Safavid society brought about by 'Abbas's reorganization of the army along functional, rather than tribal, lines and by the acceptance of firearms. A traditional archer, such as Naṣrān, became superfluous in an army of musketeers, and this pensioner would have sought solace in pursuits of his own pipe. 35

Riza's most gifted pupil was Mu'in Mausur ("the painter"), who was active throughout much of the seventeenth century. 36 Although he worked on manuscripts of the Shakhnama 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]. 37 A light tinted hilt has been applied to the tiger and the huts 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 1083, when the ambassador of Bokhara had brought a tiger with a rhinoceros as gifts for his most exalted majesty Shah Sulayman. At Darvazeh Dandai, the aforementioned tiger jumped up suddenly and tore off half the face of a grocer'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 it. And in that year from the beginning of the second half of the honourable month of Sha'ban until now, the eighth day of Shawwal, there have been eighteen heavy snowfalls of such magnitude that the trouble of shoveling snow has exasperated people. The price of most goods has gone up and firewood, one man at four kisak, and kindling, one man at six kisak, were still unobtainable. The cold was such that there were no glass bottles or rosewater bottles left. May God... end it well. [It is Monday the eight 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 Musavir.

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 Shakhnama 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 confined by an unusually long spell of cold weather. 38 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 Riza [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, peeks 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 on 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 Riza's death. The portrait exists in two nearly identical versions, 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. 39 Mu'in depicted Riza drawing a figure in European dress, and, like his master, Mu'in himself drew some figures in European dress. Whether this family with a 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 (fl. 1649-1704). 40 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 Khusama of Nizami that had been prepared for Tahmasp and illustrated by the leading artists of the middle of the sixteenth century [221]. Muhammad Zaman touched up figures in some paintings (e.g. the female faces in Khurasan and Shirin Listening as Sources on fol. 69v) and added four paintings of his own, including Fitna Atmarshing Babram Gur [226]. 41 The painting illustrates an episode from Nizami's poem Haft Paykar ("Seven portraits"). King Bahram Gur took the maid Fitna (lit. "Mischief") hunting, expecting that her prowess would win her admiration. Instead, she scoffed at his accomplishments, saying that it is nothing to excel when one has practiced so long. Inflated, 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 Fitna 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." 42

Muhammad Zaman's Europeanizing composition differs from traditional Persian manuscript painting in the uses 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 Fitna 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 Shakhnama 353. 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 Fitna's skirt and the wine-bottle. The tripartment composition can be traced to the early stages of Islamic manuscript painting and the subject matter is traditional, but the drawing and combining tradi- 

224. Muhammad Zaman: Fitna Atmarshing Babram Gur added to the Khurasan, Isfahan, 1675. London, British Library, MS Or. 1396, f. 213r
CHAPTER 13

Architecture in Iran under the Safavids and Zands

The buildings erected under the rule of the Safavid dynasty are perhaps the most alluring and attractive in all Iranian architecture. Their enveloping glittering web of glazed tile, soaring portals, bulbous domes, and slender minarets epitomize many of the essential qualities of Persian architecture. In part this is a matter of survival, for a large and impressive ensemble of buildings is easily accessible in Isfahan, the former Safavid capital that became the third capital of the dynasty; but in part the attractiveness of Safavid architecture is due to its open and easy design, with simple compositions based on addition and symmetry. Safavid architecture shows little, if any, structural or formal innovation, for architects needed to build and decorate vast structures in the shortest time, and so colorful tile revetments often conceal structural banality. Its greatest strength lies in the planning and execution of large urban ensembles, which integrate a variety of commercial, religious, and political functions in harmonious compositions. Just as Safavid paintings began to be interested in the history of their art, Safavid architects showed a distinct consciousness of their architectural heritage in the Timurid tradition of dynamic architecture in Isfahan or the local tradition of architecture in Isfahan and its region.

