Epilogue

The Safavid Legacy

Many scholars have described how the sixteenth-century Safavid artists who emigrated to Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey helped found new schools of painting or develop new decorative modes. Artists such as Mir Sayyid ‘Ali and ‘Abd al-Samad left Iran at the invitation of the Mughal emperor Humayun in the late 1540s at a time when Shah Tahmasp was releasing his artists from royal service. At first, their paintings conformed to Safavid pictorial norms [fig. 166], but with the death of Humayun and accession of Akbar in 963/1556 the cool, balanced compositions of Safavid painting gave way to the vibrant intensity of early Akbar period illustrations. At the Ottoman court two sixteenth-century Persian artists, Shah Quli and Vali Jan, introduced a vogue for album drawings that existed alongside the prevailing Ottoman taste for illustrated historical manuscripts [fig. 167]. Likewise, in Uzbek Bukhara Shaykh Zadeh, who had contributed illustrations to the 951/1545–5 royal Safavid Khamsch of Nizami, helped found a distinctive school of painting whose artists adhered to the figural proportions of the late fifteenth-century Herat school rather than those of Shah Tahmasp’s Tahriz painters [fig. 168]. The vogue for album paintings and decorative borders at Bukhara may have been influenced by Safavid examples, but the choice of manuscripts to be illustrated reflected the Uzbek preference for eastern Iranian literature.

Yet sixteenth-century painters were not the only means by which the Safavid style reached foreign shores. The textile trade grew in importance over the course of the sixteenth century when raw and woven silk from Gilan and Mazandaran was sold in Turkey or in Europe by way of Aleppo. However, the heyday of Safavid textile exports began with the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I and continued through the seventeenth century, with silk and wool being exported to Europe and Asia and silk and metal thread carpets being presented as royal gifts to foreign embassies. By the end of the seventeenth century certain types of textiles were produced in Iran, copied in India or vice versa, making attribution to one centre or another very difficult. Similarly, the schools of North Indian and Iranian metalwork are closely related in the Safavid period and are often differentiated by inscriptive details or stylistic miniatue that do not answer questions of which way the influence flowed, from east to west or west to east. While Safavid

166 'The P decree of the House of Timur', detail, Mughal India, 1530–55, opaque watercolour and gold on cloth, 108.5 x 108 cm. British Museum, OA 1913-28-01. Although this painting was refurbished in the 17th century, it retains the composition, palette and in some instances the figural style of mid-16th-century Safavid painting and has been attributed variously to Mir Sayyid ‘Ali and ‘Abd al-Samad working for the Mughal emperor Humayun.
seventh-century painters were not the only means by which Safavid style reached foreign shores. The textile trade blossomed over the course of the sixteenth century when fine silk from Gilan and Mazandaran was sold in Europe by way of Aleppo. However, the heyday of the exports began with the reign of Shah 'Abbas I and through the seventeenth century, with silk and wool from Europe and Asia and silk and metal thread presented as royal gifts to foreign embassies. By the seventeenth century certain types of textiles were copied in India or vice versa, making attribution or another very difficult. Similarly, the schools of Persian and Iranian metalwork are closely related in the sixteenth century and are often differentiated by inscriptions on the objects that do not answer questions of which came first, from east to west or west to east. While Safavid

"The House of Timur", detail, Mughal India, 1550-55; oil and gold on canvas, 108.5 x 108 cm, British Museum. Although this painting was refurbished in the 17th century, it imitates, palette and in some instances the figural style of mid-Safavid painting and has been attributed variously to Mir Sayyid al-Samad working for the Mughal emperor Humayun.
blue and white ceramics exerted an influence on Delft wares during the seventeenth century, they were in turn the medium most dependent on external prototypes, both Chinese blue and white porcelains and Indian metalwork shapes. As with textiles, Safavid ceramics in the seventeenth century figured in the expansion of international trade which was propelled by the Dutch and English East India Companies and the later entry of the French and Russians.

Because of the number of European travellers who wrote accounts of their sojourns in Iran and the number of European historians who have consulted these sources, the Safavid influence on other parts of the world, such as Southeast Asia, has received less attention. However, metal ground silks were produced in Iran in the early eighteenth century for export to Thailand; these are woven in the Persian technique but reflect Thai taste. It is equally likely that Indonesian illuminated documents of the seventeenth century relied on Persian prototypes for the gilded arabesque forms used for headings and margins. Some Persian ideas reached other parts of the world not through direct trade but second-hand. Thus Moroccan bookbindings of the seventeenth century that appear to be based on Safavid examples were more likely derived from Ottoman bookbindings which in turn were influenced by Safavid prototypes.

