and the date 949 (1542–3). Similar hunting scenes appear on three other silk carpets ascribed to the sixteenth century. The one in Boston [215] measures 4.8 by 2.55 meters and has about 125 knots per square centimeter. It has the typical medallion composition with dependent cartouches. In the central medallion dragons and phoebons enriched by brocading in silver and silver-gilt thread are set against a salmon-colored ground. In each quarter pane are six horses and riders, who again wear the distinctive Safavid turban. The border shows richly dressed men sitting before pools in a garden amid flowering trees. The style of drawing shows close similarities to contemporary book illustration, and cartoons for this carpet were undoubtedly supplied from the royal manuscript studio.

When Tahmasp moved the capital to Qazvin in 1555, he built a new palace there. Some of the painters in his workshop came with him, for they worked on decorating the palace with wall paintings depicting famous scenes from literature, especially the works of Nizami. Other artists were released to work for other patrons, of whom one of the most important was Tahmasp's nephew, Ibrahim Mirza (1541–1577), himself a noted calligrapher and artist. The major record of his patronage is the copy of the Haft Awrang ("Seven Thrones") by the mystic poet 'Abd al-Rahman Jamali (1414–92). Close scrutiny of the manuscript has revealed the many steps in producing a deluxe codex in the mid-sixteenth century. The text was copied onto 304 sheets of single-ply ivory paper which had been pressed against a four-column grid of twenty-six lines. According to the eight surviving colophons, the text was copied in three cities (Mashhad, Qazvin, and Herat) by five scribes—Shah Mahmud al-Nishapurij (the scribe of Tahmasp's Khamsa), Malik al-Da'lamiy, Muhbib 'Ali, 'Ali b. Isfahani, and Rustam 'Ali—between 1556 and 1561, but the complex mail-order arrangement of the transcription is somewhat unusual. In two cases (fols. 129 and 227) the scribes followed the traditional method and left empty rectangular blocks within the text for illustrations, but the other twenty-six illustrations were handled differently: the scribe omitted a few verses and left a whole side of the paper blank, and the full-page illustrations were prepared separately on sheets of cream-colored paper. The manuscript was then assembled: the illustrated sheets were inserted into double-ply colored borders, and text pages were pasted, where appropriate, to the blank backs of the illustrated sheets. Thousands of rubrics, column dividers, triangular corner pieces, and colophons were then added and the margins decorated with floral designs painted in gold. The missing verses were penciled onto the illustrated sides. The folios were joined into bifolios and then sewn into quires, and finally the manuscript was inserted into its binding. The process was so elaborate that a few omissions were inevitable. In the image of Majmun Encampment on Layla's Camp [216], the logical depiction of space has given way to a confused welter of detail. Individual scenes, such as the bag carrying with Layla beneath the tent in the upper left or the woodman and groom beneath the text-block in the upper right, make sense, but it is difficult to find the half-naked Majmun, the subject of the painting, who talks to the camel rider at the left edge of the painting or to integrate the scenes into a coherent whole. The people depicted have become more eccentric, and the vignettes are sometimes salacious. Beneath the tent on the lower right, for example, a turbaned figure fondles the arm of a youth sitting in the doorway of the tent, while his leg in turn is caressed by another youth. All twenty-eight paintings in the Haft Awrang continue the style developed under Tahmasp, but they are more dynamic and mannered. Undoubtedly many hands worked on this manuscript, but attributions of single paintings to individual artists are yet to be established with certainty.

The unified aspect of the manuscript may be due to the important role of the patron, Ibrahim Mirza. His name appears five times in the colophons, where it is sometimes highlighted in gold or colored ink, and three times in architectural decoration in the paintings. In two of the architectural inscriptions, the prince's name is inscribed below that of his uncle, Tahmasp, clearly reflecting contemporary politics. The illustrations also refer to contemporary events. The depiction of The Wedding of Yusuf and Zalikha (fol. 1320) probably alludes to Ibrahim Mirza's marriage to Tahmasp's daughter, Gohar Sultan Khanum, in 1561/1562, particularly as Ibrahim Mirza's titles are inscribed on the architecture above Yusuf's raimed head.

