

MOGULS COLLECTING MUGHALS
A STUDY OF EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY
EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN
COLLECTORS OF ISLAMIC BOOK ART

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Doctor of Philosophy

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**DECLARATION OF NUMBER OF WORDS FOR MPhil AND
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College: the University of London, School of Advanced Studies

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- 4) the tables are 20,858
- 5) the appendices are 11,825

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ABSTRACT

In the early twentieth century, there was renewed interest in Islamic book art collecting, including works commissioned or collected by Mughal rulers. Most collectors were wealthy businessmen residing in Europe and North America — hence the title: *Moguls collecting Mughals*. Beyond being catchy, the title signifies the inflexion point when elite European and North American collectors began to appreciate the unique qualities of Mughal art, no longer viewing it as an inferior, provincial offshoot of Persian art or as a subcategory of Indian art. A starting hypothesis was that similar dynamics were at hand in forming the Persian and Mughal art canons but that the works prompted different codes of connoisseurship. In particular, it was thought that the European elements that scholars and dealers were so apt to point out in Mughal art altered the perception of the art form. However, the results of this thesis suggest a more complex picture, with the Mughal canon struggling to come into its own (perhaps because it was not seen as exotic as Persian art), and it did not emerge as a stand-alone canon worthy of attention until the second half of the twentieth century.

The collectors studied include John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955), and Morgan's librarian Belle da Costa Greene (1883-1950). Each collector was analysed using various theoretical frameworks, including consumer behaviour modelling, to identify the variables relevant to forming and managing their collections. The technique identified each collector's collecting personality, motivations for collecting, information input sources and evaluation criteria. While each modern collector had very different collecting strategies, the result was virtually the same — with works considered masterpieces by Mughals re-assembled in European and American libraries. The efforts of these collectors, combined with exhibitions and scholarship, laid the groundwork for the Mughal art canon as it is known and studied today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Years ago, in a small exhibition in Paris, I first came face-to-face with an illuminated manuscript. The room was dark, and the manuscript was in a glass case with soft lighting. Its beauty struck me. Everyone in my family was ready to go, but I could have stayed for hours. The idea that I would write a thesis about Western collections of Islamic manuscripts, bindings and single-leaf drawings seemed unlikely. When I realised manuscripts would be one of the topics for the Master's program at Trinity College Dublin, I was elated. I safeguarded the course notebooks from the manuscript courses taught by Prof. Laura Cleaver. When I decided to write my Master's thesis on medieval manuscripts, Laura offered to help me sort through the Trinity College Dublin Manuscripts & Archives collection. I had visions of discovering something new about the Book of Kells. Instead, my thesis was about a few pages of badly stained text leaves from a Book of Hours tucked in a brown envelope with an incomplete catalogue entry. That became my obsession — leading to a virtual worldwide hunt for other folios. The manuscript had survived intact for over 400 years before being dismembered by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty. I discovered Christopher de Hamel had the original binding and several missing leaves towards the end of my research. The day I presented my findings at the Layers of Parchment, Layers of Time symposium at Pembroke College, Cambridge, with de Hamel standing up at the end with the binding in his hand, was one of the highlights of my academic life. I doubt anyone there remembers me, but they will never forget witnessing the last great find associated with that dismembered manuscript.

When I first considered pursuing a PhD, it only made sense that I would continue researching Chester Beatty's manuscript collection. However, his archives are unavailable to outside researchers while the contents are being catalogued. Alexander Graham Bell is credited with saying, "When one door closes, another opens, but we often look so long and so regretfully upon the closed door that we do not see the one which has opened for us." Prof. Cleaver made sure that was not the case with me. As luck would have it, while studying Calouste

Gulbenkian's archives, I discovered a treasure trove of letters from Beatty revealing his modus operandi for manuscript collecting. I might never have encountered these letters if my quest had begun at the Chester Beatty Library. Our two-and-a-half-year residence in India, with time spent in Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai, opened another door, providing the impetus for focusing on Mughal manuscripts and learning about Decanni, Rajput and Pahari art.

I must thank many people who flung open their doors with the warmest of welcomes. Many thanks go to Hyder Abbas for sharing a pre-publication article regarding Beatty's Indian collection, Pierre-Marie Bartoli for translating letters between Berenson and Vigner, Professor Alessandro Nigro at the Università di Firenze for sharing his transcribed notes between Berenson and Vigner, Michael Rocke and Illaria Della Monica of the Biblioteca Berenson and Meghan Masis and John Cremin of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. John is my hero for going into the office during a federal government shutdown to retrieve photocopies of the notations Freer made to Hanna's catalogue. I also want to thank Deborah Shapiro of the Smithsonian Institution Archives, Jessica Hallett, Mafalda Melo de Aguiar, and João Carvalho Dias of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. The Gulbenkian archives became my second home for several weeks, and when I left, it seemed like I was saying goodbye to colleagues.

I would also like to express my appreciation for the assistance provided by Sylvie Merian, Christine Nelson, Joshua O'Driscoll and Maria Isabel Molestina of the Morgan Library, Karen Kirsheman of the Free Library of Philadelphia, and Mariana Shreve Simpson of the Rare Book School. A small group led by Simpson examined John Frederick Lewis's Islamic manuscript collection for a week. The ritual of preparing each manuscript to be reviewed, placing it carefully on foam wedges, delicately placing a weighted velvet rope across a page and raking an LED light across a page further fanned the flames of my interest in Islamic manuscripts. I am also indebted to Davidson MacLaren of the Islamic Manuscript Association and François Déroches and Nuria de Castilla for their insights on the

codicology of Islamic manuscripts. A special thank you to the kind police officer who realised I was desperately lost trying to find the archives at the University of Delaware Library and offered me a lift. However, I hope it is the only time I ride in the back of a police car.

Thanks also to Markus Hoffmann of the University of Cologne, Meghan Constantinou of the Grolier Club, Victoria Joynes, Sam Lindley and Athena Demetrios of the Bodleian Libraries, April Smitley of the SDMA, Kristin Remington of the Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture and Design, Patrica McGuire of King's College Cambridge, Francesco Hillier, Chara Rovira, Angela Roch of the BM archives, Anna Clarkson and Lynley Herbert of the Walters Art Museum and Alice Ford-Smith, formerly with Quaritch Booksellers. Alice's attendance at my presentation at the Women and the Book conference at the Institute of English Studies encouraged me to push forward. Edward Gray, whom I met in Paris while attending a cocktail party at a manuscript dealer's, was also a great inspiration, as he worked on a PhD thesis about late medieval France. He always had words of encouragement for a fellow Alabama graduate.

A very special thank you to my examiners, Dr Samantha Rayner from University College London and Dr John Hodgson from The University of Manchester Library. The examiner's report was thoughtful, prompting me to reevaluate my research approach and initial conclusions. Their encouragement to develop my application of traditional consumer behaviour approaches was particularly helpful. Having gone through the process for the revised thesis, it feels like a space I can comfortably own in future scholarship. I also appreciate Professors Danielle Magnusson's and Clare Lees's review of a few chapters with fresh eyes before resubmission.

My thanks to Professor Laura Cleaver are so great that I find it difficult to find words to express my gratitude fully. Her support from day one has been unflinching. Professor Cleaver is a brilliant researcher, the Sherlock Holmes of Western Manuscript collectors. I remember the day I stopped by her office with an exciting find, and she laughed, reminding me there were maybe thirteen other people in

the world that would share in my excitement. My thoughts were — well, they are the only people in the world that matter! Laura has asked me to pause, reflect, think harder and contemplate other possibilities for my sometimes knee-jerk assumptions. Her edits and suggestions are like beautiful pen flourishes that have made this document something I am proud to submit for review.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. Matt, my husband, read every page of this thesis more times than he would care to count. Travelling with me to Hawaii to research Doris Duke's archives was one of his many hardships. He had never complained about our library shelves bursting with rare reference books or the boxes of dank, smelly auction catalogues purchased from Peter Kidd. He is truly my partner in crime. As much as I would like to claim the thesis title, my husband came up with the pithy name. I would also like to thank Hudson and Cora. They think their mom is crazy to love school so much, but I hope one day it makes sense. I am so proud of the young adults they have become, and I hope they follow their true passions.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

BB - Bernard Berenson Archives

BL - British Library

BM - British Museum

BNF - Bibliothèque Nationale de France

CBL - Chester Beatty Library

CGF - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Archives

CMoA - Cleveland Museum of Art

FSA - Freer and Sackler Archives

FSC - Freer and Sackler Collection

LACMA - Los Angeles County Museum of Art

MCC - Morgan Corsair Catalog

ML - Morgan Library

MFA - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

MMA - Metropolitan Museum of Art

NG - National Gallery in London

NGA- National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC

PMoA - Philadelphia Museum of Art

SDMA - San Diego Museum of Art

V&A - Victoria and Albert Museum

ABBREVIATED NAMES USED IN FOOTNOTES

Abdy, Abdy, Robert, 1921-1976

Anet, Anet, Claude (Jean Schopfer),
1868-1931

Arnold, Arnold, Thomas Walker,
1964-1930

Bachstiz, Bachstiz, Walter Kurt,
1882-1949

Baer, Baer, Joseph, 1908-1931
(active)

Beatty, Beatty, Alfred Chester,
1875-1968

Beatty, G., Beatty, Gedney,
1869-1941

Beck, Beck, Thomas H., 1881-1951

Bell, Bell, Alexander Graham,
1847-1922

Benoît, Benoît, Camille, 1851-1923

Berenson, Berenson, Bernard,
1865-1959

Berenson, M., Berenson, Mary,
1864-1945

Binyon, Binyon, Laurence, 1869-1943

Bixby, Bixby, William K., 1857-1931

Blumenthal, Blumenthal, George,
1858-1941

Canfield, Canfield, James H.,
1847-1901

Carstairs, Carstairs, Charles,
1865-1928

Champion, Champion, Édouard,
1882-1938

Clair, Clair, F.

Clark, Clark, Kenneth, 1903-1983

Cockerell, Cockerell, Sydney,
1867-1962

Colnaghi, Colnaghi

Corble, Corble, John W.

Creswell, Creswell, K.A.C.,
1879-1974

Dahaby, Dahaby (no first name)

Davey, Davey, George H. (Knoelder's)

Dawud, Dawud, Y.

De Marinis, De Marinis, Tamarro,
1878-1969

- Debenham & Freebody**, Debenham & Freebody
- Demirdjian**, Demirdjian,
- Demotte**, Demotte, Georges-Joseph, 1877-1923
- Der Nersessian**, Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, 1896-1989
- Der Ohanian**, Der Ohanian, V.
- DjemaI**, DjemaI
- Dring, E. H.**, Dring, Edmund Hunt, 1863-1928
- Dring, E. M.**, Dring, Edmund Maxwell, 1906-1990
- Dumani**, Dumani, Michel,
- Durvand**, Durvand, L., 1852-1924
- Duveen**, Duveen, Joseph, 1869-1939
- Edmunds**, Edmunds, Will H (Sotheby's)
- Essayan**, Essayan, Kevork, 1897-1981
- Ettinghausen**, Ettinghausen, Richard, 1906-1979
- Ferguson**, Ferguson, Frederic Sutherland, 1878-1967
- Floury**, Floury, Henri, 1862-1961
- Freer**, Freer, Charles Lang, 1854-1919
- Fry**, Fry, Roger, 1866-1934
- Gardner**, Gardner, Isabella Stewart, 1840-1924
- Garet**, Garet, J.
- Garrett**, Garrett, Mrs John W., 1908-1942
- Gazdar**, Gazdar, Jahangir
- Géjou**, Géjou, I. Elias, 1894-1939
- Glaisher**, Glaisher, H. N.
- Gomès Ferreira**, Gomès Ferreira, Maria Teresa, 1925-2022
- Gottheil**, Gottheil, James Horatio Richard, 1862-1936
- Graat et Madoulé**, Graat et Madoulé
- Graupe**, Graupe, Paul, 1881-1953
- Gray**, Gray, Basil, 1904-1989
- Greene**, Greene, Bella da Costa, 1879-1950
- Gruel**, Gruel, Léon, 1841-1923

- Gudénian**, Gudénian, Mihran Krikor,
Hacobian, Hacobian, Avetoom,
Haim, Haim, E. S.,
Hanna, Hanna, Henry Bathurst,
 1839-1914
Hecker, Hecker, Frank J., 1846-1927
Hind, Hind, A.M., 1880-1957
Hirsch, Hirsch, Jacob, 1874-1955
Hoggan , Frances Hoggan,
 1843-1927
Hutchins, Hutchins, Constantine I.,
Imbert, Imbert, Alexandre, 1865-1943
Indjoudjian, Indjoudjian, Agop,
 1871-1951
Isbirian, Isbirian, M.V.
James, James, H. (Sotheby's)
Keeling, Keeling, Edward Herbert,
 1888-1954
Kehyaian, Kehyaian, H. H.
Kelekian, Kelekian, Dikran,
 1867-1951
Kent, Kent, H.W., 1877-1952
Kenyon, Kenyon, Frederic,
 1863-1952
Kevorkian, Kevorkian, Hagop,
 1872-1962
Khan, Khan, Mirza Ali-Kuli, 1879-1966
Knoedler, Knoedler, Roland,
 1856-1932
Koechlin, Koechlin, Raymond,
 1860-1931
Langley, Langley, Samuel P.,
 1834-1906
Lecler, Leclerc, Henri
Lewis, Lewis, John Frederick,
 1860-1932
Lodge, Lodge, John E., 1876-1942
Maggs, Maggs Brothers
Margolis, Margolis, Elias
Martin, Martin, Frederik Robert,
 1868-1933
Merton, Merton, Siegfried
Meyer, Meyer, Eugene, 1875-1959
Meyer-Riefstahl, Meyer-Riefstahl,
 Rudolf, 1880-1936

- Meyer-Riefstahl, M.**, Marie Louise Nordlinger Meyer-Riefstahl, 1876-1961
- Meyer, A.**, Meyer, Agnes, 1887-1970
- Migeon**, Migeon, Gaston, 1861-1930
- Minassian**, Minassian, Kirkor, 1874-1944
- Monif, K.**, Monif, Hassan Khan, 1886-1968
- Monif, R.**, Monif, Reiza Khan
- Morgan, Jr.**, Morgan Jr., John Pierpont 1867-1943
- Morgan Sr.**, Morgan, John Pierpont 1837-1913
- Morse**, Morse, Charles J., 1852-1911
- Morse, R.**, Morse, E. Rollins, 1845-1931
- Myres**, Myres, John Linton, 1869-1954
- Nihad**, Nihad, Ahmed, 1883-1954
- Nord**, Nord, Else
- Pardo**, Pardo, Robert S.
- Perrins**, Perrins, Charles William Dyson, 1864-1958
- Pilkington**, Pilkington, Charles Vere (Sotheby's), 1905-1983
- Pollak**, Pollak & Winternitz
- Pope**, Pope, Arthur Upham, 1881-1969
- Pottier**, Pottier, Charles
- Quaritch**, Quaritch, Bernard Alfred, 1871-1913
- Raffy**, Raffy, L.A.
- Raffy, R.**, Raffy, R. (Wife)
- Rau**, Rau, Arthur (Maggs), 1898-1972
- Read**, Read, Charles Hercules, 1857-1929
- Richter**, Richter, Gisela M.A., 1882-1972
- Rosenberg**, Rosenberg, Léonce, 1879-1947
- Rosenberg & Stiebel**, Rosenberg & Stiebel
- Ross**, Ross, Edward Denison, 1871-1940
- Sackett**, Sackett, F. (Delivery)
- Sakisian**, Sakisian, Armenag Bey, 1875-1949

Sarre, Sarre, Friedrich, 1865-1945

Sassoon, Sassoon, I., 1890-1934
(active)

Seligmann, Seligmann, Jacques,
1858-1923

Simkhovitch, Simkhovitch, Vladimir,
1874-1959

Smith, Smith, Hannah Tatum Whittall,
1832-1911

Souhami, Souhami, H.S.

Soulas, Soulas, E.

Spencer, Spencer, Eleanor P.,
1895-1992

Stiebel, Stiebel, Hans,

Tabbagh, Tabbagh, Georges,
1870-1957

Taqizādeh, Taqizādeh, Sayyed
Hasan, 1878-1970

Taylor, Taylor, Francis Henry,
1903-1957

Testa, Testa, Enrico,

Theys, Theys, J.

Tourneux, Tourneux, Maurice ,
1849-1917

Turner, Turner, Percy Moore,
1905-1952

Valentiner, Valentiner, Wilhelm,
1880-1958

Walker, Walker, John

Whistler, Whistler, James McNeill,
1834-1903

Wilkinson, Wilkinson, J. V. S.,
1885-1957

Wooderson, Wooderson, John,

Wright, Wright, F. H.

Yohannan, Yohannan, Abraham,
1853-1925

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

After the formal name of an exhibition is introduced, the exhibition is then referenced by date and location—for example, the 1910 Munich Exhibition. After Pierpont Morgan's death, he is referred to as 'Pierpont' instead of 'Morgan' to differentiate him from his son Jack. When introducing new names, the person's title, association, years active, date of birth, and death are noted (if known). At the beginning of each new chapter, they are reintroduced by their full name and then their last name.

Moguls Collecting Mughals

A study of early twentieth-century European and North American Collectors of Islamic book art

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INTRODUCTION

“Mughal art is undoubtedly winning its place in the sun. After generations and even centuries of neglect, it has of late years been steadily growing up in public notice and esteem in this country and has gradually acquired quite an extensive British literature of its own.”¹ — Major D. MacAulay, 1925

European and North American perceptions of Islamic art changed dramatically in the early twentieth century. Items once relegated to the ethnographic sections of museums and labelled decorative arts, or curiosities useful for design inspiration became masterpieces with significant artistic merit and aesthetic value (figure 1).² Interest grew among private collectors and museum curators in Islamic textiles, sumptuous carpets, glazed ceramics, pictorially complex metalwork, and the art of the book (or book art). This thesis focuses on Islamic book art, a broad term encompassing Qur'anic and secular manuscripts and individual text leaves, miniatures detached from manuscripts, and single-page paintings once part of albums. Furthermore, the term refers to decorations like frontispieces, borders, panels, miniatures and embellished bindings.

A small group of business magnates who made or inherited fortunes created private collections of Islamic book art, including works commissioned by Mughal rulers — hence the title: *Moguls collecting Mughals*. Beyond being catchy, the title signifies the inflexion point when elite European and North American collectors began to appreciate the unique qualities of Mughal art, no longer viewing it as an inferior, provincial offshoot of Persian art or as a subcategory of Indian art.

¹ Major D. MacAulay, "Mughal Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 46, no. 253 (1925): 63.

² For manuscripts as design inspiration: Owen Jones et al., *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament* (London, 1868), 45-48. For Persian carpets in the context of late nineteenth-century British responses to the Orient and industrialization: Cailah Jackson, "Persian Carpets and the South Kensington Museum; Design, Scholarship and Collecting in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 30, no. 3 (2017): 265-281.

This thesis examines four private collections of Islamic book art, including Mughal art. Each collection is analysed using various theoretical frameworks, including consumer behaviour modelling, to identify the variables relevant to forming and managing the collections. The proposed approach will identify each collector's collecting personality, motivations for collecting, information input sources and evaluation criteria. The thesis will also examine the role of exhibitions, scholars, and collectors in forming the Mughal art canon.

The four collectors at the centre of this thesis are John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955), and Morgan's librarian Belle da Costa Greene (1883-1950). All four are relatively well-known to scholars interested in book art, not least because three of them founded collections that bear their names. However, scholarship has tended to focus on their biographies rather than their collecting, and their Islamic art collections (as understood in the early twentieth century) have received little attention. Morgan, Freer and Gulbenkian amassed vast and diverse collections. The proposed approach, focusing on only one aspect of their collections, is a way to test and identify the suitability of using a similar method to examine other parts of their collections.

Since Islamic art is unfamiliar to many collecting scholars in Europe and North America, the following is a foundational overview for examining why this material appealed to some early twentieth-century collectors and what they thought they were acquiring.

WHAT IS ISLAMIC ART?

Islamic art is a modern concept describing art produced in lands where Islam was either the dominant religion or the religion of the ruling dynasty from the seventh century onwards. Islamic art covers various artistic fields, including architecture, calligraphy, painting, glass, ceramics, and textiles. Many scholars have addressed the apparent problem with the term Islamic art, comprising art from a vast area and numerous eras created by diverse ethnic groups incorporating

local traditions.³ Museums increasingly take regionally defined and chronologically limited approaches to exhibitions, hoping to capture nuanced differences under this catch-all term.⁴ In the early twentieth century, scholars, curators, dealers and collectors used several names interchangeably — Oriental, Persian, Saracenic, Indo-Persian, Moslem, Near East, Musulman, and Mohammedan. Art scholars in Germany were the first to use “Islamic art.”⁵ The use of the term in other parts of Europe and North America first appeared in newspapers reporting on Saracenic, Musulman, Mohammedan, and Muhammadan art exhibitions.⁶ By the 1930s, the term Islamic art had become a widely accepted label with dedicated academic departments and museum collections, including the opening of *Die Islamische Kunstabteilung* in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin in 1930 and the offering of “The Research Seminary in Islamic art” at the University of Michigan in 1933.⁷

This thesis uses the currently accepted term “Islamic art” when discussing art

³ Avinoam Shalem, "What Do We Mean When We Say “Islamic Art”? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam," *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (June 2012): 1-18. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (March 2003): 152-184. Gülrü Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches," in *Islamic Art and the Museum*, ed. Benoît Junod et al. (London: 2012), 57-75.

⁴ "Paintings from the Safavid and Mughal Empires Exhibition," (Philadelphia Museum of Art, October 1, 2008–June 28, 2009). <https://philamuseum.org/exhibitions/2009/335.html>.

⁵ Julius Franz-Pascha, "Studie über Namen und Entstehung der Kunst der Völker des Islams," *Monatschrift für den Orient, Wien* (1894): 73. Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 33, (Berlin, 1915). Heinrich Glück and Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin, 1925). Josef Strzygowski, "Die Islamische Kunst als Problem," *Ars Islamica* 1, no. 1 (1934): 7-9.

⁶ "Islamic Art in the East-End," *Sphere* (London), October 31, 1908, 8. "Munificent Gift for Egyptology," *Times* (London), May 12, 1909, 8. "Splendid Exhibit of Miniatures at Albright Gallery, Best Artists Among Mohammedans Represented in Collection Which is One of the Most Complete of its Kind," *Buffalo Courier* (Buffalo, New York), April 12, 1914, 74. "Detroit Museum Shows Precious Art of Islam," *Art Digest*, November 1, 1930, 11.

⁷ Ernst Kühnel, "Die Islamische Kunstabteilung in Ihren Neuen Räumen," *Berliner Museen* 54, no. Jahrg., H.1. (1933): 1-5. Isabel Hubbard Haight, "The Research Seminary in Islamic Art," in *The University of Michigan, an Encyclopedic Survey*, ed. Walter A. Donnelly et al. (Ann Arbor: 1953), 1144-1146.

produced in lands ruled by Muslims, for Muslim patrons or created by Muslim artists. Arabic, Persian and Turkish words are transliterated using a simplified version of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* system. However, the original term and transliteration style is maintained when quoting documents written in the early twentieth century. Dating conventions throughout the thesis are standardised according to the Christian calendar date (A.D.).

The Mughals, ethnically Turkic from modern Uzbekistan and culturally Persian, ruled over an Indian majority Hindu population for more than 300 years after invading India in 1526. In the early twentieth century, Indian art was usually treated as a sub-branch of Islamic art. India was understood to refer to a larger region than modern India, with the Mughal Empire encompassing parts of the modern nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. During the period of this study, that region was part of the British Empire.

ISLAMIC BOOK ART

Early twentieth-century scholars discussed Mughal art history based on the Vasarian model of the Italian Renaissance with a narrative of birth, development, and decline.⁸ Within this analytical framework, scholars gave particular weight to manuscripts created under the Timurid (1370-1507) and early Safavid princes (1501-1732) and during Mughal Emperor Akbar's reign (1556-1605). Persian artists, particularly Behzād (c.1450 - c.1535), were compared to European artists so European and American collectors could understand them. In this context, Behzād was the Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino - 1483-1520) of the East and was compared to Hans Memling (1430-1494), Hans Holbein (1497-1543)

⁸ For analogies made between Persian art and the Vasarian model of the Italian Renaissance: Priscilla P. Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson and the Reception of Persian Manuscript Illustration," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (2001): 112-128. For the artistic relationship between Western European Renaissance art and Mughal painting ca. 1630s: Natif Mika, "Renaissance Painting and Expressions of Male Intimacy in a Seventeenth-Century Illustration from Mughal India," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 38, no. 4, Special Issue: Sex Acts in Early Modern World (Fall 2015): 41-64.

and Jean Fouquet (died 1481).⁹ Mirak, a pupil of Behzād and founder of the Bukhara school, was considered “the Carpaccio of the East.”¹⁰ To encourage interest and elevate the standing of Mughal art, scholars not only emphasised analogies to European paintings but also drew parallels between Mughal court patronage of the arts and the Medici’s cultivation of the arts.¹¹

Dynasty names, schools and celebrated artists were descriptors dealers and auction houses used in the early twentieth century when presenting Islamic art to potential collectors. Information about the specific dynasties and artists associated with Islamic art can be found in appendix 1.

The Persian texts most often illustrated with paintings were the *Shahnameh* [Book of the Kings], an epic poem written by the eleventh-century Persian poet Ferdowsi; the eleventh-century *Hamzanama* [Adventures of Amir Hamza, the Uncle of the prophet Muhammad]; the *Khamsa* [Quintet] by the twelfth-century Persian poet Nizami; the poetic works of Jami; the *Gulistan* [The Rose Garden] and the *Bustan* [The Orchard] by the thirteenth-century Persian poet Sa’di; the *Divan* [a collection of lyrical poetry or ghazals] by the fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafiz and the fourteenth-century *Tutinama* [Tales of the Parrot].

In the Mughal dynasty, commonly illustrated manuscripts included Imperial autobiographies and official court biographies proclaiming the legitimacy of their

⁹ F. R. Martin, "Two Portraits by Behzad, The Greatest Painter of Persia," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 15, April, no. 73 (1909): 8. While Martin is often attributed with calling Behzād the Raphael of the East, it was actually the Parisian dealer, M. Antoine Brimo who made this reference in 1908. Brimo yelled out to him [Martin] “Docteur! Docteur!” I turned round and saw M. Antoine Brimo shouting: “Voulez-vous acheter le Raphael de la Perse?” F. R. Martin, *The Khamsah of Nizāmī MS. From the Library of the Shah of Persia now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York* (Vienna, 1927), 7. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1912), vol. 1, 41. For comparison to Fouquet: Armenag Bey Sakisian, "Maḥmūd Muḍḥahīb-Miniaturiste, enlumineur et calligraphie persane," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 339.

¹⁰ Wilhelm Valentiner, "The Cochran Collection of Persian Manuscripts," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, no. 4 (April 1913): 86.

¹¹ Laurence Binyon and Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (London, 1921), 40.

rule, a standard practice for monarchs, especially those ruling people of differing ethnicity, language, and religion. Key texts included the *Baburnama* (Babur), the *Akbarnama* (Akbar), the *Tuzk-e-Jahangiri*, or *Jahangirnama* (Jahangir), the *Padshahnama* and *Shahjahannama* (Shah Jahan), the *Khamsa* [Quintet] by the Indian poet Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) and two Sanskrit epics known as the *Mahabharata* (also known as the *Razmnama*) and the *Ramayana*.¹²

Artists and calligraphers also produced Qur'an manuscripts, the sacred text of Islam recording the Word of God revealed to the prophet Muhammad by the Archangel Gabriel. The decorative emphasis in a Qur'an is the calligraphy since Islam prohibits human or animal forms in religious texts. Various calligraphy styles developed, including Kufic, Naskh, Thuluth, Nastaliq, and several regional variations (figure 2).¹³ Works by the sixteenth-century Persian calligrapher Mir Ali al-Haravi (ca.1476-1545) were coveted in his lifetime.¹⁴ Generally, Qur'ans made for the Imperial courts followed a traditional program of decoration, including a single-page shams-a (an illuminated roundel or rosette), followed by a double-page sarlawh (frontispiece or full-page illumination) and unwans (illuminated chapter headings) (figures 3 and 4).¹⁵ In the early twentieth century, dealers frequently sold individual leaves of calligraphy, shamsas, sarlawhs, and unwans detached from Qur'ans. With few people in the West able to read Arabic or Persian, calligraphy leaves were presented as art rather than emphasising the text, encouraging collectors, including those studied in this thesis, to buy something they did not fully understand. Gulbenkian was fluent in Armenian and

¹² The dates of these two epics are uncertain. Recent estimates for the oldest parts of the text of the *Ramayana* range from the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. and the *Mahabharata* from the eighth to ninth centuries B.C. J. L. Brockington, *The Sanskrit Epics*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik Zweite Abteilung, Indien*, (Leiden, 1998), 26, 379.

¹³ For a survey of Islamic calligraphy: Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh, 2006).

¹⁴ Edadollah Bahari and Annemarie Schimmel, *Bihzad, Master of Persian Painting* (London, 1996), 161.

¹⁵ A *sarlawh* is a full-page illumination resembling so-called carpet pages found in some European manuscripts. For the development of the Qur'anic manuscript artistic tradition: Colin F Baker, *Qur'an Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination and Design* (London, 2007).

Turkish and may have had a superficial understanding of Persian, but the other collectors could not read Persian or Arabic.

Many illustrations in Persian and Mughal manuscripts followed a similar artistic program and established compositions making the assignment of a detached painting to the correct text relatively easy.¹⁶ (Unfortunately, this often makes it more challenging to identify a particular work from modern descriptions.)

Moreover, many drawings include the artist's signature "tucked within the frames of illuminated title pieces or worked into a composition's architectural or landscape setting." (figure 5)¹⁷ The careful recording of the artists involved in each illustration revealed how Mughal artists collaborated to produce royal manuscripts. The presence of signatures of famous artists was one of many marketing techniques early twentieth-century dealers used to entice collectors.

Mughal librarians had the unique habit of using dynastic seals and commentaries on the flyleaves of the manuscripts in the Imperial libraries to note the artists involved and their provenance.¹⁸ Provenance information also recorded details about the acquisition of manuscripts by Imperial libraries. Many works were diplomatic gifts from neighbouring rulers or seized as war booty. In rare instances, court functionaries broke down the costs associated with the commissioning of a manuscript, revealing the relative importance and status of different manuscript types. Like the valuation of manuscripts today, the Mughal rulers preferred manuscripts with several illuminations created by prestigious

¹⁶ Ernst J. Grube, "The Miniatures of Shiraz," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21, no. 9 (May 1963): 285.

¹⁷ Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Who's Hiding Here? Artists and their Signatures in Persian Manuscripts of the Early Modern Period," (paper presented at the Courtauld Institute of Art Conference, London, February 18, 2016).

¹⁸ For provenance and monetary values recorded on manuscripts once in the Mughal Imperial Libraries: John Seyller, "The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library," *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 3/4 (1997): 243-349. For Mughal connoisseurship: John Seyller, "A Mughal Code of Connoisseurship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 117-202.

calligraphers and artists.¹⁹ In the early twentieth century, the appearance of dynastic seals was used as a proxy for value.

Persian and Mughal manuscripts were bound using a standardised bookbinding practice incorporating various motifs (clouds, plants, floral, animal, and abstract) that varied regionally and frequently mirrored carpet designs. Islamic bindings differ significantly from European bindings. Islamic books are read right to the left, consistent with Arabic and Persian. Additionally, the left side of the book cover has a sertap that covers the sides of the paper when the book is closed and a miklep that functions as a bookmark (figure 6).²⁰ In the early twentieth century, there was a demand for bindings independent of books, with some bindings, particularly those with elaborate decoration, considered more precious than their contents.

Single-leaf paintings of portraits, genre, and nature subjects became popular among ruling emperors in the fifteenth century. Together with calligraphy fragments and dismembered book illustrations, these paintings were assembled in albums known as Muraqqas. In a Muraqqa, the pictures and examples of calligraphy were trimmed and mounted on standard-size pages with a new border added, typically depicting flowers or exotic animals (figure 7).²¹ From time to time, a Muraqqa was bound in accordion fashion. Occasionally, shamsas and sarlawhs appear at the beginning and even less frequently at the end of a Muraqqa. Similar to Muraqqas are later dated Mecmuas, typically comprised of bazaar paintings organised by non-royal urban compilers.²² In the early twentieth

¹⁹ Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 246, 255, 269-273.

²⁰ For the Islamic bookbinding tradition: Karin Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*, Islamic Manuscripts and Books, (Leiden, 2018).

²¹ Elaine Wright et al., *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (Alexandria, 2008).

²² Collaço Gwendolyn, "Albums of Conspicuous Consumption: A Composite Mirror of an 18th-Century Collector's World," *Journal 18*, no. 6 (Fall 2018), <https://www.journal18.org/issue6/albums-of-conspicuous-consumption-a-composite-mirror-of-an-18th-century-collectors-world/>.

century, individual leaves from Muraqqas and Mecmuas were disassembled and sold separately.²³

EARLY COLLECTORS OF MUGHAL ART

Officers of the Dutch East India Company, the French and the British East India Companies brought Mughal manuscripts to Europe. Canter Visscher (1692-1735), an officer of the Dutch East India Company, collected Mughal portraits in the mid-eighteenth century, which are now in the Rijksmuseum.²⁴ Jean Baptiste Joseph Gentil (1726-1799) was a military officer who served in the French East India Company for twenty-six years. Upon his return, he presented the court of Louis XVI at Versailles with his collection of paintings, albums and manuscripts.²⁵ East India Company merchant Richard Johnson (1753-1807), whose collection resides in the British Museum, was also an “early admirer of Mughal miniatures.”²⁶

Warren Hasting (1732-1818), the first British Governor-General in India, and Sir Elijah Impey (1732-1809), the chief justice of Bengal, were both known to be avid collectors of Indian miniatures.²⁷ Some of these collections came onto the market in the period of interest for this thesis. Gilbert Elliot Murray Kynynmound, 1st Earl of Minto (1751-1814), a later Governor-General of India, brought back the Minto album, which sold at Sotheby’s in 1925, and was divided between the

²³ An attempt was recently made to reconstruct an album disassembled by Martin. David J. Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct?: F. R. Martin and the Bahram Mizra Album," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 32-57.

²⁴ Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Indian Miniatures in the Canter Visscher Album," *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 64, no. 3 (2016): 201.

²⁵ Chanchal Dadlani, "The “Palais Indiens” Collection of 1774: Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth-Century India," *Ars Orientalis* 39, *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century* (2010): 175.

²⁶ William Dalrymple, "Art treasures of the Mughal empire," *Guardian*, November 30, 2012.

²⁷ Hermionede Almeida, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (London, 2006), 110. Natasha Eaton, "The Art of Colonial Despotism: Portraits, Politics, and Empire in South India, 1750-1795," *Cultural Critique* 70 (2008): 70.

Victoria and Albert Museum and the American collector Alfred Chester Beatty (1875-1968).²⁸ Many of these earlier collectors' motivations for collecting may have been more oriented to “trophy of imperial war” and a way of defining boundaries — especially after the siege of Seringapatam and the killing of Tipu Sultan in 1799.²⁹

Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley (1847-1917) and Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna (1839-1914) were “scholar-colonials” who became authoritative amateur interpreters of Indian art of the past.³⁰ Diplomatic and commercial relationships with the area also spurred collecting interests, such as the one General A. Houtum Schindler (1846-1916) created while posted in the Persia Indo-European Telegraph Service in 1868.³¹

North American early interest in Mughal works was primarily related to adventurous travels. Alexander Smith Cochran (1874-1929) and Casey A. Wood (1856-1942) began collecting while travelling the region and donated their collections to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and McGill University, respectively.³²

²⁸ Susan Stronge, "The Minto Album and its Decoration," in *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library Dublin*, ed. Elaine Wright (Alexandria, VA: 2008), 82-105.

²⁹ Maya Jasanoff, "Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning," *Past and Present* 184, no. 1 (August 2004): 122.

³⁰ Milo Cleveland Beach, "Colonel Hanna's Indian Paintings," *Apollo, The International Art Magazine*, 1983, 154-159. Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Indian Art at the Festival of Empire," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58, no. 2991 (1910): 470-471.

³¹ Edward G. Browne, "The Persian Manuscripts of the Late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, K.C.I.E.," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (October 1917): 659.

³² Abraham Yohannan and A. V. Williams Jackson, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts Including Also Some Turkish and Arabic Presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York by Alexander Smith Cochran*, 8 vols., vol. 1 (New York, 1914), xvii. Adam Gacek, "Persian Manuscripts in McGill University Libraries," *MELA Notes* 77 (2004): 1-9.

RENEWED INTEREST IN ISLAMIC BOOK ART IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The crucial change in the early twentieth century that spurred a renewed interest in Islamic book art was that manuscripts, miniatures and bindings flooded European and North American markets.³³ The supply came from looted royal collections from the British Siege of Delhi in 1857 and from the Shah of Persia and Imperial princes after the imposition of the constitutional monarchy in Persia in 1906. The Shah and the princes, desperate for funds, sold their collections to Armenian dealers at ridiculously low prices. (Many items in Persian collections were war booty when Nadir Shah invaded the Mughal empire in 1738.) The massacre of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1896 prompted Armenian dealers to move to Paris and London, bringing massive quantities of Islamic objects, including manuscripts, to the West.³⁴ These dealers soon opened second galleries in New York to cater to the largest concentration of wealthy potential clients.

Initially, collecting interest in the early twentieth century focused more on Persian than Mughal works, with scholars and dealers grouping both under Persian art. However, as scholarship increased and the differences became more evident, dealers began to label Mughal book art Indo-Persian to call attention to Persian influences and keep the perceived value of Mughal works on par with Persian works. "Indo-Persian" was not entirely a misnomer because early Mughal works were strict copies of Persian exemplars created by Persian artists who relocated to India based on promises of wealth and privileged positions in the Mughal court. The Imperial court artists also enhanced and refurbished several Persian

³³ S. Cary Welch, "Private Collectors and Islamic Arts of the Book," in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Toby Falk (Secaucus, N.J.: 1985), 35-42.

³⁴ The massacre of Armenians was a catalyst for many merchants moving to Paris and taking advantage of family connections to establish businesses. Stephen Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850-1950* (London, New York, 2000), 31.

manuscripts, blending Persian and Mughal styles.³⁵ However, the term Indo-Persian did not accurately fit the new independent style emerging as Persian artists began collaborating with local Hindu artists.³⁶ The scholar Fredrik Robert Martin (1868-1933) said it was like calling the French art of the 16th century "Franco-Italian," and believed a more accurate term was "Indian."³⁷ However, the scholar Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) struggled with the lack of "Indianness" in Mughal works, stating that only Hindu works with a spiritual and metaphysical orientation were true Indian works.³⁸ Instead, he routinely compared Mughal to European art, which makes sense considering he was born in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to a Ceylonese father and an English mother and educated in Britain. While Coomaraswamy was unique among contemporary scholars in that he was the product of mixed heritage and colonial structures, scholars of European heritage made similar East-to-West connections in their writings. Thus, in the early twentieth century, Mughal art struggled to be appreciated in its own right and fell between artistic canons: Islamic (Persian), Indian, or influenced by European art. However, the Mughal art canon eventually came into its own, and Mughal works were coveted and collected in their own right.

COLONIALISM AND ORIENTALISM

Following the work of Edward Said and others, contemporary American and European academics studying non-western (a term that in itself signals a particular position) art and culture are sensitive to the importance of the historical circumstances that have impacted the way the art and culture of a place like India

³⁵ For a manuscript with Persian and Mughal styles: John Seyller, "A Mughal Manuscript of the "Diwan" of Nawa'i," *Artibus Asiae* 71, no. 2 (2011): 325-334. For stylistic traditions: Molly Emma Aitken, "Parataxis and the Practice of Reuse, from Mughal Margins to Mīr Kalān Khān," *Archives of Asian Art* 59 (2009): 81-103.

³⁶ For painters and calligraphers in Mughal India: Priscilla P. Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 166-181.

³⁷ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 1, 79.

³⁸ Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings* (London, 1910), 32.

have been written about in the past and the position of authors in relation to the region they studied.³⁹ All the collectors in this study operated at a time when India was part of the British Empire, and they benefited from colonialism. Most obviously, Beatty and Gulbenkian had business interests that spanned the globe. Colonialism also inspired and facilitated travel to India and the movement of manuscripts. In 1922, Beatty sent a postcard with a picture of the Taj Mahal from “Slave Island,” the British colonial name for Sri Lanka, to the British manuscript expert Sydney Cockerell (1867-1962). On it, he wrote, “Have found no MSS yet,” suggesting he was on the hunt.⁴⁰

Although the collectors examined in this thesis indirectly benefited professionally from colonialism, unlike some earlier collectors, it was not explicitly mentioned in their motivations for collecting. Freer, Morgan, Greene and Gulbenkian were citizens of the world, enabled by their wealth, nationality and social standing to cross contemporary imperial boundaries as they pleased.⁴¹ Freer travelled to Egypt, Japan, China and India. Morgan was educated in Germany and had residences in London and New York. Greene crossed social as well as geographic boundaries as a person of black ancestry in America pretending to be Portuguese. Gulbenkian, born in Turkey of Armenian descent, was educated in London and divided his residences between London, Paris, and later Lisbon. Beatty, an American, lived in London and later in Dublin. The varied actions of these collectors helped shape the post-colonial cultural landscape of modern collections and scholarship.

³⁹ Said analysed novels, travelogues, and academic texts, arguing that a dominant discourse of West over East has warped virtually all past European and American representations of the Near East. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978). See also: Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism, Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle, 2017). Robert Graham Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents* (New York, 2006). David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London, 2001). Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Buffalo, NY, 2007).

⁴⁰ Letter from Beatty to Cockerell, 1922, British Library Add. MS 52704 f.132.

⁴¹ For existing scholarship on the collectors of interest see pages 30-33 of this thesis.

Early twentieth-century collectors often referred to Indian material as 'Oriental.'⁴² In 1901, the London bookseller Bernard Quaritch issued a catalogue titled "Works on Oriental History, Languages and Literature."⁴³ The list included half a page of "Indian and Further Indian manuscripts." However, the works we now recognise as Mughal were mislabelled, perhaps intentionally, under the heading 'Persian.'

Generally, Persian art is more idealised and crowded with figures than Mughal art. Mughal artists created realistic portraits of emperors, princes, chief nobles, and studies of nature (animals, flowers, and landscapes), simplified contemporary court life and hunting scenes.⁴⁴ Due to widespread confusion about Persian and Mughal art, early scholars operating in the context of colonialism noted the European conventions of Mughal art (as discussed above), which, they surmised, were introduced by visiting Jesuit missionaries and diplomatic envoys who brought contemporary paintings and engravings as gifts.⁴⁵ Specific European influences included modelling, background colouring, perspective, allegorical iconography, symbolism, and Christian imagery (figure

⁴² Said, *Orientalism*, 31.

⁴³ Bernard Quaritch, *A Catalogue of Works on Oriental History, Languages and Literature* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1902), 29.

⁴⁴ For the differences between Persian and Mughal Art: Ananda Coomaraswamy, "Originality in Mughal Painting," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (July 1910): 878. Philipp Walter Schulz, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1914), vol. 1, 30-32. N.M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India* (Austin, 1984).

⁴⁵ Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 63, no. 332 (1965): 63-91. For European techniques used in Mughal portraiture: Rosemary Crill and Kapil Jariwala, *The Indian Portrait, 1560-1860* (Gujarat, India: Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd., 2010), 23-32. For the influence of European images: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Roomful of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550-1700," *Ars Orientalis* 39, *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century* (2010): 39-83. For an overview of the European travellers visiting Mughal courts: Michael Fisher and William Dalrymple, *Visions of Mughal India: An Anthology of European Travel Writing* (London, 2007). For European elements in Mughal paintings: Mika Natif, *Mughal Occidentalism, Artistic Encounters between Europe and Asia at the Courts of India, 1580-1630*, vol. *Studies in Persian Cultural History*, vol.15 (Leiden, 2018).

8).⁴⁶ As Said noted, this can be understood as Orientalism, as we find scholars using European conventions to make sense of Indian material:

What gave the Oriental world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of its own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West.⁴⁷

India was never hermetically sealed from contact with Europe and it was reasonable for scholars to look for points of artistic contact—however, early scholarship privileged Western frameworks. Yet, these European connections initially had little impact on collecting interest. Indeed, the European features may have made the art less appealing to collectors searching for ‘exotica’ or collectors needing time to process and act upon the newest scholarship.

Said’s Orientalism, “fatally entangled with Imperialism,” was entrenched in the West well before the early twentieth century.⁴⁸ An imagined East continued to fascinate the Western elite, including the collectors in this thesis. Such, Orientalism was especially prevalent in media descriptions. In an article published in *Punch*, a gentleman reported his wife had gone Persian after attending the 1931 Persian art exhibition. She wandered about their flat in carpet slippers, “dreamily reciting passages from Omar Khayyam” and threatened to grow her eyebrows “slantwise across her forehead” in the “Persian manner.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Robert Skelton, "Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting," in *The Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, April 2-4, 1980*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (Philadelphia: 1988), 177-191. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting," *Art Journal* 57, The Reception of Christian Devotional Art, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 24-30. Ebba Koch, "The Symbolic Possession of the World: European Cartography in Mughal Allegory and History Painting," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 2-3 (2012): 547-580.

⁴⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 40.

⁴⁸ Edmond Burke III, "Orientalism and World History: Representing Middle Eastern Nationalism and Islamism in the Twentieth Century," *Theory and Society* 27, no. 4: Special Issue on Interpreting Historical Change at the End of the Twentieth Century (August 1998): 490.

⁴⁹ "The Persian Gulf," *Punch, or the London Charivari*, January 7-July 1, 1931, 92.

Collectors and even dealers were also sometimes guilty of making racist comments. Freer considered Egyptian dealers the “worst gang of high and low scoundrels in the whole universe,” and dealing with them made his “hands and soul as dirty as theirs.”⁵⁰ The British Museum curator, Charles Hercules Read (1856-1929), wrote to Morgan about a Byzantine silver cup found in Syria offered by an Armenian “who seemed no worse than others of his race.”⁵¹ Yet, while this is the context in which the collections studied in this thesis were formed, some scholars and exhibition committees began questioning European assumptions of superiority to non-Europeans and were determined to portray Islamic and Indian cultures in a more favourable light. This thesis, therefore, focuses on the actions of individual collectors, scholars and dealers to explore a range of engagements with Islamic and Indian material and, thereby, nuance generalisations about American and European attitudes to the material they described under the umbrella-term Oriental.

THE FOCUS OF THE THESIS

Over the past decade, significant academic research has focused on early twentieth-century Islamic art collections, exhibitions, dealers and scholars. Much of the scholarship has focused on Persian art and the role of the 1910 Munich Exhibition and the 1931 London Exhibition in canon formation.⁵² When research for this thesis started, only one article traced the changing perception of Mughal art during the early twentieth century. A starting hypothesis was that similar

⁵⁰ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 3, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁵¹ Letter from Read to Morgan Sr., October 9, 1912, MCC 147865.

⁵² For collecting and scholarship in Islamic art in Europe and North America: Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson," 112-128. Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*. Linda Komaroff, "Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 1-8. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the "Orient" at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30: Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art (2000): 69-89. Kishwar Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation: Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on "Persian Art" in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* 24 (2007): 45-65.

dynamics were at hand in forming the Persian and Mughal art canons but that the works prompted different codes of connoisseurship. In particular, it was thought that the European elements that scholars and dealers were so apt to point out in Mughal art altered the perception of the art form. However, the results of this thesis suggest a more complex picture, with the Mughal canon struggling to come into its own (perhaps because it was not seen as exotic as Persian art), and it did not emerge as a stand-alone canon worthy of attention until the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, there are *some* indications of the early development of the Mughal art canon in the early twentieth century. Additionally, the archives provide information to assess how collectors built and managed their Islamic book art collections and Mughal art's place in their collecting strategy.

This thesis has four main aims. First, to examine the role of exhibitions and exhibition catalogues in shaping the critical reception of Islamic art and, more specifically, Mughal art among scholars, collectors, dealers and curators. Secondly, to analyse how each collector of interest formed and managed their Islamic book art collections and the appeal of Mughal book art within those collections. Thirdly, to explore various frameworks (including the adaptation of a consumer behaviour modelling approach) to identify the variables relevant to Islamic book art collection formation and management, including information inputs, selection criteria, collecting personality and motivations for collecting, and how these variables differ by collector. Finally, to identify the scholars that helped shape a Mughal art canon and how the collectors studied supported these scholars in their efforts to define artistic doctrines in general and a Mughal art canon.

ARCHIVAL APPROACH

The selection of the collectors for study (Freer, Morgan, Greene and Gulbenkian) was based primarily on the availability of archival data and the high contemporary status of their Islamic manuscript collections. I originally wanted to include Alfred Chester Beatty in this thesis. However, his archives were unavailable to outside

researchers, a problem worsened by closures due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, discussions regarding Beatty's collecting approach feature in Chapter Five, where previously unstudied letters between Gulbenkian and Beatty held in the Gulbenkian's archives are explored. However, Beatty's Mughal art collection remains an area for further research.

The Freer, Morgan and Gulbenkian archives contain numerous letters, invoices, other documentation, and artwork. Some of Freer's correspondence is accessible via the Smithsonian Virtual archives. The remaining correspondence is held at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery archives in Washington, DC. The Morgan archives are kept at the Morgan Library in New York. Gulbenkian's archives are accessible via hard copy and digitally at the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon. Bernard Berenson's archives, which contained several letters from Greene, are at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti on the outskirts of Florence, Italy. It is important to note that the tone and content of the correspondence vary by collector. What Greene said in love letters to Berenson is much more emotional than the friendly banter between Gulbenkian and Beatty. Sometimes Greene seems coy, revealing some of her inner thoughts but leaving much unsaid. In particular, because she never acknowledges that she is passing as white, the correspondence provides no clues as to how this might have shaped her attitudes toward collecting. In correspondence between Gulbenkian and Beatty, Beatty holds power as an advisor. Freer's letters to Colonel Frank J. Hecker (1846-1927), his friend and former business partner, are more open and revealing, perhaps because of their long and trusting relationship.

Due to the vast amount of archival material, I needed a data management system. All relevant primary and secondary sources were entered into a searchable spreadsheet. For each archival entry, the following information was recorded: Library or archival reference code, date, to/from, transcribed text and any secondary or corroborating sources related to the entry. Photographs of the archival material were also tagged for ease of reference (and to confirm

transcriptions and translations). Primary and secondary topics can quickly be sorted in each collector-focused spreadsheet. It is also possible to search for specific names to track interactions between individuals over time. This database helped create the chronology of purchases for each collector, including the Islamic book art they passed over. The database was also helpful in identifying more significant issues that would otherwise not be obvious, such as a collector's relationship with particular scholars and their preferred dealer network.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS FOR THESIS

Central to what follows is the idea of a collecting strategy. Several theoretical constructs help understand a collector's strategy, including the motivations for collecting and their approach to building their collections. Morgan, Freer and Gulbenkian all fit the stereotypical profile of wealthy early twentieth-century “moguls” — willing and able to spend outrageous sums on anything they fancied. However, their collecting strategies were very different. Greene, who had access to the same social and cultural environment as Morgan, Freer and Gulbenkian, chose a unique collecting strategy that was consistent with her expertise and more limited financial resources.

Several frameworks have been developed to better understand collection strategies, including research focusing on differences in collecting personalities, motivations for collecting, and decision-making processes rooted in the study of anthropology, business, marketing and consumer behaviour. Concerning differences in collecting personalities, Brenda Danet and Tamara Katriel maintain that two broad collector types exist — those entertained by their collection but not intent on completing it and those continuously focused on improving their

knowledge and desire to achieve completion.⁵³ Russell Belk defines collectors as good collectors versus bad collectors.⁵⁴ Although this seems simplistic, good collectors form a deep relationship with their collection, seek expert advice, and take a scholarly approach. In contrast, bad collectors are compulsive and are more likely to build grandiose yet incoherent or superficial collections. An extremely bad collector compulsively buys items but does not desire to assemble or study the objects collected afterwards. Whether the collecting habits of a 'bad collector' versus a 'good collector' lead to collections of vastly different quality is an open question. While broad terms like 'bad' and 'good' are not helpful descriptors, the criteria for evaluating whether a collector is 'bad' or 'good' are informative.

Greta Polites proposes that collectors fall along a continuum, with dabblers, novice and casual collectors on one end, and professional and scholarly collectors on the other.⁵⁵ As collectors move from undisciplined to more disciplined, their collecting becomes increasingly research-oriented, focused, and specialised. Collectors also move from individualism to collectivism, displaying more altruistic behaviours like willingness to advise fellow collectors. Similarly, Saridakis and Angelidou developed an empirical typology of collectors based on various collecting traits, from expert professionals and introvert-focused to extrovert altruists and hobbyists.⁵⁶ Many behaviours discussed above can be

⁵³ These two groups are referred to as Type A and Type B, respectively. Brenda Danet and Tamara Katriel, "Books, Butterflies, Botticellis: A Life-Span Perspective on Collecting," (paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Culture and Communication, Philadelphia, October 1986). For another approach: L Saari, "Those Crazy Collectors," *Orange County Register*, April 15, 1997, D1. For a typology based on casual, social and serious collectors: Charlotte P. Lee and Ciaran B. Trace, "The Role of Information in a Community of Hobbyist Collectors," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology: Hoboken* 60, no. 2 (March 2009): 621-637.

⁵⁴ Russell W. Belk, "The Double Nature of Collecting: Materialism and Anti-Materialism," *Etnofoor* 11, no. 1 (1998): 7-20.

⁵⁵ Greta L. Polites, "The Collecting Continuum: Incorporating Amateur Scientists and Scholarly Collecting Behaviors," *Advances in Consumer Research* 36 (2009): 910-911.

⁵⁶ Charalampos Saridakis and Sofia Angelidou, "A Case-Based Generalizable Theory of Consumer Collecting," *European Journal of Marketing* 52, no. 5/6 (2017): 946-972.

extracted from the archival data for the collectors studied.

Informed by these various continuums, a robust approach for describing the collecting personalities of each collector is to map their personality traits on a quadrant with two axes — for example, a continuum ranging from undisciplined to disciplined collecting crossed by solitary to social. For example, Greene’s collection of single-leaf miniatures is haphazard at best, and she was intensely private about her collection. In contrast, Freer used a scholarly approach and freely shared his collection with fellow collectors and scholars.

The **collecting personality** of each collector will be plotted across three quadrant charts, each divided into four equal sections (appendix 2). For each quadrant chart, the y-axis will remain constant, with a continuum of collectivism versus individualism. These labels were chosen as “constants” because these are the personality traits most closely associated with canon development. Collectors willing to share their collection with others tend to play a more vital role in canon development. The first two x-axes plotted against the constant y-axis focus on various approaches a collector may take in building their collection. The first x-axis is compulsive collectors versus collectors that form a deep relationship with their collection. The second x-axis is dabblers, novice and casual collectors, versus professional collectors that take a scholarly, research-focused, specialised approach. The final x-axis focuses on a collector’s end goals for their collection. A collector may find their collection entertaining, but have no intention of completing it, versus being continuously focused on improving their knowledge and a strong desire to achieve completion.

Additionally, a vast body of research from the perspective of history, sociology, psychology and business describes **motivations for collecting**, many of which can be applied to the collectors studied in this thesis. Philippe Julian (1919-1977), in his book *Les Collectionneurs*, believed the same fundamental factors inspire every collection: “fear of boredom, desire for immortality, aesthetics, sensibility,

sanity and speculation.”⁵⁷ Ruth Formanek explores several motivations for collecting, including an extension of self, social, preserving history, creating continuity, financial investment, and addiction or compulsion.⁵⁸ Belk contends that collectors who claim they are preserving history for future generations are merely trying to justify a bad habit rather than present a legitimate motivation.⁵⁹ Preserving history is a reason given by many collectors, especially those who leave their collections intact for future study and enjoyment. Susan Pearce lists seventeen motivations, focusing on self-fulfilment, including play/leisure, aesthetics, competition, risk, fantasy, prestige, dominance, desire to reframe objects, the pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference, and ambition to achieve perfection, extending the self, and achieving immortality.⁶⁰ Maya Jasanoff argues that British Imperial collectors in early colonial India used their collections to fashion themselves as cosmopolitan gentleman connoisseurs.⁶¹ Frederick Baekeland believes the passion for collecting for a wealthy industrialist, particularly one described as “a self-made man,” is vanity and a desire for social advancement.⁶² Although it is true that some early twentieth-century moguls came from humble beginnings and sought social acceptance, this does not seem to describe Freer, Morgan, or Gulbenkian. However, buying art from faraway lands may have been a way to advertise their wealth, cosmopolitanism and cultivated taste.

⁵⁷ Philippe Jullian, *Les Collectionneurs* (London, 1966), 74.

⁵⁸ Ruth Formanek, "Why They Collect: Collectors Reveal Their Motivations," *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality* 6, no. 6 (1991): 275-286.

⁵⁹ Russell W. Belk, "Collecting as Luxury Consumptions: Some Effects on Individuals and Households," *Journal of Economic Psychology* 16, no. 3 (1995): 477-490.

⁶⁰ Susan M. Pearce, Alexandra Bounia, and Paul Martin, *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting*, 4 vols., Perspectives on Collecting, (Aldershot, Hampshire, England and Burlington, Vermont, 2000). Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London, 1995).

⁶¹ Jasanoff, "Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning," 110.

⁶² Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London, New York: 1994), 206.

Additionally, the hope for immortality may explain why many collectors left collections in museums named after themselves. In a way, they were able to “provide some control over the future biographies of the collected objects.”⁶³ Freer and Gulbenkian initially insisted their collections should remain intact with no additions. Eventually, both revisited this requirement.

According to Werner Muensterberger, collectors cite “unbearable restlessness” and “a desire for a purposeful venture” as motivations for collecting.⁶⁴ Critic and book collector Thomas Tanselle believes collectors are motivated by the fascination of chance, a need to find order and the desire to find one’s place in the world.⁶⁵ Tanselle maintains that collectors want to “create a stable, controllable environment” and contends that collecting is a “way of coping with the chaos of the so-called object world.”⁶⁶ Order and control are repeated again and again as the primary motivations for collecting. In 1931, book collector Walter Benjamin raised a question in his essay “Unpacking My Library: A Speech on Collecting” — “For what else is this collection but a disorder to which habit has accommodated itself to such an extent that it can appear as order?”⁶⁷ Pearce noted, “we can control our collection in a way that we can control little else in the world.”⁶⁸ For many collectors, dedicating time, money, and attention to inanimate objects is more straightforward than doing the same for family members and loved ones.⁶⁹

⁶³ Brian I. Spaid, "Exploring Consumer Collecting Behavior: A Conceptual Model and Research Agenda," *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 35 (2018): 657.

⁶⁴ Werner Muensterberger, "Chapter 13: The Promise of Pleasure," in *Collecting: An Unruly Passion* (Princeton: 1994), 251-252.

⁶⁵ G. Thomas Tanselle, "A Rationale of Collecting," *Raritan* 19, no. 1 (1999): 23-50.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶⁷ Benjamin Walter, "Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting," *Literarische Welt and Illuminations (reprint in English)*. (1931 and 1999): 60.

⁶⁸ Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Leicester, UK, 1992), 56.

⁶⁹ Belk, "The Double Nature of Collecting: Materialism and Anti-Materialism," 11.

Childhood neglect is another motivation for collecting.⁷⁰ Muensterberger contends that when children experience deprivation, they seek relief in inanimate objects like a comforter or doll to provide solace.⁷¹ A collector may use a similar coping mechanism to seek relief from the stresses and strains of adult life. M.M. Long and L.G. Schiffman suggest collectors are motivated by the fun and excitement of collecting and the chance it provides to escape daily life's pressures.⁷² More recently, Donald Case, focusing specifically on coin collectors, contends that motivations for collecting fall into two broad categories — distraction (e.g. escape, play, fantasy, entertainment) or self-fulfilment (e.g., developing knowledge, competence or community).⁷³

The challenge of applying such theories to historical figures is that the surviving archival material provides incomplete insights into individuals' biographies, behaviours and motivations. Collectors rarely explicitly express their reasons for collecting. Nevertheless, informed by the motivations described in the existing literature, I will attempt to infer each collector's motivations from the recorded facts and their observable collecting behaviours. This information will then be mapped onto a piechart template that synthesises the reasons proposed by the scholars discussed above (appendix 3). (Note, a limitation to this approach is that it may appear to give too much weight to a particular motivation—especially if the mapping is based on limited archival evidence. For example, the one instance when Greene purchased several Islamic book items under the influence of alcohol.)

The thesis will also analyse the steps to building a collection described here as collecting behaviour. William McIntosh and Brandon Schmeichel provide a

⁷⁰ Muensterberger, "Chapter 1: Passion, or the Wellspring of Collecting," 9-13.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷² M.M. Long and L.G. Schiffman, "Swatch Fever: An Allegory for Understanding the Paradox of Collecting," *Psychology and Marketing* 14 (1997): 495-509.

⁷³ Donald O. Case, "Serial Collecting at Leisure, and Coin Collecting in Particular," *Library Trends* 57, no. 4 (Spring 2009): 734.

straightforward and applicable framework.⁷⁴ The first step is that a collector decides to collect a classification of objects. Some scholars have noted that collections may begin with little or no forethought.⁷⁵ Sometimes, a collection can start incidentally or accidentally — perhaps a gift, serendipitous discovery or inherited object.⁷⁶ Gulbenkian may have decided to collect Islamic book art because he received an important Islamic manuscript from Baron Edmond de Rothschild. However, the decision to collect is deliberate and goal-driven for other collectors.⁷⁷ In the second step, the collector gathers information about objects of interest. At this stage, a collector uses their judgement or taste to determine the things for further consideration. Assessment may be based on aesthetics, provenance, rarity, condition, authenticity and cultural and commercial value. During the courtship stage, an object of affection is identified, and the collector devises an acquisition plan. At this stage, irrational behaviour may dominate, or competitive business acumen may play a role.⁷⁸ During the hunt and acquisition stages, a collector may experience a thrill-seeking rush and moments of “distress and eustress” or mood swings resembling “depression and euphoria.”⁷⁹ Once the collector has obtained the object, it loses its presumed functional role and is

⁷⁴ William D. McIntosh and Brandon Schmeichel, "Collectors and Collecting: A Social Psychological Perspective," *Leisure Sciences* 26, no. 1 (2004): 95-97.

⁷⁵ Russell W. Belk, "The Ineluctable Mysteries of Possessions," *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality* 6 (1991): 19. Leilei Gao, Yanliu Huang, and Itamar Simonson, "The Influence of Initial Possession Level on Consumers' Adoption of a Collection Goal: A Tipping Point Effect," *Journal of Marketing* 78, no. 6 (2014): 143-156. "I began to sense that the urge to collect is not born all of a sudden but gains momentum after, say, one or two purchases." Allison Hoover Bartlett, *The Man Who Loved Books Too Much: The True Story of a Thief, a Detective, and a World of Literary Obsession* (New York, 2010), 128.

⁷⁶ Russell W. Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," *Advances in Consumer Research* 15 (1988): 548.

⁷⁷ Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan, "Cognitive Evaluation Theory," in *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-determination in Human Behavior* (Boston: 1985), 43-85. A.D. Olmsted, "Collecting: Leisure, Investment, or Obsession?," *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality* 6 (1991): 287-306. Tanselle, "A Rationale of Collecting," 23-50.

⁷⁸ A. Storr, "The Psychology of Collecting," *Connoisseur* 213 (1983): 35-38.

⁷⁹ Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," 549.

enshrined as a sacred object in the collection.⁸⁰ Depending on the type of collector, they may advertise the acquisition to other collectors and “bask in reflected glory.”⁸¹ The active display and cataloguing can also lead to “a sense of control and mastery.”⁸² Cataloguing is a method for a collector to record progress toward collecting goals.⁸³ In the final stage, the collector either seeks to return to the planning and courtship stage and repeat the process or decides to collect something else. Tanselle contends that each new acquisition is evaluated against objects already in the collection.⁸⁴ Referring to the collection as the “magic circle,” Tanselle notes that collectors frequently tweak their acquisition criteria to justify moving more things from the outside to the inside of the collection.⁸⁵

As outlined above, McIntosh and Schmeichel’s framework is a helpful guide for mapping purchase journeys. At each step of the decision process, collectors face rational (i.e. careful assessment of quality, rarity, and value) versus passionate (i.e. inner longing) tensions. How they manage those tensions influences what is collected and how an object is treated once it becomes part of the collection. There are a few instances where several letters regarding a specific purchase are included in the archival data for each collector. The correspondence is sufficient to create a few **purchase journey maps** for each collector and to discuss their behavioural, mental, and emotional responses as they move through the decision

⁸⁰ Spaid, "Exploring Consumer Collecting Behavior: A Conceptual Model and Research Agenda," 654. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, 24. “They are decommo­ditised, sacralised and invested with extraordinary meanings.” Belk, "The Double Nature of Collecting: Materialism and Anti-Materialism," 8.

⁸¹ Robert B. Cialdini and Kenneth D. Richardson, "Two Indirect Tactics of Image Management: Basking and Blasting," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 19 (1980): 406.

⁸² B. Danet and T. Katriel, "No Two Alike: Play and Aesthetics in Collecting," *Play and Culture* 2, no. 3 (1989): 263.

⁸³ M.C. Martin and S.M. Baker, "An Ethnography of Mick’s Sports Card Show: Preliminary Findings From the Field," *Advances in Consumer Research* 23 (1996): 333.

⁸⁴ Tanselle, "A Rationale of Collecting," 32.

⁸⁵ Ibid. Walter Benjamin, *Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting* (New York, 1931), 60.

process steps (as outlined by McIntosh and Schmeichel) (appendix 4).

In addition to collecting personality quadrants, purchasing journey maps, and identifying collectors' motivations for collecting, the archives are rich enough to create a model of collector behaviour to explain why and how each collector started, added, and engaged with their Islamic book art collections. Most importantly, the temporal flow of the archival data allows for inferences regarding causation.⁸⁶

Since the 1980s, several models have been formulated in consumer behaviour research to describe, explain and predict consumer behaviour. Many similarities exist between these models and the theoretical constructs identified by scholars to understand collectors, including their motivations for collecting and the steps used to build collections. Many components of the Engel-Blackwell-Miniard (EBM) consumer decision-making model appear applicable to book-collecting behaviour.⁸⁷ According to the EBM model, several factors play a role in purchase decisions, including information inputs, information processing, decision process stages, product/brand evaluation, motivating influences and internalised environmental influences (appendix 5).

In consumer behaviour, information inputs include exposure to marketing and non-marketing stimuli that may trigger specific behavioural patterns. For collecting behaviour, information inputs could be attending exhibitions, relationships with scholars and fellow collectors and access to reference books. How individual collectors processed or interacted with these information inputs can be inferred from the archival data. The decision process stages outlined in the EBM (product recognition, search, alternative evaluation, choice

⁸⁶ Before pursuing graduate work in art history, I worked for a global market research firm as Vice President of Business Development. We helped client organisations understand how customers make purchase decisions and why customers choose one brand over another. Many of the consumer behaviour tools proposed in this thesis for analysing collectors are similar to those I used when consulting with client organisations.

⁸⁷ Roger D. Blackwell, Paul W. Miniard, and James F Engel, *Consumer Behavior* (Madison, 2006).

and outcomes) parallel McIntosh and Schmeichel's steps to building a collection. The EBM's product/brand evaluation components (evaluation criteria, beliefs, attitudes, and intentions) and the motivating influences (motivations for collecting, collecting personality, and normative compliance) are also discoverable from archival data. Internal environmental influences (cultural norms and values, reference group/family and anticipated and unanticipated circumstances) can also be deduced to a limited degree from the archives.

Scholars have adapted models like the EBM model to explain unique market dynamics, like purchasing art and cultural consumption. Dominique Bourgeon-Renault believes art and cultural consumption are based on the product's practical aspects and "symbolic, aesthetic and hedonistic dimensions involving the consumer's subjectivity."⁸⁸ Perhaps a collector is lured into collecting by the 'snob effect' or superficial features like royal provenance or proclaimed rarity. Alternatively, it may be just a tactile pleasure that one experiences when handling a book that motivates one to collect. For some, collecting might generate a profound, deeply moving experience. Holbrook and Hirschman go beyond the buying phase to examine the pleasure experienced by the consumer after purchase, where the criteria used to evaluate the success of consumption are aesthetic.⁸⁹

Scholars have also tested new constructs to explain the purchase decision-making process more fully. Aron O'Cass and Hmily Mc'Ewen find that individuals may strive to improve their social standing through conspicuous consumption of products that confer and symbolise status for the individual and their peers or desired peers.⁹⁰ Wilfred Amaldoss and Sanjay Jain discovered that consumers

⁸⁸ Dominique Bourgeon-Renault, "Evaluating Consumer Behaviour in the Field of Arts and Culture Marketing," *International Journal of Arts Management* 3, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 4.

⁸⁹ Morris B. Holbrook and Elizabeth C. Hirschman, "The Experiential Aspects of Consumption: Consumer Fantasies, Feelings, and Fun," *Journal of Consumer Research* 9, no. 2 (September 1982): 132.

⁹⁰ Aron O'Cass and Hmily McEwen, "Exploring Consumer Status and Conspicuous Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Behavior* 4, no. 1 (2004): 25.

are especially susceptible to reference group effects when the product is a luxury.⁹¹ Or consumers may demonstrate creative choices that counter conformity to communicate their uniqueness.⁹² Some consumers prefer items available in small quantities, equating scarcity with better quality or a “peculiar ideal dignity.”⁹³

Several constructs from the original EBM model and the adapted models discussed above apply to how early twentieth-century collectors built and managed their Islamic book art collections. A key question is whether a modelling approach, such as the EBM model designed to *predict* consumer behaviour, is appropriate for analysing a situation where behaviour is already known.

According to Ruth Ann Smith and David Lux, a historical method like the one proposed “has not been fully utilised for analysing complex and volatile consumer phenomena.”⁹⁴ While historical analysis has the primary advantage that many input and output variables are known facts (rather than interpretative), it also provides the opportunity to view multiple narratives about the same event. Did specific scholarly references influence the evaluation criteria used by all collectors? Were the same collections up for sale *en bloc* receiving consideration from several collectors? As I research the archives, I will attempt to identify potentially relevant variables from a modelling perspective (appendix 6). Any variables introduced in the chapters will be **highlighted in bold**. The actual worth of such an approach is whether the collector-specific models allow meaningful cross-analysis of all collectors studied.

The thesis focuses on the nature of collecting as experienced by an individual

⁹¹ Wilfred Amaldoss and Sanjay Jain, "Trading up: A Strategic Analysis of Reference Group Effects," *Marketing Science* 27, no. 5 (September - October 2008): 932.

⁹² Brian I. Spaid and Joseph Matthes, "Consumer Collecting Identity and Behaviors: Underlying Motivations and Impact on Life Satisfaction," *The Journal of Consumer Marketing* 38, no. 5 (2021): 556.

⁹³ Russell W. Belk, Güliz Ger, and Søren Askegaard, "The Fire of Desire: A Multisited Inquiry into Consumer Passion," *Journal of Consumer Research* 30, no. 3 (December 2003): 330.

⁹⁴ Ruth Ann Smith and David S. Lux, "Historical Method in Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Research* 19, no. 4 (March 1993): 595.

collector. The proposed approach for analysing collections and motivations for collecting is rooted in consumer behaviour theory. While larger sociological, political and economic structures were at play, and an approach centering these could be fruitful, positioning the collectors' activities within these structures is challenging because of the newness and unusualness of collecting Mughal art at the time. In addition, inferences to broader aspects are only tangentially mentioned in the available archival data. Nevertheless, where possible, these aspects are addressed. The analysis of contemporary exhibitions and scholarship provides insight into the societal and political context in which the collectors operated. Also, the letters between Gulbenkian and Beatty reveal they wanted the best class of objects and those items at the best price possible. Gulbenkian was also prone to bartering to cull his collection and get desired things. Both scenarios demonstrate how economic dynamics can intersect with psychological motivations. The collectors studied also recognised that political tides could change, and access to manuscripts from the East could become inaccessible. Gulbenkian mentioned scaling back purchases during the 1929 market crash and complained about not having access to London auction markets during World War II.

A financial analysis of the market for these objects, in particular, would also be desirable. However, the vague descriptions in sales catalogues and dealer correspondence make reconciling sales of the same or similar things extremely difficult. Mughal art was only a tiny percentage of the economic expenditure of their collections. However, a complete analysis of their entire collections is beyond the scope of this thesis.

EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON THE COLLECTORS OF INTEREST

Much of what is written about the collectors investigated here can be classified as a biography. As a result, these individuals are presented as figures of isolated genius rather than being embedded in networks crucial to their collections'

formation and management. However, recently scholars have devoted some attention to their collecting activities. To mark the centenary of Freer's death, Helen Tomlinson published *West Meets East: Charles L. Freer, Trailblazing Asian Art Collector*. Based on Tomlinson's thesis completed in 1979, the book draws on Freer's diaries and letters, highlighting his adventures worldwide, primarily in search of Asian art.⁹⁵ In 2006, Ann Gunter published *A Collector's Journey: Charles Lang Freer & Egypt*, documenting Freer's travels in Egypt and his Egyptian collection.⁹⁶ Freer curators Lee Glazer and Amelia Meyers published *Charles Lang Freer: A Cosmopolitan Life* to coincide with the newly renovated Freer Gallery of Art's reopening in 2017.⁹⁷ The book, positioned as a biography, touches on Freer's quest for masterpieces against the background of the Gilded Age culture. *Freer: A Legacy of Art* by historians of Chinese art Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill is a biography of Freer's art collection and his friendship with the artist James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and the curator of Japanese art Ernst Fenollosa (1853-1908).⁹⁸ Scholars have concentrated on Freer's Far Eastern and Middle Eastern collecting activities but have devoted little attention to his sporadic, important Mughal art collecting.

Numerous biographies have addressed Pierpont Morgan's banking and finance acumen and political influence, including a documentary referring to Morgan as

⁹⁵ Helen Nebeker Tomlinson, 'Charles Lang Freer, Pioneer Collector of Oriental Art', 1979, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Case Western University, 8013656. Helen Nebeker Tomlinson, *West Meets East: Charles L. Freer, Trailblazing Asian Art Collector* (Herndon, Virginia, 2019).

⁹⁶ Ann Clyburn Gunter, *A Collector's Journey: Charles Lang Freer and Egypt*, ed. Smithsonian Institution Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, DC, 2002).

⁹⁷ Lee Glazer and Amelia Meyers, *Charles Lang Freer: A Cosmopolitan Life* (Washington, DC, 2017), 144.

⁹⁸ Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer, A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC, 1993).

“the Emperor of Wall Street.”⁹⁹ In 2000, Morgan’s biographer Jean Strouse wrote a series for the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* detailing his art-collecting interests and museum support.¹⁰⁰ The same year, Strouse also published *The Morgan Library: An American Masterpiece*, presenting the most significant examples of the Library’s holdings, including Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts.¹⁰¹ In 1998, Morgan’s Islamic and Indian manuscripts and paintings were catalogued.¹⁰²

Heidi Ardizzone wrote a biography about Belle da Costa Greene in 2007, and Marie Benedict and Victoria Christopher Murray recently released a fictional novel detailing Greene’s life as Morgan’s librarian.¹⁰³ While prompting much interest in Greene, Ardizzone’s work focuses not on Greene as a collector but on her success in “passing” as white. Greene’s Islamic works, bequeathed to the Morgan Library upon her death, are included in Pierpont Morgan’s Islamic manuscript catalogue.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ John K. Winkler, *Morgan the Magnificent; The Life of J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913)* (New York, 1930). Herbert Livingston Satterlee, *J. Pierpont Morgan; An Intimate Portrait* (New York, 1939). Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Great Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1949). Andrew Sinclair, *Corsair: The Life of J. Pierpont Morgan* (Boston, 1981). Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan, An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990). Copyright Collection (Library of Congress), *Biography. J. Pierpont Morgan - Emperor of Wall Street* (1996), 1 videocassette of 1 (VHS) (ca. 50 min.) : sd., col. ; 1/2 in. viewing copy. Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York, 2000). Gerard Helferich, *An Unlikely Trust: Theodore Roosevelt, J. P. Morgan, and the Improbable Partnership That Remade American Business* (Guilford, Conn., 2018).

¹⁰⁰ Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 2000, 1-64.

¹⁰¹ Jean Strouse, *The Morgan Library: an American Masterpiece* (New York, London, 2000).

¹⁰² Barbara Schmitz et al., *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in The Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1998).

¹⁰³ Heidi Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life, Belle da Costa Greene’s Journey from Prejudice to Privilege* (New York, London, 2007). Marie Benedict and Victoria Christopher Murray, *The Personal Librarian* (New York, 2021).

¹⁰⁴ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 10, 12, 20, 25, 27-28, 32-35, 37-39, 41-43, 45, 49, 51, 55.

Two biographies have been written about Gulbenkian's life and business dealings — the first published in 1958 and the second in 2019.¹⁰⁵ In 1999-2000, eighty of his masterpieces, including one binding, were discussed in an accompanying Exhibition catalogue.¹⁰⁶ In 2006, to coincide with an exhibition, the Gulbenkian Foundation published *The Collector and his Taste*, focusing on Gulbenkian's underlying motives for creating his eclectic collection.¹⁰⁷ His Oriental manuscripts collection is in the chapter about works of royal provenance. In a second book published in 2006, seventy items from Gulbenkian's book art collection are discussed.¹⁰⁸ The book includes entries for several Islamic manuscripts and bindings. In 1963, Basil Gray (1904-1989) and Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964) published a book on Gulbenkian's Islamic art collection, including glassware, ceramics, textiles, and book arts.¹⁰⁹ In 1972, Richard Ettinghausen (1906-1979) published an abbreviated catalogue of Gulbenkian's Persian manuscript collection.¹¹⁰ The Foundation recently published *The Rise of Islamic Art* to coincide with an exhibition focused on Islamic art (1839-1939).¹¹¹ The book includes several new catalogue entries for Gulbenkian's Oriental manuscripts and bindings. However, there is no comprehensive catalogue of Gulbenkian's Oriental manuscripts, bindings and single-leaf paintings. Very little has been written about

¹⁰⁵ John Lodwick and D.H. Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian* (London, 1958). Jonathan Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent* (London, 2019).

¹⁰⁶ João Castel-Branco Pereira, "Calouste Gulbenkian: The Collector as Creator," in *"Only the Best" Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon*, ed. Katharine Baetjer and James David Draper (New York: 2000), 3-10.

¹⁰⁷ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *The Collector and His Tastes: Calouste S. Gulbenkian 1869-1955*, ed. João Carvalho Dias et al. (Lisbon, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ João Carvalho Dias, *From Paris to Tokyo: Art of the Book in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection: 19 July to 8 October 2006* (Lisbon, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Basil Gray, *L'art de L'Orient Islamique, Collection de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Oriental Islamic Art, Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation* (Lisbon, 1963).

¹¹⁰ Richard Ettinghausen, *Persian Art: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection* (Lisbon, 1972).

¹¹¹ Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *The Rise of Islamic Art 1869-1939* (Lisbon, 2019).

his motivations for collecting Islamic book art or Gulbenkian's long-term friendship with fellow Islamic manuscript collector Chester Beatty.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One explores the role of universal exhibitions in exposing the public to Islamic art and the role of more focused exhibitions in shaping Islamic book art's critical reception. Persian art was positioned as the 'star attraction' at most early twentieth-century exhibitions, but an undercurrent of enthusiasm for Mughal paintings developed with the exhibitions. The primary sources of information for the chapter are exhibition guidebooks, catalogues, official speeches, lectures, correspondence between members of the committee and individuals loaning objects, and exhibition reviews. This chapter demonstrates that exhibitions were crucial in facilitating access and shaping attitudes to Persian and Mughal art, providing conditions for collectors to trade such objects.

Chapter Two focuses on Freer's purchase of Biblical manuscripts in Egypt and Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna's Indo-Persian collection. Including the Biblical manuscripts in the discussion is a counterpoint to the Hanna acquisition. Freer's purchase of the Hanna collection initially indicated that his collecting interests were evolving. However, Freer turned down several opportunities to add to his collection. A careful examination of material from the Freer archives provides clues why he lost interest in this avenue of collecting. The chapter shows how Freer altered his decision process steps after skipping critical steps in an earlier acquisition and how he evaluated objects entering his collection both on their own merits and on how they were connected to things in the collection. The requirement was that everything was aesthetically connected and in harmony.

Chapter Three focuses on Morgan's collection of Islamic book art and his librarian Belle da Costa Greene's private collection. The chapter traces the purchases of Islamic books for the Morgan Library collections during Pierpont Morgan's lifetime and until Greene retired from the Library in 1948. While Morgan purchased a few manuscripts before Greene's arrival, she convinced Morgan to

add more Islamic book art to the collection. After attending the 1910 Munich exhibition, Greene received two Persian drawings as a gift, which may have been the beginnings of her private collection. Perhaps unbeknownst to Morgan, Greene removed leaves from manuscripts in the Morgan Library for her personal collection. Nevertheless, her role in building a first-class rare book and manuscript collection for the Morgan Library cannot be overstated. The chapter demonstrates the difficulty of determining collection strategies when more than one person has the authority to add items to the collection and how two very different collections can be built using the same networks of advisors and scholars.

Chapter Four explores Gulbenkian's early years of Islamic book art collecting (what Gulbenkian referred to as Oriental art) from 1900 to 1923 before he met Chester Beatty, one of the most important collectors of Islamic material in this era. Gulbenkian's archives for this period are primarily invoices with little or no prior or follow-up correspondence. The chapter demonstrates how, based on invoices and objects alone, it is possible to identify a collector's network of intermediaries and dealers, their preferred methods for doing business, and their evaluation criteria, including pictorial themes of interest. This chapter also sets the stage and serves as a point of comparison for how Gulbenkian's collection strategy changed after he met Beatty.

Chapter Five focuses on Gulbenkian's Islamic book art purchases after 1923 and how his collection strategy evolved after Beatty began mentoring him on his European and Oriental book art purchases. Although Beatty, an American, and Gulbenkian, an Armenian, could be considered outsiders in European manuscript collecting circles, the chapter demonstrates how Beatty helped Gulbenkian adapt to the model of a gentleman collector and expand his network of mutually beneficial relationships. The correspondence also highlights that one of the motivating factors for pursuing a relationship with Gulbenkian was Beatty's desire to limit competition for the Islamic book art he wanted most.

Chapter Six focuses on the formation of the Mughal art canon. In the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mughal autobiographies, Imperial biographies, and European travelogues were translated into English, increasing European and North American scholarly interest in this part of the world. Catalogues and monographs on specific works became standards for evaluating these lesser-known works. The appendix lists the seminal books and journal articles published during the early twentieth century focused on Mughal art. The chapter explores what reference material collectors relied on in forming and studying their collections and their relationships with scholars in the field. The chapter also analyses the level of support dealers and collectors provided to scholars leading the way in this esoteric field of study.

The conclusion shows how the four main objectives outlined in the introduction have been achieved and contributed to our understanding of collector behaviour. The collection personalities, motivations for collecting, and selection criteria identified in the thesis are summarised. In addition, a subset of variables identified as relevant for the Islamic book art collection formation and management are discussed in detail — focusing specifically on those where commonalities and idiosyncrasies can be distinguished between the collectors studied. The conclusion also briefly outlines potential areas for future research.

CHAPTER ONE: EXHIBITING ISLAMIC ART

“All my sort of foolish prejudice against Oriental Art has gone — I begin to understand its fascination. I have no more ‘grudges’ and I have thoroughly enjoyed these days!”¹¹² — Mary Berenson (1864–1944), writing to her family on September 7, 1910, after attending the 1910 Munich Exhibition.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores how exhibitions shaped the critical reception of Islamic book art and when Mughal art began to be studied, appreciated and exhibited in its own right. In the late nineteenth century, universal exhibitions generated interest in Islamic art, giving the public, including potential collectors, a greater sense of Islamic culture and objects. To a lesser extent, these exhibitions also allowed private collectors to share their collections with the public. Tracing exhibition conception, object selection, installation arrangement, loans, objects discussed in accompanying catalogues, official speeches, lectures and published reviews, and contemporary coverage in newspapers and magazine articles provides insight into changing perceptions of Islamic art. The analysis of exhibitions provides a framework for understanding the growing appreciation of Islamic art, particularly Mughal works, and the influence these exhibitions had on important collections.

In the nineteenth century, universal and empire exhibitions were primarily contact

¹¹² *Mary Berenson: A Self Portrait from Her Diaries and Letters*, ed. Barbara Strackey and Jayne Newcomer Samuels (New York and London, 1983), 161.

zones for building awareness of Islamic art and culture among the public.¹¹³ In the rare instances when Islamic miniatures and paintings were exhibited, they were mostly presented as design inspiration for industrial and applied arts and as models of geometric, floral and colour schemes for training and educating future designers and artisans. For example, Henry Cole (1808-1882) recommended acquiring South Asian objects for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London to “educate the English artisan’s eye and hand, and [...] improve English manufactures.”¹¹⁴

In the *La Galerie Oriental* exhibition at the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition, the illustrator Jules-Ferdinand Jacquemart (1837-1880) showed his collection of miniatures side-by-side with his engravings of similar subject matter.¹¹⁵ The emphasis on inspiration did not encourage serious interrogation of the material as works of art, and even less of their original cultural context. Islamic items exhibited were often mislabelled and shown in a treasure heap fashion, making appreciation of the aesthetics difficult.¹¹⁶ In the Weltausstellung in Vienna in 1873, the Persian Minister of Sciences, Ali-Kuli Mizra (1822-1880), loaned miniatures from a *Hamzanama* incorrectly identified as Persian.¹¹⁷ The miniatures

¹¹³ For universal exhibitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: David J. Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Arts, ca 1880-1910," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 9-38. Roger Luckhurst, "Laboratories for Global Space-Time: Science-Fictionality and the World's Fairs, 1851–1939," *Science Fiction Studies* 39, 3, no. 118 (2012): 385-400. Daniel Fulco, "Displays of Islamic Art in Vienna and Paris Imperial Politics and Exoticism at the Weltausstellung and Exposition Universelle," *MDCCC1800* 6 (2017): 51-65. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2006). Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 1988).

¹¹⁴ Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Promoting Traditional Indian Art at Home and Abroad: The Journal of Indian Art and Industry, 1884-1917," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 2 (2004): 196.

¹¹⁵ E. de Beaumont et al., *L'Art Ancien a L'Exposition de 1878*, ed. M. Louis Gonse (Paris, 1879), 357.

¹¹⁶ For the display of Islamic art in the nineteenth century: Solmaz Mohammadzadeh Kive, "The Exhibitionary Construction of the 'Islamic Interior'," in *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space*, ed. John Potvin (London, New York: 2015), 39-58.

¹¹⁷ Fulco, "Displays of Islamic Art in Vienna and Paris," 58.

were Mughal and were commissioned by the Akbar.

France and the UK initially used universal exhibitions to project their industrial and intellectual supremacy in juxtaposition to their 'primitive' colonies.¹¹⁸ In this worldview, only with a fair-minded and benevolent colonial master could these colonies ever develop. At the turn of the century, the universal exhibitions focused on ethnography and presented stereotypical images of different cultures, with natives performing dances, creating crafts, and serving tea and sherbet. These primitive forms of entertainment perpetuated the myth of the Orient frozen in its past. The spatial divisions mirrored Western views of the East as an imperialist 'other' and reinforced perceived hierarchies concerning nations and races. Consequently, visitors to universal exhibitions viewed these objects as curiosities or "trophies acquired via colonisation."¹¹⁹

The most crucial contribution universal exhibitions made to Islamic art was the categorising and ordering of objects by material, object and region. The 1867 Paris Universal Exposition represented the first concerted attempt to group Islamic objects, where manuscripts and individual miniature paintings were assigned a defined category.¹²⁰ However, the items exhibited at most universal exhibitions were souvenirs painted in styles designed to appeal to Western audiences.

Empire exhibitions did slightly more to highlight the region's art, history and customs. Many scenes reenacted in a play held as part of the 1895 Empire of India Exhibition in London were based on historical events captured in Mughal

¹¹⁸ Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Boston, 2003), 197.

¹¹⁹ Fulco, "Displays of Islamic Art in Vienna and Paris," 52.

¹²⁰ *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris: Catalogue of the British Section*, (London, 1867), 20.

miniatures and single-leaf paintings.¹²¹ The empire exhibitions exposed the visiting public to many Islamic paintings and manuscripts, including items once part of the imperial libraries of the Mughal emperors. Rather than emphasising these works as inspiration for Western artists, the objects were exhibited as items worthy of appreciation in their own right. Accompanying catalogues discussed individual artists and themes depicted. Instead of the treasure heap approach, manuscripts were shown in exhibition cases or hanging on cream-coloured walls.

The pared-down approach was an attempt to showcase the artistic merit and value of the works. Curators and scholars participating in empire exhibitions significantly contributed to the Mughal art canon (discussed in Chapter six). Percy Brown wrote the Official Catalogue for the 1903 Indian Art Exhibition in Delhi.¹²² Thomas Walker Arnold, Ananda Coomaraswamy, British art historian Ernest Binfield Havell (1861-1934), and British Indologist and art historian Vincent Arthur Smith (1848-1920) all served as committee members for the Art of India section at the 1911 Festival of Empire in London's Crystal Palace.¹²³ Laurence Binyon, who was at the time Assistant Keeper at the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings, was a key lender for the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley.¹²⁴

Important collectors contributed to the empire exhibitions, including Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna and Russian-born

¹²¹ Imre Kiralfy, *Empire of India Exhibition, 1895, Official Catalogue, Earls Court, London* (London, 1895), 36. Rosie Jensen, "India in London Performing India on the Exhibition Stage 1851-1914" (Doctor of Philosophy in Drama unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Exeter, 2018), 94.

¹²² *Exposition 1867*, 20.

¹²³ *Indian Court. Festival of Empire, Guide Book and Catalogue - Section III: The Visible Empire*, (London and Derby, 1911), 105-107. Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition 1911, Indian Section: Art and Language," *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* XV, no. 120 (October 1912): 1-178.

¹²⁴ Lionel Heath, *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition*, ed. The India Society (London, 1925), 8-10.

Orientalist Victor Goloubew (1879-1945).¹²⁵ Only a few dealers like Hagop Kevorkian (1872-1962) and the bookseller Luzac & Co. are mentioned in connection with these events.¹²⁶

Several large-scale but focused exhibitions occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Unlike universal and empire exhibitions (still being held), the more focused exhibitions included only art from the Near and Middle East. In 1931 and 1947-48, two exhibitions in London focused on art from India. Several smaller, more focused exhibitions also occurred. Below is a discussion of the most important exhibitions for advancing scholarship and the trade of Islamic book art.

1893 EXPOSITION D'ART MUSULMAN, PALAIS DE L'INDUSTRIE

In 1893, the first exposition of Muslim art opened in Paris at the Palais de l'Industrie. Committee members included Orientalist and collector Charles Schéfer (1820-1898), Islamic art collector and Editor-in-Chief of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Louis Gonse (1846-1921), collector Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845-1934) and curator of the Algerian Antiquities Museum Georges Marye (1842-1900).¹²⁷ Schéfer and Gonse played an essential role in popularising the early collecting and study of Islamic art in France.

Over 100 collectors loaned over 3,000 objects, including manuscripts, bindings, and individual miniatures. Gonse and the dealer Siegfried Bing (1835-1905) loaned many Persian and Indian single-leaf paintings, with several items in Gonse's collection purchased from Jacquemart, who participated in the 1878

¹²⁵ Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition, Indian Section," *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* XV, no. 117 (1911): 1-47. *Indian Court*, 105-107.

¹²⁶ Heath, *Examples of Indian Art*, 8-10. *Indian Court*, 105-107.

¹²⁷ G. Balitout, *1893 Exposition D'Art Musulman, Palais de L'Industrie: Catalogue Officiel* (Paris, 1893), 5-7. For Islamic art exhibitions up to 1910: Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 9-38.

Universal Exposition in Paris.¹²⁸

In the catalogue, objects were organised by collector with minimal descriptions. However, the single leaf and miniature collections of Gonse and Bing were presented separately, with dates, signatures, provenance, and titles. Including additional information regarding the objects elevated their perceived importance in the Exhibition. Unfortunately, most miniatures are now impossible to identify due to the brevity of titles and a lack of standardised spelling for transliterated works. Moreover, several scenes described were common subjects in single-leaf Mughal paintings, including durbar scenes, hunting scenes, and individual portraits of emperors and their falconers. However, this Exhibition was the first instance of Indian miniatures specifically listed as Indian and not Persian:

Gonse collection #13 - Indian prince, standing in profile, on a light green background (watercolour, India, seventeenth century, signed son of Murschild, formerly in the Didot collection).¹²⁹

Most Indian paintings in the exhibition were portraits of Emperor Shah Jahan and his court. However, some paintings featuring Hindu religious figures like Krishna or a Yogi were likely Pahari or Rajasthani miniatures.¹³⁰

In the catalogue's preface, Marye stated the Exposition's primary aim was to bring together specimens of Muslim art scattered in museums and private collections and present them “with an initial classification which, of course, is imperfect, but which makes a step forward.”¹³¹ In a separate article published in

¹²⁸ Monsieur Sigfried Bing (Mughal and Persian miniatures - catalogue numbers: 1-32), Louis Gonse (Persian and Indian miniatures - catalogue numbers: 1-22). Balitout, *Exposition 1893*, 144-148.

¹²⁹ “Prince indien, debout de profil, sur un fond vert clair (aquarelle; Inde xvii^e siècle, signee: *Fils de Murschid*, ancienne collection. Didot.” *Ibid.*, 146-148.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹³¹ “Le but de l'Exposition est donc de rassembler les spécimens de l'Art musulman, disséminés dans les Musées et les collections privées, et de les présenter avec une première classification qui, certainement, est imparfaite, mais qui marque un pas en avant.” *Ibid.*, 13.

the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Marye acknowledged that while this was the first exhibition of Muslim art, several collectors were not pleased with the name “Musulman art,” preferring to call it “Arabic art.”¹³² However, Marye wanted to pull away from the Orientalist tropes associated with Arabic art, perpetuated by Middle Eastern folk tales like *The Arabian Nights*, and view the objects purely scientifically, focusing only on their aesthetics. Marye gave little attention to the Indian miniatures exhibited, noting that perhaps they were “too Indian” in character for a Muslim art exhibition, demonstrating the difficulty early scholars had positioning Mughal art.¹³³

1903 EXPOSITION DES ARTS MUSULMANS IN PARIS

A decade after the first exhibition of Muslim Arts, during May and June 1903, the Exposition des Arts Musulmans was held at the Pavillon de Marsan in Paris. The curator of medieval objects at the Louvre, Gaston Migeon (1861-1930), organised the event with private collector Raymond Koechlin (1860-1931).¹³⁴ This time, the focus was on Islamic objects containing Persian and Arabic inscriptions. Scholars Max van Berchem (1863-1921) and Clément Huart (1854-1926) deciphered the inscriptions on loaned items to place them in their proper historical and social context.¹³⁵ Koechlin noted that many loaned objects had inscriptions detailing

¹³² “mais ce n'est pas sans résistance que le titre en a été admis. Les collectionneurs eux-mêmes ont protesté contre une appellation qui bouleversait les vieilles habitudes, et si l'on avait eu recours à un vote pour trancher la question, il est probable que le terme consacré, mais trop restreint, “d'art arabe” eut prévalu.” Georges Marye, “L'Exposition D'Art Musulman,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 3rd series, no. 10 (1893): 490.

¹³³ “Les miniatures de M. Bing ont une valeur historique et artistique qu'il importe de signaler; mais elles ont pour la plupart un caractère indien trop marqué peut-être pour une Exposition d'art musulman.” *Ibid.*, 494.

¹³⁴ Stephen Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c.1850 - c.1950,” in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850-1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London, New York: 2000), 20.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

who commissioned the work, the artist or artists, and the city of production.¹³⁶

This contextualisation was a significant step forward in helping collectors understand and deepen their appreciation of the works and provided a framework for those looking to build a collection. Koechlin's review of the exhibition emphasised the beautiful, well-proportioned rooms in harmonious tones, compared to earlier bazaar-like displays.¹³⁷ He also noted the particular attention Indian artists dedicated to drawing faces, their ingenuity in grouping several figures in a single scene, and the harmony of colours.¹³⁸

Several new dealers, primarily of Armenian descent, loaned works to the 1903 Paris Exhibition, including Agop and Meguerditch Indjoudjian (1871-1951 and 1884-1927, respectively), Hagop and Garbis Kalebjian [Kalebdjian] (active 1905-1930), Dikran Khan Kelekian (1868-1951), Kevorkian, Seligman (probably Jacques Seligmann 1858-1923) and Maurice and Raphaël Stora (1879-1950 and 1887-1963 respectively).¹³⁹ These individuals would play an important role in the Islamic book art trade in the early twentieth century when Paris was the central hub for Islamic works. The earlier exhibitions served as advertising for the dealers, and visitors could quickly become collectors by contacting the dealers listed in the catalogues.

Scholars who played a significant role in the early stages of Islamic art scholarship also participated in the 1903 Paris Exhibition, including van Berchem, Huart, Koechlin, Migeon, architect and archaeologist Henri Saladin (1851-1923),

¹³⁶ "L'exposition du pavillon de Marsan est riche en pièces admirables de ces extraordinaires ouvriers, et plusieurs ont pour nous l'inappréciable avantage d'être datées, grâce au nom du sultan pour l'usage de qui elles ont été faites [...]" Raymond Koechlin, "L'art Musulman A propos de l'Exposition du Pavillon de Marsan," *Le Revue de l'art ancien et modern* (January 1903): 412.

¹³⁷ "Dans ces belles salles si claires, de si justes proportions et si harmonieuses de tons." *Ibid.*, 409.

¹³⁸ "Hindous, élèves des Persans, ont partis~dessiner les visages avec un soin plus curieux, dans l'ingéniosité du groupement et dans l'harmonie des couleurs." *Ibid.*, 418.

¹³⁹ M. Gaston Migeon, M. Max van Berchem, and C. Huart, "Exposition Des Arts Musulmans Catalogue Descriptif: Union Centrale Des Arts Décoratifs Pavillon de Marsan," ed. Société Française D'Imprimerie et de Librairie (Paris, 1903), 3-4.

and German historian Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945). The active participation of scholars, collectors and dealers in the Exhibition marked a critical turning point in the study and trade of Islamic art.

The Exposition catalogue classified objects by medium, with 134 manuscripts, miniatures and bindings listed separately.¹⁴⁰ Miniatures were further divided regionally as Persian or Indian.¹⁴¹ Gonse loaned twenty-one Indian miniatures, and Bing loaned seven.¹⁴² Since Mughal miniatures were often mislabelled Persian, there were probably more Indian miniatures exhibited than listed. Vever loaned a miniature of Mughal emperors Akbar, Humayun, and Babur, incorrectly labelled as “Persian.”¹⁴³ Dynastic group portraits like these, depicting several generations of the Mughal dynasty in a gathering that could never occur in reality, were typical in Mughal miniatures, particularly during the reign of Shah Jahan (figure 1.1). Several items exhibited from Vever’s collection are currently in the Sackler Gallery (figure 1.2).

While miniatures were not always correctly attributed in the catalogue, there was an earnest attempt to provide more information about the objects. In the 1893 catalogue for the Exposition d’art Musulman at the Palais de l’Industrie, an Indian miniature from Bing’s collection was described as: “Falconer of King Jahangir, 16th century.”¹⁴⁴ In the 1903 Paris Exhibition catalogue, a similar (possibly the same) miniature was listed as:

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., 113-117.

¹⁴³ Catalogue number 847. “Portraits au trait crayon rehaussé d’or, des princes mongols; à droite, Baber ; à gauche, Akbar et Humayoun. Au verso, inscription. Perse, XVI^e s.” Ibid., 108.

¹⁴⁴ “Fauconnier du roi Jehanghir. - XVI^e siècle”. Balitout, *Exposition 1893*, 144.

Sovereign seated on a throne, his head nimbed, holding a falcon in his fist. At the bottom is the name of the calligrapher: Mohammed Hoséin of Tabriz, India, 16th century. Owned by Mr. S. Bing.¹⁴⁵

Including details like the names of artists and calligraphers is another sign that Islamic art was beginning to achieve appreciation from Western collectors.¹⁴⁶ To accompany the Exposition, Migeon published a deluxe tome highlighting 100 objects exhibited. The objects were presented individually as works of art on photogravure plates, with the owner's name prominently listed below each photograph.¹⁴⁷ By limiting the tome to a print run of 200 and hand numbering each edition, Migeon increased the book's value and the objects contained therein. In the preface, Migeon commented that the 1893 Exposition did nothing more than "reveal an Orient that a slightly curious tourist could have known from the diverse bazaars of the Levant."¹⁴⁸ In contrast, the 1903 Paris Exhibition was designed to expose the public to the absolute marvels of the region — the masterpieces.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, while the deluxe tome was visually beautiful, it provided only scant information about the miniatures. Moreover, based on their relative lack of importance compared to the other objects in the exhibition, Migeon allocated only eight plates to miniatures and bindings.¹⁵⁰

Writing for an English-speaking audience of connoisseurs, French Orientalist

¹⁴⁵ "Souverain assis sur un trône, la tête nimbée, tenant un faucon sur le poing. Au bas: nom du calligraphe Mohammed Hoséin de Tebriz. Inde, XVI^e s." Migeon, van Berchem, and Huart, "Exposition 1903," 113.

¹⁴⁶ Although Tabriz is in Iran, the calligrapher had likely moved to India.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 20. Gaston Migeon, "Exposition Des Arts Musulmans à Munich," *Les Arts: Revue Mensuelle des Musées, Collections, Expositions* 9, no. 108 (December 1910): 20.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ "Dans le catalogue établi par M. Gaston Migeon, les reproductions étaient réparties entre les différentes catégories d'objets, d'après leur nombre et leur importance; c'est pourquoi cinq planches seulement y ont été consacrées aux miniatures et trois aux reliures." Henri Vever and Georges Marteau, "Miniatures Persanes et Exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs Juin-Octobre 1912," (Paris, 1913), vol. 1, 6.

Edgard Blochet (1870-1937) submitted a review of the Exposition in *The Burlington Magazine*. In his discussion of the miniatures exhibited, he admitted they appeared as “isolated artistic fancies, scarcely connected one with the other [where] the painters confined themselves to following the whims of their imagination.”¹⁵¹ However, upon “careful and prolonged examination,” he could identify different schools, each comprising unique methods.¹⁵² Blochet identified three Persian schools named after the dynasties in power during the height of their production — the Mongols, the Timurids, and the Safavids. Blochet determined that the same picture was repeatedly produced within each school, and the images were “nearly identical” and “evidently replicas of a common original.”¹⁵³ Blochet equated Eastern picture production to miniature production in the West, where pattern books were commonly employed. As the first scholar to attempt to categorise Islamic works by schools, his contributions are an important development for studying this material.

In a follow-up article, Blochet continued to tease out the origins of Persian paintings by highlighting characteristics similar to Byzantine, Greek, Chinese and Hellenic types.¹⁵⁴ He also passed judgment on what collectors should collect, suggesting that those desiring to enrich their library limit their search to the great masterpieces of the Timurid and Safavid dynasties. Concerning Mughal works (labelled Indo-Persian), Blochet believed the style represented a compromise between the Timurid period and Hindu art. Unlike Persian artists, Blochet thought Indian artists had a more authentic feeling for colour, but might almost be “reproached with softening the colours of the paintings beyond all measure.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ E. Blochet, "Mussulman Manuscripts and Miniatures as Illustrated in the Recent Exhibition at Paris. Part I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 2, no. 5 (July 1903): 132, 135.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ E. Blochet, "Mussulman Manuscripts and Miniatures as Illustrated in the Recent Exhibition at Paris. Part II-(Conclusion)," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 3, no. 9 (December 1903): 276-277+279-281+283+285.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 279.

He correctly surmised that the masterpieces of Indo-Persian art are not found among illuminated manuscripts but instead are “isolated compositions.”¹⁵⁶ The “isolated compositions” Blochet referenced were likely once part of an album or Muraqqa assembled for a Mughal emperor or court member. A statement concerning his enchantment with paintings of “ladies smoking their hookahs” provides clues about the date of some pictures he studied since hookahs did not become a prominent motif in Mughal miniatures until the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ While most of Blochet’s comments about “Indo-Persian” artists were complimentary, he felt their attempts at European-type drawings were “clumsy imitations.”¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, his remarks legitimised the collecting of Islamic book art for collectors in France and the English-speaking world.

As an Orientalist, fluent in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, Blochet was an early scholar who could speak to the text and pictorial evidence. He also had a strong knowledge of the region's history, religion and culture. Blochet’s scholarly pursuit of Islamic art in two articles for *The Burlington Magazine* represented a pivotal point in establishing aesthetic judgments for viewing, appreciating, and collecting Islamic book art. Yet, while Blochet is credited with bringing Islamic book art into focus, many of his observations have proved unreliable. Hillenbrand noted, “once he made an attribution, he stuck to it pertinaciously, no matter what evidence to the contrary was assembled.”¹⁵⁹

The 1903 Paris Exhibition represented a litany of firsts for Mughal art. It was the first time Indian miniatures were listed separately in an exhibition catalogue, and an attempt was made to identify artists and calligraphers. It was also the first time

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 280. Naman Mukesh Chaudhary, "Hookah Has Been Lit in India for a Long Time," *Vice*, July 23, 2018, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/8xbx4z/hookah-has-been-lit-in-india-for-a-long-time>.

¹⁵⁸ Blochet, "1903 Exhibition, Part II," 280.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship on Persian Painting Before 1914: Collectors, Exhibitions and Franco-German Rivalry," in *After One Hundred Years* (Leiden: 2010), 207.

an exposition had active participation from collectors, dealers and scholars, and made further progress in identifying specific schools of artists based on dynastic definitions. Also, Blochet's review in an English journal signalled that these works were of interest globally.

1907 EXPOSITION DE TISSUS ET DE MINIATURES DE LA PERSE ET DE L'INDE, PARIS

A poorly documented Exposition occurred from February to April 1907 at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, focusing on textiles and miniatures of the Orient. Most information available is from a review by Koechlin.¹⁶⁰ While the purpose of the 1903 Paris Exhibition was to present a comprehensive picture of Islamic art, the goal of the 1907 Paris Exhibition was to study two branches of Islamic art, namely manuscripts and textiles.¹⁶¹ Kelekian loaned over 1,000 textiles. Other contributors included: historian Henry-René d'Allemagne (1863-1950), financier Octave Homberg (1876-1941), Claude Anet (born Jean Schopfer) (1868-1931), Madame la Comtesse René de Béarn (1869-1939) and Louis Stern (1859-1935).¹⁶² Around 150 miniatures, watercolours and illuminations of Persian and Indo-Persian manuscripts, primarily from Gonse and Koechlin, were loaned to the Exposition, making it slightly larger than the 1903 display of 134 objects.¹⁶³

The idea to study manuscripts and textiles together derived from German art

¹⁶⁰ Raymond Koechlin, "L'Exposition de Tissus Orientaux et de Miniatures de la Perse et de L'Inde au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs," *Musées et Monuments de France, Revue Mensuelle D'Art Ancien et Modern* (January 1907): 36-38.

¹⁶¹ "Il y a quelques années, il avait organisé dans ses salles encore inachevées une admirable exposition des Arts Musulmans; les amateurs de Paris avaient prêté les plus belles pièces de leurs collections et l'on se souvient de la somptuosité de ces vitrines de céramiques, de cuivres incrustés, de verres émaillés ou d'ivoires, de ces manuscrits, de ces tapis et de ces soies ; mais l'abondance des richesses avait obligé à ne prendre que quelques types de chaque sorte." *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁶² "Nouvelles," *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité, Supplément a la Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 4 (January 26 1907): 26.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

historians Julie Lessing (1843-1908) and Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929) dating Oriental carpets based on their depiction in Italian and Dutch paintings.¹⁶⁴ The Exposition organisers hoped analysing miniatures and textiles would help date the objects and identify places of production. Perhaps the two were produced contemporaneously if they could locate a particular carpet design in a dated miniature.¹⁶⁵ Islamic art was now the subject of serious art historical study.

In an article discussing the Exposition, Koechlin acknowledged Blochet, Migeon, and Sarre's attempts to group miniatures based on commonalities and identify separate painting schools.¹⁶⁶ Most of their research revolved around Schéfer's collection, which the Bibliothèque nationale had recently acquired. Koechlin felt that sixteenth-century Persian miniatures of court life and battle scenes were the most beautiful.¹⁶⁷ Hillenbrand noted that French exhibitions of the early 1900s were "intended to give this mass of new material an airing," with many miniatures exchanging hands afterwards in an absolute buying and selling frenzy.¹⁶⁸ Concerning Indian miniatures, Koechlin believed the artists lacked the youthful and ardent grace of Persian artists, and their output was tiresome and

¹⁶⁴ Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture," 37.

¹⁶⁵ "de même que les miniatures persanes à personnages s'accordent avec les tapis et les soieries contemporaines faites pour la cour des shahs, de même les miniatures à rinceaux nous auraient montré la façon dont les peintres traitaient les arabesques si familières aux tisserands et aux céramistes de l'Asie Mineure." Koechlin, "L'Exposition 1907," 38.

¹⁶⁶ "Les miniatures en effet ne sont que des pages arrachées de manuscrits, et de même que les copistes ont souvent daté leurs livres, on peut savoir parfois par eux où ils ont écrit : grâce à des comparaisons attentives, que MM. Blochet et Migeon ont commencées en France et le Dr Sarre en Allemagne, des groupements commencent à se former. Il ne semble pas que l'exposition comprenne aucune image du moyen âge, de ces miniatures d'un style si puissant, telles que celles de certains manuscrits du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècle de la collection Schéfer à la Bibliothèque nationale; mais à partir de la fin du xv^e siècle, les exemples abondent, et bien souvent excellents." *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁶⁷ "Le groupe le plus attrayant est assurément celui des Persans du xvi siècle, où des illustrations tirées de romans et de recueils de poésies nous montrent la vie de cour et de guerre sous tous ses aspects." *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 205.

repetitive.¹⁶⁹ However, he admitted that artists in India had unique skills in portraiture.¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately, judging the precise impact on scholarship and the Islamic book art trade without more information about the Exposition is difficult.

1910 MEISTERWERKE MUHAMMEDANISCHER KUNST IN MUNICH

Another exhibition combining textiles and manuscripts was the “Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst auf der Ausstellung München 1910.”¹⁷¹ Under the direction of art historian and museum curator Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911), the two commissioners — Sarre and Fredrik Robert Martin — set out to display as many masterpieces of surviving Islamic art as possible.¹⁷² The Exhibition's objectives were to work out the artistic relevance of Islamic art in other cultures, widen exposure to the masterpieces of Islamic art and alter the perceptions of those who did not appreciate Islamic art.¹⁷³

Over 3,600 Islamic objects, including 500 pages of manuscripts, were displayed in eighty rooms, representing the most comprehensive display of Islamic art by far.¹⁷⁴ Material came from over 250 collections, including private citizens,

¹⁶⁹ “L'autre groupe bien déterminé est celui des Indous; venus après les Persans, ils n'en ont pas connu la grâce juvénile et ardente, et trop souvent des artistes médiocres se sont bornés à des répétitions fastidieuses [...]” Koechlin, “L'Exposition 1907,” 38.

¹⁷⁰ “certains artistes excellents s'y rencontrent pourtant, portraitistes parfois singulièrement observateurs, très habiles aussi à rendre les mystères de la vie contemplative, voire ceux de la passion la plus désordonnée.” Ibid.

¹⁷¹ For an overview of the 1910 Munich exhibition: Eva-Maria Troelenberg, “Framing the Artwork Munich 1910 and the Image of Islamic Art,” in *After One Hundred Years*, ed. Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem (Leiden: 2010), 35-64.

¹⁷² Rudolf Mosse, *Ausstellung München 1910, Amtlicher Katalog: Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst, Musikfeste, Muster-Ausstellung von Musikinstrumenten* (Munich, 1910).

¹⁷³ Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur,” 24.

¹⁷⁴ Avinoam Shalem, “The 1910 Exhibition “Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst” Reconsidered,” in *Islamic History and Civilisation*, ed. Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem (Leiden: 2010), 8.

museums, and institutions in Germany, France, Britain, Spain, Turkey, Egypt, and Russia.¹⁷⁵ Mughal objects included fifteen carpets, sixteen textiles, and sixty miniatures.¹⁷⁶ The book art came from private collectors, with Martin, Philipp Walter Schulz (1864-1920), and Sarre dominating the display.¹⁷⁷ All three men acquired manuscripts during travels in the region, frequently loaned objects to exhibitions and published their collections.¹⁷⁸ Their publications were considered essential reference works in early Islamic art scholarship and are still valuable references today.