Whereas many examples of art survive from the first century of Safavid rule and rule of the dynasty’s lavish patronage (see Chapter 12), almost no examples of Safavid architecture survive from the sixteenth century. Texts and scattered remains confirm the construction and restoration of mosques, shrines, and tombs throughout the country, and inscriptions on more than forty buildings state that work on them was carried out during the long reign of Tahmasp I (1524–76). His major efforts were probably concentrated at Qazvin, the city he made capital in 1555, but only a portal and a restored pavilion from his palace have survived the numerous earthquakes in the city.1 Texts describe the wall paintings, which depicted famous scenes from literature, and the walls of a ruined, two-story palace at Nain are richly decorated with scenes typical of contemporary book painting, such as events from Persian poetry, enthroned royal couples, polo matches, banquet scenes, and the hunt, as well as chinoiserie themes of dragons, phoenixes, and flying ducks in the clouds.2 These fragmentary remains do not allow much assessment of the architectural style of the early Safavid period, and it is only with the transfer of the capital to Isfahan by Abbas I (r. 1588–1629) in the 1590s that Safavid architecture found its true expression.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Safavids were in a sorry state. Following the death of Tahmasp, their legitimacy and power had been challenged internally and externally. The underpinnings of the Safavid state had been eroded by squabbles between members of the line about who was the rightful claimant to the throne. The theological basis that justified the legitimacy of the Safavid line rested on public acceptance of the ineffable authority of twelve Shi‘ism and the role of the Safavids as its custodians. Yet already in the

228. Detail of ‘Arra: Qasr of Karim Khan Zand, Shiraz, late eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Shiraz, Pan Museum
bazaar connected the maidan near the congregational mosque to a new one, the royal square called Naqsh-i Jahan ("Design of the World") [230]. An elongated rectangle (312 by 139 meters) which covered eight hectares, a space larger than contemporary European plazas, the new maidan was conceived, designed, and constructed between 1590 and 1595 primarily for state ceremonies and sports. In a second phase, completed by 1602, it was redeveloped for commercial purposes, with two stories of shops around the perimeter, which were let at low rents to attract reluctant merchants from the old city center. The long modular façades, originally decorated with polychrome glazed tiles, are braced only by the monumental entrances to four buildings. On the north lies the dramatic portal to the bazaar which connected the new maidan with the old. On the east is the Mosque of Shaykh Lutfallah, and on the south is the monumental Shah Mosque (Pers. Maqṣūd-i shāh), which was designed to replace the old Friday mosque as the locus of public worship. On the west is the entrance to the palace complex, the All Çapu ("Lofty gate" or "Sublime porte"), and to the west of the palace and its gardens, a long avenue, the Chahar Bagh ("Four-Fold Garden"). This elegant boulevard, some four kilometers long, was flanked by the palaces of the nobles, who were encouraged by the shah to add fine buildings in the new capital, and divided into two lanes by a central canal punctuated by fountains and cascades and planted with flowers and trees. It is a realization on an enormous scale and in three dimensions of the typical garden carpet [229]. The southern end of the Chahar Bagh opens onto the Si-o-Se Pūl ("Bridge of Thirty-three [Arches]" [231]), erected in 1602 by Allahverdi Khan, favorite and generalissimo of 'Abbās. Measuring a remarkable 300 meters long, it has a passage for beasts of burden flanked by raised lanes for pedestrians. At several points pavilions project from the main structure to allow pedestrians to stop and enjoy the splendid view of the river basin. Until the nineteenth century, the interior was decorated with paintings, condemned as obscene by European observers. As in the Chahar Bagh itself, esthetics are joined to practical functions in a splendid ensemble, for the bridge crossed the Zayandeh river and linked the city to New Julfa, the economically important quarter of the Armenians, who had been recently relocated there from the war-torn borderlands, and to the great royal pleasure on the slopes of Takt-i Rustam, the Hazar Jarīb ("Thousand Acres") or Bagh-i 'Abbassabad ("Garden of the Abode of 'Abbās").

