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FROM POET TO PAINTER: ALLEGORY AND METAPHOR IN A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERSIAN PAINTING BY MUHAMMAD ZAMAN, MASTER OF *FARANGĪ-SĀZĪ*

This study is dedicated to making a “voyage of discovery” of a seventeenth-century Persian painting that fuses aspects of Iranian and European approaches to representation to retell one of the great works of classical Persian literature. The painting, dated 1086 (1675–76), is signed by Muhammad Zaman (figs. 1 and 2).¹ At the Persian court of the Safavid ruler Shah Sulayman (r. 1666–94), the imperial painter Muhammad Zaman ibn Haji Yusuf (fl. ca. 1670–1700), who was unsurpassed in his sensitive handling of different artistic idioms, radically introduced the “Europeanizing” style to the art of manuscript illustration, a medium bound to a long iconographic tradition in the Persianate world.² A composition by Muhammad Zaman identified as *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* in the secondary literature is the basis for this study (fig. 1). It is adjoined to one of the most celebrated manuscripts in the history of Persian painting, a sixteenth-century copy of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) for the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76).³ A foundational text of Persian literature, the *Khamsa* is set of five compositions in verse form by the renowned twelfth-century poet Nizami Ganjavi.⁴

Extolled in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Persian sources as one of the greatest calligraphers of all time, Shah Mahmud Nishapuri copied Shah Tahmasp’s *Khamsa* in the early Safavid capital of Tabriz between Jumada II 946 (October–November 1539) and Dhu ’l-Hijja 949 (March–April 1543).⁵ Eleven of fourteen sixteenth-century illustrations remaining in the manuscript are attributed to Tahmasp’s court artists (fig. 3), who are also immortalized in Safavid biographical texts (sing. *tadhkira*) and royal chronicles.⁶ In Dust Muhammad’s sixteenth-century preface to the Bahram Mirza Album (written 951 [1544–45]), for example, the

royal painter Sultan Muhammad is referred to as *nādir al-‘aṣr* (the rarity of the age), and Agha Mirak, acclaimed as a courtly confidant, is described as *vaḥīd al-‘aṣr* (unique one of the age).⁷ Such words of praise were preserved in cultural memory through histories, biographies, and, one would imagine, discussions among the literati. The quality of this deluxe imperial copy of the *Khamsa* would not be compromised.

At Shah Sulayman’s court, Tahmasp’s *Khamsa* was extensively refurbished: sixteenth-century paintings were cut from their supports, repositioned, and given new borders; illumination was added; and full-page paintings in the “Europeanized” style were adjoined.⁸ The 1675 renovation followed a long-standing practice in the Persianate world of refurbishing manuscripts.⁹ Although one can easily understand the practical and economic advantages of renovating earlier manuscripts instead of commissioning original ones, we may wish to consider further the symbolic significance of restoration. In the act of refurbishment, patron and artist took possession of their artistic inheritance as they branded the manuscript with contemporary markings such as royal seals and scribal notes.¹⁰ The addition of paintings representing new aesthetic ideals at court was a subtler but by no means less powerful act. Refurbishment maintains a dialogue with the past; it also clearly indicates contemporary artistic ambitions.

By drawing from a fresh visual language, Muhammad Zaman imposed his own particular brand of novelty onto the practices of Persian manuscript painting, renegotiating the intersections between Persian literary and visual modes of representation.¹¹ The three seventeenth-century paintings bearing Muhammad Zaman’s name and adjoined to Tahmasp’s sixteenth-century



Fig. 1. The so-called *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*, identified here as *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries, Turktaz*. Signed by Muhammad Zaman and dated 1086 (1675–76). Opaque watercolor on paper, 25.2 x 18 cm (painting). Added to the *Khamsa* for Shah Tahmasp, copied between 946 and 949 (1539–43). London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 221b. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

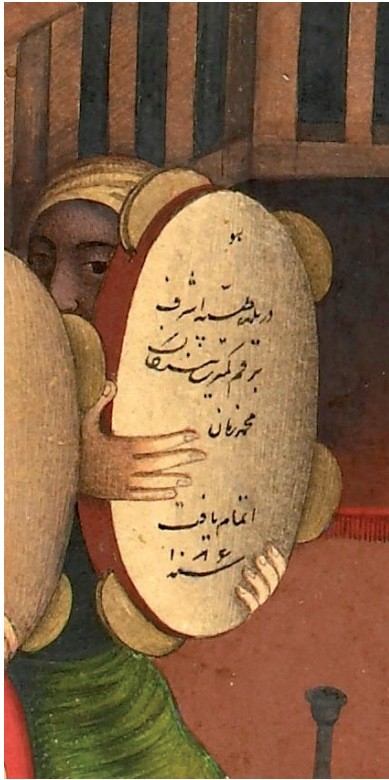


Fig. 2. Close-up of inscription on the so-called *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*, identified here as *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries*, *Turktaz* (fig. 1). It reads: “*dar balda-i tayyiba-i Ashraf bi-raqam-i kamtarin-i bandagan Muhammad Zamān itmām yaft sana 1086*” (In the felicitous city of Ashraf, by the hand of [signed by] the humblest of servants, Muhammad Zaman, it [the painting] was finished [in] the year 1086).

