CHAPTER 7

Transcultural Ornament and Heraldic Symbols

An Investigation into the Aesthetic Language of Early Modern Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Shore (*Thirteenth–Sixteenth Centuries*)

Nicole Kançal-Ferrari

This paper investigates the architectural and artistic environment in Crimea and seeks to chart the peninsula's cultural interaction with both the Mediterranean and the East from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. As such, it covers the earliest and the most southeastern territories in this volume. Based on the surviving material evidence in the peninsula, it explores to what extent we can speak of a shared aesthetic language among different cultural milieus in Crimea, taking into account their geographic and historical connectedness. The material the essay focuses on is the visual dimension of artifacts so as to situate them within the formal and stylistic language of the region and question to what degree these artifacts were agents and bearers of meaning within their respective contexts.[1] Such a perspective, which looks to the cross-cultural influences within a shared aesthetic environment, is warranted because the extant material shows traces of ornamental hybridity—that is, a blending of the formal language of different artistic traditions, in this case local, Byzantine, Turco-Islamic, and Western. Until now, the material culture of the broader Crimean region has not been studied alongside its cultural and artistic contexts, and cross-cultural research has been scarce in scholarship on this region.[2] Since investigations covering vast territories often run the danger of sweeping generalizations, this essay places the individual local artifact at the center of the analysis, thus establishing a close link between concrete objects and their larger cultural contexts.[3]

The period under consideration here, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the early sixteenth century, is that following the Pax Mongolica (Tatarica), which generated a stable political atmosphere and a related buoyant cultural development.[4] For all intents and purposes, this period ends at the dawn of the sixteenth century, with the emerging Renaissance in the West on the one hand and, on the other, with the conquest of the Black Sea shores by the Ottomans, which changed the cultural trajectory of the region, putting an end to the Genoese colonies. The architectural remains of the early Crimean Khanate, notably the extraordinary Renaissance-style portal at the Khan's palace in Bahçesaray, Crimea (discussed in this volume in chapter 10), is the *terminus ante quem* and watershed of this double shift that caused a new cultural climate in the region.[5]

1 Crimean Cultures

Crimea was exposed to a diversity of cultures since antiquity due to its location on the Black Sea and as part of the Mediterranean world. During the Golden Horde's dominance, the region showed relative stability, and a vast territory was connected culturally, economically, and in part also politically from China to the Balkans.[6] Indeed, the Golden Horde Empire—the Western part of the global empire created by Chinggis Khan—was in diplomatic contact with the Byzantine Empire, with the emerging principalities in Eastern Europe (e.g., Moscow and Poland-Lithuania), with Seljuk Anatolia, and also with the Mamluk state of Egypt, the Ilkhanids, and finally with the Ottomans.[7] In this period, the cities within the Mongol realms turned into wealthy trading centers that facilitated cross-cultural contact. Mainly through the Genoese colonies in the south of the Crimean Peninsula, constant and dynamic contacts were established with other trade centers around the Black Sea, the Balkans, and the broader Mediterranean.[8] In the Crimean Peninsula, a microenvironment consisting of a great diversity of different communities already existed; and in the East, trade was fostered by the Ilkhanid and later Timurid realms, by such important cities as Tabriz and others in the Transcaucasian region (including the territories of today's Azerbaijan, Armenia, and

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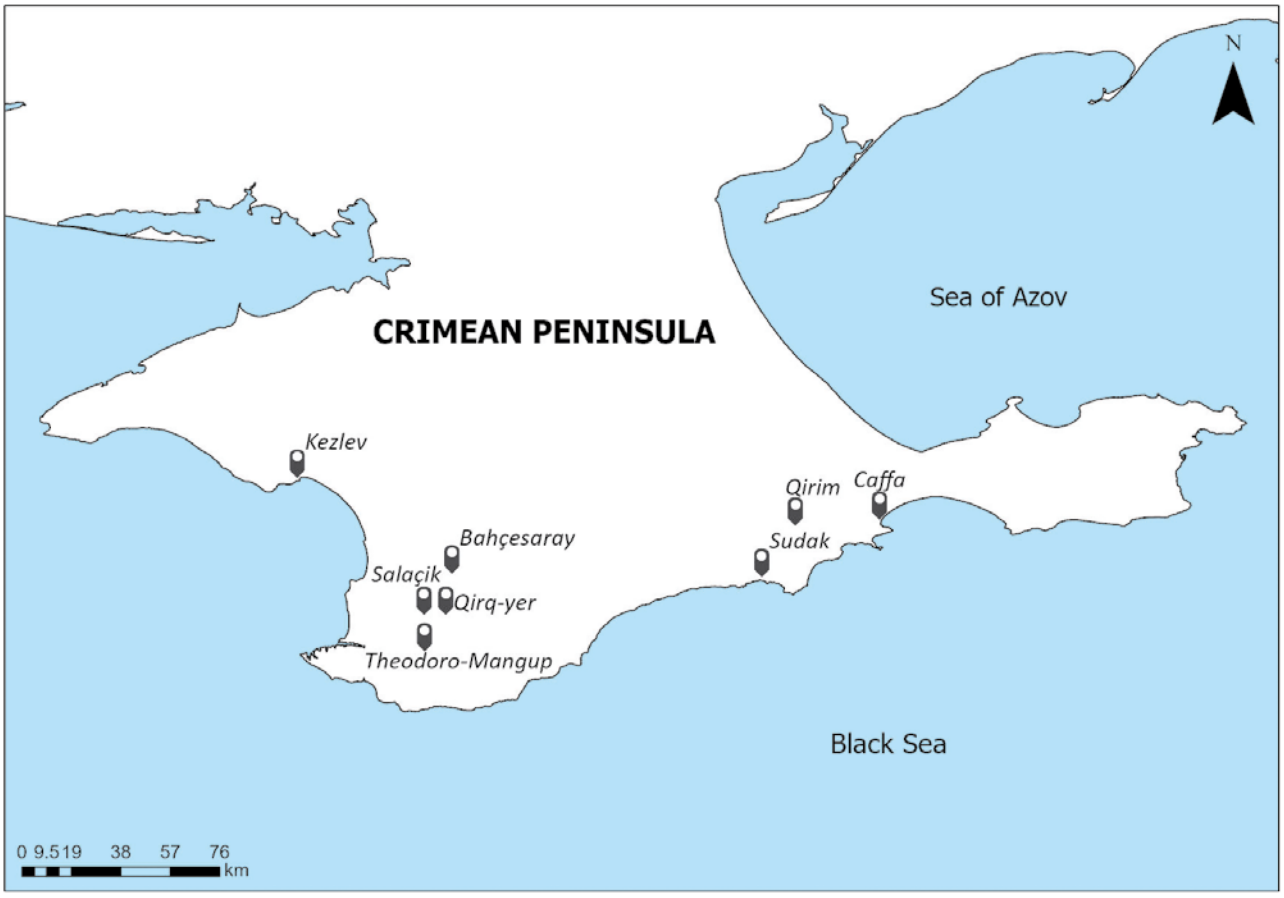


FIGURE 7.1 Map of the Crimean Peninsula

northeast Anatolia), which were part of one sociocultural network.[9] The encounter of these diverse cultural entities that existed within the Mediterranean and Eurasia is the central focus of this study.[10]

Most of the important towns in Crimea and of concern in this study, including the Genoese and Venetian colonies, are situated on riverbeds or have direct access to the sea, hosting harbors, and were therefore integrated within the Mediterranean trade network.[11] The horizontally oriented land routes were connected with the northern regions by the Dnieper and Dniester in the West and by the Don and the Volga Rivers in the East. These water routes, which cut the territory vertically, were part of the mercantile network with main centers in Crimea and the lower Don region. Rivers had always played an important role in north-south trade, facilitating the transport of goods. They also posed a threat, at any time, as they allowed fast displacement by boat.