Despite the enormous number of items on display, a concerted effort was made to “thin out sequences of objects” so visitors could focus on one object without other objects competing for attention.¹⁷⁹ There was a desire to “unmoor the objects from their contemporaneous Orientalist readings.”¹⁸⁰ The new approach, focusing only on the objects' aesthetic value, met with mixed reviews, putting committee members and German art historians Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964) and

¹⁷⁵ Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*, 20. Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Regarding the exhibition: the Munich exhibition Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art (1910) and its scholarly position," *Journal of Art Historiography* 6, no. June (2012): 2.

¹⁷⁶ Devika Singh, "Indian Nationalist Art History and the Writing and Exhibiting of Mughal Art, 1910-48," *Art History* 36, no. 5 (2013): 1045.

¹⁷⁷ Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 216. Martin, Schulz and Sarre all had mounted exhibitions dedicated to their collections alone - Martin in Stockholm in 1897, Sarre in Berlin in 1899 and Schulz in Leipzig in 1900.

¹⁷⁸ Joachim Gierlich, "Philipp Walter Schulz and Friedrich Sarre: Two German Pioneers in the Development of Persian Art Studies," in *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, ed. Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2013), 213-236.

¹⁷⁹ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 31.

¹⁸⁰ Sugata Ray, "Shangri La, the Archive-Museum and the Spatial Topologies of Islamic Art History," in *Rethinking Place in South Asian and Islamic Art, 1500-Present*, ed. Deborah S. Hutton and Rebecca M. Brown (London, New York: 2016), 170. Shalem, *The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*, 82, 9.

Rudolf A. Meyer-Riefstahl (1880-1926) on the defensive with rebuttal reviews.¹⁸¹ The French reviewers were particularly harsh. Migeon called the Exhibition a “most perfect incoherence and [an] aggravating absence of taste.”¹⁸² He thought the objects were randomly dispersed and thrown “pell-mell into formless boxes,” making comparative study almost impossible.¹⁸³ Koechlin’s review was just as biting, stating that visitors were likely to be immediately struck by the lack of taste demonstrated by the installation and the sadness of its disposition.¹⁸⁴ For Anet, the plastered walls and cement floor reminded him of a monastery.¹⁸⁵ French archaeologist Gustave Mendel (1873-1938) felt the works full of light and colour looked like melancholy exiles in an exhibition space with subdued light and grey concrete walls.¹⁸⁶ The only French reviewer with positive words was Marcel Montandon (1874-1940), who wrote that the “beautiful white walls [...]

¹⁸¹ Ernst Kühnel, "Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Mohammedanischer Kunst in München," *Der Islam* 1, no. 2 (1910): 401-403. Singh, "Indian Nationalist," 1047. Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, "Die Ausstellung Muhammedanischer Kunst in München und Das Moderne Kunstgewerbe," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte Für Freie und Angewandte Kunst* 24 (1911): 8-36, 208.

¹⁸² Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 27. "Pourquoi faut-il que de si courageux efforts et tant de merveilleux éléments aient été compromise par la plus parfaite incohérence et par le plus fâcheux manque de gout à les mettre en oeuvre et à les présenter?" Migeon, "Review Exposition 1910," 6.

¹⁸³ "Les objets dispersés au hasard, sans groupements médités, ne pouvant se prêter à aucune étude comparative, et sans qu'on puisse objecter les nécessités d'arrangements ingénieux, car ils étaient jetés pêle-mêle dans des boîtes informes auxquelles on n'aurait su appliquer les noms de vitrines[...]" Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 27-28. "Toutefois, il est un point que nous ne pouvons passer sous silence, et il est capital: c'est le manque de goût dont témoigne l'installation, et la tristesse des arrangements." Raymond Koechlin, "L'Exposition D'Art Musulman à Munich," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 4me période, Correspondence d'Allemagne (1910): 258.

¹⁸⁵ "Imaginez des salles, grandes ou petites, peintes à la chaux, avec parquets en ciment, une simplicité monacale qui vous glace." Claude Anet, "L'Art Musulman à Munich," *Revue Archéologique*, Quatrième Série, Janvier-Juin, no. T. 17 (1911): 174.

¹⁸⁶ "L'édifice ne s'y prêtait peu sous ce jour tamisé, entre ces murs de ciment armé, gris impitoyablement, ces œuvres d'artistes si amoureux de lumière et de couleur ressemblant à un peu à des exilés mélancoliques." Gustave Mendel, "L'Exposition Des Arts Musulmans à Munich," *Revue de L'Art Ancien et Moderne* 28 (1910): 353.

[compensated] for Munich's poor light."¹⁸⁷

Concerning the book art, Meyer-Riefstahl felt the Exhibition brought many exciting discoveries to Persian book art, most notably blending Chinese influences with simple shapes and colour rhythms.¹⁸⁸ Anet agreed concerning the unmistakable traces of Chinese influence in the formation of Persian art.¹⁸⁹ He was disappointed in the 'Hindu-Persian' works, calling them the last flowering of Persian art on India's fertile soil.¹⁹⁰ Koechlin missed Mughal art completely, believing there was none exhibited.¹⁹¹

Migeon was captivated by two paintings of figures "slightly bent like flower stems" loaned by the curator of Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, Charles Hercules Read (figure 1.3).¹⁹² After the show, the two paintings in Riza 'Abbasi's style were acquired by Belle da Costa Greene for Pierpoint Morgan's collection.¹⁹³ Migeon also discussed a seventeenth-century Mughal painting of Emperor Jahangir and his court, with more than thirty individualised

¹⁸⁷ Marcel Montandon, "L'Art Musulman à L'Exposition de Munich, 1910," *Art Décoratif* 13, no. 149 (February 1911): 61-108. Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 28.

¹⁸⁸ "Auch die ausgestellten Werke der Buchkunst brachten viele Überraschungen, da sie interessante, kulturhistorische Streiflichter auf die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen chinesischer und vorderasiatischer Kunst warfen." Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, "Die Münchner Muhammedanische Ausstellung," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration: Illustr. Monatshefte Für Moderne Malerei, Plastik, Architektur, Wohnungskunst U. Künstlerisches Frauen-Arbeiten*, no. 27 (October 1910/1911): 225.

¹⁸⁹ "On trouve des traces manifestes de l'influence chinoise dans la formation de l'art persan." Claude Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Paris," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, no. 116 (1912): 174.

¹⁹⁰ "La série hindoue-persane est, à Munich, plus pauvre, et c'est dommage, car la dernière floraison de l'art persan sur le sol riche de l'Inde a un charme exquis. Elle a produit des œuvres d'une volupté incomparable. Munich ne nous en donne rien." Anet, "L'art Musulman," 175.

¹⁹¹ "Le fait même que l'on a exclu de l'Exposition de Munich l'art musulman de l'Inde et [...]" Koechlin, "L'Exposition Munich," 260.

¹⁹² "Des dix pages du merveilleux livre de M. Read, deux étaient d'une beauté si rare qu'on y revenait sans cesse, en s'abandonnant à leur charme captivant." Migeon, "Review Exposition 1910," 32.

¹⁹³ Letter from Greene to Read, June 1, 1911, MCC 150548.

portraits in a single composition (figure 1.4).¹⁹⁴ Migeon incorrectly stated the artist was “Maler Khane Sadan.”¹⁹⁵ This name is more likely associated with an individual in attendance. The label on the person standing just below the Emperor reads “shabīh-i Mahabat Khan,” naming one of the highest-ranking officers at the court.¹⁹⁶ The Boston Museum of Fine Arts acquired the painting through Meyer-Riefstahl in 1912.¹⁹⁷ Miniatures featured in publications and discussed by scholars were the works collectors and public museums wanted.

Kühnel provided the most in-depth discussion of the Mughal works exhibited in his review. He noted the subtle decorative feeling and unique solemn atmosphere of Mughal landscape and portrait scenes (a charm absent from Persian miniatures) and the Mughals’ unique approach of combining works in albums (figure 1.5).¹⁹⁸ Kühnel’s was one of the earliest attempts to delineate the unique aspects of Mughal works.

Von Tschudi wrote the preface for a small-format unillustrated guidebook available to attendees. He noted “the high esteem accorded to calligraphy and the preponderance of ornament in Persian miniatures” and the increased difficulty finding masterpieces of Islamic art in the Oriental bazaars or even in Paris or

¹⁹⁴ Migeon, "Review Exposition 1910," 32.

¹⁹⁵ “De la collection de M. Schulz était une miniature hindoue signée Maler Khane Sadan [...]” Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Mika Natif, *Mughal Occidentalism, Artistic Encounters between Europe and Asia at the Courts of India, 1580-1630*, vol. 15, Studies in Persian Cultural History, (Leiden, 2018), 208.

¹⁹⁷ Manohar and Abul Hasan, *Darbar of Jahangir*, ca. 1624. Painting attributed to Manohar and Abul Hasan, Indian, Mughal, 14.654, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

¹⁹⁸ “Hauptsächlich die Landschaft und das Porträt fanden hier eine von feinem dekorativen Empfinden getragene originelle Bearbeitung, und eine eigene, weihevollte Stimmung verleiht diesen Blättern einen Reiz, den die persischen Miniaturen nicht haben.” “Die Arbeiten wurden, besonders seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, von Kunstliebhabern auf Kartons geklebt, die ringsum eine in der Regel schablonenhafte, aber nicht immer geschmacklose Ausmalung erfuhren, und so in Albums vereinigt, deren Inhalt oft an Mannigfaltigkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt.” Ernst Kühnel, "Die Ausstellung Mohammedanischer Kunst München 1910," *Münchener Jahrbuch Der Bildenden Kunst* 5, no. 1 (1910): 228.

London.¹⁹⁹ Two years later, Sarre and Martin commemorated the Exhibition with a three-volume tome, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in Munchen*, including 272 plates, many in colour. Miniatures and book art appeared in the first volume, with expanded entries for the objects exhibited.²⁰⁰ Book art appeared as the first chapter in the smaller guidebook and the three-volume tome, signifying its importance among the many things.²⁰¹

The first volume of the deluxe tome contains significant scholarship on Islamic book art, albeit with substantial shortcomings.²⁰² Five of the forty-one plates highlight Indian miniatures, including an early seventeenth-century portrait of two children in profile facing each other in lavish costumes, a mid-seventeenth-century picture of a 'Bow Shooter' drawn in pencil, and a mid-seventeenth-century image (figure 1.6).²⁰³ The border of delicate flowers is cropped from the painting of the two children in profile. However, the missing border decoration holds clues regarding the image's provenance and whether it was part of a Muraqqa at one time (figure 1.7). Borders were added to paintings to unify a varied collection that an emperor would take when he was away in camp.²⁰⁴ Typically, the order of the pictures within a Muraqqa was deliberate, and facing

¹⁹⁹ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 24. Mosse, *Ausstellung München 1910*, preface.

²⁰⁰ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 25. Max Van Berchem et al., *Erster Band Miniaturen und Buchkunst die Teppiche mit 88 Tafeln*, ed. Friedrich Sarre and F. R. Martin, 3 vols., *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerk Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, (Munich, 1912), vol. 1, 428.

²⁰¹ Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*, 20.

²⁰² For the inaccuracies, particularly focused on Persian book art: Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 217.

²⁰³ Max Van Berchem et al., *Erster Band Miniaturen und Buchkunst die Teppiche mit 88 Tafeln*, ed. Friedrich Sarre and F. R. Martin, 3 vols., vol. 1, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerk Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, (Munich, 1912), vol. 1, 206, 428.

²⁰⁴ J.P. Losty, "The "Bute Hafiz" and the Development of Border Decoration in the Manuscript Studio of the Mughals," *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 993 (December 1985): 860.

pages dealt with similar themes.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, since this painting is from a disassembled album, only half of the story about the two children's significance exists. Dealers in Paris readily broke up albums, not realising the importance of the pictures' layout and order.²⁰⁶

Martin believed the "Bow Shooter" portrait imitated a French painting from the Dumoustier school. However, a closer comparison to the "Bow Shooter" is a black chalk drawing of an "Archer Drawing a Bow" by a follower of the Italian artist Pietro Perugino (1446-1523) (figure 1.8). Martin also thought the three-quarter profile portrait was possibly Shah Jahan. However, this is likely an incorrect attribution. While other Shah Jahan court members often appear in a three-quarter profile, Shah Jahan is always in a complete profile (figure 1.9).²⁰⁷ These errors in attribution reflect the infancy of scholarship concerning Islamic art.

Martin briefly commented on the Mughal Emperors and their artist workshops in the preface of the three-volume work.²⁰⁸ He noted that Babur collected Persian manuscripts and was particularly interested in books illustrated by great artists like Behzād. In Martin's opinion, Akbar's court artists tried to imitate Persian works, but the results lacked soul and spirit. He also thought portrait art blossomed in Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's workshops. However, Martin was uncomfortable giving Mughal artists sole credit for their artistic output. Every compliment was met with a backhanded reference to the ever-important influence of European or Persian artists.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 208.

²⁰⁷ Ebba Koch, "The Hierarchical Principles of Shah-Jahani Painting," in *Cultural History of Medieval India*, ed. Meenakshi Khanna (New Delhi: 2007), 138.

²⁰⁸ "Anders war es in Indien: hier ließ Sultan Baber die Handschriften aus den Bibliotheken seiner Vorfahren sammeln. Die großen Künstler Persiens wie Behzad. Mirek, Sultan Mahmud und andere wurden von den Künstlern vom Hofe Kaiser Akbars nachgeahmt, doch nur in der äußeren Form, der Geist fehlte. Besser waren die Künstler unter Djehangir und Schah Jehan. [...] Die einheimische Schule hat wenig Erfreuliches geschaffen, da sie ganz von fremden Einflüssen erdrückt wurde." Berchem et al., *Erster Band*, 1, vol. 3, 1, 428.

Due to the delayed publication of the three-volume tome, only a few contemporary reviews exist. Art critic Sir Martin Conway (1856-1937) thought Sarre and Martin gave a “masterly sketch of the history of bookbinding and manuscript production in the lands of Islam.”²⁰⁹ However, most of Conway’s review is a rant concerning the unwieldy size of the volumes.²¹⁰ In frustration, Conway disassembled his volumes, taking out all the plates and cutting them down to half their original size — making the information “quite easily manageable without wheelbarrows.”²¹¹ Conway’s destructive actions turned a limited print edition luxury item into a tool for serious scholarship. Similarly, the 1910 Exhibition enabled many scholars to “exercise their forensic skills” and make connections between objects in a manner previously impossible.²¹² The Exhibition also motivated several individuals to collect Islamic art, including Beatty, Bernard Berenson and Greene.²¹³

1912 MINIATURES PERSANES EXPOSÉES AU MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS IN PARIS

In 1912, Goloubew, Vever and French collector Georges Marteau (1858-1916) exhibited their collections at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. Goloubew’s vast collection of Mughal and Persian paintings was already on long-term loan to the museum.²¹⁴ The collectors wanted to address what they perceived as shortcomings of the 1910 Munich Exhibition by showing an “encyclopaedia” of Persian miniatures (from the twelfth century to the end of the eighteenth century)

²⁰⁹ Martin Conway, "The Catalogue of the Munich Exhibition of Mussulman Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23, no. 124 (July 1913): 232.

²¹⁰ Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 219.

²¹¹ Conway, "Munich Catalogue," 235.

²¹² Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship," 202.

²¹³ Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur," 19.

²¹⁴ "The Goloubew Collection of Persian and Indian Paintings," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* XIII, no. 74 (February 1915): 1.

in a single venue.²¹⁵ Over 500 objects, including miniatures, manuscripts, and bindings, were exhibited, making it the largest exhibition of such material in France to date.²¹⁶ Mughal works (described as 'Indo-Persian') were loaned by the three organisers, Anet, the jeweller Alfred Cartier (1841-1925), dealer Léonce Rosenberg (1879-1947), de Béarn, Koechlin, collector Honoré d'Albert Le Duc de Luynes (1868-1924) and dealer Charles Vignier (1863-1934).²¹⁷ Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian lent a sixteenth-century Persian binding.

One of the "pearls" of the Exhibition was a painting of Emperor Jahangir and his court, shown previously at the 1910 Munich Exhibition (figure 1.10).²¹⁸ Scholars made many significant discoveries about the artwork in the two years. They identified the Virgin Mary in a miniature painting behind the Emperor and the identities of twenty-six of the sixty-eight portrayed individuals by comparing their likeness to other known portraits.²¹⁹ Realising that Mughal portraits were authentic depictions versus idealised portraits was considered a significant breakthrough.²²⁰ The conclusion that the royal artists of the Mughal rulers

²¹⁵ "en ce qui concerne les miniatures, quelques lacunes qu'il paraissait interessant de combler a une occasion prochaine. On pensait pouvoir y parvenir a Paris ou l'on aurait sous la main les elements nécessaires qu'on désirait grouper en un Exposition spéciale." Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol. 1, 7.

²¹⁶ Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*, 21.

²¹⁷ Indo-Persian miniatures loaned: Anet (1), Aubrey (1), Cartier (1), Comtesse de Béarn (6), Goloubew (7), Marteau (6), Rosenberg (3), Koechlin (2), Le Duc de Luynes (1), Vever (6), and Vignier (1). Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol. 1, 99-101.

²¹⁸ "L'une des perles de l'Exposition était cette belle page où l'empereur Djahanghir, placé au dernier plan dans une loge de son palais, est salué par les grands personnages de sa cour." *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 41.

²¹⁹ "En haut et a droite, dans la loggia ou le grand Mogol est assis, on remarque une peinture de la Vierge. [...] Cette miniature est un document précieux, puisqu'elle ne représente pas moins de soixante-huit personnages. Sur les turbans ou sur les collets d'un grand nombre d'entre eux sont inscrits leurs noms. Nous avons pu en déchiffrer vingt-six. La ressemblance est si fidèle, qu'en les comparant a d' autres miniatures isolées on peut les identifier facilement." *Ibid.*, vol.1, Plate CLXV.

²²⁰ "Les portraits de ces grands Mogols du xvi siècle sont-ils de pure fantaisie ou peints d'après des documents authentiques ? Nous pencherions vers cette dernière hypothèse, car les différentes effigies qu'on possède de Baber sont très voisines les unes des autres, et a notre avis [...]" *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 42.

produced realistic likenesses of prominent individuals (primarily men) is still widely held as accurate today.²²¹

The Exhibition included several posthumous family portraits made to demonstrate the legitimacy of the throne through lineage (figures 1.11 and 1.12). Similar family portraits are in the Victoria and Albert, the Chester Beatty Library and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington, DC. These family portraits' elite provenance undoubtedly appealed to collectors and scholars, partially explaining why many are in museum collections. This desire for strong provenance also holds for manuscripts. A manuscript that can be "traced through a long series of book-loving owners" is generally considered far more valuable than one without known provenance.²²²

The Exhibition also featured several individualised animal and bird studies painted by Mughal artists, including a bull, an antelope (a blackbuck), a falcon, a zebra, a partridge and a guinea fowl - further confirming the Mughals' preference for realistic versus idealised depictions (figure 1.13). The falcon and zebra are now part of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts collection, and the partridge, guinea fowl and pheasant hen are in the Freer Sackler Collection.

A year after the Exhibition, Vever and Marteau co-authored *Miniatures Persanes*, limited to a print run of 150, to commemorate the Exposition.²²³ Items were presented chronologically, based on owners' information (with Vever and Marteau begging forgiveness for any mistakes).²²⁴ The catalogue included separate

²²¹ Susan Stronge, "Portraiture at the Mughal Court," in *The Indian Portrait 1560-1860*, ed. Rosemay Crill and Kapil Jariwala (London: 2010).

²²² Quoting Graham Pollard's article on 'Book-collecting' in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* John Carter, *Taste & Technique in Book-collecting; a study of recent developments in Great Britain and the United States* (Cambridge, 1949), 79.

²²³ Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol.1, 99-101.

²²⁴ "Autant que possible, nous avons classe les reproductions de ces pieces d'après l'ordre chronologique que nous avons indique au debut. Nous avons apporte, au classement de toutes ces oeuvres, toute notre conscience et nous nous excusons par avance des erreurs deja commises ou de celles que l'avenir pourra révéler." Ibid., vol. 1, 48.

sections for manuscripts, paper, calligraphy, illuminations, gilding, borders, miniatures, and bindings. As much as possible, Vever and Marteau used dynastic markers to discuss different phases of Persian art and suggested further division by known artists, like pre-Behzadian and Behzād's schools.²²⁵ Indo-Persian miniatures were divided into watercolours and line drawings, with thirty-seven associated illustrations.²²⁶ The Mughal artists they identified, including Basawan, Mansur, Bichitr, Govardhan, and Shaykh 'Abbasi, are among the most prominent artists of the Mughal period.²²⁷ The identification of artists prompted more interest in Mughal works and encouraged future scholarship. Vever and Marteau made several observations regarding Indo-Persian miniatures relative to Persian miniatures in the book's history section. Indian artists used a more varied colour palette.²²⁸ They were more skilled at line drawings, portraiture, and perspective. They also included local animals and fauna in their designs and adjusted figures' sizes based on their social rank.²²⁹

Many praiseworthy elements were attributed to Western influences, including the

²²⁵ Glenn D. Lowry and Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C., Seattle, and London, 1988), 9-16.

²²⁶ "Les Miniatures Indo Persanes, et par extension, celles qui appartiennent à l'École de l'Inde, seront classées également en deux groupes: miniatures gouachées and dessins au trait simple our rehausse de couleurs." Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol. 1, 34, vol. 32, figures 36-37 and 226-260.

²²⁷ Vever and Marteau used alternative spellings for most artists: Becawen (Basawan), Manuhehr (Mansur), Betchter (Bichitr), Kourdehen (Govardhan) and Cheikh Abbaci (Shaykh 'Abbasi). Ibid., vol. 1, 55.

²²⁸ "Se rattachant à la fois aux écoles Timourides et Sefévides, elles sont traitées dans une gamme de couleurs plus variée, mais de tons moins intenses et moins riches que les miniatures persanes [...]" Ibid.

²²⁹ "elle présentent un sentiment de la nature plus vif, une idée de la perspective beaucoup plus nette, et enfin au xvii siècle, une note artistique apportée d'Europe, qui se manifeste dans les portraits." "on voit évoluer, au milieu de plantes fleuries, les gazelles, les oiseaux et autres animaux empruntés à la faune de l'Inde." "Toutefois, la perspective est assez souvent sacrifice au protocole et il n'est pas rare de voir L'échelle des personnages varier avec leur rang social. [...] Les Indo-Persans excellaient dans les compositions de corteges et de réunions nombreuses." Ibid., vol. 1, 38-41.

German painter Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528).²³⁰ The border of one miniature contained a drawing resembling Dürer's Standard Bearer engraving (figures 1.14a and 1.14b). Yael Rice believes the adaptive approach of Mughal artists to look to Western engravings for inspiration and select particular elements of interest was based on a desire to “extend the comparison between Mughal and European royalty.”²³¹ By asserting their imperial identity with Western royals, the Mughal rulers communicated that they were cosmopolitan and had worldly ambitions. This connection to Western royals would have appealed to early wealthy twentieth-century moguls, who viewed themselves as modern aristocrats. The well-known collector Henry Yates Thompson (1838-1928), who valued elite provenance, certainly fits into this category of a modern aristocrat.²³² However, this new breed of modern aristocrats differed significantly from collectors born into wealth. They were industrial or mercantile collectors who managed their collections like their business affairs.

Veveer and Marteau noted that Indo-Persian miniatures should not be considered pretty pictures but true masterpieces, especially those created under the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan.²³³ However, they lamented the inability to date and localise many paintings removed from manuscripts and albums for

²³⁰ “Dans une autre miniature, nous voyons un artiste manifestement influence par Dürer.” Ibid., vol. 1, 41.

²³¹ Yael Rice, "Global Aspirations of the Mughal Album," in *Rembrandt and the Inspiration of India*, ed. Stephanie Schrader (Los Angeles: 2018), 66.

²³² Almost every catalogue entry discusses provenance. Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1898).

²³³ “Sous les règnes d’Akbar, Djahanghir et Chah Djehan, les chefs-d’oeuvre abondent. Jusqu’à 1907, on croyait elegant de critiquer Part Indo-Persan et de prononcer a son sujet le mot de decadence; on Pactisait de mollesse et de banalité et lorsqu’on condescendait a le trouver ‘joli’ c’était pour lui porter le dernier coup.” Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol.1, 40.

commercial reasons.²³⁴ Their interest in the chain of ownership, stamps of previous owners, and the names of calligraphers and artists became additional criteria used by Western collectors for selecting works of interest.

In the preface, Vever maintained that in 1870, there were only two collectors of Persian miniatures - himself and French businessman Albert Goupil (1840-1884).²³⁵ Both made most of their acquisitions in Egypt when Persia's treasures were still securely locked in private libraries.²³⁶ Later, many libraries would be plundered, causing new treasures to flow into Paris and rejuvenate Western interest in Persian book art.²³⁷ Vever doubted that any quality items remained in Persia, and even in Paris, finding choice specimens in a sea of mediocrity was becoming more challenging.²³⁸ Vever's comment suggests two parallel trends were occurring — increased interest in Islamic material and greater discernment among a small group of specialists.

In the only formal review of the Exhibition, Anet claimed it was the first “real

²³⁴ “Beaucoup de ceux-ci sont arrivés complets à Paris dont, pour des raisons purement commerciales, on a vendu séparément les miniatures, les reliures et le texte, a jamais dispersés. Ces mutilations sont d'autant plus regrettables qu'un manuscrit complet, grâce à la date qu'il porte presque toujours, est un document historique [...] Les cachets appliqués sur les feuillets témoignant du passage du livre dans les grandes bibliothèques de Perse et de l'Inde, de même que les signatures qui y sont parfois apposées nous renseignent aussi sur les grands seigneurs ou les rois qui en furent possesseurs.” Ibid., vol. 1, 18.

²³⁵ “Aux environs de 1870, nous n'étions que deux amateurs, Goupil et moi.” Ibid., vol. 1, 5.

²³⁶ “D'autre part, c'étaient surtout l'Asie Mineure et l'Égypte qu'on visitait de préférence, et Rhages, Sultanabad, en Perse, Racca en Mésopotamie, encore inexplorées, ne laissaient pas soupçonner leurs trésors.” “Ceux-ci restaient enfermés dans les bibliothèques Orientales [...]” Ibid., vol. 1, 5-6.

²³⁷ “Pendant les années qui suivirent, et principalement en 1908, lors de la Révolution qui bouleversa la Perse, affleurent en Europe et surtout à Paris une grande quantité de miniatures et de manuscrits, d'une qualité de beaucoup supérieure à celle des spécimens considérés jusqu'alors comme les plus beaux.” Ibid.

²³⁸ “Actuellement, cette source paraît, sinon complètement tarie du moins très sensiblement appauvrie [...] et aujourd'hui il faut passer en revue bien des médiocrités avant de rencontrer un morceau de choix.” Lowry and Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*, 7.

survey” of Persian miniatures.²³⁹ He considered the 1903 Paris Exhibition “feebly represented” and the 1907 Paris Exhibition “swamped by mediocre work of the eighteenth century.” Like Vever and Marteau, Anet was also interested in dated manuscripts, which he believed provided the “scaffolding of facts and hypothesis.” Nevertheless, he warned against relying entirely on dated manuscripts since many unfinished manuscripts had dates added “fifty or even a 100 years later” by another artist. Anet cautioned against taking works signed by Behzād and Riza ‘Abbasi as authentic: “More often than not, at a later period, the name of an ancient artist has been added, generally the name of a celebrated painter chosen at random.” He also thought Behzād’s name was added to paintings, perhaps at the owner’s request, since Mughal emperors were fond of Persian works.

Anet believed Indo-Persian art was “analytic” while Persian art was “powerfully synthetic.”²⁴⁰ He attempted to explain what he meant by comparing the two to Roman and Greek art:

The former [analytic] shows curiosity about details and often forgets the totality. In the latter, all is arranged with a view of the whole, and the artist willingly accepts necessary sacrifices. As a result, we find a great number of detailed portraits in India, whereas Persian art gives us mainly types. One might compare this relationship with that between Greece and Rome; the former established types the latter copied individuals.²⁴¹

Anet echoed many of Vever and Marteau's praises about Indo-Persian works, mentioning their “landscapes with [...] aerial perspective, effects of night and twilight, a feeling for the mastery of nature and a felicitous taste in colour.”²⁴²

²³⁹ Claude Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Paris - I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, no. 115 (1912): 9.

²⁴⁰ Claude Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Paris - II," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, no. 116 (1912): 117.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

However, Anet concluded his critique of Mughal art with a litany of shortcomings:

Only too frequently Indo-Persian art falls into a sugared prettiness; too often, its colours are at once weak and glaring, as though laid with soap and water; too often, it multiplies its insignificant figures and shows its amusement in puerile details, it covers the margins of its large miniatures with such things, forgetting that this distracts attention from the central theme and enfeebles its effect; it never understood that as Goethe said, 'Art is sacrifice.'²⁴³

Further validating Anet's disdain for Mughal art, only one of the twenty-three plates included in his Exposition review was Indo-Persian. For the article, Anet chose the painting of Sultan Murad IV with the cropped border from the de Béarn collection. In 1912, Martin included the same image in his *Miniature Painting and Painters* with the border shown (figure 1.15).²⁴⁴ Anet presumably chose to present the painting without the frame, believing it detracted from the central image. However, the border reveals it was once part of the Late Shah Jahan Album.²⁴⁵

Of the 500 objects exhibited, we do not know how many were classified as Mughal. However, it is safe to assume it was the most significant number shown to an audience of European collectors, scholars and dealers. By 1912, a core consensus existed regarding what the Mughal artists had mastered — faithful portraits, the harmony of colour, ingenuity in grouping several figures in a single scene, mastery of line, minuteness of detail and attempt at perspective. However, significant disagreements still existed. One scholar commented on the beautiful borders, and another (Anet) believed these borders distracted from the central composition. However, most comments tended to marginalise Mughal art relative to Persian art. The narrative emerging was the canonisation of Persian art, with Mughal art discussed as an offshoot.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 2, plate 215.

²⁴⁵ Laura Emilia Parodi, "Two Pages from the Late Shahjahan Album," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2011): 267.

The modern scholarly consensus is that Persian art had a powerful influence on early Mughal art. Still, Mughal artists did not merely copy Persian works; they also created unique genres of art that are difficult to connect to Persian works. Thus, the degradation of Mughal works relative to Persian may have been an initial bias towards the original. Moreover, key players' unbalanced treatment of the two art forms in exhibitions, exhibition catalogues, and exhibition reviews further cemented these views. Nevertheless, many exhibited Indo-Persian (Mughal) works ultimately landed in prominent museum collections through other agents of change.

1926 SESQUICENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION IN PHILADELPHIA

The Philadelphia Sesquicentennial International Exposition, held in late May through November 1926, was one of the few universal exhibitions where Islamic art was presented as art, perhaps unintentionally. Like previous universal exhibitions, the Exhibition included separate pavilions built to resemble famous landmarks like the Taj Mahal, where souvenirs of the Orient, including cashmere shawls, sandalwood boxes, metal objects and glazed pottery were offered for sale (figure 1.16).²⁴⁶ The pavilions also received the usual Orientalised media attention (figure 1.17).²⁴⁷ The *Philadelphia Inquirer* described the Delhi street next to the India Pavilion as a “cross-section of the brilliant and strange with its weird music of the tom-toms, fakirs, snake charmers and jugglers [...] displayed for the education of Occidental eyes.”²⁴⁸

The Exhibition looked like it was going down the same *Arabian Nights* path as

²⁴⁶ E.L. Austin and Odell Hauser, *The Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition, a Record Based on Official Data and Departmental Reports* (Philadelphia, 1929), 98.

²⁴⁷ "Sesqui Briefs," *Evergreen Courant* (Evergreen, Alabama), July 21, 1926, 1. "\$1,000,000 in Gems, Bearer Makes Way Thru Chicago Unharmd," *Buffalo Times* (Buffalo, NY), July 10, 1926, 16.

²⁴⁸ "Sesqui's Millions to Enjoy Show of World-wide scope, Every Continent Save One to be Represented at Exposition, International Aspect Conceived by Originators is Assured by Realization," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 4, 1926, 25-27.

earlier universal exhibitions. However, this changed when the number of objects provided for the Exhibition far exceeded the space available. Arthur Upham Pope arranged for the better quality items to be displayed at the Pennsylvania Museum with the assistance of co-curator of Oriental Arts Horace Jayne (1898 -1975) and the School of Industrial Art.²⁴⁹ The placement of “arts of the book, calligraphy and illuminations” in a museum setting, elevated their perceived value and repositioned them as fine art.²⁵⁰ European dealers’ willingness to send large amounts of material across the Atlantic demonstrated their belief that North America was now a significant potential market for such items.

Many dealers also saw the Pennsylvania Museum space as an opportunity to exhibit their objects in a more prestigious location and socialise with serious collectors. The British dealer Joseph Duveen (1869-1930) loaned a “sumptuous” Persian rug, known as the Ardebil Mosque Rug, to the Palace of Fine Arts.²⁵¹ Anet shared his entire miniature collection, including some pages from a book made for Shah Jahan. The new firm Parish-Watson and Company (active 1919-1938) also sent pages from an album made for Shah Jahan.²⁵² Kelekian loaned nearly 400 Persian and Near Eastern textiles, manuscripts, miniatures, and bookbindings, including pages from a *Shahnameh* known as the Demotte *Shahnameh*.²⁵³ Lucian Demotte (1906-1934) and Hassan Khan Monif (1886-1968) of New York provided additional pages from the same

²⁴⁹ S. Cary Welch, *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope & Phyllis Ackerman*, ed. J. Gluck and N. Siver (Ashira, Japan, 1996), 115.

²⁵⁰ Leila Mechlin, "International Conference on Art of the Orient - Phillips Memorial Gallery to Open November 2 -Special Honor for John Taylor Arms, Etcher," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 31 October, 1926, 64.

²⁵¹ "Rare Rugs and Tapestries are Displayed at Sesqui," *United Opinion* (Bradford Vermont), August 13, 1926, 4.

²⁵² "Art: At Home and Abroad — Local Exhibitions, World of Old Iran in Memorial Hall," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 31, 1926, 18.

²⁵³ Welch, *Documentary Biography of Pope & Ackerman*, 121.

Shahnameh.²⁵⁴ Other dealers participating included London dealer Edward L. Beghian (1877-1962), Kevorkian, Paris dealer Nazare-Aga (dates unknown) and dealer Georges Tabbagh (active 1905-1936).²⁵⁵

At this time, collecting at this level was restricted only to the wealthy in the United States. Loans came from American collectors, including Abigail Rockefeller (1874-1948), Louisine Havemeyer (1855–1929), Horace Havemeyer (1886–1956), J. Pierpont Morgan Jr (1867-1943), and Sarre.²⁵⁶ Rockefeller loaned a thirteenth-century Armenian gospel book that the Morgan Library later purchased.²⁵⁷

Before the Exhibition, Monif wrote a letter to the collector of Persian and Mughal miniatures, John Frederick Lewis (1882-1932), inviting him to see the miniatures on view at the Exhibition:

I also have the famous *Shah Nameh* manuscript consisting of 39 loose miniatures, 23 of them illustrated in the Schulz book on Mohammedan miniatures. This manuscript was exhibited at the 1910 Munich exposition and, according to all experts, is the finest tipe [sic].²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ Arthur Upham Pope, "Special Persian Exhibition," *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* 22, no. 107 (November 1926): 251. S. Cary Welch, *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman*, ed. J. Gluck and N. Siver (Ashira, Japan, 1996), 121. Sheila Blair, "On the Track of the 'Demotte' Shahanama Manuscript," in *Les Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient. Essais de Codicologie et de Paléographie*, ed. F. Deroche (Istanbul and Paris: 1989), 125-132.

²⁵⁵ Austin and Hauser, *Sesqui-Centennial Exposition*, 233. Letter from Tabbagh to Lewis, October 19, 1926, Special Collections Department, John Frederick Lewis Papers University of Delaware, Moyerman Collection. Letter from H. Monif to Lewis, October 27, 1926, Special Collections Department, John Frederick Lewis Papers University of Delaware, Moyerman Collection.

²⁵⁶ Welch, *Documentary Biography of Pope & Ackerman*, 120. "Art: At Home and Abroad," 18. Pope, "Special Persian Exhibition," 245.

²⁵⁷ *Gospel Book*, 1928. Gospel Book, Traditional monastic Armenian 14th-century brown morocco over boards, blind-tooled with floret stamps arranged within a diamond pattern; silk doublures. Purchased by the Library from Mrs John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Dec. 1928, MS M.740, The Morgan Library & Museum.

²⁵⁸ Letter from Monif to Lewis, October 27, 1926, Special Collections Department, John Frederick Lewis Papers University of Delaware, Moyerman Collection.

By mentioning that his miniatures were previously published and exhibited at the 1910 Munich Exhibition, Monif attempted to increase their perceived value and desirability.

A letter to Lewis from Miss Else Nord (dates unknown) confirms that lesser-quality miniatures were relegated to the pavilions:

I admit that the miniatures I saw on display at the India building were not and could not be fine enough to tempt a collector like you, who already owns several hundred of them.²⁵⁹

That Nord considered the miniatures not up to Lewis's standards perhaps reveals more about her expectations than his collection. The first director of the University of London's School of Oriental Studies (now SOAS, University of London), Sir Edward Denison Ross (1871-1940), visited the Philadelphia Museum and attended a reception in his honour in 1931. Ross wrote in his diary that the host [Lewis] of that dinner, without warning, asked him to comment on his collection of Persian and Indian miniatures:

The company of about forty then sat down on rows of chairs while my host placed miniature after miniature on the stand, and I, seated in front, had to find something to say about each. The miniatures were actually of very poor quality.²⁶⁰

Years later, Marianna Shreve Simpson discovered seven compositions in Lewis' collection were nineteenth-century copies, using exhibition catalogues as evidence.²⁶¹ This also illustrates the widespread impact of exhibition catalogues in shaping taste.

An article discussing the Exhibition's opening in Memorial Hall at the

²⁵⁹ Letter from Nord to Lewis, January 4, 1927, Special Collections Department, John Frederick Lewis Papers University of Delaware, Moyerman Collection.

²⁶⁰ E. Denison Ross, *Both Ends of the Candle, the Autobiography of Sir E. Denison Ross* (London, 1943), 218.

²⁶¹ Ibid. Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Mostly modern miniatures," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 359-395.

Pennsylvania Museum described it as a “glorious showing of exotic beauty” and the most significant Persian art exhibition held anywhere in North America.²⁶² The miniature accompanying the article, described as “Persian,” was a Mughal portrait from the Late Shah Jahan Album.²⁶³ The persistent mislabelling of Mughal miniatures as Persian, particularly in the popular press was astounding since scholars had identified the differences by this time.

Alongside the Exposition, John Shapley (1890-1978) directed the First International Conference on the Art of the Orient.²⁶⁴ The Conference, sponsored by the College Art Association, took place in three cities — New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC, from 29 October to 3 November. Attendees included American museum directors and curators, including Binyon, Lecturer at the University of Vienna Ernst Dietz (1878-1961), Kühnel, Director of the East Asiatic Museum of Berlin Otto Kummel (1874-1952), Migeon and French archaeologist and historian Gabriel Millet (1867-1953).²⁶⁵ Local newspapers announced the arrival of influential scholars with great fanfare.²⁶⁶ Conference attendees visited the Morgan Library to view the Byzantine manuscripts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.²⁶⁷ They inspected museum and private collections in Philadelphia, including Lewis’s collection.²⁶⁸ Conference attendees also visited

²⁶² "Art: At Home and Abroad," 18.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Mechlin, "International Conference on Art of the Orient - Phillips Memorial Gallery to Open November 2 -Special Honor for John Taylor Arms, Etcher," 64.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. "Six-day Conference in 3 Cities on Art, International Meeting to Begin Here on Oct. 29 —Philadelphia and Washington Included," *New York Times*, October 24, 1926, 25.

²⁶⁶ "History of Oil Painting Traced for Art Class," *Dayton Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio), November 28, 1926, 36. "Laurence Binyon in America," *Morning Call* (Paterson, New Jersey), December 18, 1926, 24.

²⁶⁷ "Art: At Home and Abroad," 18.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. Mechlin, "International Conference on Art of the Orient - Phillips Memorial Gallery to Open November 2 -Special Honor for John Taylor Arms, Etcher," 64.

the Freer Gallery in Washington, DC.²⁶⁹

Pope noted the many Persian masterpieces in calligraphy, miniatures, and decorated metalworks in an article after the Exhibition.²⁷⁰ Noticeably missing were similar comments about the Mughal miniatures exhibited. Holding an international scholarly meeting with an exhibition was a novel approach. Announcing the arrival of scholars from overseas further increased the cachet associated with the items exhibited. However, Pope's bias towards Persian art meant that Mughal works stayed in the shadows again.

1931 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART IN LONDON

While the 1926 Philadelphia Exhibition was a financial failure, it was considered an absolute success for Persian art — with many works exhibited passing into private and public collections in the United States.²⁷¹ Pope wanted to repeat the success of the Sesquicentennial International Exhibition at the Royal Academy in London.²⁷² London's selection was logical due to Britain's controlling interest in Persia's main oil fields and recent advantageous business dealings with the Persian government.²⁷³ King George V (1865 -1936) and Rizā Shah Pāhlavi (1878 -1944) were listed as patrons of the Exhibition.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Pope, "Special Persian Exhibition," 247.

²⁷¹ "Philadelphia Exposition a Failure; Unpaid Bills Total More than \$3,000,000," *New York Times*, October 8, 1926, 1.

²⁷² For an overview of the 1931 Exhibition of Persian art: Kishwar Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation: Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on "Persian Art" in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"*. 24 (2007): 45-65. Barry D. Wood, "A Great Symphony of Pure Form: The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 113-130. B. W. Robinson, "The Burlington House Exhibition of 1931," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: 2000), 147-155.

²⁷³ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 53.

Initially, Pope coordinated preparations for the Exhibition with Sir Thomas Arnold.²⁷⁴ However, when Arnold passed away unexpectedly in June 1930, Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) assumed the co-director role.²⁷⁵ The Exhibition's executive responsibility was UK-focused, with international scholars playing critical roles in selecting, hanging, and foreign committees.²⁷⁶ Established scholars were listed as committee members, including Binyon, Fry, Koechlin, Kühnel, Meyer-Riefstahl, Ross and Sarre. Also, many new names appeared on the committees' rosters.²⁷⁷ These scholars are considered the leading first generations of professional Islamic art scholars — with many publishing multiple journal articles and monographs on the topic (table 6.1). The Exhibition also attracted additional scholars, some just beginning their careers, including Ettinghausen and Eric Schroeder (1904-1971). Ettinghausen became chief curator of the Freer Gallery, and Schroeder was ultimately named Keeper of Islamic art at the Fogg Museum at Harvard University.²⁷⁸ Dealers were noticeably absent from the committees' rosters, with only Duveen mentioned as a participant.

The Exhibition's aim was “to promote the treasures of the Persian nation and

²⁷⁴ Benedict Cuddon, "A Field Pioneered by Amateurs: The Collecting and Display of Islamic Art in Early Twentieth-Century Boston," *Muqarnas Online* 30, no. 1 (2013): 14.

²⁷⁵ The Royal Academy, "An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House," (London, 1931), xiii.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, x-xii.

²⁷⁷ Including architectural historian K. A. C. Creswell (1879-1974), Austrian historian of Byzantine, Islamic and Indian art Ernst Diez (1878-1961), curator of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts at the British Museum Basil Gray (1904-1989), German archaeologist and Iranologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), Turkish Islamic art historian Mehmet Aga-Oglu (1896-1949), French Sinologist and Orientalist Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), dealer and sometimes scholar Arménag Sakisian (1875-1949), French art historian (of Russian descent) Ivan Stchoukine (1854-1936), Polish-Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941), MMA curator W.R. Valentiner (1880-1958), the director of the Museum of Islamic art in Cairo Gaston Wiet (1887-1971), and J. V. S. Wilkinson (1885-1957).

²⁷⁸ Robinson, "The Burlington House," 153.

display objects of cultural and artistic value.”²⁷⁹ More than 2,500 objects spanning 6,000 years of Persian history were exhibited, including manuscripts, miniatures, and bookbinding.²⁸⁰ At least ninety museums, libraries, universities, and 300 private collectors from twenty-seven countries loaned objects to the Exhibition.²⁸¹ The Iranian government loaned an extensive collection of ancient manuscripts, some dating from the early tenth century.²⁸² Turkey provided Persian miniatures, including four small paintings mounted on a single album leaf, so rare that only one other example was known.²⁸³ When Arnold saw them, he declared, based on these miniatures alone, “the whole history of Persian painting would have to be rewritten.”²⁸⁴ For the first time, several American museums participated, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Rhode Island School of Design.²⁸⁵ Duveen, who loaned pieces from his collection, covered transportation and insurance costs for most of the objects from the United States, which may explain why his name appeared as a committee member.²⁸⁶

The Exhibition layout was mostly chronological so that visitors could view each

²⁷⁹ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 50-51.

²⁸⁰ Welch, *Documentary Biography of Pope & Ackerman*, 185. Robinson, "The Burlington House," 147.

²⁸¹ R Hillenbrand, "The Scramble for Persian Arts: Pope and His Rivals'," in *Arthur Upham Pope and A New Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Yuka Kadoi (2016), 10, 13-45. Welch, *Documentary Biography of Pope & Ackerman*, 185.

²⁸² "Priceless Art Treasures that Travelled by Air," *Illustrated London News* (London), October 11, 1930, 21.

²⁸³ "A Rich Contribution from Turkey to the Persian Art Exhibition: Early Miniatures," *Illustrated London News*, January 3, 1931, 17.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ "Preparing for the Persian Show," *New York Times*, January 3, 1931, 12. Wood, "Great Symphony," 115.

²⁸⁶ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 51. The Royal Academy, "An Illustrated Souvenir," xiv.

phase of Persian art in close juxtaposition to the previous or next one.²⁸⁷ The floor plan encouraged visitors to walk through the galleries starting with Gallery 1, showcasing the “earliest beginnings of Persian art,” and ending with Gallery 11, exhibiting the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a few contemporary works.²⁸⁸ Miniatures were displayed throughout the exhibition. However, Gallery 10 was reserved solely for miniatures and the art of the book. The miniatures were of particular interest to Queen Mary. On Sunday, 1 March, she revisited the exhibition and “went immediately to the miniature and manuscript rooms where she spent three-quarters of an hour with Sir Denison Ross.”²⁸⁹ Such elite interest helped draw attention to the exhibition.

Works related to Persian art, like Chinese and Mughal items, were exhibited in the Special Historical Section in the South Room with contemporary Persian architecture photographs (figure 1.18).²⁹⁰ Public lenders to the South Room included the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Private lenders included Anet, Beatty, collector George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939), the estate of Louisine Havemeyer, Koechlin, Ross, Denman Waldo Ross (1853-1935) and Captain Spencer-Churchill (1876-1964).²⁹¹ Several dealers also loaned objects, including the Parisian dealers Nasli Heeramanek (1902-1971), the Indjoudjians, the Kalebdjians, Kelekian and Ayoub Rabenou (1902-1984).²⁹² The collectors studied in depth in this thesis relied on many dealers for their inventory. Unfortunately, the items loaned and exhibited in the Special Historical Section are unknown.

²⁸⁷ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 52.

²⁸⁸ The Royal Academy, "An Illustrated Souvenir," xv-xvii.

²⁸⁹ "Queen Visits Exhibition for Second Time," *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), March 2, 1931, 8.

²⁹⁰ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 52.

²⁹¹ Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 7th January to 7th March 1931* (London, 1931), 339.

²⁹² *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 7th January to 7th March 1931, Royal Academy of Arts*, (London, 1931), 339.

Two paintings from a *Hamzanama*, painted on cloth, were displayed at the Exhibition — *Hamza overturning Amir I Ma'De and his Horse*, loaned by Gerald Reitlinger (1900-1978) and *Scene of Parting in Front of a Building*, loaned by Vever.²⁹³ One is in the Ashmolean Museum, and the other is in the Freer Gallery (figure 1.19). While two Persian artists — Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd al-Samad — contributed to the *Hamzanama* romance, it was ultimately completed by artists in the Mughal court during Akbar's reign.²⁹⁴ The Mughal connection was not documented in publications related to the Exhibition.

Miniatures from an album known as the *Gulshan Muraqqa* were exhibited in the Architectural Room. The Album sent from the Gulistan Museum, now known as the Collection of Manuscripts of Golestan Palace, contained ninety-two folios of calligraphy and miniatures by Persian and Mughal artists.²⁹⁵ This Album's assembly began during the last years of Jahangir's rule and was completed under Shah Jahan's rule.²⁹⁶ The Muraqqa includes signed work by several Mughal artists, including Riza Aqa, Dawlat, Manohar, Basawan, Bishan Das, and Mansur.²⁹⁷ Like the *Hamzanama*, the Exhibition organisers did not emphasise the Mughal court connection.

Roger Fry wrote the introduction to the *Illustrated Souvenir* book. As a formalist aesthetic theory proponent, he focused on calligraphy rather than miniatures.²⁹⁸ When discussing the items exhibited in the South Room, he concentrated on the Great Mughal carpets, not mentioning the Mughal miniatures in the same

²⁹³ Laurence Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting, Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931* (New York, 1971), 119.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁹⁶ Parisa Firouzkouhi, "Golestan Palace, Library & Museum, A UNESCO World Heritage Site," *Parliament's Library*, February-March, 2014, 76.

²⁹⁷ Binyon et al., *Burlington House 1931*, 192.

²⁹⁸ The Royal Academy, "An Illustrated Souvenir," xvi.

room.²⁹⁹ In the guidebook's exhibition section, black and white images of twenty-seven Persian miniatures are presented chronologically with scant detail: a brief title, date, artist if known, and the institution's name or private individual providing the loan. Photographs of objects in the Exhibition and books on Persian art were also available in the Vestibule.³⁰⁰

In a review by Gaston Wiet (1887-1971) and Henri Wiet (dates unknown), "the inexhaustible kindness of Chester Beatty, who loaned about 100 miniatures and about forty manuscripts," was acknowledged.³⁰¹ Most news articles featured loans from various museums, libraries, and universities. *The Times* (of London) congratulated the curators for creating a historical and decorative display.³⁰² The *Scotsman* gave special attention to the miniatures describing them as "probably the noblest collection ever brought together."³⁰³ Rather than positioning Persian art in canons of Western art, the article stressed that the miniatures should be judged differently:

There is no atmosphere in these paintings, no light and shade, no perspective. Lovers or kings sit upon carpets that go straight up like the walls of the palace upon whose floors they are laid. Hunters in the rocky landscapes grow no taller with distance, but [it is] the[se] very limitations of Persian painting [that] give it its peculiar intensity of beauty.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Books for sale included: Arthur Upham Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art Since the Seventh Century A.D.* (London, 1930). E. Denison Ross, *The Persians* (Oxford, 1931). *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 7th January to 7th March, 1931, Royal Academy of Arts*, Third, revised ed. (London, 1931).

³⁰¹ Gaston Wiet and Henri Wiet, "L'Exposition D'Art Persan a Londres," *Syria* T.13, no. Fasc. 2 (1932): 200.

³⁰² Wood, "Great Symphony," 117. "Persian Art Number," *Times* (London), January 5, 1931, vii.

³⁰³ Douglas Percy Bliss, "Persian Exhibition. Art of the Painter. Beautiful Miniatures," *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), January 8, 1931, 8.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

A review by the *Times* specifically suggested that visitors not invest time in learning the history of Persian art “lest they sacrifice their enjoyment of the atmosphere of immersion to the niggling pursuits of particulars.”³⁰⁵ These newspapers targeted the public, not scholars, dealers and collectors who cared deeply about historical details.

Three years later, Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray catalogued the Persian miniatures exhibited in a book called “the BWG.”³⁰⁶ While a few Mughal artists are mentioned, including Basawan, Manohar and Mansur, the emphasis is on the Mughal emperors and their fascination with Persian works.³⁰⁷ A few Persian manuscripts and paintings exhibited contained seals and autograph notes from Mughal emperors.³⁰⁸ In discussing a Persian calligraphy manuscript, the authors noted Akbar valued it at 3,000 rupees, and Shah Jahan appraised it at 4,000 rupees.³⁰⁹ Only two plates featured in the BWG are of Mughal paintings (described as Indo-Persian). Both pictures were elaborate compositions of court scenes representing paintings from the earlier Mughal period when Persian influence was still apparent (figures 1.20 and 1.21).³¹⁰ One of the brief comments made in the BWG concerning Mughal paintings is:

Mughal paintings, in the beginning, learnt much from Persia, though long before the end of the sixteenth century, they evoked a style that derived more and more from European and indigenous standards. At the same time, a little later, under the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, when the art attained its highest

³⁰⁵ Wood, “Great Symphony,” 117. “Persian Art Awes Throngs in London, Laymen and Connoisseurs Pack Burlington House as Public View Opens,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1931, 9.

³⁰⁶ Robinson, “The Burlington House,” 150. Binyon et al., *Burlington House 1931*, 119.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 93, 122, 124, 131, 192.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

achievements in portraiture and animal subjects, the Persian stream is often hardly discernible.³¹¹

Ross and Pope organised the second Persian Art Congress held the first week of the Exhibition. The Congress presented 200 lectures, including fourteen talks focused on Persian art.³¹² Binyon discussed Persian miniature painting at the British Academy, and Wilkinson spoke about Persian book illustration at the Victoria and Albert.³¹³

The publicity surrounding the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art was unprecedented. All communication means were used to publicise the talks, from the British Broadcasting Corporation to free advertising on the Underground and Southern Railway trains.³¹⁴ In-depth articles appeared in the *Burlington Magazine* in London and *Parnassus* in New York.³¹⁵ In one of the *Parnassus* articles, Mughal works were mentioned — “a room which contains chiefly works of art from countries outside Persia, which have either influenced or been influenced by Persian work.”³¹⁶ The show was a resounding success, with 3,000 tickets sold on opening day and 260,000 visitors.³¹⁷

The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and the second Persian Art Congress successfully elevated Persian art in Western audiences' eyes and shifted the centre of Islamic art trade and scholarship from Paris to London. The event motivated a few scholars, including Basil Gray, to change their focus on Islamic art. Many of the new names associated with this Exhibition would become

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

³¹² Wood, "Great Symphony," 115.

³¹³ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 56.

³¹⁴ The Royal Academy, "An Illustrated Souvenir," xiv.

³¹⁵ Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation," 52.

³¹⁶ M.S. Villard, "The International Exhibition of Persian Art in London," *Parnassus* 3, no. 2 (February 1931): 31.

³¹⁷ "Persian Art Exhibition 260,000 Visitors," *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), March 9, 1931, 2.

the tastemakers and taste breakers for Islamic art. The events also allowed private collectors and public museums to showcase holdings and encourage further research. While Mughal art was relegated to the sidelines, scholars acknowledged that the Mughal rulers were savvy collectors. A Mughal emperor's stamp (or seal) of approval was accepted as evidence that it was a masterpiece worthy of exhibition. About this time, discussion of seals began to appear in auction catalogues, and dealers saw the addition of seals as an opportunity to raise the price of marked items. However, the BWG opted to include only a few examples of earlier Mughal works (labelled Indo-Persian) to illustrate the Persian influence in other regions instead of highlighting the uniqueness of Mughal material.

1931 EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB IN LONDON

Later that year, the Burlington Fine Arts Club held an Exhibition of Indian Art organised by Binyon and Kenneth de Burgh Codrington (1899-1946). (Codrington became the Keeper of the Indian Section at the Victoria and Albert in 1935.³¹⁸) The Exhibition aimed “to excite a wider interest in India's art by displaying a comparatively small number of objects,” representing the art at its highest level.³¹⁹ Primary lenders included members of the Indian Civil Service, Beatty, collector Ajit Ghose of Calcutta (dates unknown), Indian art historian Stella Kramrisch (1896-1993) and Hungarian dealer and manager of Cartier's Delhi office Imre Schwaiger (1868-1940).³²⁰ Most of the objects loaned by individuals, especially dealers, eventually found their way into public museum collections, including a few items owned by Ghose that exchanged hands shortly after the

³¹⁸ Brinda Kumar, "Exciting a Wider Interest in the Art of India' The 1931 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition," *British Art Studies*, no. 13 (2019): 2.

³¹⁹ *Catalogue of an Exhibition of The Art of India*, ed. Burlington Fine Arts Club (Oxford, 1931), prefatory note.

³²⁰ Stacey Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Art History in London: the Burlington Fine Arts Club* (Oxfordshire, 2017), 212.

Exhibition.³²¹

The Exhibition included Mughal, Rajput and Pahari miniatures complemented by smaller-scale Hindu temple sculptures lent by Kramrisch.³²² Rajput school art centred around Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur in Rajasthan typically depicts palace activity, hunting subjects, and religious scenes, notably Krishna's life.³²³ Rajput paintings are influenced by Mughal art and incorporate local elements, including bold colours and sharp profiles. The Pahari school flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and originated in the Himalayan foothills. Although influenced by Mughal art, Pahari art is rooted in the Indian landscape, and the favourite themes are taken from Hinduism. Soft clean lines characterise these later works, flowing pastel colour schemes, and unusually effective use of negative space and complex architectural composition.³²⁴

The “jewel” of Ghose’s collection was the sixteenth-century Mughal manuscript, the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (History of a Thousand Years), a history of the first Muslim millennium beginning with the Prophet Muhammad’s death and concluding with Akbar’s reign (figure 1.22).³²⁵ The manuscript is unique for having descriptive paintings surrounding blocks of text that “depart significantly from Persian

³²¹ Catalogue numbers 16: *Krishna Holding Mount Govardhan to protect the people of Brindaban and their kin from the rain poured down on them by Indra*, and 282: *Wedding preparations for Nala and Damayanti*, both loaned by Ghose, were sold to the Freer Gallery in 1931. Catalogue number 258: *Prayers offered before the Ka’ba at Mecca during a water famine*, loaned by Ghose and sold to CMOA in 1932. Catalogue number 264: *The Al-Mu’tazz Sends Gifts to Governor of Iraq-I-Arab to Abdulla Ibn Ab-Dulla* loaned by Ghose and sold to the Art Institute of Chicago 1934. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of The Art of India*. Cross-referenced with Kumar, “1931 Burlington,” Figure 2.

³²² Kathleen James-Chakraborty, “India in Art in Ireland,” in *British Art: Histories and Interpretations since 1700* (Oxfordshire: 2016), 17.

³²³ Milo Cleveland Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge, 1992), 163.

³²⁴ Terence McInerney and Steven M. Kossak, *Divine Pleasures: Painting from India's Rajput Courts, The Kronos Collections* (New York, 2016), 28.

³²⁵ Kumar, “1931 Burlington,” 8.

painting traditions to which Akbar's artists were heir."³²⁶ Akbar's artists did not have Persian exemplars to follow and were "compelled to compose a corpus of narrative images anew and afresh."³²⁷ Initially, Ghose was reluctant to break the manuscript apart, but in 1931 he changed his mind — offering four folios to the Freer and Sackler Collection.³²⁸ As Kumar noted, "in the following decades, other folios would enter the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the San Diego Museum of Art and the National Museum in Delhi."³²⁹

While Beatty could not join the Committee because he was in Egypt, he instructed his librarian that "we want to help make the Exhibition a success: loan them anything they want."³³⁰ Beatty loaned forty-nine works, including several Mughal paintings from the Minto Album — a mid-seventeenth-century Muraqqa made for emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan (figure 1.23). The Minto Album comprises forty folios divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Victoria and Albert. Most paintings are portraits of emperors and court members with floral borders.³³¹ Common themes include portraits, court scenes, wildlife, and emperors holding or standing on globes.³³² The Secretary of the State for India loaned sixteen objects, including individual paintings, three albums, and five miniatures from a late sixteenth-century manuscript of *Laila and Majnun* by

³²⁶ Yael Rice, "Mughal Interventions in the Rampur Jami' al-tavarikh'," *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 152.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

³²⁸ Kumar, "1931 Burlington," footnote 25, 20.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, footnote 26, 20.

³³⁰ Pierson, *Private Collecting*, 198. Hyder Abbas, "We Want Quality and Condition: The Formation of Chester Beatty's South Asian Manuscript and Miniature Collection," in *Arts of South Asia: Cultures of Collecting*, ed. Allysa B. Peyton and Katharine Anne Paul (Gainesville, FL: 2019), 113.

³³¹ Stronge, "The Minto Album and its Decoration," 82-105.

³³² Catalogue entries: 60-63, 69-78, 92-99, 182, 255-257, 259-263, 265, 267-269, 271, 277, 287, 296, and 322-333 *Catalogue of an Exhibition of The Art of India*.

Nizami (figure 1.24).³³³

Binyon noted in the accompanying catalogue that “the high artistic level of the examples of Mughal art shown [would] come as a surprise to many.”³³⁴ Ironically, scholars like Binyon were partly to blame for the overlooked and under-appreciated Mughal art due to such backhanded compliments. Binyon thought *Chameleon* by Mansur was an excellent example of the Mughal school’s portrayal of wildlife (figure 1.25).³³⁵ *A Dance of Dervishes* illustrated a common Mughal theme of an emperor or prince visiting a teacher or hermit (figure 1.26).³³⁶ This particular example included both Hindu and Islamic saints. *A Nobleman Resting under a Mango Tree* was an example of Mughal artists assimilating European works without direct imitation (figure 1.27).

The Exhibition is considered the first dedicated exhibition of Indian art in London. However, it was not as successful as the “monumental” 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art in terms of the number of objects exhibited (330 objects versus more than 1,000 objects), attendance or reviews.³³⁷ Admission to the Exhibition was only by invitation of a Burlington Fine Arts Club member, and the Exhibition received almost no press before the opening day.³³⁸ Perhaps the Exhibition's timing, close to the 1931 Persian Art Exhibition, also affected attendance.

One reviewer noted that the fifteenth-century Mughal miniatures appeared “untouched by Persian influence [...] remarkable for their delicacy,” calling special attention to the drawing of the *Chameleon* by Mansur (figure 1.25).³³⁹ However,

³³³ Catalogue entries: 18-19, 23, 177, 179-181, 254, 276, 278, 281, 284-286, 290, 292, and 320 Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid., prefatory note.

³³⁵ Ibid., 11.

³³⁶ Ibid., 12.

³³⁷ Pierson, *Private Collecting*, 124.

³³⁸ "The Art of India," *Truth* (London), May 27, 1931, 19.

³³⁹ "The Art of India," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, May 12, 1931, 8.

this particular reviewer was most taken by the newly discovered sculpted heads and carved seals from the excavation site at Harappa, believing they offered a more comprehensive view of Indian art than Mughal miniatures.³⁴⁰

In 1936 and 1938, two miniatures exhibited at the Exhibition appeared in the *Illustrated London News* — *A Plane Tree and Squirrels* or *Squirrels on a Plane Tree* and *King Solomon Asking the Animals and Birds Whether He Should Drink the Water of Immortality* respectively (figures 1.28 and 1.29). The *Squirrel* painting is attributed to Mughal artist Abu 'l Hasan.³⁴¹ However, on the reverse is an inscription indicating Nādir-al-'Asr or Mansur painted it. Milo Beach contends that the painting perfectly balances the Mughal artists' love of pure patterns and desire for true naturalism.³⁴² The portrait of King Solomon illustrates the Mughal interest in Solomonic imagery and Messianic connotations.³⁴³ In Ebba Koch's opinion, Mughal rulers "used Christian images to show themselves not only as second Solomons but also as new Messiahs."³⁴⁴ Modern scholarly observations about works first exhibited in 1931 indicate they have firmly found their place in the Mughal art canon.

Kumar contends that the 1931 Exhibition "foregrounded collecting and connoisseurship and its selective inclusions and omissions privileged narrative strands."³⁴⁵ However, although it was organised by the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a group dominated by collectors, there is no indication that the Exhibition spurred interest in Mughal miniatures and paintings among private collectors. Dealers were explicitly excluded from membership of the Club and probably had little

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980): 27.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Emperor as Solomon, Majnun, and Orpheus, or the Album as a Think Tank for Allegory," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 286.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Kumar, "1931 Burlington," 4.

motivation or opportunity to connect with the Exhibition attendees.³⁴⁶ Unlike earlier exhibitions, The Art of India Exhibition was not a pseudo-marketplace for interested collectors. However, Kumar rightly surmised that the Exhibition shaped “narratives of Indian art in museum settings in Britain, India, and America.”³⁴⁷ The Exhibition became “the nodal point around which a canon could and would be woven.”³⁴⁸ However, yet again, Mughal art was not allowed to stand entirely on its own. Mughal art was no longer attached to Persian art. Instead, it became the counterpoint for the Rajput and Pahari schools.

A logical outgrowth of the 1931 Exhibition of Indian Art would have been a solitary showing of Mughal works. In March 1939, Alfred Chester Beatty opened his home, Baroda House in Kensington Palace Gardens in London, for a special exhibition of Oriental manuscripts.³⁴⁹ The event, held over two afternoons, included Persian, Indian and Mughal manuscripts and biblical papyri. Beatty’s home was a perfect setting, built in an Islamic Moorish style based on Owen Jones’ (1808-1874) design.³⁵⁰ The home’s onion domes, decorative arches, botanical-inspired details, and geometric fretwork were an amalgam of Persian, Turkish, and Indian architecture — similar to architecture displayed in many manuscripts exhibited and not entirely unlike the pavilions of universal and empire exhibitions (figure 1.30). The name of Beatty’s home, Baroda House, was also a nod to an exotic faraway place — named after the princely State of Baroda in present-day Gujarat in western India and Baroda House in Delhi, the residence of the Maharaja of Baroda. Sir Edward Denison Ross opened the exhibition, and J. V. S. Wilkinson (1885-1957) and Basil Gray gave short talks and guided tours

³⁴⁶ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *History, rules, regulations, and bye-laws, with list of members* (London, 1912).

³⁴⁷ Kumar, "1931 Burlington," 4.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁴⁹ "An Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 74, no. 432 (March 1939): 141.

³⁵⁰ Raymond Head, *The Indian Style* (London, 1986), 72.

during the two-day exhibition.³⁵¹ *The Burlington Magazine* described Beatty's collection as one that had not "been in one library since the fall of the Mughal empire, for it surpasses even that in the Bibliothèque nationale in the splendour of illumination and the quality of the miniature paintings."³⁵² Beatty's exhibition was one of the first occasions when Mughal art was given attention in a show and not subsumed under Persian art. Instead, Mughal art had a prominent position.

By 1939, when Chester Beatty opened his home for the special exhibition of Oriental manuscripts, the US and Europe were flooded with a wave of new miniatures and manuscripts providing more than adequate material for the canonisation of Mughal book art and single-leaf paintings. However, the Second World War intervened, exacerbated by a lack of funding.³⁵³ The next significant opportunity occurred after World War II when Mughal works served as the national art of a newly created and partitioned India. Ironically, many reviews of the 1947 to 1948 Exhibition focused on the non-Mughal schools of paintings exhibited, with one review describing the Exhibition as a "momentous event in the history of Indian art appreciation" showcasing "figures unlike those found in any Mogul [sic] paintings."³⁵⁴

1947 TO 1948 EXHIBITION OF ART FROM INDIA AND PAKISTAN

From November 1947 to February 1948, the Royal Academy at Burlington House in London hosted an art exhibition from India and Pakistan. The Exhibition coincided with India's and Pakistan's independence and moved to Government House in Delhi from November to December 1948.

³⁵¹ "When An Eastern Prince Went Hunting: A Graphic Miniature of the Mogul School on View in London," *Sphere*, March 4, 1939, 19.

³⁵² "An Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures," 141.

³⁵³ Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan 2400 B.C. to 1947 A.D.*, Second ed. (London, 1948), ix.

³⁵⁴ Hiren Mukherji, "Origins of Rajasthani Painting: Our Present Day Knowledge," *Roopa-Lekha* XXXIII, no. 1-2 (1962): 43-44.

The number of committee members was extensive. However, only a handful would later write about Indian and Mughal book art, including Gray, Kramrisch, Wilkinson, Director of the Baroda Museum & Picture Gallery Hermann Goetz (1898-1976) and the editor of *Rupam*, a quarterly journal of Oriental art, Ordhendra C. Gangoly (1881-1974).³⁵⁵

Five galleries were devoted to displaying single-leaf paintings, manuscripts, and albums.³⁵⁶ Private collectors and public museums loaned Mughal works, including manuscripts, albums, and single-leaf paintings. The most significant loans came from Beatty, His Majesty's Government, the Victoria and Albert, the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Bodleian Library and Walters Art Gallery. A reviewer in the *Burlington Magazine* remarked, "no deep acquaintance with Indian history [was] needed to appreciate the Mughal miniatures, clambering over several rooms, ravishing as a garden in June."³⁵⁷ Curator of Indian art at the British Museum Douglas Barrett (1917-1992) noted that the selection of Mughal works for the Exhibition was "unparalleled [...] showing the development of early paintings in the Persian manner, the recruitment at the Mughal court of Indian artists and the native tradition [...] which had created a new style in its own right."³⁵⁸

Lectures were also held in conjunction with the Exhibition.³⁵⁹ Concerning Mughal paintings, Gray brought attention to the earliest known example of a Mughal picture, *The House of Timur*, and the earliest dated manuscript of the Mughal period, the fable book *Anwar-I-Suhaili* (figures 1.31 and 1.32).³⁶⁰ He closed his

³⁵⁵ Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the Exhibition*, vii.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 45-111.

³⁵⁷ Editorial, "The Indian Exhibition," *The Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 539 (1948): 33.

³⁵⁸ Douglas E. Barrett, "Indian Art," *Spectator* (London), December 5, 1947, 10.

³⁵⁹ Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the Exhibition*, viii.

³⁶⁰ Kenneth de Burgh Codrington et al., *The Art of India and Pakistan. A Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Art, London 1947-48* (London, 1950), 93.

discussion on Mughal paintings with *The Imperial Lion Hunt*, which he believed signalled the decline of Mughal painting into “merely copying of older pictures.”³⁶¹ Gray readily admitted that many gaps needed to be filled, and many parts of the history of Indian miniature paintings were not clearly defined.³⁶² Much of the discussion in the *Commemorative Catalogue* was about the cross-influences and cross-breeding between the Indian schools leading to misclassifications and disagreements among scholars.³⁶³ Ironically, in the only review of the Exhibition, *The Imperial Lion Hunt* was the only Mughal work illustrated (figure 1.33).³⁶⁴ Once again, Mughal works at the height of artistic production were overlooked.

Smaller shows of Islamic miniatures also occurred in the United States and Europe, many spanning just a few weeks and dominated by dealers’ loans, operating under the guise of scholarship.³⁶⁵ These smaller exhibitions, particularly the earlier ones, did little to advance scholarship, but they cultivated interest among collectors and forged dealer-client relationships. They also helped maintain interest in the material between larger-scale exhibitions.

In 1892, The Grolier Club, a private club of bibliophiles in New York, held a small

³⁶¹ Ibid., 101.

³⁶² Ibid., 86.

³⁶³ Ibid., 96.

³⁶⁴ "An Imperial Lion Hunt," *Sketch* (London), December 24, 1947, 17.

³⁶⁵ Some of the more notable exhibitions in the US include: Persian, Indian, and Turkish Miniatures (Berlin Photographic Company, New York, 1914). Parish-Watson’s Collection of Indo-Persian and Persian Miniatures (M. Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1929). The Arts of Old India Exhibition, sponsored by the College Art Association (Heermaneck Galleries, New York, 1935). Six Thousand Years of Persian Art (Union Club, New York, 1940) and Persian Treasures (Asia Institute, New York, 1949). In the UK, the most notable smaller exhibitions were: Persian and Indian miniatures and drawings from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (Persian Art Gallery, London, 1911). Indian miniatures alongside an exhibition of costume designer Léon Bakst’s drawings (1866-1924) (Fine Art Society, London, 1913). In 1925, several manuscripts were exhibited in Paris for the Society of Maternal Charity. "Catalogue de l'exposition d'art oriental, Chine-Japon-Perse," (Paris, 1925).

exhibition of illuminated and painted manuscripts.³⁶⁶ The accompanying catalogue described at least sixteen Islamic manuscripts as Persian. Based on the catalogue plates, at least three Mughal manuscripts were mislabelled (figure 1.34). In the Introduction, the miniatures were described as “not common [...] and exceedingly rare” with “few fine examples in this country nor [...] numerous [examples] in European libraries.”³⁶⁷ By the 1940s, there was more than adequate material for canonising Mughal book art and single-leaf paintings. The universal and smaller focused exhibitions were critical in exposing the viewing public and scholars to several images. These exhibitions also altered how Islamic book art, including Mughal book art and single-leaf paintings, was viewed and valued. Unlike universal and empire exhibitions, the more focused and smaller exhibitions moved beyond using Islamic art as decorative inspiration to revive applied and industrial design. Instead, they attracted the attention of scholars and fostered a new attitude where these items were viewed as fine art. However, frequently Mughal art was mislabelled as Persian art and did not receive equal attention.

CONCLUSION

While universal exhibitions were valuable for building awareness of Islamic art, their focus on design inspiration did little to elevate the status of the objects to works of art. Mughal art made rare appearances at universal exhibitions but often was mislabelled and jumbled together with Persian pieces in a treasure heap fashion — creating an Orient akin to a bazaar. Universal exhibitions did, however, facilitate the study of Islamic art by creating formalised groups based on material, object and production region. Empire exhibitions were slightly better at highlighting Mughal art and the history and customs of the Mughal rulers. Less cluttered cases and objects placed in the centre of the room announced their

³⁶⁶ *Catalogue of an exhibition of illuminated and painted manuscripts, together with a few early printed books with illuminations—also some examples of Persian manuscripts—with plates in facsimile and an introductory essay*, ed. The Grolier Club (New York, 1892).

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, xxix.

relative importance. Plays reenacted actual scenes from Mughal miniatures, making the paintings come to life for the public. There was also some attempt to exhibit the pictures so the public could appreciate their artistic merit.

The exhibition organisers discovered dates, artistic signatures, schools of artists, provenance and titles for works and created classification systems of good, better and best. These activities created excitement for Islamic art and provided a roadmap for new collectors. The exhibitions also attracted scholars, many just beginning their careers and swarms of dealers wanting to connect with potential collectors. Stuart Cary Welch (1928-2008) claimed exhibitions “intensified the ardour of collectors and sponsors” and led to the proliferation of publications, including exhibition catalogues, articles and books.³⁶⁸ The advancement of Mughal art scholarship and the building of Western collections depended on exhibitions, where interested parties could exchange ideas and observe the works firsthand.

Concerning the first aim of the thesis, this chapter has identified the important but varied role of exhibitions and exhibition catalogues in raising the profile of Islamic art and shaping its critical reception throughout the early twentieth century among scholars, collectors, dealers and curators. The thesis will now examine the activities of four of the collectors who attended some of these exhibitions, beginning with Charles Lang Freer.

³⁶⁸ Welch, "Private Collectors and Islamic Arts of the Book," 26.

CHAPTER TWO: CHARLES LANG FREER — ONE FACTOR IN A GREAT DESIGN

“I fully intended to resist all temptations, but the manuscripts carried me completely off my feet, and after two days of examination assisted by two Greek scholars, I fell by the wayside.”³⁶⁹ — Charles Lang Freer (1854 -1919), writing to Colonel Frank J. Hecker from Egypt in 1906.

INTRODUCTION

In 1880, Charles Lang Freer co-founded a company that produced railway rolling stock with his friend and colleague Colonel Frank J. Hecker (1846-1927).

Nineteen years later, Freer and Hecker merged several companies to create the American Car and Foundry Company, an extremely successful entity.³⁷⁰ Freer retired the same year at the age of forty-five and devoted himself entirely to collecting — focused primarily on paintings by the American painter James Whistler (1834-1903) and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean paintings and ceramics.

In 1894-1895, Freer travelled to Japan, China, Java (Indonesia), India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Egypt, visiting monuments, museums, dealers and private collections. Over the next fifteen years, he collected items he felt were aesthetically connected in spirit to Asian art, including objects from Egypt, India, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. In 1904, Freer approached the Secretary of the Smithsonian, Samuel P. Langley (1834-1906), about donating his collection to the Institution.³⁷¹ In a letter to Langley, Freer wrote:

³⁶⁹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, December 19, 1906, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

³⁷⁰ For additional biographical details regarding Charles Lang Freer’s upbringing, education and career: Introduction, 31.

³⁷¹ The letter is referenced in Langley’s response. Freer’s initial letter to Langley is not included in the archives. Letter from Langley to Freer, December 16, 1904, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31.

My great desire is to unite modern work [his Whistler paintings] with masterpieces of certain periods of high civilization harmonious in spiritual and physical suggestion, having the power to broaden aesthetic culture and the grace to elevate the human mind.³⁷²

A few weeks later, Freer revealed more to Langley about his collection, explaining that he viewed his objects as a “connected series, each bearing upon the others, that precede or follow it in point in time.”³⁷³ To further convey his vision, Freer invited the Board of Regents to view his collection at his home in Detroit, one of many times he would share his collection with interested parties.³⁷⁴ After two years of negotiations, the Board of Regents agreed to Freer's stipulations.³⁷⁵ The key sticking point was that Freer did not want items added or deleted from the collection once he considered it complete because he viewed it as a “harmonious whole.”³⁷⁶

Eventually, Freer committed to the Board of Regents to continue to collect and cull objects, aided by the best expert advice, and provide detailed descriptions of everything in his collection.³⁷⁷ Only limited evidence exists that Freer deaccessioned items from his collection. In 1917, a decade after the Smithsonian accepted his offer, Freer wrote to his friend and fellow collector Edward S. Morse (1838-1925) that he had fourteen small objects that might be better suited for

³⁷² Letter from Freer to Langley, December 27, 1904, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31.

³⁷³ Letter from Freer to Langley, January 18, 1905, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31. Letter in the archives dated January 18, 1904, should be 1905. The year noted is incorrect.

³⁷⁴ Letter from Freer to Langley, January 26, 1905, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31.

³⁷⁵ "Why the Regents Paused," *Washington Times* (Washington, DC), January 3, 1906, 6. "Freer Collection Finally Accepted, Regents Take Gift Under Original Terms, New Officers Appointed," *Washington Times* (Washington, DC), January 24, 1906, 4.

³⁷⁶ Letter from Freer to Langley, December 27, 1904, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31. Letter from Freer to Langley, January 18, 1905, FSA Box 20, Folder 30-31.

³⁷⁷ Freer's letter to the President, dated December 15, 1905, is not included in the archives but is referenced in a letter from Graham Bell to Freer. Letter from Bell to Freer, January 24, 1906, FSA Box 10, Folder 8. "Mr Freer's Letter to the President," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), December 26, 1905, 11.

Morse's museum of ethnological artefacts in Salem. One of the items was a "sandalwood brush from India." Freer likely bought the brush while travelling in India in 1895, years before collecting Mughal book art in earnest.³⁷⁸

Unfortunately, he provided only the briefest descriptions of items in his collection instead of the detailed information he had promised. In a letter to Migeon in 1912, Freer wrote:

As you know, these catalogues are very brief and contain only enough information to identify each object, and they are not for circulation. They become simply a legal document between the United States government and myself.³⁷⁹

This chapter analyses two significant manuscript transactions Freer made in his lifetime — the purchase of Biblical manuscripts in Egypt and Indo-Persian material from Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna. These two events, his travels to India and Ceylon and his commitment to the Smithsonian, provide **variables relevant to understanding Freer's Islamic book art collection formation and management**. The decision process stages Freer undertook (or skipped) when purchasing the Biblical manuscripts influenced how he acquired the Indo-Persian material from Hanna.

Initially, Freer's purchase of the Hanna collection seemed to indicate that Freer's collecting interests were evolving. However, he later turned down several opportunities to add to the collection. A careful examination of material from the Freer archives, including Freer's travel diaries, correspondence with his friend and business partner Hecker, and correspondence with various dealers, scholars, and curators, provides clues why he lost interest in this avenue of collecting.

FREER'S ONLY TRIP TO INDIA

In 1895, Freer travelled across India, recording his observations in a diary and regularly corresponding with Hecker. Both reveal much about his personality,

³⁷⁸ Letter from Freer to Morse, August 30, 1907, FSA Box 24, Folder 22.

³⁷⁹ Letter from Freer to Migeon, May 15, 1912, FSA Box 24, Folder 7.

views of India, and attitudes towards dealers and explain why he later added Mughal works to his collection. He arrived in India via a ship from Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to Tuticorin (Thoothukudi). In a letter to Hecker, he detailed the harrowing voyage:

A terrible northeast monsoon struck our ship [...] I was the only white passenger, but the two or three hundred natives on deck suffered fearfully. Not one of them was sicker than I, but I had a cabin, and they had none. And after seeing what they went through without one single word of complaint, I would like to have the power to compel the British India S.S. Co. to provide different accommodations. It is the most brutal plan of carrying passengers imaginable, and I believe that nowhere in the world but here would the powers that be permit it. The English are devilish rulers.³⁸⁰

While Freer sympathised with what he took to be local people, his awareness of being the only white passenger and the suffering of other passengers plays into the notion of a Western gaze. In this gaze, a more privileged person from the West looks upon non-Westerners with pity and fetish-type curiosity.³⁸¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, as an American, the letter also reveals that Freer was not entirely comfortable with Imperialist views of how Indians should be treated. If anything, he viewed India from a commercial viewpoint, writing to Hecker that if he devoted his time to the bazaars, he could make enough purchases to pay for all his expenses in India. However, he knew this would “require him to become a dealer in stolen property.”³⁸²

Freer was determined to revel in Indian life and culture. When he arrived in India, he spent little time in the major port cities catering to Western tourists and instead

³⁸⁰ Letter from Freer to Hecker, January 6, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁸¹ Years later, Freer recounted a story to Hecker where he had purchased a first-class ticket on a ship but was mistakenly put in a second-class room with four other fellow passengers - “not one white and all of uncertain sex — principally eunuch.” Freer asked for a refund and immediately went back ashore. Letter from Freer to Hecker, March 21, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

³⁸² Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 18, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

took the railway system frequented by locals. He wanted to experience the local culture, as demonstrated by the poetic and sometimes racist musings he recorded while in Oodeyporewera (Udaipur) (figure 2.1):

mud hut villages, white, pink, scarlet and purple, yellow flowering shrubs, camel trains, princes with wives, peacocks, boys in white costumes with yellow, [...], moonlight trip, the dignity of the old palace, irregular streets, elephant gate, blue-coloured Chinese tiles, canon fires, red light on the terrace of the palace, bright boys, intelligent eyes, musical voices, no European influence, no outside trade, old traditions, people happy and content, fine tigers in the menagerie, black leopard, no telegraph, shooting foxes, moonrise return, lightning from clouds.³⁸³

These notations, which emulated many descriptors used by contemporary Western travelogue writers, were also the adjectives used by dealers to describe Mughal works similar to those Freer would buy years later in 1907.

In another letter to Hecker, Freer wrote excitedly, “I am very well and over my head in love with India,” describing it as “this country where one can hardly turn round without having one’s hat lifted by a half dozen or more marvels.”³⁸⁴ He praised the “most beautiful wood carving” in Ahmedabad, objects owned by the Maharajah of Jodhpore (enough “jewels to fill a hogshead”), and a *Gulistan* and splendidly illuminated Persian manuscripts in Alwar.³⁸⁵

Yet, Freer only bought a few items while in India. The few trinkets he purchased were predominantly souvenir quality — a Himalayan snow squirrel lap robe, a rare specimen of baby camel skin, a jungle bird skin — all of which he instructed Hecker to pack in camphor.³⁸⁶ Interestingly, these items are no longer in the collection and were perhaps deaccessioned during his lifetime. The only things

³⁸³ Diary entry from Freer to Diary, 1895, FSA Box 53, Folder 6.

³⁸⁴ Letter from Freer to Hecker, March 15, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁸⁵ Ibid. Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 18, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

of limited artistic value were twenty-six tiles from “an old tomb in the jungle.”³⁸⁷ He admitted to Hecker that he paid almost nothing for the tiles. Freer believed the seller was more interested in a “good opium spree” than offending Allah by selling tiles from a religious site.³⁸⁸ After purchasing the tiles, he wrote to Hecker, “these Muhammadans will never be admitted to Hades; they would too quickly corrupt Satan — I can't help loving them one minute and d-‘ing them the next.”³⁸⁹

Freer described the traders as the type one meets in Rudyard Kipling’s (1865-1936) *Dray Wara Yow Dee* — the story of a horse dealer from India who cut off his wife’s head, sliced off her breasts and flung her body into a river after discovering she had cheated on him.³⁹⁰ One of the books Freer read while travelling was *Confessions of a Thug* by Philip Meadows Taylor (1839), about a band of real-life Indian deceivers who murdered travellers for their money and valuables. Freer wrote Hecker that Peshawar (now part of Pakistan), a city rarely visited by Europeans, was a “splendid aggregation of outcasts, horse thieves, adventurous fakirs, traders and highwaymen.”³⁹¹ He felt it was unsafe to go out after four pm and wondered if “Hell is, in reality, half as hellish.”³⁹² The books Freer chose to read while travelling in India prepared his imagination for what he would likely encounter, and based on his colourful letters to Hecker and his diary recordings, India delivered on those promises.³⁹³

Freer had at least one pleasant encounter with an Indian. Before travelling to India, Freer had promised Whistler’s wife, dying of cancer, that he would bring her back a songbird. He had searched for the songbird for weeks but had only

³⁸⁷ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 23, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Rudyard Kipling, *Dray Wara Yow Dee*, *Black and White*, (New York, 1899), 15-30. Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 18, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Pramod K. Nayer, *Colonial Voices: The Discourse of Empire* (New York, 2012), 8.

found “him in museums, stuffed.”³⁹⁴ The day before he was scheduled to leave India, Freer finally found a reputable Hindu dealer who confirmed he could secure four songbirds.³⁹⁵

Like other Western travellers, Freer used storytelling to awe and impress people back home — not only by what he saw but also by the difficulties he encountered.³⁹⁶ He frequently complained about travel discomforts and “none too luxurious” lodging conditions consisting of a “room with one chair, an excuse for a cot and an apology for a table”.³⁹⁷ “Oriental art and architecture were crawling through [his] innards,” he wrote to Hecker, “and whether it will prove a tonic or tapeworm [was] still an enigma.”³⁹⁸ At the end of his stay in India, Freer was unwell and had extreme pain in his right leg. Nonetheless, Freer claimed, “all that these little ills of Hindustan took from me were mere nothings compared to what she gave me.”³⁹⁹

Freer’s three-month stay in India provides valuable information regarding the **variables relevant to the formation of his collection** years later (appendix 2.1). Several **information inputs** are evident, including the *Gulistan* copy and illuminated Persian manuscripts he saw in Alwar.

In Freer’s **evaluation** of items for his collection, he wrangled with his conscience — knowing full well that many items offered for sale were likely stolen. His opinion of traders in India was negative, and he was pleasantly surprised when he encountered one reputable Hindu dealer. His diary recordings of India reveal both an emotional and aesthetic attachment to the culture, criteria he routinely

³⁹⁴ *With Kindest Regards: the Correspondence of Charles Lang Freer and James McNeill Whistler, 1890-1903*, ed. Linda Merrill (Washington, DC, 1995), 105.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Nayer, *Colonial Voices*, 15.

³⁹⁷ Letter from Freer to Hecker, March 15, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁹⁸ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 23, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

³⁹⁹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, April 20, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

used for evaluating objects for his collection.

We also better understand Freer's personality and **motivating influences** for collecting. He wanted to travel off the tourist track even though it meant more discomfort. The final observation about Freer's trip to India that may have shaped his collection is his quest for a songbird for Whistler's wife. When Beatrix died the following year, Whistler wrote to Freer: "And when she went — alone, because I was unfit to go too, the strange wild dainty creation stood uplifted [...] and sang and sang as it had never sung before!"⁴⁰⁰ Fellow collector and friend Agnes Meyer (1887-1970) was with Freer when he received the letter, and she said he read it out loud with deep emotion.⁴⁰¹ He was close to Beatrix, and memories of her likely exerted **internalised environmental influence** on his collection strategy.

FREER'S TWO TRIPS TO EGYPT

Freer's first trip after the Smithsonian accepted his offer was to Egypt in early December 1906. Archaeological discoveries, including the Temple of Onias, might have prompted Freer's interest in Egypt.⁴⁰² Travelling with his personal friend Frederick Wharton Mann (1854–1926), his itinerary included several ancient sites, museums, shopping bazaars and private dealers.⁴⁰³ During a visit to the dealer Ali Arabi, Arabi offered Freer four biblical manuscripts claiming they were buried in Akhmim (the ancient city of Panopolis) in Upper Egypt. On December 19, 1906, Freer recorded in his diary, "Bought manuscripts in the

⁴⁰⁰ Letter from Whistler to Freer, March 24, 1897, FSA Box 34, Folder 19.

⁴⁰¹ Agnes Meyer, *Charles Lang Freer and His Gallery* (Washington, DC, 1970), 6.

⁴⁰² "The Temple of Onias," *Times* (London), March 14, 1906, 4.

⁴⁰³ Kent D. Clarke, "Paleography and Philanthropy: Charles Lang Freer and His Acquisition of the Freer Biblical Manuscripts," in *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts, Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove*, ed. Larry W. Hurtado (Leiden and Boston: 2006), 17-74.

forenoon and paid for them in the afternoon."⁴⁰⁴ Freer paid £1,600 (or \$7,750) for the manuscripts.⁴⁰⁵ Perhaps regretting the hastiness of his decision, he wrote to Hecker the same day, indicating he invested two days examining the manuscripts with two Greek scholars before making the purchase.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, he wanted Hecker to keep the matter private until he could determine the manuscripts' actual value. Later, when he recounted the purchase to his friend Bixby, Freer embellished the story further:

I ran across the four books last winter in the hands of Abul-CI-Haye-El-Arabi, a well-known antiquarian of Cairo while searching in his stock of antiquities for old Egyptian potteries. The beautiful writing first attracted my attention, and by degree, I felt a particular "hankering" for the volumes. I secured an option for one week, in the face of strong competition coming from a distinguished American source, secured the aid and advice of the best Greek scholars in Egypt, and when fairly convinced of their age and genuineness, handed over the gold and secured the MSS. Fearing that in my ignorance and credulity, I might have been swindled — old Arabi being known to have participated in some extraordinary matters — I hesitated a long time about disclosing my purchase.⁴⁰⁷

Like Freer, Bixby was a wealthy industrialist who retired early to travel and collect art. He had a penchant for first editions and original manuscripts. The change in Freer's story concerning the purchase reveals how uncomfortable he was with the impulsive purchase and his distrust of Arab dealers in general. Sensing the possibility of fraud, Freer promised to give Arabi and his son a golden pocket watch if the manuscripts proved authentic. When scholars in America determined the manuscripts were genuine and historically significant (dating from the fourth

⁴⁰⁴ Charles Lang Freer, Diary entry: Bought manuscripts in the forenoon and paid for them in the afternoon, December 19 1906, FSA, Box 54, Folder 3.

⁴⁰⁵ Clarke, "Paleography and Philanthropy: Charles Lang Freer and His Acquisition of the 'Freer Biblical Manuscripts,'" 25.

⁴⁰⁶ Letter from Freer to Hecker, December 19, 1906, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴⁰⁷ Letter from Freer to Bixby, January 8, 1908, FSA Box 10, Folder 24-31.

to sixth centuries), Freer kept his word.⁴⁰⁸

Freer returned to Cairo a few years later to learn more about the manuscripts' source. A faculty member of the University of Michigan, Francis W. Kelsey (1858-1927), whom Freer had enlisted to help publish the manuscripts, suggested two British scholars based in Egypt aid Freer in his investigation. However, Freer was reluctant to enlist support from anyone locally, fearing it would create competition for other works, deeming it wiser to keep "as secret as possible my future movements."⁴⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the story Arabi spun the second time around about "stealthily digging at night [...] in an ancient abandoned town, known as Dime on the edge of Faye" was even more thrilling than the first, and Freer wanted desperately to believe it was true.⁴¹⁰

Freer travelled to Aleppo shortly after leaving Cairo, hoping to bypass dealers and acquire objects closer to the source. Unfortunately, the trip did not go as planned — the seller was arrested, and Turkish officials confiscated several items Freer purchased, including Racca pottery.⁴¹¹ Realising he was not entirely "an angel in white" concerning the transaction, Freer did not attempt to reclaim the items since he feared the purchase "might in some way, at some time, reflect a shadow upon [his] collection or the Smithsonian Institution."⁴¹²

This brief story about Freer's purchase of biblical manuscripts helps **map Freer's purchase journey** for his first manuscript acquisition (appendix 2.2). Referencing McIntosh and Schmeichel's framework, Freer skipped or truncated critical **steps**, including gathering information about the objects and devising a formalised acquisition plan.

⁴⁰⁸ Charles Lang Freer, Diary entry: Golden Watch to Ali Arabi, January 30 1909, FSA, Box 54, Folder 6.

⁴⁰⁹ Gunter, *A Collector's Journey*, 103.

⁴¹⁰ Letter from Freer to Hecker, May 20, 1908, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴¹¹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, June 27, 1908, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

The chaos of the marketplace, combined with the unbelievable story of how the manuscripts were discovered, caught Freer off guard, letting his emotions get the best of him. Also, his instincts told him this opportunity might never reoccur, and the manuscripts were too rare and valuable to pass up. He immediately regretted the purchase and realised he might have been duped. Freer's anxiety levels about the purchase increased the more he thought about the rashness of his decision. Though untruthful, what Freer said occurred in his letters to Hecker and Bixby is much more in line with the steps in McIntosh and Schmeichel's framework. When scholars determined the manuscripts were authentic and valuable, Freer concluded he had been lucky.

The interaction with Arabi provides clues regarding the **variables relevant to Freer's Biblical manuscript collection formation** (appendix 2.1). Freer relied entirely on the dealer Arabi's provenance information in this scenario. Though not explicitly named, Freer wished he had consulted trusted scholars before making the purchase —indicating scholars were considered an authoritative source of **information inputs** for Freer. Regarding **evaluation criteria**, Freer was intrigued by unknown or forgotten items and, therefore, likely undervalued. Arabi did nothing to improve Freer's opinion of dealers, especially Arab dealers. However, when Arabi's claims proved true, Freer lived up to his word and rewarded him and his son. Freer's desire to fulfil his commitments can be considered **normative compliance or a motivating influence** in forming his collection. It is also likely that his travel companion, Mann was an internalised **environment influencing** his decision to purchase the biblical manuscript. Perhaps Mann got caught up in the excitement of the remarkable discovery, further encouraging Freer to skip the **decision process stages** he would typically take.

Freer's second trip to Egypt reveals his dependence on Kelsey as an **information input** for learning more about the manuscripts. Though one of his goals for the second trip was to learn more about the provenance of the manuscripts, Arabi proved yet again an unreliable source. Perhaps Freer's

second encounter with Arabi and his close call in Aleppo soured him in acquiring more objects from the Middle East.⁴¹³ Freer wrote to Hecker about the unsavoury mechanics of buying from Arabi. “When he kisses my hand, crosses his breast and licks the ends of his fingers,” Freer confided, “I try to think of Allah and look serious.”⁴¹⁴ The farce of the situation, combined with the “sickening coffee and the surrounding filth,” gave Freer bad dreams.⁴¹⁵ Freer’s descriptions of the “filth” and Arabi “licking his fingers” play into the negative stereotypes Westerners of the time communicated about their interactions with Middle Easterners.

Freer’s hesitancy in enlisting additional support from locally-based scholars and wanting to keep his movements as secret as possible is also intriguing. That he did not want to advertise that he was **evaluating** particular items confirms his desire to buy unknown, forgotten things at undervalued prices. Freer also liked to **keep his sources secret**, as indicated by a newspaper article about the Biblical manuscripts, and Freer’s refused to reveal the shop’s location.⁴¹⁶ Many scholars consider these biblical manuscripts, still part of the Freer collection, the most important acquisition of Freer's collecting career.⁴¹⁷

COLONEL HANNA’S INDO-PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Ten days after Freer acquired the biblical manuscripts from Arabi, he received a letter from Frances Elizabeth Hoggan about a private collection of Indo-Persian paintings.⁴¹⁸ Hoggan’s calling card described her as a “member of the Royal

⁴¹³ For problematic relationships between collectors and dealers: Carter, *Taste & Technique*, 124-126.

⁴¹⁴ Letter from Freer to Hecker, May 16, 1908, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ "Rare Find in Little Shop," *Boston Globe*, December 31, 1907, 5.

⁴¹⁷ Clarke, "Paleography and Philanthropy," 70.

⁴¹⁸ Letter from Hoggan to Freer, December 29, 1906, FSA Box 18, Folder 16.

College of Physicians of Ireland” (figure 2.2).⁴¹⁹ Her letter to Freer was in response to an article about Freer’s collection in *Century* magazine:

I read yesterday the paper on your valuable art collection in the current No. of the “Century.” With the teaching idea that seems to run through your collection,[...] it may interest you to know of a new collection of antique Indo-Persian paintings (one really unique of its kind) that is privately on the market in England. This collection belongs to Colonel Hanna of Petersfield, has been several times exhibited in India and is considered by critics to be of inestimable value. Col. Hanna prefers to have it return to India, where it was lovingly gathered together by him during half a lifetime, but he would consider any application made to him from other quarters provided he were convinced that there would be adequate provisions made for the proper exhibition of his treasures. I have with me here catalogues and photographs of many of the paintings, which I could mail for your inspection. I enclose my card, and I may add that I have no interest in my friend’s or any other collection.⁴²⁰

Hoggan described Hanna as a “most honourable man [and] one of our most respected veteran Indian officers” who had participated in war campaigns in India, Nepal, Afghanistan and China.⁴²¹ Upon retirement, he confined his activities almost entirely to the cause of women’s suffrage, serving as Vice President of the Petersfield Women’s Suffrage Society.⁴²² Perhaps, Hanna and Hoggan became acquainted due to their shared interest in women’s rights. Later scholarship has ignored or barely mentioned Hoggan’s involvement, but Freer almost certainly would not have learned of Hanna’s collection without Hoggan’s intervention.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Letter from Hoggan to Freer, April 1, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 16. “Colonel H.B. Hanna,” *Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1914, 7.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Beach, “Colonel Hanna’s Indian Paintings,” 154. Brinda Kumar, “Of Networks and Narratives: Collecting Indian Art in America, 1907-1972” (Doctor of Philosophy Cornell, 2015) (3710473), 51.

Hoggan's article outlined Freer's plans to donate his collection to the Smithsonian and his collecting strategy.⁴²⁴ Hoggan likely paid particular attention to Freer's pledge to raise the collection's value to \$1,000,000. The article also mentioned Freer's willingness to acquire items via auction and from "other great collectors." How his project was unique and more accessible to students than traditional museum collections would have appealed to Hoggan. Her comment to Freer about "the teaching idea that seems to run through your collection" was probably an attempt to parallel a statement in the article:

Gathering up the loose and broken threads of a great embroidery, he [Freer] has woven and is weaving them into a beautiful pattern, which will eventually discover its meaning even to the uninitiated and point students to the fountain of all art — the simple, universal truths.⁴²⁵

Remarkably, Hoggan attracted Freer's interest to Hanna's collection even though the article did not mention Freer's interest in miniature paintings, manuscripts or Near Eastern art. Instead, it focused on Freer's collection of Whistler paintings, watercolours and etchings and his interest in Chinese and Japanese art. After reading the article, a savvy dealer would have offered Freer specimens in these categories. Instead, Hoggan saw Hanna's collection as a natural extension to Freer's current collection — yet another thread needed for his "great embroidery."

Hanna's collection of 130 miniatures, nine manuscripts and one Muraqqa was assembled over thirty years and consisted of seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Mughal, Decanni and provincial works and later works executed for the English market (figure 2.3).⁴²⁶ The collection was first exhibited at Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's, New Bond Street, London, in May 1890 and then was on a long-term loan at the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle-on-Tyne in

⁴²⁴ Leila Mechlin, "The Freer Collection of Art: Mr. Charles L. Freer's Gift to the Nation, to be installed at Washington," *Century*, 1907, 368.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ Henry Bathurst Hanna, "Catalogue of Indo-Persian Pictures and Manuscripts Principally of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries by Native Artists, Collected by Colonel H.B. Hanna, Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's," (London, 1890).

1907.⁴²⁷ Hanna hinted at his collection's sources in the preface of the Dowdeswells exhibition catalogue.⁴²⁸ He claimed the collection was thirty years in the making and formed by relationships with dealers all over India who gave him the first right of refusal. Hanna believed many miniatures belonged to the Royal Library at Delhi and were sold by English authorities or carried off by mutineers after the Siege of Delhi in 1857. Others were likely stolen from the palace at Agra when the Jats plundered the city in the eighteenth century. One manuscript, now called *Hamlah-i-Haidari* (Combats of the Lion), was described as “unearthed in a remote village,” hinting at an idea of an exotic, undiscovered land (figure 2.4).⁴²⁹ Freer and Hanna had similar views of authenticity linked to an undiscovered India, away from the colonial and tourist centres. Hanna revealed, “many of my books and pictures I have discovered in out-of-the-way places, whilst great cities, where such things might fairly be looked for, have not yielded one to the most patient search.”⁴³⁰ Freer would have agreed with Hanna’s assessment of what could be found in the larger Indian cities, as evidenced by his recommendation to Hecker:

When you visit India, waste no time at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay or Delhi — and still, it is in these very towns that tourists from America and Europe fill themselves with things not Indian [...] They might as well judge Italy by visiting the Italian quarter in New York.⁴³¹

Freer was overseas when Hoggan’s letter arrived in Detroit and responded on February 15, 1907.⁴³² On the same day, Freer also wrote a letter to Hecker

⁴²⁷ Letter from Freer to Hanna, September 24, 1907, FSA Box 17, Folder 10. Letter from Freer to Hecker, September 26, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴²⁸ Hanna, "Catalogue of Indo-Persian," preface.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, March 15, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

⁴³² The letter is not in the archives, but is referenced in Hoggan’s letter dated April 1, 1907. Letter from Hoggan to Freer, April 1, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 16.

indicating he wanted to discuss how the trip had impacted his collecting plans.⁴³³ Freer enclosed a newspaper clipping with his letter describing a Valentine's Day dinner he had attended the night before in Ceylon. The article described the dinner as an "oriental fairyland" where the tables were set in "the lovely palm garden" with electric lamps and Chinese lights hanging everywhere, even in the highest branches.⁴³⁴ The timing of Hoggan's letter regarding Hanna's collection was perfect.

On April 1, Hoggan sent Freer a list of the paintings (presumably the Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's exhibition catalogue) and offered to send "specimen photographs."⁴³⁵ Hoggan must have been a breath of fresh air for a collector who frequently dealt with pushy dealers. She offered to act as an intermediary; if Freer preferred, he was welcome to contact Hanna directly. She also stated the collection was insured for £7,500, giving Freer some idea of Hanna's asking price.

A letter from Hanna to Freer dated April 10 suggests Freer decided to contact Hanna directly. Hanna outlined how he started the collection during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and his reluctance to sell.⁴³⁶ "If money was not needed," he said, "I would have given them to India, their birthplace."⁴³⁷ Freer wrote to Hanna in May that he would like to inspect the paintings, but the soonest he could see them was September.⁴³⁸ He clarified that if Hanna could sell the collection before September, he should do so. Viewing the catalogue descriptions was insufficient; Freer wanted to meet with Hanna and view the items firsthand. Freer took a much more cautious and reasoned approach than when he purchased the

⁴³³ Letter Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 15, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Letter from Hoggan to Freer, April 1, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 16.

⁴³⁶ Letter from Hanna to Freer, April 10, 1907, FSA Box 17, Folder 10.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Letter from Freer to Hanna, May 30, 1907, FSA Box 17, Folder 10.

Biblical manuscripts in Egypt.

On July 4, Hoggan sent a brief note to Freer indicating she was sending photos of Hanna's paintings under separate cover and hoped they conveyed "the delicate beauty of the originals."⁴³⁹ Whether he received the images is unclear; nevertheless, a second letter Freer wrote to his friend and fellow collector Charles J. Morse on August 30 confirmed he wanted to see the material firsthand:

I have been anxious for nearly a year to see a collection of Indo-Persian paintings which are for sale privately. If they are as fine as they are said to be, I shall probably purchase them as I fancy they represent an important link in the chain which connects the pottery of Syria, Persia, and Babylon with the later art of China and Japan.⁴⁴⁰

The 'broken threads of a great embroidery' in the *Century* magazine article became links in a chain. In late September 1907, Freer travelled to Hanna's hometown of Petersfield to meet him. Freer then proceeded over 300 miles to Newcastle-on-Tyne to view the Hanna collection at the Laing Art Gallery. Using Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's exhibition catalogue as a reference, Freer made brief notes about the quality of the works (e.g., poor, good, fine, superb, interesting) and occasionally noted the condition of particular items (e.g., torn, faces scratched out, etc.) (table 2.1).⁴⁴¹ Hanna believed his *Ramayana* manuscript belonged to Akbar and his Qur'an to Jahangir. Freer felt these manuscripts were "ok." According to Beach, the most important item in the collection is the *Ramayana* manuscript commissioned by a nobleman in Akbar's Court.⁴⁴² However, the Qur'an is now considered eighteenth-century, long after

⁴³⁹ Letter from Hoggan to Freer, July 4, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 16.

⁴⁴⁰ Letter from Freer to Morse, August 30, 1907, FSA Box 24, Folder 22.

⁴⁴¹ Kumar, "Of Networks and Narratives," 52.

⁴⁴² Beach, "Colonel Hanna's Indian Paintings," 154.

Jahangir's reign (figure 2.5).⁴⁴³

Of the twelve miniatures rated "good," three are portraits, three are night scenes, and two are scenes populated by several people. Of the sixteen miniatures rated "fine," seven are portraits, three include several people, two are monochrome etchings, two are night scenes, and two are small miniature portraits bordered by wide painted borders. Of the seventeen miniatures noted as superb, eleven are portraits (figure 2.6).

A few days after viewing the Hanna collection at the Laing Art Gallery, Freer wrote to Hecker, stating the collection "far surpasses in importance in all directions of my deepest hopes."⁴⁴⁴ He was surprised Hanna's collection had "been on the market for nearly twenty years without finding a buyer — especially given its uniqueness."⁴⁴⁵ What Freer considered unique about the collection is unclear. Perhaps, the eclectic nature of the collection with a wide range of themes (i.e., portraits, studies of birds, and landscapes) appealed to him.

Freer confided to Hecker that he knew "nothing of the pecuniary value of Indo-Persian paintings."⁴⁴⁶ However, he hoped to learn more during his planned visit with dealers and scholars in Paris, including Migeon.⁴⁴⁷ After visiting Paris, Freer made additional annotations in his copy of the Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's exhibition catalogue regarding the price he was willing to pay for each item of interest. The prices ranged from \$25 to \$300 per item.⁴⁴⁸ Freer did not care for erotic portraits of lovers, offering \$25, \$30 and \$50 for the three. Freer was only

⁴⁴³ *Manuscript; Qur'an*, 28.6 x 16.9 cm (11 1/4 x 6 5/8 in), F1907.274, Freer Gallery of Art.

⁴⁴⁴ Letter from Freer to Hecker, September 26, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ Freer had invitations from Migeon and his friends sufficient for three weeks of entertainment. *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ Freer's personal copy housed in Freer archives: Hanna, "Catalogue of Indo-Persian."

willing to pay \$25 to \$50 apiece for several seated portraits, noting one miniature had a “bad odor.” Perhaps the odour reminded him of an unpleasant event during his earlier travels to India, or he suspected the item was a fake. The prices Freer was willing to pay only sometimes correlate with his comments. He considered a princess and child painting superb, yet only offered \$65. Surprisingly, Freer was not interested in the *Gulistan* miniature, showing only \$75 for the picture. Freer saw a copy of the *Gulistan* in Alwar in 1895 and commented to Hecker that seeing it made the long journey to India worthwhile.⁴⁴⁹ The highest amount offered for a single miniature was \$300 for Aurangzeb's portrait. The model, finely drawn in pen and ink, shows Aurangzeb wearing a red and green turban and his left hand holding a single pink rose. Perhaps, Freer saw himself in the portrait since Aurangzeb's beard, and moustache were similar to his own, suggesting that quality was not his only measure of value (figure 2.7). Unlike the purchase of biblical manuscripts in Egypt, Freer gathered information before assigning value to each painting.

On the last two pages of Freer's copy of the Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's exhibition catalogue, several pencilled numbers appear to tally up the price he was willing to pay for Hanna's Collection. Seemingly, Freer offered \$13,445 for the miniatures (approximately £2,785) and \$12,300 for seven manuscripts (about £2,550). Additional calculations appear for two other manuscripts and the paintings in a Muraqqa, not in the catalogue. The total sum listed is \$35,000 or approximately £7,250. Hanna hoped to sell the collection *en bloc* for £7,500 and responded, “It would not be truthful to say that I was not disappointed at the offer you made me, but I see that the calculations by which you have arrived at the price to be a fair one.”⁴⁵⁰ The sale of the Hanna collection was completed in October 1907. A cursory review of auction results for miniatures during that period suggests the values Freer assigned to each painting were consistent with market values. Similar bid amounts are noted in an annotated auction catalogue

⁴⁴⁹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 18, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1.

⁴⁵⁰ Letter from Hanna to Freer, October 4, 1907, FSA Box 17, Folder 10.

for the sale of Indo-Persian miniatures held at Hotel Drouot in Paris on June 12, 1909. A Persian miniature, lot 53, went for 1120 francs or roughly \$215 and another lot, lot 56, went for 1160 francs or approximately \$225.⁴⁵¹

In his **purchase journey**, Freer followed McIntosh and Schmeichel's framework in an almost textbook fashion (appendix 2.3). Freer preferred to initiate negotiations only after due diligence and a thorough understanding of what he was buying. He treated both fellow collectors and dealers with professionalism and respect.⁴⁵² It was an approach that served him well in business dealings and would “serve him equally well as he assembled his art collection.”⁴⁵³

When word of the sale reached the Paris dealer Dikran Kelekian, Freer felt inclined to explain why he had not purchased similar items from Kelekian during his recent visit to Paris:

I shall study them [your collection] carefully and hope to familiarise myself with this charming art, and by degrees in the future when opportunity offers, I hope to add to the collection, but I feel it would be very unwise on my part to rush into the market and buy promiscuously without knowing more about the subject and it was for this reason and for none other that I declined to buy the specimens shown me in your shop in Paris. [...] I am only a beginner and cannot as yet act entirely independently. I need all the coaching and training that I can get, and I seek it in all possible directions. To you particularly, I am very greatly indebted for the little that I know.⁴⁵⁴

The letter to Kelekian implies Freer planned to add to his collection. However, Freer passed several opportunities to do so. Several factors probably influenced

⁴⁵¹ This is an area that would benefit from further research. Annotated catalogue accessible via <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1246224q>. *Catalogue des objets d'art orientaux, faïences, miniatures et dessins de la Perse composant la collection de M. C. A. [...] vente [...] 12 juin 1909 [...] Mannheim, Vignier*, ed. Hotel Drouot, Salles N. 7, (Paris, 1909).

⁴⁵² Lawton and Merrill, *Freer, A Legacy of Art*, 128.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ Letter from Freer to Kelekian, October 28, 1907, FSA Box 19, Folder 15-20.

Freer's waning interest in Islamic manuscripts, including unpleasant interactions with unsavoury manuscript dealers in Egypt, declining health, and evolving collecting interests.⁴⁵⁵

The details regarding Freer's purchase of the Hanna Indo-Persian collection provide further information regarding the **variables relevant to Freer's collection formation and management** (appendix 2.1). Regarding **information inputs**, his second trip to Ceylon, visiting Buddhist and Hindu sites, and attending a dinner described as an 'oriental fairyland' may have influenced his collecting strategy. Hoggan, Hanna and the Dowdeswell and the Dowdeswell's catalogue impacted Freer's decision to purchase the collection. Migeon and Kelekian may have also guided in assigning values to the paintings. After visiting Paris, Freer wrote to Kelekian; he was indebted to him for what little he knew about the value of the Hanna collection.⁴⁵⁶ While in London, Freer visited the British Museum and spent some time visiting Marie Louise Nordlinger (1876-1961). Nordlinger later married Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl (1880-1936), and the two became intermediaries for clients, including Freer. Nordlinger also helped Freer inventory his East Asian and Middle Eastern objects when he devised the plan to gift his collection to the Nation.⁴⁵⁷ Perhaps Freer was influenced by the British Museum collection and conversations with Nordlinger.

Undoubtedly, the **environmental influence** of the Smithsonian and the Board of Regents impacted how Freer did business going forward, and his new, more

⁴⁵⁵ Freer's undefined illness periodically sapped him entirely of strength. As early as 1895, while travelling in India, he complained of weakness in his right leg and lingering fever. Letter from Freer to Hecker, April 9, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1. Letter from Freer to Hecker, March 15, 1895, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1. In May 1911, after returning from his fifth and final trip to China, Freer suffered a stroke and partial paralysis to his right side for several months. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer, A Legacy of Art*, 203. He suffered another setback in the Fall of 1913 after returning from the Berkshires to Detroit in a sleeper car. Letter from Freer to A. Meyer, October 8, 1913, FSA Box 23, Folder 21-22.

