

THE ART
OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD
AND THE ARTISTIC RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN POLAND
AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES



manggha

Polish Institute
of World Art Studies



*We dedicate this volume
to the Polish Tatars*



11th Conference of the Polish Institute of World Art Studies
(former Polish Society of Oriental Art)

1st Conference of Islamic Art in Poland

“Manggha” Museum of Japanese Art and Technology
&
Polish Institute of World Art Studies

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Edited by
Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow
and Jerzy Malinowski



Krakow 2011

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Introduction



The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships between Poland and Islamic Countries” was the first conference of its kind in Poland. It was organized by the Polish Society of Oriental Art (from 2011 Polish Institute of World Art Studies) and the “Manggha” Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow, in cooperation with the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw and the Department of Oriental Art of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

It was simultaneously the 11th conference of the Polish Society of Oriental Art, an academic organization established in 2006 that is a grouping of art historians, conservators and restorers of works of art, as well as ethnologists and museologists involved in research into non-European and specifically Asian and African art. Within its statutory tasks, the Society pursues and supports research projects, publishes series of books, establishes contacts with foreign universities, institutes, museums and associations, and organizes conferences.

The previous conferences were devoted in particular to the art of the Far East—Japan, China, Central Asia and India. Last year, however, the Society extended its scope of activity to include the Middle East, as well as the borders of Asia and Europe (also Poland), organizing the international conference “Christian Art of the Borderlands of Asia, Africa and Europe” as well as the First Congress of Jewish Art in Poland—“Jewish Artists and Central-Eastern Europe, the 19th Century to World War II”. The conference covered in the present publication closes the circle of art cultures within the scope of the Society’s interests.

Poles became acquainted with the civilizations of India and the Far East mainly through the maritime countries of Western Europe. However, in the case of Islam, Poland has had direct contacts with that civilization since the Middle Ages. Arabian merchants visited the lands on the Vistula River as long ago as the 10th century. In the dramatic circumstances of the first invasion of 1241, Poles encountered Tatars (Mongols), who had previously captured Ruthenia. Halich-Volhynian Ruthenia, which recognized the rule of the Golden Horde (for a short time) in 1245, included the eastern territories of today’s Poland (also the towns of Przemyśl, Chełm and Drohiczyn). At that same time Benedictus Polonus, a Franciscan friar from Wrocław accompanying the papal legate Giovanni da Carpine, reached as far as the court of the Mongol khan Guyuk

in Karakorum (1245–1247) and left behind a valuable account of the Golden Horde. After finishing this journey he stayed in Krakow as a Franciscan guardian. During the second invasion in 1259/1260, the Tatars ravaged Krakow.

The history of Poland, and later of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, abounds in wars but also with long periods of peaceful contacts and peaceful cooperation with Islamic countries. From the 15th century onwards, Tatars settled in the territories of Poland and Lithuania, with mosques and Muslim cemeteries (*mizars*) becoming as integral to the landscape as the Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Armenian, Jewish and Karaite places of worship. Many personages of history and culture had Tatar origins. The multi-national state, which included Ruthenian lands (today's Ukraine and Belarus), was situated on the borderland between the West and the East. Its relations with the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate and the Persian State were as important as contacts with Western and Southern Europe. Polish national traditions and customs are permeated by Islamic culture of the East, as is demonstrated by costumes of the nobility, arms, cuisine and words assimilated into the Polish and Ukrainian languages. When the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lost its independence late in the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire was the only one to renounce the partitions and to admit Polish insurgents and émigrés, as is manifested by the Polish settlement of Adampol (Polonezköy) near Istanbul. Poles (among them, the heroic commander of the Polish and Hungarian insurrections General Józef Bem) served in the Turkish army, and the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz died in Istanbul. Turkish and Persian rugs and tapestries, tents, arms or artisanry could be found in all wealthy households, and those who travelled to Istanbul and Isfahan to bring such goods were notably the Armenian merchants from Lwow (Lviv) and Kamieniec Podolski (Kamyanets Podilskyi), among other places. The European fascination with Turkey also swept through the Polish court of the Wettin dynasty. In the late 18th and the 19th centuries, artists such as Jan Chrystian Kammsetzer, court artist of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, or Stanisław Chlebowski, painter at the court of Sultan Abdul Aziz, as well as art connoisseurs such as Edward Raczyński visited and resided in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire, and their works offer interesting representations or accounts of the exotic land as well as views of Jerusalem or Egypt. Not only Turkish or Tatar wars but also scenes from the life of Turkey or Arabian countries were frequent themes of Polish historical and genre painting of the 19th century. They were absolutely at home in the interiors of Polish palaces or family museums (such as the Princes Czartoryski Museum), which were full of eastern objects and associated with the Islamic Orient by foreign visitors to Poland. Today, many Poles have the sense of historical and cultural ties with the not too distant Islamic world.

Research into Poland's artistic contacts with Islamic countries started as early as the latter half of the 19th century. However, professional contacts between historians of art from Poland and Islamic countries have so far been rare. Hence the idea of the present conference.

The conference was prepared by a small group of art historians: Beata Biedrońska-Słota, PhD, chair of both the Organizational Committee and the Society's (Institute's) Krakow Branch; Mrs Magdalena Ginter-Frołow and Karolina Krzywicka from the Asia and Pacific Museum in

Warsaw, whose strong will and devotion as academic secretaries made this event possible; Professor Swietłana Czerwonnaja from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, who assisted in contacting researchers from Tatarstan, Crimea, Central Asia and Moscow; as well as the Society's Treasurer Magdalena Furmanik from the same university; and Aleksandra Görlich from the "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow. Amongst the participants of the conference was the Nestor of Polish art history, and himself an outstanding researcher into the art of Islam, Professor Zdzisław Żygulski Jr, curator-emeritus of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow.

A location better than Krakow—another place as full of Tatar, Turkish and Persian relics—can hardly be found in Europe. The bugle-call sounded from the tower of St Mary's Basilica, the Lajkonik festivity (which we asked the Historical Museum to display for the conference participants to experience), the Turkish tents in the collection of the Wawel Royal Castle, the Persian rugs and ceramics, Turkish costumes and arms at the Princes Czartoryski and National Museums will be the perfect setting for the conference that is to disclose the relationships between Poland and Islamic countries.

Prof. Dr Jerzy Malinowski
President of the Polish Institute
of World Art Studies
(former Polish Society of Oriental Art)





Introduction



Honourable Chairman, distinguished academics and valued guests:

It is a special privilege and a great pleasure for me to address my eminent colleagues on this unique occasion of our meeting. This conference is the first international conference devoted to Islamic art to have been organized in Krakow. The study of Islamic art has a long and rich tradition in Poland and that is especially the case in Krakow. One should point here particularly to the studies by such Polish Orientalists as Professor Tadeusz Kowalski of the Jagiellonian University, Professor Ananiasz Zajączkowski, a Karaim born in Vilna (Wilno/ Vilnius), who worked at the University of Warsaw, Professor Jan Reychman and Professor Zygmunt Abrahamowicz—the latter a Turkologist from the Jagiellonian University, and to the extremely valuable works of Polish art historians such as Marian Sokołowski, who cooperated in this field with Alois Riegl in Vienna, Tadeusz Mańkowski—the author of very important publications about Islamic art in Poland, and the well known Professor Zdzisław Zygulski Jr, curator of the National Museum in Krakow's Princes Czartoryski Collection. He has published many valuable books and articles about Oriental Art. He arrived in Turkey for the first time in 1955 with the task of organizing a Museum of Adam Mickiewicz, the outstanding poet and patriot who came to Constantinople from Paris to create a Polish Legion to fight Russia in the Crimean War. And Professor Tadeusz Majda, Turkologist and curator of the National Museum in Warsaw, author of many publications and exhibitions devoted especially to Turkish art in Poland. Very important works are the publications by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, especially about the history of Kamieniec Podolski (Kamyanets Podilskyi) in Polish and Turkish relations, as prepared from scrupulous research into archival documents.

The works of academics have a solid background that is based on the objects of Islamic art that have been collected in Poland over the centuries. The National Museum in Krakow, the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow, the National Museum in Warsaw as well as several other institutions collected objects of Islamic culture.

The crossing of the cultural border between East and West was carried out in Poland during times of war and peace alike. Merchant caravans, emissary visits and exotic travels caused

the constant increase of interest in Islamic countries. Regardless of such contacts, there existed a community of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars on Polish territory, a population professing Islam, which contributed to the conveyance of information about Islamic culture. Christian Armenians were the distributors of such knowledge in a congruent way.

Islamic culture and objects of Islamic art were present in Poland through the centuries. Islamic art has undoubtedly enriched Polish culture. Following on from Edward Said's publications, we can analyze the objects of Islamic art preserved in Poland in the first and second meaning of Said's proposal of understanding Orientalism.

The first Polish writer to describe (though not academically, however vividly) the participation of Islamic culture in the Polish way of life was Jędrzej Kitowicz (1727–1804), the author of *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III* [Description of customs during the reign of August III].

Poland, because of its history, willingly absorbed the artistic civilization of Turkey and Persia and this gave rise to its successful transmission to Western Europe. It is enough to mention the particular history of the term "Polish carpets". This transmission is mainly evidenced by the style of dressing that was accepted as a national costume by the upper classes. Such influence can also be found in various fields of ornamental art of which carpets, textiles and embroidery are the leading examples.

This very borderline of cultures, this very bilateral antemurale being created within centuries of sometimes peaceful, sometimes confrontational co-existence, had numerous gates and entries which served in the exchange of all kinds of goods and the adoption of certain artistic values by merchants, diplomats and travellers.

Thus the knowledge about Oriental art in Poland was popular but we should study it even more deeply. That is why we invited our dear academic colleagues and friends to explain more about the complexities, and the hidden language of Oriental art.

Thanks to you, over twelve sessions we will have the great occasion to discuss certain issues and to discover many new important problems which we are trying to understand.

The programme of the conference consists of many very interesting lectures.

Dr Beata Biedrońska-Słota
Chair of the Conference
Organizational Committee



Poland and Turkey: From enmity to friendship



This is a personal reflection based on numerous stays in Turkey, meeting people, reading books, visiting museums, and publishing several works. I arrived for the first time in Turkey in 1955 with the task of organizing a Museum of Adam Mickiewicz, the outstanding poet and patriot who came to Constantinople from Paris to create a Polish Legion to fight Russia in the Crimean War. He became ill and died in the city in 1855. The period of my visit was difficult, as it was in the midst of the Cold War between Soviet Russia and the United States of America. During World War II the Turks were neutral, but very clearly they were against Russia, sympathizing with America. Now they also showed friendship to Poles. I met with hospitality and help in my difficult work. In December 1955 the Museum was ceremonially opened. I wondered how it was all possible when throughout history there had been so many wars, won or lost by both sides. Finally, at the end of the 18th century Poland was conquered and divided by neighbours and the Ottoman Empire declined. But the Turks tried to save Poland's existence and never agreed with the partition of Poland. Even in the time of World War II they welcomed Polish emigrants fighting for liberty.

To be sure, there are some similarities in the history and national character of both peoples—in Turkey and that of the Jagiellon kings in Poland. Both countries had citizens of various languages and creeds. They were brave soldiers, loving splendid costumes and arms and the art of horsemanship. In this respect the Poles took inspiration and real objects from Turkey. Throughout two centuries Polish noblemen appeared in Oriental style.

In 1983 Poland commemorated the 300th anniversary of the Relief of Vienna. I was privileged to compose the scenario of a most representative exhibition in the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow. I had the honour of guiding the Ambassador of Turkey Mr Zulumen. Looking at the magnificent tents, banners, tugs, saddles and trappings, arms and armour, rugs and carpets he was enchanted. I said: all these treasures we saved from the misfortunes of our history not so much as a token of erstwhile victories, the more so as objects of the superlative artistic culture of Turkey, which we love so much.

Prof. Dr Zdzisław Żygulski Jr
National Museum in Krakow
The Princes Czartoryski Museum



About Tatars and Moslems on Polish soil



I wish to extend my warm welcome to the honourable Hosts and equally honourable Guests
bismi llahi rrahmani rrahim,
in the name of Allah, most gracious, most merciful

Ladies and Gentlemen, you should not be surprised at this greeting not only because it has been uttered by a Moslem mufti, but also for the reason that this country has been inhabited by the followers of Islam for over 600 years now. And as far as the contacts of the ancient Polish lands with the Moslems are concerned, their standing is certainly at least several centuries longer. Poland is a Catholic country with an indigenous Moslem minority.

What has brought Islam and Moslems here, to the heart of Europe? Most of them are Tatars, who for many ages used to arrive in the lands of today's Poland and Lithuania along many different routes. Some were seeking refuge from internal turmoil in the order; others came as prisoners of war, taken hostage during one of both parties' numerous campaigns. Still others, having heard of the might of the Lithuanian and Polish rulers, came to settle here of their own accord in search for a place to live. They came from the Crimea, the Kipchak steppes or the vast Volga Region—Povolzhe, and sometimes from even more distant areas of Asia.

With time, the Tatar communities in southeastern Poland became assimilated, although a memory of the distant Tatar roots is sometimes revived today among the fully Polish and Catholic descendants of the steppe warriors. What remains, however, are the Tatar villages, mosques and *mizars* in Podlasie in northeastern Poland. That area is the home of today's largest Polish Moslem community.

The shifts in the state frontiers after World War II, especially those forced upon the Central- and East-European countries, materially affected the Tatar Moslem community of the Republic of Poland, tearing it apart and dividing it between Poland and two Soviet republics: Lithuania and Belarus. Like many epochs before, some of the Tatars moved on in search of a new home. They left the Soviet Union for Poland and settled in Gdańsk, Sopot, Szczecin, Trzcianka and Wałcz. Once the inhabitants of the eastern borderland of the Republic, they now reached as far as its western confines such as Wrocław, Oleśnica, Zielona Góra, Zgorzelec, Krosno Odrzańskie.

The Moslem Religious Union has been operating in the Republic of Poland since 1925. It is an official religious organization of Polish Moslems grouping a prevalent majority of Tatars. Reactivated in 1947, it has religious communities in Białystok, Gdańsk, Warsaw, Bohoniki, Kruszyniany, Poznań, Bydgoszcz and Gorzów Wielkopolski. Individual members of the Union also live in many other localities, e.g. Wrocław and Wałcz. On April 20, 2004, for the first time in its post-war history, the 15th Congress of the Moslem Religious Union elected the mufti—the religious leader of the Polish Moslems who at the same time chairs the High College and the Imam Council.

The MRU's religious communities take care of all Polish mosques: the two vintage structures of the 19th century in Kruszyniany and Bohoniki as well as the new one opened in 1990 in Gdańsk. The Union also operates two prayer centres in Białystok and Suchowola, the Pilgrim Centre in Bohoniki and the Islam Centre in Warsaw. The Moslem Religious Union also takes care of the still operating old Tatar *mizars* in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, as well as the Moslem Tatar Cemetery in Warsaw. Four municipal cemeteries, in Gdańsk and Wrocław among other localities, also have separate Moslem sections.

The main objective of the Moslem Religious Union is to represent the Polish Moslems *vis à vis* state authorities and to offer religious and spiritual service. This mainly includes the maintenance of temples and cemeteries, the organization of all ceremonies dictated by Islamic rules and commands (childbirth, wedding, funeral, prayers, holidays, religious instruction etc.). Also included is cooperation with other Moslem organizations and communities in Poland and abroad. The Union organizes numerous events addressed at persons interested not only in Islam and Moslems but also in broadly conceived interconfessional dialogue. Members of the MRU take a most active part in the Joint Catholic and Moslem Council. The Union also organizes celebrations of Moslem holidays: Kurban Bayram, Ramadan Bayram, Ashura and Mevlud, meetings to celebrate the Moslem New Year, lahi—the ceremonial end of religious instruction events for children, or the Podlasie Moslem Culture Festival. Members of the MRU take part in the annual Islam Day at the Catholic Church and act for religious and social concord. The mufti is invited to a variety of state and church ceremonies.

The Union is also active in the field of publications popularizing the history of the Moslem minority in Poland as well as the knowledge of Islam. Published in 1986–1990 was the quarterly *Życie Muzułmańskie* [Moslem Life]—an organ of the High College planned to be reactivated over the next few months. The Moslem Religious Community in Białystok publishes a yearbook *Pamięć i Trwanie* [Remembrance and Persistence]. Launched in 2009 was a quarterly *Przegląd Tatarski* [Tatar Review], featuring numerous texts dealing with Islam and Moslems. Besides periodicals, books are also published, dealing mainly with religious practices, Tatar history and present day reality. Moslem calendars, notelets, folders and postcards appear as well. The Moslem Religious Union also operates Internet sites: a religious one at www.mzr.pl, and an ethnic one at www.tatarzy.pl.

The Polish Moslems have always lived far away from the main centres of the Islamic world. The community has never been numerous either, which is no doubt the reason why Poland has no sumptuous mosques, spiry minarets and famous madrasas. Yet our Islam is deeply

rooted in the Polish landscape and ever-present in Tatar homes and hearts. It persists in the modest wooden mosques and the vast *mizars* where the local Moslems lie, sunk in their last sleep. It is evidenced by the grandfathers' muhirs, the old *shamails* and the *namazlyk* prayer rugs, well worn by frequent prostration. But first of all our Islam is a faith that survived for many ages to continue and grow today.

New Moslems are coming to Poland, mostly from Arabian states. Islam also admits many Poles. Thus the image of Moslems in our country is changing, becoming broader and richer. On the whole, our Moslem community in the Republic of Poland is among the oldest in Europe. The Polish Moslems are like a bridge between the Orient and the Western world, between Islam and Christianity. This is a fact that is worth bearing in mind.

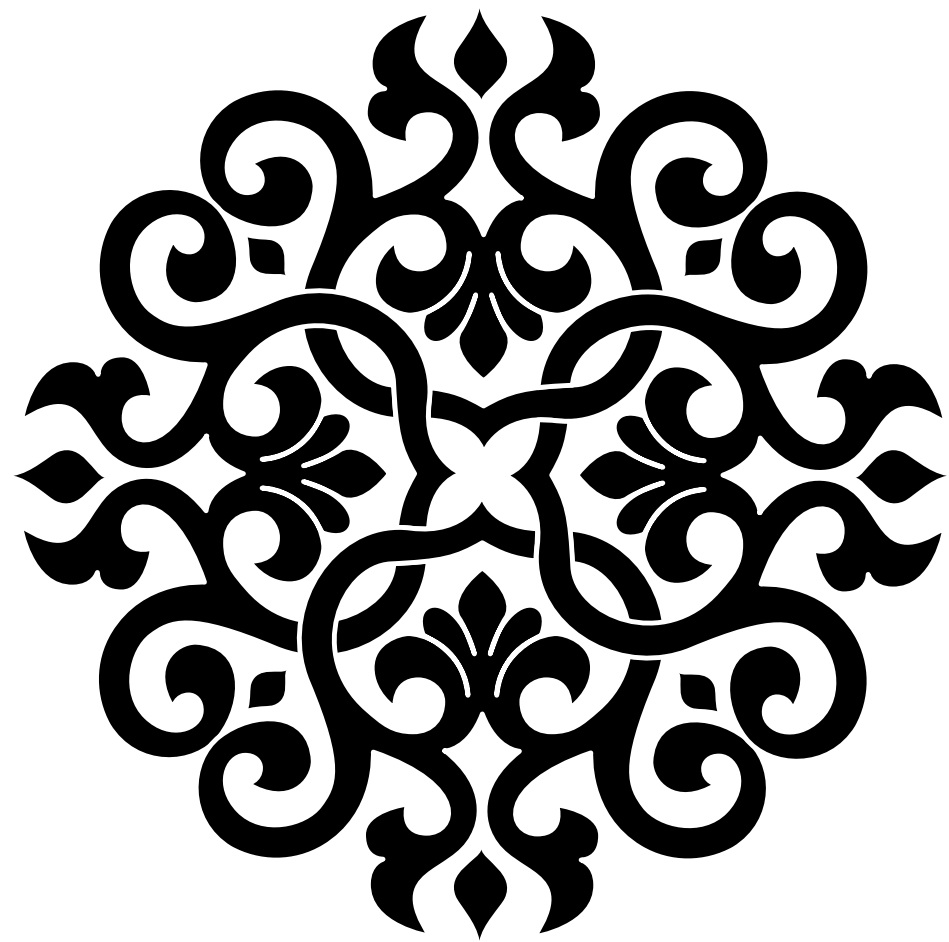
I would like to cordially thank the honourable Organizers of this conference for their kind invitation. I wish you all an inspirational atmosphere, successful debates, and many unforgettable and valuable experiences.

Assalamu alejkum wa rahmatullah wa barakatu

May Peace and Mercy and Blessings of the Almighty be upon us

Tomasz Miśkiewicz
Mufti of the Republic of Poland





II
ARCHITECTURE



Jand city in Kazakhstan and its Caravanserai

Bekir Deniz
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Introduction

During the K k Turk period, the Oghuz Turks, beginning with Ilterish Kaghan's era, were in great struggle with the K k Turks. Being beaten in most of these battles, they subjected to the K k Turks. But they fought against Kutlugh Kaghan in the years 682–691 and in the year 715 against Bilge Kaghan and K lteghin Kaghan.¹

It is estimated that they had come along the Syr Darya River during 775–785 (in the period of Caliph Al-Mahdi). This region belonged to the Turghishes and before them to the Western K k Turks. After the 9th century, all the lands from Istijap city (today called Sayram) to the Caspian Sea including Manghishlak became the native land of the Oghuz Turks.²

In Central Asia from the 9th to the 11th centuries, the places where Turkish nomadic tribes lived were the vicinity of the Caspian Sea and in general all the lands along the Syr Darya River and the Aral Sea were the native land of the Oghuz Turks.³ At the beginning of the 10th century the Oghuz Turks established a state whose winter capital was Yani Kant (Yangi Kant, Jane Kant). Their rulers were called *yabghu* and their regents K l Erkin. The army was commanded by Subashi. They had epithets such as Yenel and Tarkan.⁴ They were fighting with Karluks in the east, with Kipchaks, Kemaks and Karluks in the north and with Pachanaks in the northwest. Abu Ibrahim (Muntasir), the last prince of the Samanians, concluded an alliance with Oghuz Yabghu in order to take Mavaraunnahr back from the Karakhans. At the end the *yabghu* became Muslim (1001–1002).⁵ Then the Oghuz Turks who became Muslim were called Oghuz and those who were not Muslim were called Turkmans.⁶

¹ Tolstov 1947: 71, Ta ađil 2004: 92–93.

² Ta ađil 2004: 92–93.

³ Agacanov 2002: 10–11.

⁴ Ta ađil 2004: 93.

⁵ Ta ađil 2004: 93–94.

⁶ Sumer 1980: 26–34.



According to historians, “in the first half of the 9th century, the Turkish world was separated and weakened politically after the collapse of K k Turk State, the Turks could not establish any other strong and larger state in Central Asia. In the second half of the 8th century and in the first half of 9th century the only strong state was the Uighur state in the Orkhun region. But the Uighurs could not establish strong sovereignty over the western Turks. On the other hand, they were famous with the name ‘Tohuz Ghuzz’ in Muslim countries.”⁷

It is not definite when the Oghuz Yabghu State collapsed. According to some sources it collapsed in the years after 1000. The reason for the collapse was the removal of the Seljukid dynasty from the region and the pressure of the Kipchaks from the north.⁸

Again, according to some sources of that time, the Oghuz Turks were organized into two branches, the Uch Oks and the Boz Oks. The Oghuz Turks, according to DLT⁹ 22, and Jami al-tavarikh were composed of 24 tribes: The Boz Oks: Kayi, Alka Evli (Alka B l k), Kara Evli (Kara B l k), Yazir, D gher, Dodurga, Yaparli (missing in DLT), Afshar, Kizik, (missing in DLT), Beghdili, Karkin. The Uch Oks: Bayindir, Pachana, Chavuldur, Chapni, Sahur, Eym r, Alayuntlu, Yuraghir, Ighdir, B ghd z, Yiva (Iva), Kinik.¹⁰

One group of the Oghuz Turks is called Uz. The Uz Turks came to the north of the Black Sea after 870. They are named as Torks in Kievan Rus’ sources (965). In the year 1055 they reached the River Ozu (Dnieper), and in 1065 the Danube. However, because of epidemic diseases, cold weather and the attacks of Pachanacs, they could not resist and preserve their political unity and organization. Those who remained stayed under the administration of Kievan Rus’ and Byzantium.¹¹

In the 9th and 10th centuries, the Oghuz Turks played important roles in the historical events in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. During the 9th and 13th centuries the Oghuz tribes who had migrated to Anatolia and the Caucasus caused the lands of Azerbaijan and Anatolia to be Turkish and Muslim. In the middle of the 11th century, after the establishment of the Great Seljukid State, many important historical events occurred in the Eastern Islamic World in Central Asia, in the Middle East and in the Caucasus. The Oghuz tribes who remained within Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan borders caused the formation of the Turkman groups. Those who remained in Central Asia assimilated with Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Bashkurts and Tatars.¹²

In the second half of the 11th century some of the Oghuz tribes were living with Kipchaks in the Southern Kazakhstan of today. The region where the Oghuz Turks lived is the Karatav (Karadagh) region in today’s Southern Kazakhstan. Sut Kend, Karachik, Sighnak and Karnak (today known as Atabay) were the most important centres. They also congregated in Manghishlak. They were also grouped in large numbers to the north of the Caspian Sea, along the Syr Darya River and around the Aral Sea. These tribes, who once upon a time lived nomadically or half-nomadically, subjected to Syr Darya Oghuz Yabghu, then to the Seljukid Sultans of Khorasan and to the rulers of Polovets

⁷ S mer 1980: 26–34.

⁸ Ta ađıl 2004: 94.

⁹ Divan  L gati’t-T rk (Collections of Turkish Language).

¹⁰ Koca 2002: 262, Ta ađıl 2004: 94.

¹¹ Ta ađıl 2004: 94.

¹² Agacanov 2002: 10.

of Dashte Kipchak and the rulers of Karakhans of Mavaraunnahr after the date mentioned above. In the second half of the 11th century the major branch of Oghuz Turks of Syr Darya probably subjected to the Seljuks. As a matter of fact, in the year 1065, when Sultan Alparslan went to war with Jand and Sabran, they subjected to the Sultan without any resistance.¹³

According to historians, during the 10th and 11th centuries the native land of the Oghuz Turks was the region between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea. According to Masudi they were concentrated in the cities around the Caspian Sea. Their native land was between today’s Persian city of Ghurjan and the Aral Sea. According to Beruni the Oghuz tribes were settled around Ural, in the lower part of Povolzhe, in the northern and western shores of the Caspian Sea and in the lower parts of Syr Darya.¹⁴ But the Turkish border along Syr Darya extended to Savran. According to historians, in the middle of the second half of the 10th century the Turkish world was represented by six nations. These were Oghuzes (Al-Ghuzz), Karluks (Harluh), Uighurs (Toghuz-Ghuzz), Kimaks, Kirghises and Pachanaks.¹⁵ Oghuz Turks in the first half of the 10th century lived in the lands between the Caspian Sea and Farab (Karachuk-Otrar) and Isfijab (today called Sayram) and in the prairies of Manghishlak. They were neighbours with the Muslim countries in the south. The border at Mavaraunnahr begins from the desert south of Bukhara and extends to Isfijab (Sayram). Savran, which is 50 kilometres to Yasi (today Turkistan), was the border city of Muslims against the Oghuz Turks.¹⁶

The Oghuz Turks had three cities in the middle of the 10th century. These were Yani Kand (Yangi Kend), Jand and Juvara-Huvara. Afterwards, Savran (Sapran), Karachuk, Karnak, Sighnak (today called Sighanak), Sut-kand (Sidgun) and Barchinligh Kant (Barshinkant) were added. They were surrounded by Karatavs (Karadaghlar).¹⁷

Today, these cities are in a region surrounded by Karatavs, 50 kilometres west of Turkistan at the coasts of Syr Darya in Southern Kazakhstan. This is the longest and highest mountain range in the region. This smooth ground is almost a desert except for the Syr Darya portion which suddenly rises with these mountains. Beyond the mountains there is the Badbakht Dala Desert, which is 700 kilometres long between the river basin Chu at the border of Jambil (Taraz) Oblusu and Chimkant Oblusu and Jaskazghan Oblusu.

According to the information given by Al-Idrisi, the Oghuz Turks had built firm cities in the desert and dealt in farming, trading and handicrafts. According to Kashgharli Mahmud, the Oghuz Turks called Syr Darya Oghuz, Savran, Sighanak, Sut Kant and Karnak important cities. The people who lived in these cities did not fight and migrate to other places. For this reason they were called Yatuks (in Kazakh Jatuk, in Turkish Yatak). Yatak meant not nomad, but poor¹⁸ and in Turkish lazy.¹⁹

¹³ Agacanov 2002: 334.

¹⁴ Agacanov 2002: 113.

¹⁵ S mer 1980: 26.

¹⁶ S mer 1980: 26–34.

¹⁷ S mer 1994: 87.

¹⁸ Tolstov 1947: 55.

¹⁹ S mer 1994: 87.

In the first quarter of the 13th century Ozkent, Ashnas and Otrar were included in the cities mentioned in records. In spite of the continuous migrations of Oghuz Turks, besides the ones who lived in the cities along Syr Darya (Sayhun) there was another crowded group of Oghuz Turks who were nomads. At the beginning of the Mongol invasion (1218) the crowded, prosperous and active cities from west to east were Yani Kand (Shaher Kant), Jand, Ribatat (Ribatlar), Barchinligh, Ozkand, Sarban, Karachuk, Sughnak, Karnak, Yasi, Sut Kand. Besides, there were also other towns, villages and fortresses.²⁰

The place where the Oghuz Turks lived together and congregated was the entrance of the River Syr (Syr Darya) to the middle of its path and the lands along the river towards the north. Besides that, the Karachuk Mountains (today Karatavlar) beginning from Isficab (today Sayram) parallel to Syr Darya, was a region where a large group of Oghuz Turks lived. The winter place and capital of the Yabghu of Oghuz Turks was al-Madinat al-Jadida, al-Karyat al-Hadisa of the Arabs and Dehe Nav of the Persians, in Turkish written works of the 12th century known as Yange Kant (Yani Kant) which Kazakhs today call Jane Kant.²¹ Jand City was near Yanghi Kant (approximately 500–600 kilometres south).

The Oghuz Turks or Turkmen were under the command of the Seljuks and afterwards migrated to Iran, Iraq and Anatolia in large groups. The precise time of their migration is unknown. But historians think that some of the tribes settled in the Mavaraunnahr region in the middle of the 9th century and the beginning of the 11th century. Another large group had come after the death of Seljuk Bey and after their defeat against the Syr Darya Yabghu State. For this reason, the groups who subjected to the Seljuks are believed to have lived as nomads at the lower part of Syr Darya until 1010.²²

At the time when the Mongolians invaded Central Asia in the second half of the 12th century, another big group of them continued to live in the region extending from Bukhara to Jand and Yangi Kant.²³ Oghuz Turks who lived as citizens, villagers, nomads and semi-nomads dealt in agriculture, fishing and stock-breeding.²⁴ The cities of the Oghuz Turks along Syr Darya were almost completely ruined after the Mongol invasion. After the interior wars of the Mongols, all the people were scattered and never came together again.²⁵

The locations of these cities were unknown until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1990. We knew only a few of them by the publications of Russian archaeologists.²⁶ We do not know their locations even today. Excluding Savran, Karnak, Sighanak and Turkistan (Yasi) it is also very difficult to reach most of these cities. The city of Jand, which is the subject of our paper, is known by Kazakh historians and archaeologists to be in Kazakhstan, but neither an excavation nor a publication has been made on the subject.²⁷

²⁰ Sümer 1994: 88.

²¹ Sümer 1980: 26–34, Şeşen 2001: 104.

²² Agacanov 2002: 272.

²³ Sümer 1980: 111

²⁴ Agacanov 2002: 113.

²⁵ Sümer 1994: 88–89.

²⁶ Tolstov 1947: 55–102, Jirmunskiy 1961: 471–483.

²⁷ Tanırbergen 2002, Parlak 2005: 88–111.

In this paper we provide information about the city of Jand, which we explored during our investigations in “The Project of the Inventory of the Turkish Buildings in Foreign Countries” which is carried on by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Association). In the 2003–2004 education period we taught in The International Kazakh-Turkish Khoja Ahmad Yasavi University. At the same time we undertook investigations in Ancient Oghuz, Karluk Yaghma, Chighil, Tuhsi, in the lands where the Karakhans and Great Seljuks resided (including the Yadisü region and Chu river basin) which are in Kazakhstan today. We presented the information about Jand for the first time in the academic world in the “Symposium of International Globalization and Turkish Culture” organized by the Kirghiz-Turkish Manas University from 9–11 November 2005 in Bishkek, with the name “The Lost City”, from 2–6 May 2006, in the “Symposium of the 10th Excavation Results of The Turkish Period and Central Asia and Memoirs for Prof. Dr H. Örcün Barışta” which was organized by Gazi University, Faculty of Science-Literature, Department of Art History, and in the “Symposium of Jenghiz Khan and His Sons” organized by Istanbul University, Turkology Investigations Institute (Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü) from 7–8 December 2006 and delivered the papers for publication. But unfortunately, none of them has been published. So we published the information partially in the book *Doğumunun 65. Yılında Prof. Dr Ahmet Özgiray'a Armağan, Tarihin İçinden* (A gift for the 65th birthday of Professor Dr Ahmet Özgiray: A history), İstanbul 2006, pp. 179–217. However, the photos are not printed and there are some missing details in footnotes also. So we checked our study again and made a part of it ready for publication here.

The Oghuz Yabghu period of city Jand and its position in the great Seljukian history

The city of Jand is located between the Kyzylorda Oblusu in Jalagash Avdani and the Avuls of Akkir-Jane Akkolga (Yeni Akkolga Köyleri [New Akkolgha Villages]). If you come from Turkistan, first you reach the Kyzylorda (400 kilometres), then you come to Jalagash Avdani which is 150 kilometres away. It is 150 kilometres away from Jalagash-Akkir and turning to the south you reach Jand after approximately 60–75 kilometres. It is 4–5 kilometres far from Syr Darya, but it is in the middle of the desert.

Although Vassiliy Vladimirovich Barthold describes it as the ruins of Hişt-Kala, 16–20 miles away from Percovsk in the town of Tumarutkul, it is impossible to find it with this information.²⁸ Sergey Grigoryevich Agacanov says that, in the Middle Ages, Jand was at the ruins of Jan-Kala, downstream of Syr Darya and comes to the conclusion that Jand city is Jan Kala.²⁹ But he is unable to describe where Jan-Kala is. He also says that the ruins of Yanghikant today are in the south of the Kazalinsk region, in Jankent at the left side of Syr Darya. Till the middle of the 18th century, Jankent was still defended by the city walls remaining from the ancient city (Yanghikent). Among the native people there was the rumour that *jankent* dispersed because of snake attacks³⁰ and describes Yanghi Kant (Yani kant) as Jankant.

²⁸ Barthold 1981: 228.

²⁹ Agacanov 2002: 110–111

³⁰ Agacanov 2002: 111

The famous Arabic geographers Ibn Havkal and Idrisi write about Syr Darya, which they call Shash, saying that it goes down to Jand city. This river is formed by the gathering of the rivers that flow from the Turkish lands. These rivers come together near Ozkend. Other rivers also flow into them. After they all come together they flow to Ahsikent and then to Khojand, Bunkent, Sutkend and Farab. After the Sabran border, it flows through the prairie which is near the Oghuz Turks' land and comes 3 kilometres near Al-karyatu'l-hadisa (Yanikant). It flows to Lake Kharezmi which was two days distance from Al-karyat Al-hadisa. Al-karyat Al-hadisa was the capital of the Oghuz Turks, although Muslims lived there too. The Oghuz ruler lived there in winter. Nearby is Kahand and Hvara where Muslims lived. These places were under the sovereignty of Oghuz Turks. It was ten days long distance from Kharezmi. Al-karyatu'l-hadisa (Yaniköy) was twenty days long distance from Farab.³¹ Ibn Havkal tells about Yanghi Kent that Jand and Hvara are near here, and the Muslims in both places are under the sovereignty of Oghuz Sultan. The largest of the above-mentioned places is Al-karyatu'l-hadisa. Yanghi Kent is larger than Jand.³²

Cemal Karşı, writing about the city in 672 (1273), recorded that Jand had been a big city, but then it was disturbed and ruined. On the other hand Jand was a place for trade and many merchants were coming there and everything was bought and sold in its bazaars. He also says that he had met with Sheikh Kamaladdin of Signak who was known as Sheikh Baba in Turkman lands.³³

It is not mentioned definitely in sources when and who had established Jand. But Barthold says that Jand, Yanghikent (Yanikent) and Hvara were storehouses in trading activities in Central Asia in the 10th century. The Muslims who lived there had migrated from Mavaraunnahr. These cities were ruled by the Oghuz Turks who were not Muslims yet. The people were busy with trade. The Muslim merchants were keeping up with the commerce colonization customs which Soghuds had established in the Turkish prairies.³⁴

In the 10th century, people of Jand were not Muslims yet and were subjected to Oghuz Yabghu paying tributes.³⁵ But in the last quarter of the 10th century, their relations with Oghuz Yabghu were severed because of his increasing power and authority. Seljuk bin Dukak, who was subashi (commander) in the army, with the epithet Tamiryaligh (Demir Yaylı), probably because of Yabghu's wife's provocation, migrated to Jand from Kharezmi with his herd and family belonging to the Kinik tribe of Oghuz Turks. He accepted Islam and saved the Muslim people from paying tributes to the non-Muslim Oghuz Yabghu.³⁶

At the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century the taxes in the state of Syr Darya Yabghu were collected regularly. They were collected both from the citizens and the nomads in the Syr Darya region. These taxes were called *Kharach*. *Kharach* was the *sarana*, the tax taken as the cost for the usage of the land. In other words the Syr Darya Yabghus, depending upon the land rights, were asking for taxes from nomadic Oghuz Turks.

In another way, this was evidence that Oghuz Turks had proprietorship of the land. According to Oghuznama, the taxes were sometimes collected a few years before from the people of Yanghi kent and Jand. The nomadic Oghuz Turks were paying their taxes annually to the Syr Darya Yabghus. The collecting of taxes was done in a campaign-like way, rather than in a peaceful fashion. The tax collectors had private troops of a thousand cavalymen. If any refusal occurred, the Yabghu himself sent his troops against the rebels. According to Maliknama, sometimes people rose in rebellion because of Yabghu's taxes.³⁷

The reasons for the fights between the tax collectors of Yabghu and the people of Jand were the disagreements between them. Seljuk Bey refused to pay any taxes and demanded the abolishment of the taxes for the Muslim people in the region. This opposition of Seljuk Bey was supported by the people of Jand who were discontented with the general policy of the Syr Darya State Yabghu. Seljuk Bey was supported by the people of the region physically and militarily. He formed troops of cavalymen from the Turkmen volunteers. People who didn't want to pay taxes participated in this rebellion and chased the tax collectors. Consequently, the Seljuks who rebelled with the support of the people of Jand began to prepare for a war against the Oghuz Yabghu state. In one of these fights, the cavalymen of Seljuk Bey drew away the enemy troops that were on camels. The battles afterwards resulted with the victory of Seljuks. Thus, Seljuk Bey conquered the city of Jand.³⁸

Seljuk bin Dukak became very famous after he started the holy war against the non-Muslim Turks. Thus he was called by the epithet Al-maliku'l-ghazi. Seljuk Bey's son Tughrul and Chaghri Bey's father Mikail were probably martyred in a holy war against the Kipchaks so his son Arslan ascended throne. But Arslan was enslaved by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.³⁹ Seljuk Bey's date of death is unknown. He was supposedly over 100 or 107 years old when he died in Jand, and he was buried there. Mehmet Altay Köymen says that Seljuk Bey might have lived between the years 900 and 1007.⁴⁰ Mikail's sons and his grandchildren Tughrul and Chaghri Beys took his place.⁴¹

According to V. V. Barthold, the people who lived along the lower part of the river (Seyhun), because of the geographical characteristics of the land, preserved their freedom for a long time. After the 10th century, the entrance of the river came into the possession of Muslims by the assistance of Seljuk Bey.⁴² Although Yanikand was nearby the capital of Jand, Jand was considered as the *uch* (border) city. The cities Jand and Savran along the Syr Darya were the two *uch* cities of the Oghuz Turks.⁴³

According to S. G. Agacanov, Jand was in the region between Harezmi and Mavaraunnahr, which was under the sovereignty of Oghuz Yabghu State. The people around Jand were citizens or nomads. There were merchants and craftsmen in Jand and in the cities downstream of Syr Darya.

³¹ Şeşen 2001: 103–104, 175.

³² Şeşen 2001: 200.

³³ Sümer 1980: 572.

³⁴ Barthold 1975: 79.

³⁵ Yazıcı 2002: 207.

³⁶ Sümer 1980: 61–62, Barthold 1981: 325, Köymen 1993: 6–36, Agacanov 2002: 243–270.

³⁷ Agacanov 2002: 263–264.

³⁸ Agacanov 2002: 263–264.

³⁹ Köymen 1993: 115–116.

⁴⁰ Köymen 1993: 34.

⁴¹ Barthold 1981: 325, Sümer 1980: 67, Köymen 1993: 6–36, Özyaydın 1993: 359, Agacanov 2002: 261–262.

⁴² Barthold 1981: 229.

⁴³ Köymen 1993: 18–19.

The people in the fortresses Kharezm and Mavaraunnahr nearby the Jand region were generally of ghazis (war veterans) and volunteers. There were Turks among these Muslim people who did not hesitate to fight for their beliefs. They raided the idolatrous Oghuz Turks continuously. Besides capturing slaves, they also plundered during these attacks.⁴⁴

After the death of Seljuk Bey, the Seljuks left Jand and settled in the Nur town (Nure Bukhara) between Samarkand and Bukhara, which was assigned to them by Samanians because of the constraints of Karakhans and Abu'l-Favaris Shah Malik bin Ali al-Berani of the Ghaznavids.⁴⁵

The city of Jand, after the Seljuks left it, came into the possession of their former enemy Abu'l-Favaris Shah Malik bin Ali al-Berani. He was the son of the ruler of Yangi Kent, Ali Khan.⁴⁶ Ali Khan had trained Shah Malik to be his regent and gave him the name Kilich Arslan.⁴⁷ Sultan Masud the Ghaznavid had concluded an alliance with Shah Malik against Karakhans and the rebellious governors of Kharezm. In 1038, Abu'l-Favaris Shah Malik was designated as the governor of Kharezm by Sultan Masud and he removed Ismail the son of Kharezm Altuntash. So Ismail asked assistance from the Seljuks. Abu'l-Favaris Shah Malik beat Chagri Bey afterwards and escaped to Makran to take refuge with the Ghaznavids.⁴⁸ Thus Jand came into the possession of the Seljuks again. Shah Malik was captured and killed in 1042–1043.⁴⁹

However, hostilities began among the Oghuz Turks. This caused the collapse of the Oghuz Yabghu State. This event began in 1043 and consequently the Oghuz Yabghu State was demolished.⁵⁰ So, we could say that in the first quarter of the 11th century Jand was out of the Seljuks' possession and historians say that after the death of Seljuk Bey it was out of the possession of Seljuk Bey between the years 1010 and 1032.⁵¹

Jand came into the possession of Kipchacs after the Seljuks left and went towards Iran and west. But the Seljuks never forgot it because they considered it as the origin of their state and for the reason that the grave of Seljuk Bey was there.⁵² When Sultan Alparslan went for the Kharezm and Manghishlak campaign in 1065, he went to Jand and visited the grave of his grandfather, who had given his name to the dynasty. The khan of Jand welcomed his gifts and showed him obedience. So he left the khan in his position.⁵³ Sultan Sanjar fortified the city of Jand, which he considered as a battle city. In a letter he sent to the Abbasid caliph, he wrote that the fact that lots of non-Muslims had been killed was good news for him.⁵⁴

Jand was under the control of the Kharizmshahs in the period of Sultan Atsiz (1128–1156). It became one of the three important border cities during the battles against the non-Muslim Kipchaks. When Kharezmshah Atsiz attempted a rebellion in 1138, Sultan Sanjar claimed that he had killed the

⁴⁴ Agacanova 2002: 263.

⁴⁵ Barthold 1981: 325, Sümer 1980: 66, 572, Özeydin 1993: 359.

⁴⁶ Köymen 1993: 153–154, Sümer 1980: 564–566.

⁴⁷ Agacanova 2007: 225.

⁴⁸ Sümer 1980: 76–77, 93–94.

⁴⁹ Barthold 1981: 377, Sümer 1980: 564, Özeydin 1993: 359, Agacanova 2002: 227–228, 298–317.

⁵⁰ Tolstov 1947: 90–92.

⁵¹ Agacanova 2002: 272.

⁵² Sümer 1980: 67.

⁵³ Barthold 1981: 416, Sümer 1980: 101, 649, Köymen 1992: 41.

⁵⁴ Barthold 1981: 416, Özeydin 1993: 359.

Muslims in Jand and Manghishlak and the Muslim warriors who fought against the non-Muslims. Atsiz was beaten in battle (1138). In his second attempt at rebellion in 1143 he was again beaten and Jand went under the sovereignty of the Seljuks. But Atsiz didn't quail and in 1145 conquered Jand again which was considered to be as ummahate bikae dunya and muazzamate sughure İslam (one of the foundations of the existence and the best place of the Islamic borders). In 1147 Sultan Sanjar conquered the city again. In 1152 it was conquered by Kamaladdin bin Aslan, the grandchild of Aslan Khan Muhammad from Karakhans, but Atsiz conquered it back and designated his son İlaslan as the governor. After that Jand was ruled by the governors designated by Kharezmshahs. After İlaslan, Alaaddin Tekish came. In 1152, Sultan Atsiz, then in 1195 Alaaddin Tekish, then in 1209 Alaaddin Muhammad used the city of Jand as a military base during the campaigns against the Kipchaks.⁵⁵

In 1220, Jand was occupied by Genghis Khan's armies. According to V. V. Barthold, Kutlugh Khan, the governor of Janph and Yangikent couldn't resist the Mongols and escaped to Kharezm. According to Nasavi, Kutlugh Khan had stopped and stayed in Sharkent (Yanikent) with his army of 10 thousand soldiers. Chin Temur was sent as envoy to the people of Ashanas, who had resisted against the Mongols, but was not welcomed by the people. He warned them of what had happened to Sighanak and promised that the Mongols would withdraw from Jand so was able to return. But at that time, despite his soldiers' wish to rest, Genghis Khan's son Chuchi attacked Jand on 20 April 1220. Although they closed the doors of the city they couldn't resist. The Mongols put ladders on the walls and occupied the city. They pulled the people out of the city and plundered everywhere for nine days. Only the ones who had made Chin Temur angry were executed. Ali Hoja of Bukhara, who was a faithful supporter of Genghis Khan, was designated as governor of Jand and he ruled the city until he died. Genghis Khan's elder son Chuchi stayed there for a year. The following year, he arranged a campaign on Kharezm. A small army was sent to Sharkent (Yanikent) and conquered the city without any defense.⁵⁶ Chuchi used Jand as a military base during his campaigns on Ghurghench. All the lands from Otrar to Jand and all the places along the Syr Darya including Sighnak, Uzkend, Barchinlighkend and Ashnas were conquered by Chuchi. During the Mongol period (1206–1270) and Chaghatais (1220–1370), it maintained its existence as a moderate city.⁵⁷ After the 14th century no one mentioned it.

In the period of the Oghuz Turks, the Aral Sea was known as Jand Lake. Jand, which was nearby the sea, was on the road from the east to Kharezm and for that reason it was an important trade centre and a fortress of the region. Yakut, one of the historians of the Abbasi period notes that the city was a big centre in the 13th century and the people were from the religious branches of Islam, Sunni or Khanafi. Ya'kub bin Shirine'l-Jundi, who was a poet and *kadı* (judge), Abu Nasr Ahmad bin fazl bin Musa al-Jandi and the writer of *Nafhatu'r-ruh va tuhfatu'l-futuh Muayyidu'd-din Al-jandi* were trained here. In addition, Kamaladdine Kharezmi, who was known by the epithet of Sheikh Baba died and was buried here in 1273.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Barthold 1981: 410–468, Özeydin 1993: 360.

⁵⁶ Barthold 1981: 509–510.

⁵⁷ Barthold 1981: 510–644, Özeydin 1993: 360.

⁵⁸ Özeydin 1993: 360.

Jand in Turkish sources is described as a historic city which is absent today.⁵⁹ However, Jand is a city where gazelles still stroll. Although it is near the Syr Darya it has remained in a desert region. Because it is very hard to reach there without knowing its exact location, it is impossible to go there. After about 200 kilometres from the city, you reach Uzbekistan. After the Uzbekistan border the Kyzyl Kum Desert starts. In other words, the city is at the beginning of Kyzyl Kum Desert. Thus in ancient maps it is shown inside the Kyzyl Kum Desert.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, because it has remained in the desert it is abandoned (Ill. 1).

As the authorities of the Jalaghash Avdani Museum say, the city was established on an area of 44 hectares, the same people say that at the south of the city there are Kurghans of Tokuz Kent and Oygharak which had remained from the Saka's (Iskit) period.

The city is composed of three parts: the interior fortress, the exterior fortress (Shahristan) and Rabat. In the interior fortress, there is a mosque, a big building like a palace and a turba which has remained from Seljuk Bey's period, named as Karavul (watchman) among people because of its lonely position.

It is understood that the exterior fortress is surrounded by a city wall. Today we can see the adobe foundations of the city walls (Ill. 1). There are many ruins between the interior fortress and the exterior fortress. Among these the foundation of a structure from adobe which we suppose could be a hamam (bath) are still standing. Besides, there are a lot of structures made up of square-shaped adobe and bricks. The scattered bricks are in dimensions of 24 × 24 × 5 centimetres. There are also three turbas with a part of their walls still standing. However, none of these buildings is firm. From the turquoise tile pieces and green glazed single colour turquoise ceramics scattered all around and from single coloured green glazed oil lamps and from the findings which are almost in complete form it is understood that some buildings in that time were ornamented by tiles. The metal oil lamp, pieces of swords and daggers and rusty coins indicate that if a small excavation is made, many more things can be found (Ills 7–10).

Rabat is expanded over a large area. In those years we suppose that Rabat was expanded to the Syr Darya river which was at the south of the city. There are many ruins of buildings in Rabat and there is a caravanserai 3–4 kilometres west of the interior fortress.

The Caravanserai of Jand

The Caravanserai is located in Rabat outside of the city. It is 3–4 kilometres west of Seljuk Bey's *turba* (tomb) (Ill. 1). This building, which is composed of two sections, takes place in a smooth plain in the desert. The first is the courtyard of which the foundations can be seen collapsed to the ground level and the other is beyond that. The frontal section has the dimensions of 25 × 35 metres. From its ruins can be figured out that it had a portal towards the east (Ill. 1).

⁵⁹ Özaydın 1993: 359.

⁶⁰ Köymen 1993: Map.



Ill. 1.
Jand, a view of the exterior city walls extending from east to west; phot. Bekir Deniz, 2004

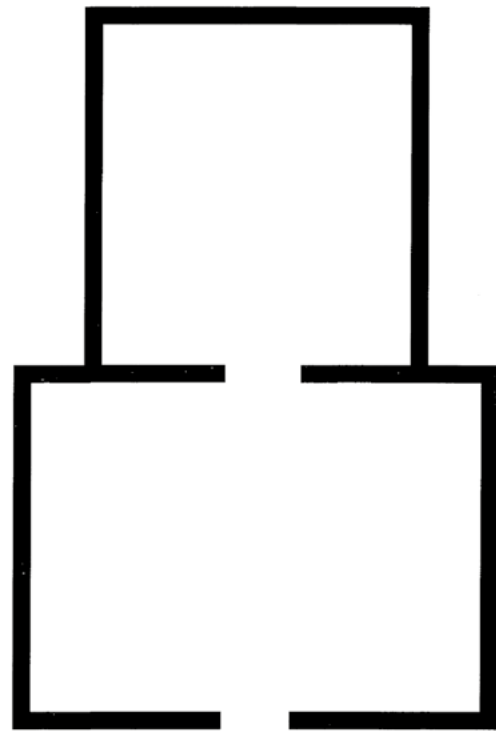
The second section has been constructed with adobe. The adobes were in dimensions of 32 × 22 × 8 centimetres. The severely ruined Caravanserai has a rectangular plan (Ills 2–5). You enter from a portal. There are two rooms at both sides of the door which overlap outside. From the ruins, it is understood that these rooms were covered with domes of which the crossings were maintained by pendants. You supposedly enter them from inside the building. There is a large veranda behind the door. You enter the building from a second portal behind the veranda.

There is an open courtyard at the middle of the building. There are four verandas at both the south and north sides of this almost square, rectangular courtyard. These verandas are divided in two parts by an arch at the middle. The frontal sections are covered with a vault and the squared sections behind with domes. Although they are badly ruined it can be seen that the crossings of the domes are maintained by pendants. At the west side of the courtyard there are five rooms covered with domes which are separated by a wall. The crossings of the domes in this section, which was called *Mehmankhana* (*guesthouse*) are maintained by pendants as it was with the other domes of the building. Today we can see an opening at the middle of the wall on the west inside the third room (Ill. 4). There isn't any decoration inside or outside the building.

There isn't any inscription on the construction date of the Caravanserai. It has a plan similar to the caravanserais which the Great Seljuks built in Mavaraunnahr and the Anatolian Seljuks built in Anatolia which have two sections both covered and uncovered. It looks like the Rabate Sharif (1114–1115) (Ill. 5),⁶¹ the Caravanserai of Ode Moguen and the Caravanserai Al-asker on the Merv-Kharezem road in the Karakhans period dated in the 11th–12th centuries. It has a similarity to the Caravanserai of Ode Morguen by having a door at the back (Ill. 6).⁶² The Kyzyloren Caravanserai on the Konya–Beyshahir road, constructed in 1206, and the Kyrkghoz Caravanserai constructed in the middle of the 13th century have very similar plans with the

⁶¹ Aslanapa 1972a: 96.

⁶² Kuyulu 1996: 51, 79.

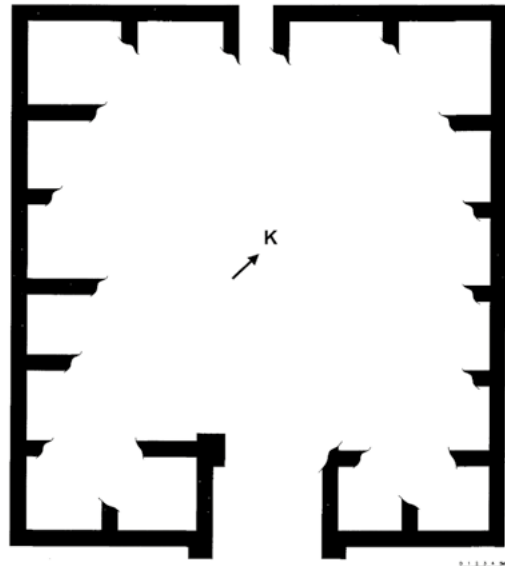


III. 2.

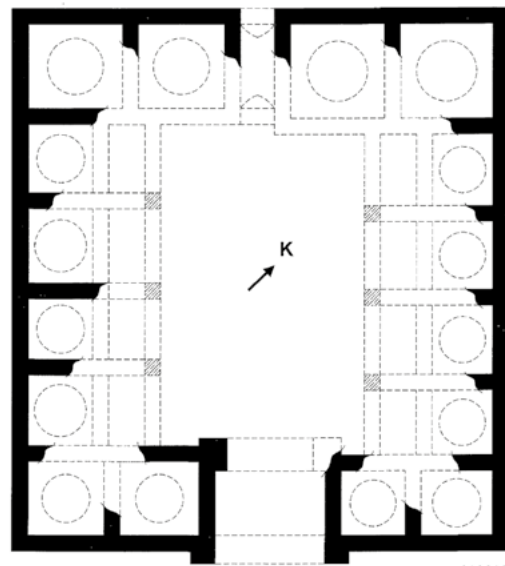
III. 2.
Jand, Rabat, plan of the Caravanserai;
B. Deniz, 2005

III. 3.
Jand, Rabat, Caravanserai, plan of the second section;
B. Deniz, 2005

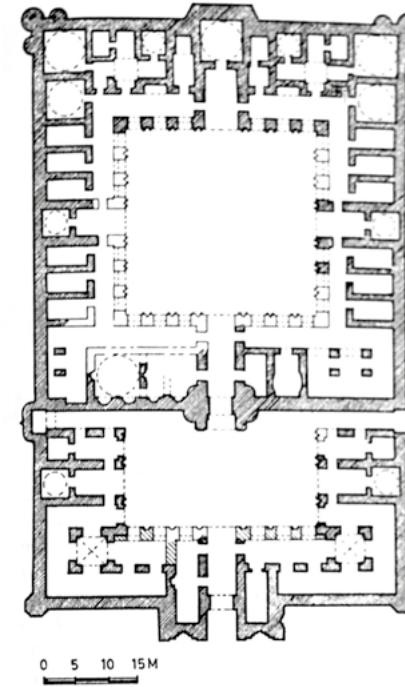
III. 4.
Jand, Rabat, Caravanserai, second section,
the restitution plan; B. Deniz, 2005



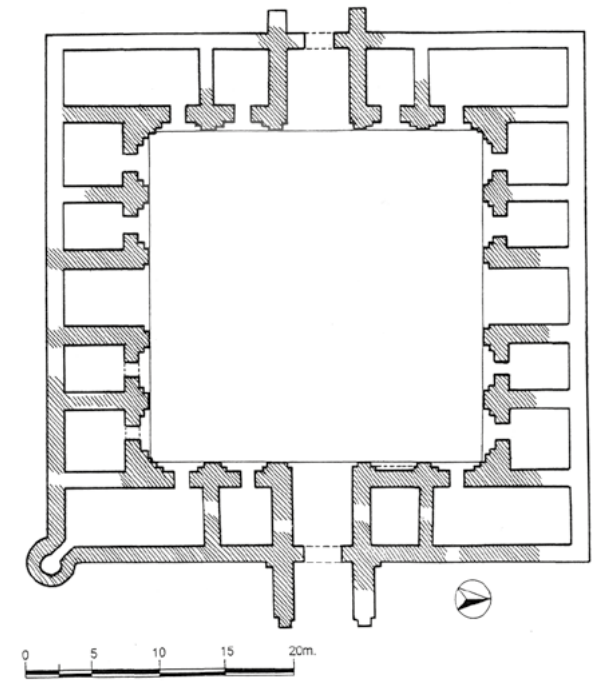
III. 3.



III. 4.



III. 5.
Ribat-ı Şerif (Nişapur-Merv), plan;
from Oktay Aslanapa



III. 6.
The plan of the Ode Morguen Caravanserai
(Turkmenistan); from Yüksel Sayan

Jand Caravanserai.⁶³ By looking at the construction materials and features of its plan we can say that this Caravanserai in Jand might have been the pioneer of the buildings in Anatolia that have been constructed between the 10th and 13th centuries.

Evaluation and conclusion

At the time, Jand was an important city which the Great Seljuk State was to establish and at this period it is an important centre, like a capital city in Turkish history. Besides the *turba* of Seljuk Bey, the mosque and the palace there are some other buildings like other *turbas* and a Caravanserai in the city which is now in a deserted area out of sight (Ill. 1).

All these buildings were constructed from adobes and bricks. The adobes are approximately 35 × 15 × 6, 33 × 25 × 5, 43 × 30 × 8 and 22 × 24 × 8 centimetres and the bricks are 24 × 24 × 5 centimetres in dimensions. The adobes used in palaces were in the same dimensions with the bricks. The dimensions of the bricks are the same as those used in Anatolian Seljuk architecture.⁶⁴ It is a very special feature to use pebble in the clay for the material to be used. In making adobe the branches of lemur type trees were used, not straw as in Anatolia.

⁶³ Aslanapa 1972b: 147, 161.

⁶⁴ Bakırer 1981.

The Caravanserai of Jand was important because of being located on the Silk Road and indicating that at those times there was a developed trade there. We didn't come across any information about the building, but we know that there was active trade life between the Oghuz Turks and the nearby Islamic tribes. The most important trade road through the Oghuz Turks' country was the road from Kharezm to the Itil (İdil) region (Lake Balkash-Yedisu region). In those days, it was a very active road. All geographers tell about the abundance of the Oghuz merchants. Ibn Fadlan says that he had passed through the Oghuz Turks' country with a caravan of 5000 men. The Oghuz Turks came to the cities Jurjanya and Barateghin in Kharezm and to Sabran in Mavaraunnahr when they were in peace. Sheep was the main source of trade for the Oghuz Turks. The people in Mavaraunnahr and Khorasan supplied their meat from the Oghuz Turks and Karluks. The Oghuz Turks were especially buying woven materials from the nearby Muslim countries.⁶⁵

The Caravanserai of Jand, even though its courtyard is collapsed, is composed of two sections. Its shape looks like the Kutlutepe Caravanserai or Bashana Caravanserai constructed in the Karakhans period in Central Asia, the Akchakale Caravanserai (XI–XII centuries) on the road of Merv–Amul and to Rebate Sharif (Ill. 5) constructed in 1114–1115 in the period of Seljuks, between Nishapur and Marv in the time of Abu Suja Muhammad the son of Sultan Malikshah.⁶⁶ Especially the second section of Rebate Sharif, as for its plan, has almost the same characteristics of the Caravanserai of Jand. When its plan is considered, the covered section (the existing section) of the Caravanserai of Jand looks like the Manakaldi Caravanserai of the Karakhans' period, constructed in the 7th–8th centuries and now in Kyrgyzstan and the Caravanserais of Dehistan and Al-asker in the XI–XII centuries.⁶⁷ In addition, because of having another door at the back it has similarities with the Caravanserai of Ode Morguen on the Marv–Kharezm road (Ill. 6), which belongs to Karakhans' period.⁶⁸

The Caravanserai of Jand is similar to the two-sectioned caravanserais having sections for winter and summer and constructed in the tradition of Central Asian rebats (firm buildings) in Anatolia. The caravanserais constructed in Anatolia in the period of Seljuks have four different types of plan. These are: those having only covered sections, those having both open and covered sections, those having only an open section and those having all three features. The most widespread and showy are the ones that have two sections – open and covered. In this type of building there is an open courtyard behind the veranda which you enter from a portal. At the middle of this section, which is surrounded by porches and covered sections like stores, baths, toilets etc., there is a kiosk masjid. If the masjid (small mosque without minaret) is not in the courtyard, it is over the portal or in the inner side of the veranda behind the entrance door or in the rooms on both sides of the door. There is a section for a barn where you enter from a portal behind the section for summer. The Sultan Caravanserai between Konya and Akserai (1126–1128), the

⁶⁵ Sümer 1980: 43.

⁶⁶ Aslanapa 1972a: 96.

⁶⁷ Cezar 1977: 183–213.

⁶⁸ Cezar 1977: 184–213, Kuyulu 1996: 51–79.



III. 7. Jand, ceramic pottery found during surface investigations (courtesy of Jalagash Avdanı Museum)



III. 8. Jand, glazed and unglazed ceramic pieces found during our surface investigations; phot. B. Deniz, 2004



III. 9. Jand, turquoise ceramic pieces found during our investigations; phot. B. Deniz, 2004



III. 10. Jand, copper coins found during surface investigations, 10th–13th centuries (from Jalagash Avdanı Museum); phot. B. Deniz, 2004



III. 11.
Jand, a view of the Caravanserai in Rabat from southwest; phot. B. Deniz, 2004



III. 12.
Jand, a view of the second section of the Caravanserai in Rabat from north; phot. B. Deniz, 2004



III. 13.
Jand, a view of the Caravanserai in Rabat from north (from backside); phot. B. Deniz, 2004

Sultan Caravanserai on the road between Kaysari and Malatia (1228), Alaykhan between Akserai and Navshahir (12th century), Aghzikarakhan between Akserai and Navshahir (13th century) and Zazaden Caravanserai between Konya and Ankara are some of the famous examples.

One of the same types of caravanserais, which is Kyzyloran Caravanserai on the Konya–Bayshahir road constructed in 1206 and the Kyrkghoz Caravanserai on the Burdur–Antalia road in the middle of the 13th century in the period of Ghiyasaddin Kaykhusrev II have similar construction plans with the Jand Caravanserai.⁶⁹ The Kyrkghoz Caravanserai with the barn at the back is especially similar to the Jand Caravanserai which has a covered section at its back. We can say that the Jand Caravanserai might have been a pioneer for the buildings in Anatolia as of the materials used in construction and as its plan had similarities with the caravanserais built in the period of Karakhans and the Great Seljuks in the 10th–12th centuries.

As the authorities of the museum found in their surface investigations and we saw in our two days study, single coloured green and turquoise tiles were used in the decoration of buildings in the city. In addition, it can be understood by glazed and unglazed ceramic findings that the same techniques have been used in pottery also. Materials made of iron such as oil lamps, swords and daggers give information about the social life of the period (Ils 1, 7–10).

As a conclusion, till the past few years, Jand, the city where the foundation of the Great Seljukian State was laid, as the Kazakhs say, it had been the astanas (spiritual capital) of the Seljuks, the place where Seljuk Bey died and his turba is, was an unknown city.⁷⁰ After many investigations we confirmed its location. We visited the city two times in difficult conditions. The city in its state today has a plan of three sections like all the other Turkish cities in Central Asia: the interior fortress, the exterior fortress (sharistan) and the rabat (exterior city). In the interior fortress, there is a turba (munara turba) of Seljuk Bey, a palace and a mosque. In the exterior fortress there are three buildings that we measured and suppose them to be a turba, a bath and many ruins which we couldn't figure out what they are. In Rabat, there are some collapsed buildings and a caravanserai. Besides, there are many small devices even though we do not know where they belong. Copper coins, pieces of ceramics, a metal oil lamp, a sword and dagger found in surface investigations are being exhibited in the Jalagash Museum. In addition, during our investigations we found a lot of unglazed ceramic and tile pieces and turquoise or green single coloured glazed pieces (Ils 7–13).

Because no one has touched them, by scientific investigations it will be possible to find out many buildings and documents related to the Oghuz Yabghu State and the Great Seljuks before the traces of the city walls that are still existing—even though they have collapsed to the ground—disappear. As soon as it is possible to show our respect for the Oghuz Turks and the Great Seljuks we should lay claim to the city, we should start scientific investigations and by restoring the existing buildings they should be brought back to Turkish culture once again.

* * *

⁶⁹ Aslanapa 1972a: 147, 161.

⁷⁰ Özaydın 1993: 359

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The Karakhanid Era in the context of the formation of Islamic art in Maverannahr

Elmira Gyul

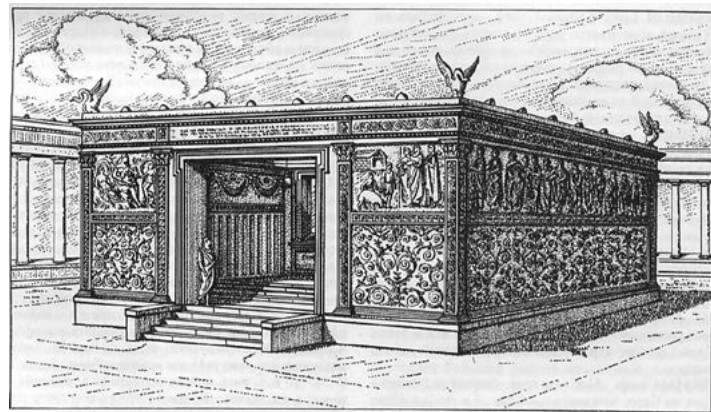
Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent



The Karakhanid era (927–1212) takes an important place in the history of art of Central Asia. At that time there was the statement of a new style of art connected with Islamic religious tradition. The period between the 10th and the beginning of the 13th century, which was the period of classical Islam, became the base for the subsequent art history of the Central Asia region up to the 19th and 20th centuries when art processes came under the influence of European culture.

The art of the 10th–13th centuries was studied by many scholars, at the same time there are many questions which require additional studying or updating. I wish to direct your attention to four basic points which I am considering in my report.

1. Islamic art, unlike the religion itself, was not an imported quality in Central Asia—it was formed as a synthesis of the introduced and local art traditions.
2. Turkic people have played a considerable role in the foundation of Islamic art.
3. There is an opinion about prohibitions by Islam of images of live beings, however artworks show that the figurative tradition did not end and remained in all centuries of Islam.
4. Along with Islamic art during this period, other art traditions remain, connected with other religions and cultures. Among them—folk art connected with various local religions, Christian art, traditions of art of the steppe world (for the first time an 'animal style') and others that testify to the tolerant relation of Islam to diverse and multicultural art phenomena. Now we will examine each argument in more detail.



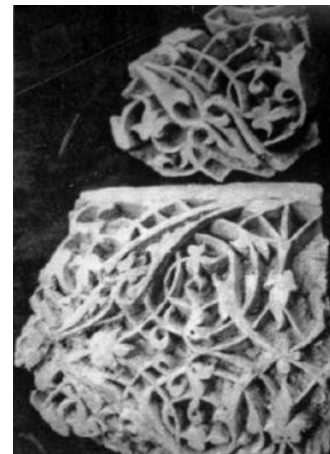
III. 1.
Altar of August, Roma, 1st c. BC



III. 2.
Mosaic of Saint Constance Christian Church, 4th c.



III. 3.
Décor of the Kubbat as-Sakhra Mosque



III. 4.
Covered terracotta from Karakhanids Shahi-Zinda, first half of the 11th c.



III. 5.
More late décor of Bukhara (mausoleum Buyan Kuli Khan, 14th c.) and Khiva (19th c.) monuments

Ills 1–5.
The genesis of the *islimi* style is connected to the influence of Hellenistic heritage. Canons of Roman and Byzantine ornaments we see in the décor of the first mosques (for example Kubbat as-Sakhra in Jerusalem, 7–8th c.). This is a motif of scrolling vines, which has become the main element in Muslim ornamentation. Spiral compositions in Muslim sacral architecture really are a continuation of a décor of pre-Christian, Roman Christian and Byzantine temples where the leading role belonged to a motif of a grapevine



Ills 6–8.
Arabesques (*islimi* décor): West-East Symbiosis Roman-Byzantine spiral ornament in a connection with a local motif of bifurcated wavy leaf has become a basis of the *islimi* style. Evolution of bifurcated wavy leaf: on artworks from Pazyryk, Mountain Altai, 5th c. BC, on toreutics of Turkic-Soghdian epoch (Soghdiana, 7th c.), and, finally, in Muslim ornamentation. The genesis of *islimi* style we can also connect with art traditions of nomad culture of Eurasia

1. We often see statements that Arabs have brought new art and new ornaments to Central Asia. For example, some scholars till now consider *islimi* and *girich* patterns as Arabian. Meanwhile, it is known that in the period of the Arab caliphate, the art of Central Asia continued pre-Islamic trends, and actually Islamic art began to be formed only after the fall of the caliphate. Even then, Islamic art developed as a mixture of introduced and local traditions. Thus, Islamic art couldn't be regarded as being "imported" into Central Asia.

As an example we can use the brightest sample of Islamic art—the *islimi* pattern (Ills 1–5), an expression of heavenly perfection, paradise and an everlasting garden (it is known as arabesque or Arabian, too).¹ In an *islimi*, the basis is a motif of scrolling vines and a bifurcated (doubled) wavy leaf (Ills 6–8). This pattern appears in Karakhanid architectural decor (carved terracotta) in the 10th–11th centuries. Its genesis is connected to the influence of Hellenistic heritage—as Dr L. Rempel wrote, "the wavy pattern is a basic element of Hellenistic ornaments and it makes a basis of all vegetal ornaments in Islamic art."² Spiral compositions in Muslim sacral architecture really are a continuation of the décor of pre-Christian, Roman Christian and Byzantine temples where the leading role belonged to the motif of a grapevine. Even the content of the motif has not changed: the motif of scrolling vines as a Christian symbol of paradise is connected to the symbolic interpretation of Muslim paradise.

At the same time, the patterns close to the *islimi* style were long since characteristic of the art of Central Asia. Curls, spiral lines, bifurcated (doubled) leaves which are cut out on a skin, felt or a tree, were typical for the artistic creativity of nomads (for example, patterns on artworks from Pazyryk, Mount Altai, 5th c. BC); in the early Middle Ages toreutics was also used to make patterns showing petals, leaves and stalks in which scholars see an *islimi* prototype. The embroidery of nomads (Kazakhs, Kirghiz), far from Islamic art canons, has much in common with Muslim ornaments of the 10th–12th centuries. Judging by the above, it is quite probable that the formation of arabesque décor has been prompted not only by Hellenistic and Byzantine traditions, but also by

¹ Kühnel 1949.

² Rempel 1978: 147.

local receptions of ornamental art. This is quite natural, as each region of the Islamic world contributed its own cultural elements to the development of the global phenomenon of “Islamic art”.

2. The flowering of Muslim art in Central Asia coincides with the coming to power of Turkic dynasties. Was there an interrelation between these events? Was the Turkic factor significant in the development of art in the considered period? The answers to these questions have been inconsistent until now.

S. Khmel'nitsky noticed that “all attempts to find out special ‘Turkic elements’ in the art of Central Asia of the 11th–12th centuries had no success till now”.³ A. Khakimov writes: “though in the 10th–12th centuries Turkic dynasties played the leading role in political life, nevertheless, it is difficult to reveal or single out in the art and handicrafts traditions of Turkic or Tajik people”.⁴ L. Bretanitsky is more concrete, stating an estimation of Seljuk's role: “The might brought by nomads of Seljuk's invasion in the settled culture of the defeated people, is insignificant. Most distinctly it was shown in characteristic receptions of decorative art, in particular the motifs of the twirl”.⁵ As a result, one researcher came to the conclusion that the maintenance and style of art of the 10th–12th centuries have been too connected with religious factors, rather than ethnic, others continued to accent on that circumstance that “the addition of a new style of the Middle Ages and the contribution to it by Iranian and Turkic people is the next problem of the history of the multinational art of Central Asia”.⁶

As a rule, Muslim civilization has been perceived by scholars as a Persian-Islamic synthesis, especially after Arabs left the political arena, and Muslim culture began to associate with Persian. To a lesser extent, the term Arabic-Muslim culture has also been used in various times. However, such approaches are not objective and do not appreciate the internal dynamics of the development of art in Muslim Central Asia, nor its multi-ethnic structure.

During the considered period, Turkic people were not only representatives of nomadic culture but were a progressive society in medieval world terms. City life was not an alien concept for them. Turkic society promoted the development of town-planning, architecture, science, literature and art. Therefore, the formation of Islamic art in the context of medieval city culture cannot be considered in isolation from the Turkic factor.

The analysis of Islamic artworks gives the chance to reveal Turkic elements and to confirm active participation of Turkic people in art processes.

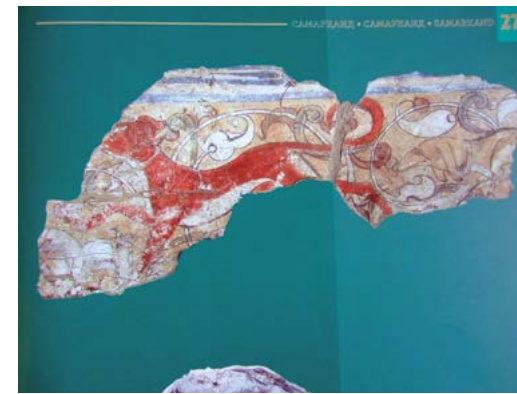
3. The period of the 10th–13th centuries, or the period of “classical” Islam, was considered as the period of the “prohibited”, directed against the portrayal of living beings. The absence of sufficient factual material surviving from that period gave scholars grounds to assert that Islam has a very limited development of fine arts. However, the fine arts of Central Asia had an old and strong tradition which could not be destroyed by sudden prohibitions.

³ Khmel'nitsky 1996: 185.

⁴ Khakimov 1983: 4.

⁵ Bretanitsky 1988: 5.

⁶ Rempel 1978: 29.



III. 9. Fragment of hunting scene on wall painting of Karakhanids' palace complex in territory of ancient Afrasiab; second half of the 12th–beginning of 13th c.



III. 10. Ceramics with the vortex-shaped rosette. Vortex-shaped rosette is an early Christian symbol personifying the appearance of a deity, it was borrowed from pagan religions. It is known that a part of the Turkic people practised Christianity (Nestorian branch). So we can connect this motif with Turkic-Christian culture

Whereas the decor of sacral architecture met the requirements of new, Islamic, aesthetics, with its aspiration to an ornamental canon, secular buildings were still decorated by subjects from real life. One of the brilliant examples is the Karakhanid palace complex in the territory of ancient Afrasiab, where several years ago the Uzbek-French expedition found unique wall paintings from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries.⁷ Here have remained portrait images and hunting scenes (Ill. 9). The portraits are quite static, but scenes with running dogs have lively and expressive drawing. Some subjects look like earlier Gaznevid ones of the beginning of the 12th century, which gives us the chance to speak about the existence of a stable manner of portraying images, or a certain art school.

Some scenes, particularly, the image of animals with vegetal ornamented backgrounds, were known in nomadic art since Antiquity (for example, a gold diadem from Kargaly, 1st–2nd centuries). Thus, in wall paintings of the Muslim Middle Ages we can see a heritage of steppe art.

In general, monumental subject painting, unlike sculpture—which was banned due to the struggle with idol adoration—was practised during all periods of the development of Muslim art. As Russian scholar O. Bolshakov remarked, “the rejection of religious painting and sculpture did not mean the rejection of any painting or its prohibition.”⁸ Subjects from court life, feasts of rulers, dancers and playing musicians, images of horsemen out hunting have remained not only in interiors of palaces, but also in applied art (ceramics, toreutics, glass and so on).

In addition we can speak about a specific Turkic style in the fine arts which can be characterized as a style of expressive realism.

Generally, the fine arts of Central Asia of the Muslim Middle Ages is a phenomenon connected with earlier periods of the development of art. Traditions of local wall-painting have played an important role in the subsequent appearance of miniature art.

⁷ Karev 2007: 44–51.

⁸ Bolshakov 1969: 153.

4. The practice during the Karakhanid epoch of Islamic art did not become an obstacle for the parallel development of pre-Islamic art trends. Ceramics decor represents the particular interest in this way. A part of its patterns is a heritage of the Soghdian epoch (for example, the stylized images of birds in round medallions with pearls), while another part comes from Christian symbols and another from Arabian culture (the Arabian calligraphy on the ceramic from Afrasiab). A considerable part of patterns on ceramics are motifs typical for nomadic art.

It is known that a part of Turkic people practised Christianity. This meant a number of typical Christian motifs appeared in ceramic decors, e.g. the vortex-shaped rosette (an early Christian symbol personifying the appearance of a deity), the palm leaf, the phoenix, the fish, the equipotential cross (the main Nestorian symbol) (Ill. 10).

The palm tree is a plant that is not native to Central Asia. However, the presence of this motif in ceramics is quite explainable if one is to consider its relation to religious attributes. In Christianity the palm branch has been connected with the image of Christ, who was met with palm branches at the entrance to Jerusalem. Nestorians of Central Asia have been compelled, obviously, to replace absent palm branches with willow branches. Nevertheless, the palm branch has remained a primordial symbol in graphic tradition. Quite often the palm leaf is combined with the vortex-shaped rosette that is quite explainable from the point of view of an accessory of both motifs to Christian symbols.

The phoenix is another ancient pagan symbol which has become popular in Christian art as an expression of the revival of Christ. In early European Christian art, a palm tree and a phoenix were often represented together, and they even had a common name in the Greek language. In Ravenna and Roman mosaics the phoenix was represented with a nimbus around the head. In Karakhanid art the image of a phoenix is seen in ceramics and toreutics. It is presented with a nimbus around the head (its main attribute) and a wreath.

As for fishes, pomegranate and the cross, all of which can be seen in the decor of Karakhanid ceramics, we should note that they cannot be attributed exclusively to Christianity. These motifs were equally important to members of other confessions. Such motifs, used in various cultures, helped to find the common points of various art and religious traditions.

The above-named examples of Christian symbols in Karakhanid art allow us to expand our understanding of the Christian art of Central Asia, where the absence of the tradition of icon images, typical for Nestorian too, was compensated for by the use of capacious symbols, and also to pay attention to the role of Nestorians in the formation of the non-iconic tradition in Islamic art.

In the art of the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century, traditions of the "animal style" still remained. On the one hand, they perfectly co-operate with so-called Islamic patterns (one example we already saw in the wall painting of the Karakhanid palace), on another they act independently.

Traditions of the animal style are presented, in particular, on plaster panel in the décor of Termez palace (12th c.): the heraldic subject with the image of a pair of lions recalls the Scythian images of animals on carved sarcophagi, felt and leather applications from the burial grounds of Mount Altai. Characteristic emphasis on the segmentation of animal bodies testi-



Ills 11-12.

A rare example of the "animal style" is the image of the panther from ceramic matrixes (stamped on a die, 11–12th c., Samarkand). Its figure is presented in a circle, which is an optimum pose for the chosen form. The given example shows preservation of the tradition of the "animal style" in the art of the Muslim Middle Ages (on the right: panther is in a Scythian "animal style")

fies to this. Such a manner was known in Iranian art, too (for example lions on the Persepolis reliefs or animals on Sasanid toreutics), but its genesis is connected with the culture of the Scythians of Central Asia.

Many images of animals on ceramics also appear on artworks of the Scythians, which testifies to the continuity of the traditions of the steppe empires. Examples are a mountain goat or a ram with symmetrically located spirals of horns (a dish, Samarkand, 10th c.), a winged deer with branching horns pointed to its back (Chach, 10th c.) and birds with open wings and so on. All these images were popular in nomadic art for a long period. Their occurrence in Karakhanid (Afrasiab, Chach) ceramics can be considered as a consequence of the settling of nomads.

Another, rare example of the "animal style" is the image of the cat (panther) from ceramic matrixes (stamped on a die, 11–12th c., Samarkand). Its figure is presented in a circle, which is an optimum pose for the chosen form. The given example shows the preservation of the tradition of the "animal style" in the art of the Muslim Middle Ages (Ills 11–12).

In conclusion I wish to underline that the Karakhanid era was the first and brightest stage in the formation of Islamic art in Maverannah. It shows a continuity of the previous art experience enriched by a new understanding of an aesthetic ideal. The political domination of Turkic people and their mass settlement in cities brought about "the Turkic factor" in the development of art processes.

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The Spanish-Muslim¹ tradition in monuments of court architecture of Christian Spain in the 14th century

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The art of medieval Spain developed as a synthesis of two cultures: Christian and Islamic. Various artistic traditions (Roman, Byzantine and Visigothic, on the one hand, and Islamic artistic tradition which was brought from North Africa and the Middle East, on the other) blended together, giving Spanish-Muslim art an individual and independent character. A new and autonomous style was born which in turn spread its influence in the opposite direction: starting in the 13th century, the influence of the Spanish-Muslim tradition moved beyond the borders of the Muslim state in Spain and began to spread back to North Africa. This influence is also evident in the artistic monuments of Christian Spain. In the history of art, the style which is based on the Spanish-Muslim tradition and has taken in elements of Romanesque, Gothic and, later, Renaissance art, is named *mudejar*.² Within its framework, two directions may be singled out: popular and court *mudejar*.³

In contrast to the architecture of the so-called popular *mudejar*, to which religious buildings are traditionally attributed and which was developing spontaneously in the territories already liberated by the Reconquista, court *mudejar* (palaces and houses of noble Spaniards) began

¹ The author of the present paper inclines to the point of view of Spanish scholars (Basilio Pavón Maldonado, Leopoldo Torres Balbas, Gonzalo Máximo Borrás Gualis), who prefer to use the term 'Spanish-Muslim artistic tradition' and 'Spanish-Muslim art' instead of 'Spanish-Moorish artistic tradition' and 'Moorish art', which are widespread in academic literature of other European countries. The concept 'Moorish art' because of its derivation has a conventional character (from one of the Berber tribe—Moors). It implies the entire medieval art of the Arabic West, thereupon Spanish-Moorish art could be considered only inside of the framework of Maghreb art as its constituent part, one of the local directions of its expression. Spanish scholars think that the term 'Spanish-Muslim' is the best one for the description of art which was born by the synthesis of two cultures: Christian and Muslim. This term is more correct than the other one which is ascribed to the definite region or to the nationality that partly participated in forming of this art.

² *Mudejar*—artistic style in Spain of the 12th–14th centuries. It is based on Moorish architecture, which is combined with Romanesque and Gothic elements (Starodub 1997).

³ This division was first introduced by the French scholar Elie Lambert (1933).



to form a little bit later on, in the 14th century, and represented the conscious desire of the Spanish nobility to adopt the Spanish-Muslim architectural tradition.

This fundamental difference is very important for a deeper understanding of the role of the Spanish-Muslim artistic tradition in court architecture of the *mudejar* style. Spanish scholars have achieved great results researching this artistic phenomenon,⁴ in Russia Tatyana Kaptereva specializes in Spanish-Muslim art,⁵ but there are still gaps in the study of court *mudejar* architecture both in European academic literature and in Russian academic literature, therefore it is expedient to look into this area of Spanish art in more detail.

In Aragón, the part of the Muslim palace Aljaferia in Saragossa⁶ which appeared on the second level of its northern wing during the reign of Pedro IV (1335–1387) can be attributed to the *mudejar* style. It included three salons connected by a corridor and the chapel of San Martín. Unfortunately, only odd parts of the palace survived (for example, a window or a panel of covered stucco) and therefore it is very difficult to imagine how this palace looked like as a whole. However, the technique and elements of Spanish-Muslim architectural decoration (pine cones, trefoil and palm branch motifs, which are widespread in Islamic art, appear here in carved stucco ornament) are noticeable. So we can say that the customer was definitely attracted by the decorative richness of Muslim interiors.

Unfortunately, few monuments of court architecture of the 14th century have survived in other Spanish provinces. Many of the houses which belonged to noble families in Castile were later transformed into monasteries. This resulted in the redevelopment and distortion of their original look. The Palace of Alfonso XI in Tordesillas (suburb of Valladolid) can serve as an example of such a transformation. It was planned in remembrance of the victory over the Muslims in the battle near Salado in 1340. The Spanish art historian Ángel González Hernández dates this monument to 1350–1354.⁷ Alfonso XI gave this palace to his son, Pedro I, after the beginning of its construction. That is why this monument is frequently named “the palace of Pedro I” in literature. The surviving part of this architectural ensemble—the courtyard—is now a part of the Convent of Santa Clara. It is connected to the Cappella Dorada (Golden Chapel). Supposedly, before the royal residence was transformed into a convent, these two premises composed the whole ensemble: a Reception or Throne Hall might have been located where the current chapel is and other premises of personal or public character were grouped around the courtyard. Such organization of internal space is a typical feature of the whole Islamic architectural tradition, Spanish-Muslim in particular. It is already highly noticeable in Aljaferia Palace in Saragossa (the



III. 1. Details of architectural decoration from Palace of Pedro IV (2nd half of the 14th c.); Saragossa (Aragón)

end of the 11th c.) where the reception hall with a throne of Muslim rulers was adjacent to the north part of the internal courtyard, and the personal chambers of the ruler and members of his family were located around this hall. This trend is even more conspicuous in the Alhambra ensemble of the Nasrid period resulting in the separation of the public part of the palace from the private one. Construction of this Muslim residence began with the building of a public part—the complex of Comares palace—by a Muslim ruler Yusuf I (1333–1353).⁸ It consists of a large court which has Comares Tower in its northern side and is named *Patio de Comares* (Comares Courtyard). The square Throne Hall is inside Comares Tower.⁹ Possibly, the Throne of the Muslims was placed here and different welcoming ceremonies were held here too. The complex of Comares Courtyard is connected with the *Patio de los Leones* (Lion Courtyard) complex via a narrow passage and stands perpendicular to it. This part was built by Muhammad V (1354–1359 and 1362–1391) and became a centre of private life. It received its name because of the fountain in the centre of the courtyard surrounded by twelve lion statues.

If we return to the description of the Alfonso XI Palace in Tordesillas, it is difficult to say whether such division between public and private premises existed there or not because of its bad security, but it is evident that the layout of this building is based on the Spanish-Muslim architectural tradition. The courtyard of Tordesillas Palace is outlined by a covered gallery which is formed by horseshoe-shaped and multi-lobed arches, two on each side. They can be divided into two groups: the origin of horseshoe-shaped arches must be those of the Córdoba Caliphate period, while the multi-lobed arches are similar to those which decorate Aljaferia Palace in Saragossa.

The interior decoration of Tordesillas Palace is also an interesting aspect. The lower part of the walls is covered with tiles of polychrome faïence with geometric ornament.¹⁰ In the 14th

⁴ *Mudejar style* has been studied since the second half of the 19th century, when scholars first attempted to define and classify *mudejar*. P. de Madrazo: “De los estilos en las artes”, *La ilustración Española y Americana* 1 (1888); V. Lamperez Romea: *Historia de la arquitectura Cristiana Española en la edad media*, Madrid 1906. Large-scale archaeological exploration by Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez in Andalusia facilitated a more deep study of the subject: M. Gómez-Moreno, *Arte Mudejar Toledano*, Madrid 1916; “El arte árabe español hasta los Almohades—arte mozárabe”, *Ars Hispania* 3, Madrid 1951. Leopoldo Torres Balbás who carried out massive excavation and restoration works in 1923–1936 on the territory of the Alhambra and Generalife is another key figure in the study of medieval Spanish art, Torres Balbás 1957, Torres Balbás 1985. Contemporary scholar Gonzálo Máximo Borrás Gualis gave a comprehensive overview of *mudejar*, Borrás Gualis 1990, Borrás Gualis 2003.

⁵ Kaptereva 1988, Kaptereva 2003.

⁶ Aljaferia was erected by the second ruler of the taifa of Saragossa Abu Jafar Ahmad ibn Suleiman (1046–1082) to commemorate the seizure of Barbastro.

⁷ González Hernández 2007: 4–21.

⁸ Yusuf I was the ruler of the Nasrid dynasty which in 1238 founded the Emirate of Granada—the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula which lasted till 1492.

⁹ The Arabian name for stained glass—*comarias*—which decorated numerous lattice windows of the tower came to mean the whole tower structure.

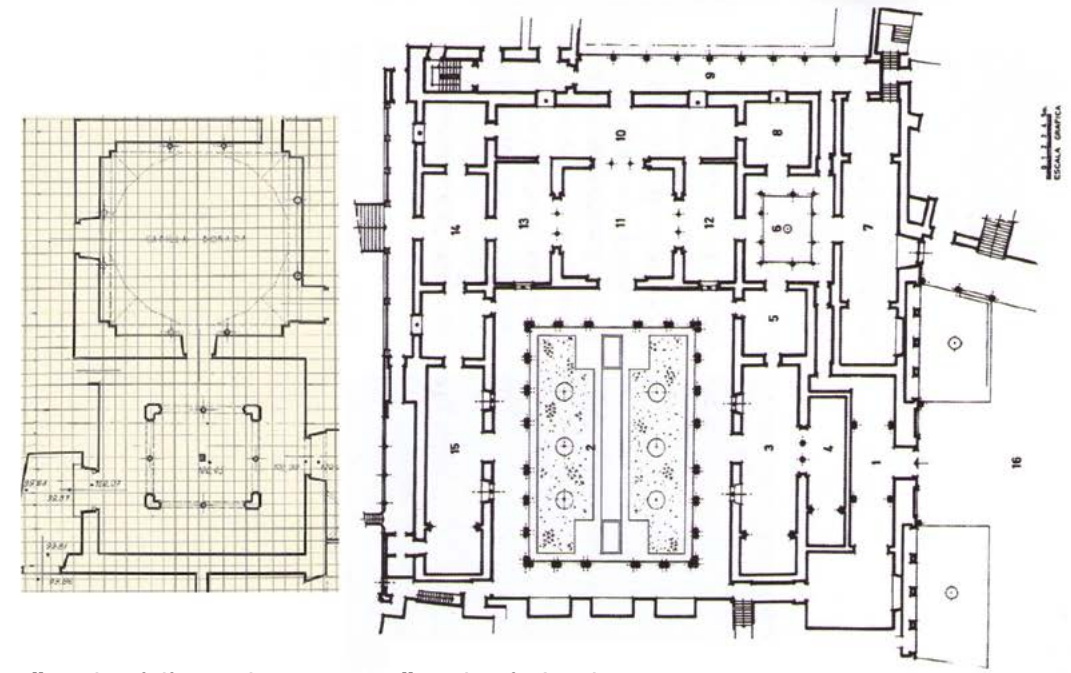
¹⁰ Such décor type in Maghreb got the name *zillij* (from Arab. ‘glazed Andalusian ceramics’)—the name of faïence painting in architectural decoration of North Africa, Spain, Portugal, countries of Latin America (Starodub 1997).



III. 2. Courtyard of the Palace of Alfonso IV (1350–1354); Tordesillas (Castile)

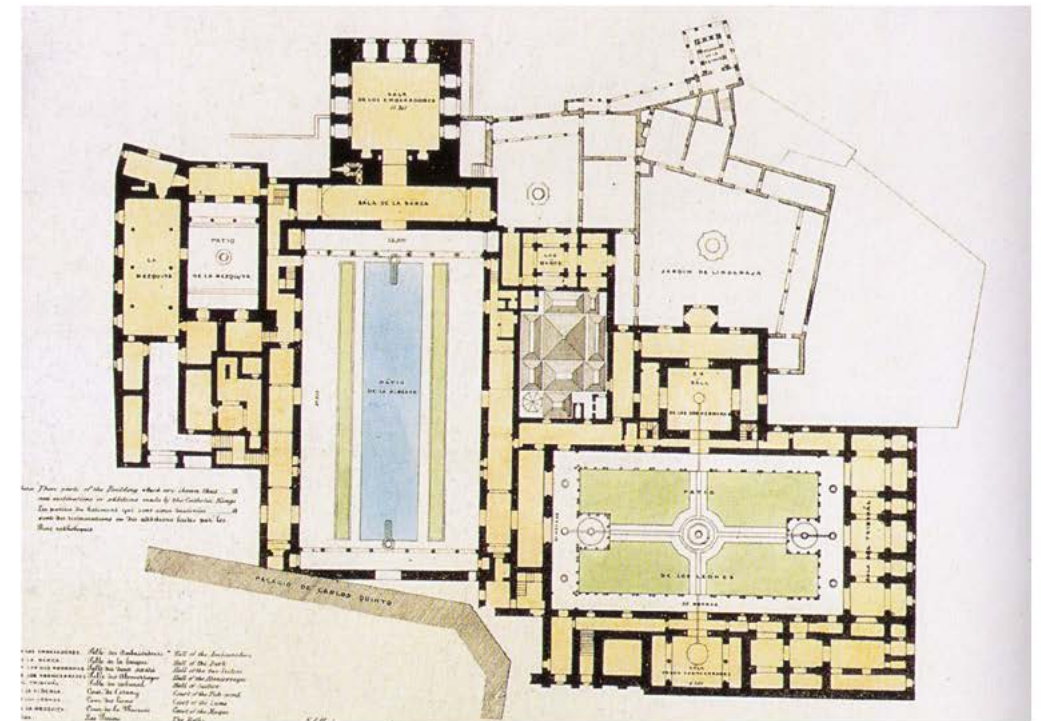
century this kind of decoration, which was brought to Spain from North Africa, spread through the whole of the Granada Emirate. It became one of the most important characteristics of the Spanish-Muslim architectural tradition. This is why it is possible to consider Granada architecture as the only source of spreading of this technique outside of Muslim territory in Spain. The upper part of the walls and tympanums of the arches are decorated with carved stucco ornament. The masters who took part in decorating this ensemble in general were guided by the Spanish-Muslim tradition of architectural decoration but adjusted it to a great extent according to the tastes of a Christian customer.

There is some stylistic similarity between Tordesillas Palace and architecture of Toledo of the 14th century. Unfortunately, monuments of court *mudejar* in Toledo are preserved to an even lesser extent. We only have fragments of stucco decoration from the palace of Maria Telles de Meneses (the Toledo governor's sister). The Spanish scholar Gonzálo Borrás Gualis dates this



III. 3. Palace of Alfonso XI, plan

III. 4. Palace of Pedro I, plan



III. 5. Alhambra, plan

building to the second half of the 14th century.¹¹ In Spanish literature this chamber is named as *Taller del Moro* which means “Moorish workshop”. A fragment of another palace which is called *Salon de Mesa* (Dining room) might also be ascribed to this historical period.¹² It was probably a part of the Illan Family Palace. There is some information about other examples of court architecture in Toledo of that period,¹³ and these facts suggest strongly that there was a large amount of construction in 14th century Toledo and it had its own school of architectural decoration. This school had its own characteristic features, among them a geometric and vegetal type of ornament which is based on circular and spiral movement. The masters of Toledo were probably involved in decorating Tordesillas Palace, which explains the resemblance between the interior decoration of Toledo monuments and the royal residence of Alfonso XI in Tordesillas.¹⁴

Mudejar appeared in Andalusia later than in other provinces. In 1364–1366 in Seville a strikingly beautiful palace of Pedro I (1350–1369), the son of Alfonso XI was built. There were a lot of subsequent reconstructions but in general it has been preserved in its original form. It is especially important because other court *mudejar* monuments have been badly preserved. Moreover, it is the first ensemble of court *mudejar* architecture in the south of Spain which became a starting point for the development of this style in southern province architecture. Therefore it is worth studying in more detail.

There are two compositional centres which organize the internal space of the whole ensemble: a large *Patio de las Doncellas* (The Courtyard of the Maidens) and a small-scale *Patio de las Muñecas* (The Courtyard of the Dolls). Public life and official welcoming ceremonies took place in *Patio de las Doncellas* and in *Salon de Embajadores* (Ambassadors' Hall) which is joined to the courtyard from the north. *Patio de las Muñecas* became the center of private life. The royal bedrooms which were made up of two parallel rooms were located around its south side. This organization of space is reminiscent of the palace complex of the Nasrid Sultans in Granada. As well as in the Alhambra, a visitor to the Seville complex cannot fully embrace the whole beauty of the place immediately but gradually discovers the enchanting variety and richness of its interior decoration by following the galleries, passages and triple arcades between the rooms.

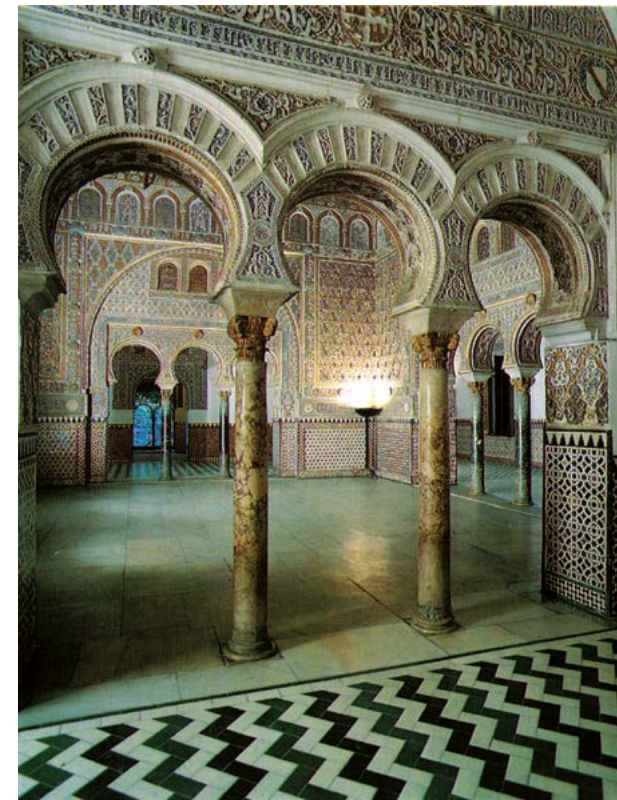
There is a wide stucco frieze over the mosaic covering. In the Muslim palaces of the Alhambra these lines of carved ornament, situated at eye-level, had an important function: they contained quotations from Muslim authors, passages from the Qur'an and mottos of the ruling dynasty. This frieze looks like a dividing line between the lower part of the wall and the rest of the top ornamental surface. It brings order and harmony to a space where there is almost nothing but decoration. In decoration of the Sevillian palace the function of dividing is only used. Most of these friezes contain inscriptions imitating Kufic script which rarely make any real sense, i.e. these inscriptions are not intended to convey a certain meaning, instead they are considered to be solely decorative elements. Subsequently, the Christian masters who were transforming

¹¹ Borrás Gualis 1990: 179.

¹² Pavón Maldonado 1973: 104.

¹³ Borrás Gualis 1990: 179.

¹⁴ Borrás Gualis 1990: 179.



III. 6.
Ambassadors' Hall (app. 1366) of
Palace of Pedro I in Alcazar, Seville
(Andalusia)

III. 7.
Fragments of architectural
decoration of Patio de los Leones;
Alhambra, Granada (Andalusia)

the Spanish-Muslim tradition would add medallions with emblems of the kingdom and royal authority into such friezes. Similar friezes also divide ornamental wall space vertically so that rectangular forms appear which are reminiscent of wall carpets. Narrower friezes outline windows and arch passages creating a clear structure of the whole ornamental space. The motif of a triple latticed window characteristic of the Alhambra also frequently appears, but here, in the Palace of King Pedro I, this motif deforms into a false window or into an arch frieze.

The resemblance can also be seen in the usage of a number of ornamental motifs which are widespread in the ornament of the Alhambra complex. These include the motifs of sea-shells, pine-cones, forked-leaves and friezes of interlacing lines. In addition to this a method of collating smooth patterns, where elements are larger and are made in higher relief, with smaller and flatter perforated patterns was applied in Seville as well as in Granada monuments. This creates the illusion of a foreground and a background, but in general, ornament of the Royal Seville residence is made in lower relief than in the Nasrid Palaces; decorative elements are much bigger; the range of ornamental motifs are poorer; empty spaces appear. Elements of vegetal ornament are much more formalized in Pedro I's Palace. Sometimes we can see that the symmetry is broken, though in the Alhambra interiors it is very strict. These changes have misrepresented the conception of the internal space of the Islamic architec-

tural tradition where light and colour were ever-present, creating an illusory environment and where architectural decoration was not a simple ornament but a complex system of various associations and metaphors.

This is a reason for questioning who the author of the Seville Palace interiors actually was. On the one hand, many elements suggest the participation of masters from Granada who were sent to Seville by Sultan Muhammad V as a token of friendship. On the other hand, the difference in the understanding of the conception and function of internal space lead us to assume that the customer was a Christian who had different tastes which influenced the construction process. Theoretically it is also possible that local masters who were working here had been to Granada and knew its tradition of architectural decoration very well. This issue is to be studied in future but in any case it is obvious that the Alhambra is one of the main sources of the style of architectural decoration of the Royal Palace in Seville.

However, there are features which can hardly be explained by the Alhambra influence. Among them, for example, there is a lozenge motif which was widespread in the architecture of the Almohad period.¹⁵ It is important to remember that Seville was the second unofficial capital during the rule of this dynasty in Spain. A custom to mark the central gallery arch of courtyards by enlarging it and making it higher than others might be ascribed to the Almohad architectural tradition. We can see this characteristic feature in surviving examples of Almohad architecture such as the minaret of the Almohad Friday mosque which was converted into the Cathedral bell-tower and a part of the courtyard of Almohad Palace inside the Seville Alcazar.

The triple arcade motif that divides one area from another is characteristic of the architecture of the Córdoba Caliphate (for example, in the residence of *Madinat al-Zahra*¹⁶) and is also frequently repeated in the Seville Palace. There is an imitation of arch wedges in carved stucco in lateral arcades of the Ambassadors' Hall which join it to the western and eastern parts of the complex—this is another characteristic feature of Córdoba architecture. Moreover, in the *Patio de las Muñecas* of the Sevillian palace original columns from *Madinat al-Zahra* were used.

In the Royal Palace of Pedro I, there is a group of ornamental motifs which are very similar to those of Toledo court architecture of the 14th century and of Tordesillas Palace of Alfonso XI. These compositions have strict symmetry, consisting of vegetal ornament where bunches of grapes and leaves, heavily deformed and enlarged lotus flowers and pine-cones prevail. These symmetrical ornament panels also include three- and five-pointed leaves surrounded by their branches. It is important to note that Pedro I had visited Tordesillas¹⁷ and its royal residence on a number of occasions, he might have even taken part in the completion of its construction and this allowed him to familiarize himself with its decoration. And if we believe that Toledo masters

¹⁵ The Almohads—the dynasty of Muslim rulers, which was founded by Abd al-Mumin in 1121 in Morocco. In the middle of the 12th century because of fragmentation of Muslim territories in Spain, Almohad army encroached into Iberian Peninsula and occupied Seville, Córdoba and Granada.

¹⁶ *Madinat al-Zahra*—country residence of Muslim rulers, which is situated 8 km far from Córdoba. Its building was begun by Abd ar-Rahman III in 936.

¹⁷ González Hernández 2007: 4–21.

participated in the decoration of the Palace of Alfonso I, we can assume that later Pedro I could have invited these masters to work in the Seville Palace. An inscription made on the wooden doors of Ambassadors' Hall says that they were done by masters from Toledo in 1366¹⁸ which proves this assumption.

Thereby, at least four artistic schools may be seen in the architectural decoration of the Palace of Pedro I which is a part of the Seville Alcazar ensemble. These number the school of Granada masters or more specifically—the style of the Alhambra; local tradition which is based on Almohad architecture, the school of Toledo's masters and the architectural tradition of the Córdoba Caliphate. But if the majority of masters of Toledo and Seville—the cities which were the centres of Muslim culture in earlier epochs—were mainly non-Muslim by the 14th century and were adjusting the Spanish-Muslim tradition according to the purposes of Christian religion, the tastes of this new time and a customer's requirements, the pure Islamic tradition was still alive in Granada, which had an obvious influence. In the Royal Palace of Seville, like in other monuments of court *mudejar*, the influence of the Spanish-Muslim architectural tradition only amounted to visual copying: replication of a characteristic Spanish-Muslim architectural composition (when a patio connected with the reception hall is in the centre), the usage of different architectural elements (horseshoe-shaped arches, double windows, pools and fountains) and decoration. Whether the creators of *mudejar* palaces were Muslims or Christians is not the key point; the aspect of the palaces was determined by their owners. They tried to follow the Muslim rulers whose residences were amazing in terms of their luxury and splendour—symbols of power and authority. This was exactly what both the rulers of the emerging kingdom and the Spanish nobility desired.

¹⁸ Pavón Maldonado 1988: 159.

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An Ottoman castle in the Balkans: Szigetvár

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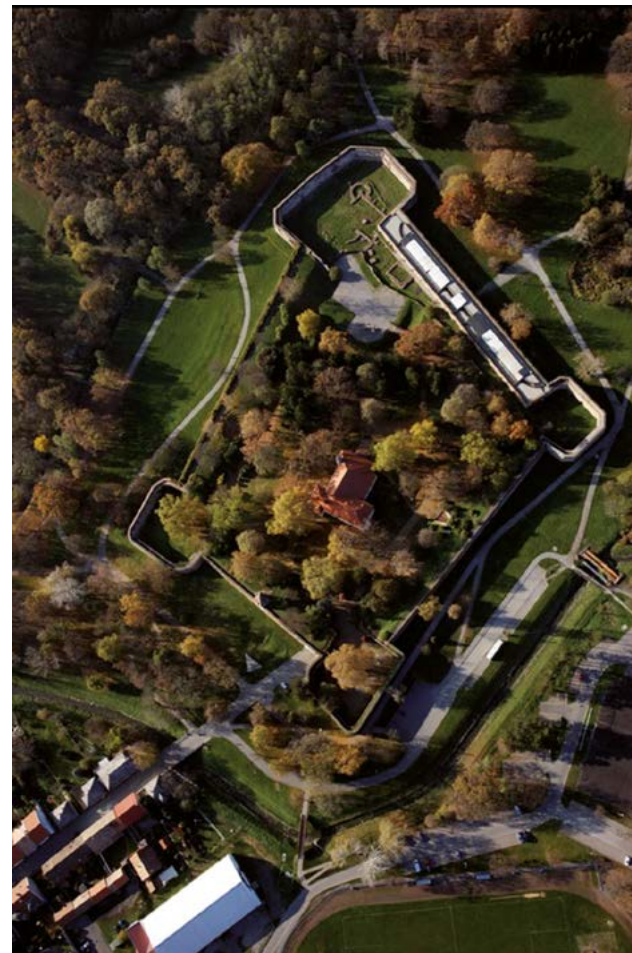


Szigetvár Castle, which today lies on Hungarian territory, about 30 kilometres southwest of the city of Pécs, was conquered by the Ottoman Emperor, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in the year of 1566 AD. As a matter of fact, Sultan Suleiman's interest towards the Hungarian territories and his taking them under his control came about during the Mohács War which was fought in 1526. After this, Budin was conquered in 1541 and the sovereignty of the Ottomans in Hungary began, lasting till 1686. Following the conquest of Budin, Suleiman the Magnificent decided to keep the territories which were in the vicinity of the western part of Duna and Croatia, so as to defend against possible attacks that could come from the neighbouring territories. Szigetvár Castle, which takes an important place in Turkish history, was conquered as the result of the events that took place afterwards. The Transylvanian (Erdel) Prince Zsigmond, who was an ally of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, came into conflict with the Austrians and the Emperor Maximilian. The Ottoman Empire had issued some demands to the Emperor Maximilian (the immediate return of the Tokay and Serencs Castles, the regular payment of the taxes which Maximilian had pledged before, the giving up of the aggression towards Transylvania/Erdel Principality), however, these demands were not met after long negotiations. And finally, the situation of the Turkish Ambassador Sergeant Hidayet being held hostage in Vienna caused the disruption of the negotiations.

Sultan Suleiman went to this war at the helm of his army. It would be his last campaign together with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.¹ Other than the above-mentioned reasons that caused him to take this decision of war; it can be said that his desire to take revenge for the failure of Malta the previous year and his wish of satisfying and pacifying the people who were criticizing him for not going into a campaign for a period over than ten years, were also dominant in his decision to launch this war.² While going to the war, Suleiman conferred the duty of being the

¹ Aksun 1994: 329–337.

² Gökbilgin 1966: 1–14.



III. 1. Szigetvár Castle



III. 2. View of defence unit



III. 3. Sultan Suleiman Mosque



III. 4. Detail from excavation working



III. 5. Inside of the Castle

serasker (The Ministry of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Army) of the Empire to Sokollu and also took the third vizier Ferhad Pasha, fourth vizier Ahmed Pasha and fifth vizier The Red Ahmedlu Mustafa Pasha in his employment, as well.

Throughout the campaign, Feridun Ahmed, who was issued besides Sokollu with the title of council clerk, followed every stage of the war closely and explained it in his work of *Nüzhət-i Esrarü'l-Ahyar der Ahbar-i Sefer-i Szigetvár* (Szigetvár War secrets), which had various editions. In this work, details such as all the accommodation of the army from Istanbul to Szigetvár, the reasons of the war, the state of Hungary, the process of besiegement and conquest of the castle, the death of Padishah, hiding the funeral, informing the situation to Selim II, are included. Sultan Suleiman, who was fairly old and ill during the Szigetvár Campaign, throughout the expedition passed only the cities on horseback, in the other times he travelled by horse cart. For that reason, throughout the journey a troop always rode ahead and smoothed the roads and

roughnesses that the Sultan's cart would travel on. The main aim of Sultan Suleiman, prior to this campaign, was both to take the Tokay and Serencs Castles back which had been conquered by Emperor Maximilian and to conquer the Eger (Egri) and Szigetvár Castles, even though they had been besieged before. Thus, the security of Transylvania was also provided for.³

However, Suleiman, who went ahead to Eger together with the army, was directed towards Szigetvár with an immediate decision and gave the priority to there. For that reason, he firstly made a highly glorious entrance to the city of Pécs on 4th August and was accommodated there for one night. That city was a centre which was the fatherland of Peçevi, the great Ottoman historian, and it had been conquered by Sultan Suleiman, 23 years prior to the campaign. The next day (5th August), they moved to Szigetvár from Pécs and the castle was besieged. As a matter of fact, it was related that, three days before the siege, the "Similehov" hill was held by 90 thousand soldiers and 300 cannons and the attack line was formed. According to Selaniki, who was present in this campaign personally, Sultan Suleiman controlled the siege line by coming to the front parts of Szigetvár on a white horse, not by cart.⁴

Szigetvár Castle at that date was a German castle in the southwest of the city of Pécs, which was one of the Sanjak (district) centres of the Budin Province.⁵ Though it was known to be established by the Szigeti Family between the dates 1420–1440, its first foundation was extended to the 12th century. All sides of the castle, which was known as the "City of Islands", were surrounded by a set of lakes and marshes.⁶ Each part of Szigetvár, which consisted of the old city, the new city and two castles which were one within the other, was connected to each other by bridges. It had been besieged ten years previously for 69 days by Ali Pasha, who was the Budin Governor, but it could not be conquered. Sultan Suleiman, who came in front of the Castle, had his state tent set up on the Similehov hill which was in the North. This had a geography which was dominant to the Castle but distant from the range of the cannons.

After the commencement of the first attacks on the castle, which was defended by the Hungarian commander Nicholas (Miklós) Zrinyi, the old and the new cities were conquered in a short period.⁷ However, despite numerous assaults upon the main castle, the defences were not breached. In this instance, Sultan Suleiman tried to deter the commander of the Castle, Nicholas Zrinyi from the defence—Zrinyi was originally a Croatian and the Sultan offered him the post of Governor of Croatia and Dalmatia, but could not convince him. The siege days, which were being prolonged all the more, frustrated Suleiman the Magnificent, who was ill and 72 years old, to the extent that it was related that the Padishah became bored and sorrowful, exclaiming that "this castle burned my heart; I wish from my God that it would burn in fires!"⁸

³ Gökbilgin 1966: 1–14.

⁴ Danişmend 1971: 340–369.

⁵ Öztuna 1989: 126–128.

⁶ Fehér 1974: 11–14.

⁷ Ertuğ 1997: 31–46.

⁸ Danişmend 1971: 340–369.

At long last, in the year of AD 1566, during the night which bridged the day of Friday, 6th September to the day of Saturday, 7th September, the death of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent occurred. Whilst the old and new cities and the outer castle were conquered, the inner castle endured as the last defense point, and in this way, the Commander of the Castle, Zrinyi was caught in a corner. Upon this, the commander, who still did not surrender, again attempted to make a sortie action together with his 600 men who could die with him by putting a golden chain on his neck as well as wearing a caftan, however, he was immediately caught and executed. The conquest of the castle was completed by the entrance of the army into the inner castle, however, though he had wished to see this moment, Suleiman was not able to do so. The death of the Sultan was kept as a secret by Sokollu Mehmet Pasha through taking firm precautions. After burying the Sultan's inner organs in his state tent, his body was embalmed with amber, musk and salt to prevent its decay. After taking the necessary precautions so that news of the death would not be heard by others, the Grand Vizier related that he had withdrawn to his tent and wanted to be alone and cried because of his sorrow.⁹

Following the conquest, again by Mehmed Pasha, an imperial council tent was set up, the caftans were dressed up on behalf of the Padishah and the gifts of the persons who had showed heroism were registered. Over the following days, they were occupied with the mending of the castle which had been besieged for a period of over a month. The castle had fallen into considerable ruin, and along with the digging up of deep ditches around the inner and outer castles, the dungeons and the walls of the castles were repaired. Yet, as the Ottomans had built so many new castles in the places where they spread beyond Anatolia, they repaired some of the old castles which were strategically important and gave them a Turkish identity by adding new parts. As it was, the construction of the tetragonal planned, Sultan Suleiman Mosque was begun in the castle.¹⁰ According to the traveller Evliya Çelebi, that mosque was lead-covered and high-minaretted. After the end of Turkish sovereignty, the plan of the architectural structure, which was used for different aims, was differentiated from its original state. Different reconstruction plans subsisted in this subject. Molnar placed the minaret in the west of the last congregation place in his drawing; while Gerö stated the structure as high entranced and high roofed.

Following the conquest, it was related that the first Friday prayer was performed in Szigetvár and a sermon was preached in the name of Sultan Suleiman. However, as the death of the Sultan was kept as a secret and he was said to be ill, the reality was that the soldiers who couldn't see him were curious and anxious. The arrival of the Sultan's son Selim II, who was given the news secretly, was awaited before the announcement of the news of the death of the Sultan could be made. This reality of the death, which was kept as a secret through skilful methods for exactly 48 days, was announced to the soldier as well as to the world by the arrival of the Sultan's son.¹¹

Szigetvár became one of the most important Ottoman castles in Hungary after its conquest. Thus a new Sanjak (district) with the name of Szigetvár Castle in the west borders

⁹ Ertuğ 1997: 31–46.

¹⁰ Aktepe 1970: 187–202.

¹¹ Ertuğ 1997: 31–46.

of the Ottoman Empire came into being. According to the information of İbrahim Efendi from Peçuy (Pécs), the Szigetvár Sanjak firstly was gracefully ordered to the İskender Bey who was Peçuy legion officer, and then he was appointed as a kadi, and castellans and guards were appointed to his castle, as well.¹² The castellan was the chief who was responsible for and commander of the castle. He was responsible for the security of the city. Szigetvár Castle consisted of a rectangle which was supported by angular fortresses (defence units) in its corners. These fortresses were established by the Budin Governor, Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, who performed the duty between the years 1566–1578. The Anguissola drawing with the date of 1689, defined the Ottoman additions.

Today, the dungeon which is adjacent to the single door of the Castle, although said to be possibly an Ottoman structure, is in fact a Hungarian structure, as evidenced by the brick rowed loopholes and brick walls. The Ottomans preferred the geometric and rectangular plan. This is because these structures could be constructed rapidly and displayed a suitability for military function. For that reason, in the repairs that Sokollu Mustafa Pasha had made in Szigetvár Castle, they were not done beyond the old walls and the Castle stayed similar to its state in the Medieval Times in respect to its shape and size.

In the settlement which is in front of the Castle, we are informed about the existence of two *madrasas* (Moslem theological schools), three children's schools, one bath, one inn and one tomb in the Ottoman era, by the Traveller Eviya Çelebi. At the place where Sultan Suleiman's inner organs were buried during the conquest of the Castle, a tomb was built by his son Selim II, its surrounding was zoned by walls and this place with its structures such as a mosque, dervish lodge, military garrison, remained active for 127 years. These structures were shown in a plan, prepared by Pál Esterhazy in the year of 1664. However, at the end of the 17th century when the region was released from Ottoman sovereignty, the territory around the tomb was allocated to the Catholic Church and a church was built in the year of 1693 AD. In our day, this place is referred to with the names of "the place where the heart of the Magnificent Suleiman is buried", the "Church of Turbek" or "Turkish Church" by the Hungarians. However, the Tomb and the other structures around it cannot be seen apparently. In the short term excavation that was made by Hungarian archeologists in the 1970s, the portable foundations and the traces of some graves were discovered, however, this study was abandoned even at the beginning stage without continuing it any further. We, of the Istanbul University Department of History of Art (Dr Fatih Elcil) and Pécs University Department of Archeology (Lect. Erika Hancz), have already started excavation studies in the region in the month of July, 2009, with the aim of finding the traces of these structures. The following year, our studies continued, as well.

The Szigetvár Castle, which preserved the Szigetvár Sanjak till the end of the 17th century and had been an important military base symbolizing Turkish sovereignty in the region, continued its activities with structures such as an Ottoman mosque, the house of the

castellan (the castle commander), the guardsmen's burrows, the military depots, etc. With the failure of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha who went to the Rumeli Campaign in 1683 and the Siege of Vienna of that year, the sovereignty of the Ottomans in Hungary was shaken and the important castles were lost successively. Szigetvár is among those. By the end of the Turkish domination (the end of the 17th century) the inner castle was used for a while, and it was not changed except for a few additional structures which were oriented towards the aims of storage, etc.

Today, in the castle which has come to our present day without having been used afterwards, there is the Ottoman Mosque, which is located in the centre, now being used as an exhibition site with its annexes which have been established around it. In the mosque, the Otağ-u Humayun, the Imperial Tent of the Sultan Suleiman, the Magnificent, which was established symbolically, is being displayed. The castle walls, the towers, depots, cannons etc., the Ottoman military traces, still remain standing and can be seen, even today. In recent years, a short excavation/ exploration study which continued two summer terms was realized in the castle as well as outside the castle by Hungarian archeologists, however, these studies were concluded without continuing till to its end. Various building bases which were encountered and which couldn't be opened in these excavation studies which were kept as limited and short, namely graves, the structure remnants and foundations which could be the house of the castellan's, denote the cultural existence of the Turkish period in Szigetvár Castle. The overlapping information in the current written and visual sources, the virginity of the current geographic, historical and cultural condition of the region, today, the findings in the excavation and exploration attempts which were stopped in the beginning stages, emphasize that the region is worth being explored.

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¹² Peçevi 1968: 420.

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An interpretation of Sinan's Sehzade complex in Istanbul

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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the motives of Mimar Sinan's design of the Sehzade complex in Istanbul, addressing two principal themes: the planning of the site and the spatial organization of the mosque as the main building of the complex.

By trying to give new interpretations, this paper aims to ask questions rather than find absolute answers.

Part 1

The first part of the paper evaluates the layout of the Sehzade complex. It is a funerary mosque complex which Sultan Suleiman the First dedicated to his beloved son Sehzade (Prince) Mehmed who passed away in his youth in 1543.

As for the site of the complex, a plain field at the centre of Ottoman Istanbul was chosen and put together. This location was regarded as the centre of the city, both on the north-south direction between Hippodrome Square and the Fatih complex, and on the east-west direction between the Marmara Sea and the Golden Horn.

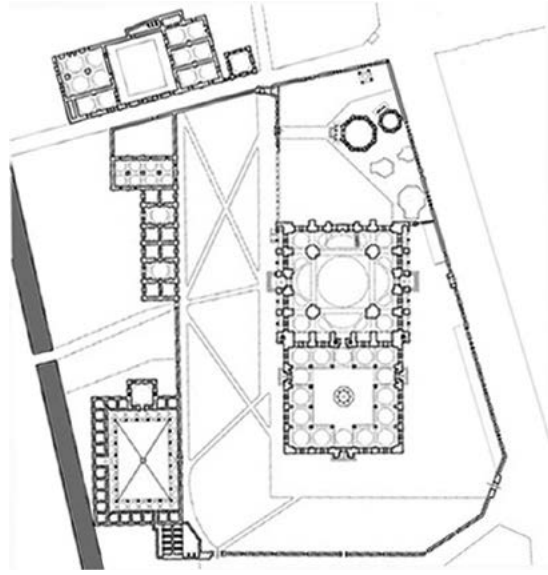
Ottoman historians described how the site was chosen and constituted at the time as follows:

Ali states that it is "a place appointed and cleared in the middle of the Old Chambers of the janissaries inside the city,"¹ Celalzade identifies the site as "a pleasant place and a purified abode inside the Old Chambers in the middle of the city"² and Talikzade explains that several city quarters at the rear side of the Old Chambers were bought with the deceased prince's inheritance for the mosque complex built "for the repose of his soul."³

¹ Necipoğlu 2005: 192.

² Necipoğlu 2005: 192.

³ Necipoğlu 2005: 193.



III. 1. Sehzade complex, Istanbul (1548), plan

the *madrasa*, religious education building, nearly touches the aqueduct, on the southwest side the mosque is almost leaning on the wall of the outer courtyard. The reason of these constraints is the design of the general layout of the complex with its vast outer courtyard and the mosque placed asymmetrically in this courtyard (III. 1).

The different hypotheses of this unique design of asymmetrical placement could be discussed on a comparative basis:

Mold

In his book about the design logic of Ottoman complexes, Alpaslan Ataman claims that the Corps of Royal Architects, a branch dealing with the construction enterprises along the borders of the empire, created molds of certain complex layouts in order to find sites of appropriate sizes to build complexes on.⁴

Ataman explains that they used a basic standard building unit (a rectangular shaped space with a cube on it) and a ruler system in order to create these molds. Due to this way of designing, the complexes have been created as the variants of a certain geometric mold based on quadrats with 40–40 or 50–50 metres.⁵

According to Ataman's theory, the mold used in the design of the Sehzade complex was originated from the mold of the Fatih complex. Regarding his proposition, the bend angle of its position is due to the *qibla* direction which contradicted the boundaries of the site. The reason for the asymmetrical placement of the mosque might be this: fixing the dimensions of the mosque first and, according to these dimensions formatting the dimensions of the outer courtyard later

The layout of the Fatih complex in Istanbul determined the general design principles of the Sultan complexes built after: the mosque and its courtyard with fountains have to be enclosed by an outer courtyard and the secondary buildings of the complex have to be located around this courtyard.

The layout of Sehzade complex also follows these principles. However, it seems not to fit in its site although a large quarter of the Old Chambers was taken for it. The complex is sandwiched between the main ceremonial avenue of Ottoman Istanbul, known as Divanyolu in the south, and the Roman-period Valens aqueduct in the north.

While on the northeast side of the complex

caused the insufficiency of the dimensions of the outer courtyard for a symmetrical axially and for the lining up of the building-ranks. So, Ataman claims that first the mold of the Fatih complex was placed onto the site of the Sehzade complex, and then the part on the southwest side was cut off because of the existing ceremonial avenue.⁶

It is questionable whether Sinan, as a distinguished architect, would accept this kind of an asymmetrical placement of the mosque in the outer courtyard and a tightly wedged placement of the complex onto the site, without further examination.

The visibility of the mosque from the public avenue

The second hypothesis on this subject is suggested by the majority of the acclaimed scholars, like Aptullah Kuran, Godfrey Goodwin⁷ and Gülru Necipoğlu. According to this, the asymmetrical layout of the complex allows the mosque and the mausoleum to be closer to the ceremonial avenue in order to maximize their visibility.

Aptullah Kuran suggests that the elaborately articulated and colourful west façade of the Sehzade mosque and the mausoleum must have deeply affected the ordinary man, as much as the Sultan Suleiman. He says that Sinan not only opened the Sehzade mosque to the public avenue, but he also let its façades be elaborately ornamented in order to emphasize its effect.⁸

Gülru Necipoğlu thinks that in order to further enhance its visibility, Sinan moved the mosque and its funerary garden to the edge of Divanyolu, from which they are separated by a transparent wall pierced with iron-grilled windows.⁹

Similar to Necipoğlu's interpretation, Hans Egli claims: "Although a large site near the Sultan's palace is chosen, for effect, the mosque is located close to the busy, classic, antique parade route. A walled precinct assures separation from the street; it is also insulated from the commotion by a narrow, elevated burial ground."¹⁰

Concerning the Sehzade mosque, it also has to be mentioned that for the first time in Ottoman mosque architecture Sinan used one storey high external loggias on its lateral walls. These single-storey domical arcades could be used as sitting places before or after worship.

Could it be the case that Sinan placed the mosque close to the ceremonial avenue in order to enhance the perception of the ornamented façades and the external loggias of the mosque?

