



DEPICTIONS OF PROPHET SOLOMON IN CHRISTIAN ICONS AND OTTOMAN MINIATURE ART

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Received: 24/12/2012

Accepted: 25/05/2014

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ABSTRACT

From the paganism to the rise of monotheism and onwards, kings and rulers have introduced religion as part of their conduct in the socio-political construct of the society. One of the great rulers of the Old Testament, Solomon has been an important figure not only in Hebrew history but also in Christian and Islamic traditions.

The purpose of this study is to make an iconographical evaluation of Solomon's depictions in mural paintings and mosaics of Christian tradition and Ottoman illuminated manuscripts with regard to the typology and evolution of an idealized sense of imperial rule.

KEYWORDS: Solomon, Byzantium, Ottoman, Old Testament, manuscript, painting

INTRODUCTION

Along with being a political figure in Hebrew history, King Solomon had been a model for his contemporary monarchs who tried to implement a conduct parallel to his idealized notion of state. Within this context, the role of his powerful leadership traits in building an idealized government system by state leaders is undeniable. Concordantly, along with his rational and successful rulership, the fact that he was attributed prophecy is significant in the history of civilization.

His legendary personality, wisdom, rational judgments and ruling have been extensively covered in religious and non-religious literature and legends as well as in Old and New Testaments and the Qur'an. Although the reflection of Solomon figure in art and architecture history is forceful, his iconography in especially Christian icon art and Islamic miniatures has a determining role.

The main purpose of this study is to make a typological analysis of Prophet Solomon's depictions in Eastern Christian Orthodox icons and Ottoman miniatures and identify the ways in which Solomon, as an essential figure in the belief systems of both cultures, is reflected in iconography. The predominant problematic of the study is to analyze if the religious content of the depictions of Solomon, who is also a political figure, had receded or not, while observing the structuring of a typological form. Within this context, the main framework of the study focuses on iconographic definition, Solomon's typology and physiognomic characteristics.

The principal method employed in this study, which can also be considered as one of the key points, is to identify the texts related to Solomon's physiognomy in religious and non religious sources. Another element is to set the rules of iconography and show the ways in which the figure is reflected in relation to these rules. As the development of the reflections of the figure in miniatures is subject to the principle of

aniconism in Islam, the observations made can be analyzed with the help of traditionalism.

The study focuses on the works of Middle Byzantine era when the rules of iconography were set and established after the Iconoclastic period (843 A.D.) (Şarlak, 2001, 9). Within this framework, the churches in Cyprus, Greece and Cappadocia in Anatolia are important in the sense that they represent the characteristics of the era.

For the typological analysis of the miniatures, the period in discussion encompasses a time frame from the reign of Mehmed II which is also regarded as the period of emergence of the art of miniature, until the end of the reign of Ahmed I or the late classical period, and focuses on various manuscripts with miniatures that portrait Solomon. Although miniature artists cannot be limited by iconographic rules, the defining factor in the selection of miniatures is the existence of samples that delineate Solomon within the framework of Islamic tradition and along with reflecting the characteristics of Ottoman miniature art, incorporating themes that endorse his ideology of universal rule and his lineage as its most legitimate evidence.

The majority of Islamic miniatures that depict Solomon, portrait him side by side with Balqis the Queen of Sheeba, surrounded with people, angels and hybrids.

Although iconography indicates canonical texts as the defining sources, the Old Testament does not convey any information on Solomon's physical appearance; however it gives clues about previous kings of Israel, Saul, his father David, Solomon's brothers Absalom and Adonijah (Weitzman, 2011, 1). On the other hand, information that sheds light on our intended iconographical analysis such as his wisdom, power, invincibility, his wealth, marriages, his temple and his lineage can be found in the I. Kings and II. Chronicles. Although it is possible to make a typological analysis of the prophet in line with these definitions, we must underline the fact that the most important factor in the

clarification of the subject matter and the content of his iconography is the Christianization of Old Testament. The people in the Old Testament, their functions and their literary reflections are based on their role in Jesus Christ's life or in the incarnation miracle (Magdalino and Nelson, 2010, 3-4). Byzantine emperors never considered Old Testament as a Jewish book and they embraced the temple of Solomon as a symbol of Christianity. The concept of the temple had been a model within the framework of the construction programs of Byzantine emperors and revived as a heaven on earth in Byzantine architecture (Ousterhout, 2010, 224-225). This way, even though the Solomon's temple at the holy land was ruined, the church was elevated to a status that ensures its perpetuity.

The continuity of "David's Lineage" in the Old Testament is once again manifested through Messiah Jesus Christ in the New Testament [(According to the agreement between David and the God of Israel, the right to rule was eternally granted to David's lineage.) (Matthew 1:1-17), (Lucas 2:4)]. It denotes the commonalities and establishes a correlation between Jesus who had healing powers and Solomon, who was at the top of his fame at the time as a peaceful king and who, according to Jewish sources, is believed to be able to control demons [(Matthew 12:22), (Weitzman, 2011, 86)]. In his sermon on the mount, Jesus Christ refers to Solomon's prudent and wise personality by telling that life was more important than food and body was more important than clothing, and how the birds and lilies were taken care of by God and were provided with beautiful outfits that even Solomon, despite his magnificence, did not wear [(Matthew 6:28) (Lucas 12:22-31)]. The New Testament portrays a humble prophet regardless of all his wealth.

The Qur'an describes Solomon as a person who had authority on all kinds of creatures on the face of the Earth, who could travel with the help of the wind [(34:12), (21:81), (38:36)], who could order demons to do anything [(34:12-13), (21:82), (27:17)]

and who had superior qualities among other prophets [(6:84), (4:163), (17:55)], but does not give any information about his physical appearance.

Under the light of the information from various sources, the defining factor in the development of a tradition of representation of the main figure is the rules of iconography. These rules are existent in the Christian Orthodox due to the theological content of the icon; however there are no definitive iconographic rules in Islamic tradition. In Islamic sources Prophet Solomon is usually associated with David. Especially in sources of genealogical nature such as *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* (Cream of Histories) and *Silsilanâma* (Medalioned Genealogies) they are depicted together on the same page as "father and son" (Bağcı et al, 2006, 254). Other than above mentioned miniatures, the compositions of Solomon usually portray him surrounded with people, animals, angels and hybrid figures. A surprising fact is the lack of scenes in Christian Orthodox icons related to the construction of Solomon's temple although it was described in detail in the Old Testament, while Islamic miniatures, apart from those that are painted in the light of *Qur'anic* information, depict the construction of the temple, although Koran does not mention its existence. Along with Koran, other Islamic sources of information about Solomon are; *The History of Prophets and Kings*, (The History of al-Tabarî) *Qisas al-anbiyâ* (Stories of the Prophets) manuscripts that contain anecdotes from prophets' lives, genealogical studies such as *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* manuscripts, literary works such as *Majâlis al-'ushshâq* (The Gathering of the Minstrels) and geography manuscripts like *Ajâ'ib al-makhlûqât* (The Wonders of Creation).

The miniatures of Islamic tradition that were painted in the light of religious, historical and literary texts feature scenes from Solomon's life and achievements (Bağcı, 1993, 35). The *History of al-Tabarî*, which was written by Iranian born historian *Abū Ja'far b. Jarîr al-Ṭabarî* (b.839) in late 9th and early 10th century is thought to

be influential in Islamic tradition. The book was originally written in Arabic with the title *Ta'rikh al-umem wa-l-mulūk or Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (The History of Nations and Kings or The History of Prophets and Kings) and contains information on the prophets in The Old Testament, the prophets in Qur'an, The New Testament and Jesus Christ, Byzantine Emperors and Sassanian Kings (McAuliffe, 2010, 279). In his History, *al-Tabarī* gives clues about Solomon's physical appearance; according to Taberī's writings, Solomon is a light-skinned, stately and bright faced person with abundant hair who wears a white outfit (Taberī, 1991, 701).

Another text that gives clues about Solomon's appearance dates back to 1645. It is a *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ* copy of an unknown author, registered as number 4367 at the Hacı Mahmud Efendi section of Süleymaniye Library: The text informs us that Solomon wore elaborate clothing in eye catching colors, a costly turban and an inherited crown (Kösece, 2006, 46).

DEPICTIONS OF SOLOMON IN CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

In Orthodox doctrine the themes and representations develop in a scientific discipline that examines standardized patterns and models. Since the representations in icons are carried out within the framework of a given program, iconographs were careful about following these rules.

Dionysius of Fourna who analyzed various manuscripts and codified the Orthodox Christian iconography rules in 1700s, explains the rules of Solomon's representations in his guide book for icon painters (Dionysius, 1996, 23, 27, 28, 31, 51). [Solomon's iconography is indicated under the following titles: Solomon anointed king; Solomon building the temple of God, Solomon having built temples for idols, his wives come to worship them; The twelve sons of Jacob; The holy prophets with their characteristics and prophecies; On the Entombment; On the Annunciation; How the tree of Jesse is represented ; how the feasts

of the Mother of God represented "The "prophets from above".]