In many ways this copy of the Haft Awrang stands at the crossroads between earlier and later traditions of Persian book-painting. The work of art is still the illustrated book, which was conceived as an assemblage of calligraphy, illumination, illustration, gilding, and binding, but the illustrations have begun to play a separate role. They were executed outside the physical matrix of the book and inserted into it only at a later stage. It was a short step for artists to produce paintings independent of texts as discrete works of art, and they did so increasingly in the second half of the sixteenth century. These single-page drawings and paintings responded to changes in patronage and the artist's role, for the resources necessary to produce a single page were far less than to produce a deluxe manuscript. Indeed, many of the single pages did not even require a patron, but were made for sale on the open market and for collection by discerning connoisseurs. At the same time, signatures began to proliferate on single drawings and paintings as the importance of an individual's style grew. Signatures were no longer concealed in the architectural setting, as in the work of Junayd [38] or Bihzad [85], but are calligraphed prominently beside the subject.

The new importance given to the style of an individual artist in the sixteenth century is also shown by the addition of attributions to older manuscripts and images and by a new interest in collecting specimens of signed or attributed works for inclusion in albums. Two kinds of albums had already been known in the fifteenth century: calligraphic albums and "scrapbook" albums, in which disimilar pieces of painting, calligraphy, pounces, and designs were randomly pasted together. In the mid-sixteenth century a new kind of album was developed, in which pictures and calligraphy were carefully juxtaposed, and it was albums of this kind that became particularly popular at the Mughal court [372, 374]. As Mir Sayyid-Ahmad wrote in his introduction to the album he prepared in 1564–5 for Amir Ghayb Beg Ostalju, one of
...it was deemed necessary... to review and inspect the aforementioned tunes and specimens [of calligraphies]. Since they had not been arranged or organized, it was difficult, nay impossible, to locate any particular thing one wanted, and therefore it was seen as fitting to organize this album so that the confusion would be righted.35

The introductions to these planned albums, by such experts as Mir Sayyid Ahmad, Dust Muhammad, and Malik Daylam, as well as the accounts of such contemporaries as Qazi Ahmad and Mir Munshi, are among the major sources for the history of the arts of the Persian book in the period. They are, furthermore, important evidence for a new and distinctly self-conscious awareness of the history of the art at this time.

Albums contained not only paintings from manuscripts but also drawings and sketches produced in the royal design studios for realization in other media. Indeed, narrative scenes predominate in sixteenth-century textiles, including pile rugs, lampas weaves, and velvets. A tent medallion [217] of cut and voided silk velvet on a satin weave foundation and faced with narrow strips of metal foil closely follows contemporary book illustration in its depiction of hunters fighting tigers and lions and shooting gazelles with arrows. One figure, crouched in the rocks at left, holds a musket, a new type of weapon introduced from the West.
During the reign of Tahmasp. This circular piece would have decorated the inside of a tent around the central pole; the loom width of 64 centimeters was not sufficient and the right side was carefully pieced together from scraps. Other fragments from the same velvet were made into lobed ogival medallions, which would have been disposed around the central one. The technical sophistication of the weaving is matched by the ingenuity of the design, in which the confines of the repeat were avoided by placing figures in rows facing alternately left and right and varying the colors of the repeat.

The production of carpets was transformed under 'Abbas when they became a commercial commodity for domestic and foreign consumption. He had the Armenian population of Julfa on the Araxes river in Azerbaijan relocated to New Julfa, a new suburb to the south of Isfahan, and their monopoly of the silk trade became their main source of wealth and a crucial source of revenue for the Safavid state. The figurative designs popular in court carpets and textiles of the sixteenth century were increasingly superseded by floral patterns. The new type of carpet is exemplified by the so-called Polonaise carpets, of which some three hundred examples are known, many of them gifts to Europeans in Iran or commissions by the noble houses of Europe. Although most examples have now faded to a dusky rose tonality, they were knotted in bright green, blue, yellow, and pink silk on silk or cotton warps and enriched with silver and gold brocading. They were first called “Polonaise” when exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1878, for example from Kraków bears the coat of arms then believed to be that of the Polish Courntژski family. A flat-woven rug (ilem, geim) in Munich with a similar design bears the arms of Sigismund Wasa III, King of Poland.