Thinking beyond the limits

The new interpretation introduced in this paper is inspired by Sinan's magnum opus. If the later complex buildings of Sinan are analyzed, it could be noticed that he "interposed elements of articulation materializing the connection or, on the contrary, the separation between two components, with the urge to express the exact relationship among various buildings or among

⁴ Ataman 2000: 62.

⁵ Ataman 2000: 63.

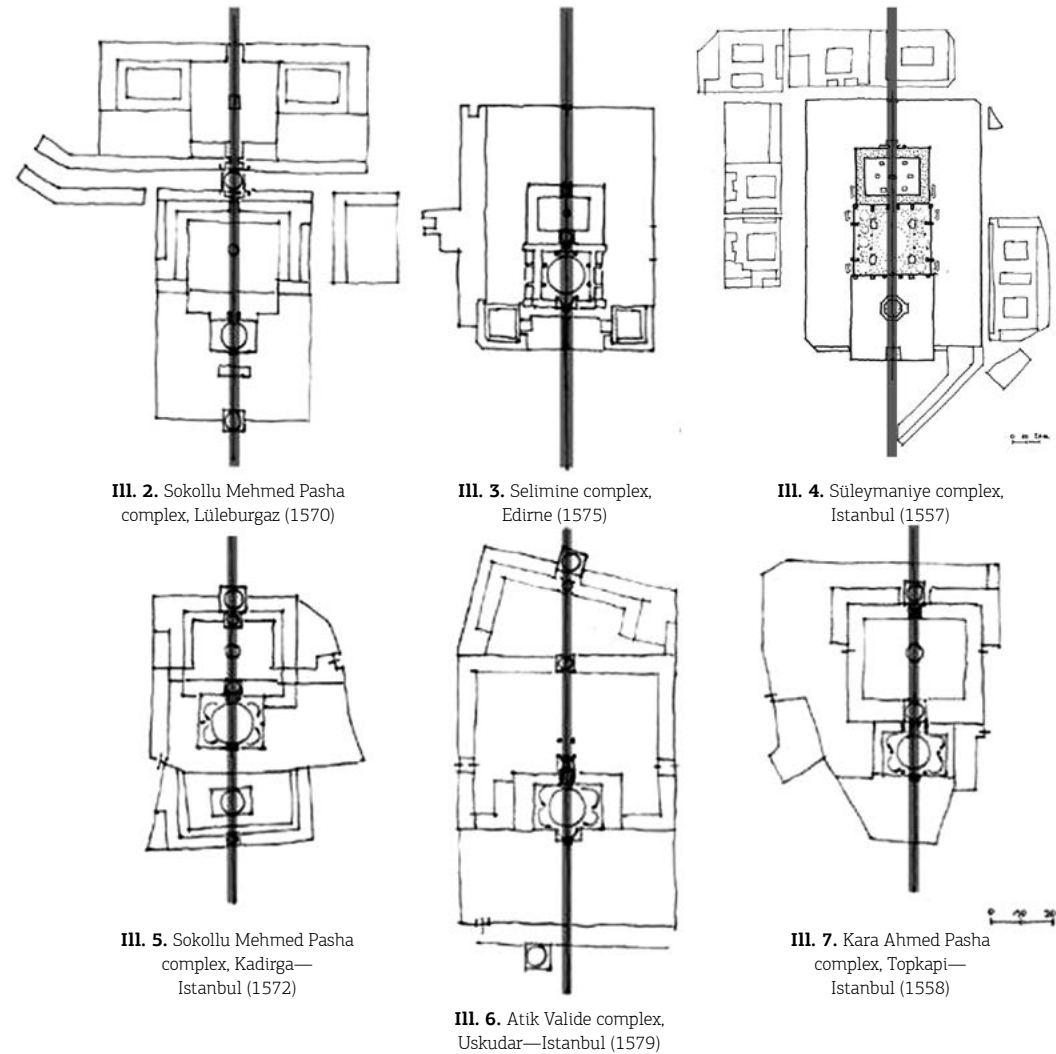
⁶ Ataman 2000: 120.

⁷ Goodwin 1992: 210.

⁸ Kuran 1986: 64.

⁹ Necipoğlu 2005: 196.

¹⁰ Egli 1997: 18.



Ills 2-7. Compositions of the complexes designed by Mimar Sinan after the Sehzade complex

the different architectural components.”¹¹ Alain Borie talks of the “punctuation” of his “writings”, which helps to spell out and therefore to clarify his architectural language and claims that Sinan sought to achieve a certain individualization of the different architectural components, and an apposite liaison between them.¹² As a design tool, Sinan used a small-scale “solid” volume with a dome on, in order to punctuate the main alignment of his compositions.

The main alignment of mosque architecture has always been the *qibla* axis as a regulating principle for the monumental architecture. Before Sinan, there were few examples regarding the notion of axis as a dominant principle in the design of the complexes. The Sarayevo Hünkar, İnegöl İshak Paşa and İstanbul Eyüp Sultan complexes, with their small programmes,

¹¹ Borie 1987: 118.

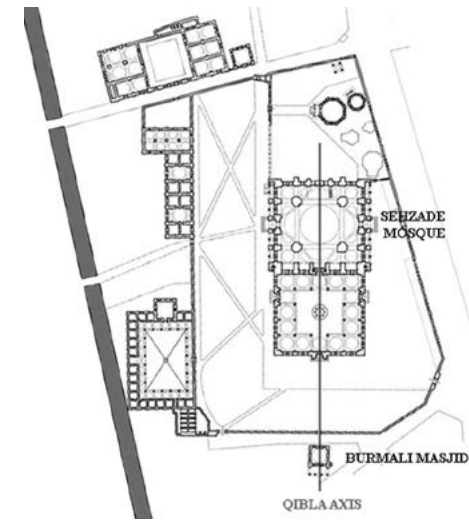
¹² Borie 1987: 118.

are the first examples of axial-symmetrical design. The Fatih complex in Istanbul, with its vast programme, is the one and only example of an axial-symmetrical design in the most strict way. However, in these complexes the axis provides only the symmetry of the layout.

In the era of Sinan, the *qibla* axis gained a more dominant role on the design of the complexes in the way of using the small volumes as punctuation marks which emphasize the main axis. We come across these kinds of compositions in the complexes of Süleymaniye, Kadirga Sokollu, and Lüleburgaz Sokollu and Atik Valide, which were built after the Sehzade complex (Ills 2-7).

In this regard, if we study the Sehzade complex in a much broader scale, instead of the frame of its boundaries, we observe something very interesting.

Just outside the north gate of the outer courtyard wall, there is a small mosque, named Burmalı Masjid built earlier than the Sehzade complex, dating from 1540. The *qibla* axis of this *masjid* and the *qibla* axis of the Sehzade mosque overlap. In other words, the *mihrabs* of both mosques are on the same line; they are aligned (Ill. 8).



Ill. 8. Alignment of qibla axis's of the Sehzade mosque and Burmalı *masjid*

Burmalı Masjid is currently covered with a pitched roof. However, the acclaimed scholar of Ottoman architecture, Aydın Yüksel, claims that considering the dimensions of the building, the roof should have been a dome.¹³

The first thing that comes to mind is that the builder of the *masjid* must have been an important religious or administrative person of that time or he must have been so special for Sultan Suleiman or his son, Prince Mehmed, that accepting the risk of the asymmetrical layout, Sinan was obliged to align the whole complex to this tiny *masjid*.

Its builder was Mevlânâ Emin Nureddin Osman Efendi, who worked as *qadi* in Egypt.¹⁴ As far as we know he didn't have any special relationship with Sultan Suleiman, or with Prince Mehmed or with Sinan either.

So, taking Sinan's later complexes into account, Sinan might have used Burmalı Masjid as a solid volume with a dome on, as a punctuation tool. In doing so, Sinan might have tried for the first time to emphasize the dominant role of the *mihrab* axis in the design of the whole composition of the complex.

And, would it be appropriate to claim that realizing his punctuation idea for the first time in the Sehzade complex using Burmalı Masjid as a part of the general composition, Sinan considered his complex designs like an urban design?

¹³ Yüksel 1983: 246.

¹⁴ Yüksel 1983: 247.

Part 2

The second part of the paper will focus on the spatial organization of the Sehzade mosque.

The spatial organization of Ottoman mosques is generally defined by their domical superstructures. The square mass of the Sehzade mosque is covered by a main dome with four half-domes and four cupolas at the corners. The mosques with the same domical superstructure built before Sehzade mosque are few. These are Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha mosque in Diyarbakır (1516–1520), Çankırı mosque (1522–1558), Piri Pasha mosque in Hasköy and Great mosque in Elbistan (end of the 15th century).

It is nearly certain that Sinan had seen the mosque in Diyarbakır while he participated in the Baghdad campaign in 1534–1537. A lot of scholars claim that Sinan was inspired by the domical structure of this mosque by the design of the Sehzade mosque.¹⁵

This centralized scheme became very popular after the Sehzade mosque. The majority of the contemporary mosques also have this central dome, reinforced by four half-domes.

However, although the domical superstructures of the mosques built before and after the Sehzade mosque are equal, there is a significant difference between these and the Sehzade mosque in the sense of the arrangement of circulation.

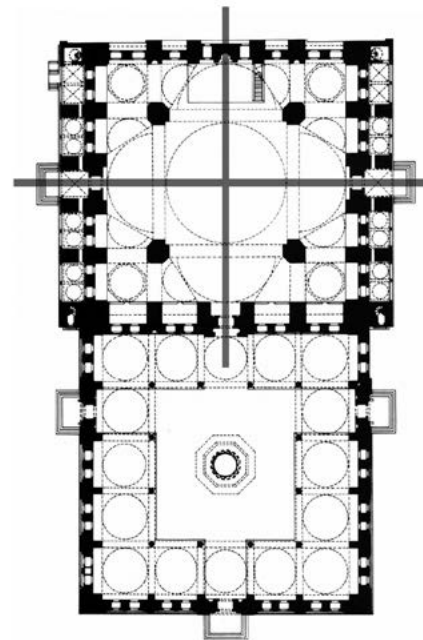
In the Sehzade mosque, Sinan also stressed the centralized organization of the domical superstructure on human scale by placing the lateral entrance-gates under the lateral half-domes (Ill. 9). In other words, constituting the same centralized arrangement of the roof in the two dimensional plan of the mosque, Sinan achieved a perfect centrality in plan, volume and space.

The reason why neither of them has an entrance arrangement like in the Sehzade mosque is very much related to the common inner-circulation of the mosques. The typical Ottoman mosque has lateral entrances placed on the last module of the prayer hall near to the courtyard. This arrangement provides for the latecomers for prayer to not disturb the worshippers present.

How could Sinan decide for such an arrangement which is so inappropriate to the function? How could he prefer the form, “the pure geometry” of central design to the already defined type of how to use a prayer-hall in Ottoman mosque architecture? Should his choice be interpreted in this way or could there be a secret meaning, a symbolic undertone in this design?

It is a known fact that Sinan as a *devsirme*, was first a novice then a janissary before he became the chief architect in the Corps of Royal Architects. As the janissaries learned to follow the dictates of the dervish saint Hajji Bektash Wali, Sinan's education as a janissary must have been like a follower of the Bektashi order as well.

¹⁵ Sözen 1975: 167.



III. 9. Placement of lateral gates of the Sehzade mosque

However, as the distinguished scholar Baha Tanman asks; I quote: “Was the Bektashi brotherhood an obligatory stop in the life of Sinan because he was trained as a janissary or, could the syncretist beliefs have merged with the Islamic mysticism of the Bektashi order and the complex world of symbols have left permanent marks on his spiritual and intellectual world? If the latter was true, at which level did he reflect these on his architectural works?”¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, a large amount of the site for the Sehzade complex was taken from the Old Chambers belonging to the elite janissary corps. It is also known from the “Customs of Janissaries” written in the early 17th century by an old janissary that the novices worked with great effort in the construction of the Sehzade complex. Furthermore, during a visit to the building site by Hürrem, the Sultan's legal wife and the mother of the deceased prince, she was so moved by the plight of the novices carrying building materials with “bare head and feet” that she financed the raise of their monthly wages by herself.¹⁷

Imperial decrees issued in 1544 and 1545 by the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha's cabinet for the construction of the mosque complex show that the *agha* of janissaries, Pertev Mehmed Agha, was ingeniously co-opted into the building process.

These documents disclose the tight cooperation between the chief architect Sinan, the *agha* of janissaries who served as the building overseer, and the building supervisor, Hüseyin Çelebi, who would hold the same job during the early years of the Süleymaniye's construction. Pertev Agha's involvement with the construction of Sehzade mosque seems to have been prompted not only by its site at the centre of the janissary barracks, but also by his personal connection with the deceased prince's family. Married to the widow of Sehzade Mehmed, he was the stepfather of the late prince's royal children.¹⁸

And most importantly: although some of the janissaries moved to the New Chambers built near Aksaray because of the demolition of a part of their Old Chambers,¹⁹ the congregation of the Sehzade mosque, when it was completed, must have been dominated by the janissaries.²⁰

Meydan, the hall of ceremonies in a *tekke* of the Bektashi order, is imbued with many symbolic meanings. One of them is the symbol of “four gates”. In the *meydan*, there is no visually perceived gate other than the entrance gate. However, it is believed that there are Four Gates placed at the two perpendicular main axes running through the centre of the hall (Ill. 10). These four gates are used in some initiation rituals of the Bektashi order. The scholar Ahmet Işık Doğan says that these gates are the reflection of the symbolism based on the roots of the Bektashi mysticism, into the physical world of architectural space.²¹

Another instance of symbolism that I would like to mention concerns the *mihrab*. In Islamic mysticism, the *mihrab* is interpreted as a gate-opening to the other world.²² In the tradition of Ottoman mosque architecture, this symbolism gains in strength by placing the funeral garden behind the *qibla* wall of the prayer hall.

¹⁶ Tanman 1999: 186.

¹⁷ Necipoğlu 2005: 194–195.

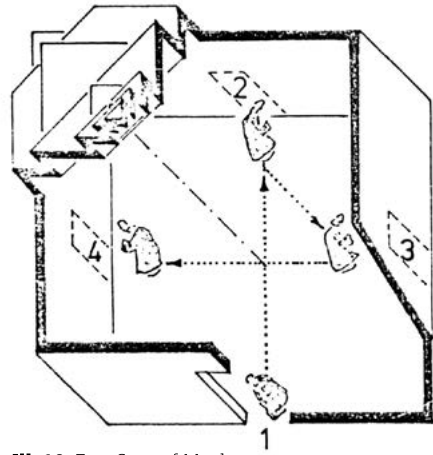
¹⁸ Necipoğlu 2005: 195.

¹⁹ Necipoğlu 2005: 193.

²⁰ Necipoğlu 2005: 194.

²¹ Doğan 1977: 126–127.

²² Denny 1991: 36–38.



III. 10. Four Gates of Meydan

So, metaphorically seeing/ accepting the *mihrab* as the fourth gate, the inner space of the Sehzade mosque could be regarded as a centralized spatial system of four gates accented by four half-domes at two perpendicular axes running through the centre of the main dome. This becomes a perfect centrality in plan, volume and space.

Could we interpret the centralized design of the Sehzade prayer hall as the reflection of the fictitious/imagined gates of Bektashi prayer halls? Since the janissaries would be using the mosque often, could this kind of a design/attribution be the result of an intention to remind them of their Bektashi brotherhood, to make it become more acceptable, more familiar for them?

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Building and builder: Constructions under Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's reign in medieval Buda

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Buda, the capital of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, was occupied by Turkish forces in 1541. Following the invasion, the Turks set up the *vilayet* of Buda that was subsequently governed by their Pashas. Eventually, the medieval Hungarian royal seat was converted into the centre of one of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. However, this relatively simple administrative process was associated with the significantly slower transformation of the urban landscape. The make-up of the population of medieval Buda—a city which had been inhabited mainly by Germans, Hungarians, Jews, and Southern Slavs who had moved there in increasing numbers in the 16th century—started changing: ethnic Germans had totally disappeared by the time Buda was occupied, and the number of the Hungarian population kept decreasing until the end of the period of Turkish rule. In parallel, the proportion of peoples with Balkan origins kept increasing, and many of them became conquerors both in the military and civilian spheres. The vast majority of the urban population, the demands of which shaped the urban landscape, was composed of Muslims during the period of the Turkish Occupation. The institutional frame was established with all of its related buildings¹ typical to other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Prints dating to the end of the 16th century depict minarets dominating the panorama of Buda.²

Reconstructions carried out in Buda in the period of the Turkish Occupation were less significant with regards to the civilian buildings of the medieval town that stood on the Castle Hill (Ill. 1). Its medieval churches were converted into *djams*, but the buildings themselves underwent only low scale reconstruction. Despite the aforementioned scenario, notable civil engineering projects were implemented under Turkish rule in the 16th century in the medieval outskirts of the town. The Pashas of Buda financed vital constructions in the town: subsequent to the construction projects of Yahyapaşazade Mehmed Pasha, Tojgun Pasha, and Güzeldzse

¹ Of these, only a few have remained to date: four baths and one *türbe* still stand nearly in their genuine condition, one or two *djams* have been integrated into particular Christian churches, and only the remnant of a tower of the fortified building of the Gunpowder Mill has survived.

² About the history of Buda in the period of the Turkish Occupation see: Fekete 1944, Ágoston 1991.

Rüstem Pasha, the transformation of the town's landscape was continued by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha,³ who was the chief builder of Buda in the 16th century.

Relatively sufficient written records concerning the constructions completed under Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's control have been accessible. His charter of waqf,⁴ his biography, and stories about his edifices as chronicled by foreign travellers⁵ have endured until this day. In addition, the baths built by him have remained in nearly unimpaired physical condition. As a result, we can review and classify the recorded data available.

According to Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf, it is now beyond doubt that he owned four thermal baths in Buda, three of which he ordered to be constructed. Fortunately, all baths still stand and remain in use. We have had a good opportunity to get an insight into these complexes, as a consequence of the research conducted in the past few years.

The bath that was called Yeşil Direkli Ilıca⁶ in the period of the Turkish Occupation lay the farthest to the south. Today, it is called Rudas Bath. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's former mosque, caravanserai, and shops, as well as Hindi Baba's monastery were located next to it. The Rudas Bath complex is located near the main route stretching north to south along the River Danube, more specifically on the bank of the river. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's former caravanserai lay adjacent, while his shops stood near the mosque. Hindi Baba's monastery was located on the other side of the road.

The bath that was called Horos kapı ılıcası⁷ in the period of the Turkish Occupation was located within the town, next to the town gate, but far from the thermal springs.⁸ Today, it is called Király Bath. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha had a caravanserai built adjacent to the bath. His shops and houses stood around it, while his *djami* was constructed about 300 metres away from this site in the south. The *madrassa*, the construction of which he ordered to the design of architect Mimar Sinan, can be located in the immediate vicinity of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's *djami*, together with his *türbe*. Both the bathing establishment and the *djami* stood next to the main route stretching north to south along the River Danube.

The bath that was called Veli bej ılıcası⁹ in the period of the Turkish Occupation was located outside the town, in the far north, at a cluster of springs in Buda. Today, it is called Császár Bath. The Gunpowder Mill, the construction of which was finished by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, lay

³ Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, the cousin of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, fulfilled his executive office for 12 years, which was the longest mandate in the 145-year period of the Turkish Occupation of Buda. As many as three more Sokollus, namely Ferhad Pasha, Mehmed Pashazade Vizier Hassan Pasha (who was the son of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha) and Lala Mehmed Pasha (who was the cousin of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha), were his successors in controlling the vilayet of Buda. The Sokollu family had Bosnian roots, and they fulfilled significant offices in the Ottoman Empire: they were the most influential family during those decades (Ágoston 1991).

⁴ Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D 7000. See pages 6a–11a that refer to Buda.

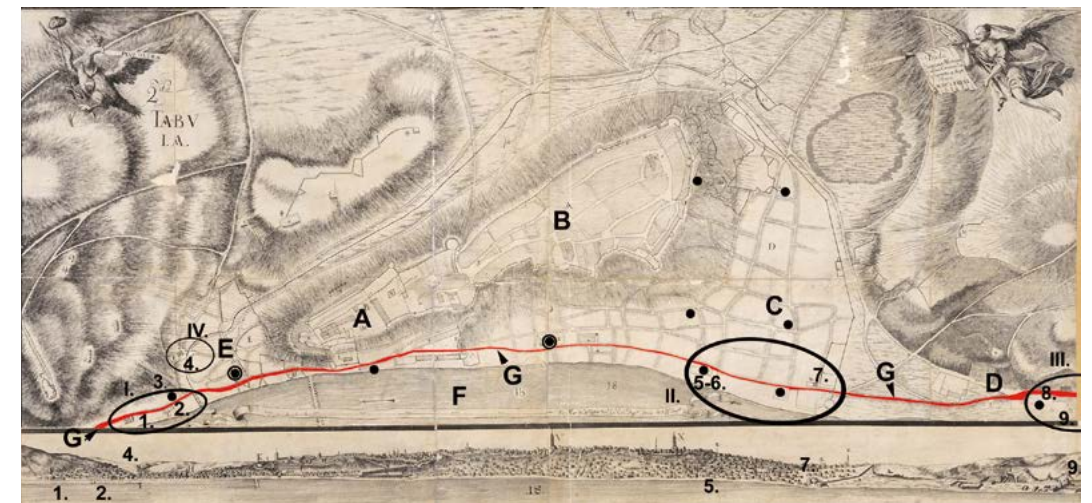
⁵ E.g.: Evliya Çelebi (1663), Edward Brown (1669).

⁶ Sections referring to the bath and its surroundings: see pages 8b–9a of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf; research outcome: László and Papp 2004, László and Papp 2006.

⁷ Sections referring to the bath and its surroundings: see pages 7b, 8a, 9a of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf; research outcome: Geró 1958, Geró 1963.

⁸ Thermal water was led to the bath from a distance of about 800 metres, and a particular section of this pipeline was recovered during the archaeological excavation.

⁹ Sections referring to the bath and its surroundings: see pages 8a, 9a of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf; research outcome: László and Papp 2008.



III. 1. Map of Buda, De La Vigne, 1686 (Budapest History Museum, Print Archives)

A: The former Royal Palace of Buda, B: Buda városa a Várhegyen, C: The outskirts of the so-called *Víziváros* urban quarter, D: Felhévíz, E: Tabán, F: River Duna, G: Main Street in the Middle Age and in the period of the Turkish conquest
I: One of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's architectural complexes in *Tabán*, II: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's suburban architectural complex, III: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's architectural complex in *Felhévíz*, IV: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's other architectural complex in *Tabán*

1: Rudas Bath, 2: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's caravanserai, 3: The presumed site of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's mosque, 4: Rác Bath, 5: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's mosque, 6: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's *türbe*, 7: Király Bath, 8: Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's mosque, 9: The gunpowder mill

● Mosques and *djams* built in Buda in the period of the Turkish conquest

● The remains of mosques and *djams* built in Buda in the period of the Turkish conquest

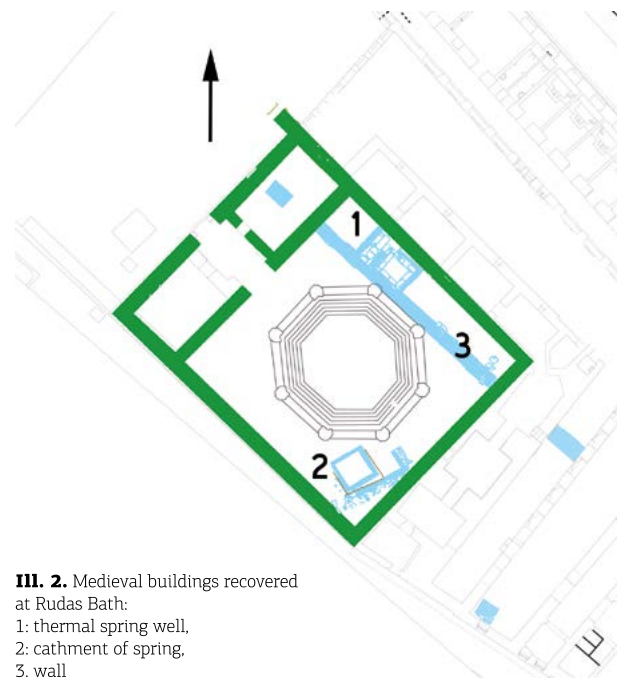
in its immediate vicinity. The Pasha's other mosque was situated not far from it. Miftah Baba's monastery was presumably placed near the bath.¹⁰ This establishment was also located next to the main route stretching north to south along the River Danube.

As mentioned earlier, three significant complexes, the construction of which was ordered by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, can be taken into account. The environment of a fourth one, today called Rác Bath, can be associated with the aforementioned three. This fourth bath, once called *Küçük* or *Debbaghane ılıcası*,¹¹ was acquired by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, which he annexed to his waqf in the period of the Turkish Occupation. Substantial reconstruction and expansion, which can be associated with either Sokollu Mustafa Pasha or with the subsequent managers of the endowment, took place in this bath. A mosque that was named after it stood nearby. There were shops and tanneries in the vicinity, and these were built along the road leading from the west to the River Danube.

The stores and caravanserais, and the locations of these complexes indicate their key economic function in addition to their purpose of being a "charitable foundation": they lined up along the main commercial route of the town in the southern and northern quarters on the one hand (III. 1), and together with the caravanserais, shops, and baths that yielded serious income, they represented the most precious economic value in Buda on the other. All of these buildings

¹⁰ E.g.: based on a map with Turkish legend (Veress 1906: inserted after pp. 138).

¹¹ Sections referring to the bath and its surroundings: see pages 8b–9a of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf; research outcome: Maráz and Papp 2005.



III. 2. Medieval buildings recovered at Rudas Bath:
1: thermal spring well,
2: catchment of spring,
3: wall

and institutions were covered by the same waqf that represented the most important economic power in town. No institution which might have had a similar content and magnitude to these complexes was ever built later in Buda.

Whether we speak of completely new buildings or of medieval secondary used ones, in the case of the outskirts of Buda, which were densely covered with stone facilities in medieval times, we are presented with another crucial issue in the period of the Turkish Occupation. According to prints,¹² newly built establishments can be presumed in the case of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's

mosques and *djams*. His charter of waqf reports that the three baths and the caravanserais were constructed from scratch, a fact that has been made irrefutable by the research on these complexes. Rudas Bath best illustrates the builder's purpose and his conscious selection of the locations of these baths. In medieval times, the area of Rudas Bath was covered with stone houses, among which a hospital and a church were identified. Moreover, parts of several medieval stone houses, a spring catchment, and a thermal spring well were also found in the excavated layers underneath the bath (Ill. 2). The medieval well and the well-like part of the spring catchment dating to the 14th century were filled up in the period of the Turkish Occupation, and only the water reservoir of the spring catchment was exploited. In the case of Rudas Bath, when construction began, the remaining part of the spring catchment was filled up, and the medieval buildings and medieval walls located within the selected area were demolished to the foundations of the new bath facility. A stone wall which had had a width of 1.1 metres was also demolished at this point, and the main wall of the bath, with a width of 90 centimetres facing the River Danube was built completely parallel to the demolished one, but 1.5 metres away from its line. As a consequence, it can undoubtedly be declared that this bath was built in accordance with a deliberate concept that maximally exploited the geographical options of the construction site and enclaved the bath complex between the River Danube and the main route. Having had applicable conditions, the previous buildings built on site were not at all considered in the course of the design and construction process.

¹² Dilich 1600 (Rózsa 1990: cat. no. 59, ill. 31), 1606 (Rózsa 1990: cat. no. 63, ill. 41), Stromer 1602 (Rózsa 1990: cat. no. 213, ill. 39), Siebmacher 1602 (Rózsa 1990: cat. no. 61, ill. 36).

It is worth reviewing these baths as buildings. The arrays on their plans, as well as their dimensions allude to fascinating correlations. Both the Rudas and Császár Bath have their own individual plan.

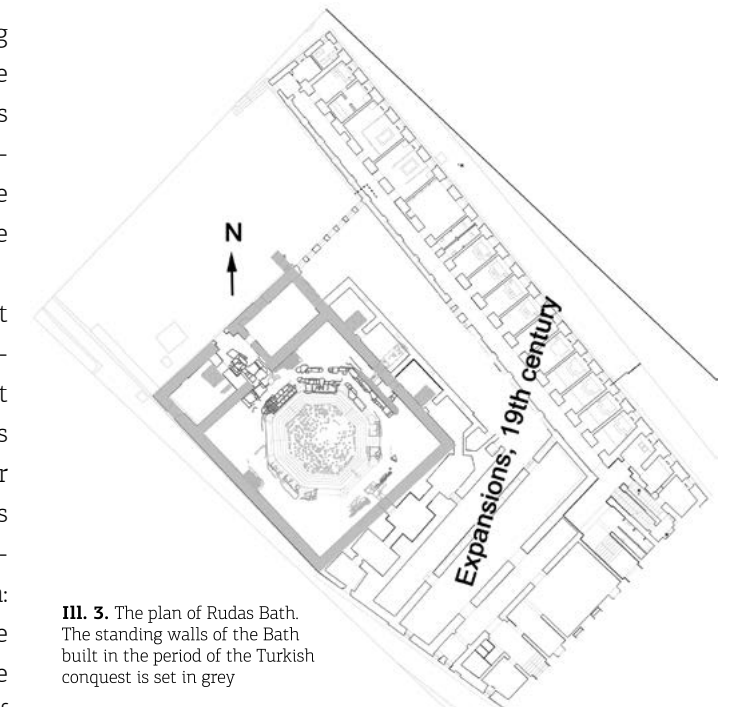
The array of pillars at Rudas Bath (Ill. 3), or Yeşil Direkli İlica in Turkish, is almost unparalleled. Two more baths designed by architect Mimar Sinan, of which hot steam rooms share nearly identical properties, deserve focused attention: one of them is the Süleymaniye Hamam¹³ in Istanbul, and the other is the men's section of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's twin bath, also in Istanbul, which was called Yeşil Direkli Hamam,¹⁴ and very much resembles how the Turks called Rudas Bath in Buda. The huge dome of each hot steam room in each facility in Istanbul is supported by eight pillars, which were connected to the main walls with subdividing walls, so that the corner chambers were separated for the purpose of private bath sections. Rudas Bath in Buda, on the other hand, provides a much more impressive view, because the eight pillars were erected independently, thus the entire main bathing section has remained totally transparent. We found evidence of separation, but dating them was doubtful, ergo we do not have any idea of the precise design of the corner. The architect of Buda's Rudas Bath is unknown, but we successfully managed to specify the date of the construction, even its month, based on the wooden pile samples taken during the archaeological investigation: the trees required for the foundation work at this bath were cut down in May 1571. The construction was in progress in 1572.¹⁵

The plan of Császár Bath (Ill. 4) is apparently ordinary, but when we take a closer look we may see that it is the more complex version of the preferred arrangement of four *iwans*. This bath virtually comprises eight *iwans*, thence its side rooms are expanded, and the niches and pillars built around the pool decorate the interior. The arrangement of four *iwans* was so popular that it was applied in the case of one third of the total number of baths. Nonetheless, the aforementioned arrangement of eight *iwans* in Császár Bath is peerless. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's bath in Edirne, the interior decoration of which is superior, and Császár Bath can be qualified as congruous, but the latter one is more uncluttered in the arrangement of its plan. Its central room

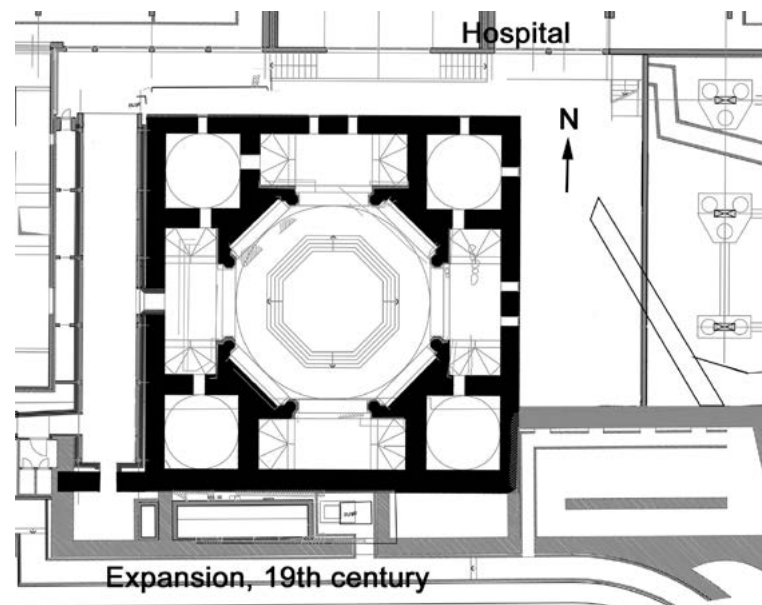
¹³ Haskan 1995: 271–273, Önge 1989: ill. 15.

¹⁴ Haskan 1995: 296–297.

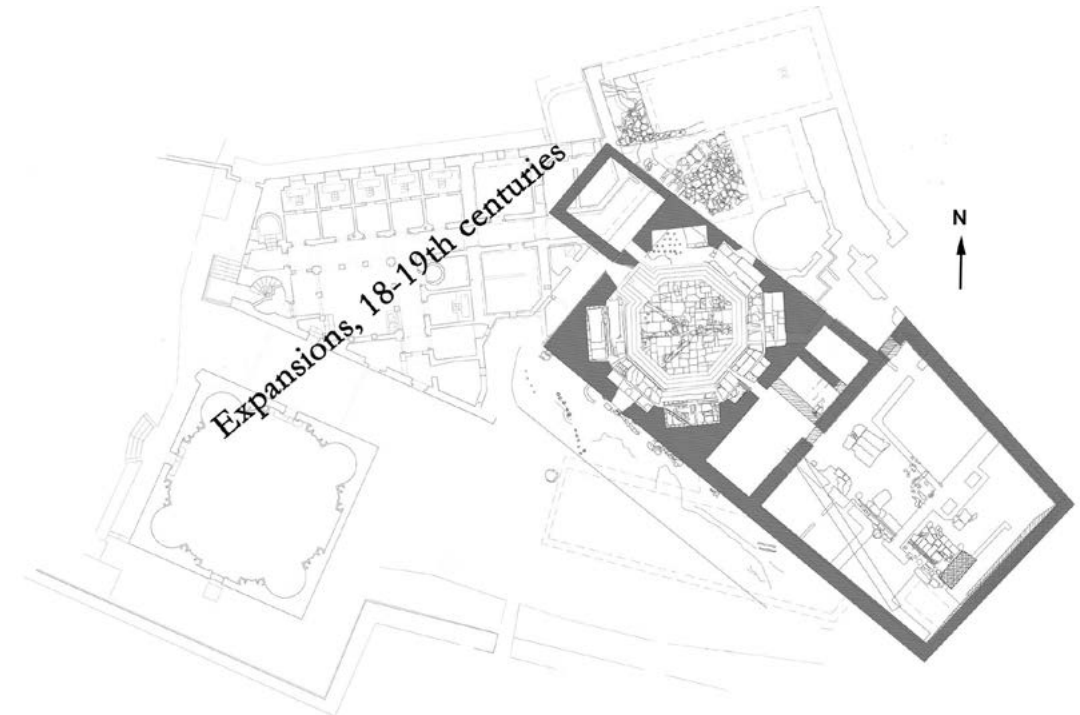
¹⁵ Dendrochronological testing by Dr András Grynaeus.



III. 3. The plan of Rudas Bath. The standing walls of the Bath built in the period of the Turkish conquest is set in grey



III. 4. The plan of Császár Bath. The standing walls of the Bath built in the period of the Turkish conquest is set in bold



III. 5. The plan of Rác Bath. The walls of the Bath built in the period of the Turkish conquest is set in grey

is octagonal, and its side rooms do not contain eight *iwans*. The same architectural principle was applied in many more baths designed by architect Mimar Sinan; for example, the Mihrimah Sultan Hamami and the Zeyrek Hayreddin Paşa Hamami in Istanbul. Mimar Sinan built the bath in Edirne in 1568. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha ordered the construction of Császár Bath in Buda in 1574, not long after Rudas Bath, but the architect he assigned is still unknown.

Király Bath also has an ordinary plan arrangement, which is a particular version of the star-shaped hot steam room. Further side rooms open through one of its niches. A similar structure can be seen in Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's twin bath in Payas, but as many as three niches give access to a similar series of rooms there. Numerous parallels referring to this type of arrangement could have been found in the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The architectural expansions of Rác Bath (III. 5) in Buda deserve thorough attention. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha purchased this bath from Efendi Mevlana Hassan,¹⁶ the preceding Kadi of Pest. One private bath chamber and two pools were added to it during the construction. Still possessing three pools today, this bath can also be qualified as extraordinary.

In addition to their individual plan arrangements, the dimensions of the baths in Buda are also striking. Their entrance halls were destroyed in the 20th century, due to which the total dimensions of the buildings dating to the period of the Turkish Occupation can be measured on the basis of their plans dating prior to World War II. The two smaller baths can be easily distinguished: these are the Rác and Király Baths, which are 15 by 33 and 15 by 38 metres in size. As regards floor space, the Rudas and Császár Baths are twice as big: Rudas has a floor space of 20 by 45 metres, while that of the Császár Bath is 22 by 48 metres.

¹⁶ Page 9a of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's charter of waqf.

The aforementioned twin bath of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Edirne has a dimension of 19 by 26 metres, and his twin bath in Payas has a size of 14 by 54 metres. There are two sections in it: one of them is 14 by 25 and the other is 14 by 29 metres in size. Lala Mustafa Pasha's bath in Gaziantep has a size of 19 by 43 metres. Exclusively, the sizes of the really large Turkish baths, such as Bayezid's twin bath¹⁷ in Istanbul (34 by 48 metres) and the Yeni Kaplıca¹⁸ in Bursa (31 by 47 metres), can be compared to those of the giant baths in Buda.

It should be noted that the baths in Buda and other Turkish hamams built in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire share identical architectural techniques, raw materials, and architectural properties.

It is a known fact that architect Mimar Sinan worked for Sokollu Mustafa Pasha in Buda, and that he built both the Pasha's *madrasas*: one in the area of the royal castle and the other next to the Pasha's *djami*.¹⁹ Also, he was in charge of engineering the Pasha's *türbe*²⁰ that still stands in Buda near the Pasha's *djami*. Although the aforementioned baths might not be attributed to Mimar Sinan's personal expertise, their parallels and degree of elaboration might suggest that we should seek their designer(s) at the architect's workshop.

Regretfully, among other facilities, only one *djami* built by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha has survived to our times. It is currently an integral part of a Christian church, yet significant re-

¹⁷ Haskan 1995: 59.

¹⁸ Tuna 1987: 34.

¹⁹ Ágoston 1991: 190–191.

²⁰ Küçükkaya 1990: 227.

search on it has not been conducted so far. Therefore, more accurate information about it is not available. Solely written data and images of his caravanserais, *madradas*, and *türbes* have been at our disposal, because the facilities and buildings mentioned were physically destroyed long ago, and their remains have not been recovered to date.

The high quality of the existing structures in Buda and the employment of Mimar Sinan, the most prominent architect in that age, allow us to extrapolate that the Turkish edifices and complexes in Buda that were destroyed must have been built in conformity with high standards. As a consequence of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's waqfs, the conversion of the Christian town into an Osmanli centre progressed substantially as regards the town's urban exterior. The institutions associated with the buildings provided reflected the Osmanli lifestyle of Buda. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's construction projects assured his family's economic and social position in the long run. Having physically represented Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's and his family's power, the edifices in Buda also referred to the close connection between the Sokollus and the Sultan's court, which Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's relationship with Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha also maintained. On the one hand, we have significant knowledge of architect Mimar Sinan's lifework in Buda, which can clearly be associated with the character of Sokollu Mustafa Pasha. On the other hand, we might consider the buildings in Istanbul and Edirne as further pre-references, which happen to ascribe the pertinences to the Sultan's architectural workshop. By the same token, the prevailing architectural trend of the Ottoman imperial capital, and additionally of the Sultan's and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's constructions, must have served as an example to have been adopted by Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, who functioned in the vilayet of Buda and who, through his contacts, could afford to hire artists and craftsmen working for the Sultan's court.

Translated from the Hungarian language by Zoltán Törőcsik

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Peculiar properties of the Safavid faience decoration in two Isfahan royal mosques

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The decor of the two famous Safavid Mosques in the ensemble of the Shah Square of Isfahan makes an overwhelming impression on every visitor, regardless of his confession and views on aesthetics. The ornamental decor of both mosques—Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Shah (or Imami) is really unique; its comparison to other monuments may display similar or contrasting features, but will not strike any parallels. On the one hand, the decor of these mosques is typical for the art of Safavid Iran, on the other—its appearance differs from the other buildings so much, that even fragments of the tiles can be easily recognized. This combination of the typical and the unique per se does not explain the stylistic exceptionality, as it is just a typical component of any outstanding piece of art. What is it then that makes up the stylistic originality of the decor of these two monuments, illustrating the highest achievements of the Isfahan school of architecture? What is the secret of their extraordinary emotional and intellectual impact?

Both these buildings, founded on the order of Shah 'Abbas I (1587–1629),¹ were conceived as part of one massive grand ensemble.

Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah² (1011–1028/1602–1619), a small royal chapel, is in its structure a typical mosque for everyday prayers—*masjid*; in accordance with its purpose, it has neither a courtyard nor a minaret. The exterior architecture of this building is simple and monumental: the solemn helmet-shaped dome grows naturally out of the round drum above the rectangular prayer hall. However, the brilliant tiling of the entry facade and that of the dome makes one forget the material form of the building. Laced with a double plant arabesque—*islimi* (*eslimi*)—clearly visible from afar and dominated by the white and light-blue curving lines on the cream-coffee background, the dome resembles an intricate crown rather than a voluminous construction. Decorated with the polychrome patterns of the window-bars in painted maiolica, calligraphic bands, ornamental inserts and device inscriptions, the drum resembles embroidery with a jewel-work finish. The front, dazzling with blue jewelled tones,

¹ Papadopulo 2002: 303–313.

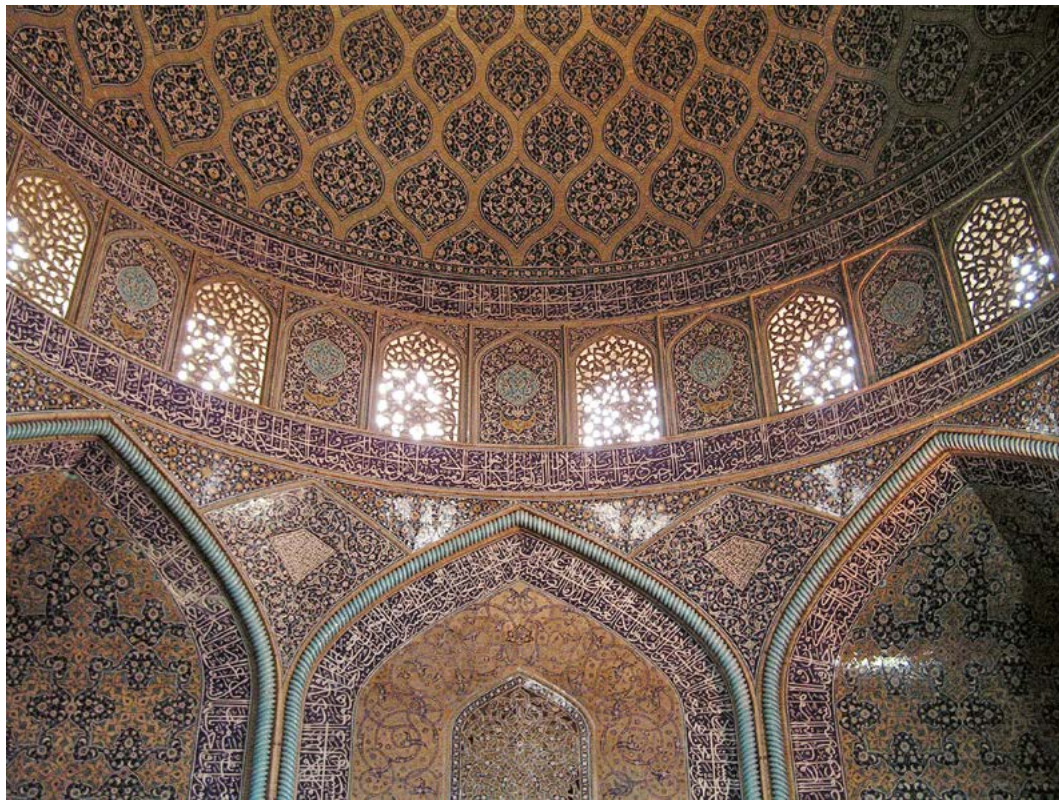
² Originally it was named Masjid-i Sadr or Masjid-i Fath Allah (Hoag 1977: 352). Dates of building for both mosques are after Hillenbrand (2000: 112, 114).



III. 1. Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah. The Dome outside ceramic decoration. Kashi-ye mo'arra (cut-tile mosaic or inlaid tiles); phot. Vadim Pappe

sprinkled with pure and rich colours, is split into two symmetrical panels on each side of the entrance arch of the *iwan* (Persian *eyvan*) with a stalactite-like cascade in the vault, resembles carpet curtains, which precede the sacral space inside of the mosque and separate it from the vanities of the world.

The ideal harmony of the decor and construction of the interior of the prayer hall is amazing. The system of the supporting and supported elements is not hidden, but translated by a skillful designer into the language of lines and colours. All surfaces of the interior are inlaid with painted faience tiling, creating the impression of a light pavilion on a low basement, drawn in the thin air as though it was woven by interlacing flowers and inscriptions. Eight slim keel-shaped arches are outlined with ribs, rising from the basement and mantled with the cable moldings of rounded turquoise bricks. The flat arch niches, with cable-ribs inside, appear to be draped with carpets of polychrome flower arabesques with white epigraphic borders against a deep-blue background. The shape of the arches reappears in the form of the windows, niches and the *mihrab*. The piers between the arches transform into shield-like squinches, transitioning into the polygonal basement of the round drum. The interior of the drum, rhythmically cut through by a chain of sixteen intricate windows and inlaid with painted tiles, resembles an ornate necklace around the bowl of the dome. Raised up in the rays of light which pour through the tracery of window-bars, the dome looks completely unreal. The skillfully arranged and painted tiles transform it into a sunburst (*shamsa*) with the radiating intricate ornament of Rum (Byzantine) bands—*band-e rumi*.

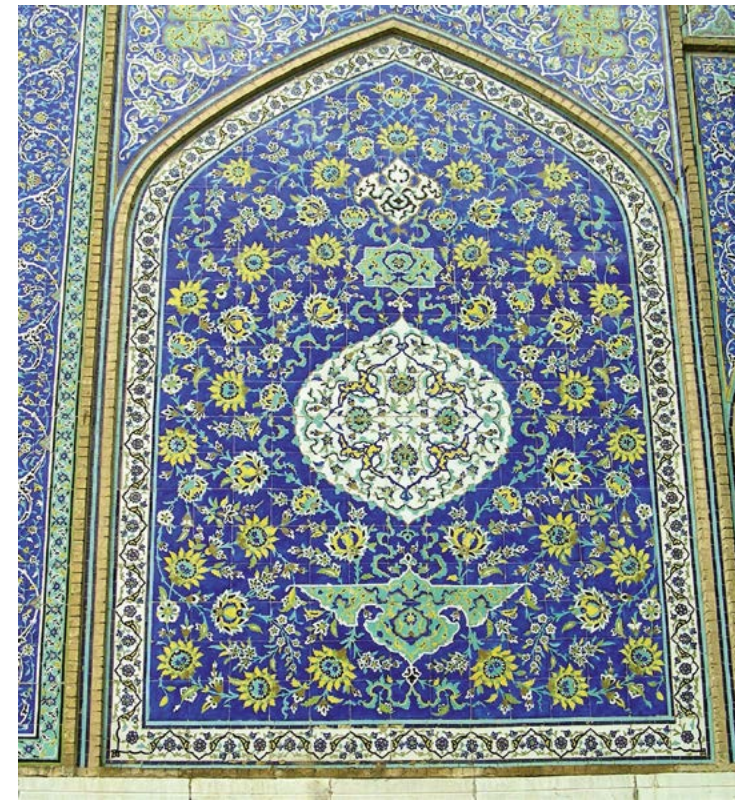


III. 2. Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah. The interior ceramic decoration, detail; phot. Tatyana Starodub

Masjid-i Imam³ (1021–1040/1612–1630)—the royal congregational mosque, founded 10 years after the Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah—impresses even more through the contrast of static architectural masses and dynamic, ever unfurling coloured ornaments. The decoration of the entry *pishtak* with two minarets and a deep *iwān* under the stalactitic vault is recognized as the highlight of Safavid architectural decor. The festively decorated dome of the prayer hall, 54 metres high, dominates the panorama of the city. Encircled on the outer surface by a double ribbon arabesque in white and golden yellow on a turquoise background, the magnificent dome rises gently out of the cylindrical drum, seemingly melting with it into one unified whole. The inner shell of the dome, supported by a crown of 8 arches 38 metres high, seems to be floating in the light that flows in through the windows. *Pishtaks* with minarets, *iwāns* with gorgeous *muqarnas* vaults, the dome, the facades of the courtyard and all the visible surfaces, except for the base and the pillars, are covered with rich tile ornamentation.

Both mosques owe their splendid colourful attire to the skillful use of two tiling techniques of the architectural ceramic decor: the faience or cut-tile mosaics and sets of tiles with enamel paintings. The French scholar, Yves Porter, has provisionally named this type of painting

³ Its decoration was eventually finished only in 1638. See: Bloom and Blair 2002: 308.



III. 3. Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah. Ceramic panelling on the left façade wall. *Haft rangi* polychrome ceramic painting, detail; phot. T. Starodub

polychrome “black line” tilework.⁴ It is characteristic for both techniques to use the light silica-based paste, so-called stone-paste or frit-body, which was created in the Seljuk era. In Central Asia, this paste was also called *kashin*, from the Persian *kashi*, or ceramic tiles, produced in a city that was famous for such wares—Kashan in Iran.

The faience tiling technique, which is called *kashi-ye mo'arraq* (inlaid tiles) in the Iranian world, was used for the first time in the beginning of the 14th century, in the Ilkhanid era. It reached the summit of its development in the Timurid period and was inherited by Safavid artisans. Isfahan craftsmen were mostly using it in the facade decoration, and in the interiors, as noted by Y. Porter, especially for tiling of convoluted surfaces.⁵

Technically, “black line” polychrome ceramic is painting with base metal oxides mixed with frit. These paints are then applied on stone-paste covered with a silica slip and, to protect the colours from bleeding and mixing during firing, the differently coloured segments are separated with a contour of black chromite, in Persian *mozarrad*. This type of painting has been named in Persian *haft rangi*—“seven paints”, because it resembles in a way the expensive seven-coloured technique of *mina'i* (“enamelled”), or *haft rang*, which came into use at the end of the Seljuk era and disap-

⁴ Degeorge and Porter 2002: 278.

⁵ Degeorge and Porter 2002: 155.

peared before the middle of the 13th century.⁶ However, in *mina'i*, every vessel and tile has its own self-contained composition; whereas the patterns of Safavid decorations were based on a square-cut grid, copied in parts onto the square tiles and finally reassembled after firing like a puzzle to be put onto the walls. Safavid *haft rangi* painting is often compared to the Spanish technique of *cuerva seca* widespread in medieval Turkey, which actually has its own tradition and technology.⁷ Safavid *haft rangi* tiling differs technologically and stylistically from Spanish as well as Ottoman products, which are also called *cuerva seca*. The *haft rangi* ornamental tile designs in the interiors of Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan demonstrate the highest achievements of Safavid artisans and draftsmen in the field of tile painting and in architectural ornament.

Thus the technology of the ceramic decoration of both mosques attests to traditional values in the development of the centuries-long original Iranian crafts. But were these principles also responsible for its stylistic characteristics?

The formal analysis of both mosques' ornaments shows that the impression of the rich colouring and elaborate drawing is actually achieved by quite modest means of restricted (especially in the interiors of Masjid-i Shah) palette, standardized designs and only a few ornamental motifs.

The attempts to track down the origins of the favourite Safavid ornamental motifs and designs lead us far into the pre-Islamic past. The idea of elaborately and monumentally decorating the imperial palatial and religious complexes goes back to the Achemenians, who probably adopted it from the kings of Elam, Babylon and Assyria. On the stone reliefs of Persepolis, for instance, one can see borders of flower chains, curling plant bands and lotus garlands. The same subjects, transformed and stylized, are included in the border designs of both mosques.

The design concept of unfurling plants or flowers also has roots in Antiquity. A beautiful ancient sample of the *islimi* prototype can be seen on the gold bowl from the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, produced in an unknown centre in Iran, 400–300 BC.⁸ The famed and vast carpet known as *zemestan-i*, which should have covered the floor in the audience hall of the Sasanian Khusraw Palace (*Taq-i Kisra*) in Madain/Ktesiphon, has obviously been interwoven with flower design, since at-Tabari (838–923) compared it to a “large flower-garden, which had come alive.”⁹ The motifs of a symmetrically designed straight blossomed flower (“Tree of Life” motif) and rhythmically curling spiral sprout, appearing on Sassanid silver vessels,¹⁰ have been assimilated into Iranian Muslim ornaments nearly unchanged.

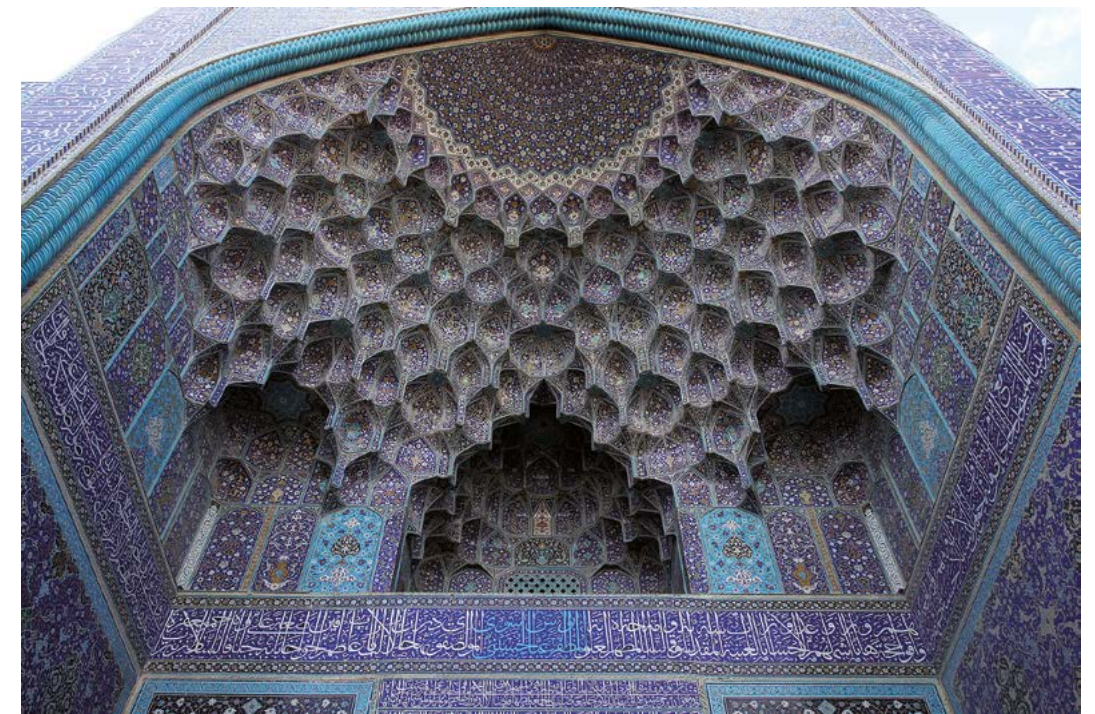
⁶ This name is mentioned in Abu-l-Qasem al-Kashani's Treatise *'Arāyes al-jawāhir wa nafāyis al-atayib*, first published by the group of German scholars H. Ritter, J. Ruska and R. Winderlich (see: Sarre 1935: Persian text, p. 30).

⁷ The *cuerva seca* (dry cord) technique originated in the 15th century in South Spain. The *cuerva seca* process begins with molding of the clay, which is then dried and decorated with a first drawing of lines (with an oil-based made with manganese dioxide and olive oil) that block the porosity of the clay and are what later will allow the separation of the enamels. After a first firing at low temperatures, the enamels are applied by dropping them in the spaces between the lines, and now a second firing, this time at high temperatures make the enamels hard and shiny. Then the 24K gold is applied with a brush and the final firing, the third one, takes place giving each one of our products its singularity (http://www.spanishplates.com/about_ceramic_technique.php [accessed: 17.12.2010]). See also: DeGeorge and Porter 2002: 278.

⁸ Bowl: Z-544; see: Ivanov et al. 1984: ill. 31.

⁹ Kerimov 1983: 15.

¹⁰ Silver pitcher (S-61). 6th–early 7th century. State Hermitage. See: Trever and Lukonin 1987: ill. 56.

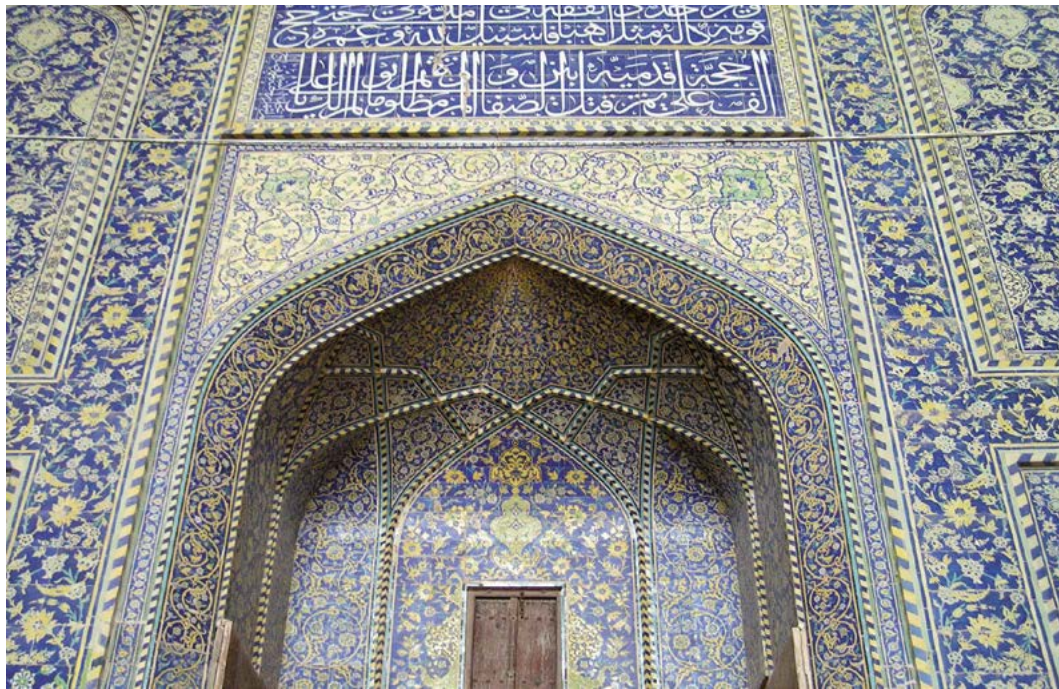


III. 4. Masjid-i Imam (Shah mosque). Muqarnas (stalactite) vault of the entry *pishtak*. Cut-tile mosaic; phot. V. Pappe

Phyllis Ackerman, in her “Survey of Persian Ornament”¹¹ noted the wide usage of Sassanid decorative motifs in the art of medieval Iran. A number of foliar and palmette forms, known in Iranian art in the Seljuk, Ilkhanid and Safavid periods were borrowed from the Sassanid stock of designs. The counterparts of the two main white *islimi* arabesque motifs on the dome of Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah are easy to recognize: two forms of “split-acanthus leaf”, found by Phyllis Ackerman in the decoration of Sassanid silver vessels. Their many variations are present in the designs of the facade and interior decoration of this mosque, as well as in the ornaments of Masjid-i Imam.

The ornamental subjects and designs, used by the artists of Safavid Isfahan mosques, started to take shape in the Buyid era. For example, in the decoration of the last two pages of the famous Baghdad manuscript of the Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 1000/1001 we see the same flower palmette as the richly elaborated kind in the Masjid-i Shah ceramic painting. Still, the Iranian ornament underwent the most development during the Seljuk and Ilkhanid eras. It was then that the stalactites (*muqarnas*) had come to stay in the architecture of Iran and the whole Muslim world. *Islimi*—the plastically expressive, flexible, light and supple plant pattern which originated in the Seljuk art of Central Asia—has since the late 12th—early 13th century become the main forming element of Iranian and indeed Islamic curvilinear ornament, which the Europeans refer to as arabesque.

¹¹ Ackerman 1941: figs 902–906.



III. 5. Masjid-i Imam (Shah mosque). The *mihrab* in the main prayer hall. *Islimi* patterns ornamentation. *Haft rangi* polychrome ceramic painting, detail; phot. T. Starodub

The gradual development of *islimi* can be observed in the 13th-century luster and polychrome painted tiles, the panels of stone-paste stars and cross painted tiles (Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; Louvre Museum, Paris), as well as in the *mihrab* from the Maydan Mosque in Kashan (Museum of Islamic Art in State Museums of Berlin), and in some works of Ilkhanid art. The cut stucco *mihrab* of Oljeytu (Uljaytu) Khudabanda (about 1310) in the Great Mosque of Isfahan is skillfully decorated with *islimi* variations. The double curl design with the motif of split palmette in the Sheikh Lutfallah mosque actually repeats the same ornamental scheme, but in *haft rangi* technique. From the decorative vocabulary of the Ilkhanid, which was formed under the influence of Far-Eastern ornamental art and later taken over and elaborated by Iranian tradition, the Safavid artisans also adopted motifs of blossoming flowers, expanding lotuses and splendid chrysanthemums.

The geometrical ornaments made up of enamel-painted monochrome bricks (*banna'i*) which were used in architectural decor since the late Seljuk era, in the manner that they are present in the tiling of the minarets, the *iwans* and the arch gateways of the Masjid-i Shah, continue the Timurid tradition. The idea of shaping decorative designs as carpet-like panels, logically interconnected and subordinated to the shape of the building, also goes back to Timurid architecture. The methods of goldwork-like treated decoration, of inserting figured medallions like *shamsa* (literally “sun”, round ornamented palmette or sunburst) or *torundj* (lemon form), as well as shaped panels and inscription cartouches *ketābe*, filled instead with small-detailed designs, into an ornamental spider-web, were borrowed by Isfahan artisans from Timurid and early Safavid book illumination.

Thus the continuity of ornamental motifs and designs, ideas and technical methods going back to the ancient and medieval phases of Iranian culture is distinctly traceable in the ornaments of Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Shah. From this point of view the decoration of Isfahan Safavid mosques presents a sort of encyclopedia of Iranian ornaments, reflecting the broad contacts of Iranian art with other cultures.

However, there is also another point of view which helps us to understand the true meaning of the decoration of the two royal mosques of Isfahan. Despite the differences in scale and planning, the architectural and decorative programmes of Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Shah are subject to the same tasks and principles. Both mosques, with their splendour and beauty, as well as the whole grand ensemble of Maidan-i Shah or Maidan-i Naghsh-i Jahan (Square of the Design of the World) must claim and affirm, on the one hand, the righteousness and the majesty of the Shi'ite Dynasty and, on the other hand, the inviolable adherence of the Iranian state to the ideas and spirit of Islam.

The unquestionably fine style of the polychrome decorations of both mosques was formed as a result of a century-long evolution of Islamic civilization and represents one of its highlights. The mosques' elegant coverings are built upon the complementing of the two fundamentals of Islamic art—calligraphy and ornament—and illustrate the peculiarities of Islamic aesthetics. In accordance with the main Muslim criterion of Beauty (*al-husn wa-l-jamāl*), which is the principle of *al-tawhid* (Unity of God), the inner and the outer decorative schemes are submitted to the same design and have the same general stylistic conception. At the same time, ornaments of both mosques stand out with the particularly wide variety of compositions that correspond to the definition of Islamic art as “the result of a manifestation of Unity upon the plane of multiplicity.”¹² Refinement, delicate artistic manner and the highest quality of skill combine with the exuberance and magnificence of decorative forms. The effect of variety is achieved through a masterly arrangement of a limited ornamental motif repertoire, which demonstrates, in a manner that is essential to Islamic art, the conformity to the principle of symmetry and the rhythmical repetition of homogeneous and similar elements.

This approach corresponds to the Qur'anic idea of unceasingly renewed creation: “Allah originates the creation, then /He/ reproduces it, then to Him you shall be brought back.”¹³ The ornament, arranged in this fashion, presents a two-dimensional space structure, the extension of which may be stopped or continued at any given point. It is this principle that allowed the Muslim draftsmen to fill surfaces of any form with patterns. Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Imam ornaments, fascinating in their elegance and proportion, are built upon the geometrically precise correlation of all of the elements in concord with the Qur'an concept of harmony that Islamic aesthetics consider as the main law of Beauty and the basic principle of the Universe created by God.¹⁴

The decorations of both mosques are penetrated by esoteric ideas, corresponding to Muslim concepts of *zāhir* (the manifested) and *bātin* (the hidden). It leads into a labyrinth of patterns, submerging believers into the world of Harmony and Perfect Beauty, which, for Muslims, represents one of the attributes and priorities of the divine. Compositions of interlaced flowers and plants, both

¹² Seyyed Hossein Nasr, zob. Nasr 1987: 7.

¹³ Qur'an 1983: 30, 11.

¹⁴ Qur'an 1983: 67, 3–4.

real and imaginary, masterfully implement the Islamic concept of neglecting the temporal “life of this world” and the essential aiming towards eternal life, the latter being presented in the Qur’an as a beautiful garden, “the extensiveness of which is as the extensiveness of the Heaven and the Earth.”¹⁵

Ornaments and calligraphic inscriptions wrap the façades and interiors of both mosques like an all-over carpet. There is an accordance with the Islamic principle of *mil’ al-faragh* (“filling of waste”; as opposed to the incorrect European saying “horror of waste”). Filling an empty surface with designs symbolically testifies and glorifies the good works of the Creator. The principle *mil’ al-faragh* also determines the methods of the creative process, strictly adherent to the concept of space as a scheme and symbol of the Macrocosm. Accordingly, the two-dimensional space of Islamic ornament is always based on the axes of reference and thus subject to the Muslim concept of sacred orientation—*qibla*. This principle is rigorously followed in the architecture and decorations of both Isfahan mosques. Constructed in keeping with the Muslim sacred orientation, these monuments are placed into the unified universal system of spatial connections, created by Islamic Cosmography and, consequently—into the unified universal system of spiritual values, created by Islamic civilization.

Thus, the study of the decorations of Masjid-i Sheikh Lutfallah and Masjid-i Imam demonstrates both the continuity of Iranian art traditions and the implementation of principles of Islamic aesthetics. Perhaps it is this organic merging of the proper Iranian traditions and the main principles of Islamic aesthetics, which explains the unique fascination and stunning beauty of the Safavid mosques’ decorations in Isfahan? We will not lay this subject to rest, for it is said in the Holy Qur’an: “Turn back and seek light.”¹⁶

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¹⁵ Qur’an 1983: 57, 20–21.

¹⁶ Qur’an 1983: 57, 13.



The image of Safavid garden palaces in European travel accounts

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Introduction

The Safavid dynasty was founded by Shah Ismail, who re-unified Persia (Iran) after several wars. Founded on the Shi’i belief, Safavid Iran saw an apogee in politics, culture, art, and architecture. Safavid kings showed a great interest in literature, art, and architecture. Shah Ismail I wrote poems in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, Shah Tahmasp was a painter himself. During the reign of Shah ‘Abbas, artistic products provided a large portion of Iranians’ foreign trade.¹ The Safavid age (1501–1736 AD) saw not only a renaissance in Persian art and architecture, but also the revival of the Persians’ political role in international affairs, especially as a potential ally of Europeans and Mughals in India. The Safavids’ splendid capital, Isfahan, was visited by several Europeans who travelled there as merchants, missionaries, diplomats, or military advisors. The diverse reasons behind their voyages, their levels of familiarity with Persian culture and language, and their involvement in the Safavid court and Persian society resulted in diverse observations and readings of Persian architecture. The loss of state archives and the insufficiency of chronicles written in that age indicate the importance of using travellers’ accounts in any study of Safavid architecture. While documents that describe Safavid palaces and gardens in detail are scarce in Persian historical literature, travellers’ accounts can be consulted to reconstruct the image of Safavid architecture and its cultural and socio-political context.

Local historians and the European travellers who visited the Persian world frequently refer to gardens as the main settings for social and political events. Even the vast terminology they use to describe gardens and pavilions highlights the cultural significance of these elements in Persian society. The multiple uses of gardens as recreational areas, encampments, and

¹ In this period, handicrafts such as tile-making, pottery, textiles, miniature painting, bookbinding, decoration, calligraphy, and carpet weaving developed. Through constructing urban bazaars, caravanserais, mosques, shrines, bridges, cisterns, dams, and pigeon towers, Safavids promoted public architecture. They also constructed and developed bazaars in major cities such as Kerman, Kashan, Ghazvin, and Qom, and hundreds of caravanserais were constructed in different parts of their empire to facilitate transportation and promote trade in the Silk Road.

for administrative affairs and pilgrimage define the function of gardens, and consequently, the presence, function, and design of pavilions. The common use of royal gardens outside cities as sites for encampments, especially in the pre-Safavid age, shaped the perception of gardens as places for temporary stays. In other words, the garden was considered a camping zone and not a permanent place for relaxation. This phenomenon was the result of the nomadic lifestyle of the court and the tradition of living in gardens far from city centres, probably to protect their capitals against external attacks or internal rebellions and revolutions. These gardens served as the main settings for administrative affairs, initiating wars, or defending the cities next to them. In general, the gardens, especially those used for encampments, had the capability to contain new buildings. Especially during the pre-Safavid age, gardens were considered territories that could be expanded based on new social, political, and urban demands. The expansion and extension not only refers to the size of gardens but also to their use and function. The two major reasons behind the development of gardens outside cities were the limitations in the availability of urban lands and the common use of gardens for military and royal encampments. This quality also directly impacted on the flexible definition of the pavilion structure as a building, kiosk, or tent.

Despite the common use of gardens as encampments, the accounts written by historians and travellers confirm the existence of buildings in most royal gardens since the Ilkhanid period. Since most of these gardens no longer survive, our knowledge about them primarily depends on historical material. Travellers' accounts provide precious information about buildings in gardens which do not exist anymore. For instance, Clavijo's² descriptions of the palaces in gardens at Kesh and Samarqand³ draw a clear picture of the pavilions' placement, design, and ornamentation. Similarly, an anonymous Venetian merchant, Della Valle, and the correspondents Herbert and Chardin provide valuable information not only on the design of garden pavilions, but also the cultural context behind their construction and design.

Shah 'Abbas' garden palaces

Shah 'Abbas (1587–1629 AD), the most powerful of the Safavid monarchs, moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan because of its strategic and natural advantages.⁴ Shah 'Abbas invited scientists and artisans from other areas to convert Isfahan into an international centre for business, science, art, and architecture.⁵ Safavid planners reorganized the plan of Isfahan to create a new city. As a result of their new plans, it became one of the most important cities of the world.

² Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412 AD), a nobleman of Madrid, was the chamberlain and ambassador of the Spanish king, Henry III of Castile, to the court of Timur. He travelled from the Black Sea coast of Turkey to Trabazon, and then went from Armenia and Azerbaijan to Samarqand (Central Asia) and then to Ray (Persia).

³ Pinder Wilson believes that it was a tradition that ambassadors to the Timurid court stopped in Shahr-i Sabz and its gardens before going to Samarqand (Wilber 1962: 61).

⁴ Shah 'Abbas moved his capital because Isfahan is located in the center of Persia and far from Safavid enemies, Ottomans and Uzbeks in western and eastern boundaries.

⁵ The Safavid's achievements in terms of reviving national pride in Iranian society has motivated some scholars to divide Persian Islamic architecture into two periods; pre-Safavid and post-Safavid (Encyclopedia: 339–349).

Isfahan, which was also called "half of the world", included a new city centre, several gardens and new residential quarters with their local bazaars, a grand bazaar, and a famous boulevard, Chaharbagh⁶ along which several gardens (including pavilions) were located. The Safavid garden pavilions are evoked in most accounts by travellers who visited Persia from the beginning of the 17th century, such as Fryer (1677 AD), Chardin (1660's–1770's AD), Tavernier (1632 AD), Herbert (1628 AD), Kaempfer (1684–1685 AD), and Binning (19th century). For instance, Fryer refers to the houses which are located in orchards and gardens along Chaharbagh Street, most of which belong to the emperor and define the borders of his court.⁷ Fryer's text proves the existence of several garden pavilions, which he calls "summer-houses", on two sides of the Chaharbagh Street, which are no longer extant. According to Fryer, these "summer-houses" face ponds and offer a delicate sight to their inhabitants.⁸ Apparently, the pavilions and gardens along Chaharbagh Street look very strange to Tavernier because he writes that you can never find gardens and pavilions in Persia!⁹ Three major garden pavilions in Isfahan that are described by travellers are Emarat-i Dargah and Hasht Behesht.

Royal gardens of Isfahan

The French traveller, Tavernier, writes that Chaharbagh Street in Isfahan begins from a "kiosk" which is about forty feet square.¹⁰ According to Tavernier, this pavilion, called Emarat-i Dargah, is located behind the palace of the king¹¹ and has narrow corridors and four halls, which he calls *iwan*.¹² The water channel in Chaharbagh Street, derived from the Zayanderud River, runs through this kiosk.¹³ This two-storey building has several windows with wooden openings (*moshabaks*). He also mentions that at certain times, only the king and his family are allowed to walk in this street.¹⁴ Another pavilion in Chaharbagh Street, which still exists, is Hasht Behesht,¹⁵ described by Fryer Street as a "sweet summer-house" crossed by two channels. The paintings of the central hall show ships and boats enacting a naval scene of war.¹⁶ This explains the interior

⁶ The Safavid square, Naghsh-i Jahan, worked as an imperial centre for cultural, religious, political, and economical activities. Naghsh-i Jahan Square (the *meidan*) included two magnificent mosques, Shah and Lotf Allah, and a royal palace, Aliqapu, and the portal gate of the main bazaar. Shah 'Abbas also constructed two great bridges in Isfahan, Allah-Verdikhan and Khadju, which were not only connectors between south and north of the city, but also places for the king and ordinary people to enjoy natural beauty of the Zayanderud River.

⁷ Fryer 1915: 296.

⁸ Fryer 1915: 295.

⁹ Tavernier 2005: 74. (Such confusion by Tavernier who is a careful observer may reveal that even in the Safavid age; western ideas didn't have that much influence on the design of gardens in Iran.)

¹⁰ Iskandar Munshi who has described the gardens in the city of Isfahan, mentions that there are two ChaharBagh's in two sides of the street and there is a pavilion on the entrance which he calls Emarat-i Dargah (Turkaman 2004: 544). Such description matches Tavernier's description of Isfahan in which he describes a kiosk at the end of Chaharbagh Street.

¹¹ It is not clear which palace he is talking about but we can guess that this is Chihilsootoun palace which is located between the square and Chaharbagh Street.

¹² Tavernier 2005: 55.

¹³ Tavernier 2005: 65.

¹⁴ In these times the street becomes a promenade and a connector between the kiosk and Si-o-Sepol Bridge.

¹⁵ He believes that Hasht Behesht is an imitation of Cosroes to make a pleasant pilgrimage (Fryer 1915: 348–349).

¹⁶ Fryer 1915: 349.

design of this pavilion.¹⁷ “The summer-house is built entirely of polished marble, the arch of cupola is inlaid with massy gold, upon the walls are painted the famous actions of their heroes, the tank in the middle is all of silver, the posts are stuck with looking-glasses, reflecting the postures of the body, and the figures of the whole fabrick, an hemispherical turret presses on four pillars, which are the main supporters.”¹⁸

This image was completed about a century later by Robert Blair Munro Binning (1814–1891) who visited Isfahan in the 19th century. He worked as an administrator in the East India Company Service in Madras. He was familiar with Arabic, Persian, and Hindi and collected historic manuscripts. He travelled to Ceylon and Persia in 1847–1849, which he described in his book which was entitled *Journal of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.* Robert Binning describes the Hasht Behesht pavilion without mentioning its name.¹⁹ He has heard that it is one of the seven palaces (Haft Dest) which formerly stood in different gardens beside each other on Chaharbagh Street. According to Binning, “this suite (Hasht Behesht) comprises a palace, two storeys high, containing a vast number of apartments, none very large or handsome, built round a court laid out in garden beds ... one of the chambers in the lower storey, ornamented with a Tabriz marble (*hizara*) daubed with flowers, and a cistern of marble in the floor.”²⁰ Binning also describes another Safavid pavilion in the west of Chaharbagh Street which no longer exists.²¹ Binning mistakenly mentions that it is located in the east of Chaharbagh Street and is built by the last Safavid king, Shah Tahmasp.²² According to him, this palace resembles Chihilsootoun and has an open façade with a flat roof supported by twelve pillars inlaid with mirrors, and ornamented chambers within.²³ This palace consists of an open polygonal hall below, and some rooms above, much tattered and tarnished.²⁴

Probably no one can be credited as much as Chardin for providing detailed information regarding Safavid royal art and architecture. Jean Chardin (1643–1713 AD), raised in a French Protestant family, was a jeweller who travelled extensively in Asia and wrote the most detailed foreign account of 18th-century Persia. In August 1671, he began his journey to Persia through Smyrna, Constantinople, Caucasia, Mingrelia, and Georgia. After reaching the Safavid capital, Isfahan, in June 1673, he travelled for four years within Persia, and then visited India before returning to Europe in 1680 AD. As a jeweller, he received the royal patronage of Shah ‘Abbas II (d. 1666 AD) and his son Safi Mirza. His employment in the Safavid court enabled him to become familiar with the Persian court and the affairs there while staying in close contact with Persian society and culture. After his return to

Europe, because of the restrictions for Protestants in France, he decided to move to London, where he was appointed as the jeweller of Charles II's court. He began publishing a memoir of his experiences in Iran as early as 1686 AD, but it was not until 1711 AD (two years before his death) that the complete work was published.²⁵ Although Chardin was not fully conversant with all aspects of Persian life and was more interested in economic and political issues, according to John Emerson, “his information on Safavid Persia outranks that of all other Western writers in range, depth, accuracy, and judiciousness.”²⁶ He provides very specific information regarding the buildings and gardens that he visited and shows a special interest in society and material culture. His interest is visible in the way that he estimates the sizes of places through which he passed, usually in terms of the number of houses or the number of people.²⁷ Moreover, his familiarity with the Persian language helped him to encounter ordinary people and have profound cultural experiences. Similarly, Chardin's direct access to the Safavid court helped him describe contemporary politics and administration, sometimes with a few mistakes or exaggerations. His notes, especially the ones on gardens and pavilions, are regarded as reliable witnesses to the culture, architecture and politics of Safavid Persia.²⁸

Royal gardens in northern regions of Iran

Thomas Herbert (1606–1682 AD) provides an extensive description of Shah ‘Abbas's court and garden at Ashraf in the north of Iran. Herbert was born in York, England, into a minor aristocratic family interested in business affairs. He accompanied the royal embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton under King Charles I to the court of the Safavid Shah ‘Abbas I in 1626–1629 AD. Upon his return he published the first English account of Persia, which according to the Iranologist, Ferrier, is modest rather than profound, has a sense of wonderment, and is lacking in conceit. Ferrier writes, “He had a sympathetic nature and showed great interest, among other things, in the dangers for the sailors, the changing climatic conditions, the indications of fate reflected in the ruins he saw, especially of Persepolis, the hardships of travelling where there were no inns.”²⁹

Herbert himself claims that he did not want to publish his notes because he thought they were rude and undigested notions, despite being truthful and offering simplicity. However, he claims that his friends forced him to go ahead.³⁰ Herbert admired Persian entertainers with their feats of strength and agility and was very interested in the pageantry of official occasions, the gorgeous clothing, and

¹⁷ His description of this pavilion is valuable in the restoration and preservation of the ornamentations especially because comparing it to the current condition of this building can show the original state of ornamentations before adding other layers of decoration in the Qajar period.

¹⁸ Fryer 1915: 350.

¹⁹ Although Binning does not mention the name of this pavilion, his descriptions of the ornamentation and the location of this garden in Chaharbagh Street reveals that he is referring to the Hasht Behesht pavilion.

²⁰ Binning 1857: 143.

²¹ Binning 1857: 144.

²² It seems that Binning has confused the name of the last Safavid king (Shah Sultan Hussein) with Shah Tahmasp, who is the father of Shah ‘Abbas. Such mistake might be because of confusing this palace with another palace with the same name in Qazvin, which is described by ‘Abdi Bayk.

²³ Binning 1857: 142.

²⁴ There is a pavilion called *namakdan* (salt-cellar) behind it.

²⁵ His notes were published under the title, *The travels of Sir John Chardin in Persia and the Orient*.

²⁶ Emerson 2010.

²⁷ Emerson 2010.

²⁸ John Emerson writes: “Together with the books of general description, then, the encyclopedic nature of his work thus easily takes precedence over its aspect as a travel account. Most of what is known about his methods, sources, and attitude towards his subject must be deduced from his own words, as few sources of independent information on him and his experience have so far emerged” (Emerson 2010). Similarly, Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen (H.A.R.) Gibb identifies that Chardin not only played a significant role in introducing Persia, but opened new doors to the eastern world for westerners. He writes, “[Chardin] stood at the opening of a new era, when the West was just beginning to realize its material superiority over the ancient East, and he has much to say about relations between Europeans and Orientals that can still be pondered with profit (Hamilton 1928: 396).

²⁹ Ferrier 2010.

³⁰ Herbert believes truth and simplicity are the souls of history (Herbert and Foster 1634: 1).

the table services of gold plate at banquets.³¹ His descriptions of social culture within the court of Shah 'Abbas seem in-depth and reliable. Despite being young, Herbert was very well educated. Sykes (1867–1945), an expert on travel accounts in Persia, believes Herbert's educational background is reflected in the lengthy and detailed way that he describes things, cultures, and events.³²

Herbert writes, "the palace is large, and looks into very pleasant gardens, albeit the building itself be not very regular, but rather confusedly divides itself into four *mohols* [*mahal* = quarter], or banqueting-houses, which be gorgeously painted. Were these united, they might better delight the eye, and cause the architect to be commended—but more of it at the ambassador's audience." According to him, Shah 'Abbas is proud of his garden and calls it "his garden".³³ Herbert writes about his entrance to the court: "At our alighting an officer bade us Hosh-goldom [welcome] and ushered us into a little house which stood in the centre of a large court, wherein was no other furniture save a few Persian carpets, which were spread about a white marble tank filled with water. Here we reposed, and for two hours were entertained with polo and wine; nothing so good as the material they were served in, flagons, cups, dishes, plates, and covers being all of gold."³⁴ He also writes that after his exit, he passes a spacious garden, which was "curious to the eye and delicate to the smell," and then proceeded to another "summer-house," which was rich in gold embossments and painting. From this pavilion, they had a delightful view of the Caspian Sea in the North.³⁵ He describes the large and square chambers with arched and richly gilded roofs and carpets of silk and gold. There are also some tanks and fountains full of water in the middle of the space as well as goblets, flagons, cisterns, filled with perfumes, rose water, wine, and flowers. From these chambers, Herbert and his companions were guided later into another square large upper-chamber, where according to him, "the roof was formed into an artificial element, many golden planets attracting the wandering eye to help their motion."³⁶ The picture that Herbert illustrates could be completed by looking at Chardin's travel notes, who visited Ashraf more than thirty years later: "those invited were made to come through the gardens by an avenue of large trees under which a dozen horses were to be seen making one of the main spectacles of royal celebrations."³⁷ Chardin describes the royal throne which is at the back of the room: "It is square, about 8 feet across and 2 or 3 inches high, covered with a white fabric on which were embroidered pearls, and gold and silver very richly woven in the centre. A large high cross-bar covered with precious stones served as the back of the seat having two cushions at the sides, also covered with precious stones ... on the right of the Shah ['Abbas II], having at his waist a little golden box full of handkerchiefs and scents for the use of the Shah if requested. Along the sides of the room are the royal officials in rank."³⁸

³¹ Herbert and Foster 1634: 61. (For more information please refer to Ferrier 2010.)

³² Sykes 1929: 559–560.

³³ Herbert and Foster 2005: 152.

³⁴ Herbert and Foster 2005: 153.

³⁵ Herbert writes that from this pavilion he had a view to the high mountain Taurus. He has apparently made a mistake and meant Alborz.

³⁶ Herbert and Foster 2005: 154.

³⁷ Ferrier 1966: 66.

³⁸ Ferrier 1966: 67.

Raised in a wealthy noble family in Rome, Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652 AD) is one of the most outstanding travellers of the Baroque period. He undertook a long trip through the eastern world in the 17th century. After a vow to visit the Holy Land, he left Venice by boat on the 8th of June 1614 and reached Constantinople, where he stayed for one year, learned Turkish and a little Arabic, and then travelled to Alexandria,³⁹ Cairo, and Mount Sinai with nine companions. Eventually he arrived in Jerusalem on the 8th of March 1616 and then travelled to Persia through Damascus, Aleppo, and Baghdad. There he visited Hamadan and reached Shah 'Abbas's camp in his garden in Farah Abad (Mazandaran) in the summer of 1618. Being well received at court and treated as the shah's special guest helped Della Valle record his unique observations of the court. His marriage in 1616 with Maani, daughter of a Nestorian Catholic father and an Armenian mother, inspired him to meet Shah 'Abbas I, who had a good reputation due to his religious tolerance.⁴⁰ Moreover, during his stay in Isfahan, which lasted about three years, he tried to strike an alliance with the Cossacks in a renewed war against the Ottomans, who were Europe's main enemy in the 17th century. After visiting Isfahan, Persepolis, and Shiraz, he went to India.⁴¹ He sent regular letters to his friend, Mario Schipano, a professor of medicine in Naples, who was the main source of inspiration for his trip to the east. These letters were slightly edited and published by his four sons only two years before his death. John Gurney believes, "Aside from the immediacy and vivacity of these letters, Della Valle displayed excellent narrative and descriptive skills, powers of acute observation, and a genuinely scholarly breadth of learning." Despite being arrogant and pretentious in some of his writings, Valle was an intelligent and high-spirited person. According to Gurney, he showed a gradual appreciation of different aspects of Persian society, culminating in his deep involvement in the Safavid court and Persian society, worlds that few foreigners ever reached.⁴² Unlike other travellers in Persia, Della Valle belonged to a wealthy family and had no need of financial support, so he was not bound to the demands of any particular patron.⁴³

Pietro Della Valle, who visited Shah 'Abbas's court in the summer of 1618 AD, gives one of the few accounts of the Safavid court in Ashraf.⁴⁴ He describes their circulation inside the garden: "After the little courtyard [located beyond the first door] we passed a second door, with its covered atrium, through a small one with a few more guards; and immediately inside stretched the garden, square, not very big, in the process of being planted, and situated behind the palace, where the level ground ends at the foot of the hills clothed with woods. On these hills, the king has also planned, and already started to build, some pavilions and loggias, which will be part of the garden."⁴⁵ Then he describes the inside of this royal pavilion, which is called *divan-khaneh*: "In the middle of the level square below is the *divan-khaneh*, namely a loggia three times as long

³⁹ He travelled to Alexandria on the 25th of September 1615.

⁴⁰ Pietro Della Valle encouraged his own vision of establishing a colony of Chaldean and Nestorian Christians at Isfahan under the shah's benevolent protection.

⁴¹ In South India, he visited the King Vekatappa Nayaka and Vithal Shenoy, the chief administrators of those territories. In his return trip, he went to Muscat in January 1625, and then visited Basra, Aleppo, and Cyprus before reaching Rome on the 28th of March 1626.

⁴² Gurney 2010.

⁴³ Gurney 1986: 103.

⁴⁴ Bull 1989.

⁴⁵ Bull 1989: 152.

as it is broad, all open at the front, but behind and along the sides encircled by a wall, filled with windows, down to the ground, as is the custom here. This loggia is raised two steps from the ground; and its open front, one of the long sides, faces the north and has the entrance door, from which leading directly to the *divan-khaneh* is a wide shady path, all paved with stone in their usual way." There is a stream of water which runs in the middle of this pathway and springs from a little fish-pond in front of the *divan-khaneh*. According to Chardin, "Behind, the same pathway continues as far as the hills; and at the end of the garden, and in the middle of the *divan-khaneh*, in the part behind the wall to the south, is a communicating door, aligning the avenue in front and the avenue behind. In the *divan-khaneh*, which, as is usual, is also covered with very beautiful carpets, are to be found many of the leading men of the court seated on the floor."⁴⁶

Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (1744–1774 AD), born in Tübingen, Germany earned his medical degree in 1763 AD from the University of Leiden at the young age of 18. In order to conduct research on the natural history of the Russian empire, he travelled on the Don and the Volga, and to the western and eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea. He carefully described the plants, animals and lands of the northern regions of Iran. He died at the age of 29 when he was a hostage in the Caucasus. Gmelin, who travelled to northern Persia, visited and described Safavid palaces in the northern regions of Iran decades after their splendour in the Safavid age.⁴⁷ Gmelin visited the Safavid gardens in Ashraf more than a century later than Della Valle and Herbert: "Shah 'Abbas the Great, who left behind so many tasteful monuments, also had Ashraf built and embellished it with a beautiful palace or rather with many pleasure houses built in an almost Italian style."⁴⁸ The reason he describes them as being in the Italian style might be that according to him, these houses and gardens incorporate a "symmetric plan." He continues, "It is situated about half a mile from the sea and abuts west to mountains, which consists of forests." According to what he has heard from other people, he writes about the Shah's intention: "[It] was not to build a large town or a fortified place. According to the Shah's intentions, only nature should reign. Innocent rustic delights should be presented. Therefore Ashraf consisted of nothing but unaffected farms that were scattered disorderly in the forested plains that run from the mountains until close to the coast."⁴⁹ He adds, "Here the peasant worked; here nature triumphed. The pleasure houses with their gardens are about half a [German] mile in circumference and have been built in the best garden locations. He mentions that the garden complex in Ashraf was violently destroyed and became an abode for wild animals as a result of being abandoned."⁵⁰

Binning, who visited the Safavid garden in Farah Abad in the 19th century, similarly writes: "Here Shah Hosayn had a splendid palace, of which scarce a terrace remains. The ground is occupied by long streets of desolate and hideous ruins; often serving as lurking-places for thieves, who sally forth by night to rob unwary travellers. South of these melancholy ruins, rises a high precipitous mountain, on the summit of which is perched a ruin."⁵¹ Gmelin's description of garden houses in

Ashraf is very informative: "The royal houses, of which each one has its own name, are 2 and 3 storeys high and built with square stones and quarry stones. The walls of the houses as well as of the floors consist mostly of marble and alabaster. Each story has a large hall on both sides and a few smaller rooms. In the middle of each hall there is a fountain. The marble walls are partly whole and uniform, partly cut out to form recesses. They are mostly decorated with paintings, both with a coarse brush and pictures in Chinese taste. It is peculiar that the Persians betray their inclination to licentious living in all parts. One can imagine nothing more scurrilous and despicable than the different licentious variations that appear in the pictures."⁵² Gmelin, who is apparently shocked at seeing so many beautiful and fancy paintings in these houses, asks whether these are exhibited for public viewing.⁵³ These travel accounts prove that the garden complex at Ashraf, despite its remoteness from the Safavid capital, Isfahan, served as the major setting for administrative meetings. Despite the lack of archeological evidence, they prove the nature-oriented approach that was taken by Safavid designers in the selection of these specific sites and in the design of palaces. Several references to the view to the Caspian Sea and the surrounding mountains are witnesses to this claim. The spaces in these gardens were arranged linearly to emphasize the hierarchy within the court and decrease the accessibility of the main hall (*divan-khaneh*) in which the king's throne was located.

Conclusion

Despite their diversity in terms of geographical location and chronology, the garden palaces could be divided into different topologies in terms of plan. While the Safavid palace at Ashraf is rectangular, the Hasht Behesht pavilion in Isfahan is octagonal. Using square and octagonal plans is related to the monumentality of pavilions and their placement in the centre of gardens. A pavilion in the middle of the garden emphasizes the hierarchy of its owner and provides higher degrees of accessibility and vision to the other sides of the garden. The levels of transparency of the buildings depend on the geographical and cultural contexts of the pavilions. In contrast to the palaces in Ashraf, which are defined and almost closed entities inside enclosed gardens, the pavilions which are part of the urban neighbourhood (e.g., Emarat-i Dargah or Hasht Behesht) include more openings and are strongly connected to the garden surrounding them. The water as a sacred and decorative element plays a significant role in the design of pavilions and their connection to the gardens. The running channels pass through Emarat-i Dargah and the rectangular pools are located in front of pavilions such as Ashraf and Hasht Behesht in Isfahan. The fountains inside the pavilion are, in some cases, physically disconnected from the fountain outside, treating water as a decorative element. Pavilions as buildings are usually highly ornamented with tiles, paintings, and carpets to show off the wealth and power of their owners. Descriptions of travellers also prove the common use of paintings inside Safavid garden palaces. The paintings on the interior walls and ceiling highlight the status of the king by depicting him entertaining foreign ambassadors or battling with enemies.

⁴⁶ Bull 1989: 153.

⁴⁷ Gmelin 2007.

⁴⁸ Gmelin 2007: 247.

⁴⁹ Gmelin 2007: 247.

⁵⁰ Gmelin 2007: 249.

⁵¹ Binning 1857: 140.

⁵² Gmelin 2007: 248.

⁵³ Gmelin 2007: 248.

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Tendencies in contemporary mosque architecture of Turkey

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Compared to Turkish mosque architecture in the pre-Republican period, contemporary mosque architecture of Turkey has been subject to fewer studies.¹ The objective of this paper is to provide a general evaluation of Turkish mosque architecture in the Republican period, and to determine various stylistic tendencies observed in these structures. An overall view of the mosques of the period in question reveals two distinct tendencies and two fundamental categories that correspond to them: "the mosques of original design" and "the mosques of traditional design".

As in all other periods, there is no building inventory of the Republican period available in Turkey yet. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the mosques in the first category mentioned above are fewer in number, whereas the examples adhering to traditional schemes are incomparably more widespread.

In the Turkish mosque architecture of the Republican period, rather than conveying a repetition of traditional forms, mosques revealing an original design are more frequently encountered. It would, therefore, serve well to offer a chronological overview of some of the important examples selected among these, and to question their reckoning with tradition and the repercussions of universal modern architecture observed in these structures.

The Kınalıada Mosque² in Istanbul, built in 1964, is designed by Başar Acarlı and Turhan Uyaroğlu. The surrounding area of the mosque, which stands on the seafront, is filled with two- to three-storey summer houses; it is located in a part of the island where the traditional fabric is relatively well preserved. Bordered by slant walls on the sides, the prayer hall of the mosque is covered by two intersecting curb roofs at different heights. Independent of the structure, the minaret rises in the northeastern corner of the courtyard.

Among other intriguing details of the mosque are an ablution fountain adjoining the entrance façade, shaded by eaves and partially isolated from the courtyard by timber poles;

¹ A recent interesting work is as follows: Eyüpçiller 2000: 63–69.

² Tuğlacı 1989: 305, Erarsalan 1994: 562–563, Eyüpçiller 2000: 65.



III. 1. The Kınalıada Mosque in Istanbul (1964)—entrance façade; phot. Kayahan Türkantoz



III. 2. The Kınalıada Mosque in Istanbul (1964)—minaret; phot. K. Türkantoz

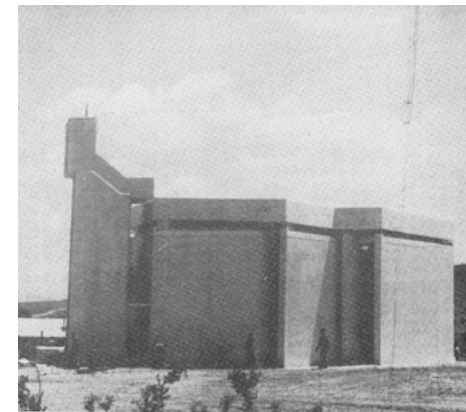
stained-glass windows in the wall slits of the lateral façades; as well as shops with triangular projections lined on the street side of the plot. The series of shops establishes a connection between the structure and the bazaar. In harmony with the neighbouring structures in terms of its modest dimensions, the design of Kınalıada Mosque alludes to the local *masjid* tradition, both with these features, and in terms of its superstructure, which can be conceived as a modernized version of a hip roof.

Two particular elements of the structure that deviate from tradition are the roof and the minaret. Elevating the height of one of the two curb planes, namely the one aligned with *qibla*, to emphasize the direction of prayer, presents itself as a unique interpretation. With its panelled form and unadorned balcony, the minaret can be regarded as the most original element of the structure. The unprecedented slender design of the minaret and the curvature of the section following the minaret towards the courtyard, are noteworthy.

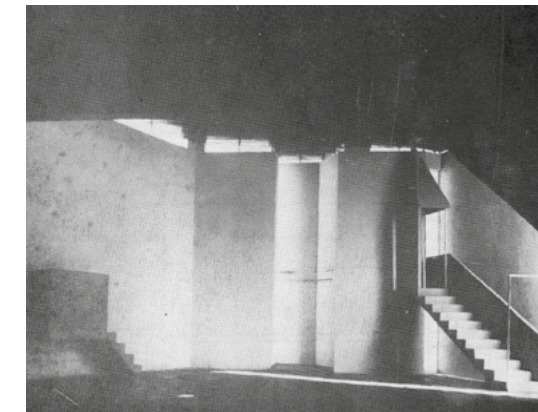
Furthermore, all the windows in the prayer hall are located in the upper portion of the walls, thus eliminating a sense of the surroundings. Both the blind wall created by the window arrangement, and the stained-glass windows in cubist style seen in the wall slits, evoke contemporary church designs of the West.

Tarabya Merkez Mosque³ in Istanbul is designed in the same year (1964) by architect M. Ali Barman. The initial project of the structure, which consisted of folded-plates in reinforced concrete, was rejected in the 1960s by Istanbul Municipality on the grounds that it was “domeless”. The architect was able to convince the Municipality, by including a contemporary dome in his second proposal. However, as the construction progressed and the contours of the structure began to emerge, he was suddenly faced with the opposition of the local residents, who argued

³ Eyüpgiller 2000: 62–65.



III. 3. The Etimesgut Mosque in Ankara (1965)—general view (Arkitekt 351, no. 3 [1973])



III. 4. The Etimesgut Mosque in Ankara (1965)—interior mihrab and minbar (Arkitekt 351, no. 3 [1973])

that the mosque was devoid of traditional lines (!).⁴ In the end, as the reinforced concrete carcass took its final form, officials of the association for mosque-building completed the project through their own initiatives.

In the initial design of the mosque, which has a cubic mass, the portico was implemented in the same body as the prayer hall. On the plain-looking façade, the asymmetrical juxtaposition of the entrance was marked by a domed baldachin. During the realization of the project, a domed portico comprised of four cylindrical units was added to the façade.

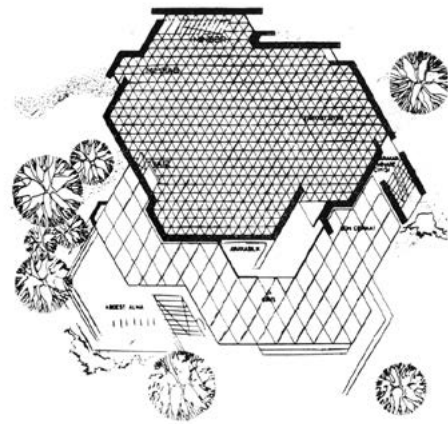
Dominating the structure's mass in the second phase of the design, the dome and the minaret—despite their original designs and details—make references to traditional styles. In this version, the lower section of the entrance façade is semi-transparent and establishes a visual connection between the prayer hall and the courtyard. In the implemented portico; however, as the *silos*-looking units are entirely closed off to the exterior, this visual connection has been lost.

The Etimesgut Mosque⁵ in Ankara was designed by Cengiz Bektaş in 1965. At first sight, the absence of elements such as an arch, a dome and a minaret distinguishes the structure from traditional mosques. The layout of the flat-roofed structure consists of intersecting irregular hexagons. Comprised of a singular space, the *harim* receives light from the vertical slits in the blind walls. The structure's visual disconnection with the exterior recalls a church design.

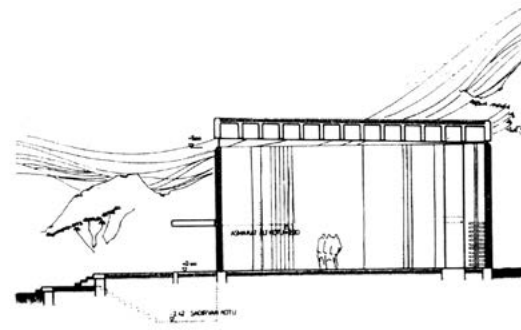
The *mihrab* and the *minbar* are particularly noteworthy among the remarkable details of the mosque. The *mihrab* is conceived as a lozenge-shaped niche; the left side of the niche is designed as a window, providing natural light—with the exception of night prayer—to the *mihrab*, which points to the direction of *qibla*. The design in question can be regarded as a contemporary interpretation of the *kandil* (oil lamp) motif, a commonly used element in traditional *mihrab* ornamentation to symbolize the light of God. In other words, the symbolic light of the oil lamp is directly replaced by the divine light of God.

⁴ Eyüpgiller 2000: 63.

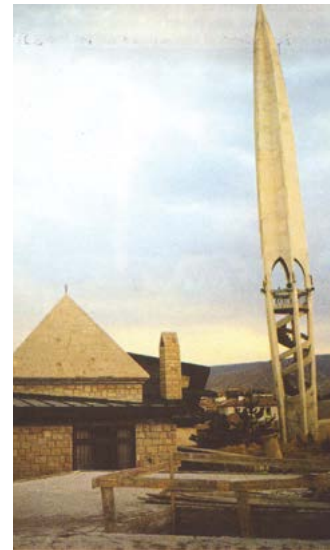
⁵ Bir Camii 1973: 124–125.



III. 5. The Etimesgut Mosque in Ankara (1965)—ground floor plan



III. 6. The Etimesgut Mosque in Ankara (1965)—section

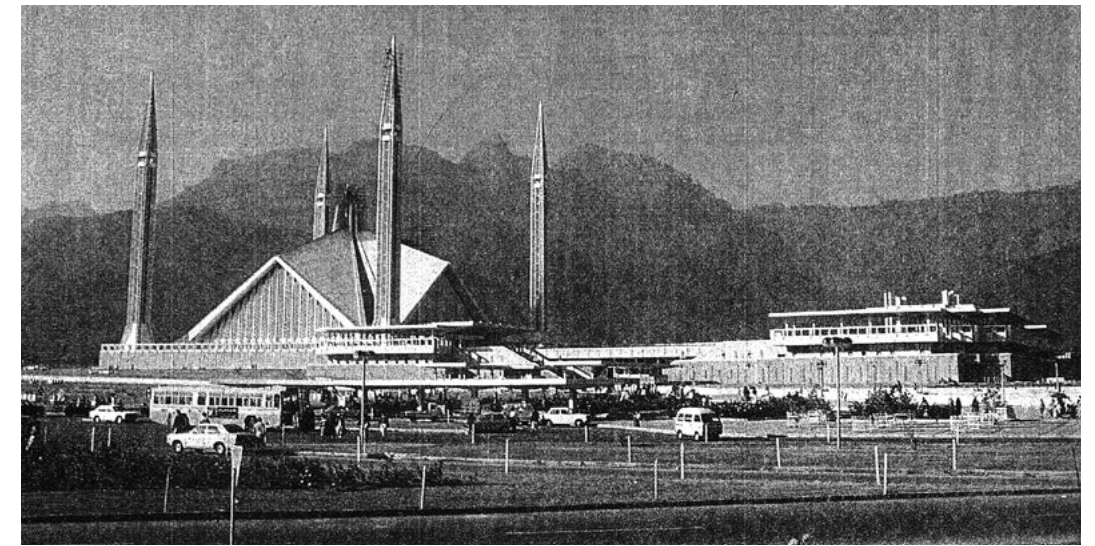


III. 7–8. The Abdurrahman Erzincanî Mosque in Malatya-Darende (1960–1974)—general view; archives of architect Ş. Ali Akkurt

In the majority of traditional mosques, the *minbar*, located to the immediate right of the *mihrab*, intersects the front prayer rows. In this particular design, however, the *minbar* is positioned in the southwest corner of the structure, avoiding any possible interference with the act of worship.

The Abdurrahman Erzincanî Mosque,⁶ located in the town of Balaban in Malatya's Darende county, was commissioned by Şeyh Abdurrahman-ı Erzincani Mosque-Building Association, founded under the leadership of Es-Seyyid Osman Hulusi Efendi. The construction, which commenced in 1960, was finally completed in 1974. Designed by Şerif Ali Akkurt, the

⁶ Erengöz 2000: 22. I would like to thank the architect who shared with me his memories about this mosque, as well as its plan and sections.



III. 9. The King Faisal Mosque in Islamabad-Pakistan (1978)—general view (*Mimarlık* 88/3)

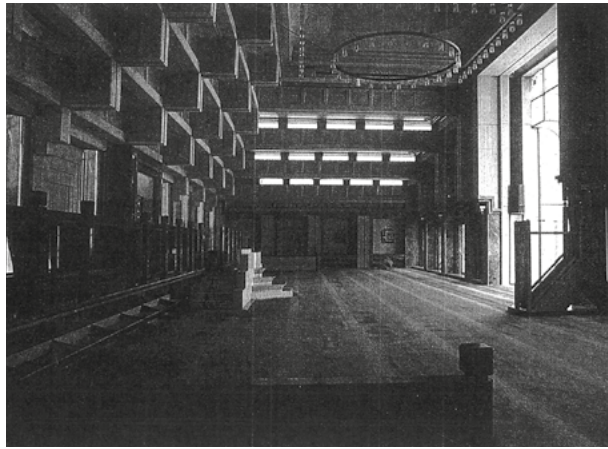
pentagonal layout of the mosque symbolizes the five pillars of Islam. A dynamic mass is created by covering the walls—with transparent slits—around the prayer hall with roofs at varying heights. As one of the most interesting elements of the structure, while the aerodynamic appearance of the minaret evokes a shuttle, and by extension contemporary technology, it also represents the banner of the Prophet Muhammad.

The open design of the spiral staircase renders a transparent appearance to the minaret. The selection of local ashlar as construction material allows the structure to blend in with its environment, while the tomb's pyramidal cone made of the same material, creates a continuity between the mosque and the tomb.

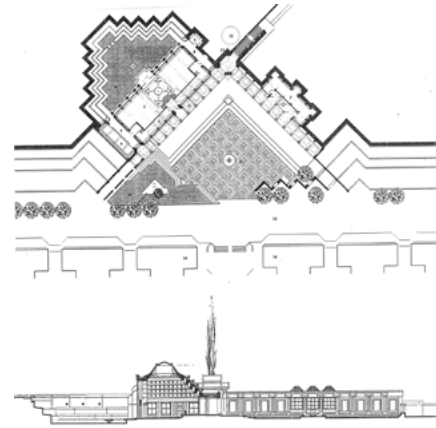
The King Faisal Mosque⁷ in Islamabad-Pakistan is designed by Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay (1927–1991). The construction began in 1978. Dalokay had previously presented a domed variant of this design for the Ankara Kocatepe Mosque project competition. Although the project was awarded first place in the competition, it was never implemented on the grounds that the design was not traditional enough. Another project, which will be discussed shortly, was implemented in its place.

The corners of the layout are shaped as bevelled squares. Supported by reinforced concrete pillars, the seven cantilever eaves present a contemporary interpretation of the portico. Once the decision to implement the project in Pakistan had been made, instead of a dome, four hip roofs comprised of two triangular planes had been opted for covering the prayer hall. Connecting at the summit and crowned by a massive finial, these roofs are embedded in the ground at the corners of the structure. The long and slender slits between them are transparent.

⁷ Kral Faysal 1988: 38–40.



III. 10. The National Assembly Mosque in Ankara (1992)—prayer space and the mihrab at right (Mimarlık 266 [1995])



III. 11. The National Assembly Mosque in Ankara (1992)—plan and section (Mimarlık 266 [1995])

Furthermore, a transparent strip stretches horizontally in the lower sections of the triangular façades bordered by the roofs. Detached from the mosque's mass and set on the diagonals of the layout, the bodies of the minarets are square in form. Long and slender pyramidal cones continue from the balconies, which do not bulge out from the body. One of the intriguing details of the structure is the ablution fountain, which is included in the *harim*. Despite the contemporary approach dominating the design of the structure, the square prayer hall is not intercepted by any load-bearing walls.

The strong visual connection between the *harim* and the exterior space, and the four thin and pencil-like minarets on the four corners of the structure evoke the Ottoman architecture of the classical period. The inclusion of the ablutions fountain in the *harim* is a uniquely early-Ottoman architectural feature, the most beautiful example of which can be observed at the Great Mosque (*Ulu Cami*) of Bursa.⁸

The National Assembly Mosque⁹ in Ankara, designed by architect Behruz Çinici and his son Can Çinici, was built in 1992. A recipient of the 1995 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, a large portion of the mass is hidden in the slope of the property, whereas other sections rise above the landscape. Stretched in the east-west direction, the *harim* is associated with the oldest mosque layout of Islamic architecture. The minaret is represented with two balconies and a cypress tree. In fact, while designing the project, Behruz Çinici noted that he was inspired by the plainness of Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina, the first Islamic mosque, as well as the simple, longitudinal layout of the mound where Bilal-i Habashi performed the very first call to prayer. The roof system is comprised of a terraced pyramid that conveys the impression of rising out of nature. Apart from the windows on the side walls, light is provided through the slits between the various levels of the roof system.

⁸ Ayverdi 1966: 401–418, Aslanapa 1986: 22–28.

⁹ Türkiye Büyük 1995: 36–37.

The most outstanding innovation in the design of the mosque is the unique interpretation of the *mihrab*. The *qibla* façade is entirely transparent; the *mihrab* leaves its place to the interior garden that can be viewed from this direction. As it is commonly known, in terms of form, all *mihrabs* in Islamic architecture repeat the patterns of the gates of their period, and represent the passageway to the spiritual world. Furthermore, far from being used as ornamentation, tile decorations with flower motifs surrounding the *mihrab* in certain Ottoman mosques evoke the gardens of paradise. Here, the worshippers face the garden designed behind the *mihrab* façade to represent the paradise-garden symbolism in Islamic culture.

The terraces in the landscaping of the garden, the steps of the staircase in the forecourt, as well as the angular and rhythmic repetitions in the design of the pools, recall the architecture of Carlo Scarpa.

The Şakirin Mosque¹⁰ in Istanbul is located at the border of the Karacaahmet Cemetery. It was opened for worship quite recently (2009). The architect of the mosque is Hüsrev Tayla, whose entirely historicist project for the Kocatepe Mosque was preferred over Vedat Dalokay's design, which was deemed "excessively modern". It is quite curious that nearly 40 years later, Tayla implemented a design for the Şakirin Mosque, which resembled the project that earned Dalokay the first place in the competition. With its square *harim*, the arcaded forecourt of the ablutions fountain, and the two minarets located at the intersection of these two sections, the structure repeats the Ottoman schemes of the classical period. In fact, with the exception of the pendentives of the dome stretched to the ground and a few other details, it offers no contemporary features.

The calligraphic programme used in the design and ornamentation of the interior follows traditional Ottoman lines. Despite their attempt at being original, the oversized and cumbrous *mihrab*, the *minbar*, which resembles a slide, and the lighting fixtures ornate with crystal drops are tasteless features and do not correspond to a place of worship.

Now, we can pass to the mosques of traditional design, which constitute the majority of the mosques built during the Republican period. These buildings can be categorized under two sub-headings, with respect to the institutions and the social strata that brought them to life: "the mosques built by the state or the elite" and "the mosques built by the public."

Among the "mosques built by the state or the elite", we can begin with the **Heybeliada Mosque**¹¹ in Istanbul, commissioned by the Directorate of Pious Foundations in 1934. The architect Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (1899–1984),¹² who completed the restoration of numerous Ottoman structures in Istanbul and also conducted important studies on Ottoman architecture, remained under the influence of the First National style, and adopted in this particular structure, the features of a hip-roofed *masjid* from the classical period of Ottoman architecture.

Blending into the local fabric created by the summer houses and their gardens in the area where it is located, the two rows of windows on the mosque's façade are recessed in a manner

¹⁰ Şakirin Camisi 2009: 38–46.

¹¹ 100 Yaşında 2002: 186.

¹² İstanbul 1993: 498–499, Numan 2002: 37–46.

that is similar to the mosques and tombs of the classical period. The short minaret is in harmony with the mass of the structure. The *mihrab*, *minbar*, and other details reflect the features of the classical style.

Burgazada Mosque¹³ in Istanbul, built in 1953, is designed by Burhanettin Arif On-gun. A part of the island's local fabric, the mosque is located on a slope. The structure stands on a small property and it is shaped like an octagonal prism covered by a dome. The design in question is most frequently observed in the tombs, as well as in certain *masjids* in Ottoman architecture. The niches on the sides of the octagon, which are more formalistic than functional, evoke the *mosque-zaviyes* of the early Ottoman architecture.

Another example from Istanbul is the **Şişli Mosque**,¹⁴ built in 1945 in one of the most prestigious neighbourhoods during the early Republican period, through the financial support of its local residents. It was designed by architect Vasfi Egeli (1890–1962). Egeli worked under Architect Kemâleddin Bey (d. 1927)¹⁵ at the Ministry of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Nezareti), and directed the restoration of numerous important Ottoman complexes (*külliyeye*). In the Şişli Mosque, both in terms of design and ornamentation programme, Egeli applied the classical Ottoman style, with which he was well-acquainted. For example, the portal repeats that of Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque (1580). In the *harim*, which has an inverse (I) plan, the dome at the centre is surrounded by three half domes. Used for the first time at the Suleiman Pasha Mosque in Cairo (1528),¹⁶ the scheme was later employed in Sinan's Istanbul-Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (1547)¹⁷ and Manisa Muradiye Mosque (1586).¹⁸

The Kocatepe Mosque¹⁹ in Ankara, designed by Hüsrev Tayla, underwent a tumultuous and prolonged design and construction period between 1967 and 1987. As the most outstanding mosque in Turkey's capital, the structure features the four equal half-dome scheme applied in the central-plan mosques of classical Ottoman architecture. Encountered for the first time in the early 16th century at the Diyarbakır Fatih Pasha Mosque and the Great Mosque of Elbistan, this design was later employed by Sinan in the conception of Istanbul's Şehzade and Erzurum Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosques, followed by the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and Yeni Cami (The New Mosque) in the 17th century.

The Sabancı Mosque in Adana, designed by architect Necip Dinç, was built in 1998. The eight-pillar scheme of Edirne Selimiye Mosque, the epitome of Classical Ottoman architecture and referred to by Mimar Sinan as his "masterpiece", is applied directly to this structure. The plan, the superstructure, the proportions, the façade arrangements and the details are so well-copied that the structure leaves viewers with a very positive impression when compared to the poorly-built examples that will soon be introduced.

¹³ Gülen 1994: 339, Tuğlacı 1989: 231.

¹⁴ Egeli 1953: 169–180, Egeli 1956: 19–24, Demirsar 1994: 185–186.

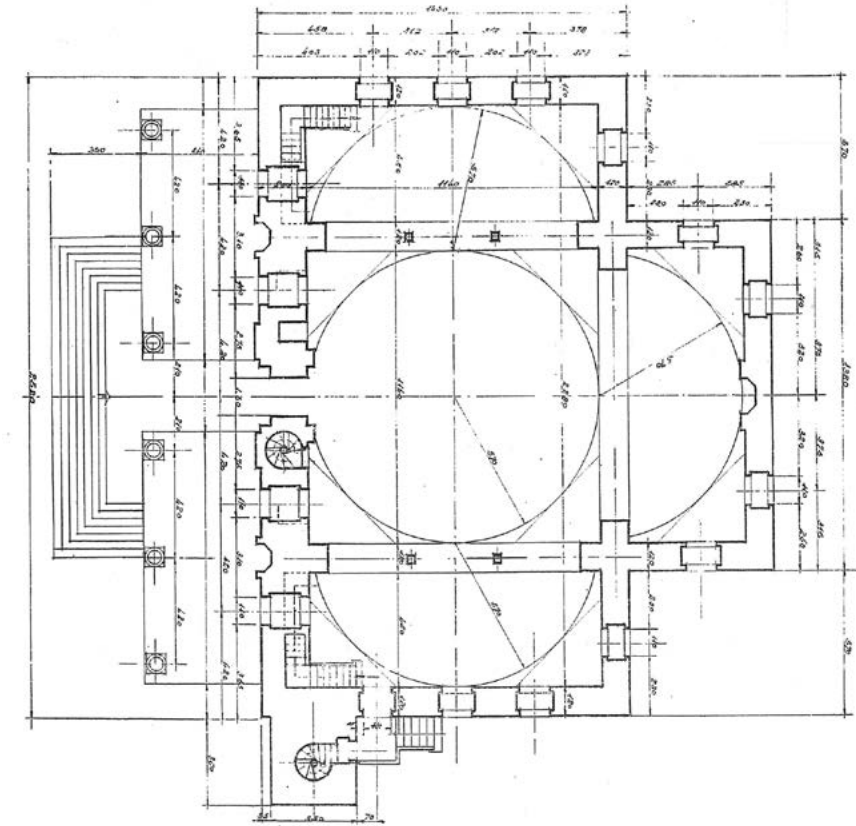
¹⁵ Çetintaş 1944: 160–173, Yavuz 1981, Yavuz 1994: 521–522, Tekeli and İlkin 1997.

¹⁶ Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 244–250.

¹⁷ Aslanapa 1986: 190–193, Kuban 1994a: 456–457, Necipoğlu 2005: 301–305.

¹⁸ Aslanapa 1986: 299–300, Necipoğlu 2005: 257–265.

¹⁹ Erzen and Balamir 1996: 108–111, Stewart 1974: 59–62, Tayla 2002: 141–142.



III. 12. The Şişli Mosque in Istanbul (1945)—a plan (Arkitekt 1953)

One of the most important topics of our study is the group of mosques built by the public. The haphazard growth of industrialization, which gained momentum in Turkey from the 1950s onwards, triggered an intense migration from rural to urban areas. Lacking any form of regulation by the state or by local governments and often encouraged to draw political support, this migration led to the emergence of unhealthy shanty towns around heavily industrialized cities such as Istanbul. Caught between rural and urban cultures in these settlements, the immigrant groups continued to build mosques in increasing numbers.

In the following section, we would like to discuss the common features observed among thousands of such mosques, as well as the possible reasons behind the emergence of their features.

One of the striking features common to these mosques is the absence of style and the lack of quality in the organization of the bodies, proportions, architectural details, and the ornamentation programme. This is based on the lack of supervision on the design of these structures, the absence of an architect in their design, and the tendency to recruit unqualified workers.

Another common feature is that unlike the village and town *masjids* with roofs, the majority of these mosques are domed. Furthermore, most of these mosques are adorned with more

than one minaret—a characteristic that is specific to the mosques of sultans and court members during the Ottoman period. The minarets, which entirely lose their functionality, are adorned with multiple balconies.

We find that the reason behind this phenomenon is that the modest *masjids* with roofs evoke the village character that the immigrants from rural areas hope to leave behind. In other words, the domed mosques with multiple minarets symbolize the city and the urban environment into which the newcomers aspire to integrate. Despite the presence of regional/village associations frequently encountered in the shanties, which is a direct indication of ghettoization, neither the dwellings nor the mosques built in these areas carry local characteristics of origin.

Pre-Ottoman schemes are no longer applied to mosques built by the state of the public during the Republican period, not only in the cities dominated by Ottoman architecture, but in the rest of the country as well. The repeated schemes are derived from the Ottoman period, particularly the classical epoch of Ottoman architecture. For example, in cities replete with the masterpieces of Seljukid architecture such as Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, and Erzurum, as well as Bursa, which is regarded as the cradle of early Ottoman architecture, the entirety of contemporary mosques emulate the features of the Classical Ottoman period. We find that in the collective subconscious, the architecture of the classical period is an expression of the longing for the centuries in which the Ottoman Empire dominated the world.

In this context, the dome is idolized, in a sense, to be made an indispensable part of the mosque. Istanbul Municipality's refusal of the project for the Tarabya Merkez Mosque in the 1960s on account of it being "domeless", and the disapproval of its contemporary dome by the local residents, concretely prove how the dome is perceived as a religious taboo, both by the government and the public.

A final question we would like to discuss here is why, among all Ottoman schemes, the central-dome and four half-dome schemes are particularly widespread among the mosques—both in Istanbul and nationwide—in the mosque architecture of the Republican period.

The scheme in question emerges for the first time in Anatolian Turkish architecture in the first quarter of the 16th century with the Great Mosque (Ulu Cami) of Elbistan²⁰ and the Diyarbakır Fatih Pasha Mosque.²¹ However, this scheme attains its epitome with the "Şehzade Mosque²²—Sultan Ahmed Mosque²³—Yeni Cami (The New Mosque)²⁴ trilogy" in Istanbul. It is important to note here that Mimar Sinan, who designed the Şehzade Mosque, had participated in the 1515 Iraq Campaign as a young janissary and had seen the Fatih Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakır. Among these three structures in Istanbul, there is no doubt that the Sultan Ahmed Mosque is much more embedded in collective memory with its location dominating the city silhouette, its monumental design and its accessibility. Its presence as an indispensable landmark in the compositions depicting Istanbul in Ottoman murals of the Westernization period demonstrates that over time, the structure in question was identified with the overall image of Istanbul.²⁵

²⁰ Aslanapa 1986: 154–155, Aslanapa 1990: 356–358.

²¹ Aslanapa 1986: 152–154, Aslanapa 1990: 358.

²² Kuban 1994b: 152–155, Necipoğlu 2005: 191–207.

²³ Ahunbay 1994: 55–61.

²⁴ Kuban 1994d: 465–467.

²⁵ Okçuoğlu 2000.

On the other hand, the two mosques (the Muhammed Bey Mosque in Tunis²⁶ and the Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha Mosque in Cairo²⁷) commissioned by the governors of two semi-autonomous provinces away from Istanbul attest to the prestige of this scheme in the Ottoman world. Although it no longer serves as the capital, Istanbul maintains its allure in the collective memory during the Republican period, as it did during the Ottoman era. In other words, the prevalence of this scheme in present-day Turkey can be perceived as the expression of a strong accumulation of tradition in the collective memory that extends to the early 17th century.

Another feature that renders appeal to the scheme in question should be explored directly in the design of the mosques. As it is known, Mimar Sinan summarized his own work on the mosques of Şehzade, Süleymaniye²⁸ and Selimiye²⁹ as follows: the first as a product of an apprentice, the second as that of a trainee master, and the third as that of a master craftsman.

Furthermore, almost all historians of architecture regard the Süleymaniye as the masterpiece of Ottoman Classical architecture in Istanbul, and the Selimiye as the epitome of this style. Nevertheless, during the Republican period, as in the Ottoman era, the scheme of Selimiye and particularly that of Süleymaniye did not gain as much popularity as the plan of the Şehzade Mosque. In the Republican period, the Sultan Ahmed mosque scheme was adamantly repeated as a splendid successor of the Şehzade Mosque. It is, therefore, quite evident that the proclivities of Mimar Sinan and present-day historians of architecture do not overlap with those of the public.

We believe that the reasons for this choice should be sought in the totality that the four half-dome scheme renders to the prayer hall. It appears that despite Mimar Sinan's mastery (integrating the side areas with the central space through large arches and bathing the *harim* in sunlight with a plethora of windows), the basilican impression of depth observed in the Hagia Sophia, which serves as a source of inspiration for the double-domed superstructure of the Süleymaniye, did not receive much public appreciation.

It seems that the public regarded the monolith volume, which is centred on the four half-dome scheme of the structure and extending equally to all four sides, as more integrated and approachable.

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²⁶ Saadaoui 2001: 113–138.

²⁷ Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 168–170.

²⁸ Aslanapa 1986: 193–204, Kuban 1994c: 96–104, Yerasimos 2002, Necipoğlu 2005: 207–222.

²⁹ Aslanapa 1986: 254–264, Necipoğlu 2005: 238–256.

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Al-Faisaliyah Tower: The first skyscraper in Saudi Arabia

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Introduction

The architecture of the Islamic world—its spectacle of domes and minarets, arches and the mind-boggling geometric decoration of the interiors—has fascinated and perplexed many Western observers who have had few ways of really understanding the buildings or the beliefs and ways of life of the Muslims for whom these buildings were designed and erected. Islam, extending from Africa to Asia, creates a unique scope of artistic concepts with different tastes and traditions.¹ Islamic architecture is more than a history of form and style: it is a product of cultural and environmental factors and an expression of the way of life of people and their buildings which play a vital role in that way of life.² Domes and courtyards are therefore points of orientation within a comprehensive totality, rather than final, symbolic goals.³ Certain architectural features have become fixed and eternal. The meaning of so-called "introverted architecture" becomes manifest primarily in enclosed gardens, courtyards and interiors, what is given as an eternal fact.⁴

In this modern world, they help us find our architectural roots and remain true to our identity in any part of the Islamic world. Its rich heritage offers a framework to bridge the gap between alien Western culture on one side, and prevailing lack of continuity and cultural relevance in the local architectural world on the other.⁵ Hassan Fathi says: "The migration of an architectural style from one area to another foreign area is something that should be rejected because it will cut its relations to its heritage, traditions and culture. It leads to double personality and the loss of one's identity, thus to be a stranger in your own house is the worst type of stranger."⁶

In the last decade the Islamic world—and the Middle East in particular—has been undergoing a transformation unprecedented in its history. The major construction projects in the

¹ Alrihawi 1990.

² Kühnel 1966.

³ Stierlin 1996.