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from Freer to Kelekian, October 28, 1907, FSA Box 19, Folder 15-20.

⁴⁵⁷ Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900* (New York, 1986), 28. Letter from Freer to Berenson, July 5, 1908, BB BER, 8.

reasoned approach alleviated the chances of casting a shadow on the Nation or his reputation.

Regarding the **evaluation** of Hanna's collection, the values Freer assigned to each painting were based on the quality, condition, themes depicted and even the smell. He was also keen to learn where Hanna had found the items in India. Unlike Freer's experiences working with dealers, he seemed to appreciate the professionalism of dealing directly with a private collector.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS PASSED OVER

Freer had three opportunities to add to his Indo-Persian manuscript collection, but he declined each time. The first was in 1914 when Marie Meyer-Riefstahl notified Freer that the Goloubew collection of Persian and Indo-Persian miniatures and Persian manuscripts on permanent loan to the Louvre was available for sale.⁴⁵⁸ The collection, exhibited in the 1912 Paris Exhibition, was also featured in the limited edition catalogue commemorating the exhibition.⁴⁵⁹ To discourage Freer from contacting Goloubew directly, Marie mentioned that she and her husband, in connection with another Paris dealer (unnamed), entered into a formal relationship with Goloubew, precluding him from "enter[ing] into negotiations with any private collectors, public institutions or dealers on his behalf."⁴⁶⁰

Goloubew's agreement to such an arrangement is puzzling; unless, perhaps, the dealers guaranteed a specific sale price. Belle da Costa Greene was offered the Goloubew collection as early as December 1912, writing to Berenson, "I have been offered the Goulebeff [sic] collection and am tremendously interested in them."⁴⁶¹ Morgan had promised Greene he would view the collection on his next

⁴⁵⁸ Letter from M. Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, March 16, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁵⁹ For an overview of the 1912 Exhibition: Chapter One, 58-65.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 31, 1912, BB BER, 8.

trip to Paris, but he died en route in Italy on March 31, 1913.⁴⁶²

Freer was ill when Meyer-Riefstahl's letter arrived. Several weeks later, he wrote to Marie, "if I were in better health, I would be inclined to go to Paris and investigate the matter thoroughly, but unfortunately, my present strength forbids such an undertaking."⁴⁶³

In April 1914, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl notified Freer of the Sambon sale at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris the following month.⁴⁶⁴ In his letter, Meyer-Riefstahl mentioned his assignment as the Oriental art expert and that he would be happy to place bids on Freer's behalf in this capacity. Perhaps to entice Freer, Meyer-Riefstahl noted he had already received a "very important order for the great [Divan of] Hafiz manuscript," which was lot 189 in the auction catalogue.⁴⁶⁵ Freer wrote to Meyer-Riefstahl that he had "given the catalogue only a hasty examination" and did not see anything of interest.⁴⁶⁶ Meyer-Riefstahl, serving as a proxy for jeweller Louis Cartier, was the Hafiz manuscript's winning bidder. The manuscript achieved the highest price of 65,500 Francs (\$13,100) during a "sluggish" second day of the Sambon sale.⁴⁶⁷ Freer thought the auction results indicated that Persian manuscripts of the highest quality were "now bringing practically full financial value," meaning bargains were no longer available.⁴⁶⁸

In May 1914, when word of the Goloubew collection going to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts reached Dikran Kelekian, he wrote to Freer lamenting:

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Letter Letter from Freer to M. Meyer-Riefstahl, April 5, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁶⁴ Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, April 26, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, May 13, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁶⁷ "\$13,100 for Hafiz Poems, Sambon Objets D'art Bring \$73,284 on Second Day," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore), May 27, 1914, 3.

⁴⁶⁸ Letter from Freer to M. Meyer-Riefstahl, July 3, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

I have never been able to sell in 21 years time more than one dozen of Persian miniatures, outside of Mr Henry Walters, who always bought them [...] I have today the finest collection of Persian miniatures in the world yet nobody even asks about it [...] I always hope my time will come.⁴⁶⁹

Freer responded to Kelekian that he was only focused on securing fine specimens of Chinese art before more buyers entered the market and the prices increased beyond his reach.⁴⁷⁰ Freer also confided that he turned down the first right of refusal for the Goloubew collection and encouraged Kelekian to be patient, believing some institution or collector would eventually want his Persian miniature collection — but not him.⁴⁷¹

Almost a month later, on June 18, Marie Meyer-Riefstahl wrote to Freer about the Goloubew collection going to the Museum of Fine Arts.⁴⁷² She explained that the Museum asked for secrecy, but somehow the news leaked.⁴⁷³ It was common for dealers to spread such information as it was good for business. Freer responded that news of the sale leaked in New York “almost simultaneously with the transaction,” and he hoped to study the collection.⁴⁷⁴ The Goloubew collection of 171 miniatures was more extensive than the Hanna collection of 130 miniatures, nine manuscripts and Muraqqa. However, the price paid by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was significantly more. Freer paid \$35,000 for the Hanna collection.⁴⁷⁵ On June 27, the Museum announced an acquisition price of almost

⁴⁶⁹ Letter from Kelekian to Freer, May 22, 1914, FSA Box 19. Folder 15-20.

⁴⁷⁰ Letter from Freer to Kelekian, June 3, 1914, FSA Box 19, Folder 15-20.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷² Letter from M. Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, June 18, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, July 3, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁷⁵ Freer made pencil calculations on the last page of the catalogue. Hanna, "Catalogue of Indo-Persian."

\$77,000 for the Goloubew collection.⁴⁷⁶ Freer's estimation that Persian objects no longer represented good economic value proved true.

In July 1916, Coomaraswamy wrote to Freer offering his collection of Rajput and Mughal miniatures for \$55,000.⁴⁷⁷ Coomaraswamy acknowledged his initial plan to donate his collection to a museum in India but concluded there were advantages to disseminating works of art versus keeping them together. The ongoing Great War also caused financial stress for Coomaraswamy, who needed money.⁴⁷⁸ He suggested his collection could be folded almost entirely into Freer's existing Far Eastern collection and perhaps exhibited in a dedicated Indian room. While he admitted Indian art was "not presently in commercial vogue," Coomaraswamy believed that if Freer took the "pioneer step" of purchasing the collection, it would be a sound investment in the long term.⁴⁷⁹ Freer requested the Hanna collection be sent from Detroit to compare his holdings with the collection illustrated in Coomaraswamy's recent Rajput Painting book.⁴⁸⁰ After only a few days of study, Freer's physical strength diminished significantly, and his physician ordered him to stop working on his collection. Freer wrote to Coomaraswamy, thanking him for the offer to add his collection of Rajput paintings to the collection he was making for the American Government, not mentioning the Mughal pictures. However, his current health situation precluded further action. "I wish that I could hold out to you the hope that someday in the near future I could expect to purchase your collection," Freer wrote to Coomaraswamy, "but at present, I do not see my way clear to its accomplishment."⁴⁸¹ Coomaraswamy sold much of his collection to Dr Denman Ross (1853-1935). Shortly after that,

⁴⁷⁶ "Boston to Get Them. Persian, Indian and Turkish Miniature Paintings Purchased by Museum of Fine Arts," *Boston Globe*, June 27, 1914, 9.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Coomaraswamy to Freer, July 12, 1916, FSA Box 13, Folder 12.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Letter from Freer to Coomaraswamy, July 25, 1916, FSA Box 13, Folder 12.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Coomaraswamy became curator of the Indian department at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Ross donated the Ross-Coomaraswamy collection to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1917.⁴⁸²

Kumar concluded that while Freer's interest in India endured, he did not add to the collection because of a lack of inventory rather than inclination.⁴⁸³ However, over two years, Freer passed up opportunities to purchase three separate collections *en bloc*. While he used illness as an excuse, Freer continued to add Asian works to his collection, as noted by the many accession numbers dated 1914, 1915 and 1916. Bernard Berenson noted Freer's focus on Chinese works at the time, writing to Isabella Stewart Gardner, "I just heard Freer got a hundred new Chinese paintings, including one which rivals my own, doubtless finest yet seen."⁴⁸⁴

Freer's rejection of several collections reveals **barriers to future purchases**, including the assessment that there were no longer bargains, and evolving collecting interest. In January 1915, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl wrote to Freer asking his thoughts about writing a study of "Mohammedan art" in American private collections.⁴⁸⁵ Freer responded that he "felt quite incompetent to advise accurately" and suggested Meyer-Riefstahl contact Professor Ross, who was instrumental in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts' purchase of the Goloubew collection.⁴⁸⁶ In Freer's opinion, only a handful of people knew anything about Islamic art, and an even smaller number wanted to study it. As an alternative, he suggested Meyer-Riefstahl focus on ancient Chinese art since there was a "much

⁴⁸² Antony Anderson, "Musical. Mystical. Ratan Devi. Her Singing is Heard in 'The Light of Asia'," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1918, 28.

⁴⁸³ Kumar, "Of Networks and Narratives," 44-45.

⁴⁸⁴ Rollin Van N. Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner 1887-1924; with Correspondence by Mary Berenson* (Hanover, Massachusetts, 1987), 531.

⁴⁸⁵ Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, January 18, 1915, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁸⁶ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, February 6, 1915, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

wider interest [...] throughout the United States.”⁴⁸⁷ This broader interest in Chinese art also applied to Freer. These scenarios also illustrate Freer's hesitancy to buy objects without being able to view them firsthand — regardless of the dealer's reputation or intermediary presenting them.

Greene commented about Meyer-Riefstahl's intentions in a letter to Berenson, noting she found it “queer” that Freer only gave Meyer-Riefstahl letters of introductions to “heads of museums and such” and not to private collectors.⁴⁸⁸ Perhaps Freer afforded collectors the same privacy he preferred.

Freer's illness while in India, his later health issues and safety concerns probably all contributed to his decision not to return there. However, these events do not explain why Freer declined to purchase collections *en bloc* that had long since left the area and were safely in the hands of collectors and dealers. Freer's declining health is an easy explanation. However, scrutiny of his purchases' timeline shows Freer continued to buy Chinese art while pleading sickness as an excuse not to buy more Islamic miniatures or manuscripts. His claim that no more bargains existed in the Persian miniatures market seems legitimate, as evidenced by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts paying significantly more for Persian miniatures than Freer paid for the Hanna collection. He did not attempt to negotiate when Freer was offered the first right of refusal for the Goloubew and the Coomaraswamy collections. Freer's intentions to further study the Hanna collection and add to the collection never came to fruition.

FREER'S COLLECTION: IMPACT AND LEGACY

Freer's Islamic book art collection was only shown once in his lifetime, in 1912, at the newly-built National Museum in Washington, DC. Listed as “miscellaneous Oriental objects by various artists,” the four Indo-Persian paintings exhibited

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ There were rumours that Mary was romantically involved with Freer prior to her marriage, which may explain Freer's reluctance to help Meyer-Riefstahl. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 3, 1915, BB BER, 8.

inside a small case likely attracted little attention.⁴⁸⁹ If Freer learned anything new about the Hanna collection since he acquired it, he was not inclined to share it.

The second opportunity to exhibit his collection was in 1914. In March 1914, Freer loaned Chinese, Korean and Japanese ceramics to the Knoedler & Co. galleries. However, the month prior, he declined to participate in the *Persian Miniatures, Book Illustrations and Book-Bindings* exhibition organised by the Meyer-Riefstahls at the Berlin Photography Society in New York.⁴⁹⁰ His reason for not participating in the show was the doctor's orders that he "give neither thought nor attention to exhibitions or other matters concerning the collection."⁴⁹¹

Realising Marie would learn of his participation in the Knoedler & Co. exhibition — Freer told her he had agreed to participate in the show when in good health and felt inclined to live up to the agreement.⁴⁹² While there is no reason to doubt that Freer's health was failing, it seems that it could also be a convenient excuse for projects that no longer interested him.

The final opportunity to participate in an exhibition was in 1915. In March 1915, Greene wrote to Berenson announcing she was "going to have a great big smashin [sic] exhibition of Oriental art, early Chinese, Early Persian [...] only the very top-notch, the best A-1 Things of the World!"⁴⁹³ Greene hoped to get objects from Freer, Hervey Wetzel (1888-1918), Denman Ross and Isabella Stewart Gardner.⁴⁹⁴ A month later, she wrote to Berenson to let him know she had given up — "the show I hoped to put on is off as Freer is not well and will not be well

⁴⁸⁹ *Catalogue of a Selection of Art Objects from the Freer Collection Exhibited in the New Building of the National Museum; April 15 to June 15, 1912*, ed. Smithsonian, Bulletin 78, (Washington, DC, 1912), 15.

⁴⁹⁰ Letter from Freer to M. Meyer-Riefstahl, January 13, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 25, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

enough to come in and help me.”⁴⁹⁵

Though he used illness as an excuse, perhaps Freer also had doubts about the dating and provenance of some Hanna miniatures. Freer confided to Berenson that it took years to identify fake signatures, inscriptions and seals before he could “separate quality from the mediocre, accurately identify periods, and peer through the mysticism of Oriental art.”⁴⁹⁶ Possibly Freer did not want to confront authenticity issues for a collection he already owned and preferred to remain ignorant of any problems. Though his letter to Berenson probably referenced Chinese art, it is interesting that Freer felt inclined to study inscriptions, seals and signatures to date and determine the authenticity of his objects, all relevant for Indian art.

On several occasions, Freer shared his collection with fellow collectors and scholars. In early 1914, Berenson, Mary Berenson, and Belle da Costa Greene visited Freer’s Asian collection in Detroit.⁴⁹⁷ Whether they saw his Indo-Persian collection is unknown. However, after their visit, Greene instructed her secretary to order several reference books from Quaritch, including Indian and Islamic art books.⁴⁹⁸

Sometime in October 1914, Agnes Meyer and the artist Katharine Rhoades (1885-1965) were invited to view Freer’s collection.⁴⁹⁹ Years later, Meyer recalled the details of the visit:

Our host's sense of form and beauty pervaded everything, from the courtly manner in which we were received at the front door, to the whole

⁴⁹⁵ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 27, 1915, BB BER, 8. There is a draft of the letter Freer wrote to Greene with several edits and ramblings suggesting he was not well when he declined to help with the Exhibition. Letter from Freer to Greene, April 5, 1915, FSA Box 16, Folder 33-34.

⁴⁹⁶ Letter from Freer to Berenson, August 11, 1917, FSA Box 10, Folder 15.

⁴⁹⁷ Letter from Freer to Berenson, March 15, 1914, BB BER, 8.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Letter from Freer to Meyer, September 23, 1914, FSA Box 23, Folder 23-30.

atmosphere of the house, to the careful exhibition of the paintings, one by one, hung on a screen which isolated each one from the vast surroundings of the long gallery. When the light began to wane, Mr Freer asked Stephen, his butler-curator, to place before us two Japanese screens in a bold design which could still be appreciated in the faint light of a setting sun. As we sat on the floor, leaning on big comfortable pillows, Stephen poured us some vintage champagne which we sipped slowly and appreciatively [...].⁵⁰⁰

The visit likely registered as a magical moment when everyone agreed about the aesthetics of the objects and Freer's vision. Freer's atmosphere also resembled a common theme found in Mughal miniatures, with a ruler and his court lounging on cushions while entertained.

In August 1916, Freer wrote to Binyon that the catalogue of his Indo-Persian works was in progress, though he didn't provide further details.⁵⁰¹ Freer's Indo-Persian collection was only mentioned in print once during his lifetime, in 1910. Vincent Smith made judgements about the collection based solely on Hanna's catalogue descriptions noting that "unhappily, [the collection] is lost to the Empire in which it should have found a home, and goes like so many other literary and artistic treasures to the United States."⁵⁰²

In McIntosh and Schmeichel's **decision process framework**, collectors tend to provide access to their collections. In several instances, Freer provided access to his Chinese and Japanese objects. However, Freer's Indo-Persian collection did not feature prominently in any exhibition or publication during his life. His collection was known to only a few other collectors and dealers, and he did little to promote it. He also discouraged Meyer-Riefstahl from writing a monograph on the topic. There is no explicit evidence that he shared his Indo-Persian collection

⁵⁰⁰ Meyer, *Charles Lang Freer and His Gallery*, 4.

⁵⁰¹ Letter from Freer to Binyon, August 17, 1916, FSA Box 10, Folders 21-22.

⁵⁰² Vincent Arthur Smith, "Colonel H. B. Hanna's Collection of Indo-Persian Pictures and Manuscripts," *The Indian Antiquary* XXXIX (1910): 182.

with the select few invited to his home in Detroit. The only hints that he may have shown these items to visitors are Greene's purchase of related reference books and Binyon's recommendation for Freer to join the India Society — both events occurring immediately after visiting Freer's collection in Detroit.

Freer's **evaluation criteria for adding items to his existing collection was that they must have a similar** aesthetic. Freer and others consistently used the word 'harmony' to describe his collection. In the foreword for the 1912 catalogue of Freer's objects shown at the National Museum, the curator of Asian Anthropology at the Field Museum in Chicago, Berthold Laufer (1874 – 1934), wrote:

It is a collection broad and universal in scope but at the same time one of harmony and unity of thought, the same leading motive and personal spirit pervading the magnificent specimens of Egypt, Mesopotamian, Persian, and far eastern pottery, ancient Egyptian colored glass, Persian and Hindu miniature paintings, and the painting, bronze, and sculpture of China and Japan. And the genius of Whistler, a reincarnation of one of the ancient masters of the East, soars above the emanations of the oriental world as the spiritual link connecting the Orient and the Occident.⁵⁰³

The concept of harmony was the driving force of Freer's **collecting strategy**. He considered every addition and deletion in terms of its impact on the harmony of the collection. In February 1907, Freer wrote to Hecker that when considering items for purchase, he always remembered the "very important condition of harmony" with the items already in the collection.⁵⁰⁴

The way Freer connected the Occident and the Orient was not apparent to the casual observer or even the seasoned scholar or collector. Some connections are more obvious than others — Whistler's borrowing of Japanese elements in many of his paintings makes links to Japanese prints reasonably straightforward. Other

⁵⁰³ *Catalogue of Freer Collection*, 7.

⁵⁰⁴ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 3, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

references are like staring at an autostereogram and perhaps are connections only Freer could see. He tried to explain the relationships to Hecker in a rambling letter:

As I studied the great temples and tombs with their desert environment, the sculpture and painting and on wood and stone, their glazes and inlay in and on stone and pottery, their jewelry, metal implements [...] my eyes and mind partially saw and partially understood [...] I felt most keenly a desire to step as rapidly as possible from Egyptian art, in its home, to Japanese art, in its home. This will enable me to compare, under best conditions possible, the best art of the two countries and learn more accurately their differences, their qualities, their harmonies and discords.⁵⁰⁵

In August 1910, he wrote to Bixby, “my Whistler collection is now so large and my Far Eastern collection so small that I feel I must do what I can to increase the latter.”⁵⁰⁶ Interestingly, after the Hanna collection purchase, Freer never felt his collection suffered from an imbalance or under-representation of Near Eastern art requiring a correction. The collection was just one factor in his grand design.

AFTER FREER’S DEATH

Freer died at his suite in the Gotham Hotel in New York on September 25, 1919. Three months before his death, he revised his will, allowing other Asian, Egyptian and Near Eastern objects (but not American art) to be added. He also named Meyer and Rhoades lifetime trustees, stipulating that anything added to the collection after his death required their approval.⁵⁰⁷ Freer’s amendment, detailed in a letter to John E. Lodge (1876-1942), who at the time was the prime candidate for director of Freer’s Gallery, stated:

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Letter from Freer to Bixby, August 6, 1910, FSA Box 10, Folder 24-31.

⁵⁰⁷ Letter from Freer to Lodge, June 4, 1919, FSA Box 21, Folder 18.

In order that occasionally, in the years to come, important objects of a high standard of aesthetic quality and excellence related to the collection as it now exists may be added thereto.⁵⁰⁸

As expected, Lodge was named Director of the Freer Gallery the following year. For the next three years, Lodge, assisted by Rhoades and Meyer, catalogued the collection and prepared the Gallery for its opening, which took place with considerable fanfare on May 1, 1923 (figure 2.8).⁵⁰⁹

In 1921, Lodge hired Grace Dunham Guest as Assistant Curator focused on Near Eastern art. Guest knew Freer and may have helped catalogue the Hanna collection in preparation for the transfer to the Smithsonian. Guest was responsible for many daily activities at the museum and for purchasing items for the collection. The existence of the Hanna collection gave the curators license to add to it. Miniatures owned by Kelekian and Coomaraswamy eventually found their way into the Freer collection.

In the late 1980s, the Henri Vever (1854-1942) Islamic art collection, which disappeared during the Second World War and was believed to be destroyed, was rediscovered and purchased.⁵¹⁰ The acquisition of the Vever collection was particularly poetic since Freer saw the collection at the 1903 Paris Exhibition. Afterwards, he wrote to Hecker:

[...] to our delight, on arrival here, we found on exhibition in the Louvre a special collection of Spanish-Moresque, Persian, Arabic and Babylonian art—the great forerunners—loaned from the private collections of Paris—i.e., Baron de Rothschild, Gillot, Vever, Koechlin, et al. The whole includes the first thoroughly good exhibition of these arts ever publicly made. It has offered us a great

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Thomas Lawton and Thomas W. Lentz, *Beyond the legacy: anniversary acquisitions for the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery* (Washington, DC, 1998), 33. "New Freer Art Temple, to be Opened in Washington," *Detroit Free Press*, May 1, 1923, 15.

⁵¹⁰ Aileen Vincent-Barwood, "The Lost Treasures of Henri Vever," *Saudi Aramco World, Arab and Islamic cultures and connections* 40, no. 1 (January/February 1989): 12-19.

opportunity to continue our study and compare the various periods, mediums and wares.⁵¹¹

CONCLUSION

In terms of Freer's **collecting personality**, he was much more likely to express collectivism than individualism (appendix 2.4). While we do not have direct evidence that he shared his Indo-Persian collection with scholars and fellow collectors, he was generally willing to share and guide others. His collecting approach was not compulsive or incoherent. Instead, he formed a deep relationship with his collection, seeking advice from scholars. Freer was also focused on improving his knowledge base and wanted to complete his collection — an end goal was in sight.

This chapter discussed the **variables relevant to Freer's Biblical and Indo-Persian collection formation and management** (appendix 2.1). Regarding **information inputs**, Freer saw Indian miniatures from the epic *Gulistan* while travelling in India for three months in 1895. He also visited Islamic art exhibitions in Paris on at least one occasion. Like other collectors, Freer gathered information about Mughal art by reading current publications and consulting experts like Migeon. He was also open to dealers sending objects of interest for inspection and travelled great distances to see the Hanna collection before committing to buy it.

His **attitudes towards dealers**, particularly in the Middle East and India, were not good. However, Freer spent much time answering correspondence from dealers. Rather than treating them with the curtness they frequently seem to have deserved Freer corresponded professionally and respectfully with dealers. He hoped a polite approach would give him more opportunities for the first right of refusal. However, Freer's active acknowledgement of dealers often backfired since it encouraged them to contact him, leading to even more letter-writing. His

⁵¹¹ Letter from Freer to Hecker, June 22, 1903, FSA Box 17, Folder 26-34, A.01 02.1. For an overview of the 1903 Exhibition: Chapter One, 43-48.

attitude towards private collectors was much more open. Freer often chose to buy *en bloc* collections from previous owners rather than work through a dealer.

Regarding his acquisition plan, Freer refused to negotiate the price when purchasing from a dealer. He wanted the dealer's best price and would take or leave it. If a dealer came back with a lower price, Freer refused to bargain. Unlike other collectors interested in Islamic works, Freer did not participate in auctions – even though he said he would consider buying objects from auctions in the *Century* article Hoggan referenced. In his **evaluation criteria**, Freer wanted something other than an encyclopaedic collection of the oldest Islamic manuscripts and paintings. He was not preoccupied with particular eras or objects. Instead, he focused on harmonious connections. He preferred to operate in a low-key manner and purchase overlooked or forgotten items.

Regarding **barriers to further purchases**, Freer frequently cited declining health as a reason not to purchase additional Islamic manuscripts. However, even if health and mortality had not intervened, Freer's collection probably would have remained unchanged. We can only infer Freer's **motivations for collecting** (appendix 2.5). His desire to give his collection to the Nation was a way to leave a legacy and give meaning to his life. He also felt almost obligated to assemble objects that revealed the harmony of cultures and a universal aesthetic.

Freer's decision to give his collection to the United States infused the collection with energy. Freer Gallery curators immediately acquired important collections and broadened the collection's focus from Indo-Persian to Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and other miniatures predominantly from the Islamic world. Today, the Freer (now known as the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art) has the most extensive collection of illuminated Islamic manuscripts and single-leaf paintings in the United States.

This chapter contributes to the first three aims of the thesis. **Regarding the role of exhibitions and exhibition catalogues in shaping Freer's response to Islamic art**, Freer was excited about what he saw at the 1903 Paris Exhibition.

After the Exhibition, Freer continued to correspond and meet with the Exhibition organisers, Migeon and Koechlin. Freer also purchased exhibition catalogues for the 1903 and 1907 Paris and 1910 Munich Exhibitions. However, after acquiring the Hanna collection, he turned down at least two opportunities to loan his objects to exhibitions held in the States. Only four drawings were exhibited in a much larger exhibition during his lifetime. When Freer declined to help Greene with an exhibition, he admitted that a show would help many better understand Oriental art and bring new searchers into the field.⁵¹² It is unclear what he meant by searchers, though perhaps he meant that the exhibition would inspire more scholars to join the cause.

About the appeal of Mughal book art, Freer's travels to India and Ceylon may have influenced his desire to add Mughal book art to his collection. However, it is unlikely he would have actively sought Mughal art if Hoggan had not proactively contacted him with the Hanna collection. The timing of her letter was when Freer contemplated other aesthetic connections to his collection. After adding the Hanna collection to his own, he turned down several opportunities to add to it.

Regarding applying various frameworks for understanding Freer's collecting strategy, Freer's letters to Hecker reveal much about his collecting personality and motivations for collecting. His correspondence with Hoggan, Hanna and scholars provided details regarding his information inputs. His comments in his copy of the Hanna catalogue provided significant clues regarding his selection criteria. In addition, there was sufficient correspondence to map both his Biblical manuscript purchase and his purchase of Hanna's Indo-Persian collection. Ideally, the modelling approach would be based on multiple transactions to ensure stability. For this reason, I also added the variable relevant to Freer's Biblical purchases to the model. Because Freer bought so little Indian material, mapping his purchase journey was straightforward. This information now provides a basis for comparison with other collectors, and the next chapter turns to Pierpont Morgan and Belle da Costa Greene.

⁵¹² Letter from Freer to Greene, April 5, 1915, FSA Box 16, Folder 33-34.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RELUCTANT COLLECTOR & HIS LIBRARIAN, JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN & BELLE DA COSTA GREENE

“Surrounded by the objects he possesses, the collector is pre-eminently the sultan of a secret seraglio.”⁵¹³ — Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007).

INTRODUCTION

John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) was born into a wealthy banking family and spent most of his career financing America's railroads and industrial corporations like US Steel and General Electric. In 1901, he entered semi-retirement and dedicated himself to collecting art and supporting institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵¹⁴ Between 1902 and 1906, he built a private library on Madison Avenue, New York, to keep his rare books and illuminated manuscripts. Before working for Morgan, Belle da Costa Greene worked at Princeton University Library and helped Junius Spencer Morgan (1867-1932), Morgan's nephew, with his bibliophilic interest. Morgan sought someone “to bring order and authority to his haphazard collecting.”⁵¹⁵ Junius was convinced Greene was the best person for the job. In just a few years (from 1905, when she was hired to 1909), Greene went from obscure personal librarian for one of the wealthiest industrialists in the world to a recognised expert in incunabula and manuscripts and a glamorous member of New York's cultural and social scene.

This chapter focuses on the creation of the Morgan Library Islamic book art

⁵¹³ J. Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. J. Elsner and R. Cardinal (London: 1994), 10.

⁵¹⁴ Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Financier and Collector," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 2000, 4, 6. For additional biographical details regarding Pierpont Morgan and Belle da Costa Greene: Introduction, 32.

⁵¹⁵ Joanna Scutts, "The Mysterious Woman Behind J.P. Morgan's Library," *Time*, May 17, 2016, <https://time.com/4336930/the-mysterious-woman-behind-j-p-morgans-library/>.

collection, including Morgan's early forays into Islamic book art before Greene was hired as his librarian, and how Greene encouraged Morgan to add more Islamic book art to the Morgan Library. The chapter also examines the afterlife of the Morgan collection in terms of its visibility in scholarship and exhibitions. The final section of this chapter discusses Greene's relationship with Bernard Berenson, how she may have used Morgan Library funds to purchase Islamic and Indian reference books for Berenson's library, and how miniatures and manuscripts acquired for the Morgan Library mysteriously landed in Greene's private Islamic book art collection.

While Morgan and Greene relied on the same small circle of experts in building their collections, and Greene was intimately involved in creating both collections, the result is two very different collections. The Morgan Library Islamic book art collection at the time of Greene's death included fifteen manuscripts, three Qur'an fragments, and fifty-seven Persian and Mughal drawings, most of which were detached from one or more Muraqqas. Greene's collection included two manuscripts (one Qur'an), fifty-six leaves separated from Qur'ans, fourteen calligraphy leaves, and eleven paintings (table 3.2). Greene's limited resources explain some of these differences, but the outcome also suggests very different collecting strategies for the two collections, including differing selection criteria and motivations for collecting.

The Morgan Library archives contain correspondence and invoices for most items in the Morgan Library collection. Greene's correspondence with leading figures of the rare book trade has been invaluable for piecing together the formation of the Morgan Library collection. Unfortunately, little information exists regarding how Greene formed her collection. She created her collection in secrecy, barely mentioning it to her closest confidants. What is known about her collection is based primarily on anecdotal evidence from her Will and her letters to Bernard Berenson held in the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa I

Tatti.⁵¹⁶

PIERPONT MORGAN'S EARLY FORAY INTO ISLAMIC ART

The following section discusses Morgan's earlier purchases of Islamic book art before Greene became his librarian. While Greene played an important role in Morgan's Islamic book art collection, it is essential to note that it was not an entirely new avenue of collection for the Morgan Library. In 1899, Morgan purchased a *Ragamala* (written and illustrated in India) from London bookseller Charles James Toovey (M.2111).⁵¹⁷ He did not acquire the manuscript specifically, as it was part of the *en bloc* purchase of Toovey's stock collection.⁵¹⁸ The following year, Morgan purchased a nineteenth-century manuscript of *Divan of Hafiz*, written, illuminated and bound in India from the Theodore Irwin collection (M.35).⁵¹⁹ Again, the purchase was part of an *en bloc* purchase, including Caxtons, Americana illuminations, and Biblical and classical codices.⁵²⁰ Thus, at least two of Morgan's early Indian manuscript acquisitions may have been accidental. There is no indication that Morgan spent time perusing inventories before making an offer, as Charles Lang Freer did with the Hanna collection. Five years later, in 1905, Morgan purchased a Persian manuscript by Sa'di and several other objects, including textiles from Robert S. Pardo, the manager of the Oriental Museum in Constantinople (the manuscript is not associated with an inventory code).⁵²¹ Morgan purchased a Sanskrit manuscript from London

⁵¹⁶ Belle da Costa Greene, Last will and testament of Belle da Costa Greene, August 22 1951, New York County Surrogate's Court, Record ID: 390665, Call Number 900.9 G795 L34, copies held at Morgan Library.

⁵¹⁷ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 198.

⁵¹⁸ "The Toovey Library," *Globe* (London), July 14, 1899, 3.

⁵¹⁹ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 183.

⁵²⁰ "Social Gossip," *Heywood Advertiser* (Manchester), April 6, 1900, 2.

⁵²¹ Letter from Pardo to Morgan Sr., July 5, 1905, MCC 147235.

bookseller Henry Sotheran and Company (MS M.1094) the following year.⁵²² This time the purchase seems deliberate, but unfortunately, the sale details are unknown. While Greene was at the Morgan Library by the time of the Persian and Sanskrit manuscript purchases, the two *en bloc* purchases predate her tenure with the Library.

In April 1909, Morgan purchased a two-volume *Shahnameh* from the dealer Enrico Testa in Florence (M.540 and M.846.11a,b).⁵²³ The *Shahnameh* manuscript, from the collection of M. le Comte F. Battaglini de Rimini, was described on the invoice as a Persian manuscript by Firdusi on rice paper with sixty-four miniatures and dated to the fifteenth century with original binding.⁵²⁴ Today, the manuscript is considered a nineteenth-century Lahore School (Indian) example, written in a poor cursive script bound in Persian lacquer-painted covers “which were probably attached to the manuscript in the early twentieth century.”⁵²⁵ Contemporaries recognised that Morgan could occasionally fall prey to “romantic associations” and “illustrious claims of rarity” — similar to how Freer fell for Arabi’s wild tale about the Biblical manuscripts.⁵²⁶

Later the same year, Morgan purchased several drawings from Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919) through the dealer Alexandre Imbert in Rome.⁵²⁷ Among those drawings were two Rembrandt sepia-toned and washed pen drawings (figures 3.1 and 3.2) described as “Indian Warrior with a Shield” and “Two Indian Noblemen.”⁵²⁸ In 1904, Friedrich Sarre wrote an article noting that Rembrandt’s

⁵²² Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 194.

⁵²³ Letter from Testa to Morgan Sr., April 13, 1909, MCC 148217.

⁵²⁴ “Ce code est écrit sur papier de ris. Epoque XV Siècle avec 64 grandes miniatures - très fines et très bien conservées. [...] Ouvre Complete garanti par le Prof. Schiaparelli.” Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 184.

⁵²⁶ “Mr. John Pierpont Morgan,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23, no. 122 (May 1913): 65-66.

⁵²⁷ Letter from Imbert to Morgan Sr., November 4, 1909, MCC 153170.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

drawings resembled Indian-Islamic miniatures.⁵²⁹ Over the next several years, Sarre continued to identify Rembrandt's Indian-Islamic drawings in public and private collections. By 1909, Sarre had identified thirteen of the currently known twenty-five drawings.⁵³⁰ He mentioned in his 1904 article that he suspected the drawings owned by Murray were by Rembrandt. There is no explicit evidence that Morgan knew about Sarre's research, but it is possible that this scholarship helped inform his decision to buy the drawings. However, it is unlikely that Morgan was drawn to the pictures because they resembled Mughal miniatures.

In June 1910, Imbert sent several manuscripts to Morgan for consideration, including a manuscript described as "Nizami. Poem. Persian MS of the XVI century. 14 miniatures."⁵³¹ Imbert had acquired the manuscript at auction in Paris from Galleries Georges Petit in 1908 (11-16 May, lot 420) as part of the former collection of Octave Homberg (1876-1941).⁵³² A letter dated July 1910 from Imbert to Greene begins, "glad to hear that you are interested in the lot of manuscripts I was able to secure for Mr Morgan."⁵³³ The correspondence sounds like dealer flattery and suggests Imbert bought the manuscripts with Morgan in mind. Notably, Imbert dealt with Greene, indicating dealers recognised that she was critical in determining what entered the collection. The manuscript is now described as a seventeenth-century manuscript from India with 18 miniatures (M.445). This manuscript, with miniatures following the style of Mughal conventions, is Morgan's first Mughal manuscript.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁹ Friedrich Sarre, "Rembrandts Zeichnungen nach indisch-islamischen Miniaturen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 25, no. 3.h. (1904): 143-158. Stephanie Schrader et al., *Rembrandt and the Inspiration of India*, ed. Stephanie Schrader (Los Angeles, 2018), 136.

⁵³⁰ "Bisher waren mir 13 derartige Zeichnungen." Friedrich Sarre, "Ein neues Blatt von Rembrandts indischen Zeichnungen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 30 (1909): 283.

⁵³¹ Letter from Imbert to Greene, June, 1910, MCC 153172.

⁵³² Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 179.

⁵³³ Letter from Imbert to Greene, July 26, 1910, MCC 152103.

⁵³⁴ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 179.

Morgan's expenditure on Islamic and Indian manuscripts was minuscule in the context of his entire collection. In 1908, *The Times* (of London) published an article on Pierpont Morgan's Library.⁵³⁵ The Library was described as a "private gathering" with the "choicest, most perfect and all-embracing," missals, gospels, book of hours, autographed books, Gutenbergs, Aldines, Caxtons, Elzevirs and "bindings in profusion." The article claimed Morgan was a member of a special club of those with vast means "who cannot possibly spend in a normal manner all they have and are driven by a kind of social compulsion to 'collect.'" (The notion of 'social compulsion' could be considered a motivation for collecting relevant for Morgan's Islamic book art purchases.) According to the article, only one in ten had taste in this club, and one out of a hundred had genius. Morgan's will to possess the best and the best only, his network with the best eyes looking for him, and a consistent plan made him a genius. Lawrence, a close family friend and author of the article, perhaps gave Morgan more credit for having a plan than was due.⁵³⁶ Still, no one could deny that vast treasures were ebbing away from Europe, finding their way to Morgan's Library in America.

Morgan's early acquisitions provide limited information regarding the **variables relevant to his Islamic book art collection formation and management** (appendix 3.1). Morgan relied on booksellers Toovey, Sotheran & Company, Testa and Imbert as **information inputs** regarding suggestions of items for consideration based on their inventory and expertise. Regarding **motivating influences**, *The Times* article claimed that Morgan attended his collection in the same manner as he conducted his life professionally — "receiving reports and giving orders like a general in action."⁵³⁷ In terms of **evaluation criteria**, Morgan was likely attracted to the *Shahnameh* for its rarity and former provenance. The

⁵³⁵ William Lawrence, "The Pierpont Morgan Library," *Times* (London), December 4, 1908, 13.

⁵³⁶ It was common knowledge that Bishop William Lawrence, a friend of Morgan, wrote the unsigned article. Francis Henry Taylor, *Pierpont Morgan As Collector and Patron, 1837-1913* (New York, 1957), 19.

⁵³⁷ Lawrence, "The Pierpont Morgan Library," 13.

fact that Testa claimed an esteemed scholar reviewed the manuscript may have also influenced Morgan. Homberg's previous ownership of the manuscript (who was a well-known financier and director of the Indo-China Bank) may have influenced Morgan's decision to buy it. Ultimately, the key factors that led to these early purchases remain unclear. Still, it seems possible that provenance, scholarship, and, for the later purchases, Greene's enthusiasm for Islamic book art may have played a role.

MANUSCRIPTS PASSED OVER

From 1899 to June 1910, Morgan was also presented with several Islamic manuscripts which he declined to purchase. The items Morgan declined may provide clues regarding his selection criteria and collection strategy for his Islamic book art collection. In December 1907, Bernard Quaritch offered Morgan a seventeenth-century *Shahnameh* manuscript by the poet Ferdowsi.⁵³⁸ The manuscript was in Charles Dyson Perrins' (1854-1958) collection and was exhibited at the Burlington Club Exhibition of Bindings in 1891.⁵³⁹ According to Quaritch, the manuscript no longer aligned with Perrins' collecting interest, and he was anxious to sell.⁵⁴⁰ Quaritch offered Morgan the first right of refusal and the opportunity to review the manuscript before purchase. However, Morgan declined the offer for unknown reasons.

In 1909, the same year Morgan purchased the Rembrandt drawings, Junius requested Quaritch send Perrins' *Shahnameh* manuscript to Morgan for review at his residence in London.⁵⁴¹ This time, the manuscript was presented as a

⁵³⁸ Letter from Quaritch to Morgan Sr., December 4, 1907, MCC 149129.

⁵³⁹ S.T. Prideaux and E. Gordon Duff, *Exhibition of Bookbindings*, ed. Burlington Fine Arts Club (London, 1891), 19.

⁵⁴⁰ Laura Cleaver, "Charles William Dyson Perrins as a Collector of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts c. 1900-1920," *Perspectives médiévales* 41, La vie postmédiévale des artefacts médiévaux (2020), <http://journals.openedition.org/peme/19776>. Tim Stanley, "Quaritch Islamicus," in *The Book Collector*, ed. Richard A. Linenthal (London: 1997), 151-159.

⁵⁴¹ Letter from Quaritch to Morgan Sr., May 5, 1909, MCC 147568.

sixteenth-century copy (instead of a seventeenth-century). The offering price increased forty-two per cent (from £600 to £850). Perrins had offered to show Morgan his Gorleston Psalter the year prior.⁵⁴² Still, there is no indication Morgan was interested in items Perrins was trying to remove from his collection.

A few months later, Quaritch wrote to Greene about a collection of manuscripts he had recently purchased from Emperor Akbar's Library. Using the western canon as a framework, Quaritch mentioned that the manuscripts were in an "Oriental way as fine as those by [the Italian Renaissance illuminator] Giulio Clovio."⁵⁴³ Undoubtedly, Quaritch had heard about Morgan's recent buying trip to Italy and his purchase of a chalk drawing attributed to Clovio (It.15.5). Again, Morgan passed on the opportunity, indicating that attempts to parallel Islamic artists with European artists did not appeal to Morgan.

At the close of 1909, Roger Fry suggested Morgan consider an important Persian astronomical treatise for 40,000 francs, brought to his attention by an Italian dealer.⁵⁴⁴ Fry described the manuscript as a "splendid example of Persian illumination, though the subject makes it perhaps more for scientific than artistic interest." Morgan was not interested.

In early March 1910, the Armenian dealer in Paris, Elias G  jou (active 1895-1939), sent a Persian manuscript to Greene for consideration.⁵⁴⁵ Greene returned the manuscript, indicating that the Library possessed a "slightly superior" and similarly dated manuscript.⁵⁴⁶ Greene also considered the price out of all proportion to its value.⁵⁴⁷ The manuscript was a *Shahnameh* dated 1598, and G  jou asked £600. The manuscript Greene referred to was purchased the year

⁵⁴² Letter from Perrins to Morgan Sr., January 24, 1908, MCC 129604.

⁵⁴³ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, August 9, 1909, MCC 149134.

⁵⁴⁴ Letter from Fry to Morgan Sr., December 27, 1909, MCC 155333.

⁵⁴⁵ Letter from G  jou to Greene, March 7, 1910, MCC 155654.

⁵⁴⁶ Letter from Greene to G  jou, March 25, 1910, MCC 155655.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

prior from Testa; it was bought with a book of hours for 30,000 francs (figure 3.3).⁵⁴⁸ A few months later, G  jou revisited the subject with Greene offering to accept any reasonable offer and indicating that he purchased the manuscript on the advice of the late Mr Laffan (William MacKay Laffan 1848-1909).⁵⁴⁹ G  jou probably thought mentioning a friend and art advisor of Morgan's who had died suddenly would pull at Greene's heartstrings. G  jou's approach resonates with the idea that Morgan was a social collector, as suggested by the *Times* article. Nevertheless, the approach did not work. Further correspondence indicates Greene had contempt for G  jou, preferring to negotiate with intermediaries. The reasons for her antipathy towards G  jou are unknown.

Most dealers knew little about Islamic manuscripts and tried various angles to appeal to collectors—some approaches, like Testa's claims, appealed to Morgan but were often disregarded by Greene. What is particularly interesting about the manuscripts being passed over is Greene's increasing role as a gatekeeper. By 1909, Quaritch presented all possible additions to Morgan's Library through Greene. Only Fry, who knew Morgan personally, was still attempting to work directly with Morgan.

The manuscripts turned down provide clues to **relevant variables**, including **evaluation criteria** for Islamic book art purchases for the Library. Even though Perrins' *Shahnameh* was previously exhibited and Morgan had the opportunity to view the manuscript firsthand, he was still uninterested. Associations with Emperor Akbar or the artist Clovio did not sway Greene. Additionally, the price asked for G  jou's *Shahnameh* was a barrier for Greene, and she was unwilling to negotiate. Ironically, Greene believed the manuscript Morgan purchased in 1909 was superior to some items presented for consideration afterwards. The manuscript is now considered second-rate at best and different from what Testa claimed. Similarly, the provincial seventeenth-century Mughal manuscript purchased in 1910 from Imbert was inaccurately described as sixteenth-century

⁵⁴⁸ Letter from Testa to Sr., April 13, 1909, MCC 148217.148217

⁵⁴⁹ Letter from G  jou to Greene, May 9, 1910, MCC 155656.

Persian. In several instances, Morgan or Greene was misinformed about the value, rarity and dating of the items in the collection. Presumably, this was because Islamic book art was a relatively minor collecting interest for them at this time, and they needed more knowledge, making them dependent on the claims made by dealers, who were only slightly more informed than they were.

In 1909, Greene asked Quaritch's opinion about an Oriental manuscript "her friend" had purchased.⁵⁵⁰ Quaritch believed "her friend" had overpaid for the manuscript based on its artistic qualities. However, he did not feel equipped to comment on the manuscript's textual side, suggesting Greene consult Thomas Walker Arnold. We do not know if Arnold had the opportunity to assess the textual aspects of the manuscript — though Greene was likely amenable to the idea. Perhaps the manuscript was one Morgan had purchased, but Greene did not want it associated with his name, just in case Quaritch thought it was an ill-advised purchase.

GREENE'S GROWING INTEREST IN ISLAMIC ART

Greene's opinion of Islamic material and her desire for Morgan to add more works to the Library collection changed after she attended the 1910 Exhibition in Munich with Bernard Berenson. Her passion for Islamic books was not just because of the 1910 Munich Exhibition — it was also intertwined with her romantic relationship with Berenson and the exotica she witnessed at every turn in the summer of 1910. The following discussion outlines the events that may have influenced her interest in Islamic book art.

That summer, Greene travelled to Europe first and foremost to meet Berenson. Berenson and Greene met in London and then travelled to Paris. While in Paris, the avant-garde ballet production *Scheherazade* was playing. Berenson had seen the show earlier in the year, commenting to Isabella Stewart Gardner that he

⁵⁵⁰ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, May 14, 1909, MCC 149132.

“adored the Russian ballet and went as often as possible.”⁵⁵¹ Whether Berenson and Greene attended the show has yet to be discovered. Greene loved theatre, opera and ballet and, years later, associated living in Paris with wandering the streets wearing nothing but “bells on my toes and breasts.”⁵⁵² This erotic imagery evoked the Oriental costumes worn in *Scheherazade* (figure 3.4). While seemingly trivial, the ballet may have helped inspire Greene's growing interest in Islamic art. After Paris, Berenson and Greene travelled via the Orient Express to Munich to attend the 1910 Munich Exhibition.⁵⁵³ Visiting the Exhibition was Berenson's idea. Greene was incredulous when Berenson suggested the trip to Munich. She said, “what in thunder do you mean to be in Munich in August? I cannot possibly go there.”⁵⁵⁴ Instead, Greene wanted to spend several weeks in Italy, stating, “I simply cannot live another year without having seen Italy.”⁵⁵⁵ As a compromise, Berenson must have promised Greene they would go to Italy afterwards.

While at the Exhibition, Berenson wrote to his wife:

We spent the entire p.m. at the Muslim show and thus far have seen only half of it. Overwhelming is the word. The quantity is immense, the quality very high or very interesting, and the arrangement a revelation of order, taste, and distinction.⁵⁵⁶

After Munich, Berenson and Greene travelled to Italy as promised. Midway through their tour of Italy, Berenson was summoned to Paris to care for his sister,

⁵⁵¹ Letter from Berenson to Gardner, July 18, 1910, Boston Gardner Museum, Virtual Reading Room.

⁵⁵² Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life*, 314.

⁵⁵³ For an overview of the 1910 Munich Exhibition: Chapter One, 50-57.

⁵⁵⁴ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 21, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ Letter from Berenson to M. Berenson, August 27, 1910, BB BER, 8.

who had fallen ill.⁵⁵⁷ Greene stayed in Italy and visited various sites recommended by Berenson. While touring Italy, Greene saw a painting of *The Virgin and Child* by Francescuccio Ghissi (figure 3.5). The image reminded her of pictures she and Berenson saw in Munich that Berenson said were “purely Chinese in feeling.”⁵⁵⁸ Others attending the Munich Exhibition, including Meyer-Riefstahl, agreed there were traces of Chinese influence in the formation of Persian art.⁵⁵⁹ These revelations or theorised connected relationships were designed to put Islamic art on equal footing with Chinese art. This notion also parallels Freer’s desire to understand the inspirations, differences, harmonies and discords between the art of various regions.⁵⁶⁰

After Italy, Greene travelled to London to meet “dealers, collectors and people of diverse kinds.”⁵⁶¹ While in London, she lunched with Sydney Cockerell and spent “hours in his delightful company, viewing very fine manuscripts” at the Society of Antiquaries and early Persian pottery at the British Museum.⁵⁶² Shortly before leaving London, Greene wrote to Berenson that she had received a gift of two Persian 15th-century drawings.⁵⁶³ Greene did not accept gifts from dealers to avoid conflict of interest, but she took trinkets from curators and scholars, even

⁵⁵⁷ Greene referenced Berenson’s sister’s illness, however Berenson may have actually gone to Paris to inspect a painting for Duveen. Ernest Samuels and Jayne Newcomer Samuels, *Bernard Berenson, the Making of a Legend* (Cambridge and London, 1987), 110. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 19, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁵⁸ Letter from Greene to Berenson, September 15, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁵⁹ “Die persische Buchkunst zeigt sich durchaus von der chinesischen Formensprache beeinflusst und versteht doch durch einfache Formen- und Farbenrhythmen ihre eigenen Gedanken in persönlicher Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen.” Meyer-Riefstahl, “Deutsche Kunst,” 225.

⁵⁶⁰ Letter from Freer to Hecker, February 3, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

⁵⁶¹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 11, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁶² Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 12, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.* In 1912, Greene received a “charming little Persian manuscript” as a Christmas gift. Letter from Greene to Berenson, January 9, 1912, BB BER, 8.

though they frequently acted as dealers.⁵⁶⁴ These two drawings represent the start of Greene's private collection of Islamic material. Unfortunately, Greene's details regarding the drawings are insufficient to link them to specific items in the collection.

The 1910 Munich Exhibition was the most significant **information input** guiding Greene's new plans for the Morgan Library collection. There were also broader atmospheric dynamics that amplified her Islamic art reception — potentially the ballet in Paris, the Orient Express train trip, visiting Persian pottery with Cockerell, and the gift of Persian drawings. In 1913, when invited to a fancy dress ball in New York, Greene opted to dress in a Persian costume copied from one of the Persian drawings she and Berenson saw, confirming the lasting impact of that experience.⁵⁶⁵ Additionally, Greene received a sixteen-volume French edition of *One Thousand and One Nights* from Berenson as a parting gift when he and his wife left America in 1909.⁵⁶⁶

Quaritch also proved to be a valuable **information input**, especially regarding the value of the artistic side of manuscripts. Greene's desire to understand the connections between Islamic art and art from other cultures provides clues about how Greene **processed information**.

Regarding the **decision process stages**, Greene's desire to start her own collection of Islamic book art was probably spurred by the gift of two Persian fifteenth-century drawings. Belk noted that a gift was sometimes the driving force behind the beginning of a collection.⁵⁶⁷ A few months after attending the Munich Exhibition, Berenson also started his own Islamic book art collection, which may

⁵⁶⁴ Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 29, 1910, BB BER, 8. "He wanted to present me with all sorts of things [...] but of course, I would not accept a thing." Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 3, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁶⁵ "You would have loved it, BB, it is flame coloured and gold and bits of folly fur." Letter from Greene to Berenson, January 30, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁶⁶ Samuels and Samuels, *Bernard Berenson, the Making of a Legend*, 79.

⁵⁶⁷ Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," 548.

have further influenced Greene's decision to collect a few things.⁵⁶⁸

MORGAN'S ISLAMIC ART COLLECTION COMES INTO FOCUS

In March 1911, Morgan purchased six Persian manuscripts from Imbert (M.468, M.471, M.467, M.470, M.847, M.469, M.466).⁵⁶⁹ The manuscripts were among many items Morgan purchased from Imbert that Spring, and it is uncertain how much time Morgan spent reviewing them beforehand. Interestingly, all European manuscripts purchased are listed individually on the invoice, while the Persian manuscripts are described as "a lot of six Persian Ms with illumination" (figure 3.6). Greene likely approved the acquisitions as she commented to Berenson the month before, "JP is now so well trained that he rarely [Greene's emphasis] ever buys a book without consulting me by cable or letter first."⁵⁷⁰ After Morgan purchased six Persian manuscripts, the word was out: Morgan was buying Islamic manuscripts, and the Library was inundated with offers.

In February 1911, Charles Hercules Read wrote to Greene, sharing gossip about the upcoming coronation of King George V. In the middle of his letter, he mentioned:

I am plagued to death with all the [...] Armenians wanting to buy my Persian drawings. I wish I had never sent them to Munich [referring to the 1910 Exposition]. It has caused me a great deal of annoyance anyways. There is a considerable boom in France and Germany over Oriental Art and particularly in Persian miniatures, it appears.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ Berenson's first purchase was a Persian manuscript from Claude Anet. Letter from Anet to Berenson, October 18, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁶⁹ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 25, 28, 35, 39, 49, 84. Letter from Imbert to Morgan Sr., March, 1911, MCC 153173.

⁵⁷⁰ Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 27, 1911, BB BER, 8. "Greene seems delighted to get you back again and I gather that she approves of your purchases." Letter from Read to Morgan Sr., September 8, 1912, MCC 149490.

⁵⁷¹ Letter from Read to Greene, February 17, 1911, MCC 149474.

Four months later, Greene, referencing an earlier conversation with Read while he was visiting America, inquired whether he was still considering selling his Persian drawings.⁵⁷² If so, she would appreciate Morgan having the first refusal. She felt the pictures were “the finest things in the Exhibition,” and while “Mr Morgan himself was not particularly interested in Persian art,” she now claimed he wanted all significant schools of manuscript art represented in his collection.⁵⁷³ No invoice exists in the archives, but letters mention a valuation issue Read encountered with United States Customs when he sent the album to Greene.⁵⁷⁴ The Read Album in the Morgan Library is now catalogued into three groups: Persian material, Indian material and ten miniatures of diverse sizes and dates (M.386, 1-21 and M.458, 1-36).⁵⁷⁵ The Indian material consists of Mughal miniatures, including Akbar, Babur, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb portraits.⁵⁷⁶ Some miniatures have European influences, including symbols of kingship like the sun, the moon and halos and individuals dressed in European garb.⁵⁷⁷ In one painting, a Mughal ruler has a gold, wide-brimmed hat in a European shape in vogue in the Mughal court between 1615 and 1619.⁵⁷⁸ Acanthus scrolls and landscapes also border a few pictures with a feeling of perspective — both are considered European conventions.⁵⁷⁹

Morgan probably always maintained a reserved opinion about Persian drawings. However, Greene was now able to finalise the purchase for the greater good of the collection, presumably using the Munich exhibition to support her case for the

⁵⁷² Letter from Greene to Read, June 1, 1911, MCC 150548.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Letter from Read to Greene, July 25, 1911, MCC 149479. Letter from Sackett to Greene, August 4, 1911, MCC 149481.

⁵⁷⁵ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 111-120.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 116-120.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 154, 119.

⁵⁷⁸ Thomas Roe and William Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19, as Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), 117, 349.

⁵⁷⁹ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 158, 120.

Album's importance. Both the Persian and Indian drawings from Read's collection were exhibited.⁵⁸⁰ Whether Greene or Morgan knew the Album had Indian miniatures remains uncertain. Read undoubtedly knew the difference between Persian and Indian miniatures since he retained thirty-five Indian drawings, later sold to Tabbagh and Chester Beatty.⁵⁸¹ After the Library received the drawings, Read sent Greene notes on the Persian miniatures, focusing only on the literary content.⁵⁸²

The correspondence associated with the Library's acquisition of the Read Album is sufficient to **map the purchase journey** (appendix 3.2). Greene and Berenson were able to view the Album in the public spaces of the Munich Exhibition and likely had the opportunity to view it more closely in a room set aside for scholars for after-hours study.⁵⁸³ Greene and Read had a close personal and professional relationship, and she trusted his assessment of the value of the Album. In a letter to Mary, Berenson mentioned he was in awe of Greene's ability to make purchase decisions for Morgan.⁵⁸⁴ The purchase of the Read Album would have demonstrated to Berenson that she could guide Morgan's collecting strategy. The acquisition was also a way for Greene to keep her memories of her time with Berenson alive.

In April 1912, the *New York Times* interviewed Greene concerning Morgan's collection. When asked, "what trail [of interest] are you trying now?" Greene responded:

Well, you see to Mr Morgan, art is the first importance. And he's good enough to give me a certain amount of freedom to build up the library as I want it. Once he

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 116-117.

⁵⁸² Letter from Read to Greene, September 30, 1911, MCC 150549.

⁵⁸³ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, December 31, 1930, CGF MCG01504.

⁵⁸⁴ When Greene cabled Morgan about a particular manuscript that she had found while in Europe, he told her to use her own judgement. Samuels and Samuels, *Bernard Berenson, the Making of a Legend*, 109-110.

would never have anything to do with the primitive, but now his interest is thoroughly keen in it, and I hope he will soon be concerned with Moslem art. It is the art of this furthest past that is of the most importance, these futurists notwithstanding.⁵⁸⁵

Greene's persistent efforts to influence Morgan's tastes for Islamic art were finally taking hold. The same month, Morgan purchased a thirteenth-century Persian Bestiary (known as *Manāfi-i al-ḥayavā*) from the dealer Percy Moore Turner (1877-1950) for £8,000 (figure 3.7).⁵⁸⁶ When Greene told Berenson about the Bestiary purchase, he reminded her they had seen it together in Munich. Greene was distraught that she could not remember the manuscript writing to Berenson:

Dear, it makes me physically ill to be a wondrous fool as to absolutely forget a thing like that. I could beat myself, and I should think you would be far too disgusted with me to ever show [...] me a thing again!⁵⁸⁷

While less is known about the **purchase journey for the Bestiary**, we can attempt to map Morgan's behavioural, mental, and emotional responses during the **purchase process** (appendix 3.3). The French auctioneer and collector M. Charles Vignier (1834-1934) purchased the manuscript in Tehran (ca.1910) (M.500).⁵⁸⁸ While still in Vignier's collection, Martin selected it for inclusion in his book.⁵⁸⁹

Morgan may have first seen the Bestiary in proof sheet layouts of Martin's book during a 1910 visit to Quaritch.⁵⁹⁰ On that occasion, Quaritch promised to give

⁵⁸⁵ "Spending J.P. Morgan's Money for Rare Books," *New York Times*, 7 April, 1912, 8.

⁵⁸⁶ Letter from Greene to Turner, December 14, 1912, MCC 150007.

⁵⁸⁷ Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 4, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 9.

⁵⁸⁹ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 2, plates 261-262. Stanley, "Quaritch Islamicus," 158-159.

⁵⁹⁰ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, December 16, 1912, MCC 147648.

Morgan Martin's two-volume set free of charge.⁵⁹¹ Morgan was in “very good spirits” and jokingly asked E.H. Dring (died 1928) to act as a witness to Quaritch's promise.⁵⁹² When Morgan saw the proof sheets, Martin’s book was still in its early stages of production. The publishing of Martin's book was a massive undertaking for Quaritch, with a production schedule of two years and many revisions to keep the book size manageable.⁵⁹³

Around the time Morgan purchased the Bestiary, Claude Anet wrote an article about the manuscript for *The Burlington Magazine*.⁵⁹⁴ A telegraph from Fry mentions “after making copies” of a Persian manuscript before Morgan’s departure to the States.⁵⁹⁵ There was also some discussion about rebinding the manuscript, but Morgan was anxious to return it to the States immediately.⁵⁹⁶

Morgan may have associated the Bestiary with his pleasant (jovial) interactions with Quaritch the day he viewed the proof sheets for Martin's book. Knowing it would be included in Martin's book may have increased the perceived value of the manuscript for Morgan. The planned publication of the manuscript by Anet meant even more scholarly attention.⁵⁹⁷ It seems plausible (if only a circumstantial argument) that scholarly attention was necessary for Morgan. Morgan also knew the manuscript would please Greene and wanted her to see it as soon as possible. Unlike earlier purchases, Morgan made this purchase

⁵⁹¹ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, June 2, 1913, MCC 147657.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, February 21, 1913, MCC 149204. Stanley, "Quaritch Islamicus," 158-159.

⁵⁹⁴ Claude Anet, "The "Manafi-i-Heiwan"-I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23, no. 124 (July 1913): 224-225+228-229+231. Claude Anet, "The "Manafi-i-Heiwan"-II," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 23, no. 125 (August 1913): 261-264.

⁵⁹⁵ Letter from Fry to Morgan Sr., December 30, 1912, MCC Number not referenced in Corsair Online Collection Catalog, with Fry correspondence.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ The manuscript received further scholarly attention in 1933. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "A Note on the Manuscript of Manafi' al-Hayawan in the Library of Mr. J.P. Morgan," *Parnassus* 5, no. 3 (April 1933): 19-20.

autonomously — without first discussing it with Greene. To Greene's embarrassment, she could not remember seeing the manuscript in Munich.

Once the manuscript entered the collection, it became the reference point for other manuscripts considered and a revised marker of value for manuscripts already in the collection. Shortly after Morgan purchased the Bestiary, Greene invited him to the Metropolitan Museum of Art to view Persian objects. They likely viewed Edward C. Moore's (1827–1891) diverse collection of mosque lamps, Persian pottery and metalworks bequeathed to the museum upon his death.⁵⁹⁸ After the visit, Greene wrote to Berenson that she was amazed by Pierpont's "intuitive appreciation of the right things" and commented, "Oh! He is learning and fast."⁵⁹⁹ This correspondence demonstrates that Greene thought she was an important influence on Morgan and that the Metropolitan Museum of Art was an appropriate place for further study and appreciation of Islamic art.

Regarding **variables relevant to Morgan's Islamic book art collection formation and management**, Morgan continued to rely on his trusted dealer relationships with Imbert in Rome and Quaritch in London as **information inputs**. Greene's visit to the 1910 Munich Exhibition was a vital **information input**. The Read Album and the Bestiary were exhibited at the Munich Exhibition and included in Martin's book, indicating that items **displayed, published or discussed by scholars** were deemed collectable. Likewise, Anet's **planned publication** of the Bestiary may have influenced Morgan's decision to purchase the manuscript.

MORE MANUSCRIPTS PASSED OVER

While Morgan bought more manuscripts after 1910, he and Greene continued to turn down offers of manuscripts. Determining who was the final decision maker

⁵⁹⁸ Elizabeth L. Kerr Fish, "Edward C. Moore and Tiffany Islamic-Style Silver, c. 1867-1889," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* Spring-Summer 1999, Vol. 6, no. No. 2 (1999): 42-63.

⁵⁹⁹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, January 5, 1913, BB BER, 8.

on items passed over is difficult, but Greene frequently cited Morgan's lack of interest. For example, two months before Morgan purchased the Persian manuscripts from Imbert, Greene turned down two dealers offering Persian manuscripts stating that this avenue of collecting did not interest Morgan. In January 1911, curator Wilhelm Valentiner (1880-1958) of the decorative arts department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art sent a note of introduction to Greene for Mr Tabbagh, an Armenian dealer offering a Persian manuscript from the sixteenth century.⁶⁰⁰ Valentiner described the manuscript "as the finest thing of its kind he had ever seen."⁶⁰¹ Greene agreed with Valentiner's assessment but claimed Morgan refused to see it. In her reply to Valentiner, she commented, "Mr Morgan is not at all interested in Oriental art outside his Chinese porcelains."⁶⁰² Morgan's lack of appreciation of Persian manuscripts discouraged Greene, but she was determined "to make a fine collection of them."⁶⁰³

Several months later, Morgan appeared willing to add Persian material to the Library. In November 1911, the stockbroker E. Rollins Morse, one of Morgan's financiers, sent a Persian manuscript to the Library for review.⁶⁰⁴ Perhaps because he had a business relationship with Morse, he felt obligated to consider the manuscript.

At the end of 1911, Richard Gottheil (1862-1936) sent Greene several Persian manuscripts from G ejou for review.⁶⁰⁵ After reviewing the manuscripts "very carefully," Greene refused them, stating none were "sufficiently good enough to

⁶⁰⁰ Letter from Valentiner to Greene, January 17, 1911, MCC 152661.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Letter from Greene to Valentiner, February 2, 1911, MCC Number not referenced in Corsair Online Collection Catalog, Letter is with Valentiner correspondence.

⁶⁰³ Letter from Greene to Gottheil, February 1, 1911, MCC 155973.

⁶⁰⁴ Letter from Greene to R. Morse, November 15, 1911, MCC 152388.

⁶⁰⁵ Letter from Greene to Gottheil, December 30, 1911, MCC 155973. Letter from Gottheil to Greene, January 1, 1912, MCC 155603.

purchase for Mr Morgan's collection."⁶⁰⁶ G ejou's association with the manuscripts might have influenced Greene's decision not to consider them. Whether Greene discussed the manuscripts with Morgan or made this decision alone is unknown.

Manuscripts continued to be sent for consideration in 1912. These offers did not just come from dealers, scholars and business partners but also from diplomats. In April, three days after Greene was quoted in the *New York Times* about hoping to interest Morgan in Muslim art, Mirza Ali-Kuli Khan, the Persian Charg e d'Affaires to the United States, hand-delivered five volumes of Persian manuscripts for Morgan to consider.⁶⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Greene refused to show Khan's manuscripts to Morgan since the asking prices seemed "out of all proportion to their value."⁶⁰⁸ In turn, Khan said he would entertain any reasonable offer and only wanted to sell the manuscripts to help "some of my countrymen of interest."⁶⁰⁹ Khan sent detailed descriptions of the manuscripts and continued to write to Greene throughout 1912, wanting to know Morgan's thoughts, with each letter appearing increasingly desperate. By August, Greene had the chance to brief Morgan about the manuscripts, but he was not interested.⁶¹⁰ Greene informed Khan that Morgan had many Persian manuscripts of first quality and was "not desirous of adding to this number."⁶¹¹ At the time, Morgan had eleven manuscripts, most of which would not be considered top quality by today's standards.

After Greene refused Khan's manuscripts, he attempted to interest Morgan in other Islamic objects, leaving behind medals for inspection. Greene's assistant sent a letter to Khan saying: "Mr Morgan asked me to tell you that he is not

⁶⁰⁶ Letter from Greene to Gottheil, January 18, 1912, MCC 155603.

⁶⁰⁷ Letter from Khan to Greene, April 10, 1912, MCC 152147.

⁶⁰⁸ Letter from Greene to Khan, April 16, 1912, MCC 152147.

⁶⁰⁹ Letter from Khan to Greene, May 1, 1912, MCC 152147.

⁶¹⁰ Letter from Greene to Khan, August 29, 1912, MCC 152147.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*

interested in Persian art and therefore does not care about the purchase of the medals you left with Miss Greene.”⁶¹² Greene distanced herself from Khan by asking her assistant to respond. She also signalled to Khan that he had moved further away from access to Morgan. To get access to Morgan, most dealers had to first get to Greene, and only then was there a slight chance they would get past Greene to Morgan. However, Greene often used needing to ask Morgan as an excuse to avoid being the source of bad news.

By 1913, Greene’s ability to make decisions for the Library without consulting Morgan had increased. In early 1913, the dealer Elia Souhami submitted a collection of Persian manuscripts to Greene for review. Souhami represented a man “in need of money.”⁶¹³ Greene was not pleased with the prices and offered to pay half of the 150,000 francs asking price for one of the manuscripts with “a black cover and eight miniatures with borders on all the pages.”⁶¹⁴ No further correspondence about the manuscript survives, and none are known to be in the Morgan collection.

In late February 1913, the dealer Michel Dumani offered Greene a rare Persian manuscript by the calligrapher Sultan Ali Mashhadi (1453-1520).⁶¹⁵ Morgan had purchased other things from Dumani, including Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities. In his letter, Dumani stated he had discovered Ali was the first calligrapher to illustrate manuscripts with miniatures.⁶¹⁶ Greene immediately responded to Dumani, indicating the impossibility of purchasing the manuscript in Morgan’s absence and the futility of sending it for her review.⁶¹⁷ At the time,

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Letter from Souhami to Greene, January 20, 1913, MCC 154987.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Letter from Dumani to Greene, February 25, 1913, MCC 155911.

⁶¹⁶ "Hier en lisant dans la grande Encyclopédie j'ai constate que le dit Sultan Ale est le 1er qui et illustre les manuscrits par des miniatures, et qu'il est un maitre très important." Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Letter from Greene to Dumani, February 27, 1913, MCC 155911.

Morgan was in Egypt with the American Egyptologist Albert M. Light (1868-1934), curator of Egyptian art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶¹⁸ Greene, who likely used Morgan's absence as an excuse, probably had no interest in the manuscript.

While Greene said Morgan did not care for Islamic art, his **decision process** actions suggest otherwise. He seemed open to purchasing Persian works when they represented a small per cent of a more significant purchase, as in his acquisitions in March 1911 from Imbert. His interest waned when presented with an individual Persian manuscript — especially if it was from a dealer with whom he did not routinely do business, like Tabbagh, Khan and Souhami. Relationship with trusted dealers was a critical factor for Morgan in terms of **information inputs**.

In 1911, Greene agreed with Valentiner's assessment of the Tabbagh manuscript, but seemed powerless to purchase it. Yet, two years later, Greene negotiated prices with Souhami. In 1912, when Greene was interviewed by the *New York Times*, she commented, "Of course, I only carry on what he starts. I only fill in," which seems to imply that when Souhami presented his manuscripts in 1913, Morgan was fully engaged with Islamic art, and Greene had the authority to make purchases on his behalf.⁶¹⁹

MANUSCRIPTS BEING CONSIDERED AT THE TIME OF MORGAN'S DEATH

By 1913, Greene was considering Islamic manuscripts held by Victor Goloubew and in the former collection of Louis-François Cartier (1819-1904).⁶²⁰ A slight sense of urgency appears in Greene's letters to Berenson during this period:

⁶¹⁸ Charles Molesworth, *The Capitalist and the Critic, J.P. Morgan, Roger Fry, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Austin, 2016), 162.

⁶¹⁹ "Spending J.P. Morgan's Money for Rare Books," 8.

⁶²⁰ Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 4, 1913, BB BER, 8.

Do you remember the everlasting little Persian drawing of an angel you showed me some time ago? The original is in the Goulebeff [sic] collection, which I am anxious to try to buy. It's a wonderful collection, I think, and as far as I can learn, the best part of it was not exhibited in Paris.⁶²¹

Do you know Louis Cartier's collection of Persian miniatures? He is the jeweller, you know. I heard that he has some wonderful things. If you see them when you are in Paris, do write to me of them.⁶²²

Greene's comment that she was "anxious to try to buy" indicates she actively sought Islamic material. Her comment that "the best part of it was not exhibited" suggests that unknown treasures could sometimes be found. She also asked Berenson whether he knew anything about Alexander Cochran's collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶²³ While Berenson was hardly an expert on Islamic manuscripts, Greene hoped he could help her evaluate these collections. Because Berenson had developed methods of connoisseurship for Italian paintings and was also starting to collect Islamic works, perhaps Greene thought he was developing a similar approach to assess Persian paintings.

In mid-February, Vladimir Gregorievitch Simkhovitch (1874-1959) sold Morgan ten Persian and Indo-Persian miniatures for \$2,500.⁶²⁴ According to Schmitz, the miniatures were catalogued with the Read material in Morgan's collection.⁶²⁵ In mid-March, Dring asked whether Morgan would be interested in his collection of Persian miniatures for £4,000.⁶²⁶ The timing of Dring's letter was not good. Four days earlier, Greene wrote to Read about her concern about Morgan's "slight

⁶²¹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, January 5, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶²² Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 4, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶²³ Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 17, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶²⁴ Letter from Simkhovitch to Morgan Sr., February 12, 1913, MCC 147970.

⁶²⁵ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 120.

⁶²⁶ Molesworth, *The Capitalist and the Critic*, 162. Letter from E. Dring to Greene, March 18, 1913, MCC 49205.

illness.”⁶²⁷ Unfortunately, his sickness was severe.

ACQUISITIONS OF ISLAMIC ART AFTER PIERPONT MORGAN’S DEATH

Pierpont Morgan died in Rome on March 31, 1913.⁶²⁸ In the days leading up to his death, the hotel lobby where he was staying was “teeming with art dealers, antiquarians, foppish noblemen, shabby peddlers — all trying to unload a last painting or statue on the dying financier.”⁶²⁹ One of the dealers who visited Pierpont’s hotel was Imbert, who had just found “a fabulous collection of Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in Constantinople.”⁶³⁰ When he learned Pierpont had died, Imbert refused to pay his share for the manuscripts, leading to a losing legal battle with his business partner Tammaro de Marinis (1878-1969).⁶³¹

Greene was heartbroken over Pierpont’s death. In response to a note of sympathy from Cockerell, Greene wrote:

I had come to rely so much upon telling him everything and talking over everything with him, both cabbages and kings, and now there seems nowhere to turn or no one to turn to [...] I feel as if life has stopped for me, and it is all I can do to go on without him.⁶³²

(Greene’s comments on “cabbages and kings” references a book by the same

⁶²⁷ Letter from Greene to Read, March 14, 1913, MCC Letter is with Read correspondence.

⁶²⁸ "How Morgan Controlled Ten Billions of Nation’s Wealth," *Evening World* (New York), March 31, 1913, 2.

⁶²⁹ Chernow, *House of Morgan*, 157. “Morgan pretends to hate it but really loves his royal receptions and the crowds of dealers who line the passages in every hotel he goes to.” Letter from M. Berenson to H. Smith, June 2, 1907, BB BER , 8.

⁶³⁰ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 3.

⁶³¹ Legal document presenting the case between De Marinis and Imbert, held in Morgan Library, ARC 1079, Accession Number 213109, No. Document Number 658 (Court of Rome, March 16, 1914).

⁶³² Letter from Greene to Cockerell, April 29, 1913, British Library BL Add MS 52717.

title written by William Sydney Porter (pen name O. Henry) in 1904 and a poem, *The Walrus and the Carpenter*, by Lewis Carroll, published in 1871.)⁶³³ At the time of Morgan's death, the Library's Islamic manuscripts collection was heading in a promising direction. First-rate works like Read's Persian and Mughal Albums and the thirteenth-century Persian Bestiary superseded the mediocre items purchased early on. Greene contemplated the purchase of a few collections *en bloc*, including Goloubew and Cartier's collection. Greene's efforts to nudge Pierpont's collecting towards Islamic manuscripts and miniatures gained momentum. Unfortunately, Pierpont's death ruined those plans. Given his trusting relationship with Imbert, there is little doubt he would have purchased the manuscripts. Had Pierpont lived longer, the Islamic and Indian collections at the Morgan Library might have been much more prominent.

A month after Pierpont's death, Greene responded to Dring's offer of Persian manuscripts by stating the obvious. Any possible purchase of the Persian drawings was delayed until "an opportunity presented itself to lay it before Morgan Junior."⁶³⁴ By mid-July, Jack Morgan's opinion of Persian art was evident. In a letter to Berenson, Greene wrote:

This Mr Morgan is not only not interested in Persian art but can't endure it, so I imagine our collection along that line is finished. Isn't it too horrid when I had just gotten "my" Mr Morgan awakened to it?⁶³⁵

⁶³³ A few months after Greene met Berenson, she copied almost word for word lyrical lines from the autobiography, *The Story of My Heart*, by Richard Jefferies (1848-1887) in a love letter to Berenson suggesting she was unsure of her own voice when trying to communicate something "deep" and sometimes borrowed words from published works to convey her feelings. Or perhaps she knew Berenson would recognise the source and think of her as well-read. While this may seem tangential to the discussion about her growing interest in Islamic book art, it demonstrates Greene's complex character. Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 1, 1909, BB BER, 8, Box Berenson 60. "I thought of you a long time this morning when I was all alone in this beautiful god-made world [...]" R. Jefferies and S. J. Looker, *The Story of My Heart [My Autobiography]* (London, 1947), 33.

⁶³⁴ Letter from Greene to Quaritch, April 25, 1913, MCC 150493. William M. Griswold, "The Morgan Library Since Pierpont Morgan," *Master Drawings*, Drawings in American Museums, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 262. Benedict and Murray, *The Personal Librarian*, 261.

⁶³⁵ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 17, 1913, BB BER, 8.

The letter suggests Pierpont decided on avenues of collecting, and Jack would take on similar authority. Perhaps Greene did not feel she had the same trusting relationship with Jack, and he would limit her responsibilities and enforce stricter controls on purchases. While Jack had no intention of selling his father's books and manuscripts, Greene was still concerned that all her grander plans for the Library would be thwarted. She wrote Berenson, "I cannot help but feel that I will not be able to make the Library all that I want it to be."⁶³⁶ Greene feared "Mr De Jour" would not have the appetite to pay the prices and commissions required to acquire quality items.⁶³⁷ However, in 1919, Greene's opinion of Jack and his approach to the Library had improved immensely, as indicated in a letter to Dring:

The present Mr Morgan is a continual joy to me as a Collector. In his sense of appreciation [...] of rapidly interesting knowledge and sure recognition of the best, he will (I fear!!) soon surpass even his great Father. He has a very fine eye, an astounding memory and, being a voracious reader, is appallingly knowledgeable. [...] ⁶³⁸

The possibility also exists that Greene presented Jack as knowledgeable so that she could defer to his "decisions" in declining things she did not want — a ploy she used numerous times when Pierpont was alive.

In 1915, Greene surprisingly added several Qur'an fragments to the Morgan Library (M.0352, M.0733, and M.0539).⁶³⁹ She purchased the items from Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Meyer-Riefstahl organised in 1914 an exhibition of Persian Islamic book art in New York.⁶⁴⁰ The experience led Meyer-Riefstahl to believe that studying Islamic art in American

⁶³⁶ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 29, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶³⁷ Letter from Greene to Berenson, May 9, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶³⁸ Letter from Greene to E. Dring, June 24, 1919, MCC Letter is filed with Dring correspondence.

⁶³⁹ Invoice from Kevorkian to Greene, April 22, 1914, MCC Letter is with Kevorkian correspondence.

⁶⁴⁰ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, January 13, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

museums and private collections would be helpful, even though Freer had advised against it.⁶⁴¹ At the time of the purchase, he had been advising Greene on the Morgan Library collection.

In 1916, the Library acquired a Crusader Bible from Sir Thomas Phillipps' (1792-1872) collection. The Bible, made in Paris ca.1244-1254, was previously owned by the ruler of the Safavid dynasty Shah Abbas (reign 1588-1629). The incomplete manuscript included Persian translations of the captions and calligraphy in the Nastaliq script (figure 3.8).⁶⁴² Greene visited Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (1856-1938), grandson of Phillipps, on November 21, 1916, and purchased the manuscript without Jack's prior approval. Three days later, she wrote to Jack about the purchase:

On my visit to Cheltenham this week, I purchased from the present owner, Mr Fitzroy Fenwick, his famous 13-century French manuscript of the Bible Historiée, the finest example of French art of the period in private hands.[...] there are two others [one] in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris (now in the course of publication by the Comte de la Borde) and one at Cambridge – for this latter single sheet, they paid several years ago £300. I agreed to pay Fenwick £10,000 for his 43 leaves.⁶⁴³

Greene probably mentioned the price paid several years before for a single sheet to show Jack she had obtained the manuscript as a bargain. She also focused on its European history, thinking that is what would appeal to Jack. The manuscript's association with Shah Abbas and Persian translations was a bonus for Greene but not something that would have interested Jack.

In 1922, Jack purchased a tenth-century Qur'an from Sir Lionel Cust (1859–

⁶⁴¹ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, February 6, 1915, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

⁶⁴² Souren Melikian, "Father to Son to the Public: The Pierpont Morgan Legacy," *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), June 5, 1993, 7.

⁶⁴³ Letter from Greene to Morgan Jr., November 24, 1916, MCC Letter is with Morgan correspondence.

1929).⁶⁴⁴ Cust was the co-editor with Roger Fry of *The Burlington Magazine*. At the time of the sale, he worked in the Surveyor's Office for the National Portrait Gallery in London. Jack wrote to Cust:

My dear Mr Cust, The manuscript [Qur'an] has arrived and interests me to a certain extent, but not to any such figure as item No. 121 in the Maggs catalogue which you sent me. I consulted some authorities after receiving your first letter and am advised that £650 would be a fair offer [...]⁶⁴⁵

A few days later, Jack wrote to Cust: "I am very glad my offer was so satisfactory to you, and I am much pleased that no dealer made a profit between you and me."⁶⁴⁶ Based on this exchange, Jack was concerned about the price and wanted to consult authorities before purchasing. Presumably, Jack consulted Greene before making the purchase.

The Morgan Library continued to focus on European manuscripts, adding only three single-sheet folios and a Turkish manuscript from Demotte and Company (through Herbert P. Weissberger) in 1935. The folios included an eighteenth-century Mughal miniature — *a peri holding an effigy of the sun riding a composite lion* (M.787). The Read Album did not have a composite painting; perhaps Greene viewed this as a gap in the Mughal collection. The Turkish manuscript (M.788), a sixteenth-century astrological manuscript, was considered one of the most important of its kind, which received academic attention as early as 1920 (figure 3.9).⁶⁴⁷

While Jack initially seemed opposed to adding Persian works to the Library, a few

⁶⁴⁴ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 4.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid. Jack possibly was referring to a seventh-century Qur'an written on vellum offered by Maggs for £1,600. Maggs Bros., *Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures, European & Oriental* (London, 1921), 122.

⁶⁴⁶ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 4.

⁶⁴⁷ E. Blochet and Bibliothèque nationale (France). Département Des Manuscrits, *Les Peintures Des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1914-1920), 308-309 and plates 371-372.

things did creep into the collection. Meyer-Riefstahl was an **information input** in Greene's decision to acquire a few Qur'an fragments. Jack also mentioned getting expert advice before purchasing the Qur'an from Cust. Greene's purchase of the Crusader Bible without Jack's prior approval demonstrated that Greene still wielded **decision-making** power, though it had to be in line with Jack's collecting interests. While the Persian translations and association with Shah Abbas may have been part of Greene's **evaluation** of the manuscript, she knew these aspects would not appeal to Jack.

Jack's purchase of the tenth-century Qur'an from Cust is an anomaly that is difficult to explain. It reveals that he preferred to deal with private collectors instead of dealers and consulted others when unsure of the price to offer. The Turkish manuscript purchased in 1935 received scholarly attention from Blocket in the 1920s, which may have influenced Greene or Jack's **evaluation** of the manuscript. While Islamic manuscripts were never a genuine interest of Jack, the possibility exists that both Greene and Jack viewed this part of the manuscript collection as complete, albeit with a few holes, later filled in with a few Qur'an fragments, a composite painting and a Turkish manuscript. By 1914, Berenson's interest in Islamic manuscripts had waned. The last invoice in his archives for Islamic material is dated July 2, 1914, with the words "never taken" handwritten on the invoice.⁶⁴⁸

In April 1915, Greene wrote to Berenson that she had gone through the Goloubew collection with a fine-tooth comb and decided it was a mess.⁶⁴⁹ Claiming she was "through with Persian miniatures after the 15th century," she thanked "Gawd devoutly every day that [she had] escaped it."⁶⁵⁰ In the interim, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts purchased the collection with the assistance of Meyer-Riefstahl. Greene was so dismayed that she convinced the curator Hervey Edward Wentzel (1888-1918) to withdraw half of the collection

⁶⁴⁸ Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, July 2, 1914, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁴⁹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 27, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

from a planned exhibition.⁶⁵¹ Greene also questioned the quality of the Islamic items in the Morgan Library and even briefly considered selling everything except for the thirteenth-century Bestiary.⁶⁵² Greene's ability to quickly and intuitively judge the quality of Islamic works had improved significantly to the point where she felt confident in advising the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and wanted to change the course for the future of the Morgan Library collection.

In 1926, French dealer Edouard Champion (1882-1938) asked Greene if she was interested in Anet's Persian miniatures, reminding her that Anet authored the monograph on Morgan's Bestiary.⁶⁵³ Champion suggested she write to him directly so he could arrange a private viewing of the miniatures "without the onerous participation of [the dealer, Arnold] Seligmann."⁶⁵⁴ Greene responded, "we have limited our collection of Persian miniatures and manuscripts to those dating no later than 1300."⁶⁵⁵ This date restriction eliminated Mughal miniatures and manuscripts from further consideration for the collection. While only a few in Anet's collection would be of interest with these restrictions, none were added to the Morgan Library.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE MORGAN COLLECTION: EXHIBITS AND PUBLICATIONS

In February 1914, Jack loaned several Persian, Indo-Persian, and Qur'an leaves from the Read Album to the Fogg Museum.⁶⁵⁶ In December 1917, the Morgan

⁶⁵¹ "It broke Harvey Wetzel's heart when I first told him but wonder of wonder when he was here last week, he told me that he had quite come to my way of thinking and had withdrawn from exhibition in the Boston Museum over 3/6 of the collection." *Ibid.*

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*

⁶⁵³ Letter from Champion to Greene, November 9, 1925, MCC 154678.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁵ Letter from Greene to Champion, January 15, 1926, MCC 155848.

⁶⁵⁶ "Morgan Objects on View. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Reopened to the Public," *Boston Globe*, February 5, 1914, 2.

Library loaned the Bestiary to the Grolier Club in New York.⁶⁵⁷ One reviewer wrote, "the walls bloom like a garden of exotic flowers with the miniatures that form an essential, not an extraneous, part of the Mohammedan book"⁶⁵⁸ The reviewer's comments are full of imagery playing to the Orientalised view of the region. In June 1918, the Morgan Library loaned several Persian miniatures to the University Museum in Philadelphia.⁶⁵⁹ Additional Islamic manuscripts and miniatures were loaned in 1923 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶⁶⁰ Loans continued in the 1930s, with an exhibition of Persian works at the Fogg Museum in 1930, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1934 and the de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco in 1937.⁶⁶¹ Unlike Freer, the Morgan Library was open to sharing its Islamic manuscript collection with other institutions in America. However, Jack did little to promote this part of the collection. On at least one occasion, Greene tried to coordinate an Islamic exhibition in the same vein as the 1910 Exhibition.⁶⁶² Nevertheless, as mentioned in the chapter discussing Freer's collection, she quickly lost interest in the idea when Freer was too ill to help, and her interest in Meyer-Riefstahl, who she initially found "delightful...with an ingratiating manner and a ripping sense of humour," was exhausted.⁶⁶³

In April 1914, Greene asked Abraham Yohannan (1853-1925) to help with the Bestiary, including the translations and sequence of the leaves.⁶⁶⁴ Two months

⁶⁵⁷ "Mohammedan Books at the Grolier Club," *New York Times*, December 16, 1917, 95.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ "Art and Artists Pass in Review," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 23, 1918, 60.

⁶⁶⁰ "Rare Islamic Art on View Tuesday: Metropolitan Museum to Open Exhibit of Miniatures Lent by Noted Collectors," *New York Times*, October 7, 1933, 17.

⁶⁶¹ Cudon, "A Field Pioneered by Amateurs," 20. Helen B. Hall, "Exhibition of Islamic Art, San Francisco, 1937," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 493.

⁶⁶² Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 25, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁶³ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 27, 1915, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 26, 1915, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 3, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁶⁴ Letter from Greene to Yohannan, April 20, 1914, MCC Letter is with Yohannan correspondence.

later, Greene turned to S. H. Taqizādeh (1878-1970) to catalogue four other Persian manuscripts in the collection, including a *Kulliyāt* (MS M.530) and three Quintets (MS, M.469, M.470 and M.471).⁶⁶⁵ After Taqizādeh catalogued the manuscripts, three leaves were extracted from MS M.470 and found in Greene's private collection (M.847.1-3). When future acquisitions seemed unlikely, Greene shifted her attention to learning more about the collection.

While Freer only provided the briefest descriptions for his items, Greene employed two scholars to determine the proper sequence of the Bestiary and catalogue some manuscripts in the collection. She had taken a similar approach when Pierpont asked her to coordinate the publishing of Coptic manuscripts. She wrote to Berenson that she felt a "heavy responsibility," especially since she did not know "one damned thing about Coptic art, the Coptic Language or the Bible."⁶⁶⁶ Greene was determined to place the matter in the "most competent hands" — sparing neither her time, energy, nor Jack's money. Interestingly, published research did not necessarily sway Greene when considering an object for inclusion in the collection. However, once something had entered the collection, she wanted knowledgeable scholars to write about it.

In 1924, Jack transitioned the Morgan Library to a public institution to memorialise his father with a group of trustees retaining full power.⁶⁶⁷ While the Islamic collection remained intact, it was not central to the Library's holdings. In 1929, when Greene wrote the five-year report about the Library's acquisitions, loans and exhibitions, no mention was made of Islamic manuscripts. Even when the International Congress of Oriental Scholars met at the Morgan Library in October 1926, they discussed its Byzantine manuscripts, not the Islamic ones.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ Letter from Taqizādeh to Greene, December 5, 1914, MCC 148213.

⁶⁶⁶ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁶⁷ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 4.

⁶⁶⁸ Belle da Costa Greene, *The Pierpont Morgan Library: A Review of the Growth, Development and Activities of the Library during the Period between Its Establishment as an Educational Institution in February 1924 and the Close of the Year 1929* (New York, 1930), 11.

GREENE'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS

While Jack may have expressed disinterest in Persian manuscripts, it did not deter Greene's interest or her acquisition of related reference books. In February 1914, Greene ordered the four-volume set of *Storia do Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci (1638–1717), a translated version of a late seventeenth-century travelogue which included a recently discovered fourth volume with portraits of Mughal emperors and their families.⁶⁶⁹ She also inquired about a few books on the Ajanta Caves paintings that Quaritch had trouble locating, one she may have borrowed from Freer when she, Berenson and Berenson's wife Mary visited his collection in Detroit later the same month.⁶⁷⁰ After the visit to Freer, Greene wrote to Cockerell that Asian art captivated her:

It is difficult for me to tell you how completely this collection revolutionized my "art" life. I felt that, at last, after having spent thousands of years in small weed-choked streams, I had sailed "into the open." There are few things that I know in European art which can lift up again the grandeur, the immensity, the all pervasive mysticism and selflessness of this wonderful school of painting at its best, and I am fully convinced that I have seen bits of it at its best.⁶⁷¹

Greene did not mention viewing Freer's Indo-Persian miniatures in correspondence. Nonetheless, immediately after viewing his collection, she instructed her secretary to request a list of "books or reproductions of Persian art, including illuminated books, Indian art and literature, Chinese painting, bronzes and pottery" available from the bookseller Quaritch (table 3.1).⁶⁷² Collectors like

⁶⁶⁹ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, February 17, 1914, MCC 149213.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. "A friend of mine has access to my copy and would like to possess one herself." Letter from Freer to Binyon, August 17, 1916, FSA Box 10, Folders 21-22.

⁶⁷¹ Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life*, 321.

⁶⁷² Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 27, 1912, BB BER, 8.

Freer and Greene may have been rivals but also inspired one another.⁶⁷³ Freer was an information input for Greene and part of her reference group serving as an **internalised environmental influence**.

On April 13, Greene ordered several books from the list provided by Quaritch. The letter referencing Greene's order is not included in the Morgan Library archives, but there is an invoice from Quaritch dated May 12 and a follow-up letter dated May 13.⁶⁷⁴ The invoice listed the books Greene inquired about earlier, including the Ajanta Caves Paintings book. The invoice stated the purchaser was "Mr Morgan's Library." Yet, of the thirty-four books on the invoice, only three are still in the Morgan Library reference collection: *Indian Drawings* by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *A history of fine art in India and Ceylon, from the earliest times to the present day* by Vincent A. Smith and *The Rulers of India and the Chiefs of Rajputana 1550 to 1897* by Thomas Holbein Hendley. (Quaritch mistakenly sent the Hendley book, which Greene had not ordered, but she kept it.) Interestingly, ten titles are in Berenson's reference collection, including the limited edition Griffiths' *Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta* 2 volumes (1896-7) and Fergusson's *Rock Cut Temples of India* (1845).

That most books were intended for Berenson's collection and not the Morgan Library is plausible based on the number of times Greene requested Islamic art books be sent to Berenson. In 1911, she asked Quaritch to send Blochet's *Peintures de Manuscrits Arabes, Persans et Turcs* to Berenson.⁶⁷⁵ At the end of 1912, Greene ordered three copies of Martin's *The Miniature Paintings of Persia, India and Turkey*. She noted that one copy was for the library, and two copies were to be billed to her personally, one of which was to be sent to Berenson.⁶⁷⁶ At

⁶⁷³ "The visit [...] really stimulated me, and your appreciation and sympathy with my feeble efforts to secure objects of art worthy of our National Gallery." Letter from Freer to Berenson, March 15, 1914, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁷⁴ Letters from Quaritch to Greene, May 12 and May 13, 1914, MCC 147659.

⁶⁷⁵ Letter from Greene to Quaritch, April 14, 1911, MCC 148478.

⁶⁷⁶ Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 31, 1912, BB BER, 8.

first, Berenson would not accept the gift. Greene responded, “I am so sorry you would not let me give you Martin’s book...I like you to have the sort of thing you have taught me to love from me.”⁶⁷⁷ In February 1913, in a letter discussing her disappointment in the Martin book, Greene promised to send Berenson another book of a “similar opus by some German with an unpronounceable name” that Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann was planning to publish.⁶⁷⁸ Several years later, when Arthur Upham Pope visited Berenson’s Library, he exclaimed, “the sight of your library stirred the unsleeping pang of insufficient knowledge to new virulence,” indicating it must have been extensive.⁶⁷⁹

Evidence exists in the Morgan Library archives that Greene also ordered books for her personal use, including a letter to Dring on June 22, 1919:

I am quite ashamed to have let my little personal account stand so long and added a pound or two to the draft to cover the interest which has been accumulating all this time. If you had many such customers as myself, I fear you would not be able to grow many such beautiful flowers as you once brought me when I was in London.⁶⁸⁰

While, at first glance, Greene’s potential misuse of Morgan Library funds to help build Berenson’s reference library might seem tangential to this thesis’s primary focus, it demonstrates that Greene was a complicated character who potentially abused the authority the Morgan Library had given her. A further concern is the number of items purchased for the Morgan Library that landed in her private collection, discussed below.

Two manuscripts and at least four leaves in Greene’s collection came from Morgan's Library (table 3.2). Three individual leaves were removed from

⁶⁷⁷ Letter from Greene to Berenson, January 5, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁷⁸ Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 11, 1913, BB BER, 8. Greene was referring to the two-volume *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* by Phillip Walter Schulz published by Hiersemann in 1914.

⁶⁷⁹ Letter from Pope to Berenson, August 3, 1925, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁸⁰ Letter from Greene to E. Dring, June 22, 1919, MCC 147705.

manuscripts in Pierpont's collection after being catalogued in 1914.⁶⁸¹ The acquisition dates for the other items in Greene's collection have yet to be discovered. It is possible that some of Greene's Islamic book art was inherited from her sister Mary.⁶⁸²

Greene's relationship with Berenson undoubtedly influenced her decision to collect Islamic material. After Greene and Berenson attended the Munich Exhibition in 1910, they continued to write for several years. The tone of the letters slowly evolved from lines of devotion to more collegial exchanges about art, gossip, and books. However, Greene discussed her private Islamic manuscript collection in one surviving letter. In 1926, Greene purchased several leaves from an illustrated Qur'an and a seventeenth-century book of Muslim prayers. Greene did not buy the items with much forethought, admitting she was "sorter [sic] drunk at the time," having spent the afternoon "rousing and sousing" with friends.⁶⁸³ While it is unlikely that Greene made all her purchases under the fog of alcohol, it was a problem she wrestled with, as indicated by the number of letters to Berenson where she discussed giving up all her vices and trying to stay on the water wagon.⁶⁸⁴ More importantly, the letter suggests that the purchase was made impulsively.

Berenson focused almost exclusively on illuminated miniatures, while Greene ventured into early calligraphic material on vellum. Why she collected quietly, barely mentioning the effort in her correspondence, is uncertain. Maybe she viewed Berenson as a rival collector and wanted the best quality and value items

⁶⁸¹ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 39. Letter from Taqizādeh to Greene, December 5, 1914, MCC 148213.

⁶⁸² Her sister's obituary mentioned she had acquired a "valuable collection of antiques of medieval and Oriental art." "Mrs. Mary L. Martin Has Died after a Flu Attack," *Ithaca Journal*, February 7, 1933, 5.

⁶⁸³ Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life*, 414.

⁶⁸⁴ "I have done very few wild and crazy things 'after hours,' and by the way, did you know I had been on the wagon?" Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 31, 1912, BB BER, 8. "Have given up all bad habits except smoking. I hope that reformation will come soon." Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 1, 1912, BB BER, 8.

for herself. She might have also been insecure about her selections. Berenson stopped collecting Islamic material in 1914. Greene was still actively collecting Islamic works until 1926 when she wrote about her purchases to Berenson.

While not necessarily discussing her collection, Greene mentioned her preferences regarding Islamic manuscripts to Cockerell and Meyer-Riefstahl. She conveyed her appreciation for the Kufic script to both gentlemen. In a 1914 letter to Cockerell about a European manuscript in his possession, Greene wrote, "The page of your letter delights my eye, as only a page of Keefic [Kufic] or that of our Gospels does."⁶⁸⁵ In another letter in 1928 from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, he related that Miss Greene "does not yet have patience enough to get into the discreet swing of a fine Naskhi [Naskh] calligraphy. It must be the thrill of the Cufic [Kufic]."⁶⁸⁶ Nevertheless, other scripts, including naskh and thuluth, are included in the Morgan Library and her private collection. In the same letter to Cockerell, Greene stated, "I find little of interest in the later Persian work, and Indo-Persian and Indian I loathe and despise."⁶⁸⁷ Later works from these regions are also in her collection, including at least ten Mughal works from the nineteenth century.

Islamic art also influenced other aspects of Greene's life, including her fashion choices. In one of the miniatures in her collection, Lailā is shown with a crown of feathers, which resembles (almost identically) one of Greene's great plumed hats (figure 3.10). Greene's hat was the accepted fashion of the day, but she may have been more inclined to wear it because of the connection. In 1913, when invited to a fancy dress ball in New York, Greene dressed in a Persian costume copied from one of the Persian drawings she and Berenson saw at the Munich exhibition.

Greene retired from the Morgan Library in 1948 after forty-one years of service.

⁶⁸⁵ Letter from Greene to Cockerell, March 10, 1914, British Library BL Add MS 52717.

⁶⁸⁶ Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, November 22, 1928, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁸⁷ Letter from Greene to Cockerell, March 10, 1914, British Library BL Add MS 52717.

She died two years later. Berenson lived another nine years. Though he claimed not to miss Greene when she died in 1950, Berenson reproduced Persian miniatures in his collection as his personal Christmas cards for the last two years of his life.⁶⁸⁸ In 1961, Richard Ettinghausen published Berenson's collection of Persian miniatures, and in 2018, Harvard held an exhibition entitled "A New Light on Bernard Berenson: Persian Paintings from Villa I Tatti."⁶⁸⁹ In contrast, Greene's collection was absorbed into the Morgan Library and has received no attention.

Greene employed several **information inputs** in creating her private collection, including reference books, scholars including Meyer-Riefstahl, Read, Berenson, Yohannan and Taqizadeh, and the Goloubew collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Cochran's collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Freer's collection while still housed in Detroit. She also spent time with Laurence Binyon in 1912 — though he was focused on Chinese and Japanese art then.⁶⁹⁰

Her time spent with Meyer-Riefstahl reviewing the Morgan Library collection would have impacted her **information processing** and connoisseurship skills the most. Greene's personal and professional relationships blended with Berenson, Read and Cockerell, serving as **information inputs** and **internalised environmental influences**.

Greene purchased a few of her items without careful consideration. The lack of correspondence makes determining her collection's decision process stages

⁶⁸⁸ "When I last heard of her, Belle Greene was not expected to outlive the day. I am touched, moved but not stirred to the bottom, as I should have been when for years, she was uppermost in my plans, my thoughts, and my dreams. [...] now her passing does not affect me poignantly as that of a person who shared my daily life, who was an integral and irreplaceable part of its machinery." Bernard Berenson, *Sunset and Twilight: From the Diaries of 1947-1958* (New York, 1963), 173. Basil Gray, "Reviewed Work: Persian Miniatures in the Bernard Berenson Collection by R. Ettinghausen," *The Burlington Magazine* 105, no. 727 (October 1963): 454.

⁶⁸⁹ R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Miniatures in the Bernard Berenson Collection*, World Painting, (Milano, 1961). "A New Light on Bernard Berenson: Persian Paintings from Villa I Tatti," 2017, accessed October 26, 2018, <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org>.

⁶⁹⁰ Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 6, 1912, BB BER, 8.

difficult. While Greene was open to loaning items from the Morgan Library to public exhibitions, she kept her collection secretly shelved away in her apartment. There is no indication that she shared her Islamic manuscripts with anyone. Though when she received a request from Fogg to loan her Bernardo Daddi painting, a gift from Berenson, she admitted to Berenson that she finally felt like a “great collector.”⁶⁹¹

Greene’s **evaluation criteria** for her private collection differed significantly from those for the Morgan Library. Greene’s collection focused on calligraphy and ninth- and tenth-century Qur’an leaves on vellum. These items, particularly items on vellum, are considered valuable in today’s market. However, when Greene collected them, they received little scholarly attention and were much more reasonably priced. Greene may have been particularly attracted to items on vellum because of her experience with European manuscripts, which were mainly prepared on parchment.

Greene may have been **motivated to collect** Islamic art because the objects reminded her of Berenson and their time together at the Munich Exhibition, which Greene referred to in a letter to Berenson as “our pet place.”⁶⁹² Greene also discussed wanting her apartment to reflect her collecting interests and tastes — even sending Berenson a floor plan of her apartment with an emphasis on the location of her library.⁶⁹³ Not only did she want a library that communicated her refined tastes, but it was also a place she privately enjoyed - where she could escape the stresses of her daily responsibilities at the Morgan Library. On Christmas day in 1910, after helping “Mr Big Chief” (as she sometimes called Pierpont) with his Christmas tree, she returned to her apartment and crawled into bed with a slew of monographs of Italian cities Berenson had sent her. She wrote

⁶⁹¹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 5, 1915, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁹² Letter from Greene to Berenson, September 16, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁹³ Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 27, 1910, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 9, 1912, BB BER, 8.

to Berenson that she was having a “heavenly time” with “Sienna on my lap, Verona by one side, Arezzo on the other and all the others strewn over the bed.”⁶⁹⁴

THE MYSTERY OF THE “BORROWED” MANUSCRIPTS AND MINIATURES

Several possibilities exist to explain how some of Pierpont Morgan’s miniatures and manuscripts became part of Greene’s collection. First, Jack may have given Greene the items. While Jack was not fond of Persian art, he knew Greene was interested in this part of the collection. Jack giving Greene an entire manuscript, like the Quintet manuscript (MS M.836) or the Qur’an manuscript (MS M.835), is conceivable. Jack extracting a few leaves from a bound manuscript as a gift — particularly richly illuminated manuscripts like MS M.470 and MS M.540 is more difficult to believe. There is no evidence that the two manuscripts were disbound in the early twentieth century. MS M.470 is described as possibly having the original binding with new leather borders, recent red leather doublures and a missing flap.⁶⁹⁵ M.540 was rebound in 1992.⁶⁹⁶

Greene may have purchased some manuscripts and individual leaves during this period for her collection. However, if so, the Morgan Library archives do not contain sales documentation. As Greene’s financial situation improved, she became more interested in her private surroundings, particularly her library.

The third and most likely explanation is that Greene viewed her and Morgan Library collections as the same. Whether they were in her home or the Library’s cellar made no difference. Greene loved the Morgan Library and its books so much that she sometimes forgot Pierpont was involved. In April 1912, she wrote to Berenson, “all my friends are going to Europe,... and I am being left to my

⁶⁹⁴ Letter from Greene to Berenson, December 25, 1910, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁹⁵ Schmitz et al., *Pierpont Morgan Library*, 39.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

books.”⁶⁹⁷ A few months later, she wrote to Berenson, “I find my library much too small for the number of books.”⁶⁹⁸ In both letters, Greene underlined the word “my.” In both cases, she was referring to the Morgan Library. In 1914, when Martin’s two-volume book *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey* was released, Greene wrote to Berenson:

I received Martin's book [...] I do not find the reproductions very good — there are quite a number of illustrations therein which are now in 'our' collection, notably the Bestiary (plates 20 +) and about three of them we bought from Read.⁶⁹⁹

Greene emphasised "our" in the letter, again demonstrating she viewed the Morgan Library collection and her personal collection as the same.

A final possibility is that Greene took advantage of her autonomy in the Library and took the miniatures and manuscripts without Jack’s knowledge. Based on Jack’s disinterest in Islamic items, he was unlikely to view the items and notice a few miniatures missing. Greene might have even justified taking the items as compensation for her long hours at the Library. Greene worked tirelessly, and the number of hours worked increased each year, especially after Jack took over the Library. In 1928, she wrote to Berenson, “I have worked at the library until midnight four nights out of seven, and I have gone home so physically exhausted and oh-so-little interested that I’ve just been rude and cross so that I have not seen or met many new people.”⁷⁰⁰

Greene purchasing reference books for Berenson with Morgan Library funds indicates a willingness to appropriate resources for private use. She may have also used the Library’s funds to subsidise her collection. As mentioned above, Greene purchased ten Persian and Indo-Persian miniatures for \$2,500 on

⁶⁹⁷ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 9, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁹⁸ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁶⁹⁹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 18, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁷⁰⁰ Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 18, 1928, BB BER, 8.

February 12, 1913, a month before Pierpont died.⁷⁰¹ While the Morgan Library lists the miniatures with the Read Albums, the description loosely matches some items Greene bequeathed to the Morgan Library. A small Indian album (M.848 and M.849), including six miniatures and six calligraphies of various dimensions, schools and dates, was part of Greene's bequest.

Further confirming this possibility is that the original invoice for the Read purchase has yet to be found, so there is no way to know how many leaves were purchased from Read. In a letter to Berenson dated five days after the purchase, Greene mentioned she had just purchased six Persian miniatures, and she felt sure when he laid eyes on these "beauties," he would want to steal them.⁷⁰² Greene's word choice is interesting and might subconsciously convey her actions.

Two other invoices in the Morgan Library concerning Islamic calligraphy leaves cannot be linked to items in the collection. The first invoice is for \$500 from H. Kevorkian, dated April 22, 1914, for a "Koran" (Kufic) fragment on parchment dated to the eighth or ninth century.⁷⁰³ A second invoice is for \$90 from H. Kevorkian, dated February 26, 1921, for one leaf of Kufic calligraphy on parchment. In her private collection, Greene had several Qur'an leaves with Kufic calligraphy matching these descriptions.⁷⁰⁴ These may have been unauthorised purchases of items intended for Greene's collection. Greene may have rationalised the purchases as items that should be purchased for the Morgan Library and would eventually be in the Library after her death. The Morgan Library was Greene's lifelong passion — they were inseparable. As a result, she may not have always differentiated between Morgan Library's interests and

⁷⁰¹ Letter from Simkhovitch to Sr., February 12, 1913, MCC 147970.

⁷⁰² Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 18, 1913, BB BER, 8.

⁷⁰³ Letter from Kevorkian to Greene, April 22, 1914, MCC Letter is with Kevorkian correspondence.

⁷⁰⁴ Letter from Kevorkian to Greene, February 26, 1921, MCC Letter is with Kevorkian correspondence.

resources and her own, especially since finances were frequently an issue, and she planned to bequeath her collection to the Morgan Library.⁷⁰⁵ However, unless further evidence emerges, this must remain speculation.

CONCLUSION

During the early twentieth century, the most important Mughal acquisition for the Morgan Library was the fifty-four leaves acquired as part of the Read Album in 1911. Greene, who had seen some leaves exhibited at the Munich Exhibition, likely encouraged Pierpont to add them to the Morgan Library collection. Whether she realised some leaves were Mughal is unlikely. Whether Pierpont was attracted to the Read Album because of his recent purchase of Rembrandt copies of Mughal works is possible but ultimately also unlikely.

Pierpont's purchase of the thirteenth-century Persian Bestiary in 1912 may have influenced Greene's opinion about the value of things already in the collection and certainly limited what came into the collection afterwards. Two years later, in 1914, Greene expressed her dislike of later Persian works and her loathing of Indo-Persian and Indian material. In 1926, Greene stated that the Morgan Library was only interested in Islamic material dating no later than 1300, eliminating Mughal works from further consideration.

In her private collection, Greene had at least ten Mughal leaves, primarily dated from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nonetheless, no indication exists that Pierpont or Greene proactively sought Mughal materials for their collections. The Mughal works in the Morgan Library and Greene collections are there because of their interest in Islamic book art. However, Islamic book art was never central to Pierpont's collecting efforts — he was a reluctant collector. While Pierpont had acquired a few things on his own, Greene is credited with encouraging him to consider important Islamic works that make the Morgan

⁷⁰⁵ Greene mentioned her strained financial situation in a few letters. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 5, 1915, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, April 22, 1927, BB BER, 8.

Library collection what it is today.

Regarding Pierpont's **collecting personality**, collecting was a form of entertainment for him, and there is no indication he had a particular endpoint in mind for the Islamic book art collection (appendix 3.4). However, Pierpont frequently published parts of his collection — when he deemed an avenue of the collection was complete. While the press, especially after Pierpont's death, portrayed him as a compulsive collector who relied on others' advice, this may have been the case for some parts of his collection but not his Library. Greene said Pierpont was like a “boy among his books” and could remember every book he had purchased and where it sat on his bookshelves.⁷⁰⁶ In many letters to Berenson, she described Pierpont sitting for hours with his books. He was also willing to share his books — the doors of the Morgan Library were open to scholars and other interested parties — as long as Pierpont was in town and liked them.⁷⁰⁷

Greene had a deep knowledge of the collection and continuously focused on improving her understanding of what was in the collection and what was required to complete it. She had friendly social relationships with curators and scholars in Europe and more professional relationships with individuals in America. As her connoisseurship skills improved, Greene felt comfortable advising others about their holdings, particularly the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Regarding her private collection, Greene's **collecting personality** was a dabbler or casual collector (appendix 3.5). However, she used the knowledge she had gained building the Morgan Library collection to ensure she acquired the best her limited resources could buy. Unlike the Morgan Library collection, she did not share her private collection with others.

As a former art history student at Göttingen University in Germany, Pierpont had

⁷⁰⁶ "Spending J.P. Morgan's Money for Rare Books," 80.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

a **genuine interest in art** (appendix 3.6).⁷⁰⁸ He relished meeting with dealers when he travelled and was close friends with several men in the industry, including Bernard Alfred Quaritch (1871-1913) and Roger Fry. The press reported that he approached his collecting with the same business acumen he applied to his professional life. However, personal correspondence suggests his art-buying trips were pleasant and a way to distract him from the daily stresses of his working life. Unlike Freer, who had a solid sense of what he was trying to create with his harmony of objects, Pierpont was a voracious collector of anything that tickled his fancy, as noted by a 1911 cartoon for *Puck Magazine* portraying Pierpont as “the magnet.” (figure 3.11).⁷⁰⁹ Greene encouraged this approach with her encyclopaedic strategy for the Library.

Greene’s **motivations for her private collecting** are complex (appendix 3.6). Greene was an African American who pretended to have Portuguese ancestry by adding “de Costa” to her surname and changing her surname from Greener to Greene.⁷¹⁰ She was conscious of her physical differences, once commenting to Berenson that she looked “like a huckleberry in a bowl of milk!”⁷¹¹ Her lifting of literary texts revealed her unsureness in her writing skills but also showed she was well-read. In letters to Berenson, she also discussed her apartment and how she wanted only lovely things that reflected her interest and tastes. Many letters include references to her private library.

The **power dynamics** between Pierpont and Greene are interesting — their relationship is not a straightforward employer-employee one. Once he had signalled he was interested in a particular collection avenue, Greene had the power to buy and pass on manuscripts on Pierpont’s behalf. Greene knew that if

⁷⁰⁸ Herbert Cahoon, "The Grand Tour: Memorandum From J. Pierpont Morgan," *New York Times*, April 22, 1979, Section II, 5.

⁷⁰⁹ Joseph Keppler Jr., "Cartoon Depicting J.P. Morgan With Magnetized Dollar Sign Drawing Europe’s Art Treasures Over to America," *Puck*, 1911, centrefold.

⁷¹⁰ Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life*, 414.

⁷¹¹ Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 29, 1910, BB BER, 8.

she wanted to add Islamic works to the Morgan Library collection, she would first have to get Pierpont interested and fully informed on Islamic works.