In Crimea, the primary cultural centers were the Genoese colonies, in particular Caffa and Sudak,[12] the fortress-town of Theodoro (Mangup), the Byzantine/Greek principality,[13] the capitals of the Golden Horde ruler in Crimea, Qirim (Solkhat) and Qirq-yer/Salaçik and its environs,[14] and finally, in the sixteenth century, Bahçesaray, capital of the Crimean Khanate, successor of the Golden Horde and Kezlev (Yevpatoria), an important harbor in the southeast of the peninsula (Fig. 7.1).[15] The sociocultural environment of these cities in Crimea demonstrates a rich ethnic diversity. They were composed of Genoese, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Turco-Tatar-Muslim communities, though the population of each group varied from town to town. The texture of the Genoese colonies in the south of the peninsula, such as Caffa and Sudak, is relatively well known through archival sources. Genoese documents, and later Ottoman tax registers, contain rich information on

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FIGURE 7.2 City walls of Caffa
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the districts of the towns and the number of churches, mosques, synagogues, and important public buildings, as do lapidary inscriptions and foundation or restoration inscriptions on marble slabs that were originally on the towers of the city walls. The history of Theodoro (Mangup), Qirq-yer, and Qirim is lesser known. But different sources, such as travel accounts, envoy narratives, and archaeological excavations, make it possible to investigate the nature of the relationship among different communities in these settlements (Fig. 7.2).[16]

Caffa in southeastern Crimea, the most important Genoese town on the northern Black Sea shore, was established in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and quickly became the mercantile hub of the region and departure station for Eastern lands from Central Asia to China.[17] The accumulation and passage of luxury goods through these centers fostered cross-cultural exchange. Along with the circulation of goods, people were also constantly moving. Envoys were sent to different courts from various places, missionaries traveled through the steppes, and slaves were brought to the port cities and shipped to Egypt, Genoa, and many other destinations. In the thirteenth century, the uncles of Marco Polo started their journey to the East from Sudak, and in the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta traveled through Crimea.[18] Parallel with mercantile relationships, contacts involved a political dimension. Indeed, this political component, negotiated between the various trade centers and the hegemonic Golden Horde, had a major impact on the sociocultural environment and is reflected, as will be shown below, in the visual culture of the peninsula (Fig. 7.3).[19]

The local production of objects was also exposed to multiple influences, for alongside people and objects, ideas and concepts also moved.[20] Ceramics and, more importantly, textiles were produced in Caffa, and since textile as a material is very favorable to the quick adoption of patterns and forms, it quickly assimilated new

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FIGURE 7.3 City walls of Sudak
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influences.[21] As such, towns created their own kind of enriched cultural and artistic microenvironments as a consequence of the movements of objects, people, and ideas, unlike the vast territories through which travelers and caravans moved.[22] But if it is already difficult to discern the nature of the goods or the people who moved, then how can one begin to recognize local transformations of concepts or ideas, as Rudolf Wittkower already asked in his essay on the cultural exchange between East and West from nearly half a century ago?[23] It is precisely the main object of this paper to discern the degree of hybridity and the dimension of "contact nebulas," which create "artistic nebulas" (in the words of Alina Payne), that are visible in works of art and architecture. How were forms from different visual domains assimilated and rearranged? And what was assimilated and why?

Taking into consideration the scarcity of the material and written sources, we have to be careful with historical interpretation. Little is known about the artistic and architectural aspect of early modern cities in Crimea; to this end, Karpov speaks of an epistemological limit in investigating the relationship between the Genoese and the local populations.[24] However, I would argue that artifacts could provide interesting insight in their own right. Objects can speak in the absence of written evidence, and convey information about their shared cultural environment that is often overlooked in written sources. For the period in question here, besides extant Islamic edifices, such as mosques and mausolea, the best-studied monuments are the remains of a palace façade in Theodoro (Mangup), some still-standing churches, and a destroyed synagogue in Caffa. They exhibit many formal aspects that are similar to those of Islamic monuments.[25] Recent research on construction activities in Anatolia after the Mongol invasion touches upon their relationship to the broader region of the Ilkhanid domains, referring also to edifices in the former Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.[26] That being

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said, the remains in Southeastern Europe are scarce, but likewise pivotal for a deeper understanding of the broader region.[27]

2 Ornament and Political Messages

The peninsula's cultural centers enumerated above hold artifacts marked by hybrid forms (i.e., forms from different artistic traditions) and diverse influences. In this investigation, I seek to examine them from two points of view: firstly, as ornament, part of a close formal and stylistic comparison with various artifacts and architectural elements from different places and divergent cultural environments; secondly, I ask how the ornament was supposed to be perceived. Was this choice purely aesthetic, part of a current fashion/current stylistic influence, or was there more to it? Does it produce meaning like an explicit visual sign such as heraldry? Indeed, many of the analyzed building façades and fragments contain heraldic crests; in several cases ornamentation can be understood "to be speaking" like a coat of arms.[28] The Genoese cities had inscriptions combined with coats of arms placed on their city walls and on the most important edifices.[29] A similar approach is visible in artifacts from the principality of Theodoro (Mangup).[30] Ornamented with coats of arms, the monuments in question were visually declared as belonging to this or that ruler, community, or family, and as a consequence, these identity markers also had a strong political message.[31] Coats of arms re-present, in the true sense of the word, the communities, families, and individuals they symbolize, and thus acquire an anthropological function.

Geometric and vegetal patterns are widely recognized as a Turco-Muslim idiom, but in Crimea, these patterns are part of the common artistic vocabulary of different communities and exist on most of the monuments and artifacts from that period. Crimea therefore furnishes the material evidence for the need of a more differentiated approach to ornament, rather than isolating this kind of ornamentation as belonging only to the Islamic domains.[32] We find them as parts of inscriptions in Theodoro (Mangup), in the mosque in Sudak, as well as on fragments from churches in Caffa (now in the Archeological Museum).[33] A motif typically associated with Islamic architecture is the *muqarnas*, a feature



FIGURE 7.4 Entrance *iwan* of the Hadji Geray (I. Mengli Geray) Khan Mausoleum in Salaçik, mid- or end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century
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serving as a squinch that facilitates the transition from arch to the dome or as a filling for a niche hood and at the same time is a decorative device. However, in Crimea examples of fan-like *muqarnas* patterns can be seen not only in mosques but also in Greek and Armenian edifices. Likewise, geometrical interlacements were also used widely in surface decoration on non-Muslim monuments throughout Crimea. Diverse forms of floral motifs, a great diversity of split palmette, and other foliate scrolls and vegetal borders are also found in the peninsula. It is possible that the Genoese churches of Caffa that no longer survive also displayed similar traces of ornamental hybridity, of aesthetic intersections where different artistic traditions met, as attested by travel accounts (Figs. 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6).[34]

