ASPECTS OF IRANIAN ART UNDER THE MONGOLS: CHINOISERIE REAPPRAISED

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Signature:
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ABSTRACT

Aspects of Iranian art under the Mongols: chinoiserie reappraised

This thesis, which grows out of my M.Sc. dissertation on the World History of Rashid al-Din, aims to shed new light on some aspects of Iranian art under the Mongols, reviewing the manifold problems of Chinese elements in Iranian art - a topic which has never previously been investigated in depth.

In considering the stylistic and technical development of Iranian art, 'the Chinese element' is an inevitable issue. Any history of Iranian art under the aegis of the Mongols must include some accounts of the occurrence of these elements. Though Iran was affected by internal factors in earlier periods, it is indubitable that it experienced a shift in its aesthetic balance on a grand scale during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as a result of the fruitful exchange of artistic ideas with China and, more broadly, East Asia.

Despite a wide acknowledgement of the role of China in the evolution of Iranian art traditions in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, chinoiserie in Iranian art under the Mongols remains one of the intangible matters in the study of Iranian art as a whole; evidence for this unusual artistic phenomenon has thus hitherto not been treated at length in a single study. One major problem of earlier scholarship is that most statements
about Chinese themes found in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian pictorial and decorative art have been made without presenting convincing visual and textual evidence; these have resulted in providing an indeterminate picture of the Chinese contribution to the artistic explosion in Mongol-ruled Iran and thus in making this subject somewhat murky. Such tendencies need reassessment. The view from China itself (and not only in the context of painting and ceramics) needs to be brought into the picture.

Accordingly, I have tried to identify the key characteristics of each Chinese element and to track down its possible Chinese sources. How far did Iranian artists manipulate, half-understand or distort it? These are the main issues which the present thesis attempts to discuss on the basis of detailed comparison between Iranian and Chinese examples and – for the first time in studies of Ilkhanid art – through the extensive use of Chinese literary materials so as to provide a comprehensive view of chinoiserie in Iranian art under the Mongols in most of the major media.

Hence, the discussion in this thesis spans almost all possible types of pictorial and decorative arts produced in Iran under the Mongols, though it excludes some decorative objects – and, above all, architecture – owing to lack of space. It seemed most fruitful to tackle the topic neither chronologically nor thematically, but rather by medium. The particular characteristics of each theme can thus appear most clearly, as can the way that it is adopted and adapted in the context of that medium. This allows the reader to follow the argument more easily.

So Chapter 1 sets out to re-examine the issue of chinoiserie in Iranian
textiles, which is a central subject in Sino-Iranian studies. Chapter 2 elaborates on Chinese themes in another key medium – ceramics. In the context of analysing the use of Chinese-inspired motifs in metalwork, Chapter 3 also touches on hitherto unexamined objects of glassware, woodwork, lacquerware and stonework. The following three chapters are devoted to the discussion of miniature painting, for this medium offers the largest field for enquiry into this topic. Chapter 4 charts the gradual encroachment of Chinese pictorial techniques and motifs into Iran up to the end of the thirteenth century. Chapter 5 expands the discussion of Chinese elements into mature Ilkhanid painting, such as the works of the Rashidiyya school. Chapter 6 concludes with special emphasis on the divergence of chinoiserie traditions in Iranian painting and inquires into Chinese themes in illumination.

Shortage of time and space alike inevitably precluded a detailed exploration of the theme of chinoiserie in some areas of the arts of the book (e.g. the Great Mongol Shahnama, Inju painting, book-binding and calligraphy), in architecture and in coinage and carpets. These should prove fruitful areas for future research.

Central to all subsequent discussion is the desire to synthesize old and new finds and to address in detail the hitherto ill-defined relationship between Iranian and Chinese art. Above all, the thesis aims to construct a proper art-historical framework for Sino-Iranian art studies in the Mongol period.
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I did not single out the theme of *chinoiserie* instantaneously. My love of *chinoiserie* stems from my obsession with the image of China – e.g. the Chinese men and pagodas which are fantastically depicted in Meissen wares. This led me to choose *chinoiserie* in Iranian art under the Mongols as the topic of my doctoral dissertation. Of course, to challenge such a fascinating yet laborious subject has required perseverance and even courage. The topic, however, gratified my research desire so strongly that I am convinced that I shall never lose my passion and enthusiasm to continue its further study.
Finally, this thesis is affectionately dedicated to my parents. I very much appreciate their Japanese way of concern – 'the best education is to be forced out into the world.'

Yuka Kadoi
Edinburgh 2004
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

For the sake of simplicity, I have rendered Persian and Arabic words without indications of long vowels and heavy consonants. For the romanisation of Chinese, I have used the so-called pinyin system. In the bibliography, I have followed the author's name and titles in the form which he/she has chosen.
INTRODUCTION

Why chinoiserie in Iranian art needs re-examination

Unlike China which accepted and then absorbed foreign influences, Iran has adapted them to her own genius with no premium on the blind retention of native features if something more interesting appeared on the scene – Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*¹

No art movement can come into being without having contacts with other established arts; and few such movements flourish without having enough spontaneous enthusiasm to digest the essence of other art traditions and thereafter to eclipse them. This is the case with Iranian art. Iran has set a high value on foreign art and culture throughout the ages, and this has culminated in the occurrence of very curious mixtures of different artistic styles and of promiscuous unrelated iconography during the formative periods in which dynastic or regional conventions were being established. Such Iranian indebtedness to foreign art is particularly exemplified in the art of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when Iranian taste was whetted by growing contacts with the Far East. The dynamic encounter

¹ Frye (1975), p.3.
of two great civilisations – Iran and China – makes the time of Mongol domination a most exciting period of Iranian art to study.

The intention of this thesis is to retell the story of chinoiserie in Iranian art under the Mongols. In earlier scholarship, ‘Chinese’ elements in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian art tend to be observed with particular zeal. A partial, hypothetical and even erroneous explanation for this phenomenon has made the term ‘Chinese influence’ a mere umbrella category to describe some of the somewhat outlandish elements which emerged in Iranian art of the Mongol period, oversimplifying the issues involved in them. Problems of ‘Chinese influence’ must therefore be thoroughly re-examined across a wide spectrum of Sino-Iranian studies, not only from the art-historical but also from the geo-political and socio-religious points of view.

In pursuing the whole question of chinoiserie in Iranian art under the Mongols, it is essential first to particularise each Chinese element and then to synthesise the evidence into a cohesive story. While every effort has been made to look for sinicising elements, little first-hand pictorial, artefactual and literary evidence for them has been presented. The absence of incontrovertible archaeological evidence for the actual, physical availability of Chinese pictorial and decorative arts in Mongol-ruled Iran demands that this subject should be cogently argued with strong visual and textual evidence.

Above all, the term ‘Chinese’ must be treated with great caution. Some elements can safely be termed as Chinese, preferably in the context of one of
the prototypical dynastic styles of Chinese art, but others are more likely to have originated in the Eurasian steppe, and thus beyond the traditional Chinese sphere, like the present Mongolia, the present Chinese province of Gansu, the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the area formerly known as Turkestan. It is also important to discern the specific characteristics of each chinoiserie element, asking whether it is a successful imitation, a product modified through Iranian re-interpretation or an element consisting of disparate sources.

Note on historiography

This is by no means the first attempt to tackle the occurrence of Chinese elements in Iranian art. On the contrary, the age-old artistic relationship between China and Iran, together with the socio-political interaction between the two civilisations, has been given much scholarly attention since the early twentieth century.²

Although both Iranian and Chinese artefacts had already entered museums and private collections in Europe and later in North America in increasing numbers from the late nineteenth century onwards, it was only in the early twentieth century that non-Western items began to be treated more generally as serious material for research. The emergence of scholarship in chinoiserie in Iranian art was particularly associated with the

growth of interest in Iranian book painting in the western world. Chinese features in Iranian painting gradually came to the attention of collectors and scholars of the period, who formed their own collections of illustrated Oriental manuscripts. For example, the Chinese elements found in the illustrations of the Jami' al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din (1314) – which later became a benchmark of the artistic links between China and Iran during the Mongol period – had already been acknowledged at the time of the discovery of the London portion of the Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscript. A generation of scholars in the period before World War II, such as Martin, Blochet and Arnold, embarked on the thematic and stylistic classification of Iranian miniature painting, referring in the process to the presence of ambiguous ‘Far Eastern’ elements. One major problem for the scholarship of

3 A good summary of the development of Iranian and broadly Islamic art collections in the West is to be found in essays by J. Bloom and S. Vernoit in DA, 16, pp.551-61. For the development of scholarship in Iranian painting in the west, see Vernoit (2000), pp.35-7, 44-5.

4 For further discussion, see Chapter 5: Miniature Painting (2).

5 See Morley (1854), p.10.

6 Some of Martin’s remarks on Chinese elements in the London Jami’ al-Tawarikh manuscript in his The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century (1912) are tenuous. After pointing out the portraits of the Chinese emperors, he concludes without showing any concrete evidence: ‘Chinese paintings were certainly used by the Mongols for decorating their tents and rooms...’ (Martin [1912], p.22). It seems more reasonable to consider that, as recent studies have suggested, textile fabrics, for example in the form of hangings, were predominantly used for the interior decoration of Mongol royal tents (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.73). I shall discuss at length the portraits of the Chinese emperors in this manuscript in the chapter devoted to miniature painting.

7 For example, see Blochet (1929), pp.60-4. While he rightly points out Chinese elements in a double frontispiece of the Paris Juvaini (Fig.MP5), for example sinicising shades of colour (ibid., p.88), little attempts are made to specify possible Chinese sources.

8 Arnold summarises chinoiserie in Iranian painting in his Painting in Islam (see Arnold [1928], pp.65-70). While admitting that ‘this problem has formed the subject of much violent controversy’ (ibid., p.65), he does not take a proper art-historical approach to Chinese elements in Iranian painting. He is one of the earliest scholars who invented misleading terms for describing Chinese themes in Islamic art. Chinese cloud patterns are termed, inappropriately or perhaps erroneously, ‘tai’ (ibid., p.70), while according to
this period is a complete disregard for the detailed reading of each Chinese element. Most scholars confined themselves to allude to the availability of Chinese painting and artefacts or the involvement of Chinese artists in the production of book painting in medieval Iran, with little attention given to careful comparison between Chinese models and Iranian imitations. Thus, despite an awareness of the unusual features found in Iranian painting of the Mongol period, few attempts were made to incorporate the use of Chinese elements into the stylistic criteria used to define Iranian painting.

The turning points of scholarship in this subject came at three stages in the last century – in the 1930s, the 1950s and the 1970s. The 1930s saw a rapid expansion of serious scholarship in both Iranian and Chinese art in the West, when the formations for properly extensive collections of Oriental art were laid in the private sphere, while public collections also grew apace.9 As a result of the establishment of a field of academic studies focusing on Islamic art and more specifically Iranian art as a scholarly discipline, as shown for example in the success of the Exhibition of Persian Art (London, 1931), the publication of journals devoted to Islamic art studies, such as Ars Islamica (1934-1951) and Athār-e Īrān (1936-1949), and the compilation of A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present (London, 1938-1939), some scholars undertook the discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian painting, in the course of reassessing late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Iranian painting – one may think here of the work of Schroeder and de

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Lorey.\textsuperscript{10} Such earlier scholarship in Iranian painting, despite the lack of scientific analyses of Chinese themes and the inadequate use of Chinese materials, still serves as a frame of reference for the scholarly investigation of the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship.

As publications on Iranian art and architecture, especially those from new centres of research in Iranian and Middle Eastern art in the United States, became voluminous in the 1950s,\textsuperscript{11} the role of Chinese elements in Iranian painting gradually assumed increasing importance. Of particular note is the work of Richard Ettinghausen in this period, for example his monograph \textit{The Unicorn} (1950), which remains essential to the study of \textit{chinoiserie} in Iranian art under the Mongols. His discussion of this subject remains valid in many respects: the detailed investigation of Chinese elements and his mastery of iconographic and stylistic features make his argument compelling. Iranian art exhibitions of this period in general are less ambitious than the grand-scale exhibitions held in the early twentieth century, yet Iranian art under the Mongols and its art-historical significance seem to have become topical.\textsuperscript{12} The key to the scholarly development of \textit{chinoiserie} in Iranian art in this period is the increase in the amount of archaeological research on Chinese ceramics in Iran and the Middle East, for example those from the Ardabil Shrine.\textsuperscript{13} This spurred ceramic experts

\textsuperscript{10} See Schroeder (1939); de Lorey (1935A).
\textsuperscript{11} See major articles on Iranian art and architecture which appear in \textit{Ars Orientalis} (1954-); \textit{Kunst des Orients} (1954-1979).
\textsuperscript{12} For example, \textit{Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia} (British Museum, London, 1955; see Gray [1955]); \textit{Persian Art before and after the Mongol Conquest} (University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, 1959; see Ann Arbor [1959]).
\textsuperscript{13} See Pope (1956).
to look more critically into the history of Sino-Iranian ceramic trading and to reappraise the role of China in the stylistic and technical development of Iranian ceramics.14

The 1970s witnessed the increase in the number of scholars who were involved in the study of Islamic art in the West, as well as the growth of scholarly interest in various media of the art of Islam, particularly in metalwork.15 This was reflected in a wide-ranging presentation of Islamic art at the Hayward Gallery, London, in 1976.16 Painting remained a major field of study, and a number of illustrated catalogues of Iranian miniature painting were published in the 1970s,17 though none of the catalogues addressed the problems of 'Chinese influences' specifically. There was, however, a renewed interest in Chinese art in the context of East-West cultural contacts, particularly Sino-European relations.18 A colloquium of the Percival David Foundation entitled 'The Westward Influence of the Chinese Arts' (1972)19 was, though the discussion extended into European chinoiserie, an important chapter in the establishment of the term 'chinoiserie' in art history. This remained the case until the early 1980s, culminating in another London colloquium devoted to the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship

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14 For example, see Pope (1952). Sino-Iranian relations in ceramic styles and designs had already caught scholarly attention since the 1940s (for example, see Kahle [1940-1941]; Lane [1946-1947]).
15 See Allan (1971); Atil (1972); Melikian-Chirvani (1973); Baer (1973-1974); Fehérvári (1976); Allan (1976-1977); idem (1977); idem (1978); idem (1979).
16 See Jones and Michell (eds.) (1976).
17 For example, see Grube (1972); Robinson (1976); Robinson (ed.) (1976); Robinson (1979).
18 The role of China in the development of European civilisation had been widely discussed from various angles since the 1950s (for example, see Needham [1954]; Dawson [1967]; Lach [1970]). For classic studies of chinoiserie in European art and design, see Honour (1961) and Impey (1977). For recent studies of this subject, see Arnold (1999) and Jacobson (1999).
in 1980. This event, though much of its focus was on the impact of Chinese art in Iran after 1400 — a time when Chinese fashions began to control certain aspects of Iranian art in a more drastic way — is of particular importance as the first scholarly attempt to deal with Chinese elements in Iranian art on an international scale. The papers delivered to this colloquium discussed various aspects of paintings in albums preserved in the Library of the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, known as the Saray Albums, which are now, unfortunately, not easily accessible materials for scholarly examination.

By the beginning of the 1980s, it had become common practice among Islamic art historians to refer to Chinese elements in Iranian art, and some of these scholars had no hesitation in using the term ‘Chinese influence’ frequently in surveys and in major exhibition catalogues of Islamic art, in particular in the context of Ilkhanid (1256-1353) art. This was also reflected in an increasing number of articles touching on this theme, ranging from those dealing with pictorial styles to those concerned with decorative motifs. In the media of the decorative arts, the study of the mutual influence in ceramics between China and Iran made great advances thanks to the growth of archaeological finds and scholarly investigations. Collaborative research in this field between Chinese and Islamic art

19 See Watson (ed.) (1972).
21 As in key exhibitions held in the 1970s, such as Imperial Images in Persian Painting (1977) (see Hillenbrand [1977]).
22 For example, see Inal (1975); Rosenzweig (1978-1979).
23 See Watson (ed.) (1970); Medley (1972); eadem (1975).
historians will serve in future to provide a much richer picture of the artistic exchange between the Far and Middle East.

Since then, well-organised exhibitions, comprehensive catalogues of collections and archaeological discoveries of both Iranian and Chinese art have encouraged scholars to redress the ill-defined relations between Iranian and Chinese art. Among these, the Ilkhanid art exhibition in 2002 succeeded in presenting a comprehensive view of the taste of the Ilkhnaids, though the role of China is still treated as a secondary theme.

Above all, the scholarship of chinoiserie in Iranian art was conducted by Basil Gray, a pioneer of this subject. By using his unrivalled knowledge of both Iranian and Chinese art, Gray made a significant contribution to the field of Sino-Iranian art studies. Having being involved in the study of Iranian painting and Chinese ceramics, he took pioneering steps in the study of chinoiserie in Iranian art, and vice versa, namely Persianisation in Chinese art. Further efforts to solve the problem of Chinese elements in Iranian art, particularly in connection with ceramics, were made by the next generation of scholars, such as Rogers and Crowe. But Gray’s precise use of Chinese comparative material is to credit of his scholarship.

Yet despite the advance of scholarship in Iranian art studies, the

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24 For example, the period between the late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed much development in the scholarship in Ilkhanid textiles, thanks to a conscientious series of studies by Wardwell (see Wardwell [1987]; *eadem* [1988-1989]; *eadem* [1989]; *eadem* [1992]).
25 See Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002).
26 Gray’s major articles are readily available in his collection of essays (see Gray [1987]).
27 For painting, see Gray (1948-1949); *idem* (1972A); *idem* (1972B); *idem* (1981). For ceramics, see Gray (1948-1949); *idem* (1975-1977).
28 See Gary (1940-1941); *idem* (1963).
30 See Crowe (1976); *eadem* (1991); *eadem* (2002).
problems raised by the presence of Chinese elements in Iranian art under the Mongols are still open at the level of doctoral research. A number of dissertations have been devoted to the art and architecture of the Ilkhanid period during the last few decades. However, compared with Timurid (1370-1507) chinoiserie, where ‘China’ has been more openly discussed, none of the theses on Ilkhanid art and architecture have addressed specifically and at length the issue of Chinese elements. Perhaps because of the difficulty in handling a large quantity of information about the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, little effort has been made to bring miscellaneous facts together into a coherent story as well as to subsume the history of chinoiserie within the development of Iranian taste.

Thus it is now time – nearly one hundred years after the discovery of Chinese elements in Iranian art at the turn of the twentieth century – to reassess earlier scholarship on Sino-Iranian art studies and to look more closely at sinicising fashions in Iranian art under the Mongols. Chinoiserie in Iranian art is by no means an intractable issue, if one discovers credible patterns in the process of adoption and adaptation of Chinese themes in the art of Iran.

31 In particular, see Watson (1977); Blair (1986A); Carboni (1992); Masuya (1997); Fitzherbert (2001).
32 Whitman (1978); Sugimura (1981). I should also mention a dissertation by al-Gailani entitled ‘The origin of Islamic art and the role of China’ (University of Edinburgh, 1973). Despite his fragmentary understanding of Chinese art, this is a piece of work deserving of consultation. He tackled problems of Chinese influence on Islamic art in the first instance by analysing the decoration of Iraqi minarets.
33 See, however, the detail analysis of Chinese-Mongol elements in tile decoration at Takht-i Sulayman by Masuya (1997), pp.564-92.
A new approach to this subject: the sources and methodology

In general, this subject is rich in source materials, and it can be studied on several different levels. This thesis, however, rather than deducing a theory of chinoiserie in Iranian art from the consideration of striking phenomena which manifested themselves in the major art forms, adopts a more discursive approach to this subject. The media which I have chosen in this thesis therefore comprise most types of pictorial and decorative art produced in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iran, though there are significant exceptions, namely carpets, calligraphy, book binding, coinage, architecture and its decoration. Such an

34 Carpets: information about pre-Timurid Iranian carpets remains scattered. No securely dated Ilkhanid carpets have been identified, though some fragmentary rugs have tentatively been attributed to early fourteenth-century Iran (see Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.nos.78). Pictorial evidence shows that carpets were certainly in use in Ilkhanid Iran: the earliest representation of a prayer rug occurs in the Freer Bal'ami (see Ettinghausen, et al. [1974], pp.12-13, fig.2); a Central Asian-type kilim is depicted in the scene of the Ka'ba in the Edinburgh Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscript (see Rice [1976]), pp.100-1); and an illustration of the Demotte Shahnama contains the earliest known representation of an animal carpet, perhaps intending to depict a carpet of either Anatolian or Caucasian origin (see Ettinghausen [1959], pp.99-105). For further discussion, see an essay by E. Sims in 'Carpets' in Enc.Iran., vol.4, pp.864-66. Chinese links have been mentioned in the context of the design of the so-called 'dragon' or 'Kuba' carpets, yet most extant examples of this type of carpet are datable to no earlier than the late sixteenth century (for example, see Dimand [1973], pp.265-68. For a recent study of the provenance of the 'dragon' carpets, see Wertime and Wright [1995]). I hope to undertake a separate study of Iranian carpets under the Mongols in the near future.

35 Calligraphy: there is no definitive evidence for the role of China in the development of Iranian calligraphy. However, the art of Chinese writing seems to have been recognised in Ilkhanid Iran by means of seals, whose impact is possibly reflected in the adaptation of seal scripts for the design of coins and architectural decoration at that time. This has already been pointed out by some scholars (e.g. Blair and Bloom [1997], pp.123-4), yet detailed researches have not yet been made. I shall address this issue in Chapter 3: Metalwork (see p.127, n.150). Tehnyat Majeed has been researching square Kufic inscriptions in Ilkhanid and Mamluk architecture at the University of Oxford. For Iranian calligraphy in general, see Soucek (1979); Schimmel (1989).

36 Book-binding: very few book bindings which can reliably be regarded as Ilkhanid are
extended field for discussion is likely to cause some digressions or to obscure the outlines of the argument in this thesis at times. Yet on the other hand, such an interdisciplinary approach should be of great advantage in evaluating individual objects in the broader contexts of Iranian art traditions and moreover in considering the interdependence, interconnection and concurrence of Chinese elements in Iranian art as a whole.

The comparative material from China itself is also varied, ranging from *objets de luxe*, namely artefacts which were exported to Iran initially as commodities and tribute through official trade routes, to objects which were brought from China incidentally as souvenirs or ritual utensils by travellers and monks. One of the central concerns of this study is to pursue the potential of Chinese printed material, which has not yet been used to any great extent in the discussion of *chinoiserie* in Iranian art. This material comprises woodblock prints, paper money, maps and Buddhist texts. Mural

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known to survive – e.g. the Morgan Bestiary (Maragha, c.1300: M500, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; see Etinghausen [1954]): a Qur'an dated 1338 (Maragha: MS 1470, CBL; see James [1980], no.49). Their decoration is essentially devoid of Chinese traits. For a general survey of Iranian bookbinding, see Brend (1989).

37 Coinage: the design of Ilkhanid coinage is not particularly helpful in demonstrating the shifts in form and decoration that occurred under Chinese inspiration, except for the possible relationship between square Kufic and Chinese seals in *phagspa* script. For further information about Ilkhanid coinage, see Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi (1973); Blair (1982); *eadem* (1983); Mitchell-Brown (1989).

38 Architecture and its decoration: in any study of Iranian art, it would be wholly inappropriate to omit the discussion of architecture and its decoration. The output of Ilkhanid monuments was immense: their decoration underwent a considerable development in terms of colour schemes and decorative programmes (for a survey of Ilkhanid architecture, see Wilber [1955]; for the decoration of Mongol monuments in Iran, see Pickett [1997] in particular). Yet this thesis does not cover architecture as a separate chapter, for a full discussion of Chinese themes in Iranian architectural ornament of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century would require a good deal of space. There is space here for no more than an indication of this topic in each chapter, especially in relation to tiles which are included in the chapter on ceramics.
painting in China and Central Asia also offers promising material for comparison. Though intending to define the place of origin so far as information is available, I sometimes opt to use all-embracing terms such as ‘Far East,’ ‘East Asia’ or ‘Central Asia’ according to the context. Moreover, owing to the enormous geopolitical expansion of the Mongol empire, the discussion encompasses several types of artefact spanning a vast geographical sphere in Eurasia in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.

In a study such as this thesis, it is crucial to determine the scope of the discussion in order to keep a balance within each chapter and to avoid making it a mere summary. In particular, some limitation of scope is necessary for the discussion of miniature painting of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a period which witnessed great creativity in book painting in Iran. Hence, though this is regrettable, I have excluded some of the key pictorial examples of Ilkhanid Iran, including the Great Mongol Shahnama – which is without doubt the most important manuscript of all Ilkhanid painting and certainly merits a chapter or even a thesis to itself.39 A number of illustrated manuscripts which were produced at the workshops of provincial governors for the Ilkhanids, namely some key examples of the Muzaffarid school (Fars, Kirman and Kurdistan: 1314-1393) and works of the Inju school (Fars; 1303-1353), as well as masterpieces of the Jalayirid

39 The standard work on this manuscript is Grabar and Blair (1980). For a overview of studies in the Great Mongol Shahnama, see Blair (2004). The question of chinoiserie in this manuscript will be discussed in Professor Robert Hillenbrand’s forthcoming monograph. For textiles and costumes in the Great Mongol Shahnama and their Chinese connections, see Kadoi (forthcoming A).
school (Iraq, Azerbaijan: 1336-1432), are equally worthy of close examination. But they cannot be dealt with in separate sections here for lack of space.

By the same token, this thesis does not deal specifically with the historical background of Mongol-ruled Iran. This theme has amply been discussed and therefore needs little further consideration.

Inevitably, this thesis touches on a foretaste of chinoiserie in pre-Mongol Iranian art. Although Iran consolidated her relations with East Asia during the Mongol period, it would be erroneous to assume that this is a phenomenon particular to this period. A trans-Eurasian artistic relationship certainly did exist before the end of the thirteenth century, but it was rejuvenated in Iranian art and culture as a result of the far-flung impact of the Mongol invasion. An overall view of the role of China in the development of Iranian art up to the advent of Timurid supremacy should certainly reveal the uniqueness of chinoiserie in Ilkhanid art as well as the cycles of Chinese influence in Iranian art.

40 The following are the works which deserve special attention concerning chinoiserie in fourteenth-century Iranian painting: Muzaffarid painting – the Tehran Nizami (1318: MS.5179, Tehran University Central Library; see Titley [1972]; eadem [1983], pp.42-3); Inju painting – the Inju Shahnamas, i.e. the 1330 manuscript (Hazine 1479, TSM: 1333: see Rogers, Çağman and Tanndi [1986], p.51, figs.32-42), the 1333 manuscript (Dorn 329, Russia National Library, St.Petersburg; see Adamova and Giuzal’ian [1985]), the dispersed 1341 manuscript (see Simpson [2000]) and the so-called Stephens Shahnama (see Sotheby’s (1998), lot.41), and the Kitab-i Samak ‘Ayyar (probably Shiraz, c.1330-40: MS Ouseley 379, Bodleian Library, Oxford; see Stockland [1993-1995]: Jalayirid painting – the London Nizami (Baghdad, 1386 and 1388: Or.13297, BL; see Titley [1971]; Grube [1976], figs.58-60), the Great Kalila wa Dimna (Tabriz, c.1360-74; F.1422, Istanbul University Library; see Cowen [1989A]; O’Kane [2003]), the Mathnavis of Khwaju Kirmani (Baghdad, 1396: Add. MS. 18113, BL; see Fitzherbert [1991]) and the Divan of Sultan Ahmad (32.29-37, FGA; see Klimburg-Salter [1976-1977]).


42 For example, see Watson (ed.)(1970).
Lastly, the theory proposed in the following discussion depends on the availability of materials. Chinese material in particular is difficult to keep up to date with, because new information comes continuously from recent excavations which have been conducted extensively throughout China. However, I have done my utmost to include the latest information on this score in this thesis.

The definition of chinoiserie in Iranian art – the visions of al-Sin

In the past, as at the present time, the Chinese have been famous for the skill of their hands and for their expertise in fashioning rare and beautiful objects – Tha'alibi (961–1038), *Lata'if al-ma'arif*.

I have begun with this famous passage because it represents the key to understanding the cult of Chinese art in medieval Iran and more broadly the Middle East. The fascination with objects of 'rarity' and 'beauty' led to the occurrence of exoticism, a phenomenon which crystallised in Iranian art under the Mongols.

Throughout this thesis, I use the term ‘chinoiserie’ to describe a sinicising mode particular to Iranian art, in distinction to a type of style which developed in late seventeenth- to eighteenth-century European art. While in Europe China remained a mythical land of fabulous riches and

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33 Tha'alibi (1968), p.141.
luxury – known as Cathay – until the arrival of reliable information about its civilisations in early modern times, Iranians already had a much clearer idea of the country and its art traditions before the expansion of horizons generated by the Mongols. Even at the time of Tha’alibi, when exquisite vessels were, regardless of their real origin, generally called ‘Chinese’ in the Middle East,44 Iranians were in a better position to distinguish what were objets d’art and objets de vertu of China. The extent to which the mystique of Chinese pictorial and decorative arts was appreciated in the Iranian world before the Mongol period can be traced from several written sources, not only lexicographical works but also poetry.45 The frequent allusion to Chinese textiles and painters in such written works could not have occurred without some degree of familiarity with Chinese art traditions. The visions of al-Sin thus contain to some extent the reality of China.

Yet the essential difference between European and Iranian chinoiserie lies not only in the availability of wide information about Chinese art, thanks to the geographical position of Iran, but also in the degree of acculturation. One should bear in mind that chinoiserie in European art is not the result of fruitful exchanges of artistic ideas with China. Genuine ‘Chinese’ elements have never been fused successfully with European artistic concepts, for European artists used their own traditions as a starting point and placed their own art in a position of centrality. They thus failed to recognise the major merits of Chinese art. Rather, they were

44 Ibid.
45 For example, see the section of China in Ibn Battuta’s Travels (Ibn Battuta, vol.4, pp.888-910). For China in medieval Persian literature, see Rogers et al., ‘Chinese-Iranian
interested in transfiguring the image of China to suit their own artistic requirements. On the other hand, the art of China operated more powerfully upon the imagination of Iranian artists, but in a different way. Iranian artists strove to imitate designs and techniques derived from Chinese pictorial and decorative arts and subsequently to incorporate many decorative elements of Chinese origin into their own repertoires. Despite incomplete and unsuccessful attempts at an earlier stage of adoption, which sometimes created fanciful and whimsical decoration, the Iranian motives for learning about Chinese art traditions were sincere and consistent. What is remarkable is that, along with the increased authentic knowledge of Chinese art, Iranian artists began to combine indigenous and Chinese elements. Such adjustment was perhaps necessary to make foreign conventions feasible for Iranian painters and artisans as well as to meet the tastes and requirements of new patrons and the cultural and religious circumstances. But this resulted in the creation of a magnificent synthesis of Sino-Iranian art.

It is for this reason that *chinoiserie* in European art ended in a temporary fashion, whereas in Iranian art *chinoiserie* became a long-lasting and influential tradition.

Subject of this dissertation

This thesis has two principal goals: to furnish a sound art-historical relations', in *Enc.Iran.*,vol.5 (1992), pp.454-5.
analysis of Chinese elements in Iranian art under the Mongols, and to give a hitherto unknown insight into this phenomenon. The story of chinoiserie in Iranian art begins with textiles – a catalyst for the transmission of Chinese and Central Asian artistic ideas into West Asia. Ceramics further explain the artistic contacts between East and West over a period of more than five hundred years. These two media offer a fascinating entree into the complex history of chinoiserie in Iranian art. Another highlight of this thesis is the extended coverage of discussing chinoiserie in Iranian art by including hitherto neglected objects, namely metalwork and other types of the so-called minor arts, i.e. lacquerware, glassware, woodwork and stonework, with the intention of using all of them to open up a fresh perspective of the subject of this thesis. But it remains true that half of the discussions in this thesis are devoted to miniature painting, ranging from well-quoted examples in the discussion of ‘Chinese influence’ to hitherto unknown yet thought-provoking material. Each chapter inquires into the issue of Chinese elements chronologically or thematically, following introductory remarks on the emergence of Chinese themes in each medium in pre-Mongol Iran.
CHAPTER 1

TEXTILES

1. Introduction

Perhaps it was through textiles that Iranians first encountered the art of China — its significance has been stressed not only in the discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian art but also in the whole issue of east-west cultural exchange throughout the ages. The complex and dramatic history of the textile trade between East and West has aroused much recent scholarly interest, especially since the growth of archaeological excavations in Central Asia in the early twentieth century.¹

The vast distances covered by the silk route throughout Eurasia, however, has impeded clear understanding of the stylistic development of textiles woven in China, Central Asia, the Middle East and even Europe. In particular, textiles produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have interesting but intricate characteristics, reflecting both the large-scale exchange of weaving products and the movement of weavers throughout Eurasia under the Mongols. In spite of rich literary records and increasing archaeological evidence concerning both ancient and medieval silk textiles, there has been disagreement in their classification between Chinese and

¹ For the explorations of Central Asia by Western scholars in the early twentieth century, see New York (1982), pp.24-46.
Western scholarship for a very long time. Moreover, silk textiles excavated in the Middle East and Europe bearing 'Far Eastern' elements tended to be classified simply as 'Chinese' products. Very few attempts have so far been made to prove where individual elements came from and to what extent they followed or modified their Chinese conventions.

Nevertheless, studies of Iranian and Chinese textiles have become more diversified in recent years, encouraged by the renewal of interest in textiles beyond the art-historical point of view. Scientific analysis of textiles, focusing on weaving techniques and materials, is of great help in defining their provenance and date. Still another recent development is indebted to interdisciplinary approaches to textiles in Eurasia. Their multifarious aspects, notably as commodities, tribute and items with religious function, have caught the attention of many scholars in the fields of social and cultural history: the role of textiles in the Sino-Iranian cultural exchange is amply discussed in the study of the Mongol empire by Allsen and of religions in Eurasia by Liu and Foltz. A wide range of possibilities of textiles as a subject for study thus remains open.

In order to understand the context of chinoiserie in Iranian textiles under the Mongols, more attention will be paid in this chapter to earlier stylistic changes of Chinese and Iranian textiles. Thanks to their portable nature – not as fragile as glass and ceramics – Chinese textiles had already reached West Asia in large quantities before the Mongol period and

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2 For further discussion, see Liu (1995), p.27.
3 Allsen (1997).
encouraged the mutual exchange of artistic ideas between China and Iran. The discussion of pre-Mongol Iranian textiles and their Chinese connections are thus indispensable for providing a clearer view of the process of adoption and adaptation of Chinese themes in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian textiles.

2. Before the Mongol invasions

(1) The beginning of textile trade between China and Iran

Sericulture and silk production are among the greatest Chinese inventions. In China – once called Serica, ‘the Land of Silk’ by the ancient Greeks and Romans – sericulture had already begun by around 3000 BC and the artistic sophistication of silk designs perhaps reached its height by the third century BC. The Chinese monopoly of the silk industry and trade in the world market continued even after the start of silk production in the West, where there was still continuous demand for high-quality Chinese silks.

The history of silk trading between China and Iran has been traced back to the Han period (206 BC–AD 9; AD 25–220), when China opened a port to western trade. Historically, this is attributed to Zhang Qian (d.114 BC), a traveller whose expedition to the nomadic Xiongnu resulted in the

5 Foltz (1999).
6 For further information, see Zhao (1999), pp.20-3.
7 For example, see Ibid., pp.38-43, pls.01.09-01.10.
expansion of Chinese political and military control into the Western Regions (Xiyu), and in the bringing back of a great deal of information about Central Asia and even further west. With the establishment of the trade route along the Silk Road, the silk trade eventually expanded into the Roman Orient. Evidence for this is silk fragments found in Palmyra and in Dura-Europos. The Parthians, who ruled over Khurasan for almost 500 years until the middle of the third century (248 BC–AD 226), contributed to the development of the silk trade between China and the Roman Empire by acting as middlemen, and it was perhaps through them that the secret of sericulture first became known in Iran. However, since virtually no complete examples of Parthian textiles have been found, the impact of Chinese textiles on Parthian textiles remains a matter of speculation. Further archaeological excavations might yield answers to the problems of what contributed the exact artistic relationship between China and Iran at that time.

Western Han (206 BC–AD 9) textiles basically adopt simple geometric and rhomboid patterns, which replaced the conventional textile designs of the Warring States period (480-221BC). Judging from existing textiles of that period, for example those discovered in the tomb of Mawangdui in

8 *Han shu*, ch.94, pp.3743-835 and ch.96, pp.3871-932.
9 It is said that the messenger of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (r.161-180) arrived in China in 166 (*Hou Han shu*, ch.88, pp.2919-20). According to Liu, the main route of the Silk Road during the first two centuries ran through Central Asia to the Indus valley; going directly to the sea coast along the Indus or making a detour through Mathura, it connected with the Roman world by sea (Liu [1988], p.19).
10 For silk fragments found in Palmyra, see Colledge (1976), p.224, pl.55; Maenchen-Helfen (1943). For a Chinese textile found in Dura-Europos, see Mahler (1966), fig.94.
11 Harris (ed.)(1993), p.68.
12 See, for example, Zhao (1999), pls.01.02-01.04 and 01.07-01.08.
Hunan Province, cloud scrolls and zoomorphic patterns were also popular.\[^{13}\] Yet the increased availability of information about western cultures caused a certain shift in Eastern Han (AD 25–220) textile designs.\[^{14}\] As seen in a number of silk fragments discovered in the last century, especially those found in Xinjiang\[^{15}\] the most obvious is the change in trends from monochrome to multicoloured coloration and from asymmetrical to symmetrical arrangement of animal patterns. These changes may reflect a reaction to new colour and decorative schemes derived from Central Asia.\[^{16}\]

An interesting mixture between Chinese and further western elements, for example Parthian stylised tree motifs and Hellenistic fret patterns, can be recognised in silks excavated at Loulan.\[^{17}\] They are datable to between the third and fourth centuries AD, and were perhaps woven in Khotan, where Iranian and Western culture had already penetrated.

(2) Tang China and Sasanian Persia

It was during the Tang dynasty (617-907) that trade routes were established in Eurasia, ranging from China to Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe westwards and to India, and South-East Asia and Japan

\[^{13}\] For Mawangdui finds, see Fu and Chen (eds.)(1992). For the development of cloud and animal patterns in Han textiles, see Loubo-Lesnichenko (1995), pp.64-5; Zhao (1999), pp.66-71, pls.02.01b and 02.02.

\[^{14}\] For the development of Eastern Han textiles, see Zhao (1999), p.67.

\[^{15}\] In particular, see textiles found at Niya (Zhao and Yu [2000], nos.1, 3, 19-39, 41-4 and 47).

\[^{16}\] See, for example, Zhao (1999), pp.78-9, pl.02.04.

\[^{17}\] Survey, pp.685-7, fig.237. For Loulan textiles, see Stein (1928), pp.231-45, pls. XXX-XLIV; Andrews (1920).
eastwards. The main scene of the trade, known as the Silk Road, is generally divided into two routes: overland and maritime (Fig.T1). The overland route starts from Xian, a capital of the Sui (581-618) and Tang dynasties, and branches into northern and southern routes at Dunhuang, where it runs along each side of the rim of the Tarim Basin. The northern route passes Astana, Turfan and Kucha along the Tian Shan Mountains; the southern route extends over the Kunlun Range via Loulan and Khotan. The two routes re-connect at Kashgar, and the road leads out of Samarkand to Bukhara. Passing through Iran, it reaches several Mesopotamian cities, finally terminating at Roman ports such as Antioch. While the overland route was often threatened by neighbouring states in the northern part of China, the maritime trade was gradually developed in compensation and had become a well-established trade route. The route starts from Guangdong and Fujian Provinces and thence leads eventually to the Persian Gulf and up to the Tigris and Euphrates, or to the Red Sea along the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, where a number of Chinese products were transported on a large scale to the West, and vice versa.

The height of foreign trade brought economic prosperity to Tang China, especially during the reign of Zhenguan (627-649). Through the Silk Road, a number of luxury goods from abroad arrived at the cosmopolitan Tang capital Changan (Xian), and the adaptation of foreign art was greatly encouraged by the sixth Emperor, Xuanzong (r.712-756), who

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18 This word (Seidenstrasse in German) was coined by Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833-1905) in his publication China (1877-1911).
19 See, for further information, Rawson (ed.)(1992), pp.271-3.
enthusiastically introduced western culture to China. Many western products and other exotic objects were brought to China in return for Chinese silks, which were still highly valued in world markets during the seventh and eighth centuries. Chinese silks were certainly taken westwards into the Western Regions and were highly regarded, as seen in a number of silks with Chinese-inspired designs discovered in Dunhuang. In the Far East, Chinese textiles have been preserved with great care as one of the treasures of the Shoso-in at the Todai-ji Temple in Nara, Japan. It is probable that, although archaeological and literary evidence of the importance of Tang textiles in Iran remains scarce, there must have been a demand for quality Chinese silks in Iran and that there was a prestige value in owning luxury Chinese silks among Persian kings, nobles and rich merchants.

The key to understanding the artistic links between Iran and China lies in textiles of the Sasanian period (224-642). Known as bosī in China, the Sasanian Empire had established full diplomatic relations with China as soon as China was re-united under the Sui dynasty. A silk industry was already flourishing in Persia at this time, and its silk textiles, called bosijin, were highly regarded in China. In spite of the lack of relevant Sasanian 

20 For Tang exoticism, see Schafer (1963).
21 Stein (1928), pp. 667-80, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXV.
23 Sui shu, ch. 83, pp. 1856-7; Gu Tang shu, ch. 198, pp. 5311-3; Xin Tang shu, ch. 221b, pp. 6258-60.
24 Sasanian textiles were also influential in the world economy, notably in the Byzantine Empire during the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527-565). It is said that two Nestorian monks brought silk worm eggs to the West in the mid-sixth century (See Godard [1965], p. 217). See, for the development of Byzantine silks and their Persian relations, Liu (1995), pp. 34-42.
silk textiles discovered in China, the Chinese encounter with Iranian and more generally West Asian traditions can be seen in the occurrence of a variety of new motifs of West Asian origin, for example the grape and the camel. The impact of Sasanian textiles is particularly reflected in the fashion for the roundel motifs so often represented in Tang textile designs. Two types of roundels are found in Chinese textiles of this period: the first consists of flower motifs forming the circular border, which seem to owe much to the indigenous development of decorative ideas in Chinese art. The second is widely known under the name of ‘pearl roundels’ – important visual evidence for artistic contacts between China and Sasanian Persia (Figs. T2-T3). Pearl roundels usually enclose single or paired animals, such as birds, lions, elephants and rams, each of which has a rich symbolic meaning; in particular, they were often found in Iranian textiles as an image of Sasanian royalty. A well-known image of a boar’s head surrounded by pearl roundels found in Astana, in western China, for instance, is closely associated with Zoroastrianism which spread throughout Iran under the patronage of the Sasanian emperors. The fashion for pearl roundels in Chinese textiles can be traced back to the late sixth century

25 For further discussion of West Asian elements in Tang textiles, see Zhao (1999), pp.97-9, pls.03.02-03.03.
26 For the development of roundels with flower motifs in Tang textiles, see Zhao (1999), pp.125-9.
27 Figure T2: Baker (1995), p.42. See also Survey, pls.197, 200, 201A, 202B and 203. Figure T3: Zhao (1999), p.04.06. For other related Chinese textiles datable to the Tang period, see Orientations, vol.35, no.4, p.66. It has been suggested that pearl roundels are of Chinese origin, because similar decorative ideas are found in Han textiles (Meister [1970]). It is, however, generally agreed that this motif had already occurred at a very early time in the Middle East (see McDowell [1989], p.153).
28 Ibid.
29 The motif represents the deity Verethragna (Zhao [1999], p.110). See also Stein (1921),
under Sui rule\textsuperscript{30} and did not die out even after the political upheaval following the collapse of the Sasanian Empire in 642.

It is important to note that the stylistic development of Tang textile designs ran parallel to the change in the role of textiles in China during the seventh and eighth centuries. Textiles first began to be involved in the establishment of codes of clothing in the bureaucratic system of the Sui and Tang courts, in which official status was shown by clothes.\textsuperscript{31} Furthermore, as the trade route served to propagate religious exchanges – Nestorian Christianity was brought to China from Iran by western merchants and missionaries during the seventh century\textsuperscript{32} – textiles became important media not only as commodities and general merchandise but also as essential items in a religious context. In particular, the development of the silk trade was profoundly associated with the expansion of Buddhism, which brought an increased demand for silks needed for use in various ceremonies or to wrap religious texts and bodies for burial.\textsuperscript{33}

A continuous artistic communication between Tang China and post-Sasanian Iran owed much to the people of Transoxiana – the central figures in trans-Asian trade during the seventh to the ninth centuries, a period in which the Sogdians played a major mediatory role between Iran and China.\textsuperscript{34} The silk-weaving industry already existed in Sogdiana before Islamic times, and Sogdian weavers produced high-quality textiles, using

\textsuperscript{vol.2, pp.907-13, pl.CXV.}
\textsuperscript{30} See Zhao (1999), pls.03,04-03.05.
\textsuperscript{32} See Foltz (1999), p.71.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., pp.8-9.
silk threads and weaving techniques imported from China. The collaboration between Sogdian and Chinese weavers was developed in China, perhaps in parallel with the increase of Sogdian populations in northwestern China from the middle of the eighth century onwards. From the artistic point of view, however, there are a number of decorative features of Sogdian textiles which indicate a close link with the art of Sasanian Persia. Sasanian elements in late seventh- to ninth-century Sogdian textiles have already been discussed at length by Shepherd and others – the textiles are usually categorised as the Zandaniji group, derived from the name of a village near Bukhara and first identified by its inscriptions (Fig. T4). Such typical features as paired-animal motifs, symmetrical arrangement and geometric composition, recall Sasanian conventions. In fact, the Sogdians owed a marked debt to Persia for its cultural and religious ideas: Manichaeism of Persian origin had long existed in Sogdiana. Sasanian-inspired textile designs seem to have been popular in northwestern China.

(3) Chinese and Iranian textiles up to the eve of the Mongol conquest

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34 For their commercial activities, see Sims-Williams (1996).
36 For Zandaniji textiles, see Shepherd and Henning (1959); Serjeant (1972), pp.99-100; Shepherd (1981A).
37 Figure T4: Shepherd and Henning (1959), p. 22; Zhao (1999), pl.03.10.
38 For further discussion about Sasanian elements in Zandaniji textiles, see Shepherd and Henning (1959), pp.34-5.
39 The relationship between Sogdian and Persian painting, notably its Manichaean elements, has been widely discussed (see Azarpay [1981], pp.170·80; for a recent study of Sogdian painting, see Marshak [2002]). This point will be addressed in the following chapter on painting.
40 For a related textile found in Cave 17, Dunhuang, see Zhao (1999), pl.03.10a.
Information about the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship in textiles during the Samanid (819-1005) and Buyid (932-1062) periods remains limited. The weaving industry in Iran and Transoxiana under Samanid rule flourished on the basis of Sogdian textiles, and its silk designs display an artistic response to those of Sasanian textiles, adopting confronted animal patterns and roundels.\(^41\) As seen in a textile known as ‘the shroud of St. Josse,’\(^42\) probably woven in northern Khurasan in the middle of the tenth century, their representations are relatively simplified, stiff and repetitive. In the case of textiles of the Buyid dynasty, it remains difficult to grasp the whole stylistic development of Buyid textiles, owing to their dubious authenticity, especially those allegedly found in medieval tombs at Rayy in 1925,\(^43\) and to expand the argument to cover their Far Eastern connections.\(^44\)

What is clear is that Chinese textiles were available in Iran before the Mongol invasion – silk textiles of the Northern Song period (960-1126) were found in Rayy with a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Chinese ceramics (Fig.T5).\(^45\) So far, examples are insufficient to deduce to what extent such Chinese textiles stimulated Iranian artistic interest in imitating and adapting Chinese decorative themes and how they resulted in the

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\(^{42}\) For this textile, see Bernus et al. (1971); Zhao (1999), p.120.


\(^{44}\) So far only the use of the quadruple animal pattern found in Buyid textiles has been discussed in the context of the Chinese influence. Its decorative schemes can be traced back to Han textiles, for the pattern is identical in the Palmyra fragments, contemporary jades and bronzes (Kühnel [1981], p.3089).

\(^{45}\) Figure T5: WSWG, no.11.
fusion of eastern and western elements in tenth- to early twelfth-century Iranian textile designs. Nevertheless, the availability of Chinese textiles in pre-Mongol Iran is of great significance when considering the diffusion of Chinese textile designs into the Iranian world before the advent of the Mongols and their associations with later Iranian textiles.

3. After the Mongol domination: indications of chinoiserie

When were Chinese themes first adapted to Iranian textiles? This question – the very core of this chapter – has tended to be discussed simply in the context of the Mongol invasions to Iran that began in the 1220s. There is no doubt that by the middle of the thirteenth century Iranian reaction to Chinese themes manifested itself in its decorative arts, encouraged by the re-establishment of east-west trade under the Mongols. Thirteenth-century Iranian textiles particularly serve as evidence of the first indications of chinoiserie in Iranian art, where ornamental motifs of Chinese origin, such as lotuses, peonies, phoenixes, dragons and clouds, were fully represented. Further attempts, however, should be made to analyse each Chinese theme used in Iranian textiles by comparing it with actual Chinese examples and clarifying their similarities and differences more comprehensively. Thanks to recent scientific approaches to thirteenth-century Iranian textiles, their provenance and dating can now be defined with a high degree of certainty.46

46 See Wardwell (1988-1989), p.133, Appendix 1. A number of accounts about textiles of the
Textiles triggered the transformation of Chinese themes into the Iranian world in the course of the Mongol invasions to West Asia; in particular, the following two types of textile deserve special attention when assessing how Central Asian mediation affected Iranian appreciation of Chinese themes. One is silk tapestry, known as *kesi*. The technique of *kesi* was introduced into China from Central Asia through the mediation of the Uighurs during the Northern Song dynasty.\(^{47}\) In China, *kesi* was mainly employed to cover or to wrap handscroll paintings. It was also used as a support for paintings, a technique which reached its high point in the Southern Song period (1127-1279); eventually, *kesi* itself came to be appreciated as a form of fine art.\(^{49}\) Silk tapestry was also produced in the non-Han regimes in northern China, namely the Khitan empire known as the Liao dynasty (907-1125) and the Tangut empire known as the Xixia dynasty (1032-1227).\(^{50}\) In such non-Han states, *kesi* was used for items of time are also useful for identifying weaving centres which existed in the Middle East and Central Asia in that period. Polo described Baghdad textiles as 'richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds,' though he did not give any further information about their colours and decorative patterns (see *Polo*, vol.1, p.65). Mosul, Tabriz, Sultaniyya, Shiraz, Yazd, Isfahan, Nishapur, Heart and Samarkand were all major weaving centres in the Iranian world in that period. For further information, see Wardwell (1988-1989), p.122, n.1.

\(^{47}\) On the origin of *kesi*, see Cammann (1948); Dubosc (1948). For a recent discussion of the early development of *kesi*, see Sheng (1995).


\(^{49}\) Fong and Watt (1996), p.249. See, for example, *WSWG*, fig.15.

\(^{50}\) For Liao and Xixia *kesi*, see *WSWG*, pp.59-60. Scholarly interest in Liao textiles has grown recently, thanks to the increase of archaeological discoveries in the last decade (see De *et al.* [1994]; Zhao [2000]), which are of importance in filling the gaps in Chinese textile history from the ninth to twelfth centuries and in understanding how Chinese themes were conveyed into West Asia.
clothing and furnishing (Fig.T6).\textsuperscript{51} The exchange of decorative ideas was encouraged in both Central Asian and Chinese kesi woven in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Dragon-and-cloud patterns seem to have been favoured motifs in Central Asian kesi (Fig.T7).\textsuperscript{52} Such Chinese ornament was known in Central Asia in the context of conventional patterns used in Chinese silks, which were brought westwards from Song China as exports and, in the case of Sino-Liao trade, as tribute.\textsuperscript{53} The westward transmission of Chinese art traditions continued under the Kara-Khitay (1132-1211), a polity of the western Khitan tribes which was established by a descendant of the Liao dynasty.\textsuperscript{54}

The other is a type of the cloth called nasij (\textit{nasij al-dhahab al-harir}, literally ‘cloth of gold and silk) or known as \textit{panni tartarici}.\textsuperscript{55} Cloth of gold was highly regarded throughout Eurasia during the Mongol period. As Ibn Battuta and Rashid al-Din mention, its luxurious weaving and its extensive use arrested the attention of contemporary travellers and historians from the west.\textsuperscript{56} Most of the surviving nasij textiles which have found their way to

\textsuperscript{51} Figure T6: Piotrovsky (ed.)(1993), pp.140-1; Reynolds (1995), p.92, pl.8; Zhao (1999), pl.10.04. For related examples, see \textit{WSWG}, no.24. Tibetan Buddhism was the state religion of the Tangut empire. The empire was destroyed by the advent of the Mongols, but the existing religious connections between the Tanguts and the Tibetans were adopted by the Mongol rulers. For further information about this empire, see Franke and Twitchett (eds.)(1994), pp.154-214. For Liao examples, see \textit{WSWG}, nos.10, 23.

\textsuperscript{52} Figure T7: \textit{WSWG}, no.18. For a related kesi, see \textit{WSWG}, no.17.

\textsuperscript{53} The tributary exchange with the Liao empire was necessary for Song China to stabilise frontier relations with nomadic neighbours. For further information, see Shiba (1983), pp.97-100; Jagchid and Symons (1989), pp.125-35.

\textsuperscript{54} For the historical background of this realm, see Sinor (1998).

\textsuperscript{55} See, for the detailed discussion of \textit{nasij}, Allsen (1997), pp.2-4. The term, derived from the Arabic verb, \textit{nasaja} (‘to weave’), was eventually adapted to Chinese as \textit{nashishi} (\textit{yuan shi}, ch.78, p.1931, 1938).

the Middle East and Europe have been preserved in religious and burial contexts. However, in the case of a winged lion textile in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig.T8) datable around the 1240s, the textile was found in Tibet; it was presumably woven as a part of the imperial donations from the Mongol Great Khans to Tibetan monasteries.

Surviving Iranian silk textiles, especially those attributed to the mid-thirteenth-century Eastern Iranian world, provide many insights into the stylistic changes of Islamic textiles and their Chinese connections. The most striking example of that period is a silk fragment with felines and eagles in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig.T9), whose other section is now in the David Collection, Copenhagen. This silk contains hybrid motifs, exemplifying the ornamental patterns available in Saljuq (1040-1194) territories before the full-scale introduction of Chinese art traditions into the Middle East which took place in the late thirteenth century. Paired and addorsed felines arranged within lobed roundels recall Sogdian textile designs, for example the Zandaniji textile (Fig.T4). Yet so-called double-headed eagle motifs, which are proudly present in the space

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57 For further discussion, see Wardwell (1988-1989).
58 Figure T8: WSWG, no.35; Wardwell (1992), pp.357-8. For a related textile, see Zhao (1999), pl.06.04.
59 WSWG, p.129; Wardwell (1992), p.370. For further discussion about Mongol-Tibetan relations, see Petech (1983).
60 For Iranian textiles of that period, widely categorised as Saljuq textiles, see Wenzel (1990), pp.136-43; Shepherd (1994), pp.210-7.
61 Figure T9: WSWG, no.43; Folsach and Bernsted (1993), pp.47-50; Wardwell (1992), pp.359-62. For a discussion of the provenance and dating of this textile, see Folsach and Bernsted (1993), pp.48-50; Wardwell (1992), pp.362-3. For a related example, see Schorta (2004).
62 For the discussion of the double-headed eagle in Saljuq textiles, see Wenzel (1990),
between roundels, were originally developed in Byzantium. These vigorous representations seem to have been associated with the image of nobility and royalty. Interestingly, the looped tails of each feline are often to be recognised in animal motifs used in contemporary decorative arts of the eastern Islamic world, especially those made in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Khurasan. On the other hand, the designs of eagles and felines whose tails terminate in dragons’ heads are more likely to be a product of regional development in Anatolia and the Jazira, reflecting the fashion for dragon motifs in these areas at that time. The pseudo-Kufic inscription, whose stems are interlacing, recalls examples from western Central Asia. Indeed, this is one of the best examples of medieval Iranian textiles, demonstrating cross-cultural relationships in thirteenth-century Eurasia.

Of particular significance in this textile is that the background contains lotus blossoms. This is one of the earliest Iranian reactions to Chinese themes found in textile designs. The arrangement of such flower motifs here, for all that they are arranged symmetrically, adds a new elegance and naturalism. The lotus is the most common flower in Chinese designs: its conventions were initially developed via a series of Buddhist interpretations, and this motif was extensively adapted to Buddhist

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63 For example, see Weibel (1972), pls.60-60a.
64 See Wenzel (1990), pp.140-1.
monuments and later to decorative objects.\textsuperscript{68} The difficulty here is to determine the particular Chinese sources of the lotus blossom motifs in this textile, since the Song and Yuan (1279-1368) periods were a transitional period for flower motifs in Chinese decorative art.\textsuperscript{69} Between these two dynasties flower motifs were diversified by the introduction of bird images;\textsuperscript{70} the peony gradually replaced the lotus as a popular decorative theme.\textsuperscript{71}

Though the modelling of lotus petals in the Cleveland example remains rudimentary, it is possible to observe the impact of lotus decoration as it had evolved in textile designs in thirteenth-century China and its neighbouring states, as shown by a late thirteenth-century Chinese textile (Fig.T10)\textsuperscript{72} and a \textit{thangka} of the Tangut empire (Fig.T6), or other media of the decorative arts, for example ceramics (Fig.C5). The stem parts of the lotus flower motifs, on the other hand, are not entirely of pure Chinese derivation but are more likely to be floral ornamentation based on the arabesque.\textsuperscript{73}

Tendril-like arabesque decoration, or \textit{rumi} as it is known in Turkey, promotes the complexity of decorative patterns. This abstract mode is prominent in other apparently Saljuq textiles.\textsuperscript{74} In any case, the role of Chinese flower patterns here is to harmonise these Islamic elements of various origins with each other and to create a relaxed atmosphere in the design of this textile.

\textsuperscript{68} For a full discussion of lotus decoration in China, see Chapter 3: Metalwork, p.129ff.
\textsuperscript{70} For the development of flower-and bird motifs during the Song dynasty, see Chen (2000), pp.40-8.
\textsuperscript{72} Figure T10: Zhao (1999), pl.07.04.
\textsuperscript{73} For arabesques in early Islamic art in general, see Grabar (1987), pp.178-94.
4. Chinese themes on Ilkhanid textiles re-examined

The establishment of the Ilkhanid dynasty can be dated from the dispatch of Hulagu (d.1265) by the Great Khan Monke (r.1251-1259) in 1253 against the Isma'ilis in northern Iran and the 'Abbasid caliph. A full-scale Mongol administration was set up in the Middle East following the fall of Baghdad in 1258. Hulagu and his immediate successors continued their steppe practices in Ilkhanid territory, where textiles played a vital role both socially and economically.

The production of tiraz – a textile with woven or embroidered Arabic and Persian inscriptions, carrying messages associated with power and authority continued at Baghdad, and the Ilkhanid capital Tabriz gradually became an important textile centre under royal patronage. During the reign of the eighth Ilkhan, Uljaitu (r.1304-1316), its manufacture was developed at the new capital of Sultaniya under the control of the vizier Taj al-Din 'Alishah. A tiraz made for Uljaitu now in the Dom- und Diözesanmuseum in Vienna (Fig.T11) is particularly informative about

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74 For example, see Weibel (1972), figs.115-8.
75 For the historical background, see CHI, vol.5, pp.340-55.
77 Polo, vol.1, p.75; Serjeant (1972), pp.68-9.
79 Despite the lack of decisive Chinese elements, this is stylistically one of the most telling examples of Ilkhanid textiles. Its design consists of three types of bands, namely running animals, medallions and Arabic inscriptions. Similar running animals can be found in the design of Central Asian kesi (for example, WSWG, nos.14-15), but they are more suggestive of conventional Islamic decoration (see Baer [1998], pp.34-6). A wide band is decorated with polylobed and diamond medallions and with peacocks, a theme which is, as Wardwell has noted, associated with metalwork of the thirteenth century from Khurasan (Wardwell [1988-1989], p.109; for example, see Melikian-Chirvani [1982], fig.35, pl.41). To
the textile industry under Ilkhanid patronage. Its careful execution suggests that this piece was woven in the royal workshop at Tabriz.\textsuperscript{81} For various reasons, however, this fine piece travelled from Tabriz to Vienna, and was preserved as a burial garment for the Hapsburg emperor Rudolf IV (d.1365), perhaps through the mediation of Italian merchants.\textsuperscript{82}

In the case of Chinese textiles woven during the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, useful information can be obtained from both surviving examples and contemporary European and Muslim accounts and Chinese dynastic records.\textsuperscript{83} There are three points that are necessary to understanding their significance in Yuan textile history: first, the Mongols intentionally adopted Chinese conventional motifs associated with imperial power for official clothing in the Yuan court,\textsuperscript{84} which was especially promoted during the reign of Khubilai (r.1260-1294). As soon as the Yuan dynasty was officially established, the court prohibited the use of the sun, moon, dragon and tiger on the decoration of silk and satin fabrics and that

\begin{itemize}
\item judge by the inscriptions, which read 'Glory to our lord the most great sultan, the exalted monarch 'Ala' al-Dunya wa'l-Din [Abu Sa'id) Bahadur Khan, may God make his rule eternal,' this textile is datable to the reign of Abu Sa'id, namely between 1316 to 1335 (Wardwell [1988-1989], p.108). Importantly, this type of striped design, a feature of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Iranian textiles (e.g. Wardwell [1988-1989], figs. 5, 13-14, 23-5 and 41-2; Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.75), recurs in early Ottman textiles (Ettinghausen [1961]).
\item Wardwell (1988-1989), p.108. Some Ilkhanid textiles remained in Italy and were buried as relics. A number of Iranian textiles datable to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century have been discovered in the tomb of Cangrande della Scala (d.1329) in Verona (see Magagnato [1983]). I shall discuss individual examples of the Verona textiles later in this section.
\item In addition to Marco Polo's Travels, Ibn Battuta's Travels and Rashid al-Din's World History are particularly informative. In Chinese literature, the Yuan shi (1976), especially chapters 78-80, is the best primary source regarding textiles in that period.
\item See Allsen (1997), pp.107-8.
\end{itemize}
of the dragon and rhinoceros on horse saddles. In due course, the use of the dragon was further controlled: the court first specified the use of five-clawed dragons for its imperial costumes in 1314. Secondly, *nasij* textiles—luxury silk textiles with gold threads—were produced on a large scale in China under Mongol patronage, and they were exported to the West. The production of *nasij* can be traced through contemporary Chinese literature. However, because most *nasij* textiles were discovered outside China, the existence of domestic *nasij* production remains a matter for speculation. Thirdly, as the number of weavers from the West began to increase from the 1220s onwards, the cultural contribution of artists from the Western Regions became evident. According to Yuan records, more than one thousand artisans of the Western Regions arrived in China in 1223; in 1275 Khubilai moved craftmen from Besh Baliq to the Yuan capital Dadu, and an office was founded for the weaving of *nasij*. These people might have contributed to the development of the textile industry in Yuan China as government artisans.