Much of what we know about their relationship comes from conversations between Greene and Pierpont relayed to Berenson by Greene. Once, she scolded Pierpont for his poor judgement, writing to Berenson:

JP brought back a good deal of trash in the way of books, with the exception of one or two pieces — He was quite cross with me when I told him how second-rate his purchases were, but he had to swallow the news just the same.⁷¹²

According to Greene, if a dealer attempted to negotiate directly with Pierpont, he would respond: “I have placed the entire matter in Miss G’s hands, and I shall be satisfied with any decision she makes.”⁷¹³ When Pierpont was away, Greene had total control over the Library. Once, when Pierpont wished her to stay at the Library instead of leaving the country (she was planning to meet with Berenson), Pierpont responded, “you have six months of the year to do with as you please — no hours to keep, no-one but your own dictates to obey.”⁷¹⁴ Greene reiterated her power in Pierpont’s absence, stating, “he gives me full rein then, and I dispose of everything that comes up according to my judgement and that naturally relieves him of a very great deal.”⁷¹⁵ Greene clarified her range authority, writing to Berenson:

This is an idea abroad that I can do anything with JP and that nothing can be accomplished without my help. It’s a joke, a huge joke, for he pays, if anything, less attention to what I say outside of the book line and some of his personal affairs than to anyone else.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹² Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 26, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁷¹³ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁷¹⁴ Letter from Greene to Berenson, September 6, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁷¹⁵ Letter from Greene to Berenson, August 12, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁷¹⁶ Letter from Greene to Berenson, November 6, 1912, BB BER, 8.

Berenson witnessed this reversal of power firsthand, writing to his wife, “she acquired manuscripts and etchings along the way, cabling to Pierpont now and again for confirmation or to let him know what she had bought.”⁷¹⁷ Pierpont is the only collector in this thesis who delegated the power to acquire works for his Library to a surrogate buyer. The others maintained tight and sole control over what went in and out of their collections.

When Jack took over the Library, Greene maintained a **network of scholars** and curators to learn more about the collection. She also purchased manuscripts without prior approval, though less frequently. Like the authority Pierpoint gave Greene, she only had the power to acquire in areas Jack had signalled as areas of collecting interest. Since Jack did not care for Islamic works, only a few items entered the collection during his tenure. However, she still maintained some control over what went into the library, with Jack commenting, “My librarian told me she wouldn't dare spend so much of *my* money, but just the same, I wouldn't be able to face her if I went home without the manuscripts.”⁷¹⁸

As a surrogate buyer and gatekeeper, Greene was an **information input** for the Morgan Library collection (appendix 3.7). In evaluating manuscripts, she consistently ignored dealers' grandiose and frequently overstated proclamations about their offerings and had no problem pressing for lower prices. Though Greene also recognised that high fees and commissions were sometimes required to acquire quality items. Furthermore, while she relied on the advice of a team of scholars and curators, she frequently followed her instincts over expert counsel. Dealers clamoured to be on the Morgan Library's approved vendor list, and the only way was through Greene. However, dealers who attempted to bribe Greene with gifts and trinkets failed to gain her approval. Instead, Greene sought intellectual honesty, fair pricing and equal treatment.

The **criteria Greene used** to evaluate a manuscript were much more academic

⁷¹⁷ Rachel Cohen, *Bernard Berenson, A Life in the Picture Trade* (New Haven and London, 2013), 179. Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life*, 183.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 418.

than Pierpont's evaluation approach. She preferred calligraphy (Kufic script) on vellum for her private collection. Perhaps because of limited financial resources, her collection also contains much later dated painted leaves. Greene selected items based on date and condition for the Morgan Library collection. Things that had received scholarly attention and exhibited were of particular interest. She was less concerned with textual content or specific artists or calligraphists. Only manuscripts offering a new dimension to the Library's holdings were seriously considered. In contrast, Pierpont fell for romantic associations and claims of rarity and relied on the advice of trusted advisors like Imbert.

Greene may have borrowed inappropriately from the Morgan Library, but more evidence is needed. Greene's level of personal autonomy to make purchasing decisions occasionally blurred the line between her and the Library's interests. Greene bequeathed her collection to the Morgan Library, so any items "borrowed" from the Library were returned. Pierpont and Greene created one of the most comprehensive Islamic collections, and Greene may have helped build an extensive reference library on Islamic Art for Berenson. The Morgan Library is open to researchers and has yielded years of quality scholarship. Recently, the Morgan Library has announced its latest undertaking in partnership with I Tatti, digitalising Greene's letters to Berenson.⁷¹⁹

The role of exhibitions in shaping Greene's collecting interest is straightforward. Before attending the Munich Exhibition, she had shown little interest in Islamic art. After meeting Berenson in Munich, Islamic art was front and centre on her collecting agenda for the Morgan Library and her personal collection. Whether Pierpont attended exhibitions is unknown. The Morgan Library includes exhibition catalogues from the 1903 and Paris Exhibitions, the 1910 Munich Exhibition and the 1931 London Exhibition, indicating Pierpont and Greene had the opportunity to learn more about the items and create a wish list of material to be added to their collections.

⁷¹⁹ "The Belle Greene–Bernard Berenson Letters Project," 2021, <https://www.themorgan.org/belle-greene/letters>. [Accessed February 2, 2023].

Regarding the appeal of Mughal book art, although the Morgan Library includes several important Mughal works, including manuscripts and single-leaf drawings, there is no clear indication that Pierpont actively sought to include Mughal works in his collection. Mughal and Persian material from Read's Album were shown at the Munich Exhibition. It is unknown whether Greene realised the difference between the two or thought she was only getting the Persian drawings. However, as her connoisseurship skills improved, she explicitly stated on at least one occasion that she did not like Indian art. She also wished she had limited the Islamic material at the Morgan Library to only items dating no later than 1300 — a date that would have eliminated Mughal miniatures and manuscripts from consideration. Greene's purchase of a few Qur'an fragments and a Turkish manuscript after Pierpont's death may have been intended to fill perceived gaps in the collection. However, it is unlikely that if Jack had shown interest in Islamic art, Greene would have been inclined to add more Mughal works for the Morgan Library. Even though she disliked Indian art, Greene also had Mughal works in her collection. Several Mughal paintings in her private collection are dated to the nineteenth century and would have been much more affordable.

Regarding applying various frameworks for understanding Pierpont Morgan's and Greene's collecting strategy, Greene's comments to the press are insightful for her goals for the Morgan Library. Most of what we know about Pierpont's collecting strategy is based on details Greene revealed to Berenson, requiring several inferences and leaving many things unknown. Analysing Pierpont's purchases and items passed over made it easier to identify evaluation criteria. Though untangling whether Pierpont or Greene set those evaluation criteria is more complicated. Greene's comments about her script preferences and dating restrictions do not match what is in the Morgan Library or her private collection, indicating the importance of analysing correspondence and the items held together to identify accurate selection criteria.

CHAPTER FOUR: GULBENKIAN'S ORIENTAL COLLECTION – THE EARLY YEARS (1900-1923)

“Like the Mogul potentate, Aurungzebe, whom he so much resembled both physically and in the design of his life, he was very fond of birds and animals, particularly of the former.”⁷²⁰ — John Lodwick (1916-1959)

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the early years of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian's Oriental Collection from 1900 to 1923 before meeting one of the most important collectors of Islamic material in this era, Alfred Chester Beatty. It examines Gulbenkian's early influences, including what he saw during his Grand Tour, interactions with various dealers and intermediaries, and early purchases. The chapter also sets the groundwork for showing how his strategy evolved, including motivations for collecting and collecting criteria.

Gulbenkian was born in 1869 in Istanbul to a wealthy Ottoman Armenian family who traded in Caucasian and Persian carpets and owned several oil fields in the region.⁷²¹ Professionally, Gulbenkian focused on the nascent and growing oil industry in the early twentieth century, especially in the Middle East, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Gulbenkian's customary percentage for negotiating deals was five per cent, a practice that earned him the nickname “Mr Five Per Cent.”⁷²² In June 1953, Gulbenkian finalised his new will, establishing a foundation in Lisbon with plans for a museum to house his collection.⁷²³ The museum, a concert hall, an art library, conference centres and offices opened in

⁷²⁰ Lodwick and Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation*, 63.

⁷²¹ Jonathan Conlin, "Renowned and Unknown: Calouste Gulbenkian as Collector of Paintings," *Journal of the History of Collections* 30 (July 2018): 318.

⁷²² For additional biographical details regarding Calouste Gulbenkian: Introduction, 33-34.

⁷²³ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 306-317.

1969.

Gulbenkian's collection includes more than six thousand objects, including Egyptian art from the Old Empire to the Roman era, Greco-Roman art, Mesopotamian art, and Far Eastern art from China and Japan. The collection also includes Western paintings dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, European sculpture from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and decorative arts dating from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century. He also accumulated an extensive collection of decorative works, including tapestries, rugs and furniture. While many works have been discussed in various exhibition catalogues, no comprehensive record of Gulbenkian's Oriental collection exists.⁷²⁴

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation has a rich archive, resulting from Gulbenkian's commitment to keeping letters and invoices about his purchases. Most letters in the archives are dealers and intermediaries touting what they believe makes a particular object desirable and then an invoice if Gulbenkian agreed. Compared to the Freer and Morgan Library archives, there are fewer letters from Gulbenkian stating his specific preferences. Instead, it is possible to reconstruct Gulbenkian's likely collecting criteria by analysing what was collected versus passed over. Many invoices have inventory codes handwritten by a second party (usually in red). Without these codes, linking many items to specific dealers, auctions, and intermediaries would be challenging. Letters concerning related purchases for carpets, mosque lamps, and European manuscripts also provide a proxy for his collecting approach for what he called his "Oriental collection."⁷²⁵ Gulbenkian's "Oriental collection" did not include items from the Far East, unlike other contemporary collections labelled in this manner. Perhaps he

⁷²⁴ For an overview of Gulbenkian's European and Islamic manuscript publications: Introduction, 33-34.

⁷²⁵ The collection of European manuscripts assembled by Calouste S. Gulbenkian began in 1919, with the acquisition of works from the sale of the Henry Yates Thompson Collection (LA136 and LA129). Other works from Thompson's collection were added in 1920 and 1921. João Carvalho Dias, *European Illuminated Manuscripts in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection* (Lisbon, 2020), 302, 306.

called it his “Oriental collection” because it also had Armenian Bibles, which would not be considered Islamic.

Biographical sources provide further information that may shed light on the early years of Gulbenkian's collecting. After completing university studies in Engineering and Applied Sciences at King’s College London in 1887, Gulbenkian travelled to Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan via steamship and the Transcaucasian Railway.⁷²⁶ Gulbenkian may have chosen the region for his ‘Grand Tour’ instead of the traditional route across Europe since it was more relevant to his Armenian ethnicity and the family merchant business he was expected to join. After completing his month-long tour of the region, Gulbenkian published an article in the *Levant Herald* of Istanbul titled “Voyages dans les pays des tapis d'Orient.”⁷²⁷ The report may have been intended to announce his expertise in the region’s carpets, a calling card of sorts. Gulbenkian also published a narrative of his journey in a travelogue.⁷²⁸ Most of the travelogue was a regurgitation of earlier explorers' accounts of the region. However, the two chapters about carpets and oil exploration activities provided new insights, and both chapters were published in prestigious French journals.⁷²⁹ These two chapters’ topics would remain keen interests for the remainder of his life as Gulbenkian combined business and collecting. Gulbenkian’s travelogue hints at why he added Oriental (Islamic) manuscripts to his collection in the early 1900s. He mentioned viewing a Qur’an written in Kufic script and the Gospel of Gelati at

⁷²⁶ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 30.

⁷²⁷ Calouste Gulbenkian, "Voyages Dans Les Pays Des Tapis D’Orient," *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, May 25, 1889, n. p.

⁷²⁸ Calouste S. Gulbenkian, *La Transcaucasie et la Péninsule D’Apchéron, Souvenirs de Voyage*, ed. M. Georges Perrot (Paris, 1891), 62-63.

⁷²⁹ Calouste Gulbenkian, "La Péninsule D’Apchéron et Le Pétrole Russe," *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, May 15, 1891, 2e. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, 43.

the Gelati monastic complex and a half-ruined chapel near Kutaisi.⁷³⁰ While not providing his personal opinion of the manuscripts, Gulbenkian cited French explorer Jules Mourier's (born 1846) thoughts on the Gospel of Gelati, who noted that some features were Oriental in style, including scenes of a lion attacking a stag.⁷³¹ This theme would reappear in Gulbenkian's Oriental art collection (figure 4.1).

Gulbenkian's Grand Tour made a lasting impression on him and can be understood as an **information input** to his future Islamic book art purchases. By the late 1890s, he was in partnership with another Armenian, Hagop Kevorkian (1872-1962), exporting Persian rugs and Iznik faience to London.⁷³² However, according to Gulbenkian's brother, Karnig, Gulbenkian realised he enjoyed collecting much more than selling, and he and Kevorkian parted ways professionally.⁷³³ Kevorkian and Gulbenkian would remain lifelong friends, and Gulbenkian became Kevorkian's client. Kevorkian was both an **information input** for Gulbenkian's Islamic book art purchases and a member of his **reference group** exerting **internalised environmental influence** on his purchases.

After Gulbenkian's Grand Tour, he married Nevarte Essayan (1872-1952) in 1892 and had two children — a son, Nubar (1896-1972), and a daughter, Rita (1900-1977). Their first house together was in Hyde Park Gardens, London.⁷³⁴ Upon receiving British citizenship in 1902, Gulbenkian also lived part-time in an

⁷³⁰ “J’ai remarqué sur une table une inscription kouffique très difficile à déchiffrer, mais où l’on a fini par distinguer le nom de Mahomet, d’après la copie de M. Thielman.” [...] “L’Évangile de Ghelati offre tant de ressemblance avec un de ceux de la bibliothèque de Paris, qu’on est porté à croire que les deux manuscrits furent écrits au mont Athos.” Gulbenkian, *Souvenirs de Voyage*, 62-63.

⁷³¹ “Pourtant, dit M. Mourier, l’Évangile de Ghelati est un des plus beaux manuscrits du xie siècle. Dans les ornements, on trouve des traits de style oriental : le lion déchirant le cerf [...]” Ibid., 62. Gray, *L’art Islamique*, 151.

⁷³² Conlin, “Renowned Gulbenkian,” 318.

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Lodwick and Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation*, 10.

apartment in Paris on the Quai d'Orsay, serving as an economic advisor to the Iranian embassy.⁷³⁵ While Gulbenkian often crossed the channel for business and pleasure, he felt most in his element in his Paris apartment, where he purportedly wore a camel-hair dressing gown from Kurdistan during the day.⁷³⁶

In 1911, Gulbenkian moved his residence full-time to Paris to avoid UK income tax.⁷³⁷ That same year, he turned down an opportunity to purchase the British title of Lord Bayswater for £100,000.⁷³⁸ Gulbenkian was not interested in titles or other social vanities. Gulbenkian preferred to live a private life and focus on his collection, as demonstrated by the number of unanswered invitations to dinner parties and other social events in the archives.

Gulbenkian maintained his residence in Paris during the Great War, though he travelled back and forth to London, serving as a liaison between the French government and Royal Dutch Shell.⁷³⁹ In 1918, when Paris was under German bombardment, Gulbenkian sent six crates of art objects to Biarritz and deposited other items in the vaults of banks and dealers.⁷⁴⁰ Several of his acquisitions were entrusted to the National Gallery and later to the National Gallery of Art in Washington.⁷⁴¹ Gulbenkian's decision to enlist partners for the storage of his collection reveals details regarding his **decision process stages** and the afterlife of his collection. In 1922, Gulbenkian purchased a larger apartment in Paris on Avenue d'Iéna.⁷⁴² The new residence had over 100 rooms, including a series of formal rooms with lighted painting galleries, providing additional space for his

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 49. Maurice Ezran, *Calouste Gulbenkian - Le pétrole et l'art* (Paris, 2013), 131.

⁷³⁶ Lodwick and Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation*, 49. Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 131.

⁷³⁷ Lodwick and Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation*, 79.

⁷³⁸ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 143.

⁷³⁹ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 111.

⁷⁴⁰ Conlin, "Renowned Gulbenkian," 336.

⁷⁴¹ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 146.

⁷⁴² Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 276.

growing collection.⁷⁴³ From 1900-1923, as his business success grew, Gulbenkian added to this “Oriental collection,” including the purchase of Mughal book art.

GULBENKIAN’S ISLAMIC ART AND REFERENCE PURCHASES

Each of Gulbenkian’s collections has a unique inventory coding system. Manuscripts, miniatures, and bindings in Gulbenkian’s Oriental inventory are assigned inventory and reference codes.⁷⁴⁴ The inventory codes begin with the reference “LA” for ancient books (*livres anciens*), “M” for individual or groups of miniatures, “R” for bindings (*reliure*) and “D” for published works about art and other subjects named (*documentation*). The reference codes start with a letter referencing the currency paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs) followed by a series of numbers representing the amount paid, including any commissions paid to auction houses and intermediaries. Several entries include descriptions of the objects, including provenance information.

When discussing a particular item in Gulbenkian’s collection, if known, an inventory code is referenced and can be found in Gulbenkian archives under *Oriental Inventory - Books, Bindings, Manuscripts, Miniatures, 1899-1921*, CGF, LIS00422 or *Oriental Inventory - Livres Anciens. Manuscripts, Reliures, Miniatures after 1921*, CGF, MCG01937. These inventories are summarised in table 4.1 with available photographs and collaborating information from Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation publications associated with the Oriental collection.

Gulbenkian’s Oriental collection now consists of approximately forty-eight manuscripts, thirty-seven bindings, and over ninety miniatures, produced between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries in Iran, India, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and Indonesia (table 4.1). Included are Qur’ans and Armenian bibles, poems,

⁷⁴³ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 132.

⁷⁴⁴ *Oriental Inventory - Books, Bindings, Manuscripts, Miniatures, 1899-1921*, CGF, LIS00422.

poetry, prayers, and stories by famed Persian writers. Gulbenkian acquired at least ninety items between 1900 and 1923. Gulbenkian's manuscript collection is considerably more extensive than Freer's nine and Pierpont Morgan's fifteen manuscripts. His single-painting collection of over ninety miniatures is more extensive than Pierpont's but markedly fewer than Freer's single-painting collection of over 130 leaves. Pierpont only collected three Qur'an fragments, whereas frontispieces from Qur'ans were particularly interesting to Gulbenkian. He was also the only collector studied to focus on bindings.

Several of the single-leaf paintings in Gulbenkian's collection are Mughal. Many manuscripts contain emperor seals indicating they were in the Mughal Imperial Library at one time. It is difficult to determine how many items were identified as Mughal-related at the time of purchase because of the brevity of information provided on invoices and the limited number of works fully catalogued. The painting titled "A yogi seated on a tiger skin mat outside a mosque, leaning on his crutch stick and looking at a pair of peafowls in front of a pool with ducks" is listed as "Persian" in Gulbenkian's archives but was listed under "Indian Miniatures" in the 1922 Sotheby's auction catalogue, demonstrating the common conflation of categories (M4).⁷⁴⁵

The following two sections detail the purchases made between 1900 to 1917 and 1918 to 1923 to demonstrate how Gulbenkian's acquisition avenues and collecting interests evolved. The details also provide clues to his evaluation criteria.

GULBENKIAN'S PURCHASES 1900-1917

Between 1900 and 1913, while dividing his time between London and Paris, Gulbenkian purchased at least two Qur'ans, five illuminated leaves from a Qur'an, three Persian manuscripts of poems and poetry, one folio of a Ghazal, and one binding. Gulbenkian used traditional booksellers and Armenian, Paris-based

⁷⁴⁵ Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of Persian and Indian 16th-Century Miniatures Illuminated Mss. [...] June 12th and 13th* (London, 1922), lot 157.

dealers for most purchases. He acquired only one item through an intermediary at a London-based auction house. His first recorded Oriental manuscript acquisition was a seventeenth-century Qur'an purchased through a London intermediary Thomas Gribble at a Christie's auction in 1900 (LA155).⁷⁴⁶ Gulbenkian waited seven years before his next purchase — a seventeenth-century collection of Persian poems from the Paris dealer Reiza Khan Monif (LA176).⁷⁴⁷ The poems included *Layla and Majnun* by Nizami and *The Kings Present* by Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabari. In January 1908, Gulbenkian acquired a Qur'an from the Parisian bookbinder and collector of bindings Léon Gruel (1841-1923) (LA156).⁷⁴⁸ In 1909, Gulbenkian added a Persian miniature, a binding, and two sheets of a fifteenth-century Qur'an from the dealer Georges-Joseph Demotte (1877-1923) to his collection.⁷⁴⁹ However, the items do not have specific inventory codes, and it is unknown whether they are in the collection. In March 1912, Gulbenkian purchased a miniature of a Persian Ghazal from German bookseller Ludwig Rosenthal (1840-1929) (M50). In September 1913, Gulbenkian acquired a seventeenth-century *Kulliyat* by Sa'di and a "small Persian manuscript" from Mihran Krikor Gudénian (active 1910-1922) (LA179 and LA185).⁷⁵⁰ The following month, Gulbenkian purchased several Persian miniatures and bindings from Der Ohanian, though it is unclear exactly what these were and whether any remain in the collection.⁷⁵¹ Unlike Freer and Pierpont, Gulbenkian was known to cull his manuscript collection from time to time.

A few weeks before the start of the Great War, Gulbenkian purchased five leaves

⁷⁴⁶ Dias, *From Paris*, 39.

⁷⁴⁷ Invoice from R. Monif to Gulbenkian, November 26, 1907, CGF MCG02155.

⁷⁴⁸ Invoice from Gruel to Gulbenkian, January 8, 1908, CGF MCG01430.

⁷⁴⁹ Invoice from Demotte to Gulbenkian, May 14, 1909, CGF MCG01335. Invoice from Demotte to Gulbenkian, December 24, 1909, CGF MCG01337.

⁷⁵⁰ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, September 30, 1913, CGF MCG00284. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 124.

⁷⁵¹ Invoice from Der Ohanian to Gulbenkian, October 12, 1913, CGF MCG02534.

of a Qur'an from the dealer Kirkor Minassian (1874-1944) from the Dr Kurt Zander collection (M17).⁷⁵² In London, the art and rare books trade was severely impacted by the outbreak of the Great War. Both Sotheby's and Christie's cancelled their autumn seasons in 1914 and held few sales in 1915.⁷⁵³ In the British press, collecting rare books and works of art was considered inappropriate during a national crisis, although the trade picked up again in 1916.⁷⁵⁴ During the Great War (1914-1918), Gulbenkian purchased one Qur'an, five leaves from a Qur'an, two leaves of miniature borders, seven painted miniatures, one leaf of calligraphy and three Persian manuscripts. Gulbenkian did not make any recorded Oriental manuscript purchases in 1915 or 1916. He made most of his acquisitions in 1917 through Paris-based art dealers (not booksellers), including Minassian, Demotte, Edouard Yervant Hindamian (1877-1958), and Léonce Rosenberg, but also bought from London-based department store Debenham & Freebody.⁷⁵⁵ In 1917, Gulbenkian purchased a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century Indonesian Qur'an from a Sotheby's auction in London using Gudénian and an intermediary (LA54).⁷⁵⁶ Most of his acquisitions during the Great War were miniatures and Qur'an frontispieces, though he did add a second *Kulliyat* by Sa'di to his collection and two *Divans* (LA167, LA174, and LA190).

⁷⁵² Invoice from Minassian to Gulbenkian, July 10, 1914, CGF MCG02530. *Collection Dr. Kurt Zander, Geh. Regierungsrat Berlin: Art Mahoméтан, [...] de L'Orient, Manuscrits Persans, [...] La Vente [...] Le 14 Mai 1914 [...] à Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam, 1914).

⁷⁵³ "News in Brief. The Season at the Sale-Rooms," *Times* (London), November 26, 1914, 11. "Art and Book Sales in 1914, a Leaner Year, but Some Big Prices," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* (Leeds), December 29, 1914, 3.

⁷⁵⁴ "Bookworms in War, an Eternal Habit Not Killed by the Crisis," *Times* (London), January 4, 1916, 27.

⁷⁵⁵ Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 132, 135. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 143. Invoice from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, November 6, 1917, CGF MCG02157. Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, March 16, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁷⁵⁶ Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 152.

PURCHASES & NETWORK OF INTERMEDIARIES AND DEALERS 1918-1923

From 1918 to 1923, Gulbenkian purchased fourteen Persian manuscripts of poems, three Qur'ans, fifteen bindings, two frontispieces from a Qur'an and thirty-three miniatures. During this time, he used an intermediary more than seventy per cent of the time to bid on his behalf at auctions in London and Paris.

Gudénian was his primary London-based agent in 1920 and 1921, with Kehyaian taking over that role in 1922. In June 1920, he also used an agent called Sassoon (active 1890-1934) to purchase a Persian manuscript, *Aja'ib al-Makhlūqat wa Ghara'ib al Mawjudat* by Qazwini from a Sotheby's auction (LA162). The dealers Graat et Madoulé served as his intermediary in Paris, including the auction liquidating Meyer-Riefstahl's collection, which was seized during the Great War and the auctions of Frédéric Engel-Gros's (1843-1918) collection and Jacob Moussa's Collection.⁷⁵⁷ In June 1922, Gulbenkian acquired three miniatures at a Sotheby's auction of Persian and Indian miniatures in London (M4, M5 and M6). No intermediary is linked to the sale. However, Gulbenkian probably did not place the bids himself.

Gudénian's letterhead listed him as a London-based importer of oriental carpets and rugs.⁷⁵⁸ He began supplying rugs and carpets to Gulbenkian as early as 1910, and by 1912, Gulbenkian was entrusting him to bid on his behalf at auctions.⁷⁵⁹ When dealers had items of potential interest, Gulbenkian instructed

⁷⁵⁷ Charles Vignier, "Objets D'Art Anciens,[...] Manuscrits, Miniatures, Reliures de la Perse, de L'Inde et de L'Egypte: Liquidation Des Biens Meyer-Riefstahl [...] Vente. Art. 1923-04-23/1923-04-24," (Paris, 1923). Invoice from Graat et Madoulé to Gulbenkian, June 1, 1921, CGF MCG00357. Fernand Lair-Dubreuil and Henri Leclerc, "Collection Engel-Gros, Beaux Manuscrits Des Xive et Xve Siècles [...] Vente Le Samedi 28 Mai 1921, de 2 Heures à 6 Heures," ed. Galerie Georges Petit (Paris, 1921). Letter from Moussa to Gulbenkian, April 8, 1924, CGF LDN548.

⁷⁵⁸ Letter from Gudénian to Muthesius, November 11, 1907, Museum der Dinge, Berlin, Archives, D102-2768.

⁷⁵⁹ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, June 27, 1910, CGF LDN83. Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, October 21, 1912, CGF LDN83. Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, January 24, 1913, CGF LDN83.

them to send the items to Gudénian. Gudénian would then give his opinion of the objects and pack and return things that Gulbenkian did not want to purchase.⁷⁶⁰ Gulbenkian employed Gudénian to help cull his inventory of items he no longer wanted, like three carpets sold to the British retailer Liberty, a department store specialising in (among other things) Oriental goods.⁷⁶¹

In 1917, Gulbenkian must have been exceptionally pleased with Gudénian, giving him a 58% commission for acquiring an Indonesian Qur'an at auction for £17.⁷⁶² However, by 1921, Gulbenkian seemed to lose confidence in Gudénian's ability to read the auction room. A few months earlier, when Gulbenkian questioned the age of a rug Gudénian suggested he buy, Gudénian offered to "cut both my hands [off] and confess I know nothing of antiquities" if the item was not as old as he claimed.⁷⁶³ Gulbenkian's concerns were not unwarranted. The *Munajat* by Mir Ali, which Gulbenkian acquired via Gudénian in 1921, was described in the auction catalogue as having an unusual binding (LA163).⁷⁶⁴ The binding is now considered Turkish, repainted in the twentieth century to look like Persian.⁷⁶⁵ At the time, Persian bindings were more highly valued than Turkish bindings. However, several years passed before the binding forgery became known.⁷⁶⁶

Gulbenkian began using Kehyaian as his preferred agent in 1922 (the year Gudénian died). Kehyaian & Co. letterhead listed the firm as "direct importers of oriental rugs and carpets and general oriental merchants."⁷⁶⁷ Kehyaian routinely sent letters to Gulbenkian noting upcoming auctions and items of potential

⁷⁶⁰ Letter from Calouste Gulbenkian to Agop Indjoudjian, November 4, 1914, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁶¹ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, June 14, 1917, CGF MCG01326.

⁷⁶² Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, July 18, 1917, CGF MCG01441.

⁷⁶³ Letter from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, August 9, 1921, CGF MCG00286.

⁷⁶⁴ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, June 29, 1921, CGF MCG00284.

⁷⁶⁵ Dias, *From Paris*, 40.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁷ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, September 8, 1924, CGF LDN546.

interest. Kehyaian sometimes interjected personal comments about objects presented, like “I do not like it, but the owner says it is the rarest thing in the world” or “as you require tiptop articles for your collection, you can do without it.”⁷⁶⁸

Kehyaian’s frequent interactions with dealer Jehangir Gazdar on Gulbenkian’s behalf demonstrate his steadfast loyalty to Gulbenkian and how he represented his interests.⁷⁶⁹ In May 1924, Gulbenkian instructed Kehyaian to inspect a carpet he was considering for purchase. After the meeting, Kehyaian wrote a less than complimentary report about his interactions with the dealer:

The owner is a fox; he started by promising me a big commission (they all do) if I succeeded in making you buy it. I told him I did not want a penny, so he must make his price accordingly. Then he said that you had already seen this rug in 1921, but he hopes that you will not remember it. However, like the other Indian chap, he opened the rug with great ceremony, and I have inspected it. [...] to my valuation, it is worth about £3000. He is asking £13000, but he says he will not refuse a near or reasonable offer.⁷⁷⁰

Gulbenkian continued to use Kehyaian as his primary intermediary for London auctions until 1926, when he began using Quaritch upon the advice of Chester Beatty.

Setrak Devgantz, Gulbenkian’s long-time German tutor, also acted as an agent for Gulbenkian for several auctions.⁷⁷¹ Sometimes his name is listed with Gudénian, suggesting the two were working together to secure items for Gulbenkian (LA184 and LA187). Devgantz was also Gulbenkian’s agent when European manuscripts were up for auction (LA136 and LA129). Devgantz is also

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid. Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, June 26, 1924, CGF LDN546.

⁷⁶⁹ For information regarding Gazdar: Pratapaditya Pal, *In Pursuit of the Past. Collecting Old Art in Modern India, circa 1875-1950*. (Mumbai, 2015), 50, 123.

⁷⁷⁰ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, May 30, 1924, CGF LDN546.

⁷⁷¹ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 22.

mentioned in a letter from Dring to Greene in 1920. Parts of Dring's letter are worth repeating at length:

I have known him for the last 5 or 6 years when he first took a superficial interest in Oriental manuscripts with illuminations, but he knew absolutely nothing at all about them. I have never sold him a single item. About a month before the first Yates Thompson sale, he came in, and he asked me to give him advice as to which were the best manuscripts in the catalogue. At that time, that is, 12 months ago, he knew nothing whatsoever about the MSS, but he told me that he wanted a few very fine examples and would not mind spending £5,000 to £10,000 each on them if I could guarantee that they were absolutely first class. Since then, he may perhaps have assimilated a certain amount of knowledge, but it must be very superficial. I can only think that any suggestion to you that he should purchase some of your turned-out volumes originates from the idea that the fact that they came from your collection and has passed the eye of the late Mr Morgan would be a certain guarantee of taste and excellence. [...] So far as I can ascertain, he has up to the present only been able to get those two or three very dear MSS at the Yates Thompson sales, which were bought by Devgantz.⁷⁷²

Many of Gulbenkian's contemporaries "equated his secretiveness with duplicity rather than modesty" and called him a "shadowy Armenian manipulator."⁷⁷³

Dring's letter highlights British intermediaries' animosity and distrust towards Gulbenkian and may explain why he initially chose to engage agents of Armenian descent.

Gulbenkian also continued to purchase directly from a few dealers. While he worked closely with these dealers, it is still being determined to what extent they advised him on purchases. In October 1921, Gulbenkian purchased a single miniature attributed to the Bukhara school from British bookseller Frank T. Sabin (M3). In December 1922, Gulbenkian purchased a unique binding encrusted with gemstones from the Indjoudjians (R19). In March 1923, Gulbenkian bought a

⁷⁷² Letter from E. Dring to Greene, June 11, 1920, MCC 156438.

⁷⁷³ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 2.

sixteenth-century *Divan* by Ali-Shir Nava'i and an early sixteenth-century *Divan* by Khusrau Dihlavi from the Paris dealer Missak Séropian (LA183 and LA189).⁷⁷⁴ In November 1923, he purchased a *Baharistan* by Jami with miniatures typical of the early Bukhara school through the Indjoudjians from Mr Boghossian's collection (LA169).⁷⁷⁵

Gulbenkian also did business with Kevorkian (his former business partner). In early 1917, Gulbenkian expressed interest in miniature borders from Kevorkian's collection offered by the London-based department store Debenham & Freebody (M71).⁷⁷⁶ The correspondence associated with this acquisition is sufficient to **map the purchase journey** (appendix 4.1). Unlike traditional department stores offering mass-produced items, Debenham & Freebody focused on old, antique and unique objects using the "selling techniques and terminology of dealers and auction houses."⁷⁷⁷ Learning of Gulbenkian's interest in the border fragments and a lustre jar, Kevorkian contacted Gulbenkian asking him to make a "liberal offer of profit" or "a feasible and reasonable offer that I am able to entertain."⁷⁷⁸ In a follow-up letter, Kevorkian accepted £600 for the lustre jar and £150 for the miniatures and a few Oriental plates from Gulbenkian's collection as payment.⁷⁷⁹ During Gulbenkian's **information-gathering** stage, he sought an opinion from Dikran Kelekian, who expressed doubt about the authenticity of the jar. In response, Kevorkian guaranteed the authenticity of the jar and assured him it had not been restored but merely rejoined after breaking apart on the journey to

⁷⁷⁴ Dias, *From Paris*, 91-92. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 140-141.

⁷⁷⁵ Dias, *From Paris*, 40. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 122.

⁷⁷⁶ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, March 16, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁷⁷⁷ Sarah Cheang, "Selling China: Class, Gender and Orientalism at the Department Store," in *Visual Merchandising: The Image of Selling*, ed. Louisa Iarocci (Farnham, UK: 2013), 123.

⁷⁷⁸ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 5, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁷⁷⁹ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 20, 1917, CGF LDN118.

Europe.⁷⁸⁰ Gulbenkian recognised Kevorkian was desperate to sell the items due to the current war conditions. It was an opportune time for him to acquire a few things he wanted at “giveaway prices” and simultaneously unload a few plates he no longer wanted in his collection.⁷⁸¹ While Kelekian’s claim that the jar had issues may have made Gulbenkian initially uneasy about the purchase, Kevorkian’s guarantee of authenticity allowed Gulbenkian to purchase the object risk-free, in that if the jar later proved a fake, Kevorkian would return Gulbenkian’s money.

Gulbenkian’s interaction with the Indjoudjians, who struggled financially during the Great War, is another example of how Gulbenkian wielded power over dealers. In 1914, the Indjoudjians requested a loan of 3250 francs from Gulbenkian and offered a Persian manuscript as collateral.⁷⁸² The manuscript, containing two frontispieces in colours and gold and a binding covered in animals, had interested Gulbenkian earlier. However, he was unwilling to pay the Indjoudjians’ asking price of 6500 francs.⁷⁸³ Gulbenkian agreed to the loan if the Indjoudjians gave him “the right to purchase the book at 3250 francs at any time until three months after the declaration of Peace, this being the date fixed for repayment of the loan.”

Four months later, Gulbenkian decided to keep the manuscript as forgiveness of the loan.⁷⁸⁴ The Indjoudjians balked, stating the item was worth considerably more than the money lent. Gulbenkian agreed to return the book if they

⁷⁸⁰ “No one ever doubted us to its authenticity as it would be doubting to the existence of the shining sun except Kelekian, who being jealous, whispered to you the compromising remark as he knew you were the prospective buyer.” Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, March 23, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸² Letter from Gulbenkian to Indjoudjian, October 19, 1914, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁸³ Letter from Indjoudjian to Gulbenkian, November 9, 1918, CGF LDN132. Letter from Indjoudjian to Gulbenkian, November 22, 1918, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁸⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Indjoudjian, February 18, 1915, LDN132.

immediately repaid the loan.⁷⁸⁵ However, the Indjoudjians strongly believed Gulbenkian had no right to ask for reimbursement before the agreed time and even less right to keep the manuscript as payment.⁷⁸⁶ No further correspondence appears in the archives for three years. On November 9, two days before the armistice, the Indjoudjians wrote to Gulbenkian that they could repay the loan and wanted the manuscript back.⁷⁸⁷ Gulbenkian initially refused, believing he had every right to keep the book. Nevertheless, later he returned it.⁷⁸⁸ Gulbenkian's interaction with the Indjoudjians demonstrates that he brought the same hard bargaining for which he was known in his business activities to his collecting, and he had no problem exploiting the financial difficulties of others. This interaction also provides clues regarding his **internalised environmental influences**, including his cultural norms and values and his attitudes towards dealers.

The Indjoudjians may have won this battle, but it would take several years until Gulbenkian entertained buying Oriental materials from them or using them as an intermediary for an auction. In December 1918, the Indjoudjians offered Gulbenkian miniatures and a Persian manuscript. However, no record exists of Gulbenkian expressing interest.⁷⁸⁹ In 1922, Gulbenkian finally reconnected with the Indjoudjians, purchasing a binding (R19).

Another manuscript, a fifteenth-century *Anthology of Iskandar* listed as a gift from Baron Edmond de Rothschild, entered Gulbenkian's collection sometime before June 1922, the month Thomas Walker Arnold wrote to Gulbenkian requesting

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ "Dans ces conditions vous ne pouvez nous réclamer le remboursement de la somme prêtée qu'à l'époque convenue ; mais vous n'avez guère le droit de conserver le gage en paiement." Letter from Indjoudjian to Gulbenkian, February 22, 1915, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁸⁷ Letter from Indjoudjian to Gulbenkian, November 9, 1918, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁸⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Indjoudjian, November 18, 1918, CGF LDN132.

⁷⁸⁹ "Quelques miniatures premier order [...] Un manuscrit Persian avec 5 miniatures." Letter from Indjoudjian to Gulbenkian, December 18, 1918, CGF LDN132.

permission to see the manuscript (LA161).⁷⁹⁰ With Quaritch serving as an intermediary, Rothschild purchased the manuscript for £5,000 from the Yates Thompson auction in 1919.⁷⁹¹ The manuscript listed as lot XXII once belonged to Prince Iskandar (1384-1415), a member of the Timurid dynasty considered a great patron of the arts, including book production. Seventeen of the thirty-eight miniatures in the manuscript appeared in Yates Thompson's *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts*, printed in 1912.⁷⁹² According to the catalogue details, Yates Thompson obtained the manuscript from the Paris dealer Marcel S. Bing (1875-1920) in 1896.⁷⁹³ The only mention of Rothschild giving the manuscript to Gulbenkian comes from a letter dated 1938 from Mr Y. Dawud of London. He wanted to sell a few items to Gulbenkian, and he was concerned Gulbenkian might not remember him since they had met several years earlier. To refresh Gulbenkian's memory, Dawud wrote:

In July 1923, the late Baron Edmund de Rothschild introduced me to you, and twice I had the honour of calling to see you where you kindly showed me your fine collection of Oriental book-covers and the MS. of Nizami, which the late Baron told me, he had presented to you.⁷⁹⁴

The reasons why Rothschild gave Gulbenkian the manuscript are unknown. Perhaps, the manuscript was an expression of gratitude for profitable business

⁷⁹⁰ Dias, *From Paris*, 74-75. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 138-139. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, 64. F. R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a MS. Of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair* (Berlin, 1926), xvi. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 117. Letter from Arnold to Gulbenkian, June 26, 1922, CGF LDN448.

⁷⁹¹ Rothschild was prepared to pay up to £9,000 to acquire the manuscript. Quaritch Archives, *Commission Book for 1917-1920* (London).

⁷⁹² Henry Yates Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson*, 5 vols. (London, 1907-1912), vol. 3, Consisting of Sixty-Nine Plates Illustrating Ten Mss of Various Countries from the IXth to the XVIth Centuries.

⁷⁹³ Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Twenty-Eight Illuminated Manuscripts and Two Illuminated Printed Books, the Property of Henry Yates Thompson, Which Will Be Sold at Auction by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge [...] the 3rd of June, 1919* (London, 1919), Lot XXIII, 45.

⁷⁹⁴ Letter from Dawud to Gulbenkian, June 10, 1938, CGF MCG02323.

dealings. Gulbenkian expected gifts for his financial advice. In 1920, Gulbenkian wrote Duveen that he expected a “very fine, very prominent work” following his stock advice.⁷⁹⁵

Interestingly, Martin was only partially convinced Rothschild had given the manuscript to Gulbenkian based on correspondence in 1924. “The manuscript which you or Rothschild paid £2,000,” wrote Martin, “everybody refused in Paris and London for 3,000 or 4,000 francs until Yates Thompson bought it for £160.”⁷⁹⁶ The possibility exists, though unlikely, that Rothschild’s intermediary served as the frontman for Gulbenkian. Regardless, today it is considered one of the most important manuscripts in Gulbenkian’s Oriental collection and may have been an impetus for his **decision to add more manuscripts** to his collection (appendix 4.2).

Gulbenkian's **information inputs** included several dealers, some of whom also functioned as his agents in auctions in London and Paris. These individuals provided advice, expressed their doubts about particular objects, and gave instructions on how Gulbenkian should bid to ensure success. His relationship with some dealers, particularly those of Armenian descent, like Kevorkian and the Indjoudjians, was more than transactional. He bartered with Kevorkian and loaned money to the Indjoudjians. He also used members of his **reference group**, like his former German tutor Devgantz to represent him at auctions. Gulbenkian seemed to place greater trust in dealers of Eastern heritage like himself. However, Dring's correspondence reveals that some looked upon Gulbenkian with suspicion and may have prevented Gulbenkian from broadening his dealer/agent base. This racism could be viewed as an **internalised environmental influence**, preventing Gulbenkian from learning about and bidding on the best material.

Armenian dealers suffered similar discrimination. In 1909, when Greene asked

⁷⁹⁵ Letter from Gulbenkian to Duveen, undated, 1920, CGF LDN01451.

⁷⁹⁶ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, May 31, 1924, CGF LDN548.

Quaritch to review a Persian manuscript her friend had purchased, Quaritch suspected “the Armenians of Paris” had sold the book based on marks in the item.⁷⁹⁷ He felt her friend had overpaid for the manuscript based on its artistic qualities.⁷⁹⁸ Western dealers openly slandered Armenian dealers, portraying them as swindlers.

Almost sixty per-cent of Gulbenkian’s Islamic book art collection during the early years of his collecting came from dealers and intermediaries based in London and Paris of Eastern, frequently of Armenian heritage. Gulbenkian also committed to educating himself in his early collecting years. In 1903, he began tutoring lessons at the Louvre with the curator and collector Camille Benoît.⁷⁹⁹ They worked chronologically through Italian and Dutch paintings in their sessions, with follow-up meetings dedicated to quizzes and exercises. In his early years of collecting, Gulbenkian frequently admitted he needed to be educated, a similar desire mentioned by Belle da Costa Greene when she encountered new material.⁸⁰⁰ When exposed to unfamiliar works of art, his first response was a desire to learn more before deciding whether he liked or disliked them.⁸⁰¹

Gulbenkian’s collecting strategy in his early years was conventional, closely resembling collections formed by other industrialists like Pierpont Morgan and Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919). As Conlin noted, Gulbenkian sought characteristic examples of Eurocentric familiar and fashionable canons, including Impressionist, Barbizon and Dutch seventeenth-century masterpieces with eighteenth-century French and English portraits.⁸⁰² Perhaps Gulbenkian used his collections to

⁷⁹⁷ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, May 14, 1909, MCC 149132.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Letter from Benoît to Gulbenkian, December 18, 1903, CGF LDN00002.

⁸⁰⁰ Letter from Gulbenkian to Carstairs, February 19, 1918, CGF LDN01447. Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8.

⁸⁰¹ “[...] I am not accustomed to that school, and being ignorant, I must be educated.” Letter from Gulbenkian to Carstairs, February 19, 1918, CGF LDN01447.

⁸⁰² Conlin, "Renowned Gulbenkian," 317.

communicate that he was one of them and could easily function in the typical upper echelons of European aristocratic and American society.⁸⁰³

Focusing specifically on his Oriental collection, Gulbenkian shares more with Freer than Pierpont. Both men were comfortable bridging the contemporary divide between the East and the West. Neither Freer nor Gulbenkian were intent on creating a comprehensive collection. Nevertheless, there are still nuanced differences in their collecting approaches. From a merchant family, Gulbenkian probably had a better sense of negotiating and navigating the stratagems of the dealer of Eastern descent. While Freer viewed his objects as harmonising, Gulbenkian's interest in art lacked evident coherence, and he regarded each group of things as separate collections. Unlike Freer, who built his collection for the Nation, Gulbenkian divided his time between countries. He was, in a sense, as Conlin has argued, a "citizen of nowhere" who did not have "loyalties to any one empire, state or company."⁸⁰⁴

Compared to Pierpont, Gulbenkian took a different approach in his **decision process stages** (appendix 4.2). Pierpont acquired most of his Islamic collection from scholars and curators like Charles Hercules Read and employed Greene as a surrogate buyer. In Gulbenkian's early years of collecting, he mainly purchased directly from dealers or dealers bidding on his behalf at auctions in Paris and London. Gulbenkian was also a much more proactive seeker of "Oriental" material than Freer or Pierpont, who were approached by dealers and private collectors offering such material.

PREFERRED METHODS OF DOING BUSINESS

Gulbenkian was also particular about how he preferred to do business. Since Gulbenkian frequently travelled between Paris and London, he had many opportunities to view items at auction previews. On one auction catalogue

⁸⁰³ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, 19.

⁸⁰⁴ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 5.

housed in the Gulbenkian archives is the notation in Gulbenkian's handwriting, "Vitrine 1 get," indicating that Gulbenkian saw the manuscript during the auction preview.⁸⁰⁵ However, he preferred to examine things in the comfort of his home in good light conditions for several days.⁸⁰⁶ Later in life, he commented that his presence at previews increased bids beyond reason.⁸⁰⁷

Gulbenkian also requested that invoices include a complete description of the objects purchased, including actual descriptions from auction catalogues. Gulbenkian commented to Duveen, "nothing else will make me happy because I want to feel that I have the full description of the objects I purchase."⁸⁰⁸ Any restorations, faults, retouches or repairs had to be clearly defined on the invoice. When he purchased a seventeenth-century collection of Persian poems from Monif (LA176), the invoice included the statement "*Garante sans restoration.*"⁸⁰⁹ On another occasion, Gulbenkian passed on a binding offered by Martin because he thought it was over-cleaned. Martin responded that he was not aware Gulbenkian was "so keen to have the old dust" and admitted cleaning it himself with a piece of cotton.⁸¹⁰ Gulbenkian also wanted guarantees regarding dating. In 1917, when he purchased miniature borders from Kevorkian (M71), per Gulbenkian's request, Kevorkian added a warranty stating that the miniature paintings were dated no later than the end of the sixteenth century.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁵ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, October 25, 1921, CGF MCG01449.

⁸⁰⁶ "je me fais un plaisir de vous adresser par porteur, contrairement à mon habitude et à titre exceptionnel pour vous être agréable, le lot de miniatures choisies, et cela afin de vous permettre de les examiner à la lumière du jour." Letter from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, October 29, 1917, CGF LDN121. Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, March 13, 1934, CGF MCG01505. Letter from Abdy to Gulbenkian, no date, CGF MCG02620.

⁸⁰⁷ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 159.

⁸⁰⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Duveen, September 8, 1923, CGF MCG02324. Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 148.

⁸⁰⁹ Invoice from Monif to Gulbenkian, November 26, 1907, CGF MCG02155.

⁸¹⁰ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, May 31, 1924, CGF LDN548.

⁸¹¹ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 3, 1917, CGF LDN118.

Gulbenkian wanted commissions calculated in a specific manner. In 1921, he wrote a heated letter to Demotte about a carpet he had acquired for him. Gulbenkian was unhappy with how Demotte calculated the commission, noting, “I always pay the commission ON THE AMOUNT OF PURCHASES before the auctioneer increases the total by 17.50%.”⁸¹² Gulbenkian was not unique in keeping track of the fees paid. Yates Thompson recorded the exact price paid for books. When he sold his manuscripts, he negotiated the commissions he would pay to the auction house representing him.⁸¹³ Pierpont also developed a reputation for only paying 10% on a purchase.

Several letters in the archives reveal that Gulbenkian did not like to negotiate. He was known for cutting discussions short, asking abruptly, “what is your last price?”⁸¹⁴ If the price asked was exorbitantly high, his interest in the item waned.⁸¹⁵ In rare instances when Gulbenkian proposed a counter price, it was as outrageously low as the dealer's first price was outrageously high.⁸¹⁶

Especially during the Great War, only a few collectors were in a position to make purchases — even those like Gulbenkian with the financial means to continue buying needed help securing hard currency from banks. The cash-strapped environment led to unique transactions, including bartering. In several instances, Gulbenkian offered items he had become disenchanted with in exchange for desired things, as he did when negotiating the purchase of a Turkish lustre jug and miniatures borders with Kevorkian in 1917 (M71).⁸¹⁷

⁸¹² Letter from Gulbenkian to Demotte, December 13, 1921, CGF MCG00098.

⁸¹³ C. F. R. De Hamel, "Was Henry Yates Thompson a Gentleman?," in *Property of a Gentleman: the formation, organisation and dispersal of the private library 1620-1920*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester: 1991), 77, 83.

⁸¹⁴ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 148.

⁸¹⁵ Letter from Bachstiz to Gulbenkian, April 24, 1922, CGF LDN448.

⁸¹⁶ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 20, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁸¹⁷ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 5, 1917, CGF LDN118.

Gulbenkian's requirements with dealers may explain why some were wary of doing business with him. When Gulbenkian inquired about some Yates Thompson items coming up for auction in 1919, Dring of Quaritch wrote to Greene:

I am afraid I gave him the cold shoulder because he is not a man I like. I was very chary of giving him any information at all because I thought that he might very easily use whatever information I gave him to my detriment. I[n] any case, I do not think he will give me a commission, and I am sure I do not want it.⁸¹⁸

While Gulbenkian devised the above stipulations in his acquisition plan to protect himself, he sometimes fell for common dealer ploys. In 1917, when Rosenberg pressed Gulbenkian to buy some miniatures, he said Berenson and two other amateurs were interested in them.⁸¹⁹ Berenson probably was not interested, since his last recorded purchase of Islamic art was in 1914.⁸²⁰ Mentioning others interested in objects under examination allowed dealers to close deals quickly. In this case, the ploy worked, and Gulbenkian purchased two miniatures (M73 and M74).⁸²¹

Another ploy dealers routinely used was to invite scholars to examine and comment on their objects. The exhibition catalogue for the items Gulbenkian purchased from Kevorkian in 1917 (LA190 and M72) was prepared by Edgard Blochet, Abraham Yohannan, and Sheikh Mirza Muhammed Khan, elevating the prestige of the Kevorkian collection.⁸²² In 1928, Arthur Rau of Maggs Brothers'

⁸¹⁸ Letter from E. Dring to Greene, May 8, 1919, MCC 156438.

⁸¹⁹ "mais j'aimerais beaucoup si vous ne les achetiez pas, pouvoir les montrer à monsieur Berenson, à qui j'ai vendu beaucoup de miniatures et qui n'est plus à Paris que pour quelques jours. De plus deux amateurs attendent votre décision" Letter from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, November 5, 1917, CGF LDN121.

⁸²⁰ Invoice from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, July 2, 1914, BB BER, 8.

⁸²¹ Invoice from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, November 6, 1917, CGF MCG02157. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 132.

⁸²² Hagop Kevorkian, *Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection including Objects Excavated Under his Supervision* (New York, 1914), ix.

Paris office offered Gulbenkian a Persian manuscript mentioning that Blochet thought it was one of the most beautiful books in the world.⁸²³ However, by 1928, Gulbenkian was less swayed by scholars' opinions and passed on the manuscript. In 1948, Gulbenkian commented that the publication of a work of art was insufficient proof of its genuineness.⁸²⁴

Dealers unwilling to play by Gulbenkian's rules had little chance of successfully selling something to him. In general, he preferred to examine items of interest in the comfort of his home instead of attending auction previews. He wanted all the details for items he purchased, including a complete description of the object, any restorations or repairs made and a guarantee regarding the dating. Contrary to Dring's comment about his cheapness, all indications are that he paid customary commissions. However, he refused to pay commissions based on winning bids plus auctioneer's fees. Like many collectors of his calibre, he abhorred negotiating price and wanted a dealer's best price upfront. However, his openness to barter with dealers using objects he no longer cared for in his collection was unusual.

GULBENKIAN'S EVALUATION CRITERIA

In the absence of letters detailing Gulbenkian's evaluation criteria, the works and information provided at the time of their acquisition provide clues regarding Gulbenkian's **evaluation approach**. There were several instances where Gulbenkian used prior ownership as an indicator of value, like his acquisition of items owned by well-known collectors like Kurt Zander, Frédéric Engel-Gros, Meyer-Riefstahl, Claude Anet and M. Gaston Le Breton.⁸²⁵ He also contacted Greene after Pierpont's death to see if there were plans to sell his

⁸²³ "Monsieur Blochet que a vu le manuscrit le considère comme un des plus beaux du monde." Letter from Rau to Leclerc, January 4, 1928, CGF MCG02811.

⁸²⁴ Letter from Stiebel to Gulbenkian, December 15, 1948, CGF MCG01597.

⁸²⁵ Inventory numbers: Kurt Zander (M17), Engel-Gos (M22, LA191, R22, R22), Meyer-Riefstahl (LA153, LA164, R14, R27, R28), Claude Anet (LA159, LA184, LA187), Gaston Le Breton (R25, R26).

manuscripts.⁸²⁶

Gulbenkian also seemed attracted to objects with a long and preferably royal provenance. In 1909, Gulbenkian purchased a mosque lamp that dealer Jacques Seligmann (1858-1923) claimed came from the King of Belgium, who had received the lamp as a gift from the Sultan during the opening of the Suez Canal.⁸²⁷ In May 1917, Gulbenkian purchased a folio from an album once belonging to Emperor Shah Jahan (M60.)⁸²⁸ In 1924, Gulbenkian purchased a manuscript once belonging to the Timurid prince Sultan Ibrahim, the grandson of the great conqueror Timur (LA168).⁸²⁹ In the same year, Martin jokingly commented that he knew about a Damascus plate that had been in the same family for 400 years. However, Martin did not offer the plate to Gulbenkian because he knew the response would be, "I only buy such pieces which have been in the family for 500 years."⁸³⁰

Manuscripts bearing royal seals were also of interest to Gulbenkian. In 1917, Gulbenkian purchased a sixteenth-century *Divan* by Hafiz, with one leaf bearing the seal of Shah Abbas (LA190).⁸³¹ Similarly, seals in a sixteenth-century *Tuhfat al-ahrar* by Jami purchased in 1920 from the Anet collection indicate the manuscript was in the library of at least two Mughal Emperors, including the second Mughal Emperor Humayun (LA184).⁸³² A *Burlington Magazine* article about the manuscript written six years earlier noted that the manuscript contained

⁸²⁶ Letter from Dring to Greene, June 11, 1920, MCC 156438.

⁸²⁷ "Le Roi des Belges a reçu soi-disant cette lampe en cadeau du Sultan lors de 'ouverture du Canal de Suez.'" Letter from Seligmann to Gulbenkian, December 23, 1909, CGF MCG01092.

⁸²⁸ Dias, *From Paris*, 39.

⁸²⁹ Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 119.

⁸³⁰ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, May 31, 1924, CGF LDN548.

⁸³¹ Dias, *From Paris*, 89-90. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 128.

⁸³² Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, June 4, 1920, CGF MCG02543. Dias, *From Paris*, 39. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 43.

the seal of Humayun.⁸³³ More Mughal Imperial seals appear in manuscripts Gulbenkian purchased in 1921 and 1923 (LA177, LA159 and LA169).⁸³⁴

Other indications of royal ownership, like marginal notes, also appealed to Gulbenkian. In 1923, Gulbenkian purchased a *Baharistan* by Jami via the Indjoudjians (LA169).⁸³⁵ The manuscript includes four miniatures signed by Behzād and various marginal notes indicating the book was in the Mughal court at one time. The Indjoudjians guaranteed the manuscript was dated from the fifteenth or sixteenth century and had not been repaired or repainted. However, the manuscript is not what it appears. The production date in the colophon is false, an earlier dedication to Sultan Husayn is fake, and Behzād's signature is also fake.⁸³⁶ Christiane Gruber noted that someone with “elastic morals” wanted the book to look like a product of the Timurid court in Herat (1307-1405) when it was probably a product of a later period (early sixteenth century) and possibly from Central Asia.⁸³⁷ Whether these changes were contemporary or made much earlier is uncertain. However, Behzād's signature probably did not influence Gulbenkian's decision to buy the manuscript since he had passed on a Behzād painting previously offered by Kevorkian.⁸³⁸

Gulbenkian also acquired several manuscripts that were spoils of wars. His first

⁸³³ More Adey, "Miniatures Ascribed to Sultan Muhammad," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 25, no. 135 (June 1914): 190.

⁸³⁴ Basil Gray believed one of the folios in LA159 was a modern forgery noting, “It seems to be copied from a miniature in Leningrad.” Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 126. Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 2, plate 114. At the same auction, Gulbenkian purchased a portrait of a young man reading which was later questioned by art historian Ernst Kühnel as a modern forgery. Letter from Gray to Gomès Ferreira, January 29, 1963, CGF MCG03151.

⁸³⁵ Dias, *From Paris*, 40. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 122.

⁸³⁶ Christiane Gruber, "The Gulbenkian Baharistan: ‘Abd al-‘Aziz & the Bihzadian Tradition in 16th-century Bukhara,” (paper presented at the International Congress on Master Kemal al-Din Behzad, Tehran, 2005). Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 122.

⁸³⁷ Gruber, "The Gulbenkian Baharistan," 11.

⁸³⁸ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, November 26, 1920, CGF LDN173.

Oriental manuscript acquisition was a Qur'an owned by the British Army officer William Brereton (1789-1864) (LA155). Brereton had claimed it as war booty when the Emperor of China's palace was plundered during the 1860 campaign. Seventeen years later, at Sotheby's auction, Gulbenkian purchased another Qur'an with a similar booty provenance — an Indonesian Qur'an dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (LA154).⁸³⁹ The Dutch took the Indonesian Qur'an during the capture of a fort in Aceh in 1876. The Qur'an also includes annotations indicating that it was the high priest's copy in the principal mosque on the island. Gulbenkian probably was not interested in the items because of their status as loot but rather because their detailed provenance was evidence of authenticity. At the same time, such provenance did not deter him from buying.

Gulbenkian also used items illustrated in auction catalogues as a proxy for value, though he still preferred to view items firsthand before bidding on them. Many of the items he chose to bid on were the objects illustrated in an era in which only a small minority of items were reproduced in this way.⁸⁴⁰ When an item was added to his collection, Gulbenkian included the catalogue description and associated plates in his inventory files. In 1921, Gulbenkian purchased a *Khamsa* of Nizami from a Sotheby's auction (LA171). The auction catalogue included an illustration from the manuscript of *Farhad Carrying Shirin and Her Horse* (figure 4.2).⁸⁴¹ Another Indo-Persian miniature purchased during the same auction, lot 103, was also illustrated in the auction catalogue, confirming that Gulbenkian paid particular interest to manuscripts and miniatures receiving additional attention in

⁸³⁹ Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 152.

⁸⁴⁰ Thomas Walker Arnold complained about the misspelling of names associated with Arabic and Persian MSS, including three different variants of Shah Jahan. Thomas Walker Arnold, "Auctions," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 36, no. 207 (June 1920): 307.

⁸⁴¹ Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of Persian, Indo-Persian and Indian Miniatures, Manuscripts & Works of Art from Various Sources and Private Collections* (London, 1921), lot 98.

auction catalogues (M9).⁸⁴² His opinion about the usefulness of illustrated objects in auction catalogues changed after he met Beatty (discussed in the next chapter). As noted above, scholarly attention also motivated Gulbenkian to look earnestly at objects. The *Khamsa* miniature discussed above was featured in an article in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1914.⁸⁴³ Similarly, one of the miniature borders he purchased from Kevorkian in 1917 (M71) was included in Martin's book published in 1912.⁸⁴⁴

Gulbenkian used prior ownership, royal provenance, and the presence of royal seals as a proxy of value. He also seemed inclined to collect plundered manuscripts and items illustrated in auction catalogues. There is also some indication that he was drawn to things that had received scholarly attention. Gulbenkian's reliance on these various value proxies indicates he was only somewhat comfortable with his connoisseurship skills during his early years of collecting. Freer and Pierpont were also drawn to items with royal provenance, and Pierpont may have been inclined to take a second look at things that had received scholarly attention. Interest in spoils of war attributions, however, was unique to Gulbenkian.

PICTORIAL THEMES OF INTEREST

A lack of confidence in assessing the date and origin of works does not mean Gulbenkian did not apply other criteria in deciding what to buy. From the items purchased, Gulbenkian was particularly interested in a few pictorial themes, including Qur'ans and frontispieces with designs resembling carpets, animals in

⁸⁴² At the time, described as "A Princess fallen off her camel, lying on the ground, and a noble archer whipping up his horse and galloping to her assistance." *Ibid.*, lot 103. Jessica Hallett, the current curator, noted it is now believed to be "Bahram Gur on the verge of trampling Azada, his favourite concubine, after she reproached him for killing a gazelle." Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 138. The mislabelling of the miniature demonstrates how much was still unknown about the subjects depicted and how romanticised narratives of princesses and heroes were projected onto Mughal art.

⁸⁴³ Adey, "Miniatures Ascribed to Sultan Muhammad," 190.

⁸⁴⁴ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 2, plate 256.

the wilderness, hunting scenes, polo players, men reading and birds. In English society, hunting and polo were important conversation topics and pastimes among the British elite and gentleman collectors. Collecting such pictorial themes may have allowed Gulbenkian to establish himself (in his mind or practice) as part of this society.

Gulbenkian's interest in Qur'an frontispieces, animals in the wilderness, and birds may be more related to his cultural background and personal passions. Qur'ans follow a traditional decoration program, including illuminated frontispieces that resemble carpet designs. Gulbenkian's interest in bindings, Qur'ans, and frontispieces from Qur'ans may have been related to his interest and knowledge in carpets and carpet designs.⁸⁴⁵ Rugs are also a common motif in Islamic miniature paintings.⁸⁴⁶ Some bindings also follow similar carpet design conventions.

Gulbenkian was also drawn to manuscripts and single-leaf paintings featuring animals in the wilderness, similar to the manuscript he saw on his Grand Tour. The miniature borders he purchased from Kevorkian in 1917 were fragments from a sixteenth-century Persian manuscript depicting dragons pursuing goats in the wilderness (M71). In 1923, Gulbenkian purchased a sixteenth-century *Divan* by Khusrau Dihlavi that included panthers, bears, monkeys and birds (LA187).⁸⁴⁷

Many of Gulbenkian's acquisitions depict hunting scenes. Unlike Gulbenkian's interest in animals in the wild, these scenes are big game domestic hunting. The *Kulliyat* he purchased in 1917 (LA167) contains eight miniatures depicting hunting scenes.⁸⁴⁸ That same year, he bought a sixteenth-century Persian

⁸⁴⁵ Arthur Upham Pope discussed the similarities between illuminated pages and carpet designs. Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, August 8, 1933, CGF MCG01505.

⁸⁴⁶ LA192, folio 11r

⁸⁴⁷ Dias, *From Paris*, 91-92. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 140-141.

⁸⁴⁸ Dias, *From Paris*, 39. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 143.

miniature of a hunting scene (M74).⁸⁴⁹ In 1922, Gulbenkian purchased a binding in London illustrating a hunting scene dated to the late sixteenth century (R4).

Polo scenes, a game of Eastern origin, also appealed to Gulbenkian. The association of polo with British elite society may have appealed to Gulbenkian. While there is evidence that Gulbenkian regularly rode in Hyde Park as a young man, there is no mention of him playing polo.⁸⁵⁰ The Yates Thompson's manuscript Gulbenkian received as a gift from Rothschild included a polo scene illustrated in the Sotheby's auction catalogue (figure 4.3).⁸⁵¹ In 1912, he purchased a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century footed bowl from Kevorkian depicting the sport of polo.⁸⁵² In 1917, Gulbenkian expressed interest in a seventeenth-century miniature of a young polo player by the Persian miniaturist Riza 'Abbasi offered by Debenham & Freebody. Gulbenkian made a star mark next to the item (no. 53) in his Debenham & Freebody Catalogue.⁸⁵³ A miniature in the collection (M63) roughly matches this description but has a price paid in francs. In 1922 and 1924, he purchased two manuscripts depicting polo matches (LA165, LA180).⁸⁵⁴ He also bought a single leaf of a polo match (date of acquisition unknown) (M63).⁸⁵⁵

For a brief period, Gulbenkian was interested in portraits of men reading. In 1921, with Kehyaian serving as his agent, Gulbenkian acquired a seventeenth-century picture of a young man reading bordered with animals of the hunt (M7). This

⁸⁴⁹ Invoice from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, November 6, 1917, CGF MCG02157. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 132.

⁸⁵⁰ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 145.

⁸⁵¹ Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of Persian, Indo-Persian and Indian Miniatures, Manuscripts & Works of Art*, plate 32.

⁸⁵² Kashan (?) Persia, *A Footed Bowl inside a Court Scene, Referring to Falcon Hunting and the Game of Polo*, Late 12th Century or Early 13th Century. Fritware, Painted over and Underglaze, Inv. 935, CGF.

⁸⁵³ Invoice from Debenham & Freebody to Gulbenkian, August 28, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁸⁵⁴ Dias, *From Paris*, 85-86. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 133.

⁸⁵⁵ Dias, *From Paris*, 85-86. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 133.

acquisition combined two of his interests: hunting and reading. In 1922, Gulbenkian purchased an Indo-Persian sixteenth-century miniature, once part of a Muraqqa of a young prince reading (M51).⁸⁵⁶

Gulbenkian may have also been briefly interested in Mughal portraits. In 1912, H. James of Sotheby's in London purchased Moreau et Freudenberg's *Le Monument du Costume* (1883) (lot 453) on Gulbenkian's orders.⁸⁵⁷ The invoice includes an annotated catalogue section with the bid amounts for the Persian drawings at the auction. The sale had a collection of "Framed Indian Miniatures: Chiefly Delhi Work of the 17th century, illustrating the Lives of the Earlier Mogul Emperors." Whether Gulbenkian gave James bids for these miniatures or was merely watching the market is unclear.

Gulbenkian's most prevalent pictorial theme of interest was birds. The Persian manuscript Gulbenkian purchased from Gudénian in 1913 has some pages decorated with gold birds (LA185). Gulbenkian's interest in manuscripts decorated with birds coincided with his interest in *real* birds. Conlin noted Gulbenkian's curiously long discussion of birdlife in his travelogue.⁸⁵⁸ As early as 1914, Gulbenkian kept canaries in his Paris apartment and had their water bowls filled with Évian instead of tap water.⁸⁵⁹ When Gulbenkian renovated his second Paris apartment in the late 1920s, he installed an aviary on the terrace with a collection of exotic birds, including a peacock.⁸⁶⁰ In 1927, when Gulbenkian purchased an estate outside of Deauville, he instructed the caretaker to "take all steps to prevent hunting on the property and encourage the birds to make their nests on the property."⁸⁶¹ Gulbenkian collected other Islamic objects featuring

⁸⁵⁶ Ettinghausen, *Persian Art: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*, Plate 17.

⁸⁵⁷ Lot 453, Sotheby's, Wilkinson & Hodge, London. March 1912, The actual date of the auction is unknown. Letter from James to Gulbenkian, March 29, 1912, CGF LDN60.

⁸⁵⁸ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 31.

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

birds, including a fourteenth-century enamelled Mamluk glass beaker decorated with exotic birds native to the Middle East (figure 4.4).⁸⁶²

In 1920, Gulbenkian purchased a sixteenth-century *Tuhfat al-ahrar* by Jami and a sixteenth-century *Qiran-e Sa'adayn* by Dihlavi (LA184 and LA187).⁸⁶³ Both manuscripts contain miniatures with landscape settings, including a miniature with rolling hills occupying two-thirds of the picture frame. However, the similarities stop there (figures 4.5 and 4.6). The *Tuhfat al-ahrar* miniature from the Bukhari school is painted in large blocks of opaque colours with minimal detailing. In contrast, the *Qiran-e Sa'adayn* miniature has more texture and is a busier scene. The people in the *Tuhfat al-ahrar* miniature are portrayed generically compared to the much more animated and personalised individuals in the *Qiran-e Sa'adayn* miniature. The stark differences in these two manuscripts artistically support the idea that Gulbenkian, while attracted to particular pictorial themes, had an eclectic taste in art.

OTHER THEMES OF INTEREST

Several of the manuscripts Gulbenkian purchased were *Divans* (a collection of short poems by a single author), *Kulliyats* (a poet's complete works), and *Khamsas* (a poet's more extended works).⁸⁶⁴ Four manuscripts were by the Persian poet Sa'di (1210-c.1291), three by the Persian poet Nizami (c.1141-1209), three by the Persian poet Jami (1414-1492), and two by the Indo-Persian poet Amīr Khusra Dihlavi (1253-1325). All these classic works were popular with the Mughal rulers.

⁸⁶² Mamluk period Egypt or Syria, *Beaker with a Group of Birds Is Depicted All Around*, First Half of the 14th Century. Enamelled and Gilded Glass, Inv. 2378, CGF. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 152.

⁸⁶³ Invoice from Gudénian to Gulbenkian, June 4, 1920, CGF MCG02543. Dias, *From Paris*, 39. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 141, 143. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 141.

⁸⁶⁴ There is no indication that Gulbenkian could read Persian. However, there are many loanwords in Turkish that Gulbenkian may have understood.

In terms of artistic schools, Gulbenkian had an affinity for manuscripts attributed to the Bukhara school, which Mughal rulers also collected. The Bukhara school of artists was known for flattening architectural spaces, elaborate ornamental patterns and miniatures containing only one or two prominent figures.⁸⁶⁵ In July 1921, Gulbenkian purchased a sixteenth-century *Bustān* by Sa'di and transcribed by Mir Ali with a double-page frontispiece and fourteen miniatures attributed to the Bukhara school (LA177).⁸⁶⁶ Several miniatures from the manuscript resemble compositions by the artist Behzād from the Herat school.⁸⁶⁷ However, the artistic comparison was not noted when Gulbenkian made the purchase. In October 1921, Gulbenkian purchased a single miniature of a saint kneeling in a landscape between two cypress trees from a British bookseller (M3).⁸⁶⁸ In November 1923, he bought a *Baharistan* by Jami with miniatures typical of the early Bukhara school (LA169).⁸⁶⁹

THE AFTERLIFE OF GULBENKIAN'S EARLY ISLAMIC BOOK ART COLLECTION

In 1912, Gaston Migeon approached Gulbenkian asking if he would loan some items for the exhibition at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs.⁸⁷⁰ This request acknowledged that Gulbenkian had a noteworthy collection twelve years after his first purchase. However, Gulbenkian lent only one item, a sixteenth-century binding vaguely described in the catalogue as "Reliure Ciselée plat intérieur. Perse. XVI^e s."⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁵ Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (London, 1977), 147.

⁸⁶⁶ Dias, *From Paris*, 221-222. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 123.

⁸⁶⁷ Priscilla P. Soucek, "Abdallah Bokari, Encyclopædia Iranica," (2014). <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/abdallah-bokari>.

⁸⁶⁸ Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 131.

⁸⁶⁹ Dias, *From Paris*, 40. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 122.

⁸⁷⁰ Letter from Migeon to Gulbenkian, June 8, 1912, CGF LDN54.

⁸⁷¹ Vever and Marteau, "Exposées 1912," vol. 1, 101.

Gulbenkian actively culled items from his collection if he felt he had made an acquisition error. In October 1913, Gulbenkian purchased several Persian miniatures and bindings from Der Ohanian.⁸⁷² The invoice includes brief descriptions — festive scenes, Qur'an, binding with birds, a sitting woman, a young man on a cushion and a statement "garantie ancienne et sans retouches."⁸⁷³ The name is Armenian; perhaps he was a family friend or someone in the carpet business. By December 1913, Gulbenkian doubted the authenticity of the items bought from Der Ohanian and wanted them removed from his collection.⁸⁷⁴ Demotte was so convinced of their authenticity that he offered to buy the miniatures and bindings from Gulbenkian for the same price Gulbenkian paid Der Ohanian.⁸⁷⁵ Based on notations in the ledger, Gulbenkian kept two items purchased from Der Ohanian, including a manuscript with two miniatures representing scenes of a celebration and a binding of a Qur'an. Unfortunately, no inventory codes are associated with these items, making it unclear whether they are still in the collection. While Freer and Greene both discussed culling the collections, Gulbenkian was the only one to follow through. This, combined with his limited engagement with exhibitions, demonstrates that while he was intensively focused on his collection, he did not need public acceptance — it was purely a personal endeavour and passion.

CONCLUSION

In terms of Gulbenkian's **collecting personality** during the early years of his collecting, he was continuously focused on improving his knowledge and periodically culled items that he deemed no longer acceptable for his collection (appendix 4.3). During Gulbenkian's early collecting, he relied on the advice of dealers, intermediaries and auction house contacts to inform his choices and

⁸⁷² Invoice from Ohanian to Gulbenkian, October 12, 1913, CGF MCG02534.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Demotte, December 28, 1913, CGF LDN69.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

worked with preferred dealers and intermediaries. Gulbenkian also built a comprehensive research library of seminal books and presumably visited some museum collections to educate himself further.⁸⁷⁶ He did not collect to elevate his obvious social status, as shown by his minimal involvement in the 1912 Paris Exhibition with one loan — though many of his purchases reflect contemporary aristocratic pastimes.

Regarding the **variables relevant to his Oriental book art collection formation and management**, Gulbenkian was wealthy enough to buy any object he genuinely wanted (appendix 4.2). However, Gulbenkian was only delighted when the acquisition went according to his stipulations. He wanted complete descriptions of things purchased, notations regarding restorations and repairs, and guarantees regarding dating. He also wanted commissions calculated on the purchase amount before auction commissions, did not like to negotiate price, and was open to bartering to cull things he no longer cared for to get items of interest. Such stipulations or alternative forms of payment were not part of Freer's or Pierpont Morgan's protocols. However, as careful as he was, Gulbenkian did buy a fake Persian binding and his final purchase of this era was a significantly altered manuscript.

While Gulbenkian's Grand Tour was related to his Armenian ethnicity and family merchant business, it also played a role in his Islamic purchases. One of the items he encountered was a manuscript depicting a lion attacking a stag, a pictorial theme that would reappear in his collection. Other **information inputs** included his former business partner, Kevorkian and the various dealers and agents he used in Paris and London for his acquisitions. Agents like Gudénian and Kehyaian defended Gulbenkian's interests with steadfast loyalty, shielding him from market ploys. They tempered verbose statements of rarity and value from auction houses and unsavoury other dealers with reasoned personal assessments.

⁸⁷⁶ For additional discussion of reference books in Gulbenkian's Library: Chapter Six.

Regarding **information processing**, Gulbenkian kept abreast of recent scholarly findings and seemed attracted to items that had received scholarly attention. He recognised that he had limited knowledge and sought experts, including curators, who could help him fully appreciate various styles of art. When evaluating items, he preferred to view them firsthand in the comfort of his home.

Gulbenkian used several **information indicators of value to evaluate Islamic book art**, including prior ownership, royal provenance, spoils of war and items illustrated in auction catalogues. The Mughal seals were a primary indicator of royal origin. Gulbenkian was particularly interested in a few pictorial themes, including Qur'ans and frontispieces with designs resembling carpet designs, animals in the wilderness, hunting scenes, polo players, men reading and birds. Unlike Freer and Pierpont, Gulbenkian's Islamic book art purchases were much more extensive. He did not actively seek manuscripts and single-leaf paintings from India. Moreover, Mughal items in Gulbenkian's collection, described as 'Indian' in auction catalogues, were later described by Gulbenkian as 'Persian' in his inventory lists.

Regarding **decision process stages**, Gulbenkian's previous knowledge of Persian carpets may have encouraged his decision to collect Qur'ans and frontispieces with similar designs. The *Anthology of Iskandar* manuscript gift from Rothschild may have encouraged him to seek similar manuscripts in future auctions. When he found things of interest, he made notations in his auction catalogues, viewed photographs and requested to view the items firsthand. His primary intermediaries also offered their opinion of objects for auction. At least once, he asked Dring for his thoughts on an upcoming auction but received little guidance. He wanted commissions calculated on the amount of the purchase before auction commissions, did not like to negotiate price and was open to bartering as a way to cull things he no longer cared for to get items of interest.

Gulbenkian did not appear to have a clear strategy and was unsure of his connoisseurship skills. When he doubted a previous purchase, he wanted it culled from his collection. At first, he stuck with what he knew: bindings and

Qur'an frontispieces resembling carpets. However, his attempts to branch out needed a clear direction. This aspect changed in the later phase of his collecting career.

Regarding Gulbenkian's **motivations for collecting**, most of his interests were traditional for the upper echelons of English and American society (appendix 4.4). However, his Islamic book art collection could be seen as an outlier and an interest shared by few others. His family's merchant business and his in-depth knowledge of Persian carpet designs explain his interest in Qur'ans and frontispieces. His interest in birds also explains his focus on manuscripts and single-leaf paintings containing birds. Regarding **normative compliance**, Gulbenkian did not always live up to commitments, like his interactions with the Indjoudjians, but he knew he wielded power in negotiations. He also had a reputation with Dring for asking for information and advice but not giving commissions. Based on Gulbenkian's collection records, he paid reasonable commissions to his intermediaries and sometimes high commissions when his agents secured special items for bargain prices.

Concerning the **role of exhibitions and exhibition catalogues** in shaping Gulbenkian's reception of Islamic art in his early collecting years, only one exhibition is mentioned in his earlier correspondence — the loan of one binding to the 1912 Paris Exhibition. However, he routinely corresponded with Migeon, who was actively involved in the 1903, 1907 and 1912 Paris Exhibitions, suggesting the two gentlemen at least discussed what was exhibited even if Gulbenkian was not able to attend the actual events. Gulbenkian was also known to look through his reference material, including exhibition catalogues and make notations and comparisons to things in his own collection.

With regard to the **appeal of Mughal book art**, Gulbenkian sought manuscripts with Mughal ruler seals and may have equated the seal as a proxy of value and authenticity. He was also attracted to classic works by Sa'di and from the Bukhara school — both of which were popular with the Mughal rulers. Gulbenkian may have also entertained adding Mughal portraits to his collection. However, it

will be an overstatement to say that Gulbenkian was attracted explicitly to Mughal book art. The miniature of a yogi seated on a tiger skin (M4) described as Indian in the auction catalogue was later mislabelled as Persian after it entered Gulbenkian's Oriental inventory, suggesting he preferred a Persian association with the miniature more than an Indian one.

The archival data, mostly invoices and letters from dealers and intermediaries suggesting items for consideration, was still valuable for exploring various **frameworks for identifying the variables relevant to Gulbenkian's Islamic book art collection formation and management**, especially providing details regarding Gulbenkian's preferred methods of doing business. The objects themselves provided clues about Gulbenkian's pictorial themes of interest and collecting intent. Gulbenkian's relationship with the Indjoudjians during the Great War and his preemptive decision to keep the manuscripts before the loan period had ended provide clues regarding his cultural norms, including his willingness to mix business with his collecting activities.

Dring may have thought Gulbenkian was a nuisance and not a serious book collector, but Gulbenkian's purchases were getting more ambitious, and others were taking notice, especially Alfred Chester Beatty. The following chapter discusses Gulbenkian's Oriental book purchases after meeting Beatty and how the two men conveniently carved up the market for themselves — allowing Beatty to focus on what he wanted without worrying about Gulbenkian outbidding him.

CHAPTER FIVE: GULBENKIAN BECOMING A GENTLEMAN COLLECTOR

“You know how deeply attached I am to them all; in fact, it is without the slightest of exaggeration that I consider them as my children.”⁸⁷⁷ — Calouste Gulbenkian (1869- 1955) writing to John Walker (1906-1995) about his art collections, February 10, 1953.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian’s Islamic book art collecting activities after 1923 and his relationship with Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875-1968). Manuscript collecting is often characterised as something done by individuals or families and as a competitive process, symbolised by the ‘battles’ of the auction room. However, friendships can also shape collections, as demonstrated by the thirty-year relationship between fellow bibliophiles Gulbenkian and Beatty. Correspondence in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation documents the unusual (for the time) collecting friendship between Beatty and Gulbenkian. While Gulbenkian was professionally focused on the oil industry, Beatty concentrated on copper mining.⁸⁷⁸ Like Gulbenkian, Beatty also amassed a fortune and spent much of his spare time creating his manuscript collection, now in Dublin.

Beatty’s Islamic collection of over 6,100 items includes the earliest known Qur’ans, individual folios of Mughal calligraphy and paintings, Persian manuscripts, and a small group of loose bindings. Beatty significantly culled his European collection during his lifetime. A small collection of twenty-two manuscripts remains, including biblical, liturgical and devotional books.

⁸⁷⁷ Letter from Gulbenkian to Walker, February 10, 1953, CGF MCG02324.

⁸⁷⁸ For Beatty’s biography and career in mining: A. J. Wilson, *The Life and Times of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty* (London, 1985). Thomas O’Brien, "Alfred Chester Beatty: Mining Engineer, Financier and Entrepreneur, 1898-1950," in *Mining Tycoons in the Age of Empire, 1870–1945: Entrepreneurship, High Finance, Politics and Territorial Expansion*, ed. Raymond Dumett (Oxfordshire: 2009).

Gulbenkian's Islamic collection, considerably smaller than Beatty's, includes approximately 175 items, including Qur'ans and Armenian Bibles, manuscripts, single-leaf miniatures, paintings, and several loose bindings. Gulbenkian's European collection, similar to the remains of Beatty's collection, includes twenty-four manuscripts, an incunable and eleven single leaves and fragments produced between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.

When the two men met in 1924, Beatty was the foremost collector of Islamic manuscripts and a leading collector of European illuminated manuscripts. Gulbenkian showed increasing interest in the same collecting areas. The correspondence between these men reveals a confidential arrangement to ensure they acquired what they wanted for the lowest prices possible. The letters also shed light on the nature of their friendship and Beatty's influence on Gulbenkian's manuscript-collecting strategy.

Although Beatty, an American, and Gulbenkian, an Armenian, could both be considered outsiders in European manuscript collecting circles, Beatty helped Gulbenkian adapt to the model of a gentleman collector. Both men lived in London and collected much on the London market. Christopher de Hamel noted several criteria for a gentleman collector during the heyday of Henry Yates Thompson's book-collecting activities.⁸⁷⁹ First, a gentleman collector always paid a ten per-cent commission when auctioning items. Second, he rarely discussed or recorded what he had spent or the sale price for manuscripts in his collection. It was uncouth to sell one's collection while still alive. In particular, a British gentleman collector should never allow his collection to fall into the hands of, as M. R. James famously wrote: "Boches, Jews, and Transatlantics."⁸⁸⁰ However, as noted by de Hamel, Yates Thompson broke all the rules of a gentleman collector, setting the stage for a new definition for future generations of book collectors.

⁸⁷⁹ De Hamel, "Was Henry Yates Thompson a Gentleman?," 77-87.

⁸⁸⁰ The comment was made in a letter from M. R. James: Indiana University, Lilly Library, Thompson, H. Y. MSS 1917-1922, No. 2. J.Q. Bennett, "Portman Square to New Bond Street, or How to Make Money Though Rich," *The Book Collector* 16, no. 3 (1967): 325-326.

When Beatty and Gulbenkian entered the London scene, being commercially focused was less frowned upon in book-collecting circles. However, protocols still existed for interacting with dealers and auction houses, loaning works for exhibitions, and supporting scholars and museum curators. Before meeting Beatty, as noted in the previous chapter, Gulbenkian routinely asked for discounts when purchasing reference books, refused to pay commissions based on winning bids plus auctioneer's fees and used bartering techniques with dealers to cull his collection of unwanted items.⁸⁸¹ These were not the activities of a classic gentleman collector. Beatty may have wanted to share the fundamentals of a gentleman book collector, a role he had mastered with, by this time, the director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Sydney Cockerell's help.⁸⁸² However, while sharing one's insight is certainly a gentlemanly thing, the correspondence highlights that Beatty's desire to limit competition for the books he wanted most was also a motivating factor in pursuing his relationship with Gulbenkian. This chapter explores Gulbenkian's Oriental collection after becoming friends and Beatty's influence on Gulbenkian's collecting strategy.

GULBENKIAN'S ISLAMIC BOOK ART PURCHASES AFTER 1923

In 1932, eight years after meeting Beatty, Gulbenkian outlined how he thought his collection differed from Beatty's in a letter to Frederic Sutherland Ferguson at Quaritch booksellers. Gulbenkian viewed Beatty as a scientific collector who wanted all eras in his collection.⁸⁸³ In contrast, Gulbenkian declared his goal *had*

⁸⁸¹ Letter from Quaritch to Gulbenkian, December 16, 1912, CGF LDN60. Letter from Gulbenkian to Demotte, November 5, 1914, CGF LDN69. Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, April 5, 1917, CGF LDN118.

⁸⁸² Laura Cleaver, "The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty (ca. 1915-1930)," *Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (2018): 445-482.

⁸⁸³ "Comme vous le savez, je ne suis pas, comme M. Beatty, un collectionneur scientifique ayant en vue de posséder toutes les époques dans sa collection. Mon but a toujours été de n'avoir qu'un nombre très restreint d'ouvrages de la plus haute qualité et des meilleures époques. Pour être plus précis, je me limite du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle pour les ouvrages avec très belles miniatures de la plus parfaite conservation." Letter from Gulbenkian to Ferguson, March 23, 1932, London Quaritch Archives.

always been to have a few works of the highest quality and best periods. He clarified that this meant pieces from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, with beautiful miniatures in perfect condition. Gulbenkian was presumably thinking about European manuscripts. Based on an analysis of his purchases, this was not Gulbenkian's strategy for his Islamic collection if he had a plan before meeting Beatty in 1924. Indeed, many items in Gulbenkian's 'Oriental' collection are dated later than the sixteenth century.⁸⁸⁴

Between 1924 and 1938, there is documented evidence that Gulbenkian acquired eight Persian manuscripts, three Armenian Bibles, three Qur'ans, ten Qur'an frontispieces, fourteen bindings, and one portrait miniature. What is immediately apparent is that he stopped collecting single-leaf paintings after forming a friendship with Beatty (appendix 5.1). Gulbenkian made most of his purchases after 1923 at Paris auctions using the Indjoudjians and at London auctions using Kehyaian or Quaritch as his agent. Other dealers and agents employed included Louis Giraud-Badin (1876-1960), Georges Wildenstein (1892-1963) and Isbirian (possibly M. Vahan Isbirian, who died 1932) in Paris, and E.S. Haim and E. Beghian both of Istanbul.

Sometime after 1921, a comprehensive inventory of Gulbenkian's Oriental manuscripts was undertaken. At that time, Gulbenkian listed estimates for four items without reference to a specific dealer or intermediary, including a manuscript with a miniature of Mecca, a book with twenty-four miniatures representing hunting scenes in a binding decorated with flowers, an incomplete mid-sixteenth-century Qur'an with several illuminations, and one lacquer binding with a young woman kneeling with a chisel in her left hand (LA157, LA170, LA182 and R15). According to the inventory, the binding was purchased from a private individual on Beatty's advice.

⁸⁸⁴ At least seventeen items Gulbenkian purchased during this time are dated seventeenth to eighteenth century including inventory codes listed in order of purchase: LA155, LA176, M50, LA179, M60, LA154, parts of M44, LA162, LA191, R24, LA163, binding of LA177, M9, M7, M16, M15, possibly M12 and M11.

In 1957, a second inventory of the collection was taken. During the intervening years, Gulbenkian had added three manuscripts, ten bindings, nineteen frontispieces and fourteen miniatures. Some acquisitions may have come from his lifelong friend and former business partner, Kevorkian, many years after he no longer regularly corresponded with Beatty. In September 1951, Kevorkian gave Gulbenkian the first right of refusal for the “cream of his collection,” which he felt were of the “highest quality, irreplaceable at any price.”⁸⁸⁵ However, no invoices or documentation are associated with these acquisitions to confirm this.

A few undocumented acquisitions are worth noting. LA158 is a fifteenth-century *Anthology of Iskandar* with notations indicating that it once belonged to Prince Iskandar. The manuscript might have interested Gulbenkian because of the *Anthology of Iskandar* he received as a gift from Rothschild (LA161).⁸⁸⁶ Another item is an aged prince watching polo players, a pictorial theme of interest to Gulbenkian in his early collecting years (M63). Such purchases indicate that Gulbenkian's interests did not wholly change upon meeting Beatty.

Two undocumented miniatures are of opium smokers sitting on a cushion, indicating interest in a new pictorial theme (M52 and M53). Other items associated with the Mughal period include an early eighteenth-century portrait of Bahadur Shah (M58), a seventeenth-century Mughal-made binding (LA160) and a late Mughal period bookstand (#2265). In 1929, Gulbenkian also purchased from the Holford Collection, with Duveen serving as his agent, a jade jug that bears the inscriptions of emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan (#328).⁸⁸⁷ The portrait of Bahadur Shah is a surprising outlier in Gulbenkian's collection. It is dated much later than most of the items in his collection, and it is one of the rare portraits in the collection (figure 5.1). Jessica Hallet, the current curator of Gulbenkian's Islamic collection, believes the dealer Wildenstein gave the

⁸⁸⁵ Letter from Kevorkian to Gulbenkian, September 5, 1951, CGF MCG02261.

⁸⁸⁶ See the previous chapter of the thesis, 176-209.

⁸⁸⁷ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, 42.

miniatures to Gulbenkian in hopes he would buy more from him in the future.⁸⁸⁸ While Gulbenkian continued to acquire items with royal provenances after meeting Beatty, the presence of Mughal seals was no longer part of his **evaluation criteria**.⁸⁸⁹

There are also several letters between Gulbenkian, dealers and intermediaries where it is unclear whether the items discussed eventually entered the collection.⁸⁹⁰ Some correspondence can also be loosely linked to items in the collection. In 1935, Professor Ram Singh A. Dora (through his friend Will H. Edmunds at Sotheby's) offered Gulbenkian two miniatures from a large fourteenth-century *Shahnameh* depicting Rustam killing his son Sohrab and Tahmuras riding Angra Mainyu with horsed warriors below.⁸⁹¹ Edmunds believed the miniatures represented the finest examples of Timurid art he had seen in twenty years of cataloguing for Sotheby's.⁸⁹² Two unidentified *Shahnameh* miniatures without invoices are in the collection (M66).⁸⁹³ In July 1935, Gulbenkian inspected several items from Léonce Rosenberg's gallery in Paris, including a sixteenth-century Persian binding, a double-page sixteenth-century miniature with birds and plants, a double-page miniature depicting animals and flowers, and a double-page miniature from the former collection of Claude Anet.⁸⁹⁴ The binding was not pristine, with glueing visible at the joints. Gulbenkian restored a binding in 1936, which is not linked to a known inventory code.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁸ The idea that the miniature was "sugar" was suggested in conversations with Jessica Hallett, the current curator of Gulbenkian's Islamic Collection.

⁸⁸⁹ Items with royal provenance include: Sultan Ibrahim, Governor of Shiraz (LA168), the seal of Shah Abbas I (LA192), Sultan Bayezid II (M65), Sultan Mehemt (M27), Sultan Abdul Amid (possibly Ahmed Nihad) (LA201) and Prince Iskandar (LA158).

⁸⁹⁰ There are also several letters written in Armenian that have not been translated.

⁸⁹¹ Letter from Edmunds to Gulbenkian, March 14, 1935, CGF MCG02323.

⁸⁹² Ibid.

⁸⁹³ Dias, *From Paris*, 81-82. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 121. Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 2, plate 241.

⁸⁹⁴ Letter from Rosenberg to Gulbenkian, July 26, 1935, CGF MCG02331.

⁸⁹⁵ Letter from Hutchins to Gulbenkian, January 9, 1936, CGF MCG01451.

In 1924, Kehyaian entered hard bargaining negotiations with Jehangir Gazdar for Our'ans.⁸⁹⁶ Gazdar thought the difference between Kehyaian's offer and the actual value of the Qur'an was "as far as the sky is from the earth."⁸⁹⁷ Kehyaian assured Gazdar that his next offer would be even lower. Whether the two men could agree on a price is unknown. However, the collection has a Qur'an fragment without purchase and dealer details (LA182).

In his later collecting years, Gulbenkian no longer blindly relied on recommendations from his trusted intermediaries. In 1928, Gazdar offered two Qur'ans and a carpet for sale — one with a handsome cover and another with a cover in poor condition.⁸⁹⁸ Kehyaian thought the Qur'an, with a cover in poor condition, was one of the finest he had ever seen. Ultimately, Gulbenkian only purchased the carpet, demonstrating that he was honing his connoisseurship skills.⁸⁹⁹

While Gulbenkian continued to grow his reference library, more than scholarly attention or scientific interest was needed for Gulbenkian to consider an item. In 1924, a gentleman staying at the Ritz Hotel in Paris wrote Gulbenkian about his Islamic art collection which the British Museum had tried to buy piecemeal since 1922. He wanted to sell the whole collection because Friedrich Sarre had told him "that it was impossible to bring together in one day a collection like mine in quality and scale."⁹⁰⁰ If Gulbenkian agreed to buy the entire collection, the gentleman promised to have Sarre write a catalogue.

In 1929, E.M. Dring (1909-1990) of Quaritch contacted Gulbenkian concerning

⁸⁹⁶ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, July 31, 1924, CGF LDN546. Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, July 11, 1928, CGF MCG02800. Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, August 4, 1928, CGF MCG02800.

⁸⁹⁷ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, July 31, 1924, CGF LDN546.

⁸⁹⁸ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, July 11, 1928, CGF MCG02800.

⁸⁹⁹ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, August 10, 1928, CGF MCG02800. Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, August 18, 1928, CGF MCG02800.

⁹⁰⁰ Letter from name illegible to Gulbenkian, December 27, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

material collected to illustrate Frederik Robert Martin's book.⁹⁰¹ While the items were not in the book's final version, Dring assured Gulbenkian that Martin had viewed every item and guaranteed their authenticity. Dring's father offered Greene similar described items in 1913, asking for £4,000.⁹⁰² Sixteen years later, Quaritch either tried to sell the same group of miniatures or a subset of the original group to Gulbenkian for 3,000 francs. Gulbenkian passed on the opportunity, perhaps because Martin was involved (Gulbenkian's dislike of dealing with Martin is discussed later in this chapter). In November 1938, Cairo-based dealer Dahaby wrote to Gulbenkian concerning an extensive collection of Oriental manuscripts dating back several centuries that had aroused the interest of scientists and archaeologists on several occasions.⁹⁰³ Dahaby sent copies of three pages from one of the manuscripts — which have not been linked to an item in Gulbenkian's collection.

If a dealer mentioned an American collector was interested in an item, Gulbenkian immediately realised there was little chance of getting anything for a bargain, and he often lost interest. When the collection of Achillito Chiesa (1881-1951) was auctioned in 1925, Isbirian informed Gulbenkian that an American had the first right of refusal for a Persian manuscript and an album, and even though the Chiesa representative felt sure the American would not buy the items, Gulbenkian lost interest.⁹⁰⁴

Gulbenkian was also less inclined to buy directly from dealers, preferring to use agents acting on his behalf at auctions. The Paris dealer Tabbagh attempted several times to interest Gulbenkian in his inventory of Persian miniatures and manuscripts using various techniques, including name-dropping of other customers, associations with Emperor Akbar and indicating that similar items

⁹⁰¹ Letter from E. M. Dring to Gulbenkian, May 5, 1929, CGF MCG01651.

⁹⁰² Letter from Dring to Greene, March 18, 1913, MCC 49205.

⁹⁰³ Letter from Dahaby to Gulbenkian, November 9, 1938, CGF MCG02619.

⁹⁰⁴ Letter from Isbirian to Gulbenkian, August 12, 1924, CGF LDN546.

were only found in museums.⁹⁰⁵ In one encounter, Tabbagh told Gulbenkian that he had sold a miniature from the same book to Beatty, but it was less valuable than the ones he showed Gulbenkian.⁹⁰⁶ This sales ploy worked at least partly — Gulbenkian inspected the miniatures and compared them to his existing collection but decided not to buy.⁹⁰⁷

Like his early collecting practices, Gulbenkian was wary of doing business with private collectors, unlike Freer, who preferred this method. Several individuals approached Gulbenkian, wanting to sell off family heirlooms. In 1925, a gentleman in need of money named Djemal offered Gulbenkian a Qur'an his father had purchased.⁹⁰⁸ Djemal asked for between 10,000 and 15,000 francs. One Qur'an fragment in the collection matches this price range but is not linked to a specific date or dealer (LA182).⁹⁰⁹ In 1934, a gentleman named Garet requested an appointment to show Gulbenkian three beautiful old books.⁹¹⁰ In 1936, the widow of Mr L.A. Raffy, a family friend, sent Gulbenkian a *Kitab al-Bulhan* or *Book of Wonders*, which he passed over based on Beatty's advice.⁹¹¹ In 1938, a gentleman named F. Clair, staying at the Grand Hotel in Paris offered to sell Gulbenkian an album of 21 miniatures.⁹¹² Whether these items are in the collection is unknown.

⁹⁰⁵ Letter from Tabbagh to Gulbenkian, November 4, 1925, CGF LDN615. Letter from Tabbagh to Gulbenkian, September 14, 1932, CGF MCG01158.

⁹⁰⁶ Letter from Tabbagh to Gulbenkian, September 27, 1932, CGF MCG01158. Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 2 vols. (London, 1995), vol. 1, 112.

⁹⁰⁷ Letter from Gulbenkian to Tabbagh, September 15, 1932, CGF MCG01158.

⁹⁰⁸ Letter from Djemal to Gulbenkian, May 28, 1925, CGF LDN599.

⁹⁰⁹ Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 150, 153.

⁹¹⁰ "Ayant trois beaux livres anciens à vendre je me permets de vous les signaler..." Letter from Garet to Gulbenkian, April 3, 1934, CGF MCG02330.

⁹¹¹ Letter from R. Raffy to Gulbenkian, May 27, 1936, CGF MCG02219. Letter from Essayan to Beatty, October 5, 1936, CGF LDN01637. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, May 1, 1936, CGF MCG02219.

⁹¹² Letter from Clair to Gulbenkian, December 15, 1938, CGF MCG02620.

Despite letters after 1923 indicating Gulbenkian no longer considered illustrated items at auction as a proxy for value, some things he added to his collection after 1923 were displayed in auction catalogues (LA152 and LA173).⁹¹³ After 1923, Gulbenkian continued to use dealers and intermediaries (primarily of Armenian descent) as **information inputs**. However, after meeting Beatty in 1924, he began doing business with Quaritch and Wildenstein, who had represented and sold items to Beatty.

Gulbenkian was beginning to establish a pattern.⁹¹⁴ He thought a lot about his **planned purchases** and **gathered information** and advice from Beatty and Beatty's museum contacts. Unlike Pierpont, who primarily acquired his Islamic material through curators and scholars, or Freer, who preferred to work directly with private collectors, Gulbenkian's **decision process** was to employ agents to bid on his behalf at auctions held in Paris and London. However, his loyalty to a particular agent had an endpoint. Once he had decided to cut off relations with a specific agent, that decision was final. Kehyaian was his agent of choice for London auctions from October 1921 to February 1926, when he began entrusting Quaritch to represent him in London. Gulbenkian continued to use Kehyaian as his intermediary for carpet purchases but after 1926 he no longer used Kehyaian for manuscripts.⁹¹⁵

THE BEGINNING OF A COLLECTING FRIENDSHIP

⁹¹³ "As you say, the reproductions in the catalogue look much better than the books themselves." Letter from E. M. Dring to Gulbenkian, March 6, 1928, CGF MCG01651. Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Manuscripts [...] Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures Comprising [...] the Property of Sir Malcolm Macgregor* (London, November 15-18, 1926), Frontispiece, 83, Lot 552. Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of Valuable Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures Comprising a Series of Very Important Indian Drawing by the Court Painters of the Great Moghul Emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb* (London, December 12 and 13, 1929).

⁹¹⁴ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 147.

⁹¹⁵ Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, October 16, 1935, CGF MCG02642. Letter from Kehyaian to Gulbenkian, October 12, 1938, CGF MCG02618.

In January 1923, Beatty wrote to Gulbenkian, enclosing a letter of introduction from their mutual acquaintance Hermann Marx (died 1947) (figure 5.2).⁹¹⁶ In his letter, Beatty wrote, “If at any time you would like to see some of my books, it will give me great pleasure to show them to you.” His reasons for wanting to meet Gulbenkian were three-fold. Beatty probably sincerely desired to show his collection to Gulbenkian as a fellow collector. Due to Gulbenkian's recent flurry of acquisitions, he may also have wanted to better understand Gulbenkian's interests to avoid bidding against each other and keep prices low. Beatty may have also wanted to meet Gulbenkian to explore potential business opportunities.⁹¹⁷

The first indication of a meeting is a brief letter followed by a telegram sent by Beatty to Gulbenkian on December 27, 1923.⁹¹⁸ Beatty was coming to Paris in a few weeks and hoped to see Gulbenkian's treasures and items he was considering for purchase. By the end of March 1924, Gulbenkian and Beatty had become friendly.⁹¹⁹ Their meeting in January went well, and they tried to arrange for their wives to meet. Gulbenkian wanted Beatty's opinion about a Book of Hours he was considering for purchase. Beatty praised the manuscript with heraldic devices, comparing the borders to a manuscript made for the Medici recently listed in the Yates Thompson sale. He also shared his approach to assessing manuscripts: more beautiful things in limited supply will increase in value, excellent provenance is worth at least £500, and cropped pages take away the appearance of a book, as does inconsistency in skill levels when more than one artist was involved.⁹²⁰

Beatty continued to share criteria for evaluating European and Islamic

⁹¹⁶ Letter and Telegram from Beatty to Gulbenkian, January 11, 1923, CGF LDN1169.

⁹¹⁷ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 177-178.

⁹¹⁸ Letter from Alfred Chester Beatty to Calouste Gulbenkian, December 27, 1923, CGF LDN500.

⁹¹⁹ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, March 31, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*

manuscripts as he assumed the mentor role in their relationship. In mid-April 1924, Gulbenkian began corresponding with the dealer Joseph Baer & Co. of Frankfurt concerning a Book of Hours once owned by Henry VIII.⁹²¹ Baer believed the manuscript was a “really quite exceptional work by a first-class artist” and not an “Atelier book.”⁹²² When Gulbenkian asked Beatty about the manuscript, Beatty responded, “I think it is a coarse and poor example of a poor period, and neither myself nor my friend at the Museum would recommend you buy it.”⁹²³ His museum friend was probably Eric George Millar (1887-1966) at the British Museum, who was moonlighting by assisting Beatty with his European manuscript collection at the time.⁹²⁴

In May 1924, Beatty’s wife Edith planned to give Beatty a particular manuscript as a gift. Beatty was concerned that if Martin suspected Gulbenkian was also interested in the manuscript, he would play them off each other (Beatty and Gulbenkian) to get a “big price.”⁹²⁵ This correspondence is the first hint that one of Beatty’s motivations for forming a friendship with Gulbenkian was to keep costs lower. In 1924, Martin offered Beatty a sixteenth-century Indian manuscript *Nujum al-'Ulum* (CBL In 02). Initially, Beatty was reluctant to buy it because of concerns about the condition of some miniatures. However, Martin assured him that Zaehnsdorf had examined it and would have no problem getting more for it elsewhere.⁹²⁶ Whether this is the manuscript Beatty was referring to in his correspondence with Gulbenkian is unknown.

⁹²¹ Letter from Baer to Gulbenkian, May 23, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹²² Ibid.

⁹²³ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, June 10, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹²⁴ Cleaver, "Collection of Chester Beatty," 461.

⁹²⁵ “I have finally decided to take the Martin manuscript as my wife wants to give it to me as a present, and she has offered Sassoon Six hundred guineas for it. Therefore, if you will let Martin know that you are not interested, he will probably close the matter. Personally, I think the price is a very fair one though Martin is trying to play us off one against the other in order to get a big price.” Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, May 15, 1924, CGF LDN00535. The manuscript in question is unknown.

⁹²⁶ Letter from Martin to Beatty, July 14, 1924, CBL CBP 544.

Similarly, in late 1926, Gulbenkian and Beatty were presented with a Persian manuscript by Mir Ali, “the greatest calligrapher of Persia,” with miniatures attributed to Behzād, offered by US-based dealer Ali-Kuli Khan.⁹²⁷ Beatty and Gulbenkian were introduced to the dealer through Beatty’s brother Gedney (1869-1941). Beatty thought Khan’s price was ridiculous and suggested Gulbenkian avoid the deal too.⁹²⁸ The manuscript is not in either collection.

In August 1924, Gulbenkian purchased a sixteenth-century Persian manuscript containing *Gulistan* and *Bustan* by Sa’di in a British family’s collection since 1689 (LA180).⁹²⁹ Gulbenkian had shown interest in works by Sa’di in his early collecting years — an enjoyment that would continue during his later collecting years. Unlike Freer and Pierpont, it was not uncommon for Gulbenkian to purchase several versions of the exact text. He also added four more Sa’di manuscripts over the next six years.⁹³⁰ The manuscripts, dating from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, are from various important centres of manuscript production and royal workshops.

There is sufficient information to create a **purchase journey map** for one of Gulbenkian’s Sa’di manuscript purchases (appendix 5.2). The brother of Gulbenkian’s wife, Yervant Essayan and Mr Ducheane negotiated the acquisition of a *Bustan* for Gulbenkian in 1930 (LA201). He purchased it from Ahmed Nihad (1883-1954), a member of the Imperial House of Osman forced into exile and residing in Nice.⁹³¹ The following year, Gulbenkian’s Paris housekeeper, Madam Soulas, wrote to Essayan seeking the invoice for the manuscript, referring to it as

⁹²⁷ Letter from Khan to G. Beatty, October 14, 1926, CGF MCG02663.

⁹²⁸ “Personally, I do not think it is worthwhile following up because the price to my mind is ridiculous, and the trouble is that if we show too much interest, it will simply mean that we put the price up against ourselves.” Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 18, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

⁹²⁹ Invoice from Colnaghi to Gulbenkian, August 27, 1924, CGF MCG01317.

⁹³⁰ Gulbenkian purchased two more *Gulistan* manuscripts by Sa’di (LA181 and LA202) and two more *Bustan* manuscripts by Sa’di (LA173 and LA201).

⁹³¹ Receipt from Nihad to Gulbenkian, February 7, 1930, CGF MCG01915.

the manuscript once owned by Sultan Abdul Amid [sic].⁹³² Soulas probably meant Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918), Nihad's great uncle and the last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. If Hamid once owned the manuscript, it could have held particular importance to Gulbenkian as a relic from a dying dynasty responsible for the massacre of fellow Armenians.

The LA180 *Gulistan* and *Bustan* manuscript purchase was made with P&D Colnaghi as his intermediary — a firm Gulbenkian primarily used to bid on Western paintings. Colnaghi also secured a fifteenth-century French Book of Hours for Gulbenkian.⁹³³ Since most items were European manuscripts and early books, Gulbenkian probably chose an agent familiar with these items to represent him at the auction. Soon after the purchase, he sent the manuscript to Beatty for his thoughts on repairing the binding. Beatty responded positively, felt confident his “man” could restore it and would be happy to coordinate the repair.⁹³⁴

Gulbenkian used Beatty's restorer on several occasions, including for a Psalter purchased in 1925 (inventory number unknown), a binding purchased from Haim in 1935 (R41), two Persian covers (inventory numbers unknown) in 1936, a large Qur'an binding purchased from the Indjoudjians in 1937 (R44) and another Persian binding in 1938 (inventory number unknown).⁹³⁵ Initially, Beatty did not reveal the contact information for his “man” (Constantine I. Hutchins), instead

⁹³² Letter from Soulas to Essayan, March 29, 1931, CGF LDN1087.

⁹³³ Letter from Colnaghi to Gulbenkian, August 27, 1924, CGF MCG01317.

⁹³⁴ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, October 6, 1924, CGF LDN00535. Letter from Beatty to Hutchins, December 15, 1924, CGF MCG01317. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 150. Letter from Corble to Gulbenkian, January 26, 1925, CGF LDN00593.

⁹³⁵ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, January 19, 1926, CGF LDN00636. Letter from Gulbenkian to Haim, February 26, 1935, CGF MCG02588. Letter from Gulbenkian to Hutchins, March 27, 1935, CGF MCG02590. Letter from Beatty to Essayan, April 17, 1935, CGF MCG02591. Invoice from Hutchins to Beatty, July 28, 1935, CGF MCG01451. Invoice from Hutchins to Gulbenkian, January 9, 1936, CGF MCG01451. Letter from Hacobian to Wooderson, January 10, 1936, CGF LDN01637. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, December 7, 1937, CGF MCG02608. Letter from John Wooderson to Calouste Gulbenkian, December 8, 1937, CGF LDN01701. Letter from Wooderson to Hacobian, March 21, 1938, CGF LDN175.

offering to handle the logistics. In 1935, Beatty finally revealed Hutchins' contact details, suggesting Gulbenkian contact him directly.⁹³⁶ However, Beatty continued to have his secretary John Wooderson coordinate the restorations with Hutchins.⁹³⁷

In November 1926, Gulbenkian considered a late twelfth-century German manuscript for purchase. Beatty discussed the potential purchase with "a friend [...] from the British Museum [...] who also had a friend who is an expert on German books."⁹³⁸ They all agreed it was a fine example of German work but not in the same class as French or English works of the same period. Beatty felt the book was better suited for *his* collection and recommended Gulbenkian "stick to the manuscripts of a period when the country's art was at its highest."⁹³⁹

Gulbenkian followed Beatty's suggestion and relinquished his option on the German manuscript, allowing Beatty to buy it.⁹⁴⁰ Not only was Beatty dictating Gulbenkian's collecting focus, but his hesitancy to share the names of his experts and museum friends demonstrated his desire to maintain control of his network of contacts at the start of their relationship.

In October 1924, Gulbenkian again considered purchasing a European manuscript. Beatty suggested he compare the manuscript to another version in the Bibliothèque nationale and recommended he only buy it for £5000 to £6000.⁹⁴¹ Beatty's suggestion that Gulbenkian study the collection at the Bibliothèque nationale was something he did many times himself.⁹⁴² In an

⁹³⁶ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, April 9, 1935, CGF MCG02590.

⁹³⁷ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, December 7, 1937, CGF MCG02608.

⁹³⁸ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 8, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁰ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 18, 1926, CGF LDN00636. The only German manuscript recorded in Beatty's collection purchased in 1926 is W MS 62, Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum Beate Marie Virginis*, acquired Sotheby's May 5, 1926 (Brollemann-Mallet sale), lot 155. Cleaver, "Collection of Chester Beatty," 474.

⁹⁴¹ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, October 27, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹⁴² Cleaver, "Collection of Chester Beatty," 449.

undated letter to Gulbenkian, Beatty's postscript stated, "Am having a very interesting time at the Bibliothèque nationale. I am going through their Oriental Collection systematically and seeing practically all the Manuscripts illustrated in Blochet's book."⁹⁴³ Gulbenkian did as instructed and decided the version in the Bibliothèque nationale was superior, and the manuscript considered ultimately landed in the Morgan Library in New York.⁹⁴⁴

Beatty seemed to enjoy sharing his gentlemanly collector wisdom with such a teachable and appreciating student as Gulbenkian, who readily applied his learnings and mirrored Beatty's actions at every turn. Beatty also encouraged Gulbenkian to continue to read reference books. In 1937, Beatty wrote to Gulbenkian:

I am so pleased to hear that my lectures and lessons are bearing fruit, and I hope to find a very docile student when I return in April. You must report how many hours per week you have been studying your collection and reading interesting books.⁹⁴⁵

Gulbenkian continued to invest in reference books and subscribe to scholarly journals as he did in his early collecting years, including reference books related to bookbindings (table 6.1).

In October 1928, Beatty and Gulbenkian considered buying manuscripts from the Soviet Union, but they had concerns about the provenance, and the pricing was not competitive.⁹⁴⁶ Gulbenkian offered to send an expert to explore the origin of

⁹⁴³ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, n.d., CGF LDN00636. "Beatty's notebooks contain entries for items examined in the libraries of London, Oxford, Paris, Istanbul and Cairo." Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 100.

⁹⁴⁴ *Livre de la Chasse*, MRMSS, MSM.1044, The Morgan Library and Museum, CORSAIR Online Collection Catalog.

⁹⁴⁵ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, February 20, 1937, CGF PRS4037.

