connection is perhaps not surprising, because some of the artists, who
have worked for the Muzaffarids were probably still alive. From a
blending of the Muzaffarid and early Timurid court style sprang the court
style of Ibrahim. In the Bodleian Shah-nama the treatment is broad
and vigorous. The eye is not distracted by excessive detail, but is allowed
to concentrate on the main action. A certain stiffness in the drawing is
noticeable in all Shirazi manuscripts of the period. Finally the throne
scene has suggested a connection with the studios which worked for Shah
Rukh about 1425, a style which, first described by Ettinghausen, is rather
stereotyped and archaistic in character.

HERAT, TABRIZ, ISTANBUL
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PICTORIAL STYLE

by

E. Grube

Painting in the Muslim world has always been associated with the
main centres of political power and was largely dependent on the personal
patronage of the ruler or the dignitaries of the state. It was at the courts
of the Shahs of Iran and India and the Sultans of the western lands and
of Turkey that the great schools of painting flourished. Painting seems
almost always to have suffered when royal support was either lacking or
withdrawn and to have flourished when the ruler took a personal interest
in the development of the art of the book.

The history of Muslim painting is therefore closely related to the
political history of the Muslim world and to the fates of dynasties, courts
and cities. Styles develop and disappear with the development and
decline of a school; and only rarely does a tradition survive in any one
place or even more rarely is it transmitted from one school to another.
This makes for a striking variety in Muslim painting of which the history
appears to be a succession of clearly defined schools identifiable with
particular cities and limited to particular periods.

Recognizing the special position of painting in the Muslim world,
scholars have devoted themselves mostly to classifying the surviving
material, to identifying the various court schools and to establishing their
chronology.

A great many paintings have survived that cannot be readily associ-
ated with any of the known schools. Detailed study of a large body of
material, hitherto unidentified, suggests that a style did not in all instances
originate, develop and decline in a single place and at one particular court.
In other words a particular style was not always the creation of one school,
but rather the result of such circumstances as a shift of political power
involving the transplantation of artists from one city to another, often far
removed and where entirely different circumstances prevailed. There
have been many such upheavals which have usually resulted in the
destruction of another. In certain instances, however, the very fact of
upheaval and change seems not only to have contributed to, but to have been an essential factor in the full development of a style.

One such instance is well illustrated by a large number of paintings that have mainly been preserved in albums in the Saray Library in Istanbul; and other paintings related to these can usually be found to have been at one time in the collections of the Sultans of Turkey. The fact that so many of these paintings are preserved in the Saray and that parallels can be found in the arts of the Ottoman Turks of the 16th century, led the writer to conclude that these represent a "School of Turkish painting". This is only partially true and now, after five years of detailed study of the entire material, it has become clear that the "Turkish School" is only one manifestation of the style. The style itself is indigenous neither to Turkey nor to any other specific place in the Islamic world; rather, it seems to have developed while travelling possibly from Samarqand and Herat to Tabriz and finally to Istanbul. In fact the possible connection of the Turkish phase of the style, with a centre of painting in the east had already been recognized when the first survey of the material was made, but only now does it seem possible to establish what then was supposition.

The basic elements of the style which is the subject of this paper are a preference for a subdued palette of grey and brown tones, and an emphasis on the calligraphic element in design.

A number of surviving landscape paintings follow a common pattern (figs. 50–52): groups of gnarled trees with large leaves are set in a rocky ground presented in several planes. The ground is strewn with large leafy plants some bearing large multi-petalled flowers, but some without blossoms. These landscapes are inhabited by monkeys, birds, dragons, phoenixes, lions and kylins, butterflies and foxes, turtles and cranes, gazelles and stags, bears and leopards, often all together in one painting. The animals are usually depicted in lively movement, often in combat with one another. The narrative element in these paintings distinguishes them from the rest: monkeys have escaped into a tree from the approach of a lion or dragon; dragons growler at one another from behind trees or rocks; cranes attack turtles that try to escape into ponds; bears wielding

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sticks like swords defend themselves against dragons, lions or kylinas.3
Many of the animal figures are obviously derived from Chinese models, notably the dragon, phoenix, kylin and many of the birds. Other details also reveal direct contact with Chinese painting such as the highly stylized cloud formations, the decorative ribbons which flutter around some of the kylinas, the flames issuing from shoulders of the dragons and kylinas, and many more. Many details of the landscape such as the rendering of rocks, and the shrubs with large leaves and blossoms are inspired by the same source.