A document dated 12 September 1602 records that Sigismund sent an Armenian, Sefer Muratowicz, to buy silk carpets in Isfahan. There he bought six pairs of carpets and paid five extra crowns to have the king’s arms put on.

Almost all Polonaise carpets share a similar arrangement, with several borders and guard bands of varying width enclosing a rectangular field. The field contains one or more central medallions and quarter medallions in the corners. The ground is an arabesque of flowers and leaves spiraling in a stately rhythm over the field, making the anachronistic ephebe oddly appropriate. One of a pair formerly owned by the Doria family [216] is particularly noteworthy, for the carpets retain their vivid palette of orange-red, pink, white, yellow, light green, green, light blue, blue, dark blue, blue, light brown, dark brown, and black. The Doria Polonaise carpets are unusual for their asymmetrical arrangement, for quarter medallions are found at only one end of each carpet and the central medallions are not centered. It is likely that they were designed to be laid end to end.

Another group of carpets attributed to the time of ‘Abbas are the so-called Vase carpets [219]. Their one-directional design is characterized by a lattice on three planes, one system made up of a ivory spiraling vine, the others of thicker red and blue stems. The stems issue from vases (hence the name) and bear an abundance of large and small blossoms, sprays, and leaves. The vases are worked in an exuberant palette of a dozen or more colors of dyed wool against a deep blue or red ground, although other ground colors are known. The type is distinguished technically by cotton warps and three wool shafts, of which the first and third are wool and the second silk or cotton. At this distinct structure is characteristic of carpets produced in the nine
teenth and twentieth centuries at Kirman, Vase carpets are generally attributed to the same city.

The technique characteristic of Vase carpets is also found in carpets with arabesque, landscape, and garden designs. The earliest examples in the group can be dated on the basis of the most splendid surviving of the garden carpets, a huge example (8.75 by 3.72 meters) discovered in 1937 in a sealed room in the palace of the Maharaja of Jaipur at Amber, India [220]. A label on the lining states that it was...
inventoried in Amber fort near Jaipur on 29 August 1632. Like most examples of its type, it represents the plan of a formal Persian garden divided into quadrants by streams; in the center is a large pavilion with a blue dome and richly decorated interior seen in elevation. Naturally drawn fish, ducks, turtles, and such fabulous Chinese creatures as dragons and Shi-lin inhabit the water: the plots are planted with cypresses, planes, fruit trees, date palms, lilies, roses, and carnations. Pheasants perch on the trees, feed their young in nests, and sit on the grass. The design is worked in blues, greens, yellows, and other vivid colors on a red ground. It is unquestionably the finest and most sumptuous garden carpet in existence and may well depict the style of gardens built by Abbas in contemporary Isfahan and elsewhere in Iran (see Chapter 13).

Metalwares from the later sixteenth century also show a new aesthetic in their sleek tapered forms, the almost complete disappearance of precious metal inlays, and the use of inscriptions in nastaliq script. Figural decoration, which had not been common in Iranian metalwork before the fourteenth century, reappeared, although it remained secondary to vegetal and abstract ornament. The most distinctive new form is the pillar-shaped lampstand, a tapered cylinder with a flared base and a chamfered or faceted mid-section [221]. The shape is emphasized by the all-over decoration of zig-zag bands or spiraling arabesques. Other common forms from the period are wine bowls with shallow feet and flaring lips, ewers with globular bodies and curved spouts, and buckets with slender bases and upward-curving sides. They are decorated with all-over vegetal and arabesque patterns and sometimes have animal and human figures enclosed by cartouches or polylobes set against a ground of vegetal scrolls. In contrast to earlier wares which had been inscribed with the maker's name and place of production, Safavid metalwork is inscribed with Persian poems and owners' names in cartouches. On some pieces the cartouches are empty, suggesting that they were made for the market. Others have Armenian names, suggesting that they were made for Armenian patrons, probably members of the Armenian community in New Julfa.