⁹⁴⁶ "the prices that have been flung at me are simply flabbergasting." Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, October 26, 1928, CGF LDN743 or LDN793. "Everybody has been influenced by the great sham campaign of stolen goods about which so much propaganda is being made." Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, October 4, 1928, CGF LDN743 or LDN 793.

the manuscripts and test the dealer's willingness to negotiate. Gulbenkian closed his letter to Beatty by discussing their business dealings, writing, "You know how very much I rely on your comradeship, and I feel sure that by proceeding shoulder to shoulder, we shall ultimately succeed."⁹⁴⁷ Beatty agreed with this assessment of the relationship, believing their constant search for perfection, coupled with their unique access to experts, ensured the pair would acquire a "fair share of the fine things" at a reasonable price.⁹⁴⁸

That same month, Gulbenkian received a Persian manuscript from the dealer Emil Hirsch (1866-1954) for inspection. Much to Hirsch's annoyance, Gulbenkian would only decide on the manuscript once receiving Beatty's opinion. Gulbenkian wrote to Beatty, asking, "is this something *we* [my emphasis] should not miss?"⁹⁴⁹ Gulbenkian and Beatty almost seemed to be building a single collection, each responsible for their own parts instead of separate ones.

After a few years of correspondence and meetings, Beatty and Gulbenkian had a genuine friendship. They freely discussed European and Islamic manuscripts for auction and items they sought for their collection. The pair confirmed the other was not interested in a particular manuscript before buying it and relayed details of their purchases, including prices. For example, in 1926, Beatty wrote to Gulbenkian: "The 10th-century Bible, which is probably of St. Gaul, is, of course, a fine example, but unfortunately, it has no miniatures. It is complete, and Quaritch bought it for 2,050 pounds and let me have it for a commission of 10 per cent, making a total cost to me of 2,255 pounds."⁹⁵⁰

Similarly, in 1935 Gulbenkian told Beatty: "Rosenthal began by asking £3800 and myself basing my counteroffer on the price I had paid for the Ayala Hours (£800), I proposed £1500. At first, Rosenthal refused, but gradually he came down to

⁹⁴⁷ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, October 26, 1928, CGF LDN743 or LDN793.

⁹⁴⁸ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, August 5, 1925, CGF LDN00593.

⁹⁴⁹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, October 30, 1928, CGF LDN743 or LDN793.

⁹⁵⁰ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, June 9, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

£1750, and finally, yesterday, we concluded the bargain, and I purchased the book for £1650.”⁹⁵¹ Beatty and Gulbenkian realised these conversations benefited both and gave them an advantage over other collectors.⁹⁵² As they became more acquainted with each other’s collections, Beatty and Gulbenkian searched for items for each other. When Edward Denison Ross sent Beatty a lacquered mirror, Beatty informed Ross that he did not collect such objects but had a “friend” who did (not mentioning Gulbenkian’s name).⁹⁵³

While Beatty’s influence on Gulbenkian’s **evaluation criteria** is evident, many of his requirements were things Gulbenkian was already considering, like royal patronage (heraldic devices), provenance and condition. However, the number of artists identified as having worked on a manuscript and limiting purchases to works during the artistic height of production from a particular region were new criteria. Beatty also encouraged Gulbenkian to acquire bindings and manuscripts in need of restoration — particularly if they met other evaluation criteria of rarity. He also influenced how Gulbenkian **gathered information in the decision process stage**. He encouraged Gulbenkian to spend time viewing museum collections and not just relying on colour plates in reference books and getting second opinions from other collectors (like himself) and museum curators. This is a rare insight into the potential for collectors who were not family members or colleagues to influence one another.

BECOMING A GENTLEMAN COLLECTOR

Initially, Beatty and Gulbenkian maintained a low-key friendship, providing opportunities for both men to hear comments about each other. At the beginning of 1925, Beatty wrote to Gulbenkian that a prominent dealer in Cairo was spreading rumours that Gulbenkian had purchased the “MacGregor” book (an

⁹⁵¹ Letter from Gudénian to Beatty, February 19, 1935, MCG02160.

⁹⁵² Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, September 7, 1925, CGF LDN00593. Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, November 30, 1927, CGF LDN702.

⁹⁵³ Letter from Beatty to Ross, December 24, 1925, Chester Beatty Papers 1283.

Armenian Bible) for a very big price.⁹⁵⁴ Beatty wrote, “he does not know we are friends.” Gulbenkian’s reputation may have been another reason Beatty was not keen to advertise the friendship. Four years before the two met, Beatty told Dring that he had never heard anyone say a good word about Gulbenkian.⁹⁵⁵ At the time, Dring was making remarks about the “extremely mean bullying Armenian financier” to anyone who would listen.⁹⁵⁶ When Greene inquired about Gulbenkian’s reputation, Dring responded, “Should you decide to deal with him directly, he is a very disagreeable man to have any transactions with, and if you offer a \$100 note for \$75, he will offer you \$50 for it.”⁹⁵⁷ Perhaps Beatty’s comment was his way of trying to rise above the gossip and keep an open mind. Nevertheless, Gulbenkian needed public relations assistance to be accepted into the London rare book market, and his reputation was thoroughly sullied among the contacts he needed the most.

Ironically, after meeting Beatty, and perhaps upon Beatty’s suggestion, Quaritch became one of Gulbenkian’s primary intermediaries at auctions in London. Beatty made sure Quaritch represented Gulbenkian well on the auction floor. On one occasion, when Gulbenkian asked Dring to bid on an Armenian Bible, Beatty was concerned the opening offer was too low and recommended Dring start higher, fearing Gulbenkian would lose it.⁹⁵⁸

Gulbenkian acquired two Armenian Bibles in 1926 (LA193 and LA152), indicating it was a new area of collecting interest. Two years later, Berenson wrote to Gulbenkian regarding his Armenian Bible collection. Gulbenkian responded:

⁹⁵⁴ The letter is dated 1925. However, the only recorded manuscript purchase from the Sir Malcolm MacGregor collection occurred in November 1926 — Armenian Bible, (LA152), purchased through Quaritch at a Sotheby’s Sale (lot 552). The year “1925” is written in a different hand and may have been added later, erroneously. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, February 10, 1925, CGF LDN00593.

⁹⁵⁵ Letter from Dring to Greene, June 11, 1920, MCC 156438.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁸ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 18, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

You are quite right. I collect Persian miniatures and books. I am an Oriental collector, therefore, I have begun collecting oriental matters very kindred to my own country. When you come to Paris, I can show you some capital pieces of Persian art. Regarding Armenian illuminations, I have never come across any really fine specimens. The Armenian School of Illuminations has always been under the sway of Byzantine works and also deeply influenced by other Eastern elements. I have some Armenian books, but they are all more or less curiosities than art [...]⁹⁵⁹

Gulbenkian's letter to Berenson is noteworthy. First, Gulbenkian revealed something about his cultural norm and values by stating that he collected oriental things because he felt a close personal association with the material. Second, Gulbenkian viewed the quality of his collection as uneven — with his Persian works as “capital pieces” while his Armenian works as mere “curiosities.” This assessment is similar to Freer's review of his Whistler paintings compared to his Far Eastern collection.⁹⁶⁰

In 1935, Gulbenkian acquired an Armenian Gospel using Giraud-Badin as his agent (LA216), and in 1937, he purchased two Armenian miniatures using Maurice Rheims as an intermediary.⁹⁶¹ After Rheims secured the two miniatures for 70,000 francs, Gulbenkian supposedly informed him that he was competing against the Armenian Bishop of New York.⁹⁶² Assuming the story of the acquisition reported by the dealer is true, it is one of the few times Gulbenkian requested that something be acquired at any cost. This meant these miniatures were much more than curiosities and were an attempt to improve his Armenian

⁹⁵⁹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Berenson, February 7, 1928, BB Manuscripts and Archives.

⁹⁶⁰ “My Whistler collection is now so large and my Far Eastern collection so small that I feel I must do what I can to increase the latter.” Letter from Freer to Bixby, August 6, 1910, FSA Box 10, Folder 24-31.

⁹⁶¹ “Peu de temps après, Calouste apaisé, l'appelle pour mis dire de les acquérir à n'importe quel prix.” Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 161. Other dealers offering Armenian manuscripts: Letter from Pollak to Gulbenkian, February 11, 1935, MCG02330. Letter from Graupe to Gulbenkian, November 28, 1936, CGF MCG02232.

⁹⁶² “Calouste alors le rappelle, le remercie pour sa prestation, lui indiquant qu'il était en concurrence pendant les enchères ave l'évêque arménien de New York qui désirait les posséder.” Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 161.

collection.⁹⁶³ Two miniatures in Gulbenkian match the amount paid (70,000 francs), displaying a battle scene (M67 and M68). The miniatures may depict the Battle of Aviary, one of the first battles defending the Christian faith.⁹⁶⁴ This would explain the bishop's interest in the miniatures. Before meeting Beatty, Gulbenkian had shown no interest in collecting Armenian works. However, in 1934, Beatty mentioned to Gulbenkian that he had visited an Armenian monastery where he saw some interesting Armenian manuscripts, suggesting the two had discussed Armenian manuscripts beforehand.⁹⁶⁵ While the Armenian material had a personal resonance for Gulbenkian, Beatty may have encouraged him to collect in this area.

Beatty also set an example of how Gulbenkian could build goodwill with museum curators by helping improve their collection holdings. Beatty believed these relationships were mutually beneficial.⁹⁶⁶ In February 1924, British Museum curator Laurence Binyon contacted Gulbenkian to introduce him to Beghian, a dealer who wanted to sell some Persian paintings.⁹⁶⁷ Binyon was hoping to acquire a few items of "capital importance to show the public," but such items were out of the reach of the British Museum unless they could get help from outside.⁹⁶⁸ Whether Gulbenkian acquired the paintings for the British Museum is unknown. However, in November 1924, Gulbenkian purchased a fifteenth-century

⁹⁶³ "I shall again do my best to buy as cheaply as possible." Letter from Hirsch to Gulbenkian, September 24, 1924, CGF LDN546.

⁹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain photographs of the miniatures to confirm this assumption.

⁹⁶⁵ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, May 7, 1934, CGF PRS143.

⁹⁶⁶ Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 99.

⁹⁶⁷ Letter from Binyon to Gulbenkian, February 8, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid. The situation was slightly different in Paris, where the Bibliothèque nationale could claim items it wanted at auction. Hanna S. Saba and Nabil Georges Salamé, *The Protection of Movable Cultural Property I: Compendium of Legislative Texts*, ed. UNESCO (Paris, 1983, 1984).

Persian manuscript from Beghian (LA168).⁹⁶⁹ The following month, Binyon asked Gulbenkian's help to buy three small Indian paintings of the Rajput school for the Museum.⁹⁷⁰ Gulbenkian agreed and purchased the items from Luzac & Co. for £37 (British Museum numbers 1924,1228,0.1, 2 and 3).⁹⁷¹

Luzac & Co. was a bookseller operated by J. H. Rayner and H. B. Knight-Smith, opposite the British Museum offering Oriental books and manuscripts, Indian and Persian art, and bronzes. Years later, Stuart Cary Welch described Luzac as having stacks of miniatures in a small room upstairs. With a bit of luck, "one could find an excellent Akbar period picture for £75."⁹⁷² Beatty purchased several items from Luzac, including a copy of the *Baḥr al-ḥayāt* manuscript compiled at the Mughal court for Emperor Akbar and a seventeenth-century *Silsilah al-Dhahab* manuscript by Jami (CBL MS.16, CBL In.04 and CBL MS.8).⁹⁷³ Beatty also used Luzac as an intermediary for auctions and to negotiate acquisitions with private sellers, particularly "British Army officers from India or Indian collectors—both in England and abroad—wishing to cash in on the increased interest in South Asian manuscripts and miniatures."⁹⁷⁴ However, Gulbenkian did not use Luzac in either capacity. Instead, Gulbenkian's go-to bookseller for similar acquisitions was the Paris bookseller Giraud-Badin. Perhaps there was a "not in my backyard" agreement between the two gentlemen, where Luzac was Beatty's playground, and Giraud-Badin was Gulbenkian's.

In 1929, Gulbenkian supported the British Museum's campaign to acquire the

⁹⁶⁹ Letter from Binyon to Gulbenkian, October 9, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹⁷⁰ Letter from Binyon to Gulbenkian, December 18, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹⁷¹ Letter from Binyon to Gulbenkian, December 27, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

⁹⁷² Welch, "Private Collectors and Islamic Arts of the Book," 28.

⁹⁷³ Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, vol. 1, 74-105. Ibid., vol. 2, 581-585.

⁹⁷⁴ Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 100. Colonel Hanna's connection to Mughal works may have also appealed to Freer for similar reasons.

Luttrell Psalter.⁹⁷⁵ He also matched Beatty's donations to the British Museum to help the Museum acquire the Bedford Book of Hours.⁹⁷⁶ The two men were recorded as 'jointly' giving £1000 to the fund for both manuscripts.⁹⁷⁷ By this time, their friendship was clearly public. Gulbenkian donated or provided funds to purchase sixty-three objects in the British Museum collection, several due to direct requests from Beatty.⁹⁷⁸

In 1925, Beatty entered into a joint purchase agreement with the Victoria and Albert Museum to acquire the Minto Album (a set of forty album pages originally part of several imperial Mughal albums), with Beatty donating the single-leaf paintings he did not want to the museum.⁹⁷⁹ To create more incentive for the joint purchase, Beatty paid twice the standard commission to Quaritch, who acted as their intermediary in the bidding process.⁹⁸⁰ Four years later, Gulbenkian followed Beatty's example: buying coins at auction and presenting half to the British Museum, writing:

[...] I received a letter from the British Museum asking me to assist them in purchasing coins to the extent of 980 pounds, either in whole or in part. I do not know whether I did something against etiquette, but I replied that I would be

⁹⁷⁵ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, July 1, 1929, CGF LDN796. Letter from Kenyon to Gulbenkian, August 23, 1930, CGF MCG02852.

⁹⁷⁶ Letter from J. Theys to Kenyon, August 21, 1930, CGF LDN985.

⁹⁷⁷ "The Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Book of Hours," *The British Museum Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1931): 129. Regarding the purchase of the Luttrell Psalter: Janet Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1989). "John Pierpont Morgan advanced £32,476 to the British Museum, giving them a year to repay it," *Time Magazine*, August 12, 1929, n. p.

⁹⁷⁸ "British Museum collection, donated by Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian," 2019, accessed November 28, 2019, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=Gulbenkian+. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, August 12, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

⁹⁷⁹ Charles Horton, "Prelude to the Albums - Imperial Splendor: The Mughal Library of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty," in *Muraqqa' Imperial Mughal albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*, ed. Elaine Wright et al. (Dublin: 2008), 8. Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the book, 1560-1660* (London, 2002), 148-149. For additional details regarding the Minto Album: Introduction, 10.

⁹⁸⁰ Horton, "Prelude to the Albums - Imperial Splendor," 7-8.

willing to buy the lot and present half to them. I thought I would follow your example because, if I'm not wrong, you told me some time ago that you had purchased manuscripts with them [it was, in fact, the Victoria and Albert], that they had taken part, and yourself another part.⁹⁸¹

Gulbenkian wanted confirmation from Beatty that he followed the proper protocol of a gentleman collector navigating relationships with museum curators.

PARTICIPATION IN EXHIBITIONS

Gulbenkian followed Beatty's example by loaning objects to the 1931 London Exhibition and providing Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) with colour plates from his collection for *A Survey of Persian Art*.⁹⁸² However, Gulbenkian's involvement in the 1931 London Exhibition and his willingness to publish his items were more limited and less enthusiastic. At first, French collectors (including Gulbenkian) refused to pay for transport and insurance for the items loaned. Even mentioning Beatty's £2,000 donation to print a colour catalogue for the Exhibition was inadequate to sway Gulbenkian's participation.⁹⁸³ Ultimately, a loan from the *L'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* covered the costs of packing, insurance, and shipping objects from France, freeing Gulbenkian from any obligation.⁹⁸⁴ Once the issue of shipping and insurance was seemingly addressed, Gulbenkian had problems with the selected shipper, Chenu, with whom he was in the midst of litigation over the breaking of a valuable object.⁹⁸⁵ Instead, Gulbenkian wanted Charles Pottier, whom he considered more reliable

⁹⁸¹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, July 6, 1929, CGF LDN796.

⁹⁸² Letter from Keeling to Gulbenkian, November 7, 1930, CGF MCG01504. Letter from Keeling to Gulbenkian, December 5, 1930, CGF MCG01504. Letter from Gulbenkian to Pope, December 31, 1930, CGF LDN1025. Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, March 4, 1931, CGF MCG01504 and LDN1087. Letter from Gulbenkian to Pope, March 13, 1931, CGF LDN1087. For an overview of the 1931 London Exhibition: Chapter One, 71-78.

⁹⁸³ Letter from unknown to Gulbenkian, April 24, 1930, CGF LDN1025.

⁹⁸⁴ Letter from Koechlin to Gulbenkian, July 1, 1930, CGF MCG02412.

⁹⁸⁵ Letter from Gulbenkian to Keeling, December 7, 1930, CGF LDN1025.

and one of the best packers.⁹⁸⁶

Gulbenkian also refused to have his name added to the Committee and did not want any of his “objets” illustrated on postcards or in the Special Supplement Souvenir available to the public.⁹⁸⁷ Further adding to the worries of the Exhibition Committee, Gulbenkian pulled out of participating in the Exhibition altogether, writing to Keeling:

I really feel that my modest collection can in no way enhance the value or the merits of all the wonderful gatherings you are bringing together. You are receiving in every way the very finest of everything, so I really do not see any necessity to deprive me of my objects by upsetting my rooms without any benefit to yourself.⁹⁸⁸

It is unlikely that Gulbenkian honestly thought his collection was too modest for the Exhibition. Instead, he probably wanted to avoid being bothered with logistics and was not interested in what the public thought of his collection. Keeling immediately responded to Gulbenkian, “that without some of your things, it [the Exhibition] will not be complete, and this would be a great pity.”⁹⁸⁹ In a last attempt to encourage Gulbenkian to lend items, Keeling reminded Gulbenkian of an earlier conversation when Gulbenkian agreed to lend items to the Exhibition as a favour to Keeling.⁹⁹⁰ In other words, a true gentleman never returns on his word. Gulbenkian relented and lent a few Persian tiles, a Persian Faience plate,

⁹⁸⁶ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, March 31, 1932, CGF LDN1103.

⁹⁸⁷ Letter from Gulbenkian to Keeling, December 9, 1930, CGF LDN1025. Letter from Keeling to Gulbenkian, July 3, 1930, CGF MCG01504. His refusal to do interviews or lend his name to committees eventually earned him the name “the mysterious Mr G.” Letter from Gulbenkian to Beck, December 10, 1948, CGF PRS4037. Frances Spatz, “The Security of the World’s Richest Man; The Mysterious “Mr. G” Sent His Art Collection to Washington but Only After an Ironclad Financial Arrangement,” *San Francisco Examiner*, May 13, 1951, 114.

⁹⁸⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Keeling, November 5, 1930, CGF LDN1025.

⁹⁸⁹ Letter from Calouste Gulbenkian to George H. Davey, November 7, 1946, MCG MCG02913.

⁹⁹⁰ Letter from Keeling to Gulbenkian, November 7, 1930, CGF MCG01504.

an earthenware bowl and two Persian bindings.⁹⁹¹ In line with his interest in scholarly attention more than public approval, Gulbenkian gave “certain qualified experts” permission to study and handle his objects outside the exhibition hours.⁹⁹² He also lent manuscripts to a second exhibition at the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings at the British Museum in connection with the Persian Exhibition.⁹⁹³

Ironically, the two tiles Gulbenkian loaned arrived safely but never reached the exhibition floor. Gulbenkian did not learn of this development until he announced plans to attend the Exhibition wanting Keeling to show him around. Keeling sheepishly responded that he had a previous engagement, and the Selection Committee thought other tiles were more beautiful than his.⁹⁹⁴

While Gulbenkian was less than enthusiastic about having his items in general publications, he did provide reproductions and colour plates of his collection for more scholarly publications, including Pope’s *A Survey of Persian Art* and Armenag Sakisian’s *La Miniature Persane du XIIe au XVIIe Siècle*.⁹⁹⁵ In 1924, Martin approached him about providing “photos of your fine leaves for my

⁹⁹¹ Letter from Pottier to Gulbenkian, December 15, 1930, CGF MCG01837.

⁹⁹² Letter from Gulbenkian to Pope, December 31, 1930, CGF LDN1025.

⁹⁹³ Letter from Gray to Gulbenkian, November 21, 1930, CGF LDN985.

⁹⁹⁴ Letter from Keeling to Gulbenkian, February 13, 1931, CGF MCG01504.

⁹⁹⁵ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, March 26, 1934, CGF MCG01505. Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, September 26, 1934, CGF MCG01505. Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, April 16, 1935, CGF MCG02590. *A Survey of Persian Art From Prehistoric Times to the Present, The Art of the Book*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, vol. X (London, 1964), 860-861, 888, 942, 943, 958, 962-964, 976, 978-980. Armenag Sakisian requested photographic reproductions of Gulbenkian’s *Anthology of Iskandar* (Inventory code: LA161). Letter from Sakisian to Gulbenkian, March 28, 1928, CGF MCG01677. Armenag Bey Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XIIe AU XVIIe Siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), 40-41, 95 and plates 47 and 48. In a review, Migeon noted Sakisian did not consult the great private collections, but focused on Beatty’s collection. “celle extraordinaire de M. Beatty à Londres n’est pas une seule fois mentionnée.” Gaston Migeon, “La Miniature Persane du XIIe AU XVIIe Siècle,” *Syria Archéologie, Art et Histoire* 10, no. 2 (1929): 170.

miniature book.”⁹⁹⁶ However, the request was a ruse to present a binding Martin had for sale instead.⁹⁹⁷ When Gulbenkian loaned several paintings to the National Gallery in London, director Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) wanted to produce an exhibition catalogue. Gulbenkian insisted it be “a scholarly catalogue, not a bumptious one like the American similar [sic] works, but very fine, sober and dignified.”⁹⁹⁸

Beatty’s **information inputs** on Gulbenkian’s Islamic book collecting were on many levels. He introduced him to new dealers and intermediaries, exposed him to new avenues of collecting, like Armenian Bibles, and helped him develop a more focused strategy and **evaluation criteria** for his collection.

In terms of his **attitudes toward the market**, while Beatty frequently purchased from Maggs and Luzac and engaged with private collectors, Gulbenkian preferred to have his small network of agents do negotiations on his behalf and represent him at important large auctions. He was not interested in negotiating with private collectors and rarely purchased directly from booksellers. This demonstrates that Gulbenkian was not entirely under Beatty's sway.

Beatty also showed Gulbenkian how building goodwill with museum curators was a way to gain access to expert opinions on objects under purchase consideration.⁹⁹⁹ Gulbenkian’s attitudes towards curators changed after meeting Beatty as he realised those relationships could be mutually beneficial, as demonstrated when Binyon introduced Gulbenkian to Beghian. As part of his **information processing**, he followed Beatty’s recommendation and reviewed items first-hand in museum collections. While Gulbenkian was a good student and readily followed many of Beatty’s suggestions on the ways of a gentleman

⁹⁹⁶ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, February 16, 1924, CGF LDN00564.

⁹⁹⁷ Letter from Sassoon to Gulbenkian, February 22, 1924, CGF LDN00565. Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, March 31, 1924, CGF LDN548. Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, April 14, Gulbenkian, CGF LDN548.

⁹⁹⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Clark, May 17, 1946, CGF MCG02471.

⁹⁹⁹ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 8, 1926, CGF LDN00636.

collector, he remained true to himself, demonstrating the continuity of his interests and practices from before he met Beatty.

Gulbenkian's **collecting personality** was that of a much more private collector, turning down an offer to be a Committee member for the 1931 London Exhibition and refusing to include his items in a public publication (appendix 4.3). He was also less generous than Beatty, often donating less than requested. This is particularly interesting given that Beatty had a reputation for being careful with money.¹⁰⁰⁰ In 1939, when one of Pope's major subscribers to *A Survey of Persian Art* died suddenly, he asked Gulbenkian to make up the difference. The subscriber Pope was referring to was Duveen, who died that May. Gulbenkian sent a check for 50 guineas stating, "later on, if there is a real need of money, which I do not expect as you have the protection of many powerful American multimillionaires, I should send you another 50 guineas."¹⁰⁰¹ Pope responded, listing all the donations received from American multimillionaires and those of much lesser means — exceeding the paltry sum from Gulbenkian.¹⁰⁰² Gulbenkian was trying to be an English gentleman; he was not interested in being an American-type multimillionaire. At the same time, he viewed himself as an outsider and attempted to exploit that difference. This correspondence demonstrates the difficulty of drawing hard lines between East and West in cultural behaviour.

A COOLING OFF PERIOD?

In December 1928, the Parisian dealer Ispirian offered Gulbenkian an Indo-Persian astronomical book and an astronomical instrument of the same

¹⁰⁰⁰ "To buy second-rate things simply hurts the collection and wastes money." Letter from Beatty to Wilkinson, November 18, 1949, CBL CBP 1708.

¹⁰⁰¹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Pope, April 5, 1939, CGF MCG02357.

¹⁰⁰² "Mrs. Moore gives us \$5,000 a year, Mr Bliss \$2,000, Mrs. Christian Holds about \$1,500 and Paul Brasath who is not so very rich \$500 to \$1,000 [...] the good news is that Mr Rockefeller Foundation gave us \$4,000 this year and the Carnegies \$5,000." Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, May 15, 1939, CGF MCG02241.

period.¹⁰⁰³ Gulbenkian was not interested in the book but thought Beatty could be. Ispirian admitted Beatty had seen the book. Gulbenkian was probably surprised Beatty had not mentioned the manuscript; perhaps Beatty pre-emptively decided it did not meet their exacting conditions.

However, Beatty's withholding of this information was an early warning sign that perhaps their relationship was not as transparent as Gulbenkian thought. Nevertheless, Gulbenkian continued to write to Beatty, asking for advice, but Beatty did not always respond. He also passed through Paris occasionally without meeting Gulbenkian. Perhaps sensing things were starting to unravel, Gulbenkian wrote to Beatty, thanking him for helping enrich his manuscript collection.¹⁰⁰⁴ Moreover, now that Beatty was more focused on Islamic manuscripts, he hoped Beatty would have more time and inclination to assist him with his European manuscript collection.

In January 1932, Gulbenkian responded to a letter from Beatty:

You are asking me if I am a buyer of manuscripts. My present attitude vis a vis objet d'art is that my fortune having very considerably chopped, I am willing to purchase only very extraordinary specimens at new standards of value.¹⁰⁰⁵

Two months later, Gulbenkian (along with other important collectors) received advance notice from Quaritch that Beatty planned to sell his entire collection of European manuscripts.¹⁰⁰⁶ Why Beatty would elect to sell his European manuscripts when two months earlier, Gulbenkian, an important buyer of European manuscripts, admitted that he was only considering items at a new standard of value makes little sense — unless Beatty needed liquidity and could

¹⁰⁰³ Letter from Ispirian to Gulbenkian, December 19, 1928, CGF LDN743 or LDN793.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, July 1, 1929, CGF LDN796.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, January 3, 1932, CGF LDN1103.

¹⁰⁰⁶ "Famous Collection for Sale," *Dundee Evening Telegraph* (Angus, Scotland), March 22, 1932. There is a cutting of the newspaper article announcing the sale in the archives. CGF MCG02802.

not wait for market conditions to improve.¹⁰⁰⁷ When Gulbenkian received notice of the sale, he wrote to Ferguson at Quaritch asking for details about the collection.¹⁰⁰⁸ Gulbenkian acknowledged his friendship with Beatty and knew of his collection, but he had never examined the collection with the eyes of a buyer.¹⁰⁰⁹ Gulbenkian may have been somewhat annoyed that Beatty did not mention his plans to sell his European manuscripts. Nevertheless, Gulbenkian wrote to Beatty (in French), offering to host an exhibition of the collection in Paris, commenting that there are some big buyers in Paris.¹⁰¹⁰

In January 1933, after receiving notification from Maggs of the second auction of Beatty's manuscripts, Gulbenkian wrote to Quaritch asking if any "very fine Oriental manuscripts" were available.¹⁰¹¹ None of Beatty's Islamic collection was in the sale. Gulbenkian looked through the catalogue and was not impressed with the reproductions but wanted a second opinion. Quaritch agreed none reached Gulbenkian's standards except for perhaps one European manuscript, Lot. 2, *St. Augustine, de Civitate Dei* (now in the Harvard Houghton Library).¹⁰¹²

On three separate occasions in 1935-1936, Gulbenkian asked Beatty's opinion

¹⁰⁰⁷ Charles Horton, "No Duds!: The Manuscript Trading of Alfred Chester Beatty," *The Book Collector* 65, no. 2 (2016): 207-234. Beatty told Ferguson that the reason for the sale was "to provide for death duties in America and England." Letter from Ferguson to Greene, April 4, 1932, MCC 149368.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Letter from Calouste Gulbenkian to F. S. Ferguson, March 23, 1932, London Quaritch Archives.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁰ "Vous ne m'avez rien dit de vos intentions de vous défaire de vos beaux manuscrite. J'ai reçu les avis précurseurs et des offres de service, de diverses cotes. Il me semble que ce serait une bonne chose à l'instar des Allemands, de faire un petit Exposition à Paris, avant l'exposition de Londres. Comme vous savez, il y a quelques gros acheteurs à Paris, et cela jetterait peut-être un nouvel éclat en tant que publicité. Si je puis vous être utile en quelque chose, je suis tout à votre disposition." Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, March 25, 1932, CGF LDN1103.

¹⁰¹¹ Letter from Maggs to Gulbenkian, January 10, 1933, CGF MCG02198. Letter from Gulbenkian to Ferguson, April 7, 1933, London Quaritch Archives.

¹⁰¹² Letter from Ferguson to Gulbenkian, April 15, 1933, London Quaritch Archives. Cleaver, "Collection of Chester Beatty," 474.

about Islamic items he was considering for purchase. Beatty felt the large Persian miniature of a queen undergoing a caesarean operation was a “little tired and not worth adding to his fine specimens.”¹⁰¹³ In response to Gulbenkian’s concerns about a manuscript that might have later added miniatures, Beatty felt many pages were perfect, and the manuscript was “well worth buying.”¹⁰¹⁴ He suggested Gulbenkian dismember the manuscript and keep only the choice folios, a practice he also employed.¹⁰¹⁵ For the final manuscript, Beatty responded, “the binding is of no value at all, and you have such a perfect collection that I would be very sorry to see you put it with others.”¹⁰¹⁶ In this instance, he believed the book left Persia unfinished and was possibly completed in Paris since some faces were distinctly European.

Beatty seemed open to advising Gulbenkian but almost always discouraged him from adding to his collection. Significantly, Beatty was buying an enormous quantity of Islamic material at the time and told his librarian about the ease of purchasing Rajput and Indian paintings in Cairo.¹⁰¹⁷ However, in a letter to Gulbenkian, Beatty jokingly assured him not to worry — he had not found any Behzāds or European manuscripts in Paris, Turkey or London (figure 5.3).¹⁰¹⁸ Another time when Beatty was on holiday in Cairo, he wrote to Gulbenkian, “I suppose by the time I return, you will have bought up the fleeting supply of MSS

¹⁰¹³ Letter from Demirdjian to Gulbenkian, April 2, 1935, CGF MCG02590. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, May 17, 1935, CGF PRS361.

¹⁰¹⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, August 27, 1935, CGF LDN1283. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, September 5, 1935, CGF MCG02641.

¹⁰¹⁵ Catherine Yvard, "Minute Masterpieces: Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century French Book of Hours CBL WMS 89 Vol. 1. Text" (Ph.D Trinity College, 2005), 24. Sheila Powerscourt, *Sun Too Fast* (London, 1974), 220. Horton, "No Duds!": The Manuscript Trading of Alfred Chester Beatty," 216. "I have adopted Mr Claude Anet's system of mounting miniatures; I think it is the best way of showing and keeping them." Letter from Rosenberg to Berenson, July 12, 1912, BB BER, BB.

¹⁰¹⁶ Letter. from Beatty to Gulbenkian, May 1, 1936, CGF MCG02219.

¹⁰¹⁷ Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 114.

¹⁰¹⁸ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 25, 1924, CGF LDN00535.

in Europe.”¹⁰¹⁹ In the same letter, Beatty downplayed the availability of manuscripts in Cairo writing:

Here there does not seem to be very much. The Persian MSS I have seen here are all rubbish; many of them have new miniatures. I have one nice Arabic MSS, not very important, simply calligraphy with two miniatures at the beginning, the date about 1400. It would not interest you as you are not collecting that kind of MSS. [...] PS. There are some very elaborate fake sixteenth-century Persian Bindings in the market here.¹⁰²⁰

This friendly banter demonstrated that while Beatty misled Gulbenkian about the availability of manuscripts in Cairo, he also viewed Gulbenkian as a rival for items of interest back home.

In October 1936, Gulbenkian wrote to Beatty to determine if he was planning to bid on a manuscript by the eleventh-century Persian poet Omar Khayyam offered the following month at Sotheby’s.¹⁰²¹ While Gulbenkian typically passed over manuscripts without miniatures, this one caught his eye, and he wanted Beatty’s opinion.¹⁰²² Beatty’s thoughts on the Khayyam manuscript are not in the archives. However, a *Rubaiyat* manuscript by Khayyam dated to the thirteenth century is in Beatty’s collection but not in Gulbenkian’s collection.¹⁰²³ A few months after this sale, Pope revealed to Gulbenkian that a manuscript held by a private individual was a contemporary forgery.¹⁰²⁴ Pope “acquired the information in such a way

¹⁰¹⁹ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, February 10, 1925, CGF LDN00593.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid. Gulbenkian did not realise he already owned one questionable binding (the Turkish binding, R24, deceptively improved to look like a Persian binding purchased in 1921).

¹⁰²¹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, October 23, 1936, CGF MCG02324.

¹⁰²² Ibid.

¹⁰²³ A. J. Arberry, Edward Fitzgerald, and E. H. Whinfield, *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam: Edited from a Newly Discovered Manuscript Dated 658 (1259-60) in the possession of A. Chester Beatty* (London, 1949).

¹⁰²⁴ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, January 27, 1937, CGF MCG02695.

that [he could not] inform the owner” unless the owner asked him directly.¹⁰²⁵ Pope did not mention the name of the manuscript or the owner. Pope must have previously discussed the book with Gulbenkian since he closed the letter stating, “having told you that such a manuscript existed, I wanted to clear my record by telling you now that it does not.”¹⁰²⁶ The *Rubaiyat* in the Beatty collection is now considered a forged manuscript.¹⁰²⁷ If this was the manuscript in question, neither Pope nor Gulbenkian revealed this discovery to Beatty, as evidenced by Beatty’s decision to publish an English version of the manuscript in 1949.¹⁰²⁸

On May 27, 1941, Avetoom Hacobian, who had joined Gulbenkian’s London office in 1931, wrote to Beatty, asking his opinion about an upcoming sale of Persian and Indian miniatures and manuscripts.¹⁰²⁹ Still waiting for a reply, Hacobian sent a second letter on June 5.¹⁰³⁰ Beatty and his acting secretary attempted to call Hacobian several times, but telephone lines were down due to bombing raids in London.¹⁰³¹ The following day, Beatty’s acting secretary F. H. Wright wrote to Hacobian, “Mr Beatty greatly regrets he is not in a position to advise him as he is also a collector of Persian manuscripts and may be a bidder at the sale himself” (figure 5.4).¹⁰³² With Beatty unwilling to advise Gulbenkian, Hacobian (representing Gulbenkian) turned to Ferguson at Quaritch. Ferguson responded, “most of these manuscripts are not, I think, important enough to be

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁷ "Forgeries IV. of Islamic Manuscripts," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 2011, accessed December 28, 2019, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/forgeries-iv>.

¹⁰²⁸ Arberry, Fitzgerald, and Whinfield, *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*.

¹⁰²⁹ Letter from Hacobian to Beatty, May 27, 1941, CGF LDN2100. During the war time, Hacobian served as Gulbenkian’s representative for all things London-related.

¹⁰³⁰ Letter from Hacobian to Beatty, June 5, 1941, CGF LDN2100.

¹⁰³¹ Letter from Hacobian to Wright, June 6, 1941, CGF LDN2100.

¹⁰³² Letter from Wright to Hacobian, June 6, 1941, CGF LDN2100.

considered by Mr Gulbenkian.”¹⁰³³ Whether Ferguson truly believed this to be the case or whether he represented Beatty in the auction is unknown. Nevertheless, the sale revealed that the nature of the advisory relationship between Beatty and Gulbenkian had changed.

In 1942, Gulbenkian considered purchasing farmland in the UK. Hacobian asked Beatty his thoughts. Beatty responded, “I cannot see why Mr Gulbenkian is bothering himself about it; with luck, we will probably be on this planet for about another ten years. If he and I could carry our savings to the next world, then there might be some argument in favour of his suggested project.”¹⁰³⁴ Gulbenkian did not pursue the farmland idea. Instead of moving to Britain, Gulbenkian and his wife left France for Lisbon after the Russian and British forces' joint occupation of Persia in 1941 made his diplomatic status in France untenable.¹⁰³⁵ Beatty's estimate of Gulbenkian's likely death was reasonably accurate; however, he underestimated his death by several years. Gulbenkian died twelve years later, in 1955. Beatty lived another twenty-six years, dying in 1968.

In 1950, Beatty sent a copy of his *Rubaiyat* publication to Gulbenkian, writing, “I am sorry that our paths do not often cross, as I remember so well our many meetings in Paris.”¹⁰³⁶ In 1952 when Gulbenkian's wife Nevarte died, Beatty sent a telegram expressing his deepest condolences.¹⁰³⁷ Two years later, Gulbenkian sent a telegram of heartfelt congratulations to Beatty for his knighthood.¹⁰³⁸ This correspondence would be the last of the pair's known correspondence, a friendship lasting over thirty years.

¹⁰³³ Letter from Ferguson to Hacobian, June 7, 1941, CGF LDN2100.

¹⁰³⁴ Letter from Beatty to Hacobian, January 1, 1942, CGF LDN2102.

¹⁰³⁵ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 238. Lodwick and Young, *Gulbenkian: An Interpretation*, 127.

¹⁰³⁶ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, July 25, 1950, CGF PRS4037.

¹⁰³⁷ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, September 7, 1952, CGF PRS4037.

¹⁰³⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Beatty, December 6, 1954, CGF PRS4037.

While Beatty may have initiated contact with Gulbenkian to form a bidding alliance, the two formed a genuine friendship based on a common interest in manuscripts. However, from what we know, it was unusual for British gentleman collectors to have such revealing discussions about their **collecting strategies** —but Beatty and Gulbenkian were not British. Beatty not only served as a mentor to Gulbenkian and an **internalised environmental influence**, but also set an example in the ways of a gentleman collector. Beatty encouraged Gulbenkian to donate items and help fund acquisitions for public museums. Beatty's involvement in the 1931 London Exhibition might have influenced Gulbenkian's decision to loan items. He also helped Gulbenkian refine his collecting strategy, which conveniently did not include items of interest to Beatty. In terms of his **evaluation criteria**, Gulbenkian stated he was only looking for the highest quality works from the best periods and was not a comprehensive collector like Beatty. He seemingly came to this conclusion with Beatty's encouragement.

Gulbenkian was naive about their relationship. He believed they were two men cut from the same cloth — sharing a common pastime and having similar financial means to acquire anything they truly desired. Acquiring manuscripts was easy. Getting them for bargain prices made the quest exciting and was one of their primary **motivations for collecting**. However, several hints exist that Beatty liked maintaining the upper hand in the relationship and was not always forthright about his purchases. Several years into their friendship, the letters are much more one-sided, with Beatty responding less frequently.¹⁰³⁹

In 1953, Gulbenkian claimed his collection was “always and exclusively guided by his own taste and judgement.”¹⁰⁴⁰ While he admitted seeking advice, he felt his collection was “after my own heart and soul.”¹⁰⁴¹ Whatever guidance Beatty had provided years earlier had become a distant memory.

¹⁰³⁹ Material in the Chester Beatty archives might help to clarify their relationship further.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Letter from Gulbenkian to Walker, February 10, 1953, CGF MCG02324.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE GULBENKIAN COLLECTION

Regarding the **decision process stages**, Gulbenkian did not always follow Beatty's approach once items entered the collection. Unlike Beatty and other prominent collectors of the day, like Yates Thompson and Dyson Perrins, Gulbenkian never published a comprehensive catalogue of any part of his private collection.¹⁰⁴² From 1935 to 1937, Beatty encouraged Gulbenkian to consider publishing his collection, providing samples of colour reproductions, photogravures and publishing contacts.¹⁰⁴³ His desire to present his collection in a scholarly light may have been an obstacle, especially if he had concerns about some items in his collection. In 1948, Gulbenkian hired William Stevenson Smith (1907- 1969) to write a catalogue of his Egyptian collection. The project was suspended after Smith declared two of his statuettes fake.¹⁰⁴⁴

In terms of Gulbenkian's **collecting personality**, like Beatty, Gulbenkian was generally friendly toward scholars, dealers, and collectors asking to see his collection. He viewed these interactions as opportunities to share his passion. In May 1936, the dealer Gazdar asked Gulbenkian to show his son Dinshaw the Mughal pictures, manuscripts, carpets, jades, and other Oriental art objects.¹⁰⁴⁵ Oddly, Gazdar mentioned "mogul" pictures, though Gulbenkian probably would not have considered this as his collection's focus.

Perhaps more than Beatty, Gulbenkian worried about properly storing his

¹⁰⁴² De Hamel, "Was Henry Yates Thompson a Gentleman?," 87. Thomas W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, "The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures," (Oxford, 1936).

¹⁰⁴³ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, September 24, 1935, CGF MCG02641. Letter from Merton to Gulbenkian, October 3, 1935, CGF MCG02642. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, April 17, 1936, CGF MCG02218. Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, February 20, 1937, CGF PRS4037.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Walker, November 29, 1948, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC RG28 Box 9-1.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Letter from Gazdar to Gulbenkian, May 12, 1936, CGF MCG02219.

manuscripts, particularly during wartime. At the onset of the Second World War, while Gulbenkian lived in Lisbon, his collection was spread between England and his mansion on Avenue d'Iéna in Paris.¹⁰⁴⁶ He relied on the Tate Gallery's assistance in finding a safe home for his manuscripts and miniatures away from the aerial bombardment of London.¹⁰⁴⁷ In 1950, Gulbenkian wrote to Charles Vere Pilkington (1905-1983) of Sotheby's about his manuscripts' storage conditions, expressing concerns about cold conditions, oscillating temperatures, and humidity. Pilkington asked conservator Harold Plenderleith (1898-1997) of the British Museum for recommendations. Plenderleith suggested several steps to avoid damage.¹⁰⁴⁸ Gulbenkian notified Pilkington that the manuscripts were wrapped in thick packing paper and stored in a Milner safe covered with a tin coating to the best of his knowledge.¹⁰⁴⁹ While not packed in the manner suggested by Plenderleith, this storage method must have been sufficient since no further correspondence about storage conditions exists. By questioning the storage conditions of his manuscripts, Gulbenkian signalled he was concerned about the long-term preservation of his collection. Ironically, in 1967, several years after Gulbenkian's death, two-thirds of his collection, including many of his manuscripts, miniatures and bindings, suffered water damage from a massive flood.¹⁰⁵⁰ The collection was displayed and stored at the Pombal Palace in Oeiras, while a permanent building was constructed in Lisbon.

Gulbenkian also thought a lot about the final destination of his collection. In 1937, Gulbenkian confided in Clark that he wanted to "decentralise" his collection until he could decide on a final resting place. In the meantime, he wanted his objects

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ezran, *Le pétrole*, 163.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Letter from Clark to Hacobian, May 24, 1941, CGF LDN2100.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Letter from Pilkington to Gulbenkian, January 23, 1950, CGF MCG02893-02895.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Pilkington, January 26, 1950, CGF MCG02893-02895.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Manuela Fidalgo, "Milestone Moments in the Creation of the Collection," in *Illuminated Manuscripts from Europe in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*, ed. João Carvalho Dias (Lisbon: 2020), 346.

to “have happy surroundings and procure public enjoyment.”¹⁰⁵¹ Gulbenkian’s views regarding who should have access to his collection changed from a statement he made in an unexecuted codicil to his will written in 1924/1925, where he stated, “I do not desire that it should be freely open to the public as [a] public museum but only to scholars and genuine lovers of art.”¹⁰⁵² It would be eighteen years later, in 1953, before Gulbenkian made a final decision about the future of his collection, writing to John Walker (1906-1969), then director of the National Gallery in Washington, DC:

I fully realise that it is high time that I should come to a decision with regard to the future of my collections. You know also how deeply attached I am to them all, in fact, it is without the slightest exaggeration that I consider them as “my children,” and their future welfare is one of my dominant anxieties.¹⁰⁵³

Gulbenkian did not want his collection to go to auction at the end of his life. Instead, he wanted to preserve it in totality in a museum of his making. Both the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC and the National Gallery in London approached Gulbenkian about housing his collection. Neither of the proposals presented by these institutions appealed to him. The National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, wanted to display his pictures chronologically. The National Gallery in London wished to build a separate building for his collection, similar to what Freer requested. Gulbenkian wanted to keep his collection intact and exhibit it in a designated hall within an existing structure.

Gulbenkian also wrote to Francis Henry Taylor, the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, about his collection, revealing his **motivations for collecting**.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁵¹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Clark, August 10, 1937, CGF MCG02905.

¹⁰⁵² Calouste Gulbenkian, Draft (unexecuted) codicil to Gulbenkian’s 1916 will, January 1, 1925, CGF, CSCA00226/D-Z/008 and CSCS00226/ D-Z/009. Conlin, “Renowned Gulbenkian,” 327.

¹⁰⁵³ Letter from Gulbenkian to Walker, February 10, 1953, CGF MCG02324.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Letter from Gulbenkian to Taylor, May 17, 1953. Letter quoted in: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, page before 61.

“I have collected for so many years for my own pleasure, and I have given my objects so much of myself that, to me, they will never be inanimate things; quite the contrary, it always seemed to me that they responded to my care and affection [....].” Susan Pearce and Russell Belk noted that some collectors form intense (imaginary) bonds with the inanimate objects they collect.¹⁰⁵⁵ Four months later, in June 1953, Gulbenkian finalised his new will establishing a foundation in Lisbon with plans for a museum to house his collection, which opened in 1969.¹⁰⁵⁶

In Gulbenkian’s later collecting years, he evaluated new items for purchase based on what was already in the collection and often decided to leave well enough alone. Referring to the collection as the “magic circle,” Tanselle notes that collectors frequently tweak their acquisition criteria to justify moving more things from the outside to the inside of the collection.¹⁰⁵⁷ The items are evaluated according to their own merits and how they compare to what is already in the collection. In the case of Gulbenkian, his “magic circle” became a fortress. On several occasions, Beatty stressed he hated seeing Gulbenkian add this or that to his “perfect” collection. How does Gulbenkian, who created a collection with little forethought or strategy in his earlier collection years, now have what Beatty deemed a perfect collection? Maybe together, they identified key gaps in Gulbenkian’s collection, and once those were filled, it became more difficult for things to be deemed worthy to enter the collection. Bindings and Armenian Bibles may have been identified as weaknesses since these are the areas Gulbenkian focused on in his later collecting years.

CONCLUSION

In 1955, Gulbenkian’s obituary in *The Times* (of London) stated:

¹⁰⁵⁵ Pearce, *Museums, Objects*, 56. Belk, "The Double Nature of Collecting: Materialism and Anti-Materialism," 11.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 306-317.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Tanselle, "A Rationale of Collecting," 9.

During his many years as an active collector, Gulbenkian has collected from one branch of art to another. His attention has been focused on one thing at a time, but he has always been interested in paintings. Gulbenkian is not the typical wealthy collector who is guided entirely by experts. Himself a connoisseur, he has, of course, had advice in plenty, but his various collections bear the stamp of his own individuality [...].¹⁰⁵⁸

While it is true that Gulbenkian did not always rely on the advice of experts, and his collections bore the stamp of his individuality, I would also add Islamic book art to his continued interests. Even though there were no recorded purchases after 1938, he continued to examine objects, evaluate auction catalogues, and read reference materials. He added objects depicted in Islamic manuscripts, like carpets, mosque lamps, and hookah pipes, displaying many in curio cabinets throughout his Paris home (figure 5.5).

While Gulbenkian was no longer adding to this collection, Beatty actively acquired representations of Indian art, including Mughal, Jain, Rajput and Decanni.¹⁰⁵⁹ By 1939, Beatty's collection was described in *Country Life* as "In excellence of condition and in quality of work the illuminated Persian, Indian and Arabic manuscripts cannot be matched in any other collection, public or private, in east or west."¹⁰⁶⁰ This describes a scientific or encyclopedic collector — something Gulbenkian seemingly never aspired to be.

The **variables relevant to Gulbenkian's Oriental collection formation and management** after meeting Beatty vary somewhat from those applicable before meeting Beatty (appendix 5.3). Regarding **information inputs**, Beatty introduced Gulbenkian to a broader circle of dealers, including Gazdar, Luzac, and Dring from Quaritch and Wildenstein and his participation in important auctions with Sotheby's in London. He also broadened Gulbenkian's connections with influential curators and scholars, including Eric Millar, Laurence Binyon, and

¹⁰⁵⁸ "Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian - Obituary," *Times* (London), July 21, 1955, 12.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 97-127.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Basil Gray, "The Chester Beatty Manuscripts," *Country Life*, March 4, 1939.

Arthur Upham Pope. Like his earlier collecting years, Gulbenkian continued to loan items to exhibitions, purchase reference materials, and acquire items from important collectors like Edouard Kann, Charles Hercules Read, Octave Hombre and the Holford Collection.

Regarding **information processing**, Gulbenkian routinely asked Beatty's advice about Islamic manuscripts, bindings and, to a lesser extent, folios under consideration. As instructed by Beatty, he compared items to similar works in museums and abided by Beatty's and Beatty's museum contacts' recommendations. He was also less inclined to follow advice from his intermediaries, demonstrating he was becoming more comfortable with his judgement of items, though he often wanted Beatty's approval. He also continued to review reference books and make notations in auction catalogues. Although he said he did not rely on illustrations in auction catalogues as a proxy for value, his actual purchases contradict this statement. He would use photographs to form an opinion but typically would not decide based on pictures alone.¹⁰⁶¹ Gulbenkian's approach parallels Freer's insistence on seeing the Hanna collection before agreeing to purchase it.

In terms of **decision process steps**, after meeting Beatty, he became increasingly interested in European material, though he also continued to buy Islamic items. He almost always asked Beatty's advice on European manuscripts and often on Islamic items, though less frequently. Even when working with dealers he had done business with in the past, he often wanted Beatty's opinion before making a final decision. There is no single situation in the archives where he opposed Beatty's advice. In his later collecting years, he relied on a team of agents to negotiate on his behalf with other dealers and represent him at auctions. Unlike Freer and Greene, he preferred staying one step removed from the negotiations. While Freer, Pierpont Morgan (via Greene) and Gulbenkian discussed culling their collections of less desirable items, only Gulbenkian followed through and only in his early collecting years. Freer and Gulbenkian

¹⁰⁶¹ Letter from Gulbenkian to Pollak, January 13, 1950, CGF MCG02922.

loved sharing their collecting with like-minded individuals — but for Gulbenkian, that audience was only a select few. Among his peer group of collectors, Gulbenkian was the most concerned about the condition. He invested in several binding restorations and asked detailed questions about how his manuscripts were stored to protect against extreme weather and humidity. Like Freer and Pierpont, Gulbenkian never published a scholarly catalogue of his Oriental collection, though, like Pierpont, he freely gave photographs of his collection for other publications.

Gulbenkian's **evaluation criteria** slightly shifted after meeting Beatty. While he continued to collect items with royal provenance, he no longer used Mughal seals or provenance as a proxy for value. Though he continued to collect items by the Persian poet Sa'di, he also added Armenian Bibles to his areas of interest. Regarding pictorial themes, he continued to add manuscripts with polo players and expressed interest in opium smokers. Though he said he was interested only in works of the highest quality and the best periods from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, his purchases do not reflect this statement.

As his collection grew, items were no longer viewed on merit alone but on how those items enhanced the collection. For example, the binding he purchased from the Homberg collection (R37) is identical to the binding on a manuscript Gulbenkian purchased years earlier (LA189) (figure 5.6).

Gulbenkian's **motivations for collecting** became more apparent as his collection matured. He was deeply attached to his collections (viewing each separately), comparing them to children whose future welfare was the most significant concern. For Gulbenkian, collecting was more than just a pastime; it was something he could control and manage to his liking.

Regarding **internalised environmental influences**, Beatty was more than just a reference group member. Conlin noted Beatty was one of the few in his circle who “knew what it was like to juggle business and the many demands of serious (as opposed to trophy) collecting: scouting for acquisitions, keeping up with the

literature, cataloguing one's collection [...] and enjoying the contemplation of them."¹⁰⁶² They were two were nearly indistinguishable, both in their professional and their collecting interests. Still, Beatty always wanted to maintain the upper hand in the relationship, closely protecting his network of dealers, museum curators and restoration contacts.

In 1948, Gulbenkian reiterated his collecting strategy to the Italian dealer Tamaro de Marinis (1878-1969), indicating he was attracted by expressions of art and beauty — an attraction that had inspired every section of his collection.¹⁰⁶³ Regarding manuscripts, Gulbenkian stated he was not interested in being a scientific bibliophile. Instead, he wanted the most beautiful miniatures, illustrations, and bindings in perfect condition. While Gulbenkian may not have had a clear strategy before meeting Beatty, his stated collecting strategy between 1932 when he wrote to Ferguson at Quaritch and in 1948 in his letter to de Marinis was essentially the same. The 'perfect condition' requirement was only possible after meeting Beatty and his trusted restorer.

The **role of exhibitions** in shaping Gulbenkian's later collecting activities was minor. Although he begrudgingly loaned items to the Persian exhibition of 1931, the show did not influence his collection agenda, with no immediate purchases made afterwards. A few months after the exhibition, Beatty bought a *Tutinama* manuscript (CBL In 21) with the seals of Shah Jahan from a dealer he met at the exhibition.¹⁰⁶⁴ Beatty, in general, was much more engaged with exhibitions, loaning items to the 1931 Exhibition of Indian Art at the Burlington Club and

¹⁰⁶² Conlin, "Renowned Gulbenkian," 324.

¹⁰⁶³ "Comme vous savez, je ne suis pas un bibliophile scientifique, et je ne m'aventurerai pas à comparer mon talent et mes connaissances au vôtres mais je suis inévitablement attiré par toute expression d'art et de beauté, et cette attirance m'a toujours inspiré dans toutes les sections de ma collection. En ce qui concerne les Manuscrits je recherche les plus belles miniatures et enluminures, ainsi que les très belles reliures en parfait état de conservation." Letter from Gulbenkian to De Marinis, June 6, 1948, CGF MCG02441.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Abbas, "Quality and Condition," 107-108.

opening his own home for a specific exhibition in 1939.¹⁰⁶⁵ Therefore, it seems more likely that exhibitions more profoundly shaped Beatty's collection than Gulbenkian's, which in the light of his influence on Gulbenkian, makes the latter's lack of interest more remarkable.

Concerning the **appeal of Mughal art**, Gulbenkian no longer used the presence of Mughal seals as a proxy of value in his later collecting years. Alternatively, Beatty pursued Mughal miniatures and manuscripts after meeting Gulbenkian, acquiring items from a wide range of dealers, including London booksellers Luzac and Maggs and Paris dealers Demotte, the Kalebdjians and Khalil Meskine. With Gulbenkian's interest diverted elsewhere, to bindings and Armenian Bibles, and limiting his purchases to the finest specimens from centres at the height of their artistic production, Beatty successfully eliminated a competitor for Mughal works, putting himself in a much better bargaining position to acquire what he wanted. Nevertheless, in his later collecting years, Gulbenkian proactively purchased at least one Mughal binding, a late eighteenth-century Mughal portrait, a Mughal period bookstand and a jade jug bearing the inscriptions of Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, suggesting that he still viewed Mughal items as part of his collecting strategy.

The Gulbenkian archives for his later collecting years are much richer in content for **identifying the variables relevant to his Oriental book art collection formation and management**. Gulbenkian shared a well-defined collecting strategy with Ferguson (the best quality of the best periods). He revealed his innermost thoughts about his collection (children that respond to my care and affection) to Walker and Taylor. The letters between Gulbenkian and Beatty are full of helpful information regarding selecting criteria and the mutually beneficial advantages of supporting curators in their collection objectives. Most importantly, the exchange of letters between Beatty and Gulbenkian demonstrates the role friendships with fellow collectors can play in limiting competition to get the choicest items at prices that are not overly inflated.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For the 1931 Exhibition of Indian Art: Chapter One: 78-85.

The next chapter moves away from exploring private Islamic art collections and the collectors who made them. Instead, it looks at the activities in the early twentieth century that helped shape the Mughal book art canon. While scholars tend to get credit for canon formation, and rightfully so, since they are the ones putting pen to paper, the following chapter will argue that scholars were only one agent of change. Canon formation is a collaborative effort that requires several actors' attention, including art historians, critics, curators, private collectors, and dealers. In the early twentieth century, many scholars opted to wear multiple hats. While this approach is frowned upon today, this blending of roles may have helped accelerate Mughal book art's interest — among scholars, anyway. Collector interest in Mughal book art would come later.

CHAPTER SIX: FORMATION OF THE MUGHAL ART CANON

“A student must throw out his artistic education, every critical tradition and all the aesthetic baggage that has accumulated from the Renaissance to our own days to appreciate Indian art.”¹⁰⁶⁶ — Vincent Smith, 1911

INTRODUCTION

Before the late nineteenth century, Islamic studies, with the formation of Société Asiatique in 1822 and the Royal Asiatic Society in 1823, focused primarily on cataloguing and translating manuscripts related to religion, medicine, philosophy and science.¹⁰⁶⁷ While these earlier sponsors of Orientalist learning may have focused on codifying colonised cultures into managed spaces and instruments of dominance, several factors broadened interest beyond colonialism, imperialism, and other political and economic factors in the early twentieth century. Architects and archaeologists, with a spade in one hand and a camera or sketchbook in the other, sparked interest in Islamic architecture and artefacts.¹⁰⁶⁸ Translations of travelogues of medieval adventurers and merchants stressed the region's unique manners and customs.¹⁰⁶⁹ Translations of the memoirs of dynastic rulers drew attention to their engagement with manuscript and book art.¹⁰⁷⁰ As previous chapters have explored, an unprecedented number of Islamic objects also came

¹⁰⁶⁶ Vincent Arthur Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1911), 192.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Suzanne Marchand, "German Orientalism and the Decline of the West," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (December 2001): 466.

¹⁰⁶⁸ G. R. D. King, "Creswell's Appreciation of Arabian Architecture," *Muqarnas* 8, K. A. C. Creswell and His Legacy (1991): 94.

¹⁰⁶⁹ G. le Strange, "Reviewed Work(s): Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708 by Niccolao Manucci and W. Irvine," *The English Historical Review* 23, no. 90 (April 1908): 369.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Singh, "Indian Nationalist," 1053.

onto the market, filling newly formed museums and enticing collectors.¹⁰⁷¹ Few experts existed for curators and collectors who wanted a disinterested opinion. Several men whose professions ranged from astronomy to medicine (and even a professional tennis player, Claude Anet) rose to the challenge and developed a completely new canon of study (identifying "masterpieces" to which other works could be compared).¹⁰⁷²

Many actors shaped the canon of Mughal art — art historians, scholars, art critics, curators of public museums, private collectors, auction houses, and dealers. Determining which group was most influential in determining what a masterpiece was and what should be passed over is challenging. Scholars could only write about what they had access to, collectors could only buy what the market had on offer, and dealers and auction houses only offered what they thought they could sell. The following chapter analyses the factors that formed the Mughal art canon, focusing on three agencies: scholars, private collectors, and scholars who sometimes also functioned as dealers and collectors. Together, these actors laid the foundations for studying Mughal art in Europe and America, which boomed in the second half of the twentieth century.

CULTURAL FAMILIARISATION: PERSONAL MEMOIRS AND TRAVELOGUES

Several publications by scholars active in the early twentieth century encouraged closer scrutiny of Mughal art and shaped the field. Those publications included personal memoirs of the Mughal rulers, travelogues of individuals who travelled to India during the Mughal era and attempts by Western authors to synthesise these and other sources from imperial powers into readable history. However, these works are not in the libraries of the collectors in this study. However, while Charles Lang Freer was travelling in India in 1895, he read *A Memoir of Central India* by John Malcolm (1823), a *History of the Maharajas* by James Grant Duff

¹⁰⁷¹ Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson," 116.

¹⁰⁷² Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct?," 33.

(1826), and *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by James Tod (1832). These authors were known for studying Indian book art, including manuscripts, not only as works of marvels but also as preparations for writing their historical works.¹⁰⁷³ Somewhat tangentially related, Freer's and the Morgan Library's reference collections also include Smith's 1911 *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*.

In the early nineteenth century, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland organised an Oriental Translation Fund to translate and publish works on eastern history.¹⁰⁷⁴ The accounts of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb were among the list of manuscripts selected for translation and publication on a subscription basis.¹⁰⁷⁵ The Scottish lawyer Henry Beveridge (1837-1929) translated the *Akbarnama* into English in 1902. Shortly afterwards, Beveridge realised that the partial copy of the *Akbarnama* in the Victoria and Albert had illustrations with captions of the names of the painters who executed them. Amazingly, the titles listed matched those Beveridge found in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, showing that the manuscript was likely a royal copy made for Akbar himself.¹⁰⁷⁶ With this discovery, collectors and specialists began to study Persian and Mughal works for signatures, hoping to find other Imperial examples. Between 1910 and 1928, Edward Denison Ross, funded by the Government of India, translated and published the three-volume manuscript *Zafar ul-Wálih bi Muzaffar*, which included the history of the Mughal rule during the reign of Akbar.¹⁰⁷⁷ The manuscript used

¹⁰⁷³ John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London, 1823), 22. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (London, 1832). James Grant Duff, *A History of the Maharajas* (Calcutta, 1826).

¹⁰⁷⁴ "Appendix Oriental Translation Fund," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2, no. 1 (1829): xxiii.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁶ Susan Stronge, "Collecting Mughal Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850-1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London, New York: 2000), 85-95.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Allh Muhammad, *An Arabic History of Gujarat, Zafar ul-Wálih bi Muzaffar wa lih*, ed. E. Denison Ross, 3 vols. (London, 1910-1928).

is the only source of what is known about Humayun's reign. One of the most important quotes, frequently referenced in publications associated with Mughal art, is Akbar's views on painting:

There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, [...] must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, [...] and will thus increase in knowledge.¹⁰⁷⁸

Translated travelogue accounts from diplomats, explorers, merchants and missionaries who had personal contact with the Mughal rulers also piqued scholarly interest in Mughal art. In 1889, Jean Baptiste Tavernier's (1605-1689) travelogue was translated, providing an account of the Great Mogul's diamond that "was equal in value to one day's food for all the people in the world" (figure 6.1).¹⁰⁷⁹ François Bernier's (1620-1688) translated travelogue, published in 1826 and updated in 1916, provided descriptions of Mughal architecture, including the Taj Mahal and the famed Peacock throne, often depicted in Mughal miniatures.¹⁰⁸⁰ The translated version of Bernier's travelogue also included engravings of Mughal miniatures (figure 6.2).

In 1899, a translated version of Thomas Roe's journal and correspondence provided details of conversations with Jahangir on paintings.¹⁰⁸¹ Jahangir bet Roe that his court painters could create pictures in the same manner as Western

¹⁰⁷⁸ The quote is often referenced to explain Akbar's departure from a more orthodox Islamic view regarding the representation of human and animal forms. However, the interpretation is incorrect as it only applies to religious art and architecture, and the subject matter of Mughal miniatures is secular. Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak and H. Blochmann, *The Ain I Akbari* (Calcutta, 1873), 108.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier and V. Ball, *Travels in India*, 2 vols. (London, New York, 1889).

¹⁰⁸⁰ François Bernier and Irving Brock, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), 294-298 and 471-473.

¹⁰⁸¹ Roe and Foster, *Sir Thomas Roe*.

artists, and Roe would not discern the difference.¹⁰⁸² In his journal, Roe wrote:

by candle-light troubled to discern which was which; I confesse beyond all expectation; yet I shewed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be [j]udged by a Common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, hee was very merry and joyfull and craked [boasted] like a Northern man.¹⁰⁸³

This colourful encounter, which put Mughal skills on the level of western ones, was a valuable selling tool for early twentieth-century dealers. In 1907, William Irvine translated the four-volume *Storia do Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci (1638–1717).¹⁰⁸⁴ The genesis for the translated version of the Manucci travelogue was Irvine's discovery of a lost volume of portraits Manucci had intended to accompany his three volumes of text.¹⁰⁸⁵ In 1898, Edgar Blochet published an article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* about a book of Mughal miniatures he found in the museum.¹⁰⁸⁶ Irvine immediately recognised that the miniatures were from the lost fourth volume of *Storia do Mogor*, and he included a selection of the miniatures in the translated travelogue. Unfortunately, due to the expense, Irvine could not add colour reproductions of the miniatures. Nevertheless, the release of the book generated considerable commentary. Bernard Berenson recommended it to Isabella Stewart Gardner, writing: "If you want an enchanting book, read Manucci's *Storia du Mogor*, recently published in English, it is as fascinating as the *Arabian Nights*."¹⁰⁸⁷ Belle da Costa Greene ordered the book for the Morgan

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Niccolao Manucci and William Irvine, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, 4 vols. (London, 1907).

¹⁰⁸⁵ "Before I left the Mogul dominions, to satisfy my curiosity, I [Niccolao] caused portraits to be painted of all the kings and princes from Taimur-ilang to Aurangzeb [...]" *Ibid.*, vol. 1, iiv.

¹⁰⁸⁶ E. Blochet, "Les Miniatures Des Manuscrits Musulmans," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 17, 1, no. 4 (1897): 105-188, 281-296.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Letter from Berenson to Gardner, November 7, 1907, BB BER, 8.

Library in 1914.¹⁰⁸⁸

In 1927, an abridged version of *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia* (1673-1677) was published in English.¹⁰⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the part of his diary regarding manuscript production was not in the abridged version. However, Phillip Walter Schulz included those details in his *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, published in 1914.¹⁰⁹⁰ In his travels, Chardin provided details regarding the storage of manuscripts, the ingredients used to make the inks, the types of animal hairs used to fashion paint brushes and how paper was made and prepared for painting.¹⁰⁹¹ While Chardin believed he was recording the process for Persian miniatures, Schulz surmised that what Chardin had viewed was the process for Mughal miniatures. Chardin described the paintings as portraits, presented in profile (one-eyed) instead of frontal, which Mughal painters employed.¹⁰⁹² Chardin's book was in the Gulbenkian's reference library.¹⁰⁹³

In 1895, American author and astronomer Edward Singleton Holden (1846-1914) published *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan A.D. 1389—A.D. 1707*.¹⁰⁹⁴ The book includes modern copies of Mughal portraits. Other history books would follow, including *Akbar and the Rise of the Mughal Empire* in 1896, *Aurangzeb, the Decay of the Mughal Empire* in 1896, *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule 1712-1764* in 1903 and the nine-volume set *History of India* published by the

¹⁰⁸⁸ Letter from Quaritch to Greene, February 17, 1914, MCC 149213.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Sir John Chardin et al., *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia* (London, 1927).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Schulz, *Persisch-Islamische*.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 12-14, 21-23.

¹⁰⁹² Chardin et al., *Sir John Chardin's Travels*, 2.

¹⁰⁹³ Invoice from Floury to Gulbenkian, July 31, 1909, MCG MCG01399.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Edward Singleton Holden, *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan, A.D. 1398-A.D. 1707* (New York, 1895).

Grolier Society in 1906.¹⁰⁹⁵ These books shed additional light on Mughal literary interest and the formation of their libraries, including how the books were organised, the influence of Jesuit missionaries on their painting styles and their fondness for pictures of Christian subjects. These external Western influences helped scholars differentiate Mughal art from Persian art in the early stages of canon formation.

PERIODICALS, BULLETINS AND ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Several periodicals also introduced readers to Mughal works, yet another sign of increasing interest among Western scholars.¹⁰⁹⁶ The frequency of articles increased in the years after significant exhibitions closed when scholars had time to process what they had viewed and what it meant. Many pieces were brief, focusing only on one or a few folios and frequently addressing a particularly perplexing issue encountered with Mughal works. In 1918, Ananda Coomaraswamy published an article discussing portraits of Akbar misattributed as someone else in earlier publications.¹⁰⁹⁷ In 1941, E.H. Ramsden (1904-1993) addressed the academic community's disagreement regarding the halo's origin, a symbol of royalty in Mughal paintings.¹⁰⁹⁸ There was an international nature to these discussions, with the same group of scholars writing for publications based

¹⁰⁹⁵ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire*, ed. Sir William Wilson Hunter, *Rulers of India*, (Oxford, 1896). Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India Under Mohammedan Rule (A.D. 712-1764)* (London, 1903). A. V. Williams Jackson, *History of India*, 9 vols. (London, 1906).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Including *The Burlington Magazine* (London, 1903-present), *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (London, 1884-1917), *Rupam* (Calcutta, 1920-1930), *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta, 1933-1951), *Revue des arts asiatiques* (Paris, 1924-1939), *Artibus Asiae* (Switzerland, 1925-present), *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (Berlin, 1912-1943), *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1924-1925), *Indian Arts and Letters* (London, 1925-1938), and *Ars Islamica* (Michigan, 1938-1951).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ananda Coomaraswamy, "Portraits of Akbar, Raja Man Singh, and Others," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (July 1918): 536.

¹⁰⁹⁸ E.H. Ramsden, "The Halo: A Further Enquiry into Its Origin," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 78, no. 456 (1941): 123-127.

in different countries.

Several museum bulletins were also published, with articles on recent acquisitions and research on their collections.¹⁰⁹⁹ Most articles were brief discussions encouraging people to see the works in person. In 1924, Stewart Culin (1858-1929) published an article in the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* regarding the Museum's acquisition of nine paintings executed by artists in Akbar's court.¹¹⁰⁰ Culin mislabelled the paintings as Persian, which as a curator of ethnography, probably seemed like a minor mistake. However, the constant mislabelling of Mughal works as Persian, even in articles targeted to the public, was a hurdle Mughal art had to overcome to attain recognition.

In the early twentieth century, approximately twenty-eight journal articles were dedicated to studying Mughal art, and ten pieces in museum bulletins highlighting Mughal works in public museums. Freer subscribed to *The Burlington Magazine*.¹¹⁰¹ However, it is essential to remember that only four journal articles on Mughal art were written before Freer's death in 1919. Based on the archives and the online Corsair database, the Morgan Library subscribed to *The Burlington Magazine* and obtained some issues of *Revue des arts asiatiques* and at least one edition of *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* and *Ars Islamica*. Calouste Gulbenkian subscribed to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and *The Burlington Magazine*.¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁹ Including the *British Museum Quarterly*, the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, at the *University of London* and the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*.

¹¹⁰⁰ Stewart Culin, "Illustrations of the Romance of Amir Hamzah," *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (October 1924): 138-143.

¹¹⁰¹ Charles Lang Freer, Inventory of reference library, 1919, FSA, A.01.

¹¹⁰² Calouste Gulbenkian, Inventory of Calouse Sarkis Gulbenkian's reference library "Art Oriental", n.d., CGF, MCG02670. Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 79. Invoice from Durvand to Gulbenkian, May 5, 199, 1911, CGF LDN69. Invoice from Glaisher to Gulbenkian, December 31, 1913, CGF LDN83.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Several scholars focused on cataloguing important private and museum collections, including the private collections of Charles Schefer, Jean Pozzi, Chester Beatty, and Alexander Cochran, and public collections, including the Bibliothèque nationale, Louvre, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Fine Art in Boston, and the State Library of Berlin.

Between 1903 and 1937, twelve exhibition catalogues were produced with sections on Mughal art. Freer, the Morgan Library and Gulbenkian had three catalogues in their reference libraries, including exhibition catalogues from the 1903 Paris Exhibition, the 1907 Paris Exhibition, 1910 Munich Exhibition. Pierpont and Gulbenkian also acquired the 1931 London Exhibition catalogue called 'BWG.'¹¹⁰³ These reference sources were multi-volume, limited printed editions focused on beautiful, sumptuous, tipped-in colour plates of reproductions from private and museum collections supplemented with minimal texts. Concerning publications on private collections, both Pierpont and Gulbenkian had the 1936 three-volume *The Library of Chester Beatty, a catalogue of the Indian miniatures*. Gulbenkian received his copy as a gift from Beatty; presumably, the same was true for the Morgan Library.¹¹⁰⁴

SCHOLARS AND THEIR WRITINGS

French scholars were the first to pay serious attention to the aesthetics of Mughal art. The Germans and Austrians then took notice and expanded the conversation by comparing and contrasting Persian and Mughal works on several aspects, including artistic themes, painting approaches, ornamentation style, paper type and the identification of important artists and schools. The British and one Swede joined the conversation, linking Mughal art to Western art. First-generation

¹¹⁰³ For discussion of the BWG: Chapter One, 76-77.

¹¹⁰⁴ Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, April 17, 1936, CGF MCG02218.

American scholars were mainly Germans who had left Europe looking for a fresh start and one Sri Lankan scholar who desperately wanted to distance Mughal art from *real* art from India (table 6.1). The point of these nationalist generalisations is not to say one country was correct but to demonstrate that there was no consensus in the early stages of the canon formation; everything was open for debate.

With hindsight, it is easier to identify the pioneering scholars whose writings have stood the test of time. These scholars' most significant contributions to the Mughal art canon are in the appendix (table 6.1). These articles and monographs are still referenced today and generated discourse and an eventual agreement on essential aspects of the Mughal art canon.

From 1897 to 1948, approximately thirty monographs or book sections were dedicated to Mughal art. Based on invoices and inventories in Freer, Pierpont and Gulbenkian's archives, only Fredrik Robert Martin's 1912 two-volume tome (*The Miniature painting and painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*) was in all three when they were building their collections.¹¹⁰⁵

Before Martin wrote *The Miniature painting and painters*, he served as an interpreter at the Swedish diplomatic mission in Constantinople. He spent ten years in Turkey and Persia buying manuscripts and miniatures from dispersed libraries.¹¹⁰⁶ (Years after the book's publication, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl accused him of being a thief, having pilfered his collection from the library of Hagia Sophia.¹¹⁰⁷) The book, promoted as a work of scholarship, was a thinly disguised sales catalogue for Bernard Quaritch.

Martin said he was inspired to write the book after viewing Joshua Reynolds'

¹¹⁰⁵ Freer, Inventory of reference library. Gulbenkian, Inventory of Calouse Sarkis Gulbenkian's reference library "Art Oriental". The Morgan Library & Museum, Reference Collection: Periodicals (PER), MCC, Each title is accessible by record number noted in table 6.1.

¹¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 1, vii-viii. Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*, 30.

¹¹⁰⁷ Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, March 6, 1928, BB.

Mughal collection in the British Museum.¹¹⁰⁸ Throughout the book, Martin attempted to bridge the gap between European and Oriental art. He convincingly compared the pencil drawings produced at the end of Emperor Jahangir's reign to those drawn by Holbein and Dumoustier (figure 6.3).¹¹⁰⁹ However, his argument was less convincing when he compared the feathers painted by Indian artist Mansur to a Dürer and a stormy sky behind a portrait of Emperor Shah Jahan to an El Greco (figure 6.4).¹¹¹⁰ Soucek noted that these references created an imagined cultural parallel and constituted an attempt to give Eastern works a secure place in an established Western hierarchy.¹¹¹¹ It was a particularly appealing scheme for collectors and had positive financial implications for dealers.

Martin presented the market as ripe for the picking, with bargain prices that would only last for a while. A manuscript that Jahangir paid 3,000 rupees for (equivalent to £10,000), Martin believed would only bring £2,000 in a Paris auction.¹¹¹² Martin provided guidelines for collecting Mughal works, encouraging collectors not to shy away from later copies of older works, insisting this was a "purely Oriental trait" by later artists attempting to improve existing paintings.¹¹¹³ Most of the 550 miniatures reproduced came from private collections, available for sale for the right price. A review in *The Burlington Magazine* described Martin as an unexceptional historian and labelled some of his comparisons to European paintings as far-fetched.¹¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Martin's book is the most cited book from the period. Many of the miniatures reproduced can be traced to current

¹¹⁰⁸ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol.1, 80.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 83.

¹¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, plates 220-222.

¹¹¹¹ Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson," 113.

¹¹¹² Martin, *Miniature Painting*, vol. 1, 58.

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 80.

¹¹¹⁴ Charles John Holmes, "Reviewed Work: The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century by F. R. Martin," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, no. 120 (1913): 350.

collections, providing further evidence of the book's impact on collectors.

Gulbenkian and Pierpont also owned Friedrich Sarre's 1923 *Islamic Bookbindings*. By then, the Morgan Library was no longer acquiring Islamic book art, and Greene did not focus on bindings in her private collection. However, because of Gulbenkian's interest in bindings, he may have referred to this book often. Another book directly linked to a collector's interest is the Morgan Library's possession of Huart's 1908 *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*. The book contains a chapter on various Arabic script styles that would probably have interested Greene.¹¹¹⁵

Greene also purchased Schulz's 1914 *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* for the Morgan Library and Berenson.¹¹¹⁶ Schultz questioned why Persian paintings were preferred by connoisseurs over the more perfected technique of the Indian drawings and ascribed the tendency to tyrannical fashions.¹¹¹⁷ However, perhaps the text would have been challenging for Greene, given it was written in formal German supplemented with quotes in Old French and Italian, though she took German lessons.¹¹¹⁸ Perhaps because Schulz was an independent scholar, the book was overlooked by most, receiving no reviews until several years later when Ernst Kühnel described the book as "somewhat revealing but at times unclear."¹¹¹⁹ In terms of impact, Schulz lost, and Martin

¹¹¹⁵ Clément Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1908), 21-65.

¹¹¹⁶ Letter from Greene to Berenson, February 11, 1913, BB BER, 8.

¹¹¹⁷ "[...] muß man am [...] daß bei der zweifellos größeren Gestaltungskraft und vielleicht vollkommnen Technik der indischen Miniaturmalerei, bei ihrer reicheren Abwechslung und den Anklängen an die europäische Malkunst nicht ihr, sondern auf ihre Kosten sogar der persischen zurzeit das größere Interesse der Kenner sich zugewandt hat ? Geschieht dies allein, weil es die tyrannische Mode so fordert, die uns zwingt, das Näherliegende, leichter Verständliche und Verwandte beiseite zu lassen und das Fremdartige mit seinem echt orientalischen, naiv barbarischen Keiz zu bevorzugen? Schulz, *Persisch-Islamische*, vol.1, 33.

¹¹¹⁸ "I am studying German again [...]" Letter from Greene to Berenson, May 14, 1912, BB BER, 8.

¹¹¹⁹ Ernst Kühnel, "Die Miniaturmalerei Des Islamischen Orients," ed. William Cohn, *Die Kunst Des Ostens* (Berlin: 1923), vi.

won.¹¹²⁰

What is immediately apparent is that the collectors studied did not have extensive reference material focused specifically on Mughal art. They mostly had books on Persian art, containing brief discussions on Mughal art. Freer collected several books, lecture notes, and journal articles revealing his deep passion for Chinese art, including in-depth discussions of iconography, specific artists and schools of painting and pictorial themes. However, there are no similar references to Mughal art. Ironically, Greene, the collector who supposedly loathed Indian art, has the most reference material focused on Mughal art and history (twenty-five items).¹¹²¹ She acquired relevant reference books and journals as late as 1937, years after the Morgan Library no longer added Mughal material to its collection. Perhaps this was because reference books were more affordable than the art itself.

HOW COLLECTORS SUPPORTED SCHOLARS IN CANON FORMATION

While scholars served as potential **information inputs** for the collectors studied, collectors also had relationships with scholars who later contributed to developing the Mughal art canon. Presumably, some scholars were influenced by the contents of private collections, especially if they were given access and commissioned to write manuscript descriptions and published catalogues. Access to private collections was (and is) at the owner's discretion, and unfortunately, none of the collectors studied (except Beatty) was interested in cataloguing their Mughal works. However, they were willing to collaborate or assist scholars in general. It is just that their focus was on other parts of their collection than Mughal art. The following discussion explores how collectors' and scholars' relationships may have been mutually formative.

In 1905, Freer met Gaston Migeon and Raymond Koechlin in Paris to view

¹¹²⁰ For me, Schulz's book was the most helpful publication at the beginning of my studies in determining the differences between Mughal and Persian works.

¹¹²¹ Letter from Greene to Cockerell, March 10, 1914, British Library BL Add MS 52717.

“practically everything Oriental” in private and public collections.¹¹²² While Freer only referenced viewing Japanese and Chinese items, it is hard to believe Islamic works did not come up in the conversation. Two years earlier, Migeon co-authored *Exposition Des Arts Musulmans, Catalogue Descriptif*. In 1907, Freer sought Migeon’s advice on the Hanna Collection before making an offer — indicating Freer knew Migeon had expertise in this area.¹¹²³

On a few occasions, Freer sought the advice of scholars before making a purchase, like his request to have inscriptions translated by a Chinese scholar on a stele offered by Dikran Kelekian.¹¹²⁴ Freer also asked for advice on purchased objects, including his prized Ma Yuan (c.1160/60-1225) scroll. Freer paid Laurence Binyon a stipend to write an essay on his scroll and privately funded the essay's publication and high-quality photographs.¹¹²⁵ At the time, in 1916, Binyon was fully immersed in the study of Chinese art.¹¹²⁶ His first foray into studying Islamic art did not occur until 1921, two years after Freer’s death.

Freer’s choice of Binyon to write the essay was considered. Freer also contemplated having Berenson (desperate to become a specialist in Oriental art) write about his Oriental collection. However, he changed his mind after receiving the following comments from fellow collector Eugene Meyer (1875-1959):

[...] B.B. [Bernard Berenson] has no standing as an expert in Oriental Art [...] he has a remarkable general aesthetic feeling and understanding which applies to good art of all kinds, but if anyone of importance is to write on your collection, I should think it ought to be someone with particular standing in Oriental Art [...] Anything he says on

¹¹²² Letter from Freer to Hecker, May 24, 1905, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

¹¹²³ “I know nothing of the pecuniary value of Indo-Persian paintings but hope to learn something reliable in Paris.” Letter from Freer to Hecker, September 26, 1907, FSA Box 18, Folder 1-10, A.01 02.1.

¹¹²⁴ Letter from Freer to Kelekian, June 10, 1914, FSA Box 19, Folder 15-20.

¹¹²⁵ “My dear Mr. Freer, a few days ago, your kind letter reached me today I received your cheque. It is really too generous payment for my little essay.” Letter from Binyon to Freer, June 9, 1916, FSA Box 10, Folder 21-22.

¹¹²⁶ Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters*.

a subject concerning which he cannot prove his qualifications would be subject to immediate attack.¹¹²⁷

Meyer's response demonstrates the power struggles in canon formation, with some scholars being more successful at being heard (and respected) than others. While Freer never considered publishing his Mughal art and even discouraged Meyer-Riefstahl from doing so, Berenson's story demonstrates his approach to examining scholars to ensure their reputation.

Freer interacted with scholars in other ways that would have led to critical scholarship. He frequently sent complimentary publications of his collection and other scholarly writings, especially to cash-strapped scholars "seeking enlightenment."¹¹²⁸ He freely provided photographs of his objects for further study and inclusion in publications and welcomed scholars into his home for intense study.¹¹²⁹ Freer also provided excavation funds, particularly in areas related to his collecting interest.¹¹³⁰ While Binyon visited America, Freer arranged to have him lecture at Knoedler Galleries in New York on the art of India, Persia, China and Japan, including the use of a lantern and slides. Freer also peppered the guest list with fellow collectors, including Greene.¹¹³¹

Freer thought of himself as an amateur scholar and felt he must be intimately involved in any identification, classification and cataloguing of his collection.¹¹³² Though he did not take such work lightly, writing to Berenson:

¹¹²⁷ Letter from Meyer to Freer, September 19, 1914, FSA Box 23, Folder 21-22.

¹¹²⁸ Letter from Freer to Migeon, December 4, 1911, FSA Box 24, Folder 7. Letter from Freer to M. Meyer-Riefstahl, July 6, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

¹¹²⁹ Letter from Freer to Meyer, May 15, 1914, FSA Box 23, Folder 21-22.

¹¹³⁰ "I am delighted with the news [...] to explore ancient sites in Persia and I hope that the party will meet with great success. I should be glad, indeed, to send a liberal contribution." Letter from Freer to Migeon, July 25, 1912, FSA Box 24, Folder 7.

¹¹³¹ Letter from Freer to Knoedler, November 25, 1914, FSA Box 20, Folder 11-14.

¹¹³² Letter from Freer to Greene, April 5, 1915, FSA Box 16, Folder 33-34.

As you well know, attempting to separate the chaff from the wheat, wrestling with counterfeit signatures, inscriptions and seals, accurate identifications of period and attempting to peer through the mysticism of Oriental art soon takes the 'tuck' out of a man, especially one who has already endured many years of activity. During the weeks that have passed since my efforts to get a little nearer schools, dates, etc., it is most comforting to feel a little closer in touch with the truth.¹¹³³

For Greene, a small group of scholars, including Charles Hercules Read, Sydney Cockerell and Roger Fry, were more than advisors; they were dear friends. Much of her correspondence with these men (especially when Pierpont was alive) is informal and gossipy. When she travelled to London, she spent many hours with them, viewing private and museum collections and lunching.¹¹³⁴ However, of this small group of scholars, only Fry was intimately involved with Islamic art — writing reviews of the Munich Exhibition and lecturing on Persian art in coordination with the 1931 London Exhibition.¹¹³⁵

During Pierpont Morgan's lifetime, the Morgan Library frequently loaned items for public exhibitions, notably to prestigious universities like Columbia and elite clubs like the Burlington Fine Arts Club.¹¹³⁶ When a new catalogue of part of the Morgan Library collection was published, Greene ensured that leading European libraries received complimentary copies.¹¹³⁷ The Library was less inclined to gift publications directly to scholars and usually only did so when a scholar requested

¹¹³³ Letter from Freer to Berenson, August 11, 1917, FSA Box 10, Folder 15.

¹¹³⁴ Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 11, 1910, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, October 12, 1910, BB BER, 8.

¹¹³⁵ Roger Fry, "The Munich Exhibition of Mohammedan Art - I," *The Burlington Magazine* 17, no. 89 (August 1910) (1910): 283-285+288-290. Roger Fry, *Colour in Persian Art, 1931*, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge, The Papers of Roger Eliot Fry, REF5/7, GBR/0272/REF/1/161.

¹¹³⁶ Letter from Canfield to Morgan Sr., November 12, 1906, MCC Letter is with Abraham Yohannan papers. Letter from Read to Morgan Sr., January 11, 1908, MCC 149456.

¹¹³⁷ Letter from Myres to Greene, November 8, 1909, MCC Letter is with John Linto Myres correspondence.

it, albeit Berenson being a notable exception.¹¹³⁸

Compared to Freer, the Morgan Library was generally less supportive of scholars. Pierpont's rule that the Library remained closed while he was away (which was often) made it difficult for scholars to view specific items.¹¹³⁹ When permission was given, there were restrictions on what they could see and how the material could be used.¹¹⁴⁰ On the rare occasion when a scholar was allowed to take a manuscript out of the Library, Greene was keen to have the item returned promptly.¹¹⁴¹

While it was Pierpont's idea that the Library "serve the men who were really in need of consulting it," Greene did not always look forward to opening the doors to scholars, especially if it looked like she had nothing to gain from the visit.¹¹⁴² In an article in the *New York Times* in 1912, Greene says, "You can't imagine how many scholars come to the library. You may rest assured that when they do come, I get from them as much information as I can."¹¹⁴³ Meyer-Riefstahl's visits to the Morgan Library were mutually beneficial for both Meyer-Riefstahl, who wanted to write about private American collections of Islamic art and Greene, who was creating her collection.¹¹⁴⁴ Armenag Bey Sakisian (1875-1949) requested a photograph of one of the miniatures from the Read Album exhibited at the Munich

¹¹³⁸ Letter from Margolis to Greene, January 16, 1916, MCC 152321. Gulbenkian, Inventory of Calouse Sarkis Gulbenkian's reference library "Art Oriental".

¹¹³⁹ "I regret very much indeed to have to write you that Mr Morgan has made it a custom ever since he built his Library to close it to visitors during his absence in Europe, and because of his strictness in this regard, it is impossible for me to make any exceptions." Letter from Greene to Tourneux, March 28, 1913, MCC 154670.

¹¹⁴⁰ Letter from Greene to Garrett, April 4, 1922, MCC 155543.

¹¹⁴¹ Letter from Greene to Yohannan, September 22, 1915, MCC Letter is with Yohannan correspondence.

¹¹⁴² Virginia Sloan, "Young Woman Librarian Continues Work of Great Morgan Collection," *Gazette*, September 23, 1913, 10.

¹¹⁴³ "Spending J.P. Morgan's Money for Rare Books," 8.

¹¹⁴⁴ Letter from Freer to Meyer-Riefstahl, February 6, 1915, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 3, 1915, BB BER, 8.

Exhibition for an article he was preparing (MS M.386.13).¹¹⁴⁵ The letter addressed to Read is marked as “not answered” in the Morgan Library archives, suggesting Greene did not follow up with Sakisian on his request.

Before purchasing items, Greene relied more on her networks than reading. Rather than finding the most qualified scholar, she took the easy route, asking one of her scholar friends for advice. When seeking advice on some Coptic manuscripts, she asked Read if he knew anyone to analyse the illuminations and condition.¹¹⁴⁶ While only Read and British Museum Egyptologist Henry Hall (1873- 1930) reviewed the manuscripts, Greene later claimed eminent scholars worldwide had seen manuscripts.¹¹⁴⁷ However, *after* the Coptic manuscripts entered the collection, Greene was determined to have them catalogued by the “most competent hands” possible, sparing no expense.¹¹⁴⁸

Pierpont was also selective of who could write about his collection. In 1913, he turned down a request from the newly launched *Art in America* to feature some of his items because he preferred working with more established publications.¹¹⁴⁹ Pierpont thought it best to leave canon formation to the old-school journals.

Gulbenkian seems to have been more welcoming of scholars. He provided access to his collection to junior scholars with the assistance of his secretary. Still, he wanted to be personally on hand when it was a scholar of some importance. In 1922, Thomas Walker Arnold wrote to Gulbenkian requesting

¹¹⁴⁵ Letter from Sakisian to Read, June 24, 1911, MCC 149478. Armenag Bey Sakisian, "Persian Drawings," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 69, no. 400 (July 1936): 14–21, 59–69.

¹¹⁴⁶ Letter from Greene to Read, October 31, 1911, MCC 150552.

¹¹⁴⁷ Letter from Read to Greene, December 3, 1911, MCC 149488. Letter from Greene to Gottheil, March 29, 1912, MCC 155604.

¹¹⁴⁸ Letter from Greene to Berenson, July 1, 1912, BB BER, 8. Georgia Southworth and Franciso Trujillo, "The Coptic Bindings Collection at the Morgan Library & Museum: History, Conservation and Access," *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 35 (2016): 89-95.

¹¹⁴⁹ Letter from Greene to Richter, January 14, 1913, MCC 152706.

permission to see the *Anthology of Iskandar* manuscript.¹¹⁵⁰ In 1935, the director of the National Gallery in London, Kenneth Clark (1903-1983), wrote to Gulbenkian asking to see his collection, mentioning they had many friends in common, including Beatty and Arthur Upham Pope.¹¹⁵¹ The same year, Gaston Wiet visited the collection.¹¹⁵² Eleanor Spencer (1895-1992) saw the collection while Gulbenkian was on holiday yachting on the Mediterranean.¹¹⁵³ In 1939, Richard Ettinghausen, while editor of *Ars Islamica*, requested an opportunity to study Gulbenkian's collection.¹¹⁵⁴ Gulbenkian was not available to show Ettinghausen his collection and asked him to write to him again when he was in Paris.¹¹⁵⁵ Ettinghausen sent a similar request to Berenson in 1955 and wrote the first catalogue of Berenson's Persian manuscript collection.¹¹⁵⁶

A letter from Armenian art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian (1896-1989) addressed to Beatty is in Gulbenkian's archives requesting another opportunity to view Beatty's collection. (Perhaps Beatty thought Gulbenkian should share his Armenian Bibles with Der Nersessian.) She informed Beatty that she had published five catalogues of Armenian manuscripts since her last visit and felt her work "could not be complete without further study of [his] most admirable collection."¹¹⁵⁷ Der Neresessian's statement demonstrates the importance of access to private collections for meaningful research.

¹¹⁵⁰ Dias, *From Paris*, 74-75. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Rise of Islamic Art*, 138-139. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Collector and Tastes*, 64. Martin, *Period of Timur*, xvi. Gray, *L'art Islamique*, 117. Letter from Arnold to Gulbenkian, June 26, 1922, CGF LDN448.

¹¹⁵¹ Letter from Clark to Gulbenkian, December 5, 1935, MCG02644.

¹¹⁵² Letter from De Marinis to Gulbenkian, October 25, 1935, CGF MCG02643.

¹¹⁵³ Letter from Spencer to Gulbenkian, February 22, March 1 and March 17, 1930, MCG01156. Postcard from Gulbenkian to Beatty, March 17, 1930, CGF LDN985.

¹¹⁵⁴ Letter from Ettinghausen to Gulbenkian, July 18, 1939, CGF MCG02246.

¹¹⁵⁵ Letter from Ettinghausen to Gulbenkian, July 22, 1939, CGF MCG02246.

¹¹⁵⁶ Letter from Ettinghausen to Berenson, June 28, 1955, BB BER, 8.

¹¹⁵⁷ Letter from Der Nersessian to Beatty, October 24, 1949, CGF LDN2387.

Unlike Freer and the Morgan Library, reference books only flowed in one direction with Gulbenkian — straight to his reference library. He was not interested in sending publications to fellow collectors, librarians or scholars who desperately wanted to stay informed of the latest research. When he received a gift copy of *French Signed Bindings in the Mortimer L. Schiff Collection* after purchasing the book from Quaritch, he immediately asked for credit for the one he had paid for, claiming the purchased one was of no interest.¹¹⁵⁸ He also turned down a “de luxe” binding for his copy of *A Survey of Persian Art*, calling it inappropriate to the point of being odious.¹¹⁵⁹ While Pope ultimately convinced Gulbenkian that leather binding would offer greater security and permanence, the correspondence demonstrates that Gulbenkian viewed his reference books as something to be used, not just for display.

Sakisian requested photographic reproductions of some of Gulbenkian’s miniatures for a book he was preparing. He commented that this was a collector's ransom for art and science.¹¹⁶⁰ In other words, it was Gulbenkian’s obligation to share his collection for canon formation. Gulbenkian obliged this and other similar requests from Migeon and Pope.

Of the collectors studied for this thesis, Freer was the most generous and supportive of scholars. Greene served primarily as a gatekeeper to the Morgan Library, supporting scholars if she had something to gain from the interaction. In his early collecting years, Gulbenkian’s contributions to scholarship were minimal, providing limited access to his collection and photographs to a few publications. Later in life, he was much more interested in helping scholars.

SCHOLARS WHO WORE SEVERAL HATS

¹¹⁵⁸ Letter from Gulbenkian to Quaritch, October 26, 1936, CGF MCG02229.

¹¹⁵⁹ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, January 12, 1937, CGF MCG02695.

¹¹⁶⁰ "C'est la rançon que doivent acquitter à l'art et à la science les possesseurs d'objets de cette catégorie." Letter from Sakisian to Gulbenkian, March 28, 1928, CGF MCG01677.

The term 'scholar' does not adequately describe some individuals who personally collected items, sold to or searched for items for collectors, served on committees for exhibitions, and conducted excavations of historical sites. Some scholars blurred these distinctions, including Anet, Berenson, Coomaraswamy, Martin, Pope, Read, Meyer-Riefstahl and Sarre. All these gentlemen were involved in the creation of the Persian canon, but only Coomaraswamy, Martin, and Sarre made significant contributions to the Mughal art canon (appendix 6.1).

Anet limited his writings to reviews of important Islamic art exhibitions and a travelogue about his travels across Persia in an automobile and may be placed more firmly in the dealer camp.¹¹⁶¹ Like Anet, Meyer-Riefstahl was upfront about operating in both spheres, though he presented himself more as an intermediary than a full-time dealer.¹¹⁶² When Meyer-Riefstahl moved to America, he acknowledged that an academic bent would be easier to gain entry to private collections and build trust with collectors. Still, the lure of making real money kept him involved in selling things.¹¹⁶³

Berenson collected Islamic book art on the side, and his interest in Islamic art closely corresponded with his intense but brief love affair with Greene. Almost as soon as their passion ended, so did his desire to collect Islamic art. However, he continued to mentor and support scholars like K. A. C. Creswell.¹¹⁶⁴ He also

¹¹⁶¹ In a letter to Isabella Gardner, Bernard Berenson referred to Anet as a Paris dealer. Letter from Berenson to Gardner, August 12, 1910, BB BER, 8. Claude Anet and M. Beresford Ryley, *Through Persia in a Motor-Car: by Russia and the Caucasus* (London, 1907).

¹¹⁶² Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, August 25, 1914, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

¹¹⁶³ "But anyhow, there is no money in lecturing unless you are willing to perform like a circus spiel." Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Berenson, December 12, 1930, BB BER, 8. Letter from Greene to Berenson, March 3, 1915, BB BER, 8. "In case I need money. I might perhaps sell some miniatures by public sale. If possible, I want to avoid shopkeeping,[...] At the Munich exhibition already, the scientific side in oriental art interested me very much, and so I had the idea that it might be the best time to take this up again and to try to gather material about Mohammedan Art." Letter from Meyer-Riefstahl to Freer, January 18, 1915, FSA Box 24, Folder 1-4.

¹¹⁶⁴ Letter from Creswell to Berenson, August 17, 1922, BB BER, 8.

encouraged and facilitated the creation of Gardner's Islamic art collection.¹¹⁶⁵

Berenson claimed he made no commissions on things he presented Gardner.¹¹⁶⁶

Coomaraswamy was forthright in his reasons for wanting to sell his collection to Freer — his appointment to a museum in India had fallen through due to the Great War, and he needed the money.¹¹⁶⁷ In his letter to Freer, Coomaraswamy said he did “not feel very strongly the itch of ownership, apart from the inevitable personal attachment that one has for one or two particular works.”

Coomaraswamy felt the collection could serve as the beginnings of a Museum of Asiatic Art or, at least, an Indian room (or rooms). In just this one letter, Coomaraswamy presented himself as a collector whose collection had lost its appeal, a curator with grand ideas, and a private individual wishing to sell his collection.

Martin was the epitome of the blended role some scholars tried to play, shifting from scholar to collector to dealer, depending on the occasion. Martin was never entirely comfortable in the dealer or scholar space and continually annoyed scholars, dealers and collectors. On one occasion, when he was desperate for cash to buy a Greek sculpture, he hounded Gulbenkian relentlessly to buy one of his bindings.¹¹⁶⁸ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gulbenkian was perturbed with Martin's antics and suggested he leave selling to the “big dealers in Paris.”¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶⁵ Yasuko Horioka, Marylin Rhie, and Walter B Denny, *Oriental and Islamic Art in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum with forward by Rollin van N. Hadley, former director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1975), 97-136. Rollin Van N. Hadley, "Letter from Berenson to Isabella Stewart Gardner, dated Jan. 1, 1915," in *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner 1887-1924; with Correspondence by Mary Berenson* (1987), 476-477.

¹¹⁶⁶ Hadley, "Letter from Berenson to Gardner, dated May 30, 1914," 523.

¹¹⁶⁷ Letter from Coomaraswamy to Freer, July 12, 1916, FSA Box 13, Folder 12. For Coomaraswamy relationship with Freer: Chapter Two, 114-115.

¹¹⁶⁸ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, October 20, 1924, CGF LDN548.

¹¹⁶⁹ Letter from Martin to Gulbenkian, Friday, undated, LDN548.

While a curator at the British Museum, Read loaned several items from his collection to the Munich Exhibition, which he later sold to the Morgan Library, presumably for a profit. The British Museum was routinely approached by individuals wanting to know the value of items and hoping to sell things. Perhaps Read purchased the albums from an uninformed owner after the British Museum rejected them. Read served as an agent or scout for Pierpont, alerting him to things he thought he might find interesting and excavations he might want to sponsor.¹¹⁷⁰ In return for his efforts, Pierpont financed Read's trips to America, where he gave lectures and attended operas and other forms of entertainment — often in the company of Greene.¹¹⁷¹

Sarre's involvement in other roles is idiomatic. He was routinely involved in exhibitions like the 1910 Munich Exhibition and writing monographs. However, he was also a collector whose items appear on the marketplace — though almost always fronted by a dealer or auction house.¹¹⁷² Dealers also would name-drop Sarre's name as having signed off on the uniqueness of something they were trying to sell — suggesting there may have been a quid pro quo relationship with some dealers.¹¹⁷³

From 1933 to 1939, Gulbenkian and Pope frequently met to discuss Gulbenkian's collection. Pope offered Islamic items for Gulbenkian's consideration several times, sometimes mentioning that he planned to feature the object in his upcoming *Survey of Persian Art* as an enticement.¹¹⁷⁴ While Pope was an intermediary with something to gain from these transactions, he presented

¹¹⁷⁰ Letter from Read to Greene, September 12, 1911, MCC 149483.

¹¹⁷¹ Letter from Read to Morgan Sr., September 13, 1911, MCC 149484.

¹¹⁷² Letter from Hirsch to Gulbenkian, July 16, 1925, CGF MCG00220.

¹¹⁷³ Letter from Sarre to Stiebel, July 1, 1937, MCG01590.

¹¹⁷⁴ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, January 23, 1933, CGF MCG01505.

himself to Gulbenkian as a “poor and humble scholar.”¹¹⁷⁵

While individuals playing multiple roles was common, it caused trust issues with collectors, and some scholars recognised the conflict of interest. When Vladimir Simkhovitch contemplated approaching the Morgan Library with a few miniatures, he expressed his uneasiness with the idea:

My relations to Mr Morgan’s library have been for many years absolutely disinterested. I, therefore, hesitate very much to enter Mr Morgan’s Library in our entirely new role, the role of a personally interested party.¹¹⁷⁶

Some scholars also gave advice about upcoming auctions and mentioned that someone approached them (conveniently, names were never mentioned) with an object they thought a collector might find interesting.¹¹⁷⁷ Their economic interest in these situations is unclear. For example, Migeon consulted Gulbenkian on the best way to buy a collection of Damascus dishes offered by Joseph Duveen, suggesting Gulbenkian buy the collection *en bloc*, keep the best and offload the rest to a gallery in Paris or London.¹¹⁷⁸ Whether Migeon would have made a commission from Duveen for this suggestion is unclear.

Dealers often relied on scholars’ opinions before adding things to inventories and conveyed those opinions to collectors.¹¹⁷⁹ Yet, sometimes so-called experts frustrated dealers, with Kelekian commenting:

¹¹⁷⁵ Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, March 3, 1937, CGF MCG02695. “In as much as I am acting for you, not for the estate, I suppose you would want to meet the professional fee just as the museums do.” Letter from Pope to Gulbenkian, April 5, 1933, CGF MCG01505.

¹¹⁷⁶ Letter from Simkhovitch to Blumenthal, December 14, 1910, MCC 149676.

¹¹⁷⁷ Letter from Read to Greene, September 13, 1911, MCC 149484.

¹¹⁷⁸ “Si vous me permettez un avis, je vous conseillerais de faire l’affaire en bloc de toute la série (dans de bonnes conditions pour vous) puis nous ferions soit à Paris soit à Londres ensemble une révision rigoureuse.” Letter from Migeon to Gulbenkian, n. d., CGF LDN146.

¹¹⁷⁹ Letter from Rosenberg & Stiebel to Gulbenkian, December 15, 1948, CGF MCG01597.

Unfortunately, to sell such a magnificent piece, so many people must give their opinion. Among this great number of so-called experts there, about 90% of them do not know how to write their names.¹¹⁸⁰

As long as scholars helped dealers move goods, they were positively viewed. When scholars called an object for sale into question, backbiting and jealousies were likely to surface.¹¹⁸¹ While dealers, scholars and collectors today are more clearly defined, blurring roles in the early twentieth century likely helped scholarship progress, as one could hardly argue against oneself.

CONCLUSION

Several scholars contributed to the development of a Mughal art canon in the early twentieth century. Many of the earlier publications were formulaic, first presenting Mughal rulers' love for books and paintings, followed by common Mughal themes and then a brief discussion of works in terms of colour, composition and materials. With the launch of journals dedicated to the field, the scholarship became more insightful and reasoned, though attribution mistakes continued to be made in more general, museum-oriented publications.

We tend to give scholars credit for defining artistic canons. However, this chapter demonstrates that elevating Islamic art to a formalised oeuvre required collaboration with collectors and dealers, and some players were more helpful and supportive than others. Many activities are associated with the collector, not the scholar — for example, providing access to the collection, loaning objects for exhibitions, providing photographs for publications, investing in excavations, and arranging lectures. Without the backing of collectors, scholars are hindered by what they can do to move the field of study forward.

Many scholars also guided what dealers should offer for sale and the criteria they should emphasise when presenting objects to collectors. Scholars' influence on

¹¹⁸⁰ Letter from Kelekian to Berenson, October 31, 1936, BB BER, 8.

¹¹⁸¹ Letter from Bachstiz to Gulbenkian, December 4, 1934, CGF MCG02586.

what collectors collected is nebulous, as the scholars presented in this chapter studied what collectors already had in their collections. However, learning what was in the collection made it more apparent if gaps existed. For example, Meyer-Riefstahl's interactions with Greene led to her purchasing a few Qur'an fragments for the Morgan Library.

Surprisingly, collectors seldom sought advice from scholars on potential acquisitions (at least from what we can gather from the archival evidence). However, finding qualified experts took work, and comparatively speaking, prices for Islamic art were much lower than prices for European art at the time, and the risks were, therefore, lower. This early shortage of experts may explain why so many scholars initially invested in other artistic genres and later decided to specialise in Islamic art — like the collectors; they saw the opportunity. The influx of translated travelogues, personal memoirs of the Mughal rulers, and history books on the region, coupled with international and more focused exhibitions, made this transition easier for many would-be Islamic art scholars.

Between 1927 and 1930, ten journal articles, five monographs and three catalogues of private and public collections focused on Mughal art were published. These years represent the high water mark in terms of interest in Mughal art in the early twentieth century. Scholarship waxed and waned for the remaining half of the early twentieth century. Just when the canon seemed to gain momentum, something would impede further progress. The 1931 London Exhibition relegated Mughal art to a side room with photographs. Arnold, a constant Mughal art advocate who published eight articles and monographs, died unexpectedly the previous year. Coomaraswamy grew weary of Mughal art and focused on more spiritual 'native' Indian works. Binyon, who co-wrote five exhibition catalogues and two monographs, did little to elevate Mughal art. While he thought the Mughals were a great civilisation, there was a barbaric element in their arts which, in Binyon's opinion, seemed more concerned with objects and individuals than the relationship between them.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁸² Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters*, 67.

The influence of academic-oriented scholarship on early twentieth-century collectors is debatable. Most publications in their reference libraries were exhibition catalogues with full-colour plates and little text or explanation. Collectors' focus on publications with illustrations suggests they were more visually driven than academically driven to collect Mughal art. Nevertheless, several early twentieth-century publications presented fresh perspectives on Mughal art and are credited for laying the foundation for the Mughal art canon, which came into its own in the later half of the twentieth century. Much of the early Mughal book art scholarship focused on dating and situating manuscripts and paintings in a chronology. General considerations included inscriptions, names of painters, text surrounding paintings (and on the reverse), physical resemblance to descriptions found in historical sources, the costume of the dress including the length of *jāma* (an upper garment worn like a shirt), the shape of turbans, the presence of waist-sashes, types of swords, and the manner of wearing beards and moustaches. The scenes of particular interest in the early stages of scholarship were court scenes populated with several figures, including the Emperor, his officers, musicians and singers, and royal hunts with naturalistic-looking elephants and tigers with armed men on foot. Later attention shifted to individual portraits and discussion of the iconography (often connected to urban Indian legends), such as portraits of Mughal rulers standing on fish and globes and donning a halo. Toward the end of the period, the focus was on comparisons of Mughal works with local styles, such as Rajput paintings and other provincial works. Only a few scholars attempted to assign unsigned works to a specific artist — admitting the difficulty of such a task without many known signed works. Almost every article discussed European parallels and influences, such as foreshortening, modelling and perspective. Likewise, any article discussing iconography is linked to Christian iconography.

Throughout history, India and Europe have been in contact, borrowing and exchanging cultural and artistic traditions. European influences on Mughal art continue to be discussed in contemporary scholarship. However, there has been a recent shift in emphasising the artistic and cultural influences from the Indian

subcontinent and other contemporary ruling dynasties. The interpretation that the East was somehow artistically connected to the West, no matter how tenuously, paralleled the inclusion of Mughal material in predominantly European collections. While similar connections were also discussed in the context of Persian art, that scholarship tended to focus on Asian influences or the truly exotic qualities of Persian art. In other words, Orientalism could be multi-faceted, and several approaches were employed to create desire among Western collectors. Ultimately, the exotic and Asian linkages seemed more appealing than European art connections — at least in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IN SUMMARY

“Someone needs to find a common thread, some ideological preconception that ties these stories together and moves them away from a purely anecdotal presentation [...] voyeurism is fun but not very productive.”¹¹⁸³ — Islamic art historian Oleg Grabar (1929-2011)

This thesis represents the first in-depth study of Mughal book art collections in Europe and North America in the early twentieth century. It is the first study to use information from Villa I Tatti’s archives to shed light on the Islamic book art collections of Pierpont Morgan and Belle da Costa Greene and the first to explore the friendship between Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian and Alfred Chester Beatty, and Beatty’s influence on Gulbenkian’s collecting strategy. This study also breaks new ground in its use of McIntosh and Schmeichel’s framework to create purchase journey maps to uncover collectors’ behavioural, mental, and emotional responses when acquiring an object for their collection. It is also the first study to successfully adapt consumer behaviour modelling to identify the variables relevant to Islamic book art collection formation and management, focusing specifically on their sources of information, evaluation criteria, general motivating influences and internalised environmental influences. These methods now have the potential to be applied more widely in the study of historical collecting.

The thesis focused on how four early twentieth-century collectors created private collections of Islamic book art, including works commissioned and coveted by Mughal rulers, and sought to situate these collections in the context of the exhibition and study of Islamic book art. Although the collectors were not obviously motivated by an interest in Empire, they were shaped by practical and conceptual colonial legacies. The collections of Morgan, Freer and Greene created nuclei to which other Mughal items were later added, thereby providing a bridge from the colonial activities of collectors like Hanna to the museums we have now in a post-colonial age. In the introduction, the four main aims of the thesis were outlined.

¹¹⁸³ Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic*, 195.

The first aim was to examine the role of exhibitions and exhibition catalogues in shaping the critical reception of Islamic art and, more specifically, Mughal art among scholars, collectors, dealers and curators. As early as 1895, the organisers of the Empire of India Exhibition in London recognised that Mughal works differed from Persian ones. At the first exhibition of Muslim Arts in Paris in 1903, scholars sorted Mughal works using a good, better, and best hierarchy for collectors to follow. While a few were considered true masterpieces, most were judged to lack the 'ardent grace' of Persian works. Mughal works were relegated to less-visited exhibition spaces in the early twentieth century. The focus was on the savviness of the Mughal rulers as collectors rather than the material produced in their courts. Interest in what the Mughal rulers valued became a criterion used by some Western collectors for selecting works of interest.

During the 1912 Paris Exhibition, scholars realised that the images created by Mughal artists were naturalistic portraits of Mughal nobles and were inspired by Western engravings. This discovery encouraged the acquisition of Mughal pictures by private collectors and museums. However, at the 1931 London Exhibition, most Mughal works were lumped together with photographs of contemporary Persian architecture. A few Mughal pieces were mislabelled Persian, like paintings from a *Hamzanama* and miniatures from the *Gulshan Muraqqa*. When Mughal works seemed to have the opportunity to shine at the 1931 exhibition of Indian art, they instead had to share the stage with Rajput and Pahari paintings. Islamic art and Indian art acted like opposing magnets, attempting to pull Mughal art into their domain. Only in the 1947-1948 Exhibition was enough material in one place to sort through attributions and periodisations and develop a Mughal art canon in earnest. By then, two of the collectors included in this thesis had died (Freer and Pierpont Morgan). The other two had restricted what could enter their Islamic book art collections (Greene on behalf of the Morgan Library and Gulbenkian).