Khamsa are *Bahram Gur Killing the Dragon* (fol. 203b, 21.9 x 18.1 cm [fig. 4]), *Fitna Astonishes Bahram Gur* (fol. 213a, 21 x 13 cm), and the so-called *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* (fol. 221b, 25.2 x 18 cm [fig. 1]). The last work, upon which this article concentrates, is one of the most sophisticated examples of *farangī-sāzī*—literally, the making of European, or Europeanized, style—in late Safavid painting.

Farangī-sāzī may be used to denote a syncretic mode of painting that blended Safavid artistic traditions with adaptations of European iconography and pictorial techniques such as linear and atmospheric perspective,

modeling, and chiaroscuro; it was developed by artists around the 1630s.¹² By the final third of the seventeenth century, *farangī-sāzī* had become a way to signify core themes, values, and beliefs of Safavid society in arts of the book: artists used it to depict scenes from Persian literature and religious history and notions of royal power and authority, as well as erotic and Neo-Platonic ideas of love. This “hybrid” mode realized by local artists had clearly captivated the attention of the Safavid *a’yān* (grandees, or elite), particularly those residing at Isfahan, the seat of Safavid power since the late 1590s and a bustling international city.¹³

Isfahan’s diverse population was composed largely of Persian Tajik and Turko-Mongol Muslims, Georgians, Armenians, Circassians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. During the seventeenth century, the capital’s European population grew exponentially. Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) permitted Catholic missionaries to settle within and outside the capital.¹⁴ He also granted licenses to the English East India Company and the Dutch East India Company.¹⁵ Shah ‘Abbas II (r. 1642–66) permitted the establishment of the Jesuit order in his domain and signed trade agreements with the French East India Company.¹⁶ Conceived in this context, *farangī-sāzī* became highly significant for certain sectors of Safavid society.

Modern critics, on the other hand, have yet to appreciate *farangī-sāzī*, which has been described as a “lamentable failure.”¹⁷ Much effort has been put into defining what the Europeanized idiom of Persian painting is not—that it neither conforms to “traditional” Persian painting nor measures up to European standards. The essentialist definition of Persian painting, formulated largely by early twentieth-century collectors and Orientalists, continues to be employed, despite our increasing awareness of the complexity and diversity of Persian art through time and place. Persian manuscript painting has been rigidly defined as decorative, colorful, and two-dimensional. As Laurence Binyon, James Vere Stewart Wilkinson, and Basil Gray have declared, “as a race the Persians are born decorators.”¹⁸ Persian painters, it is maintained, were unconcerned with volume and form, uninterested in such effects as light and shade, and apprehensive of emotional expression. Again, to quote Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray:



Fig. 3. *Khusraw and Shirin Listening to Stories Told by Shirin's Maidens*. Attributed to Agha Mirak. Opaque watercolor on paper, 30 x 18 cm (painting). *Khamsa* for Shah Tahmasp, copied between 946 and 949 (1539–43). London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 66b. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)



Fig. 4. *Bahram Gur Killing the Dragon*. Signed by Muhammad Zaman and dated 1086 (1675–76). Opaque watercolor on paper, 21.9 x 18.1 cm (painting). Added to the *Khamasa* for Shah Tahmasp, copied between 946 and 949 (1539–43). London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 203b. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)



... [the Persians] had none of the zest in exploration which has made European painting a voyage of discovery; they were content to express themselves in an art without atmospheric effect, without light and shade, an art which owed nothing to the study of anatomy or the study of perspective.¹⁹

The views of Persian painting expressed by these scholars epitomize the Orientalist mindset of a changeless “East.” Further, they continue to lead twenty-first-century scholars to circuitous explanations of what is untraditional or unconventional about the Europeanized style of seventeenth-century Persian painting. Such postures construct a binary opposition between European and non-European painting,²⁰ and tend to limit scholarship on *farangī-sāzī* to a review of European “influences” and the historical context for their circulation that privileges the movement of Europeans and their goods.

In 1979, Willem Floor published an article citing the Dutch artists mentioned in the records of the Dutch East India Company who were known to have been in Iran in the period between the reigns of ‘Abbas I and ‘Abbas II.²¹ Art historians have reiterated Floor’s findings as a backdrop for the Europeanized style, without attempting to gauge the impact these Dutch artists may have had in Iran. Were they esteemed painters of their time, or simply amateurs? Further, to get a critical perspective, it is necessary to know the level of access these artists had to the Safavid court and with whom they interacted. Although Floor supplies important details in his article, the information has yet to be analyzed in the context of the visual evidence from the Safavid court.

Focusing on Muhammad Zaman’s 1675 manuscript addition, which combines long-established iconography, compositional formulae, and other stylistic features of Persian manuscript painting with atmospheric effect, chiaroscuro, modeling, and “Western” perspective, this essay broadens the discussion of *farangī-sāzī* to consider the ways in which a Safavid painter availed himself of European artistic idioms to pay homage to Persian literary and visual traditions. Emphasis is thus shifted from the passive reception of foreign influences to artistic agency.²² This shift is particularly important for the study of Persian painting because all too often

the painter is subjected to taxonomic approaches concerned with establishing an artistic oeuvre. The artist is thus made the subject of a “biography” on the basis of signed and attributed works as well as snippets of information from textual sources.²³ While the biographical approach imposes serious limitations on the field of Islamic art, formal analyses of paintings give the opportunity to discuss artistic choices and the creative thought processes behind them.

