

THREADS OF ORNAMENT IN THE STYLE WORLD OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

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Driven by congruent needs and tastes that fostered the production of goods for export, the relationship between Renaissance Italy and the Ottoman Empire was marked by a mutually beneficial adoption and adaptation of an array of designs and their constituent motifs. But only rarely, it seems, did this process provoke reflection, so that although the Renaissance is better documented than earlier periods, we find that the ascription of meaning remains elusive. Reception, beyond the evident valuation of objects shown by the barometer of price, was certainly not verbalized in ways that might suggest recognition of an emerging cultural nexus with an articulated aesthetic in some degree connected to the reengagement with the world of Islam occurring in intellectual circles. As a result, the artifacts themselves provide the primary and sometimes the only investigative resource. Yet however thorny the problems they may present, we can at least disentangle some of the complex strands of borrowing and mutation that mark the changes in Middle Eastern and Italian ornament during the Renaissance, tracking the ways in which the responses of each to the arts of the other would change.

Previously, Middle Eastern artifacts acquired by the West did not serve as models to be imitated. Rather, they were assigned novel functions: rock crystal vessels, for example, might be used as reliquaries, often embellished with luxurious mounts, to "stage" them and acknowledge them as, usually, royal gifts. But if the process of adaptation in such cases is transparent, it is far less so with the ambon of Henry II in Aachen Cathedral, an early example of the integration of a variety of artifacts, including two Middle Eastern rock crystal vessels,

within a quintessentially medieval, western European ambon in trefoil shape against a background decoration of *verni gris*. Here various interpretative problems arise, including that of perception: were the Middle Eastern objects of particular symbolic significance, in the context of *translatio imperii*, as representative of the cultural glitter of the Islamic world, or were they thought to be of Byzantine origin? Or, did they, rather, as I have argued elsewhere, primarily form part of an aesthetic program determined by the concept of *varietas*?¹

During the Renaissance, new functions might still be found for exotic items (a perfume container might be used as a hand-warmer), but this aspect becomes less significant, and there is a major shift in emphasis toward what I have termed the "freeing of the motif."² Italian textiles, for example, begin to incorporate Ottoman designs, and Ottoman production in turn adopts Italianate elements, thereby presenting scholars, in addition to problems of provenance, with questions concerning the transmission of design as the industry evolved—and it also needs to be borne in mind that "Ottoman" design may be shorthand for a common vocabulary of ornament shared with the Persianate world. As with the rock crystals on the ambon, a motif may not always have a clear geographical provenance or "national" identity. We are, rather, confronted with the incorporation of imported features of ornament that are then creatively reinterpreted or reassembled to provide new variations to attract appreciative customers: Italian fabrics based on Ottoman models are thus not simple imitations either in terms of ornament or of technique, even if they might be aimed at the Ottoman market. Such fabrics illustrate well the seamless integration of motifs from various sources

within a common design world, and if associated problems of attribution can now often be resolved, we are still left with the more intriguing and important task of reading them as cultural texts, of following the local inflections of a common vocabulary, and, where possible, teasing out their implications.

There is, in addition, the phenomenon of transmateriarity to consider. It is found both in the morphology of objects (such as metal vessels in the shape of leather ones) and, in particular, in the vocabulary of ornament. Within the Islamic world, for example, thirteenth-century Abbasid manuscript illustration inspires Mosuli metalwork; decorative motifs in fourteenth-century Mamluk Qur'anic illumination recur on the relief design of the domes of Mamluk mosques; and sixteenth-century Ottoman and Safavid ornament is adapted to all media, from textiles to carpets to book illumination to ceramics.³ In Europe, we find similar phenomena of both morphological adaptation and transmateriarity (as between metal and glass, for example), and as far as perceptions are concerned, we may detect a parallel move toward nonspecificity in the trajectory of the Renaissance vocabulary of design.

The material discussed below suggests, indeed, that by the sixteenth century, if not before, Middle Eastern ornament had become an integral part of an artistic vocabulary that was increasingly international, thereby calling into question, for this period, the validity of traditional art-historical tropes such as "exoticism" and "imitation." The term "influence," too, needs questioning: while unavoidable, it must be understood here to operate in the context of a complex set of circulating elements, and not to denote a simple relationship between donor and recipient, that is, from a Eurocentric perspective, as

unidirectional and insensitive to reciprocity. In tracing this change we may point to trade itself as a vehicle of exchange and familiarization, but also to creativity in technology and design for purposes of emulation and competition. Transmateriarity provides further evidence of adaptation, and the way in which it plays not just with vessel shapes but also with decorative motifs serves as an index of reduced cultural localism and of an eclectic widening of aesthetic horizons.

Antecedents

The European acquisition of Middle Eastern artifacts, whether by pillage, diplomatic gift, or trade, began long before the Renaissance. The rock crystal vessels converted into reliquaries and those on the ambon of Henry II, mentioned above, provide early examples, and there are others in different media, for instance, Middle Eastern textiles with ornamental bands (*tirāz*), sometimes decorative but usually consisting of text.⁴ They provide evidence for the existence at this period of trade in luxury goods, and that they were appreciated as precious objects is demonstrated by the fact that they might be used as wrapping or shrouds for Christian relics. An extraordinary example is the "tunic of Saint Ambrogio" (d. 397), used as a wrapping for the remains of the saint, made of indigo-dyed silk with an inscription in Arabic woven in yellow silk. The blue silk has a lozenge pattern, and the inscription is in a double horizontal band, repeated in mirror image. Unfortunately, thanks to the activities of Franz Bock, known as "Scissor Bock" for having systematically cut textiles to sell to museums and private collectors,⁵ it is now dispersed in different reposi-

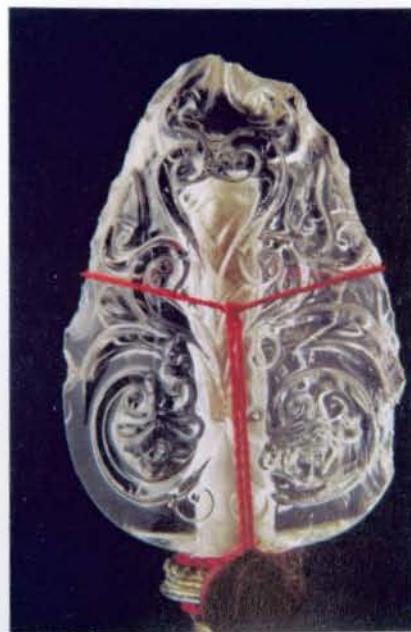


Fig. 23.1. *Reliquary of the Nails of Saint Clare*, Egypt, tenth century, Fatimid rock crystal; copper gilt chalice with precious stones, Italy, fourteenth century (?). Protomonastero di Santa Chiara, Assisi, Italy.

tories, with the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London having the most important fragment—the one containing the part of the inscription that tells us it was done for the noble prince Nasr al-Dawla Abu Nasr, the Kurdish ruler of Diyarbakir, in southeastern Anatolia, between 1010 and 1061.⁶ The tunic was probably woven in Abbasid Baghdad, a major center of textile production at the time. Another early acquisition, now in Bodmin, Cornwall, is an ivory casket with a painted decoration, mainly in gold, now largely lost. Used to house relics of Saint Petroc, it shows connections with various Middle Eastern styles and is the work of Muslim craftsmen.⁷ It makes the point that the “Middle Eastern” geographical boundaries may at that time have been rather different from the current ones, for it was produced in Sicily or southern Italy under Norman rule and, as one of the so-called Siculo-Arabic caskets, bears witness to the extraordinary syncretic culture of Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸

Particularly prominent among these early European acquisitions are rock crystal vessels, ranging from the spectacular and finely carved ewers now displayed in, for example, the treasury of San Marco in Venice and the V&A, to a variety of smaller pieces. One such is the

Reliquary of the Nails of Saint Claire, a rather beautiful tenth-century Fatimid vessel that was mounted in Italy, upside down, on a high, copper-gilt stem with a base embellished with semiprecious stones, probably in the fourteenth century.⁹ The carving in relief is sharp, and it exhibits mastery in the curved floral decoration, with one element seamlessly linked to the next, that is typical of the highest quality of rock crystal production from Fatimid Egypt. Drilled into the very clear crystal is a cylindrical hole, which suggests that the vessel originally must have served as a receptacle for perfume or cosmetics,¹⁰ but it now contains nail clippings of Saint Clare, the devoted disciple of Francis of Assisi, who died in 1253—a striking example of the radical transformations to which such early acquisitions were often subjected (fig. 23.1).

Renaissance Acquisitions

The above are just three examples from a wide range of artifacts that survive in European collections and church treasuries and demonstrate that Europeans started acquiring artifacts from the Islamic Middle East already during the Middle Ages.¹¹ During the Renaissance, such acquisitions multiplied and became more varied, as trade assumed greater importance, facilitated by the growth of extensive and increasingly dependable mercantile networks. Artifacts were imported from various parts of the Middle East: from Fatimid (909–1171) and, later, Mamluk (1250–1517) territories, that is, principally, from Egypt and Syria; from the Ilkhanid Empire (1256–1353), which controlled Iraq and Iran and also gave access to Central Asia (Turkestan) and China, especially with regard to silk; and, with the rise of the Ottomans as a new major power in the fifteenth century, increasingly from Turkish centers of production. Indeed, Ottoman rugs and textiles were to become a significant import. In Italy, Islamic artifacts were transmitted not only through Sicily and southern Italy, as before, but also primarily through the commercial activities of the maritime republics and other pivotal mercantile centers, with Venice particularly active in importing carpets and textiles. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Genoese trade gradually became less significant; Venetian commercial activity increased, regardless of the political tensions—sometimes escalating into actual military conflict—between the Sublime Porte and the Serenissima; and Florence, in turn, was granted trading



23.2a



23.2b



23.2c

Fig. 23.2. (a) Velvet cope, Turkey, ca. 1500. Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. (b) Velvet, Italy (probably Venice), sixteenth century. Museo Nazionale del Bargello (inv. Franchetti 639), Florence. (c) Velvet, Italy, second half of fifteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. CIRC.346-1911), London.

capitulations in 1460: a ready supply of imported material of various prices and qualities was assured alongside an equivalent range of locally produced material. Likewise, Ottoman customers had access to European goods, and became increasingly keen to acquire them, fabrics especially, for the quality of Italian production made them particularly attractive. There are two resulting trends: a variety of economic factors encouraged the manufacture of similar materials in several locations, while on the other hand, homogeneity was countered by local specialization.

