HISTORIES *of* ORNAMENT

FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL

Edited by GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU and ALINA PAYNE

With contributions by
Michele Bacci
Anna Contadini
Thomas B. F. Cummins
Chanchal Dadlani
Daniela del Pesco
Vittoria Di Palma
Anne Dunlop
Marzia Faietti
María Judith Feliciano
Finbarr Barry Flood
Jonathan Hay
Christopher P. Heuer
Rémi Labrusse
Gülru Necipoğlu
Marco Rosario Nobile
Oya Pancaroğlu
Spyros Papapetros
Alina Payne
Antoine Picon
David Pullins
Jennifer L. Roberts
David J. Roxburgh
Hashim Sarkis
Robin Schuldenfrei
Avinoam Shalem
and Gerhard Wolf

Copyright © 2016 by Princeton University Press
Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street,
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 6 Oxford
Street, Woodstock, Oxfordshire OX20 1TW
press.princeton.edu

{~?~Jacket/cover art credit here, if needed}
All Rights Reserved

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA
Histories of Ornament : From Global to Local / Edited by
Gulru Necipoglu and Alina Payne ; With contributions by
Michele Bacci, Anna Contadini, Thomas B.F. Cummins,
Chanchal Dadlani, Daniela del Pesco, Vittoria Di Palma, Anne
Dunlop, Marzia Faietti, Maria Judith Feliciano, Finbarr Barry
Flood, Jonathan Hay, Christopher P. Heuer, Remi Labrusse,
Gulru Necipoglu, Marco Rosario Nobile, Spyros Papapetros,
Oya Pancaroglu, Alina Payne, Antoine Picon, David Pullins,
Jennifer L. Roberts, David J. Roxburgh, Avinoam Shalem,
Hashim Sarkis, Robin Schuldenfrei, and Gerhard Wolf.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-691-16728-2 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Decoration
and ornament, Architectural. I. Necipoglu, Gulru, editor.
II. Payne, Alina Alexandra, editor.
NA3310.H57 2016
729.09—dc23
2015022263

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available
This book has been composed in Vesper Pro Light
and Myriad Pro
Printed on acid-free paper. ∞
Printed in China
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Publication of this book
has been supported with a subvention from the

AGA KHAN PROGRAM FOR ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and with the contribution of the

KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN FLORENZ /
MAX PLANCK INSTITUT

CONTENTS

Introduction 1
GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU AND ALINA PAYNE

Part I Contemporaneity of Ornament in Architecture

CHAPTER 1
Ornament and Its Users: From the Vitruvian Tradition to the Digital Age 10
ANTOINE PICON

CHAPTER 2
A Natural History of Ornament 20
VITTORIA DI PALMA

CHAPTER 3
Inscription: On the Surface of Exchange between Writing, Ornament, and Tectonic in Contemporary Architecture 34
HASHIM SARKIS

Part II Ornament between Historiography and Theory

CHAPTER 4
Ornament as Weapon: Ballistics, Politics, and Architectural Adornment in Semper's Treatise on Ancient Projectiles 46
SPYROS PAPAPETROS

CHAPTER 5
The Passage of the Other: Elements for a Redefinition of Ornament 62
JONATHAN HAY

CHAPTER 6
The Invention of Mudejar Art and the Viceregal Aesthetic Paradox: Notes on the Reception of Iberian Ornament in New Spain 70
MARÍA JUDITH FELICIANO

CHAPTER 7
The Flaw in the Carpet: Disjunctive Continuities and Riegl's Arabesque 82
FINBARR BARRY FLOOD

Part III Medieval Mediations

CHAPTER 8
Vesting Walls, Displaying Structure, Crossing Cultures: Transmedial and Transmaterial Dynamics of Ornament 96
GERHARD WOLF

CHAPTER 9
Gothic-Framed Byzantine Icons: Italianate Ornament in the Levant during the Late Middle Ages 106
MICHELE BACCI

CHAPTER 10
Timurid Architectural Revetment in Central Asia, 1370–1430: The Mimeticism of Mosaic Faience 116
DAVID J. ROXBURGH

Part IV Early Modern Crosscurrents

CHAPTER 11
Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures 132
GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU

CHAPTER 12
Ornamental Defacement and Protestant Iconoclasm 156
CHRISTOPHER P. HEUER

CHAPTER 13
Migration of Techniques: Inlaid Marble Floral Decoration in Baroque Naples 166
DANIELA DEL PESCO

CHAPTER 14
Innovation, Appropriation, and Representation: Mughal Architectural Ornament in the Eighteenth Century 198
CHANCHAL DADLANI

Part V Ornament between Figuration and Abstraction

CHAPTER 15
Ornament, Form, and Vision in Ceramics from Medieval Iran: Reflections of the Human Image 192
OYA PANCAROĞLU

CHAPTER 16
Variety and Metamorphosis: Form and Meaning in the Ornament of Amico Aspertini 204
MARZIA FAIETTI

CHAPTER 17
Images as Objects: The Problem of Figural Ornament in Eighteenth-Century France 216
DAVID PULLINS

CHAPTER 18
Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, the Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments 228
ANNE DUNLOP

CHAPTER 19
Gilded Bodies and Brilliant Walls: Ornament in America before and after the European Conquest 238
THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS

Part VI Circulations and Translations of Ornament

CHAPTER 20
The Poetics of Portability 250
AVINOAM SHALEM

CHAPTER 21
"This Is Babel": Sicily, the Mediterranean Islands, and Southern Italy (1450–1550) 262
MARCO ROSARIO NOBILE

CHAPTER 22
Wrapped in Fabric: Florentine Façades, Mediterranean Textiles, and A-Tectonic Ornament in the Renaissance 274
ALINA PAYNE

CHAPTER 23
Threads of Ornament in the Style World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries 290
ANNA CONTADINI

Part VII Internationalism of Ornament and Modernist Abstraction

CHAPTER 24
The Currency of Ornament: Machine-Lathed Anticounterfeiting Patterns and the Portability of Value 308
JENNIFER L. ROBERTS

CHAPTER 25
Grammars of Ornament: Dematerialization and Embodiment from Owen Jones to Paul Klee 320
RÉMI LABRUSSE

CHAPTER 26
Sober Ornament: Materiality and Luxury in German Modern Architecture and Design 334
ROBIN SCHULDENFREI

Notes 349
Acknowledgments 409
Bibliography 411
Contributors 443
Index 445
Photo Credits 451

CHAPTER 11

EARLY MODERN FLORAL: THE AGENCY OF ORNAMENT IN OTTOMAN AND SAFAVID VISUAL CULTURES

Gülru Necipoğlu

The fascination with ornament as an abstract language of form and color triggered an enthusiastic appreciation of the "arts of Islam" that became defined as "decorative" at the turn of the twentieth century.[1] Retrospectively searching for the "essence" of Islamic art in its formative period, European theorists of ornament singled out its principal characteristic as the much-admired arabesque, originating in late antique prototypes that were allegedly transformed by an antinaturalistic Arab spirit, compounded by the strictures of Islam against representational images.[2] Taxonomic classifications subsumed under the overarching category of the eternal arabesque comprised four categories (vegetal, geometric, epigraphic, and figurative), with its stylistic variations attributed to the ethno-racial "character" of different schools: Arabian, Moresque, Persian, Turkish, and Indian.[3]

The still-prevalent fourfold formal taxonomy of ornament reflects an unabated desire to "define the essential character of Islamic art": a desire that masks the diversity, historicity, and potency of individualized regimes of visuality with their own distinctive ornamental modes.[4] These visual regimes simultaneously provided a global sense of unity to the *dār al-Islām* (abode of Islam) and negotiated its shifting internal divisions marked by varying degrees of localism. The taxonomic drive that has dominated most scholarship on Islamic ornament, with its encyclopedic connoisseurial agenda, generally seeks uniformity within variety, rather than attempting to account for change, fracture, and discontinuity. Formalist approaches have also overlooked the complex interaction of agencies, both human and nonhuman, in the production and consumption of ornament, that is, the animate and inanimate actors through which decorated objects become enmeshed in networks of intentionality.[5]

The analysis of ornament as a field of cultural production and an active agent in the construction of temporality and spatiality entails considering its circulations in multiple domains. With a few exceptions, studies have tended to resist addressing the workings and efficacy of Islamic ornament in particular times and places.[6] The preference to classify segregated pattern types, decontextualized from multimedia decorative ensembles, has directed attention away from the sensory, cognitive, and experiential affects of ornamented surfacescapes.[7] The agency of ornament activates and transforms interactions between humans, portable objects, and built environments, thereby promoting new kinds of perceptual and bodily experience that complement rather than negate semiotic signification. Binding together communities of taste and at the same time mediating transcultural exchanges through circulation, decorated artifacts often become extensions of selfhood. By bringing the phenomenology and materiality of objects to the center of art historical inquiry, "thing theory" therefore promises to counterbalance the "power of images" with the potency of ornamented objects and built environments, capable of mediating subject-object relations and constituting subjectivity.[8]

The essentialization of Islamic ornament through formal taxonomies of the timeless arabesque has failed to come to terms with transformations in early modern ornamental aesthetics, characterized by an increasing dose of naturalism that marginalized former abstract

vegetal and geometric designs. This paradigmatic shift remained unnoted by the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl (d. 1905) and his followers who regarded the arabesque as the last stage in the evolution of ornament, constituting the endpoint of a gradual retreat from naturalism since late antiquity. Riegl's conceptualization of the arabesque as the grand finale of an autonomous progression of vegetal forms, independent of human history, impeded the study of later developments in ornament within Islamic visual cultures.[9] My chapter therefore seeks to draw attention to the transformed visual universe of the early modern period by concentrating on the intertwined modalities of sixteenth-century Ottoman and Safavid ornament, with a particular focus on the former. Steering away from wide-angle lens generalizations about Islamic ornament, I zoom in on the aesthetics and politics of decorative design in these two neighboring rival polities. The close-up view of this interpretative endeavor not only brings into clearer focus the differences between each regime of ornament but also elucidates the problematic nature of the modernist notion of "pure decoration," assumed to be merely aimed at triggering pleasurable delight.[10]

While ornament may potentially induce pleasure and desire, the "pure aesthetic response is a myth" because it can neither explain the "manifold types of attachment between persons and things," nor the social or semiotic relationships mediated by them.[11] By the same token, ornament possesses not only the power to seduce but also to irritate, pleasure and repulsion being the two sides of the same coin in certain cases. To give an example, Renaissance grotesque ornaments so enthusiastically embraced in many circles were vehemently detested by sixteenth-century Vitruvian theorists and proponents of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Naturalistic floral designs and sensually appealing lavish ornaments with little narrative content became the preferred mode of decorating religious architecture in Naples under the Spanish Viceroys after the Counter-Reformation, a sanctioned new mode of decoration in multiple media that complied with the liturgy as redefined by the Council of Trent (1545–63).[12]

It was around the same time that the "classical" modes of ornament, associated with the Safavid and Ottoman territorial empires, respectively, became codified in the courts of Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76) and his archrival Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66). In their capacity to "convey and condense value," the decorative arts foregrounding skilled craftsmanship contributed to the articulation of identity and difference between individuals, communities, and polities.[13] It is my contention that these two distinctive regimes of ornament were formulated dialogically, in conversation with one another. They each took on a differentiated gestalt by transmuting a formerly shared international Timurid-Turkmen repertory of decorative motifs. I see this aesthetic transformation, through which ornament came to produce visible "distinction," as a deliberate project of early modern place-making and culture-making, constructed at the interface of multiple agencies.[14]

The remarkable coherence of both local idioms of ornament was informed, to some degree, by centralized or decentralized control of artistic production through royal and elite court scriptoria (*kitābkhāna*, *kutubkhāna*, *naqqāshkhāna*). In these institutions, calligraphers and painter-decorators specializing in the arts of the book

collaborated, often preparing decorative designs for buildings and luxury objects in multiple media. Besides the dissemination of designs on paper, it was the circulation of portable objects and artists/craftsmen themselves that triggered dynamic exchanges between imperial, semicommercial, and commercial workshops of applied arts, which, in turn, contributed to the relative coordination of taste within the Safavid and Ottoman domains. The invention of consistently repeated repertoires of ornament, with or without the "top-down" intervention of court scriptoria, went hand in hand with the emergence of new genres of "art-historical" literature in Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Exclusively dating from the mid-sixteenth to the early decades of the seventeenth century, these textual sources offer valuable glimpses into the conceptualization of ornamental design.[15]

The Theorization of Safavid Ornament: Seven Fundamental Modes of Decorative Design

The Safavid theories of the "two pens" and "seven fundamental modes of decorative design" were both formulated in the court circles of Shah Tahmasp.[16] These complementary theories attempted to augment the legitimacy and status of painter-decorators (sing. *naqqāsh*) by linking their profession with calligraphy. It has been shown that the theory of the "two pens" made its first appearance in the court poet and historian ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi's poem, *Āyīn-i Iskandarī* (The rules of Alexander, ca. 1543–44), in a section titled the "Excellence of Art," which glorifies artistic achievements during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, who himself was an accomplished painter. A passage in this section identifies the "tip of the pen" (*qalam*) as the "key to art," explaining that God created two kinds of pen for the scribe and painter-decorator (the "vegetal" pen and the "animal" pen/brush, respectively), thanks to which the "days of talent have been adorned." Parts of the text were paraphrased in later sixteenth-century Safavid album prefaces and in Qadi Ahmad's biographical anthology of calligraphers and painters.[17]

The theory of the "two pens" echoed the close cooperation between calligraphers and painter-decorators in the Safavid royal workshop-cum-library (*kutubkhāna, kitābkhāna*), and it found visual expression in albums assembling specimens of calligraphy, illumination, decorative design, and painting. The theorization of the "seven fundamental modes of decorative design" (*haft aṣl-i naqqāshī*) as a typological repertoire, paralleling the six pens in calligraphy, first appeared in Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan's preface to a now-lost album dated 1556–57, where this storyteller of Shah Tahmasp explained, "as in calligraphy, which has six modes, in this art seven fundamental modes are to be found."[18] Yves Porter has perceptively proposed that since Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan paraphrased ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi on the theory of the "two qalams," the modes of ornament too may have been conceptualized by this poet who, in another poem dated 1559, refers to "decorative designs in the seven fundamental modes" (*naqsh ba-haft aṣl*) without listing all of their names.[19] In fact, previously unnoticed verses in the same poem to which I shall return later do enumerate these names independently, without alluding to the associated concept of the seven modes.[20]