Solomon is usually depicted as a young man without a beard, together with his father David (Dionysius, 1996, 27). In his aforementioned book Dionysius not only gives the rules of iconography but also conveys information on the preparation and application of materials used in icon technique. Within the framework of common practice, he is depicted either alone in a medallion shaped frame or in Jesse Tree themed icons. Along with these two content types, the thematic priority is given to compositions of Anastasis. In Christian literature Anastasis refers to Jesus Christ's resurrection, journey to the underworld and saving of his predecessors (previous prophets) from the Devil. Although there are some clues, the story of Anastasis is not mentioned in apostolic Gospels. The story that these scenes are based on can be found in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* which is dated to 4th century. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* is comprised of 3 sections. The story starts in the second section and continues in detail in the third section as well. According to the story "all the dead are captives of Devil in Hades. With the flash of a bright light, the prophets of the Old Testament feel a great joy. John the Baptist appears and heralds the good news: The light exudes from the great enlightenment that is Jesus Christ who comes to save them. The Devil discerns the magnitude of the threat. He locks the doors of Hades in order to prevent Jesus Christ's arrival. However the doors smash with a thundering noise and Christ defeats the Devil, saving all the dead and the prophets of Old Testament" (Akyürek, 1996, 100-101).

The iconographic program of the north church of the St. Chrysostomos Monastery at the village of Koutsovendis (Değirmenlik) in Northern Cyprus is one of the important examples of the Middle Byzantine era. Built in 1100 A.D. and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the church was restored in 1968. The church interior and the representations were measured, photo-

graphed and documented. As the region where the monastery is situated is a military zone within the borders of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus since 1974, it is not possible to conduct further studies at the church. The report presented to the committee of culture and education of the European Council in 1989 indicates that most of the paintings that feature human figures were covered (Mango et al, 1990, 63).



Picture 1. Solomon, David and John The Baptist, (detail) *Anastasis*, c. 1100 North Church of The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos, Koutsovendis, Cyprus.

The Anastasis scene with the figure of Solomon which constitutes the thematic of the subject matter is in the North Church, on the wall where the south facing door is located. The wall is 2.70 meters wide and 2.85 meters high; however only 2.10 meters of this height was used as a panel.

The color patterns and the production technique of the iconographic program can be determined within the framework of information provided by E.J. Hawkins who previously worked on the technical characteristics of the representations in this building. According to him, the icon painter set the *mise-en-scène* by applying red ochre on the smooth surfaces of the walls. The stucco is made up of a 1 centimeter thick, single layer of mud. Since the adjacent ends of the scenes are covered, it seems that the stucco

was applied in batches. The Anastasis composition can be analyzed only partially as part of the wall is damaged. At the center, we see the head of Jesus Christ and part of his clothing which were delineated larger than other figures in the scene over a blue background. To the right of Jesus Christ, prophets Solomon and David and John the Baptist stand side by side. On the left, Adam's face and hand which was extended to Jesus are barely visible as a silhouette. There are two angel figures to the right of Jesus at the top corner.

The figures of Solomon, David and John the Baptist which were depicted to the right of Jesus Christ are 1.01 meters tall including their crowns (Picture 1). Contrary to the animated expressions of Jesus and other figures in the representation, they are inertly laid together in a single file. Solomon is depicted frontally with his left hand pointing at Jesus and his right hand pointing above. He is portrayed as a young man without a beard, directly looking at the viewer. He wears a chimation in red ochre spliced with a brooch on his right shoulder over a grey chiton. Similar to other figures in the representation, he has a circular halo over his head which is 29 centimeters wide in diameter (Mango et al, 1990, 80-81). The halo is painted in yellow ochre and toned up with an imperial crown ornate with pearls and framed with blue and red rectangular gems. In Christian thought, crowns are bestowed by the God and should be returned to God. The grandiose concept of Byzantine crowns was largely shaped by the Sasanians who were masters of exhibiting worldly riches, power and splendor. The beads on the imperial crowns which were used starting from 6th century on are of the same influence (İndirkaş, 2002, 16).

The backgrounds of the representations and especially faces are painted in yellow ochre. The bleeds in the contours of figures indicate a second layer of coloring was applied on halos. While the color red ochre [Anhydrous iron (III)-oxide Fe_2O_3] which was applied on frescoes is obtained by heating the ingredients of the color yellow

ochre [Iron oxyhydroxide $\text{FeO}_{(\text{OH})}$], further heating of the material results in a dark brown-red shade (Mango et al, 1990, 83-84).

The background of the representation is painted in dark blue. The various color shades on the figures, just like the color grey on Solomon's chiton, were made up of mixing the color with black or white or mixing maximum two different colors (Mango et al, 1990, 94). The materials used for black paint were either coal dust (Amorphous carbon) or burned animal bones [Bone Black: Calcium Phosphate $\text{Ca}_3(\text{PO}_4)_2$ + Calcium Carbonate CaCO_3 + Carbon C]. Lampblack was also a commonly preferred black paint in the Medieval Era which was primarily used by ancient Egyptians in ceramic pot decoration and ink production. The white pigment used in icon painting since the ancient period was obtained by dissolving basic lead carbonate [Basic lead (II) -carbonate $2 \text{PbCO}_3 \cdot \text{Pb}(\text{OH})_2$] in vinegar (Acetic Acid CH_3COOH) (Baker, 2004, 8, 11).

The details of Solomon's representation as well as the other figures such as the halos, the neckline of the outfits, sleeve hems and brooches were painted in gold which was the primary shade of yellow in the Medieval era (Mango et al, 1990, 94). The color gold was obtained by mixing crushed and powdered 22 or 23 carat gold leafs with *Arabic gum*. Since it was usually preserved in a protective shell, it is also called *shell gold* (Url-1).

With regard to the typological perception of Solomon as the main principal in focus, the imperial nature of the figure is clearly reflected in the icon and it is in line with iconographic rules.

Another good example of Solomon figure can be found in the Anastasis representation in *Hosios Loukas Monastery* which is situated in Phokis, Greece, on the road to Delphi. Built in Middle Byzantine era, the monastery was dedicated to *Saint Loukas Stiriotes* who was a monk (b.896- d.953). Dating back to 10th century, the monastery complex has been renovated and enlarged in time (Krautheimer, 1986, 338-340).



Picture 2. David and Solomon, (detail) *Anastasis*, c. 1040, Mosaic in the narthex of Hosios Loukas in Phokis.

The complex is comprised of two churches and a dining hall. One of these churches is *Hosios Loukas Chatholikon* where, along with the Anastasis representation, some important samples of the iconography of Post-Iconoclastic period that were made by artists from Constantinople can be seen. A renovation and restoration program for the conservation of the mosaics in the church was implemented in 1939. In order to reverse the damage inflicted by the 1939-45 War, the church went under two large scale restorations (in 1958 and 1964) (Arletti et al, 798).

The Anastasis scene which represents Christ's Resurrection and Descent to Hades is placed 5.9 meters above ground (Ousterhout, 1997, 93), at the narthex of Hosios Loukas Katholikon. The fact that the Anastasis scene was depicted very briefly, with utmost simplicity using as few figures as possible corroborates the allegations regarding the artists who worked at the Narthex being more proficient than the ones who worked at the Naos (Beckwith, 1979, 232). The iconography was applied with

deep theological knowledge. The scene portrays Jesus Christ with a crucifix in his hand as the symbol of his victory. He had just opened the gates of Hades and resurrected Adam and Eve. Christ is depicted at the center of the composition, pulling Adam by the arm out of his tomb. Adam is pictured to the left of Christ with Eve behind him.

On the other side, Solomon and David stand in their own tombs. With expressions of respect, curiosity and amazement, they extend their hands to Jesus Christ as if they were praying (Chatzidakis, 1997, 25). In line with iconography tradition, Solomon is portrayed side by side with his father. He is depicted frontally with two thirds of his body being visible (Picture 2). He points at the main theme at the center with his both hands. The figure is young, without a beard and stares at the viewer with soulful eyes. He wears a chimation in Tyrian purple, the symbolic color for nobility, over a white chiton with gold laced sleeves. There is a golden embroidered, ornate piece that looks like an omophorion over the chimation. His crown is in Tyrian purple and gold, the colors of Byzantine emperors, and decorated with pearls. The expression and iconographic representation here, undoubtedly affirm Solomon's appearance as a Byzantine emperor.