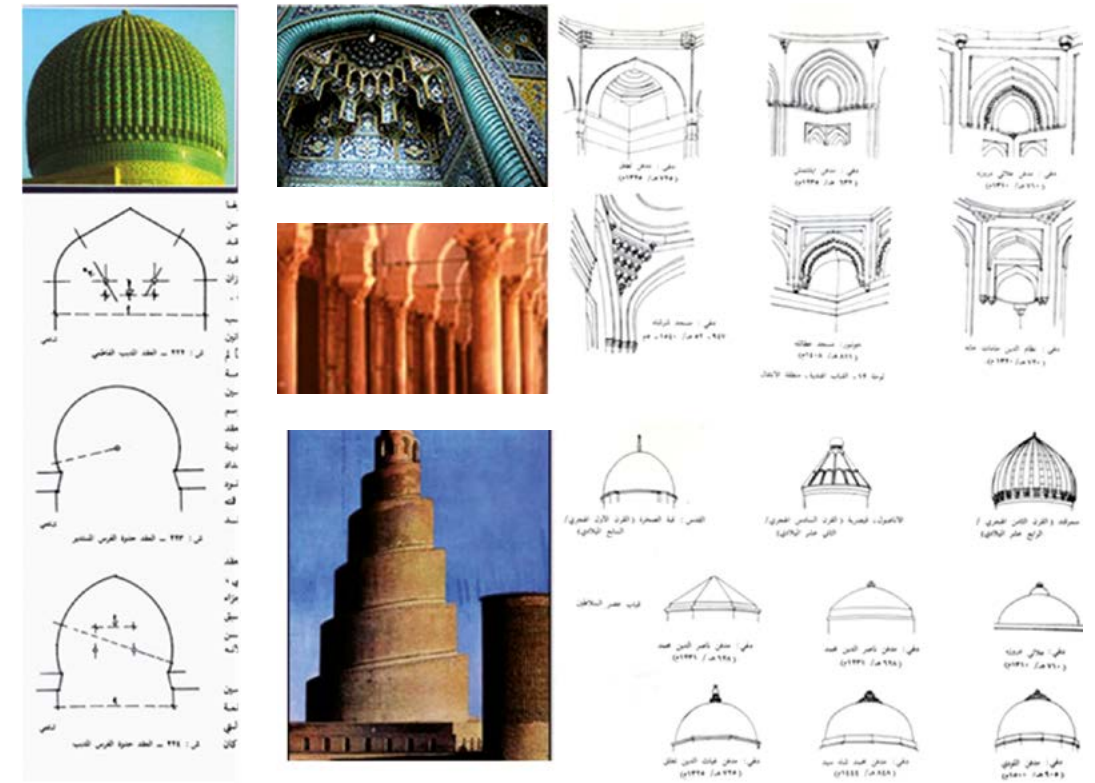
⁴ Abdul Qader M. 1986.

⁵ Azab 2003.

⁶ Siraj Aldeen 2007.



III. 1. Alhambra Palace, Grenada, Spain



III. 2. Islamic elements: domes, arches, pendentives, capitals, and minarets



newly prosperous Arab countries, part of this Islamic world, insisted on modern architecture. It might be argued that the Western architects brought in to design those structures were negligent in not trying to develop local themes or to relate to the local heritage.⁷

Studies on this issue are quite scant.⁸ Few contributions have been done to relate new buildings to the traditional architecture in Saudi Arabia and they were never in focus until the past few years.

The way out of this dilemma is to define some concepts that clarify the problem of heritage and its use in modern architecture in its various dimensions, observing some contemporary buildings. We cannot study the subject of heritage as if it is a simple, objective topic, something rigid and unchangeable. On the contrary, heritage is a complex concept, synthetic, and subject to interpretation and judgments. We can easily say that every society at one point or another forms its own unique heritage, that it produces a heritage peculiar to its own.

This paper tends to explore how internationalism-modernism and regionalism, in this case, local heritage, are represented in architecture, and how translation into architectural representation is related strongly with the most influential powers in architecture.

⁷ Ragette 2003.

⁸ Liger-Belair 1966.

Modernity and heritage in Saudi architecture

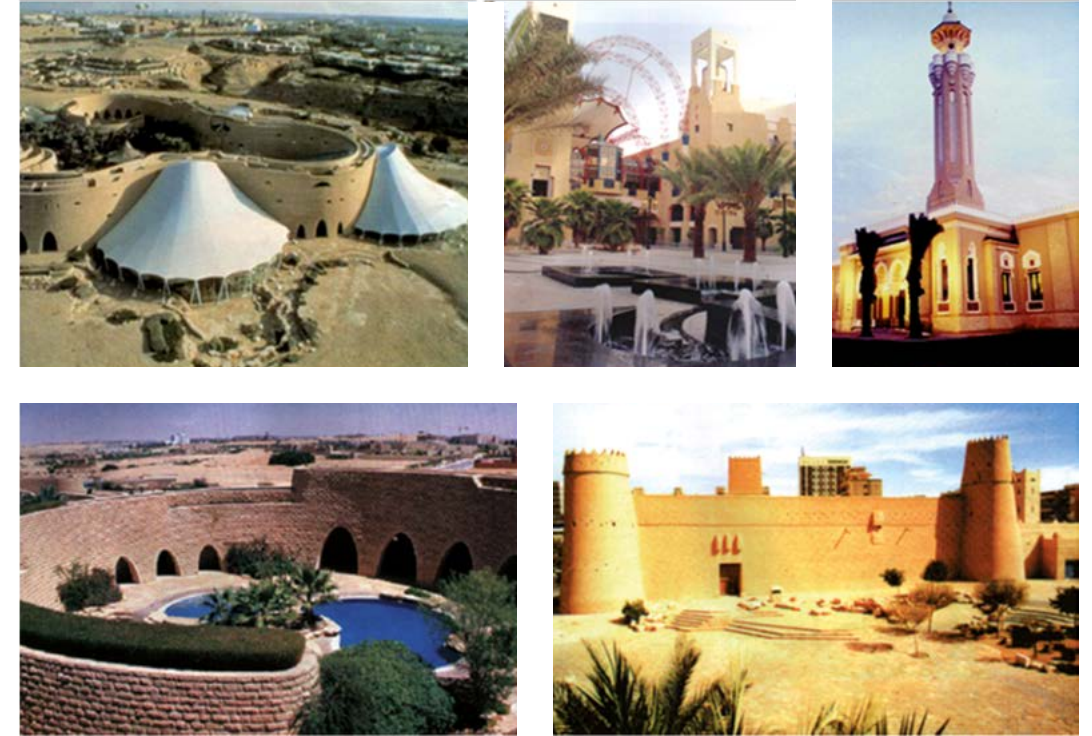
More than one stage marks modernity. The stage of the “primary modernity” is distinguished by the discoveries of the Renaissance in Europe. Another one is the modernity of the Enlightenment, which introduced a theoretical reform in knowledge and in the view of the world, religion, and political and authoritative frameworks. A third stage is the modernity of the Industrial Revolution, which introduced changes in production and transformed social spheres in most capitalist societies. Skepticism, ambiguity, and suspicion characterize the final stage, referred to as the modernity of the latter part of the 20th century.⁹

Throughout these stages, Arab societies have dealt with Western modernity in a distinctive way, influenced by parts of it while rejecting others. Arab heritage in turn is neither monolithic nor unchangeable. Arab societies have undergone changes during the past century and a half, and especially after World War II—basic changes which cannot be ignored. There have been changes in the public domains of social life, imbalances between rural and urban areas,

⁹ Sheraz 1999.



III. 3. Modern skyscrapers in Muslim world—Dubai



III. 4. New traditional buildings in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia—Tuaiq Palace, down town square, Al-Masmaq

changing patterns of production, consumption, and systems of transportation, as well as transformations in the ways of living, residence and day-to-day activities, all producing fundamental changes in space and time according to which Arab societies are organized.¹⁰

At the level of the material environment, the general appearance of Arab cities has undergone change, becoming huge residential concentrations of migrants from the countryside, and also marked by architectural forms and new building types that transformed the features of these cities significantly.

In the midst of all these changes, can we easily distinguish between what belongs to heritage and what belongs to modernity?

Modernity has become one of the inseparable components of Arab cities to the extent that we can no longer talk about an imported modernity and an authentic heritage. Arab architectural modernity is present today before our eyes and we do not need to invent it or create it anew.¹¹ It is present with all of its richness and problems, its beauty and ugliness, and its liveliness and contradictions.

¹⁰ Bahnasi 2005.

¹¹ Bahnasi 2005.

As in most of the world, modernity in Arab cities has the good and the less good, the beautiful and the ugly. What is important is that modernity has now become a part of our architectural heritage.

The method employed by contemporary architects in studying architectural heritage is distinguished by the development of two schools or trends. Each lays down a theoretical basis that specifies the relation today's architecture has with both tradition and modernity. These schools raised issues which relate not only to architecture but include the relationship between contemporary culture and modernity, as well as raising questions about reading our contemporary history.¹²

Representing the first school is the late Egyptian architect Hassan Fathi. His discipline is based on a radical vision that claims that modernity brought fundamental change in Arab societies, causing them to lose their authenticity and the rich legacy inherited from past generations.¹³ This intellectual concept focused on rejecting modernity as cosmopolitan and causing our societies to lose their distinct peculiarity and to become consuming societies which have no values other than those that are purely materialistic.

Accordingly, this school stressed the necessity of using traditional materials, such as clay and stone, as well as reviving old handicraft construction tools, rejecting reinforced concrete and

¹² Aga Khan 2004.

¹³ Siraj Aldeen 2007.

advanced technologies which subject our societies, economically and culturally, to the domination of Western modernity. This school urged confronting the disintegration of traditional culture in the Arab world and the transformation of most Arab cities into congregations lacking order and logic—large cities made of decimated poor quarters with islands of wealth in the midst of poverty.

The obstacles encountered by the first school paved the way for the rise in the mid-1950s of another school, best represented by the Iraqi architect Rifaat al-Jadirji.¹⁴ This school exercised a great influence on Arab contemporary architecture in its totality. It formed a dominant intellectual approach based on theoretical notions making up a comprehensive analysis of the relationship of Islamic Arab architecture with modernism.¹⁵

Accordingly, the new movement was reflected in new buildings that rose in the last 25 years in Saudi Arabia.¹⁶ Given that they are not following the first school or the second one, a certain number of questions—already—should be seriously debated.

Firstly, can the borrowing of old forms add a meaning of heritage to a building and give a value that can be considered a new aspect of Arab Islamic architecture? Secondly, is achieving a form's assimilation enough to add a meaning to a building? What is the concept of Arab Islamic architecture nowadays? Is Islamic Arab heritage in using arches, domes, vaults, and decorative elements? And what if these elements are not included! Is it Arab Islamic architecture then? Though if Islamic architecture is not these elements, just what is it then?

Almost every architectural structure addresses, in a direct sense, cultural identity and philosophy within a physical context. If we want to understand, appreciate, and evaluate the architectural quality of a building, we should examine the four main elements (climate, local materials and building techniques, habits of living, traditional forms of design) which had for centuries contributed to the regional peculiarities of traditional Arab or Islamic architecture, and have been sorted out by some architects and which—they slowly began to realize—might just as logically influence modern design.

We need to develop a sense of dimension, topography, climate, material, structure, and proportion, and a sense of integration within the surrounding physical environment, both natural and human-made. This sense goes far beyond the building's ability to serve utilitarian needs. In the Arab world, climate—i.e., strong, intense sunlight most of the year—is a powerful factor. Since modern design usually calls for large windows, architects in the Middle East generally settle on some kind of protective screens or panels outside the windows.

Valid architecture will also consider the climate in selecting the fabric of the building itself, in exposing it to, or protecting it from, prevailing winds and blazing afternoon eastern sunshine, and in such features as wall thickness, roof insulation or the height of ceilings.

This makes sense even today.

The second element, the availability of local materials and building techniques, is no longer a restrictive factor in architecture; concrete and steel are totally international materials, basically devoid of regional characteristics. But imaginative architects in the Islamic Arab world

have achieved some striking effects by searching out and using characteristic materials such as native stone, brick, stucco, ceramic and tiles. By contrasting local materials with modern ones, the architects have also produced some original and valid regional themes.

Specific living habits have much less impact. Functionally modern buildings—office towers, airport terminals and broadcasting stations—will differ little from non-Arab, international structures, but in buildings where the personal, human elements are important—“villas”, apartment buildings and some schools—particular styles of living can shape a structure. New town planning schemes—in Saudi Arabia, for example—also reflect basic social habits.

The influence of the fourth element (which is our case in this paper)—traditional arches and domes, and such indigenous decorative forms as stylized geometric patterns—is the easiest to spot. For although both dome and arch are structurally obsolete when executed in reinforced concrete, they do remain a popular element in design.

Then, perhaps, it is inaccurate to talk of the peculiarities of Western modernity in opposition to Islamic Arab heritage, especially if we consider the changes influencing modernity since its inception. Then the questions could indeed be answered.

As a result, buildings can be adapted for a variety of purposes and do not change their form according to functional demands. Rather the building form remains fixed and functions are adapted to fit within the contained internal spaces.

Appreciation of modernist principles is not always at odds, in some cases, with the local cultural traditions, when trying to make meaningful architectural progress in these environments. And this is what we see, for example, in the pyramid of the Louvre, the facade of the Arab world Institute by Jean Nouvel and the Faisaliah Tower by Foster (case study).

Composing an environment which absorbs the essence of prevailing cultural conditions, materials and building techniques could reflect our present. But integrating it with architectural Islamic principles and elements or forms of local heritage could be more global.

Though the resulting new buildings are not afraid to introduce new materials and colours, new technologies or new elements like reinforced concrete or steel members where appropriate, they always respond to social and climatic conditions, and never lost sight of principles like unity.

Terminologically, unity is considered a maximum effort achievement in the architectural work, emerging unified, continuous and integrated internally and externally.¹⁷ It is important for the space that the general impact of an architectural form in it, being unified in either the visual or mental experience of the recipient, should be so no matter how the form and its composition became complicated.¹⁸

Architect Tadao Andō concluded his presentation of architecture with a “call to the youth to create architecture with passion and commitment, humbleness and sensitivity to the context of society and environment.” Accordingly, I could see also Islamic architectural principles without domes and arches, as well.

¹⁴ Bahnasi 2005.

¹⁵ Siraj Aldeen 2007.

¹⁶ Schoneberg 2008.

¹⁷ Frampton 1992.

¹⁸ Frampton 1992.

The ideas of internationalism and regionalism reflected in Islamic architecture are related to modern Islamic societies. Modernism is about rational systematization and progressiveness, ideology tends to explore the wisdom of local tradition. The term “Internationalism” refers to “the expression of unity among the world (something globally)”, whereas “regionalism” refers to “the expression of local genius (something locally).”¹⁹

In architecture, the discussion about regionalism and internationalism is about “how the local meets the global.” Internationalism in architecture can be rooted in Modern Architecture theories and paradigms. Modern paradigms such as rationalism, progressiveness, functionalism, and a-historicism, appeared in a Modern architectural expression called the “International Style”.²⁰ Postmodernism came later, reacting to the Modern paradigms, then legitimating the local traditional expression of contemporary architecture.²¹ Modernism and postmodernism also influences Islamic society. Modernism brought especially rationalism and progressivism to support the awakening Muslim societies, among the developed western societies. Postmodernism influenced the increased exploration of local traditional wisdom.

An architecture based on appropriate technology only, will fail to convey its message unless it also employs a language that is appropriate and meaningful in the context of a specific culture. It is the architecture of renewed spirit; it is the future of Islamic architecture.

I have been able to evoke the delights of discovering the hidden paradise with internal halls and patios and fountains.

Al-Faisaliah Commercial Complex, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (case study)

Playing a key part in Riyadh’s urban development, the 240,000-square-metre Al-Faisaliah Complex, which was designed by Norman Foster, is centred around Saudi Arabia’s first skyscraper. A distinctive 267 metres high office tower, it is known as the first skyscraper in Saudi Arabia.²²

It is a five-star hotel, with a banqueting and conference centre which accommodates a conference hall for up to 3,400. The high degree of flexibility of its internal spaces is achieved by a unique long-span arch system which provides a column-free space 57 metres wide and 81 metres long, with a moveable partition system that can divide the hall into a maximum of sixteen separate rooms.²³ At this complex, luxury apartments and a three-storey retail mall are also present. Above its 30 floors of office space, it houses a restaurant set within a golden glass sphere 200 metres above ground level. Above it, at the building’s pinnacle, the tower narrows to a brightly lit lantern, topped by a stainless-steel finial. The scheme is carefully responsive to the Middle Eastern climate.²⁴

¹⁹ Sheraz 1999.

²⁰ Sheraz 2002.

²¹ Ghirardo 1996.

²² Al-Faisaliah 2000.

²³ Al-Faisaliah 2000.

²⁴ Al-Faisaliah 2000.



Ills 5-6. Al-Faisaliah Tower, Riyadh



Ill. 7. Saudi Arabia, a map

The Al-Faisaliah office tower is at the heart of the complex, and is itself set back from the King Fahd Highway to create a landscaped plaza. These areas are integrated into the rest of the complex by a five-storey lobby at the tower's base, also linking the Al-Faisaliah hotel to the north and the apartments and shopping mall to the south. Illuminating this space, a spectacular coloured-glass wall by the artist Brian Clarke announces the entrance to the complex while referencing images from Riyadh's desert and Islamic culture.

Square in plan, the building is designed around a compact central core which tapers to a point, with four main corner columns defining its unique silhouette. Punctuating stages up the building's layered facade, observation decks correspond with giant K-braces, which transfer loads to the corner columns. Each section between these decks is clad in silver-anodized aluminum panels with cantilevered sun shading, which minimize glare, allowing the use of non-reflective, energy-efficient glass and providing maximum control over the internal environment. The tower's pyramidal form evokes a weighty solidity, yet Foster combines an affinity for structural expressiveness with the sculptural elegance that creates a tower of paradoxical lightness.

Dumat al-Jandal

The geographical area location of Al-Jouf, in Saudi Arabia, has occupied special importance since ancient times, because of the trade route that was crossing it, linking the Arabian Peninsula and the Levant and going through Egypt. It was the path of pilgrims to the Holy Mosque.²⁵ The region is still considered very important as a northern border of the kingdom. Dumat al-Jandal is considered as the second city after Skaka in the Al-Jouf region. This was a major town on the ancient trade route that linked Mesopotamia, Persia and Syria with Yemen, and was vital to the spread of Islam as the gateway to Palestine and Syria through Wadi al-Sirhan.²⁶ Located 50 kilometres south of the capital Sakakah, Dumat al-Jandal means "Dawma of the stone". The name comes from the local belief that the town was first settled by Dawma, son of Ismail and grandson of the prophet Ibrahim. Archeologists have found abundant evidence that long before Ismail's time, Jouf's fresh water and fertile soil had proven attractive to settlers.²⁷

This modest town boasts a ruined castle, a remarkable mosque, and a system of wells and ancient irrigation canals known as Qantas (a signature piece of plumbing from the great Nabataean empire). The fact that the Qantas are still working means that the Oasis of Sakakah and Dumat al-Jandal have remained verdant and fertile.²⁸

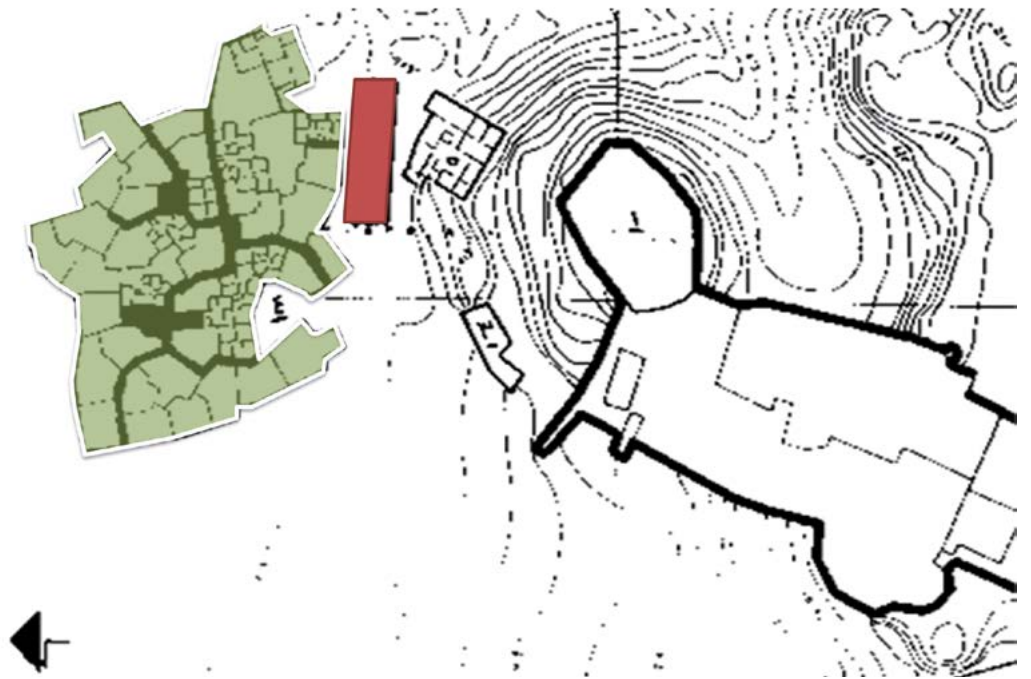
Arabian, Babylonian, Nabataean and Islamic records all show that this is one of the most ancient settlements in Arabia. The city was a base for Adumites, known by Assyrians as "Al Domatu" (Adummatu) who described it as "the seat of the King of the Arabs". This region is also

²⁵ Al-Sudairi 1986.

²⁶ Al-Sudairi 1986.

²⁷ Al-Sudairi 1986.

²⁸ Al-Muaikel 1999.



III. 8. Dumat al-Jandal, Saudi Arabia

identified with the biblical Midian; and a region known to the ancient Egyptians as Kashu. Dumat al-Jandal also appears in the bible atlases as "Dhuma"; inscriptions in the city date back 3000 years; it was ruled by a number of Arabian Queens including Queen Zabibei, Queen Shamsi.²⁹

With so many trade routes passing through, the souk here became one of the most famous of the Arabian markets in pre-Islamic times. When it was ruled by Sukonians from Kindah, the markets were held during Rabi Al Awwal. Control of each market was agreed after a "duel" between competing tribal leaders. The "king" who won was allowed to allocate the stalls for the market—which could begin only once he'd sold all his merchandise.³⁰

Ad Dir (Al Dera) the Old Town is located to the north of Qasr Marid (the castle). This old settlement of Dumat al-Jandal represents a model of an Islamic city and traditional architecture in the region. Excavations conducted at parts of the settlement showed that it was built over successive layers, going back to the pre-Islamic period.³¹ The old town has a narrow passage between two-storey buildings made of limestone and mud-bricks. Roofs were made of wood and palm. Water channels (Qantas) were found at the eastern and western parts of the settlement.³²

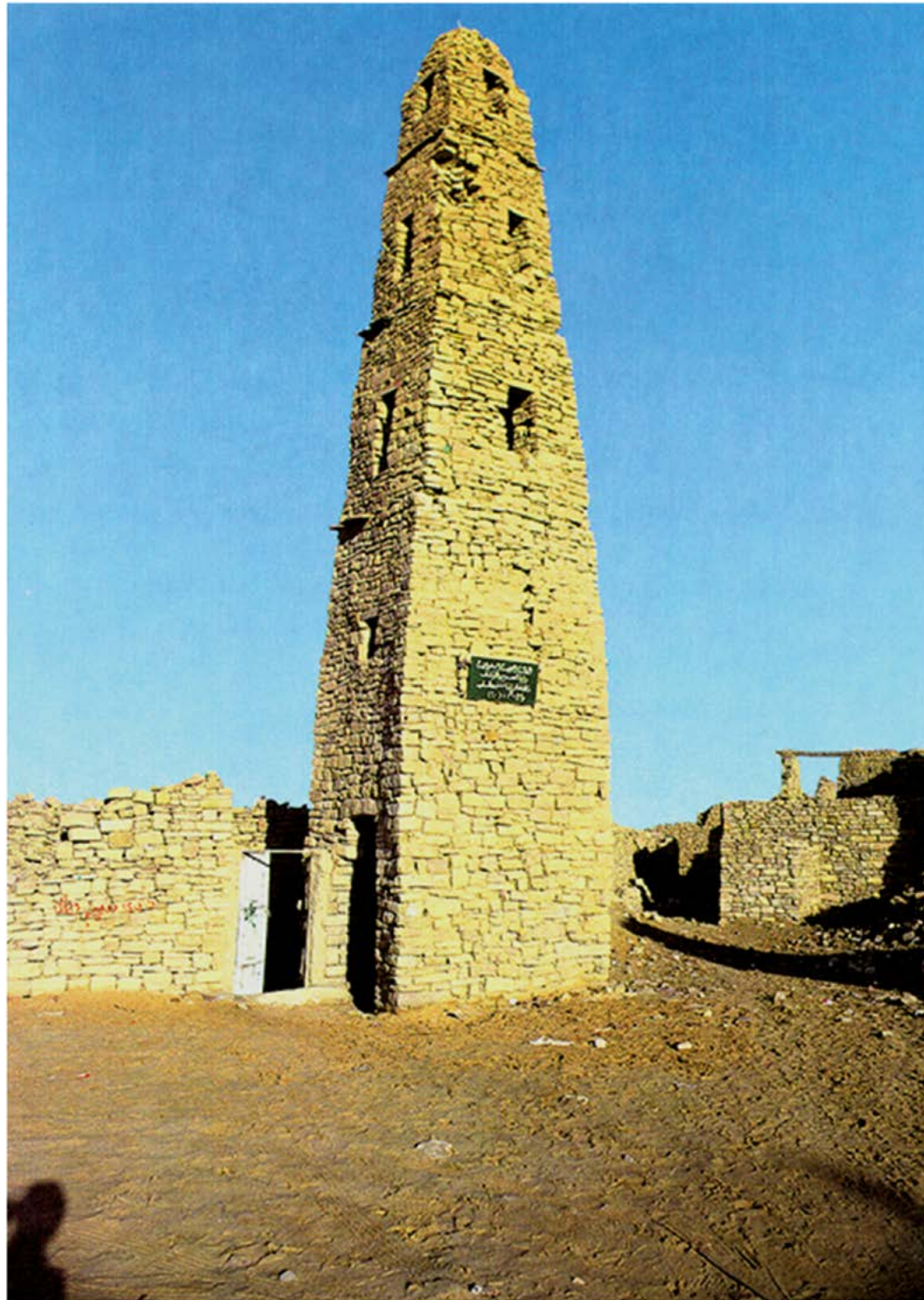
The actual buildings which are standing there today are not that old, but earlier building materials have been used—meaning that ancient Nabataean inscriptions are visible on some

²⁹ Al-Sudairi 1986.

³⁰ Al-Sudairi 1986.

³¹ Al-Muaikel 1994.

³² Al-Muaikel 1994.



III. 9. The minaret of Umar bin al Khattab Mosque in Dumat al-Jandal

stones.³³ A small portion of Dumat al-Jandal's once formidable city wall has been restored and can be viewed without a permit in the desert just outside the town. The watchtowers along the wall were hollow all the way to ground level.

The Umar bin al Khattab Mosque

The mosque is situated next to Ad Dir, still in use, it is not particularly tall, and it has a carved door with red geometric patterns and is wholly unlike any other mosques you'll see. It is built using stones and clay. Its ceiling is made up of wood and palm trees. It has a prayer niche, a pulpit, a prayer room for women and a little well, which was used for drinking and ablution. Its area is about 600 square metres. And it is still in good shape. It is one of the most ancient and important in the Kingdom.³⁴ Its erection has been attributed to the second Caliph Umar Bin Al Khattab.³⁵

The mosque was renovated more than once. Its importance coming from its planning, it represents the continuity of the pattern of the first Islamic mosques such as the Prophet Mosque, in its early stages.³⁶

The minaret of the Mosque is possibly the oldest existing one in the world.³⁷ Dating back to 15 H (AD 635) it is unique in its design, being square shaped, with tapered sides and windows at each storey. It is built over an arch that allows a street to pass through its base. The minaret is the only remaining original feature of a mosque built by 2nd Caliph, Umar ibn al Khattab in 17 H (AD 637) on his way back from his Jerusalem conquest (Al Quds).

With a height of 12.7 metres, it is built of stone and consists of five levels. The presence of internal stone steps confirm its function relating to the mosque with the emergence of the *qibla* wall, confirming that it was built during the early Islamic period.³⁸

There is great controversy between historians and archaeologists regarding the first minaret built in Islam, and its origin. Alblazari says in his book, *Futuh Albuldan*: the first minaret was constructed by Ziyad bin ubaya governor of Basra during the Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan time in 45 H (AD 665). While Makrizi says the four towered "minarets" of the Amr bin al-Aas Mosque built by Maslama bin Makhlad governor of Egypt who ruled in 53 H (672 AD), at the time of Umayyad, were the first minarets of Islam.³⁹

The minaret as an architectural element did not exist at the beginning. Bilal, who was the first muezzin in Islam, used to call for prayer from a high place near the Prophet's Mosque.⁴⁰ There is a third view supported by some historians that says that the unique minaret of the Omar Bin al Khattab mosque in Dumat al-Jandal is the first minaret in Islam.⁴¹

³³ Al-Muaikel 1994.

³⁴ King 1986.

³⁵ Al-Muaikel 1994.

³⁶ King 1978.

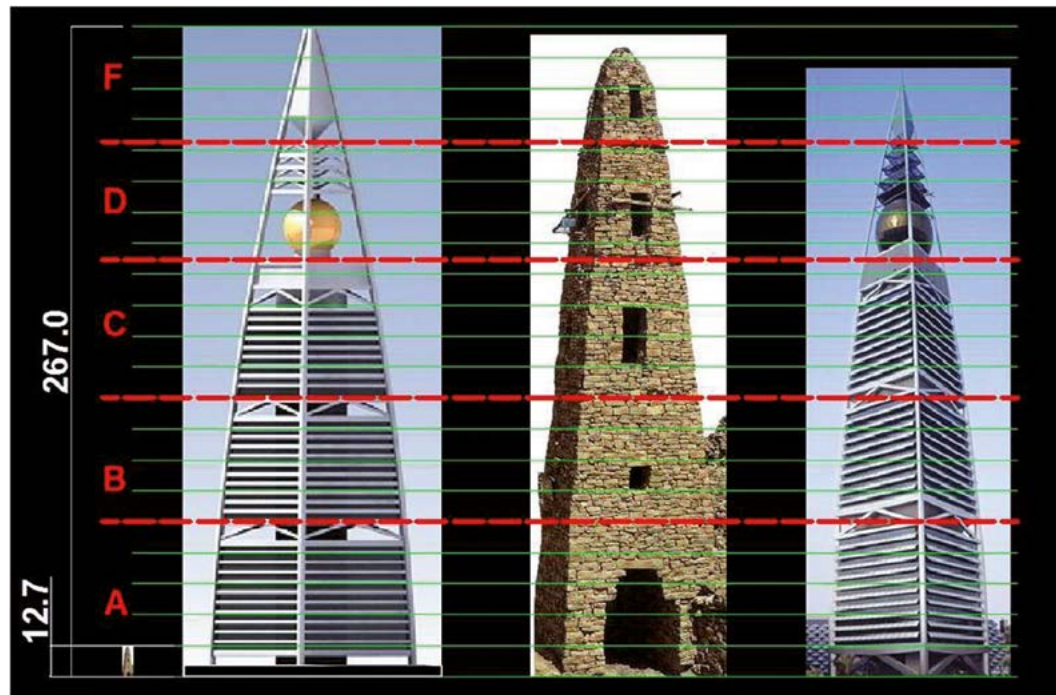
³⁷ Al-Muaikel 1994.

³⁸ Al-Muaikel 1994.

³⁹ Creswell 1929.

⁴⁰ Salem 1959.

⁴¹ Al-Muaikel 1994.



III. 10. A comparison of proportions between Al-Faisaliah Tower and the minaret

Results and outputs

The similarity of forms between the Umar mosque minaret and Faisaliah Tower prompts us to investigate more about the external relationship between the two figures. Multiplying 12.7 metres—the height of the minaret—21 times, we obtain 267 metres, the height of Faisaliah Tower. The tower is twenty-one times as large as the minaret, a similar form, thus each length in the one should be proportional to (is twenty-one times as large as) the corresponding length in the other.

Enlarging the minaret figure 21 times in order to compare it visually with the tower figure we obtain an extremely perfect correspondence between the parts (the tower and the minaret are composed of 5 parts: A, B, C, D, F) of the two buildings.

Therefore the distances and measurements between the main parts of the tower maintain the same internal relationship in terms of distances, within themselves. In the minaret these parts were divided with an exposed row of stones, maybe for reinforcement reasons, while in the tower, parts were divided by the mechanical and services storeys.

The calculations of: $12.7 \text{ m} \times 21 = 267 \text{ m}$, can also be calculated: $12.7 \text{ m} \times 7 \times 3 = 267 \text{ m}$.

The number 7 appears as an essential part of this, and it may have significance, specifically in this case, believing that the tower form derives from the Umar mosque minaret, and the holy significance of that, a part of the historical and heritage values.

Seven is considered a sacred number.⁴² It is a concept of ultimate spiritual bliss based upon some verses in the Qur'an and further elaborated by Muslim commentators. Muslims believe that Allah created seven heavens, one above another.⁴³ Furthermore, in the Orient among the Babylonians, Egyptians, and other ancient peoples, seven was considered a sacred number. Ziqurat was composed of seven levels. It might have a certain intention to enhance the value of the tower which is the first skyscraper in Saudi Arabia and it represents a memorial symbol of Riyadh city which may carry and evoke this relationship with religion, heritage and history.

There is also assimilation of texture. The tower layered façade's design, coming because of the sun shading cantilevered silver-anodized aluminum panels, which were clad in each section between these decks, gives the same effect of the minaret faced texture which was composed of layers of rows of stone—obviously distinguished.

Finally we can answer the questions pondered at the beginning, according to the conducted visual analyses of the Faisaliah Tower. This kind of borrowing forms can add a meaning of heritage to a building and give a value that can be considered a new aspect of Arab Islamic architecture. Secondly, this form's assimilation is enough to add this meaning to a building, and it could be an additional concept of Arab Islamic architecture nowadays. Nevertheless, Islamic Arab heritage is not only in using arches, domes, vaults, and decorative elements.

Based on these results, it is possible to formulate the following recommendations, I think it could work and could be enough in certain cases, in certain periods and certain circumstances.

Recommendations

Abstract architectural forms have no meaning if they do not answer to the social demands and the actual needs of the inhabitants and are not connected with their declared, unconscious or even their repressed desires. These needs and demands do not appear clearly initially, since they are subject to various kinds of change and transformation. These needs could be hidden behind various masks which could cause obliteration and distortion.

The essential beginning for laying down the basis of a contemporary Arabic architecture free from dead forms lies today in a rediscovery of the usually actual and hidden social necessities. This should not lead us to fall into the trap of nostalgia for old forms of historical building and the illusion of "purity" that preceded the introduction of modernity into our world. The only solution is to go back to simple things, to the details, to the land, the location and the atmosphere, and to the everyday needs of the people and the way they interact with their environment.

When we have an architecture that creates appropriate solutions for every condition and every location, then we can avoid falling into new illusions and the mythology of lost purity and authenticity. We can then be freed from the schizophrenic conditions we live in today, flee the

⁴² Benét's 1987.

⁴³ Benét's 1987.

nightmare of imitating frozen traditional forms, and rid ourselves of our inferiority complex towards world culture. Then the architecture will be able to move from one condition to the other in its relationship with global thought, and produce local and contemporary elements which insure a living connection, surpassing the illusion of myth to discover a world open to diversity and to continuously renewable authenticity. Then we can define the Arab Islamic architecture today as the “identification of imported modernity to what is consistent with our traditions.”

In fact, the fusion between modernity and tradition is already present in our cities, and the experiment of Arab architectural modernity with its formative characteristics is a self-existent experiment.

Our task today is to start from this reality, this fusion, as well as from a critique of this experiment, to find new means to voice the demands of this stage instead of adopting an eclectic method which is bound to produce half solutions.

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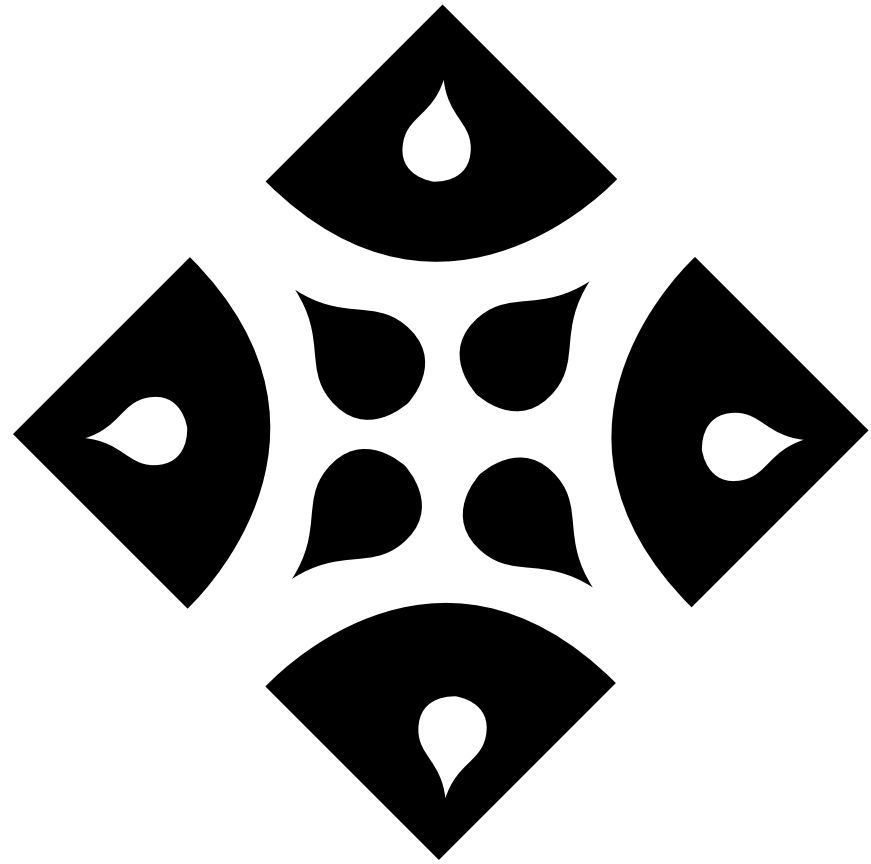
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III
PAINTING, CALLIGRAPHY
AND EPIGRAPHY



A copy of a panegyric biography
of Timur, the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 H,
with pictures attributed to Bihzad

Giti Norouzian
Tehran University, Iran



The Golestan Palace Library in Tehran owns a beautiful illustrated manuscript produced in the 10th/16th century whose subject is the life, the battles, and victories, of Timur Gurkani, the *Zafar-Nama* or “The Book of Victory”. The text is a panegyric prose work, the first version of which was compiled by Nizam al-Din Shami, at the order of Timur himself. The second version of the *Zafar-Nama* was commissioned by the grandson of Timur, Abu’l-Fath Ibrahim-Sultan ibn Shahrukh; it was written by Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, a noted historian and prose stylist of the day. Sharaf al-Din had used the facts of the Persian and Chaghatay Turkish chronicles recounted daily during Timur’s life, transforming them into fine Persian prose with some poetry in both Persian and Arabic.

The manuscript to be discussed was executed in 935 H (1528–1529 AD). It is one of the finest surviving illustrated copies of Yazdi’s *Zafar-Nama*, which has 24 lavish paintings across 750 pages (numbered and not foliated). Each page measures 37 × 23 centimetres, and has 19 lines of *nasta’liq* in four columns, the written-surface dusted with gold. The terse colophon on the last page does not mention the place of calligraphy but states only the date of its completion—935—and the names of the calligrapher, Sultan Muhammad Nur, the illuminator, Mir Azud, and the painter, Kamal al-Din Bihzad (Ill. 1).

The primary question this presentation addresses is: was Bihzad indeed the illustrator of the 24 paintings in this manuscript? It is important to note that firstly, no place of completion is stated; and second, none of the 24 paintings bears his signature. Bihzad’s name in the colophon does not confirm his participation and perhaps the better question to ask is why so much effort, by so great a painter at a most advanced age, would have been spent on illustrating a manuscript apparently less important than the current court project in Tabriz, the Shah Tahmasp *Shahnama*. To decide whether the assumption that he painted the unsigned paintings in this manuscript is correct requires a careful examination of these pictures; it also requires a look at Bihzad at the end of his life at the Safavid court.



First some facts about the *Zafar-Nama*. The physical appearance, not only of the manuscript but also some of the pictures, suggests some place other than the court workshop in Tabriz as the place of manufacture—perhaps Shiraz—as Grace Dunham Guest mentioned in her book.¹ Also, a Divan of Sa'di (circa 898–932 H) in the National Library of France has a binding very much like that of the *Zafar-Nama's*,² but neither time nor space permit this important question to be discussed any further here; it remains, for the moment, beyond my argument.

Accordingly, I shall first examine some paintings in the *Zafar-Nama* of 935, to decide whether they are the work of a single hand.³ These illustrations will be seen to be stylistically dissimilar, if we consider their design, compositional features, and colour schemes. Six paintings of the *Zafar-Nama*, which fall into two main groups, shall be compared. Next I shall consider Bihzad's position in the Safavid Library in Tabriz: his responsibilities, his fame, and also his great age. The third step will be to compare Bihzad's work, and style, with some of the finest paintings in the manuscript of 935, noting both similarities and differences. Last, some characteristics of paintings in the *Zafar-Nama* will be compared with the Tahmasp *Shahnama* being worked upon at almost the same time.

**Dissimilarity in styles of painting:
Six pictures in the Zafar-Nama of 935 H**

Some of the illustrations of this manuscript appear to differ from each other in composition, colour palette, and fineness. In fact the technical skills exhibited in the representation of figures, saddles, clothing, and details in some of the paintings, deserve some special attention, for they differ in quality, which is reflected in the stylistic differences between them. One group consists of vigorous active compositions with a large number of human figures, animals, and objects of



III. 1. The colophon of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 H/1528–1529



III. 2. A battle between Timur's army and Faraj ibn Barquq, Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Damascus in 803 H/1401



III. 3. Timur's battle with Shah Mansur, nephew of Shah Shoja', in Fars in 795 H/1393 and his slaying by 17-year-old prince Shahrokh

all sorts executed in brilliant colours, and they fill the spaces of the picture, organized along powerful diagonals. The second group, in comparison, is unimaginative in style; the compositions are simple instead of complex, the colour palette is less vivacious, and the designs are not very sophisticated.

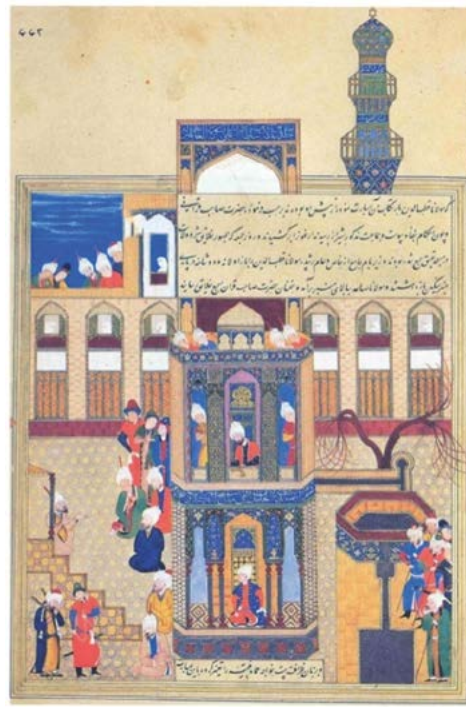
The first group includes one of the most complicated compositions in this volume of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 (III. 2, **19**⁴): *A Battle between Timur's army and Faraj ibn Barquq, Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Damascus in 803 H/1401*. Soldiers and animals are shown arranged in oblique lines upon a hilly terrain. The diagonal composition is further emphasized, visually, by the placement of horses in different positions, by some fallen figures, and also by the red and black spears carried by some soldiers. At the upper left is a rocky mountain, resembling stormy waves, with a circular movement towards the heart of the painting. The viewer's eye can follow any one of these routes from different angles and encounter the mass of living beings filling the image. This painting is both very full and very expressive: of the 33 human figures, some are injured and blood spurts from their wounds, while others drop dead; and the 16 horses display varying movements and have colourful, elaborate caparisons.

Illustration 3 (**13**) shows us another magnificent painting in the *Zafar-Nama* of 935. The young Shahrokh brings the head of the Muzaffarid Shah Mansur to his father: *Timur's battle with Shah Mansur, nephew of Shah Shoja', in Fars in 795 H/1393 and his slaying by the 17-year-*

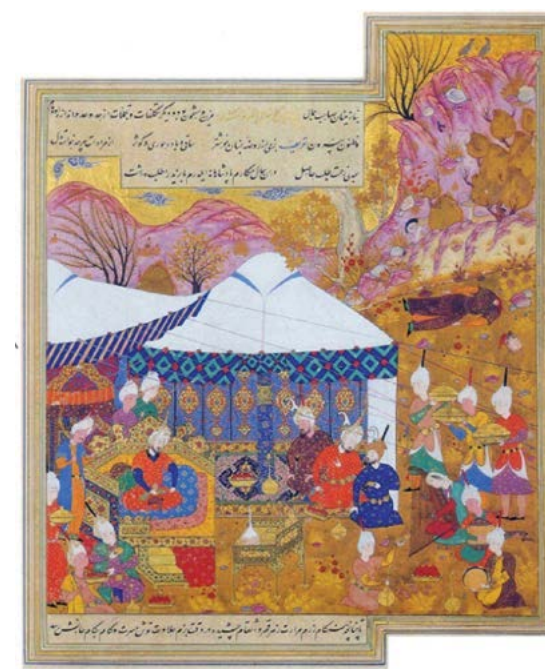
⁴ Numbers in bold type indicate the number of the image in the parent manuscript.



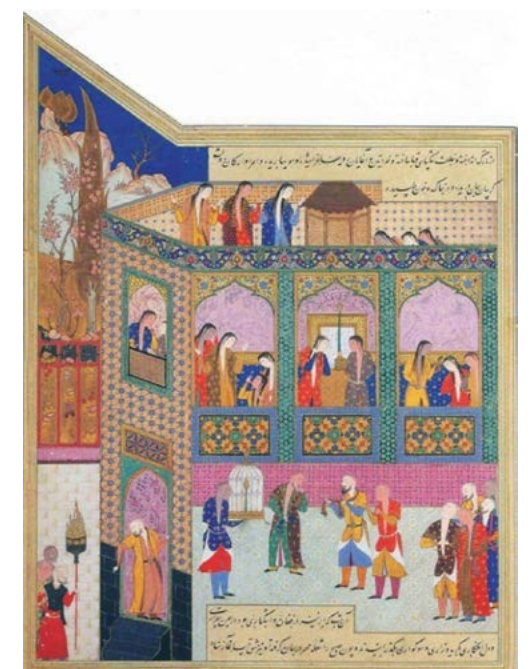
III. 4. Timur and his companions hunting in India in 801 H/1398



III. 5. Confined Ghotb al-Din Gharimi and bringing him to Shiraz Friday Mosque in 806 H/1404



III. 6. A festivity with the presence of Bayazid as prisoner after conquering Rome territories



III. 7. Timur's death in 807 H/1405

-old prince *Shahrokh*. The location, and gesture, of *Shahrokh*, compositionally striking, skillfully connect the right of the composition to the left part. In the foreground a pinkish terrain in a triangular shape ends in a landscape with rocks resembling an eagle's head. At the upper left, a tree with a twisted trunk stands at the edge of a point from which a brook flows, and a second light-blue hill rises up, to the right of the picture. The brook reappears at the lower left corner of the painting and repeats the diagonal line of the hill behind it. Human figures, some shown with their faces to the front, the corpses of dead enemies on the ground at the lower right, the flags waving in the wind, the details of landscape, and a very complex, well-organized and logically constructed composition, subtle and intricate, make this painting among the best of the *Zafar-Nama* illustrations.

Illustration 4 (17) presents another genre in Persian painting: a hunting scene. In order to achieve a more complete idea of the quality of illustrations in this manuscript, we must look for examples providing the most contrast. *Timur and his companions hunting in India in 801 H/1398* is a remarkable composition providing evidence of the skilled hand at work upon it. In this painting 22 animal figures are placed among the rocks, and sometimes the form of an adjacent rock exactly repeats the shape of an animal's body: the head of the elephant on the left side of the picture is an excellent example. In this painting, the diagonal movement in addition to the rich colour scheme—light blue terrain in contrast with the golden sky which extends to the left border—makes it notable and remarkable.

The paintings discussed above are different from, and indeed superior to, the pictures I shall next turn to. In the first group, the drawing was finer, with less of the flaccid and perfunctory, and more careful attention was paid to details. In particular, more care was taken with the faces and figures of humans and animals, and with the composition itself. In the second group, presented here in Ills 5, 6, and 7 (22, 21, and 24), the style is less imaginative: the compositional structures are uncomplicated and preliminary, the colour palette is less vivacious, the designs are neither striking nor extravagant, as a whole, all aspects are more simplified.

We might begin to assume that more than one painter must have been involved in the illustration of this *Zafar-Nama* of 935 or, rather, that not all of the 24 paintings are the work of the same hand. Thus, even if we might accept that Bihzad participated in this project, he would not have been alone in doing so.

Bihzad in the court of Shah Tahmasp as the Head of the Royal Library

Bihzad is the bridge between the traditions of later Timurid painting and the next period of the early Safavids, as has been noted by many scholars. He was called the "second Mani", and appears to have worked at the courts of both the last Timurids, in Herat, and the early Safavids

in Tabriz.⁵ According to the well-known Timurid historian Khwandamir, the renowned painter Bihzad accompanied the court to Tabriz and on 27 Jumada I 928 H/24 April 1522 was appointed a Director of the Royal Library, by the express order of Shah Isma'il I (founder of the Safavid dynasty).⁶

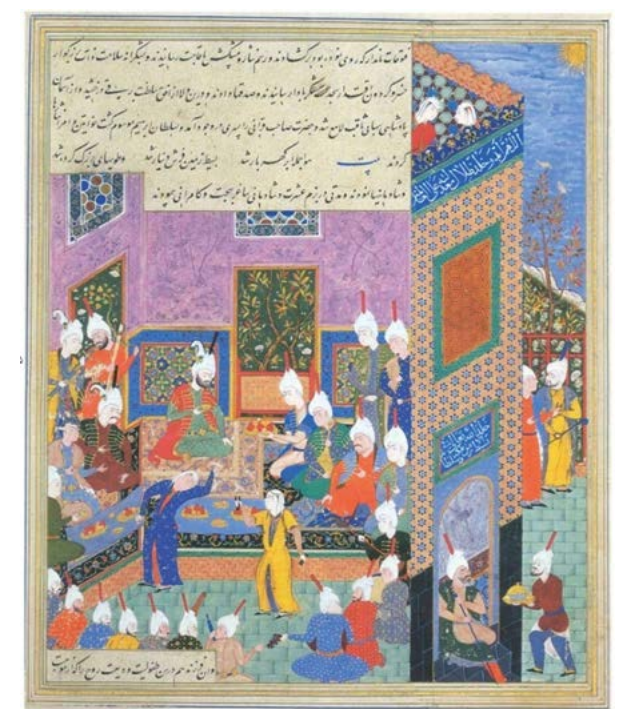
Bihzad's influence is evident in Safavid painting in many ways, especially in the overall Timurid sense of composition and balance that will re-emerge in slightly later painting made for Tahmasp. Some scholars, such as David Roxburgh, believe Bihzad's assignment in the Royal Library was mostly administrative. The decree notes that Bihzad would be chief of the employees of the Royal Library; yet it quite clearly implies a sort of bureaucratic role for Bihzad, for nowhere is there a specific reference to his direct involvement in aesthetic decisions.⁷ The "Library" in these centuries was also a workshop; called *kitabkhana*, it was a gathering place of skilled practitioners in the arts of the book. Its directors functioned as intermediaries between patrons and practitioners, ensuring that progress was made on stipulated commissions and overseeing production quality. It is possible that these supervisors also placed certain controls on the aesthetic direction of projects under their care.⁸ This would mean that in a workshop made up of specialized and hierarchically organized craftsmen, the master's role was to oversee production and to execute the most complex parts of the painting.

Marianna Simpson believes that Bihzad's participation, even in projects such as the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp, is improbable. She says that, if we recall that this *Shahnama*, with nearly 760 folios and 258 paintings, was the most enormous product of the Tabriz atelier, we would then expect that, had Bihzad had a specific role in this project, his name would have been mentioned in at least one of the numerous Safavid historical sources, such as the preface, *دییاجه*, of the album composed by Dust Muhammad. He is the 16th century critic, historian, and librarian of the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza, Tahmasp's brother; he especially singles out Sultan Muhammad by name for the two paintings he executed for the *Shahnama*, and also for work on the Shah Tahmasp *Khamsa* of Nezami.⁹ Thus, whether the notion of Bihzad's participation in an enormous production like the *Shahnama* is accepted or, yet, remains hypothetical, is it logical to believe that the head of the Royal Kitabkhana in Tabriz would have been directly involved in a less ambitious project like the *Gulistan Zafar-Nama*?

There is also evidence that, already at a much earlier age, Bihzad entrusted much of his work to assistance and pupils. On the other hand, a letter, composed by Bihzad and addressed to Shah Tahmasp, requests funds for a project, a History of Hazrat-i Shahi (*Tarikh-i Hazrat-i Shahi*); in it he apologizes to the Shah for not being able to attend his Majesty because of weakness



III. 8. Zulaikha attempts to seduce Yusuf, Bihzad, 893–894 H/1488



III. 9. Timur returning to Samarqand after conquering Sistan in 785 H/1383 and the birth of his son Ibrahim who died afterwards



III. 10. Timur holds a festivity after returning to Samarqand from Hamadan in summer 798 H/1396



III. 11. Marriage ceremony of Timurid princes in 807 H/1405

⁵ Perhaps the most recent being Sims 2002: 60.

⁶ A series of documents assembled by Khwandamir entitled *Nama-yi nami* ([The Illustrious Book]; Paris, BN, MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842) include a decree of Ismail I dated AH 928 (1522) appointing Bihzad head of the royal manuscript workshop. The authenticity of this document, however, was questioned by Tourkhan Ganjei, who stated that Khwandamir's text is dated by chronogram to AH 925 (1519).

⁷ Roxburgh 2000: 142.

⁸ Roxburgh 2005: 136.

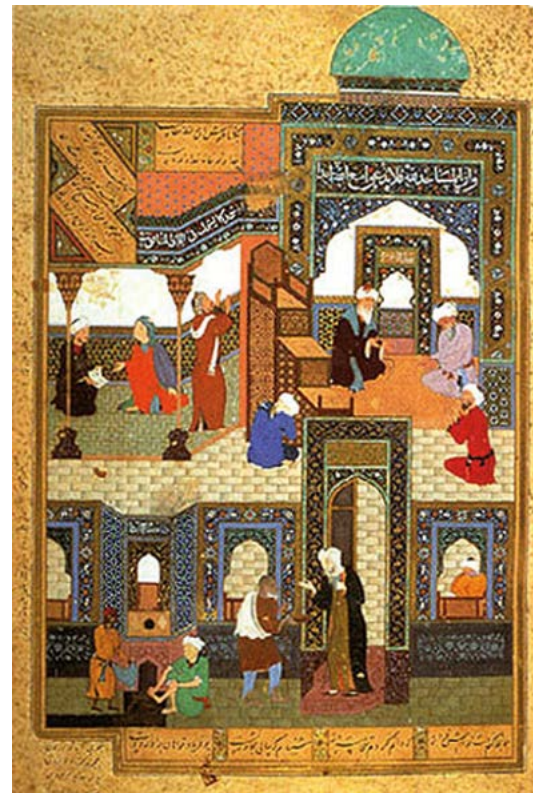
⁹ Simpson 1383: 76.

and being unwell.¹⁰ These words testify to the state of his health: in 935/1528–1529, he would have been at least 75 years of age. Thus, he is not likely to have begun, let alone finished, an illustrative programme of 24 large and complex paintings.

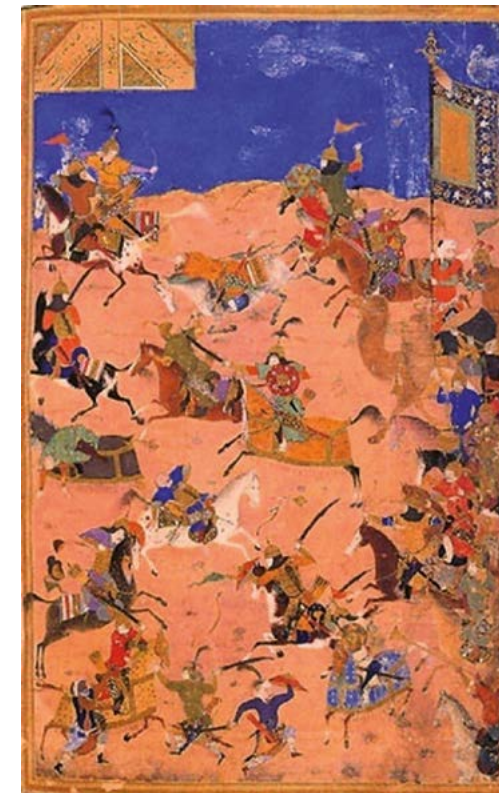
Bihzad's style in comparison with some works of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 H

Discussion about Bihzad's style of painting is usually based on an examination of those in three manuscripts: the later illustrations added to a *Khamsa* (dated 846/1442), the *Khamsa* of Amir Farsi Barlas (dated 900/1494), and the *Bustan* of Sa'di,¹¹ of 894–895/1488–1489 the only manuscript whose paintings with signatures of Bihzad are definitely accepted by modern scholars. The documentation that indisputably connects painter to painting in Bihzad's signature is the phrase *صوره العبد بهزاد*, or *عمل العبد بهزاد* "written by", or "work of, the servant Bihzad"; in the *Bustan* of 894–895, such phrases usually appear within the architectural decoration, or in other inconspicuous places. We may now compare paintings carrying this signature with some of the *Zafar-Nama* paintings which display the same theme or are similarly composed.

Let us first look at two paintings from the *Bustan*: *Zulaikha attempts to seduce Yusuf*, and *Beggar denied alms at a mosque* (Ills 8 and 12). Bihzad shares with his best contemporaries a manner in which linear precision and compositional balance are more important than the depiction of space or corporeal substance. Buildings, usually presented as flat surfaces, are covered with decorative patterns and calligraphy rendered in meticulous detail. Yet Bihzad does create a palpable sense of space in which his figures appear to move with ease. Many figures are differentiated by age and physical type, and some are so individualized that they may have been portraits. The *Bustan* paintings are also characterized by the high quality of their execution and their sophisticated, structured compositions in which each line and nuance of colour is calibrated to produce a sense of harmony and balance.



III. 12. Beggar denied alms at a mosque



III. 13. The Battle of Iskandar and Dara



III. 14. The Battle of the Clans

In comparison, three paintings from the *Zafar-Nama* of 935, showing courtly entertainment in an architectural construct (Ills 9, 10 and 11, 9, 15, and 23), display many differences in the presentation of space. In the *Bustan* pictures the architectural forms are exceedingly rich in their various patterns, and the illustrations function on several levels while, in the *Zafar-Nama*, there is no mystical atmosphere. Instead there is a formula: at the middle zone of the pictures, the principal figure sits on a large throne that is densely ornamented, and he hosts a reception on a tiled terrace with guests pouring and passing cups of wine. The architecture is accordingly simpler, even if it is exceedingly rich in its decoration.

Colour also plays a role. By using matured tones (*pukhta*, in Persian) and complex blends of colour, Bihzad's palette went beyond the range of primary and narrowly secondary colours; his work shows a novel subtlety in the use of colours as an element of composition. The palette in the painting of the *Zafar-Nama* is instead, far from the palette presented by Bihzad: more vivid, and more striking.

The second group shows two illustrations set in a mosque: the *Beggar denied alms at a Mosque* by Bihzad, from the *Bustan* and *Confined Ghotb al-Din Gharmi and bringing him to Shiraz Friday Mosque* from the 935 *Zafar-Nama* (Ills 12 and 5, 22). Obviously there are similarities between the *Yusuf and Zulaikha* picture and *Beggar denied alms at a Mosque*: in the architectural composition, in the richness in wall decoration, and in the colour scheme.

¹⁰ Jafari 1353.

¹¹ Cairo, National Library, Adab Farsi 908, folio 52v.



III. 15. The Battle between Timur and Sultan Mahmud Indian Ruler in 801 H/1398 and the Victory of Timur's Forces



III. 16. The Army of Amir Shams al-Din with his Tugh returns to the battle-field of Leh and the Victory of the Mughul Army in 766 H/1364

But the depiction of everyday activities and the variety of facial figures in the *Bustan* picture announces the naturalism of Bihzad's style. This painting illustrates Sa'di's story of an old beggar pleading for alms in front of a mosque. Bihzad strove to achieve a living portrayal of movement, poses, gestures and faces in representing individuals which can be well appreciated in this image: a man washing his feet before entering the mosque, variations of skin-colour, and the diverse figures of everyday life. Scholars have argued that Bihzad's special contribution to Persian painting was to introduce a temporal dimension to manuscript illustrations by depicting figures in a greater variety of postures and attitudes, personally engaged in speech and gesture; and a pictorial elaboration that went beyond the text's strict narrative requirements, almost as if to challenge and subvert the story's central subject.¹² Human activity gives scale to the structure of Bihzad's picture (Ill. 12) while, in the *Zafar-Nama* image (Ill. 5), human figures are unexceptional. In the middle of this picture dominated by architecture is a tall, two-storey building, inside which some courtiers watch the event. The courtyard of the mosque is covered by hexagonal tiles, and the facade in the background is rather simple in its forms and its decoration. Thus, a different kind of conception is manifested in this painting: the palette is simpler, the linear composition is more facile, and the figures of individuals are less differentiated.

¹² Roxburgh 2000: 121.

Battle scenes provide a third subject of comparison. Two paintings of this subject, *The Battle of Iskandar and Dara*, and *The Battle of the Clans* (Ills 13 and 14), are assigned to Bihzad's hand. Both illustrations are found in the same small manuscript; and both display mounted armies: in the first, horses and camels are both in sight, while in the second camels alone are presented; yet both pictures truly show the clash of the hosts. In *The Battle of Iskandar and Dara* a furious mounted battle between combatants is shown against a pinkish hill with a high horizon. The intense expressiveness of faces, hands, and entire figures throughout the picture is remarkable. Movement and positions are varied, and an energetic combat is embodied in simple landscape. Two soldiers fall from their horses, three are on foot, and one (at the left corner) has dark skin. The intense dynamism of the masses of men and horses creates a great sense of precipitate movement. *The Battle of the Clans* displays an impressive circular composition with fewer figures. Two fall from their camels; one, in blue, is executed expressively, and his body and shield literally fall out of the painting at the bottom. The dark lines of swords help to create an alive and flowing composition.

For comparison, I consider three battle scenes from the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 (Ills 2, 15 and 16, **19**, **16**, and **2**). The differences in composition, arrangement of combatants, the presentation of landscape, and the palette are obvious. As much as these paintings differ from the Bihzadi style, they resemble Safavid paintings. In fact, so many gestures, expressive body movements, poses, and similarities to paintings in the Tahmasp *Shahnama* allow us to identify these images as Safavid masterpieces. Bihzad's influence, however, is evident in Safavid painting in many ways, especially in the overall Timurid sense of composition and balance that characterizes painting actually made for Tahmasp himself. Perhaps, then, we might say that while many Bihzadian features underlie some of the more striking paintings of the *Zafar-Nama*, his direct execution of any of them—as has been demonstrated above—is surely impossible.

**Some similarities
between the *Shahnameh* of Shah Tamasp
and the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 H**

In the field of Islamic manuscript illustration, tradition is a very important factor. Favoured subjects, notable compositions, and traits of style were perpetuated down through the years, whether because of the direct copying from one manuscript to another or because of the intensive training passed on from master to pupil.¹³ The creation of a fine manuscript's illustrations brought together an aggregate of compositional elements designed by many makers.

Examination of one of the Tahmasp *Shahnama*'s illustrations, and a comparison with the same kind of picture in the *Zafar-Nama* of 935, may persuade us to notice the same approach made by the painters of both manuscripts; *Slaying Barman by Gharen* (Ill. 17) in the Tahmasp

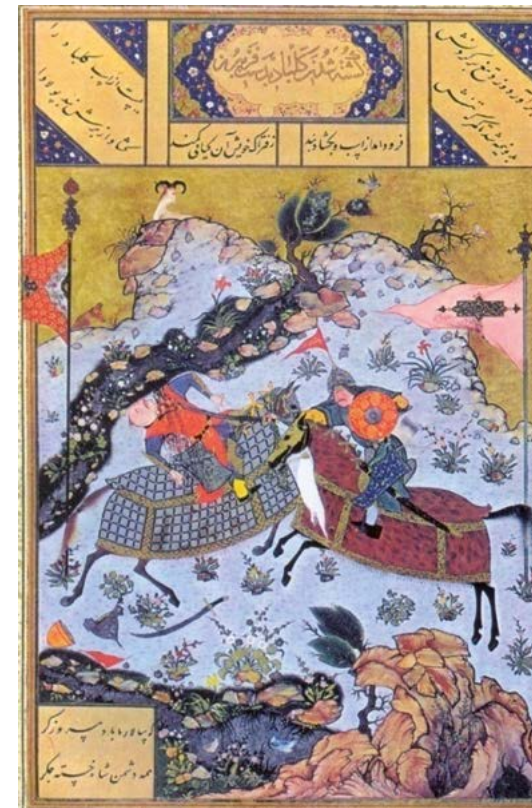
¹³ Brend 1994: 103.



III. 17. Slaying Barman by Gharen



III. 18. Timur's night attack on Tughtamish Khan after passing across the Khojand River in 791 H/1389



III. 19. Fariborz killing Kalbad

Shahnama shows some resemblance to two paintings of the *Zafar-Nama* 935 with similar subjects: *Timur's night attack on Tughtamish Khan* (Ill. 18, 11), and *A Battle between Timur's army and Faraj ibn Barquq, Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Damascus in 803 H/1401* (Ill. 2, 19). Figural groups are repeated: a man on a camel beating a drum (at the upper left side in one and upper right side in Ill. 18), men blowing battle-trumpets, and a warrior thrusting a spear into the back of an enemy who is falling off his horse though his foot is jammed in his stirrup (Ill. 2). There are other repeated figural elements, and conventions of setting and landscape: the high horizon, rocky landscape, dark blue sky, starry night, coloured flags with finials, and horses with elaborate caparisons. The placement, articulation, and relationship between the many components of these three paintings suggest that they used the same "cast of characters" and the same settings. Such repeated subjects and repeated presentations reinforce the fact that imitative responses to images were common practice.

Another illustration from the *Tahmasp Shahnama* is *Fariborz killing Kalbad* (Ill. 19), which shows more features similar to some of the *Zafar-Nama* paintings: rocky edges along a high horizon; twisted trees against a golden, or blue sky; rocks with wavy profiles in either the foreground or background; coloured and patterned flags; the detritus of battle littering the ground in helmets, swords, hats, quivers, and pennons; headless and wounded soldiers; warriors with blood spurting from their blows or lying dead. Of course, we may argue that such features always accompany the presenta-

tion of one specific subject within a rich, and exuberant composition in a natural setting; it is a characteristic of some of the most remarkable 16th-century paintings, no matter where they may have been made, or by whom. They are not only characteristic of the work of Bihzad but can be seen in the works of major contemporary artists working at the Safavid court, and elsewhere in Iran.

To determine the presence of a single painter is not now within the scope of my argument, although perhaps this could be achieved by comparing the characteristic and repeated elements such as eyebrows, or the rendering of hands, ears, drapery folds, and aspects of design, the architecture, or the overall structure of compositions. It would reveal more similarities between various Safavid styles in some of the *Zafar-Nama* paintings, than with the "style" and hand of the apparent naturalism in the best later Herat paintings always attributed to Bihzad; stock figures, and compositional patterns simply

continue to be used for manuscript illustration throughout the next two centuries. Sims, Adamova, Roxburgh, and many others, have suggested that the author's place lies along the axis of an ongoing tradition. He inherited a corpus of subjects, motifs, designs, and themes, and worked in and through them; yet some privileged artists were accorded, by their culture, special recognition for their specific performances; they stand out as vertical markers on another axis, so to speak.¹⁴

Conclusion

In this paper, we have challenged the assumption that Bihzad's name as a painter in the colophon of a fine, but not princely manuscript, a copy of Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi's *Zafar-Nama* dated 935, is truly to be taken at face-value. The primary question is whether Bihzad was indeed involved in illustrating this manuscript; my reply is that Bihzad's name in the colophon does not in the slightest degree mean that he created the 24 paintings of this manuscript. To arrive at this conclusion, the problem has been examined from four different points of view:

¹⁴ Roxburgh 2000: 136.

The dissimilarity among the 24 paintings of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935: it implies that all 24 illustrations cannot be the works of a single hand, which means that more than one painter must have been part of a team of illustrators for this manuscript, even if just one name is mentioned in the colophon.

Bihzad's position in the Safavid court as the head of *kitabkhana*, or Royal Library; his position as the director of an enormous organization, in addition to his advanced age and weak health, make it improbable that he could have been directly involved in the illustrating of *Zafar-Nama* of 935.

Some of Bihzad's unquestioned works have been compared with some of the paintings in the *Zafar-Nama*, which share subject matter or compositional structure. No real similarity can be demonstrated between Bihzad's style and the paintings of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935.

Some of the pictures in the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 were compared with two pictures in the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp. The architectural and overall structure of these compositions, especially some details, show that more such similarities exist between the Safavid paintings and some of the painting in the *Zafar-Nama* of 935.

From this analysis and careful examination of the paintings themselves and in the absence of any external documentation, we could propose one logical explanation: that the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 was produced in the Safavid court but only under supervision of Bihzad, although not directly by his own hand.

In conclusion, I suggest that Bihzad's name on the colophon of the *Zafar-Nama* of 935 H/1528–1529 AD proves his involvement only as a director of different projects in the Royal Library of Tabriz. The scribe, Sultan Muhammad Nur, who copied this manuscript, mentions only the director's name, and not all the painters who might have worked on it. For all the reasons mentioned, Bihzad's direct participation is not only improbable but also impossible.

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List of illustrations

No.	Title	Name of Manuscript	Location	Manuscript number	Page/ folio number	Picture number	Size/cm
1	The colophon of the <i>Zafar-Nama</i> of 935 H/1528–1529	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	Gulestan Palace Library (GPL), Tehran, Iran	708	750	–	23 × 37
2	A battle between Timur's army and Faraj ibn Barquq, Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Damascus in 803 H/1401	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	552	19	21.7 × 17.3
3	Timur's battle with Shah Mansur, nephew of Shah Shoja', in Fars in 795 H/1393 and his slaying by 17-year-old prince Shahrokh	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	312	13	23.1 × 19.3
4	Timur and his companions hunting in India in 801 H/1398	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	484	17	21.7 × 18.8
5	Confined Ghotb al-Din Gharmi and bringing him to Shiraz Friday Mosque in 806 H/1404	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	662	22	21.8 × 18.9
6	A festivity with the presence of Bayazid as prisoner after conquering Rome territories	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	617	21	24.4 × 19
7	Timur's death in 807 H/1405	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	712	24	26.1 × 19.6
8	Zulaikha attempts to seduce Yusuf, Bihzad, 893–894 H/1488	Sa'di's <i>Bustan</i>	Cairo, National Library	Adab Farsi 908	folio 52v	6	25.4 × 15.8
9	Timur returning to Samarqand after conquering Sistan in 785 H/1383 and the birth of his son Ibrahim who died afterwards	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	201	9	21.5 × 18.1
10	Timur holds a festivity after returning to Samarqand from Hamadan in summer 798 H/1396	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	396	15	28.8 × 19.9

11	Marriage ceremony of Timurid princes in 807 H/1405	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	690	23	25.9 × 17.9
12	Beggar denied alms at a mosque	Sa'di's <i>Bustan</i>	Cairo, National Library	Adab Farsi 908	?	4	25.4 × 15.6
13	The Battle of Iskandar and Dara	<i>Khamsa</i> of Nizami	British Library	Add. 25900	231v	15	15 × 9.7
14	The Battle of the Clans	<i>Khamsa</i> of Nizami	British Library	Add. 25900	121v	10	12.7 × 8.7
15	The Battle between Timur and Sultan Mahmud Indian Ruler in 801 H/1398 and the Victory of Timur's Forces	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	451	16	24 × 17.1
16	The Army of Amir Shams al-Din with his Tugh returns to the battle-field of Leh and the Victory of the Mughul Army in 766 H/1364	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	59	2	21 × 15.5
17	Slaying Barman by Gharen	Shah Tahmasp <i>Shahnama</i>	Present whereabouts not known	–	folio 102	–	22.3 × 30.6
18	Timur's night attack on Tughtamish Khan after passing across the Khojand River in 791 H/1389	<i>Zafar-Nama</i>	GPL	708	245	11	21.8 × 17.5
19	Fariborz killing Kalbad	Shah Tahmasp <i>Shahnama</i>	Present whereabouts not known	–	folio 341	–	17.2 × 22



The aesthetic ideal in the miniatures of the Ali-Shir Nava'i period

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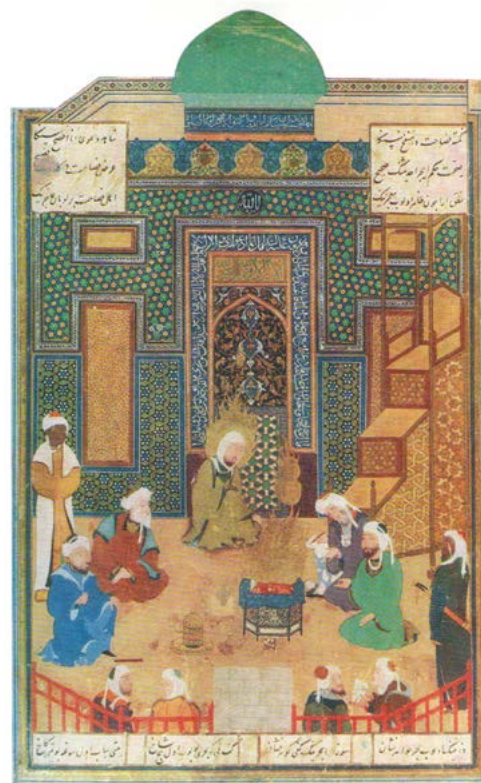


Miniature art sprang up in Uzbekistan in the period around one millennium BC. This is testified to by many monuments found in the course of archaeological digs in Surkhandarya, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khoresm and Ferghana. The most significant images of the epoch of ancient Uzbekistan date back to the 1st–2nd centuries BC. Three women were depicted playing various instruments in the picture found in Ayritom (Surkhandarya), whilst a picture found in Toprakkala (Khoresm) contained the image of a woman playing the harp. People and animals, the theatre of war, and scenes of receptions by the king at court were depicted on the walls of the temple Bolaliktepa (Surkhandarya), palaces in Toprakkala and Varahsha (Bukhara). You can find images of people and animals on ceramic wares and various tools. The subjects of these pictures are analogous to those of the late art of miniature, which are repetitive with some changes. These pictures distinctly show the process of the formation, development and transformation of miniatures.

Miniature art, which developed after adopting the Islamic religion, began from the design of headings, frames, pages and the depiction of Islamic ornaments to be gold-plated in the Sacred Qur'an. Originally, miniature art in Central Asia derived inspiration from the miniature art of China. Later, with the connection of the development of the art of book writing, not only the Sacred Qur'an but also other types of religious literature, divans and dastans began to be designed with various thematic pictures and ornaments.

The main part

The miniature art in Central Asia, Iran and Khorasan of the post-Islamic period was closely connected with the centre of the Abbasidian caliphate. As it is known, the first school of miniature art was established in Baghdad, where artists from Central Asia, Iran and Khorasan worked. This art achieved its fullest flowering in the period of the Temurids' reign, especially during the time of the greatest thinker, poet and statesman Alisher Navoi (1441–1501).



III. 1.



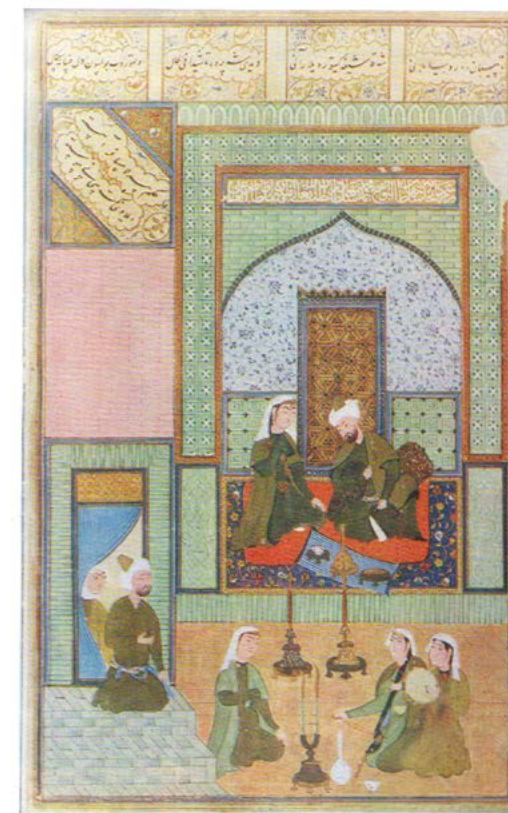
III. 2.



III. 3.



III. 4.



III. 5.



III. 6.

In the 15th and in the first half of the 16th centuries, the fine arts of Central Asia achieved their peak. Kameletdin Bekzod's creative work flourished. He was called the "Raphael of the East". He was the founder of the miniature art school of Herat. Kamaletdin Bekhzad educated famous talented artists of that time such as Kasim Ali, Mirak Naqqashi, Dost Muhammed, Mahmud Mu-zahhib and others. These artists designed with their miniatures the works of Alisher Navoi such as "Hayrat-ul Abror", "Farhad and Shirin", "Leyli and Majnun", "Seven Planets", "Alexander's wall", "The language of birds", and they also drew beautiful miniatures to the works of other celebrated poets. Social ideals, ideas of nobility and humanism were depicted with bright colours in the miniatures. The beauty, tenderness, brightness of colours and attractiveness which are inherent in miniatures, served the brilliant depiction of the aesthetic ideas of Alisher Navoi's works.

The miniatures which have endured into our time briskly show the peculiarities of this art, and also its development to realistic depiction. As it is known, Chinese artists of that period mainly depicted landscape pictures. The artists of the Navoi period developed this art and paid more attention to the image of man, his thoughts and the inner world.

The artists of Alisher Navoi's period, without deviating from Islamic traditions, depicted national culture, national traditions, customs and rituals in their miniatures. For example, Alisher Navoi's "Hayrat-ul-Abror" contained depictions of the Sacred Prophet (Ill. 1), his interlocutors, and the great scholar of mysticism Hodja Abdullah Ansari (Ill. 2). The poems such as "Farhad and



III. 7.



III. 8.



III. 9.

Shirin", "Leyli and Majnun", "Seven Planets", and "Alexander's wall" contained miniatures with fragments of scenes from high society such as the courtship of lovers, hunting, celebrations, the talk of the wise, funerals and other traditional rites (Ills 3–6). There is always a man in the centre of all the miniatures. In the miniatures ingenuously devoted to religious themes and high society subjects one can trace the aesthetic ideals of artists—these are a belief in virtue, beauty and humanism. For the mission of true, real art is the formation of these qualities.

The characteristic peculiarity of miniatures of this period lies in the fact that they were inseparably connected with the Sufi movement. The creative works of the great poets of this period—Abdurakhman Jami, Alisher Navoi and others—were permeated with the ideas of Sufism. They put the idea of modern man in the central place in their works, and that in its turn strongly influenced its development. Modern man is the man who is wise and clever, deeply believes in the creator, he is honest and pious, morally pure, able to curb passion, carnality, steadfastly going to the spiritual summit, bringing benefit to people and society. Beauty, kindness, justice and truth are above all other qualities for him. Miniature painters reflected these ideas, sung by the greatest poets of that time, using different means.

In the miniature accompanying the poem "Hayrat-ul-Abror", Sufis with Abdulla Ansari at the head were depicted (Ill. 7). Ansari's face expresses wisdom and confidence. His face, slightly hunched figure, white beard, calm pose, and open hands express a good nature, wisdom and openness. One can propose that the wise man speaks of the problems of Truth and Beauty,

impressing the dervishes sitting next to him. The dervishes' poses testify to the respect for the wise man.

In another miniature to accompany the poem "Farhad and Shirin" (A. Navoi's poem) there are images of Farhad and Yasuman (Ill. 8). On Hisrav's commission, Yasuman informs Farhad about the death of his beloved Shirin. Farhad does not know that it is a lie. But this news strikes him like lightning. There is deep grief on his face, now life is inconceivable for him. The artist does not confine himself with stereotyped gestures, without diverting his attention to minor details but with reserved means he fixes all the episode as a whole. The main thing for him is to convey what is most important for the disclosure of the plot—Farhad's inner world, his character. The man watching from above is undoubtedly Hisrav, who is happy with Farhad's grief, he achieves his aim—Farhad dies. On the

right there is the image of a black jackal—the symbol of evil. Behind Farhad there are deer—the symbols of beauty and tenderness. They are surprised. All these elements supplement each other and help to reveal the theme—the struggle between virtue and evil.

In the miniature "Alexander's funerals" (accompanying the poem "Alexander's walls" by A. Navoi) there is the process of funerals of the great commander-in chief and tsar (Ill. 9). Created drawing from the ancient canon of gestures, he uses signs with which the artist could realistically depict grief and mourning (rising hands, the of wiping eyes with kerchiefs). Women's black garments, men's hunched poses, and the expressions of faces mean that a great man has died.

Considering miniatures of this period one can see that the artists-miniaturists often used deep colouring of the sky for the purpose of revealing an idea, and likewise depicted clouds in the form of curls. It's characteristic for them to have a flattening of background, low figures in terms of composition, the accentuated Turkic type of faces for personages, and abrupt, intensified gesticulation. The landscape in picturesque decisions comes forward as a secondary feature, showing only those elements which play any special role in revealing ideas (mountains, river, lakes, flowers and so forth).

Conclusion

During the Temurids' reign, especially in the time of Huseyn Baykara, who ruled the country when Alisher Navoi lived and worked with the support of the state and public statesmen, min-

ature art attained its peak. Prince Boysunkur Mirzo of the Timurids was a skillful calligrapher and personally managed the group of calligraphers, and assisted the development of art. Alisher Navoi being the main vizier (Prime Minister), and as an outstanding thinker spiritually and financially supported and directed artists. Navoi's aesthetic ideals are humanism, humanity and kindness. The idea to put man above all made a great impact on artists, and assisted the development of miniature art.

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Persian illuminated scientific manuscripts from the National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi

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Medieval Muslim science is a uniting phenomenon of West-Eastern cultural heritage. It is an integral part of the "Complex Civilization" formed in that epoch.¹ A main incentive to the scientific achievement of that period is the introduction of empiricism and an experimental spirit, which firstly concerns the "Golden Epoch" of the Muslim East, the fundamental works of the Muslim authors,² being a bridge between the "old" and "new" science.³

The thinkers of the Arabian East, Iran and Middle Asia preserved, revived and enriched the ancient Greek tradition, developing new fields of science. A clear trace of the scientific works of the Greek thinkers—Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy, Galen—and also of Iranian and Indian scholars was reflected in original Arab-language works, also translations and revised works of the medieval epoch. The West familiarized itself with these works through the Latin translations of the 11th–12th centuries, done from the Arab sources. Precisely these works largely contributed to the development of the new, "technological" science and determined, to a large respect, the European Renaissance.⁴

Georgian science is one important stage on the complicated path of the dialogue of civilizations. Within centuries it was based on a many centuries old national tradition and despite political antagonism it creatively used to apprehend the achievements of the Hellenic-Byzantine and Oriental cultures. The influences are noticeably manifested in the technology and artistic design of the handwritten book, which basically preserves Oriental tendencies in compliance with the Arabian-Persian originals.

The specificity of the scientific works, their popularity, educational and practical purpose, the broad communicational function, the considerable conditioned decoration and illumination of these works, which is characterized by the preservation of the Persian manuscript traditions, Oriental refinement and colourist sounding, all add up to remarkable legacy.

¹ Stock 1980: 236, Nasr 1976.

² Briffault 1928: 190–200.

³ Lodge 2010.

⁴ Wipper 1947: 129–130.

First of all this concerns astronomical and astrological works and collections, in the artistic design of which two main directions appear: rich illumination of the manuscripts and a simple style characteristic to the scientific works—simple framing, ordered geometric forms of tables and draughts, as well as colour accents.

The Oriental collections of the National Centre of Manuscripts involve rich material both from the history of science and influences of cultures, and from the viewpoint of studying the issues connected with the art of the book.

As it is known, Islamic astrology is directly connected with early Muslims; to a certain extent, it also involves elements of astronomy. In the medieval sources, astrology and astronomy are delimited. Astrological studies, the “bright, observant stage of astronomy”, which demanded relevant knowledge for defining the location of heavenly bodies and their movements, largely determined the development of astronomy.

In the 10th century Muslim astronomers reviewed the system of Ptolemy, introducing some changes and amendments in the frames of the geocentric model of the universe. Later, in the late Middle Ages, the works of al-Battani and Averroes partially prepared the ground for the heliocentric system of Copernicus.

The manuscripts of astronomical-astrological character in the National Centre, which are written mostly in the 13th–19th centuries, represent the achievements of that period and present the works of such competent authors as Nassir ad-Din Tussi and Ulugbeg.

Nassir ad-Din Tussi, renowned Oriental scholar and authority (the 13th century) was a versatile researcher, possessing encyclopedic knowledge. He translated and added comments to the books of Euclid, Archimedes and Avicenna, also *Al-Magest* of Ptolemy. Tussi compiled the famous *Ilhan Tables*, which later, in 1652, were translated into Latin.

The Oriental collections of the National Centre of Manuscripts (*Middle-Asian, Qajarian and Local*)⁵ preserve several manuscripts, which involve the works of Nassir ad-Din Tussi. The Astronomical collection **PK-31** from the *Qajar* collection, which involves *Si Fasl* [Thirty Chapters], and also the work of the famous scholar of the 15th century Ali Kushchi should be mentioned along with the treatise of his pupil Ruyan Lakhidji on calendar calculations.

This manuscript is a book created with a scientific purpose. It is rewritten by different hands—*naskhi*, *nastaliq*, and *shekaste-mixed nastaliq*. These calligraphic differences serve decorative and at the same time quite concrete practical objectives—to differentiate various works from one another, to make semantic and visual accents, which will make the book easy to use. It is simply illuminated; geometric draughts and special tables are made in red and are very accurate. These light outlines organically merge with the written space of the page and form one whole.

The well-known *Ziji* of the famous Middle-Asian astronomer Ulugbeg—*Catalogue of Stars*, which is considered to be one of the most serious achievements in practical astronomy and the best catalogue before Tycho Brahe, is represented in our collections by several remark-



III. 1. The list of the Local Persian Collection

able manuscripts. The list of the Local Persian Collection **PL-621** (Ill. 1) is richly decorated. It is created by the legacy of the high artistic tradition of the Persian manuscript. The beginning, like the introductory pages of a large part of Persian-Arabian manuscripts, is illuminated by filigree *unvan*, which performs a special artistic function; it is done masterfully, is clear and in an intensive colour combination, red, golden, blue and black contrasting colours and floral elements; in the area framed in *unvan*, the decorative inner frame there is adorned with a *Bismila* kufic inscription. The manuscript titles are written in gold with *naskhi* of decorative shade, subtitles—in blue. The frames of tables are done in the same colour, as the letters, which means each column of the tables is separated from one another with golden and red letters in turn.

It should be specially mentioned that *Ziji* is translated into Georgian by King of Kartli Vakhtang VI, renowned enlightener of the 18th century. This translation is preserved in several manuscripts, one of which—the manuscript **S-161** of the National Centre of Manuscripts—is a remarkable sample of the Georgian handwritten work and is done in the style of the Persian original, though it is simple in its colour combination.

Special attention is attracted by calendar works (e.g. **PL-667**), preserved in the same local **PL** collection of the Persian manuscripts, which are characterized by quite peculiar artistic interpretation. The manuscript of the notebook form involves tables, in which cells of rhombic and right-angled form are done in golden and grey colour in turn. The basic text is written in thin *nastaliq*, while the letters in cells are thicker. Tables are decorated in Arabian; the titles also have

⁵ About the Persian manuscripts of the National Centre of Manuscripts see: Catalogue of Arabian, Turkish and Persian manuscripts (K collection), compiled by T. Abuladze, R. Gvaramia and M. Mamatsashvili, Tbilisi 1969; Catalogue of Persian manuscripts, compiled by M. Mamatsashvili, Tbilisi 1977.

a decorative function. Several such notebooks are preserved in the National Centre of Manuscripts.

The collections of the Centre preserve the manuscripts involving scientific works of the famous Oriental scholars—medical men of the 9th–16th centuries: al-‘Ater, Ben Yusuf, al-Khorezmi, al-Jorjani, Zakaria ar-Razi, etc., who represent the most significant stage of development of medieval medicine. They preserved the entire previous history of the development of this field and reflected cultural influences.

The famous work of the 12th-century great scholar al-Jorjani *Zaxireie Khorezmshah* is presented in several manuscripts of the Centre. This work is of medical encyclopedic character. It is the first book in Persian in general, on the science of medicine. It involves nine books, the manuscripts of which are supplied with X book—a summing up of the author and 4 parts—narration on complex medical means.

The Persian manuscript **PAC-327**, preserved in the Middle-Asian collection of the Centre, involves 5 books of the present work. The manuscript is illuminated with a traditional *unvan* of small size, done in violet and golden colour, in floral decorative ornament. *Bismila* is placed on a white background. The text is encircled with a frame of violet, black and golden lines. It is rewritten in thin beautiful *nastaliq*. The titles and separate chapters are distinguished in red colour.

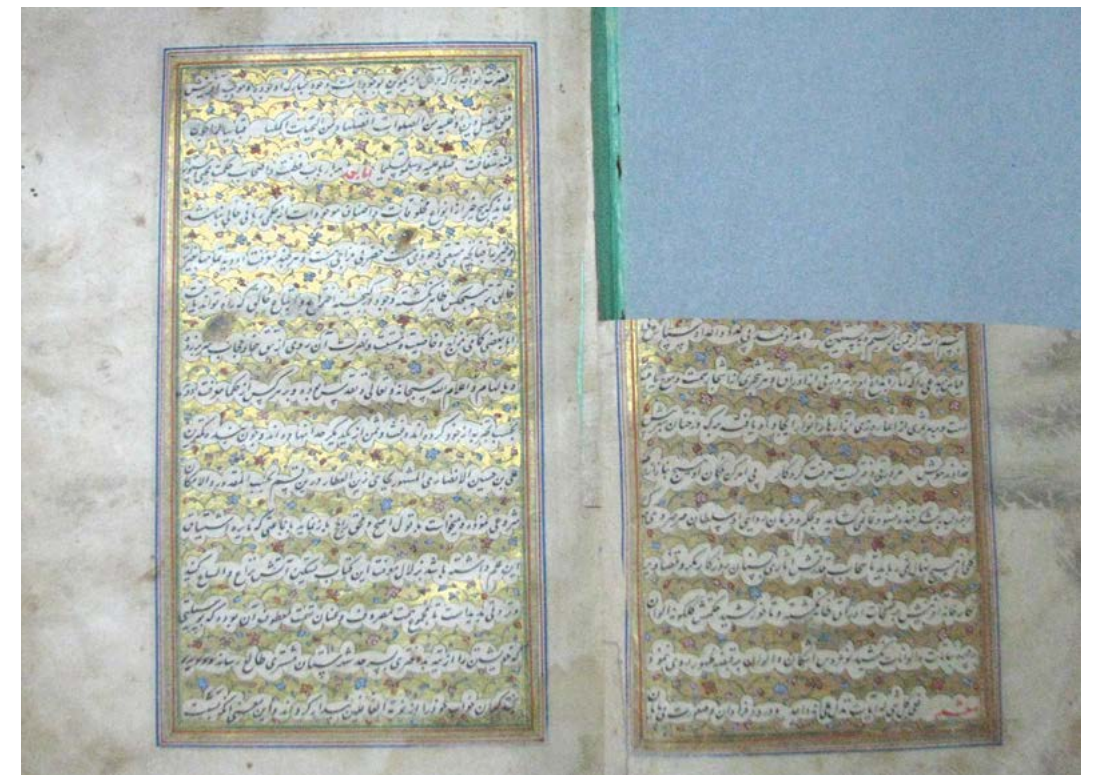
The 18th-century manuscript **PK-27** of the *Qajar* collection (Ill. 2) is rich illumination of a different type. It involves the work of medical content, famous in the entire East *Echthi-arathe Badi’i*, which belongs to al-‘Ateri, the physician of the Shiraz Muzafareddin shah-Shuja (1359–1384) royal court. The work describes herbal medicinal means, the technology of their preparation and vessels, the rules of preserving the medicines, their designation for treatment of various diseases. It was written for Princess Badi’ al-Jamal and the rich decoration of the manuscripts and covers of this work were largely inspired by this.

PK-27 is a book, done with outstanding, highly artistic mastery. Its pages I and II are remarkably illuminated: the text is introduced into cloud-like margins, free space is coloured in gold, and refined flower ornament in red and blue colours is placed in it. The entire text (on other pages) is in the frame of red, golden and blue lines; written in calligraphic *nastaliq*.

A special place among the scientific works is occupied by the manuscripts of chemical and technological character created in the Middle Ages. The *Qajar* collection of the National Centre preserves two manuscripts of alchemical character, two volumes—**PK-111** and **PK-114**, which reflect medieval knowledge from the viewpoint of obtaining precious metals, traits of precious metals and information on chemistry and alchemy, picked out from the works of Arabian and Persian authors. If we take into consideration the fact that scientific works on chemistry are not many even on the world-scale, the manuscripts preserved in our collections are of special importance.

The manuscript **PK-114** (Ill. 3) which represents the second volume of the aforementioned encyclopedia, does not differ in artistic value, though it is interesting in a specific regard, which directly suits the practical-educational purpose of the work. It is a small size manuscript of the 19th century, the text of which is written slantwise, in thin *shekaste*. It is interesting that some of its pages involve schematic, somehow primitively done draughts of a special vessel, which form a real impression of the reader about the chemical and alchemical processes described in the text.

The collection of Georgian manuscripts preserves one manuscript, most interesting for the history of science. It is “Chemistry” compiled by King Vakhtang VI mentioned above. Several



III. 2. The 18th-century manuscript of the *Qajar* collection

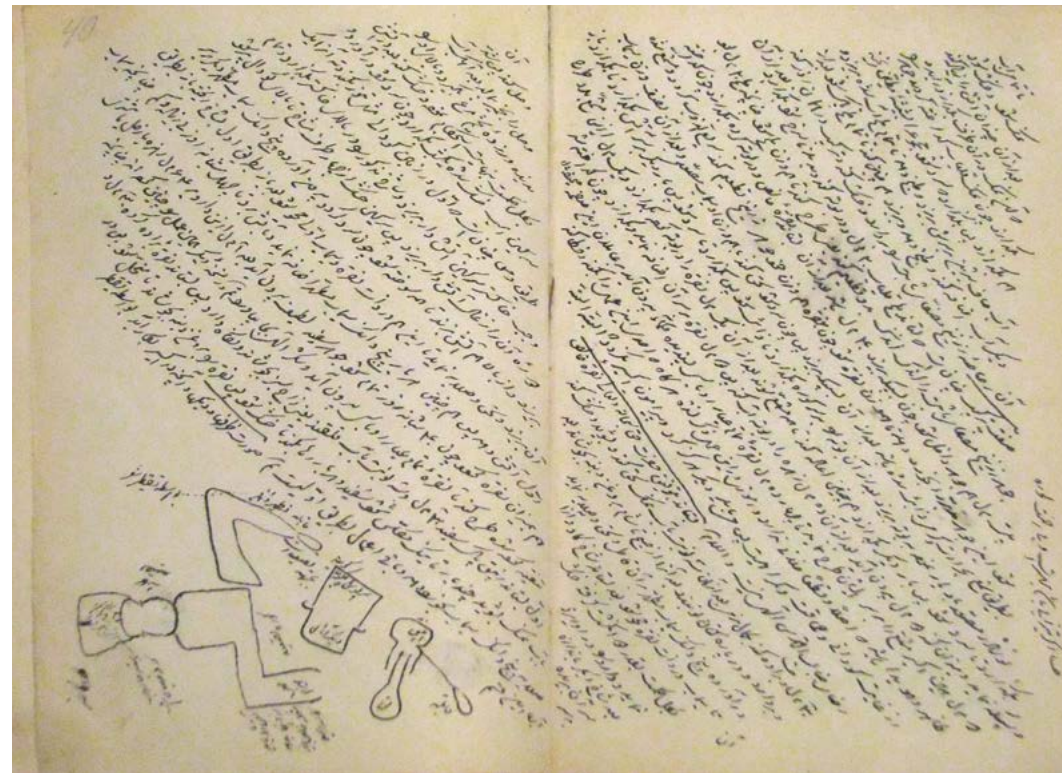
paragraphs of the manuscript are brought from the “Treasury of Secrets”, of the world-famous Oriental author, scholar and encyclopedia expert Ar-Razi. In this manuscript also, which is rewritten by the son of Vakhtang VI, Prince Vakhushti in Russia, there are inserted draughts of equipment and vessels, which was connected with concrete practical objectives.

Thus, decoration-illumination of Persian and partially Georgian manuscripts of scientific meaning, in separate cases, was conditioned by the function and purposes of these manuscripts. They are distinguished with the Persian-Arabian cultural traditions of book art.

Conclusion

Medieval Muslim science is an integral part of the “Complex Civilization” formed in that epoch. The specificity of the Arabic-Persian scientific works, their popularity, educational and practical purpose, broad communicational function and the considerable conditioned decoration and illumination of these works, which is characterized by the preservation of the Persian manuscript traditions, Oriental refinement and colourist sounding, all combine to make a remarkable legacy.

The Oriental collections of the National Centre of Manuscripts involve rich material both of the history of science and influences of cultures, and from the viewpoint of studying the issues



III. 3. One of the manuscripts of alchemical character from the Qajar collection

connected with the art of the book. In the artistic design of astronomical-astrological, medical and chemical manuscripts two main directions appear: the rich illumination of the manuscripts and a simple style characteristic to the scientific works—simple framing, ordered geometric forms of tables and draughts, as well as colour accents.

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Image without images: Visualization in Islamic epigraphy

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The study of epigraphy in Islamic art history in most cases serves two main scholarly aims. On the one hand information taken from inscriptions is used to determine the object connected with it. In the case of building inscriptions this means that they provide data on clients, architects or the construction period of the building. The second important aspect of inscriptions in Islamic art history is their role as an aesthetic means of expression. Central to this aspect of the art historical discussion of inscriptions is their classification according to the respective ductus of the Arab script. Information can be derived from such classifications on artistic traditions and politically motivated demonstrations of power and "visual propaganda".¹

Only infrequently are inscriptions examined with regard to their comprehensive content, which includes its positioning and its mutual coherence within an object. A few scholarly works on Islamic architecture, such as the study on the inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock have demonstrated,² however, that this way of looking at the inscriptions of a building can lead to an identification and deeper understanding of the complex inscriptional programme and its contents. Of course, on a basic level, the selection of an individual inscription is based on its textual content. In order to understand the overall concept for the layout of an inscriptional programme, the placement of each inscription within this layout and the spatial relations of the inscriptions to each other have to be considered, too. In other words, we have to deal with the set of inscriptions located on an Islamic building as we deal with the sculptural programme on the walls of an Indian temple or the façade of a Christian church. It is only through the position of the single content bearing unit—be it an image or an inscription—that a general concept takes shape, as has been observed by Dodd and Khairallah as early as 1981 in their publications on *the image of the word*.³

¹ Blair 1998: 3, 19.
² For the Dome of the Rock see: Grabar 1959: 33–62, Rabbat 1993, for the inscriptions of this sanctuary in particular see: Nagel 2000.
³ Dodd 1969, Dodd and Khairallah 1981.

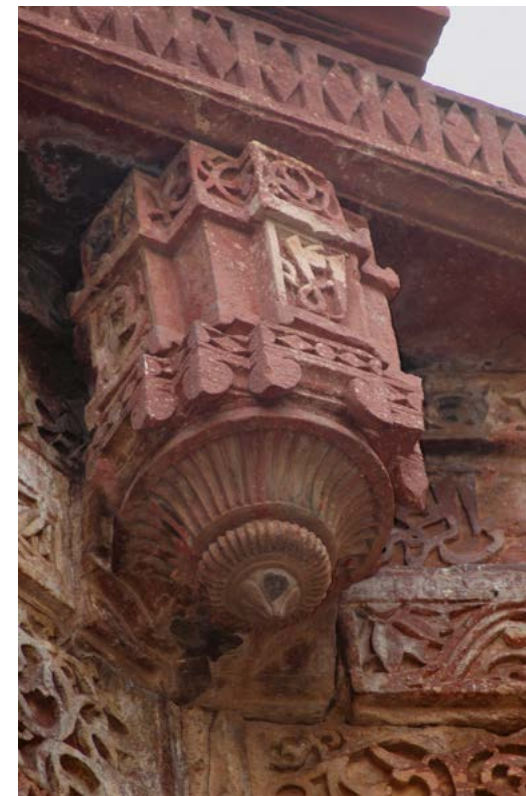


III. 1. Mosque of Qutb al-Dīn Aybak, Delhi, detail of inscription on eastern entrance; phot. Daniel Redlinger



Before the idea of an “image of the word” is exemplified, it is necessary to discuss in brief the term *image* and its connection to visualization processes. Every reader has already perceived that while reading a book, he does not only mechanically proceed from one set of letters, that means, from one word to the next; on the contrary, words and sentences are contextualized and supplemented through the world of ideas, knowledge and imagination of the recipient. A world of culturally determined associations appears before the inner eye, by far exceeding the information of the typographic unit. These associations vary for each individual and are the result of different factors such as cultural background, knowledge, intellectual abilities, competence of reading, capacity of remembering et cetera. This is true in general for a Muslim readership, too; however, most Muslim recipients revert to a collectively experienced cultural knowledge or an epitome of it. Their imagination is therefore influenced to a large extent by their written and oral cultural tradition. Questions of the self-image and its depiction in visual culture are also important in this context. For art historical research this connection between tradition and its representation in different objects can open access to a new level of understanding and interpretation of these objects.

This paper will focus on the inscriptions of the early Sultanate of Delhi in the 12th to 14th century as one example for the theory sketched above. With regard to the considerations mentioned before, it should be noticed that the ruling Muslim elite in the Indian subcontinent was confronted with a very different and complex indigenous iconographic tradition after com-



III. 2. Mosque of Khan Usbek—mihrab; phot. D. Redlinger



ing into power.⁴ The imagery of non-Muslim religious buildings depicted a vast religious cosmos and related concepts and was part of a living tradition. In addition, the images formed important stations within the cult for the believer, for example as icons of gods and goddesses in a temple. Elements of this non-Islamic iconography were adapted, within an extensive cultural transformation process, to the aesthetic and religious needs of the Muslim elite. The buildings created under the impression of this contact with a rich indigenous visual tradition, particularly during the first 150 years after the Muslim conquest of North India, display—besides a wide range of decorative elements—an extraordinarily rich and complex inscription programme.⁵ These inscription programmes—foremost among them the one of the Quwwat al-Islām mosque in Delhi—belong to the most comprehensive ones in the Islamic world.⁶ Like the decoration programme the inscriptions, too, were subjected to a continuous extensive development.

The three most important rulers of the early Sultanate established and extended the Quwwat al-Islām mosque.⁷ The sequence of building phases has long been established.⁸ Under Qutb al-Dīn Aybak, a Ghūrid *ghulām*, the first mosque was built and the first floor of a tower, the so-called Qutb Minār, was established. Later, in front of the un-Islamic main prayer hall a *pīshṭāq* was erected. Under Aybaks *ghulām* and successor Iltutmish the mosque was extended northwards, to the south and the east. Three further floors were added to the Qutb Minār. A tomb attached to the mosque in the west belongs to the times of Iltutmish, too. Under ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khildjī the mosque again was extended, but only one gate of his mosque, the so-called ‘Alā’-i Darwaza, persists. Rich inscriptions and decorations can be found on the main entrance gates of the first mosque, on the *pīshṭāq* in front of the main prayer hall and on the Qutb Minār. In the construction phase of Iltutmish inscriptions were placed on the *pīshṭāq* and the Qutb Minār as well as on the tomb. Under ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khildjī only the ‘Alā’-i Darwaza can be taken as an example. Within the frame of this paper, discussion will focus on the two *pīshṭāqs* and the ‘Alā’-i Darwaza.

⁴ Flood 2009: 137–150.

⁵ Meister 1972, Hillenbrand 1998: 108–109.

⁶ Welch 2002, Welch 1985.

⁷ For the archeological observations see inter alia: Cunningham 1871, Page 1926: 6–9, Flood 2008.

⁸ See: Cunningham 1871, Page 1926: 6–9, Alfieri 2000: 20–35.



III. 3. Mosque of Qutb al-Dīn Aybak, Delhi, detail of prayer-hall screen; phot. D. Redlinger



III. 4. Extension of Iltutmish, Delhi, detail of prayer-hall screen; phot. D. Redlinger

The first mosque was established on the remains of a temple platform and was built with spolia of different looted temples in the vicinity. The spolia, mainly columns and roof structures, were adapted to the spatial and aesthetic conceptions of the Muslim owner.⁹ Decorative elements from Indian temple architecture including figurative depictions were reused consciously and are easily visible to the visitor. Examples that can be mentioned include *kīrttimukha*, an abstract symbol of fame and honour that serves as decoration on several columns and is even part of an inscription (Ill. 1), also miniature shrines, planet depictions, a representation of the birth of Krishna, and erotic representations in the main prayer hall. In addition structural elements from temple architecture have been adapted, such as *kapōta* with *candrasālā* representing a miniature barrel vault with windows on the façade of the mosque.¹⁰

Under Iltutmish, form and function of these decorative elements were transformed following archetypes or ideal types of western Islamic countries. This Islamization of decoration was achieved by the use of geometrization, abstraction and stylization. This process is visible in the comparison of a *patravāllī* growing from a vase from the first (Ill. 3) and second building phase (Ill. 4).¹¹ In the building activities under ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khildjī it can be observed that most

iconographic patterns such as the vase, lose their former individual iconographic meaning but are still used as part of an Indo-Islamic decorative tradition (Ill. 6).¹²

Besides the stylization and geometrization of non-Islamic iconographic elements, some non-Islamic elements were transferred into an Islamic context by making minor, but essential changes. A miniature *mīhrab* in the tomb of the second building phase can serve as an example of this way of adaptation (Ill. 2). As a replacement for the figurative depiction of a god a *surā* with names of *allāh* in Arabic writing now fills the space.¹³ Under Iltutmish, for the first time small lapidary inscriptions with the name of *allāh*, *al-mulk* and *al-mulk li-allāh* appear on the intermediary stones of the decorative columns and at other prominent places.¹⁴ They probably replace the *kīrttimukha* of the first phase. The last example represents the essence of a key process taking place in the formation of Islamic decorative concepts under the Sultanate in India—the elementary visual experience provided by a figural depiction of a deity was replaced by the more subtle, yet visual experience of inscriptions—in this particular case the name of god himself.

⁹ For the reasons and adaptation processes see: Flood 2009.

¹⁰ Redlinger 2005: 561–562.

¹¹ Redlinger 2005: 564.

¹² Redlinger 2005: 561–567.

¹³ Redlinger 2008: 150.

¹⁴ Inscriptions with similar contents and at the same locations are likewise very common in eastern Iran, Afghanistan and central Asia in building decoration, for example on the corner columns of the tombs between the 11th and 12th centuries. See: Flood 2001: 141.

While local artistic traditions can be traced on the basis of the decoration, the inscriptions provide information on the religious and political programme of the Muslim ruling elite in North India. Their claim of rulership is most obvious in the inscriptions on the first floor of the Qutb Minār. The hierarchical arrangement of inscriptions and their content in this case serve as a means to express a clear political statement.¹⁵

The inscriptions on the *pīshṭāq* reveal a far more complex religious programme.¹⁶ The plan of the *pīshṭāq* follows Islamic examples in western countries, but was executed by local Indian craftsmen. Their interpretation of script influenced the design and treatment of the inscriptions. The Arabic inscriptions can hardly be distinguished from the plastic and vegetal scrolls behind and around them (Ill. 3). The inscriptions in this phase are treated entirely as part of the decoration. In this sense the Indian craftsmen were in a position similar to that of a modern western art historian—looking from the outside of a culture onto the different types of ornament.

The inscriptions are arranged in pairs around each of the five openings. Aside from three, all inscriptions represent verses of the Qurʾān. The exceptions are two *hadīth* inscriptions on the two inner registers of the two outer openings. On the central arch a building inscription names the patron and a construction date.

Each inscription on the *pīshṭāq*—even the non-Qurʾānic—begins with the *basmala*, no matter whether this phrase is part of the original text or not.¹⁷ The inscriptions are thus recognizable as Qurʾānic text even for a person not able to read them properly. In later Qurʾānic inscriptions the *basmala* is only used where it is part of the original text. Within *hadīth* inscriptions and eulogies this phrase does not appear any more. The *basmala* in connection with the separating elements on the *pīshṭāq*, like the scrolls, thus has a function similar to the illuminations of the Qurʾān, structuring and identifying the text.

The selection of contents for the inscriptions shows a complex programme. *Āya* 1 of the *sūra* 17, placed centrally around the middle opening, connects by its content the mosque of Aybak with the two holiest Islamic destinations, Mecca and Jerusalem. The two *hadīth* inscriptions emphasize the importance of a mosque for the ruler and his municipality. All three inscriptions form a framework visually and thematically for the thematic programme of the *pīshṭāq*. Further important topics of the inscriptions on the *pīshṭāq* are the omnipotence of God, his creation, the revelation of the Qurʾān and the signs by which God indicates his existence to believers. Additionally chosen are *āyāt* which broach the issue of legends of different prophets, like Noah and Moses or the night journey of the prophet. A further topic is the religious obligations of the believers and daily human relationships in this life contrasted by the description of punishment and rewards for humans in the afterlife.

¹⁵ Thus the name of the Qutb al-Dīn Aybak is given in the inscription placed in the lowest position; the name of his Ghūrīd master Muʿizz al-Dunya wa al-Dīn appears in a higher position, the inscription containing the name of Ghiyāth al-Dīn—the older brother and master of the formers—is placed still higher. The topmost inscription of this part of the tower is reserved for the *āyāt al-kursī* in which the name of God is mentioned. See: Pinder-Wilson 2001, Pinder-Wilson 1985.

¹⁶ The observations are based on the works of Page and Husain. See: Page 1926: 29–43, Husain 1936: 104–119.

¹⁷ For the meaning of the *basmala* in the context of the Islamic exegetic and the Qurʾānic text see: Gardet 1962, Gätje 1987: 98–105.



Ill. 5. 'Alā-i Darwaza, Delhi, detail of south side; phot. D. Redlinger



Ill. 6. 'Alā-i Darwaza, Delhi, detail of northern entrance; phot. D. Redlinger

The inscriptions on the *pīshṭāq* are connected vertically and horizontally according to their contents. For example, the descriptions of agony on the right side of the *pīshṭāq* are contrasted by the joys of paradise on the left. Pairs of inscriptions located one above the other are often related to each other. In summary, it can be said that the most important principles of the Islamic faith will be found on the *pīshṭāq*. The *pīshṭāq* can thus be read like a book and it is turned into an “image of the word”. It becomes a manifestation of the world of god and visualizes a complex world of faith. From this point of view the set of inscriptions can be regarded as a transformation of the system of figural images on an Indian temple façade.

Under Iltutmish, the inscriptions are an essential element of the architectural decoration; script is now far more prominent than other decorative patterns. During his reign, different lapidary ductus are introduced as inscriptions into Indo-Islamic architecture (Ill. 4). Together with different cursive ductus they increase the decorative character of the inscriptions, which now form an even more complex inscription programme.¹⁸ Surprisingly, there are no connections traceable between a particular ductus and any special topic or genre, be it religious or secular. Obviously, the selection of ductus was entirely governed by considerations of its decorative qual-

¹⁸ Redlinger 2008: 140–150.

ity. The interaction of different ornaments within the inscriptions is more and more reduced. These inscriptions are more abstract and less conspicuous than the script on the *pīshṭāq* of Aybak. An interesting observation for all the inscriptions on buildings constructed under Iltutmish is that in addition to the religious inscriptions from the Qurʾān and *hadīth*, all non-religious inscriptions were also written in Arabic. The question must for now remain open on whether this possibly reflects the ruler's political and cultural orientation towards the Sunni Abbasid court. This seems conceivable, since the status of Iltutmish as official *nāṣir amīr al-muʿminin* appointed by Baghdad is also explicitly mentioned in the inscriptions.¹⁹

Thematically, the arrangement of inscriptions under the sovereignty of Iltutmish is not as complex as it was under his predecessor. With the exception of the inscriptions on the Qutb Minār and two short building inscriptions, all texts selected under Iltutmish originate either from the Qurʾān or *hadīth*. Contents of the inscriptions are centred almost exclusively on the practice of the faith and Islamic rites. Like those verses of the Qurʾān spoken within different prayers, the *shahāda* or apotropaic and eschatological formulae from the Qurʾān are very frequently used in the inscriptions. In addition, many of the verses of the Qurʾān explain the daily religious rite the believer is subjected to. At this stage the inscriptions serve as an aide mémoire—the believer is visually confronted with his ritual obligations.

Unlike the buildings of his predecessors, the 'Alā'-i Darwaza built under 'Alā' al-Dīn Khildjī served as a means to display the cultural self-image of the ruler, which is expressed most clearly in the inscriptions. The inscriptions are almost exclusively executed in an undecorated cursive script with long strokes (Ill. 5). Only the names of God are given again in a lapidary ductus on the miniature columns. The variety of the surrounding decoration is reduced radically. Instead, red sandstone and white marble are introduced as contrasting building materials. Keeping in mind the inscriptions and the extremely impressive appearance of the building it can be assumed that it played an important role in court ceremony and as a means of representation of the rulers claim for sovereignty.

In this phase most inscriptions have a non-Qurʾānic content. All inscriptions are now written in Persian and placed at prominent places around the central arches. They are dedicated to the eulogy of the ruler and mention him among the greatest, noblest and wisest leaders of the Islamic world, like Suleiman at the eastern and southern entrance, Darā and Iskandar at the eastern and western entrance, and Mūsa at the southern entrance. Again the inscriptions serve to evoke images in front of the viewers "inner eye"—this time a series of famous and popular Islamic prototypical rulers. The denomination of Iskandar in particular shows the strong influence of contemporary Persian poetry and fashions on the court of the Delhi Sultanate. In addition 'Alā' al-Dīn Khildjī is portrayed in the inscription as an innovator and propagator of the Islamic faith, as a founder of religious buildings, as a leader in the battle against unbelievers, and as the destroyer of places of idol worship and drinking houses. In the inscriptions, he compares his own mosque with the holy sites of Mecca and Medina. The few small Qurʾān and *hadīth* inscriptions written in Arabic

around the adjoining windows support the non-religious content and serve to support this image presented of the ruler by referring to the ideal type of Muslim ruler over a *dār al-'ammā*. Thus the 'Alā'-i Darwaza can be regarded as a symbol of Muslim rule, which nevertheless had its roots on the Indian subcontinent. The use of the Persian language instead of Arabic in the inscriptions suggests that the Sultanate now positioned itself as protector of the Persian speaking Muslim community and thus as a counterpart of the Arabic speaking cultural area of the Mamlūks in Egypt.

Even the few examples that can be discussed within the limited frame of this article suffice to show that the sets of inscriptions selected for the different phases reflect the varying intentions of each patron but at the same time operate not only as typographic units but as visual markers evoking a whole set of culture-bound connotations, emotions and ideas. The contents of the inscriptions are like a mnemonic for the Muslim recipient. What has been shown in the comparatively simple example of the miniature shrine that no longer contains an image of a deity but the name of god is the same principle underlying the programme of the larger façades, too—not giving up visual experiences for the sake of script but rather replacing one visual experience with another.

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¹⁹ Hillenbrand 1998: 111.

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Muslim epigraphy
 ((tombs with inscriptions))
 as a phenomenon within the fine arts
 and architecture
 ((based on the Caucasus, Crimea
 and Volga-Ural Regions' materials))

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The Muslim necropolises remaining on the territory of the Russian Federation and neighbouring states, in the large Eastern European areas stretching from the Caucasus to the Baltic Sea, are very interesting monuments portraying the history and culture of the European peoples belonging to Islamic civilization. Partially, these monuments exist as integral architectural ensembles under the open sky, partially—as separate carved tombstones which came to the exhibits of many archeological, ethnographic (of local lore, history, and economy), and arts museums.

The stone-book of Muslim Epigraphy has not been read yet according to the paradigms of art criticism, and the observations, analyses and conclusions in the rare extant publications of art criticism have a fragmentary character and are only the first attempts at the task's realization connected with the study of Muslim tombstones as a phenomenon within the fine arts and architecture.

The syncretism of this art consists of: a) the monument's architectural construction; b) its ornamental decoration or/ and representations/ images in different forms of bas-relief (high relief, low relief, deep relief/ *en-creux*) or "round" sculpture; c) calligraphy, beautiful handwriting; d) pictorial effects (painting on the stone or the use of naturally coloured materials, for example black granite, snow-white marble typical for Turkish tombs, golden-hued limestone and sandstone of the Apsheron peninsula etc.); e) basic literary elements, the poetic word (that can be a word of the Qur'an or a word born by the creative thought of the artists—stone carvers), and this word brings the most important verbal load and receives the specific aesthetic features



III. 1. The tombstone above the grave of Murtad Ali (the son of the kazi-kumukh khan Surkhay I) at the yard by the mosque in the village Kumukh in Dagestan, 1741. Published and sketched by L. I. Lavrov (Lavrov 1968: 55–56, no. 502)



III. 2. The tombstone above the grave of the Tatar poet Ibatulla Salikhov at the graveyard near the village of Kargaly, Orenburg district, Ural, 1867.

depending on the modes of its writing, on Arabic calligraphy's handwritings from the archaic geometrical *kufi* to the modernized written language systems (new alphabets).

The studied materials let us talk both about the unique original traditions, the features in every region (national school) of this art and, at the same time, about the common general forms, principles and regularities of this art's development in the culture of the Muslim people as a whole, in the Euro-Asiatic area in particular, which was in the past a part of the Russian Empire.

First of all let us relate to the architecture (architectonics) of gravestones.

It is a vertical stone stele, destined to stand in the ground without a pedestal, that we may consider as the classic type of Muslim gravestone. Its front (facial plane surface) is turned to Mecca, which for most regions of Eastern Europe means to the South. As examples I have taken the tombstone above the grave of Murtad Ali at the cemetery by the mosque in the village of Kumukh in Dagestan, dated "1154 after *hidzra*", which means about 1741 AD, and a relatively late Tatar tombstone—a monument for Ibatulla Salikhov from the village of Kargaly in the Orenburg district (in the Urals) of 1867 (Ills 1–2).

The titles (names) of such monuments in the Oral tradition of the languages of different Muslim peoples are similar, but have at the same time various distinctions: *kabr-tash* in the language of Kazan Tatars, means "stone-grave"; *bas-kazyk* by Nogays, verbatim "pillar-head". The Crimean Tatars call these stones *tekkil-tash*; it means (after Pieter Keppen who was the first to investigate the Crimean Muslim monuments) "a vertically standing stone", "a steep stone"—from *tikme*—"to stand" or from *tik*—"steep, vertical".¹

¹ Keppen 1837: 31.



III. 3. Marble sarcophaguses with columns in the museum-necropolis under the open sky by the Turkic Culture House *Turk Odcagi* in Istanbul. Materials of the author's field research in Turkey, 2008



III. 4. Marble sarcophaguses with "backs" ("horns") in the museum-necropolis under the open sky by the Turkic Culture House *Turk Odcagi* in Istanbul. Materials of author's field research in Turkey, 2008

It doesn't mean that the configuration of the Muslim gravestone is defined once and for all by one unique canon. There were various forms that appeared at different times by different peoples: the round low "columns" (*stolbiki* like the aforementioned Pieter Keppen wrote about, for example, in the monuments near the village of Boyakhmedly in the Urud-Sisiansky district of Azerbaijan), small pyramids, obelisks, horizontally standing stone steles that appeared, perhaps, under the influence of Hellenic traditions (the monument of the 16th century in the village Urud in Azerbaijan, published by Rasim Effendi²); compositions from two parts: a vertical stone stele and the horizontally set stone slab (the monument *Ugurlu Bek* from the village Buzovny, Agdam district, Azerbaijan, 19th century³); sarcophagus with one or two high "backs" ("horns"), sometimes with obelisks and round columns, especially popular in the culture of Ottoman Turks and Crimean Tatars of the 18th–19th centuries (sarcophaguses in the museum-necropolis under the open sky by the Turkic Culture House *Turk Odcagi* in Istanbul [Ills 3–4]; monuments at the Khans' cemetery in Bakhchisaray). But in spite of all the diversity of these architectural forms, there is a vertical standing stone stele with bas-relief design and calligraphic inscriptions, often in the border's frame, with an arch (bas-relief or squared off/ cut in stone; of the lancet, *Moresque* or semicircular outline, sometimes an arch on the small *shoulders/ shoulder-straps*) on its upper part, that we may consider as the earliest and the purest (free from borrowings and ancient, Hellenic, pagan, Christian and other influences) type and basic "bringer" of Muslim epigraphy. The known monuments—tombstones of the 14th–15th centuries from the villages of Kubachi, Kalakoreysh and Kumuch in Dagestan published by R. Alikhanov⁴ and P. Debirov⁵ have such classical forms.

² Effendi 1986: 19–27.

³ Effendi 1986: 88–89.

⁴ Alikhanov 1963: 26.

⁵ Debirov 2001: 102a–102b.

Such construction was in its style a kind of projection (as if set on a gravestone) of the basic parts of the great, “monumental” sacral architecture, such as the portal on the outside and the *mihrab* niche (bay) in the interior of the mosque. Both these elements—the portal and the *mihrab*—had the most important significance in Islamic sacral architecture, expressing and incarnating the idea of the “gate”—the *Death Gate*, the *Paradise Gate*, the gate that leads to the Holy Mecca, to the Garden of Eden where the soul of a good, orthodox Muslim would find eternal grace. It was something like the shadow of this majestic, “grand” architecture that was prostrated on a small tombstone. The silhouette and the plastic decoration of the Mosque portals and *mihrabs* were reiterated, repeating themselves on the outside and decoration of the tombstones that found themselves in spiritual (if not even in the visual) unity with the “grand” sacral architecture, on the one mindset axis that determined the human way of life.

The Muslim tombstones were “small” only as compared with the mosques and mausoleums rising above other buildings in Muslim towns. Not infrequently these stones were quite high—human height and more—2, 3, even 4 metres. For example, the stone from Kabanskoye *gorodishche* (the end of the 13th century, now in the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan in Kazan, inventory no. 5751)—the monument for the Amir Hasan Bek, son of Mir Mahmud, is measured 3.8 metres in height. The stone from the epoch of the Kazan Khanate—(in the same museum; published by myself in the book *Art of Tatarstan*,⁶ side by side with the *Yarlyk* of Sakhīb Guirey Khan—a sample of the Tatar writing art of the Islamic Renaissance time), namely the monument for Alikcha, son of Hafiz, 1543, also makes an impression of height, stateliness and majesty.

On average the height of the monuments in the Nogay cemeteries measured by us reaches 2.2–2.3 metres (the stone near the Nogay village Seyitovka in the Astrakhan district, the stone on the old part of the cemetery near the village Ikon-Khalk in the Karachay-Cherkessia). The vertical line dominates in the Nogay monuments that Vladimir Koreniako found in the Nogay district of the Republic Dagestan, too.⁷ Probably, the open space of the Nogay steppe itself prompted the raising of high tombstones, clearly visible from a distance and dominating above the endless steppe surface.

But not all Muslim gravestones have the tendency towards great height. It was the type of a small, low, we might say “miniature” construction (height no more than one metre and often notably lower) that from the very beginning developed in the culture of Muslim memorials. The liking for such “architecture of small forms” had gone well together with the Islamic morality that condemned the excessive splendour and majesty of grave structures and even limited their height. Such constructions only insignificantly rose above the earth’s surface, and if they looked out like human figures, then it was not a figure of a standing upright man, straightening himself, but a figure of a genuflecting man stretching himself out before Allah in prayer. We have often observed the low tombstones various configurations, including ones in the form of a stylized turban at the Turk-Meskhethian cemeteries in the Akhcalyk region of Georgia. The small, low gravestones are also typical for the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars’ cemeteries (so-called *mizars*) stud-

⁶ Czerwonnaja 1987: 22.

⁷ Koreniako 2000: 218–227.

ied and published by Andrzej Drozd.⁸ Such form finds itself in correspondence to their traditions, aesthetic taste, the character of their folk culture and the social status of the inhabitants of the small cities and villages where the Muslim population—the Tatar ethnic minority in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, is concentrated.

The combination of high and low monuments in Muslim cemeteries reflected, to a certain extent, the social structure of the society and the hierarchy in a Muslim community and family. The height and decorative richness of a monument could be proportional to the extent of the power, noble status, wealth and political authority of the deceased. It was no accident that G. Yusupov,⁹ who studied the epigraphy of Volga-Bulgaria of the 13th–14th centuries propounded the classification system of this material—repartition into the *first* and *second* styles, and although not the visual details but the features of the language and writing were the basis of his typological system (the monuments of the *first* style had vast, verbose epitaphs realized with the use of the rich pliant handwriting *suls*, the stones of the *second* style had short epitaphs written/carved with the severe, austere geometrical *kufi*), the architectural and decorative features play their role in this classification, too: the monuments of the *first* style are high, bringing convex, prominent ornamental and calligraphic reliefs, sometimes in many tiers, and the monuments of the *second* style are small and have laconic inscriptions and designs carved in deep relief (*encreux*). For the later monuments, Yusupov’s classification loses its significance because the *kufi* is no longer used after the 15th century, but the distinctions between monuments of different height and different decoration (rich and poor, laconic) continue for a long time. In Tatarstan, for example, we found during field research in the Baltasinsky district near the village of Tuntera a Muslim necropolis of the 18th century with a very interesting monument (gravestone) for the Gali-Ishan: a high stele from white limestone is encircled there with similar stones of a smaller size—monuments for his pupils, followers and his family members.

But we must not, in any case, exaggerate the significance of this inner hierarchy and of the distinctions between the groups of the “rich” and “poor” Muslim gravestones. The idea deeply set in Muslim society advocating all Muslims’ equality with respect to Allah found its reflection in funerary art, too. Many Muslim necropolises demonstrate clearly and consecutively the equality of all members of the great Muslim *umma* and of the local compatriots’ community (*djama-gat*, people) in the face of death which, according to the Qur’an, will be tasted by every soul. It is reflected by the same sizes, similar forms, and a striking similarity of the monuments that sometimes look in the architectural space of the Muslim cemetery like twin-brothers, as soldiers of a united army standing in one row or as Muslims during collective prayer. There are, for example, the tombstones at the Muslim cemetery near to Teberda in Karachay, which make such an impression: if not absolutely identical with each other, they are very much alike, their silhouettes and proportions rhyme. During field research in the North Caucasus, at the Balkar cemetery near the village of Verkhni Chegem we found a very interesting memorial that consists of four gravestones—monuments for the Gylliev brothers—Abdullah, Mutay, Iskhak and Khalim, who were

⁸ Drozd, Dziekan and Majda 1999.