85 *Yuan shi*, ch.7, p.131.
86 Ibid., ch.78, p.1942.
87 The *Yuan shi* indicates the fact that gold thread was produced under the control of the Gold Thread Office (*jinsiziju*) (ibid., ch.88, pp.2226-7) and was used for the production of *nasij* at the Offices for Weaving and Dying (*ranzhi tijusi*), which were established in many locations under the control of the Ministry of Works (ibid., ch.85, pp.2149-52).
88 See, for further information, Chen (1966), pp.18-275.
89 *Yuan shi*, ch.153, p.3609.
90 *WSWG*, pp.130-1.
91 See Chu (1972); Oshima (1983). The involvement of weavers from Central and West Asia in Yuan workshops caused the revival of Occidentalism in the art of China during the Mongol period. Like Tang textile designs, Yuan textiles show multifarious stylistic features, derived from Central Asian and further west (for example, see Zhao [1999], pls.06.02, 06.03 and 06.06).
Some Chinese themes, for example lotus patterns, had already been introduced from China into the eastern Islamic world before the establishment of the direct cultural and political links between Iran and China. Yet *chinoiserie* became a marked feature in Iranian textiles produced under Ilkhanid rule, thanks to the increase of information about Chinese conventions. Some Ilkhanid textiles bear striking Chinese elements, ranging from those typical of Chinese ornament, such as dragons and phoenixes, to those developed in the states of non-Han tribes in northern China. An examination of a Nuremberg textile (Fig.T12) is a good starting-point for understanding the Iranian reaction to Chinese themes from the late thirteenth century onwards. The images — *qilin*-like animals and clouds surrounded by teardrop-shaped units — are visibly inspired by a specific Chinese textile designs, whose basic decorative ideas can be traced back to the common motifs used in brocades of the Jin period (1115-1234)(Fig.T13), a dynasty of the Jurchens which ruled some northern parts of China before the Mongols and held supremacy over the area. This is the so-called swan hunt motif (*haidongqing*) that was typical of Jin brocades and was famous for its use in royal robes designed for spring hunting. This motif basically consists of teardrop units arranged in a horizontal row, each of which has an image of a falcon swooping down upon a recumbent swan. Other animals, such as dragons and phoenixes, were eventually adapted to this pattern and

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92 Figure T12: Wardwell (1988-1989), p.110; Survey, pp. 2053-4. Similar pieces are found in Utrecht and Berlin (see Survey, fig.667, p.2060; Wardwell [1988-1989], fig.54).
93 *WSWG*, p.110. Figure T13: *WSWG*, no.28. For a related example, see Zhao (1999), pl.05.09.
94 *Jin shi*, ch.43, p.984; *WSWG*, p.108.
these motifs survived until the Yuan dynasty.\textsuperscript{95} In the case of the Nuremberg example, features of crouching deer, known as djeiran (a Central Asian antelope) surrounded by teardrop-shaped units, closely resemble those of the Cleveland Jin brocade (Fig.T14),\textsuperscript{96} except for the absence of moon patterns.\textsuperscript{97} The djeiran had a Sogdian ancestry. It began to be popular in the Tang decorative arts and was revived during the Jin dynasty.\textsuperscript{98} Compared with Jin brocades, however, each teardrop unit in the Nuremberg example is arranged in narrower spaces, which are filled with flower-like symbols. Such adjustments may have been associated with one of the guiding principles in Islamic ornament, namely the so-called ‘horror vacui’\textsuperscript{99}—a tendency to embellish a background with ornament.

Representations of clouds in the Nuremberg textile are bulky and simplified. Yet they still betray their stylistic indebtedness to the conventional cloud patterns used in Song textiles, for example thirteenth-century silk textiles discovered in the tombs of Hang Sheng (Fig.T15).\textsuperscript{100} Clouds are one of the oldest artistic themes in Chinese art, and their basic designs were already established in the Shang and Zhou periods (c.1500 BC – 770 BC).\textsuperscript{101} This motif basically served to imply immortality and good fortune, but its significance often went beyond its use as an auspicious symbol: in Daoist thought the cloud was regarded as the

\textsuperscript{95} See Ogasawara (1989), fig.10.
\textsuperscript{96} Figure T14: WSWG, no.28; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.179.
\textsuperscript{97} For the significance of the moon in djeiran patterns, see WSWG, p.114.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} For this principle, see Ettinghausen (1979B); Baer (1998), p.126.
\textsuperscript{100} Figure T15: Fujiansheng bowuguan (ed.)(1982), fig.100.
\textsuperscript{101} See, for the development of Chinese cloud patterns, Wu (2000).
accumulation of the cosmic breath, *qi*. Its shapes were increasingly diversified during the Tang dynasty with the aid of images of creatures. Chinese cloud patterns seem to have become familiar in northern China under Khitan rule in the context of conventional animal-and-cloud patterns and to have gradually moved westwards into Central Asia. Iranian attachment to cloud patterns became obvious in the late thirteenth century, not only in textiles and other decorative objects, often together with animals, but also in painting, where they function as landscape elements.

Another contemporary lampas found in Danzig (Gdansk) (Fig. T16) is impressive by virtue of the subtle coexistence of Islamic and Chinese themes. Islamic features, for example the confronted parrots with Arabic inscriptions on their wings and tails, are prominent, while the ascending twisted dragons in the interstitial spaces of the polygonal roundels are apparently Chinese. This type of dragon motif can be compared with those used in early Yuan textiles (Fig.T17). The dragon itself has had broad cultural associations in China since the earliest times; in addition to its royal image, it also symbolised longevity and the power of creation. Despite its significance and long tradition in China, the introduction of Chinese dragon

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103 Rawson (1984), p.139. For example, see Figure Mis.8.
104 For example, see WSWG, no.9.
105 This point will be addressed in the following chapters on miniature painting. For the development of cloud patterns in Iranian art and its Chinese associations, see Kadoi (2002).
106 Figure T16: Survey, pp.2052-3, 2059; Hayward, p.80, pl.15; Blair and Bloom (1997), pp.230-1; Wardwell (1988-1989), p.98; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.71. The use of thin strips of gilded membrane for the gold thread suggests that this piece was not made in Iran but possibly in Central Asia (see Blair and Bloom [1997], p.231).
107 Figure T17: Zhao (1999), p.274.
themes to Iran came relatively late. Iranian reaction to Chinese dragon motifs became obvious from the 1270s onwards, as exemplified in glazed tiles found in the palace complex at Takht-i Sulayman, datable to the 1270s (Fig.C13). Because the dragon in the Danzig example does not have five claws, it is unlikely to have been related to imperial production in Yuan China. The ownership of this piece is worth mentioning: to judge by its inscriptions,\(^{109}\) it was made for the Mamluk Sultan Nasir al-Din Muhammad (who ruled intermittently from 1293 to 1294 and from 1299 to 1341), as one of the gifts offered by the last Ilkhan Abu Sa'id (r.1316-1335) following the truce in 1323. It does not contradict an Arabic record mentioning that one of the Mongol rulers dispatched to him a present of seven hundred textiles woven with the sultan’s titles.\(^{110}\) It is, however, interesting to speculate how this piece finally reached Danzig and was made into a cope.

A lampas weave in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, provides further information about the occurrence of Chinese-type dragons and other Chinese themes in Iranian textiles during the Ilkhanid period (Fig.T18).\(^{111}\) The artistic value of this textile stems from the use of coiled dragons in roundels, small banks of clouds on the background and flying birds in the frieze decoration, all of which are of a distinctly Chinese style. The coiled

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\(^{109}\) It says, 'Glory to our lord the sultan, the king, the just, the wise Nasir' (see Folsach and Bernsted [1993], p.30).

\(^{110}\) Ibid., pp.29-30.

\(^{111}\) Figure T18: WSWG, p.138, fig.68; von Wilckens (1992), no.80; Folsach and Bernsted (1993), pp.54-5; Wardwell (1988-1989), p.110. For the dating of this textile, see WSWG, pp.138. Folsach has attributed it to an older period (Folsach and Bernsted [1993], pp.54-5).
dragon motifs here are most reminiscent of those used in contemporary Yuan textiles (Fig.T19)\(^\text{112}\) or even resemble those of Jin brocades (Fig.T20).\(^\text{113}\) The coiled dragon, often represented as chasing a pearl-like jewel\(^\text{114}\) amid scattered clouds, was originally a literary creation of the Han period, and its image was developed in ornamental designs during the Tang dynasty.\(^\text{115}\) The dragon patterns here are slightly modified through Iranian interpretations – e.g. the pearl is absent from the Berlin example; the dragon tails here terminate in dragons’ heads.

Another distinctive *chinoiserie* element which distinguishes this example more decisively from any textiles woven in the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth century-Iranian world is a group of cloud patterns in the form of a pair of spectacles represented throughout the background, each of which is linked to long wisps of clouds. It shows a close stylistic affinity with contemporary Yuan textiles; for instance, similar cloud patterns are found in a Yuan silk damask now in the Hofburg Schatzkammer, Vienna (Fig.T21).\(^\text{116}\) This type of cloud motif was widely known as *lingzhi* (literally ‘sacred fungus’) in Chinese art.\(^\text{117}\) This distinctive pattern was developed from the mushroom-like image of the top parts of clouds, whose decorative schemes

\(^\text{112}\) Figure T19: Brown (2000), pp.30–6. For a related example, see WSWG, no.42.

\(^\text{113}\) Figure T20: *WSWG*, no.30; Komariff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.181.

\(^\text{114}\) A pearl-like jewel is more likely to be associated with Buddhist iconography. The jewel might have been derived from the Buddhist *rui baozhu* (‘wish-granting jewel’) that symbolises transcendent wisdom. It is, however, uncertain when the image of the dragon and the jewel combined. See Brown (2000), p.33.

\(^\text{115}\) *WSWG*, p.116. Similar coiled dragon motifs are recognised in a portrait of a king of the Tangut empire in Cave 409 at Dunhuang (see Whitfield et al. [2000], p.29).

\(^\text{116}\) Figure T21: Simcox (1994), pp.41–2. See also Spink (1999), no.10.

\(^\text{117}\) Rawson (1984), p.139.
were especially diversified in Tang art under the influence of Buddhism;\textsuperscript{118} by the thirteenth century, it was associated with the image of the lobed head of the fungus of immortality.\textsuperscript{119} The pattern soon became much more stylised into a peculiar motif called \textit{ruyi} (literally ‘as you wish’),\textsuperscript{120} which was extensively adapted to various kinds of media during the Yuan period.\textsuperscript{121} As Figure T7 shows, \textit{lingzhi} seem to have already been introduced into Central Asian textiles by the early thirteenth century. Ilkhanid weavers may perhaps have intended to represent conventional Chinese dragon-and-cloud patterns called \textit{yunlong} which were closely associated with imperial power, serving as a symbol of the emperor.\textsuperscript{122}

In the frieze decoration between dragon roundels, birds appear against a background of pseudo-Kufic decoration. The design, which consists of various kinds of birds and animals amid stylised foliage ornament, bears a certain resemblance to those of Song and Yuan \textit{kesi} (Fig.T22),\textsuperscript{123} though it is hard to identify the birds. In other contemporary Iranian textiles, however, Chinese taste permeates the representations of phoenix-type birds (Fig.T23).\textsuperscript{124} Basing themselves on traditional paired bird designs in Islamic textiles, artists juxtapose Chinese and Islamic themes, so that Chinese

\textsuperscript{118} For example, \textit{ibid.}, figs.125b-d.
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Ibid.}, p.139.
\textsuperscript{120} See, for the development of \textit{ruyi} patterns, Cort and Stuart (1993), pp.35-7.
\textsuperscript{121} For example, see Sekai, vol.7, no.212.
\textsuperscript{122} The dragon is included in the twelve imperial symbols, which were used for costumes of the rulers as early as in pre-history. For further discussion, see Zhao (1999), pp.254-65; Huang (1987), pp.52-3.
\textsuperscript{123} Figure T22: \textit{WSWG}, no.20. See for Yuan examples, Zhao (1999), p.226, pl. 07.07.
phoenixes (fenghuang) resembling those used in Song kest\textsuperscript{125} replace Islamic birds and are joined to bulb palmettes. In spite of the symmetrical balance, suggestions of fluttering wings and rippling plumage help to create a sense of movement in the whole image. The fenghuang is, like the dragon, characteristic of Chinese decorative patterns.\textsuperscript{126} The fenghuang was equated with the Red Bird of the South (zhuniao) in the Han period, but the image of the phoenix with beautiful plumage was developed in later Chinese art traditions. It was often represented with the dragon to emphasise the imperial image as an emblem of the empress.\textsuperscript{127} Chinese elements are more easily identifiable in the bird patterns of the other key textile in Cleveland (Fig.T24),\textsuperscript{128} Here diving and standing phoenixes are alternately arranged in horizontal rows against a pale green background filled with floral vine motifs. The distinctive features of diving and standing phoenixes with elegant plumage seemingly originated in Central Asia (Fig.T25),\textsuperscript{129} and were introduced to China at least as early as the Song dynasty.\textsuperscript{130} Chinese features infuse the flower patterns used in the background – they are more likely to be the peony than the lotus, and recall those used in Cizhou-type

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{125}For example, see WSWG, fig.13.
\textsuperscript{126}For the development of the phoenix pattern in Chinese art, see Rawson (1984), pp.99-107.
\textsuperscript{127}See Williams (1974), pp.323-6.
\textsuperscript{128}Figure T24: WSWG, no.47; Wardwell (1987), p.11; eadem (1988-1989), pp.105-6. For a related textile, see Survey, p.2053, p.2059, pl.998B. This textile has been plausibly assigned to Transoxiana during the Mongol period (see Wardwell [1988-1989], p.106).
\textsuperscript{129}Figure T25: New York (1982), p.197.
\textsuperscript{130}Rawson (1984), pp.100-1; WSWG, p.196. Such phoenix motifs seem to have been popular as architectural decoration in Song China. See the Yingzao fashi ('Manual of Architecture') published in 1103 (Li [1968], vol.8, ch.33, p.19). For Yuan examples of this type of phoenix patterns, see WSWG, no.60.
\end{footnotesize}
wares (Fig.C9).131

Along with the introduction of Chinese animal themes, an artistic response to Chinese floral patterns recurred in Islamic textile designs. Iranian textiles of the Mongol period display the imagery of lotuses with fidelity to Chinese conventions. Textiles retrieved from the tomb of Cangrande della Scala, who died in 1329 (Fig.T26),132 contain eight-petalled lotus motifs enclosed in a teardrop-shaped frame. The lotuses here are, in comparison with those represented in a relatively crude manner in the background of the Cleveland feline-and-eagle textile (Fig.T9), merged more deeply into the whole decorative schemes. They are present in a more articulate form, and show an unmistakable stylistic indebtedness to conventional lotus motifs in Song decorative art (e.g. Figs.T29, C5).

Thus the surviving Ilkhanid examples cited above show a close artistic contact with Chinese artistic traditions; indeed, each Chinese theme is represented with such care that it is possible to identify its Chinese sources. The important point to note is that the use of Chinese motifs in Iranian textiles was not merely employed to add exotic elegance. Without the new decorative ideas from East Asia, ornamental innovations would not have occurred in Iranian textile designs; they would otherwise have been confined to conventional geometric patterns or Sasanian-derived roundels. Yet on the other hand, not all the Chinese themes are used in Chinese contexts – this is a key point in considering the adoption and adaptation of Chinese

131 I shall address Cizhou wares in the chapter on ceramics (see pp.68-9).
132 Figure T26: Magagnato (1983), pp.23, 153-62; Wardwell (1988-1989), pp.97-102, fig.16.
patterns in Iranian art. Some of the motifs are shown in Iranian textiles in Chinese guises: yet although they are stylistically close to Chinese models, they are inaccurately combined with other iconographically unrelated motifs, for example dragons and parrots or phoenixes and bulb palmettes; thus they have lost much of their original symbolic significance.

Having looked in detail at Chinese elements in Ilkhanid textiles which have survived in fragmentary form, one can now extend the observation into how these elements are involved in the formation of the decorative programme as a whole. The following two examples are particularly informative as to the overall impression of chinoiserie elements in large-size fabrics produced in Mongol-ruled Iran.133

The relationship between a silk tapestry in the David Collection (Fig.T27)134 and Chinese kesi is worth consideration. The central image of this roundel — an enthroned prince surrounded by two attendants and two guards — is entirely Islamic. One can easily find similar iconography in contemporary Iranian miniature painting and metalwork. 135 The background of this image of the ruler is decorated with abundant floral

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133 The question may also arise as to how Chinese elements were employed in royal apparel. The Ilkhans viewed clothing as an important cultural and political element. This is certainly reflected in the minute depiction of robes, particularly their decorative patterns, in Ilkhanid painting. I shall look at the detail of individual clothing in the following chapters on miniature painting.

134 Figure T27: Folsach (1996), pp. 81-5; idem (2001), p.360; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.72. From a technical point of view, the abundant use of cotton in the David kesi indicates that this piece was not woven in China but in Ilkhanid territories (Folsach [1996], p.87).

135 For example, see Simpson (1978), figs.12, 17, 22, 33, 49, 62-4 and 93-4. For a related image in contemporary metalwork, see Ward (1993), p.66.
patterns. Although they are supposedly intended to create naturalistic scenery, the flower motifs are merely employed to fill the space. Yet Chinese themes are crucial to the entire decorative scheme of the David Collection kesi. Two flying birds with long plumage behind two guards evoke Chinese-inspired phoenixes of the type represented in Figure T23. The crane and the tortoise that appear in front of the throne are new accessions to chinoiserie patterns in Iranian textiles. The crane symbolises longevity in Chinese art; it is a popular theme in Song art and can often be found in textiles and painting of the period.\textsuperscript{136} In a superb Northern Song kesi in the Palace Museum collection (Fig. T28),\textsuperscript{137} for instance, the flight of cranes through clouds seems to have been associated with a Daoist cult of immortality. The tortoise is generally regarded as an emblem of longevity, strength and endurance.\textsuperscript{138} According to \textit{Li ji} ('Book of Rites'), the unicorn (\textit{qilin}), phoenix, tortoise and dragon are the four intelligent creatures.\textsuperscript{139} The tortoise later became one of the animals symbolising the cardinal points, and was known as the Black Warrior of the North.\textsuperscript{140} Since the tortoise does not frequently occur in Tang, Song and Yuan examples,\textsuperscript{141} it is hard to find possible sources for the tortoise used in the David Collection kesi. In addition, the relationship between the crane and the tortoise remains unclear. The central motif is further encircled by two types of decorative bands: one

\textsuperscript{136} See, for example, Fong and Watt (1996), fig.96. The crane is not common in Song ceramics (Wirgin [1979], p.204).

\textsuperscript{137} Figure T28: \\textit{WSWG}, pp.56-9, fig.14.


\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Li ji}, ch.7, p.9 (quoted in Williams [1974], frontispiece).

\textsuperscript{140} Rawson (1984), pp.90-1. The other animals are: the Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, and the Red Bird (the Phoenix) of the South.
depicts a running animal and the other comprises calligraphy. The first frieze consists of twelve animals running anti-clockwise amid gold arabesque on a dark blue ground, whose colour and decorative schemes are, as Folsach has pointed out, akin to those found in thirteenth-century Central Asian _kesi_ in Cleveland.\(^{142}\) Chinese-inspired lotus motifs dominate the background of the second frieze, where six running animals and six roundels are represented alternately. Here their Chinese sources can be found in Central Asian or Chinese _kesi_, for example in an elaborate late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century _kesi_ in Los Angeles (Fig.T29).\(^{143}\)

A hanging in Hong Kong (Fig.T30)\(^{144}\) is notable not only in its rich decorative schemes but also in its size, namely two metres in height and one metre in width. This item, together with ten almost identical hangings in Copenhagen and Qatar,\(^{145}\) was presumably used for royal palaces or tents. The main motifs of this piece are roundels of two different sizes: the large one, resembling Sasanian pearl roundels, contains paired roosters, a motif of Iranian origin.\(^{146}\) In the interstices there are three different types of palmettes. The largest one, near the roosters' feet, is reminiscent of those often represented in thirteenth-century Central Asian textiles, for example the Cleveland lion silk (Fig.T8). As for the coiled dragon used in the small medallions, as in the Berlin textile (Fig.T18), it is relatively easy to find

\(^{141}\) Wirgin (1979), pp.198-9.

\(^{142}\) Folsach (1996), p.87. For example, see _WSWG_, no.19.

\(^{143}\) Figure T29: Zhao (1999), pl.07.07; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.187.

\(^{144}\) Figure T30: Zhao (1999), pl.06.07.

\(^{145}\) For Copenhagen examples, see Folsach (2001), p.360, pl.641. The Qatar examples were displayed at the Ilkhanid exhibition in 2002. For these examples, see Thompson (2004), cat.no.19.
Similar dragon designs in Jin brocades and Yuan textiles (e.g. Figs.T19-T20). Such motifs, beautifully highlighted against a red background, are further decorated with flower patterns and teardrop-shaped medallions with flying birds. Naturalism is absent in these floral patterns, which can more readily be described as arabesques of Islamic origin.

The most marked pattern in this piece is the four-lobed motif boldly used in the top section. This is the so-called cloud collar, yunjian (literally, 'cloud-shoulder'). The origin of cloud collars remains uncertain.147 The concept of cruciform motifs can be recognised in Han burial objects,148 and similar patterns are found in Song textiles, which are composed of four ruyi patterns.149 However, cloud collars are not entirely of Chinese origin. It seems that they first became familiar to non-Han tribes in the northern fringes of China, such as the Jurchens and the Mongols, as costume elements during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.150 Perhaps this motif was introduced to China and adapted to Chinese textile designs during the Mongol period. Cloud collars eventually became important designs for official costumes of the Yuan court,151 and were usually woven into the robe as a part of the design152 or attached to the shoulder (Fig.T31).153 They

147 On the origin of cloud collars, see Cammann (1951).
148 For example, see Watson (1995), fig.171.
149 See Fujianxing bowuguan (ed.) (1982), fig.41.
150 The first literary evidence of cloud collars is found in the Jin shi (ch.43, p.980). For earlier visual evidence, see Gong Suran's The Revered Concubine Crosses the Frontier (c.1127-1162; Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, Osaka; reproduced in Kessler [1993], fig.39), where Wang Zhaojin is depicted as a Mongolian by her dress with an elaborate cloud collar.
151 Yuan shi, ch.78, p.1940.
152 For example, see Zhao (1999), p.202.
153 Figure T30: Sekai, vol.7, no.235: WSWG, fig.57. See also Hansen (1950), pp.6-11, fig.4.
must have possessed rich symbolic meaning among the Mongols; they were possibly regarded as important visual evidence to show class or wealth in Mongol society.\textsuperscript{154} In some cases, when cloud collars were applied to silk designs, they might have signified Paradise, for silk and silk clothes were essential components in Buddhist burials in China and Central Asia.\textsuperscript{155} They finally reached Iran by the middle of the thirteenth century, as the adaptation of cloud collars can be recognised in a \textit{tiraz} of Abu Bakr (r.c.1226-1260), a Salghurid ruler of Fars, which is now in the David Collection.\textsuperscript{156} They survived in Iran as an important decorative accessory for clothing until the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{157} The cloud collar also caught the fancy of Iranian artists as a framing device for other media of the pictorial and decorative arts during the Mongol period, ranging from Qur'an illumination (Fig.MP123) to tile decoration (Fig.C19).

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has attempted to present an overview of Chinese elements in Iranian textiles up to the early fourteenth century, focusing on the stylistic changes undergone by Iranian textile designs and on the

\textsuperscript{154} For further discussion of textiles in Mongol society, see Allsen (1997), pp.11-26.

\textsuperscript{155} Liu (1998), p.49.

\textsuperscript{156} For this textile, see \textit{WSWG}, p.135, fig.63; Folsach (2001), no.639. It is highly probable that, judging by the occurrence of cloud collars in a group of early thirteenth-century Dagestan sculpture (Salmony [1943], figs.1, 2 and 3), they may have been disseminated into Iran via the Caucasus region.

\textsuperscript{157} The cloud collar became an important costume element in Ilkhanid Iran, as reflected in representations of elaborate cloud-collar decoration attached to Mongol-type robes in contemporary miniature painting (e.g. Grabar and Blair [1980], pls.14, 28). For Timurid examples, see Lentz and Lowry (1989), pp.216-9.
connections between China and Iran during the Mongol period. There had been continuous exchanges of artistic ideas between Chinese and Iranian textiles since the pre-Islamic period. The Mongol invasions, however, resulted in the encouragement of deeper Iranian contacts with Chinese art, and the full-scale introduction of Chinese themes took place in Iranian textile designs in the late thirteenth century. Chinese ornament was now free to move across the Eurasian continent along the Silk Route, thanks to the Pax Mongolica. Yet Chinese themes were not always conveyed directly to Iran; they often made their way there through the mediation of Central Asia. By the end of the Ilkhanid dynasty, Iranian artists had succeeded in manipulating Chinese themes in new ways and in refining Chinese decorative schemes.

The re-examination of Iranian textiles in this chapter has showed some basic patterns of the adaptation of Chinese themes in Iranian art. In the following discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian art, the interrelationship between Chinese themes used in Iranian textiles and those used in other media of Iranian art should always be kept in mind.
CHAPTER II

CERAMICS

1. Introduction

A study of ceramics provides more clues to the artistic contact between Iran and China than any other media of decorative arts, and deeper understanding of how the Iranian desire to imitate the works of Chinese art was developed throughout the ages. Because of its continued significance during the long period of cultural interchange between the two countries, chinoiserie in Iranian and broadly Middle Eastern ceramics has been widely discussed by both Islamic and Chinese art historians, especially since the increase in the number of archaeological discoveries and the flow of Chinese ceramics into western art markets during the early twentieth century.¹ The scholarly development of chinoiserie can be traced in a series of articles in the *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society.*²

There is little doubt that Chinese ceramics—which was referred to as *chini-i faghfuri*³—continuously influenced Iranian pottery and played a

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¹ A full bibliography about this subject before 1976 is found in Grube (1976), pp.335-7. In particular, see Kahle (1940-1941); Fehérvári (1970); Gray (1975-1977); Grube (1978). For recent research on this subject, see Watson (1992) and a series of articles by Crowe, Carswell and Morgan.
² In particular, the articles published in the 1970s (see Carswell [1976-1977]; Crowe [1975-1977]; Gray [1975-1977]).
³ *Faghfuri* is the Arabicised version of *Baghpur,* literally meaning Son of God in Middle Persian, and equivalent to Son of Heaven that the Chinese use for their emperors. See
decisive role in the development of the whole Middle Eastern ceramics. In particular, three periods, approximating to the ninth, twelfth and seventeenth centuries, have been emphasised as the periods in which Iranian ceramics underwent significant technical and stylistic changes through the greatest exposure to Chinese ceramics. The last period, equivalent to the Safavid dynasty (1501-1722), is outside the scope of this thesis, but it is necessary to reconsider the first two waves of chinoiserie in Iranian ceramics – even though the ninth and twelfth centuries are slightly inappropriate markers since the end of each wave includes a part of the following century – in order to understand more clearly what happened in fourteenth-century Iranian ceramics.

A complete overview of the impact of China on Iranian ceramics, however, has not yet been given; this is mainly due to the slow development of Iranian ceramic studies. While studies in Chinese ceramics have been developing steadily along with the increase of archaeological discoveries, notably from Inner Mongolia, the chronology and dating of Iranian ceramics remains problematic. A major obstacle to the study of Iranian ceramics is the limited amount of information about kiln-sites and workshops during the Middle Ages. Archaeological discoveries, even though they have increased in number, remain too inadequate to ascertain reliably the dating and provenance of the finds. In particular, the finds of Samarra, which

5 For a summary of the development of the study of Islamic ceramics and its problems, see Fehérvári (2000), pp.15-19.
dominated the study of early Islamic ceramics for many years, need reassessment.6

The aim of this chapter is to construct a balanced picture of the development of chinoiserie in Iranian ceramics up to the fourteenth century, by referring to newly acquired information from both Iranian and Chinese sources. The present argument is very likely to be modified by further archaeological discoveries, but it will be useful to collect and summarise the information currently available about Chinese elements in Iranian ceramics.

2. Early Sino-Iranian relations in ceramic styles and designs

(1) The first wave

The efflorescence of Chinese-Muslim ceramic trading first occurred under the Tang and ‘Abbasid Empires. Contemporary treatises by Arab geographers7 and a number of Chinese sherds found at major Islamic sites of the period, notably Samarra in Iraq,8 the capital of ‘Abbasid court between 836 to 883, demonstrate that Chinese ceramics were extensively

6 I shall address the problem of the Samarra finds in the following section.
7 Accounts of Chinese ceramics by Islamic writers of the ninth and tenth centuries are summarised by Kahle (1940-1941), pp.32-3.
8 Sarre (1923), pp.56-64. However, the Samarra finds are now ascribed to the tenth and eleventh centuries rather than the ninth century. The huge quantity of Chinese sherds found at Fustat in Egypt (see Scanlon [1970]: Mikami [1980-1981]), which have yielded a great variety of Chinese ceramics ranging from the ninth to fifteenth centuries, are also of importance in understanding the early ceramic trade between China and the Middle East. They will be referred to hereafter in this chapter.
exported to the Middle East from the ninth century onwards,\textsuperscript{9} probably in the main by sea across the Indian Ocean.\textsuperscript{10} The potters of the Islamic world were certainly aware of the fineness of imported Chinese wares, which must have been extremely valuable and expensive in the Muslim market, and very soon they began to copy Chinese pieces.\textsuperscript{11} The first encounter with fine Chinese ceramics greatly influenced the potters of the Islamic world, and Muslim admiration for Chinese pieces did not diminish until Muslim relations with China became indirect in the seventeenth century,\textsuperscript{12} though, as will be discussed later, the degree to which Chinese ceramics were received and imitated by Muslim potters differs from period to period.

Before examining any actual examples, it would be useful to make a general observation about the Iranian reaction to the art of Chinese ceramics during the first wave of \textit{chinoiserie}, by comparing it with the case of textiles, since both were key products during the prosperous period of Chinese trade under the Tang dynasty and were among the major channels through which Chinese art traditions were conveyed to Iranian artists before the Mongol invasions. Both in China and Iran, ceramics were

\textsuperscript{9} It is said that twenty imperial Chinese wares (\textit{chini-i faghfuri}) and two thousand ordinary pieces were given to Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r.786-809) by ‘Ali ibn ‘Isa, a governor of Khurasan (see Lane [1947], p.10).

\textsuperscript{10} For example, a variety of Chinese ceramics ranging from the ninth to nineteenth centuries were excavated in the Maldive Islands (see Carswell [1976-1977]).

\textsuperscript{11} For the survey of the Chinese influence on early Islamic pottery, see Fehérvári (1970); Crowe (1975-1977).

\textsuperscript{12} The fall of \textit{chinoiserie} in Iranian ceramics was presumably due to the obstruction of the Uzbeks in the land route to China through Transoxiana, as well as to the rise of European power in the maritime trade between East and West (see J. M. Rogers's essay in 'Chinese-Iranian relations', in \textit{Enc.Iran.}, 5 [1992], p.436).
produced mainly for domestic use, whereas silk textiles were regarded as luxury items as well as having religious significance. As ceramics replaced metalwork as a major art form in Tang China, however, its functions developed accordingly. The manufacture of ceramics was divided into several functions – such as aesthetic appreciation, burial and simple utility – and by degree the luxurious connotations of Chinese ceramics were echoed in Iranian potters' works.

A more fundamental difference between ceramics and textiles is that decorative concepts were not as influential as were techniques during the first stage of the Iranian encounter with Chinese ceramics. In contrast to the situation of textiles, motifs of Chinese origin, such as dragons and phoenixes, were not adopted immediately in Iranian ceramic decoration. Instead, certain unusual technical features of Chinese ceramics, namely translucence, whiteness and hardness – elements which had been difficult to create with materials available in Iran – made an immense impact on Iranian potters and inspired them to develop similar techniques and methods. In the course of copying Chinese examples, the coloured glazes so popular in early Middle Eastern ceramics, for example those of dull green colour,\textsuperscript{13} were gradually replaced by more refined ones, some of Chinese inspiration. Moreover, the handsome shapes and thin bodies of imported Chinese ceramics had a great impact on the artistic concepts of Iranian potters, who modulated the shapes of their wares, which had hitherto rather clumsily copied metalwork, and transformed them into well-proportioned

\textsuperscript{13} See Watson (2004), pp.156-65. For the early history of glazes in Middle Eastern ceramics,
shapes more appropriate for ceramics. There is thus no doubt that the Iranian imitation of Chinese ceramics resulted — insofar as this was technically possible — in refining the styles and techniques of their ceramics. Iranian potters imitated Chinese ceramics primarily for artistic reasons, but the appearance of stereotyped copies and their wide distribution throughout the Middle East suggest that imitation was to some extent undertaken both intentionally and systematically to appeal to a wide range of clients in the Middle East for financial gain.

The first phase of chinoiserie can be seen clearly in the pottery made in Iraq under the ‘Abbasid Empire, whose first capital, Baghdad, was a prosperous city of international importance during the eighth to tenth centuries. One of the best examples of ‘Abbasid wares demonstrating striking Chinese elements as well as local development is a ninth-century earthenware bowl with a rolled rim now in Munich (Fig.C1). This bowl is particularly illustrative of Muslim attempts to create a creamy-white appearance stimulated by the whiteness of imported Chinese wares (Fig.C2), which can only be produced by using kaolin through the process

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14 Figure C1: Hayward, p.215, no.255; Rogers (1989), pp.258, pl.8; Blair and Bloom (1997), p.108; Hattstein and Delius (eds.) (2000), p.121; Munich (2003), no.70. Very similar examples are to be found in the Keir Collection (see Grube [1976], pp.35-41, no.7; Hillenbrand [1982], pp.123-4, pl.1). For other contemporary opaque white glazed wares, see Atil (ed.) (1990), cat.no.5; Grube (ed.) (1994), nos.24, 29-32; Fehérvári (2000), pp.37-40; Watson (2004), pp.170-81. While this type of bowl had often been referred to as a ‘Samarran’ ware, some scholars have recently suggested that it was probably produced at Basra (Fehérvári [2000], p.38). For further discussion, see Mason and Keall (1991).

15 Figure C2: Scott (1989), p.37, pl.19. This type of white ware was made in northern China, such as Hebei and Henan provinces. For other examples, see Vainker (1991), pl.68.
of firing at a high temperature. Because kaolin – a pure white clay derived from the decomposition of feldspar – was unavailable to the potters of the Islamic world, Muslim potters were unable to reproduce the body of Chinese wares properly. However, their unrestrained impulse to imitate finally led them to create the impression of a white body and a smooth texture by using an opaque white glaze, which subtly hid local dull white clays. Interestingly enough, in spite of their great admiration for the whiteness of Chinese wares, pure white wares were rarely made by Muslim potters. Perhaps because of a tendency in the art of the Islamic world to fill a given surface with ornament or in order to disguise a poor technique of glazing with decoration, they added their decorative vocabulary onto the quasi-white surface. The decorative repertoire of the Munich piece owes much to Islamic traditions, such as epigraphy and foliate decoration. The epigraphy – which is the most important innovation in Islamic ceramics of this period – here mentioning the artist’s name, is devoid of any Chinese traits and bears little resemblance to contemporary Chinese ceramics. It is more likely to have been indebted to local development, recalling later Umayyad and early

16 However, not all early Chinese white wares contain kaolin. For further discussion, see Carswell (1985), p.19.
17 For a rare example of Iranian white wares without decoration, see Grube (ed.) (1994), no.18.
18 For the development of epigraphic decoration in Islamic ceramics, see Hillenbrand (1982), pp.123-8.
19 Rogers (1989), p.258. It reads, ‘Barakah li-sahibihi ‘amal Muhammad... ‘(Blessing to the owner, the work of Muhammad ...).
20 A comparison can be made between Islamic epigraphy and Chinese calligraphy in ceramic designs (see Grube [1976], p.38), though a direct interdependence between them is difficult to demonstrate. The fact is that the use of calligraphy for decoration is rare in Chinese ceramics. Calligraphy is employed in the exterior decoration of Cizhou-type bottles and pillows, but this fashion occurred in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries (see Hasebe [ed.][1996], pls.20, 21, figs.35, 47).
'Abbasid coinage.21 The other Islamic element of this bowl is to be found in the semi-naturalistic foliate decoration, which appears to be associated with arabesque decoration rather than Chinese-origin flower motifs, such as peonies and lotuses. In considering the cobalt blue glazes, it is important to note that, while the use of blue glazing was brought back into popularity in the Middle East in the ninth and tenth centuries under ‘Abbasid rule and was introduced eastwards into China,22 Chinese potters refined blue glaze decoration and later created the world-famous blue-and-white porcelain; thereafter, blue-and-white porcelain was, as will be discussed later at length, imported from China in the Middle East during the fourteenth century. The other striking point is that imported Chinese wares stimulated Muslim potters to imitate their elegant shapes. The open shape and narrow base of the Munich bowl are visibly influenced by contemporary Chinese pieces.23

It could be argued that the early development of Iranian ceramics owed much to the pottery imported from other regions, mainly from Iraq.24 It was in the late ninth century that, along with the rise of local dynasties ruled by governors in North-east Iran and Transoxiana during the ‘Abbasid period, such as the Tahirids (821-873) and Samanids, Iran first experienced a great innovative period in the production of ceramics, both in styles and techniques. Among Chinese ceramics, white stonewares and later white porcelain, which reached these areas through major ports and riparian cities

23 For a detailed comparison between Chinese white wares and Islamic imitations, see Crowe (1976), p.296, fig.1.
in the Gulf during the ninth and tenth centuries, for example Siraf\textsuperscript{25} and Susa,\textsuperscript{26} contributed to the development of Iranian pottery during its formative period and stimulated Iranian potters to imitate such elegant pieces.\textsuperscript{27} However, Iranian potters seem more likely to have been inspired by the copies of Chinese pieces made in Iraq rather than by actual imported Chinese pieces.\textsuperscript{28}

The so-called splashed or lead-glazed wares found in major Islamic sites, such as Samarra,\textsuperscript{29} Nishapur\textsuperscript{30} and Siraf,\textsuperscript{31} have posed the question of Chinese connections.\textsuperscript{32} The belief that such wares unearthed in the Middle East, especially the pieces excavated in Samarra, were derived from imported Tang sancai (literally ‘three-colour’) wares is no longer tenable.\textsuperscript{33} Yet even though it is now possible clearly to distinguish Chinese imports from local Islamic products, thanks to detailed scientific examination,\textsuperscript{34} the origin of lead-glazed pottery in the Middle East, in particular whether it was indigenously invented or whether it was influenced by imported Chinese

\textsuperscript{25} For Siraf finds, see Whitehouse (1970); \textit{idem} (1972), p.74, pl.Xa; \textit{idem} (1973); Rougeulle (1991).
\textsuperscript{26} For Susa finds, see Koechlin (1928); Rosen-Ayalon (1974).
\textsuperscript{27} Wilkinson (1973), pp.179-204. Although Chinese ceramics have not yet been found, ceramics found in Sirjan, a capital of Kirman Province in early Islamic times, are of importance in understanding of the development of early Iranian ceramics (see Morgan and Leatherby [1987]).
\textsuperscript{29} Sarre (1925), pp.62-4; Watson (1970), pp.45-6.
\textsuperscript{30} Wilkinson (1973), pp.54-89.
\textsuperscript{31} Whitehouse (1972), pl.XI. Gray has attributed this piece as a Liao sancai (see Gray [1975-1977], p.232).
\textsuperscript{32} For a recent study on this subject, see Rawson, Tite and Hughes (1987-1988). This problem is summed up by Grube (ed.) (1994), p.13, n.28, p.34; Fehérvári (2000), p.47.
wares, remains unclear. It has been suggested, chiefly by historians of Islamic art, that the use of similar colour schemes or moulded decoration can be seen in earlier glazed relief wares produced in the Middle East, whose production can be traced back to the Roman period. This type of ware was certainly manufactured in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and its production seems to have continued up to the Umayyad and early Islamic periods. The similarity between Chinese sancai and Islamic lead-glazed wares is thus coincidental. In the case of a Nishapur example (Fig.C3), which is thought to have been produced in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is assumed that the use of lead-glaze techniques was inspired by imported Iraqi wares; apart from the splashed effect, there is little connection with imported Chinese sancai.

This hypothesis is based on general assumptions about the limited period of the use and production of sancai in China. Sancai production had already begun during the Han period, but sancai wares only became popular around the third quarter of the seventh century. They were manufactured mainly for burial use, and the fashion reached its apogee in the first half of the eighth century. Sancai production then ceased suddenly, perhaps due to

35 Lane (1939), p.57. For glazed relief wares, see Philon (1980), pp.5-34. The manufacture of splashed wares has been known from recent excavations in the pre-Islamic site in Saudi Arabia (see Fehérvári [2000], p.47).
37 Figure C3: Wilkinson (1973), p.69, no.66, pl.4; Metropolitan Museum of Art (1987), no.12. For similar pieces, see Atıl (ed.)(1990), cat.no.7; Brend (1991), pl.53; Grube (ed.)(1994), no.55.
the political upheavals which happened in the middle of the eighth century in northern China.41

As has been demonstrated by Rawson, Tite and Hughes, Chinese sancai sherds found in Mantai in Sri Lanka42 and those discovered in Japan43 suggest that the use of sancai wares was by no means limited to domestic burial objects.44 Lead-glazed wares having articulated forms and everted lips, reminiscent of metalwork,45 were perhaps made for Middle Eastern markets, because Chinese potters must already have been aware of Middle Eastern taste through imported metalwork. Middle Eastern metalwork was widely known in China through Sino-Sasanian trade by the seventh century and such metalwork had a considerable impact on Tang ceramic designs46 (Fig.C4).47 Yet judging by the long break in production of sancai between the early eighth century and the late tenth century, when the fashion for sancai

42 Recent excavation has shown that a large number of Chinese wares were exported to the Middle East via Mantai in Sri Lanka (see Carswell [1996]). It has been suggested that Yangzhou in eastern China was one of the major centres for the export of sancai (see Rawson, Tite and Hughes [1987-1988], pp.41-2).
44 A variety of shapes and glazed decoration, as well as slight regional differences, can be observed in exported Chinese sancai wares, suggesting that each category of sancai ware was designed for a specific market. For example, the vessel shapes and glaze decoration used for export pieces to Fustat, Mantai and Samarra are different from those found in China and Japan (see Rawson, Tite and Hughes [1987-1988], p.52).
45 For example, a dish with a wide flat rim found at Samarra is not a Chinese prototype. For further discussion, see Rawson Tate and Hughes (1987-1988), pp.54-6, pl.21: Vainker (1991), p.81.
46 The impact of Sasanian metalwork on Tang ceramics and metalwork has been widely pointed out: see Gray (1940-1941); Melikian-Chirvani (1970); Medley (1989), p.84, fig.57. For the relationship between Tang silver and ceramic designs under foreign influences, see Rawson (1982); eadem (1991). For a good survey of the relationship between Chinese ceramics and metalwork, see Medley (1972A).
47 Figure C4: Kentucky (2000), no.147.
revived in northern China under the Liao dynasty, it is unlikely that Chinese sancai wares were exported to the Middle East in sufficient quantities to provide a definitive source of inspiration for Islamic splashed wares. Future excavations on Chinese sancai, in particular those of the Liao period, and scientific research on Islamic lead-glazed wares will perhaps provide more clues to understanding the nature of the Chinese contribution to the development of lead-glazed wares in the Middle East.

(2) The second wave

The second wave of chinoiserie occurred in Iranian pottery from 1150 to 1250, equivalent to the time between the end of Saljuq rule (1038-1194) and the end of the Mongol invasions of Iran (1218-1257). This is one of the most intriguing periods in the history of both Iranian and Chinese ceramics. It saw unprecedented technical transformations and drastic changes in terms of styles and decorative schemes. Several explanations can account for the revolution in Iranian ceramics in this period, but it is generally assumed that after the decline of the Egyptian ceramic industry following

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49 Gray has emphasised the importance of Liao sancai wares found in the Middle East (Gray [1975-1977], pp.232-3), including a Nishapur find (see Wilkinson [1973], p.256, no.9). Although there seem to have been diplomatic relations and commercial exchanges between the Liao state and Iran under the Ghaznavids (Rogers [1992], p.432), the extent to which Liao sancai was transported to West Asia remains uncertain.
50 For this theme, see Lane (1946-1947): idem (1947), pp.31-6; Gray (1975-1977), pp.233-5.
51 For Iranian ceramics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Lane (1947), pp.29-36; Fehérvári (1973), pp.70·106; Grube (1992), pp.311-8. For further references, see Grube (1976), pp.356-9.
the collapse of Fatimid rule in 1171, the centre of ceramic production in the Middle East shifted from Egypt to eastern Islamic lands. Iranian ceramics reached a very high standard, thanks to skilful potters who immigrated from Egypt. Although the exact date and provenance of many categories of Iranian pottery produced during the pre-Mongol period are still ill-defined, what is clear is that ceramics began to be treated as a major art form and eventually aspired to luxury. The striking evidence for this is the sudden appearance of rich overglaze ceramics attributed to Kashan, a city which became the chief site of ceramic production in Iran in the late twelfth century and, apart from some forty years during the Mongol invasions of Iran in which ceramic production lapsed, dominated the Iranian ceramic industry until well after 1300.

The development of Song ceramics is even more remarkable: the economic prosperity of Song China resulted in ceramics reaching a high point of productivity and degree of sophistication. The demand for fine ceramics from imperial offices encouraged the establishment of Guan ('official') wares, and the patronage for such pieces spread into the ranks of scholar-officers and wealthy merchants. The bulk of the more renowned pieces was produced in northern pottery centres, such as Ru, Jun and Ding.

53 For the so-called migration theory, see Watson (1977), pp.33-5.
54 For Kashan wares, see Watson (1985); Adle (1982). The word kashi or kashani, used to denote tiles in Persia, derives from the name of this city.
55 For Song ceramics, see Gray (1984); Vainker (1991), pp.88-133.
56 For the socio-economic development of Song China, see Gernet (1996), pp.298-329.
57 For Guan wares, see Kotz (1989), pp.40-5.
but as soon as the capital had been relocated from Kaifeng to Hangzhou after the occupation of northern China by the Jins in 1127, southern pottery centres flourished around the new capital. The ceramic trade was greatly promoted by maritime commerce under the control of the Southern Song court; in due course, ceramics displaced silks as China's primary export. The Southern Song government set up offices in charge of foreign trade, known as chiposi, at the coastal seaports of Guangzhou, Hangzhou and Ningbo, each of which had a living quarter for Iranian, Arab and other foreign merchants.

The interest of Iranian potters in the whiteness and the shapes of Chinese ceramics did not languish even after the first wave of chinoiserie. Quasi-white wares continued to be produced in Iran in the areas of Khorasan and Transoxiana under Samanid rule (819-1005), though chinoiserie is less distinguishable in their shapes and decoration. However, as a result of the inspiration provided by the new type of translucent Chinese ceramics of the Song period, known as qingbai ('blue-white') wares,

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58 Figure C5: Fong and Watt (1996), pl.100.
59 For Song ceramic export, see Vainker (1991), pp.128-33. For the Song control of the foreign sea trade, see Deng (1997), pp.113-5.
60 Feng (1976), p.47. See also Hirth and Rockhill (1911). For the history of Iranian settlements in South-east China, see Chen (1992B). Although not found in abundance, sherds of Iranian ceramics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were found in Yangzhou, suggesting that the city was also a centre of trading activity for Iranian merchants. For Iranian ceramics found in China, see Feng (1976), pp.47-9.
61 Samanid ceramics are characterised by their creamy-white engobes with innovative decorative schemes, such as elegant inscriptions, stylised human and animal figures and vegetal patterns. These motifs are predominantly painted in blown and red. For Samanid wares, see Volov (1966); Atil (1973), pp.27-35, pls.7-11; Ghouchani (1986).
62 Qingbai wares were produced at southern kilns in Jiangxi province, particularly at Jingdezhen. For qingbai wares, see Medley (1989), pp.164-8. Fragments of this type of
which were presumably already known to eastern Islamic lands by the first half of the eleventh century according to some literary sources, and of the increasing numbers of potters who had emigrated from Egypt and who may have already been familiar with Song-type wares, Iranian potters began to approach white wares in a different way. The whiteness was no longer created by the opaque white tin-glaze coating used over poor local clays. Instead, Iranian potters devised an artificial body made of a mix of powdered quartz with a little clay and potash, known as frit, which may have been derived from the technique first developed in Egypt. This new body material enabled Iranian potters to imitate Chinese white wares more satisfactorily. Moreover, it led to the development of new shapes and methods of decoration in the Iranian world; for instance, it permitted painting under a translucent glaze. A well-known example in the Freer Gallery (Fig.C6), datable to the late twelfth century, can be compared with

Chinese ware were found at Ghubayra in Kirman province (see Bivar [2000], pp.193-4, pls.107b-c).

63 The statements about Chinese ceramics by Tha'alibi (d.1038) and al-Biruni (d.c.1050) are summarised by Kahle (1940-1941), pp.33-6.

64 A number of Northern Song products including ceramics and textiles reached Egypt during the tenth to eleventh centuries. A sherd of Guangdong wares was found at Fustat (see Scanlon [1970], p.85, pls.XIIa-b; Mikami [1980-1981], p.72, pls.8-9; Vainker [1991], pp.129-30, pl.96). Fustat also yielded qingbai sherds (see Mikami [1980-1981], p.73, pls.10-11).

65 For frit wares, see Grube (1992), pp.313-8; Watson (2004), pp.302-25. This technique was recorded in Abul-Qasim's treatise written in 1301 (see Allan [1973]).

66 Figure C6: Atul (1973), p.41, pl.14; Blair and Bloom (1997), p.265, pl.141. For other white wares of the period, see Lane (1947), pp.33-4, pl.38; Fehervári (1973), pp.71-5, pls.26a-28d; Grube (1976), pp.158-76; Atul (ed.) (1990), cat.no.27; Fehervári (2000), pp.96-8. White wares of the period were discovered at Ghubayra in Kirman province (see Bivar [2000], pp.140-1, pl.87) and at Tall-i Iblis (see Fehervári and Caldwell [1967], p.47). White wares were also produced in Afghanistan at that time (see Fehervári [2000], pp.165-8). While the role of China has often been emphasised in the occurrence of white wares in Saljuq-ruled Iran, Schnyder has discussed the internal development of white wares in Iran in relation to the growth of Islamic mysticism in the area of Kashan (see Schnyder [1994]). For a recent study of Saljuq monochrome wares, see Soustiel and Allan (1995).
an exquisite Ding ware or a Southern Song imitation of Ding wares (Fig.C7). In order to highlight the translucency, the holes of the two scroll bands in the Freer example are filled with transparent glaze. The shape of the Iranian pottery was visibly improved: it became thinner and sharper than Samarran wares and approached Ding wares in lightness. Iranian potters, however, as happened in Iraq three centuries earlier, did not forget to insert their own decorative vocabulary onto the white surface. The decoration of this bowl comprises a series of circles and palmettes in the outer parts and scrolls in the inner areas, recalling those often used in Samanid wares.

While there is little stylistic indebtedness to contemporary Chinese ceramics in fine lustre ceramics produced in Kashan, Chinese inspiration seems to lies behind the black-and-white appearance of stone-paste pottery made in the Iranian world during the twelfth century (Fig.C8). The use of a strong black-and-white contrast here is particularly comparable to that in a popular type of stoneware, known as Cizhou wares, which were manufactured at many kilns throughout the northern provinces of Hebei.

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67 Figure C7: Taibei (1987), no.68. Although the Ding kiln was occupied by the Jins after the end of the Northern Song period, Ding wares were extensively copied in southern kilns. For Ding wares, see Taibei (1987); Medley (1989), pp.106–14; Vainker (1991), pp.93–9; Qin (2000–2001A).

68 See Blair and Bloom (1997), p.265, pl.133. Ding wares are often embellished with metal rims on the mouth or foot-ring, a tradition which was developed in the late tenth century (Taibei [1987], p.42). This device was, however, scarcely imitated by Iranian potters.

69 For the styles of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iranian lustre wares, see Watson (1985), pp.45–109.

70 Figure C8: Soustiel (1985), no.77. See also Grube (ed.) (1994), nos.198–9. This point has already been mentioned by some scholars (for example, Grube [ed.] [1994], p.52), yet little attention has been given to an actual comparison between Cizhou wares and Iranian
Henan and Shaaxi and were copied at southern kilns during the Southern Song, Jin and Yuan periods (Fig.C9). They are renowned for their versatile decorative techniques, colour schemes and variety of shapes, reflecting practical everyday use. Chinoiserie is reflected in the Paris example with a probable technical inspiration from Cizhou wares, such as the sgraffito technique – in which one layer of slip in one colour was applied on top of another and then cut away to create a contrast, as seen in Figure C8 – and the painting technique which uses a black slip on the white slip ground. Though, perhaps, merely coincidental, the simultaneous occurrence of similar colour schemes in Iranian black-and-white silhouetted wares and Cizhou wares is, like the splashed wares and sancai wares, worthy of note as a pattern of concurrence which appeared on several occasions in the history of Iranian and Chinese ceramics in medieval times. Yet once again, Iranian potters adhered to their own decorative preference, showing a tendency towards the tenacity of prototypical epigraphy and palmette-derived motifs. Cizhou wares are, on the other hand, famous for their rich decorative schemes, including the full range of floral motifs, animals, fish, landscapes and figures.


72 For the sgraffiato technique used in Cizhou wares, see Medley (1989), pp.125-28. However, Allan has questioned Chinese associations with the development of the sgraffiato technique in Iranian pottery; he has suggested that the main source of inspiration of this decorative technique was probably metalwork (Allan [1971], p.18).

73 For this technique, see Medley (1989), pp.128-9.

Another elusive question concerning *chinoiserie* in Iranian ceramics of the Saljuq period is a type of ceramic in animal or human shapes which was widely produced in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iran.\(^75\) Despite their richness, variety and uniqueness, the study of Iranian ceramic sculptures remains unsatisfactory; no complete corpus of such figurines has yet been compiled.\(^76\) Some sculptures are thought to have been produced in Wasit in Iraq\(^77\) and Raqqa in Syria,\(^78\) while others have tentatively been attributed to Rayy\(^79\) or Kashan\(^80\) on the basis of their stylistic associations with contemporary glazed wares from these sites. The most difficult problem posed by ceramic sculptures lies in their functions and meaning. Some scholars have suggested that ceramic figurines with openings or handles were designed as utilitarian implements, such as aquamaniles, perfume containers and flower vases (Fig.C10).\(^81\) There are, however, a number of

\(^75\) The standard works on this subject are still Grube (1966B); Rogers (1969). For further information about ceramic figurines, see Rogers (1970), pp.73-8; Grube (1976), pp.239-45; Watson (1985), pp.117-21: *idem* (2004), pp.344-5. For a full bibliography about this subject before 1976, see Grube (1976), pp.373-4. Sculpture was made in a variety of media, such as clay, cast bronze and stucco. See also an interesting thirteenth-century stucco figure at Berlin, reproduced in Hattstein and Delius (eds.) (2000), p.352: Museum für Islamische Kunst (2001), pp.55-6.

\(^76\) Melanie Gibson has been undertaking her doctoral research on Iranian ceramic sculptures at the University of London.

\(^77\) A number of ceramic figurines have been excavated in Wasit (Grube [1966B], p.173, n.24).

\(^78\) For figurines attributable to Raqqa, see a famous horseman sculpture in the Damascus Museum (Grube [1966B], fig.4); and figurines in the shape of a cock and a sphinx in the David Collection (Folsach [2001], nos.186-7). Recent, as yet unpublished research by M. Jenkins points to the possibility of Konya as the production site of these wares. I am grateful to Professor Bernard O’Kane for this information.

\(^79\) For example, see Grube (1966B), fig.2.

\(^80\) For example, *ibid.*, figs.8-9

\(^81\) Figure C10: Grube (ed.) (1994), no.267; Amsterdam (1999), no.220. See also Allan (1991), no.20: Amsterdam (1999), no.219; Folsach (2001), nos.162, 165.
animal and human figurines which seem to have been appreciated as true sculptures.\textsuperscript{82} They were perhaps intended for display, forming an entire orchestra,\textsuperscript{83} or made as one of a set of pieces used in a board game (Fig.C11),\textsuperscript{84} although this piece is much too large for that purpose.

Rogers has laid emphasis on the relationship between such figurines and Chinese ceramic sculptures, alluding to the availability and familiarity of imported Chinese ceramic figurines in the Iranian world under Saljuq rule.\textsuperscript{85} Three possible objections may, however, be raised to his theory: first, Chinese ceramic figurines were predominantly intended for burial use. Their intrinsic associations with Chinese beliefs concerning the afterlife are clearly reflected in a number of archaeological finds from Qin and Han imperial tombs, for example the well-known terracotta army from the Tomb of Qing Shihuang (259-210 BC).\textsuperscript{86} Their production reached its apogee in the Tang period, as proved by a large number of funerary sculptures of various forms.\textsuperscript{87} This tradition lingered on in China during successive dynasties, but the significance of ceramic figurines as tomb furnishings was gradually threatened by the replacement of paper figurines and later the fashion for using murals for tomb decoration.\textsuperscript{88} Recent archaeological finds have attested the continued production of ceramic figurines in China during

\textsuperscript{82} For animal figurines perhaps intended for display, see Grube (1966B), fig.18-22, pp.172-3. For human figure, see Rogers (1969), figs.1-3: Grube (1966B), figs.23-5, pp.173-4.
\textsuperscript{84} Figure C11: Amsterdam (1999), no.148. At 40.5 cm in height it could not readily serve as a chess-piece.
\textsuperscript{86} See Los Angeles (1987), pp.41-4, figs.3-4.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.127-43, nos.58-86.
\textsuperscript{88} Los Angeles (1987), p.61.
the Song, Jin and Yuan periods. A type of human figure datable to the Southern Song period (Fig.C12) is perhaps comparable to the Iranian example (Fig.C11) in terms of their size and form. Yet owing to the scarcity of relevant Chinese models, it would be unwise to postulate a direct interdependence between Song and Iranian ceramic figurines without further archaeological evidence for the inflow of Chinese ceramic sculptures into Iran.

Second, there is a clear time-lag between the high point of the popularity of ceramic figurines in China and the occurrence of ceramic sculptures in the Iranian world. Despite a similar choice of subjects in Iranian and Chinese ceramic sculptures, for example the camel vase (Fig.C8) and Tang sancai camel sculptures, the exact chronological relationship between them remains disputable. Tha'alibi's reference to Chinese sculptures has been quoted as evidence for the availability of Chinese figurines in the Middle East, but this is insufficient to explain satisfactorily the circulation of Chinese ceramic figurines in Saljuq Iran.

90 See Los Angeles (1987), nos.92-4; Paludan (1994), fig.5.1.
91 See Los Angeles (1987), nos.95-104.
92 Figure C12: ZMQ: Sculpture, 5 (1988), no.158. For Northern Song ceramic sculptures, see ibid., nos.116-9, 121-3 and 127-33; for those datable to the Southern Song period, see ibid., 166-7, 170, 173 and 197-8. Buddhist statues of modest size (20-30 cm) were also produced in pottery during the Song period (see ZMQ: Decorative Arts, 2 [1988], nos.137-8, 170 and 174).
93 Chinese camel sculptures have been examined at length by Knauer (1998). For Tang camel sculptures, see ibid., pp.70-97.
94 Song subjects were predominantly confined to human figures (Paludan [1994], p.55). Few animal figurines of the Song period are known to survive (see a rare camel sculpture found in Jingdezhen, reproduced in ZMQ: Decorative Arts, 2 [1988], no.173). The production of animal figurines, including camel ceramic sculptures, seems to have recurred in Yuan China (see Los Angeles [1987], nos.96, 98-9, 103-4).
95 Rogers (1970), pp.73-8. Tha'alibi says, 'they [the Chinese] are extraordinarily skilled at
The third and the most crucial point is that no Chinese ceramic figurines have yet been found in the Middle East. Hence, unless the question of the distribution, function and manufacture of both Iranian and Chinese ceramic figurines is solved, it is hazardous to assume that the role of China in the development of Iranian ceramic sculptures was important. A more plausible explanation for the occurrence of ceramic sculptures in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iranian world is, as it stands, the inspiration drawn from a zoomorphic tendency in Islamic metalwork of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as shown in bronze figurines of water-pouring vessels of lion and griffin form.96

3. The art of ceramics in Iran after the Mongol invasions

(1) Some remarks on Ilkhanid and Yuan ceramics

Until recently, studies in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iranian ceramics have lagged behind those made in other periods. In particular, there is a gap between the end of the Mongol period and the advent of the Safavid period in the history of Iranian ceramics, in which, except for Timurid ceramics, little is known about the development of the art of ceramics during the Muzaffarid and Jalayirid periods and their Chinese relations.97 It is in fact not easy to locate the key kiln sites of the

96 For further information about Islamic metal statues, see Dodd (1969).
97 Since this period was labelled as the ‘interim period’ by Reitlinger (see Reitlinger [1938]).
Ilkhanid period from limited examples, but the importance of Kashan in ceramic production during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is undeniable. Most ceramics of this period are generally attributed to Kashan, which continued to produce both lustre-painted and underglazed wares, while the Mongol invasions caused the degeneration of ceramic production in other major Iranian sites.98 Kirman also appeared on the scene as a new centre of ceramic production.99 The artistic activities of Kirman province were saved from Mongol devastation by Buraq Hajib, a later governor of the province during the Mongol period; Kirman began to have a strong royal connection with the Ilkhanid capital Tabriz after the marriage of Buraq Hajib's daughter with Abaqa Khan.100 The finds from Tall-i Iblis and Ghubayra in Kirman province, which yielded Ilkhanid and Muzaffarid ceramics, provide sources for this relatively neglected field of study.101 One of the striking aspects of this period is the development of tile production, whose decoration in particular reveals an openness to contemporary Chinese art traditions.102

Despite the fact that the Mongol invasions drove local potters out of production in northern China, much innovation took place in Chinese

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98 For example, Rayy, a city which has been considered one of the major production sites of ceramics, was sacked by the Mongols in the 1220s. For further discussion, see Watson (1985), pp.40-1.
99 For Kirman wares, see Fehérvári (1973), pp.125-6.
101 For the finds from Tall-i Iblis, see Fehérvári and Caldwell (1967). For those from Ghubayra, see Bivar (2000), pp.127-96.
102 For Ilkhanid tiles, see Watson (1985), pp.131-49.
ceramics during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries under Yuan rule.\textsuperscript{103} Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province became a major porcelain production centre, especially after the establishment of the Fuliang Porcelain Bureau in 1278, which dominated both local and overseas markets until the Ming period.\textsuperscript{104} The continuance of the Southern Song style can be seen in Yuan wares, but the taste in ceramics gradually changed from monochrome celadons with carved and incised decoration into more colourful and decorative polychrome wares, chiefly as a consequence of the re-encounter with foreign art traditions. As often suggested, the complexity of Yuan ceramic designs was increased by the attempt to integrate motifs of Middle Eastern origin into a new decorative concept, sometimes creating a subtle harmony.\textsuperscript{105} The impact of Middle Eastern metalwork can be seen in the shapes of Yuan ceramics, although not so strongly as in early Ming ceramics. Yuan wares seem to have been designed for Middle Eastern markets as well as for Muslim merchants residing at major Chinese ports, rather than for domestic markets.

Mongol attitudes towards ceramics were not utterly negative, but the Mongols seem to have been more interested in the revenues which steadily increased through their overseas trade. The Middle and Far East had direct political links under the \textit{Pax Mongolica} which made international trade easier and more viable along both maritime and land routes.\textsuperscript{106} Mongol

\textsuperscript{103} For a comprehensive study of Yuan ceramics, see Medley (1974).
\textsuperscript{104} For Jingdezhen wares, see Lovell (ed.) (1984).
\textsuperscript{105} For further information, see Gray (1940-1941); Medley (1972).
\textsuperscript{106} For the export of Chinese ceramics to the Middle East in the Mongol period, see Vainker (1991), pp.136-43.
supremacy facilitated the trade in Chinese ceramics, which involved a vast area of Eurasia, including Kharakhoto and Samarkand, and stretched still further west. Both literary and archaeological evidence testifies that a variety of Chinese ceramics was brought into Ilkhanid territory during the Mongol period in addition to celadon wares, which were found in Old Hormuz and Kirman, wares identifiable as Cizhou pieces were discovered at Qaraqorum and the island of Kish. Both celadons and Cizhou wares of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were also retrieved from Saray Berke in southern Russia, a capital of the Golden Horde (1226-1502). As will be seen, there are a number of examples to prove the impact of Chinese celadon wares on late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Iranian ceramics, although Ilkhanid copies of Cizhou wares have not yet been discovered. The most famous finds of fourteenth-century Chinese ceramics in the Middle East are blue-and-white wares, which are among the key products in the context of chinoiserie.