Iranian art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of course, developed on the foundations that were laid in the Safavid period. Oil painting on canvas, lacquer wares, glass and the Europeanizing style of painting had all been introduced by the late Safavid period. Vase, Herat and garden carpets, first produced under the Safavids, continued their long lives into the twentieth century. The perennial fascination with Persian carpets throughout
The Western world has certainly contributed to the longevity and revival of the various Safavid styles, although none of the modern versions can match the colour harmonies and technical perfection of the great classical carpets of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Perhaps more important than the continuation of Safavid carpet designs themselves has been the abiding belief that Persian carpet makers are among the best in the world. This reputation and the self-belief on which it is based are directly connected with the exceptional products of the Safavid era and the universal respect in which they were held by all who remarked upon them.

While industrialization and cheap imports from South and East Asia have taken their toll on many of the traditional crafts of Iran, the making of glazed tiles for the repair of major Safavid monuments has continued unabated. In the Masjid-i Imam (Masjīd-i Shah) in Isfahan, work on the tiled exterior of the dome proceeds on the ground, where an enormous curved form in the dimensions of a section of the dome receives the tiles that will eventually be placed on the dome. Although the use of such a form may not date back to the Safavid period, the local production of glazed tiles for

Since the refurbishment or building of monuments has remained a standard practice since the Safavid period and well before, probably going back to the thirteenth century.

For historians Safavid art and architecture mirror the times in which they were made and are the visual testimony of the taste and status of their patrons. Yet nearly five hundred years since the founding of the Safavid dynasty the power of its art is manifest in more than the continuing repetition of its designs on carpets or other objects and in its ability to stimulate continuing scholarly debate. The fact that Safavid art has inspired twentieth-century artists as diverse as the potter Carolinda Tolstoy [fig. 169] and the jeweller Carlier [fig. 170], not to mention Iranian artists working within their own cultural milieu, illustrates its lasting allure.

Forged in the sixteenth century in the same process that united the eastern and western halves of Iran, Safavid art and design achieved an exceptional level of refinement under its first real Maccenas, Shah Tahmasp, but the impetus for its dissemination originated in the reign of Shah 'Abbas I and, once begun, the process never ceased.

The Safavid Legacy 177
Notes

1. PRELUDE TO THE CONQUEST
1. Zenou 1875, p. 45.
3. A variant of this story says that they were kept in Shiraz by Mansur Beg Purnak. Morton 1996, p. 45.
4. By the 1450s when Jumayy, Isma'il's grandfather, became shaykh of Ardabil, the word 'Sufi' in the Safavid context meant more than 'Islamic mystic'. According to Roeser (1986, p. 205), the words soft and ghazi ('soldier of the faith') were equated: 'Members of a soft order, whose mystical rule was probably preserved only as a more or less faded memory, were converted to the ideals of a Holy War which are inherent in Islam, trained as fanatical warriors and, as we shall see, actually led into battle.'
7. Ibid., p. 57.
9. Ibid., p. 567.
12. For example, the Guru Amir in Samarkand, 807/1404; see Golombek and Wilber 1988, vol. 1, p. 262.
14. Ibid.
15. Robinson 1978a, p. 160 notes that the Shahnameh 'is divided into two volumes'. Volume i is in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul (MS 16078) and contains 202 miniatures; Volume ii is in the Library of Istanbul University (Yildiz 7954/510) and contains 109 miniatures. Between 1912, when F.R. Martin published it as in the Monastery of the Dancing Dervishes, Galata, and 1929 when Armanag Bey Sokasian described it, the manuscript had been stolen, sold to a foreign diplomat and recovered with close to forty miniatures removed from it.'
16. Ibid., p. 179. Stesoukine 1998, pp. 5–6 notes that the manuscript, in the collection of the Topkapi Saray Library, H.762, consists of 517 folios and contains 19 miniatures. At least three paintings were removed and are in the Keir Collection. The calligrapher was 'Abd al-Rahim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khwairizi ai-Sulami ai-Ya‘qibi, working at 'dar sulaiman yeh Tabrizi'.
18. Ibid., p. 150.
20. Ibid., p. 152.
23. Erdmann 1977, pp. 62–4, pl. v, fig. 64.