The vegetal patterns in Genoese Caffa and Sudak are executed in a variety of styles—some echo Byzantine, some Eastern forms—but only a few of them belong to

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FIGURE 7.5 Fronton of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Caffa (1348), Feodosia Antiquities Museum
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FIGURE 7.6 Palace façade in Theodoro (Mangup), first half of the fifteenth century
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traditional Western ornamentation. This is rather astonishing, as one would expect to find more evidence of a Western artistic tradition in the Genoese colonies of the Black Sea shore. However, most of the extant materials from Genoese Galata (Pera) in Constantinople and from other Genoese colonies in Anatolia do not show explicit Western stylistic features either.[35] Rather, some of the marble slabs from Genoese Caffa, once attached on the city's towers, contain an Eastern type of vegetal decoration, while some of them show ornaments linking them to Byzantine Constantinople and Chios.[36] This attitude toward artistic creation, the flexible appropriation of local styles and patterns, seems to be typical of the Genoese.[37] The surviving artifacts in Constantinople suggest that artistic production started only in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and continued on a high level until the end of the century, that is, during approximately the same time span as in Genoese Caffa, although in Caffa, dated inscriptions point to continuing building activity until the Ottoman conquest. Scholars have proposed that the lack of Genoese craftsmen and the presence of a local artistic tradition explains the incorporation of Byzantine elements into Genoese artifacts in Constantinople. It has also been suggested that the newly rich Genoese families in Constantinople needed—and, as a consequence, accepted—a new, refined form of expression embedded in a local system of representation. The coats of arms were Genoese, but the ornamentation linked them to their respective local environment. For example, the so-called leaved cross of Byzantine origin, depicted in between the coats of arms on almost all the Genoese tomb stones of Galata, is also present in Caffa, where it is today found on slabs attached to church façades (Fig. 7.7). This points to an artistic dialogue between Galata and Crimea and is evidence of the export of a Byzantine motif into new environments.[38] Ornaments established contact among diverse cultural environments by way of aesthetic signs.

A similar dimension of aesthetic intersections can be observed in some slabs from the city walls in Caffa: the foliate decoration on these slabs bears the emblem of the khan of the Golden Horde, the *tamga*, together with the coats of arms of the Genoese (Fig. 7.8).[39] Michel Balard, the great scholar of the Genoese colonies in the Mediterranean, pointed to this dimension of the Genoese material culture in Caffa when he suggested that an image of the Orient left a lasting mark on both Genoese culture and Ligurian art, just as it did on Venetian art.[40] This assumes a strange dimension in one of the Genoese inscription slabs in the fortress in Sudak (1392), where a whole catalog of geometrical and floral interlacements, all clearly of non-Western origin, is visible (Figs. 7.9 and 7.10). This overwhelming assemblage of different modes of decoration, so foreign to the Western artistic tradition, is more common in Eastern ornamentation for façades, on grave steles in Eastern Anatolia and on Khachkars (Armenian cross-stones).[41] Nevertheless, the degree of asymmetry on this slab is striking and in sharp contrast with the other decorated inscriptions on the walls of Sudak. As for the slabs with the heraldic signs of Genoa and the Golden Horde in Caffa, one is immediately struck by the foreign element in the ornamentation, vividly suggesting the ornament's agency in creating a new aesthetic and perceptive environment.

What seems to be a random assemblage around the coats of arms on this slab gains another dimension when compared to the abovementioned inscription from the fortress of the principality of Theodoro (Mangup), bearing the name of the ruler Alexios and the date 1425 (Fig. 7.11). The inscription refers to the construction of a tower and a palace by Alexios.[42] Here, together with the Greek inscription and the heraldic crests and monograms of the ruler, we find, on one side of the inscription—and perhaps originally on both sides—a small single unit of the geometrical pattern that is also visible on architectural parts in Caffa and Sudak. The same pattern can be seen on different architectural fragments from the same place, fragments from the cathedral, and a part of a sarcophagus.[43] It becomes clear that this pattern was an integral part and one of the main elements of the architectural decoration in Theodoro (Mangup).[44] The same geometrical interlacement can be found on the corner columns of the buildings of the Golden Horde-Crimean Khanate environment in a similar application.[45] The decoration of the only standing façade in Theodoro (Mangup) is the best example of the striking common formal language in the region. It shows in its entire layout parallels to the decoration found on the churches in Caffa and Qirim,[46] and also to the entrance façades of the Golden Horde and early Crimean Khanate monuments, e.g., the mausoleums of Khanike Khanim (around 1437) and Hadji Geray (I. Mengli Geray) Khan in Qirq-yer/Salaçik (see

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FIGURE 7.7
Lintel on lateral portal, Church of St. John the Apostle in the "Quarantine" district in Caffa fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century
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FIGURE 7.8 Fragments of limestone slab, Feodosia Antiquities Museum, 1342
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FIGURE 7.9 Slab on the sixth tower in Sudak, 1392
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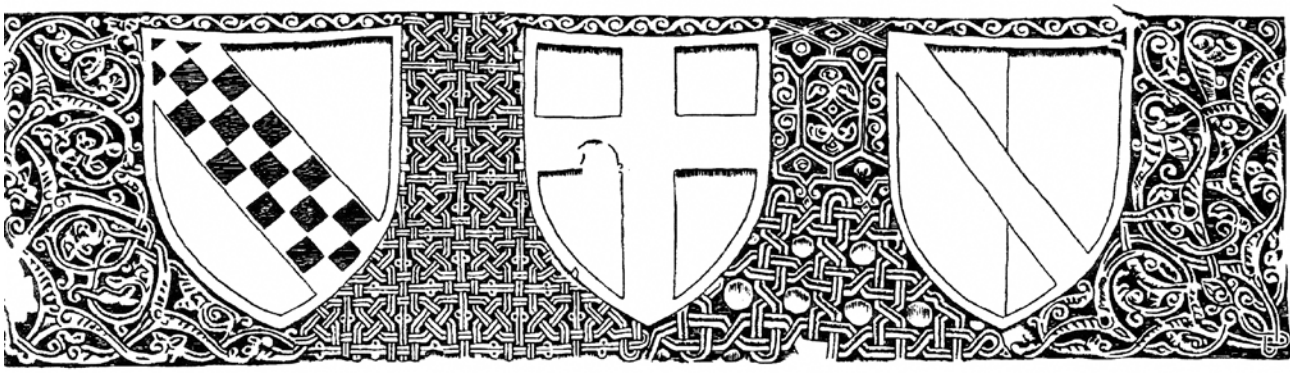


FIGURE 7.10 Slab on the sixth tower in Sudak, 1392
(TAKEN FROM ELENA A. AIBABINA, *DEKORATIVNAIA KAMENNAIA REZBA KAFFY XIV–XVIII VEKOV* [SIMFEROPOL: SONAT, 2001], FIG. 4)

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FIGURE 7.11 Slab with inscriptions and coat of arms, 1425, Bakhchisaray State Historical and Cultural Preserve
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fig. 7.4).[47] All show the arrangement of door and window frames with a motif well known in Anatolian Seljuk, Ilkhanid, and later Ottoman art, a knot or chain motif combined with vegetal elements (see fig. 7.2) (Fig. 7.12).[48] The elaborate decoration visible on the architectural remains of Theodoro (Mangup) was exported to the West when Marie of Mangup married Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (today's Romania).[49] A fragment showing the same arrangement in Akkerman (now Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, Ukraine), and a spolia used as a window frame in Dolheşti (today's Moldova) bear witness to the spread of this motif in the Western region outside Crimea.[50]