Trade

The dissemination of ornament through trade may be illustrated first by textiles. Ottoman exports were principally in the form of *çatma* (voided and brocaded) velvets, with Bursa as the main production center from the later fourteenth century onward. But Bursa also became an international center for trade in raw silk, and it was this that increasingly attracted Italian merchants supplying Italian centers of production. The consequent growth in the output of the Italian weaving industry resulted in a reduction in local demand for Ottoman worked silk, especially as Italian weavers had begun to explore Ottoman patterns. Indeed, Italian fabrics with design features of Ottoman or other Middle Eastern

derivation would be imported in increasing volume by the Ottomans, as demonstrated by Ottoman court documents: of the velvet caftans in the Topkapı Palace, only a few are of local production.¹²

Not surprisingly, the ornamental repertoire of these fabrics shows a degree of interchange that can create problems of identification. For example, on grounds of design, the Santa Maria dei Frari cope of ca. 1500 (fig. 23.2a) was long thought to be Venetian, but technical analyses confirm that it is in fact Ottoman, testimony to the adaptability of Ottoman weavers in responding to imported fabrics.¹³ On the other hand, a sixteenth-century velvet in the Bargello Museum was once thought to be Ottoman, but it is now accepted that it is of Italian (and probably Venetian) manufacture (fig. 23.2b).¹⁴ Although it incorporates well-known Ottoman motifs, their overall organization is rather atypical, as is the combination of colors, which can, however, be matched in textiles known to be Italian: the light red/pinkish color of the spreading tendrils, for instance, is found in Italian textiles from the end of the fifteenth century onward, as in an example in the V&A (fig. 23.2c),¹⁵ and further evidence for an Italian origin is provided by the fact that the fabric is pure silk (not normal for Ottoman velvets) and by differences in the way the pile is treated.¹⁶ Italian fabrics based on Ottoman models would have been mainly aimed at the Ottoman market, but that



23.3a



23.3b

Fig. 23.3. (a) Çatma, Bursa, Turkey, sixteenth century, brocaded velvet. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 100-1878), London. (b) Velvet, Bursa, Turkey, late sixteenth–seventeenth century. Museo Nazionale del Bargello (inv. Franchetti 99), Florence.

Ottoman-derived motifs were also included in designs for the Italian home market as suggested by the presence of clothes with Ottoman patterns in paintings, such as the *Portrait of a Lady* by Parrasio Michelini (ca. 1565)¹⁷ and Titian's *The Burial of Christ* (ca. 1572) with the *cintāmanī* motif.¹⁸ It is instructive, however, to note that fabrics with Ottoman motifs in paintings cannot readily be identified as Ottoman, in contrast to the frequent presence in paintings of Ottoman rugs, thus reflecting the disparity between the high level of demand for Ottoman rugs as against the low level of demand for Ottoman fabrics, given the abundance of local manufactories.¹⁹

The trajectory of a particular design motif is often complex, as shown, for example, by the diffusion of the ogival lattice, the origins of which are ultimately to be found in eastern Asia. It traveled westward with the Mongol Ilkhanids (1256–1353), reaching Mamluk Syria and Egypt and thence Renaissance Italy, and it is likely that the Ottomans' adaptation of it was indebted to Italian rather than Eastern models.²⁰ In a sixteenth-century *çatma* velvet in the V&A²¹ (fig. 23.3a), the ogival lattice encloses yet another motif with a complex history, for it serves as a framework for rows of carnations,

or possibly sweet sultan (*Centaurea moschata*), a floral element that may have been derived from European herbals and books of floriculture, but took on a rather abstract and instantly identifiable fanlike shape in its Ottoman manifestation.²²

And then we have capers. A document dated June 14, 1555, in the National Archive in Florence, sent from Frankfurt by the merchant Francesco Carletti to the Saliti Company in Florence, contains a drawing for a textile design with an ogival lattice through which are threaded branches with capers, accompanied by a request for pieces like it to be manufactured for a "Frankfurt fair."²³ Although the organization of the ogival lattice in this drawing is typically Italian, and the representation of the capers likewise, as may be seen in textiles such as a *stola da procuratore* (a procurator's stole) in Palazzo Mocenigo in Venice,²⁴ both were also to be found on Ottoman velvets, such as one in the Bargello (fig. 23.3b),²⁵ and Carletti was presumably familiar with such fabrics. But no Middle Eastern source is implied by his specifying that the order should be made of *domasco tanè*, for by the sixteenth century, *domasco* had long lost any connection with Damascus: it refers to a

locally produced fine, thin silk (while *tanè* specifies a maroon/orange color). This document thus illustrates well a design world marked by the seamless integration of elements from various sources, and quite possibly ignorance of, their ultimate origins.

At the same time, his letter provides an interesting insight into entrepreneurial activity and commissioning well beyond Italy. This international market also included the Middle East, for commissions involving the dispatch of drawings with textile designs were not just internal European affairs: documents recently published by Gülu Necipoğlu contain orders of this kind from Ottoman pashas, one for Venetian fabrics to be sent to Cairo, the other, to go to Istanbul, involving various cushion designs.²⁶

Similar complexities arise with metalwork that can be identified as European imitations of Middle Eastern models, mainly Italian objects demonstrating the desirability of such designs in Renaissance Italy. Examples are the two candlesticks in the V&A with the Foscarini coat of arms that strive toward a Middle Eastern typology in their decoration (fig. 23.4a).²⁷ Indeed, the stylistic similarity of such pieces with ones of Middle Eastern origin is sufficiently close for this group to have been identified as European only relatively recently, on the

basis of the more clearly compartmentalized organization of the decoration, a conclusion confirmed by the absence of the black organic compound used on Middle Eastern pieces to provide the background for the silver inlay.²⁸ Another candlestick in the V&A demonstrates the reciprocal nature of such transfers, although in this case with regard to morphology rather than decoration (fig. 23.4b).²⁹ Of its two component pieces (the third is missing), the upper part is a later replacement and does not concern us.³⁰ The morphology of the lower part, made in western Iran in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century, is derived from an Italian and most probably Venetian prototype, one demonstrated by the Foscarini candlesticks. The incised design, however, most of the inlay of which is now unfortunately lost, conforms faithfully to Safavid ornament of the period of Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) as demonstrated, for example, by a flask of ca. 998 (1590) in the British Museum (fig. 23.4c).³¹ In both the V&A and BM pieces, we find an almost identical treatment of the cusped arches and split palmettes. For the interpretation of these phenomena, however, especially in order to make sound deductions about style preferences, much still remains to be done, in particular by taking into consideration a much larger corpus of artifacts than has hitherto been

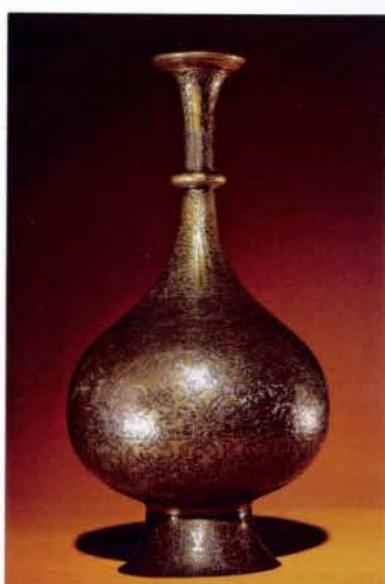
Fig. 23.4. (a) One of a pair of candlesticks, Italy (probably Venice), mid-sixteenth century, brass engraved and inlaid with silver. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 553-1865), London. (b) Candlestick (lower part), western Iran, late-sixteenth or seventeenth century, engraved bronze. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 4301-1857), London. (c) Flask, Iran, ca. 998 (1590), brass. British Museum, Henderson Bequest (inv. no. 78.12-30.735), London.



23.4a



23.4b



23.4c

attempted and by identifying textual references more fully. In the interim, it may be suggested as plausible that, beyond curiosity, an aesthetic openness allowed a conceptual “naturalization” of Middle Eastern ornament that allowed for the frictionless integration of certain novel elements.

Transmateriality

A further feature of the circulation of ornament is transmateriality, as a common pool of design elements appears in different media. This is a phenomenon that appears within both European and Middle Eastern production as well as between them. European metalwork, for example, may imitate ornament on glass, which in its turn derives from textiles, as in the case of a late-seventeenth-century silver gilt beaker in Hamburg³² that displays the same peacock-feather pattern as an early-seventeenth-century glass beaker in Vienna³³ on which the red dots, rendered in the metal beaker by punches, seem to have their origin in a textile pattern.³⁴ For Renaissance Italy, to take just one instance, we may cite the decorative designs on the foil disks of a group of medallion-shaped, silver-gilt and enamel costume ornaments that exhibit similarities with manuscript illumination from Milan around 1380 to 1400.³⁵

The incorporation of designs found in manuscript illumination also occurs in Mamluk metalwork, while similarities between the figural images on Mosul metalwork and Arab and Syriac manuscript illustrations have been noted on a number of occasions.³⁶ In terms of ornament, one may observe parallels with manuscript and luster tile painting in the background decorations of Mosuli metalwork, which range from plain backgrounds to thick winding scrolls, hatching, spirals, and independent ornamental scrolls.³⁷ Likewise, it has been noted that the designs on metalwork produced by Mahmud al-Kurdi (see below) have elements in common with those found in Mamluk and Iranian architecture and manuscript illumination,³⁸ while earlier metalwork may also exhibit the phenomenon of imitating the decorative effects used on a different material: the Courtauld metal bag (ca. 1300), for example, has an overall decoration that recalls Chinese-like textiles.³⁹ A particularly striking example of transmateriality is shown, during the reign of the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (1468–96), by certain motifs such as the three-petaled leaf, which appear on artifacts in various media,⁴⁰ including on the

dome of his mausoleum and on a brass bowl inlaid with gold and silver in the V&A.⁴¹