⁹ Yusupov 1960.



III. 5. Four gravestones—monuments for the Gylliev brothers—Abdullah, Mutay, Iskhak and Khalim, perished in 1942, village Verkhni Chegem, Balkaria. Materials of author's field research in North Caucasus, 1996–1999

born in different years, but perished at the same time in 1942 (Ill. 5). All four monuments are alike: the same height, same form, same round (disc-shaped) silhouettes of the upper parts, as it were four stone heads that lie on right-angle slabs with slightly tapered, well-rounded small *shoulders*. And the text of the same type after the content and writing forms as well as the bas-reliefs (signs of the

Islamic and astral symbolic, on the place of the conventional “face”—six-petaled rosette-sun, the crescent that embraces this rosette from the bottom; the representation of a dagger between two text blocks—a dagger as a symbol of a male warrior) repeat themselves in each of the four monuments. The idea of brotherhood (both blood and spiritual) finds its expression here.

Although the monuments are sometimes of different heights, they are realized in a similar artistic manner, thus creating the impression of a likeness that gives birth to a feeling of the unity of the Muslim community as one and indivisible family.

The Muslim cemetery is, from one side, closed as a “thing for itself”, separated from the environment, encircled with a fence (“unauthorized persons are not admitted there”) and at the same time, from the other side, connected with the surrounding world, nature, having in its ensemble such important components like a gate in the fence—sometimes a genuine work of the blacksmith's art. There are two opposing (contrary) principles in the organization of the Muslim cemetery's space, which however co-exist with each other in a kind of aesthetic compromise: either the cemetery is filled with monuments, each of which is absolutely independent from the others, exists in its isolated space, “does not see” neighbouring monuments, has its own aura that doesn't cross with others (it is the dominating system of the organization of Christian cemeteries, that exerts its influence upon Muslim cemeteries in Eastern Europe); or they provide in the space of the common necropolis a kind of dialogue with each other and form up ranks and groups adequate to relations with their “owners” in their lifetime. In this last case the leadership of a hero (a ruler, lord, master, commander, teacher, etc.) or a heroine (a beloved mother, daughter, favourite wife) could be expressed in a proportional system, in the place of a monument's installation, and its relations with other groups of tombstones.

Islamic epigraphy develops on the East European and North Asiatic lands unevenly, because the peoples of these countries were converted to Islam at different historical periods. Moreover, we must note that epigraphy as a kind of art appears in the Islamic regions far later than Islam itself. There are often two to three centuries that lie between the time of mass Islamic conversion and the time of the forming of artistic epigraphy traditions. For example, Islam comes to the prevalent religion

in the Volga-Bulgarian state from the beginning of the 10th century, but the first Muslim epigraphic monuments are known here only from the end of the 13th century. Probably we can explain this fact taking into consideration that it is a complicated art demanding high culture, knowledge, and ability to read and write not only from artists, but from the recipients, too. In the young Muslim cultures this art was not widespread, and only in the mature Muslim societies did it truly bloom.

Undoubtedly, the epigraphic art of these East European and North Asiatic peoples developed under the influence of the “classic” Islamic cultures—of the countries where Islam was born or dominated earlier by far. The Arabic influence was especially strong in the Early Middle Ages in the North Caucasus; the epigraphic tombstones of Derbent (like the culture of this city at the end of the first millennium in the whole) were, as a matter of fact, Arabic monuments. In the Late Middle Ages and in the New Times the influence of Iran was dominant in Shiite Azerbaijan, the influence of the Seljuks and Ottoman Turkey on the Crimea, etc. But the genesis of Islamic epigraphic art in the cultures of the East European and North Asiatic (“Russia's”) peoples has its own sources, too, and was connected with the more ancient, pre-Islamic world outlook and the artistic experience of these peoples.

I would like to mention the very least four basic sources, on the basis of which the tradition of the original epigraphic art of these peoples shapes and develops.

We see the first source in the stone grave slabs with the runic inscriptions and signs of the clan *tamga*, typical for the heritage of Turkic kaganat of the 6th–8th centuries, that spread (repeated, reproduced during many centuries after the destruction of the state) in the cultures of the Turkic nomads—inhabitants of the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea and the South Siberian steppes.

The necropolises of the North (so-called “Nogay”) Crimean steppe that were studied and published by Osman Akchokrakly¹⁰ allow us to imagine what preceded the spread (a relatively late spread) of Islamic epigraphy in the Crimea. There existed an organic, “smooth” passage (transition, connection) between the pagan nomad tradition (the stone slabs with *tamgas*) and later Muslim tombstones, both in the architectural form of the vertical steles—*tekil-tash!* (of the right-angled, trapezoid or rhombic forms, sometimes with a triangular pediment or arch in the upper part)—and in the inscriptions on the stones. The signs of *tamga* go all over from the ancient stones to the Muslim tombs. Of course, there was a big difference between the primitive form of the simple stone with the *tamga* sign carved on its surface and a Muslim tomb monument with the rich bas-relief decoration and inscription of deep religious, philosophical and poetic intent, and we may speak only about the one of the early sources of the new, other, more perfect art. But the idea itself—the idea of a gravestone with the sign or text identifying the dead—was mastered by the peoples—successors of the Turkic kaganat—long before their conversion to Islam. The ancient stone slab could turn later into a Muslim tomb—“turn” not only in the metaphorical sense of this word, but in reality. Archeologists know so-called palimpsests well—stones of the second sacral use: they were Turkic slabs with runic signs and *tamgas* and came later to the Muslim gravestones with Islamic epitaphs. One such monument was found on the River Kalmysh in Bashkortostan.¹¹

¹⁰ Akchokrakly 1926.

¹¹ Ishberdin 1980: 64–67.

The second source of Islamic memorial art finds itself in the architecture of mausoleums (burial vaults, crypts) above the individual and collective graves that were spread in the regions where Islam appeared later, in the first line on the North Caucasus by highland peoples. Such examples were built of stone vaults, under a high hipped roof, and they remain until today in many Caucasian regions, for example in Balkaria, on the River Kuban, etc. The burial rite and the character of such buildings changed with the spread of Islam. The door or window leading into a crypt, which had a significance in the religious practice of pre-Islamic times, could be immured and turned into a niche (bay), where the grave stele with bas-reliefs, pictures (symbolic signs) and calligraphic epitaphs took its place. The new form of Muslim tomb penetrated into the “old body”, “inosculated”, and grew together.

The third (in our account) and maybe the most important source of Islamic memorial art is connected with the stone figures (in most cases—images of the ancient Turkic warrior, but the diapason of social portraits in this sculpture is very large) called in historical literature *balbals*/ *balvans*. There is a rich historical literature that is devoted to the genesis, semantics, division into periods, regions of spread—from Baikal to the Black Sea—of *balbals*.¹² It would seem that they are distant from Islamic culture. The *balbals* are no works of Islamic art, moreover, they are associated with “idols”, the very thing which Islam always fought against, namely the forbidding of the raising of statues that “cast their shadows”, and the adoration of them (although the *balbals* could not be “idols” in reality). But the memory of the ancient *balbals* was constantly being kept alive in the culture of the Euro-Asiatic steppes’ peoples and even after their conversion to Islam, informed their statements of how a monument for a dead compatriot should look like. It was a solitary standing stone figure, with arms tightly pressed to the body, sometimes with a sword or a small jug in the hand (an attribute of the activity in one’s lifetime), under a head-dress adequate to the deceased human’s sex, social status and kind of occupation. The evolution of such a statue to the cross (in the culture of Turkic peoples converted to Christianity, what we can observe on the sample of the Chuvash and Danube Bulgarian memorials, these “yupas” from Chuvash cemeteries, published by Trofimov¹³), from one side, and, from the other side, to the type of Muslim epigraphic tombstone in the culture of the peoples converted to Islam, continued in the Euro-Asiatic area over many centuries. Sometimes, the Muslim gravestone has obviously anthropomorphic features; its silhouette is like the one of a standing figure. Such a figure already has no human face, but in the upper part of the stone—where a “head” had to be, where a head was thought!—the most important texts (inscriptions) and signs (symbolic representations, decorative motifs) were concentrated. The popular representations under those motifs of a flower (so-called “chamomile”—a rosette that was a flower and a sun sign at the same time) recall the *haddis* of Ibn-‘Abbas, known in Islamic theology. He said, answering to a young Muslim artist asking him about the possibility of representing living persons, human beings, in Islamic art: “You may represent (design) them, but do it this way,

¹² Yevtiukhova 1952, Grach 1961, Pletniova 1974.

¹³ Trofimov 2003: 94–103.



III. 6. Marble monuments crowned with turbans in the museum-necropolis under the open sky by the Turkic Culture House *Turk Odçagi* in Istanbul. Materials of author’s field research in Turkey, 2008

that their faces would be like flowers.” The inscriptions (Qur’an formulas) in the upper part of a monument were like written thoughts set into a human head.

The stone monuments of the Early Middle Ages that were found near the village of Boyahmedly in the Agdam district of Azerbaijan¹⁴ are not very like the *balbals* known in the culture of Polovtsy and other steppe nomads, but the logic of the memorial art evolution by the Trans-Caucasian settled Turkic tribes was the same. The statue that in the pagan past was a kind of portrait of a human (of a forefather, ancestor, leader, warrior, etc.)—the statue with hands, head, eyes and other human features turned into an abstract gravestone, but the silhouette of this stone was like a human figure. Such a stone loses the face, eyes, hands and other human attributes, but the plastic conception of the “head” (*bash*, *bas*) is obvious in its construction and decoration.

In the memory about the funerary statues, the anthropomorphic elements are expressed in the forms of the headdress typical for Muslim gravestones. There are in the first line a turban (a sign testifying that the man who was buried here had completed in his lifetime the pilgrimage to Mecca), and the Muslim artists (stone-carvers, sculptors) demonstrated their high mastery in the representation of the tight knots of such plaited turbans, which we can observe on the samples of Crimean, Turkish (Ill. 6), Chechen and other monuments in many regions of the

¹⁴ Effendi 1986: 3–4.

Islamic world. Pushkin wrote about the monuments at the Khans cemetery in Bakhchisaray: *Сии надгробные столбы венчаны мраморной чалмою* (“These grave pillars are crowned with marble turbans”), underlining in this way the likeness between this building and a human who has the right to drive the turban, like a beautiful crown, onto his head. But here were felt caps (carved in stone) of steppe nomads, too, as well as women’s elegant small caps (Tatar *kalfaks*), that could crown such monuments.

The mature Islamic memorial art that had not laid claim to imitate (to portray) a human person developed after all in the anthropomorphic paradigm, it is based on the idea that the gravestone and the human lying in this grave (the “owner of the grave”) are similar, identical, one and the same. And this art was able to narrate a great deal about the deceased human, to expose his individuality and character. I’d like to mention in connection with this the monument for the astronomer Urus Hodja from the Solkhat ancient settlement (Stary Krym/ Old Crimea), which was found and published by Osman Akchokrakly.¹⁵ There were points cut on the upper marble hemisphere of this monument, above the calligraphic bas-relief thin hoop. Together they shaped (presented) the stars and constellation groups on the vault of heaven. The level of knowledge expressed in the stars’ location as well as in the round form of the firmament (sky dome) seems startling for the 14th century—the time when this monument had been raised. And this starlit “sky dome” was understood (thought, perceived, interpreted) in the metaphorical system of grave construction as a “head” of the man, meaning a head full of stars. The unknown Crimean artist of the Middle Ages seemed to be near to Immanuel Kant’s idea of the “starry heavens above me and the moral law within me.”

But the anthropomorphic principle was not the one and only element in Muslim memorial art. Here we must mention the fourth source of this art and the fourth direction of its development. I have in mind the “animal motifs” in Islamic memorial art, a kind of the “animal genre”, that sometimes, as if stepped back into shadow is limited to rare, modest incarnations, lost between ornaments and calligraphic inscriptions, supplanted to the lower or side part of the tombstone representations, depicting birds and wild animals (D. Muhametshin writes that a bird with outstretched wings symbolized a soul flying away from the body¹⁶), but sometimes (in various regions and schools of the Islamic art) received a dominant importance and stated the artistic solution of the monument as a whole.

For example, in Kazakhstan, there were gravestones in the form of animals (first of all sheep, rams) called *koshkartas* and *arkartas*¹⁷ that appeared side by side with the traditional stones (so-called *koytas*) decorated with ornaments and inscriptions.

The monuments in the form of an animal, that could be a fantastical image, an ancient totem or a real inhabitant of the steppe, existed in the Nogay culture, too. They are now a popular motif in the works of the artists today whose fertile imagination gives the monuments a romantic charm (Ill. 7).

¹⁵ Akchokrakly 1927: 1–17.

¹⁶ Muhametshin 1988: 205–217.

¹⁷ Adjigaliyev 1994: 44–57.



Ill. 7. Koshali Zarmanbetov. Memory of the forbears [The representation of the old monument with fantastic animal motifs, standing in the Nogay steppe, in a contemporary Nogay drawing]. Cherkessk, the artist’s studio. Paper, Indian ink, 1992

The Muslim epigraphy of Azerbaijan is especially rich with “animal” motifs (monuments in Guyandja, Shamkhor and other districts). The stone horses (in the forms of a statue, “round” sculpture with the Islamic inscriptions on their bodies as well as in bas-reliefs on the grave-stones) meant in this art not only a concomitant, a travelling companion of the dead man, but the man himself, his fate. We can feel here an invisible presence of the man—rider and horse-man. The horse goes further forward, as if continuing the way of the man.

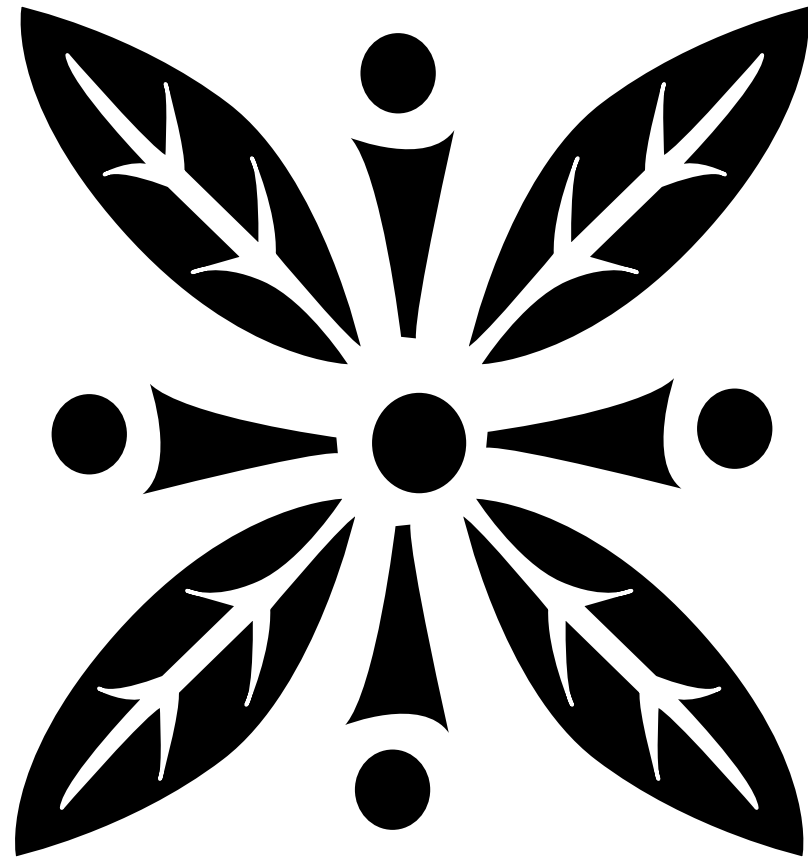
After its place in the typology and classification of the arts the Muslim gravestones find themselves on the border zone between various kinds of arts (architecture, sculpture, graphics, painting, applied art, literature), between traditional genres as well as between various types of culture, namely professional, autodidactic and folk art. In this respect they are like Tatar *shamails*, which are also impossible to “squeeze” into a single classification’s cell, but it is necessary to examine them on the point of intersection of several kinds of art, genres and types of culture.

The new monuments in Muslim cemeteries today often give a very sorry, eclectic picture with a lack of taste, the addition of photographic pictures, inscriptions in the Cyrillic alphabet, soviet emblems and other elements incompatible with the classic aesthetic of Muslim tombstones. However, it would be premature to come to the end in this way and to assert that Islamic gravestone art degenerates, finding itself on the decline or that in general it doesn't exist anymore as an art-form in Eastern Europe. Indeed, the fate of this art (its heritage and still functioning practices) in the post-Soviet countries is very sorry: a great deal has been demolished here, ruined, lost forever. The memorials (cemeteries and gravestones) of the oppressed peoples deported by Stalin's regime were exposed to especially tragic losses and barbarian havoc. During our field research in the Crimea we found fragments of a destroyed gravestone that have been embedded in street pavements (for example, in Alushta) and in the walls of the collective farms, pigsties and of public conveniences. But just the creative experience of the Crimean Tatars let us speak about a definitive positive perspective of the creative revival of this art. The modern (built at the beginning of the 21st century) necropolis in Bakhchisaray consisting of marble sarcophaguses of Ismail Bey Gaspraly, Ahmed Ozenbashly and Edige Kirimal, built by artists of today (sculptor Ajder Aliyev, idea of Enver Ozenbashly) in the best traditions of the Crimean-Tatar epigraphy, inspires hope in us. The art of Muslim epigraphy in that part of the Islamic world, which had gone through the most painful times of the colonial-autocratic yoke and communist terror, has not perished yet and has the chance not only to become an important object of the state and of scholarly attention, but to develop successfully in the system of European democracy, tolerance and culture.

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III
APPLIED ART



Metal mounts on ivories of Islamic Spain

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Introduction

The Victoria and Albert Museum (henceforth: the V&A) houses a uniquely significant collection of ivory caskets, made in Islamic Spain during the period between 975 and 1050 AD. Approximately thirty of these ivories survive and are displayed in museums and cathedral treasuries worldwide. These include the Musée du Louvre in Paris, France; Braga Cathedral Treasury in Portugal; and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, Spain. The opening of a new gallery in 2006 at the V&A, the Jameel Gallery of Islamic art, provided the incentive to initiate a long term project to examine and research the V&A's superb collection of ivories from this period. Part of the project undertaken was the analysis of the metal mounts by non-destructive x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF). The scientific results, coupled with stylistic comparisons, have resulted in interesting observations. Conservation work was carried out parallel to research, and was an opportunity to closely examine the objects in terms of materials and manufacture. This article focuses on four of the five ivory boxes displayed in the museum's gallery, and is a contribution to research carried out by other colleagues at the V&A.

The period from the 8th to the 15th centuries saw most of the Iberian Peninsula as part of the Islamic world. This land, called in Arabic al-Andalus, was for centuries one of the most culturally sophisticated regions in Western Europe. The status of Islamic arts in Spain until the end of the 15th century is testified by surviving royal and noble commissions. The ivories studied in this article are some examples of such surviving luxury items made to order by members of the ruling family or high officials. Although only a few survive today, there is evidence that the ivory industry during this period was especially prolific. It can be concluded that many more of such items were being commissioned and made which haven't survived to the present and that the ivories studied in this article are only a small sample of the work carried out in al-Andalus. The surviving caskets are also considered to be some of the finest of all the ivories of the medieval period.



A significant aspect of the surviving ivories is that some can be dated by the inscriptions carved on them. It is known that these objects were made for members of the royal family, both men and women. Within the inscriptions, some caskets have the name of the person for whom it was made and sometimes the indication of the person through whom the commission was carried out. They were mostly made in Córdoba and later in Cuenca near Toledo. The caskets were probably containers for luxurious contents, and may have housed silver containers for liquid and solid perfumes such as musk and camphor. One of the existing caskets, now in New York,¹ has a poem describing itself, and it suggests that this and possibly other ivories were painted and encrusted with gems. Another casket from the V&A's collection² has the remains of paint over the ivory but no evidence of gem material. Although some of the surviving caskets have the maker's name inscribed on them, there is little else known about them.

The metalwork for the mounts on the other hand has never been found to be marked or signed in any way. The only known signed piece of Islamic metalwork made for an Andalusí caliph is a silver and gold casket housed in the Treasury of Gerona Cathedral. The craftsman's signatures are inscribed in a hidden position under the front mount, and are only visible when the casket is unlocked and this flap lifted in order to open the casket: they read "the work of Badr and Tarif, his servants."³ One problem with understanding the mounts is that we do not really know much about the metalwork produced in al-Andalus. There does not appear to be a specific style to metalwork from this region, and it follows the forms seen across the Islamic Mediterranean. For this reason too, the current research is important as the results may assist in piecing together the craft of metalwork in al-Andalus.

Ivory caskets

The four caskets in this study were acquired by the V&A between 1865 and 1910.

The first (Ill. 1) is a small domed ivory box⁴ with openwork decoration depicting four heraldic eagles among stylized vegetation and with metal mounts. It was probably made in Córdoba about 964, for the second Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, al-Hakam II who ruled from 961 to 976, son of 'Abd al-Rahman III who ruled from 912 (as caliph from 929) to 961. The mounts are of white metal with black inlay, and the materials will be discussed further in the article. There are two straps from the back finishing at the top in two pointed oval shapes. The front strap is identical, and is hinged at the front to a shorter pointed oval with an opening and a hanging loop. The end of the strap fits into a loop on the small rectangular lock plate. There are remains of what appears to be gilding (possibly fire gilding) over the engraved recess metal, the results of which will also be discussed below. The straps follow un-carved areas in the ivory.

¹ Collection of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

² Museum number 368-1880

³ Al-Andalus 1992.

⁴ Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number 217-1865.



Ill. 1. Museum number 217-1865. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; phot. Catia Viegas Wesolowska



Ill. 2. Museum number A.580-1910. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

The second (Ill. 2) is an ivory box⁵ with a truncated pyramidal lid also decorated with stylized vegetation, and metal mounts. There is an Arabic inscription around the base of the lid referring to the daughter of the Spanish Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Rahman III. This was probably made in Córdoba and can be dated to about 962 because there is a prayer for the dead included in the inscription after Abd al-Rahman III's name, who died in 961. It is therefore one of the earliest objects known to have been made in the Spanish Umayyad ivory industry. An identical inscription is found on another small ivory box in the V&A's collection.⁶

The metal mounts appear to be cast. There are also remains of probable fire gilding and a dark inlay. There is a central handle secured by two loops, two back straps and one front strap.

The third example (Ill. 3) is a cylindrical casket⁷ with domed lid, made in Spain (probably Córdoba), and dated 969–970. The decoration in this case is figural. There is an inscription around the lid which gives the name of the owner, Ziyad ibn Aflah, a prominent official in the Andalusí government.

The metal mounts consist of a double back strap which runs from the bottom to the centre of the lid and is hinged at the joint of both. There is also a small decorative element at the top of the oval lid. There is evidence of a lock plate but all that remains are metal pins in the ivory. Some of the mounts are missing and the area where they would have been pinned is very evident, as the ivory has been left un-carved.

The last example (Ill. 4) is a large rectangular casket⁸ with truncated pyramidal lid, probably made in Córdoba or Cuenca, between 1000 and 1025 AD. It is assembled from thick plaques of ivory held together with ivory pegs. The carvings depict scenes of animals and there are two medallions with human figures on the front. The inscription is believed to have been removed

⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number A.580-1910.

⁶ Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number 301-1866.

⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number 368-1880.

⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number 10-1866.



III. 3
Museum number 368-1880. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

III. 4.
Museum number 10-1866. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

Form, construction and function

The ivory caskets were made in one of two forms: the first, a cylindrical pyxis with a domed lid, such as examples in illustrations 1 and 3, and the second, a rectangular casket with either a flat or pitched roof as illustrations 2 and 4. The ivory caskets studied were carved from solid blocks of ivory with the exception of illustration 4 which is formed by thick plaques attached to each other with ivory pegs.

Most of the changes to the original body of the caskets appear to have been intentional. The alterations that came in later periods are a testament of historical changes and cultural developments surrounding the caskets through time.

The carving of the ivory is deep and intricate with exquisite patterns of vegetation and figural imagery. A fine piece of openwork carving is the small round box (Ill. 1). It was the most extensively restored piece due to its poor condition when acquired by the museum. Probably recovered from an archaeological site or previously stored in dire conditions, the ivory was structurally unstable and the only method of preventing loss of parts or complete decay was to fully consolidate the

material. Museum conservation records of the process date back to 1987 and were carried out by the sculpture conservation department. A metallic staining appears on the ivory, but analyzing the product was difficult due to the extent of the above mentioned restoration.

The metal mounts were made either by the casting process or from a hammered piece of sheet metal. They are decorated with engraving, sometimes inlaid with other metals or niello and in some cases fire gilded. The mounts were attached to the ivory with metal pins, going through drilled holes in the ivory and then neatly finished on the inside and flush on the outside. Pins and hinges were the areas which would have suffered most wear, and are most likely to have been replaced at different times in the life of the objects. Metal mounts may have been removed in the past for cleaning purposes and the original pins discarded. These are the main reasons why they have always been thought as later additions and not original to the caskets. We also know that the mounts were integral to their design. It is evident from the surviving ivories, which have lost their mounts, that some areas were left un-carved where the mounts were to be applied. It cannot be suggested though that all mounts which follow the un-carved areas are original, since it would be very simple for a craftsman to simply follow these un-carved areas to apply new fittings. Further conclusions on the materials and manufacture will be discussed later on in the article.

In most cases there is a front section of the ivory left for a lock plate. Most of these are no longer in place, as they would also have suffered considerable use and have probably been lost and/or replaced through time.

In what regards function, the mounts on Andalusí ivories are not so much used to secure the lid and base as can be seen in the Sicilian ivories of the 12th and 13th centuries. These mounts appear to be set so these caskets could have been locked, implying they were used for precious contents. This is corroborated by two very rare pieces of textual evidence about these ivories. The first is a passage by Ibn Hayyan, the 11th-century historian of al-Andalus, which is also the only historical source to mention the Andalusí ivories. Among the many gifts sent by the caliph 'abd al-Rahman III (912–961) to one of his Berber clients in 934 AD, were a number of luxury perfume containers, including “nine pyxides and caskets filled with diverse perfumes, among them a round silver pyxis, containing sandalwood mixed with amber, a pyxis of white ivory filled with incense seasoned with amber, another pyxis with silver hinges which contained a small Iraqi vase filled with excellent perfume of musk and amber...”⁹

This text tells us of the importance of these caskets in diplomatic relations as gifts. It also mentions the silver mounts, a clue to some of the materials used. The mounts may also have been placed for aesthetic purposes and of course followed designs and fashions of the period.

The mounts on the boxes have been compared stylistically to other contemporaries and all, except one (Ill. 4), were found to have an almost identical pair. This discovery lends weight to the argument that some of the metal mounts investigated could have been made at the same time the ivories were carved.

⁹ Rosser-Owen 2006.

With the adaptation and continuation of use of these pieces in later centuries, it is natural that fashions dictated new forms, as seen in the large pyramidal casket with silver mounts (Ill. 4). The changes to this casket went a little further, as an inscription carved in the ivory around the edge of the lid was also removed. Nevertheless, these later mounts are evidence again of the continual admiration and recognition of high quality work in the form of the ivories, and also the desire to continue to make use of these caskets as containers of a different nature. For this reason also the Christians embraced these objects and continued to make use of them as containers for relics and other precious objects. One example is the pyxis housed in the Treasury of Braga cathedral which contains a chalice and paten for use in Christian ceremonies. Other examples of reuse are the addition of metal parts or further carvings depicting Christian imagery.

Metals: history and analyses

The use of metal objects in Islamic society had important and widespread use: in cooking, house fittings, toiletries, armour, coinage and luxury items; there were objects of gold, silver, copper, iron lead and tin. These metals were probably brought from mines in various regions of the Islamic empire with the exception of tin which was imported from Southeast Asia until about the 14th century when it started to be imported in larger quantities from Europe. Brass appears, with differing proportions, of the alloying compositions of zinc and lead, zinc being abundant throughout the Middle East. The impressions gained from collections of Islamic metalwork are that most items are made of brass or bronze decorated with copper, silver, and gold, and that gold and silver vessels as such are very few. But there is textual and iconographical evidence replete with descriptions of ornamental luxury silver and gold vessels. It can be concluded that the scarcity of vessels crafted of precious metals is due to two factors: Islamic religion prohibited the burial of the deceased with his possessions, as practised by other cultures; and a common practice between craftsmen to melt down such objects for profit or to reuse the materials for new objects as fashion dictated new styles. The latter was a practice of all metalworkers throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. One of the only known surviving precious metal caskets made for an Andalusí caliph is the casket from Gerona cathedral as previously described.

The trade in metalware between Islamic lands makes it sometimes difficult to trace the origin of a given object. There was certainly a shared style between the major centres of artistic production (Spain, Egypt and Syria) during the 10th and 11th centuries.

The types of decoration found on the mounts of the ivory caskets at the V&A are mainly niello inlay and fire gilding. Niello was a popular type of decoration in the Islamic period, mainly used to enhance engraved designs. True niello is defined as a black material composed of one or more metal sulphides which is either fused or burnished into place. The appearance of niello is blue-black in colour and quite lustrous. It is most commonly executed on silver but also found on gold and copper alloys.

Two Islamic sources for niello manufacture are given by Allan.¹⁰ The first, al-Hamdani, writing in Yemen in c. AD 942, gives the following instructions: "Silver is burnt with sulphur until it becomes the colour of Indian iron. This is done by stirring the silver in the crucible, and the silver consumes the sulphur bit by bit. It is then cast in a mould and beaten out hot. If it has started to cool it flies about like glass. If they want to inlay (?) silver with this (compound), they pound it up with borax (tinkar) and water, and fill the place dug out of the silver with this pulverized material. It is allowed to flow like solder in the oven, and it does so."

The second Islamic source, Kashani, writing in Iran in c. AD 1300, gives a recipe for a niello composed of one part silver, one part copper and one-twelfth part lead; considerably less lead than is given by western (non-Islamic) recipes.

According to research by scientists at the British Museum,¹¹ analysis of 180 objects from a variety of origins dating from the 1st century AD to the present day, established that lead was first found in niello of the 11th century. The earliest known published examples are 11th- to 12th-century Byzantine objects. However, this type of niello appears on the metal mounts of two caskets in this study (Ills 1 and 2). The research did not include objects from Spain before the 15th century and none from the 10th or 11th centuries from any European or Islamic region near Spain. As such the results allowed for only relative comparative observations. Current analysis may suggest that the use of lead in niello should be re-dated and possibly reattributed to the Islamic world (Ill. 5).

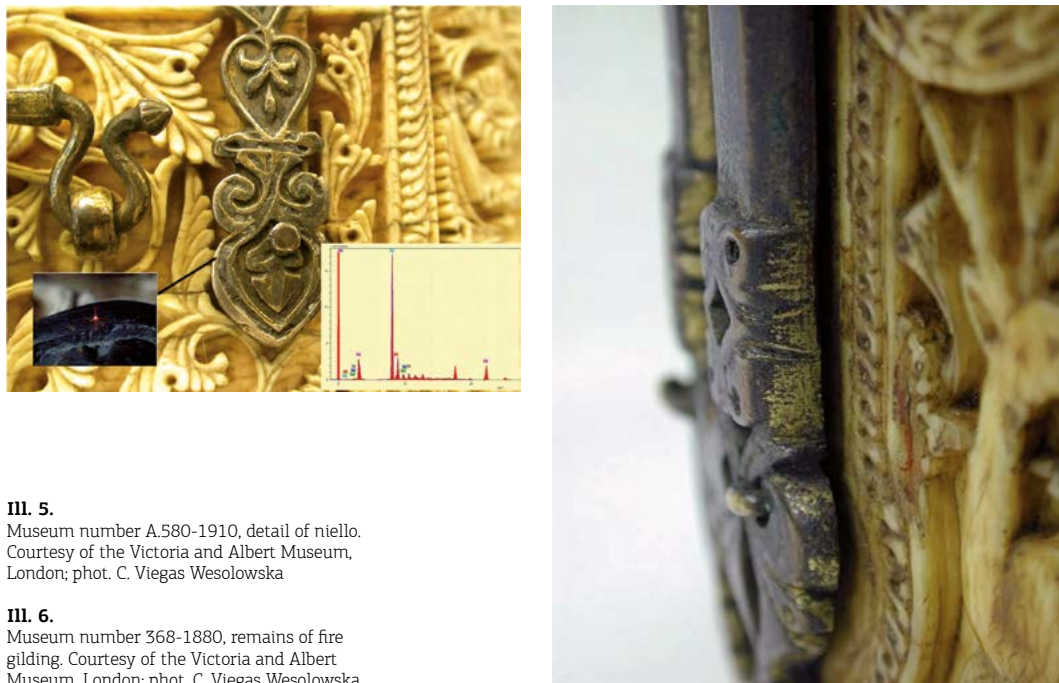
Qualitative X-ray fluorescence analysis alone may provide insufficient analysis as it does not distinguish sulphides from chlorides and carbonates, etc., which may be present as corrosion products. If XRF is attempted on niello while it is still embedded in the metal there is a risk that the substrate metal of the object will also be analyzed. However, as it was not possible to take samples of the niello to analyze by X-ray diffraction technique (XRD), XRF was carried out in situ. Comparison of the analysis of the metal with analysis of the niello, which may include a contribution from the metal, allows for practical conclusions. On the other hand it is not possible to conclude if the silver detected in the niello of the silver mounts is from the niello or from the substrate metal. Therefore the results have to be treated with prudence.

All except one casket in this study have been fire gilded. Fire gilding, also known as amalgam or mercury gilding, was developed during the 3rd century BC in China and the 1st century BC in Europe and by the 2nd and 3rd centuries had become the predominant technique for the gilding of metals in Europe and the Middle East. It is made by grinding gold leaf in mercury until forming a paste called gold amalgam. This paste is then applied to the desired metal surface (preferably copper alloy or silver) and subsequently heated until bonded to the metal surface. This layer appears uniform but is porous. It is then burnished to create a smooth and lustrous surface. Fire gilding on silver and copper retains from 8 to 25 percent of the mercury in the gold, and so can be identified by simple x-ray fluorescence analysis (Ill. 6).

¹⁰ Allan 1979.

¹¹ La Niece 1983.





Ill. 5.
Museum number A.580-1910, detail of niello.
Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum,
London; phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

Ill. 6.
Museum number 368-1880, remains of fire
gilding. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert
Museum, London; phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

Results

The mounts on the small domed casket in illustration 1 were found to be silver with niello inlay. The niello was composed of silver-copper-lead sulphides.

There is a large staining on the ivory, possibly caused by a corroding mount, but analysis was not conclusive as the metal found may well be from the ground as from the mount. Lead was found in the niello composition. Again, this may suggest the use of the silver-copper-lead sulphides in Islamic Spain earlier than is thought (according to BM research). This is still a question to be answered about whether the lead in niello is found as early as 10th-century Europe, and further analysis of other examples is necessary.

The mounts are believed to be contemporary with the casket.

The casket in illustration 2 revealed interesting results during conservation and analysis of the metal alloy. The mount was clearly subject to repair in the past and is partly silver gilt and partly gilt copper alloy (Ill. 7). These two alloys have been soldered with silver solder, and both have niello inlay. The rivets securing the mounts to the ivory are made of silver, and if we follow textual evidence it may be supposed that the silver mounts are the original part. Furthermore the niello does not contain lead, which suggests part of the mount to be original if we were to follow the results of research mentioned above. Construction methods of both metal alloys are the same, but both are clearly cast from different moulds as the design and surface finish are slightly different. The mounts follow the areas of un-carved ivory, and are believed to be contemporary with the casket.



Ill. 7.
Museum number A.580-1910,
detail of later solder repair.
Courtesy of the Victoria and
Albert Museum, London;
phot. C. Viegas Wesolowska

The mounts on the cylindrical pyxis in illustration 3 were found to be copper alloy with remains of fire gilding (Ill. 6). The lock plate was removed in the early nineties as it was believed stylistically to be of a later date.

The mounts on the large truncated casket in illustration 4 were found to be silver but as mentioned earlier, on stylistic grounds they are obviously of a much later date. This casket was added to the group for comparative reasons.

Conclusions

The surviving ivories from al-Andalus form a unique collection of luxury items from the 10th and 11th centuries. They are magnificent examples of the high level of craftsmanship available and their continual use through time substantiates this fact.

The aims of the project were to analyze the technology and materials used to make these caskets and compare them to historical and stylistic interpretation. This combination of historical and scientific analysis has led the researchers in this project to answer some of the questions initially proposed. It is believed that the results contribute to being able to understand what is “typically from al-Andalus” in what concerns metal mounts.

From Muslim rule to Christianity in Spain, these artifacts were adapted from containers of luxurious goods to containers of a religious nature. Christian rulers recognized the material and aesthetic value which was unmatched by any local production. These artifacts of Islamic heritage, often embellished with Arabic inscriptions, found their way to be displayed in churches or palaces of a different culture.

Future analysis of mounts on other ivory caskets from Islamic Spain in other collections around the world will certainly provide the evidence needed to expand our knowledge of historical context and technology.

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Basic purposes of Crimean Tatar ornamental art in the context of Islamic symbolism

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Symbols and marks represent memory in encrypted visual images. The study and explanation of these symbols make it possible to gather some knowledge not only for the researching ethnographer but also for anybody who comes into touch with the riddles and mysteries hidden in these symbols. It's notable that symbols, ornamental patterns and embroidery are considered to be an allegorical language of the soul, the visual thinking of people. The proper understanding of the symbol determines the meaning, the interpretation of the work of art, and also its historical value.

The culture of the Crimean Tatars, founded on ethnic ground and feeding on national sources, has never been isolated from other world cultures.

This paper attempts to survey the main motifs of the ornaments of Crimean Tatars, which appeared as a result of a long process of historical development on the basis of intercommunication with neighbouring and distant nations, of adopting an Islamic world-view, and reaching our days in their original or modified aspect.

Research has shown that the larger part of the symbolism of ornamental patterns is original, peculiar to the Crimean Tatar people, another part is deeply connected with the Muslim religion and the third part has Turkic roots. The establishment of the Islamic state influenced the artistic and ideological content and trends of style of ornamental patterns rather than their forms. A lot of ornamental patterns have fallen under Muslim interpretation and received a symbolic context.

The “Tree of Life” (world tree) and its variant “planter”—is a Turkic symbol denoting world order. According to the Turkic concept, the tree serves as an axis of the world, its centre. It is the reference point for temporal and spatial dimensions. It is not only the denotation of a well-ordered space but also the transition from the absence of time to its presence. The Tree of Life is closely connected with the whole family line and its welfare. Cradles of future children hang on its branches. To uproot the tree is to doom to death those connected with it by kindred ties. Therefore the Tree of Life is often called the “Patrimonial Tree”.¹

¹ Bezertinov 2000.





III. 1. Tree of Life (embroidery)



III. 2. Tree of Life (embroidery)



III. 3. Tree of Life (weaving)

This is the main motif in the embroidery of Crimean Tatars and it is used for articles relating to the wedding ceremony. The presence of the “Patrimonial Tree” in men’s everyday belongings is exemplified in the necessary wedding gift *dokuzlama* (Crimean Tatar) consisting of nine articles, highlighting one of the oldest, pre-Islamic, pre-Christian pagan motifs born in the Crimean land. It meant wishing the bridegroom physical and virile strength, stability, prosperity, might, fertility, and the continuation of his family line in his posterity.² The appearance of Islam in the Crimea brought to the tree new elements—flowers and trees—reflecting Muslim symbolism (Ills 1–3).

The Crimean Tatars’ image of the tree as a rule consists of nine elements. Number “nine” in the language of esoteric knowledge denotes the master who has achieved perfection and can pass on his knowledge. Nine elements inscribed in rectangular (in the man’s waistband *uchkur*) or triangular (in over sleeves) space fill it, almost equal in their size. The central part of this motif contains three parts. In the lower part—a triangle. In the centre—symbols of manhood: grain, onion, a bud, a tulip, an eight-pointed star in the form of an eight-petalled rosette. At the top—a palmette. Symmetrically to the right and to the left from the central part are flowers and fruits.

The motif can be viewed both from vertical (centre—main, fringes—subordinate) and horizontal (three levels, the main element in the centre) directions. These triads have several meanings. Roots, stem and flowers are constituent elements of the tree. The past, the present and the future—the existence of the family line unbroken in time. Masters of the house: mother, father, their parents and children, living as a rule in the same Tatar house. The past—basis, the present—driving force; aspiration for the future—result.

Thus, the presence of symmetry, balance, symbols of manhood in the centre, woman- and childhood in the fringes of the “Patrimonial Tree” makes it possible to consider it as a peculiar family emblem—an amulet, token of peace and integrity, and the happiness and prosperity of the family.

The planter as a variant of the representation of the Tree of Life has similar symbolic meaning (Ills 4–5). Here the triangle at the base replaces the picture with a jug, vase, basket, teapot, etc. and denotes a house with a prosperous family.

² Curtiev 2001.



III. 4. Planter (embroidery)

III. 5. Planter (engravings on stone)

The richest variants in their form and colour spectrum can be found in decorative towels, shawls and men’s belts of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. It’s noteworthy that, as a rule, the tree is placed on articles designed for men and married women, while the planter—on household articles serving for decoration of the interior (various towels, cradle bedspreads, etc). In the times of the Crimean Khanate the tree served as a motif for wall painting.

To represent the human being in Oriental symbolism it was common to use the allegory of flowers, the “rose” (*gul*—Crimean Tatar) being especially esteemed as a symbol of a human being in the very prime of life and spiritual powers (Ill. 6).

In Arabic-Muslim tradition the rose is a symbol of manhood. The “white rose” here correlates with the sweat that dripped from Mohammed’s forehead during his ascension to the sky. And so the rose rosette for Muslims is a sign standing for the seven names of Allah.³ The representation of the rose in vases or in the form of a rosette was widespread on the tombstones of Crimean Tatars in the 17th–18th centuries. The flower decorating the stone turban of the tombstone designated that the buried person belonged to the khan family. As a symbol meaning love, beauty, elegance, perfection and joy the stylized ornamental “rose” motif was woven on the *marama* (Crimean Tatar)—the head veil of the married woman.

Despite the prohibition of depicting living beings in Islam, in the ornamental patterns of Crimean Tatars it’s not uncommon to see pictures of fish and elements of the animal world.

³ Williams 1996.

symbol	portrayal of symbols				
	embroidery, weaving	stone, wood	tamga	art metal	architectural décor, interior
Tree of life <i>Dunya agachi</i> <i>Omur agachi</i> Planter <i>Gul-cherep</i>					motive for wall painting
Rose <i>Gul</i>					
Fish <i>Balyk</i>					
Eye <i>Koz</i>					
Star <i>Jyldyz</i>				buckle shape	
Half-moon and Star <i>Ai ve jyldyz</i>				ear-rings' shape	is set up on minarets
Mihrab <i>Mihrab</i>					a niche in the mosque

III. 6.

The “fish” as a sacred symbol in Muslim religion correlates to the concept that the germ of life was introduced from the cosmic waters of the World Ocean because they themselves live in water. Their representations carved in stone appeared in the bottoms of reservoirs and the gutters of ponds beginning in the 18th century.

Ornamental patterns of Crimean Tatars are rich in elements that contain the word “eye” (козъ—Crimean Tatar) in their names: *pota koz* (Crimean Tatar)—eye of a young camel, *oguz koz* (Crimean Tatar)—eye of an ox, etc.

The picture of an eye symbolizes spring, the water source. The word *cheshme*, which in Crimean Tatar language means water source, a drinkable fountain, is of Persian origin. The stem *chashm* means *глаз*. The Tajik word *chashma* stands for spring. In Crimean Tatar language there is an expression *koz achmak*—to open the eye. This designates the action of the cleaning surface of spring. Therefore Turkic, Arab and Persian traditions associate the water source with the eye. Here are two appropriate image-bearing parallels: the eye that drops tears and the spring—as the clear eye of the Earth.

The integration of the names of a village (Kokkoz) and a water source (in the form of an eye) in an artistic image can be exemplified by the drinking fountain under the pergola-entrance in the Yusupov summer palace. Ornamental patterns depicting the eye were used in patterned towels made by the pawn technique of weaving, and they were also common with Nogays in their appliqué works for felt products.

The “star” is the oldest symbol belonging to cosmomorphic symbols in Crimean Tatar art. This is a symbol of eternity, high aspirations, eternal and imperishable ideals. Stars in Crimean Tatar patterns (three-radial, four-, five-, six-eight-pointed, etc.)⁴ are typical to all art forms, especially to embroidery and traditional engraved copper kitchenware.

The five-pointed star designating man is often depicted together with the moon and for Crimean Tatars relates to Islamic symbolism. The symbol of the “crescent and a star” was passed on to Crimean Tatars with the adoption of Islam, according to which man always perceives his ties with the Moon and the influence of it.

The form of the Moon always changes from full sphere to thin sickle. Only a half of the knowledge contained in the Qur’an, Sunnah is open to human beings—and that is what the crescent expresses. Will man be able to obtain the other half? Only if man’s soul casts off idleness and fills with the desire to possess knowledge. And the man must know that he is elected for that—he is exposed to the flow of divine knowledge because the star embraced by the crescent designates the man. Its five points—five parts of the body and five pillars of the faith: acknowledgement of monotheism and the prophetic mission of Mohammed, prayer (*salyat*), fast (*uraza*), charity (*zekiyat*), pilgrimage—no one can be considered a human being in Islam without that. Five rays are also five sacral points, letting the flow of energy and esoteric knowledge pass inside the man (heart, spirit, revelation, secret might, consciousness). Five rays are also five ancient prophets honoured in Islam (Adam, Nuh, Ibrahim, Isa, Musa).⁵

Pictures of the crescent and a star symbolizing Islam were universal. The star was represented as the point, circle, five- or multi-petalled flower in embroidery, artistic metal-working, and tamga. The motif of a moon with a five-pointed star in the form of a flower was embroidered in *marama* head veils, tobacco pouches, sofa pillows, and *kolan* (Crimean Tatar) belts. The moon as a symbol of ascension crowns mosque minarets. Jewellers used this motif in brooches, pins and belt buckles. The most popular type of articles were earrings in the form of the moon—*ay kupe* (Crimean Tatar). With the customer’s age taken into account, the moon was depicted: rising for young people, as a circle symbolizing full moon for the middle-aged and decreasing for the elderly. To strengthen its protective function, most often the articles were made from silver and pearls, which also relates to the moon.

Islamic art often features pictures of “gardens”. People’s memory has retained recollections of the magnificent hanging gardens of Babylon. The vast splendid tsar’s parks in Iran of the Sasanid period received the name *firdaws*—paradise.

The Oriental concept associates paradise with abundance and beauty. For Muslims it is the completion of their paths. The allegory of the garden was in wide use in the Middle Ages both as artistic abstraction in refined poetry and in the realities of life.

Mengli Giray (son of the founder of the Crimean Khanate Hadji Giray), in his aspiration not only to strengthen his state politically and economically but also to have it culturally prosperous when founding his new capital called it Bakhchisaray, initially lending symbolic meaning. The architectural

⁴ Sultanbekov 2002.

⁵ Sultanbekov 2002.



III. 7. Twig "Egri-Dal"



III. 8. Firdaws—paradise (embroidery)



III. 9. Firdaws—paradise (embroidery)

approach called the "Lawn of Eden"—offers a secret exit from the crypt into cozy courtyards decorated with a fountain and plants (in Eski--Durbe, Bakhchisaray). The Garden of Eden in Crimean Tatar art is a place of incessant blossom, eternal harmony and perfection that people crave for but is only attainable by the souls of those who have lived a life of virtue. Masters of embroidery widely developed the motif of the Garden of Eden in their works. Compositions of various flowers and plants growing from one bush or branch filled space in shawls, coverings and towels (Ill. 7). That was the way to designate a world governed by other laws: there time doesn't extend from the past into the future. The past, the present and the future are combined in a single whole. All spatial points can be simultaneously observed at all temporal points.

The image of Paradise in the form of a stair-step temple is present in various cultures (India, Egypt, China, America, etc.). The "Hollow mountain" corresponds to the idea of spiritual highness, "stairs"—ascension, "centre"—the mountain peak linking together heaven and earth. The main meaning of the stair temple lies in the idea: "the whole cosmos' constitutes a route to the spiritual."⁶ Muslim cosmography describes the Town and the Mountain on the shores of the Muhit, where there was also Eden in the form of an "eight-tiered cone or pyramid from which four rivers stream themselves into

the Muhit."⁷ The mountain and town stand for the surrounding world; a mountain ridge called Kaf. A description of Kaf is given in the tales of *One thousand and one Arabian nights*: "... in the distance there is a cave in the mountain, a great dome above it, and a bright light radiating from the cave."⁸

Probably, this mountain or cave with the dome on the shores of Muhit and the Garden of Eden were depicted by means of Crimean Tatar embroidery of the 18th century (Ills 8–9).

⁶ Surina 2006: 60.

⁷ Kabishchanov 2002: 453.

⁸ Kabishchanov 2002: 453.



III. 10. Mihrab (weaving)



III. 11. Ornamental pattern mihrabla (weaving)

Mihrab—symbol of Islamic art and a necessary attribute of the mosque—is often depicted in needlework, prayer rugs (*namazlyk*) and other works of decorative and applied art (Ill. 10). In most *marama* head veils the ornamental pattern from small elements on its hem is called *mihrabla* (Ill. 11). This name is given owing to its likeness to stalactite *mihrab*—a prayer niche in the mosque. Usage of this motif as an apotrope on women's head veils may be related to the name Marjam, mother of the prophet Isa. Bequeathed to Allah, Marjam was entrusted to the care of Zakaria, who by lot received the right of guardianship, and was put in the mosque niche *mihrab*.⁹

In the decorative and applied art of the Crimean Tatars some notions also have symbolic "representation". For example, the designation of Allah may be in the form of a big tree, the cypress that associates with "Alef", the first letter of the Arabic alphabet. The "house" in needlework was represented as jug or planter; "man or youth"—tulip, tree, bud, onion pointed upwards; bud or "tree with palmette"—symbols of reproduction. The symbolic designation of "a girl"—an almond's kernel. The meaning of a number (three, five, seven, nine) was often taken into account when deciding on the quantity of sounding pendants on women's belts, cups in fountains, ornamental motifs in towels' ends, and other elements.

As it is clearly seen, the explanation of the symbolic meaning of motifs reveals the reason for the presence of ornaments in various types of decorative and applied art, unfolding the notional meaning and application of the decorated article. The notional unfolding of the Tatar ornament can offer great opportunities for the profound study of both the early artistic culture of the people and questions related to ethnogenesis and cultural and historical intercommunications.

⁹ Meletinskiy 1991.

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Decor of the mosques of the Golden Horde towns of the northeastern Black Sea region (on the basis of archaeological data)

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The study of religious constructions as one of the most important elements of the organization of a town is one of the priority tasks of archaeology. In the ruins of dozens of Golden Horde towns the remains of hundreds of religious buildings have been preserved, and among them the mosques are both the most numerous and richly decorated. They were built for a short historical stretch, and the majority didn't survive the state (the rulers of which erected these edifices). The mosques of the Golden Horde towns have been studied for a long time. Because the overwhelming majority of them are preserved only in a state of ruin, their study almost completely falls to the archaeologists' lot.

At the present time about 10 buildings have been investigated. A sequence of special publications and chapters in more large-scale research was devoted to them.¹ But the number of investigated constructions makes up a very small percentage of the mosques which existed in the Golden Horde towns, and this number will increase very slowly. By the way, the scholars naturally pay their attention first of all to the main towns' mosques. Because of natural reasons and first of all because the ruined buildings are studied, the main attention is given to the whole planning of buildings and to architectural composition. But the face of the building was determined not only by its walls, but by the décor of these walls, as outer, such would follow inner. The study of the elements of this décor represents less difficulty for archaeologists, because they

¹ Yegorov and Fedorov-Davidov 1976, Birnya 1985, Fedorov-Davidov 1994: 67–69, Zilivinskaya 1998, Aydarov 2001: 8–33, Kramarovskiy 2005: 113–116, Blohin 2003, Kirilko 2009.



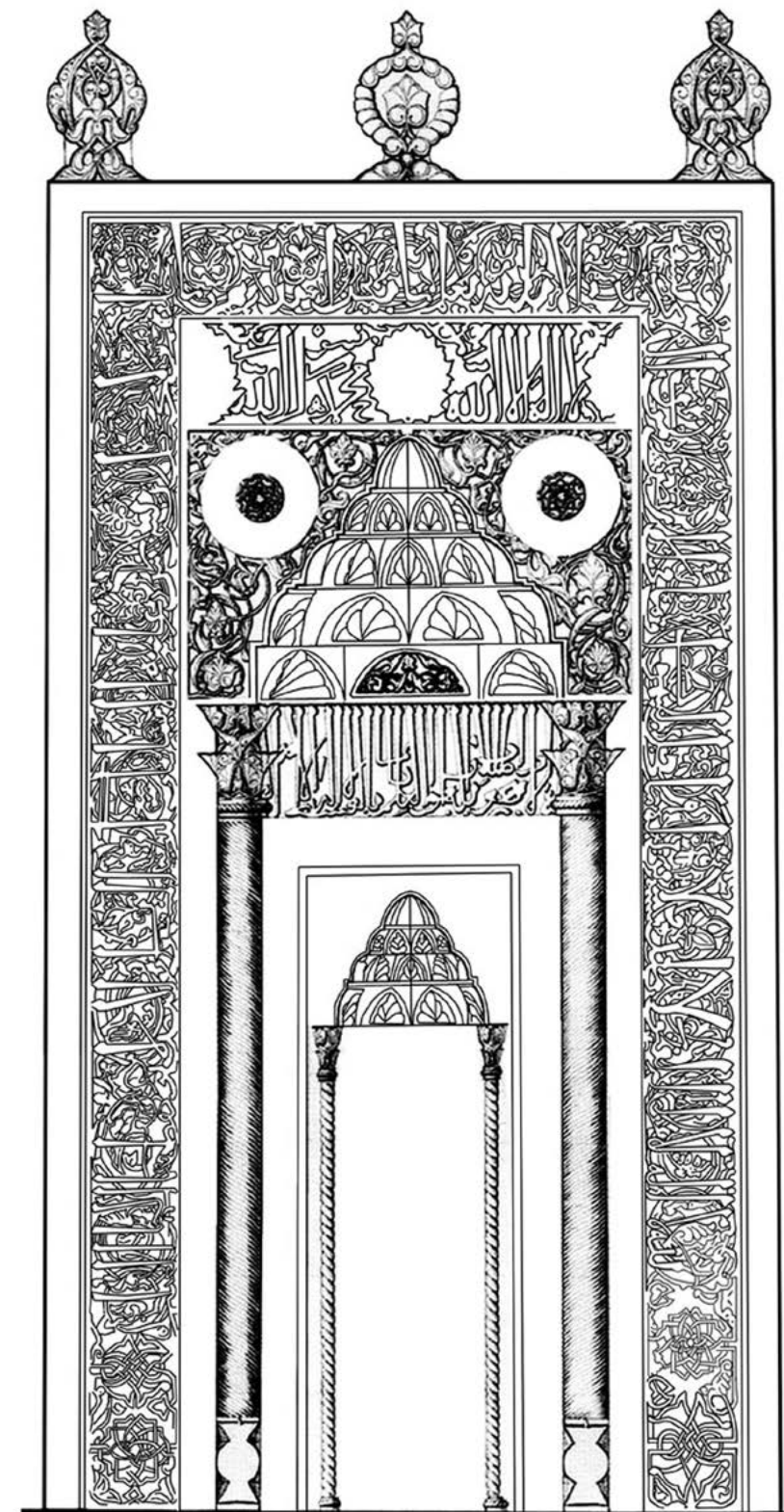
III. 1. Glazed tiles. 1–3—kashan tiles with polychrome painting; 4—terracotta tile with turquoise glaze

III. 2. Marble architectural details. 1—base of a column with a carving in Seljukian style; 2—base of a column, a detail; 3—a fragment of a marble slab with the image of palmette

are frequently of the mass material, which may be found at a far distance from the buildings. Thus in Azak, where the main mosques were not discovered, it was precisely the fragments of décor that have allowed for determining of the approximate location of two cathedral mosques. By the way, one can pay attention to the fact that the element used in mosques architectural décor does not differ much from the décor of other religious, public and palace buildings.

The dissemination of Islam on the territory of the Golden Horde, owing to its dimensions and cultural influences of various directions, could not receive its specific features in different regions. It is reflected in the fact that the décor of mosques is the most available for archaeological study material. The culture of Golden Horde towns in general was radically varying in different regions. Speaking about the Golden Horde, usually one means the domain of khans at the Lower Volga with huge capital centres. But a whole sequence of regions was inside the state and they differed essentially from the capitals.

One of these regions is the northeastern Black Sea with the towns—Azak in the mouth of the Don and the towns of the Crimean ulus, most of all its capital Solhat, and Sudak and Kirk-Yer (Chufut-Kale), and Genoese Kaffa, too. The specific features of this region are its geographical proximity to Asia Minor, the Middle East, Transcaucasia, Byzantium, the existence there of pre-Mongol town planning traditions, the availability of Christian populations of considerable size.



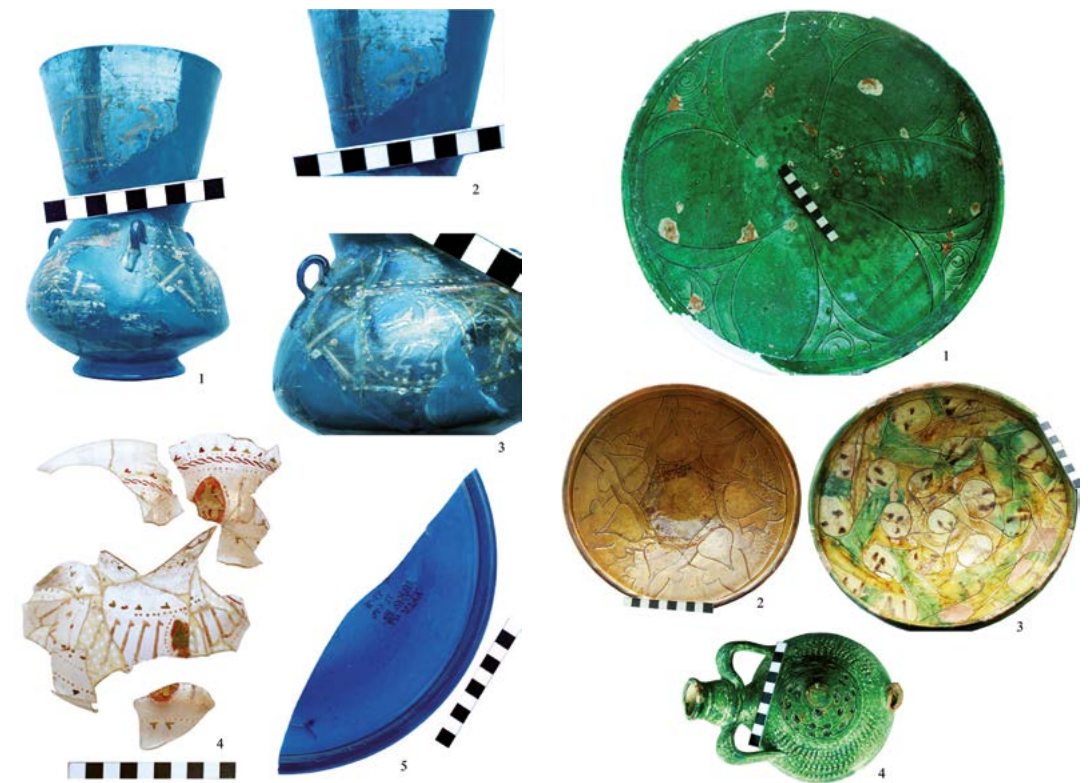
III. 3. A mosque of the Uzbek. Mihrab; reconstruction by M. G. Kramarovskiy

For the towns of the Lower Volga basin the wide use of bright décor in the form of glazed tiles and mosaics of carved and pressed terracotta and ganch is characteristic, as well as figured bricklaying. Large-scale local production of architectural pottery was organized there, too. It makes up one of the categories of mass material, and special publications are devoted to it.² Such décor has developed under the influence of Iran and Middle Asia.

Such décor didn't receive considerable dissemination in the Black Sea towns. In the Crimea this form of decorative material is marked by a small number of finds. In Azak the details of mosaic and the fragments of kashin tiles with polychrome relief painting, which were brought from the Lower Volga basin, were met in small quantities. A stylized plant ornament was used of climbing shoots with large leaves, polygons and epigraphic ornament (Ill. 1.1–3). The painting was carried out with white slip upon an ultramarine background. Judging by the small number of tiles and their stylistic unity, that is in contrast with a variety of similar goods being produced in the Lower Volga basin, the glazed kashin tiles in Azak were used for the facing of 2–3 buildings only. There are grounds to suppose that they were used primarily for the tiling of the emir Azak's palace and of the main town mosques. The mosaics, to all appearances, were used for the decoration of aristocratic estates and cathedral mosques, too. For its' decoration the monochrome kashin and terracotta tiles of turquoise and ultramarine colours were used in large numbers (Ill. 1.4), as is discernable in the minarets of the Lower Volga basin and the Northern Caucasus towns. Red clay tiles with a green glaze of Crimean production were used as well.

On the other hand, in the Northeastern Black Sea Coast Region, as distinct from the Lower Volga basin, the décor from the stone was used much more widely. The fact that it has received the largest dissemination in the Crimea is quite natural, if we are to account for the old traditions of the stone-carving craft on the peninsula. The portal and *mihrab* are adorned especially magnificently, but other details were decorated too. Almost completely preserved were the portal and *mihrab* from the mosque, which was built in Solhat under the reign of khan Usbek (Ill. 3). In the Crimean monuments of the Golden Horde period, the so-called Seljuk style is represented.³ As well as Arab inscriptions with symbols of faith—the “Seljuk chain”—the pattern from palmettos and the spiral shoots with large leaves were also used. The polychrome painting was applied in addition. But the Seljuk ornamental style didn't mirror the specific Musulman character. There is widespread opinion that the Armenian masters played a significant role in the stone carving craft of the Crimea. With the exception of inscriptions, the same elements were used in mosques as were in churches and synagogues. Only in Kaffa the Seljuk style is expressed weaker, apparently stronger owing to the western influence.⁴

In Azak the use of carved details from stone was not widespread. Partly perhaps because there did not exist a developed stone building at all, because of the absence of suitable material. But marvellous examples of carving on marble appeared there, having been brought from the Crimea (Ill. 2), decorating the main town's marble. Part of the architectural details was produced



Ill. 4. Glass wares from an interior of mosques. 1–4—glass lamps with a painting of enamels; 5—a fragment of a window disk

Ill. 5. Glazed pottery of manufacture of Southeast Crimea from mosque interiors. 1–3—the big bowls; 4—washstand

from local cockle-shell stone at the place. The fragments of smooth facing slabs from marble are numerous enough there. As it happens, not only light-grey Prokonnes' marble, but more exotic polychrome marble was used. But it was used, to all appearances, only for the adornment of the main mosque.

It is possible to connect with the decoration of mosques the large marble mortars which were found in small numbers in excavations in Azak and Crimean towns. Although at first these mortars at the Aegean Sea basin were used for household purposes in the medieval epoch, in the Northern Black Sea Coast region these were not numerous and obviously expensive and because of transport expenses, goods could receive another, non-utilitarian function. The discovery of its fragments near the main mosques of Azak indicates this.

Imported glass lamps, as a rule with enamel and gold painting, were another element of mosques' decoration (Ill. 4.1–4). There are vessels of different types, mainly from translucent glass, but the lamps from dark-blue glass have been encountered, too. In Azak about 20 were found, they were also found in excavations of Solhat. In Azak they were apparently used for the lighting of only main mosques and they were found primarily in one small region. The picture of a similar lamp is at one Musulman tombstone found in Azak. The bases of twisted semi-columns of *mihrab* in the mosque of Uzbek in Solhat have the form of icon lamps. The mosques

² Noskova 1976 and 2001, Matveeva 1959, Voskresenskiy 1967, Fedorov-Davidov 1994: 147–167.

³ Aybabina 2001: 174–178.

⁴ Aybabina 2001: 181–182.

were decorated with window glasses in the form of disks (Ill. 4.5). Although they were used sometimes and usually for rich houses, only near the main mosque were the fragments of disks from expensive stained glass found.

I should also mention one other element of the mosques' decoration. During the excavations of Azak close to the main mosque a large number of ceremonial glazed bowls of Crimean production were found in the pits with glass lamps (Ill. 4.1–3). Nowhere else in the town were they found in such numbers. One should draw attention to the fact that the bowls were thrown whole. Sometimes it was traced that they were already broken especially into dust-heaps by stones. This allows us to suppose that these vessels were used for the decoration of mosques and were broken so that nobody used them for utilitarian purposes, out of ignorance. It's known that ceramic vessels were walled up in buildings, as for example, the Golden Horde's kashin and Spanish-Moorish lustrum bowls in Thessalonica, the bowls and dishes in some other Balkan churches,⁵ lustrum vessels in Spain, etc. One can see something similar at the Tatartupskiy minaret at the Northern Caucasus.⁶ One can only guess that the glazed vessels for decoration of mosques could be used otherwise. The definite place in the interior of mosques was kept for smart glaze water-carriers. Besides the usual ones, only near to the mosque was the type of water-carrier with two lips (Ill. 5.4).

It should also be said that the décor of ordinary mosques was much poorer. Thus, for example, only one fragment of glazed tile with relief décor was found near the minaret, a building from brick clay in the outlying region of Azak. To all appearances, this minaret was decorated very meanly. This is not remarkable, after all the entire architectural décor of Azak was imported.

In the opinion of different scholars, in the religious architecture of the Golden Horde can be found the influences of Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Middle Asia, and there they fused on the local ground into a single style.⁷ To our opinion, there is a lack of information to support this opinion. It's not clear if we can speak about the formation of a single Golden Horde architectural style, if the influences of different regions are traced as well.

Seemingly, the considerable difference of appearance in the mosques of various regions in the Golden Horde region was in their décor. If in the décor of the Lower Volga mosques the influence of Middle Asia predominates, in the Black Sea centres the influence of Asia Minor dominates. Even in Azak and Solhat, situated not far from each other and closely connected economically, definite differences in the decorative design of the mosques existed.

⁵ Poluboyarinova and Sedov 2007.

⁶ Miloradovich 1963: 71–72.

⁷ Zilivinskaya 1998: 34–35, Blohin 2003: 110.

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Art ceramics of the Islamic world in Ukrainian lands (13th–18th centuries)

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Art ceramics of the Islamic world are represented in numerous museum collections in Ukraine. These include different materials of the Middle East, the Crimean Tatars, Ottomans and other Islamic communities. One of the largest collections of Islamic art belongs to the Iranian legacy. The ceramics are represented in the Museum of Western and Oriental Art (Museum of Warwara and Bogdan Hanenko in Kyiv), and in different regional museums, which include the archaeological findings from Ottoman fortresses. In our case, several examples of Iranian art ceramics are represented among our findings from Ochakiv and Akkerman. They belong to the time of the Safavids (1502–1736). Some of them imitated the Chinese tradition of decoration, especially images of birds, fantastic animals and vegetable ornamentation in Chinese style. The cups and bowls in our collection can be divided into several types by marks on the top.¹ In many cases this needs detailed research and cataloguing. Due to archaeological investigations the numerous findings of Islamic art ceramics replenish the core collections. Such ceramics were spread across different territories of Ukraine, and in several ways. The largest degree of penetration is found in the Crimea and in other regions of the Black Sea North Littoral.

The greatest archaeological collections were obtained in the course of the excavation of the Golden Horde monuments and sites on the Ottoman frontier at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st centuries. In functional classification art ceramics include tiles for the decoration of monumental buildings (especially in the Crimea) and different types of ware. All of them are presented in the Ottoman fortresses, on the territories which were in the structure of the Lithuanian and Rus' Principality and then in the structure of the Polish and Lithuanian



¹ Rapoport 1969: 168–185.



III. 1. Position of Akkerman and Ochakiv

Commonwealth. Besides this, it can be found among the Ukrainian Cossacks, in monasteries and in the houses of wealthy people.

Numerous Islamic art ceramics collections of the 13th–18th centuries were obtained in the course of investigations of the Ottoman periphery. Large collections of art ceramics belong to the Crimean Tatars. We want to focus attention on the pottery which was found during our excavations in Ochakiv and Akkerman (1999–2009) (Ill. 1).

Art ceramics of the Islamic world were represented by *four groups* in chronological and typological division: sgraffito ware, Miletus ware, Iznik ware and Kytahya ware.

The first one is **sgraffito ware** (Ill. 2). As it was established earlier by archaeological investigation of Golden Horde era city layers of Akkerman of Anastasiya Afanasievna Kravchenko, this kind of ceramics includes imports from Crimea, Anatolia and production of local masters.² The examples of the local production and unfinished goods in sgraffito technique were found near the estuary (by Kravchenko's expedition) and in the territory of Lower Yard, which was used in pre-Ottoman times for craft activity. The main types of ceramic are known by the typology, proposed by A. A. Kravchenko,³ but in the results of our excavation the number of fragments

² Kravchenko 1986: 66–78.

³ Kravchenko 1986: 66–78.



III. 2. Ceramics in sgraffito technique



III. 3. Fragments of pottery of the Miletus group

increased (more than 500 items). Several original examples were found and partly represented in our publication.⁴ Also there is an interesting series of ware with images of spirals, hexagonal stars, birds and fishes. Ware with spiral motifs has analogies among the ware from fortress Aluston, which functioned in the middle of the 14th century.⁵ Hexagonal motifs are widespread in several monuments of the Black Sea area.⁶

Among the most interesting goods, we want to draw attention to the bowl-cup decorated with two fishes in the pose of valet (Ill. 2.1). This plot is well known in the territory of Turkey. The same image is on a bowl-cup of the 12th–13th century and in another decoration (blue cobalt) from Samsat in Turkey (Bulut 2000: Ill. 15).

There are also ornaments with different birds. One of the most popular in Byzantine and Islamic art, besides among the Turks-Seljuks is the image of a peacock (Ill. 2.2), which is represented on the ceramics from Akkerman (Lower Yard).

Research into sgraffito ware, which is spread across the vast Black Sea area, allows us to get a new perspective on some problems of the development of this region and its culture. Findings of pottery ornamented in the sgraffito technique of the 13th–14th centuries in Ochakiv are very important. They give us the possibility to revise the date of foundation of this town, accepted in historiography as an earlier period.

The next group consists of **Miletus ware** (Ill. 3) dated from 14th–15th centuries, which is imported from Anatolian centres. This ware is known from numerous monuments of the North Black Sea area, including the Crimea, the Ottoman outpost and trade centres on the coast. The main forms correspond to the classification of John Hayes.⁷ Ornamental motifs are known in all areas of permeation. There are vegetal and geometrical images and also “Chinese clouds”,

⁴ Bilyayeva and Fialko 2008: 62–70.

⁵ Teslenko 1998: ill. 2.1.

⁶ Jakobson 1950: 190, table 22, 84; Parshina 1974: ill. 10.17; Kravchenko 1986: ill. 25.3; Myts 2002: ill. 25.4.

⁷ Hayes 1992: 239.



III. 4. Iznik ware



III. 5. Production of Kütahya

which have further development in the art ceramics of Iznik. This group of pottery was not popular in all Ukrainian lands.

So to the next group of high quality ceramic—**Iznik ware** (Ill. 4). It appeared at the last quarter of the 15th century and was presented in different parts of Ukraine, especially in the Crimea and on the territory of the Ottoman frontier, till the beginning of the 17th century. It was represented by all groups—Abraham of Kütahya Ware, Golden Horn Ware, Damascus Ware and Rhodian Ware.

As to the fortresses of the frontier of the Ottoman Empire, the earliest groups are fixed from the beginning of the invasion, but the quantity of items differs. In one of the most famous fortresses, which was situated in Ochakiv, there is a lot of ware of the Rhodian period (1550–1600). Among all the Iznik ceramics, only a few pieces are glazed.

Akkerman's collection is more representative: nearly 500 items of ware and also several fragments of glaze. Pottery includes either closed (jugs, covers, mugs, bottles) or open forms (dishes, bowls, plates, cups) of all periods of Iznik pottery. These wares have lots of analogies on the territory of Turkey and in different provinces of the Ottoman Empire.⁸ In Ochakiv, the Rhodian ware with images of tulips, fish scales, and red carnations with green leaves is widespread. Sometimes we can also meet images of ships and animals.

Ceramics of **Kütahya** were commonplace and featured in the North Black Sea area. They are widely known in the frontier territories: Hotyn, Izmail, Akkerman, Ochakiv and others. This

⁸ Miller 1972: 33, 36, 40, 131, 134–135, 139; Akar 1988; Aslanapa 1989: 6; Altun 1991: 18–22, 25–26, 28–29; Oney 1993: 292–293, 295; Kovács 2003: 262, ill. 5; Vroom 2005: 158–160; Husach 2006: 132, etc.

type of ware represents the great part of art ceramics of Ochakiv (more than 100 items) and Akkerman (more than 1000 items) (Ill. 5).

The pottery includes such forms as jugs, mugs, plates, bowls and others. But the main kinds of this pottery are tea and coffee services: cups and saucers. The large preponderance of the tea and coffee services was connected with the custom of using a certain stimulant—coffee, which was accepted in the Ottoman Empire and penetrated Eastern Europe, too.

Kütahya ware was both blue and white, as well as multicoloured. Decorative motifs (geometrical and vegetal) resemble Iznik, but are more plain in technique. Sometimes there are images of fishes and algae in the decoration of cups (Ill. 5.4). Such ceramics were also spread across the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire.⁹

Some items of Kütahya and saucers of the first half of the 18th century imitated the production of Meissen: they have the marks of “three swords” and a “dotted rhombus”.

The production of Iznik and Kütahya was spread not only inside the Ottoman frontiers, but on the territory of internal Ukrainian lands, too. It is known on the Cossacks' forts, in different cities on the Left and Right banks of the Dnieper river.¹⁰ Kütahya cups for tea and coffee became an attribute of fashionable life among Cossacks and other groups of Ukrainian people.

⁹ Miller 1972: 164; Carswell 1991: 68, 70–72, 74; Husach 1998: 76–80; Hertsen and Naumenko 2005: 287b, ill. 23, 6; Vroom 2005: 168–171; Husach 2006: 133.

¹⁰ Teleghin and Titova 1992: 5; Teleghin and Titova 2003: 67–68; Titova 1999: 12–14.

As to Kyiv, the pottery of Iznik (all through the 16th century) was found on the territory of Mihaylovsky monastery. Two coffee cups of Kütahya production were found in another complex. They were dated due to coins of the second part of the 17th century. Another fragment of the cup from Kütahya was dated to the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century due to glass and pottery.¹¹

In the western region of today's Ukraine, the ancient territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Lwow (Lviv) and other cities of the ancient Voivodeship Rus' (Lvivshchina and Podolia/ Podilya), Ottoman art ceramics were also used. As it is known by written sources and archaeological materials, full services of prestigious ware were represented.¹²

Craftsmen from Kütahya tried to imitate the production of China. It is fixed among the Ukrainian collections and collections from Akkerman and Ochakiv also. They copied not only the forms and decorative style of Chinese pottery but different marks on the top of cups as well. Kütahya ware also has different Arabian inscriptions on the bottom of the cups and saucers.

The investigations of the last decades show the positive movement of the accumulation of Islamic art ceramics as an important source for studying the mode of life, as an example of contacts and interrelations of different cultures and peoples.

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¹¹ Tsmil 2005: 60–63.

¹² Mańkowski 1959: 220–222; Pogorilets and Stopenchuk 2001: 48–53; Pogorilets and Stopenchuk 2002: 24–28; Demidko, Pogorilets and Stopenchuk 2004: 5–7).

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Turkish ceramics recovered during the archaeological excavations on the Castle Hill of Buda¹

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The salvage site

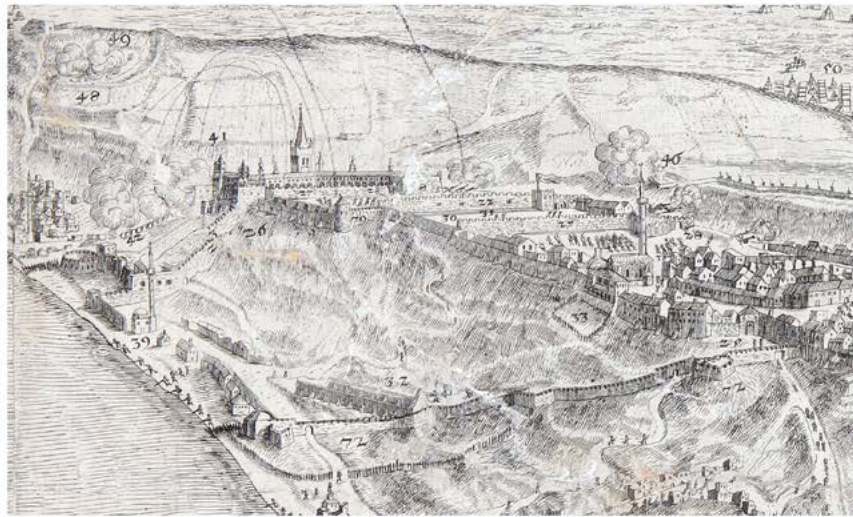
Archaeological excavations, during which finds were made alluding to a more or less unceasing settlement tendency between the 13th and 20th centuries,² were conducted in 2000 and 2001 prior to the (re)construction of a local residence on the eastern slope of *Várhegy* (Castle Hill) in Buda, north of the former royal palace (Ill. 2). Test excavations had already been conducted earlier: Turkologist Győző Gerő had identified the walls of a Turkish bastion in 1958 and 1959, subsequent to which archaeologist Károly Magyar recovered further sections³ in 1977. The preliminary objective of the aforementioned archaeological research in 2000–2001 was to investigate this historic fortification. The history of the building complex was known: following the abortive but heavy siege against the castle of Buda in 1684, it became indisputable that the environs of the town facing the Danube River was indefensible, owing to which the Turks fortified the defense system of the castle. As a result, they built a steady defense line in 1685 that stretched from the castle wall to the river (Ill. 1). Two bastions were also added to it, whilst a third one was erected on the riverbank. The smaller structure located on the lower part of the hill-slope was named *The Silver Bastion* (**Gümüş tábie**), while the remains of the other, called *The Golden Bastion* (**Altun tábie**) lay in the immediate proximity of the castle wall.

The earliest artifacts, specifically a stone cistern and a horde of treasure that contained fourteen silver coins of King Béla IV hidden in a vessel—both dating back to the 13th century—were found during these archaeological excavations. These artifacts allow us to extrapolate that there was a significant wave of settlement in this area in the 14th and 15th centuries: the remains of 4 stone houses and a structure supported by posts, as well as water drains and 19

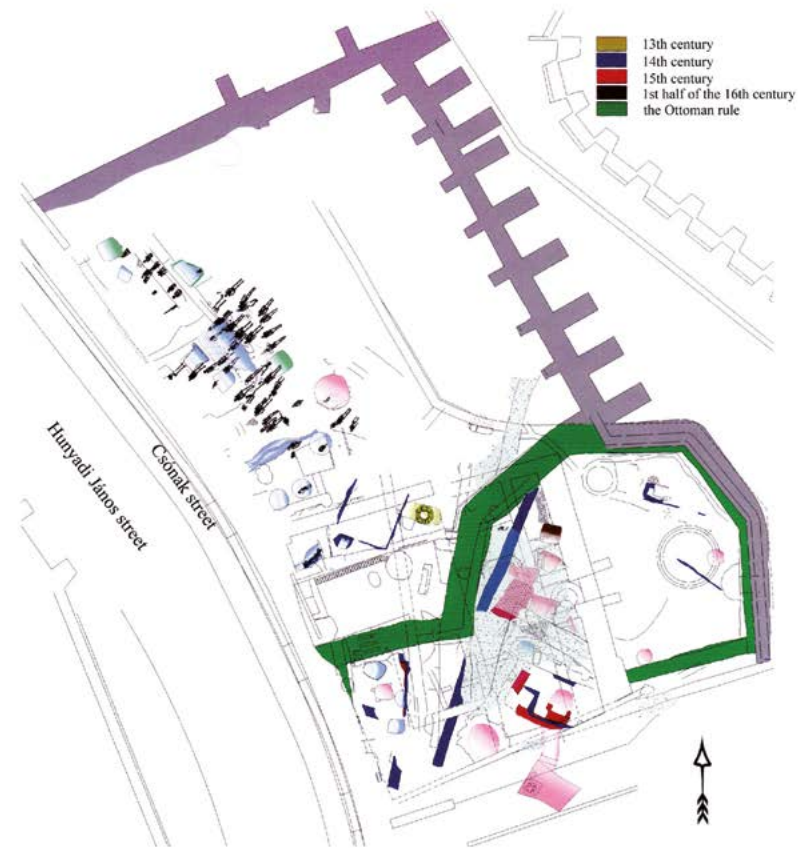
¹ Capital of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

² Tóth 2001.

³ Magyar 2003.



III. 1. Engraving of Buda (Fontana-Nessenthaler 1686)



III. 2. The plan of the salvage site

wells and storage pits were all discovered. This area had various functions in the period of Turkish rule. The northern section must have been inhabited in the 16th century, a notion that can be ascertained by the rubbish pits. This area was used as a cemetery afterwards. The remains of medieval buildings standing there in those days were totally demolished and cluttered about, while those of a road, which most likely led to the so-called *Aqueous Gate* (**Su kapusu**), were found above them. Later, large-scale landscaping took place in the beginning and/or first half of the 17th century, during which the area was substantially filled (the ceramics to be presented in this archaeological report come from this layer of rubbish), and another road made of larger stone blocks that had better quality was built more or less exactly in the track of the previous one that had been in use until the construction of the bastion.

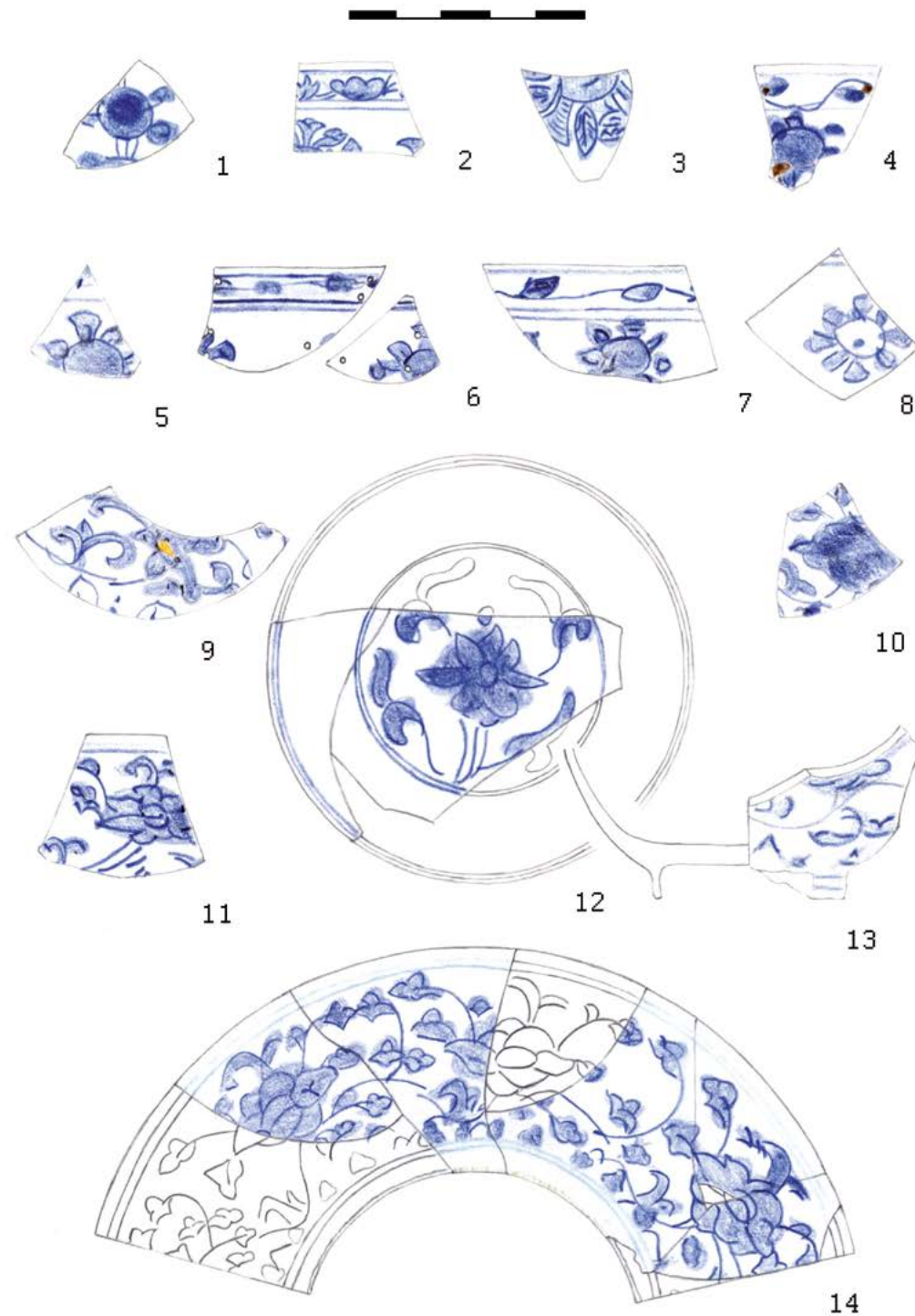
Having been 25 metres in width and having had walls to the width of 2.5 metres, the irregular polygonal Turkish bastion was a massive structure, which, except for its connecting wall leading to the gate and its southern closing wall, had been founded on rocks steeply inclining towards east-northeast, the purpose of which was to equalize the significant difference in levels. Its line could have been identified completely contrary to particular spots on its foundation level.

The scheduled reconstruction of a private residence built in the area of the fortification in the 19th century and destroyed in World War II allowed for archaeological investigation.

A plurality of the assemblage coming from the levelled layer of rubbish was composed of imported ceramics: fragments of Anatolian and Persian faience and china were found in hefty quantities. It is perplexing to define the actual number of the vessels owing to the fact that the levelling cracked them into small pieces and also as landscaping must have taken place in an area larger than the one available for archaeological research. However, their number can be estimated at up to 245. More than half of these items were porcelain, about two-thirds were Persian faience, and the rate of Anatolian faience was under 10 percent.

China

China fragments represented a good deal of the artifacts. Akin to the experiences gained concerning the southern parts of the castle in Buda, small size cups were found in huge quantities: fragments of 3 chargers and also 3 dishes in addition to 130 cups were recovered. Although many of them were so tiny that they were not apt for selection, some of them could have been assembled, which demonstrated that the homogeneous rubbish of a household must have been dumped on this site. This assumption appears to have been confirmed by the fact that the assemblage of the nearby Pasha's Palace, of which archaeological material is still regrettably unpublished, contains an enormous amount of fragments that share identical quality and fit the types, perhaps even fragments, found on this salvage site. A few fragments that show evidence of wire repair prove that china was highly appreciated in those days (III. 3.6).



III. 3 (1-14). Blue-and-white china wares

Blue-and-white wares

The vast majority of the china fragments found are decorated with blue pigment against a white background. Decorations are almost exclusively composed of floral elements, in addition to which there are only a few geometric motifs. Neither humans nor animals were depicted. Although exhibiting a wide range of variation, the ornamentations can be classified into two basic types:

- *ling-chi* or the “sacred fungus” that is the symbol of eternal life in Taoism is the basic motif of the decoration of the most considerable class that is composed of the fragments of 39 cups (Ill. 3.1–8). The sizes, the wall widths, and the fine materials of them vary largely, and so do their decorations, which are very schematic on some of them. Therefore, we must exploit our knowledge of the good quality ones to classify these and the seriously damaged ones into this class. Their internal sides are usually plain. Bi-parallel line ornamentation runs along with their rims and bottoms. An undulate foliate slip confined by blue lines can be seen under their rims on their external sides. The main motifs, the fungi, and the particularly smaller, maybe leaf-shaped patterns between them are placed far from each other, thence they do not make up a joint composition. These are carelessly drawn and have a blurred image on certain spots on some of the cups contrary to a few good quality pieces, of which contour lines are striking and their ornamentations are regular. Our examples can probably be dated to the 17th century, because the original fungus motif already underwent particular alteration into a regular and circular symmetric decoration by then. Cups decorated with this motif were found in the area of the royal palace and the Pasha’s Palace, as well as in Szolnok, and were also identified on faience imitations excavated at the Castle of Jeni.⁴
- the *lotus flower-runner-leave triad* is the decoration of the other major class (Ill. 3.9–14). Fortunately, four cups that could have been assembled and restored also belong in here. Their sides are fine and thin, and their rims are usually straight. Finely incurving and slightly outcurving rims can also be observed in certain cases. Their small bottom rims are either straight or incurving. Blue bi-parallel line ornamentation frames their internal parts under their rims. Lotus flowers, with which a few leaves with leafstalks compose bouquets, can be seen on the internal sides. A blue linear pattern runs along under their rims and at the connection of their bottom rims on their external sides. Their main motif is the rounding wavy runner that includes three or four lotus flowers, as well as smaller and simpler, as well as larger and stylized palmette-shaped leaves. Arch-sided triangles, perhaps petals, are depicted along the lower blue line. This decoration is very common: it was identified on plenty of artifacts recovered at the Pasha’s Palace, and in Szolnok, and at the Castle of Jeni, and in the Castles of Buda and Eger.⁵ This decoration has been determined as very early at times, but our finds can be dated to the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries, based on their degree of elaboration.

⁴ Kovács 1984, Holl 2005: 134–145, Gaál 2005: 212.

⁵ See Account 3; Holl 2006: 484–485.

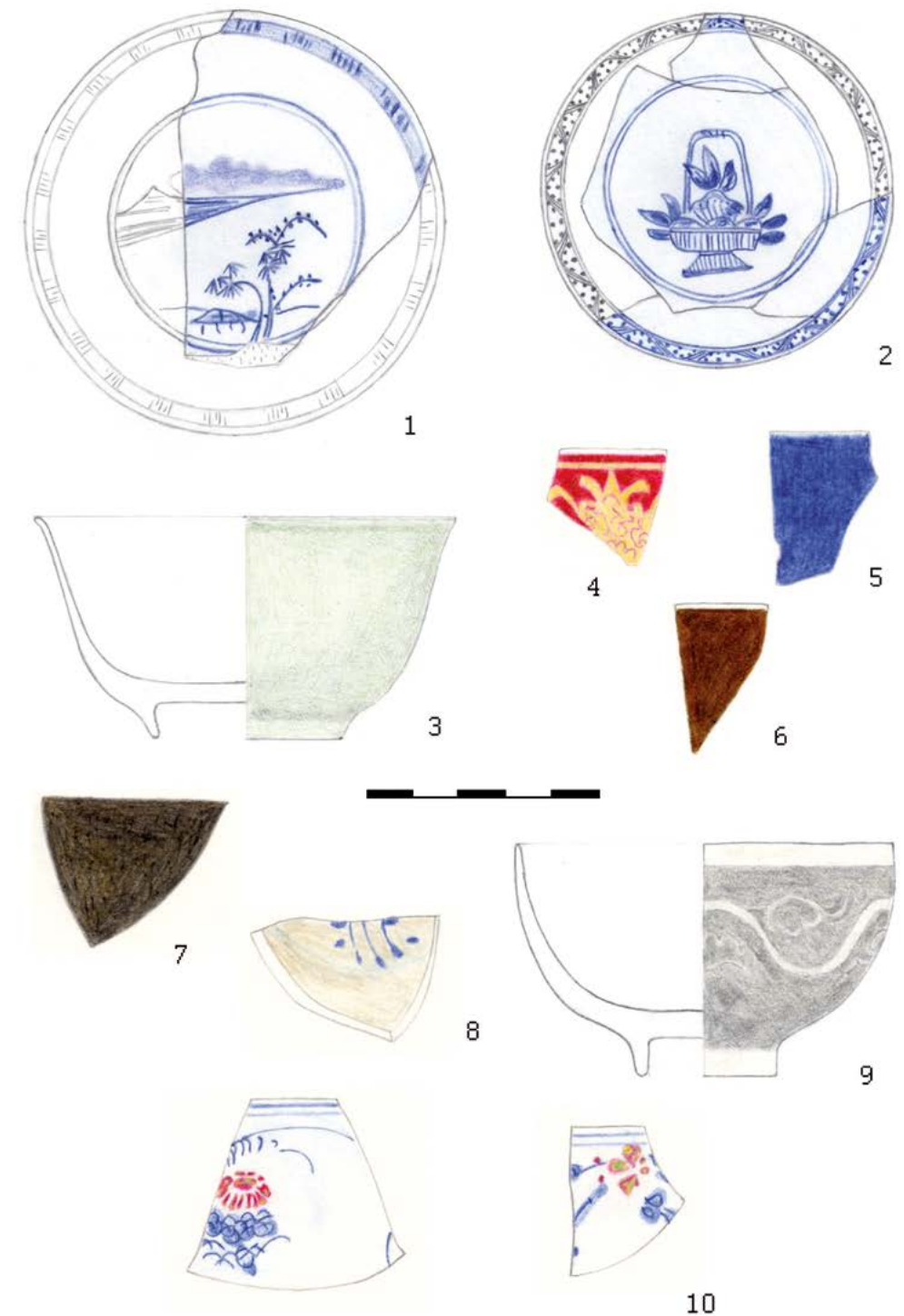
Monochrome painted pottery

The external sides of the vessels are colour-glazed without ornamentation, yet their white internal grounds are ornamented with blue pigment decorations (Ill. 4.1–6). In most cases, these dishes are basically light apple green or completely dark brown, but we also found a light and a dark blue fragment. A piece of a red glazed rim decorated with a gilded pattern can be classified as a rarity in this category. Generally, the vessels in this category are very thin, their rims in most cases are finely outcurving, and their bottom rims are slightly incurving. There are simple rounding blue lines under their rims on their internal sides, which are divided into slips by inclined rows of lines and dots and by grill patterns in particular cases. The internal decoration of the sizable fragments and cups restored has been divided into two subcategories. The first one is composed of a decoration type, where there is the typical Chinese landscape, that is to say the *mountains and water landscape* in the roundel that is framed with a blue bi-parallel linear ornamentation. This composition is nearly constant: poorly crowned trees stand in the foreground, among which those leaning left have bowing branches resembling those of pine trees, while the higher trees reaching over the background scene, usually with soaring foliage that is marked with tiny dots, stand on the other side. Behind them runs the river symbolized with a vacant slip. The mountains and clouds, of which positions vary, are situated in the background. Similar pieces were found at the royal palace in the Castle of Buda and in the northern sections of the castle hill, as well as at the Castle of Jeni.⁶ The other subcategory comprises of only one artifact: fruits, most likely peaches (the symbol of immortality, the fruit of eternal life) are placed in a fruit bowl, the shape of which reminds us of footed bowls with high swinging handles enriched with plaiting. Similar fragments were found at the Pasha's Palace in Buda, and further variations, such as floral instead of fruit motifs, were discovered in the area of the royal palace. This class can be dated to the 17th century, based on the artifacts of other salvage sites in Hungary.

Polychrome porcelain

The underglaze blue colour on the porcelain vessels contained the bulk of the ornamentations, while red, yellow, and green colours were painted on the glaze and fired after the actual firing of the vessels. Two fragments of cups of this type were found on the salvage site (Ill. 4.10): both vessels were produced with the so-called *vu-caj technique* initiating that part of the decoration painted with underglaze cobalt blue, and after firing them, the nonexistent parts were ornamented with colourful (yellow, red, etc.) painted enamel. Finally, they were put to low-level firing again. There is dark brown or golden slip painting on top of a few cups that have been categorized in the class of blue-and-white porcelain—these must date back to the 17th century.

Polychrome wares were found in Szolnok and Eger. Although such artifacts have been rare at the Castle of Buda, the accurate parallel of these fragments was found in the northern forecourt of the palace.⁷



Ill. 4.
1 to 6: Monochrome porcelain ware
7 to 9: Persian faience ware, monochrome type
10: Polychrome porcelain ware

⁶ Holl 2005: 145–148, Gaál 2005: 207.

⁷ Kovács 1984: 53, Holl 2005: 148–150.

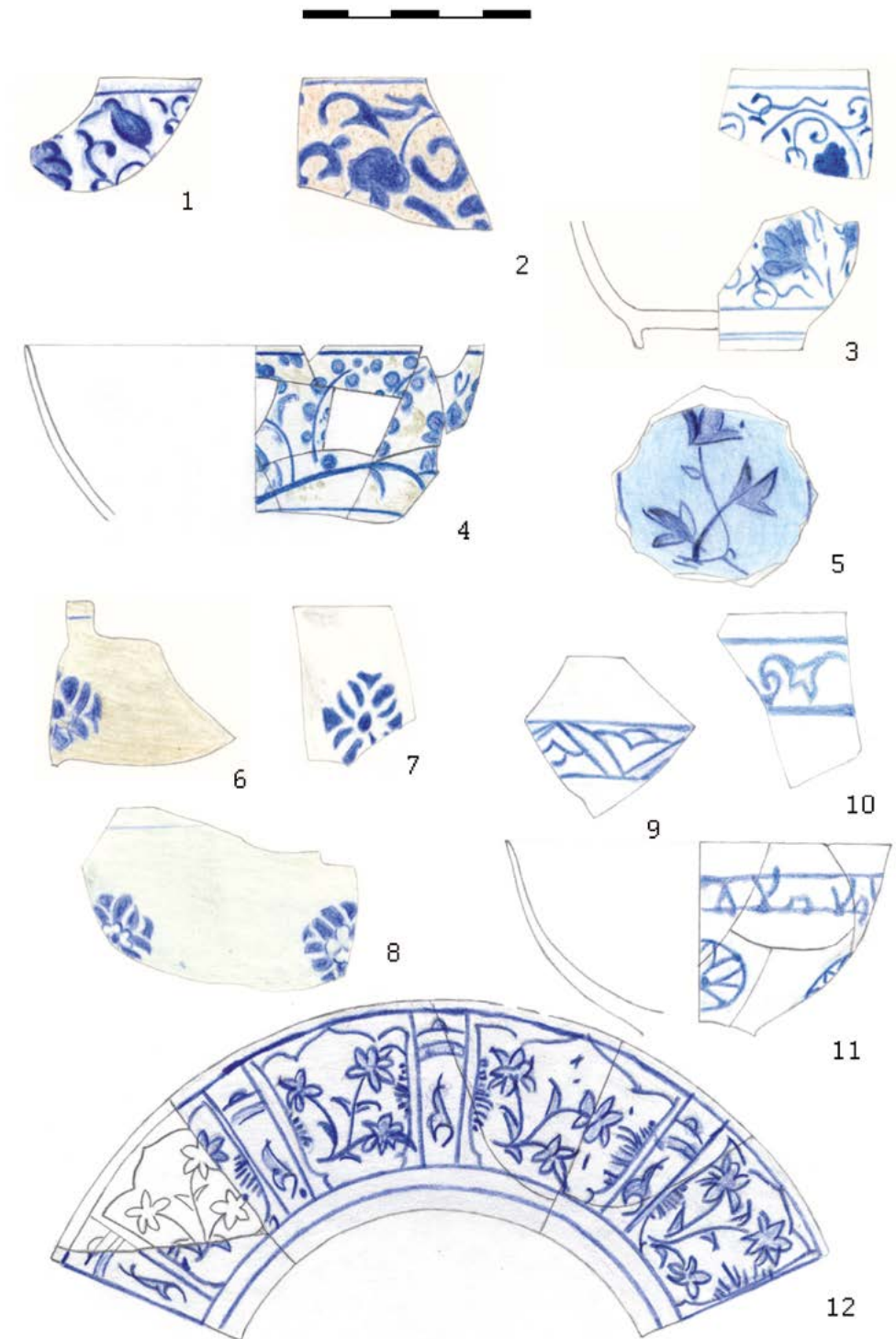
Persian faience

Fragments of Persian faience vessels were found in massive amounts: 84 smaller cups that exactly match the china samples, and further pieces of two flagons, two dishes, and a small lid. The manufacturers of the Persian faience or semi-porcelain vessels made efforts to imitate the original Chinese wares. Such replicas were so perfect from time to time that it was very difficult to distinguish them from genuine china. Schematized and altered motifs primarily demonstrate the deviating origins of the vessels, while some of them can be recognized easily: these can be detected by the greyish, porous material at the edge of the fracture, or by the low quality glaze and/or the brownish discoloration that occurs as a consequence of any damage.

Blue-and-white wares

Comparable to porcelain ware, a preponderance of the faience vessels is ornamented with blue pigment on a white background. The stylized variation of the lotus flower-runner-leaf composition identified on china cups can be recognized on many other cups, and its proportion equals to that of porcelain ware (Ill. 5.1–3). The floral motif on the external side of particular faience vessels is quite elaborate. The authentic shape of the leaves can be identified, but it is rather sketched on the bulk of the vessels. While the runner motifs are inconsistent and their leaf patterns are distorted into a net of tendrils, the decorations have become jagged and a little bit disintegrated. The bouquets on the internal sides are also simplified and altered into smears and lines. Indistinguishable fragments were found at the royal and the Pasha's Palace, and in Baja, and at the Castle of Eger.⁸

A few other cups display floral motifs that were depicted in a different style: these are rather pointed and have at least three petals in a more irregular composition, which gives the impression of a windy and natural scene that is not an organized floral bouquet, but rather the composition of leafstalks crossing each other and also of bowing leaves (Ill. 5.5). The fragment of a wide-mouthed bowl is ornamented with a particular plant that has curving branches and berries (Ill. 5.4). This accurate parallel motif can be identified on artifacts excavated in the northern forecourt of the royal palace. The motif of *ling-chi* was so schematically depicted on some pieces that it can most likely be recognized based on the array and shapes of the foliage (Ill. 5.6–8). Having been depicted either in accordance with its real essence, or in its altered and meaningless version, but undoubtedly in a significantly better quality, such a motif⁹ also appeared on artifacts in the assemblages of excavations conducted at the castles of Buda and Jeni. In all circumstances we can date our artifacts to the 17th century. One of the most attractive pieces is a cup with a composition divided into sections, on which triple floral bouquets and little, double leaf shapes vary in tulip-formed sections (Ill. 5.12). This composition appeared on china products in the beginning of the 17th century, and probably it might not be dated to earlier times in case of the faience ones. The aforementioned good quality pieces slightly deviate from the rest: their mouth diameter is wider than usual, their height is proportionately lower, and their bottom rims are narrower. Each of the twelve cups displays



III. 5. Persian faience ware, blue-and-white

⁸ Holl 2006: 478–501.

⁹ Gaál 2005: 212, Holl 2006: 485–489 (the latter scholar explains it as a floral decoration).

a light blue linear depiction, either a geometric pattern or schematized floral motif (Ill. 5.9–11). In these cases, the lines ordinarily running on the rims of the cups are parts of their decorations, the function of which is either to make integral connections or to confine slips. The drawings of the motifs are often irregular; they must have been made with thick stylus. We found fragments with similar patterns in the forecourt of the palace of Buda and at the Pasha's Palace, and furthermore, comparable pieces¹⁰ were reportedly found in Baja and at the Castle of Jeni. In the latter case, however, blue pigment ornamentation was installed on the surface of the glaze, while the fragments described in the former case had underglaze decoration.¹¹ Their more precise dating is impossible owing to lack of closed assemblages.

Monochrome painted pottery

Of this class, which is considered as quite rare in Hungary, the fragments of 8 cups were recovered on our salvage site (Ill. 4.7–9). Brownish-red engobe under a colourless layer of glaze covered the external sides of 4 pieces, which were ornamented with blue pigment; that is to say with stylized floral motifs being most likely. In addition to these pieces, there was a dark and a light blue, as well as a dark grey fragment, on all of which the internal patterns were insufficiently visible. Only one single cup could have been restored: it had a round-bellied body and a small, straight bottom rim. Except for a strip under its rim, it had middle grey engobe, on which a round wavy slip of foliage connected to it was incised into the cup's material underneath the transparent layer of glaze. The cup's internal side and the upper slip of its rim on its external side remained unpainted. These are light cream coloured. The aforementioned artifacts cannot be dated accurately. They could have been in use both in the 16th and 17th centuries.



Anatolian faience

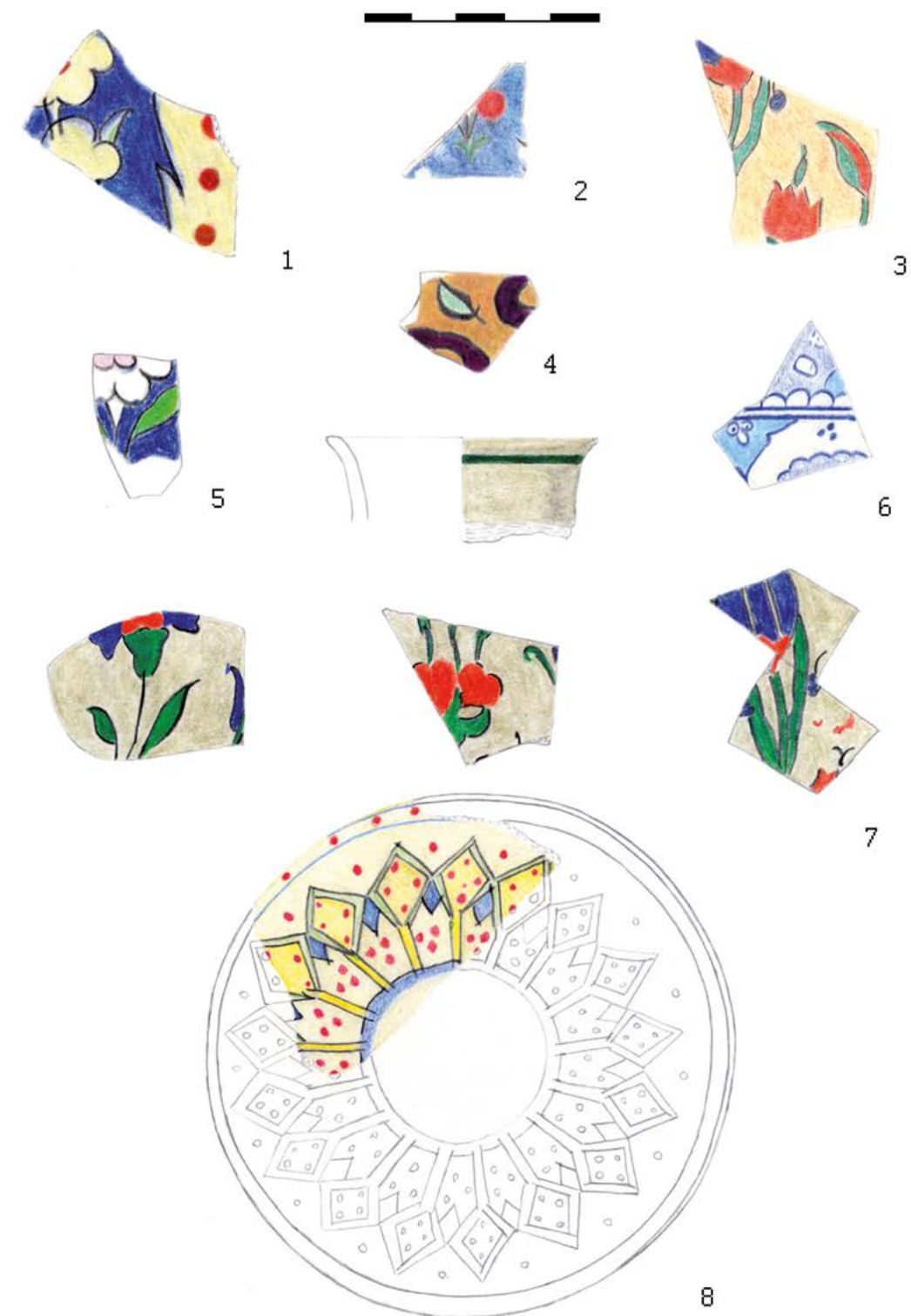
The number of remains of faience vessels produced in Iznik and Kütahya was negligible compared to the aforementioned artifacts, which is a very surprising fact in knowledge of the high volume of various and very good quality pieces¹² recovered in the area of the royal palace and on many sites within its forecourt. The original shapes and functions of the artifacts can be defined only in a limited number of instances: these are usually the fragments of jars, jugs, tankards, or bowls. A preponderance of the pieces of vessels from Iznik conforms to the so-called *Rhodos style* (Ill. 6.1–3, 5, 7). In addition, we have only a few fragments that can be classified either in the blue-and-white ware (Ill. 6.6) or the so-called *Damascus style* class (Ill. 6.4). A small bowl of these, however, might have been produced in Kütahya (Ill. 6.8).

Translated from the Hungarian language by Zoltán Törőcsik

¹⁰ Holl 2006: 478.

¹¹ Gaál 2005: 211.

¹² Tóth 2003.



III. 6. Anatolian faience ware



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The connection between the tile decoration of the 16th and 17th centuries in Istanbul with the tile fragments found in Iznik excavations

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Iznik excavations began in 1963, under the leadership of Professor Oktay Aslanapa. It was then chaired by Professor Ara Altun for a period and the project is now under the chairmanship of Associate Professor Dr V. Belgin Demirsar Arlı. The first period of Iznik excavations, which was carried out by drilling technique, provided enough evidence that tile types generally known as "Miletware", "Halicware", "Damascusware" and "Rhodesware" were all Iznik productions. In particular, semi-product findings and kilns that were collapsed with all the manufactured products in them are the necessary scientific verifications of this finding. In 1969, excavations moved to other regions, which caused an interruption until 1981 when Iznik excavations were resumed under the name of "Iznik Tile Kilns Excavations". From that date onwards, drilling was continued in the newly expropriated vicinity of Iznik.¹

Bearing in mind this shortened history of the excavations, it has to be noted that findings in the region clearly show that the kilns are ateliers of the era. In other words, findings are excess production and broken pieces that couldn't be sold and therefore were left around the kilns. More importantly, semi-product findings that have defects, such as unglazed products due to their flaws when taken out of the kiln, burnt products due to excess heat or products whose colours were bled provide enough evidence that the region was an important tile production centre.

Among Iznik Tile Kilns Excavations findings, the tile pieces that are especially interesting are in lesser quantities compared with the ceramic findings. The main reasoning for this result is that tiles with defects can be used in some parts of the buildings, maybe above a certain

¹ Aslanapa 1989; Belli 2000; Aslanapa, Altun and Demirsar Arlı 1982–2007.



height. For example, colour-bled or imperfectly outlined tiles can be used on the back of a door or window wings as well as at a high spot where it can't be seen by the naked eye or at first glance. However, no one would like to buy a piece of ceramics with defects. Tile production is initiated by a customer order; therefore no manufacturer would produce tiles with the expectation that it will just sell some day. Moreover, almost all orders contain an amount limit, mostly in terms of square metres, and the entire production amount is intended to be delivered to that specific customer. Furthermore, in terms of form, tiles have an advantage over ceramics in the way that a flat tile plaque is less affected by heat compared to a shaped, curled, high and recessed ceramic piece. Thus, it is natural that the ceramic item is likely to have a more defected production than tiles. Because of the above-mentioned reasons, there are less tile findings in Iznik excavations than ceramic findings.

After this brief information on Iznik excavations, it is worth mentioning some interesting tile findings and their usage in Istanbul buildings, in chronological order.

Monochrome glazed and gilded tiles were generally used in the interior of the buildings to cover large spaces and these types of tiles were seen during the Anatolian Seljuk Period, the Beylikler (Anatolian Principalities) and Early Ottoman Periods as well as the Classical Ottoman Period. In this monochrome glazed technique, occasionally only plaques of the same colour and shape were used together side by side but mostly different coloured and shaped tiles were used to form a composition. Although not commonly used, monochrome glazed tiles were also used after being gilded.

The earliest dated building that is known to have used the monochrome glazed tile technique in the Ottoman period is Iznik Orhan İmaret. During the excavation in 1963 by Professor Aslanapa, along with the discovery that the building has monochrome glazed tiles, an inscription was found. The İmaret is dated as being built in 1335 and the interior was covered by turquoise and green glazed and hexagonal shaped tiles. Traces on the walls and fallout hexagonal shaped panel fragments provide necessary evidence to the findings. During the different years of Iznik excavations, we came across lots of fragments which have different colour glazes.²

Monochrome tiles are not commonly used in Istanbul buildings. The interior of the Tiled Pavilion, which dates back to 1472, is covered by monochrome glazed and gilded tiles. Another place is Topkapı Palace where monochrome tiles are used in the Reading Room of Ahmed I, dated to 1608, located in the Harem section. In the building, green monochrome glazed tiles were used inside of the arch in the entrance section. The same colour and shape of tiles were also used in the Tomb of Mehmet III, which is placed in Saint Sophia's cemetery section and dated to the same period. In addition, the Tomb of Turhan Valide Sultan in Eminönü, dated to 1684, has the same monochrome glazed tiles.³

Among the 2009 excavation findings, there is a quite interesting sample that is worth a specific mention. A wall-covering material was found derived from a technique that is known

to be only used as a ceramic technique⁴ and which is falsely named as "Miletware". In this technique the body is red. Firstly covered by a white slip, the body is then decorated with cobalt blue paint which afterwards is covered by a transparent and colourless glaze. Although there are a lot of ceramic findings in Iznik excavations produced with this technique in different colour, design and shape, the fact that there is only one example of a tile fragment of this technique makes this piece even more valuable to us.

In Ottoman tile art, locations of production centres of coloured glaze technique are not defined with any great certainty. Among the findings of the 1984 excavations,⁵ there is a fragment of 7.5 × 6 centimetres dimension that is produced using a coloured glaze technique. On this small tile fragment, there is a yellow glaze special to the technique used as the base colour and characteristic flower and leaf motifs not covered with glaze. This small fragment may not prove by itself that the coloured glaze technique is used in Iznik kilns but it definitely shows that the technique is at least being researched there which is an important finding to us.

Turquoise, green and black glazed fragments seen in this photography do not have elaborate handwork, making them less remarkable at first sight. On the other hand, these kinds of tiles are encountered in some sections of the Sultan Ahmed Complex, which made them valuable to us and also provided evidence to refute the general belief that only high quality tiles are produced in Iznik, considering the Sultan Ahmed Mosque example. The mosque dated to 1617 is known to have both Iznik as well as Kütahya tiles together and it was once believed that the classical style and high quality pieces of the Mosque could only come from Iznik. During three different excavation seasons, at least 5 pieces were found in different square-plans. Professor Serare Yetkin has done research on one such piece that was found in 1988.⁶ The research claims that these fragments were produced by the end of the 18th or even in the 19th century in one of the kilns in Iznik. These fragments are quite different in terms of quality, workmanship and design from other examples found in our excavation areas. Having a coloured glaze technique, these fragments have a bled glaze although they were covered with a thick strip of manganese oxide and chrome to protect the glaze. The borders of these fragments are not smooth and there are tone differences in colours. As a result, in the light of this evidence, it can be said that besides coloured glaze technique application research, these fragments prove that there was also coloured glaze production in Iznik.

Tiles from another 17th-century building, the New Mosque in Eminönü, which dates to 1663, are also important to mention. Produced by the underglazing technique, these liaison tiles used in the lodge have a white background and are coloured with cobalt blue and turquoise. They are decorated with an octagonal star in the centre with *hatayi* and *sakayik* motifs following one another on the surrounding. The same design can be seen on the fragments of Iznik excavation findings.

² Aslanapa 1964–1965: 16–38.

³ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 313–315.

⁴ Aslanapa 1965: 15–20; Aslanapa, Yetkin and Altun 1989: 25–26.

⁵ Aslanapa, Yetkin and Altun 1989: 143, 302; Demirsar Arlı [n.d.]: 351–352, 409.

⁶ Yetkin 1992: 213–220; Aslanapa, Yetkin and Altun 1989: 277, 311.

One of the blue and white technique fragments found in the excavations has a hexagonal shape which is remarkable not only by its form but also by its adornment.⁷ There is a duck figure surrounded by *hatayi* and *saz* leaves on a white background coloured by blue tones. A complete piece of this tile can be seen in the British Museum's collection. Although it is not certain for which building the discovered fragment or the complete piece in the British Museum is produced, a perfect panel with similar style is encountered in the façade of the Circumcision Room of Topkapi Palace. The panel, which has dimensions of 126 × 48 centimetres, is dated to the first half of the 16th century and has a similar style in which animal figures are placed among vegetal decoration on a monolithic panel. Below the composition, there are two legendary animals, known as *kilin*, and various birds hidden among vegetal motifs.

Like this hexagonal fragment, there is another group of fragments, yet it is not known for certain which building they are made for. Having been found in small pieces and at different times, these fragments are parts of different inscriptions. These tile inscriptions are generally made on a cobalt blue background and have big white letters on them. They are placed above a certain height or they encircle the walls of the building in the form of a cartridge. Other usages of these inscriptions are lunettes of windows, *mihrabs* and above arch surfaces.

Remarkable examples of such inscriptions are found in the Süleymaniye, Kadirga Sokullu and Beylerbeyi Mosques. Those inscriptions are written using *istif* design in big circular medallions by famous calligraphers of the era. In classical Ottoman calligraphy, the *celi sulus* character is generally preferred while there are some examples where decorative *kufi* calligraphy is used. In the blue and white decorated buildings, white letters are used in such inscriptions on a cobalt blue background whilst for the filling-up of letters, turquoise is the most preferred colour. On the other hand, underglazed polychrome tiles that are used in building decoration have red or green coloured letter infills. Moreover, in the dead spaces (non-letter areas) of the inscriptions there are polychrome vegetal motifs scattered around. On a white background, cobalt blue coloured tiles are not as common as the ones mentioned above but there are quite a few examples. It is worth drawing attention to the tiles of the Hadim Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, located in Silivrikapi, which was built in 1551 by Mimar Sinan. Tiles used in this building are known as Damascusware in general tile literature and they characteristically have light and dark purple as well as misty green colours. It is only in the Hadim Ibrahim Pasha Mosque that this kind of tile is encountered in Istanbul.⁸ Another striking example of inscription tiles is found in the Hunkar Lodge of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque.⁹ An inscribed verse belt is written on turquoise monochrome glazed tiles in gilded *sulus* character and the beginning and concluding parts are emphasized with *hatayi* style flowers along with emblems.

Among excavation findings, there are a lot more examples of polychrome tiles that are underglazed with coral or pale red colours, a technique that is accepted to be the zenith of the Iznik tile-making art. In order to show the history of this technique, tiles from the Süleymaniye Mosque, which is the earliest building in which these tiles were used, may be examined. For the



III. 1. Underglazed polychrome border tile found during Iznik excavations and detail from the border tile decoration of the Süleymaniye Mosque

piece found in the 1983 excavation session in which 6 fragments (III. 1) are combined and make a whole border tile (other fragments of the same border were also found in different seasons) it is observed that the motifs were produced in white colour on a turquoise background and the spaces were coloured in red.¹⁰ It is seen that this border with the cloud design was used around the liaison tiles and in the panel that covers the wall of the *mihrab* of the Süleymaniye Mosque, which dates back to 1557. The same border was also used inside the Tomb of Selim II of 1576. Fragments of the same border were observed as well among the repair tiles in the façade of the porch section of the Rustem Pasha Mosque in Eminönü built by Mimar Sinan in 1561. Another fragment is in the collection of the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul and the collection of the Gulbekian Museum.¹¹ Another example belongs to the Tomb of Selim II found in the Iznik excavation. The tiles are decorated with a design scheme in which abstract forms in the shape of the *semse*, *hatayi*, leaf and S curves were tied with twigs and used between the windows inside the tomb. The colours of the fragment found in the excavation are a little different (III. 2).

⁷ Demirsar Arlı 1996: 70, Porter 1995: 104–105.

⁸ Yetkin 1988: 199–211.

⁹ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 277–289.

¹⁰ Aslanapa, Yetkin and Altun 1989: 118, 298.

¹¹ Turan Bakır 1999: 81; Altun, Carswell and Öney 1991: 39; Bilgi 2009: 138.



III. 2. Underglazed polychrome tile fragment found during Iznik excavations and detail from the tile decoration of the Tomb of Selim II

However, the colour differences were also observed in the tiles used in the Tomb. There are two of these tiles in the collection of the Gulbekian Museum.¹²

Among the findings of the 1991 excavation, there is a piece that is part of a tile composition in the Library of Saint Sophia, which was added to the building by Mahmud I in the first half of the 18th century. The liaison tiles covering the space between the windows have a design which develops around a rosette in the centre, has serrated leaves that are connected with twigs and the heart of the leaves is enriched with spring flowers. Motifs formed around a half or quarter rosette design are used as liaisons between windows. These tiles were also used in the tile panel of 100 × 66 centimetres dimensions that is located in the south of the apse wall of Saint Sophia. In this rectangular area, the space without the descriptions of Kaabe and Medina is filled with this tile design. A fragment from the same tile is a part of the Gulbekian Museum collection.¹³

On a design with the same technique of the Library of Saint Sophia, it is observed that the emerald green colour, which is a characteristic colour of this technique besides red, was used frequently in a design that consists of a sliced medallion which is filled with rosettes whose interior

¹² Turan Bakır 1999: 38–39.

¹³ Turan Bakır 1999: 50–51, Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 270–271.



III. 3. Underglazed polychrome tile fragments found during Iznik excavations and Mesih Mehmed Pasha Mosque

parts are arranged in the form of a passionflower (Ill. 3). These tiles, which were used in the upper level at the library were also seen in the Mesih Mehmed Pasha Mosque built by Mimar Sinan in 1585 and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. The tiles used around the *mihrab* in the Mesih Mehmed Pasha Mosque were used in the lodge of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.¹⁴ The pieces belonging to these tiles were found in different zones and in different excavation periods in Iznik. The same tiles existed in the collections of the Sadberk Hanım and Gulbekian Museums.¹⁵

There is a small fragment belonging to the design consisting of *hatayi*, carnation, tulip, hyacinth and lilies on the twigs rising in the form of an S on a white background in the findings of the excavation of 1997. It is possible to see the same design in the lodge of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. In addition, a better application of this design as compared to the one in the Sultan Ahmed can be seen inside Sehzade Mustafa's Tomb of 1573 in Bursa.¹⁶

Among the findings of the excavation is a design application in which a coral red colour was applied very successfully. In the scheme where the stylized cloud motif which was placed freely in red on the white background is dominant, a design was formed with 2 serrated leaves

¹⁴ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 256–257, 282, 285, 288.

¹⁵ Turan Bakır 1999: 48–49; Altun, Carswell and Öney 1991: 44.

¹⁶ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 212–213.



III. 4. Underglazed polychrome tile fragments found during Iznik excavations and tile decoration of the Chamber of Murad III



and 4 pieces of half *hatayi* (III. 4). The liaison tiles whose colours are light blue, cobalt and green, besides red, are found in the designs determined with black counters, as seen in two buildings, the Ramazan Efendi Mosque built by Sinan in 1586 and in the Chamber of Murad III in the Harem section of the Topkapi Palace in Bursa.¹⁷ Besides, it is known that similar examples are found in many collections such as those of the Sadberk Hanım and Gulbekian Museums.¹⁸

Meanwhile, the border which is used in these two buildings where tiles with cloud motifs were used is shared and the fragments of this border are found in different locations during Iznik excavations. The design that consists of *rumi* motifs whose interior parts are coloured with cobalt on the spiral twigs that are marked with white on a coral red background makes up the decoration of the border. It is observed that this border which surrounds all the tiles in the Chamber of Murad III and the Ramazan Efendi Mosque, the Tombs of Selim II and Mehmed III is used as filling in the beginning and ending points of the inscription belt at the upper level of the windows on the first floor.¹⁹ Despite the fact that there are slight differences in details, the border tiles in which the same scheme is used are found in many collections such as the Gulbekian²⁰

¹⁷ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 258–259, 105–109.

¹⁸ Altun, Carswell and Öney 1991: 42; Turan Bakır 1999: 44–45; Bilgi 2009: 204.

¹⁹ Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 258–259, 105–109, 232–233.

²⁰ Turan Bakır 1999: 92–93.



III. 5. Underglazed polychrome border tile fragments found during Iznik excavations and tiles found on the interior walls of the Tomb of Eyup Sultan



and the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar.²¹ In addition, the same design scheme can be seen in the Atik Valide Mosque in Uskudar, with a turquoise background in place of red.

Similar examples of these border tiles with *hatayi* and leaf motifs can be seen around some tiles in the exterior and interior parts of the Tomb of Eyup Sultan (III. 5) that houses many tiles both local and imported from the 16th century to the 20th century.²² There are 4 pieces of this border with this design in the Gulbekian collection.²³

²¹ Carswell 2003: 68–69.

²² Demirsar Arlı and Altun 2008: 268–269.

²³ Turan Bakır 1999: 99.

Finally, the focus is set particularly on a fragment of a tile with the description of Kaabe which was found during the excavations of 1992.²⁴ In the tile-making period of Iznik, Kütahya and Tekfur Palace, the tiles depicting Kaabe that exhibit important examples of the Ottoman description art produced in 17th and 18th centuries make up a significant group of the underglaze tiles.²⁵ These compositions which are single or which are made up of a combination of more than one panel, make a special contribution to the buildings in which they are located. Based on some of their inscriptions, it is seen that they were produced on order. The names of the masters are mentioned in some of them. Besides various buildings of the Ottoman Empire, some examples with a similar scheme can be found in museums and some private collections but there are differences in details.

In the fragment, there is a composition of cobalt blue, red and turquoise colours on a white background. It is seen that the background of the area where Kaabe is located is in white in this fragment. Just outside this area there is a building with the inscription “*Makam Safi*”. Just below this there is a building with the inscription “*Kubbe-i ‘Abbas*”. In between these two buildings, the inscription “*Veche-i Kabe*” (Kaabe’s façade), and the inscription “*Makam-ı Ibrahim*” beside the building which is seen partly just below Kaabe can be read. In the centre right of the fragment there is a partially seen *minbar* and just below it there is an ewer that contains holy *zemm* water. On the left rises a minaret with two balconies. Further left at the bottom, one fragment of the rows of portico surrounds this area. It is believed that the piece is a panel that consists of a combination of one single tile or four tiles in terms of the intensity of the designs based on its 14 centimetres length and 9 centimetres width. When compared to the samples of one tile observed in the Solak Sinan Mosque, the Rustem Pasha Mosque or the New Mosque or examples of four tiles in the Kütahya Ulu Mosque in terms of dimensions, the fragment found in excavation seems to be close to them in terms of the fact that it presents most of the images described in the general scheme as they are. Unfortunately, based on this fragment, it is not clear for which building this panel was produced. If some more fragments with the same composition are found in the near future, this issue may get clearer. This fragment, in its present state, is significant because of the fact that the atelier which is being excavated at the moment also received orders with the depicting Kaabe.