Although Abbas also ordered a large-size manuscript of the Shahnama, the importance of the book as a collective work of art by several artists was increasingly supplanted by the single page as a product of one individual. The leading artist under Abbas was Riza (ca. 1585–1653), whose close connection with the shah is demonstrated by his sobriquet "Abbasii." Thanks to contemporary chronicles and his own signed works, his career can be established with a precision impossible for artists of a century or even a half-century earlier. He was the son of "All Agha," an artist active in the court of Tahmasp, and when Tahmasp renounced painting in the 1540s, Riza moved to Mashhad for ten years. There he apparently developed his skill at portraits and grew scenes appreciated by non-royal patrons. His early work, such as the charming and sensitive Young Man in a Blue Coat [222], continues the features of court painting in the 1570s and 1580s in its characteristic fine drawing, closed contours, and large expanses of primary color, but Riza introduced a distinctive, fluttering edge to the depiction of turbans and sashes.* This fluttering drapery was developed in the fine calligraphic drawings he produced between 1591, his first dated work, and 1603, when he first signed a drawing Riza-yi Abbasii. His standard subject matter expanded from courtly youths to include workers and mystics. Shortly after 1603 he appears to have undergone a mid-life crisis, for contemporary chronicles state that he took up low-life characters and ceased painting court figures. The sympathetic portrait of Naqdi the Anarch [223], dated 9 Rabii II 1021/25 February 1602 exemplifies one of the low companions of Riza's middle years. The conventions of line and color Riza had used to depict languid youths are marshaled for the representation of a pre-bellied slipshod slob smoking an opium pipe. His appearance would have afforded the refined sensibilities of the court, but Riza's painting ironically alludes to the momentous change in
Safavid society brought about by 'Abbās’s reorganization of the army along functional, rather than tribal, lines, and by the acceptance of firearms. A traditional archer, such as Nāshmi, became superfluous in an army of musketeers, and this pensioner would have sought solace in puffs of his opium pipe.12

Rīza’s most gifted pupil was Mu'in Maʿsūrī ("the painter"), who was active throughout much of the seventeenth century.13 Although he worked on manuscripts of the Shahānma early in his career, he is primarily known for single-page compositions which epitomize the esthetic of seventeenth-century Iran. Brilliant draughtsmanship and a keen sense of observation characterize his work. This is evident in his brown ink drawing of a Tiger attacking a Youth [224].3 A light red tint has been applied to the tiger and the hats of three of the men who are trying to restrain the animal. A long inscription across the top of the drawing explains the subject:

It was Monday, the day of the feast of the blessed Ramadan of the year 1082, when the ambassador of Bukhara had brought a tiger with a rhinoceros as gifts for his most exalted major, Shah Sulayman. At Dārāz-Dārum, the above-mentioned tiger jumped up suddenly and tore off half the face of a girl’s assistant, fifteen or sixteen years of age. He died within the hour. We heard about the grocer but did not see him. [This] was drawn in memory of him. And in that year from the beginning of the second half of the honourable month of Shawwal until now, the eighth day of Shawwal, there have been eighteen heavy snowfalls of such magnitude that the trouble of snowing snow has exasperated people. The price of most goods has gone up and firewood, one man at four kāns, and kindling, one man at six kāns, were still unattainable. The cold was such that there were no glass bottles or rosewater bottles left. May God ... end it well. [It is] Monday the eighth of the month of Shawwal of the year 1082. Heavy snow is falling. We stayed at home because of the cold. It was drawn by Mu’in Musavirī.

