

Resim 26. Kıvrık dağa bezemeli gül (y. 240 b).

REALISTIC MOTIFS AND THE EXPRESSION OF THE DRAMA IN SAFAVID MINIATURES

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Since this study deals with the «Realistic motifs in Safavid miniatures», first, I want to explain what I mean with the term «realist or realistic». What is intended with this term is, of course, not an imitation of the objects in nature, but the inclusion of the motifs from daily-life, i.e., from man's natural surrounding into the miniatures reflecting a rather realistic approach compared to the clichée images that dominated Islamic miniature painting for centuries.

The realism of the Safavid miniatures reveals itself in two different ways : It either shows the story within an atmosphere of daily-life which we call «genre», or it conveys the drama, the tragedy of a certain event reflecting a certain philosophy of life. Both these attitudes have appeared before the Safavid period. Motifs from daily-life reflecting the surrounding of man, and the character of the period had a long past. Already in the Seljuq period, the illustrations of the *Maqāmāts*¹ and even those of some scientific works such as the *Kitāb al-Tiryāq*² and *Materia Medica*³ bear motifs from the daily occupation of man. Rural scenes, and illustrations giving a

1 For the *Maqāmāts* see: R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneve, 1962, pp. 104-124; O. Grabar, «The Illustrated *Maqāmāt* of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Arts, «in *Islamic City*, edit. by A. H. Hourani and S. N. Stern, London, 1970, pp. 207-222.

2 For the *Kitāb al-Tiryāq* see: R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 83-87; 91-92; B. Fâres, *Le Livre de thériaque: manuscrit arabe à peinture de la fin du XII^e siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Ars Islamique II)* Cairo, 1953.

3 See: R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 87-90; E. Grube, «Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus,» *Festschrift für E. Kühnel*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 163-194.

picture of camp and city lives are among them. They even invaded the decorations of art objects of other media, such as metalwork⁴ and ceramics⁵ showing the popularity of such themes during that period.

The expression of the «drama» of the event, on the other hand, has been a typical feature of the fourteenth-century miniatures of the Tabriz school as seen in the miniatures of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* and in some scattered pieces of the *Shāhnāmeḥ* illustrations. This feature which was called the «Pathetic Style» by E. de Lorey⁶ is best cristalized in a miniature of the London *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* depicting the Sultan of Delhi putting his uncle to death⁷ and in the *Shāhnāmeḥ* miniature (Album H. 2153, fol. 157r, Topkapı Museum) which illustrates the fight of Isfandiyār with the dragon⁸. In these images the painter conveys the human aspect of the story instead of giving a clichée picture of the event.

In the following periods till the end of the fifteenth century, a new esthetics which was based on color and stereotyped patterns left almost no room for such motifs⁹. Suddenly at the end of the fifteenth century in the paintings of Bihzād of the Herat school they reappear¹⁰. Ordinary man and his surrounding start to occupy such a large room in his paintings that even the main theme beco-

4 Such images especially appear on the metalwork called the Mosul work. See: D. S. Rice, «Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawsīlī», *Ars Orientalis*, II (1957), pp. 283-326.

5 Although seldom, genre motifs or motifs from stories appear also on the ceramics. See: A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London-New York, 1939, Vol. V, Pl. 642, R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 55-56; See also the Lustre bowl with a camel driver in The St. Louis Art Museum. *Handbook of the Collections*, St. Louis, 1975, p. 326.

6 E. de Lorey, «L'École de Tabriz; L'Islam aux prises avec la chine», *Revue des arts asiatiques*, IX (1935), pp. 27-39.

7 G. Inal, «Artistic Relationship Between the Far and the Near East as Reflected in the Miniatures of the Ġāmi' at-Tawārīkh», *Kunst des Orients*, X 1/2 (1975), pp. 108-143, esp. pp. 118-119, Fig. 4.

8 N. Atasoy, «Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-namehs», *Ars Orientalis*, VIII (1970), pp. 19-48, Pl. 19, Fig. 18.

9 With the exception of a few miniatures such as the one illustrating the encampment of the nomad people in the Shāhinshāhnāmeḥ of 1397 in the British Museum, London (Or. 2780). see: I. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des manuscrits timūrides*, Paris, 1954, Pl. XIV.

10 For the Bibliography on Bihzād See: R. Ettinghausen, «Bihzād, Kamāl al-Dīn, Ustād», in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new. edit. I. (1959), pp. 1211-14. In addition see:

mes overshadowed by the idea of conveying a natural setting. His miniatures depicting the construction of the palaces and mosques, school and bath scenes, etc. are good examples of this changing attitude. The frontispiece miniature in his Cairo *Būstān* depicting an entertainment in the Court of Huseyn Bayqara is a good case in point¹¹. In one of the pages of this double-page miniature we see the Sultan seated in a different posture entertaining himself in the courtyard of his palace. The servants bringing food and drinks, men taking a drunken man away, reflect the atmosphere of a drinking party. In fact, the memoirs of Babur enlighten us about such parties and the Sultan's interest in drinking by stating that all the city people were indulged in drinking during his period¹². So, Bihzād has gone beyond the established formulas and conveyed a moment of the royal entertainment in the Court of Huseyn Bayqara. Moreover, by placing two peasant figures on the upper right-hand section of the painting who entertain themselves playing flute, he has paralleled a royal entertainment with those of ordinary people, may be illustrating the interest in drinking at that time, and also expressing a view from ordinary people's world. Another remarkable point is that these people are depicted dark-skinned, probably representing Indiantypes, which is also an important point for our discussion of the Safavid realism.

The Safavid painters took over this tradition and following the footsteps of Bihzād, gave a large room to the motifs from daily-life. Ordinary people, such as gardeners tilling the earth, became an integral part of the Court-scene compositions of the sixteenth century. Bihzād's followers carried away this approach to such an extent that even the main figures and themes became unrecognized among the secondary motifs that serve to enrich the compositions. Crowdedness became the major characteristic of the Safavid miniatures. The manner of Bihzād with well-balanced compositions, and an organized sense of space left its place to the pictures which narrate

M. G. Lukens, «The Fifteenth-Century Miniatures», *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXV, No. 9, pp. 317-338.

11 For its reproduction see: L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, Pl. LXVIII (83 A).

12 About Huseyn Mīrzā and his court see: G.Z.M. Babur, *Vekayi Babur'un Hatıratı*, translated into the Turkish by R.R. Arat, Ankara, 1946, II, pp. 177-180.

the story within a story. The artists started to tell as much as possible within the limited place of the picture. The increased size of the miniature was very convenient for such compositions.

The realistic motifs now invaded all sorts of literary works such as those of Jāmī (the contemporary of Bihzād), Ḥāfiz, Niẓāmī, Bidpai's *Kalīla wa Dimna*, and even the most conservative work, Firdausī's *Shāhnāmeḥ*. Next to the celebrated painters of the period such as Sultan Muḥammad, Shaykh Muḥammad, Mīr Muṣavvir, Mīr Sayyid, Alī, Shaykhzadeh, and Muḥammadi, there were also others who did not sign their names, but worked in the same fashion. The *Metropolitan Niẓāmī*, the famous *Houghton Shāhnāmeḥ*, the *Divān of Ḥāfiz* prepared for Sām Mīrzā (brother of Tahmāsp), the *Tahmasp's Niẓāmī* in the British Museum (Or. 2265), Jāmī's *Haft Avrang* in the Freer Gallery of Art illustrated for Ibrāhim Mīrzā, governor of Mashhad during 1556-65, a nephew of Tahmāsp, contain remarkable motifs from ordinary man's world¹³.

