

Basil Gray: *La Peinture persane*, Genève 1961 Skira, 191 pages, 80 coloured miniatures, general index, index of MSS, chronological bibliography, map, 4°

This work is of particular interest for Turkish art historians, not only because it deals with the history of book-painting in neighbouring Persia to which historical and cultural ties link Turkey, but also because the area covered by Mr Gray includes a milieu in which Turkish art developed. For this reason, while reviewing this new contribution to the history of Islamic art, I will take the liberty to add a few considerations from a Turkish point of view.

In attempting to outline the history of Persian book-painting, the author is faced with an initial difficulty: to our present knowledge, there is no pictorial evidence of the existence of an ancient tradition of book-painting in Persia and there are only scant remains of wall paintings. The author is thus brought in his own words to reconstruct "à partir d'indices incertains qu'appuient parfois de rares données écrites, l'histoire de la peinture persane antérieure à 1200" (p. 13). After assuming that certain passages describing the paintings of royal palaces in the *Shahnāmah* apply to Sassanian Persia (others such as Coyajee¹, have associated some Persian kings of the *Shahnāmah* with the Parthians), the author concludes that Sassanian painting must have existed (p. 12). He suggests that it could have had a partly hellenized local style similar to Parthian painting and searches around the boundaries of Persia for possible analogies.

Central Asia where an important school of painting, extending from West Turkestan to Kansu, flourished and left numerous splendid works, dating from the third to the twelfth century (the earliest and latest periods in East Turkestan also), is an evident searching ground for those elements in Islamic painting that are not Near-Eastern. In Central Asia however, the path of the historian of Persian art crosses the steps of those who are looking for the artistic manifestations of the Scythians, the Saka, the old and the new Kushans, the Tocharians, the Soghdians, the Eastern and European Huns, the White Huns, the Western and other Turks such as the Uygurs, in short, of various peoples who for thousands of years have lived in or crossed the Central Asian area. We may cite here the archeologists Tolstov² and Okladnikov³ who have both expressed the belief that the gradual infiltration of the Eastern Huns and of the Turks in Central Asian Scythia as far as Khwarazm, has started possibly earlier and certainly not later than the fourth century before the Christian era (the period of Pazırık). This fact gives, from the fourth century B. C. onwards, a complex local character to Central Asian art. Thus when the author of *La Peinture persane* attempts to define what Sassanian painting might have been like, by noting the common elements between the fifth century painting of Dukhtar i-Nūshirvān in Afghanistan, the paintings of Panj-kent in Soghd (p. 13-4), the red grounds used in Tun-huang in Kan-su, he is according to our point of view, only attesting the homogeneity of Central Asian painting, from its western Turkestanī regions to its eastern Khatayan borders. The red grounds that the author

indicates as having been propagated in the fourth and fifth centuries from Persia to Tun-huang were also a feature of Khwarazmian kurgans before the Christian era,³ and of the third century A. C. Eastern Turkestanī Buddhist temple of Miran. Red and blue are colours having symbolic significations in Uygur cosmology⁴ which, might have borrowed these concepts from earlier traditions. In short, the author's definition of Sassanian art may as well apply to Central Asian art.

The paintings of Panj-kent, as well as the paintings not mentioned by the author in Toprak Kal'ah, Varakhshah, and Balalik-tepe, are the specimens of the western branch of Turkestanī painting. The style and colouring of the western Turkestanī wall paintings, as well as the figures with their slanted eyes and their braided "à la turque" hair, are certainly related to the paintings of East Turkestan. In what concerns Balalik-tepe, A. Albaum has compared the costumes and cup-holding rites of some figures to the Turkish balbals. Mr Gray cites certain scholars who thought to recognize in some Panj-kent representations, the Iranian Central Asian myth of Rustam. Others identify another group with the Western Turks⁵.