While Mughal art was exhibited, written about in exhibition catalogues and reviewed, it received less attention than Persian art. The constant mislabelling of

Mughal works as Persian also made it difficult for collectors and scholars to appreciate their unique differences. One of the starting hypotheses for this thesis was that critical events, namely exhibitions that created interest in Persian art, also spurred interest in Mughal art. In broad terms, this hypothesis has proven true. Displays increased interest in Mughal dynastic portraits, realistic drawings of animals and fauna and what Mughal rulers deemed collectable. Mughal ruler seals and dynastic associations also increased the marketability of works — both Persian and Mughal. Interestingly, discussions about Western influences in Mughal works, both in catalogues and reviews of the exhibitions, did not seem to increase interest in Mughal works. Collectors seemed more interested in the exotic nature of works than any parallels with Western conventions.

The second aim was to analyse how each collector of interest formed and managed their Islamic book art collections and the appeal of Mughal book art within those collections. Using the McIntosh and Schmeichel framework as a guideline provided new insights into how each collector built and managed their Islamic book art collections. **The first step in McIntosh and Schmeichel's framework is that a collector decides to collect a classification of objects.** Freer was not proactively searching for Mughal paintings when Hoggan approached him about the Hanna collection; he would not have heard about the collection otherwise. Freer had recently attended a dinner celebrating Valentine's in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), described in a newspaper cutting in his archives as an oriental fairyland. The visit to Ceylon inspired Freer to reassess his collecting strategy and seek new harmonious connections with his Far Eastern collection. The timing of Hoggan's letter and the fact that she had no monetary interest in the sale going through were propitious. Similarly, Pierpont Morgan's early *en bloc* purchases of European and Islamic material cannot be considered a deliberate decision to collect Islamic art. However, before Greene arrived at the Library, Pierpont purchased a few Persian manuscripts and other Islamic objects. Moreover, after Greene's arrival, Pierpont acquired a few drawings by Rembrandt inspired by Mughal miniatures. Pierpont was not opposed to Islamic book art; it was just not a primary focus. After Greene attended the 1910 Munich Exhibition,

acquiring Islamic book art for the Morgan Library became a priority for Greene. Greene's collection probably started with little or no forethought after receiving a few Persian drawings as a gift while visiting curators in London. Two years later, she received a small Persian manuscript from someone (perhaps Pierpont) as a Christmas gift. Gulbenkian's knowledge of Persian carpets and the receipt of an important manuscript from Edmond de Rothschild may have spurred his interest in Islamic book art. For Freer, Pierpont and Gulbenkian, Islamic book art was a small part of a much broader collection. Pierpont's first sole purchase of an Islamic manuscript (not part of an *en bloc purchase*) was likely an impulse purchase made almost spontaneously in front of an overly excited dealer.

In contrast, Freer's decision to add Islamic book art to his collection may have been unplanned, but once he became aware of the Hanna collection, he wanted to give it due consideration. The difference between impulse and unplanned may seem nuanced, but one is made irrationally, and the other is still supported by rational decision-making. Gulbenkian had acquired Islamic book art before receiving the fifteenth-century *Anthology of Iskandar* manuscript. However, the gift was such a departure from what was already in the collection that it almost begged to be surrounded by better-quality manuscripts. Such a magnificent manuscript coming into his collection likely encouraged him to consider future purchases more carefully.

In the second and third steps, a collector gathers information and identifies an object of affection. After Freer's rash decision to purchase manuscripts from Ali Arabi, he was more cautious when Hoggan approached him about the Hanna collection of Indo-Persian material. First, he asked to review the exhibition catalogue and then to see the items firsthand. Freer made notations in his catalogue regarding each miniature based on his judgment and tastes. Then he possibly met with experts in Paris to get their opinions. Later, he noted the prices he would pay for each item. While Freer's letters to Hanna were calm and professional, his correspondence with Frank Hecker was full of excitement about the potential acquisition.

While Pierpont was known to sometimes fall for claims of rarity and romantic associations, he also relied on the advice of a small group of dealers and curators, including Imbert and Read — both sources of Islamic items for the Morgan Library. Greene's information-gathering phase was the time she spent with Bernard Berenson at the 1910 Munich Exhibition. Read's comment that all the Paris dealers wanted his collection piqued Greene's interest. Purchasing Read's collection was also a way for Greene to demonstrate her purchasing authority to Berenson.

Greene's access to reference material in the Morgan Library and close connections with leading experts and scholars probably guided what she included in her private collection. With her limited financial means, she was forced to be clever and seek items that were undervalued and overlooked in the marketplace.

Gulbenkian looked through auction catalogues and marked items of interest. In his early years of collecting, Gulbenkian preferred items illustrated in auction catalogues, required authenticity statements and used prior ownership as a proxy of value. There was also a tactile component for Gulbenkian as he rarely purchased an item without having the opportunity to spend time with it in the comfort of his home. After he met Beatty, Gulbenkian spent more time researching museum collections and reading reference material and *said* he was less dependent on illustrations in auction catalogues (though his purchases indicate otherwise). Both Gulbenkian and Freer made notations in catalogues regarding collections under consideration. Gulbenkian's comments were limited to brief words like "get, in vitrine 1" or a star or check mark next to an item in an auction catalogue. Freer's comments, though also brief, are much more insightful — with notations of poor, good, and superb next to individual items. Greene did not peruse Islamic book art auction catalogues making a 'wish list' — perhaps because the Morgan Library was inundated with so many offers, there was no need to do so.

After identifying an object of affection, a collector devises an acquisition plan and adds it to their collection. Freer provided separate offers for each

painting and manuscript so that Hanna could see the calculations for his final offer. While Hanna had hoped for more, he felt Freer's offer was fair — especially since he had been transparent in arriving at it. Greene asked Read if they could have the first refusal right if he decided to sell it. What transpired between this letter and the purchase is missing from the archives. Greene was known to be a strong negotiator, assuming every dealer increased their price when they knew Pierpont or Jack Morgan was interested. While Pierpont and Greene had little experience judging the uniqueness or value of Read's Album, they probably assumed his price was fair given their close social relationship with him and that he was not a dealer.

When dealing directly with dealers, Gulbenkian routinely assigned a price he was willing to pay for an item and rarely negotiated further. The business savviness that had made him successful professionally also served him well in negotiations for Islamic book art. He often used such negotiations as an opportunity to barter, culling items he no longer wanted in his collection. He took a similarly restrained approach when bidding on items at auction, requesting that his intermediaries not go above his top offer. If an intermediary bid slightly higher than his full offer, Gulbenkian expected convincing justification for going against his orders. While Freer and Gulbenkian were business-like in their negotiations, Freer preferred dealing directly with private owners. Gulbenkian chose to stay one step removed with agents bidding on his behalf.

Once an item enters a collection, there are several post-acquisition activities a collector may follow. After Hanna's collection was acquired, the objects received little attention. Years passed before Freer engaged with a scholar to provide only brief descriptions of the items for inventory purposes. Only four paintings were exhibited during his lifetime, and he turned down at least two opportunities to loan his works to outside exhibitions. While Greene purchased reference books related to India after she visited Freer's home, there is no evidence he shared his Mughal art with scholars or fellow collectors.

Once Read's drawings were added to the Morgan Library collection, the items

were frequently loaned for exhibitions offsite in America. However, they were not formally catalogued during Greene's tenure. Assuming Pierpont was in town, scholars had potential access to study the collection. Presumably, entry was more open after the Morgan Library became a public institution. Only the Persian Bestiary received significant scholarly attention before and after it entered the collection. Greene's collection was for her private enjoyment. Though she was excited when the Fogg Museum requested a loan of an Italian painting she had received as a gift from Berenson, there is no indication she had similar plans for her Islamic book art collection.

Gulbenkian was the only collector who culled items from his collection if he grew weary of them or doubted their authenticity. Frequently, Gulbenkian did not have access to his Islamic book art, with much of the collection stored offsite during wartime. Compared to the other collectors studied, he was much more worried about the proper storage of his collection — and protection against cold and dampness. Gulbenkian reluctantly loaned a few of his items to the 1912 Paris Exhibition and the 1931 London Exhibition. He also allowed experts to examine what he lent for the exhibition after hours. While Gulbenkian declined to have his items featured on postcards or a souvenir publication targeted to the public, he provided photographs of his objects for more scholarly journals. In his later collecting years, he briefly considered publishing his collection (with Beatty's urging) but soon lost interest.

As the discussion above demonstrates, McIntosh and Schmeichel's framework can be used to analyse archival sources to understand how collectors formed and managed their collections. Additionally, as illustrated in the collector chapters, when adequate archival data is available for a specific purchase, the framework works well for mapping what a collector was feeling, thinking and doing at each stage of the decision process for a particular purchase (appendices 2.2, 2.3, 3.2, 3.3, 4.1 and 5.2).

INTEREST IN MUGHAL ART AMONG THE COLLECTORS STUDIED

Apart from the actual purchases of Mughal art, which imply interest, the archival sources are sparse in details as to why some items appealed and others did not. There is no indication that Freer had a propensity towards Mughal art — the purchase was just a checklist component of a much grander collecting strategy. After the acquisition, he passed over at least three opportunities to add to his Islamic book art collection. This avenue of collecting was complete for Freer, and the Hanna collection became the Freer collection — with no further additions.

Before the Read Album acquisition, Pierpont Morgan (on his own) purchased the Rembrandt drawings and Mughal manuscript mislabelled Persian. These two purchases suggest Pierpont was amenable to Mughal art but unwitting. When Greene purchased Charles Hercules Read's Album exhibited at the 1910 Mughal Exhibition, her correspondence with Read only mentioned Persian drawings. Whether Greene realised the Album included several Mughal paintings is uncertain. Once the Bestiary entered the collection, Greene's decision to limit future acquisitions to manuscripts dating no later than 1300 eliminated Mughal miniatures and manuscripts from further consideration. Nevertheless, one more Mughal miniature entered the collection in 1935 — a *peri holding an effigy of the sun riding a composite lion*, suggesting Greene may have viewed the composite technique as a gap in the Morgan Library's Mughal collection and was able to convince Jack that the addition would complete this avenue of collecting.

Greene also had at least ten Mughal leaves, primarily dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Perhaps Greene was willing to make exceptions for works she considered particularly fine, aesthetically pleasing and, most importantly — affordable. While Berenson briefly collected Islamic book art, his collection contains only one Mughal folio in a collection otherwise predominantly Persian. Thus, it is doubtful that Berenson influenced Greene to add Mughal works to her private collection. Gulbenkian's collection includes several single-leaf Mughal

paintings, at least one Mughal binding and several manuscripts with Mughal seals indicating they were once in the Mughal Imperial Library. Of the four collectors studied, Gulbenkian is the only one who may have actively sought Mughal items or items once owned by the Mughal rulers. However, his Mughal collection represents only a small per-cent of his Oriental collection. Moreover, after meeting Beatty, Gulbenkian stopped using Mughal seals as a proxy for value and stopped collecting Mughal miniatures altogether. The varied interests and actions of these collectors underscore that there was no single attitude to Islamic or Indian material in this period, despite prevailing stereotypes about the 'Orient'.

COLLECTING PERSONALITIES

The third aim of the thesis was to explore various frameworks (including adapting a consumer behaviour modelling approach) to identify the variables relevant to Islamic book art collection formation and management, including information inputs, selection criteria, collecting personality and motivations for collecting, and how these variables differ by each collector.

At the end of each collector chapter, the collector's collecting personality was plotted across three quadrant charts (appendices 2.4, 3.4, 3.5, and 4.3). For the final analysis of collecting personalities, all collectors are plotted on the same quadrant charts to compare and contrast their collecting personalities (appendices 7.1 and 7.2). The y-axis of the three quadrants measures a collector's willingness to share their collections with others, including other collectors and scholars. The endpoints are collectivism or social collectors that want to share their collection and knowledge with other like-minded collectors and scholars versus individualism, or collectors that focus on acquiring items of interest but have no desire to interact with fellow collectors or discuss their collection with scholars. Pierpont Morgan and Freer were more inclined toward collectivism than Gulbenkian and Greene (regarding her private collection). This assessment includes the willingness to provide on-site access to the actual

objects and loan objects for exhibitions and publications.

Freer was willing to share his collection with scholars and fellow collectors. Though he travelled frequently, the Morgan Library collection was open to scholars as long as Pierpont was in town. Moreover, the Morgan Library was willing to loan objects for exhibitions held in America and offered photographs for publication. Gulbenkian accepted visitors but preferred to be present when an influential scholar visited. He only reluctantly loaned items for the 1931 London Exhibition and was not willing to have his objects published for books targeted to the public. Few knew Greene had a small private collection of manuscripts and miniatures.

The first x-axis, plotted against the collectivism versus individualism continuum, is focused on how collectors approach their collection, including the desire to learn more about the objects in their collection. The endpoints are compulsive collectors, more likely to build grandiose yet incoherent collections with no desire to study items afterwards, versus collectors who want to form a relationship with their collection, seek expert advice, and take a scholarly approach. Pierpont was known to buy collections *en bloc*. However, Greene said Pierpont spent many evenings with his books and was well acquainted with his collection. Alternatively, Freer was constantly reassessing his collection and wanted to ensure every addition was in harmony with things already in the collection. Before purchasing Hanna's Indo-Persian collection, Freer viewed the miniatures and manuscripts firsthand and consulted with Migeon and Kelekian. Evidence of his desire for expert advice is the stipend he paid Binyon to research one of his Chinese scrolls. Gulbenkian's early collecting years could be described as compulsive or directionless. However, once he met Beatty, he routinely sought advice from Beatty and his team of experts before making purchases. We need more information to plot Greene's collecting approach along this continuum. While Greene may have doubted her connoisseurship skills early on, she was confident in assessments once the Bestiary entered the Morgan Library collection.

The second x-axis, plotted against the collectivism versus individualism

continuum, focuses on collectors' dedication to their collections. The endpoints are collectors who are dabblers, novice or casual collectors, versus professional collectors who rely on informed advice and specialised collections. Freer, Pierpont and Gulbenkian were all professional collectors. Greene, perhaps because of financial constraints, was a casual collector. However, she had access to experts and reference books via the Morgan Library to ensure she acquired the best her limited resources could buy. Freer, who was building a collection for the Nation, wanted to be viewed as someone who sought expert advice before making purchases — though this was not always the case. Both Pierpont and Gulbenkian viewed objects in scholarly publications with increased interest. However, Gulbenkian took extra steps to be more fully informed, including viewing similar things at museums and making notations in reference books.

The final x-axis focuses on a collector's end goals for their collection. A collector may find their collection entertaining but have no intention of completing it versus being continuously focused on improving their knowledge with an end goal in sight. Based on what little information is available on Greene's private collection, her collection was primarily a source of personal entertainment. Conversely, Freer felt obligated to present a cohesive, harmonious collection to the Nation. Based on the number of collections he passed over after adding the Hanna collection, Freer, in all likelihood, viewed this avenue of his collection as complete. Pierpont routinely published catalogues of his collection once they were deemed complete. Presumably, if Pierpont had lived longer, he would have published his Islamic book collection.

When all three quadrant charts are overlaid, what is most striking is how collectors tend to remain in a particular quadrant. This finding suggests that while Danet, Katriel, Belk and Polities use different labels to describe various collector typologies, their constructs are similar. This stability also means these topologies are reliable and valid measures for describing collecting personalities. A collector in the upper right-hand quadrant has the ideal collecting personality for

supporting scholars and contributing to an artistic doctrine. As confirmed by the discussion in Chapter Six, Freer was generally the most supportive of scholars.

VARIABLES RELEVANT FOR ISLAMIC BOOK ART COLLECTION AND MANAGEMENT

The variables relevant to Islamic book art collection formation and management for each collector were identified and assembled into a consumer decision-making model (appendices 2.1, 3.1, 4.2, and 5.3). The constructs captured included information inputs, information processing, evaluation, motivating influences, internalised environmental influences and barriers to future purchases. Based on Engel-Blackwell-Miniard's (EBM) consumer decision-making model, the model is structured around the steps collectors go through in building and managing their Islamic book art collections (as defined by McIntosh and Schmeichel). For example, as a collector moves from deciding to collect a classification of objects to gathering information and identifying an object of affection, different information inputs may become vital, like the advice of fellow collectors and items exhibited at a show. The collector's evaluation criteria, like associations with royal patronage and authenticity guarantees, will guide which objects are selected for inclusion in the collection. One of the model's advantages is that it provides a way to view all potential variables for an individual collector on a single page and makes it much easier to compare collectors, as discussed below.

INFORMATION INPUTS AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

Freer's three-month stay in India in 1895 influenced his Mughal art purchases, as did his trip to Ceylon in 1907, where he witnessed a meshing of different cultures. Other information inputs include his attendance at the 1903 Exhibition in Paris and his relationship with the scholars Migeon, Koechlin and Binyon. Before making an offer for the Hanna collection, Freer consulted the catalogue and may

have asked experts to help assign values to the paintings.

Pierpont Morgan primarily relied on a small network, including Imbert, Quaritch, and Fry and Read, to find items of interest, including Islamic book art. Greene was also a critical information input for Pierpont as his surrogate buyer. After Pierpont purchased the Bestiary, he visited the Metropolitan Museum of Art with Greene to view the Islamic art collection. Pierpont died shortly afterwards, so the visit was not an information input for him. However, it was an input for Greene which may have influenced her assessment of the Morgan Library collection and guided her private collection.

The 1910 Munich Exhibition was a significant information input for Greene's collection plans for the Morgan Library and her personal collection. Her time with Berenson was steeped in exotica, which may have amplified her reception to Islamic art. Early on, Greene sought advice from Quaritch (about a manuscript her friend had purchased), Read, Cockerell, Berenson and Vladimir Simkhovitch. Later, she added Freer, Meyer-Riefstahl, Abraham Yohannan and S. H. Taqizādeh to her circle of advisors. She may have also discussed Islamic art with Binyon while he was lecturing in America in 1912.

Gulbenkian's Grand Tour of Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan was a primary information input for his Islamic book art purchases. His former carpet import business partnership with his lifelong friend Kevorkian and a small network of intermediaries of Armenian descent, including Mihran Krikor Gudénian, H. H. Kehyaian and the Indjoudjian brothers, who represented him at auctions in London and Paris, were also important information inputs. In his early collecting years, Gulbenkian attended the 1912 Paris Exhibition, studied auction catalogues, subscribed to relevant journals, read reference material and took lessons at the Louvre. After meeting Beatty, Gulbenkian attended the 1931 London Exhibition and spent more time viewing museum collections. Beatty introduced Gulbenkian to new dealers and intermediaries, like Gazdar and Dring from Quaritch. Beatty also gave Gulbenkian access (through him) to Eric Millar and introduced him to Binyon and Arthur Upham Pope.

There is more commonality in the scholars the four collectors knew than the dealers and intermediaries. However, Islamic book art was usually not the topic of conversation. Meyer-Riefstahl alerted Freer of upcoming Islamic art collections for sale and helped Greene work through the Islamic material held by the Morgan Library to identify potential gaps in the collection. Meyer-Riefstahl also attempted to engage with Gulbenkian, offering limited edition reference books, but the correspondence dropped off almost as soon as it began. Migeon regularly corresponded with Freer and Gulbenkian, though his letters are related to Persian pottery and Shell Oil stock updates, respectively. Both Greene and Freer knew Binyon, but Binyon's attention was focused on Chinese and Japanese art. Berenson corresponded with Greene and Gulbenkian about Persian art but limited his correspondence with Freer to Chinese art.

Surprisingly, there is almost no overlap between the dealers and intermediaries these collectors used to build their collections. Freer purchased his Mughal collection directly from a private owner. Pierpont relied on a small group of dealers and curators to be his eyes and ears. Greene ignored dealers, acquiring Islamic material from a curator and two scholars. Gulbenkian, the collector most intent on creating an Islamic book art collection (after Greene, who lost that dream after Pierpont died), worked with a few intermediaries whose names are entirely new to us. Interestingly, few works were acquired through leading Islamic art dealers like Hagop Kevorkian or Kelekian, who may have been perceived as overpriced.

Many dealers varied the way they interacted with the collectors. For example, Kevorkian was Gulbenkian's former business partner and rarely set a price for things he offered to Gulbenkian — instead asking for a reasonable share of profit. In his letters to Freer, Kevorkian complains that no one wants to buy his Persian miniatures. While Quaritch tried to sell the same collection of miniatures to Greene and Gulbenkian, Freer only saw Quaritch as a source for reference books.

Regarding other commonalities, Freer, Greene and Gulbenkian recognised the

usefulness of exhibitions in understanding Islamic art better, and both Greene and Gulbenkian examined museum collections. While Greene ordered several reference books and studied Fredrik Robert Martin's book closely, Gulbenkian and Freer seemed more focused on keeping up with the latest scholarship.

The most striking thing from this analysis is the reliance on established relationships for information input. It was challenging for an entirely new person to gain access to one of these collectors. Freer was the only collector willing to entertain an offer from a stranger — and perhaps only because Hoggan said she had nothing to gain from the sale. Pierpont and Gulbenkian maybe put too much trust in their dealers and agents. Imbert sold Pierpont a Mughal manuscript mislabelled as Persian, and Gudénian was duped into bidding on a Turkish binding made to appear Persian on Gulbenkian's behalf. However, because of the novelty of the Islamic book art market and only a trickle of scholarship coming through, mistakes were bound to happen and placing trust in your established network was perhaps seen as the best way to hedge against being scammed.

EVALUATION CRITERIA

Freer had one overriding evaluation criterion for adding items to his collection — the object must have a similar aesthetic to items already in the collection. Unknown, forgotten and therefore undervalued things particularly intrigued him. However, his collection was ultimately focused on harmonious connections and unity of thought.

Romantic associations, claims of rarity, royal patronage, and provenance could sway Pierpont Morgan to buy a manuscript. Academic attention was more important than specific artists or calligraphists, textual content or whether a manuscript was once in Akbar's Imperial Library. After Pierpont's death, Greene only considered items that added a new dimension to the collection. Her evaluation criteria for the Morgan Library became much more restrictive regarding dating. For Greene's private collection, she focused on Kufic script calligraphy, Qur'an leaves printed on vellum and later dated painted leaves. At

the time, these items were more reasonably priced and within Greene's budget.

Gulbenkian used several criteria as a proxy of value, including previous ownership by a well-known collector, royal patronage, manuscripts bearing royal seals, and manuscripts that were spoils of war. He was also interested in material that had received scholarly attention. Because of the number of manuscripts and miniatures Gulbenkian purchased, we have more evidence for his interest in particular pictorial themes, like Qur'ans and frontispieces resembling carpets, animals in the wilderness, hunting scenes, polo players, men reading and birds. In his early collecting years, Gulbenkian wanted items without signs of restoration and was particularly drawn to items illustrated in auction catalogues. After meeting Beatty (and Beatty's trusted restorer), Gulbenkian was willing to add items requiring restoration if they met other evaluation criteria.

Freer's and Greene's evaluation criteria (for her private collection) were similar. They wanted overlooked and undervalued items. Pierpont and Gulbenkian also shared similar evaluation criteria, including royal patronage, provenance and scholarly attention. However, Gulbenkian was much less inclined to fall for romantic stories, preferring firm statements of authenticity and dating. Greene and Gulbenkian became much more restrictive in their evaluation criteria later in life — with each addition assessed not just on its own merits but also on how it related to items already in the collection. Interestingly, artistic signatures were not of interest to the collectors studied. Perhaps they were attuned to the rumours that many artists' signatures were fake and added to increase an item's value. Additionally, connections to western conventions were not part of their evaluation criteria, suggesting that for these collectors, at least, an art-historical canon based on western ideals of beauty was not part of their collecting strategy.

MOTIVATIONS FOR COLLECTING

Freer, Pierpont, Greene and Gulbenkian expressed various motivations for collecting and cultivating their Islamic book art collections (appendices 2.5, 3.6, 4.2, and 4.4). For Freer, not only was collecting exciting, but he also thought he

was creating a collection that would push the boundaries of how art from various cultures and periods could be connected. He saw harmonious connections between disparate artworks that others had somehow overlooked, and he believed it was his responsibility to share this reframing with the world. Once the Nation accepted the conditions of receiving his collection, he also felt obligated to ensure that the objects collected were what they claimed to be (i.e., genuine). Perhaps more so than any other collector studied for this thesis, Freer was conscious of his mortality (given his recurring bouts of extreme fatigue and other ailments). Although it was probably not the reason he started his collection, he must have realised that it was a way to leave a legacy and give meaning to what would indeed be a truncated life.

For Pierpont Morgan, correspondence suggests his art-buying trips were pleasant and a way to distract him from the daily stresses of his working life. While he complained about the number of dealers calling on him during his travels, Mary Berenson believed he liked holding court with dealers bringing treasures for his consideration. A 1908 *Times* article stated that a social compulsion drove Pierpont to 'collect.' Another article published after Pierpont's death stated that Pierpont's purchases were not items he loved but what some competent advisor had recommended.¹¹⁸⁴ Concerning his Islamic book art collection, neither of these motivations seems to fit. Greene said he knew where every book was on the shelf, and he and Greene would spend hours in his library looking over his collection.

Greene's Islamic book art collection was an extension of the exotic self she wanted to present to the world. Her personal library was the heart of her home and may have been a break from the stresses of her responsibilities at the Morgan Library, where she often commented that she felt overworked. However, her potential appropriation of items from the Morgan Library could be considered inappropriate. At least early on, her collection may have reminded her of her

¹¹⁸⁴ Frank Jewett Mather Jr., "The Morgan Loan Exhibition," *Art and Progress* 5, no. 6 (April 1914): 193.

romantic affair with Berenson while attending the 1910 Munich Exhibition. However, she continued to collect after Berenson was no longer interested in Islamic book art and their relationship had cooled.

Gulbenkian was deeply attached to his collections (viewing each separately), comparing them to children whose future welfare was the most significant concern. His collection gave so much pleasure that he could not view them as inanimate objects, confiding to Francis Henry Taylor, the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that he felt sure they responded to his care and affection. Gulbenkian's real children gave him hours of worry and grief, and he had little control over their choices.¹¹⁸⁵ However, with his collection, he could control and order the outcome. Not only was Islamic book art a special connection to this heritage, but Gulbenkian's focus on many bindings, Qur'ans, and manuscripts by Sa'di suggests he found some comfort in the pleasing rhythm of sameness. There may have also been a competitive component to Gulbenkian's motivations for collecting based on his preference for buying at auctions in London and Paris — where the winning bidder took home the prize.

The common motivation among the collectors was the pleasure they gained from their collections (appendix 7.3). Their collections were not built for speculation, financial gain, or purposeful venture but for aesthetic appreciation and as an escape from their professional lives. Although many negative behaviours are associated with collecting, like addiction, compulsion and restlessness, the collectors studied did not demonstrate these behaviours. Freer, Pierpont and Gulbenkian could easily walk away from items that did not fit their collecting strategy or were deemed overpriced. Greene sometimes exhibited potentially concerning behaviours, including borrowing items from the Morgan Library, likely without approval. Gulbenkian and Freer were the only collectors who contemplated an afterlife for their collections, indicating they may have viewed their collections as a way to secure immortality.

¹¹⁸⁵ Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent*, 51-152, 212, 214-217, 222-223.

The fourth aim of the thesis was to identify the scholars that helped shape the Mughal art canon and how the collectors studied supported these scholars in their efforts to define artistic doctrines in general and the Mughal art canon specifically. In the early twentieth century, a few scholars moved away from the exhibition catalogue treatment of Mughal works (sumptuous reproductions with minimal text) to a more academic-oriented discussion of schools, artists, themes and techniques. Thomas Walker Arnold assembled reports from western travellers to the court and the memoirs of the Mughal rulers into a cohesive account focused on manuscripts and book art. His approach of using disparate sources set the standard for future art historians, but his unexpected death in 1930 slowed the field of study for several years. The other major advocate was Phillip Walter Schulz, who questioned the tyrannical fashion of those who preferred Persian painting over Mughal works. However, his book, written in 1914, was overlooked by most scholars and collectors because of his formal writing style in German. In 1924, Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, in groundbreaking research, traced some depictions of paintings in a disassembled album made for Jahangir to Flemish engravings and attempted to put the paintings back in their original order by analysing border designs. In 1929, Ivan Stchoukine argued that European influences on Mughal portraiture noted by other scholars were overstated and that the essential character of Mughal painting was derived from indigenous ancient stylised traditions.

While many exciting findings were coming to light, not all scholars who published scholarship fully embraced Mughal art. Monographs, in particular, were full of back-handed compliments. When discussing a collection of Mughal works acquired by Nadir Shah at Delhi as war booty, Martin described the miniatures as “extremely sweet iced lemonade offered in a Turkish house on a hot summer day. One finds it delicious but does not care for another glass of it—the first was too sweet.”¹¹⁸⁶ Scholars commonly touted as instrumental in forming the Mughal canon, like Martin, Binyon and Coomaraswamy, did little to promote Mughal art. However, the contributions of Arnold, Schulz, Kühnel, Goetz and Stchoukine to

¹¹⁸⁶ Martin, *Miniature Painting*, 85.

the canon have been understated. There were also scholars like Meyer-Riefstahl and Claude Anet who, while not publishing specifically on Mughal art, did much to elevate interest and study in Islamic art. Their contributions have also been undervalued.

COLLECTORS SUPPORTING SCHOLARS

Freer and Gulbenkian had strong ties with scholars who later contributed significantly to developing the Mughal art canon. Freer knew Binyon, Migeon and Coomaraswamy. Gulbenkian knew Migeon and Binyon and may have met Arnold. While Greene only knew Binyon, she also corresponded with scholars who moved in the same circles as those who published on Mughal art, including Meyer-Riefstahl and Fry. Some Mughal works had received 'light' scholarly attention before entering Freer's, Morgan's and Gulbenkian's collections, but there is no indication they were studied further in the early twentieth century. These collections were tucked away, and while scholars may have had access to them, they were not included in scholarly publications.

As for the interaction of collectors with scholars, Freer was the most generous and supportive, giving reference books to cash-strapped scholars, organising lectures in America, paying stipends for articles on his objects, and supporting excavations. Greene served more as a gatekeeper at the Morgan Library and was only interested in supporting scholars if she had something to gain from the interaction. Gulbenkian became much more open to helping scholars in his later collecting years after Beatty showed such support could be mutually beneficial. The early twentieth-century collections, scholarships and exhibitions laid the foundation for the subsequent study of Mughal art.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis creates several potential avenues for further research. Due to word length restrictions, a study of Berenson's collection and his influence on Isabella Stewart Gardner's collection was excluded from this thesis. In addition, when the

archives of the Chester Beatty Library become available, they may shed further light on that collection. One way to confirm how the Mughal canon finally came into its own in the second half of the twentieth century would be to look at collectors who began their collections of Mughal art during this time frame. Analysis of Edwin Binney III's (1925-1986) and Paul F. Walter's (1935-2017) Mughal art collections would allow the study of how collecting and scholarship developed in the third and fourth quarters of the twentieth century. The findings of this thesis may also provide a springboard for research into other parts of the collections created by the collectors in this study. More broadly, this thesis has demonstrated that consumer behaviour modelling can be used to study historical collecting. In future research, I plan to develop this by exploring how supply channel models might be applied to better understand how early twentieth-century dealers acquired their inventory and decided what to present to collectors.

APPENDIX I

DYNASTIES AND ARTISTS ASSOCIATED WITH ISLAMIC ART

The dynasties most often associated with Islamic art are the Umayyads (661-750), the Abbasids (750-1258), the Seljuks (1040-1194), the Mamluks (1250-1517), the Ilkhanids (1256-1353), the Jalayirids (1340-1411), the Timurids (1370-1507), the Safavids (1501-1732) and the Mughals (1526-1857). Artists working under the Mamluk, Ilkhanid, Timurid and Safavid dynasties, and the Mughal emperors Humayun (ruled 1530-1556), Akbar (ruled 1556-1605), Jahangir (ruled 1605-1627), and Shah Jahan (ruled 1628-1658) were known for producing magnificent manuscripts and arts of the book — for royal patrons and specialised book markets for the elite and educated classes. During the Safavid dynasty and the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, artists produced individual or single-leaf paintings for royal and non-royal customers.

Within each dynasty, specific centres of art production arose, creating distinctive works. Under the Timurid court, the Herat school of court painters and calligraphers created works with extravagant detailing and vibrant colouring (figure a-1).¹¹⁸⁷ The Bukhara school under the Timurid dynasty produced material almost indistinguishable from the Herat school. However, in the Safavid court, the Bukhara school transitioned to a limited colour palette and depictions of local landscapes and youths wearing local costumes, such as Uzbek turbans wrapped around a distinctive cone-shaped hat (figure a-2).¹¹⁸⁸ Under the Safavid court, the Shiraz school of artists focused on complex architecture painted in bright colours

¹¹⁸⁷ For an overview of the manners and styles influencing the Herat school of painting and the influence the Herat school had on later schools: Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, the 16th and 17th Centuries: Some Examples in American Collections* (Venice, 1968).

¹¹⁸⁸ For how the Bukhara style of miniature painting influenced Mughal styles: Richard Foltz, "Cultural Contacts Between Central Asia and Mughal India," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42, no. 1 (1998): 54-56.

(figure a-3) and landscape settings with a high horizon (figure a-4).¹¹⁸⁹ The Isfahan school under the Safavid court focused on calligraphy and human figures painted in muted browns, purples, and yellows (figure a-5).¹¹⁹⁰

Each school had celebrated artists, including Kamal al-Din Behzād (c.1450 - c.1535) [Bihzad] from Herat and Riza [Reza] 'Abbasi (c.1565-1635) from Isfahan. Behzād introduced naturalism into Timurid painting and included figures in lively scenes of everyday life with varying postures, gestures, and facial expressions in his compositions— even in the peripheral parts of the picture (figure a-6). Riza 'Abbasi produced lightly tinted realistic paintings of young men and women, “tending strongly toward portraiture” (figures a-7 and a-8).¹¹⁹¹ Behzād typically did not sign his works—yet several signed items miraculously appeared in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁹² As early as 1925, Persian art scholar Arthur Upham Pope (1881-1969) argued that many miniatures attributed to Behzād were not even by his immediate pupils.¹¹⁹³

Famous Mughal artists include two émigré Persian painters brought to the Mughal Court by Emperor Humayun— Mir Sayyid' Ali and Khwaja Abd-al-Samad

¹¹⁸⁹ For how colophons have been used to trace manuscripts produced in Shiraz: Grube, "The Miniatures of Shiraz," 285-295. Commercially produced manuscripts from Shiraz incorporated many of the design features of manuscripts made for the royal court. Lāle Uluç, "Selling to the Court: Late-Sixteenth-Century Manuscript Production in Shiraz," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 73-96.

¹¹⁹⁰ For key elements of the Isfahan style: Ernst J. Grube, "The Seventeenth-Century Miniatures," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25, no. 9, The Language of the Birds (May 1967): 339-352.

¹¹⁹¹ Wilhelm Valentiner, "Persian Miniatures," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7, no. 2 (February 1912): 39.

¹¹⁹² For problems attributing unsigned works to Behzād: David J. Roxburgh, "Kamal Al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119-146. Thomas Walker Arnold, *Bihzād and His Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS* (London, 1930).

¹¹⁹³ Arthur Upham Pope, "Research Methods in Muhammadan Art," *The Art Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (September 1925): 43-49.

(figure a-9).¹¹⁹⁴ Noted portrait artist Govardhan (active 1595-1640) joined the Imperial workshop during the reign of Akbar and continued painting through Shah Jahan's reign. Another celebrated Mughal painter was Ustad Mansur, who documented nature and wildlife under Emperor Jahangir's direction (figure a-10).¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹⁴ The names of seventeen master artists are listed in a sixteenth-century document recording the administration of the Mughal Empire under Emperor Akbar, written by his court historian. Mubarak and Blochmann, *The Ain I Akbari*. For a biographical dictionary of Mughal painters based on inscriptions and contemporary ascriptions: Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and Their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994). For a discussion of the artist Mansur: Asoka Kumara Das, *Wonders of Nature: Ustad Mansur at the Mughal Court* (Mumbai, 2012).

¹¹⁹⁵ Wilfrid Blunt, "The Mughal Painters of Natural History," *The Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 539 (1948): 48-50.

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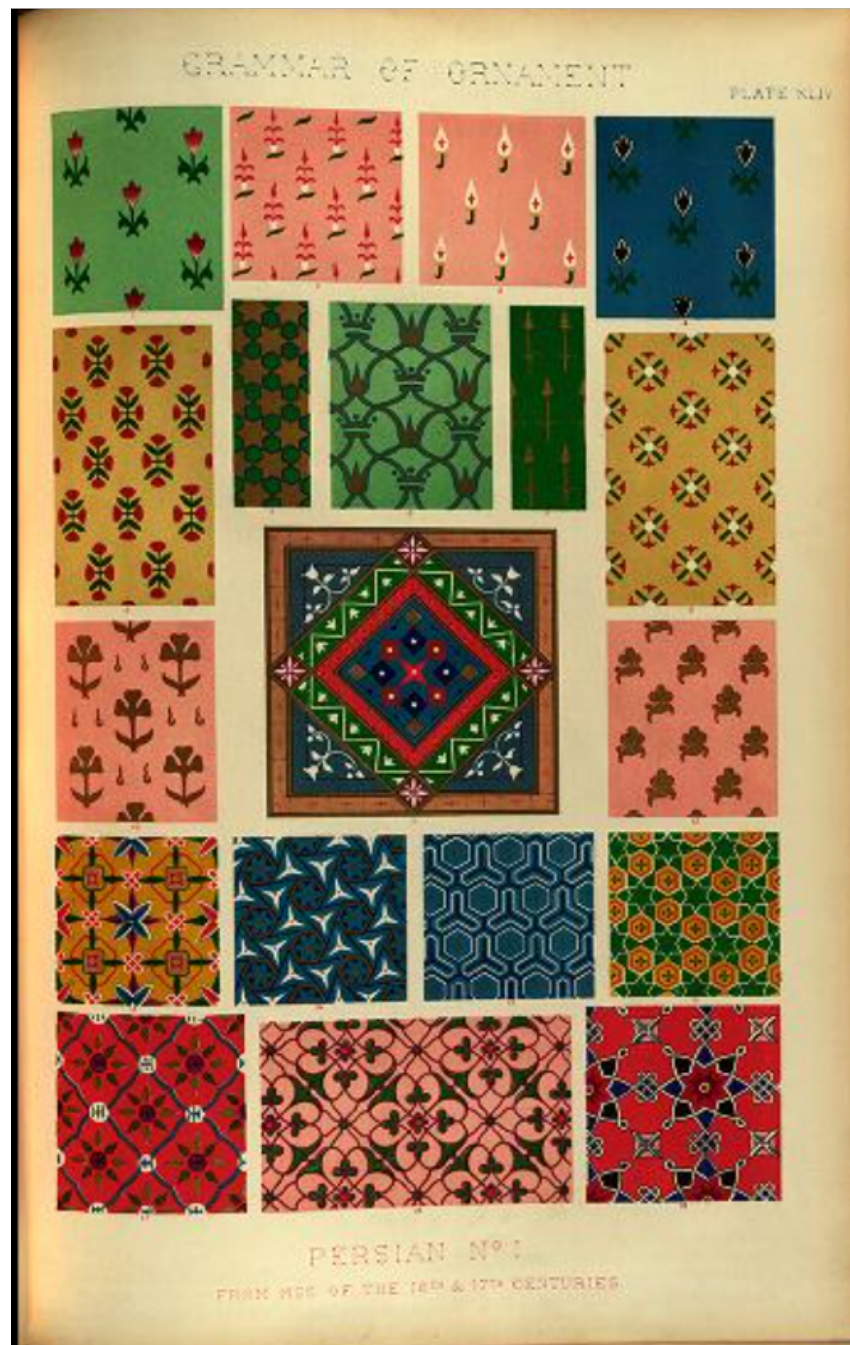


Figure 1: Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament*. London, Day and Son, Lithographers to the Queen, Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. 1856. Chapter XI. Persian Ornament. Plate 44-1 Ornaments From Persian MSS. BM. [Image source: digital version of book on archive.org]



Figure 2: MS M.792, Pierpont Morgan Library. Manuscript. M.792. Qur'an single leaf (MS M.792)., fol. 1r., Possibly Iran or Iraq, 10th century. [Credit line: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M.792, recto. Gift of Belle da Costa Greene, 1941.]

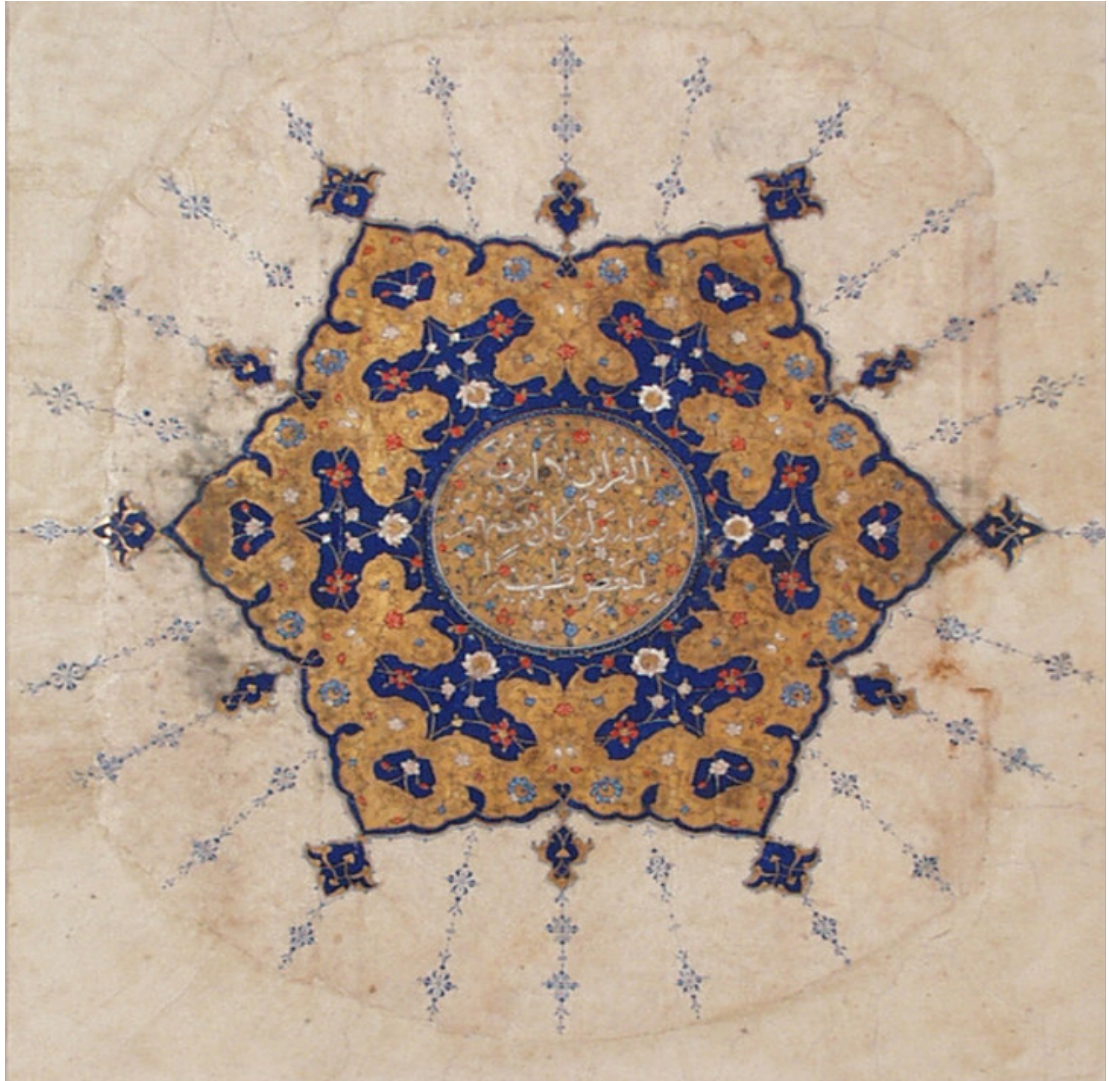


Figure 3: Shamsa Medallion With Text From the Qur'an, Iran, Early 16th Century, Ink, Opaque Watercolours and Gold in Paper, Folio, the Nasli M Heeramaneck Collection, Gift of Joan Palevsky, Inv. M.73.5.519, LACMA. [Image source: collections.lacma.org]



Figure 4: Example of a Double-Page Sarlawh From a Qur'an. Opening Folios of an Incomplete Qur'an Manuscript, Illuminated in Gold and Contrasting Cobalt Blue, Persia, Shiraz (?), Safavid Period, ca.1570, Ff. 1v-2r, Inv. LA182, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]



Figure 5: Example of Artist's Signature on Mughal Single Leaf Painting. *Portrait of Prince Khurram the Eldest Son of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (R. 1605-1627).*, By Hasan, Abu'l Nadiru'l Zaman (Made), Dated ca.1616, Painted in Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Inv. IM14-1925, V&A. [Image source: digital download, Victoria and Albert Museum, London]



Figure 6: Example of a Sertap and a Mikleb Binding from a Qur'an, separated from its original manuscript, Iran, Safavid Period, 16th Century, Inv. R22, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

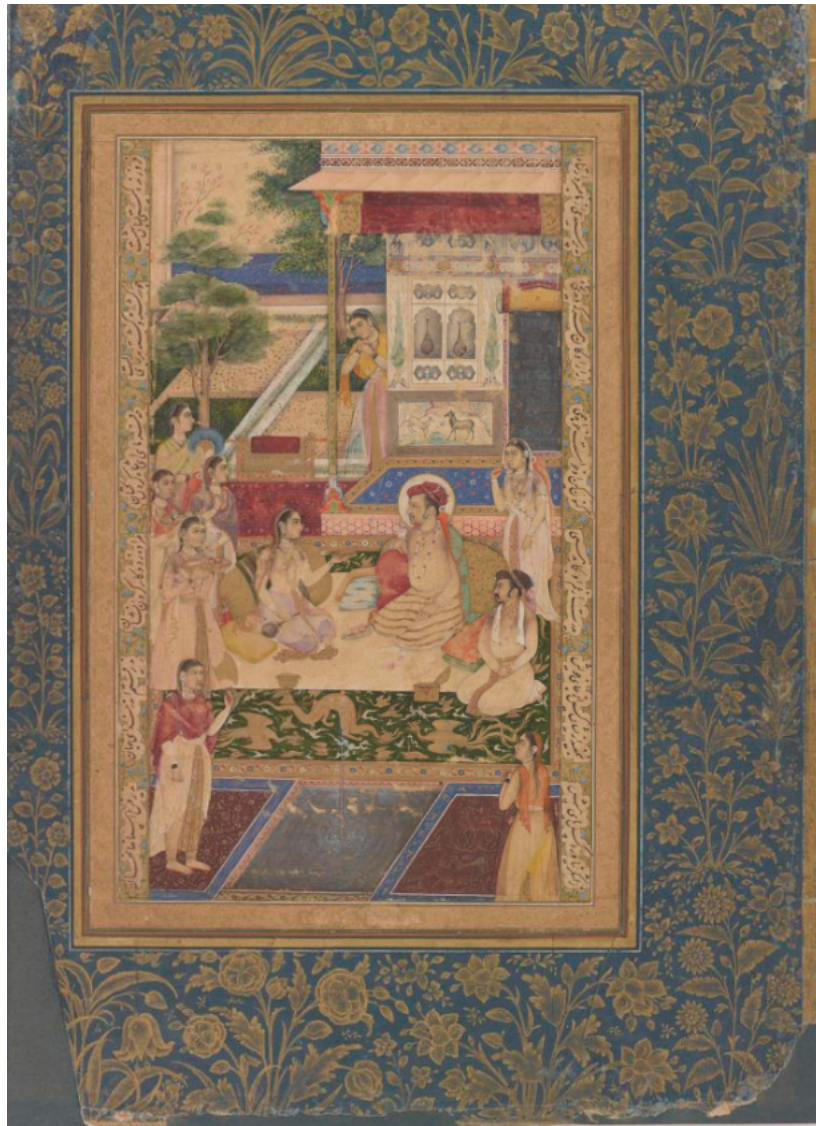


Figure 7: Leaf from a Muraqqa, *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained* by Nur Jahan, ca.1640-50, Previous Owners, Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna (1839-1914), Purchased by Freer in 1907, Inv. F1907.258, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F.1907.258]



Figure 8: Mughal miniature with European influences. Detail of Ottoman Sultan and James I of England from Miniature *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* by Bichitr, ca. 1615-1618. Inv. F1942.15A, [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase - Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F1942.15A]



Figure 1.1: The Painting depicts Timur, seated on a central raised couch, surrounded by his seated Mughal heirs: the First Four Emperors of the Mughal Empire, ca.1650, Inv. Johnson 64, 38, BL. [Image source: blogs.bl.uk 13 January 2020]



Figure 1.2: *Nawab Ja'far Khan* From the Impey Album, Opaque Watercolour, Ink and Gold on Paper, India, ca.1770, Mughal Dynasty, Inv. S1986.435, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, S.1986.435]

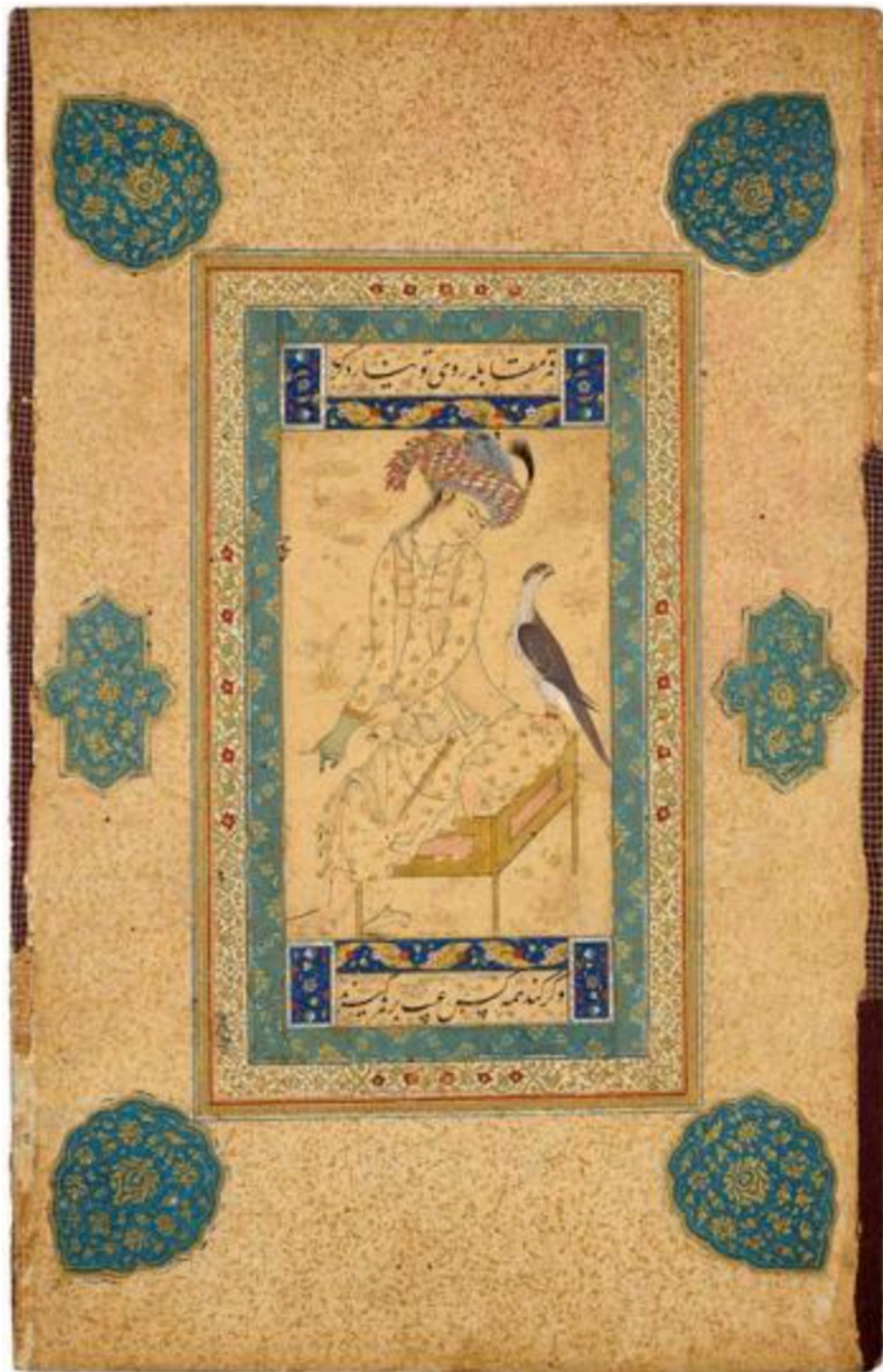


Figure 1.3: MS M.386.4r, Pierpont Morgan Library. Manuscript. M.386.4r. *A seated youth putting on a falconer's glove as his pet falcon sits on his knee.* ca.1600 [Credit Line: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M.386.4r. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) in 1911]



Figure 1.4: *Darbar of Jahangir*, Attributed to Manohar and to Abu'l Hasan, ca.1620-1624, Mughal India. Ink, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Provenance Francis Bartlett; Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, Inv. 14.654, MFA. [Image source: Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]

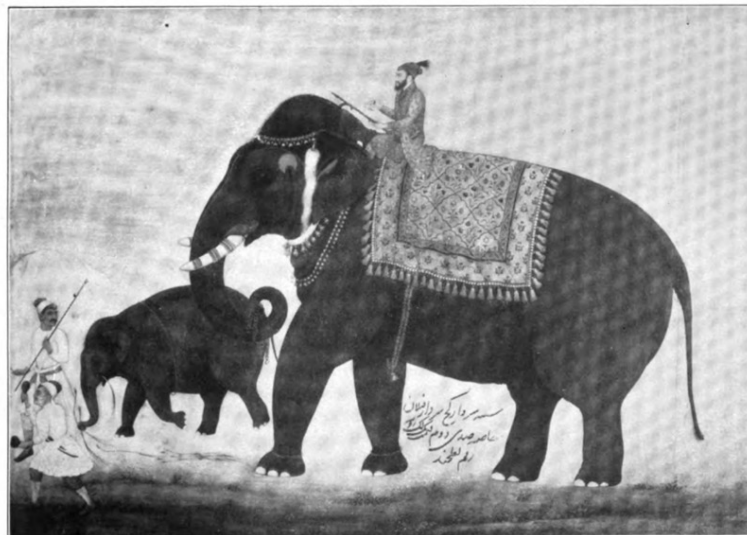


Abb. 14. Miniatur aus einem Sammelband. Indien, um 1700. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Figure 1.5: *Elefant und Jungtier aus dem Stall der Moghulkaiser, Mid-17th Century, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Museen für Islamische Kunst, Printed In Black And White in Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst. Ser.1 V.05, 1910 in an Article By Ernst Kühnel, die Ausstellung Mohammedanischer Kunst München 1910, P. 229. [Full colour Image source: Wikipedia, B/W Image source digital version of article on digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de]*



Figure 1.6: Plate 37 from Volume One of *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerk muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*. [Image source: digital version of book on digital collections. New York Public Library]



Portrait of Two Young Princes

JAHĀNGĪR SCHOOL

Figure 1.7: Plate 199 From *the Miniature Painting, and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey, From the 8th to the 18th Century* by F.R. Martin, Published 1912. [Image source: digital version of book on archive.org]



Figure 1.8: Left: *Archer Drawing a Bow* by a Follower of the Italian Artist Pietro Perugino (1446-1523), ca.1505, Black Chalk and Brown Wash, Heightened With White and Squared for Transfer on Laid Paper, Inv. 1991.182.13, NGA. Right: *Portrait of an Archer* in Fine Brush Drawing, ca.1650 Loaned By Paris Collector Jeuniette To The Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst auf der Ausstellung München 1910. Kat. Nr. 992. [Image sources: nga.gov and digital version of catalogue on archive.org]



Figure 1.9: Plate: CLXI *Shah Jahan Enthroned* Shown in Profile. Mughal Miniature, ca.1629-1630, Opaque Watercolour, Ink and Gold on Paper, Mounted on Board, Provenance: Vever, H. Vever & G. Marteau, *Miniatures Persanes Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs Juin-Octobre 1912* (Paris: Bibliothèque D'Art Et d'Archeologie, 1913). Purchased From Family Member Noyers in 1986, Inv. S1986.406, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, S.1986.406 and B/W Image Source: digital version of catalogue on archive.org]



Figure 1.10: Detail of *Darbar of Jahangir*, Attributed to Manohar and to Abu'l Hasan, ca.1620-1624, Mughal India. Ink, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper., Accession Number 14.654, MFA. [Image source: Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]



Figure 1.11: LEFT TO RIGHT: PLATE CLVIII, Allegorical Painting of the Central Asian ruler Timur, With the Mughal Emperors Babur and Humayun With Their Ministers Standing Before Them by Govardhan, Seventeenth Century, Provenance: Madame La Comtesse René de Béarn and PLATE CLIX Akbar and Two Sovereigns, Jahangir to his Left, Unidentified Royal Figure to his Right, all Under Beaded Fringed Parasols. Seventeenth Century, Provenance: Madame La Comtesse René de Béarn. H. Vever & G. Marteau, *Miniatures Persanes Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs Juin-Octobre 1912*, Paris: Bibliothèque D'Art Et d'Archeologie, 1913. [Image source: digital version of catalogue on [archive.org](https://www.archive.org)]



Figure 1.12: Allegorical Painting of the Central Asian ruler Timur, with the Mughal Emperors Babur and Humayun, all enthroned and beneath a Red Canopy, with their respective chief ministers standing before them; Opaque watercolour and gold on paper, Mughal, by Govardhan, ca.1630, the folio is from a group of paintings acquired at auction in 1925 where they were sold as *The Minto Album* and subsequently divided between the CBL and the V&A South Asia Collection, Inv. IM.8-1925, V&A. [Image source: digital download, Victoria and Albert Museum, London]



Figure 1.13: Portrait of a *Black Buck Antelope* by Murad Bordered by a series of animals and blossoming flowers, Seventeenth Century. Current Location Unknown. G. Marteau Et H. Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes Tirées Des Collections De... Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre 1912, Etc. Paris, 1913, Vol. II, N ° 233, 1916.* [Image source: digital version of catalogue on archive.org]

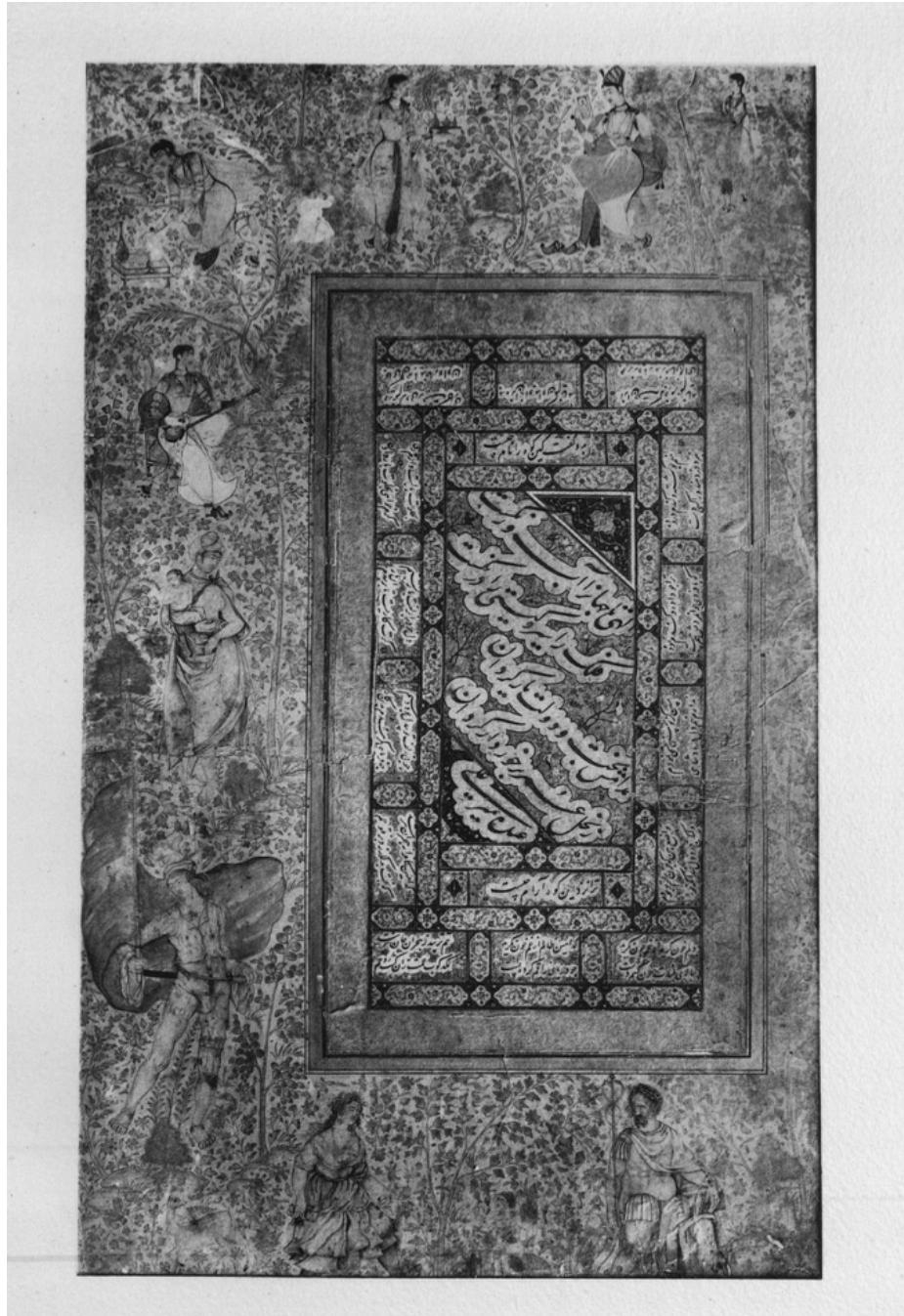


Figure 1.14a: Calligraphy Signed by Mir Ali. The margin added later includes interpretations of Western works including the famous engraving *The Standard Bearer* by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). G. Marteau Et H. Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes Tirées Des Collections De... Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre 1912, Etc.* Paris, 1913, Vol. II, N ° 179, 1916. [Image source: digital version of catalogue on archive.org]



Figure 1.14b: Mughal interpretations of Western works including the famous engraving *The Standard Bearer* by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Left: G. Marteau Et H. Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes Tirées Des Collections De... Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre 1912, Etc.* Paris, 1913, Vol. II, N ° 179 (Detail), 1916. Right: Dürer, Albrecht, *The Standard Bearer*, ca.1501, Inv.17.37.109, MMA. [Image sources: digital version of catalogue on archive.org and metmuseum.org, public domain]

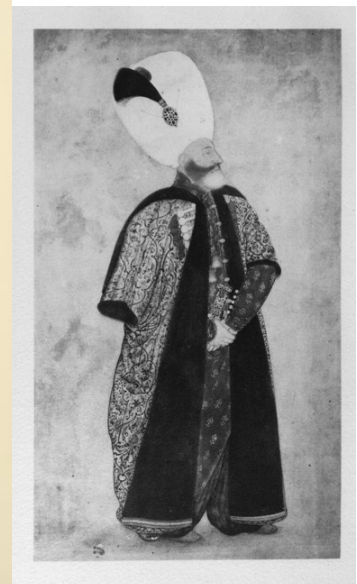


Figure 1.15: Portrait of Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640), School of Shah Jahan, Provenance: Comtesse René de Béarn, Current Location Unknown. G. Marteau Et H. Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes Tirées Des Collections De... Et Exposées Au Musée Des Arts Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre 1912, Etc.* Paris, 1913, Vol. II, N° 232 and Plate 215 *From the Miniature Painting, and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey, From the 8th to the 18th Century* by F.R. Martin, Published 1912. [Image source: digital versions of book and catalogue on archive.org]

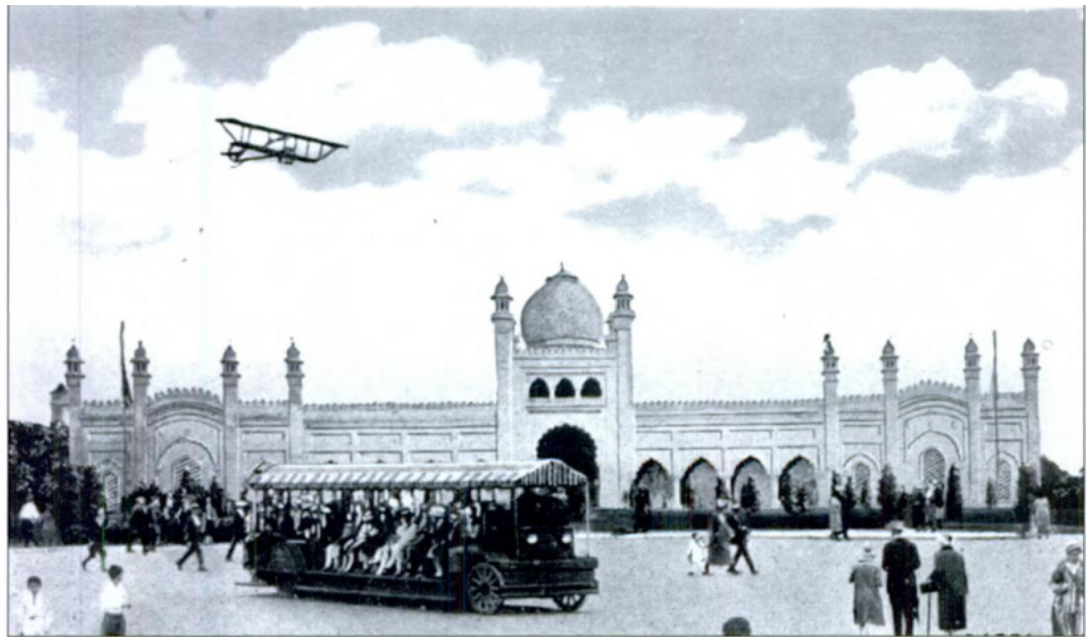


Figure 1.16: India Pavilion for the 1926 Sesquicentennial International Exposition, Modelled After the Taj Mahal, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 7 March, 1926, Page 104. [Image source: newspapers.com]



By Royal Warrant to HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA,
Empress of India.
By appointment to HIS EXCELLENCY BARON CURZON OF
KEDLESTON, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.



GANESHI LALL & SON, JOHRI BAZAR, AGRA, & THE MALL, SIMLA,

Jewellers and Dealers in Precious Stones, Crystal, Jade and Antiques,
Indian Old Enamelled Jewellery, Manufacturers of Gold and Silver
Embroideries, and Suppliers of Indian Old and New Shawls,
Silver Wares, Carpets, and Indian Curios,

Have had the honour of Embroidering Her Majesty's Coronation
Robes, one of which was worn by Her Majesty at the Coronation
Service in Westminster Abbey on August 9th, 1902.

"Delhi, January 30th, 1904.
"If of any value to you I can say for the benefit of American tourists
that your stock of jewels and embroideries are finer than any in Delhi and
your price quite as reasonable. We have bought very little here.
(Sd.) "W. O. FAYERWEATHER,
"PATERSON, New Jersey."

"GANESHI LALL & SON, AGRA. "Maiden's METROPOLITAN HOTEL,
"Gentlemen,—As I promised to write you from here I am glad to do so,
and to tell you that we found nothing in your line here that equalled either
in finished workmanship or artistic design the goods shown us in your shop.
"I bought some things, including a Persian rug, from Mr. G. Schwaiger,
who told me there was no one in India that could compete with you in gold
and silver work . . . "Yours very truly,
(Sd.) "D. M. CARMAN."

"Ganeshi Lall has the most beautiful things we have seen in India; the
gold and silver stuff are the most lovely fabric I have ever seen anywhere.
We have seen all the shops to the North, and found nothing in Delhi to com-
pare with him. (Sd.) "HELEN BRICE,
"692, Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A."

"Bombay, February 25th, 1904.
"Since examining Mr. Lall's stock of embroideries, jewellery, &c., at
Agra on the 17th I have visited and examined similar goods at Delhi and
other places, and am sure the goods shown by Messrs. Ganeshi Lall & Son
are superior to all others. Have purchased quite extensively from them and
am well pleased. (Sd.) "JOHN EATON,
"Pittsburgh, Pa., America."

Too many Testimonials from Princes and Nobility of Europe and
America to detail, but can be shown in the books.

Figure 1.17: East Indian Notables Attending the Sesquicentennial Exposition. Left To Right: J.J. Singh, Member of the Indian Advisory Committee; Ganeshi Lall , a Prominent Indian Merchant Specialising in Indian Art and Jewellery and Sir T. Vijayarachavacharji, Former Judge and Then Head of the Indian Legislature. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 5, 1925, Page 4. Advertisement for Ganeshi Lall & Son. [Image source: newspapers.com]

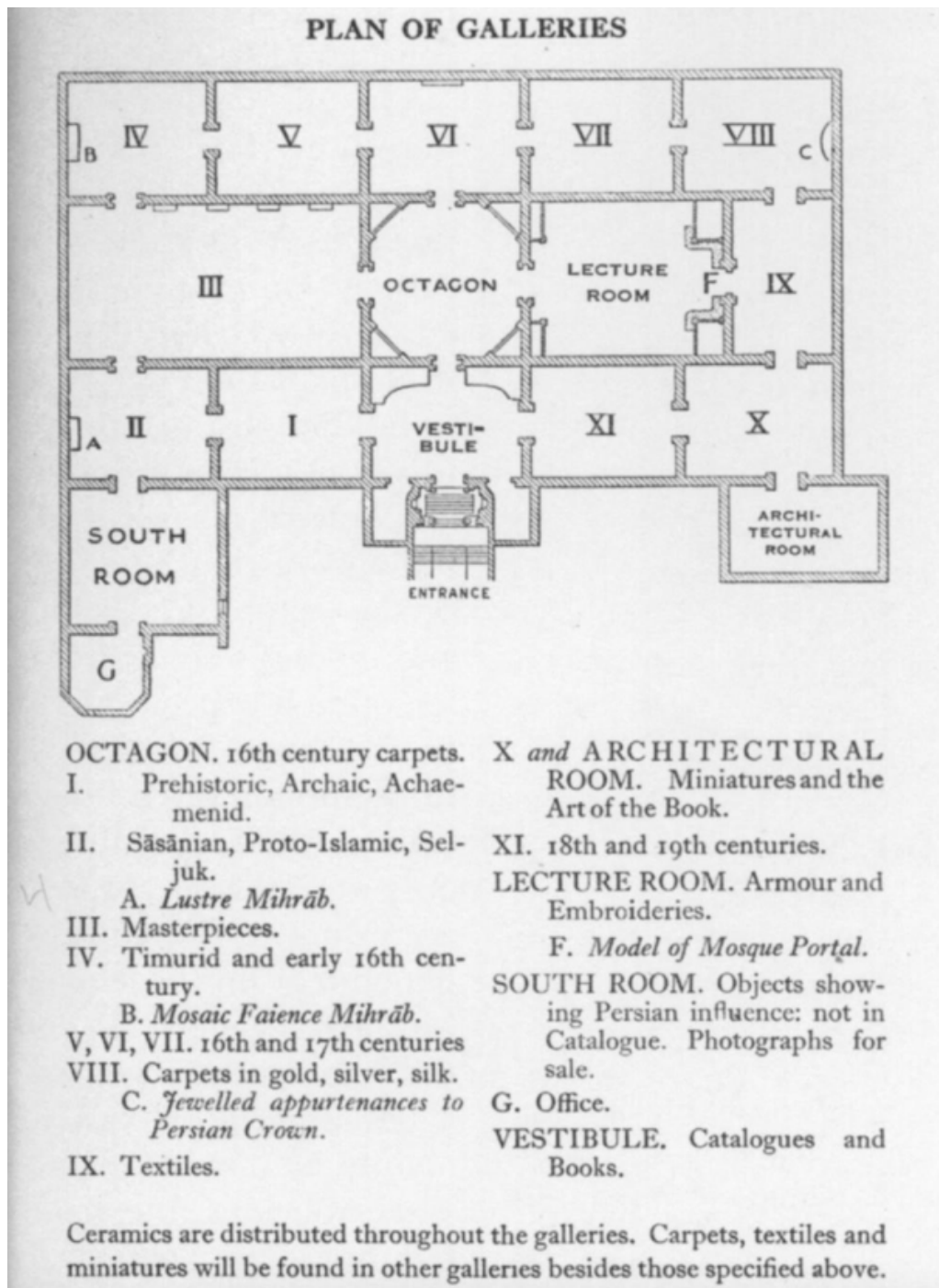


Figure 1.18: Gallery Plan of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, P. xxiii. Mughal Miniatures were located in the South Room. Persian Miniatures were concentrated in Room X. [Image source: personal photo of catalogue, personal library]

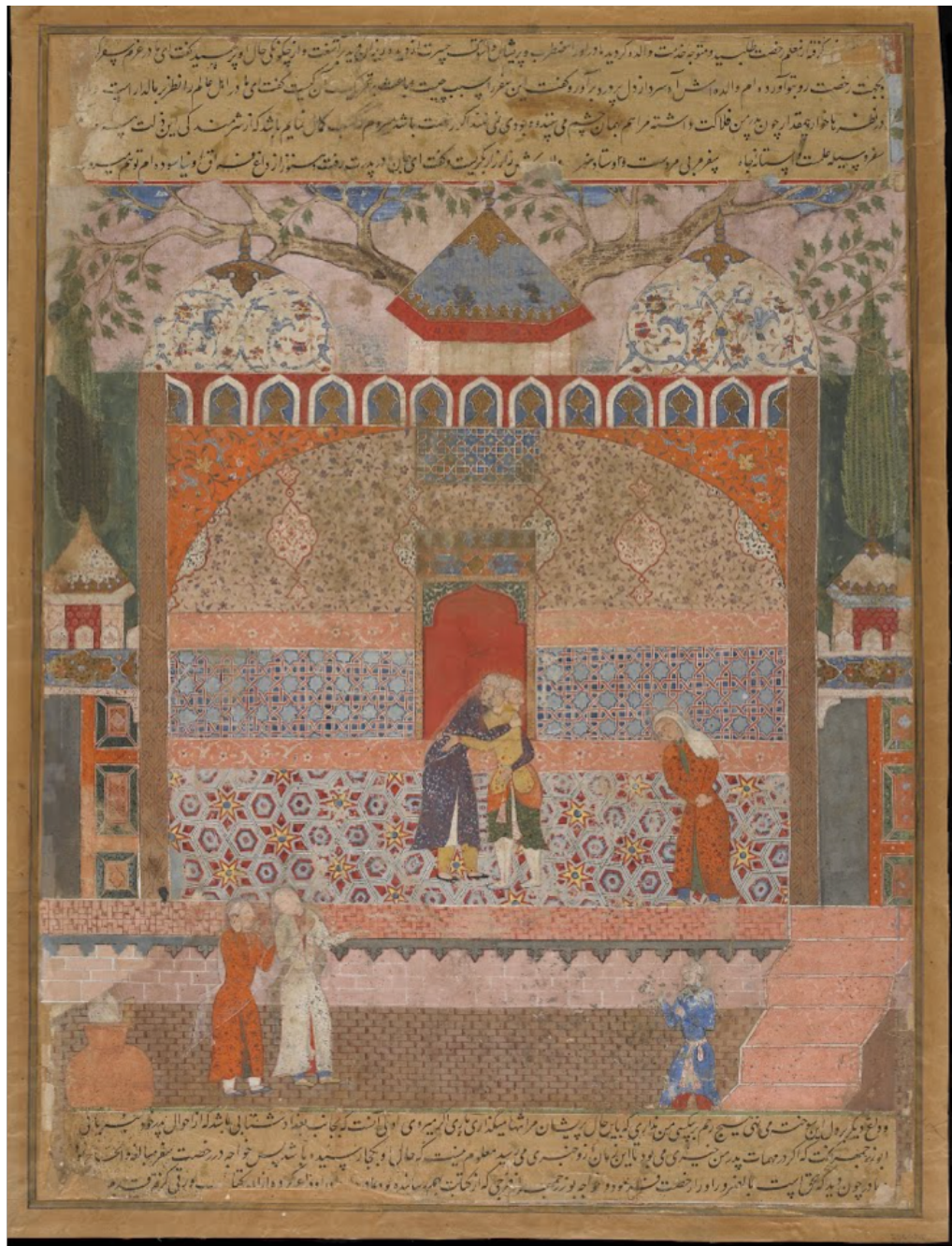


Figure 1.19: *Khawja Buzurjmihr Takes Leave of his Aged Mother To Go Out Into the World and Seek Redress*, From the *Hamzanama*, North India, Mughal Period, ca.1560-1565, Opaque Watercolour, Ink and Gold on Cloth, Mounted on Paperboard, Inv. S1986.398, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, S.1986.398]

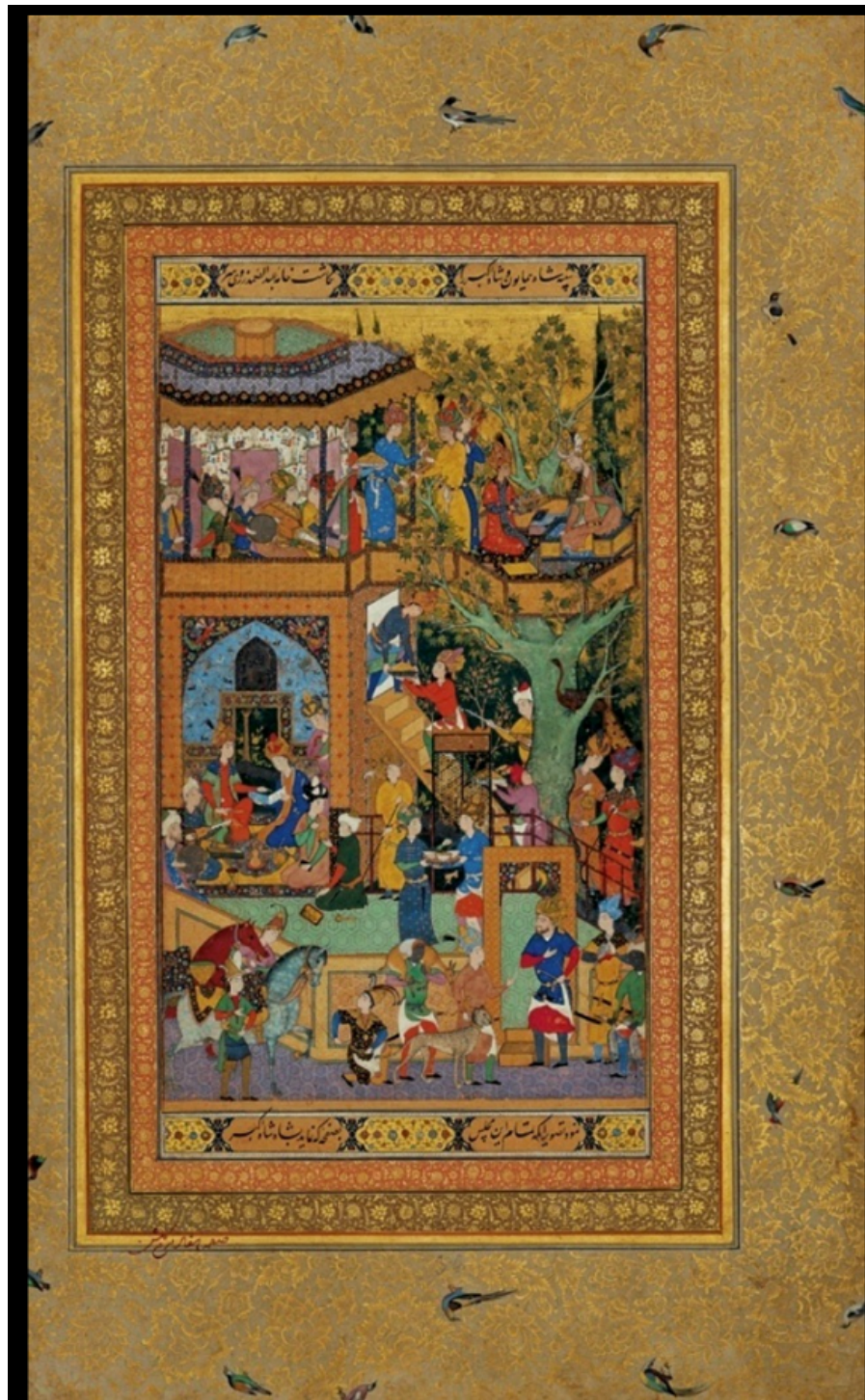


Figure 1.20: *Abd Al-Samad. Akbar Presents a Painting to his Father Humayun.* Mughal, Probably Kabul, ca.1550–1556. Golestan Palace Library, Tehran. [Image source: wikimedia.org]

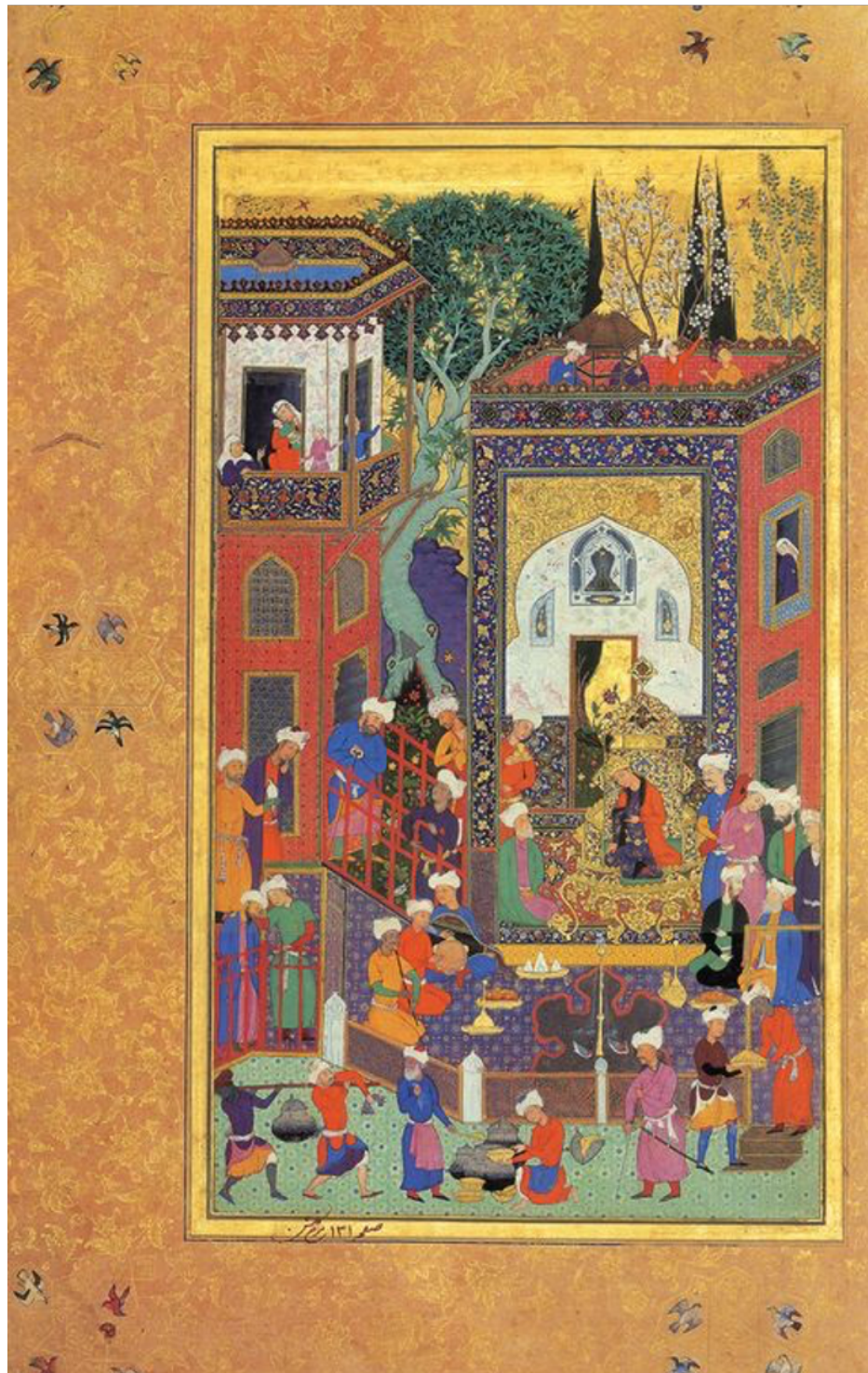


Figure 1.21: *Banquet in the Court* by Reza Shah Salim's Pupil, ca.1605-1628, Golestan Palace Library, Tehran [Image source: [wikimedia.org](https://www.wikimedia.org)]



Figure 1.22: Imam of Baghdad Brought Before the Caliph on a Charge of Heresy From the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* Manuscript by Basawan, ca.1592-1594, Mughal School, Opaque Watercolour, Ink and Gold in Paper, Provenance: Ajit Ghose Calcutta to 1931, Inv. F1931.26, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, S.1931.26]



Figure 1.23: Mughal School, *Shah Jahan on a Globe With his Four Sons*, by Balchand (Recto), Persian Calligraphy by Mir `Ali (Verso), Folio From the Minto Album." N.P., N.D. Print. Inv. In 07A.10r, CBL. [Image source: Chester Beatty Library, https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/In_07A_10/1/]

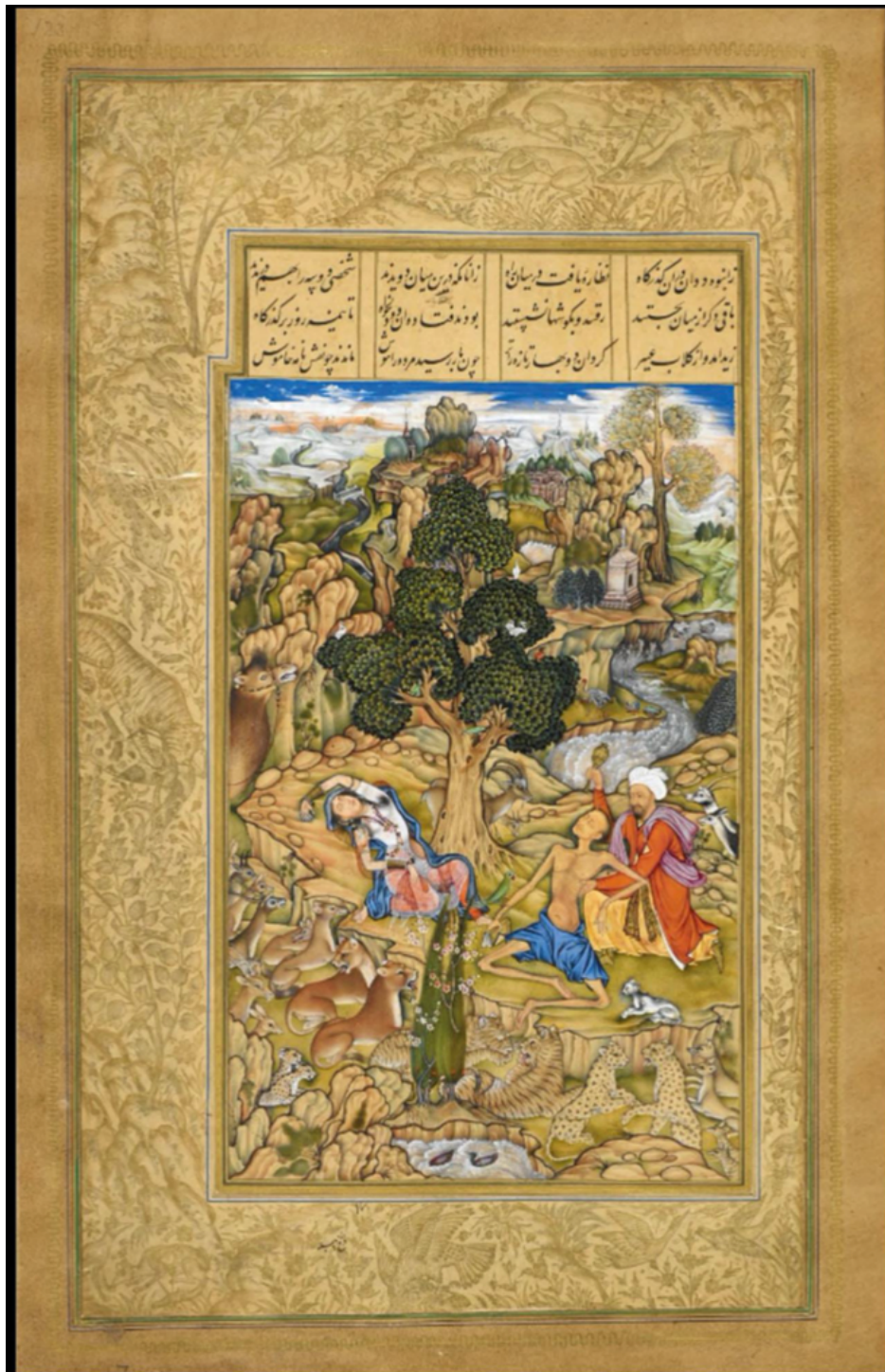


Figure 1.24: Mughal School, *Laila and Majnun*, Illustration for a Poem by Nizami in *Nizami Ganjavi*, F.123F, 1593-1595, Painting on Paper, Inv. Or 12208, BL. [Image source: digitised manuscript, bl.uk]



Figure 1.25: Mughal Empire, *Drawing of a Chameleon on a Branch* by Ustad Mansur, Seventeenth Century, Brush and Ink With Green Body Colour on Discoloured Paper, Inv. RL 12081, Royal Collection Trust. [Image source: <https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/256990-1583845431.jpg>]



Figure 1.26: Mughal Empire, *a Dance of Dervishes with a Group of Saints Below*, ca. 1650, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Former Owner: Spencer-Churchill, Sold to V&A Museum in 1965, IS. 94-1965, V&A. [Image source: digital download, Victoria and Albert Museum, London]



Figure 1.27: Mughal Empire. *A Nobleman Resting Under a Mango Tree With his Son on the Right Side, Musicians and Servants Attending Him* (Possibly Izzat Khan, a Military Officer in the Service of Jahangir and Shah Jahan), ca. 1650-1658, Painting on Paper, Inv. IN 07B.20r, Chester Beatty Library. [Image source: viewer.cbl.ie]



NATURE IN MOGUL ART: "A PLANE-TREE AND SQUIRRELS"—ANIMALS WHICH THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR, A KEEN NATURALIST, ON RECEIVING A SPECIMEN, COMMANDED HIS PAINTERS TO PORTRAY.

This charming example of Mogul art in the 17th century, which hangs in the Library at the India Office, shows a boy beginning to climb a plane-tree containing numerous squirrels, besides some birds, while other birds and animals appear below. A relevant anecdote about squirrels occurs in the *Memoirs* of the Mogul Emperor Jahangir, who was an ardent naturalist as well as a great patron of art. On his Imperial journeys there were always artists in his retinue. He records that once, during a halt, someone brought to him "a pishidi" (mound) mixed like the flying mouse, which in the Hindi tongue they call *chikri* (squirrel) and said that mice would not frequent any house in which this animal was.

All I had never seen one before [he adds], I ordered my painters to draw a likeness of it."

FROM A PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF THE INDIA OFFICE. MOGUL, EARLY 17TH CENTURY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA. SHOWN IN AN EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART AT THE HORNBYMUSEUM, 1904.

Figure 1.28: Mughal School, *Squirrels on a Plane Tree*, Possibly by Abu'l Hasan and Mansur, 1605-1608 (Also Noted as ca.1615), Opaque Watercolour on Paper, Inv. J.1.30, BL Published in *Illustrated London News* - November 23, 1938, Page 65. Also Appeared as Frontispiece for *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924*, by Hugh Lionel Heath. [Image source: britishnewspaperarchive.com]



KING SOLOMON ASKING THE ANIMALS AND BIRDS WHETHER HE SHOULD DRINK THE WATER OF IMMORTALITY.

Legend relates that a cup of the Water of Immortality, was offered to Solomon by a celestial being. Wishing to consult his subjects as to whether he should drink it, he summoned all the birds, animals, jinn, and men. They agreed that the world would benefit by his longevity, and advised him to drink the Water. The Harem alone was absent, but came on being fetched by the dog whom he trusted. The Harem advised whether Solomon alone was to drink the Water, or whether he would share it with others. Solomon replied that there was only enough for himself. Thus the Harem said that the King would know little happiness if anyone else should die, he alone would drink. Solomon pressed the Harem's wisdom and did not drink the Water. This fable occurs in a Persian 14th-century version of the Arabic collection of stories entitled "Kalilah wa Dimnah," the Sanskrit original of which is lost. The stories have been translated into most languages, leaving traces on the literature of almost every nation. The work was composed in the form of fables, for the instruction of princes in the laws of polity.

From a painting by Dhannu, in a Mughal manuscript, of about the End of the 16th Century, in the Possession of A. CHESTER BEATTY, Esq. Member of an Exhibition of the Art of India, at the Illustration Fair, Art Club, Manchester, by Courtesy of the Queen.

Figure 1.29: Mughal School, *King Solomon Consulting the Birds and Animals as to Whether He Should Drink the Water of Life or Not*, Fol. 89, by Dhannu, End of 16th Century, Catalogue No. 331 in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Art of Indian, 1931, Chester Beatty Library, Object No: in 04.74, Published in *Illustrated London News* -November 18, 1936, Page 60. [Image source: britishnewspaperarchive.com]



Figure 1.30: Photograph by John Piper (1903-1992), Photograph of Baroda House, ca.1930s - 1980s, Medium: Black and White Negative, Dimensions 65 X85 Mm, Tate Archive Collection, Reference: 8728/1/23/56, TGA. [Image source: tate.org.uk]



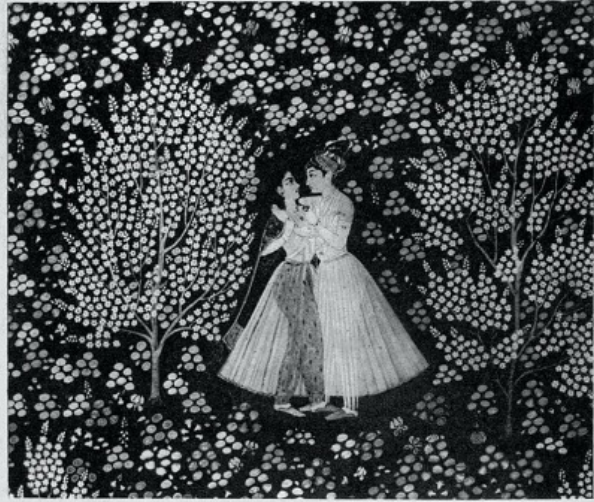
Figure 1.31: *Princes of the House of Timur* (Also Known as *Humayun's Garden Party*) Dated 1550-55, Attributed to Mír Sayyid `Alí. The Painting Was Probably Executed for Humayun and Revised Later With the Addition of Later Emperors. Painted With Gouache and Gold on Cotton Fabric. It Was Significantly Overpainted in the 17th Century. Acquired by the BM in 1913 From Ganeshi Lal of Agra. Inv. 1913,0208,0.1, BM. [Image source: britishmuseum.org]



Figure 1.32: *Bears and Monkeys*, 1570, From a Manuscript of a Fable Book *Anwar-I-Suhaili*. Anwar-E Sohayli, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Catalogue Number 636 in *the Art of India and Pakistan, a Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition Held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-8*. [Image source: [wikimedia.org](https://www.wikimedia.org)]



"KRISHNA AND RADHA IN THUNDER AND RAIN, WITH COWS." Painting on paper. Udaipur, third quarter of eighteenth century. Lent by Municipal Museum, Allahabad.



"LOVERS." Painting on paper. Rajasthani—perhaps Jodhpur, about 1750 A.D. Lent by State Museum, Baroda.



"THE TOILET OF RADHA." Painting on paper. Basohli, early eighteenth century. Lent by Lady Rothenstein, Strand, Glas.



"AN IMPERIAL LION HUNT." Miniature on paper. The emperor is, perhaps, Aurangzeb. Mughal, early eighteenth century. Lent by A. Chester Beatty, London.

HERE are a few selections from two unusually fine, diverse and interesting shows in London. The Arts Council's comprehensive exhibition at the Tate Gallery of paintings and drawings by Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) is a revelation, containing as it does many works not previously shown in this country. It reveals him as a painter of wide range and manner, of forceful achievement, of delicacy of touch as well as of high dramatic quality, and covers his early work among Dutch peasantry, following through to the brilliant colours of his Provencal period. At Burlington House the Exhibition of Art, chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan, includes examples of the finest achievements in Indian sculpture, painting, textiles, illuminated MSS., terracotta, metal-work and jewellery, most of them loaned from Museums, State collections and private collections in India, and lays emphasis on the technical and aesthetic qualities of India's ancient culture. The sculptures are alive with precise moulding and exquisite fluency of movement; and the paintings and drawings on the right-hand page are examples from the artists' numerous commentaries on the lives of the rulers of India, their gods, their loves, their music, poetry and dancing. The painters were maintained at the Courts of the various rulers, and left behind them records of their palaces, gardens and sports.

Figure 1.33: Review From *the Sketch*, December 24, 1947, London, Page 17. The Painting in the Lower Right Is a Mughal Miniature, Titled *An Imperial Lion Hunt*, Early 18th Century, Chester Beatty Library, Catalogue Number 788 in *the Art of India and Pakistan, a Commemorative Catalogue* of the Exhibition Held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-8. [Image source: britishnewspaperarchive.com]



Figure 1.34: Portrait of the Empress Nur Jahan. Nur Jahan, the last wife of Jahangir (who ruled the Mughal Empire from 1605 to 1627, current location unknown. Published in *Catalogue of an exhibition of illuminated and painted manuscripts*, Plate no.105 The Grolier Club, New York, 1892. Mislabeled as Persian, instead of Mughal. [Image source: babel.hathitrust.org]

Codeypore

Rock formation, hills, level - mid-hut-relays
poppies ^{white, pink, white, scarlet and purple} - yellow flowering shrubs, mango trees
in blossom, low coloured foliage of uplands
bari trees of mountains - perfect road, marble
meteling - broken pole - Camel trains, bullocks
carts - Bunch with wires - Native cavalry,
peasantry - eagles, peacocks, Kites, Doves,
merle - storks, Crows, Crow fishers -
mongoose - dirt - six changes of horses -
four in hand from outer gate distant 8 miles
perfect riding - boy in white costume
man in yellow - Blue & red turbans of
sumers - politeness of gentlemen at outer gate
stage stable - sunset - comfortable Victoria, good horses
Barley, rice - sugarcane, corn, small grains -
dark coloured siras of women blue, purple and
brown - barali mountains -
Meharjas officers at Dakh Bungalow to receive cards
any messages and night and day guardians -
Fateh Lal Mehta - Sawrishankar Hirachand Ojha -
Boats on Lake - politeness of boatmen - excellent
dinner - moonlight trip Fateh Lal dark scarlet
night costume ^{friend in yellow} - Lake palaces - oranges to Dakh Bungalow -
gardens, Library, cricket, band - roses, flowering
shrubs & trees, mountain overlooking garden - D. D. D. D.
New work on palaces, Room for installation of
Queen - Ceremony of drawing ^{to} from little

Figure 2.1: Writings Regarding Travels in India, FSA
[Credit Line: Charles Lang Freer/National Museum of
Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Charles Lang
Freer Papers, FSA-2023-000280]

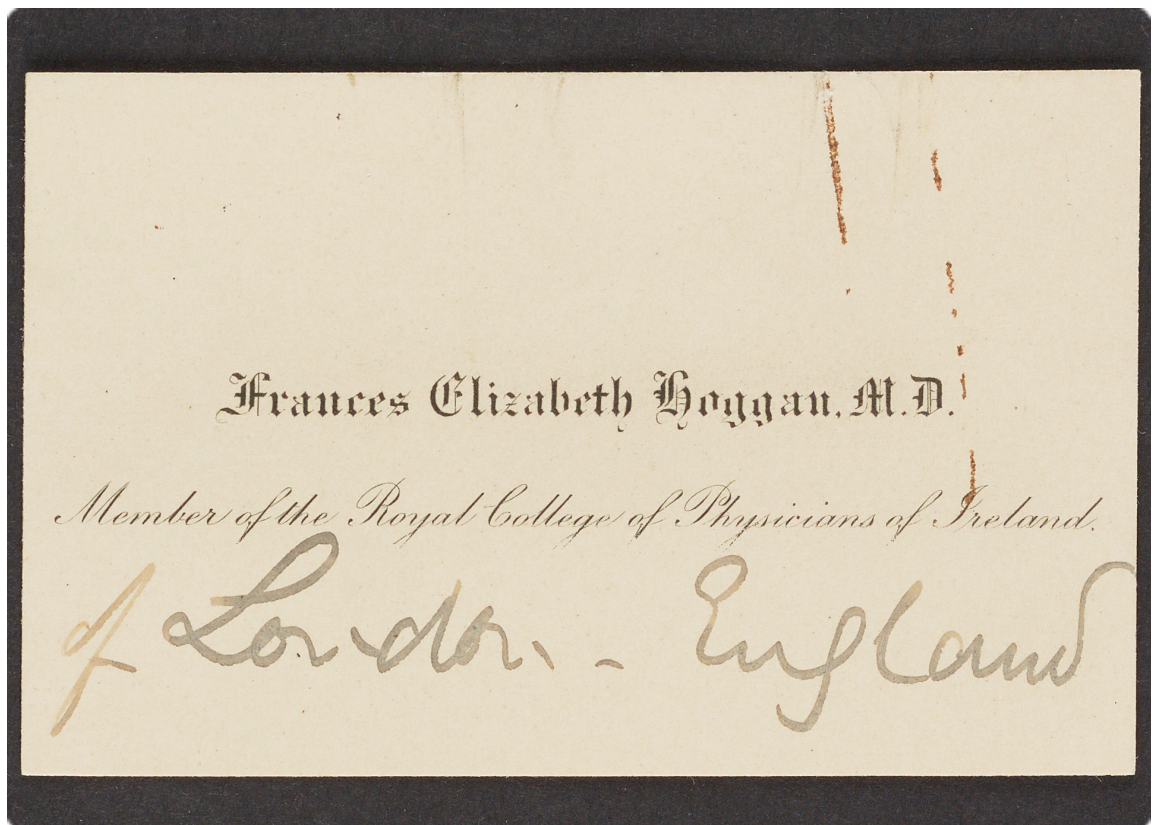


Figure 2.2: Charles Lang Freer Correspondence
1886-1920, [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art
Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Charles Lang Freer
Papers, FSA_A.02.1Hoggan.001]



Figure 2.3: *The Ramayana*, Mughal Dynasty, Reign of Akbar, 1597-1605, Ink, Opaque Watercolor, and Gold on Paper, in Modern Binding, Inv. F1907.271.1-172, FS-6991_01, FSC. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.271.10172, FS-6991_01]



Figure 2.4: Hamlah-i-Haidari (Combats of the Lion), Mughal Dynasty, 18th Century, Ink on Paper, Inv. F1907.272, FSA. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.272]



Figure 2.5: *Qur'an*, Mughal Dynasty, 18th Century, Ink, Opaque Watercolor and Gold on Paper, Inv. F1907.274, FSA. [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.274]



Figure 2.6: Paintings rated left to right by Charles Lang Freer as good, fine and superb. From left to right: *Man with a Sword*, Accession number: F1907.225, *Portrait of Akbar II*, Accession number: F1907.259 and *Portrait of Safdar Jang*, Inv. F1907.233 FSA [Credit Line: National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.225, F1907.259, F1907.233]



Figure 2.7: Photograph of Charles Lang Freer and colleagues at a photography studio in Cairo Egypt, 1909. FSA A.01 12.01.5.2. and Portrait Bust, early 18th century, Mughal dynasty, color and gold on paper, Inv. F1907.254, FSA. [Credit Line: Paul Dittrich / National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Charles Lang Freer Papers, FSA_A.01_12.01.5.2 and National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.254]

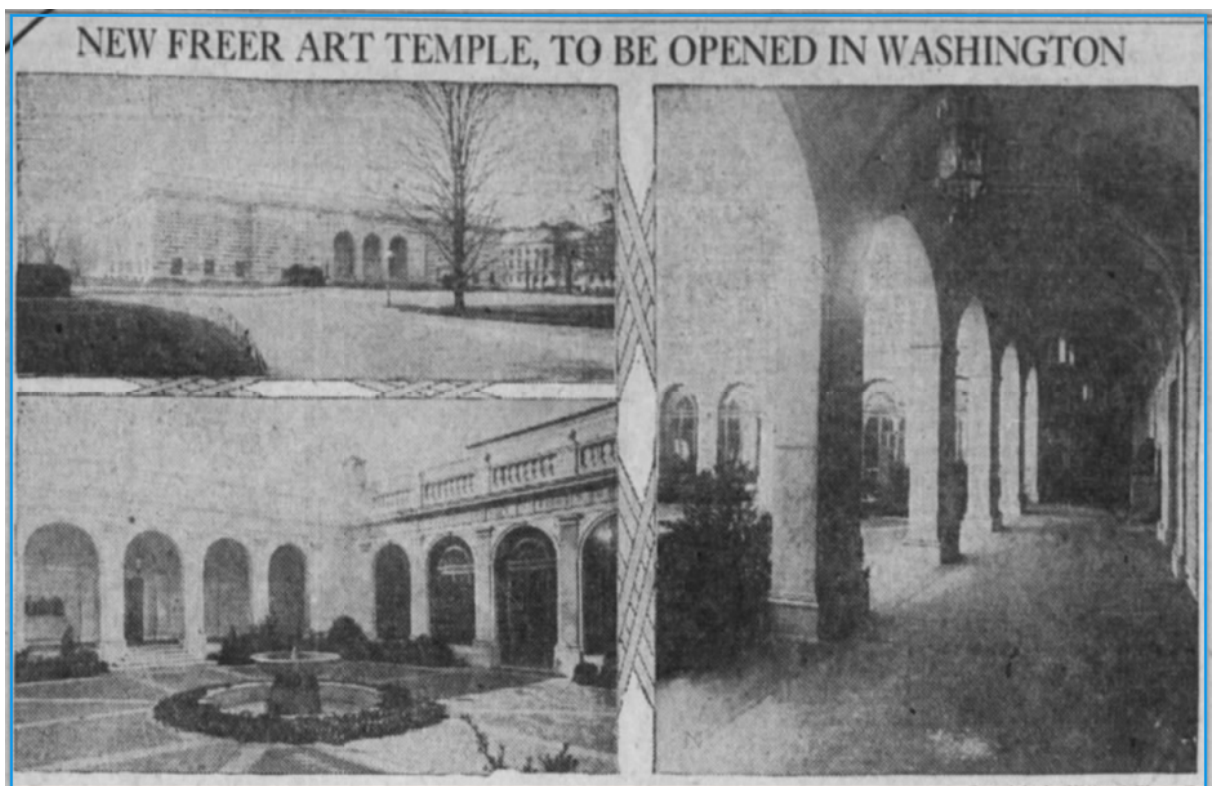


Figure 2.8: *Detroit Free Press*, New Freer Art Temple To Be Opened in Washington, Tuesday May 1, 1923, Page 15. [Image source: newspapers.com]



Figure 3.1: Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, 1606-1669, *Indian Warrior With a Shield*, recto, ca.1654-1656, Pen and Brown Ink and Wash With Red Chalk Wash, Black Chalk and Scraping (Correction) in Japanese Paper [Credit Line: The Morgan Library & Museum. 1, 207. Purchased through Galerie Alexandre Imbert, Rome by Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) in 1909]



Figure 3.2: Rembrandt Harmenszoon Van Rijn (1606-1669), *Two Indian Noblemen*, recto, ca.1654-1656, Pen and Brown Ink and Wash With Red Chalk Wash, Black Chalk and Scraping in Japanese Paper [Credit Line: the Morgan Library & Museum. 1, 207. Purchased Through Galerie Alexandre Imbert, Rome by Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) in 1909]

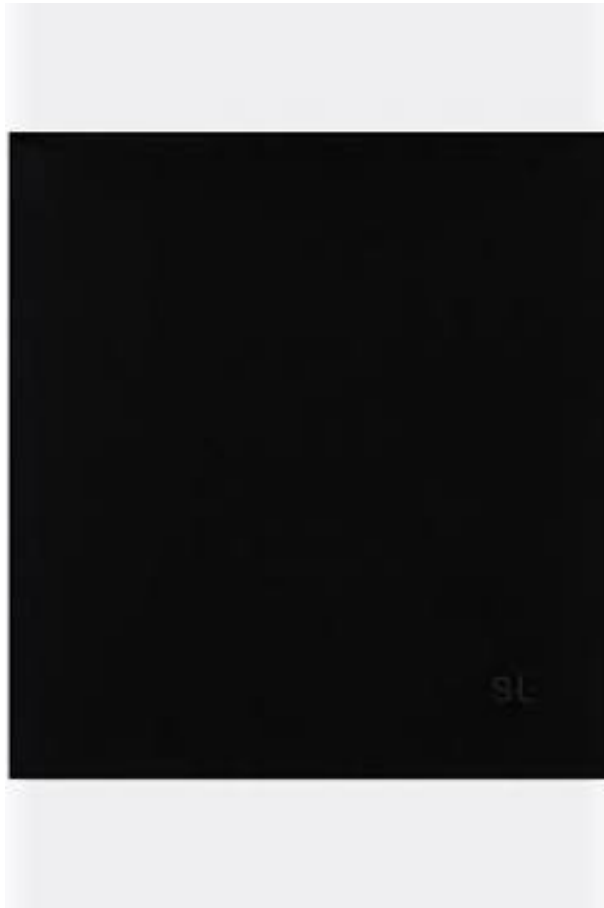


Figure 3.3: Invoice from Enrico Testa for Two-Volume *Shahnameh* From the Dealer Enrico (Now MS M.540 and M.846.11A,B) MCC.
[Image source: personal photo taken December 2017, permission to show image not granted. To view document, request from The Morgan Library and Museum, Call number: T Misc.Testa, Enrico, Florence, Record ID 148217, Title: Correspondence and bill for M540 and another Ms, 1909 April-June]



Figure 3.4: Ida Rubinstein as Zobeide in the 1910 Ballets Russes Production *Scheherazade*. Unknown Photographer for the Ballets Russes. [Image source: commons.wikimedia.org]



Figure 3.5: *The Virgin and Child* by Franciscuccio Ghissi (1359-1395), Painting Circa 1375, Piazza del Popolo. [Image source: commons.wikimedia.org]

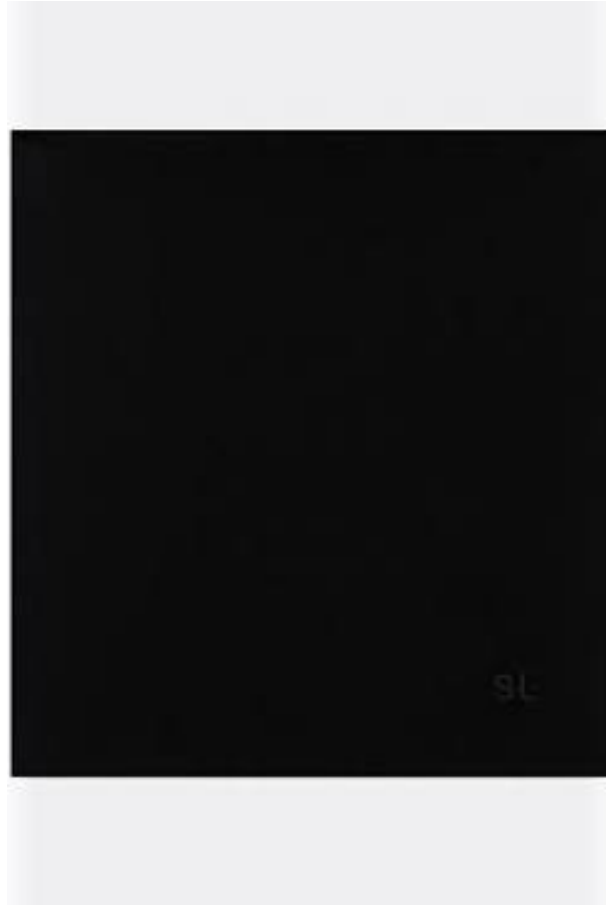


Figure 3.6: Invoice from Imbert (Now MS M.468, M.471,M.467, M.847,M.469,M.466) MCC. [Image source: personal photo taken December 2017, permission to show image not granted. To view document, request from The Morgan Library and Museum, Call number: I Imbert, A. Art dealer., Rome 1909 11 04, Record ID 153170, Title: Bill for Fairfax Murray collection of drawings, £50,000, 1909 November 4.]