2. LIKE A BURNING SUN
3. The very fine, small Anthology, British Library, Or. 1656, produced at Shamsah in Shirvan in 1648, may have been part of Isma'il's booty.
4. Eskandar Beg Monshi 1978, pp. 44–5. Although this and other texts mention Isma'il's enthronement, there is no description of a ceremony of enthronement or coronation, either because of a lack of eyewitness accounts or a lack of a specific secular event connected with his accession.
5. Ibid., p. 46.
6. Anonymous 1875, p. 198. Hillenbrand 1986, p. 768 notes 'a minaret decorated with the horns and skulls of game' on the outskirts of Khuy, but does not say whether this is connected with Shah Isma'il's palace there.
10. The repairs at the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad were completed in 920/1514. Hillenbrand 1986, p. 967.
9 miniatures. At least three paintings were removed and are in the eten. The calligrapher was 'Abd al-Rahim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Salih al-Yaqubi, working at 'dar salmaniyat Tabriz'. i. et al. 1996, 50.

nd Centurini 1875, p. 56. 52.
1, pp. 155–9. 76, p. 147.
1977, pp. 62–4, pl. v, fig. 64.

TURNING SUN
64, p. 59, quoting British Library, Or. 5248, fol. 28b.
Beg Monshi 1978, p. 45.

fine, small Anthology, British Library, Or. 1656, produced at a in Shirvan in 1468, may have been part of Isma'il's booty. Beg Monshi 1978, pp. 44–5. Although this and other texts Isma'il's enshrinement, there is no description of a ceremony of nent or coronation, either because of a lack of eyewitnesses or a lack of a specific secular event connected with his accession. 6.

65, p. 198. Hillenbrand 1986, p. 708 notes 'a minaret with the horns and skulls of game' on the outskirts of Khoy, but say whether this is connected with Shah Isma'il's palace there. Beg Monshi 1978, p. 61.

66, p. 93 citing Naqib Allah Falsafi.
irs at the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad were completed in . Hillenbrand 1986, p. 967.

86, p. 98.
86, p. 98.
92, p. 195, col. 190. The cast brass jug dated 918/1512 (David 1, Copenhagen, 54/1980) is signed by 'Ali ibn Muhammad 'Ali 1-Ghuri who also signed a jug made in 1497 for Sultan Husayn (British Museum, 1962-7-18.1).

17. Ibid., p. 206, no. 76.
18. S.C. Welch 1978, p. 21. Zettersten and Lamm 1948, p. 27 believe the scribe to have been Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi.
20. that 1988, p. 45.
21. Ibid., p. 44.
22. This connection may not be as far-fetched as it seems. The Qaraqoyunlu Turks were first the allies and then the conquerors of the Jalayirdis, one of whose capitals was at Tabriz. The Qaraqoyunlu Turks, who took over the Qaraqoyunlu lands and capital at Tabriz, were respectful of their cultural Jalayirid antecedents, a view that may have been shared by Shah Isma'il. 23. Persiyani et al. 1995, p. 220–21.
25. Because the majority of illustrations in the manuscripts were completed during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, the manuscript will be discussed as a whole in the next chapter.
26. Richard 1997, p. 133, no. 79. The Ma'tur a Mumtaz of Aser Tabriz was copied in Shiraz in 909/1504 by Shaykh Mubashir and contains an incipient version of the Haydarat 
32. Ibid., pp. 279–80.

3 THE YEARS OF WAR
2. Ibid., p. 73.
4. Ibid., p. 69. It seems that Shah Tahmasp was not wearing the crown when it was struck. Most likely the crown was not the traditional metal object depicted in paintings but the Safavid 
5. Ibid.
7. Ekzandar Monshi Beg 1978, p. 79 describes the two Ustajlu amirs abandoning the fight immediately when they caught sight of the gilded ball on top of the royal standard'. See also p. 114.
8. Ibid., p. 205.

Notes 179
43. Although this theory is very close to that proposed as pertaining to the Timurids, Shah Tahmasp seems to have been far less concerned with proving the legitimacy of his dynasty to rule Iran than with having his artists produce a visual environment that expressed his personal taste. See Leuntz and Lowry 1989.

4 A NEW CAPITAL AND NEW PATRONS
1. D’Alessandri 1873, p. 216.
4. Savory 1978, p. 188.
5. D’Alessandri 1875, p. 215. Either d’Alessandri underestimated the boy’s age or, less likely, some of the shah’s younger children escaped the notice of the Persian sources.
8. Ibid., pp. 125-4.
11. Ibid.
13. Hillenbrand 1986, p. 773 notes that this technique is very unusual in the Safavid period but not so rare in later times. Possibly for this reason De Susan Bahrine, in conversation with the author, has suggested that the decoration of the palace may be later in date than 1565-75.
16. Ibid., p. 275.
18. Ibid., pp. 44-5.
24. Haldane 1983, pl. 91. The composition on the exterior of this book cover consists of a princely picnic with figures wearing the Safavid türban which could indicate a date in the 1550s. Unfortunately, the faces on this surface have been retouched so the book cover may date as late as the 1570s.
27. Ibid., p. 265, fig. 65.
28. Ibid., p. 297, no. 120.
32. Ibid., pl. 20.
33. Roxburgh 2005, p. 245 rightly demonstrates that Shah Tahmasp did not entirely distance himself from his artists in the mid-sixteenth century.
34. D’Alessandri 1875, p. 218.