It is not only after 728 that Turkestan was turkicized (p. 14). At the time of the Arab conquest even Khorassan had a Turkish character⁶. In the country beyond the Amu-darya which was already significantly called Turkestan (the land of the Turks), separate communities of Turks and Iranians, as well as mixed groups, mostly governed by Turkish princes, are mentioned in early Moslem sources. The ancient Iranian title of Ikshid was born by a Turkish family as corroborated by the name of the founder of the Egyptian branch, b. Togaç⁶. According to tradition, the Arabs arrived to Bukhara in 674 and found there a Turkish dynasty who had the pretension of having reigned for twenty two generations in the area⁷. The queen regent Kabaç (or Kayıç) Hatun has allegedly been represented amongst the paintings of Qusair 'Amra. In Soghd where the Arabs arrived in 709, there reigned a Turkish Tarhan⁸.

Mr Gray remarks that the interpenetration of Persians and Turks in the *Shahnāmah* may reflect the events at the time of the composition of the poem. A theory advanced by some scholars that the Turanians were also another category of Iranians and that the Turk Afrasiyab was in reality an Iranian has been disproved by Turkish sources. The eleventh century *Kutadgu-bilig*, the *Divān* of Kaşgarlı Mahmud, and other texts have confirmed the *Shahnāmah* in establishing the Turanian Afrasiyab (in Turkish Alp-er-tunga) as a legendary Turkish hero known to most Turks and whose adventures and aphorisms were repeated since many generations.

Mr Gray finds the origin of Persian book-painting in the land of the Uygurs. It may not be unnecessary to outline here briefly the history of Uygur painting⁹. The Uygurs who had succeeded to the Tu-kiues in Mongolia had lived in the region of Kara-balgasun. They adopted Manicheism in 763 from the Chinese. In 811 they settled in Turfan where one witnesses the development of Manichean and Buddhist Turfanese Uygur art. They spread to the regions of eastern Tien-shan where between the ninth and twelfth centuries they painted mostly Buddhist and Nestorian Christian paintings. One branch, called the Yellow Uygurs, was established in Kansu, this cradle of the Turkish race¹⁰. Strzygowski¹¹ and Diez have shown the contribution of the Uygurs in the paintings of the Tunhuang

Ming-oy. In relating the destruction of the Uygur kingdom by the Mongols, in the thirteenth century, Juwainî¹² attests the continuation of the artistic tradition of the Uygurs, by describing a representation of the genealogical tree of the İdikut. Rubruck also saw the works of art of the Uygur monks. Some turcologists consider the Oğuz epos in Uygur script of the Paris Bibl. Nat. and consequently its illustrations, as works of the thirteenth century. After the thirteenth century, the Uygurs were disseminated to the east and to the west of their home, carrying to other centers of art the tradition of a five centuries old school of painting. In Turfan, a group of book-illustrations were discovered, dating approximately from the sixth to the tenth centuries, containing texts in Soghlian, in middle Iranian as well as in Uygur Turkish languages and scripts. The earlier works are generally attributed to pre-Uygur local Manicheans, while the later book-paintings are Uygur¹³. Mr Gray suggests that these Manichean book-paintings are the work of Sassanian Persians who had been chased from Persia by the Arab conquest. Admittedly we know very little of what went on in the artistic formation of Eastern Turkestan, in the cross currents of Tocharian, Hunnic, Turkish and Chinese elements. Including the *Shahnamah* and Dost Muhammad, most Islamic sources indicate that the miraculous paintings of Mani originated in Khitay or on the borders of Khitay, or in the land of the Çigil¹⁴ (a Turkish people according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud). One may wonder if the pre-Uygur Manichean book-paintings could not be linked with Eastern Turkestan wall-paintings to which, as Le Coq notes¹⁵, they are stylistically related. The Eastern Turkestanis had been amongst the first, after the Chinese, to make paper¹³ (they have also practiced and perhaps invented xylography and even a primitive form of printing)¹⁵. The above suggestion does not exclude possible foreign influences, such as that of illumined "äw(a)-nglion"s (Uygur word for Bible) brought in by the Eurasian Christian Turks.