The maidan represents an early example of a multi-functional space and was the most impressive feature of the new city for foreign travelers, who universally praised it for its sheer size and its architectural homogeneity and described it as a great square, overflowing with life from the bazaars, and a backdrop to pageantry and ceremonial splendor. A stone channel ran around the perimeter of the square at a short distance from the arcade and specified the space for walking from the central area, which was originally unpaved and covered with gravel. The covered walkway and the outer arcades served as a bazaar. The great central space housed the stalls of merchants, craftsmen, barbers, and entertainers, but could be cleared for military parades, drill by the shah's personal militia, archery contests, polo matches, and festivals.

At night fifty thousand earthenware lamps hanging from thin poles in front of the buildings illuminated the square.5 The majestic portal to the bazaar [232] consists of an iwan flanked by arched galleries on two stories. The spandrels of the iwan are revetted with tile mosaics depicting Sagittarius, under whose astrological sign Isfahān was founded, set on a ground of floral arabesques. The interior faces of the iwan have faded frescoes depicting 'Abbās's victories over the Shīhābids. The galleries housed the naqşār-i khāna, or music pavilion, where a consort of royal musicians played daily on trumpets and drums, somewhat cacophonously to European ears. The portal leads to a two-story royal bazaar, the qānāt-i woman, in which fine textiles were sold. A domed niche (Pers. chahārābādī) gave access to the royal mint on the east and the royal caravanserai on the west.

This was the largest caravanserai in the city and had 140 rooms, with space for cloth merchants on the ground floor and workshops and stores for jewelers, goldsmiths, and engravers on the second. A grid of lanes intersecting under domed spaces to the north and east opened onto caravanserais, baths, and a hospital.6

The Mosque of Shaykh Lutfallah [234, 235] on the east side of the maidan is small but exquisite. The building is unique among Safavid mosques: it comprises a single domed room (19 meters on a side) surrounded by service areas and resting on another room of almost the same dimensions, covered with low vaults resting on four octagonal piers. The building lacks such standard accoutrements of mosques as a court, side galleries, iwans, or minarets; its form fits better within the long-established Iranian tradition of large domed mausoleums. The dome, which has a modest pointed-arch profile, is covered with an unusual design of ochre-colored arabesques and its center is displaced some 6.5 meters to the right of the entrance axis. As in the Shah Mosque, the portal is aligned with the maidan and the interior aligned with the direction of Mecca. To reach the prayer hall, one must pass through the portal iwan, abrace with glittering tile, through a gloomy corridor around two sides of the sanctuary so as to enter it opposite the mihrab.7 The visual and psychological impact on entering the vast, glowing room [233] is stunning, for it is probably the most perfectly balanced interior in all of Persian architecture. The dome, one of the few single shells in Safavid architecture, is decorated with a sunburst at the apex; from it descend tiers of ogival medallions, which swell in size with the curve of the dome. The medallions are filled with floral motifs which play against the monochrome ground. The drum has sixteen arched panels alternating with windows, fitted with double ceramic grilles in arabesque patterns. The drum is supported by sixteen kite-shaped shields resting on four great squinches alternating with arched panels, all springing from the floor, outlined by light blue cable moldings, and framed by magnificent inscription bands in white on a dark blue ground. The structural system, a tripartite arrangement of square base, octagonal zone of transition, and dome, is simple and had been standard in Iranian architecture for centuries.8

The integration of the two lower stories, however, creates an unusual sense of spaciousness and harmony. The inspiration for this novel feature may well have been local, for the only other example in Iranian architecture is in the north dome.
added to the Friday mosque in Isfahan in 1088. The possibilities inherent in the early example seem to have remained unappreciated for centuries, until Isfahan again became the capital and center of a metropolitan building tradition. The interior surface of the Safavid room is enveloped in a web of color: the dado and some of the upper wall surfaces are reverted with tiles painted in carpet patterns; their flat surface is distinguished from the tile mosaic, whose uneven surfaces scatter light.