The latest examples of this arrangement in the peninsula are two prayer niches on the outer wall of the façade of the mosque in Kezlev from the middle of the sixteenth century, a period when this motif had become an integral part of the Ottoman vocabulary for the decoration of prayer niches (*mihrāb*) (Fig. 7.13).[51] This arrangement of the entrance façade and later mihrab was widely used from the second half of the fourteenth century on and is partly indebted to the first monuments belonging to the Golden Horde. Indeed, during the rule of Özbeg Khan (r. 1313–41), new approaches to ornament reached the peninsula.[52] The earliest extant monument, the so-called mosque of Özbeg Khan, and especially the façade of the (now destroyed) adjacent madrasa in Qirim, together with the mihrab decoration of the mosque in Sudak reveal a close relationship to Anatolia.[53] This relationship, visible in the formal language of the early monuments, developed over the following 200 years, becoming a specific vernacular idiom in the peninsula shared by its different communities. It was later exported to the West, to the northeastern Balkans, to the domains of the semi-independent principalities in the former territory of the Golden Horde that were in close contact with Crimea.

However, it is interesting to note that in Sudak other inscriptions on slabs from approximately the same period also display a completely different ornamentation than the one previously discussed. On some of these, the decoration is clearly visible, on others it is completely destroyed due to weathering. Some of them are exceptionally "Western," showing figural depictions

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FIGURE 7.12 Portal of the Armenian Church of Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Caffa 1408
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FIGURE 7.13 Prayer niche (*mihrāb*), Khan Mosque in Kezlev mid-sixteenth century
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of religious figures (1409). One extraordinary slab (1394) still in situ contains two female figures dressed in long robes fixed with a rope/belt, perhaps representations of the patrons. Together with a low relief of a Madonna with Child (1469) and some reliefs from churches in Caffa, they are the only remains showing figural depictions, though the Genoese churches in Caffa were most likely decorated with figural imagery.[54] Fortunately, some of the decorations that have since been destroyed or lost remain accessible through other sources, such as the account of Leon de Waxel, a traveler to the region, published in 1803 (Fig. 7.14).[55] From Waxel's drawings, it becomes clear that some of the now lost decoration differed from the extant decorations elsewhere in Sudak. What was the reason for such different patterns and manners of decoration on the towers of one town, dating more or less from the same period? Did the elite families choose these different kinds of decoration? If so, what meaning did they attribute to these choices? The introduction of some of these geometrical patterns in the inscription in Theodoro (Mangup) suggests an intended meaning, one where a Christian but "local" dynasty can be seen to create a hybrid style through the appropriation of ornamental forms originating in a different artistic environment. However, the situation is different for the Genoese inscription in Sudak. Here, we have the application of a foreign system of ornamentation, an import of patterns, into a completely new environment. In this case, it is probably more important to read the incorporation of foreign elements in itself as bearing meaning than to question the exact way patterns and motifs were incorporated.[56]

Much research regarding the question of the transmission of decoration, of patterns, and of ornamentation has been undertaken in the last decade, and currently most scholars suggest that textiles probably played a decisive role in the spread of ornamentation from China to the West.[57] Another form of transmission of patterns may have been paper models for textile design or for application on other kinds of surfaces.[58] In my opinion, this could well be one of the possible ways unusual decorations were applied on some of the stone slabs in Sudak. The decoration in Waxel's drawing shows a similarity with much later ornamentation in printed books and, therefore, also underscores the role paper models (printed examples) may have played in ornamental transmission.[59]

What is proposed here for the spread of the patterns of decoration from East to West is also possible for the earlier period, for the transfer of ornaments from Anatolia to Crimea in the early fourteenth century. Once again, we do not have enough material to trace this transmission in detail, but patterns in Ilkhanid and Armenian manuscripts exhibit great similarity with motifs on some objects and architectural decoration in Anatolia and later Crimea.[60] Besides textiles, paper models, and manuscripts, I would argue, another possibility for the transmission of patterns over longer distances was woodwork. Wooden molds were used

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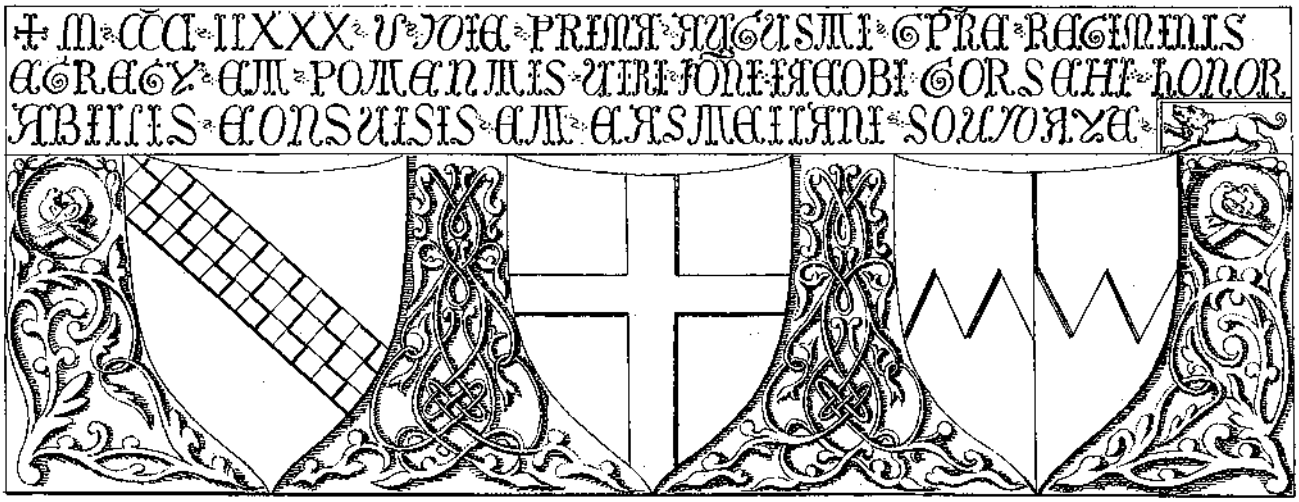


FIGURE 7.14 Drawing of slab near the entrance gate of Sudak, 1385 in Waxel, *Recueil* (no. 19)

for plaster decoration, and carved wooden doors were important and highly prestigious architectural elements. Furthermore, metal objects were another vehicle for the application and spread of common decorative approaches over a vast area.[61]