109 It is said that one thousand Chinese porcelain jars were included in a list of the holdings of the celebrated vizier Rashid al-Din (Soudavar [1998], p.126).
109 Morgan (1991), pp.70-1, figs.7-11.
113 Lane (1957), p.15: Rogers (1989), p.265: P. Morgan (1995), p.36: Fyodorov-Davydov (1984), p.127. While Chinese celadons were indeed copied (see Fyodorov-Davydov [1991], pp.48-9, pls.91, 94), the extent to which Cizhou wares were influential in ceramics produced in the Golden Horde remains unclear. A bowl found in Solkhut, Crimea, which bears a festival scene painted in black and white (Basilov [ed.][1989], p.79), can be discussed in the context of Cizhou inspiration, yet no other relevant examples are known to survive.
116 See Section 4 in this chapter.
(2) The influx of Chinese artistic ideas into Iranian ceramics

What China chiefly provided from the end of the thirteenth century onwards were designs rather than techniques. The gradual absorption of Chinese decorative themes is reflected in almost all types of Iranian ceramics of the period. In particular, the impact of Chinese-origin designs is manifest in lustre tiles intended for decorating the walls of both secular and religious buildings, such as palaces and mausoleums (Fig.C13).\textsuperscript{117} A vigorous dragon is superbly depicted against lingzhi clouds and lotuses, which were unquestionably derived from contemporary or earlier Chinese and Central Asian textiles.\textsuperscript{118} A number of similar lustre tiles displaying Chinese-inspired dragons are now dispersed in major museums across the world.\textsuperscript{119} Most – if not all – of them probably originated in Abaqa Khan’s palace at Takht-i Sulayman, which can be dated with certainty from 1271 to 1275.\textsuperscript{120} Chinese themes are equally recognisable in the star-shaped and hexagonal tiles with either moulded relief or lustre-painted decoration, sometimes surrounded by an inscription border.\textsuperscript{121} In addition to dragons,


\textsuperscript{118} For example, see \textit{WSWG}, figs.16, 22, nos.13, 14, 17 and 22. See also Figures T7, T19. For further discussion, see Crowe (1991).

\textsuperscript{119} For example, those in the Khalili Collection (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.101) and in the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin (unpublished).


\textsuperscript{121} For star-shaped or hexagonal lustre tiles with phoenix motifs, see \textit{Survey}, pl.723D: Paris
phoenixes and lotuses, figures clad in typical Mongol garb are vividly depicted in lustre tiles of this type (Fig.C14), and these are of great use in reconstructing the Mongol costumes that were coming into vogue in Ilkhanid Iran.

What is significant is that Chinese elements are assimilated into lustre tiles used in religious buildings. Chinese-inspired lotuses occur in the background decoration of lustre tiles that originated in the Shrine of the Footprint of ‘Ali at Kashan (1311-12) (Fig.C15), unique examples which are often discussed in the context of the prevalence of Shi‘ism in the region of Kashan. Nor is this isolated evidence for the use of living creatures for tile decoration in a religious setting; lustre phoenix tiles are found in the Imamzada of ‘Ali ibn Ja‘far in Qumm. Although it remains uncertain whether such tiles were specially ordered for this building or whether they came from secular buildings, for example from Takht-i Sulayman, the fact that Chinese themes were accepted for the decoration of religious buildings in Ilkhanid Iran is worth remembering.

Chinese themes are also discernable in lajvardina tiles (Fig.C16)
(lajvard means ‘lapis lazuli’ in Persian), a new technique which had gradually replaced the overglaze painted mina’i technique by the end of the thirteenth century. The luxury of this type of tile is enhanced by the lavish use of dark-blue glazes with overglaze painting in white, red and gold. There is a similarity between the features of Chinese-inspired motifs in lajvardina tiles and those in lustre tiles, both of which may have had the same Chinese sources, namely contemporary Chinese textiles. Significantly, Chinese dragons or phoenixes co-exist with Qur’anic inscriptions on some square lajvardina tiles (Fig. C17), which presumably originated in religious buildings, though it is unclear whether the dragon or phoenix borders have a precise symbolic meaning in the Islamic context. A rare example of a double pentagonal lajvardina tile with a moulded dragon relief, now in the Keir Collection, is very likely to have come from the palace at Takht-i Sulayman.

Apart from animal themes, Chinese-inspired lotus patterns began to appear as primary decorative elements in Ilkhanid tiles. A type of lotus


128 For lajvardina wares, see Grube (1976), pp.254-6, nos.196-9. Abu’l-Qasim mentions this new technique (see Allan [1973], p.112, 116). On the other hand, chinoiserie is less pronounced in the designs of bowls and jars in the lajvardina type, which usually consist of abstract floral patterns (for example, see Hayward, pp.252-3, nos.369-72). Carboni has pointed out the impact of Chinese ceramics in the shape of a lajvardina pilgrim flask in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Carboni [1997], no.15, p.36). Contemporary Chinese models of the flask are available (for example, see Sekai, vol.5, cat.no. 143, p.396), yet their shapes are ultimately of West Asian origin (Medley [1989], p.83, fig.54).

129 See n.118.

130 Figure C17: Folsach (1990), p.77, pl.147.


132 This tile is almost identical in shape and motif to one of the Takht-i Sulayman tiles in Berlin (see ibid., cat.no.91).
decoration, which is composed of small pointed petals and long stalks, is found in lajvardine tiles, though the use of gold for lotus flowers is not effective in recreating a naturalistic atmosphere. On the other hand, another type of lotus flower used in an eight-pointed star tile (Fig.C18) is more reminiscent of Chinese prototypes (Fig.T29). In addition to its graceful outlines and the organic rhythm of the design, the use of white for the patterns serves to enhance the sense of purification, which is one of the symbolic meanings of lotuses according to Buddhist thought. A uniquely important type of lotus decoration is found in a tile used for Uljaitu's mausoleum at Sultaniyya (Fig.C19). Lotus flowers here are inlaid in a continuous band of cloud-collar arches, a unique combination which was invented through an Iranian re-interpretation of patterns of Buddhist and Mongol origins.

The fine underglaze-painted wares of the Ilkhanid period, the so-called Sultanabad wares, particularly serve to illustrate the close link to contemporary Chinese decorative arts. Such works became available in Ilkhanid Iran on a large scale from the middle of the fourteenth century

133 See Rawson (1984), fig.130: Porter (1995), pl.27.
134 Figure C18: FGA (unpublished).
135 For further discussion, see the section of lotus decoration in Chapter 3: Metalwork.
136 Figure C19: Pickett (1977), pl.45.
137 The significance of cloud collars has already been discussed (Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.50-1).
onwards.\textsuperscript{139} According to Morgan, the Chinese impact is most obvious in coloured-ground wares of the Sultanabad type datable to the reigns of Ghazan (r.1295-1304) and Uljaitu (r.1304-1316);\textsuperscript{140} these wares were probably intended for Mongol customers.\textsuperscript{141} The combination of phoenix-like birds and Chinese-inspired flower motifs is often taken as clear evidence for chinoiserie in Sultanabad wares (Fig.C20).\textsuperscript{142} Such a vivid depiction of flying birds with long tails\textsuperscript{143} was never seen in previous Iranian ceramic designs and must have been indebted to the type of circling phoenix motif widely used in Southern Song and Yuan decorative art, for example lacquer wares (Fig.Mis.6),\textsuperscript{144} whose tradition can be traced back to the tenth century.\textsuperscript{145} Apart from lacquer wares, ceramics may also have provided the sources of inspiration for the two-bird design, since Chinese ceramics with similar

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{139} This type of ware was widely produced in other cities. For Ghubayra examples, see Bivar (2000), pp.151-3, pls.99, 103. For Saray Berke examples, see Lane (1957), p.14; Rogers (1989), p.265, pl.22. Surviving examples of tiles in the Sultanabad style are few. This type of tile is still \textit{in situ} in the \textit{iwan} hall of the shrine of Pir-i Bakran, near Isfahan, datable to between 1299 and 1312 (see Wilber [1955], pp.121-4; Grube [1976], p.263, 267, no.210; P. Morgan [1995], p.19). Owing to the lack of relevant examples of Sultanabad tiles, it remains unclear to what extent Chinese themes permeated Sultanabad tiles as distinct from Sultanabad wares in general.


\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p.35.


\textsuperscript{143} According to Morgan, Iranian potters seem to have distinguished between the birds with long tails and those with short tails. The former have a strong association with Chinese phoenixes, while Chinese influence is less apparent in the latter. See P. Morgan (1995), pp.29-31.

\textsuperscript{144} See similar phoenix motifs used in woodblock illustrations of the Jin period (Chen and Ma [2002], p.62) and those found in Yuan textiles (WSWG, no.60). By the fourteenth century, woodblock prints had become a major medium for the dissemination of decorative patterns (Fong and Watt [1996], p.433).

\end{footnotesize}
motifs were actually discovered on the site of Old Hormuz.\textsuperscript{146} The birds in Figure C20 are, of course, not purely Chinese in style – the movement of their tails is rather stiff – but their faces and plumage retain their Chinese features. They recall those adapted for contemporary Iranian textiles, suggesting the close relationship between ceramic and textile designs in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth century-Iran.\textsuperscript{147} While there is no doubt that the fondness for this type of bird in Sultanabad wares reflects the impact of conventional Chinese phoenix-and-flower motifs, it is also possible to associate the theme with the idea of hunting, which seems to have been encouraged by the Mongols for military reasons.\textsuperscript{148}

The lotuses in this bowl are also strongly inspired by those conventionally used in Chinese decorative art, whose impact was already evident in thirteenth-century Iranian textile designs,\textsuperscript{149} and similar Chinese-inspired lotus motifs are all traceable to contemporary Iranian metalwork.\textsuperscript{150} The use of tiny petal patterns filling the background is atypical in contemporary Chinese ceramics and seems to have been developed indigenously in Ilkhanid Iran. However, conventional flower designs used in Chinese decorative arts must have encouraged Iranian potters to create more naturalistic features in the background decoration by

\textsuperscript{146} Morgan (1989), cat. no.35 and fig.14; \textit{idem} (1995), p.31, n.43. For related bird motifs used in Southern Song ceramics, see Medley (1989), fig.73.

\textsuperscript{147} For example, see Figure T24. The relationship between Iranian tile and Chinese textile designs in the late thirteenth century has been discussed by Crowe (1991).


\textsuperscript{149} See Chapter 1: Textiles, p.34ff.

\textsuperscript{150} This point will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on metalwork.
using non-geometrical patterns. On the other hand, the fact that the dragon is less popular in Sultanabad wares has been attributed to its imperial association. This, however, cannot explain satisfactorily the rare occurrence of the dragon in Sultanabad wares, since Chinese-type dragons were certainly known to Ilkhanid Iran and were in vogue in contemporary textiles, lustre tiles metalwork and miniature painting. Perhaps it is just that very few examples of Sultanabad wares with dragon motifs have survived, or perhaps they still await discovery on Iranian sites.

Along with the increased import of Chinese celadons for the Islamic market, the focus of Iranian admiration for Chinese ceramics shifted from white wares to grey-green wares, namely Longquan wares (Fig.C21), whose jade-like colour and texture fascinated Iranian potters. Despite a number of local imitations found in the major sites of the period, such as Tall-i Iblis and Old Hormuz, reliable information as to the exact provenance and date of production of Iranian celadon imitations is still unavailable; they are attributed vaguely either to the fourteenth or to the fifteenth century, but it seems that by the end of the fourteenth century at

151 For example, see Lane (1957), pl.3; P. Morgan (1995), fig.6.
153 For example, see Figures T16, T18, C13, M8, MP40 and MP42.
the latest Iranian potters acquired the ability to imitate Chinese celadons (Fig.C22). The impact of Chinese celadons is particularly reflected in the use of the appliqué fish typical of southern Song wares (Fig.C21), although the original significance of the two fish, which symbolise fertility, was not properly understood in Iran. Iranian celadons show a marked preference for three or four fish swimming in a circular movement, a motif which seems to have been associated with the sun or with solar symbolism. The other striking influence exerted by Longquan wares is, as has been widely remarked, found in the lotus petals which often appear on the outside of lustre and Sutanabad wares (Fig.C23). These were most probably derived from those seen in contemporary Longquan wares (Fig.C24).

4. Chinese and Iranian blue-and-white wares re-examined

In studying the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship, it is crucial to

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158 Figure C22: Folsach (1990), pl.149. For other examples, see Lane (1957), p.105, pl.86 (attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century); Grube (1976), pp.278-81, nos.223-4 (attributed to the Timurid period); idem (1992), p.321, pl.XXXIII (attributed to the fourteenth century); Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.132 (attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century). Fehérvári suggests that Kirman is the possible place of production. For Kirman imitation of celadons, see Fehérvári (1973), p.125, no.163, pl.68.

159 Wirgin (1979), pp.205-7, pls.39h-i.


163 Figure C23: Watson (1985), pl.88. For other examples, see Atil (1973), pl.73: eadem (ed.) (1990), cat.no.57.

164 Figure C24: Krah (1986), vol.1, p.235, 241, pl.1; Carswell (2000), p.60. This decorative device, originally developed from metalwork designs (Scott [1989], p.36), had already occurred in ninth-century Chinese ceramics, as seen in Yue wares (Kotz [ed.] [1989], no.3; Scott [1989], pl.17). It is also found in Cizhou wares (Hasebe [1996], nos.3, 4, 15, 16, 18, 20, 43 and 53).
ponder the significance of blue-and-white porcelain, called *qinghua* ('blue flower') in Chinese, which has long interested both Chinese and Islamic ceramic experts.\(^{165}\) In spite of the increase of archaeological discoveries around the world, blue-and-white porcelain poses continuous questions as to its origin, manufacture and distribution both inside and outside China. The difficulty here is that preconceived notions about the dating, provenance and function of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, namely 'the fourteenth century,' 'Jingdezhen' and 'export', have been an obstacle to a clear understanding of its chronological development. Such views need to be reassessed.

The most perplexing problem is the origin of the technique of underglaze painting with cobalt-bearing minerals, in which there is still little agreement as to whether it was introduced to China from the Middle East after the first half of the fourteenth century or whether it was entirely a Chinese innovation.\(^{166}\) Recent archaeological discoveries of blue-and-white pieces in China\(^ {167}\) suggest that the use of blue and white colouring in Chinese pottery can now be traced back to the Tang period, when Chinese potters coped well with cobalt imported from Iran as a decorative

\(^{165}\) For example, see Pope (1952); Garner (1954); Carswell (1985); *idem* (2000).

\(^{166}\) For a survey of this controversy, see Krahl (1989), vol.2, pp.482-3; Kessler (1993), p.134. Western scholars (for example, Garner [1954] and Medley [1974]) have supported the Middle Eastern origin of this technique, while Chinese scholars (for example, Feng [1973]; *idem* [1980]) have argued for its Chinese origin. I am grateful to Professor O'Kane for the information that Y. Porter has been working on cobalt.

\(^{167}\) Recent discoveries of Chinese blue-and-white wares are summed up by Zhang and Whitfield (1991-1992).
medium. Fragments of small Tang stonewares with underglaze cobalt blue decoration excavated from the ruins of the ninth-century Tang city in Yangzhou in 1975 and 1983, which are often cited as the earliest Chinese blue-and-white wares, betray a simple and geometric treatment in the decoration atypical alike of contemporary Tang ceramics and of later blue-and-white porcelain designs. Such pieces, which show a stylistic resemblance to early Middle Eastern pottery, for example ‘Abbasid wares, were presumably made for the use of Muslim traders living in China. Although fourteenth-century Chinese potters were the ones to achieve colour schemes that contrasted light and dark areas by the subtle use of brilliant blue and clear white colours, the idea of blue-and-white colouring – as distinct from monochrome or three colours – must have owed something to the ceramic tradition of the Middle East during its formative period. The abrupt change of ceramic style in China during the fourteenth century – from the elegant forms of the preceding Song wares into massive forms recalling those of metalwork – was perhaps due to the impact of Middle Eastern metal products – even if the quantity of such foreign imported work was small – as well as to requests for Chinese wares from Middle Eastern customers and from Muslims in posts of authority under the Yuan

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168 Carswell (1985), p.25. It was only in the fifteenth century that the Chinese succeeded in mining their own cobalt (see ibid., p.24).

169 Tung and Leidy (1989), p.98, figs.6-7.

169 For example, see Tamari (1995), figs.3a.4.8, 13 and 19.


171 For example, see Carswell (2000), p.12. The impact of Middle Eastern metal shapes became more apparent in early Ming blue-and-white porcelain (see Gray [1940-1941]; Pope [1959]; Carswell [1966]), though its decoration was inclined to be more conventional, following Song traditions in ceramic designs. For the change in style of blue-and-white porcelain from the end of the Yuan dynasty to the early Ming dynasty, see Carswell (2000),
dynasty.\textsuperscript{173} In due course, Islamic artistic concepts mingled with Chinese ceramic shapes and designs: by the middle of the fourteenth century, the designs of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain began to display subtle decorative effects, in terms of both colour and motifs.

It has been generally thought that the manufacture of blue-and-white porcelain flourished in China under Mongol rule in the middle of the fourteenth century. This view was based on the so-called David Vases dated 1351 (Fig.C25),\textsuperscript{174} which have served as a benchmark for the chronology of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain.\textsuperscript{175} However, since high-quality blue-and-white porcelain was found in the Jinsha pagoda in Longquan county, Zhejiang province, datable to the Northern Song period,\textsuperscript{176} a simple attribution of blue-and-white porcelain to the late Yuan period has been questioned. Among examples of early fourteenth-century blue-and-white porcelain discovered in China in the 1970s,\textsuperscript{177} a pagoda-shaped urn excavated from a tomb dated 1319 at Jiujiang in Jiangxi province (Fig.C26),\textsuperscript{178} has cast new light on the chronology of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain. Despite the lack of brightness in its blue colour and its unrefined drawing techniques, it displays a full range of the decorative repertoire,

\textsuperscript{173} See Rossabi (1981).
\textsuperscript{174} Figure C25: Scott (1989), pl.55.
\textsuperscript{176} Fong (1981), p.265, figs.175-6.
\textsuperscript{177} Tung and Leidy (1989), p.99.
\textsuperscript{178} Figure C26: Fong (1981), p.262, figs.170-1; Tung and Leidy (1989), p.99, fig.10; Li (2001), p.46, pl.7; Sekai, vol.7, p.283, pl.138.
such as lotuses, peonies and cloud collars, and bears a similarity with well-known pieces attributed to the mid-fourteenth century (Fig.C.27).\textsuperscript{179} This suggests that the early fourteenth century was not a Dark Age in the history of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain but that it should more correctly be placed within the experimental period of that technique. The recent finds retrieved in Inner Mongolia (Fig.C28),\textsuperscript{180} formerly in Jin territory, are also noteworthy as the earliest known examples of thirteenth-century blue-and-white porcelain. According to Kessler, they were presumably of the kind intended for diplomatic use between the Southern Song and Jin courts during the period of their strained relationship.\textsuperscript{181} Further information about Song blue-and-white porcelain is still unavailable,\textsuperscript{182} yet there must have been a long pre-history of the manufacture of blue-and-white porcelain in China until it reached a period of maturity during the mid-fourteenth century.

What is fascinating is that Chinese blue-and-white porcelain gained a higher popularity in the Middle East than any other types of Chinese ceramics. Both literary and archaeological sources for the history of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain from the fourteenth century help to reconstruct the expansion of its export routes to the Middle East and its subsequent

\textsuperscript{179} Figure C27: Carswell (2000), pl.27.
\textsuperscript{180} Figure C28: Kessler (1993), pp.138-9, fig.90. For the recent finds of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in Inner Mongolia, see Kessler (1993), pp.134-40. For fourteenth-century examples with similar designs, see Carswell (2000), pl.36.
\textsuperscript{182} Kessler (1993), p.136. However, his attribution of early blue-and-white porcelain to the Song dynasty has been questioned. See Valenstein (1994).
impact on local ceramics.\textsuperscript{183} Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was mainly exported via maritime routes: it travelled to the West through India\textsuperscript{184} across the Maldive Islands,\textsuperscript{185} and reached the Red Sea area\textsuperscript{186} and even East Africa.\textsuperscript{187} A number of the sherds of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, and local copies, were found in Fustat in Egypt, revealing that a taste for Chinese blue-and-white porcelain had stimulated local potters to imitate Chinese pieces as early as the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{188} Syria appears to have been an even more important destination for Chinese blue-and-white porcelain. In particular, the bulk of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain ranging from the Yuan and Ming periods was discovered in Damascus, and these wares must have exerted a great impact on local potters.\textsuperscript{189} The so-called Hama dish in the Damascus National Museum, datable to the late fourteenth century, reveals the clear intention of Syrian potters to imitate Chinese pieces as closely as possible.\textsuperscript{190} Iran was also a popular destination

\textsuperscript{183} This issue has been examined at length by Carswell (1985); \textit{idem} (2000). Kessler has questioned the traditional view on the attribution of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain discovered in the Middle East to the late fourteenth century, referring to historical events which happened at Fustat and Nishapur (see Kessler [1993], p.140).

\textsuperscript{184} Gray first commented on Chinese blue-and-white porcelain found in India (see Gray [1964]). For Chinese blue-and-white porcelain found in the Tughlaq Palace in Delhi, see Smart (1975-1977).

\textsuperscript{185} Carswell (1975-1977).

\textsuperscript{186} For the sherds of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain discovered on a shipwreck in the Red Sea, see Carswell (2000), pp.175-82, 189-91, pls.203a-u.

\textsuperscript{187} For the finds from East Africa, see Carswell (2000), pp.64-6.

\textsuperscript{188} For Fustat finds and local copies, see Mikami (1980-81), p.87, pls.48-9; Carswell (2000), pp.65-7, pls.34a-b, 61. According to Scanlon, Chinese blue-and-white wares arrived in Egypt certainly before the first decade of the fifteenth century on the basis of the so-called Hama dish (see n.189), an imitation of Chinese models datable to the time when Syria was ruled by the Mamluks of Egypt (see Scanlon [1970], p.91).

\textsuperscript{189} For the Damascus finds, see Lane (1957), pp.29-30; Carswell (1966); \textit{idem} (1967); \textit{idem} (1972a); \textit{idem} (1972b); \textit{idem} (1979); \textit{idem} (2000), pp.67-8, pl.55.

\textsuperscript{190} For the Hama dish, see Pope (1956), pp.69-72, pls.131C-D; Lane (1957), p.29, pl.13A; Carswell (1985), no.13b; Gibbs (1998-1999), pp.33-4, fig.18. This dish must have been made earlier than 1401, when Hama was destroyed by Timur (see Carswell [1985], p.69).
of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, most of which were taken to inland towns via the Gulf ports, notably Hormuz Island (New Hormuz). The most famous examples of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in Iran are those in the Ardabil Shrine. Finally some fourteenth-century pieces of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain are stored in the Topkapi Saray, Istanbul, which has the finest collection of Chinese ceramics in the world, both in quality and quantity.

Although the overland trade routes became safer under the Pax Mongolica and remained active in the time when close contact was maintained between the Timurid and Ming courts, it is reasonable to assume that the greater part of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was exported to the Middle East via the maritime routes for practical reasons, namely quantity, time and fragility. The eastward expansion of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain over the sea route during the fourteenth century has been confirmed by finds from Vietnam, Korea and Japan.

191 For Hormuz finds, see Morgan (1991), p.70, n.39. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the ruler of Hormuz abandoned the city on the mainland and founded New Hormuz on the island of Jirun. For the trade between Ming China and New Hormuz, see Chen (1992A). Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was also found in Tall-i Iblis. See Fehérvári and Cardwell (1976), p.58.
193 For the Topkapi Collection of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, see Pope (1952); Ayers (1982-1983); Krahl (1986).
194 Perhaps, though to a lesser extent, Timurid-Ming relations led to the distribution of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain throughout Central Asia along the Silk Road in the fifteenth century, which passed through Kharakhoto (Pope [1956], pp.72-7, pls.133-4: Carswell [1999-2000]), Xinjiang (Carswell [2000], pp.73-4) and Samarkand (ibid., p.74). For the overland trade between the two empires, see Golombek, Mason and Bailey (1996), pp.10-2. A fifteenth-century illustration from one of the Saray Albums (Hazine 2153, TSM) reflects a romantic idea of the Silk Road and the transportation of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain to West Asia. For further discussion, see Carswell (2000), pp.74-6, pl.71.
195 For Chinese blue-and-white porcelain found in Vietnam, see Carswell (2000), pp.60-1.
The identity of the recipients of blue-and-white porcelain in the Chinese domestic market remains controversial. Blue-and-white porcelain was of great significance as an export product, yet it cannot be denied that the Mongols encouraged the manufacture of blue-and-white porcelain to some extent for domestic use: large-sized dishes, which have often been regarded as export products, seem to have also been made on demand for the Mongols, whose cuisine was eventually influenced by Central and Western Asian recipes and dishes.\(^{198}\) The most distinctive shapes of Yuan ceramics are to be found in small-sized wares, such as pouring bowls and stem-cups.\(^{199}\) Such pieces are likely to have been produced for Mongol customers, who were familiar with such unusual forms, reminiscent of the shapes of their own metal products.\(^{200}\) Commercial and practical functions aside, however, there is little evidence to indicate that there was Mongol patronage of ceramics as a form of fine art. The chief clients for blue-and-white porcelain in the domestic market were, it seems, Muslim merchants residing in the port town of Quanzhou in Fujian province, who controlled the marketing of porcelain.\(^{201}\) Some types of blue-and-white porcelain, for example the David Vases, dated 1351, which contains Chinese inscriptions and a full range of Chinese decorative repertoire, such as

\(^{196}\) Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was found in the cargo of a ship wrecked off the Sinan coast in 1323. For further information, see Ayers (1978).

\(^{197}\) For Chinese blue-and-white porcelain found in Japan and local copies, see Carswell (2000), pp.156-64.

\(^{198}\) Ibid., pp.23-4.

\(^{199}\) See ibid., pp.30-3, pls.28, 30. See also Taibei (2001), cat.nos. IV-59-62.

dragons, phoenixes, clouds and peonies (Fig.C25), were produced in Jindezhen for internal consumption and were intended for certain Chinese recipients.\textsuperscript{202} It is, however, assumed that, as an early Ming text has noted, blue-and-white porcelain was generally unpopular among Chinese clients, who regarded it as being very vulgar;\textsuperscript{203} such a negative view perhaps predominated among them until the revival of Chinese taste for blue-and-white porcelain in the middle of the Ming period.\textsuperscript{204} This does not contradict the fact that, although a good amount of Yuan blue-and-white porcelain has been found inside China, it is not comparable, either in quantity or quality, to that discovered outside China.

The production of blue-and-white wares in Iran poses yet another question.\textsuperscript{205} Its production can be traced back to the middle of the fourteenth century, but there is not much likeness between fourteenth-century Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, which is characterised by its harmonious ensemble of conventional Chinese motifs, ranging from rich floral decoration to fabulous animals,\textsuperscript{206} and the earliest

\textsuperscript{202} The David Vases were made for the Buddhist Jingtang Society, according to the inscriptions (see Scott [1989], p.68).
\textsuperscript{203} According to the \textit{Geguyaolun} (1387)(quoted in Pope [1956], p.44).
\textsuperscript{204} The stylistic change in ceramics from the end of the Yuan period to the early Ming period has been pointed out by Carswell (2000), p.79.
\textsuperscript{205} For Iranian blue-and-white wares, see Lane (1957), pp.31-6; Whitman (1978); Golombek, Mason and Bailey (1996).
\textsuperscript{206} For further information about the decoration of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, see Pope (1956), pp.65-9; Nakano (1981), pp.283-94. Among the criteria used for dating Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, its decoration provides useful information for classifying fourteenth-century products. Although most pieces are undated, it is to some extent possible to classify Chinese blue-and-white porcelain according to its decoration in order to establish a chronological sequence for Chinese blue-and-white porcelain.
examples of Iranian-style blue-and-white wares, probably made in eastern Iran,\textsuperscript{207} whose decoration is usually confined to geometric motifs and symmetrical arrangement (Fig.C29).\textsuperscript{208} Even though Chinese pieces inspired Iranian potters to create ceramics with underglaze cobalt blue decoration, such heavily Islamised decoration makes it hard to trace their actual Chinese models. Compared with exquisite colour schemes created by intense blue colour against a lustrous white background in Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, the use of a cobalt blue glaze is less effective in the surface of Iranian blue-and-white wares, which was made of poor white clay. Another point to be noted is that most surviving examples of Iranian blue-and-white are bowls with narrow foot-rings, and some distinctive shapes of Chinese blue-and-white wares, for example high-shouldered vases (Fig.C27), known as meiping in China, which had been one of the most popular forms in Chinese ceramics since the Song period, seem to have been less influential in Iranian ceramics of the Mongol period.

It was in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that widespread imitations of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain occurred in Iran, mostly under Timurid rule (Fig.C30).\textsuperscript{209} This latter example is more comparable to blue-and-white porcelain of the Yuan period (Fig.C31)\textsuperscript{210} than

\textsuperscript{207} Grube (1992), p.322.

\textsuperscript{208} Figure C29: Grube (1992), p.322, pl.XXXVI. I wish to thank Mr Alireza Anisi for providing me with a good reproduction of this bowl.

\textsuperscript{209} Figure C30: Lane (1957), p.34, pls.18a-b; Fehérvári (1973), pp.129-31, no.171, pls.73a-b; Allan (1991), pp.50-1; Golombek, Mason and Bailey (1996), pl.28. For other examples, see Grube (1976), nos.257-8. One could also compare an Iranian blue-and-white jar with a dragon handle datable to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Folsach [1990], p.78, no.142; Grube [1992], pp.322-5, pl.XXXVII; Folsach [2000], p.125, no.229) with a contemporary Chinese example (Vainker [1991], p.104, pl.104).

\textsuperscript{210} Figure C31: Sekai, vol.7, p.420, nos.176-7.
earlier blue-and-white wares made in Iran, though Chinese taste has not fully permeated the piece. Timurid potters, for instance, adapted the so-called lotus-petal design, a stylised framing device typical of Yuan blue-and-white porcelain which include auspicious emblems associated with Buddhism, for their blue-and-white pieces. But the elements inside of the framing devices in Figure C30 have been replaced by arabesque scrolls. The production of this type of blue-and-white ware in Iran coincides with the occurrence of depictions of blue-and-white wares in late fourteenth-century Iranian painting, for example the Mathnavis of Khwaju Kirmani (1396). This is not a definite indication of the domination of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in Iran, but possibly reflects the development of locally-produced blue-and-white wares. The provenance of these Iranian blue-and-white wares remains uncertain. As some related examples were found in Tall-i Iblis, Kirman is likely to have been a centre of manufacture of this type of

211 For instance, could-collar decoration, one of the key elements in Chinese blue-and-white wares (see Pope [1957], p.45; Gray [1975-1977], pp.238-40), was by no means generally adapted for Iranian ceramic designs throughout the centuries, nor even for Iranian blue-and-white wares. This device was initially derived from Mongol costumes and developed as textile designs (see Chapter 1: Textiles, p.50ff; see Figures T20, T39 and T41). There was a fashion for cloud-collar decoration in Chinese blue-and-white porcelain during the middle of the fourteenth century (see Carswell [2000], pls.36, 39, 52, 53, 130, 133, 203m and 203p-r).

212 For further discussion about this device in Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, see Pope (1952), pp.46-7; Nakano (1981), figs.83-112. For Buddhist elements in Chinese ceramic designs, see Hitchman (1962-1963).

213 For this subject, see Ashton (1934-1935); Gray (1949). Though few in number, the works of the Shiraz school contain the earliest known representations of blue-and-white wares - e.g., as Fitzherbert has pointed out, one in the Istanbul Inju Shahnama (1336; Hazine 1479, f.59, TSM: see Fitzherbert [2000], p.331, fig.112); similar devices are found in the legs of thrones depicted in the Kitab-i Samak 'Ayyar (e.g. MS Ouseley 379, f.47v [unpublished]).


215 Fehérvári and Caldwell (1967), pp.47, 58 and 63, pl.11.
blue-and-white ware during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Perhaps, blue-and-white porcelain reached Kirman from China via Hormuz and stimulated Iranian potters there to copy Chinese pieces.

5. Concluding remarks

This chapter has attempted to establish an overall view of the Chinese impact on Iranian ceramics up to the advent of Timur, focusing on its late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century development. In spite of the scarcity of archaeological evidence, it seems that Iranian admiration for the translucency, thinness and resonance of Chinese ceramics was clearly reflected in the styles and designs of three different periods of Iranian ceramics, and that Chinese pieces had a far-reaching effect on the technical development of Iranian ceramics. Through the comparison between three pertinent Chinese wares, namely white wares, celadons and blue-and-white porcelain, and Iranian copies of them, it has become clear how the Iranian impulse to imitate was apparent from the ninth to the early fourteenth centuries. Yet only when more discoveries and substantial arguments have been made will it be possible to trace in appropriate detail the Iranian imitation of these three types of Chinese ware, especially blue-and-white

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216 Fehérvári (1973), p.129. Mashhad became one of the major centres of manufacture of blue-and-white ceramics during the middle of the fourteenth century. A few dated examples of Mashhad blue-and-white wares have been known: a spittoon (1444) in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (see Grube [1976], p.235, figs.1·2) and a dish (1473) in the Hermitage Museum, St.Petersburg (see Lentz and Lowry [1989], p.227, fig.84; Loukonin and Ivanov [2003], no.160). The latter bears a strong resemblance to Ming blue-and-white porcelain. For Mashhad blue-and-white ceramics, see Fehérvári (2000), p.236, no.303.
porcelain, and their impact on other media of Iranian decorative and pictorial arts. In the meanwhile, one should admit that it is through tiles rather than through ceramic vessels, plates, bowls and the like that the impact of Chinese modes on Ilkhanid ceramics can best be judged.
CHAPTER III

METALWORK

and other miscellaneous objects

1. Introduction

This chapter aims to appraise metalwork as a significant medium for demonstrating hitherto unknown aspects of the artistic relationship between Iran and China. Perhaps owing to the lack of decisive evidence for the impact of China, metalwork has been inadequately taken into account when assessing chinoiserie in the art of Iran. Except for some comments on the appearance of Chinese motifs, very few scholars have ever tried to demonstrate the intrinsic significance of such motifs comprehensively. Above all, no studies have been devoted to the development of Iranian metalwork in the broader context of chinoiserie in Iranian art. Yet this does not mean that Iranian metalmakers were indifferent to the art of China – their reaction to Chinese metalwork in particular and to Chinese works of art in general merits detailed consideration, and bold interpretations are required to make sense of its characteristics.

The first section of this chapter discusses the artistic and technical interaction between Chinese and Iranian metalwork in the pre-Mongol period, focusing on two key materials. It then looks carefully at the occurrence of Chinese elements in Iranian metalwork under the Mongols.
Special attention is paid to the use of lotus decoration in Iranian metalwork, because it is not only one of the finest and most inventive patterns in Islamic metalwork but also one of the key *chinoiserie* motifs in the whole of Islamic art. The discussion will also touch on Chinese features in other hitherto neglected media, namely glass, wood, lacquer and stone.

2. Early Sino-Iranian contacts: silver vessels and bronze mirrors

To present a detailed survey of pre-Mongol Iranian metalwork is beyond the scope of this paper,¹ but it is appropriate to look back to the early Islamic period and to comment briefly on silver vessels of the Tang period and their Iranian connections. There seems to be general agreement about the Iranian or Sogdian contribution to the stylistic development of Tang metalware.² West Asian metal objects exercised a great influence on Tang silverware in terms of shapes and decorative motifs, for example stem-cups and lion motifs in relief.³ Chinese admiration for the art of Iranian metalware is also reflected in the adoption of metal shapes of Sasanian origin to Tang ceramics (Fig.M1)⁴(Fig.C4). Such ceramics of exotic shapes and decoration may have been in the main produced as substitutes for metalware for burial use, yet as commodities they must have appealed to

¹ Information on pre-Mongol Iranian metalwork is readily available in several books: in particular, see Allan (1979); Baer (1983); Melikian-Chirvani (1982), pp.23-230; Allan (1989), pp.171-82.
² For further discussion, see Melikian-Chirvani (1970A); Medley (1970).
⁴ Figure M1: Loukonin and Ivanov (2003), cat.no.69.
a wider clientele in cosmopolitan Tang society. Iranian or Sogdian influences have therefore been stressed in the study of Tang silver, yet some indigenous Chinese elements can also be found in the decoration used in Tang silver vessels. While the animal patterns used in this context are mostly of West Asian derivation, Tang silver objects contain a number of decorative schemes native to China, particularly those initially used in architectural contexts, such as lotus or peony scrolls. Similarly, the extensive use of lobed outlines is one of the characteristics of silver vessels of the period (Fig.M2). Perhaps generated from lotus petals, whose distinctive shapes were most widely adapted for Tang mirrors, lobed framing devices began to be applied to the decoration of metalware and architecture in the Tang period. Baer has postulated that these made their way westwards and provided Iran with the idea of bracket-shaped lobed frames which first occurred in metalware in Khorasan during the twelfth century and subsequently spread throughout Iran and the Islamic lands. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that lobed frames began to be incorporated into Iranian decorative concepts under the inspiration of the haloes used for Buddhist figures and the outline niches used for Buddhist architecture in Central Asia. More elaborate multi-lobed panels were

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5 For further discussion, see Watson (1986).
6 For further discussion, see Rawson (1982), pp.10-15.
7 Figure M2: Sekai, vol.4, cat.nos. 44-5. See also Gyllensvärd (1971), no.46; Jenyns and Watson (1963), no.25.
9 For further discussion, see ibid., pp.125-32.
10 Baer (1998), pp.73-4. For example, see Melikian-Chirvani (1982), no.52.
11 See Rhie (2002), figs.2.42-43.
12 Rawson (1984), p.159. For relevant examples found in Buddhist monuments in ancient Gandhara, see Behrendt (2004), fig.18, 28, 63, 96 and 99.
developed as architectural decoration in the eastern Iranian world under the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, for example trefoil arches with points on the top, as found in tombstones and cenotaphs. In addition to the chronological gap, the obvious difference between the lobed panels used in the outer decoration of Tang silver bowls and those found in Iranian architectural decoration in later medieval times is that the former hold to their intrinsic role as decorative frames designed for objects and never function as architectural decoration, while in the latter such devices are more easily understood in architectural contexts, not only in the form of isolated medallions but also as part of continuous bands in the interior decoration of buildings. Thus, although the simultaneous occurrence of formally related lobed frames or arches in both Chinese and Iranian art is of interest as a reflection of the versatility of the motif, little direct connection can be construed between the framing devices used in Tang metalware and those found in Iranian metalware and architecture of the pre-Mongol period.

As a prelude to discussing the topic of chinoiserie in Iranian metalwork, this section deals in more detail with the problems raised by bronze mirrors. The production of a type of circular disc with a reflective surface, which can be interpreted as a mirror, can be traced back to at least the

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13 See Flury (1925), pl.XXIV; Hillenbrand (2000B), pls.11-12 and 20.
14 For example, see the main wall decoration in the Mašjīd-i Jami‘ in Qazwin (1113-1115), reproduced in Baer (1998), fig.93.
15 For Iranian mirrors, see Survey, vol.6, pp.2483-4; Rice (1961): Rogers (1970), pp.71-3; Allan (1982), pp.33-7. For a preliminary study of chinoiserie in Iranian mirrors, see Kadoi (2004A). The terms 'bronze' and 'brass' have been used incorrectly in some publications. In this thesis, however, I use 'bronze' as a generic term unless scientific identification is available.
Achamenid period.\textsuperscript{16} It is presumed that handled mirrors, which depended largely on Graeco-Roman models,\textsuperscript{17} continued to be produced in the Islamic lands in early medieval times; they were probably the standard type before the introduction of Chinese-type mirrors, namely unhandled mirrors with knobs in the centre.\textsuperscript{18} Literary evidence shows that the mirror industry certainly existed in Iran in the tenth century,\textsuperscript{19} but few examples which can safely be ascribed to this period have been discovered.\textsuperscript{20} The production of bronze mirrors with relief casting on the back side was suddenly developed in succeeding centuries and owed much to a new technique brought from China, namely sand casting.\textsuperscript{21} Mirrors were manufactured and distributed throughout Iran, judging by the mirrors unearthed at Nishapur,\textsuperscript{22} Susa,\textsuperscript{23} Siraf\textsuperscript{24} and Ray.\textsuperscript{25} Most surviving examples have tentatively been attributed to the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth century, on the basis of a few dated pieces,\textsuperscript{26} and have been ascribed vaguely to Iran, Anatolia or Mesopotamia.

\textsuperscript{16} For example, see a rare Achamenid mirror (5th century BC), reproduced in Souvadar (1992), pp.16-17. Mirrors can be found in a group of the so-called Luristan bronzes (see Godard [1931], pp.76-7, pls.XXVI), though their provenance, dating and even authenticity are still a matter of controversy.

\textsuperscript{17} For Greek and Roman mirrors, see Rouen (2000), pp.18-99.

\textsuperscript{18} For Iranian handled mirrors, see Survey, pls.1302d, h; Hayward, nos.184, 201; Melikian-Chirvani (1982), no.9; Istanbul (1983), no.D.128-9; Baykan (ed.) (2002), p.156. A mirror of this type is depicted in one medallion of the so-called 'Blacas ewer' (Mosul, 1232) in the British Museum, London (see Survey, pl.1330e; Ward [1993], pl.24) and in the illustration of a slave girl in the \textit{Maqamat} of al-Hariri (Arabe 3929, f.151, BN; see Guthrie [1995], pl.18: I am indebted to Dr Shirley Guthrie for this information).

\textsuperscript{19} Allan (1982), p.34.

\textsuperscript{20} For example, see Melikian-Chirvani (1982), p.48, no.9: Loukonin and Ivanov (2003), cat.no.107.

\textsuperscript{21} Allan (1979), p.62.

\textsuperscript{22} See Allan (1982), nos.76-7.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, p.33.

\textsuperscript{24} See Allan (1979), p.145, no.44.

\textsuperscript{25} Allan (1982), p.33.

\textsuperscript{26} For example, a mirror in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, is dated 1153 (see Rice [1961], p.289, fig.1; Baer [1983], pp.249-50, fig.202; Carboni [1997], p.6); one mirror in the David
In recent studies, Khurasan seems to have been considered as acceptable places of origin for popular types of mirror, for example a mirror decorated with addorsed sphinxes, while a looser dating of such mirrors in the Saljuq period is still predominant. Moreover, the fundamental questions as to the development of Iranian mirrors and their Chinese connections remain unanswered – i.e. the period in which Chinese mirrors were taken westwards to the Middle East; the routes by which they travelled westwards; the type of mirror which was popular in Middle Eastern markets; and the Chinese features which were influential in the development of Iranian mirrors.

It could be argued that Chinese mirrors reached West Asia in the course of the spread of Chinese mirrors into Central Asia in the pre-Islamic period, where Chinese mirrors had already circulated from the Han period onwards and were imitated in local workshops. However, no positive

Collection, Copenhagen, is datable to the period between 1203 and 1262, judging by the inscription mentioning an Artuqid ruler's name (see Folsach [2001], pl.503); and a mirror in the ex-Harari Collection is dated 1276 (see Survey, pl.1301b).


See 'Mirrors', in DA, p.719.


A large number of Chinese mirrors have been discovered in the Minusink Basin. See Loubo-Lesnitchenko (1973). For Chinese mirrors found in Niya, Xinjiang, see Zhao and Yu (2000), nos.45-6. Some scholars have suggested an interaction between the so-called 'pearl roundels', a feature of Sasanian textiles, and Han mirror designs (see Meister [1970], pp.255-6), yet pearl-roundel motifs seem more likely to have been indigenously
evidence for this has so far been detected. Literary evidence shows that Chinese mirrors became famous in the Middle East at least by the tenth century, which coincides with the introduction of the sand-casting technique from China to West Asia. The impact of Chinese mirror design, for example the use of knobs in the centre, is visible in the Cairo mirror dated 1153, indicating the increased availability and popularity of Chinese mirrors in West Asia at that time. There are several possible explanations for the popularity of Chinese mirrors in twelfth-century Iran. The issue of a desire for exotic objects from far away is relevant here; and Chinese mirrors might have fitted the bill. Chinese mirrors may have attracted a wider clientele, regardless of social class, ranging from merchants and aristocrats, as fashionable yet practical objects. Mirrors were certainly cheaper than silk textiles; they were less fragile than ceramics and were easy to transport. An increase in the import of bronze mirrors from China in this period was to some extent associated with the growth of the bronze industry in Iran in the twelfth century, mainly owing to the shortage of silver. It is also assumed that, because of their portability, Chinese mirrors were brought into West Asia by Muslim merchants as souvenirs, or they were perhaps carried as charms to bring a safe return journey. Several complementary motivations developed in the Iranian world (see Chapter 1: Textiles, p.26ff.).

31 Tha'alibi (1968), p.141. He says, ‘Chinese make iron into steel, and from this, mirrors, talismanic amulets, etc. are made’.

32 The Cairo mirror (1153), see Rice (1961), p.289, fig.1. It would be interesting to speculate the relationship between the knob in Chinese mirrors and the frequent occurrence of a dot in the centre of Samanid pottery, which appears to be rather inharmonious with epigraphic decoration around the surface of the dishes (see Volov [1966], figs.1, 3, 4, 7 and 9).

for the importation of mirrors from China might therefore have co-existed. The political and cultural unification of the northern parts of China and Mongolia under Khitan and Jurchen rule from the tenth to thirteenth century may also have facilitated the westward transport of Chinese mirrors.

As for the route, it is highly probable that, along with the northern overland route through Central Asia, Chinese mirrors were brought to the southern provinces of Iran on their way to the Red Sea via the southern maritime route, thanks to the increased importance of metals and metal objects, perhaps including bronzes, in foreign trade with Song China.34

Despite the paucity of archaeological evidence concerning the import of Chinese bronze mirrors to Iran - a few Chinese bronze mirrors have been found in Iran, for example those excavated at Susa35 and Siraf,36 and most of these lack any information as to dating and provenance - Iranian mirrors have tended to be compared with Tang prototypes merely on the basis of their decoration.37 Although bronze mirrors were produced on a large scale in the period between the late Eastern Zhou (771-256 BC) and early Han dynasties (206BC-220AD) and again in Tang times (618-906),38 the manufacture of bronze mirrors did not end in the early tenth century. The Song era was in fact a transitional period, when the position of bronzes as

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34 For further discussion of this subject, see Schottenhammer (2001), pp.97-118. For the development of maritime trade in Song China, see Lo (1955). For Song foreign trade, see Shiba (1983).
35 Ghirshman (1956).
36 Allan (1979), p.50.
38 For ancient Chinese mirrors in general, see Watson (1962), pp.89-108.
popular utensils began to be threatened by the wider use of porcelain. Apart from the rise of the pottery industry, the shortage of copper – the chief raw material of bronze – resulted in a decline in the metal industry in China and in the production of bronze artefacts during the Southern Song period. Nevertheless, this did not cause the complete collapse of bronze manufacture in China: on the contrary, there was a growing interest in collecting ancient bronzes, initially in order to satisfy the demand for copper to mint coins; this later led to the growth of archaism as well as the copying of antique objects, including mirrors. A reasonable number of excavated bronze mirrors datable to the Liao, Song, Jin and Yuan periods have been discovered during the last few decades. These are sufficient to enable scholars to trace the development of bronze-making in China after the Tang period. This evidence suggests that bronze mirrors continued to be made in China from the tenth to the mid-fourteenth century. It is thus a mistake to look for the impact of Tang mirrors alone in Iranian mirrors. Their role in

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40 See Ch'en (1965).
41 For further discussion of the production of archaistic bronzes during the Song period in association with the rise of archaism in China, see Watson (1973); Kerr (1990), pp.13-28; Taipei (2000), pp.293-320.
42 For Liao bronze mirrors, see Rawson (1984), fig.129; Kerr (1990), figs.80 (left), 81 (left); Liu (1997); Paris (2000), cat.no.161; Beijing (2002), pp.308-11.
43 For Song mirrors, see Rupert and Todd (1935), nos.192, 200, 206, 212, 216-7, 220-1, 222-3, 229, 235-6, 240, 254, 265-6, 270-1, 277, 284, 287-8, 305, 324: Kerr (1986); Taipei (1986), nos. 136-47; Cheuk (1986): Kerr (1990), figs.74-7, 80 (right), 81 (right), 88: Kong and Liu (1991), pp.200-16; Taipei (2000), cat.nos.IV-76-79; Sekai, 6, nos.198-9. Most Song mirrors are undated. It seems more likely, however, that most surviving mirrors were produced in the thirteenth century, when the copper supply became increasingly plentiful than in the twelfth century, thanks to the introduction of paper money (see Kerr [1986], p.163).
the growth of Iranian mirror production would be persuasive only on the
assumption that Iranian metalmakers were inspired by Tang bronze mirrors
exported from China as antiques. Yet this assumption is incorrect. In view of
archaism in Song China, it is unlikely that antique bronze mirrors would
have left the country in significant quantity.

Song or broadly tenth-to fourteenth-century Chinese mirrors
following Tang prototypes are thus more relevant examples to be compared
with Iranian mirrors than are genuine Tang mirrors. The design of a Song
mirror in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig.M4)\(^{46}\) consists of animals
symbolising the four quarters encircled by a band of the twelve animals of
the Chinese zodiac, by grape vines and by additional epigraphic bands. The
arrangement of decorative bands shows a resemblance to that seen in a type
of Iranian mirror (Fig.M3)\(^{47}\), though alterations are made to the detail of
decoration and epigraphy in order to make the mirror more acceptable to
Iranian taste. Instead of the four quarters and the twelve animals, two
friezes in the Iranian mirror are decorated with six running animals in a
clockwise direction and with reciprocating patterns. The three epigraphic
bands used in the Chinese mirror, namely the Eight Trigrams (\textit{ba gua})\(^{48}\)

\(^{46}\) Figure M4: Kerr (1990), pp.98-9, fig.83. For Tang examples of this type, see Taibei (1986),
pl.77-92.

\(^{47}\) It should be noted that there are striking analogies in the decoration between Chinese
mirrors and metal dishes of the later Khorasan school, for example an early
thirteenth-century tray in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Melikian-Chirvani
[1982], no.27). This suggests that Chinese mirror design may have exercised an influence
on the decoration of various types of metal object produced in the eastern Iranian world
at that time.

\(^{48}\) The Eight Trigrams are represented by an arrangement of signs consisting of various
combinations of straight lines. They are used to interpret the future. See Williams (1974),
pp.148-51.
star constellations and Chinese inscriptions,\textsuperscript{49} are reduced to one and are replaced by Kufic inscriptions on an arabesque ground. From a stylistic point of view, however, this mirror is a text-book example of how the appearance of Chinese mirrors was influential in the formation of mirrors in Iran. Like typical Chinese mirrors, the Iranian mirror is round in shape. Iranian metalmakers also deliberately imitate the knob in the centre, though it remains unclear whether this device was added to the Iranian mirror for practical reasons – in Chinese mirrors, the knob was customarily used either for suspending by a ribbon or a ring for fixing on a mirror stand\textsuperscript{50} – or merely for decorative purposes.\textsuperscript{51}

Thus it is reasonable to suppose that Song and other post-Tang mirrors were conducive to the progress of the mirror industry in Iran. The increased availability of post-Tang mirrors may have encouraged Iranian metalmakers to borrow some elements from imported Chinese mirrors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet in terms of function, there is an essential difference between Iranian and Chinese mirrors. While in China mirrors came to be used mainly for ritual purposes, for instance mirrors were buried in association with the belief in the afterlife and ancestral worship or were presented as part of a dowry, Iranian or more generally Islamic mirrors mainly functioned as cosmetic accessories and perhaps as tools of divination.\textsuperscript{52} It seems that by the mid-twelfth century Middle

\textsuperscript{49} Judging by its inscriptions, this mirror was perhaps intended for ritual use by Taoist monks. For further discussion, see Kerr (1990), p.98.

\textsuperscript{50} For pictorial evidence for this custom, see Rawson (ed.)(1992), fig.148.

\textsuperscript{51} For instance, the knob found in one of the sphinx mirrors (Melikian-Chirvani [1982], no.59) is not pieced.

\textsuperscript{52} ‘Mirrors’, in \textit{DA}, p.717.
Eastern metalmakers had established their own styles in accordance with the widespread interest in astrology, such as a mirror decorated with astrological images, in the form of either the twelve medallions of the zodiac or of the image of the sun surrounded by representations of the planets. Such is not the case with Chinese mirrors, where the twelve zodiacal signs were conventionally represented as animals. This type of astrological mirror, sometimes together with inscriptions expressing good wishes for the owner, may have borne a talismanic function of preventing sickness and bad luck.

Of equal note is a type of Iranian mirror whose reflective side is engraved with talismanic designs, consisting of magical letters, numerals and symbols. Although the bodies of some of the mirrors may have been produced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were later remodelled as talismanic plaques, perhaps in the main to the order of the Shi'ite and Sufi communities. The exact date of remodelling remains

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55 See Baer (1983), fig.202: Survey, pl.1301a.
57 See Maddison and Savage-Smith (1997), nos.52, 79.
58 Maddison and Savage-Smith (1997), p.125. See, for example, a mirror in the collection of the Khalili collection, whose inscriptions refer to the five members of the holy family as recognised by the Shi'ite (ibid., no.52). This is suggestive of the close association of mirrors with Shi'ites, who associate the mirror with a manifestation of God, considering that the image appears in a mirror but does not have substance (see 'mir'āt', in EI; see Fellat [1993]), p.106) and with the Sufi who regards the mirror as a tool of polishing his heart until the radiance of God shines from it. The Sufi associations of mirrors are fully developed by Soucek ([1972], p.14) in her discussion on the idea of 'polishing' in Sufism, by examining a fifteenth-century illustration of the competition between painters from China and from Greece that occurs in the Iskandar-nama of Nizami (Shiraz, 1449-1450: 13.228.3, f.322, MMA). The conclusion of this competition is that, since the Chinese had
uncertain, though some scholars have associated it with the evolution of mysticism in Iran during the Mongol and Timurid periods.\textsuperscript{59} What is clear is that such magic mirrors continued to be popular in both Iran and India until the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{60} Interestingly, a type of Chinese mirror also came to be known as a magic mirror, or literally a ‘light-penetrating mirror’ (\textit{tou guang jian}).\textsuperscript{61} As the Chinese characters indicate, when such a mirror is exposed to the light, the characters and images on the back are reflected on the wall, as if they pass through.\textsuperscript{62} This type of mirror was already in wide use in eleventh-century China and attracted scholarly interest in its technique.\textsuperscript{63} Unlike Iranian magic mirrors, however, Chinese magic mirrors seem to have been intended as optical instruments rather than as talismans.

An additional matter of interest is the use of a handle in both Iranian and Chinese mirrors. As mentioned earlier, handled mirrors derived from Graeco-Roman and later from Byzantine models had already been known in the Islamic lands from early medieval times.\textsuperscript{64} They continued to be made in the Islamic world during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, together with the new type of mirror with a knob in the centre.\textsuperscript{65} In China, the use of a polished his wall, while the Greek had painted his one, the Chinese reflected the Greek painting like a mirror. This episode is itself indicative of the close associations between China and mirrors in medieval Iran, an idea which perhaps evolved in parallel with the inflow of Chinese bronze mirrors into the Iranian world during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

\textsuperscript{59} Maddison and Savage-Smith (1997), p.125.
\textsuperscript{60} See \textit{ibid.}, nos.53-7.
\textsuperscript{61} For Chinese magic mirrors, see Turner (1966); Murray and Cahill (1987).
\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Ibid.}, p.94.
\textsuperscript{64} See p.101.
\textsuperscript{65} See n.18.
handle seems to have occurred first in Tang mirrors, but gained a certain popularity in China during the Song and Yuan periods. Most discussions about the re-occurrence of handled mirrors in China allude only to their 'Western' origin. Yet in terms of the interaction between China and Iran, it would be significant if the use of a handle in post-Tang mirrors stemmed from the inspiration of mirrors brought from West Asia rather than from Europe. Very possibly, despite the lack of archaeological evidence, handled mirrors began to be known in China through imported mirrors from the Middle East and were soon produced locally to the order of Iranian or Muslim inhabitants who were actively involved in foreign trading in southern China during the Song and Yuan periods.

The main point to draw from the above discussion on mirrors is that, as in Iranian ceramics and textiles, chinoiserie can be found in Iranian metalwork of the pre-Mongol period. More important aspects of these mirrors, such as their continuous role as a benchmark for chinoiserie in Iranian metalwork from the twelfth to fourteenth century, will be addressed in the following section.

3. Iran's renaissance in metalwork: from the eve of the Mongol invasion to the end of Mongol rule

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66 Rupert and Todd (1935), nos.83, 124.
68 For example, see Kong and Liu (1991), fig.64-1. The popularity of handled mirrors in China in these periods can be attested by surviving mirror stands, one of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (see Kerr [1990], fig.87; Watt and Wardwell [1997], p.114, fig.46; Komaroff and Carboni [eds.] [2002], cat.no.195).
As happened in other media of Iranian decorative and pictorial arts, the Mongol conquest provided a catalyst for the technical and stylistic development of Iranian metalwork. This was in part due to the large-scale movement of metalworkers from the eastern Islamic lands westwards in the 1220s. The inlay workshops which flourished in Khurasan were forced to cease by the Mongol invasion and their workmen dispersed to Egypt, Syria, western Iran, Anatolia or the Jazira. As a result of the migration of Khurasani artisans, however, the first half of the thirteenth century witnessed the renewal of large-scale metal-working in these places, particularly in Mosul under the patronage of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (r. 1222-1259). Brass workers and inlayers, who took an active part in the evolution of the Mosul school, were, in turn, transferred to Iran after the Mongols overpowered the city in 1261 and were taken to new workshops located in northwest Iran and Fars. The Mosul style, and especially its emphasis on inlay, was thus influential at a developmental stage of Ilkhanid metalwork, as several surviving works indicate. While Arabic inscriptions and geometric patterns still form parts of the design in the works of the Ilkhanid school, the preference is for figural representations.

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70 Works of the Mosul school have been widely discussed: for example, see Rice (1957).
72 A penbox inlaid with silver and gold (western Iran, 1281) in the British Museum, London, has often been taken as an example showing the impact of the Mosul tradition in late thirteenth-century Iranian metalwork. For this penbox, see Barrett (1949), pls. 32-3; Ward (1993), no. 69; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat. no. 158.
The decoration features friezes of hunters or medallions of an enthroned ruler (Fig.M5), and these owe much to the figural imagery of Jaziran metalwork.

In comparison with ceramics, the impact of China, both in designs and forms, is less discernible in Iranian metalwork of the Mongol period. Islamic metalwork seems to have continued to wield some influence over both the shapes and designs of Chinese metalware and ceramics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is suggestive of the fact that metal objects were not major exports from China to West Asia during the Mongol period; or, even if they were circulated in Iran, they were insufficient in number and quality to provide new thoughts and inspiration for Iranian artisans. In general, the quality of Chinese metalwork, especially bronze and steel and to a lesser extent silver, had been in decline since the Song period and never again reached the level of Han and Tang times. The design of later Chinese bronze objects was less revolutionised than the case of Han or Tang models. There are, however, some key examples of Ilkhanid metalware which yield an interesting insight into the patterns of adoption and adaptation of Chinese themes to Iranian decorative ideas under Mongol rule.

A large-sized brass basin in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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74 For further discussion, see Gray (1940-1941): idem (1963): Taibei (2001), cat.nos.IV-1, 2.
75 For post-Song metalwork, see Sekai, vol.6, pp.277-82: Watson (2000), pp.239-44.
(Fig. M6)\textsuperscript{76} is, though it has now lost most of its gold and silver inlay, undoubtedly a most spectacular example of Ilkhanid metalwork. The decoration of the bottom surface consists of a single large roundel surrounded by an elaborate decorative band. The central roundel, perhaps symbolising the sun, is emphasised by the use of the so-called ‘fish-pond’ ornament, an element which characterises fourteenth-century metalwork produced in the Ilkhanid and Mamluk realms.\textsuperscript{77} The decorative band contains six small roundels and intervals, and they are particularly illustrative of the harmonisation of disparate Chinese and Iranian elements. Identifiable scenes from the \textit{Shahnama}, namely those related to the life of Bahram Gur, appear in two of the small roundels,\textsuperscript{78} while the rest are decorated with images of birds and dragons.\textsuperscript{79} Both the phoenix-looking \textit{simurgh} and the dragons amid lingzhi clouds are apparently derived from Chinese prototypes or from Chinese-inspired motifs which were already conventionalised in Ilkhanid workshops. Yet unlike other \textit{chinoiserie} motifs used in Ilkhanid textiles and ceramics, the artisans involved in making this basin seem not to have relied for their imagery on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Song or Yuan textiles or other contemporary Chinese pieces: as Rawson has convincingly discussed, the \textit{simurgh} and the dragons

\textsuperscript{77} Melikian-Chirvani (1997), pl.13. For ‘fish-pond’ ornament, see Baer (1968); \textit{eadem} (1983), pp.279-82.
\textsuperscript{78} See Melikian-Chirvani (1982), pp.203-4, pls.93A, 93D. The figure in a howdah carried by a dromedary shown in Plate 93A can be interpreted as Sapinud, the Indian bride of Bahram Gur, while the image found in Plate 93D can be identified as Bahram Gur hunting with Azada.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{ibid.}, pp.203-4.
depicted here bear a striking resemblance to those conventionally used in Liao objects.\textsuperscript{80} Some distinctive features of the two animals, such as their twisted bodies, diving posture and graceful outstretched wings, can easily be found in the gold and silver ware as well as in the textiles of the Liao period.\textsuperscript{81} There is further striking evidence for the association with Liao objects in the swimming ducks or geese, and the flying birds in pairs flanking floral patterns, that fill the intervals between each roundel. Images of swimming waterfowl are not original conceptions of Iranian metalworkers but are more likely to have been indebted to Chinese prototypes – perhaps, again, one of the Liao decorative repertoires (Fig.M7).\textsuperscript{82} This reinforces the importance of the period of the Khitan empires, namely the Liao and the Kara-Khitay states, whose territories stretched over a vast area of Central Asia,\textsuperscript{83} as an introductory stage in the spread of Chinese themes into West Asia.\textsuperscript{84} It is likely that precious metal objects produced in the northern parts of China and Mongolia under Khitan rule, whose technical and artistic achievements have been attested by recent archaeological finds,\textsuperscript{85} came to be known in the Iranian world by their unique hybrid styles, partly adopted

\textsuperscript{80} Rawson has compared Chinese-inspired motifs of the Victoria and Albert basin with the decoration of the Liao tomb discovered at the Qingling (see Rawson [1984], pp.148-9). For this tomb, see Tamura and Kobayashi (1953).


\textsuperscript{82} Figure M7: Zhu (1998), fig.75: Shanghai (2000), p.211; Beijing (2002), pp.128-9. See also an Ilkhanid incense burner with medallions of waterfowls in the David Collection, Copenhagen, reproduced in Folsach (2001), no.514: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.170. It is interesting to note that animal images closely resembling Liao models can be found in a fifteenth-century drawing in the Diez Albums (Diez A. Fol.73. S61. N4: see Ipširoğlu [1964], Tafel XXXII, 41).

\textsuperscript{83} For further information about the Khitan empires, see Sinor (1998).


\textsuperscript{85} For a recent study on Liao metalware, see Louis (2003).
from Tang China and partly developed independently, for these people were a separate ethnic group.\textsuperscript{86} The use of distinctive Liao elements in this basin indicates that there was a renewal interest of Ilkhanid metalmakers in Liao-style motifs. Thus significantly – perhaps surprisingly for those who have overestimated the occurrence of Chinese elements in Iranian textiles and ceramics – metalwork can also provide a clue to a better understanding of how Iranians gathered information about the art of East Asia and how they adapted Chinese themes.

Closely related to the Victoria and Albert piece is a basin now in Berlin.\textsuperscript{87} The decoration of the bottom surface in this basin also contains a Chinese-inspired bird-and-dragon motif. Even though the London and Berlin basins are almost identical in shape – a type of Iranian basin called lag\textsuperscript{an} – each work shows great individuality in decoration. The Chinese themes in the two basins are interpreted differently. While in the Victoria and Albert basin the motifs are involved in the whole decorative programme, collaborating with Iranian themes in creating a drama rather than a pattern, in which Chinese-looking simurgh and dragons are incorporated into images associated with the life of Bahram Gur, the Berlin example stresses a single image of the dragon-and-phoenix as decoration (Fig.M8).\textsuperscript{88} The motif that mingles a dragon and a phoenix encompassing clouds and floral motifs in its background is rather overwhelmingly present in the central

\textsuperscript{86} For Liao art in general, see Beijing (2002).
\textsuperscript{87} For this basin, see Enderlein (1973).
\textsuperscript{88} Figure M8: Enderlein (1973).
roundel and is disproportionate to the friezes of riders, which are of modest size. As distinct from the Victoria and Albert basin, however, the connection with a specific dynastic style in Chinese art cannot be explicitly stated in the case of the chinoiserie motif used in the Berlin basin, for the amalgamation of a dragon and a phoenix is in fact atypical in Chinese designs in the pre-Qing period. The motif is thus present in a traditional Chinese guise but is more likely to have been a local variation, with the probable intention of making the central image more original.