In 2010, the glass tesserae of Hosios Loukas went under *inductively coupled plasma optical emission spectroscopy*, *electron microprobe analysis* and *x-ray powder diffraction* methods, in order to analyze their chemical properties. The multiple analyses showed that Hosios Loukas was built in 1040 contrary to the previous belief that dates the building to 1011 or 1022. The samples picked for electron microprobe analysis were of various colors. The analysis showed that, part of the original tesserae were plant ash based glass and part of them were made up of (composite) natron mixture. It was also shown that *plant ash (carbonate) based* glass mosaics outnumbered *mixed natron plant* mosaics and all have a homogeneous chemical structure (Arletti, et al, 2010, 811).

The color black used on the shadings was obtained from iron oxide [Fe_2O_3] while the color brown on hair and clothing details was made of manganese oxide [MnO]. This substance was also used to decolorize glass. The most commonly used agent to opaque glasses was white calcium antimonate [$\text{Ca}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$] (Arletti et al, 2010, 797). However instead of antimony or stannum agents, the main opaque agent in the coloring of the glass tesserae of Hosios Loukas is quartz crystal [cristobalite (SiO_2)]. The red on halos and sleeves derives its color and opaqueness from copper pieces (Arletti, et al, 2010, 811). The main color of Solomon's outfit is known as the "Royal" purple or Tyrian purple. In order to obtain just one gram of Tyrian purple, the secretions of approximately 10 thousand large sea snails should be extracted (Url-2). All of the above findings indicate some major changes in traditional glass production technology in the 11th century (Arletti, et al, 2010, 813).



Picture 3. David and Solomon, (detail) *Anastasis*, c. 1042-1056 Chios, Nea Mone, naos interior.

The *Nea Moni* monastery in Chios was built by artists sent from Constantinople

with the order of Constantine Monomachos IX in the 11th century. Therefore it bears the influence of the design and composition understanding of Istanbul (Rice, 1995, 96). The similarities between the Anastasis scene depicted at Nea Moni and the one at Hosios Loukas indicate that Hosios Loukas was taken as an example, however the composition here is more crowded and complicated (Hutter, 1988, 130). The fact that Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni churches were built roughly in the same period can be read as both Anastasis scenes could be the works of the same artists. The Anastasis depiction at the narthex of Hosios Loukas is situated 5.9 meters above ground while the scene at *Nea Moni* is at 10 meters (Ousterhout, 1997, 93).

The Anastasis scene here is full of symbols and just like the other compositions that were shown before, Christ figure is placed right at the center. Here Christ is depicted in profile from his left. He grabs Adam by the hand and takes him out of his tomb. We see Eve and a crowded group of people behind Adam. To the back of Christ, Solomon and David stand side by side in their tombs (Picture 3). There are crowded groups of figures behind the main figures on both sides of the scene. The presentations of nature at the background feature mountains with bold outlines on the both sides of the scene. These mountains refer to the *landscape of limbo* and symbolize *the age of hell*.

Standing side by side with his father David in the Anastasis scene, Solomon is depicted from the front. Both the father and the son are portrayed with beards and Solomon is differentiated from his father with a darker beard. He points at the scene at the center with both hands while his eyes are fixed on his father. Solomon is wearing an imperial outfit comprised of a blue chiton pinned on his right shoulder and a white chiton with golden embroidered sleeves. He wears a golden imperial crown ornate with beads. The blue circular halo surrounding the crown is outlined in red. The blue glass tesserae were colored by a mixture containing cobalt oxide (CoO)

which is also known as *Zaffre* or *Zaffera* and iron (Fe₂O₃), (Url-3). It was found out that green tesserae were colored by a mixture containing a considerable amount of copper (Arletti et al, 2010, 811). While it was relatively easy to obtain transparent light blue and green shades by adding copper in the mixture, more complicated processes were needed to produce a dark opaque blue color (James, 2006, 39).

The golden background pronounces the lively, bright colors of the representation. Dark shadows under the eyes, dark hair and beard and dark brown skin color of the face symbolize a stern, powerful and competent Eastern Mediterranean personality. The sternness and rigidity of the facial expression; decisive, penetrating eyes; the grandeur, magnificence and dignity of the scene combined with a pessimistic and daunting feeling, create a very strong impact on the viewer (Beckwith, 1979, 235). Mosaic artists seem to have interpreted an authentic and peerless personality (Rice, 1994, 97).

Contrary to the common iconographic rules, the Rabbula Gospels depict David and Solomon in contrast with each other. In Rabbula Gospels David is portrayed as a young, beardless and bare headed psalm writer, standing with a lyre in his hands. On the other hand, Solomon is portrayed with a beard and a cap, sitting on an impressive throne (Kartsonis, 1986, 187-188). However the iconographical interpretation we see here complies neither with common iconographic rules nor with the depictions in Rabbula Gospels; in this sense it constitutes a rare representation (Ousterhout, 1997, 93).

As can be seen in the mosaics of Anastasis scene at Nea Moni in Chios, the physiognomy of emperor Constantine IXth Monomachos on coins and other mosaics was reflected on Solomon's image. Such identification is clearly visible in icons with depictions of Solomon from various periods of Byzantine art.

In Byzantine society, the "emperor" was the key figure as the commander of the

army, the lawmaker, the ruler and the leader of Christian population. The process of Christianization of Eastern Roman Empire in which politics had played a crucial role witnessed a period where along with the emperor's undeniable power over the Eastern Church, the perception of the characters of the Old Testament gained importance. In fact such perception of Old Testament characters supports the idea that Icon art was shaped by the interaction of politics and theology.

Within this context, many church historians of the Byzantine period associated emperors with prophets of Old Testament; Eusebios not only identified Emperor Constantine with Moses but also described the emperor's approach on religion as the revival of the reality of Moses. Writer Sozocrates identified Costantine with David, and Theodosius II with Moses, while Sozomenos' model for identification was Solomon. In his eulogy for Theodosius II, Sozomenos praised the emperor as he "mastered the knowledge of the nature of stones, the power of roots and the force of law as perfectly as Solomon and his wisdom excelled him" (Rapp, 2010, 175, 182, 184). Old Testament had been an important source of inspiration for the Byzantine judicial system.

In 10th century, Niketas of Paphlagonia took on the subject of similarities between Christian Saints and the characters in the Old Testament; especially, his identification of the emperors of Macedonian Dynasty with the models of Old Testament is striking. Basil I, the founder of the dynasty, identified himself with David. His son Leo VI "the Wise" was recognized as the "new Solomon" because of the importance he placed on science and law (Magdalino and Nelson, 2010, 22).

The gateway of the Byzantine Empire to the east, Cappadocia has been of capital importance both before and after Iconoclastic period, starting from the early years of Christianity. The churches of the area are unique with their topographical structure as well as their geographic location and

they feature some of the best examples of Icon art.



Picture 4. Solomon and David, (detail) Anastasis, Karanlık Kilise (Dark Church), late 11th century, Göreme.

The Dark Church at Göreme, Nevşehir, is a monastic compound built in the 11th century. It is a domed church with one main apse, two small apses and four columns. The apses are decorated with scenes from the New Testament. The Dark Church is one of the cave churches of Cappadocia region which was adapted to cross-in-square church plan with some changes in the iconographic program. The impact of the natural light coming from a single point is completely different from the atmosphere created by light coming from many different points in a church.

Therefore, instead of a high dome resting on a pulley, the architect of the church preferred to employ low vaults to better exhibit the frescoes (Ousterhout, 1997, 92). The name of the church comes from the fact that the lighting source of the church is a single small window. Since the amount of light coming from this window is very limited, the frescoes preserved their rich colors and the paint coat at the surface remained intact.

After the Turkish invasion the church was used as a pigeon house until 1950s. It took 14 years to scrap pigeon droppings off the walls, an effort which revealed the best preserved frescoes in all Cappadocia. The restoration and preservation of the rock-hewn churches of Göreme continued in 1985 on the frescoes of Dark Church by a joint team of experts from ICCROM and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism [(Experts: Isabelle Dengas, Alfeo Michieletto, Özgür Çavga, Nurhayat Duran, Rıdvan İşler, Mustafa Kol, Revza Özil.) (Özil, 1985, 89)]. The Anastasis scenes in the majority of the churches in Cappadocia region are Christological in nature (Akyürek, 1996, 107).

In the Anastasis representation of Dark Church, David and Solomon are depicted to the left of the Christ figure which constitutes the navel of the composition. Our subject matter Solomon is depicted frontally above the waist, facing the viewer (Picture 4). He points at Jesus Christ with his both hands. He is depicted as a young man with dark brown (Umber) hair and he doesn't have a beard. His skin color is almost natural and he has a serious facial expression. He wears an imperial Byzantium crown ornate with pearls. His chimation in red ochre is pinned over one shoulder.