5 THE LOWEST EBB
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 291. In July or August 1576 Isma’il had Tahmasp’s coffin taken to the İmāmzādeh Husayn shrine, where Isma’il’s three murdered brothers were buried, to await transport to Mashhad in the autumn.
6. Ibid., p. 297.
7. Ibid., p. 311.
10. Eakander Beg Moshri 1978, p. 582 states that shortly after Nauruz 1988/ spring 1590, ‘On arrival at Rayy, Shah ‘Abbās released his father and the royal princes, who had been imprisoned there in the fortress by Mumtaz-dār Khosrabandonī and his sons had been moved from Alamut to Rayy at some point between October 1588 and spring 1590. They were then imprisoned in the fortress of Tabarast at Isfahān and freed in the spring of 1591, only for Shah ‘Abbās’s brothers to be sent to Alamut and blinded. Muḥammad Khosrabandonī remained in Qazvin.’
11. Eakander Beg Moshri 1978, p. 272, cites Mā’ūnī ‘Abd al-Jabbar Astarabadi, a calligrapher who began by working for Khan Ahmad in Gilan, then came to Qazvin where he ran an artists’ workshop and was a member of the royal library, and then returned to Gilan when Khan Ahmad was reinstated by Shah Muḥammad Khosrabandonī.

6 FROM QAZVIN TO ISFAHAN
4. Eakander Beg Moshri 1978, p. 800. Three years later Shah ‘Abbās performed the pilgrimage to Mashhad on foot from Isfahān.
at the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad under Mawlana 'Abdullah Sinaishah and lectured on theology at the shrine. He remained there until the time of the Uzbek occupation when he sought refuge at court and lectured for a while at Qazvin. From there, as royal command, he went to Isfahan and took up residence in the neighborhood of the mosque in Qa'q-i Jahan Square, opposite the royal palace, one of the great architectural monuments of Shah 'Abbas I. There he discharged the duties of an imam (prayer leader), gave lectures on jurisprudence and hadits and occupied himself with worship and obedience to God. Shakhyy Lutfallah, according to Eskandar Beg Moshi (1978, p. 1250), had lived within the precincts of the mosque. He died in 1032/1625.

9. The mosque is now called Masjidi Imam.
11. The discovery fanninstalled Shah 'Abbas's plans to demolish the Masjidi Jami' of Isfahan in order to reuse its marble for his mosque, according to Chardin as quoted in Godard 1937, p. 112. Despite this find, the actual placement of the marble dado panels in the mosque did not occur until 1947/1957, eight years after the death of Shah 'Abbas.
12. Hillenbrand 1986, p. 788 gives the overall dimensions of the dimensions of the mosque as 140 by 150 metres. Presumably Shah 'Abbas was impatient for the mosque to be completed; he may have been promised that it would be finished by a date that the builders could not achieve. In 1928/1929, after the Shah commissioned Muhibb 'Ali Kika Lala, the supervisor of the mosque project, to begin work on a vast tunnel to divert the course of the Kourang River, he withdrew his support of Muhibb 'Ali because 'he had no confidence in Lala Beg' (Muhibb 'Ali's) ability to complete the work in the contracted time.' Eskandar Beg Moshi 1978, p. 1171.
15. Ibid., pp.955-6.
17. Eskandar Beg Moshi 1978, p. 556.
18. Ibid., p. 955.
20. Because of the misidentificiation of a coat of arms on a carpet of this type made for export to Europe, the group has been named 'Polonaise'.
21. Erdmann 1969, p. 44.
27. Ibid., p. 51.
37. Ibid., pp. 505-7; Melikian-Chirvani 1975, pp. 106-8.
39. Melikian-Chirvani 1982, p. 528 catalogues an example of the former, dated 1017/1609-9, and (p. 529) an example of the latter, dated 1059/1649-21.
42. Lane 1957, pl. 96.
44. Lane 1957, pl. 97a.
46. Information supplied by Dr St John Simpson, personal communication.
47. Canby 1986b, p. 177.
48. Lane 1957, p. 120, quoting Chardin.
49. Ibid., p. 99, n. 2.
50. Pope 1956, pls 100-104.
52. Eskandar Beg Moshi 1978, p. 1199.
54. On a British Museum label.
55. Lane 1957, p. 108.