One of the later Safavid album prefaces elaborating on the interdependent theories of the seven modes and two pens is that of Mir Sayyid-Ahmad in the Amir Ghayb Beg Album, compiled in 1564–65, which follows closely Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan's preface mentioned above (1556–57).[21] Like the court calligrapher Dust Muhammad's earlier album preface, dedicated to the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza in 1544–45, that of Mir Sayyid-Ahmad attempted to legitimize the profession of painter-decorators by linking it with the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law, ʿAli b. Abi Talib—the revered first Imam of the Twelver Shiʿi Safavid polity. Under the subheading "illuminators and painter-decorators [*mudhahhibān va naqqāshān*]," Dust Muhammad asserts that "the first person to adorn with painting and illumination the writing of the Word" was Imam ʿAli: "A few leaves [*barg*], known in the parlance of painter-decorators [*naqqāshān*] as Islamic [*islāmī*] were invented by him." Hinting at a sense of anxiety felt by the practitioners of this noble "art/craft [*fann*]," he offers further consolation: "If, by the externality of the religious law [*shariʿa*], the masters of depictation [*arbāb-i taṣvīr*] hang their head in shame, nonetheless what is gained from the writings of the great is that this craft originated with the prophet Daniel." Dust Muhammad concludes that therefore the figural painter's "conscience need not be pricked by the thorn of despair."[22]

The story of the invention of abstract foliate ornament is further elaborated in Mir Sayyid-Ahmad's preface by recourse to an imagined contest between

painter-decorators from Cathay (China) and Imam ʿAli. The Cathayan artists supposedly challenge him by adorning a page with floral lotus scrolls, which they call "Cathayan [*khaṭāʾī*]." In response to this challenge, Imam ʿAli draws "a charming *islāmī* that astonished the people of Cathay and when that prototype [*aṣl*] fell into their hands, all other decorative designs [*naqshhā*] were lesser in their view."[23]

These two modes of decorative design were fully integrated into the Ottoman and Safavid repertories of ornament. The first mode, referred to in earlier Timurid texts as *islīmī* and corresponding to the vegetal arabesque is the split palmette scroll derived from the vine and acanthus. The second mode, known as *khaṭāʾī*, is the Chinese lotus scroll. Sometimes featuring cloud bands and inhabited by dragons, phoenixes, auspicious mythical animals, and angels, it became domesticated in the eastern Islamic lands by the Mongols during the first half of the thirteenth century.[24] A Turkish poem dated 1493–94, which eulogizes Sultan Mehmed II's royal mosque in the Ottoman capital Istanbul, identifies the principal elements of its decorative repertoire as the foliate split palmette scroll (*rūmī*, synonymous with *islīmī*) and the Chinese floral lotus scroll (*khaṭāʾī,* or *khiṭāʾī*), the same motifs that dominated Timurid-Turkmen ornament. These motifs are deployed individually and jointly, in combination with curvilinear geometric matrices, in the so-called Baba Nakkaş Album, which preserves calligraphies and decorative designs attributed to Mehmed II's (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) court workshop (fig. 11.1).[25]

Fig. 11.1. Designs with abstract foliate and floral scrolls, perhaps intended for modular tiles with crested borders, Baba Nakkaş Album, late fifteenth century. Istanbul University Library (F 1423), Istanbul.

The transmutation of the Timurid term *islīmī* into *islāmī* is a conceit only encountered in Safavid texts. Its identification as a quintessentially "Islamic" prototype finds no counterpart in the relatively more secular contemporary Ottoman sources, which label the vegetal arabesque as *islīmī*, following Timurid precedent, or alternatively as *rūmī* (pertaining to the lands of Rum: the Ottoman Empire's formerly Roman territories in Anatolia and the Balkans). The latter term is a regional rather than religious denomination, unlike the Safavid term *islāmī* (Islamic). It may well allude to the predominance of abstract foliate scrolls, often accompanied by geometric interlace motifs, in the ornamental repertoires of the Rum Seljuq sultanate and the post-Mongol Turkmen successor principalities of Anatolia (Rum), including the early Ottomans. If so, this geographical term assigns a territorial identity to the international split palmette scroll, thereby indigenizing it. The Safavid interpretation of the same decorative motif as "Islamic" curiously echoes the nineteenth-century European conceptualization of the vegetal arabesque in religious terms, albeit within an ethno-racial framework that associated it with an Arab mindset.[26] This reveals that ornamental motifs could carry specific contextual associations, which were not universally shared.

The construction of a genealogy traced back to Imam ʿAli—imagined to be a master calligrapher and illuminator, who was the first to decorate samples of writing with foliate scrolls bearing his own signature—reveals the mythmaking propensity of Safavid authors, intent on boosting the legality and status of painting. This may have been a response to the anxiety caused by the proliferation of figural imagery during the first half of the sixteenth century, which became far more visible in the public domain of Safavid Iran than in the Ottoman Empire. Legitimation attempts encountered in

Persian texts on the arts must be seen, in my view, against the backdrop of Shah Tahmasp's growing religious strictness in the late 1540s and his promulgation of two successive edicts of Sincere Repentance (*tawba*), which publicly endorsed the prohibitions of the *shariʿa*. The timing of these public repentances from "forbidden acts" overlapped with Ottoman-Safavid military confrontations, accompanied by religious polemics that played no small role in dialogically shaping the visual cultures of each dynasty. The first edict was issued in 940 (1533–34) at a time of war with the Ottomans, culminating in Shah Tahmasp's loss of Arab Iraq and its venerated Shiʿi shrines to Sultan Süleyman. The second edict was promulgated in 963 (1555–56) immediately after the signing of the 1555 Amasya Peace Treaty between the two monarchs, which stipulated that the Safavid shah should enforce the *shariʿa* in his domains. The latter edict overlapped with a "puritanical turn" and intensification of Tahmasp's religious politics and his releasing from court service of poets, musicians, and painters, with the exception of a few favorites.[27]

In 1555–56, Tahmasp moved with his court to the new Safavid capital Qazvin, which replaced Tabriz because it was too close to the Ottoman frontier. Even though the practice of figurative painting did not cease, especially in architectural decoration, the move to Qazvin promoted a "reformed" style in the arts, codified by the few painter-decorators who had been the shah's companions, primarily the master of figural painting (*muṣavver*) and drawing-design (*tarḥ*) Muzaffar ʿAli (a relative of the famous Bihzad and the teacher of Sadiqi Beg, the royal librarian of Shah ʿAbbas). Referring to this artist, the Safavid historian Iskandar Beg Munshi writes: "The paintings of the royal palace [in Qazvin], and of the royal assembly in the Čhehel Sotūn hall [completed ca. 1556], were drawn by him, and most of the painting was also his work."[28] Artistic reform kept pace with religio-political reform, aimed at strengthening the dynastic state and reducing the threatening factionalism of the Turkic *qizilbash* confederation. Located within a vast paradisiacal garden in Qazvin, the shah's palace complex, whose construction began around 951 (1544–45), would reach completion by 965 (1558–59). At that time, Tahmasp commissioned from ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi poems in Persian that eulogized the newly finished royal palace, which are collected in the poet's *Khamsa* (Quintet) titled *Jannāt al-ʿAdan* (Gardens of Eden). As we shall see, some verses in this collection describe and name the seven decorative modes deployed in multiple media on the ornamented surfaces of major royal edifices, replete with poetic inscriptions and figural paintings depicting lyrical themes borrowed from Persian poetry (mostly Nizami), courtly pursuits (e.g., hunts, equestrian games, picnics, garden outings), and wars celebrating Tahmasp's victories against the Georgians and Ottomans.[29]

It is not a coincidence, then, that the theorization of the seven modes—missing from Dust Muhammad's earlier album preface (1544–45) and from the extant prefaces of two now-lost late Timurid albums—was formulated soon after the Amasya Treaty: a turning point that ushered in socio-political reorganization and the aspiration to bring Safavid Shiʿism closer in line with the *shariʿa*. Around 1550, the elderly Sultan Süleyman too would develop religious scruples. Giving up listening to musical instruments and wearing silk robes, he removed gold and silver wares from his table in favor of china and ceramic plates, "in each case distinguishing what was canonically allowed and forbidden" by the *shariʿa*.[30]

We should not forget that this was also a century of religious ferment in Christian Europe, where diatribes launched against the Roman Catholic Church by the Protestant Reformation hinged on the question of images and luxuriant ornamentation, culminating in the Catholic Counter-Reformation during the Council of Trent. Recent studies have posited that the parallel fashioning of competitive identities and religious orthodoxies in the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Safavid empires developed in dialogue with each other during the second half of the sixteenth century: an age of confessionalization and imperial polarization with "intimately relational, deeply intertwined" religious sensibilities.[31] This is not to suggest that there was a comparable codification of "Sunni" and "Shiʿi" artistic norms, but an a priori denial of any impact of heightened religious concerns on Ottoman and Safavid cultural politics is equally unwarranted.[32]

To return to the theorization in Safavid sources of the "seven fundamental modes of decorative design," Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan's album preface (1556–57) lists the following formal typologies: *islāmī* (Islamic), *khaṭāʾī* (Cathayan, chinoiserie), *farangī* (Frankish, European), *faṣṣālī* (compartmentalized), *abr* (cloudlike, marbled), *dāq* ([*sic*], should be *vāq*) (inhabited scroll or grotesque with human and animal heads), and *girih* (knotted, geometric interlace).[33] A slightly modified version of this list appears in hitherto overlooked verses of ʿAbdi Beg's 1559 poem, in the following order: *khaṭāʾī, nilufar* (lotus), *abr, farangī,*

islāmī, faṣṣālī, and *vāq*. Here, the floral *nilufar* mode has replaced the geometric *girih*, but the latter is named elsewhere in the same poem as *girihbandī-yi rūmī* or *band-i rūmī* (Anatolian knot, geometric interlace).[34]

While Qadi Ahmad's anthology of calligraphers and painters (completed in 1596–97, with a revised edition in 1606), provides exactly the same list as that of Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan,[35] the enumeration of the seven modes in the *Qānūn al-ṣuvar* (Canons of painting) comes closer to that of ʿAbdi Beg. This is a Safavid practical manual written in 1597 by the Turkmen court painter-decorator, calligrapher, and royal librarian Sadiqi Beg Afshar, who wrote poetry in Turkish and Persian. He lists the following typological modes of decorative design, which were taught to him by his own beloved master (the abovementioned Muzaffar ʿAli, who painted the murals at major royal edifices in Qazvin): "First come *islīmī* [instead of *islāmī*] and *khaṭāʾī*. You may then take as your third and fourth *abr* and *vāq.* This leaves *nīlūfar* [lotus, instead of *faṣṣālī*] and *farangī* as your fifth and sixth. And with all these in mind, do not yet overlook the seventh, *band-i rūmī* [Anatolian knot]."[36]

The last term, which assigns a regional Rumi affiliation to interlaced geometric ornament, is synonymous with ʿAbdi Beg's "Anatolian knot" (*girihbandī-yi rūmī* or *band-i rūmī*). Another version of this term (*girih-i rūmī*) is encountered in a mid-seventeenth-century source from Mughal India, describing the embellishments of the royal bath in Shahjahanabad (Delhi).[37] The medieval *girih* mode, comprising interlocking star-and-polygon patterns, was codified in a probably late-fifteenth-century Timurid-Turkmen scroll preserved at the Topkapı Palace, which combines two- and three-dimensional designs attributable to Iranian master builders and intended for architectural ornament. The relegation of interlaced geometric patterns to the end of all lists that enumerate the seven modes is remarkable indeed, a hierarchy hinting at its subordination to curvilinear designs more fashionable in early modern Safavid illumination. This change in taste found a parallel in the demotion of geometric *girihbandī* motifs to floor pavements and openwork window grills (*jali*) in mid-seventeenth-century Mughal India, in favor of naturalistic flowers. Contemporary texts eulogizing the vivid *pietre dure* floral ornaments of the Taj Mahal compared its white marble surfaces, which reflected the image of a paradisiacal flower garden surpassing counterparts in nature, to the mirror of Alexander the Great that mirrored the cosmos.[38]

As a professional painter-decorator more keen on technical terminology than the other Safavid authors discussed above, Sadiqi Beg avoided the religious denomination of the split palmette scroll, preferring to call it *islīmī* rather than *islāmī*.[39] Furthermore, the conceptualization of the *islāmī* (Islamic) motif in ʿAbdi Beg's poem (1559) and in Mir Sayyid-Ahmad's album preface (1564–65) as a competitive mode that triumphed over those of the Cathayan and Frankish "sinners" has no counterpart in Sadiqi Beg's less ideological practical manual. Despite such triumphalist discourses, the Cathayan (Chinese) and Frankish (European) design traditions—formerly mentioned in Timurid texts—were incorporated into the Safavid ornamental repertoire, thereby illustrating the lingering cosmopolitanism of post-Mongol visual cultures in the Islamic East (Mashriq).[40]

The theorization of the seven fundamental modes in Safavid sources is much more complex than the modern fourfold taxonomy of Islamic ornament, comprising the vegetal, geometric, calligraphic, and figural variants of the so-called arabesque. These four categories were even subsumed by Ernst Herzfeld under a single one, holistically "denoting the ornament of the art of the Muslim countries." Referring to the arabesque, he writes:

> It would be justifiable to restrict it to the foliage ornament as being the dominating element of that ornamentation: it would be difficult however in an historical or aesthetical treatment to separate this from the other elements, such as intertwined bands, motifs derived from writing and the less frequent figurative subjects. . . . The term arabesque in its wider sense, as denoting the ornament of Muslim art in general, also comprises a number of figurative elements. It would indeed be possible to distinguish these from the arabesque, taking this word in a narrow sense, and to class them under the term "iconography"; but the value of these figurative elements is for the most part purely ornamental, while their composition is frequently closely connected with or even inseparable from the arabesque.

