4- Introduction

Safavids were heir to ideology of Sheikh Safieeddin (1252-1334) who founded Safavid Tariqat in Ardebil in Northwestern Iran. These heirs tried to bring down Turkmen rulers in the Western Iran and Eastern Anatolia in late ninth/fifteenth century and Ismail son of Heidar took Azerbaijan from Agh Ghoyunlus and established Safavid rule. Safavid government was a religious one and Ismail and his successors' family tree reached to Ali bin Abitaleb (PBUH), son-in-law and successor of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and they claimed Velayat of Shiite Imams. Ghezelbashes or their Turkmen followers had political and spiritual allegiance with them. Shiite which had different bases in Iran in former eras was announced as the formal religion of Safavids and getting separated from its Sunni neighbors; Iran found a kind of national identity which has continued to this day. Due to insecurity in border areas, Safavids moved their capital from vulnerable Tabriz first to Qazvin (1555A.D) and later to Isfahan (1591A.D).1

Buildings that were constructed in Safavid era in Iran are the most attractive and beautiful architectural works in whole history of Iran. A lot of natural features in Iranian architecture were collected in network of glazed tiles, raised boards on doors, onion-shaped domes and pen-shaped minarets. Part of this, was because of old monuments because a considerable collection of them is present in Isfahan. Isfahan was capital of Seljukis and of course third capital of Safavids. An important part of attractiveness in Safavid architecture was because of its easy combination with simple patterns bases on increase and symmetry. Safavid architecture had little innovation in structure or appearance because architectures had to construct or decorate biggest buildings in shortest possible times and in this way they covered building's disorder with tiles. Their outstanding point was planning massive metropolitan complexes which had multiple commercial, religious and political applications in harmonious compounds. Safavid architects like painters of this era who had great interest in history of painting, had a good

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knowledge of Iranian architecture especially architectural tradition of Timurid dynasty in Khurasan or ethnic tradition of architecture in Isfahan and its suburbs.¹

Among Islamic countries, it is Iran which plays the greatest role in developing the art of painting. Iranian painters were influenced by other painters and this influence was not mere imitation, on the other hand, they applied their art and enhanced it with their own talent and intelligence and presented it in an advanced form.

Painting is one of the arts which have always been developing and dynamic. Islamic artists have applied artistic styles of the conquered lands since the early Islamic period and have used Sassanid, Indian and Roman arts; whereas they produced their own arts in different modern forms. Islamic artists in the time of Omavid Caliphates were directly under the influence of Byzantine art and as the capital of caliphate changed from Damascus to Baghdad which was next to Tisfoun; influence of Iranian art on Muslim artists became more apparently visible. Islamic art of painting was at first applied on scientific, historical and literary books. Muslim artists who avoided painting human and other animated images in mosques and other religious places faced no obstacles in painting images for books; therefore they started ornamenting books with images.² In this chapter we will also try to uncover formation of painting schools in Safavid era and its influence on Indian school of painting.

4-1- Iran and India relationship in Akamenid period

Among the ancient peoples and ethnic groups which had contact with the life and culture of India and influenced it was Aryans. In fact, their mutual ties date back to the period

¹. Kleiss, W. “Der Safavidische Pavillon in Qazvin”, Archaologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, n. s. 9 (1976): pp 290 - 8

prior to the formation of India and Aryan civilizations; because Indian and Aryan tribes stem from a common origin, and later they segregated.

It has long believed that there was Indus valley civilization in India is older to Aryan civilization, and after the settlement of Aryan a civilization took shape. However, the archeological discoveries in the recent decades have shown that there were more ancient civilizations than Aryan civilization in this region including Ilam civilization in Iran, and Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro civilizations in India.\(^1\)

Study of the pottery in terms of patterns and technique is the best determining factor in establishing the relationships between civilizations in ancient times. For example, historians could establish this fact by investigating the deer image on the potteries of Silk, Mohenjo-Daro, Persian Gulf coasts, and Mesopotamia. Some potteries, which dated back to 5\(^{th}\) and 6\(^{th}\) millennium B.C, were found in Behbahan\(^2\). Some objects retrieved from Sind Valley indicate that there had been close affinity between this civilization and that of eastern parts of Iran plateau. For example, a make-up box containing an ear cleaning swap, bit, and tweezers, was found in Harappa. These objects were similar to what have been found in ancient Sumerian cities, Kish, and Khafaje. Through Sind River, Oman Sea, and Persian Gulf, Mohenjo-Daro civilization had marine connection with Ur, Kish, and perhaps Egypt. It might have connected to Ilam, and internal parts of Iran Plateau through Baluchistan.\(^3\)

Unlike what have been believed, the relationship of Iran and India did not started during Aryan period, but it had been deteriorated during this period. Although the ties between these two regions were not what have been thought during Aryan period, the written and non-written evidence of this era indicates that there had been some signs of solidarity, familiarity, and relationship between them. The study of Rig Veda chants and

\(^{1}\) Halide and Goetz, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam*, p11

\(^{2}\) Yektae, *Introduction of Iranian and Islamic Culture and Civilization to India and Pakistan*, p 48

\(^{3}\) Ibid, pp 123-5
Avesta’s Gats highlights the fact that Vedic religion of Indian Aryans and Zoroastrian religion of Iranians had the same root. Researchers hold that Vedas’ language construction was more like Avesta than Sanskrit literary roots. This language affinity led some researchers to believe that Iranians played a crucial role in information of Rig Veda which is Aryan’s most ancient written remnant. Perhaps this common ground was paved when Iranians and Indian lived together.

Another factor in determining and recognizing Iran and India relationship in this period is the mythological study and contemplation of these countries. This is indicative of primary relationships and secondary differences. A mythological figure with the same name but with different characteristics reveals the common primary root and secondary difference. For example, in Iranian mythology, Div (devil) is considered a vicious and anti-lightness figure while it is a holy and revered figure in India. This shows that both of them recognized it as a figure, but later their views differed from each other. These factors proved that these tribes were separated from their original land, which was probably the eastern part of Iran, and settled either in Iran and India.¹

There is not much information available about relations between Iran and India in the time of Maads. Therefore we have to consider the relations in Hekhamaneshi era.

India had been known to Hekhamaneshis from the beginning to such an extent that Cyrus extended his conquests to India. The inscriptions found in this era had recorded the relationship between these two nations in the best way. The name “India” mentioned in these inscriptions reveals commercial and military significance of this nation for Hekhamaneshis.

The effects of Hekhamaneshis on Indian civilization (Maurye) are so extensive that some researchers have called Indians the true heirs of Hekhamaneshi Empire.

¹. Hekmat, *The Land of India*, pp78-81
On some pillars of Perspolis there are statues of kneeling bulls, samples of which could be seen on pillars of Ashoka Palace from Maury dynasty. Most statues here (in India) are in the shape of horse, lion and elephant.

Among the other proofs of relationship between these two ancient Aryan nations are the pillars attributed to Ashoka (Mauran King) which were posted around his country with his will written on them.

Researchers have proved that construction of united stone pillars was not originated from India and this art or custom had been invented in the city of “Pasargad” and that the great emperor had sampled this custom (or art) in India. It is supposed that after death of Alexander and decline of Seleucids when “Chandra Gupta” extended his kingdom to borders of Iran, Afghanistan and Baluchistan, in contact with Iranians he adopted Iranian thought, art and culture. Construction of united stone pillars also had been adopted by him. While Iran was in chaos and destruction by tribal kingdoms and Ashkanians, groups of manufacturers and artists of Hekhamaneshi era continuously took refuge in Indian kingdoms and revealed their arts in Indian courts to the point of teaching their art, profession and industry to Indians in the India, on the banks of Ganges and in the court of the Mauryas.

The city of Patali Putra located in present Patna, capital of Chandra Gupta’s kingdom from Maury dynasty (322 B.C) had been a prolific city. And the Greek explorer, Megasthen, has left a comprehensive description of his court. In Gupta’s court some important architectural items have been excavated which are exactly like Hekhamaneshi architecture. During the excavation in 1896 A.D in the remains of that city a one hundred-pillar building was found which had halls of Hekhamaneshi architectural style. After this excavation completed in 1912 A.D, another hall was discovered which included 80 stone pillars. This hall included remains of polished united pillars similar to that of Apadana in Perspolis.

It’s important to know that the custom of inscription writing and delicate carving in caves first emerged in Iran, because before the time of Ashoka there were no records of them in India. It had been in the first millennium B.C that members of this Aryan nation left
carvings, made decorations and carved pillars out of stone in caves. Ashoka followed these samples in Gaya Mountains in Bihar State. While Darius the First in writing his famous inscription sampled that of Ashoka in 250 B.C and made some changes in it according to Indian taste.

Eventually, there is no doubt that Indian kings in Maury dynasty and afterwards followed Hekhamaneshi architecture style. Unique works discovered in both nations prove that they have utilized and shared each other's arts.

Furthermore, in the book A-vista the name of India is mentioned and also in Rig-Veda the name of Iran could be seen. Cyrus and then Darius according to historical documents have claimed that northwest of India (Kabul and Lahore) belonged to their territory.

Historians have called this period “Zara –tosh-tey”. Herodotus -the Greek historian- has mentioned India and has written about the tax that received to Darius’s treasure house from India. The tax which they paid was more than taxes paid by other governments. They paid 600 Qantars a year (one million Liras) to Iranian kingdom. He also says that a large number of Indian troops armed with elephants, horses and carts served in the army of Iranian Kingdom.

Before decline of Hekhamaneshi civilization by Greeks, artists, scientists and men of culture from Iran came to India and originated significant artistic works so that in the following generations the effects of their works were considerable in all styles of art, science and industry.¹

4-2- Relations between Iran and India in Ashkani and Sassanid Era

In excavations made in Behanpor city (close to Karachi) coins and pottery works of Ashkani were discovered which reveal close ties between these two regions. In Taxila (in Northwestern India) structure of a Partian temple shows a combination of forms of an

¹. Hekmat, The Land of India, pp 211-224
Iranian fire temple. Also a collection of buildings which were discovered by Hertsfeld in Khaje Mountain in Sistan is similar to Buda temples in India.¹

Relationship between two nations in Sassanid era is considered the closest relationship of the nations before Islam. There are no records of war and Iranian conquest of India in this era. The relationship constitutes a series of amicable commercial, political and scientific ties. For example when Shapor the First, son of Ardashir, came to throne took scientific books of medicine, astronomy and logic from India and Greece and added them to the book of religion.²

According to Ferdousi Toosi in *Shahnama*, Bahram Goor (Sassanid King) who was a man of entertainment, hunting, music, etc. requested Shengel (Indian King) to send 10,000 singers and musicians to Iran so that they teach Indian songs, ballads and playing of their instruments to Iranians.

Anooshirvan sent a physician called Borzouye to India to find a plant for life-medicine, but he couldn’t find the plant and instead of the plant took the book *Panchatantra* to Iran, because he found that science is the only thing which made life longer in India and life-medicine does not exist at all. This book was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and from Pahlavi into Arabic and later from Arabic into Farsi and was known after the name of its two heroes *Kelile and Demne*.

Among the carvings in caves of Chanta there is one carving that shows Khosrow Parviz’s messenger. This messenger came to India in reply to the messenger that Pulakesi the


Second from Chalukya dynasty had sent to Iran. In this carving which pictures the public court all clothes is Sassanid. ¹

4-3- Relations between Iran and India in Islamic Era

Islam has spread to India and the present Middle East countries through Iran. The subcontinent was subject to Muslims consideration from the beginning of Islam. For the first time, under the rule of Caliph Ottoman (644-656 B.C), a Muslim leader, Abdullah bin Jabal Alabdi was sent to India to collect information about Sind. Later in the time of Caliph Ali (660 B.C) Hares bin Marrah Alabdi and then in the time of Mo’avie bin Abosofyan (665 B.C) Mohlab bin Abi Safreh attacked India through Makkoran but these attacks were not serious because Arab invaders of that time did not have enough instruments to conquer India. Eventually in the time of Valid bin Malik Omavi (718 B.C), Muhammad bin Ghasim Saghafi attacked India through Shiraz and Makkoran and conquered whole Sind and brought it under the rule of Omavi Caliphas. It seems that after the wars a lot of Arab and Iranian warriors settled there and commercial relationship between India and Islamic countries including Iran started to develop.²

However, it is believed that after these attacks, progress of Muslims in India was stopped in the time of Naser Aldin Saboktekin (978-998 B.C) and his son Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi i.e. three centuries, but there is no doubt that commercial and cultural ties between them never stopped.³

Relationship between India and Iran developed in the fourth century by the attacks of Ghaznavis. Of course it’s clear that we do not regard war between two nations as relationship, what we mean are the cultural and social results that two nations gained during war. For example in different attacks of Mahmood Ghaznavi to India which were


². Ershad, Historical Immigration of Iranians to Indi, p 97

³. Ibid, p 123
mostly because of booty, Iranians learned to utilize elephant in transportation, ceremonies and in war to the point that there was an elephant barn in Ghaznis where thousands of elephants could be placed in and a group of Indians settled in Ghazni were responsible to take care of them. Commander of this group was called Moghadam of Elephant Keepers which was a rank.¹

On the other side, a lot of Sultan Mahmood’s soldiers remained in India and in this way they not only learned Indian culture but also spread Iranian customs and traditions.

Among the other consequences of Sultan Mahmood’s attacks is traveling to India made by men of science and spreading Islamic-Iranian knowledge there. It is said that Aboreihhan Birooni accompanied Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi in many wars and stayed in India for years which resulted in writing the book Research of Malalhind. It is considered a significant book and the first one in its type. From other consequences familiarity of Indians with Islamic-Iranian arts especially architecture could be mentioned.