Partially because Muhammad Zaman’s subject matter remains unexplored and has very likely been misidentified, scholars have overlooked the mastery of this painting and its importance for our understanding of how *farangī-sāzī* came to relate complex themes and symbols of Iranian culture, as found in Nizami’s *Khamsa*. By analyzing Nizami’s text in relation to Muhammad Zaman’s painting, we come to appreciate the painter’s acute sensitivity to the Persian literary heritage and his desire to translate Nizami’s words into a different medium using a “fresh” artistic language.²⁴ This was no small feat, as the long history of illustrating Persian literature did not encourage much flexibility, due to the set narrative requirements and the weight of an expected, self-reinforcing iconographic tradition. More exceptional still was that Muhammad Zaman drew upon European representational strategies to relate a medieval text filled with complex allegory and metaphor.

The late Safavid painter not only interprets Nizami’s text anew but also offers a view to his own era’s notions of foreignness, gender, and kingship. This will be demonstrated by connecting the artist’s presentation of such themes to late Safavid history, as conveyed in seventeenth-century poetry, local histories, and travel accounts. Muhammad Zaman’s ability to depict abstract ideas that relate either to Nizami’s text or to contemporary viewpoints presupposes a familiarity with foreign iconography on the part of the viewer. I shall substantiate the readability of these signs in the courtly milieu by turning to other Europeanized works. Muhammad Zaman’s manuscript addition deserves as sophisticated an analysis as that employed in the study of European painting. The late Safavid manuscript page was not simply constructed from a pattern book of foreign models, nor was it conditioned merely by a taste for the “exotic.”

Rather, it was informed by and in dialogue with a range of intellectual and visual associations, framed by a network of individuals who circulated within and outside the cosmopolitan capital of Isfahan.

Here, the artistic choices that Muhammad Zaman made for his 1675 addition are examined in relation to the interests and activities of the Dutch artist and theoretician Philips Angel (b. Leiden ca. 1618; d. Batavia ca. 1664). The author of *Lof der schilder-konst* (In Praise of Painting), Angel was one of the few established European artists commissioned in Safavid Iran. His theoretical and practical experience in painting and his network of connections at court, which included a royal painter, are highly significant and warrant investigation. Looking at Muhammad Zaman's manuscript page in relation to certain artistic and theoretical principles of which Angel was a proponent, this essay represents an initial step towards addressing the need for more inclusive and global perspectives on hybrid idioms in late Safavid painting and the historical circumstances of their development.

DEFINING THE TEXT, IDENTIFYING THE PAINTING

Imitated by later poets and illustrated by artists in the Persianate sphere for centuries, Nizami's *Khamsa* is an exceedingly popular and learned text, rich with allusions to such fields as astronomy, history, philosophy, music, and the visual arts.²⁵ The *Khamsa* brings to the fore the dynamic relationship between poetry and painting through frequent reference to the skills of painters and the magical qualities of painting. Also reinforcing links between the literary and visual realms is Nizami's highly descriptive language.²⁶ The *Haft paykar* (Seven Portraits [or Beauties]), one of the *Khamsa*'s five poems, recognized as Nizami's masterpiece, is a particularly evocative text. This epic romance, which relates the life of the Sassanian king Bahram V (r. 420–438) and his transformation from a pleasure-seeking prince to a wise and just king, is replete with allegory and metaphor. Muhammad Zaman's three additions to Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa* illustrate the *Haft paykar*, and it is tempting to suggest that Muhammad Zaman was

drawn to this particular tale because of its profound literary sensitivities.

Of Muhammad Zaman's three additions to Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa*, the so-called *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* is the only nocturnal scene. The evening reception takes place on a raised porch. In the foreground, attendants and musicians surround the two figures seated in the center. Wine vessels and trays laden with food have been set out for the evening meal. On the right-hand side, there lies a fantastically verdant landscape, on the left, a winding river and a mountain range. Candles and torches theatrically cast their glow, creating shadows in the foreground. The luminous central scene is in dramatic contrast with the dark shadows of the middle and background.

Since Muhammad Zaman's painting was first catalogued in the nineteenth century, the depiction has been identified as *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*, a popular illustration for narrating the central part of the *Haft paykar*, where Bahram Gur visits, one by one, each of the Princesses of the Seven Climes.²⁷ The attribution *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* is based on an expectation of a standardized iconography of Nizami's *Haft paykar*. Many illustrated cycles of this story present depictions of the pavilion receptions, in accordance with the order in which the Princesses are visited and the associated coloring related in the narrative poem (in each case, a particular color emblematically identifies the Princess, the day of the week on which she is visited, and that day's planetary sign). Illustrating this point are depictions of *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* from: a manuscript dated 922 (1516) that was copied by Yar Muhammad al-Haravi, with later repainting (fig. 5);²⁸ a *Khamsa* dated 1543;²⁹ and a *Khamsa* dated 1649.³⁰ The black robes worn by the protagonists and the black tiling of the pavilion inform the viewer that Bahram is visiting the Indian Princess on Saturday, which is associated with the planetary sign of Saturn and thus the color black.