In conclusion; from all of these comparisons on the tile production process in Iznik, it can be derived that some tiles which are attributed to Kütahya and which are not very successful in terms of workmanship, are found to be products of Iznik. Most of the tiles mentioned above are the fragments found in the same location. According to the evaluation based on exactly the same examples; it can be stated that at least some of the tiles in the Süleymaniye Mosque, the Tomb of Selim II, the Chamber of Murad III, the Sultanahmed Complex, the New Mosque and the Tomb of Eyup Sultan were produced in the atelier where the excavations were conducted. The fragments mentioned above are found only in one atelier that has 4 kilns. Many other ateliers just like this, where tiles and ceramic pottery were heated with different techniques that date back to different periods, await excavation in Iznik.

²⁴ Aslanapa 1993: 550, 563.

²⁵ Öney 1976: 115.

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How to obtain a Persian rug in 17th-century Hungary?¹

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Any research into the foreign perception of a geographically outlying artistic culture must investigate the channels in which objects from the emitting culture can reach their audience: simply speaking, the mere availability of these objects in the recipient culture. In the first place, it can be ruled out that the Safavid state would ever have considered Hungary as a potential market for its goods. In spite of the vague Iranian attempts at political alliance, Hungary would never be able to act as a commercial partner in the way the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did. The Ottoman Empire lay too close to it, and its market was too small. Thus, no direct, state-controlled Iranian trade with the surviving remnant of independent Hungarian statehood, the Principality of Transylvania, could be maintained; instead, infrequent diplomatic missions were sent and sporadic, privately imported loads of Iranian crafts were carried by the Ğulfā Armenians. In the political sense, western and northern Hungary may have had more direct contacts with Iran, but since these areas were governed from outside the medieval boundaries, Iranian goods were not received directly.

To better understand the Hungarian situation, mention should be made of the general preconditions for export from Iran as well. It has been widely asserted that the textile and carpet trade was a fundamental pillar of the Iranian economy during the Safavid era.² Investigation into European—mainly Dutch and British—archival sources has confirmed this contention, yet these data necessitate a more nuanced picture of the Safavid textile business. Although the belief that the Persians' main commercial target was Europe has almost become an axiom in modern scholarship, recent research has brought forth contrary documentary evidence.³ According to these figures, the Iranian network of textile export had only served the neighbouring regions—Russia, Turkey, and Bukhara—while for the East India Companies which were handling long-distance

shipments to and from the East, it supplied fabrics in much lower quantities.⁴ This was not that the companies undervalued Iranian textiles, but quite the opposite: Safavid manufactories produced luxury textiles for export while European traders were seeking the cheapest resources for mass produced cloth. In fact, from the 1600s, these companies imported low-priced Dutch, English and Italian fabrics to Iran, with a similar amount reaching the country from India.⁵ As a result, Iranian silk fabrics were not common in Europe but remained prized treasures for the well-to-do. Luxury carpets, in the same way, remained outside the interest of traders due to their costliness and unprofitable transport.

In Eastern Europe, with its overland trading network, the situation was slightly different, but even there, the establishment in Brody (in present-day Ukraine) of a large private carpet-manufacturing enterprise around 1633 indicated that imports from Persia were not cost-effective despite significant demand. Cheaper rugs were widely available, but for anyone wishing to obtain the finest Safavid silk carpets, virtually the only chance was either to wait for a gift, or to buy “on the spot” in Iran. The well-known example of the Polish king Sigismund III shows that these ways were available only to royalty.⁶ Although there is a continuing debate about the existence and significance of royal Safavid textile/ carpet manufactories, two statements can be proved. Firstly, while the Safavid state economy had been conceived as a government enterprise to maximize its revenues, ample space on the scene was left open for non-governmental agents.⁷ Centrally organized manufacturing and trading facilities were designed to meet luxury standards, leaving private entrepreneurship—with Armenian, Indian, Jewish and European participants—out of its focus. Bulk transport was arranged by the latter groups. As a secondary consequence, the luxury items could not have a “market” as such in Eastern Europe, for long distance private merchants traded on a lower profile. Instead, there existed a secondary, or retail distribution system for Persian goods within and beyond the Ottoman overland commercial network.⁸

Turning our attention now to Hungary proper, it is understandable that during the 16th and 17th centuries, the choice of Persian luxury objects was narrower than might be expected. Those who managed to get to Iran were very few, and those few were not there for a shopping trip. Georg Tectander, secretary of the ambassador Stephen Kakas von Zalánkemény (who died *en route* in 1603), was among them; indeed, he proudly reported of his having been honoured by Shah ‘Abbas I with a sword.

Kakas and Tectander were imperial officers. The princes of Transylvania had to settle for Persian artifacts which were on offer in nearby Istanbul: these might be fine objects, of course, but rarely reaching the peaks of royal Safavid art. On the other hand, the Istanbul bazaar was well enough stocked to satisfy even the wealthiest of Hungarian aristocrats, and the princes of Transylvania. Through a series of informative 19th-century publications based on archival ma-

¹ The author would like to thank Eleanor Sims for reviewing the draft.

² Baghdiantz-McCabe 1999, Matthee 1999, Floor 1999, Helfgott 1987.

³ Matthee 1999: 15–32, Floor 1999: 82–92.

⁴ Floor 1999: 60–92.

⁵ Part of the latter was thence directed to Turkey, see: Floor 1999: 65–74.

⁶ Mańkowski 1938: 2431–2436.

⁷ Matthee 2000: 233–268.

⁸ ĩnalçik 1994: 188–217, esp. 206, 336–340.



terial, and further study by Veronika M. Gervers, Margit B. Nagy, Ferenc Batári, Emese Pásztor and others, not only did the acquisition-strategies of these persons become better understood, but insight was acquired on prices, object-types, and carpet usage in Hungary.⁹ The prestige assigned to Oriental fabrics in interior decoration, court ceremonies, and funerals seems to have constantly increased from the late 16th century. Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629), for instance, often sent agents to Turkey in order to acquire rugs, and he was known to have personally taken care of his antique carpets.¹⁰ With several hundred carpets in his collections, including over one hundred items classified as Persian, he must have been among the leading carpet collectors of his time, if not of all time.¹¹ His habit of presenting *Orientalia* to foreign dignitaries has also been analyzed.¹²

The well-known correspondence of Prince George I Rákóczi (1630–1648) allows some glimpses of the carpet trade in the bazaar of the 17th-century Istanbul.¹³ As attested by these letters, he seems to have been perhaps the most avid princely buyer of Oriental carpets in Transylvania, and one whose interest extended even to certain technical and geographical aspects of the rugs he desired to buy. In 1639 his attention was drawn by his representative in Istanbul to an outstanding Persian silk carpet which featured a fourfold bird motif.¹⁴ Three years later he arranged for the purchase of four Persian silk rugs for 750 *thalers*.¹⁵ In one letter, quoted below, there is a singular instance when a Hungarian document expressly mentions a carpet-making locality. Contrary to the interpretation of some authors, ‘Karamania’ in this particular passage probably does not denote Kirmān in Persia but more likely refers to Qarāmān, in southern Anatolia.¹⁶ True, Rákóczi often purchased what his inventories call “Persian silk carpets”, yet in this case his intention was to obtain woollen rugs tailored to prescribed dimensions: this task he erroneously believed—as it appears, from the instructions that he gave to his agent—could be undertaken in the workshop in Istanbul. This presumption strengthens the role of Qarāmān as the place of manufacture of these rugs or *gilīms*, instead of the improbably remote Kirmān.¹⁷

Cheaper Persian carpets are reported to have been widely available in Hungary. Their abundance is especially well attested in areas under Turkish occupation, where carpets were sold in designated sections of market towns.¹⁸ The municipal documents of Kecskemét and Nagykőrös, published in part by Ferenc Batári, record the acquisition of rugs—including carpets which are called Persian—and occasionally also identify the sellers.¹⁹ Usually the latter

were Jews, Greeks or “Turks” (i.e. Muslims) who generated undesirable competition with local merchants.²⁰ In addition, these documents name several other central Hungarian towns where carpets could be bought, including Szeged, Buda, and Pest. While documents for Persian carpets from Northern and Eastern Hungary are not as detailed as the abovementioned sources, apparently there was still no shortage of them beyond the Ottoman borders.²¹ The princes of Transylvania stipulated the pricing of various carpet-types throughout their realm. A 1651 price regulation established the value of a Persian carpet at 50 forints, whereas Turkish carpets were available for 10 forints.²² The decree of Gabriel Bethlen, issued in 1627, uses different terms and prices: accordingly, a large Persian carpet could be bought at 16 Forints, a *dívány* carpet for 50, a scarlet rug for 10, and an affordable Persian rug for 3 or 4 forints.²³ Possibly the most luxurious examples were those confiscated from the estates of Count Francis Nádasdy (1625–1671) at Sárvár, in 1670, and Count Stephen Thököly (1623–1670) at Árva (Oravský Hrad, Slovakia) in 1671.²⁴ To the east of Hungary, in the Principality of Moldavia, Persian carpets were held in similarly high esteem. A source mentions several thousand pieces to have been in the ruler’s palace.²⁵

Notwithstanding this wealth of information, still much remains to be explained. Written documents say little, and without physical evidence at hand; it is not easy to imagine the Persian carpets which are mentioned, since apparently none have survived. To judge from the existing carpet-reserve in Hungary and Romania, the proportion of Persian carpets has always been greatly surpassed by Turkish rugs. Of the impressive array of the 16th–17th century Oriental rugs and flatweaves still in these countries, only a fraction are Iranian—and indeed, even these latter are, in great part, modern acquisitions. There is only one 17th-century pictorial record which may depict a Persian carpet.²⁶ Given that the foremost source of Middle Eastern textiles in the period was Turkey, the disproportion is hardly surprising. But in view of the frequent references to Persian carpets in Hungarian records, this cannot be a full explanation. One might therefore interpret the term as a stylistic, rather than a geographical, category; or perhaps the term “Persian” was probably sometimes used by sellers as a mere indication of value—much in the way it is used today. Already Gervers had hinted at this possibility when she expressed her mistrust for the terminological accuracy of Hungarian inventories.²⁷ She pointed out that neither the merchant, nor the owner, could have any serious reason to define the origin of a piece in a systematic way, and very likely they did not in fact have the necessary



⁹ Gervers 1982; B. Nagy 1970: 105–110, 271–274; Batári 1994; Pásztor 200; Radvánszky et al. 1986, see esp. 15–16, 299–300.

¹⁰ Tarnóc 1978: 18, Baranyai 1962: 254–255.

¹¹ Baranyai 1962: 255.

¹² Pásztor 1999: 83–99.

¹³ Beke and Samu 1888: 116. The relevant passages are cited in Gervers 1979: 29–41.

¹⁴ Gervers 1979: 30.

¹⁵ Gervers 1979: 30.

¹⁶ Cf. Floor 1999: 54.

¹⁷ Politically restless Qarāmān has been an ancient centre of agriculture, cotton production, and craftsmanship. For crafts before 1500 in Qarāmān, see: Diez, Aslanapa and Koman 1950.

¹⁸ Batári 1994: 28–29.

¹⁹ Batári 1981.

²⁰ Batári 1994: 29, the clash between local and Balkan tradesmen is interestingly shown through the example of Debrecen in Zoltai 1935.

²¹ Gervers 1979: 29–41. For the most complete monograph on the carpets of Transylvania in general, see: Boralevi, Ionescu and Kertesz 2005.

²² Batári 2003: 86–91, esp. 87.

²³ Batári 2003: 87.

²⁴ Nádasdy had eight Persian carpets, see: Gombos 1981, more details on the dispersed Nádasdy *Kunstammer* are found in Takáts 1902: 122–127, however, the Nádasdy inventories, kept in three volumes in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, are still largely unpublished. For the Thököly estates, see: Voit 1943: 150–152.

²⁵ See the contribution of Stefano Ionescu and Mircea Dunca “Trade and the Arrival of Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania” in Boralevi, Ionescu and Kertesz 2005.

²⁶ See: Pásztor 2007. I am indebted to Emese Pásztor for drawing my attention to the carpet on this painting.

²⁷ Gervers 1979: 30.

knowledge to do so. Returning to the problem of quantitative disproportion, it is possible to go further along these lines and assume that Persian carpets were not nearly so common as the texts would suggest, and as it is generally supposed. It does not seem inappropriate here to draw attention to an oft-overlooked fact: namely, that Turkey has never been a desirable place for obtaining Persian carpets. With its own carpet-making tradition, the Ottoman Empire was simply not in need of Iranian rugs: this is confirmed by the scarcity of fine Safavid examples in present-day Turkey.²⁸ When Rákóczi's agent, Stephen Réthy, attempted to purchase the aforesaid twenty woollen carpets in Istanbul in 1646 he was told that the order could not be processed on the spot but had to be forwarded "to Karamania to have them made."²⁹ The explanation Réthy was given indicated that "here the Turks do not buy that type of rug."³⁰ Thus, it seems that Iranian, and even south-eastern Anatolian rugs were in short supply in Istanbul during the 17th century. And there are several other contradictory expressions in Hungarian texts. A group of references designate Persian carpets as *díványszőnyeg*, while calling Turkish rugs *skarlátszőnyeg*.³¹ Many sources, however, employ a more complicated terminology, in which these two words are supplemented with others; they seem to denote functional and physical, not regional differences. Another class of sources is using these words in a fashion which gives the impression of randomness, and the lack of a conventionalized vocabulary.

This collective evidence explains the scarcity of Persian carpets in the 17th-century Hungary and, consequently, the unfamiliarity of local audiences with them. It also seems likely that in such conditions, wishful thinking was needed to satisfy the great demand for this desirable commodity.



²⁸ It is true that many travellers to the Ottoman Empire habitually mentioned Persian carpets, and they very often gave them preference against Turkish weaves. But in view of the subsequent "disappearance" of these Persian examples on the one hand, and the unequally good survival rate of the Turkish ones on the other—combined with the curiously similar situation in Hungary—one might suspect here a popular bias for Persian goods and, as a consequence, a misidentification, rather than the true situation. The authors, who have commented on the comparative lack of Iranian carpets in Turkey, put forward various explanations. See, for example, Wertime and Wright 1995: 44. Irano-Turkish carpet relations are discussed in Tezcan and Rogers 1987. In reviewing this book, Charles Grant Ellis has taken a look at the Persian carpet heritage of Turkey, listing also a few unpublished Safavid "medallion" and "vase" carpets in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts and the Çiniili Köşk both in Istanbul, see: Ellis 1988: 48.

²⁹ Gervers 1979: 31.

³⁰ Gervers 1979: 31.

³¹ For instance, the confiscation register of István Thököly distinguishes between "*tapetes persici, vulgo déványszőnyeg*", and "*tapetes turcici, vulgo skarlátszőnyeg*". Published in Voit 1943: 150–152, the text is cited and further discussed in B. Nagy 1970: 109, Varjú-Ember 1980: 36, Gombos 1984: 58–59. A 1665 inventory of the Protestant community of Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobotka), Slovakia, lists a "Persian" and two "skarlát" carpets, see: Takács 1983: 126. It is to be noted that a type of red sackcloth called *saqerlat* was widely used in Safavid Iran from the very beginning of the dynasty. See: Floor 1999: 196.

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Artistic and technical features of Azerbaijan's *kalagai* silk scarves

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In the art of Azerbaijan, which has very ancient roots, silk weaving has a special place. Both technically and artistically, silk weaving in Azerbaijan reached an apogee during the Safavid period. After the 17th century, both the volume of manufacture and the artistic quality of silk fabric gradually declined. In the 19th century, in connection with the development of capitalist relations, there was a revival in silk weaving, and uncomplicated striped and chequered fabrics were made. But the manufacture of printed and painted fabrics, as well as art products, also proceeded. Silk weaving spread throughout the country, but the basic centres were Shamakhy and the villages of Basgal and Myuju, as well as Tabriz, Nakhchyvan, Ardabil, Khoi, Sheki, Shusha and Ganja.¹

Alongside the silk fabrics, for which there was a great demand beyond the borders of the country, products for local purposes in Azerbaijan were also made and one of such products was the *kalagai*—a silk scarf, which was the basic type of headdress of the Azerbaijan women. In medieval Arabian sources there are mentions of the manufacture of silk scarves in the cities of Berde, Ganja, etc., in the 9th–10th centuries.²

Over a very long time—till the middle of the last century—*kalagai* was an integral part of the costume of Azerbaijani women and there was a great demand for it in the internal market. The basic points of manufacture of *kalagai* were Shamakhy (Basgal, Myuju), Ganja, Baku and Sheki. The manufacture of *kalagai* at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries took a significant place in the national economy. Now the manufacture of *kalagai* is carried out in a small quantity by ASC "Sheki-Ipek" and in a handicraft workshop in the village Basgal (as an ornamentation only).

¹ Aliyeva 1990: 14–22.

² Karaulov 1908: 9.



Technical features of the kalagais

To manufacture a *kalagai*, natural silk threads, produced according to known technology, are applied. A filament of raw silk with the linear density 3.22 tex (Nm 310) is reeled up into a hank on a reel. For the creation of a material of more convenient kind for the further operations the filament from the hanks rewinds to coils. To form a weft, threads of 3 filaments of raw silk are twisted together (3.22×3) in a right direction with a Z-twist, amount 120 turns/ metre. The warp threads are single.

In handicraft workshops of the 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries the same operations were carried out manually on primitive equipment. The weft threads were wound onto a small spool, which, in the weaving process, was inserted into a shuttle. And the warp threads of a certain amount were wound up as rope on a wooden coil with more holding capacity. Weaving was carried out on hand-loom with a pair of shafts, on which the weaver operated shafts with the aid of treadles. And the moving of a shuttle with weft thread from side to side was carried out by the right and left hand alternately. A batten also was operated by the weaver manually.

Kalagai is a fine plain-weave fabric of approximately square construction. In the 19th century the manufacture of *kalagai* on a weaving loom was done through the spaces between consecutive reed wires, through which were passed the ends of 2 (Shirvan and Baku regions) or 4 (Ganja and Sheki) warp threads.³

Nowadays in ASC "Sheki-Ipek" *kalagai* is weaved on a shuttleless loom as a plain-weave fabric with a warp density of 300. On these looms, as on hand-loom, the ends of 2 pairs of warp threads were passed through the spaces between consecutive reed wires, and every pair is accepted as one warp thread. The total number of single warp threads in the fabric is 10,056.

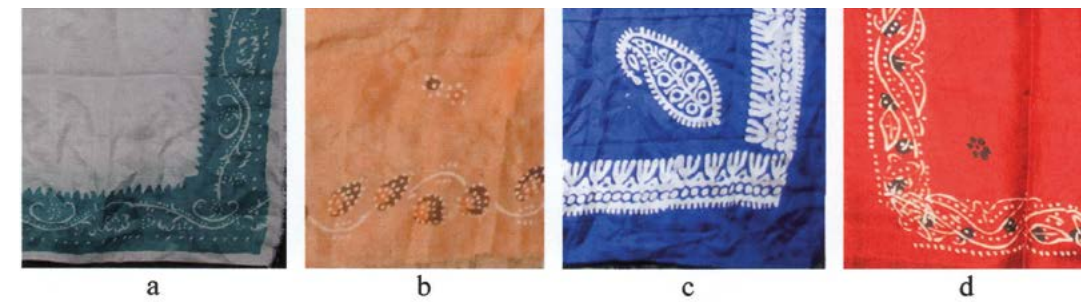
The size of a finished *kalagai* often is 165 × 165 centimetres, but can be more and the weight is 141.8 grammes.

Artistic features of the kalagais

In decorating, two kinds of *kalagai*—*yeleni* and *herati*—are distinguishable.

The basic composition element of a *yeleni kalagais* is the border, named by people *hashiye* or *yelen*, from which occurs the name *yeleni*. The border composition of the *yeleni kalagai* usually represents one ornamental band. The basic pattern, forming a continuous ornamental strip, gives its name to the whole border composition. The field of these *kalagais* is usually without patterns, or becomes covered by small rare patterns such as a pea or a flower (Ill. 1a–b). In the corners of the field, *yeleni kalagais* frequently allocates the so-called *shakh*—a single element of a design. It can be differently elaborated, with highly detailed variations of the *buta* motif (almond-shaped pattern) (Ill. 1c), stylized florets (Ill. 1d), or images of small birds.

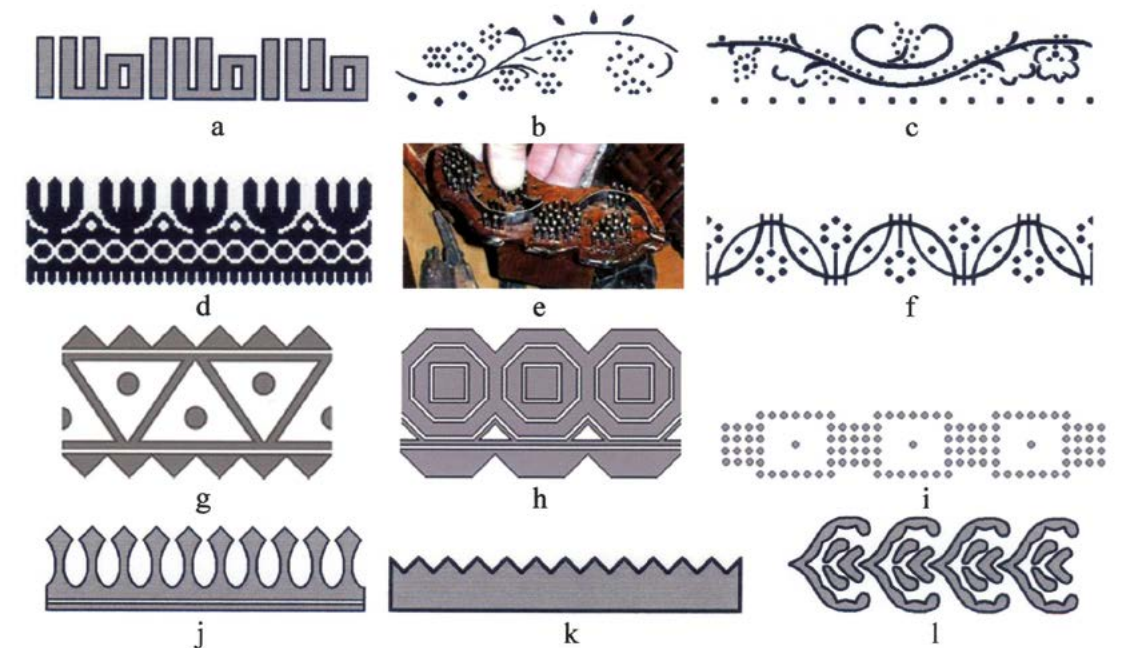
³ Aliyeva 1990: 62.



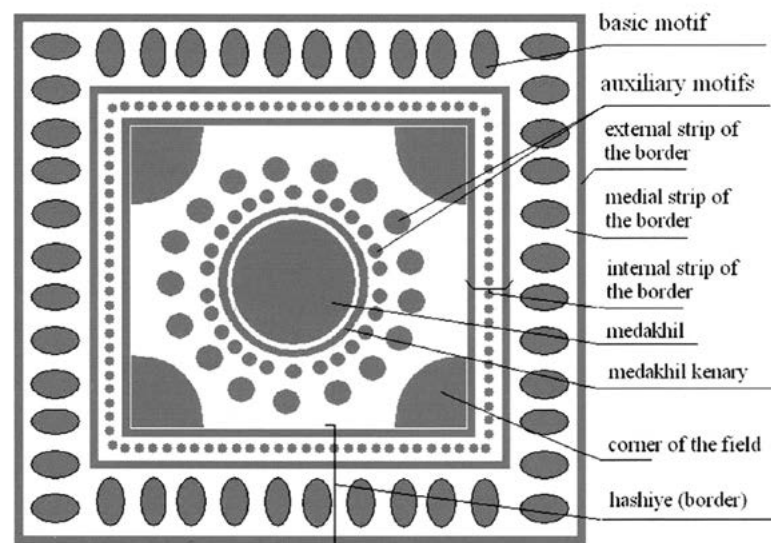
III. 1. Samples of the *yeleni kalagais*

As ornamental patterns of the border of the *yeleni kalagais*, stylized vegetal motifs are used, as well as geometrical motifs and elements of the Arabian letter (Ill. 2a). Patterns of the border such as *budag* (branch) (Ill. 2b), *palyd* (oak) (Ill. 2c), *nar gyulu* (the flower of a pomegranate) (Ill. 2d), *chiyelek* (strawberry) (Ill. 2e) etc. have a vegetal origin. Some patterns are combined and represent the synthesis of the stylized vegetal elements with the geometrical, such as the patterns *nar gyulu* and *pakhlavaly* (pattern with diamonds) (Ill. 2f). Geometrical patterns such as *kyohne nakhysh* (an old pattern) (Ill. 2g), *golbag* (bracelet) (Ill. 2h), *zenjir* (circuit) (Ill. 2i), etc. (Ill. 2j–l), most likely, are more ancient.

It is possible to meet *yeleni kalagais* with a double verge—*gosha yelen*, in which the first pattern is imposed on the second, frequently as peas (Ill. 1c). *Yeleni kalagais* of different sizes and colours were used by women of all social levels and ages.



III. 2. Ornamental patterns of the border of *yeleni kalagais*



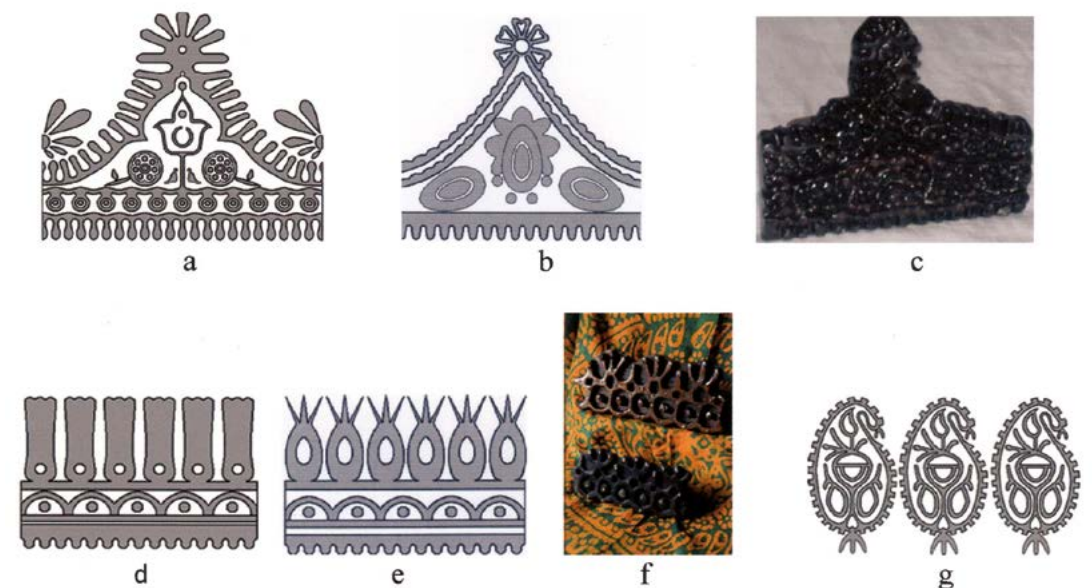
III. 3. The composite circuit of the herati kalagai

Herati kalagais were made in the village of Basgal and in the village of Khile near Baku. These *kalagais* in Basgal are also named *isperek kalagai*.⁴ *Isperek* is the name of the yellow dye for the silk, obtained from a flower of yellow-red colour which, in the 19th century, was brought to Azerbaijan in plenty from Herat. According to G. Aliyeva, the name of this type of *kalagais* is connected with it.

The basic feature of a composition of *herati kalagais* is the presence of the central medallion (Ill. 3) named by masters *mejmeysi-gyul*, *gyobek* or *medakhil*. Around the medallion there is located a strip, named *medakhil kenary*. Unlike *yeleni kalagais*, in these *kalagais* the composition of a border consists of three and more parts, which represent ornamental strips of various widths. The external strip is usually the narrowest. The medial strip, being the basic part of a border, is wider. The internal part can be about the same width as the external, and it can also consist of several parts and accordingly can be wider. External and internal parts of the border look like ornamental strips with a continuous pattern, i.e. strips are composed by the multiple connections of repeated units. But the medial strip is usually composed of the multiple recurrences of a separate basic motif or basic and auxiliary motifs serially. In the corners of the average field a quarter of the central medallion is usually located, and other parts of the field are filled by the distribution of auxiliary motifs in a certain order, or with round strips, arranged from these motifs.

Ornamental patterns of the external part of the border of *herati kalagais*, named by masters *herati hashiye* (border of a *herati* type), are very similar in their form among themselves, but all of them are made of different decorative elements (Ill. 4a–c). In them, alongside motifs of vegetal character there are geometrical elements, images of mountains, the sun, birds, rivers, etc. According to legends, some of them even display certain historical events. For example, it

⁴ Aliyeva 1990: 64.



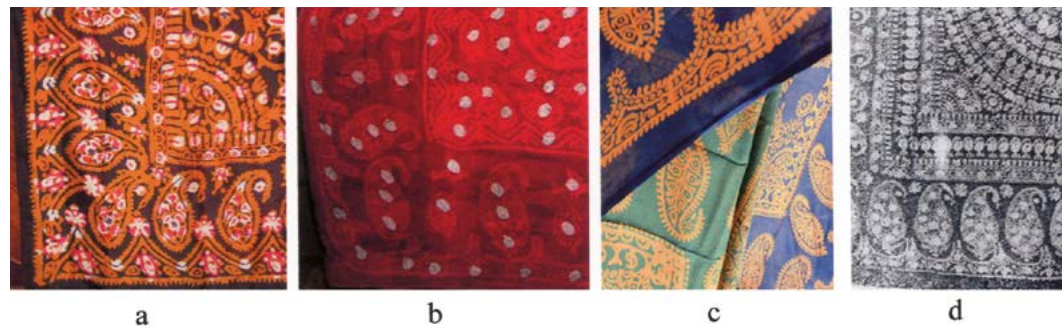
III. 4. Ornamental patterns of a border of herati kalagais

is considered that a pattern, represented on Ill. 4a, has appeared after the division of Azerbaijan along the river Araks in 1813 in accordance with the agreement *Gyulustan*. The height in the central part of a pattern is identified with the Niyal mountain, located near the village of Basgal, the wavy line in the bottom part—with the River Araks, the birds and florets symmetrically located in two sides—with divided people, and the sun—with the hope of people for reunion.

The characteristic form of the internal side of *herati hashiye* is caused by the form of the external side of the medial strip. A factor is that the medial strip is usually composed by the rhythmical recurrence of a *buta* motif, directed to the inside (Ill. 5). Between basic elements auxiliary elements can be located (a flower, a bird, *buta*, etc.) which repeat in the same order.

The ornamental patterns of the internal part are composed of the same decorative elements, as patterns of the external. But unlike the external part, it can be made up of several strips (Ill. 5d). In such cases strips with continuous pattern are located in the sides (Ill. 4d–f), and in the middle—the strip, formed from the repeating of separate auxiliary elements (Ill. 4g).

The *medakhil*—the central medallion *herati kalagais* is usually of a round form (Ill. 6a–b), although very occasionally it is also possible to meet square medallions (Ill. 6c). Medallions are decorated with vegetal and geometrical elements, images of birds, fishes, arabesques, elements of the letter. Around the medallion a strip is usually located, corresponding to the form of the medallion and named *medakhil kenary*. It can be made by the connection of the units of the repeat (Ill. 6d) or by the multiple recurrences of separate auxiliary elements of the design (Ill. 6e–f). Here are applied the same ornamental motifs as in the border strips. As well as in the internal part of the border, here too can be located some ornamental strips (Ill. 5d). Sometimes these



III. 5. Samples of herati kalagais (fragments)

round strips occupy all the area of the field and only on the corners there is placed a quarter of the central medallion. In this case the composition of the field consists of gradually extending circles which will be limited to a square border. When the *kalagai* is of rectangular form, instead of a square, free parts of the field are filled by separate auxiliary elements of the *buta*, a stylized flower, etc. If a round medallion is located on one strip (Ill. 5b), the free parts of the field are filled in the same way. Although it is rare, nevertheless there are also samples without *medakhil kenary*. In that case basic ornamental motifs are placed around the medallion.

In any type of the composite decision of the *kalagais*, masters have managed to create harmonious proportional ratios between the parts of the composition and of the correct rhythmic organization of elements to provide rhythmic movement in a composition. The ornamental motifs used in all parts of a composition of *kalagais*, on the one hand display the real nature surrounding us, and on the other they are frequently strongly stylized and abstracted to such a degree that they have lost the sense of a concrete subject, turning into conditional abstract forms. All motifs used by masters appear in conformity with each other, taking into account the material and assignment of a product and together create very laconic, expressive and integral composition. It is necessary to note that the composite circuits and the ornamental motifs, which are used now, coincide with what were used in the *kalagais* of the 19th century (Ill. 5d). Among the blocks of masters from Basgal there are wooden ones, which are about 300 years old and it testifies that these motifs have reached us from old times.

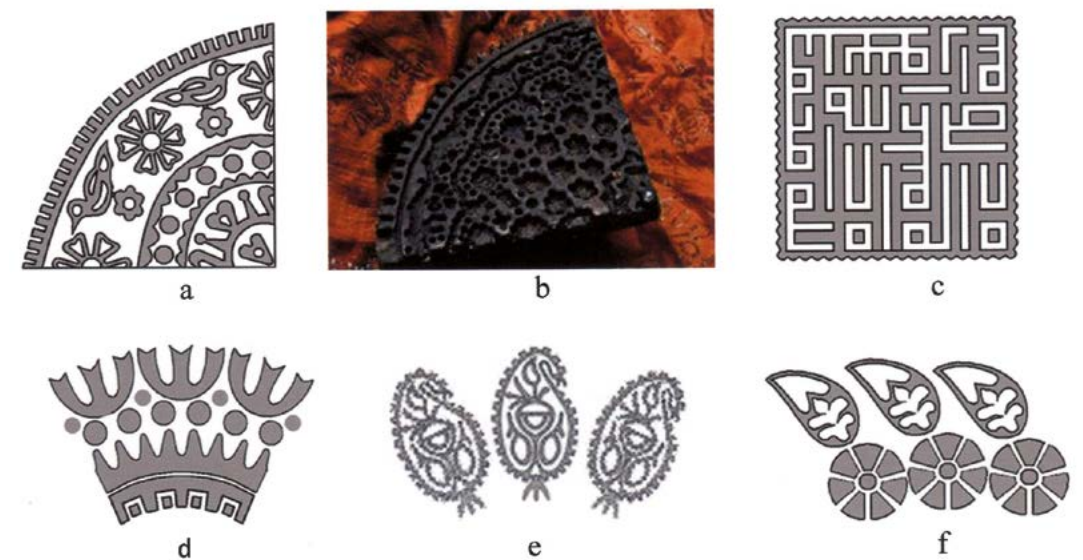
The colour arrangement of the *kalagais* amplifies its artistic—emotional influence. In the *kalagais* both as a background, and in figures, white, black, red, brown, dark blue, green, violet, yellow, pink, beige and orange colours are used, and also the colour of onion peel, but no more than 4–7 colours in one product. Formerly, the *herati kalagais* were made only in yellow-brown tones, but other colours have started to be applied in the 20th century. Ornamental motifs are applied without contours that more actively accent the special attention to the rhythmic alternation of motifs. In the colour arrangement of *kalagais* the harmonious combinations of a single tone are used or more often related colours. Sometimes it is possible to meet samples with contrasting colours with the addition of the white colour.

Ornamentation of the *kalagais*

Kalagais are decorated with the aid of a block printing method and with this purpose blocks are applied—carved relief wooden boards (Ills 4c, 4f, 6b,) or wooden boards on the surface of which there are copper nails and plates (Ill. 2e). For multi-coloured patterns the number of such printing forms corresponds to the number of the colours.

Till the 1870s, natural dyes were used for the ornamentation of *kalagais*, which provided the highest quality, durability and beauty of colour and with which Azerbaijan nature is rich. The occurrence of artificial dyes has superseded old ways of dyeing. Nowadays chemical dyes are also used. But masters of *kalagai* have always been applied and now, in parallel with chemical dyes, the vegetal natural dye of the bright yellow colour *saragan* is applied, which is gained from the trunk of a tree, named *velge* or *narynj*. For the preparation of the dyeing decoction, the pieces of wood are threshed with a heavy hammer on an anvil, then they are put in the utensil and hot water is added at the rate of 1 litre of water to every 100 grammes of the raw material, then boiled for 3–4 hours with slow boiling. After extraction, the dye decoction strains into the other utensil. It is used for colouring *kalagais* in a golden colour, in the colour of onion peel, and also for the reception of darker colours, for example, red from pink, black from dark blue or a green colour, etc. For this purpose the material painted in the initial colour is exposed to the secondary dyeing with the *saragan*.

Like all silk fabrics, the *kalagai*, after being removed from a loom before the dyeing, is exposed to boiling, which allows for the removal of the silk glue—sericin. The *kalagai* is boiled in the water, containing a laundry soap and washing soda (Na_2CO_3), over 1 hour at a temperature of 98 °C. After that, carefully rinse it out 2 times—first in clean cold water and



III. 6. Ornamental patterns of the *medakhil* and *medakhil kenary* of herati kalagais

then in warm water and hang it out to dry. The material, prepared thus, proceeds to dyeing or to the printer, if the composition stipulates patterns of a white colour. To render a pattern on the *kalagai* the method of resist printing is applied. The reserving structure consists of paraffin, rosin and cold oil. The reserve structure, put by a block on the material, reserves a pattern of the colour of the background—"the first flower" as it is named by masters. Now the material is exposed to the dyeing. For this purpose the *kalagai* is immersed in cold dye solution, prepared with the dye and alum, and with frequent mixing, it is left for 30–40 minutes. The module of the dyeing bath should be 1:40, i.e., 4 litres of solution for the 100 grammes material. After the dyeing, the product is left for 24 hours for the fastening of dye on the fibres. Then rinse it 2–3 times in clean cold water and do not wring it out—hang it out for a removal of the surplus of water. If it is not stipulated to render on a product a pattern of another colour or to dye it in another colour, the product is rinsed in a hot soap solution 4–5 times for removal of the reserve, it is then wrung out and dried. The finished article is passed through the ironing press to be ironed and to give it a shine.

If after the first dyeing, simply the changing of the colour of a background is planned, and the pattern is left in single-colour, then the *kalagai* is exposed to the dyeing in the solution of *saragan*, and again the procedures described above will be applied.

If the drawing of a pattern on the product in another colour is stipulated, the so-called "second flower" after the first dyeing, then after the full drying of the material by the corresponding block, the pattern is reserved and the second dyeing is made. This process is repeated for the addition of each colour to the pattern of the *kalagai*. After the last dyeing, the removal of the reserving structure and the final operations will be made in the order described above.

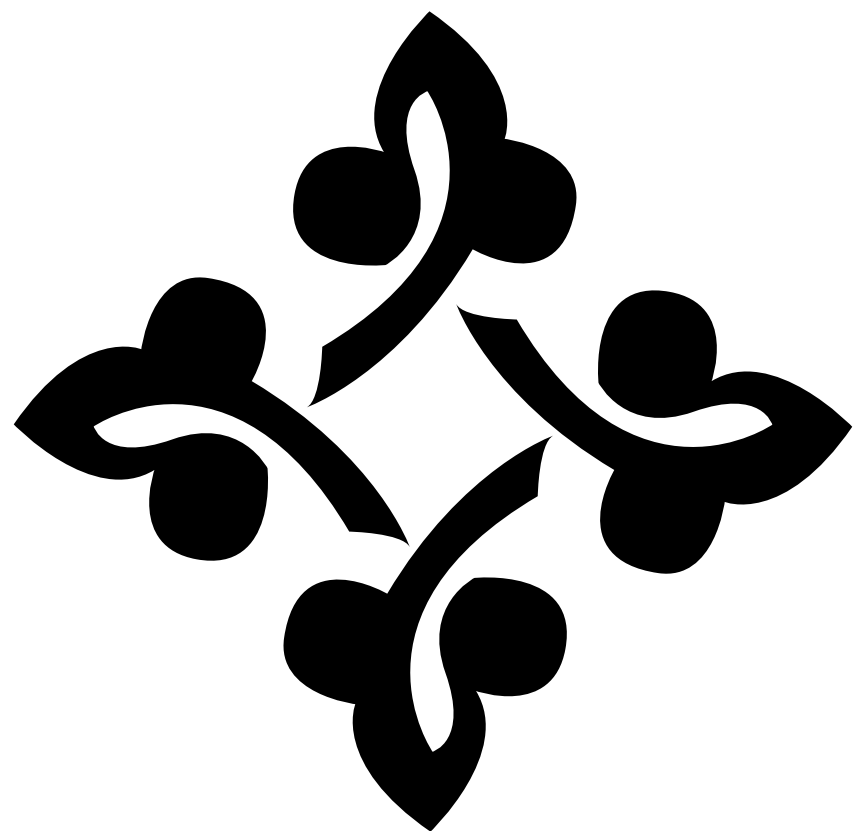
Only 50–60 years ago the *kalagai* occupied an important place in the costume of Azerbaijani women, today it is applied mainly by elderly women in the countryside and as a souvenir for visitors. In connection with the reduction of the requirement, the manufacture of these goods has decreased. Nowadays, the *kalagai* is not woven in the handicraft way anywhere in the country. There were attempts to restore the manual way of manufacture, but in a short time these workshops were closed, not having sustained a competition with the modern industrial way. But the ornamentation of the *kalagais* at factories is carried out the same way as in the handicraft workshops.

It is necessary to note that recently there is a tendency of revival of this ancient head-dress in the costume of young girls in a little bit of a different kind—as an original fashionable accessory—and it pleases. In fact, with its pleasant, casual ease, and its beautiful and original decorations, the *kalagai* deserves it.

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IV
ARTISTIC CULTURE
OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN
TATARS



Reflections upon Sufi influences
within the artistic expression,
and in the manuscript documents,
of the Belarusian, the Lithuanian
and the Polish Tatars

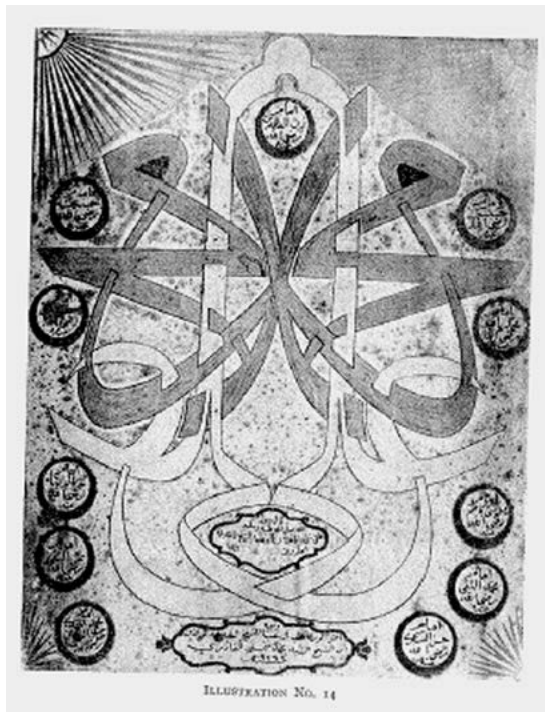
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The term, 'Sufism', is rarely used in this paper, in the sense of the presence of deeply established and well endowed Sufi Brotherhoods/ Orders (Ṭuruq), or of the lofty spiritual masterpieces by such Sufi masters as Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240), Rūmī (d. 1273), Ibn al-Fārid' (d. 1235) or al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). In today's Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, Samā, or séances (Zikers/ Ḥadras, etc), if such were ever once held, could only have been at a local level and attended by relatively few of the faithful. How few that number was, or is, one can but guess, or speculate, though Dr Selim Chazbijewicz, amongst others, regards Sufism as deeply rooted in the hearts of the Tatars. The study of the Qur'ān, of Tefsirs and Prophetic Ḥadīth was, and is, central to Islam in practise among the Tatars of 'Lehistan'—as is shown in their surviving manuscripts, their inscriptions, and mosque hangings (*muhirs*), as can be seen in the Białystok Museum, in village mosques and mizars or, elsewhere, in private dwellings.¹ Hence Tatar 'Sufism', whatever may have been its variant forms, was of the type of so-called "popular Sufism", a form of Sufism that we commonly find in Eastern Europe in the past and in the Balkans today. Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski has alleged in his book that Sufi activists were present in Poland and Lithuania at the end of the 19th century. He wrote: "The majority of Muslims of Poland and Lithuania belonged to secret societies based on blood ties and sufi tariqats. So-called *sekhretne pobratymstwo* (Polish-Tatar term of secret brotherhood) protected Polish Muslims from undesirable penetration. The secret brothers introduced a new adept to their circle by ritualistic sprinkling of water on bared sabres or long knives and an oath on the Qur'ān. The Muslim men in Lithuania and Poland observed the Sunnah of the beard. The Christian custom of a clean-shaven face was adopted by



¹ For a short introduction to Tatar art and literature, see: Jankowski 2003: 71–92.



III. 1. An example of Tatar art showing the names of Mohammad and 'Ali combined

Polish Tatars, who lost their own Islamic identity and knowledge about Islam, after World War I. Numerous old photos of high-ranking educated Muslims from Lithuania and Poland show that the Islamic sign of piety and loyalty to the last Prophet's Sunnah was observed."²

Sufi art and literature among the Tatars is heavily indebted to Ottoman artistic influences and inspiration, or it is a reflection of what we know of Tatar art in Kazan, and in Tatarstan, generally, and in the Crimea.

Examples of Tatar art influenced by the Ottomans are to be seen in the Tatar Section in the Białystok Museum. As in Ottoman manuscripts from the Orient, the names of Muhammad and 'Ali are intertwined in a decorative fashion (Ill. 1).

Amongst these influences one may detect such influences from the

Bektāshiyya Brotherhood, and a sub-strata of popular Ḥurūfism (one recalls the relationship between Fad'lallāh, its founder, and Toqtamish at the time of the first arrival of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). Ḥurūfism, according to Fad'lallāh al-Astārābādī (d. 1339/1340), was a revolutionary Iranian and Trans-Caucasian movement. It combined mysticism and theosophy (as revealed in its founder's masterwork, the *Jāvidān*). It was principally mystical and it was an expression of speculative theosophy, the author himself claiming to be both a Sufi, and, in his very essence, The Divinity. The Science of letters ('*Ilm al-Ḥurūf*) was a term used by Ibn 'Arabī to denote the teaching of the fundamental principles of the deciphering of revelation which gives the keys to the "treasures of the Qur'ān". In artistic expression Ḥurufism is Symbolic and Cabbalistic, and the poet of the Ḥurufīs, Nesīmī, in his mystical poetical flights, is rarely to be found quoted. We also, on occasion, find a strain of Shī'ite iconography. In this connection, only recently Michael Tarelko, in Minsk, has drawn attention to a carved artistic representation that he was shown of the palm of the Prophet's hand wherein were mentioned 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, alongside the names of the Orthodox Caliphs.

The cells and retreats, the Tekkes, of Turkey and the Balkans, some of which date back to the 15th century, were major centres for the diffusion of artistic symbolism and they supplied the later founders of sub-cells and Tekkes in Albania and in other Balkan and Eastern Euro-

² Kopanski 1995: 61.



III. 2. A Karaites spear with two points called a Jaba. The original Jaba is in the Szapszal Collection

III. 3. A document for Stonim depicting Ali's Sword, a Dervish Axe and the Tree of Life/ Knowledge

pean centres. Commonly found, were artistic representations of the sword of the The Prophet Muḥammad and of 'Alī, Dhū'l-Faqār (Fiqār), the Teber, the dervish axe, and symbols such as the Tree of Life. 'Alī's sword bears some similarity to the Jāba, the Karaites ceremonial double-headed spear point. Examples are to be found in the Karaites Seraja Szapszal collection in Trakai (Troki), Lithuania (Ill. 2). Both Tatars and Karaites share other artistic similarities. The ritual dress in the Kenesa and the Tekke shares certain features in common.

All of the above artistic details and motifs are illustrated and depicted in a Tatar *shamail* from Slonim (Slonim), which is now in Belarus. Here Dhū'-Faqār, the Tree of Life (or Knowledge), and the Dervish Teber are placed side by side and, within the text, 'Alī's name is prominently mentioned, alongside Cabbalistic signs (Ill. 3).

Tatar manuscripts also reveal another popular Sufi belief and one of influence within the art and the texts of popular Sufism, namely the invocation (du'ā') of the 'Men of the Divine Mystery', (De Jong) Rijāl al-Ghayb (Ghayba), a term that is closely connected with Eschatology. This belief is joined with the concept of the 'Pole' (Quṭb), the leading spiritual and pivotal figure of the age. Michel Chodkiewicz has likened such men to the Perfect Man (al-Insān al-Kāmil), the chief amongst mediators between the universe and the impenetrable mystery (Ghayb) of the divine darkness ("The Cloud of the Unknowing" in medieval English literature).³

A Tatar text from Belarus has come to light in which the Rijāl al-Ghayb and the Quṭb both appear. The Tatar manuscript seems to have originated in the region of Homel (Gomel), and it is probably late 19th century in date. Details of this document are to be found in an article by Tarelko and Synkova (2005: 25–29). The key invocation, in Arabic language, calls upon the "Men of the Divine Mystery", who count amongst them leading Sufi saints, and miracle workers, to be of assistance and to help by bestowing succour, or possibly rain (E. W. Lane in his Arabic Lexicon 1877 on the meanings of *ghawth* and *ghayth* explains the close connection between the two words). Andrzej Drozd has mentioned that he has encountered this term, Rijāl al-Ghayb, and its variants in Tatar sources in Poland.

³ Chodkiewicz 1993: 29.

The key 'refrain' of the text reads *Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm, al-Salām 'alaykum, yā Rijāl al-Ghaybi 'aghīthūnī bi-ghawthat-in*: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Peace be upon you, O Men of the Divine Mystery, succour us with your aid and with your assistance."

This phrase matches an identical passage in a so-called 'Hurūfī' manuscript, or 532, now housed in the Manuscript Department of Cambridge University Library. This is about the Circle of the Rijāl al-Ghayb. The manuscript is largely a Persian document, and is of Middle Eastern origin. Another manuscript in the same Cambridge library is of North or West African origin. This, likewise, is a popular invocation to the Rijāl al-Ghayb, though it is far more extensive in length and in its details, repeatedly invoking the Men of the Divine Mystery, and calling upon them at certain times, and on certain days in the week. It requests them to descend and to appear at prayer-times from differing directions on the points of the compass. It is an invocatory document written in Maghribī script and it originates in an African community, be this Saharan or West African. It is one that is influenced by popular Sufism, characterized in its belief in the Multi-bodied Saints (*Abdāl*) and in "holy families".

There is a similar treatment from the Nuqtawiyya (the school of the science of mathematical points) at work here, as is to be found in 'Qur'ānic' contexts within the literature that is described from Kazan and the Lithuanian Tatars examples that are published in Miškinienė.⁴

Further influences from Sufism are also marked and present on pages in the Riga Tatar manuscript, no. 28.A222S (Library of Rare Manuscripts and Books). This dates from between 1885 and 1889. Michas' Tarelko, to whom I have shown earlier pages in the text, has classified it as an assembly of documents that comes within the term, *shamail*, a genre well known in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus. The text is almost entirely in vocalized Arabic. In its latter pages following introductory pedagogical passages, and prayers, the Five Pillars of Islam, and Qur'ānic quotations, there are found later pages of fervent personal prayer and devotion, (*du'ā*) which in both repeated expressions and ecstatic presentation and with the repetition of Prophetic names, and in hymns (*lahis*), bear the hallmarks of the fervent exclamations (*Shaḥīyyāt*) of Sufi experience, exclamations that express a union with the divine, prior to extinction in the Divine (*fanā*). Such passages recall a virtual recording, verbatim, recording made verbatim in an actual Sufi gathering (*Dhikr/Ziker*). Such examples, to date, are rarely to be found in Tatar *shamails* and *kitabs* that have been published or which have been closely studied (Ill. 4).

Also, as in the aforementioned document from Słonim, is found the reproduction of Cabalistic circles and texts that are sometimes written around the "The Circle of the Pole" (*Dā'irat al-Quṭb*), together with an invocation to the Men of the Divine Mystery (Ill. 5).

How wide such Sufism once was amongst the Tatars of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus is always likely to be debatable. We lack irrefutable evidence for a sustained presence and open Sufi confession other than that of individuals and within small groups. In some instances their activities may have been short-lived and were localized. However, unlike the story of Sari Saltik, a noteworthy Bektashi figure who is allegedly buried in Baba Dagħ in Romania, and who is associated with the city of Gdańsk, these examples within the surviving manuscript and art col-

⁴ Miškinienė 2001: 193–199.



III. 4. A page from the Riga manuscript which includes Sufi-type exclamations and utterances; © National Library of Latvia, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts



III. 5. A page from the Riga manuscript which includes Sufi-type material; © National Library of Latvia, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts

lections in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Riga and London, are sufficient to indicate clear evidence and proof of Sufism and Dervish art. Time may yet provide far fuller confirmation from surviving manuscripts in these countries. We may know after some time the depth and nature of the character of Sufism that influenced the Tatars within the borders of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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Decoration in the culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars: A preliminary study

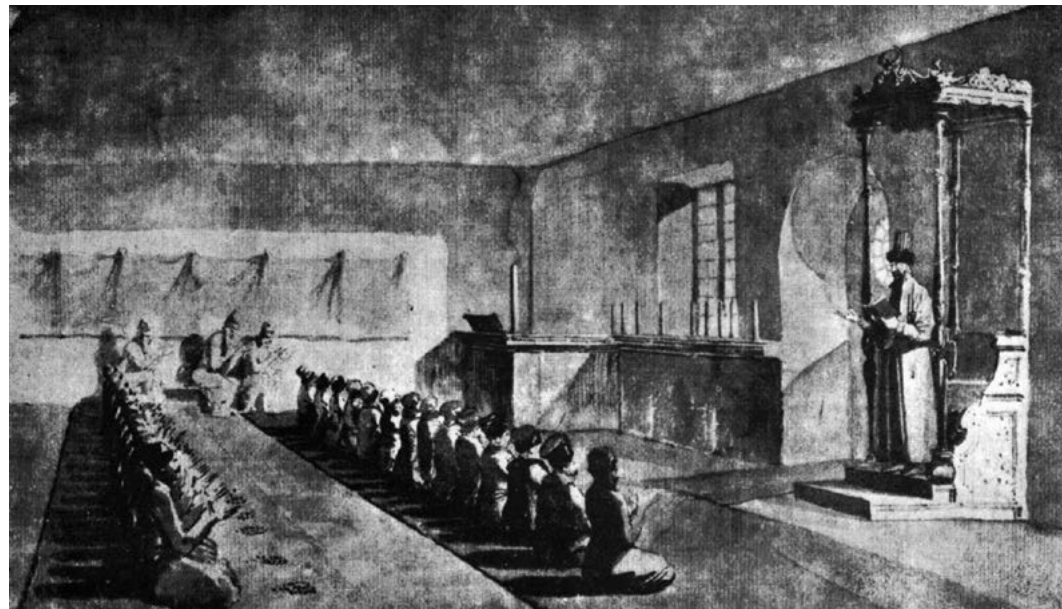
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General remarks

Tatars have been living in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth since the 14th–15th century, mostly in the northeastern provinces—around the main administrative centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Vilna [Wilno/Vilnius], Troki [Trakai], Olita [Alytus], Lida, Oszmiana [Ashmiany], Nowogródek [Navahrudak], Mińsk [Minsk]) and along communication routes. The specific (although not unique for the Turkic peoples) origin and character of their settlement was one of the main factors which shaped the cultural situation of the community. Most of the Tatars settled in compact tribal groups as political refugees from the Golden Horde, obtained land in rural areas, and were obliged to take part in military service for the ruler (the Grand Duke of Lithuania/ King of Poland). After several generations, they became members of the lower or middle military-noble class of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, although—as non-Christians—never obtained the full rights of this class. Apart from military service (which continued to be the most common profession after the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, when the Tatars became citizens of the Russian Empire), Polish-Lithuanian Tatars (PLT) lived from farming, land transport, horticulture, and tannery. In contrast to other Oriental communities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as Armenians and Jews, professionally performed crafts never developed among the Tatars. The typically low economic status of most of the Tatars never allowed them to be regular consumers of luxury goods such as works of arts and crafts which were imported to Poland at this time, often from Muslim lands, and used to create the Polish national (“Sarmatian”) style.

Together with the loss of the native tongue (Kipchak Tatar) and the replacement of it with the local dialect of Belarusian and Polish, which happened in the 16–17th centuries, the Tatars rather aspired to, on the cultural and social level, the lore of the lower or middle noble class of



III. 1. Prayer in Łukiszki mosque (by F. Smuglewicz, 1781). The *minbar* in rococo style is visible

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The main factor distinguishing them from the rest of the society was faith—Islam—which itself was also on a specific level—it represented a popular, folk version of this religion, including a lot of non-orthodox components, often tracing back to pre-Islamic traditions or disseminated by Sufis or other groups.

This situation clears up why the peculiar culture of this community has been limited—mostly—to the sphere of religion. It also reveals the nature of the phenomena of the Tatars' culture, which can be assumed to be a result of preserving Islamic tradition and assimilating local forms into it.

This paper is devoted to the issue of decoration which appears in various fields of the Tatars' culture. We should remember that decoration is one of the dominant and crucial components of Islamic art, determining its character and distinguishing it from the arts of other cultures and peoples. The arts of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars have one important feature in common with the rest of the Islamic world—the lack of figurative art. Are there any other links between the arts and crafts of Islamic and Polish-Lithuanian Tatars? The answer is mostly hidden in the subject of this paper, which is to let us detect how much Islamic artistic culture was preserved (or imported) by the Tatars and how much of the local one they adopted.

Problems of classification

First we should state that there have not been any attempts yet to make a general overview and study of the typology of the arts and crafts of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. Some preliminary



III. 2. Mosque in Winksznupie in 1868 with baroque facade and minaret in a belfry style



III. 3. Mosque in Sorok Tatary with high square-tent roof (built about 1815)—the best example of Lithuanian Tatars original form of shrine

remarks have been included in several separate works of the author of this paper, devoted to mosques, cemeteries, handwriting and *muhirs* (devotional panels) of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars.¹ Since that time, during a period of over ten years of field and academic research, we have collected material rich enough to commence elaboration on this subject.

To obtain a correct and clear view of the artistic culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, we have to define criteria for classifying it.

A. Primarily we use classification according to the criteria of the object of decoration:

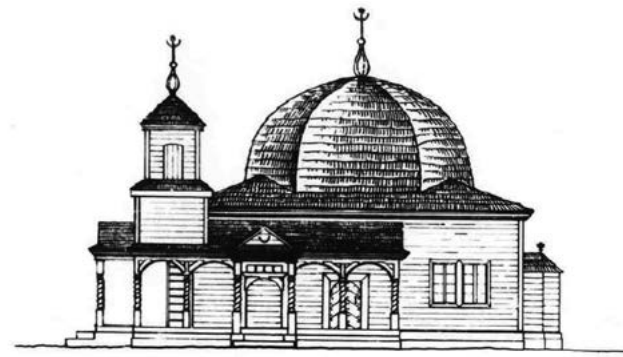
- a) mosques,
- b) *minbars*,
- c) gravestones,
- d) manuscripts,
- e) *muhirs*,
- f) textiles,
- g) habits and uniforms,
- h) objects of magic and devotion,
- i) gates of cemeteries.

The above classification needs some expansion, which we present below in this paper. But anyway, we can say that it reflects the main objects of the Tatars artistic culture in general.

B. Secondly, we can use more specified criteria of classifications. They are as follows:

- a) materials,
- b) techniques,
- c) motifs of decoration.

¹ Drozd, Dziekan and Majda 1999; Drozd, Dziekan and Majda 2000.



Ills 4-5. Mosque of Dowbuciszki (built about 1735) with Byzantine dome, minaret in type of a belfry and porches in the Polish manor classic style

We will anticipate our further presentation concluding that the materials and techniques used in the Tatars' arts and crafts reflect the limited scope of their artistic culture. They are:

- wood,
- stone,
- paper,
- textiles,
- paint,
- (and marginally) metal and leather.

We have not detected any samples of ceramics made by Tatars; the ironwork which we know is limited to some elements of architectural decoration (as pinnacles), military uniforms and objects of magic (talismans, bowls), but none was made by the Tatars themselves; leather occurs mostly as book covers, probably produced mainly by non-Tatar craftsmen. We can observe the creativity of the Tatars in paper (handwriting of manuscripts and *muhirs*, sometimes made with the use of paints or drawings), in stone (stonecutting of gravestones), in textiles (embroidery of funerary and prayer covers, *muhirs*, tapestry or military flags), in wood (carpentry and carving in the architecture of mosques and their furnishings, as *minbars*, sometimes with the use of painting).

Regarding the most frequent decorative motifs in the culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, we can point to the following groups:

- emblematic and symbolic motifs, such as astral/ solar ones (crescent sole or with a star or stars), Zulfikar and other arms (swords, tabar), Tree of Life, heraldic motifs (crests);
- architectonical motifs, such as *mihrab*, mosque with minarets ("city"), images of Islamic shrines;
- talismanic figures;



Ill. 6. Minbar from Rejże (1686) with calligraphic decoration



Ill. 7. Namaz in Rejże mosque (before 1990). Funerary wool covers with embroidery are used as prayer covers

- ornamental elements such as rosettes, cartouches, flowers or floral ornaments, geometrical figures;
- calligraphy and calligraphic compositions.

Apart from the above reflection on the typology of Tatar arts and crafts objects, we have to stress the need for distinguishing the objects produced by the Tatars and objects only used by them. We should not include the latter amongst the works of arts and crafts of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, if there is no evident influence of the Tatars on the form of those objects.

Thus the works of local (Christian / Jewish) craftsmen ordered for the specific use of Tatars (mosques, *minbars*, some gravestones, book covers, etc.) can be considered to be "Tatar" arts and crafts as far as their form represents features peculiar to the Tatars—with the reservation that they are non-Tatar production. Such a situation—the impossibility of a clear "national" classification of objects—is not unusual for a multicultural and multiethnic social environment, not only in Eastern Europe but also typical for the art of Muslim lands where craftsmen moved (or were moved) from one production centre to another and so spread the "Ottoman", "Persian", "Mamluk" etc. art beyond their homelands.

So we may have no doubts classifying the traditional Polish-Lithuanian Tatars mosques, *minbars* or gravestones as "Tatar" objects, even if they were made by non-Tatars, but it can be disputable whether they are "Tatar crafts". Moreover, we have more doubts regarding the objects made by contemporary non-Tatar professional designers, such as brick mosques (in Mińsk, Kovna [Kowno/Kaunas], Gdańsk, Warsaw—not built)—in those cases the role of Tatars was probably limited to the acceptance of the projects, made in accordance with current aesthetic trends or the individual concepts of the architect.



III. 8. Bottom of the canopy of the Rejze minbar with talismanic composition 'Ayn 'Alī' inscribed

The above-mentioned examples, which can still be more or less classified as “Tatar material culture”, must be distinguished from the objects of arts and crafts just used by Tatars, on the form of which they had no influence—such as objects imported from Muslim lands (arms, textiles, devotional utensils, etc.). Unfortunately, they are often mixed together with original Polish-Lithuanian Tatar objects in museum exhibitions making the public confused about the true character of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and their achievements in the field of arts and crafts. Of course, we should acknowledge that some Tatars imported some goods from Muslim lands just because they were “Muslim” or more “Oriental”. There are a few reports on that in old sources (such as inventories, or Piotr Czyżewski’s

pamphlet *Alfurkan tatarski...* from 1616). Objects of Muslim art became more accessible in the 19th–20th centuries, since the merchandise from Turkic nations of the Russian Empire flew to Polish-Lithuanian territories. But we should not overestimate this factor—most Tatars, as mentioned above, simply could not afford to acquire such luxury goods as were offered by the Muslim world, both in the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the post-1795 period. On the other hand, the truth is that nowadays, after the movement or expulsion of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars from most of their original settlements, caused by two World Wars and the communist period, there are very few examples of “Oriental-made” goods remaining which we can be sure were imported or used by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars (as it concerns also the relics of the genuine Tatar culture). This paper shall not be devoted to this category of objects, although we should take into consideration that they can also form the Tatars’ material culture or its decorative system if intentionally composed or used by Tatars.

Mosques and minbars

Mosques represent the only kind of architectonic creativity which can be defined as “Polish-Lithuanian Tatars’ architecture”. Apart from mosques, Tatars used (often even built by themselves) other objects necessary for everyday life, such as houses and farming premises, but they did not represent—or we have not any traces to assume so—any stylistic or functional peculiarities which



III. 9. The oldest Tatar grave inscription in Drozdowska Zireć (in Sorok Tatar; 1626, 'Ayša daughter of Ibn Allāhberdi')



III. 10. The oldest grave inscription in Kruszyniany cemetery (Podlasie region), center of Lipkas' settlement (1699, unknown person)



III. 11. A gravestone from Studzianka cemetery (Podlasie region) from the 1814 (Elżbieta Azulewicz) decorated with medallions with names of the God, Muhammad, the Four Caliphs, Ḥasan and Husayn inscribed

would allow us to name them “Tatar architecture”. We only came across a few samples of marking living houses or farm buildings with the crescent (cut of wood) or with writing in Arabic (inscribed with paint or chalk). All these non-sacral objects still represent entirely local architecture.

Regarding the mosques, classifying them as objects of “Tatar” or “local” architecture can also be disputable due to the reasons that we mentioned above. We have not much evidence about the personalities (nationalities) of the builders. It is assumed that usually the mosques were constructed by non-Tatar carpenters. (There exist more materials regarding solely the designers of the mosques since the Russian authorities implemented administrative proceedings for building in the 19th century and some documentation survived in former-Russian archives.)

Anyway, we should conclude that even if the Tatars did not participate in the designing or construction of their shrines, they certainly made an impact on the form, and to some extent also on the decoration of them. We can reveal it by comparing mosques from different areas and periods—their forms evidently display repetitions, and this confirms that some aesthetic rules existed that were realized by the Tatars and executed in subsequent buildings. However, the mosques were built “according to Polish custom and under a Polish sky” and they bore a strong resemblance to local Orthodox or Catholic churches, which made them “domesticated” and smoothly inscribed into the local landscape.

So in this meaning we can consider the mosques in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to be “architecture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars”. Their common feature is the material—they were all (in Lithuania) made of wood (only in a few Ukrainian sites of Tatar settlement was stone reported as being used for the construction of mosques). We know images of just over two dozen of these traditional Tatar mosques (only eight of them exist today).

This evident and regular impact of the Tatar users disappeared with the brick mosques, built or designed since the beginning of the 20th century (Minsk 1901, Kaunas 1932, Warsaw 1935, Gdańsk 1984 and others projects) in which the local Tatar traditions were abandoned.

We shall not discuss here the typology of mosques and details of their architecture—it is a subject for a separate study. We can point only to the main features of them, which were: exclusive use of wood, lack of high minarets—usually small and belfry-like constructed on the roof (except for a few, such as Dowbuciszki [Daūbuciški], Mir, Kleck [Klecak], Lachowicze [Ljachavičy]), lack of domes (except for Dowbuciszki), constructing *mihrabs* in apsidal form, separating the interior into two sections—for men and women.

Regarding the decoration, we can point out that it occurred in a relatively small extent. The major decorative elements were located both in the external and internal visage of Tatar shrines. The external decorations are minarets, porches (sometimes with decorated pillars), the shape or frames of windows, doors and the colouring of the walls. In the interiors there are balustrades, *mihrabs* and some decorative furniture and equipment—*minbars*, candles, *muhirs*, funerary textiles or floor covers.

The minarets in the mosques of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars did not regularly play the role as they did in the Muslim lands—as the tower for calling to prayer, the ‘azan’. The azan is (at least nowadays) performed from the balcony inside the prayer hall. The main function of the minarets was symbolic—they were to mark the sacral character of the building and to mark the specific confession—and, secondly, a decorative one. The minaret was also a habitual distinction between a mosque and a “prayer house”. The form of minarets could vary to some extent. The most popular form was a small “belfry” with an onion-shaped or conical dome, pinnacled with a ball and/or crescent (the latter since the 19th c). In several mosques (Dowbuciszki, Mir, Kleck, Lachowicze) the minaret was attached to the main block of the building (covering porch or vestibule), some more massive and covered with a pyramidal roof, still resembling belfries of churches. Only in the Iwie (Iŷe) mosque can we say that the minaret is inspired by Ottoman forms. Usually the minarets were decorated with small, arched or rectangular windows. Most of the mosques that we know had only one minaret; in Kruszyniany and Słonim (Slonim) we can see three tower-minarets on the roof—in the first case based on the Catholic Baroque wooden village churches from the 18th century, in the second case—based on the Russian Orthodox churches from the 19th century. The obvious influences of the Baroque style can be found in the mosque of Winksznupie (Vinkšnupiai), distinguished with an arched attic on the front facade.

Other architectonic elements that can be considered as elements of decorative function are porches. The most interesting example was in Dowbuciszki—the mosque was decorated with two twin porches with spiral columns (separate sections for men and women), clearly based on the style of manors of middling status noblemen, built in this area since the 18th century. This mosque was distinguished also with a wooden spherical dome covering the main block, a unique example of a dome in Polish-Lithuanian Tatars mosques, which had to echo the Ottoman *cami’as*, but in fact resembled more Orthodox shrines from the southeastern borders of Poland. The typical roof of the Polish-Lithuanian mosques was sloping, polygonal (tent-like) without a ridge, or with a ridge and two, three or four planes.

The walls of mosques were sometimes coloured with green, brown or blue paint. On some mosques plain ornaments cut of wood could be found, usually as frames for windows. They were typical for local rural architecture and we have no solid evidence for Oriental influences on them.

Returning to an earlier hypothesis, Tatar wooden mosques should be considered to be the effect of adapting local architectonic and decorative forms to Muslim functional (sacral) requirements with slightly visible attempts to follow Muslim stylistic patterns.

The interiors of the mosques seem to be even more plain than the external forms, not to say severe, and only wood, by its nature, and coloured *muhirs* make them a bit more “warm”.

The separation into two sections is the main peculiarity of them. The sections are separated with a thin wall in which a long span with balusters is cut. The span is covered with a curtain. The ceilings and walls are planked. There is a gallery along the back wall of the men’s section (prayer hall) which makes another regular element of the interiors. Apart from the balusters (in the span and in the gallery), only the wooden frame of the *mihrab* (cut of batten or plank, sometimes waving or arched, rarely decorated with painted inscriptions, usually coloured, but always plain) is an architectonic means of decoration. The other ones are:

- *muhirs*—devotional panels hung on walls, made according to various techniques, mostly as drawings on paper, containing usually pious, calligraphic formulas, images of holy shrines of Islam, and sometimes talismanic figures;
- textiles—funerary covers (usually made of cloth in green or dark blue, decorated with plain embroidered ornaments and calligraphic inscriptions) which are put on the floor during prayer or hung on walls, or minor samples of embroidery, similar in form, covering the *minbar*, trenches, etc. (probably only in the last decades of the 20th century did carpets appear in Tatar mosques to cover floors);
- wooden or metal (even silver) candlesticks;
- *minbars*—podiums for the imam to deliver the sermons.

Minbars make up a separate category of objects within Tatar material culture. Unfortunately, we only know ten pieces of old (from before 1945) *minbars* (preserved in nature or in images): Rejze (Raižiai), Łukiszki (Lukiškės), Dowbuciszki, Kruszyniany, Bohoniki, Słonim, Nowogródek, Iwie, Sorok Tatory (Keturiasdešimt Totorių), Niemež (Nemėžis). The oldest one is in the Rejze mosque and is dated back to 1686—it is a unique relic of the Tatar art of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is distinguished by rich painted decoration containing Arabic devotional formulas (*sabḥala-subḥāna Allāh* [the God sublime], *ḥamdala-al-ḥamdu li-llāhi* [praise to God], *takbir-allāhu akbar* [God is great]) inscribed in the form of circular calligraphic compositions in the central part of the back-board, with dating inscription in Arabic, Turkish, Persian—and in Polish (in Latin script with date “1686”) between them, Arabic prayers on the frames of the back-board, invocations to God, Muhammad, the Four Caliphs, and *šahāda* on the right side, Turkish prayer on the left side, and a talismanic composition known from Ottoman manuscripts or arms, called ‘Ayn ‘Alī (The Eye of ‘AlĀĪ), on the bottom of canopy. The inside balustrades of the *minbar* are decorated with painted vases with tulips. The *minbar* is coloured originally with green, black

(and nowadays silver). The *minbar* is also decorated with remarkable carving in wood representing a provincial version of the Baroque style.

The Rococo style is visible in the image of another old *minbar*, from the Łukiszki (near Vilna) mosque, presented in a drawing by Franciszek Smuglewicz from 1783, showing the interior of the mosque during prayer.

Both *minbars* represent one of the two main types of Tatar *minbars*. The first type's feature is a flat canopy over a podium supported with two delicate columns from the front and a board from the back (as in Rejże and Łukiszki), the variant of this type is characterized with battens curved in esses over the canopy, “buckled” with a crescent on the top (Bohoniki, Nowogródek, Słonim, Iwie). The second is characterized with—typical for Ottoman constructions of *minbars*—a gate at the start of the stairs, and a polygonal canopy supported as in the first type, both pinnaced with crescents (three on the gate, one on the canopy) (Słonim, Kruszyniany).

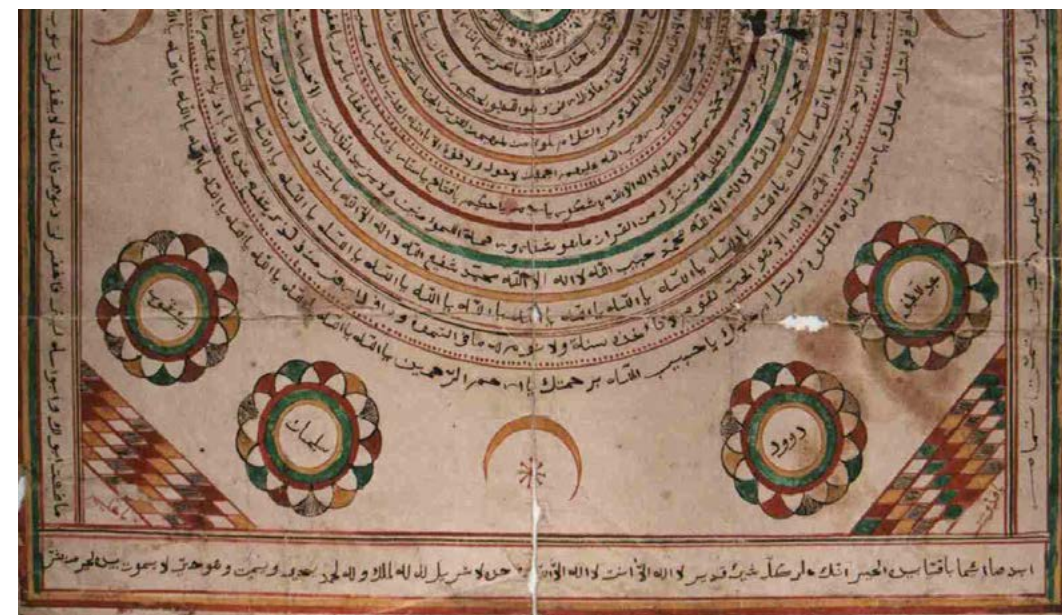
Apart from the Rejże *minbar*, all the *minbars* preserved today are not decorated with inscriptions, but instead *muhirs* are usually hung on them.

Gravestones and manuscripts

The issue of the decoration of gravestones and manuscripts of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars requires a detailed study, so we draw here only an outline of this subject.

Among hundreds of gravestones registered so far in all preserved cemeteries of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars (the oldest dated back to the first half of the 17th c.) there are dozens which are decorated. The basic means of decoration of the gravestones was calligraphy. The oldest gravestone (as from 1626 from Drozdowska Zireć in Sorok Tataria near Vilna) represents quite neat *nashī* with elements of *tulī* (so the same as many other inscriptions from the 17th c.). Also, over the following centuries there are inscriptions which reveal calligraphic skills or Tatar stonecutters. The inscription—apart from the main, informative role—played also a decorative one. This trend was transmitted from the Arabic inscriptions to epigraphs inscribed with Latin script (or later Cyrillic). In later inscriptions (19th–20th c.) classical calligraphic compositions (patterned on Ottoman or Kazan Tatar calligraphy) were introduced, in which the decorative function was predominant.

In the beginning of the 19th century, the first ornamentation occurred on Tatar gravestones. In Łostaje and Studzianka cemeteries two gravestones (1812, 1814) with very peculiar decoration were detected. The decoration contains three circular medallions with names of God, Muhammad, the Four Caliphs, Ḥasan and Husayn inscribed, the medallions are “hung” on three pinnacles with crescents, and the pinnacles standing on a waving base with *ṣahāda* and basmala inscribed. In the Studzianka cemetery we found another gravestone decorated with plain ornament composed of wattling semi-circles and flounce (1815). In the middle of the 19th century decorating the gravestones with architectural motifs became popular in several communities. In Miadzioł (Miadzel) the typical decoration was composed of two pinnacles



III. 12. A fragment of a 19th-century *muhir* with talismanic figures and prayers. Collection of the Lithuanian National Museum in Vilnius; phot. Mirosław Ciunowicz

with a crescent (maybe representing minarets) on both sides of the field of inscription, and a triangularly curved line (maybe representing a cupola) over it. After a decade, this transformed into the symbolic representation of a “city” (outline of two minarets with a dome between). This pattern was used also in a few other neighbouring cemeteries. In Uzda and in Osmołowo (Asmolava) Tatar parish another plain decoration was used—a frame shaped in the form of a *mihrab* surrounding the inscription.

Those decorations undoubtedly represented Tatar stonecutting. But in the 19th century, wealthy Tatar families started ordering the gravestones from professional non-Tatar stonecutters. Thus the first plain works of sculpture appeared in Tatar cemeteries. The means of decoration occurring in those works followed the patterns and trends that were used among the local society: floral ornaments, sepulchral symbols such as a broken tree, a broken column, a book, cippus, family crests and calligraphy again.

Regarding the manuscripts we have to say that most of the several hundreds of manuscripts that we have come across so far have had no decoration, or decoration limited to a single line bordering the text. But we also have to acknowledge that there are some manuscripts containing very interesting illuminations. Relatively frequent decoration occurs in the manuscripts of the Qur’an (as plain illumination of *unwan*, with the opening *suras*). It can be motifs of a dome or a *mihrab* with twigs, or just coloured cartouches with the titles of *sura* inscribed. The cartouche is also the most popular motif occurring in prayerbooks (*shamails*). Apart from that we came across a few prayerbooks with illuminated pages commencing subsequent prayers. There are two especially interesting prayerbooks with rich decoration. One (from the first half of the

19th c.) is preserved in Vilnius National Museum and is decorated in a way resembling—in the first appearance—Oriental manuscripts; but after a while we can recognize motifs lifted from local architecture, such as cyma or an arch. The other prayerbook (from the end of the 19th c.) is from the collection of the Museum of Religion in Grodno (Hrodna). The copyist's name that we detected was Milkamanowicz and he must have been a very skillful designer and illuminator. He composed illuminations for the pages opening some *sura* or prayers. The illuminations are sometimes based on familiar motifs, such as vases, flowers, minarets, but very soon they become more and more abstract and incomparable to anything from Islamic culture.

In summary, we can state as before that the peculiarity of the decoration in the culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars results from the complexity of this culture. Its phenomena consist in the fact that the Tatars preserved Islamic traditions and their identity, or attempted to, with the use of local, non-Islamic forms.

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Tatar monuments in the collection of the Historical Museum in Białystok

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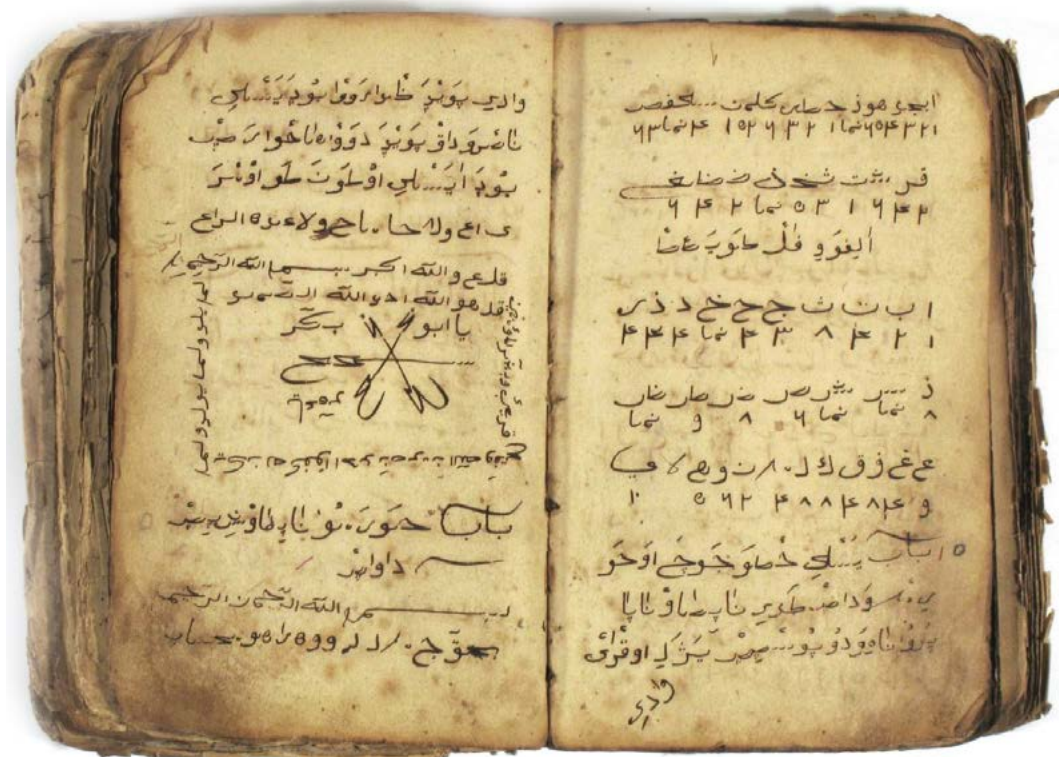
The conception of the Tatar Museum and the beginning of the collection

The idea of a Tatar museum appeared in Poland during the interwar period in Vilna, which was the main residence of Tatar administration. Unfortunately, the majority of the most valuable Tatar documents, weapons and relics collected by enthusiasts were destroyed or stolen during World War II. This idea was revived in the 1970s. As mentioned already, the most significant part of the exhibits collected for the museum in Vilna had been lost or left outside the Polish borders. The person who attempted to gather back the Tatar objects was Maciej Konopacki—a Tatar, historian and journalist. He promoted the idea of the museum in his articles, studies and publications. At the beginning, Sokółka was chosen as the location for the museum, but after many administrative problems it was moved (by Konopacki, with its whole collection) to the Historical Museum in Białystok—a branch of the Museum of Podlasie in Białystok. This took place in 1979. Nowadays, the collection is one of the largest and most important collections of Tatar exhibits. The Museum possesses about 50 Tatar exhibits, which have been presented in Poland but also abroad.

The collection

The most significant part of the collection is represented by the manuscripts (of strictly religious character), related to Muslim rituals. Writing played a crucial role in preserving the cultural and religious identity of Tatar society.

The Qur'an, Tefsir, *kitab* or *shamail* were very revered items in all Tatar families. Carefully stored for many years, they had been used by successive generations. Their value shouldn't be underestimated, especially as they were listed in wills alongside gold, silver, horses or cattle; however, those manuscripts were most of all an essential source of religious knowledge.



III. 1. A *shamail* of Amurat Assanowicz, first half of the 19th c.

The oldest copies did not survive to our times, so we have no way of knowing what they looked like or who were the authors. The phenomenon of the lingual and cultural assimilation of the Tatars had proceeded extraordinarily quickly. However, despite the fact that the religion required use of the Arabic language during rituals, knowledge of Arabic was not widespread among the Tatars. The interesting fact is that they used the Arabic alphabet to write in Polish or Belarusian (except in the Qur'an).

The Qur'ans

The Qur'an is a set of religious and legal foundations, as well as Islam's moral guidelines. Due to the fact that copying the Qur'an requires the knowledge of Oriental languages, and taking into consideration that among the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars there were not many familiar with Arabic, these manuscripts were copied only by the most educated people.

Copying religious books was a lengthy process, which is why it often happened that several people had to take part in copying a single book.

The Tatar collection contains seven copies of the Qur'an. Two of them are from the 19th century and one is from the early 1900s. Those are the manuscripts. The rest were printed in the 20th century in Kazan and Turkey.

The oldest manuscript from the museum's collection contains 321 cards, which were written on bilaterally (on both sides). However, the pages are not numbered and the proper order of the cards is specified on the bottom margin of the right even page, with the first words of the left odd page. On the first page there is al-Fatiha—The Opening and Sura of the Qur'an. It is written in purple and black ink, framed with a black-and-purple triple frame, with a triangle on top. The same pattern may be seen on the second page, where the text as well as the framing are finished in black and red. All of the Qur'an Suras (except the first, and the pages from 318 to 321) are written by the same hand. The exceptional pages were added later, as they are made from a different type of paper and written by another copyist. On page 321 a note may be found, written in Polish with Arabic alphabet, stating: *Pisałem ten święty Kuran, tysionc osiemset dwudziestego czwartego roku od narodzenia Issi, elejhi-s-selam w Maluszycach. Mustafa Półtoricki*, i.e.: "I wrote this holy Qur'an in the year 1824 after the birth of Isi elejgi s selam in Maluszyce. Mustafa Półtoricki". This is very rare and valuable information that cannot be found in the other manuscripts. The same copyist is also the author of the first card.

The second copy of the Qur'an has 265 cards, with compact text written on both sides, except the last 7 pages. The pages are not numbered but the proper order of the cards is identified on the bottom margin of the odd page. On the first three pages a Polish-Belarusian text may be found, including some Arabic formulas about prayer customs. The main content of the Qur'an starts on the second page, with the Sura Al-Fatiha—Opening. This page is decorated with some modest geometric illuminations. The text of the Qur'an ends on page 263. There are 15 lines of text on each page and they are written inside a red frame. On the last page there is a date printed: "1896 goda ijunia 19". The careful and practised handwriting indicates that the whole book was made by just one copyist.

The *shamails*

The *shamail* is a prayer book. It contains prayers in Arabic and Turkish, but also the Belarusian and Polish translations of religious rituals, magical phrases, spells, dream books and astrological tables. Often on the margins of *shamails* there were handwritten notes about important family events (such as birthdays or dates of death). The Białystok Historical Museum possesses 3 copies of *shamails*. One of them is a 271 (two hundred and one) pages "fałdżejski" *shamail* of the muezzin Alli Asanowicz from Jesionówka. The manuscript comes from the first half of the 19th century. It was written by many (at least three) authors. One of them is identified as Sulejman Radecki, who left notes on the pages of the *shamail*, but the remaining authors are unknown. This *shamail* is written in Arabic, Turkish, Polish and Belarusian, using the Arabic alphabet. The Slavic texts have diacritical characters added to the Arabic letters. The content of the manuscript is varied. Apart from some "Qur'an suras" there are many prayer texts written in Arabic and Turkish, with Polish and Belarusian explanations added interlineally. There are *chutby* (sermons) in Arabic, for religious celebrations and months, *shahada*, Allah's epithets, tales of prophets, answers for questions about Muslim religious definitions (in Belarusian), but also tales about *fereja*.



III. 2. A *muhir* with talismanic drawings, 19th c.

The *shamail* contains many *fałdżejski* prophetic texts. There are many magical-healing recipes with amulet patterns and *nuska*—spell prayers for healing mental illnesses. There are also tables of lucky numbers. This *shamail* also contains a glossary and some Turkish sentences with Polish translation, but also the days of the week. Four pages of the *shamail* are made of light blue paper. The first contains the multiplication table, the rest a translation of psalms written in Polish using the Arabic alphabet. There are two dates visible, written in Arabic digits: 1872 and 1884.

There are a few dates, written mostly in Arabic digits. The earliest one is 1861, next to it the Cyrillic letters H.A.R. may be found. The latest date is 1911.

The *shamail* is bound in carefully made brown leather, with an additional half-moon sign and a delicate ornament around the edge, both stamp-pressed. The manuscript has 186 pages. It contains prayers for the dead, prayers for visiting cemeteries, the sura Jasin (especially popular for cemetery ceremonies) and also dedication formulas. The manuscript also contains descriptions of prayer rituals (ablution and the five obligatory prayers), prayers for special occasions written in Arabic with Polish and Belarusian comments. The *shamail* was badly damaged. Many pages were lost or flawed. It was restored in 2005.

Another manuscript contains 186 pages. It was made of two kinds of paper. The text is written in black ink (different tones) whilst red ink was used to underline the most important passages. The manuscript contains prayers dedicated to the dead, prayers for visiting a cemetery, prayers for special occasions, all written in Arabic with Polish-Belarusian commentary. On one page a text in Polish may be found, written with the Arabic alphabet, informing that the author of this manuscript was one Jozef Safarewicz from Nowogródek, who finished his work on 24th June 1871. The rest of the pages are older, written with another, more careful handwriting. All the text is surrounded by a red frame. Many sentences, decorations of letters, instructions concerning the prayer recitation, are marked in red ink. There are 3 rosettes under the last sentence, which means the text had been completed. The *shamail* is bound in brown leather and there is a half-moon stamp-pressed in the middle of the cover. There is an ornament around the edge. In 2007 the manuscript was restored.

The *muhirs*

These are framed verses of the Qur'an hung on the walls of mosques. They were made with different techniques, either by writing golden letters on a black background or by sewing golden letters onto the fabric. The printed *muhirs* were mostly brought from Turkey.

There are 8 *muhirs* in the Museum's collection, but only one of them was dated by its author. That one was made by Dawid Mucharski in Kazań in 1894. The *muhir* contains a text of a prayer placed in the contours of a mosque. It is decorated with watercolour drawings on plywood covered with blue satin. The *muhir* was made using an extraordinary technique. Verses of the Qur'an were sculpted in the blue satin covered plywood and the letters then painted in gold and black. The corners of the *muhir* are ornamented and two wooden half-moons are attached above the text.



III. 3. A *nuska*, lamb's shoulder bone with magic formulas, turn of the 19th c.

The other *muhirs* in the Museum's collection came from Turkey and were made in the early 20th century; their form refers to Arabic illuminated liturgical texts.

Magical objects and amulets

Magical practices were an integral part of the Tatars' lives. Those practices grew from beliefs and prejudices. Magic was strongly associated with treatment. It was based on the beliefs about the impact of the stars on human life.

One of the most interesting objects in the Museum's collection is the board used for astrological horoscopes. It dates back to the mid-19th century. The board illustrates the geometric representation of the Kaaba—the centre of the Muslim world. In the middle of the rectangular board there is a disc made of twelve circles and a pyramid oriented directly on the central point of the disc. Around the disc there are 13 wheels, all surrounded by many-coloured semicircles. There are texts inside the disc, most probably consisting of prayers and amulet formulas in Arabic and Turkish with explanations in Belarusian. Unfortunately, most of them are no longer readable.

The other objects related to folk healing are the *nuskas*. These were made on small cards containing appropriate magic formulas. The texts on the cards were flushed with water, then the *nuskas* were put in; the water was later given to patients. According to folk beliefs, the best effects were achieved in the treatment of mental illness. The *nuska* from the Museum's collection is not a typical example of its kind. What differs it from the others is its form, as it was written



III. 4. Protecting *dalawar* written by Amurat Assanowicz, 1867

in black ink. It contains the 12th Sura of the Qur'an and the magic geometric figure created with Arabic letters. The material from which the *nuska* was made is unusual—a lamb's shoulder bone. This *nuska* was probably made in the early 20th century. It was donated by a private collector.

Another type of holy manuscript was the *dalawar*. These were talismans protecting against bad luck during travels or wars. The Museum possesses one *dalawar*. It is a very long and narrow roll of paper containing prayers written in Arabic, epithets of Allah, praises of the twelve imams, sentences and the seal of the prophet.

At the end of the paper roll there is an inscription written in Polish: "Year 1867, by Amurat Assanowicz for Alexander Talkowski. A souvenir."

The textiles

The Museum possesses the apparel of the Muslim priest Lut Muchla and liturgical headwear brought from Turkey.

The textile carpets cover the floors of mosques. The Museum has the rug from the Bohoniki mosque. It is made of plain fabric lined with green cloth, decorated all round by fringes made of yellow threads. In the top part of the rug there is a text of a prayer.

In 1983 the Museum bought two prayer rugs from Turkey, made in the mid-19th century. The main motif in their decoration is a composition of a *mihrab*—the niche in a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca, and mosque lamps.

The documents

One very valuable iconographic exhibit is the map titled “Location of Muslim settlements in the Polish, Lithuanian and Belarusian territories”. Its author is Ali Smajkiewicz. The map illustrates the Tatar settlements on those lands in the late 19th and early 20th century, including towns with mosques. On the left side of the legend there is a drawing showing an *uhlan* (lancer) on horseback.

On the right side of the map there is a drawing of the *buńczuk* Squadron of the 13th Tatar Cavalry Regiment of the Vilna Mongol Lancers. In the lower right corner there is a drawing of a man on horseback armed with a bow and quiver.

At the edges of the map there are scenes showing the 19 mosques of this region.

The collection of documents relating to the Tatar settlement is very poor. Among them are nobility certificates from the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Museum also possesses an interwar relief illustrating the Tatar participation in the Polish army and some iconography, especially postcards and photographs of Tatars.

Conclusion

The Tatar collection of the Historical Museum in Białystok illustrates the historical and cultural complexity of that group. The collection is an important and valuable source of knowledge about the Tatars.

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The Muslim Tatar cultural legacy in its German-Polish context¹

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In different counties of former Lower Silesia, Western and Eastern Prussia as well as in the principality of Brandenburg-Prussia, Silesia and the Kingdom of Saxony—nowadays Poland and Germany—one finds many remnants of Tatar culture as well as evidence of particular Muslim-Christian relationships of the past. On the one hand, one can discover architecture, fashion and music in an Orientalized manner from the *à la Turca* period in Prussia and Saxony,² and on the other there are apparent legacies of close foreign neighbours—the Tatars. It is an old Western European tradition of Orientalism, of being fascinated by Turkish, Ottoman and Islamic exoticism—in poetry, architecture, fashion, music, art and food. In a theatre-booklet of the Berlin Philharmonic we can read: “Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) told a fabulous Oriental adventure in his story *Il filocolo oder Die Mühseligkeiten der Liebe* (Il filocolo or The toils of love). Spectacles, operas, ballets, musicals *à la Turca*, balls in the Turkish fashion, military uniforms and weapons in Turkic manner prove like a *cantus firmus*, that this fashion *à la Turca* persisted even in times of changes. Until the 20th century Orientalism and Turkic Exoticism transferred this alien enchantment into the concert halls.”³ However, Tatar Muslim culture and art also had a remarkable impact on the Orientalist fashion and fascination of the last centuries. One has only to remember the long and unique period of Sarmatism.⁴ As Bielfeldt puts it, “the Tatar steppe zone was traditionally ignored as an inhabited area in Western historiography, which classed it as *no man’s land*. For historiographers, it was easier to see *dikoe pole* (Polish *dzikie pola*, the wild plain) as deserted, rather than having to think about “Asian aliens” and Muslim Nomads.”⁵

¹ Dedicated with sincere admiration to my colleagues: Professor Dr Swietłana Czerwonnaja and Professor Dr Nurhan Atasoy.

² See: Mikliss de Dolega 2000, Pape 1987, Reichel 1978, Striegel 2004, Tex 2005, and Reichel 1995.

³ Own translation. Original in German; see: Gräwe 2008.

⁴ But also in the Sarmatism-literature of Poland one finds two antithetic phenomena: the pride of the Polish-Oriental mixed culture on the one hand and traditional anti-Tatar attitudes on the other. See also: Krzemiński 2005: 185.

⁵ See: Bielfeldt 2007: 101–102.

In this article I would like to give an overview of the Tatar architectural and cultural legacy in Germany and former Prussia and Saxony: Tatar pillows, Tatar tombs, Tatar graves, Mosques, as well as streets and places with Tatar toponyms are evidence of the folk-memory of slit-eyed *barbarians* or *Tatar invaders*.⁶ Narrations of the past as negative images reach into the present. However, this pejorative image of the Tatars did not entirely dominate over the last centuries: while the huge toponyms and light fictions tell us stories of Tatar foreigners, invaders or barbarians, the image of the Tatars (and even Bashkirs or Cossacks) in some periods like the Napoleonic wars of liberation or the times of 'New East Prussia/ South Prussia', was extremely positive, though mainly in elite discourses. Therefore, one encounters various representations of Tatar material culture and there are testimonies in literature and art portraying the "simple brave and not ostentatious neighbours"⁷ from the Baltic, the Crimean peninsula or the Ural Mountains.



III. 1. Tatar Ulan Soldiers, Saxon Army, 1730. Painting drawn by Wolfgang Friedrich and Doris Garscha-Friedrich according to the draft by the State Art Collection Dresden/ Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister and Kupferstichkabinett; phot. Asmus Steuerlein, 1984

Historical background

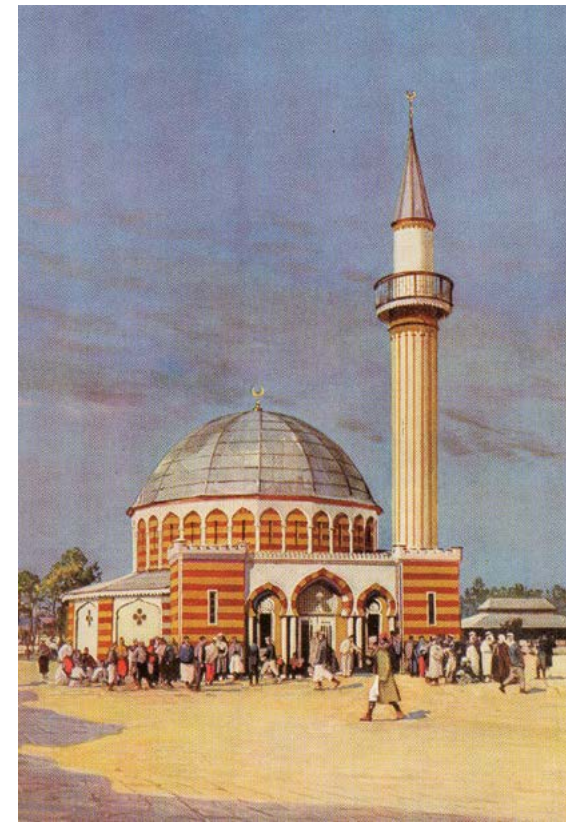
From the times of the Teutonic Order onwards, Tatar Muslims lived in the area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They were already Muslims when Lithuanians became Catholics at the end of the 14th century.⁸ The existence of Muslim communities in the parts of Europe noted above, in Volga-Bulgaria since the year 922, in the Crimean peninsula and Poland-Lithuania-Prussia for 600 years, represents an amnesiac point on the mental map of most western European advocates of "Euro-Islam". The first diplomatic Muslim-Christian contacts in Prussia and Saxony were not Ottoman-German, but Tatar-German! The oldest written sources originate in the 16th century: the Crimean Khan Devlet Girey and the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order Gotthard Kettler of Livland exchanged diplomatic letters in 1599.⁹ Later on, from 1632 until the 1680s, eight Crime-

⁶ See: Hotopp-Riecke 2006: 303–315.

⁷ Frederick William II had planned to use Tatar settlers from New East Prussia (today Poland and Lithuania) for land reclamation and military service in the new conquered land after the Third Partition of Poland. See also footnote 32.

⁸ Tyszkiewicz et al. 2007: 422.

⁹ "1559, Sept. 5, Vilna. O[r]dens]M[eister] Gothart an den Tartaren-Chan Dobleit Girei und dessen Sohn Mehemet-Girei" (Vilnius, 5 September 1559: O[r]der] M[aster] Gothart to the Tatar-Khan Dobleit Girei and his son Mehemet Girei). See: Schiren 1863: 278.



III. 2. Wooden Mosque at POW-Camp "Halbmondlager" (Crescent-Camp), Wünsdorf near Berlin, built 1915; © Projekt + Verlag Dr Erwin Meißler, Hönow near Berlin

an Tatar missions reached the Prussian electors and kings in Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad), Frankfurt (upon Oder), Berlin and even in Szczecin (Stettin),¹⁰ where the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, Frederick William I met with the Tatar noblemen Temur Kirim Gazi and Mustafa Ağa from the Crimea. The first diplomatic journey of the ambassador of the Crimean Girey Khan to the Grand Duchy of Prussia took place in 1632—decades before Tatars attacked Polish-German counties in Lower Silesia and Eastern Prussia in 1656.¹¹ Many legations followed in the 17th and 18th centuries. Even when the Crimean Khanate was already occupied by Catherine II, the Tatar-Prussian diplomatic exchange continued until 1786.¹² It ought to be remembered that the very first time Tatar soldiers served as a compact group was in Prussia in 1675¹³ and in Saxony around 1730.¹⁴ Although Tatar soldiers later on served in the Polish and Saxon armies

¹⁰ Today this old multi-ethnic Hansa-city Königsberg is an enclave of the Russian Federation between Poland and Lithuania with an active community of Tatars and also Tshuvash people. The wife of the mayor of Kaliningrad is also an ethnic Tatar.

¹¹ See: Saring 1934 and Saring 1937.

¹² See: Hotopp-Riecke 2009b.

¹³ The next waves of recruitment of Tatar soldiers began in Prussia under the Prussian Lieutenant-Colonel von Natzmer in 1741 and under the Prussian Colonel Mustafa Baranowsky in 1795, see: Dziengel 1858: 12, 179.

¹⁴ The first public emergence of the Saxon Tatar Ulan Pulks was the giant manoeuvre near Zeithain on 1–23 June 1730 and in Czerniaków near Warsaw in 1732. See: Müller 1984: 14.

the culture of that nation, I wish we could place three times more Tatars than Polish families in the newly acquired land.”¹⁵ Here a number of absolutely positive stereotypes of Tatars converge, similar in tone and association to material I found in dozens of other letters—an image much influenced by imperial anti-Polish policies. Through that cooperation and with the takeover of Lipka and Crimean Tatars they switched from Turco-Tatar via Polish to German and other military languages or sociolects.¹⁶

If we ask since when can Muslim art and culture be considered in a European context, we have to define the terminus Europe. In the context of Euro-Islam debates in Western Europe, semantics of Europe usually refer to the European Union.¹⁷ The bulk of scholars either equate Europe with the European Union or limit it even further to only the “the secularized western member-states”¹⁸ within the EU—leaving aside the new EU-members which formerly were Warsaw Pact allies. In conclusion, the word “Europe” emerges as an ideological construct rather than a geographical reference point. This is also a way of not touching upon subjects with which they do not like to engage: the long history of Islam in Eastern- and Middle-Europe and centuries of traditional life in *dār al-Harb*. I am using the term Europe at least in its classic geographical dimension described by Strahlenberg and Hummel.¹⁹ Its borders are in a geopolitical sense the Ural Mountains, the northern Caucasus and the Bosphorus. Of course that is a mental construction, too, but when I use this semantic I apply to a broader approach rather than the narrow vision of the Western Eurocentrists. (Furthermore I would prefer the expression *Eurasia* instead of arbitrary terms such as Europe and Asia.)

Hence, Islam is an original European religion, too: a controversial discourse against, about or in favour of Euro-Islam constitutes, from this perspective, a paradox, an absurd and insubstantial one. However, negative images of the Tatars are still very much in usage in Western Europe. One comes across dozens of books and fairy tales evoking images of wild Tatar invaders and slit-eyed barbarians of the east.²⁰ For the construction of the common German “occidental” identity, the “Tartarenfurcht”—“Tatar Fear”—and in that context the Tatar-Mongolian, Lithuanian-Tatar or Polish-Lithuanian-Tatar troops and their history of invasions and wars played a crucial role, because the history of Poland and Germany is closely interwoven on the levels of territories and personalities. Thus, for instance the “slaughter” of Liegnitz (Wahlstatt/Legnicking Pole) and

¹⁵ See: Dziengel 1858: 180. This sentence could be read as an instance of their hybrid nature as an attractive instrument of balance between Muslims and Catholics, which Verkuyten and Cieslik describe in their article: The well integrated Tatar Muslims of Poland-Lithuania as a buffer element between the Protestant Prussian occupying power and the Catholic Polish subjects. See: Verkuyten – Cieslik 2006.

¹⁶ Beside the Turko-Tataric soldiery-terms *Ulan* and *Cossack* were this for instance: *Tshisme/ Çizme* (flat shoes), *Kolpak/ Kalpak* (*Colpack*), *Attila*, *Schabracke* and *Schabrunke/ Çaprak* (saddlecloth), *Dolman* or *Dollman*, *Scharawade* (shalavary/pantaloons), *Tschapka/ Çapka* (bonnet), *Ulanka* (tunic of the Ulans), *Pallasch* (backsword), *Tatarka* (fur bonnet), *Karbatsch* (from tat.: *kirbaç* = leather lash), *Jatagan* (*Yatagan/* short ‘Turkish’ sword) etc. But also the Polish *Pekesche* (*bekiesza*) found its way with the Ulan soldiers into the German language.

¹⁷ Amirpur 2006, Malik 2001, Tibi 2007.

¹⁸ Remien 2007: 7.

¹⁹ Strahlenberg and Papp 1975, Hummel and Dillinger 1785.

²⁰ Some examples: Freeman Solomon 1970, Geede 2000, Gröper 1985, Laube 2005, Tschajkowskyj 1960, Worgitzki 1935.

Tannenberg (Grunwald)²¹ became fixed points for the construction of German and Polish national identities—*lieux de mémoire* upon the map of Germany’s identity construction and unification in particular (not as crucial as the Tatar yoke in Russian context, but still relevant).²² The *Tatar Fear* as a primal fear in the Occident still influences post-modern discourses like Euro-Islam- and xenophobia discourses in Western Europe, because here, Islam is not considered as a cultural tradition or religion of Eastern and Middle Europe in discussion, but as an alien one—representing the foreign attitudes of the ‘other’.²³

Islamic architecture and art of the past in Germany

The view on Islamic art and culture in Europe remains determined by a lack of knowledge, and ignorance regarding the long tradition of European Islam. Dozens of books, journals and conferences pick up the issue of Euro-Islam, but merely in the one-dimensional focus of Western-European Euro-centrism. Behind the German borderline of the rivers Oder-Neiße Islamic life is seemingly nonexistent.²⁴ In his book *Euroislam Architecture* the art-historian Christian Welzbacher argues that “the first occidental mosque, which was used by an active Muslim community, was the Shah Jahan Mosque in the English city of Woking 1889.”²⁵ But he is wrong, if I use his definition of Europe, I have to add at the very least, that the first occidental mosques were built in Poland-Lithuania many decades before. Indeed, the intellectuals of Poland who saw themselves as defenders of the occident are regrettably ignored by Western Europeans, due to Eurocentric negligent research by old-fashioned researchers of the West. In Poland and Germany a Tatar Muslim culture has been alive for several centuries. In another statement Welzbacher is quite

²¹ Liegnitz is the former German name of the village Legnica in today’s Poland. On April 9 of 1241 it was the setting for the Battle of Wahlstatt. On the so-called fields of Liegnitz (nowadays the village Legnickie Pole) the Tatars-Mongols of the Golden Horde led by Kadan and Baidar fought a Polish-German army under Duke Henry II the Pious of Silesia. The Tatars annihilated their opponents and joined with the main army in Hungary, but upon receiving the news of the death of their Grand Khan Ögedei Khan, they left to attend to the election of a new Khagan, or Grand Khan. The site became known in German as Wahlstatt, or “battle field”, in honour of the battle. The battle marked the westernmost expansion of the Tatars into central Europe. See: Mick 2004. The village Grünfelde in former Eastern Prussia was renamed as Grunwald in Poland, in Lithuanian language similar to that *Žalgiris*. The battle of Grunwald is regarded as one of the most important battles in Polish history. Poles, Lithuanians and Tatars led by the king Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło) and Grand Duke Vytautas/Witold of Lithuania, fought the knights of the Teutonic Order, led by the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen on July 15, 1410. The Tatar allies were led by Jalal ad-Din Khan (1380–1412). He was the Khan of the Golden Horde in 1411–1412, the son of Tokhtamysh Khan. The battle is often depicted by an ideogram of two swords, which were supposedly given to the King Władysław II Jagiełło and the Grand Duke Vytautas before the battle by the Teutonic knights envoys to “raise Polish desire for battle.” The Lithuanian term *Žalgiris* for Grunwald became a symbol of resistance to foreign domination over Lithuania until the 21st century.

²² See: Klein 2005.

²³ One is faced by this phenomenon in Germany and Poland not only in recent novels but also in movies (expl. *Die Kreuzritter 5* [The Crusaders 5] by Jerzy Hoffman, Poland 1999 or *Der goldene Kompass* [The Golden Compass] by Chris Weitz, USA 2007) or newspapers (newsweek.pl, 16 May 2008: The Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz used the Tatars as enemies of the Polish: „Kaczyńscy są jak Tatarzy—najeżeli na Polskę [The Kaczyński brothers {Lech, the President of Poland, and Jarosław, the former Prime Minister from 2005–2007} swept over Poland like the Tatars].”

²⁴ Here one can read exemplarily Amirpur/ Ammann 2006, Golz 2005, Malik 2004 or Remien 2007. Nowhere in those books regarding European Islam is the indigenous autochthonous Tatar or Bashkir Islam mentioned at all.

²⁵ Welzbacher 2008: 30.



III. 3.
“Tatar Stone” near Wünsdorf after restoration 2009, POW-cemetery Zehrendorf; phot. © Venera Vagizova-Gerassimov, Berlin

III. 4.
Tomb of Tatar Officer Mustafa Sulkiwicz, Dippoldiswalde, Saxony 1730; phot. Mieste Hotopp-Riecke, 2009

Mustapha Sulkiwicz
ein Tartar Premier-Leutnant
unter den Königlich
Polnischen und churfürstl.
Sächsischen löblichen
Obersten v. Schiebelchen
Pulkulanen ist am 1. 7. 1762
in einer Attaque bei
Reichstädt erschossen und
hier begraben worden



right: he notes that the architectural influences on contemporary construction of Mosques in Germany originate from archetypes in Arabic and Ottoman architecture.

In several German cities and parks a number of architectural monuments can be stylistically subsumed under the phenomenon of “romantic Orientalism”, for example the Tobacco-Mosque in Dresden,²⁶ the Mosques in Schwetzingen, Sommerswalde or Potsdam. Those buildings were used as (Tobacco) factories, Summer Pavilions or electric pumping stations without being influenced by Islamic beliefs or history in any way. The only mosques which were actually used by Muslim believers are intensively interwoven with the Tatar history of Poland and Germany²⁷ like for instance the former Mosque of Wünsdorf close to Berlin. This wooden Mosque was built in a prisoner-of-war camp of World War I. Twelve thousand Tatar and Bashkir Muslim prisoners from Russia lived in this “wine hill camp”. In the nearby “crescent camp”, also built for prisoners of war, such as Algerians, Indians, and Afghans amongst others who served in the Entente-armies of France and Great Britain.²⁸ The

²⁶ Constructed by the German businessmen Hugo Zietz in 1909, today functions as a restaurant, beer garden, theatre, cultural centre and office building owned by Adi Keitzman. See: <http://www.1001maerchen.de/> (accessed: 18.12.2009) and <http://www.kuppelrestaurant.de/index1.html> (accessed: 22.12.2009).

²⁷ See: Höpp 1997.

²⁸ See: Höpp 1995: 32–35.



III. 5. Kiesewetter, August Wilhelm: Modell: “The Palace of Tatar-Khans at Crimea”, 1846, Crimea, oil on canvass and wood, 30 × 133 × 103 cm; © Museum Europäischer Kulturen—Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz

imams in the camp who were serving the Muslim prisoners were Volga-Tatars: Abdurrehid Ibrahim and his follower Alim Idris. A second mosque is also deeply connected with the Muslim-Tatar history of Poland and Germany: the Ahmadiyya-Mosque in Wilmersdorf, Berlin, which was originally founded and built from 1924 to 1928 in an Indo-Persian style by the Islamic Community Berlin (Islamische Gemeinde Berlin).²⁹ The Islamic World Congress Germany, an association founded by around 60 Muslim emigrants from the USSR in 1932,³⁰ the German Muslim Society founded on March 22, 1930 and the Islam-Archive Germany³¹ are followers of that mosque-community. Today, the Mosque is used by the Ahmadiyya Lahore Community and the German branch of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood.³² Two institutions, namely the Islamic World Congress as well as the Islam Archive, constitute themselves in the tradition of the first Muslim Tatar dzhemaat, founded in 1731 in Potsdam under King

²⁹ This Society *Islamic Community Berlin* was founded 1922 by Muslims from 41 countries, mostly followers of the Ahmadiyya Anguman Iṣṭat-i-İslam Lahore (اسلام اشاعت انجمن احمدیہ). The Berlin branch of the Ahmadiyya Lahore followed at that time the traditions of the Woking Islam Mission of Great Britain. See: <http://www.aail.org/text/articles/others/briefhistoryberlinmuslimmissiongermany.shtml> and <http://berlin.ahmadiyya.org/> (accessed: 22.01.2010).

³⁰ The Islamic World Congress united Islamic Associations from all over Germany on 27 May 1933. See: Abdullah 1987 and Ahmad 2006: 3–14. (See also: <http://berlin.ahmadiyya.org/berlin-mission-june06.pdf> [accessed: 7 January 2011]).

³¹ It was founded in 1927. Today the headquarter of the Islam Archive Germany is situated in the city of Soest (<http://www.islamarchiv.de/> [accessed: 7.01.2011]). The first German Islamic Journal *Muslim Revue* is still published by the Islam-Archive Soest (near Dortmund).

³² The Naqshbandiyya-Haqqaniyya sufis meet every Thursday in the Ahmadiyya mosque with his Sheikh Ahmad Erwin Khors-Helle in order to hold sufi-meditation ḡikr. See: Böttcher 2003.

Frederick William I of Prussia³³ (popularly known as “the Soldier-King” [der Soldatenkönig]). They are associating the history of the Tatar community with the presence of that Mosque in Berlin today and even with the long tradition of tolerance and multi-ethnicity in Prussia.

Close to the above-mentioned former prisoner-of-war camp in Wünsdorf, lies the cemetery for Hindu, Sikh and Muslim soldiers of WWI. The so-called Tatar stone, a memorial stone with bilingual sentences, is dedicated to the thousands of captured Kazan-Tatar Muslims and was restored last year by the support of the contemporary Tatar community of Berlin, led by Venera Vagizova. This particular Tatar stone at the former prisoner-of-war camp bears a real reference to Tatar history, while other “Tatar stones” like those in Saxony-Anhalt or Lower Saxony have no references to real Tatars but to the so-called “Taters”, the ethnonym of gypsies, gamblers, Slavic, Hunnish or Turkic people or just “the aliens from the East” in the German medieval times...

Let me digress briefly to the field of toponymics: in North- and Northern East-Germany one finds dozens of places with Tatar-etymology like the Tatar pillar,³⁴ Tatar mountain,³⁵ Tartar channel,³⁶ Tartar swamp, Tartar stone, Tater road, Tatar hills, Tater bushes, Tater hole, Tater corner, Tatar graves and so on. These places are shrouded in sagas and lyrics. Two different kinds can be distinguished. The first kind refers to toponyms with Tatar components. These have been passed down into the German languages through various forms. On the one hand, one should distinguish between the texts which really have something to do with the Tatar history, such as the sagas of Tatarstone near Neidenburg (Niedzica in Western Prussia, today Poland), the Tatar road of Wahlstatt (Legnickie Pole, Lower Silesia, today Poland), the Tatar hill near Przeworsk (Kopiec Tatarski in Przemyśl County, Poland) or the Tatar tombs of Klein Beucha and Dippoldiswalde (both Saxony).³⁷ In the village Klein Beucha near Leipzig is located the tomb of “Jussuf, the son of Mustapha”, who died after the “Völkerschlacht” (Battle of Nations or Leipzig Battle) in 1813. He was probably a Lipka-Tatar Officer and was entombed together with his horse on top of a small hill outside the village. In some oral traditions and written records he is mentioned as a Cossack Hetman. Currently, I am still investigating the exact data in the archives of both Leipzig and the county of Borna.³⁸ In the surroundings of another Saxon city—Dippoldiswalde—lies the ‘Tatar tomb’ of Mustafa Sulkiewicz, a Tatar Ulan of the ‘Royal Polish and Saxon Duke’s Schiebel-Pulk’. He died on 1 July 1762

³³ The statute of today’s Islamic World Congress states that “the Association Islamic World Congress is the successor of the Islamic World Congress, founded on 31 October, 1932 and registered on 31 May 1933 by the municipal court of Berlin-Wilmersdorf.” This was the leading Organization of Muslims living in the German Reich. With it is the Association Islamic World Congress adverting to the history, traditions and the ancient code of behaviour of the first Islamic Community in German lands, founded by the Edict of Potsdam in 1739. The Islamic World Congress considers themselves as their beneficiary and upholder. However, the above-mentioned Edict of Potsdam by Frederick William I, King in Prussia, should not be confused with the tolerance proclamation issued by Frederick William I, Elector of Brandenburg and Grand Duke of Prussia, in Potsdam on October 29, 1685, as a response to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the Edict of Fontainebleau.

³⁴ These Anti-Gipsy-pillars stood once in counties like Lower Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Mecklenburg, and Hessen. On wooden plates were drawings or carvings depicting gallows, bullwhip and torture in order to make clear that foreigners/ gamblers/ gypsies were not welcome. There are still field names which are evidence of these pillars close to Hildesheim, Braunschweig, Bad Gandersheim, Helmstedt and Dithmarschen amongst others.

³⁵ In the city of Seehausen/ Börde near Magdeburg, in Hamburg, Wustrow, Seesen, Rübeland, Stormarn, etc.

³⁶ In Berlin-Steglitz; see: <http://www.berliner-stadtplan.com/>, item: Düppel (accessed: 18.10.2009).

³⁷ See: Günther 2008, Hotopp-Riecke 2009c.

³⁸ See: Hotopp-Riecke 2009c, Schulreich 1998.

in a battle of the Seven Years War (1756–1763). The graveyard and tomb-obelisk were looked after by local people, and even during World War II a descendant of Mustafa Sulkiewicz, Leon Sulkiewicz, who was a POW of the Wehrmacht, renewed the tomb with his own scarce money.³⁹

On the other hand, one can see a bulk of literature with narratives of passed-down fantasies about ‘Tartars’ or ‘Taters’ regarding many toponyms that have nothing to do with the Tatars of today but more with gypsies, vagrants, blacksmiths or lansquenets of the past.

These people have left their traces in names such as Tartar Mountain in Seehausen (Börde), the Tatar Stone in the vicinity of Taterhill in Altmark-region, the Tatar Swamp of Berlin or other above-mentioned toponyms in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Brandenburg and Lower Saxony. In the sagas, poems and fairy tales relating to these toponyms, gypsies and vagabonds are predominantly mentioned as Tatars in a negative manner. And as we can see it was not the Tatars who bequeathed something; instead, it was German and Polish people who invented those legends. How these legends and sagas functioned is well documented in the case of the Lajkonik-Tradition of Krakow. A ‘Tatar Khan’ riding a hobby-horse became a folk tradition, based on the Tatar invasion of 1240–1241 or of 1287. But, as the Polish historian Łukasz Olszewski pointed out, the genesis of the Lajkonik-Festival arose from Protestant processions of German settlers or from the inspiration of a Donnybrook Fair in Southern France rather than from the Tatar invasion 600 years ago.⁴⁰

Only a few examples of German architecture are related to Tatar history, namely to the above-mentioned Battle of Liegnitz/ Legnica. These are for instance the Tatar Tower of Magdeburg and the city-wall around the castles gate of Lübeck. They were built by Germans because of the Tatar Fear in the 13th century. But again: Not by Tatars but in fear of Tatars.

Islamic cultural heritage: Calligraphy, architecture, ornaments

What else can one discover whilst searching for Islamic, and especially for Tatar influences on calligraphy, architecture, ornaments, arts and crafts? There is no obvious legacy in the public sphere like buildings or sculptures, but in German archives, collections and libraries one finds varied evidence of Muslim Tatar material culture like handicrafts, ornaments and calligraphies as well as reminiscences on architecture. The first Janissary corps of the Polish-Saxon king Augustus 2nd⁴¹ for instance brought influences in music and fashion, whereas the above-mentioned Tatar soldiers brought their own emblems and ornaments, weapons and helmets. In libraries and archives hundreds of manuscripts and books are stored with ornaments, silk sheaths and cal-

³⁹ See: Schäfer 2007: 7.

⁴⁰ See: Olszewski 2009, Hotopp-Riecke 2009a.

⁴¹ He installed that Janissary Music Corps only for representative reasons in 1729. Frederick Augustus 1st or Augustus 2nd the Strong (German: *August II. der Starke*; Polish: *August II Mocny*; Lithuanian: *Augustas II*; 12 May 1670–1 February 1733) was Elector of Saxony (as Frederick Augustus I) and King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (as Augustus II). See: Müller 1984: 110–111.

lithographies, printed books of the *Berlin Tatar Library* like “Almanya ve Şark” (Germany and the Orient)⁴² and manuscripts by the Crimean Khans,⁴³ hand-written diaries of Tatar soldiers⁴⁴ and Tatar poem-manuscripts, etc.

Some German museums store hundreds of objects either of Tatar origin or made by German researchers and artists like Wilhelm Kiesewetter (1811–1865). In the Museum of European Cultures there are two archive sections solely dedicated to Volga-Tatar and Crimean Tatar material culture. They hold drapery, jewellery, scarves, tubeteykes / hats and shoes. Two eminent exhibits by Wilhelm Kiesewetter are the miniature-models of the Bakhchisaray Palace and a Crimean Tatar mountain village. Kiesewetter was a painter and ethnographer from Berlin, who travelled through the Crimea, Russia, Caucasus and Scandinavia between 1838 and 1853. He lived among Crimean Tatar families for two years in Gursuf, Aqmescit and Bakhchisaray, where he studied the culture and daily life of his environment. He wanted to show Western Europe how these faraway cultures lived, in order to promote ideas of mutual appreciation. The Museum of European Cultures today stores more than 160 exhibits, among them three miniature models of Crimean Tatar places, 34 canvases and 11 drawings and lithographs with Crimean Tatar topics, two with Volga-Tatar themes and eleven canvases from the Crimea regarding Gypsy life of that time.⁴⁵ The department for Volga-Tatar exhibits includes around 50 subjects like clothes, shoes and jewellery. These exhibits by Kiesewetter like around 990 others were never displayed together in a coherent exhibition. Only some parts were shown over 80 years ago, after Dr Hans Findeisen and his wife, Nata Findeisen, collected them in the Soviet Union before the Great Terror and the beginning of the deportations. The museum started collecting Tatar objects in 1916. At that time the collection of Carl Wache was purchased by the Museum of Anthropology, the predecessor of today’s Museum of European Cultures.⁴⁶ Carl Wache collected Crimean Tatar textiles (marama) while travelling through the Crimea at the beginning of the 20th century. The ethnologists Hans and Nata Findeisen travelled through the Crimea and the Caucasus in 1929 carrying out a mission for the museum. They wanted to save whatever they could reach, because “Europeanization did a quantum leap in its advancement.”⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Hans Findeisen collected objects in the Caucasus whereas his wife Nata worked together with the famous Crimean Tatar ethnographer and painter Hussein

⁴² That book series was founded by Tatar emigrants at the beginning of the 20th century in Berlin. I found only the first book inside the collections of the Berlin Prussian Secret State Archive.

⁴³ I discovered more than 300 handwritten letters, passports, notices, invitations, etc. which were exchanged by the Khans of Crimea and the Grand Dukes of Brandenburg-Prussia respectively the Kings of Prussia from 1599 until 1786 at the Prussian Secret State Archive. Together with the collaborators of Professor Dr Ismail Kerimov, head of the NIZ (National Research Center for Crimean Tatar history, language, culture and literature) at the KIPU (Crimean University for Engineering and Pedagogies) we will translate and publish them in the next years.

⁴⁴ Above-mentioned Volga-Tatar soldier of Russian Army, POW of the WWI, did write diaries, letters as well as a Russian-Tatar Pocket Dictionary while sitting in the Weinberg-camp. The box with that objects inside lays in the manuscript-archive of State Library Berlin (<http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/en/orientabteilung/start.html> [accessed: 24.11.2009]). Collaborators of the ICACAT Berlin together with Artists and Scientists of the Tatar community in Berlin are currently translating and preparing it in order to publish it.

⁴⁵ See: Kaulbach and Tietmeyer 2005: 4, 23.

⁴⁶ See: <http://www.smb.spk-berlin.de/smb/sammlungen/details.php?objectId=10> (accessed: 12.12.2009).

⁴⁷ Two letters written by Hans Findeisen to the director of the museum from 19.10.1929 and 3.11.1929 (Archive-no.: Archiv SMB-PK, EM, Akte I B 111, no. E 999/29, E 1236/29). See: Thietmeyer 2009.



III. 6. Fez of a Crimean Tatar Woman, red velvet, embroidered, before 1925, collectors: Hans and Nata Findeisen; © Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz; phot. Waltraud Schneider-Schütz

Bodaninskiy (1877–1938). He arranged the first Museum after the February Revolution in 1917 and was the first director of the Khan Palace Museum of Bakhchisaray. After being sacked from his job by the Stalinist Administration he—as a member of the ‘Intelligentsia’—was murdered in 1938, due to “nationalist activities”.⁴⁸ Following his death the main part of the exhibits was destroyed or disappeared.