Besides these primary ornamental features, the nearly obsessive application of coats of arms on façades points to another sociopolitical aspect of visuality. In Constantinople, as in other cities, coats of arms were applied on marble slabs with inscriptions attached on the city walls, as well as inside churches, such as the slabs originally from the Church of San Paolo in Galata, exhibited today in the Archeological Museum in Istanbul. Marble slabs with coats of arms and commemorative messages were attached to the walls or, in some cases, used as tomb plates on the floor, which is a common practice in Western culture.[62] In Crimea, one comes across the introduction of the *tamga*, the visual idiom of the khan of the Golden Horde, in the inscriptions on the city wall by the Genoese,[63] as had been done in Constantinople with the emblem of the Byzantine emperor.[64] Furthermore, papal coats of arms were applied on marble slabs designed to commemorate the papal support for towers in Caffa and Constantinople. On the inscriptions of the principality of Theodoro (Mangup), the Genoese coat of arms is visible, together with that of the local ruler, Alexios, and the Byzantine emperor, the double eagle of the Palaiologan dynasty (Fig. 7.15).[65] Yet we also find slabs with Genoese coats of arms bearing Armenian inscriptions (e.g., an inscription on a fountain in Caffa).[66] Thus, the relationship between different political entities in Crimea, primarily the Genoese towns Caffa and Sudak, Theodoro (Mangup), and the Golden Horde, can be explored through parallel visual idioms on stone slabs with or without inscriptions. However, the application of the coats of arms on other artifacts, such as the fountain and the aforementioned slab containing the Tatar *tamga*, together with the coat of arms of Genoa decorated with floral motifs, opens perspectives to a cross-cultural environment with blurred frontiers between the sociopolitical and ornamental agency of artifacts.[67]

A highly interesting insight in this hybrid dimension of the art of the peninsula can be seen in a fragment currently displayed in the courtyard of the Archeological Museum in Caffa (Fig. 7.16). This fragment from a doorframe shows the combination of a Latin inscription with a knot arrangement. The round part inside of the knot pattern is usually decorated with a floral or geometrical motif, while here we see the Genoese coats of arms instead.[68] This doorframe, which, in light of the other fragments, seems not to be an isolated case, shows the incorporation of the coats of arms into the frame, a site of pure ornamentation.[69] Here, we have the direct transformation of two elements of completely separate/distinct artistic traditions with different meanings in a hybrid new form: the combination of an Eastern form

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FIGURE 7.15 Slab with inscriptions and coat of arms 1427, Bakhchisaray State Historical and Cultural Preserve
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and the Genoese's most powerful tool of visual and political expression, their coats of arms. The heraldic sign seems to be reduced to a decorative feature, and hence becomes clearly "readable." Here again, it can be asked if it is possible to understand meaning as generated by these hybrid forms of ornamentation or if meaning is produced by the incorporation of forms that originally maintained culturally distinct connotations.[70] This incorporation is another example of an artifact creating a visual intersection of the sociocultural with the anthropological.

The peninsula shows a unique mixture of Eastern and Western traditions. Every community in Crimea had its own way of incorporating new and unique features into its artistic vocabulary. Among the artifacts discussed here, we can see various real interactions and cultural exchanges occurring in the contact zones and a new visual tradition and a shared cultural environment emerging from these areas. The goal of this essay was to explore a few of the concrete dimensions of ornamental hybridity, the meeting of diverse artistic traditions in the visual realm as a result of cultural encounters and exchange, and to begin an investigation of the implications of this hybridity for the communities/ethnicities involved. The cultural environment of Crimea is tangible in its "artistic nebulas": in it being local and, at the same time, it interacting within the peninsula and the neighboring regions. Through the artifacts presented here, it becomes obvious that by way of selective appropriation, the material culture of different communities had much more in common than is generally acknowledged. The Crimean peninsula is perhaps the last region where we may trace how this shared artistic tradition created new forms, a practice also common in other geographic areas, notably certain regions in Anatolia.

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FIGURE 7.16 Fragment of a door frame, 1406 Feodosia Antiquities Museum
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Notes

1 For new approaches to artifacts underscoring their analysis in complex networks and the anthropological dimension of their capacity to actively create meaning, see Carl Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005); Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). For ornamentation, see Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, introduction to *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1–6; Avinoam Shalem and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Au-delà de la grammaire et de la taxinomie: L'expérience cognitive et la responsivité de l'ornement dans les arts de l'Islam," *Perspective* 1 (2010): 57–76.

2 Literature on the art and architecture of Crimea and the neighboring regions reflects this narrow focus on specific aspects, communities, and/or cultures, often also including nationalistic and ethnic discourses and current political tendencies. This bias is partly due to the selection, but also the availability, of written sources. Golden Horde (i.e., Mongol-Turco-Islamic) sources are sparse, while richer information is available on the Latin side. For an introductory discussion on the entangled relationship between archaeology (i.e., artifacts) and text and problems of interpretation, see Rainer Schreg, "Der Reisebericht des Bronovius—Text und Archäologie," in *Im Auftrag des Königs. Ein Gesandtenbericht aus dem Land der Krimtataren. Die Tartariae descriptio des Martinus Broniovius (1579)*, eds. Stefan Albrecht and Michael Herdick (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2011), 23–44. For the relationship between, and influence of, Turco-Islamic art and ornament on premodern Russian culture, see Leonid A. Beliaev and Alexei Chernetsov, "The Eastern Contribution to Medieval Russian Culture," *Muqarnas* 16, no. 1 (1999): 97–124.

3 Two interesting further lines of inquiry, the instrumentality of artifacts through forced displacement and the categorization of artistic styles in art historical narratives, are beyond the scope of this paper and are therefore only mentioned marginally. The carrying away of highly symbolic objects, like engraved Genoese stone slabs, to Italy and Russia during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is an example of how these artifacts are laden with multiple significations. On the one hand, they are trophies

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of war; on the other hand they are "national" property that has to be protected from the enemy. At the end of the eighteenth century, slabs from the Genoese city walls of Caffa were removed by the Russians and installed in the newly constructed residences of the aristocrats in Pavlovsk, near St. Petersburg, and Jaropolez, near Moscow, see Elena Skrzinska, "Inscriptions latines des colonies génois en Crimée (Théodosie, Soudak, Balaklava)," in *Iscrizioni genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1928), 31–72. Slabs from Cembalo (Balaklava), a Genoese fortress-town in southern Crimea, were brought to Genoa, to their "homeland," by the Italian army during the Crimean War in the 1850s, when Sardinia, "heir of Genoa," nourished the hope of taking back Crimea from Russia, see Charles Marie Sainte-Marie Mévil, *La Mer Noire au moyen age: Caffa et les colonies génoises de la Crimée* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1856), 4; Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 131–40. For recent publications on these slabs, their inscriptions, and heraldic symbols, see also Elena Iarovaia, *Geraldika genuezskogo Kryma* (St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage, 2010); D.V. Valkov, *Genuezskaia epigrafika Kryma* (Moscow: Dmitrii Pozharskii University, 2015).

4 See Nicola Di Cosimo, "Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica," in "Empires and Emporia: The Orient in World Historical Space and Time," ed. Jos Gommans, special issue, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 83–108.

5 This portal is a key case study in Tatiana Sizonenko's essay in this volume. See also my article "An Italian Renaissance Gate for the Khan: Visual Culture in Early Modern Crimea," *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 85–123.

6 For a general overview, see Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021).

7 For the diplomatic and ideologic relationship between the Golden Horde and the Mamluks, see Marie Favereau, "The Golden Horde and the Mamluks," *Golden Horde Review* 5 (2017): 93–115; Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

8 Michel Balard, *La Roumanie génoise XII^e–début du XV^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978). Losing the connections in Acre in the Eastern Mediterranean in the year 1258 to the Venetians and the incorporation of Cilician Armenia in the Mamluk Empire caused the emigration of Genoese, together with Armenians, to Crimea. Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 151.