Inscriptions outline the chronology of building and name the participants: the major foundation inscription on the portal dates the beginning of construction to 1012 (1603–4) and names the calligrapher 'Ali Riza al-'Abasi, who later worked on the Shah Mosque; a second inscription at the base of the interior of the dome gives a date for the decoration (1025/1616), and a third inscription on the mihrab names the architect, Muhammad Riza son of the master Husayn, the builder from Isfahan, and gives the date of completion (1028/1619). The inscriptions identify the building as a mosque (masjed), but its function remains a mystery, although it is often considered to have been a royal chapel. The building is usually known as the Mosque of Shaykh Lutfallah after Shaykh Lutfallah Mayy al-Ardi, the distinguished scholar and teacher who came to Isfahan at 'Abbas's request and took up residence on the site, but the mosque only came to be called after him some time after his death in 1622— and he does not seem to have played any part in its construction.

On the south side of the mausoleum lies the Shah Mosque [236], whose entrance portal mirrors that of the bazaar on the north. Begun in the spring of 1613, construction of this monumental mosque was not finished until ca. 1630 under 'Abbas's successor Safi (r. 1622–42), and its marble daces were installed only by 1638. Inscriptions and texts indicate that three individuals were involved in its design and construction: Badi' al-Zaman Tuni prepared the site and building plans; 'Ali Akbar al-Ishabani was the engineer in charge, and Muhhib 'Ali Beg was the general contractor. The building was endowed with agricultural and commercial properties in and around the city, and both the building and its generous endowment were another aspect of 'Abbas's plan to shift the city's commercial and religious center away from the area near the Friday mosque.

The entrance vestibule is aligned with the mausoleum; the remainder of the building (100 by 130 meters) is turned 45° to face Mecca. The mosque follows the typical Iranian plan of a central court (70 meters on a side) surrounded by arcades, with an iwan in the middle of each of the four sides.

[337] and a domed sanctuary beyond the iwan on the qibla side; but the plan is noteworthy in several ways. The lateral iwans also lead to domed chambers, as in the Mosque of Bibi Khanum at Samarkand [49]. The domed sanctuary is flanked by rectangular chambers, which are covered by eight domes and serve as winter prayer halls. These halls in turn lead to rectangular courts surrounded by arcades, which serve as ma'darbas. Paired minarets soar from both entrance portal and sanctuary iwan, although the call to prayer was given from an edifice (Pers. galasta) over the west iwan. Another arcaded court containing lattices opens off the vestibule via a domed quincoex. The whole plan is marked by an extraordinary concern for symmetry, made possible by the unusual availability of virtually unlimited space.

Above the continuous marble dado, all vertical surfaces, both exterior and interior, are clad in polychrome glazed tile, most of which was replaced in the 1930s on the basis of extant remains. The tile revetment is predominantly blue, except in the covered halls, which were later revetted in tiles of cooler, yellowish-green shades. The exterior of the sanctuary dome is covered with a spiraling beige arabesque on a light blue ground. The enormous dome (external diameter 35 meters; height 52 meters) is raised on a sixteen-sided zone of transition and a tall drum. It has a double shell, for the bulbous exterior dome rises some fourteen meters above the interior hemisphere, an arrangement also derived from Timurid prototypes. Despite its large size, it seems to float above the other domed roofs of the mosque, which are left plain.

The entrance portal [238] is the tour-de-force of the mosque's tile decoration and is entirely executed in tile mosaic in a full palette of colors. The outer edge of the iwan is framed by a wide inscription band with religious texts written in white thuluth script on a dark blue ground. The arch is framed by a triple cable modeled in light blue tile and ascending from marble bases. The semi-dome is filled with glittering tiers of muqarnas which spring from a horizontal band across the back and sides of the iwan. The band is inscribed with the foundation text, like the framing band, it is executed in white letters on a dark blue ground, but the...
patron's name in the center, directly above the doorway, is highlighted in light blue letters. The inscription ends with the name of the master calligrapher who designed it, 'Ali Riza, and the date 1025 (1616). Panels in the balcony over the doorway are decorated with confronted peacocks, and other panels in the semidome are decorated with stars and vine scrolls issuing from vases. Magnificent panels laid out like prayer carpets flank the doorway, which is recessed with marble panels. The rest of the mosque is decorated with tiles of poorer quality, probably because money was short and the spaces to be covered vast. Most of it is done in multicolored glazed tiles (Pers. hafif rang), which can give a dazzling effect in strong sunlight but which are less effective in such dark interior spaces as the domed sanctuary and the winter prayer halls.