Each respective reception scene visually indicates that the reader has reached the chapter heralding Bahram's arrival at that particular Princess's pavilion. Illustrations of *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* are fixed in the text near the rubric (section heading) entitled "How Bahram Sat on Saturday in the Black Dome and



Fig. 5. *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*. Opaque watercolor on paper, 12.5 x 10 cm (painting). *Khamisa* dated 922 (1516), copied by Yar Muhammad al-Haravi, with later repainting. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.609, fol. 213b. © The Walters Art Museum. (Photo: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum)

the Tale of the Princess of the First Clime.” In a sampling of illustrated copies of the *Haft paykar* that depict the meeting of Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess, we see that the verse appearing immediately before the illustration, signposting the painting’s content, is generally one of the five initial verses after the section heading.³¹ These initial verses describe Bahram entering the musk-scented dome (*gunbadsarāy-i ghāliya*) and greeting the Indian maiden.³² Thus, there is a formula: the rubric and the initial verses signify the beginning of the chapter and anchor in the text the associated image, visually defined by black pavilion and robes.

In Muhammad Zaman’s painting, the absence of a pavilion identified by a dominant color, the compositional importance of the garden and nocturnal setting, and, most importantly, the text facing and on the recto of the full-page illustration, all point to a different part of the narrative. In Nizami’s *Haft paykar*, each reception is followed by an edifying story on kingly virtues related by the welcoming Princess; these stories were occasionally depicted.³³ The Indian Princess, for instance, recounts the story of the once fortune-favored King Turktazi (meaning “Turkish Raider”), who, on his quest to learn the secret of the city whose inhabitants all dress in black, lands in the verdant garden of Turktaz, Queen of the Faeries. Illustrated depictions of the story told by the Indian Princess include *Turktazi and Turktaz, the Queen of the Faeries* (fol. 129a), from a fourteenth-century *Khamsa* produced in Baghdad,³⁴ and a fifteenth-century example in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (fig. 6).³⁵ Both illustrations feature an outdoor garden in which faeries serve two central figures seated on a *takht* (throne) under a night sky. Further, both illustrations are situated within the text of the tale told by the Indian Princess. For example, the following verses (32:219–21) precede the Chester Beatty version:

Each maid a candle in her hand;
Sugar and candles are well joined.

The garden filled with cypress forms,
All brilliant jewels, with shining lamps.

That Fortune-favored queen approached;
bird-like, sat on her royal couch.

The iconography of these illustrations is similar to that found in Muhammad Zaman’s painting, except that the latter’s faeries do not have wings; the lack of wings is the only important iconographic element that supports the identification of the painting as *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*. Nevertheless, the painter’s decision to depict faeries without wings should not deter the viewer from making an identification based on the text and other iconographic features. First, a diachronic view of the illustration of such Persian texts as the *Khamsa* and *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) shows that it was not unusual for an artist to look askance at the iconographic tradition.³⁶ Here it should be noted that at least three of Muhammad Zaman’s 1675 manuscript additions to the royal *Khamsa* and *Shāhnāma* deviate from the relatively formulaic visual language normally found in illustrated versions of these two works.³⁷ It should also be emphasized that the poet himself makes barely any reference to the faeries’ wings.³⁸ Nizami describes the faeries’ physical aspects in terms of the attributes of mortal women: they have ruby lips like tulips, their necks and ears are decorated with lustrous virgin (unpierced) pearls, and each holds a tapered candle in her hand. Although the *mise-en-scène* is described in unmistakably otherworldly terms, when picturing the Queen and her maidens, both poet and artist privilege their non-celestial physical qualities and erotic possibilities, as will become clear in the discussion below.

Lastly, and most significantly, the text facing Muhammad Zaman’s painting is indeed a section from the tale of the Indian Princess (32:223–64), beginning with how one of the faerie maidens leads the King to the Queen of the Faeries.³⁹ Humbly kissing the ground before her, the King is offered a place beside Turktaz. This is their first nocturnal encounter in the fantasy-like garden “untouched by the dust of men.”⁴⁰ The text on the facing page ends with the King’s description of how food was laid out on trays for their banquet while the Queen’s maidens poured wine and entertained them. In sum, instead of the frequently illustrated pavilion reception scene of the Indian Princess welcoming Bahram Gur, Muhammad Zaman depicted the protagonists of the Indian Princess’s story, namely, the once fortune-favored King Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries,



Fig 6. *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries, Turktaz*. Opaque watercolor on paper. *Khamsa*, fifteenth century. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 141, fol. 205a. © The Chester Beatty Library. (Photo: courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library)



Fig 7. *Forest Landscape with Pool*. From the series “Six Landscapes in Tyrol,” Aegidius Sadeler II (d. 1629), after Roelandt Savery (d. 1639). Engraving, 12.2 x 15.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1969-172. © Collection Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. (Photo: courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

Turktaz. However, as will be demonstrated, through its sophisticated iconography, the late Safavid painting embodies not only the text facing the illustration but all the themes central to the Indian Princess’s story.⁴¹