After Ghaznavis’ attacks to India commercial ties between two nations remained and India was never attacked by Iran as it had been by Mahmood.

Genghis attack to Iran opened a new chapter of relations between Iran and India. It caused lots of scholars and scientists to set off for India to save them from Genghis army. Menhaj Seraj Aldin Jozjani is one of these scholars. In India he wrote the book Tabaghate Naseri about history of India. As a result of immigration of Iranian artists and manufacturers to India Iranian culture and art spread in India. Some years after the attacks when peace settled in the region commercial dealings of two countries restarted and it was clear that at that time, like previous periods, merchandise in India was of significant importance due to various products of this country.²


² Ershad, Historical Immigration of Iranians to Indi, p 116
4-4- Study the Art of the Iranian Painting during Safavid Dynasty

Safavid dynasty is one of the most interested Iran art periods after Islam. Shah Ismail founded Safavid dynasty in 1502 A.D. Industrial and art centers were promoted and increased during this period. First, Tabriz was the capital of this dynasty; for this reason, Tabriz became a center for artists activates such as calligraphy, gild, painting and book binding and also artists of other industries and technologies. Some were working in textile and drapery industries. Therefore, this study focuses on Qazvin, Tabriz and Isfahan's painting schools during this dynasty.

In spite of historical limitations on painting, which were important factors in depression of this art, it again started growing and developing as Safavid kings came to rule Iran. Shah Ismail and shah Tahmasb easily controlled people’s thought by combining religion problems. Therefore, growth and development of painting at that time was based on mystical so that the art and the artist were treated with more value and respect. By passing of time, these ideas lost their values. The Then ruling Shah Abbas Safavid come into contact with other neighboring countries and European nations, led to change the significance of art. With intercourse to realism, a two head art appeared in which elements of Europe were more highlighted in that.

Prosperous period of painting in Iran was the result of correct innovations and adoptions which in spite of external affects, can be a kind of internal connection with the changes in historical painting in Iran.

1- Schools of Art during Safavid Dynasty

Iranian painting at that period has transferred its experiences to Indian through wide migration of painters. To understand better the situation of Iranian painting at that time and also to understand changes and varying of them the Safavid’s painting has been studied separately in three periods.
1-1 First Half of the Tenth Century (Tabriz School)

Shah Ismail I annexed Herat to his properties after prevailing over the Timurids. After some time, the artists of Herat such as: Kamaladin Behzad moved to Tabriz. All these led to setting up a new school, which included the best calligraphers and painters. And they had been selected from the artists of Herat. In fact the city of Herat was one of the biggest centers for painting in Iran during Timurids. But in the tenth century, after subjugating it by Safavids, its artists migrated to three regions. Some of them migrated to India, some to Tabriz, capital of Safavids, and some others to Bokhara, capital of Shibanian.

Actually we can't say in which year Behzad and other artists of Herat have moved to Tabriz. According to most of the researchers with reference to Mostafa Ali, Turk’s historiographer, in 1514 A.D. during Chaldoran war between shah Ismail and shah Salim, Behzad was in Tabriz. Another hypothesis claimed that Tahmasb Mirza son of Shah Ismail had spent his childhood in Herat and while coming to his father in capital (Tabriz) has brought Herat’s artists along with Behzad.

Depicting books such as: the complete works of Hafez, Firdosi's Shahnama, Nezami’s pentad and … continued. In total, the main characteristics of this school are: coordination of view and architecture, drawing nature of life along with details, fill the whole books with pictures and developing pictures from down to up. In spite of whatever, which were noticed in Herat (focusing all factors of picture to show human), the situation in this school was something different. In this period general form of scene according to subject was diversifies. Also drawing clothes, turbans and caps were according to the common traditions of that time.

Furthermore, in Tabriz school, especial attention had been paid to building’s decorations like tile designs, floor bricking, and inscriptions. Also margins which involve painting were considerable characters of this period. Amir Ali Shirnavaie’s Divan was one of the primary pictured books created by Herat’s artists in Tabriz. This copy is kept in Paris library. It has been written in 1528 A.D., and most probably in Tabriz by Behzad and was pictured by his student. The probability of its pictures in Herat is less.
Another precious and fine arts of this period is a copy of Nezami’s pentad which has been written and pictured for Shah Tahmasb. This book was teaching in Tabriz by Shah Mahmud Nishabori during 1539-1543 A.D.

Shahname’s Shah Tahmasb was another important art pictured in that period. Writing this Shahname was started by ordering Shah Ismail for his sun Shah Tahmasb. But after his death and during Shah Tahmasb it was finished. This work with more than 250 pictures, according to Roger Savory is a mobile museum. And it is because it has been created by famous artists at that time. This copy was finished between 1538 and 1543 A.D. In the pictures of this book, paintings of the late ninth century can be observed. Some of them have traditional root and some others have influenced by Behzad’s method. Its pictures have no signature, but the writing of the painters of Tabriz such as: Sultan Mohammad, Mir Mosavar, Agha Mirak, Mirza Ali, Mozafar Ali, Mir Saied Ali, Abdul Aziz, Sheikh Mohammad, Dos Mohammad and Khaje Abdul Sam ad can be recognized in painting of the book.

The importance of this work mostly is because of its art of writing elegantly. Almost all the characters of Iranian painting are in these. Reducing world of three dimensions to two dimensions and to reap the benefit of different plans to avoid its problems, professional application of rhythmic colors, and filling each centimeter with birds, animals, trees and decorate lines show a forward movement in art of painting.

One of the important events, which took place during Shah Tahmasb, was asylum of Humayun Indian Shah to Iran. Moreover, it influenced a lot on art especially on Iranian and Indian painting. Another important event was shifting the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin. This shift had basic effect on Iranian painting.\(^1\)

1-2  Second Half of the Tenth Century (Ghazvin School)

Because of war between Osmania and Safavid, Shah Tahmasb changed the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin. Unfortunately disinterestedness of shah Tahmasb in 1557 A.D regarding to Painting tended to hate of it, it means he ordered to forbidden nonreligious

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arts in his territory. So that most of the artists either immigrated to India through sea or went to court of niece of Tahmasb, Sultan Ibrahim Mirza in Mashhad. Basically drawing picture at shah Tahmasb’s age was hoot to shah and could make problem for the painter. At the end of shah Tahmasb’s life, he reduced his abhorrence toward decorative arts specially painting. In 1550A.D while he changed the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin again he welcomed artist, as a result, some of the famous artist gathered in Ghazvin.

We should notice that Humayun, the Indian Shah, had been forced to asylum to Iran only because of defeat from Sher Shah Afghani. During the year of his being in Iran, he had got accustomed to Iranian painting, Humayun even succeed in getting permission of Ali Tabrizi and Abd-al-samad Shirazi in order to accompany him for going to Kabul. Therefore, these two artists as a head of the Iranian painters traveled. While Shah Tahmasb refused to protect painters in Ghazvin, therefore, large number of them migrated to India, a immigration which influenced deeply on the Indian and Iranian paintings. One of them was performing school of Indian and Iranian painting in India.

In Ghazvin especially in the beginning years, this school was following Tabriz’s methods. But totally at the later years of shah Tahmasb, Iranian painting faced some changes related to Tabriz school. At the end of this age, turbans were gradually become bigger and bigger and suddenly it became very big and huge but caps substituted it. Especially a soft cap with skin margin and an abnormal cap that had a sharp peck in front and from the back became popular. Another important character of painting in this period was freedom of painters in drawing individual pictures and separate from text book.

We should notice a point that pictured Iranian old books such as: the complete works of Hafez, Firdausi's Shah Name, Nezami’s pentad and so on in Ghazvin continued but in a smaller scale. But these copies and their paintings did not have the same quality and accuracy of the Timur's period and even Tabriz school. These paintings had mostly less quality and imitation. The accurate colors transferred to mate color. Golden colors were rarely used, and drawings were careless.

We mentioned above that after ignoring art by shah Tahmasb, artists moved to some other places where their works could be appreciated. One of these places was Mashhad, where Ibrahim Mirza young niece of shah Tahmasb, was resident. He took many of
painters and choreographs from Tabriz and Herat and other cities of Iran to Mashad. His workshop was set up for 20 years, it means till 1574 A.D.

One of the best works that had been done there was a copy of Haft Orange Jami. This work was finished in 1565 A.D. and shows different steps of Mashhad’s pictures. Precisely, it shows different steps of pictured art in Mashhad. The writing of this book was the responsibility of famous calligraphers such as: Mohammad Nishaboori, Rostam Ali and Moheb Ali. This book includes 28 pictures without signature. But the hand writing of Mirza Ali, Mozafar Ali, Shaikh Mohammad and Agha Mirak in most of the pictures have been distinguished. Most probably Mirak’s work has been sent from Ghazvin to Mashhad, but others were from Mashhad.1

1-3 Eleventh Century (Isfahan School)

After death of shah Ismail II in 1577 A.D. till ruling shah Abbas I, almost 10 years, the political situation of Iran was disrupted and distressed. During this time, Mohammad Khodabande was ruling the country. After him, shah Abbas ruled for 16 years. One of his objectives was to avoid of disruption country and shifting the capital from Ghazvin to Isfahan in 1587 A.D. Changing the capital to Isfahan led to important transitions in the form and contents of art, which most of them have had been influenced through European art.

Day by day Isfahan became a symbol of the political power and stability in Iran. In spite of disturbances and rebellions of Uzbeks and the Ottoman Empire, he did not avoid protecting artists and architect and with the help of artists and architect. He set up big and beautiful mosques and buildings. Therefore, Isfahan not even became the capital but also became a center for trade and a symbol of new society in Iran.

At that time basic changes happened in the Iranian painting and artists obtained more freedom as compared to before. It moved further up the framework, subjects of previous artists. Painting moved out from the books and circulated in one page. Most of the subjects of these painters were painting traditional life of people and courtiers and

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painting those who had sumptuous and colored dress. Furthermore, tool post became very important during this time.¹

In the Isfahan school because of more attention being paid by artists to individual portrait and the old style which including many people because outmoded. At the end of the sixteen century the effects of European art on the Iranian painting had emerged. The individual painting, using shadow, following perspective and paintings of varnish were some of the influences of European art on Iranian art.

At that time oil color came to Iran. On other hand, there was a suitable opportunity to mix European art with the Eastern traditional art. In this period of time, orders and art works were not restricted only to the court, but also traders were ordering for art workers. Therefore, artist made his work according to the purchasing power of customers. Influences of European painting can be distinguished by some changes such as: naturalism, attempt to show the effects of shadow and similarity.

In total, Isfahan school can be divided into two groups as follow:

- Using epistle which was following Ghazvin School. Some of the artists are Reza Abbasi, Mohammad Moien Mosavar and others.
- Europeanism, which was European painting the representation of Europeanism, was Mohammad Zaman. The attempt of this group was to combine Iranian and European traditions together.²

¹. Taheri, Abul-Qasem, *Political and Social History of Iran from Temur’s Death to that of King Abbas*, Tehran: Pocket Books Co, 1973, p287

4-5- Remains of wall Paintings from Safavid Period

Wall paintings of 17th century’s architecture can be divided in terms of their preserving conditions:

1. The wall paintings which were ruined during the course of centuries; and we have come to be aware of their existence through texts, books, paintings, and images. Holester’s pictures and Yuzekchian’s descriptions of the buildings lend us evidences about the copiousness of the artworks such as Armenian merchants’ houses or many palaces.

2. Remaining wall paintings which are three types in terms of conditions:
   - Wall paintings which were repaired and reconstructed during the centuries; even they were painted on main painting such as wall paintings of Vanak church and Aalighapou.
   - Wall paintings which have been preserved in a relatively proper condition like Mary’s Church. (Appendix, figure 47)
   - Wall papers which are being threatened seriously like Bitullahm’s and most of the houses in Jolfa and Isfahan.

3. Wall paintings which have been hidden under additional layers, such as the wall paintings of St. Serkis Church which has recently been layer plastered.

Study of the Wall Paintings of Jolfa and Isfahan

Since the wall paintings of the Safavid era are accessible in the palaces of Isfahan and churches and residential houses of Jolfa, the study is limited to wall paintings of Chelsotoon and Sukusian’s houses.

These two architectural works are chosen for the following reasons:

Since palace was the symbol of power of the court, it is crystal clear that artistic taste and decorum is meticulously applied.
Due to the new situation encountered by Armenians in Jolfa, church plays a crucial role in organizing Armenian community. The opulent Armenian merchants also get the opportunity of exerting their economical and social power in constructing the churches. This class of society ornaments their houses by wall paintings and architectural embellishments.¹

Coneill Le Bruin not only describes churches and different places of Jolfa, but he also details completely residential houses of Khajes. According to him, the most important of them was Khaje Minas’s house; the ceiling is completely covered with gold, the walls were covered with mirror works, the floor is divided into four sections in the center of each a star or a golden flower was carved. The parapets were covered with marble and on the both sides of the parapets there were niches which were ornamented.²

The selected wall paintings for the study are the followings:

**Chelsotoon Palace**

- Shah Abbas I receiving the ruler of Turkistan Vali Mohammad Khan (Appendix, figure 48)
- Shah Ismail I fighting Uzbeks (Appendix, figure 49)
- Shah Abbas being received (Appendix, figure 50)
- Single figures and lover and beloved of Chelsotoon (Appendix, figure 51)

**Sukiasian’s House**

- Lover and beloved (Appendix, figure 52)


² Ibid, p 76
• Single figure of a man (Appendix, figure 53)

• Reception Ceremony (Appendix, figure 54)

**Chelsotoon Palace**

Construction of Chelsotoon was started during Shah Abbas I’s period and finished during Shah Abbas II’s reign in 1647. It is 2120 square meter in area and was built in a 67,000 square meter garden. During Shah Abbas’s reign, it underwent overall change.