Such immediacy of drawing and specificity of reference are unique in Persian painting and can be explained by Mu'in's unusual choice of subject. Unlike other painters, who tended to work within such well-defined genres as illustrating the Shahānma and the poems of Nizami, or portraiture, Mu'in often represented events in his own time. Such representations have the immediacy of photojournalism and did not belong to any established genre; they needed captions to explain their subject. Although other seventeenth-century artists also signed, dated, and inscribed their work, Mu'in's inscriptions are far more detailed and informative and reveal otherwise unrecorded aspects of daily life in contemporary Isfahan. The long inscription also specifies when and where Mu'in did the drawing: at home on Monday, 8 February

1672, when confounded by an unusually long spell of cold weather.14 This location confirms the growing independence of seventeenth-century painters from royal patronage and the court atelier.

One of Mu'in's best-known works is his affectionate and gentle portrait of his teacher Rīza [225], completed on 24 December 1673 at the request of Mu'in's son. The aged artist, who sits surrounded by the tools of his trade, peers through his spectacles at the portrait on his lap of a man in European dress. Although the portrait shares some of the immediacy of Mu'in's drawing of the tiger, according to the inscription along the left side it was executed in two stages and may have been based on an earlier portrait Mu'in had drawn in 1655, a month before Rīza's death. The portrait exists in two nearly identical versions,15 suggesting that the portrait was not the spontaneous work it appears to be at first glance. One of the rare portraits of a Persian artist at work, the representation belongs to an established genre in Islamic, although not in specifically Persian, painting.16 Mu'in depicted Rīza drawing a figure in European dress, and, like his master, Mu'in himself drew some figures in European dress. Whether this familiarity with European dress extended to a knowledge of European modes of representation is a matter of debate; the immediacy of his drawings and their unusual subject matter may have been Persian interpretations of European ideas or hallmarks of a distinctly individual style.

European elements are more clearly seen in the work of Mu'in's contemporary Muhammad Zaman [8, 1659-1704].17 His work includes figures in European dress and even Biblical scenes based on Flemish and Italian prints, which circulated widely in Safavid Iran, and emphasize such foreign elements as atmosphere, night-scenes, and shadow. His work was so appreciated at court that he was asked to complete one of the most splendid manuscripts in the royal library, the Kāhnum of Nizami that had been prepared for Tahmasp and illustrated by the leading artists of the middle of the sixteenth century [212]. Muhammad Zaman touched up figures in some paintings (e.g. the female faces in Khorasan and Shiraz Listening to Stories on fol. 69v) and added four paintings of his own, including Fīna Astounding Bahram Gur [226]. The painting illustrates an episode from Nizami's poem Haft Paykar ("Seven portraits"). King Bahram Gur took the maid Fīna (lit. "Mischief") out hunting, expecting that his prowess would win her admiration. Instead, she scolded at his accomplishments, saying that it is nothing to excel when one has practiced so long. Infuriated, Bahram Gur ordered her put to death, but she escaped the sentence and reappeared two years later carrying an ox on her back. The painting depicts the climactic moment when Fīna appeared before the ruler. Asked how she was able to carry an ox, she replied that she had carried it every day since it was young; as it grew heavier she grew stronger: "Practice makes perfect."18

Muhammad Zaman's Europeanizing composition differs from traditional Persian manuscript painting in the use of single-point perspective to create a sense of space and focus attention on the figure of the ruler. Other spatial devices borrowed from the European tradition include the architectural elements in the lower corners and the figure of Fīna and the ox dramatically seen from behind, which is used as a repoussoir in a manner not seen in Persian painting since the Great Mongol Shahānma [35]. Other three-dimensional effects are the use of cast shadows to suggest the depth of the niches, shading to suggest volume, as on the body of the cow, and transparency, as on Fīna's skirt and the wine-bottle. The tripod composition can be traced to the early stages of Islamic manuscript painting and the subject matter is traditional, but the drawing and modeling combine traditional and European modes of representation in a novel and appealing style that sets the direction for later Iranian painting on both the small and the large scale. Indeed, at this very moment oil paintings on canvas in this style were first produced in Iran.19 These European ideas could have reached Iran either directly from Europe or via India, for other Safavid artists, such as Shukh 'Abbās, were inspired by Indian painting.20