3 Of these drawings only a few have so far been published. See M.-S. Eyüboğlu and S. Eyüboğlu, Sur L'Album du Conquérant, Istanbul s.a., p. 146, fig. 122; Handbook of the Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, 1st ed. 1969, p. 250, below (43-6/2).

But the finished painting has not the least resemblance to any one kind of Chinese painting. Chinese models have provided inspiration only for details and for the use of subdued tones of grey and brown; the final result is an original and successful work of art.

These landscape compositions, together with a related group of paintings consisting of greatly enlarged renderings of individual motives used in the landscape paintings, constitute the earliest stage in the development of the style. These single motif paintings may even be the next step after the landscapes since they continue a trend of intensification of contrast in colour and dramatization of form, occasionally encountered in the landscapes. In fact many, if not most of these paintings show groups of kylinas or dragons in combat (fig. 53) and in landscape settings that have been reduced to an absolute minimum, such as a few large rocks, two
Among the bindings, decorated in all the known techniques including blindtooling and relief stamping and gilding in high relief, one in particular stands out (figs. 55/6, 59). This is the binding of a manuscript of Farid

gnarled trees, or just simple indications of ground, a piece of rock, a plant or a tree trunk.

Many of these paintings retain the idea of narrative. There are still pages with dragons pursuing bears that climb to the top of elaborately designed trees (fig. 54) but more generally the attention is focused upon the individual motif. Some of these paintings seem, in fact, mere studies, even though every detail is executed with the greatest care.

It appears that many of these paintings, although intrinsically beautiful, were actually made as models for other artists working in the hikāb-khāna.

The closest parallel that can throw light on the provenance and date of these paintings is a group of richly decorated bindings of manuscripts made during the 15th century in Herat for the libraries of Shāh Rukh, Baysunghur, and Sultān Husayn Mirzā Bayqarā.

54.

55.
al-Din Attār’s Poems copied in Herat for Shāh Rukh in a.H. 841 (A.D. 1438).³

The exterior of the binding (fig. 55) is decorated with a freely drawn landscape with trees in blossom, deer, dragons, and ducks flying among undulating cloud bands. The design of this front cover, so far unknown in Timūrid art, has many parallels among the elaborate decorative drawings of the Saray album n. 2153. Landscapes of a very similar nature, with almost identical trees, small rock formations, deer and dragons, birds and especially ducks in flight among decorative cloud formations frequently occur in these drawings. Indeed one might suppose that some of them may have been created as models for the designers of just such book-bindings.

The inside of the same binding (fig. 56) decorated in filigree, a technique popular in the Timūrid period, corresponds to the patterns of the exterior and again has many parallels in the decorative drawings of the Saray. In the centre of the field two kylins appear to the right and left of a tree; lions, hares, monkeys and ducks are set against a background of elaborate, foliated scrolls that fill the oblong and small quatrefoil medallions in the border. Parallels for almost all animals and floral motives can be found in the Saray drawings.

Especially noteworthy in this respect are a few drawings that seem to be direct designs for such border decorations as, for instance, one with a continuous beautifully drawn foliated scroll with large chrysanthemum and lotus flowers(fig. 57). In front of these scrolls are flying birds (cranes?) in exactly the same manner in which birds and monkeys are presented in the border designs of these bindings. Other drawings, such as those showing a snake writhing round a foliate scroll, and through openings in large fan-shaped leaves (fig. 58) have even more the character of models from which the leather tooling artists worked.

Both the inside and outside decoration of the flap (fig. 59) are obviously derived from drawings such as fig. 60 which again may have been made as models for the binders. Especially noteworthy are the monkeys in the filigree border of the inside of the flap for which there are exact parallels in a number of drawings (fig. 51).⁴ The kylins on the stamped relief decoration of the outside of the flap again seem to have been taken direct from a drawing (see fig. 60).