It was seriously damaged by the 1705A.D fire; however, it was reconstructed fundamentally one year later. Thus, it does not belong to a specific era. Nevertheless, Aalighapu edifice shows that the Safavid palaces were continuously reconstructed and developed.

This palace has mirror work, tore, and wall paintings. There are discrepancies among the wall paintings in terms of style and subject; and their completion probably lasted longer than what was expected. It seems that most of the small paintings belong to the last decade of 1641A.D.

In the central saloon of the palace there are six big paintings which are the focal display of the main hall. There are also four Safavid period paintings and two additional Ghajar period paintings.

Totally different style is used for the big historical wall paintings in the main hall. Three paintings of the hall show the safavid shahs receiving their eastern Moslem neighbors:

Shah Tahmasb I receiving Humayun the shah of Hindustan

Shah Abbas I receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the ruler of Turkistan (the ruler of Bukhara from 1605 to 1608A.D)

Shah Abbas II receiving Neder Shah of Uzbekistan

And battle of Shah Ismail I with Uzbeks, as the fourth Safavid work
At the bottom of these paintings there is row containing separate picture frames of the lover and beloved common to Safavid painting.

The northern room of the building is embellished with the scenes which contain recreational subject. These pictures show the impacts of Reza Abbasi’s style.

In the southern room there are paintings adapted from literature. They are colorfully framed in flower and plant designs. They resemble the hanging paintings on the walls. The scenes which are inspired by Persian literature are Khosro va Shireen, Yusef va Zoleykha, and the one known as Charshanbe Soori. However, the Indian subject is affected by the art of India. It seems that its image-making creates a balance against the courtiers’ merry-making scenes which is depicted in the opposite room.¹

**Shah Abbas I Receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the Ruler of Turkistan**

Shah Abbas I receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the ruler of Turkistan (the ruler of Bukhara from 1605 to 1608 A.D)

Vali Mohammad Khan came to power; he was defeated after a while by his nephew and headed toward Marv. Khan Uzbek informed Shah Abbas Safavid who invited him to Isfahan because he wanted to go to Iraq. The reception ceremony and other formalities were performed nicely.

Four Safavid oil color paintings have great historical-political value. Not only they are indicative of the aesthetic value of this period, but they also show the way of reception, place and power of shah, separation of characters according their social ranks and status, clothing, potteries, and the common meals served in these receptions. The selected subjects were in line in the function of the building; even it can be said that this work is a kind of documentation.

Difference in the type of clothing and the way of reception in this work with the two other reception paintings indicates the evolution of tastes in this period.

On the whole, embellishment is transparent in clothes, carpets, and so forth. The empty spaces are filled with embellishments.

The painting spaces have got opened; and in the background a door is opened and a figure enters the space dimension.

The paintings of the first period of Safavid era was influenced by Herat school. But during Shah Abbas’s period they were influenced by European painting because of using color paint; an artist was inclined from subjectivity toward naturalism, and shading and single figures were becoming prevalent.

The main theme of the work of painters is the king himself; therefore, the painter tries to convey his might and importance in his work.

The painter has artistically matched the painting patterns with the architectural features in such a way that the selected pattern is a horizontal rectangular. However, because of the windows, the middle of the patterns is higher.

The painter was able to produce beautiful combinations and by using traditional art, tried to implement changes in the sizes of the important figures based on their ranks and status, to show respect to them.

The king has such a place in the painting that the viewer will notice him at the first glance.¹

**Shah Ismail in his war with the Uzbeks**

One of the old customs of Iranian kings was to show off their victories to others.

The war of Shah Ismail Safavid, the first, with Salim Khan, the Ottoman king, was a good theme for showing the victory of Iranian troops that were equipped with cold weapons on Ottoman’s troops that were equipped with fire arms. The heroin the picture is the king. In the selection of color the painter paid more attention on the purity and shining of each color.

One striking feature of the picture is the use of the conventional colors for showing the sky, and showing the separation and distance between the people of high and low social status.¹

**Reception of Shah Abbas I**

This picture shows the significance and might of Shah Abbas. The direction of the king’s look and his stature leaves a deep feeling in the viewers. There are drinkers and embellishing paintings in the background. The paintings mostly show the king and courtiers. The paintings have a tendency towards having more ambience of the court either in public places such as the Qaisaria Gate or in palaces. The paintings also show the king in drinking ceremonies, in hunting, or in interior.

These works were affected by the Iranian traditional painting and the eastern art. Royalty to quality technical work and having a poetic feeling and abstention from the evil are the characteristics of Iranian paintings.²

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² Falsafi, *Life of King Abbas I*, p 103
Single figures and the lover and beloved of Chelesotoon

In the main auditorium of Chehelsotoon there are as many as 32 paintings in one row with themes of male or female single figures or lover and beloved.

The main feature of Isfahani School is the interest of the artist in showing the movement of figures. Faces are shown in three visages with almond eyes, long eye brows, small lips, sharp noses, and full cheeks which are the criterion of beauty in Safavid era. There is a feeling of weight and balance between the lines.

According to the written references the walls of palaces and auditorium were decorated with wall paintings of religious themes. However, there are no live examples of them.

Houses, palaces, and church in Nakhjavan, were decorated with wall paintings and ornamental paintings. One of the pieces of poetry describing the compulsory migration of Armenians by Shah Abbas details this monument.¹

The house of Sukiasian belongs to the Safavid era.

In the porch there are wall paintings with scenes of reception and single figures. In the low row there are scenes of daily life. In the central auditorium, in addition to the above mentioned themes there were paintings with a Safavid era lover-beloved relationship.

The Wall Paintings of Sukiasian’s House

Courtier sculpture was the first experience of westernization, which paved the way for blossoming of this school in the late 18th century especially during the reign of Fathalishah (1797-1834A.D). Westernization caused a rift which is neither completely European nor completely Iranian.

In Isfahan painting, the back-side perspective of the scene is planned with a hanging curtain, but in Jolfa painting, it was planned with a natural landscape.

¹. Akbari Zadegan“Paintings on the Wall of Chehel Sotoun and School of Safavid Period”, p 120
The Jolfa artist’s attempt for natural depiction of facial expression as well as following the conventional expression led the figures to adopt more formal expression in Sukasian’s house.

**Lover and Beloved**

The prevalent subjects of the Safavid era were lover and beloved. In this picture the impact of Isfahan school is clear, but the cultural differences are seen comparing them to Isfahan paintings. The sitting woman’s figure on the chair, dress and its adornments, the way of reception, and the lover’s treatment of the beloved are indicative of these discrepancies.\(^1\)

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**4-6 study the causes of painter’s immigration to India and introducing migrant painters**

After being defeated by Sher shah Afghan and lack of assistance from his brothers, Humayun left India and took refuge in Iran. He stayed in Iran for one year and could regain his throne by Shah Tahmasb’s help. Humayun’s journey to Iran was very crucial in terms of art especially painting aside from its social and political importance between two countries. He got to know Iranian art about which he had some acquaintance from his ancestors, and his interest in Iranian art augmented. Behzad was a very famous artist for Timaurian dynasty; therefore, he attempted at collecting his artworks, and encouraged his disciples to go to India. He tried to pay one thousand toman to Shah Tahmasb to get his consent to take Mir Mossavar with him. His initial attempt was a failure. However, Humayun was very persistent in taking Behzad’s students to India so that he could spread his painting style in his territories after regaining them. At last, during his sojourn in Tabriz and on his way to India, he got the consents of Mir Seyyed Ali, Mir Mossavar’s son, Abd-al-samad Shirazi, and some other Iranian artists in joining him. They both joined him in Kabul after he left Iran for four years. Immigration of these two artists was

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the start of other immigrations, which in turn, led to the formation of Indian-Iranian painting school in India.

In this section, we try to study the causes of Iranian artists’ immigration to India. Here one question is raised: why did the Iranian artists leave their ancestral land by Humayun’s invitation? And why did it continue after the first one? Was not Iran a suitable place for artwork? Or a more appropriate place was emerged in India for these artists? We continue the discussion by another question: why, and under what circumstances does the immigration phenomenon happen in a society?

Immigration of every individual, as a member of a society, depends on various factors which have their roots in economical, social, political, and cultural situations. We cannot appreciate the concept of immigration without bearing these factors in mind. In other words, difference of lifestyles in different environments encourages people to immigrate in the hopes of better life or escaping from improper conditions.¹

Generally, immigration is divided into two types: group and individual. Of course, the causes and reasons for group immigration are different from individual immigration, because the group immigration is brought about by internal expelling factors. These factors can be religious or historical differences, and improper economical and political situations. But, individual immigration is rooted in external factors, and the attractions which encourage the individual to immigrate. However, in some cases, internal factors might be influential. In other words, group immigration of particular ethnicities is compelling. Nevertheless, it is external attractions and motivations that make people to attempt individual immigration and leave their motherland. On the whole, three factors are influential in immigration phenomenon:

1. The current situation in which an individual lives.

2. The situation in which an individual chooses to live.

¹ Ershad, *Historical Immigration of Iranians to India*, pp 1-3
3. Social status of the immigrant individual or people, which encourages them to immigrate.

Three factors play crucial role in the immigration of Iranian artists to India (during Safavid period), which are explained below:

1. The existing situation in Iran which caused the immigration of artists to India.

a) Lack of Safavid kings’ interest in painting in comparison to Mughal kings.

Because of the use of expensive materials in Iranian painting, it required a wealthy sponsor who can pay for the expenses. That is why, as soon as Shah Tahmasb and other Safavid kings stopped supporting Iranian painters, they chose less expensive means, and moved to places (like India) where they could be supported.\textsuperscript{1}

In the final years of his reign, Shah Tahmasb lost interest in painting due to religious inclinations, and political entanglements, and thus, he ceased sponsoring the painters. This coincided with the enthronement of Mughal kings in India. They were interested in Iranian culture and art, and they were ready to tip a painter one thousand tomans. Consequently, when the Iranian artists especially the painters, found out that Iran is not a suitable place for their work, they moved to India where they were supported.\textsuperscript{2}

Another instance of Safavid kings’ disinterest in art and artists was the story of the eminent calligrapher of Safavid period, Mir Emad, whom Shah Abbas killed for being a Sunni by unreasonable excuses, and Alireza Abbasi’s, another court calligrapher, treachery\textsuperscript{3}. Hearing the incident, Jahangir became very sad, and said that if Shah Abbas had given him Mir Emad, he would have offered him gold, equivalent to his weight.

\textsuperscript{1} Lawrence, \textit{Progression of Iranian Painting History} , pp 301-5


Abdulrashid Deilami, his disciple, and his niece fled to India after three months of living in hid-outs and destitute. He was offered nice positions, like being the head of Shah Jahan’s library. Two other of Mir Emad’s disciples, Seyyed Ali Tabrizi and Khaje Abdulbaghi, also fled to India fearing the same fate, and they were entitled “Javaher Ghalam” and Yaghoot Ghalam”.

All the aforementioned cases indicate Safavid kings’ lack of interest in art especially painting. Safavid rulers were mostly entangled in economical and political issues. If there was some growth and development in architecture, it was due to its profitability in buildings. That is why when they were mistreated by Safavid kings, Iranian artists headed to India where the market for art especially painting was more suitable. Since Mughal dynasty considered Iran as their second homeland, they were interested in its culture and art, and welcomed Iranian artists with open arms. Because cherishing art and artists entailed social and political credibility for kings, Mughal kings did their best for attracting Iranian artists for emulating Iranian and Ottoman kings.

b) Those who had already immigrated to India

One of the internal factors which caused the immigration of Iranian artists to India was those who had already moved there. As soon as they heard that their compatriots could collect wealth and high status, Iranian artists were encouraged to immigrate to India. They hoped that they could get introduced to the Indian court and courtiers by those who could achieve courtly positions. Because one could not be accepted in the court unless, he had to be introduced and supported by one of the courtiers.1

Among the Iranians, there were those who moved to India against their will. These were the children of those who accompanied their parents to India. Although they were Iranians, they had not been in Iran or spent part of their childhood in Iran. For example, Abulhasan and Obidullah, Agha Reza’s sons, moved to India with their father, and learned the art of painting from their father in India, and followed his style and even they could emulate him. Abulhasan was given the title of “Naderozzaman”, and could achieve

1. Ershad, *Historical Immigration of Iranians to India*, pp 181-2
a stately position in India. He had almost no memories about Iran because he grew up in India.

2. The existing conditions in India because of which Iranians immigrated to.

As it was mentioned before, the individual or group immigration depends on internal and external factors. External factors are attractive and enticing. It was mostly due to proper conditions in India which encouraged the Iranians to leave their home country rather than internal factors. The conditions are the followings:

a) Reception of Iranians by Indian kings and courtiers

Although the kings and courtiers of India were considered Indian, they were culturally affiliated to Iran. At the early establishment of this dynasty, they attempted to promote Iranian art and culture. That is why Iranians were welcomed in their court, since they were thought to spread Iranian culture. One of the main reasons lurking behind the immigration of Iranians to India is the respect and reception of Mughals kings.

