered drawing in the "black pen" (*qalam-siyāhi*) technique. Dust Muhammad adds that after 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 auto-

graph 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 'Abd al-Hayy" (*qalam-i ustād 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 'Abd 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

H. 2153, fol. 29v. Al-Khayyam's "copies" (*naql*) of 'Abd 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, orfèvrerie 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 'Abd al-Hayy at the Jalayirid court. According to Kühnel, it is unclear whether this artist was trained by his master in Samarqand or Herat.

74 Works attributed by inscriptions to Khvaja 'Abd al-Hayy include H. 2153, fols. 21r; 136v; and H. 2160, fol. 70r. The horse head is mounted in



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

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*”, *Archäologischer 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

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

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-Hayyām'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

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

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

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 Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance 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 far-fetched. 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 *ghazals*."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 *Divān* 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 Qoyunlu 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-perspectively 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

88 For the broader attribution, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 188–189.

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

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. 115r.

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

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 Watteuw 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.

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 scrivined

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 Sa'īd Khudaybanda. Master Ahmad Musa, who was his own father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction (*taşvīr*), 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

¹⁰⁴ A preliminary step in this direction is the forthcoming facsimile edition of H. 2153 and 2160, with its comprehensive index of art-

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 ‘Abd 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

ists, 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 ‘Abd 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 Ja’far 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 ‘Ala’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-Mirzā 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 Qoyunlu 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

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 –

108 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 13–14. Baysunghur also commissioned the replica of a Jalayirid *Kalila va Dimna* manuscript for his library: See O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, p. 214.

109 Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, pp. 13–14.



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 *Laṭāʾif al-maʾārif* (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 Āqqoyūnlū 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 ‘Abbas 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 dicono che tutte le generation 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 Farangi-Sāzi”. 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, 'Abd al-Rahim al-Khvarazmi al-Ya'qubi and his brother 'Abd 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, Ya'qub 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 Ya'qub 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'liq* script.¹²²

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 Khvarezmī 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'liq* 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.)

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.

123 On the “*paragone*”, or “intercultural artistic comparison” in Dust Muhammad’s preface, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, pp. 295–304.