7 A VULPTUOUS INTERLUDE
1. Minorsky 1945, p. 16.
2. Eskandar Beg Moshi 1978, p. 1099.
4. Sara Taq'i's role as a patron of architecture is discussed by S. Bahaie in Canby 2002, pp. 20-21.
7. Ibid., p. 167.
8. Ibid., pp. 193 and 195.
10. Ibid., p. 121 notes a similarity in style to that of Muhammad Yusuf which I do not find compelling.
11. Schmitz 1992, pp. 123-8. Dr Schmitz provides the most up-to-date information about this manuscript, its patron, its scribe and its artist.
13. Ibid., figs 2-3.
16. The textiles are discussed at length in Bier 1995, pp. 61-75.

Notes 181
8. A NEW FOUCS
6. The tāfar is described as 'newly constructed' in 1655/1645, see Floor 1997, p. 258.
8. This idea is investigated in depth in Babaei forthcoming.
9. Although the name 'Chihil Sutun', literally meaning 'forty columns', but more likely referring to 'many columns', had been used by Shah Tahmasp for his palace at Qazvin, there is no indication that Shah 'Abbas II borrowed the design of that palace.
13. Ibid.
17. Schousboe 1994, p. 150. The manuscript is in the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.
18. Ibid., pp. 148–9, pls IV, IX–XIV.
20. Ibid., p. 21. The earliest garden carpet, of which later examples in the vase technique are known, was found in the Jaipur Palace at Amber. It has a label on the back stating that it arrived in the palace on 29 August 1632.
22. Hayward Gallery 1976, p. 59, pl. 84.
23. Age-Obre, 1941, pls xii–xiii.
25. The Nashi tomb cover, however, would not have accompanied a renovation of the building since Nashi had fallen into Ottoman hands under Shah Safi.
31. Ibid., no. 186. This tile is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1882–76.
32. Eutinghausen 1955, p. 57, fig. 16. This dish is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, L.95–1886.
33. Lane 1957, pl. 886.
34. THE PATRIMONY SQUANDERED
7. Lusche-Schmeisser 1978, pp. 39–44. This major exhibit of the exterior of the Hasht Behistu assumes that Mu'in Musaevir worked within the court milieu, whereas his oeuvre shows no evidence that he did. As with the earlier 'Kabachi' tiles, the tilemakers adapted the dominant figurative style to their medium, but there are no extant drawings that could be considered cartoons for these spandrels. Shafi 'Abbas, on the other hand, was providing designs for textiles and probably for craftsmen of other media and his drawings may have been the source of some of the flower and insect tiles at the Hasht Behistu.
9. This painting is signed 'Ghulamzadeh Qalimi 'Ali' and was first attributed to 'Ali Quli Jabbadar by Robinson (1967, cat. no. 87). The attribution is supported by another signature incorporating the word 'ghulamzadeh' with the name 'Ali Quli Jabbadar' on his copy of an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman after the painting by Rubens of Suzanne and the Elders, see Nouveau Drouot 1982, lot 7, and apparently the identical signature appears on a painting of the 'Shah with a Dignitary and a Servant holding a Flask': see Akinmashki 1994, pl. 191, fol. 99e. The inclusion of the word 'ghulamzadeh' meaning son of an Islamicized Christian slave, and the presence of Georgians inscriptions on at least two of the artist's paintings in the St Petersburg album raises the question of whether 'Ali Quli was himself a Georgian, not a European, by birth.
10. Diba 1998, p. 117 gives the date of Muhammad Zaman's earliest work as 1671 but does not say what the work is.
11. A. Welch 1973, p. 102. Although the dimensions of this painting are larger than those of the artist's additions to the British Library Kensington, this work may have been intended for the addition to the manuscript but not used.
12. Ibid., p.148.
17. A.E. Pope 1939, vol. VI, pl. 125. This is one of a group of floral carpets from the tomb of Shah 'Abbas II, signed by Jumshod Qal'i. See pls. 1258–60.
18. Akimushkin 1994, p. 89. In a lecture at the British Museum in July 1999 Adel Adamova suggested that the ruler in this picture is Shah 'Abbas II, not Shah Sulayman.
23. Allan 1995, pl. XIX and XX.

10 DISINTEGRATION OF THE DYNASTY

1. Minorsky 1945, p. 24, quoting Muhammad Mashin, Zubdat al-nasrābādī (Cambridge University Library, Ms G15 (15)).
2. The three main buildings of the complex are still in use. Only the stables to the east of the caravansarai are now gone. The madrasa in the past was called the Mādār-i Shah Mādrasa; the caravansarai is now the 'Abbāsi Hotel; and an annex of the hotel now stands on what were once the stables.
3. Akimushkin 1994, p. 115, attributes this painting to Muhammad Sultanī. However, the use of 'Sultanī' may have been a newly adopted epithet in 1694 that referred to Muhammad Zamanī's role in the atelier of Shah Sultan Husayn. Adel Adamova in a lecture at the British Museum in July 1999 suggested that the bearded figure is not Shah Quli Khan, but in Shah Sultan Husayn.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
11. Ferrier 1996, p. 171, paraphrases Chardin and describes tablewares as 'enamelled and ceramic', but this apparently refers to glazed and unglazed ceramic objects, not to enamel on metal.
13. Allan 1995, pl. XXX.