Attaining courtly offices and positions were other motivation for the immigration, because Iranian could practice their art and at the same time get wealthy. Iranian poets resided in India also confirmed this fact that India was the place of wealth, stately positions, and welfare.

b) Natural wealth and the possibility of trade in India

Iranians were quite aware of the natural wealth of India, and trade with India was very important for them in all eras. It was one of the factors in attracting Iranians to India. It could motivate Iranian artists to move there, and it happened that some of them sacrificed their art for business activities.¹

c) Religious issues

Because of religious diversity, India is called the land of religions. That is why people of different faiths could live peacefully together. Religious laws and orders also facilitate

¹. Hekmat, *The Land of India*, pp 93-4
this fact. For example, belief in Karma or Ahisma (refraining from doing harm to others especially strangers) was one of the reasons which made the immigrants to cohabit peacefully. All during the history, it was one of the features which encouraged Iranians to move to India whenever there were severe religious restrictions or discriminations. The examples are the immigration of Zoroastrians in the early Islamic period, and the immigration of Sunnis in the early Safavid period. Religious freedom allowed them to live in India without any hassle, and nobody was killed for his religion.

In the aforementioned era, the immigration of Iranians to India was very common, because Iranians from any rank or class could move to India and reside there. It should not have any specific cause. For example, Urfi Shirazi moved to India because he had lost his beauty in youth due to smallpox. Another immigration motivation was tourist attractions of India. Due to diversity of sightseeing places, climate, and religions, India provided an ideal ground for those who were interested in traveling.

3. Conditions of an immigrant

As a populated country with different ethnicities, tribes, and caste system, India paved a fertile ground for migration. Each immigrant can find the people of his own social and cultural status, and cohabit peacefully. In other words, an immigrant has no worries about the people of his own social and economic situation. But in the period in question, Iranians with professional and artistic skills who had the hope of finding courtly positions moved to India. That is why, ordinary people who had no hope of joining the court or did not have enough money for business, were less inclined to go to India. Consequently, there had been migration flow of artists such as calligraphers, painters, poets, weavers, and so forth.

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Iranian Painters in India

When Humayun sought asylum in Iran, he could take with him some of the Iranian artists and painters including Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad Shirazi. Migration of these artists was the spark of ensuing migration of other Iranian artists to India. There are two general theories in this regard:

1. Some believe that when Humayun was returning, he took with him some of the Iranian artists and painters to India.

2. Some others believe that when he was returning to India, some Iranian painters and calligraphers promised to join him in India. Thus, they could join him after four years in Kabul.

However, there is a third theory: Humayun could take with him the artists who were less known, and the famous artists of the court were not allowed to leave Iran. And the figures like Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad left Iran after four years and probably they might have left their secretly. They were also accompanied by two other artists namely Khaje Momen Ghazvini, Shamseddin Kashani, and Mir Ghasem.¹

Thus, we have got to know the theories about the immigration of the early Iranian artists to India. The painters who moved to India, and created artworks will be introduced. The works which they endeavored in India will be introduced and we refrain from introducing the works done in Iran.

1. Agha Reza

He is the son of Ali Asghar Kashani who is one of the painters of early 17th century in Iran.² Agha Reza was born in 1562 A.D, and learned the art of painting from his father and Abd-al-samad Shirazi. As it was mentioned by Ghazi Ahmad Monshi Ghomi, he was at

¹. Hekmat, The Land of India, pp 125-7

². Qazi Ahmad, Ghomi, Garden of Art, Ed, by Ahmad Soheili Khwansari, Tehran: Bunyad Farhang Iran, 1974, pp 149-151
the service of Shah Abbas’s court in his youth. But because of association with wicked
people, he quit painting and left the court. Therefore, he had to live in poverty. He
decided to move to India in 1007 A.D.\footnote{Humayun Farokh, Rukn-ud-Din, “Artistic Background of Name-mate Artists Reza
Abbasi, Reza Mosavar Kashi and Agha Reza Mosavar Herati”, Tehran: Magazine of Art and
Man, No. 158, p 28} As soon as he arrived in India, he got the honor of
meeting Shah Salim (Jahangir) who had established an art workshop. And probably he
created his first work in India then.\footnote{Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, Muhammad Ali. Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and
Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters, Tehran: 1998, p 201} According to his birth date, 1562 A.D, and his arrival
in India in 1599 A.D, he was 37 years of age when he got to India. He also took his son,
Abul- Hassan, with him.

Some of the researchers believe that Agha Reaz and Reza Abbasi are the same people
due to the names. \footnote{Humayun Farokh, “Artistic Background of Name-mate Artists Reza
Abbasi, Reza Mosavar Kashi and Agha Reza Mosavar Herati”, p30} While some others believe that Reza Abbasi, Agha Reza, and Reza
Jahangir are different people. Historical documents indicate that Reza Abbasi and Agha
Reza are different figures. In fact, they were at the service of Shah Abbas’s court under
the name of Reza. One of them, as it was mentioned before, severed himself from the
court, and adopted the name Jahangir named after Jahangir Shah. Right at the same time,
another Reza who was at Shah Abbas’s service, got the title of Abbasi, as Reza Jahangiri
could get it from Jahangir Shah. From then on, we come to know a painter under the
name of Reza Abbasi. Unlike Reza Abbasi, Agha Reza’s style is quite different and to a
great extent Indian.\footnote{Khazaee, Muhammad. Collection of Works by Great Iranian Painters and a study of
Painting School since Moguls to End of Safavids, Tehran: Artistic Section of Islamic
Propagation Organization, 1990, p 28} His alluring works before his journey to India indicate that he was
the follower of Ustad Muhammadi and Abdussamad Shirazi. Nothing is known about the
date of his death. The only thing that is known based on his words on one of his painting done in 1621 A.D is that he was 60 years of age. He probably died in India.  

2. Haji Madani

He was probably one of the Iranian painters of Shah Jahan and Darashkuh, and according to Karimzade Tabrizi, his style was Indo-Iranian. One of his famous paintings is Shah Jahan’s wedding ceremony which has his signature.

3. Hakim

He was a Turkmen painter who was at the service of Akbar Shah’s court along with farukh Beig and died there.

4. Doost Mohammad—Maulana Dost

As an early Safavid painter, he is also known as Doost Mossavar and Dooste Divane. It is believed that when Seyyed Ali and Abdussamad got into Humayun’s service in 1549, he was with them. He participated in illustrating Amir Hamze’s book of stories along with Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdussamad. One of his paintings depicts Abulmaali sitting on the ground and writing a letter on his knee.

1. Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters , p203


3. Qazi Ahmad, Garden of Art, pp 135-37

4. Bayat, Bayazid. About Humayun and Akbar, ed. by Muhammad Hedayat Husseini, Bengal, 1941, p 66

5. Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters, p175
4. Dulat

He is one of the painters whose identity is dubious. According to Dr. Gharavi and Dr. Behnam, he is an Iranian, and he was born in Iran. While, some including Mr. Karimzade Tabrizi believe that he was an Indian painter. Contrary to Karimzade’s opinion, Dr. Ghorvi considers him an Iranian painter and said: “Sheikh Dulat Bozorg (Kalan) was one of the famous painters of Akbar school. He was a Muslim and Iranian. He had a great share in illustrating and gold embellishing of Nezami’s book, Khamse, endeavored by Daison Prince”.

In the introduction of the book, Golestane Honar, Dulat’s name is mentioned as one of those who immigrated to India: “Agha Reza, Dulat, Mirza Gholam, Hashem, Mansoor, Ahmad Naghash, Gol Mohammad, Mohammad Moghim Mossavar, Maulana Ghatee Mojallad, and Mazhab left Iran and moved to India”. Although many consider him an Iranian painter, he has to be regarded as an Indian painter according to his name. He did many paintings on the margins of Moragha Gulshan.

1. He painted Seyyed Hedayatollah’s figure. He has a white turban, and a long Indian dress, touching his waist with his hands. In the margins of this work, there are different kinds of flowers and individuals.

2. His other works include the pictures in Babername in 1598A.D, Nafahatolons in 1604A.D, and Akbarname in 1605A.D, and Nezami’s Khamse.

3. Picture of a dervish who is keeping his hand on his face, and a musician who is playing his instrument.

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2. Behnam, Eisa. “Dowlat the Iranian Painter in India”, Magazine of Sokhan, No. 80, pp 936-943
4. Picture of a dark-faced man in white who is standing on his knees and painting in the last book of Nezami’s *Khamse*.\(^1\) (Appendix, figure 55)

5. Salman

He is one of the anonymous Iranian painters who moved to India during Akbar’s reign.

6. Salim Gholi

He was probably one of the Iranian painters who immigrated to India. Two of his paintings can be found in Soheili’s *Anvar*. The first one is the picture of horse rider who has killed the hunter and the lion, and looks at their carcasses. The second one is the picture of a king who has a crown on his head and sat on the throne. The servants can also be seen.

7. Shah Mohammad

He is Mir Seyyed Ali’s son and Mir Mossavar’s grandson. He most probably moved to India in 1549 accompanying his father. After learning the art of painting from his father, he became one of the artists of Akbar’s court. His name is mentioned in *Aine Akbari* as number 150\(^{th}\) person of the court. His ranking shows that although he was Amir Seyyed Ali’s apprentice and one the founders of Indo-Iranian school of painting, he could not get that much credit as his father. He was also masterful in calligraphy.

8. Sharif—Mohammad Sharif—Sharif Khan

He is Abd-al-samad’s son. Like Mohammad, he probably moved to India accompanying his father in 1558. His ranking was also 15\(^{th}\) in *Ain-e- Akbari*, and this clarifies the fact that he was not as famous as his father.\(^2\) He was one of the trustees and confidants of

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Jahangir’s court. He was appointed by him as Amir-Ul-Omara. He illustrated the book *Nalavedamaniti*, an Indian myth. He painted the Jahangir’s hunting scene in which Jahangir along with his companions is hunting in a mountainous region, and in the margin, an old man is aiming his gun at some foxes. The margins also involve skillful embellishment. He painted the picture of a camel which has failed to resist his owner’s lashes. He is very furious, wearing an Indian dress, and holding a lash. Sharif’s signature can be seen under this painting.

9. Shafii Abbasi

Artists believe that he is Reza Abbasi’s son since he had signed one of his works under his name. It was painted in 1634 A.D, and currently it is available in Paris Museum. His original name is Mohammad Shafii Esfahani. Tabrizi believes that he is not Reza Abbasi’s son, and he got the title of Abbasi from Shah Abbas II.¹ He moved to India and died in Agra in 1674. Not much is known about his position and his paintings in India.²

10. Shamsuddin—Seyyed Shamsuddin

He was an Iranian artist of 16th century A.D. in India. His work can be seen in a manuscript of Jami’s *Yousef and Zoleikha*.

1. In one of his works in Jami’s *Yousef and Zoleikha* who are in bed, he signed under the name of Zahabe Alabd Seyyed Shamseddin.

2. He painted Yousef who is relaxed on a chair, and Zoleikha wearing a crown on his head, and they talk to one another.

3. He painted Yousef chained and he is on his knees, being taken to prison. It was painted around 1543A.D.


4. He illustrated mistreatment of Yousef’s brothers. He has thin and weak, and is surrounded by his brothers one of whom throws him into a ditch while other brothers are observing.

11. Sahife Banoo

She was one of the Iranian painters of 16th century A.D. She resided in India, and it is thought that she was one of Behzad’s disciples. Her two well-known works are:

1. Shah Abbas’s picture who is wearing Ghezelbash hat, putting his hands on his knees, and sitting on a carpet.

2. A copy of one of Behzad’s well-known paintings which is called Ghasr-e-Khornagh. She also copied another Behzad’s work called Nan, a burial procession.

12. Abulhassan (Nader-o-zaman)

He is the eldest son of Reza Jahangiri. He moved to India with his father in his childhood in 1598 when his father lost his credibility in Safavid court. He learned the art of painting from his father, and even he could emulate his father in painting, and he became one of the eminent painters of Jahangir’s period. He was entitled “Nader-o-zaman” by Jahangir.

He also composed poems, and included them in the background of his paintings. He is one of the few painters from whom there is a picture. He was portrayed by Dulat in the margin of one of the pages of Moragha Golashan.

One of works include Amir Hmaze’s portrait who is wearing a lion-head hat, and his horse is trapped by a dragon. Amir Hamze bravely strikes dragon’s head and set his horse free. His other work involves Shah Abbas and Jahangir who are sitting over the globe. (Appendix, figure 56)They hug each other as the sign of union and friendship. Shah Abbas is standing on a lamb, and Jahangir is sitting on a lion. This painting was inspired by Jahangir’s dream. One of his works which is kept in Walter Ararat Museum, Baltimore’s Gallery, is the imaginary portrait of Saadi who is holding his book, Koliyat,
and giving it as a gift to Jahangir. He is depicted as short old man who is wearing a white turban and a long purple cloak.

13. Sadegh

Probably, he was one of the migrant Iranians during Akbar Shah’s reign. Dr. Gheravi believes that: “the late Ardashir had a manuscript which had been dedicated to Akbar, and it contained 13 paintings. Most of them were done by Sadegh, the painter of Akbar’s court, and some in cooperation with other artists. He was one of the well-known painters of Mughal court. He had such cunning and talent that he could absorb and visualize the secrets of Iranian-Indian painting, and even European one. The prominent features of his works include: dazzling beauty of the faces, softness and steadiness of colors.”