Echoing Goethe, Herzfeld rhapsodizes:

> All provincial developments, apart from a few exceptions, change the style of the arabesque in its outward features only. The essential characteristics of the arabesque are preserved throughout, both as regards the

composition and the elements; there is therefore only one and the same arabesque in antiquity as well as in modern times, in the East and the West, and the South as well as the North.[41]

Differing from the fourfold classification of Herzfeld, the sevenfold Safavid taxonomy not only distinguishes between more numerous modes of decorative design but also treats calligraphy as an autonomous domain, entirely separate from yet parallel to that of ornament, rather than a subcategory of the arabesque. Furthermore, each domain is subdivided into "fundamental modes/prototypes" (*aṣl*) with derivative variants or branches (*farʾ*), as noted in the painting manual by Sadiqi Beg, who stated that, once the seven modes are grasped, one "should have no difficulty with the variations." The professional tips that he provided to practitioners, who must have "natural talent," included attaching equal weight to the actual design (whatever it may be) and to the field in which its lies, drawing the circles of rosettes (*gulhā-yi mudavvar*) with maximum precision, and if desired, to connect the designs by an interlacing tendril without becoming "overly impatient" in neglecting "linking-hooks on the interlacing tendrils." Like the principal modes and their variants classified in Islamic treatises on poetry and music, those of calligraphy and decorative design allowed a remarkably varied spectrum for creative improvisation, resulting in captivating artistic performances.[42]

It is not always easy to identify the "seven fundamental modes," because they often appear in combination with one another and in hybrid permutations. These modes not only formed the backbone of Safavid manuscript illumination but also of decorative design in multiple media, intimately connected with the book arts (fig. 11.2). Even though the seven modes were primarily theorized in Safavid texts with reference to manuscript illumination, their wider relevance to the decorative arts becomes apparent in Ottoman and Mughal sources that use similar terminologies for architectural ornament in diverse media. In fact, ʿAbdi Beg's 1559 poem testifies to the extensive deployment of the seven modes in the architectural decoration (with mural paintings and tile revetments) of Shah Tahmasp's recently completed palatial complex in Qazvin, surrounded by the garden palaces of his entourage. The poet likens the wondrous ornaments by painter-decorators (*naqqāsh*), which combined "decorative designs and figural images" (*nuqūsh va suvar*) addressing the "possessors of perceptive vision" (*ṣāhib-naẓar*), to microcosmic reflections on the mirror of Alexander the Great (a comparison made above, with reference to the aniconic floral imagery of the Taj Mahal in later Mughal sources). ʿAbdi Beg's allusion to both nonfigural and figural motifs (including angels, humans, real and mythical animals) in describing the seven decorative modes deployed at the Qazvin palace implies that they were not limited to aniconic designs. This is all the more likely, given that the purpose of their theorization and canonization in Safavid texts was largely intended to legitimize figural painting and design as an offshoot of manuscript illumination, embellishing the written word.[43]

That the seven modes offered both aniconic and figurative alternatives can also be deduced from the relative flexibility observed in their amalgamation in Safavid arts and architecture. This predilection toned down the difference between decorative and representational art, that is, between ornament and image. Yet the distinction of ornament from ornamentality is important to maintain, so as to avoid conflating decorative designs and representational depictions comprising decorative elements.[44]

The softening of boundaries between these categories was facilitated by the workshop training of multitalented Safavid painter-decorators in diverse genres of picture making. Sadiqi Beg's manual of painting explains that the seven modes of "decorative design" (*naqqāshī*) were complemented by two genres: "figural painting" (*ṣūrat-garī*) and "animal design" (*janvar-sāzī*). The author recommends that "figural painting" should be nourished by the direct observation of "Mother Nature alone," unlike "decorative design" and "animal design" (real or imaginary), where the "shifting values of observation are not a desideratum; instead, a solicitude for past models is at a premium." The practitioners of the latter two genres must therefore modify archetypal models by old masters through "artful imitation" (*tatabbuʿ*). Yet Sadiqi points to the "undesirability of repeating identical patterns" in a composition, which may indeed "have some magical appeal," but ultimately becomes "monotonous."[45] In other words, representational figural art and portraiture should aim at a greater degree of mimetic naturalism than relatively more convention-bound decorative design, whether figurative or nonfigurative. Nonetheless, the relative fluidity and porousness of boundaries between these three genres (decorative, figural, animal design) is attested by

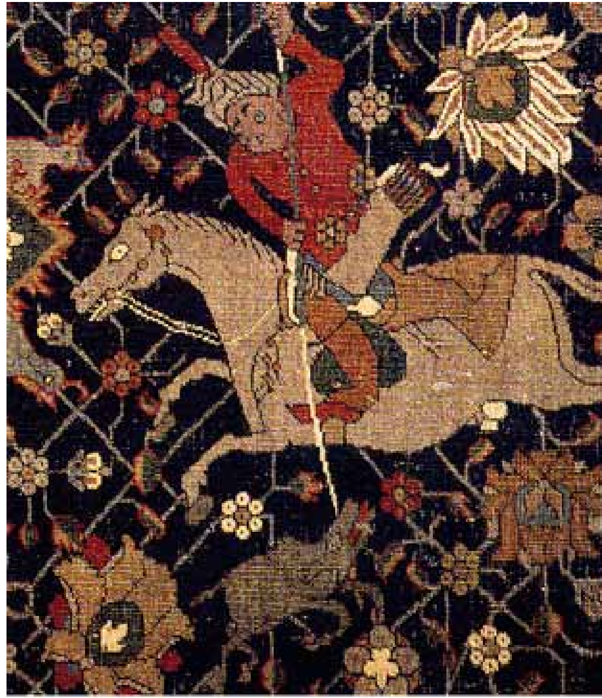
11.2a 11.2b

Fig. 11.2. (a) Illuminated page with margins decorated by a split palmette scroll (*islīmī*) and a calligraphic frame around a standing prince wearing a Safavid coat with figural designs, facing a smaller figure, signed by Hasan, Amir Ghayb Beg Album, Safavid Iran, before 1566. Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2161, fol. 93a), Istanbul. (b) Seated Safavid young prince wearing a coat made of figural textiles decorated with warriors taking male and female prisoners, signed by Muhammad Haravi, Safavid period, mid-sixteenth century, Herat, Afghanistan. Freer and Sackler Museum (Purchase F1937.8), Washington, DC.

their frequent merging in Safavid ornamental compositions in different media including book arts, architectural decoration, textiles, carpets, metalwork, ceramic vessels, and tilework (fig. 11.3).[46]

Such a fluidity is also implied by Mir Sayyid-Ahmad's album preface, which interprets both the seven modes and the figural images of painter-decorators as evocative mimetic abstractions of the cosmos, distilled from the divine artist's wondrous creation: "They follow God's craft from the compass of the spheres to the surface of the earth; / With their gazes fixed on creation, they take an image from every prototype."[47] No clear separation is made here between representational and decorative design, in keeping with the preface's agenda to legitimate the depiction of animate beings through a genealogical connection with the illumination of calligraphy.

These boundaries would become more rigidly defined in the Ottoman regime of visuality, characterized from around the 1540s and 1550s onward by a predominantly floral, aniconic decorative repertoire in the applied arts and architecture, along with the confinement of figural representation largely to the arts of the book. This phenomenon coincided with the climate of growing religious orthodoxy in the later part of Sultan Süleyman's reign, after which foreign visitors began to



11.3a

11.3b

11.3c

11.3d

Fig. 11.3. (a) Detail of figural knotted-pile carpet with a riding hunter, Safavid Iran, dated 949 (1542–43); wool and cotton pile on a cotton and silk foundation. Museo Poldi Pezzoli (d.t.1), Milan. (b) Silk lampas textile fragment, riding horseman and child with male prisoner, mid-sixteenth century. Metropolitan Museum of Art (purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 [no. 52.20.12]), New York. (c) Velvet fragment with scenes of Khusraw and Shirin, mid-sixteenth century; cut voided silk velvet with precious metal thread. Topkapı Palace Museum (no. 13/1697), Istanbul. (d) Falconer with attendant, Safavid Iran, mid-sixteenth century; cut and voided velvet, satin weave foundation, faced with a silvery foil-wrapped silk. Cleveland Museum of Art (purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund [acc. no. 1944.239]), Cleveland, Ohio.

comment on the differing attitudes toward images in the Ottoman and Safavid domains. Reinhold Lubenau (1587–89), for example, reported that unlike the Iranians, who were fond of images "painted or woven in clothes," the Turks abhorred figural representations.[48]

An Aniconic Universe: Ottoman Discourses on Ornament

Variants of the seven modes were familiar in the Ottoman context, judging by the terminology of pattern types in Iznik tiles made for two shore kiosks at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul in the 1590s: epigraphy (*mukhaṭṭat, khāṭṭ*), split palmette scroll (*naqş-ı rūmī*), Cathayan (*naqş-ı kiṭāyī*), tulip (*naqş-ı lāle*), grape (*naqş-ı engür, naqş-ı aşma*), split palmette scroll-cum-grape (*naqş-ı rūmī ve engür*), cloud or marble (*naqş-ı bulud, naqş-ı ebrū, naqş-ı mermer*).[49] This list exemplifies the addition of naturalistic motifs to traditional ones, which became the hallmark of the "classical" Ottoman repertoire of aniconic ornament in the second half of the sixteenth century. The chief architect Sinan's autobiography, written in the mid-1580s, praises the royal tribune of the Selimiye Mosque (1568–74) in Edirne, decorated with Iznik tiles, for its innovative combination of designs in the *khaṭaʾī, rūmī* (probably the geometric *band-i rūmī*), *islīmī*, and *ʿirāqī* modes, on which "many peerless masters expended eye-straining effort." The latent paradisiacal associations of quasi-naturalistic floral tiles, featuring blossoming *Prunus* trees and tulips, which frame the private mihrab of this royal tribune, were made explicit by a Qurʾanic inscription expressing the patron, Sultan Selim II's wish to be placed "among the inheritors of the Garden of Delight" (26:85). The mosque's projecting public mihrab alcove is compared in Sinan's autobiography to "a rose / flower garden of paradise, with the adornments of springtime," and the flowing rhythms of its Qurʾanic inscriptions in the majuscule *thuluth* script, designed by the "unrivalled" calligrapher Hasan Karahisari, are likened to the river of Selsebil in paradise. The elaborately painted monumental dome of this microcosmic monument, in turn, is described as "lavishly draped with satin and silk brocades which to the seeing-eye appears an exemplar of the nine spheres."[50] By implication, the Selimiye's domical superstructure with inscription medallions and painted designs recalling textile patterns evoked metaphors of a flourishing cosmos infused with harmonious order.

Floral ornament could simultaneously elicit celestial and terrestrial metaphors, judging by the parallelism in Ottoman court poetry between the "garden of paradise" and the "garden of the state and religion" cultivated by the caliph-sultan and his representatives, a parallel attested later on in poems glorifying the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (d. 1666). The metaphorical association of floral imagery with the Ottoman regime is unambiguously articulated in the Iraqi Turkmen poet Fuzuli's famous poem celebrating the 1534 conquest of Safavid Baghdad by Sultan Süleyman, which turned the city into a blooming paradisiacal garden of justice. Replete with the rhetoric of flowers, this poem refers to the divinely appointed ruler as the "just gardener" who is "the rose of the garden of the caliphate." Likewise, the crown prince Mehmed was referred to in 1582 as "the newly sprouted rose-bud of the state in the rose garden of the caliphate" and as the "bud of the garden of the sultanate." A poem by Nevʾi (d. 1599) eulogizing the paradise-garden-like palace of the vizier Siyavuş Pasha, on the other hand, attributed the youthful bloom of flowers in the "rose garden of the state" to the pasha's guardianship.[51] The equally prevalent image of the garden as a site of pleasure fostering the cultivation of sensual and cultural delights, hints at the multivalent evocative power of floral ornament, dependent on context and resonating with poetic imagery.[52]

Despite the usage of the seven fundamental modes in the Ottoman context, their theorization is notably absent in contemporary texts, as is the corresponding theory of the two pens. Instead, the divinely bestowed power of artistic invention is a key concept in Ottoman Turkish writings on the arts and architecture, in which the ideal of mimetic abstraction occupies a central position. The differing versions of Sinan's autobiography are a prime example of the valuation of creative innovation.[53] Yet another example is the biographical anthology of calligraphers and painter-decorators written by the polymath and bureaucrat-scribe Mustafa ʿAli in 1586–87. This compendium attests to the currency of comparable yet distinctive discourses on these fields of artistic expertise in the "lands of Rum." In accordance with the Ottoman court's official Sunni orientation, the author marginalizes the prominence given in the Safavid literature on the arts to the first Shiʾi Imam ʿAli. He is identified as one of the four rightly guided caliphs, who along with other scribes in the Prophet's entourage practiced calligraphy. Moreover, there is no mention of his inven-

tion of the *islāmī* (Islamic) motif, nor of his competition with artists from China in Mustafa ʿAli's text.[54]

This anthology highlights the regional distinctiveness of "*rūmī*" (Ottoman) aesthetic sensibilities from those of Iran "ʿ*acem*." A competitive rivalry permeates the text, which is infused with comparisons between the relative skills of artists in both regions. Interestingly, the author is critical of the masters of Rum who stubbornly showed resistance to a learning process based on the imitation of works by great masters.[55] This can partly be explained by the dissolution of familial kinship ties in the relatively more centralized corporate structure of court workshops in Istanbul, where stricter Iranian imitative practices passing from father to son, or master to disciple were not adhered to.[56] In another work, Mustafa ʿAli considers it a "defect" of poets in the Ottoman lands (*diyār-ı rūm*) that, instead of finding a mentor (*mürşid*) and following a master (*üstād*), they were content with their own views (*dāniş ü bīniş*) in the process of acquiring skill, unlike the poets of Iran (ʿ*acem*).[57]

The rivalry with Iranian artists is also implied in an Ottoman biographical anthology of poets, written in 1546 by the poet Latifi, who criticizes the lack of innovation in fifteenth-century imitative Rumi poetry that merely "translated" Persian poetry by dressing it in Turkish clothes. Hinting at an "anxiety of influence," this anthology celebrates the development of a more distinctive Rumi style in poetry, just around the time when a "classical" Ottoman aesthetic was emerging in architecture and the visual arts during the reign of Sultan Süleyman. The author proudly declares that the current Ottoman masters of poetry and prose had created an original manner of their own, distinguished from the aesthetic of Iran that used to be previously fashionable. That is why the contemporary poet Keşfi, an Istanbulite who composed Persian and Ottoman Turkish poems in the ornate style of poets in Iran, failed to achieve fame because he did not follow "the manner of the poets of Rum." Latifi disparages imitative poets in favor of divinely talented ones, who directly emulate God's creation, instead of deriving art from art. Criticizing the overly complex prose of some poets in Iran, from which even experts cannot "derive pleasure," he prefers a less ornate style.[58] Latifi considers himself to have invented a "new style" (*ṭarz-ı nev*) of eloquent prose, which was "pictured and drawn on the tablet/page" of his mirrorlike pure heart: an allusion to the eternal Preserved Tablet (*lawh al-maḥfūẓ*) of divine creation. He thus sets a limit to mimesis by tempering the naturalistic imitation of the cosmos through the mediation of mental abstraction.[59]

The same spirit of artistic innovation can be detected in the development of a seminaturalistic floral aesthetic in Ottoman ornament, which conspicuously departed from the former "translation" of international Timurid-Turkmen models into a local idiom. In my interpretation, this heightened self-consciousness of stylistic distinctiveness, closely associated with dynastic identity politics, contributed to the construction of increasingly differentiated idioms of ornament in the Ottoman and Safavid territorial empires, as both polities drifted away from their previously shared artistic heritage. While elements of mimesis and the reflexivity between microcosm and macrocosm were common in the sixteenth-century ornamental repertories of each polity, replete with garden imagery, Safavid artists relied more heavily on prototypes perpetuated by master-pupil relationships, whereas their Ottoman colleagues preferred to draw on divinely bestowed talent in the interplay of nature, art, and artifice.