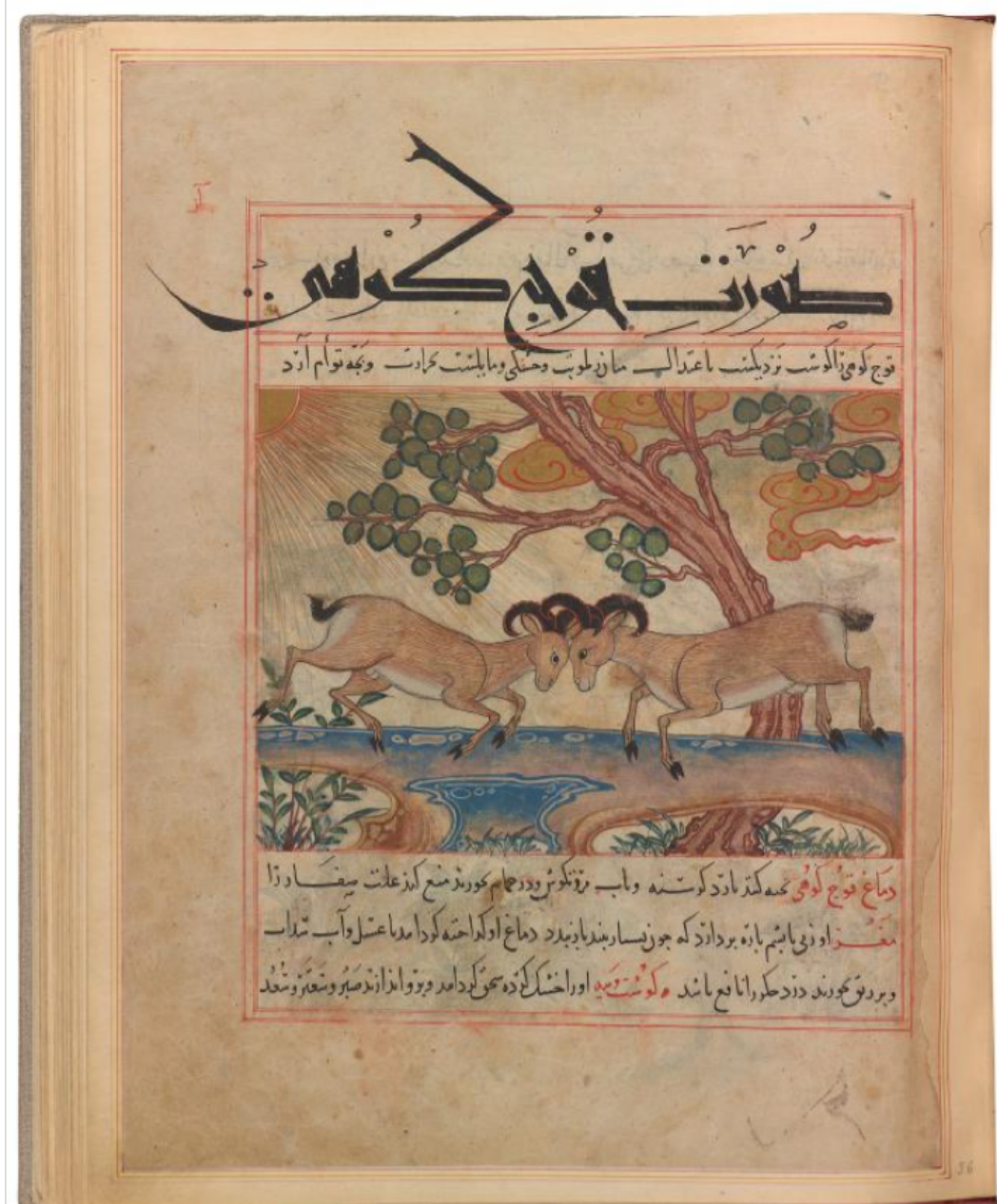


Figure 3.7: MS M.500, Ibn Bakhtīshū, ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrā’īl. *Manāfi-i ḥayavān.*, fol. 37r, *Mountain Rams*. Maragheh, Iran, 1297-1298 or 1299-1300, and 19th cent. [Credit line: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M.500, fol. 37r. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), 1912.]



Figure 3.8: MS M.638, Old Testament miniatures (MS M.638), fol. 18v. Paris, France, ca. 1244-1254. [Credit line: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS (1867-1943) in 1916.]

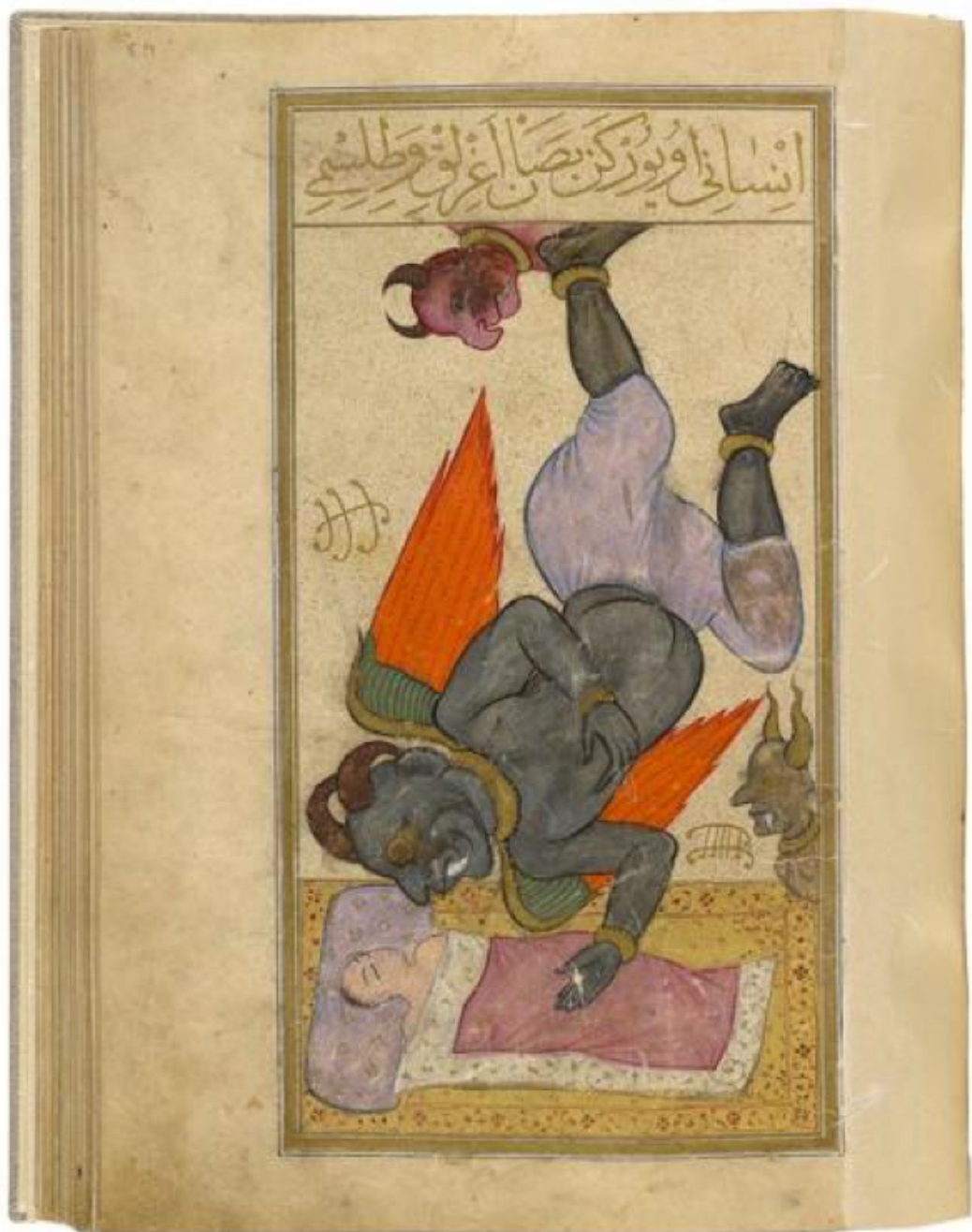


Figure 3.9: MS M788, *Al-Su'ūdī*. A Sleeping Man Is Oppressed by a Nightmare. fol. 84r *Maṭāli' Al-Sa'āda Wa Manābi' Al-Siyāda* (the Ascension of Propitious Stars and Sources of Sovereign), in Turkish Illuminated by Vali Jan for Āyisha Sulṭān (D.1604), the Daughter of Sultan Murād III/Turkey, Probably Istanbul. ca.1582, Purchased in 1935, MLC. [Credit Line: The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M788, fol. 84r]



Figure 3.10: MS M.445, *Lailā Visits Majnūn in the Wilderness, Khamsa*, ca.1618, fol.168r and Bella Da Costa Greene Sitting Near Book Collection. [Credit Line: The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.445, fol. 168r and Getty Images]



Figure 3.11: Joseph Keppler Jr., *The Magnet*, cartoon from *Puck Magazine*, vol. 69, no. 1790, 21 June 1911, ARC 2650, MLC. [Credit Line: The Morgan Library and Museum]



Figure 4.1: Lacquer-Painted Paper Mâché Mirror-Case, Dated 1816. Painted With Birds, Animals, Butterflies and Flowers in the Spandrels, Yellow Ground, Margins of Processions of Animals Among Flowers on a Black Ground. Signed Ali Muhammad, Dated 1816. CGF. *L'Art De l'Orient Islamique: Collection de La Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian* Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation by Basil Gray, 1963. [Image Source: Personal Photo Taken During *the Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]



Figure 4.3: the Game of Polo, Persia, Shiraz, 1536-37, Ink, Colour Pigments and Gold on Paper, H. 29.5 Cm; W. 19 Cm, Provenance: Taken to England in 1689 by Col. J. Sotheby; Acquired by Calouste Gulbenkian Through Colnaghi, Sotheby's Sale, London, July 27th, 1924. Inventory Code: LA180, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation October 2019]



Figure 4.4: Egypt or Syria, Mamluk Period, First Half of the 14th Century Enamelled and Gilded Glass, Provenance: Georges Eumorfopoulos Collection, Bought in China, ca.1918. Acquired by Calouste Gulbenkian, Through M. Giraud-Badin Sotheby's, London, June 5–6, 1940. Inv. 2378, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]



Figure 4.5: *the Virtue of Silence*, a Sufi Anecdote About a Tortoise Who Realises his Dream of Flying by Biting Onto a Stick Carried by Two Ducks in *Tuhfat Al-Ahrar* [Gift of the Free] by Jami, Date: 1554-5, Safavid Period, Uzbekistan, Bukhara (?), At One Time in the Library of a Mughal Emperor, Through M.K. Gudénian, From Claude Anet Collection, London/ Lot 68, June 4, 1920, Inventory Code: LA184, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

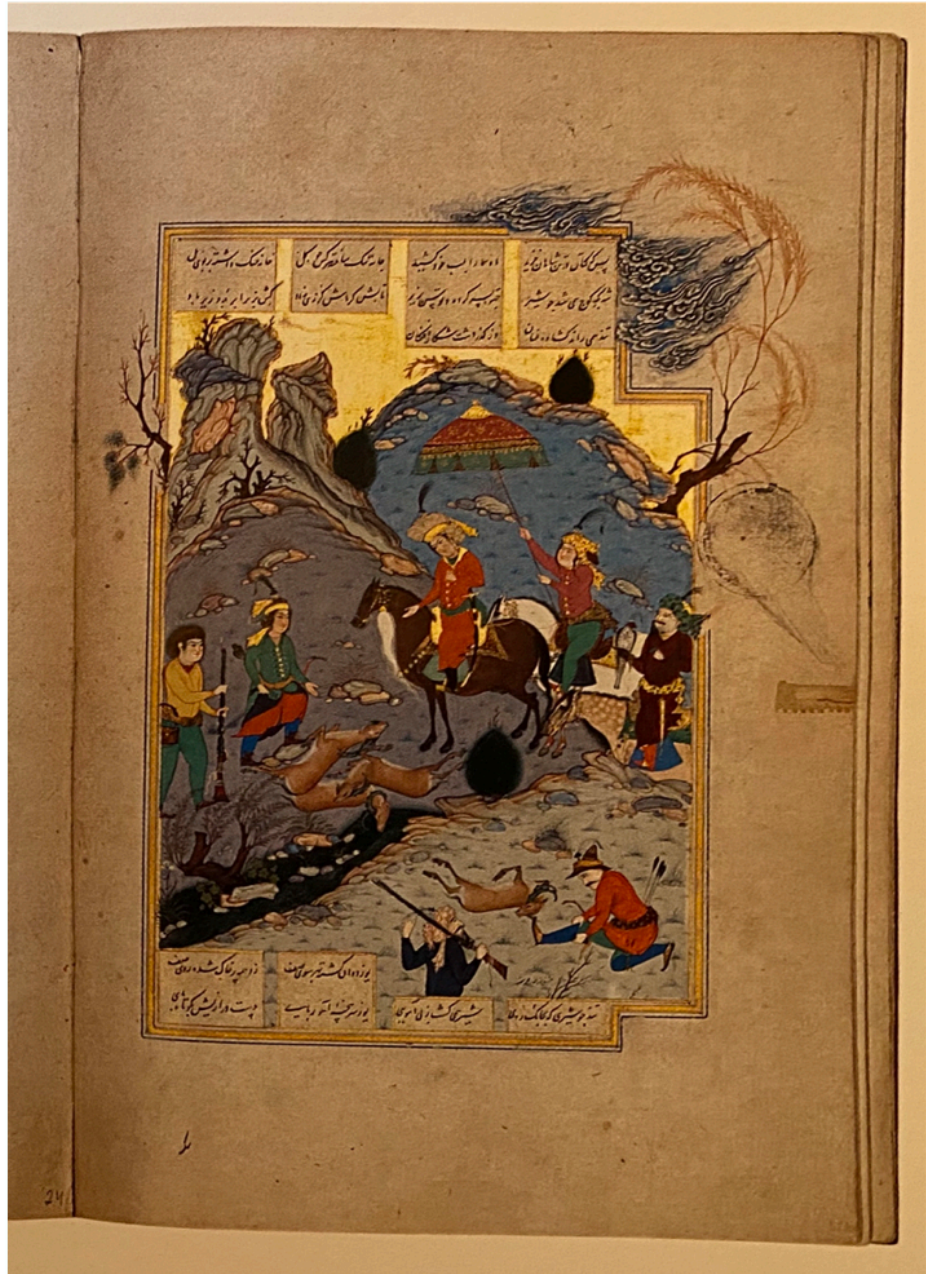


Figure 4.6: *Qauqabad and his Father Bughra Khan*
 From *Qiran-E sa'adain* by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, 1515,
 Paintings: ca.1605, Iran, Safavid Period, Painted by
 Nur Al-Din Muhammad Masavvir Provenance: Through
 M.K. Gudénian, From Claude Anet Collection, London/
 Lot 65, June 4, 1920, Medium: Ink, Colour Pigments
 and Gold on Paper, Inventory Code: LA187, CGF.
 [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise
 of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian
 Foundation, October 2019]



Figure 5.1: Oval Portrait of Bahadur Shah, India, Mughal Period, Early 18th Century, Provenance: Purchased Through Wildenstein, Paris, January 10, 1928, Inventory Number: M58, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

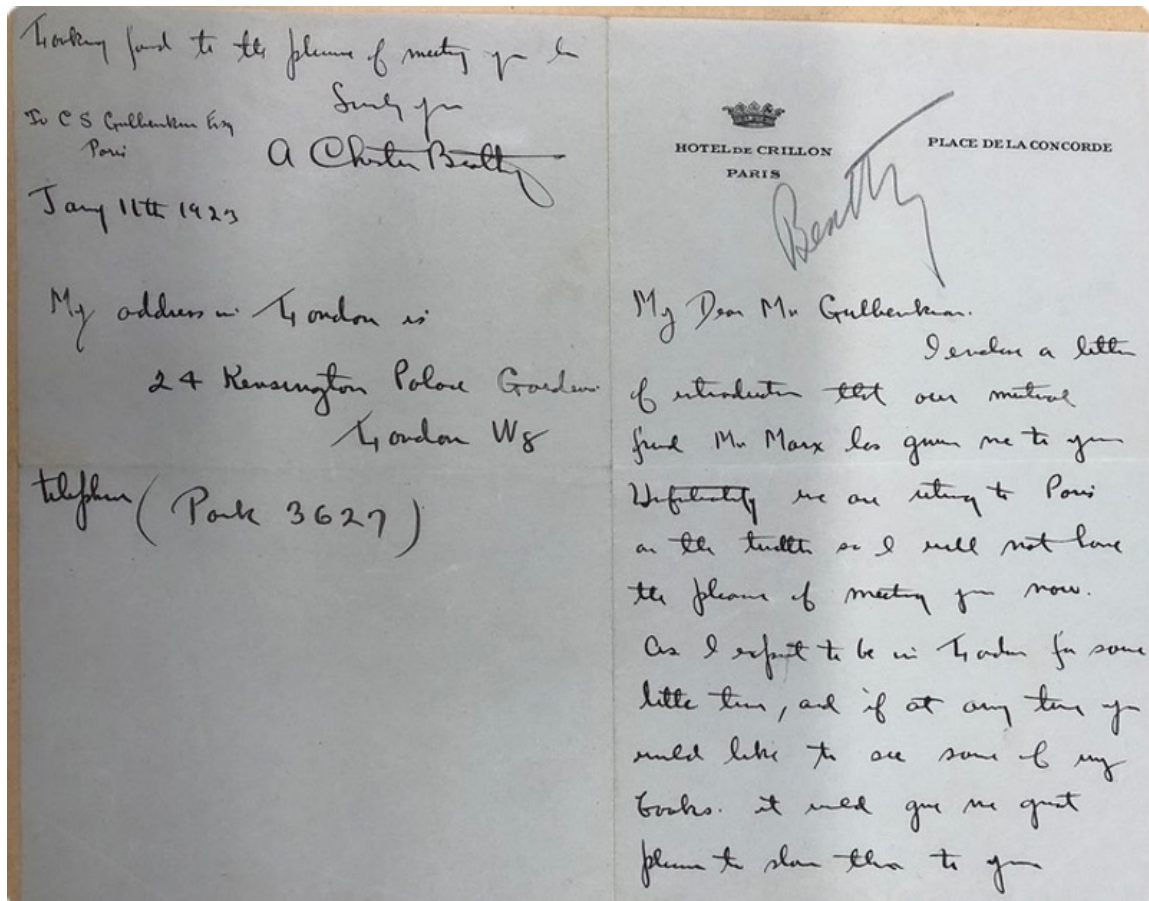


Figure 5.2: Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, January 11, 1923. CGF, London Office Files LDN1169. [Image source: personal photo taken of Calouste Gulbenkian's archives, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

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As regards MSS of need not worry
I had not found any Beryl's or
Eunice MSS for they are not lying
and in Paris hardly find to search
for next week
Very truly yours
A Chester Beatty

Sincerely
No 15th

PS I of course expect to attend the
meeting Friday. 21st
WCS

LETTER
HOLLIS
27/11/24

Figure 5.3: Letter from Beatty to Gulbenkian, November 25, 1924. CGF, London Office Files LDN00535. [Image source: personal photo taken of Calouste Gulbenkian's archives, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

COPY

Selection Trust Building,
Mason's Avenue, Coleman Street,
London E.C.2.

6th June, 1941.

A.P.Hacopian Esq.,
Ling House,
10-15 Dominion Street,
E.C.2.

A. Chester Beatty, Esq.,
Selection Trust Building,
Mason's Avenue,
London E.C.2.

Dear Sir,

In the absence of Mr. Chester Beatty, I beg to
acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th inst.

Your letter dated May 27th. duly reached Mr. Beatty,
who has made several unsuccessful attempts to get in touch
with you by telephone. I myself endeavoured to 'phone you
yesterday, but failed, to give you the following message:-
Would you please inform Mr. Gulbenkian that Mr. Beatty great-
ly regrets he is not in a position to advise him, as he (Mr.
Beatty) is also a collector of these Persian Manuscripts and
may possibly be a bidder at the sale himself.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) F.H.Wright

Acting Secretary to A. Chester
Beatty.

Figure 5.4: Letter from Wright to Hacopian, June 6, 1941, CGF, London Office Files LDN2100. [Image source: personal photo taken of Calouste Gulbenkian's archives, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, May 2019]



Figure 5.5: Curio Cabinets Gulbenkian's Residence
51, Avenue d'Iéna, Paris, Library, Ca.1926. [Image
source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation]



Figure 5.6: *the Divan* by Khursra Dihlavi, Persia, Early Sixteenth Century, Safavid Period, Provenance, Acquired From Missak Séropian, March 1923, Inventory Number: LA189, CGF. [Image source: personal photo taken during *The Rise of Islamic Art* Exhibition, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October 2019]

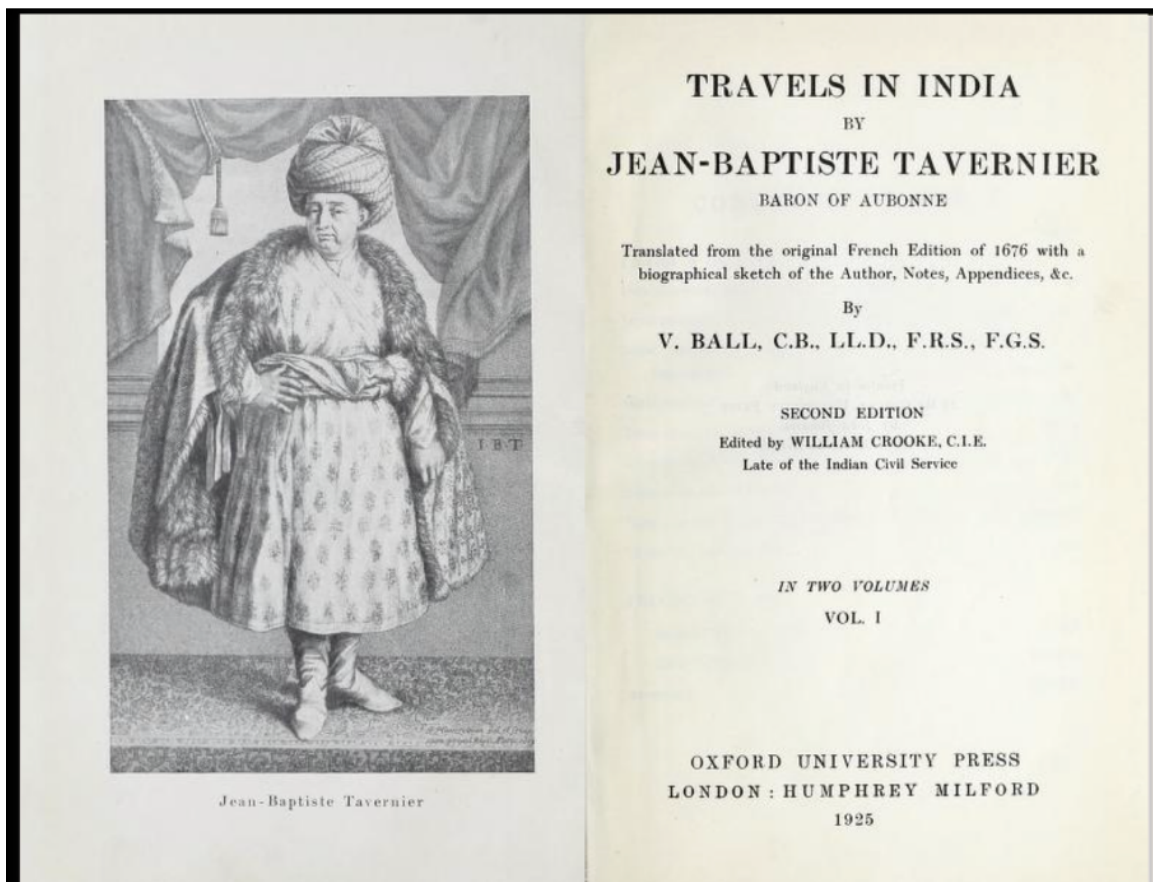


Figure 6.1: *Travels in India* by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Translated by V. Ball, Volume One, 1926, First Edition Published in 1889. [Image source: digital version of book on archive.org]

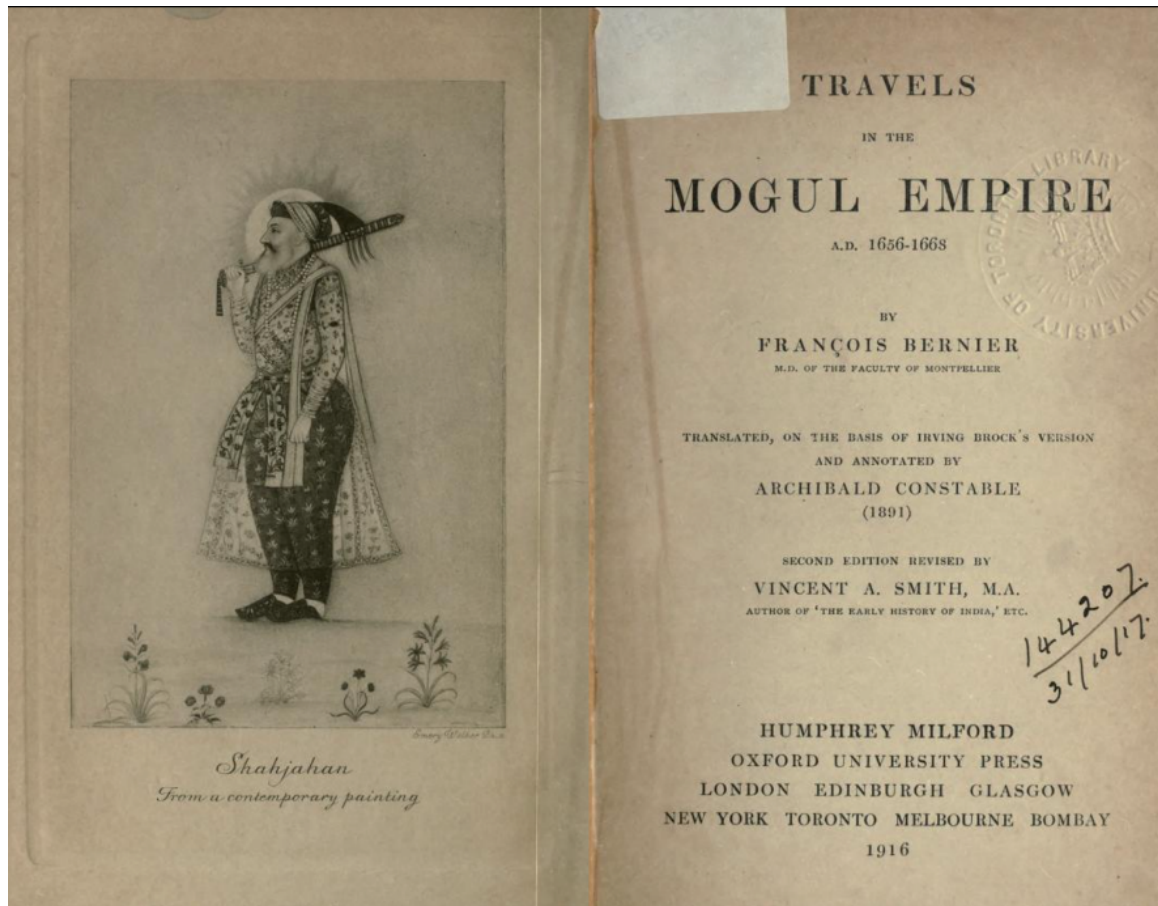


Figure 6.2: *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by François Bernier, Translated by Archibald Constable First Published in 1826 and Updated in 1916. [Image source: digital version of book on archive.org]



Emperor Akbar holding the royal turban of Humayun, Mughal, Shah Jahan period, ink with colour.



Pen and Ink
7

Figure 6.3: Examples of the Types of Comparison's Martin Made Between Mughal Works and Western Works in *the Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey From the 8th to the 18th Century* Published in 1912. Left: *Emperor Akbar Holding the Royal Turban of Humayun*, Ink With Colour With Gold on Paper, ca.1630-50, Lot 209, *Art of Imperial India*, London, October 8, 2014, Sotheby's. Right: Holbein, Hans, *Mary Zouch* Detail Pen and Ink, ca.1532-43, Royal Collection Trust [Image sources: [sothebys.com](https://www.sothebys.com) and [rct.uk](https://www.rct.uk)]



Figure 6.4: Examples of the Types of Comparison's Martin Made Between Mughal Works and Western Works in *the Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey From the 8th to the 18th Century* Published in 1912. Top: *Aurangzeb on Horseback*, Paper, Gouache, 1730s, Inv. VIC-2073, Hermitage Museum. Lower: *View of Toledo* by El Greco, Oil on Canvas, ca.1599-1600, Inv. 29.100.6, MMA. [Image sources: hermitagemuseum.org and metmuseum.org]



Figure A-1: Timurid Court, the Herat School. Folio 135v
From the Five Poems Making Up the *Khamsah* by Niẓāmī
Ganjavī Dated, 1490-1499, Inv. OR6810, BL. [Image
source: digitised manuscript on bl.uk]



Figure A-2: Safavid Court, the Bukhara School. *Visit to a Dervish* signed by Mahmud Muzahhib, Bukhara, 1560-61, Ink, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Lot 12, *Art of the Islamic and Indian World*, London, October 4, 2012, Christies. [Image source: christies.com]



Figure A-3: Safavid Court, the Shiraz School. *Laila and Majnun at School* Folio From a *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami, Ja'far Baisunghuri (Active First Half 15th Century), Dated 1431-32, Ink, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Inv.1994-232.4, MMA. [Image source: metmuseum.org]



Figure A-4: Safavid Court, the Shiraz School. Folio 8r
From Khamsa (Quintet) of Nizami, Dated 15th
Century, Ink, Opaque Watercolour, Silver and Gold on
Paper, Inv. 13.228.91, MMA. [Image source:
metmuseum.org]



Figure A-5: Safavid Court, the Isfahan School. *Youth and Dervish*, Second Quarter 17th Century, Signed by Riza 'Abbasi of the Isfahan School, but More Likely a Pupil, Ink, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper (Tinted Drawing), Inv.1184.13, MMA. [Image source: metmuseum.org]



Figure A-6: Painting Attributed to Behzād. Folio 231v
From a *Khamsah*, the Story of *Iskandarnāmah* by
Nizāmī Ganjavī, Dated 1442-1443, Acquired by
James R. Ballantyne, November 12, 1837,
Purchased by the BM From Mrs. Ballantyne
November 1864. Inv. Add MS 25900, BL. [Image
source: digitised manuscript on bl.uk]



Figure A-7: Lot 56 *A Seated Youth* Signed Riza 'Abbasi, Safavid Isfahan, Iran, ca.1630, Opaque Pigments on Paper, Laid Down Between Gold-Illuminated Minor Borders on Cream Card, Mounted, Framed and Glazed, Lot 56, *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, London, October 25, 2018, Christies. [Image source: [christies.com](https://www.christies.com)]

254 Two LOVERS, the lady behind and embracing a young man to whom she offers a cup, a very beautiful ink drawing, slightly tinted and enriched with gold, unsigned, but almost certainly by Riza 'Abbāsī : 6¼ in. by 4½ in. ; gilt ornamental *hashiya*

130

of
Labb

[See ILLUSTRATION.]

255 A Portrait of a young Persian, standing with arms folded, wearing a turban and a long robe, with a sword at his side, a very beautiful ink drawing, slightly tinted and enriched with gold, unsigned, but almost certainly by Riza 'Abbāsī : 6¼ in. by 4½ in. ; gilt ornamental *hashiya*



Lot 254

Figure A-8: Painting Attributed to Riza 'Abbasi, *The Lovers*, Ink Drawing, Lot 254, *Catalogue of Valuable Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures Comprising a Series of Very Important Indian Drawings by the Court Painters of the Great Mogul Emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb*, the Property of a Gentleman, London December 12, 1929. [Image source: digital version of auction catalogue on [archive.org](https://www.archive.org)]



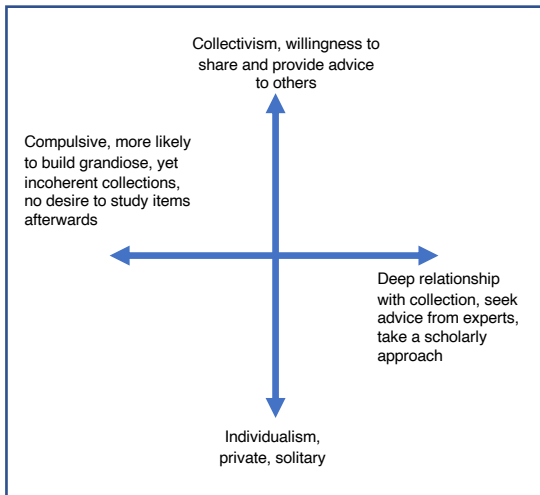
Figure A-9: *Princes of the House of Timur* (Also Known as *Humayun's Garden Party*) Dated 1550-55, Attributed to Mír Sayyid `Alí. The painting was probably executed for Humayun and revised later with the addition of later emperors. Painted With Gouache and Gold on Cotton Fabric. It was significantly overpainted in the 17th century. Acquired by the BM in 1913 From Ganeshi Lal of Agra. Inv. 1913,0208,0.1, BM. [Image source: britishmuseum.org]



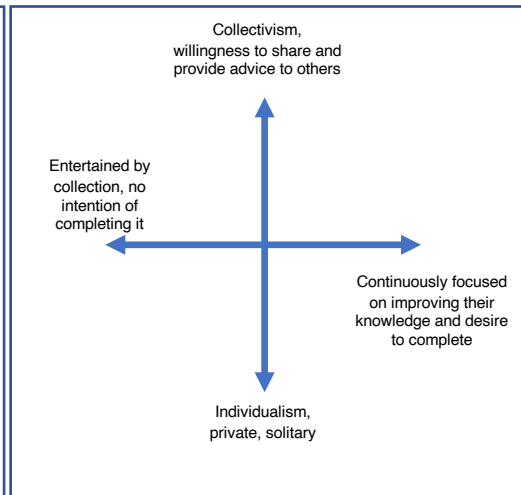
Figure A-10: *North American Turkey Cock* Signed by Mansur, Commissioned by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, Dated C. 1612, Opaque Watercolour and Gold on Paper, Bequeathed by Lady Wantage in 1921. Inv. IM.135-1921, V&A. [Image source: digital download, Victoria and Albert Museum, London]

Appendix 2: Quadrant Chart Template for Mapping Collecting Personality

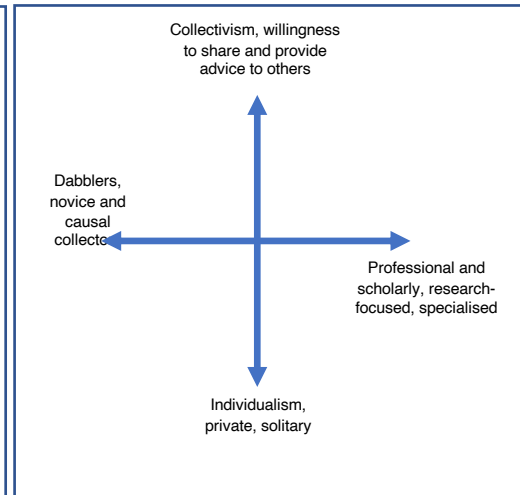
Collectors' desire to learn more about their collections



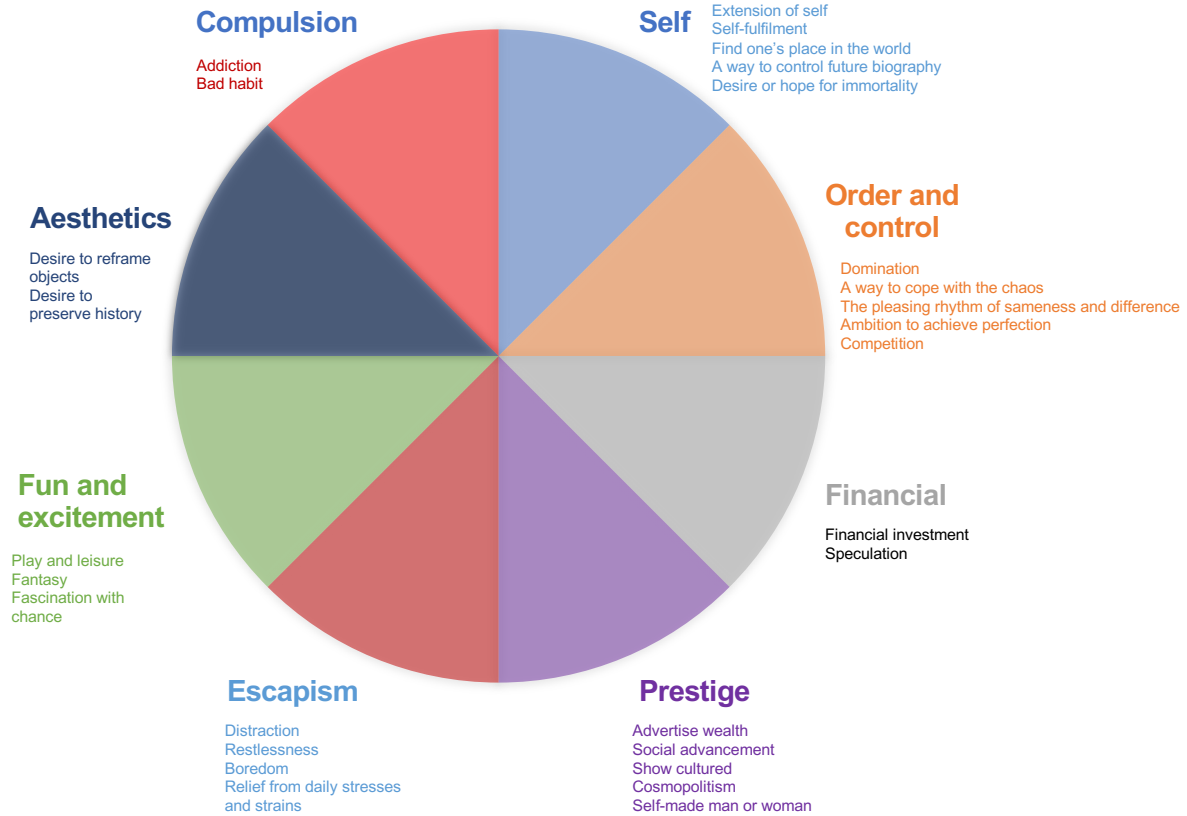
Collectors' end goals for their collections



Collectors' dedication to their collections



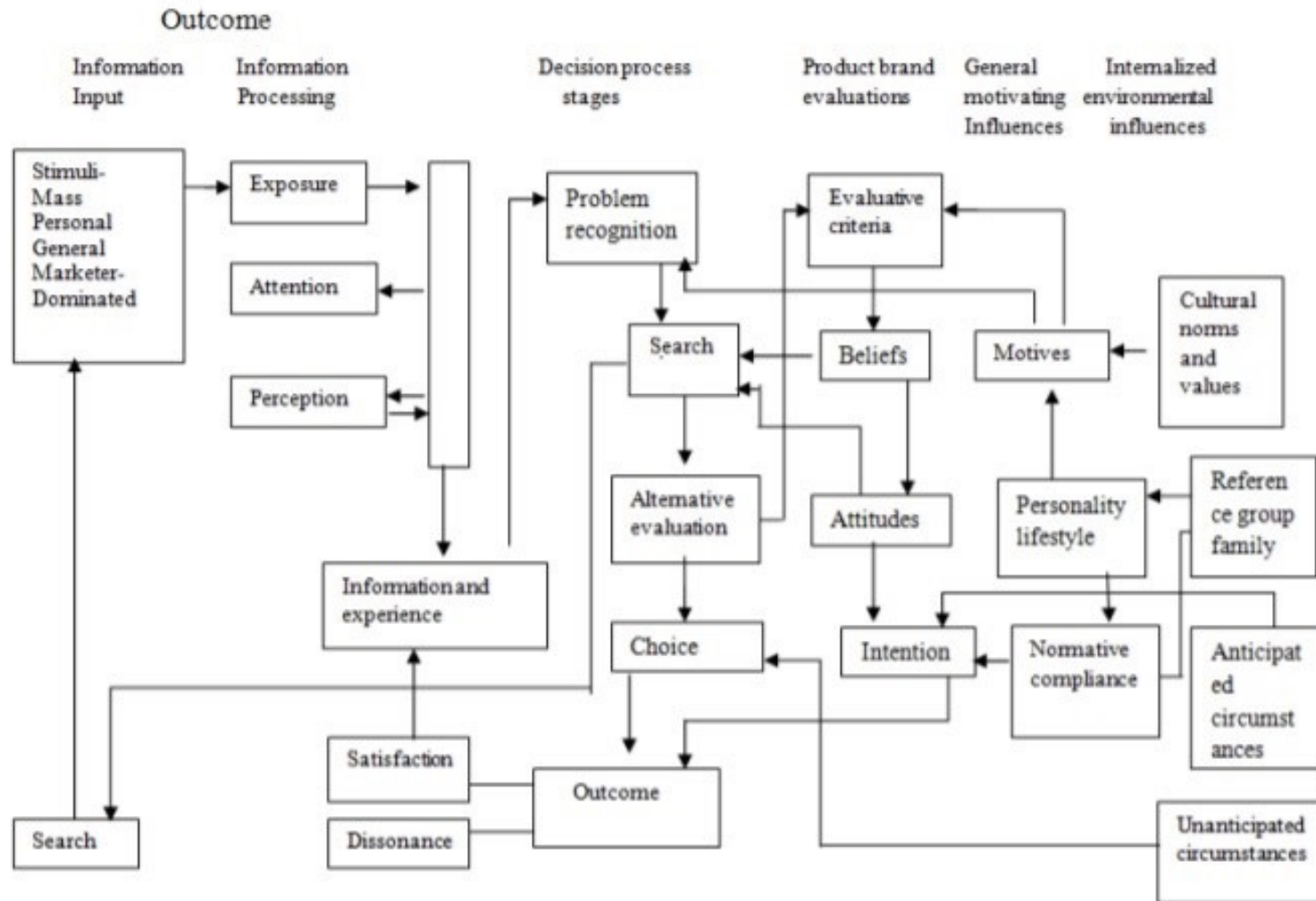
Appendix 3: Pie Chart Template for Plotting Motivations for Collecting



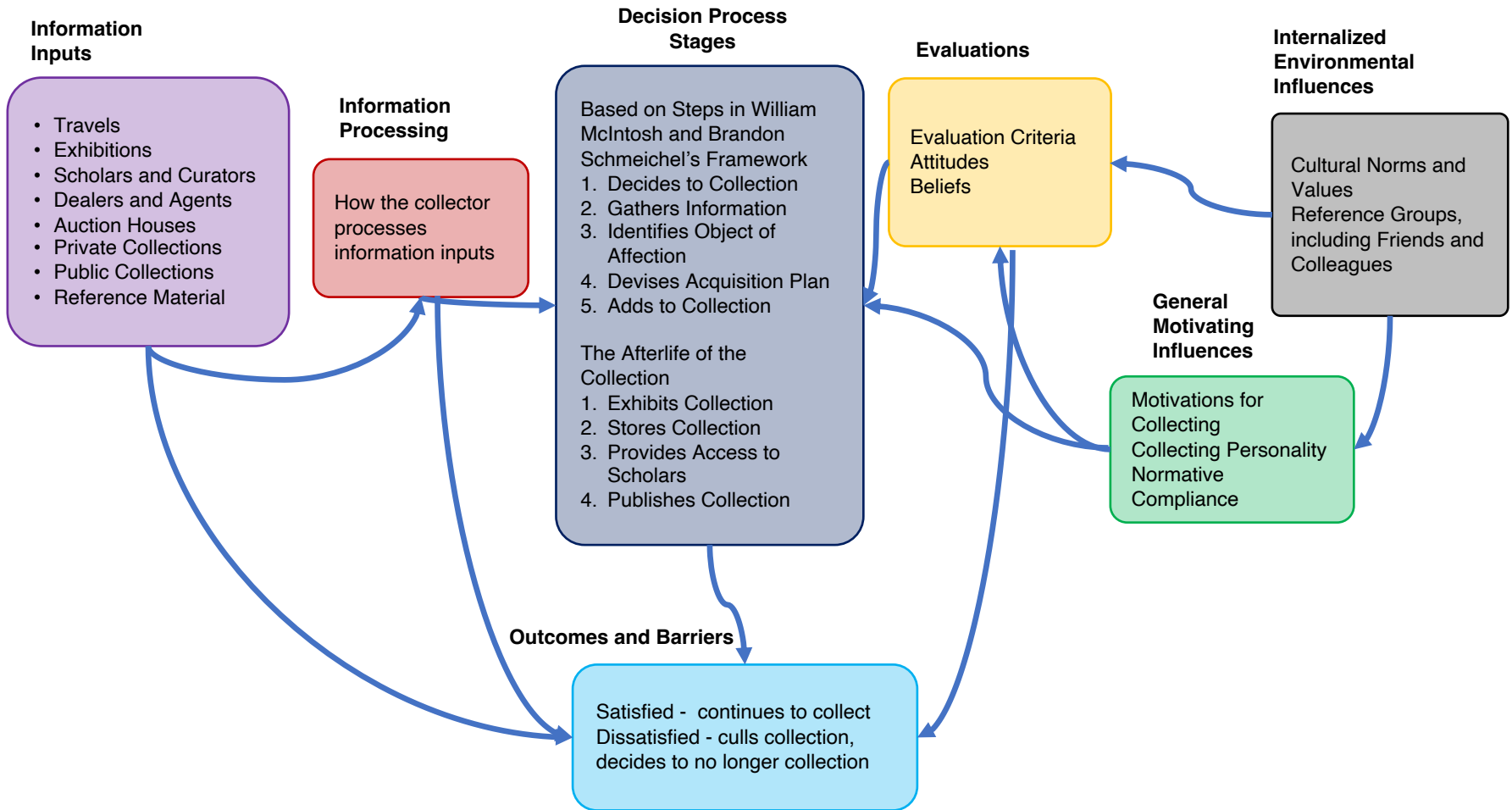
Appendix 4: Purchase Journey Template to Be Used for Specific Purchases Made by Each Collector

Stages	Decides to collect	Gathers Information	Identifies object(s) of affection	Devises acquisition plan	Obtains the object(s)	Adds to collection
What was the collector doing?						
What was the collector thinking?						
What was the collector feeling?						
Other variables at play						

Appendix 5: Engel-Blackwell-Miniard (EBM) Model



Appendix 6: Variables Relevant to Islamic Book Art Collection Formation and Management for Each Collector



Appendix 2.1: Variables Relevant to Freer's Biblical and Indo-Persian Book Art Collection Formation and Management

Information Inputs

Travels, 1895 Travels in India, saw *Gulistan* manuscript in Alwar, Valentine's Day Dinner in Ceylon in 1907, a second trip to Ceylon, visiting Buddhist and Hindu sites,

Readings while travelling, read books on geography, history and culture of the region, and kept a diary of his travels.

Exhibitions, Vever Collection at the 1903 Paris Exhibition, Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1907.

Scholars and curators: Ernest Fenolosa, Gaston Migeon, Raymond Koechlin, Laurence Binyon, Francis W. Kelsey, Bernard Berenson Hervey Wetzell, Denman Ross

Dealers: Ali Arabi, Dikran Kelekian, The Kalebajian brothers, Marie and Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl,

Private Collectors: Henri Vever, Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna, Victor Goloubew, Arthur Sambon's

And Ananda Coomaraswamy's

Reference materials, Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell exhibition catalogue and premium photos, reference books from Quaritch

Artist: James McNeill Whistler

Information Processing

Memories of travels, shadowy recollections, told Hecker, "I am very well and over my head in love with India."

Witnessed Chinese, Buddhist and Hindu influences meshed together into an eastern paradise at Valentine's Day Dinner in Ceylon.

Freer chose to read while travelling in India and prepared his imagination for what he would likely encounter.

Wanted authoritative news concerning the source of manuscripts

Consulted dealers and scholars in Paris to determine the value of Hanna's collection to Kelekian - "to you, I am indebted for the little of know."

Admitted to Heckler, he knew nothing of the pecuniary value of Indo-Persian paintings and needed coaching and training.

Promised the Smithsonian that he'd seek the best expert advice and remove any undesirable articles

He wanted to spend more time researching what he had purchased from Hanna before adding it to his collection.

Viewed Whistler as the spiritual link connecting the Orient with the Occident

Decision Process Stages

Decided to collect, there is no indication Freer proactively sought manuscripts; Ali Arabi showed him the Biblical manuscripts, and Frances Elizabeth Hoggan made him aware of the Hanna collection.

Gathered information, Freer skipped this step for the Biblical manuscripts, but he asked to see the catalogue and photos of the Hanna collection before a purchase.

Identified object(s) of affection, Freer was immediately struck by the Biblical manuscripts and indicated a desire to view the Hanna collection firsthand after viewing at least the catalogue (photos may have arrived after he left for Europe).

Devises acquisition plan. Freer paid for Biblical manuscripts the day he saw them. He consulted with dealers and scholars in Paris before making an offer for the Hanna collection. The prices Freer was willing to pay only sometimes correlate with his comments about the objects.

Added to the collection, both were added to the collection. However, other collections were passed over, including the Goloubew collection, Arthur Sambon's collection, Ananda Coomaraswamy's collection and Biblical manuscripts offered by the Kalebajian brothers.

Provided access to the collection before Hanna purchased it and invited the Smithsonian Board of Regents to view the exhibition. Invites fellow collectors and admirers to view collect, including Binyon and Berenson.

Exhibited collection, four Indo-Persian items were exhibited in 1912 in Washington, DC but declined to participate in a Persian exhibition in New York in 1914

Evaluations

Evaluation criteria, where manuscripts were discovered, provenance/ownership, aesthetics, condition, quality, smell, rarity, importance, unknown/forgotten (and likely undervalued) and perhaps portraits that reminded him of himself (i.e., Aurangzeb portrait), and seals for decipher the age

Evaluation criteria about the existing collection, in harmony and unity of thought, fill a significant gap and represent an important link.

Beliefs he had an emotional and aesthetic attachment to the Indian culture, a disposition toward mysticism, the brevity of life, and the uncertainty of an afterlife, and believed jade had restorative powers-talismanic powers.

Attitudes, negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern and Indian dealers (sickening coffee and surrounding filth "more interested in a good opium spree, "the type one meets in Kipling's Dray Wara Yow Dee,") fear of being defrauded He wrangled with his conscience — knowing full well that many items offered for sale were likely stolen.

Attitudes preferred to deal with private collectors instead of dealers, less concern about their trustworthiness

Internalized Environmental Influences

Cultural norms and values, Freer didn't want his collection to cast a shadow on the American government or his reputation.

Reference groups (friends), Colonel Frank J. Hecker, William K. Bixby, Edward Morse, Beatrix Whistler, Frederick Wharton Mann, Charles J. Morse, Mary Berenson, Belle da Costa Greene, Agnes Meyer, Katharine Rhoades

Smithsonian Board of Regents and Samuel P. Langley, Freer tasked with making a collection worthy of the American Government.

General Motivating Influences

Motivations for collecting, desire to acquire objects aesthetically connected in spirit to Asian art that worked together as a connected series.

Personality, wanted to experience the local culture, travel off the tourist track, private man, kept his sources secret, disliked public jamborees, valued friendships, wanted to conduct business rationally, but sometimes made rash decisions, got caught up in the moment.

Normative compliance lived up to commitments and agreements, treated others professionally and respectfully (even unsavoury dealers), and was open-minded towards other religions.

Outcomes and Barriers

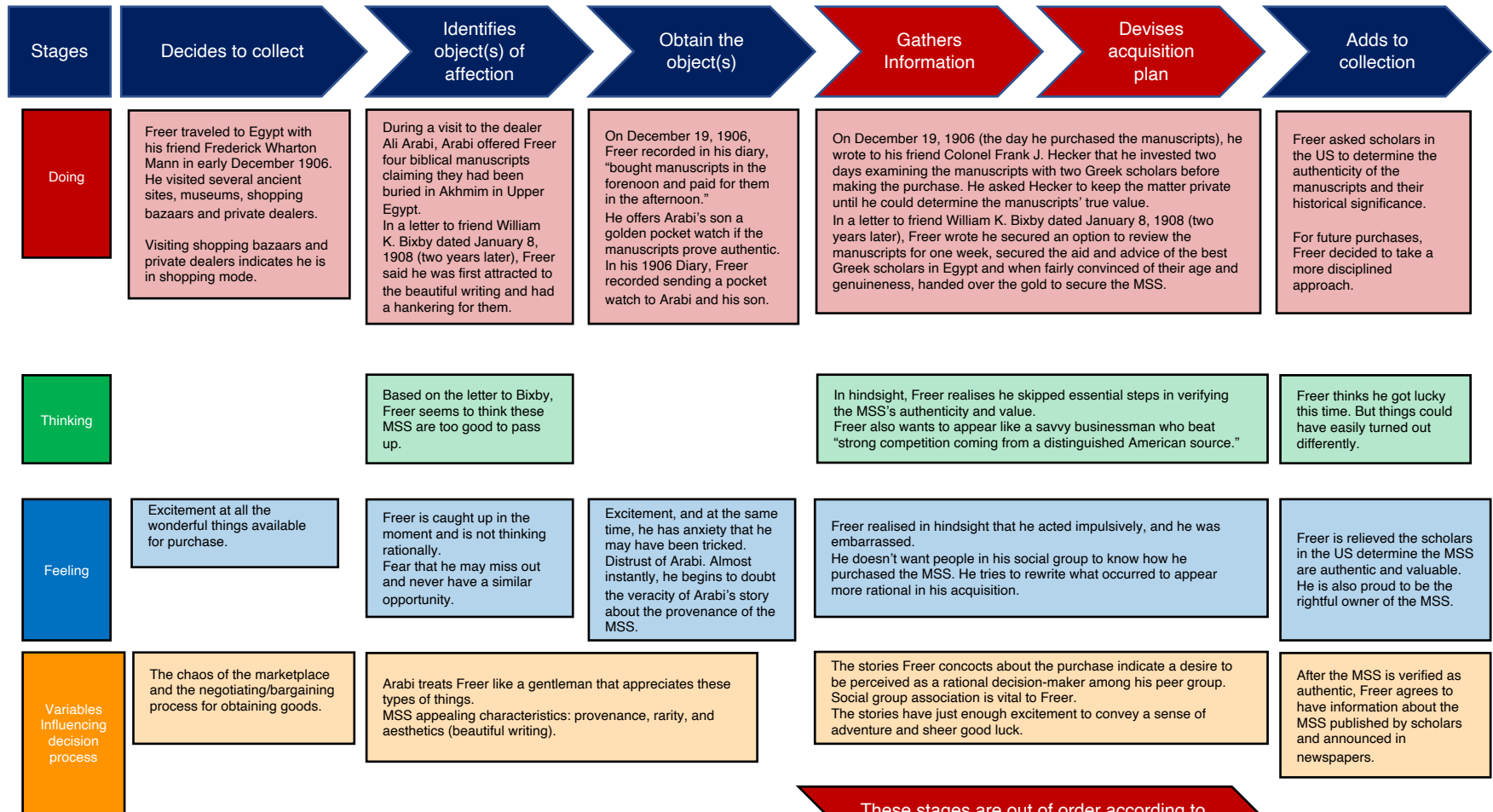
Uneasiness interacting with dealers, concerned items were stolen, shady provenance.

Declining health is an excuse.

After the results of Sambon sales, felt bargains were no longer to be had

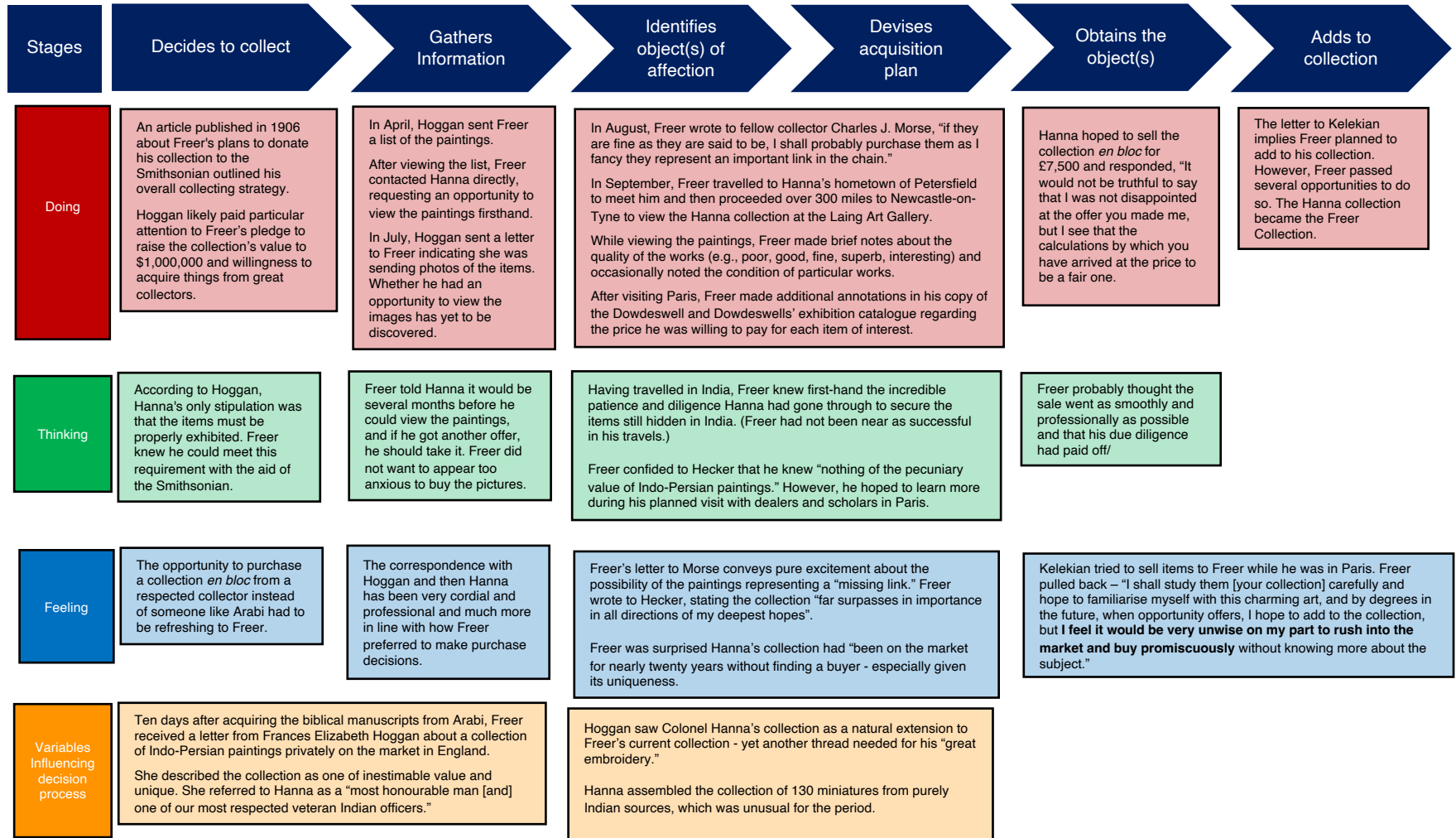
Evolving collecting interests believed only a handful of people knew anything about Mohammedan art, and an even smaller number wanted to study it

Appendix 2.2: Mapping of Freer MSS Purchase Journey – Biblical Manuscripts Purchased in Egypt



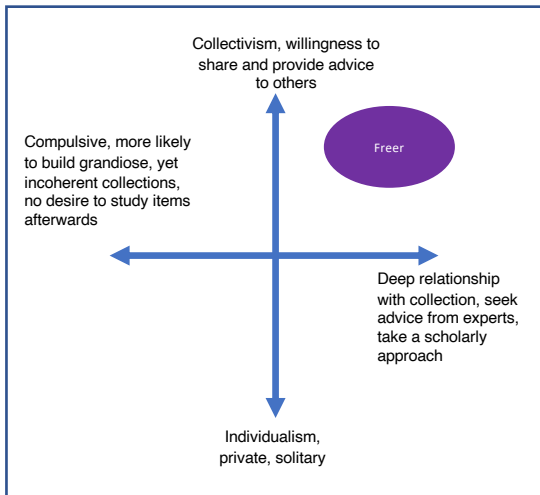
These stages are out of order according to the McIntosh and Schmeichel framework

Appendix 2.3: Mapping of Freer MSS Purchase Journey – Hanna Collection of Indo-Persian Book Art

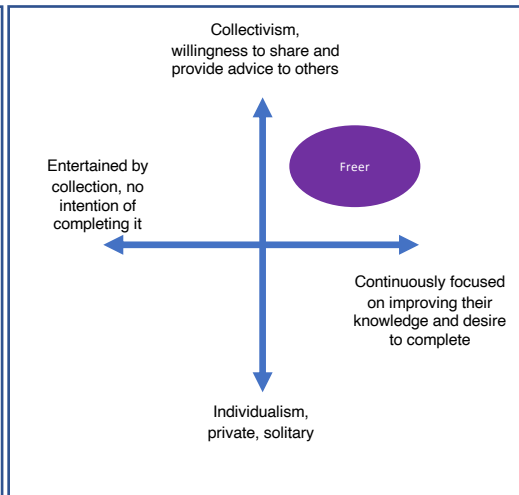


Appendix 2.4: Freer's Collecting Personality Quadrants for his Indo-Persian Collection

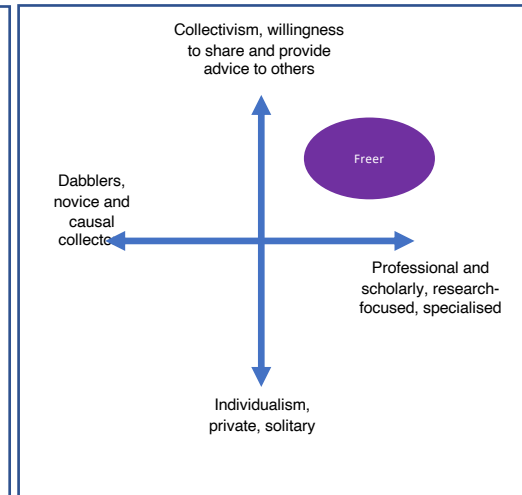
Freer's desire to learn more about his collection



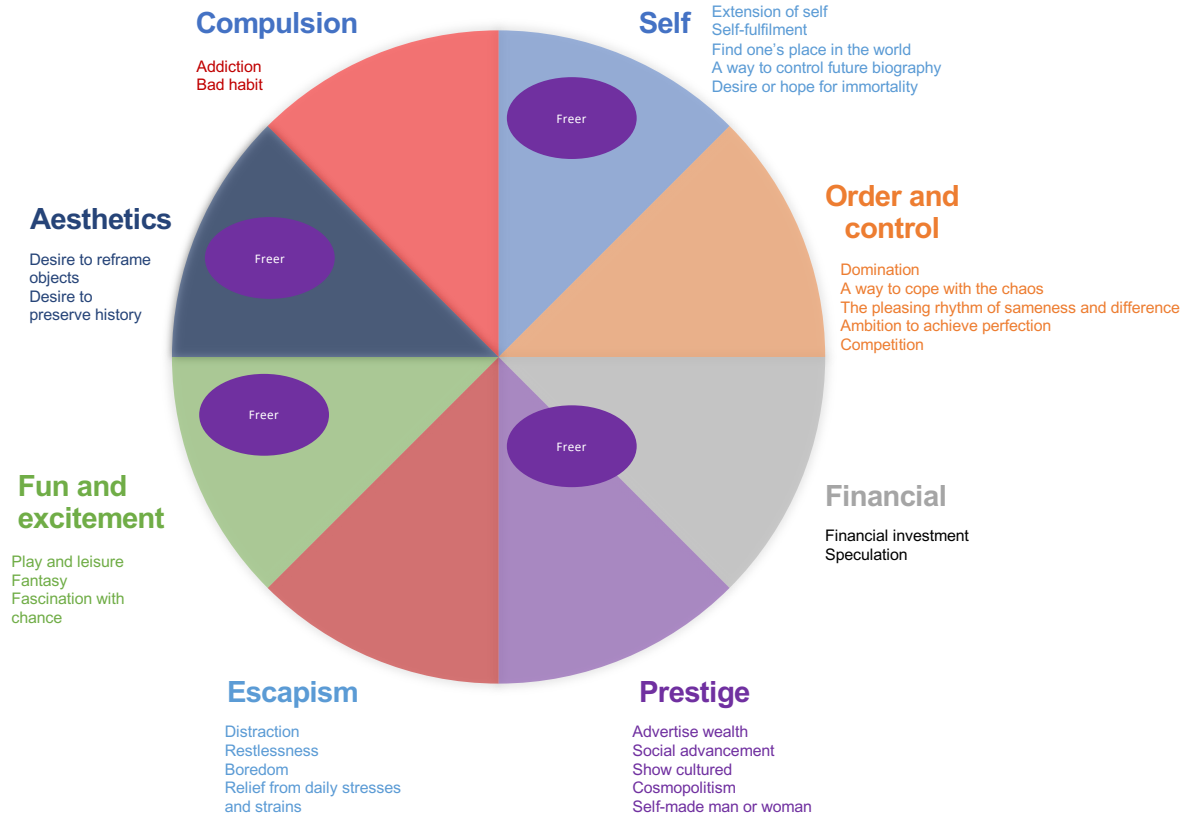
Freer's end goals for his collection



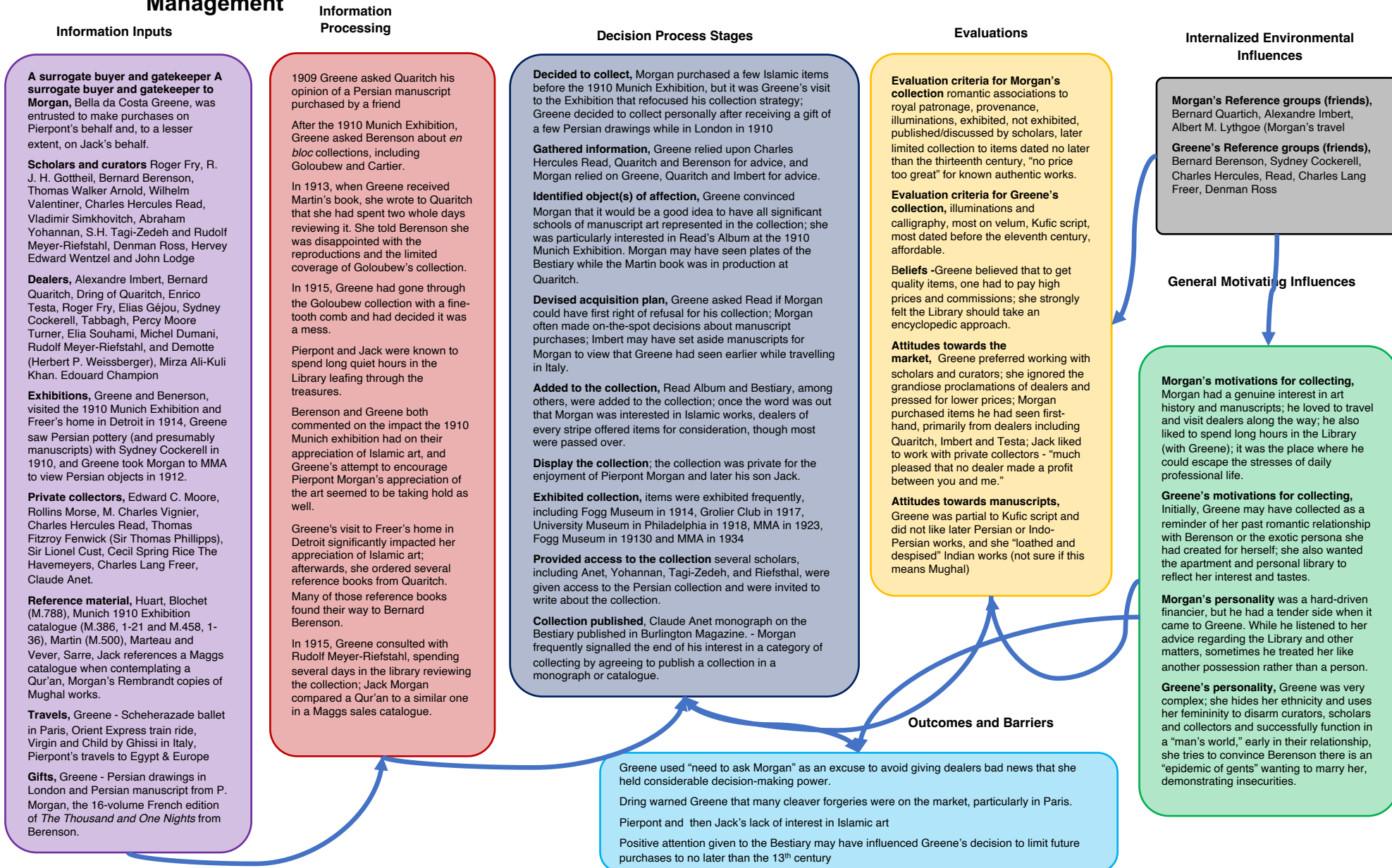
Freer's dedication to his collection



Appendix 2.5: Freer's Motivations for Collecting



Appendix 3.1: Variables Relevant to Morgan's and Greene's Islamic Book Art Collection Formation and Management



Information Inputs

A surrogate buyer and gatekeeper A surrogate buyer and gatekeeper to Morgan, Bella da Costa Greene, was entrusted to make purchases on Pierpont's behalf and, to a lesser extent, on Jack's behalf.

Scholars and curators Roger Fry, R. J. H. Gottheil, Bernard Berenson, Thomas Walker Arnold, Wilhelm Valentiner, Charles Hercules Read, Vladimir Simkhovitch, Abraham Yohannan, S.H. Tagi-Zedeh and Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, Denman Ross, Hervey Edward Wentzel and John Lodge

Dealers, Alexandre Imbert, Bernard Quaritch, Dring of Quaritch, Enrico Testa, Roger Fry, Elias Géjou, Sydney Cockerell, Tabbagh, Percy Moore Turner, Elia Souhami, Michel Dumani, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, and Demotte (Herbert P. Weissberger), Mirza Ali-Kuli Khan. Edouard Champion

Exhibitions, Greene and Benerson, visited the 1910 Munich Exhibition and Freer's home in Detroit in 1914, Greene saw Persian pottery (and presumably manuscripts) with Sydney Cockerell in 1910, and Greene took Morgan to MMA to view Persian objects in 1912.

Private collectors, Edward C. Moore, Rollins Morse, M. Charles Vignier, Charles Hercules Read, Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (Sir Thomas Phillipps), Sir Lionel Cust, Cecil Spring Rice The Havemeyers, Charles Lang Freer, Claude Anet.

Reference material, Huart, Blochet (M.788), Munich 1910 Exhibition catalogue (M.386, 1-21 and M.458, 1-36), Martin (M.500), Marteau and Veвер, Sarre, Jack references a Maggs catalogue when contemplating a Qur'an, Morgan's Rembrandt copies of Mughal works.

Travels, Greene - Scheherazade ballet in Paris, Orient Express train ride, Virgin and Child by Ghissi in Italy, Pierpont's travels to Egypt & Europe

Gifts, Greene - Persian drawings in London and Persian manuscript from P. Morgan, the 16-volume French edition of *The Thousand and One Nights* from Berenson.

Information Processing

1909 Greene asked Quaritch his opinion of a Persian manuscript purchased by a friend

After the 1910 Munich Exhibition, Greene asked Berenson about *en bloc* collections, including Goloubew and Cartier.

In 1913, when Greene received Martin's book, she wrote to Quaritch that she had spent two whole days reviewing it. She told Berenson she was disappointed with the reproductions and the limited coverage of Goloubew's collection.

In 1915, Greene had gone through the Goloubew collection with a fine-tooth comb and had decided it was a mess.

Pierpont and Jack were known to spend long quiet hours in the Library leafing through the treasures.

Berenson and Greene both commented on the impact the 1910 Munich exhibition had on their appreciation of Islamic art, and Greene's attempt to encourage Pierpont Morgan's appreciation of the art seemed to be taking hold as well.

Greene's visit to Freer's home in Detroit significantly impacted her appreciation of Islamic art; afterwards, she ordered several reference books from Quaritch. Many of those reference books found their way to Bernard Berenson.

In 1915, Greene consulted with Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, spending several days in the library reviewing the collection; Jack Morgan compared a Qur'an to a similar one in a Maggs sales catalogue.

Decision Process Stages

Decided to collect, Morgan purchased a few Islamic items before the 1910 Munich Exhibition, but it was Greene's visit to the Exhibition that refocused his collection strategy; Greene decided to collect personally after receiving a gift of a few Persian drawings while in London in 1910

Gathered information, Greene relied upon Charles Hercules Read, Quaritch and Berenson for advice, and Morgan relied on Greene, Quaritch and Imbert for advice.

Identified object(s) of affection, Greene convinced Morgan that it would be a good idea to have all significant schools of manuscript art represented in the collection; she was particularly interested in Read's Album at the 1910 Munich Exhibition. Morgan may have seen plates of the Bestiary while the Martin book was in production at Quaritch.

Devised acquisition plan, Greene asked Read if Morgan could have first right of refusal for his collection; Morgan often made on-the-spot decisions about manuscript purchases; Imbert may have set aside manuscripts for Morgan to view that Greene had seen earlier while travelling in Italy.

Added to the collection, Read Album and Bestiary, among others, were added to the collection; once the word was out that Morgan was interested in Islamic works, dealers of every stripe offered items for consideration, though most were passed over.

Display the collection; the collection was private for the enjoyment of Pierpont Morgan and later his son Jack.

Exhibited collection, items were exhibited frequently, including Fogg Museum in 1914, Grolier Club in 1917, University Museum in Philadelphia in 1918, MMA in 1923, Fogg Museum in 19130 and MMA in 1934

Provided access to the collection several scholars, including Anet, Yohannan, Tagi-Zedeh, and Riefsthal, were given access to the Persian collection and were invited to write about the collection.

Collection published, Claude Anet monograph on the Bestiary published in Burlington Magazine. - Morgan frequently signalled the end of his interest in a category of collecting by agreeing to publish a collection in a monograph or catalogue.

Evaluations

Evaluation criteria for Morgan's collection romantic associations to royal patronage, provenance, illuminations, exhibited, not exhibited, published/discussed by scholars, later limited collection to items dated no later than the thirteenth century, "no price too great" for known authentic works.

Evaluation criteria for Greene's collection, illuminations and calligraphy, most on velum, Kufic script, most dated before the eleventh century, affordable.

Beliefs -Greene believed that to get quality items, one had to pay high prices and commissions; she strongly felt the Library should take an encyclopedic approach.

Attitudes towards the market, Greene preferred working with scholars and curators; she ignored the grandiose proclamations of dealers and pressed for lower prices; Morgan purchased items he had seen first-hand, primarily from dealers including Quaritch, Imbert and Testa; Jack liked to work with private collectors - "much pleased that no dealer made a profit between you and me."

Attitudes towards manuscripts, Greene was partial to Kufic script and did not like later Persian or Indo-Persian works, and she "loathed and despised" Indian works (not sure if this means Mughal)

Internalized Environmental Influences

Morgan's Reference groups (friends), Bernard Quaritch, Alexandre Imbert, Albert M. Lythgoe (Morgan's travel)

Greene's Reference groups (friends), Bernard Berenson, Sydney Cockerell, Charles Hercules, Read, Charles Lang Freer, Denman Ross

General Motivating Influences

Morgan's motivations for collecting, Morgan had a genuine interest in art history and manuscripts; he loved to travel and visit dealers along the way; he also liked to spend long hours in the Library (with Greene); it was the place where he could escape the stresses of daily professional life.

Greene's motivations for collecting, Initially, Greene may have collected as a reminder of her past romantic relationship with Berenson or the exotic persona she had created for herself; she also wanted the apartment and personal library to reflect her interest and tastes.

Morgan's personality was a hard-driven financier, but he had a tender side when it came to Greene. While he listened to her advice regarding the Library and other matters, sometimes he treated her like another possession rather than a person.

Greene's personality, Greene was very complex; she hides her ethnicity and uses her femininity to disarm curators, scholars and collectors and successfully function in a "man's world," early in their relationship, she tries to convince Berenson there is an "epidemic of gents" wanting to marry her, demonstrating insecurities.

Outcomes and Barriers

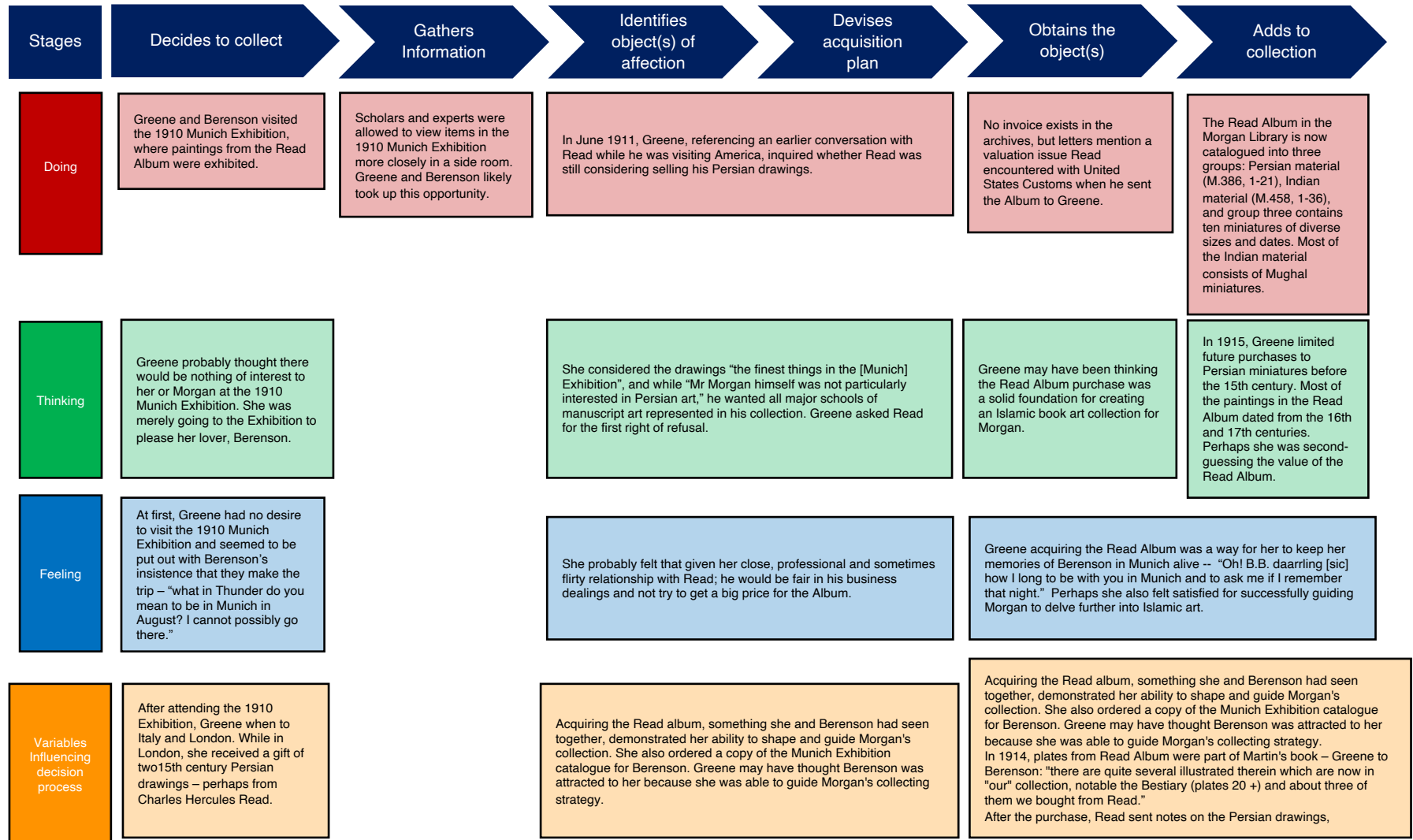
Greene used "need to ask Morgan" as an excuse to avoid giving dealers bad news that she held considerable decision-making power.

Dring warned Greene that many clever forgeries were on the market, particularly in Paris.

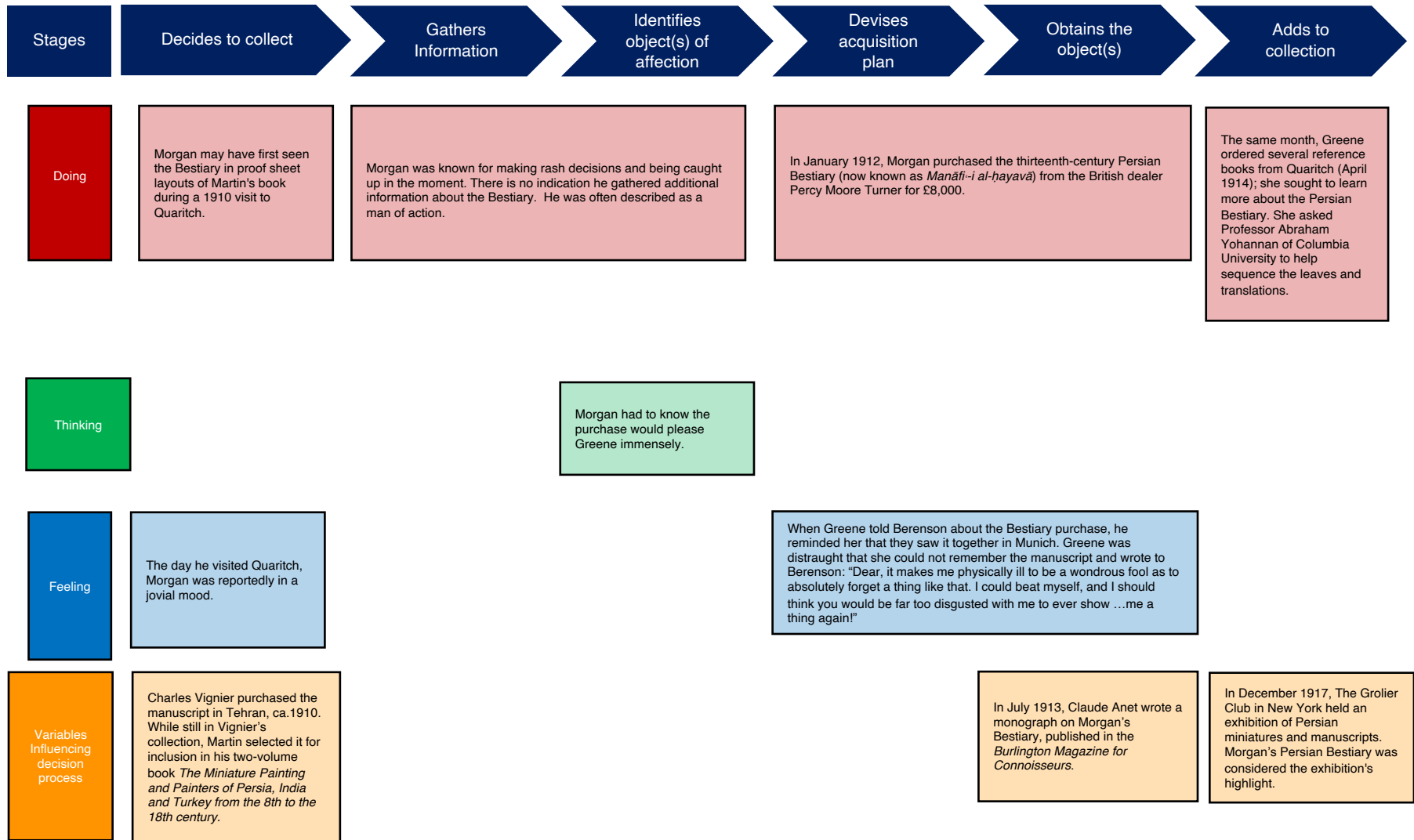
Pierpont and then Jack's lack of interest in Islamic art

Positive attention given to the Bestiary may have influenced Greene's decision to limit future purchases to no later than the 13th century

Appendix 3.2: Mapping of Morgan's and Greene's Purchase Journey for the Read Album

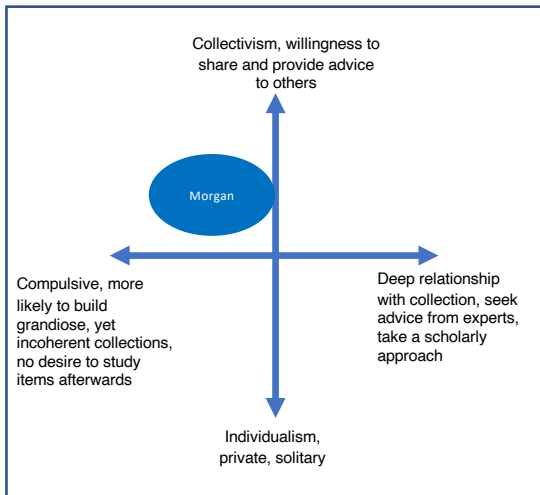


Appendix 3.3: Mapping of Morgan's Purchase Journey for the Bestiary

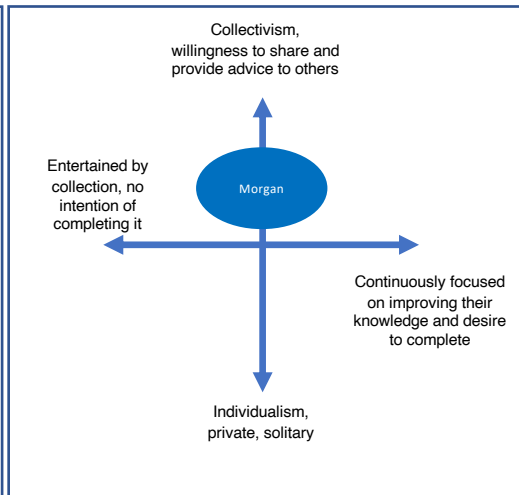


Appendix 3.4: Morgan's Collecting Personality Quadrants for His Islamic Book Art Collection

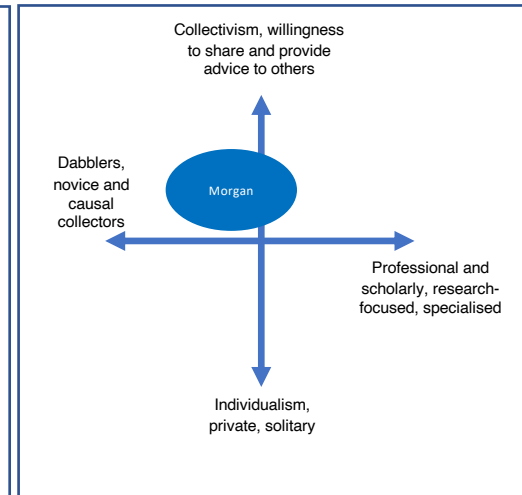
Morgan's desire to learn more about his collection



Morgan's end goals for his collection

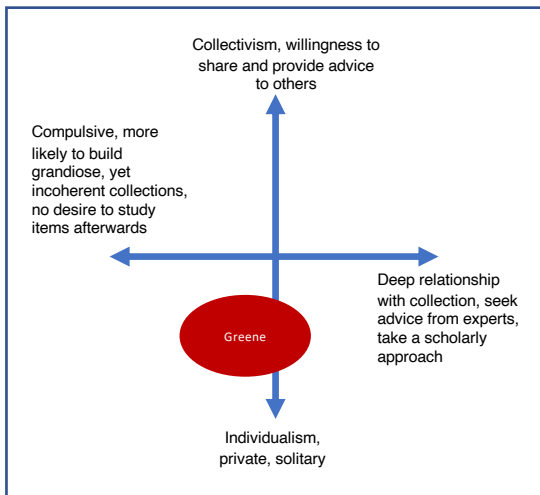


Morgan's dedication to his collection

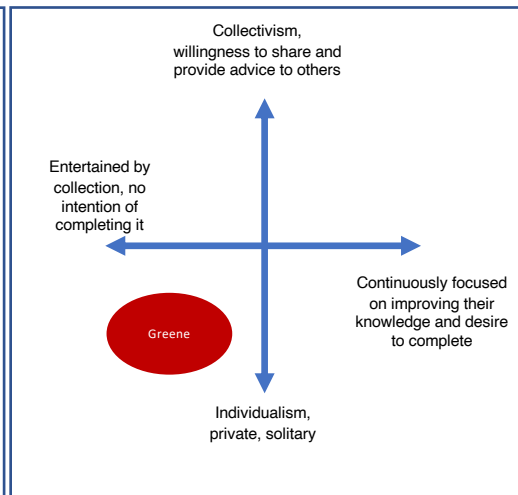


Appendix 3.5: Greene's Collecting Personality Quadrants for Her Private Islamic Book Art Collection

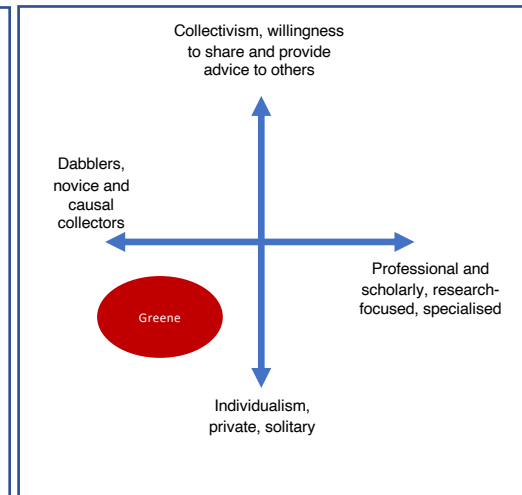
Greene's desire to learn more about her collection



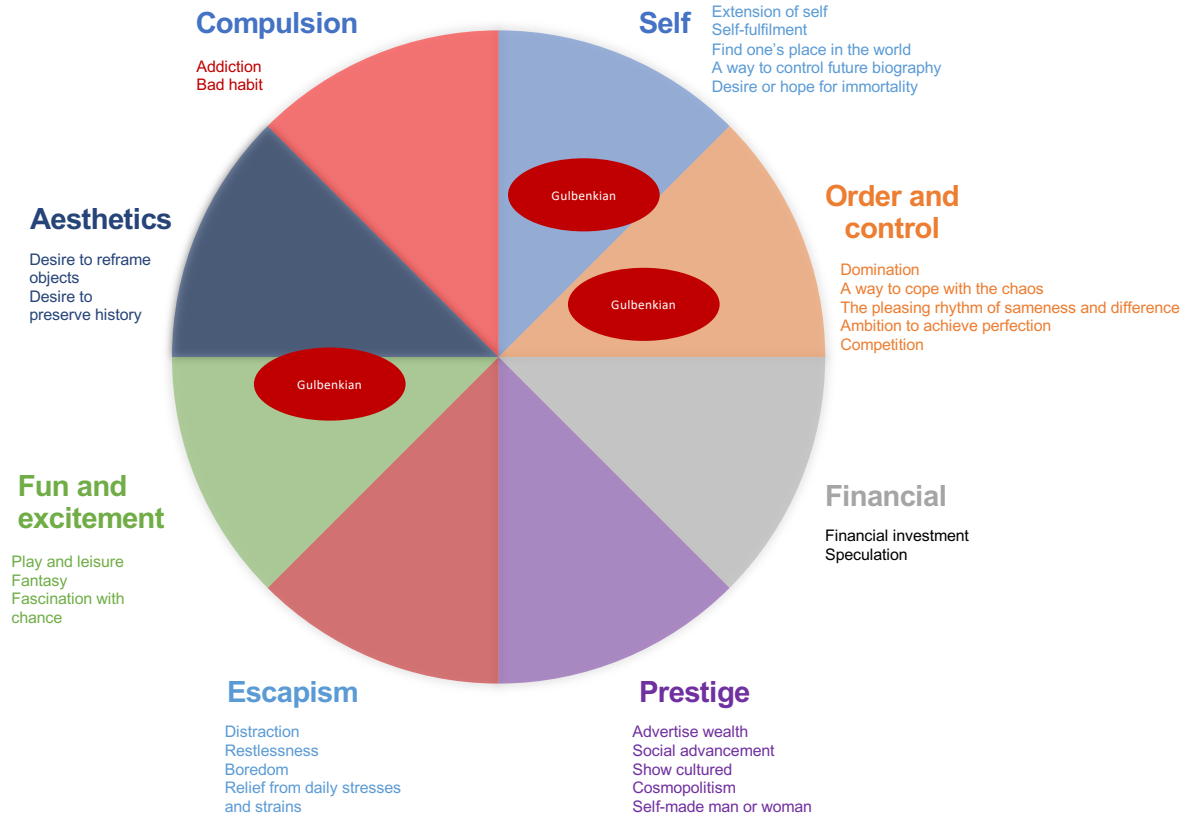
Greene's end goals for her collection



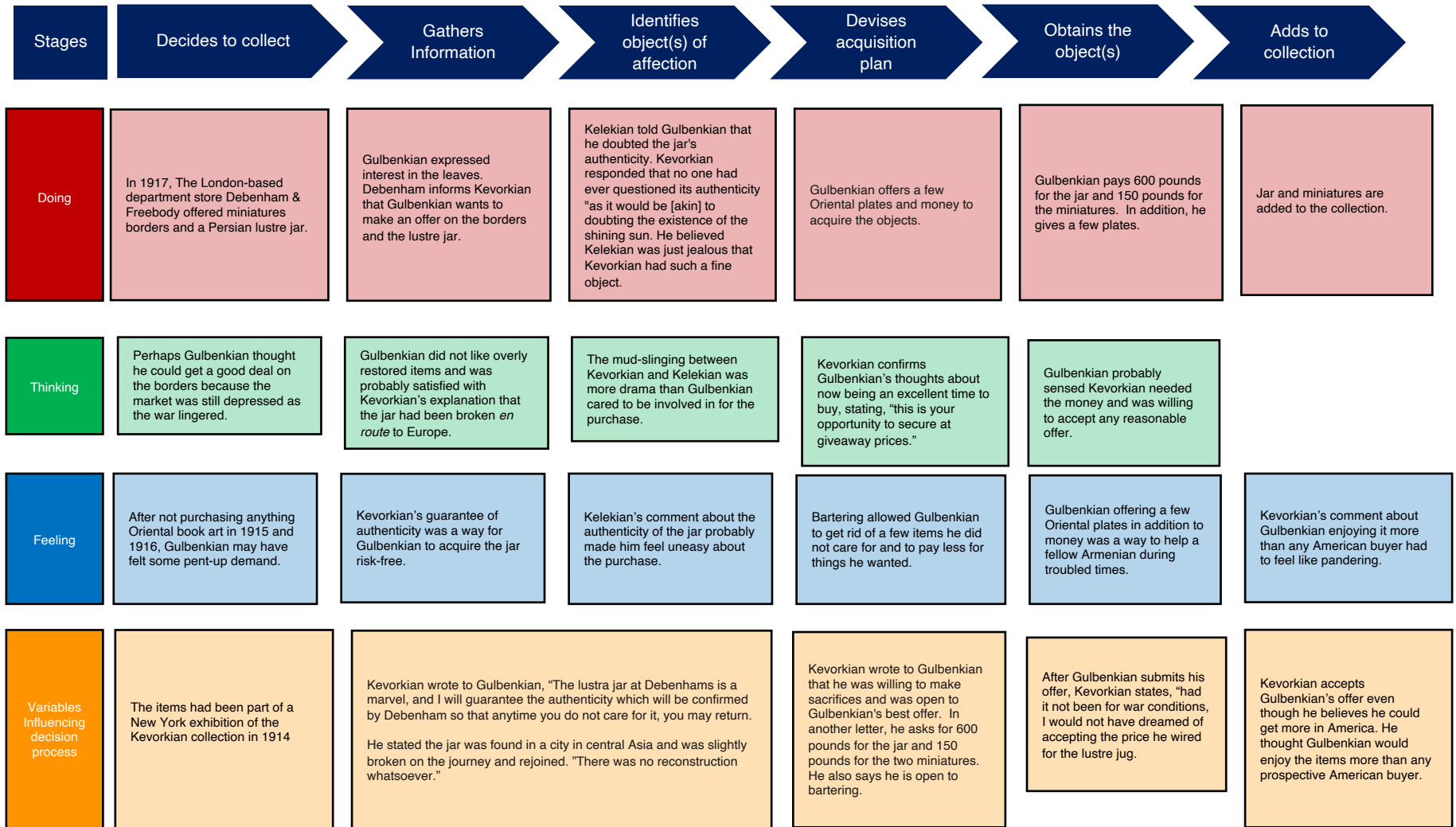
Greene's dedication to her collection



Appendix 3.6: Morgan's and Greene's Motivations for Collecting



Appendix 4.1: Mapping of Gulbenkian's Purchase Journey for Kevorkian Miniature Borders and Lustre Jar



Appendix 4.2: Variables Relevant to Gulbenkian's Oriental Book Art Collection Formation and Management Before Meeting Beatty

Information Inputs

Travels, Gulbenkian's grand tour to Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan, viewed the Gospel of Gelati and a fragment of a Qur'an, wrote two publications after the grand tour focused on carpets and oil finds.

Exhibitions, loaned a binding to the 1912 Exhibition in Paris, presumably also visited the Exhibition.

Scholars and curators: Fredrik Robert Martin, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl, Gaston Migeon, Edgard Blochet, Abraham Yohannan, Sheikh Mirza Muhammed Khan, Thomas Walker Arnold

Dealers/Intermediaries (items purchased): Thomas Gribble, Reiza Khan Monif, E. Beghian, Librarie H. Floury, Bernard Quaritch, H. James of Sotheby's, Léon Gruel, Setrak Devgantz, Der Ohanian, Ludwig Rosenthal, Mihran Krikor Gudéinian, Kirkor Minassian, Indjoudjian brothers, Hagop Kevorkian, Debenham & Freebody, Georges-Joseph Demotte, Edouard Yervant Hindamian, Léonce Rosenberg, I. Sassoon, Missak Séropian, Graat et Madoulé, Henri Leclerc, Engel-Gros, Frank T. Sabin, Hagop Kehyaian, Soliman Sawadji, and Missak Séropian

Dealers/Intermediaries (items not purchased): Joseph William Zaehnsdorf, Maggs, E. H. Dring (Quaritch)

Private collections: Kurt Zander, Yates Thompson, Claude Anet, Morgan, Frédéric Engel-Gros, Albert Goupil, Gaston Le Breton, Jacob Moussa Collection, Michael Tomkinson, Rudolf Meyer-Riefstahl collection seized during the war.

Auction houses: Christie's in London, Sotheby's in London, Galerie Georges Petit in Paris, and Hôtel Drouot in Paris

Reference materials: Migeon's *Arts musulmans*, Huart's book, Martin's book (M.71), 1910 Munich exhibition catalogue, Kevorkian 1914 exhibition in NY catalogue, Yates Thompson's 100 Manuscripts list, Sotheby's auction catalogues, *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* and *The Connoisseur*, Sarre's *Islamic Bookbindings* and possibly Stanley Clarke's Indian Drawings publication.

Information Processing

The Gospel of Gelati included a scene of a lion attacking a stag, a theme that would reappear in Gulbenkian's collection.

Gulbenkian dedicated time to educating himself about objects of interest; in 1903, he began tutorials at the Louvre with the curator and collector Camille Benoît, focused on Dutch & Italian works.

If a scholar had commented about an item of interest, it made the article more desirable.

Gulbenkian increased the estimated value of manuscripts in his collection if they had received scholarly attention while in his collection.

Gulbenkian was not confident in his connoisseurship skills and asked Dring for advice on the best manuscripts in the upcoming Yates Thompson sale.

Gulbenkian used respected ownership as a proxy for quality. After Pierpont Morgan's death, he contacted Belle da Costa Greene to see if she planned to sell any of the manuscripts from the collection.

Gulbenkian liked to study items first-hand under good light; he'd use photographs to form an opinion but would not decide based on photos alone.

Gulbenkian tended to bid on items illustrated in auction catalogues or discussed in scholarly journals.

Decision Process Stages

Decided to collect, Gulbenkian's knowledge of Persian carpets (family business) may have inspired him to collect bindings and frontispieces resembling carpet designs. Baron Edmond de Rothschild's gift of an important manuscript from the Yates Thompson auction may have also encouraged him to collect Islamic works.

Gathered information, Gulbenkian made notations in auction catalogues, viewed photographs and wanted to physically see (and hold) items of interest firsthand in the comfort of his home, preferably under good light; he consulted Dring about the best manuscripts in the upcoming Yates Thompson sale.

Identified object(s) of affection, he tended to bid on items featured in auction catalogues. However, he hesitated to view items in person at auctions (previews) because he believed his presence increased bids beyond reason.

Devised acquisition plan, Gulbenkian did not have a clear strategy during his early collection years. To compensate for his lack of knowledge and ensure he was buying first-class manuscripts, he'd purchase items from reputable collections. For example, Gulbenkian approached Belle da Costa Greene to see if she planned to sell manuscripts purchased while Pierpont Morgan was still alive. He may have devised an acquisition plan where Rothschild acted as a front for a manuscript of interest in the Yates Thompson sale.

Added/culled to the collection, Gulbenkian tended to add things to his collection that he had proactively sought versus items brought before him by dealers. When Gulbenkian became disenchanted with something, he'd offer to barter it for something he wanted or have an intermediary cull it from his collection.

Exhibition and storage of collection, Gulbenkian's first home in London Hyde Park Gardens and his apartment in Paris on the Quai d'Orsay were not suitable for exhibiting his collection. During the Great War, he sent many of his items to Biarritz, bank vaults, and dealers for storage. In 1922 Gulbenkian purchased a larger apartment in Paris along the Avenue d'Éna that had space to exhibit his collection; only one binding was shown in the 1912 Exhibition in Paris.

Provided access to the collection, Gulbenkian preferred to be present when scholars and fellow collectors viewed his collection. Walker requested access, and Y. Dawud and Rothschild visited his collection.

Collection published there was no formal publication of the collection. However, he kept a detailed inventory of the items in his collection, including dealers, auction catalogue descriptions and prices paid, including commissions.

Evaluations

Evaluation criteria, royal patronage, spoils-of-war, seals, no restoration, any repairs or restorations duly noted in the description, guarantee of date/age, illuminations and paintings decorated with birds, hunting scenes, wild animals, polo scenes, manuscripts of the Bukhara school, a brief interest in portraits of men reading, absolutely first-class, provenance - in the former collection of a prominent collector

Beliefs of a higher level of trust with his fellow Armenian trade diaspora, he freely gave financial advice and made investments on behalf of dealers (Duveen) and scholars (Migeon); when his financial advice paid off, works of art and advice on art were acceptable for gratitude.

Attitudes towards the market, "loath to give enormous prices although wanted the very best," refused to negotiate on price, wanted dealer's best price up-front, rarely counter-offered, in an item was being offered by a private collector, assumed the price was the price, tenacious business-oriented approach to collecting, had no problem exploiting the financial difficulties of others,

Internalized Environmental Influences

Cultural norms and values Gulbenkian was born into a wealthy Ottoman Armenian family, and he was most comfortable dealing with dealers from the same heritage; however, he was ill-equipped for the role of a gentleman collector in London trading circles. Racism also played a role in Gulbenkian's inability to access the best material.

Reference groups (friends), Gulbenkian had a very small group of confidants - Hagop Kevorkian, former business partner and lifelong friend, Setrak Devgantz, Gulbenkian's German tutor, and perhaps Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

General Motivating Influences

Motivations for collecting Gulbenkian's collection resemble collections formed by his contemporaries, such as Henry Frick. Perhaps his collection was a way to communicate that he was "one of them." Many of his purchases reflect other interests, such as his interest in birds and Persian carpets. He approached his collecting pastime with the same tenacity and seriousness used for professional business negotiations, but his collecting strategy before meeting Beatty was underdeveloped and scattered. Some of his purchases were ill-informed when he attempted to branch out beyond his comfort zone.

Personality, Gulbenkian was a very private man, wore a camel-hair dressing gown from Kurdistan while working during the day, had no desire to keep up appearances, rarely attended public events, and was not interested in titles or social vanities.

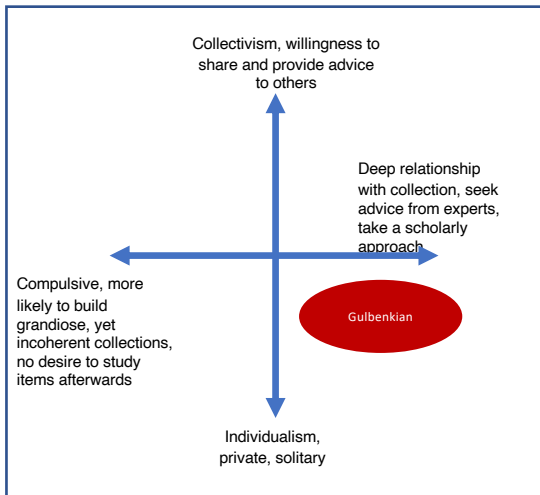
Normative compliance, Gulbenkian only sometimes lived up to his commitments but knew he had the power to do as he pleased. He had no problems asking Dring for advice on the best manuscripts knowing he would not give Quaritch commissions; Dring believed Gulbenkian's interest in Islamic objects was superficial.