The rider of Nishapur in Khorassan, said to wear a possibly Turkish belt is depicted by the author. The works of Lashkari Bazar and Gaznah in Afghanistan are also mentioned. The illustration by Chinese painters of a Kalila and Dimna MS, belonging to the Samanid Nasr II, is quoted. One may here introduce a parenthesis, concerning the use of the term China (Sîn or Hitay) in the Moslem Middle Ages. According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud who, as an Eastern Turkestanî Turk, is perhaps the most qualified author on this subject, Sîn or Hitay includes the land of the Tavgaç (the Topa who were a people of Turkish stock and ruled Northern China under the name of Wei), the country of the Uygurs and the province of Kaşgar¹⁶. Sharaf al-Zamân Tahir Marvazî (of Marv) also divides China in three regions: Sîn, Khitay and Yugur (Uygur)¹⁷. Almost all Islamic authors of the Middle Ages assimilate the non-Moslem Uygur Turks to the Chinese. The term Chinese or Khitayî is given indifferently to the Chinese, to the non-Moslem Turks and sometimes to the Mongols or to the Kara-Khitay. The caution with which the word Khitayî or Sînî must be interpreted, applies also to the translations of the word 'Ajam, used both for Persians and Turks by the Arabs who called the foreign "barbarians" 'Ajam.

In 'Abbasi Iraq where our author's search for the origins of Persian book-painting takes us also, we are reminded that the cities of Moslem Iraq, Bagdad and

Samarra were under the sway of Sassanian art (p. 15). These cities founded in a land of ancient autochthonous civilization were also in close contact with the Central Asian and particularly the Turkish world. The city of Samarra was founded by the Turk Ashnas in 836. In Samarra there was a Turkish quarter and streets bearing Turkish names¹⁸. H. Gluck has established Turkish motifs and techniques in the ornamental décor of Samarra, his views being supported by several Austrian and German scholars¹⁹. There were in, Abbāsī Iraq, not only Turkish soldiers and princes and princesses, but also members of the learned classes, such as the celebrated philosopher and musician Farabī al-Turki, the various astronomers of the Amagur lineage, as Abu al Q. al b. Magur al-Turki²⁰ whose forefather had come to Bagdad as the ambassador of the Turkish Kaan. Mr Gray mentions the auto-da-fe of gold illumined Manichean books, attributed to Persian Manicheans, in 943, in the city of Bagdad. A similar event occurred in 841, when the Afshin of Ushrushānā, a Central Asian Turkish prince (Tabarī mentions that his great-grandfather's name was Kara Bugra²¹, Turkish for Black Camel) was prosecuted, amongst other accusations, for the possession of idols and of a gold and silver illumined and enriched, non-Moslem religious book. When the judge questioned the Afshin about the origin of the book, the Turkish prince answered that he had inherited it from his "barbarian" fathers, that is from Turkestan. The Afshin added that the judge himself possessed such a book, a Kalila and Dimna²¹.

The Selçuk school of book-painting is analyzed in its Iraqī aspect. Mr Gray links the Galen and Dioscurides MSS, as well as the illustrations of the Topkapı *Warqah and Gulshāh*³¹ to Iraq. Holter Connects the Vienna Galen with Turkish art. After remarking that the Bagdad school of book-painting had been founded by the Selçuk Turks, Diez also finds many resemblances between the Iraqī Selçuk and the Uygur book-paintings²².