9 Ciocîltan, *Mongols*; Nicola Di Cosimo, "Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts," in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the World*, eds. Reuven Amitaj and Michal Biran (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 391–424; Alexandr Osipian, "Practices of Integration and Segregation: Armenian Trading Diasporas in their Interaction with the Genoese and Venetian Colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1289–1484," in *Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, eds. Georg Christ et al. (Rome: Viella, 2015), 349–61; Michel Balard, "Gênes et la mer Noire (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)," *Revue Historique* 270–71, no. 547 (1983): 31–54; Joan-Paul Rubies, "Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters 1250–1450," in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 37–112. For the import of ceramics to Moscow from Crimea and the Transcaspian region, as well as from Islamic Spain, see Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 102–3.

10 A golden ring with the inscription in Arabic letters of "Allah" (God) is an example of concrete evidence for such exchange in the Western realm of the Golden Horde territory and its periphery. The ring was found in the grave of Latçu (r. 1368–75), Christian ruler (voivode) of Moldavia, in the Church of St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi, northeastern Romania. Lia Bătrana and Adrian Bătrana, *Biserica "Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi* (Piatra Neamt: Constantin Matasă, 2012), 217–31, 390–91, 461–63. Finds in the Golden Horde territory often include items from various cultural environments that show hybrid features. For a treasure that includes items from Italian, Central Asian, and Iranian workshops, see James C.Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchange in the Mongol Empire," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 67; and Mark G. Kramarovsky, "The Golden Horde as Civilization," in *Zolotaia Orda: Istoriia i kultura* (Saint Petersburg: Slaviya, 2005), 58–59; *Çelovek srednevekovoy ulitsı: Zolotaya orda, Vizantiya, İtaliya* (St. Petersburg: Evrasya, 2012), 206–18; "Solkhat

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(Crimea) in the 13th and 14th Centuries," in *Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga-Ural Region: Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery*, eds. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele et al. (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2008), 73–82, 235–38; Aleksandr G. Gertsen and Yuriy M. Mogarichev, *Krepost dragotsennostey Kırk-or Çufut-Kale* (Simferopol: Tavriya, 1993).

11 For towns in the Golden Horde territory, see German A. Fedorov-Davydov, *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde* (Berkeley, CA: Zinat Press, 2001); Uli Schamiloglu, "The Rise of Urban Centers in the Golden Horde and the City of Ükek," *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie/Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 1 (2018): 18–40. See also Sergei Bocharov and Ayrat Sitdikov, eds., *The Genoese Gazaria and the Golden Horde*, vol. 2. (Kazan and Chișinău, 2019); M.E. Tkachuk and G.G. Atanasov, eds., *In Search of the Essence: Essays in Honour of Nicolai Russev on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Chișinău: Stratum 2019).

12 Balard, *Roumanie*; Victoria Bulgakova, "Islamisch-Christlicher Kulturkontakt im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum. Sugdaia unter Herrschaft der Seldschuken," in *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, eds. Michael Borgolte et al. (Berlin: Akademie, 2008), 261–74.

13 Aleksandr G. Gertsen, "Main Stages of the History Doros-Theodoro (Mangup) in the Light of Archaeological Research Expedition, Taurida Vernadsky National University," *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V.I. Vernadskogo, Series: Istoricheskiye nauki* 26 (65), no. 1 (2013): 193–206; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936); Maria Magdalena Székely and Ştefan S. Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina: O prinţesă bizantină pe tronul Moldovei* (Suceava: Sfânta Mânăstire Putna, 2006).

14 Gertsen and Mogariçev, *Krepost dragotsennostey Kırk-or. Çufut-Kale*; D.A. Lomakin, "'Obshirnaya Mechet,' Razvaliny Koyey Zametny I Donyne: Otechestvennaya Istoriografiya Posledney Chetverti XVIII–Nachala XXI Vv. O Mecheti Srednevekovoy Kreposti Kyrk-Yer (Chufut-Kale)," *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 22 (2017): 535–51.

15 For the Turco-Islamic Heritage of Crimea, see Hakan Kırımlı and Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, eds., *Kırım'daki Kırım Tatar* (*Türk-Islâm*) *Mimarî Yadigârları* (Ankara: YTB, 2016); Oktay Aslanapa, *Kırım ve Kuzey Azerbaycan'da Türk Eserleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1979).

16 Michel Balard and Gilles Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain? Caffa génoise et ottomane," in *Le paysage urbain au Moyen Âge, Actes du XI^e congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1981), 79–131; Sergei P. Karpov, "Les chrétiens orientaux dans les comptoirs italiens de la Mer Noire," in *Γαληνοτάτη: τιμή στη Χρύσα Μαλτέζου* (*Galēnotatē: Timē stē Chrysa Maltezou*), eds. Gogo Varzelioti and Kostas G. Tsiknakes (Athens: Museum Benakii, 2013), 439–52. The most recent analysis based on the account books of Caffa (*Massaria Caffae*), which exist with many gaps for the years 1374–1461, exemplifying the ethnic diversity of Caffa, is given in Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region* (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), 182–291. The earliest existing census after the Ottoman conquest dates from the year 1520, thus forty-five years after the Ottoman conquest, when most of the Genoese inhabitants of Caffa had left for Istanbul; Yücel Öztürk, *Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Kefe, 1475–1600* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000). In Caffa, a third of the population was Muslim. The non-Muslim population consisted of a majority of Armenians, followed by Greeks, with some Jewish, Russian, and Circassian communities (230–32); Mangup was Greek, Jewish, Muslim, and Armenian (237); in Sudak, the majority was Greek, in addition there were Muslim, Armenian, and Jewish inhabitants (260).

17 Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa*, 56–93; George Ioan Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIII^e siecle* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929).

18 Rubies, "Ambassadors"; Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and His Travels," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61 (1998): 82–101; Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, eds. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893–1922), 2:354–451.

19 Di Cosimo, "Mongols and Merchants," 418.

20 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Linda Komaroff, "The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York,

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New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 168–96; Kramarovsky, "Golden Horde," 13–172; Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 97–124.

21 Zvezdana Dode, "On the Issue of Silk Weaving in Genoese Kaffa and Textiles from the Belorechenskaia Kurgans," *The Silk Road* 11 (2013): 113–22, plate 6.

22 For Eastern features in Eurasia, see Yuko Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Ladan Akbarnia, "'Khitai': Cultural Memory and the Creation of a Mongol Visual Idiom in Iran and Central Asia" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007).

23 Rudolf Wittkower was one of the first art historians to stress the tricky nature of the relationship of artistic objects with their (new) environment: "Clarification of the roads of transmission is only the first step when dealing with the problem of diffusion. In considering the transplantation of forms, designs, and styles, we are faced with a triple challenge, from the simplest cases—the trading of objects and the migration of artisans—to the assimilation and adaption of imported material, and then to its complete transformation. Even where, in the process of translation from one civilization to another, essentials of stylistic formulas or representational patterns survive, their meaning may have changed beyond recognition"; Rudolf Wittkower, "East and West: The Problem of Cultural Exchange," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 13.

24 Sergei Karpov, "New Documents on the Relations between the Latins and the Local Population in the Black Sea Area (1392–1462)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 41; Balard, *Roumanie*, 310–54.