The process by which a decorative motif migrates across different media may readily be illustrated by the grotesque, which consists of fantastical human and animal forms interwoven with foliage designs. It derives from ancient Roman wall paintings that were discovered in Rome during the fifteenth century, and thereafter began to be popularly used in the decorative arts not only in Italy but also across Europe. From its beginnings as wall decoration, it thus spread to a variety of media such as engravings, woodcarving, textiles, ceramics, and metalwork, where it appears on objects as diverse as German silver tankards and Italian armor.⁴² Such transferability of motifs can be partly explained by the fact that artists both produced designs for, and worked on, a variety of luxury objects, including tapestries, frescoes, stucco, and metalwork and were often commissioned to decorate entire residences, as in the case of Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546) and Perino Del Vaga (1501–47), both of whom had trained with Raphael.⁴³ The wide dissemination of artists' designs was a significant factor in the circulation of ornament in Renaissance Europe, for while these drawings were initially private affairs between artist and patron, they later became a collection of stock samples, and sketchbooks were lent to friends and colleagues. The development of printing further increased their availability, and ornamental prints and pattern books were published to cater to craftsmen in various fields who were trying to keep up with the demand for luxury goods from the emerging bourgeoisie but did not have the necessary expertise to create their own designs. In Germany, for example, pattern books by artists such as Hans Brosamer (1495–1554) provided goldsmiths with ideas.⁴⁴

Evidence for the existence of such pattern books in the Islamic world is scanty,⁴⁵ but there are certainly parallels between Europe and the Middle East with regard not just to one person working in more than one medium but also, and more significantly, to the ways in which transferability was encouraged by the close relationships that sometimes existed between craftsmen working in different media. How extensive the former practice was is still a matter of investigation, but it is very likely, for instance, that the building superintendent of the Sultan Hasan mosque-madrassa complex in Mamluk Cairo, Muhammad b. Biylik, was also the scribe of a Qur'an in the Keir Collection (and connec-

tions have been made between the decoration of that building and manuscript illumination).⁴⁶ There is clearer Mamluk evidence for the latter process, as we find familial ties between goldsmiths and manuscript scribes and illuminators: the scribe of a Mamluk Qur'an dated 801 (1397),⁴⁷ for instance, was a goldsmith's son, while an earlier Mamluk Qur'an, dated 701 (1302), was produced in the mosque of the goldsmiths' market (Suq al-Sagha).⁴⁸ In the Ottoman world, likewise, a direct connection between manuscripts and metalwork is provided by the binding of the *Dīvān* of Sultan Murad III in the Topkapı Sarayı, which was done by the court goldsmith Mehmed.⁴⁹ For a European parallel, I cite the particularly strong connection, reinforced on occasion by social and familial ties, that existed between German armorers and the engravers and etchers who ornamented their suits of armor.⁵⁰

Given the resulting transferability of design elements, we find that, just as with fabrics, metalwork sometimes presents us with seemingly intractable problems with regard to provenance. Those pieces for which a Middle Eastern origin can be identified include both objects made for a local market, some of which were acquired by Europeans, and objects made for a European market, sometimes in response to commissions. Dubbed "Veneto-Saracenic,"⁵¹ they are typically brass objects distinguished by the use of silver inlay and may be assigned broadly to two types: One consists of pieces in which the decorative design can be identified as late Mamluk, typical examples being globular perfume burners.⁵² The other type, associated with Mahmud al-Kurdi, is of uncertain provenance. It is stylistically akin to late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iranian metalwork, but yet distinct,⁵³ while being differentiated technically from the first type by the finely engraved arabesques of the background.⁵⁴ In both types, the background is covered with a black organic compound, a feature that points to Middle Eastern origins, as do the metallurgical analyses showing that the Mahmud al-Kurdi pieces contain much lower levels of nickel than do European ones.⁵⁵ One example of this second, Mahmud al-Kurdi-type, actually includes on one rim an Arabic formula identifying the maker and on the opposite side a corresponding transliteration in Roman characters,⁵⁶ clearly indicating that it was intended for Europe. Among the late Mamluk pieces, some have a European morphology, which suggests either that Middle Eastern craftsmen were consciously creating shapes to appeal to

a European market while adhering to their own decorative idiom, or that they were commissioned to decorate pieces of European manufacture, which implies either a back-and-forth trading process or the presence of craftsmen from the Middle East in Venice. The latter possibility has generally been discounted, the assumption being that these metalwork pieces were probably produced in Egypt or Iran with European buyers in mind. However, recently discovered documents confirm the presence in Venice in 1563 of a certain Armenian named Antonio Surian, thirty-five years of age, from Damascus, employed to recover ordnance from sunken vessels (*artiglierie dalle navi affondate*) but who is also noted as doing inlay work (*all'agmina*) better than any Italian, implying that he was producing inlaid metalwork of high quality, and the possibility cannot be excluded that he taught craft skills to Venetian assistants, as Marco Spallanzani speculates.⁵⁷ But whatever his role, recent documentary evidence confirms the existence of a back-and-forth trade in metalwork: pieces produced in Venice or arriving from elsewhere in Europe were dispatched to Damascus to be decorated, even on occasion incorporating a specific design feature commissioned by an aristocratic European buyer, such as a family coat of arms, and then brought back to Venice.⁵⁸ The well-known Molino ewer,⁵⁹ for example, has a European shape and coat of arms,⁶⁰ but its decoration is characteristically Middle Eastern in style, and the presumption is of a vessel of European manufacture with the surface worked in the Middle East or by a Middle Eastern craftsman:⁶¹ the decoration is in fact very similar to that of a tray made in Cairo in the second half of the fourteenth century now in the V&A.⁶²

Further evidence for transmateriality is provided by leatherwork, as exhibited by bookbindings and shields. Venetian gilded leather shields,⁶³ for example, which are primarily decorative symbols of power, paraded on special occasions, exhibit Ottoman design features found on bookbindings and other material such as textiles and metalwork. On one of the shields, we find a twelve-point medallion in the center with an interlace of flowers and half-palmettes (fig. 23.5a), while the field is decorated with the cloud-collar motif, reminiscent of the cloud-collar border of Ushak carpets, such as the one in the V&A, so that the whole is a quite typical assemblage of Ottoman motifs (fig. 23.5b). Indeed, without knowledge of the differences in shape and materials it would require detailed analysis in some cases to deter-



23.5a



23.5b

Fig. 23.5. (a) Gilded leather shield, Venice, 1550–1600. Armeria del Palazzo Ducale (inv. J20), Venice. (b) Small Ushak double-niche medalion rug, Turkey, 1500–1550. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. T.51-1920), London.

mine their Venetian provenance. On a buckler from the same group, in contrast, the organization of the various elements, together with the coloristic effect, is a creative Venetian reinterpretation of an Ottoman design (see below), its transformational strategies reminiscent of what we have seen happening on the Venetian velvet in the Bargello and the Frari cope. Similar processes are apparent on another shield, where the medallions on the field, with their polylobed contour and the quadrilobed split palmette with a central flower (fig. 23.6a), are very similar in shape and ornament to those on sixteenth-century Ottoman silks, and also have a similar coloristic effect (figs. 23.6b, 23.6c). However, another motif, the cloud-band, is used in a “stylized” form quite foreign to its Ottoman realizations, with the curves squeezed tighter. The lack of any pretense at precisely reproducing an Ottoman object is confirmed by the insertion of the Lion of St. Mark in the central medallion and, below it, the initials “A C” (probably for a member of the Contarini family). The shields thus exhibit a variety of responses, including the reassembly of selected motifs in novel combinations.

In the only painted buckler (fig. 23.7a) that does not have a relief ornament, we find links with yet other media. In the interlace of half-palmette, including the coloristic effect of blue and red, the decoration is close to Ottoman Iznik ceramics, as illustrated by a tile datable to around 1578 (fig. 23.7c), while the shape of the split-palmette medallions recalls elements found in metalwork, as seen in a late-fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century perfume burner, in Bologna, probably made in Egypt or Syria (fig. 23.7b). A glimpse of the importance attached to painted shields (and other arms such as lances and quivers) is given by documents that Luca Molà has recently found relating to a Hungarian, Nicolò Ongaro, who was invited to work in the Venetian arsenal, as he had a reputation of being a good shield and lance maker.⁶⁴ He eventually complained of being underpaid, and was granted a yearly stipend of sixty ducats on condition that he would supply thirty shields and thirty lances annually. Although the shields mentioned in these documents may not be the same as the ones discussed so far, as they were not destined to the Venetian aristocracy, the documents clearly describe

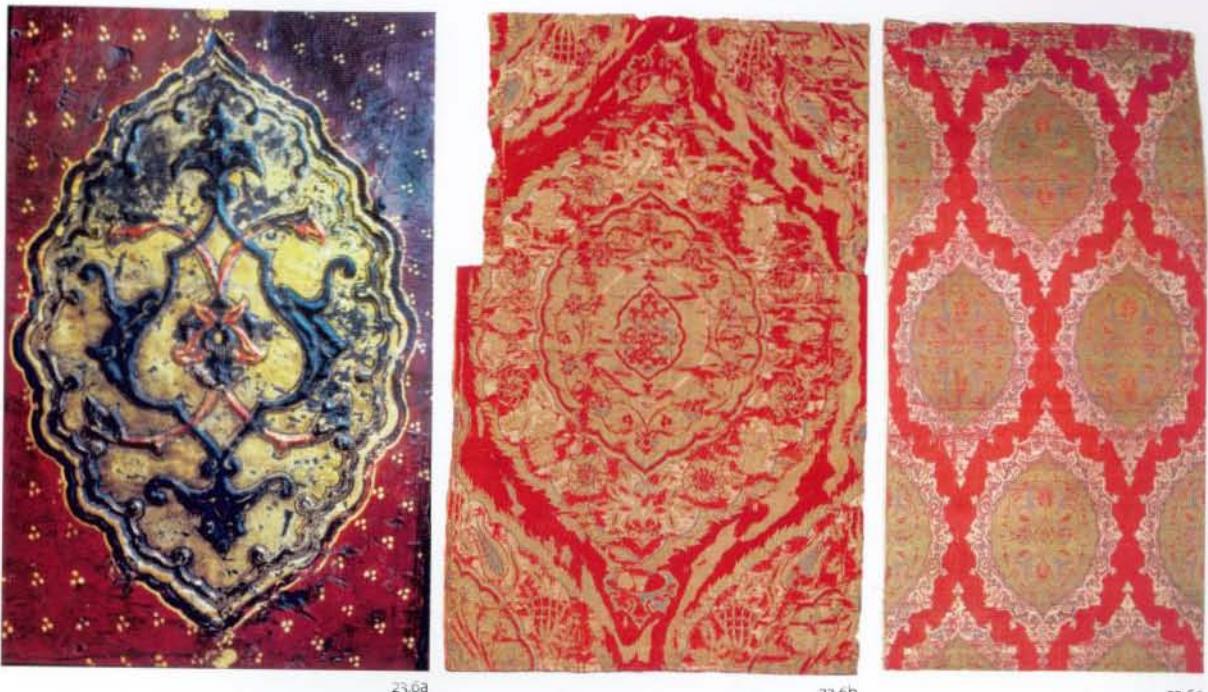


Fig. 23.6. (a) Gilded leather shield, Venice, 1550–1600. Armeria del Palazzo Ducale (inv. J14 [formerly inv. 122/Sala E]), Venice. (b) Ottoman silk (*kemhā*), Bursa or Istanbul, second half of sixteenth century. Museo del Tessuto (inv. no. 75.01.316), Prato, Italy. (c) Ottoman silk (*kemhā*), Bursa or Istanbul, Turkey, ca. 1540–50. Museo Nazionale del Bargello (inv. Carrand 2514), Florence.