EPILOGUE

1. Stevens 1974, pp. 421–49; Jackson and Lockhart 1986, pp. 575–409, for a summary of some, but not all of the European travellers who wrote about their experiences in Iran. Almost every historian who has written about the Safavids has consulted European sources.
Agu-Ogbo, Melunet, Safavid Rugs and Textiles (New York, 1994)
Akhrizhskii, Oleg F. The St. Petersburg Marquetry (Lubnoe, 1994)
Allen, T., Timurid Herat (Wiesbaden, 1985)
Ansoy, N. and Babiy, I., Iziko: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey (London, 1980)
Beattie, M.H., Carpets of Central Persia (Sheffield, 1976)
Bier, C., ed., Woven from the Soul, Spain from the Heart (Washington, 1987)
Bier, C., The Persian Velvets at Rosenberg (Copenhagen, 1995)
Burck, Robert, ed., Masterpieces in The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, NY, 1988)
Calvard, J., ed., Etudes Safawid (Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Paris-Tehran, 1985)
Diba, L., Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1722–1923 (Brooklyn, 1998)
Dumard, M., Handbook of Mu'mammad Decorative Arts (New York, 1950)
Echhagi, E., ‘Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de bah Tahmäsp a Qazvin’, Art et société dans le monde iranien (Paris, 1982)
Erdmann, K., Oriental Carpets (London, 1980)
Erdmann, K., The History of the Early Turkish Carpet (London, 1977)
Ferrier, R., ‘Trade from the mid 14th Century to the End of the Safavid Period’, Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 412–90
Flohr, W., Dutch Painters in Iran during the first half of the 17th century, Persia, vol. 8 (1979), pp. 145–61
Flohr, W., The Economy of Safavid Persia (Wiesbaden, 2000)
Flohr, W., Safavid Government Institutions (Costa Mesa, 2001)
Simpson, M.S., Arab and Persian Painting in the Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, MA, 1980)
Smirnova, E.L., et al., State Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin (Moscow, 1969)
Soudary, M., 'Patterns and Weaves: Safavid Lamps and Velvet', in Bier 1987
Soudavar, A., Art of the Persian Courts (New York, 1992)
Spuhler, F., Mellbye Hansen, P. and Thormählen, M., Denmark's Coronation Carpets (Copenhagen, 1987)
Souchon, J., Les Peintures des manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier à la fin des Safavides (Paris, 1964)
Thackston, W.M., A Century of Princes Sources on Timurid History and Art (Cambridge, MA, 1989)
Thompson, J., and Canby, S.R., eds., Hunt for Paradise Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1736 (Milan, 2003)

Titley, N., Persian Miniature Painting (London, 1985)
Welch, A., Shah 'Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan (New York, 1975)
Welch, A., Artists for the Shah (New Haven, 1976)
Welch, S.C., Persian Painting (New York, 1976)
Welch, S.C., 'Wonders of the Age' (Cambridge, MA, 1979)
Wilber, D.N., Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions (Rutland, VT, 1962)
Woods, J.E., The Ayyubidate al-‘Asar, Confederation, Empire (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1976)
Zebrowski, M., Gold, Silver and Bronze from Mughal India (London, 1997)
Zeiterssemin, K.V., and Lamm, G.J., Mohammed Asufi: The Story of Isma'il and Jalal, An Illuminated Manuscript in the Library of Uppsala University (Uppsala, 1948)
Glossary