The dragon and phoenix used in this basin may have been derived from separate Chinese sources – in this case the most immediate Chinese sources are perhaps those used in Chinese textile designs – or, it may have been a compound of the models for dragons and phoenixes respectively which were in current use in Ilkhanid workshops. The occurrence of the dragon-and-phoenix motif in this basin was perhaps due to an iconographical confusion on the part of the Iranian metalworkers who were not fully aware of Chinese art traditions, or it may have been due to Iranian inventiveness in the adaptation of Chinese elements. It could also be argued that the Mongols did not make a clear distinction between a dragon and a phoenix and regarded both these animals equally as a symbol of absolute power. The use of Chinese elements is also recognisable in the small medallions on the bottom surface, together with figural images perhaps

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89 See Enderlein (1973), Abb.1-5.
90 To the best of my knowledge, no Chinese counterparts to this motif have as yet been identified.
associated with the life of Bahram Gur. The juxtaposition of Chinese and Iranian themes creates a subtle decorative harmony.

This decorative programme, then, recalls that used in the Victoria and Albert basin, but the Berlin basin shows a different response to Chinese animal themes. Two of the medallions exhibit another interesting fusion of Chinese conventional animal motifs—a phoenix and a qilin. Although both these mythical creatures have been used to decorate artefacts since ancient times, the combination of a phoenix and a qilin is not typically Chinese. Like the dragon-and-phoenix motif used in the decoration of the bottom surface, these iconographically unrelated animals are inaccurately combined by Iranian artists, perhaps owing to their lack of knowledge about Chinese conventions. Or it may be assumed that the artists intended to represent a bird and deer in a phoenix or a qilin guise in order to enliven the image of the hunting exploits of Bahram Gur.

Chinese themes are equally recognisable in large candlesticks, a type which is particular to metalware of the Ilkhanid period. One of the most telling examples is a drum-shaped candlestick in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (Fig.M9). The main decorative theme is the hunt amid lively animals, both real and imaginary, which is expressed in various manners in four poly-lobed medallions. This long-lived

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93 See Enderlein (1973), Abb.12-17. The choice of themes is the same as in the Victoria and Albert basin (see n.78).
94 See ibid., Abb.12, 15.
95 Figure M9: Baer (1983), pp.151-3, fig.130; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.166. I wish to thank Dr Ulrike al-Khamis for permission to work on this object.
subject in Iranian art began to be applied for metalwork designs from the thirteenth century onwards, but a striking analogy to the hunting scenes depicted in the Edinburgh piece occurs in miniature painting of the Ilkhanid period, especially in Shahnama illustrations datable to the early fourteenth century — for instance, Mongol-clad hunters on horseback are evocative of those depicted in some illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama. Besides figural representations, a certain stylistic association with contemporary book painting, especially in reaction to the occurrence of Chinese themes, can be found in the rendering of animals. In particular, the images of flame-bearing karag are comparable to those depicted in the small Shahnamas. Such a close relationship between metalwork and book painting is suggestive of the pivotal role of drawings in the process of designing and painting, a practice which may already have come into wider use in fourteenth-century Iran. Emphasis is also laid on the infusion of naturalism into the background, which is suffused with various kinds of foliage and floral motifs. The shrubs and tiny flowers, recalling the intricate floral background often used in Song textiles (Fig.T10), are not merely employed in filling the background. Rather, the layers of vegetal motifs serve to soften a geometrical rigidity, which predominates in earlier

96 See Baer (1983), pp.229-35.
metalwork, and to create a fluency of pattern, giving this piece a great deal of decorative charm. Thus the close association of the Edinburgh candlestick with early fourteenth-century miniature painting made in Ilkhanid territory, as well as its stylistic maturity, for instance its attempt to integrate into a harmonious ensemble figural, animal and vegetal motifs of both Iranian and Chinese origin, are evidence for the Ilkhanid dating of the Edinburgh candlestick.101

In addition to the manufacture of brasses or bronzes inlaid with silver, Iran also provided a home for silversmiths' work from the thirteenth century onwards.102 Surviving Iranian silver objects datable to the Ilkhanid period are relatively scarce, and thus they are not helpful for the subject of this thesis. However, a certain artistic relationship can be detected between surviving silver objects attributable to thirteenth-century Iran and those found in the territories of the Golden Horde103 — a Mongol state of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Eurasia, whose centre was located in the

101 North-west Iran thus seems to be the likeliest location of this piece, though a Shirazi provenance has been suggested by Baer (see Baer [1983], p.231). The Fars school, presumably based in Shiraz, was another active workshop of metal-making in Iran during the fourteenth century under the Injus and the Muzaffarids. A round-bottomed bowl decorated with cartouches and medallions containing figures of hunters or rulers typifies Shirazi metalwork of the period (for example, see Melikian-Chirvani [1982], nos.102-4; Ati, Chase and Jett [1985], pp.155-66; Ward [1993], nos.76-7). In comparison with Ilkhanid metalware, the impact of China is less apparent in metalware of the Fars school. For further discussion of metalwork in Fars during the fourteenth century, see Melikian-Chirvani (1982), pp.147-52; Blair (1985).

102 For silver in Islamic Iran, see Allan (1976-1977); Melikian-Chirvani (1986).

103 Marshak and Kramarovsky (1993). They have compared a thirteenth-century Iranian silver bowl of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, with a Golden Horde example in the Hermitage Museum. See also a related bowl in the Keir Collection (Melikian-Chirvani [1986]; Ward [1993], p.86, pl.65).
Volga Basin in the Kipchak Steppe. The importance of silver objects of the Golden Horde lies in their multiple roles, not only in bridging the gap in the history of Iranian silver but also as an intermediary in the introduction of the mastery of toreutic work of Central Asia as well as of Far Eastern elements into the Middle East. Metalwork designated as Golden Horde shows a close link to artefacts produced in the northern parts of China and Mongolia under Liao, Jin and Yuan rule for both forms and patterns, while their stylistic affinities with Song decorative arts are less prominent. A type of goblet manufactured in the Golden Horde (Fig. M10), for example, was equally popular in other Mongol states in Eurasia, perhaps including Ilkhanid Iran. In China, such footed cups, which made their first appearance in Tang China, recurrent in both metalwork and porcelain from the Yuan period onwards. A stylistic association between this goblet and Chinese decorative arts can also be found in the use of patterns derived from lotus petals, recalling those often seen in Yuan blue-and-white porcelain.

Particularly notable kinds of metalware made in silver in southern

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104 For the cultural history of the cities of the Golden Horde, see Fyodorov-Davydov (1984).
105 For the art of the Golden Horde, see Basilov (ed.) (1989), pp. 67-86; Piotrovsky et al. (2000).
106 Figure M10: Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.no.7. See also ibid., cat.nos.8, 42, 56 and 70.
107 For a related goblet ascribed to Iran, see Basilov (ed.) (1989), pp. 68-9; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.153. As the catalogue of the Ilkhanid exhibition has mentioned (Komaroff and Carboni [eds. ] (2002), p.286), the prevalence of footed cups in Mongol-ruled Iran can also be attested by pictorial evidence - e.g. a leaf of the Diez Albums (Diez A. Fol.70.S11; see Ruhirar (1997), Abb.3).
108 See Rawson (1982), pls.1-3, 8; Michaelson (1999), no.57.
109 For Yuan examples, see Sekai, vol.7, nos.163, 192; ZMQ: Decorative arts, 3, nos.7, 9, 23, 32-3; Shanghai (2000), pp.251, 253; Taibei (2001), cat.nos.IV-33, 48; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.196.
110 See Figures C27, C31.
Russia under Mongol rule are handled vessels – one is a ladle whose rim is decorated with an elaborate multi-lobed flange (Fig.M11)\textsuperscript{111} and the other is a shallow bowl with a dragon-head handle.\textsuperscript{112} The production of drinking cups similar to the former example can be traced back to the Tang period,\textsuperscript{113} but this type was initially developed in the northern parts of China and Mongolia during the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, as exemplified in cups with side handles of the Liao and Jin dynasties.\textsuperscript{114} Ladles of this kind seem to have been designed for travellers and to have been carried in a bag attached to the belt.\textsuperscript{115} The idea of multi-lobed forms, initially developed in Ghaznavid territory as mentioned in the previous section,\textsuperscript{116} seems to have been transmitted westwards to the territories of the Golden Horde as part of the decorative vocabulary of the Mongol empire – similar decoration is recognisable in a paiza from Yuan China (Fig.M12),\textsuperscript{117} while a ladle closely akin to Figure M11 is depicted in early fourteenth-century painting in the manuscripts of the Jami’ al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din.\textsuperscript{118} Prototypes for the latter can equally be found in bowls made in northern China under foreign

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Figure M11: Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.no.16. For other examples, see Kuwait (1990), no.63; Ward (1993), pl.76. Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.nos.58, 60 and 136; Folsach (2001), no.507; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.149.\textsuperscript{111}
\item See Basilov (ed.) (1989), p.72; Hattstein and Delius (eds.) (2000), p.404; Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.nos.14, 21.\textsuperscript{112}
\item See Vickera, Impey and Allan (1986), pl.35.\textsuperscript{113}
\item See Zhu (1998), figs.22, 59 and 60; Beijing (2002), pp.188-9. See also Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), p.275.\textsuperscript{114}
\item See Kuwait (1990), no.63.\textsuperscript{115}
\item See p.100.\textsuperscript{116}
\item Figure M12: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.197.\textsuperscript{117}
\item See an illustration of Sultan Sanjar ibn Malik-Shah in the Edinburgh portion of the Jami’ al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din, reproduced in Rice (1976), no.68; and some leaves of the Diez Albums – e.g. Diez A. Fol.70 S.10 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.], cat.no.18); Fol.70.S23 (unpublished); Fol.71.S52 (Rührdanz [1997], Abb.2).\textsuperscript{118}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
rule. Except for some features of the dragon, the bowl is not redolent of Chinese taste but rather evokes nomadic life in the steppes. Such a dragon-handled bowl seems to have been designed to be suspended from the belt by the loop in the dragon’s mouth as a portable container. This type of drinking bowl was also manufactured in gold on a large scale in southern Russia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Fig. M13). This indicates that the bowls made in gold – a key material which was highly regarded in Mongol society – may have performed burial and ritual functions in the territories of the Golden Horde and perhaps in the whole Mongol empire. From consideration of artefacts of the Golden Horde, despite the fragmentary information, it is clear that artistic concepts evolved in northern China made great inroads in southern Russia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This can provide supportive evidence to intensify the role of Liao and Jin objects in the formation of chinoiserie elements in Iranian art.

Lastly, it is worth considering the issue of the mirror industry in Iran during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There are some Iranian bronze mirrors which seem to postdate the Mongol invasions. Attempts have already been made to reconsider the dating of some

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119 See Gyllensvärd (1971), no.22; ZMQ: Decorative arts, 2, no.229.
121 Figure M13: Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.no.12; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.155. For related examples, see Piotrovsky et al. (2000), cat.no.13.
123 For example, one talismanic mirror in the Art and History Trust Collection (probably Isfahan, 1375) seems to have been produced in commemoration of Shah Shuja’s capture of Tabriz (see Soudavar [1992], cat.no.17).
individual pieces, though nobody has succeeded in overcoming the difficulties which make it hard to establish a reliable identification of Ilkhanid mirrors and to trace their associations with Chinese mirrors. For example, a mirror portraying Bahram Gur and Azada on the hunt,\textsuperscript{124} which had previously been ascribed to the twelfth century in the \textit{Survey of Persian Art},\textsuperscript{125} was reattributed as an early Ilkhanid product in the Hayward Gallery Islamic art exhibition in 1976.\textsuperscript{126} In the light of Iranian partiality for this subject in various media of decorative arts up to the mid-fourteenth century,\textsuperscript{127} the use of this theme does not help to pin down its precise dating. The border decoration, too, is not enough to certify its Ilkhanid provenance. The use of animals in profile is less common in Iranian metalwork of the period, while a similar arrangement of animals is often used in tile designs from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{128} Trefoil arches which alternate with animals belong to the context of Iranian \textit{chinoiserie} and recall those used in Tang silver objects.\textsuperscript{129} But there is no definitive evidence for an Ilkhanid date.

On the other hand, Allan has made an interesting comment on the decoration which appears in one of the Nishapur finds and has alluded to the continuation of mirror production in Ilkhanid Iran.\textsuperscript{130} The mirror

\textsuperscript{124} See \textit{Survey}, pl.1300.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., p.2484.
\textsuperscript{126} See \textit{Hayward}, no.201.
\textsuperscript{127} For the development of this theme in Iranian art, see Ettinghausen (1979); Baer (1983), pp.274-9; Simpson (1985), pp.134-49. For Ilkhanid examples depicting this theme, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.97.
\textsuperscript{129} See Rawson (1984), p.159, fig.120b.
\textsuperscript{130} Allan (1982), p.33.
contains a repeat pattern of hexagonal motifs with small knobs in the centre. The West Asian origin of this geometric ornament can be traced back to earlier times, yet its association with Chinese mirror designs seems also to be justifiable, judging by the frequent occurrence of similar geometric ornament, called liangqiu wen ('ball-range pattern'), in the mirrors attributed to the Liao period. The curious fact is that this ornament is predominantly used as the background of a group of mirrors whose decoration contains unusual human heads in four or five medallions. Some ten examples of this type of mirror, including a mirror excavated from Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, Syria, datable to the Mamluk period (Fig.M14), are known to survive. They can be divided into two sub-groups according to the type of headgear employed: three-pointed crowns, recalling those often depicted in Iranian miniature painting and decorative objects from the Saljuq period onwards; and tricorn crowns with lotus-shaped decoration at the centre, which is more Mongol in style. The Qasr al-Hayr example, which belongs to the latter group, is of particular importance thanks to the following three points: first, it seems that this type of mirror was manufactured in Iran during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, i.e. ranging from the late Saljuq to the Ilkhanid periods; second, the mirrors show an unusual stylistic blend of various elements derived from old and

131 Ibid.
133 For this type of mirror, see Survey, pls.1302d-h: Fehérvári (1979), no.103, pl.35a; Melikian-Chirvani (1982), pp.229-30, nos.105-6; Istanbul (1983), no.D.130. Melikian-Chirvani has attributed a rare example of the mortar with related human masks to thirteenth-century Iran (see Melikian-Chirvani [1982], no.70, pp.161-2).
134 Figure M14: Grabar et al. (1978), pl.282, no.33.
new traditions; and third, this type of mirror circulated outside Iran.

Allan has also cast light on two other types of mirror which have customarily been attributed to the twelfth century: one is a mirror with a hunter on horseback in the Louvre Museum, Paris; the other is a mirror in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, which displays a close association with Chinese mirrors decorated with sea animal-and-grape motifs. In the Paris example, a group of flying birds in the outer border provides a key to define the approximate dating and provenance of this piece, for related bird motifs are often seen in Sultanabad ware of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. As for the Cairo piece, close similarities can be found in Song mirrors produced after Tang models. Relevant Yuan mirrors have so far been unavailable, yet since the indebtedness to Song models is one of the characteristics of chinoiserie elements in Ilkhanid art, it is possible to venture a re-attribution of the Cairo example to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Its Ilkhanid dating can also be assured by the comparison between the arrangement of frog-like animals here, which are swimming round a central tortoise-like creature, and the so-called 'fish-pond' ornament used in Ilkhanid metalwork.

136 Allan (1982), p.34.
137 For this mirror, see Survey, pl.1302B.
138 For this mirror, see Rogers (1970), pl.VI. Tang-type mirrors have been excavated from the territory of the Golden Horde (see Fyodorov-Davydov [1984], fig.108), suggesting the continuous impact of Chinese mirrors in West Asia during the Mongol period.
139 See Figure C20.
140 Allan (1982), p.34. The question also arises in the context of the attribution of a mirror in the collection of the Louvre (see Paris [1989], no.84; Paris [2001], cat.no.154). This piece is decorated with clearly defined fish-pond patterns, suggesting that this piece was in all likelihood contemporary with other Ilkhanid and Mamluk metal objects with fish-pond designs of the fourteenth century.
mirrors discussed above are handled or had handles. Additional evidence for the popularity of handled mirrors in Ilkhanid Iran is found in contemporary miniature painting, for example in an illustration of the London Jami' al-Tawarikh. Thus the proposed identification of Ilkhanid mirrors shows a variety of decorative schemes, from those inspired by the episodes of the Shahnama to motifs derived from Liao mirrors. Such stylistic incoherence makes it difficult to authenticate Ilkhanid mirrors with certainty. However, this may suggest that Iranian mirrors of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were in a developmental stage in the formation of Iranian styles in mirror decoration.

The possibility of the production of magic mirrors in Iran after the Mongol invasion has been mentioned briefly in the previous section. This section, however, looks into another type of talismanic seal or plaque which seems to have been made at the same time. A small square plaque in the David Collection, Copenhagen (Fig.M15), is a case in point, not only to establish the development of talismanic seals in Ilkhanid Iran but also to

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141 This observation is based on published materials available at the time of writing this thesis. However, a sphinx mirror (no.1890.333: 13th-century Khorasan?; unpublished) in the possession of the Royal Museum of Scotland, the only example on which I was able to work, has no remnants of a handle. I wish to thank Dr Ulrike al-Khamis for permission to work on this mirror.

142 See f.287v (Blair [1995], K29). See also one of the illustrations depicting Nushirvan in the Demotte Shahnama, in which a woman sitting next to him holds a mirror (see Grabar and Blair [1980], no.56).

143 It was in Mamuk Egypt that identifiable Islamic-style mirrors seem first to have occurred. For Mamluk mirrors, see Hayward, no.228; Hillenbrand (1999), pl.119. A mirror ascribed to fifteenth-century Iran (Allan [1986], pl.41) bears certain Chinese traits, in terms of the arrangement of decorative bands and the use of a knob in the centre, but the decoration in this mirror is composed of arabesque-derived patterns. See also Islamic-style steel mirrors attributable to late fifteenth-century Iran (Allan [2000], cat.nos.34-5).

144 Figure M15: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.167.
enquire into how writing of East Asian origin entered Iranian decorative schemes. It is said that this square plaque comes from the sanctuary of the Sufi Shaikh Abu Ishaq at Kazarun in Fars.\(^{145}\) This type of seal is thought to have been produced in Iran under the Mongols for sea travellers to secure them a safe journey.\(^{146}\) The use of Kufic inscriptions distinguishes this seal clearly from contemporary Islamic seals used in official documents, which are in the main carved in intaglio and are engraved in flowing cursive script.\(^{147}\) One may be tempted to relate this unique form of lettering to the impact of Chinese seals engraved in the seal script known as *zhuanshu*, which highlights the angularity of lettering.\(^{148}\) Chinese seals might have already been known in Iran before the Mongol period through Chinese painting, in which seals were used for giving the authentification of works of art, or through coinage of China, both silver and bronze, which flowed out of the country in parallel with the growth of foreign trade in the Song period.\(^{149}\) They may have provided a source of inspiration for the use of square Kufic in architectural decoration in the eastern Islamic lands, whose earliest occurrence can be traced back to the early twelfth century.\(^{150}\)

Despite these earlier connections, it was during the Mongol period that Chinese seals became more widely available and thus familiar in Iran, judging by the fact that Chinese-style seals functioned as official stamps

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\(^{145}\) According to the caption of this seal in the David Collection (unpublished).


\(^{148}\) For Chinese seals, see Luo (1981).


\(^{150}\) Blair (1998), pp.82-5. For example, Ghazna (the minaret of Mas'ud III, c.1100) and Gar (the minaret, 1121-2), reproduced in *ibid.*, figs.7.35-7.
among the Ilkhans.\textsuperscript{151} Official stamps engraved in Chinese characters were equally prevalent in the Mongol states in Eurasia.\textsuperscript{152} In Yuan China, seals were customarily used to validate official documents among Mongol rulers and officials, who were unable to write Chinese characters correctly or to sign documents with brush and ink.\textsuperscript{153} However, the likeness between the David plaque and Yuan seals carved in \textit{phagspa} characters (Fig.M16)\textsuperscript{154} — distinctive characters which were invented by a Tibetan monk during the reign of Khubilai — is much stronger than that of Chinese seals in that both the David piece and the \textit{phagspa} seal use enigmatic and maze-like lettering. The \textit{phagspa} characters began to be recognised in Iran perhaps through some documents stamped with \textit{phagspa} seals, the \textit{paiza} with the inscription of \textit{phagspa} script (Fig.M12) or perhaps through paper bills (Fig.Mis.2)\textsuperscript{155} brought from Yuan China. Some Ilkhans seem to have possessed \textit{phagspa} seals and perhaps officially used them. A \textit{farman} (decree) of Geikhatu (r.1291-95) (Fig.M17),\textsuperscript{156} one of the rare examples of Ilkhanid official documents on paper, is stamped twice in red with a type of imperial seal known as \textit{al-tamgha}\textsuperscript{157} — in this case a seal engraved in \textit{phagspa} characters. The use of Kufic designs in the David talismanic seal may also have been associated to some extent with the evolution of Kufic ornament in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[151] See Pelliot (1936), figs.28-31; Mostaert and Cleaves (1952), pp.482-5, pls.6-7.
\item[152] For example, see Basilov (1989), pp.76-7.
\item[153] Franke (1953), p.28.
\item[154] Figure M16: Taipei (2001), pl.I-28. For other examples, see Luo (1981), pp.88-91; Kessler (1993), fig.114; Sekai, 7, fig.237; Shanghai (2000), pp.224-5.
\item[155] Fig.Mis.2: Zhu (1991), p.299. For related examples, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), fig.16, cat.no.198.
\item[156] Figure M17: Soudavar (1992), no.9: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.68. In both catalogues, however, the seal is specified as Chinese.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
architectural decoration in Ilkhanid Iran\textsuperscript{158}—though in this thesis there is no space for anything further to be said on this dramatic way of decorating buildings.

4. Problems of the lotus in Iranian metalwork

The history of lotus decoration in Iranian metalwork is more complex than that of other chinoiserie motifs in Iranian art. In addition to its dual origin—ancient Egypt and India\textsuperscript{159}—the motif was diffused over a wide geographical area and was to a large extent transformed by absorbing indigenous elements. This section, however, focuses on a specific type of lotus decoration of Indian origin, depicting basically a species of lotus called \textit{Nelumbo nucifera},\textsuperscript{160} and pursues the role of China in the assimilation of this intriguing motif into Iranian decorative concepts. The following discussion includes a brief history of the development of Chinese lotus decoration; the evolution of Iranian lotus decoration under Mongol rule and its Chinese associations; the use of this motif in Iranian metalware; the significance of the lotus in Ilkhanid contexts; and the use of lotus decoration in Mamluk art as comparative material.

\textsuperscript{158}For example, Bistam (the shrine of Bayazid, 1313), Linjan (the Pir-i Bakran, 1299-1303), Natanz (the Kkanaqah, 1316-7) and Varamin (the Masjid-i Jami', 1322), reproduced in Seherr-Thoss (1968), pp.110-1, 114-5, 120-1, 128-9. For pre-Mongol examples, see n.140.

\textsuperscript{159}For a brief history of Egyptian and Indian lotus motifs, see Wilson (1994), pp.101-3, 143-51.

\textsuperscript{160}However, a scientific definition of Indian lotus decoration is still the matter at issue (see Hayashi [1992], pp.86-8).
The lotus is an important component of Buddhist iconography, as a symbol of rebirth, purity and the Buddha. On the Indian subcontinent, the lotus occurs in earlier Buddhist monuments and statues predominantly as a highly stylised rosette or medallion, perhaps derived from the form of pointed oval petals, rather than as a floral motif of naturalistic traits. It is highly probable that the significance of this sacred plant had already become known in Iran before the Mongol period in the course of the spread of Buddhism from India to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Yet the real point of departure of the lotus as ornamentation is not India or Central Asia but China. Lotus seeds were imported from India and the plant took physical root in China by the time of the Six Dynasties, as Buddhism moved eastwards into China. Although the adaptation of lotuses for decorative motifs was not undertaken at an early stage, it was during the Tang period – when the lotus was still exotic to the Chinese – that lotus scrolls were by degrees developed as decorative devices for Buddhist statues and monuments and later as motifs for decorative objects, particularly for metalware. This was perhaps inspired by contacts with intricate foliage patterns of Central Asian origin, such as the acanthus and vine scrolls.

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161 For further discussion, see Ward (1952); Hayashi (1992), pp.65-146.
162 For further discussion of the development of lotus medallions in early Buddhist art, see Hayashi (1992), pp.80-102.
163 Ibid., p.104. For example, see the lotus-shaped pedestal found under legs of Mithra in the relief of Investiture of Ardashir II at Taq-i Bustan (Fukai, et al. [1969-1984], vol.2, pl.XCII).
166 See Rawson (1984), pp.64-75.
168 For further discussion, see Hayashi (1992), pp.166-92, 238-42 and 274-371.
By the tenth century, this foreign motif had become truly Chinese: while scrolls became less complicated, lotus blossoms began to appear prominently in stylised forms in major decorative objects of China.\textsuperscript{169} This versatile motif was used either to form a single image or to enrich background patterns (e.g. Figs.T6, T10, T29 and C5).\textsuperscript{170} Unlike Indian lotus decoration, which is predominantly shaped like medallions, the lotus in these Chinese examples is shown to be a distinctive floral motif based on a realistic rendering of a type of water-lily with rounded petals. But the symmetrical arrangement of each petal recalls that often seen in the lotus motifs evolved in ancient Greece, though calyces are often omitted in Chinese lotus motifs.\textsuperscript{171} The lotus flower, however, had gradually lost its Buddhist significance by the end of the Song dynasty; instead, its symbolic meanings associated with purity and integrity began to be highlighted under the influence of Confucianism.\textsuperscript{172} Under these circumstances, the convention of lotus decoration entered on a large scale into the repertoire of decoration in West Asia following the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century.

The date of the first appearance of the lotus in Iranian art cannot be fixed with certainty.\textsuperscript{173} It is, however, generally agreed that the occurrence of Chinese-related lotus ornament did not antedate the Mongol conquest.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{169} See Rawson (1984), pp.81-8. Though undistinguishable in style from peonies, the use of lotus decoration can be seen in Liao sancai wares (see Beijing [2002], pp.292-99, 302-6).

\textsuperscript{170} In addition to Din wares, the fashion of lotus decoration is discernable in Jin Cizhou wares (see Gray [1984], figs.91-3).

\textsuperscript{171} For the relationship between Greek and Chinese lotus patterns, see Kadoi (2004B).

\textsuperscript{172} For instance, a famous Confucian scholar Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073) highly praised the lotus as 'the flower of purity and integrity' in his essay (Wirgin [1979], p.170).


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Although vernacular motifs of lotus-looking form, namely those used in association with the palmette and arabesque of ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian origin, were already built into Iranian designs prior to the Mongol period, lotus decoration marked by fidelity to Chinese prototypes—a distinctive motif derived from lotus blossoms, consisting of a teardrop-shaped stamen and six or eight petals—began to be incorporated into Iranian decorative repertoires no later than the second half of the thirteenth century. The earliest Iranian pastiches of Chinese floral motifs, including lotuses, seem to have occurred in textile designs, as has already been discussed, in ceramic designs, especially those which functioned as architectural decoration, and metalwork designs. According to Morgan, the earliest dated example of an Iranian version of this type of lotus decoration is to be found in lustre tiles from the Imamzada Ja’far in Qumm dated 1267. The lotus here shows some degree of decorative appeal, but its depiction remains rudimentary and is not easily distinguishable from other flowery patterns. Increasing Iranian interest in naturalism can also be seen in tile decoration found in other religious monuments of the period. Indeed, as will be discussed later at length, the lotus may have been by degrees regarded as an appropriate motif for Ilkhanid religious monuments.

175 See Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.34-5, Figure T9.
176 This has already been pointed out by P. Morgan (1995), p.32; Baer (1998), p.20.
177 Floral motifs in a lotus guise can be found in the works of the later Khorasan school, such as a buckler in the Victoria and Albert Museum and a tray in the Louvre Museum (Melikian-Chirvani [1974B], p.31; idem [1982], no.57, fig.51). Further visual evidence is, however, required for the use of lotus decoration in pre-Mongol Iranian metalwork.
179 For example, see the tile decoration of the Imamzada Ja’far at Damghan dated 1266-1267 and that of the Imamzada Yahya at Varamin dated 1262, reproduced in
Among the examples of Ilkhanid tiles which display the clearest manifestation of the lotus motif are those used in the decoration of Abaqa Khan's palace at Takht-i Sulayman (1270-1275) (Figs.C7, C10). The designs and arrangement of the lotus found in the Takht-i Sulayman specimens are more diversified than earlier examples: the motif appears in various shapes of tile, ranging from squares, stars to crosses; it is also found on the upper part of tiles, making an effective ensemble with dragon or phoenix motifs below. Iranian fascination with lotus decoration became more obvious in some dated pieces which were produced during the reign of Uljaitu (r.1304-1316). While the lotus motif continued to be a favourite design in tiles, for example those used in his mausoleum at Sultaniyya (Fig.C19), the motif seems to have increased its popularity in other media of architectural decoration. Among the most exquisite examples is a band of lotus decoration found in the top frieze of Uljaitu's mihrab made of stucco in the Masjid-i Jami' of Isfahan and dated 1310 (Fig.Mis.1). The decoration is itself a curious repetition of the lotus surrounded by a lobed frame, yet the frieze as a whole is successfully interwoven with intricate arabesque motifs.

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181 For example, see Figure C15 (dated 1311-12): a star tile dated 1310-11 in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston (see Watson [1985], pl.119; Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.117). See also tiles found in the Masjid-i 'Ali at Quhrud (1300-54; see Watson [1975], pls.1-V) and tile decoration at the base of the minaret in the tomb of Abd al-Samad at Natanz (1307-8; see Blair [1986A], pl.64).

182 See also a quadrangular tile from Sultaniyya, reproduced in Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.122.

183 Figure Mis.1: Survey, p.1316, fig.484; Wilber (1955), no.48, pl.87; Schimmel (1989), pl.9; Hattstein and Delius (eds.) (2000), p.399. Unfortunately, later restoration destroyed this evidence.
and several types of calligraphy below in a forceful Islamic setting.\footnote{184}

The trends of lotus decoration became increasingly apparent in other decorative objects of Iran, such as pottery\footnote{185} and textiles,\footnote{186} from the late thirteenth century onwards, perhaps largely inspired by the use of this motif in contemporary architectural decoration. The evidence of painting also illustrates how pervasive a motif the lotus was in Ilkhanid territory. Importantly, while the lotus in its first phase of introduction to Iranian pictorial concepts seems to have functioned as a landscape element, judging by its naturalistic appearance in the early stages of Ilkhanid painting, for example in the \textit{Marzubannama} (Baghdad, 1299),\footnote{187} it tended later to be confined to the adornment of costumes and interior settings. In miniature paintings datable to the first and second decades of the fourteenth century, such as the Small \textit{Shahnamas} (probably North-west Iran or Baghdad, c.1300),\footnote{188} the Freer Bal'ami (probably the Jazira, c.1300)\footnote{189} and the Edinburgh al-Biruni (probably North-west Iran or Mosul, 1307),\footnote{190} the motif is essentially employed in textile designs, throne decoration and patterns on

\footnote{184} The \textit{mihrab}, whose inscriptions praise the virtues of Shi'iism and the traditions of 'Ali, may have caused increased hostility from the conservative Sunni population of Isfahan (see Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], p.120).
\footnote{185} For example, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat. nos.133, 135: Figure C20. One of the earliest dated pieces with lotus decoration is a jug painted in lustre dated 1270-1 (BM: unpublished).
\footnote{186} For example, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat. nos.72, 75; Magagnato (ed.) (1983), p.23, 153-62.
\footnote{187} See Simpson (1982A), fig.51. See also a leaf depicting a rule enthroned in the Istanbul Saray Album (c.1300: Hazîn 2152, f.60v, TSM), reproduced in Işınkoğlu (1967), pl.11: a painting of the lion and jackal in the Paris \textit{Kalîla wa Dimna} (Baghdad or southern Iran?, c.1300: suppl. persan 1965, f.16v, BN), reproduced in Survey, pl.817 A.
\footnote{188} See Simpson (1978), figs.3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, 32, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 63-4, 66, 70, 75, 77-8, 82-4, 89-90, 93 and 101.
\footnote{189} See Soucek (1975), figs.5, 7, 12 and 13. The lotus depicted in this manuscript has briefly been discussed by Arnold (see Arnold [1924], pp.18-19).
curtains, and in most cases serves as a mere pictorial device. Equally in Arabic copies of the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din (Tabriz, 1314), the motif is ubiquitous throughout the miniatures of the manuscripts, for example in the decoration of furnishing in enthronement scenes and even as part of armour designs in battle scenes.191 Yet in the case of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, the use of lotus decoration maintains a balance with other motifs.192 The lotus depicted in the decoration of buildings has a highly articulate form, evoking that of the lotus in Uljaitu's *mihrab*.193 The convention of Iranian lotus decoration, which was first developed in architectural contexts, was thus certainly passed onto Ilkhanid craftsmen and painters. Perhaps the use of drawings in the design process in Ilkhanid workshops may have resulted in the interchange of this motif between several media of the pictorial and decorative arts.194

It is a thorny problem to determine which medium of Chinese art was influential in the introduction of lotus decoration to Iran. Since the lotus is one of the most popular motifs in Chinese art from the tenth century onwards, any types of lotus motif used in various media of the decorative arts can best be considered within the context of *chinoiserie* in Iranian lotus decoration. In addition to major decorative objects, for example textiles produced in China and Central Asia during the thirteenth century (Fig.T29),

191 For example, see Rice (1976), E16, E18, E51, E53-E54, E56 and E58; Blair (1995), K21.
192 For example, see Grabar and Blair (1980), nos.1, 10, 11, 12, 14-15, 17, 37, 39-40, 42-4 and 55-6. See also the lotus in the Gutman *Shahnama* (probably Isfahan, c.1335; see Swietochowski and Carboni [1994], pls.15, 17, 27, 28, 34, 38 and 44-5).
193 For example, see Grabar and Blair (1980), nos.10, 15 and 44.
194 For further discussion, see Komaroff (1994).
lacquer ware of the Song period (Fig.Mis.6), jade carvings, bronze mirrors, as well as scroll painting, the potential of Chinese printed materials, such as paper money (Fig.Mis.2), for the transmission of this motif into Iran is utterly undeniable.

Nevertheless, there are two key types of object which can help to pin down the immediate Chinese sources for Iranian lotus decoration. One is ceramics. The frequent occurrence of stylised lotus motifs can be seen in pottery made in twelfth- to thirteenth-century China, a trend which became more evident in ceramic designs produced in northern kilns during the Jin and Song periods (Fig.C5). Though the visual impression of the lotus created by a brush in Chinese ceramics is different from that engraved by a chisel in monuments or woven in textiles of Ilkhanid Iran, some original features of Chinese lotuses, such as elegant pointed petals, remain intact in Iranian versions of lotus decoration, thanks to the successful adjustments made by Ilkhanid artists. The other type of object is horse trappings of lotus form, for example those in the Khalili collection, London (Fig.M18).

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195 Figure Mis.6: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.203. See also Sekai, vol.6, nos.206-7.
196 A number of flower-shaped jade plaques are known to survive (see Cheng [1969]: Rawson [1995], nos.25:16-17). The yutian (jade floral ornaments) seems to have been a popular type of accessory in Jin and Yuan China. The relationship between the forms of the floral-shaped jade ornaments and floral motifs used in thirteenth-century Central Asian textiles has already been pointed out (see WSWG, p.150).
198 For example, Weider (ed.) (1994), cat.2.
199 Under the inspiration of Chinese paper money (chao), paper currency was introduced into Iran in 1294 during the reign of Geikhatu (r.1291-1295), and resulted in economic chaos in Ilkhanid Iran. For paper currency in Ilkhanid Iran, see CHI, vol.5, pp.374-7; Jahn (1970B): Allsen (2001A), pp.177-80. For related examples, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.198.
200 See Wirgin (1979), pp.170-3, figs.8-10.
201 Figure M18: Alexander (1992), cat.no.15: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.141. For Mongol horse harness, see Świętosławski (1999), pp.81-9.
underlying concept of design in the lotus-shaped harness is similar to that found in Ilkhanid examples, but the harness must create a vigorous impression when it covers horse's bodies. Perhaps this type of harness was more instrumental than other major types of decorative object in the early stage of conveying conventional Chinese lotus motifs to West Asia during the Mongol period and may have inspired Iranian artists to apply their distinctive shapes to the decoration of other types of artefact.

The Chinese objects discussed above are likely to have been brought to Iran via Central Asia by land. However, another possible course of the spread of Chinese lotus decoration into Iran is through the artefacts brought from China via the sea route, in which Hormuz – a main centre for the commercial activities between East Asia and Iran via India\(^\text{202}\) – was an important entrepôt that served to distribute imported goods throughout Iran.\(^\text{203}\) This hypothesis seems especially applicable to lotus patterns which occur in the book painting of the Inju dynasty, suggesting that the artists possibly came into contact with Chinese objects with lotus decoration as soon as these were circulated in southern Iran. In one of the Inju Shahnamas, the lotus appears with greater frequency not only as part of textile designs and landscape elements\(^\text{204}\) but also in its frontispiece, as the principal

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\(^{202}\) Titley has stated that the lotus motif of Iranian art was mainly derived from textile designs imported from India (Titley [1983], p.229). This suggestion is reasonable, taking account of the fact that Indian textiles, in particular block-printed textiles, were taken westwards into Egypt in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and had a wide distribution (see Barnes [1997]). Yet no relevant examples of lotus decoration are found in surviving thirteenth-to fourteenth-century Indian textiles.

\(^{203}\) For the importance of Hormuz, see Morgan (1991); Allsen (2001A), p.42.

\(^{204}\) Rogers, Çağman and Tanundi (1986), pls.38, 42. For the lotus depicted in the 1341 Shahnama, see Simpson (2000), pls.2, 6-7 and 12. The use of lotus motifs is less apparent in the 1333 Shahnama (see Adamova and Giuzal’ian [1985], pls.1-2).
decorative motif of the illumination (Hazine 1479, f.1, TSM)(Fig.MP126).205 Yet the lotus depicted in this manuscript is still at the embryo stage, betraying the simple mechanism of adopting lotus motifs derived from Chinese textiles.206 The painters were presumably unaware of the potential for modifying lotus motifs into truly landscape elements or new decorative concepts.

The insets of lotus decoration into Ilkhanid metalwork correspond closely to this technique in other media of Iranian art of the period, but the motif carries a different aesthetic message. In general, there are two artistic intentions in the use of lotus decoration in Ilkhanid metalwork: to enrich other decorative schemes, or to function as a secondary motif in hunting or animal themes. A candlestick given to the shrine of Bayazid Bastami by a vizier of Uljaitu in 1308-9 (Fig.M19),207 one of the earliest surviving dated pieces of Ilkhanid metalwork, belongs to the first category. Perhaps incited by the fashion in architectural decoration, the medallions of this candlestick are studded with six-petalled lotus blossoms. The detail of their petals is more delicately rendered than that in other contemporary examples,208 but the lotus group still tends to form a geometric and rigid composition.

On the other hand, the lotus often appears in a more refined form in the hunting or animal scenes in various types of Ilkhanid metalware, as

205 See Titley (1983), pp.229-33. See also the 1333 Kalila wa Dimna (probably Shiraz: private collection, Paris), reproduced in Gray (1940), fig.1.
206 For example, see Figures T6, T10 and T29.
207 Figure M19: Survey, pl.1355: Melikian-Chirvani (1987): Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.160. For other related candlesticks, see Atil (1972).
208 For example, see Melikian-Chirvani (1982), no.87.
seen in the Keir window grill (Fig.M5)\textsuperscript{209} and the David incense burner.\textsuperscript{210} In the cases of the Victoria and Albert Museum basin (Fig.M6) and the Edinburgh candlestick (Fig.M9), although their shape is almost identical with that of the Boston candlestick, the lotus is deeply involved in creating naturalism in the background, together with other vegetal and flowery motifs. Another interesting example of this group is a vessel in the treasury of the Tekke of Jalal al-Din Rumi at Konya, known as the Nisan Tasi.\textsuperscript{211} This vessel is also garnished with lotus motifs around the rim of its lid. The inscription mentions the name of Abu Sa'id,\textsuperscript{212} so it is not surprising that some features of the lotus used in this vessel, for example the decorative band of lotus blossoms enclosed by cloud collars, betray a stylistic indebtedness to the lotus motifs popularised in Iran during the reign of Uljaitu, for example the border decoration found in the mihrab of Uljaitu (Fig.Mis.1)\textsuperscript{213} and the decoration of the tile used in his mausoleum (Fig.C19).

Several comments on the popularity of the lotus motif in Ilkhanid art are called for. For artistic reasons, the lotus must have been a great addition to the decorative repertoire for Iranian artists. They seem to have found something congenial in the shapes of lotus petals, as well as the potential

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{209} A bowl with a cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see \textit{Survey}, pl.1357B: Melikian-Chirvani [1982], no.83) can be categorised in this group, though there is no balance in size between figural images and lotus patterns.
\item \textsuperscript{210} See Foleasch (2000), no.514; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.170.
\item \textsuperscript{211} See Baer (1973-1974), figs.11a-b, pp.15-6.
\item \textsuperscript{212} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.3-8.
\item \textsuperscript{213} \textit{Ibid.}, fig.9, p.15.
\end{itemize}
for using this motif widely in both painting and the decorative arts. The extensive use of this motif for architectural decoration, ceramics, textiles and metalwork is indicative of its pivotal role in the development of Ilkhanid decorative ideas, whereas in miniature painting the lotus serves to enliven enthronement scenes or to spotlight rulers’ luxurious garments.

Yet the ubiquity of lotus decoration in Ilkhanid monuments can perhaps be explained more intriguingly from three religious or funerary aspects of Ilkhanid Iranian society. First, in view of the multi-faith trends in Ilkhanid Iran during the late thirteenth century, the rise of Buddhism could have helped to familiarise Iranian artisans with lotus motifs.\(^{214}\) Despite the official conversion of Ghazan to Islam in 1295, this motif, with its reminders of Buddhism, did not fall completely out of use in Ilkhanid Iran; on the contrary, builders and artisans who were involved in constructing Buddhist temples seem to have remained in Ilkhanid territory and continued to be actively employed in artistic production.\(^{215}\) Secondly, since most architectural examples showing the integration of the lotus into their decorative schemes were constructed in relation to Shi‘ism,\(^ {216}\) it is tempting to assume that some of the symbolic meanings of this Buddhist motif, for example purity, began to be associated with Shi‘ite doctrines or practice.\(^ {217}\)

The occurrence of the lotus in Ilkhanid art and architecture associated with

\(^{214}\) For Buddhism in Ilkhanid Iran, see *CHI*, vol.5, pp. 540-1.


\(^{216}\) For additional information on the use of the lotus in buildings with Shi‘ite associations, see P. Morgan (1995), pp.33-4.

\(^{217}\) Morgan has pointed out the association of lotus decoration with asceticism (see Morgan [1995], p.34). For Shi‘ism and dervish orders in the fourteenth century, see Halm (1991), pp.71-7.
Uljaitu, who converted to Shi‘ism in 1310, may perhaps suggest the significance of this motif in Shi‘ite contexts. Given the frequent use of lotus decoration in Ilkhanid pictorial and decorative arts in non-Shiite contexts, this is not a particularly persuasive explanation for Shi‘ite re-interpretations of this Buddhist motif. But what is certain is that the lotus was regarded as a motif acceptable to Shi‘ite monuments in Iran at that time. The third aspect of this motif is its association with death. Lotus decoration appears with frequency in funerary contexts, such as the tiles used in mausolea, where the motif can be seen as a symbol rather than as a mere decorative pattern, evoking perhaps peaceful, eternal rest or the flowering garden of paradise. This admittedly speculative interpretation, though unsupported by literary evidence, could have been inspired by Mongol funerary customs, for the lotus is symbolically depicted in murals found in Yuan tombs and in some leaves of the Diez Albums depicting Mongol funerals, which were presumably part of the first volume of the Jami‘ al-Tawarikh. In the case of metalware, too, the lotus seems to have served not only to enrich decoration but also to evoke sumptuous religious and burial rites. Lotus-bearing candlesticks akin to the Boston example are depicted in the scene of Iskandar’s bier in the Demotte Shahnama, an image which reflects the use of this type of metal object in royal funerary

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218 For the conversion of Uljaitu and its impact on art, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), pp.117-20.

219 P. Morgan (1995), p.34. For example, see ZMQ: Painting, 12, no.184; Xiang (1983).

220 See Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.nos.27-8. In the Istanbul copy of the Jami‘ al-Tawarikh, a large lotus blossom is symbolically present on the coffin of Nuh ibn Mansur (Hazine 1653, f.208, TSM; see Inal [1975], fig.27).

221 Melikian-Chirvani (1987), p.122, pl.VI.
arrangements in Ilkhanid Iran. Such symbolic aspects of lotus motifs are unique to Ilkhanid art, while in Inju territory the use of lotus motifs is confined to the costume designs of rulers and attendants in miniature painting.

Apart from the diffusion of lotus decoration into Transcaucasus and Transoxiana, more noteworthy is the westward transmission of lotus decoration into the Mamluk realm in the context of the development of Ilkhanid lotuses, as well as of chinoiserie in fourteenth-century Islamic ornament. As in Iranian art, no precursor for the style is found in pre-Mamluk art before the advent of the Mongols, but the lotus motif suddenly emerged in Mamluk territories in an already highly stylised form, especially in metalwork and glass, and prevailed in almost all possible types of pictorial and decorative art produced in Egypt and Syria in the fourteenth century. Iranian type of lotus decoration is likely to have been introduced

222 While the lotus seems to have become increasingly outmoded as the decoration of buildings in Ilkhanid Iran towards the end of Mongol rule (see a mihrab tile with lotus motifs dated 1322-23, reproduced in Komaroff and Carboni [eds][2002], cat.no.125, and lotus-bearing tiles of the Masjid-i Jami' at Yazd datable to the Muzaffarid period, reproduced in Pickett [1997], pls.118-9), it was later disseminated northwards into the Transcaucasus under the rule of the Golden Horde (for example, see Fyodorov-Davydov [1984], figs.63, 64 [3], 65 [2-3], 68 [1,3] and 78 [1]). The motif then spread to Transoxiana, perhaps first into Khwarazm under Mongol rule (e.g. the Mausoleum of Najm al-Din Kubra at Kunya Urgench [c.1321-1336], reproduced in Degeorge and Porter [2002], pp.105-7), and further east towards Central Asia after the reunification of vast tracts of Eurasia under Timurid rule. Among Timurid monuments, the use of lotus decoration in the shrine complex of the Shah'i Zinda, Samarkand, is unrivalled (see Rempel' [1961]: Nemtevseva et al. [1979]; Marefat [1991]).

223 In terms of variety of media, the lotus is integrated into Mamluk decorative concepts more deeply than into those of Ilkhanid Iran. In addition to the vogue for lotus decoration in Mamluk textiles (see Atil [1981A], no.116; Baker [1995], p.71) and ceramics (for Mamluk tiles with lotus decoration, see Atil [1981A], nos.90-1), lotuses often appear in architectural decoration (for example, see a carved stonelrelief with floral ornament inserted in the decoration of the madrasa of Sultan Hasan, Cairo [1356-1360], reproduced
through the medium of Ilkhanid artefacts, especially textiles, artists or perhaps drawings of designs. Yet in the case of Mamluk lotus decoration, direct influences from Chinese objects as well as Indian connections are also plausible. There was an established trade network from major ports located in southern China to Alexandria; Ma'bar, on the eastern coast of India, flourished as a transit point. One can also correlate the occurrence of Chinese-derived lotus decoration in Mamluk art with the growing settlement of Mongol Oirats in Mamluk Syria; these men, who had a strong influence on the Mamluk court circle, may have brought Chinese products to Mamluk territory. Whether from Ilkhanid Iran, directly from China or via India, such readily available lotus decoration from both Iran and China enabled the motif to reach its mature phase in a relatively short period and resulted in the interchange of this motif between several media of Mamluk art.

Examples of lotus-bearing Mamluk metalwork are numerous. They cannot be classified in exact chronological order owing to the lack of information about their precise date of production, but the bulk of them are

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224 For example, see Figures T25. The role of textiles in the introduction of Ilkhanid decorative repertoires into Mamluk glass workshops has been discussed by Ribeiro and Hallett (1999), pp.54-8; Carboni and Whitehouse (2001), pp.265-7.


datable to the period between the 1320s and 1370s, perhaps owing to the increased availability of Ilkhanid products after the Peace of Aleppo in 1322, which ended hostilities between the Ilkhanids and the Mamluk sultans. A large brass basin in the British Museum, London (Fig. M20), which has been ascribed to the period between 1330 and 1341, epitomises the vogue for lotuses in Mamluk metalware of the period. Medallions are densely patterned with six lotus blossoms, which are boldly arranged between the intervals of Arabic inscriptions. Compared with Ilkhanid examples, the lotus decoration in this Mamluk basin is overloaded, creating a feeling of overcrowding. The motif here essentially functions as an appealing decorative pattern. It remains to be seen, however, whether this motif also carries religious, perhaps even funerary, connotations in Mamluk contexts.

Another popular medium showing the prevalence of the lotus in Mamluk designs is glass. The importance of glass as a material needs separate discussion in the following section, yet at this stage some comments can be made on the rendering of the lotus in this medium of Mamluk art. As in the metal base, the lotus appears to fit well with the smooth and shiny surfaces of glass. In Mamluk glassware, despite the differences in frequency, size and colour, the lotus is present in a fresh guise.

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228 For example, see Baer (1983), fig. 128; Atil (1981A), nos. 19, 25 and 30.
229 Irwin (1997), p. 233. For the political confrontation between Ilkhanid Iran and Mamluk Egypt, see Amitai-Preiss (1995). As mentioned in the chapter of textiles, a number of textiles, including the Danzig Gdansk example (Figure T15), were dispatched from Iran to Egypt during the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Muhammad (ruled intermittently from 1293 to 1294 and from 1299 to 1341) following the truce.
230 Figure M20: Atil (1981A), no. 26; Ward (1993), pl. 88. For other relevant examples, see Paris (1971), no. 170; Bernus-Taylor (2001), p. 79.
231 See p. 146ff.
232 For discussion of decoration in Mamluk glass and its Chinese relations, see Ribeiro and
In one of the mosque lamps typical of the Mamluk period (Fig. Mis. 3), the decorative impact made by the repetition of lotus motifs works in an attractive way, creating an image of a flowering landscape. The motif gives an effect of the garden of paradise if the lamp is lit.

As the lotus motif travelled westwards, this Buddhist element took on a new significance in a new cultural setting. In Iran, the lotus perhaps began to appear in architectural decoration in the 1270s, but subsequently entered both painting and the decorative arts. By the middle of the fourteenth century, this foreign-born motif had blossomed into a quintessentially Iranian motif. What is significant is that the lotus brought Ilkhanid artistic concepts into a wider spectrum of religious and ritual concerns. Perhaps more than any other chinoiserie motifs, the dynamism of the cultural and artistic interaction between East and West in the Mongol period is reflected in this enchanting motif, as a reminder of the past of Iran and China in the sphere of Buddhist culture as well as of the geopolitical unification of Eurasia under the Mongols.

5. Chinoiserie in miscellaneous objects

Having observed Chinese elements in Iranian textiles, ceramics and metalwork, one is now in the best position to expand the discussion into

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233 Figure Mis. 3: Carboni and Whitehouse (2001), cat. no. 118. For similar example, see Caubet and Bernus-Taylor (1991), p. 86.
what happened in other media of decorative arts and to look for some internal coherence between the major art forms of Iran in the Mongol period. Presented below are not detailed analyses but rather introductory notes on Chinese themes in Iranian glass, woodwork, lacquer and stonework, since relevant examples prior to the Timurid period are insufficient to make a comprehensive survey of chinoiserie in these four media. The main point to be discussed in this section is therefore not to seek Chinese elements or make up a story of chinoiserie from limited sources but rather to look for reasons why Chinese themes are rather less discernable in glass, woodwork, lacquer and stonework.

(1) Glass

The recent increase in the archaeological finds of imported West Asian glass in China serves to reinforce the theory that the traffic of influences between China and Iran in this art form was essentially from the west, but not the east.\footnote{See Laing (1991); eadem (1995); Ma (2004).}\footnote{Pinder-Wilson (1991), p.140. For Roman and Sasanian glass found in China, see An (1987), pp.2-9.} Finds of Roman and Sasanian glassware, for example, have often been taken as convincing evidence for their vital role in the progress of glass-making in China as early as the first century; through them, it is argued, Chinese artisans learned to copy foreign examples, to melt imported glassware and to re-use it for decorating bronzes or for making replicas of jade and lacquer objects.\footnote{See Laing (1991); eadem (1995); Ma (2004).} This did not, however, lead to any considerable
growth of the glass industry nor to the exploitation of indigenous materials and techniques in China.\textsuperscript{236} Chinese appreciation of West Asian glass reached its peak in the Tang period, not only in its association with exoticism,\textsuperscript{237} but also, according to Moore, thanks to its increasing religious connotations in Buddhist contexts.\textsuperscript{238} Among the sherds or vessels of Islamic glass discovered in tombs and archaeological sites throughout China,\textsuperscript{239} Islamic glassware retrieved from the Famen Temple sites in Shaanxi Province, which were active during the eastern Han to the late Tang period,\textsuperscript{240} is remarkable for its good state of preservation and quality. Most of the finds are closely related to those excavated in Nishapur,\textsuperscript{241} suggesting the importance of this region in the manufacture of glass as well as the interchange point of the glassware trade from Mesopotamia towards the Silk Road. Yet the inflow of glass artefacts from the Islamic world did not affect the Chinese glass industry in its own right. China seems to have relied on imported glass in succeeding dynasties, when glass artefacts continued to be imported from West Asia both by land and by sea.\textsuperscript{242} While the fashion for imported glass in the northern part of China is evident from

\textsuperscript{236} It seems that glass began to be produced in China at least in the fifth century A.D.. However, most of the earlier Chinese glass artefacts are stratified glass eye beads of diminutive size, which show a strong indebtedness to Roman and Mesopotamian examples (see Sekai, vol.2, pp.250-1). The skill of glass blowing was finally introduced from the Islamic lands to China in the fifth century under Sui rule (see Jenyns and Watson [1965], p.119). For a summary of the glass industry in China, see Dohrenwend (1980-1981).


\textsuperscript{238} Moore (1998).


\textsuperscript{242} Hirth and Rockhill (1911), p.227-8. See also Song shi, ch.490, pp.14118-22.
archaeological finds, particularly those datable to the Liao period, the demand for glass must also have increased in the south, helped perhaps by frequent contacts with the Middle East through Muslim merchants who were settled in the coastal towns of southern China from the ninth century until Yuan times. Owing to the absence of undisputedly Song and Yuan examples of glassware, however, there is no way to trace the development of the art of glass in China from the twelfth to fourteenth century and to expand the discussion into its relationship with contemporary Iranian glassware.

In addition to insufficient documentation and research on Song and Yuan glassware, the discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian glass is hampered by the lack of decisive evidence for glass production in Iran between the Ilkhanid and the late Safavid periods. Even though the stylistic and technical development of Islamic glass as well as the historical and cultural circumstances of the glass industry in the Middle East have been studied in more detail in recent years, thanks to the growth of scholarly interest in Islamic glass, Iranian glass of the Mongol period tends to be eliminated from the main argument, owing to the scarcity of reliable examples. The finds retrieved from Takht-i Sulayman, now in Berlin, may be considered as potential material for the future study of Ilkhanid glassware. But so far

244 See Hardie (1998). According to Hardie, Mamluk glass came to China overland or overseas trade in the fourteenth century, but what is interesting is that it eventually found its way to Europe as ‘Chinese’ glass.
245 For Iranian glass, see Fukai (1973); Charleston (1989).
as published examples are concerned – typically greenish colourless glass with moulded decoration\textsuperscript{248} – their value as evidence for the impact of China is negligible.

These uncertainties about the art of glass in the Ilkhanid period suggest a decline in the glass industry in Iran at that time. Perhaps, while pottery and metalwork blossomed into established art forms under Mongol patronage, glass production was unable to regain its place in Iranian decorative arts after the devastation caused by the Mongol invasion. Glassware was no doubt in use in Iran at that time for both utilitarian and liturgical purposes, but imported glassware of Syrian and Egyptian provenance may have met most of the demand for glass vessels and furnishings in Ilkhanid Iran. Evidence to substantiate this assumption is the fact that glass objects, such as goblets and lamps, are often depicted in Ilkhanid painting,\textsuperscript{249} and some of these are identifiable in actual surviving Mamluk enamelled and gilded glassware.\textsuperscript{250} Hence, little positive evidence of Chinese association is found in Iranian glass throughout ages, in terms of both forms and decorative motifs; nor are any clues to provide a conspectus of the glass industry in Ilkhanid Iran available at present. The hope for further studies of the art of glass of Mongol Iran and its Chinese connections

\textsuperscript{248} See \textit{ibid.}, figs.11-12.
\textsuperscript{249} For example, see the Great Mongol Shahnama (Grabar and Blair [1980], nos.39, 56).
\textsuperscript{250} For example, see Carboni (2001), cat.nos.85, 99. Much can be said about Mamluk glass and its Chinese connections. Most key \textit{chinoiserie} motifs, for example lotuses, dragons and phoenixes, were brought to Mamluk glass workshops perhaps through Ilkhanid mediation (see Carboni and Whitehouse [2001], p.206), but Mamluk glass is also susceptible to the form of Chinese ceramics. The impact of Chinese celadon ware is clearly reflected in the use of dragon-like handles with pendant rings in a type of Mamluk vase (see Rogers [1998], p.72; Carboni and Whitehouse [2001], pp.265-6).
perhaps lies in the archaeological finds from the territory of the Golden Horde – though the study of the finds of the Golden Horde is only in its infancy and the inaccessibility of the Golden Horde material remains an obstacle to the clearer understanding of the whole picture of glass making in the wider Mongol empire.\textsuperscript{251}

There is room to argue about the difficulties in tracing a residue of the impact of China in Iranian glass. This can be associated with one principle of \textit{chinoiserie} – Chinese themes spread westwards thanks to the rarity of certain materials. Despite the rise of the glass industry, glass seems to have never been regarded as the highest art form in China, such as jade, lacquer and porcelain. The art of glass in China did not come fully into its own, for the supply of glassware was invariably dependent on Islamic and Western glass, namely glass of Mesopotamian and Iranian origin in medieval times and later that of Europe. Perhaps the potential of this material was not fully realised in China until early modern times. Unlike silk and porcelain, the westward export of glassware was probably not particularly encouraged in China. Even if some Chinese glassware reached West Asia, Iranian familiarity with glass as a material and perhaps the Iranian sense of superiority to Chinese glass products may have reduced an appreciation of shapes and motifs of Chinese glassware so that there was less incentive to adopt them in the other media of the decorative arts. Thus in these circumstances, no dramatic encounter or fruitful exchange of artistic ideas between Chinese and Iranian glass could be expected.

\textsuperscript{251} For example, see Fyodorov-Davydov (1984), pp.158-70; Kramarovsky (1998).
Wood-carving

The perishable nature of wood is one of the possible reasons for the lack of archaeological evidence for the popularity of Chinese wooden products in West Asia as well as for their impact on Iranian woodwork.\textsuperscript{252} Yet there seem to be more fundamental reasons for the Iranian unawareness of or disregard for the art of Chinese woodwork: to give one simple yet persuasive answer, wooden products were not a major export from China to Iran and may have been intended mainly for domestic use, as indicated by the difficulties in tracing the foreign trade of Chinese wooden products.\textsuperscript{253} Wood has been in great demand in China since ancient times as a chief material for architecture and furniture as well as objects for burial and religious use, such as vessels and sculptures.\textsuperscript{254} Even though more easily obtainable wooden products, for example stationery, began to be made on a large scale in accordance with the development of Chinese material culture and the growth of scholarly tradition, particularly in the Ming and Qing periods,\textsuperscript{255} very few indications of the impact of Chinese woodwork can be found in Iranian woodwork or other media. What is more probable is that, although Iranians may have encountered Chinese wooden objects at some

\textsuperscript{252} For a survey of Iranian woodwork, see Survey, pp.2607-67; Mayer (1958); Wolff (1966), pp.74-101; Golmohammadi (1989); Pourjavady (ed.)(2001), vol.3, pp.210-3.

\textsuperscript{253} In the case of Tang China, it seems that the import of foreign wood was more active than the export of Chinese wood; it became fashionable among Tang nobles to have objects made from imported wood (see Shafer [1963], pp.133-8).

\textsuperscript{254} For the use of wood in Chinese architecture in general, see Fu et al. (2002), pp.7-8. For Chinese wood-carving, see 'China: wood-carving' in DA, pp.138-42.

\textsuperscript{255} See Li and Watt (eds.)(1987).
point in the course of the Sino-Iranian trade and have even been aware of their fine quality, they were never appreciated as much as their own; rather, the art of Chinese wood-carving could have been recognised by Iranians mainly in association with lacquer, a topic which will be addressed in the following section. In a more general context, the lack of specific Chinese models in wood for Ilkhanid woodwork is not an insuperable problem, because the ability of motifs to travel from one medium to another was already well established at this time.

Though small in number, some Ilkhanid examples of certain types of furnishing which were incorporated into mosques, such as minbars, maqsuras, sanduqs and doors, have survived in a good state of preservation. Curatola has cast light on a group of cenotaphs as a proof of the evolution of wood-carving in the region of Sultaniyya during the reign of Uljaitu.256 The materials discussed in this study are sufficient to demonstrate the continuation of superb craftsmanship, both technically and artistically, in Iranian wood-carving in the Mongol period. Yet little evidence for the use of distinctive Chinese-inspired motifs has been found in these examples. The ornamentation found here is essentially geometric.257

256 See Curatola (1987). The main examples discussed in this study are a carved wooden sanduq in the Imamzada at Qaydar; a sanduq and doors in the Imamzada Qasim at Qaraqush; and a sanduq in the Imamzada of Sayyids Muhammad and Ja'far at Sujas.

257 The decoration used in the sanduq in the Imamzada at Qaydar (Curatola [1987], figs.1-10) is, for example, composed of several star- or polygon-shaped units, each of which is filled with stylised scroll patterns or inscriptions. The same decorative element can be seen in the simplified minbar depicted in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (f.61v; see Soucek [1975], fig.1), suggesting that there was an established style of wood-carving in north-west Iran of the early fourteenth century. The doors in the Imamzada Qasim at Qaraqush (see Curatola [1987], fig.12) vary their ornamentation. The doors are more elaborately
Surviving examples from central Iran, for example the minbar in the Masjid-i Jami of Na’in (1311), are distinct from those found in northern Iran in the way which the carvers explored the design potential of floral patterns. Yet it is difficult to construct a theory of chinoiserie merely from this phenomenon, for the patterns cannot be identified with confidence as typical Chinese-inspired floral motifs, such as lotuses or peonies. Even though the insertions of non-geometric elements into the ornamentation of the Na’in minbar are effective in reducing the rigidity of the traditional star-and-polygon decoration, this is inadequate drastically to deconstruct the prevailing sense of geometry. The decoration of the minbar keeps rich floriated arabesques in the control of star or polygonal frames.

Thus, surviving examples of Ilkhanid wooden furnishings illustrate aspects of the conservativeness of ornamentation in Iranian woodwork at that time. As for wooden fittings in general, the wooden doors depicted in the illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama give useful evidence. While most of the doors in the Great Mongol Shahnama are undecorated or decorated with stale geometric or arabesque patterns, the doors represented patterned with eight-pointed stars and palmettes, echoing those seen in the doors in the mosque of the shrine of Bayazid Bistami at Bistam (1306-7; see Survey, pl.1463: Curatola [1987], p.99. See also a door in the Masjid-i ‘Ali at Qahrud, which is datable to the early fourteenth century, reproduced in Watson [1975], pls.VI-VIIa), though the decoration as a whole persists in forming a geometric composition.

See Smith (1938); Survey, pl.1464B: Curatola (1987), p.99. Contemporary to this example is a minbar in the Masjid-i Jum’a of Isfahan (see Smith [1938], figs.10,19: Curatola [1987], p.99).