Later exhibits of Dobrudža-Tatar origin were added to the collections of the Museum of European Cultures enriching the already existing collection. That material was collected between 1935 and 1938 by the German economist and journalist Gustav Adolf Küppers (1894–1972) who was commissioned by the museum to travel no less than five times to South-East Europe.⁴⁹ Many of those exhibits were confiscated after World War II by the Red Army and restored following appropriate negotiations and treatments.⁵⁰ German and Tatar scientists, artists as well as members of the Tatar communities in Poland and Germany want to create a similar exhibition based on that material in the near future in Berlin through cooperation with Polish and Crimean Tatar scientific institutions.⁵¹

However, not only Berlin has a rich tradition in saving Tatar cultural objects: the Military History Museum of the German Bundeswehr (MHM) and the so-called “Türkische Cammer” (Turkish Chamber) of the Saxony National Art Museum in Dresden covers a lot of Tatar art exhibits and crafts like horse harnesses, tents or tableware.⁵² From the times of the Polish-Saxon dual monarchy onwards they have been stocking tents, ceramics and other art exhibits in excellent condition. These are mostly described as Ottoman collections, but they also include a couple of Crimean Tatar artifacts inside. This exhibition was opened for the first time in March 2010. Apart from this com-

⁴⁸ See: Tietmeyer 2010.

⁴⁹ All information regarding the Museum of European Culture Berlin are taken from the Manuscript “Materielle Kultur und Identität. Zur Geschichte und Ethnografie der Krimtataren im Museum Europäischer Kulturen—Staatliche Museen zu Berlin” (Material Culture and Identity. The history and ethnography of the Crimean Tatars at the Museum of European Cultures—State Museums of Berlin) by Dr Elisabeth Tietmeyer, the vice director of the Museum. Thank you for giving the permission for getting a preview into that article.

⁵⁰ The SES (Saxony Ethnographic State Collections) of today includes—beside the Museum in Dresden—also the Grassi-Museum in Leipzig. Before the Crimean Tatar exhibits were restoring to the Museum in united Berlin, for instance some pictures of Kiesewetter were sending back from USSR to the Grassi-Museum of Leipzig in GDR. Some pictures were used by the Soviets as cover plates of the used wooden cases.

⁵¹ Barbara Igielska, the curator of the exhibition “Tatarzy Polscy” in Szczecin 2008/2009, offers still the catalogue: <http://zamek.szczecin.pl/wystawy.php?id=100> (accessed: 22.11.2009).

⁵² See: http://www.sk-dresden.de/de/museen/ruestkammer/tuerckische_cammer.html (accessed: 28.12.2009).

plete new exhibition there are a lot of other exhibits regarding Tatar history in Saxon Libraries and Museums. At this point, I will present only a short list of relevant art subjects concerning military history. In the MHM one can find helmets, swords, lances, flags and uniforms of the Tatar Ulans of Saxony, the Saxon Janissaries and the Janissary musicians as well as canvases like “Janissary Officer” by Rudolf Trache⁵³ or “The 1st Royal Saxon Ulan-Regiment no. 17” by Theodor von Götz.⁵⁴ In the Armoury and Etching Cabinet of the *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden* one can also find exhibits and artifacts regarding the Tatars. The words of the Vice Minister of Culture of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ismet Zaatov, clearly manifest the importance of such exhibits regarding the self-awareness of the Crimean Tatar people in the contemporary times. According to Zaatov, “(The) ethnographic accuracy (of Kiese wetters paintings, the author) is of tremendous scientific value. His works can be used to build a true picture of the Crimean Tatars in the first half of the 19th century ... no traces of which are left on the peninsula after the deportation.”⁵⁵

The contemporary Islamic fine arts and architecture

In Western Europe and especially in Germany a new generation of artists and architects who are keen on bridging cultures are now on the agenda. A wave of Mosque-building has been exploding since the beginning of the new millennium. For example in Germany 60 new mosques have been built since the unification in 1989. Moreover, Oriental inspired garden-architecture is in vogue such as the *Orient Garden of Berlin*, constructed in 2005, in the city-borough Berlin-Marzahn.⁵⁶ We have to note that there is also a growing interest in literary circles on these topics and dozens of books and articles have been published about the new mosques and the harsh Islamophobic and xenophobic reactions of some levels of society against the public presence of Islam in Germany. Apart from these developments Tatar artists from the Crimea and the former USSR have also been working since the fall of the Iron Curtain in Germany presenting a new wave of Tatar music, sculptures, poems, performances, leather art, literature and calligraphy.⁵⁷ The latest news from the Tatar community in Berlin regarding art and architecture is related to the above-mentioned Gardens. In the city-borough of Lichtenberg the construction of the “Garden of Tatar-German Friendship” has already begun. This Garden project came out as a joint cooperation between the Berlin municipality, the Volga-Tatar community of Berlin, and the Departments of Environment at the Kazan and

⁵³ Military History Museum Dresden, inv. no.: MHM, BAAU8371. The most Janissary musicians were Northern Africans, the so called ‘Blackamoores’, while the Janissaries themselves came from Poland and Hungary and were a present by the Ottoman Sultan from Constantinople. See: Bauer 2006: 16.

⁵⁴ Military History Museum, inv. no.: MHM, Hc-505.

⁵⁵ Before the job at the ministry he worked as the director of the Crimean Tatar Museum in Aqmescit (Simferopol). See: Tietmeyer 2009: 12.

⁵⁶ See: <http://www.gruen-berlin.de/parks-gaerten/gaerten-der-welt/orientalischer-garten/informationen/> (accessed: 28.12.2009).

⁵⁷ Rashid Sagadeev, a Tatar sculptor from Archangelsk, is working regularly in Germany. The artist, painters, poets and musicians Rais Khailov, Guzel Kurmaeva, Ildar Kharissov, Aydar Gainullin, Timur Vagabov and others from Berlin as well as artists and writers from other cities like Alia Taissina (Weil am Rhein), Suzan Emine Kaube (Pinneberg) or Musa Malikov (Frankfurt am Main) are standing for a complex, energetic, colourful and lively Tatar art scene in Germany.

Yar Çallı (Nabereshnye Chelny, Tatarstan) municipalities. Hence, this project is not constructed solely by orient-inspired German architects and engineers—their counterparts from the municipality departments we mentioned above also participated in the process.⁵⁸

In Poland—the oldest Fatherland of Tatars in Central Europe—Tatar art and culture is experiencing a renaissance and the first bridges have already been built between the Tatar migrants of Germany and the Tatar communities of Poland. So I can conclude that Tatar Islamic art and architecture is strongly related to social circumstances like migration, rising self-awareness or as a response to Islamophobia. We as turcologists can support the scientific and cultural struggle of Tatar communities in our countries in order to let them show—as Maciej Musa Hassanovitch Konopacki said—that “The Tatars of Poland constitute an agile, dynamic piece of Polish society. While in Europe the discussions regarding the so-called Euro-Islam do not come to an end, Europe has to recognize that we have been here—Tatars, European Muslims—for hundreds of years in the heart of Europe!”⁵⁹ Consequently, we have to note that there are shared histories but indeed different memories in the collective minds of German and Polish people and the Muslim Tatars living in our countries. In this respect, bringing these fragmented communities together would play a crucial role in presenting the interconnectedness of Tatar-Polish and German history.

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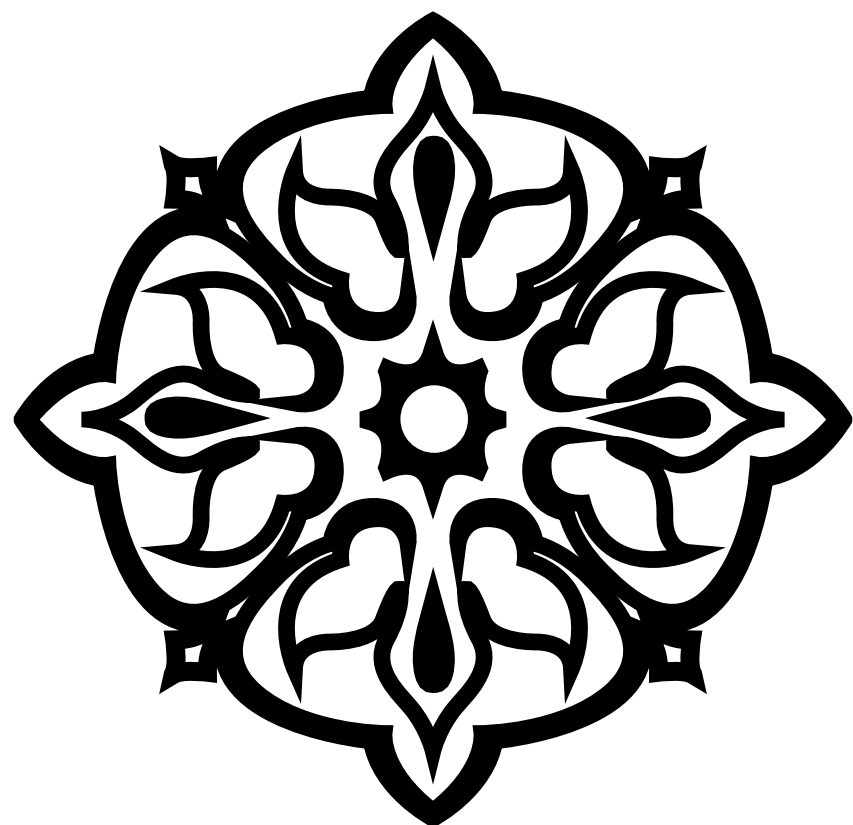
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⁵⁸ See: TAMGA 2009.

⁵⁹ Taken from Maciej Konopacki’s speech on the occasion of the vernissage of the exhibition “Tatarzy Polscy. Historia i kultura Tatarów w Polsce” (Tatars of Poland. History and art of the Tatars in Poland). See: Hotopp-Riecke and Kalimullina 2008, or online: <http://tamga.wordpress.com/2009/01/14/ausstellung-%E2%80%99Epolnische-tataren-geschichte-und-kultur-der-tataren-in-polen/> (accessed: 12.12.2009).

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V
RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN THE ART
OF POLAND/ CENTRAL-
-EASTERN EUROPE
AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES



Islamic art in Ukrainian lands (13th–18th centuries)

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The geopolitical location and historical development of Ukrainian lands were an objective condition of mutual contacts between the cultures of Western and Eastern civilizations. From the medieval era, the culture of the Islamic world took one of the leading places in the East European area. In the middle of the 8th century, a powerful zone of economic contacts was created. Firstly, it was connected with the system of trade on the River Dnieper. Some interesting moments of peaceful contacts were connected with the choice of religion, when Rus' hesitated between Orthodox and Islam. As Gönül Öney considers, "the Turkish conquest of Anatolia in 1071 led to a rapid increase of Turkish influence throughout Asia Minor, and to the creation of countless works of art in this region." A unique synthesis of different cultures was formed, combining Turkish central Asian art and Islamic art in Iran, Iraq and Syria with legacies of Byzantine and Armenian in Anatolia.¹ In the course of the contacts with Byzantine traditions, the transmission of elements of Islamic culture into Old Rus' and its capital Kyiv, also took place. First of all, there was the spreading of influence of the Seljuk circle in the North Black Sea Area (especially into the Crimea).

With the development of the Golden Horde's towns on the Black Sea area at the end of 13th, until the end of the 14th century, the main elements of former material culture didn't disappear, and owing to permanent contacts with Anatolia and other Islamic regions of Asia, its material culture continued to develop with numerous similar features. In the Ottoman period, the North Black Sea area and several parts of Podolia (Podilya) and Bukovina were under the influence of Islamic culture, the penetration and spreading of which went beyond the frontiers and into the territory of other Ukrainian lands.

Unfortunately, the majority of the monuments of Islamic culture in Ukraine were lost, for various reasons, mainly as a result of military and political factors from the end of the 18th and in the 19th–20th centuries. But in spite of this, numerous immovable and movable monu-

¹ Öney 1992: 229.



ments have been preserved till our days in different regions of the country. The majority of the first category are represented in the Crimea, where more than 100 immovable monuments are known (fortresses, mosques, bath houses, palaces, *madrasas*, fountains, mausolea). The study of this legacy can be a theme of special academic note.

But monumental Islamic art was also preserved in other regions of the Ukrainian lands. And due to archaeological excavations, its number is growing.

Thus, the period of the development of civilization on the territory of the Golden Horde, and the organization of its life according to Islamic traditions, was fixed by archaeological monuments in West Podolia, in the region of the Lower Dnieper and Dniester.

Several sites of the Golden Horde were located on the Lower Dnieper, amongst which the remains of a town of about 10 hectares was discovered and investigated in the modern village of Veliky Kuchugury (Великі Кучугури, Zaporizhia Region) by V. Dovzhenok.² The location of another city's structure was found in the same region near the village of Yurkivka. An ornamental frieze of a capital was found there, decorated with the following elements, located from left to the right: "cutting", "bud", "leaf with rhomb", "heraldic cutting", "palmette with volutes" and "cutting". This architectural detail has analogies among the capitals of a mosque of Uzbek, a madrasa of Solhat and other monuments of the Crimea.³

In the village of Torgovytsa in West Podolia, a complex of Golden Horde monuments was located. It consists of a town and a necropolis. In the course of the excavation of the town, numerous structures, typical for Islamic culture, were found. There are the remains of a monumental building, with limestone slabs, ornamented in Seljuk style: palmettes, rosettes, hexagonal star, which can be details of a mausoleum or a mosque (according to O. Aybabina's opinion), a part of a water system of the town, clay ovens (*tandyrs*) and finally, a bath house (*hamam*) was discovered.⁴

The remains of the Golden Horde town of Akkerman in Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy (Odessa region) on the river Dniester were also preserved. In the course of a more than 100 year period of excavation of a multi-layered monument (antic Tyras, Golden Horde Akkerman, Moldavian Chetatea Alba, and Ottoman Akkerman), especially by Anastasiya Kravchenko,⁵ a part of the Golden Horde town was investigated, where the residential quarters and handicrafts workshops were discovered.

All the above mentioned and other Golden Horde immovable monuments were also accompanied by numerous and various kinds of artifacts, including items of art.

As to the Ottoman period, different monuments of Islamic architecture located in the regions of its possessions continue to be discovered in the course of excavations. Firstly, there are military monuments—fortresses and different fortification structures in Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy (Akkerman), Izmail, Ochakiv, Kamieniec Podolski (Kamyanets Podilskiy), and Chocim (Khotyn). The most preserved is the fortress in Akkerman, the history of the building of which is connected with the changes in the artillery art in Europe, from traditional medieval fortifications into fortress bastions.

² Dovzhenok 1961.

³ Saenko and Dzuba 2006.

⁴ Bokiy, Kozyr and Pozyway 2007: 417–418; Bokiy, Kozyr and Pozyway 2008.

⁵ Kravchenko 1986.



III. 1. Mosque, Izmail

Among the examples of civil and religious monumental architecture, a remarkable place belongs to a monument of the classical period of the Ottoman Empire—the mosque in Izmail (III. 1). Construction of it is very likely dated to the 16th century.⁶ Besides this, part of a mosque in Ochakiv has been preserved, as well as the minaret of a mosque in Akkerman (III. 2), part of a mosque in Khotyn and a minaret in Kamyanets Podilskiy. In the course of our excavation in Akkerman a bathhouse from the end of the 15th/ beginning of the 16th century was discovered.

The enormous legacy of Islamic culture, most of all originating from Turkish, Iranian, Syrian, Iraqi, and Crimean Tatar sources, is represented in numerous museums of Ukraine. In some cases, expositions were formed on the basis of private collections, and were replenished in subsequent times in different ways, including the use of archaeological materials from the territory of Ukraine.

The biggest and most unique collection of Islamic art is in The Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts (Kiev), the basis of which is embodied in the unique examples of Oriental art, accumulated by well-known Ukrainian collectors. It includes Islamic art from Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, states of Middle Asia, the Caucasus, and Azerbaijan of the 18th–19th centuries. In the museum there are examples of metalworking, including weapons, as well as ceramics, miniature painting, and textiles, including carpets, which are brilliant examples (not the brilliant) of Islamic art. Among the most famous exhibits of Iranian art is a bronze casket from the early 14th century, decorated with silver encrustations. The exposition of Iranian ceramics includes high quality ceramics of "kashin", such as a jug with a double-walled, ceramic "mina'i", "lajvardina" and luster.⁷

⁶ Kuyulu 2008: 55.

⁷ Bilenko and Rudyck 2005.



III. 2. Minaret of mosque in the Akkerman fortress

From exhibits of Arabian art of the 12th–13th centuries there is one of the masterpieces of Mosul's work—a bronze basin encrusted with silver, which was made for Atabek Badr ad-din Lulu (around 1240).

In the exposition about Turkey there are famous ceramics of Iznik and Kütahya of the 16th–18th centuries.⁸

Great collections of Islamic art are also in the State Historical Museum and Museum of Applied Art and Golden Fund (Kiev), in the Archaeological Museum and Scientific Storage of the Institute of Archaeology of NASU, Odessa Archaeological Museum of NASU, Museums of Local Ethnography of Dnipropetrovsk, Mikolayiv, Kher-son, Mariupol, Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, Ochakiv, Izmail and other regional museums.

One of the numerous categories of Oriental items in museums of Ukraine are the collections of weapons of Iranian and Turkish origin (National Museum of History of Ukraine in Kiev, Dnipropetrovsk's State Historical Museum, Kharkiv's State Historical Museum, Pereyaslav-Khmelnycki State Historical Museum, Lviv's State Historical Museum and others). The numerous examples of sabres were composed from elements of different origins: Turkish, Iranian, and Ukrainian. Thus, in the collections of the National Museum of History of Ukraine there are nearly 10 items of such sabres.⁹ The same situation is echoed in collections of other museums.

In the process of the replenishment of museum collections an important place is taken by the presence of archaeological materials. Items of Islamic art were found in the course of excavations across the entire territory of Ukraine, but the majority of the findings were acquired from excavations in the southern regions of Ukraine. The quantity and quality of the archaeological finds demonstrated a great potential for historical and archaeological investigations and art analysis relating to mass discoveries.

⁸ Rudyck 2005.

⁹ Toichkin 2007: 174–175.



III. 3. Details of belt, excavation of the Lower Yard of the Akkerman fortress

III. 4. Rings, excavation of the Lower Yard of the Akkerman fortress

Thus, in the course of two decades of excavation in Ochakiv and of the ten years in Akkerman, more than 20,000 artifacts were identified. The most representative and numerous is the collection of art ceramics, represented by "sgraffito", Milet group, Iznik and Kütahya.

Some of the thousands of findings of applied art from these monuments, and made from various materials, include different items that echoed peoples' lifestyles, such as clay smoking pipes, metal, glass, bone and semiprecious stones.

The numerous groups include details of dress: plates and belt buckles, and buttons (Ill. 3). Most of the plates and belt buckles were made of bronze, decorated in different techniques: molding, engraving and embossing. The main decorative motifs of different plates includes such elements as a leaf, two and three leaves, rosette, pagans, the Tree of Life, a cypress, geometrical ornamentations, such as carvings, or a hexagonal star. Sometimes the buttons were decorated by filigree or with the encrustation of glass.

A separate sphere of the applied arts is represented by adornments (rings, pendants, beads and amulets). Bronze and silver rings with corselets prevailed. One of the silver rings was decorated by an engraving with the image of a bird. Another one, made from lead, has a seal-stamp in the form of a hexagonal star. Some rings have mounts of stones and glass and sometimes with an engraving on the metal part of ring (Ill. 4). Among the inserts,



III. 5. Dukach, excavation of the Lower Yard of the Akkerman fortress

a rare mount from cornelian with an engraving was found. The image of its engraving includes a composition of flowers and leaves, scissors, the name Ismail and the date 1163/1749. Some items were like amulets, as an “eye against evil”, and there were ducats. In the base of one of the ducats, an Iranian silver coin was used, decorated with a red glass insert (Ill. 5). Numerous beads were made of coloured glass, and semiprecious stones.

The next great group of metal findings (more than 300 items) included cuprum, bronze, silver and gold coins, representing not only the history of money, but also the art of mint: from Arabian calligraphy and signs to different geometric and vegetal images. This collection of Oriental coins includes Golden Horde, Crimean Khanate and Ottoman Empire items. The time

of minting spans the 14th–18th centuries.

One of the biggest accumulations of Ottoman smoking pipes of the 17th–the beginning of the 19th century, is also on Ukrainian territory. Only the collection obtained in the course of our excavation in Ochakiv and Akkerman includes more than 2000 items of various types of forms and decoration. Some of the pipes represent beautiful examples of Islamic applied art. Most of the pipes were made of clay, and decorated by different stamp ornaments, sometimes with the addition of white paste and gold paint. The ornamental motifs were peculiar for Oriental art and the vast territory of Turkish people: leaves, flowers, a rosette, a peacock’s plume, grapes and others. Sometimes there are zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images, such as the head of a hawk. There are symbolic images of women at prayer in the orant fashion, done in a realistic manner, and images of old men, representing Zeus. Numerous pipes have seals (from one to three) with inscriptions or have inscription around the stem socket. As a rule, the name of craftsmen were included in the seal’s inscription, as well as the place of manufacture, good wishes or the date of production. The last one occurs only for the pipes of the 17th century, such as on a pipe from Akkerman with the date of 1080 (1673/1674). Other types of seal carry the images of birds, fish, rosettes and tulips.

Two pipes from Ochakiv were not made from clay. One of them—an amulet pipe from meerschäum with an engraving of an ornamental motif known as the “three full moons”, encrusted around the border of the pipe with blue glass, resembles the “eye of evil”. The other pipe was made from jade.

As it was established, the pipes made in Ukraine acquired the manner of smoking and variety of form from the Turks, and imitate the main forms, some ornaments and also seals with letters. The influence of the Ottoman culture on numerous fields of Ukrainian material

culture and applied art penetrated the vast territories of the Ukrainian lands. In spite of the different kind of relations between the Turks and Slavonic peoples, these contacts during the long period of habitation, led to integrational processes in various spheres of life in Ukrainian society. Among the influences of Islamic traditions and art, the strongest was that of the Turks, but some features of other branches of Islamic cultures (Iranian, Syrian and others) can be found also.

As a result, even a brief observation of the subject provides the evidence of the scale of Islamic art in Ukraine, which is reflected in numerous museums dealing with the ethnographic culture of Ukraine. Historical and archaeological investigations in Ukraine over the last decades have created the basis for new approaches and interpretations of the relationship between the art of Islamic countries and the Slavonic world of the 13th–18th centuries, including the area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The innovations and integrational impulses from the Great Seljuk Empire, the Golden Horde and the Ottoman Empire represent a part in the process of the development of the cultural space of Eastern Europe.

Further investigation of this great mass of materials will allow us to better comprehend historical and cultural processes, intercultural influences on local and global aspects, and ultimately aid us in promoting mutual understanding and tolerance between the peoples of the modern world.

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Armenians in Poland: A foreign culture incorporated

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In 1564, Giovanni Francesco Commendoni, the nuncio of Pope Pius IV to Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, wrote in his report: "Lwow (Lviv), the capital of Roxolania or Red Ruthenia, has belonged to Poland for centuries. The town has a rare privilege of two archbishoprics. Besides that of Catholic there is an Armenian archbishop. The Armenians, pressed by the Turks, left their own country, passed the Black Sea and the Danube and through Wallachia reached Roxolania, settling there by permission of the Polish Kings, trading with Turks, Persians, and other peoples living around the Black Sea. They bring to Poland a great multitude of rich goods."¹

On the origin of Armenians and their settlement in Poland

The word *Armenia* comes from the old Persian *Armina* but the Armenians called themselves the *Hayasdan*, or *Hayq* in their native tongue. In the 7th century BC they settled in the land south of the Caucasus and the Black Sea, which had earlier been the country of Urarthu, which belonged to a great non-Aryan family of people, mixed with Semitic elements of Assyrian and Hebrew origin. The Armenians were an Aryan people who imposed their language and customs and soon formed a military aristocracy, partly recruited from Persia. They were good cultivators of the soil but they soon built towns and developed their culture as skilled artisans and active merchants. They showed quick intelligence, aptitude for business and an enterprising spirit that led them to trade with Scythia, China and India as early as Roman times. On the other hand, as a nation living in valleys between rugged mountains, culminating in the mythical Ararat, they always felt a certain pride and tendency towards separation. In spite of that, the Armenians were essentially

¹ Grodziska 2006: 26.



III. 1. Armenian in Istanbul, ca. 1550; engraving by Nicolas de Nicolay, Print Cabinet of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow: "He is wearing a blue turban with white and red streaks, a kaftan with soft belt and a doloman"

an Oriental people with a remarkable faculty for adaptation to circumstances. Their sturdiness of character has enabled them to preserve their nationality and religion under the sorest of trials. They were strongly attached to old manners and customs, but also had a real desire for progress. They were always hungry for gain in their activity, they were sometimes quarrelsome in small matters, and they had a tendency to exaggerate.

The early history of Armenia is more or less mythical, much interwoven with the Bible narrative, the knowledge of which was possibly obtained from captive Jews settled in the country by Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs. Under the Medes and Persians, Armenia was a satrapy governed by a member of the reigning family that was later appointed by Alexander the Great and his successors. After the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans in 190 BC the country fell in two, Armenia Major, on the old territory south of the Caucasus, and Armenia Minor, situated in Asia Minor, with independent

kings. Among them the most celebrated was Tigranes I the Great (138–59 BC). In alliance with Mitridates, the King of Pontus, he annexed a large portion of Parthia, Syria, Cilicia and Fenicia. He erected a new capital named Tigranocerta, modelled on Babylon, and assumed the title of "king of kings". It was too much for the Romans. They dispatched their legions against him, first under Lucullus, and then under Pompey. Tigranes capitulated and was pressed to return most of his acquisitions. Nevertheless, his reign garnered glory in the history of old Armenia.

Later, Armenia became a vassal country of Rome, peopled with Greeks and other Roman captives, and saturated with new ideas. Around 300 AD, it was converted to Christianity by Saint Gregory the Illuminator. In fact, it was the first country that officially took up this new faith. However, some ancient rituals, such as the bloody sacrifice of lambs, were maintained. Stone churches were built, with a central plan and a tower in the middle. The Armenian Church was guided by a priest of the highest rank—the catholicus, whose seat was in the holy town of Echmiadzin. The Armenian Church suffered all the turbulences of early Christianity, controversial councils and heresies, particularly that of Nestorianism. In the 5th century, the Armenian Church broke with

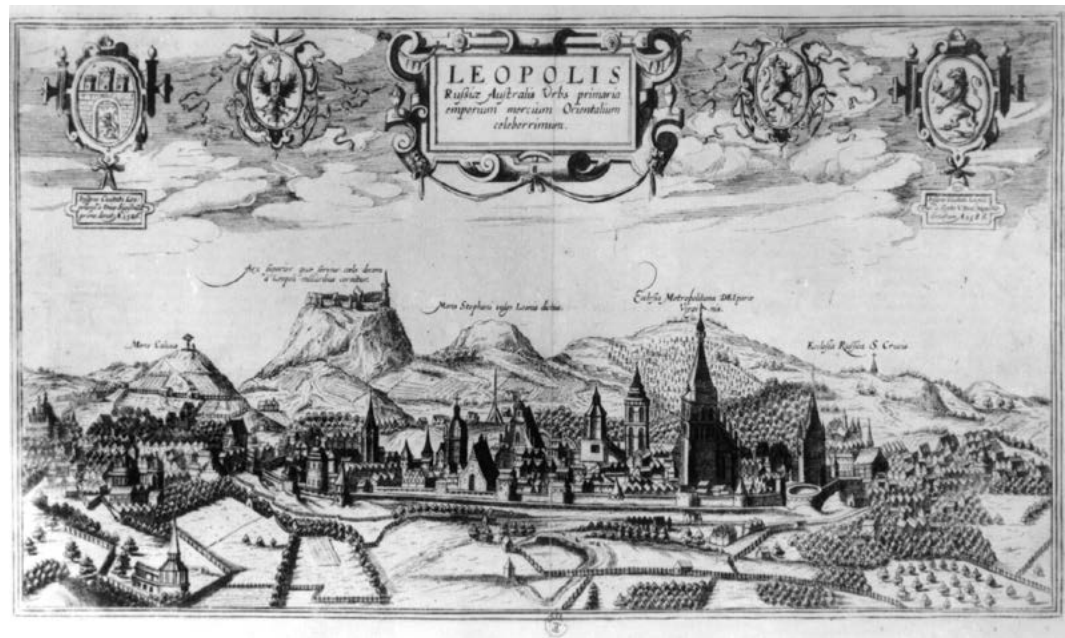
Rome, rejecting the learning of the Chalcedon Council (451 AD) about the double nature of Christ. The so-called Gregorian Church was founded. A specific alphabet had already been created, partly based on the Greek and the Persian Pahlavi, through which national literature was promoted. The first works were mostly translations from Greek and Syrian theological and historical literature. The same influence inspired the Armenian painting of icons and book illuminations.

Politically, Armenia was for a long time balanced between Sassanid Persia and the Byzantine Empire. The critical moment came with the rise of Islam, brought by sword by the Arabs, and then by Seljuk and the Ottoman Turks, with disastrous Mongol raids in between. Military confrontation would bring no chance of victory to the Armenians. The country was ruined. A part of the nation decided to emigrate. The only reasonable path was to the north to the vast and fertile lands of Moldova, Ruthenia, and Poland, on the other side of the Black Sea. Great migrations of peoples were nothing peculiar, appearing even in our own age. They are easier for peoples of nomadic traditions. Armenians migrated to the north in small groups or in greater waves, always in entire families, with the most valuable goods, tents and utensils. These groups were well organized, and guarded by armed men. They used large wagons, but sometimes went by boat. Their usual aim was the two chief cities of Ruthenia—Kiev and Lwow—which even today endure as the capitals of Eastern and Western Ukraine.²

During the early Middle Ages, Ukraine became a land of interest and expansion for Poland. In the 11th century, Polish kings tried to conquer Kiev but it remained an independent Ruthenian dukedom. Lying on the Dnieper River, it grew rich thanks to the extensive trade with Scandinavia and Constantinople. In 1240 it was captured and almost totally destroyed by the Mongols (known as the Tatars). For the Ruthenian people in the south and the Russian people in the north, there came a very hard era of enslavement to the Mongols. In 1362, Olgierd, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and father of Jagiełło, future king of Poland, defeated the Tatars, and joined the vast territories of Ruthenia, including Kiev, to Lithuania, although it later became a part of the Polish Crown. The city of Kiev was reborn, and once again it became a large emporium of trade for all parts of the world. Russian furs were objects of great interest. The Armenians of Kiev transported them to Istanbul and other cities, but they had rivals—Turkish, Persian, Greek and Jewish merchants. To know more about the Armenians of Kiev, the Russian archives should be investigated.

The first record of Lwow comes from 1256. The town was founded by Daniel, the Duke of Halicz and Volhynia, and it was named in honour of his son Lew (Leo). By 1272 it was already capital of the dukedom, with a stout castle on the hill towering over the city. From its origin it was a multilingual city, with a primary Ruthenian population. Quite probably it already had a quantity of Armenian immigrants in the 13th century. In 1349, Polish King Casimir the Great, the last of the Piast dynasty, incorporated Red Ruthenia and Podolia (Podilya) into the Polish Monarchy. In 1356 he reorganized the city on the basis of Magdeburg Law. A new regular Market Square with modern gothic houses for the patriciate was established, with the Town Hall in the middle. The Roman Catholic Cathedral was designed near the Market. Meanwhile, several new churches and

² Der Nersessian 1947, Lang 1970, Zakrzewska-Dubasowa 1977, Thierry 1987, Nersessian 1993.



III. 2. View of Lwow, early 17th c.; engraving in the Print Cabinet of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow

The River Smotrycz is a tributary of the Dniester, a border river between Halicz, Ruthenia and Moldova, separating an important commercial and strategic route from the north to the south. Kamieniec was conquered and devastated by the Tatars in 1240, but soon reconstructed. In 1353 it was taken by Casimir the Great and passed as a fief to the Lithuanian dukes of Koriatowicz. It was transformed into a powerful stronghold and commercial centre, particularly when Duke Jerzy Koriatowicz introduced Magdeburg Law. Among the colonists Armenians prevailed, and soon they dominated in the town, dealing extensively in the Levantine trade. From 1330, together with the entire region of Podolia, Kamieniec was incorporated into Poland and became “a Royal City” exempt from duty. In fact, it was a large community of Armenians—in the 16th century counting about 300 families—much more than in Lwow. In Kamieniec, the Armenians built enormous storehouses for imported goods, and a beautiful cathedral, of which a tower is still extant. Kamieniec was besieged many times. It withstood the attacks of the enemies, but finally, in 1672, it was taken by the Turks. The invaders did not slaughter the Armenians but expelled them from the city. It was a real tragedy, not only for them, but for the entire Polish state. The Turks occupied Kamieniec and a large part of Podolia for some 27 years, until the Karlovitz Treaty of 1699, when it was returned to Poland. A vivid relic of the Turkish occupation is a minaret in front of the Catholic Cathedral and a *minbar*-pulpit inside: the Turks had immediately transformed the Christian sanctuary into a mosque. Kamieniec never returned to its former glory. The expelled Armenians found new places in Lwow and other Polish towns.⁴

monasteries, both Orthodox and Catholic, were founded. Numerous colonists settled in the city: Poles, Jews, Silesians, Germans and Italians. The King showed a special care towards the Armenians, acknowledging their skill in trade and manufacturing. The Armenians had the privilege of self-government, a council with a head, with administrative and judiciary power. The Armenian Church played a vital role in this community. A cathedral was erected for the Archbishop in the years 1356–1363, similar to the native church at Ani. It was enlarged and embellished over the coming eras. It contains many outstanding works of Armenian art, among them stone memorials with the motif of a cross, known as Khachkars, and beautiful murals in Neo-Byzantine style, created by Jan Rosen before World War II. The Cathedral, together with the archbishop’s palace, the buildings of the Armenian jury and the bank, endures as one of most romantic parts of the old city of Lwow.⁵

The Armenian Church in Poland, not without the influence of the Polish community, accepted a union with Rome. In 1626, the catholicus Melchizedek arrived in Lwow and declared allegiance to the Apostolic See. It was confirmed by a new archbishop, Mikołaj Torosowicz, and his followers. A new branch of the Roman Catholic Church was born.

An extremely important place of Armenian immigration was the fortified town of Kamieniec Podolski (Kamyanets Podilskyi), situated at the border between Ruthenia and Moldova. It was a great topographical peculiarity. The River Smotrycz, flowing through a very deep, steep ravine, makes a vast loop, a dream place for a fortified town, all the more so if the place of the approaching streams was to be blocked by a castle. This was done as early as the 11th century.

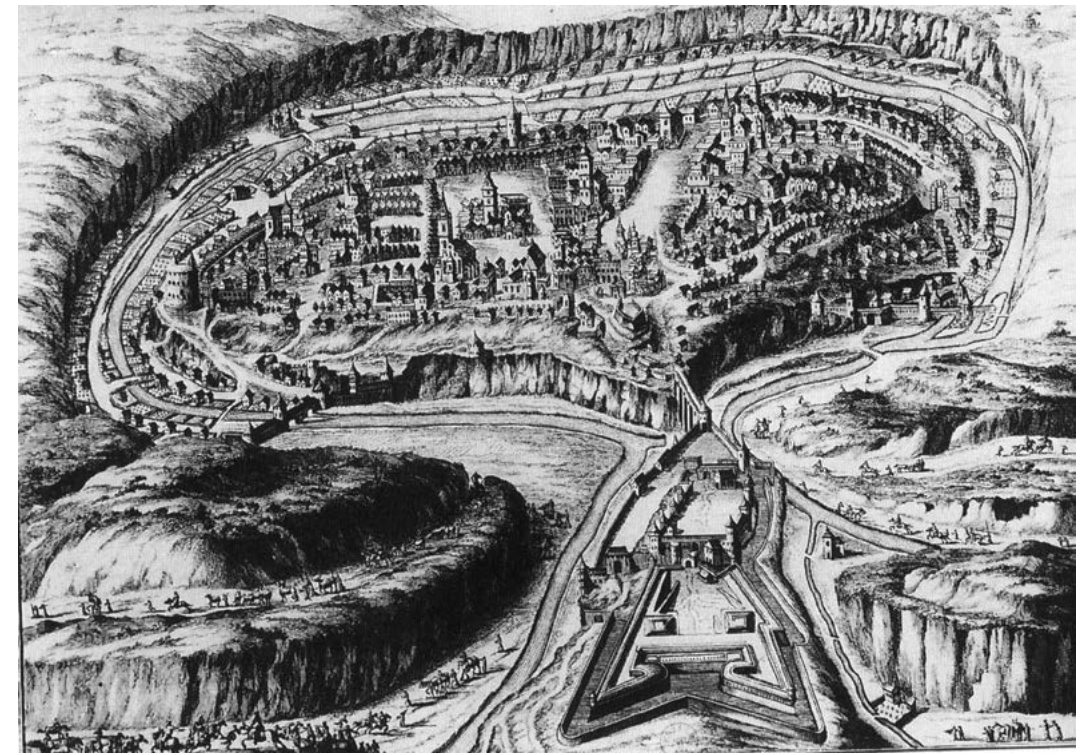
⁵ Łoziński 1902, Charewiczowa 1925.

Polish Sarmatism and the role of Armenians in shaping this model of culture

Until the end of the 14th century, the Polish people were turned to the West, assuming Christianity from Rome and taking many cultural patterns from Germany, Bohemia and Italy. Latin became the second language of knights and noblemen, complementing the native Polish. The last of the Piasts, Casimir the Great, had no male progeny and the Polish crown was given to Louis d’Anjou, his nephew. However, he did not rule Poland in person, preferring Buda to Krakow. He attracted Polish nobles by granting them, as well as the clergy, substantial privileges. After his death, the Polish lords invited his young daughter Jadwiga (Hedwig) to the Polish throne, and found for her a husband in the person of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jogaila—in Polish Jagiełło, son of Olgierd. He was soon baptized and crowned King of Poland. The conversion of the then pagan Lithuania to the Roman Catholic Church played a major role in European politics. The introductory act of union between Poland and Lithuania was signed at Krewo 1385. The friendship of both nations was strengthened by the great victory over the mutual enemy—the Teutonic Order—at Grunwald in 1410. This victory enhanced the prestige of the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy and added vigour to its political activity. Under the rule of the Jagiellons, their state gradu-

⁴ Kołodziejczyk 1994.

ally became a great power in Europe, reaching far to the East, with territories peopled mostly by Poles and Lithuanians but also by Belarusians, Russians, Ruthenians, Germans, Jews, and also Armenians. On 1 July 1569 a final union was sworn in Lublin, binding the two countries of Poland and Lithuania into one State—the Commonwealth, which may be regarded as a precedent of the European Union of today. In accordance with its provisions, the Polish King, henceforth jointly elected, was to become at the same time Grand Duke of Lithuania. Both countries were to have a common parliament (the Sejm) and monetary system, as well as bindings pertaining to alliances, and declarations of war. On the other hand, the treasury, offices of the state and the entire judiciary and administration were to remain separate. Sessions of the Sejm were to be held in Warsaw, which was situated nearer to Lithuania than Krakow. The territories of the Polish Crown, which until now had consisted of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), Mazovia, Małopolska (Little Poland), and Ruthenia, were enlarged by Podlasie, Volhynia and the Kiev region. In this way, most of the Ukrainian lands which had formerly belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were placed within the frontiers of the Polish Crown. The total area of the country increased to some 800 square kilometres with the population numbering about 7.5 million. The basic weakness of this Union was the exclusion of a great mass of Ruthenians from a pact. It would finally prove fatal for the state, which will be annihilated by its neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria at the end of the 18th century. Nevertheless, the Republic experienced its golden age in the 16th century. Amidst peoples of various languages, faiths and ranks, the Polish and Lithuanian gentry, nobles and magnates got the upper hand in politics, gaining numerous privileges, wealth and liberty, the latter known as “the golden freedom”.⁵ Whilst Lithuania was to some extent westernized, Poland was Orientalized. This Orientalization of the Polish gentry soon gained an ideological basis, with the concept of Sarmatism. Sarmatism was rooted in the erroneous conviction that the Polish people were descended from the ancient Sarmatians, a nomadic people of Iranian origin, closely related to the Scythians, who until the 3rd century BC had inhabited territories between the Don and the Lower Volga. The Sarmatians were excellent fighting horsemen, armed with swords and bows. In the course of their wanderings they reached the Danube, thus coming into contact with the Roman Empire. Hard-pressed by the Goths, Huns and Slavs, in the 1st century AD, some Sarmatian tribes recognized the supremacy of Rome and settled in provinces along the Danube. Later, the name Sarmatia was extended to cover lands north of Dacia (today Romania), the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Seeking the origins of the Polish people, Polish 16th-century chroniclers misinterpreted some Roman historians and advanced the thesis that in the first centuries AD, Sarmatian tribes left the steppes fringing the Black Sea coast to settle between the Dnieper and Vistula rivers and turned the local population into slaves. The Polish knighthood and their successors, the gentry, were allegedly descended from those valiant warriors. The theory assured a privileged position to the gentry and justified their dominance in state government. It was the gentry, and the gentry alone, then enjoying unlimited personal freedom, which was the source of this self-adulation, xenophobia and megalomania, combined with a belief in its histori-



III. 3. Plan of the Kamieniec Podolski; engraving by Romain de Hooghe (?); Print Cabinet of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow

cal mission. The idea was both mythomaniacal and creative, fascinating and rapacious, at times obscurantist, backward and overpowering. It was an ideology which moulded national awareness for the longest period of time, since its origins date back to the end of the 15th century, and its epilogue came with the neo-sarmatism of the 19th or even 20th centuries.⁶ This theory lay at the root of the Orientalization of the gentry’s customs, habits and aesthetic tastes, realized above all in costumes and arms. Contradictions were to be found everywhere: while creating their own style with elements of Muslim attire and customs (of course without a turban, which was an obvious sign of Islam) which allegedly recalled those of the mythical Sarmatians, the gentry doggedly fought against those “pagans” and turned Poland into a “bulwark of Christianity”. This big “costume entertainment” began in the 16th century and astonished observers in western Europe. Only men’s fashion was infected. This great national “masquerade” in the civil and military dress of the Sarmatian period, cultivated in full blossom throughout two centuries, could not be realized without the assistance of the Armenians. They were the principal suppliers of patterns and materials from abroad and also the producers of excellent objects in the local workshops. The Polish national costume of the Sarmatian period was a mixture of Turkish, Persian and Tatar elements made almost exclusively from imported raw materials.⁷

⁵ Gieysztor 1968: passim.

⁶ Mańkowski 1946, Chrzanowski 1988, Tazbir 1998, Kowalski 2006.

⁷ Żygulski 1987.

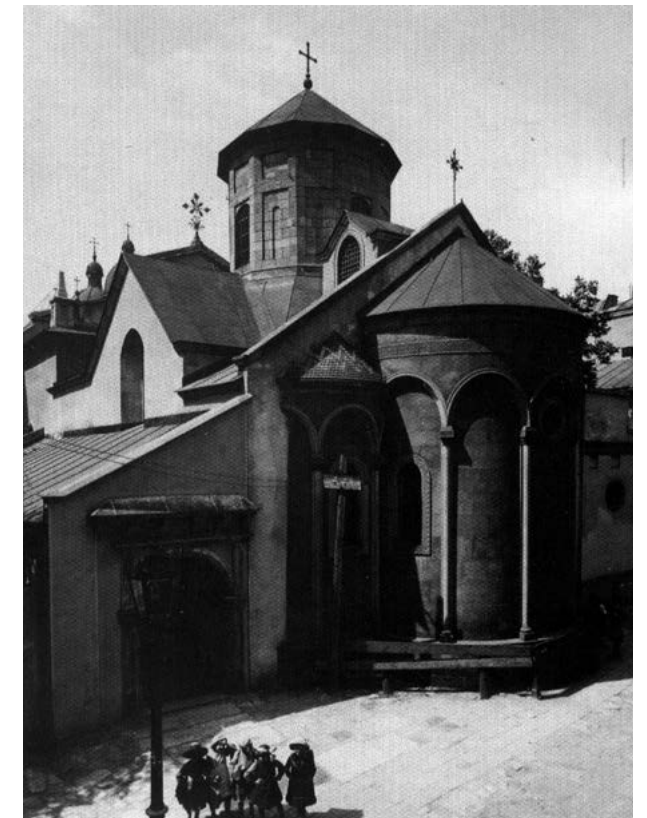
In comparison with the West, where men's fashion had notable extravagances, such as jerkins with small cuts on the surface or short puffy trousers, the Polish national costume was very sober and dignified. Caps of felt or fur in the Persian, Tatar or even Russian style were generally sported. The basic garment was a *żupan*, not different from the Turkish *kaftan*, with buttons in front, tied by a soft belt. The outer dress was a *delia* with long sleeves, not flowing along the arms, but thrown to the back, a *fereszja* with short sleeves and decorative loops on the breast, or a *kopieniak* (Turkish *kôpònek*), a short garment with large sleeves. Trousers were long and narrow, with shoes or long boots of yellow leather. For winter, large furs were used. A new type of outer dress, the *kontusz*, borrowed also from Turkey, but much changed in cut and decoration, was introduced after 1640 and dominated the national fashion till the early 19th century. It is used even today for theatre and festivals. The *kontusz* was adorned with a decorative sash, being an almost totally Armenian product modelled upon some Indian and Persian belts.

The Polish military style, much Orientalized from the early 16th century, was not a caprice of fashion, but arose out of a real necessity to adapt tactics to the system of the Oriental adversaries, not only Tatars and Turks, but also Muscovites. On the vast Eastern plains, light cavalry was a most useful formation. An authentic image of an officer of the Polish light horse from about the middle of the 17th century was painted by Rembrandt, and can be seen in New York's Frick Collection. In Poland it is known as "Lisowczyk", in America as "The Polish Rider".⁸ During the Sarmatian era, a semi-heavy armoured cavalry wearing chain-mail, complemented by short pikes and sabres, sometimes bows and pistols, and also a round shield made of wicker, the so-called *kalkan*, was also formed. The real king of the Polish cavalry was the heavy *husaria*, which wore a *shishak* helmet in the Mameluke or Turkish manner, half-armour in the Italian style, armed with heavy lances of more than 4 metres long, sabres, tucks, palaches and pistols. They were clad in skins of wild animals—leopards, tigers or lions—and were furnished with wings. Initially it was a single wing of black or blackened feathers, put into the cantle of the saddle, and in the 18th century it became more decorative, often a pair of wings fixed to the backplate of the armour. These wings were an imitation of a Tatar fashion, but much more developed. A unique, almost fantastic product of the Sarmatian culture was the *karacena* scale armour, unknown, with the exception of Italy, in any other European country. It is not documented but we can suppose that the Armenians were involved in this invention. Scale armour appears in ancient Roman bas-reliefs, also on triumphal arches and columns presenting real Sarmatians fighting with the Romans. Sometimes, scale armour, known as *lorica plumata*, was also worn by the Romans themselves, occasionally by emperors. Its design was linked with the scale *aegis* of Pallas Athena. Polish *karacena* armour did not emerge as a result of normal evolution, it was artificially revived to satisfy the Sarmatian aspirations of the Polish gentry. It was worn with a *shishak* helmet with a scale skull, or more originally as a scale skull, with a coloured turban around the rim. The skin of a leopard or tiger was attached to the *karacena*, but no wings were used with this armour. Of course, these skins must have been acquired on the Eastern markets, possibly

in Turkey, but when Turkey put an embargo on these objects, knowing their military use, Persian markets were opened.⁹

All this was in the hands of Armenian merchants. Nevertheless, they had powerful rivals in their trade—Jews, Greeks, Italians and also Turks. Armenian superiority lay in the fact that they were eagerly accepted by the Poles, they could speak Polish and also Oriental languages, particularly Turkish and Persian. They could be helpful in the diplomatic service. They organized their trade in the optimum way, gathering the necessary funds in Turkish aspers or in thalers, using armed caravans with large wagons, with goods transported in barrels and sacks. They knew all duty formalities, and reserved places in caravanserais and port magazines.

The primary products of their trade were textiles, rugs, hangings, skins, and arms, but also traditional Oriental goods such as spices and fruits: pepper, cloves, saffron, almonds, currants, dates, lemon and orange juices. They did not deal in the slave trade, or the wine trade. All their enterprises were extraordinary if we take into consideration their quantity. In the middle of the 16th century, Lwow had about 20,000 inhabitants, and in this about 700 Armenians, Kamieniec had 4000 people, about a quarter of whom were Armenians. They were able to transport enormous quantities of high quality cloth, preferably *tchamlet* (kamlot) and *muhayer* (mohair) produced from angora wool. The goats of the Ankara region were fed on a special kind of wheatgrass that made their fleece very long and delicate. The weavers of these fabrics were almost exclusively Armenians. Every year during the 16th century, two gigantic caravans with enormous quantities of these textiles travelled from Ankara to the Lwow fair. One piece of *tchamlet* (circa 35 metres) cost 5 thalers in Istanbul, and in Lwow 10 thalers. The doubling of the price clearly illustrates the normal profit of this trade. The waterproof cloth *jarmuluk*, used for waterproof cloaks, was also imported to Poland by the Armenians, as well as the cotton textile called *bagazja*, manufactured in Mosul, and delicate, costly muslin. The most expensive items were silk fabrics, especially with silver or golden



III. 3. Armenian Cathedral in Lwow; a photo

⁸ Żygulski 1965, Żygulski 2000a.

⁹ Żygulski 2000b.



III. 5. Stanisław Tęczyński in Polish costume of the 17th c.; a portrait in the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow

threads. In Istanbul, Turkish brocade (*altın bezi*) cost 50 thalers per piece, at a length of 35 metres, whilst in Poland the price doubled. The same was the case with other luxurious fabrics such as velvet, damask, taffeta and satin. Some delicate textiles of cotton originated in India. Another important raw material was the very costly saffian leather. Armenian imports from Turkey also included ready-made objects of various types, mostly men's clothes, so much appreciated by the Sarmatian gentry—*żupans*, *dolomans*, *kaftans*, *burkas* (woollen cloaks) *kontusz*es, clocks, shoes, slippers, and besides plaits, wraps and coverlets. Very important objects of this trade were Turkish and Persian rugs and kilims, as well as precious carpets, very large, with extremely beautiful patterns. The import of arms from Turkey to Poland was not an easy matter. The Ottoman authorities were decisively against it, particularly when the political relations between both countries deteriorated. The Armenians could overcome the difficulties, by which baksheesh was normally helpful. Arms from Turkey, above all sabres, kalkan-shields, palaches, tucks, daggers, bows with quivers and arrows, saddles and

saddle cloths can be found in documents as early as the 16th century, and they were repeated in the Seym's duty instructions under the title "Armenian goods". The price of a good sabre with a damask blade was about 5 thalers, and a luxurious karabela sabre, as applied to the Polish costume was much more expensive. Of course, in spite of the embargo, the skins of wild animals were smuggled into the country. Turkish and Arabic horses, held in high estimation in Poland, were also brought into the country.¹⁰

The commercial offer of the Armenians was vast and attractive but it could not satisfy the enormous demand from the side of the Sarmatian community. If in the 18th century, the whole population of the Commonwealth counted about 10 million people, this included 1 million members of the gentry and nobles, the highest number in Europe. By their unparalleled privileges they stood apart, they hated burghers and held the peasants in contempt. Coats of arms belonged only to them, but they wished to be distinguished by attire, by a gorgeous sash

and sabre, these being a tradition of knightly belt and sword. These things were forbidden for the people of lower rank. The only exception was the burgers of Krakow, who were granted the privilege to wear sabres.

As a result of this situation, the Armenians, whilst not abandoning their considerable trading legacy, began the production of luxurious goods in the Oriental style, from within the country. It was not easy to install new workshops in old towns with a long, still medieval tradition of local artisans, always jealously guarding their own business. The Armenians turned to the new towns built at that time by rich nobles who kept the highest offices of the state. Legally, the nobles and the gentry were prohibited to deal in trade and handicrafts. The breaking of this law was punished with the loss of noble status, but nobles could sell products of their estates—grain from fields or wood from forests. They could also keep workshops producing goods for their own use. This was a profitable path for the Armenians. Already in the late 16th century they installed their workshops in private towns belonging to aristocrats. Such a newly built town, raised entirely in the Renaissance style, designed by one of the most advanced Italian architects and military engineers, was Zamość, situated in the east of the country, founded in 1580 by one of the most influential and richest nobles—Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor and commander in chief (*hetman*) of the army. He invited a group of Armenians from Lwow to Zamość, giving them a place for a workshop, and equal rights with all other citizens.¹¹ They were goldsmiths, embroiderers, and weavers, as well as experts in cordovan leather. Another Armenian, Murat Jakubowicz, arrived to Zamość from Kaffa, and was favoured with a privilege of exclusivity in the production of rugs made in the Turkish manner (*more Turcico*). The same happened in the town of Brody, which belonged to Stanisław Koniecpolski—castellan of Krakow and *hetman*. Brody was renowned for its excellent brocaded hangings. In the 18th century, the manufacture of silk sashes grew immensely. In the last quarter of the century, we can surmise that hundreds of thousands were manufactured. It became a real monopoly for the Armenians, who originally had sash workshops in Istanbul, and later brought them to Poland.¹² They were called "Persian works", in Polish—*persjarnia*. The name is apt because these sashes were imitations of Persian and Indian ones. In Poland they were partly polonized, as numerous local ornaments were included in the design. In Safavid Persia and Mogul India, a sumptuous sash was worn with parade dress. Sashes were made of silk or of brocaded silk, which means with silver or golden threads. To make them, special looms were needed with mangles or rolling presses, which gave the required lustre. Such a sash was several yards long and about a foot and a half across; it was bordered with a narrow ornamented pattern and both ends (the "heads") were adorned with particularly beautiful designs, culminating in fringes. In the decoration, plant and flower motifs predominate. A sash was fastened on the *kontusz* in a particular manner. With the growth in demand for sashes, they were produced abroad in a very cheap and less lavish form, in France (Lyon), Saxony, even in Russia. In this field, the production of Armenians was superb, unrivalled. One of the first centres of sash production was the town of Stanisławów (today Ivano-Frankivsk) south of Lwow.

¹⁰ Dziubiński 1998.

¹¹ Zakrzewska-Dubasowa 1965.

¹² Taszycka 1985.



III. 6. *Lisowczyk (The Polish Rider)*; painting of Rembrandt van Rijn in the Frick Collection in New York

This was a private town founded by the Potocki family in 1676. Armenians soon settled there, again favoured by privileges, first of all exemption from duty in trade. In the first half of the 18th century, an eminent Armenian master was active there by the name of Dominik Misiorowicz, a producer of "Istanbul sashes", later active in Brody. Another master in this capacity was Jan Madzarski, who in 1767 was invited by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, one of the richest magnates in the Commonwealth. Madzarski came first to Nieśwież, the seat of the Radziwiłłs, and later to their town Słuck, where he installed his workshops with many servants. They produced hundreds of sashes for the Radziwiłł court. In 1780, Jan Madzarski was replaced by his son Leo. They marked their sashes with the Latin inscription: "*me fecit Sluciae*", which means: "made at Słuck", and therefore they were generally known as "Słuck sashes". The Madzarski signature was also inscribed on them. In the course of the 18th century, new centres of sashes emerged, even in Warsaw and nearby towns such as Kobylki and Lipków. The most outstanding master then was Paschalis Jakubowicz, an Armenian hailing from Tokat in Anatolia. He opened a shop in Warsaw with Turkish goods, selling his own sashes of course, marked with a lamb with a cross.

At that time, Lwow, the real cradle of Armenians in Poland, was in decline. At the beginning of the century, during the Northern War, the city was conquered by Charles XII, king of Sweden. A gigantic contribution was extracted by him from the burgers. Later came famine and pest, true companions of war. The recovery of Lwow took a great deal of time. In the 1740s, Grzegorz Nikorowicz, an Armenian merchant, was sent by King Augustus the III of the Saxon dynasty to Istanbul to restore business with the Turks. He opened a shop of Oriental goods in Lwow. This was as before: saddles, trappings, sabres, belts, cartridges and various fabrics. This activity was continued by his son.¹⁵

Following the first partition of Poland in 1772, when Lwow was occupied by the Austrians, this business declined.

Polish Armenians in the kings' service

Being in a foreign country, the Armenians were in need of understanding, protection and help from the highest authorities. They were fortunate to gain the favours of Polish Kings. Kings were always searching for men who could contribute to the splendour of the royal person, who were able to create a nimbus of power and glory. Of course it was a royal castle or palace by which the King's status was presented to the eyes and minds of the people, but the interiors, with all decorations, tapestries, paintings and furniture, and above all treasures, rarely seen and usually wrapped in a shroud of mystery, inspired the imagination and enhanced the royal prestige. Naturally, the image of the King's person was of the utmost importance, especially on solemn and ceremonial occasions. The appearance of the King always had a character of revelation, particularly for the common people. In popular conviction, the King should always wear a crown, holding a globe and sceptre, and his attire should glitter with gold and jewels. It was a duty and pleasure of kings to assume such a shape. Armenians in Poland could help in the realization of that vision. They were intelligent, inventive, independent, industrious, and loyal. They possessed an Oriental charm which was always connected with riches and splendours, and last but not least they were Christians. All Polish kings, starting from Casimir the Great, Jagiełło, the Jagiellons, and those that followed, endowed them with extra privileges, asking only for precious and beautiful things: jewels, gorgeous rugs and tapestries, splendid arms, armour, saddles and trappings, tents and blood horses. They had money to spare for all these. Armenian goldsmiths could import all kinds of gems, particularly the most precious emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, also pearls, which were very much *en vogue*. King Sigismund II Augustus was one of the greatest collectors of jewels of the time, and it is certain that many of his items came from Armenian hands. He was a lover of Western tapestries (arras) but also of Oriental rugs. It is well documented that Armenian artisans delivered military signs of the highest rank, *bulava*-maces with spherical heads and *buzdygan*-maces with a head dissected in flanges, modelled after Turk-

¹⁵ Biedrońska-Słota 1992.

ish and Persian prototypes. They were often encrusted with gems and gilded, being carried by kings as well as the highest commanders.

Here we would like to note three Polish monarchs who especially favoured the Armenians. They were: Sigismund III Vasa, John III Sobieski, and Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski.

Sigismund III was the son of John III King of Sweden and Catherine Jagiellon, daughter of King Sigismund I the Old. He was raised in ardent Catholic faith when most Swedes adopted Protestantism. He was elected Polish King in 1587 but he also wished to occupy the Swedish throne at any price, which would belong to him after his father. Unluckily for him, this throne was taken by his uncle Charles of Sodermania, a Protestant supported by the majority of Swedes. Sigismund also tried to conquer the crown of Moscow, and by this way to join Poland, Lithuania, Sweden and Russia in one state under his sceptre. This plan appeared completely unrealistic and in consequence involved the Commonwealth in long and disastrous wars with Swedes and Muscovites. Only with great difficulty was a new attack by Ottoman Turkey kept in check. Sigismund himself was a highly educated and talented man, with a particular love of art. He collected paintings and objects of applied art, becoming an amateur of the latter discipline, particularly in works of goldsmithing. He kept the best relations with Persia, admiring her art, and this was a cause of his interest in Armenian people. The matter also had a political background: Shah 'Abbas the Great, reigning at that time in Persia, was an important opponent of Ottoman Turkey, and therefore Sigismund wished to make an alliance with him. Negotiations about this were led with the Persian envoy Mehti Kuli Beg, who arrived in Krakow in 1605, during the festivities of the royal marriage with Constance, Archduchess of Austria.¹⁴

Polish Armenians maintained close contacts with their kindred people who were settled by the Shah in the town of New Julfa near Isfahan. In 1602, King Sigismund engaged the outstanding Armenian merchant Sefer Muratowicz from Lwow for a commercial expedition to Persia for some goods of the highest quality. This expedition is well known thanks to the surviving diary of Muratowicz.¹⁵ He chose the way passing through Moldavia to the Turkish port Mangalia, and by boat to Trapesunt in Asia Minor, and later again by land through Erzurum, crossing the Araxes River to Tabriz, before finally reaching Kashan, his goal. At that time, Kashan was a great centre of the manufacture of precious rugs, carpets, brocaded hangings, tents, saddles, and arms. Muratowicz had a special order from the King to commission rugs with the Polish White Eagle in the centre. And it was done. Besides this he acquired some other magnificent rugs, a tent and some sabres of damask blades. He paid a visit to Shah 'Abbas in Isfahan, and returned happily to Poland, welcomed by the King with great joy. A portrait of Muratowicz is preserved in the Art Gallery of Lwow and we are lucky that some of his Persian acquisitions are still extant. They are in the Residenz-Museum in Munich, guarding the treasures of the Bavarian Kings.¹⁶ In 1642, one of the daughters of King Sigismund III, Anna Catherine Constance, married Prince Philip

¹⁴ Żygulski 1988b, Bocheński 1988.

¹⁵ Mańkowski 1935.

¹⁶ Mańkowski 1959.



III. 7. "Head" of a kontusz sash made by Paschalis Jakubowicz, an Armenian, 16th c.; Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow

Wilhelm, later Palatine of Rhein. Among other treasures, she brought with her dowry five rugs from the Muratowicz expedition.

Even in the early 17th century, a number of Polish Armenians were active in the field of painting. The most talented of them, Jan Boguszowicz, created a portrait of King Sigismund III and a monumental battle-scene of the Polish victory over the Muscovites at Kłuszyn in 1610, a clash that was followed by the Polish occupation of Moscow. Both paintings belong to Lwow's Gallery. The King is in sumptuous Western costume with a large black hat; he wears the Order of the Golden Fleece, marking his friendship with Austria. In the background of the portrait, the famed *husaria* are depicted.

The importance and activity of Armenians in Poland were still greater under the reign of John III Sobieski, who was elected king in 1674. His family belonged to members of the high nobility settled in Ruthenia. They were ardent patriots, rendering numerous services to the country. His great-grandfather, *hetman* Stanisław Żółkiewski, fell in a battle against the Turks. It was a time of political confusion in Poland. After the bloody insurrection of



III. 8. *Bulava*-mace, probably of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, 17th c., Armenian work; the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow



III. 9. Armenian sabre presented to general Tadeusz Kościuszko in Lwow in 1794; the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow

the Ukrainian Cossacks, following the catastrophic Swedish invasion, the country was confronted with a new offensive by the Turks. Sultan Mehmed IV sent his army against Poland under the command of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa. Sobieski, as the *hetman* of the crown, could not stop the invaders. His army was too small, and the unpaid soldiers did not wish to fight. Thus at that moment, the town-fortress of Kamieniec Podolski, which was full of Armenians, fell into Turkish hands. Poland was humiliated. At the Treaty of Buczacz, she was really transformed into a vassal country of the Ottoman Empire. She was deprived of Podolia, and a large tribute in gold had to be paid annually. This pact was not ratified by the Sejm, money was gathered by general taxes, a new army mobilized, and in 1673 Sobieski won a great victory, taking the fortified Turkish camp of Chocim (Khotyn), on the Dniester River. This triumph opened up a path for him to the Polish throne. But the political situation was still very difficult. There was a French and an Austrian party in Poland. The followers of France proposed to fight against Russia and Prussia, whilst the others strove to continue the war with the Turks. Sobieski was married to a French lady, Marie Casimire d'Arquien, who naturally promoted the French option. Sobieski, being deeply in love with his wife, tried to make a lasting peace agreement with the Ottoman Porte, but when it failed, he bound with Austria in a pact of mutual aid, in case of Turkish aggression. In the late summer of 1683, a truly immense Ottoman army, under the command of the same Vizier, Kara Mustafa,

went north against the Habsburg Empire. Sobieski fulfilled his obligation, and organized an army of about 25,000 soldiers, with a great number of *husaria*, and turned to the task of freeing Vienna, which was besieged by the Turks. He was nominated commander-in-chief of the allied Christian army, which besides Poles, consisted of Austrian and German troops, altogether numbering 70,000 soldiers. Sobieski devised a war plan and on 12th September, 1683, won a decisive victory over the Turks. The Ottoman troops fled together with the Grand Vizier, leaving behind the entire encampment with thousands of tents and unimaginable treasures. Sobieski took the quarter of magnificent tents belonging to Kara Mustafa. It was one of the most spectacular victories in the history of war, and Sobieski was glorified all over the Christian World.¹⁷

In spite of all this, Sobieski's attitude towards the Turks was ambivalent. Although he fought against them, he was a great lover of Turkish art and culture, their costumes, arms and rugs. He was a real Sarmatian in the best meaning of this word. He was indeed a Polish Sarmatian on a royal scale. And in that he was much helped by the Armenians. He kept them in his eastern residences at Żółkiew and Jaworów, but also in Lwow, where he had one of the most beautiful mansions on the Market Square. The Armenians were always ready to fulfill his wishes. They were goldsmiths, armourers, and also tent-makers. They furnished the King with beautiful items in the Oriental style—sashes, *bulava*-maces, sabres with gilded hilts, *karabela* sabres, and gorgeous saddles. The King was usually presented in portraits in *karacena* armour with the skin of a wild beast. The Turks called him the Lion of Lechistan.

Sobieski was succeeded by kings of the Saxon dynasty, Augustus II and Augustus III. There was no war in Poland for a great length of time, and the national military force substantially decreased. Sarmatian style and culture flourished, but the enormous country was virtually helpless before its covetous neighbours, Austria, Prussia and Russia, which kept vast modern armies.¹⁸

The last Polish King, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, witnessed the decline and fall of his country—and the partitions among the aforementioned neighbours. He was himself a very highly educated man, a lover of Western art, creator of the first Polish gallery of paintings and print collection, a patron of artists. He also showed an interest in contacts with Turkey, seeing in her an ally against Russia. In his diplomacy he often used the help of Armenians. In Istanbul he opened a School of Oriental languages especially for Poles. All these efforts came to an end in 1795 with the last partition of the country and the abdication of King Poniatowski. But the Poles were loathe to give in. Already in 1794, General Tadeusz Kościuszko, a hero of the American War of Independence, gave a signal for the national insurrection on his return to Poland. He made this declaration in Krakow. Still earlier, when he was preparing the rising whilst in Lwow, obtaining some funds from Princess Izabela Czartoryska, he was presented with a beautiful sabre by a delegation of Armenians. This sabre later adorned the first Polish national museum at the Temple of the Sibyl in Puławy, founded by the Princess in 1801, and

¹⁷ Żygulski 1988a.

¹⁸ Kitowicz 1951.

now it is in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow. The right side of the blade is decorated with gold and encrusted with turquoises and almandines, whilst the left is adorned with the figure of a gold elephant. The grip of the sabre is in the military style of the late 18th century. All in all this is a very moving symbol of the patriotism of Polish Armenians.¹⁹

Epilogue

The Armenians, who made up a small but notable group in the Polish community, lived through all the vicissitudes of the 19th and 20th centuries—all the political whirls, revolutions, uprisings and wars, the occupations by enemies, and fights for liberty. They always remembered their fatherland, which was so often in distress, particularly in relation to the holocaust of 1915, but they were ever loyal to the new fatherland—Poland. They kept strongly to their Armenian Catholic faith and the old customs, but in time were almost entirely polonized. They had a traditional love of commerce and for goldsmithing, but by and large they joined the Polish intelligentsia, becoming lawyers, physicians and artists, especially painters.²⁰ They were very fond of gathering beautiful objects and often became experienced collectors, finally contributing to Polish national museums. They are people of an ancient culture, always arousing admiration and esteem.



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¹⁹ Żygulski 2001.

²⁰ Biedrońska-Słota 1999.

Żygulski 1988b = Żygulski, Zdzisław Jr: "Uwagi o rolce sztokholmskiej" (Remarks on the Stockholm Roll), in: *Studia do Dziejów Dawnego Uzbrojenia i Ubioru Wojskowego* (Studies in the History of Old Arms and Military Uniforms) 9, 10, Kraków 1988.

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The 18th-century Polish silk sash and its Oriental prototypes

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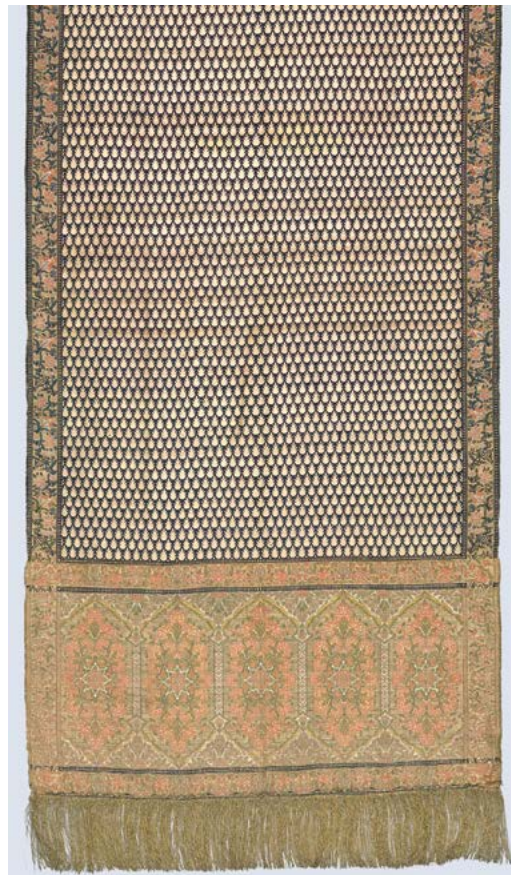
The 18th-century elaborately patterned Polish silk sash called *pas kontuszowy* or *kontusz* sash became the foremost accessory of a nobleman's attire in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569–1795) (Ill. 1).¹ Its style and appearance, as well as its development, were the result of the influence of aesthetics and technology primarily from the East, which subsequently combined with local tradition, taste, and technical capability. An owner's social status was reflected in the type and style of the sash he wore. Thus, the most luxurious and expensive silk sashes with complex patterns on gold and/or silver ground, a *magnat* sash, would be worn by the wealthiest nobility.

The sash was a fashionable accessory of male attire in regions located in the East, far from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Examination of the costume depicted in Persian, Ottoman and Mughal miniatures, paintings, and textiles from the 17th and 18th centuries—the time corresponding to the appearance of the sash in Polish painting—proves that the Eastern sash itself was a prototype of the Polish sash. The many political, diplomatic, and commercial contacts with those Eastern cultural realms shaped a taste among Polish nobility for Oriental style; it influenced their customs, attire, decorative elements, and military accessories as well as the look and technology of their textiles, which resulted in the creation of the Polish silk sash.

Granting a robe of honour—along with a luxurious sash—to a high-ranking person was a common practice in the Safavid court (Ill. 2). What follows is the observation of Thomas Herbert, a traveller in early 17th-century Persia: "dukes and other of the noble sort have them woven with gold; merchants and *coozelbashaws* (soldiers in the army of Shah 'Abbas I) with silver; of silk or wool, those of inferior rank."² The type of sash and the way it was girded would indicate the social status of its wearer. A long, richly-patterned sash was wrapped around the waist and

¹ The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, known also as the Republic of the Two Nations, was a federal monarchy-republic formed in 1569 by the union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, even earlier, in 1386, those two states had been united by personal union.

² Herbert 1928: 232.



III. 1. Polish sash (view of obverse); with the inscription: SLUCK in corners; Shuck, 2nd half of the 18th c.; silk and metal thread in taqueté weave, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, anonymous gift, 1949 (49.32.48); phot. Janina Poskrobko-Strzęciwilk, image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

III. 2. Persian sash (view of obverse); 17th c.; Safavid period (1501–1722); silk and metal thread in taqueté weave, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.58.1), image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

III. 3. Indian sash (view of obverse); 17th c., Mughal period (1526–1858); silk and metal thread, with end panels and borders woven in two separable layers; collection of Norman and Rina Indictor, image © N. & R. Indictor

Political, socio-economic and cultural context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

tied into a large knot in the front of the *kaftan*; the short ends came from the upper front part of the sash. Frequently, such a sash was worn with one, or even two, shorter and narrower single colour sashes.³

In contrast to the Persian sash, an Indian sash wraps the waist of a man only once (III. 3). It is tied into a small knot at the centre of the waist and its long ends hang loosely in front to expose rich floral ornamentation.⁴ With their intricate patterns and design layouts, the sashes depicted in Indian miniatures are reminiscent of those worn in the Commonwealth, whereas the ones depicted in Turkish miniatures are decorated with bands and a limited repertoire of motifs.⁵

³ A detailed description of Persian male attire including sash waistband or *kambarband* is provided by Floor 1999: 228–229, together with quotations from contemporary travellers' journals. For depictions of men and women wearing richly-patterned sashes along with sashes of monochromatic colours, see the wall painting, *Chihil Sutun*, Isfahan, c.1647, in Canby 2009: 25.

⁴ A large number of miniatures and paintings showing Mughals wearing sashes are published in Goswami 2002.

⁵ For images of Ottoman attire together with sashes, especially the portrait of Sultan Osman II, 1621, in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow, see: War and Peace 1999: 130.

From the 14th to the 16th century, three great new empires formed across Asia: the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor (early 14th century), the Safavid Empire in Persia (1501), and the Mughal Empire in India (1526). They continuously influenced each other in political, martial, and diplomatic relations, and each established connections with European powers, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth being one of these. It was an organization of many national groups: Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Tatars, Jews, and Armenians, and was the crossroads of various cultures and traditions. The country became the closest neighbour of the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, and the Muscovite. Its geographical location required constant vigilance to maintain peaceful co-existence with these neighbours. Gaining a privileged status in Ottoman diplomacy, the Commonwealth promoted good relationships with both Safavid Persia and Ottoman Turkey.

The beginning of the relevant timeframe coincides with the Renaissance and Baroque periods in Europe. The art and culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth derives on the one hand from the influence of the art and culture of the East, but also from the achievements

of Western art of the period. Imported from the East or brought to the Commonwealth through diplomatic relationships and as trophies of war, luxury products such as carpets and silk textiles, among them exclusive sashes, became the most popular and desirable goods.

The rapidly growing wealth of the cities and the founding of various unions which gathered specialists, craftsmen, and merchants of different professions, allowed for the development of wide-scale trade. The Polish-Lithuanian Empire became a place willingly visited by merchants from both West and East; with them they brought their customs and culture, fashion, terminology, and work habits. Krakow was the most important centre of foreign trade; trade routes spread in four directions connecting Krakow “with the more distant trade centres of Europe and beyond.”⁶ The northern route led to Flanders. The southern route led to Transylvania, and the westward one connected Poland to Vienna and Prague. Eastern routes (still in use today) led either to Kiev or through Lwow (Lviv) and Kamieniec Podolski (Kamyanets Podilskyi), and across the Black Sea to Istanbul and Bursa.⁷

Among important Polish cities, Lwow itself was nearest the East and, for that reason was the city most frequently visited by Oriental merchants: Turks, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The most famous Armenian merchant was Sefer Muratowicz, who was sent by the Polish King Sigismund III Waza to Kashan in Persia, returning in 1602 with extensive purchases of silk carpets and sashes.⁸

Stylistic features of the sash

Known as *Cingaturae Thurcicae*, the Oriental silk sashes were first brought by Venetian and Turkish merchants to the Commonwealth. They are mentioned in customs duty reports on cloth, court accounts, inventories, and testaments of contemporary gentry, merchants, and craftsmen from the beginning of the 16th century onwards and illustrated on contemporary miniatures, engravings and reliefs. 17th-century portraits show us Polish and Lithuanian noblemen wearing thin silk textiles, which after being tied onto a garment, fell into tiny folds. They either were decorated with multicoloured crosswise bands or were a solid colour, most likely red, and girded several times around the waist over the *zupan* (an ankle-length buttoned caftan) with the ends tucked down into the girded portion—in early Oriental, Ottoman Turkish, or Safavid Persian style.

Commonly depicted at that time are also metal or leather belts, often on black, red or yellow velvet. The second half of the 17th century and the 18th century brought sashes with more elaborate patterns, wider and more thickly woven than earlier types, and executed in colourful silk and metallic thread.⁹ Frequently, the end panels of sashes hung down the front



III. 4. Armenian sash (view of obverse); Istanbul, 1st half of the 18th c.; silk and metal thread in taqueté weave, The National Museum, Krakow (MNK XIX-2502)

of the wearer, recalling the fashion of the Mughals of India.

Because only a small number of Mughal Indian sashes are preserved in Polish museum collections, it is difficult to judge their importance on Polish territory during that period. Records of Dutch and English East India companies report that Indian sashes and turban bands, probably from Gujarat, “were important articles of export not only to Islamic countries in the Near and Middle East and in North Africa, but also (from the 16th century) to Poland.”¹⁰

In contrast to the rare examples of Indian sashes found in Poland, Persian sashes are richly represented in a majority of Polish and world collections. The Swedish textile historian, Agnes Gejier, presumes that the extensive production of Persian sashes was determined by demand for them in the Polish market.¹¹

Demand for Oriental sashes increased from the end of the 17th to the early 18th century when Armenian merchants brought such sashes from Istanbul to Lwow, distributing them through the Commonwealth (III. 4). Workshops known as *persiarnie* were

established. The first manufactories were founded in 1740 and employed Armenian weavers who produced ‘Istanbul’ sashes in simple two-colour ornamentation. Shortly thereafter, the type of sash that came to be known as the Polish sash was developed by Słuck and other manufacturers scattered throughout the Commonwealth. Major manufacturers became established in Warsaw, Kobyłka, Lipków, Krakow, Gdańsk, and Grodno.¹²

Each created a distinct style by adopting or interpreting floral and geometric motifs borrowed from the Ottoman, Persian, and Mughal prototypes which were then transformed by Oriental weavers in Słuck manufacture. In fact, each of them enriched that repertoire by adding their own motifs and incorporating elements from both Polish flora and the sophisticated French rococo style.¹³

⁶ Carter 1988: 27.

⁷ Following Carter’s 1988: 26–27 methodology, for clarity and uniformity, place names of that historic period rather than current equivalents will be used. For example, Kamieniec Podolski, and found below Słuck, Lipków, Kobyłka, Gdańsk, Grodno. Exceptions are made when a familiar English form exists, thus Krakow, not Kraków, Warsaw, not Warszawa.

⁸ Refer to Biedrońska-Słota 1999 for essays on Armenian history, art, and culture in the Armenian diaspora and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For the portrait of Muratowicz wearing the sash see p. 135.

⁹ See: Gutkowska-Rychlewska 1968 for the rich account of the Polish primary sources both written and pictorial as well as for illustrations and drawings of Polish costume including sashes. For images of 16th–18th century portraits of gentry refer to Chrzanowski 1995: 31, 34, 48, 76, 78, 79, 105; Malinowski 1993: 78, 79, 81, 86, 104, 128; and Żygulski 1987: 143, 144, 146, 148, 149.

¹⁰ Irwin 1959: 75.

¹¹ Gejier 1959: 46.

¹² For more detailed descriptions and illustrations of sashes woven by those manufacturers, see: Chruszczyńska 1995 and Poskrobko-Strzęciwiłk 2005: 24–30.

¹³ For information on sashes with ornamentation in the French style and their images refer to Taszycka 1994: 58–60.



III. 5. Russian sash (view of obverse); with the inscription in Cyrillic: MK/TK [MK/GK], in the upper corners of end panels, indicating Grigoryi Kiryakov's manufacturer, Moscow; turn of the 19th c.; silk in taqueté weave, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.58.2); phot. J. Poskrobko-Strzęciwilk, image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The design of Polish sashes generally follows the ornamentation typical of Oriental sashes by borrowing two-dimensional floral motifs from their repertoire. Motifs such as irises, poppies, roses, carnations, tulips, and mallows (reflecting the Safavid love of nature and its passion for gardens, flowers, and plants) were absorbed into the repertoire of Polish sash decoration.

In the end panels of Persian and Indian sashes, these flowers frequently comprise a flowering plant motif with a very well-emphasized axis marked by a main stem, with the top either in frontal view or slightly bent to the side. The base of such a flowering plant emerges

from a soil mound which, in the Polish version is replaced by a root-like motif. According to Mańkowski, this is the type of motif described in Nikorowicz's commercial register (in Lwow) as *karumfil*. He traces this name to the Turkish word *karanfil*, which refers to the carnation flower and root.¹⁴

In addition, weavers of Polish sashes introduced a selection of typical Polish flowers: asters, sunflowers, daisies, and a variety of wildflowers, into the Eastern motifs—often placing them in a vase or bowl inspired by Western ornamentation.

The main ground of sashes, both Oriental and Polish, is filled with either an overall design or horizontal bands of two types of ornamentation: floral and abstract-geometric.

Floral motifs, designed with a degree of naturalism, primarily include simple shapes of irises, carnations, and roses, set among elegantly scrolled stem forms. Geometric decorative elements were either formed of flattened cartouches or contained a stylized flower motif, "originated from the Chinese chi ornament, which Mańkowski called leeches, in keeping with the terminology used in inventories."¹⁵ The overall ornamentation occurring in the main ground of some sashes may be composed of the following filler patterns: fish-scale or other imbricated motifs; circular, overlapping coin designs; flower sprays, reticulated nets; or small, stylized palmettes.

Unlike Polish and Oriental sashes, the ornamentation of Russian sashes consists of very simplified flowers, often in inverted positions, and rendered in silhouette with forms in the shape of a palmette or fan (III. 5). Available on the Polish market, these Russian sashes were less expensive than their Polish counterparts. Woven of silk, but without metal threads, they were imported into Polish-Lithuanian territory for sale to the middle class and to men of lesser nobility.¹⁶

Material and technique

Silk sashes were woven on a type of loom known as a draw-loom, a loom for weaving damask and other patterned textiles with elaborate designs. Its characteristic feature is a two-harness system. The pattern harness is usually controlled by a draw-boy (a weaver's assistant) who stands or sits near the loom. His main responsibility is to draw or pull the cords controlling each pattern shed. The structure harness has a set of shafts in front of the pattern harness for creating the basic structure of the fabric.

The sashes were produced with the reverse side facing the weaver so that the many variously coloured yarns, each wound on a separate bobbin, could be easily manipulated to leave a neatly finished surface. The weaver would follow the design drawn on a cartoon placed beneath the warp.

Polish sashes produced by manufacturers in the Polish Commonwealth of Nations as well as sashes from Persian, Russian, and some Indian manufacturers were woven continuously from selvage to selvage using taqueté structure. This is defined as compound weft-faced plain weave with an inner, or main, warp that controls the design, and a binding warp that provides the weave structure. Other compound weaves made in Lyon for the Polish market include brocaded Gros de Tours, a warp-faced, ribbed plain weave with supplementary discontinuous weft patterning, and lampas, composed of two or more sets of warps and wefts, allowing the rich effects of two or more integrated weave structures.

Comparison of Polish sashes with their Eastern counterparts indicates that they are clearly distinguishable by different dimensions, design layouts, and weave structures.¹⁷ Persian, Indian, and Russian sashes are wider than Polish sashes and have a larger number of floral motifs in end panels. Armenian sashes usually display three motifs in narrower, but slightly longer, end panels. Russian, Armenian, and some Indian sashes were often double-faced—that is, with both faces finished so that the sash could be worn on either side and used reversibly. Persian and Polish *kontusz* sashes, including those woven in Lyon, were usually not reversible because brocaded areas emerge with an unmistakable front and back (although they might be worn with either side out).

The "four-sided" *kontusz* sash was an innovation developed in the weaving of Polish sashes. In such a sash, each half on both obverse and reverse sides was woven in a different colour and often in differently patterned distinct sections. When folded in half, the sash could be worn with any one of the four sides out. Introduction by Polish weavers of the four-sided sash required using four different colour wefts, which after meeting in the centre of the sash, were connected by linking elements to form a four-coloured join, a so-called interlock. This feature does not occur in Persian, Turkish, and Russian sashes. Its simpler form occurs in the tapestry techniques used in the weaving of some Indian sashes.

To search for similarities and differences between Polish and Eastern sashes, regardless of the technique used, several features should be examined in depth. These are: the proportion of binding warp to inner warp, the density of warp and wefts, the number and type of supplementary wefts, the way they were executed and how they influenced the appearance of the sash, and

¹⁴ Mańkowski 1935: 7, 120.

¹⁵ Taszycka 1990: 46.

¹⁶ The fact that they were woven without expensive metal thread and also their less developed technical quality determined a lower price.

¹⁷ Poskrobko-Strzęciwilk 2005: 31.

finally, the manner in which its selvage was woven. In addition, advanced analyses of dyes and metal threads will eventually provide a more accurate basis for comparison.

For the purpose of this essay I will examine these features by comparing Polish sashes to their Persian and Indian counterparts with several references to Russian sashes.

The observation of warp shows that its density and thickness differ in Persian, Mughal, and Polish sashes. Persian sashes, with four inner warps, have the greatest concentration of warps per centimetre of all the sashes. In Indian and Polish sashes, the proportion of binding warp to inner warp is similar. In Mughal sashes this proportion is always 1:2, whereas in Polish sashes it varies with the manufacturer.

Despite these similarities, Polish sashes are woven with heavier silk thread, and consequently their design is less detailed, more geometric—with a strongly defined outline and less finesse than the patterns of their Indian and Persian prototypes.

The type of weft used to create the pattern is the same in Persian, Polish, and Indian sashes. The density of weft is almost the same, ranging from 30 to 34 per centimetre. In all examples, both continuous wefts and two types of discontinuous wefts were used: one with long floats running through the width of a motif, and the second visible only along the outlines of the motif. This feature applies also to sashes of Lyon manufacture. Brocaded wefts do not occur in Russian sashes.

Analysis of selvages shows similarities between Persian and Polish sashes. In Persian sashes the selvage is formed by two cords, whereas in Polish sashes the selvage is formed by two or four cords, depending on the manufacturer. In silk weaving, the selvage warp ends are called cords because they are stronger and heavier than ordinary warps.

Close examination of the metal thread reveals a very important difference in the way the metal lamella is wound around a silk core. In Persian and Polish sashes, the lamella is wound around a silk core in an S-direction, whereas in Mughal sashes, it is wound in a Z-direction.¹⁸

Lastly, another visually apparent, significant difference found in the sashes is their colouring. The range of colours used in Indian sashes is limited in contrast to Persian sashes, which display a richer palette of hues. The number of colours in Polish sashes varies with the manufacturer and the type of sash. But even those with 2-colour motifs in the end panels look magnificent against the gold ground with bands woven in additional colours varying on each half of the sash. The colours on both Indian and Polish sashes are intense in comparison to the delicate and pastel colour variations of Persian sashes. Careful visual examination of those colours, in particular red, raises questions regarding the type of dyes used. The strong, deep red used in Polish sashes visually appears more similar to the red colour in Indian and Turkish textiles rather than to the red colour in Persian textiles. Is this the precious Polish kermes dye traded from the 15th century and found from eastern Germany to the Ukraine? It is known that “in the mid-17th century, Ukrainian Jews rented land where the insect was found, organized the harvest and sold the dried insects to Armenian and Turkish merchants.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Rahul Jain, the Indian textile historian and weaver, was the first to publish this important observation in his technical essay based on examination of sashes from the Calico Museum of Textiles in Ahmedabad, “The Mughal Patka: A Technical Overview”, in Goswamy 2002: 216–230.

¹⁹ Atasoy et al. 2001: 195.

At the present time, this research cannot be considered conclusive. Visual observation does allow us to take note of obvious differences and similarities in design layout, repertoire of motifs, and colouring of all silk sashes of Persian, Indian, and Polish production. However, these stylistic and structural features are not enough to finalize discussion of the origin of Polish sashes or ascribe them to either—or to both—Persian and Mughal production.

Technical examination shows that they share certain almost identical features such as the way patterns were executed. Other features including the number of inner warps and the type of metal thread used are more distinctive and indicate the influence on the creation and appearance of Polish sashes by either—or both—Persian and Mughal production.

Additionally, a significant problem of attribution of some sashes is clearly a result of the ongoing exchange of cultural influences that took place between Safavid Persian and Mughal Indian courts. In fact, at the beginning of the 16th century, Persian weavers began working for Mughal manufacturers, bringing with them their artistic skills and technical achievements. And, as is well known, there were Persian weavers who, at the beginning of the 18th century, started the production of silk sashes in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Finally, only precise scientific study which would include microscopic examination of fibres, analysis of components of metal lamella wound around silk core thread, and finally chemical analysis of dyes, can lead to definite answers. It is my hope that conclusions drawn from such scientific research in addition to extensive observation will allow us to determine precisely how much Mughal weaving traditions contributed to the artistic and technical development of silk sashes in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of Nations.

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A meeting of two painters from West and East: Stanisław Chlebowski's and Osman Hamdi Bey's paintings of the Green Mosque

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"East and West are constantly searching for each other:
sooner or later they must meet"
Rabindranath Tagore

"OH, East is East and West is West,
and never the twain shall meet"
Rudyard Kipling

Polish Orientalist painter Stanisław Chlebowski (1835–1884) was an exceptional artist who served as a court painter to Sultan Abdulaziz. Among his paintings, the interior scenes of the Green Mosque (Bursa), which was founded in 1414 by the order of Mehmed I, are worthy of special attention. These realistic interiors have some similarities and differences as compared with Turkish Orientalist painter Osman Hamdi Bey's Green Mosque interiors. These two painters had studied under Jean-Léon Gérôme in Paris at approximately the same time. Gérôme also depicted the Green Mosque. In this article, the importance of the Green Mosque will be described and the relationships of these two painters and the styles of their Green Mosque paintings will be compared.

When the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) asked for military support from the Polish King against the Ottomans; Ladislaus Jagiello (1362–1434), instead of meeting this demand, proposed to act as a conciliator between the two rulers and sent his delegates to Ottoman Sultan Mehmed I. Thus in 1414 the diplomatic relationships between the Ottoman Empire and Poland began.¹ In the same year, the construction works of the Green Mosque in

¹ Kolodziejczyk 1999: 21.

Bursa commenced by order of Mehmed I. The mosque was completed in 1422 and is known for its magnificent ceramics and purity of style. The tablet inscribed at the main entrance clearly indicates that the building is a powerful work of art, emphasizing that it would have a delicate artistic influence on its visitors.² The *turbeh*, the *madrassa* (Muslim theological school), and the Turkish bath are the other structures of the building complex.

Carrying forwards its importance to date, the Green Mosque emerges as an Early Ottoman Mosque with a different concept in the 19th century. The Ottoman Empire participated in the Universal Exhibition held in Paris in 1867 and the main importance of this exhibition was that every participating country had its own national pavilion, thus enabling the presentation of their architecture for the first time.³ The Ottoman Pavilion consisted of a mosque, a kiosk and a bath, the layout of which was designed by Leon Parvillée. He had a complete inventory of the Ottoman monuments and works of art, and these were accompanied by detailed and fully documented front and cross-section drawings. Based on the geometric analysis of these, Leon Parvillee claimed that Ottoman memorial architecture and decorations had a systematic geometrical composition, involving the triangular shape as the leading form.⁴ When Parvillee was asked to participate at the Paris exhibition in 1867 he preferred to be inspired by the Early Ottoman architectural example of the Green Mosque rather than other classical Ottoman architectural works, since he had studied Early Period Ottoman Architectural works during those years.⁵ He published some parts of his works later. Based on the architectural developments and revisualization efforts in the Ottoman Empire, we can say that the inclinations were towards the early period examples during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign (1861–1871), and Ottoman architecture was nourished from within.⁶

The Paris International Exhibition of 1867 was of further significance as regards our study: Sultan Abdülaziz, being invited as the guest of honour to the exhibition, was the first Ottoman *padishah* (sultan) to visit another country for a diplomatic mission. Abdülaziz was subject to a lot of interest in Paris, and he had both artistic and musical talents. Being inspired by his observations in Europe, Abdülaziz made important purchases of great paintings for the Ottoman Palace, consulting with his assistant and art consultant Ahmet Ali Pasha. Ahmet Ali had connections with French Orientalist painter Jean-Léon Gérôme, who had been his art master. Likewise, his father-in-law, A. Goupil, was an art dealer; and with the consent of the Sultan he acquired a lot of paintings for the palace. During the same period, an exhibition of Turkish paintings was arranged by Ahmet Ali Pasha for the first time.⁷ Based upon all of these, we can state that the developments in the art of painting were significant during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign, and that interest in the art of painting increased.

² Tüfekçioğlu 2001: 138.

³ Saner 1998: 27, Kuran 1992: 114.

⁴ Çelik 2005: 104.

⁵ Saner 1998: 136.

⁶ Kuran 1992: 114.

⁷ Kaya 2006: 71, 74.

Sultan Abdülaziz invited foreign artists to Istanbul and one of these was the Polish artist, Stanisław Chlebowski. Stanisław Chlebowski was born in 1835 in Podolia (Podilya, a southeastern region of old Poland), the child of a wealthy family. Podolia was an area where various Oriental elements were firmly rooted in the culture of the local Polish gentry, in that these lands abutted ones populated by Turks.⁸ He received his first instruction in drawing from Alexander Wicherski and historical painter Romuald Chojnacki in Odessa. He took art courses in the Academy of Fine Arts at Saint Petersburg between 1853 and 1859 and was awarded with silver and gold medals during these years by the academy.⁹ In the 19th century, the cream of Polish painters was educated in the academies of Saint Petersburg, Munich, Vienna and Rome. In addition to this, in the second half of the 19th century, Munich was the centre of European art. In this period, nearly 700 Polish painters were in Munich,¹⁰ including Chlebowski. Visiting first Munich and then Paris in 1859, Chlebowski studied art in the atelier of the famous J. L. Gérôme at the École des Beaux-Arts.¹¹ He came to Istanbul in 1864 upon receiving an invitation from Sultan Abdülaziz. The main influence on Abdülaziz in this matter was his Grand Vizier, Sadrazam Fuat Pasha. Some of Chlebowski's works of art were purchased by Fuat Pasha to be presented to Sultan Abdülaziz. Having one of the rooms of the Dolmabahçe Palace reserved for him as an atelier,¹² Chlebowski stayed in Istanbul for 11–12 years as a court painter. Similar to most Western painters of the period in Istanbul, he resided in Beyoğlu and spent winters in Cairo, starting from 1873 onwards, where he got acquainted with a Pole known as Sefer Pasha (his real name was Władysław Kościelski, 1819–1995). Kościelski had joined the Turkish army in 1854 but after he caught tuberculosis in 1864, he started to spend winters in Cairo as well. Apart from valuable works of art, he collected Oriental and exotic weaponry.¹³ The friendship of Kościelski and Chlebowski was very beneficial to the artist in many respects. Chlebowski not only painted portraits of wealthy foreigners in Cairo but also studied the ethnographic heritage of Egypt. Specializing in the painting of watercolours and oils, Chlebowski was awarded with many medals, being honoured by the Ottoman Empire, Austria, Italy and Belgium.¹⁴ Having four compositions painted in the throne chamber of Beylerbeyi Palace (The Blue Hall), he was awarded with a 3rd grade monetary badge (*mecidiye*) in 1870. Leaving Istanbul in 1875/1876 to go back to Paris, Chlebowski built a residence as a studio, where he put his collection of Eastern handicrafts. After his wedding, which took place in Krakow in 1880, Chlebowski went back to Paris. In 1881 he returned permanently to Krakow and died in Kowanówko, in the environs of Poznań, in 1884.

In the 19th century, Polish art passed through successive stages of different artistic trends, each of these intermingling, of which two were the most important: Romanticism and Historicism.¹⁵ A realist and a Romantic at the same time, Stanisław Chlebowski had the ambitions of

⁸ Majda 2000: 176.

⁹ Blak 2001: 49.

¹⁰ Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska 2003: 13.

¹¹ Blak 2001: 49.

¹² Kaya 2006: 73.

¹³ http://www.koscielscy.pl/eng/tekst_fundacja.php (accessed: 15.01.2011).

¹⁴ Blak 2001: 49, Szczawińska 1971: 318.

¹⁵ Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska 2003: 10.

a historical painter. The early part of Chlebowski's career was dominated by historical paintings, and the trend of Orientalism is rather scantily represented. The Polish artists who visited the Middle East and North Africa did not return in later paintings to these motifs.¹⁶ But more than any other Polish Orientalist painter, Chlebowski became at a certain point of his life—around the age of 30—an extoller of the East, and he remained faithful to the Orient for the rest of his life.¹⁷ From 1865, the subject of his compositions was solely the East and its people, culture and landscape. It was in Constantinople that his talent and interests matured: he painted historical scenes, preferably battlefields, often as an apologist for the Turkish army or illustrating the Polish-Turkish past.¹⁸ During the Constantinople period, Stanisław Chlebowski still portrayed everyday scenes, such as Sultan Ahmet III out hunting. Those were the stories of people living in the Middle East, Egypt, and the street scenes and cafes in the suburbs of Constantinople. After leaving Constantinople, Chlebowski settled in Paris, where his pictures of eastern bazaars, harems and views of Constantinople were greatly in demand. Examples of his works from that period: *Sale of slaves* (Paris 1879, Krakow 1879, Warsaw 1880), *Asphyxiation Sultanas and Green Mosque in Brousse* (Paris 1877).¹⁹ The aforementioned painting of the Green Mosque must have been another one than that which is the subject of this presentation, yet it is not entirely clear to date.

In his *Turkish lady praying in the Green Mosque, Bursa* painting (Ill. 1), Chlebowski displays great technical skills. He cares for the details, carefully describing the architecture, clothing and the background decor. But in his gift for the observation of attitudes and expressions, he also brings his characters depth and dignity. For its technical brilliance, and his meticulous attention to detail, Stanisław Chlebowski announces the Orientalist art of Rudolf Ernst.²⁰ In both of the paintings that depict the Green Mosque (*Turkish lady...* and *Prayer time*, Ill. 2), the figures are arranged through a diagonal line; and there's a contrary dynamic between the sitting and standing figures. The main differences of the two paintings are the viewpoint of the artist's to the *iwān*, the gender of the figures, and the carpets.

Briefly mentioning Osman Hamdi Bey, who also painted the Green Mosque: he was born in Istanbul in 1842, the son of an intellectual father who advanced in his career thanks to the Grand Vizier. Osman Hamdi was sent to Paris by his father to study law in 1857, spending 12 years in Paris. Osman Hamdi attended art classes as well as law courses. Even though there is a lack of evidence in the French archives to support his being a student in the classes of Gérôme during his study in École des Beaux Arts, Osman Hamdi presents himself in Paris Salon Catalogues (1866, 1868) as the student of Gustave Boulanger. Apart from this it is conspicuous that in 1892 he had two paintings exhibited there, and this time Osman Hamdi presents himself as the student of Pils. However, unfortunately there is no detailed or distinc-

¹⁶ Majda 1995: 440, 441.

¹⁷ Majda 2000: 176.

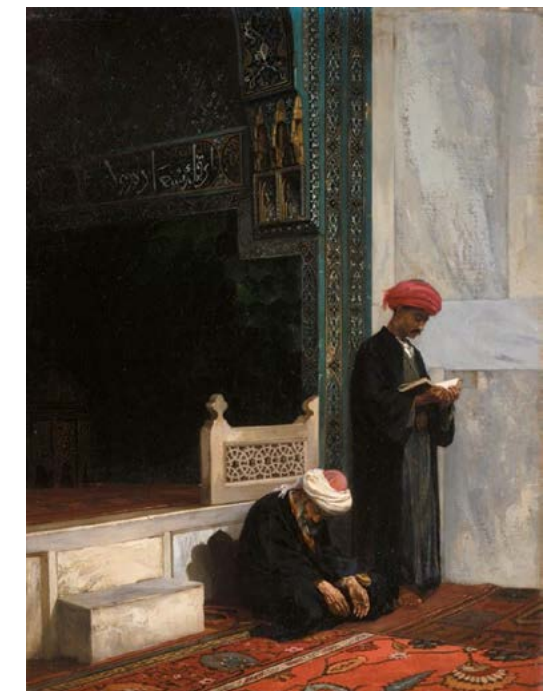
¹⁸ Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska 2003: 15.

¹⁹ Szczawińska 1971: 318.

²⁰ http://www.gazette-drouot.com/static/resultat_vente_encheres/enchere.html?lang=0&id=68q2fb152135ilh6pyr3w524njay216hrrv5f5xd12vxe4v1cf73m (accessed: 15.01.2011).



III. 1. Stanisław Chlebowski, *Turkish lady praying in the Green Mosque, Bursa*, 1878; oil on canvas, 56.4 x 42.5 cm, private collection (after: <http://www.orientalist-art.org.uk/svc.html> [accessed: 15.01.2011])



III. 2. Stanisław Chlebowski, *Prayer time*; oil on canvas, 65.5 x 50.2 cm, private collection (after: <http://www.orientalist-art.org.uk/svc.html> [accessed: 15.01.2011])

tive document to support this to date.²¹ As mentioned at the beginning of this presentation, Osman Hamdi joined the Universal Exhibition held at Paris in 1867 with three of his paintings: *Rest of the Gypsies*, *Black-Sea soldier lying in wait*, and *The death of the soldier*.²² He was called back to Turkey in 1869 to begin his new assignment in Baghdad, and served as the commissary in charge of the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873. Having resigned from his official duties in 1878, he dedicated himself to painting, and was appointed as the Director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) in 1881. He opened the School of Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) in 1883; and had the code of practice for antique artworks (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) issued the following year. During 1883–1895 he carried out excavation work at various places and created publications on these themes. Having worked and been productive in many different fields throughout his life, attaining numerous achievements, such as degrees and medals, Osman Hamdi died in 1910.²³

From the beginning, Osman Hamdi lived as both an insider and an outsider to Ottoman culture.²⁴ Osman Hamdi is a truly westernized Ottoman intellectual in terms of his lifestyle, family and human relations, as well as in his thoughts and behaviour. By reflecting his culture

²¹ Eldem 2004: 48.

²² Shaw 1999: 424, Germaner 1992: 107.

²³ Cezar 1987: 8–12.

²⁴ Shaw 1999: 423.

and his own world into his paintings, Osman Hamdi reveals differences when compared to other Western Orientalist painters. There was no other Turkish artist in the period who chose the Orientalist style in their paintings. Due to these reasons, he was reputable in both his own country and all over the world, and has been subject to considerable research.

Having evaluated Osman Hamdi as an atelier artist, we have placed the figure concept in its “real” sense in Turkish painting. Gérôme and Osman Hamdi both used monumental figures, having them placed in gorgeous locations, described in detail in their static compositions. Both had similar work practices; actually they fictionalized their paintings as did many other Orientalist painters, by using similar locations, objects with similar details but within different compositions. While doing these, they both utilized objects in front of their eyes, as well as photographs; and in that way were able to secure realism in the details, increasing the paintings’ realism, accordingly increasing the reality on the procreated Eastern compositions. Though both artists have utilized photographic images in their works, Osman Hamdi had his own photograph taken with various different clothes on and had his own figure placed within his paintings.²⁵ Both artists differ in the use of light in their paintings; in Gérôme’s works the light is upon the major figure and diminishes towards the background, whereas in Osman Hamdi’s works the light is evenly distributed on the surface of the paintings. Osman Hamdi Bey’s paintings bear resemblances in terms of subject and fiction first to those of Gérôme, then to Ludwig Deutsch and Rudolf Ernst’s paintings.²⁶

As Wendy Shaw said: “In many of his paintings, Osman Hamdi resituated objects from the collections into anachronistic or unlikely settings, often including himself or members of his family as devoted participants in religious observances, as in *In the Green Mosque of Bursa* (Ill. 3). Osman Hamdi uses a Mameluke candleholder, a lamp and a Qur’an from the museum collections, and sets them in a quintessential early Ottoman mosque.”²⁷ For the figures in that painting Osman Hamdi used his own photographs. He even used these figures in *Speaking Hodjas in front of the Mosque*. On the other hand, we see Osman Hamdi used the same *iwan* and some other parts of the Green Mosque in *Two musician girls* (Ill. 4), *Hodja reading Qur’an*, and *The Turtle Trainer* with some differences. Both Osman Hamdi and S. Chlebowski painted the *iwans* in the Green Mosque with figures.

The compositions of Osman Hamdi Bey’s paintings *The entrance gate of Bursa Great Mosque* (1881), *Turkish women wandering at hippodrome* (1887), and *Turkish women in front of Blue Mosque* (no date), resemble the composition arranged in Chlebowski’s painting *The musician in Istanbul streets* (1872). The communication and influences between S. Chlebowski and Osman Hamdi Bey began in Paris, and must have continued in Istanbul as well. Chlebowski lived in Paris during 1859–1864, and Osman Hamdi Bey was there from 1857–1869; accordingly it is possible that they met each other during this five-year period. Upon return from Paris, the common period that they both lived in Istanbul is almost six years. Even though we have no document evidencing their face-to-face interactions, either in Paris or Istanbul, it is very likely that they were aware of each

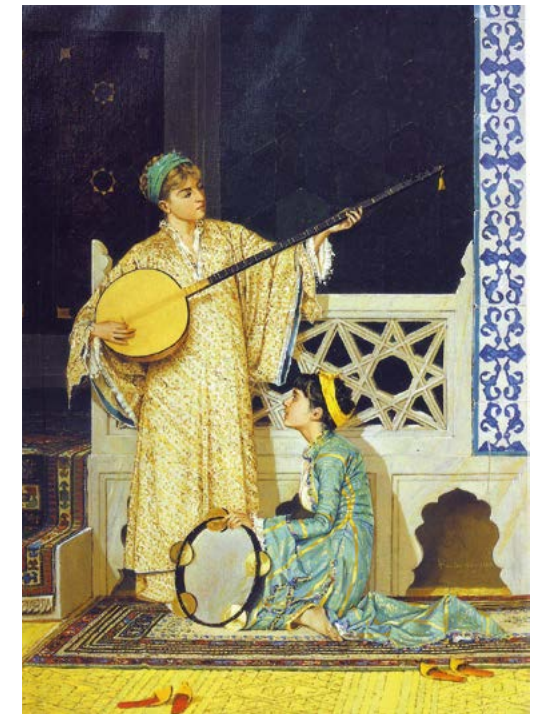
²⁵ Shaw 1999: 425, Demirsar 1989: 233.

²⁶ Germaner 1992: 109.

²⁷ Shaw 1999: 428.



Ill. 3. Osman Hamdi Bey, *In the Green Mosque of Bursa*, 1890; oil on canvas, 81 × 59 cm, private collection (after: Cezar 1995: 727)



Ill. 4. Osman Hamdi Bey, *Two musician girls*, 1880; oil on canvas, Suna Kıraç Collection (after: Cezar 1995: 668)

other’s paintings.²⁸ Comparing them in terms of their painting styles, both painters have common features; deriving from the Orientalist painter J. L. Gérôme; but the influence they took from him is reflected in a different manner in S. Chlebowski’s or O. Hamdi’s paintings.

Jean-Léon Gérôme was born in 1824 and had been the student of Paul Delaroche and Charles Gleyre at the Paris Academy of Fine Arts. Gérôme owes to his master Delaroche the characteristics of his paintings such as objectivity, the careful articulation and solidity of the figures and the authenticity of their costumes.²⁹ Gérôme’s interest in correct and accurate settings was probably reinforced by Gleyre’s archaeological attention to his settings.³⁰ Visiting Istanbul in 1854 for the first time, after being appointed as the atelier instructor at Paris Academy of Fine Arts in 1864, Gérôme was able to demonstrate his works of art in 1867 at the Universal Exhibition held at Paris, his first time at an international level. As mentioned before, the exhibition in 1867 was the one in which Sultan Abdülaziz was the guest of honour and Osman Hamdi had his paintings in the exhibit at the Ottoman Pavilion, and Parvillée was inspired by the Green Mosque.

Having visited many countries, including Egypt and Turkey several times during 1860–1880, Gérôme was in Bursa in 1875, where he made sketches; and he later painted the Green Mosque and the Green Turbeh. But in his painting called *The entrance of the Green Mosque*, the

²⁸ Majda 2000: 177

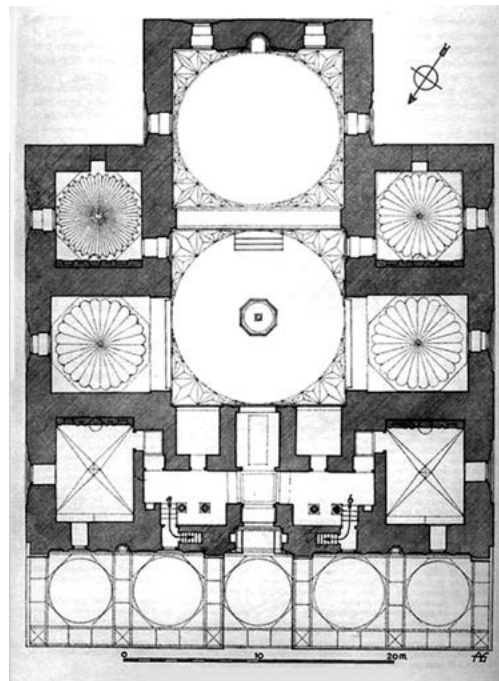
²⁹ Ackerman 1997: 14.

³⁰ Ackerman 1997: 24.

door illustrated was actually the entrance door of the Green Turbeh. Again, in another work of Gérôme called *Field of rest (Cemetery of the Green Mosque at Broussa)*, the illustrated building had no resemblance to the Green Mosque either. Here the artist was inspired by the Baghdad Imam Musa tomb, the Isfahan-Hüseyin Shah Madrasa and the Cemeteries at Eyüp and Üsküdar in Istanbul.³¹

As Ackerman said: "Gérôme explained that he developed an 'idea' of the painting in his head before he started to work. After this idea was clearly formed in his mind, Gérôme would make quick idea sketches to hold the composition and to develop it further. Then the real work began: getting models to pose, finding proper costumes and accessories and developing backgrounds. The subject would be researched by reading or visiting museums and collections of decorative art. He believed that the conception of the idea was the real creative act and that the rest was execution."³²

Gérôme's practices such as the use of photographs, the assembling of elements taken from different locations, or the use of similar objects in different paintings and the realism within the details of his paintings were also visible in Osman Hamdi Bey's practices. The common characteristics of Gérôme and Chlebowski on the other hand were, having a classical style in their preliminary artworks at the start of their careers, and then having an inclination towards Orientalism. Both lived in the East at certain time frames and they gathered collections with eastern characteristics. But in light of all these, Chlebowski had some differences as compared to Gérôme and Osman Hamdi. Chlebowski did not resort to the anachronistic accessories often employed by his teacher, and refrained from mixing eras. As Tadeusz Majda said, in Chlebowski's paintings, everything from the landscape and the interior to the decorative accessories and the attire are authentic and taken from the period.³³ Even in those paintings executed after leaving Turkey, in Paris or Krakow, Chlebowski consistently depended on recollections of things seen there, supplemented by sketches and his own collection of Turkish weapons and handicraft items.³⁴ Chlebowski first worked with details in a sophisticated manner similar to that of Gérôme's, giving importance to the realism in details, and he conducted etudes of his studies. His albums of sketches made in Istanbul deserve special atten-



III. 5. Plan of the Green Mosque (after: Gabriel 1958: 82)

tion as a valuable source for ethnographic studies, as well as for Turkish dress and arms. His success in his etudes may be attributed to the materials he utilized in his collections, consequently to his painting through observation. But Chlebowski's detailing, especially in his work etudes, diminishes when his oil paintings are analyzed, and instead, Impressionist influences start to take effect. We can say that Chlebowski was an observational (*apres nature*) painter rather than an atelier painter, as were Gérôme and Osman Hamdi; in other words, the understanding of fictionalism in Gérôme and Osman Hamdi did not exist in Chlebowski. That must have been the reason why he did not prefer to paint some popular subjects such as the harem, Ottoman baths, female nudes etc. as his master Gérôme had done. Also, at this point, it is not possible to say that Chlebowski painted by utilizing photographs as Gérôme and Osman Hamdi used to do. This point is further supported by the fact that Chlebowski did not use the same elements (objects) numerously in different compositions and did not make fictionalism in his paintings like the other two artists. Based on these it can be thought that Chlebowski was not in a rush to produce many paintings to meet the demands of his customers as were Gérôme and Osman Hamdi.

Gérôme, Chlebowski and Osman Hamdi, all picked up the same common subjects in their paintings; one of them being the Green Mosque, all three painters had similarities and differences clearly observed in their styles in these paintings. The Green Mosque and the Green Turbeh in Bursa, which used to be the first capital city of the Ottoman Empire, both preserved their importance from the 15th century to date, their names being observed in many travel books, and have been commonly observed in many Orientalist artists' paintings and in the examples of many Turkish paintings. But, in most of them the Turbeh was in the forefront, and the mosque itself was painted less; in this way especially the Green Mosque paintings of S. Chlebowski and Osman Hamdi Bey are of importance due to their also being examples of the interiors of the mosque. Though it is known by us that Osman Hamdi generally used photographs to paint his artworks, it is possible that both of these artists completed their paintings within the mosque due to their close relationships with the Ottoman Sultan. In both of their paintings, the artists chose to work with the *iwans* situated at both sides of the entrance to the building (Ill. 5), bringing to mind that both artists were attracted by the *iwans* that were fully covered with Ottoman ceramic tiles. And also there is not much religious activity in the places, which makes them more suitable to paint.

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³¹ Ackerman 2000: 288.

³² Ackerman 1997: 188.

³³ Majda 2000: 177.

³⁴ Majda 2000: 177, 181.

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Neo-Islamic architecture in Central and Eastern Europe

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In the 10th century Islamic Spain was more advanced than the rest of Europe. It was rich economically and intellectually because of the wealth brought by its agriculture. Beginning with the Umayyads, several periods followed: the Almoravids, the Almohads, and finally the Nasrids who took Granada in 1237. The aesthetics of the architecture that developed became a model to follow in many European countries.

The integration of Islamic design elements in buildings of the 19th and the 20th centuries represents an important development in the history of Spanish architecture. The Neo-Islamic style became representative of Mediterranean unity and symbolized European identity. These designs became visible as well in Central and Eastern Europe. They crossed religious and cultural lines and appeared in Islamic, Christian and Jewish buildings. Several building examples are discussed to explain how certain elements persisted over the years.

Romanticism

The Arabian Nights, or *Alf Laylah wa Laylah* was translated into French in 1704 by Antoine Galland and became very popular when it first appeared. From the 1700s to the 1920s, the stories were widespread and had a lasting success in many European countries.¹

In Spain, starting in the 18th century, interest in Arabic studies grew. This was initiated partly because of the end of the Inquisition and also by the interest shown by the monarch Ferdinand VI, who organized the first excavations in Granada around the Alhambra. In addition, Charles III ordered the acquisition and cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts. The work was primarily performed in 1843 by Pascual de Gayangos and José Antonio Conde, the first Arabist at the Universidad Central de Madrid. The interest in studying Islamic history developed into Spanish Romanticism and was seen as the internal domestic East or *nuestro Oriente doméstico*, the same East that would attract travellers and writers from America and the rest of Europe.²

¹ Thornton 1994: 5.

² Almarcegui 2003: 2.



III. 1. City Hall, Sarajevo



III. 2. Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Sarajevo

In 1885, Richard Burton translated the *Arabian Nights* into English, and it was a sensation when published. It was followed by a new French translation, by Joseph-Charles Mardrus, and was published in sixteen volumes from 1899 to 1904. It had a strong impact on fashion, ballet, theatre and book illustrations. The author of the translation was born in Cairo in 1868, his grandfather has been exiled from Mingrelia by the Russians. His version of the translation was illustrated by Léon Carré and in England, by Edmund Dulac, who took their inspiration from Islamic miniatures and Indian, Tibetan and Japanese art.³

In 1832 the *Alhambra* by Washington Irving was published. It contained stories and sketches of the buildings at the Alhambra based on his residence in Granada in 1829. The stories became well known and were very popular both in Europe and America.⁴

By the end of the 19th century there were more developments in Spanish Arabism. Francisco Codera founded the School of Modern Arabists or *Escuela de Arabistas Modernos*, which had scholars like Julián Ribera and Miguel Asín, who edited the *Biblioteca Árabe-Hispana* or the Arab-Hispanic Collection. Also the faculty of History and Civilization of Jews and Muslims was created by Ribera at the Universidad Central de Madrid in

³ Thornton 1994: 16.

⁴ Microsoft Encarta 2000: Irving.

1905, and then integrated in the School for Advanced Studies in 1907, the first liberal studies institution in Spain.⁵

At the University of Granada, around the same time, there were several Arabists at the school created by Francisco Javier Simonet, a traditionalist, under whom there were specialists like Gaspar Remiro. Later, in 1932, during the Republican period, the School of Arab Studies was founded, with chairs in Madrid and Granada under the direction of Asín and Emilio García Gómez, respectively. They edited the publication *Al-Andalus* which later became the current publication of *Al-Qantara*, published by the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*, or the Supreme Council of Scientific Investigations, an enterprise that was almost exclusively involved in studying Muslim rule in the Middle Ages. Consequently Orientalism in Spain was looking inwards to roots in the domestic East.⁶

The most important Spanish traveller of the 19th century was the Catalan, Domingo Badía Leblich (1767–1818), who published under the pseudonym Alí Bey, in 1814 and in French, *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807*, along with the *Atlas des voyages d'Ali Bey*.⁷ In 1834 Jules Goury and Owen Jones went to Granada. They were experienced in drawing and documenting monuments in Egypt and they

⁵ Almarcegui 2003: 2.

⁶ Almarcegui 2003: 3.

⁷ Almarcegui 2003: 4.

hoped they could make an accurate account of the buildings in the Alhambra. After six months in Granada Gourey died of cholera, and Jones returned to England. The next year he started the publication of the original drawings. In 1837 he returned to Granada and completed the collection. To ensure accuracy, an impression of all the ornaments in the palace was taken either in plaster or with paper.⁸ In 1856 Jones published *The Grammar of Ornament* with many lithographs, it was considered as an encyclopedic manual. It was not intended for designers to copy, but rather to inspire. Almost every known style of ornamentation was introduced in the 19th-century Europe, Islamic as well as Chinese and even Indian motifs became popular.⁹

In the mid-1800s the Spanish landscape painter Jenaro Pérez was introduced to Orientalism in painting by the Scottish artist David Roberts who travelled extensively in Egypt and the Holy Land. It was largely through Pérez that Orientalism became popular among the Spanish bourgeoisie. Consequently, interest turned to architectural design and Romanticism as a neo-Islamic style emerged.¹⁰

19th- and 20th-century Seville

The nucleus of the city with its most important buildings is the area around the Alcázar (the palace). In this part, the original Islamic and medieval street layout was adequately preserved and only the architecture changed. La Avenida de la Constitución was cut through this area to connect it with the area of the 1929 Ibero-American exposition.

The city is located on the east bank of the Guadalquivir River in a large and very fertile plain about 80 kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean. The port, being easily accessible for the small ships that sailed up the river in past centuries, has made Seville one of the most important cities in Spain. In Antiquity it was a landing place for river barges on their way to Córdoba. Under Roman rule it was a commercial town known by its previous name of Hispalis, and through corruption the name in Arabic became Ishbiliya. Conquered by Caesar in 45 BC, it was fortified and renamed Colonia Julia Romula. Its suburb Triana, originally Trajana, was the birthplace of the emperors Hadrian and Trajan.¹¹

La Plaza de Armas was built in 1889 as the main train station of Seville and was originally named la Córdoba Estación. It was remodeled in 1982, and remained as a train station until 1991. It housed the Seville pavilion during the 1992 world exposition, and later became a commercial shopping center. The original building architects were José Santos Silva, and Nicolás Suárez Alvizu.¹² The main entrance faces la Plaza de la Legión, and is virtually unchanged from the days of the train station. The backside, where the trains used to enter, had a new large open plaza and a new hotel added in 1992. The rear façade itself had a new glass curtain wall added, to fill the large train entrance. The glass panels were fitted in a randomized lozenge design steel frame.

⁸ Gourey 1842: Advertisement.

⁹ Pevsner 1999: 415.

¹⁰ Hernando 1989: 233.

¹¹ Press 1979: 15–17.

¹² Guía 1992: 29.



III. 3. Great Mosque, Córdoba



III. 4. Jubilejní Synagogue, Prague

The building used many elements of Islamic origin: bulbous finials, the horseshoe arch, and Umayyad style crenellations, first appearing at Persepolis. The exterior walls used brick facing with coloured ceramic (*azulejos*) tile inserts around openings. When it was built, the train station represented the stylistic direction of the latter part of the 19th century. It showed the many possibilities of using new technology in combination with historical elements.

In the main entrance façade there is a tripartite division: the glass and metal curtain wall above the entry and the two-brick faced structures on both sides now occupied by stores. The most innovative part is the glass and metal curtain wall that was made in the *rejería* tradition which was wrought or cast ironwork. The top is a large arch that spans between the two main structures on both sides of the entry. The Umayyad style crenellations above the arch are now in metal, and are crowned with a black (instead of the typical Islamic copper) bulbous finial. Below, the space is divided with a series of metal multi-lobed horseshoe arches that are filled with coloured and clear glass panes that are diagonally divided. As it is viewed from the inside, this design is most effective in creating a silhouette of a traditional arcade against the sky. In contrast, the other end of the building, the northern end, with its randomized lozenge glass curtain wall is a picture window overlooking the plaza beyond. The use of metal shows the Plateresque influence (*platería* silver work) from the 16th century, whose architectural elements were either in metal or metal-like.¹³

¹³ "The Plateresque style is characterized by the lavish use of ornamental motifs, Gothic, Renaissance, and even Moorish, unrelated to the structure of the building to which it is applied," Pevsner 1999: 440.

In 1912 the city of Seville held a competition for the design of multistorey building façades, either new or rehabilitated in the city centre, to be representative of a new style, an *estilo sevillano*. Several buildings were selected for their design excellence by notable architects like José Gómez, Aníbal González, and José Espiau.¹⁴

The Plaza de América was built as part of la Exposición Ibero-Americana of Seville of 1929 at the Parque de Maria Luisa, further south from the Plaza de España. The city council had insisted that the architectural style used had to be seen as typical of Seville and its history. It was the site of three buildings: Pabellón Mudéjar finished in 1914, Pabellón Real finished in 1916, and the Museo Arqueológico finished in 1919. All three buildings were designed by the same architect, Aníbal González.¹⁵ The layout was cruciform, with a building at each end and a water pool in the centre, a Persian *chahar bagh* like design. The three buildings, even though designed by the same architect, are very different.

The Pabellón Mudéjar is of course *mudéjar* in design, and the other two are Plateresque. It was the most exuberant and it is now the Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares. The building is symmetrical on the short and long sides, and has an internal courtyard. The main façade is overlooking the water pool and the flower gardens. The main entrance has two square projecting towers on either side. The elevation between the two lookout towers, or *torres miradores*, has a vertical tripartite division with three scalloped arches on the main entrance level. Those arches were most beautifully designed with molded and fretted tile work. The colours are harmonious, with green, blue and copper coloured tile set against the reddish brown brick, which under the sun has a vibrant shimmering effect. The arches are supported on columns and are slightly offset to create a shadow on the wall behind. The central entryway has two types of arches: horseshoe and scalloped, and a double offset with two columns on either side. Since this idea was inspired by the archway at la Capilla de Villaviciosa at the Great Mosque of Córdoba, it was effective in creating depth and in making the entry more pronounced. Tile was placed in key locations, around the openings and in the brick walls all around the building. The interplay between light and dark, solids and voids is a tour de force in the use of colours and materials. Of course the main elements here are of Islamic origin however, on closer inspection none of the patterns in the detailing are, but rather pseudo-Islamic.

Sarajevo

The area of Sarajevo in Bosnia was settled in 1457 by the strong Isa-Bey Ishakovic during the Ottoman reign of Sultan Mehmed Fatih. It became the capital of Bosnia in 1462 and remained part of the Ottoman Empire for 421 years until it was relinquished in 1878 at the Berlin Conference to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which lasted until 1918. After World War I, Bosnia became part of Yugoslavia. It was conquered by the Germans during World War II and

¹⁴ Urrutia 1997: 180.
¹⁵ Guía 1992: 36.

later it was devastated during the civil war from 1992 until 1995.¹⁶

Gradska Vijecnica or City Hall opened in 1896, it was originally designed by the Austro-Czech architect Karlo Parzik, who was dismissed for disagreements and completed instead by Alexander Wittek. It was built on the bank of the Miljacka River to house the city municipality. In 1949 it became the public and university library. The collection burned down in 1992 because of a Serb grenade attack. The architect Wittek travelled twice to Cairo and was impressed by the mosque of Sultan Hassan according to the sources, but in my opinion the building was influenced more by the Cairo Islamic Art Museum, originally Dar al Quṭb.¹⁷

The façade of City Hall has alternating bands of red and tan referring back to the *ablaq* tradition of the Umayyads in Syria and Spain. In addition, it contains design elements going back to the Ayyubid period in Egypt 1171–1250. The upper level of the exterior wall has keel arch niches that include Andalusian style stucco designs similar to the ones at the mausoleum of Imam Shafii in Cairo, built in 1211.¹⁸ The whole building is topped with a stalactite cornice that is Andalusian in spirit but is more Mamluk¹⁹ in its detailing and construction. Above the cornice we have also a typical Mamluk *fleur de lis* design crenellation in two styles. Again, design elements coming straight from the Mamluk period in Cairo.

The Faculty of Islamic Sciences building in Sarajevo was also designed by the Austro-Czech architect Karlo Parzik and built between 1887–1889. It was commissioned by the Austrian authorities for Muslim students who wanted to become *sharia* judges of Islamic law. It was built in the form of an Ottoman *madrassa* or school with two courtyards, in the Stari Grad area, on a slope to the North of the main market of Baščaršija. It was closed at the end of World War II because of

¹⁶ Dizdar 2005: 15.

¹⁷ Dizdar 2005: 48.

¹⁸ Behrens-Abouseif 1996: 85.

¹⁹ The word *mamluk* in Arabic means: the owned. The Mamluks were bought as fighters in the army yet allowed to rise up in rank and be freed. Later under the Ottomans they were called Janissaries. It was common for Christian families in Central and Eastern Europe to offer their children to join the ranks and serve in the army. From Cairo, they ruled Egypt and Greater Syria between 1250 and 1517. They defeated the Mongols and the Crusaders but were conquered by the Ottomans in 1517.



III. 6. Spanish Synagogue, Prague

the prohibition on religious education under the Communist regime and was transformed first into a school of law and then into a history museum. In 1993 it was decided to restore the building as the Faculty of Islamic Sciences of the University of Sarajevo and the work was executed between 1996–1998. Today, with twenty-eight faculty and staff, five classrooms, an amphitheatre, library and mosque, it provides education in Islamic sciences for hundreds of students.²⁰

The design of the building even though done by the same initial architect of City Hall differs significantly. It is more Andalusian than Mamluk, even though it has similar *ablaq* bands. Horseshoe arches are used in the main entrance and window openings throughout. They are used in pairs in the upper level as was previously seen in Seville, Córdoba and Granada. The stepped crenellation crowns the exterior walls and as previously shown came all the way from Persepolis via Syria and Spain. Other Stari Grad buildings nearby have similar design elements as evidence of how one design influences another.

Prague

After the Alhambra decree was issued on 31 March 1492 by the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile the Jews were ordered to leave Spain or face death. As a result of this expulsion, Spanish Jews were dispersed throughout North Africa. They also fled to South-Eastern Europe where they found safety in the Ottoman Empire. I suspect that the Jews initially arrived by boat in the Balkans and later spread in Central and Eastern Europe. Jewish buildings in The Czech Republic and Poland not surprisingly show strong ties with Andalusian predecessors.