AN ALLEGORICAL JOURNEY THROUGH MAJESTIC WOODLANDS

The story of the fortune-favored King and the Faerie Queen underscores the importance of nature imagery in the Persian literary tradition.⁴² Nizami describes in great detail the garden that is the locus of activity throughout the tale of the Indian Princess. While on his journey to learn the secret of the city whose inhabitants all dress in black, the King lands in an unfamiliar land. According to the written word, the reader may envision a place of thick green grass, blossoming trees, and calm

waters, “girt by a mount of emerald hue, where cypress, pine, and poplar grew.”⁴³ The artist’s visual presentation effectively translates Nizami’s poetic vision of *bīsha* (32:190), denoting a very dense forest, a wild uncultivated land.⁴⁴

The thick and unruly terrain and shadowed seclusion of Muhammad Zaman’s seventeenth-century page are comparable to northern European forest landscapes circulating at that time in paint and print, such as those by Gillis van Coninxloo III (d. 1607),⁴⁵ David Vinckboons (d. 1633), Alexander Keirincx (d. 1652),⁴⁶ and Roelandt Savery (d. 1639). The latter served as court landscape painter to Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), and his compositions were transmitted in prints by Aegidius Sadeler II (d. 1629) (fig. 7).⁴⁷ Parallels between the work of these artists and the Safavid painting include the large, gnarled tree roots, the contrasts of light and shade that accentuate the foliage, the distant view com-

prised of mountains and a winding river, and a particular attention to the cracked and scale-like nature of the tree bark.⁴⁸ The Safavid composition appears to have been based on a number of sources, including nocturnal forest scenes, as will be discussed shortly. European landscapes, such as those by and after Roelandt Savery, which circulated in ink and paint, could have entered Iran through commercial and diplomatic channels. Additional evidence pointing to Safavid familiarity with European landscape morphology includes Muhammad Zaman's 1675 *Bahram Gur Killing the Dragon* (fig. 4), with its distant mountains, leafy trees, tree stumps, and craggy cliffs,⁴⁹ as well as the landscape composition dated 1059 (1649) and signed 'Ali Quli ibn Muhammad, which was based on a print by Marco and Aegidius Sadeler.⁵⁰ Drawing on material derived directly from Europe and, perhaps, indirectly from Mughal India as well, Muhammad Zaman reimaged the medieval poet's garden in his own fantastically rich setting of majestic woodlands filled with different types of trees, green grass, flowing water, and hillocks.

Muhammad Zaman integrates the cypress into his artistic vision of *bīsha*. Commonly found in Persian painting, the cypress is a frequent motif in Iranian literature, often used as a metaphor for a beautiful woman, as found in the tale of the Indian Princess: "A cypress she, those maids her mead; they jasmine, she a rose of red" (32:218),⁵¹ and again in "The garden filled with cypress forms, all brilliant jewels, with shining lamps" (32:220).⁵² Julie Meisami, who has discussed such metaphors, elucidates the allegorical significance of the garden as a place to learn and transform in the *Haft paykar*.⁵³ She points out that Bahram Gur's progress from garden to garden symbolizes his development in the lessons of kingship and that these venues are crucial features in three of the seven tales told by the Princesses of the Seven Climes.⁵⁴ The garden in the first tale as told by the Indian Princess (where the lesson is the virtue of contentment) is "the most remote from reality."⁵⁵ Meisami elaborates: "the garden's location in the realm of fantasy and dream, and its corresponding isolation from real time and space facilitated an iconographic manner of presentation that reinforces its function as a symbolic centre embodying an important lesson."⁵⁶

The painter conveys the fantastic nature of Nizami's garden in his forestscape, with its exaggerated forms, particularly the mound of large, gnarled roots in the middle ground.⁵⁷ The misty haze that embraces the background forms and the night sky with its emphatic contrasts of light and dark further enhance this impression. Muhammad Zaman's moonlit wooded landscape brings to mind European works in which a full moon dramatically illuminates dense forests, as represented in the *œuvres* of the pioneer of the subject matter, Adam Elsheimer (d. 1610), as well as his followers Nicholaes Berchem (d. 1683), Aelbert Cuyp (d. 1691), and Aert van der Neer (d. 1677).⁵⁸ The emphatic contrast between light and shadow in the clouded night sky suggests that one of Muhammad Zaman's sources might have been a print. The work of Adam Elsheimer, for example, was circulated in print by the engraver Hendrick Goudt (d. 1648) (fig. 8).⁵⁹ Goudt's work was widely disseminated in seventeenth-century Europe, where printed night landscapes became increasingly popular. Through assimilation of a variety of models, the Safavid artist created a dramatic scene pulsating with the possibilities of discovery, the perfect setting for the King to learn the value of contentment and patience. Indeed, the dream-like effect of the painter's landscape matches the fantasy-like character of Nizami's description.

TENEBRISM AS A PICTORIAL TOOL FOR THE METAPHORICAL CONTENT OF NIZAMI'S TEXT

Darkness and the transition from day to night figure prominently in the story told by the Indian Princess. Indeed, the crucial events of the tale occur at night: it was then that the King feasted with the Queen and her maidens, and that, in Nizami's words, "the King's bird of hope lit on the branch."⁶⁰ Finally, it was on the thirtieth night, when the King could no longer contain his physical desire, that he was denied both the Queen's company and the garden's beauty. In a conventional Persian painting of a night scene such as the sixteenth-century *Khusraw and Shirin Listening to Stories Told by Shirin's Maidens* bound in Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa* (fol. 66v [fig. 3]), a blue background and a candle, with-



Fig. 8. *The Flight into Egypt*. Hendrick Goudt (d. 1648), after Adam Elsheimer (d. 1610). Engraving, 35.2 x 39.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-52.972. © Collection Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. (Photo: courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

out any real effects of illumination, emblematically indicate nocturnal events. Muhammad Zaman, however, utilized a technique popular in contemporary European painting known as *pittura tenebrosa*, characterized by a preponderance of dark shadow and few light areas, and offers a night scene dimly lit by candles and the moon.⁶¹ In agreement with tenebrist principles, Muhammad Zaman emphasizes the effects of light emanating from specific sources: the moon, the candles, and the torches. He illuminates the figures from below with artificial light and positions the central candle behind foreground objects to create repoussoir effects.