Ottoman Floral Ornament: A Transcultural Aesthetic of Mimetic Abstraction

Novel experiments that laid the foundations of the Ottoman "classical" synthesis were triggered by the integration into Istanbul's centralized court workshops of a cosmopolitan group of both native and imported artists, originating from the Safavid capital Tabriz (occupied in 1514, 1534, 1548, and 1585–1603), the Mamluk Sultanate of Syria and Egypt (abolished in 1517), the Balkans, and Europe. The professional apprentices trained by these experts became the masters of the next generation by the second half of the sixteenth century.[60] The relative unity of taste across media was enhanced by the cross-fertilization of influences between royal workshops in the capital and their semicommercial and commercial counterparts in other Ottoman cities.

Archival documents from the 1520s through the 1530s confirm the sometimes disputed agency of painter-decorators (*naqqāş*) employed in Sultan Süleyman's court scriptorium (*naqqāşḫāne*) in this process of cross-fertilization. The scriptorium not only supplied designs but on occasion loaned painter-decorators to other royal workshops in Istanbul, including those of tent makers, tile makers, and carpet weavers.[61] The cross-cultural

exchange of design concepts was mediated by the agency of drawings on paper, like those sent to Venice in 1554, accompanied with written instructions for luxury fabrics privately commissioned by two Ottoman pashas.[62] Around the mid-sixteenth century, the much expanded imperial workshop of luxury silk textiles in Istanbul began to regularly employ eight specialized textile designers (*naqşbend*) who, in addition to translating fashionable design types developed in the court scriptorium into repeat units drawn to scale for programmed looms, improvised artistic inventions of their own.[63]

An early reference I found to a *naqşbend* employed in Istanbul's imperial textile manufactory appears in a register of royal expenses (1527–31), which lists payments he received for making three drawings consisting of a rose (*resm-kerden-i gül*), a carnation (*resm-kerden-i qaranfil*), and the mythical Huma bird or phoenix (*resm-kerden-i murġ-i humā*).[64] The same register contains a revealing reference to the costs of making "a drawing for an ornamented carpet (*resm-kerden-i qālīçe-i münaqqāş*) by the hand of Usta Shāh Qulı Naqqāş," who also refurbished and illuminated a *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* manuscript at that time, which proves that painter-decorators did provide designs for carpets.[65] This multitalented Safavid artist was a specialist of design/drawing (*ṭarrāḥ, ressām*), who moved from Tabriz to Amasya in 1514 or perhaps earlier. Shah Qulı officially joined the corps of royal painter-decorators in Istanbul in the 1520s, after initially being paid from the private royal purse. According to Mustafa ʿAli, Sultan Süleyman honored him with a private workshop in the Imperial Palace and made him chief court painter-decorator. Rising to that post in the 1540s, this celebrated artist was succeeded upon his death by his native pupil Kara Memi in 1557.[66]

Shah Qulı is particularly renowned for his ink drawings in the "Cathayan" (*khaṭā'ī*) manner, dubbed by modern art historians the "*saz* style." His designs in this Sinicizing manner evoke an imaginary world of lush vegetation with serrated leaves, lotus palmettes, and rosettes, often inhabited by winged fairies and auspicious mythical animals. Mustafa ʿAli specifies that Shah Qulı had been trained by the famous Safavid master Aqa Mirak, who according to Sadiqi Beg's manual of painting was a "true pearl of the Sea of Marvels," capable of distinguishing "properly between the principles of figural painting [*ṣūrat-garī*] and those of animal-design [*jānvar-sāzī*]."[67] On the basis of an archival document, I have proposed elsewhere that the unrivaled masterpieces of the "Cathayan" manner in blue-white-turquoise underglaze painted ceramic tiles, reassembled after a seventeenth-century fire at the Sünnet Odası of the Topkapı Palace, must have been based on stencils designed by Shah Qulı in 1527–28. Payments made that year to the royal workshop of ceramicists (*kāşīḫāne-i ḫāṣṣa*) in Istanbul, refer to a team of painter-decorators who participated in the creation of custom-made tiles for a "new kiosk" commissioned by Sultan Süleyman at his royal palace. Such collaboration is reflected in the finely veined designs of these unusually large five–"picture panels," composed of Sinicizing lotus palmettes and *saz* foliage inhabited by mythical *qilin*s and birds. These unique panels differ considerably from less detailed and mostly aniconic versions of the full-blown *saz* style on later tiles, produced well into the seventeenth century in the semicommercial workshops of Iznik. Those workshops replaced the exclusive small royal atelier of Istanbul for the large-scale production of ceramic tiles during the chief architect Sinan's tenure between 1539 and 1588.[68]

A biographical anthology of Ottoman poets completed in 1568–69 testifies to the wide-ranging skills of Naqqaş Shah Qulı, the "second Mani of the lands of Rum," who wrote poetry under the pen name "Penāhī". His unsurpassed talent in "figural painting" (*muṣavvirlik*) rivaled that of Bihzad, just as his expertise in the "seven fundamental modes of decorative design" (*heft aṣl-ı naqqāş*) aroused the jealousy of the "eight paradises."[69] Like his master and colleagues in Iran, then, Shah Qulı was fully conversant with the sevenfold taxonomy of decorative design and the conventions of representational figural painting. His artistic versatility was in keeping with the absence of rigid boundaries between decorative and representational court arts in the Safavid context.

Given Shah Qulı's expertise in decorative design, it is not surprising that his pupil and successor, Kara Memi, was primarily a specialist of illumination.[70] This reveals the greater degree of specialization in Istanbul's court scriptorium (*naqqāşḫāne*), whose staff was divided in the second half of the sixteenth century into two groups of "Ottoman" (*rūmīyān*) and "foreign" (*ʿacemān*) masters, the latter mostly but not entirely originating from Iran. That division may have intensified the consciousness of stylistic difference and the concomitant *rūmī* anxiety of *ʿacemī* influence.[71] The invention of innovative ornamental idioms by two successive Otto-

Fig. 11.4. Illuminated pages from the *Dīvān-ı Muhibbī* (Sultan Süleyman's collected poems) with a detail of Kara Memi's signature (fol. 367r), dated 1566. Istanbul University Library (T. 5467), Istanbul.

man chief painter-decorators, who were closely connected with the person and court of Sultan Süleyman, signals the great prestige of the applied arts as the "public face" of the empire, given the confinement of illustrated manuscripts and albums to a more private realm.

Kara Memi would subvert the Safavid paradigm of the seven fundamental modes with manuscript illuminations featuring botanically identifiable scrolls and bunches of flowers emerging from leafy mounds. The selective naturalism of this style injected new life into traditional abstract floral sprays in the "Cathayan" manner. The "classical" Ottoman decorative repertoire, distinguished by ubiquitous groupings of recognizable species of flowers, rose to prominence during Kara Memi's tenure as chief court painter-decorator (*naqqāşbaşı*) in the late 1550s and 1560s. A manuscript of Sultan Süleyman's *Dīvān* (Collected poems), dated 1566 and signed in a cartouche by "the poor and humble illuminator Kara Memi [*müzehhib el-faqīr Qara Memi el-ḥaqīr*]," is illuminated with variegated floral designs (fig. 11.4).

It is assumed that the flowers of the new court style associated with Kara Memi were derived from illustrated European herbals. Mughal floral ornament codified later in the seventeenth century does, indeed, closely echo

designs in European herbals and florilegia, as it generally comprises single-specie flowers growing from stems.[72] However, Ottoman floral sprays often mix several species, unlike illustrations in herbals. Moreover, the tulip and hyacinth, which became favorite motifs in the Ottoman design repertory during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, were not even known in Europe at that time. I therefore prefer to interpret the increased naturalism of Ottoman floral ornament as a creative transformation of the "Cathayan" mode dominated by imaginary lotus-peony flowers and foliage. Istanbul's royal and elite gardens too featured a diverse assortment of flowers, judging by the observation of a French traveler writing in 1573: "One can scarcely imagine how fond the Turks are of flowers, how they always hold them in their hands or (tuck them) into the folds of their turbans, treating them almost as a sacred thing. And the Grand Seigneur, if he finds any tree that pleases him more than others, plants in its shade many flowers of all kinds and of all scents. And in each of his gardens there is such a quantity of all kinds of flowers that merely by extending one's hand one can pluck a mixed and varied bouquet of every imaginable hue."[73]

The creation of a quasi-naturalistic floral aesthetic in the visual arts paralleled the emergence of a burgeoning garden culture and an international flower market in the Ottoman capital.[74] The city's passionate floriculturists included Sufi shaykhs and the grand mufti Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574), who cultivated new types of tulips named after him. It is no coincidence, then, that the earliest known example of an Ottoman Turkish agricultural treatise was written around the mid-sixteenth century. Titled *Revnaq-ı Bustān* (Splendor of gardens), its anonymous author explained that his ardent fondness for gardening made him create a "soul cheering" famous paradisiacal garden near Edirne, "decorated" with beautiful flowers and fruits.[75] Despite such convergence of interest in the natural world, artistic exchanges with "objective/rational" scientific investigations are not to be found in the Ottoman context, where naturalistic floral ornament retained a metaphorical overtone. By contrast, in Italy we see the likes of the Bolognese natural scientist/botanist Ulisse Aldovrandi (d. 1605) collaborate with the painter-decorator Jacopo Ligozzi, whom the Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici invited to Florence in 1578. Such collaboration was complemented by the foundation in Rome of an academy of sciences (Accademia dei Lincei) in 1603, with its branch in Naples established in 1612.[76]

The Ottoman taste for idealized depictions of gardens, with delightfully mixed bunches of flowers and blossoming trees, began to surface during the 1530s and 1540s in the polychromatic "Damascus phase" of Iznik tile panels and wares. They also appeared in a lacquer binding attributed to Kara Memi (fig. 11.5) and in a cut-paper garden (*qaṭʿı*) ascribed to the celebrated decoupage artist Efşancı Mehmed (d. 1534–35) (figs. 11.6a, 11.6b).[77] The latter was a poet and imperial chancellery scribe closely affiliated with the royal court, who excelled in cut-paper calligraphies and flower gardens. No longer able to practice his art because he suffered from gout in old age, he retired and created a famous garden in Istanbul where nature imitated art. In it Efşancı Mehmed planted rare specimens of fruit trees and flowers for which he paid huge sums and invented poetic names. This earthly paradise, where he was eventually buried, became a garden club frequented by literati, artists, refined urbanites, and the youthful Sultan Süleyman, escorted by his favorite grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536).

The exuberant naturalism and vibrant colors of the multilayered Ottoman cut-paper garden that is illustrated here differs significantly from the abstract intricacy of a mid-fifteenth-century single-layer, cut-paper landscape featuring stylized trees and shrubs with perched birds, attributable to the Qaraqoyunlu or Aqqoyunlu Turkmen courts in Iran (fig. 11.6c). Comprising a great variety of trees, spring blossoms, and flowers, the Ottoman garden is framed by cartouches inscribed with a Turkish qasida in *muḥaqqaq* script. The verses celebrate the arrival of spring, which is personified as a carpet-layer that spreads on a grass meadow a convoy of flowers like the white jasmine and dark violet, resembling day and night.[78]

The new Ottoman floral aesthetic, which came into full bloom during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, found its paradigmatic expression in Iznik tiles, brocaded silk textiles, and to a lesser extent court carpets. It subordinated the bookish "seven fundamental modes of decorative design" to a selective repertoire of identifiable flowers (dominated by tulips, rosebuds, hyacinths, and carnations), often accompanied by eternally blooming plum blossoms. Yet old motifs, such as geometric interlaces, foliate split palmette scrolls, floral lotus palmettes, Chinese cloud bands, wavy tiger stripes and triple dots continued to be used individually or in combination with one another (fig. 11.7). The uninhibited fusion of recognizable flower species with elements

11.5a

Fig. 11.5. (a) Lacquerwork binding and (b) a detail, attributed to Kara Memi, *Kırk Hadis* (Forty hadith), dedicated to Sultan Süleyman's son Prince Mehmed (d. 1543). Topkapı Palace Museum (E.H. 2851), Istanbul.

11.5b

excerpted from the seven modes and with other motifs (trees, pomegranates, artichokes, grapes, peacock feathers, sunbursts, crescents, stars, seals of Solomon, crowns, vases, lamps, medallions, arches, and colonnades) engendered a remarkably expressive aniconic visual idiom with an unmistakable identity of its own. Pushing the ideal of mimetic abstraction to its utmost limits, the selective naturalism of this innovative aesthetic mediated between nature and convention, the real and the imaginary.

The most luxurious silk fabrics were produced from the 1520s onward in the royal workshop of Istanbul, complemented by the semicommercial and commercial products of other Ottoman centers such as Bursa, Amasya, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, and Chios (conquered from the Genoese in 1566). Unlike the more loosely ordered small-scale patterns of contemporary Safavid luxury fabrics, the repeat units of Ottoman textiles followed a limited number of layouts, echoing those of their Italian counterparts, especially ogival lattices and undulating vertical stems.[79] Textile patterns with these two favorite layouts began to appear in the 1560s in Iznik tiles, whose unprecedented color scheme

11.6a

11.6b

11.6c

Fig. 11.6 (a) Cut-paper garden and (b) a detail, attributed to Efşancı Mehmed, *Album of Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpurī*, early sixteenth century. Istanbul University Library (F. 1426, fol. 47a), Istanbul. (c) Cut-paper intertwined trees and shrubs on a mound with perched birds, Qaraqoyunlu or Aqqoyunlu Turkmen, mid-fifteenth century. Topkapı Palace Museum (Album H. 2153, fol. 193a), Istanbul.