The Spanelska Synagoga or Spanish Synagogue, in Prague's Stare Mesto, was originally built in 1868 and designed by the architect Vojtěch Ignátz Ullmann. It was remodeled in 1996 but retained most of its original elements.²¹ It is located on a site that almost makes it invisible from afar. The façade has a familiar tripartite division and is very different from adjacent buildings with its projecting mini towers that have copper finials. The sides of the building are tiered and have stepped crenellations. The windows are horseshoe and the glass is divided with leaded geometric designs. The famous Nasrid eight-pointed star from Granada is used in stucco ornamentation and in bands around the building. The synagogue has all the basic Andalusian design elements but the reason for this is unknown. Some sources say that the building was a tribute to the Spanish Jews ordered out by Ferdinand and Isabella, others simply say it is a symbol of Mediterranean unity.

The Jubilejni Synagoga in Prague's Nove Mesto was built in 1904 and was extensively remodeled in 1998.²² It is on the tight Jeruzalemska street but stands out because of its design, bright colours and the *ablaq* treatment seen in bands and in the voussoirs. It has a rich palette

²⁰ Yavus 2004: 1.

²¹ Vlček 1996: 554.

²² Batkova 1998: 616.



III. 5. Plaza de Armas, Seville

of red, blue, tan and gold colours with a strong six-pointed star motif that starts in the large window behind the main horseshoe arch of the portal, and continues in the balcony railing and below the windows. The main feature of the façade is the entry which has three horseshoe arches, a balcony above with more arches and is topped with the large main horseshoe arch terminating in volutes. A small pediment with crenellations caps the whole building along with two small towers at both ends.

The façade of the Jubilejni Synagoga is a showcase of Andalusian design elements which were brought together using bright colours. It is a new way of applying these elements but appears to be kitsch in the context of religious buildings. By comparison, the Spanelska Synagoga is more appropriate in its use of muted colours despite relying heavily on Islamic design sources.

Interpretations

What intrigued me about Sarajevo was its vast number of Ottoman style mosques with their large shallow domes and pencil shaped minarets. None of them were used as sources of inspiration by the architects of the 19th century but instead they looked towards Mamluk and Andalusian architecture.

I was also intrigued by Prague and its varied architecture however I did not find any local precedents to the two synagogues discussed. Both the Czech Republic and Bosnia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire between 1869 and 1918 but they share few similari-

ties in architectural styles. Of course Bosnia was part of the Ottoman Empire, but that did not influence the buildings of the 19th and the 20th centuries as we have seen from the examples discussed.

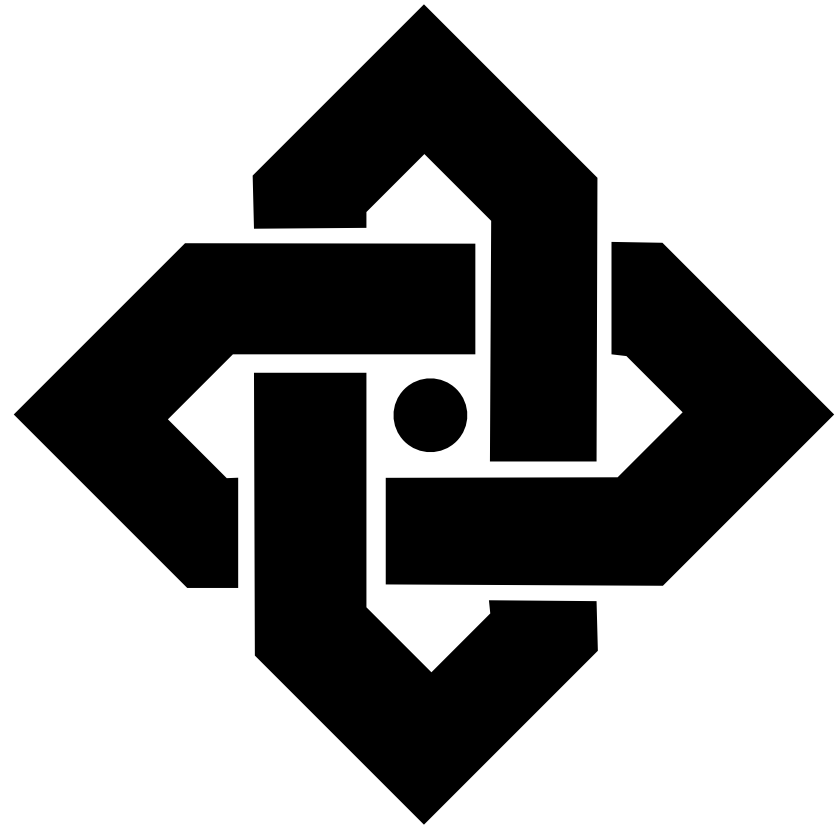
What was the driving force behind this trend? Was it the *Arabian Nights*? Was it Orientalism pushing images of Spain as representative of Andalusian architecture? There were many travellers during the 19th century who went to Spain, Morocco and Egypt, how did their work influence the architects of the 19th century?

I researched a number of synagogues designed by the Austrian architect Wilhelm Stiassny, the architect of the Jubilejní Synagoga in Prague namely: Stanisławów Synagogue in Poland (now Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine) built 1895 and Polnische Schul in Vienna built 1892, and Cášlav Synagogue in the central Czech Republic built in 1899. They all have Andalusian design elements including the horseshoe arch which leads me to believe that the architect dictated the neo-Islamic design used rather than the local Jewish community. The same could be said of other buildings in Sarajevo, as all the ones studied were designed during the Austro-Hungarian period and were designed by Austrian architects. As was shown, the buildings shared very specific design elements and as the designers looked for inspiration they followed the development of Mediterranean architecture going back to the main source of inspiration: al-Andalus.

Romanticism captured the imagination of the European public but above all gave building designers a source of inspiration as was shown in cities across Europe. It is only indicative of the thirst for the exotic and the desire to connect with the past. It became a trend to follow and the horseshoe arch started reappearing in places as far away as Kiev!

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VI
ISLAMIC ART
IN EUROPEAN
COLLECTIONS



A new approach to Islamic art:
The collecting of Eastern carpets in Poland
at the beginning of the 20th century

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Old Mohammedan textiles, and particularly carpets, comprise all elements of high art and take the prime place ahead of other fabrics. Two exhibitions, organized in Poland for the first time—one in Warsaw in 1926, by the Society for the Protection of the Monuments of the Past, and the other in 1928 by the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Lwow (Lviv) together with the Museum of Artistic Industry, are the precursors of the awakening of the traditional interest in carpets here. Not only did the exhibitions prove that the public is able to experience and appreciate this kind of art, but they also gave rise to the first lively debate in a number of literary and artistic magazines, and in several newspapers in Warsaw, Lwow and Krakow. Both exhibitions had also shown that however popular Mohammedan carpets might be in our homes, there are only a few which are truly old and beautiful. As they had often been treated as merely everyday objects rather than works of decorative art, even the best quality items were damaged. One of the paramount objectives of the recent exhibition is to propagate a fondness for Eastern carpet-making and to encourage the collecting and preservation of old masterpieces as well as the creation of a serious academic approach towards this enchanting yet little known genre of Eastern art”—wrote Włodzimierz Kulczycki in his preface to a catalogue of the subsequent presentation arranged with his active participation in 1934, by the National Museum in Krakow.¹

Kulczycki, a collector and expert on Oriental fabrics, who had been promoting this branch of art for nearly twenty years, though particularly entitled to form such an appeal, rose to speak not only in his own name. He voiced the opinion of a larger circle of admirers, among whom there was Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński, the most outstanding collector of the epoch, who advocated for the re-appreciation of the heritage of the art of the Middle East.

¹ Kulczycki 1934b: 8–9.



In this essay, I would like to point out a few aspects of the process which resulted in the creation of modern collections and in the origins of academic research into the subject of Eastern fabrics. I will not, however, focus on the art of Islam as such, but rather on the process of its reception in Poland towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries, in the European historical context.

Owing to its geographical position, Poland was naturally open to influences from the East, which became one of the important factors shaping Polish cultural identity from the Middle Ages to the 18th century. Fully absorbed Eastern influences, which had become an integrated part of the artistic tradition, had been reinforced by the “Oriental” fashion of the Enlightenment and later Romanticism. It was promoted by the growing interest in the languages and literature of the Orient as well as the direct knowledge of this region—owing to political changes Turkey had become not only a travel destination but also one of the major centres of the Polish emigration movement. Romantic Orientalism in the West, which in the second half of the 19th century transformed itself into a separate category of academic painting, did not significantly influence the evolution of Polish art—nevertheless, without becoming autonomous, Oriental threads enriched Polish painting at the turn of the 19th century, from historicism to the first artistic Avant-Garde. Yet no sooner than at the beginning of the 20th century was a significant change in the reception of Islamic art observed. Owing to the activity of the above-mentioned group of amateurs and collectors, the carpets, fabrics and other products of arts and crafts, which had so far been treated merely as objects of applied art or props enhancing the painters’ vision, had become fully recognized works of art.

Oriental inspirations in Polish artistic culture have been frequently discussed since the pioneering works of Tadeusz Mańkowski in the 1930s, through the numerous publications of Zdzisław Żygulski and Jan Reychman, through exhibition catalogues and museum collections, including those worked out by Beata Biedrońska-Słota, to the latest presentation, prepared last



III. 1. Leon Wyczółkowski, *Portrait of Feliks Jasieński*, 1908; oil on canvas, National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasieński)



III. 2. Zofia Stryjeńska, *Recollection of Manggha*, 1911; watercolour on paper, National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasieński)

year by Tadeusz Majda and Anna Kozak in the National Museum in Warsaw.² None of them, however, has attempted to analyze the new approach to Islamic art in Poland, and to connect it with the evolution of the reception of the influence of arts and crafts, or generally, of the Oriental tradition in Europe.

At the turn of the 19th century, mainly due to the advancement of the process of colonization, Europe experienced a real “Oriental renaissance”, interpreted by Edward Said as the culminating point of the process of political and intellectual submission of the East to the West.³ The international competition also comprised the domain of culture. Since the beginning of the 20th century, great European powers—England, France and Germany—had carried out intensive activity supporting scientific and archaeological research, exhibiting

² See for instance: Mańkowski 1935, Mańkowski 1956, Reychman 1964, Biedrońska-Słota 1983, Orient 1986, Żygulski 1990, Taszycka 1990, Biedrońska-Słota 1992, Żygulski 1992, Cuda Orientu 2006, Kozak 2008, Majda 2008.

³ See: Said 1978, Said 1993.

and creating museum collections.⁴ The South Kensington Museum (today the Victoria and Albert Museum), founded in 1857 as a result of the First World Exhibition of 1851, enriched its Oriental collection and since 1876 has been preparing presentations of Persian art. The Germans, expanding the complex of Museuminsel, reached for the support of Austrian scientists Alois Riegl and Joseph Strzygowski. Thanks to the latter, the facade of Mshatta Palace, a gift from the Sultan of Ottoman Abdul Hamid II, was removed to Berlin in 1900.⁵ In France, which had been active in the field of archaeological research owing to a series of exhibitions and publications since the beginning of the 1870s, a movement of real “Islamophilia” could be observed within the circle of Parisian experts, collectors and merchants.⁶ Presented at the World Exhibition of 1878, the art of Islam (so far called Arab art) became the leading theme of a special exhibition at the Palais de l’Industrie in 1893.⁷ The presentation of the artistic output of the Middle East was followed by the presentation of Orientalism in painting—the work of members of the newly established Société des peintres orientalistes français. Though well-received by the audience, the exhibition was criticized by experts for succumbing to a superficial fashion for the exotic.

A real European breakthrough was the *Exposition des arts musulmans* (Exhibition of Muslim art) organized in 1903 in the Musée des Arts décoratifs by Gaston Migeon, the curator of the Department of Arts and Crafts at the Louvre.⁸ Its main objective was to re-establish the importance of the Oriental tradition in the history of world art, where it is “the height of the decorative work, the boundary, which has never been crossed or even approached,” as it was phrased by Migeon.⁹ Having consolidated the circle of Islamophiles, and encouraging the artists who had rebelled against the established system of aesthetic



III. 3. Józef Mehoffer, *Study of Herod* (portrait of Feliks Jasieński); crayon on paper, 1904, National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasieński)



Ills 4-5. Museum of Feliks Jasieński, Krakow, 1 Świątego Jana Street, before 1914

values, the exhibition in Paris opened a new chapter in the relationship between the art of Islam and modern European culture. This would be confirmed by subsequent presentations, beginning with the exhibition *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst* (Exhibition of masterpieces of Mohammedan art) arranged in 1910 in Munich by Friedrich Sarre and Frederic Robert Martin.¹⁰

The Oriental renaissance called forth a response in Poland, and in the first decades of the 20th century became one of the elements of the process of the revival of decorative art, and even more, the modernization of Polish culture. Like in France, the new interpretation of the Oriental tradition was first adopted by collectors and experts, open to new phenomena in the arts. The emblematic figure of the movement was Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński (1861–1929). It won’t be possible to give the full profile of the personage and his collection. (I dealt with the subject on other occasions.¹¹) Today I will recall only a few Oriental aspects of his activity.

A pianist by profession, known as a collector and the guardian of the work of young Polish “Impressionists” Józef Pankiewicz and Władysław Podkowiński, in the year 1901 he took the post of music critic for the magazine *Chimera*, edited and published in Warsaw by Zenon Miriam-Przesmycki. The work for *Chimera* became his official debut on the Polish artistic scene,

⁴ See: Vernoit 2000.

⁵ See: Hagedorn 2000.

⁶ See: Labrusse 1997, Peltre 2006.

⁷ Marye 1893.

⁸ Migeon, Berchem and Huart 1903.

⁹ Migeon 1903.

¹⁰ Sarre and Martin 1910.

¹¹ See for instance: Kluczevska-Wójcik 2006, Kluczevska-Wójcik 2008a, Kluczevska-Wójcik 2008b. About Jasieński’s collection see also: Manggha 1990.

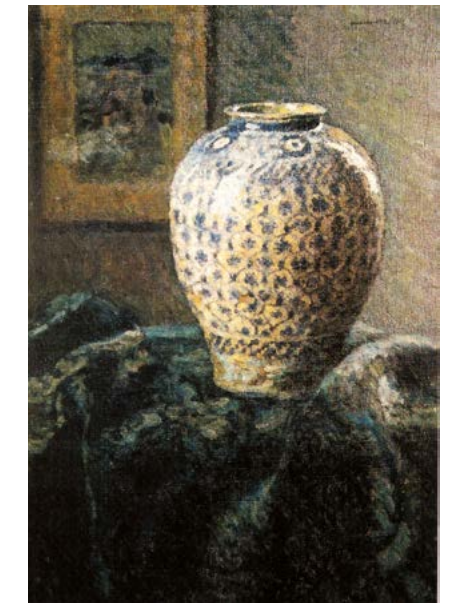
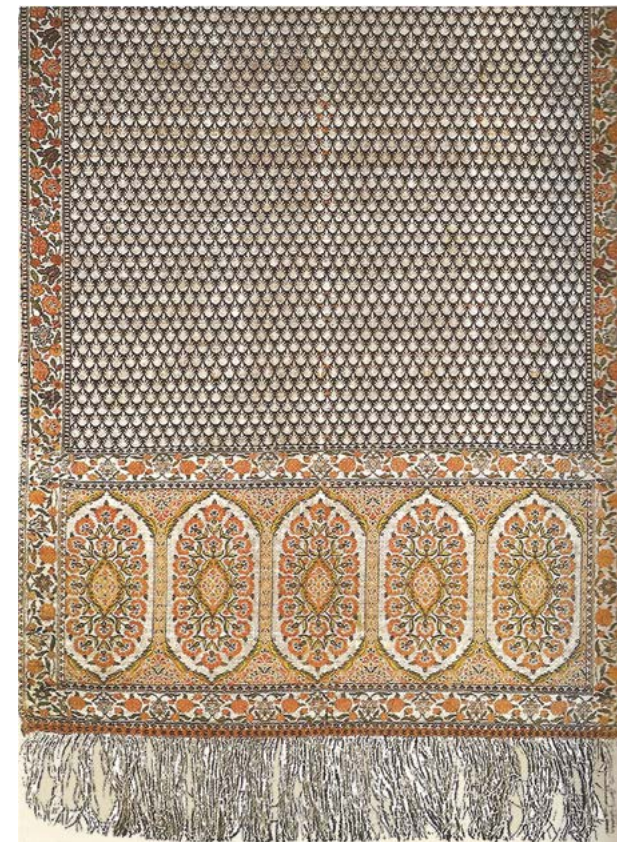
after his return from a sojourn of several years in Paris and a voyage across Europe and the Middle East. A collection of French essays *Manggha. Les promenades à travers le monde, les arts et les idées*,¹² several discursive articles in the Warsaw press and a series of exhibitions in the showrooms of *Chimera* and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts consolidated his position of a collector-propagator and defender of Japanese art. Manggha, however, also known as the “Polish Japanese”, was a great lover of Oriental art, and of Orientalism in music.

As early as during his studies, he succumbed to the charms of the symphonic poem *Désert* (1844) by Félicien David. However, the trip “de Varsovie à Londres par Jerusalem”¹³ would allow him to fully confront his artistic visions with reality. He started his voyage in Constantinople, where he immersed into the Orient with its “sorrow and sophisticated charm,” owing to which he “revived and recovered his soul a couple of ages younger.”¹⁴ He visited Jaffa, Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus and the ruins of Baalbek, and then Cairo with its unforgettable pyramids, and Alexandria. From Damascus, he recalled his “patient searching”, owing to which he “found a magnificent Arab silk coat, in the colour of heather, thick and woven with silk.” Nevertheless, “bargains are rare; English cotton products have flooded even the bazaars of Damascus, and soon the truly Oriental items produced in the East will become extinct.”¹⁵ In his mind, he registered Cairo as “the most beautiful capital city ..., placed onto the most picturesque Oriental metropolis ..., with a wealth of mosques, the most precious jewels of Arab art.”¹⁶

From his voyage, apart from memories, included in the book *Manggha. Les promenades à travers le monde, les arts et les idées*, and a few objects which provided the beginnings of



III. 6. Ladik carpet, beginning of the 18th century; National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasterński)



III. 7. Gold lamé silk sash, Persia, Kashan, before 1772; National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasterński)

III. 8. Józef Pankiewicz, Persian vase, 1908; oil on canvas, National Museum in Krakow (donated by Feliks Jasterński)

his Oriental collection, he brought a series of photographs of masterpieces of architecture and the arts. He presented them at exhibitions and at the accompanying lectures, arranged in the editorial rooms of *Chimera*.¹⁷ Neither Manggha nor his presentations had a purely reportorial character. They were the first introductions in Poland to the questions of Oriental culture and art, with special focus on ornamentation, supplemented with photos and books regarding the subject, which he had brought from his voyage. Not at all accidentally, one of them was *La Décoration arabe* (around 1890?) from the first monography *L'Art arabe* (Paris 1877) by Achilles Prisse d'Avennes. A scholar and expert on the monuments of Egypt, d'Avennes was entirely devoted to the “culte du beau” (the Cult of Beauty), and wanted in his publications “to give materials to the contemporary decorative arts ... so that they could abandon banality and meagre invention so infuriating and hard to accept by the great in spirit.”¹⁸ Among other books in Jasterński’s library, there were works of another French Egyptologist Albert Gayet, *L'Art arabe* (Paris 1893), but also essays of German and Austrian academics Julius Lessing, *Ancient Oriental carpet patterns* (London 1879), and Alois Riegl *Altorientalische Teppiche* (Leipzig 1891).

¹⁷ See: Wystawy 1901: 362.

¹⁸ Quoted in: Peltre 2006: 70.

¹² Felix 1901.

¹³ Felix 1901: 48.

¹⁴ Felix 1901: 52.

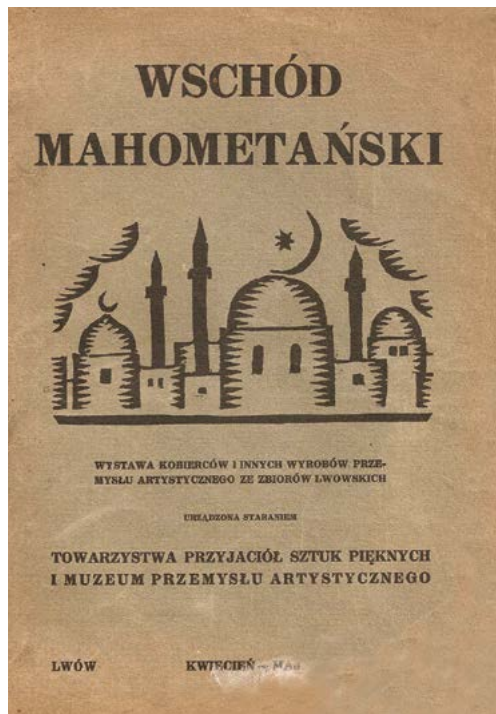
¹⁵ Felix 1901: 67.

¹⁶ Felix 1901: 83.

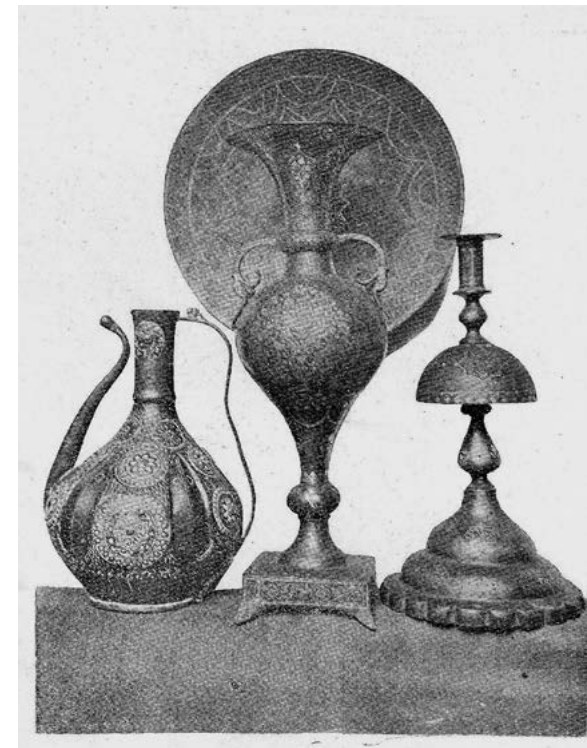
They all found their place in his library, consequently enriched by new publications, such as *Les arts du tissu* (Paris 1909) and *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris 1927) by Gaston Migeon, *Islamische Kunstwerke* (Berlin 1928) by Migeon and Raymond Koechlin, *Vorderasiatische Knupftepiche aus alterer Zeit* (Leipzig 1914) by Wilhelm von Bode and Ernst Kühnel, or *Miniaturlandmalerei in islamischen Orient* (Berlin 1923) by Kühnel. Manggha also collected books of his spiritual master Ernest Renan, one of the patrons of the "Oriental renaissance": *Vie de Jesus*, 1883; *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, 1893. In 1920 Jasieński donated the library together with the whole collection to the National Museum in Krakow.

In his subsequent public presentations, when he was presenting items from his collections or promoting publications (throughout his career of propagator he had more than 40 such conferences) Jasieński touched upon the question of the reformation of arts and crafts. In his opinion, this was a necessary stage for the revival of artistic life in Poland: "There is one art: it is a tree of manifold branches; all indispensable, all beautiful," Jasieński says. "The tree grows and spreads its magnificent branches in many directions: housing, sculpture, painting, enamelling, weaving, carving, gardening, turnery, ceramics, bronze casting ... millions of artists, billions of masterpieces..."¹⁹ He often supported his theses with Japanese examples, but he also reached for the decorative art of Islam. He also liked wearing the eastern outfit which he had brought from his trip, perfectly matching his appearance, in which he was later painted by his friends Leon Wyczółkowski and Józef Mehoffer (in the sketch to a stained glass panel in Fribourg). His image of Manggha-compere wearing an Arab burnus was also commemorated by Zofia Stryjeńska, one of his students and participants of the courses in History of Art which he conducted for women.

Yet the most significant proof of his interest in the art of the Orient is his collection, and particularly the collection of carpets and textiles, with an impressive set of Polish silk sashes. Though Polish by name, the sashes were treated by the collector as "boundary" works, merely adopted by the Polish tradition, having their Oriental origin and character. "Sashes? Whichever of them are truly Polish?", he asks. "Those which had been brought to Poland from



III. 9. *Wschód Mahometański* — "The Mohammedan East: Exhibition of carpets and other articles of artistic industry from the Lwow collections", exhibition cat., Lwów 1928



III. 10. Metal items from the collection of the Museum of Artistic Industry in Lwow, presented on *The Mohammedan East* exhibition; cat. no. 34

Persia and Turkey in the 17th century, or those manufactured in Poland in the 18th century by Mażarski, an Armenian who was born in Istanbul, or by Filsjean, a Frenchman, born in Chalon sur Marne?"²⁰ Old Polish and Ukrainian carpets and kilims constituted an excellent complement to this part of the collection. The latter collection, long-forgotten today, played an important role in the revival of Polish Kilim Ware at the beginning of the 20th century, which had been observed and appreciated by experts as early as in the 1920s.²¹ Jasieński had been collecting textiles since the beginning of his career, though his passion grew even stronger after 1909 and in the 20s. He would buy them during his trips abroad, and he would stay in touch with merchants in Paris (Vigner, Berlin (Rex & Co. Teppich Abteilung),

Leipzig (Hiersemann) and Amsterdam (Vav Veen & Co.), and in Poland with antique merchants in Warsaw and Krakow (Szymon Szwarz).²² When, during the war, he was forced to leave Krakow, he travelled across Ukraine and Podolia (Podilya), looking for carpets. He corresponded with other collectors, and he searched high and low in private collections, determined to wait many years in order to gain his longed-for "item".

The example of Jasieński had become "infectious"—soon, he would attract a large circle of lovers of Oriental artifacts. Manggha passed his passion on to his closest friends: the painters Leon Wyczółkowski and Józef Pankiewicz. Not only did Wyczółkowski paint Manggha and his Oriental collection, but he also accompanied him in his trips for carpets to antique shops in Berlin.²³ The remaining parts of his collection are now to be found in the National Museum in Poznań. Pankiewicz, with an address book from Jasieński in his hand, would supplement his collection of Eastern ceramics and fabrics from the leading Parisian merchants, such as Charles Vigner.²⁴ He also immortalized in paintings the masterpieces from Manggha's collection, as a token of a shared passion. The enchantment by the decorative aspects of Oriental

²⁰ Jasieński 1914, *Świat* 1914, no. 13: 13.

²¹ See: Szuman 1929.

²² See: Jasieński's archives, The Archives of the National Museum in Krakow.

²³ Twarowska 1960.

²⁴ See letter from J. Pankiewicz to F. Jasieński, 16.11.1907, quoted in: Dmochowska 1963: 36.

¹⁹ Jasieński 1914.

art seems to be visible in the artistic output of both artists (in still lifes by Pankiewicz, or in self-portraits by Wyczółkowski) owing not only to the presence of “Orientalistic” objects, but rather to the use of new rules for arranging the pictorial space and the new type of decoration. This issue, however, which hasn't been so far considered by experts, who are mainly focused on narrowly-defined Orientalism, would require further elaboration, and therefore will not be discussed in this short presentation.

Jasieński stayed in touch with other collectors. When Erazm Barącz decided to donate his collection to the National Museum in Krakow, Jasieński agreed to participate in the negotiations on behalf of the donor (1922). He also acted as a connection between amateurs of Eastern art in Poland and France. Both Parisian merchant Charles Vigner and collector Raymond Koechlin knew and appreciated his work. The chairman of the Société des Amis du Musée du Louvre, vice-president of the Union centrale des arts décoratifs and a co-organiser of the exhibition of Muslim art in 1903, Koechlin visited Jasieński's collection in Krakow in 1906 and was loud in his praises.²⁵

The activity and scope of interests of Jasieński, the founder of the Department of the National Museum in Krakow—it's the name Jasieński had chosen to use for his collection since 1903, when the negotiations regarding the donation of his collection to the Museum began²⁶—is similar to those of the circle of Parisian amateurs of Oriental art, with the above-mentioned Raymond Koechlin or Jules Maciet, who also cooperated with museums, or the curator of the Louvre Gaston Migeon, collectors Albert Kahn and Jacques Doucet, and finally merchants Charles Vigner and Dikran Kelekian. Like Jasieński, they were fascinated by both the Middle and the Far East, mainly by Japan, seeing the continuity of the artistic search of those two Oriental traditions. They were all, though to a different extent, open to Avant-Garde phenomena in contemporary art, prepared to defend their aesthetic choices and to bravely support the most challenging artistic ventures. In this respect, Jasieński fully deserves the comparison with Jacques Doucet—the founder of the Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie and donor to Parisian museums.

While the circle of Parisian Islamophiles, so familiar to Jasieński, concentrated its efforts on the aesthetic appraisal of newly rediscovered Oriental art, in Austria and in Germany a scientific approach prevailed. While Prisse d'Avennes and Adalbert de Beaumont analyzed the rules for ornament structure, Ernst Herzfeld, Ernst Kühnel, Moritz Becker and Wilhelm von Bode created the foundation of modern Oriental studies and the history of Islamic art. The publications and exhibitions arranged by the scientists from Berlin and Vienna would become a reference point for the collecting activities of Włodzimierz Kulczycki, the founder of a great collection of Oriental carpets in Poland, which today is divided between the National Art Collection at the Wawel and the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, and which was reintroduced during the great exhibition of 2006 in Krakow.²⁷

²⁵ See letter from R. Koechlin to F. Jasieński, 1906, The Archives of the National Museum in Krakow, S1/14, p. 113–114.

²⁶ See testament of F. Jasieński, 14.06.1903, The Department of the Chief Inventory of the National Museum in Krakow, TDJas 1903/3.

²⁷ See: Koberle 2006.



III. 11. Carpet from the collection of Włodzimierz Kulczycki, presented on *The Mohammedan East* exhibition; cat. no. 66

At the beginning of the 20th century Lwow, a city which Kulczycki was connected with, owing to its geographical position and tradition (naturally directed towards the East and with the presence of an Armenian minority) as well as to developing an academic base (the Oriental Institute of Jan Kazimierz University) became an excellent place for creating collections of Oriental carpets. Since 1906, Kulczycki had purchased them from local antique shops (Tadeusz Wierzejewski, Abdul Kerim, Haas & Soons, A. Zucker), from other collectors (Roman Barącz, Mieczysław Reyzner, Aleksander Skarbek, Wilhelm Wolf), or obtained them by way of exchange.²⁸ Together with the collection, he expanded a professional library, containing basically German publications—the first position being a hand-written catalogue of a Viennese exhibition of carpets of 1891. Aware of the problems ensuing from the lack of specialist literature in Polish, he would soon work out the most precious masterpieces from the Stauropgeia Museum in Lwow and from his own collection.²⁹ A part of his collection was first shown to the public in 1926, at a venue accompanying the exhibition *The East in Poland*, arranged by the Society for the Protection of the Monuments of the Past in Baryczków House in Warsaw. A catalogue, prepared by the author in 3 copies, has endured.³⁰

Far more important for the history of the reception of Oriental art in Poland, however, would be the subsequent presentations: in Lwow in 1928 and in Krakow, in 1934. The “Exhibition of carpets and other articles of artistic industry from the Lwow collections”, entitled *The Mohammedan East*, was prepared by the Society of Friends of Fine Arts and the Museum of Artistic Industry in Lwow. It was accompanied by a catalogue with a large preface by Kulczycki on the history, technique and analysis of plastic values of Eastern carpets.³¹ Its extended ver-

²⁸ See: Piwocka 2006.

²⁹ Kulczycki 1914b, Kulczycki 1914a—verses from the Qur'an translated by Mojżesz Schorr, a professor at the University of Warsaw.

³⁰ Kulczycki 1926.

³¹ Kulczycki 1928.

sion, *Mohammedan carpets with 60 reproductions: A study based on the author's collection*, published a year later, raised interest in the collection and above all, constituted the first critical analysis of the subject in Poland.³² In the introduction to the catalogue the collector explained his choice for the notion “Mohammedan art” instead of the so-far used term “Arab art”, which embraced the character of the phenomenon much better, and which had already been accepted in German-language literature.

A heated discourse on the suitability of the use of the new terminology and some attributions proposed by Kulczycki broke out after the “Exhibition of Mohammedan carpets and Asian and European ceramics”, arranged in 1934 in the National Museum in Krakow.³³ Again, Kulczycki wrote the introduction to the part devoted to carpets, and the items presented at the exhibition came mainly from Lwowian and Cracovian collections, including the collection donated to the National Museum by Jasieński.³⁴ Eastern textiles from his collection were presented in the Szołayski House, in the Department named after him, opened in 1934, five years after the collector's death. However, as it was also to happen to the Erazm Barącz Department at Karmelicka 51, it was closed in 1939.

The Cracovian exhibition and the ensuing debates constitute a summary of the above-analyzed process of a new interpretation of Islamic art in Poland. The 1930s, with the publications of Tadeusz Mańkowski, would bring the first thorough reflection on the role of the Orient in Polish culture. Mańkowski, who was formed by the Lwow circle, would thus reply to the appeal made by Kulczycki.³⁵ He brought a scope of academic research which lasted until the end of the 20th century. Jasieński's passion for collecting and his commitment to the movement for the revival of Polish arts and crafts would be beneficial for the activity of the Society of Polish Applied Art (1901), the Krakow Workshops (1913) and the “Ład” (Cooperative Artists “Corporate”, 1926) in Warsaw. The importance of the revived Polish weaving tradition would be confirmed by successes at international exhibitions, to begin with the Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris, in 1925, and the exhibition *Les tapis polonais* in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, in 1927.

In my presentation I concentrated on recalling the profiles of two creators of modern collections, lovers of and experts on Oriental art. Though shaped by different experiences, different in the methods they used, and different in the scope of their activity, they both stressed the importance of this newly discovered artistic tradition, treating all its works as independent masterpieces of art. By familiarizing the Polish audience with the achievements of new Oriental studies, and championing a search for new forms and ways of artistic expression, they treated their collecting and popularizing activity as an integral part of the programme of the revival of art—not only decorative—in Poland.

³² Kulczycki 1929. See also: Holender 1930.

³³ Kowalski 1934, Kulczycki 1934a.

³⁴ Kobierce 1934, Kulczycki 1934b.

³⁵ Łoziński 1908. Also: Świeykowski 1906.

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Islamic art from Czech collections (with an accent on Iznik pottery)

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The largest Czech collections of Islamic arts and crafts are kept in state museums and galleries, but a lot of objects can be found in the expositions of Czech and Moravian chateau interiors. There are two main institutions systematically and continuously collecting Oriental art and so-called Non-European art:

- 1) The Náprstek Museum of African, Asian and American Cultures, which is a part of the National Museum;
- 2) The Collection of Oriental Art, which comes under the National Gallery in Prague.

The main difference between them is that the Náprstek Museum collects mostly ethnographical works and applied art while the National Gallery collects items of fine art. But in Oriental art there is no clear distinction between these two areas. And even some donors bestowed their gifts partly to Náprstek Museum and partly to the Collection of Oriental Art. Consequently, preparing any exhibition, we have to exploit collections of both institutions.

There are some institutions not centrally concerned with Oriental art, but still possessing Islamic artworks. For example, the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, the Moravian Gallery in Brno, which has a significant number of items of Islamic metalwork and pottery, relative to the whole amount of it in Czech collections. You can find Islamic art in many regional museums, for example the North Bohemian museum in Liberec with its collection of carpets or the West Bohemian museum in Pilsen. The National Library owns some manuscripts—in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, but only the Persian manuscripts are illuminated.

There are still many artifacts of Islamic art in the state chateaux. The owner of these artworks is the National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav), which has an archive of these items. But until now there are many objects in the chateaux that have to be studied further—sometimes even their Islamic origins have to be identified, because some of these artifacts are still defined as "Oriental" with no other specification.

Among some rare items located in the chateaux is a Mameluke carpet in the Archiepiscopal Chateau in the city of Kroměříž (in central Moravia). The carpet had been for a long time used

as a common item in the exposition in the chateau's library. The carpet, in the shape of roundel, displays all features of Mameluke carpets made in Cairo or Damascus at the beginning of the 16th century. At present it is considered one of the oldest Islamic textile items in the Czech Republic.¹ Regrettably, we do not know the way how this carpet from the Mameluke Sultanate reached our region.

The research in the chateaux is in progress mostly thanks to grants. For example, my colleague Zdenka Klimtová, who is a specialist in the field of Islamic carpets and textiles has for a long time been engaged in research concerning rugs and carpets in the chateaux, and her work is very fruitful. Speaking about how the Islamic items reached the Czech lands, I have to refer to the medieval travellers to the Holy Land or Cairo and Istanbul. They were mostly aristocrats. There is no evidence that they actually bought some souvenirs, but it is probable, however it could be just a couple of items. On the contrary, we can say with certainty that a good deal of the Ottoman art in the Czech collections, mostly arms and armour, came to us as booty, souvenirs or diplomatic gifts during the Ottoman-Habsburg wars of the 16th and 17th centuries.

By the end of the 19th century National Museums and Museums of Decorative Arts had been established, supported by the national movement, liberal Czech and Moravian aristocratic families and prominent businessmen. These collections expanded through donations and through purchases from antiquarians (mostly in Vienna). At present, the artifacts are acquired through donations and purchases from collectors and their heirs. I would like to mention here the late Rainer Kreissel, a Czech native, who later lived in Germany. This respectable collector and generous mecenat bestowed to the Czech nation a collection comprising 1200 Anatolian rugs. This collection is now in the Náprstek Museum. Rainer Kreissel also focused on African art and he donated to the National Gallery a wide collection of African sculptures.

The collection of Oriental art in Prague focuses on the collection, preservation and presentation of artwork from Asia, Africa and pre-Columbian America. The collection was established in 1952. It comprises of 13,259 works, the major part of it is of Japanese and Chinese origin, but there are about 1600 works of Islamic origin. The core of this collection was formed through purchases, donations and transfers from other institutions: state collections, Prague Castle and some of the major chateau collections. Later, in the 1960s, the National Gallery obtained Asian items from the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague.² The permanent exhibition was opened in 1998 in Zbraslav Chateau but it is closed now and we are looking forward to opening a new permanent exhibition soon in Kinsky Palace in Prague, in the central part of the Old Town.

Another important collection hosted in the National Gallery in Prague, together with the Islamic art is the extensive collection of a noted Czech Assyriologist, Professor Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952).³ The collection comprises of pottery, weights, clay figures of gods, horse riders, etc. The most appreciated item is a shoe-shaped clay rhyton, probably made in Asia Minor in the 19th century BC.

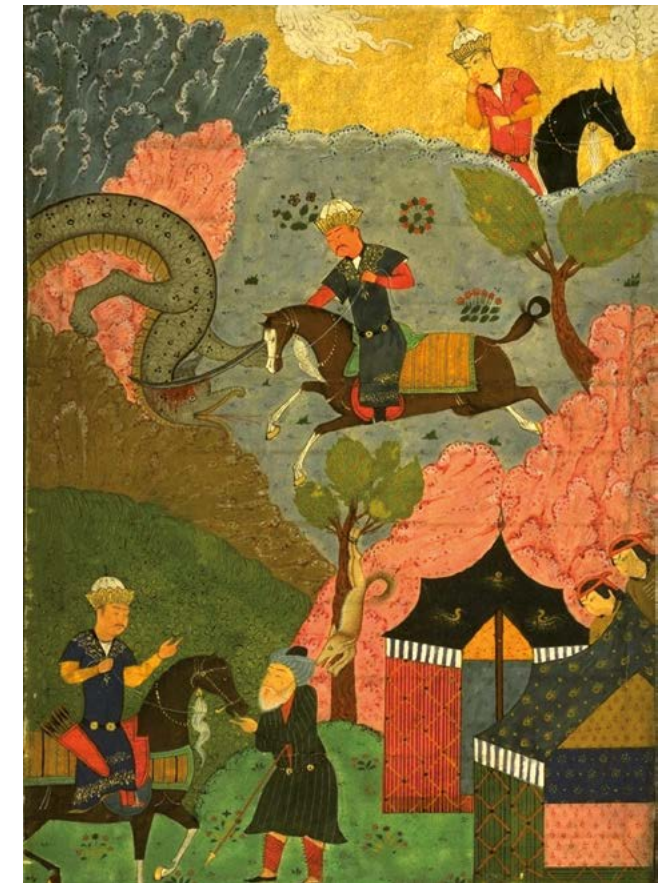
¹ Štulc 2006: 413–417.

² Pejčochová 2006: 5–10.

³ The founder of Hittitology, known for a decipherment of the so-called Hittite language and for the excavation of an archive of the Cappadocian tablets in Kültepe, Turkey.



III. 1.
Incense burner, Syria or Egypt, 13th or 14th c.;
bronze inlaid with silver and gold, h. 23.8 cm



III. 2.
Bahram killing a dragon, miniature painting for
the manuscript of Nizami's epic poem *Haft Paikar*
(Seven Beauties), Iran, mid-15th c.; colours and
gold on paper, 16.3 × 11.6 cm

I would like to highlight some items from our Islamic collection. The first is an incense burner made in Syria (or Egypt) during the Mameluke era (probably in the 13th or 14th century). It has a cylindrical body and a domed lid with a knob-fnial. The body stands on three animal legs which are decorated with double-headed eagles. It is made of bronze inlaid with silver and gold (Ill. 1). Incense burners were not used as sacral objects in Islamic culture, they were a part of household interiors. Metalworks inlaid with precious metals were produced in Syria and Egypt at the time of the Mameluke Sultanate (1250–1517) over both mentioned territories. In the period from which this incense burner originates, decorations often consist of plant arabesques, epigraphical ornament and abundant figural motifs. These figural motifs were later replaced by a geometrical ornament and Mameluke heraldry. This object displays medallions with the characters of musicians; soldiers with swords are placed between the medallions. The circular halo around the heads betrays an inspiration from Byzantine art, however in the Muslim world it does not symbolize a halo.

Among the most important examples of the art of Islamic painting is a miniature for the manuscript of Nizami's epic poem *Haft Paikar* (Seven Beauties). It depicts the scene of King Bahram Ghur killing the Dragon. It was made in Iran, probably in Herat, in the mid-15th century (Ill. 2).



III. 3. Caucasian rugs, short-term exhibition, 2007, Zbraslav Chateau

The miniature shows the Sassanian king Bahram Ghur in two scenes at once—in the upper part we can find King Bahram Ghur fighting the Dragon while in the lower part we can see the king with a shepherd who has punished his dog, in fact a parable about the unjust vizier, who is ultimately punished by Bahram Gur.

A significant group of our Islamic items is a collection of 230 Asian rugs and carpets, mostly from the 19th century. Among them there is a fragment of the 16th or 17th-century Safavid silk kilim. Its decoration combined the Iranian vegetal ornamentation tradition with motifs adopted from Chinese textiles. This fragment is one of five fragments of one kilim that are now in other European collections. In 2007 the exhibition of Caucasian rugs from the National Gallery in Prague took place in Zbraslav Chateau (Ill. 3). Other types of textile from the Middle East region are represented by embroidery (mostly Ottoman) and *kalamkars* (painting and block printing on canvas).

In 2002 I made a research in the field of the Iznik pottery from Czech collections. I searched the collections of the main Czech and Moravian museums and I have thoroughly searched the archives of the National Heritage Institute. The outcome of it was an exhibition “The Tulip in the light of a crescent moon: Turkish ceramics of the 15th to 17th centuries and their echoes in Europe” which took place in 2003.⁴

⁴ Brožková, Kybalová and Nováková 2003.

During the last quarter of the 15th century, new ceramics began to be produced in Iznik (Asia Minor). The Iznik pottery was characterized by a whitish body with decoration painted under a transparent glaze. We can roughly divide it according to the style of decoration into three main stages: the first, from the 1470s to the 1520s, being the blue and white style⁵ inspired by Chinese porcelain, the second a vegetal style or *saz* style⁶ (after the motif of reed leaves)—it was enriched by olive green and purple colours, and the third, after 1560; the flower style or the style of four flowers,⁷ dominated by the tulip in blossom



III. 4. Plate decorated with grapes, Asia Minor, Iznik, ca. 1560; painted in underglaze blue and green, h. 6 cm, diam. 34.7 cm

The dominant four flowers⁸ were also complemented by other motifs, such as a mountain lily consisting of crescent-shaped semicircles, a plum tree rich with abundant white blossoms and a slim cypress tree.

As for the Iznik pottery from the Czech collections, all items are from the flower style after 1560 and from the later periods of the decline of Iznik workshops. I have discovered 19 vessels and 16 tiles. Of these, 9 pieces were in our Collection of Oriental Art at the National Gallery in Prague, 14 items were from the collections of other museums or galleries in Prague or in the Czech and Moravian regions. Another 12 pieces were in the chateaux. All of them were probably brought to Czech lands in the 19th century as purchases for Museums or for collections of aristocratic families.

I have not found in the Czech collections any Iznik pottery from the period of the blue and white style. I can presume that it is firstly due to a smaller amount of Iznik vessels produced during the first quarter, as it was not designated for the market but for the Ottoman court, and secondly, due to a lack of contacts between the Czech Lands and the Ottoman Empire until the 16th century.

In addition to the items of Islamic art in the Czech Republic I have to mention the influence of its decoration, namely of the Iznik pottery, on local pottery production. We can see it clearly in Habaner faience.⁹ Habans or anabaptists were originally Swiss in the 16th century, but found their new home in Moravia, one of the two main regions of the Czech Republic. They produced faience with Italian as well as Ottoman influences. We can see there carnations, tulips, grapevines or cypress. The Habaner faience and its imitation were very popular, so we can find tulips and carnations or pomegranates on Czech and Moravian pottery of many regions.

⁵ Formerly so-called the Ibrahim of Kütahya style.

⁶ Formerly so-called the Damascus style.

⁷ Formerly so-called the Rhodos style.

⁸ For more details see: Atasoy and Raby 1989.

⁹ Kybalová 1986: 169–175.

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Ottoman-Turkish and Iranian textiles in the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest

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Restrictions of time do not permit a detailed treatment of the collection. Therefore, in the first part of my lecture I should like to present—with no claim to completeness—the evolution of our collection of Turkish and Iranian textiles together with a few characteristic pieces. In the second part I should like to offer an overview of 16th- and 17th-century Turkish and Iranian material from the Esterházy Collection, the sole surviving treasury of a Hungarian aristocratic family.

The Hungarian Museum of Applied Arts (Ill. 1), which was founded in 1872, had as its aim the development of Hungarian industry. It was the third museum of its kind in Europe, after London's South Kensington Museum and Vienna's Museum für Angewandte Kunst. The Museum's division into its present departments dates from 1955. Depending on their material,



Ill. 1.
Museum of Applied Arts,
Budapest; water colour,
J. Bischoff, 1896



III. 2. Embroidery fragment, Ottoman, 16th century (Inv. no. 13659)

artifacts are distributed among the Furniture, Metalwork, Ceramics, Textiles, and Minor Collections Departments. As a result of the above, no separate “Islamic Art Objects Department” came into being, the Islamic textiles are, in accordance with the material used and the technique employed, included among applied arts artifacts of mainly European origin.

Disregarding the carpets, we cannot really speak of a conscious collecting of Islamic material. Over the years, the Museum has acquired a variety of artifacts in different ways. Artefacts have arrived by way of purchases by the state, purchases made on the domestic and international art market, purchases from private persons, bequests, and donations. The collection of the Textiles Department consists primarily of European textiles, containing some 20,000 pieces. It can be divided into the following units: ‘Fabrics’, ‘Embroideries’, ‘Printed Materials’, ‘Lace’, ‘Apparel’, ‘Apparel Accessories’, ‘Carpets’, ‘Tapestries’, and ‘Horse Tack’. The textile material in the so-called Esterházy Treasury forms a separate collection and consists of 69 artifacts from the 16th and 17th centuries. Among the abovementioned groups of textiles is our ‘Islamic’ textiles collection, consisting of approximately 1000 artifacts. In this collection can be found 50 Ottoman and 20 Persian *fabrics* from the 16th to the 19th century, 260 Ottoman and 30 Persian *embroideries* from the same period, 300 Ottoman and 120 Persian *knotted and woven carpets* from the 16th to the 20th century, and some 20 pieces of attire from the 19th to the 20th century.

Material purchased at the Vienna World Exhibition of 1873 forms the basis of the collections assembled by the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest. It was then that along with numerous Japanese and Chinese fabrics, the Qalamkār hanging,¹ a printed and painted Isfahan cotton

¹ Inv. no. 8424.

chintz (*chîl*) which, like the Japanese and Chinese textiles, was a contemporary work, passed into the collection. In the very same year, with money from the Hungarian National Museum, part of a 16th-century Turkish embroidery fragment² was purchased. Exceptionally beautiful in design and execution, it is of unknown origin (Ill. 2).

The assembling of the core material of the Museum is associated with Jenő Radisics (1856–1917), who was appointed to head the institution in 1883. Right up to his death Radisics, the greatest director in the history of the Museum, augmented the collection through the conscious and deliberate purchase of artifacts. In 1885, the Museum purchased, with state funds, numerous Oriental artifacts for the ‘Oriental Pavilion’ of the National Exhibition in Budapest. Of the Turkish textiles purchased for the ‘Oriental Pavilion’, there were a few interesting pieces: two Bursa velvet cushion covers (*minder örtüsü*)³ from the 17th century; from the group of linen embroideries embroidered with silk in regular surface darning, two 17th-century pieces: one cushion cover (*yastik yüzü*)⁴ and one hanging.⁵ It is a characteristic of this group of embroideries that they copied—in a slightly slipshod, popular form—the patterns of the 16th-century silk fabrics. Also shown in the ‘Oriental Pavilion’ were an 18th-century turban cover (*kavuk örtüsü*)⁶ and a floor spread or tray cover (*sofra örtü*)⁷ made with tambour work (*kasnak işi*) in the early 19th century. It was at this time that some 19th-century Persian embroideries (parts of larger works) were purchased.⁸ Such embroideries, patterned with floral motifs within diagonal stripes and embroidered in tent stitch, are often catalogued as *naqshs*, or women’s trouser legs. There are other similar *naqshs* in our collection, but these were purchased later.⁹ A year later, in 1886, the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance presented 20 textiles to the Museum, among them an embroidered end of a sash (*uçkur*)¹⁰ from the early 19th century, embroidered on linen with silk and metal thread; a 19th-century Turkish bathing shift (*hammam gömleği*),¹¹ and a product of a 19th-century urban workshop, an embroidered moiré silk cushion cover.¹²

Between the 1880s and the 1920s—to all intents and purposes under the stewardship of Jenő Radisics, the director of the Museum—most of the Ottoman-Turkish and Persian textiles entering our collection came by way of purchases from dealers at home and abroad, purchases from private persons, and donations. A few interesting pieces from the Ottoman and Iranian silk fabrics: there are four rare early 15th–16th-century “Italianate” double-ogival Bursa velvets in our collection. These are the two brocaded and voided velvets¹³ presented by Ernő Lányi in 1891; a piece of a chasuble¹⁴ purchased from the art dealer Fülöp Lówy in 1893 and another piece of

² Inv. no. 13659.

³ Inv. nos 7566, 7567.

⁴ Inv. no. 15398.

⁵ Inv. no. 12906.

⁶ Inv. no. 15397.

⁷ Inv. no. 7721.

⁸ Inv. nos 7539–40.

⁹ Inv. nos 54.2026, 62.1267, 2001.435.1.

¹⁰ Inv. no. 7549.

¹¹ Inv. no. 13893.

¹² Inv. no. 12865.

¹³ Inv. nos 7614, 7324a.

¹⁴ Inv. no. 7368.



III. 3. Bursa velvet (*çatma*) cushion cover, Ottoman, 16th–17th century, Lutheran church at Garamszög (Hronsek), c. 1890 (Inv. no. 7362)

a chasuble¹⁵ purchased from Gyula Hamburger in 1887, from the 16th and 17th centuries. Of the traditional Turkish velvet cushion covers (*minder örtüsü*) that were used “for cushions in carriages or sleighs” in Hungary and Transylvania in the 17th and 18th centuries, there are 16 in our collection. With regard to these, I should like to point out two cushion panels: a piece from the Sigerius collection¹⁶ in Nagyszeben (today: Sibiu, Romania) in 1917; and a piece formerly belonging to the Lutheran church at Garamszög (today: Hronsek, Slovakia)¹⁷ in around 1890 (Ill. 3); and a 16th-century velvet fragment¹⁸ purchased in Paris from a Persian dealer in 1878 that is embellished with reciprocal trefoils. According to the latest research, this velvet with paired motifs was used not only for cushion covers, but also for sofa covers, curtains and valances. A similar but longer piece is preserved at the Kremlin Armoury Museum in Moscow.¹⁹ In Europe, chasubles were often made from such Turkish velvet covers and cushion covers. In around 1895, Róbert Scholtz of Budapest enriched our collection with two such chasubles from the early 17th century. One was cut from a cushion cover (*minder örtüsü*),²⁰ while the other was made from a two-loom-width cover with decorated *çintamani* roundels.²¹

We can be proud of a few 16th-century so-called *kemha* fabrics, colourful Turkish silk lampas shot with gold: the back panel, presented by Simon Kohn in 1893, of a *kemha* chasuble

¹⁵ Inv. no. 7569.

¹⁶ Inv. no. 14434.

¹⁷ Inv. no. 7362.

¹⁸ Inv. no. 8036.

¹⁹ Inv. no. TK-2683. Atasoy et al. 2001: 92, plate 94.

²⁰ Inv. no. 8396.

²¹ Inv. no. 8397.



III. 4. Safavid “Prisoner” silk lampas, Iran, late 16th century; presented by Countess Sarolta Zichy, 1916 (Inv. no. 12427)

decorated with *çintamani* roundels;²² the very beautifully drawn fabric of a *mente* (Hungarian upper coat) for a child, from the Esterházy Treasury;²³ the back panel, purchased from Fülöp Lőwy, of a chasuble cut from *kemha* that exhibits the influence of Italian fabrics.²⁴

Our collection of Iranian textiles is a good deal more modest than our collection of Turkish ones, with regard not only to quantity but also to importance. The most important of our Iranian fabrics is the 16th-century, Safavid so-called “prisoner” satin lampas (Ill. 4).²⁵ The fabric was made in Yazd or Isfahan, and was presented to the Museum in 1916 by Countess Sarolta Zichy. In 1888, the museum’s collection of fabrics was augmented by the collection belonging to Béla Szulkai. With regard to the origins of the textile fragments, which are from the 17th to the 19th century, we have, alas, no information.²⁶

Additional fragments of Persian fabric in our collection are as follows: a piece of late Safavid, metal-ground textile²⁷ and two pieces of late 17th- to early 18th-century bird-patterned silk fabrics.²⁸ In 1965, our collection acquired from Lehel Kadosa an 18th-century Hungarian *dolmány* (men’s coat)²⁹ made from a special material. The fabric of the garment, which was cut in

²² Inv. no. 7375.

²³ Inv. no. 64.40. Szilágyi 2006: 90, cat. 30 and ill.

²⁴ Inv. no. 13414.

²⁵ Inv. no. 12427. McWilliams 1987: 7, ill. 2.

²⁶ Inv. nos 8424, 8425, 8428, 8809, 15376.

²⁷ Inv. no. 52.3569.

²⁸ Inv. nos 57.280.1–2, 53.881.1.

²⁹ Inv. no. 65.229. Egyed 1970: 21–34.

a typically Hungarian way, is an Afsharid metal-ground textile embellished with a dense pattern of animal and floral motifs.

Our collection of Turkish embroidery can be classified according to a number of criteria, e.g. function, technique and origin. It spans the period from the 16th century to the 20th and contains many types ranging from the products of professional workshops to simple, popular embroidery. To the group of large, rectangular embroideries belong quilt facings (*yatak yüzü*), hangings and table covers. Collectively, these last are often just called embroidered panels or large cloths. From the 16th century to the 19th, we come across many versions of them, earlier on embroidered on linen and subsequently on silk or thin woollen cloth. In our collection there are examples of them all. One of the largest donors to the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest was Dr Ottó Fettick (1875–1954), veterinary surgeon, university professor and art collector. As a result of a bequest by him, in 1954 several embroidered Turkish towels and napkins (*peşkir*s and *yağlık*s respectively) entered our collection.³⁰

From among our few Iranian embroideries, the women's trouser legs, and a white embroidery have already been mentioned. Additionally, I should like to point out two 19th-century covers: a silk satin one,³¹ and a cover cut from black velvet and embroidered with padded and couched stitching.³²

Although—as the examples show—our collection has undoubtedly been enriched by way of numerous unusual artifacts acquired from art dealers, researchers derive much more excitement from those mainly Ottoman-Turkish textiles that entered Hungary and Transylvania directly from the Ottoman Empire in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, at the time of the Turkish occupation of much of the country.

As the written sources attest, many different kinds of Ottoman-Turkish textiles were in use in Transylvania and Royal Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries. The types and quantities of valuable Turkish textile merchandise reaching Hungarian territory by way of trade, booty, presents, and ransoms are faithfully reflected in the wills and dowry records of Hungarian nobles. They also feature in the inventories of aristocratic treasuries, which, as time went by, grew in size and mingled together as a result of bequests and marriages. Many Turkish artifacts mentioned in the inventories wore out and perished, and this was especially true of textiles. Some survived the centuries as ecclesiastical property, following their donation to churches. Others lived on in the chests and cupboards of the Hungarian aristocracy's jealously guarded treasuries, serving the purposes of pomp and splendour.

Turkish kerchiefs (*makrama*) with their silk and gold embroidery on linen, towels or napkins (*peşkir*, *yağlık*), cloths used for wrapping (*bohça*), and turban covers (*kavuk örtüsü*) were very much favoured in Hungarian noble households. Later on these were—in accordance with the custom of the time—donated to Protestant churches in Hungary and Transylvania, where some

³⁰ Three towels or napkins from around the mid-18th century. Inv. nos 54.2527, 54.2524, 54.2529.

³¹ Inv. no. 15609.

³² Inv. no. 10658.

remain to the present as covers for the embellishment of the Communion table. The following late 16th-century and 17th-century Turkish turban covers entered our collection as covers for Communion tables: a cover embroidered with fine darning over one thread (*ince işi*) on loosely woven *bulya* cloth;³³ and a cover embroidered on diaphanous linen.³⁴

Besides the above-mentioned embroideries, Turkish military equipment and horse tack—covered with costly velvet and embellished with precious stones—were generally favoured in Hungary and Transylvania alike. While in Hungary leading figures—e.g. the Esterházy palatines³⁵—acquired these valuable items by way of war booty or marriage settlements, the princes of Transylvania, especially Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) and György Rákóczi I (1630–1648), purchased in Istanbul ready-made and tailor-made ornamented horse tack and other objects for use or decoration in great numbers, for themselves and as presents to be given away. Among the 17th-century Turkish saddle-covers and horse covers from Hungarian noble collections (in this instance excluding the Esterházy Collection), there are two interesting pieces: a “made-to-measure” velvet horse cover (*jancsik*);³⁶ and an embroidered saddle-cover³⁷ from the Jankovich Collection.

We know of many Hungarian treasuries from the 16th century onwards. In most cases they belonged to the families of Hungarian aristocrats holding high public office. The one-time opulence of the treasuries belonging to the Szapolyai, Báthori, Thurzó, Forgách, Nádasdy, Thököly, Rákóczi, and other families is well known from the historical sources. Exact descriptions of some of these treasuries have come down to us. Alas, in war-torn Hungary and Transylvania (the latter is now part of Romania) the one-time aristocratic collections mostly disappeared without trace. Either they were destroyed or they became dispersed.

Today these erstwhile treasures would be known only from the illustrated catalogues produced for exhibitions in the late 19th century were it not for one collection: the Esterházy Treasury.³⁸ This is the approximately 300-piece treasury amassed by the Esterházy princes at their castle at Fraknó (today: Forchtenstein, Austria). Containing mainly applied arts masterpieces from the 16th and 17th centuries, it is the largest Hungarian collection to survive into the 21st century, despite being severely damaged during World War II. It is currently kept at the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest. A considerable part of this treasury consists of a collection of Ottoman-Turkish artifacts made up of 50 ornamented weapons and items of horse tack (Ill. 5). Of these artifacts, 29 (8 caparisons and 2 horse covers, 10 saddles, 6 bow-cases and quivers, 1 embroidered prayer carpet, 1 child's *mente* made from Turkish fabric, and 1 Safavid silk appliqué wall hanging, a really unique piece, the only Persian piece in the Esterházy Collection, the Safavid wall hanging known as “The Budapest Appliqué”³⁹) are to be found in the museum's textiles collection.

³³ Inv. no.11307. Pásztor 2007: 127, ill. 5.

³⁴ Inv. no. 19462.

³⁵ Miklós Esterházy 1583–1645, Paul Esterházy 1635–1713.

³⁶ Inv. no. 14928. Sabahi 1991: 86, cat. 1, 87. ill.

³⁷ Inv. no. 13651. Sabahi 1991: 88, cat. 2, 89. ill.

³⁸ Szilágyi 2006.

³⁹ Inv. no. 52.2801. Szilágyi 2006: 63–65, cat. 9 and ill.



III. 5. Ottoman-Turkish artifacts of the Esterházy Treasury, today kept at the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest

Of the eight saddlecloths, or, as Hungarian contemporaries used to call it, a *cafrag* (Turkish: *çaprag*) in the treasury, the earliest is a cherry-red velvet *çaprag*, embroidered with gold and silver wire and further embellished with yellow and blue appliqué work.⁴⁰ Similarly high-standard and professional Ottoman-Turkish work is another of the treasury's caparisons,⁴¹ likewise of red velvet embroidered with metal wire. The other six Ottoman-Turkish saddlecloths in the collection represent what contemporaries called the "fully embroidered" type. This kind of embroidery was so named because the entire surface of the base material was covered by padded, couched gold and silver *skófiüm* embroidery.⁴²

In the 17th-century Turkish horse covers that covered the entire trunk of the horse were known in Hungarian as *jancsik*. Two types are to be found among the treasury artifacts. The first kind, not uncommon in European collections, is a three-part, thickly padded cover fastened together with buckles. The velvet surface of an example in our collection is ornamented with embossed

⁴⁰ Inv. no. 52.2790. Taylor 1993: 155, ill.

⁴¹ Inv. no. 52.2780. Pásztor 1999: 92, 93, ill.

⁴² Inv. nos 52.2783, 52.2784, 52.2787, 52.2788, 52.2796, 52.2797.

silver-gilt and silver appliqué work.⁴³ The other type is represented by an Ottoman-Turkish horse cover qualifying as the most magnificent in our collection and at the same time as a unique example. This artifact, which covered the entire horse and which has two protruding pieces in front that attach together across the animal's chest, is made from so-called *seraser* (the most costly Turkish silk fabric of the time) interwoven with silver. The entire surface of this horse cover is embellished with palm-sized and smaller pieces of silver-gilt sheet appliqué on which rubies and pieces of sheet jade have been mounted.⁴⁴

Of the ten Turkish saddles in the Esterházy Treasury, just two have been restored; the rest—in damaged and fragmentary condition—have been awaiting restoration since 1945. A fine example of the two-pommel Turkish saddles fashionable in the 1620s and 1630s is one that is covered in red velvet and marked with the *tugra* of Sultan Murad IV (1623–1640). The front and rear pommels are covered with silver-gilt sheeting embellished with enormous cabochon turquoises and with smaller rubies and sheet jade.⁴⁵ The other restored saddle in the collection represents the type known as *karman* saddles. It is covered with *seraser* fabric identical to that on the horse cover mentioned above. Accordingly, we may assume that it is roughly the same age as this horse cover.⁴⁶

After the caparisons and saddles, the third category in the Ottoman-Turkish horse tack and weapons collection in the treasury consists of arrow-quivers and bow-cases. Now, just six artifacts remain from this once large division: two bow-case and quiver sets (in each set the bow-case and the quiver match) and one bow-holding quiver from the first half of the 17th century, and a case for arrows from the late 17th century.⁴⁷

On the basis of the Ottoman-Turkish material in the Esterházy Treasury from Fraknó it is not possible to recreate the full splendour of the Turkish pieces in the former aristocratic collections. Nevertheless, the Esterházy Treasury is the only collection of such artworks in Hungary that can acquaint us with the character of Ottoman-Turkish artifacts used in Hungary and Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its importance for those researching this period is, therefore, inestimable.

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⁴³ Inv. no. 52.1420.1–3. Szilágyi 2006: 100, cat. 36 and ill.

⁴⁴ Inv. no. 52.2779. Pásztor 1993: 105, 104, ill. 6.

⁴⁵ Inv. no. 52.2858. Pásztor 2005: 109, ill. 7.

⁴⁶ Inv. no. 52.2863. Szilágyi 2006: 103, cat. 40 and ill.

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Miniatures from Persian manuscripts: The history of Polish collections

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Nowadays, the Polish collection of illustrated and illuminated Persian manuscripts consists of fourteen examples.¹ The majority of them are the literary works of the supreme poets. Five of these books are written by Hafez, two of them are *Shahname* by Firdausi, and two include the poem *Yusuf and Zulaikha* by Jami. The other part of the collection is comprised of single copies of other famous works. The content of the collections is proportionate to the popularity of certain authors and topics among customers; on the other hand, it is to a large extent determined by the specific interests of Polish collectors.

These fourteen manuscripts are illuminated by 303 miniatures. These works are very versatile as to the style, time and place of origin of the paintings. The oldest miniatures come from the Timurid period of the 15th century, while the biggest group constitutes works produced during the reign of the Safavid dynasty. A few examples of later miniatures come from the Qajar dynasty. Another group comprises of miniatures from the Indian school—this numbers over 180 examples from 2 manuscripts.

This collection of manuscripts was gathered in seven museums and libraries in Krakow, Warsaw, Wrocław and Toruń. Its history is many-stranded. The systematic collection of manuscripts began at the turn of the 18th century. This current was primarily connected with the absorption of literature, and Oriental languages. Book collections were mainly enlarged by purchases in the Middle East and Western Europe. In that period, the great collections of prominent Polish families, amongst them the Czartoryskis and Zamoyskis, came into being.

The Czartoryski family encountered Oriental art during the first half of the 18th century through Maria Zofia Sieniawska, who from 1731 was the wife of August Aleksander Czartoryski. They took charge of numerous properties and country houses from the Sieniawski family, with furnishings manifesting their enthusiasm for Oriental culture.²

¹ A catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in Polish collections was published in 1967, including systemized information about the proportions of manuscripts in Polish collections, and also about the subjects of each book. However, the information is incomplete about the miniatures and style of decorations; Majda 1967.

² Nowak 2002: 20.



III. 1a-b. Scene of hunting, *Divan* by Hafez, from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation in the National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. 3456

Their son—Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski also inherited a predilection for art. In 1802, he and his wife Princess Izabela Czartoryska founded the first and oldest collection in Poland which was later converted into the Czartoryski Museum and Library in Puławy. This work was continued by their successors. Their son, Prince Adam Jerzy, also made many purchases for the library and provided Oriental books. For these intentions, friendly collectors from Western Europe and the Middle East were very helpful to the prince.

Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was interested in linguistic and etymological studies. He knew several languages: Hebrew, Syrian, Chaldean and was interested in Persian literature.³ As a lover of Oriental poetry he sought out the works of Hafez. Hafez, who lived in the 14th century Shiraz, was the most celebrated Persian lyric poet and is often described as the poet of poets. A volume of his collected works, *Divan*, is to be found in the homes of most Iranians, who recite his works by heart and use them as proverbs. The major themes of his lyrics are love, the celebration of wine and intoxication, and the exposing of hypocrisy. His poems gained particular popularity amongst Polish collectors. Prince Adam Jerzy had in his collection in Puławy and Warsaw the

³ Dębicki 1855: 7.



III. 2. Funeral of Majnun, *Khamse* by Amīr Khusrow Dehlawi, from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation in the National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. 3155

oldest European translation of Gazels, by Franciszek Meniński.⁴ From the oldest acquisition made by the Prince come three manuscripts of Hafez illuminated and illustrated by miniatures (Inv. nos 3154, 3457, 3458).⁵

One edition of Hafez's *Divan* (Inv. no. 3154) acquired by Prince Adam Jerzy originated in the 16th century during Safavid period. This copy is decorated with 4 miniatures. Another manuscript of the *Divan* (Inv. no. 3457) which was bought by Prince Adam Jerzy, comes from the end of the 16th century, and is decorated by four miniatures from Shiraz. Two of them present hunting scenes, a very popular form of entertainment at the Persian court in Safavid times. The third copy of Hafez's poems (Inv. no. MNK 3458) which belonged to Prince Adam Jerzy comes from the first half of the 16th century and is decorated by three miniatures, probably of Shiraz style. One of the miniatures presents the scene of an encounter of a poet and a prince. This is a typical example of illustrations from the *Divan* because the poetry of Hafez was often illustrated by scenes with the presence of a poet—probably of Hafez himself.

The interest in Hafez was amplified by the Prince's acquaintance with Karl E. Revczky,⁶ who is known as the main “discoverer” of Hafez for Europe. This familiarity with Revczky had not only a scientific, academic quality but it also let Czartoryski enlarge a group of friends concerned with Oriental art. To this group belonged William Jones,⁷ the first translator of Hafez into the English language, known as one of those who laid the foundations for Oriental studies as

⁴ Franciszek Meniński, François à Mesgnien Meninski (1620/1623–1698)—lexicographer, diplomat, and translator of King John III Sobieski, Nowak 2002: 20.

⁵ Reychman 1964: 76.

⁶ Carl Emmerich Aleksander, Baron Revczky von Revisnye (1737–1793)—Austrian Hungarian-born diplomat, among others ambassador in Warsaw and in the Middle East. He knew Persian, Arabic and Turkish. In 1771 he published in Vienna *Specimen poeseos asiatica*, in which he presented for the first time in Europe the poetry of Hafez—16 gazals—in original language and in Latin translations. Cannon 1990: 14, 94.

⁷ William Jones (1746–1794)—was an English encyclopedist, poet, philologist and scholar of ancient India, particularly known for his proposition of the existence of a relationship among Indo-European languages. In 1774 he published his greatest work *Poeseos asiaticae commentarium libri sex*. In 1783 he took the office of judge in Fort William in India. He was also the founder of the Asiatic Society in 1784 in Calcutta; Jones, Murray and Gombrich 1998.

an independent discipline. At that time, the Middle East stopped being regarded as a remote, unknown region, and the knowledge became more exact, and Oriental studies became a field of academic knowledge, with all its attributes.⁸

Probably from this early acquisition made by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski comes the work of another poet: *Khamse* by Amīr Khusrow Dehlawī.⁹ Amīr Khusrow Dehlawī was the first Persian poet who wrote another adaptation of the famed *Khamse* by Nizami, imitating its style.

Khamse is also known as *Panj Ganj* (*Five Jewels*). The construction of this version written by Delavi is very similar to Nezami's poem: the first part comprises of *The Storehouse of Mysteries*—a set of short stories. The other parts of *Khamse* were medieval romances. The adventure of the lovers Leyli and Majnun is the subject of one of these romances, and was derived from Arabic sources. This story does not have a happy ending. One of the miniatures presents the funeral of Majnun. Characters of other romances are Bahrām-e Gur, Alexander the Great, and Khusaw and Shirin. The manuscript is illustrated with 17 miniatures from the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁰

After the Second Partition of Poland, which took place in 1793, Czartoryski, who was also involved in political affairs, put aside his academic pursuits. At the beginning of the 19th century he returned to them and amplified further his predilection for Hafez. He corresponded with Charles Pougens—French archaeologist and collector,¹¹ and with Robert Gordon—an English diplomat who was working in Vienna and formerly in Persia.¹²

Simultaneously, at the beginning of the 19th century other manuscripts were purchased for the library. Among others, in 1818 the library in Poryck (Volhynia) was acquired—formerly the property of Tadeusz Czacki—a great bibliophile and collector. Czacki's scrupulous education let him maintain activity in many fields.¹³ Among others he was a bibliophile and he enlarged the Poryck Library with many valuable books, including Oriental ones.¹⁴ *Shahname* by Firdausi from 1619, which was bought by Tadeusz Czacki in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), is one of the most precious manuscripts from this collection. This copy includes 480 pages embellished by 26 miniatures. But its previous history is unknown (Inv. no. 1800).¹⁵

Shahname is an enormous poetic opus written by the Persian poet Firdausi around 1000 AD. This voluminous work tells of the mythical and historical past of Iran. The book

⁸ Reychman 1964: 206–210.

⁹ Reychman 1964: 76.

¹⁰ Biedrońska-Słota 1992: 53.

¹¹ Marie Charles Joseph de Pougens (1755–1833)—diplomat, archaeologist and man of letters. He wrote works on philology, art, diplomacy, business, physics, botany, geology, mineralogy, poetry, archaeology and mythology. Dębicki 1855: 8, Tarasek 2002: 14.

¹² Robert Gordon (1791–1847)—diplomat. Among others, in 1810 he was appointed attaché to the British embassy in Persia. He was a minister plenipotentiary at Vienna in 1815, 1817, and 1821. In 1828 he was sent to Constantinople as ambassador extraordinary. In October 1841 designated for ambassador extraordinary to Vienna, where he remained until 1846: McKenzie Johnston 1998: 153, 177, 203, *Asiatic Journal* 1816: 383.

¹³ Lorentz 1982: 165.

¹⁴ From his collection comes a single illustrated card from *Divan* by Hafez, now in the Czartoryski Library. This manuscript, whence the card originated, nowadays in the collection of the Main Library of University in Toruń, is more widely discussed later in this article.

¹⁵ Żygulski 2002: 209.

III. 3. Rostam fighting with White Demon, *Shahname* by Firdausi, from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation in the National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. 1800



was often illustrated, mainly because its contents included many descriptions of picturesque adventures, memorable heroes and great battles. Characters from *Shahname*, no matter if they were historical personages or derived from myths or tradition, are both featured with vigour and invention.¹⁶ One of these miniatures presents the most adventurous hero named Rostam, who was fighting with the White Demon—Div-e Sefid. In the Persian epic, Div-e Sefid is the leader of all Demons. The hero slays the creature and also takes the Div's head as a helmet and is often pictured wearing it.

When eventually the November Uprising was crushed, the Czartoryski family moved to Paris. As before, an aspiration of Prince Adam Jerzy was the continued expansion of the collection of Oriental art. Famous Orientalists, amongst them Aleksander Chodźko¹⁷ and Wojciech Kazimirski-Biberstein,¹⁸ were concentrated around this library. Thanks to them Adam Jerzy, and

¹⁶ Ferdousi 1981: 11.

¹⁷ Aleksander Borejko Chodźko (1804–1891)—Polish poet, slavist, and iranologist. In 1830–1844 Russian consul in Persia; Kunert, Przewoźnik and Stolarski 2002: 6.

¹⁸ Wojciech Kazimirski-Biberstein (1808–1887)—Arabist and Iranist. In 1838–1839 he travelled to Persia, next he was translator of Persian language in the French legation. After returning from Persia in 1845 he took an office in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the so-called Persian section; Kunert, Przewoźnik and Stolarski 2002: 6.



III. 4. To aim for apple at head of a favourite, from *Mantik at-tayr* by Farid ud-Din Attar, from collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation in National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. 3885

later his son Władysław regularly received information about Oriental manuscripts at antiquarian markets in London and Paris.

Władysław Czartoryski—the son of Prince Adam Jerzy—continued the interests of his father. In 1870 he decided to transfer the collection to Krakow and continued to buy new books. Thanks to his extensive connections, Prince Władysław was able to keep an eye on all the latest auctions of Oriental art in London, Paris, Istanbul and Tehran. And he asked for advice from leading specialists.

In the case of the art of illumination, an important role was played by Charles Schefer¹⁹—Orientalist and collector of Oriental manuscripts, who was corresponding with Prince Władysław Czartoryski in 1868–1887. Through his help the Prince purchased other individual Persian miniatures and albums called *murakkah*. Primarily, in 1880 he bought in Istanbul *Mantik at-tayr* (The feast of the birds) written by Farid ud-Din Attar. This copy comes from 1494, and is richly gilded and illuminated with 9 miniatures from Shiraz.

The poem presents the journey of a flock of 30 birds which followed their king—*Simorgh*.²⁰ It is as an allegory of a Sufi or master leading his pupils to enlightenment. The birds path, leading through seven valleys, symbolizes the path of the human soul to God.²¹ Moreover, this book relies on a clever wordplay between the words *Simorgh*—a mysterious bird in Iranian mythology which is a symbol often found in Sufi literature and similar to the phoenix—and *si morgh*—

meaning “thirty birds” in Persian. During this long journey the birds stop from time to time. During each break they discuss and narrate stories. One of these stories presents the character of Shah, who likes his young lover so much that even during archery he must have the boy in front of his eyes.

Nowadays, the Princes Czartoryski Museum and Library in Krakow, thanks to its eminent owners, still has the largest and most magnificent collection of Persian manuscripts illustrated with miniatures.²²

¹⁹ Charles-Henri-Auguste Schefer (1820–1898)—Orientalist, minister plenipotentiary, bibliophile and collector of Islamic manuscripts. He was appointed professor of Persian at the École des langues orientales in 1857, and served as its president from 1867 to 1898; Pouillon 2008: 350, Nasiri-Moghaddam 2009.

²⁰ Simorgh—in Persian a fabulous, benevolent, mythical flying creature. Simorgh symbolizes immortality and mystic and miraculous knowledge, and is also one of the characters of *Shahname*. Ferdousi 1981.

²¹ Składankowa 1996: 133.

²² It was published in French, see the first pioneering description of this collection by Stefan Saturnin Komornicki—curator of the Princes Czartoryski Museum; Komornicki 1935.

Another important collection coming from almost the same time and with a similar provenance is the Zamoyski Library. In the history of the Zamoyski Library—existing from the end of the 16th century—the year 1800 was a landmark. In those days it was under the auspices of Count Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (1775–1856)—Polish nobleman and patron of arts. Stanisław was the son-in-law of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. He also shared with him a passion for Oriental books.

Stanisław Zamoyski acquired for his collection a copy of *Yusuf and Zulaikha* by Jami. It was purchased in Paris in 1802²³–1803,²⁴ at an auction of the former library of the De Lamoignon Family,²⁵ as is proclaimed by the ex libris. Among the notes attached to the manuscript is the meaning of the poem in French, handwritten by Zamoyski, and a description of miniatures in Italian.²⁶ *Yusuf and Zulaikha* is one of the most popular stories in Middle Eastern literature, originating in the Qur’an and known also from the Bible. Yusuf was so beautiful that Zulaikha, the wife of his master, fell in love. This manuscript is illuminated by three miniatures from the mid-16th century.

In 1803, Count Stanisław Zamoyski purchased the Persian manuscript *Bahar-i-Danish* (*Springtime of Knowledge*), written by Shaikh Inayat Allah Kamboh.²⁷ This manuscript was made in 1784 in Bandar Peshen, India. This is a description of love between Sultan Jandar and Bahrawar Banu, and includes 90 miniatures in the Mughal style. Zamoyski gained this manuscript thanks to the help of an English Orientalist Sir Gore Ouseley.²⁸ Because Zamoyski used to leave



III. 5. Encounter of Poet and Prince, *Divan* by Hafez, from the collection of the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library in Toruń, Inv. no. Rr 70

²³ Reychman 1964: 81.

²⁴ Majda 2002: 86.

²⁵ Library of De Lamoignon Family was established in 1617 and sold after the death of Chrétien François de Lamoignon; Reychman 1964: 81.

²⁶ Biedrońska-Słota 1992: 54.

²⁷ Reychman 1962: 154.

²⁸ Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844)—diplomat, linguist, proponent of languages such as Persian, Hindi, Bengali, collector of Oriental manuscripts and English ambassador in Persia in 1810–1814. He negotiated an important treaty between Russia and Persia in 1814 which redrew their common borders.

handwritten information concerning the value of the work, its author and the way that it had been purchased, so on the margin of this copy he put a note which refers to the contribution of Ouseley in acquiring this manuscript.²⁹

Count Stanisław Zamoyski, like his father-in-law Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, was interested in the poetry of Hafez. One example of this *Divan* was bought for him by Alexander Straton³⁰ in Istanbul.³¹ This copy was produced in 1552, in Tebriz,³² and is illustrated by 5 miniatures. Amongst them is a polo match. It was a very popular theme, showing the great importance of polo in the court's heroic culture. Moreover, it was a very charming theme for painters because it allowed for horses to be shown in motion, and their figures form an elegant composition.

Zamoyski, during his stay in Vienna in 1808, showed this copy of *Divan* to Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall,³³ who was also a friend of Adam K. Czartoryski. Joseph Von Hammer viewed this manuscript, describing its theme as love poetry. Moreover, he explained that the miniatures are not related to poetry, but are only decorative attachments.³⁴ Zamoyski then made remarks on the margin describing these comments. In spite of this, the poetry of Hafez was still known to a degree.

A deeper interest in Hafez was provoked by Pierre Amédée Emilien Probe Jaubert (1771–1847).³⁵ He was a French diplomat, Orientalist, and traveller. During his second stay in Warsaw in 1818 he had the opportunity to look at this copy of Hafez's *Divan*. Jaubert translated into French some of the gazals, as was marked by Zamoyski's handwriting on the margin.³⁶ These translations were inserted into the manuscript next to the corresponding gazals. Furthermore, he explained what was the subject of the miniatures.³⁷

From the 17th century, the library of the Zamoyski family had its ups and downs. Nonetheless, when in May 1939 the family estates were inherited by Jan Zamoyski (1912–2002), the library was still one of the best collections in Poland and was not inferior in value to the collections of other prominent European aristocrats.

World War II brought the almost total devastation of the collection. Only a part of the manuscripts remains extant. In 1946, after the nationalization of the estates of the family, Jan Zamoyski

decided to hand over the collection to the National Library, to avoid the dispersal of the legacy. Regardless of the past of collection, volumes are now in the National Museum in Warsaw, including *Divan* by Hafez, *Yusuf u Zulaikha* by Jami, whereas *Bahar-i-Danish* is in the National Library.

Another important collection is located in Wrocław. There are three libraries which have illustrated Persian manuscripts. One of them is the Ossolineum—The Ossoliński National Institute. The Ossolineum is one of the largest academic libraries and the oldest still existing publishing house in Poland. It was founded by Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński in 1817 in Lwow (Lviv). Owing to the activity of this institution, Poles treated the Ossolineum as an incarnation of the National Library, and many people bestowed private collections on the institution.

A special patron and protector of the Ossolineum was Leon Piniński (1857–1938)—historian, politician and art collector. His political activity has been judged rather censoriously by historians, however he has gained great appreciation for his scholarly activities.³⁸ He had a predilection for problems of conservation and made a great contribution in the organization of the protection of heritage and monuments in Lwow. In his mansion in Lwow he created a collection of art including paintings, sculpture, drawings and old books from Spain, Italy, Holland, England and Poland. In his search for suitable artworks he organized purchases abroad.³⁹

A huge part of his collection of art was bestowed upon the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow. However, in 1938, the library was assigned in his last will to the Ossolineum in Lwow. This collection included *Shahname* by Firdausi.⁴⁰ Its former provenance is unknown.⁴¹ After World War II the Ossolineum was moved to Wrocław, and nowadays one can study there this copy of *Shahname*. The book is illustrated with twenty-four miniatures from the era of the Qajar dynasty from the end of the 18th century.⁴² Amongst them there is a scene of the death of Siavush—a legendary Persian prince from the earliest days of the Persian empire. He was unjustly killed by the order of the Turanian king Afrasiab. Siavush is a symbol of innocence in Persian literature.

The National Museum in Wrocław was established in 1947.⁴³ Its collection of manuscripts consists of sets from a few older libraries of churches and cloisters from Wrocław and Lower Silesia. Nowadays there is only one illustrated Persian manuscript in its collection: *Masnavi-ye Ma'navi* by Rumi, which means “Rhyming couplets of deep spiritual meaning.” Thanks to the inscription we know that the copy was made in Jahanabad near Delhi, in 1662–1663. The manuscript has two volumes, and is illuminated by twenty miniatures.⁴⁴ The book consists mainly of Sufi teaching stories with profound mystical interpretations. Its provenance and prior history is unknown.

²⁹ Makowski 2005: 25.

³⁰ Alexander Straton—diplomat. Among others he was a secretary of the legation at Vienna. From 1801 to 1805 in Istanbul as secretary of the Embassy, minister plenipotentiary. In 1807 appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Sweden; Berridge 2009: 39, Extraordinary Red Book 1816: 94.

³¹ Reychman 1962: 155.

³² Biedrońska-Słota 1992: 55.

³³ Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856)—a noted Orientalist, studied the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages at the Oriental Academy of Vienna. He served at first as an Austrian diplomat in the Middle East. He spent a few years in Istanbul as a secretary of the legation. Posted back to Vienna in 1807. In 1812 he published a translation of the *Divan* of Hafez, which provided Goethe with the impulse to write the poems of the West-östlicher *Divan*; Reychman 1964: 215.

³⁴ Reychman 1964: 215.

³⁵ Pierre Amédée Emilien Probe Jaubert (1779–1847)—was a French diplomat, academic, Orientalist, translator, politician, and traveller. Accompanied Napoleon to Egypt as his first secretary-interpreter. After his return he was appointed the professor of Persian in the College of France. He contributed to *Journal Asiatique*, and wrote a number of works. Among others he published *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*. Thomas 1871: 1266.

³⁶ Reychman 1962: 155.

³⁷ Reychman 1964: 216.

³⁸ Rostworowski 1981: 336.

³⁹ Petrus 2001.

⁴⁰ Turska 1949: 372.

⁴¹ It is included in a catalogue of manuscripts from the Ossolineum in Wrocław which was published in 1949. Besides this manuscript, the catalogue includes two other Oriental manuscripts from the collection of Leon Piniński; Turska 1949: 372.

⁴² Żygulski 1989: 23.

⁴³ Museum was officially inaugurated to the public in 1948 as a State Museum. From 1950 it was functioning as the Silesian Museum. In 1970 was appointed to the rank of the National Museum.

⁴⁴ Majda 2002: 88.

Wrocław University Library also has another collection of Persian manuscripts. This library was established after World War II. The basis was formed mainly by two pre-war libraries from Wrocław: the former Municipal Library (Stadtbibliothek) and the former University Library (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek).⁴⁵ There are also two illustrated Persian manuscripts. Amongst them is *Tuti-Nameh* (Tales of atparro) by Nahsabi. This poem is modelled on *The thousand and one nights*. In this popular work the parrot tells tales to his mistress in order to prevent her from being unfaithful to her absent husband. These tales are recited by the parrot over 52 nights. This copy includes 97 miniatures, from the end of the 18th century.

The book comes from the library of Count Oppersdorff from Oberglogau (now Głogówek).⁴⁶ The history of this library reaches back to the 16th century and the times of Hans Oppersdorff. Successive owners continued to purchase new books and thus at the end of the 19th century the collection consisted of tens of thousands of examples.⁴⁷ One of the most important trustees was Count Hans Georg von Oppersdorff, who inherited the library in 1889. He was well-educated and interested in Oriental languages. He knew Hebrew, and supposedly spoke fluently seven other languages.⁴⁸ One of his distant relatives, Karol Orłowski mentioned: "In adulthood he learned Hebrew and wrote numerous works in this language, possibly slightly too varied." The amplification of his scholarly interests was possible thanks to growing up amidst one of the largest libraries in Upper Silesia.

In 1927 Hans Georg donated *Tuti-Nameh*, and a few other Oriental manuscripts, to the University Library in Wrocław (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Breslau).⁴⁹ He also assigned 49,000 books from the family library to the National Library (Landesbibliothek) of Upper Silesia.⁵⁰ The count did not pass on these books for free—but it is unknown precisely how many volumes were bought from him and for what price.⁵¹ However, the books remaining in Oberglogau counted 35,000 volumes. Oppersdorff was also the owner of a huge library in his residence in Berlin.⁵² Some historians suggest that this library went beyond his financial capabilities and this was the main reason of financial worries and forced him into risky speculations.⁵³

The second Persian manuscript in the Wrocław University Library—another copy of *Yusuf and Zulaikha* by Jami—comes from the Church of Mary Magdalene. It was made in 1566 and is illuminated by two miniatures. One of them presents the scene when Zulaikha punishes the city women for making fun of her for having fallen in love with her slave. The history of the library begins in the Middle Ages, but its highlight occurred in the 16th century. In 1865, the manuscript *Yusuf and Zulaikha*, together with all the books from the library of the Church of Mary Magdalene, became part of the Municipal Library, and after World War II, of the University Library in Wrocław.

⁴⁵ Sawicka 1952: 63, Ozóg 1995: 81.

⁴⁶ Richter 1933:14, Majda 1967: 14, 29.

⁴⁷ Konietzny 1925: 189, Lange 2005: 176.

⁴⁸ Lange 2005: 176.

⁴⁹ Richter 1933:14.

⁵⁰ Ziolkó 1989: 7, Lange 2005: 177.

⁵¹ Lange 2005: 177.

⁵² Anger 2003, Lange 2005: 182.

⁵³ Anger 2003, Lange 2005: 182.

We can also find a beautiful Persian manuscript in the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library in Toruń. This copy of the *Divan* by Hafez is illuminated by two miniatures. It comes from the beginning of the 16th century, and is related to the famous painter Sultan Mohammad. The style and prime quality of the volume proclaim that it was made in workshops at the Safavid court.

The University Library in Toruń was also established after World War II.⁵⁴ The *Divan* manuscript by Hafez originates from the former State and University Library in Königsberg. Its history is hard to explain because the only steady information is given by a seal from this library on the first page of the manuscript. Unfortunately, catalogues of the Königsberg library do not endure to present times, so we cannot state its former history.⁵⁵ The manuscript was in this collection up until World War II. Poland obtained it after 1945, when the University Library in Toruń received permission to adopt books from lands vested to the Soviet Union. As a result of the storm of war, books from Königsberg were found in Pasłęk, which unfortunately was heavily damaged during wartime. Books had been kept in bad conditions, exposed to rain and frost, in ruined buildings without window panes.⁵⁶

Our manuscript was also kept in bad conditions. It was suggested by the character of the flaws. Before preservation, the volume was completely devoid of binding.⁵⁷ The type of defects indicated that the book was spread over the ground. Traces of rubber pigments on cards 13–14 and 89–90 provided evidence that the book had lain on the ground book, opened on the aforementioned pages.⁵⁸

The book is lacking a few cards.⁵⁹ The manuscript probably lost these cards in Königsberg, at the beginning of the 19th century. Presently, one of the pages with a miniature is in Kraków. Apparently, it was brought to the Library in Poryck by Tadeusz Czacki, who stayed in Königsberg in 1801–1802. This card was for many years put amongst the pages of the manuscript *Shah-name*, and thus it found its way into the Czartoryski Library.⁶⁰

Miniature painting became a significant Persian art-form in the 13th century, and the highest point in this art was reached in the 15th and 16th centuries. The tradition continued, under some Western influence, after this, and has many modern exponents. The collection described in this essay presents a particular aspect of Polish heritage and artistic taste, shaped as a result of trade contacts with Middle Eastern countries and association with European collectors.

⁵⁴ The manuscript collection consists of over three and a half thousand items. It covers manuscripts and documents mainly from the historical areas of Northern Poland, amongst them from Königsberg.

⁵⁵ Devastation of catalogues and inventories of the library in Königsberg do not let us settle if there were other works by Hafez. This information would be very important, because an article is known published in Berlin in 1937, describing *Divan* by Hafez with Inv. no. Ms 2435, being property of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Königsberg. However, now in default of catalogues we are not able to settle which manuscript this article referred to: Hoedt 1937: 36.

⁵⁶ Bogłowska and Tondel 1983: 17, Tondel 1994: 53.

⁵⁷ Czuczko 1998: 30.

⁵⁸ Czuczko 1998: 30.

⁵⁹ Czuczko 1998: 30.

⁶⁰ MNK 1800.

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Scissors for Islamic calligraphy as an example of collecting artifacts from other cultures for their exotic origin

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In this paper I would like to share some of my reflections inspired by the artifacts which I have run into in my work as a curator of the National Museum in Krakow, and currently the “Manggha” Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow. In my opinion the history of the objects and their present position represent the point proposed in the paper title.

The four pairs of scissors used in Islamic calligraphy which I am going to discuss are owned by the National Museum in Krakow. These objects are probably the only ones of this kind in Poland. As far as I know, no other Polish museum holds any similar objects. There is no certainty as regards private collections—objects that form them are not registered anywhere, and I myself have not encountered a similar specimen in any private resources. When looking for material for comparison, I found a number of examples in various museums worldwide, and even in web auctions, e.g. on e-Bay, where, however, they were featured as part of a calligrapher’s kit, with price quotations indicative of the sellers’ good orientation in the subject.

The scissors I am about to discuss represent different types but all share the same function: scissors of this kind were part of a set of tools and implements used by calligraphers in the world of Islam. First of all it is thus an occasion to take a closer look at some aspects of an Islamic calligrapher’s work.

For ages calligraphy was a major link between Muslim peoples’ languages and the religion of Islam. As the Arabic language is connected with the revelation of Islam, deep spiritual undertones are found in calligraphy and it is valued as a symbol of beauty and mystery.

Calligraphy was considered the highest expression of the Word of God and a visual representation of the spiritual world, as well as the most elevated of arts. This art was not merely the result of perfect work, attained through patience and discipline, but also an embodiment of the moral stature of the calligrapher’s character. Calligraphy contributed to the survival of both religious texts

and the literary output produced by generations of thinkers and writers. Opinions voiced by various calligraphers include a statement that the final effect in their work is determined—in addition to the calligrapher’s talent and knowledge—by the materials and implements that have been used. Like other artists, calligraphers were particularly sensitive to the properties of the materials they worked with. The high social status attributed to calligraphy and calligraphers in the world of Islam made writing utensils and other tools used by them the object of artistic processing, through the special selection of materials, endowment of physical form, and decoration. In addition to years of training and exercise of their skills, as well as the practice required to master various Arabic scripts, the Muslim calligraphers also spent much time making pens, inks and tints required in their work, to enable themselves to diversify their calligraphy by using different materials, and to make it more sophisticated, in order to attain special goals and effects.

The equipment that a calligrapher would not make himself but rather acquire as ready-made products came from a variety of craftsmen: smiths, cutlers, paper makers, gold beaters, gilders, wire drawers, ceramicists, and makers of pen cases. Various materials used in making them would often originate in faraway lands, whenever it was believed that such exotic resources were indispensable to attain the best effects. Over time, production of calligraphic implements flourished, covering both smaller objects: pen-cases, ink wells, knives, *maktas* and others made of or inlaid with ivory, tortoise shell, ebony and mother-of pearl, and specialized furniture, including calligrapher’s tables embellished richly in a sophisticated way.

On the website of the Asia Society Museum,¹ where there is information on the exhibition entitled *Traces of the calligraphy: Islamic calligraphy in practise, ca 1600–1900. Writing the Word of God. Calligraphy and the Qur’an* we can find an extremely interesting opinion on the relation between Muslim calligraphers and toolmakers: “The artistic elaboration and precious substances lavished on many of the tools clearly exceed functional requirements and testify to the prestige of calligraphy in Islamic lands. They linked the calligraphers to the many artisans who produced their supplies, tools, and furnishings. By participating in the culture of calligraphy, both calligraphers and artisans were consciously engaged in a moral universe—a universe, according to early Muslim scholars, that was brought into existence by God’s creation of the pen.”

What were then the objects that were the most necessary for and characteristic of a calligrapher’s workshop?

A set of utensils a calligrapher would usually own included: a pen—Arabic *qalam* (in most cases, he would have several, to make different lines), made of either dried reed or bamboo; a special knife to sharpen the pen, and a penrest for cutting the nib, called *makta* in Turkish; ink—typically black or blue, but other colours were used as well, including gold; a burnisher made of glass, agate or jade, to burnish the paper before writing; and paper scissors. A calligrapher would also have pen cases and boxes of various sizes, and obviously some larger pieces of furniture, like tables or storage chests.

¹ www.asiasociety.org (accessed: 9.01.2011).

Once the calligrapher had sharpened his pen and prepared the ink, he also had to prepare a sheet of paper of a size that was adequate for the intended work. To do that, he would use special scissors of rather thin and elongated blades. In Turkish, scissors were generally referred to as *makas*.

Cross-bladed scissors were known to the peoples inhabiting the Mediterranean lands already in the first centuries of our era, but in most cases were treated simply as utilitarian objects of a specific function, without much attention being paid to their decoration. Due, however, to the use of scissors in activities involved in calligraphy, in particular Islamic calligraphy, this implement came to be treated with increasing attention, so that more elaborate forms were created, with thin blades of streamlined shapes, either engraved or damascened. Scissors began to be valued for their aesthetic appearance, although decorating such objects entailed considerable difficulty due to the limited amount of surface available for embellishment, caused by their very shape.

Elongated scissors were used to cut very thin paper, also in special forms of calligraphy, where previously-cut-out letters would be glued to a separate sheet of paper, a procedure called *kat'i* in Turkish, or where letters would be cut in paper as openwork and a sheet of contrasting colour would be glued underneath. Whenever thick paper, cardboard or leather needed to be cut, shears would be used, bulkier in shape, with shorter, wider blades. These objects came in particularly handy when calligraphed texts were to be bound into books.

The blades of a calligrapher's scissors were first forged out of steel by a master cutler, and then his apprentices would work on their shape. As a rule, the cutting edges would be matt rather than shiny. In most cases, scissors were decorated, using a wide variety of techniques. The preferred technique in the decoration of paper scissors was gold overlay. In my view, this English term is very precise and helpful in envisioning the way in which objects of this kind were decorated, we are going to continue to use it in the present discussion. Several terms are used in the description of the techniques applied to create two- or multi-colour ornaments on the surface of an object through the utilization of the difference in colour between various metals, such as damascening, false damascening or inlaying. They fall short, however, of explaining with adequate precision the method used to create this form of decoration. Gold overlay was in wide use between the 17th and 19th centuries. It featured in various implements found in a calligrapher's kit: *maktas* penrests, knives, scissors and pen cases. The procedure was as follows: first, the steel surface had to be made rough, by scratching it with transversely crossing lines, using a sharp short-bladed knife to produce miniature grooves. Then wire was banged into these incisions with a sharp-ended hammer. The last stage involved polishing, usually with a smoothed agate. When the gold wire was applied sufficiently densely, the polished surface produced an impression of solid gold. Sometimes, gold leaf was used instead of wire, and pressed into the base with a burnishing tool—for example an agate.

Most scissors decorated in this way are densely covered with elaborate plant ornaments, such as motifs of scrolling vines and leaves. Sometimes, the decoration would feature both incised elements and overlaid ones. Some patterns were chiselled in relief while other designs were executed as openwork. Still other techniques were used, often of precision approaching that required in the jeweller's work.



Ills 1-2.
Makas scissors, the National Museum in Krakow, the Jan Matejko House Collection (Inv. no. MNK IX-3677)



After this general introduction, let us have a look at the scissors I found in Krakow.

The first object in this group is a pair of scissors of 22.5 centimetres in length (Ills 1–2). The blades are slightly concave. The cutting edge is profiled obliquely on the outer surface. The finger and thumb loops have seemingly different shapes but fit into each other in a premeditated way when drawn together. The scissors were forged out of steel. This type of object, of a compact shape, can be easily stored in a pen case. The handle part is decorated with openwork. Iranian craftsmen specialized in the production of such scissors; they were famous for delicate patterns they created using this technique in the 16th and following centuries. In this specimen, the pattern is that of overlapping ogees in the handle part, and sinusoidal plant motifs in gold overlay near the edges, whose delicate drawing is in contrast with the surface of the metal, turned black-brown through the smelting technique in which polished steel is tinted by application of heat, with gradually increasing temperature.

The scissors were acquired by Jan Matejko (1838–1893) in Istanbul. In the autumn of 1872, Jan Matejko, the famous Polish historical painter, spent three months in Constantinople, staying with his relative, Henryk Groppler (1822–1887). Groppler, an art collector himself, was definitely in a position to help Matejko in finding interesting objects.



III. 3. *Makas* scissors, the National Museum in Krakow, the Department of Applied Arts (Inv. no. MNK IV-2930)

The scissors are currently held by the Branch of the National Museum in Krakow which occupies the historic townhouse where this most celebrated of Polish painters lived all his life. There are on display the furnishings of the painter's dwelling, a number of works by the artist and his students, as well as various artifacts: suits of armour, weapons and artistic craft objects, fabrics and garments from different historical periods and areas of Europe, the Middle and Far East—all collected by the painter. They bear witness to Matejko's passion for collecting and also reveal some of his artistic methods: he used these objects as props in his work. In addition to the scissors, the painter's collection also includes other calligraphic utensils, such as two pen knives and an inkwell combined with a pen case, probably Turkish.

Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether—when acquiring these scissors—the painter was aware that they were an implement used in Islamic calligraphy. Nor have I managed to obtain any confirmation that the artist used this object in any of his work.

Two more pairs of calligraphers' scissors are included in the collection of applied arts of the National Museum in Krakow. They look much alike.

The scissors of inventory number MNK IV-2930 (Ill. 3) are 25 centimetres long; the item of inventory number MNK IV-2931 (Ill. 4) is 26.1 centimetres long. They are both elongated in shape. They are made of two joined parts. The blades—concave on the inside and convex on the outside—are forged out of steel. The handles are cast in brass and polished, relatively simple in shape, and the loops are formed as ordinary rings or otherwise the perimeter of the ring is decoratively interspersed with overlapping elements. In both pairs, decoration is applied to the steel part, near the point where the scissors are joined with a rivet. Regrettably, as evidenced in illustration 3, only remnants of the gold overlay have been preserved, as it was based on very shallow gravure, and therefore susceptible to wear. A pattern that is hardly identifiable today



III. 4. *Makas* scissors, the National Museum in Krakow, the Department of Applied Arts (Inv. no. MNK IV-2931)

was placed in a hexagon. The motif of a hexagon containing additional patterns inside was a relatively common decorative element placed on the surface of scissors near the rivet; the idea was probably prompted by the very structure of scissors.

In illustration 4, however, a triple plant pattern and a stylized cypress tree are seen on the outer and inner sides. Both gold elements—actually quite typical of Islamic ornamental design—are executed with great dexterity and care. The outer side of both pairs of scissors shows evidence of considerable wear. It would, however, be difficult to offer any decisive verdict as to whether the original gold decoration covered a larger surface area and has been rubbed off since.

In my opinion, these two pairs of scissors were made in the 18th or early 19th century. Turkish calligraphers preferred scissors of concave-shaped blades.

No information has been preserved about how the scissors designated with inventory number 2930 found their way to the National Museum in Krakow. The other pair was purchased from private hands in 1969, specifically from a person to whom collecting unusual objects was a hobby, probably without any attempts at in-depth research as to their origin and intended use.

The applied art collections of the National Museum in Krakow include still other objects relating to Islamic calligraphy, such as an inkwell, combined with a pen case in Islamic tradition, or cases for storing writing implements. Each of these objects became part of this collection under different circumstances, and this may be the reason why they are not treated as a group of implements used in Islamic calligraphy.

Another pair of scissors in the Krakow collection is quite an interesting specimen (Ills 5–6).² They are 26.7 centimetres in length. The shape of the whole object and the propor-

² I would like to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues: Ms Eleonora Tenerowicz from the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographical Museum in Krakow and Mr Jacek Szelejejd from the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw for their valuable help in identifying the artifact.



Ills 5-6. Makas scissors, the National Museum in Krakow, the Far Eastern Art Collection; as a deposit at the "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Krakow (Inv. no. MNK VI-NN-46)

tions of its various elements provide evidence that it was made by a talented and experienced craftsman. The edge part, concave on the inside, was made separately, forged out of steel. The elongated shape is underscored not only by the pointy piece with prominent edges near the rivet, but also by a rib between two grooves, placed on the outside along the middle of the blade part. Made in the gold overlay technique, the decoration covers the whole steel part with dense scrolling vines and leaves, complemented with several tear-shaped or oval forms in continuous line (near the rivet). The handle part was cast in bronze and polished. Craftsmen formed the handles—the finger loops—in such scissors in a variety of ways: we have seen relatively simple ones in the examples discussed before, but more elaborate shapes can be found



Ill 7. Makas scissors (a fragment), the National Museum in Krakow, the Far Eastern Art Collection; as a deposit at the "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Krakow (Inv. no. MNK VI-NN-46)

as well, such as almond, oval or circle divided into facets, while hinges added here made it possible to adjust them to fingers of varied thickness. All this diversity resulted from the craftsman's inventiveness and skilfulness.

These scissors have gained an additional dimension through their form, which makes it the most interesting one in this assortment. Namely, the finger loops and the whole handle are transformed into a calligraphic formula stating one of the "Beautiful Names of God", a category originating in the Qur'an. It is placed here in such a way that, when the scissors are closed, we obtain a mirror image of the inscription: *Ya Fatah* (Ill. 7), which could be translated as an invocation to God: "O, Opener!" or "O, He Who Opens!" It refers to one of the 99 attributes of Allah: God has the power to open any and all gateways both in reality and metaphorically, i.e. to solve all manner of problems and to overcome difficulties. To the believers, each of the divine names has its luminosity, power, blessing and desired spiritual help. Therefore, when using the scissors, the calligrapher could reflect upon this divine attribute in

an act of "remembrance". This act, called *dhikr* in Arabic, and *zikir* in Turkish, is a form of meditation about Allah, a religious state of sustaining or experiencing the awareness of his existence.

In my opinion, the scissors were made in the 19th century, which is evidenced both by the quality of the craftsmanship, by the style of decoration and by the inscription, which was encountered in similar objects at the time.

Just like the ones discussed before, this pair must have been made for a Turkish calligrapher. Unfortunately, we have no information how they found their way to the National Museum in Krakow. They were added to the collection of Far Eastern art (a grouping also including objects from India, which makes its general designation somewhat imprecise). One could conjecture that this very fact is indicative of the tendency to associate exoticism with the Far East, although some objects may come from lands that are much closer to ours. These were included in this collection probably because the decorative technique is representative of shallow—albeit very spectacular—inlaying—I must say overlaying, usually applied to weaponry and other military accessories. In India and Persia such a technique is termed *koftgari*. It was used to decorate several objects in the Far Eastern collection of entirely different intended uses, all coming from India, specifically from various workshops in the Punjab.

The scissors in the Krakow collection differ from one another in shape, the metals they were made of, and decoration, although they represent the same kind of object. I have found no

information in the Museum's documentation as to whether some of them were part of a single kit used by a specific calligrapher. There is also no testimony to the effect that the person through whom a specific item came to the Museum was aware of what kind of object it was and what specific use it was intended for. It is then most probable that what attracted the attention of the individuals who acquired the objects and brought them to our country as a sort of curio was not their awareness of the rank and function of such objects in the culture of Islam, but solely the spectacular exotic form of these artifacts and the elaborate aesthetics of their decoration.

There is no museum dedicated specifically to the art of Islam in Poland. Still, Islamic art can be found first of all in major museums: the National Museum in Krakow, including the Princes Czartoryski Collection, the National Museum in Warsaw, the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, or the State Art Collections at the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow. Objects which originated in Islamic culture can also be found in ecclesiastic institutions. Some products of exotic Muslim art are featured in Polish collections in addition to Polish and European art. Their specific origin has been established in the great majority of them, and therefore they occupy an important individual place in those collections.

The scissors which I have presented are evidence that it is still possible to encounter such objects in Polish collections which, although representative of Islamic culture, ended up in our country without being recognized as such by their buyers or subsequent owners of the collections. It seems that they were found attractive only through their appearance, without inspiring much interest in their actual origin or their role in Islamic culture. They were fascinating through their beauty as utilitarian artifacts, through their exotic quality, but were not afforded any reflection on their specific use in the part of the world where they had been made, or on the question whether such an object was significant culturally or merely an item of luxury.

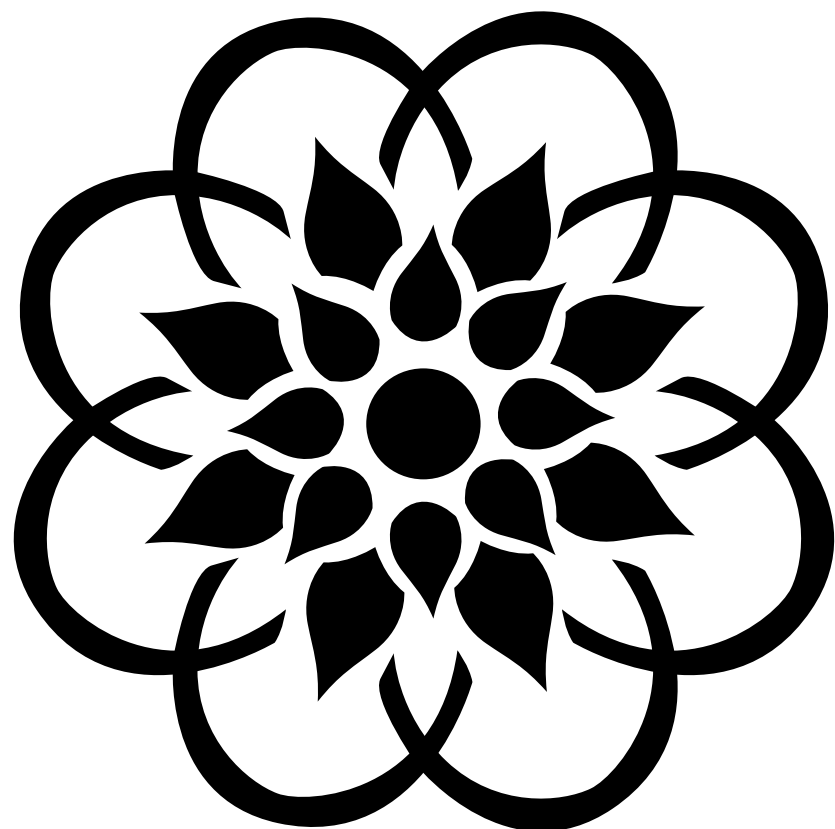
Translated from the Polish language by Jerzy Juruś

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VII
MODERN
AND CONTEMPORARY
ART



The art of book printing in Arabic type in the Volga-Ural region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries

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One of the first to pay attention to the problem of Tatar book design in the beginning of the 20th century was the Kazan art expert Piotr Dulsky.¹ Some evidence on book printing in Arabic type in Kazan is available.² A fundamental work on the history of Tatar books was carried out by Karimullin.³ “The art of Tatar book printing” is noted in the monograph by Chervonnaya.⁴ A general history of the Arabic printed book is also available.⁵ However, print products in Arabic type within the Volga-Ural region have not been adequately studied with regard to typography art.

In 1922, the Section of Typographic Arts was established under the auspices of the Russian Academy of Artistic Sciences, aimed at researching into the book “as an item of a special kind of production (typographic)”, “the art of printing ... where the art is brought to an instant of the printing process itself”; applied typographics, i.e. all sorts of stamps, labels, bills, advertisements, etc., typesetting as an area of job printing.⁶

It should be noted that the characteristic feature of the book in Arabic type within the Volga-Ural region lies not only in the end result of a “printed page”, but also in the printing technology. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries books in Arabic type within the region were “typeset” for the most part. The art of visualization of a printed book is inseparable from technology, because a book as a material object is a typographic product. “Typography is a genuine workshop of the book art.”⁷

¹ Dulsky 1930: 6.

² See: Zagoskin 1902, Likhachov 1895, Smirnov 1893: 104.

³ Karimullin 1969, Karimullin 1971, Karimullin 1974.

⁴ Chervonnaya 1987.

⁵ See: Safullina 2003.

⁶ Engraving and Book 1924: 25.

⁷ Sidorov 1972.





III. 1. *Unvan*, 18th century, Archives of the Institute of Language, Literature and Art, Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan, Kazan

The main sources for my study were the editions of type foundries with font and ornament specimens, printed and typeset materials, price lists, reports on typographic activities, manning tables and position responsibilities of printing personnel as well as a large number of print products from Kazan, Orenburg and Ufa.

From the early 19th century Kazan became the main centre in Russia for publishing books in Arabic type, including dictionaries, textbooks, readers, historical and literary writings. The first masters of typography were Gali Rakhmatullin and Khamza Mamyshev, who had moved from Saint Petersburg to Kazan. In the first third of the 19th century they worked as typesetters and were “the first artists, designers and bookbinders.”⁸

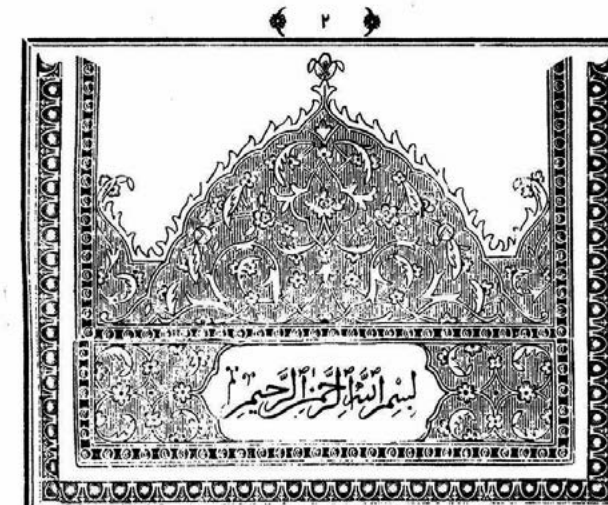
In the first printed books Kazan typographers who typeset the texts produced galleys so that the text looked like a handwritten one. Books published before the 1830s to the orders of Tatar publishers had no title pages; titles and date-lines (year, place and publisher’s name) were given at the end of the book. Such a typographic feature was also associated with manuscript tradition.⁹

The *unvan* is the most peculiar element of the Oriental book (Ill. 1). It is precisely the evolution of this element that permeates the whole structure of the book’s artistic appearance, be it handwritten or printed. The *unvan* is an ornamental headpiece arranged compositionally at the top of the page. This traditional element can be found in manuscripts of Oriental origin. An analogous element at the first text page is seen in Iranian lithographic books.¹⁰ The traditional use of the *unvan* is also known in Central Asian manuscripts¹¹ and books printed in Arabic type in Dagestan.¹² In the early-stage formation of typography in Uzbekistan, lithographic books of Khiva printers had similar elements: “... very similar in their composition to manuscript traditions. Most frequently the headpiece was rectangular with its upper part not always closed. This rectangle contained ornaments made of concentric circles or semicircles. Empty spots among them were filled with vegetal ornament.”¹³

The *unvan* composition is based on symmetry typical of Oriental architectural elements. A cupola-like shape in the headpiece also symbolizes the vault of heaven and the boundless world of Spirit.

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⁸ Chervonnaya 1987: 273.
⁹ Karimullin 1979: 43–44.
¹⁰ Shcheglova 1979: 145.
¹¹ Izmailova 1978.
¹² Kurbanova 2002.
¹³ Khabrov 1967: 323–324.



III. 2. *Unvan*, Dombrovsky typographic house, Kazan, 1896

Observing the evolution of the *unvan*, one can notice the transition of Oriental miniatures in manuscripts to stricter architectonic forms constructed of typographic elements according to the ornamental pattern in printed books. In the early 20th century it began to include new Soviet emblems that produced an entirely new figurative interpretation of the headpiece tracery, depending on changes of style and the spirit of the times. The *unvan* is a decorative frame with an ornament inside, often rimmed at the top with a cupola-like cusped arch crowned

with a decorative element named the *madokhil*. Vertically cut side arches were displayed symmetrically. The *unvan* held the traditional Muslim formula “*Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim*.”¹⁴ Placed at the beginning of the book, the *Unvan*, as the isolated whole from a sacral viewpoint, carried out in this case the function analogous to the traditional formula of invoking the Lord of the Heavens (Ill. 2). This gave the right and blessing of the Most High for further representation both in verbal and pictorial forms. The *Basmalah* begins the first Surah *al-Fatihah* (The Prologue), which opens the Qur’an and concentrates its thought content. The *Basmalah* is an invocation to Allah before the beginning of any matter: “In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Ever Merciful.” According to Arabic sources, every text initially began with the *Basmalah*. The Muslim tradition ascribes its first usage to Prophet Solomon who sent a letter to the Queen of Sheba, which was prefaced by “In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Ever Merciful.”¹⁵ In the course of time the *Basmalah* formula became an obligatory headpiece for any text. The chapters of the Holy Qur’an and other spiritual writings traditionally start with the words of *Basmalah*.

In printed books the *unvan* shape was built of individual typographic elements of typographic decoration—asterisks, rules and borders. Job composition performed by typesetters¹⁶ was used in the reproduction of headpieces. In some cases lithographic technology was applied. The pattern of an individual typeset ornament could often be non-Oriental, resembling stucco mouldings of the Empire-style, house facades or ornaments and chains of cast iron railings. They also used an ornament denoted in the books on typographic specimens as “systematic or kaleidoscopic.” Such typesetting filled up the book page plane with lace-like ornamentation made “of asterisks, ringlets, strokes and dots.”¹⁷

¹⁴ Ziganshina 1978: 11.
¹⁵ Qur’an, 27:30.
¹⁶ Sikorsky et al. 1982: 18.
¹⁷ Gerchuk 1989: 88.

Thus, the *unvan* is not a separate picture, but an integral part of page composition rooted in manuscript tradition. Compositionally and functionally, the *unvan* always occupies a definite place in the structure of the book. On the whole, being the most conservative element of Arabic books, it has preserved its basic compositional structure in the process of evolution from manuscripts to printed editions; as a component of the book, it always performs its own task—to be a headpiece. Later on, *unvan*-like elements appeared not only in books, but also in magazines and other periodicals.

The pattern of book decorations often imitated Oriental tracery. A vegetal ornament served as a primary motif and occupied one of the major places in Islamic art with respect to composition.¹⁸ Typeset ornament, being simultaneously the universal means for the architectonics of a book, conferred peculiar features to the edition. Published specimens of ornaments and fonts testify that the same typographic elements were often used both in Cyrillic and Arabic books. In general such a state of affairs was quite natural for provincial printing houses. This was due to a multitude of subjective and objective reasons. By the early 20th century a lot of available typographic elements had already become out of date both physically and morally and did not meet the requirements of publishers. These were mostly cherubs, masks, arabesques, tools, coats of arms and borders of West European origin.

The processes going on in the book art of Western Europe and Russia found their reflection in Arabic books, sometimes directly, but in most cases through the prism of peculiarities of the Oriental book. Thus, we can rightfully consider books printed in Arabic type as part of the Russian book publishing industry and the "... Tatar national printing house on the basis of European typographic technology."¹⁹

Sidorov noted that a layout artist (typesetter) was "... in effect the most responsible person in book production. Indeed, it is he who gives a book its look. He determines the size of margins, page proportions, makes line widths equal, in other words, he constructs the book."²⁰ For a master typographer, whose work deals with fabricating print products, characters, clichés, polytypes and typesetting rules are components of the visual language. A typographer is merely an intermediary between authors and readers that helps to impart the contents of a book to the fullest extent by means of printing plates. He chooses an appropriate font, determines formats, composes and does page make-up, i.e. arranges ready-made letters, words, text blocks and rules relative to each other and relative to column, page and sheet. In doing so, not only the decoration of book covers, decorative rules and headpieces, but also graphic elements were made of typographic elements. Thus, the book on how to keep bees entitled *Nichek umarta kurtun asrab urcheterge* (How to care for bees; 1897) was decorated with a fancy silhouette of a honey bee larva formed by a group of lines. A narrow intercolumn space or a block at the centre can be seen in some Arabic editions. The frame functionally separates some part from the rest of the text, i.e. formal isolation from the surroundings takes place. The frame usually contained something "valuable and significant" especially marked out for readers. The so-called thick-thin rules, i.e. double parallel rules with

a space between the edges, were very popular at that time.²¹ Initially, thick-thin rules were composite; later on they were cast as a unit and came in an assortment. Thick-thin rules were the closest to classicism and Empire style and had much in common with classic type with its pronounced contrast between thick and thin strokes.

In font specimen catalogues with various type sizes and typographic elements, the best shown are the products of type foundries and typographic houses of the Imperial Kazan University, Ivan Kharitonov, the Karimov Brothers and some others. Comparative visual analysis of the given catalogues allows discovering the identity of many typographic elements from different printing houses and type foundries. Published in 1887, the publicity leaflet with specimens of "New decorations of type foundry under the Imperial Kazan University" shows the examples of typeset ornaments printed in brown. The leaflet "Ornamented rules: Printing House and type foundry under the Imperial Kazan University" (undated publication) gives 82 rule specimens of various pattern and scale. These elements might be used by typesetters as chapter dividers and tailpieces. Leaflet 1–9 of the type foundry under the Imperial Kazan University "New decorations: Decorations, rules, spaces and medal clichés. Type foundry's property" (undated publication with a medal imprint of 1886) presents ornaments and individual modules of typeset ornaments with an example of ribbon border composition.

Examining the arsenal of a typesetter in Arabic type in the second half of the 19th century, one can just imagine his type case content. In this period the Arabic type case included 133 compartments, each for the letters in the beginning, middle and end of words and for the separate ones, or 165 compartments with vowel diacritics and digits taken into account.²²

For more than a hundred years, types used in printing houses for Arabic left the "s" unchanged, and font sizes were of several kinds only. This fact was mentioned by almost all publishers and typographers. The problem of Arabic types disturbed many master typographers of Kazan. The printing houses of Ivan Kharitonov and the Karimov Brothers took radical steps to solve the problem. M. I. Idrisov, G. Kamal and the master engraver I. Yuzeev were engaged in devising the design of new fonts. As a result, they managed to devise and cast many interesting Arabic fonts for typesetting in the Kharitonov's typographic house.

The appearance of previously impossible drop capitals in Arabic printed books should be regarded as one of the most impressive phenomena of the period. Each Arabic letter is known to have four configurations depending on its position in the word. We succeeded in finding an album in the archives with "Specimens of Muslim types" published in Kharitonov's typographic house. As said by Kharitonov, after many years' efforts of calligraphers and type founders, an excellent album was published in his printing house with font specimens of different numbers, sizes and names. For the first time the album also included specimens of coloured drop capitals in various ornamental frames (Ill. 3). For instance, there are frames of linear vegetal ornament—*Gaspirali kharefe* (Gasprinsky's fonts), three-dimensional letters placed above vertical rectangles with landscapes and mosques—*Kazan initials* (Kazan drop capital), and letters against lyrical landscapes—*Yubilei initials* (Jubilee drop capital).

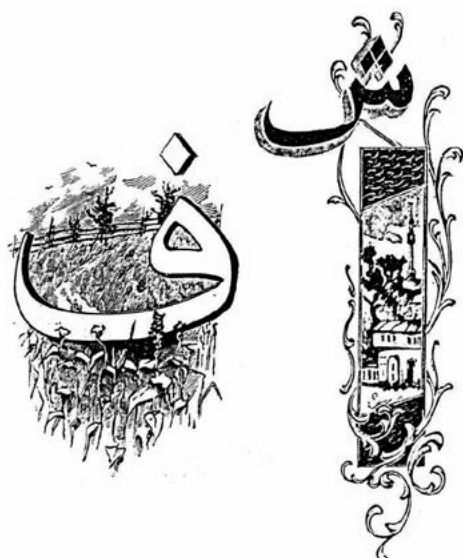
¹⁸ Dulsky 1930: 6.

¹⁹ Karimullin 1971: 37.

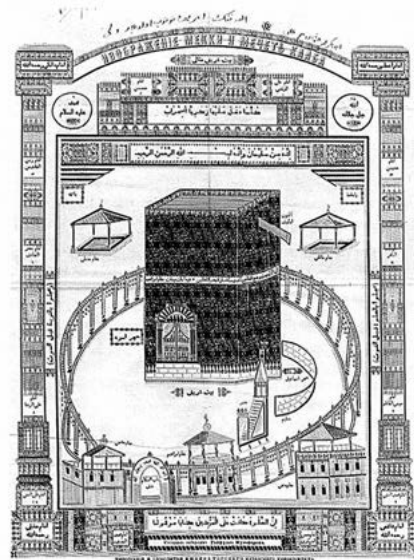
²⁰ Sidorov 1972: 67.

²¹ Ramiev and Dautov 2001: 236.

²² Ramiev and Dautov 2001: 236.



III. 3. Drop capitals, Kharitonov's typographic house, Kazan



III. 4. The pictures of Mecca and Mosque with Kaaba—typeset *shamail*, 1891

The appearance of drop capitals in Arabic type is evidently associated with the influence of European book culture. This is a unique phenomenon in the Arabic typography of Russia, when drop capitals began to play a relevant role in printed editions of the region. This tendency failed to get further development for reasons related to the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with Latin.

The growth of the printing business in the region gave qualitative impetus to the art of *shamail*. Printing houses invited professional printers to make *shamails*. It is not improbable that the professional approach in the art of *shamail* originated just from printing workshops. Printed *shamails* are part of typography art. The almost century-long printing tradition in the region leaves no doubt about local printers' knowledge of the basic principles of classical typography.

The composition of *shamails* follows the principles of spatial organization traditionally accepted in Islamic architecture, namely by means of geometric forms. The rhythm of repeatedly alternating scales creates a sense of certain movement; all the elements internally interrelated are formally and visually organized in a certain ornamental structure.

Most of the coloured *shamails* were printed on several stones, multi-coloured ones requiring five or six stones. There are also specimens combining typographic elements with lithography. We succeeded in finding a unique sample of the typeset *shamail* that dated back to 1891, which is worthy of admiration as an example of the mastery achieved by the typesetter and printer from the printing house under the Kazan University (III. 4). In the upper part of the composition inside the framing arch there is an inscription "The picture of Mecca and Mosque with Kaaba" in Cyrillic. The typesetter managed to create a full-blown *shamail* image despite conditionality and limited the figurative material; in general it is hardly noticeable to the ordinary onlooker how much effort and creative thinking on the verge of symbolism this work needed. The sheet frame

is composed of typographic elements with the picture of the Mecca Mosque inside; the information given below is as follows: typesetter G. Muzafarov, printer Zaalutdin Mukhamet-Rakhimov.

The art of typography and printing was progressing in close interaction. Master printers of Russian and Tatar editions worked closely together, frequently at the same printing houses. This was supported by the foundation of the Mutual Aid Society of Book Printers (1885) that involved people of various nations. In 1885 and 1886 staff workers of ten printing houses in Kazan were members of the Society. Twenty-four members worked at the University printing house, the largest printing establishment in Kazan at that time. Among them, A. T. Solovyov, Russian typesetters Yakov Muravyov, Stepan Anichkin, Ivan Krylov, Tatar workers Sitdik Akhmetov, Vakhit Akhtyamov, Gaifulla Muzafarov and some others were the members of the Society's board. Many of them were rewarded more than once for their "long-standing and diligent service". Of special interest for us are head printer in Oriental languages Vakhit Akhtyamov, who was awarded the Great Gold Medal, typesetters Muzafarov, Muravyov, Anichkin and others.²³ These awards are indicative of high printing mastery.