See Grabar and Blair (1980), nos.6, 9, 10, 14-15, 17, 40, 43, 46, 50, 52 and 55-6. See also the doors depicted in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (Soucek [1975], figs.6, 9 and 18): the Freer Bal’ami (Fitzherbert [2001], pl.3, 19 and 33); and the Jami’ al-Tawarikh manuscripts (Rice [1976], E1, E29, E31, E36, E38, E54-E55 and E59; Blair [1995], K3 K20 and K27). Some doors found in these Ilkhanid paintings are painted in various colours, ranging from blue to red, while others are painted in brown, clearly intended to depict wooden doors. Chinese elements are, however, less pronounced on the decoration of these doors.
in the scenes of Ardashir contain chinoiserie motifs, namely an elaborate cloud collar (no.40) and lotus patterns (no.43). Since no actual examples of wooden doors with such designs are known to survive, doubts may remain as to whether these are mere pictorial devices invented by the painters. Yet judging by the authenticity of the depiction of costumes, textiles, carpets and metal objects in this manuscript, which has been suggested by some scholars,\textsuperscript{260} it may safely be assumed that the doors depicted in this manuscript also reflect to some extent the current fashion of Ilkhanid woodwork and its use of Chinese-inspired motifs.

The period following the disintegration of the Ilkhanid empire is a turning point in the history of wood-carving in Iran and Central Asia, for at this time woodwork underwent several stylistic revolutions. While a sense of geometry is still retained in decoration, as seen in a large Qur'an box in the Kuwait National Museum (1344),\textsuperscript{261} a rare survival which was made under the Chubanids, Chinese themes emerge in both fixed and portable wooden furnishings produced in Iran and Central Asia in the middle of the fourteenth century, perhaps owing to the increase in fresh information about the art of East Asia in the course of Timur's military campaign. The use of lotus patterns became more intensified in post-Ilkhanid woodwork produced in central Iran, as exemplified in the minbar in the Suryan Mosque, Fars

\textsuperscript{260} For textiles and costumes, see Kadoi (forthcoming A); for carpets, see Ettinghausen (1959), pp.99-105; for metalwork, see Melikian-Chirvani (1987), p.121.

\textsuperscript{261} See Jenkins (1983), p.110; Atil (ed.)(1990), pl.71; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.175. This example is intended to be placed in the mausoleum for eternity, an idea which is close to the Chinese custom of burying pieces of precious wood in tombs.
(Fig.Mis.4). This minbar, originally made to the order of Muzzafar al-Mulk in 1369, is now preserved in the Islamic Arts Museum, Tehran. Instead of re-using familiar geometric patterns, the surfaces of both sides of the minbar are densely patterned with elaborate lotus motifs. Compared with the lotus forms found in other media of fourteenth-century Iranian art, such as tiles, the motifs modelled by chisels are more impressive for their third-dimensionality. Though still framed by star- or polygonal-shaped units, this floral ornament shows a sense of fluidity and the desire to create organic rhythms.

A Qur'an stand in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig.Mis.5), dated 1359, and therefore in fact post-Ikhanid, was perhaps originally made for a madrasa, and is more illustrative of the influx of Chinese elements. The advance represented by this lectern lies not only in its masterly carving techniques but also in its well-constructed decorative schemes, a point which is made more evident by comparing this piece with earlier Qur'an stands, for example those made in Saljuq Anatolia. Floral motifs with Chinese traits, evoking peonies used in blue-and-white porcelain (e.g. Figs.C27, C31), are delicately fitted into the background, accompanying tendrils with an emphasis on their elastic movement. They are depicted in harmony with a cypress tree, which is flamboyantly framed by a cloud collar-shaped arch and elaborately carved inscriptions. Despite the

262 Figure Mis.4: Pourjavady (ed.)(2001), pp.216-7.
263 See Figures C15, C16, C18 and C19.
264 Figure Mis.5: Grube (1966), pl.76; Metropolitan Museum of Art (1987), pp.68-9: Lentz and Lowry (1989), cat.no.9: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.176.
265 One of Saljuq lecterns can be found in the collection of the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin (see Grube [1966], pl.47; Berlin [2001], pp.60-1).
uncertainty of its provenance (both Iran and Central Asia have been suggested),266 this is undoubtedly a key example which proves the existence of a highly sophisticated wood-making tradition in Iran and Central Asia prior to Timur's rise to power. The role of Iranian artists who were taken to the Timurid court, in this case presumably an Isfahani, was essential to the introduction of their own decorative vocabulary as well as chinoiserie motifs into the art of wood-carving in Transoxiana.267

Although the use of Chinese floral decoration was slow to appear, it clearly resulted in the advent of more naturalism into the repertoire of Iranian woodwork. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Iranian wood-carving seems to have laid the foundations for that full-scale adaptation of Chinese themes, including animals, which occurred in the subsequent century under Timurid rule.268

(3) Lacquer

It seems that Iranian artists were gradually familiarised with the use of the lacquer technique – the application of a series of layers of resin-like substance known as lac269 – as early as the twelfth century.270 However, the

266 This stand has customarily been attributed to Central Asia (for example Lentz and Lowry [1989], p.330). On the other hand, O’Kane has recently proposed its Iranian provenance (see Komaroff and Carboni [eds.] [2002], p.282).
267 Lentz and Lowry (1989), p.206. The master carver was Hasan ibn Sulayman, whose nisba, al-Iṣfahani, suggests his Isfahani origin (see ibid., p.330).
268 See ibid., pp.206-10.
269 The term ‘lacquer’ has been misused in the study of Islamic lacquerwork. For the re-definition of this term, see Fehérvári (1982); Watson (1982).
270 Two examples of pre-Timurid lacquerwork are known to survive: a wooden bowl discovered at Ribat-i Sharaf in north-east Iran (see Kiani [1982]); and a plate in the
active development of this varnishing technique can safely be traced back only to the late Timurid period, and it was only under subsequent dynasties that Iranian appreciation of lacquerwork as an art form became self-evident. \(^{271}\) Iranian 'lacquer' is fundamentally different from the technique exploited in China, which is based on the properties of the sap from a tree native to China, called the *Rhus vernicifera*, which was subsequently distributed throughout East and South-east Asia. While in China, and broadly East Asia, lacquer is traditionally used for the final treatment of painted wooden surfaces, Iranian lacquer means that the design is painted on the base of the object which is then coated with lacquer.\(^ {272}\) Therefore Chinese associations with the development of lacquer techniques in Iran remain tenuous; there has been no definitive evidence that Chinese lacquer techniques were familiar to Iranian artists.\(^ {273}\) Rather does it seem that the full-scale production of lacquered objects occurred in Iran only in recent centuries. Moreover, European fashion dictated many aspects of later Iranian lacquerware.\(^ {274}\) Yet much can be said about the availability of Chinese lacquerware in Mongol-ruled Iran and its importance as a major source for the influx of *chinoiserie* motifs across various media of Iranian art.

Lacquer has been venerated in China since early times, and like

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271 For example, the development of Timurid lacquer industry has often been discussed in relation to bookbinding (for example, see Aslanapa [1979]; Khalili et al.[1996], pp.16-18).


274 For example, see Diba (1989); Khalili et al. (1997).
bronzes and jade, it was initially designed for ritual and burial use.\textsuperscript{275} Both literary and archaeological evidence for the import of Chinese lacquerware into Iran remains unsubstantial, yet Iranian awareness of the art of Chinese lacquer can be verified by the occurrence of motifs which evoke those found in Chinese lacquer objects in Ilkhanid decorative arts. For example, as mentioned in the discussion on ceramics, Sultanabad ware often contains bird-and-flower motifs which bear a close resemblance to those found in Chinese decorative objects of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, particularly lacquerware of the Southern Song period (Fig. Mis.6). The motifs carved in lacquer, whose details are silhouetted against a radiant glow of vermilion-red, may well have become embedded in the minds of Iranian artists. The visual impression and texture created by Chinese lacquerware, which differ from that of other media more commonly associated with Iran, such as pottery and glass, were certainly new to Iranian artists. This suggests that, of the two types of Chinese lacquerwork, painted and carved, carved lacquerware was more influential in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iran, which corresponds to the period of change in Chinese lacquerwork from monochrome to more intricate carved ware.\textsuperscript{276} The uniqueness and unfamiliarity of lacquered objects brought from China may thus have stimulated Iranian interest in adapting motifs often used in Chinese lacquerware for a wide range of pictorial and decorative arts, perhaps including their own lacquer objects.\textsuperscript{277}

\textsuperscript{276} Garner (1979), pp. 63-121.
\textsuperscript{277} For a further discussion of Chinese lacquer and Islamic design, see Crowe (1996).
Additionally, despite the lack of archaeological evidence, the availability of Chinese lacquered furniture in fourteenth-century Iran can be attested by pictorial evidence, especially miniature painting produced in the early fourteenth century. Examples are readily to be found in the enthronement scenes of the Jami' al-Tawarikh, where thrones and footstools are depicted as heavily or partly lacquered in red.\textsuperscript{278} These are evocative of those found in Song imperial portraits.\textsuperscript{279} The catalyst for introducing Chinese lacquered furniture into West Asia remains, however, speculative. There are many gaps in the history of Chinese lacquered furniture from the Han to the Ming period.\textsuperscript{280} Yet the frequent occurrence of Chinese-related lacquered furnishings in Iranian painting is sufficient to deduce that Chinese lacquer somehow made its way westwards in the form of furniture. Fine pieces of lacquered furniture were presumably transported westwards from China by land or by sea, or perhaps Chinese craftsmen expert in lacquer techniques were employed in Ilkhanid workshops.

(4) Stone-carving

Despite the rarity of stone as a building material on the Iranian plateau, some important Mongol monuments with elaborate stone-carving

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See Fong and Watt (1966), pp.141-5.
\item For Chinese lacquered furniture, see Medley (1982); Watson (1982), p.238.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
decoration are known from Azerbaijan, such as the dressed stone façade of the Masjid-i Jami' at Asnaq,\textsuperscript{281} and stonework can thus be included in the discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian art under Mongol rule. An unequivocal proof for this is the so-called Viar dragon (Fig. Mis.7),\textsuperscript{282} a remarkable fragment of sculpture which was incorporated into a Buddhist monument built into a rocky complex in the region of Sultaniyya during the Ilkhanid period. This dragon is visibly derived from some Far Eastern prototype: though surrounded by an oblong frame, a sense of liveliness in the dragon is created by the sinuous movement of its well-proportioned serpentine body, exhaling flames or clouds. Such a lifelike dragon is distinct from Islamic-type dragons, which are characterised by their stillness and symmetrical arrangement.\textsuperscript{283} The religious context of this monument suggests that Chinese dragon conventions, including those brought by Buddhist monks, were certainly available in north-west Iran. As with the tiles found in Takht-i Sulayman, the dragon motifs used in Chinese or Central Asian textiles are most likely to have provided a model for the Viar dragon.\textsuperscript{284} The accuracy of the depiction of the dragon's body and the detail of its face also points to the involvement of artists who were conversant with the iconography of the dragon in the Chinese tradition, for example the dragons carved in relief which were often incorporated into imperial

\textsuperscript{281} For this monument, see O'Kane (1979). According to Wilber, some ten Ilkhanid monuments which display the use of stone are known to survive. Except for the shrine in the court of the Masjid-i Jami' at Shiraz (1315), all are located in Azerbaijan (see Wilber [1955], pp. 51-2, 89).

\textsuperscript{282} Figure Mis.7: Scarcia (1975); Curatola (1982).

\textsuperscript{283} See p. 197ff.

\textsuperscript{284} For example, see Figure T7.
buildings (Fig. Mis. 8).  

Some additional information about the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship can be gleaned from tombstones or cenotaphs in China and Mongolia. The incorporation of Chinese elements was already visible in the relief carving on Muslim tombstones found in mosques of the Song dynasty, particularly those which were built in Quanzhou. This demonstrates that Muslims resident in southern China of the period were not hesitant about the use of Chinese-inspired motifs, such as clouds and lotuses, on their tombstones, together with Arabic or Persian inscriptions; they were at least familiar with such motifs. This tempts one to speculate about the introduction of Chinese stone-carving traditions to West Asia through Muslim merchants, yet there has so far been no decisive evidence to prove the actual diffusion and acceptance of such tombstones in Iran and the Islamic world before the fifteenth century. A cenotaph relevant to the present discussion has recently been discovered in Mongolia (Fig. Mis. 9), confirming the fact that the tradition was taken over by Muslims in Yuan China in the fourteenth century. This type of cenotaph – with its emphasis on profuse ornamentation and basic motifs developed from those seen on Song tombstones – may well have prevailed in northern China under

285 Figure Mis. 8: Rawson (1984), fig. 74. For dragons used in Chinese tombstones, see Rawson (1984), pp. 95-6.
287 For example, see ibid., figs. 88-2, 148, 152 and 154.
288 For example, see rare examples of the use of lotus motifs found in the gravestones of late-fourteenth century monuments at Yazd (e.g. the Shamsiya: see Afshar [1969], vol. 1, pl. 76.3).
289 Figure Mis. 9: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat. no. 205.
Mongol rule. Yet it remains unclear whether the specific decoration of Chinese relief-carving ever made its way to Mongol Iran. It was finally during the Timurid period that the increased availability of information about East Asian artistic traditions saw the assimilation of Chinese decorative repertoires into the tombstones of Iran and Central Asia.290

On the other hand, the extent to which Chinese stone-carving objects proper served to disseminate East Asian themes into Iranian decorative arts before the Timurid period remains uncertain. In this respect, a special question arises as to the connection between Iranian and Chinese jade. Jade – which is readily associated with China – has been highly prized in China as a most precious material since earliest times and was initially developed for ritual use.291 In the Middle East, however, as al-Biruni mentions in his treatise on mineralogy, jade seems to have been linked with the land of the Central Asian Turks rather than with China.292 The fact is that one of the chief sources for earlier Chinese jade was the Khotan area, and carved jade objects from this region were also sent to China as tribute until the end of the Tang period.293 Other literary evidence shows that ‘Chinese’ jade was known in the Islamic world at least from the early fourteenth century.294 However, this is not conclusive evidence for the production of jade vessels in

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291 Chinese jade has been well studied; in particular, see Rawson (1995).  
294 It is said that in 1303 a Syrian merchant arrived in Yemen from China, bringing with him vases of jade inlaid with gold (see Survey, p.206).
Iran, or for the role of imported Chinese jade before the Timurid period.\(^{295}\)

One can only assume that, even though jade objects were brought from China in the period before and after the Mongol invasion — a continuous tradition of jade-carving in the Song and Yuan periods can be proved by surviving examples, intended for ritual use and display, such as sculpture and jewellery\(^ {296}\) — Iranian interest in Chinese jade was insufficient to result in the establishment of its own tradition of jade-carving. Perhaps this was because of the unavailability of nephrite, or simply because Iranian artists were incapable of copying Chinese models in this intractable medium. What Chinese jade may have provided for Iranian artists was not an impulse to imitate Chinese jade itself but an inspiration to re-create the appearance of jade in pottery, as exemplified in those types of Saljuq and Ilkhanid ceramics with a special emphasis on translucency (Figs.C6, C22).

A jade dragon-head finial (Fig.Mis.10)\(^ {297}\) is an intriguing example which illustrates the richness of the jade-carving tradition in Yuan China. The actual impact of such jade dragon decoration on the architecture of Ilkhanid Iran is difficult to certify from extant Mongol monuments in Iran.\(^ {298}\) This piece was, however, judging by its relatively small size, installed as part of the edges used for decorating a throne or a chair rather than the roof of a building, and this kind of jade object may have served in

\(^{295}\) For Timurid jade, see Skelton (1972); Lentz and Lowry (1989), pp.221-6.

\(^{296}\) For later Chinese jade, see Rawson (1995), pp.321-412. For example, jade ornament (\textit{yutian}), which has already been mentioned in the discussion of the lotus (see n.196).

\(^{297}\) Figure Mis.10: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.206.

\(^{298}\) Similar dragon-shaped protomes, not made of jade but of stone, have been discovered in the territory of the Golden Horde (see Piotrovsky \textit{et al.} [2000], pp.208-9, nos.2-3). See also a related example from Yuan China, reproduced in Kessler (1993), fig.111: Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.204.
the Ilkhanid court mainly in the context of decoration for furniture. There is ample visual evidence for the prevalence of this type of decorative element in the thrones depicted in Ilkhanid painting.\textsuperscript{299}

Once again, the real point of departure for the discussion of \textit{chinoiserie} in Iranian jade is the Timurid period, when Iranian appreciation of Chinese jade reached its highest point.\textsuperscript{300} In that era, thanks to the background of indigenous Central Asian traditions of jade-carving, the art of jade-carving became an established genre in decorative arts of the Iranian world and played a key role in the evolution of Timurid taste.

6. Concluding remarks

In contrast to the cases of textiles and ceramics, the Chinese contribution to the development of metalwork in Iran is difficult to summarise succinctly, and the vagueness of this subject seems have hindered exploration in the scholarly literature. Yet clearly, metalwork provides manifold pointers to the artistic relationship between China and Iran under the Mongols. First, mirrors pose a number of problems concerning the process of adoption and adaptation of Chinese elements in Iranian art over several centuries. Second, Ilkhanid metalworkers were, like weavers and potters, susceptible to Chinese themes, including dragons, phoenixes, clouds and lotuses. Third, the importance of artefacts retrieved

\textsuperscript{299} For example, see the \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh} manuscripts (Rice [1976], E5, E16 and E18; Blair [1995], K23); the Istanbul Saray Album (Hazine 2152, f.61; Ipşiroğlu [1971], Abb.23).

\textsuperscript{300} For example, see Lentz and Lowry (1989), pp.221-5.
from the territory of the Golden Horde as evidence for the interaction of artistic ideas in the Chinese and Iranian cultural spheres needs fresh emphasis.

The lotus – that simple yet artistically expressive motif – is a good example of how a motif of Buddhist origin evolved during its passage westwards and of how it was revolutionaryised through Iranian interpretations during the Mongol period. Of particular interest is that the decorative potential of this motif was quickly digested by Ilkhanid artists, and it is even possible that – though this cannot yet be proved – the lotus began to be seen through the prism of Shi‘ism.

Other media of decorative arts, such as glass, wood, lacquer and stone, reflect a variable history of chinoiserie in Iranian art, demonstrating the fact that Iranian artists extended their field of adoption of Chinese themes beyond textiles, ceramics and metalware. Indeed, these four media provide an alternative theory of chinoiserie in Iranian art. They serve to enrich the decorative vocabulary of Iran under the Mongols, sometimes in a unique way.
CHAPTER IV

MINIATURE PAINTING (1)

1. Introduction

There is general agreement among Islamic art historians about the Chinese contributions to the development of Iranian painting, notably to the establishment of the style of the Mongol school. *Chinoiserie* in Iranian painting was first brought to light by French scholars at the beginning of the last century,¹ at a time of increased scholarly interest in both Islamic and Chinese pictorial arts in the West.² This Chinese connection seems to have become widely accepted by the 1950s, but some of the earliest remarks on Chinese elements in Iranian painting were tentative and seemed to suggest that this phenomenon was a mere reflection of exoticism in Iran. Gray's attempts to discern the characteristics of Iranian *chinoiserie* offered a new approach to this subject.³ By the 1970s, 'China' became a key word for studies in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian painting.⁴

Nevertheless, a satisfactory and comprehensive overall view of

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¹ For example, de Lorey (1935).
² Two international exhibitions held in London in the 1930s, namely the *Exhibition of Persian Art* (Burlington House, 1931) and the *Exhibition of Chinese Art* (Royal Academy of Arts, 1935-6), were of importance as the turning-point in the establishment of both Islamic and Chinese art studies in the West. For these exhibitions, see *BWG*: Ashton (ed.) (1935); Royal Academy of Arts (1935-1936).
³ See, for example, Gray (1963); *idem* (1972B); *idem* (1981).
⁴ This point has already been discussed in the Introduction (see pp.7-8).
Chinese elements in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian painting is still lacking. Several intricate aspects of this issue make it difficult to assess the exact course of the introduction of Chinese pictorial arts into Iran.

First, the multiple borrowings of motifs and techniques of Far Eastern origin seem to have been taken from not one Chinese source but from various ones. Handscroll painting was not the only medium for conveying Chinese pictorial traditions to Iran. More likely sources should be sought in other media of the pictorial arts beyond the category of fine arts — for example in maps and medical books. In addition, since some distinctive motifs derived from Chinese decorative arts often occur in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Iranian painting, one should, at some point, recall the patterns of the adoption and adaptation of Chinese themes in Iranian textiles, ceramics and metalwork which have already been discussed at length in the preceding chapters.

Secondly, comparisons between Iranian and Chinese painting have tended to be made on the basis of only scanty knowledge of Chinese painting. This was partly due to the lack of archaeological and literary evidence for the arrival of Chinese painting in Iran; the question whether Chinese painters were active in Ilkhanid ateliers has never been answered satisfactorily. Yet because copying and imitating the works of masters was the preferred Chinese way of learning and creating paintings, it is, to some extent, possible to generalise about the forms of Chinese painting over a
period of several hundred years.5

Thirdly, the long scholarly neglect of Chinese painting under the Mongols and other non-Han tribes was a major obstacle to a clear understanding of the artistic relationship between Iran and China. Re-evaluation of Liao, Jin and Yuan painting, which has made great strides over the last few decades,6 has helped to identify Chinese sources more precisely and to characterise more clearly each Chinese theme in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian painting.

The following three chapters address the early development of chinoiserie in Iranian painting until the 1330s, namely before the Great Mongol Shahnama (c.1335), when Iranian painters began to take a different approach to Chinese pictorial traditions. Since the early fourteenth century was a productive period in Iranian painting, relevant examples available are so numerous that there is the risk of making the chapters merely a summary of early fourteenth-century Iranian painting. Thus in order to form a clear picture of the absorption of Chinese motifs and pictorial techniques into Iranian painting, a more restricted discussion is essential. The main thrust of the three chapters on miniature painting is focused on the Ilkhanid painting which flourished in North-west Iran, but some works of the Isfahan school are also dealt with, for one of the foremost interests in the chapters on miniature painting lies in the provincial differences in the

6 For Liao mural painting, see Johnson (1983); Rorex (1984); Tsao (2000); Beijing (2002), pp.113-7, 196-7. For Jin painting, see Bush (1965); Laing (1988-1989). The standard work on Yuan painting is Cahill (1976). The exhibition, Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), held in 1968, was a pioneer event which caused the re-evaluation of
quality of chinoiserie between North-west and central Iran. It is unfortunate that there is no space for an extended discussion of late fourteenth-century Iranian painting, but it is hoped that the present study will provide some clues to an understanding of the stylistic impact of Chinese painting in the Demotte Shahnama, will encourage the exploration of hitherto unexamined Chinese connections in the development of Jalayirid and Muzaffarid painting, and will lead to a re-consideration of the Chinese elements in early Timurid painting.

2. The Iranian encounter with Far Eastern pictorial traditions

Very little is known about Iranian painting before the eleventh century. The general supposition is that its early development owed much to Sasanian pictorial traditions,7 and that Manichaean painting exerted an influence over Iranian pictorial concepts during their formative period.8 There seem to have been continuous artistic contacts between Iran and Central Asia from the early Islamic period onwards, which were brought to West Asia by the Uighurs, the Sogdians and later by the Saljuqs. While it remains a matter of speculation how far Chinese pictorial traditions were understood and influential in Iran before the eleventh century, the Chinese were already famed for their high pictorial skills in Iran and the Middle East. The so-called older preface to the Shahnama of Firdawsi, datable to the

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Yuan art (see Lee and Ho [1968]; Weider [1989], pp.37-59).

middle of the tenth century, yields information about the possible contribution of Chinese painters to the production of Iranian book painting during that period.\footnote{According to the older preface, one of the Samanid rulers, Nasr ibn Ahmad (931-42), ordered the poet Rudaqi to make a metrical version of the \textit{Kalila wa Dimna}, and this poem with illustrations by Chinese artists delighted the ruler (see Minorsky [1956], p.168). For further information, see also Atil (1981B), p.57; Cowen (1989A), p.3. Firdawsi incorporated the work of his predecessors, for example that of Daqiqi, with acknowledgements into his \textit{Shahnama} (see Warner and Warner [1905-1925], vol.1, pp.99, 109). The \textit{Shahnama} of Firdawsi was completed in the first decade of the eleventh century. For accounts of Chinese artists in contemporary Arabic treatises, see Lewis (1982), p.68. Pelliot has noted that Chinese painters, together with weavers and gold-and silver-smiths, were active in Kufa, the early capital of the 'Abbasid Caliphate (see Pelliot [1928]: Allsen [2001A], p.13).}

The art of painting must have been at a developmental stage in Iran under the domination of the Saljuq Turks, judging by the high quality of the figural decoration in contemporary ceramics and metalwork.\footnote{For the relationship between Saljuq ceramics and contemporary book painting, see Hillenbrand (1994).} The first substantial evidence for the arrival of artistic impact from China, or more broadly from the Far East, is found in the illustrations of the \textit{Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita} (‘The Book of Fixed Stars’) of al-Sufi in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (probably Fars, 1009-10: MS Marsh 144).\footnote{For a detailed study of this manuscript, see Carey [2001]. Except for this drawing technique, however, the London al-Sufi retains Arab pictorial traditions.} The illustrations are characterised by their fine drawing technique, recalling the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{pp.170-80: de Villard (1981).}
\item \textit{9} According to the older preface, one of the Samanid rulers, Nasr ibn Ahmad (931-42), ordered the poet Rudaqi to make a metrical version of the \textit{Kalila wa Dimna}, and this poem with illustrations by Chinese artists delighted the ruler (see Minorsky [1956], p.168). For further information, see also Atil (1981B), p.57; Cowen (1989A), p.3. Firdawsi incorporated the work of his predecessors, for example that of Daqiqi, with acknowledgements into his \textit{Shahnama} (see Warner and Warner [1905-1925], vol.1, pp.99, 109). The \textit{Shahnama} of Firdawsi was completed in the first decade of the eleventh century. For accounts of Chinese artists in contemporary Arabic treatises, see Lewis (1982), p.68. Pelliot has noted that Chinese painters, together with weavers and gold-and silver-smiths, were active in Kufa, the early capital of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate (see Pelliot [1928]: Allsen [2001A], p.13). For the relationship between Saljuq ceramics and contemporary book painting, see Hillenbrand (1994).}
\item \textit{10} For the relationship between Saljuq ceramics and contemporary book painting, see Hillenbrand (1994).
\item \textit{11} Marsh 144: Wellesz (1959), pp.1-26; \textit{cadem} (1965); \textit{AP}, pp.51-3; \textit{Hayward}, p.317, no.500; Brend (1994), pp.89-93. Soudavar has recently proposed the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the date of the manuscript (see Soudavar [1999], pp.262-4). However, his arguments deserve detailed consideration in the context of a close examination of the manuscript itself. See also the so-called 1125 Sufi manuscript (Baghdad, 1125: Sotheby’s [1998], lot.34). Similar Far Eastern-inspired linear drawings are to be found in an late thirteenth-century copy of the al-Sufi manuscript now in London (probably Maragha: Or.5323, BL; see Martin [1912], p.19, pls.35-39; Upton [1932-1933], p.180, fig.2; Wellesz [1959], pp.23-4, fig.75; Schroeder [1942], p.82; Huxley [1979], p.83; Carboni [1992], pl.48; for a detailed study of this manuscript, see Carey [2001]). Except for this drawing technique, however, the London al-Sufi retains Arab pictorial traditions.}
\end{itemize}
Chinese-style ink painting called baimiaohua. The art of drawing (rasm) was, as wall-paintings in the Umayyad palace Qusayr 'Amra show, already established in the Middle East during the early Islamic period, yet the subtle linear drawings of the al-Sufi manuscript are more likely to have been indebted to those used in figure painting of Chinese or Central Asian origin.

Furthermore, the Iranian reaction to Far Eastern themes is reflected in the details of costumes, particularly draperies and ribbons. Among draperies of the constellations, those of Andromeda's robe are conspicuous by their cloudlike rich folds (Fig.MP1). Here vermicular drapery folds are more elaborately depicted than the draperies of the well-known two dancers in 'Abbasid wall-painting discovered at Samarra. Rather, ninth- and tenth-century examples from Turfan appear to be more relevant counterparts. This type of drapery fold convention seems to have been familiar throughout Central Asia and was perhaps first introduced into China by the seventh century thanks to the cultural unification which

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12 The artistic value of ink painting had already been acknowledged in China since ancient times (see CP, p.11), but it was during the Tang dynasty that ink painting became an established genre in Chinese painting. Li Gonglin (c.1041-1106), one of the greatest painters of the Song dynasty, contributed to the reappraisal of Tang-style ink painting (for his works, see Barnhart [1993]).

13 See 'rasm', in EF (see Brend [1995]).

14 See Almagro et al. (1975), pp.152-9, 190-3, pls. IV-X, XLII-XLV. See also frescoes found in Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (Schlumberger [1946-1948]; AP, pp.35, 37).

15 For example, see Bussagli (1963), p.92. See also painter's sketches at Dunhuang (Fraser [1999]).

16 Figure MP1: Wellesz (1965), pl.14; Brend (1991), pp.84-5, pl.51; eadem, (1994), p.91, pl.92. See also other two illustrations of Andromeda, reproduced in Wellesz (1965), pls.12-13. Brend has also pointed out Andromeda's Chinese scholar-type tri-lobed cap (see Brend [1994], p.91, pl.93).

17 AP, p.191, fig.6.

18 For example, Yaldiz et al. (2000), p.275, pl.378.
occurred under Tang rule. It reached the Middle East by the eleventh century through Sogdian mediation. It is thus little wonder that there is a striking resemblance between the draperies of the constellations in Marsh 144 and those seen in seventh-century works of the famous Khotanese painter, Weichi Yiseng (Weichi the Younger), whose distinctive foreign style was highly regarded in the context of Tang exoticism (Fig. MP2).

Compared with draperies, representations of ribbons are less prominent in the Oxford al-Sufi manuscript. Yet the flying ribbons attached to Sagittarius’s turban (f.272), which are characterised by fluttering movement and gentle folds in the middle, are reminiscent of those used in Buddhist painting as found in Bezeklik (Fig. MP3). This suggests that this ribbon convention was introduced into Iran through Buddhist sources, such as hangings in Buddhist monuments or illustrations in Buddhist texts, though none of these have yet been found in Iran. Buddhism had already been introduced into Iran during the Sasanian period as a consequence of maritime trading with India, and it co-existed with Zoroastrianism until the arrival of Islam. In particular, the eastern provinces of Iran were strongly

19 The significance of Sogdian painting in the westward influence of drapery conventions has been discussed at length by Azarpay (see Azarpay [1981], pp.171-5).

20 Figure MP2: Sirén (1956), vol.1, pp.71-7; Bussagli (1963), pp.66-7; Roberts (1991), pp.18-25. I could not find any detailed studies of the development of clothing folds in Chinese painting at the time of writing this thesis, except for Wang’s brief discussion about the methods of painting clothing folds in China (see Wang [1995], pp.43-8). For Tang exoticism, see Schafer (1963).

21 Wellesz (1959), fig.14; Brend (1994), fig.87.

22 Figure MP3: Le Coq (1913), pl.37. For similar ribbons in Sogdian painting, see Azarpay (1981), p.169, pl.28. See also ribbons depicted in Dunhuang painting (Whitfield [1982], colour pls.1-4, 7, 9-10, 39 and 42-6).

23 For example, the Chehel-Khanéh caves at Zir Rah were known as a Buddhist cave in Sasanian Iran (see Ball [1976], pp.104-27). For Buddhism in pre-Islamic Iran, see CHI, vol.3 (2), pp.949-64.
influenced by Buddhism during the early Islamic period. A number of Buddhist sites have been discovered in Khorasan, for example at Merv. Perhaps, along with the westward spread of Buddhism, the norm of Far Eastern beauty was gradually incorporated into Iranian visual vocabulary, and the heavenly movement of ribbons was part of this. As will be seen later, the Iranian attachment to ribbons became increasingly stronger; in early fourteenth-century Iranian painting, ribbons appear not only to be attached to clothes but also to be used for decorating interior settings.

Some signs of artistic inspiration from the Far East are discernible in the *Varga va Gulshah* manuscript in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum (Hazine 841) (Fig. MP4), which is regarded as the only surviving illustrated manuscript that can safely be attributed to the Saljuq school. The manuscript is datable to the middle of the thirteenth century and was probably made in Anatolia or North-west Iran, for similar haloed figures can be identified in contemporary metalwork and *mina'i* wares produced in these areas. Its seventy-one miniatures also contain elements derived from contemporary Mesopotamian painting, in which stylised plants are decoratively arranged, recalling those seen in the works of the

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27 This has been pointed out by Titely (1983), p.15, fig.15. It has been suggested that the calligrapher who copied the *Varga va Gulshah*, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Muhammad of Khoy, is mentioned in a *waqf* dated 1251 of the Karatay madrasa at Konya (see O'Kane [2003], p.46, n.19).
thirteenth-century Mosul school. However, evidence for the impact of Far East pictorial traditions is to be found in the representations of faces, which consist of arched eyebrows and almond eyes set in a round face. This reflects the fashion for the Far Eastern type of face in Anatolia and North-west Iran of the period, where the so-called moon-face or mahruy was gradually associated with ideal beauty in the course of the spread of Buddhism and became highly regarded as bot-i mahruy (‘the moon-faced Buddha’). As Melikian-Chirvani has pointed out, this facial type was not based on the depictions of actual individuals in a realistic way but is more likely to have been developed within a religious context, perhaps, like ribbons, through Buddhist hangings and illustrations. Its archetypes were eventually idealised to suit Iranian aesthetics.

The date of the full-scale introduction of ‘Chinese’ pictorial arts into Iran nevertheless remains unclear. The preceding discussion has revealed that the introduction of Chinese pictorial traditions into Iran during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries was fragmentary, depending as it did on a few scraps of information about broadly ‘Far Eastern’ painting, which were mainly derived from Buddhist sources. Even the Mongol invasions of the 1220s did not so much cause a shift in Iranian pictorial

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28 For example, the Paris Kitab al-Diryaq (Book of Antidotes) (probably northern Iraq, 1199: Arabe 2964, BN), reproduced in AP, pp.84-5.

29 See Melikian-Chirvani (1972), pp.60-3. According to Melikian-Chirvani, the term bot often occurs in early Persian romances, such as the Varqa va Gulshah and Gurgani’s eleventh-century romance Vis u Ramin. For further information about the penetration of the Far Eastern type of beauty into Iranian aesthetics, see Esin (1979).

concepts as foster the integration of Chinese textile designs into Iranian decorative schemes.

The Iranian reception of Chinese artistic conventions took a new turn in the late thirteenth century, when both political and cultural contacts between Iran and China became intensified under Ghazan and Khubilai.\(^{31}\) Indications of chinoiserie can be recognised in the landscape depicted in book illustrations produced at the turn of the century in Baghdad – a city which still functioned as an important cultural centre in the Middle East even after its fall to the Mongols in 1258.\(^{32}\) Importantly, however, Iranian painters seem to have become familiar with Chinese landscape elements in the context not of Chinese pictorial arts but of the decorative arts, especially textiles. Images of flying birds amid a group of clouds seen in the double-page frontispiece of the *Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha* ('History of the World Conqueror') of 'Ala al-Din 'Ata Malik Juvaini dated 1290 (Suppl. per. 205, BN; Fig.MP5),\(^{33}\) for example, do no more than duplicate conventional animal-and-cloud patterns derived from Chinese textiles.\(^{34}\) Little effort is made to create a naturalistic background by a re-arrangement of clouds and birds more suitable for this scene. A notable improvement in the depiction of trees and flowers is observable in the *Marzubannama* of Sa'd al-Din al-Varavini (1299: M216, Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul),\(^{35}\) a

\(^{31}\) See Allsen (2001A), pp.31-4.


\(^{34}\) For example, see WSWG, nos.9, 60.

\(^{35}\) M216: Simpson (1979), pp.273-370; *eadem* (1982A), pp.94-115, figs.49-51. The manuscript has three miniatures. Chinese-inspired landscape elements can be seen in folios 2 and 7,
contemporary manuscript produced in Baghdad. In comparison with the landscape depicted in the *Varqa va Gulshah*, several improvements can be seen in the rendering of nature. Tree trunks are well-proportioned, and each flower is carefully modelled, perhaps under the inspiration of the flower themes that evolved in Chinese decorative arts of the Song period.36 On the whole, however, landscape representations remain out of harmony with figures: flowering trees merely function as pictorial supplements. From these examples, it is hard to ascertain exactly how Chinese pictorial traditions were introduced into late thirteenth-century Baghdad.

3. The growth of Iranian interest in landscape: the Morgan Bestiary

Re-examination of the illustrations of the *Manafi'-i Hayavan* of Ibn Bakhtishu' (New York, the Pierpont Morgan Library, M.500),37 known as the Morgan Bestiary, is a real starting point for understanding Chinese themes in Iranian painting. The manuscript contains 103 miniatures and was executed probably in 1297-98 or 1299-130038 at Maragha, the capital of the Mongol realm under Ghazan Khan. The style of the miniatures can be

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36 For example, see Figures T5, T10.
37 M.500: Martin (1912), pp.20-1, pls.21-6; Anet (1913), pp.224-31, 261, figs.1-6; Yohannan (1917), pp.381-9; de Lorey (1935), pp.27-9, pls. XIIa-c; Survey, p.1832, figs.819-20; Ettinghausen (1950) pls. 10-11, 40 (lower) and 48 (lower); Natural History (1958), pp. 558-67; *AP*, pp.134-7; *PP*, pp.20-3; Stewart (1967), pp.131-9; Grube (1968), p.22, pls.1.1-6; Brandenburg (1982), pp.120-5, pls.46-8; Hillenbrand (1990), pp.150-87; Carboni (1992), pp.434-40; Rice (1971), pp. 82-3, pls.31a-b; Grube (1978), pp.5-12, figs.1-3; Schmitz (1997), pp.9-24, figs.1-38; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.2.
38 For the discussion of the date of production, see Grube (1978), p.163, n.7, fig.1; Schmitz (1997), p.11.
divided into several groups based on the understanding of Chinese conventions, which varies according to each group. This section aims to discuss the miniatures of the following four distinctive groups: (I) folios 3v-20v; (II) folios 22-29; (III) folios 30-49v and (IV) folios 50-83, focusing on the development of landscape conventions and its Chinese connections.

Chinese impact on the first thirteen miniatures of the manuscript is rather limited. In these miniatures, the landscape is customarily composed of tufty grass, nodding flowers and delicate leafy trees, which are arranged decoratively to fill the empty space (Fig.MP6). Features of trees with birds sitting on the branch bear a great similarity to those seen in thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting (Fig.MP7). Similarly, representations of animals are based on the old traditions of depicting animals, namely those of the Kaiila wa Dimna, the most popular bestiary in the medieval Islamic world. More attention is paid to lifelike re-creation of animals, but their figures betray limited movements. On the whole, there is no real harmony between the landscape and the animals. In spite of stereotyped landscape elements, however, the two figures in the painting of

39 This classification is based on Schmitz (see Schmitz [1997], pp.12-15). Grube, on the other hand, has divided the miniatures into 10 groups and several sub-groups (see Grube [1978], pp.164-8). A number of miniatures that have been repainted in the nineteenth century (e.g. 3v, 6v, 23v, 25v, 36, 47v, 58v, 72v, 78 left, 78v, 84 and 84v) can be left out of this analysis.
40 Figure MP6: PP, pp.20-3.
41 Figure MP7: Martin (1912), pl.14; Arnold and Grohmann (1929), pl.33a; Survey, p.1830, fig. 812A; Brandenburg (1982), p.74, pl.23. Similar landscape conventions are to be found in the Kitab al-Diryaq, reproduced in AP, pp.84-5.
42 See Katila wa Dimna (probably Syria, c.1220; Arabe 3465, BN), reproduced in AP, pp.62-3. However, Ettinghausen has pinpointed Chinese associations with the depictions of a kargadan (rhinoceros; f.14v; see Ettinghausen [1950], pp.106-7).
Man and Woman (Fig.MP8) display some new features. While halos and round faces are reminiscent of thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting and even of mina‘i ware of the period, the robes are not typically Middle Eastern. In contrast with Byzantine-inspired clinging robes predominantly used in pre-Mongol painting, the rich folds of clothing here are more suggestive of Far Eastern artistic impact — for instance, similar loose robes can be seen in Buddhist painting, especially in that depicting the lohans (arhat in Sanscrit), which were popular imagery of the Southern Song period.

Stylistic innovations first became apparent in the depictions of two foxes (f.22) and later, where the landscape was rendered in a more naturalistic manner. Above all, the rendering of grass changed fundamentally. As the illustration of two boars (f.25) shows, each blade of grass is expressively depicted with quick strokes; the arrangement of tufty grass in receding lines is a clear difference to the single line of grass as depicted in the miniatures of the first group. This type

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43 Figure MS8: Grube (1966), pl.35; Du Ry (1970), p.202; Hillenbrand (1990), pp.155-6, fig.31; Schmitz (1997), p.17.
44 For example, see Figure MP7 and AP, p.91. For related mina‘i ware, see Survey, pl.653.
45 For example, see AP, pp.98-9.
46 See Fong (1992), pp.267-9, pl.75. However, as Hillenbrand has pointed out, India is a plausible source of this drapery convention (see Hillenbrand [1990], p.156, n.99). The same convention is used in robes on the miniature of Cain and Abel (f.6v: however, this is a modern miniature)(see Martin [1912], pl.21b; Survey, pl.820B; Schmitz [1997], fig.4) and the loose folds of skin on the painting of two elephants (f.13)(see AP, p.134: Hillenbrand [1990], fig.34; Schmitz [1997], fig.5).
47 For this illustration, see Schmitz (1997), p.18, fig.11: Carboni (1992), pl.41b.
48 Figure MP9: Schmitz (1997), p.19, fig.13.
of grass is called ‘Mongol grass’\(^{49}\) – a key element to understanding of the stylistic development in early fourteenth-century Iranian painting. Chinese contributions to the establishment of this grass convention are undeniable, for similar tapering brush-strokes and the way of showing distance can be traced back to several media of pictorial arts in China, ranging from wall-painting to woodblock prints (Figs. MP10-11).\(^{50}\) Increased information about Chinese landscape conventions in Ilkhanid Iran is also reflected in the representations of trees. The handling of the brush strokes is smooth and elegant. Fissures in the tree bark are also rendered in many different ways: in Figure MP9, for example, they are delicately drawn by using vertical black lines and are further accentuated by graded colour and ink washes. Such a subtle treatment of trees is distinctly different from the old conventions of depicting trees – in the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri, for instance, tree trunks were often divided into segments.\(^{51}\) Another possible Chinese impact can be seen in the distinctive root-like forms of the lower parts of the trees. Their arrangement is somewhat adjusted to compositional purposes, as if they were bridges between different ground levels, but the use of such pictorial devices is effective enough to suggest several distances. Trees were never depicted like this in pre-Mongol painting;\(^{52}\) such ideas would not have occurred without the knowledge of Chinese tree conventions (Fig. MP13). Additionally, the difference in size of the boars serves to create the impression of perspective. In due course a close association between the


\(^{50}\) Figure MP10: Sekai, vol.5, pl.63; Figure MP11: Chen and Ma (2000), vol.4, p.73.

\(^{51}\) See Figure MP24.
animals and the landscape became clear.

These technical advancements are all to be seen in the well-known illustration of the Mare Followed by a Stallion (f.28)(Fig.MP12). The landscape is compositionally simple, but the illustration clearly shows a good knowledge of Chinese landscape conventions. The technique of cutting the tree-top by the margins, and the sense of continuity from right to left by using only the head of the black stallion provide important visual evidence to confirm the echoes of Chinese painting in the handscroll format. As for the robust willow tree, it is possible to attribute such vigorous strokes to paintings of the Southern Song period, for example, that of Ma Hezhi (fl.c.1131-1162), as Canby has pointed out. However, contemporary Yuan painting, particularly Zhao Meng-fu's (1254-1322) horse painting, is an even more interesting and relevant example (Fig.MP13), which raises yet another question about the likelihood of the Chinese impact on the rendering of horses of this manuscript. One of the interesting points about the representations of grass in this illustration is the appearance of double

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52 For example, see AP, 122. See also Figures MP7, MP19 and MP24.
53 Figure MP12: PP, pp.21-3; Canby (1993), pp.28-29; Schmitz (1997), p.19.
55 Figure MP13: Sirén (1956), vol.4, p.21, pl.18. See also his Horses Drinking in the Autumn Woods (1312)(Palace Museum, Beijing), reproduced in Gugong, vol.1, pp.194-7, pl.78. For his horse painting, see Li (1968).
56 Horses were traditional subjects of Chinese painting, associated with the imperial heavens. Horse painting had been continuously produced since the Tang period, and it was an established genre during the Yuan period. It is assumed that the Mongols especially enjoyed horse paintings, associating with their nomadic heritage. For horse painting tradition, see Li (1968), pp.297-301; Xin et al. (1997), pp.78-9, 112-4; Weidner (1989), pp.38-9; Sung (2002). The fact that Zhao Meng-fu was famous for his horse painting may be related to his close association with the Mongols (Cahill [1976], p.38). On the other hand, the influence of thirteenth-century Arab horse depictions on this horse has been pointed out (Canby, [1993], p.29). See also a recent exhibition catalogue of the images of horses in Islamic art (Paris [2003]).
outlines on the grassy ground. This convention seems to have come about in the course of refining representations of the ground surface under the inspiration of monochrome ink tones used in Chinese painting; as will be seen later, the use of double outlines recurred in the miniatures of other groups and indeed persisted in later Ilkhanid painting.

The painter in charge of illustrations from folios 30 to 49\textsuperscript{57} was more enthusiastic in creating a new style by using Chinese conventions than any of the other painters of the manuscript, where other major landscape elements, such as clouds, rocks and water, were eventually introduced. Yet the major problem was how to accommodate these landscape elements derived from several different sources, ranging from pictorial to decorative arts, and to integrate their Chinese conventions into new stylistic concepts. The adoption of Chinese landscape conventions was thus still experimental and was not always successful.

In the illustration of two asses (f.31)(Fig.MP14),\textsuperscript{58} the tree and grass are rendered by apparently the same conventions as those used in the scene of the Mare. The texture of the gnarled tree trunks is recognised, but there is no proper balance in size between the tree branches and the peony-like flowers, recalling those seen in the double-page frontispiece of the Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha (Fig.MP5). The rendering of grass is in some ways distorted: in comparison with the careful approach to Chinese grass conventions of the

\textsuperscript{57} Group 3 according to Schmitz's classification (see p.170).

\textsuperscript{58} Figure MP14: Grube (1968), pl.1.4; Schmitz (1997), p.19, fig.16.
earlier group, in which Chinese-inspired tufty grass – the ‘Mongol grass’ – is punctuated with vigorous strokes,\(^5^9\) representations of grass here are more simple and repetitive; the same type of grass is to be found at regular intervals. Chinese elements are ultimately diluted in such clichéd grass representations. Presumably this is because the painter was dependent on the grass conventions which already prevailed in the Ilkhanid atelier rather than on his own observation of actual Chinese examples. Moreover, because the ground is divided into different areas of grass, which run parallel to each other, the space is strongly compartmentalised. Spatial recession is thus not recognised enough for verisimilitude. This results in the unnatural positioning of the animals. Similar spatial devices can be seen in a mural of the Jin period (Fig.MP15),\(^6^0\) though a sense of horizontality in the Jin example is reduced, thanks to the sketchy treatment of ground lines. In the illustration of two asses, double outlines are, again, intentionally used for the division of the grassy ground. They are further accentuated by a number of small circles, whose origin is something of a puzzle – perhaps they are intended to represent stones in case that they combine with the grass; or, the use of circular patterns could be an alternative way of shading the ground surface.

A group of clouds situated in the left corner of folio 31 is not unique to this illustration. In fact there is a growing fascination with the depictions of clouds for the following illustrations, where the painter explores a variety of

\(^5^9\) This point has already been discussed (see pp.178-9).

\(^6^0\) Figure MP15: ZMQ: Painting, 12, no.179. This mural also recalls one of the illustrations in the Divan of Sultan Ahmad (probably Baghdad, c.1400; F.1932.30-37, FGA), reproduced
cloud forms. For Iranian painters the use of clouds for pictorial arts must have been a great discovery – this enabled them not only to create outside scenes but also to fix compositional layouts in an easy yet more precise way. The clouds here are basically of Chinese ancestry, but some of them are considerably transformed through Iranian interpretations.61 The clouds can be classified into three types: the first type is of the clouds illustrated in folio 31 and are predominantly used in the rest of the miniatures of this group,62 which are evidently the lingzhi clouds. Distinctive features of mushroom-like heads linked with long wisps recall those used in contemporary Chinese textiles, such as the Vienna example (Fig.T21), whose Chinese connections have already been examined.63 Curiously enough, unlike clouds used in Chinese decorative arts, this type of cloud is often coiled around trees, transforming itself into a serpent-like creature. This may stem from Iranian misinterpretations and ignorance about Chinese cloud conventions used in both decorative and pictorial arts. Clouds have been equally important in Chinese painting both for secular and religious themes. In addition to enriching mountain scenery in landscape painting, they are significant as vehicles of immortality and as images of Heaven in Buddhist and Daoist pictorial traditions (Fig.MP16).64 The

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61 The significance of clouds in Iranian art has already been noted in Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.40-1.
62 See folios 32v (unpublished), 35 (Survey, pl.819a), 37 (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.32), 39v (Ettinghausen [1950], pl.11), 42 (Figure MP23), 42v (Schmitz [1997], fig.21), 44v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.38), 47 (Natural History [1958], p.561), 48v (Grube [1978], fig.3: Schmitz [1990], fig.22) and 49v (Shumitz [1997], fig.23).
63 See Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.43-4.
64 Figure MP16: ZMQ: Painting, 20, no.8. For the further information of Chinese Buddhist and Daoist painting, see Weidner (ed.) (1994); Fong (1997), pp.325-77.
second type is of the cumulus-like convoluted clouds as seen in the
illustration of a mule (f.30)(Fig.MP17). They often appear in almost
hidden in the top corner of the illustration, but both their size and position
are suitable for creating a naturalistic background. The diagonal
arrangement of clouds and a mass of rock, which is situated in the bottom
corner of the illustration, are compositionally effective in setting the image
at a wide angle. It is, however, difficult to compare this type of cloud with
the clouds represented in Chinese painting; they are perhaps derived from
Chinese decorative arts, though there is a great degree of modification.
The third type is of the fanciful clouds depicted in the upper right corner of
folio 35v (Fig.MP18) – whose Chinese sources can hardly be detected in
either painting or in the decorative arts. Here the central part of clouds is
decorated with radial patterns as well as some dots placed beside the
contours, betraying the poor capacity of Iranian painters for shading. These
clouds appear to be unimportant elements of the landscape; nor do they
carry any symbolic meanings. Thus, perhaps due to the lack of careful
supervision by the masters in the workshop, the choice of cloud types is
inconsistent in the miniatures of this group; moreover, different types of
cloud exist side by side (f.47).

The illustration of two asses provides information about the Iranian

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65 Figure MP17: Shumitz (1997), p.19, fig.15. See also folios 44v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.38) and 49v (Shumitz [1997], fig.23). This type of cloud is found in folio 27 (Grube [1978], fig.2).
66 For relevant clouds in Chinese textiles, see Figure T28.
67 Figure MP18: Hillenbrand (1990), p.156, fig.33. See also folio 32v (unpublished). Clouds in folio 33v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.42) may also belong to this group.
68 See Natural History (1958), p.561; Schmitz (1997), p.20. However, scudding clouds here are more likely later additions.
reaction to another feature of Chinese art, namely rock conventions.69 The features which differentiate the Manafi' rocks from those used in thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting (Fig.MP19)70 are that rocks are outlined in bold: they have Taihu rock-like holes and concavities.71 On the whole, rock modelling is visibly improved. Bunches of flowers or plants are often shown behind the rocks, evoking Zhao Meng-fu's rock painting (Fig.MP20).72 However, the painter clings to the use of double outlines to model rocks. Lichens on rock surfaces are depicted as patterns, and some additional lozenge-shaped decoration merely suggest lustrous surfaces.73 The rocks here are employed in enlivening the landscape setting, together with a flowering tree and clouds. Yet their compositional role is less prominent than the clouds found in Figure MP17; their position, which is close to clouds, is insufficient to convey spatiality. Among the rocks in this manuscript, representations of rocky crags in the illustration of two gazelles (f.36v)(Fig.MP21)74 must have posed a challenge for the painter. Of particular significance is that, even though there is no division of the ground, the rocky crags appear to stretch backwards, creating a sense of depth. Indications of vegetation around the contours are sufficient to suggest rocky

69 See also folios 30 (Figure MP17), 32v (unpublished), 35v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.33), 38 (unpublished), 39v (unpublished), 42 (Figure MP23) and 44v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.38). For Chinese rock conventions, see Cahill (1969).
70 Figure MP19: AP, pp.88-90; Brandenburg (1982), pl.29.
71 In China, Taihu rocks, taken from the Great Lake (Taihu), were especially admired for their fantastic shapes from the time of the Northern Song dynasty onwards. See Munakata (1991), p.61. For Taihu rocks depicted in Song painting, see Gugong, vol.1, no.32.
72 Figure MP20: Fong et al.(1984), pp.252-2, fig.10.
73 For example, same conventions are seen in folio 37 (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.40).
74 Figure MP21: Martin (1912), pl.24b; Blair and Bloom (1994), fig.31; Schmitz (1997), p.20.
crags in the distance. More importantly, the painting succeeds in showing an advanced compositional idea similar to the so-called 'high distance' – one of the Chinese ways of representing perspective developed in the Northern Song period. The highest background peak is in striking contrast to those rendered in the Northern Song manner, for example that of Fan Kuan (c.960-c.1030)(Fig.MP22).

In comparison with other landscape elements, representations of water are not entirely bereft of Mesopotamian water conventions. As seen in the illustration of a buffalo (f.42)(Fig.MP23), water movement is expressed by obscure wavy lines, as in Maqamat water conventions (Fig.MP24). Representations of spray and water ripples do not follow Chinese water conventions, for example those evolved by Song painters (Fig.MP25). The water in this case appears to be misplaced alongside the other Chinese-inspired landscape elements.

The painter of the last group (folios 50-83) is equally familiar with Chinese art traditions, but his approach to Chinese conventions is clearly different from that of the earlier painters. In a number of unpublished small miniatures from folio 50 onwards, the painter characteristically pays more

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75 See Fong et al. (1984), p.21. Guo Xi (after 1000·c.1090) played an important part in the development of the idea: in landscape painting, mountains and rocks are carefully arranged in order to convey the impression of perspective in height, level and depth. For his treatise, the Lingquan gaozhi ('The Lofty Ambition in Forests and Streams')(c.1080), see Bush and Shih (1985), pp.141-2,150-4.
76 Figure MP22: CP, p.33.
77 Figure MP23: Schmitz (1997), p.20, fig.20. See also folio 48v (Grube [1978], fig.3; Schmitz [1997], fig.22).
78 Figure MP24: AP, pp.122-4.
79 Figure MP25: Sekai, vol.6, p.356, pls.12-23.
attention to the details of animals and creatures. This reflects not only the tradition of Arabic scientific treatises which was taken over by Iranian scientists but also the growth of cosmographical and encyclopaedic interest in Iran under the patronage of Ghazan for scientific activities around his capital Maragha. In terms of chinoiserie, there is an interesting parallel between these detailed drawings with scientific accuracy and the illustrations in Chinese pharmacological treatises, some of which were certainly brought to Iran and were translated into Persian during the Mongol period. The history of Chinese medical texts can be traced back to the Northern Song period, when an increasing interest in the natural world led to the compilation of major medical texts classifying plants and creatures. Tang Shenwei’s (1012-1067) Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao (‘The Revised Pharmacopoeia of the Zhenghe Era’) published in 1116 was among the most popular texts of this kind (Fig.MP26) and had been extensively reprinted by the Yuan period.

The landscape in this group is rendered in basically the same way as

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80 For example, a cosmography entitled ‘Aja’ib al-Makhluqat was written by al-Qazwini after his retirement at the fall of Baghdad in 1258. The manuscript will be referred to hereafter in this chapter.

81 See CHI, vol. 5, pp.396-7, 673. For the famous observatory at Maragha set up by Nasir al-Din Tusi under the patronage of Hulagu, see Wilber (1955), p.107, fig.5: CHI, vol.5, p.672; Vardjavand (1979). In Yuan China, astronomical and scientific activities were greatly encouraged during the reign of Khubilai. He patronised Iranian astronomers and finally established the Institute of Muslim Astronomy (Huihui sitianqian) in 1271 (see Rossabi [1988], pp.125-6).


84 Soucek (1979), p.91.
that of the second group. However, advanced compositional ideas can be seen in the illustration of a rooster (f.63)(Fig.MP27),\(^{85}\) where, instead of grass, trees play an intrinsic part in suggesting distances. In addition, there is a great similarity between an atmospheric picture of a *kalagh* (a type of Asian crow)(f.59v)(Fig.MP28)\(^{86}\) and a painting of the Southern Song period (Fig.MP29),\(^{87}\) revealing that the painter’s knowledge of Chinese tree conventions seem to have ranged from not only landscape painting but also bird-and-flower painting, all of which were already established genres in the Song period.\(^{88}\) Of representations of grass, although there is retention of double outlines and adherence to the division of the ground, they become more diversified and so accurate that the grass species is identifiable: for example, a bank of reeds can be found in some small paintings (f.76).\(^{89}\) On the other hand, clouds and rocks play a negligible role in landscape settings in the miniatures of this group, both of which are rendered in ready-made formulas: the *lingzhi* clouds are always used in outdoor scenes containing birds, mostly a group of flying birds (f.62v).\(^{90}\) The use of Chinese-inspired rocks is confined to lone-bird scenes (Fig.MP30).\(^{91}\)

\(^{85}\) Figure MP27: Schmitz (1997), p.22, fig.30.
\(^{86}\) Figure MP28: Martin (1912), pl.26a; Schmitz (1997), p.22.
\(^{87}\) Figure MP29: Xin *et al.* (1997), p.129, pl.122.
\(^{88}\) For the development of bird-and-flower painting, see *CP*, pp.67-77. As a motif, bird-and-flower decoration was widely adapted to various media in the decorative arts of China throughout the ages (for example, see Figures T29, Mis.6). For further discussion, see Chen (2000). As for Iranian imitations of Chinese bird-and-flower decoration, see the discussion of Sultanabad wares in Chapter 2: Ceramics (pp.89-93).
\(^{89}\) See Schmitz (1997), p. 23 (unpublished). See also folios 53 (Schmitz [1997], fig.25; Natural History [1958], p.565), 72 (unpublished) and 76v (unpublished).
\(^{91}\) Figure MP30: Schmitz (1997), p.22 (unpublished). See also folios 55v (unpublished), 56 (Martin [1912], pl.26c) and 59 (Schmitz [1997], fig.29).
Water conventions vary from painting to painting. While some illustrations retain Mesopotamian water conventions (Fig.MP31), in which water movement is expressed by strong scroll and zigzag lines, more decorative representations of water are to be found in folio 69v (Fig.MP30) and other miniatures of this group. The origin of such ornamental patterns remains uncertain. The patterns, which can be called ‘imbricated’ or ‘segmental’ wave patterns, seem to have been rooted in pre-Islamic Iran. Similar patterns are used to suggest water in Sasanian silverware, yet information about their later development in Iranian art is relatively limited. The patterns are more reminiscent of the so-called shuicang (literally ‘blue water’) patterns in Chinese ornament. The use of ornamental water patterns is uncommon in textiles of the Song and Yuan periods, but the patterns often appear in Yuan blue-and-white porcelain (Fig.C28). In Chinese pictorial arts, although not fine art proper, the use of similar patterning is recognised in illustrations for Buddhist texts (Fig.MP16) and maps of the Song and early Yuan periods, where rivers and lakes are often filled by geometric wave patterns (Fig.MP32). One can thus deduce that the frequent use of distinctive water patterns in Chinese ceramics and

92 Figure MP31: Schmitz (1997), p. 22, fig.31. For Mesopotamian counterparts, see Folsach (2001), no.22.
93 See also folios 75 (unpublished), 76v (unpublished) and 78v (Schmitz [1997], fig.36).
94 For example, see Survey, pls.217, 225A and 232A-B.
95 The patterns are often referred in books and dictionaries on Chinese art. However, as far as I know, no articles have ever been devoted to the study of their development.
96 For other examples, see Pope (1970), pl.B.4. Similar water patterns are to be seen in Song ceramic designs (see Virgin [1979], pls.54 j-k).
97 Figure MP32: Sekai, vol.6, p.466. For Chinese maps of these periods, see Cao et al. (1990). Similar water patterns can be found in Song and Yuan painting, but only a limited extent (for example, see Xin et al. [1997], fig.142).
woodblock prints may have encouraged Ilkhanid painters to adapt such patterns for the depiction of the river or the sea.

Ostensibly, chinoiserie adheres to an unforgettable image of a simurgh ('anqa)(f.55)(Fig.MP33), although this illustration reflects a mélange of old and new conventions. As regards the bird, it seems that its image derives not so much from actual descriptions of the animal in the text as from other iconographic sources – for instance, the Chinese feng huang or phoenix is one of the possible sources of inspiration for this simurgh. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Chinese phoenix was certainly known to Iran through the Mongols, and it played a vital role in the establishment of the visual concept of the simurgh in Iranian art. One should, however, notice that the bird here bears little resemblance to prototypical Chinese phoenixes, for example those used in contemporary Chinese textiles. Rather, similar features such as falcated tails are to be found in the rooster represented in the Varqa va Gulshah manuscript (Fig.MP4). Judging by the fact that the same conventions are used in Figure MP27, there seems to have been no particular attempts to distinguish 'anqa from other birds. A more interesting aspect of this painting can be seen in the way of visualising

98 Figure MP33: Grube (1966), p.36; Hillenbrand (1990), p.156, fig.37; Schmitz (1997), p.21, fig.26.
99 Stewart (1967), p.131. For further information about the simurgh and 'anqa, see 'simurgh', in EI (see Büchner [1934]); “ankā”, in EP (see Pellat [1960]); Baer (1965), pp.38-42; Schmidt (1980); ‘simurgh’, in EI (see de Blois [1997]).
100 Baer (1965), p.41.
101 For example, WSWG, nos.56, 60.
102 See Daneshvari (1986), pp.56-67. A similar rooster-like 'anqa occurs in the London Qazwini (f.122v, see Carboni [1988-1989], p.17, pl.VIIB; Schmitz [1990], fig.27; Carboni [1992], pp.257-8, pl.19).
inaccessible islands where the fabulous bird lives according to the text.\textsuperscript{103} The painter subtly avoids the difficulty of illustrating a water-surrounded island seen from above by using framing devices: here water is framed by vibrant curves decorated with rich grass and plants. Water is depicted by the old Mesopotamian conventions previously used in folio 65v (Fig.MP31), but new water conventions are blended into the lower parts.

The understanding of the conventions of the Morgan Bestiary is indispensable for recognising not only the process of the early adoption of Chinese conventions, but also the role of China in the formation of the style of the Mongol school. The rendering of landscape elements was markedly developed, and this was, to a large extent, indebted to the Chinese conventions used in both painting and decorative arts. In particular, Iranian familiarity with Chinese woodblock prints is self-evident.\textsuperscript{104} However, the adoption of Chinese conventions was, in most cases, still at an experimental stage: Chinese elements did not entirely displace old Mesopotamian conventions – perhaps the painters were unaware of the full repertoire of Chinese landscape conventions or did not yet fully understand the significance of landscape.