14. Alam ben Mohammad Taleb

He was the son of Mohammad Taleb who was one of the famous migrant painters of Jahangir’s period. It is thought that he was an Indo-Iranian due to his name and his father’s name. His works include:

1. Humayun’s picture; he is sitting in his palace surrounded by ambassadors, ministers, and servants.

2. Shah Jahan’s portrait, bearing the signature of Alam ben Mohammad

3. Akbar Shah’s picture; he is sitting in his palace, and servants are attending for him. It was painted in 1621 A.D. In this assembly, picture of Prince Salim, who is later called Jahangir, can be seen.

15. Abd-al-samad Shirazi – Shirin Ghalam

He was one of the painters from Shiraz in the early 16th century A.D. Due to his dexterity in painting; he became one of the royal painters of Shah Tahmasb’s court. During his

one-year stay, Humayun got Mir Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad’s consent in joining him in India. Thus, they joined him in India in 1549 A.D.

Humayun entitled him “Shirin Ghalam” in Kabul where he, Akbar, and Jahangir learned painting. Akbar had written on a margin of Akbarname manuscript, kept in the Library of Bankipour (Khodabakhsh) in Petne, that: “I and my father Humayun were trained by Abd-al-samad”. Jihangir had written about his education under Abd-al-samad in Tazooke jahangir. 1

After Humayun’s sudden death because of being fallen in his library, his son Akbar succeeded him. Akbar appreciated art, and knew Abd-al-samad’s personality. He received some titles and positions during Akbar’s reign, one of which was the presidency of royal painting house. In 1586, he was the head of Divan Moltan in the old age.

He was an adroit painter and calligrapher. 2 He was so skillful that he wrote the Koran chapter “Ghol ho walla” on a poppy. He along with Mir Seyyed Ali trained Indian students, and it led to the spread of Iranian painting style in India. 3

We do not know that much about the years of his birth and death. If he moved to India in 1549 A.D, he might have been 35 or 40 years of age, and when he accepted the position of “Head of Divan Moltan”, he might have been 75 or 80 years old. He might have died at the age of 85 or 90.

The known or attributed works of Abd-al-samad include:

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3. Ibid, p 77

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1. He started his first works in the paintings of *Hamzename*. At first, the book was being painted under the supervision of Amir Seyyed Ali, but later, due to his Haj pilgrimage, Abd-al-samad shouldered the responsibility.

2. Some of the Timurid family paintings which are currently kept in British Museum were done by Abd-al-samad Shirazi. But these works resemble Mir Seyyed Ali’s rather than Abd-al-samad.¹

3. The picture of Akbar’s return to the capital after his father’s death. When his father died, he was not in Delhi, and as soon as he got the news, he returned to the capital. It is thought that Abd-al-samad observed the event, and attempted in painting Akbar’s return. This unique work in the history of Iranian-Indian painting is kept in Calcutta Museum. The style of Akbar’s complexion is completely Iranian.

4. One of his interesting paintings is kept in Bodleian Library. It does not follow Iranian style, and it was the start of naturalization in the paintings of Mughal period. ²

5. A hunting scene available in the Dyson Princes manuscript of Nezami. This work is signed with a sentence by Khaje Abd-al-samad. (Appendix, figure 57)

6. A picture in which the young Akbar is offering a painting to his father Humayun. It was created in 1556 with a valid signature, and it belongs to Tabriz school. Dr. Gheravi believes that this is one of Abd-al-samad’s oldest paintings which are kept in Golestan Palace Museum of Tehran.³ The works kept in Golestan Palace Museum are;

¹ Gharavi, “Khaje Abdul-Samad Shirazi the Sharp-Brushed”, pp 45-46
² Ibid, p 38
³ Gharavi, Mehdi. “Hamzeh Nameh, the Greatest Pictorial Persian Book”. Magazine of Art and Man, No. 85, p 23
7. Picture of a man riding on a horse in a desert. (Appendix, figure 58)

8. Two people sitting by a cypress, one of whom is painting, and the other one is playing music. On the other side, there are two thin and lank figures sitting on a piece of stone, and surrounded by animals.

9. Majnoon’s picture accompanied by wild animals in a desert, and on the other side of the picture, there is a youngster holding a horse’s harness in his hand, and taking care of the animals.

10. Picture of India’s high ranking officials including Muzaffar Khan, Nazar Kuwaliyee, and Ghabahash. ¹

17- Obeid, Mohammad Obeid

Obeid, or Abd, is the son of Agha Reza Jahanjheer. He learnt painting under the tutelage of his father (Agha reza) and his brother (Abulhasan). Obeid is considered a painter of the time of Shah Jahan (1627-1658 AD).

One of the painting works in which Obeid explicitly calls himself the brother of Abolhasan, is the painting of the image of Shah Jahan in the court,

In the book “Padshah Nameh”, (The book of kings), there is another work of this artist in the court of Shah Jahan in which the king is sitting on the imperial seat and the courtiers are standing before him and the king is showing them a piece of jewelry.(Appendix, figure 59)

18- Ghulam- Ghulam Mirza

He is an Iranian painter who spent his artistic life in India. His speciality was in drawing the image of animals. There is a work of his in Calecata Museum showing the image of

the prince Morad, riding an elephant. From this painter there are four paintings carrying
the signature of Mirza Ghulam in the book Anvar-e-Soheili in the British Museum.¹

19- Farsi- Molana Farsi
He was one of the Iranian painters who, together with Abd-al-Samad, Mir Saeid
Ali and others immigrated to India in (1549 AD).

20- Fazel
Fazel was also among the Iranians settling in India at the time of Akbar Shah. A
work of this painter is a painting in the book ‘The Razm Nameh of Jabibo’. In this
painting there is a king sitting on the ground and the courtiers are behind him. A
dragon submits the head of a warrier to the king.

21- Farukh Beik
Farukh Beik is the brother of Siavash Beik Gorji about who there is written in
Gules tan-e-Honar:

Siavash Beik was from Gurjestan. Jamjah took him to the house of painting
from his childhood and his apprenticeship was with Molana Muzafar Ali.² The
writer of the book Alam Ara-e-Abbasi believes Farukh Beik and his brother both
passed away at the court of Shah Abbas, but historically this cannot be true,
because after Hamzeh Mirza’s death at the age of 20 these two went their own
separate ways. Siavash Beik went to Shah Abbas’ and Shah Tahmasb’s court. But
Farukh Beik went to India and served Akbar and then after, Jahangir. First, he
didn’t go to Akbar Shah’s court straight. He was doing his paintings in Akbar
Shah’s brother’s (who was the governor of Kabul) court, but when Mirza Hakim
died in (1586 AD) together with other dependants he entered Akbar’s court. Faruk
Beik below one of his works completed in (1615 AD) mentions to be of 70 years
of age and this implies that he was born in (1547 AD) and at the age of 40 joined

¹. Gharavi,. “Magic of Colors (7)”, p 21-22

Akbar Shah, and in (1597 AD) at the age of 51, when Desonte committed a suicide or died, he was appointed as the president of the library and was in this position to the end of his life (1615 AD).

After the death of Akbar, Jahangir, his son and his crown prince, succeeded to the throne and like his father respected Farukh Beik, and entitled him Nader-al-asr.

Farukh Beik, along with Mir Seyed Ali and Abdul-samad shirazi plays an important role in spreading Iranian painting and forming the Iranian-Indian painting school. He trained many learners in India including Farukh Jileh and Farukh Kherad. The style of his work is like the great master Behzad’s such that some consider him as skillful as Ghasem Ali, the greatest learner of Behzad. In terms of style and paint work; when Farukh Beik was painting in the Iranian style he presented his best works and those most similar to Bezad’s works. But with the passage of time his works became of different styles.

Some, e.g., Skelton, believe that Farukh Beik served some years in Adelshahian Court for the image of the Ebrahim Adelshah the king of Deccan was painted by Farokh Beik in 1688 AD. Karimzadeh Tabrizi also believes that Farukh Beik is a master in drawing the images of faces. And maybe this is the reason that in most of his works there are pictures of kings, princes, and courtiers.

It is obvious that Farukh Beik, as an Iranian painter throughout his whole life stuck to his Iranian painting style, although the Indian setting had its effects on his painting. Farukh Beik was one of hardworking Iranian painters and for this; there are a lot of works of his available today.

One of the early works of Farukh Beik, or as Brown says, his first work in India, is the one which show Babur in his court. There are some works of his in Golestan Palace library. There is a painting showing Farukh and a parrot in his hand.

Another work of this master is the image of Ibrahim Adilshah, the king of Deccan. In this picture Ibrahim Adilkhan is playing music and three people are sitting by him and one person is also sitting behind him.

In another painting there is an Indian boy smelling a flower.
22- Ghasem Mazhab,
He is an Iranian painter who went to India together with Mir seyed Ali and Abdul samad zshiraazi, at the invitation of Humayun in (1549, AD). He was respected at the court of Houmayun and Akbar. He was always with Mir Seyed Ali and Abdul Samad Shirazi, and was a close friend of the king.

23- Mohammad Zaman

Mohammad Zaman, the young son of haji Yusuf, from Ghom, was sent to Rome by the order from Shah Abbas to learn Wester painting. Rome was the art center of Western land at that time. He stayed there about two or three years and learnt the principles of Western painting.

Mohamad zaman converted to Christianity in Rome and adopted the new name Baolo for himself. After finishing his studies, he returned to Iran and tried to hide his new religion. However, after sometime people became suspicious of his conversion, and since the Shia clergymen were biased about religion, he escaped from Isfahan and went to India in which the Gorkanid kings were ruling the country and were open to religious matters.

Shah Jahan who was ruling over India (1628-1659 AD), gave refuge to Muhamad Zaman and sent him to Kashmir, where it seems that Iranian refugees were sent. These Iranian refugees would receive pension from the Indian court but after the death of and the coronation of Auranga zeb, things changed. Aurangzeb found that Iranians would hide the death of their fellow countrymen and would receive their pension after their death. Therefore, Aurangazeb issued an order whereby all Iranians were asked to introduce themselves to DIVANKHANE for the verification of their names and status. Muhamad zaman also had to go to Delhi together with others.

During this period although Mohammad Zaman’s behaviour was like that of Moslems, he would introduce himself as a Christian and would socialize with Christians.

Muhammad Zaman returned to Agra in 1649 A.D and died in Delhi in 1667 AD. He had seen a copy of the book Matheo Rigi which was about a missionary group
to China and translated the chapters two to ten, entitled the history of China, from Latin to Persian. The script is available at the Asian society library in Bangal.

Since the conversion of Mohammad Zaman seemed to have been forgotten in Iran during his stay in India, and since in India when Aurangazeb came to power religious bias was rising, Mohammad Zaman decides to come back to his homeland. However, it is not evident when it happened and it is estimated that he did it during (1661-1664 AD) when a head counting of the high ranking people was underway in Delhi. The possible proof is the painting attributed to him in Sadr-al-deen Aghakhan complex. There is no signature or date on it but experts believe it is a work of his. In this painting Shah Abbas with his entourage and the ambassador of India is shown.

After the death of Shah Abbas, the second, in 1666 A.D, Shah Suleiman succeeded to the throne and caressed Mohammad Zaman for his talents and qualifications and Mohammad ZAman became a painter in his court. In (1673 AD) Muhammad Zaman started composing a script of Khamse Nezami which is now kept in Morgan Library in New York.

This work took about four years (1677-1673 AD), and its first painting which was completed in (1673 AD) shows the image of the tyrannized old woman and King Sanjar, in this painting the king is shown to be young and seated on a white horse, and the old woman has a western look. The date of this work and the script of Mohammad Zaman is clearly written below the feet of the old woman’s image.

For his qualifications in painting, Mohammad Zaman was asked by the Safavid court to do the painting work of three pages of Khamse by Nezami, From (1683 AD) two pictures from the Iranian Indian album exist in Lenin grade. One of these pictures shows the descend of the Holy Spirit on Jesus, while JOSEPH has hugged him and the Virgin is on the other side Father, with open arms from his seat is witnessing this scene. This painting is done in Italian style. The second picture is a bunch of mountain hyacinth with Mohammad’s signature on it saying “from the pen of the least worthy Mohammad of the time, year (1683 AD).”
Muhammad Zaman is considered as one of the greatest Iranian painters in terms of the revolution he made in the Iranian painting. He set the Iranian painting free from the stagnancy of its old rules by bringing new perspectives to this art in Iran.¹

4-7- Formation of Indo-Iranian Painting School and Studying the Paintings of this School during Humayun, Akbar, and Jahangir

Paintings studied today by art experts known as Indian-Iranian paintings are the result of the combination of the Indian and Iranian painting styles. However, in addition to the immigration of the Iranian painters to India other factors were important in the emergence of the schools of painting in India, as mentioned below:

a) Persian language and literature and its spread in the Mughal court.

b) The presence of Iranian ministers and courtiers at the high-ranking position in the Indian government.

c) The support and love of the Mughal dynasty kings towards art

d) Indian painting background.

An explanation of each of the above cases will be given below.

a) Persian language and literature and its spread in the Mughal court

Persian language and literature spread to India with the deployment of troops to India by Mahmood Ghaznavi about six centuries before the establishment of the Mughal dynasty. The Muslim dynasties that were ruling India before Mughals known as Delhi Sultanate in history were among the supporters of Persian language and literature and encouraged its spread and growth in the Indian subcontinent. The invitation of sultan Ghiasolldin ibne Eskandar, the king of Bengal (1639 AD) from Khaje Hafize Shirazi, is a manifest example of the interest and love of these kings towards the Persian language and literature.