⁴ The monkey motif continued to be very popular in Timūrid bindings where it is often used in the same way as in the drawings. Compare the group of monkeys in a tree on the exterior of the front cover of the binding of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī’s Mathnawī copied in a.H. 849 (A.H. 1446), Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 1243, Ağa-Oğlu, op. cit., pl. IV; or the same motif in the central medallion of the exterior of the binding of Firdawsi’s Shāh-nāma, made for Shāh Ismā’īl’s brother, Sultan ‘Alī Mirzā who died in 1483, in the same collection, no. 3079, Ağa-Oğlu, pl. XXII.
The same type of decoration is still used fifty years later in Herat as can be seen from a miniature by Muhammad 699 (v. 515). (a) to (d) for Sultan Husayn Bayqara.

61. While the inscriptions of the front cover are decorated with a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorated design named by a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative border of a decorative 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of the Timurid capital's. It is clear.
too, that the related school of decorative drawing also continued through out the 15th century.

If these drawings and paintings can be attributed to Herat and given a fairly precise date by means of the bindings then another large and related group of drawings and paintings that have so far eluded secure definition can be given to that city. There are the strange representations of monsters, some fighting among themselves, some with dragons and other animals. Some also play curious and often fantastic instruments, prepare lurid dishes and engage in frightening games and dances (figs. 63-65). The stylistic affinity of these paintings—their monochrome tonality, the striking resemblance of many of their iconographic details to those of the paintings already attributed to Herat through the bindings—is so overwhelming that they must undoubtedly belong to the same milieu and to about the same period.

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5 Many of these paintings, which are usually connected with Siyâh Qalâ, have been published by 1½vâgî-Eyüpîghâ, op. cit., also Oktay Aslançâ, "Türkische Miniaturmalerei am Hofe Mehmed des Eroberers in Istanbul", in _Arts Orientalis_, 1 (1954), pl. 18, figs. 30-37; R. Ettinghausen, "Some paintings in four Istanbul Albums", ibid., pl. 24, fig. 55, and M. S. İpıvogu and S. Eyüpoglu, "Aus dem Album des Eroberers, Ein Beitrag zur türkischen Malerei im 15. Jahrhundert", _Ist.,_ 220, June 1969, with some magnificent colour reproductions.

6 A special study by the writer about the relationship of the "monster-paintings" to the early phase of the style here discussed will appear soon in _Panelis_.

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63.

64.

65.
Now that the drawings can be attributed to Herat there remains the problem of their chronology. The earliest phase of the style would be represented by the delicately drawn landscape paintings (figs. 50–52), the still largely monochrome studies of dragons and monsters (fig. 54), and the many scenes of the monsters and their various activities (figs. 63–65).

These all reveal a delicacy in the executing of minute detail, especially the rendering of fur, curls of hair, the scales of fish or dragon-monsters, and an almost complete absence of contrast whether in composition or in density of colour.

This delicate style of painting finds its perfect counterpart also in the softness of forms and flatness of relief in the bindings of the early Timurid period.

A later phase, probably from the death of a Baysunghur to about the middle of the century, is represented by the many studies of basically the same subjects, but with a new emphasis on counter-balance in composition and on light and dark shading of colour (fig. 53). There seems too to be greater interest in the complete execution of individual elements of the earlier designs, a stronger accent in the drawing of floral and animal motifs, and a tendency to introduce colour into the subdued palette of the earlier style. Motifs only adumbrated in the early stages of the style, such as landscape features, rock formations and even trees, are now developed into major motives within the still basically unchanged imagery of the early phase. Some of the paintings can therefore be compared with the contemporary manuscript illustrations of which most are dated or datable.

Here we can mention only a painting showing a monumental dragon against brightly coloured rocks (fig. 66), the beautiful painting of a dragon climbing down a tree defending itself against an angel who is about to cast a rock at the monster (fig. 67). In both paintings the colour element
developed the third phase of the 15th-century Herat school again corresponding to the decoration of bindings (figs. 69, 70). In this third period, the painters seem to have provided many of the ideas and models for the decorative arts.