abr cloud-like foliage
'aliks either gold-painted illumination or stencilled decoration
'alam metal standard carried in Shiite processions
ashura the 10th of Muharram, anniversary of the battle of Karbala and martyrdom of Husayn, the son of 'Ali and grandson of Muhammad
badia wine bowl
Bostan The Garden, a masnavi poem by the poet Sa'di
caravela inn for travellers (often merchants) and their animals, with storage for their goods
ch'iin fabulous deer-like animal with flaming hooves, of Chinese inspiration
cueta de cerámica (lit. 'dry cord') ceramic glazing technique in which the colours are separated by a waxy substance before firing, which melts and turns black during firing but keeps the colours from running
dafar a register or bundle of papers tied together
Divan collected works of poetry or other writings by a single author
divan a collection of a poet's works; the office of the principal administrators of the government
davankhaneh court of justice
Falahreh Book of Devotion, thought to have been written by Ja'far al-Sadiq
farangi (lit. 'Frank') foreigner, usually referring to Europeans; also Frankish pattern
garak-yarag purveyor, person in charge of supplies
Garshasp-nameh The Story of Garshasp by Abu Nasr 'Ali ibn Ahmad Asadi of Tus
ghazal verse form of five to twelve lines, often used for love poems
ghulam (lit. 'slave') non-Muslim, usually of Armenian, Georgian or Circassian origin, who entered Safavid military or administrative service
Gulistan The Rose Garden, a book of collected anecdotes by Sa'di
hudith holy writings
hafiz poet of seven-verse strophes
hannam public or communal bath
hazar baf (lit. 'thousand weave') glazed and unglazed brick decoration
imam prayer leader; in a Shiite context, the infallible, divinely guided leader
islami ivy and spiral pattern
ivran open-fronted vault used as an entry portal or facing onto a courtyard
javvar-sazi animal design
ghad holy war
kashkul begging bowl, derived from the shape of a wine bowl
Khamsah Five Tales, a collection of five poems by the poet Nizami and later by Amir Khusraw Dihlav
khanaskh devush or other building for Sufi devotion
khat'a Chinese floral pattern
khutbat declaration of the name of the reigning monarch at Friday prayers in the congregational mosque
kizkhaneh library room artist's workshop
Kufic Arabic script with squared letters
madrasa Muslim religious college
madras large open square
mash'ad pillar-shaped candle stand
masnavi verse form consisting of rhyming couplets (distichs), often of extended length, suitable for epics
mehrab arched niche indicating the direction of prayer, i.e. the direction of Mecca
mi'am'ar architect
mehrbar keeper of the seal
muda-bashi chief cleric
muqarnas honeycomb or stalactite decoration used in transitional zones from square or polygonal walls to domes and arches
murqab' album of calligraphy or pictures or both
murshid-i kanval spiritual leader
naqqash 'decoral art' (trans. Martin B. Dickinson)
naqqash 'specialist who translates' cartoons or drawings into patterns for textile and carpet weavers
nasta'liq 'engineering script', cursive script favoured in Safavid Iran

Tilley, N., Persian Miniature Painting (London, 1985)
Welch, A., Shah 'Abbás and the Arts of Isfahan (New York, 1975)
Welch, A., Artists for the Shah (New Haven, 1976)
Welch, S.C., Persian Painting (New York, 1976)
Welch, S.C., Wonders of the Age (Cambridge, MA, 1979)
Wilber, D.N., Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions (Rutland, VT, 1962)
Woods, L.E., The Ayyubide Ghur, Confederation, Empire (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1976)
Zebrowski, M., Gold, Silver and Bronze from Maghul India (London, 1997)
nisba | the descriptive part of a Muslim name that refers to geographical origin, family or profession

padishah | emperor

qadi | Islamic judge

qasariyya | royal or luxury bazaar

gulshan | base of a hookah or water pipe

qanat | underground water channel originating in mountains and serving plains and lowlands

qibla | direction of Mecca, to which Muslims face when praying

qil'a | calligraphic sample

qurashi | arms bearer, royal bodyguard

sadr | supervisor of religious endowments, chief of religious affairs

sarsabah | illuminated double-page frontispiece

Shahnameh | Book of Kings, by Firdausi, the Persian national epic

shamsi'dan | candlestick in the shape of a truncated cone with a cylindrical socket

shamsa | sunburst-shaped illuminated medallion

Shiite | follower of the Shi'a, Muslims who believe the caliphate is hereditary and are partisans of 'Ali and his descendants

simurgh | mythical bird similar in form to the phoenix

sufi | follower of one of the four Muslim legal schools, the Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki and Shafi'i

sura | long-necked flask

suratgari | figurative painting

taj | crown or cap worn under a turban

taj-i Haydari | felt turban cap with tall bonnet and twelve gures worn by Qutbsh followers of the early Safavids

talar | pordi consisting of a flat roof on tall, wooden columns

thuluth | one of the six classic curvive Arabic scripts

'tulama | Muslim clerics or those learned in Islam

unvan | illuminated chapter heading

vazir | vizier, government minister

vazir-i kahl | chief minister

waqf | religious endowment

wasi | human- and animal-headed arabesque scroll

zaviyeh | meeting room for the faithful

Photographic Sources

© Aga Khan Trust for Culture: 22, 33-5, 70, 75, 125

Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz: 66

British Library: 21, 56, 45, 69, 111, 135, 149


S.R. Carby: frontispieces, 2, 5, 5, 12, 13, 29, 30, 55-8, 79-89, 119-22, 157, 154