With the emergence of the art-loving and art-patronizing Mughal dynasty and the support from its kinds, the Persian language and literature revived in India. Baber, the founder of this dynasty was interested in the spread of this language and according to the historical resources, after the capture of India; many Iranian poets came to India with him including Ashti Ghandhari.

Persian language and literature showed more growth and development in India at the time of Humayun, the son and successor of Babur because he was residing in Iran for one year and got familiar with the Iranian art and culture. When Akbar came to the throne there was full support of Persian language and literature in India and as a result many poets and literary men came to India. Following the Iranian kings, Akbar is the first Indian king who established the position 'Maleko-al-shoaraee' in his court and gave this position to Ghazali Mashhadi for the first time.

Akbar was very interested in books and reading them in such a way that he knew most of them by heart. He had a library of 24 volumes of books. Abulfazl Allami, Akbar's minister, in his book 'Aine Akbari' gives a list of Akbar's court poets sixty of which were immigrants from Iran.

The support of Persian language and literature continued at the time of Jahangeer and Shah Jahan. One of the important factors leading to the spread of Iranian culture in India was the interest that Indian kings showed in Persian language and literature. This made the Iranian culture the dominant culture of the courts of the Mughal Emperors.

In such an environment famous Persian language and literature works such as Shah Name, Nezami's Khamse, Sadi's boostan and golestan, and the collection of Hafiz poems were recited and illustrated. The illustration of these books was one of the main reasons of the establishment and spread of the Iranian painting in India. By having such works

1. Hekmat, The Land of India, pp 86-88
2. Gharavi, Mehdi. “Persian Books Published in India and Their Backgrounds”. Magazine of Art and Man, No. 102, 103, p 27
painters had enough concepts to be illustrated. It was one way that the Persian language showed its influence on Indian painting and finally the Persian language and literature had a great role in the formation of the Indian-Iranian painting school.

b) The presence of Iranian ministers and courtiers at the high-ranking position in the then Indian government.
The presence of influential Iranian clans in the court of Mughal was another reason that led to the formation of the Indian-Iranian style of painting. Among the influential Iranian clans appointed as ministers we can name Abdol rahman khan, nicknamed as khane khanan. He was originally Iranian and was one of the main figures in the spread of the Persian language and literature in India. One of his works is a translation of a book about Mughal memoires from Turkish to Joghtae. Another influential Iranian family was that of Mirza Ghias. He was one of the Iranian immigrants to India who got an official position after his girl became the queen. The presence of these people holding the high-ranking positions in the court of Jahangir made Jahangir’s court an Iranian court in which all the Iranian culture and civilization was revived. The presence of these people and their appointment at high positions prepared the ground for attracting Iranians and finally the spread of Iranian culture and civilization in India. In this way there was a great expenditure for preparing illustrated manuscripts and a tendency in the spread of Iranian art and culture which itself was an important reason for the formation of the Indian-Iranian school of painting.¹

c) The support and love of the Mughal emperors towards art
The rulers of the Mughal dynasty not only inherited the love of art from their predecessors but also through them they got familiar with the Iranian art. As an example, Baber Behzad who was respected among Timurian for his skill in painting and praised him in his book Baburname. The two factors of love of art and support for art and the familiarity with Iranian art among the Mughal clan were the reason for them to be

interested in Iranian art that was surely one of the richest arts of the world and to promulgate it in their court. As it is known, Humayun, due to his defeat by Sher Shah Afghani and opposition from his brothers took a refuge to Iran and stayed there for one year.

During his one-year stay in India, due to familiarity with and information about the Iranian art, especially to Iranian artists mainly Behzad, Humayun decided to take some of Behzad's students to Iran to spread the painting art in his court. This characteristic was common among the members of this family. They did their best to satisfy the expectations of Iranian painters, especially those of Behzad's. If there had not been no spirit of art-loving and familiarity with Iranian art among the rulers of this dynasty, the Iranian artists would had never immigrated to India to such an extent and there would never have been a school of painting known as the Indian-Iranian school of painting. Therefore, the kings had an important role in the immigration of Iranian artists to India and the spread if Iranian painting art to India which itself led to the formation of the Indian-Iranian painting.

d) Indian painting background
The influence of Iranian painting on Indian painting was not the only factor in the richness of Indian painting. Indian painting in itself had a background dating back to long time ago. Indian religion, in spite of Iranian religions had no resistance or objection to painting or sculpture Indians used these arts to transfer religious concepts in their holy books. Therefore, painting and sculpture based on religious ideas was first considered a religious must before being considered an art. The existence of this background in Indian painting and the influence from Iranian painting resulted in the emergence and formation of the Indian-Iranian painting.2

Once we get to know the formation of this school, we will come to know its quality during the reigns of the kings of Mughal Dynasty.

1. Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters, p 131

2. Gharavi, “Khaje Abdul-Samad Shirazi the Sharp-Brushed”, p 36
Painting in Zahir-ud-Din-Babur’s Era

The founder of Mughal Dynasty, Zahi-ud-Din-Babur, was the direct descendant of Timur through his father, and descendant of Genghis Khan through his mother. He was born in Fargana (Modern Uzbekistan) in 1483. When he was 12, his father died and he came to power in 1494. And after overcoming hardships, he decided to expand his territory and it was coincided with the reigns of two powerful kings namely Sheibak Khan Uzbek and Shah Email Safavid. Killing of Sheibak Khan by Shah Ismail provided a propitious opportunity for Babur to start expanding his rule in neighboring territories. He was supported by Shah Ismail since he had consented to spread Shiaism in those regions. Thus he succeeded and could conquer Badakhshan, Bukhara, and Samarqand. He minted coins in Shah Ismail’s name and bent his efforts in spreading Shiaism.

However, since the majority of Mavara-al-nahr people were Sunnis, he could not make that much achievement in this regard. Shah Email sent troops to Babur who had lost Samarqand and Bukhara but it was not helpful. Right then he was determined to conquer India. The incentive was provided by Doulat Khan, governer of Punjab, who sought his assistance in removing Ibrahim Lodi, the king of India. With the excuse of offering assistance to Doulat Khan, he crossed Sind River in the hope of conquering India, and in 1525A.D he occupied Peshavar, Jahlum, Sialkut, and Lahore. Then he headed toward Delhi with 10,000 fighters and encountered Ibrahim Lodi’s army of 100,000 fighters and 1,000 elephants in Banipat (1526A.D). He finally defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi.¹

One year later, he defeated the remaining troops of Rajput in Kanha, and one of his sons called Humayun headed towards Agra and occupied there; and thus Mughal dynasty was established in India. After his victory, Babur could not live longer and his expansionist policies perpetuated until the last days of his life, and announced his son, Humayun, the successor. He was buried in Kabul, and Shah Jahan constructed a tomb for him in 1646. Like his predecessors including Timuri kings specially Shahrukh, Baisunghur, Sultan

Hussein Baighara, Babur art lover and art promoter. His description of nature in Baburnama is so delicate and keen that nobody can stop admiring it. Because of his constant wars he could not make an assembly of artists especially painters in order to illustrate his diary book, Baburnama. But his adroit writing is so grand that it enables the reedears to imagine and make the picture of what he is describing. He wrote Baburnama in Chaghatai Turkic, but he was enthusiastic about Persian language, culture, and art. Christian Prise believes that although he could not allocate his time for art, he collected Iranian paintings especially Behzahd’s and the paintings of Herat school.1

**Painting during Humayun’s Reign**

During his lifetime, Babur married several women including Humyun’s mother, Mahem Beig, who was the daughters of Saadats of Jam and the descendents of Sheikh of Jam, Hazrat-e-Zhend-e-Pil. He favored her very much, that is why Humayun’s birth in 1507 was hilarious for him. Nasreddin Homayun succeeded Babur, and he was the first supporter of mughal painting.

His brothers, Hendal Mirza and Kamran, posed threat to his fair and enthusiastic rule. And worst of the threats were from the side of Afghans who were led by Sher Khan; he was elite from Babar’s clan. He conquered Bengal and fought Humayun to conquer the rest of India. He adopted the name of Sher Khan after making Humayun retreat in 1539A.D.

Unlike Humayun who was active and ambitious, he was a weakling. After re-defeating Humayun in Bilgaram, he made him escape toward Punjab. In this chaotic situation, Mirza Kamran blocked the routes of Punjab and Kabul, and led him toward Sind; and it was there in 1542A.D that Akbar was born. After two years of wandering, he took refuge in Iran by the consent of Shah Tahmasb Safavi. Safavid Kings’ generosity toward Humayun was probably stemmed from politics and religion. As a Shia Muslim,

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Humayun, who had been threatened, was supported. Since Iran was invaded by Ottomans in the west and Uzbeks in the east, Shah Ismail attempted to make a strong Shia ally by inviting the Mogul empire into his creed.¹

Humayun’s stay in Iran did not last more than one year because he conquered Afghanistan with the help of Shah Tahmasb’s 15,000 Ghezelbash troops, and after a while he entered Delhi. During Humayun’s stay in Safavid court, he came to appreciate and admire the paintings by Shah Tahmasb’s painters. In addition to that, he managed to take some of the Iranian painters to India, and he could buy and collect very invaluable works of Iranian painters including Behzad and his apprentices. Shah Ismail's sponsorship of painting led to Humayun’s interest in painting, and in 1546 A.D he invited two Safavid painters to join his court namely Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdul-samad. Humayun titled them as Nader-ol-molki and Shirin-ghalami. Humayun’s selection was due to the fact that they had naturalist inclinations which are depicted in illustrated works of Babar.

Humayun had a strong interest in art especially Iranian art. His interest augmented when he saw the works of Iranian artists around him; while he had not occupied all parts of India, and battles and hardships still annoyed him. He ordered the construction of a workshop similar to what he had seen in Iran. And it was in this workshop that the Iranian-Indian school of painting came to fore.²

Basil Gray believes that when Mir Seyyed Ali was in Tabriz, he along with another painter called Abdul-samad Shirazi painted all the portraits of Timuri clan for Humayun as an illustrated historical document, and after going to India he painted the same work in a larger scale on cotton cloth.³

¹. Zoka, and Cary Welch, *Persian and Mogul Miniatures*, pp 3-4

². Gharavi, “Everlasting Close Cultural Relation between India and Iran and Its Glorious Examples”, pp 85-6

Among Shah Tahmasb’s painters, Mir Seyyed Ali was the most distinguished one in terms of precision, correctness, and rendering s true to life features of objects, and complexions. Abdul-samad was less talented and skillful but he could lead a long and prosperous life in Mogul era. The remaining paintings of his stay in Kabul is indicative of the fact that he quickly applied Safavid painting school in illustrating the portraits with precision and correctness for the liking of Moguls.

**Painting in Akbar’s Era**

When Humayun died, Prince Akbar, who was barely 14 years of age, was sent to mountains to fight the Afghan king, Iskandar Shah, in order to expel him from there. One of the strongest warlords of his father, Bairam Khan, hastily made a crown and pronounced this boy the king. Later, Bairam Khan as successor could strengthen his shaky kingdom, and helped him in achieving a relative peace of mind. He was very much interested in books and book reading, and although his father’s effort in educating him failed, nobody thought that he was illiterate. He had his favorite books read before him, and he was familiar with poetry and prose works.¹

His passion for painting was not less than his passion for books. That is why painting thrived during his era. Because of his efforts, the Indo-Iranian painting school which was initially formed during Humayun’s era was perfected and completed in Akbar’s era. Dr. Gharvi believed that Akbar’s role in the formation of this school was as important as the roles of two Iranian painters, Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdul-samad Shiraz.

For furthering his support of painting and painters, he built a workshop in which more than 100 artists worked under the supervision of Iranian painters. Not only Iranian painters and trainers were employed for training local artists, but also a great number of illustrated manuscripts by Iranian masters including Behzad, Agha Mirak, and Sultan

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Mohammad Mossavar were set as examples to be followed by Indian artists.\(^1\) During Akbar’s reign, especially in his early years, the flow of Iranian masters’ immigration, which had started during Humayun’s era, was intensified, and this led to the development and perfection of Indo-Iranian painting school.\(^2\)

The most renowned artistic design of Akbar’s reign is Hamzename (Hamze’s Tales). It includes the images of gigantic humans on the cotton, and adventurous myths of Amir Hamze, one of the Prophet Mohammad’s uncles. These paintings depict the objective view and curious temperament of Akbar during the time when he had full control over his kingdom, and he achieved his plans and objectives with God-like power and cunningness. In the picture, for example, of Mir Dokht’s Escape, he reveals himself completely in it; the movement and downpour of water, human encounters, and heroic acts with fabricated courage, even the activeness of rocks remind one Abulfazl’s words who said that even the inanimate objects were depicted in such a way that they looked life-like. (Aeen-e-Akbari)\(^3\)

In a new period when efforts had been made in involving Indians in artistic affairs, as the first step, Akbar assigned Indian artists to do the illustrations of Mahabharata. This book was illustrated by Desvant, Besvan, and Laal who all had Iranian trainers. The important event which caused the greater influence of Iranian painting, and its perseverance in India was the transference of the capital from Agra to Lahore where Akbar stayed for 20 years. And due to closeness of Lahore to Iran, the influence of Safavid style was strengthened. One of the most invaluable manuscripts was Nezami’s book called Khamse which was prepared in Lahore in 1004. It was written by Abdul-rahim Anbar bin Ghalam, the famous calligrapher. It does not have more than 38 illustrations, and perhaps one of the reasons was the effort and precision which were allocated for preparing those parties.