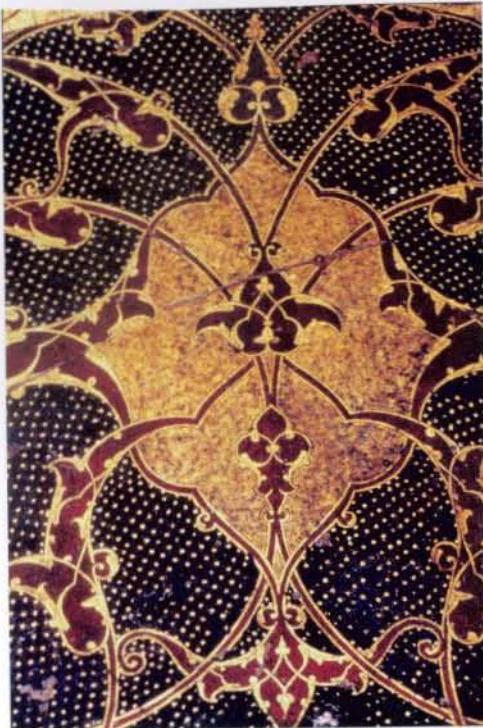
them as painted, and the money and time that Nicolò Ongaro was granted suggest that items like these were of importance nevertheless.

Technique

Analogous combinations of ornamental features found on a wide range of media occur in another leather product, bookbinding, the study of which highlights again the importance of investigating the techniques used in order to understand modalities of transfer. The splendid Venetian stamped, painted, and gilt binding in the Newberry Library containing the document of appointment, by Doge Alvise Mocenigo, of Girolamo Mula as procurator (*procuratore*) of St. Mark in 1572 is made up of varnished upper covers and doublures, and within the clearly Islamic-derived design format of a central lobed medallion, corner pieces, and arabesques we find not only the Lion of St. Mark and the coat of arms on the reverse but also elements of Renaissance ornament in the “populated” border that contains not just birds and insects but also grotesque figures.⁶⁵

Another instance of the incorporation of features characteristic of fifteenth-century Mamluk bindings is provided by a copy of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares*, printed on parchment in Venice in 1475, and bound for Peter Ugelheimer (d. 1489), the owner of the Deutsches Haus Inn in Venice.⁶⁶ Edged with knotwork motifs, it has at the center a typically Middle Eastern almond-shaped medallion. But this contains Ugelheimer's coat of arms surrounded by the Y-shaped stamps that are usually found on Islamic metalwork, not on bindings, thus indicating that transferability of ornament might also be mediated technically. Similarly, the tools used on the Italian binding of a manuscript from Padua, copied in 1400, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, may have been modeled on metalwork tools, “a natural borrowing since tool cutting was generally the work of goldsmiths.”⁶⁷

Venetian bindings in Mamluk or Ottoman styles are never precise imitations, contrary to common assumptions. The outer cover of Leonardo Bruni's *Commentarius rerum in Italia suo tempore gestarum* (1464–65) shows segmented borders with gilded tool work,



23.7a



23.7b



23.7c

Fig. 23.7. (a) Buckler, Venice, late sixteenth century. Armeria del Palazzo Ducale (inv. 66/Sala E), Venice. (b) Perfume burner, Egypt or Syria, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. Museo Civico Medievale (inv. no. 2110), Bologna. (c) Tile, Iznik, Turkey, ca. 1578. Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 1645-1892), London.



Fig. 23.8. (a) Doublure, L. Bruni, *Commentarius rerum in Italia suo tempore gestarum* (Bologna [?], 1464–65). Biblioteca Marciana (Lat.X, 117 [=3844]), Venice. (b) Upper cover, Petrarch, *Canzoniere and Trionfi* (Florence, 1460–70). Bodleian Library (Ms.Canon.Ital.78), Oxford.

while the doublures have elaborate filigree (fig. 23.8a).⁶⁸ Although the overall organization is derived from Mamluk bindings, the leather cutout constituting the design of the filigree is covered with little pearls, once thought to be made of glass, but actually, as recent analysis shows, of resin—a form of ornamentation not used by Middle Eastern binders.⁶⁹ The tooling inside the segmented borders of the outer cover is rather messy by comparison with the binding in the Bodleian Library of 1460–70 (fig. 23.8b), a type that could have provided a possible inspiration.⁷⁰ This binding, which covers Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, was for a long time thought to be Italian, but recent analyses of the sewing show that it must be Mamluk,⁷¹ a conclusion reinforced both by stylistic considerations, as the design is elegant and rigorous in its organization, and by technical features, for the tooling is identical to that on other bindings known to be Mamluk.⁷² Similarly, a volume in the Biblioteca Marciana containing two manuscripts (one of which, *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, is dated 1453) that was later owned by the Venetian historian Marin Sanudo the Younger (1466–1536) has a Mamluk

or North African-style binding (with a flap) that Anthony Hobson believes was bound in Egypt.⁷³ In addition, Hobson has noted two other European books—a copy of the Aldine Press edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1502) and the *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, printed in Paris in 1505—that have Ottoman bindings and sewing, which suggests to him that they were sent to Istanbul to be bound.⁷⁴ At the same time, the collections of kings and scholars such as King René of Anjou (1409–80), the Italian philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), and the Spanish ambassador to Venice Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (ca. 1503–75) attest to the presence of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts from the Islamic world (and their bindings) in Europe, and these could have provided models for local bookbinders, thereby facilitating the transfer of Mamluk and Ottoman ornaments into the European repertoire.⁷⁵ Yet if we compare the tooling of the borders in the Bruni binding, we can see how the design of the Mamluk model has, seemingly, been misunderstood. Or has it? Another possibility, in the absence of tools capable of such fine detail, would be

approximation born of necessity, which might also explain why the problem of steering the design around the corners is solved or, rather, evaded by the substitution of little squares.

Differences in both equipment and technique, whether enabling or inhibiting, may well be a factor contributing to stylistic shifts as a design feature travels. For example, on the varnished binding in the Newberry Library that was mentioned earlier, the binder resorts to painting, thereby allowing certain designs to be copied more easily; and where painting was combined with relief, this was made not with small metal tools, but by pressure molding. With advances in technology, by the end of the fifteenth century, large stamps could be produced by European binders (fig. 23.9c), facilitating the transfer of ornament by drawing an imitation design, whether inspired by an object or a pattern book, from which the stamp would be cut. The pattern of the central medallion of the Venetian binding in Chatsworth Library, the 1520–30 *Fra Giocondo, Sylloge* (fig. 23.9a), for example, is very similar to the field of an earlier Ottoman binding made by the influential Turkmen binder Ghiyath al-Din in 1477 (fig. 23.9b),⁷⁶ but even without access to an Ottoman model incorporating this design in a medallion, the Venetian binder could have drawn it out himself, based on an original or copied pattern, in order to create a stamp for pressure molding. The printed drawing of an almond medallion by Francesco di Pellegrino in his *La fleur de la science de pourtraicture: Patrons de broderie, façon arabique et ytalique* (1530) demonstrates well this possibility (fig. 23.9d).⁷⁷ Such pattern books, together with single-page ornament prints, were particularly in vogue in the sixteenth century; intended for craftsmen of various fields, including bookbinding,⁷⁸ they would have facilitated the transmission of ornament across media and encouraged eclecticism.

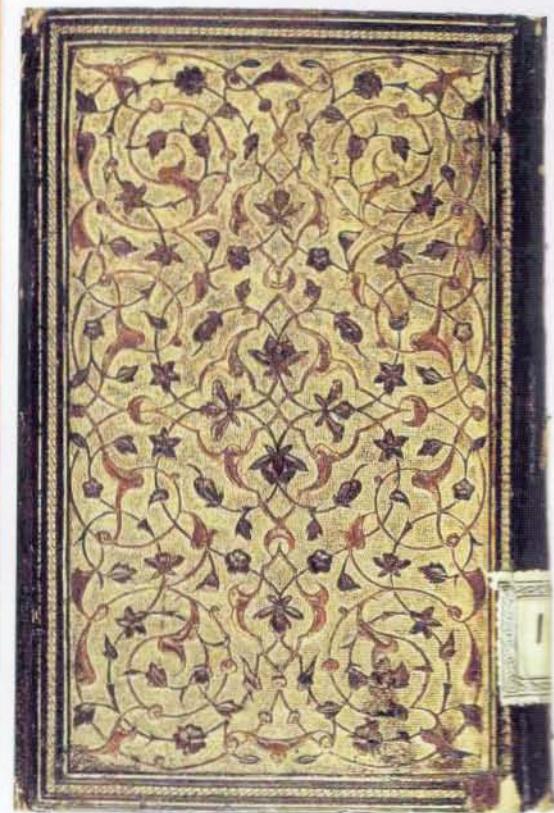
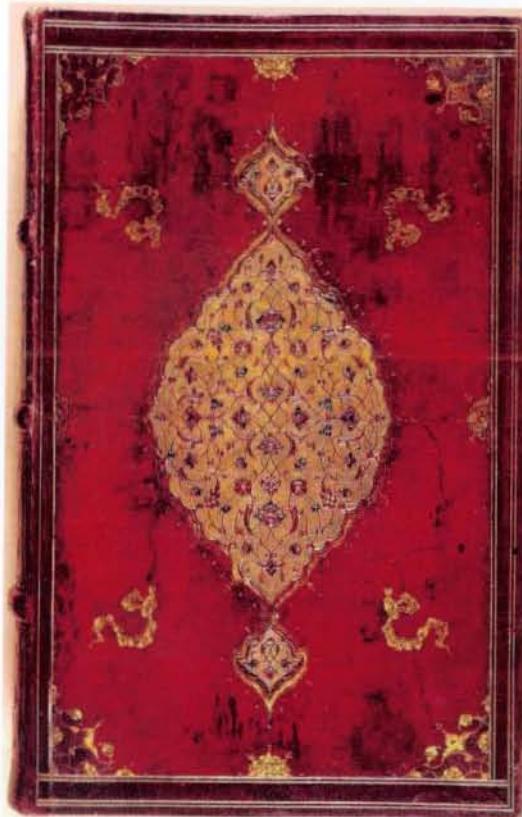
Renaissance Eclectic Taste