Among the miniatures which depict daily-life activities those which illustrate encampments seem to be the most popular. Their earliest known instance is found in the thirteenth-century *Maqāmāt* illustrations. The miniature illustrating the fourth makame in the Leningrad *Maqāmāt* forms one of the best examples¹⁴. Especially, the man cooking meal on the upper right-hand section of the picture will become a favorite motif in the sixteenth century. Although similar motifs are sometimes encountered also in the fifteenth-century miniatures, especially in these illustrating the works of Niẓāmī such as Laylā and Majnūn, they never constitute the main theme of the image. On the other hand, as we see in a miniature attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī in the Fogg Museum of Art¹⁵, the depiction of the daily-life in a camp seems to be the major concern of the artist. The miniature shows many personages busy with some activities. The encampment is indicated by the presence of some tents. The composition is arranged according to a central axis formed by a tree beneath which a stream flows. On the upper right-hand section

we see a youth putting some wood into the fire in order to cook the meal. Here, we see the centuries-old motif in a different shape. To the left of this motif, and a little below it, a woman is shown washing clothes within a wide basin. She is at the same time in conversation with an old man who appears behind a tent. Below are the tents superimposed on one another, behind which some heads of personages and animals such as asses, cows and camels are visible. On the lowest right-hand corner of the miniature we see a woman with her baby sucking milk which was a popular motif also in the previous period, seen especially in the miniatures of Bihzād. In the central part a youth washing his hands in the stream leads our eye to the left side of the picture where there are also some tents around which some personages are busy with different occupations. On the upper left-hand side of the picture, below the bust of a camel we see a young woman feeding an ass; to her right is an old woman milking a goat, and below her are some goats and sheep. A boy embracing his sheep walks toward a tent in which a woman holds a dish of meal with one hand, while raising the curtain of the tent with the other. She looks as if inviting the boy to lunch. In the front, we see a pot cooking on fire which reminds us of the same motif in the Leningrad *Maqāmāt*. A cat next to the fire adds a charm to the scene.

At first sight, all these motifs create a unity in the miniature representing an aspect of the nomad people's life in their camp. We feel as if the painter works from nature, from his own observation. However, the examination of other miniatures depicting encampments shows that the image which at first sight appears to be novel bearing some traces of observation from nature has become a pattern at the disposal of a traditionalist painter. A painting in the Album H. 2155 (Fol. 8v, Fig. 1) in the Topkapı Museum contains the same motifs with slight changes. Here, we again find the old woman milking the goat. It is almost like an exact copy of the one in the previous miniature; a man, instead of the woman, feeds an ass, and some domestic animals, e.g., goats and sheep also occupy the picture. The lower plane is again devoted to the tent in which some women are busy with various activities. Another album painting, actually a drawing in the Album H. 2165 (Fol. 57r, Fig. 2) depicts Majnūn in Laylā's camp. It brings together about the same

13 For these masterpieces of the Safavid painting see: S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting. Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1976, and also, Idem, *A King's Book of Kings. The Shahnameh of Shāh Tahmāsp*, New York, 1972.

14 See: R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, ill. on p. 112.

15 E. Grube, *The World of Islam*, New York, 1967, Fig. 80.

or similar motifs that we encountered in Sayyid 'Ali's miniature and in the album painting. It also looks to be one of the designs that prepared the famous Freer *Haft Avrang*. Although the places of the motifs have changed in the composition, we recognize the woman feeding an ass, milking her baby in a tent, washing the clothes in a wide basin, another cooking a pot of meal on a fire and providing the fire with some wood. Sheep and goats also occupy the empty areas in the composition forming similar motifs as in the previous paintings. In the frontal plane we see Majnūn prostrating before Laylā whose posture seems to have derived from the same vocabulary as the Freer *Haft Avrang*. The figure of Laylā on fol. 231r (Fig. 4) in the latter manuscript has a similar posture. Furthermore, another miniature of the Freer Ms. seems to have shared common motifs with the album drawing. That is the miniature illustrating an encampment scene in the section of *Silsilat al-Dhahab* on folio 30r (Fig. 3). The man cooking the meal in the upper left-hand corner of the picture, the woman washing the clothes, another woman with her child in the tent, goat and sheep around the tents seem to be the common motifs. To these, an acrobat accompanied by some musicians with a couple watching them in the mid-section of the painting; some children playing, a man playing a flute seated on a rock, then a camel driver with his camels occupying the foreground are added to enrich the scene. Camel drivers and acrobats were also known motifs from the twelfth century on appearing in the miniatures of the *Maqāmāt*s and also even in the decorations of the metalwork of the previous periods¹⁶. However, compared to the previous miniature and the album drawing the Freer miniature seems to be superb, both in the execution of the detail and in the organization of the scene. The previous paintings look as if they served as a stage, as a sketch-book for the creation of this majestic work. Another good example describing the camp life appears in the *Tahmāsp's Nizāmī* in the British Museum (Or.

¹⁶ It appears in the illustrations of the *Maqāmāt* manuscripts of the Mamluk period see: R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, ill. on p. 148; also on the metalwork of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries such as on the famous Artuqid Innsbruck plate. See: E. Grube, *Op. Cit.*, p. 50, Fig. 24.

2265, from 1539-43) in the miniature depicting Majnūn visiting Laylā's camp attributed to Sayyid 'Ali¹⁷.

The popularity of the motifs seen in the above-mentioned miniatures also appears in less pretentious manuscripts such as in the miniatures of A *Khamseh of Nizāmī* in the Topkapı Museum R. 877 (Fol. 120v, Fig. 5 and Fol. 154v, Fig. 6) dated 1527 probably executed in Shiraz or in a provincial town¹⁸. There is a great number of designs and miniatures containing such motifs and encampment scenes the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this study.

As for the images depicting city life, another album page in the Fogg Museum of Art attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī gives us an idea about the period's life¹⁹. The illustration might be a detached miniature from the British Museum *Khamseh* showing the preparation of the betrothal feast of Laylā and Salm. While the majority of the picture is occupied by a palace, we also have a glimpse of some city activities such as shops in which people sell and buy things, mosques and the city gate that occupy the rest of the picture. We see sellers weighing their goods, male and female purchasers, a wood-cutter bringing wood through the city gate while a dog over the city entrance adds a joyful atmosphere to the image. Apart from these, we see an old man at a mosque entrance in conversation with a short young man, a woman taking water from a fountain and a man lighting the lanterns; together with some children they all create an atmosphere of genre within the picture. Although we find the images of the cities and shops in the Seljuq miniatures of the thirteenth century such as those in the *Maqāmāt*s²⁰ and in *Varqa and Gulshāh*²¹, they are of symbolical nature. Whereas in the Safavid examples there is a variety of motifs coming from the daily life of man. The artists bring together as many motifs as possible so that they can show many aspects of life within one image. Another image of a city is found in a miniature of the *Freer Haft Avrang*

¹⁷ S. C. Welch, *Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts...*, p. 88, Pl. 28.

¹⁸ F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1961, No. 442, p. 159.

¹⁹ E. Grube, *Op. Cit.*, Fig. 79.

²⁰ R. Ettinghausen, *Op. Cit.*, ill. on p. 116.

²¹ A. Ateş, «Une vieux poème romanesque Persan: récit de 'Varqa' et Gulshāh», *Ars Orientalis*, IV (1961), 143-153, Pl. I, Fig. 1.

depicting a donkey for sale attributed to Mirzā 'Alī²². A peasant brings his old donkey to the market for sale and praise it. The old donkey is contrasted with well-fed and furnished horses, and the painter takes the story as an excuse to show us a picture from the daily-life of a city. Here, again, we see a bakery at a corner from which an old woman and her grandson buy bread.

Next to these famous, eminent manuscripts of the Safavid period, there are many containing such realistic motifs. In this study, however, I shall confine myself only to some examples in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul. Among these manuscripts I can name the following works: Firdausī's *Shāhnāmeḥ*, R. 1548, probably executed in Shiraz around 1570-80s;²³ *Shāhnāmeḥ*, H. 1475 from the same period²⁴; *Shāhnāmeḥ* H. 1480, executed in Tabriz in 1520²⁵; *Shāhnāmeḥ* H. 1522, in Ottoman Turkish dated 1544²⁶; *Jāmi's Haft Avrang* H. 1084²⁷; *Haft Avrang* R. 911²⁸; and *Haft Avrang*, H. 810²⁹.