The omophorion on his right shoulder is golden embroidered with various geometrical patterns. A white chiton shows under his chimation. The composition where Solomon is depicted clearly as a king sets a perfect example for Post Iconoclastic period when the rules of iconography started to clarify. The color flesh which was widely used to paint the skins of the figures in icons is a mixture of white and reddish yellow ochre, a highly opaque pigment [Iron oxyhydroxide $\text{FeO}(\text{OH})$], (Dionysius, 1996, 8). Also a highly opaque pigment suitable for all kinds of materials, the color Umber [Iron (III)-oxide $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 (\text{H}_2\text{O})$, manganese oxide $\text{MnO}_2 (n \text{ H}_2\text{O})$ aluminum oxide Al_2O_3] was very common; however the best examples of its usage can be found in Cyprus (Url-4).



Picture 5. Solomon, The Church of Tağar, (Ayios Theodoros Church), South exedra, between 10th-12th Century, Cappadocia.

The Church of Tağar or Ayios Theodoros Church at Yeşilöz is a noteworthy rock-hewn Byzantine sanctuary with a trefoil plan (trikonchios) which is not typical of the region, and the iconographic and style characteristics of its monumental frescoes that comply with the architectural features of the building. Just as the etymological origin of the name of the settlement where the church was built, information on when and by whom it was built and to whom it was dedicated, or the restorations or renovations it went under is not clear (Pekak, 2010, 216).

Aside from the ones under the arch the frescoes of the south exedra faded away almost completely after Jerphanion and Restle's visits to the church. To the south, next to the arch that separates the south exedra from the center, there are lined up circular medallions with figures in them. Starting from the east, these figures are: Jonas, David, Solomon and five other prophets that cannot be identified or completely faded away. Depicted frontally above the waist in the medallion, the figure of Solomon is the third one from the left, right next to David's representation at the inner surface of the arch (Koçyiğit, 2007, 147). The prophet is depicted in his idealized form, as a young man without a beard, dressed like an emperor (Picture 5). The paint coat of the partially destroyed medallion to the left of Solomon is peeled

off in patches and the color red is faded away. Depicted frontally in the medallion, Solomon wears an outfit in yellow ochre, adorned with rectangular shaped green and red gems. A double color combination stands out, with red on the left and green on the right arm of the outfit. Contrary to the other examples we have seen, in this depiction Solomon doesn't wear a crown but his umber hair is ornate with pearls. Similarly, the edges of his outfit are also contoured with pearls. Although the background of the medallion is painted in dark red, the toning of the surface is visible. Solomon's circular halo is painted in a very light shade of pink.

While giving information on icon making in his book, Dionysus tells that, other than verdigris, lozouri, lacquer and arsenic based paints, all kinds of coloring materials could be used in making frescoes and since the red cinnabar pigment had a tendency to turn black in open air, it was not a suitable material for outdoor use (Dionysius, 1996, 15).

It is argued that icons that depict Solomon and David as kings started in the 9th century and the earliest examples of such compositions which were dated in the first quarter of the 9th century were of Eastern origin. While talking about the three books of the Old Testament (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes) which were accredited to Solomon in the early periods of Christianity, Origenes tells that Solomon composed these books under the influence of essential elements of human mind, namely ethics, physics and metaphysics (Koçyiğit, 2007, 147), (Kazhdan, 1991, 1925). Goethe on the other hand, underlines the idea that three forces dominate the world: wisdom, image and power (Goethe, 2002, 147).

DEPICTIONS OF SOLOMON IN OTTOMAN MINIATURES

In Islamic thought only four rulers who lived before Prophet Mohammed were described as *sâhib-kırân* (A great and victorious ruler who was born during the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter at the same zodiac house (kırân), conqueror of the

world who is guided by God). Among them *Solomon* and *İskender-i Zulkarneyn* (Alexander The Great) were blessed and sanctified whereas *Nimrud* and *Bahtunnasir* (Nabukednezar) were denounced of being idolatrous and were seen as *kâfir* (Someone who denies the existence and unity of God; a relentless and cruel person) and Satan (Bağcı, 2002, 53).

As one of these rulers, Solomon began to come into prominence as a political and cultural figure in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (the Conqueror). In his "*Kanunname*" (Laws of Sultan Mehmed Khan) the Sultan states that (his younger son) Prince Cem should be addressed as "*varis-i mülk-i Süleyman-i*" (the heir of Solomon's hereditament). It is widely known that Mehmed the Conqueror had adopted the title *İskender-i Zaman* (Alexander of the time) while Suleiman the Magnificent preferred *Süleyman-ı Zaman* (Solomon of the time) or *Süleyman-ı Devran* (Solomon of the fate). The legendary images of these two Ottoman sultans were, to a great extent, based on the images of *Alexander the Great* and the *Prophet-King Solomon* (Bağcı, 2002, 54-55, 58).

Stemming from the visual tradition of Islamic world, Ottoman miniature art had adopted the same forms of expression at the beginning but was able to survive long enough to develop a language of its own (Bağcı et al, 2006, 16). Among the 25 prophets that were mentioned in the Koran, Solomon was one of those who was attributed the greatest importance and the reflection of his image in Ottoman miniatures should be evaluated within this context.

As mentioned above, information on Prophet Solomon can be found in Islamic sources such as The History of *al-Tabarî*, historical texts of Muslim writers like *al-Tha'labi* (b.1035) and *Kemâleddin Ebu Abdullah ed-Demiri*, in *Qişaş al-anbiyâ* manuscripts that contain anecdotes from prophets' lives, literary works like *Majâlis al-'ushshâq* (The Gathering of the Minstrels), *Humâyûnnâma* and geography books like *Acaibü'l-Mahlûkat* (The Wonders of Crea-

tion) which were embellished with miniatures. He was also depicted in books of genealogical nature such as *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* (Cream of Histories) (Pictures 8, 9) and miniature embellished manuscripts like *Silsilanâma* (Medalioned Genealogies) (Picture 10).

In Islamic sources Prophet Solomon is usually associated with David. Especially in the miniatures of Ottoman works like *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* and *Silsilanâma* they are depicted together in the same scene (Bağcı et al, 2006, 254).

The characteristics of *Qişâş al-anbiyâ* miniatures from the Ottoman province of Baghdat were somewhat different from the Palace tradition, depicting Solomon under various titles, some of which originated from the *Qur'an* and others based on hearsay. There are samples of miniatures that depict Solomon sitting alone on his throne or together with Balqis; or with the King of Ants; sometimes together with a Giant fish; and sometimes his dead body leaning on his scepter to be able to stand, while the hybrid figures under his command continue to work without being aware of his death (Milstein, 1999, 144-48). However most of the Islamic miniatures of Solomon depict him sitting on his throne alone or with Balqis the Queen of Sheeba, surrounded by his vizier Âsaf and his soldiers, together with various animals, angels and hybrid figures.

In the early periods of Islam (7th and 8th centuries) monumental paintings used to decorate the walls of Umayyad palaces however this tradition did not last very long. Starting from 9th century on, they gave way to paintings in manuscripts. This realistic monumental works of art were influenced by Late Hellenistic and Sassanid arts and bore the traces of ancient cultures that reigned over the region in the past (Mahir, 2005, 16).

In the first samples of miniatures from the early periods of Islam where Sassanid influence is clearly visible, the essential symbolic elements of the iconography of sovereignty were a crown or a turban, a

halo, a battle mace, the Holy Grail, a throne carried by two lions and a white handkerchief in the hands of the ruler. Some of these symbols continued to prevail in the miniature samples from later periods (Barry, 2004, 58-66). In the process of transition from wall decorations to book paintings, realism was replaced by stylized forms. Although there is no definite proscription in Islam against the creation of images of sentient living beings, the fact that the interpretations of certain verses imply such images could be seen as idols, had been the main reason behind the wide use of symbolic expressions in book paintings [(İpşiroğlu, 2005, 9), (Grabar, 2004, 76)].

According to one point of view, Islamic mystics and intelligentsia's involvement in Platon's theory of ideas and Plotinus' pantheist metaphysics of light have played an important role in the revival of figurative painting in books and with the cultivation of the idea, a conceptual tradition of painting that complies with Islamic aniconism was developed (İpşiroğlu, 2005, 9-10).

Islamic miniatures were the products of a collective effort, sponsored by the rulers, as an art form encouraged by the palace. Unlike icons, their production was not expected to adhere by predetermined guidelines however they contained a number of symbolic elements and their structures were based on certain specific schemes.