The extraordinary *Libro dei ricami* (Book of embroidery) (fig. 23.10) by the Venetian Gaspare Novello, dedicated to Loredana Mocenigo (wife of the Doge Alvise Mocenigo, whose varnished binding was discussed earlier), is a precious document testifying to the circulation of embroidery models intended for women, whether printed, as in the case of Pellegrino's work, or drawn by hand in ink and various watercolors, as here.⁷⁹ Some of the drawings show clear affinities with Ottoman ornament, especially

in the intertwined vegetal motifs that often contain a reinterpretation of the lotus flower, palmettes, tulips, and carnations. The outlines have been pricked for transfer of the design by pouncing. Like the two embroidery books in the V&A by the Venetians Lunardo Ferro and Amadio Novello, both dated 1559, the *Libro dei ricami*, dated 1570, contains material similar to Pellegrino's aforementioned drawings, published in 1530, pointing to the longevity of such designs.

But Pellegrino was already producing designs rather closer to the abstract "arabesques" found on early-sixteenth-century Venetian bookbindings, metalwork, and textiles than to those on Middle Eastern objects featuring seminaturalistic identifiable flowers. There is no attempt to identify the origin of specific designs, and as with other sixteenth-century European pattern books, Pellegrino's designs are in fact strongly eclectic in character, including also Renaissance grotesque ornament. Frequently a single term—usually "arabesque" or "moresque"—is applied generically to a variety of styles: for Pellegrino, his patterns are in the *façon arabique et ytalique* (Arabic and Italianate manner). With regard to both metalwork and textiles, the early *da* or *di Damasco* (from Damascus) is gradually replaced, in the sixteenth century, by *alla damaschina* (in the Damascene manner), a term now also applicable to pieces made in Italy.⁸⁰ Although, as seen above, it could be a technical designation of a particular quality of silk, in other contexts it referred to a spectrum of design features, so that while no longer necessarily signaling geographical provenance, it could be argued that it demonstrated at the level of style an enduring awareness of a Middle Eastern association allied to the prolongation of a taste for "orientalizing" motifs up to the second half of the sixteenth century. It is true that the Carletti drawing mentioned above contains no such motifs, but the term was certainly applied to the Middle Eastern objects and designs and their Italian emulations for which there was a taste and even a fashion in cities like Venice and Florence from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Such artifacts, carpets especially, spread to various levels of society, not just the aristocratic and upper classes. Indeed, as Marco Spallanzani has shown, the type of carpet that we now label as Holbein (*a ruote*) became so fashionable that one customer, in 1472, wanting variety, had to insist on having something different.⁸¹

By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Middle Eastern-derived ornament had become an

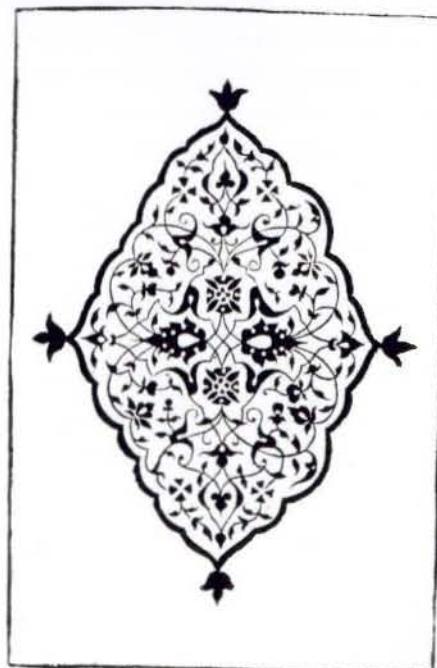


23.9a

23.9b



23.9c



23.9d

Fig. 23.9. (a) Upper cover, Fra Giocondo, *Syllogue* (Venice, ca. 1520–30). Chatsworth Library, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, England. (b) Binding, Fakhr al-Din al-'Iraqi, *Al-Lamā'āt* (Istanbul, 881 [1477]). Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (MS. 2031, formerly MS. 1501), Istanbul. (c) Stamp for pressure molding from a modern bookbinder, twentieth century. Private collection, Istanbul. (d) Pattern in Islamic style, from Francesco Pellegrino, *La fleur de la science de pourtraicture: Patrons de broderie, façon arabique et ytalique* (Paris, 1530).

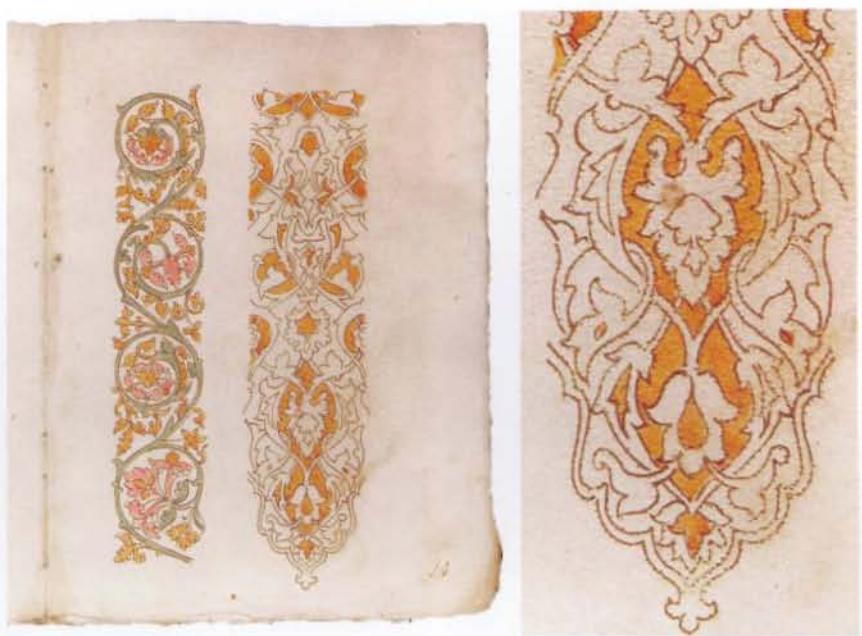


Fig. 23.10. Gaspare Novello, *Libro dei ricami* (Book of embroidery) (Venice, 1570). Museo del Tessuto (inv. no. 97.01.M, fol. 14r and detail), Prato, Italy.

integral part of the Italianate stylistic repertoire, a productively hybrid domain within the larger European and Mediterranean style world where concepts such as “influence” no longer have traction. This is underlined by the emic perceptions that we can detect, however faintly: the generalizing vocabulary of Renaissance ornament seems to indicate a gradual diminution in the signaling, not of Middle Eastern connections, but of non-European otherness. There is, indeed, a surprising lack of commentary on the “foreign” nature of both Middle Eastern objects and the so-called arabesque. For example, Sabba da Castiglione, in his *Ricordi* (written in 1549), simply lists a wide range of objects to adorn the home that includes tapestries from Flanders, Turkish and Syrian carpets, leathers from Spain, and new and wonderful things from the Levant and Germany.⁸²

Such eclectic acceptance and integration seems to be characteristic of the primarily nonrepresentational arts. Although there could, by definition, be no comparable dilution of otherness in figural painting, parallels might be anticipated in the acceptance and circulation of novel styles and techniques, yet these can be detected only sporadically. The early paintings in the Cappella Palatina, Sicily (1143), demonstrate that Islamic-style figural representations might be integrated within a

Christian setting, and a later self-conscious adaptation of techniques typical of painting in an Islamic tradition can be seen in the *Seated Scribe* (1479–81), attributed to either Gentile Bellini or Costanzo di Moysis (or da Ferrara). This in turn was to be copied by Persian artists,⁸³ and a Persian painting of *The Virgin and Child*, datable to the late fifteenth century, was also based on an Italian model, closely resembling one of Bellini’s works.⁸⁴ Yet such examples are rare, and later European depictions of people from the Islamic world remain firmly within Western artistic traditions of representation.⁸⁵ Having seen Western paintings, Mughal artists were prepared to copy aspects of the techniques that they employed.⁸⁶ But apart from the painter of the *Seated Scribe*, it may be assumed that Western artists did not generally have access to representative examples of Islamic painting, and even if this had been the case, one can only speculate as to what their reactions might have been. Accordingly, comparison between figural representation and the circulation of ornament can only be taken so far: the former gives the occasional glimpse of a potential cultural openness and reciprocity with implications for an awareness of novel aesthetic norms, while the latter demonstrates an achieved integration. The apparent ease with which this came about may be partially explained by a significant cultural

shift during the Renaissance, the “rediscovery” of antiquity. Allied to the growing humanist concern with the languages, literatures, histories, and sciences of the past, this also embraced an enhanced visual awareness of Greco-Roman art, and with it of the elements of arabesque and their organizational possibilities that both classical and Byzantine ornament contained. Once familiar with such forms, the Western eye would hardly find their Middle Eastern manifestations unusual and would, indeed, be predisposed to react positively toward them. They could thus be both readily incorporated as design elements and naturalized to the extent that awareness of their origin might be erased. Even as late as the nineteenth century Middle Eastern objects such as the famous Fatimid rock crystal ewers were considered Byzantine: the vegetal interlace surrounding animals is a form that had long existed around the Medi-

terranean, while the Kufic inscriptions that merge beautifully with the rest of the decoration were often not understood to be Arabic at all.