One of the most interesting images among them is the miniature depicting Bahram, the Shāh of Persia, taking the princess of China to Persia in Ms. R. 1548 (Fol. 460v, Fig. 7). It shows the event within an atmosphere of a festival. Within this crowded composition which shows the procession in front of the city-gate we conceive the motif of the princess on the camel riding on a ceremonial carpet driven by a camel driver wearing a special *kulah* with a high baton in the middle, and bearing a stick in hand. This main motif of the picture forms a cliché which also appears in the Freer *Haft Avrang* in the image of Zulaykha³⁰, and in less pretentious manuscripts of Jāmi

22 S. C. Welch, *Op. Cit.*, p. 98, Pl. 34.

23 F. E. Karatay, *Op. Cit.*, No. 363, p. 135.

24 *Ibid.*, No. 366, p. 136. The miniatures of this manuscript and the one cited above stylistically resemble those of H. 1497 in the same collection copied by Hasan al-Huseyn al-Kātūb in 982 H./1574 A. D. in Shiraz. Therefore, both should be executed in that center around 1570-80s.

25 *Ibid.*, No. 350, p. 131.

26 Idem, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi-Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1961, II, No. 2158, s. 59.

27 Idem, ... *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu...*, No. 749, p. 257.

28 *Ibid.*, No. 717, p. 249.

29 *Ibid.*, No. 706, p. 246.

30 R. Skelton, «The Mughal Artist Farrokh Beg», *Ars Orientalis*, II (1957), pp. 393-411, Pl. 3, Fig. 6. Dr. Skelton compares it to the miniature depicting Akbar's entry into

executed in Shiraz such as the *Haft Avrang* H. 727 (Fol. 41r, Fig. 8) in the Topkapı Museum³¹.

The rest of the motifs, however, display interesting aspects from daily-life. People make music, children play games, a man carries a tray with arrows, courtiers surround the cortege. Above these festive activities, we see the facade of the city occupied by music making personages on the balconies, men and women with children watching the procession imparting an air of entertainment to the image. The shops with dishes and clothes complete this daily-life aspect of the picture.

Keykhusrau's encounter with his grandfather Keykāvūs in the *Shāhnāmeḥ* H. 1475 (Fol. 142v, Fig. 9) is another example of this sort. We see a similar festival taking place in front of a city gate, perhaps painted by the same nakkash. Sellers of swords, a strange old man with a shield on horseback are reminiscent motifs of the previous miniature. Moreover, the music making personages and dancers enliven the celebration of this happy event. Again musicians and observers on the balconies adorn the facade of the city wall.

Both these miniatures stylistically show the application of the Qazvīn Court style mixed with that of Shiraz which favours surface decoration. The influence of the Court style shows itself in the elegant figures.

A third interesting image is found, again, in the *Shāhnāmeḥ* R. 1548 (Fol. 549v, Fig. 10) which is one part of the double closing-page miniatures of the manuscript. The scene depicts some persons bathing in a pool. The picture might illustrate a story in the preface of the *Shāhnāmeḥ* which tells how Firdausī scornfully gave away the reward money of Maḥmūd to a bath attendant. It seems to be depicted also in a *Shāhnāmeḥ* in the India Office (Ms. 3540, Fol. 10r) in London³². If it really depicts this episode, it is remarkable that it is shown at the end of the book. The peculiar point is that in it we find all sorts of activities of men swimming, rowing, pushing one another into the pool. Above are the observers and below some

Surat in 1572 in the Akbarnāmeḥ, British Museum. Farrokh Beg, who had his first training in Shiraz by Mawlana Dervish around 1550, later went to Mashhad, to the Court of Ibrāhīm Mirzā, then in 1576 to Kabul and in 1585 to Akbar's Court.

31 F. E. Karatay, *Op. Cit.*, No. 750, p. 258.

32 B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, London, 1976, p. 135.

personages prepare food. Another remarkable feature is that one of the figures below resembles an Indian with the type of his garment and cap and with his facial features in profile³³. Later we shall come to this point again. A similar motif of a pool with rowing figures appears also in a manuscript of Jāmi's *Haft Avrang R. 911* (Fol. 152r, Fig. 11). It serves as a frontispiece miniature to the section of *Khīradnāmeḥ-i Iskandārī* (the Wisdom of Alexander).

The miniatures depicting the motifs and scenes from people's daily-experiences being either the city life, the courtly life or the rural life are too many, and I shall be content with discussing only a few examples. However, there is another aspect of the Safavid realism, which I mentioned at the beginning of this study, that reveals itself in the expression of the drama of the event. We might call it a new realism resembling the «pathetic style» of the fourteenth century. These scenes appear together with the daily-life scenes in the same manuscripts discussed above.

A very good example of this sort of a realism is seen in the miniature depicting the assassination of Khusrau Pervīz in the *Shāhnāmeḥ R. 1548* (Fol. 536v, Fig. 12). An assassination takes place, the legitimate ruler of Persia, the owner of the sacred fire «Farr» is being assassinated. Contrasted to this tragedy the guards sleep in the courtyard, court ladies flirt with the officers, a couple flirt in a corner of the garden, and a gardner tills the earth. Although a great tragedy is taking place, everybody is busy with his own occupation, nobody pays attention to what is happening. The King, the owner of the traditional, sacred «Farr» dies but the life continues. In this instance, the use of motifs from daily-life serves to convey a different philosophy of life expressing a rather realistic approach to the theme. The painter reflects the human aspect of the event. What happens if a Shāh dies, there comes another *Shāh*. Such an attitude would not have been possible a century, perhaps half a century earlier. Even the bearer of the sacred fire dies, still the life continues. This idea can be compared to Brughel's «The Fall of

33 Similar figures appear also in a miniature in the *Dīvān* of Fuzulī in a private collection executed in Shiraz circa 1575. See: B. W. Robinson, E. J. Grube, G. M. Meredith-Owens, R. W. Skelton, *Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book. The Keir Collection*, London, 1976, p. 193, Pl. 74 - III - 322.

Icarus» of the same century in which a similar philosophy is conveyed³⁴.

Similar motifs, however, appeared in the Safavid period already during the first half of the sixteenth century as we see in the miniature depicting the same episode in the *Houghton Shāhnāmeḥ* from 1527 (Fol. 742v)³⁵. In this majestic composition, attributed to 'Abd as-Samad by Mr. C. Welch, however, the event takes place in the corner of a richly decorated palace on the left. The miniature does not only illustrate the fatal event, but also shows various sections of the palace with some personages in it. As in the previous miniature, here too, the ladies looking out of the balconies, some courtly men in the palace rooms, the door keeper and more important than all, the sleeping guards in the courtyard unaware of the tragedy are included into the picture. Here, a similar approach is being conveyed within the framework of a very decorative style. At this point I should like to point out that the painter, if he is really 'Abd as-Samad, was taken to India in 1550 by Humāyūn and worked in the Court of the Mughal Sultans. Similar motifs such as the sleeping guards resting their heads on their shields or knees are also found in the miniature depicting the Nightmare of Zahhāk (Fol. 28v)³⁶ in the same manuscript. It is attributed to Mīr Musavvir, father of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who were also taken to the Court of India by Humāyūn. It seems that these sleeping guards that emphasize the drama of the event had already been patterned motifs in the early sixteenth-century Tabriz-Court Style. However, in the *Houghton Shāhnāmeḥ* the drama of the event has not been that much pronounced as in the *Topkapı Shāhāmeḥ*. In spite of it, we discern the rise a certain realism in the rendition of the conventional themes which ends up in breaking up the old formulas and clichés. Although there starts to appear new clichés within this new approach, they start to convey a new understanding. Even before the *Houghton Shāhnāmeḥ*, the employment of such guard figures, although in a limited scale, appears in the miniatures rendered in the Akkoyunlu Tabriz-Court at the end of the fifteenth century. An example of this

34 G. Glück, *Pieter Brueghel the Elder*, London, 1951, Pl. 8.

35 S. C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings...*, pp. 184-185.

36 *Ibid.*, ill. on p. 101.

is found in a miniature depicting Bahram Gür in the Red Pavillion, probably executed by Shaykhy, in the famous *Khamseh* of Halil and Ya'Qub beys from 1480s (Topkapı Museum, H. 762, Fol. 183v, Fig. 13)³⁷. It is evident that by the end of the fifteenth century both the Herat and Tabriz schools of painting were already employing realistic motifs. However, their intensive use towards the mid-and-late sixteenth century imparted a new aspect to the painting enhancing the significance of the event.