The metaphorical values of tenebrism are perfectly suited for the scene Muhammad Zaman selected to represent. In the story told by the Indian Princess, the fortune-favored Queen is repeatedly compared to the

moon and the purity of its effulgence. As Meisami observes,

the lady herself takes on the aspect of a spiritual guide—an aspect supported by her being consistently described in terms of brightness and illumination in contrast to the darkness of night symbolic of the king's spiritual ignorance, which makes him succumb to his baser nature and thus lose all.⁶²

Muhammad Zaman's use of light–dark contrasts, as achieved by the glow of the candle at night, may have been intended to evoke the distinction between the Queen's spiritual illumination and the King's unbridled passion. His unyielding attraction to the Queen is visually represented by the moth over the candle in the central foreground, which seems to be a quotation from a northern European seventeenth-century still life; this



Fig. 9. *Khusraw Makes Love to an Attendant*. Inscribed “*raqam-i kamtarin-i bandagan Muhammad Zamān 1087*” (signed by the humblest of servants, Muhammad Zaman, 1087). Opaque watercolor on paper, 8.7 x 12.0 cm (painting). *Khamasa*, copied 1085–86 (1675–76). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.469, fol. 111b. © The Pierpont Morgan Library. (Photo: courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library)

beautifully evokes a favorite image in Persian poetry of the proverbial moth being drawn to the candle’s flame, a theme that is highlighted in the story of the Indian Princess.⁶³

The Safavid artist may have also appreciated the pictorial possibility of portraying the positive value of darkness, as a state conducive to knowledge and transformation, and associated it with Nizami’s text. Belief

in the constructive aspect of darkness is, of course, found in both the Islamic and European traditions. According to the twelfth-century Persian philosopher Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi, founder of the school referred to as *Hikmat al-ishraq* (Philosophy of Illumination),⁶⁴ the state of the soul unbound from the fetters of physical perception is represented by darkness, in which the world of the senses may be covered and the noetic powers of the soul awakened.⁶⁵ This theme emerges in Suhrawardi’s *Āvāz-i par-i Jibra’īl* (Rustling of the Wings of Gabriel): as night falls, man may release himself from earthly ties, awakening his unconscious soul. This night of the senses heralds the mystical dawn, the *ishraq*, on the way to the world of “mystery” (*ghayb*) and the spiritual realm.⁶⁶

A strong conviction concerning the positive value of darkness is also found in the work of a contemporary of the court painter Muhammad Zaman, namely, the poet-philosopher Qadi Sa’id Qummi (d. 1691), who sees the absence of light as part of Night’s aptitude to receive the influx of the Lights of the *malakūt* (Realm/World of the Angels).⁶⁷ The powerful aspect of night is represented visually in paintings of Muhammad’s Night Journey, known as his Ascension (*mi’rāj*), as found in Shah Tahmasp’s *Khamasa*, to which Muhammad Zaman adjoined his own painting.⁶⁸ In Tahmasp’s *Khamasa*, the Ascension is depicted in the first painting illustrating the *Haft paykar*. Night is also defined in Christian texts as the progress of the soul towards its union with God.⁶⁹ Rzepińska discusses the “theology of darkness” in medieval and later writings, including those of the Catholic mystic Saint John of the Cross (d. 1591), who saw night as a time for pious activity. The Carmelite orders and the Jesuits, whose activities are documented in seventeenth-century Iran, recommended darkness for pious contemplation.

Intellectual and personal development is at the core of both the Indian Princess’s tale and the *Haft paykar* itself. The fortune-favored King must learn the virtue of contentment, as must the central character of the *Haft paykar*, Bahram Gur, who moves from garden to garden, mastering a new lesson in each, as he is transformed from a precocious hunter into a just and wise king. A shared basis of the medieval metaphysics of light, which informs Nizami’s text as well as European

tenebrist principles, would have supported the integration of technical and painterly effects of “real” light and darkness for the illustration of Perso-Islamic themes. In tenebrism the Safavid artist Muhammad Zaman found a representational tool to recast the inherent metaphorical content of Nizami’s text.