Manuscripts about the years of reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent or provide scenes from the extraordinary life of the Prophet Solomon are called *Süleymannâmes*. Written in early 16th century by Firdevsî-i Rûmî, *Süleymannâme-i Kebir* is an encyclopedic work of art, combining poetry and prose (Şakar, 2003, vii). Along with several legends and religious stories about Prophet Solomon, the book also gives information on philosophy, geometry, astrology and medicine. The manuscript was ordered by Mehmed II (1444-1445; 1451-1481) and was completed during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) to be presented to the Sultan. The book was originally comprised of 330 or 380 volumes. It is said that,

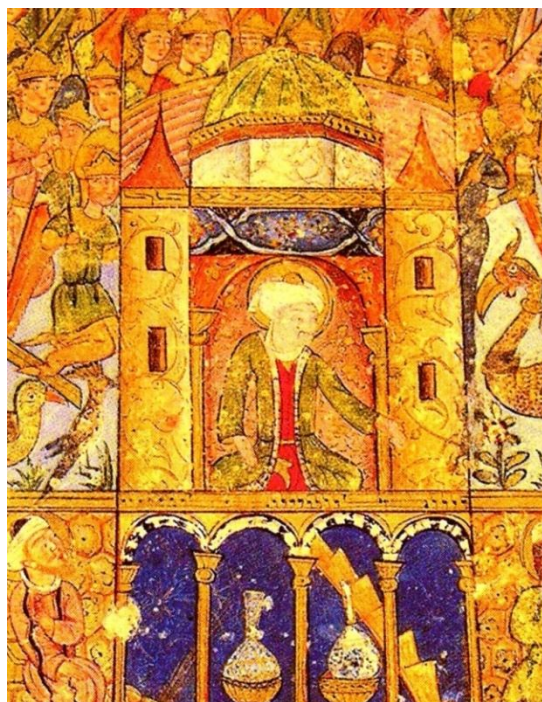
aside from the 80 volumes chosen by the Sultan himself, the rest of the book was burned by the order of Bayezid II (Büyükkaracı, 1995, 2-4).

Today, one of the remaining volumes is available at Dublin Chester Beatty Library (T. 406). Made up of 332 pages some of which were left blank, this encyclopedic work of art begins with two miniatures of 25 x 19 centimeters in size on a double page spread (Minorsky-Wilkinson, 1958, 10). These introductory paintings depict Solomon on one page and Balqis on the other. It is thought that the blank pages inside the book were left for some other paintings that could not be completed (Bağcı et al, 2006, 46-47). The encyclopedic text content of *Süleymannâme* was inspired by Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* which was written during the reign of Mehmed II (Bağcı, 2002, 55).

At the beginning of his work, Firdevsî (Also known as Firdevsî-i Rûmî, Firdevsî-i Tavîl, Firdevsî the Tall or Turkish Firdevsî, the Turkish writer and polymath Firdevsî lived in the second half of 15th century and the first half of 16th century. According to his own statement in the records, his real name was Şerefeddin Musa), the author of *Süleymannâme*, indicates that he made use of two anonymous books of apocryphal origin while he was in Niksar. One of them was originally written in Syriac by Lokman al-Hakim, and the other was a book translated into Persian by Plato [(Büyükkaracı, 1995, 1), (Rogers, 2000, 187)].

These two miniatures of *Süleymannâme* are significant not only because they bring an alternative, Ottoman interpretation to the already established iconographical schemes of the depictions of Solomon in Islamic art but also because of the distinctness of their compositions, styles and their iconographical uniqueness (Bağcı, 2002, 55-56). Made up of layered horizontal stripes, this kind of layout is unprecedented in Islamic tradition and has been associated with mural paintings by some researchers [(Atasoy and Çağman, 1974, 20), (Mahir, 2005, 49)], while others associate it with Christian painting tradition (Rogers, 2000, 187; Grube, 1990, 138) or Central Asian

painting tradition. Aslanapa (1993, 372) indicates that horizontal layering was an ancient Turkish composition layout dating back to Uyghurs. Despite all these comments, it's an undeniable fact that human figures, angels, the outfits of Solomon and Balqis and the way they sit, along with other similar details reflect the typology of Islamic tradition.



Picture 6. Süleyman, (detail) *Süleymannâme*, Uzun Firdevsi, c. 1490, CBL T.406 f.1b.

In the miniature, Solomon is portrayed sitting on his throne, in a domed tower, surrounded with angels and birds (picture 6). The looming sky at the background is blue.

On top of the dome there is a wide angled plan that looks like a curtain or rainbow. [This is a similar detail to the disc shaped shading held by two angels over Solomon's head in an early depiction of Solomon in a picture book at Topkapı Palace (TSMK H. 2152 fol 97r). Here Solomon is depicted as a Far Eastern monarch. For the picture please see (Barry, 2004, 61)]. Under the section where Solomon is depicted, there are six narrow stripes covering one fourth of the page. At the bottom stripe there are astrological signs and vari-

ous animals. At the second and third stripes from the bottom there are some hybrid figures and angels. The remaining stripes feature human figures. The basic compositional layout of the multitude of figure groups shows a hierarchical order.

There are fewer stripes on the left page, on which Balqis is depicted sitting on a kiosk-like throne. At the top two ranks of the layout order, sits Balqis surrounded by human figures and angels. There are hybrid figures at the third, fourth and fifth ranks. At the bottom of the page, there are horse figures. Since these horses are depicted in an enclosed space, Bağcı (2002, 56) suggests that this could be the barn for Solomon's famous horses.

Solomon sits cross-legged on a kiosk-like throne. The throne is situated under a dome which stands on an angular frame and has two cusped towers on two sides. The way Solomon sits is one of the oldest iconographies of Khans in Turkish tradition (Esin, 2006, 323). All legendary rulers have been depicted sitting cross-legged in Ottoman *Silsilanâmas* (Genealogical Trees). He is depicted frontally with his head turned left by one thirds and his eyes fixed at what happens on the left of the page.

He looks like a young monarch of Central Asian - Mongolian typology with slightly slanting eyes and a moustache. Just like the typical scenes of Islamic iconography where rulers are depicted giving a speech or advice (Renda, 1973, 455), his left hand points at somewhere outside the scene while his right hand rests on his knee. Solomon wears a red inner caftan with a belt and a green caftan with wide sleeves. His moccasins are painted in gold. He wears a white turban typical to Ottoman Sultans and Ulama (Islamic scholars). There is a circular halo in gold over his head. The origins of halos date back to primitive ages (Sunay, 2009, 227). They have been used as a symbol of sanctity in Christian tradition and usually in the early examples of Islamic art.

In miniatures, facial details like the hair, beard and eyebrows or the contours of the

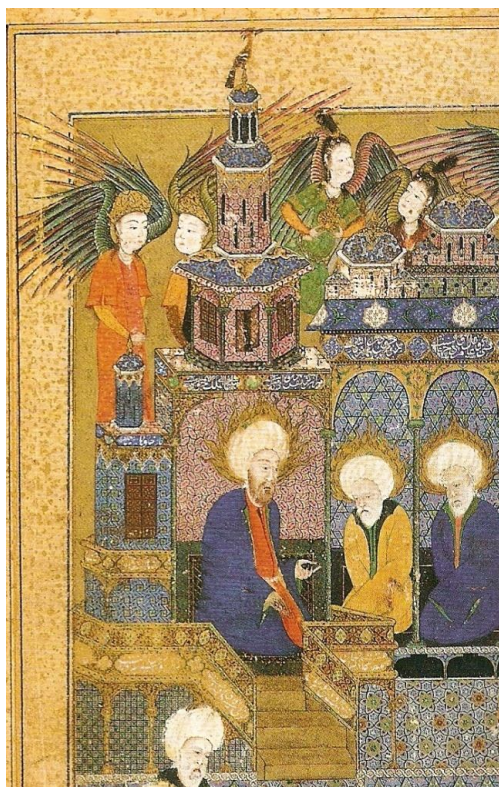
figures are usually painted with shiny and long lasting lampblack ink. However since black or brown have a withering effect on gold and other colors, initial drawings were made by terre de sienne (Behzad, 1953, 32). In Ottoman miniatures the common materials used as red pigments were, synthetic pigments such as red lead [Pb_3O_4], vermilion or mercuric sulfide [HgS] of which the natural raw material is called cinnabar; organic pigments of animal origin such as lacquer, red, cochineal; and organic pigments of plant origin like madder and alder [(Baker, 2004, 11-12), (Mert and Demirci, 2008, 230)]. The information obtained from old Ottoman recipes shows that usually copper acetate [$Cu(C_2H_3O_2)_2 \cdot H_2O$] which is also known as *jengar* or *zangar* was used as green pigment. This pigment was commonly mixed with gold paint to frame texts.

The random cuts seen on the frames of book texts or pictures were first thought to be caused by the ruling pen cutting the paper; however it was later understood that they were the result of green paint acting as a catalytic in the formation of hydroxy radicals which are known to be very active and thus oxidizing the cellulose (Behzad, 1953, 31). Apart from that, there are also other types of green ink made of copper (II) sulfate or saffron, copper (II) sulfate and gallnut juice [(Yaman, 1995), (Mert-Demirci, 2008, 231)]. Also known as white lead, basic lead carbonate [$2PbCO_3 \cdot Pb(OH)_2$] was used as white pigment although it is not very durable (Mert-Demirci, 2008, 230, 233). Basic lead carbonate is also the oldest cerusa known. The gold pigment was obtained by mixing a type of organic animal glue called sirishum with gold foils and adding crystallized salt (Dickson and Welch, 1981, 264).