Conceptually naturalized, Middle Eastern ornament was thus fused within an increasingly undifferentiated Renaissance design compendium, a unified world that allowed Sabba da Castiglione to arrive at a cultural vision with an ethical dimension, for he concludes that all these ornaments (and he actually uses the word *ornamenti*) are to be commended and praised because they sharpen the intellect and induce politeness, civility, and courtliness (*e tutti questi ornamenti ancora commendo e laudo, perché arguiscono ingegno, politezza, civiltà e cortegiania*).⁸⁷

It would be nice to think that our enhanced awareness of the international movement of ornament and the creative local energies it helped to inspire might, in turn, itself foster such qualities.

Perosa (London: Warburg Institute, 1960–81), 155–225. For a different attribution of the architecture away from Alberti, see Charles Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).

44. "Hanno i Pittori un'altra sorte di pittura, che è Disegno & pittura insieme, & questo si domanda Sgraffito et non serve ad altro, che per ornamenti di facciate di case & palazzi...." Vasari, *Le vite*, 1:142. "Sgraffio, o Sgraffito m. Una sorta di pittura che è disegno, e pittura insieme; serve per lo più per ornamenti di facciate di case, palazzi, e cortili; ed è sicurissimo all'acque, perchè tutti i dintorni son tratteggiati con un ferro incavando lo 'ntonaco prima tinto di color nero, e poi coperto di bianco fatto di calcina di travertino; e così con que' tratteggiini, levato il bianco, e scoperto il nero rimane una pittura, o disegno, che vogliamo dire, co' suoi chiari e scuri, che avitata con alcuni acquerelli scuretti à un bel rilievo, e fa bellissima vista." Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (Florence: Santi Franchi, 1681), 151 (my emphasis).

45. H. Sumner, "Of Sgraffito Work," in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society: With a Preface by William Morris*, Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), 161–71.

46. Vasari, *Le vite*, 3:766. Marabottini disagrees with Vasari on the quality of Polidoro's paintings, though he agrees on his qualities as *disegnatore*. On Polidoro's *disegno*, see Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 14.

47. For a transcription of the decree, see G. M. Urbani de Gheltof, *Degli arazzi in Venezia con note sui tessuti artistici veneziani* (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1878), 104–5.

48. Erwin Panofsky, "Excursus: Two Façade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi and the Problem of Mannerism in Architecture" (1930), in *Meaning in Visual Arts* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 226–35.

49. Jacob Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner and Seubert, 1878; rev. ed., Munich: Beck, 2000): "Im XV Jahrhundert war sowohl der edlere Prachtsinn als die Lust am höchsten Putz und Prunk gewaltig gestiegen... und eine flüchtige Uebersicht der wichtigeren Nachrichten... wird zeigen welch ein Feld dieser Kunst offen war" (287). For a development of this topic in recent scholarship see Richard Goldthwaite,

Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 13–40. An indication of the turn toward an appreciation of surfaces and craftsmanship is evident in Alberti's definition of the origins of pleasure, which arises not only from intellected form but also from "the work of the hand" and treatment of material qualities (VI, 4). Alberti, *On Building*, 159.

50. Yuriko Saito, *Everyday Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

51. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949).

Chapter 23

1. Anna Contadini, "Sharing a Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity around the Mediterranean, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 30.

2. Anna Contadini, "Artistic Contacts: Current Scholarship and Future Tasks," in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini (London: Warburg Institute, 1999), 9–11.

3. Whether this is to be seen as a centralization of the vocabulary of ornament during the Safavid period that would reflect a political agenda is a matter of debate, and it is beyond the remit of this chapter.

4. For *tiráz*, see Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1998), chap. 2, with relevant bibliography. Also Jochen Sokoly, "Towards a Model of Early Islamic Textile Institutions in Egypt," in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, Riggisberger Berichte, no. 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997).

5. For Franz Bock, see Birgitt Borkopp-Restle, *Der Aachener Kanonikus Franz Bock und seine Textilsammlungen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kunstgewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2008).

6. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), inv. no. 8560–1863. See Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 62, pl. 16.

7. R. H. Pinder-Wilson and C.N.L. Brooke, "The Reliquary of St. Petroc and the Ivories of Norman Sicily," in Pinder-Wilson, *Studies in Islamic Art* (London: Pindar Press, 1985; first published in *Archaeologia* 104 [1973]: 261–305); Antony Eastmond, "The St. Petroc Casket, a Certain Mutilated Man, and the Trade in

Ivories," in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting 1100–1300*, ed. David Knipp (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011).

8. Knipp, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*.

9. Emma Zocca, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità di Assisi* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1936), 203, fig. at 205; Kurt Erdmann, "Islamische Bergkristallarbeiten," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 61 (1940): 128–30 and fig. 3; Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia* (Milan: Garzanti-Scheiwiller, 1979), no. 520; Anna Contadini, "Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe," in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiss (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 43–46, pl. 1.1 and fig. 1.1.

10. As the Geniza documents testify; see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols.: vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (1967); vol. 2, *The Community* (1971); vol. 3, *The Family* (1978); vol. 4, *Daily Life* (1983); vol. 5, *The Individual* (1988); vol. 6, *Cumulative Indices* (1993) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–93; reprint (paperback), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

11. Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 59–62; Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf, *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010); see also Julian Raby, "Exotica from Islam," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

12. For a discussion on the importation of Italian textiles in the Ottoman courts, see Nurhan Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose; Ottoman Imperial Silks and Velvets* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2001), 182–90, where some of these documents are discussed on 185–86; see also Nevber Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving: Designs through the Ages*, ed. William A. Edmonds (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1988), 28; Carlo Maria Suriano and Stefano Carboni, *La seta islamica/Islamic Silk* (Florence: Museo del Bargello/9th International Conference on Carpets, 1999), no. 25. Examples of Ottoman-made caftans in the Topkapı Palace include one that dates to the late

- fifteenth century (inv. no. 13/6) and another from the first half of the seventeenth century (inv. no. 13/1909).
13. Venice, Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. See Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007; French 1st ed., 2006), cat. 70.
14. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. Franchetti 639. See Suriano and Carboni, *La seta islamica*, no. 25; Anna Contadini, "Le stoffe islamiche nel Rinascimento italiano tra il XV e il XVI secolo," in *Intrecci Mediterranei: Il tessuto come dizionario di rapporti economici, culturali e sociali*, ed. Daniela Degl'Innocenti (Prato: Museo del Tessuto, 2006), fig. 4; and Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," pl. 17.
15. V&A, inv. no. CIRC. 346-1911.
16. As Suriano and Carboni, *La seta islamica*, 85, note, "... by the end of the 15th century Ottoman velvets were already being made using silk for warp and (often) pile and cotton or linen for the weft."
17. Genoa, Palazzo Rosso; see Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," 45–46, fig. 2.10.
18. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. no. Poo441. For discussions of the *cintāmani* motif in the context of Islamic and Western art, see Priscilla Soucek, "Cintāmani," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1991), vol. 5, fasc. 6; Jaroslav Folda, "An Icon of the Crucifixion and the Nativity at Sinai: Investigating the Pictorial Language of Its Ornamental Vocabulary; Chrysography, Pearl-Dot Haloes and Çintemani," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 170–79.
19. Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," 45–46.
20. Louise Mackie, *The Splendor of Turkish Weaving: An Exhibition of Silks and Carpets of the 13th–18th Centuries, November 9, 1973 through March 24, 1974* (Washington, DC: Textile Museum, 1973–74), 14; Walter Denny, "Textiles," in *Tulips, Arabesques & Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 128; Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving*, 43, 67–68; Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 208, 227. On the transmission of Chinese motifs into Iranian and Turkish art, see Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon* (London: British Museum, 1984), 145–98.
21. V&A, inv. no. 100-1878. Although it is currently not possible to distinguish between the products of different centers (J. M. Rogers, ed. and trans., *The Topkapi Saray Museum: Costumes, Embroideries, and Other Textiles*, from the original Turkish by Hülya Tezcan and Selma Delibaş [London: Thames and Hudson, 1986], 15), *çatma* weaving was particularly associated with Bursa, whereas the Istanbul ateliers appear to have specialized more in brocaded silks and cloths of gold and silver. Denny, "Textiles," 124; Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving*, 19; Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 156.
22. For a discussion of the floral motifs in Ottoman art, see J. M. Rogers and Rachel Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), 60; and Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *İznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London: Alexandria Press in association with Thames and Hudson, 1989), 222–23.
23. Marco Spallanzani, "Le compagnie Saliti a Norimberga nella prima metà del Cinquecento (un primo contributo dagli archivi fiorentini)," in *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege: Festschrift für Hermann Kellenbenz*, vol. 1, *Mittelmeer und Kontinent*, ed. Jürgen Schneider (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 609, 616, fig. 1; Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 184.
24. Venice, Museo di Palazzo Mocenigo, inv. no. 491/191. See Degl'Innocenti, *Intrecci Mediterranei*, 80–81, cat. 14; Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," pl. 15.
25. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. Franchetti 99. See Suriano and Carboni, *La seta islamica*, no. 35; Contadini, "Le stoffe," fig. 2.
26. See Gülrü Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 155, 169n49; Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility and 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 353n64.
27. V&A, inv. no. 553-1865 and 554-1865. See Anna Contadini, "Middle-Eastern Objects," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 313–14, 360, cat. 135; Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," fig. 2.14.
28. See note 55, below, for references.
29. V&A, inv. no. 4301-1857. See A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World, 8–18th Centuries* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), 321–32, no. 146 and the entry by A.R.E. North in *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, ed. Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (Berlin: Berliner Festspiele, Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 606, no. 4/104.
30. The bronze (gun metal) candlestick was called by Melikian-Chirvani a "composite." Indeed, it is not only made of two pieces, but the upper piece, in the form of a glass, is different in style of decoration, and also, it seems, in metal composition, probably brass.
31. British Museum, OA 78.12-30.735, Henderson Bequest, H., 37.8 cm. Sheila Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art 1501–1722* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 110, col. pl. 98.
32. Two silver beakers of this type are known, both made by the metalworker Johann Adolf Lambrecht ca. 1675, one in the Kremlin in Moscow, the other in a private collection in Hamburg: see Bernhard Heitmann, "Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 (2002): 112 and fig. 9.
33. The beaker is from northern Bohemia (or northern Czechoslovakia), an area with a long tradition of glassmaking. Strasser Collection, Vienna: see Heitmann, "Migration," 112 and fig. 10.
34. Heitmann, "Migration," 112, who suggests the connection (although does not give a comparative example).
35. These sets are in Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, 1961.9.186-194; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.926-961; and the Schroder Collection. See Alison Luchs, "Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits," in *Western Decorative Arts, Part 1: Medieval, Renaissance, and Historicizing Styles Including Metalwork, Enamels, and Ceramics*, ed. Rudolf Distelberger et al. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1993); Timothy Schroder, *Renaissance Silver from the Schroder Collection* (London: Wallace Collection, 2007), cat. 5.
36. For example, see Anna Ballian, "Three Medieval Islamic Brasses and the Mosul Tradition of Inlaid Metalwork," *Mouσειο Μπενάκη* 9 (2009): 121; Julian Raby, "The Principle of Parsimony and the Problem of the 'Mosul School of Metalwork,'" in *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World: Art, Craft and Text; Essays Presented to James W. Allan*, ed. Venetia Porter and Mariam Rosser-Owen (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 44–52; Anna Contadini, *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century*

- Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Na't al-Hayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtishū' Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 149–51, and also chap. 8, esp. 161–62.
37. D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣili," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 323, no. 6; also see Raby, "The Principle of Parsimony," 45. Transmission from books to metalwork does not only involve decoration but also illustrations, as seen on the Mosuli candlestick in the Khalili Collection that represent, among other things, a scene of a teacher with pupils writing on tablets, a tableau that can be identified only through knowledge of the illustrations of the manuscripts of the early and mid-thirteenth century *Maqāmāt*, such as in one probably copied in Syria, dated 619 (1222), now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Arabe 6094, fol. 167r; see Anna Contadini, "Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts and Their North Jaziran and 'Abbasid Neighbours," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187–1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld (London: Altajir Trust, 2009), pl. 9.4.
38. James W. Allan, "Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork: The Problems of Provenance," in *Arte veneziana e arte islamica: Atti del primo simposio internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica*, ed. Ernst J. Grube, Stefano Carboni, and Giovanni Curatola (Venice: L'Altra Riva, 1989); and Sylvia Auld, "Master Mahmud and Inlaid Metalwork in the 15th Century," in *Venice and the Islamic World*, ed. Carboni, 218–19.
39. James W. Allan, "Chinese Silks and Mosul Metalwork," in *Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq*, ed. Rachel Ward (London: Courtauld Gallery in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2014).
40. Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," in "The Art of the Mamluks," special issue, *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 7. Grabar, however, cautions against attributing ornamental features that were common during Qaytbay's reign as a style, as they were not exclusive to this period.
41. London, V&A, inv. no. 1325–1856. See A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Cuivres inédits de l'époque de Qā'itbāy," *Kunst des Orients* 6, no. 2 (1969): fig. 28; also Tim Stanley et al., *Palace and Mosque: Islamic Art from the Middle East* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), fig. 112.
42. M. B. Piotrovskii, and T. N. Kosourova, *The Magic World of the Grotesque: 16th- and 17th-Century Grotesques in the Applied Art of Western Europe from the Hermitage Collection; Catalogue* (Saint Petersburg: Slavia, 2000).
43. For brief discussions on their ornamental drawings, see Stuart W. Pyrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negri and His Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 109–10; and Marjorie Connell, "Pietro del Vaga," in *Designs of Desire: Architectural and Ornamental Prints and Drawings 1500–1850*, exh. cat., ed. Timothy Clifford (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1999).
44. For an overview of ornament drawings and prints during the Renaissance, see Janet S. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 11–22. For example, a print by Brosamer, first published 1540, now in the V&A, E.235–1914 (this copy printed ca. 1570), shows designs for two cups with the ornamental motif of the acanthus leaf and molded decoration.
45. J. M. Rogers, "Ornament Prints, Patterns and Designs, East and West," in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Burnett and Contadini.
46. David James, "More Qur'āns of the Mamluks," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 13, no. 2 (2007): 7–8.
47. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, no. 11. Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'ān* (London: World of Islam Publishing for the British Library, 1976), no. 88.
48. Sofia, SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, OP 2707. Z. Ivanova and A. Stoilova, *The Holy Qur'ān through the Centuries: A Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manuscripts and Printed Editions Preserved in the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, February 1995*. Sofia: SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, Centre for Manuscripts and Documentation, Oriental Department, 1995, 49–50, cat. 2; James, "More Qur'āns," 4–5.
49. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, 2/2107. Zeren Tanındı, "Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Sarayı," in "Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers," special issue, *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 338.
50. Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 180.
51. However, now that the scholarly consensus is that they were not made in Venice, this term is best avoided. For a review of the scholarship on them, see Sylvia Auld, *Renaissance Venice, Islam and Mahmud the Kurd: A Metalworking Enigma* (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2004), 7–8, 36–43; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalware, a Mamluk Art," *Mamluk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005) (who has argued that all the pieces come from Mamluk Egypt); and Contadini, "Middle-Eastern Objects," 309–15, where the term "Veneto-Saracenic" is avoided.
52. For examples of these, see Auld, *Renaissance Venice*, 108–40.
53. The Iranian provenance was already suggested by Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* (London: British Museum, 1993), 102–3. Auld puts forward the hypothesis that these masters might have been itinerant Aqqoyunlu Turkmen working in and around northwest Iran or Anatolia, on the grounds of stylistic comparison with early Ottoman and Aqqoyunlu material: Auld, *Renaissance Venice*, 8–9, and chap. 7; see also Auld, "Master Mahmud," 218–19.
54. Auld, *Renaissance Venice*, 60.
55. Although other Islamic metalwork of this type contains high levels of nickel. For the scientific analysis of these objects, see Rachel Ward et al., "Veneto-Saracenic Metalwork: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," in *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Medieval Europe and Beyond*, BM Occasional Paper 109, ed. D. R. Hook and D.R.M. Gaimster (London: British Museum Press, 1995); and Susan La Niece, "Master Mahmud and Inlaid Metalwork: A Scientific Perspective," in *Venice and the Islamic World*, ed. Carboni; see also Auld, *Renaissance Venice*, 60–61.
56. The Roman transliteration is not, as often reported in the literature, a Persian version, "AMALEI MALEM MAMUD" (for example, B. W. Robinson, "Oriental Metalwork in the Gambier-Parry Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 768 [March 1967]: 170–73; Auld, *Renaissance Venice*, and Auld, "Master Mahmud," cat. no. 103; and Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002], 214n17), but rather "AMAL ELMALEM MAMUD," from the Arabic inscription on the other side of the rim: "the work of the master Mahmud who hopes for forgiveness from his lord" ('amal al-mu'allim mahmūd yarju al-maghfirah min maulāhi).
57. Marco Spallanzani, *Metalli islamici a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2010), 11–12, and n. 22.
58. Marco Spallanzani points out (*ibid.*, 7–10) that the Florentine documents of the fourteenth century that refer to metal cargoes from a port of the Near East fail to give any further specification. They cast

light on other aspects such as prices and usage, and even sometimes refer to ornamental motifs, but not to places of origin. However, there is mention of a back-and-forth movement of objects to be decorated in the Middle East.

59. V&A, inv. no. M.32-1946. Contadini, "Middle-Eastern Objects," 310–11, 356, cat. 62, fig. 21.2.

60. See Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," fig. 2.13 for the detail.

61. In the entry by A.R.E North in Sievernich and Budde, eds., *Europa und der Orient*, 601, no. 4/97, it is stated that the ewer was crafted in Europe (Netherlands?) and decorated in an Islamic workshop, either by a Middle Eastern craftsman in Venice or, more probably, in Cairo. In the V&A catalogue of 1951 (*Fifty Masterpieces of Metalwork*), it is stated that the ewer would have reached Venice from the "Low Countries or Germany" in the fifteenth century and been decorated there by a group of Venetian craftsmen, while its 2004 publication (Stanley et al., *Palace and Mosque*, 127–28, fig. 152), says that it was a Late Gothic ewer from the Netherlands or Germany, which was sent to the Middle East, probably by a member of the Molino family, for the inlaid ornament to be added before it was re-exported back to Italy.

62. V&A, inv. no. 420-1854. Stanley et al., *Palace and Mosque*, fig. 105.

63. For these shields, see Anna Contadini, "'Cuoridoro': Tecnica e decorazione di cuoi dorati veneziani e italiani con influssi islamici," in *Arte veneziana*, ed. Grube, Carboni, and Curatola, 231–51. In Contadini, "Middle-Eastern Objects," 320–21, some of these shields are published in color.

64. He was invited by a certain Nicolò Drasovich of the Signoria. For "targhe all'usanza di Crovata, perché quelle che si facevano in questa città, et a Modena, non solamente non aggiungevano di gran longa alla perfettione di queste, ma buona parte di quelle sono state conosciute inutile da fattione. Veduto poi con l'occhio proprio le targhe, che da sopradetto sono state fatte in questa casa per mandar in Cipro, le qual, oltra che sono laudate da periti, non costano più delle modenese, lo riputiamo perfetto et perito maestro non solamente di far et depinger targhe, ma etiam di far una bella sorte di lancie da cavallo buse innervate più longhe, più legieri, et più forte delle altre, che sono massice, le quali reputiamo habbino ad esser molto a proposito nelle fattioni per l'avantaggio della longhezza. Però essendo V. S.tà di parere di far una

quantità di questa sorte di targhe et lancie da dispensar dove farà bisogno, massime alle cavallerie de stradiotti che si trovano sopra le sue isole et fortezze da mare, sì come sopra l'isola di Cipro è stato novamente introdotto." Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Mar, filza 24: incartamento November 29, 1560, and May 24, 1561. I thank Luca Molà who has given me the opportunity to mention this document here.