25 Patrick Donabedian, "Un des premiers exemples d'hybridation: L'architecture arménienne de Crimée (XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)," *Series Byzantina* 9 (2011): 47–67; Anatolij L. Jakobson, "Armyanskaya srednevekovaya arkhitektura v Krymu," *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 8 (1956): 166–91. For the now-demolished synagogue, see Anatolij L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym: Ocherki istorii i istorii material'noi kul'tury* (Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, 1964), 117, ill. 30.

26 Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014). Blessing's work on the Ilkhanid heritage in Anatolia redirects the focus from the vague "Seljuk" Anatolia for the whole period of the Middle Ages to a more differentiated look, establishing the often overlooked connection with the Ilkhanid region outside Anatolia, but without including the Golden Horde domains. For this connection, see Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "An Overview on Mosque Architecture of the Golden Horde Period in Crimea," in *Proceedings of the 15th ICTA International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 383–400; "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques in Crimea: Artistic Interactions as Reflected in Patronage and Material Culture," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018): 191–214.

27 Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*; Victor Spinei, "La génese des villes du sud-est de la Moldavie et les rapports commerciaux des XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siecles," *Balkan Studies* 35 (1994): 197–269; Laurenţiu Rădvan, "New Perspectives on the Process of Urbanization in Medieval Moldavia," *Colloquia* 18 (2011): 27–50; Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*.

28 In Sudak, the inscriptions are in situ, in Caffa they are in the museum, see Skrzinska, "Inscriptions"; *Sudakskaya krepost*.

29 For Chios, see F.W. Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 16 (1909–10): 137–84; for Amasra, see H. Sercan Sağlam, "Anadolu'daki Armalı Ceneviz Yazıtları," in *Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period: The Italians in Anatolia During 12th–15th Centuries; Symposium Proceedings*, ed. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (Ankara: Koç University, Vekam, 2019), 99–130; Rafał Quirini-Popławski, "New Research on Genoese Colonies: Samastri and Simisso in the First Half of the 15th Century," in *Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period*, 131–51; for Constantinople, see Ettore Rossi, "Le lapidi Genovesi delle mura di Galata," in *Iscrizioni genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1928), 141–67.

30 The inscription is published online: IOSPE. Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea. https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.179.html; Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 17, 22, 48, 63, 64; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 214–21.

31 The cenotaphs of the first Moldavian princes in St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi show their coat of arms in the decorative border, see Bătrana, *Biserica*, 457, 458; Tudor-Radu

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Tiron, "At the Border between Two Worlds. Hungarian and Polish Influences upon the Wallachian and Moldavian Mediaeval Heraldry (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Genealogica & Heraldica*, eds. Jan T. Anema et al. ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting De Nederlandse Leeuw, 2014), 257–345. Tiron points to possible connections with, among other things, the Tatar *tamga* of the Golden Horde. It is my opinion that the Genoese, strongly present in the region, also could have influenced the introduction of the Moldavian heraldic crests.

32 For the ongoing discussion in this field, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 132–55, 367–73.

33 Elena A. Aibabina, "Monumental Stone Carvings of the Crimea, 14th–18th Centuries," in *Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga-Ural Region: Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery*, eds. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Joachim Gierlichs and Brigitte Heuer (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2008), 61–72, 233–34; Elena A. Aibabina [Yelena Akimovna Aybabina], *Dekorativnaia kamennaia rezba Kaffy XIV–XVIII vekov* (Simferopol: Sonat, 2001); Aslanapa, *Kırım*; Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym*, 104–50, plates 25–37; Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "Sudak Kalesi Bayezid-i Veli Cami Örneğinde Kırım'daki Altın Orda'dan kalan Mirasın Değerlendirilmesi," in *Proceedings of the VIII. International Turcology Congress* (Istanbul: 2014), 4:141–60; Elena Skrzinska [Yelena Cheslavovna Skrzhinskaya], *Sudakskaya krepost. Istoriya-Arheologiya-Epigrafika. Sbornik rabot i materialov* (Sudak, Kiev, St. Petersburg: n.p., 2006).

34 Balard and Veinstein, "Continuité," 111–12. According to some sources, Genoese churches were overtaken by the Armenian community after 1475. The hybrid (or local) character of the churches was perceived as such by Julien Bordier, who visited Caffa in 1607. In describing the church of St. Mary, he enumerates the carved stone decoration of floral and other elements in the manner of the region ("[…] of raised stone, chiseled notched with a thousand small kinds of flowers & other very delicate works according to the style of the region"); Veinstein supposed this to be the style of Byzantium (112).

35 Some fragments from Chios, the main Genoese colony in the Eastern Mediterranean until 1566, show parallels with Caffa; others are embedded in the Western Renaissance tradition, see Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," 179. A drawing of a fragment from Sudak with St. George slaying the dragon is included in Leon de Waxel, *Recueil de quelques antiquités trouvées sur les bords de la Mer Noire appartenans à l'Empire de Russie: Dessinées d'après les originaux en 1797 & 1798 avec une carte geographique ancienne du pays ou ces antiquités furent decouvertes* (Berlin: J. Fr. Schüppel, 1803), plate 17. See also footnote 46.

36 For vegetal decoration with parallels in Sudak and Caffa and the relationship between Byzantine and Genoese artistic production, see Siegrid Düll, "Byzanz in Galata: Zur Rezeption Byzantinischer Ornamente auf Genuesischen Denkmälern des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987): 277–80, fig. 18, 20; for parallels in Crimea, see Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 31, 60, 62; for Chios, Hasluck, "Chios," 179.

37 Anne Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, the Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 228–37.

38 For Genoese artifacts in Istanbul, see Düll, "Galata," 277–80, fig. 26. Düll describes the Byzantine ornaments on Genoese slabs as a film, a foil between the two environments, establishing a connection while holding them apart. The mihrab in the mosque in Sudak was overwritten after the town fell to the Genoese. Two coats of arms were carved on the border of the mihrab niche, one of them showing a lion's head that resembles a depiction on a tombstone in Istanbul. See Kançal-Ferrari, "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques," 204, fig. 8; Skrzinska, *Sudakskaya krepost*, 230–34; the tombstone in Istanbul is in Düll, "Galata," fig. 26.

39 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 32–35; Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 32–33.

40 Balard, *Roumanie*, 9.

41 A similar accumulation of different ornaments is not foreign to the Western premodern attitude, for example in the church façade of Cozia (1387–88), a settlement founded in the Golden Horde period in Romania. Nevertheless, these motifs do not deny their being embedded in their local cultural environment. Corina Popa, *Medieval Monuments of Oltenia* (Bucharest: ACS, 2011), 44–58. For a brief discussion of Caucasian elements in the medieval architecture of Romania, see

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Vlad Bedros, *Armenian Artistic Heritage in Romania* (Bucharest: NOI, 2011), 133–39. For khachkars from the period in Caffa, see Aybabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 62–75.

42 IOSPE, Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.179.html.

43 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 169–70.

44 For apotropaic power and the deeper meaning of patterns similar to this little interlace, see Ioli Kalavrezou—Maxeiner, "The Byzantine Knotted Column," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu: Undena, 1985), 95–103, plates 1–4; see also Gell, *Art and Agency*, 83–90. For symbolic dimensions of these motifs on the burial shroud of Marie of Mangup, see Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 80–105, figs. 154–223.