\(^2\) Gharavi, “Magic of Colors (2)”, p 56

\(^3\) Alami, Abul-Fazl, *Aeen Akbari*, Calcutta: 1872, pp 113-114
This manuscript was so important that even Abdul-samad Shirazi attempted to illustrate one of its parties.  

Two features are distinctive in the painting of Akbar era: firstly, paying attention to true-to-life portraying, and secondly, influence of European paintings in India. Among the distinguished painters who came to India during Akbar’s reign was Farukh Beig who had a great impact in preserving and excreting the characteristics of Iranian paintings in India. In addition to painting, he was the forerunner in spreading Iranian painting style in India. As the head of the art workshop, he managed to direct the painters on the path of Iranian painting, since he was a member of the great school of Iranian painting. Another prominent painter who came to India during this period was Agha Reza, but since he did most of his artistic works during the era of Jahangir, Akbar’s son, he could not exert that much influence on the painting school of Akbar’s era. Akbar was interested in true-to-life painting, and he had the portraits of his companions painted and kept in a collection. One of the most important events of Akbar’s era was the commencement of European painting influence in India. These paintings which were brought to India by Christian missionaries were so attractive that Akbar had them copied.

**Painting in Jahangir’s Era**

Due to his devotion to his father’s devotion to Grand Sufi Sheikh Salim Chashti, Jahangir was called Prince Salim but after Akbar’s death in 1606, he succeeded his father under the name of Jahangir. He married an Iranian girl called Noor Jahan who was formerly called Mehr-an-Nesa. She was Mirza Ghiyat’s daughter who was entitled Etemad-ad-daule and became a minister. In addition to father, her brother, Asif Khan, attained the title of Jahangir’s Sepahsalar after his sister’s marriage.

Jahangir was considered his father righteous successor in terms of promoting art and artists. He was so interested in art, especially painting, and artists that he ordered the establishment of an exclusive workshop when he was a prince. And when Agha Reza Zamani came to India in 1598, he started working there. One example of his being an art

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1. Gharavi, “Magic of Colors (4)”, p 29
lover was the death of Mir Emad, the eminent Iranian calligrapher. As soon as he heard the news, he was so dejected that mourned and cried for his death, and he told Shah Abbas that if he had given Mir Emad to him, he would have given Iran as much gold as he weighed. And since Jahangir was so enthusiastic about him, he might have undoubtedly done it.

He loved painting more than any form of art. He was so adroit in distinguishing paintings that he could recognize the works of great painters easily. His taste and interest in art was unique. He wrote: “When I look at myself, I realize that my interest and taste in judging the paintings was so elevated that when I see a work, I can recognize its creator whether he is dead or alive. You don’t need to tell me the artist’s name, I can tell who has done it instantly. If different portraits of a painting are done by different artists, I can tell which portrait is done by which master, even I can tell by whom the eyes or eyebrows are painted.” In 6th August 1616, Sir Thomas Row, the British ambassador, gave a portrait to Jahangir and said: “I was sure that no one in India could paint like that. The emperor was proud of the fact that one of his painters could copy it so brilliantly that even I could not recognize my own painting. That night, he called me, and he was insistent on showing me his success. He showed me six pictures, the five of which were done by his painters. They were so similar that it was difficult for me to recognize my own painting under the candle light. He was very much thrilled about his painters’ success.”¹

One of the main characteristics of the paintings of Jahangir Era is spread and development of true-to-life painting and portraying which had started in Akbar’s period. Excessive spread of this method brought about decline and finally cessation of illustrated manuscripts, but it did not occur all at once, because in the early period of Jahangir’s reign, like the previous eras, some manuscripts were illustrated the best of which include: Kelile-va-Demne of Anvare Soheili, Tezuk Jahangiri or Jahangirnama, Divan of Hafiz, Divan of Amir Khusrou Dehlavi.

¹. Zoka, and Cary Welch, Persian and Mogul Miniatures, pp 13-14
For knowing the features of this period, study of Anvar Soheili’s book is of utmost importance. It was written by Mulana Hussein Sabzevari based on Kelile-va-Demne which was illustrated for Jahangir under the supervision of Agha Reza in 1609 A.D. The illustrations of this book is a suitable collection for tracing and knowing the transformation of Akbar school painting to the paintings of Jahangir’s era; the bright and sharp colors of Akbar’s period is changed into soft and natural colors. Shading and mingling of natural landscapes, which became widespread later in the paintings of this era, can be found in the paintings of this book.

Supervision and participation of Agha Reza in illustrating Anvare Soheili’s book caused more spread of the features of Iranian paintings and its perseverance in India. Although Agha Reza imitates the Baburi paintings in physiognomy and movement, he and his son, Abul-Hassan generally strengthen the features of Iranian painting in India. After preparing the aforementioned books, produce of illustrated manuscripts was almost stopped, while produce of individual paintings with human subjects and natural landscapes became more common than any other period.

Different views have been offered about the causes and factors contributing in the spread and development of true-to-life painting and portraying. On the whole, three following causes have been considered in this regard:

1- Perhaps one the most important and influential factors for the growth and development of true-to-life painting and portraying in this period was the special characteristic of Jahangir; because, he was a realist and he would like to see things as they are. He liked the paintings on which the expressions of countenance are precise and clearly depicted; that is why the paintings of this period are completely different from Iranian paintings. In Iranian painting the individual himself is not considered, and he is regarded as an object of embellishment.

2- Some believe that since in Akbar’s era all the important Persian and Indian books had been illustrated, no important book has remained to be illustrated in Jahangir’s period; that is why artists turned into portraying and natural landscapes. The margin of a
manuscript of Shirin-va-Farhad is indicative of the fact that the preparation of classical Persian and Indian books was tedious and boring.  

3- Perhaps another cause was European paintings which started to exert greater influence in India during this period. Dr. Gheravi thinks that it is unlikely, and believes that the artists started to turn their attention from illustrating story and adventure books to court life. And the artists started to draw what they saw instead of drawing what they thought. Moreover, Maktoub Khan, the head of Jahangir’s library, sent two Indian painters to Italy to learn the techniques of the western painting. They returned to India after a six-year stay and spread the European style in India.

Another feature of the paintings of the Jahangir era is the creation of Moragha (or album) which was influenced by the interests of Jahangir in this era. In this era, single paintings together with the paintings of the previous painting masters torn up from books were collected in a collection called Moragha, or Album, as is called by Europeans, and bound. Since these Moraghas bring together the paintings of different masters in a collection give us a better understanding of the development of the paintings of this ear and because of this are of great importance in the historic study of the paintings of this are.

Four Moragha or albums created at the Jahangiri era are:

1- the Jahangir Album or Moragha at the state library of Berlin;

2- the Album or Moragha called Wantage Bequest London;

3- the Golshan Moragha kept in the Golestan Museum.

4- The Ardeshir Moragha sold out at an auction in London.

Another feature of the Jahangir era having direct and direct effects on art, especially on painting, was the how of the political and artistic relations of Jahangir with Shah Abbas Safavi from Iran. He who had a special interest in having and maintaing

artistic and cultural relationships with Iran, by sending several ambassadors to the Iranian court, tried to strengthen these friendly relationships. He sometimes sent paintings to Iran to keep these relationships in art warm between the two counties.

Speaking of the status of the Iranian painters of this Jahangir era, it should be mentioned that Mir seyed Ali and Abdul samad Shirazi in the Humayun era, and Mir seyed Ali, Abdul samad Shirazi together with Farokh Beik, in Akbar era, were the influential figures of the impact of Iranian paintings on India paintings. Agha Reza and specially His son, Abulhasan, in Jahangir’s era were also influential figures in strengthening, spread and maintaining the Iranian painting in India. Abulhasan was brought up by Jahangir and was more than other painters cared For by Jahangir in a way that he was nicknamed Nader alzaman (Unique in time) by Jahangir. Abulhasan took up painting from his father and because of this traces of Iranian paintings can be seen in his works. Agha Reza, had other sons, in addition to Abulhasan, named Obeid and alireza, who were painters like the father and brother. Obeid spent much of his artistic life in Shah Jahan era, and was one of the brilliant painters of the time, although he was not as successful as his brother and father.

Beside Agha Reza’s family there were lots of other painters in the Jahangir era who had artistic activities including, Mohammad Nader samarghandi, Salim Gholi, Rahman Gholi, Alem ebne Mohammad Taleb, Gholam, Nadere Samarghandi, Salim Gholi, Rahman Gholi, Alem ebne Mohammad Taleb, Ghola, Nadere Bano, Mohammad Ali, Yosef, va Sharaf al din Ali. The existence of these painters among which the most important are Agha Reza and Abulhasan, was the main reason of the spread of Iranian painting to India in Jahangir era.

But due to reasons given below Iranian painting, in Jahangir era, lost its dominance and influence and if one could call Indian paintings of the Humayun and Akbar, as Indo-Iranian, this name could not be applied to Indian paintings in the late years of Jahangir sultanate.

India painting, which was influenced by the Iranian culture and its artistic beauties in the early stages of the Baburian government, and forgot its artistic identity and
background, after a lapse of time which started from the time of Humayun and continued to the time of Jahangir, was able to regain its lost independence and through the combination of the characteristics of Iranian and European paintings with local paintings introduced an art that was quite different and independent from them all. And as Percy Brown holds, in the early stages (Baburi), Indian paintings were a manifestation of Iranian paintings but were soon affected by the environment. Another reason that reduced the effect of Iranian painting on Indian painting was a stoppage of the immigration of Iranian painters to India in Jahangir era. The flow of Iranian painters to India began in Humayun era reached its peak in Akbar era and lasted till the end of the sultanate of Jahangir (a slighter flow in Jahangir era). The continuous immigration of Iranian painters was a main factor of the spread of the characteristics Iranian paintings in India, and when this process was stopped in the late periods of Jahangir era, Iranian painting was influenced by Indian painting, and in particular, from the time of Akbar a new movement began to gain the artistic affairs of the country and become independent from the influence of the Iranian painters. As mentioned earlier, paintings of the Jahangir era, had characteristics that made it difficult to find traces of Iranian paintings in them. Therefore, the analysis of the paintings of the shah jahan and Aurangzeb, since we find the least amount of the effect of Iranian paintings on India paintings, is not intended in this study. Although Iranian painters were still doing their job in Indian courts, because of the effect of the environment and European painting, they were showing less signs of Iranian paintings in their paintings.  

4-8- Explanation of Safavid Architecture

Safavid Architecture in comparison to Seljuki, Ilkhani and Timurid architectures has not been completely known. There are some elements which have determinant roles on that. One of them is the commonplace reason of prejudice or jumping to judgments. Beautiful buildings of Safavid era have always raised great admiration and have been placed in the

uninteresting categorization of touristic attractions; that is why they have not been seriously and academically evaluated and studied. On the other hand, documentary defects and shortages of Safavid architecture must also be stated i.e. proportional lack of portraying and technical drawings which have led to hasty conclusions. Another important reason which is being unprotected and availability of some of main buildings in Isfahan for all that has made other inaccessible works in Ardebil, Mahan, Kerman and Mashhad remain unjustly unknown.¹

Complimenting architecture of "Safavid" palaces includes at least some short comings. There are less than ten palaces remaining from them which are mostly in Isfahan and their history could be found on their scriptures or in historical sources. Fragile and retentive architecture and the plan of gardens and decoration of them and some reflections of industrial arts in palaces gave them new identities and different individualities.

King Ismail's coming to throne (1502A.D) is usually the climax and starting point and history of Iran. Nevertheless, if we consider his kingdom also a starting point, we will commit a mistake. In fact after appearance of Seljuks there is not a period of 25 years seen in Iranian architecture which has left any works. Architecture was not more important than poetry, painting, calligraphy and music for kings. However, political instability in the time of King Ismail had not let any architectural work to be created. Anyway, there was no kind of innovative breeze to alter architectural atmosphere of Iran and the same preceding Timurid architecture went on. A collection of small decorative pieces came to exist in competition with the best works of the preceding period but as it seems there was no major effort to imitate glorious works of the previous century (i.e. in Mashhad and Samarghand). Western tourists have given passionate reports from King Ismail's palaces but none of these palaces has sustained very long. Incidental spread of

early tenth/sixteenth-century buildings does not represent glory and splendor of later Safavid architecture.

Doubtlessly one of the masterpieces of this era is front board of Harun's shrine (Appendix, figure 60) in Isfahan State that is dated June 1513A.D. At the top there is the name of its sponsor, great chancellor of Durmosh Khan is written in two lines in Persian. This monument which was unrivaled to the day soon became a masterpiece of Safavid period. Architecturally this complex is more wonderful than unique. Although its main form has been revived by some later repairs, its external part is not enough for a decorative entrance. Plan of the dome at the external part shows the gradual identity of the whole complex. Its octagonal basement has added a commonly contrary function to its rectangular middle storey. The top dome which its tile-work belongs to following centuries is placed on a long domical stem which is a common and average octagon and has an average boss in Zehband and its side view is very similar to side view of Masjid Shah (1451 AD) in Mashhad. In choosing the main elements like dome, front apron and view of the building nothing new is noticeable. This dome internally does not have much role in architecture; importance of this part is because of brick-mosaic plinths and different chain of scriptures.