There is indeed evidence to suggest that Safavid and Mughal artists symbolically translated aspects of tenebrism into their own works. In the Pierpont Morgan Library *Khamsa*, copied between 1085 and 1086 (1675–76) for the vizier of Rasht,⁷⁰ light–dark contrasts are exaggerated in scenes of unrestrained passion (e.g., *Khusraw Makes Love to an Attendant*, fol. 111b [fig. 9])⁷¹ and sorrow (e.g., *Shirin Stabs Herself*, fol. 129a), as well as in representations of discovery (e.g., *Khizr Bathes in the Fountain of Light*, fol. 243b).⁷² As for the depiction of darkness as a setting for transformation and enlightenment, Persian and Indian artists adapted nocturnal settings dramatically lit by artificial light as the backdrop for discussions among wise men (philosophers, theologians, and astronomers). This can be seen in works by the Mughal artist Payag (fl. ca. 1595–1655), the pioneer in representing twilight scenes and chiaroscuro effects.⁷³ Facing compositions in the Davis Album, which have been attributed to the Safavid artists Muhammad Zaman and his contemporary ‘Ali Quli Jabbahdar, have been compared to Payag’s work. In the one inscribed with ‘Ali Quli’s name and dated 1085 (1674–75), two men, conceivably astronomers, are positioned outside a hut, under a night sky; they are marked by the light of a comet (fig. 10).⁷⁴ The other work represents a mullah and an old man conversing at night; the inscription has been read as *ghulām Muḥammad* and the date interpreted as the seventh year of the reign of Aurangzib (i.e., 1665).⁷⁵ It may be suggested that such references and their symbolic interpretations in Safavid and Mughal visual culture encouraged Muhammad Zaman to illustrate the story of the Indian Princess, which provided the perfect opportunity to relate Nizami’s light–dark symbolism in painterly terms.



Fig. 10. *Two Men [Possibly Astronomers] outside a Hut*. Inscribed “‘Ālī Qulī Jabbadar” and dated 1085 (1674–75), with later borders. Watercolor on paper. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Davis Album, 30.95.174, fol. 2. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

RECEPTION OF A FOREIGN FEMALE TYPE

Muhammad Zaman adapted a European royal type for his portrayal of Turktaz, the Queen of the Faeries. The countenance of the fortune-favored Queen, together with her western clothes, jewels, and crown, brings to mind images of Queen Henrietta Maria (d. 1669), consort of King Charles I of England (r. 1625–49).⁷⁶ On

April 16, 1638, the English agent Thomas Merry presented royal portraits of the king, the queen, and their offspring to the Safavid ruler Shah Safi (r. 1629–42), who, we are told, observed them carefully:

... the King viewed the pictures with a serious eye as if he were much taken with them and after dinner we were told that hee was viewing them in a private room (whether for the time they were sent) a long time together and the next day the Ettamon Dowlett [I'timid al-Dawla] sent to know the names of the Queene and the children as also to have the letters translated out of English into Persian.⁷⁷

A Safavid composition (ca. 1650s) inscribed with the name 'Ali Quli, a contemporary, as noted earlier, of Muhammad Zaman, depicts the children of Charles I, after a work by Anthony van Dyck. This would suggest that Stuart court portraiture was preserved in the Safavid royal treasury and continued to draw interest.⁷⁸ In fact, Shah 'Abbas II reportedly discussed art with the French traveler and merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (d. 1689) and showed him two oil portraits of European women that his Armenian subjects had purchased for him. In the shah's view, art was valuable for documenting both a woman's beauty and a monarch's physical presence.⁷⁹

It is not possible, however, to determine whether Muhammad Zaman based his heroine specifically on the likeness of Henrietta Maria, given that her idealized facial features were common in seventeenth-century European portraits of royal and aristocratic females, as evidenced, for example, by prints of Elizabeth, Countess of Devon, and Rachel, Countess of Middlesex, after Anthony van Dyck (fig. 11). The decorated neckline, lace-edged sleeve cuffs, and pearl-drop necklace of the Queen of the Faeries could have derived from a variety of models.⁸⁰ In light of the frequency with which European powers sent portraits abroad as diplomatic gifts and Safavid interest in the visual representation of royalty and feminine beauty, we may indeed assume that Muhammad Zaman had a selection of European prototypes at his disposal in the royal treasury.

Why would Muhammad Zaman depict the Queen of the Faeries as a European woman? After all, according to Nizami, Turktaz is a Turk: "She said, 'A lissome Turk I am, Turktaz the Beautiful my name.'"⁸¹ The "Turk" is



Fig. 11. *Rachel, Countess of Middlesex*. Pierre Lombart (d. 1682), after Anthony van Dyck (d. 1641). Engraving, 35.7 x 24.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-69.499. © Collection Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. (Photo: courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

traditionally regarded as an emblem of beauty, depicted in Persian art and literature as moon-faced, with narrow eyes and a round mouth.⁸² Said to be from a far away land, Turktaz is repeatedly described in reference to the foreign (32:224): "A queen came forth from her palace dome, Greek troops before, Ethiops behind," which Meisami interprets as "unveiled she displayed a fair (Greek) face and black (Ethiopian) curls."⁸³

Nizami's portrayal of Turktaz is multifaceted. Here I would like to consider her erotic and seductive aspects, as vividly related in verses 32:278–79:

Her glance said, 'Tis your time to play; come; Fortune smiles on you this day.'

Her smiles encouraged me to seek, sweet kisses, for my love is weak⁸⁴

Nizami later writes (32:339–41):

Her wish to favour me increased; her kind attentions never ceased.

With glances at her friends she signed, until they left us quite alone.