The author touches another subject of special interest for Turkish art by connecting the figural drawings representing star groups in the illustrations of the Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī manuscripts with the Samarra figures. The Library of Süleymaniye possesses such a manuscript written and most probably illustrated with the same pen, by Hibbet-Allah b. Abd al-J. b. I. b. S. b. A. b. Y. b. B. al-Jilī (or al-Khottalī), called *Suwar al-Kawākib* and numbered Fatih 3422. The work was composed in 529 A. H. in the castle of Mardin, that is in Turkey, in the Turkish Artukoğlu (Ortokid) period. Mr Z. Oral has related in his communication to the VIth congress of Turkish history that al-Sūfī had dedicated a book to the fourth Artukoğlu king, Kara Arslan. Strzygowski had considered the Artukoğlu surrounding as a probable center for the propagation in the Near East, of the Central Asian motifs brought by the Turks²³. Together with the twelfth century illustrations of automata dedicated to the Sultan of Diyarbakr²⁴ and the paintings of Nāsir al-Din Sivasī's treatise on sorcery dated 1272, composed in Aksaray and in Kayseri (Bibl. Nat. Persan 174), the Al-Sūfī book offers some of the earliest book-illustrations that one may associate with Anatolian Turkish painting. The figures represented in this group have a special graphic style and more elongated proportions than the usual Selçuk personages. In the Aksaray MS, the astrologic figures present curious combinations between the many headed and armed bodhisatvas of Uygur Koço and

the angels of Byzantine art. Some of these figures were to remain unchanged prototypes, repeated in Anatolian books on sorcery and astrology, such as the *D'awat-nāmah* of the University of İstanbul Library.

The Mongol, İl-hanlı and Calayırılı periods are placed by Mr Gray under the sign of Chinese and Near Eastern Christian influences. Buddhist Central Asian influx under the reign of Argun is noted. The importance of Central Asian painting as a component element of Islamic book-painting is particularly evident if one remembers that the Mongols had adopted the script, the Buddhist faith and the culture of the Uygurs, that they had brought groups of Uygurs to the Near East and that the Uygurs had since the eighth to the twelfth century produced book-painting in East Turkestan. Prof. Togan has published in vol. III, fasc. 1 of the *İslâm Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, a *Waqfnāmah* regulating the staff of Rashid al-Din's center for arts and crafts in Tabriz.²⁵ The names of twenty Turks are given who are said to be engaged, amongst other occupations, in painting and calligraphy. With the exception of one, these names could be non-Moslem Uygur names. Three men bear, in addition to their Turkish names, the surname of Khitayî (Ayaz, Altın Boka, Sulti).

The above mentioned Uygur and pre-Uygur Turfan book-paintings, the Karakhoto astrologic illustrations, the Al-Balkhî treatise on astrology dated around 1240 (Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2583), the two miniatures on p. 60 verso in Album H. 2152 of Topkapı to which Dr Ettinghausen finds "a Turco-Mongol flavour"²³, the *Jām'i al-tawārikh* of the Royal Asiatic Society, made in West Turkestan and the Demotte *Shahnāmah* related by Diez to Uygur painting,²⁶ the *Athār al-bāqiyah* of Edinburgh and the *Jām'i al-tawārikh* H. 1654 of Topkapı about which Kühnel²⁶ makes a similar observation, and also the ninth to twelfth century Uygur wall-paintings provide important materials on the influence of Central Asia on Near Eastern painting. We have to remark also that in the fourteenth century, to disentangle Persian painting from Turkish painting is as difficult as to decide whether Charlemagne was a German or a Frenchman. The Inner Asian Turkish populations driven by the Mongols were settling in Adharbayjan and establishing a natural unity with their congeners in Anatolia. The rule of the Near Eastern Mongols extended over parts of Khorassan, Adharbayjan, Iran, Iraq and Anatolia. The *Manāf'i al-Hayawān* of the Morgan Library written in Maragha in 1298 is dedicated to Gazan Han, King of kings of the Turks, of the Arabs and of the 'Ajam (non Arab). Mr Gray attempts a detailed and informative description of important manuscripts and notes the appearance of an epic style characteristic neither of Chinese nor of Persian art. May we add that this epic style is observed in all centers where Turkish artists have worked and is seen to culminate in Ottoman art. The peaceful influence of Buddhism had transformed the epic spirit of the Uygurs in mysticism. Forceful expressions are yet common in Uygur literature :

Kälän käyik müyüzü tæg, atıng küüing kötlürgäi!