On the west side of the maidan opposite the Lutfallah mosque is the 'Ali Qapu [239]. Begun by Abbas to act as a modest arium for the royal gardens, over the next sixty years it was repeatedly modified and extended upwards as it evolved from its simple origins to an audience hall to an official tribunal from which to review the troops and games held in the maidan. The final building consists of a block (20 by 20 by 33 meters) preceded by an entrance complex itself surmounted by a columned porch (Pers. sālār). This extension at the front brought the building into alignment with the arcades added around the maidan by 1622, and the porch provided an elevated reviewing stand for royalty and guests. The ingenuity and playfulness of the court architects can be seen in the way they transformed the sālār, a traditional Persian form found already in the Achaemenid apadana at Persepolis, from an earth-bound verandah into one towering two stories above the ground.

The main block of the 'Ali Qapu is subdivided into five main and one intermediate stories [240], which differ markedly in plan. Many of the supporting elements lack structural continuity from floor to floor, revealing the additive nature of the design, and the main supports, which are massive on the lower floors, become lighter and thinner at the top. From the third floor they turn into hollow pilasters and on the fifth floor they are a network of thin arches from which is suspended the fantastic plaster revetment over the "music room" [241]. The revetment consists of mihrab niches which have been pierced in the shapes of the glass- waies and ceramics the Safavid rulers assiduously collected; the shell, which has also been painted with geometric and arabesque designs, played an acoustic as well as a decorative role. The functions of some rooms in the building, such as the reception hall with water tank and fountain on the level
of the ābāb, can be easily determined, but the function of many small rooms is uncertain. They were once richly decorated with wall paintings, most only faintly visible, with scenes of a mildly erotic nature, such as the languid youths popularized in small paintings and drawings by Riza [222]. In design and decoration the 'Ali Qapu exemplifies the palatial architecture of the reign of 'Abbas.

The architectural endeavors of 'Abbas were not limited to Isfahān alone, for he built extensively throughout the country, visually reasserting the power of the monarchy. Perhaps the most important of his projects was the renovation of the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad. Work there culminated with another large endowment to the shrine in 1614, for the legitimacy of the Safavid state depended on venerating the tradition of the imams. As the ‘thresholds’ of imams 'Ali, Hasan, and Husayn at Najaf, Kazimayn, and Karbala in Iraq were outside the Safavid domain, the importance of Mashhad was all the greater. Preexisting structures at Mashhad, including the large four-iwan mosque added by Gawharshad and the two halls connecting it to the tomb (see Chapter 4), forced the Safavid architects to work on the north side of the shrine, where they monumentalized and regularized the structures behind a chain of courts linked by a watercourse. The ingeniously transformed exterior spaces into monumental interiors open to the sky and the central role of water recall earlier work at Isfahān. 13

Another contemporary project of comparable scale is the complex built between 1596 and 1606 by Gajn 'Ali Khan, governor of Kirmān under ‘Abbas. Comprising a rectangular madina (100 by 50 meters) lined with a continuous portico, the ensemble includes a large caravanserai and small mosque on the east, an unusually large and well-preserved bath on the south, a water tower on the north, and a market node (Pers. chahārā) at the south-west corner. The caravanserai is remarkable for its size and tile decoration with chinoiserie motifs and other subjects also popular in art such as carpets and textiles. The grand scale and functional diversity of the complex show it to be closely related to the work at Isfahān, although it is uncertain whether it was the prototype for or a minor replica of its more famous cousin.