Next to the *Shāhnāmehs*, the illustrations in the works of Jāmī contain similar motifs. A manuscript of *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* in the Topkapı Museum H. 1084³⁸ probably executed in Shiraz in the second half of the sixteenth century conveys a similar approach. The miniature which depicts Yūsuf in the prison (Fol. 149v, Fig. 14) brings together separate motifs of the story. Yūsuf in the prison together with other prisoners forms the nucleus of the painting. To this, the units of Zulaykhā in the balcony, Yūsuf and Zulaykhā in a room above, the visit to Yūsuf and again the guards sleeping in the courtyard are added enriching the image. This popular motif of sleeping guards also appear in the miniature depicting the marriage of Khusrau with Maryam in the *India Office Shāhnāme*³⁹.

Next to these assassination, prison and wedding scenes where the unawareness of the event is expressed by patterned guard motifs, there are other ways of expression to convey a drama or a human emotion. In another *Shāhnāme* H. 1480 (Fol. 302r, Fig. 15) in the Topkapı Museum executed in Tabriz in 1520⁴⁰ the miniature which depicts the fight of Isfandiyār with the dragon is one of them. In this picture on one side we see the dragon encircling around himself, his head cut off, and on the other side the hero lies fainted on the ground. Such an interpretation of this episode would have been hardly possible a century earlier, in which the fights of the heroes have been expressed with clichée formulas to magnify their

37 F. Çağman, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine 762 No.lu Nizami Hamsesi'nin Minyatürleri*, Istanbul, 1971 (unpublished doctoral thesis); I. Stchoukine, «Les Peintures turcomanes et safavies d'une Khamseh de Nizami, achevée à Tabriz en 886/1481», *Arts Asiatiques* (1961), pp. 3-9, Figs. 1-7.

38 See note 27.

39 B. W. Robinson, *Op. Cit.*, Pl. 429.

40 See note 25.

deeds. The closest parallel to this approach can only be found in the fourteenth-century miniatures. The album painting (H. 2154, Fol. 157r)⁴¹ depicting the same episode in the Topkapı Museum shows the hero leaning on a rock drawing off his sword in hesitation to attack such a monster while two of his courtiers encourage him. Both examples convey a rather human attitude towards their subject matter. Both gave the same message: Isfandiyār, the son of the Iranian Monarch Gushtāsp, the distributor of the Zoroastrian faith, one of the outstanding heroes of the *Shāhnāme*, even he is a human being after all. As any human being, he can fear, he can hesitate and he can collapse in the face of a great danger.

Such interpretations seem to have existed also in the Ottoman miniatures. Although Ottoman realism rather relies on historical narration⁴², in some instances there is the use of 'genre' motifs such as we see in the miniatures of the famous *Sūrnāme*, *Nusret-nāme* and the Cairo *Humāyūnnāme*. In this last manuscript the miniature illustrating the story of the tortoise carried by the goose is enriched with the motifs from the village and rural life of the people imparting a genre aspect to the scene⁴³. This seems to have been a popular characteristic in the sixteenth century in the rendition of this story appearing also in the famous *Freer Haft Avrang* (Fol. 215r), where a scene from the camp life occupies most of the picture. It also occurs in the Bukhara manuscripts such as the one in the *Tuhfat al-Ahrar* in the Russian collections (State Public Library, Dorn 425, Fol. 46r)⁴⁴ where some tents behind the hills and a man washing his feet near a river impart a character of genre to the image. A simplified version of this miniature is found in the *Haft Avrang* in the Topkapı Museum R. 897 (Fol. 50r)⁴⁵ copied by 'Ali Rızā al-Kātib in 976 H./1568 A.D. probably in Bukhara. Fig 16).

41 See note 8.

42 For the historical realism of the Ottomans see: N. Atasoy, «Türk Minyatürlerinde Tarihi Gerçekçilik», *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, I (1964-65), pp. 103-110.

43 For the Cairo Humāyūnnāme see: G. Inal, «Kahire'de yapılmış bir Humāyūnnāme'nin Minyatürleri», *Belleten*, Sayı 159, C. XL, (Temmuz 1976), s. 339-465, Res. 6.

44 Ashrafi, *XVI th Century Miniatures Illustrating Manuscript copies of the Works of Jami from the USSR Collections*, Moskva, 1970, ill. on p. 89.

45 F. E. Karatay, *Op. Cit.*, No. 722, pp. 250-51.

In some manuscripts we also find the expression of a 'human emotion' through the patterned formulas. The image which depicts the death of Sohrāb by the hand of his father, Rustem, in a Turkish translation of the *Shāhnāmeḥ H. 1522* (Fol. 148r, Fig. 17) dated 1544 in the Topkapı Museum is a good example in point. The event is shown in a conventional way having the major figures in the center framed by the busts of the horses. Sohrāb lying down wounded on the ground and Rustem mourning for him are not something new in the repertoire of this story. However, the remarkable point is the posture of the groom of Sohrāb, who is shown leaning on the horse, eyes closed as if fainting at the sight of such a tragic event.

All these sixteenth-century examples which depict motifs from daily-life, genre scenes, and those that convey the drama of the event point to a novel attitude in the Safavid miniature painting. Even the most conservative Persian literary work *Shāhnāmeḥ* seems to be affected by such a realistic attitude. This new type of realism, no doubt, could not have existed only in the art of miniature painting. Although its roots go back to the late fifteenth century, it becomes popular in the sixteenth. Parallel to the realism in the visual arts, there was also a realistic trend in the Persian literature in the same century which is called the «Indian Style».

According to the definition of some scholars such as Bertels, E.G. Browne, Rypka, Bausani and W. Heinz⁴⁶ this style indicates the multiplication of the themes and images in literature, and many themes which have not been regarded convenient for literature started to appear in Persian literature together with the words, phrases, and idioms which come from the everyday language of the people. Thus, a greater freedom and the loosening of the conventional formulas take place in literature. It is the same attitude we observed in the above-mentioned Safavid miniatures. In this sense, we can say that in the sixteenth-century, especially towards the mid-and-

46 For the Indian style in Persian literature see mainly: E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, IV. Modern Times (1500-1924)*, Cambridge, 1953, pp. 165, 229-230; 419-420; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1959, pp. 284-286; A. Bāūsani, «Contributo a una definizione dello 'Stile Indiano' della poesia Persiana», *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario di Napoli*, VII (1957), pp. 167-178; Idem, *Litteratura Persiana*, Milan, 1960, pp. 478-499; W. Heinz, *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden, 1973, esp. pp. 111-119.

second half of it, both Safavid painting and literature displayed examples of a sort of realism that was called the «Indian Style» in literature. It will be interesting to point out that such parallelism between painting and literature existed also in other civilizations such as that of China in the Sung period (960-1279). After the famous Chinese literati poet Su Shih wrote at the end of the eleventh century stating that everyday words, the language of the street-all can be used in poetry but with great skill⁴⁷, the 'genre' painting became a favorite branch of Chinese painting.

It is, however, a point which needs an explanation why this realistic attitude in Persian literature was called with the term «Indian Style». Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-1576), who was an enthusiastic protector of Fine Arts, especially those of painting and calligraphy, at the beginning of his reign became a fanatic towards 1540s. In 1536 he closed down the wine-shops and pleasures were considered as sin. Fortunately, most of the masterpieces of Safavid period were executed before this time. The Shāh's fanaticism reached at such a degree that any poem which does not fit in with the Shi'ah doctrine was not favoured. As a result of this fanaticism in religion, most of the poets went to the Mughal Court in India and worked for the more liberal patrons. When they came back to Persia, they wrote with a new style revealing a certain realism which was called the «Indian Style». The poets 'Urfī, Faiḏī, Faṣīhī, Sa'ib, Shavkat, and Bīdil are among them. The expansion area of this style is Persia, Muslim India, Afghanistan, and some Persian speaking areas of Central Asia⁴⁸.

When compared with painting, however, an ambiguity draws our attention. The intercourse between Persia and India, no doubt, existed before the sixteenth century. As pointed out by Fraad and Ettinghausen⁴⁹, very probably, some Persian painters and calligraphers have worked in the Court of the Delhi Sultans during the Timurid period, although the famous Timurid historian of the Shāh

47 See: S. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang (1555-1636)*, Cambridge, 1971, p. 5.

48 See note 46.

49 I. L. Fraad and Ettinghausen, «Sultanate Painting in Persian Style. Primarily from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century: A Preliminary Study», *Chavi: Golden Jubilee Volume of the Bharat Kala Bhavan*, Benares, 1972, pp. 48-66.