Many drawings are executed in a purely linear style which is probably the result of an attempt to give greater clarity to the designs as well as a further development of a more graphic approach. These drawings usually have a special shape, suggesting fans (fig. 69), embroidery panels or roundels (fig. 70) and could be adapted for book illumination, leather tooled designs, painted tile work, or centres of ceramic bowls.

Although the largest number of drawings are of this type, there are still freely executed landscape compositions with animals which follow the earlier tradition (fig. 71).

So far the style belongs clearly to the milieu of the Timurid East, but it appears that in the 16th century it underwent fresh developments.

There is overwhelming evidence that the style of binding decoration which flourished at Herat in the 15th century was continued almost unchanged in Tabriz during the 16th century. This would indicate that not only bookbinders who had been brought from Herat to Tabriz at the

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9 London, Royal Asiatic Society, Pers. MS. 230. Ibid., pp. 53-56, no. xxxviii, pls. LXV-LXVIII; compare pl. LXVII. For an illustration in colour see Basil Gray, Persian Painting, Geneva 1961, p. 90, and p. 91, for another painting from the same manuscript.

beginning of the 16th century continued working in the Safavi Capital, but also the school of decorative and fantastic drawing was transferred to Tabriz where it carried on unchanged. This is all the more remarkable since the style of painting that flourished in Tabriz in the early 16th century differs considerably from that of Herat, granted that the Herat style of the late 15th century played a decisive role.

The binding of the copy of Niğâmî’s Khamsa (fig. 72) made in Tabriz in 1524–5, now in the Metropolitan Museum, may serve here as an example as it is securely dated with the manuscript. 13

Both the fields of the front and the back cover and the outside of the flap are decorated in gilded relief with a landscape design clearly derived from the Herat tradition as represented both in bookbindings and drawings. There are the same trees with long feathery leaves, the same dragon warding off the attack of a phoenix, the same stags, bears and monkeys among leafy plants, reeds and shrubs, which appear both in Herat bindings and landscape drawings.

There are many more bindings of this type, 14 and there is a group of lacquer bindings with similar scenes painted in silver, gold, brown, red and grey, that reflect both the iconography and the style of an entire series of decorative drawings that follow the earlier Herat tradition (fig. 73). 14

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14 Compare the two bindings in the Galbenkian Collection: Oriental Islamic Art, Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Exhibition), Lisbon 1963, with the sections on the Art of the Book by Basil Gray; nos. 129 and 130, both illustrated; no. 130, especially, is still very close to the early Herat phase of landscape design. As many bindings are separated from their original manuscripts, it is not always possible to determine where a binding may have been made. It would appear that the tradition of binding design of this type was taken over also by Bukhara, as is documented in the binding of a Niğâmî manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat. Supp. Pers. 885: F. Biocot, Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux, 1911–1914, pl. I, and G. Migeon, Manuel d’Art Musulman, Paris 1927, p. 188 fig. 6), which according to the colophon of the manuscript was copied in Bukhara (see also Robinson, Bullicans, op. cit., pp. 194–337). From this the “school” of decorative drawing (together with the “official style” of Herat painting) can be assumed to have continued—also in Bukhara: alternatively, Bukhara, which had been an important centre of Timurid culture before the rise of the Uzbeks, may already have had a school of painting during Ulugh Beg’s reign. It may well be that here and in Samarkand at the very beginning of the 16th, if not already at the end of the 14th century, the style was first formulated and that it was then transmitted to Herat when it became the capital of the Timurid empire.