4. The age of experimentation

\textsuperscript{103} Stewart (1967), p.131.
\textsuperscript{104} For further discussion on the westward spread of Chinese paper making and printing technology, see Allsen (2001A), pp.176-85.
(1) The London Qazwini

An Arabic copy of the ‘Aja’ib al-Makhluqat (‘Wonders of Creation’) of al-Qazwini (Or. 14140, BL)\(^\text{105}\) provides another rich source of information about the development of Ilkhanid painting at the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. The so-called London Qazwini is, according to Carboni, most likely to have been executed in the years between 1295 and 1302/3 – just after the production of a complete copy of the ‘Aja’ib al-Makhluqat (Wasit, 1280) now in Munich (Cod. Ar.464, Staatsbibliothek)\(^\text{106}\) – and perhaps in Mosul under the patronage of the governor Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa (d.1302/3).\(^\text{107}\) A total of 368 miniatures in this manuscript display various influences derived from different artistic traditions; in particular, those of the northern Jazira and South-east Anatolia are prominent.\(^\text{108}\) The additional significance of the miniatures lies in their close relationship with the Morgan Bestiary,\(^\text{109}\) in which very similar landscape elements are to be found in the miniatures; to a certain extent, the Qazwin manuscript shares interests in Chinese landscape conventions with the Morgan codex. Furthermore, there are two new important pieces of visual evidence in this


\(^{106}\) For the Munich Qazwini, see AP, pp.138-9. There are three more related manuscripts: a fourteenth-century copy in Gotha (probably Shiraz, c.1330-40; MS.A1506, Forschungsbibliothek); a fragmentary copy sold at the Sotheby’s in 1990 (probably Syria, c.1350) and the so-called Sarre Qazwini (Diyarbakir, c.1400; F.1954.33-114 and 57.13, FGA; Spencer coll. MS. 45, New York Public Library). For each detailed reference, see Carboni (1992), Chapter 2, notes 4-6 and 8 respectively.

\(^{107}\) The provenance and commissioner of this manuscript have been discussed in detail by Carboni (1992), pp.523-39. Fitzherbert has discussed the association between Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa and the Freer Bal’am (see Fitzherbert [2001], pp.347-61).

\(^{108}\) For further discussion, see ibid., pp.447-90.
manuscript which links it to China – namely the dragon and the Mandarin square.

Since most landscape representations in the London Qazwini bear a striking resemblance to those seen in the Morgan Bestiary, whose Chinese connections have already been discussed enough, only the more important points will be mentioned. In the rendering of grass, the difference in quality and style indicates that, as in the Morgan manuscript, more than two painters with different artistic backgrounds were probably involved in the execution of the miniatures. The grass in this manuscript can be classified into three major types. The most common one is Type 1 (Fig. MP34 below) which consists simply of a range of short grass, sometimes with the addition of bunches of dark green plants. The grass of this type is placed frontally, but each tuft of grass is depicted more realistically than the kind which appears in thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting. This grass is rather reminiscent of that predominantly used in the first thirteen miniatures of the Morgan manuscript. Type 2 often appears in the illustrations of the Vegetable Kingdom (folios 77v-98v), where the grass functions as decoration rather than as a landscape element: the ground is

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109 This has already been pointed out: see ibid., pp.434-41; Schmitz (1997), pp.13-15.
110 This classification is based on that of Carboni (see Carboni [1992], pp.396-2). He has sub-divided Type 1 into other two types according to the degree of simplicity. The distribution of these three types of grass is uneven, which is not the case in the Morgan codex.
111 Figure MP34: Carboni (1992), pp. 98-100, pl.6. See also folios 100 (Carboni [1988-1989], pl.VIC), 100v (ibid., pl. VID), 101v (ibid., fig.1), 104 (ibid., fig.5), 109 (Schmitz [1997], fig.14), 112 (Carboni [1988-1989], fig.2) and 122 (ibid., pl.VIIIIB).
112 For example, see AP, pp.117, 119.
113 See Figures MP6, MP8.
filled with either distinctive spiralling grass (Fig.MP35 above and middle)\textsuperscript{114} or \textit{shuicang}-like patterned grass (Fig.MP35 below).\textsuperscript{115} The grass with \textit{shuicang} patterns is unique to the London Qazwini, which differs from the Morgan Bestiary in the respect that the patterns are not used for depicting grass. The first two types of grass thus remain the components of the vegetal foreground, where \textit{chinoiserie} is less apparent. Type 3 is, on the other hand, largely inspired by Chinese grass conventions, recalling those often seen in the Morgan Bestiary from folio 22 onwards.\textsuperscript{116} For example, the grass in folio 33 (Fig.MP36 above)\textsuperscript{117} serves to create a three-dimensional setting by using receding lines to suggest distance; the use of double outlines recurs, and some pebbles are also depicted. The source of inspiration for this grass convention can be traced back to Song and Yuan painting, but it is more likely that the painters here repeat a formula already known to the Ilkhanid atelier rather than observing actual Chinese examples. It is clear that representations of grass in the London Qazwini are closely associated with those used in the Morgan codex, demonstrating that these conventions for depicting grass had already spread throughout North-west Iran and Anatolia by the end of the thirteenth century.

The possible impact of the Morgan codex is also evident in

\textsuperscript{114} Figure MP35: Carboni (1992), pp.171-2, pl.12. See also folio 86v (ibid., p.176, cat. no.169). It seems likely that the spiralling grass convention was developed from the stylised grass band used in thirteenth-century Syriac manuscripts (e.g. Add. 7170, BL; Siriaco 559, BA; see Leroy [1964], figs.77-1, 77-4, 79-1) or Mosul school painting (e.g. the Vienna \textit{Kitab al-Diryaq}; see Nassar [1985], pp.92-3, fig.4). Similar spiralling grass can be seen in the Morgan manuscript, but only in one of the miniatures (f.65v; see Schmitz [1997], fig.31).

\textsuperscript{115} See also f.88v left (Carboni [1988-1989], pl.VIIC). For \textit{shuicang} patterns, see pp.182-3.

\textsuperscript{116} See Figures MP9, MP12.

\textsuperscript{117} Figure MP36: Carboni (1988-1989), fig.3; \textit{idem} (1992), pp.112-3, pl.7. See also folios 83, 88 (Carboni [1992], pls.30b-c).
representations of water. Depictions of the undulating swells in the scene of the River Nile (Fig.MP37)\textsuperscript{118} are comparable to those seen in folios 42 and 48v in the Morgan manuscript.\textsuperscript{119} Similarly, there is a close stylistic affinity between decorative water patterns used in the illustration of the strange creatures living in the China Sea (Fig.MP34) and those which occur in several illustrations of the last group in the Morgan manuscript.\textsuperscript{120} The choice between these two types of water remains vague. Seemingly, the former is used for the scenes which include human figures; the latter is used for those which combine water creatures. The question, however, arises as to the origin of the water which appears in folio 99 (Fig.MP38).\textsuperscript{121} The water here, while ostensibly developed from both of the aforementioned water conventions, is represented differently; its continuous and dynamic forms create a sense of fluid movement. It seems that these artistic improvements, including delicate depictions of water spray, are indebted to Chinese water conventions, presumably not so much to its decorative arts as to its pictorial arts, for similar representations of water are to be found in landscape as well as religious paintings (Fig.MP39)\textsuperscript{122} of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Although representations of trees in this manuscript are visibly influenced by the Morgan codex – for instance, striking features of

\textsuperscript{118} Figure MP37: Carboni (1988-1989), p.17, pl.VIIA; idem (1992), pp.147-8, pl.11.
\textsuperscript{119} Carboni (1992), p.438. For these miniatures, see Figure MP23; Schmitz (1997), figs. 22.
\textsuperscript{120} For the water patterns in the Morgan codex, see folios 69v (Carboni [1992], pl.43d), 75 (unpublished) and 78v (Schmitz [1997], fig.36).
\textsuperscript{121} Figure MP38: Carboni (1992), pp.214-5, pl.14.
\textsuperscript{122} Figure MP39: Sekai, vol.5, p.372, pl.77. See also Figure MP25. I could not find any relevant examples of water in Chinese textiles, ceramics, metalwork and lacquer.
Chinese-inspired root forms that extend into different grassy ground levels (Fig.MP36 above) resemble those often seen in the miniatures of the second and fourth groups in the Morgan manuscript\textsuperscript{123} – the London Qazwini takes a more quasi-scientific approach to the depictions of trees, thus echoing Arabic scientific treatises. This is because most trees in this manuscript are illustrated not for artistic but for more practical purposes (Fig.MP35). Though the rendering of trees is not accurate enough to be truly useful, for example to identify each tree species, the relationship between texts and illustrations became closer than that of thirteenth-century Arabic medical texts\textsuperscript{124}; each illustration is arranged to adjoin the texts, as seen in Song medical texts in typical formats (Fig.MP26).\textsuperscript{125}

Clouds seem to have caught the fancy of the painters of the London Qazwini, but only to a very limited extent. Clouds situated above the body of a sea-dragon (Fig.MP43)\textsuperscript{126} are, so far as one can recognise, the only relevant example of the adoption of Chinese clouds in this manuscript.\textsuperscript{127} They have a clear function, namely to accentuate the form of the dragon according to Chinese conventions. Their sources of inspiration are conceivably the same as those of the Morgan codex, namely the dragon-and-cloud motif often used in Chinese textiles, although, as will be examined, this sea-dragon itself is not entirely a Chinese prototype. While

\textsuperscript{123} See folios 60v (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.41), 61 (Natural History [1958], p.562) and 63 (Schmitz [1997], fig.30).

\textsuperscript{124} See AP, pp. 72-3.

\textsuperscript{125} The importance of this text has already been discussed (see p.187).

\textsuperscript{126} Figure MP43: Carboni (1992), p.131, pl.8.

\textsuperscript{127} Carboni has pointed out the appearance of clouds in folio 47 (see Carboni [1992], pl.29a). Judging by a poor reproduction of this picture, the painter seems to have intended to depict *ruyi*-type clouds.
clouds play a wide variety of roles in the Morgan Bestiary, no attempt is made to integrate clouds with landscape in the London Qazwini. The lack of attention to clouds is presumably attributable not to the ignorance of Chinese cloud conventions but to the nature of the text itself, which discourages redundant elements.

Among the animal representations in the London Qazwini, three images of dragons or snakes stand out. In the text Qazwini distinguishes the dragon, the sea-dragon and the snake, and describes their physical characteristics. However, these vivid images of dragons are more likely to have been derived from other iconographic sources, not only Islamic but also Chinese ones.

The dragon in folio 127 (Fig. MP40) deserves special attention in the present discussion – this is one of the first Chinese-type dragons to be fully adopted into Iranian painting. The dragon is characterised by its scaly twisted body, two legs with two-or three-clawed feet, impressive fins and a horned head, which is apparently not derived from an Anatolian prototype

128 There are five representations of dragons in the London Qazwini, but dragons in folios 33 (Fig. MP34) and 47 (Carboni [1992] pi.29a) are depicted so obviously as snakes that they can be left out of this analysis. For discussion about the dragons in the London Qazwini, see Carboni (1992), pp.495-7.
129 Ibid., pp.131, 269, 271, and Chapter 1, n.143.
130 Figure MP40: Ibid., p.269, pl.29b.
131 It should be noted that Chinese dragon themes are found in Armenian manuscripts produced in 1286 and 1287, namely the Gospel manuscript of 1287 (no.197, Matenadaran, Erevan; reproduced in Kouymjian [1986], fig.1) and the Gospel manuscript of 1286 (no.979, Matenadaran, Erevan; see ibid., figs.2, 3). Chinese-type dragons were known in Armenia perhaps through textile designs in the course of friendly relations between the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) and the Great Mongol empire (ibid., p.417, 449-51). For Armeno-Mongol relations, see Wolff and Hazard (eds.) (1969), pp.651-9.
but much more reminiscent of conventional Chinese dragons (*long*) although this type of dragon usually has four legs. Since this is among the most popular type of Chinese dragon depicted throughout the ages, its sources can be detected in several media of Chinese art: while Song ceramics and Liao metalwork (Fig.M21) are the ostensible sources of inspiration for this dragon, the distinctive feature of a band of the flame around the dragon’s body evokes thirteenth-century Chinese or Central Asian textiles. In addition, such meticulously detailed depictions of the flaming dragon with threatening gestures indicate a possible association with dragon paintings in China (Fig.MP41). This is evident if a comparison is made with earlier Iranian adoptions of the Chinese dragon derived predominantly from Chinese or Central Asian textiles, such as the dragon motifs used in earlier Ilkhanid textiles and the well-known dragon tiles found at Takht-i Sulayman (1270-1275). The Qazwini dragon may thus have relied on the more convincing and abundant information about Chinese dragon conventions which began to be available in the northern Jazira and south-eastern Anatolia by the end of the thirteenth

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132 For detailed discussion of the dragon in Chinese art, see Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.41-2.
133 Wirgin (1979), figs.11c-d.
134 Figure M21: Zhu (1998), pp.24-9, figs.4-6.
135 For example, see Figure T7. The flame is also a key *chinoiserie* element. As have already mentioned in the chapter on textiles, the dragon carrying the flames has a symbolic meaning in China. However, as the flame was known in Iran through conventional Chinese dragon motifs, its original significance was gradually lost; Iranian painters began to incorporate it into some other animals, for example the karg (e.g. the Freer Bal’ami, f.107, reproduced in Fitzherbert [2001], pl.14). I shall return to this point in the last chapter.
137 See Figure T16.
century. The debt to China is also shown in the dragons depicted in other contemporary Jaziran manuscripts, namely a five-clawed dragon in the Tarjama-yi Tarikh-i Tabari ('History of the Prophets and the Kings') of Bal'ami (probably Iraq or the Jazira, c.1300; F1959.16, 1947.19 and 1930.21, FGA – Fig.MP42).

As already noted, an image of the dragon-and-cloud on folio 48 (Fig. MP43) is initially of Chinese derivation. Interestingly, however, while the dragon's head follows the Chinese convention, showing a protruding tongue and curling proboscis, its body is replaced by one of Islamic type. This type of dragon in a looped form without clawed legs and dorsal or pectoral fins seems to have been ubiquitous in the northern Jazira and South-east Anatolia during the thirteenth century, as often seen in the stone reliefs of thirteenth-century Anatolia and in illustrated manuscripts produced in the Mosul area, for example the famous double frontispiece of the Paris Kitab al-Diryaq (probably Mosul, 1199; MS Arabe 2964, BL) and an image of the looped dragon accompanied by Chinese lingzhi clouds in the Freer Bal'ami (Fig.MP44). Similar observations can be made about the conspicuous knotted dragon on folio 128 (Fig.MP45). In spite of the use of

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138 See Figure C13.
139 See Gierlichs (1996), pp.28-40. See also Chapter 1: Textiles, p.34.
140 Figure MP43: Fitzherbert (2001), pp.107-10, 336-7, pl.7. A very similar dragon is found in the decoration of lustre tiles datable to the early fourteenth century (see Grube [1976], no.192). This dragon is undoubtedly of Chinese derivation. However, compared with the Morgan manuscript and the London Qazwini, Chinese artistic influence in the miniatures of the Freer Bal'ami is, on the whole, less apparent.
142 See Farès (1953), pp.29-33, pls. III-IV: Azarpay (1978). See also the looped dragon in the Oxford al-Sufi (Wellesz [1959], fig.20) and in the London al-Sufi (Huxley [1979], p.83).
143 Figure MP44: Fitzherbert (2001), pp.136-8, pl.16.
144 Figure MP45: Carboni (1992), p.271, pl.9.
the Chinese-type head, a serpentine knotted body dominates the image. The iconographic source of the knotted dragon can, again, as has been discussed at length by Carboni,\(^1\) be traced back to stone reliefs in Anatolia and the northern Jazira of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\(^2\)

What significance, then, do these complex images of dragons have? Intrinsically, they follow traditional Islamic dragon designs. The looped or knotted dragons here, according to their symbolic meanings in Islamic iconography, carry a certain astronomical significance, representing ecliptic dragons. In particular, the image of the knotted dragon must be associated with *al-Jawzahr*,\(^3\) an Islamic astronomical term indicating two lunar nodes. According to this, the pseudo-planet dragon is separated into two parts; 'head', implying the moon's orbit, and 'tail', suggesting the ecliptic. In order to convey such an astronomical significance, the knot is used as a connection between the head and the body. The two dragons in the London Qazwini are therefore more likely to be indigenous products, but reconfigured with the newly acquired Chinese dragon head. It is difficult to determine with certainty the motive behind the use of the Chinese-type

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\(^1\) Carboni (1992), pp.475-9. Otto-Dorn has pinpointed its Chinese origin (Otto-Dorn [1978-1979], pp.128-30), but, as far as I know, Chinese examples of the knotted dragon, for example those found in a T-shaped silk painting from Tomb no.1 at the Mawangdui (mid-2nd century B.C.; see Fu and Cen [eds.][1992], pp.18-21), are insufficient to demonstrate a Chinese contribution to the development of the knotted dragon in Islamic art.


\(^3\) Carboni (1992), p.477. For further discussion about the dragon in Islamic iconography, see Hartner (1938), pp.135-44; Curatola (1989), pp.45-81; Gierlichs (1993), pp.10-17. In the study of the Paris *Kitab al-Diryaq*, Farès has pointed out talismanic, magical and therapeutic significances of the knotted dragon in Islamic iconography, as seen in a number of monumental Saljuq architecture, for example, the city gate at Sinjar (c.1300) and the Talisman gate at Baghdad (c.1220)(see Farès [1953], p.32).

\(^4\) See Hartner (1938), pp.131-4: 'al-Djawzahar', in *EI* (Hartner [1965]).
head, but its effect is clear. It serves to isolate the head from the body, emphasising this intrinsic astronomical idea.

The preceding discussion of the London Qazwini has revealed that the end of the thirteenth century was a transitional period in the establishment of dragon conventions in Ilkhanid painting, a time when conventional Islamic dragons and newly-acquired features from Chinese dragons intermingled. The unmistakable Anatolian and Jaziran elements permeate Qazwini dragons enough to justify the current attribution this manuscript to Mosul. Yet of more note here is that some painters, fascinated by the head parts of Chinese dragons, attempt to integrate the head into traditional Islamic dragon design; others must have had a far-reaching knowledge of Chinese dragon conventions.

Lastly, there are a few words to be said about square-shaped chest accessories which can be identified on the robes of a haloed female dancer and two musicians on folio 63v (Fig.MP46).149 They are the so-called Mandarin square150 — insignia badges called *bu zi* ('garment patch') in China. Both early literary and archaeological evidence of this peculiar costume is surprisingly limited: the Mandarin square is unlikely to be of ancient Chinese origin but is most probably of Uighur derivation.151 The square was introduced into China through the Mongols by the early fourteenth century, judging from the earliest depictions of Mongol nobles wearing decorative

149 Figure MP46: Carboni (1992), pp.148-9, pl.10.
150 For the Mandarin square, see Cammann (1944); Garrett (1990).
151 For example, similar square-shaped chest decoration is found in tenth-century
squares in some Yuan woodblock prints, for example the *Shilin guangji* ('Vast Record of Varied Matters') (1328-1332) (Fig. MP47)\(^\text{152}\) and recently discovered examples of Mongol square badges datable to the thirteenth century,\(^\text{153}\) and it was eventually developed into an emblematic distinction of dress.\(^\text{154}\) The squares of the dancer and musicians' robes in the London Qazwini are thus of importance as the earliest visual evidence of the Mandarin square found outside China.\(^\text{155}\) It is presumed that in Ilkhanid Iran the Mandarin square was already *en vogue* at the end of the thirteenth century. One should, however, note that these squares, conceivably woven bird motifs, are nothing more than decoration, and that they are unlikely to have been employed as emblems to designate social ranks.

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\(^\text{152}\) Figure MP47: Chen (1963). The *Yuan shi* does not mention this special badge.

\(^\text{153}\) See Zhao (1999), pp. 280-1, pl. 09.09.

\(^\text{154}\) Chinese official records indicate that the Ming court adopted the *bu zi* in 1391 in order to denote ranks of civil and military officials (see the *Ming shi*, ch. 67, p. 1638; see also the list of the *bu zi* in the Ming court, Huang and Chen [2001], figs. 9.36-37). The establishment of this tradition is confirmed by portraits of Ming officials (for example, a portrait of Jiang Shunfu [1453-1504], reproduced in Garrett [1994], fig. 1.17: Xie Huan's *A Literary Gathering in the Apricot Garden* [1437], reproduced in Vinogard [1992], p. 26, pl. 3) and by actual surviving examples of Ming court robes (see *Gugong* [1994], vol. 4, pl. 1347).

\(^\text{155}\) Indeed this is an isolated example of the Mandarin square in Ilkhanid painting: in the Freer Bal'ami, Bahram Gur wears a coat with roundels on his breast (Fig. MP44), but not squares (see also F. 57.16, folio 90v, reproduced in Fitzherbert [2001], pl. 13); nor is the Mandarin square found in the Edinburgh and London *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (Tabriz, 1314), even though most parts of the costume in this manuscript are heavily under Mongolian influence. It is, however, found in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (see Soucek [1975], fig. 17) and the Demotte *Shahnama* (Tabriz, c. 1335; see Grabar and Blair [1980], pl. 47). Well-known enthronement scenes in both the Saray and Diez Albums (Hazine 2152, fols. 60v-1, TSM: Diez A. Fol. 71 S. 46. Nr. 4, SBB: see İşpişiroğlu [1971], pls. 22-4; *idem* [1964], pl. 4) – which have been generally attributed to the works of the Mongol school at the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (though their exact date of production is still a matter of controversy) – also provide further information about the existence of the Mandarin square in early fourteenth-century Iran. The Mandarin square seems to have been known in provincial Mongol ateliers (see the First and the Second Small *Shahnamas*); the significance of this will be discussed in the next chapter. For further discussion, see Kadoi (forthcoming B).
The miniatures in the London Qazwini show the fusion of different artistic influences, ranging from contemporary Ilkhanid painting, namely the Morgan Bestiary, to thirteenth-century Mesopotamian and Mosul school styles, as well as Chinese decorative and pictorial arts. Chinoiserie is unmistakable in the representations of landscape. However, the more scientific intention of this manuscript is reflected in the treatment of nature, and the knowledge of Chinese landscape conventions seems to have been obtained through the models already established in the Ilkhanid atelier rather than through the first-hand observation of Chinese specimens. The key sinicising elements in this manuscript are in fact the dragon and the Mandarin square, demonstrating the gradual penetration of Chinese art and culture into Ilkhanid Iran through the Mongols.

(2) The Edinburgh al-Biruni

Mesopotamian painting, such as haloed figures, the arrangement of the groups of people and two-dimensional architectural settings,\textsuperscript{157} have frequently been pointed out, but little effort has hitherto been made to explore Chinese themes in the miniatures more comprehensively.

As far as landscape is concerned, the miniatures show clear artistic continuity from the previous two Ilkhanid manuscripts, namely the Morgan Bestiary and the London Qazwini. The al-Biruni codex inherits their Chinese-inspired landscape conventions, but some are duplicated somewhat inaccurately; others are completely re-interpreted. Rocky backgrounds in the scene of \textit{Ahriman Tempts Mish and Mishyana} (Fig.MP48)\textsuperscript{158} are meant to show a hilly terrain, and are apparently under the inspiration of Chinese landscape painting (Fig.MP49).\textsuperscript{159} The painters of the al-Biruni manuscript, however, modify the rocky composition used in the \textit{Manafi'i Hayavan}, for example in the scene of two gazelles (f.36v) (Fig.MP21), to suit the size and context of this painting. As a result, its grandeur is largely reduced, and the sense of space is expressed inadequately. The other difference from the Morgan example is that the rocks are modelled not by careful brush strokes but by intense deep colours. Each glossy rock has double outlines akin to those used in the Morgan manuscript, but its contours are crowded with

\textsuperscript{157} For example, see \textit{AP}, pp.112-3. Grube has pointed out that the figure style in this manuscript seems to have been created on the basis of models found not only in the paintings of thirteenth-century Baghdad school but also in late-thirteenth century Mamluk painting (see \textit{AP}, p.144, 146). For this discussion, see Barrett (1952), p.6; Grube (1978), pp.12-13.

\textsuperscript{158} Figure MP48: Du Ry (ed.) (1970), p.203; Rice (1971), p.86, colour pl.11; Soucek (1975), pp.111-4, fig.4.

\textsuperscript{159} Figure MP49: Sekai, vol.7, fig.48.
trees and plants situated in unnatural positions. The single Taihu-like rock on the right side again functions as a repoussoir;\textsuperscript{160} yet because of the use of deep blue colour and stiff outlines, their Chinese taste is ultimately diluted. The Mongol type of grass, which is characterised by the careful depiction of each blade of grass, recurs in the al-Biruni manuscript.\textsuperscript{161} In folio 129v,\textsuperscript{162} for instance, the grassy ground lines are arranged vertically, evoking the third type of grass used in the London Qazwini,\textsuperscript{163} and each line is used merely to arrange groups of people. Finally, the water in the scene of the \textit{Baptism} (f.140b)\textsuperscript{164} is, despite the Chinese-inspired water spray on the left side, still rendered predominantly in the old Mesopotamian conventions.\textsuperscript{165} Thus, the aforementioned landscape elements in the al-Biruni manuscript show little stylistic innovation, and new direct influences from Chinese decorative and pictorial arts remain hypothetical.

Most miniatures of outside scenes customarily depict convoluted blue clouds with white outlines often adorned with tail-like appendices,\textsuperscript{166} which seem to have been developed from the type 2 cloud used in the Morgan manuscript.\textsuperscript{167} The clouds in this manuscript are rather conventional, but the menacing thunder cloud set against a dark blue sky in the scene of the

\textsuperscript{160} See also folio 92v (Soucek [1975], fig.8). For Taihu rocks, see this chapter, n.71.
\textsuperscript{161} For example, see folios 92v (\textit{ibid.}), 95 (\textit{ibid.}, fig.11), 140v (\textit{ibid.}, fig.21), 141v (Fig.MP53), 161(Fig.MP50) and 162 (Fig.MP51).
\textsuperscript{162} See Soucek (1975), fig.18.
\textsuperscript{163} See Fig.MP36 (above).
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Ibid.}, fig.21.
\textsuperscript{165} For example, see water depicted in the Paris \textit{Maqamat} manuscript (Fig.MP24). For similar water representations in the Morgan Bestiary, see Schmitz (1997), fig.31.
\textsuperscript{166} See folios 10v (Soucek [1975], fig.2), 16 (\textit{ibid.}, fig.3), 92 (\textit{ibid.}, fig.7), 92v (\textit{ibid.}, fig.8), 93v (\textit{ibid.}, fig.9), 94a (\textit{ibid.}, fig.10), 95a (\textit{ibid.}, fig.11) and 104v (\textit{ibid.}, fig.17). A cloud in folio 91 (\textit{ibid.}, fig.6) is exceptionally yellowish.
\textsuperscript{167} See pp.183-4.
Day of Cursing (f.161)(Fig.MP50)\textsuperscript{168} is a notable exception and conveys a certain symbolic meaning. The artists manipulate cloud forms to intensify the dramatic moment of the encounter of two groups of people based on the Shi'ite version of this episode.\textsuperscript{169} It should be noticed that the clouds tinged with red and gold over the heads of the Prophet and his family clearly serve to distinguish them from the three Christians on the left side of the painting and to dramatise a theological debate between them.

In spite of clichéd elements, the landscape in the illustration of the Investiture of 'Ali (f.162)(Fig.MP51)\textsuperscript{170} is remarkable from a compositional point of view – for the upper and lower land-masses are separated by expanses of blank space. The two landscapes are unrealistically separated by the empty space, but this unique strong vertical and horizontal format is effective in enhancing the emotional moment in this Shi'ite story.\textsuperscript{171} While the foreground is given over to the five characters, the background is used for visualising the high tension of this ceremony more metaphorically by contrasting an inanimate clump of trees with a large menacing mushroom cloud. This kind of landscape style is less common in contemporary Chinese landscape painting and seems more likely to have arisen in the Ilkhanid atelier. However, such a unique space-compartmentalisation can be paralleled with those seen in landscape paintings by later Yuan painters (Fig.MP52).\textsuperscript{172} It is interesting to compare these two landscape styles,

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\textsuperscript{168} Figure MP50: Soucek (1975), pp.151-4, fig.24; Hillenbrand (2000), pp.133-4, pl.14.

\textsuperscript{169} For this story, see Soucek (1975), p.154; Hillenbrand (2000), p.133.

\textsuperscript{170} Figure MP51: Soucek (1975), pp.154-5, fig.25; Hillenbrand (2000), pp.133-5, pl.13.

\textsuperscript{171} For this story, see \textit{ibid.}, pp.134-5.

\textsuperscript{172} Figure MP52: Cahill (1976), pp.72-3, pl.26. Among the Four Great Masters of the Yuan,
although the Chinese examples link two land-masses through the expanse of water, and thereby make the stretching interval between foreground and distance more atmospheric.

Amongst other features, the appearance of Buddhist elements in the Edinburgh al-Biruni manuscript is worthy of reconsideration in the context of the present discussion. As has already been discussed, the Iranian reaction to Far Eastern pictorial traditions became obvious in depictions of draperies and ribbons in pre-Mongol Iranian painting. Yet the next spreading of the faith, brought by the Mongols during the Ilkhanid period, had a more fundamental influence in Iran. The Ilkhanids, especially Arghun (r.1284-1291), patronised Buddhist monks, mainly those from Tibetan Lamaist sects. In addition, some Buddhist concepts introduced by Indian ascetics seem to have affected the development of Islamic mysticism in the Mongol period. Quite a number of Buddhist temples were built in northern-west Iran by the late thirteenth century, such as the Rasatkhaneh Caves at Maragha and Buddhist cave-temples at Qonqor-olong near Sultaniya. Buddhist temples themselves are not depicted in the al-Biruni manuscript, but the scenes of Abraham destroys Ni Zan (1301-1374) is famous for landscapes in this style. For his works, see ibid., pp.114-20, pls.48-50.

173 See pp.171-3.
174 For Buddhism in Ilkhanid Iran, see CHI, vol.5, pp. 540-1; Morgan (1986), pp.158-9.
177 Ball (1976), pp.127-43.
179 For example, in the scene of Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox (fol.129v), the place of worship is not depicted as a Buddhist temple. See Soucek (1975), p.141, fig.18.
the idols (f.88b) and Bukhtnassar orders the destruction of the temple (f.134b) reflect an actual event which happened in Ilkhanid Iran, namely the destruction of Buddhist temples and idols accompanied by the conversion of Ghazan to Islam in 1295.

The Annunciation (Fig.MP53) is, in this respect, the most intriguing miniature in this manuscript. The iconographical sources here are initially derived from Byzantine conventions, which became accessible through close contacts with the Byzantine world in the early years of the fourteenth century; yet more profoundly, Buddhist elements penetrate into this Christian theme. The Angel Gabriel, who holds streamers connected to a flaming halo in his left hand instead of the sceptre tipped with the fleur-de-lys as conventionally used in its Byzantine models, is portrayed with Chinese, or more broadly Far Eastern, features. The Buddhist flavour in this image of the Angel is increased by the deliberate depictions of the floating ribbons (Fig.MP54), whose visual impact on Iranian painting has been discussed with reference to the Oxford al-Sufi's manuscript, as well

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180 Soucek (1975), pp.114-8, fig.5. Similar cross-legged idols are also to be found in the Freer Bal‘ami (F57.16, f.126; Fitzherbert [2001], pp.144-5, pl.19).
181 Soucek (1975), pp.143-5, fig.20.
182 For the conversion of Ghazan, see CHI, vol.5, p.542; Melville (1990); Amitai-Preiss (1996).
183 Figure MP53: BWG, pp.25-6, pl.XV-A: Arnold (1932), p.15, pl.IV; Soucek (1975), pp.147-8, fig.22.
184 Soucek (1975), p.148. For example, see Rice (1959), pl.XXXXVII.
185 For example, an embassy from the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II came to Iran in 1302 (Spuler [1955], p.101). In fact Christianity flourished in Iran, particularly Nestorian Christianity (see Morgan [1986], pp.159-60), and was widespread among the women of the Ilkhan's family (see Browne [1933], pp.148-78; CHI, vol.5, p.541; Holmberg [1993]; Ryan [1998], pp.413-8).
187 Figure MP54: Hayashi (1975), pp.145-7, fig.168.
188 See pp.172-3.
as the flaming halo, which often appears as an attribute of Buddha and attendant Bodhisattvas, even though his robe has Mesopotamian-type wrinkly draperies and tiraz bands of Islamic origin. On the other hand, in spite of her Islamic surroundings — a cushioned throne and the architectural frame with a pointed arch and Arabic inscriptions — the Virgin Mary herself also bears a certain Far Eastern cast. It is difficult exactly to determine the reliable sources of the image from long-established Buddhist art in the Far East, but her slant-eyed face and headgear show a great degree of resemblance to those seen in a ninth-century painting depicting the goddess Hariti found near Turfan (Fig. MP55). This illustration is evidence enough to make the following deductions: that Buddhist beliefs took root in Iran and survived for a while because of the syncretic nature of Ghazan’s Islam; and that non-Iranian artists, notably Uighur artists, whose style was still under old Central Asian Buddhist and

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189 For example, see CP, p.51. For images of Bodhisattvas in Central Asian Painting, see Bussagli (1979), p.91.

190 This type of throne can be traced back to the Saljuq period, as seen in the Varqa va Gulshah manuscript (see Daneshvari [1986], figs.13, 41) and mina’i ware (see Atil [1973], pls.52-3). The cushioned throne suits the cross-legged pose in nomadic culture. For further discussion, see Otto-Dorn (1982). Similar cushioned thrones are also to be found in the Maqamai (Schefer Hariri) and the Vienna Kitab al-Diryaq (see AP, p.121; Brandenburg [1982], pl.22). The Freer Bal’ami has several throne scenes: central figures usually sit on cushioned thrones with crossed legs (Fitzherbert [2001], pls.1, 15, 17), but the thrones are much more rigid with solid frames and poles on both sides. For further discussion of the throne in Ilkhanid painting, see Donovan (1988-1989).

191 This architectural structure recalls, for example, the mihrab of the Masjid-i Jami’ (1299-1306) at Bistam (see Wilber [1955], pp.127-8, pl.36). For further discussion on the representations of architecture in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, see Barrucand (1986A), pp.128-31.

192 Figure MP55: New York (1982), p.206, pl.147.

193 Amitai-Preiss (1996), p.9. Ghazan maintained Mongol custom and traditions, which contradicted the precepts of his new religion. Melville has argued that Ghazan converted to Islam mainly because of political reasons to secure his position and to win Muslim support in his struggle against Baidu (see Melville [1990], p.171). The sincerity of his conversion, therefore, remains a matter for speculation.
Manichaean traditions, were involved in the production of the miniatures of this manuscript.\footnote{For further discussion about Uighur artists in Ilkhanid ateliers, see Esin (1963), p.141, n.2.}

The Edinburgh al-Biruni is now considered to have been produced either in Maragha – a scientific centre of Ilkhanid Iran – or in Tabriz, not only a capital city but also a hub of commercial and cultural activities in early fourteenth-century Eurasia.\footnote{Soucek (1975), p.156; Carboni (1992), p.422. Tabriz has been suggested as the place of production in the survey of Persian painting (see PP, pp.26-27).} In spite of the lack of resemblance to the works of the Rashidiyya near Tabriz in the 1310s, the latter city is the most likely provenance of this manuscript thanks to the fact that the miniatures include multiple elements derived from non-Islamic sources, such as Jewish, Byzantine and Buddhist, which reflects the growth of interest in other beliefs around the capital of Ilkhanid Iran. Another possible place of origin of this manuscript is Mosul.\footnote{See Barrett (1952), p.6; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), p.145. For the history of Mosul, see ‘al-Mawsil’, in EP (Honigmann et al. [1991]).} It is probable that, judging by Christian imagery confidently depicted in some miniatures, the Biruni manuscript was produced at an atelier where Christian iconographic sources were easily accessible to the painter. The fact is that Christianity was rooted in the area of Mosul more deeply than in Tabriz and Maragha.\footnote{For the survival of Christianity at Mosul and in the area of the northern Jazira during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Bar Hebraeus (1932); Fiey (1975).} In terms of figural representations, the painters of the Biruni manuscript seem to have had the same artistic background as that of some painters in the London Qazwini – a point which Carboni has stressed in his attribution.
of the provenance of the London Qazwini to the northern Jazira. Nevertheless, the statements with reference to the provenance of the Edinburgh codex remain hypothetical and will need to be substantiated by future studies.

Clearly, the twenty-five miniatures of the Edinburgh al-Biruni manuscript are not mere visual supplements to a treatise on calendrical systems, but valuable mirrors of Iran under the Mongols, and they particularly reflect religious movements in Ilkhanid Iran. These aspects differentiate this manuscript from the Morgan and Qazwini manuscripts. Iconographic approaches here are remarkable in the way that multiple elements derived from not only Islamic but also Christian and Buddhist sources come together harmoniously. On the other hand, although there are a few exceptions – the painters succeed in integrating Chinese clouds only into the last two Shi‘ite images – most of the landscape representations in this manuscript remain stale borrowings from those already used in previous Ilkhanid manuscripts. This suggests that the experimental stage of the adoption of Chinese landscape conventions of Ilkhanid painting in its

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198 Carboni (1992), especially pp.421-8. The occurrence of similar costume elements in the London Qazwini and the Edinburgh al-Biruni, for example the Mandarin square (see pp.195-6), suggest a stylistic link between the two manuscripts. Additional matter of interest is that one leaf of the Diez Albums (Fol.71. S.11) shows a striking resemblance to a painting in the section of jinns (fol.102v) in the London Qazwini. See Carboni (1992), pp.428-33.

199 It is interesting to compare the Edinburgh al-Biruni with a sixteenth-century copy of al-Biruni treatise now in Paris (Arabe 1489, BN; see Arnold and Grohmann [1929], pl.40; Blochet [1926], pp.58-60, pls.XIV-XV; Survey, p.1833, pls.824-5). The Paris al-Biruni faithfully copies the miniatures from the Edinburgh codex. Barrucand has recently attempted to compare some, but not all, images of the Edinburgh copy with those of the Paris copy (see Barrucand [1999], pp.22-3, pls.III.1-IV.4). I am most grateful to Professor
first great phase came to an end in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

Barrucand for having sent me an off-print of this article.
CHAPTER V

MINIATURE PAINTING (2)

5. The evolution of Ilkhanid painting: Chinese elements in the London and Edinburgh Jami’al-Tawarikh – a re-appraisal ¹

An epoch-making development in Iranian painting took place during the second decade of the fourteenth century at the Rab’i Rashidi (‘Quarter of Rashid’),² a cultural complex near Tabriz which was established by the eminent Ilkhanid vizier Amir Rashid al-Din Fadl-Allah (1247-1318).³ Under his supervision, a considerable production of illustrated and unillustrated books was undertaken in the workshops of the Rab‘i Rashidi until the destruction of the quarter in 1318. One of the most outstanding productions of this period is the compilation of the history of the world entitled the Jami’al-Tawarikh (‘A Compendium of Chronicles’) under the commission of Ghazan and Uljaitu. The miniatures of the two earliest surviving but fragmentary manuscripts – one is held in the Edinburgh University Library (Arabic MS 20)⁴ and the other is now in the possession of the Nasser D.

¹ This section is based on my unpublished M.Sc. dissertation. See Kadī (2000).
² For the Rab‘i Rashidi, see Wilber (1938); idem (1969), pp.129-31; Blair (1984).
⁴ MS 20: this manuscript has been widely discussed; in particular, see Hukk, Ethé and Robertson (1925), p.15; Rice (1976); Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.6.
The Khalili Collection (MS 727)$^5$ — provide the most vivid impression of the inaugural moment of the Rashidiyya style.

The 103 miniatures of these two Arabic fragments can be distinguished from earlier Ilkhanid miniature paintings by their high degree of artistic and technical excellence. While miniature paintings produced in the first decade of the fourteenth century are relatively conservative in their repetition of established conventions, the style used in the two Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts, both of which are now thought to have been produced in 1314,$^6$ became further enriched by means of elements derived from several artistic traditions. This certainly reflects the prosperity of Tabriz — the principle Ilkhanid capital as well as an important entrepôt for commercial activities between East and West, where goods of various origins were exchanged on a large scale.$^7$ The city was also a melting pot of several religious traditions. Thanks to the Mongol policy of religious tolerance, several written and pictorial sources of Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism became more widely available and accessible to Ilkhanid artists.$^8$ In such an international atmosphere, the style of the Rashidiyya school was born, and very soon it had its first flowering.

The two Arabic Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts are also of great documentary value, for they project the political concern of the Ilkhanids

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$^5$ MS 727: in particular, see Gray (1978); Blair (1995). Since Blair’s study of the Khalili portion, it has been acknowledged that the Edinburgh and London manuscripts were originally part of the same manuscript (see Blair [1995], pp.16-23). For the sake of convenience, I shall use E and K, instead of reconstructed folio numbers.


$^7$ The greatness of Tabriz was described by Polo and Ibn Batutta (see Polo, vol.1, pp.74-6; Batutta, vol.2, pp.344-5).

$^8$ For the religion in Ilkhanid Iran, see CHI, vol.5, pp.538-49.
and, moreover, mirror Mongol universalism.\textsuperscript{9} Fully illustrated copies of this work were distributed throughout the major cities of the Ilkhanid realm each year, one written in Arabic and the other in Persian, in order to legitimise Mongol rule in Iran. The contents of the four volumes of the \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh} were carefully composed so as to proclaim the glory of the Mongol empire.\textsuperscript{10} Of course, not all the distinctive elements of the manuscripts can be satisfactorily interpreted in the context of legitimacy. Yet it is also true that, as a result of courtly involvement in the production of the pictorial programme, the relationship between art and patronage in the Ilkhanid court became stronger than ever before.

The Edinburgh and London manuscripts have attracted much scholarly attention for a high degree of assimilation of Chinese elements into their illustrations.\textsuperscript{11} The tutelage of Chinese art is prominent in the extensive use of line and shading, which are of paramount importance in discerning the turning point of \textit{chinoiserie} in Iranian painting. Such revolutionary elements are, as some scholars have mentioned, indicative of the involvement of artists who were of Chinese origin or, at least, were trained in Chinese art traditions.\textsuperscript{12} An even more decisive factor for these

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{9} Allsen (2001A), p.197.

\textsuperscript{10} The first volume is the history of the Mongols, known as the \textit{Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani}; the second one deals with the history of the rest of the world, parts of which correspond to the Edinburgh and London manuscripts; the third one, \textit{Shu'ab-i Panjgana} (the Five Genealogies), is a sort of anthropological study of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks and Chinese; and the last volume, though still missing, is thought to have dealt with geography. For further discussion, see Jahn (1964).

\textsuperscript{11} For a summary of Chinese elements in the manuscripts, see Blair (1995), pp.46-51.

\end{footnotesize}
stylistic and technical innovations, however, may lie in the use of other, quite different Chinese sources, both in quality and quantity, especially those beyond the category of fine art - to take one example, the impact of Chinese woodblock prints (Fig. MP56) is pronounced in the format of illustrations with long narrow frames. In addition to the increased availability of and hence familiarity with a wide range of Chinese pictorial and decorative arts, the unusual large size of the sheets of paper used must also have encouraged the painters to adopt Chinese elements more confidently and unreservedly.

What is remarkable is that the painters of the Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts attempted to assimilate Chinese landscape settings to their conception of composition both in scale and perspective. This is evident when one observes the interest of the painters in chinoiserie elements. The floating lingzhi clouds and grassy ground lines which are ubiquitous in earlier Ilkhanid paintings disappeared from the painters' repertoire, being replaced by a more sophisticated representation of landscape and a more developed sense of spatial recession. The key landscape elements are thus

13 Figure MP56: Chen and Ma (2002), p.86. The Classic of Filial Piety was the most frequently illustrated of the all the Confucian classics (see Barnhart [1993], p.74).
14 Except for 13 square and 1 stepped formats, most of the illustrations have rectangular formats. For further discussion, see Blair (1995), p.44.
15 The pages of the Edinburgh portion now measure 42 by 32 cm, while those of the Khalili portion measure 43.5 by 30 cm. (Blair [1995], p.38). Since the margins have been trimmed, the original pages of both manuscripts would have measured about 50 by 36 cm. The increased availability of paper may also have spurred an explosion in the production of large-sized illustrated manuscripts in Iran at that time. For further discussion of the role of paper in the development of Iranian painting, see Bloom (2000); idem (2001), pp.161-201.
16 Examples of clouds are relatively few (e.g. E10, E36 and K2: see Rice [1976], pp.58-9, 110-1; Gray [1978], p.25). As will be discussed later, the role of clouds in the battle scenes is different from their role in the historical scenes. The occurrence of grassy ground lines
rocks, trees, mountains and water, and all of these permit interesting comparisons with Chinese examples of various media.

Rocks particularly illustrate a pattern of adoption and adaptation of Chinese landscape conventions in the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh* manuscripts. The painters responsible for the first few miniatures of the Edinburgh codex were enthusiastic in adopting Chinese rock conventions. In the illustration of the *Finding of Musa* (E9)(Fig.MP57),\textsuperscript{17} for instance, the contours of rocks are represented not by vague double outlines but by well-defined calligraphic ones. The improvement of rock modelling also serves to enhance the elegance and sharpness of rocks, giving them a similar appearance to the rocks delicately rendered by Chinese masters (Fig.MP20). A more noteworthy point is that, compared with the mass of rocks unnaturally placed in the foreground in earlier Ilkhanid paintings,\textsuperscript{18} an intensive attempt is made to incorporate various shapes and sizes of rocks into the background. In the subsequence miniatures, however, the painters often failed to capture the essence of Chinese rocks. In spite of the use of highlights and shading, the rocks depicted in the scene of *Muhammad receives his first revelation* (E32)(Fig.MP58)\textsuperscript{19} are visibly deformed. The upper parts of the rocks are oddly enlarged and transformed into cauliflower-shaped objects. Finally, as often happened in the later stages of the adaptation of

\textsuperscript{17} Figure MP57: Rice (1976), pp.56-7. See also E2 (ibid, pp.42-3).

\textsuperscript{18} For example, see Figures MP23, MP48.

\textsuperscript{19} is also scarce in the Edinburgh and London manuscripts (e.g. E1, E19: see Fig.MP79: Rice [1976], pp.76-7). The grass arranged in the background of the scene of the *Mi’raj* (E36: see Rice [1976], pp.110-1), is, for example, depicted as vegetation around the hill tops.
foreign imagery in Iranian art, the rocks lost their original significance as landscape elements and were modified to suit the demands of the painters. The representation of rocky beds in the scene of the *Death of Musa* (K33) (Fig. MP59),\textsuperscript{20} though effective in visualising a dramatic moment, betray only a veneer of knowledge of Chinese rock conventions. The rocks here lack volume and have unusual angular shapes. An excessive use of brush strokes for rock surfaces merely results in providing an impression of folds within the rocks. 

These brief observations on rocks reveal a variable degree of adoption and adaptation of Chinese landscape conventions in the Edinburgh and London *Jami' al-Tawarikh*. Earlier illustrations towards the beginning of the Edinburgh manuscript echo Chinese conventions for depicting rocks, while in the subsequent illustrations it is increasingly hard to trace the impact of Chinese landscape styles.\textsuperscript{21} Such inconsistencies in the understanding of Chinese landscape conventions are indicative of the uneven quality of the painters and of the careless supervision exercised by the masters in the workshop.

Despite the emphasising of tree trunks by vigorous strokes,\textsuperscript{22} the

\textsuperscript{19} Figure MP58: Rice (1976), pp.102-3; Hillenbrand (2000), pl.15.
\textsuperscript{20} Figure MP59: Gray (1978), pp.37-8. It has been suggested that the composition of this painting was derived from deathbed scenes in Byzantine manuscripts (see Allen [1985], p.124).
\textsuperscript{21} As Rice has noted, the painters’ interest in imitating Chinese conventions languished from the illustration of Sultan Luhrasp (E16) onwards, perhaps due to a change of master (see Rice [1976], pp.70-1).
\textsuperscript{22} For example, see E3 (Fig. MP60), E9 (Fig. MP57), E17 (Rice [1976], pp.72-3), E19 (idem, pp.76-7) and E21 (idem, pp.80-1).
understanding of Chinese tree conventions in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* manuscripts appears to be defective. In the illustrations towards the beginning of the Edinburgh codex (e.g. E3)(Fig.MP60), even though each tree is rendered in a careful manner, little attempt is made to harmonise trees of various kinds with each other. The illustrations towards the middle of the London manuscript show how the painters gradually lost their interest in duplicating Chinese tree conventions: some of the illustrations betray degenerate tendencies in using trees as decorative space-fillers.

Exceptions are the trees depicted in the two illustrations located in the history of India (K25, K26), where the painters show a fine command of Chinese tree conventions. The trees depicted in both illustrations are distinct from those seen in other illustrations in terms of form and arrangement. They are, as in a certain Chinese woodblock print (e.g. Fig.MP56), effective in suggesting several distances within the landscape. Speculations as to the sources of inspiration for the trees of these illustrations have remained inconclusive. In the case of the illustration of *Shakyamuni offers fruits to the devil* (K25)(Fig.MP61), it has been pointed out that the composition may have been derived from illustrated sources brought by Indian monks, such as the Indian Buddhist monk called Kamalashri who served in the Mongol court and brought Sanskrit sources

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23 Figure MP60: Rice (1976), pp.44-5.
24 For example, see K27 (Gray [1978], pp.34-5), K29 (idem, p.36), K32 (idem, p.37) and K34 (idem, p.38).
25 For Rashid al-Din’s Indian History, see Jahn (1965).
26 Figure MP61: Gray (1978), pp.33-4; Canby (1993A), pp.31-2, pl.16; eadem, (1993B), pp.301-3.
for the life and teaching of Buddha to Rashid al-Din.28 Another scholar has noted that there is a possible association between this illustration and Chinese medical texts in terms of the careful treatment of individual trees.29 Judging by the way that the trees are cut off at a lower point by the upper margins, however, the painting also retains an artistic link with Chinese painting in the horizontal scroll format, for example a scroll painting of two persons under trees executed by Li Tang (fl.c.1120-1140) (Fig.MP62).30

Another controversial illustration located in the history of India is the Grove of Jetavana (K26)(Fig.MP63).31 Each tree is carefully arranged, showing the concern of the painters for spatial depth. The unbalanced shapes of the large leaves is suggestive of the continuation of earlier Ilkhanid tree conventions,32 yet representations of tree trunks are much improved under the inspiration of Chinese tree conventions – where the texture of tree trunks is expressed by lighter and much more delicate colouring. The difficulty is, however, to determine their definitive Chinese sources: while Canby has stressed the stylistic similarities between the trees depicted in this illustration and those seen in Song painting, adducing Fan Long (fl.1227-1262)'s work,33 Blair has alleged their iconographic association with Buddhist examples.34 Whether the sources are Buddhist or not, it is significant that the painters took their artistic inspiration from

28 Allsen (2001A), p.84. For the life of Kamalashri, see Jahn (1956A). For the political relationship between Kashmir and the Mongol court, see Jahn (1956B).
29 Soucek (1979), p.91.
30 Figure MP62: ZMQ: Painting, 4, pl.3, p.2.
31 Figure MP63: Gray (1978), p.34; Blair (1995), p.78.
32 For example, see Figure MP23.
33 Canby (1993), p.303. For this painter, see Cahill (1980), pp.84-5.
various sources, owing to an increase in the Iranian stock of knowledge of Chinese and broadly East Asian art traditions, and exerted themselves to adjust newly acquired elements to their own pictorial settings.

More conclusive evidence confirming the impact of Chinese landscape conventions is found in the representations of mountains. Again, the painters in charge of the history of India were susceptible to new styles of depicting mountains brought from China. The *Mountains of India* (K19)(Fig.MP64) 35 and the *Mountains between India and Tibet* (K20)(Fig.MP65)36 deserve careful examination for a proper understanding of the association with Chinese pictorial sources, both in the handscroll format and in other types of media. The former illustration is often regarded as the first known pure landscape painting produced in the Islamic lands, not just because of the absence of figures but because of the adequate attention paid to the relationship between mountains and distances. The image is also striking in the way that the main scene is set back, creating a panoramic view. This feature differentiates the mountains of this illustration from those depicted in thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting – for example in the Wasit Qazwini (1280: MS.464, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich),37 the mountain ranges are rendered in a rapid and sketchy manner but are devoid of the sense of depth. The detail of mountains in the *Mountains of India* also has a distinctive feature: to add

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35 Figure MP64: Gray (1978), pp.30-1.
36 Figure MP65: Gray (1978), p.31.
verisimilitude, fingerprint-like patterns are put around the mountainsides. The appearance of blue-and-green colours around the mountain tops may have been inspired by the colour schemes often used in early Yuan landscape painting.\(^\text{38}\) However, touches of Chinese woodblock prints lie behind the overall treatment of mountains (Fig.MP66),\(^\text{39}\) particularly the way of showing the overlaps of mountain ranges. In the *Mountains between India and Tibet*, still more striking similarities can be noted between the mountains depicted here and those seen in Chinese printed examples. The narrow streams are, as typically found in contemporary Chinese maps (Fig.MP32), represented by segmental patterns. Thus, clearly, the painters of the illustrations in the history of India had a good understanding of Chinese mountain conventions, especially those used in woodblock prints. Despite a certain indebtedness to Chinese pictorial sources, however, they were unable to overcome difficulties in understanding the balance of size between mountains and other pictorial elements, namely fish, two women and temples. This is the case not only in the two illustrations discussed above but also seems to have been a common problem among the painters of the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* manuscripts. The mountains depicted in the illustration of *Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Goats* (E37)(Fig.MP67),\(^\text{40}\) for example, reveal how the painters tackled the problem of painting the grandeur of mountains and hills. It seems that they intended to depict a scene where two persons

\(^{37}\) See *AP*, pp.138-40.

\(^{38}\) For this convention, see *CP*, pp.101-4, and Qian Xuan's style in particular (*ibid.*, p.102).

\(^{39}\) Figure MP66: Kong (1966). The book entitled the *Kongshi zutingshuangji* was originally published in 1227 and was reprinted in 1242. The illustrations of the book have been mentioned by Bush in her article on Jin painting (see Bush [1965], pp.171-2).
and animals are surrounded by mountain peaks. Yet due to the lack of sense of space, the mountain ranges here function merely as framing devices. The whole composition of this illustration fails to bring creatures and nature into a close relationship.

There is a variety of water representations in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* manuscripts. Some painters are conversant with Chinese water conventions, while others follow earlier Ilkhanid or Mesopotamian ways of depicting water. In the Finding of Musa (Fig.MP57), the flow of water from the upper left to the lower right is expressively rendered, displaying an unmistakable dependence on Chinese models for the depiction of water (Fig.MP25). The painters succeed in evoking a certain dynamism by using water spray, an attempt which had never been seen in earlier Ilkhanid painting – the water movement represented in most illustrations of the Morgan Bestiary, the London Qazwini and the Edinburgh al-Biruni is represented by obscure wavy outlines. The waves depicted in the illustration of Musa and Aaron (E11)(Fig.MP68) are also rendered in a descriptive way, but their continuous and rhythmic forms are more evocative of the breaking wave patterns used in contemporary Chinese porcelain. Apart from these new conventions for depicting water, ornamental water patterns re-emerge from

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40 Figure MP67: Rice (1976), pp.112-3.
41 See Figures MP23, MP31 and MP37.
42 Figure MP68: Rice (1976), pp.60-1.
43 Waves had been popular in ceramic design since the twelfth century (for example, see Wirgin [1970], pl.8: Rawson [1984], fig.101). Similar braking wave patterns are also found in Song bronze objects (see Kerr [1990], pl.31).
the illustrations towards the middle of the Edinburgh codex. As seen in some illustrations of the Morgan Bestiary, waves are depicted as alternatively arranged imbricated patterns. The last water convention to be discussed here occurs in the two illustrations concerning the Biblical story in the Khalili portion (K28, K35). The water movement here is rather sluggish, failing to give adequate attention to the fluidity of water. The water is neither of Chinese origin nor of earlier Ilkhanid derivation, but is more likely to have been developed from pre-Mongol conventions of depicting water, for example that used in the Maqamat of al-Hariri (Fig.MP24). The unnatural arrangement of fish also points to the persistency of Mesopotamian water conventions.

There are marked differences in landscape style between the miniatures depicting specific events and those depicting battle scenes. In the latter, the painters seem to have been more interested in inventing unique devices rather than in imitating Chinese landscape conventions. This was, perhaps, intended to avoid monotony or to satisfy a variety of compositional requirements. The first device is apparently derived from the form of mountains (K21)(Fig.MP69). For the sake of giving the painting a good sense of action, the background is filled with the summary indications of mountains. It appears, at first glance, that triangular patterns are

44 See also E25, E52, E62 and K19-K20 (see Rice [1976], pp.88-9, 142-3, 162-3; Figs.MP64-MP65).
45 See Figure MP30.
46 See Gray (1978), pp.35-6, 38.
47 Figure MP69: Gray (1978), p.31. See also E41 (Rice [1976], pp.120-1), E61 (idem,
haphazardly arranged in the background purely for decorative purposes, but their positions keep rhythm with the movement of the horsemen. The second invention is the arrangement of a mass of rocks between two armies.\textsuperscript{48} Although devoid of the stylistic traits of Chinese rocks, the rocks here serve to highlight the wildness of the battle field.\textsuperscript{49} Compositionally, however, this is not a successful adaptation of landscape elements. The rocks provide a clear division within the picture and thus interfere with the pictorial movement. The third device is a dusty cloud (E48)(Fig.MP70).\textsuperscript{50} Despite the decline in landscape function, the use of dusty clouds for the battle scenes is among the most successful re-interpretations of landscape elements in the manuscripts, for the painters manipulated the serpentine form of clouds to add drama and force to the scene. This device is certainly an Iranian invention, but the clouds themselves seem more likely to have relied on Chinese models – apart from cloud patterns used in Chinese decorative arts, Buddhist texts are in this case also plausible sources for providing the images of smoky clouds permeating ground level (Fig.MP71).\textsuperscript{51}

The second matter to be addressed is costumes.\textsuperscript{52} Types of robe and headgear are varied, reflecting the mingled cultures of Ilkhanid Iran. A certain degree of consistency can, however, be recognised in the choice of

\begin{itemize}
  \item pp.160-1 and K24 (Gray [1978], pp.32-3).
  \item \textsuperscript{48} See E51 (Rice [1976], pp.140-1), E56 (\textit{idem}, pp.150-1).
  \item \textsuperscript{49} The role of rocks in the battle scenes of the manuscripts has been discussed by Brend (see Brend [1980], pp.115-7).
  \item \textsuperscript{50} Figure MP70: Rice (1976), pp.134-5. See also E22 (\textit{ibid.}, pp.82-3), K2 (Gray [1978], p.25).
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Figure MP71: Piotrovsky (ed.) (1993), p.264, cat.no.77.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Costumes in the Edinburgh manuscript have been discussed by Rice (Rice [1976], pp.16-23).
\end{itemize
clothing. The painters adopt classical modes of attire for characters of the Biblical story,\(^53\) while Arab-type kaftan dress, sometimes with the addition of *tiraz* bands on the sleeves, is predominantly used in the illustrations of the story of Muhammad.\(^54\) Mongol styles permeate the miniatures dealing with historical events and battle scenes.\(^55\)

Of particular note is the strong sartorial bias noticeable in enthronement scenes, in which, regardless of dynastic origin, Mongol elements are fully integrated into the clothing of rulers and attendants. Both a standing ruler and Mongol attendants in the scene of Mahmud ibn Sebuktegin (E50)(Fig.MP72),\(^56\) for example, wear dress with a right-left diagonal crossed fastening, recalling those depicted in Yuan murals (Fig.MP73)\(^57\) and actual Mongol robes discovered in Inner Mongolia (Fig.T32).\(^58\) The design of the robes of the attendants is rather standardised: except for some use of chequered or flowered patterns, most of the robes are plain, apart from with some additional folds. The chest or shoulder parts of the robes are sometimes ornate with flame-like decoration, perhaps intending to depict embroideries woven in gold, as seen in a Yuan

\(^{53}\) See E9-E15 (Rice [1976], pp.56-69) and K28-K35 (Gray [1978], pp.35-8).

\(^{54}\) See E29-E32 (Rice [1976], pp.96-103) and K1-K3 (Gray [1978], pp.24-5). For further discussion of the images of Muhammad in the Edinburgh manuscript, see Hillenbrand (2000).

\(^{55}\) The Mongol arms and armour depicted in early fourteenth-century Iranian painting have been discussed by Gorelik (1979), pp.38-41. Some useful information about Mongol arms can also be obtained from the study of Islamic arms by Nicolle (for example, see Nicolle [1990]) and from the study of Mongol arms by Świętosławski (1999).

\(^{56}\) Figure MP72: Rice (1976), pp.138-9.

\(^{57}\) Figure MP73: Tonko bunbutsu kenkyusho (ed.) (1982), vol.5, cat.no.162, p.236. For Mongol costumes depicted in Yuan murals, see Shen (2001).

\(^{58}\) Figure T32: Kessler (1993), fig.104: Dang (2003).
painting depicting Khubilai Khan's hunting (Fig. MP74). In contrast with the lightly-clad attendants, the importance of the ruler is reinforced by a richly woven overcoat, which can be identified as a robe of honour (*khil'a*). The depiction of the overcoat is accurate enough to enable one to find similar multicoloured striped designs in contemporary Iranian textiles. In addition to *nasij'*-type gold robes, this type of polychrome robe may have been acknowledged as royal apparel in West Asia. This enthronement scene appears, to some extent, to have reflected actual Mongol wardrobes on ceremonial occasions. The attendants' costumes are uniform in style, though they differ according to the ethnic origin of the attendants. The choice of headgear in the enthronement scenes is also distinctive: rulers wear the so-called Saljuq crown, a feature which differentiates them clearly from their uncrowned attendants. While Arab attendants wear turbans in association with kaftan dress, the identification of Mongol attendants can easily be made by virtue of their elaborate headdress, such as double-brimmed hats. Such a variety of headgear is illustrative of the significant role of headdress in the distinction of social classes and ethnic

59 Figure MP74: Fong and Watt (1996), pp.269-72. Taibei (2001), cat.no. 1-5.
60 See 'khil'a', in *EL* (see Stillman [1986]). It is said that Abaqa received a robe of honour from Khubilai at the time of his investiture to symbolise his authority (see Allsen [2001A], p.25).
61 For example, see Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.75.
62 Investiture ceremonies were of profound importance in Mongol society, not just because they demonstrated royal majesty but because they created a sense of solidarity (see Allsen [2001B], p.309). According to Allsen, participants were required to wear a robe of one colour in the Mongols' *jisan* feasts, which served to create a sense of separation from outsiders and moreover to reduce the social distance between the participants (*ibid*).
63 Although this does not occur often, turbans are sometimes used in conjunction with Mongol robes (see E65, K23 and K30-K31: Rice [1976], pp.168-9: Gray [1978], p.32, 36-7).
64 The classification of headgear in the manuscripts has been made by Schroeder and Rice (Schroeder [1939], fig.1; Rice [1976], pp.20-3).
groups in Mongol society.

However, the extent to which the painters were familiar with Chinese costumes proper remains dubious. A series of illustrations depicting the successive emperors of China (K4-K18) shows little concern for accuracy and coherence in representing Chinese imperial costumes. In the illustration of Song emperors (Fig.MP75), for example, Mongol robes are inaccurately combined with Chinese scholar-type caps. The emperors of the Song dynasty should have been depicted as being dressed in traditional Chinese robes with fastenings in front, as seen in a portrait of the first Song emperor produced in China (Fig.MP76). Similar iconographic confusion is often to be found in other illustrations of Chinese emperors in the manuscripts, thereby betraying the painters’ scant knowledge of Chinese costumes. The scarcity of information about the Chinese tradition of depicting the genealogical trees of emperors also makes it difficult to demonstrate an actual Chinese association with the images of Chinese emperors in the Jami‘ al-Tawarikh manuscripts or even to deduce possible Chinese sources of inspiration for them. The images of emperors arranged in several compartments are rarely seen in Chinese imperial portraits, and such ideas may rather have relied on indigenous Middle Eastern sources, for example recalling illustrations of medical books. In terms of legitimacy, however, it is possible to explain the insertion of distinctive Mongol elements into the

65 Figure MP75: Gray (1978), p.29. For further discussion of the images of Chinese emperors in the manuscripts, see Gray (1978), pp. 25-30; Blair (1995), pp.67-8.
66 Figure MP76: Taipei (2000), no.I-2, p.408.
67 For example, see a page of the Vienna Galen (A.F.10, f.1v, Nationalbibliothek), reproduced in Brandenburg (1982), pl.22. See also a leaf depicting the genealogical trees
images of Chinese emperors as an intention to propagate the genealogical association between the Mongol and Chinese royal families.