Rūkh period 'Abd ar-Razzaq⁵⁰, who visited India in 1442, does not mention any activity of miniature painting in his memoirs. In spite of Amīr Khusrau Dehlevī's interest in the social themes and everyday life in literature who wrote at the Court of the Delhi Sultans at the end of the thirteenth century and became also a popular poet in Persia⁵¹, the paintings attributable to the patronage of the Delhi Sultans do not bear any traces of that sort of a realism.

However, in the late fifteenth century in the Timurid Court of Huseyn Mīrzā in Herat, where the eminent men of letters of the time were gathered, a sort of realism shows itself in the paintings of Bihzād as pointed out before. Jāmī, the Court poet of the period, was also one of the favorites the works of whom were illustrated with realistic motifs during the Safavid period. In the royal entertainment scene attributed to Bihzād in the *Cairo Būstān* we noticed that the painter went beyond the established formulas and also introduced an Indian-looking couple to his scene. Although there is a possibility that this miniature might have been painted and added to the manuscript later, Bihzād's other genre scenes indicate that already by the end of the fifteenth century Timurid Court was interested in realistic scenes. At this point two facts draw our attention. First, Bihzād has not been to India; secondly, in Babur's account on the Court of Huseyn Bayqara and its artistic activities there is no mention of any Indian influence. Babur invaded India, however, later and erected his empire there in 1526-9. After him, when, his son Humāyūn was exiled from India he went to Persia and welcomed by Shāh Tahmāsp⁵². He resided there during the years 1544-50, and on his return to India he took Mīr Musavvir, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and

50 For the Narrative of the Journey of 'Abd ar-Razzaq, Ambassador from Shāh Rūkh to India in 845 H./1442 A.D. see: *India in the Fifteenth Century, being A Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India*, New York 1957, pp. 20-43.

51 For the Social character of Amīr Khusrau Dehlevī's works see: S. H. Asgari, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History,' in *Memorial Volume, Amir Khusrau*, New Delhi, (October) 1975, pp. 143-161; For the illustrated works of Dehlevī See: N. Titley, 'Miniature Paintings Illustrating the Works of Amīr Khusrau: 15th, 16th, 17th Centuries,' *Marq*, XXVIII, No. 3 (June 1975), pp. 20-52.

52 See: S. C. Welch, *...Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts...*, p. 23; E. G. Browne, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 419-420; For the life of Humayun see: Gülbeden, *Hūmayunnāme*, Translated from the Persian into the Turkish by A. Yelgar with an introduction of Hikmet Bayur, Ankara, 1944.

'Abd as-Samad with him⁵³. Other Persian painters who have been to India are Dūst-i Dīvāne⁵⁴, a student of Bihzād, and Farrukī Bey⁵⁵. The remarkable point is that the painters such as Mīr Musavvir, Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd as-Samad, who worked in the famous *Tahmāsp Shāhnāme*h of 1527 some miniatures of which were executed in this new realistic style, knew it before they went to India.

On the other hand, the beginning of the realistic attitude in Persian literature goes back to Ḥafīz, Amīr Khusrau Dehlevī of the late thirteenth century. This realism which disappears in the fifteenth century, re-appears at the end of the same century, perhaps under the conditions unknown to us at present.

The popularity of such motifs, however, falls into the mid-sixteenth century. The Freer *Haft Avrang* is an example of this. The new ideas coming from India seem to have strengthened a trend hidden under the strict formulas. Although there seems to have been such a realistic trend before the Indian influence in literature, the appearance of Indian type of figures, a new sort of realism reflecting all sorts of human activities and emotions all fall into this same period.

A good example of the changing attitude in the conventional themes appears again in a miniature of the *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā H. 1084* in the Topkapı Museum depicting the ascension of the Prophet (Fol. 11r, Fig. 18). The unusual character of the image brings together the worldly and otherworldly elements. The text relates the event according to the *Hadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās. Muḥammad encounters Yūsuf in the third stage of Heaven. He starts his journey from Masjīd al-Haram (Here Qa'ba) and travels to Masjīd al-Aqsā, the farthest sacred place where the throne of God is. In the miniature we see a representation of the Qa'ba above the arcades of which the heavenly world is depicted. Next to the Qa'ba, there is a building and on its balcony two figures are depicted imparting a genre character to the image. The representation of the heavenly world draws attention. Above a rocky landscape we see the sky-

53 *Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qādī Ahmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī* (circa A. H. 1015/A. D. 1606). Translated from Persian by V. Minorsky with an Introduction by B. N. Zakhoder translated from the Russian, Washington D. C., 1959, p. 185.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

55 See: Skelton, *Op. Cit.*

filled with clouds and angels carrying holy plates with flames symbolizing the *Nūr*, holy light. Following the narration of the holy event there are holy personages and planets surrounding the figure of the Prophet. Among them on the lower right-hand section we see the symbol of the sun shown as a human head. Somewhat above it, on the left is the figure of Moses with a book in hand in the sixth stage of Heaven. Then starts the angels and the planets which the Prophet saw in the sky. A woman playing the lute represents Venus (Zühre). Then in the central section we conceive the figure of Muhammad on the Buraq led by a crowned angel representing Gabriel. The most curious image in the picture is the representation of the throne of God on the righthand corner where the Prophet was supposed to meet him. In front of the throne we see a figure of a warrior, resembling the planet Mars with a sword and a severed head in hand. It is depicted with four arms like an Indian Buddhist deity the examples of which we also find in the painting of Central Asia⁵⁶. He is supposed to protect the throne of God. So far, to my knowledge it is a unique instance of the Mi'raj iconography and there seems to be an Indian taste in it. Although the introduction of the figure of Mars as an Indian deity in Islamic painting took place in earlier periods in the astrological treatises⁵⁷, its employment in the Mi'raj iconography seems to have taken place in this period, and together with the depiction of the planets and the holy personages whom the Prophet met in Heaven, it gains significance. Even the lower section of the painting with the image of Qa'ba and some other details unnecessary for the narration of the event such as the people on the balcony, a young man peeping through a door adds something unusual to the character of this conventional theme. It looks as if it summarizes the whole story within one image.

Another interesting example of the so-called Indian influence can be seen in the *Divān of Hülālī* (died in 1532-33) in the Topkapı

56 M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, ill. on p. 57. Iranian Bodhisattva figure on a wooden votive tablet from Dāndān Öllüq, Khotan probably from the 7th century.

57 The figure Mars illustrated in a Seljuq Ms., the Astrological Treatise of Nasr al-Dīn Sivasī in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Pers. 174, Fol. 11Or), is one of the earliest prototypes of this image.

Museum R. 1012 (Fols. 1v-2r, Fig. 19), dated 1554-55⁵⁸. Its frontispiece miniatures show an entertainment in the open-air. The rendition of the figures and the landscape reveal the *Qazvin style*. The remarkable point is that the scene is depicted on a sort of green paper which is a typical Indian sort of green.

The examples we have examined so far indicate that there was a realistic trend in Persian painting at the end of the fifteenth century as crystallized in the paintings of Bihzād. Although the Safavid period painters inherited many such features from him, and executed superb paintings for Shāh Tahmāsp, because of the Shāh's increasing fanaticism, the center of book painting moved to different centers such as Mashhad and Shiraz in the mid-sixteenth century, and together with the influence of the Indian realism, they created huge, crowded compositions with motifs from daily-life, sometimes also conveying a human aspect of the event. Although these motifs seem to have derived from the daily-life, as we have seen, they have become formulas at the disposal of the artists such as the vocabulary of the poets. One might perhaps talk about the «Indian Style» for the realistic literature of the Safavids, but I incline not to call the miniature style of this period under the term: *Indian Style*; because, it seems that in spite of some influences from India, it worked both ways. The contribution of the Persian artists for the formation of the Mughal Court style was also great. An example of this is to be seen in a miniature of a *Būstān* of Sa'dī, produced for Sultan Cihangir in the Court of Agra in India, where sleeping guards occupy the foreground of the picture⁵⁹. It, rather, looks like a period style, also appearing in the Ottoman miniatures of the same period. In order to evaluate the painting of this period, I think, one should investigate the philosophy, the social history and the thought of the period together with the literature and arts. There should be a parallelism in all these fields which necessitates further research.