The horizontal stripes of *Süleymannâme* miniature depict the legendary imperial city of this king of Qur'an. In it, Solomon himself was portrayed as a worldly monarch surrounded by birds and angels, sitting in a tower which reflects the same architectural characteristics of the Middle

Gate of Topkapı Palace. The mysteries of the universe are explained as if real by forging a relationship with a real work of architecture. This is a manifestation of the basic functional characteristics of Ottoman painters (Gladiß, 2007, 566). Especially the type of the turban Solomon wears is significantly similar to the turbans worn by Mehmed the Conqueror in the paintings of Western artists.

The legendary palace of Prophet Solomon is a frequently used image in new palace depictions that reflect the power of monarchy (Necipoğlu, 2007, 308). Representing heaven on earth and associated with ruling power the Renaissance era palace gardens were inspired by Solomon's legendary palace next to the temple of Jerusalem and the famous Hanging Gardens of Babylon (Necipoğlu, 2007, 237-239).



Picture 7. Süleyman, (detail) *Anbiyanâma*, Arifi, 1558, LACMA, M.73.5.446.

One of the historians of Sultan Bayezid II's reign, Bidlisi (*Hasht Behesht*, fol. 72a) compares the Second Courtyard of Topkapı Palace to heaven, telling that the animals of Prophet Solomon who was famous with his

sense of justice used to gather there. He talks about the Divanhane (a large gathering hall) which is situated at the same courtyard as *eyvân-ı adl* (the hall of justice). Another text which was written during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent describes the Second Courtyard as *sâha-i adâlet* (the realm of justice) while Lokman names the same courtyard as *sâha-ı dârû'l-'adâle-i muazzama* (the realm of the gate of the magnificent justice), (Necipoğlu, 2007, 89).

Tursun Bey on the other hand, compares the shiny flooring of the Tiled Kiosk (the Glazed House) of Topkapı Palace to the glass floor of the crystal palace which was built by Solomon for the Queen of Sheeba, where the floor looked so much like water that the queen instinctively gathered up her skirt while walking over it (Necipoğlu, 2007, 308-309). Also, in the Turkish adaptation of *Diegesis* which was written by İlyas Efendi in 1562, imperial connotations of the location of Topkapı Palace were reiterated by claiming that, before the palace, there used to be a pavilion surrounded by gardens which was built by Solomon (Necipoğlu, 2007, 37). Solomon is associated with the notion of a just monarch of the ideal state in Islamic tradition (Bağcı, 2002, 53). The identification of people of leadership positions in state mechanism or social structure with people who came forward with their rulership skills in the *Qur'an* is related but not limited to Islamic tradition (Uluç, 2006, 466). As mentioned earlier, the first manifestations of such identification were seen in Christian tradition where Jesus Christ was associated with Solomon (Matthew 1:1-2). In the Medieval era and during the first years of Modernism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam coalesce around Solomon's figure in terms of political idealization (Weitzman, 2011, 88-89).

Another miniature sample that portrays Prophet Solomon is a single sheet which is thought to be painted during Suleiman the Magnificent's reign and is currently registered as No: M. M.73.5.446 at Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The dimensions of the miniature are 33.6 x 20.9 centimeters.

The idea that the sheet could be an introductory page portraying Solomon and came from one of the lost volumes of *Anbiyâ-nâma* was first introduced by R. Milshtein. According to her, in this single sheet painting Solomon was depicted in a certain way to be associated with Suleiman the Magnificent. The author points out that the hoopoe perching on top of the tower was a significant element of the painting (Milshtein, 1999, 35). The iconography and style characteristics of the painting constitute a significant determinant in Palaeography and Codicology methodologies, especially in cases like *Anbiyâ-nâma* where there is no text.

As it is widely recognized, Islamic miniatures are mainly paintings with the purpose of further clarifying the contents of a text. Therefore while identifying the work, the first two sources to look at are the text and the style characteristics. Within this context, the harmony between the text and the image gains importance. In a Codicological study the combination of elements such as the usage of colors, figure expressions or composition layout not only define the style characteristics of a given work of art, but also constitute the basis of codicology.

Shâh-nâma âl'Uthmân is a five volumes work of art which is thought to be written during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, by the first famous palace historian Fethullah Çelebi who used the pen name Ârifi. The first volume of the book was about the history of prophets starting from Adam and was called *Anbiyâ-nâma*. The miniatures of *Anbiyâ-nâma* were the first examples of prophets' hystography which was not seen in Ottoman book painting tradition before and copied neither their contemporaries nor earlier models that were produced in other Islamic countries. Certain characteristics of these depictions such as the shaded coloring or the pursuit of some kind of architectural perspective imply that they were the products of artists who were familiar with western painting.

In the painting (Picture 7) the prophet sits in a tall building surrounded by angels; this is a kiosk with a tower similar to the one in Uzun Firdevsî's *Süleymannâme*. On top of this ornate kiosk with a *cihannüma* (a panoramic room with glass walls) there is a perching hoopoe. With its crest and pointed beak, this is a familiar figure in Solomon's iconography. Under a vaulted portico, facing the prophet sits three men with halos over their heads signifying their sanctity (Bağcı et al, 2006, 97-98).

Characterized by clear-cut, clean lines, the miniature shows angels with refulgent wings and colorful outfits hovering around an architectural structure. There are six people lined on the left and bottom right of the scene. One of them carries a book and another one carries an astrolabe. Along with floral patterns spreading around the painting, motifs of Solomon's Seal (a.k.a. Magen David) are not only significant but also imply a meticulous tracery. Portrayed as a fair haired man with a beard, Solomon sits frontally by one thirds. He looks at the three men to his left. He wears an indigo caftan and a red inner robe with a white belt. He seems to be giving a speech or advice to the men on the left. His white turban is surrounded by a golden halo in the form of a flame. His beard and moustache are painted in yellow ochre that looks almost golden.

The color blue in Ottoman miniatures was generally obtained from indigo or copper pigments. Also known as eyestone (or blue vitriol), copper sulphate [CuSO_4] is an odorless, blue substance [(Yaman, 1995), (Mert-Demirci, 2008, 231)]. The source material of the pigment known as indigo is woad or indigo plant [Indigotin (2,2'-Biindolinylyliden-3,3'-dion), $\text{C}_{16}\text{H}_{10}\text{N}_2\text{O}_2$] (Url-5). Another blue pigment is ultramarine ($\text{Na}_{8-10}\text{Al}_6\text{Si}_6\text{O}_{24}\text{S}_{2-4}$) blue which is obtained by mixing resin or flax seed oil with crushed and powdered lapis lazuli, a bright blue semi precious stone (Baker, 2004, 5).

Although the first volumes of *Anbiyâ-nâma* could not fully survived to date, there

are some clues on the book's evaluation of Solomon as a powerful and wise character who left his mark on Ottoman political and cultural memory (Bağcı, 2002, 57). It is believed that in this miniature Prophet Solomon was associated with Suleiman the Magnificent. Also, it is argued that there were allegorical similarities between the story of Solomon's death being hidden from demons during the construction of Solomon's Temple (Al-Aqsa Mosque) with the historical facts that the deaths of both Mehmed the Conqueror and Suleiman the Magnificent were hidden from the public (Milstein, 1999, 35).

Adopting the title of 'Solomon of the Time', Suleiman the Magnificent was born in 1494 during his grandfather Bayezid II's reign, who was fully aware of his position as an Islamic monarch, and probably was named by him. This idea suggests that, it was in fact no coincidence Suleiman was given the prophet's name. Some sources indicate that the prince was named Suleiman because during the fortune telling ritual of randomly selecting a page from the Qur'an to name the child, the verse that came up started with the words "The letter comes from Solomon..." [(27:30) (Bağcı, 2002, 58)].

Since the Ottoman dynasty did not have an impressive family tree that justified their rule, they compensated by being just rulers and champions of religion. They codified their rulings that fall outside the realm of Sharia, creating the Ottoman dynasty's own tradition of justice and thus differentiating themselves from other Muslim dynasties. Both Mehmed II and Suleiman I published their codes of laws, making a reputation as law makers in Ottoman history (Necipoğlu, 2007, 88-89). Suleiman the Magnificent (also known as Suleiman the Lawgiver) not only restructured the complete legal system, but also reiterated his power nationwide by restoring the *Bayt al-Maqdis* (*Qubbat as-Sakhrah* mosque) in Jerusalem (Weitzman, 2011, 86) which was ascribed to Solomon (Bağcı, 2002, 58).