45 For similar arrangements on façades in Anatolia, see Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*; for depictions in manuscripts, see note 60 below.

46 Dimensions of hybridity and influences from Turco-Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin environments on Armenian church architecture in Crimea are discussed in Donabedian, "L'architecture arménienne." According to Donabedian, frescoes in the Church of St. Stephen (before 1456) are influenced by Byzantium (49), and the arrangement of sculpture in, among others, the Church of St. John the Baptist (1348) adapts Latin elements from the milieu of Genoese Caffa (61–62). The possibility of spolia taken from Genoese churches in Caffa has to my knowledge not yet been discussed among scholars.

47 Elena A. Aibabina, "Reznyye Kamni Gorodishcha Chufut-Kale," *Povolzhskaya Arkheologiya* 2, no. 24 (2018): 150–67; Nadiya Avksentiyevna Gavrylyuk and Aliye Mustafakızı Ibragimova, *Tiurbe khana Hadzhi Geraja* (Kiev and Zaporozhie: Dyke Pole, 2010).

48 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 49–54, 157–64, plates 39, 40, 45, 46, 56, 59, 64, 65; Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym*, plates 26, 30, 37. On this decoration element and its name, "*girihbandī-yi rūmī* or *band-i rūmī* (Anatolian knot, geometric interlace)," which is thus a regional affiliation, in sixteenth-century artistic treatises, see Necipoğlu, "Agency," 137.

49 See the burial shroud and the sarcophagi of the family of Stephen the Great in the Putna monastery. Maria Asanina Palaiologina (d. 1477), also known as Maria of Mangup (Maria of Doros), was the second wife of Prince Stephen the Great (r. 1457–1504), ruler of Moldavia. She was part of the Palaiologos dynasty, niece of the last emperor of Trapezunt and the cousin of the wife of the Aq Qoyunlu sultan Uzun Hassan (1423–78): Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 6. The shroud is briefly discussed within the Ottoman environment in Nurhan Atasoy and Lâle Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe, 1453–1699* (Istanbul: Armaggan—Turkish Cultural Foundation, 2012), 37–41. See also the tomb stones of the Moldavian princes installed as cenotaphs by Stephen the Great in St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi; Bătrana, *Biserica*, 457, 458, and notes 13, 31 above.

50 Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 63–68, figs. 145, 146. A window fragment from sixteenth-century Wallachia in the National Museum of Art of Romania in Budapest recalls the patterns in Theodoro (Mangup) and therefore furnishes further proof of the transmission of these designs to the West.

51 Kırımlı and Kançal-Ferrari, *Mimarî Yadigârları*, 724–41.

52 Kırımlı and Kançal-Ferrari, *Mimarî Yadigârları*, 454–59, 486–93, 610–23, 760–71; Kançal-Ferrari, "An Overview on Mosque Architecture"; Kramarovsky, "Solkhat (Crimea)," 73–82, 235–38.

53 Kançal-Ferrari, "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques"; Aslanapa, *Kırım*, 5–13.

54 See note 46 above.

55 Waxel, *Recueil*, plate 19.

56 Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice," 228–37.

57 Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 19–34; David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 222.

58 Watt, "Artistic Exchange," 71–72; Komaroff, "Transmission," 184–85.

59 The front pages of early printed Serbian books in the article of Vladimir Simić in this volume show similarities to the drawing of Waxel. These patterns became widespread in the early modern period through book printing.

60 Research on Ilkhanid patterns in manuscripts is still in the shadow of figural painting, which is much more broadly explored; Frantz Chaigne, "Le décor enluminé sous les Īl-khānides: Entre assimilation et innovation, de l'Iraq à la Chine," in *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie 3*, eds. Lorenz Korn and Anja Heidenreich (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2012), 253–65; for Armenian manuscript illumination in Crimea, see

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Heide Buschhausen, Helmut Buschhausen, and Emma Korchmasjan, *Armenische Buchmalerei und Baukunst der Krim* (Erevan: Nairi, 2009), 57–107. Ornamentation in manuscripts that have been dated to the mid-fourteenth century in Qirim are close to these motifs, which have direct parallels with Anatolia. Kadoi also refers to the "close stylistic relation between architectural decoration and manuscript illumination" for the Ilkhanid environment; Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 56, 226–28; Sheila Blair, "The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York, New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 114–15. Depictions of architecture in the *Great Mongol Shahnama* (probably 1330s in Tabriz) show the decorations visible on architecture and carved stone artifacts. The upper decoration of the architectural backdrop of the page "Iskandar Enthroned" (Musée du Louvre, Paris [7096]) recalls the original form of the mihrab in the Özbeg Khan Mosque and the decoration in the Surp Khach Monastery in Qirim.

61 Wooden doors from religious buildings in Anatolia, Iran, Crimea, Moscow, and the Balkans all show common ornamentation with other material; Joachim Gierlichs, "Tabrizi Wood Carvings in Timurid Iran," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 357–70; Leo Aryeh Mayer, *Islamic Woodcarvers and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1958); Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 107–8, 122, 51; Rüstem Bozer, "Ahşap Sanatı," in *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı II*, eds. Ali Uzay Peker and Kenan Bilici (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007), 533–41.

62 Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Le pietre sepolcrali di Arab Giami* (*antica chiesa di S.Paolo a Galata*), vol. 69 (Genoa: Regia Daputazione di storia patria per la Liguria, 1942).

63 The two earliest extant slabs from 1342 contain the coat of arms of Genoa and the *tamga* of the Golden Horde khan, at that period Janibek Khan (r. 1342–57); the two heraldic signs appear in the same size. A precious marble slab from 1448 shows the coats of Genoa, the papacy, and the personal coat of Pope Clemens IV (1291–1352), as well as the *tamga* of the Golden Horde khan. After 1342, the Mongol sign was, together with the coat of arms of Genoa, reduced to the same size as those of the Genoese families, but always present and thus a visible manifestation of the relationship between Caffa and the Golden Horde. One could speculate that the reason these slabs in Caffa were taken down by the Russians after the annexation of Crimea, while the ones in Sudak without the *tamga* were not, was exactly this dimension of the relationship with "the enemy," whose memory had to be erased.

64 For the heraldic signs on the walls of Galata (Pera), see Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et la souveraineté de Byzance," *Revue des études Byzantines* 19, no. 1 (1961): 320–27. In 1424, the Genoese in Pera proposed the Ottoman sultan Murad II introduce his emblem on a slab for a tower in exchange for his financial support for its construction; Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cottanische Buchhandlung, 1879), 2:442.

65 IOSPE, Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.180.html. The second heraldic crest can be explained by the kinship of Alexios to the Palaiologan family and the coat of arms of Genoa by the temporary domination of the Genoese over Theodoro (Mangup) in the last quarter of the fourteenth century; Ciocîltan, *Mongols*, 228–29; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 177–82.

66 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 60–61, plate 3.

67 The coins of Genoese Caffa showed on one side the sign of the town of Genoa and on the reverse the *tamga*; Otto Retowski, *The Genoese-Tatar Coinage* (Akron: Russian Numismatic Society, 1984).

68 Discussed, as well as its coats of arms attributed to the Mariniand Campofrescofamilies,inAibabina,*Dekorativnaia*, 50–51, plate 8.

69 Perhaps a combination of the Western Renaissance frame with shield and the knot arrangement?

70 Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice," 228–37.

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