(May thy name and renown be as the horn of the storming unicorn!)²⁷
The potential strength of the Turkish spirit has brought into the Ottoman genre pictures an expressionism sometimes bordering to the extreme. The epic spirit defined by Mr Gray may be the contribution of the Turks or the Mongols, while

the Iranian apport could be the poetical atmosphere so characteristic of Persian painting and literature.

Reaching the Timurî period, Mr Gray establishes links between the school of Shiraz and the Central Asian schools of Samarkand and Herat. The Uygur *M'irajnâmah* of Herat (Bibl. Nat. suppl. turc 190) is contested as a Turkish work and placed in the line of development of Persian book-painting. In our view, apart from the fact that the main text is in Turkish and in Uygur script, the illustrations bear many resemblances to the works of pre-Moslem Uygur artists : we will mention as an example a many-headed angel similar to the Uygur Avalokitesvaras of Koço²⁷ and Toyok, as well as the physical types and costumes, the flying belts, the flaming haloes, the lotus-hats and top-knots of other angels. Like most Timurî centers, Samarkand and Herat cultivated also Turkish art and literature. Around Timur and his artistically and poetically endowed descendants, as well as around the great Turkish poet Ali Shîr and his father Kikine Bahşi, who according to Haydar Mirza Doğlat were of Uygur stock, there were Turkish artists such as Günk, Abd al-Hay Musawwir of Tabriz,²⁸ Yusuf Naqqash, Muhammad Tabrizî, Mahmud Mudhahhib and Dervish Muhammad Türk. The first part of the Ali Shîr compendium (Bibl. Nat. suppl. turc 316) was illustrated by Mahmud Mudhahhib. In the *Mu'iz al-ansab* (Bibl. Nat., ancien persan 68), the painter Hajî Mahmûd (Mr Togan thinks that this may be Mahmûd Mudhahhib) is called an Uygur.²⁸ Moreover, there are in the miscellany albums of Topkapı, İslamic works bearing Uygur inscriptions, in the same ink or paint, such as the series of Timurî medaillon portraits and the gold illumined hawk with the citation in Uygur script from the *Muhabbat-nâmah*, a poetical work in Central Asian Turkish. To return to the Uygur *M'irajnâmah*, one may consider the noble paintings of this manuscript as an islamized version of the religious fervour apparent in the Buddhist paintings of Koço and in the literature of the Uygurs. The *M'irajnâmah* is part of the Turkish heritage (some of its text is in Eastern Anatolian or Adharbayjan Turkish with Arabic letters. The MS was found in İstanbul). Linked in the past with Uygur art, its style continued in the religious paintings of the Ottomans.

Mr Gray touches also the subject of the drawings and paintings of undetermined origin in albums H. 2153, 2154, 2160 of Topkapı. Associating a group of miniatures with the Kara and Ak-koyunlu areas (p. 101), he seems to ascribe the animal sketches and the weird figures and animal demons attributed to Ustad Muhammad (Siyah Kalam) to a refined artist who had travelled in the Turco-Mongol steppe. The author mentions the painter Giyath al-Dîn who had been amongst a group of emissaries of Shah-Rukh to Khitay and had thus seen the paintings of Khotan and admired Buddhist works. But Mr Gray rejects the theory that these paintings may have originated in Timurî circles. In the opinion of Prof. Z. V. Togan who has studied more than twenty miscellany albums of Topkapı and looked for documents in the chronicles of the time, Ustad Muhammad must be the Turkish painter Hâjî Muhammad of Herat. This artist had also been in the Ak-Koyunlu court in Iraq and later returned and died in Herat. He had once tried to make Chinese porcelain²⁹. It is difficult to accept the label of iranised Türkmen school suggested for these paintings by Mr Gray (p. 104). The Türkmen have very cha-

racteristic ways and costumes differing from those of the Kırgız-Kazak world to which these paintings are nearer. In any case, Ustad Muhammad must have been a great Inner-Asian artist familiar with the habits and costumes of the black and white *kams* and with the tales of giants and animal demons of the Turks.