58 F.E. Karatay, ...*Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu...*, No. 773, pp. 266-267.

59 S.C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India. Painting and Precious Objects*, New York, 1963, p. 70, Pl. 24.



Fig. 1. A Painting in the *Album H.* 2155, Fol. 8v in the Topkapı Museum.



Fig. 2. A Drawing in the *Album H.* 2165, Fol. 57r in the Topkapı Museum.



Fig. 3. 46.12 Encampment Scene, fol. 30a Jāmi, *Haft Avrang*, Meshhed, Kazvin and Herat, 1556-65, with the Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

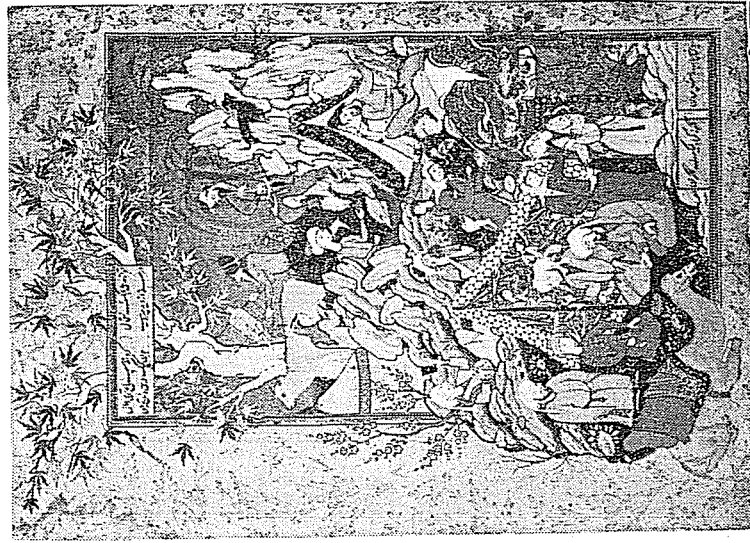


Fig. 4. 46.12 Majnun at Leyla's Camp, Fol. 231a Jāmi, *Haft Avrang*, Meshhed, Kazvin and Herat, 1556-65. With the Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 6. Majnun at Leyla's Camp. Nizami, *Khamseh*, R. 877, Fol. 154v in the TKS. Mus.



Fig. 5. Majnun at Leyla's Camp. Nizami, *Khamseh*, R. 877, Fol. 120 in the TKS. Mus.

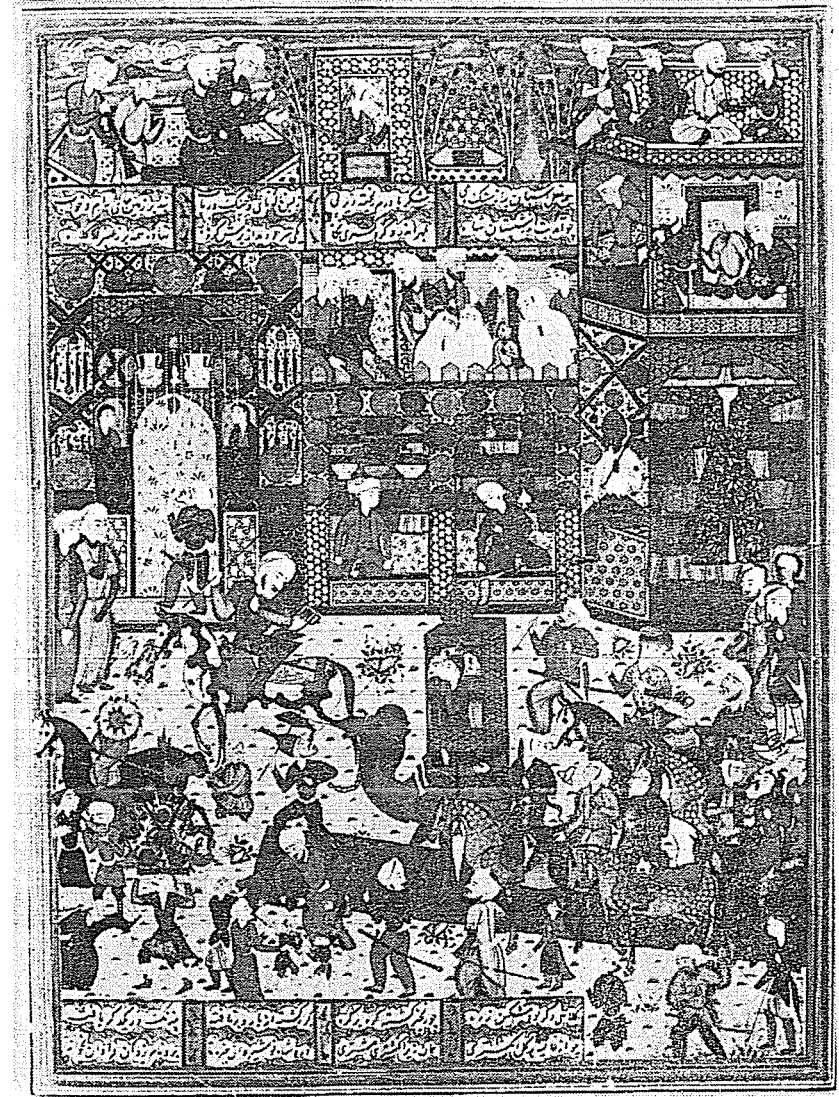


Fig. 7. Bahram Taking the princess of China to Persia. Firdausi, *Shahnāme* R. 1548, Fol. 460v in the Topkapı Museum.



Fig. 8. Procession with Zulaykhā.
Jāmi, *Haft Avrang* H. 727, Fol. 41r in the TKS. Mus.

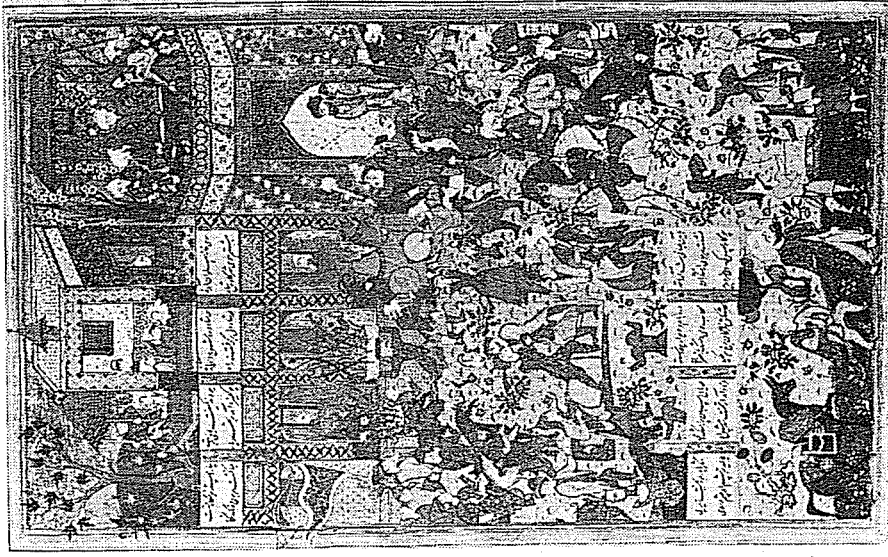


Fig. 9. Keykhusrau's Encounter with Keykāvūs.
Firdausī, *Shāhnāmeh* H. 1475, Fol. 142v in the TKS. Mus.

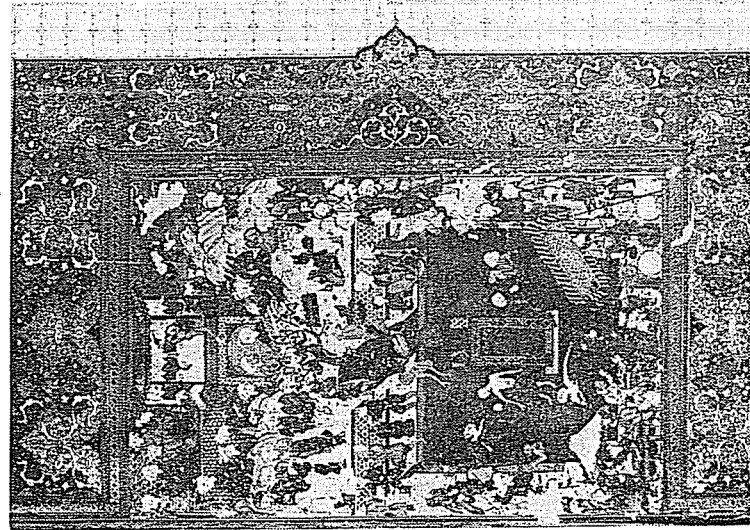


Fig. 10. Pool Scene.
Firdausī, *Shāhnāmeh* R. 1548, Fol. 549v in the TKS. Mus.