Gnostic identity of Harun to whose honor this Mashhad has been made is a mystery in which sweet and romantic sayings of Sharden has little role in making it sporadic. This story indirectly has been narrated on one of the scriptures and in terms of beauty in calligraphy it also equals its contemporary works. Regardless of real historical records and king's epithets, this building has been constructed in honor of King Ismail.¹

In addition to brick-mosaic technique which was a well-known technique in tile-work, this building reveals chess-pattern which was derived from brick decoration of Seljuks. It displays window networks in glazed geometric forms and chains of multicolored tile-work which demonstrate architectural features. Glazed diaphoretic works on brick

¹ Honarfar, Lotfollah. *Isfahan Heritage of Historical Works*, Isfahan: Thaghafi Press, 1972, pp 368-9
backgrounds are among other demonstrated features. A vast chain of scriptures has been applied. Division lines of scriptures which divided them into three parts have special curves. There are some poems written on top of the door in primitive form of Nasta'ligh calligraphy as well as square-shaped Koofi writing style.

Glazed fine chains like most brick mosaics are works attributed to Teimorids of Khurasan; whereas most glazed Mo'araghs in simple brick background like brownish yellow marble plinth are similar to Kaboud Mosque of Tabriz. Therefore, this primary building of Safavid era in central Iran has mingled different eastern and western traditions in a harmonious way and has become a proper symbol for new Iran-based government of Safavid. Two buildings of the city Saveh spread more light on architecture of this era. Moving capital from Tabriz to Qazvin gave this city a new significance because important roads of southeast and southwest joined to each other in this area. That is why King Tahmasb naturally made reformations there.

There is some exaggeration on the first work of Safavids in Congregation Mosque. In early parts of Safavid era there has been enough plaster-work applied on Congregation Mosque of Saveh which was famous for almost one century. The present skill in Regha scriptures of Mihrab shows that efforts for revival of this technique had been insensible. Plaster Mihrabs of Seljuki and Ilkhanis which have examples in this mosque are in sculpture form and have been worked out in different levels of carving. This Mihrab, compared with them, demonstrates Mo'aragh plaster-work which was basically applied on brick mosaics and book volumes. Nearby Meidan Mosque whose scriptures go back to 1518 AD it is concluded that it has been repaired in Safavid era; there has been a new Mihrab discovered perhaps belonging to the same artist.

Therefore, although artistic activities of Ismail were not without architecture, it showed a huge gap in comparison with high quality buildings of the preceding eras. This deficiency was present in the long time of King Abbas' rule. However, King Tahmasb's time was the time of tranquility, plentitude and peace on the contrary of King Ismail's period. This frequent pause in construction of buildings must be studied in king himself whose disregard for art influenced all arts. In more than 40 books which include history of his
kingdom only some glorious buildings or parts of them have been mentioned. Like his father, King Tahmasb has ordered no separate mosque to remain in his name.

Defending King Tahmasb it must be mentioned that his best works were probably gathered in Qazvin which was damaged by earthquake many times. Therefore, there is nothing remained from Shah (King’s) Mosque and King's Palace and even his bathrooms (and probably his Bazaar) has been destroyed completely. His works in shrines are less than what was expected previously. There are major shrines remained in Neishabour and Sultaniyeh. Meanwhile the best tile-work of the time is available in congregation mosque of Isfahan, Kerman, Shiraz and also smaller parts of Isfahan which are again present in Chehelsotoun Palace. Hence, regarding these different exceptions, most works that appeared in the time of King Tahmasb are: repairing and additions to previous holy places (in Mashhad and Ardebil), shrines (including five shrines in Kashan, six shrines in Yazd and eight shrines in Ghom and its suburbs), mosques (Bersian, Ghom, Yazd, Shoshtar, Sarvar, Congregation Mosques of Shiraz along with six other mosques in this city), gravestones or stone boards which have some engraved sentences on them (Meidan Mosque in Kashan), wood-work (in Tajrish, Imamzade Ghasem, Tabas, Imamzade Hussein, Natanz Shrine, Bibi Shahr Bano, Qazvin, Shahzade Hussein, Pishva and Imamzade Ja'far) some average shrines (Imamzade Abazar near Qazvin, Imamzade Hamzeh in Bovanat and Imamzade Abolfath in Vanshan; the last two works have a lot of engravings on wood). 1

Architecture experienced a span of 12 years suspension after death of King Tahmasb and coming of Abbas I. Names of destroyed works which had been constructed in this period are present in references. But there are no remains except the followings: mosque (Isfahan, Fath Mosque), gravestone (Isfahan, Baba Ghasem, sign of Imamzade Abolfath and Imamzade Ismail), Orders (Kashan, Meidan Mosque), stone grave (Imamzade Ja'far in Pishva and Ghtbeddin in Torbat Heidariyeh). In 1586 Noshiraz Mosque also underwent mending.

Coming of King Abbas to the throne completely revived inappropriate situation of Iranian architecture which had experienced one century of unproductive conditions. His achievements in this regard made Iranian works compete with Ottoman and Mongol architectural works. Isfahan bore the spirit of modern architecture in Iran. His achievements in this regard equalized Iranian works with architecture of Ottoman Empire and that of Mongols in India. The spirit of modern architecture in Iran was explored in Isfahan. Ability and passion of the new king in supporting construction made architects revive and practice innovations which had long been weakened during previous kingdoms. If we intend to point out King Jahan as a supporter of architecture, we must refer to Isfahan. In fact Safavid architecture gained its fame through the works constructed between 1598 A.D and 1628 A.D in this city. When King Jahan moved the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in spring 1598 A.D he had almost ruled for one decade. In this one decade he had not served architecture very much. It was just after moving to Isfahan that his hidden ambitions were activated and caused vast planning for construction and architecture. It is not much exaggeration if one says Isfahan was his heart. Additionally previous development of the city and its natural environment also has been important in this planning. Most people of Isfahan were settled in the slum areas in the northern part of the city i.e. where the old square of Seljuk period was in its natural cannon. King was free for construction in southern part of the city and in all roads that joined the river and beyond it. Presence of the big river and unoccupied lands besides the river and city had provided the king with a good opportunity for vast developments. In fact one of the most attractive features of architecture in Isfahan after 1598 AD was its change of policy and acceleration. Instead of rare unorganized projects in early years, a new organized procedure emerged. Lots of buildings were constructed and some constructive projects were completed in considerable speed.

A series of the masterpieces which added a lot to popularity of Isfahan was Char Bagh. The name Car Bagh (four gardens) has been taken from four vineyards which King Aabbas had to rent to progress his plans. Char Bagh in its original form was a huge street which was almost 4 km and was laid north to south in royal gardens next to Central Square, up to one thousand acres pure properties which were two km in the south of Zayande Roud. A splendid area of trees planted in rows had divided it into three streets.
and the middle street had a water stream. There were fountains and waterfalls in it. Gardens around Char Bagh extended in large areas and had fences instead of strong walls as passengers of the public roads also enjoyed watching the scenes. Palaces called Setareh, Abbas Abad, Jahan Nameh and Nastaran were designed in gardens called Takhtgah, Bolbolan, Daravish, Totestan and Behesht. Char Bagh of Safavids as it is clear from its name, was not produced as a place for trade but it was generally a garden which its sidewalks provided shade for passengers, but Char Bagh in terms of architectural value is considered as a scenic garden system. Utilizing endless roof forms in order to create an enclosed space had made it very similar to a field. Here, nature provides the most parts of the plan and the designer has planned it based on rectangular fields next to each other. There are no signs of imposition or natural inflexibility. Records of that time imply that Char Bagh was produced for entertainment of the public so that they enjoy talking to each other and watching the passing world around them while walking or even riding horses.

King Abbas II was an eager fan and supporter of constructing buildings and at least two masterpieces in Isfahan i.e. Chehelsotoun Palace (Appendix, figure 61) and Khajo Bridge (Appendix, figure 62) are attributed to him. Talar Ashraf, Hakim Mosque and to some extent Ghadamgah in Neishabour are other magnificent works which King Abbas II had roles in constructing them. In his time, the holy places of Ghom, Ardebil, Mashhad, and Congregation Mosque of Kerman, Gorgan, Qazvin and also smaller shrines were mended and new projects were carried on. He added a big door and marble plinths to King's Mosque. At last some religious buildings were constructed in Isfahan itself under his own rule such as Armeni Church of Holy Sisters (in Jolfa), Mesri (Egypt) Mosque, Sarotaghi Mosque, Schools of Big Jaddeh and Small Jaddeh. Chehelsotoun is truly one of the most famous palaces of Iran and it is perhaps because of keeping the main area of garden. Some celebrations and glorious ceremonies were held in this palace. A decorative pool which connected to a central cottage is one of its important places. Most beauty and quality of royal gardens which included these kinds of palaces totally depended on the environments surrounding them.
Chehelsotoun like other Safavid palaces has intentionally an instable and dynamic atmosphere and its eighteen pillars are like matchsticks as if they are not strong enough to keep hold of the roof. There is an element of exaggeration here which in different names has entered other Islamic palaces like Palace of Ghoba Abad of Seljukis or Soghorligh/Satlikh of Ilkhani which has also the title of Chehelsotoun hidden in water which reflects the image of pillars and shows them as forty pillars.

One of the important aspects of this palace like Aali Ghapo is the strength of its four corners from front side and back side which is different from its frontal view which looks unstable and unorganized. Long openings which are 5 meters deep open parallel to side door heads and each of them has four pillars. Mogharnas pillar-heads are other forms of medieval styles which are placed in the space between pillars and the roof. If nowadays saloons seem bare and echoic, it is because in the past there were curtains between pillars and the floor and the floors were covered with carpets which had patterns of court members watching singers and dancers.

Another masterpiece of King Abbas II's kingdom is Khajo Bridge which was probably constructed by his military commander, Hassan Beig on pillars of a Teimorid bridge in 1650 AD. It received the name of the neighborhood besides it. Although this bridge compared to Allah Verdi Khan Bridge (132 to 300 met) is shorter but the huge octagonal spaces in the middle of the river which bears the river on the two sides take a lot of space. Additionally, Khajo Bridge unlike its previous examples is located on a huge stone platform which has some stairs towards the river in the eastern side, while in the western side spear-like walls break the flow of river. This platform on top of which there is bridge arch has divided the building into a huge three-floor structure which is in perfect conditions of reflection. Small semi-octagonal spaces which are samples of this huge masterpiece are located at the end of the bridge. This bridge has a diversity and intensity which in terms of visual structure make it superior to Allah Verdi Bridge. (Appendix, figure 63) Regarding its function it is also a complicated bridge. The upper part has become a path for horses and carts with arched space on both sides. Its lowest part is 26 meters wide which acts like a dam. When the spaces are closed water surface comes up two meters. Its middle space is like a fun palace of Safavid era attached.
to a convenient and suitable palace. King could watch water sports, fun boating contests, water hockey and boating in if necessary, could take rest in the internal chambers. Recently these chambers have been tiled with new everyday tiles and decorated with new carpets with borrowed patterns and these decorations have replaced the previous gold paintings and virtual instructions. Location of the bridge just like its precise plan reveals its careful design. This bridge is located in the width of old road of Shiraz and is the closest way to neighborhood of Zartoshtis. Zartoshtis could enter Charbagh through it and eventually it is along the eastern road of the square.

The last significant achievements of Safavid period were a collection of buildings which Shah Hassan I (kingdom 1694-1722 A.D) constructed in Char Bagh.¹ this collection reminds glory of King Abbas I’s period and includes a school called “King’s Mother”, a caravan inn, stables and a bazaar which its benefits were used for construction of public institutes. Centrality and symmetry were features of its plan. School, caravan inn and stables had been constructed along with and attached to the bazaar and the bazaar continued until their northern dimensions. Bazaar was 220 meters long and there were rows of arches in its two sides; 80 meters in the west parallel to school there was a vast area for minarets while in the middle and eastern parts there were empty chambers. Main entrance of the school was on the side of Char Bagh which led to its open yard. Its yard along with its passages and its pool had been divided into four parts and this was counted as an adoption from Char Bagh itself outside it. On the sides of the yard there were two rows of chambers and its angles like angles of fifteenth century schools were Lab Pakh. Its dome was vertical on the entrance door; because of this it was not on the same direction as King’s Mosque which was towards Mecca. But in terms of tile-work there seems to be a failure in comparison to front building. There is not Mo’aragh used in its tile-work but there is a lot of checkerboard pattern. Its geometric patterns are crude and coarse and there is a boring yellow in its painting. Despite this, yard of King’s School with its streets full of trees, plaster-work of arches and their blue lines and also

¹ Honarfar, Isfahan Heritage of Historical Works, pp 537-549
magnificent tiles reflected in pool water has brought a scene of dignity and beauty to this building which is a much higher than its architectural values. Wide scale and certain density of the shapes provided a fine example for architects of the two following centuries in Iran. Bloom and huge development of Isfahan in time of King Abbas I was seen in smaller scale in Shiraz of Karim Khan Zand and Vakil’s Isfahan since 1750 A.D till 1779 A.D. Karim Khan gave glory to his capital by construction of wide streets including 25 buildings including bazaar, mosque and palace. Most important construction was around the square and form of this square was an imitation of Naghsh Jahan Square in Isfahan and in that of Kerman. Although this arrangement has been modernized and a street with trees has divided it into two parts, the building could still be reconstructed according to the main design. There was Arg on the northern side which its remains are still available. On the southern side there was Vakeel Mosque which was started on 1766. Vakeel Mosque is a congregation mosque with a square yard and one-storied arches around it along with porches on the northern and southern sides. Its northern porch led to a deep entrance door on the side of the square while the southern porch led to the main Shabestan which was rectangular with five rows of arched spouts on 48 stone ang grooved pillars. The frontal view of the yard includes a stone plinth and tile-works with patterns of natural flowers especially with reddish and yellow colors. In the collection Vakeel also there had been a public bathroom constructed behind the mosque as well as an arched bazaar in its eastern part.  