Fig. 11.7. (a) Long-sleeved Ottoman kaftan with an ogival vine bearing medallions, tulips, and blossoms, polychrome silk and no metal thread, a variety of *kemḫā* (lampas) known as *serenk*, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Topkapı Palace Museum (inv. no. 13/932), Istanbul. (b) Short-sleeved Ottoman kaftan with stars and flowers in a wavy lattice, polychrome silk brocade with gold thread (*kemḫā*) against a white background, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Topkapı Palace Museum (inv. no. 13/21), Istanbul.

expanded the former blue-white-turquoise palette with the addition of tomato red and green. The aesthetic impact of textiles on the Iznik tile industry is attested by tile revetments made in the early 1590s for the two royal shore pavilions at the Topkapı Palace mentioned above. These were based on drawings on paper prepared by a non-Muslim designer of patterned silk brocades (*kemḫā*), named Kemhacı Bali. The drawings were sent to Iznik together with forty-nine stencils for inscriptions created by a designer (*ressām*) called Mehmed Çelebi.[80] The painted decorations of these pavilions were executed by thirteen royal painter-decorators and their chief, Lutfi (Lutfullah) Agha, a team whose skills certainly transcended the arts of the book.[81]

The new colors and designs of Iznik tiles came closer to those of textiles, court carpets, and painted woodwork, dominated by red. Persianate color-glazed (*cuerda seca*) tile revetments used up to the late 1540s were abandoned in favor of predominantly white-ground underglaze tiles with vitrified, glasslike surfaces, which more effectively harmonized with the white stone and marble walls of Sinan's light-filled architectural spaces. The transformation of Iznik into the leading center for imperial tileworks (complemented by provincial workshops in Diyarbakır and Damascus) turned the production of ceramic vessels into a subordinate offshoot of the tile industry. Sinan's artistic agency likely played a role in this development, for the Iznik workshops had been placed under the jurisdiction of chief architects ever since the reign of Mehmed II.[82]

Religious and profane monuments built by Sinan and his team of court architects provided surfaces for the harmonious orchestration and display of applied arts in diverse media. The more lavishly decorated interiors of palaces and pavilions constituted visually dazzling multisensory and multimedia environments, whose aesthetic experience dissolved the emotive versus cognitive dichotomy. Ornamental resonances between bodies wrapped in patterned robes, furnishings, and architectural interiors promoted unified sensory-mental experiences through synesthesia and simultaneity. The kaleidoscopically varied repeat patterns of tiles, textiles, and carpets were complemented by "picture-panels" framing idealized gardens seen through arches or columnar arcades, evoking an illusion of transparency (fig. 11.8). The silk and silver-thread textile illustrated here echoes the design of woolen multiple niche Ottoman prayer rugs with its marble colonnade of pointed arches, featuring suspended lamps inscribed, "He is the Remaining, the Living Almighty." While the arch spandrels are decorated with foliate split palmette scrolls, the idealized paradise garden seen through the columnar arcade comprises sprays of tulips, rosebuds, honeysuckle, and spring blossoms. Traditional geometric and vegetal "arabesques" thus became subordinated to more realistic floral designs, just as Kufic epigraphy and intricately intertwined multilayered scripts were wiped out by more legible majuscule cursive inscriptions against plain backgrounds.[83]

I would argue that the transcultural potential of Ottoman ornament increased with the disappearance of animate forms from the public realm of the decorative arts around the 1550s. The few exceptions included floral silk brocades and Iznik wares or tiles inhabited by deer, birds, peacocks, and mythical animals, as well as low-grade Iznik pottery with folksy representations of human and animal figures.[84] The formation of a predominantly aniconic repertoire in Ottoman ornament, which restricted the use of figural imagery primarily to the arts of the book, sharpened the blurred boundaries between decorative and representational art, so characteristic of the Safavid visual universe. The increased autonomy of decorative design from the illustrated book, along with the breakdown of the seven fundamental modes of illumination, encouraged original abstract experiments with form, color, and scale that heralded a spirit of early modernity.

A comparison of Ottoman floral textiles with their Safavid counterparts (figural and nonfigural) illustrates the differing aesthetics and sensual/perceptual affects of the two regimes of ornament. The magnified bold patterns and radiant colors of the Ottoman floral aesthetic moved away from the subtle figure/ground ambiguities of intricate Safavid designs to produce a powerful impact from a distance (see fig. 11.7). This preference for legibility and monumentality contrasted with the visual density of sixteenth-century "classical" Safavid ornament, comprising less naturalistic small-scale designs generally rendered with the miniaturist's attention to minute detail. The extent to which the representation of figures in Safavid applied arts was dependent on manuscript painting is exemplified by the delineation in ink of facial features (noses, eyes, and lips) in several textile hangings and tapestries. This curious blend of woven silk and ink-drawn faces has aptly been described as "painting ren-

11.8a

11.8b

Fig. 11.8. (a) Silk and silver-thread Ottoman floral textile with a columnar arcade and inscribed hanging lamps, sixteenth century. Museum of Islamic Art (MIA 12014), Cairo. (b) Three arched floral Iznik tile panels from the Golden Road (Altın Yol) of the Topkapı Palace's harem, originally made for a royal bath, dated 982 (1574–75). Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.

dered in textile," a translation that turned both into "objects of luxury" through the use of more precious materials, often including gold and silver threads.[85] This translation of medium also transformed representational images into ornament, thus diminishing the distinction between the two categories. Compared to Ottoman textiles with daring, enlarged floral patterns and abstract motifs, their Safavid counterparts are generally saturated with miniscule details, inscriptions, and narrative figural imagery, consisting of courtly assemblies (*majlis*) and hunting scenes, as well as themes excerpted from Persian literature (see fig. 11.3).

It has been proposed that patterns for Safavid figural and nonfigural silk textiles were not prepared by painter-decorators of the court scriptorium, but by specialized textile designers. One of them was the famous designer-cum-weaver and poet, Ghiyath al-Din ʿAli-yi Naqshband of Yazd (ca. 1530–90s), who even signed his coveted works, which were sent as gifts to the Ottoman and Mughal courts. Flourishing in the later part of Shah Tahmasp's reign, he became affiliated with the inner court circles of Shah ʿAbbas I (r. 1587–1629), who appointed him as chief of the semicommercial silk textile manufactories of Yazd. The somewhat static designs of Safavid figural textiles, echoing the prevailing styles of manuscript painting and illumination, occasionally deployed a separate stock of images without parallel in book arts, such as those of the "prisoner silks" associated with Tahmasp's Georgian expeditions (1540–53).[86]

Like visual quotations of mythological subjects from classical literature in European Renaissance artifacts, abbreviated depictions in multiple media of familiar literary themes affirmed embeddedness in the prestigious tradition of Persian literature, thereby connoting the cultural kinship of the Turco-Iranian ruling elites of the Safavid polity. The unambiguous identification of this type of imagery with court culture was articulated by populating the narrative vignettes with personages wearing the *qizilbāsh tāj* (red-head turban), an emblem of Safavid tribal and confessional affiliation. Distinguished by its tall baton, this characteristic headgear signified allegiance to the dynastic Sufi order of the Safaviyya and the Twelve Imams of the Twelver Shiʿis. Additional emblematic accoutrements of status that Safavid courtly personages are often depicted with in the applied arts include belts, turban plumes, flasks, daggers, and swords. These were, in fact, exclusive emblems donated by the shah to favorites, according to the eyewitness account of Michele Membré who was sent as ambassador by the Venetian Senate to Tahmasp between 1539 and 1542: "None can wear a velvet *tāj* unless the Shah gives it, nor have a belt or flask of gold, nor plumes on the head, nor a sword with a gold scabbard. And the Shah is always giving all those things to everyone, and granting them to those who deserve favour."[87] By contrast, the unisex designs of the Ottoman floral aesthetic avoided such conspicuous identity markers, as well as narrativity and visual intricacy.

Each neighboring visual regime brought about a dramatic unification of clothing, portable objects, furnishings, and architectural surfaces, whose similar ornamental designs reverberated with one another in manifold directions. These designs were transferable across media, often independent from the materiality of surfacescapes that animated objects and spaces. The different kinds of multisensory and cognitive experience engendered by such built environments were surely noticed by those who moved from one empire to the other: a phenomenological difference hardly accounted for by the reductive formalist taxonomies of the arabesque.

With its greater iconographic specificity, sixteenth-century Safavid ornament was primarily intended for internal consumption, unlike its aniconic Ottoman counterpart that more easily crossed cultural boundaries. Generally lacking inscriptions, Ottoman luxury products were widely consumed by non-Muslims both within the empire and beyond. Featuring freehand versions of designs on architectural tiles, joyful Iznik wares without any inscriptions or intrinsic symbolism appealed to Muslim and non-Muslim customers alike. A set of dishes with a coat of arms commissioned by an Italian patron confirms the semicommercial character of the Iznik workshops. Floral Iznik pottery and tiles were imitated in Padua and the Veneto, just as they decorated the palaces of Ottoman vassals, including the rulers of Crimea, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Hungary.[88] It has also been suggested that the so-called Kubachi (Daghestan) underglaze ceramic vessels and tiles produced in the Safavid Empire likely drew inspiration from Iznik ceramics.[89]

The taste for inscriptionless Ottoman carpets in the Balkans and Europe was similarly enhanced by the intentional ambiguity of their sensually appealing designs. Ottoman export carpets became a staple and signifier of prestige in upper-class Italian Renaissance

households: a text published in 1546 included Turkish carpets and leather hangings among the things that lend distinction to a house.[90] The same kinds of carpets served to relieve the austere bareness of the whitewashed Lutheran churches of the Saxon and Hungarian communities in Transylvania, where they were hung over altars, choirs, chancels, pulpits, benches, and organ galleries, especially when that region became an autonomous principality (1541–1699) under Ottoman suzerainty. (Between 1557 and 1568, the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian communities were officially recognized on equal terms, thus turning Transylvania into a "safe harbor" for religious refugees from other countries.) Substituting for paintings or pictorial curtains in reformed churches, Ottoman carpets were "treasured as works of art" whose nonfigurative character appealed to Protestant sensibilities.[91] It is worth mentioning that during the second half of the sixteenth century, Istanbul too became a hotbed for Protestant expatriate intellectuals, owing to the Ottoman court's active support of this religious movement, so as to weaken Catholicism in the empire's western frontiers.[92]

Comparing a prayer carpet, probably woven in a court manufactory in Ottoman Cairo, with a synagogue carpet elucidates the adaptability of a mutual visual culture deployed by the empire's multiconfessional subjects, which could be individualized by emblematic markers of difference (figs. 11.9a, 11.9b). In the case of the Torah curtain, the distinctive emblems include a chalice-shaped menorah in the center, ornamented with nine lamps, above a field of naturalistic garden flowers. Under the round arch supported by doubled columns with Corinthian capitals is a floral spray, and above it a Hebrew inscription band quoting the book of Psalms (118:20), which reads: "This is the Gate of the Lord: Through it the Righteous enter." It has been observed that the iconography of the "gateway to heaven" and the similar forms of these two carpets show the "intermingling of Jewish and Islamic" artistic traditions.[93]

Another case in point is Ottoman textiles with Greek Orthodox inscriptions and religious figural imagery, intended for ecclesiastical vestments both within the empire and beyond. The hybrid designs of one such brocaded silk, used in a Russian Orthodox dalmatic (*sakkos*), include the enthroned Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child, flanked by angels, crosses, triple dots, and typical Ottoman garden flowers: the tulip, rosebud, honeysuckle, and spring blossoms against an ivory ground (fig. 11.9c).[94] Likely woven in Istanbul's imperial textile workshop, this dalmatic presented to the Cathedral of the Dormition by Ivan IV in 1583 bears testimony to the transcultural adaptability of Ottoman floral ornament for diverse audiences and contexts. Nonfigural, inscriptionless, floral fabrics manufactured in the Ottoman royal workshop were extensively used in the Muscovite court not only for imperial garments but also for palace furnishings, such as brocaded silk hangings associated with Ivan IV, and others datable to 1551 that line his coronation throne in the Kremlin's Archangel Cathedral. Archival sources documenting the silks brought as gifts to the same Russian monarch by Sultan Süleyman's envoy, Mustafa Çelebi, between 1549 and 1558 indicate the appeal of their bold designs, called "patterns with a large hand," and their vigorous colors dominated by "crimson." An inventory of Ivan IV's garments from 1582 shows that many of these were made from silks brought to Moscow by Mustafa Çelebi.[95]

Yet another fascinating example of the translatability and malleability of Ottoman floral ornament is the red-ground lacquered wooden paneling of the Aleppo Room, now kept at the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin (fig. 11.9d). Dated by inscriptions to 1009 (1600–1601) and 1012 (1603), this was once the reception hall of a Christian broker (*simsār*) in Ottoman Aleppo, a cosmopolitan emporium for the international silk trade. The wooden panels seamlessly intermingle Ottoman abstract and naturalistic flowers (tulips, carnations, hyacinths) with subordinate Persianate figural vignettes inside medallions (real and fantastic animals, hunters, wrestlers, jesters, shaykhs, lovers, the bust of a Frank), as well as Christian motifs such as the Virgin and Child, and larger biblical narrative scenes. Accompanied by inscriptions (Arabic psalms with good wishes, Arabic and Persian proverbs), these designs once again reveal that the Ottoman Empire's non-Muslim subjects deployed a predominantly floral collective language of ornament, stamped by personalized motifs.[96]

The Decorum of Decor: Orchestrations of Taste, Style, and Status

Floral ornament simultaneously delineated cultural boundaries and crossed them as well. Not restricted to any specific medium, the Ottoman decorative repertoire was neither gender-specific nor monopolized by the imperial court. However, the court did exercise control

11.9a

11.9b

11.9c

11.9d

Fig. 11.9. (a) Wool prayer rug with a doubled-column triple arcade under a dome, Ottoman Cairo, second half of the sixteenth century. Bruschettini Collection, Genoa. (b) Wool Torah curtain with doubled columns supporting a round arch and dome, Ottoman Cairo, second half of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Textile Museum (acquired by George Hewitt Myers in 1915 [inv. no. R. 16.4.4]), Washington, DC. (c) Dalmatic (*sakkos*), Ottoman brocaded silk with the enthroned Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child, flanked by angels, crosses, tulips, and blossoms against an ivory ground, dated before 1583. Kremlin Armory Museum (inv. no. TK-2766), Moscow. (d) Painted floral wooden panel with the Virgin Mary and Christ Child, detail from the Aleppo Room, commissioned by the Christian broker ʿIsa b. Butrus, dated 1600 and 1603. Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin.

over the quality of higher grade "designer" products by means of drawings on paper and by limiting the output of imperial workshops, often distinguished by more valuable materials. The amount of gold and silver thread in upper-grade textiles, for example, was regulated by successive royal decrees (issued in 1552, 1564, 1574, and 1577), which attempted to curtail the use of precious metals to a fixed number of state-controlled looms in Istanbul. Those dated 1552 informed the *qāḍī* of Bursa that gold cloth and sashes should only be woven for the "imperial treasury," while the governor of Damascus was commanded to forbid the weaving of gold cloth and sashes.[97]

The communality of elite material culture was offset by the hierarchical stratification of status markers, which often included prized foreign goods, whether imported or exchanged as gifts.[98] For instance, Mustafa ʿAli mentions gilded chiming clocks from Europe, and carpets from Safavid Iran and Ottoman Egypt among the luxury and status symbols of Ottoman elites. Indeed, Safavid carpets, which were not a major export item prior to their commercialization under ʿAbbas I, became prestige items in the Ottoman and Portuguese courts during Shah Tahmasp's reign.[99] The esteem of foreign luxury goods is also attested in the Safavid court, where items given as gifts by Shah Tahmasp to the Mughal emperor Humayun, who had sought refuge at his court in 1544–45, included "Iraqi, Turkish, European and Chinese brocades."[100]

The hierarchy of Ottoman status signs corresponded to codes of decorum that informed the ranking of luxury objects in terms other than merely aesthetic. For instance, Mustafa ʿAli states that the highest grade of "heavy silks and brocades, spectacular rare cloths of gold and silver [*serāser*], velvets, and brocaded silks [*kemḫā*] in the latest fashion" ought to be reserved for the sultans and the royal family. Textiles of lesser quality were correlated with the high, middle, and low ranks of the ruling elite—a classification also encountered in other Ottoman texts that rank the quality of luxury goods as "superior," "medium," and "low."[101] The decorum of decor thus turned ornamented luxury artifacts into active agents in defining sociocultural space.