14 Compare also Ernst Kühnel, Islamische Kleinkunst, 2nd ed., Brunswick 1963, p. 86, fig. 45, lacquer-binding in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. The flap illustrated in our fig. 73 is illustrated in colour by F. Narre, Islamische Bucheinbände, Berlin
Conclusive evidence of the "Tabriz phase" of the style is provided by the title pages of one of the great Saray Albums (Hazine 2154). These consist of large compositions executed in gold on a deep blue ground with dragons fighting, floral patterns inhabited by birds, snakes, dragons, cranes, lions and kylins in landscape settings. These pages must have been executed in Tabriz before A.H. 951 (A.D. 1544) when the album, incidentally containing a large number of decorative drawings both of this and the earlier phases of the style, was presented to (or at least owned by) Abū'l-Fath Bahārām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp. It would appear that many of the more schematic drawings of birds, and other animals, of plant forms and decorative composition, all of which seem to have been intended as models for bookbinders, lacquer-painters, marginal illuminations, and possibly textile weavers and embroiderers, and which rigidly follow the tradition of the late Herat phase of the style, were made during the first half of the 16th century in Tabriz.

The Turks invaded Persia many times throughout the first half of the 16th century and finally forced the Safavids to remove their capital to Qazvin. Booty included the leading court artists and a large number of manuscripts and albums, most of which are still preserved in the Topkapı Saray Hayriye Library.

The importation of artists, craftsmen, and actual artifacts from Tabriz resulted in a new development of the art of the book in Istanbul. Very typically and in exact parallel to the contact between Herat and Tabriz before, the official court painting, documented in richly illustrated manuscripts, does not follow the Tabriz tradition, although painters and their work had come from the Safavid capital to the Ottoman court. Nevertheless, the tradition of decorative painting and drawing that we have followed from early-15th-century Herat to mid-16th-century Tabriz, is continued, and further developed and brought to its final perfection in the magnificent achievements of book painting, textile design, and pottery decoration of Turkey in the 16th century.

This last stage of the style has already been discussed at length elsewhere. The Ottoman Turks seem fully to have appreciated the decorative value and all the possible variations of this style. In their court school in Istanbul the further and final development of the decorative and

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12 See Grube, "A School in...", loc. cit., pl. CXLVII, figs. 39 and 41, pl. CXLVIII, figs. 42 3, and pl. CVI X, fig. 44.
14 See note 1.
especially calligraphic elements of the style were emphasised. This produced, on the one hand the magnificent lancette and palmette designs, which are securely documented in the Album of Murad III of 1575 in Vienna, and, on the other hand, the monumental dragon figures.

Other crafts again benefited from the ingenuity of the painters, especially textile designers and ceramic painters. The tiles in the Sunnet Odasi and the Baghdad Kiosk in the Saray are probably the finest achievement of this co-operation between painter and designer at the Ottoman Court.

When the time comes for its history to be written, this school of painting may well be found to have originated in Samargand where perhaps the paintings of monsters were executed. It reached maturity at Herat in the early 15th century as a basically pictorial style in which were depicted landscape and animals in a subdued palette. Towards the end of the 15th century in Herat, the decorative intention in painting and drawing predominates. Characteristic of the early phase at Herat are soft, mellow tones, elaborate compositions and a progressive emphasis on individual elements. In the later phase, the pictorial tradition of the school of Baysunghur is combined with the decorative tradition of the new style. It is the latter which predominates at the close of the century and to this period belong the designs for bindings and book illuminations, possibly for tiles and pottery—of which little or nothing has survived—and for embroidery and textile weaves which although no actual examples have survived, can be adduced from contemporary paintings.

When the style was carried to Tabriz, the narrative aspect again becomes more prominent and individual and figurative motives are isolated and enlarged.

The style reaches its apogee in Ottoman Turkey in the calligraphic drawings of the Murad Album and the Saray tiles of the second half of the 16th century: and survives into the 17th and 18th centuries in floral and figurative drawings which have acquired almost the character of abstract decoration.

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1108 E. Grube, A School..., loc. cit., pl. CXXXVII, figs. 18-19, pl. CXXXVIII, figs. 20-1, and pl. CXXXIX, fig. 22.

12 Kurt Erdmann, "Die Fliesen am Sunnet Odasi des Top Kapi Sarayi in Istanbul ", in Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin 1959, pp. 144-53; idem, " Neue Arbeiten zur türkischen Keramik ", in Ars Orientalis, v, (1963), pp. 191-219, pl. 10, fig. 34, pl. 11, figs. 35-6, pls. 12-13, figs. 37-42.