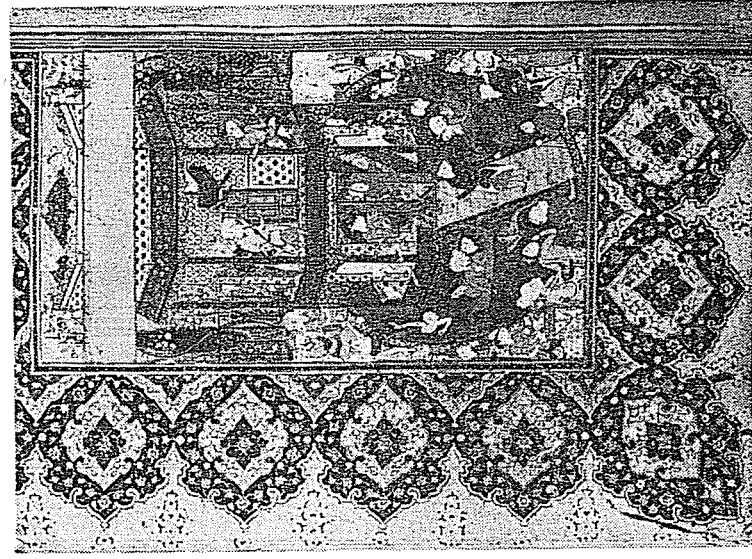


Fig. 11. Pool Scene with a pavillion.
Jāmi, *Haft Avrang* R. 911, Fol. 152 in the TKS. Mus.

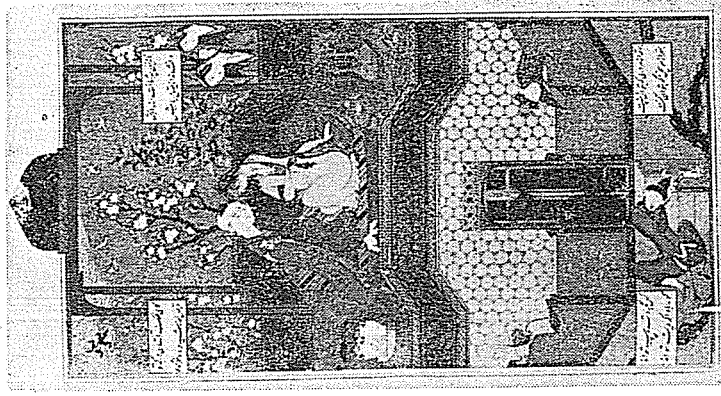


Fig. 13. Bahram in the Red Pavillion probably by Shaykhy. Nizāmi, *Khamseh* H. 762, Fol. 183v in the TKS. Mus.

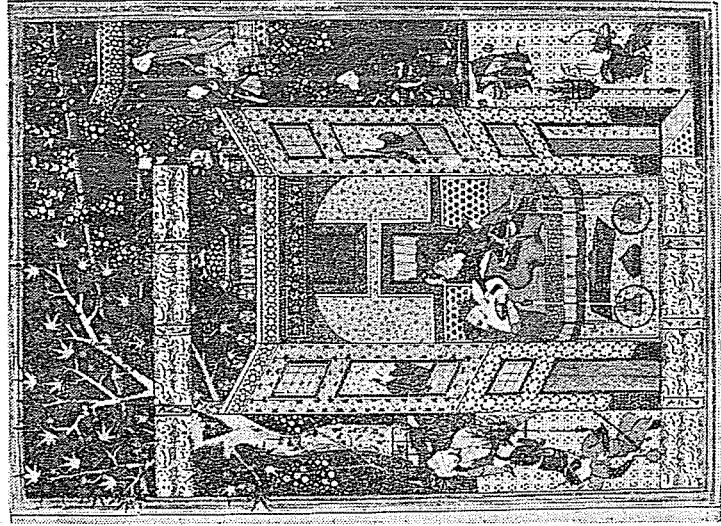


Fig 12. The Assassination of Khusrau Perviz, Firdausi, *Shāhnāmeh* R. 1548, Fol. 536 in the TKS. Mus.

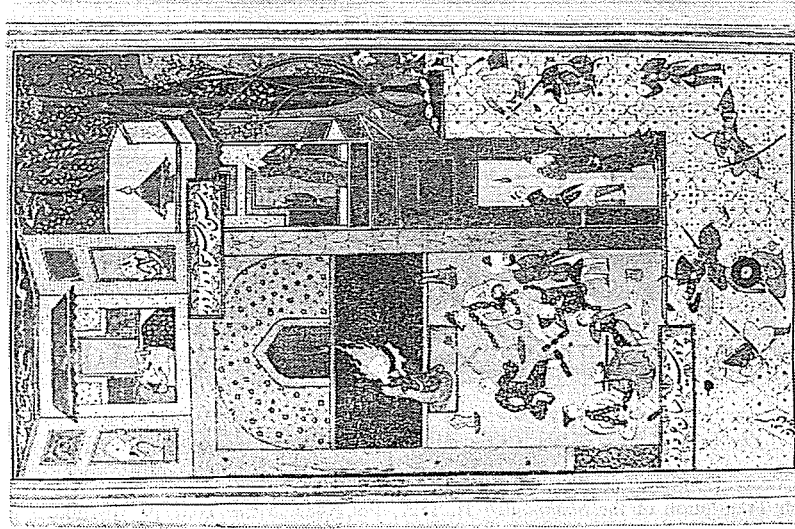


Fig. 14. Yūsuf in Prison. Jāmi, *Haft Avrang* H. 1084, Fol. 149v in the TKS. Mus.

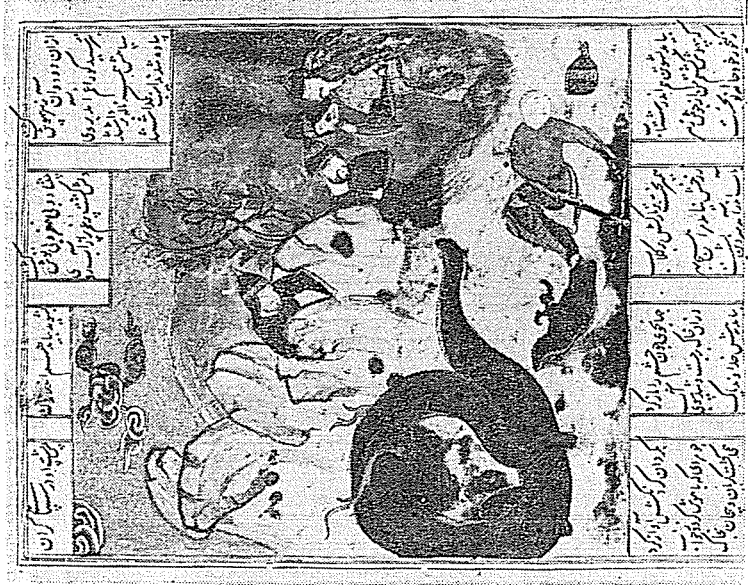


Fig. 15. Isfandiyar's fight with the Dragon. Firdausi, *Shāhnāmeh* H. 1480, Fol. 302r in the TKS. Mus.