65. Chicago, Newberry Library, Wing MS ZW 1.575. See Grube, Carboni, and Curatola, *Arte veneziana*, cover; Mack, *Bazaar*, fig. 143; and Ernst J. Grube, "Venetian Lacquer and Bookbindings of the Sixteenth Century," in *Venice and the Islamic World*, ed. Carboni, fig. 1.

66. By Nicolas Jenson (1420–80). Paris, Bibliothèque National, Vélins 1149; published in Anthony Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of Humanistic Bookbinding, 1459–1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 40–41, fig. 34, pl. 1; see also discussion in Alison Ohta, "Binding Relationships: Mamluk, Ottoman and Renaissance Book-Bindings," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Contadini and Norton, 226.

67. MS M. 859. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 16, and fig. 9.

68. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat.X, 117 (=3844). Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 43, figs. 37, 38, pl. 2; Mack, *Bazaar*, 129, fig. 135; Ohta, "Binding Relationships," pl. 42.

69. O. Granzotto, "Alcune note su Felice Feliciano Legatore," in *L'"Antiquario" Felice Feliciano veronese, tra epigrafia antica, letteratura e arti del libro: Atti del Convegno di Studi, Verona, 34 giugno 1993*, ed. A. Contò and L. Quaquarelli (Padova: Antenore, 1995); see also Rogers, "Ornament Prints," 139.

70. Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Canon. Ital. 78. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 23, figs. 15, 16; Ohta, "Binding Relationships," fig. 11.1.

71. Ohta, "Binding Relationships," 223.

72. This indicates to Alison Ohta that the manuscript was bound in the Mamluk region (rather than Istanbul as suggested by Hobson). Ohta, "Binding Relationships," 223–24; Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 23–24.

73. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. VI 270 (=3671). Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 22–23; also Ohta, "Binding Relationships," 223–24.

74. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*,

148. The Aldine Catullus is in the Vatican Library, Aldine III.19, and the *Horae* is in a private collection; both are published in Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, figs. 117 and 118, respectively.

75. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 22, 149–54; also Ohta, "Binding Relationships," 223.

76. Giocondo: Chatsworth Library, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 151, fig. 119, pl. 3; Ohta, "Binding Relationships," fig. 11.3. Ghiyath al-Din: Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, MS. 2031, formerly MS. 1501. Julian Raby and Z. Tanindi, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993), cat. 33.

77. Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?," fig. 2.15.

78. Sue Budden, trans., *Arabesques: Decorative Panels of the Renaissance* (Paris: Bookking International, 1995), 12.

79. Prato, Museo del Tessuto, inv. no. 97.01.M. See Degl'Innocenti, *Intrecci Mediterranei*, 76–77, cat. 12.

80. For a discussion of the term *alla damascina*, see Valentina Catalucci, "Gli oggetti 'islamici' a Firenze nell'età della controriforma," in *Controversie: Dispute letterarie, storiche, religiose dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, ed. Gloria Larini (Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it edizioni, 2013). Note that as Marco Spallanzani observes, the term *alla domaschina* applies not only to objects in the Islamic style being made in Europe but also to those imported from the Middle East; see Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence*, Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asian Art, Textile Studies, no. 1 (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2007), 60, 67–68.

81. "Non gli voglio a ruote": Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs*, 63.

82. Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi* (Venice: Paolo Gherardo, 1554).

83. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, P15e8. Alan Chong, "Seated Scribe, 1479–81," in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London: National Gallery Co.; Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2005).

84. Istanbul University Library, F1422, fol. 17v. Alan Chong, "Gentile Bellini in Istanbul: Myths and Misunderstandings," in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Campbell and Chong, 112–13, fig. 40.

85. Contadini, "Artistic Contacts," 7–8.

86. Ibid., 10–11.

87. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, chap. 109, on

"Cerca gli Ornamenti della Casa," 53: "Alcuni altri apparano e adornano le loro stanze di panno di razza e di celoni venuti di Fiandra, fatti à figure e à fogliami, e chi à verdure, e chi con tepeti e moschetti turcheschi e soriani, e chi con carpette e spaliere barbaresche, chi di tele di mano di buoni maestri, chi con corami ingegnamente lavorati venuti di Spagna, e alcuni altri con cose nuove fantastiche e bizarre, ma ingegnose venute di Levante ò d'Alemagna, sottile inventrice di molte cose belle e artificiose e tutti questi ornamenti ancora commendo e laudo, perche arquiscono ingegno, politezza, civiltà e cortegiania."

Chapter 24

1. Edmund L. Sterling, *History of Henderson County, Kentucky* (Henderson, KY, 1887), 150.

2. By the later nineteenth century, most national governments had intervened to unify and nationalize their paper currency. See Eric Helleiner, *The Making of National Money: Territorial Currencies in Historical Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 19–41.

3. Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeitors: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 3.

4. *Ibid.*, 3.

5. On these serials, see William H. Dillistin, *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826–1866, with a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1949).

6. Jane Kamensky has written eloquently of the "reformulation of distance" that emerged from the geography of paper money. See Kamensky, *The Exchange Artist: A Tale of High-Flying Speculation and America's First Banking Collapse* (New York: Viking, 2008), 52–72.

7. Helleiner, *Making of National Money*, 31.

8. On Asa Spencer, see Greville Bathe and Dorothy Bathe, *Jacob Perkins: His Inventions, His Times, and His Contemporaries* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943), 72–73, 108; and "Bank Note Engraving," *Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine* 2, no. 2 (August 1826): 106–8. On Cyrus Durand (brother of the important American artist Asher B. Durand), see Alan A. Siegel, *Out of Our Past: A History of Irvington, New Jersey* (Irvington, NJ: Irvington Centennial Committee, 1974); "Bank-Note Engraving in

America," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 3 (1854): 308–12; "Cyrus Durand, the Machinist and Bank-Note Engraver," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 3 (1854): 267–70; and "History and Progress of Bank Note Engraving," *Crayon* 1, no. 8 (1855): 116–17. For a discussion of the relationship between Cyrus's banknote engravings and his brother Asher's paintings, see Jennifer L. Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 119–37.

9. See A. D. Mackenzie, *The Bank of England Note: A History of Its Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 47–107.

10. Laban Heath, *Heath's Infallible Counterfeit Detector at Sight* (Boston: L. Heath, 1864), 9–11.

11. For details on this lathe, see the object description on the New-York Historical Society's website at www.nyhistory.org/node/35026, accessed August 31, 2013.

12. For general discussions of anticounteiting patterns in banknote engraving, see Frances Robertson, "The Aesthetics of Authenticity: Printed Banknotes as Industrial Currency," *Technology and Culture* 46 (January 2005): 31–50; Stephan Wilkinson, "Designed for Security," *Connoisseur* 210 (April 1982): 24–26; Basil Hunnisett, "The Quest for the Unforgeable Document," in *Engraved on Steel: The History of Picture Production Using Steel Plates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 30–62; and Granville Sharp, *The Gilbart Prize Essay on the Adaptation of Recent Discoveries and Inventions in Science and Art to the Purposes of Practical Banking*, 3rd English ed. (London, 1854).

13. "Bank Note Engraving," 107.

14. Jacob Perkins, Gideon Fairman, and Charles Heath, "Prevention of Forgery," *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* 38 (1821): 47–56.

15. Period discussions dwelled frequently on the engraver's impotence in the face of the superhuman perfection of the geometrical lathe: "The engraver cannot imitate the labour of the geometrical lathe" ("Bank-Note Engraving in America," 310). One might argue that rather than attempt to make manual copies of banknote ornament, counterfeiters would need only to get a hold of a lathe. But the lathes and their associated presses and transfer-presses were extremely expensive, bulky,

and noisy, making them difficult to acquire and nearly impossible to conceal from authorities.

16. John Holt Ibbetson, *A Practical View of an Invention for the Better Protecting of Bank Notes against Forgery*, 2nd ed. (London, 1821), 1.

17. *Ibid.*, 1–2.

18. *Ibid.*, 15–16.

19. Joe Conway, "Making Beautiful Money: Currency Connoisseurship in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 34, no. 5 (2012): 427–43.

20. *Heath's Infallible Counterfeit Detector*, 7.

21. *Ibid.*, 8.

22. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Daguerreotype," *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* (Philadelphia), January 15, 1840: "For, in truth, the Daguerreotyped plate is infinitely (we use the term advisedly) is *infinitely* more accurate in its representation than any painting by human hands. If we examine a work of ordinary art, by means of a powerful microscope, all traces of resemblance to nature will disappear—but the closest scrutiny of the photogenic drawing discloses only a more absolute truth, a more perfect identity of aspect with the thing represented."

23. On the process of steel-engraving and transfer (siderography) see Perkins, Fairman, and Heath, "Prevention of Forgery," 47–56; "Bank Note Engraving," 107; and Mark D. Tomasko, *The Feel of Steel: The Art and History of Banknote Engraving in the United States* (Newtown, PA: Bird and Bull Press, 2009), 18–20, 75–76.

24. Tomasko, *Feel of Steel*, 75.

25. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19–56; Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); and Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

26. William Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1953), 3.

27. Banknote engraving, which stood at the center of developments in reproduction generally in the nineteenth century, complicates the Benjaminian dictum about

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Jacket art: (front) Top left: Cosimo Fanzago, decoration of door frame in the cloister of the Certosa di San Martino, Naples. Top right: Binding, Fakhr al-Din al-'Iraqi, *Al-Lamā'āt* (Istanbul, 881/1477). Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (MS. 2031, formerly MS. 1501), Istanbul. Bottom: Herzog & de Meuron, Eberswalde Technical School Library, 1994–99. Eberswalde, Germany. (back) Top left: Cristofano Gherardi, Palazzo Vittelli alla Cannoniera, 1534. Castello, Italy. Top right: Herzog & de Meuron, de Young Museum, 2005. San Francisco. Middle: Herzog & de Meuron, Pfaffenholz Sports Centre, 1989–93. Saint-Louis, France. Bottom left: Detail from an illuminated page with margins decorated by a split palmette scroll, signed by Hasan, Amir Ghayb Beg Album, Safavid Iran, before 1566. Topkapi Palace Museum Library (H. 2161, fol. 93a), Istanbul. Bottom and bottom right: Detail of a ninth-century stucco dado from Samarra showing Style C-type ornament.

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