The manuscripts known as *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* (Cream of Histories), *Silsilenâme*

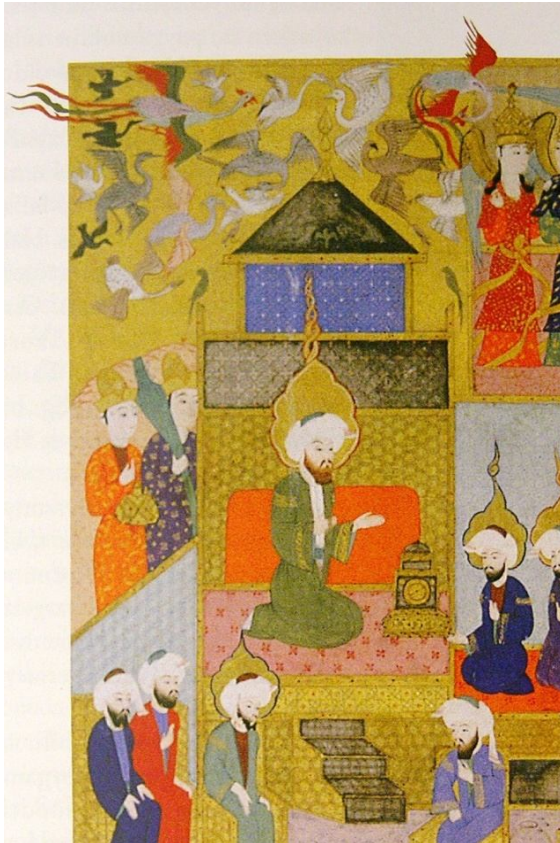
(Medalioned Genealogies) are chronological histories of prominent religious or historical personalities, prophets, early Islamic rulers and Ottoman sultans. Although the origins of such genealogy manuscripts date back to the period of Bayezid II, they were recognized as an established branch of history during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (Bağcı et al, 2006, 253).

One of the first manuscripts that feature authentic miniatures on the history of prophets in Ottoman art is *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* which was begun in Suleiman the Magnificent's period and completed in 1583 (Mahir, 2005, 100). Written by palace historian Seyyid Lokman Aşuri in three illustrated copies between the years 1583 – 1586, *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* may also be regarded as a work on general Islam history. The text of the book comes from the *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* scrolls (79 centimeters wide and 31.6 centimeters high) which are currently registered as number A. 3599 at Topkapı Palace library (It seems that an unknown author started to write these scrolls during Suleiman the Magnificent's period. Later, during Selim II's reign, the scrolls were passed on to Lokman Aşuri who used their text as a source in preparing the three *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* copies) (Renda, 1973, 444). One of the three illustrated copies of the manuscript was prepared for the sultan of the time Murad III (1583, TİEM.1973 40 miniatures). The remaining two copies were prepared for Grand Vizier Siyavuş Pasha (1586, TSMK H.1321: 40 miniatures) and Habeşi Mehmed Agha (1586, DCBL T.414: 45 miniatures), [(Renda, 1991, 485) (Tanındı, 2002, 43), (Mahir, 2005, 25), (And, 2008, 124-126), (Bağcı, 2002, 59)].

Only two of the three copies of *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* mention Prophet Solomon. The reason why the most elaborate one that was prepared for Sultan Mourad III does not include the prophet is unknown (Bağcı, 2002, 59). *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* manuscripts feature scenes from the lives of almost all prophets of Old and New Testaments (Bağcı, 2002, 58-59). It is noteworthy to mention that while the stories of the more important prophets have been given a

whole page in the manuscript, others are allocated as two to three to a page (Bağcı et al, 2006, 132).

In *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* manuscripts prophets have been usually depicted wearing an inner robe with a belt and a caftan often with embroidered collars and sleeves. Almost all have a turban. Prophets have been often depicted as sitting cross-legged or kneeling. If praying, regardless of whether kneeling or standing, their hands are half open with palms facing upwards. In line with the story that has been told in the manuscript, if a prophet is giving a speech or some advice, his left hand points ahead or upwards and his right hand rests on his knee. Almost all of the prophets are portrayed as middle aged men with a dark moustache and beard; however if the story indicates that they were older their beards are white (Renda, 1973, 455).



Picture 8. *Asar-ı Süleyman* (detail), *Zubdet al-Tawarikh*, Seyyid Lokman, 1586, TSMK H.1321 f.43a.

The copy which was prepared for Grand Vizier Siyavuş Pasha in 1586 is now at

Topkapı Palace Library. There are 40 miniatures in this copy, 28 of them being in the first part of the book. Among these 28 miniatures, 24 are on prophets' stories and the remaining 4 are caliph or imam portraits. The second and last part of the book features 12 sultan portraits. The dimensions of the miniatures are 50.5 x 24.7 cm with some of the figures gushing out of the frame (Renda, 1973, 447).

Although the section on Solomon is relatively short, it conveys anecdotes and short stories about the prophet's life. According to the manuscript, the demons under Solomon's command had not only built a huge throne for him but also made golden and silver chairs for the ulama (Islamic scholars) to sit. In the presence of the prophet, djinns and demons came after the ulama. Solomon had an army made up of humans, djinns, predaeous animals and birds under his command. Birds protected the prophet and his retinue from the harmful effects of the sun by shadowing them with their wings. Full of rich iconographic details, this depiction of Prophet Solomon must have conveyed many symbolic messages to its viewers that we cannot fully comprehend today.

The picture entitled *Asâr-ı Süleyman* (Works of Solomon) features Prophet David facing two angels with wings on the top section; while the bottom section which covers two thirds of the page shows Prophet Solomon sitting on his kiosk-like throne surrounded by his famous diwan or retinue (Picture 8). A flock of birds, including two simurghs, are flitting about his head. Solomon's posture and the decorative elements of the scene constitute a stereotypical scene that depicts Ottoman sultans. Two attendants standing behind Solomon carry his sword and his flask. This stereotypical scene bears resemblance to the pictures depicting Ottoman sultans during official receptions or ceremonies where two Privy Chamber Aghas who stand behind the sultan, carry his sword, arrows and flask as the symbols of his sovereignty. There are four holy men with

flame shaped halos on the left of Solomon who resemble the four viziers of the Imperial Council. This resemblance becomes clearer if evaluated together with the importance attributed to Solomon's famous vizier Âsaf bin Berahya in various legends (Bağcı, 2002, 59-61). There are six men, one with a halo, pictured on the left, right and center positions in front of the throne sitting on the chairs that are mentioned in the text. The figures of David and Solomon are larger than others.

In the bottom section of the picture there are hybrid figures with maces surrounding a hexagonal pool at the center, while the lowermost section features angels and wild animals. Solomon is depicted as a man with a fair beard (Picture 8) kneeling in a prayer position with his hands slightly open. He sits on an elevated throne with two steps in a kiosk-like building. He is depicted from the profile facing left by one thirds. He looks at the persons sitting on his left. He wears a white inner robe with a blue belt and a green caftan. He also wears a white round turban typical of Ottoman ulama. There is a leaf shaped golden halo over his head with an elongated spiraling tip stretching to the ceiling of the tower. With its brown contour lines the halo is sumptuous and different from the halos of other figures.

The text does not mention the clock next to Solomon who is depicted just like an Ottoman sultan. The clock probably symbolizes the flow of time. It can also be evaluated in relation to Solomon's miracles such as his ability to harvest the wind to fly everywhere very swiftly and take his court with him [(34:12), (21:81)] however there is also the undeniable probability that it was a reference to Suleiman the Magnificent's adopted title *Süleyman-ı Zaman* (Solomon of the time). Another interesting detail in the picture is the fact that the artist portrayed the ulama with halos of divine light which were in fact associated only with prophets and holy people in Islamic art (Bağcı, 2002, 60).

Another miniature which is found in Habeşi Mehmed Agha's *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* copy (Picture 9) constitutes a much simpler

interpretation of Solomon's court. The 254 pages book contains 45 miniatures and is currently preserved in Dublin Chester Beatty library. The relatively short text (f. 88b) features a number of stories and anecdotes from the prophet's life. After giving information about his palace and the nations under his rule, Lokman goes on telling the story of how his demons and Şhaytân (satan) subjects had built the *Beyt-al Muqaddas* (Temple in Jerusalem) and adorned the building with the gold, silver and other precious metals and stones that they exhumed from underground mines. Then he tells about the prophet's marriage to Balqis and how he invaded Sidon and married the daughter of the king. The text also conveys the story of Satan stealing Solomon's seal ring which gave him the power to rule; how terribly unjust was Satan's rule and how Solomon regained his ruling power by finding his ring in the mouth of a fish that the fisherman he worked for had given him and finally how his death was kept secret from Satan with the help of God [(Bağcı, 2002, 59), (Minorsky and Wilkinson, 1958, 23)].