The enthronement scenes are enlivened not only by costumes but also by interior settings, such as thrones and curtains. There are several distinctive types of throne in the *Jami‘ al-Tawarikh* manuscripts, some of which display a close association with thrones and chairs used in China.68 One of the popular types is the pedestal throne (Fig.MP77).69 This type of throne is predominantly used for the scene of an enthroned ruler in frontal posture, as found in traditional Middle Eastern iconography.70 The detail of the throne is, however, reminiscent of that of Chinese imperial thrones proper, for example that depicted in a Song imperial portrait (Fig.MP76).71 Both thrones are tinged with a red lacquer finish and are backed by a screen; the edges of the backrest are accentuated by dragon-headed carvings,72 evoking those made of jade (Fig.Mis.10). The obvious difference is the use of a cushion in the Ilkhanid example – which is a remnant of Middle Eastern-type thrones.73

68 For further discussion, see Donovan (1988-1989).
69 Figure MP77: Rice (1976), pp.48-9. See also E4, E6, E8 and E65-E68 (Rice [1976], pp.46-7, 50-1, 54-5, 168-75).
70 For the development of throne images in the Middle East, see Donovan (1988-1989), pp.3-16.
71 Very few thrones or chairs are known to have survived from before the Ming period. Judging by literary and visual evidence, the use of chairs in China can safely be traced back to the Tang dynasty. For further discussion of the development of chairs in China, see Fitzgerald (1965).
72 See also a throne with similar dragon-headed carvings depicted in the illustration of an enthroned ruler in one of the Istanbul Saray Albums (Hazine 2152, fol.60v, TSM), reproduced in Ipşiroğlu (1967), pl.11.
Another major type of throne is characterised by its tripartite backrest, high legs and footstool (Fig. MP72). Although evidence for the use of triple panels in Chinese imperial thrones is scarce before the Ming period, screen devices in general, such as free-standing painted screens, had prevailed in China since the Tang period. The choice of patterns for the triple panel in the enthronement scenes is uneven, ranging from spiral to geometric. In some thrones of this type, the boundless Iranian interest in Far Eastern themes is prominent in the adaptation of lotus or peony patterns for the decoration of the backrest. It is possible to find similar flowery patterns in several media of Chinese decorative arts, but the patterns adapted for the backrest are particularly evocative of those used in lacquer wares of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Fig. MIS.6).

Among folding chairs found in the enthronement scenes, an imaginative throne depicted in the scene of Hushang (Fig. MP60) is worth observation. While the horse-shoe arm support of the upper part may have been derived from folding chairs used in contemporary China, for example those identified in Yuan murals, the open panelled dais composed of the

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74 See also E16, E18, E20, E26-E27, E34, E47, E50, E69, E70, K22-K23 and K30-K31 (Rice [1976], pp.70-1, 74-5, 78-9, 90-3, 106-7, 132-3, 138-9, 176-9; Gray [1978], p.32, 36-7). Similar thrones can be found in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (f.133v; Soucek [1975], fig.19).
75 For example, see Stuart and Rawski (2001), figs.3.11.
76 Wu has discussed the development of screens in China (see Wu [1996]). For Chinese triple screen panels depicted in thirteenth-century painting, see ibid., figs.124, 125, 134 and 136.
77 For further discussion, see Donovan (1988-1989), pp.41-64.
78 In particular, see E16, E18.
79 See E4, E8, E65 and E69 (Rice [1976], pp.46-7, 54-5, 168-9, 176-7). A folding chair is also depicted in the scene of Ibrahim Catapulted into a Fire (E7; see ibid., pp.52-3). For folding chairs in the Middle East, see Kurz (1972).
80 For the throne of this illustration, see Donovan (1988-1989), pp.20-1.
81 Rawson (1984), p.150; Donovan (1988-1989), p.20. For this wall painting, see ZMQ:
bottom part seems to have been inspired by Chinese models of rather old-fashioned style.\textsuperscript{82} The painters place pictorial emphasis on the detail of the throne, but their depiction is inaccurate in that the throne is rendered in a two-dimensional manner, showing a serious confusion of perspective. Thus, though archaeological and literary evidence for the actual use of the thrones discussed above in the Ilkhanid court is still limited, it is highly probable that Chinese-type thrones or chairs were known in Ilkhanid Iran.

Another distinctive feature of the enthronement scenes is the incorporation of curtains into the interior settings.\textsuperscript{83} Curtains in the enthronement scene of Jamshid (Fig.MP77) are hung horizontally and are decorated with ribbons in places. This unique device appears to have been newly developed by Iranian painters, perhaps with the intention of giving the scene a more theatrical appearance, or to indicate awnings under the inspiration of Mongol tents. In pursuing the question of the Chinese associations of the curtain device in the Jami' al-Tawarikh, one is tempted to compare it with the curtains often depicted in Chinese wall-paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Very similar compositional ideas are to be found in a Yuan mural discovered in Liaoning province (Fig.MP78),\textsuperscript{84} where the curtains hung above a coffin, and the female attendants are well incorporated into the background, obeying compositional harmony. The curtains depicted in this Yuan mural are also comparable to those seen in

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Painting, 12, p.68, pl.184.

\textsuperscript{82} This type of dais was fashionable in Tang China. See Wu (1996), cat nos.3-9.

\textsuperscript{83} See E4, E6, E8, E14, E45 and E65-E68 (Rice [1976], pp.46-7, 50-1, 54-5, 66-7, 128-9, 168-75). For the importance of textile furnishings in the Islamic world, see Golombek (1988), pp.30-2.
the illustration of the bier of Mahmud ibn Sebuktegin (E64) in that curtains serve to solemnise a funeral ceremony. It is thus important to note that a variety of curtain devices were developed in both Iranian and Chinese pictorial arts under the Mongols.

The final point to be noted is the appearance of outlandish buildings, particularly those with horn-like projections at the four corners of the roof (Fig.MP79). Rice identified this feature simply as a Chinese element without giving any concrete evidence. But this type of roof ending is in fact atypical of Song and Yuan buildings. As demonstrated in the Song manual of architecture entitled the Yingzao fashi (Fig.MP80), the standard Chinese roof of the period favours either straight or slightly curved lines but lacks strongly marked projections. In the case of important buildings, such as the main hall of a temple, pagodas or a palace, the roof is dignified by its inward curve and upturned corners. The corners are often decorated with animal figurines, but horn-shaped decoration for corners is unknown. Conceivably, when the traditions of Chinese architecture proper began to be known in Ilkhanid Iran, perhaps through Chinese architects, Chinese artists who served in the Ilkhanid court, or pictorial sources, for example illustrations of Buddhist texts, maps and illustrated books, the roof form

81 Figure MP78: ZMQ; Painting, 12, pl.186, p.69. See also ibid., pls.169, 184.
86 Figure MP79: Rice (1976), pp.40-1. See also E15 (ibid., pp.68-9). For representations of architecture in the Edinburgh and London manuscripts, see Barrucand (1986), pp.131-6.
88 Figure MP80: Li (1968), ch.7, p.6.
89 For Southern Song temples and pagodas, see Sekai, vol.6, pls.234-6, 244.
90 For example, see Chen, Wu and Yue (eds.)(1996), pp.12-13, 16, 124-6; Chen and Ma (2002), pp.24-5, 47-50.
of Chinese buildings was misunderstood. The curved line of the roof or the
decoration of animal figurines was exaggerated by degrees, perhaps thereby
implanting the image of buildings with horn-shaped roof endings in the
minds of Iranian artists. The painters of the Jami' al-Tawarikh seem to have
associated the roof with horned projections not so much with buildings in
China as with those located in distant countries or imaginary places, for it
occurs in scenes of the earthly paradise (Fig.MP79) and the temple of the
Philistines (E15). What is fascinating is that this Iranian reaction to
Chinese artistic ideas has much in common with that of eighteenth-century
European designers and architects – whose strong obsession with roof
corners of unusual shape is evident in their chinoiserie designs, though these
owe much to a superficial knowledge of Chinese architecture based on the
reports of travellers and limited pictorial sources.

Clearly, the painters of the Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts broke the
bond of an uneasy marriage of the old and new styles and succeeded in
taking the art of painting to new heights, owing to their use of a much
larger and more varied repertoire of landscape and other pictorial elements.
The extensive use of Chinese landscape conventions in the Edinburgh and
London codices invites serious discussion of their sources, especially
woodblock prints. No printed examples of this form of Chinese art datable to
the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been discovered in Iran; yet

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92 For example, see Impey (1977), pp.143-59; Erdberg (1985).
without these, Rashid al-Din could not have completed the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh*. His achievements, as a historian and a physician, undoubtedly owed something to direct access to Chinese medical texts and maps, through which he must have been aware of the potential role of paper and printing. On the other hand, the illustrations of the manuscripts show tangible evidence of the introduction of costumes, furniture and architecture of East Asian origin into West Asia. Taken together, it is highly conceivable that the increased availability of printed sources as well as information about the art and culture of China could have familiarised Iranian painters with Chinese art traditions. The Iranian love for *chinoiserie* thus took a new turn, which held sway throughout the next generation.

6. The establishment of Rashidiyya conventions and the role of China

The next step is to observe the immediate effects of the aforementioned two Arabic copies of the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh* on other illustrated manuscripts attributable to the works of the Rashidiyya school and the diversification of Rashidiyya conventions. The works in question are for the most part detached miniature paintings which are preserved in albums in Istanbul and Berlin. Their date and provenance cannot be determined with precision, but they are stylistically related to the Edinburgh and London manuscripts.

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93 Rashid al-Din began to be acquainted with Mongolian and Chinese histories through various printed materials brought from China, including the *Altan Debter* and the *Secret History*. See Franke (1951); Allsen (2001A), pp.88-90.

94 For his medical and cartographic works, see Allsen (2001A), pp.103-4, 107, 144-6. For his interest in Chinese printing, see *ibid.*, pp.179-80.
Owing to the inaccessibility of Istanbul material, especially Hazine 1653, Hazine 1654 and Hazine 2351 – though these are of great value for reconstructing the stylistic changes which followed – only general remarks are made on the Istanbul Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts. These rely on published reproductions from limited secondary sources. The core of discussion in this section therefore deals with album paintings in Berlin, known as the Diez Albums. Unlike the Istanbul Albums, one can take advantage of the Berlin materials to assess the impact of the Rashidiyya style on later Ilkhanid painting.\(^96\)

(1) The Istanbul Jami' al-Tawarikh – preliminary remarks

Despite their significance, the two Persian copies of the Jami' al-Tawarikh, which are now held in the Topkapi Saray Museum as Hazine 1653 (1314)\(^97\) and Hazine 1654 (1317),\(^98\) have never been published in their entirety, and thus very few scholars have looked critically at their miniatures. Perhaps because of the relative scarcity of distinguished paintings or simply owing to the lack of information, the Istanbul manuscripts have been underestimated. This is in marked contrast with the two Arabic copies of the Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts in Edinburgh and

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\(^95\) For a pioneer study of this theme, see Blair (1995), pp.90-108.

\(^96\) I wish to express my gratitude to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung) for having given me permission to consult all the leaves of the Diez Albums.

\(^97\) Hazine 1653: Aga-Oglu (1934); Ettinghausen (1955); Inal (1965); \textit{eadem} (1975), pp.115-43; Grube (1975), pp.13-14.

London, which have been celebrated – among other things – for their high degree of Chinese elements.

Published illustrations of the Istanbul manuscripts (Fig. MP81) reveal some dependence on the Edinburgh and London manuscripts, for example horizontal formats, subdued colouring and emphases on outlines and shading, yet figural types and costumes are visibly standardised and simplified. In contrast to the enthronement scenes in the two Arabic manuscripts, in which the settings are enlivened by rich thrones and satin-like curtains, little attempt is made to diversify images of enthroned rulers by means of interior settings in the Istanbul manuscripts. In Figure MP81, the throne is decorated with conventional foliate patterns; columns function merely as compositional devices which divide the Mongol attendants into three groups.

A series of illustrations depicting Chinese emperors in the Istanbul manuscripts (Fig. MP82) are, from the iconographic point of view, rendered in the same way as in the London codex. Mongol-type robes and Chinese scholar caps are, yet again, inaccurately combined. However, some important decorative elements of the robes found in the London manuscript, for example shading and indications of chest decoration, are absent in the images of Chinese emperors in the Istanbul manuscripts.

99 Figure MP81: Aga-Oglu (1934), fig.2. For other enthronement scenes, see ibid., fig.1; Inal (1975), figs.1-3 and 9. Judging by published illustrations, the enthronement scenes in Hazine 1654 (see Inal [1963], figs.4-5; eadem [1992], fig.2) show a stylistic dependence on the Edinburgh and London manuscripts more visibly than those in Hazine 1653.

100 Figure MP82: Jahn (1971), Tafel 36. See also ibid., Tafel, 8-16, 18-20, 22-27, 29-35 and 37; Inal (1963), figs.12, 14 and 17.
Miniatures depicting exterior scenes (Fig. MP83)\(^{101}\) show some degree of artistic response to Chinese landscape conventions. Yet landscape here is not rendered in a wholly Rashidiyya manner. It is more likely to have owed much to earlier Ilkhanid manuscripts—for instance, the gnarled trees and repeated ground lines evoke those seen in the Morgan Bestiary.\(^{102}\)

As in the Arabic manuscripts, battle scenes are highlighted by using landscape elements in the Istanbul manuscripts. Clouds and water appear to be incorporated into the battle scenes, judging by published illustrations.\(^{103}\) However, it remains unclear how far the painters of the Istanbul manuscripts were aware of the potential of other landscape elements, such as rocks and mountains, which play a pivotal role in the formation of landscape in the Arabic Rashidiyya manuscripts.

Thus, despite a certain stylistic association with the Edinburgh and London copies of the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh* manuscripts, the impact of Chinese pictorial and decorative arts was no longer vital in the Istanbul manuscripts. Such miniature paintings of rather pedestrian quality are, as Blair has pointed out,\(^{104}\) indicative of the intention to speed up production and to reduce cost. Besides, a qualitative distinction between the Arabic and Persian copies of the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh* manuscripts may suggest that the Istanbul Persian copies were designed to be distributed throughout the Ilkhanid realm, while the Edinburgh and London Arabic copies were

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\(^{101}\) Figure MP83: Aga-Oglu (1934), fig.3. See also Inal (1975), figs.7, 24, 25; Grube (1975), pl.3A.

\(^{102}\) For example, see Figures MP12.

\(^{103}\) See Inal (1975), figs.10, 11; Ipşiroğlu (1967), pl.10. See also the use of water in the battle scenes in the Istanbul manuscripts (Inal [1975], fig.21).
intended to be preserved in the Rab'ī Rashidi.105

(2) The Diez Albums – group 1

Some 40 leaves of the Diez Albums are relevant to the subject of this section. Despite their importance, the study of the Diez leaves has been superficial and has failed to utilise them as guides to how Rashidiyya conventions were developed during the second decade of the fourteenth century.106 It is therefore necessary to place these leaves securely in the history of Ilkhanid painting and to pinpoint their characteristics, taking account of their Chinese connections.

Folio 71 contains 11 diminutive miniatures, each depicting a couple. All are similar in shape and size, and none bear texts.107 These miniatures can be divided into two sub-groups: an enthroned couple painted in vivid

105 Ibid., p.92.
106 After Ipşiroğlu's publication of an incomplete catalogue of the Diez Albums in 1964, the Albums were re-mounted and re-numbered in a conservation project undertaken in 1971-72 (see Appel and George [1971]). However, the catalogue of the Albums has not yet been revised. Kühnel first took a scholarly approach to the Diez Albums (see Kühnel [1959]). Yet except for a study by Gray (1969) and by Barthold and Rogers (1970), the study of the Albums had been strangely neglected for more than two decades. Roxburgh's study of the Diez Albums is informative, though he has focused on Folio 74 (see Roxburgh [1995]). Rührdanz's article is perhaps the first comprehensive study of the Diez Albums, which attempts to reconstruct fourteenth-century miniatures dealing with the Jami' al-Tawarikh (see Rührdanz [1997]). Some leaves of the Diez Albums were displayed in the recent Ilkhanid art exhibition (see Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.nos.17-32).

107 S.41.N.4 (unpublished), S.42.N.4 (Fig.MP84 right), S.42.N.6 (Fig.MP84 left), S.45.N.5 (unpublished; woman image only), S.46.N.6 (unpublished), S.63.N1 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], fig.133), S.63.N2 (Fig.MP85), S.63.N.3 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], fig.133), S.63.N.5 (ibid.), S.63.N.6 (ibid.) and S.63.N.7 (ibid.). These small miniatures are briefly mentioned by Roxburgh (1995), p.116; Blair (1995), p.95; Rührdanz (1997), pp.297-98; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)[2002], cat.no.21.
colour (Fig.MP84 – right and left images only) and a similar couple drawn in pale colour (Fig.MP85). These two sub-groups of miniatures are likely to have come from different manuscripts, but both share common features in costumes and settings. All the couples are beautifully attired, indicating their high position in Mongol society. Men wear typical Mongol robes and feathered hats similar to those often depicted in the Edinburgh and London Jami’ al-Tawarikh. Women’s costumes are also evidently of Mongol style. Their elaborate headdress, known as a gugu, is characterised by its chimney-like shape.108 Yuan imperial portraits, for example a portrait of Chabi executed by a Nepali artist (Fig.MP86),109 point to the accuracy of the depiction of the gugu in the Diez miniatures. Such a distinctive headdress, presumably of Uighur origin,110 seems to have been incorporated into Mongol costumes by the 1220s and became a component of formal dress in the Yuan court.111 The Diez miniatures are thus suggestive of the prevalence of this type of headdress in West Asia. In both sub-groups of miniatures, couples take a relaxed pose devoid of formality.112 They seem to be having a conversation with each other. Women are predominantly placed to the left side of men from the viewer’s direction, following the traditional position used by the Mongols on ceremonial occasions.113 Another point of interest is the

108 For this headgear, see Boyer (1952), pp.17-18; Basilov (ed.)(1989), pp.112-3: Gao (2002), pp.72-3. Gugu is a transliteration of a Mongol word.
109 Figure MP86: Jing (1994): Watt and Fong (1996), pp.263-7. See also the gugu found in Yuan wall painting (Tonko bunbutsu kenkyusho [ed.][1982], vol.5, cat.no.161).
110 See Franke (1978), pl. 2; Yaldiz et al. (2000), p.225, pl.326. Allsen has briefly discussed its origin (see Allsen [1997], p.16).
112 For further information about sedentary postures in Turco-Mongol iconography, see Esin (1970-1971).
113 Both Carpini and Rubruck refer to this position (cited by Steinhardt [1990-1991], n.29).
representations of thrones. While the couples of the second sub-group of miniatures are seated on cushion-type thrones, the thrones depicted in the first sub-group have solid backrests with flower-based decoration. It remains uncertain, however, whether the choice of throne type reflects the painter’s knowledge or a certain social hierarchy in Mongol society.

One of the most widespread explanations for the function of these small miniatures is that they were intended for use in the genealogy charts of the first volume of the Jami’ al-Tawarikh, namely the Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani. This is a most plausible interpretation, and as in a Tashkent copy of the Jami’ al-Tawarikh manuscript (No.1620, Abu Rayhon Biruni Institute of Orientology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences; Fig.MP87), the Diez miniatures may originally have been inserted in the beginning of the narrative of each Khan. It is, however, also conceivable that these miniatures were, like the illustrations of Chinese emperors in the London Jami’ al-Tawarikh, put together to form a genealogical tree. The Diez miniatures thus appear to depict Genghis Khan’s successors and their wives. Each face is rendered in a slightly different way, but its depiction is not sufficiently distinct to characterise each couple. This seems to have

There are, however, exceptions (see S.41.N.4 and S.63.N.1), indicating that some painters did not understand the significance of this position.

114 Roxburgh (1995), p.116; Rührdanz (1997), pp.297-8; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), p.250. It is also possible to assume that they belonged to the third volume of the Jami’ al-Tawarikh, namely the Shu’ab-i Panjgana, perhaps in the section of Turco-Mongol dynasties (see Esin [1979], p.290).

115 Figure MP87: Ismailova (1980), pp.20-3, pls.1-2; Poliakova and Rakhimova (1987), pp.264-5, pls.6-8. Since the Tashkent manuscript was not available for consultation at the time of writing this thesis, I was obliged to rely on Ismailova’s unhelpfully short caption for this manuscript. I hope to undertake further research on the manuscript in the near future.

stemmed not so much from the lack of drawing skills as from the lack of the intention of distinguishing each couple by facial appearance, as revealed in Figure MP84. Nevertheless, the main point is that the tradition of depicting a couple was established during the peak period of producing the *Jami’ al-Tawarikh* manuscripts and was followed by later Iranian painters.

It could plausibly be argued that the prototype of enthroned couples was indigenously developed in Iran, perhaps together with the growth of iconography of enthroned rulers. A seated couple is in fact a common theme in thirteenth-century Iranian ceramics. Yet it is worth attempting in the context of this thesis to find other possible iconographic sources from contemporary Chinese examples. For example, there is an interesting parallel between the Diez miniatures and a number of Yuan murals found inside tombs which depict tomb occupants as a couple, in particular that discovered in Shaanxi (Fig. MP88). This Yuan mural is very comparable to the Diez miniatures in that the couple is seated and clad in traditional Mongol garb. The key difference is, however, that the Yuan mural produces a ritual atmosphere. This is because in China portraiture was closely

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118 For instance, very similar miniatures are placed in the beginning of the story of Ogodai and of Hulagu in the Tashkent copy (see Ismailova [1980], p.22; Poliakova and Rakhimova [1987], p.264, pls.6-7).
119 For example, see Grabar and Blair (1980), pl.56.
120 A rare example of the image of a Mongol royal couple is found in a Jacobite-Syrian Lectionary of Gospels (Mosul, 1260: f.223v, Siriaco 559, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican), which is identifiable as Hulagu and his wife, Doquz Khatun. See Leroy (1964), fig.99-2: Fiey (1975), p.23; ‘Nasărâ’, in *EF* (Fiey [1993], p.973).
121 For example, see Atıl (1973), nos.41-2.
122 Figure MP88: Stuart and Rawski (2001), p.42, pl.1.4. This mural was discovered in Dongercun, Pucheng County, Shaanxi Province.
associated with ancestor worship on the basis of Buddhist doctrine.\(^{123}\) In addition to imperial portraiture, whose production was developed from the Song dynasty onwards,\(^{124}\) portraiture became a popular subject to be painted on the walls of tombs among Mongol elites.\(^{125}\) In spite of the discrepancies between the Diez miniatures and the Yuan murals in terms of function, the stylistic similarities between them raise the hypothesis that the Diez miniatures relied for their prototypes on Yuan sources, such as cartoons of portraits brought from China. In the light of the stylistic impact of Chinese murals on Ilkhanid painting, which has been emphasised in the previous discussion,\(^{126}\) the involvement of painters with a wall-painting background in the execution of the Diez miniatures is not entirely without foundation. Textiles are another possible medium which could have conveyed the style of Yuan portraiture to West Asia. The fact is that in Yuan China portraiture was not only painted but also woven into the silk textiles and tapestries used in religious rites.\(^{127}\) The best known example of Yuan religious textiles is a *mandala*, dated about 1330, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,\(^{128}\) in which the donors are depicted as a couple. The practice of producing *kesi* tapestries with portraiture can safely be traced back to the reign of Chengzong (1293-1307), when, according to a historical record, numerous orders were given to produce painted cartoons depicting

\(^{123}\) Stuart and Rawski (2001), pp.40-1.

\(^{124}\) For Song imperial portraits, see Fong and Watt (1996), pp.141-3.

\(^{125}\) For further discussion of Yuan murals, see Steinhardt (1990-1991).

\(^{126}\) See pp.224-5.

\(^{127}\) Stuart and Rawski (2001), p.41.

\(^{128}\) See WSWG, no.25.
emperors and empresses, which were eventually to be woven in silk. Of course, the Diez miniatures are merely suggestive of an association with Yuan portraiture, and thus the actual introduction of Yuan burial customs into Ilkhanid Iran remains speculative.  

The Diez miniatures depicting a couple, though small in size, provide much information about the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship under the Mongols. What has become certain from the above considerations is the role of murals and textiles in introducing Chinese conventions into Iran. These two media must not be overlooked in any discussion of chinoiserie in Iranian art.

The second major group of miniatures consists of those evidently concerned with specific events described in the first volume of the Jami' al-Tawarikh. Identification of some individual images has tentatively been made by some scholars, yet because of the lack of texts, it is difficult to reconstruct any of the sequences of their pictorial cycles with assurance. A more precise classification of these miniatures, according to their style, is also open to question. In this study, however, only those marked features of this group of miniatures which are relevant to the discussion of the development of the Rashidiyya style are considered.

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129 WSWG, pp.60-1; Stuart and Rawski (2001), p.41.
130 As yet little is known about Ilkhanid murals. To take one example of the surviving Ilkhanid mausoleums, the interior of the mausoleum of Uljaitu (1315-1325), Sultaniyya, is decorated with curved and painted plaster. The designs are, however, based on geometric patterns, resembling those used in contemporary book illuminations. For the mausoleum of Uljaitu, see Sims (1982): *eadem* (1988).
131 For example, Barthold and Rogers (1970); Brentjes (1978).
On the whole, the reliance of this group of miniatures on drawing techniques used in the Edinburgh and London manuscripts is undeniable. Yet in terms of landscape, architectural and facial representations, the painters of this group are not entirely subject to current pictorial fashion. This group of the Diez miniatures also differs from the Edinburgh and London illustrations in the way of depicting enthronement scenes.

There are two sub-groups of miniatures containing landscape representations. In one sub-group, early Ilkhanid and Rashidiyya styles are well blended (Fig.MP89).\textsuperscript{132} The picture shown here subtly displays a visual progression from right to left by using horses’ steps and facial direction, suggesting a continuation to adjoining illustrations, for example a picture which has recently been identified as a royal procession of Hulague’s envoy (Fol.71, S.50).\textsuperscript{133} The landscape in this picture is simply composed of tufty grass and ground lines, and these two elements are arranged at appropriate intervals. The combination of horses and grassy lines bears a striking resemblance to that seen in earlier Ilkhanid painting, for example the illustration of a mare in the \textit{Manafi’-i Hayavan}.\textsuperscript{134} Besides showing the Rashidiyya preference for light and delicate drawing, the painter of this sub-group adds the finishing touches of red to faces and flowers, making a good contrast with inky outlines. The mingling of early Ilkhanid and

\textsuperscript{132} Figure MP89: Fol.71.S.53 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], fig.39, cat.no.22). See also Fol.70.S.18.N.2 (Rührdanz [1997], fig.6) and Fol.70.S.22 (see Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], fig.84, cat.no.19).

\textsuperscript{133} For this miniature, see Barthold and Rogers (1970); Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), fig.68, cat.no.23.
Rashidiyya conventions is also retained in another sub-group of miniatures (Fig.MP90). These miniatures can be distinguished from the sub-group of miniatures mentioned above by their washes and softer tones used in modelling figures and landscape elements. The landscape here, again, betrays an inclination to adopt earlier Ilkhanid conventions, for example that used in the Morgan Bestiary, rather than Rashidiyya ones, for instance showing the revived interest in depicting clouds coiled around trees. The rocks also remain mere duplications of early Ilkhanid models, for example evoking those often depicted in the Morgan Bestiary and the Edinburgh al-Biruni. Chinese themes are thus decidedly secondary.

In addition, battle scenes are of importance for discerning the developing style of landscape. Despite the absence of distinctive landscape elements, for example the jagged mountain edges conventionally used in the Edinburgh and London manuscripts, the careful arrangement of galloping horses and archers is sufficient to make the scene come alive. Some of the battle scenes are even more impressive for their theatrical display of fighting between two confronted armies (Fig.MP91). Attention here is paid to a dramatic encounter of armies on each side of the river. The pulse of each troop of warriors is not expressed by their gestures, but the

134 For example, see Figure MP14.
135 Figure MP90: Fol.71.S.54 (unpublished). For other miniatures of this group, see Fol.71.S57 (unpublished) and Fol.72. S.16.N.1 (Rührdanz [1997], Abb.10).
136 For example, see Figure MP23.
137 For example, see Figures MP14, MP17, MP23, MP30 and MP48.
139 Figure MP91: Fol.70.S.9.N.2 (unpublished).
surging waves of the river are effective in implying the gradual increase in tension between the two sides.

Another sub-group of miniatures can be defined according to the degree that they incorporate architectural settings. Three of this sub-group of miniatures, including two pictures associated with the episode of the *Capture of Baghdad* (Fol.70. S.4 and S.7),\(^{140}\) show a growing concern for the full-scale use of an architectural complex. The main interest lies in the depiction of a citadel on a proper scale, keeping the balance with other pictorial elements. This is noteworthy as evidence for the emerging post-Rashidiyya style, which is not based on landscape but on architecture, though the use of architectural settings in the Diez miniatures is still at an embryonic stage in comparison with the highly developed spatial conventions of Jalayrid and Timurid painting.\(^{141}\) Examples of the partial use of an architectural complex are rare in the Diez Albums, yet a fragmentary miniature now preserved in Paris (suppl. pers. 191, fol.10 and 27, BN; Fig.MP92)\(^{142}\) may have been a remnant of this convention coming into vogue in Rashidiyya workshops at that time. In the Paris example, a citadel standing on rocky crags is rendered in more subdued colour, owing to the delicate tones of red colour. In other Diez miniatures of this sub-group,

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\(^{140}\) For these miniatures, see Brentjes (1978). An architectural complex with a domed building found in Fol.70. S13 has been identified as the Gunbad-i ‘Ali, the tomb of Ghazan. See Blair (1995), p.95; Rührdanz (1997), p.300-1, Abb.5.

\(^{141}\) See Hillenbrand (1992).

\(^{142}\) Figure MP92: Richard (1997), p.46, no.15.
tents too play their compositional role (Fig.MP93).\textsuperscript{143} The painter makes good use of a tent to dramatise some events described in the Mongol history of the \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh}. The tent depicted here is indeed reminiscent of that portrayed by Muslim and Western travellers of the Mongol period\textsuperscript{144} and of that still used among nomads in Mongolia, known as a \textit{ger}.\textsuperscript{145} The exterior of the tent is relatively simple; it has a white ground overlaid with blue or red patterns. The literary descriptions of the exterior decoration used in Mongol tents are not articulate enough to generalise, but the patterns depicted in this picture appear to be of Islamic rather than of Central Asian or Chinese origin.\textsuperscript{146} Although not depicted here, the typical interiors of Mongol tents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were, judging by the accounts of Muslim travellers,\textsuperscript{147} ornate with hangings woven in gold. An extant set of oblong Mongol textiles richly decorated with medallions (Fig.T30) is undoubtedly a masterpiece of its kind.

The third sub-group of miniatures are characterised by their subtle articulation of figural and facial features (Fig.MP94).\textsuperscript{148} The painter

\textsuperscript{143} Figure MP93: Fol.71.S.51 (unpublished). See also Fol.70.S.8.N.1 (Ipşiroğlu [1964], Tafel VIII) and Fol.70.S.18.N.1 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], pp.251-2, fig.86, cat.no.30). See also four tents depicted in an illustration of the Edinburgh codex (E55; see Rice [1976], pp.148-9).

\textsuperscript{144} Allsen (1997), pp.13-16.

\textsuperscript{145} For Mongol tents (\textit{ger}), see Berger and Bartholomew (1995), pp.20-2; Andrews (1999), pp.271-665.

\textsuperscript{146} See tents depicted in the \textit{Varqa va Gulshah} (Hazine 841, TSM; fols.26v, 27v, 34v, 40, 41, 42, 43v and 46; see Melikian-Chirvani [1970], figs.26-7, 34, 39, 40-1, 43 and 46) and those found in the Istanbul 1330 \textit{Shahnama} (Hazine 1479, TSM; see Rogers, Çağman and Tanndi [1986], figs.33, 40). For further discussion of tents depicted in Iranian painting, see Andrews (1985), pp.110-11.

\textsuperscript{147} Allsen (1997), pp.13-16.

\textsuperscript{148} Figure MP94: Fol.71.S.62 (unpublished). See also Fol.71.S.47 (unpublished), Fol.71.S.48
deliberately shows the stocky appearance and bold countenance of the men, all of whom wear feathered hats. Their faces are further highlighted by the lifelike depiction of almond-shaped eyes. A comparison between the Diez miniatures and the illustrations of the Anthology of Diwans, dated 1315 (M132, BL: Fig.MP95), 149 serves to elucidate how this fashionable convention operated in Ilkhanid ateliers of the second decade of the fourteenth century. In the London Diwans, the approach to facial representation is much neater, thanks to the softness of outlines. Extra lines are added to the outer corner of the eyes of men, whether crowned or turbaned, with intent to depict them as Mongols. Some of them pucker up their mouths, while others have smiling faces. Such a variety of facial representations in the Berlin and London examples is symptomatic of the growth of physiognomic interest in the Mongols on the part of painters in Ilkhanid Iran. While in earlier Ilkhanid painting costumes help to identify a Mongol ethnic origin, the Diez examples show a more straightforward reaction to the facial peculiarities of the Mongols: their slant eyes, small mouths and round jaws seem to have left a great impression on Iranian painters of the period. Interestingly, despite the coincidental increase of Chinese interest in the Mongols as an object to be depicted, representations of the Mongols in Yuan China differ significantly from those in Ilkhanid Iran: the physical properties of the Mongols in Chinese pictorial examples

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149 Figure MP95: Robinson (1979), pl.1. For this manuscript, see Ethé (1903-1937), pp.564-5, 570; BWG, p.46; Robinson (1979), pp.4-10; Titley (1983), p.20, fig.6; Komaroff
are, to a certain extent, modified to make them more acceptable to Chinese taste (Fig.MP96).\textsuperscript{150} Eyes of the Mongols here are rounder than those depicted in the Diez miniatures; the use of delicate outlines and warm hues results in giving them gentle countenances. In Yuan imperial portraiture, Mongol rulers are clearly depicted as being of Chinese descent, namely as the legitimate successors of Song emperors.\textsuperscript{151}

The last point to be noted is that some painters of this group display a highly innovative compositional idea, which is particularly marked in enthronement scenes. Six large oblong miniatures depicting enthronements stand alone from the compositional point of view (Fig.MP97).\textsuperscript{152} Three of the miniatures depict overcrowded scenes, whereas the remainder show an enthroned couple surrounded by courtiers and relatives. These miniatures are now separately mounted. Yet judging by similar double-page structures found in post-Ilkhanid manuscripts of the \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh},\textsuperscript{153} it may be assumed that the two different types of miniatures were bound together as double-page spreads in the second section of each narrative;\textsuperscript{154} perhaps as shown in Figure MP97, an illustration of the couple may have been placed

\textsuperscript{150} Figure MP96: Taibei (2001), pl.I-13, p.291. See also Fong (1992), pls.25, 62, fig.83.
\textsuperscript{151} Jing (1994), pp.73-4.
\textsuperscript{152} Figure MP97: Fol.70.S.20 and S23 (unpublished). See also Fol.70. S.5 (Hattstein and Delius [eds.][2000], p.389), Fol.70.S.10 (ibid.), Fol.70.S.11 (Rührdanz [1997], Abb.3) and Fol.70.S.21 (ibid.).
\textsuperscript{153} For example, a late-fourteenth-century copy of the \textit{Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani} (fols.154b-155a: MS1820, Reza Library, Rampur), reproduced in Blair (1995), figs.60-1. Rührdanz has compared the Diez double-page miniatures with those seen in the Paris \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh} (Herat, c.1430; suppl.persan 1113, fols.227v-228, BN). See Rührdanz (1997), p.299.
on the right page. It remains unclear whether these six leaves of the Diez Albums were originally in pairs or were derived from different manuscripts. Compared with the enthronement scenes illustrated in the Edinburgh and London manuscripts, more emphasis is laid on verticality than horizontality in the Diez miniatures. What they lack, however, is a sense of spaciousness. The predominant emphasis is on the groups of people, each of which is arranged in parallel lines without the aid of sparse grass or receding ground lines. This is insufficient to create a feeling of depth, with the result that each group of people is oddly present against a plain surface. The origin of this type of composition is rather puzzling. Approximately contemporary compositions can be found in one of the Istanbul Saray Albums (H.2153), demonstrating that this was not a style unique to the Berlin examples but an established style widely used in Rashidiyya workshops. An attempt to find Chinese sources for this composition might suggest a possible debt to how figures in illustrations of Buddhist texts are depicted (Fig.MP98), though in the Buddhist tradition the imagery of floating figures is essential for implying divinity and immortality. Stylistically, however, the Diez enthronement pictures have little aesthetic appeal. Figural types are rather standardised and undiversified. Clothing is emphatically delineated,
displaying an awareness of Rashidiyya-style ink drawing, but seems to have lost some of the fineness of those drawings.

In conclusion, a group of early fourteenth-century miniatures in the Diez Albums offer glimpses into many different aspects of Iranian painting as a consequence of the upsurge in artistic activities in the Rashidiyya cultural complex. The discussion of the Diez miniatures has also certified the continuation of the far-flung artistic and cultural impact of China on Iran during the period between 1314 and 1335. Clearly, the Berlin leaves have a high documentary value concerning the history of early fourteenth-century Iranian painting; their significance should be re-assessed as an equivalent to the two monumental manuscripts of the \textit{Jami' al-Tawarikh} in Edinburgh and London.

\footnote{For example, see Figures MP61, MP75.}
7. The divergence of chinoiserie traditions in Iranian painting

Having assessed the development of the Iranian understanding of Chinese artistic traditions and the reception of Chinese themes in the capitals of the Ilkhanid dynasty up to the second decade of the fourteenth century, one can now turn to the subject of what happened in the pictorial arts produced in other areas of Ilkhanid territory, especially in the semi-autonomous regions in central Iran during the Mongol period, and of how the Iranian reaction to Chinese pictorial and decorative arts was reflected in the miniature painting of local provincial schools. To consider this issue may seem to be inconsistent with the chronological discussion of Iranian painting which the previous chapter adopted. Yet this approach will help, not only in better comprehending the degree of adoption and adaptation of Chinese artistic themes in early fourteenth-century Iranian painting as a whole, but also in offering a further insight into the artistic relationship between China and Iran during the Mongol period. Another aim of this section is to give a clear view of the revolutionary development of both style and technique of Iranian painting during the four decades of the fourteenth century, which was achieved in a remarkable manner by the
painters of the Great Mongol Shahnama. The following discussion deserves particular attention, since most scholars have failed to pay adequate attention to chinoiserie in early fourteenth-century painting produced outside the Ilkhanid capitals.

(1) The Small Shahnama manuscripts

The manuscripts to be discussed first are the earliest surviving copies of illustrated Shahnama manuscripts; they are generically, thought not entirely accurately, known as the Small Shahnamas.¹ The term is generally used to refer to a Shahnama with small-size miniatures, most of which are now housed in the Freer Gallery of Art, and the so-called First and the Second Small Shahnamas, whose miniatures are scattered throughout the world. The importance of the Small Shahnama manuscripts has been much emphasised in the study of fourteenth-century Iranian painting, especially in the context of the iconographical development of Shahnama illustrations.² However, the Small Shahnama manuscripts have not generally been taken as evidence for how Iranian painting developed stylistically under the inspiration of Chinese art. This is partly due to the former attribution of the

¹ For the Small Shahnamas, see Arberry et al. (1959-1962), vol.1, pp.11-16, pls.1-13; Simpson (1979); eadem (1982B); Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.nos.33-5.
² As already discussed at length, the illustrations of the Small Shahnamas are closely associated with those found in ceramics and tiles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For a discussion of the prototype of Small Shahnama illustrations, see Simpson (1979), pp.208-48. The Freer beaker has often been cited as evidence for the iconographic development of the Shahnama in Iran prior to the fourteenth century. For this beaker, see Guest (1943); Atıl (1973), p.101, pl.44; Simpson (1979), pp.233-47; eadem (1982B), pp.45-7; Schmitz (1994).
Small Shahnama manuscripts to Isfahan or Shiraz,³ whereby preconceptions about miniature painting executed in early fourteenth-century central and southern Iran—horror vacui, patterned designs and a two-dimensional setting—seem to have discouraged scholars from looking closely at any impact that might conceivably have been exerted by Chinese pictorial and decorative arts. Even after Simpson’s detailed study of the Small Shahnama manuscripts, in which she proposed Baghdad and about 1300 as the provenance and date of these manuscripts,⁴ most remarks on Chinese elements in the Small Shahnamas feature brief and somewhat shallow comments on the Mongol features of stocky personages and Chinese-inspired landscape elements.⁵ Yet chinoiserie does certainly occur in the Small Shahnama manuscripts. Besides showing the inheritance of sinicising motifs from late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century painting produced in the western parts of Ilkhanid territory, some distinctive landscape elements and costumes place the Small Shahnama manuscripts in a unique position in the history of the chinoiserie traditions of Iranian painting.

These points direct attention towards re-considering the provenance of the Small Shahnamas. Of course, in terms of chinoiserie, the miniatures of the Small Shahnama manuscripts differ in many details from those executed around the Ilkhanid capitals, and it seems inappropriate to discuss the impact of Chinese artistic traditions on all miniature paintings of Ilkhanid date as if they came out of a single workshop. Rather would one expect

³ For former attributions of the Small Shahnamas, see Simpson (1979), pp.16-32.
⁴ See ibid., pp.272-307. However, there seems to be little general agreement about the provenance of the Small Shahnama manuscripts.
⁵ Ibid., pp.30-1.
different versions of chinoiserie at different workshops in Ilkhanid territory.

The keys to understanding the landscape of the Small Shahnama manuscripts are two-fold. First, although the manuscripts share the same basic composition of landscape, the degree of the retention of pre-Mongol Central Asian and thirteenth-century Mesopotamian conventions and of the adaptation of newly-acquired Chinese conventions varies from manuscript to manuscript. Second, the nature of the landscape in the illustrations of the Small Shahnamas seems likely to have been closely associated with the text. There is every possibility that the poet’s minute description of individual features of nature and his metaphoric expressions evoke specific images of landscape in the mind of the painter. To discuss this point in detail is beyond the scope of this thesis, yet it should be borne in mind when considering landscape representations in the Small Shahnama manuscripts.

Mesopotamian or Central Asian conventions are predominantly used in the depictions of landscape in the Freer Small Shahnama manuscript (Fig. MP99). Here, some basic landscape elements are present against the gold background, but each element is rendered in a two-dimensional manner, which merely increases the impression of pattern-like designs. The painter characteristically depicts a green gently sloping hillock with a bunch of flowers at the feet of hunting or standing persons. The hillock is

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6 For the role of the text in the formation of images in the Small Shahnamas, see ibid., pp.175-9.
7 Simpson has briefly discussed this point (see ibid., pp.191-3).
8 Figure MP99: ibid., fig.39.
9 Simpson has identified these flowers as lotuses (ibid., p.294). They are, compared with the
presumably meant to be grassy ground, but no attention is paid to the detail of the grass. Moreover, since no receding lines of grass are used to suggest distance, little spatial development is observable in the miniatures of the Freer Small Shahnama. Compared with the mountains of the Jami' al-Tawarikh, for example those atmospherically depicted in the illustration of the Mountains of India (f.21)(Fig.MP64), the rocky mountains of the Freer Small Shahnama, in which there is no indication of shading and perspective, are far from a literal description of such features. The height of the mountains is highlighted by means of multiple shadowy wavy lines, perhaps intended to depict overlapping mountain ranges.10 This mountain convention is more likely to have been derived from Central Asian painting of the pre-Mongol period, for example a well-known dragon mural of Bezeklik (Fig.MP100).11 Clouds are often represented in outside scenes, and their occurrence is mostly in accordance with the text. Most of the floating clouds, which are now heavily oxidised, seem to have owed much to their Chinese prototypes, namely cloud patterns derived from Chinese textiles – whose significance has repeatedly been referred to in the preceding chapters.12 Such a landscape setting, consisting of green hills, spongy mountains and wispy

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10 The best example of this mountain convention can be seen in the illustration of Kayumars Enthroned in the Mountains with Siyamak (f.1929.27, FGA), reproduced in ibid., fig.46; PP, p.59.
11 Figure MP100: Bussagli (1968), pp.104, 109; New York (1982), pp.148-9, pl.84; Yaldız et al. (2000), p.220, pl.317. Central Asian elements in the Small Shahnama illustrations have often been pointed out, especially in the course of discussing the association with Inju school painting (see Simpson [1979], pp.31-2).
12 For example, see Chapter 4: Miniature Painting (1), pp.182-4.
clouds, became a set image, especially in the background of the hunting scenes of Bahram Gur.\textsuperscript{13} Since, however, the painter does not successfully manipulate grass, mountain and clouds as free pictorial elements, artistic unity is somehow missing in the landscape of the Freer Small \textit{Shahnama}. This seems to have resulted in a separation of people and landscape.

Much more can be said about the rendering of landscape and its Chinese connections in the First Small \textit{Shahnama} manuscript. As seen in the illustration of \textit{Bahram Gur Kills the Dragon} (MS. Pers.104.61, CBL; Fig.MP101),\textsuperscript{14} each landscape element is rendered with a more naturalistic bent. Both people and animals are well incorporated into the landscape. The foreground is filled with distinctive spiralling grass, recalling the type often seen in the London Qazwini.\textsuperscript{15} Anonymous flowering plants are arranged at appropriate intervals on the grassy border. Some of the tall plants apparently play a compositional role, whereas others function as mere space-fillers. Other landscape elements, such as clouds and mountains, are also found in the First Small \textit{Shahnama} (Fig.MP102).\textsuperscript{16} Floating \textit{lingzhi} clouds bear a great resemblance to those which occur in the Freer manuscript.\textsuperscript{17} Each cloud is attached to its neighbours, and consequently the clouds appear to be flying ribbons. In Figure MP102, however, one more advanced idea can be seen in the representation of Mt. Damavand. The painter superbly

\textsuperscript{13} For example, see Simpson (1979), figs.4, 37, 39 and 53.
\textsuperscript{14} Figure MP101: \textit{ibid.}, pl.40; Blair and Bloom (1994), p.34, fig.41.
\textsuperscript{15} For example, see Figure MP35 (above and middle). As already noted, this grass convention was first developed in the manuscripts produced in the Mosul area during the thirteenth century. See Chapter 4: Miniature Painting (1), n.114.
\textsuperscript{16} Figure MP102: Simpson (1979), fig.48.
\textsuperscript{17} For other examples, see Arberry \textit{et al.} (1959-1962), vol.1, pls.4a, 10a; Simpson (1979), figs.78, 79 and 105.
visualises Zahhak silhouetted against the mountain, which is certainly effective in conveying his agony.

What is unique in the landscape of the First Small Shahnama is that the painter vividly depicts the sun with brilliant rays. This seems to have stemmed from the text, which describes the landscape setting articulately enough to evoke the image of the sun. Another possibility is that its prototype came from contemporary Ilkhanid pictorial and decorative arts. The sun of the First Small Shahnama is more realistically depicted than those seen in Mesopotamian painting, for example the Paris Kitab al-Diryaq. Perhaps the sun in the Jami' al-Tawarikh (fols. 11v and 72) is the best counterpart. The sun has astrological significance in the Middle East, and is often represented in the decorative arts as a human face surrounded by rays. In the interior decoration of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century metalwork, the sun is often encircled by fish and whorl patterns. Baer has interpreted the so-called ‘fish-pond’ ornament as an allegory of the source of life. On the other hand, any Chinese association with the sun of the Small Shahnamas remains dubious: the use of the sun here is unlikely to be the

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18 For other examples, see ibid., figs.75, 78. No sun is depicted in the extant illustrations of the Freer Small Shahnama, while the sun in the Second Small Shahnama has a face (see ibid., fig.106).
19 See Warner and Warner (1905-1925), vol.1, pp.166-70.
21 See Rice (1976), pl.13: Blair (1995), pl.K3. See also the sun depicted the Morgan Bestiary, namely fols.37 (Hillenbrand [1990], fig.32) and 73v (Schmitz [1997], fig.35).
22 See 'shams', in EF (Fahd et al. [1997]); Carboni (1997), pp.1-9. For the sun used in ceramics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Watson (1985), pl.B; Carboni (1997), pl.7. Milstein has pointed out the possible association between the sun and the true faith of Islam (see Milstein [1986], pp.548-9).
23 See Baer (1968); eadem (1998), pp.104-5.
result of the impact of Chinese landscape painting, for landscape painters of
the Song and Yuan periods seem to have preferred to depict cloudy and misty
scenery and to have been less fascinated with depicting a clear sky with
radiant sun.\textsuperscript{25} Despite its great significance in Chinese thought – for
example \textit{yang}, one of the principal forces in the universe, stands for the sun
and light\textsuperscript{26} – the sun was rarely adapted for use among the decorative
patterns of Chinese ceramics, metalwork and textiles throughout the ages.

Overall, the landscape of the Second Small \textit{Shahnama} leads us to the
conclusion that it shows little evidence for the direct impact of Chinese
pictorial arts and that, in spite of an awareness of Ilkhanid landscape
conventions, the painter of the Second Small \textit{Shahnama} was unable to follow
and adopt them satisfactorily. This is evident in the illustration of \textit{Afrasiyab
Emerges from the Lake} (formerly Binney Collection, now the Art and History
Trust Collection; Fig.MP103).\textsuperscript{27} The landscape here, consisting of a tree and
water against the gold background, remains simple. Compared with the
dynamic water sprays depicted in Rashidiyya painting,\textsuperscript{28} ripples on the
surface of the lake in this illustration are poorly conveyed.\textsuperscript{29} The occurrence
of two horses’ heads on the left side is indicative of the painter’s attempt to
show continuity from left to right – here an interesting comparison can be
made between this illustration and the well-known painting of a mare in the

\textsuperscript{25} This idea is closely associated with idealism and naturalism in Chinese painting. For
further information, see Rowley (1959), pp.29-32.
\textsuperscript{26} For \textit{yin-yang} dualism, see Rawson (1984), pp.91-2.
\textsuperscript{27} Figure MP103: Soudavar (1992), pl.11, p.39.
\textsuperscript{28} For example, see Figure MP57.
\textsuperscript{29} See also water representations in the First Small \textit{Shahnama} (Arberry et al. [1959-1962],
vol.1, pls.7a-b; Simpson [1979], fig.74: Metropolitan Museum of Art [1987], pl.52).

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Morgan Bestiary (f.28)(Fig.MP12), yet more definitive evidence is necessary to prove the impact here of the format of Chinese scroll painting. Additionally, the Second Small Shahnama can clearly be distinguished from the Freer and the First Small Shahnama manuscripts by the following distinctive representations of landscape (Fig.MP104): \(^{30}\) instead of spiralling-grass borders, wavy ground lines are predominantly used on the bottoms of the illustrations, which make the foreground hilly and uneven.\(^{31}\) Trees seem to have been acknowledged as landscape elements in the Second Small Shahnama manuscript. \(^{32}\) However, gnarled surfaces and roots are emphatically depicted, revealing the painter’s disregard for both Chinese and Ilkhanid tree conventions.

Further evidence for the Ilkhanid provenance of the Small Shahnama manuscripts lies in the distinctive Far Eastern features in costumes.\(^{33}\) A majority of people wear long-sleeved robes coloured in red, blue and green. The robes of rulers and heroes, especially those depicted in the First and the Second Small Shahnamas, sometimes appear to be woven in gold with elaborate patterns, suggesting that nasij-type textiles were prevalent

\(^{30}\) Figure MP104: Grube (1962), pp.26-7, fig.17. As for other landscape elements, the clouds of the Second Small Shahnama are reminiscent of those depicted in the Freer and the First Small Shahnamas (see Grube [1962], fig.15; Simpson [1979], figs.18, 83, 96 and 100).

\(^{31}\) For other examples, see Simpson (1979), figs.2, 15 and 98.

\(^{32}\) For examples, see Grube (1962), pl.16; Simpson (1979), figs.21, 86, 90 and 102. Examples of tree representations in the Freer Small Shahnama are relatively limited (e.g. Simpson [1979], fig.65). For trees depicted in the First Small Shahnama, see Ettinghausen (1950), pl.24; Arberry et al. (1959-1962), vol.1, pls.4a, 7c, 9b and 13; Simpson (1979), figs.5, 27, 29, 38, 69, 73-75, 89 and 101.

\(^{33}\) For further discussion, see Simpson (1979), pp.280-92.
throughout Ilkhanid territory in the Middle East. Because of the small size of the miniatures, most patterns used in the robes can only be recognised generically as flowers. In Figure MP103, however, the costly robes of two crowned characters are decorated with rhomboidal or polygonal patterns, evoking Yuan-dated Mongol robes discovered in Inner Mongolia (Fig.T32). More importantly, compared with the London Qazwini and the Edinburgh al-Biruni, the ubiquity of the Mandarin square is much more obvious in the Small Shahnama manuscripts. This is indicative either of the painter's awareness of the Ilkhanid convention of depicting square badges or of the current fashion for the Mandarin square in the general area where the Small Shahnamas were made. Judging by published illustrations, the Mandarin square often appears in the scene of the hero or ruler surrounded by attendants or in the tripartite audience scene which is centred on an enthroned ruler, though there seems to be no particular distinction between the badges of rulers and those of attendants. The bulk of square badges here are depicted as being woven with flower designs, recalling the type of badge found in the Yuan woodblock print (Fig.MP47), but the depiction of the Mandarin square is inaccurate in that it is placed over the fold of robes. This suggests the disregard of Small Shahnama painters for depicting costume

34 For nasij textiles, see Chapter 1: Textiles, p.32.
35 According to my research on some thirty leaves of the Freer Small Shahnama, the decoration of robes contains deer-like animal patterns painted in red, perhaps intended to depict kneeling djeiran (e.g. F. 1929.37 [unpublished]). I wish to express my gratitude to the Freer Gallery of Art for having given me permission to consult all the available leaves of the Small Shahnama illustrations housed in the Gallery.
37 See Simpson (1979), figs.7, 13, 18, 22, 31-2, 34, 48-9, 51, 63-4, 66, 73, 89-90, 93-4 and 113.
38 For example, see ibid., figs.12, 22, 32, 49, 51, 63-4, 66, 93-4 and 113.
elements with fidelity. The varied type of headgear also betrays a close awareness of the multicultural nature of Ilkhanid society, and is reminiscent of the Rashidiyya fashion.\textsuperscript{39} Hats of Mongol origin are easily recognisable throughout the illustrations; conversely, no Chinese scholar-type caps are depicted in the Small Shahnamas.

The dragon occurs in all three Small Shahnama manuscripts, for example in the illustrations of the Bahram Gur cycle.\textsuperscript{40} While chinoiserie is less apparent in representations of the dragon in the Freer manuscript (Fig.MP99),\textsuperscript{41} in which it is transformed into a griffin-like creature, most of the dragons depicted in the First and the Second Shahnamas conform to a Chinese-type dragon (Fig.MP101)\textsuperscript{42} – a creature with a long wriggling body, a horned head, dorsal fins and four legs with clawed feet.\textsuperscript{43} Each dragon has an elegantly proportioned form. This type of dragon must have been based on the same Far Eastern sources, namely Chinese and Central Asian textiles,\textsuperscript{44} as the dragon used in some paintings of the London Qazwini and the Freer

\textsuperscript{39} For headgear of the Small Shahnamas, see \textit{ibid.}, pp.282-3.
\textsuperscript{40} For this episode, see Warner and Warner (1905-1925), vol.2, pp.48-50. The dragon also occurs in the illustrations of the Hushang, Faridun, Gushtasp and Isfandiyar cycles in the Small Shahnamas. See Arberry et al. (1959-1962), vol.1, pl.4d (first); Simpson (1979), figs.58 (Freer), 91 (first) and 92 (second); Fitzherbert (2000), fig.81 (first).
\textsuperscript{41} See also another dragon depicted in the illustrations of the Faridun cycle of the Freer Small Shahnama (Simpson [1979], fig.58).
\textsuperscript{42} See also Arberry et al. (1959-1962), vol.1, pl.4d: Simpson (1979), figs.42 (first), 91 (first) and 92 (second); Fitzherbert (2000), fig.81 (first). As already noted in the discussion of the London Qazwini, not all dragons found in Ilkhanid painting are of Chinese ancestry. But the Chinese-type dragon, namely a dragon with legs carrying flames, had already been integrated into Islamic iconography by the end of the thirteenth century. See Chapter 4: Miniature Painting (1), pp.197-201.
\textsuperscript{43} For the definition of Chinese dragons, see Rawson (1984), pp.93-4.
\textsuperscript{44} For example, see Figures T7, T19.
Bal'ami. The use of a red colour for dorsal fins is comparable to those seen in Central Asian-type dragons (Fig. MP100). Yet a band of flame emanating from the dragon's body is particularly evocative of that often seen in dragons woven in Chinese and Central Asian textiles of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries.46

The flame is indeed a key chinoiserie element in Iranian art – perhaps it shows the most typical process of how Iranians adopted foreign imagery. In China, the flame in itself is symbolic in the Buddhist context, in which it is primarily associated with the immortal soul.47 But the flame bears a more powerful visual message when it appears with mythical creatures. The Chinese dragon was originally bereft of flame,48 but the combination of flame and dragon emerged as a standard prototype in both the pictorial and the decorative arts during the Tang dynasty, following the expansion of Buddhist thought into China.49 The adoption of the flame for the dragon thus resulted in enhancing the artistic value of this animal as a symbol of eternal authority, and eventually the dragon became a symbol of the Chinese emperor himself. During the Mongol period, the flame was known in Iran through conventional Chinese animal patterns, presumably those used in Chinese or Central Asian textiles with dragon motifs.50 What is interesting is that, because Iranian artists were unaware of the original significance of the flame in Chinese conventional animal patterns, they began to

45 See Figures MP40, MP42.
46 For examples, see WSWG, figs.16, 22, 26, cat.nos.13-4, 17 and 22.
47 See 'kaen-mon', in Nakamura and Hisano (eds.)(2002), p.163.
48 For the early stylistic development of the dragon in Chinese art, see Hayashi (1993).
50 For example, see Figure T7.
incorporate the flame into other creatures, mainly those associated with myths or those rarely observed in Iran.\textsuperscript{51} In the Small \textit{Shahnamas}, along with the dragon, the flame is customarily combined with the \textit{karg}.\textsuperscript{52} As Ettinghausen has discussed,\textsuperscript{53} the possibility of Chinese sources for this unicorn-like single-horned creature is undeniable. The \textit{karg} could be regarded as equivalent to the \textit{qilin} or the \textit{xiniu} (rhinoceros) in Chinese art.\textsuperscript{54} Yet despite their popularity, examples of the \textit{qilin} and the \textit{xiniu} depicted with flames are rather limited in Chinese pictorial and decorative arts before the Ming period.\textsuperscript{55} The flame associated with the \textit{karg} may thus have come from the dragon motifs used in Chinese or Central Asian textiles. Perhaps, for the painters of the Small \textit{Shahnamas}, the flame was a convenient device to enhance an image of the mythical \textit{karg}. Or, perhaps, as a similar \textit{karg} design is used in the decoration of Ilkhanid metalwork (Fig.M9), an image of the flame-bearing \textit{karg} had already taken root among Iranian artists.

It is thus clear that the appearance of Chinese themes in the Small \textit{Shahnama} manuscripts is something more than a provincial reflection of the impact of Chinese artistic traditions and cultures. The discussion so far has

\textsuperscript{51} In the Morgan Bestiary, the flame appears in the body of a porpoise (f.27v; see Grube [1978], fig.2) and of a hippopotamus (f.29v; see Ettinghausen [1950], pl.48, bottom). The flame is not used for the \textit{simurgh} in either Mongol school painting or the Small \textit{Shahnamas}. See Figure MP33: Simpson (1979), figs.1 (Freer), 2 (second), 3 (first) and 15 (second).

\textsuperscript{52} See Arberry \textit{et al.} (1959-1962), vol.1, pl.9b; Ettinghausen (1950), pls.24 (first), 25 (Freer): Simpson (1979), pp.177-9, figs.37 (Freer), 38 (first), 59 (first), 60 (second) and 61 (Freer). However, the rhinoceros in the Morgan Bestiary (f.14v; see Brandenburg [1982], p.48) and the London Qazwini (f.112; see Carboni [1988-1989], fig.2) does not emanate flames.

\textsuperscript{53} Ettinghausen (1950), pp.101-6.


\textsuperscript{55} For example, see Rawson (1984), pp.107-10, fig.92.
shown that some basic *chinoiserie* elements are present in landscape representations. Most of these elements seem to have been derived from earlier Ilkhanid painting, especially of the type epitomised by the Morgan Bestiary and the London Qazwini.\(^5\) Chinese-inspired landscape elements must have provided an incentive to add something new, but the admiration of the painters of the Small *Shahnamas* for Chinese landscape conventions was insufficient to promote a drastic stylistic change in the formation of landscape. Perhaps, then, the principal significance of the Small *Shahnamas* in the context of *chinoiserie* lies in the minute rendering of costumes of Chinese and Mongol origins.

(2) The Gutman *Shahnama* and paintings of the Isfahan school under the Mongols

In the light of the question of how Chinese conventions entered early fourteenth-century central Iran, the Gutman *Shahnama* (1974.290, MMA)\(^5\) requires some specific comments. The provenance of this manuscript, like that of some of the fourteenth-century *Shahnamas*, had generally been thought to be Inju-ruled Shiraz, but Swietochowski has recently suggested Isfahan as the likeliest location.\(^5\) The date of production of this manuscript is now considered to be the years around 1335, when Isfahan was still under

\(^{56}\) This suggests that the manuscripts may have been produced in workshops located in areas inside Mongol political control, most probably in North-west Iran or the northern Jazira, where both Ilkhanid conventions and cultural information of China and Mongol were easily accessible to the painters.


Ilkhanid rule. The forty-two miniatures of the manuscript have rarely been discussed in relation to the evolution of early fourteenth-century Iranian painting; they are of limited relevance to this dissertation, owing to their lack of decisive Chinese elements.

Yet the fact is that some distinctive landscape elements of the Gutman Shahnama correspond closely to those seen in Ilkhanid painting, and also follow Ilkhanid reactions to Chinese landscape conventions more clearly than the Small Shahnamas or any other paintings produced in southern Iran under the Mongols. Although sketchy, the mountains of the Gutman Shahnama are different from those depicted in the Small Shahnamas, for they lack rippling outlines and multiple contours (Fig.MP105). The mountains here, which have triangular forms, at first glance recall those often seen in Inju painting, whose prototypes can be traced back to Central Asian wall painting (Fig.MP100). Yet the detail of the mountains, for example the use of multiple contours and spots, is more suggestive of a close association with earlier Ilkhanid painting. Similar soaring rocky crags are to be found in the Morgan Bestiary and the Edinburgh al-Biruni (Figs. MP21, MP48). The painter of the Gutman Shahnama draws trees in a more realistic way than the

59 See Boyle (1977A): 'Isfahān', in EI² (Lambton and Sourdel-Thomine [1978]). Isfahan came under Mongol rule in 1240. After the death of Abu Sa'id, Isfahan was indirectly dominated by the Chubanids but finally the Injus took the city under their control in 1341.
60 Figure MP105: Swietochowski (1994), pl.34, pp.112-3.
61 This point has already been noted by Swietochowski (see ibid., p.75). For representations of mountains in Inju painting, see Ipşiroğlu (1967), pls.4-5.
62 See also fols. 2v (Swietochowski [1994], pl.8), 7v (ibid., pl.13), 23v (ibid., pl.30), 26 (ibid., pl.32), 32v (ibid., pl.38) and 33v (ibid., pl.39).
trees depicted in the Small Shahnamas. Although root-forms are not strongly emphasised, tree-trunks and fruit-bearing branches are carefully represented.

Similarly, the multiple ground levels in the Gutman Shahnama evoke those seen in earlier Ilkhanid painting, though the foreground here is not clearly divided by straight lines. As for representations of grass, however, the Gutman Shahnama seems unlikely to have inherited its grass conventions from earlier Ilkhanid painting: neither 'Mongol' grass, which first occurs in the Morgan Bestiary, nor spiral grass decoration of the type found in the London Qazwini is recognisable in the landscape of the Gutman Shahnama. Some of the miniatures contain representations of sparsely scattered grass (Fig.MP106), a characteristic which later became conventional in miniature painting produced under the Jalayirids and Muzaffarids. The arrangement of flowering plants is random, but some plants are employed to separate groups of people.