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin: 91

David Collection, Copenhagen: 53, 152, 159

Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon: 27, 54, 62, 90, 110, 114

Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg: 144, 156

John Rylands Library, University of Manchester: 23

Keir Collection: 18, 42, 44, 51, 52, 68, 74, 77, 96

Nasser D. Khalili Collection (© Nour Foundation): 157

A.S. Melikian-Chirvani: 45, 64, 71, 115

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 72

Middle East Culture Centre in Japan, Tokyo: 24

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 52

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 41

Textile Gallery, London: 142

Textile Museum, Washington, DC: 28, 49, 50, 61, 150

Centre de l'Oise, 19

Victoria and Albert Museum, London: 25, 51, 45, 47, 65, 64, 67, 71, 115, 145

Map on p. 7 by Ann Scargill.

188  Glossary & Photographic Sources
mythical bird similar in form to the phoenix

follower of one of the four Muslim legal schools, the Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki and Shafi'i

long-necked flask

figural painting

crown or cap worn under a turban

eft turban cap with tall plume and twelve gores worn by

Quribsh followers of the early Safavids

porch consisting of a flat roof on tall, wooden columns

one of the six classic cursive Arabic scripts

Muslim clerics or those learned in Islam

illuminated chapter heading

viar, government minister

chief minister

religious endowment

human- and animal-headed arabesque scroll

meeting room for the faithful

Index

Numbers in italics refer to illustrations

Amir Khanus Diblavi 74, 85
Amir Muhammed Isfahani 46
Anatolian 10-11, 17, 26, 45-46
Anglo-Dutch War 150
Anglo-Persian trade 150
Akhajvan 27
Aqa Mirza 52, 54-55, 65, 69, 72
Aqa Mu'tama 125
Aqa Sultan 46
Aqqoyunlu Turkmens 8, 10-11, 17, 21-2, 24-45
Arabian 102
Arabian 8, 10, 13-14, 21, 26, 47, 9, 94, 99, 154, 30, 31
Arabian shrines 13, 14, 26, 45, 47, 64, 102, 115, 115, 141,
2, 3, 89, 162
Arg see Mausoleum of Al'Im Shah
Armenia 8, 25, 44, 45
Armenian Church of the Holy Mother of God 148
Asaf, Muhammad 29, 19
Ashraf 101, 118, 121, 123, 149, 140
Asia 174
Astana-e Quds Museum, Mashhad 60
Astana 100
Astanaal 66, 87, 101
Atazhadi 159, 162
Ayyubi ibn Ibrahiim 72
Azerbaijan 10-11, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 36-7, 42, 5, 46, 86, 92, 95
Babur 8, 24-5
Babur b. Bayazhurgh 17
Badakhshan 51
Radi al-Zaman 25
Baghdad 24, 55, 45-6, 92, 95, 120, 124
Baghi in Vud 102, 36
Baghi al-Sulih Zaman 102
Baghi al-Shah 101
Bahrain 120, 162
Bahraini musals 150
Bahraini musals 156, 159, 232
Baluk 11, 15
Balsh 19, 25, 95, 120
Balasah matbasa 150
Balouch 106, 109, 15
Balochi 146, 162
Bam 162
Bandar Abbas 117, 129, 130, 145, 150
Basel 122, 123
Barbar 59, 64, 76
Barbaran, Joseph 18
Barbary 101
Basra 150
Bayazid 24, 29, 77
Bayazid 50
Baku 51, 53-4, 60-53, 71, 122, 157, 22-9
Brahah Ibrahim 88, 74
Bijan 154
Biqat 44
Bustan, Mount 69-70, 76
Buzan 6
Black Dot 50
Blue Mosque (Masjid-i Mazafar-i-Riyadh) 12, 14-15, 17, 28,
45, 1
Boneousian cloth 75
Bosporus 8
British Library 149
British Museum 6, 109
Bukhara 54, 130, 146, 174, 168
Buxa 21
Bustan of Sadi 85
Cartier jewelers 177, 179
Caspian Sea 8, 20-21, 30, 101, 149
Caucasus 117
Chegar Baghi 90-7, 101, 147, 165, 87, 113, 114, 153
Chakhmaq 25, 27-9, 40, 45, 54
Charid, Jean 115, 127, 145, 164-6, 168
Chester Beatty Library 149
Ghulam Sattar (ibnta'm) 131-4, 157, 165, 119, 120, 212
Ghulam Sattar Qasim 68-9, 77, 82
Chileshe Khan 15
China 116
Chirin khans 13, 47, 102, 115, 2, 89
Christian 6, 130, 160
Circassia 44
Circassian Christians 94
Circassians 166
Constantinople 8
Constantinople, Ambrose 18

Index 189