In addition to these single projects, 'Abbas systematically extended the road system that linked Isfahān with the cities of the realm and its major ports. To further facilitate trade, caravanserais were erected along these routes at intervals of thirty to forty kilometers, representing a day’s journey. Caravanserais had long been a feature of Iranian architecture, but the number, size, and uniformity of examples erected during the Safavid period indicate that they must have been designed in a central government bureau. Indeed, so many were built during the reign of ‘Abbas that virtually all examples built from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth are known as caravanserais of Shah ‘Abbas.

The caravanserai at Bushurg on the road from Baghdad to Hamadan [242] is one of the larger Safavid examples to survive in good condition. It was erected by Shaykh 'Ali Khan Zangana, a local notabe, between 1681 and 1685. Built of brick on a dressed stone base, it is a rectangle measuring 80 by 90 meters, with rounded towers at the corners; at some other sites, towers are set at intervals along the perimeter walls. The exterior is plain on three sides; the main façade with arched niches was marked by the porthole, which was two stories high and projected several meters. Inside the portal lies a broad vestibule, here with an upper story containing a well-ventilated chamber (Pers. tāhirkhān) reserved for important guests. The interior court is a spacious rectangle (50 by 52 meters) with iwans in the middle of each of the four sides and bevelled corners. The iwans are linked by a line of shallow arched porches, each of which leads to a small room for sleeping; the doorways are raised so that animals cannot stray from the court. Stables, accessible by passages from the court, run around the perimeter of the building behind the sleeping quarters. Divided into four sectors, they too had elevated platforms with fireplaces for accommodation. In hot weather the roof was also used for sleeping.

Within the type there is surprising variety: some examples are fancier, with such amenities as shops, bakeries, baths, or separate quarters for women. Some larger sites have rooms on two floors, while others have closed courtyards (against inclement weather) or are more heavily fortified. In general, however, security on the roads during the reign of ‘Abbas was so good that some caravanserais are unfortified, such as the pavilion type found in the coastal lowlands along the Persian Gulf. In marked contrast to earlier examples, such as those of the Safāqūr period in Iran, Syria, and Anatolia, which had superb vaulting and heavily decorated portals,14 caravanserais of the Safavid period show their utilitarian character in the simplicity of their decoration. The large number of caravanserais needed and the speed with which they were erected left little room for elaborate decoration of the type that characterized other Safavid buildings.15

The extensive patronage under ‘Abbas was not continued by his successors after his death in 1629, although Isfahān remained the capital and smaller civil structures continued to be built. The Khwājū bridge was erected in 1620 on the foundations of a fifteenth-century span under ‘Abbas II (r. 1642–66). It lay astride the old road to Shiraz and linked the Khwājū quarter due south of the ma’dan with the Zanjanī quarter on the south bank. Half the length of the earlier Si-o-se Pol, the bridge is far more complex: a central track for horses and wheeled traffic is flanked by vaulted pedestrian paths. The whole is raised on a high stone base, with counterforts on the upstream side to intercept the current and steps on the downstream side. In the center is a raised octagonal pavilion, from which the ruler was able to enjoy the spectacular views on the river below.16

Small palaces and pavilions were built, particularly in the royal park covering some seven hectares behind the 'Ali Qapu. The Chahāl Sutun is aligned on the axis of the ma’dan and sits on a platform enclosed on three sides by stone channels with fountains and jets which flow into a long reflecting pool (110 by 20 meters) stretching before the main façade. The building consists of three discrete parts, all clearly visible from the exterior [243]. In the front is a tāhir supported on twenty columns and covered with a flat wooden roof. Behind it is a deep porch flanked by rectangular halls; at the rear of the porch is an iwan whose vault is reveted with muqarnas and mirror-work (Pers. dīnāq-khān). From the iwan one passes into the main interior space, a large rectangular reception hall (25 by 11 meters) covered with