After studying the school of Bukhara, the author ends his study with the Safawî period. Here again, we will remark that in Qādî Ahmad's chronicle,³⁰ one reads the names of several Turkish painters who contributed to this school of Persian painting.

In short, one may say that to those who are interested in Islamic painting, *La Miniature persane* offers information and a sensitive analysis of the artistic merits of many manuscripts, as well as eighty excellent colour reproductions. As the earlier comprehensive works on the same subject are out of print, Mr Gray's book has the additional merit of being available for those who would like to introduce to their libraries a new and important work on Islamic book-painting.

EMEL ESİN

¹ J. C. Coyajee, *Cults and legends of ancient Iran and China*, Bombay 1936, s. 174-210.

² P. Tolstov, *Scythians of the Aral Sea and of Khorezm*, Moscow 1960.

³ A. P. Okladnikov, *The ancient population of Siberia and its cultures*, Russian transl. series, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.

⁴ O. Pritsak, *Qara, Studie zur türkischen Rechtsymbolik*, Z. V. Togan'a Armağan, İstanbul 1950-5, s. 249. Müellif şu Uyğur şiiirini tekrar eder:
Soltun kök lu (ejder)

Ongdun ak bars

Küntün kızıl sagızgan (saksığan)

Kidin kara yılan

⁵ Batı Türkleri sanılan Panj-kent resimleri, bak. *Panj-kent* (Rusca), Akademi Nauk neşriyatı, Moskova 1954, t. 22. Horasanın Türkleşmesi, bak. R. Frye-A. Sayılı, *Selçuklulardan evvel Orta-Şarkta Türkler*, Ankara 1946.

⁶ C. H. Becker, *İhşid*, İslâm Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul. 1944. G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, s. 135.

⁷ Prof. Z. V. Togan, Hatunun'isminin Kayıg olduğunu lütfen söyledi (Tabarî II, 1422). Mirza Bala, *Buhara*, İslâm Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul 1944.

⁸ Barthold, *Orta-Asya tarihi hakkında dersler*, İstanbul 1927. *Soghd*, Encycl. de l'İslam, Leyden 1934.

⁹ R. Grousset, *l'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1939, s. 161-177.

¹⁰ A. v. Gabain, *Hunnisch-türkische Beziehungen*, Z. V. Togan'a Armağan, İstanbul 1950-5, s. 21. Prof. Z. V. Togandan öğrendiğime göre, Kansu'daki Uyğur hükümdarı, onuncu asırda, on batından beri Kansu'da bulunduğunu Sîn elçisine söylemişti.

¹¹ J. Strzygowski, *Türkler ve Orta-Asya san'atı meselesi*, Türkiyat Mecmuası, cild III, 1926-33, s. 30-34, res. 30.

¹² J. Marquart, *Guwainis Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, Sitzungberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912.

¹³ A. v. Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spaetantike in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1923, cild II, s. 7 (Doğu Türkistan duvar resmile kitap resminin râbitası), s. 11 (Doğu Türkistanda kâğıd yapıldığı).

¹⁴ T. Hyde, *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religiones historia*, Oxford 1760, s. 281-4.

¹⁵ A. Mazahéri, *La vie quotidienne des Musulmans au Moyen Age*, Paris 1951, s. 261 (Doğu Türkistanda tahta basması ve dökme harflerle basılan metinler, Paris Bibl. Nat. incedir).