There are two types of cloud in the illustrations of the Gutman Shahnama. Scalloped clouds coloured either in gold or light purple are often situated in the upper centre of the miniature. These are Ilkhanid-type clouds, which especially evoke those frequently used in the Edinburgh

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63 See also fols. 2v (ibid., pl.8), 6 (ibid., pl.12), 18v (ibid., pl.24), 25 (ibid., pl.31), 27 (ibid., pl.33), 30 (ibid., pl.36), 31 (ibid., pl.37), 33v (ibid., pl.39), 36 (ibid., pl.41) and 35v (ibid., pl.42).
64 See also fols.6 (ibid., pl.12), 20 (ibid., pl.16) and 35v (ibid., pl.42).
65 Figure MP106: ibid., pl.26, p.102.
66 For example, see Canby (1993), figs.21-4.
67 See fols. 9 v (Swietochowski [1994], pl.15), 10 (ibid., pl.17; however, similar nodding flowers are to be found in the background of the Paris Kalila wa Dimna [Suppl. pers.1965, BN], a manuscript which I will discuss in the following section of this chapter).
68 See fols. 4v (ibid., pl.10), 8 (ibid., pl.14), 20 (ibid., pl.16), 11 (ibid., pl.18), 13 (ibid., pl.20), 14 (ibid., pl.21), 21v (ibid., pl.27) and 34v (ibid., pl.40).
al-Biruni.\(^69\) The other type is the dust cloud,\(^70\) which was perhaps originally invented by the painters of the Jami' al-Tawarikh manuscripts.\(^71\) This type of cloud serves to dramatise furious battle scenes. The stylistic association with earlier Ilkhanid painting is also obvious in the depiction of rocks.\(^72\) Mushroom-like rocks with holes bear a close resemblance to those in the Morgan Bestiary and the Edinburgh al-Biruni.\(^73\) Finally, the painter of the Gutman Shahnama adopts one of the Ilkhanid water conventions,\(^74\) which was already discussed in the previous chapter as a water convention derived from thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting.\(^75\) Thus, the Gutman Shahnama betrays the unmistakable impact of earlier Ilkhanid painting, especially the Morgan Bestiary. However, neither direct influence from Chinese landscape painting nor a new interpretation of Chinese landscape conventions can be proposed for this manuscript.

Among the animals pictured in the Gutman Shahnama, some remarks should be made about two particular animals in relation to their connection with China, namely the dragon and the simurgh. The Gutman dragon is likely to be a composite of Central Asian, Chinese and indigenous dragons.\(^76\) The

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\(^{69}\) See Soucek (1975), figs.2-3, 6-11 and 17.
\(^{70}\) See fols. 5v (Swietochowski [1994], pl.11), 12 (ibid., pl.19), 26 (ibid., pl.32) and 42 (ibid., pl.48).
\(^{72}\) The examples are limited. See f.31 (Swietochowski [1994], pl.37).
\(^{73}\) See Figures MP14, MP17, MP23 and MP48.
\(^{74}\) See f.17 (Swietochowski [1994], pl.23).
\(^{75}\) For example, see the water depicted in the Paris Maqamat (Figure MP24). Similar water conventions are used in the Morgan Bestiary (see fol.65v; Schmitz [1997], fig.31). For further discussion, see Chapter 4: Miniature Painting (1), p.189.
\(^{76}\) There are three examples of the dragon in the Gutman Shahnama: see fols. 24 (Swietochowski [1994], pl.30), 26 (ibid., pl.32) and 36 (ibid., pl.41).
painter shows an interest in depicting dragons' faces, such as the proboscis and round eyes, yet the main difference from the conventional Chinese dragons in that the Gutman dragon's face is devoid of menace. An even more visible difference is the absence of the flame around the dragon's body.\textsuperscript{77} The large-size scaly body is somehow disproportionate to the head. Of equal interest is the depiction of the simurgh. In the Gutman Shahnama, there are two examples of this mythical bird in agitated flight (Fig.MP105),\textsuperscript{78} both of which deviate from Chinese prototypes of phoenixes. Compared with the Chinese-inspired simurgh used in the Morgan Bestiary and the 1330 Inju Shahnama,\textsuperscript{79} the head of the Gutman simurgh appears to be that of a rooster. Its body is also atypical of Chinese phoenixes. Its plumage is less fluttering, having been transformed into a reptilian tail.

The Gutman Shahnama provides a rich source of information about the costumes coming into vogue in central Iran during the early fourteenth century. The painter adds a variety of decoration to the robes of rulers and attendants.\textsuperscript{80} The elaborate flower designs used in some of the robes\textsuperscript{81} and even saddles (Figs.MP105-106) are seemingly of the same kind as those seen in the Small Shahnamas.\textsuperscript{82} The designs seem to have been inspired by the

\textsuperscript{77} The adaptation of the flame for other creatures is rarely seen in the Gutman Shahnama. For example, the rhino-wolf (karg) (f.23v) bears no flames (see \textit{ibid.}, pl.29).

\textsuperscript{78} For the simurgh in the Gutman Shahnama, see \textit{ibid.}, pp.71-2. For other examples, see \textit{ibid.}, pl.8. See also the rooster depicted in the Morgan Bestiary and the rooster-like simurgh depicted in the London Qazwini (see Schmitz [1997], figs.27, 30).

\textsuperscript{79} See Swietochowski (1994), pp.112-3, fig.33.

\textsuperscript{80} See, in particular, f.3 (\textit{ibid.}, pl.9).

\textsuperscript{81} See fols. 9 (\textit{ibid.}, pl.15), 21v (\textit{ibid.}, pl.27), 22 (\textit{ibid.}, pl.28), 32v (\textit{ibid.}, pl.38), 38 (\textit{ibid.}, pl.44) and 39 (\textit{ibid.}, pl.45).

\textsuperscript{82} See Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), fig.176-7.
lotus motifs used in Chinese textiles as well as in other media of Chinese decorative arts, for example Chinese lacquer-ware of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{83} Headgear is also minutely depicted in nearly all illustrations. In particular, warriors’ helmets bearing two-ring designs are characteristic of this manuscript,\textsuperscript{84} though these are unlikely to be of Chinese origin.

It is possible to make the same observation for some leaves of the Diez Albums, which are now miscellaneously bound together with other miniature paintings, as occurs on Folio 71.\textsuperscript{85} Swietochowski has reached a conclusion from a detailed comparison between these leaves and the Gutman \textit{Shahnama} illustrations that the Diez leaves might also have been produced in the Isfahan school under the Mongols.\textsuperscript{86} Besides sharing colour schemes, the stylistic affinity between them can be confirmed from representations of landscape and animals (Fig.	MP107).\textsuperscript{87} The clouds depicted on the Diez leaves take the shape of convoluted banks in the upper margins;\textsuperscript{88} instead of straight horizontal lines of grass, mountain ranges play a major compositional role. No dragons are depicted in the Diez leaves. However, as

\textsuperscript{83} For example, see Figures T10, Mis.6.
\textsuperscript{84} See Figure MP109. Swietochowski has discussed this type of helmet (Swietochowski [1994], p.72).
\textsuperscript{85} Seven of the leaves related to the Gutman \textit{Shahnama} were first published by Ipşiroğlu (1964), pp.1-7, pls.1-6. According to my findings, which are based on close study of all the leaves of the Diez Albums, the other six leaves in Folio 71 (Diez A. Fol.71.S6.N5, S7.N1, S11.N1, S40.N1, S41.N1 and S42.N1) can be categorised as belonging to the same group as the Gutman \textit{Shahnama}.
\textsuperscript{86} See Swietochowski (1994), especially pp.68-75.
\textsuperscript{87} Figure MP107: \textit{ibid.}, p.69, fig.14. For the discussion of colour schemes, see \textit{ibid.}, p.69.
seen in the Gutman *Shahnama*, the *simurgh* pictured in one leaf is obviously just a rooster.\(^89\) Perhaps the major difference between the two manuscripts lies in the rendering of trees. The tree leaves in the Diez Albums are somehow overweight and out of proportion to the spindly tree trunks. The source of this balloon-like foliage remains uncertain: it does not correspond closely to tree leaves found in contemporary Ilkhanid painting, for example the Great Mongol *Shahnama*;\(^90\) nor is it comparable to those naturalistically depicted in Chinese landscape painting. The tree conventions of the Diez leaves may have been indigenously developed, perhaps partly on the basis of Central Asian prototypes.\(^91\)

Another controversial manuscript attributable to the Isfahan school of the Mongol period is the incomplete manuscript entitled *Mu‘nis al-ahrar fi daga‘iq al-ash‘ar* ('The Free Men’s Companion to the Subtleties of Poems') (Isfahan, 1341).\(^92\) Thirty-nine folios of the manuscript are extant, and except for its double frontispiece, all eleven illustrations are to be found in the six folios which once formed Chapter 29 of the *Mu‘nis al-ahrar*. The illustrations of the *Mu‘nis al-ahrar*, like those of some fourteenth-century *Shahnamas*, had long been attributed to the school of Shiraz.\(^93\)

As far as *chinoiserie* is concerned, the illustrations of the *Mu‘nis al-ahrar* reveal little further information about the artistic relationship between

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90 See the illustration of *Nushirvan at the House of Mahbud* (Grabar and Blair [1980], pp.168-9).
91 See Figure MP100.
93 For former attribution of this manuscript, see Carboni (1994), pp.11-12.
China and central Iran and do not reveal any notable new interpretations of Chinese artistic conventions. On the whole, the landscape here remains primitive. Grass and plants are decoratively arranged against the red background. The appearance of distinctive rocks with holes is the only evidence that the painter was perhaps aware of the landscape conventions used in Ilkhanid painting. The animals of the Mu’nis al-ahrar are equally devoid of Chinese characteristics. Only the dragon’s head found in one page follows a Chinese convention. Thus, the absence of naturalistic treatment and the decisive sinicised elements in the rendering of landscape and animals indicate that the style of the painter of the Mu’nis al-ahrar was remote from that practised in the capital area of the Ilkhanid dynasty.

However, the double frontispiece (Fig.MP108) ensures that the manuscript holds an important position in the history of fourteenth-century Iranian painting. As already noted by Carboni, there is a close stylistic resemblance between the landscape of the right page showing a hunting scene and that of both the Gutman Shahnama and some Diez Album leaves. Similar cone-shaped mountains with double contours can also be recognised throughout these manuscripts. The left page is evidently based on the standard fourteenth-century tradition of depicting an enthronement scene. What is important in the context of chinoiserie is that Chinese or

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94 For the general discussion of the illustrations, see ibid., pp.17-21.
95 See ibid., pls.4-b, 5-a and 7-c.
96 See ibid., pl.6-d.
97 Figure MP108: ibid., pp.12-17.
99 For example, see Figures MP105, MP107.
100 For example, see the double frontispiece of the 1333 Shahnama in St.Petersburg
Mongol elements are apparent in the depiction of costumes. In particular, the ruler's clothing is quite distinctive: in addition to his elaborate feathery hat, a round badge on his blue robe serves to enhance his royal image. Both the ruler's hat and robe are more likely to be of Mongol origin. The appearance of the gold round badge in his robe is, however, of significance as the earliest visual evidence for the penetration of Chinese costumes into central Iran. China has a long tradition of the wearing of a round badge as a type of insignia: the round badge had already gained popularity among Chinese nobles during the Tang dynasty,101 and the tradition of employing it was taken over by the people inhabiting the northern part of China, especially the Khitans.102 Robes with round badges seem to have existed until the Ming dynasty, but it was during the Qing period that imperial garments with dragon medallions began to be known as dragon robes.103

Despite the fact that the occurrence of Chinese themes in the Gutman Shahnama, the Diez leaves and the Mu'nis al-ahrar does not deviate significantly from Iranian chinoiserie traditions, chinoiserie remains a suggestive but not conclusive element in miniature painting of the Isfahan school produced during the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century. Compared with the situation in earlier Ilkhanid and Rashidiyya painting, an artistic confrontation of Iranian painters with Chinese decorative and pictorial arts is less observable in these manuscripts. The

102 See Watt and Wardwell (1997), pl.51, pp.176-9; Zhao (1999), pl.09.01, pp.270-1.
103 See Cammann (1955).
direct impact of Chinese pictorial and decorative arts on early fourteenth-century Isfahani painting thus remains dubious.

(3) The encroachment of Chinese themes: the Ilkhanid *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscripts and other related works

The discussion of *chinoiserie* in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Iranian painting would be incomplete if one neglected the illustrations of the *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscripts which have been attributed to the early Ilkhanid period. Originating in the Indian animal tales known as the *Pančatantra*, the story of the *Kalila wa Dimna* has been one of the most popular animal tales in the Arab world since it was first translated from Pahlavi into Arabic in the eight century.104 Its pictorial traditions seem to have been developed first in Syria and Egypt under Ayyubid rule105 and subsequently in the Iranian world under the Saljuqs.106 Yet there was a long interim period taken up by the emerging Mongol style until the artistic explosion of the *Kalila wa Dimna* illustrations achieved by Jalayirid painters.107 Thus the works discussed below, though in the main undated

104 For further information, see Grube (1990-1991), n.2; O’Kane (2003), pp.22-31. The Persian version of the *Kalila wa Dimna* was made by Abu’l Ma’ali Nasr Allah Munshi around 1155, which was a translation of the eight-century-Arabic version by Ibn Muqaffa’.
105 Arabe 3465, BN (see Grube [1990-1991], p.374; O’Kane [2003], App.1) is considered to have been made in Syria in the early thirteenth century. For a useful survey of the early illustrations of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, see Raby (1987-1988), pp.381-98.
106 For examples, No.527, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva (probably Konya, 1262; but its paintings were added in the late sixteenth century in an Ottoman workshop: see O’Kane [2003], App.10).
107 The rich pictorial tradition of the *Kalila wa Dimna* in the fourteenth century has recently been elucidated by O’Kane (2003).
and of uncertain provenance, serve to provide a more clear-cut idea about the process of the re-orientation of Arab pictorial traditions as a result of contact with Persian visual culture, and the development of Iranian miniature painting in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Analysis of Chinese elements in these manuscripts also reveals their relationship with securely localised and dated Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts.

There are three Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts attributable to the early Ilkhanid period, though their dating and provenance remain controversial. The best-known manuscript of this group is the British Library Kalila wa Dimna (1307/8; Or.13506).\textsuperscript{108} Despite its Ilkhanid date, which is equivalent to the time of production of the Edinburgh al-Biruni manuscript, the manuscript has long been neglected in the study of Mongol school painting and its miniatures have hitherto not been published in their entirety. The reason for this perhaps lies in their stylistic crudity; they reveal a penchant for Mesopotamian conventions and a foretaste of the Inju school style. Yet the British Library Kalila wa Dimna deserves special attention as providing an insight into the formation of a provincial style in early fourteenth-century Iranian painting.

\textsuperscript{108} Or.13506: Waley and Titley (1975); Titley (1983), p.36, fig.37; Grube (1990-1991), p.379; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.)(2002), cat.no.3; O’Kane (2003), App.12. Closely related to the London manuscript is a Persian version of the Kalila wa Dimna in Istanbul (Hazine 363, TSM; see İpşiroğlu [1971], pls.7-14; Titley [1983], pp.54-5; Rogers, Çağman and Tanndı [1986], pp.50-1, pls.25-31; Grube [1990-1991], p.378; Sims [2002], no.200; O’Kane [2003], App.11). The Istanbul manuscript has customarily been attributed to thirteenth-century Anatolia (Konya) or Iraq (Mosul). However, O’Kane has recently been reattributed it to the Ilkhanid period, speculating that it was made in Baghdad between 1260 and 1285 (O’Kane [2003], p.228). Published illustrations of the Istanbul manuscript show no trace of Chinese influence.
Some distinctive Mesopotamian characteristics can easily be identified in the rendering of landscape,\textsuperscript{109} which is depicted in a cursory manner without any naturalistic bent. In the miniature depicting a leopard and a lion (f.74)\textsuperscript{110} the background is overcrowded with tooth-shaped rocks built up in layers and balloon-like trees with haloed birds. Both the rocks and trees depicted here are not drawn from Chinese sources but seem to have relied on models which were developed in pre-Mongol painting of the Mosul school, for example those used in Syriac Jacobite Gospels.\textsuperscript{111} Compositional too, no attempt is made to recreate a Chinese feeling of space. Unlike most of the miniatures in the Morgan Bestiary with their elaboration of spatial devices, the bases of the miniatures in the London Kalila wa Dimna are, again as in pre-Mongol painting of the Mosul school,\textsuperscript{112} simply bordered with thick grass with indications of flowers at intervals. The absence of lingzhi clouds is also illustrative of the un-Chinese nature of this manuscript. Atmosphere is generated by a suffusion of red, which is typical of Inju painting, with the result that the background merely stresses two-dimensionality. There is thus little sign of ideas borrowed from China; nor can any striking elements derived from Mongol painting be detected in the landscape of the London Kalila wa Dimna.

Similarly, in its human figures and costume, the London manuscript is

\textsuperscript{109} For example, see O’Kane (2003), figs.5, 13, 23 and 32.
\textsuperscript{110} Figure MP109: Waley and Titley (1975), fig.13; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), fig.266.
\textsuperscript{111} See Lorey (1964), figs.76·2, 78·2, 78·4 and 86·2.
\textsuperscript{112} For example, see representations of grass in the Vienna Kitab al-Diryaq (Fig.MP7). Titley has also pointed out the occurrence of haloed birds in the frontispiece of the Vienna Kitab al-Diryaq (Waley and Titley [1975], p.50; Titley [1983], p.36).
stylistically remote from painting of the Mongol school. None of the human figures are unmistakably depicted as Mongols by their headgear and robes. They are either crowned or turbaned, and they wear robes decorated with flower-like patterns. Rather, the debt to Saljuq-style painting is undeniable, for similar figures are customarily represented in thirteenth-century mina'i ware and are also found in the illustrations of the Varga va Gulshah manuscript (Fig.MP4).

In relation to the problems of chinoiserie in the London Kalila wa Dimna, one may recall the discussion of the distinctive border design used in a double-page frontispiece and in successive title pages which was named as the 'lotus-petal' design by Titley. Her theory that this design is evidence of the stylistic association between the London Kalila wa Dimna and Inju painting is convincing. This serves to substantiate a southern Iranian origin for this manuscript. Yet what is inappropriate is the use of the term 'lotus-petal' for this design – in which crescent-like patterns spread out left and right from the centre – because this term merely causes gross confusion as to whether or not it was intrinsically associated with the lotus-petal design that is of Chinese origin. Even though the design has been stylised and modified, it betrays little, if any, likeness to actual lotus petals. The most misleading aspect of the 'lotus-petal' design is its Indian connections, which is another conjecture of Titley. Owing to the total lack of tangible visual

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113 For example, Atul (1973), nos.28-31, 33, 35, 39, 42, 46, 48, 52-3 and 69.
114 Waley and Titley (1975), p.44, figs.3-4.
and textual evidence for the Indian route in the transmission of lotus decoration, as has already been pointed out in the discussion of lotus decoration in the chapter on metalwork,\textsuperscript{118} it would be hazardous to place much credence on the Indian associations of the 'lotus-petal' design found in the \textit{Kalila wa Dimna} manuscript. This hypothesis needs further investigation.

An as yet comparatively little-known earlier Persian copy of the \textit{Kalila wa Dimna} is preserved in Paris (Suppl.pers. 1965, BN).\textsuperscript{119} This diminutive manuscript contains twenty small but compelling illustrations. Owing to a complex range of stylistic influences exerted by old and new conventions, the attribution of this manuscript has been among the most perplexing problems in the study of early \textit{Kalila wa Dimna} manuscripts. Suggested datings range from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, and its place of origin has been ascribed to various centres, from Inju to Mamluk territory.\textsuperscript{120}

The landscape in the Paris manuscript is prosaic and less varied than that of the London manuscript. Plants predominate in the formation of backgrounds, and rocks and grass are rarely incorporated into landscape settings. Tall swaying flowering plants, recalling those seen in Mosul school painting, for example in the Vienna and Paris \textit{Kitab al-Diryaq} manuscripts,\textsuperscript{121}

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\textsuperscript{121} See Farès (1953), figs.8-9, pls.XVI-XIII. This type of plant recurs in mid-fourteenth-century Mamluk bestiaries: for example, the Oxford \textit{Kalila wa Dimna} (probably Syria, 1354; Pococke 400, Bodleian Library; see Atil [1981]); the Milan \textit{Kitab al-Hayawan} of al-Jahiz (probably Syria, c.1350; Ms.140, Inf.S.P.67, Biblioteca Ambrosiana);
are set beside figures or thrones. The plants depicted in this manuscript are
difficult to identify, but an exception is found in Folio 16, where a blooming
flower identifiable as a lotus appears between the lion and the jackal
(Fig.MP110). This indication of chinoiserie brings the date of this
manuscript into the Mongol period. But its appearance remains isolated, as
in the Marzubanmana, and differs from the lotus motif which is so integral
a feature of Ilkhanid pictorial and decorative concepts. Another point to
be noted is the depiction of water in folio 8v. The fluid movement of water
is suggested not only by the use of circular patterns but by the depiction of
sprays, showing a resemblance to one of the types of water representation
used in the London Qazwini, which was, in turn, dependent on Chinese
models.

Chinese or Mongol traits are less obvious in the depiction of costumes
in the Paris manuscript. The dress and headgear of the figures contain
elements derived from disparate sources, mainly those conventionalised in
thirteenth-century Mesopotamian painting. A close parallel for the
double-outlined haloes is, as O’Kane has suggested, a double frontispiece in
the Rasa’il ikhwan al-safa wa khullan al-wafa’ (‘Epistles of the Sincere Brethren
and the Loyal Companions’)(Baghdad, 1287; Esad Efendi 3638, Library of

see Hillenbrand (1990)).

122 Figure MP110: Survey, pl.817, A. The occurrence of lotuses has been pointed out by
O’Kane (2003), pp.44, 229. One of the blossoms represented in f.21v can also be identified
as a lotus (see O’Kane [2003], fig.20), though it appears to be a redundant pictorial device.

123 See Simpson (1979), fig.110.

124 See Chapter 3: Metalwork, Section 4, Figures C18, M19.

125 See Corbin et al. (1938), pl.XIV-2. A good reproduction of this picture is not yet available.

126 See Figure MP38. See also the same found in the Istanbul Kalila wa Dimna (f.32v), in
which water is rendered in a Mesopotamian manner (see Ipşiroğlu [1971], pl.8).
the Suleimaniyye Mosque, Istanbul), while the elaborately pleated robes of the haloed figures are more evocative of those seen in thirteenth-century Mosul school painting. Another feature which differentiates this manuscript from the London manuscript painting of the Mongol school is the emphasis on ribbons. Wind-blown ribbons are exaggeratedly depicted, giving a strong impression of fast movement. This convention was, as has been noted, associated in earlier Iranian art with the sphere of Buddhist culture – representations of lifelike ribbons had already before the Mongol invasion excited the imagination of Iranian painters.

In contrast to such conspicuous costume elements, the interior setting is relatively austere, being composed simply of thrones or curtains. Several types of throne appear in the audience scenes, such as those with cushions with concave tips and those with backrests and poles on the corners, yet none of these show stylistic affinities with those thrones embodying strong Chinese associations which are frequently depicted in Rashidiyya painting. The thrones in the Paris manuscript are more reminiscent of those which occur in mina‘i ware. Likewise, no impact of Chinese themes can be discerned in the decoration on the curtains, most of which are decorated with arabesque-derived patterns.

128 See Leroy (1964), pls.76.3-4 and 76.
129 See Chapter 4: Miniature Painting (I), pp.172-3.
130 See fols. 1v (unpublished), 2v (Blochet [1926], pl.XVIII-A), 7v (ibid., pl.XVIII-C), 9v (unpublished), 18v (Blochet [1926], pl.XVIII-E), 19v (ibid., pl.XVIII-F), 20v (unpublished), 21v (O’Kane [2003], fig.23) and 24 (Richard [1997], p.43).
131 See Figures MP60, MP77.
132 See Atl (1973), pls.44 and 51-3.
133 See fols. 4v (Blochet [1926], pl.XVIII-B), 15v (Survey, pl.817B) and 20v (unpublished).
The medley of different pictorial styles in the Paris Kalila wa Dimna, for instance the retention of the Mesopotamian style and the emergence of Chinese elements, reflects the political and social upheaval in Iran in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion. This suggests that the manuscript was executed during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, but the very mixed styles make it hard to pin down the provenance of the manuscript. On the grounds of the experimental use of Chinese elements, Baghdad is one of the likeliest places of origin,\textsuperscript{134} taking account of the artistic milieu of this city in the late thirteenth century,\textsuperscript{135} though the red background is suggestive of a link of this manuscript with Inju-ruled southern Iran.\textsuperscript{136}

The most telling example of this group is an Arabic copy of the Kalila wa Dimna in Rabat (MS3655, Bibliothèque Royale).\textsuperscript{137} This manuscript had been virtually unknown until the publication by Barrucand and has been placed outside the mainstream of Iranian painting. The manuscript is lavishly illustrated but only about a third of the 122 miniatures have been published.\textsuperscript{138} As far as the published illustrations are concerned, the Mesopotamian tradition is pronounced in the entire treatment of landscape, such as isolated plants, undulating horizons and multi-contoured rocks.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{134} O’Kane (2003), p.229.
\textsuperscript{135} For further discussion, see Simpson (1982).
\textsuperscript{136} Richard (1997), p.43.
\textsuperscript{138} Barrucand (1986B), figs.1-32; O’Kane (2003), figs.2, 8 and 35.
\textsuperscript{139} For example, see Barrucand (1986B), figs.2, 3, 7, 12, 15-6, 18, 20-3 and 25.
recalling those seen in the *Maqamat* manuscript.\(^{140}\) These meagre elements are sufficient to indicate the landscape, but there is no attempt to think afresh about the naturalistic rendering of backgrounds.

Of unique importance in the Rabat *Kalila wa Dimna* is that the miniatures display two very different types of costumes. Although some characters are shown as typical Arabs, judging by their turbans and kaftan-type clothing, the others are dressed in clearly Mongol garb (Fig. MP111),\(^{141}\) e.g. cylinder-shaped headgear for women and feathered hats for men, in the manner of Mongol aristocrats. Published illustrations of the Rabat manuscript do not, however, reveal satisfactorily how far the painters distinguished between Arab and Mongol types of costume. On the other hand, an interesting parallel can be made between these images and Mongol royal portraits in the Saray Album which are considered to have been inserted in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* manuscripts, particularly the Tashkent leaves (Fig. MP87). Both examples closely resemble each other in terms of not only costumes but also interior settings as well as the gestures people make.

Once again, such mixed conventions, absorbing old and new pictorial styles, make the date and provenance of this manuscript uncertain: in particular, the occurrence of distinctive Mongol apparel presents something of a puzzle. Barrucand has suggested a date of production between 1265 to 1280, citing in comparison paintings from or assigned to late thirteenth-century Baghdad.\(^{142}\) Unmistakable Mongol elements in the

\(^{140}\) See *AP*, pp.108, 112, 116 and 122.
\(^{141}\) Figure MP111: Barrucand (1986B), fig.27. See also *ibid.*, figs.2, 6, 17, 19, 25-6 and 28-32.
costumes, however, which are absent from the London and Paris manuscripts, enable one to expand with confidence the time-frame of this manuscript up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Mongol-clad figures became ubiquitous in Iranian painting. As for the provenance of the Rabat manuscript, the absence of Inju characteristics, such as red backgrounds and patterned robes, indicates its stylistic distance from the Mongol protectorate in southern Iran. The cosmopolitanism of the Rabat manuscript suggests its links to North-west Iran or perhaps some other major cultural sphere of Mongol territory in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, such as Baghdad or Mosul.

The above remarks on the Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts underline their importance in the history of Iranian painting as a forerunner of regional styles, which were later developed into the establishment of the distinctive Inju style, as well as the development of the iconographic traditions of animal painting in the Iranian world under Mongol rule. Although the roots of chinoiserie in the illustrations of the early Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts remain shallow and the use of Chinese elements is somewhat cursory, without further translation into Iranian idioms, these manuscripts are illustrative of how Chinese themes gradually became acclimatised to the pictorial traditions of Iran and how they were bit by bit integrated into the new pictorial concepts of early fourteenth-century Iranian painting.

Of equal relevant to this section is a dispersed Persian Manafi'-i
Despite its unique position in the history of Iranian painting, especially its visual correspondence to animal painting of the Mongol school, such as the Morgan Bestiary and the London Qazwini, it has never been satisfactorily discussed within the framework of Ilkhanid painting. It has rather been dealt with in the context of Mamluk painting, due in part to several similarities with the Manafi'-i Hayavan of Ibn al-Durayhim al-Mausili, known as the Escorial Bestiary (probably Syria, 1354: Ms.Ar.898, Biblioteca Real). Given the present dispersed state of the miniatures, which are in collections over much of the world, the reconstruction of their original pictorial cycle is a difficult task. It is nevertheless possible to some extent to trace the echoes of Mongol style in these images and, in turn, the impact of Chinese conventions.

Compared with the Ilkhanid Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts, the landscape in the dispersed Manafi'-i Hayavan is free from the impact of the

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143 According to Contadini, 32 leaves and 28 miniatures of this manuscript have been identified (see Contadini [1992], pp.162-5). The present location and publication details of the illustrated leaves which I could trace at the time of writing this thesis are as follows: 1. 'the asses' (unknown; see BWG, p.42, pl.IX.B); 2. 'the crows' (Garett Collection; see Moghadam and Armajani [1939], p.87, no.197); 3. 'the unicorn' (FGA: see Ettinghausen [1950], pl.46); 4. 'the eagle' (Fogg Art Museum; see Schroeder [1961], fig.4); 5. 'the wild ass' (Fogg Art Museum; see Grube [1962], pl.5); 6. 'the oxen' (MMA; see Grube [1962], pl.4); 7. 'the stags' (Minneapolis Institute of Art; see Grube [1962], pl.6); 8. 'the lizards' (unknown; see Sotheby's [1967], lot.6); 9. 'the crab' (Hans P. Kraus Collection; see Grube [1972], no.26); 10. 'the phoenixes' (Keir Collection; see Robinson [1976], p.133, pl.13, III.1); 11. 'the goat' (unknown; Sotheby's [1977], lot.32; idem [1981], lot.13); 12. 'the herons' (FGA: see Survey, pl.821); 13. 'the mares' (Kuwait National Museum; see Jenkins [ed.][1983], p.97); 14. 'the eagles' (MMA; see Metropolitan Museum of Art [1987], p.70); 15. 'the ram' (Art Institute of Chicago; see Schmitz [1997], p.16, fig.3); 16. 'the water-birds' (Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva: Falk [ed.], no.13); 17. 'the doves' (FGA: unpublished); 18. 'the ibexes' (McGill University Library, Montreal: see BWG, p.42, no.18 [C]); 19. 'the scorpions' (Contadini [1992], pl.64a). See also Dimand (1933), p.19, fig.9; Holter (1937), nos.58-9: BKE, nos.58-9: Schroeder (1961), fig.5; Grube (1978), pp.169-70.

styles of the thirteenth-century Baghdad and Mosul schools. Landscape elements are not treated as isolated pictorial clichés but are physically related to each other. The illustration of oxen (Fig.MP112) remains two-dimensional, but space is suggested by the imaginative arrangement of the vegetation. Thick tufty grass is defined by the emphasis of linear details, following an inherited grass convention of the Mongol school, as in one of the types used in the London Qazwini.\textsuperscript{145} Representations of flowering plants are rather sketchy, but their composition and types are varied in each illustration. The lotus blossoms, which occur with frequency in the surviving illustrations of the manuscript,\textsuperscript{146} are more confidently depicted than those shown in the \textit{Marzubannama} and the Paris \textit{Kalila wa Dimna}, indicating a reliance on specific models, for example those seen in the decoration of Ilkhanid artefacts.\textsuperscript{147} Trees are less frequently employed in the formation of landscape, yet interestingly, though this is perhaps merely coincidental, all the surviving miniatures which contain representations of trees have a Chinese association – willows (No.12) and bamboos (Fig.MP113).

Another determinant of the Ilkhanid origin of this manuscript is the occurrence of Chinese-inspired clouds. The painters of the dispersed \textit{Manafi’-i Hayavan} seem to have explored new means of expressing landscape, experimenting with various forms of cloud, ranging from prototypical \textit{lingzhi} clouds,\textsuperscript{148} used in the same way as in the Morgan Bestiary, to serpentine

\textsuperscript{145} See Figure MP34c.
\textsuperscript{146} See Nos.1,4-5, 7, 9-10 and 13-14.
\textsuperscript{147} For example, see Figures T27, C15, C18 and M19.
\textsuperscript{148} See Nos.3, 7 and 10.
clouds diffused all over the ground\textsuperscript{149} – a foretaste of the Rashidiyya style.

With regard to animals and human figures, the surviving miniatures of the dispersed \textit{Manafi’-i Hayavan} manuscript are insufficient to give a clear idea of the overall treatment of Chinese-related animals and costumes. Judging by the illustration of phoenixes, a painting which shows marked dependence upon Chinese models (No.10), some painters who were involved in the production of the manuscript seem to have been familiar to some extent with Chinese animal iconography. A few examples contain human figures (Fig.MP113). The woman in the scene of a goat appears to be a Saljuq-type haloed beauty with a moon face and long black hair, evoking the women depicted in \textit{mina’i} ware of the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, rather than a Mongol female aristocrat distinguished by her headgear and robe with elaborate decoration.

Another remaining problem is the occurrence of framing devices (Fig.MP114), an element which is uncommon in the illustration of the Morgan Bestiary\textsuperscript{150} and is different from the architectural devices often incorporated into the illustrations of the Edinburgh al-Biruni.\textsuperscript{151} In addition to decorative vertical panels on both sides, the arch is embellished in its spandrels with large lotus blossoms. A more noteworthy point is the elaborate decorative frieze of lobed arches arranged between the text and the animal image, which is reminiscent of that found in Uljaitu’s \textit{mihrab} in Isfahan (1310)(Fig.Mis.1). Although it is difficult to generalise from this

\textsuperscript{149} See No.12.
\textsuperscript{150} However, the Kufic heading in this illustration is reminiscent of those seen in the Morgan Bestiary (see Figure MP8).
\textsuperscript{151} See Soucek (1975), figs.5, 12 and 14.
isolated instance, this is a possible indication of the growing awareness of the role of marginal decoration in the image structure in animal painting and perhaps Iranian painting in general.

A certain degree of stylistic relationship between the dispersed *Manafi'-i Hayavan* and animal painting of the Mongol school provides a key for an approximate dating and provenance for this manuscript, namely North-west Iran in the period between 1300 to 1320. Additionally, the occurrence of decorative frames in association with contemporary Iranian monuments reinforces the Ilkhanid dating of this manuscript.

8. The last phase of *chinoiserie* in Iranian painting: the case of the Diez Albums – group 2

The key material which fills the gap in styles between the 1320s and 1330s – a politically turbulent yet artistically productive time associated with the inauguration of the Jalayirid style\(^\text{152}\) – is, again, some of the fragmentary miniatures in the Saray Album. This album, now divided between Istanbul and Berlin, has long been known to scholars of Iranian painting, yet scholarly discourse about the miniatures, especially those possibly produced between the period immediately before and after the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, remains unsatisfactory. As in the previous section dealing with a group of early fourteenth-century painting in the same album, the

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\(^\text{152}\) Literary evidence for the importance of this period in the history of Iranian painting is found in Dust Muhammad’s preface to the Bahram Mirza Album (1544). See Thackston (1989), p.345.
unavailability of the Istanbul material at present precludes any detailed scholarly investigation of their links to the pictorial traditions which evolved in Iran during the late Ilkhanid period. It is therefore possible to look at the Berlin material only as a point of reference, comparing it with the published leaves of the Istanbul material.153

Because of the absence of texts attached to these images, the distinctions between the paintings which I have identified as belonging to Group 1 and 2 rest on their styles, and in particular on the degree of assimilation of Chinese elements. Group 1 is characterised by inherited conventions of the Rashidiyya school, while Group 2 has resonances of the Demotte style and attempts to remodel or to Persianise Chinese themes. Some of the Istanbul and Berlin leaves belonging to Group 2154 also provide a clue for a better understanding of paintings probably produced between the 1340s and 1350s under the Jalayirids, whose stylistic chronology is still incomplete.155 Yet this section centres on the examples which can be regarded as safely belonging within the context of later Ilkhanid painting.

Since this group of miniatures is more discrete than those in Group 1, it

153 For the Istanbul material belonging to this group in general, see Atasoy (1970); Rogers, Çağman and Tanindi (1986), pls.45-53.

154 Particularly notable are the earliest ascension miniatures, namely the Mi’raj-nama (Hazine 2154), which can be dated to the middle of the fourteenth century (see Ettinghausen [1957b]; Ipşiroğlu [1967], pp.60-7; Rogers, Çağman and Tanindi [1986], pp.69-70, pls.45-7). Splendid as the paintings are, chinoiserie elements relevant to the subject of this thesis are scarce in them.

155 There are three dated manuscripts which were produced in the early Jalayirid period: the al-Ma’al-Waraqi wa’l-ard al-Najmiyyah (1339: but its paintings were added later: Ahmet III, 2075, TSM; see Farès (1959)); the Kalila wa Dimna (1343-1344: but its paintings were added later: Ms.Fars.61, National Library, Cairo; see Kühnel (1937)); and the Garshasp-nama (1354: Hazine 674, TSM: see Ettinghausen [1959], pp.60-5, figs.13-17). For a brief discussion of these manuscripts, see Grube (1978), pp.18-19.
is difficult to reconstruct the original context in which the miniatures would have been painted and viewed. But the bulk of the miniatures in this group are *Shahnama* images which were initially incorporated into books or were possibly individual paintings.\(^{156}\) To take an example, six small miniatures, perhaps originating from one manuscript but now pasted together in disorder on one page, illustrate several phases of furious battles (Diez A. Fol.71.S43).\(^{157}\) On the whole, the impact of Rashidiyya conventions lingers in these miniatures. The visual emphasis is placed on horizontality; the pictorial movement is predominantly set from right to left by means of the movement of horses. Yet a point which distinguishes the battle scenes of the Diez miniatures from those of the Rashidiyya school lies in the treatment of nature, in which the proportions of landscape elements are adjusted not to decorative purposes but to compositional requirements. One miniature (Fol.71.S43.N6; Fig.MP115),\(^{158}\) for example, shows a striking originality in the composition of landscape. Here the human figures in the foreground are swallowed up by the massive rock formation in the background. The layers of rocks drawn by speedy brush strokes, which slant dynamically towards the left, serve to distract the viewer's attention from the formal arrangement of riders. This unusual way of suggesting the physical relationship between human figures and landscape elements is an antecedent of later Ilkhanid


\(^{157}\) Ipşiroğlu (1964), pp.49-50, Tafel XXV.

\(^{158}\) Figure MP115: Ipşiroğlu (1964), Tafel XXV.
conventions, namely those evolved in the Great Mongol *Shahnama*. The landscape in this miniature is constructed under the spell of Chinese inspiration, especially that exerted by Chinese woodblock prints (Fig.MP116).

Some scholars have suggested that the Istanbul Saray Albums contain certain illustrations which were split from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* manuscript, or at least some which were executed in subsidiary workshops, evoking the now-lost illustrations of the Demotte *Shahnama* manuscript. Among the putative Demotte leaves in Istanbul, the image of Zal shooting a water bird (Hazine 2153, f.65v; Fig.MP117) stands out for its variety of modes of expressing landscape. The entire space is boldly divided at a diagonal angle by an expanse of rapidly flowing river. Perhaps generated by a current interest in the manipulation of water in the landscape structure in Iranian painting, the billowing streams in this scene of Zal are rendered in the vein of Rashidiyya painters, as in the illustration of the River Nile in the Edinburgh *Jami‘ al-Tawarikh* manuscript (Fig.MP57), with the additional use of white colour for both sprays and currents. What is unique to this

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159 For example, see Grabar and Blair (1980), nos.30, 33-4, 36, 38, 41-2, 47, 49, 51 and 53 in particular.
160 Figure MP116: Anon.(1956), pp.467-8. I am indebted to Dr Teresa Fitzherbert for valuable information about this Chinese material.
161 For example, Hazine 2153, f.158v (suggested by Grube [1976], n.64; see Atasoy [1970], fig.7), f.55 (suggested by Sims [2002], no.102), 112 and 118 (suggested by Grabar [2000], p.46; see Atasoy [1970], figs.16, 2). F.55v (see Sims [2002], no.221) is also closely related to the style of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*.
162 Figure MP117: PP, p.42; İpsiroğlu (1971), pl.47; Rogers, Çağman and Tanind (1986), p.71, pl.51. This illustration is usually reckoned to be Jalayirid.
163 For example, see representations of water in the Istanbul *Mi‘raj-nama* (see Ettinghausen [1984], fig.2.4) and some leaves of the Diez Albums datable to the late Ilkhanid period (see İpsiroğlu [1964], Tafel, XV, XI).
painting is that the river serves to enhance the dynamic spatial relationship between the images, which are divided into two land masses, and thus to highlight Zal's mastery of shooting in a more effective way. While the near space is crowded with vigorously rendered low bushes and neatly arranged short grass, the landscape on the opposite side of the fast flowing stream conveys an elegance of rose-like flowering plants and lichenized rocks.

The following three miniatures deserve special attention as landmarks of the re-interpretation of Chinese landscape conventions in later Ilkhanid painting. A leaf known as 'the winter landscape' (Fol.70.S10; Fig.MP118)\textsuperscript{164} is painted with a remarkable feeling of harsh weather in winter. The delicacy of depiction is conveyed by deciduous trees in both the foreground and background. The painter's artistry is manifest in a careful modelling of sinuous tree trunks and a detailed depiction of bent twigs which taper to sharp points, a mode depending largely on Chinese prototypes.\textsuperscript{165} The trees depicted with such sensitivity serve to create a melancholic atmosphere. A feeling of gloom is further enhanced by the spare arrangement of elongated rocks. The rocks here focus on recreating double contours and superficial holes under the inspiration of Mongol school conventions.\textsuperscript{166} But they also have an illusionistic bent, owing much to the use of intense colour schemes.

\textsuperscript{164} Figure MP118: Ipşiroğlu (1964), p.33, Tafel XI; \textit{idem} (1971), pl.41, pp.60-1; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.29. Ipşiroğlu has regarded this painting as part of the Rashid al-Din manuscript (see Ipşiroğlu [1967], pp.33-4).

\textsuperscript{165} The spiky trees depicted in this miniature are particularly evocative of old trees depicted by Chinese painters, which is one of the popular genres in Yuan painting (see Fong [1992], pls.92-4).

\textsuperscript{166} See Figure MP48.
Another highlight in the landscape of this painting is the depiction of water. The tracts of water serve to divide the whole landscape composition into three parts. The painter adopts one of the water conventions appearing in earlier Ilkhanid painting, which was ultimately of Chinese origin (Fig.MP38). Yet in contrast with the lyrical treatment of nature in the background, the movement of water, which is soberly controlled by the simple repetition of curled waves and sprays and by the use of subdued colours, stresses simplicity and bleakness. As a result of the subtle juxtaposition of two different types of landscape, however, the miniature succeeds in making an unforgettable visual impression on the viewer.

*Chinoiserie* is in the ascendant in an Istanbul leaf known as the autumn landscape (Hazine, 2153, f.68: Fig.MP119). Such a large-scale landscape may not have been alien to Iranian painters by the 1350s, when the miniatures of Group 2 were possibly compiled. In comparison with the pure landscape paintings in the *Jami‘ al-Tawarikh* (Figs.MP63, MP64), the Istanbul leaf provides a superb bird’s-eye view of the grandeur of nature, with the intention of integrating Chinese compositional ideas. Like prototypical Chinese landscape painting in a hanging format, this miniature displays an entire composition at one time. The image is stretched backwards by the use of overlapping mountain peaks. Compared with Figure MP64, it is clear that the painter of the Istanbul leaf places special value on distance rather on height. Sparsely arranged grass and misty clouds which emerge in the

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167 Figure MP119: Ipşiroğlu (1967), pl.49; Rogers, Çağman and Tanindı (1986), pl.48, p.70.
distance are also effective in displaying a panoramic view. The impact of Chinese landscape conventions remains intact in the rocky formation to the right. Though less dynamic than these rocks, the overhanging cliffs reproduce the idyllic ambience of the mountain side. The appearance of small waterfalls suffices to suggest a picturesque atmosphere, an idea which may have stemmed from Chinese models, for example those seen in Song landscape painting (Fig.MP22). The underlying pictorial concept in this landscape, however, lies not only in the lifelike depiction of each landscape element or the pursuit of naturalism in its structure, but also in its tonality. A subtle sense of colour is shown in the stand of trees aflame with red and orange leaves placed in the middle of the scene. Such colour schemes make the whole image pleasing and restful to the eye.

An illustration of a Mongol-clad hunter is distinguished by its spatial elegance (Fol.71.S28.N1; Fig.MP120). He is dramatically set against a rocky landscape rendered in monumental proportions. The elevated cliffs here have a quality of composition and force of structure that suggests Chinese models – for example, they give rise to visual tension in the almost same way as found in Northern Song landscape (Fig.MP22). The painter uses ink monochrome techniques for the contours and surfaces of cliffs, complementing the density of texture, while the sky, which is imaginatively pigmented in rainbow colours, creates an interesting contrast to the cliffs, with an emphasis on lifelike details. Similar emotional effects generated by directional thrusts can be observed in other related examples in the Istanbul

168 Figure MP120: Ipşiroğlu (1964), pp.33-4, Tafel XII; idem (1971), pl.40, pp.60-1; O’Kane (1990-1991), fig.8 (he has attributed this painting to the Jalayirid period).
Albums, such as the images of two hunters (Hazine 2153, f.28)\textsuperscript{169} and of the Simurgh and Zal (Hazine 2153, f.23),\textsuperscript{170} indicating that this type of rocky landscape came to be treated as a standard compositional structure in Iranian painting during the middle of the fourteenth century.

The Diez Albums contain another sub-group of miniatures with a comparable emphasis on colour.\textsuperscript{171} In one miniature (Diez A. Fol.71.S2: Fig.MP121),\textsuperscript{172} the painter’s concern is not to depict landscape in a naturalistic way but rather to parade his skills in the play of colour. While there is a remnant of chinoiserie elements, for example in the exaggerated way of modelling rock,\textsuperscript{173} tonality is further stressed in the rendering of rocks. Instead of showing graded shading techniques with thickening and thinning of line, rocks are intensely pigmented in separate colour schemes. A similar colour concept can be seen in painting of the Tang period and also in early Yuan painting which shows an archaic tendency (Fig.MP122).\textsuperscript{174} Yet a bold combination of various colours used in the Diez miniature, ranging from orange, brown, purple, green and blue, highlights brightness and creates exquisite colour harmony. This mode, which came to dominate later Iranian painting, is important in that it documents the emergence of nascent

\textsuperscript{169} See Rogers, Çağman and Tanndi (1986), pl.49, p.70.
\textsuperscript{170} See ibid., pl.50, p.71.
\textsuperscript{171} See ibid., pl.50, p.71.
\textsuperscript{172} See Fol.71.S2 (Ipsiroğlu [1964], Tafel XIV), Fol.71.S36 (ibid., Tafel XV), Fol.71.S39 (ibid., Tafel XVI) and Fol.72.S29 (Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.26).
\textsuperscript{173} See Figure MP121: Ipsiroğlu (1964), p.39, Tafel XIV.
\textsuperscript{174} See Figure MP20.
\textsuperscript{174} Figure MP122: CP, p.102: Fong (1992), pl.71. For colour in Chinese painting in general, see Sibergeld (1982), pp.25-8: Yu (1988).
Jalayirid conventions.\textsuperscript{175}

In sum, a group of miniatures in the Berlin and Istanbul Albums reveal aspects of the high level of manuscript painting in the Iranian world in the 1320s and 1330s. The stylistic vocabulary used in these miniatures varies from sub-group to sub-group, perhaps as a reflection of the political and social disturbances following the decline of Mongol supremacy, but they exploit new pictorial techniques and repertoires among Iranian painters of the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century. Some miniatures in Group 2 are supplementary documents for the development of \textit{Shahnama} iconography, in which landscape is ingeniously incorporated into the whole image structure. In several examples of pure landscape painting, the painters of the Diez and Istanbul leaves have been adept in following Chinese landscape conventions, but have further developed their interest in compositional structure and colour – a phenomenon which heralds the Jalayirid style.

9. Illumination

One of the major emphases of this thesis is to identify coherence in the use of Chinese elements in several media of Iranian arts. The detailed analysis of illumination is therefore appropriate in looking into what happened in the art of the book in Mongol-ruled Iran and how this correlated

\textsuperscript{175} I therefore hypothesise that this miniature was made in the late 1330s.
with the development of Iranian pictorial and decorative concepts during the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.

The art-historical significance of illumination has been widely recognised in association with the study of the Qur’anic manuscripts.176 The techniques of illumination had already reached its maturity in the Islamic world before the advent of the Mongols thanks to the continuous demand for a high standard of production of the Qur’an manuscripts. As in most of the decorative arts of Iran, however, the use of Chinese themes is almost unprecedented in Iranian illumination before the Mongol period. Pre-Mongol Qur’anic manuscripts are essentially adorned with non-representational decoration of vegetal, geometric and epigraphic type.177 Equally, in the illumination inserted into the treatises of the pre-Mongol date, for example in the Kitab al-Diryaq,178 the design is in the main composed of arabesque scrolls interwoven with geometric ornamentation.

Surviving examples of Ilkhanid illuminated manuscripts, either in the form of Qur’ans or in the shamsa and border decoration of illuminated books,179 are relatively scarce; thus it is relatively difficult to pinpoint the nature of Ilkhanid illumination and especially its relationship with China. None of the Iranian illumination which antedates the fourteenth century reveals decisive Chinese elements, except limited attempts to assert

177 For example, see James (1992), pp.22-3, nos.1-9.
178 See Farès (1953). For other examples, see the ex-libris of the Kitab Khalq al-Nabi wa Khulqih (1050-1053, Ghazna: Ms 437, Leiden University Library; see Stern [1969], fig.1).
179 For a list of dated illuminated manuscripts of the Mongol period, see Survey, p.1954, n.1.
naturalism with some accents of blossom-like motifs. Yet keys to the understanding of the decorative achievements of Ilkhanid illumination, including its reaction to Chinese themes, are found in the exquisite Qur'anic manuscripts commissioned by Uljaitu. The first of these Qur'ans was made in 1307-1307 (704-707 H.) by a calligrapher from Baghdad; the second is the so-called Mosul Qur'an of Uljaitu, which was completed about 1312 (712 H.); and the final and most renowned one is the Qur'an made in Hamadan in 1313 (713 H.), which was later sent to Cairo. This range of towns suggests that the art of illumination evolved particularly in the western parts of Ilkhanid territory in the early fourteenth century.

Apart from their dedication to Uljaitu's mausoleum, the three manuscripts are not wholly identical in the style of illumination: the degree of assimilation of Chinese elements also varies. The decoration of the copy made in Baghdad depends largely on its geometric composition. Here the intricacy of palmettes and scrolls in enhanced by meticulous detail and by a wide range of colour schemes. Lotus blossoms occur in the border of one decorative page now in Leipzig, but their artistic value remains inconspicuous, for they yield to overwhelming vegetal scrolls.

180 Gray (1985), p.137. See a frontispiece of the Qur'anic manuscript dated 1289 (Arabe 6716, BN; see Blochet [1926], pl.XVI).
182 The stylistic relationship between the Hamadan Qur'an and Mamluk Qur'an has been widely pointed out (see Rogers [1972], p.388; James [1988], pp.103-10).
183 Gray (1985), p.135. The production of calligraphy was predominant in Baghdad where the famous master Yaqut al-Musta'simi was active until his death in 1298 (see James [1992], pp.58-9). Hamadan was one of the places where the tradition of calligraphy and illumination was established under Rashid al-Din (see James [1988], pp.127-31). For the importance of Mosul in manuscript illumination in the Ilkhanid period, see James (1992), pp.99-101.
184 See Survey, pl.937B.
Chinese elements are more recognisable in the other two manuscripts, though they are reflected in a different way. In the Mosul manuscript, a cloud collar is boldly integrated into the upper part of the frame (Fig. MP123).\footnote{Figure MP123: James (1988), fig.72. See also Juz' 15 of the Mosul manuscript (ibid., fig.65).} This flamboyantly arched frame, together with a palmette frieze above, serves to enhance the sumptuousness of the calligraphy, which is written in gold script outlined in black. The cloud collar was initially recognised as a costume element in Mongol-ruled Iran,\footnote{For further discussion, see Chapter 1: Textiles, pp.50-1.} but the combination of inscriptions and multi-lobed arches creates an architectural atmosphere, evoking that found in lustre mihrabs of the Ilkhanid period.\footnote{See Watson (1985), figs.Ill, 126.} In fact, similar cloud-collar framing devices are extensively used for the decoration of Uljaitu's mausoleum in Sultaniyya (Fig.C19).\footnote{See also a cloud-collar device found in the interior decoration of the mausoleum, reproduced in Sims (1988), figs.5-7 and 35.} Besides the certificates in the beginning of each juz', which give his genealogy going back to Genghis Khan,\footnote{James (1988), p.100.} the occurrence of the cloud collar also points to Uljaitu's Mongol background. Evidence for the fashion for cloud collar decoration can be found in successive examples of Ilkhanid illumination,\footnote{See Survey, pl.939B.} but this seems to have become outmoded as a design for illumination in the Timurid period.

Despite its adherence to geometry, which echoes one of the decorative principles of Uljaitu's mausoleum,\footnote{See Sims (1988), figs.4, 14, 17, 19-20, 27-8 and 30-2.} some illuminated pages of the Hamadan Qur'an betray touches of Chinese floral themes. This is
particularly evident in the scrolling flowers projecting into the border
decoration (Fig. MP124).¹⁹² Compared with the flowery scrolls built into the
design of earlier Ilkhanid illumination,¹⁹³ the floral motifs used in the
Hamadan manuscript are rendered in a more articulate and fluid manner.
Such features as multi-petalled flowers elegantly interlacing with foliate
arabesques, perhaps intended to depict peonies, are evocative of those seen
in Yuan blue-and-white porcelain.¹⁹⁴ Such peony-like flower motifs are thus
well assimilated into the scrolling decoration in the border, but lotus-bearing
scroll decoration is rarely seen in either the Hamadan Qur’an or the other
two Qur’anic manuscripts under discussion. Some fragmentary illumination
of the Mongol period, however, suggests an awareness of the combination of
lotus motifs and arabesque-based scrolling patterns among Ilkhanid
illuminators¹⁹⁵ as well as the northward transmission of such decoration
into Caucasus and eastern Anatolia.¹⁹⁶

While in the illumination of the Uljaitu Qur’an the use of Chinese
themes is confined to headings and border decoration, some Ilkhanid
illuminators seem to have discovered the potential of Chinese elements as a
principal background decoration of Qur’anic inscriptions. The curious
mixture of disparate Islamic and Chinese elements, such as treating Arabic
scripts as if they were swimming in patterned water, is found in a

¹⁹² Figure MP124: James (1988), fig.82. See also ibid., figs.76–d and 79; Sotheby’s (1988),
lot.20.
¹⁹³ For example, see James (1992), no.21.
¹⁹⁴ See Figure C27.
¹⁹⁵ For example, see James (1992), nos.10, 22.
double-page frontispiece from a Qur'an which was produced at Maragha in 1338 (29.58: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Fig.MP125).197 This is a rare example of later Ilkhanid illumination. This type of water convention is first seen in an Islamic context in representations of rivers or seas in miniature painting at the turn of the fourteenth century, for example in the Morgan Bestiary.198 It soon became one of the landscape conventions most typical of Mongol school painting. Unlike Ilkhanid painters, who used such decorative water patterns predominantly for suggesting a stream or for embellishing costumes,199 the illuminators of this Qur'anic manuscript exploited the possibility of this pattern as a type of ornamentation reconcilable with Arabic scripts. The gentle repetition of the imbricated patterns matches the smoothness and elegance of execution of the holy words. Another point of interest is the cloud-like contour panels which are used to outline the text, and which are known as abri.200 The technique, though it seems unlikely to have had the same Chinese source of inspiration as the cloud motifs which evolved in Iranian pictorial and decorative art from the late thirteenth century onwards,201 functions as a device to separate the script itself from the background of imbricated water patterns.

197 Figure MP125: Survey, pl.938B; Hayward, no.532: Akimushkin and Ivanov (1979), fig.21. Another section of this Qur'an is now in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (fols.1v-2, 1470: see Survey, pl.938A: James [1980], no.48: Komaroff and Carboni [eds.][2002], cat.no.66). Similar patterns occur in another fourteenth-century Qur'an in Dublin (CBL, 1471: see Lings [1976], no.41) in a Mamluk Qur'an in Istanbul (Y365, TSM: see James [1998], fig.102).

198 See Figure MP30.

199 For example, see Figures MP34b, MP59 and MP65.

200 For this device, see Ettinghausen (1977).

201 Ettinghausen has discussed the early development of abri painting in Qur'an illumination, which can be traced back to the early eleventh century (see ibid., pp.349-50).
Though little remains, surviving illumination of the Inju school, in particular that executed between 1330 and 1370, is a good point of reference for the evolution of the art of illumination in southern Iran. As in the illumination executed in the Ilkhanid centres in the west of their empire, there seems to have been an inclination to add an air of China to the decoration of Inju illumination, especially in floral decoration. One of the earliest dated examples of Inju illumination is the title-page of the Istanbul 1331 *Shahnama* frontispiece (Fig.MP126), where lotus blossoms are emblematically present in the central and four small medallions at the corners. This was perhaps allied with the frequent occurrence of lotus blossoms in the miniature paintings of this manuscript.

More sophisticated decorative ideas occur in the illumination of an Inju Qur'an manuscript (Fig.MP127) which was produced perhaps subsequently to the 1331 *Shahnama*. Floral sprays here are gracefully arranged over the whole page. They are vividly rendered in brush strokes, recalling ink painting, a device which is in marked contrast to the arabesque scroll grounds used in some Ilkhanid Qur'an manuscripts. A sense of

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202 For Inju illumination, see James (1992), pp.122-49.
203 Figure MP126: Waley and Titley (1975), fig.2. Flower motifs, conceivably peonies, are to be found in the illumination of the 1341 *Shahnama* (see Simpson [2000], pls.1-2, 12-13). The lotus motifs which occur in an illuminated page of the Stephens *Shahnama* (1352; now in the possession of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC; see Sotheby's [1998], lot.41) are more articulate than those seen in the 1331 *Shahnama*.
204 See Rogers, Çağman and Tanundı (1986), pls.32, 38, 40 and 42.
205 Figure MP127: James (1992), no.29; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.) (2002), cat.no.67. For other related examples, see Lings (1976), no.60; James (1992), nos.30-1 and 33. For Muzaffarid examples of this decorative device, see Soudavar (1992), no.18.
206 For example, see James (1988), figs.53, 63.

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geometry is absent, which distinguishes this Qur'an from the Hamadan Qur'an. Inju illuminators were clearly more absorbed in suggesting a naturalistic background on a grand scale than in the partial adoption of Chinese-inspired floral motifs. The overall impression of the texts is thus softened thanks to the presence of foliage patterns delicately depicted in watercolour-like technique.

Despite a tendency to abstraction and geometry, Iranian illuminators of the Mongol period gradually developed a more positive attitude towards unconventional decoration. By the early fourteenth century, they had become conversant with Chinese themes, including cloud collar decoration and lotus or peony patterns. Owing much to inspiration from the Far East, they succeeded in introducing fresh decorative ideas into their repertoire of illumination. This accords with the time when Iranian decorative schemes were revolutionised under Uljaitu’s patronage. The occurrence of the some decorative ideas in illumination, architectural decoration and miniature painting demonstrates the collaboration of manuscript illuminators, architectural decorators and painters in Ilkhanid workshops, in which they seem to have worked together from common sources. Pre-eminent among these were probably drawings on paper.207 Another important finding in this section is the decorative achievements of Inju illuminators. This is indicative of the versatility of the art of illumination in the early fourteenth-century Iranian world.

10. Concluding remarks

Detailed comparisons between Chinese elements in miniature paintings of some key manuscripts produced in Iran under the Mongols and the Chinese conventions which they use made it possible to trace the pattern of the adoption and adaptation of Chinese themes in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian painting, as well as to identify possible Chinese sources. The examples discussed in the above three chapters have been particularly useful in highlighting the significance of pictorial techniques, landscape elements, animal themes and decorative schemes of Chinese origin. Ilkhanid and Inju illumination has given additional evidence for chinoiserie in the arts of the book in Iran at that time. It is thus no great leap to conclude that China had a profound impact on the stylistic and iconographic development of Iranian pictorial art during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.
CONCLUSION

Through its consideration of the all-pervasive impact of Chinese visual art on Iran under Mongol rule, this study has revealed the immense richness of the material culture of Iran in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Having experienced the gamut of decorative motifs and pictorial styles introduced from the Far East through the advent of the Mongols, Iranian artists gradually became acclimatised to such elements and consequently acquired a certain command of Chinese conventions. Their insatiable curiosity for alien aesthetics led to the extraordinary internationalisation of styles, forms and patterns in various media of Iranian decorative and pictorial arts. This certainly serves to increase the depth and range of Iranian art.

In general, the results of this study have not contradicted the major earlier remarks on this subject. Yet the three chapters on decorative arts have perhaps provided a more nuanced view of the complex yet intriguing process of the wholesale borrowing of artistic forms of China by Iranian artists which manifested itself from the late thirteenth century onwards. As soon as Chinese themes had swept into the Iranian world, a Chinese veneer became a standard ingredient of imagery in the major decorative objects produced in Iran under the Mongols – dragons, phoenixes, lotuses and clouds. In addition to textiles, which provide a substantial body of evidence for the
artistic exchanges between East and West, the westward transmission of Chinese themes was encouraged by the thriving ceramic trade between China and the Middle East. Metalwork and other miscellaneous objects are also a reservoir of information about the Sino-Iranian artistic relationship.

Similarly, the conventional theory of *chinoiserie* in Iranian painting has perhaps been enriched by the three chapters on miniature painting, which shed much light on hitherto unknown characteristics and patterns of *chinoiserie* in Iranian painting. Having been inspired by the intense observation of nature demonstrated by Chinese painters, Iranian painters discovered the significance of landscape, which became cardinal importance in the history of Iranian painting. Iranian painters quickly absorbed Chinese conventions of depicting landscape, including the mastery of Chinese brush strokes and advanced special devices, into their pictorial repertoire and subtly transformed them into new pictorial concepts suitable for their own cultural sphere. What makes Iranian painting of the period especially interesting is the occurrence of elements derived from Chinese printed material, which was no doubt diffused westwards more easily than hand-scroll paintings. Finally, the marvels of the stylistic and technical achievement of the painters of the Mongol and other provincial schools in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century became the basis for new pictorial traditions in Iran, leading to the rise of the so-called ‘classical’ style in the fifteenth century.

This study has aimed to illuminate hitherto obscure aspects of late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Iranian art. Yet the questions raised
by the occurrence of Chinese elements in Iranian art under the Mongols have by no means been answered entirely satisfactorily. Many vexing problems remain to be solved. Given all the findings in this study, it should nevertheless have been made clear that Chinese art left an indelible artistic and cultural mark upon the entire art of the Iranian world. Essentially, then, *chinoiserie* is one of the fundamental parameters of the development of Iranian art.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AI Ars Islamica
AO Ars Orientalis
ASG Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
BA Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City
BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BL British Library, London
BM British Museum, London
BN Bibliothèque Nationale de la France, Paris
BKE H. Buchthal, O. Kurz and R. Ettinghausen, 'Supplementary notes to K. Holter's check list of Islamic illuminated manuscripts before A.D. 1350', AI, 7 (1940), pp. 147-64.
CAJ Central Asiatic Journal
BCIETA Bulletin de liaison du Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens
CMAB Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art
CP J. Cahill, Chinese Painting (Geneva, 1960).
DA Dictionary of Art
EI Encyclopaedia of Islam (first edition)
EII Encyclopaedia of Islam (second edition)
Enc.Iran Encyclopaedia Iranica
EUL Edinburgh University Library
FGA Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Gugong B. Yong (ed.), Gugong wenwu dadian, 4 vols., (Fuzhou, 1994).
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<tr>
<td>KdO</td>
<td>Kunst des Orients</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>MMA</td>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</td>
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<td>NWK</td>
<td>Neimenggu wenwu kaogu [Inner Mongolian Journal of Archaeology and Cultural Relics]</td>
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<td>OA</td>
<td>Oriental Art</td>
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<td>TSM</td>
<td>Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul.</td>
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<td>TOCS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society</td>
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<td>SBB</td>
<td>Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin</td>
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<td>Sekai</td>
<td>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</td>
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<td>SMPK</td>
<td>Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz</td>
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<td>ZMQ</td>
<td>Zhongguo meishu quanji</td>
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