The indirect orchestration of decorum and taste across media and different levels of society was maintained by interventions that brought court-sponsored semicommercial and commercial industries outside the capital into closer accord with their courtly counterparts. For example, the central administration exerted control over the workshops of Bursa by sending an expert there in 1560 to check the quality of fabrics commissioned for the court and imperial treasury. Conversely, a master *zerbāft* weaver residing in Bursa was ordered to come to the capital in 1565, probably as a consultant for improving production in the court workshop.[102] Late-sixteenth-century decrees likewise commanded named master tile makers from Iznik and carpet weavers from Cairo to be sent to Istanbul for special projects, just as named non-Muslim painters from Chios were recruited for the painted decorations of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne.[103] The latter choice is not surprising, given the presence of a silk textile industry in this Genoese island (conquered in 1566), which had been catering to the Ottoman market at least since the early sixteenth century.[104] In fact, as we have seen above, Sinan's autobiography likens the painted decorations of the Selimiye's domical superstructure to lavish "satin and silk brocades."

Ornament not only negotiated intercultural boundaries but also defined the empire's territorial borders with a cohesive system of canonical motifs. The new aesthetic canon helped cement the hegemonic collective identity and esprit de corps of the multiethnic Ottoman ruling elite, making visible and more legible the augmented magnificence of an increasingly centralized empire extending over three continents. The language of flowers became the language of things, of empire. The functionality, materiality, and "thingness" of objects with decorated surfaces, which circulated and were exchanged as gifts, meant that their signification process was largely dependent on context. Their interaction in specific settings, transactions, ceremonies, and spectacles with the gendered bodies of users and beholders activated diverse responses, informed by the subjectivity of individuals. As in other Islamic regimes of visuality, and its Safavid counterpart, Ottoman ornament simultaneously promoted aesthetic autonomy and elusive allusiveness. Its emblematic designs occupied a liminal zone between naturalistic representation and mimetic abstraction: a zone mediating between the body and the body politic.

To sum up, Ottoman floral ornament carved a new space of early modernity for itself. Besides emancipating decorative design from the former domination of book arts and narrativity, the floriferousness of ornament marked the empire's territories with a recognizable visual idiom, enriched by multilayered cultural

associations. Portable objects with floral designs, generally lacking inscriptions, were less culturally and iconographically specific than the decorative arts of Safavid Iran. While accentuating the localism of Ottoman territorial self-identification, floral ornament more freely crossed international borders through objects that were intended to circulate and even became imitated abroad.

With the seventeenth-century decentralization of the Ottoman imperial regime and the banalization of its ornamental canon through sheer profusion, the status hierarchies of the former elitist visual order began to dissolve into a premodern mass culture, governed by the market forces of consumerism and worldwide commerce. The "classical" Safavid regime of visuality underwent conspicuous changes around the same time with the commercial initiatives of Shah ʿAbbas I, who actively sought international markets for new types of carpets and textiles.[105] Unlike their Ottoman counterparts that flooded European markets from the late fifteenth century onward, it was not until his reign that Safavid carpets became a principal export commodity. The so-called Polonaise carpets, for instance, now lacked inscriptions and were dominated by larger scale abstract floriated designs that appealed to Western sensibilities and helped to speed up mass production. Around the mid-seventeenth century, the Mughals followed suit by developing their own floral brand of ornament in diverse media, partly inspired by European herbals. Thus coming closer to Ottoman precedents, the luxury products of the Safavid and Mughal court workshops aesthetically adapted themselves to the intercontinental tastes of an ever more globalized early modern world.

Turan, 1:246–47; and Soustiel and Porter, *Tombs of Paradise*, 133.

23. Trans. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:249.

24. A reconstruction of some details of the life of Shaykh Muhammad b. Hajji Bandgir—from written sources and a corpus of signed calligraphy specimens mounted in Timurid-period albums—is presented in David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 85, 96, 119–20. Also see J. Michael Rogers, "Centralisation and Timurid Creativity," *Oriente Moderno* 15, no. 2 (1996): 533–50; 538.

25. See David J. Roxburgh, "Ruy González de Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404," in *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 113–58.

26. For a discussion of the name of the palace, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:271.

27. A thorough description of the palace is offered in Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:271–75. The history of Shahr-i Sabz during Timur's reign is presented in M. E. Masson, G. A. Pugachenkova, and J. M. Rogers, "Shakhri Syabz pri Timure i Ulug Beke [Shahr-i Sabz from Tīmūr to Ūlūgh Beg]: I," *Iran* 16 (1978): 103–26, esp. 107–12.

28. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:273. Elsewhere they note that "the patterns appear somewhat elaborate and overly fussy, they reflect a horror vacui, white backgrounds are usual, and an unusual apple-green shade of faience is conspicuous" (1:125).

29. Trans. Masson et al., "Shakhri Syabz pri Timure," 119. Other sources are mentioned here. Also see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:273–74.

30. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:255–60.

31. Specimens in two albums—Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H.2152 and B.411—identify periods of activity for Hajji Muhammad Bandgir as 1360–80 and for Shaykh Muhammad as 1405–7; the son was also involved in the calligraphy exercise emulating a model attributed to Ahmad al-Rumi, in which the Timurid prince Baysunghur, among several other men, participated. See Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, chap. 3.

32. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), esp. chap. 2.

33. Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Calligraphers and Painters, a Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606*, trans. T. Minorsky (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 64.

Chapter 11

1. Stephen Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000); Rémi Labrusse, ed., *Purs décors? Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle; Collection des Arts Décoratifs,* exh. cat. (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007); Rémi Labrusse, *Islamophilies: L'Europe moderne et les arts de l'Islam*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2011).

2. See the chapter "Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature," in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture; Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 62–87.

3. For the four categories of the arabesque, see Ernst E. Herzfeld, "Arabesque," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913), 1:363–67. Following Alois Riegl, a narrower definition of the "arabesque" as vegetal scroll was adopted in Ernst Kühnel in 1949. See English translation in Ernst Kühnel, *The Arabesque: Meaning and Transformation of an Ornament*, trans. Richard Ettinghausen (Graz: Verlag für Sammler, 1977) (originally published as *Die Arabeske: Sinn und Wandlung Eines Ornaments* [Wiesbaden: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949]); and Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1893) (translated by Evelyn Kain as *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992]). On ethno-racial classifications, see Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856); Eugène-Victor Collinot and Adalbert de Beaumont, *Ornements de la perse: Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie* (Paris: Canson, 1883); Collinot and Beaumont, *Ornements arabes: Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie* (Paris: Canson, 1883); and Collinot and Beaumont, *Ornements turcs: Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie* (Paris, Canson, 1883).

4. A version of the fourfold taxonomy is adopted by Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom. Objects in their exhibition catalogue *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art from the David Collection, Copenhagen* (Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, 2006) are grouped ahistorically according to "four themes of decoration" (figures, writing, geometry, and vegetation or the arabesque). They explain that this approach is based on the catalogue of *The Arts of Islam* exhibition, held in 1976 at the Hayward Gallery in London, whose preface proposed to "define the essential character of Islamic art . . . taken to be calligraphy, geometry, the arabesque, and the treatment of figuration" (13). Another variant of the fourfold classification is found in Eva Baer, *Islamic Ornament* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

5. See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

6. Exceptions include Oleg Grabar's *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), which defines ornament as "any decoration that has no referent outside of the object on which it is found," serving as a kind of intermediary between the object and viewer. He nevertheless analyzes ornament in chapters dedicated to four types of motif: writing, geometry, architecture, and nature. Grabar regards the primary function of Islamic ornament as sensory pleasure and highlights "universal principles" over cultural specificity (xxiv, 226–37). For the counterargument that "ornament does have external referents" of a "generalized" character, for otherwise "it would be a semiotic black hole," see Robert S. Nelson, "Letters and Language: Ornament and Identity in Byzantium and Islam," in *The Experience of Islamic Art on the Margins of Islam*, ed. Irene A. Bierman (Reading, UK: Ithaca, 2005), 70–71. Contextual approaches to the aesthetics of Islamic ornament include Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll;* and Valérie Gonzales, *Beauty and Islam: Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001).

7. Critiques of prevailing approaches include Gülru Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques," in

Purs décors? Arts d'Islam, regards du XIX siècle; Collections des Arts Decoratifs, exh. cat., ed. Rémi Labrusse (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007, 10–23) Avinoam Shalem and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Beyond Grammar and Taxonomy: Some Thoughts on Cognitive Experiences and Responsive Islamic Ornaments," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 3 (2012): 385–410. The concept of surfacescape is developed in Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), and his chapter in this volume.

8. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, "Introduction: About the Agency of Things, of Objects and Artefacts," in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiss (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 10–22; John Plotz, "Can the Sofa Speak? A Look at Thing Theory," *Criticism* 47, no. 1 (2005): 109–18; Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001): 1–22; Fred R. Myers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," in *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2001), 3–61; Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

9. Riegl, *Stilfragen*; Kühnel, *The Arabesque*. This paradigm is perpetuated in Markus Brüderlin, *Ornament and Abstraction: The Dialogue between Non-Western, Modern and Contemporary Art*, exh. cat. (Riehen: Fondation Beyeler, 2001); he argues that twentieth-century abstract art is a continuation of the history of ornamentation, in which "the main protagonist is first and foremost the arabesque" as the "last genuine ornament in the history of ornamentation" (12). He writes: "Just as Islamic ornament contained a vegetative component (the arabesque) and a geometrical one (stars formed of interlacing bands), so linear abstract art divided into two main strands" (21). See also his recent article, where he highlights the potential of the arabesque for defining global culture in the twenty-first century: Brüderlin, "L'art abstrait du XXe siècle, autour de l'arabesque," *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* 1 (2010–11): 175.

10. For a comparable approach to French Renaissance decorative arts in the court of King Francis I (r. 1515–47), which largely "borrowed" art from Italy for the construction of a national style through difference and a distinctively French ornamental vocabulary, see Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Zorach interprets the cultural politics of nonfigural ornament in France, dominated by fruits and vegetables, through which an aesthetic of natural abundance was constructed. Italian ornament was characterized instead by a restrained use of fruits and vegetables, in favor of flowers.

11. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 81–82. For my earlier critique of the concept of "pure decoration" in Islamic art historiography through a shorter comparison between Ottoman and Safavid ornament, see Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor." A rebuttal of my critique is provided in Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "Cosmophilia and Its Critics: An Overview of Islamic Ornament," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 3 (2012): 39–54, esp. 45–47. The authors flatly reject the view that stylistic change can be triggered by politico-religious motives informing cultural politics; they remain convinced that Islamic ornament was primarily aimed at inducing pleasure.

12. On grotesque ornament, see André Chastel, *La grotesque* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991); and Marzia Faietti's chapter in the present volume. Counter-Reformation floral ornaments in Naples (late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries) are discussed in Daniela del Pesco's chapter in this section of the volume.

13. See Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Myers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," 4; Pierre F. Bourdieu, *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979) (translated by Richard Nice as *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986]).

14. See Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor"; and Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture during the Age of Süleyman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7–10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 195–216. For the view that Shah Tahmasp's long reign was not only a time of state building "framed against the two great Ottoman and Mughal powers, but also for the codification of an artistic language," and the construction of a "specific national cultural identity," see Yves Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology, and Practice in Persian Classical Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 109–18, esp. 114. On the creation during Tahmasp's rule of a "dynastic style" distinguished from that of the Safavids' "predecessors and contemporaries, especially Ottomans," see Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby eds., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), esp. 209.

15. These texts and the role of court scriptoria are analyzed in Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'"; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); and Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 23–61.

16. Porter speculates that the two theories probably drew on an earlier Timurid literary tradition, but there is no evidence to support this conjecture: Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 109. See also Chahryar Adle, "Les artistes nommés Dost-Mohammad au XVIe siècle," *Studia Iranica* 22, no. 2 (1993): 219–96, esp., 240–44.

17. Cited in Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 111n21; ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī (Navīdī), *Āyīn-i Iskandarī*, ed. A. Rahimov (Moscow: Idārah-i Intishārāt-i "Dānish," Shuʿbah-i Adabīyāt-i Khāvar, 1977), 102–7; Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Ḥusaynī Qummī, *Gulistān-i hunar: Tazkira-i khushnivīsān va naqqāshān*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khvānsārī (Tehran: N.p., 1352/1973).

18. Qutb al-Din Qissakhvan's preface is published in Ḥusayn Khadīvjam, "Risāla dar tārīkh-i khaṭṭ u naqqāshī," *Sukhan* 17, nos. 6–7 (1346/1967): 666–76. The theory of the "seven fundamental modes of decorative design" is briefly discussed in Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll*, 112–14, 206–12; Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor," 12–13. A different translation, "seven principles of painting," is preferred by Yves Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 113–14. See also Porter, *Painters, Paintings, and Books: An Essay on Indo-Persian Technical Literature, 12–19*th *Centuries*, trans. S. Butani (New Delhi: Manohar, Centre for Human Sciences, 1994).

Originally published as *Peinture et arts du livre: Essai sur la littérature technique indo-persane* (Paris: Institut Français de Recherché en Iran, 1992).

19. Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 113n48; ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī (Navīdī), *Rawżat al-ṣifāt*, ed. A. Rahimov (Moscow: Izd-vo "Nauka," Glav. Red. Vostochnoilit-ry, 1974), 50.

20.ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Rawżat al-ṣifāt*, 30–32.

21. For Mir Sayyid-Ahmad's preface, see Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 24–30.

22. Ibid., 11–12.

23. Ibid., 25–26.

24. The earliest reference to *islīmi* known to me appears in a Timurid petition (*ʿarżadāsht*, ca. 1427–28), which has been identified as a progress report addressed to Baysunghur Mirza by the head of his scriptorium-cum-workshop in Timurid Herat. It also mentions an artist nicknamed Khaṭaʾī, perhaps because he specialized in the "Cathayan" mode (ibid., 43).