Outcomes and Barriers

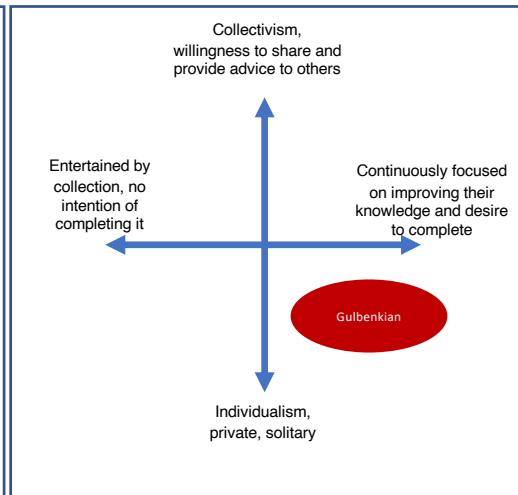
Items that had been overcleaned or restored
Concerns about the authenticity of the items he purchases from Der Ohanian

Appendix 4.3: Gulbenkian's Collecting Personality Quadrants

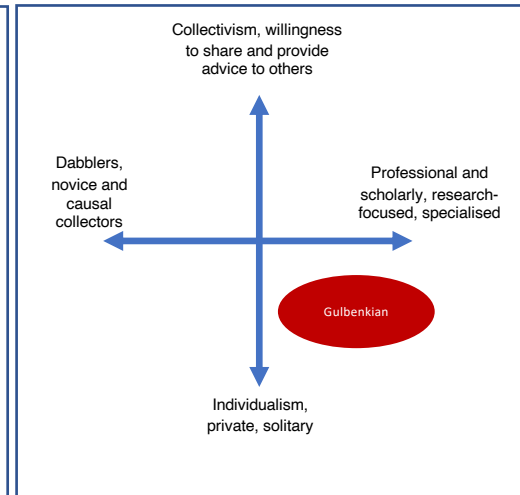
Gulbenkian's desire to learn more about his collection



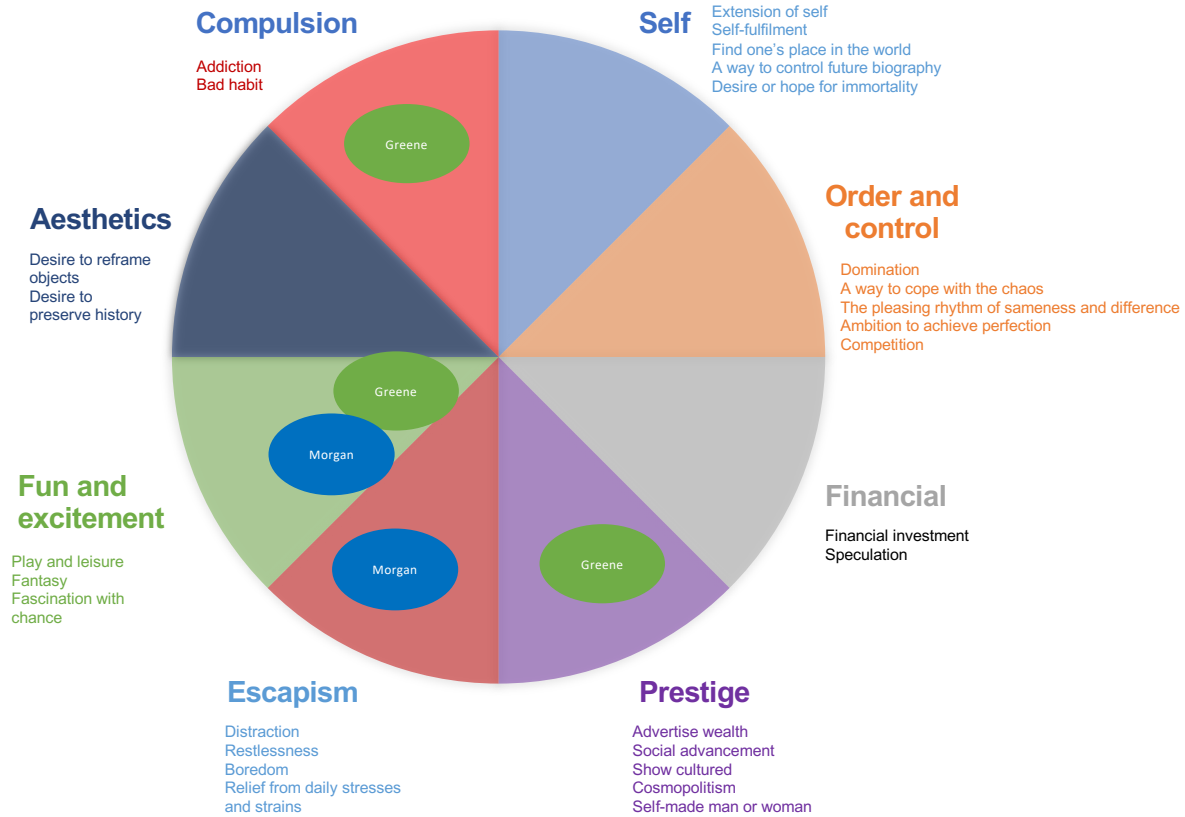
Gulbenkian's end goals for his collection



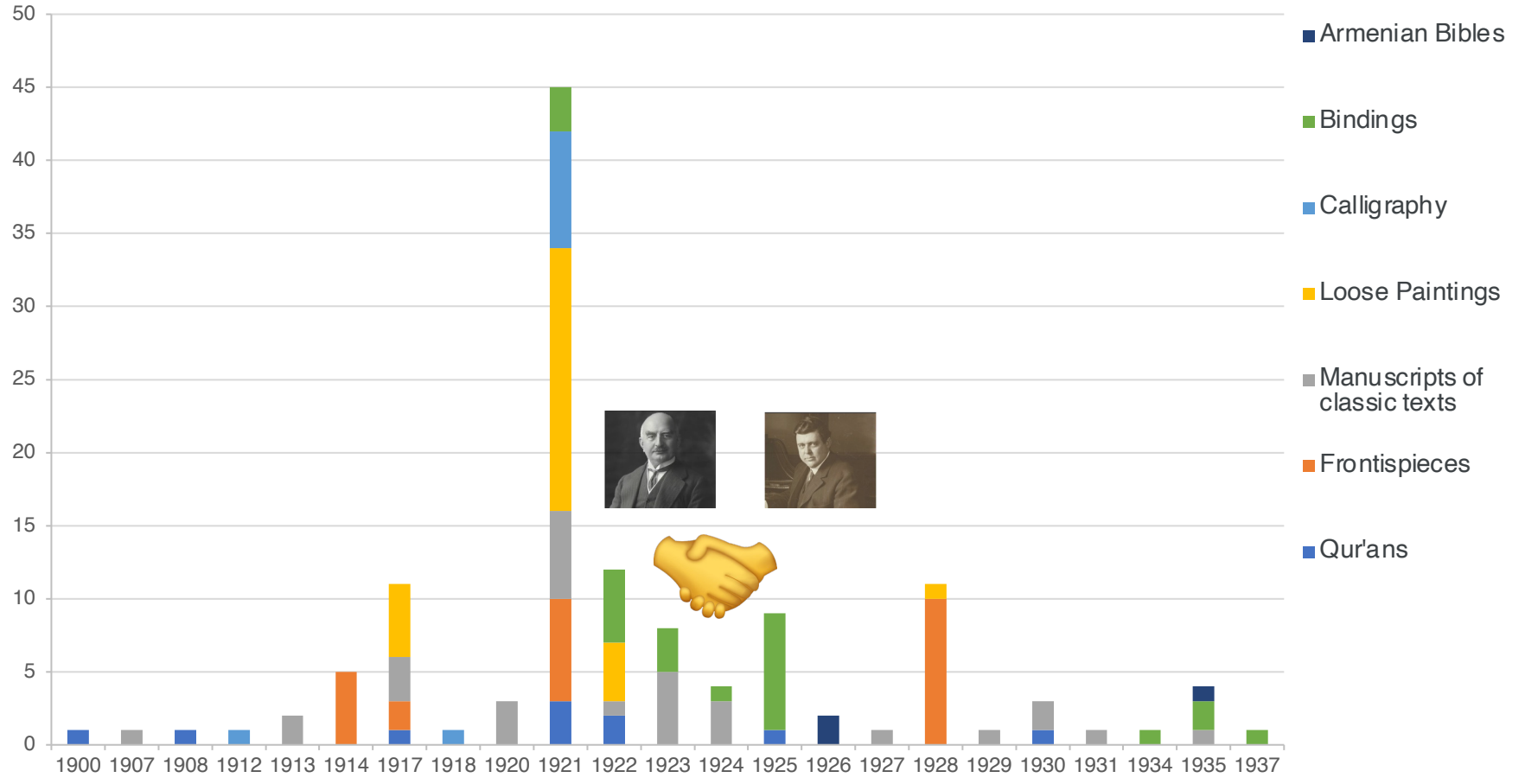
Gulbenkian's dedication to his collection



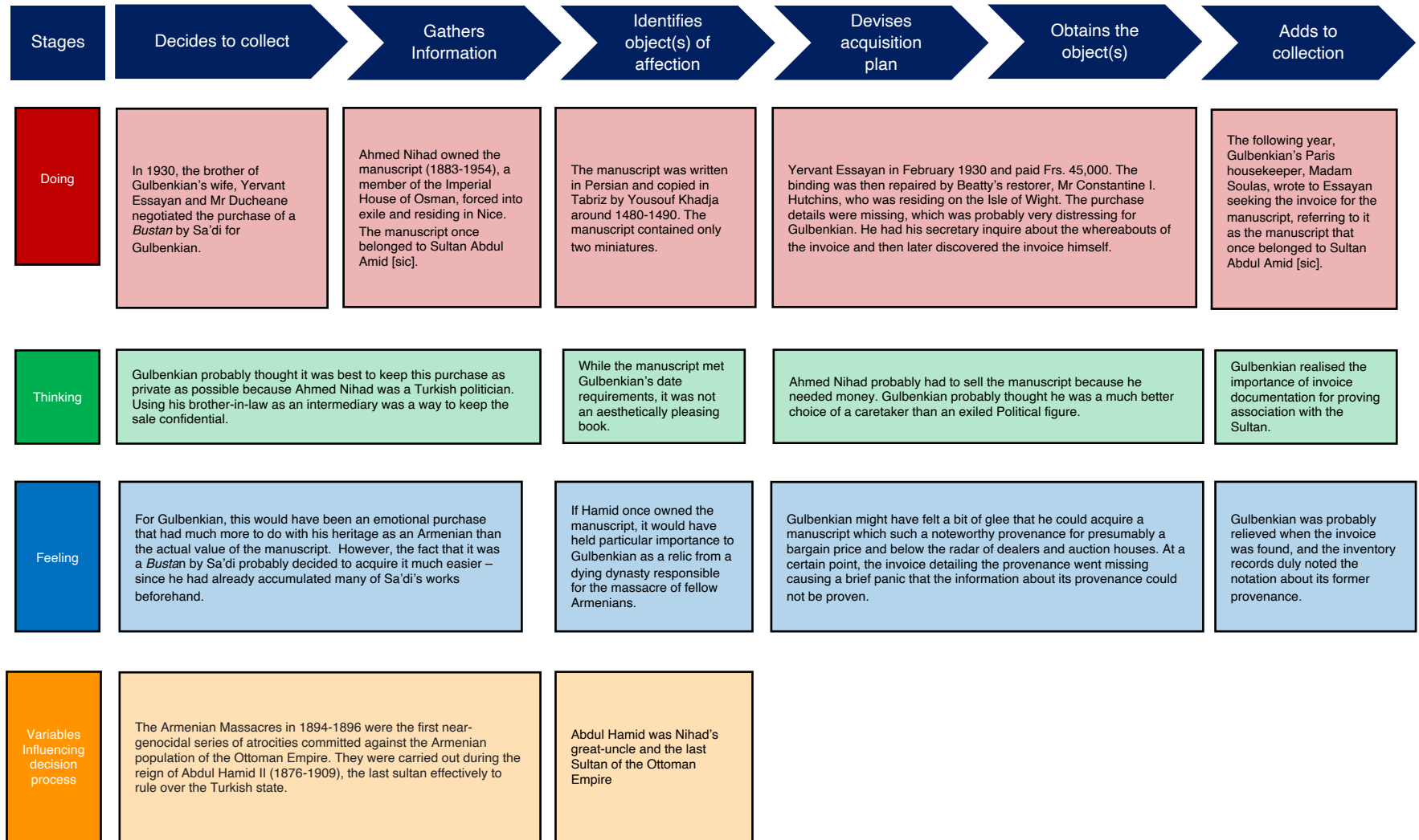
Appendix 4.4: Gulbenkian's Motivations for Collecting



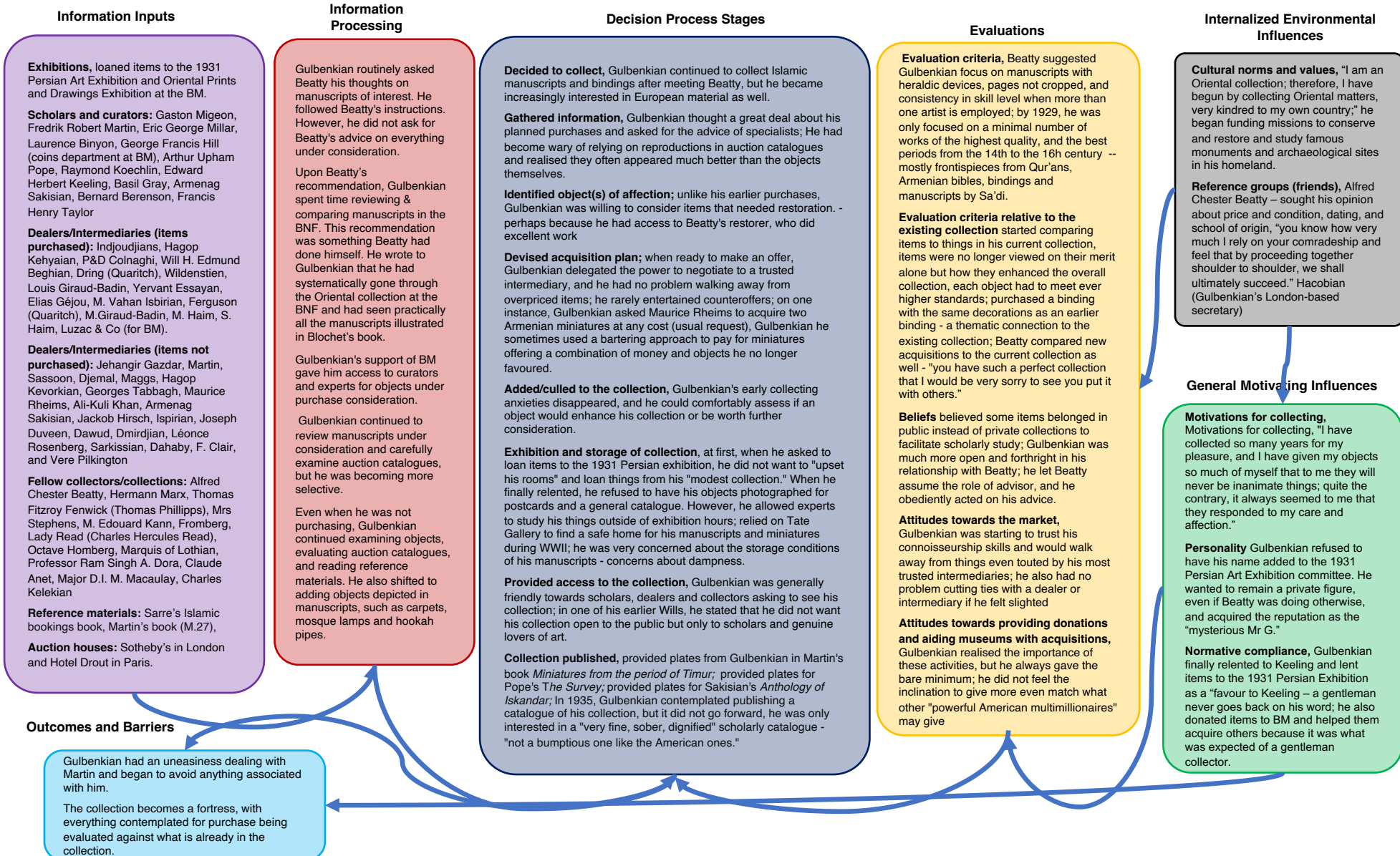
Appendix 5.1: Gulbenkian's Collecting Strategy Before and After Meeting Beatty in 1924



Appendix 5.2: Mapping of Gulbenkian's Purchase Journey for Sa'di Manuscript



Appendix 5.3: Variables Relevant to Gulbenkian's Oriental Book Art Collection Formation and Management After Meeting Beatty



Information Inputs

Exhibitions, loaned items to the 1931 Persian Art Exhibition and Oriental Prints and Drawings Exhibition at the BM.

Scholars and curators: Gaston Migeon, Fredrik Robert Martin, Eric George Millar, Laurence Binyon, George Francis Hill (coins department at BM), Arthur Upham Pope, Raymond Koechlin, Edward Herbert Keeling, Basil Gray, Armenag Sakisian, Bernard Berenson, Francis Henry Taylor

Dealers/Intermediaries (items purchased): Indjoudjians, Hagop Kehyaian, P&D Colnaghi, Will H. Edmund Beghian, Dring (Quaritch), Wildenstien, Louis Giraud-Badin, Yervant Essayan, Elias Géjou, M. Vahan Isbirian, Ferguson (Quaritch), M.Giraud-Badin, M. Haim, S. Haim, Luzac & Co (for BM).

Dealers/Intermediaries (items not purchased): Jehangir Gazdar, Martin, Sassoon, Djemal, Maggs, Hagop Kevorkian, Georges Tabbagh, Maurice Rheims, Ali-Kuli Khan, Armenag Sakisian, Jakob Hirsch, Ispirian, Joseph Duveen, Dawud, Dmirdjian, Léonce Rosenberg, Sarkissian, Dahaby, F. Clair, and Vere Pilkington

Fellow collectors/collections: Alfred Chester Beatty, Hermann Marx, Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (Thomas Philipps), Mrs Stephens, M. Edouard Kann, Fromberg, Lady Read (Charles Hercules Read), Octave Homberg, Marquis of Lothian, Professor Ram Singh A. Dora, Claude Anet, Major D.I. M. Macaulay, Charles Kelekian

Reference materials: Sarre's Islamic bookings book, Martin's book (M.27),

Auction houses: Sotheby's in London and Hotel Drouot in Paris.

Information Processing

Gulbenkian routinely asked Beatty his thoughts on manuscripts of interest. He followed Beatty's instructions. However, he did not ask for Beatty's advice on everything under consideration.

Upon Beatty's recommendation, Gulbenkian spent time reviewing & comparing manuscripts in the BNF. This recommendation was something Beatty had done himself. He wrote to Gulbenkian that he had systematically gone through the Oriental collection at the BNF and had seen practically all the manuscripts illustrated in Blochet's book.

Gulbenkian's support of BM gave him access to curators and experts for objects under purchase consideration.

Gulbenkian continued to review manuscripts under consideration and carefully examine auction catalogues, but he was becoming more selective.

Even when he was not purchasing, Gulbenkian continued examining objects, evaluating auction catalogues, and reading reference materials. He also shifted to adding objects depicted in manuscripts, such as carpets, mosque lamps and hookah pipes.

Decision Process Stages

Decided to collect, Gulbenkian continued to collect Islamic manuscripts and bindings after meeting Beatty, but he became increasingly interested in European material as well.

Gathered information, Gulbenkian thought a great deal about his planned purchases and asked for the advice of specialists; He had become wary of relying on reproductions in auction catalogues and realised they often appeared much better than the objects themselves.

Identified object(s) of affection; unlike his earlier purchases, Gulbenkian was willing to consider items that needed restoration. - perhaps because he had access to Beatty's restorer, who did excellent work

Devised acquisition plan; when ready to make an offer, Gulbenkian delegated the power to negotiate to a trusted intermediary, and he had no problem walking away from overpriced items; he rarely entertained counteroffers; on one instance, Gulbenkian asked Maurice Rheims to acquire two Armenian miniatures at any cost (usual request), Gulbenkian he sometimes used a bartering approach to pay for miniatures offering a combination of money and objects he no longer favoured.

Added/culled to the collection, Gulbenkian's early collecting anxieties disappeared, and he could comfortably assess if an object would enhance his collection or be worth further consideration.

Exhibition and storage of collection, at first, when he asked to loan items to the 1931 Persian exhibition, he did not want to "upset his rooms" and loan things from his "modest collection." When he finally relented, he refused to have his objects photographed for postcards and a general catalogue. However, he allowed experts to study his things outside of exhibition hours; relied on Tate Gallery to find a safe home for his manuscripts and miniatures during WWII; he was very concerned about the storage conditions of his manuscripts - concerns about dampness.

Provided access to the collection, Gulbenkian was generally friendly towards scholars, dealers and collectors asking to see his collection; in one of his earlier Wills, he stated that he did not want his collection open to the public but only to scholars and genuine lovers of art.

Collection published, provided plates from Gulbenkian in Martin's book *Miniatures from the period of Timur*; provided plates for Pope's *The Survey*; provided plates for Sakisian's *Anthology of Iskandar*; In 1935, Gulbenkian contemplated publishing a catalogue of his collection, but it did not go forward, he was only interested in a "very fine, sober, dignified" scholarly catalogue - "not a bumptious one like the American ones."

Evaluations

Evaluation criteria, Beatty suggested Gulbenkian focus on manuscripts with heraldic devices, pages not cropped, and consistency in skill level when more than one artist is employed; by 1929, he was only focused on a minimal number of works of the highest quality, and the best periods from the 14th to the 16th century -- mostly frontispieces from Qur'ans, Armenian bibles, bindings and manuscripts by Sa'di.

Evaluation criteria relative to the existing collection started comparing items to things in his current collection, items were no longer viewed on their merit alone but how they enhanced the overall collection, each object had to meet ever higher standards; purchased a binding with the same decorations as an earlier binding - a thematic connection to the existing collection; Beatty compared new acquisitions to the current collection as well - "you have such a perfect collection that I would be very sorry to see you put it with others."

Beliefs believed some items belonged in public instead of private collections to facilitate scholarly study; Gulbenkian was much more open and forthright in his relationship with Beatty; he let Beatty assume the role of advisor, and he obediently acted on his advice.

Attitudes towards the market, Gulbenkian was starting to trust his connoisseurship skills and would walk away from things even touted by his most trusted intermediaries; he also had no problem cutting ties with a dealer or intermediary if he felt slighted

Attitudes towards providing donations and aiding museums with acquisitions, Gulbenkian realised the importance of these activities, but he always gave the bare minimum; he did not feel the inclination to give more even match what other "powerful American multimillionaires" may give

Internalized Environmental Influences

Cultural norms and values, "I am an Oriental collection; therefore, I have begun by collecting Oriental matters, very kindred to my own country;" he began funding missions to conserve and restore and study famous monuments and archaeological sites in his homeland.

Reference groups (friends), Alfred Chester Beatty -- sought his opinion about price and condition, dating, and school of origin, "you know how very much I rely on your comradeship and feel that by proceeding together shoulder to shoulder, we shall ultimately succeed." Hacobian (Gulbenkian's London-based secretary)

General Motivating Influences

Motivations for collecting, Motivations for collecting, "I have collected so many years for my pleasure, and I have given my objects so much of myself that to me they will never be inanimate things; quite the contrary, it always seemed to me that they responded to my care and affection."

Personality Gulbenkian refused to have his name added to the 1931 Persian Art Exhibition committee. He wanted to remain a private figure, even if Beatty was doing otherwise, and acquired the reputation as the "mysterious Mr G."

Normative compliance, Gulbenkian finally relented to Keeling and lent items to the 1931 Persian Exhibition as a "favour to Keeling -- a gentleman never goes back on his word; he also donated items to BM and helped them acquire others because it was what was expected of a gentleman collector.

Outcomes and Barriers

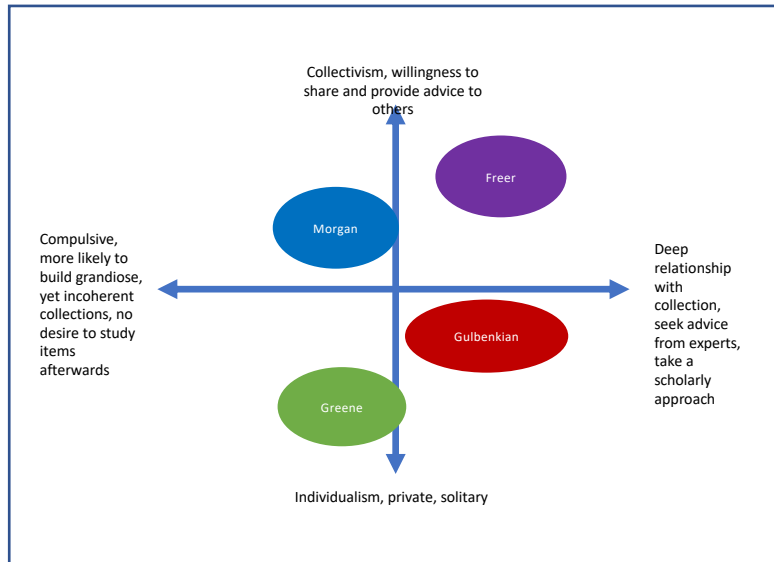
Gulbenkian had an uneasiness dealing with Martin and began to avoid anything associated with him.

The collection becomes a fortress, with everything contemplated for purchase being evaluated against what is already in the collection.

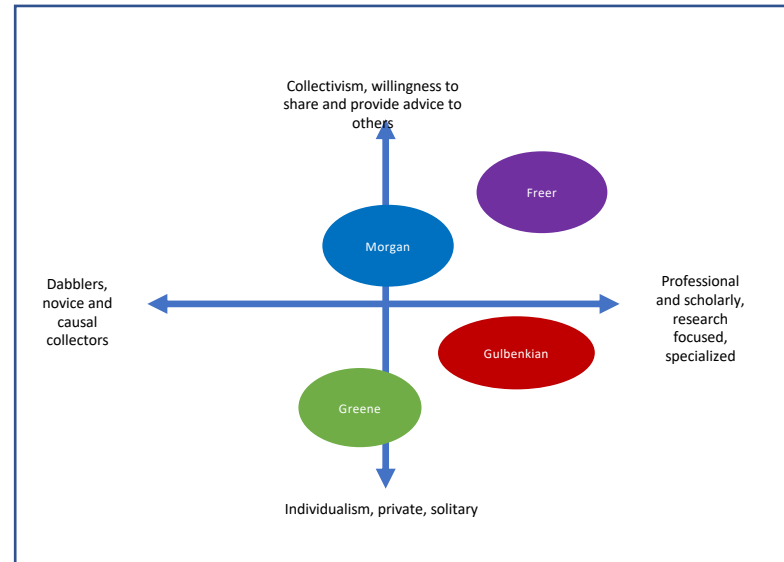
Appendix 7.1: Collecting Personalities

Collecting Personalities

Collectors' desire to learn more about their collections

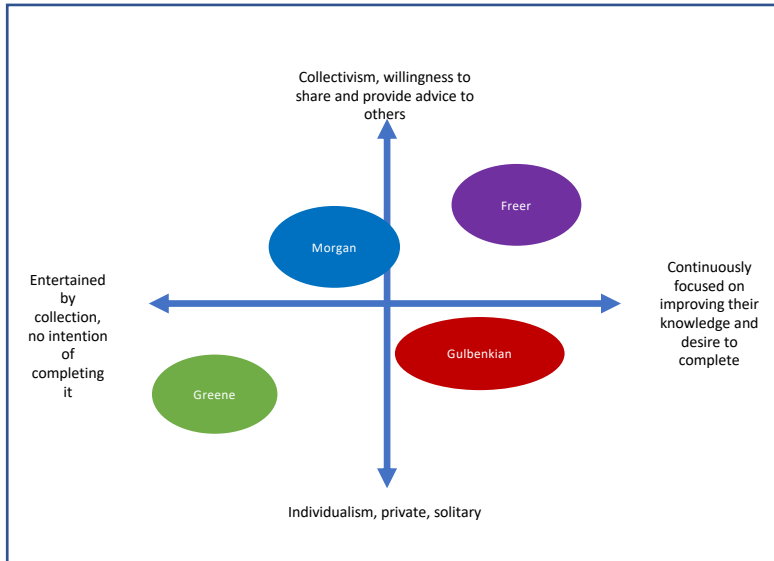


Collectors' dedication to their collections

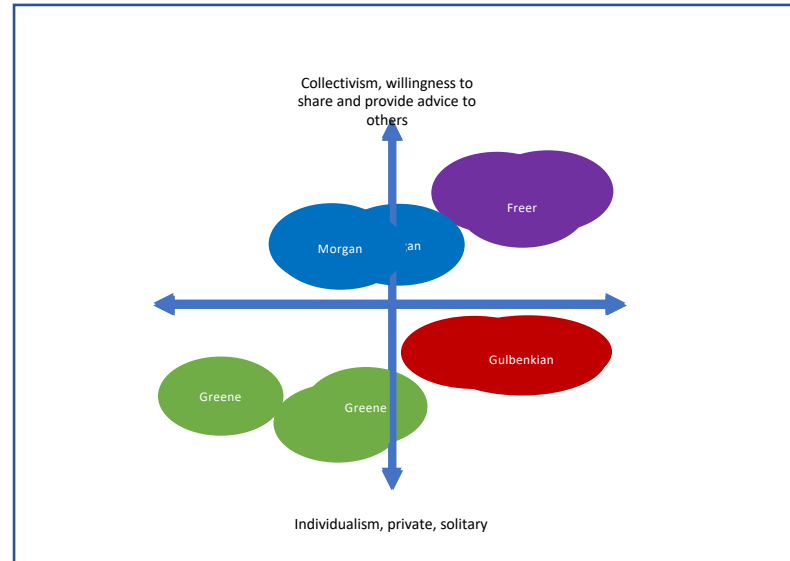


Appendix 7.2: Collecting Personalities Continued

Collectors' end goals for their collections



All three quadrant charts overlaid



Appendix 7.3: Motivations for Collecting

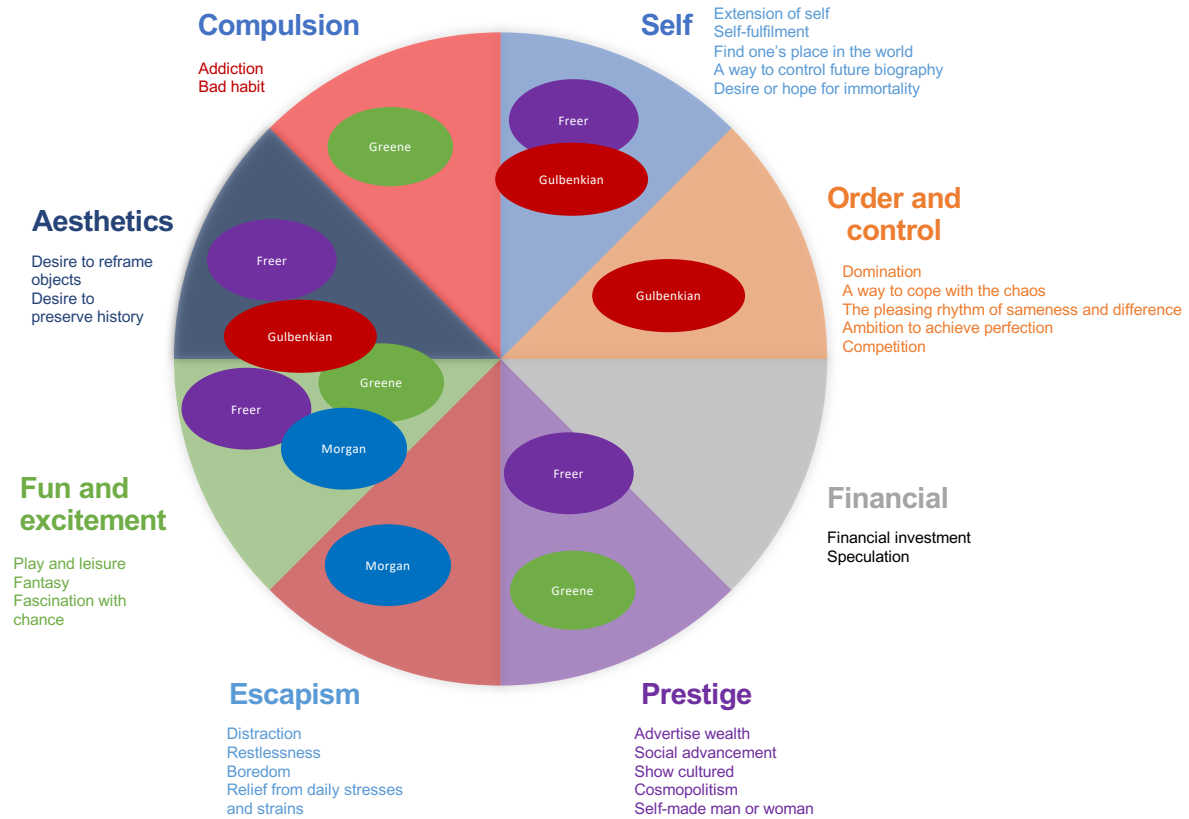
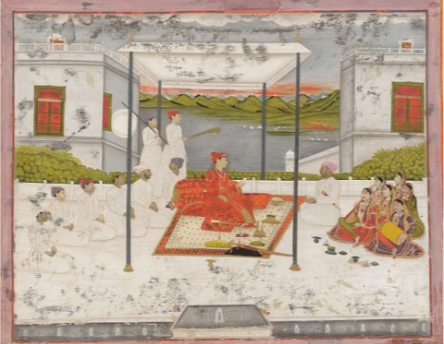





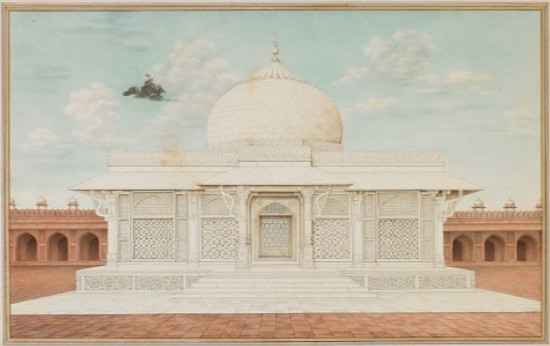









TABLE 2.1: FREER COLLECTION OF MINIATURES AND MANUSCRIPTS AND NOTATIONS MADE IN DOWDESWELL & DOWDESWELLS CATALOGUE





Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
Back not at Great Barrington, Destroyed June 29, 1920	Large	25	Not available	99. Sirdar Lala Singh: one of Runjeet Singh's famous Seik'h Generals. Painted at the commencement of this century.
F1907.186	Superb	200		1. The emperor Jahangir in his diwan-i-khas or hall of private audience. Now titled A Darbar of Jahangir
F1907.187	Superb, small	100		2. Portrait of Emperor Jahangir A.D. 1605-1628




Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
F1907.188	Superb, damaged at side	250		3. Raja Nawal Rai Bahadur. Portrait of a nawab
F1907.189	Superb	250		5. The Iron Pillar. This Pillar, which and in the centre of the Mosque of Kutbu'l Islam, is believed to date rom the 4th century after Christ and to have been erected where it now stands by Anang Pal A.D. 1051
F1907.190	Superb, small	150		6. Portrait of Emperor Shahjahan. 1628-1658. Now 17th century



Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
F1907.191	Superb - base torn off	150		7. Zenna Scene with fireworks (a fragment).
F1907.192	Large	75		15. The Tomb of Shekh Salim at Fathpur Sikri Died A.d, 1571. Now Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chisti, at Fathpur Sikri, late 19th century
F1907.193	Small, v.t.	200		16. Fight on banks of a river (very old.)




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F1907.194	Mir Ali.	75		17. David, Illuminated Back
F1907.195		25		18. Incantation. Now titled Female performer with tanpura.
F1907.196	Superb, large horse, and many small ones	250		19. The Emperor Shahjahan (1615-1658) and his son Dara. Etching painting. Now titled Shah Jahan and his son Dara Shikoh hunting. c. 1790




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F1907.197		75		20. Prince and Princess on Horseback
F1907.198	Fine- Torn	200		21. Angels ministering to Christ. Painted in Akbar's reign, 1556-1605. Illuminated Back. Now titled Sultan Ibrahim Ibn Adham of Balkh visited by Angels. Damaged, color and gold, Gold mount with floral arabesques; floral designs on reverse, and writing.
F1907.199		100		23. Deer-stalking by Night. The young Emperor Akbar on Horseback. A.D. 1556-1605. Now titled A Dear Hunting at Night, 18th century




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F1907.200	Very fine	200		25. Village Scene. End of the 16th century. Now titled a Village scene, c. 1640.
F1907.201		200		27. The Emperor Jahangir and the Persian Envoys. Jehangir succeeded his father Akbar, the Persians had thoughts of invading India, but sent envoys to ascertain what manner of man the new Emperor might be. Jehangir divining their purpose, received them holding a tiger under each arm. Now titled A Nawab of Oudh.
F1907.203	Fine	200		31. The Diwan-i-Khas. Delhi. Now titled A Prince holding an audience
F1907.204				32, Raja Jaswant Singh Hunting. Raja of Jodhpur in the reigns of the Shahjahan and Aurungzeb. Landscape—a hunting scene. Now titled Landscape—a hunting scene.




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F1907.205	Good	150		33. Zenna Scene with Dancing Boy. Illuminated Back, Now titled A visit at night to a mullah
F1907.206				35. The Emperor Humayan's Tomb. 1556. Now titled Tomb of Emperor Humayun at Delhi 19th century
F1907.207	Good	250		37. Girls dancing before the Emperor Shahjahan. Now titled A Palace scene




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F1907.208		150		39, Queen Kaulapati halting at a well. Now titled a group of women at a well.
F1907.209	Torn	150		41. Princes, Dancers and Musicians. Illuminated Back. Now titled A Princess entertained by a dancer; attendants and musicians.
F1907.210	****	200		42. Abu Said Mirza hunting by Night. Great Grandson of Timur 1443-1463. Now titled A Deer Hunting At Night, early 18th century.




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F1907.211	Fine,**	150		43. Girl carrying Basket. Now titled A Girl Carrying a Basket on her head
F1907.212	****	200		45. Emperor Jahangir Hawking. Now titled A Mounted man hunting birds with a falcon
F1907.213	****, signed on back Fakir Allah, Fine	200		47. Zenna Scene




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F1907.214				51. The Taj Mahal, near Agra. Tomb of Mamtaz Mahal, wife of the Emperor Shahjahan. Now titled The Taj Mahal.
F1907.215		75		53. Rama and his Allies, the Bears and Monkeys, before Lanka. Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, the hero of Ramayan. Now titled Prince Rama preparing to lay siege to Lanka
F1907.216		100		54. Composite Camel. Now titled A Composite camel and a rider.




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F1907.217		150		55. Hindu Money Lender and his Mahomedan Clients. Now titled A Hindu and three Mahometans
F1907.218	**	30		56. Maharaja Bikram Sohail of Nepal. Now titled King Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal
F1907.219	***, superb	100		57. Nurjahan. Wife of the Emperor Jahangir. Now titled Portrait of a lady.




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F1907.220				58. A Yogi. A Holy Man, a Worshipper of Siva. Now titled Yogi.
F1907.221	**....including illegible	75		59. A group of Rajputana Women. Now titled Royal women visit yoginis
F1907.222	***	100		61. The Prophet's Tomb at Medina. Now titled Tomb of the Prophet at Medina




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F1907.223	****	75		62. Mahomet. Now titled Portrait of a mullah
F1907.224	***			63. A Princess in Gold Dress, Now titled Princess with wine cup
F1907.225	****, good	150 (est)		64. A Chinaman at the Court of Akbar. Now titled Figure of a man with a sword



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F1907.226	***			65. Jalaluddin Miran Shan, Son of Telmur A.D. 1414-1417. Now titled portrait of a Prince, early 19th century
F1907.227	good	150		66. A Fairy waking a Prince. Now titled A Fairy awakening a prince.
F1907.228		75		67. Rakshasa, Gigantic and Malignant Demons. Now titled <i>A Council at Lanka</i> , an episode from the <i>Ramayana</i>




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F1907.229	**, good	50		68. Night Hunting Scene. Now titled Bhils hunting deer at night
F1907.230		50		69. Royal Musicians. Now titled Four Musicians.
F1907.231	****, V.O.	150		70. Mahommed Shah. A.D. 1719-1748. Now titled Portrait of an Officer

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F1907.232	****	100		71. Terrace Scene. Now titled Lovers on a terrace with three musicians
F1907.233	****, superb	150		72. Saftar Jung. Vizier of the Emperor Ahmed Shah. A.D. 1748-1754. Now titled Portrait of Safdar Jang. Early 18th century
F1907.234		150		73. Tuklakabad. The Delhi of the Tuklak Dynasty. A.D. 1321-1412. Now titled Tombs near Delhi, 19th century




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F1907.235	****, superb	200		75. Lady, Child and Attendant. Now titled A Lady arranging her hair, attendant and child
F1907.236	****, excellent or extra good, difficult to read	200		76. Ahmed Khan Durani. King of Kandahar - The Victor of the Battle of Panipat. A.D. 1761. Now titled Portrait of a Prince.
F1907.237	***	75 (est)		77. The Poet Sadi and his Family. Author of the Gulistan, or Rose Garden and other works. Now titled A Teacher and his pupils




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F1907.238	***	100 (est)		78. Women Bathing. Now titled Women bathing in a lake
F1907.239		75		79. A Sketch of a Warrior. Now titled Standing figure of a man, a sadhu
F1907.240		30 (est)		80. Lady, Attendant and Musicians. Now titled A Lady and attendant on a terrace at evening, with three women musicians




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F1907.241	...Ketan Khan Torn V.T.	100		81. Amal-i-Mir. A celebrated Hunter in the time of Akbar. Now titled A visit to a hermitage of Saiva ascetics, in a forest at night. Similar to MS M.458.32 Morgan
F1907.242	**	50		83. A Sick Man and his Wives. Now titled A sick man surrounded by his family
F1907.243	****Fine	100		84. Nawab Roshanu'd Daulah - The Builder of the Golden Mosque at Delhi. A.D. 1721. Now titled Portrait of an officer, c. 1660 Similar to MS M.458.9 at Morgan




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F1907.244	**** Fine	150		85. The Emperor Baber and his Army. A.D. 1491-1530. Now titled An emperor on horseback, surrounded by his troops, 17th-18th century
F1907.245	Good	100		87. A girl by the waterside.
F1907.246	****			89. Mecca. Now titled View in Mecca: the Ka'ba and the Great Mosque, from the north




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F1907.247	interesting			90. A Braminah Bull. Now titled Indian Bull
F1907.248	good	200		91. Krishna, An Incarnation of Vishnu. Now titled A musical mode (Sri Raga): Krisna and Radha on a terrace
F1907.249	****, superb	200		93. The Emperor Jahangir. A.D. 1605-1628. Now titled Figure of an emperor seated on a terrace, 19th century



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F1907.250	****	100		94. A Cavalry Skirmish in olden days. Now titled Battle scene
F1907.251	***	75		95. Women Bathing. Now titled A group of women, bathing
F1907.252	****, superb	75		96. Princess and Child. Now titled A princess and a child




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F1907.253	****, superb	75		97. A Moonshee. Now titled A portrait of I'timad ad-Dawlah
F1907.254	****, superb	300		100. The Emperor Aurungzeb. A.D. 1658. 1707. Now titled Portrait bust
F1907.255		50 (est)		101. The Marriage of Rama and Sita. Illuminated Back. Now titled A Holi festival


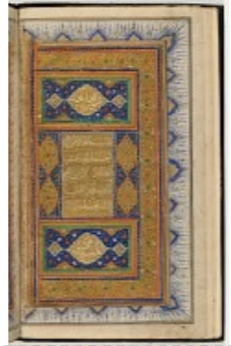

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F1907.256	Fine	150 (est)		105. Nadir Shah, King of Persia. Captured Delhi and massacred its inhabitants, A.D. 1739, 100,000 are said to have perished on that awful day, Now titled Portrait of Nadir Shah. Mid-18th century
F1907.257	Good	100 (est)		106. A Mourner. Now titled A musical mode (varari ragini)
F1907.258	Superb, Mir Ali	250		107. The Emperor Jahangir in his Palace A.D. 1605-1628. Illuminated Back. Now titled Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained by Nur Jahan. ca. 1640-50.




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F1907.259	Fine	150		108. Akbar II. King of Delhi. A,D. 1806-1837. Now titled Portrait of Akbar II, A.D. 1806-1837
F1907.260	Fine	75		109. Sippi Dar Khan. Now titled Portrait of an officer
F1907.261		75		111. Badshah Mahinddin Qadari. Now titled A ruler seated on a terrace in conversation with a mullah




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F1907.262	Good Illuminated Back underlined and find –?	100		113. A Fortune-Teller. Illuminated Back. Fortune-telling; a group of women on a terrace at night, no back.
F1907.263	Destroyed, replaced by a group of ladies of the emperor Akbar's court, Illuminated back, painted to the end of the sixteenth century			114. The Murder of Major W. Frazer. A.D. 1833. This painting was destroyed. Hanna offered in its place a miniature of Musicians and dancers centre with Cymbals 21 figures, willow trees at top with an Illuminated back, Now titled A group of women in a garden, entertaining themselves with music and dancing, mid 18th century
F1907.264	Fine	150 (est)		115. The Emperor Roushen Aktar Mohammed Shah, 1719-1748, Now titled Portrait of an emperor, 18th century




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F1907.265	Mohammed Fadil In Hagi	75		117. A Terrace Scene. Illuminated Back. Now titled Lovers on a terrace, with an attendant and musicians
F1907.266	Fine	200		121. The Emperor Aurungzeb (Alamgir) A.D., 1658-1707. Now titled Portrait of an emperor, 18th century
F1907.267	Superb	100		124. The Adoration of the Magi. Now titled Adoration of the Christ Child




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F1907.268	Superb	100		125. Nawab Zufigar Uddaula. Vizier of Jehandar Shah. Now titled Portrait of a nawab
F1907.269	Good	50		126. A Millstone Cutter, Now titled An old man, dressing a millstone
F1907.271		5000?		1. Ramayana or Story of Rama. Now spilt into two volumes.




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F1907.272		2250		2. Hamlai Hydi or Wars of Mahomed. Now titled Hamlah-i-Haidari (Combats of the Lion)
F1907.274		155		4. Koran. Now titled Qur'an
F1907.275	OK S.L,	250		5. Select Poems of Kemal, Salman, Hafiz and Kasim-ul-anvar. Nealty written in Nastalik characters, and containing eight beautifully executed miniature pictures and illuinatsion in the best Persian style. A very old copy of the fifteenth century. Now titled: Poetic anthrology




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F1907.276				<p>An Album of Indo-Persian & one Italian engraving 28 paintings, 16 calligraphies, must list; Persian. 1588. (G.D.G) Now titled An album, bound in painted leather covers, containing paintings and calligraphies. Similar to MS M.458.11 at Morgan</p>
F1907.581		100		<p>4. Wild Beasts killing their Game. Now titled Six groups of fighting animals.</p>
F1907.582		30		<p>8. Evening- Lovers. Illuminated Back.</p>

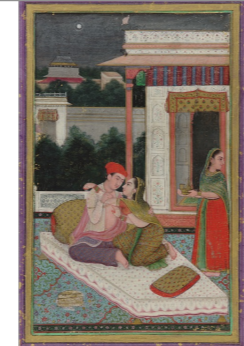


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F1907.583	Large	150		9. Tamberlane and his most trusted Counsellors. He invaded India in 1398, and committed great atrocities. Now titled Ancestral Timurid group Late 18th century
F1907.584		50		10. Amir Teimur, titled Tamerland, Khan of Tartary. A.D. 1377- 1414. Now titled A Ruler and a Courtier. 19th century.
F1907.585	Large	75		11. A Native Chief and his Son.




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F1907.586	Injured	75		12. Tiger Shooting (a fragment). Fine specimen of the "Ek Bag Kalam" one-haired brush. Now titled Tiger hunting.
F1907.587		50		13. A Persian Princess. Now titled A princess entertaining a visitor.
F1907.588		50		14. A Rajputana Sepoy of the 18th Century.




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F1907.589	Fine	200		22. The Madonna descending near a Hindi Temple. End of the 16th century. Now titled Landscape with a figure of the Virgin Mary
F1907.590		50		24. Composite Horse. Now titled composite horse and rider.
F1907.591		50		26. Tuti Begum, a Persian Princess. Now titled Portrait of a Princess.


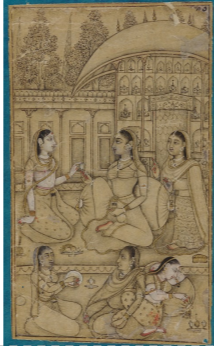

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F1907.592	Torn	150		28. Jehangir standing on the Globe. A.D. 1605-1623, Painted on Vellum. Now titled Shahjahan standing on a globe. 19th century painted on paper.
F1907.593		25		28a. Portrait of Shah Alam. 1707-1712. Now titled Portrait of Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, early 19th century.
F1907.594		200		30. A Rescue. Now titled Men rescued from drowning




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F1907.594 number is wrong! Appears to be a duplicate of F1907.202	Fine			29. Emperor Jahangir and Elephant. Citizens appealing to Jahangir not to deprive them of their favourite Elephant, Kanjar. Now titled A Darbar of Jahangir
F1907.595				34, A Woman grinding corn.
F1907.596				36. Khusrao and his wife Shiri. The Loves of Khusrao (Chosroes) and Shirin (Irene) daughter of the Greek Emperor Maurice, from the subject of one of the Poet Ami Khusrau's metrical romances (Died A.D. 1315). Now A Noble Pair on Horseback, 19th century




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F1907.597		50		38. Lovers. Lovers on a terrace
F1907.598		25		40. A Blind Man
F1907.599		50		44. A Boy. Now titled Seated Youth




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F1907.600		50		46.Durga or Kali. Wife of the God Siva. Now titled Devi standing four-armed with Siva prostrate
F1907.601		75		48. Nawab Ahmed Buksht Khan. Now titled Portrait of a European
F1907.602				49. Threefold picture of the Goddess Devi and Demons. Now titled Durga fighting the rakshashas Shunga and Nishunga, from a Devi Mahatmya




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F1907.603				50. Rustam rescuing a Man swelled by a Dragon. Now titled Leaf from a Shahnamah: Bahram Gur releasing a man from the body of a dragon
F1907.604		30		52. Zulfigar Agai, Sultan of Turkey. Painted on Vellum. Now titled A group of men and horses
F1907.605	Bad oder	50		60. A Moonshee. Now titled Figure of seated man




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F1907.606	<look up>	50		74. A Tonga of the Olden Days. Now titled Sultan Salim in a Carriage
F1907.607		100		82. Lady and her Attendants. Etching Painting. Now titled A lady and attendants seated in a courtyard
F1907.608		100		86. Emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Tiemur. The Moghul Empire dates from this reign. A.D. 1525. Painted on vellum. Now titled Shahjahan standing on a globe, late 19th century on paper




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F1907.609				88. Hindu Rao. A Delhi Merchant who built the house on the Ridge, which was the key of the English position, during the siege of that City. Now titled Portrait of a wealthy merchant
F1907.610	****dragon marked out and replaced with Giant			92. Rustam slaying a Dragon. Now titled Folio from a <i>Shahnama</i> (Book of kings) by Firdawsi (d.1020); Rustam slaying the White Div
F1907.611	Good	50		98. Study of Birds. Now titled Birds at Baran, possibly from the Babur-nama

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F1907.612		25		100a. Tippoo Sultan. Painted by an English artist in 1802. Now titled Portrait of Tippoo Sultan (1749-1799). Early 19th century.
F1907.613		50 (est)		102. Deer-stalking at Night. Now titled Hunting deer at night
F1907.614		100 (est)		103. The Emperor Jahander Shah and his Retinue. A.D. 1712-1713. Now titled A royal procession through the city, 19th century

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F1907.615		100 (est)		104. Tamerlane attacking Fort Gurjanj, end of the 15th century. Now titled Storming a city, 19th century
F1907.616		75		110. Shendar Khan. A distinguished officer in Jahangir's reign. (Four Portraits of Officers in collection). Now titled Portrait of an Officer.
F1907.617	Poor	25		112. Mahratta Chief and Lady. Now titled Portrait of a prince and courtesan

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F1907.618		75 (est)		116. Forest Life. Now titled <u>Drawing of animals and plants</u>
F1907.619	Fine	150 (est)		118. Bahadur Shah. Last King of Delhi, 1837-1857. Taken by Hodson, near Hamayan's Tomb, after the assault and capture of that city in September 1857. Now titled Portrait of a Mughal ruler
F1907.620	Coarse			119. A Prince and his Attendants. Now titled A prince and two attendants.

Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
F1907.621		50		120. Sayad Shah, Grandson of Mahinddin Qadari. Now titled A Prince with an attendant, seated on a terrace
F1907.622	Interesting	50		122. A Jeweller in the time of Shahjahan. Now titled Portrait of a young man
F1907.623		75		123. The Flood. Now titled animals and birds

Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
F1907.624		100		128. A Composite Sheep and Demon. Now titled A demon leading a composite sheep
F1907.625	*, say 25 pounds	25		6. Ajaib-ul Makhhlukal, or Wonders of Creation. This remarkable book contains over 300 curious illustrations of mens and monsters, of beasts, birds, and fishes and the vegetable creation. This copy as written and illustrated in the last century. Now titled Aja'ibu-l-makhlukat (Wonders of Creation) by al-Qazvini. 18th century or later
F1907.626	*, say 10 pounds	10		7. Surwar-ul -Kawakib. This book contains fifty-six maps of the constellations, and a description of the fixed stars. A very old copy of the fifteenth century. Now titled Suwaru-l-kawakib (Description of the Fixed Stars) by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi (incomplete), 16th century




Inventory Number	Comments made by Freer in his personal copy of the Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells Catalogue	Price in Dollars Free Paid	Photo [Image source: asia.si.edu]	Description in Dowdeswell & Dowdeswells catalogue and Current Description (if different)
F1907.627	say 5 pounds	5		8. Treatise on Hindu Mythology. This copy contains forty very quaint miniatures, and many prettily illuminated pages. Now titled Selections from the Mahabharata.
F1907.792, F1907.793	Faces of some scratched	2600		3. Shah Nama or History of the kings in 2 Volumes by the poet Firdausi. Now titled. The <i>Shahnamah</i> of Firdausi
Not available	Fine	200	Not available	127. Emperor Jehangir as Prince Salim


TABLE 3.1: INDIAN AND ISLAMIC BOOKS ORDERED BY BELLE DA COSTA GREENE AFTER VISITING FREER'S COLLECTION IN DETROIT IN 1914

Date of Publication	Author(s)	Title of Book
1894	Henry Wallis	The Godman Collection. Persian Ceramic Art Belonging to Mr F. Ducane Godman, F.R.S.; With Examples From Other Collections. The Thirteenth-Century Lustrated Wall-Tiles (London, 1894).
1899	South Kensington Museum	Portfolio of Near Eastern Art 4 parts. (London, 1899).
1899	Henry Wallis	Notes on Some Early Persian Lustre Vases (London: Quaritch, 1899).
1901	James Burgess	Buddhist Art in India. Translated ... By Agnes C. Gibson. Revised and Enlarged by J. Burgess ... With 154 Illustrations (London: Quaritch, 1901).
1903	Sir George Watt	Indian art at Delhi, 1903. Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-1903 (Delhi, 1903).
1908	Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	Mediæval Sinhalese Art (Broad Campden, 1908).
1911	Vincent Smith	A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day (Minnesota, 1911).
1912	E B Havell, India Society	Eleven Plates Representing Works of Indian Sculpture: Chiefly in English Collections (London, 1912).
1913	Lionel D. Barnett	Antiquities of India: An Account of the History and Culture of Ancient Hindustan (Calcutta, 1913).

Year	Author	Title
1913	Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	The Arts and Crafts of India (London, 1913).
1896 1897	John Griffiths	Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajunta, 2 vols. imp. Folio (London, 1896 and 1897).
1910 1912	Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	Indian Drawings, 2 Series 4to. (London, 1910 and 1912).
1910- 1913		<i>Journal of Indian Art</i> no. 120 and 125
?		La Céramique Musulmane Part 5
1889-1893?	South Kensington Museum	Portfolio of Persian art, 22 parts (London, 1889-1893?).
1881	South Kensington Museum	Portfolio of Indian Art, 28 parts (London, 1881).
1883	James Burgess	Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Inscriptions (Varanasi, 1883).
1845	James Fergusson	Rock Cut Temples of India 8vo. 1 vol. (London, 1845).
1873	James Fergusson	Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, 4to. (Varanasi, 1873).
1848	James Fergusson	Fergusson's Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architectures in Hindostan, Folio. (London, 1848).
1906	Friedrich Sarre	Erzeugnisse Islamischer Kunst, Teil 1: Metall (Berlin, 1906).
1909	Friedrich Sarre	II. Teil: Seldschukische Kleinkunst. (Berlin, 1909).



TABLE 3.2: BELLE DA COSTA GREENE'S PRIVATE COLLECTION OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS AND SCRIPT ORIENTED MANUSCRIPTS



Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.470/ M.847.1-3	Quintet, 3 leaves	J.P. Morgan, 1911	Paper		ca.1586	Iran/Shiraz	nasta'liq and naskh/Persian
MS M.540/ M.846.11a,b	Shahnama, two leaves	J.P. Morgan, 1909, purchased from Enrico Testa	Paper		ca.1838	Pakistan	nasta'liq/Persian
MS M.836	Quintet manuscript	J.P. Morgan, before 1913	Paper	394 leaves, bound	1549-1551	Qazvin, Persia	nasta'liq/Persian




Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.835	Qur'an manuscript	J.P. Morgan, before 1913	Paper		1832-1833	Turkey/Istanbul	naskh
MS M.846.1a,b	Calligraphic leaves		Paper		18th/19th century	Persia	thuluth-muḥaqqaq/Persian
MS. M.848.1v	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy; written and illuminated	11th century	Persia	nasta'liq/Persian
MS. M.848.1r	A seated ascetic wrapped in a cloak		Paper on card		19th century	Mughal	
MS M.848.2r	A kneeling scribe		Paper	Illuminated in the Persian style of the second quarter of the 17th century.	19th century	Mughal	

Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.848.2v	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	attributed to 'Imād al-Ḥusainī, but probably a later copy of his work	Dated 17th century, probably later		
MS M.848.3r	A portrait of 'Abd al-Majīd Khān		Paper on card		18th century	Mughal	nasta'liq/Persian
MS M.848.3v	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card		19th century	Mughal	nasta'liq
MS. M.849.2v	Calligraphic leaf				19th century	Mughal	nasta'liq
MS. M.849.2r	A native woman (bhīl) playing a vīna		Paper on card		19th century	Mughal	
MS M.849.3r	A seated man holding a rose and a book		Paper on card		19th century	Mughal	
MS M.849.3v	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card		19th century	Mughal	nasta'liq
MS M.849.1r	Two men under tree, one leaf		Paper		19th century	Mughal	
MS M.849.1v	Calligraphic leaf	The calligrapher of this page, 'Abd al-Rahim, was honoured with the title Ambarin Qalam (Amber Pen), given to him by the Mughal emperor Jahangir.	Paper on card	calligraphy; written and illuminated	17th century	Mughal	nasta'liq

Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.846.10a	Qur'an 1 leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	18th century	Isfahan	Arabic
MS M.846.10b	Qur'an 1 leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	18th century	Persia	Arabic
MS M.846.5	Calligraphic leaf		Paper		19th century	Persia	nasta'liq
MS M.846.6	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	19th century	Persia	siyāh mashq
MS M.846.7	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	19th century	Persia	siyāh mashq
MS M.846.8	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	19th century	Persia	nasta'liq/Persian
MS M.846.9	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card	Calligraphy written and illuminated	19th century	Shiraz	nasta'liq/Persian
MS M.846.2	Calligraphic leaf		Paper on card		19th century	Persia	nasta'liq
MS M.846.3a,b	Two leaves		Paper	letter of recommendation	19th century	Persia	nasta'liq

Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.846.4a,b	Qur'an 2 leaves		Paper		14th century	India or Anatolia	thuluth-muḥaqqaq script
MS M.840	Qur'an 4 leaves	Two hundred and two leaves from this manuscript are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; 173 leaves are in the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul	Paper		14th century	Baghdad	raiḥān and naskh/ Arabic

Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.843	Qur'an 2 leaves		Paper		14th-15th century	Mamluk	naskh/Arabic
MS M.532/ M.845	Qur'an, 3 leaves	J.P. Morgan	Paper flecked		Copied 1719-20	Istanbul	naskh

Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.792	Qur'an fragment		Vellum		10th century	Iran or Iraq	Kufic/Arabic
MS M.837	Qur'an 13 leaves		Vellum		9th-10th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.838.1-6	Qur'an 6 leaves		Vellum		11th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.838.7	Qur'an 1 leaf		Vellum		10th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.842	Qur'an 1 leaf		Vellum		10th -11th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.844.1	Qur'an 1 leaf		Vellum		9th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.844.2	Qur'an 1 leaf		Vellum		10th century		Kufic/Arabic


Accession #	Title	Prior Provenance	Vellum or Paper	Photo	Date	Created	Script/Language
MS M.839.1-17	Qur'an 17 leaves		Vellum & Paper		10th century		Kufic/Arabic
MS M.841.1-2	Qur'an, 2 leaves		Vellum		15th-16th century	Maghreb	Arabic

TABLE 4.1: GULBENKIAN COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS, MINIATURES AND SINGLE-LEAF DRAWINGS

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	LA.155	18 Jul 1900	Through Thomas Gribble/Christies Sale/lot 144	<p>Calligrapher: Title: Qur’an with a handwritten note Date: 17th century Geography: present-day Iran Medium: paper with lacquered flap binding decorated with flowers, 277 leaves Dimensions: 18.5 x 13 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: (war booty plundered from the Emperor of China's palace at Peak in the campaign of 1860)</p>	William Brereton 1789-1864	A7.14.6
	LA.176	26 Nov 1907	Reiza Khan Monif	<p>Calligrapher: Title: Collection of Persian poems including <i>Layla and Majnun</i> by Nizami and <i>Kings’ present</i> by Ali ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabari Date: 17th century Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 21 pages Dimensions: 31 x 18 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Binding: Exterior is black leather with three gold rosettes, the one in the middle is larger than the other two. Interior is red leather with repetition of three rosettes and decorated with animals and shrubs in gold.</p>		D650

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	LA.156	8 Jan 1908	Léon Gruel	Calligrapher: described as very fine writing Title: Qur’an Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 79 leaves Dimensions: 19.5cm x 12cm Illuminations and Miniatures: The first two pages are richly decorated. Binding: Dark green leather with gold rosettes and red embossing.		D325
	M.50	18 Mar 1912	Ludwig Rosenthal, Munich	One folio in a gold frame containing a Ghazal [a form of amatory poem or ode] by ‘Abbāsī, Muḥammad Rizā 17th century, Isfahan, Iran		D21.50 (invoice in files).
	LA.185	30 Sep 1913	Through M.K. Gudénian, Paris	Calligrapher: described as very fine writing, in two columns with large margins Title: Small Persian Manuscript Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 24 pages Illuminations and Miniatures: two miniatures, some pages decorated with flowers and gold birds. Binding: Garnet binding decorated with rosettes and flowering arabesques on a gold background; the interior of the binding is black leather with a golden central motif.		D11.500 (with LA179).


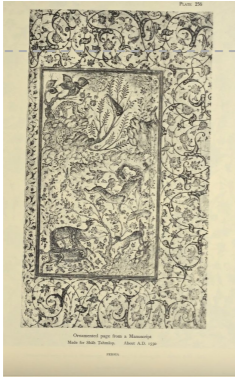
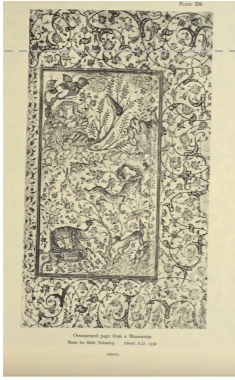
Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	LA.179	30 Sep 1913	Through M.K. Gudénian	<p>Calligrapher: Shams-al-Din-Shirazi Title: <i>Kūlliyat</i> [collection of poetry] by Sa’di Date: 1635, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran Medium: paper, 463 leaves Illuminations and Miniatures: Illuminated double-page, borders of cloud bands of Chinese origin, framing the calligraphic text on a gold background. Binding: blue leather with gilt arabesques, bordered by gold cartouches heightened with gold and alternating smaller medallions.</p>		D11.500 (with LA184)
	M.17	10 Jul 1914	Through Kirkor Minassian, part of Kurt Zander collection, Paris	<p>Date: 16th century Geography: Turkey, Istanbul, Dimensions: 67 x 41.8 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Five leaves from a Qur’an, three illuminated recto and verso.</p>	Kurt Zander collection	A500
	M.71	12 Apr 1917	Debenham & Freebody, London/ Kevorkian collection	<p>Date: Dated to no later than the end of the 16th century (per Kevorkian Geography: Uzbekistan, Samarqand Dimensions: 27.5 x 26.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Two miniatures of goats in the wilderness pursued by dragons. One of these leaves was published in Martin’s <i>The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century, 1914—plate 256.</i></p>	Kevorkian	A150.



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.60	8 May 1917	Demotte collection, Paris	Date: 17th century Dimensions: 37 x 23 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Folio from a Qur'an decorated with inscriptions, foliage, stylised ornaments and geometric ornaments in blue, white, black and red on a gold background.		D3.000
	M.42	8 May 1917	M. Demotte, Paris	One page of a frontispiece of a Qur'an, 14th century, Includes inscriptions and ornamentation in black and white on a gold background. Framed in an old gilded frame.		D3.000
	LA.174	7 Jun 1917	E. Hindamian, Paris	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Külliyat by Sa'di</i> Date: 16th century, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran Medium: paper Illuminations and Miniatures: eight miniatures depicting hunting scenes. Binding: black binding with flaps adorned with rosettes and gold frames, flowers in blues, purples and gold.		D61.000 (with LA167)



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.167	7 Jun 1917	E. Hindamian, Paris	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Divan of Mir Shir Nava'i</i> Geography: present-day Iran Illuminations and Miniatures: several "lovely" miniatures, including one with a polo theme. Binding: A black leather flap binding with rosettes and gold spandrels, and flowering arabesques, interior of binding decorated with rosettes on a blue background.		D61.000 (with LA167 and LA174).
	LA.154	17 Jul 1917	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's, London, Lot1317	Calligrapher: Abu Gamal ad-Din? Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Date: 17th-18th century Geography: Indonesia, Sumatra Medium: paper, 333 leaves Dimensions: 29 x 20 cm	This Koran was taken at the capture of the fort of Lamhada in Acheen (Sumatra) in 1876 - highest priest's copy was found in the principal mosque in the island	A27
	M.72	24 Sep 1917	Debenham & Freebody, London/ (catalogue number 107)	Date: c.1590. Geography: Persia Dimensions: 25.5 x 12 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Portrait of a man wearing a turban, holding a rod in the right hand and a rosary in the left. The painting bears at the top the following inscription: Executed by command of his serene highness the great prince. The portrait of Mir Kemal ed Din Husseini the Preacher" Under the portrait is the signed Painted by Riza Mussavvir (the artist).	Seal of Shah Abbas	A80.

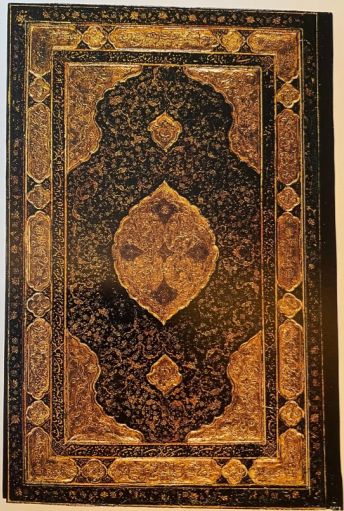

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.190	24 Sep 1917	Debenham & Freebody, London/ Lot 127 (catalogue number 313)	<p>Calligrapher: Nastaliq, two columns of 14 lines on each page Title: <i>Divan</i> by Hafiz Date: 1500-01 [16th century], now thought to be 14th-15th century Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 160 folios Dimensions: 24.5 x 15.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: two decorated frontispieces and a tailpiece in polychromatic enamel enriched with piece gold Binding: black leather painted with arabesques in dark and light gold and with inset medallions, and spandrels of embossed and gilt arabesques, formed by poetical couplets in gold on a dark ground and round the margins by a border of insert panels of lobed shape, a flap of similar decoration, the inside surface are decorated with découpé designs and filigree work.</p>		A100
	M.74	6 Nov 1917	Léonce Rosenberg, Paris	<p>Date: 16th century Geography: Tabrīz Illuminations and Miniatures: Miniature of a hunting scene on a gold background with a blue sky, inscriptions at the bottom.</p>		D5.000 (invoice in files)



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.73	6 Nov 1917	Léonce Rosenberg, Paris	Date: c. 1540-50 Geography: T Shiraz, Dimensions: 37 x 19 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Miniature of an emperor receiving courtiers — six are kneeling, women in the foreground with flowers. The recto is calligraphy in four columns separated by blue compartments decorated with flowers at the top and bottom of the miniature.		See M74 (invoice in files).
	M.44	8 May 1918	Demotte collection, Paris	Calligrapher: Mir 'Ali, Date: c.1505-45 borders added c.1650-8 Geography: Iran or Bukhara (present-day Uzbekistan) and borders added in India, Mughal period Medium: Dimensions: 25.9 x 37 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Pages of calligraphy from a late Shah Jahan album.	Shah Jahan Album	D2.500 (invoice in files).


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
<p data-bbox="163 482 460 541">Qauqabad and his father Bughra Khan</p> 	LA.187	4 Jun 1920	Through M.K. Gudénian, from Claude Anet collection, London/lot 65	<p>Calligrapher: copied by Sultan Muhammad Nur, in nastaliq.</p> <p>Title: <i>Qiran-e Sa'adayn [Conjunction of the Benefic Planets, Jupiter and Venus]</i> by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi</p> <p>Date: text: 1515, paintings: c.1605</p> <p>Geography: Iran, Safavid period</p> <p>Medium: 61 pages or 52 leaves (conflicting information)</p> <p>Dimensions: 26.8 x 11.7 cm</p> <p>Illuminations and Miniatures: 2 sarlows, 51 pages with decorations and three miniatures painted by Nur al-din Muhammad Masavvir. Miniatures in the style of Shah Abbas I of Persia were added between 1600 and 1608.</p> <p>Binding: Binding of the manuscript is signed -work of Muhammad Sālih Tabrīzī - carved and gilt leather outside and of découpé work on coloured panels inside.</p>	According to Claude Anet, each page has a seal which has been rubbed away, except on page 17	A1.550

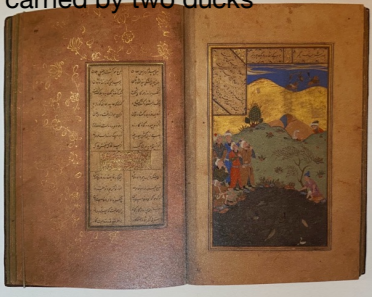
Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
<p>The Virtue of Silence a Sufi anecdote about a a tortoise who realises his dream of flying by biting onto a stick carried by two ducks</p> 	LA.184	4 Jun 1920	Through M.K. Gudénian, from Claude Anet collection, London/ lot 68	<p>Calligrapher: copied by Mir Hossein el Hosseini [Mir Husayn al-Hasayni] Imperial scribe who scholar Huart considered being equal to Mir Ali. Title: <i>Tuhfat al-ahrar</i> [Gift of the Free] by Jami, Date: 1554-5, Safavid period Geography: Uzbekistan, Bukhara (?), at one time in the library of a Mughal Emperor Medium: 64 decorated pages, 69 leaves total Dimensions: 25 x 19 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: two pages of sallows (sarloughs) and three miniatures, margins are of a different coloured paper with formal gold arabesques designs. Binding: cover of a gold and gaffer leather, excellent example of an embossed design of phoenixes flight, gilded, probably contemporary with the manuscript.</p>	According Claude Anet pages of its cover has many Mughal seals and signatures of book keepers	A600


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.162	22 Jun 1920	Through Sassoon & Co, Sotheby's, London, lot 547	<p>Calligrapher: Ahmad ibn Mohammad ibn Abdullâh text on 14 lines in black on gold background</p> <p>Title: <i>Aja'ib-Al-Maksour</i> [The wonders of creation] by Zakariya al Qazwini, the History of Timure, part 2</p> <p>Date: 17th-18th century</p> <p>Geography: Present-day Iran</p> <p>Medium: some pages damaged by worms, 198 leaves</p> <p>Dimensions: 19 x 30.5 cm</p> <p>Illuminations and Miniatures: each page is adorned with a blue and gold frame, and small flowers, branches and purple hearts punctuate the text.</p> <p>Binding: Binding lacquered large decor arabesque flowers, foliage and inscriptions. Interior of the lacquer binding, decorated with flowering branches, recalling arrangement of an Indian shawl.</p>		A24
	R.23	30 May 1921	Through Graat & Madoulé from Engel-Gros collection, Paris (#241 in catalogue)	<p>Title: <i>Qur'an</i></p> <p>Date: late 16th century</p> <p>Geography: present-day Iran</p> <p>Medium: leather</p> <p>Dimensions: 48.5 x 31.5 cm (conflicting measurement also listed as 65.9 x 48.7 cm)</p> <p>Binding: Black leather, chiselled, decorated with a mosaic of cut and gilded paper on a coloured background, against a waffled golden background with arabesques patterns and inscriptions.</p>	Albert Goupil	D19.692


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.22	30 May 1921	Through Graat & Madoulé, Engel-Gros collection, Paris/ lot 246 (May 30-June 1, 1921)	Two richly illuminated frontispieces from a manuscript	Engel-Gros collection	D2.937
	LA.191	30 May 1921	M. Leclerc, Engel Gros collection, Paris/lot 66 (May 30-June 1, 1921)	Calligrapher: Naski writing Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Date: 17 th century Geography: present-day Iran Medium: Dimensions: Illuminations and Miniatures: Binding: very curious binding - brown leather with cut parts forming arabesques and medallions on a background of green and blue. Compartments of red Morocco and gold arabesques on a blue background, Some arabesques are gilded and in relief, medallions on red and blue backgrounds.	Engel-Gros collection	D3.900 plus commission
	R.22	31 May 1921	Through Graat & Madoulé from Engel-Gros collection, Paris (#240 in catalogue)	Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Date: 16 th century, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran Medium: pressure moulded Dimensions: 48.5 x 31.5 cm Binding: Pressure moulded and filed leather, filigree work with arabesque patterns and inscriptions; the interior is a mosaic of decoupaged gilded and polychrome paper.	Engel-Gros	D19.035 (invoice on file).


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.24	29 Jun 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's, London /lot 210	<p>Title: Date: 16th or 17th-century Turkish binding overpainted in the 20th century to look Persian Geography: Turkey Medium: pasteboard and leather Binding: Pasteboard and lacquered and gilded leather.</p>		A115 (invoice on file).
	LA.197	29 Jun 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sothebys, London, Lot 214	<p>Calligrapher: Arabic text with Persian interlinear translation written in a single column within gold and coloured rules. Title: <i>Munajat</i> [prayers] by Mir Ali Date: 16th century Geography: present-day Iran Illuminations and Miniatures: five leaves of various colours sprinkled in gold illuminated sarlough. Binding: lacquered leather binding, laminated design in black outlined with gold on an orange ground with cut and coloured leather doublures.</p>		A42.



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.163	29 Jun 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London/ lot 268	<p>Calligrapher: written in four columns with gold and coloured rules Title: <i>Five books - Khusrau Maatla' al-Anwār, Hasht Bahist, Nizami's Iskandarnāmah, Khosrow and Shirin, and Layla and Majnun</i> Date: 1614 Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 238 leaves of coloured paper Illuminations and Miniatures: two full-page and three smaller sarlough, two full-page miniatures at the beginning and four smaller miniatures on a gold ground, one for each book. Binding: stamped and lacquered leather binding with cut lacquered doublures.</p>	Seal at the end dated to Abu Tālib Khāk-pā-i Ali (1614).	A512-12-1 (paid 490) Invoice on file
	LA.177	22 Jul 1921	Gudénian, London	<p>Calligrapher: Mir Ali Haravi Title: <i>Bustan</i> [book of poetry] by Sa'di for Abd-al-Aziz, the Shaibanid ruler of Bukhara (1540-49) Date: 1542, Safavid period manuscript in a 19th-century binding (c. 1830-1840) Geography: present-day Iran, Bukhara Medium: paper, 148 leaves Dimensions: 33.5 x 21.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: seven double-page miniatures (14) and two illuminated frontispieces, artists: Mahmud, active 16th century and 'Abd Allah, active, 16th century, miniatures have been inserted at a later date, cutting into the margins, but are of the same school of Bukhara. The first page bears the seals of the Mughal Imperial Library. Binding: Lacquered pasteboard, painted and varnished binding with floral designs in gold and greens, Persian work of 1830-1840.</p>	Mughal Imperial Library 	A4.700




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.3	17 Oct 1921	Frank T. Sabin, London	Date: c.1540-50 Geography: Bukhara school (in present-day Uzbekistan) Dimensions: 2 27.5 x 19.2 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: A person kneeling in a landscape of trees and shrubs in bloom with books and writing materials, approached by five other men. Behind a gardener and a servant. On a gold background with inscriptions and at the base, the recto has calligraphy in four columns.		A35
	M.9	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London/ lot 103	Bahram Gur slaying his favourite concubine Azada, India, Deccani period 17th-18th centuries.	On the back the page is a Persian verse copied by the famous Safavid scribe Imad al-Hasani	A49
	M.7	25 Oct 1921	Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's London/ lot 22	Portrait of a young man reading, illuminated with animals of the hunt, Iran, Isfahan, early 17th century, Safavid period, possibly made by a Persian artist who emigrated to India. India, Deccan(?).	In a letter dated January 29, 1963 Gray mentioned he would prefer to see M7 omitted - the border of which as pointed out by Dr. Kuhnel is modern	A37.
	M.32	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's, London/ lot 3	Date: late 16th century (1575-1600) Geography: India Dimensions: 37.5 x 25.6 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Prince Mirza Salim as a boy, with his tutor in a pavilion within the walled and moated walls of a castle, on reverse, a QATA.		A15 (invoice in files).


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.31	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's, London/ lot 9	A King pronouncing a sentence on his youthful son kneeling before him and clinging to his hand, floral border, on the reverse Persian poetry		A10 (invoice in files).
	M.30	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's, London/ lot 11	Opium eaters, a group of 20 men, preparing, eating or showing the effects of the drug, on reverse a QATA in large nastaliq.		A36 (invoice in files).
	M.16	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 176	Date: 17 th century Geography: Medium: Dimensions: 35.5 x 22 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Three leaves from the same album, each with a QATA signed MIR IMAD one, dated on two sides 1602 and 1614, another dated 1616 with a QATA signed IMAD AL HASANI on the reverse, gilt flora borders, and leaf with a specimen of calligraphy mounted page within a decorated margin.		A50
	M.15	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 23	Date: 17 th century Geography: Turkey Medium: Dimensions: Illuminations and Miniatures: Two illuminated head-pieces for the Sarlough of MSS with gilt floral borders continuing the blank pages, different designs unframed.		A5.5



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.14	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 177	Date: one dated 1600 Dimensions: 35.5 x 21.2 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Three leaves from the same album, each with QATA' signed Imad Al Hassani, gilt floral borders.		A48
	M.13	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 175	Calligraphers: Mīr 'Alī and Shakasta Date: one dated 1528, others 16th century Dimensions: 35.4 x 22.2 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Seven leaves from the same album, with illuminated QATA', signed Mīr 'Alī on one side and Shakasta and other calligraphic exercises on the reverses, one dated 1528, all with gilt floral borders, folio illuminated with chrysanthemum, Safavid period.		A60
	M.12	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 178	Date: 16th-17th century Dimensions: 35.3 x 22.3 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Three leaves from the same album, two with QATA, signed Fakir 'Alī and one with an illuminated page, the margins of which have female heads enveloped in floral ornament, signed Khalil Allāh, all with gilt floral borders.		A50
	M.11	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 158	Prince visiting a hermit, India, Deccan, Mughal period c1610-20 Nim Kalam technique, gold in and pigments on paper.		A71 (invoice in files)


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.10	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 163	<p>Calligraphers: Shakasta, Sultan Ali Mashedi, Mahmud bin Ashod and Riza Date: 16th century Dimensions: 35.5 x 22 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: T Four leaves from the same album, one by Shakasta on a ground of gold colour scrolls, the other three signed Sultan Ali Mashedi, Mahmud bin Ashod and Riza, respectively, all with gilt floral borders.</p>		A52
<p>Farhad carting Shirin and her horse</p> 	LA.171	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian, Sotheby's London / lot 98	<p>Calligrapher: copied by Muhammed Ibn Mulla Mir al-Hosseini, four columns to the page within gold and coloured rules. Title: <i>Khamsa</i> [Five Poems] by Nizami Date: c.1591 Geography: present-day Iran, Shiraz, Safavid period Medium: 121 leaves Illuminations and Miniatures: two illuminated sarloughs and ten full-page miniatures. Binding: half-bound</p>	Fly-leaves are marked with inscriptions and seals of past owners, four of which dated from 1639-1658	A102 (invoice on file).


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
<p>A prince resting on a hunt and a prince visiting a hermit.</p> 	LA.159	25 Oct 1921	Through M.K. Gudénian from Claude Anet collection, Sotheby's London/lot 180	<p>Calligrapher: in double columns with gilt and coloured rules copied by Sultan Muhammad Khandad (Nur), a pupil of Sultan Ali Mashhadi, and active in Herate from 1515 at least until 1530. Title: <i>Subhat-al-Abrar</i> [the Rosary of the Pious] by Jami Date: 1482-3 Mashhad, Safavid period, miniature on folio 99 is dated 1564 (but seemed to be copied from a miniature in Leningrad according to Basil Gray). Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 132 (or 134) leaves of gold, sprinkled paper of various colours Dimensions: 18.2 x 13cm Illuminations and Miniatures: two double-page miniatures at the beginning and end c.1555, the same period as a small miniature enclosing the colophon, The illuminated border on folio 99, painted by Abdullah al Shiraz (another source says Allah Muzahhib), seems to be a recent addition copied from a miniature in Leningrad which appeared in Martin's <i>Miniature Painters of Persia, India and Turkey</i>, plate 114)</p>	Claude Anet, includes seal of Mughal Emperor Humayun (1530-46)	A400
	R.26	23 Dec 1921	Through Graat & Madoulé from Lebreton Collection	Binding in lacquer and gilded with cartouches and foliage, reverse in black Morocco with a mosaic of gold cutouts on blue background.		D1.468.75
	R.25	23 Dec 1921	Through Graat & Madoulé from Lebreton Collection	Binding with a flap of a Qur'an manuscript from Safavid Persia, gilded with cartouches and scrolls, the reverse is decorated with medallions and corner pieces on a polychrome background.		D1.057.50


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.4	13 Mar 1922	Kehyaian, London	A pair of book covers with gold formal scroll borders on black and red grounds, enclosing panels of horsemen in hunting scenes in colours and gold on a brown ground, late 16th century.		A64
	R.21	6 May 1922	Through Graat & Madoulé from Moussa collection, Paris/ lot 168	c.1600 Binding of Qur'an, leather, moulded and gilded. Safavid period, Binding with a quadrilobed medallion in the centre, Iran, gilt composition engraved by a single mould with a central medallion motif and escutcheons decorated with floral motifs surrounded by chi-shaped clouds.	Moussa Collection	D2.843.50
	R.18	6 May 1922	Through Graat & Madoulé from Moussa collection, Paris/ lot 169	Binding, 17th century, red leather decorated with a rosette rated and gilded reverse yellow leather decorated with a flowery rosette raised and gilded.	Moussa Collection	D2.843.50
	M.51	6 May 1922	Through Graat & Madoulé from Moussa collection, Paris/ lot 150	Indo-Persian miniatures from an album - A young prince reading, wearing a purple robe.	Moussa Collection	D3.407.50
	LA.188	6 May 1922	Through Graat & Madoulé from Moussa collection, Paris/ lot 151	Calligrapher: Thuluth script Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Date: 10th century Geography: Medium: Dimensions: Illuminations and Miniatures: four decorated frontispieces Binding:	Moussa Collection	D4.700



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.165	16 May 1922	Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's London/ lot 262	Calligrapher: copied by Rustam Ali Shahi Title: <i>Divan</i> by Hafiz Date: 1540-41 Geography: probably Mashhad Medium: paper Dimensions: 36 x 23.9 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: illuminated unwan contemporary with the manuscript, three miniatures added later about 1625 including Dervishes dancing, prince listening to music and polo. Binding: embossed and gilt with inlaid blue panels outside, découpé work inside.		A867.18.3
	M.6	12 Jun 1922	Sotheby's, London	A portrait of a lady standing, wearing a black headdress embroidered with pearls, her long hair in braids, holding a flagon and offering a cup, gilt trees in the background with gilt borders and gilt floral design on blue, on the reverse a Hindu lady standing holding a flower.		A5.0
	M.5	12 Jun 1922	Sotheby's, London	A portrait of a dervish seated on his knees leaning beside a tree with a carafe and cup and writing board.		A7
	M.4	12 Jun 1922	Sotheby's, London	A yogi seated on a tiger skin mat outside a mosque, leaning on his crutch-stick and looking at a pair of peafowls in front of a pool with ducks.		A5.10




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.172	6 Jul 1922	Through Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's, London/ lot 1731	<p>Calligrapher: with annotations in blue and gold to facilitate recitation Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Date: 1622-23, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran Illuminations and Miniatures: written Naskh on 363 leaves two opening pages fully illuminated. Binding: gold-stamped binding with cut leatherwork, coloured and stamped with gold on flap and doublures.</p>		A35
	R.19	6 Dec 1922	Indjoudjian Frères, Paris	Bookbinding, Turkey, Ottoman period, 17th -century inlay of turquoise and garnet gemstones.		D4.000
	LA.189	16 Mar 1923	Missak Séropian, Paris	<p>Title: <i>Divan</i> by Khusraw-i Dihlavi Date: early sixteenth century, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran Dimensions: 26.5 x 44.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: 2 illuminated pages. Binding: binding with shrubs, wild animals - panthers, bears, monkeys and birds; on the front cover is a young prince with bow and arrows in a costume of about 1550. Believed to be from stone bounds. The inner covers are decorated with découpé arabesques in panels on a blue ground.</p>		D35.000 (with LA183)

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.183	16 Mar 1923	Missak Séropian, Paris	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Divan</i> by Mir Ali Shir Navia'i, Date: 1530s, Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran, Tabriz Illuminations and Miniatures: 14 miniatures, Musicians entertaining a prince	Shah Tahmasp (?)	D35.000 (with LA189)
	LA.153	23 Apr 1923	From Graat & Madoulé Vente Meyer-Riefstahl Hotel Drouot Paris	Calligrapher: Darwich Heussein Adernawa from Aderna, Andrinople Title: <i>Divan</i> by Soliman Sawadji, Date: 1543-44, Ottoman period Geography: Turkey, Istanbul Illuminations and Miniatures: 2nd folio contains a gold and polychrome rosette, with more recent jilting perhaps intended to hide seals of previous owners, followed by to illuminated pages. Binding: flap binding with chiselled and gilded leather, conserved		D14.217.50
	R.28	24 Apr 1923	From Graat & Madoulé Vente Meyer-Riefstahl Hotel Drouot Paris	Binding Iran, Safavid period, 16th century, pressure moulded and gilded leather, filigree work.		D4817.50
	R.27	24 Apr 1923	From Graat & Madoulé Vente Meyer-Riefstahl Hotel Drouot Paris	Binding in black leather, incised rosettes and golden corner pieces, reverse in red leather with rosettes and cut patterns in black on blue. 17th century Persia.		D5.052.50

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.14	24 Apr 1923	From Graat & Madoulé Vente Meyer-Riefstahl Hotel Drouot Paris	Binding with flap, brown leather decorated with chiselled rosette boded by a field of gold with brown florets, corner pieces include rosettes with cutouts in gold and brown on a green background. 17th century Persia.	Meyer-Riefstahl	D3.642.50
	LA.164	24 Apr 1923	Through Graat & Madoulé sale of Meyer-Riefstahl sequestered collection, Paris	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Kulliyat</i> by Sa'di (including the erotic chapter) Date: late 16th century Safavid period Illuminations and Miniatures: All pages are decorated with flowers on a gold. Binding: Binding is a hunting scene	Meyer-Riefstahl	D10.105



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.169	28 Nov 1923	Through Mr. Indjoudjian, from Mr. Boghossian Paris	<p>Calligrapher: Title: <i>Baharistan</i> by Jami Date: 1547 Geography: Bukhara Medium: paper Dimensions: 31 x 20 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: 10 miniatures (Bihzad's signature is forged) It also has a false dedication to the Sultan Husayn Bayqara, the last Timurid ruler of Herat and a false date in the colophon of 1498. Copied at Bukhara for Shaibani, ruler of the Uzbeks. After being cut from an earlier manuscript, five double-page miniatures were remounted. Four of these bear the name of Bihzad, but the colour is typical of the early Bukhara school formed by pupils of Bihzad. Binding: Gold embossed panels with arabesque decoration outside. Inside: fine design in découpé work including angels, gilt, and painted faces, contemporary with the completion of the manuscript for Abd-al-Aziz Subsequently, this manuscript was in the Imperial Mughal Library in India, but the Librarian seals have been obliterated.</p>	Imperial Mughal Library	D160.000
	R.1	21 Feb 1924	Through A & M Indjoudjian Freres, G. Migeon Sale, Paris	<p>Date: Early 17th century Geography: Persian Dimensions: 25.7 x15.5cm. Binding: Lacquer painted binding in gold and colours on a black ground—lions and mountain goats (deer?) among flowering trees. The inside is undecorated.</p>	Gaston Migeon	D1.103



Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.181	22 Feb 1924	Through A & M Indjoudjian Freres,, Paris	Title: <i>Gulistan</i> by Sa'di Date: 17th century, Safavid period Geography: Bukhara Dimensions: 61.8 x 30.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Binding: Moulded and gilt leather.		D33.000
	LA.180	25 Jul 1924	Through P.& D. Colnaghi, Sotheby's, London	Calligrapher: copied by Murshid al-Katib al-Shirazi Title: <i>Gulistan</i> [Rose Garden] and <i>Bustan</i> [Orchard] by Sa'di, Date: 1536-7 Geography: Shiraz, present-day Iran Dimensions: 29,6 x19 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: illuminated unwan, signed Ghiyath al-Din-Mahmud-Shirazi, Thirteen miniatures in fine Safavid style. Binding: Fine contemporary binding, embossed with arabesques outside and gilt; découpé panels in blue ground inside.	This manuscript was brought to England in 1689 by Colonel J. Sotheby (or H.G. Sotheby) and remained in the hands of his family until 1924 when it was sold by auction	A814


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.168	10 Oct 1924	E. Beghian, London	<p>Calligrapher: Nasr al-Katib al-Shirazi, naskh script in horizontal lines in the centre and diagonal lines in the three borders.</p> <p>Title: <i>Mathnavi -i ma'navi</i> by Jalal-al-Din Muhammad Ibn Muhammad, known as Rumi</p> <p>Date: 1419</p> <p>Geography: Shiraz, present-day Iran</p> <p>Dimensions: 20.8 x 17 cm (also noted as 20,8 x 13.7 cm, conflicting measurements)</p> <p>Illuminations and Miniatures: Illuminated shamsa (rosace) and double-paged unman with the opening of the text of the poem enclosed in panels of floral arabesques.</p> <p>Binding: Binding is dark brown pressure-moulded motifs of flowers and cloud scrolls.</p>	Sultan Ibrahim, governor of Shiraz	A200
	R.38	27 May 1925	Through Hagop Kehyaian. Sotheby's, London, Lot 560	Binding, red leather, board of gold dashes pointed oval medallions, reverse, blue decorated with brown filigree work, blank leaves with silk covers inserted, c. 1600.		A85
	R.7	28 Jul 1925	Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's London	A flap book-cover, in dark red Morocco, with gold stamped centrepiece, and leather doublers with blind and gold centrepiece 30.48 x 18 cm.		A16.0
	R.6	28 Jul 1925	Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's London	Binding, red maroon morocco, with gold stamped, centrepiece and corners showing blind foliate ornament and leather doubleures with speckled gold ornament.		A14.10.0
	R.5	28 Jul 1925	Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's London	A flap book cover, olive green Morocco with gold stamped centrepiece and corners and leather doubleures with speckled gold ornament.		A7.10.0

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.3	28 Jul 1925	Through Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's, London	Binding, dark brown Morocco with gold stamped centrepiece and corners and red leather doublers with gold centrepiece.		A11 (with R2).
	R.29	28 Jul 1925	Through Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's, London	Binding, maroon morocco, with gold stamped centrepiece, corners, and ornamented leather doublers.		A14.10
	R.2	28 Jul 1925	Through Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's, London	Two binding boards rawhide incised with medallions on a gold background, reverse dark green leather with a central medallion and red flowers in a gold background.		A11. (with R3).
	R.17	28 Jul 1925	Through Hagop Kehyaian, Sotheby's, London	A flap book cover, light brown Morocco with inlaid red and gold stamped centrepiece, corner and leather doublers with speckled gold ornament.		A13.10.0
	LA.186	13 Oct 1925	Indjoudjian Frères, Paris	Title: <i>Qur'an</i> Dimensions: small Illuminations and Miniatures: text in two columns. Binding: red binding with rosettes.		D2.500
	LA.193	19 Feb 1926	Kehyaian, London	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Armenian Bible</i> Medium: 554 folios Illuminations and Miniatures: numerous miniatures in vivid colours. Binding: a red stone is set on the cross and adorns the first plate of the manuscript.		A275




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.152	15 Nov 1926	Acquired in London through B. Quaritch at a sale in Sotheby's sale London/lot 552	Calligrapher: Title: Armenian Bible Date: 17th century Geography: present-day Turkey, Istanbul Illuminations and Miniatures: 29 miniatures, including portraits of the evangelists, painted in bright colours on gilded background. Binding: blind tooled leather.	Khodia Nazar workshop	
	LA.192	7 Jul 1927	Giraud-Badin, Paris	Calligrapher: copied by Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad al-Husaini Title: <i>Sifat al-Ashiqin</i> [Disposition of Lovers] in Three Poems by Hilali Date: 1568 Geography: probably at Mashhad for Ibrahim Mira Safivi, governor of Mashhad (d. 1577) or Iran, Qazvin, present-day Iran Medium: paper. Dimensions: 24 x 15.75 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: The margins throughout are of different coloured paper painted in gold with ornamental designs, six small miniatures; borders of all folios depicting birds and animals—designs probably by Abd Allah Shirazi. Binding: with gold embossed arabesque decoration, contemporary with the manuscript.	Seal from Shah Abbas I	D37.500
	M.65	10 Jan 1928	Through Wildenstein, Paris	Illuminated folio of a Qur'an manuscript Turkey, Istanbul, early sixteenth century, Ottoman period, with a seal Sultan Bayezid II.	Sultan Bayezid II and Edouard Kann collection.	A1.000 (this amount applies to M20, M58, M59, M64 and M65)




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	M.64	10 Jan 1928	Through Wildenstein, Paris	Folio containing verses from the Quran in a 16th-century wood frame.		A1.000 (this amount applies to M20, M58, M59, M64 and M65)
	M.59	10 Jan 1928	Through Wildenstein, Paris	Two folios from a Qur’an, 16th century.	Edouard Kann Collection	A1.000 (this amount applies to M20, M58, M59, M64 and M65)
	M.58	10 Jan 1928	Through Wildenstein, Paris	Oval portrait of Bahadur Shah, India, Mughal period, early 18th century	Edouard Kahn Collection	A1.000 (this amount applies to M20, M58, M59, M64 and M65)
	M.27	10 Jan 1928	Wildenstein, Paris	Qur’an folios copied during the reign of Sultan Mehmet and possibly dedicated to him (four folios owned by Gulbenkian and 8 owned by Beatty) (Basil Gray had concerns regarding 16th century date).	Edouard Kann Collection	
	M.20	10 Jan 1928	Wildenstein, Paris	Two framed folios, from 16 th -century Qur’an (Note from Gulbenkian “At the same time as these illuminations I bought various other objects whose payment was made, in part, by the delivery to MM. Wildenstein from the following two paintings: <i>The Friendly Accord</i> by de Troy, and <i>The Birth of Venus</i> by Boucher. The balance was paid in dollars by Kuhn Loeb.”)	Edouard Kann Collection	A1.000 (this amount applies to M20, M58, M59, M64 and M65)




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.173	12 Dec 1929	Through Quaritch, Charles Hercules Read Collection/lot 182	Calligrapher: copied by 'Imad al-Hasani Gafrullah Title: <i>Bustan</i> by Sa'di Date: 1606 Safavid period Geography: present-day Iran, Qazvin Dimensions: 31 x 20 cm.	Charles Hercules Read	A250
	LA.201	7 Feb 1930	Acquired from Ahmed Nihad through Yervant Essayan in Nice	Title: <i>Bustan</i> by Sa'di Date: late 15th to early 16th century Geography: present-day Iran, Tabriz Dimensions: Illuminations and Miniatures: Coexistence of Timurid and Turcoman illumination styles, geometric interlacement double-page frontispiece, two miniatures. Binding: binding contains a central motif in gold on stamped reddish-brown leather.	Once belonged to Sultan Abdul Amid [sic]. Maybe Ahmed Nihad?	D45.000 (invoice in files)
	LA.202	5 Jun 1930	Elias Gejou, Paris	Title: <i>The Gulistan</i> by Sa'di Date: 1576 Geography: present-day Iran, Safavid period Dimensions: 34.6 x 14 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: nine miniatures were added several decades later, ca. 1615. Binding: Binding painted lacquer onto the pasteboard. c. 1800 or Mid-nineteenth century, attributed to Lutf 'Ali, decoration on inner covers inspired by European print — a woman seated with young children on terraces, birds and trees behind.		D31.500 (invoice in files)


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.166	29 Jul 1930	Through Quaritch, Holford Collection, London/ lot 2	Title: Qur'an Date: Geography: Medium: 335 leaves Dimensions: Illuminations and Miniatures: A very beautiful and finely written Arabic manuscript in alternative blue and gold lines of Thuluth characters with gold and coloured rules and gold interlinings. with foliated gold borders, twelve lines to the page.	Holford Collection	A385
	LA.160	4 Jun 1931	Through V. Isbirian, Octave Homberg Collection, Paris/lot 86	Calligrapher: Mir 'Ali Haravi Title: <i>Anthology of Safavid poetry</i> Date: 1539 Geography: present-day Afghanistan Medium: papers in various coloured with large decorated margins Dimensions: 32 x 19 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Two-page frontispiece in blue lapis, gold and black and eleven sallows. Binding: Binding on pasteboard painted and varnished, red lacquer adorned with gold flowers, Northern India (Mughal), mid-seventeenth century.	Octave Homberg	D24.500
	M.21	30 Nov 1932	Paul Mak, Paris	Persian miniature by Paul Mak - A street in Teheran.		D2.000
	LA.194	23 Jun 1933	Giraud-Badin, Paris	Superb Dubisson mosaic binding, made in 1779	Library of Meyzieu	D3.500

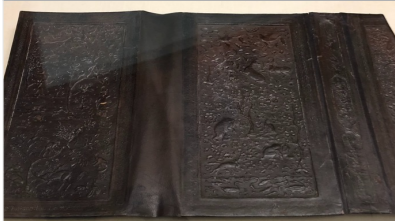


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.37	24 Apr 1934	Through M. Isbirian with A.M. Indjoudjian, Paris	Binding with animals, Iran 15th century, c. 1480, moulded leather. Same decoration as the <i>The Divan</i> by Khursraw Dihlavi (LA189).		A110
	R.41	3 Apr 1935	M. Haim Istanbul, restored by Hutchins	Binding, black and gold lacquer, large medallion adorned with animals, reverse decorated with rectangular and circular compartments, medallions and corner pieces on a gold background.		A60 (with R40)
	R.40	3 Apr 1935	M. Haim Istanbul,	Binding with animals, Iran, 15th or 16th century, moulded leather.		A60 (with R41)
	LA.216	23 May 1935	Giraud-Badin, Paris, public sale, lot 12	Calligrapher: Title: Armenian Gospel Illuminations and Miniatures: illuminated by the painter Hayrapet, 68 miniatures and richly decorated canon tables and the beginning of each chapter -decorated with floral and bird motifs. Binding: unique binding in chased silver by the goldsmith Malkhas Mahdesi Karapet.		3764.24 francs (invoice in files).
	Inventory #: 2265	1 Dec 1935	S. Haim, Istanbul	Book stand, India, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, Mughal period, Ivory.		

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.44	20 Nov 1937	Through A & M Indjoudjian Freres, restored by Hutchins.	Large Qur'an binding with flap, 16th century, Garnet leather decorated on the edge and in the centre, arabesques, foliage and flowing branches on a gold background		D4.000 and A35
	R.9	?		Two red lacquer binding boards		?
	R.8	?	?	Binding, red lacquer decorated with flowers and foliage, reverse red with yellow daffodils and green leaves.		?
	R.39	?		Binding, black lacquer decorated with birds and animals, green lining with black and gold frame and corner patterns.		?
	R.36	?		Binding, Iran, Herat (?), 1861, Qatar period, painted and lacquered pasteboard	?	
	R.34	?		Binding, black lacquer with flap, decorated with shrubs and people, double garnet skin with corner pieces.		
	R.16	?		Binding in red leather with gold medallions, floral decorations, reverse, and mosaic flap on a blue and green background.		?
	R.15	?		Large binding in ocher lacquer decorated with figures among shrubs and birds, reverse, centre medallion with young women kneeling holding a chisel in her left hand.		A80 (estimation by Gulbenkian in 1931).
	R.13	?	?	Binding in lacquer decorated on both sides with flowers.		?
	R.12	?	?	Binding in lacquer with a variety of animals on a black and gold background.		?

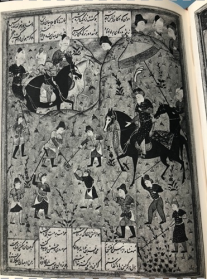
Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	R.11	?	?	Binding with flap, red leather, medallions and corner pieces chiselled with flowers on a gold background, reverse light brown leather decorated with gold medallions and corner pieces on a blue background.		?
	R.10	?	?	Binding in lacquer, two women sitting on a carpet, in foreground two musicians, reverse decorated with yellow flowers.		?
	M.75	?	?	One illuminated folio with stylised ornaments, flowers and arabesques. The recto is calligraphy with gold background with blue arabesques—Mamluk period (present-day Egypt). Leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood.		50.0000 francs
	M.69	?	?	One illuminated folio with calligraphy in four columns. (This miniature is lost; no longer in the collection). Persia, Shiraz, ca. 1410.		25.0000 francs
	M.63	?	?	Date: c. 1575 Geography: Shiraz Dimensions: 25 x 16.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: An aged prince watching polo players, other spectators behind a hilly landscape, purple background with inscriptions.		50,000 francs estimate in 1955


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.62	?	?	Date: c. 1575 Geography: Shiraz Dimensions: 27.6 x 17.3 cm (or 27.5 x 17.5 cm, conflicting measurements), Illuminations and Miniatures: Poetical manuscript, frontispiece, opening pages (unwan) of a manuscript of poetry, two volumes of text on each page in naskh lettering surrounded by borders with a delicate illumination of arabesques and floral ensigns in blue and gold.		?
	M.61	?	?	Two illuminated folios in a gold frame.		?
	M.57	?	?	Large illuminated folio with rosette framed by two rectilinear compartments and inscriptions on a gold background (frontispiece), Safavid period. (leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood).		40.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.56	?	?	Large folio with colours of blue and gold, inscription in the centre, gold arabesque on a blank background, corner patterns decorated with flowers on a blue background, in a steel frame.		?
	M.55	?	?	Two folios, decorated with blue and gold rectangles in a steel frame.		?
	M.54	?	?	Two folios illuminated on one side and miniature on reverse - battle scene.		?
	M.53	?	?	Smoker seating on a gold cushion, carpet with lilac background and black border.		?
	M.52	?	?	Opium smoker sitting on a cushion of woven flowers on a gold background, carpet with blue background and red border.		?

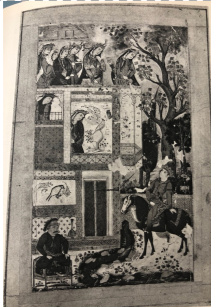

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.49	?	?	Boats with people. The border is decorated with white flowers on a blue background—black symmetrical designs.		?
	M.48	?	?	A couple embracing golden dotted margins. Red lacquer frame.		?
	M.47	?	?	Two illuminated pages (frontispieces), one double-side, decorated with red, blue and gold lozenges, framed in steel frames, Safavid period.		100000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.46	?	?	Date: 1690 Geography: Persia Dimensions: 49.5 x 33.7 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Miniature Khusraw and Shirin - Khusraw on horseback arriving at before the castle of Shirin, who appears on the terrace. On the roof a group of her maids, signed Mu'in Musawwir.		25.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.45	?	?	Date: c. 1575 Geography: Shiraz Dimensions: 6 x 17 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Miniature of figures wearing pointed helmets attending the execution of a man wearing a yellow robe who is kneeling with his hands tied behind his back. Another man is standing nearby, wearing a white tunic with his head uncovered. Foreground is a river. At the bottom, behind a mound, are other soldiers and horses.		25.000 francs estimate in 1955

Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	M.43	?	?	Two folios under glass. Frame gold, the decor of medallions and patterns of gold angles. In the centre, in a medallion, inscriptions are in white—margin decorated with gilded flowers.		?
	M.41	?	?	Two leaves (frontispieces) with illuminations. One folio is decorated on both recto and verso. The other folios are decorated on one side only, the Safavid period. (leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood).		120.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.40	?	?	Two leaves framed in a gold frame. Recto of leaves contains inscriptions on a gold background with a board of blue and gold rosettes (leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood).		100.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.39	?	?	Two leaves sewn together, framed under glass. Kingship theme with figures and inscriptions. (leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood).		60.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.38	?	?	Two leaves under glass depicting Nawrus, [Nowrus], a Persian New Year’s celebration, green background, gold frame. (leaves have water damage from the 1967 flood).		120.000 francs estimate in 1955
	M.37	?	?	Two folios richly illuminated and decorated with arabesques, inscriptions, and ornaments, stylised in shades of lapis blue, red blank, and gold. On one of the folios, decoration of six polychrome compartments framed by a large scalloped border. On the other sheet, very sober decoration of five compartments, two more ornate than the others.		?


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	M.23	?	?	Large Eastern illumination with central rosette loaded with inscriptions, reverse with inscriptions.		?
	LA.218	?	?	Oriental manuscript.		?
	LA.200	?	?	Red Morocco is decorated with arabesques, painted in red black and gold on a gold background.		?
	LA.182	?	?	Calligrapher: Title: <i>Qur'an</i> fragment Date: c.1570, Safavid period Geography: Iran, Shiraz (?) Illuminations and Miniatures: Illuminated frontispiece. Binding: Moulded and gilt leather.		D10.000 (estimate per Gulbenkian in 1931).
	LA.178	?	?	Illuminations and Miniatures: First two pages are very ornate. Text on nine sheets separated by gold compartments with tiny flowers. Each page is illuminated and framed with a garland of flowers and leaves. Binding: Richly embossed binding on a gold background with compartments decorated with flowing branches.		?


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid (“A” for British pounds and “D” for French francs)
	LA.175	?	?	Title: Proverbs and Sayings of the Wise extracted from the Koran Date: 17th century Geography: present-day Iran Medium: 40 leaves Illuminations and Miniatures: Several illuminated decorations. Binding: Half-modern Morocco.	?	
	LA.170	?	?	Illuminations and Miniatures: 24 miniatures with hunting scenes. Binding: Lacquered binding decorated with flowering branches. Red lacquer interior with daffodil decor.		A30.(estimation by Gulbenkian in 1931).
	LA.158	?	?	Title: <i>Anthology of Iskandar, copied by Hafiz</i> Date: 1412-13 Timurid period Geography: present-day Iran, Isfahan Medium: paper, Dimensions: 28 x 19.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Three sections, each has an illuminated shamsa and three double-page illuminated unwans—also decorated thumb pieces on each page and floral decorations around the colophons. Binding: Brown leather with arabesques panels on a gold ground.	First folio indicates belonged to Prince Iskandar (1384-1415)	?


Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.157	?	?	Title: Oriental manuscript Illuminations and Miniatures: Miniature representing Mecca on a gold ground Binding: Binding with flap in black leather lined with red leather, decorated with rosettes and flowers, carved and gilded.		A100 (estimation by Gulbenkian in 1931).
	M.67 and M.68	? (Possibly 1937)	? (Possibly Maurice Rheims - based on story referenced in <i>Calouste Gulbenkian Le Pétrole et l'art</i> p. 160-161)	Two folios framed in gold with battle scenes with purple background and a blue sky.		70.000 francs, estimate in 1955.
	M.66 a/b	? 1935	Will H. Edmunds, Sotheby's?	Title: <i>Shahnama</i> [Book of Kings] Date: c. 1450, Timurid period Geography: Iran, Herat, Dimensions: 26.3 x 17.5 cm Illuminations and Miniatures: Illuminated folios, marginal illumination decorated in soft tones with golden arabesque scrolls with polychrome flowers and leaves, vertical cartouche with golden scrolls on a blue ground.	Basil Gray believes the figures indicate a Western source, but it could be European travelers to the region	




Image (if available)	Inventory code	Date of purchase	Dealer/ Intermediary/ Auction/Lot #	Inventory Details	Provenance (if known)	Price paid ("A" for British pounds and "D" for French francs)
	LA.161	Early 1920s	Gift from Rothschild	Calligrapher: written in nastaliq on horizontal lines in the centre of the folios and diagonal lines in the borders by Mahmud al-Husayni Title: <i>Anthology of Iskandar</i> Date: 1410-11 Geography: present-day Iran, Shiraz Medium: paper, 80 pages divided into two volumes, 24 miniatures in part I and 14 miniatures in part II Dimensions: 27.3 x 18 cm (or 27.4 x 17.2 cm) Illuminations and Miniatures: 38 miniatures and 15 full-page or half-page illuminations, Illuminated table of contents. Binding: blind-tooled arabesque cartouche in the XVth century Timurid style, probably contemporary with the text, but the interior surfaces have been renewed.	Yates Thompson Collection, Edmund Rothschild Collection	Gift.
	LA.161	Early 1920s	Gift from Rothschild	Second volume - double folio showing pilgrims circumambulating the Kaaba, in Mecca.	Yates Thompson Collection, Edmund Rothschild Collection	Gift.
	R.20	Probably in 1922	Moussa Collection	Bookbinding, Iran, Safavid period, 16th century, Pressure moulded and filed leather, filigree work.	Moussa Collection	

Table 6.1. Books and Journal Articles Written about Mughal art in the Early Twentieth Century

Date of Publication	Genre	Author(s)	Title of Book, Journal Article	Reference Library		
				Freer Inventory code	Morgan Corsair Record ID	Gulbenkian Inventory ID
1927	Book; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	History of Indian and Indonesian Art (London and New York, 1927).			
1948	Book; art	Basil Gray	Persian Painting from Miniatures of the XIII.-XVI. Centuries (London, 1948).			D349
1921	Book; art	C. Stanley Clarke	Indian Drawings: Twelve Mogul Paintings of the School of Humāyūn (16th Century) Illustrating the Romance of Amīr Hamzah (London, 1921).			
1922	Book; art	C. Stanley Clarke	Indian Drawings; Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahāngīr (17th Century) And Four Panels of Calligraphy in the Wantage Bequest (London, 1922).			
1908	Book; art	Clément Huart	Les Calligraphes et Les Miniaturistes de L'Orient Musulman (Paris, 1908).		6319	D350
1929	Book; art	E. Blochet (1870-1937) and Cicely Binyon (1876-1962)	Musulman Painting XIIIth-XVIIth Century (Translated into English in 1929) (London).			
1908	Book; art	Ernest Binfield Havell	Indian Sculpture and Painting Illustrated by Typical Masterpieces, with an Explanation of Their Motives and Ideals (London, 1908).	S.1.184		
1917	Book; art	Ernst Diez	Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker (Berlin, 1917)		14461	
1922	Book; art	Ernst Kühnel	Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient (Berlin, 1922).			
1912	Book; art	F. R. Martin	The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century, 2 vols. (Quaritch, 1912),	S.1.36.37	17908	D353
1926	Book; art	F. R. Martin, Thomas Walker Arnold	The Nizami MS., illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak and Qasim Ali, British Museum (Vienna, 1926).		6934	
1923	Book; art	Friedrich Sarre	Islamic Bookbinding (London, 1923).		31627	D148
1923	Book; art	Heinrich Glück	Die Indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn (Vienna, 1923).	After Freer's death S.1.1025		
1925	Book; art	Heinrich Glück	Die Indischen Miniaturen Des Hæmzæ-Romanes im Österreichischen Museum Für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in Anderen Sammlungen (Zurich, 1925).			
1933	Book; art	Heinrich Glück, Stella Kramrisch, Josef Strzygowski, Emmy Wellsz	Asiatische Miniaturmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei. Im Verein (Klagenfurt, Kollitsch, 1933).		6764	
1934	Book; art	Hermann Goetz	Geschichte der Indischen Miniaturmalerei. (Berlin, 1934).			
1924	Book; art	Hermann Goetz, Ernst Kühnel	Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahāngīr-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (translated into English in 1926.) (Berlin, 1924).		252248	
1929	Book; art	Ivan Stchoukine	La Peinture Indienne a L'Epoque Des Grands Moghols AU Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1929).			
1929	Book; art	Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson	The Lights of Canopus: Anvār I Suhailī, Description of a 17th Century Mogul Manuscript, 2 vols. (London, 1929).			

Date of Publication	Genre	Author(s)	Title of Book, Journal Article	Reference Library		
				Freer Inventory code	Morgan Corsair Record ID	Gulbenkian Inventory ID
1921	Book; art	Laurence Binyon, Thomas Walker Arnold	The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls (Oxford, 1921).		7026	
1930	Book; art	Maurice S. Dimand	A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts (New York, 1930).			
1918	Book; art	Percy Brown	Indian Painting (Calcutta and New York, 1918).			
1924	Book; art	Percy Brown	Indian painting under the Mughals, A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750 (Oxford, 1924).		5453	
1914	Book; art	Philipp Walter Schulz	Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei. Ein Beitrag Zur Kunstgeschichte Irans, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1914).		40751	
1938	Book; art	Richard Ettinghausen	"Manuscript Illumination," in <i>Survey of Persian Art</i> , III, pp. 1937-74			
1894	Book; art	Thomas Holbein Hendley	Persian and Indian Bookbinding (London, 1894)	S.1.180		
1928	Book; art	Thomas Walker Arnold	Painting in Islam. A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture (Oxford, 1928).			
1937	Book; art	Thomas Walker Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson	Chronicle of Akbar the Great: A Description of the Akbara-NāMa Illustrated by the Court Painters (Oxford, 1937), Dedicated and Presented to the President and Members of the Roxburghe Club by A. Chester Beatty, 1937.		7002	
1911	Book; art	Vincent Smith	A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day (Minnesota, 1911).	D.I.186	5440	
1934	Book; art	Wihelm Staude	Moghul-Maler der Akbar-Zeit. (Schneid, Wien, 1934).			
1900	Catalogue of collection	E. Blochet (1870-1937)	Catalogue de la Collection de Manuscrits Orientaux, Arabes, Persans et Turcs Formée Par M. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1900).			
1929	Catalogue of collection	Ivan Stchoukine	Les Miniatures Indiennes AU Musee du Louvre (Paris, 1929).			
1923	Catalogue of collection	Ananda Coomaraswamy	Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1923).	After Freer's death S.1.1008	5442	
1927	Catalogue of collection	Ananda Coomaraswamy	Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew AU Museum of Fine Arts de Boston (Boston, 1927).			
1911	Catalogue of collection	E. Blochet (1870-1937)	Catalogue Des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1911).		6645	D1213
1923	Catalogue of collection	E. Blochet (1870-1937)	Notices Sur Les Manuscrits Persans et Arabes de la Collection Marteau(Paris, 1923).			
1935	Catalogue of collection	Ivan Stchoukine	"Portraits Moghols: IV: La Collection du Baron Maurice de Rothschild," <i>Revue des arts asiatiques</i> 9, no. 4 (1935), 190-208.			
1921	Catalogue of collection	Thomas Walker Arnold	"The Johnson Collection in the India Office Library," <i>Rupam</i> 6 (1921), 10-14.			
1936	Catalogue of collection	Thomas Walker Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson	The Library of A. Chester Beatty, a Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936).		43711	D128

Date of Publication	Genre	Author(s)	Title of Book, Journal Article	Reference Library		
				Freer Inventory code	Morgan Corsair Record ID	Gulbenkian Inventory ID
1930	Exhibition catalogue	E. Blochet (1870-1937)	Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Paintings from the XIIth to the XVIIIth Century: Formerly from the Collections of the Shahs of Persia and of the Great Moguls, Held at the Galleries of Demotte, Inc., New York City		6582	
1937	Exhibition catalogue	Ernst Kühnel	Indische Miniaturen aus dem Besitz Der Staatlichen Museen Zu Berlin (Berlin, 1937).		7019	
1912	Exhibition catalogue	Friedrich Sarre, F. R. Martin, Max van Berchem, Moriz Dreger	Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910 (Munich, 1912).	S.I.27/1.29	18182	D437
1907	Exhibition catalogue	Gaston Migeon Henri Saladin	Manuel D'Art Musulman, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907)	S.I.199/I.200	14474	D380 and D848
1903	Exhibition catalogue	Gaston Migeon, Max Van Berchem, M. Huart	Exposition Des Arts Musulmans, Catalogue Descriptif (Paris, 1903)	S.I.50	249442	D428
1922	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon	Guide to an Exhibition of Indian and Persian Paintings and Illuminated mss.; with Specimens of the Art of Eastern Turkestan, Tibet, Burma and Siam, British Museum (London, 1922).			
1925	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon	"Indian Painting at Wembley: The Retrospective Exhibition," <i>Rupam</i> 21 (1925), 8-11.			
1927	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon	Guide to an Exhibition of Indian Painting, <i>British Museum</i> .			
1931	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon, Denison E Ross, Roger Fry, K. A. C. Cresswell	Persian Art, Published for the International Exhibition of Persian Art, Royal Academy 1931.			
1933	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, Basil Gray	Persian Miniature Painting, Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931 (Oxford, 1933).		6269	D1288
1931	Exhibition catalogue	Laurence Binyon, K. de. B.Codrington, Archibald G. B. Russell	Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Art of India, Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club (London, 1931).			# not found
1903	Exhibition catalogue	Percy Brown, George Watt	Indian Art at Delhi, Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-1903 (Calcutta, 1903).			
1906	General History	A. V. Williams Jackson	History of India, nine vols. (London, 1906).			
1895	General History	Edward Singleton Holden	The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan, A.D. 1398-A.D. 1707 (New York, 1895).			
1896	General History	Stanley Lane-Poole	Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire, ed. Sir William Wilson Hunter, Rulers of India, (Oxford, 1896).			
1903	General History	Stanley Lane-Poole	Mediaeval India Under Mohammedan Rule (A.D. 712-1764) (London, 1903).			
1918	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Portraits of Akbar, Raja Man Singh, and Others," <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (July 1918), 536.			
1910	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Originality in Mughal Painting," <i>The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , July: 874-881 (1910), 874-881.			

Date of Publication	Genre	Author(s)	Title of Book, Journal Article	Reference Library		
				Freer Inventory code	Morgan Corsair Record ID	Gulbenkian Inventory ID
1927	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Notes on Indian Paintings," <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 2, no. 1 (1927), 283-294.			
1927	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Notes on Mughal Painting, 2," <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 2, no. 3 (1927), 202-212.			
1927	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Relation of Mughal and Rajput paintings," <i>Rupam</i> 31 (1927), 88-91.			
1927	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Notes on Indian Painting, 4, Bishndas and Others," <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 2, no. 4 (1927), 283-294.			
1934	Journal; art	Ananda Coomaraswamy	"Khwaja Khadir and the Fountain of Life, in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art," <i>Ars Islamica</i> , vol. 2 (1934), 173-182.		14510	
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