The Book Printers' Society of Kazan, being influential in the art of printing, submitted a petition to award a medal to Ivan Kharitonov for his contribution to the Arabic printing craft.²⁴

In Ufa, a Guild of Printers was founded on January 28, 1917 with initially 40 members. For some time it was called "The Society of Graphic Arts." The backbone consisted of skilled printers and workers trained in Germany, Turkey and other countries.

Further development of the printing craft in Kazan became possible owing to the organization of a special educational institution, the Lunacharsky Typographic School, in the beginning of the 20th century. The school was opened in May 1921 at Printing House No. 6, where the Tatar People's Commissariat for Public Education initially established training courses for Tatar typesetters.²⁵ That was precisely the institution where future typographers were trained for the whole region. Many typesetters, printers and binders became real typography artists. Piotr Dulsky was an instructor of graphic design and typography. He often supervised students' practical works and educated a whole constellation of excellent printers. P. E. Kornilov was quite right to say that "a clue to ... the publishing potential of Kazan" is "the work of the Kazan Typographic School, which came into being only during the revolution... Speaking somewhat grandiloquently, this is a breeding ground for the future culture of the book in Kazan. Print products of the School are markedly notable among others in Kazan. In 1927 it won three awards for its publications: at the Academy of Fine Arts in Leningrad, at the All-Union Typography Exhibition in Moscow and at the All-Tatar Typography Exhibition in Kazan. What it has done is the highest possible achievement..."²⁶

Special attention was given to learning Oriental art, Oriental fonts and styles, and new the Latin-based Tatar font named *Yanalif*. Students of the Tatar classes made composition and design works using Oriental motifs and learnt the peculiar features of Oriental ornaments applied

²³ Gabelganeva 1994: 37.

²⁴ Sorokaletny 1909: 19.

²⁵ Aristov and Ermolaeva 1975: 158.

²⁶ Aristov and Ermolaeva 1975: 159.

in decorating book covers. Such works were also fulfilled as linoleum cuts.²⁷ As noted in one of the reports of the department of education control, “The School has a promising future in respect of its Tatar section, which is the single cultural source in the Tatar world in the field of beautiful-looking book products.”²⁸

Artistic design of the Typographic School editions was based on job composition. It will suffice to look at book covers and students’ works. In particular, at ex-libris job composition the student of the third form Sharafutdinov depicted a printing press with typographic elements. Using rules, the simplest typographic elements, he managed to create a symbol of printing craft by means of a recognizable shape (Ill. 5).



III. 5. Ex-libris

As noted by Dulsky, “Only the graphic designer can give the proper look to a book, thinking out its construction and design and preparing a layout before the book can go to a typesetter.”²⁹

In the early 1920s, typographers influenced by new typographic tendencies often discarded old-style prefabricated typeset ornaments. Modern style began to supplant static forms in ornaments associated with survivals of the bourgeois past. Typographic culture underwent transformations under the impact of the revolutionary avant-garde; expressive and constructive techniques inherent in cubism and suprematism came into existence. New rhythmic structures and proportions created a dynamic composition of book covers and title pages.

The suprematic search for expressiveness can be observed in designers’ creative endeavours, especially in the font composition schemes of book covers. Flexible Arabic letters qualitatively acquire another pattern in accordance with a new rhythmic structure. The works of graphic artists F. Tagirov and D. Krasilnikov show the influence of constructivism on Arabic typeface design; it becomes weighty and austere. All this is subordinated to the rhythms of photomontages making book covers. A glowing example is Tagirov’s design of the paperback cover for the book by G. Kutui *Konner yogorgende* (When days are flying, 1925). Among Tagirov’s graphic works done during his education at the *Vkhutemas* (Higher Art and Technical Studios) one should mark off a number of book covers. These are the covers for the books by

²⁷ Afanasiev 1975: 21–22.

²⁸ Afanasiev 1975: 23.

²⁹ Dulsky 1930: 21.

A. Kravchenko “How Khasan became a Red Army Man” (1927) and “October and the young generation” designed in cooperation with A. N. Korobkova, and for the book by S. Tagirova “Scientific bibliography of publications in 1925” made in mosaic composition. He also made a number of posters in Latin-based *Yanalif* type.

In my opinion, Tagirov’s typographic approach to the design of book covers is typical for his creative activities. In such a way he followed the printers’ typographic tradition of the 19th century. Limiting himself in figurative pictures, Tagirov acted like an old master with the type case, moving photomontages and type blocks in search of the best composition and redistributing them on the cover plane. The successful achievements of this future well-known artist and theorist are rooted in a good synthesis of century-long traditions and new trends in art. A certain role belonged to the Muslim “limitations” on figurative images. Of special interest for us is the preliminary layout of a book in Arabic type *Teatrdan klubka* (From theatre to club) (State Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Graphics) designed by Tagirov in 1927. The layout comprises a multi-coloured cover and pages painted on thick paper in watercolour and gouache. The composition of the cover is organized in the spirit of constructivism—a stylized Arabic version of the kufic calligraphy, schematic representation of flat human figures that creates diagonal motion and organizes the space. These schematic human figures are especially interesting. In his previous works, Tagirov usually applied montage technique stuck to prefabricated images. The artist’s preliminary layout enables us to judge about the creative laboratory for producing Arabic type books in the late 1920s. The layout is made with enthusiasm, carefully and thoroughly; the intended text blocks are outlined in pencil; cut-out compositions of the Arabic text are stuck in some places. The rules characteristic of constructivism are painted with black gouache. Headpieces and type compositions with solids somewhat break classical symmetry in the pages, that being also characteristic of the time. Intense red and black colours of the cover add to the whole impression of the avant-garde spirit of constructivism.

This work allows us to conclude that the principles of book organization are supported here by century-old canons and still remain on modern lines. Tagirov’s creative activities bear the distinct influence of national traditions, namely a compositional principle in organizing the book covers where constructivism goes with the traditions of calligraphy and ornamentics. Tagirov was a pioneer in designing the first fonts in Russia of special graphic forms, among them Arabic, Indian and Korean characters. He wrote a number of research papers on the history and science of types, fonts and typography.

The influence of constructivism showed itself also in the region under consideration, e.g. in the design of the book by B. Validov *Asu katysh elmatu* (A smile with hatred) in the Bashkir language. The book was printed at the Ufa Typo-Lithographic House *Oktybrsky Natisk* (October onset) in 1928 and bound in a cardboard binding. The binding picture was in brown and violet.

Among regional graphic designers in the field of typography and book printing, though not numerous in the post-revolutionary period, Gosman Arslanov should be mentioned first.

The epoch finds its reflection in the artist's works; constructivism trends are clearly recognizable in his design of the book of biographies of poets, *Bethnen Matbugat* (Our Press, 1924). Vertical red stripes characteristic of constructivism play an important role in the book cover design. The upper part of the cover is decorated with a three-part light-coloured medallion in accordance with the traditions of Oriental books; the title of the book is given with black characters inside the medallion. This is a striking combination of Russian constructivism and Oriental typographic traditions. The highest artistic level of the cover design made it possible to show this book at the International Art Exhibition held in Paris in 1925.

In parallel with its Oriental characteristics, book printing in Arabic type had many European features as well. Since Peter the Great's reforms, Russian book culture developing in the European mainstream exerted an important influence on the Arabic type book. The visual language of the European book fitted its needs; nonetheless, the Arabic book was not a mere copy. Cultural and spiritual peculiarities in the development of the Volga-Ural region could not but leave their mark on the formation of the book printing tradition.

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Caricature in Turkic public life under the Russian Empire

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Meskhetian Turks (Ahiska Turkleri), having lived amongst the Georgian population in the South of Georgia from the beginning of the 19th century, having changed their citizenship from Ottoman to Russian and then to Soviet, were influenced by the many different cultures present in this particular region.

As a result, the local elites have adopted some of the elements of new foreign cultures. Under the conditions of unavoidable modernization of the nation's cultural traditions, these Turks have had to face a continual cultural identity crisis.

Cultural adaptation led to a necessity to search for and choose such new indicators in the surrounding world which would not eliminate their strong national values.

During the 20th century, Meskhetian Turks experienced even deeper challenges. The Russian Tsarist Empire was replaced by the Soviet one. Meskhetian Turks became victims of the Soviet ideology, according to which some nations could be seen as "unnecessary" ones (as it was stated in official documents) on their lands and were deported to other continents with no right to come back.

It is worthwhile to point out that the history of Meskhetian Turks' life in the 20th century can be presented as a paradigm, an experiment which took place in the real world and which concerned the whole nation. Such an example can be used in researching physical and cultural survival mechanisms after momentous historical changes in the world. A cultural identity crisis is an inevitable consequence of cultural cataclysms. Such crises need to be overcome if a people needs and wants to preserve its identity.

The self-identity of Meskhetian Turks lies under the scope of a Turkic cultural model. Their survival and the process of preserving their identity will be very interesting for different aspects of research into cultural models in general.

We can observe different components of the preservation of the main characteristics of cultural life, such as religion, language, visual art traditions, musical preferences, social values and ideological views, under conditions of intense changes of environment.



III. 1. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 29: "Muslim scholars (national headgear)"



III. 2. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 35: "Sheikh Hamid Pasha in Shemakha County"

For decades, the majority of Meskhetian Turks were bilingual and the Georgian language was used to the same extent as the mother tongue. Specifically, this factor brought many discussions and debates in regards to the origin of this particular ethnic group. After their deportation from Georgia, Meskhetian Turks lost their knowledge of the Georgian language. However, despite the small distortion of the mother tongue, Turkish, it had still been kept the same in different regions of exile (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan and Siberia).

Another attractive and remarkable feature was the Meskhetian Turks' devotion to visual traditions in domestic interiors and to some extent in clothing. Deported from their main residence 60 years ago, dispersed all around the territory of the Former Soviet Union after the tragic event in Fergana in 1989, Meskhetian Turks showed their unchangeable taste in the domestic interior of their homes.

The preservation of visual traditions had its own merit, and in fact was the most remarkable feature of the Turkic cultural model in general. The impact could be seen in cities, architectural monuments, carpets, interiors and clothes. The latest research reconfirms the universal principles of a Turkish visual culture amongst Turkic communities.¹

¹ Mammedova 2002.

Meskhethian Turks have been exposed to two contrary cultures' civilizations—Christian culture, presented by Russia and dependent Georgia, and a traditional Islamic culture. Russian colonial policy towards the Muslim population in the Ahalzih region without doubt transformed the existing system of social values and perceptions. The status and influence of traditional local Muslim clerics significantly decreased. By the beginning of the 20th century the Muslim community of this region were practically non-participants in contemporary politics. This situation had led to the formation of an “intelligentsia” focused on the problem of integrating the new elements in their practical life with their own life principles and religious basics.

During the adaptation and integration process, means of communication were needed in order to spread the new ideas, ideals and social values. Such means were to be the theatre and the press. Specifically, the press played the more significant role and it turned into an instrument of propagandizing the new ideas.

Without a doubt, the biggest and brightest event of the public life of all the Turkic language-speaking Caucasus was the launch of a satirical magazine, *Molla Nasreddin*,² issued in Tiflis by a Meskhethian Turk from Ahalzih, the journalist and publicist Omar Faig Neymanzade; and a well-known Azerbaijani writer and author, Jalil Mamedkulizade.

The magazine had amazing success and in a very short time it gained a popularity across the region of Turkic Caucasus. Apart from the high standards of the magazine's journalism, the artists' work—and in particular their caricatures—further boosted the attention it received from the general public, including those who were not educated. The magazine's caricaturists, Oskar Schmerling and Josef Rotter were ethnic Germans of the Caucasus. *Molla Nasreddin* caricatures were extremely eye-catching and stood up without the need for captions.

Schmerling and Rotter's caricatures brought a genuine delight to readers from all social classes and up until today evoke a lot of interest and admiration as picturesque and highly artistic accomplishments. *Molla Nasreddin* readers were from very different backgrounds: it addressed not only the well-educated part of society, but also a much wider audience, which could still be attracted to the magazine.

The caricatures, thematically linked to satirical articles, brightly illustrated the ideas in them, hinting at and reflecting the tone of the articles, and in this way they provoked an immediate reaction. The magazine required both relatively complex graphic compositions, full of refined details; and sharper, brighter and simpler caricatures to deliver the authors' ideas in a more direct way. While Rotter specialized in the former type of caricatures, Schmerling was in charge of the latter.

Schmerling rarely used a sketch. Intended exaggerations, the grotesque, and disproportions were the main features of his caricatures. Rotter's works took a different tack, using professional, artistically sketched illustrations. His graphic works were more sophisticated, refined, detailed and varied in style. Rotter's task was to reflect the psychological side of the caricatures.

² Molla Nasreddin 1988 and Molla Nasreddin 1996.



III. 3. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 33: “General Master” —“Very good!”

The magnificent satirical graphic works of these two ethnic German artists are to be seen as part of the national artistic heritage in Azerbaijan and all the Turkic part of the Caucasus.

The success of *Molla Nasreddin* magazine surpassed all expectations: it was a triumph. The remarkable talent of the publicists, writers and artists of the magazine provoked a genuine interest among all the Turkic community from Istanbul up to Kazan.

Molla Nasreddin writers, having a full understanding of the way the confessional community acted as a consolidating factor in society, could see sad results in the relations of the religious institutes with the colonial powers. The magazine's caricatures on religious clerics reflected its position towards the religious institutes, which in its view gradually led to a stagnation in public development and in the process of social development more generally.

According to *Molla Nasreddin*, religious institutes were instruments of the authorities' power, a tool exerting pressure on society. The most serious proof is the subsequent history of the USSR, the new empire in which both the magazine readers and authors ended up.

However, the main reason for its success was its political views, philosophy and the perception of the magazine in regards to very topical and sensitive subjects such as national identity, culture, and the society's political and social establishment. The popularity of the magazine, and the volume of feedback and comments on the articles and caricatures confirm the contribution and remarkable role of the magazine in the process of adaption in this region of the Caucasus.

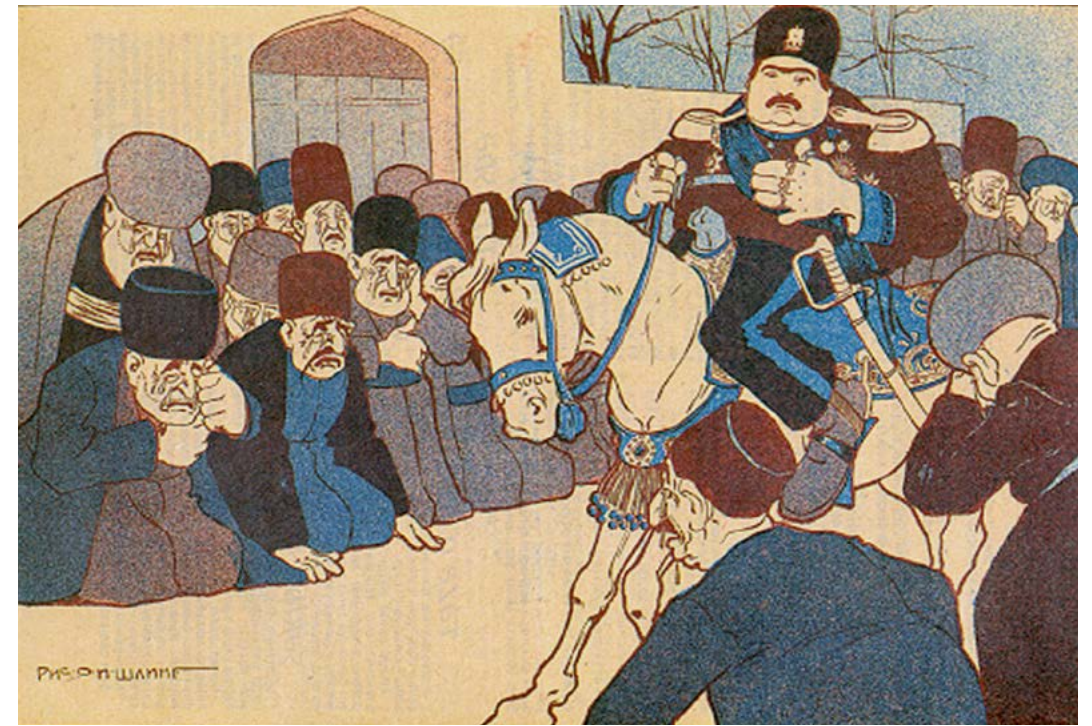


III. 4. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 27: "Old masks"

The role and importance of the magazine in the public life of Eastern Muslims is difficult to evaluate. The constructive analysis of the published articles and caricatures enhanced the ideological views of the magazine's team. They tried to promote the most positive sides of the European model and its socio-political system. They distinguished the role of culture and education in the formation of a national identity, and the absolute priority of the individual as the principal achievements of Europe, and a good example and right direction for all Turkic nations. The magazine underlined strongly the difference between European liberal values and the realities of the Russian autocracy with its base in serfdom.

Molla Nasreddin tried to present a realistic, critical view of their own people's backwardness on the one hand, and on the Russian claims and pretensions of promoting a "civilization" on the other. This was one of the key passions of *Molla Nasreddin*. In the process of acclimatizing to contemporary ideas and values the magazine suggested a differentiation of the surrounding world not by religious, but socio-psychological criteria.

This was a period of the introduction and evaluation of European social values and the ideas of liberalism: ideas which not only permitted but promoted the formation of a clear orientation in national views. It was also a period which saw the introduction of new ideas to society, such as an alternative educational system to the traditional Islamic education format—



III. 5. *Molla Nasreddin* 1906, no. 35: "When the governor departed from Tabriz, people were crying like children"

a reformed Islamic educational system based on the mother tongue, Turkic. The intelligentsia paid most attention to the last point of the most well-known slogan of that historical period, "Turkicization, Islamicization, Europeanization". Europeanization was seen as one of the most popular and important factors, and a very necessary factor for the progress of Turkic nations.³

The Meskhetian Turks' attempts at cultural adaptation had at times been painful and difficult, but somehow they succeeded. In the first half of the 20th century there were many famous political and public figures in the Caucasus who were originally Meskhetian Turks.

Unfortunately, the ideas of liberalism and democracy promoted so highly in *Molla Nasreddin* magazine could not in the end defeat the established influence of Russian serfdom in the life of the Caucasian nations. In 1944, all attempts at cultural adaptation were banned after the total deportation of Meskhetian Turks. The decision of the administration of the USSR to deport and settle Meskhetian Turks on a permanent basis in concentration camps, reduced them to focusing purely on physical survival—yet despite all the tragic consequences, Meskhetian Turks have succeeded in adapting to whatever conditions they have been compelled to face.

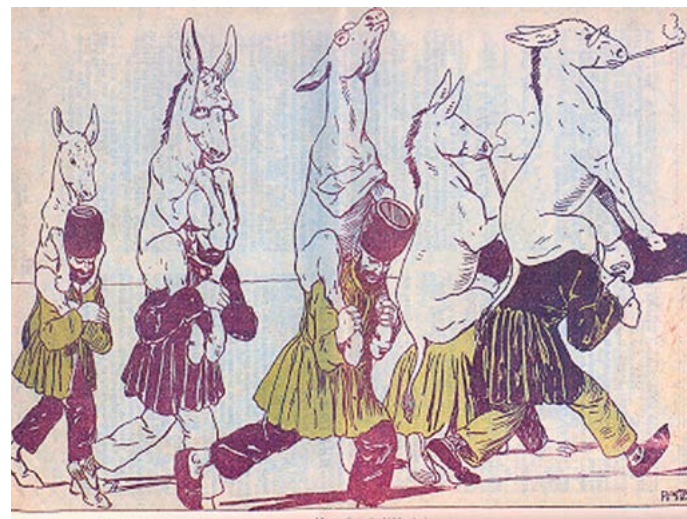
The founder of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Memmed Emin Rasulzadeh, noted that the magazine *Molla Nasreddin* was a remarkable phenomenon in the history of Azerbaijan. Indeed this was a masterpiece of cultural achievement in the history of the Azerbaijani people.⁴

³ Pepinov 2001.

⁴ Gurbanov 1992.



III. 6. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 23: "Listen to me: the new students want to deliver you from your old customs. Brothers! Do not allow this!"



III. 7. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 10: "What we see every day"

The magazine was published in Tiflis until 1918, then separate issues were published in Tabriz and Baku. After the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan in 1921, the new authorities, given the enormous popularity of the magazine, decided to continue its publication, but Omar Fai refused to work in the magazine. There was a different era, this was a Soviet "satirical" magazine and after 1921 Neyman-zadeh did not take any further participation in *Molla Nasreddin* publications. A study of the entire socio-political and journalistic activities of Omar Faig Neyman-zadeh would be a very significant contribution to the reconstruction of the realities of the peoples of the Caucasus in the Russia Empire in the early 20th century.

Born in 1872 in the Ahalzih district of Georgia, he was educated in Istanbul. In 1882 he was sent by his parents to "Fatih" Madres (faith school) in Istanbul. After studying for some time in a madres, he took an independent decision to be transferred to the Istanbul seminary Dar-ush-Shafak, which had a reputation for spreading liberal ideas in Turkey.

He graduated in 1891, and the same year went to work at Galata Post Office, which had unlimited access to European newspapers and magazines, exerting a great influence on the formation of Omar Faig's personality. This was a period of emerging social awareness of European values; and the ideas of liberalism, inspired by Europe, not only did not interfere with, but also contributed to a clear focus on Azerbaijani national identity. This was the time of the genesis of new ideas in society, from the traditional Islamic education system to a reformed Islamic educational system focusing on establishing public schools from primary to college levels taught only in their mother tongue. From the then-famous slogan, "Turkicization, Islamicization, Europeanization", Omar Faig mostly perceived the last idea as the most relevant and vital aspect of the formation and progress of Turkic peoples.

In 1892, under the threat of arrest for collaborating with the predecessors of the Young Turks organization, he was forced to flee from Istanbul.

Back home, a young and energetic person will feel particularly strongly the sadness and horror of the stagnation of his own people. Omar Faig wrote then: "In order to destroy the foundations, born out of old traditions, and embark on a new path, we need a long social, revolutionary and scientific training. Without gaining the experience it would be hard to achieve new developments in our culture and education and to achieve any success in general." Realizing this, in the early years of his public life he looked for various possible ways of resistance. He joined the Azerbaijani Democrats and from 1892 fully associated with them. His first proclamations mainly concerned the problems of education. He said: "If we Turks and Muslims want to live in this world and to defend our human rights, if you do not want to be a losing side in this struggling world, we should treat with all due care and respect the press, which is a huge force in any nation, and create a 'temple', called 'press' and 'library'." And yet, "All our thoughts and desires must be focused on what we publish and we need to publish as many books as possible on history, literature and science. In this way we can improve our current state and change our future." Then he claimed: "The level of a nation's development can be determined by the level of teachers. The problem of teaching is a matter of life and death for all of us."

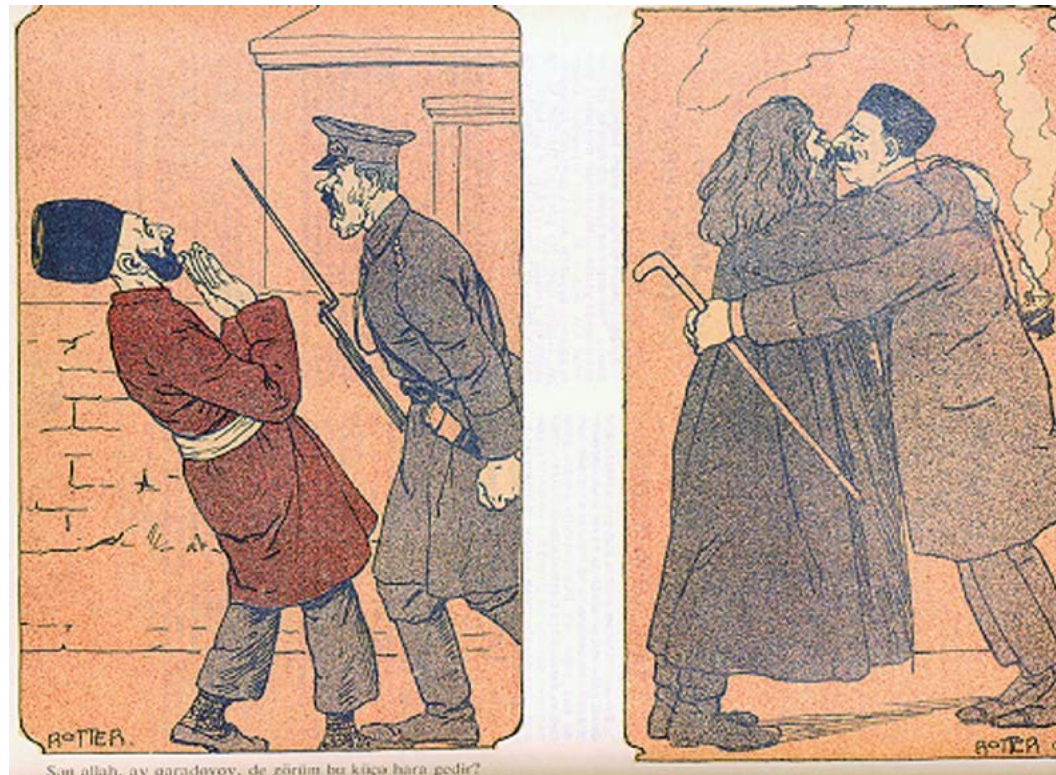
Omar Faig was encouraged to begin to implement the declarations he proclaimed. From 1893 to 1903, in the cities of Azerbaijan—Sheki, Shamakhi, Ganja and the city of Tiflis, Georgia, we find him opening up schools and teaching. Such work at that time required a great dedication, creative effort and a clear educational concept, the meaning of which he expressed in this way: "We are pleased by the rise of our students in the Russian schools but we also believe our most important task is the opening of schools in our mother tongue." Meanwhile he absorbed a large amount of information about the realities of the social structure and the opportunities of the Turkic peoples, and first subjected to a critical analysis the customs and prejudices left in his society. It was in those years that he developed a realistic, critical view of the backwardness of his own people and of Russian claims of being a promoter of civilization in the Caucasus.

This work was a great impetus for his further activity as a publicist in the formation of views on the priority problems of the formation of Turkic civil society. Issues of national identity and a national awakening as a fundamental problem were manifest in all his future journalistic work.

During these years, working in different cities, Omar Faig significantly increased the number of adherents among Caucasian-Turkic intelligentsia, which at that time positioned itself as a European-style educated group in contrast with traditional religious education.

The launch of a satirical magazine, *Molla Nasreddin*, in 1906 was a natural outcome and result of his teaching and educational experiences.

A caring attitude to common people was in his natural character. In his view, "The greatest achievement in their mission was to win hearts." He considered this the first sign of humanity and culture, and said: "Those who do not come to help their compatriots in need cannot be considered citizens. Those who cannot help the ones in need and those suffering, will not be able to ease their conscience. Those who do not take serious steps for the needs of the poor, are not taking steps towards achieving a culture, or reaching the heights of knowledge."



III. 8. *Molla Nasreddin* 1907, no. 7, picture on the left: [a passerby speaking local tongue:] "For God's sake, Constable, please tell me where this street is"—"Go to hell or speak a human language"; picture on the right: "Candidates from the branch of the Union of the Russian People in Crimea: Sheikh al-Islam Chalabi and Pope Bushanovsky"

Omar Faig Neyman-zadeh and Jalil Memmed Kuli-zadeh took on the task of defining the character and composition of caricatures. From the memoirs of Omar Faig: "Many of the caricatures and drawings in *Molla Nasreddin* related to our public life are in fact not caricatures, not a fiction or likening. I would dare to say these are the true photos of people and realities."

Many of the caricatures were sourced from satirical articles. When Omar Faig criticized religious prejudices, and their imposition on the people, he put forward the idea that giving education only in a faith school deprived a person of the possibility of discovering the world through universal sciences. He found graduates of faith schools absolutely useless to society. So for example in the 34th issue of *Molla Nasreddin* of 1910 the caricature illustrated a faith school with two doors. Innocent children were coming in through one door, and monkeys, donkeys and oxen were coming out through the other.

A Chief Censor of the Muslim press Mirza Sharif Mirzaev in 1919 wrote: "I got to know Omar Faig much closer in the years 1906–1910. I read all of his official and non-official articles when he was on duty as a censor of Eastern languages... He quite deliberately exposed himself to risk. He wrote: 'to reach the goal or die.' In his publishing house in the Azerbaijani language, he published various books, leaflets, and proclamations of a revolutionary character, thereby on

many occasions creating the risk of arrest or exile."⁵

Mirza Sharif Mirzaev, being in charge of the censorship of *Molla Nasreddin* publications, sometimes turned a blind eye to some of them. Making an assessment of the merits of Omar Faig he wrote: "Initially he founded a publishing house, *Geyriyat*, in Tiflis, provided with all the required equipment, and created a weekly satirical magazine *Molla Nasreddin*. He dedicated all his talent, energy and strength to his people and worked tremendously hard as director of the publishing house and as a journalist, too. In order to understand the complexity of the conditions Omar Faig worked in, and the extent of his activities, it would be sufficient to look through the *Molla Nasreddin* issues of 1905–1906. Only this way you can feel how dangerously he was exposing himself with these revolutionary ideas."⁶

In 1906 Omar Faig, in his article "Invitation and request" on the programme, goals and objectives of the publishing house *Geyriyat* refers to the readers with the following statement: "Let anyone who wants to join the holy purpose to serve your nation, write articles about the hardship of the poor, about the tyranny of the authorities and other essential matters, and send to the publisher *Molla Nasreddin* or *Geyriyat*."⁷

Omar Faig addressed his readers further: "Muslim Brothers, you are living witnesses that for more than a year we have been fighting for the independence and prosperity of our motherland and our people. We have repeatedly asked for your help. However, we have not seen any decisive steps. Is this to be a Muslim unity? If you live according to God's Word, join us. After freeing ourselves from the hands of the enemy, let us fight for our wellbeing. To save our children from suffering, to end the humiliation that we suffer from officials and gendarmes, we need to unite. Think over these words. At this time, to end the current system and take control of the authorities we, all Muslims, should seek constitutional rule and parliamentary elections. If you join with us to make this happen, the results will not be long in coming. This can be achieved only if we can end the current regime through parliamentary elections. We send you this message, so you can act with us. We write to you in Turkish so everyone can understand. Anyone who reads this appeal and does not share it with another Muslim brother, will be a traitor. Struggle as we do. Allah helps the Muslim brothers and supports the patriots of their country."

When in 1907 *Molla Nasreddin* was temporarily closed by the authorities, Omar Faig wrote in *Irshad* newspaper: "The poor things, they believe that by closing the magazine *Molla Nasreddin*, they can conceal their shame. They are not aware that many of us are already *Molla Nasreddins*. Today they close *Molla Nasreddin*, and tomorrow there will be 'Molla Hayreddin'."

Meanwhile the newspaper *Shergie Rus* was the first daily newspaper in the Azerbaijani language and as per Omar Faig's quote, "it was published, printed in the most appropriate and important publishing place for Turkic readers—Tiflis." He considered this kind of newspaper "a new light" for the awakening of national consciousness and socio-political development.

⁵ Gurbanov 1992.

⁶ Gurbanov 1992.

⁷ *Irshad* newspaper, 6.09.1906.

However, Omar Faig in comments about his cooperation with this newspaper, wrote: “In addition to official censorship of our articles, they were also censored by the editor, who would not allow us to write a single word about the openly discriminative attitude of authorities against the Azerbaijanis—and by not giving them the opportunity to receive an education, they want to keep them blind and ignorant.”⁸

He wrote: “I look around, everyone is busy with building up their own welfare. Everyone in their own way—believers by prayers, Mollas by collecting donations, intelligentsia by serving their own interests, a rich man by hoarding, each of them is trying to save only their own soul. Thus public opinion ‘which every nation should have’ does not even exist in our minds, there is no wish to be bonded to our people, their fate, we still do not know how to feel the pain of our people as our own pain.”⁹

According to M. S. Mirzaev, the public life of Omar Faig Neyman-zadeh had not received a fair assessment by his contemporaries, but future generations would be proud to remember his name. Mirzaev wrote: “Is it possible that our future generations would not remember the name of a man who in the harshest days for the reactionaries after the first Russian revolution, with a great courage ignoring all the dangers, still promoted revolutionary ideas and called up his compatriots to the light of freedom?” This opinion remains true to this day.

After 1920, Omar Faig witnessed the establishment of completely different values, a new kind of progress and culture, and the birth of a new Soviet man. The social ideas of the early 20th century had been transformed into the unrecognizable regime of the absolute power of Soviet serfdom.

Omar Faig Neyman-zadeh buried his lifelong friend and comrade-in-arms Jalil Memmed Kuli-zadeh in 1932 in Baku. He went silent in his elder years in his native village of Agra in Georgia prior to his arrest and execution in the autumn of 1937, on charges of espionage in favour of Turkey. Seven years later, in 1944, came the total deportation of all his remaining compatriots, the Turks of Ahalzih. The tragedy of Omar Faig’s life and of his people provide the real proof of his ideological and political views: his vision of the path to the consolidation and development of all Turkic peoples did not come to pass.

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⁸ Gurbanov 1992.
⁹ *Iqbal*, 17.04.1915.



Islam and fine arts of the 1920s in Soviet Russia

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In the 1920s, relations between Islam and the fine arts in Soviet Russia were rather ambiguous, reflecting the changes of the political situation in the country. At the end of the 1910s and the beginning of the 1920s, the Bolshevik Lenin government counted on Muslim forces in the revolutionary struggle against the old regime and gave the rights for self-determination, independence, autonomy and religious freedom of faith to the national minorities of the former Russian empire. Several Muslim organizations were founded; they aimed at organizing, leading and carrying out the military, political, cultural and educational activities in republics with a Muslim population (the Central Muslim military board [1918–1920], the Central Muslim Commissariat [1918–1920], the Central Bureau of the Muslim organizations of the Russian Communist Party [1918–1919] and others). Pretty soon, this course was redirected for the suppression of the independence of the Muslim Republics and governments, and the struggle with Muslim religion and culture, a policy which had taken the form of the criticism of the clergy, the destruction of mosques and the substitution of the Arabic written language for the Latin alphabet at the end of the 1920s, then the Cyrillic alphabet at the end of the 1930s.¹ The twists and turns of these relations, and their reflection in the works of art will be considered in the example of the fine arts of Tatarstan of the 1920s.

In 1920, the Department of ISO² of the People’s Commissariat of Education, which was in charge of artistic life in the Tatar republic, involving “the development and carrying out of the questions of artistic education and enlightenment,” set the following tasks in front of the artistic public:

“The organization and promotion of the great efficient development of the artistic culture ISO and its developing industry in the TSSR in general, and mainly *Eastern Muslim Art* in connection with the set governmental tasks of the communist construction in the TSSR..

¹ The history of the question is considered in the book: Chervonnaya 2008: 112–117.
² The Fine Arts.



III. 1. V. Sokolov, *To the museum of the East!*, poster. 1920; colour lithography on paper, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan



III. 2. G. Arslanov, an illustration for *Tchayan* (Scorpio) magazine, 1925, no. 7



Research, studies and information on the questions of Eastern and general art... The organization of special expeditions to study Muslim art at the local level...

The raising of household goods and items of social consumption to the level of art according to *the national Muslim artistic culture and new forms of the communist life* (my underlining—O. U.).³

Researchers, museum staff and Russian artists of different styles were the first who responded to the set task.

In 1920, the exhibition *The culture of the people of the East* was organized in Kazan; it presented a wide range of the works of art of the peoples of the Volga region, the Far East, Siberia, Persia and Central Asia. The exposition of the exhibition as well as the material collected from the population at the call of the Central Muslim scientific board became the basis of the Oriental Museum in Kazan (1 September, 1920–1 February, 1921).⁴

In 1922, a scientific expedition to the Arskiy region of the Tatar republic—“the place that retained the Tatar lifestyle in the best manner”⁵—was organized. It is noteworthy that the notion of Muslim culture has already been substituted for the ethnic term “Tatar”. In the process of the expedition a lot of works of art were obtained, including ethnographical and architectural materials, and they were exhibited at the All-Union exhibition in Moscow in a specially built pavilion,

³ National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, F. P–1431, op. 1, u.k. 25: Materials of work of the Kazan Art studios, January 1920–September 1921, l.8.

⁴ Valeeva-Suleymanova 1995: 20.

⁵ Dulsky 1923: 3.



“The folk house of the Tatar Republic,” in which the characteristic features of the wooden architecture of Kazan Tatar were reproduced. The publishing department presented the Tatar press in its development from 1800 till *the beginning of the 1920s*, as well as *shamails*⁶ from the middle of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, the latter taking up a highly important place in the exposition together with the works of the Decorative and Applied Arts.⁷ All this material was studied and absorbed by artists of different styles.

Realist artists (G. Medvedev, P. Radimov, V. Timofeev and others) who understood the Muslim first of all as the ethnic, portrayed subjects from the lives of Tatars, reproducing in their paintings and graphic works the exterior forms of Muslim culture (garments, architecture); this was reflected in numerous exhibitions of the AKhRR,⁸ which was founded in 1923.

In the creative work of artists of modernistic directions (N. Shikalov, V. Vilkovskaya, A. Platunova, K. Chebotarev and others) there was a more complex interpretation of Islamic art—ornament, Arabic calligraphy, monuments of religious architecture of the Kazan region, mainly of easel paintings, book and agitation graphics and posters.

Moreover, they returned directly to the traditional kind of Muslim art of the Tatar—*shamail*, in its graphic (drawn and printed on paper) as well as in its pictorial form (on glass); they tried to fill it with new meaning, to renew the artistic language. In the linocuts of Konstantin Chebotarev (1892–1974) and Alexandra Platunova (1896–1966), which were meant especially for the Tatar population, subjects with national characters are indeed supplemented with the slogan made by “the squared” Arabic type. The writing of the word “Lenin” in this “squared” type acquired the sign-oriented stable form and moved from one work into another, from a book into a magazine—many authors adopted it. It is rather evident that the Tatar artists helped K. Chebotarev and A. Platunova to master Arabic calligraphy. Most probably, it was Faik Tahirov, who studied at that time (1922–1925) in the Kazan Art Technical Institute (former Kazan Art School).

In some works of research, the interesting experiments of A. Platunova on the modernization of the traditional Tatar *shamail* on glass are written about.⁹ The photo of the middle of the 1920s from the Funds of the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art¹⁰—A. Platunova in the interior of her house—represents a very curious document reflecting the way of life and the creative work of the artist, and allows us to imagine the lost works; information about such works was based only on catalogue data, verbal description and the evidence of contemporaries.

On the back wall on the right of the artist there is one of the works that she called “Agitation for the Tatar house (painting on glass).”¹¹ On the background of the composition of the geometrical figures we can read the “squared” inscription by the Arabic alphabet in the Tatar language: “Let the revolutionary peace be there!”

⁶ *Shamail* is a form of Muslim art, it was widespread in the culture of the Kazan Tatar; it is a wall-type picture with calligraphically written suras from Qur’an, inscriptions of religious and other sententious contents, they were often decorated by ornamental and floral components, the images of the Muslim sacred things.

⁷ Dulsky 1923: 2–7.

⁸ Association of the artists of the revolutionary Russia.

⁹ Suleymanova-Valeeva 1981: 11–15, Chervonnaya 2004: 292, Chervonnaya 2008: 341, Shamsutov 2003: 14.

¹⁰ F.2968, op. 1, u.k. 510, l.40: Fund of Chebotarev and Platunova.

¹¹ LEF 1925: nos 55–57.



III. 3. Baki Urmanche, *Near the separator*, 1928; oil on canvas, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan

One can presuppose that this work received a very ambiguous, controversial reaction from contemporaries. For the great masses of the Tatar population in particular, a rural population, art operating by the usual familiar forms that reproduced the floral ornament, Muslim architecture, etc. that were widely represented in *shamails*, was much more familiar. The traditional forms of *shamails* remained in folk art for a very long time—until the 1930s—although the religious formulas in them were substituted for proverbs, poems, etc., and the Muslim symbols were accompanied by Soviet ones.¹²

The 1920s became a period of the active formation of Tatar art in its European understanding. At that time in Kazan there was a whole pleiad of young Tatar artists who received professional education in Kazan and Moscow (in ARKhUMAS,¹³ then—in

VKhUTEMAS¹⁴) based on the canons of European art—academic and modernist (B. Urmanche, F. Tahirov, D. Krasilnikov, S. Mukhamedjanov, M. Karimov, Kh. Almaev, M. Gazizova, G. Yusupov and others). These young Tatar artists who had been brought up in the spirit of Orthodox Islam, showed their attitude to Islam and Islamic art in different ways; as was reflected in the development of two directions in Tatar art of the 1920s—realistic and avant-garde.

Baki Urmanche (1897–1990), one of the first Tatar artists with universal talent, who became the classic of Tatar art of the 20th century, was the leader of the realistic direction. Urmanche received his religious education in the best Kazan madrassas “Mukhammadia” (in 1907–1913) and, as A. I. Novitsky says, “the devotion to the dogmata of Islam explains many characteristic features of the personality of Urmanche.”¹⁵ At the same time, Islam for Urmanche was still very personal in the 1920s, hidden from everyone’s eyes, it was private knowledge, and at that time his own artwork developed in a way that was the polar opposite of traditional Islamic art.

Baki Urmanche was the founder of the development of art forms—new for Tatar national art—such as painting and sculpture. He worked a lot in the sphere of graphics, especially in the genre of the portrait. Realism, enriched by the exploration of European and Russian modernism from the

¹² For example, the *shamail* with the proverb 1930s of the collection of the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan. Ref.: Abzalina 2003: no. 68.

¹³ The Architectural-Art Workshops, one of the names of the Kazan art school, with different reforms and renames after 1917, now it is the Kazan art college named after N. I. Feshin. Ref.: Ulemnova 2005: 9–10.

¹⁴ Higher Art-Technical Workshops Moscow.

¹⁵ Novitsky 2005: 4.



III. 4. K. Chebotarev, *Lenin has died, the Communist Party is alive*, 1924; linocut on paper, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan

III. 5. F. Tahirov, the sketch of a cover of the book by J. Usmanov “Recalling grandfather Lenin”, 1925; photomontage, Indian ink, gouache on paper, private collection



turn of the 19th century, was the basis of his art method. The work of B. Urmanche was always connected with the creation of the national theme that he developed in the portraits of his—representatives of Tatar intellectuals and common people in narratives that reflected the way of life of the Tatar society contemporary for him, in the creation of the bright images of folklore and national poetry.

At the same time, B. Urmanche pays much attention to the development of the Tatar language and writing. Supporting the idea of maintaining the Arabic type, he worked on the theoretical working-out of its reformation,¹⁶ as well as on the creation of new types that were used, in particular, in the Tatar magazine *Our Way*.¹⁷ Throughout his entire life, B. Urmanche used the Arabic type for his diaries and working notes.¹⁸ Having carried this knowledge through the severe decades of Stalin’s epoch, Urmanche restored Arabic calligraphy in Tatarstan in the 1960s,¹⁹ giving new life to the traditional genre of the Tatar art of *shamail*, and he has inspired followers²⁰ who continue to develop it even nowadays.

From the beginning of the 1920s, vehement antireligious propaganda permeated Tatar magazines and newspapers. The satirical illustrated magazine *Tchayan* (Scorpio) (published from 1923) played a big role in this anticlerical campaign. Gusman Arslanov (1897–1941) was the main—and in the first years of the existence of the magazine the only—artist; he also worked rather actively on the design of books. The pages of the magazines were full of his numerous caricatures of the Muslim clergy. He created grotesque images of the clergymen, and some negative phenomena were shown as typical ones; and accuracy in describing the details of clothes, interior, sacred objects, based on good knowledge of the subject, gave persuasiveness to the satirical subjects of G. Arslanov.

¹⁶ Urmanche 1926: 8.

¹⁷ Novitsky 1994: 47.

¹⁸ These exercise-books are kept in the family archive of the artist.

¹⁹ Monasyrov 2005: 111.

²⁰ Akhmetova-Urmanche 2005: 102.

The representatives of the avant-garde direction in the Tatar art of the 1920s used rather consciously the spiritual and aesthetic experience of Islam to create works based on the new ideology. The reference to national forms of art is rather specific for the avant-garde. And the combination of avant-garde aspirations and the deep knowledge and genetic understanding of the national art made these avant-garde experiments especially natural. At the same time, they found in the forms of Islamic art (ancient and modern) the avant-garde potential that allowed them to develop and improve it. Avant-garde experiments were held mainly in the graphic kinds of art (traditional for Muslim culture)—poster, book, graphics of newspapers and magazines. Arabic calligraphy—the personalization of the spirit of Islamic art, as well as *shamail* (especially widespread between the Kazan Tatar), became the basis of the avant-garde graphic art.

Faik Tahirov (1906–1978) was the brightest representative of the avant-garde direction in Tatar art; he greatly influenced the creative work of other Tatar artists. Belonging to the younger generation of constructivists, following A. Rodchenko, El Lissitzky and others, he materialized the ideas of the revolutionary reorganization of society and the objective world, using them in national forms of art. “The features of innovation are expressed in his creative work much more greater than in the work of other artists, who became related with the press rather consciously.”²¹ Thanks to his activities, there was the radical renovation of the decorative design of the Tatar book, and the Tatar poster.

From all different styles of Arabic calligraphy, F. Tahirov marked out the most ancient one—*kufi*, the square, terse forms of which were very harmonious with the main tasks of constructivism: simplicity, laconism, functionality and a democratic character. He also reduced the ingenious ligature of Arabic calligraphy to the other very simple geometrical forms—circle, rectangle, triangle... In 1925 F. Tahirov took part in the reform of the Arabic alphabet, in the development of new kinds of Arabic types, trying to simplify the complicated system of Arabic writing, to make its perception and the educational process easier, following by this the traditions of pre-revolutionary Tatar enlighteners: his father S. Tahiri,²² K. Maksudi and others.

In his work with posters, as well as developing the book cover (exactly these forms of art were the main sphere of the activities of the artist in the 1920s) F. Tahirov relied on the traditions of the *shamails*, first—in the synthesis of the inscription and the image, second—having found parallels with the avant-garde methods of European art in them. For example, the collage was used in *shamails* on glass where foil, colour paper, velvet, and other materials were used,²³ it was also indirectly used in the printed *shamails* where various materials and things were imitated.²⁴ It is natural that photomontage, the most important part of the art language of constructivism, became one of the favourite devices of Faik Tahirov. Photomontage by him supplemented the typing compositions in the covers of books and magazines, and in posters it was sometimes used as an independent device.

²¹ Krichevsky 2006: 11.

²² Tahirov and Sultanova 2008: 5, 8.

²³ Chervonnaya 2008: 344.

²⁴ Alekseev 2009: no. 2.4.3, 2.4.4.



III. 6. F. Tahirov, *Lenin's recruitment*, poster. 1924; photomontage, Indian ink, gouache on paper, the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan



III. 7. F. Tahirov, *Walk left!*, 1920-s; gouache on paper, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan

In book covers and posters, F. Tahirov actively used a black background. It is noteworthy that the compositions, made in 1924 and connected with the death of Lenin (1870–1924) and the perpetuation of his name, initiate it, and in the Soviet Union all this actually took sacral forms.

In his compositions (*Lenin's recruitment*, 1924; *For the memory of Lenin*, 1924) a red inscription on a black background from the other side, repeated the mourning colours traditional for Russian culture and customary in proletarian culture, and on the other hand, in the conscience of a Muslim it was supposed to spark associations with the *shamail*. The golden letters of the Arabic ligature symbolizing the sacred light of the words of the Qur'an were especially outlined against the black background which was characteristic for Tatar *shamails* on glass.²⁵ The gold of letters was replaced by Tahirov with the red colour which was symbolic for communist ideology and mythology. Thus, in the works by Faik Tahirov that were connected with the perpetuation of the memory of Lenin, the conceptual purpose and the art principles of the Tatar *shamails* were used. Holding the sacred function inside, they increased the power of influence on the spectator, appealing to the subconscious realm of a believer.

In the creative work of F. Tahirov the aspiration for pictorialism (which Tatar art lacked during several centuries because of the existing tradition) was materialized not in realistic forms,

²⁵ Alekseev 2009: no. 1.8, 1.11.

still alien for the perception of the Muslim people of the Volga region, but in rather conventional forms, brought together with ornament, in forms correlated and mixed up with the renewed geometrized silhouettes of the Arabic italics.

In the poster which the author called in Russian “Step to the left!” the symbolism and rhetoric of “The left march” by Vladimir Mayakovsky is expressed, and the inscription is translated from the Tatar language as “Step to the right!” This contradiction is connected with the fact that in the Tatar folk belief there is the conception that a true Moslem must start everything new with the right leg, that is why the order “Step to the left!” would be negatively received by a Muslim audience. At the same time, the left movement on the poster is determined by several methods. The figure of the Tatar peasant in the skull-cap consisted of several conventional geometrical figures, and is oriented *to the left*; that is supported by the direction of reading the slogan which is made by the Arabic type (from the right to the left). Thus, Faik Tahirov—creating the new images—took into account the traditional Tatar mentality.

In the 1920s, the Polygraphic School named after A. V. Lunacharsky (1922–1941) played an important role in the development of the Tatar book in Kazan. It imparted elements of the artistic education and a creative approach to the manufacturing process to printers and type-setters, including ones in the Tatar department, it taught how to operate the modern type-setting methods of design and; a lot of specialists—as the Kazan arts critic Piotr M. Dulsky noted—managed to fulfil the most difficult tasks of the artistic order on the place of production graduated from it.²⁶

At the school, P. Dulsky (1879–1956) held a course called “Graphics and Polygraphy”, not only in theory—but in practice he helped students to enter the artistic world of books. Under the direct management, and even by the drafts of P. Dulsky, the students prepared and edited for publication and issued editions of books which stood out on account of their high artistic level and culture. In the 1920s the editions of the Polygraphic School were exhibited at the greatest republican, All-Union and international exhibitions,²⁷ they were marked off by diplomas.²⁸

At the school, special attention was paid to studies of Eastern (in the wide sense of this word) art, different styles of the Arabic type, and from the end of the 1920s—the new Tatar type Janalif. In the Tatar classes, compositional works were made on the basis of Eastern motifs, the characteristic peculiarities of Tatar design and ornaments of the other Eastern peoples were also studied (they were used in the design of the covers, initial letters).

Big attention was paid to the studies of type-setting methods of decoration—job, rhythmical type-setting of a text, mosaic set, design of new decorative components from the simple type-setting typographical elements. At that time, developing the achievements of Western typography was also practised in this sphere of education; students studied them

²⁶ Dulsky 1935: 44.

²⁷ The international exhibition *Decorative art*, Paris 1925; *Exhibition of the graphic art for 1917–1927*, Leningrad 1927; *All-Union exhibition of Polygraphy*, Moscow 1927; *All-Tatar exhibition*, Kazan 1927; and others.

²⁸ Diploma “For the art typographical design of the editions” on *The exhibition of the graphic art for 1917–1927*, Leningrad 1927; positive review on *All-Union exhibition of Polygraphy*, Moscow 1927; diploma on *All-Tatar exhibition*, Kazan 1927.

thanks to two German magazines—manuals subscribed to by the school.²⁹ The ex-libris’ made by the pupils of the school belong to the list of especially interesting samples of the accident type-setting.

Until the middle of the 1920s the art of the Tatar book in Kazan was the most traditional, keeping to a great extent the ornamental-typing principles of design associated with the manuscript books. The innovations of F. Tahirov were performed most often in the Moscow publishing houses rather than in the Kazan ones (since 1925 F. Tahirov had been living in Moscow, he studied in VKhUTEMAS). The demand for the artistic personnel for the polygraph industry of Tataria caused the renaissance of the faculty of Graphic Art in ARKhUMAS (which by that time had become the Tatar art-theatre college); the first and rapid graduating class of it was in 1929.³⁰ His graduates (Sh. Mukhamedjanov, G. Yusupov, A. Khokhryakov) determined in many ways the golden age of the Tatar graphics of books, as well as of newspapers and magazines, which came in the first half of the 1930s. However, it is rather difficult to speak about succession in Islamic art at that time.

At the turn of the 1920s, in the period of change to the Latin alphabet—Janalif—Tatar art still managed to salvage the national peculiarity. But the change of the Tatar writing at the end of the 1930s to the Cyrillic alphabet turned out to be harmful for Tatar national graphics, depriving the most important part of it—the Arabic calligraphy, which had been the guardian of the ancient traditions of Muslim art and the potential of its development.

Thus, the relationship of Islam with the Soviet art of the 1920s (analyzed in the example of the fine art of Tatarstan) is characterized not only by the critics of Islam by the artists of the new formation, but also by the studies and the use of the forms of Islamic art and their synthesis with the new Soviet ideology. The artists of the realistic direction, as well as the representatives of the avant-garde direction, applied to the forms and methods of Islamic art; they used it in different forms and genres of art. At the same time there were the processes of modernization of the traditional forms of Islamic art, such as calligraphy, books, and *shamails* that brought the most interesting results in the sphere of the constructivist book and the constructivist poster.

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²⁹ Afanasiev 1929: 11.

³⁰ Dulsky 1929: 3–6.

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Islamic aesthetics and scenography of the Tatar theatre

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The artistic culture of the Tatar people after the adoption of Islam (in 922) developed in the extensive world of Muslim civilization, under the influence of which the formation and development of its spiritual-aesthetic values took place. Style and canons of Muslim art on the one hand and ethnic tradition on the other defined the national originality of Tatar culture.¹ Islam in Volga Bulgaria in the eyes of researchers was more orthodox and strict than in a number of other Muslim countries. An original culture combining Turkic and Oriental traditions developed against this background.²

In spite of the presence of serious contradictions between the theatre and Islam, there are attempts in Tatarstan to synthesize one with the other.

Starting from the 1980s, two traditions strongly implanted in the consciousness of the Tatar people—theatrical and religious—began their fruitful interaction. As it was, the process could not do without contradictions. (In 1995, a group of Muslims addressed a letter to the President of the Republic of Tatarstan with the urgent request to remove the performance of "The Blue Shawl" from the stage of the Academic Theatre, as it offended the feelings of the religious).

"Islam significantly influenced the repertoire and national dramaturgy of the last decade, and to a lesser degree the technique of the actors performing, and the scenography."³ These interrelations of theatrical art and Islamic traditions assume different shapes. The stage director R. Ayupov, for example, in the course of preparation for the performance of an ancient epos—the poem by Kol Gali *Kyissa-i-Yusuf*—involved the Chairman of the muftis of Russia Ravil Gainutdin as a consultant. The problem of this poem belonging to general Turkic culture and to Islamic art became very important in the scenographic decisions of this performance: *Yusuf*—is ground for a thousand years and consecrated by the material plot of the Qur'an.⁴

¹ Khakimov and Shageeva 2001: 42–45, Valeeva-Suleymanova 2002, Valeeva-Suleymanova 2008, Izmailov 2006, Chervonnaya 2008.

² Izmailov 2006.

³ Zainullina 2003.

⁴ Khisamov 1979.



III. 1. Scenes from the performance *Yusuf*, 2008. Scenographer B. Gilvanov; G. Kariev Tatar Theatre for Young Spectator, Kazan



III. 2. Sketch of decorations for the performance "Almandar from Aldermysh village" by T. Minnullin (renovated A. Zakirov's version by scenographer S. Skomorokhov), G. Kamal Tatar Drama Theatre, Kazan

Realizing incarnations on the stage, directors solved the problem of the spatial-temporal construction of the performance. As T. Burkhardt wrote: "Muslim recognition of the Divine Presence is based on the feeling of Infinity."⁵ That is why the conception of time in this performance is defined by a sequence of events providing its continuity. Space is determined symmetrically creating an impression of timelessness and a large scale of what is going on. There is neither top nor bottom; there is no contrast between sky and earth. A well becomes a symbol which unites them. This is the bottom, the world of passions, the lowest carnal world, which Yusuf has been thrown down into. The well is yawning over the stage and shining stars merge into a single homogeneous space.

Scenographer B. Gilvanov also created an image-well in the Tatar Theatre for Young Spectators, as a "symbol of the way in which a hero passes, a vortex of events, an upward motion to liberation and perfection. Light above in the aperture of the well is a symbol of hope and a guiding star in the night."⁶ A construction was built which unfolded as a book and rolled up into a cylinder, which had upper and lower levels and a tunnel inside it. This scenographic object creates new spaces each time it moves on the stage, filling the action of performance with metaphorical meaning. "The book" transforms either into the well, or into the house of Yakub, or into the palace of the Pharaoh, a dungeon, the palace of Zulaikha, etc. Personages move along the lower and upper galleries, and up and down also. A huge white circle (the moon) rises over "the well", the lower point of which coincides with the upper level of the well. Thus, the community includes earthly and heavenly, worldly and ghostly. In contrast with the quite abstract scenography, the costumes are determined realistically enough. In the aspect of Yakub, father of Yusuf, one can guess the image of the author himself—Kol Gali. According to the opinion of the painter, this was made for the evocation of the relation between the Qur'anic plot and our realities, the history of Volga Bulgaria and the fortune of the nation.

⁵ "The culmination point of Islamic prayer is the moment when the forehead of an outstretched believer on a carpet touches the floor, that mirror-like surface, which abolishes contrast between height and depth and makes space as homogeneous unity without any particular direction". Burkhardt 1999.

⁶ Explication to the performance of B. Gilvanov is kept by the author.

The representation of personages of Islamic mythology by means of pictorial-plastic and theatrical arts presents a particular difficulty. The appearance of one of the four main angels of Muslim mythology, Gazrail (the angel taking away a soul), and Azhal (Death) in the performance "Almandar from Aldermysh village" on the stage of the Tatar Academic Theatre at the turn of 1970s, was considered by Svetlana M. Chervonnaya as an "extremely brave creative gesture, which contained a definite challenge not only to late Soviet ideology (what angels on the Soviet stage!), but also towards Islamic tradition, which thus acquired new possibilities and forms of visual interpretation."⁷ Azhal, who was sent to the earth to take away the soul of the old man Almandar, was depicted by the painter-scenographer A. Zakirov in the likeness of a certain successful businessman, a dandy of the world dressed in black tailcoat, top hat, white shirtfront and kid gloves of blinding whiteness. With "puppet make-up": mouth, nose and eyes are emphasized by black gaps on the deadly white face. In addition, Gazrail is dressed in gray chlamys resembling *chapan* (Oriental robe), with a crown on his head. He is sitting in his study at the writing table, which is covered by telephones, looking through folders with papers.

The forbidding of any objectification of the Divine in the Muslim world for a long time impeded visual interpretation of personages from Muslim mythology and could not influence on the character of artistic images. It is no coincidence that not once in this connection were there debates touching on whether it was permissible to depict angels, their souls and their inhabitation on the stage.

In this respect, the history of the arrangement of the drama "Zulaikha" by G. Iskhaki (1917) is interesting.

An anonymous author of the newspaper *Koryltai* gives a principally critical, negative appraisal of the scene of the angel's appearance: "I don't know how they see angels in other regions of the Muslim world, but among the Tatars they are not depicted in any appearance."⁸

⁷ Chervonnaya 2008.

⁸ The article "Zulaikha" by G. Iskhaki was published in the newspaper *Koryltai* on 19 July 1917 under the heading "Art and Literature" (Iskhaki 2001).

If the theatre after all made up its mind to depict angels, then, in the eyes of the reviewer, it would have been better to give them the appearance of youths in small white turbans, dressed in *zhobbe*,⁹ without beard and moustaches, although Muslim angels are not sexualized. It seems to him that by their appearance the angels must be not like girls but like boys. At the same time, the reviewer tries to understand the director's logic: "Maybe when he admitted the possibility of depiction he was guided by other considerations: the angels may be visions of Zakhar, but this contradicts the arrival of Gazrail (the Angel of Death) for Zulaikha and the appeal of the angels to her before her death. It is out of the spirits of Islam."¹⁰

The appearance of Gazrail displeases particularly: he resembles not so much the heavy man taking away a soul, but rather he looks like Santa Claus. The fact that he inhabits the underground also does not correspond to the canons. The appearance of angels out of doors is also inappropriate.

Another, no less important problem, is the usage of ritual actions onstage (a recitation from the Qur'an, Muslim prayer), which quite often demolishes the conditionality of theatrical space and time.¹¹ Numerous examples from the practice of the modern Tatar theatre give evidence that the relationship between Muslim culture and theatrical tradition is contradictory. "Histrionics (dissembling) and religion (sincere faith) are weakly compatible. Theatre, first of all, is an artistically intelligent live-action representation of life by means of which a human being communicates to another. The direct appeal to God here is being misplaced."¹²

Nevertheless, this repulsion exists for the present on the highest levels of the artistic system: on a level of aesthetic, and religious principles.

The influence of Muslim aesthetics is significantly more interesting and fruitful, revealing deep levels of the artistic-theatrical system, for example, on the symbolization of things. Thus, in the scenography of the performance of T. Minnullin's play "Almandar from Aldermysh village" (painter S. Skomorokhov) the tracteries of embroidered towels imitating crowns of apple-trees and fruits incarnating the Islamic idea of the defiance of temporary life and the necessity of aspiration to the eternal life (parts of towels hang down as if from the heavens) are present. These meanings of the image of the beautiful Garden of Eden with fruits are strengthened by the appearance of a beautiful girl with an angelic voice in a neat dress, taking water. All this corresponds to the conceptions of an ideal world.

It is interesting that these images—mythologems ascending to Islamic culture, are very strongly veiled, hidden by the presence of images of the national culture (apples from towels with Tatar tracteries, a girl dressed in national costume, the fragment of a house with a porch decorated by ornamental carving typical for Tatar architecture).

Another source of influence of Muslim culture is the symbolic meaning of colours: blue is the colour of sky, Tangry, which had been honoured as far back as remote ancestors of Turkic



III. 3. Sketch of decorations for the performance "The Blue Shawl" by K. Tinchurin, 1985. Scenographer R. Gazeev; G. Kamal Tatar Drama Theatre, Kazan

people in the Central Asia and in Altai, and also the sacral colour of the Oriental sun. Green is the colour of live nature, a symbol of life and young blossoming. The white colour is the most active one. The frequency of its usage in theatrical culture is connected with the fact that in the ancient beliefs of the Turkic people it was considered as a sign of holiness and wonderfulness.¹³

This hidden latent influence of Muslim culture could also be retraced in the organization of stage space.

For example, as in the presence of actors onstage in the space of a Tatar house, with the clear division between female and male halves (for example, "The Bankrupt", "The Employer").

However, there are deeper original ways of the arrangement of stage space evoked both by national and Islamic culture.

For example, the painter R. Gazeev of the performance "The Blue Shawl" by K. Tinchurin assumed the aesthetics of *shamail* as the basis of a scenographic solution. For the first time in the history of the staging of this performance the painter thought up a super-curtain in the form of a huge shawl (in the form of a triangle coming down to the floor by its point), in which he wanted to express in a concentrated manner the main idea of Tinchurin's play and his own plastic solution. For the centre of the composition, he chose the image of a pair of white pigeons with a twig, which is quite often met in the art of Tatar *shamails* and Tatar embroidery (which "as a rule occupy their upper part").¹⁴

Birds expressing the soul of a human being in Turkic poetics are a symbol of love here. The image of the landscape is also symbolic (wheat, field, trees) and it is given in the reverse perspective. The painter here uses the method of fork masters, different scales of images, flat writing which is coming from embroidery and *shamail*, and sometimes applications. So, the curtain is

⁹ *Zhobbe* is loose, wide, light outerwear of Muslim men sewed from silk or silky cloth. Dictionary 1981.

¹⁰ Iskhaki 2001.

¹¹ The performance *Satashu* by T. Minnullin's play in Tinchurin theatre, the performance "Why girls are crying" by F. Bulyakov's play, adaptation for stage of story by G. Iskhaki *Sennetche babai* in the Menzelinsk theatre.

¹² Reshetnikova 2008.

¹³ Bakirov 1999.

¹⁴ Shamsutov 2001.

III. 4. Sketch of decorations for the performance "The Kazan Towel" by K. Tinchurin. Scenographer S. Skomorokhov; G. Kamal Tatar Drama Theatre, Kazan



solved as cheap popular print, as embroidered linen. In the particularly charming brightness, the effulgence is reached due to a multilayered technique similar to the particular effect of a "glow", which gives foil in *shamails* laid under glass. Under the influence of light, the curtain plays by numerous silvery, light golden gleams. The costumes of personages are solved in the same silvery-gold flickering gamut (painter S. Skomorokhov).

The blue colour of the shawl stands out as an ethnic-psychological code occupying a particular place in the aesthetic perception of the world of Turkic people. Of all symbolic meanings distinguished by research, the Gazeev's blue colour means the colour of the ideal calling the others after him, as a symbol attracting blue distances—skies of free spirit.

All architectural motifs having a similarity of appearance with traditional multicoloured architecture are also given flatly, with plentiful twiddle, outlined, with an accent of bright local colours. From one picture to another, there is an eternal transformation from three-dimensional space to a two-dimensional one and vice versa. As affirms Tatyana Kh. Starodub, the two-dimensional perception of the plastic form corresponds to spatial thinking in the Islamic world.¹⁵

In the play "The Red-haired Scoffer and his Dark-haired Beauty" by N. Isanbet, the painter T. Yenikeev invented and designed an isolated world according to the laws of Sufism's aesthetics. An arc in scenographical space, as if like compasses, with the centre drawn somewhere in the auditorium, defines epic sounding—the painter created not closed, but open space to the cosmos connected with the motif of rotation. He made it in order to express the spiritual propinquity of the narrator with the highest forces. Thus, the painter comprehended the subject of creation as a hierurgy. Therefore it is the environment that the painter creates but not a place of action, and the constituent elements of this environment are things and objects of different sizes put

¹⁵ Starodub 2007.

together by the painter not on the basis of laws of everyday logic but on an artistic one (wheel and circle, fire and suspended copper, two vertical poles). However, how many semantic associations these details carry!

The conversion of painters to Oriental miniature, its spatial-composition methods, and the interpretation of images and subjects helps them to override a veto on the representation of spaces of other worlds and essences. The play "Takhir and Zukhra" by F. Burnash was solved on the basis of the Oriental miniature. The keel-formed arc uniting all stages (palace chambers, gardens, city squares, and dismal torture chambers of the medieval prison-well) gives to A. Tumashev's decorations a style similar to that of the Oriental miniature, with its "portal" framing of composition. According to the opinion of Svetlana M. Chervonnaya, "the image of the Oriental palace-sarai in the architectural magnificence of which reflects Islamic symbolism gives an idea about the ideal universe" (pictures of a summer throne room with its marmoreal whiteness of columns, through which the turquoise of the dome of the sky is sparkling, and the winter throne room illuminated by the golden light of torches) acquires no less significance than the motif of a garden.¹⁶

The very important principle of the filling of empty space apparently also ascends to Muslim tradition. If a scenographer chooses such a way, then, just as in Muslim culture, he strives for filling it either by ornament or something like that (like *girih*s in architecture) or introduces into this space a great number of personages, as a rule dressed in bright costumes.

Conclusions

So, as a rule, an attempt to transfer the principle of Muslim aesthetics directly into theatrical space results in their strong mutual repulsion. Naturally, an artistic integrity, and an artistic impression are failing.

A more fruitful tradition is connected with the deep influence of principles of the Muslim world outlook on the artistic consciousness of the Tatar people. Then these principles are being realized as artistic-aesthetic creation rather than religious ones.

Apparently, the principles of Muslim culture in the artistic consciousness of the Tatar people lost a direct connection with religious consciousness. Their aesthetic function proper, which freely interacts with the artistic principles of Tatar art, its way of life, and the arrangement of space, is activated. Only in this case the Muslim tradition enriches the artistic striving for theatrical art forming a certain organic alloy with it, in which it is difficult to separate Muslim proper, as far as it was always "covered" by bright national colouring and no less bright theatricality.

Thus, Muslim traditions proved to be fruitful for national theatrical culture.

They lost the bright connection (marking) with religious consciousness, exposed their constructively artistic potential and due to this entered into active interaction with artistic principles of theatrical culture.

¹⁶ Chervonnaya 2008.

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The figurative system of Islam in Tatar sculpture

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The Islamic world-view that has deep roots in the land of Tatarstan presents the integrity and consistency of traditions on Bulgar-Tatar ethnic foundations. It was there, where before the 16th century, Muslim art had taken shape as a full-fledged aesthetic system.

The thread of tradition was torn for several centuries. At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries, the art of Russia and Tatarstan experienced a kind of Renaissance, reflected in the turning to the historical past of its people, the world outlook and philosophical fundamentals of existence and consciousness, in the coming back to origins—Muslim and pre-Muslim—pagan. The Tatar people found itself a part of the huge Turkic-Muslim world.

The present situation in culture and art resembles what we had a hundred years ago, at the turn of the century, when Tatar culture was experiencing a true progression in all spheres and genres. At that time, the establishment and further development of visual art was based on a synthesis of West-European, Russian and Oriental traditions—Tatar ones. The first professional Tatar artists gave birth to a new art of the 20th century in the land of Tatarstan. It refracted through the fundamentals of the academic school, which provided a solid professional background. The Muslim ideas of courage, dignity and the valour of a hero-warrior, of a woman's modesty, of harmony and the orderliness of the world, and the ideals that art organically met the moral standards of decency, obedience, and respect for the elder fixed in the Muslim ethics, were revealed in the work of artists of that time, who worked in the style of realism, rather unconsciously, at the level of genetic memory, the so-called hereditary code.¹

While the late 19th century saw the continuous development of painting and graphic art and the establishment of a national school, the establishment of sculpture took place under more difficult conditions, connected with numerous interruptions in the training and educational process in Kazan. Its early stage covered the period 1890–1910 and was represented by the first teachers of sculpture of the Kazan Art School: G. A. Kozlov, V. S. Bogatyrev, and V. V. Kudryashov,

¹ Chervonnaya 1999: 124.



III. 1. Baki Urmanche, *Sagysh* (Thinking), 1966, wood



III. 2. Baki Urmanche, *Syuyumbike*, 1980, wood



whose art was based on the classical Russian school of sculpture. At the same time, their art also included features of the Impressionistic vision of nature.

The next stage in the development of sculpture, which lasted until the early 1950s, developed within the framework of easel sculpture and monumental-decorative plastic art that tended towards a documentary, naturalistically detailed presentation of characters and plots typical for that time (the art of S. S. Akhun).

The first philosophically generalizing works in the field of sculpture appeared in Tatar visual art with the return of Baki Urmanche to his homeland in 1958, which became the turning point in the development of sculpture in Tatarstan, first of all, because his plastic art was the art of a pioneer. The new problems and stylistics of sculptural works created by Urmanche manifested themselves in the deep penetration into the historical fate and spirituality of the Tatar people. The gallery of the most significant titanic images includes the portraits of Gabdoulallah Tukay and Shigaboutdin Marjani created in marble; *Sagysh* (Thinking) and *Syuyumbike*, created in wood. The three-dimensionality and portrait-like nature of the image, and the endowing of it with a high spirit of sacredness intrinsic to Islamic art, form a universal model of a harmonious combination of these systems in the modern art of sculpture.

The plastic in the notion of form in classical Islamic art is connected not with the three-dimensional space and modelling of volumes in it, but with the two-dimensional artistic trans-

formation of the plane.² The main aesthetic and conceptual load in the three-dimensionality of spatial structures is borne by silhouette. In modern plastic art, the streaming lines, meditativeness, and certain continuity in time simultaneously prove to be an ornamental sign, a motif. Silhouette becomes the main expressive accent of the specificity of three-dimensionality. The architectonics of sculpture embody a special artistic form that has an intellectual content and spiritual depth, with decorativeness and continuity of the concealed and the explicit.

When speaking about Baki Urmanche, we can rightfully talk about the traditions of national plastic art, because its thread stretches from the folk perception of beauty, environment, and man.

Through these deeply national images created by the artist, the threads stretched to Islamic branches, their essence being in the clear division of God and the world. It is through the great diversity of life that God manifests its concealed essence.³ Islam does not consider man as a specific figure, but as a state, the music of rhythms; the idea of work is expressed not through the plotline, but through the internal structure of the image.⁴ In Islam, man “clearly knows about his origin and mission, his task being only to perfect the inner world for the sake of salvation. In Islam, man is theomorphic and perfect primordially, and for this reason does not need the justification of his existence.”⁵ With Urmanche, given all his aptitude for creating excellent, recognizable external portrait images (the artist was an unrivalled realist in his art), his sculptural portraits are polysemantic, extremely generalized and represent in Tatar visual art and sculpture signs and milestones in the spiritual history of the Tatar people. His portraits are characterized by modesty of external expressive means, combined with the depth of reflection of the inner world.⁶ Owing to the master’s addressing of the images of S. Marjani (1968), enlightener, philosopher, historian, founder of the academic study of the history of the Tatar people; G. Tukay (1959), Kol Gali (1965), Derdmend (1968), K. Nasyri (1970), the names of these great personalities came back from oblivion. It is through these images, in the flow of the works of social realism of a different level and quality that, to a large degree, graded the national and ethnic self-consciousness so that the artist managed to outline landmarks of the truly national art.

The ideas and moral values contained in the sculptural art of the artist were picked up by the young generation of professionals that emerged in Kazan in the 1960s—Rada Nigmatoullina and Naufal Adylov in easel sculpture, G. Zyablintsev in decorative sculpture.

The entire art of sculpture in Tatarstan develops within the framework of the realistic tradition, just like the other kinds of easel and monumental arts. This school, which followed the mainstream of professional Soviet culture, never separated from crucial elements of Muslim mentality. In the well-known and well-mastered forms of sculptural composition, they strove to reveal the world of their compatriots, introduce real and legendary heroes of their history and show the everyday life of people, whose manners, patterns of family life and moral values bear

² Starodub 2007: 509.

³ Stepanyants 1997: 28.

⁴ Yakovlev 1997: 137.

⁵ Shukurov 1999: 190.

⁶ Valeeva 1999: 147.





III. 3. Rada Nigmatoullina, *Khazrat*, 1984, ceramics

III. 4. Rada Nigmatoullina, *Lullaby*, 1969, wood



an indelible imprint of the Islamic world-view. The leading explorer of modern Islamic art of Russia, Svetlana M. Chervonnaya, wrote: “this trend ... of the art is, probably, strictly speaking, not very much ‘Islamic’, but it is still inseparable from Muslim spirituality and culture.”⁷ This conceptual level of the works is characterized by two major trends, pointed out by the same author: on the one hand, there emerges a critical trend that mocks religious superstitions and emphasizes the negative features; on the other hand, the aspiration of artists strengthens for showing their national history in the spirit of a “moral positive” that comes close to idealization.⁸ A certain Muslim world-view and moral elements in the work of the artists was incorporated smoothly into a creative interpretation of the word pictures of Islamic spiritual values. These pictures are not always clearly perceived as a religious phenomenon, but are inseparable in the consciousness of people from universal values. The art directed at the national, belonging to Muslim culture, within the quite strict ideological framework of atheism, manifested itself in turning to themes of family, maternity, festivals and rituals, and attracted the masters of sculpture by its eternal actuality, inexhaustibility of themes and images, the opportunity to show the most sacred inner feelings, and, maybe, not so much perceived limits of freedom of self-expression. For example, in the case of Rada Nigmatoullina, these aspirations transformed into a rich series of works dedicated to maternity, children, and family. The versions of her *Lullaby* created in different materials (gypsum, wood, bronze, 1950s–1960s) pull us into a harmonious world of subtle, intimate contact between a mother and her child. The black-and-white modelling of the face gives softness to the image, in which we can clearly see the image of a Tatar woman who sings some

remote melody of her ancestors to her little child.⁹ The inclusion of Tatar national ornament that decorates the woman’s kerchief is typical of the sculptor’s art. For many years this detail in the master’s works was the only possible expression of her national identity. Simultaneously, the sculptor develops in his art the line of the genre of small plastic art turning to the theme of Tatar theatre, with theatrical performances of the classical works of Tatar literature and folklore. Sharp satire permeates many works created by Rada Nigmatoullina in chamotte and putty: “Efendi getting married”, “Khazrat with wives”, “After steam-bath” and many others. The Impressionistic, lively and texture-rich plastics of the compositions, with enhanced figurativeness, temperament and dynamics reflect in this case the synthesis of two trends: critical satire and nostalgia for a bygone time, its way of life, romanticism of the epoch, feasting and joy, bygone traditions and values. Her other sculptural composition, based on a play by Tatar playwright T. Minnoullin titled “Almandar from Aldermysh village”, which contains a philosophical parable about life and death, found its development as an allegory, as a meeting of the heroes of the action, creators of the stage play belonging to different times.

Working within the tight ideological framework that limited sculpture in Soviet art, artists could still find opportunities for compromise: the creation of images of leaders, revolutionaries and war and labour heroes was demanded at that time, and they also directed their artwork at generalization. Sculptor Naufal Adylov, when creating the symbolic works that embodied the fundamentals of the Muslim world-view, tried to show the atemporal nature of the fundamentals and the eternity of the notion of existence, a decent place of its people on earth. Such are the symbolic images of *Batyr* (1967), *Tukay* (1986), *Meadow grass* (1988), *Kayum Nasyri*, *The Mourner* (1991), *Syuyumbike* (1991), created in wood.

The turning of Tatar artists to the image of the last Tatar tsarina, Syuyumbike, occupies a special page in the figurative arts of Tatarstan. Her image is a symbol of national tragedy, a symbol of the irrevocably lost, like a fairytale myth, Kazan Khanate; it is also a symbol of the beauty of Tatar women. The image of the Kazan tsarina has been embodied in the best sculptural works of Baki Urmanche and Naufal Adylov, in their easel works. Made in wood, which adds lively force with its goldenness and polychromy of texture, as well as spirituality, they are

⁷ Chervonnaya 2008: 420.

⁸ Chervonnaya 2008: 417–423.

⁹ Khisamova 2005: 23–26.



III. 5. Rada Nigmatoullina, *Prayer*, 1995, plaster

different in mood and state. *Syuyumbike* by Urmanche (1978) is a national symbol and a collective image of wisdom, spirituality, and beauty. In the streaming carving, in the vibrating play of light and shadow in this shaky relief, there appears a face of a woman with half-closed eyes in a frame of a high ornamented *kalfak*. This face embodies the entirety of pain and tragedy, farewell and forgiveness.

With N. Adylov, *Syuyumbike* (1991) is humanly closer and earthly, her glance is open and trustful, as if the whole tragedy of her fate and the fate of her people is still ahead and not yet learnt by her. But, in this image too, the author gives an elevated sense to his idea.

The other treatment of the image is given in a sketch of a monumental composition by Rada Nigmatoullina. Her *Syuyumbike* (1992), depicted together with her son, Utyamysh, sailing in a boat to a foreign land, being forced to leave her motherland forever, personifies eternity, her solidarity with the people, which remains forever in her soul; she bears in herself the idea of revival. The author planned to install the monument under the walls of the Kazan Kremlin in the River Kazanka as a boat that glides over the water with the figures of the tsarina and her son in it. Unfortunately, the idea was not implemented.

The period of the last twenty years, beginning in the early 1990s, represents a completely special page in the development of art. Artists of different genres look for their own way in the suddenly opened reaches of historical memory. Some of them reproduce the traditional forms of the classical stylistics of Islamic art (ornamental-calligraphic decorative system), the sources for which lie in the specific historical-archaeological or ethnographic materials. To others, the most productive experience lies in the modernized contemporary genres of painting, sculpture, and graphic art, to which Islamic features come as a theme, a fable, as a complex of ornamental, plastic motifs, as a moral and philosophical content that meet Muslim aesthetics.¹⁰ These values refract through specific plots, life's collisions, the entourage of implements, folklore, historical outline, corresponding to mentality and national spirit. In parallel to the art developing in this direction, the early 1990s saw stormy discussions in Russian art studies about Islam and the art of Islam,¹¹ its place and role in modern art.

In the recent past, Kadim Zamitov, a Tatar sculptor from Moscow, used to create portraits of his contemporaries and images of women in different materials (clay, wood, bronze). It was in the early 1990s when the Islamic theme, coloured by Turkic-Tatar folklore and mythology, and the charm of the national epos, began to strongly declare themselves in his art. The images of old Tatar men, *aksakals*, became to him a remote symbol of the lost way of life. Aloof, without specifying the details at the level of a motif, the artist resurrects love for old times and the wisdom of ancestors.¹² The breadth and scale of thought, attention to form and state in the environment are typical for symbolic and generalized images of Tukay (1985–1992), “The Praying Old Man” (1990), “Melody” (1985), and “Prayer” (1990). In purely Muslim images we can feel integrity dispersed in space, a certain “pursuit for purity”.¹³ Chamotte, in which the master creates his works, possesses diversity of texture and polychromy, which emphasize the expressive features of the plastic art.

The modern art, in many aspects, moves towards the comprehension of the spiritual experience of history. The history created by masters of brush and sculpture is rather its intellectual enrichment, an aspiration to create their own treatment of the past and present. This is an interpretation of the logic of events. The sculptural works of Tatar artists, which have absorbed the spirit and poetics of Islam and rest on a true basis, create an utterly logical and recognizable world.

¹⁰ Chervonnaya 1999: 136–137.

¹¹ Shukurov 1991: 2–13.

¹² Shageeva 1993.

¹³ Shukurov 1991: 5.

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What is self? Samples of contemporary Iranian photographic self-portraits

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To most art historians, self-portraiture started in Italy in the 15th century and it is directly connected to the Renaissance, Humanism, individualism and the new social and cultural status of the artist. Since then, many artists have used their faces and bodies to study, explore, examine, analyze, question, and project their "selves". Using different points of views from narcissism to deconstructing the self, they made the self-portrait a fascinating genre. Recently, because of the process of globalization, mobility, cultural hybridity, and the emphasis on gender and race issues; body, self and identity have become a major issue to artists and therefore the self-portrait has become a more crucial subject. Also, probably because of the same reasons, contemporary art has become more autobiographical. Furthermore, new technologies like digital, mobile and web cameras have made producing images of the self much easier and its manipulation and distribution more facile. Due to this, everywhere in the world self-portraits have become more prevalent, lively and an exciting genre.

In Iran, until the early 20th century, we have been able to encounter very few self-portraits. Although individualism and consequently self-exploration, self-promotion and self-imaging are not valued much in Iranian culture, during the 20th century, along with modernization, a number of Iranian artists in the same line as western modernist artists created self-portraits. But what we can see for the last 15 years is a burst of self-portraiture in different media, styles and techniques. This paper limits itself to discussing samples of photo or photo-based self-portraits of relatively young (aged 27 to 43 years old) Iranian artists, practised within Iran during this decade. These samples clearly show that the main concern of these artists is neither narcissism, nor showing their status or appearances. The artists use self-portraits to express cultural, social and even political issues and more particularly to explore and bring about challenges to identity. Their personal concerns are not entirely personal. They rather use themselves to show the strong influence that society, politics and culture have had on them.

Culturally, the 1979 Revolution in Iran was a “Return-to-the-self” movement, resisting westernization and emphasizing the country’s past, tradition, religion and identity. Islamic identity as a collective identity became the most important cultural issue for the revolution and the governments thereafter. At the beginning, the national identity was not appreciated and even nationalism was criticized. It was the Iran-Iraq war, and the urgent need for emphasizing nationalism in order to gain people’s support for the war, that caused the Iranian-Islamic identity to replace Islamic identity. The major policies of the governments have been to make this identity visible and keep it immune from outside influences, the so-called “cultural invasion”. Thus, “enemy” became a catchword repeated all the time by officials and is considered the major cause for all kinds of problems in the country. In the official political discourse, every person, group or institution is either *khodi* (ours) or *gheire khodi* (not-from-ours). In this context, *gheire khodi* is not just other, not-us but against-us. Official institutions, and particularly national Radio and TV have constantly talked about Iranian-Islamic identity, and they see a danger of losing it all the time. In order to protect it, not only should people avoid certain activities and behave properly, but they should also pay attention to their appearances: Islamic dress code, different types of *hijab* (veil) for women, no tie and bow for men, no make-up for women, certain types of hair styles, shaven or unshaven faces, are all sensitive issues and have their own connotations.

Any inappropriate behaviour or appearance through dress or make-up can brand someone as *gheire khodi*, thus creating a barrier to achieving his/ her goals. If one doesn’t want to encounter barriers constantly, he/ she should always comply with the standards (both with behaviour and appearances) to be considered one of the *khodis* (ours). For example, in order to study at the university, it is not enough to pass the exam, but one should be a *khodi* and if he/ she is not, then he/ she must pretend he/ she is, meaning that he/ she should wear a mask. This is also true for getting most government employment, managing positions, obtaining licenses and permissions for important professional jobs. In fact, in order to survive, most people have had to wear a mask or different masks in front of different authorities.

This multiple identity is not only related to politics. A group of young educated people have the same problem in front of their family, school and peers. It means that one mask is necessary in front of government, university and school officials, while another is in front of family and in front of common people. When he/ she is writing an Internet blog by using a different name, he/ she suddenly feels there is no need for a mask or he/ she can use any mask he/ she might like, rather than an imposed one. Wearing the mask is perhaps more tolerated by the older generation because they have got used to it gradually. But the new generation that experienced the reform era (1997–2005) with relative freedom of speech and access to global communication, feels more frustrated. It seems that they experience their multiple selves harshly and, without reading psychoanalytic Lacanian theories and Homi Bhaba’s writing, they are well aware of the illusion of self and understand the cultural hybridity wholeheartedly.

The samples of self-portraits which I am going to discuss here clearly show these concerns. Before looking at these samples, please bear in mind that because of the restrictions of showing nudity in Iran, even partial nudity, the body, which is so important in self-portraiture for



III. 1. Mohsen Yazdipour, 2003, *This is me*, 90 × 120 cm, gelatin silver print on paper

the demonstration of the identity of a person, cannot be revealed freely. Of course, some artists who do not care about showing their works publicly do not go along with this limitation. I have chosen to show only works by those artists living in Iran whose works can be shown publicly.

Mohsen Yazdipour (b. 1980) emphasizes how the environment affects identity. In a series of 9 photographs titled *This is me* (III. 1), we see him outside in different parts of Tehran. In comparison with the huge commercial and governmental propaganda billboards, urban furniture, buildings, mural of clerics, traffic signs, bridges, etc., he is so small and unnoticeable that in one case he even drew a red circle around his figure to be recognized. The clever title *This is me* points to the common phrase we use to show ourselves in pictures. At the same time, it makes clear that these are not simply cityscapes or examples of street photography. But more importantly, the title *This is me* and not “That’s me”, emphasizes that the whole of *this* picture is me: *me* is not only the tiny figure but all these huge elements and structures with all their signs and signifiers. They together constitute me. What is not so much significant is the artist’s appearance or pose. Also, no particular object or environment stands for himself. In fact, all these huge structures and signs made him so tiny and his identity is dependent on the time and places he is in.

Similarly, Azadeh Akhlaghi (b. 1978) brings together self and environment in her *Suspension in Tehran*. But here the city is upside down with all its sharp pointed elements towards her. With her camera in hand, she ignores everything and it seems she is searching for something



III. 2. Azadeh Akhlaghi, 2007, from the series *She/he prefers me like this*, 60 × 80 cm, gelatin silver print on paper



else to be photographed. Akhlaghi is concerned about self and shows it in different projects. *She/he prefers me like this* (III. 2) is a series of photographs in which she shows herself in different situations with her close friends, intellectuals, artists, family, etc. She is a translator, so we see her with her friends who are intellectual translators in a room full of books stacked on top of each other. One of them is wearing shredded jeans. She is casually sitting on the floor wearing a pair of glasses, simple dress and no make-up. In contrast, on another occasion we see her with her affluent family at home with a grand, candle-lit table and huge mirror, everyone sitting formally on the chairs. She is also dressed in an elaborate outfit, wearing some make-up and seems serious. Likewise, we see her in a studio with her artist friends, with her father in animal husbandry, with a religious relative in a shrine, with soldiers, common people, etc. In each case, she is dressed according to the content of the space and behaves appropriately with the proper pose and make-up. In all cases she looks at the camera directly, as if she is neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. She is both in front of the camera and behind it. She looks at both herself and us, as she is herself and part of others. If Yazdipour emphasized the environment as part of the self, Akhlaghi underlines the expectations of others. We see different people and their expectations, but we don't see any political person, we imagine it in our minds.

Samira Alikhanzadeh's (b. 1967) work is a very good example to see how much we can get our identity from others, our past or present. Using old black and white photographs that she found, she then colours them, and reprints them in large size and finally places some traditional Iranian mirror-works on the eyes of the figure. What is evident at first glance is the nostalgic

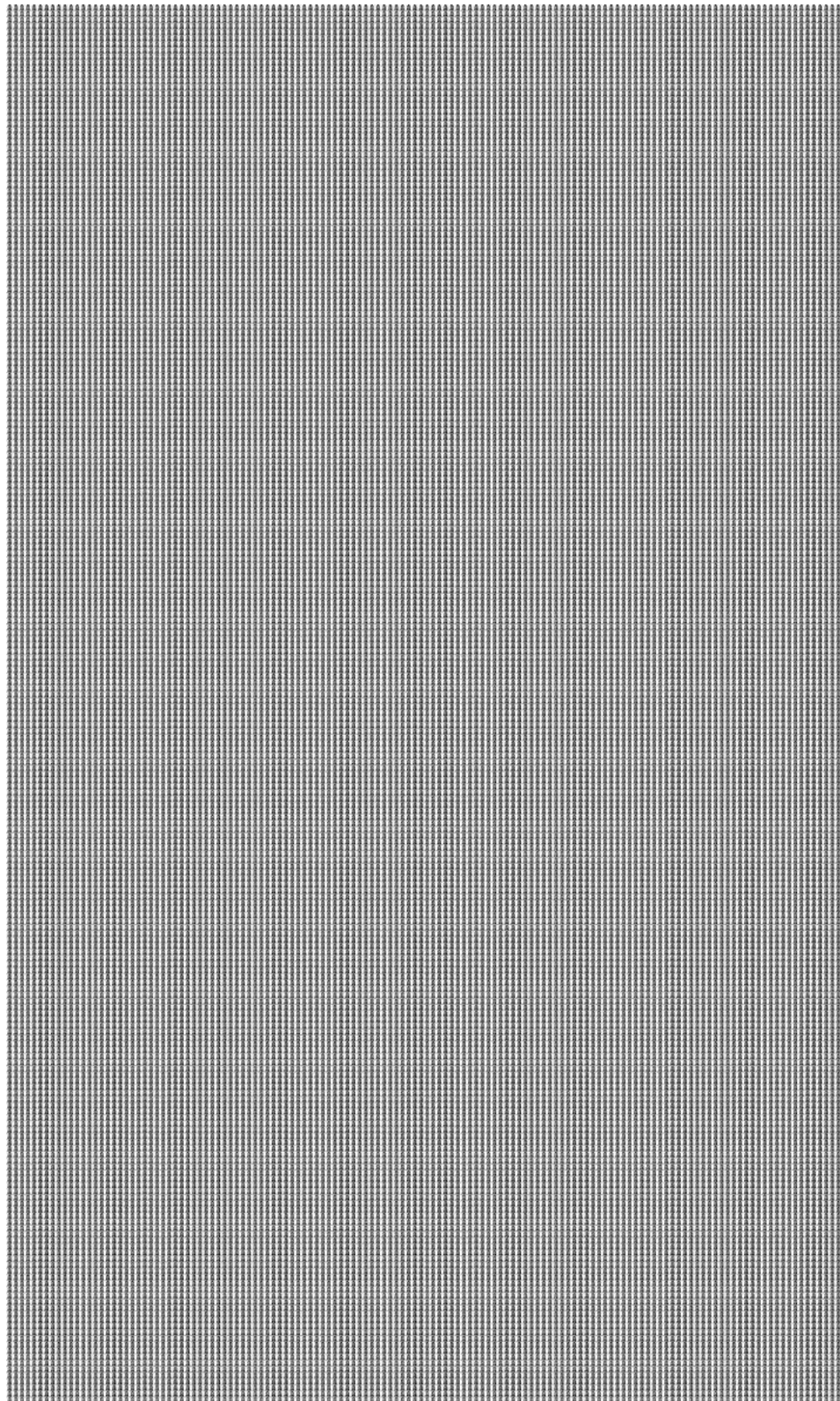
feeling for the past. The colouring and beautifying of an old photograph and presenting it as a self-portrait is a strong statement, i.e. how aestheticizing the past is taking place now and how we see ourselves as people from the past. But it is not only the artist who feels this way. When we, as audiences, see ourselves multiplied in the mirror, we see others in it, too. The artist has not only borrowed someone else's figure for herself, she has also borrowed other Iranian artists' techniques in this series. The concept of replacing the eyes with a mirror was famously done by the eminent Iranian photographer, Yahya Dehghanpour. Using traditional Iranian mirror-works in a modern context is what Monir Farmanfarmayan has been doing for more than 5 decades now. Colouring and beautifying old black and white photographs is reminiscent of Maleke Naini's signature works. Put all these together: found photographs, other artists approaches and techniques, then where is the artist and what remains of her "self"? All is borrowing.

We see Afshan Ketabchi (b. 1966) also borrows Andy Warhol's manner in silkscreen in a grid with four images. At the top, first we see her wearing a 19th-century Iranian veil with limited colour. Next, she is wearing today's official women's veil without showing any hair, the way she is supposed to be in a public space, particularly in sacred or conservative places. This image is a little more colourful. At the bottom, first we see her with "loose" *hijab*, with scarf and not *maghna'e* (a very strict kind of veil), with some hair out, the way most women are in public spaces these days. The colours become more pronounced. Finally, we see her without any *hijab* in the most colourful one. In all, however, she has the same pose, hand under chin looking at the camera. Fragments of past and present, public and private are all shown here. Yet the image has undoubtedly borrowed its colour scheme, technique and even pose from Andy Warhol, particularly his work with the images of Marilyn Monroe. So, the local image from past and present is blended with Warhol and Monroe; which constitutes Ketabchi's self. If borrowing in Alikhanzadeh's case was from Iranian imagery and artists, Ketabchi blends Iranian and Western artists and imagery. In both cases the hybridization is constructing the self, in the first case out of local sources and the latter both local and global.

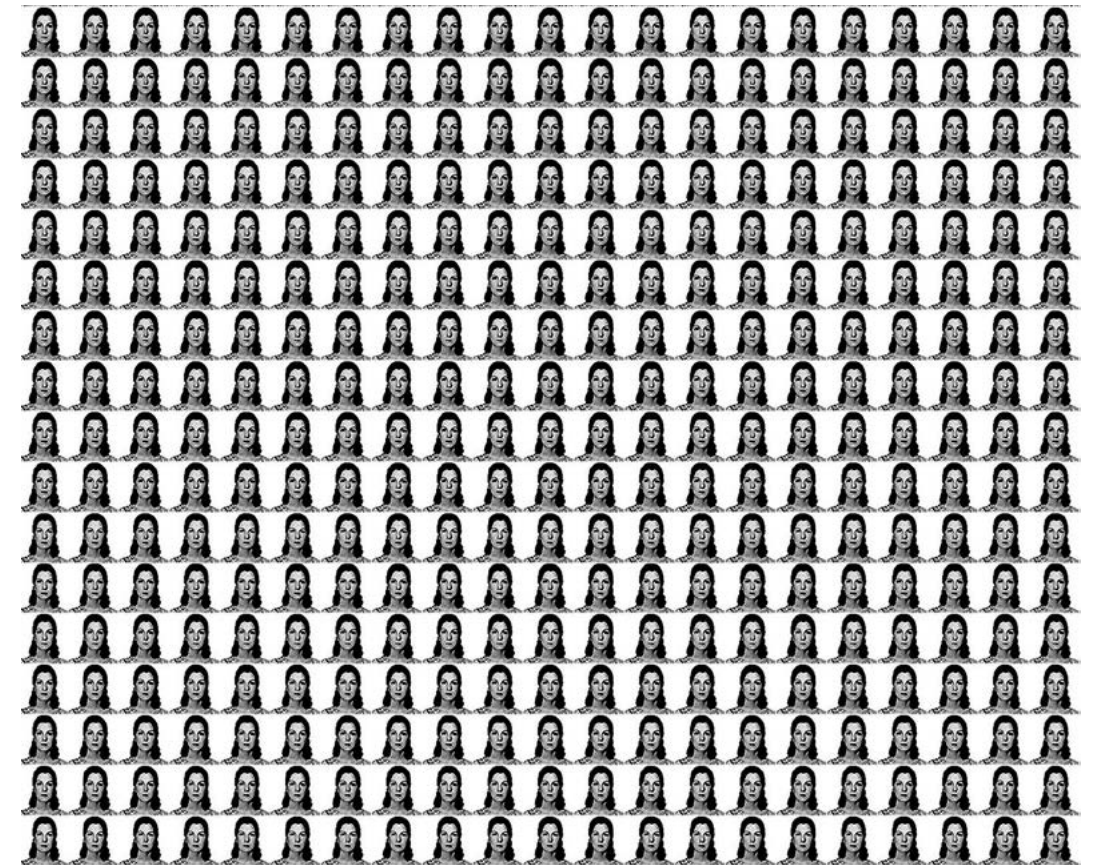
In February 2009, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Iranian Revolution, Jinoos Taghizadeh (b. 1971) had an exhibition entitled *Rock, paper, scissors*. Among other works, she exhibited a series of newspaper clippings from the lost persons section. She replaced the faces of the lost people with those of her own. On some of these she also put hands in the positions of the rocks, paper and scissors game. In her statement, she writes: "A parallel anxiety in the 30 year-game of 'Rock, Paper, Scissors,' in which I am destined to choose the Paper at the risk of being cut by the Scissors, with the parallel Rock that I am determined to wrap, if the Scissors allow. A childish game of all these parallels, in which the slightest movement, hesitation, or a momentary lapse, changes its role. And whatever the new role is, it will certainly be predestined by the grown-up game." The text under the picture reads: "the girl called Jinoos Taghizadeh (Artist's name), the above picture with long hair, white shirt and skirt, has left home since 1979 and has not returned. Those who have any information about her, please contact this number."¹

¹ E-mail correspondence with the author, 8 May 2009.





III. 3. Ghazaleh Hedayat, 2006, *Wallpaper*, dimension variable, laminated digital print



III. 4. A detail of III. 3

Of course, the year 1979, the year of the revolution, the description, long hair and shirt and skirt, are important. The revolution and things like long hair and skirt that cannot be seen anymore on the streets have disappeared with the child. Putting all this together suggests that she is talking about losing some parts of her self and identity.

So far, self-portraiture meant a portrait of the artist either alone or within a group. But Azadeh Behkish (b. 1981) chooses a different approach: *Collective self-portrait*. This is her final project for her BA degree in photography. In the written part of her dissertation, referring to Barthes, Lacan, Deleus, and feminists, she writes about one of her family portraits. The relationship between the family portrait and photography itself becomes her focus. For practical fulfillment, she made this *Collective self-portrait*. This self-made family consists of friends who are all photographers. "For months, we gathered as if we were at a party. We took pictures of ourselves, while we were all both photographers and models. Unlike most photographs, in these, the photographer was always within the photograph. Someone would check the frame and trigger the shutter by the cable release."² What we see are some young female photographers sitting,

² Azadeh Behkish, BA Thesis, Art University, Tehran, Autumn 2003, p. 15.



III. 5. Mehraneh Atashi, *Self-portrait*, 2004, 20 × 30 cm, LightBox

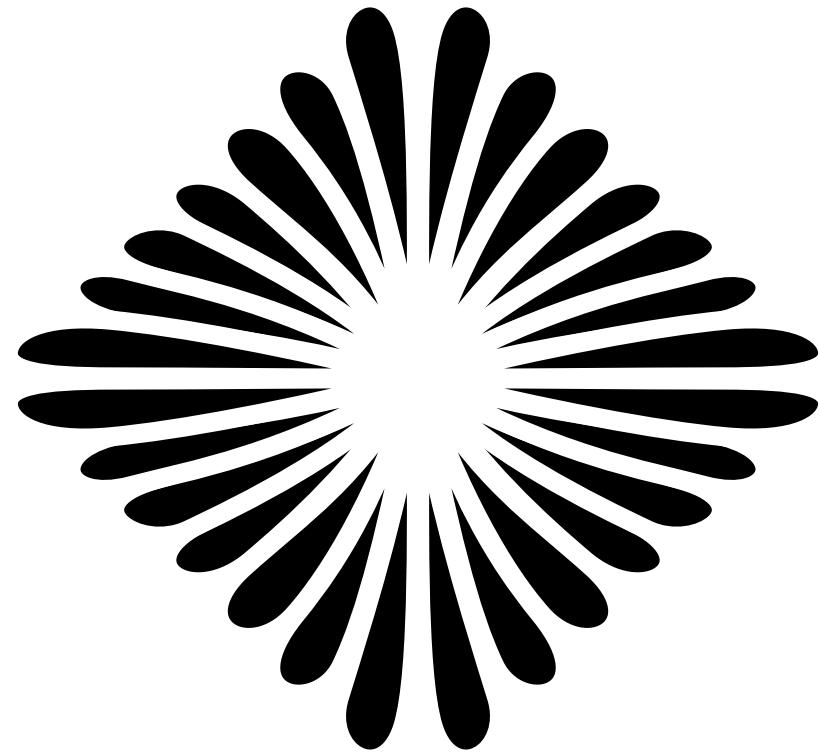
standing, posing with mirrors and frames. We see them through reflections, sometimes twice, but not much interaction, motion or emotion is present. They were not sure what to do with the imposed Islamic dress code in Iran. Depending on where the photographs are to be shown, in a private space in Iran, a public space in Iran or abroad, the photographers usually recognize if they should observe the dress code or not. They practised with both cases. In one case Behkish chose to shave her head, with a hope that since showing women's hair is forbidden, a hairless head would be no problem. She was not right, though.

If self is dissolved in a group, Ghazaleh Hedayat (b. 1979) makes it almost invisible. In her large *Wallpaper* (Ils 3 and 4), you see a black and white pattern at the first glance. As you get closer, you will notice the repetitive motif is in fact the artist's small black and white passport photo.

In *Self-portrait* by Mehraneh Atashi (b. 1980), a series consisting of 8 photographs (III. 5), we see the artists' foot on some photographs from different stages of the artist's life. The feet are not covered and the toenails are differently coloured in each photograph. Both photographs and feet are on top of a larger black and white photograph of an upside down mannequin with some different, clumsy make-up in each photograph. It seems the uncovered foot, the private self of the artist, is evaluating her private and public images. Photographs start from the newly born artist in the hands of her father, giving the baby to her mother. In this picture the toenails bear no colour. As we go to the next and the next picture, the baby is growing up and the toenails are starting to become coloured. Now we are getting accustomed to the foot and mannequin and a focus on the pictures

within the picture. We see the child wearing strict *hijab* in one and posing almost naked in another. The contrast between private and public, playing different gender roles, a well-behaved or a seductive bad girl are clearly shown. At the end, the mannequin is not upside down, but its head and face is darkened and has eyes and is widely doodled over. Here we see the backs of the photographs with notes written by the parents describing the age and situation of the child. Through these notes we learn, for example, that the first picture taken when she was one day old in the hospital where she was just born, was dated 30 Shahrivar 1359, which was the first day of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980. At this time every year, the "Holy Defense Week" is officially celebrated and the commemoration of the war starts, so everyone in Iran knows this date refers to the beginning of the war. In another picture she is wearing a peculiar dress like a pomegranate tree. Through these notes on the backs of photographs we understand that she is performing and reciting the poem as a pomegranate tree. With this performance, we are reminded of other performances, either posing nude on the sofa or wearing a *hijab*. Here the multiple selves, private/ public, presence/ absence, limitation of representation by showing a mannequin instead of a body, fragmentation and hybridization are all much more important to the artist than showing her face and appearance. When one's birthday coincides with a foreign invasion of one's country and it is yearly commemorated with mourning, what else could be expected?

These samples show that the artists freely use different techniques and genres such as straight, staged and manipulated photography. Or they combine photographs with other media in order to express themselves. Although the works are all self-portraits, the artists (probably except Ketabchi) are not much concerned about showing their faces, bodies, personality, individuality or private self. They are much more concerned about the collective identity: namely what social, cultural and political forces affect the self, its presentation in life and representation in art. Far from leaning towards narcissism, here portraiture is more an excuse to convey these vital concerns.



VIII
SPIRITUAL HERITAGE
OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD



“Stepsons of the Urals”: The Turkic-Finnish incorporation in the culture of the Bessermans

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1. The genesis of the Ural Bessermans is still undiscovered. The Bessermans live on the territory of the Udmurt Republic on the coast of the Rivers Unda, Virezh, Ubit', Lekma, Lema and Moya (Ill. 1). The total population of Bessermans is about 3000 inhabitants (census 2002). Their language is Udmurt (dialect). There are no divisions on family groups—*vorshudes* (воршуды). The self-given name, an Arabian form of the reference to Allah (in pagan prayers), this all means that the Bessermans had contacts with or even a direct origin from Moslems. In several settlements, Tatars use such cultural traditions of the Bessermans as holy groves and family objects of worship.¹ The *camali* shoulder-belt (камали) looks like the Tatar *izu* (изю) (Ill. 2). It is an abundant item in Iranian culture.² Anthropologically, the Bessermans are close to Hungarians. There are a lot of similarities with the assembly of Besserman clothes of the 18th–19th centuries and the architecture of Middle Asia. Only here among the whole Ural-Volga region we can find trousers *erez* (эрезь) with a “narrow step”, a feature common for Indo-Tibetan culture. They widely occur on the territory of Central Asia.³ *Ianchik* (янчик)—is a handbag in the middle part of a suit; it undoubtedly relates to Iranian and Central Asian (Horozmic and Sogdian) traditions⁴ (Ill. 3). Headdresses in the form of *tak'i* (такъи) and *kashpu* (кашпу) are similar to Chuvashian and express the idea of an image of the world, as for example the yurta (Ill. 4). Weaving patterns are similar to the art of a fur mosaic, embroidery and birch-bark ornaments of Ugros culture.⁵
2. The riddles of Besserman culture and art have no ethnographical answer. The solution should take into account the following factors:

¹ Popova 2004: 203.

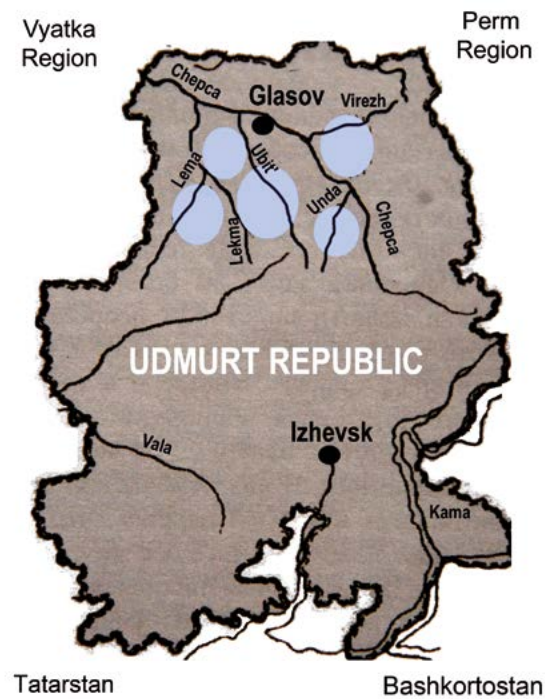
² Akishev and Akishev 1981: 144–153.

³ Belitser 1951.

⁴ Klimov 1999.

⁵ Koroleva 1975: 114–141, Ivanov 1963.





III. 1. Bessermans live on the territory of the Udmurt Republic on the coast of the Rivers Unda, Virezh, Ubit', Lekma, Lema



III. 2. Over shoulder-belt *camali* (камали) looks like Tatar *izu* (изю)

III. 3. *Ianchik* (янчик) is a handbag in the middle part of a suit, and it undoubtedly relates to Iranian and Central Asian traditions



- The Bessermans make up an individual nation. They have psychologically independent behaviour.
- The confessional tradition is of a secondary nature against the culture itself.
- The culture of Bessermans shows how to solve the problem of family and civilization.
- The incorporation process deals with both family (East-Finnish) and National-Confessional (Turkic) traditions.

3. The conflict of family and civilizational values in Russia is a so-called “delayed problem” since the 20s–30s of the 20th century. Its nature is in eliminating national and transcendental identity. In those years, Russian ethnic groups experienced the destruction of archaic myth, ritual and ceremony under the conditions of the glossing over of individual beginnings in national cultures.⁶ The vanishing of the Bessermans as a nation illustrates this process. The young intelligentsia carried a new spiritual experience. It confronts the ideology based on a strict reduction of integrity. The intelligentsia raised questions dangerous to the ruling class. That led to mass deportations and in some cases to physical elimination of the national elite. This process took place within the boards of industrialization and collectivization. It is a feature of intelligence to be able to ask “non-trivial questions”. The aim of this process was to close down the archaic consciousness of people and to replace “archaic myth” with a “communistic”⁷ sensibility.

⁶ Vasilev and Shibanov 1994: 74.

⁷ Vasilev and Shibanov 1994: 74.



4. Perspectives of solving the problem between family and civilization can be demonstrated by the example of the cultural consciousness of the Bessermans. “Ethnosoundtrack” (EST) is supposed to be the basis for this demonstration. This term was proposed by A. G. Krasilnikov: ethnic group. **Nation** + sound eng. **Tone** + track eng. **Footstep**. The culture of the ethnosoundtrack is a heritage of a number of cultures in one band, where the polyphony of cultural experience is expressed by the melody of one language in a mono-consciousness.⁸

The structure of EST can be represented in the following way:

- a) *Linguistic field*: comparison of family and civilizational axiomatic features of a culture.
- b) *Visual and sound field*: discovering spiritually sensitive but not physically sensitive priorities of a culture.
- c) *Myth as an artificial evolution of the image of the world. World archetypes of the Creation*: the birth of the world from original archetypes of its making. “Cultural archetypes” and the structure of a genesis in “I-consciousness” and “We-consciousness”. Consciousness in a structure of Finnish-Turkic incorporation: pre-categorical, categorical, instrumental, analytical.
- d) *Field of psychological interpolation*: “culture of shame”⁹—as the essence of a behaviour exponent, usual for family systems.

⁸ Kinke and Kinke 2008: 4.

⁹ Material on the research into these phenomena is stated in the work: Japan 1985.



III. 4. Headdresses in the form of (a): *tak'i* (*такъи*) and (b): *kashpu* (*кашпу*) are similar to Chuvashian and express the idea of an image of the world, as for example (c): *yurta*

e) Connection of the last with the “oblivion of a sin”—is breaking the laws of God. According to the Old Testament, the sin of parents falls on future generations. Islam with respect to Judaism is linearly continued. Getting success through passing calendar rituals (Moslem) is not a prior norm for Bessermans. Their life is based on a strict codex of prohibitions.

So the EST category is supposed to study the conflict of family and civilization by absorption and working up cultural sources.

EST studies the development of the archaic model of the world into an anthropocentric one.

EST art is based on a professional basis as the main method of art creation. The main problem here is the cooperation of subject, association, essence and symbol. The author should

be fluent in languages and notions of world culture. The viewer, reader and listener should be ready for introspection,¹⁰ and both sides for introjections.¹¹

EST work is to remove all contradictions in the problem of ethnic and national art.

EST synthesizes syncretic and logical categories based on the experience of verbal consciousness and the formation of written culture.¹² It helps to unify notions of the “ethnic-family” and the “national-social”.

- a) The human being is able to obtain and transform world archetypes.
- b) Ethnic humans live and think as national representatives and can comprehend their world embodiment. The aim of obtaining is beyond his will, but its function is to preserve life.
- c) This cultural evolution can be represented in a semiotic way: semantics is the essence of ethnic reserve of word, image, culture; syntax is a structure of processes of existence creation; pragmatics is a function, aimed at circulation.

This approach allows us to form up new cultural contexts. The study of the Bessermans’ culture will promote this process.

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¹⁰ Introspection—from the Latin verb *introspectare*—to look inside—psychology: studying of psychological processes (conscious, thinking) through experiencing these processes.

¹¹ Introjections—from Latin word *intro* (inside) + *iacere* (put)—inclusion of thoughts, motives, aims of other people.

¹² It is natural for written culture to have elements of scientific concepts of the world within the realms of religion and later—scientific knowledge.



Architecture and other Islamic arts, particularly in Malaysia: Unity in diversity

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Introduction

Malaysia forms a part of the whole Islamic world. It is no wonder that as far as Islamic art is concerned one can find similarities between the Islamic art of Malaysia with that of the greater Muslim world. However, the differentiation between these is due to the local or geographical variations and environments. Despite all these diversities, the Muslims are still united or bound together in their one faith, i.e. Islam.

Islam, especially in the Malay world, came into existence after the other major religions of the world, and its arts naturally show similarities with and continuity from what existed before, in both form and detail. This is especially the case with architecture. Nevertheless, with careful examination it is still possible to draw a distinction between Islamic architecture and that of other civilizations.

Architecture

There are several types of structures or buildings for both religious or secular purposes in Islamic architecture. The most important among the secular buildings are the palaces of the rulers. In the early days, particularly during the Umayyad period, palaces were built in the desert. Later, they were built in the town, usually close to the mosques. During the reign of the Safavid dynasty in Persia (1506–1736), the palaces were built in gardens and surrounded by pavilions or small theatres.

Other types of secular buildings include the *hamam* (bath), *maristan* (general hospital), *suq* (bazaar or shops) and *wakaf* or rest-houses that were built by the government, whilst others were built by wealthy individuals. The *wakaf* functioned as rest places for travellers and enabled them to perform their prayers during prayer time. Travelling was by foot because roads and other facilities were nonexistent then.

Other buildings constructed by individuals included schools, hospitals and inns. Sometimes mausoleums were built. These were surrounded by flower gardens which provided the public with the opportunity of using them as meeting-places. Other forms of structures in Islamic architecture included monuments, fortified towers or fortresses and ramparts. In the early days, when Islam first spread to the Arab countries, these stone walls or fortresses were used to defend the towns or villages against attacks by enemies. Today, these walls have become symbols of the struggles of the early Muslim fighters as well as the historical landmarks of Islamic towns, settlements or nations.

Religious buildings comprised of mosques, the *madradas* or religious schools, monasteries and mausoleums. Although Muslims can perform their prayers anywhere, in their homes, work places, or in any open space, emphasis is given to the performance of prayers in a large group. Mosques are therefore constructed for this purpose.

In the past, mosques were not only utilized as places of worship; they also functioned as places of administration, justice, religious education as well as places for carrying out meetings to discuss matters relating to social welfare.

Before performing the prayer, a Muslim must perform the *wuduk* or ablution. During prayers, he must face in the direction of the *qibla* (the direction of the Ka'abah in Mecca). In the mosque, the *qibla* is indicated by a *mihrab*, a place marked out on the wall in front of the mosque where the imam (leader) leads a prayer. The *mihrabs* in most mosques are decorated with attractive carvings. To the right of the *mihrab* stands a *minbar* or the pulpit which is constructed of wood, marble, or bricks. However, the design remains the same regardless of the marble used in its construction. A flight of stairs leads to the *minbar*, a platform from where the imam gives the *khutbah* or sermon. A dome is located on the top of the *minbar*. Attractive carvings normally adorn the *minbar* and the stairs leading to it.

A typical feature of the mosque is the minaret constructed outside the mosque itself. A minaret adorns the mosque as well as functions as a place from where the *bilal* (the caller for prayer) calls out the *azan* (the call for prayer) to Muslims residing near the mosque. The idea of building minarets may have been inspired by the design of lighthouses which are used to guide ships. Several minaret designs for mosques are found in Muslim countries around the world.

The *madrasa* or religious school was first introduced in the 12th century AD, particularly in Central Asia. In the beginning, it served as a place for the study of religious knowledge. In the early days, a *madrasa* comprised of rooms adjoining the mosque. Today, especially in Malaysia, the *madrasa* is a place for performing prayers, except Friday prayers.

Mausoleums were introduced to the Muslims by the Seljuks. Originally, there were two mausoleum designs commonly used in Khorasan, Persia. The first comprised of a minaret with an angular or star-shaped base. The second, known in northern Africa as *Kubah* or dome, was a rectangular-shaped building with a dome. In India, four minarets—one in each corner—are usually built in such mausoleums. The design of the building is similar to a mosque. Excellent examples of these mausoleums include the Humayun and the Taj Mahal mausoleums in New Delhi and Agra, India, respectively. In Malaysia, such mausoleums are usually constructed for royalty and for the shrines of saints.

The characteristics of Islamic architecture

According to Titus Burckhardt, Islamic civilization is characterized by expressions of feelings, peace, tranquillity and purity. These characteristics must exist free from conflict between the spiritual and the material world or between the worldly and the heavenly.¹ Like other forms of architecture, Islamic architecture naturally has its own unique characteristics. According to Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi the entry of light is a vital characteristic in Islamic architecture. The maximum entry of light into buildings is emphasized as this creates a sense of harmony with the environment and a sense of comfort for Muslims who perform their prayers in the mosques. Other characteristics include beautiful interior decorative designs such as those found on walls, arcades and roofs of buildings which were highlighted by Ernest J. Grube in Islamic architecture. The most outstanding decorative design in Islamic architecture is calligraphy. It not only enhances the architectural beauty of the building but provides a sense of harmony to the design.

The first mosque to be built in the Islamic world was the Medina Mosque. It is the oldest mosque and represents the beginning of Islamic architecture. It was built by the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) in the year 622 AD immediately after his flight to that city with his followers. Many scholars agree that architecture is one of the elements that form the basis of civilization. Thus the growth towards other religions in the world prior to the existence of Islam, particularly in the Southeast, was often linked to the development of architecture then, especially buildings which are religious in nature. Some of these buildings are still standing today while others are in ruins. It is true that there are not many magnificent buildings remaining from this strand of the history of Islamic civilization in comparison to those left behind by Buddhist civilization, such as at Angkor Watt in Kampuchea and the Borubudur Temple in Indonesia, respectively. What remains are mausoleums and tombstones. This has led some Western Orientalists to conclude that Islam did not have a wide influence in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Malay world.

To refute the claims of these Western scholars, Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas argues that the legacy left behind in the form of material artifacts should not be the criterion for assessing the influence of Islam in Southeast Asia. According to him the success of Islam lies in the development of Islamic thoughts and philosophy which have changed the way of life of Muslim society in this region.

Several points must be considered when evaluating the influence of Islam on architecture in a country. These include the natural, environmental, historical as well as cultural factors of a particular Muslim country. Written evidence of the early history of Southeast Asia has shown the existence of several buildings in the region that could be regarded as Islamic architecture such as the palaces of rulers, the mausoleums and mosques. However, most of these buildings were constructed from wood since it was the material that was most readily available then. Climatic conditions and extreme temperatures experienced by countries in this region resulted

¹ Mustafa Hj. Daud 1985: 153.

in the complete destruction of those buildings. Fire also caused the destruction of the buildings such as the palace of Sultan Mansur Shah in Malacca. Historical evidence showed as well that the Christian-Islamic conflict in Europe which was extended to the East resulted in the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 AD. The Portuguese wished not only to control Malacca and the international trade there but also to wipe out the influence of Islam. Thus, anything that indicated Islamic influence was destroyed by them. The Melaka state mosque, mausoleums and palaces of the Sultans of Malacca were all demolished. The stones from those buildings were later used to construct a fort known as *A Famosa*. This fortress was used by the Portuguese to defend themselves from attacks by the Malays in their struggle to avenge their defeat and to recapture Malacca.

We should not feel discouraged or humiliated to see the ruins left behind by these unfortunate incidents in the history of the development of architecture in our country compared to that in other Muslim countries. It was also unfortunate that Islamic architecture and arts were not given international recognition then. When discussing Islamic architecture, whether of a religious or non-religious nature, one important element which persists in the architecture is the principle of diversity in unity. Diversity in Islamic architecture can be seen in the shape or design of buildings and in the materials used for their construction. These were largely influenced by the natural environment and the historical and cultural background of the country. On the other hand, unity can also be seen from the function or usage of the buildings.

Mosques

One of the buildings constructed for religious purposes is the mosque. Throughout time in the Islamic world, the mosque is used not only for religious activities or for prayers, especially congregational prayers, but also for meetings to discuss problems relating to the welfare and security of Muslims. Islam encourages Muslims to perform congregational prayers particularly on Fridays, because such practice symbolizes unity and kinship. Besides mosques, several other buildings or related structures such as the minaret, the *mihrab* and the *minbar* or pulpit were discussed earlier in the paper. Although these structures show unity in their functions, they are diverse in their shapes and in the materials used for building them. This diversity persists in the architecture found in all Muslim countries.

In many examples found around the world, these three structures are usually beautifully decorated with motifs comprising Islamic calligraphy, floral and geometric patterns. These motifs evoke a sense of ease and tranquillity and in turn produce harmony in the performance of religious rituals.

We see different minaret designs in several Muslim countries. As explained earlier, this is due to the environmental, historical and cultural factors influencing them. For example, the mosques in Northern Yemen are usually tall. Since the country is mountainous and valleys as well as low-lying areas are very limited, the construction of tall minarets will enable the sound

of the *azan* to be heard far and wide. If the minarets are too low, the sound of the *azan* would not reach the people because it would be blocked by the high mountains. Six minarets were constructed for the Sultan Ahmad Mosque in Istanbul. Apart from keeping the number even and enhancing the beauty of the mosque, the six minarets also help to strengthen the building. Four large columns are found inside the mosque. The minarets and columns are vital to the construction of buildings in Turkey because of the frequent occurrences of earthquakes there.

In China, the minarets are not only designed to look like pagodas, which are characteristic of Chinese architecture, the design of the whole mosque is based on Chinese architecture. The building materials used in their construction are the same as those used in the construction of other buildings. The old mosques in Malacca show the early influence of Chinese architecture with pagoda design minarets. This could probably be due to the fact that workers involved in the construction of the mosques were brought directly from China or worked under a Chinese supervisor. One cannot claim that the design of the mosque is wholly Chinese. The design of the roofs with tiles that are arranged in layers or levels indicates another non-Muslim architectural design, i.e. Hindu or Buddhist architecture. According to historical evidence, Malacca was a cosmopolitan port. The British colonization of Peninsular Malaysia saw another change in architectural design. The British design has its own peculiar characteristics which differs from previous designs, especially that of the minarets. This design is known as the Mughal design which is similar to those found in several mosques in India.

These similarities stem from the designs produced by British architects who had served in India. They not only brought with them Indian architectural concepts but they also used them to design mosques built during that period.

We have discussed the diversity in the design of several roofs and domes of mosques in China and Malacca. Such diversity is also apparent in other Muslim countries. For example, several mosques in Turkey show the influence of Christian churches. This was due to the acculturation of Islamic architecture and western architecture which took place during Ottoman rule. A good example is the Hagia Sofia Mosque in Istanbul. Mosques in Iran too have certain characteristics. The most obvious is the design of domes in the shape of the metal helmets of Persian soldiers from long ago. In India and Pakistan, the domes and minarets are usually tiered. Such designs are also used for non-religious buildings such as palaces and mausoleums of saints.

At a cursory glance, the mosques in China do not differ in design from other buildings there since all the buildings in China are designed with curved roofs. Curved roofs are vital characteristics of Chinese temples.

The designs of mosques in Muslim countries are closely related to their functions which are in turn determined by the environment. For instance, several mosques in Demak, Indonesia and the mosque at Kampung Laut, Kelantan, Malaysia have tiered roofs which are narrowed at the top. Rainwater can quickly run down the steep slopes of the roof. This will prevent the stagnation of water on the roofs and help in saving wooden buildings from rotting. The spaces between the tier in the roof will function as air passages to help in the circulation of air between them.

This direct circulation of air brings comfort to the people in the building and will inevitably evoke a sense of ease in performing religious rituals. The construction of numerous high windows in the mosques also assists in the circulation of air. In Sufism, the construction of a tiered roof reminds us of the various levels that the spirit has to go through in its journey towards God. The pinnacle of the roof symbolizes the figure “One” which refers to one God.

Madrasas or religious schools

The *madrasa* is another building featured in Islamic architecture. However, they are found in limited numbers in Malaysia. Although their traditional function remains the same, i.e. as religious schools, their designs are more modern compared to other buildings in Islamic architecture.

Keramat or shrines

In the Malay Archipelago, some people with extraordinary religious or healing powers are revered as saints after death and their graves are regarded as *keramat* or shrines. Their graves are sometimes sheltered by roofs and beautiful constructions are erected over the deceased. Lately, these shrines have been pulled down by the local religious authorities because they contravened with the teachings in the Islamic faith. Such actions were taken to prevent Muslims from visiting them to seek help to resolve problems encountered in their daily life. The destruction of these shrines would eliminate such unholy practices which lead one into idolatry.

Is there any symbol used in Islamic architecture? Like the Christian faith, which uses the cross in its architecture, Islam too has its own symbol. According to M. A. J. Beg, the crescent represents the symbol of Islamic architecture.² The first Islamic building to use the crescent, designed in mosaic, was the Qubbat al-Sakhra (Dome of Rocks) in Jerusalem, which was constructed in the year 72 Hijrah (692 AD) The crescent was widely used in the 15th century. It was used to grace the rooftops of Islamic building, particularly the mosques in many countries throughout the world.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Islamic architectural designs for both religious and non-religious buildings possess similar characteristics. They express peace, tranquillity, contentment and a balance between the spiritual and physical elements in life. These characteristics in turn determine the fundamental function of the building—comfort. From this, the central theme in Islamic architecture—beauty—is born. The beautiful designs in Islamic architecture incorporate Islamic doctrines which

² Beg 1980.



have one common theme, namely *Tauhid*. These are further added and presented in the form of calligraphy, motifs and symbols in ceramics, woodcarvings and metalwork, textiles and buildings. They differ in design from one country to another due to environmental variations but retain the same characteristics of diversity in unity. They enhance the beauty of Islamic architectural designs. Dissimilarities prevail between Islamic architecture and non-Islamic architecture. With knowledge on the characteristics of Islamic architecture, designs of the buildings and the symbols used to adorn them, a Muslim can still distinguish between the Islamic and non-Islamic architectural designs no matter where the buildings are located. Indeed, it fits well with the notion of the unity in diversity in Islam.

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Cover illustration: A *muhir* with talismanic drawings, 19th century;
collection of the Museum of Podlasie in Białystok, Poland

Front page illustration: The Mosque in Kruszyniany, Poland

The art of the Islamic world and the artistic relationships between Poland and Islamic countries contains forty-five studies prepared in relation to the 1st Conference of Islamic Art in Poland and, simultaneously, the 11th Conference of the Polish Society of Oriental Art (now the Polish Institute of World Art Studies), which was held at the “Manggha” Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow in 2009.

These studies, authored by researchers from many universities and museums across the globe, evoke a wide picture of art and artistic culture of Islam from its inception until today. Beside the studies of art of medieval and contemporary Arab states, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, the art of Tatars—the Golden Horde, the Crimean Khanate and contemporary Tatarstan, as well as the art of the Caucasus, Central Asia, also found a place within this volume, as did even Malaysia.

Distinct attention was given to the art of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, as well as contacts between Poland and Islamic countries, emphasizing distant and profound cultural ties between them, as evidenced also by the heritage of Islamic art in the museums of Central Europe.