¹⁶ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, *Divvnu-lugât-it-Türk*, B. Atalay terc., Hitay, Sin ve Uygur kelimeleri. Birinci Türk san'atı kongresine tebliğimde, Kaşgarlı'da Hitay ve Çin kelimelerinin mânasını araştırmışım. Bu yazı, kongre tebliğleri arasında, E. Esin, *Quelques aspects des influences de l'art des anciens nomades Eurasiens et de l'art du Turkestan pré-islamique sur les arts plastiques et picturaux turcs* adı altında İlahiyat Fakültesi İslâm San'at Tarihi Enstitüsü tarafından neşredilmektedir.

¹⁷ Sharaf al Zâmân Tâhir Marzavî *China the Turks and India*, tr. V. Minorsky, The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1942, Arabca metin, s. 2.

« . . . ويتقسم اراضيمهم لثله اقسام وهي الصين وحتاي التي يسمها العامه خطاي ويغر . . . »

¹⁸ H. Viollet, *Samarra*, Encycl. de l'Islam, Leyden 1934.

¹⁹ H. Gluck, *Türkische Dekorationskunst*, Kunst und Kunsthandwerk XXIII, Wien 1920. E. Diez-O. Aslanapa, *Türk San'atı*, İstanbul 1946, s. 28-9.

J. Strzygowski, not 11'deki eser, s. 66-7.

²⁰ Brockelmann, Suppl., v. I, s. 397, b. Amagur demektedir. Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş*, s. 418, not 64.

²¹ Haydar b. Kâvus b. Kana Kura b. Kara-Buğra adlı Ushrushana Afshin'inin muhakemesi için, bak. İbn al-Athîr Tarihi, hicrî 225-6 seneleri, Afshin'in dedelerinin isminin Tabarî, II, s. 1609, 1613'te olduğunu Prof. Z. V. Togan lütfen söyledi.

²² K. Holter, *Die Galen Hadschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nat. Bibliothek*, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, vol. 11, 1937. E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, München 1915 ve not 19'daki eser.

²³ J. Strzygowski, not 11'deki eser, s. 25.

²⁴ F. R. Martin, *The miniature painting of Persia, India and Turkey*, London 1912, pl. 2.

²⁵ Bu makalenin İngilizceye tercemesi, *Ars Orientalis V*'de neşr olunacak.

²⁶ R. Ettinghausen, *The iconography of a Kashan lustre-plate*, *Ars Orientalis IV*. E. Diez, *Sino-Mongolian painting*, *Ars islamica*, vol. 1, part 2.

E. Kühnel, *A survey of Persian art*, ed. A. U. Pope, London, New York 1939, s. 1833.

²⁷ W. Bang-A. v. Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, Sitzungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wiss., 1929, s. 246.

Koço Avalokitesvarası, A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, T. 45 b.

²⁸ Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş*, İstanbul 1946, s. 72, 86 (Günk ve Abd al-Hay), *Ali Şir*, İslâm Ansiklopedisi 1941, s. 356-7 (Herat Türk ressamları).

²⁹ Z. V. Togan, *Topkapı Sarayındaki dört cönk*, İstanbul 1953.

³⁰ V. Minorsky, *Qadi Ahmad's calligraphers and painters*, Washington D. C., 1959.

³¹ Prof. Z. V. Togan'ın mutalaasına göre, *Warqah ve Gulshâh* yazmasının 58 v. varakında ismi yazılı 'Abd al-Mu'mîn b. Muhammed al-Khōyî al-Naqqash, Anadolu ve Azerbaycan sınırında, Bayezid yakınındaki Khōy'a izâfeten, al-Khōyî lâkabını taşımaktadır. Bu zatın oğlu olduğu isminden anlaşılan hattat ve münşî Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Mu'mîn ibn i-Muhammed Khōyî'nin ,Argun devrinde, Kastamoniyeye geldiğini ve Emir Çoban oğlu Yavlak Arslan oğlu Muhammed'e kitap ithaf ettiğini, Prof. Toğan *Umumî Türk ,arihine giriş*, s. 315, 468'de neşretti.