Picture 9. Süleyman, (detail) *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* Seyyid Lokman, 1586, DCBL T. 414 f. 73a.

The picture is made up of two sections. The dimensions of the top section where David is portrayed are 8.8 x 16 cm while the dimensions of the section where Solo-

mon is depicted are 20.5 x 16 cm (Renda, 1991, 500). Two angel figures with brightly colored outfits stand in front of David with their colorful wings gushing out of the picture frame. In the bottom section of the painting Solomon is depicted as sitting on a relatively small throne. Both Solomon and David sit exactly the same way; look at the same direction with the same gestures. The painter must have used the same template for both figures. Contrary to the common practice, in this picture there is not a crowd of figures surrounding Solomon, however two figures sitting in front of the prophet with halos over their heads bear similarities to the figures in the sample from Topkapı Palace.

One of the drawing methods in miniature technique is to use needle-punched templates. These templates are spilled with coal dust to transfer a pattern on paper. The body and the head of the figure must have been painted in accordance with the characteristics of the person only after the template was transferred on paper. A needle-punched template of a figure riding a horse was found at the back of a single-figure miniature (TSMK Y.Y. 1038) from 18th century (Mahir, 1999, 447).

There are four birds and a simurgh flitting about over the prophet's head. In the front section of the picture, at the center, there is a soldier with a long handled mace on a relatively small throne. There are wild animals, a snake, a horse and three hybrid figures of various sizes around the soldier. The main figure Solomon is depicted frontally by two thirds, kneeling in a praying position. He wears a dark red caftan and a dark blue inner robe with a white belt. His hands are slightly open with palms facing upwards in a prayer position. Just like in other pictures, the leaf-shaped golden halo over his round white turban has a spiraling tip. His black moustache and beard look bushy.

The stories of prophets in the three copies of *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* showcase the way in which histories of prophets were interpreted in Ottoman miniatures after Arifi's

above mentioned *Anbiyâ-nâma*. Instead of remaining loyal to the text and following the established iconographical rules of the Islamic world, Ottoman painters often preferred to come up with their authentic interpretations (Bağcı et al, 2006, 138-139).

Silsilanâmas were first seen in Baghdad as of 1590s, during the reign of Mehmed III (1595-1603). They can be seen as shortened variations of *Zubdet al-Tawarikh* manuscripts of Mourad III's era (1574-1595) (Mahir, 2005, 97). These manuscripts were about world history with a visual representation featuring portraits of Pre-Islamic and Islamic legendary, historical and religious leaders in medallions that are connected to each other with lines (Bağcı, 2002, 61-62).



Picture 10. Davud, Süleyman, Zekeriya, Yahya, İsa and İskender-i Zülkarneyn, (detail) *Silsilanâma*, 1595-1600, TSMK, A. 3110, f. 8a.

Although there are no surviving illustrated samples of *Silsilanâmas* which, as of Bayezid II's era started portraying the prophets recognized by Islam faith as part of world history and as the ancestors of Ottoman dynasty (Bağcı, 2002, 57), there is an unillustrated sample made up of medallions with calligraphic images at Topkapı Palace Library (TSMK H.1590). It starts with Adam and ends with Bayezid II. The tradition of representing the lineage of the

dynasty as a sequence of historical personalities was not specific to Ottomans and had been employed in various palaces of other cultures. Representing Jesus Christ's lineage, the monumental Tree of Jesse samples in churches as well as on manuscripts in the form of scrolls or books were all created with a similar approach (Bağcı, 2000, 194-5).

One of such *Silsilanâma manuscript* is made up of 17 pages with 92 medallions featuring prophets or sultan portraits. On the left side of the double page spread from the prophets' section of the book we see the images of David, Solomon, Zachariah, John the Baptist and Jesus lined in a sequence as well as İskender-i Zulkarneyn (Alexander the Great) linked to this genealogy of prophets. The dimensions of the page on which Solomon is depicted (Picture 10) are 27x16.5 cm [(Bağcı, 2000, 195), (Bağcı et al. 2006, 254)].

Only six of these medallions are illustrated while others bare only inscriptions. Solomon is shown on the second medallion from the top, sitting cross-legged just like other figures. He sits frontally by two thirds, his head turned left. While his right hand rests on his knee, he holds a handkerchief in his left hand. He wears a dark blue inner robe with a golden belt and a red caftan, an outfit typical of sultans. The realistically drawn flaming halo above his head is painted in gold. His beard and eyebrows are highlighted in black-dark brown and he wears a white turban.

In Islamic tradition, the combination of blue and red symbolize aristocracy. Although there are no specific rules on the coloring of outfits, in terms of priority, coloring comes after headgear and veil as a defining characteristic of prophets. In the *Qişaş al-anbiyâ* miniatures of Baghdat style which were produced within the same framework, the colors generally used for prophets are green, white and brown; while some early depictions of Solomon often use blue and red and portray him wearing a veil as a symbol of his sanctity (Milstein, 1999, 26).

Baghdat used to be an important center for the production of manuscripts with miniatures in the Ottoman era. Baghdat lived under Ottoman rule from the second half of 16th century until 19th century, aside from a short period of 15 years in 17th century. The miniatures produced here display different characteristics than palace style (And, 2004, 78-79). Bearing the influences of the miniature schools of Kazvin and Isfahan of the same period, Baghdat school has an eclectic style that has also synthesized the influences of the deeply rooted art legacy of the surrounding lands, creating a new style called the Provincial Style. The most significant feature of Baghdat school is the choice of subject matter. The artists' choice of subject matter, the periods they address and their viewpoints are different from the palace muralists. The issues addressed are rather mystical, more appealing to the Shiites, Sufis and members of religious orders. The significant contribution of the Mevlevi Order is undeniable. An in depth research (Çağman, 1979) has shown that they were produced at the Mevlevi Lodge (And, 2004, 79)

CONCLUSION

This article tries to analyze the way Byzantine Emperors and in the context of Islamic tradition Ottoman Sultans approached Solomon. Under the light of this information, the article evaluates Solomon's iconography in both cultures with reference to certain samples. The Old Testament's books of I. Kings and II. Chronicles convey the information needed to understand Solomon's kingdom. It is evident that Solomon plays an essential role in the efforts of forging a link between the Old and New Testaments.

In the post-Iconoclastic period the imperial ideology was manifested especially in the Anastasis scenes which were the products of an ideological mural understanding. This understanding developed in Cyprus in the Mediterranean, Greece in the Aegean and Cappadocia in Anatolia due to their strategic locations.

Solomon, as the builder of the famous temple, was not a role model for Byzantine emperors to compare themselves with; however it would be fair to say that he became a significant figure in Christian iconography especially from 9th century on. In Christian tradition, the iconography of depictions of Solomon developed within the framework of certain rules whereas, although Qur'an does not give any information about his looks, the iconography of Solomon in Miniatures developed in the light of Qur'anic information such as his wisdom, wealth, domination over visible and invisible creatures and his activities, and it represented the typology of Sultans. It is evident that in both cultures depictions of Solomon became political images in the service of imperial ideology and they were mostly shaped under the influence of apocryphal texts.

While miniature was a palace art under the patronage of the sultans, the icons of Middle Byzantine period were produced in monumental proportions for churches, under the auspices of the emperors.

In Christian icons, Solomon was reflected as an icon of the emperor's own image rather than a prophet. Within this context his attributes as a king were underlined. In both Christian and Islamic iconographies and traditions, there is a visible effort that goes beyond identification but to compete and outshine him which manifests itself in World Emperor Justinianus' words after the completion of St. Sophia: "*enikesa se Solomon : "Solomon, I have vanquished thee!"*". As also seen in the iconography, such identification focuses on his successes and ma-

nifest a desire to outshine him while disregarding his negative attributes that were mentioned in the Old Testament and the Qur'an.

Due to the codes set by the Church the typologies in icons were usually uniform with a few exceptions while in Ottoman art, although there were no rules specified, Solomon was represented in line with the established ruler typology and depicted as a Muslim emperor.

In Ottoman miniature art, Solomon was usually included in history writing tradition both in the works of palace painters and manuscripts that were produced at the provinces, although he was also portrayed in literature books and legendary-miraculous prophet stories. Contrary to the young king typology of Christian icons, in miniatures he is depicted as a middle aged *emperor-prophet* with a beard. It is possible to identify a color preference of red, dark blue and green for his outfits. Although there are not many depictions of Solomon in Ottoman miniature, the existing few is enough to understand Solomon's impact on Ottoman sultans. As seen in the above samples Solomon's role in political history has been a model for a number of civilizations; his immense wisdom, justice, wealth and power made a mark on emperors. Both in Christian icon and Ottoman miniature arts the iconography gains significance within a prevalent framework of symbolism. As the representative of mysticism and magic as well as science and arts, Solomon finds his place in history as a character whose attributes are admired and followed by even the political elite of today.

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