25. The poem is published in Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-Engizler ve Şehrengizlerde İstanbul* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1957), 79. On the album, see Süheyl A. Ünver, *Fatih Devri Saray Nakışhanesi ve Baba Nakkaş Çalışmaları* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1958); Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993).

26. I have not encountered the term *islāmi* in any non-Safavid source, which points to the special twist given to the original term *islīmī* in an attempt to invent a religious origin for the motif. (See, for instance, the Timurid text cited above in note 24, where *islīmī* is used). I am therefore not convinced by O'Kane's hypothesis that the Safavid term *islāmī* probably represents "a reversion to what may have been the original form of the word, from which *islīmī* was later derived" and an "equivalent to what we call an arabesque." In his view, while rejecting the "specifically Arab connotations of the word arabesque," claimed to be an Orientalist concept corresponding to an outsider's view of an alien art, the Timurids "may have been the first to employ it as a concept" (Bernard O'Kane, "Poetry, Geometry and the Arabesque: Notes in Timurid Aesthetics," *Annales Islamologiques* 26 [1992]: 63–78, esp. 63, 76–78).

27. The timing of the first edict coincided with the rebellion of the *qizilbash* Shamlu tribe, whose candidate for Safavid rule was Shah Tahmasp's half-brother Sam Mirza, a failed project supported by an alliance between the Ottoman sultan, Süleyman, and the Shaybanid ruler of Uzbek Central Asia, ʿUbayd Khan. See Martin Bernard Dickson, "Shāh Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks: The Duel for Khurasan with Ubayd Khan, 930–946/1524–1540," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1958), 269, 282–84, 294; and Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 26–29. On Tahmasp's two edicts and his apologetic memoir, see Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, "Qurʾanic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques: A Comparison with Their Safavid and Mughal Counterparts," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qurʾan and Its Creative Expressions*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 83nn40–41. For Tahmasp's dismissal of artists, with the exception of a few painters including Muzaffar ʿAli and Aqa Mirak, and the continued practice of painting after his second repentance, see Porter "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 114–15; Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, 13–19; and Iván Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary: The Esterházy Appliqué in Context* (Piliscsaba: Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2010), 135–36.

28. Iskandar Munshī, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great* [*Tārīkh-e ʿĀlamārā-ye ʿAbbāsī*, by Eskandar Beg Monshī], trans. Roger M. Savory, 3 vols. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978–86): 1:271. For the mural paintings, see Ehsan Echraghi, "Description contemporaine des peintures murales disprues des palais de Shah Tahmāsp à Qazvin," in *Art et Société dans le Monde Iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 125–26.

29. See Maria Szuppe, "Palais et jardins: Le complexe royal des premiers Safavides à Qazvin, milieu XVIe–début XVIIe siècles," *Res Orientales* 8 (1996): 143–77, esp. 159. Szuppe cites Pietro Della Valle's early-seventeenth-century description of the palace complex sited in a garden, whose Turkish name was "Gennet Baghi" (Garden of Paradise), 169. The narrative subjects of painted murals are discussed in Echraghi, "Description contemporaine des peintures murales." The walls of an extant palace in Nain (ca. 1565–75) are decorated with comparable literary scenes and poetic inscriptions.

30. Cited from the historian Hasanbeyzade in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 28. On Süleyman's changing persona, see Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts."

31. Tijana Krstic, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 35–63, esp. 36–37, 63; and Evelin Wetter, ed., *Formierungen des konfessionellen Raumes Ostmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008). On Protestant attitudes, see Christopher P. Heuer's chapter in this section of the present volume.

32. On the a priori rejection of religious and political motives, see note 11 above.

33. Khadīvjam, "Risāla dar tārīkh-i khaṭṭ u naqqāshī," 673.

34. ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Rawżat al-ṣifāt*, 30–32, 50–52.

35. Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, 132: *islāmī, khaṭāʾī, farangī, faṣṣālī, abr, vāq, girih*. Minorsky's English translation of this passage is incorrect, as noted in Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 113n50. See Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Ḥusaynī Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters, a Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606*, translated from Persian by Vladimir Minorsky; Russian introduction by B. N. Zakhoder translated by T. Minorsky (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 3, no. 2, 1959), 25, 178.

36. Ṣādiqī Beg, "Canons of Painting" (1597): appendix 1, in Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1: 262. The Persian text is published in Porter, *Painters, Paintings, and Books*, 202–11; and Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, 153–64.

37. Cited in Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 114n58, from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbūh's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1912–38), 3:35. A reference in the same Mughal source to the "Frankish knot" (*band-i farangī*) may perhaps be interpreted as the European version of the arabesque-cum-grotesque (cited in Porter,

"From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 114). On European arabesques and grotesques, see Chastel, *La grotesque*; Peter Ward-Jackson, "Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500 to 1750," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 2–4, no. 3 (1967): 58–71, 90–103, 121–34; Sue Budden, trans., *Arabesques: Decorative Panels of the Renaissance*, (Paris: Booking International, 1995); and Alessandra Zamperini, *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

38. On the *girih* mode, see Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll*. Mughal texts praising the naturalistic floral imagery of the Taj Mahal are discussed in Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 216–19, esp. 170.

39. Sadiqi was dismissed from the post of royal librarian (*kitābdār*) by Shah ʿAbbas I in 1597; he originated from the Turkmen Khudabandalu tribe (a branch of the Shamlu) and was closely associated with Afshar chieftains. See Tourkhan Gandjei, "Notes on the Life and Work of Sādiqī: A Poet and Painter of Safavid Times," *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 111–18.

40. See ʿAbdī Beg's Shīrāzī's poem, *Rawżat al-ṣifāt*, 50; translated into English in Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 113. For relevant passages in Mir Sayyid-Ahmad's preface, see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 25–26. On Timurid texts mentioning the "Cathayan" and "Frankish" modes, see a Chaghatay-Turkish literary work titled *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb* (The beloved of hearts), written in 1500–1501 by the vizier of late Timurid Herat, Mir ʿAli Shir Navaʾi, where he requires the ideal illuminator (*mudhahhib*) to be skilled in the "Cathayan" (*khaṭāʾī* / *khiṭāʾī*) and "Frankish" (*farangī* / *firangī*) manners of design (Zuhal Kargı Ölmez, "Alī Sher Navāʾī, Mahbûbü'l-kulûb: İnceleme-metin-sözlük" [PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1993], 226, fol. 62b). The same terms are used in an earlier Persian text by Kamal al-Din ʿAbd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, describing his embassy to Calicut and Vijayanagar in 1442–44 on behalf of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh, where a temple is described as decorated with "Frankish and Cathayan designs [*naqsh-i farangī va khaṭāʾī*]" (Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 75). These terms and corresponding styles are discussed in two forthcoming essays of mine; Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Composition and Compilation of Two Saray Albums Reconsidered in Light of 'Frankish' Images," forthcoming in the facsimile edition of two interrelated Topkapı Albums (H. 2153 and H. 2160), ed. Filiz Çağman and Selmin Kangal (Istanbul: MAS Matbaacılık); Necipoğlu, "Persianate Images between Europe and China: The 'Frankish Manner' in the Diez and Topkapı Albums, ca. 1350–1450," forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference "The Diez Albums at the Berlin State Library: Current State of Research and New Perspectives," co-organized by Christoph Rauch and Julia Gonella at the Berlin State Library in June 2013.

41. Herzfeld, "Arabesque," 1:363, 365, 367.

42. Ṣādiqī Beg, "Canons of Painting," 1:262. Modal systems in Islamic arts are discussed in Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll*, 112, 206–12.

43. For the statement that the seven decorative modes must apply principally to the art of illumination, see Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, 278. Citing Ottoman and Mughal texts, Porter tentatively speculates that the seven modes may not have been entirely nonfigural, but he does not refer to ʿAbdi Beg's descriptions of the modes; see Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams,'" 114. ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Rawżat al-ṣifāt*, 30–32, 50–52.

44. This useful distinction is made in "Ornement/Ornemental," special issue, *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* 1 (2010–11).

45. Ṣādiqī Beg, "Canons of Painting," 1:261, 264–65.

46. For examples, see Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*.

47. Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 26–27.

48. Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts"; Reinhold Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. W. Sahm, 2 vols. (Königsberg: F. Beyer Thomas und Oppermann, 1912–30), 1:264; Klaus Kreiser, "'. . . Dan die Türckhen leiden khain Menschen Pildnuss': Über die Praxis des 'Bilderverbots' bei den Osmanen," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Geza Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 549–56. On the Ottoman arts in this period, see Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat. (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art; New York: H. Abrams, 1987); and Michael J. Rogers and Rachel M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum Publications, 1988).

49. Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136–70, app. 2, 165–66.

50. Howard Crane and Esra Akın, eds. and trans., *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 130–33, 155–57.

51. On Shah Jahan, who was similarly eulogized as "the spring of the flower garden of justice and generosity" during whose rule "Hindustan has become the rose garden of the earth," see Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, 222; and Chanchal Dadlani's chapter in this volume. Fuzuli's poem is published in Ahmet Atilla Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi* (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 296–300. On the eulogy of prince Mehmed, see Muṣṭafā Gelibolulu ʿĀlī, *Câmiʿu'l-buhûr der mecâlis-i sûr*, ed. Ali Öztekin (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 99, 275. Nevʾi's poem is published in Yahya Nevʾī, *Divan: Tenkidli Basım*, ed. Mertol Tulum and M. Ali Tanyeri (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1977), 112–15. For the poet Baki's (d. 1600) panegyric of Feridun Ahmed Pasha's palace, which is compared to a paradisiacal garden and praises this chancellor's letters that make the "verdant plants of state and religion freshly blooming," see Sadeddin N. Ergun, *Bakî: Hayatı ve şiirleri* (Istanbul: Sühulet Kitab Yurdu, 1935), 1:69–71.

52. Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

53. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan's Autobiographies," in *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, ed. and trans. Howard Crane and Esra Akın (Leiden: Brill, 2006), vii–xvi.

54. See the English translation of Mustafa ʿĀli's text in Esra Akın-Kıvanç, ed., trans., and commentary, *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

55. Ibid., 120–25, 251, 261.

56. On the centralized organization of the Ottoman court ateliers, see Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts."

57. Muṣṭafā Gelibolulu ʿĀlī, *Gelibolulu Mustafa ʿÂlî ve Mevâʿıdü'n-Nefâis fî-ḳavâʿıdi'l-Mecâlis*, ed. Mehmet Şeker (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), 320.

58. Latifi criticizes those Ottoman poets

of his time who were not divinely inspired and whose poems he found superficial, without metaphorical depth: Laṭîfî, *Latîfî Tezkiresi*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1990), 283–90; Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-Nuzamâ (İnceleme-Metin)*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1999).

59. Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 588. The mirror and slate metaphor in Ottoman and Safavid texts is discussed in relation to the ideal of mimetic abstraction in Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze," 45–49.

60. Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts."

61. Quoting studies by Michael Rogers, Jon Thompson agrees with him that it is difficult to prove the influence of court scriptoria on decorative arts in other media, even in the better documented and more centralized Ottoman court. For the debate, see his "Early Safavid Carpets and Textiles" in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, 279–80, 311nn29 and 34. The documents are cited in Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor," nn51–52. A register of imperial tents produced in the workshop of tent makers in Istanbul, dating from the first years of Süleyman's reign, lists the costs of paper for designs (*kāġıd kim naqş*), the wages of painter-decorators who prepared designs for ornamented tents (*naqqāşān ki naqş-kerden-i baʿzi naqş-i resm-i ḫayme-i münaqqāş*), and costs for building a workshop for the painting of tent poles; see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Ali Emiri 12, fols. 32–33. For painter-decorators loaned to the royal workshop of tile makers in Istanbul in 1527, see Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 139, 146–48, 163. Designs for carpets are mentioned in note 65 below.

62. Documents referring to these drawings for textiles, ordered by the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha from Istanbul and by the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Dukakinzade Mehmed Pasha from Cairo, are cited in Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 155n49. Rüstem Pasha fostered the consumption of domestic fabrics by restricting the former large-scale importation of Italian luxury textiles for use in the Ottoman court as part of his fiscal policy; for his contribution to the formation of the classical canon, see Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts," 198–203, 213; and Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 296–301, 314–31. The "Relazione" of the Venetian *bailo* Bernardo Navagero reports that this pasha, who was "born as a man of business," did everything to promote "those silk and gold Bursa textiles of his, sometimes even wearing vests made of these" (instead of the customary European luxury fabrics); cited in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 314–15. For Venetian luxury textiles ordered via Dubrovnik by Rüstem Pasha, some of which may have been intended as samples to be copied in Ottoman workshops, see James D. Tracy, "The Grand *Vezir* and the Small Republic: Dubrovnik and Rüstem Paşa, 1544–1561," *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010): 196–214. On Italian silks made for the Ottoman market, see Nurhan Atasoy et al., *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2001), 182–90.

63. See unpublished documents at the Prime Ministry Archives, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, MM. 6196, dated 974 (1566), p. 171; MM. 6520, dated 992 (1584), p. 17; MM. 7257, dated 1005 (1596–97), p. 22. A ground plan datable by its watermark to the mid-sixteenth century, which depicts the royal textile workshop at Tavukpazarı in Istanbul, shows separate workshops with looms for silk brocade and velvet weavers (*kemḫācılar kārḫānesi*, *qadīfeciler kārḫānesi*), and a room for textile designers (*naqşbendler odası*); reproduced and discussed in Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts," 199–201. An incorrect early-nineteenth-century date, contradicted by the mid-sixteenth century watermark of the paper, is proposed for this plan in Nevber Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving: Designs through the Ages* (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1988), 44, 46. For looms and textile designers, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 170, 183–85, 197–203.

64. The drawings are mentioned among the expenses of the royal "workshop [*kār-ḫāne*] of Usta Muhyiddin Zerbaft" in Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, D.BŞM.BRZ 40816, dated 934–37 (1527–31), p. 72. The royal workshop is also listed in MAD, D.17884, dated 934–35 (1527–29), pp. 49–50, 62: It included several looms (*tezgāh-ı zerbaft, tezgāh-ı qadīfe, tezgāh-ı ʿabāyī, tezgāh-ı miyānbend, tezgāh-ı çārşı*) and may have been a branch of the "workshop of silk brocade weavers" (*kārḫāne-i kemḫācıyān*), which is cited separately. The reference here to a velvet loom disproves the assumption that velvet weaving in Istanbul began later in 1545; for this assumption, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 196.

65. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, D.BŞM.BRZ 40816, dated 934–37 (1527–31), p. 48: "Becihet-i ḫarc-ı resm-kerden-i qālīçe-i münaqqāş der yed-i usta şāh qulı naqqāş"; p. 6: "Becihet-i ḫarc-ı meremmet ve tezhīb-kerden-i kitāb-ı yūsuf ve züleyḫā der yed-i usta şāh qulı naqqāş." The expression "by the hand of" (*der yed-i*) could imply that Shah Qulı supervised these two projects with the aid of assistants. Later on, a "register of models [*numūne defter*]" with carpet designs was sent for the production of custom-made carpets in Küre (near Uşak) for the Süleymaniye Mosque in 1553; see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 107. Jon Thompson finds the idea that scriptorium artists provided designs for carpets tempting but says that there is no concrete evidence for this in the Ottoman or Safavid contexts; see his essay in Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, 311n34, 285, 288, 291–92.

66. For Shah Qulı, see Banu Mahir, "Saray nakkaşhanesinin ünlü ressamı Şah Kulu ve eserleri," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: Yıllık* 1 (1986): 113–30; Banu Mahir, "Kanuni Döneminde Yaratılmış Yaygın Bezeme Üslubu, Saz Yolu," *Türkiyemiz* 54 (1988): 28–37; Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor," 15–16. According to Aşık Çelebi, Shah Qulı came to Amasya to join the court of Prince Ahmed in Amasya earlier during Bayezid II's (d. 1512) reign: ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā, or, Tezkere of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens (London: Luzac, 1971), fols. 56b–57a; ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşâʿirüş-Şuʿarâ: İnceleme, Metin*, 3 vols., ed. Filiz Kılıç (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 1:428–34. However, a register of wages dated 1526 states that he was among the artists brought from Tabriz by Selim I after the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514. For this inconsistency, see Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists*, 268n511.

67. For his training under Aqa Mirak, see Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists*, 268n511. On Aqa Mirak, see Ṣādiqī Beg, "Canons of Painting," 264–65.

68. Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 301–9. Based on designs in the *saz* style in a late-sixteenth-century album made for Murad III, it has unconvincingly been argued that these tiles date to ca. 1550 or later: See Walter B. Denny, "Dating Ottoman Works in the Saz Style," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 103–21; and Denny, "Turkish Ceramics and Turkish Painting: The Role of the Paper Cartoons in Turkish Ceramic Production," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture: In Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, CA: Udena Publications, 1981), 29–36. The earlier date I have proposed for the Sünnet Odası tile panels is accepted in Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *İznik: The*

Pottery of Ottoman Turkey, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London: Alexandria Press, 1989), 102–4.

69. ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā, or, Tezkere of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi*, fols. 56b–57a; ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşâʿirüş-Şuʿarâ: İnceleme, Metin*, 1:428–34.

70. According to Rogers, little sense can be made of Mustafa ʿĀli's assertion that Kara Memi was the leading pupil of Shah Qulı; see Michael J. Rogers, "Kara Mehmed Çelebi (Kara Memi) and the Role of the Ser-nakkâşân," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7–10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 238n36. This judgment overlooks Shah Qulı's expertise in illumination, attested in the source cited above in note 69. For Mustafa ʿĀli's relevant passage, see Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa ʿÂli's Epic Deeds of Artists*, 268.

71. This division disappears in seventeenth-century documents; see Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts," 205n16; and Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 233.

72. On European models of the Mughal floral style, including Flemish prints depicting vases filled with variegated flowers, see Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, 217–24, where this style is interpreted as a symbol of paradise and Mughal kingship. There is little evidence to support the assumption that Kara Memi's floral style was influenced by European herbals; a list of sixteenth-century herbals is given without further discussion in Atasoy and Raby, *İznik*, 222–23.

73. Philippe Sieur du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye* (1573), ed. M. H. Hauser (Paris, 1897), 87–88.

74. Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 32–71.

75. For Ebussuud, who cultivated new species of tulip in his famous suburban garden, and the Sufi shaykh Aziz Mahmud Hüdai, who was also connected with horticulture, see Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul: MAS Matbaacılık, 2002), 344–48. The earliest extant manuscript of the agricultural treatise is dated 958 (1577); see Zafer Önler, ed. *Revnak-ı Bustan* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000).

76. Daniela del Pesco's chapter in this section of the present volume addresses the development of an aesthetic of floral ornament in Italy in conjunction with research in the natural sciences. For Jacopo Ligozzi, see Maria Elena De Luca and Marzia Faietti, eds., *Jacopo Ligozzi, "Altro Apelle"* (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2014); and Alessandro Cecchi, Lucilla Conigliello, and Marzia Faietti, eds., *Jacopo Ligozzi: "Pittore universalissimo,"* exh. cat. (Florence: Sillabe, 2014).

77. For lacquer bindings and illuminated manuscripts attributed to Kara Memi, and the so-called Damascus phase of Iznik ceramics, see Atasoy and Raby, *İznik*, 129–44, 222–23, figs. 340–71. Decoupage (cut-paper) gardens are discussed in Filiz Çağman, "L'art du papier découpé et ses représentants à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7–10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 249–64. On Efşancı Mehmed and the example illustrated here, see Filiz Çağman, *Katʿı: Osmanlı Dünyasında Kâğıt Oyma Sanatı ve Sanatçıları* (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 2014), esp. 102–12; Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 73–89; ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā, or, Tezkere of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi*, fols. 160v–61v; and ʿÂşıḳ Çelebi, *Meşâʿirüş-Şuʿarâ: İnceleme, Metin*, 2:998–1000.

78. On the Turkmen cut-paper garden, and others like it from the same album (TSMK, H. 2153), see Çağman, *Katʿı*, 66–85. On the inscribed poem, see ibid., 105, 108. Its first part is from the qasida on springtime by the celebrated Ottoman poet Mesihi (d. 1512–13), while its second part is from a later spring qasida by the famous poet Baki (d. 1600) dedicated to Sultan Süleyman's grand vizier Semiz Ali Pasha (d. 1565). The album in which the Ottoman cut-paper garden is pasted is dominated by calligraphies of the Safavid calligrapher Shah Mahmud Nishapuri (d. 1564–65) and has been dated to the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

79. For Chios textiles, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 172–75, 251–52. The main layouts of Ottoman patterned silk textiles are discussed on 204–7.

80. Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 155n51.

81. These royal artists included leading masters of figural painting: Ali Çelebi, Osman, Ali Beg, İbrahim, Ayas, Sefer, Hamdi, Ümmi, Mehmed, [Kaytas-i] Frenk, Acem Yusuf, Tiflisi, Divane Mehmed; see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, BA MM 750, fol. 100. For a group of twelve court painter-decorators who under the supervision of Üstad Mehmed Halife executed the painted decorations of the Muradiye Mosque in Manisa in 1585, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* , 262. The earliest reference to a group of non-royal and royal painter-decorators (*naqqāşlar, ʿulūfeciyān naqqāşlar*) employed in architectural decoration is found in the account book of a kiosk built in 1488 for Bayezid II, published in Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Account Book of a Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Royal Kiosk," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 11 (1987): 31–44.

82. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 161. For the stylistic evolution of the Iznik tile industry, see Walter B. Denny, *Iznik: The Artistry of Ottoman Ceramics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004).

83. Necipoğlu, "Qurʾanic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques," 70–79.

84. Rare examples of figural textiles and ceramics are illustrated in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 48–49, 100–103, 243–47, 271; and Atasoy and Raby, *İznik*, 103, 119, 247, 250, 255–57, 275, 282–83.

85. See Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary*, 108, 119.

86. Robert Skelton, "Ghiyath al-Din ʿAli-yi Naqshband and an Episode in the Life of Sadiqi Beg," in *Persian Painting: From the Mongols to the Qajars; Studies in Honor of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 249–63; Thompson and Canby, *Hunt for Paradise*, 280–85, 304–5; and Mary Anderson McWilliams, "Prisoner Imagery in Safavid Textiles," *Textile Museum Journal* 26 (1987): 194–97.

87. Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, trans. with notes by A. H. Morton (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 41.

88. On European customers of Iznik ceramics and tiles, and seventeenth-century Paduan and Venetian majolica that copied floral Iznik pottery, see Atasoy and Raby, *İznik*, 264–72; and Maria Vittoria Fontana, "L'influence islamique sur la production de céramique de Venise et Padoue," in *Venise et l'Orient: 828–1797*, exh. cat., ed. Stefano Carboni (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 281–93. On Iznik-style tile revetments found in Hungary, see Tamás Emődi, "The 'Tiled Room' in the Palace of the Ruling Prince at Gyulafehérvár," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, Opuscula Hungarica, no. 3 (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2002), 329–36.

89. For the recently established provenance of the so-called Kubachi wares and tiles in Qumisheh, a village of Isfahan to which ʿAbbas I moved the Safavid capital in the 1590s, see Lisa Golombek (project director and editor), Robert B. Mason, Patricia Proctor, and Eileen Reilly, *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), esp. 170–81. However, it is unclear when the many vessels found in Kubachi came there and whether some of them were produced in Tabriz as well as other places. On the role of Tabriz, "a claimant for part of the Kubachi wares," and of Azerbaijan before ca. 1550 in the dissemination of Safavid mass produced ceramics to Hungary, through the Black Sea via the land route of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were Ottoman vassals, see Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary*, 69–84, esp. 71, 77. For the impact of Iznik ceramics on late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century polychrome Kubachi wares, and their former attribution to Tabriz (reconquered by Shah ʿAbbas I from the Ottomans, who had occupied it between 1585 and 1603), see Denny, *Iznik*, 180; and Yolande Crowe, "La céramique dite de Kubatcha et la collection de T. B. Whitney," in *Purs décors? Arts d'Islam, regards du XIX siècle; Collections des Arts Decoratifs*, exh. cat., ed. Remi Labrusse (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 198–203, esp. 201–2.

90. Quoted from Fra Sabba da Castiglione in Elizabeth Miller, "Prints," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat., ed. Martha Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006), 329; see also Anna Contadini, "Middle Eastern Objects," in ibid., 308–21, and her chapter in the present volume.

91. Claus-Peter Haase, "Foreword," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania*, exh. cat., ed. Stefano Ionescu (Berlin: Museum für Islamische Kunst, 2007), 5; Beate Wild, "Transylvania, a World of Diversity between Worlds," in ibid., 7–21; and Evelin Wetter and Ágnes Ziegler, "Osmanische Textilien in der Repräsentationskultur des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Patriziats," in *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Robert Born and Sabine Jagodzinski, Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, no. 14 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014), 269–85.

92. For the anti-Trinitarian Adam Neuser, who fled to the Ottoman Empire, converted to Islam, and became the leader of a group of German converts to Islam in Istanbul, see the diary of the Lutheran priest of the Austrian Habsburg embassy in the Ottoman capital, Stephan Gerlach (1573–78), cited in Krstic, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam," 48n50. She also discusses the Hungarian convert and court interpreter Murad b. Abdullah, who harbored Unitarian sympathies and celebrated the unity of God in hymns written in Ottoman Turkish, Latin, and Hungarian.

93. Walter B. Denny, *The Classical Tradition in Anatolian Carpets*, exh. cat. (Washington DC: Textile Museum, 2002), 53–55, 108–9.

94. Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 100–101, 243 (cat. 20).

95. Ibid., 180–81, 233 (cat. 12 and 13). Selmin Kangal, ed., *Osmanlı Sarayı'nda Rusya / Russia in the Ottoman Palace*, exh. cat. (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace Publications, 2010), esp. 32–35, 224. See also gifts sent to the tsars from the Ottoman and Safavid courts in the exhibition catalogue *The Tsars and the East: Gifts from Turkey and Iran in the Moscow Kremlin* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2009).

96. Julia Gonnella and Jens Kröger, eds., *Angels, Peonies, and Fabulous Creatures: The Aleppo Room in Berlin* (Rhema: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008); and Julia Gonnella, *Ein christlich-orientalisches Wohnhaus des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Aleppo (Syrien): Das "Aleppo Zimmer" im Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mainz am Rhein: P. Von Zabern, 1996).

97. The unpublished decrees dated 959 (1552) are in the Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fols. 292r–293r, 438r–v, 458v. Later decrees are cited in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 170–71.

98. For gift exchange between the Ottoman and Safavid courts, see Sinem Arcak, "Gifts in Motion: Ottoman-Safavid Cultural Exchange, 1501–1618" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2012).

99. Andreas Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli on Luxury and the Status Symbols of Ottoman Gentlemen," in *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, ed. Aldo Galotta and Ugo Marazzi (Rome: Herder, 1982), 577–90. Not meant for a wide public, the textile and carpet trade of Safavid Iran was largely oriented toward neighboring regions rather than Europe, including the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Bukhara. Increasing in popularity during the seventeenth century, Safavid luxury goods mostly reached Hungary via the Ottoman Empire, which did not allow Iran to trade directly with the West. For luxurious Safavid silk carpets captured by Hungarians as booty from the Ottomans, particularly after the second siege of Vienna in 1683, and the observation that "Persian art was habitually displayed by Ottomans as part of their own accoutrement," see Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary*, 41–48, 55, 62, 143. On Safavid Iran's foreign relations and the silk trade, see Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig, eds., *Iran and the World at Large in the Safavid Age* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); and Rudolph P. Mathee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver 1600–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Thanks to the maritime networks of the Portuguese, Safavid carpets were collected in the second half of the sixteenth century by Portuguese royal and elite patrons; see Jessica Hallett, "Carpet, Painting and Text," in *The Oriental Carpet in Portugal: Carpets and Paintings, 15th–18th Centuries*, exh. cat. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2007), 40–45.

100. Iskandar Munshī, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great*, 1:164. On Ottoman and European silk textiles sent in 1560 as gifts by Sultan Süleyman to Shah Tahmasp, when the rebel Ottoman prince Bayezid sought refuge in Qazvin, see Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving*, 195.

101. Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli on Luxury," 577–90. On the graded quality levels in Ottoman fabrics, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 165, 220–25. The concept of decorum in residential architecture and the stratified ranking of luxury goods are discussed in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 115–17, 120.

102. Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 171.

103. Five named master tile makers from Iznik were ordered to be sent to the sultan's court with their tools and implements in 978 (1570); see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, MAD 14, no. 819, p. 576. Ten named master carpet weavers from Cairo were ordered to come to the sultan's court in 993 (1585) with a supply of died wool; see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553–1591)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 133, no. 54. For the unpublished decree recruiting five named painter-decorators from Chios in 1573, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 242, 534n310.

104. For Chios textiles, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 172–75, 251–52.

105. Sheila R. Canby, ed., *Shah Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

Chapter 12

Thanks to Gert Jan Kocken, Gülru Necipoğlu, and Alina Payne. Joseph Leo