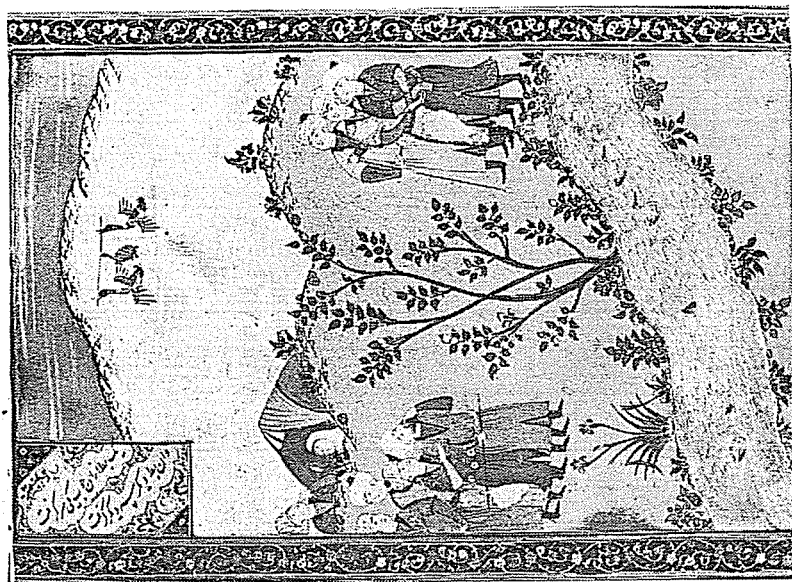


Fig. 16. Tortoise carried by goose.
 Jāmī, *Haft Avrang* R. 897, Fol. 50r in the Topkapı Museum.

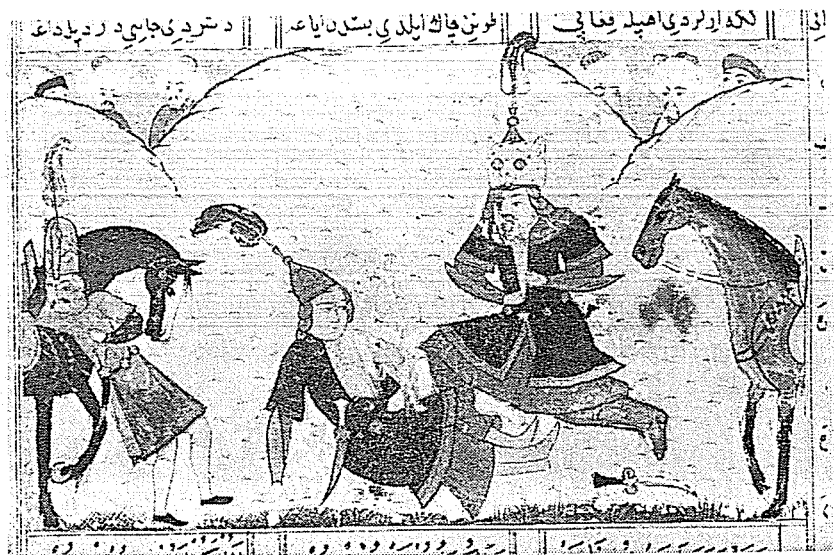


Fig. 17. Rustem and Sohrab.
 Turkish Translation of the *Shāhnāme* H. 1522, Fol. 148r in the Topkapı Museum.

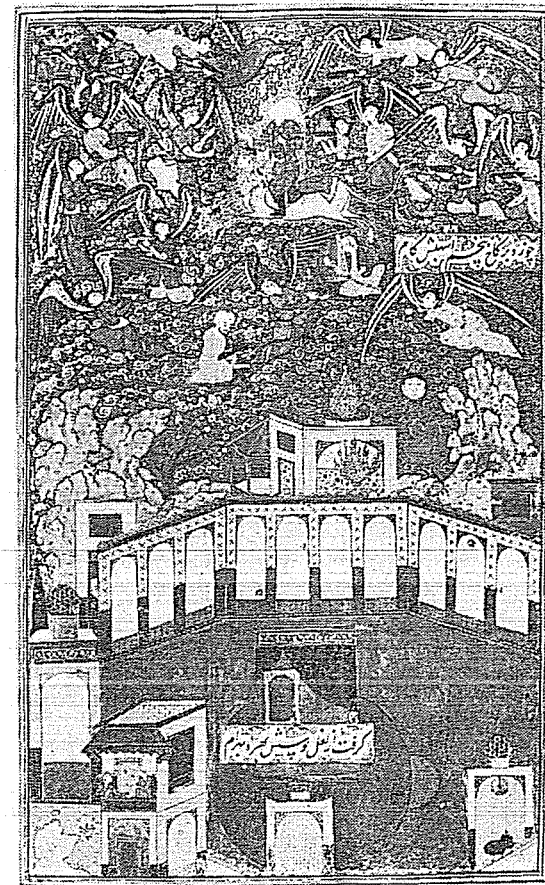


Fig. 18. Ascension of the Prophet.
 Jāmī, *Haft Avrang* H. 1084, Fol. 11r in the TKS. Mus.

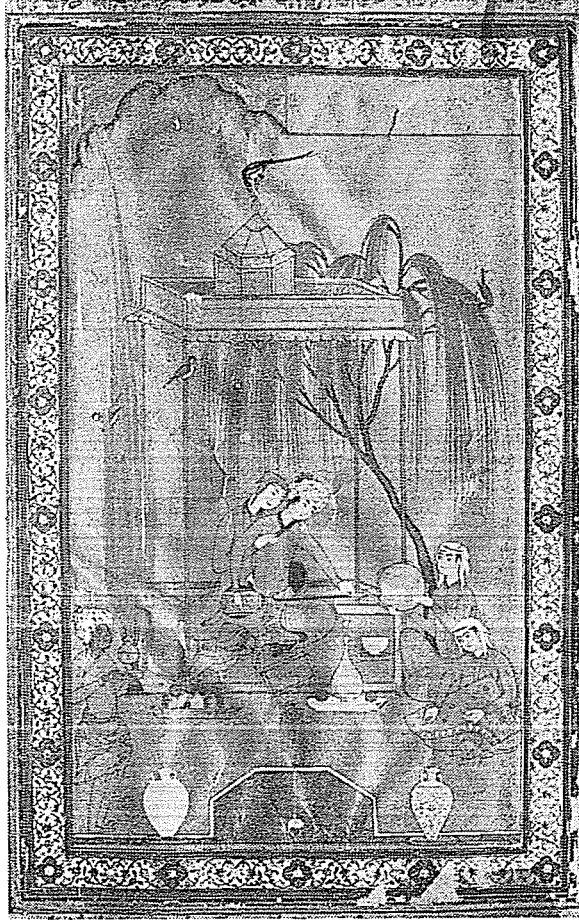


Fig. 19. Entertainment Scene.
Hilālī, *Dīvān* R. 1012, Fol. 2r in the TKS. Mus.

YATAĞAN İLÇESİNE BAĞLI YAVA KÖYÜ YAKINLARINDAKİ BİZANS FRESKOLARI I. İKONOĞRAFİK İNCELEMELER

Yıldız ÖTÜKEN

Muğla il sınırları içinde yer alan Yatağan ilçesi, Yava köyünde araştırmalar yapan meslekdaşım, arkeolog Dr. Çetin Şahin, burada Bizans dönemine ait freskolar görmüş ve araştırma yapmam için bana gereken konum bilgisini vermiştir. 1976 yılı yaz aylarında freskoların bulunduğu bölgede yaptığım çalışmaların sonuçlarını Nisan 1977 de İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümünün düzenlediği seminerde özetlemiş bulunuyorum. Bu makalede iki ayrı bölüm şeklinde freskolar ikonografik yönden ve üslup açısından incelenecek ve Yatağan bölgesinin tarihi gelişimi çerçevesinde tarihlendirilecektir.

Buluntu yeri ve genel tanıtım :

Yatağan ile Aydın arasında uzanan karayolundan Nabi köye giden toprak yola sapılır. Nabi köy ve Yava köyünden geçtikten sonra takriben 8 Km. sonra otomobilden inilerek Çine çayının aktığı vadiye kadar 100 M. lik bir yol yürünür. Freskolar 30 - 40 M. yüksekliğinde bir kayanın vadiye bakan kuzey yüzündedir. Kayanın önünde 25 M. uzunluğunda ve 5 M. genişliğinde terasimsi bir düzlük vardır; Terasın çevresinde duvar kalıntıları, yerde ise tuğla, taş ve moloz birikintileri görülür. İleride ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenecek bu fragmanlar, freskoların önünde, bir yüzü ile kayaya yaslanmış bir veya birçok kapalı mekânın varlığına işaret ederler.