Such privacy, a love so fine: my heart's hot fire assailed my brain.⁸⁵

Discussion of erotic elements in Islamic art has generally been limited.⁸⁶ The charged sexuality and erotic iconography of Muhammad Zaman's manuscript page are, however, difficult to ignore.⁸⁷ As she beckons the viewer to behold her sensuous beauty, which is unveiled and enhanced by her décolletage, Turktaz's confidently seductive nature is communicated by her flirtatious glance. Turktaz gestures invitingly to her male companion with her hand, as she plies him with more wine. The phallic shapes of the vessels in the foreground and the suggestive way the female figure on the left side of the composition (standing behind the balustrade) holds the long tapered candle underscore the theme of sexual delight, in which the King engages each night with one of the Queen's maidens.⁸⁸

Turktaz, the beautiful and alluring Turk, personifies erotic and exotic romantic wonder. Her uninhibited posture and dress enhance her powers of seduction and unleash the desires of Turktazi (Turkish Raider),⁸⁹ leading him to a dangerous state of irrationality. The loss of his wits drives him to return repeatedly to what will ultimately consume him—desire. According to Annemarie Schimmel, “from the late 16th-century onward the role of the Turk as dangerous beloved was taken over at least in part by the Frank (*farangī*).”⁹⁰ This assertion finds support in the verses of the late Safavid poet Isma'il Zabihi, which Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi recorded in his biographical note dedicated to Shah Sulayman, the patron of Muhammad Zaman's painting. The first and fifth verses may be translated as follows:

dāram dilī az chashm-i siyāh-i tu, farangī
vahshītar az āhū-yi nigāh-i tu, farangī

Because of your black eyes, *farangī* (European), I have a heart wilder than the gazelle of your glance, *farangī*.

khūrshīd-i falak rang chu mahtāb bibāzād
az sharm bar-i rūy chū māh-i tu, farangī.

The sun of the heavens would lose [its] brilliance, like moonlight/ from shame when compared to your beauty, *farangī*.⁹¹

This poem reveals late Safavid views of the European beloved as highly desirable and distinctly “other.” The seventeenth-century artist Muhammad Zaman may have associated the otherworldliness and eroticism of Nizami's Faerie Queen from a faraway land with the exoticism and allure of a European woman. In both Isma'il Zabihi's poem and Muhammad Zaman's painting, we find evidence of Iranian perceptions of the European female as a focus of desire and temptation, replacing the image of the Turk in text and image. The late Safavid painter modernizes Nizami's narrative by showing a geographical shift in male attention and sexual curiosity through adaptation of the image of a royal European type.

Muhammad Zaman's portrayal of the Faerie Queen may have been intended to be read on multiple levels. According to Nizami's narrative, the fortune-favored Queen is made of pure light (32.226), her nature is angelic (32.241), her “treasure sealed” (32.422): her chastity and beauty are thus strongly emphasized in Neo-Platonic terms. In Europe, analogous attributes were ascribed to aristocratic women, particularly those of the ruling class. The importance of the feminine characteristics of modesty, chastity, and devotion was highlighted in literature and in art. Such notions were widely circulated in print, as found in the series of portraits illustrating Thomas Heywood's *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine of the Most Worthy Women of the World* (1640).⁹² As for the oral transmission of European notions of feminine beauty, it is conceivable, for example, that Thomas Merry, the English envoy who had presented the royal portraiture to the shah (including a painting of Henrietta Maria), expanded on female virtues. One might also consider the possible role of the French Capuchin Raphaël du Mans, who resided in Iran from 1644 to 1696: proficient in Persian, he served as an interpreter and informant at the time Muhammad Zaman was a court painter and may have discussed ideas about virtuous European women.

On one level, the Safavid artist may have equated aspects of Nizami's Queen of the Faeries with those of



Fig. 12. *Shapur Kneeling Before Shirin*. Inscribed “*raqam-i kamtarin-i bandagan Muhammad Zamān 1086*” (signed by the humblest of servants, Muhammad Zaman, 1086). Opaque watercolor on paper, 8.7 x 12.0 cm (painting). *Khamsa*, copied 1085–86 (1675–76). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.469, fol. 87b. © The Pierpont Morgan Library. (Photo: courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library)

the well-bred European lady: both are defined by Neo-Platonic notions of beauty as reflected in the purity and chastity of the soul. The possibility that Safavid artists and viewers were drawing parallels between Islamic and European themes of femininity is suggested by the depiction of another of Nizami’s great heroines: the Armenian princess Shirin, of *Khusraw and Shirin*, one of the five poems that comprise the *Khamsa*. The poet emphasizes Shirin’s integrity, loyalty, kindness, and intelligence. On folio 87b of the Pierpont Morgan Library *Khamsa*, mentioned above, Shirin is depicted as a European queenly type (fig. 12). It is, of course, pos-

sible that the translation process only pertained to foreign feminine beauty: the Faerie Queen was from a faraway land and Shirin was an Armenian princess. However, in light of the shared notions of Neo-Platonic beauty circulating in image, text and, perhaps, discussion, it is indeed possible that the signification of Muhammad Zaman’s European female portrait for the Queen of the Faeries was far more complex.

SULAYMAN AS TURKTAZI

Sitting beside the female figure in European dress is the male protagonist of Nizami’s narrative, the fortune-favored King Turktazi. This handsome figure of fair skin, with blue eyes and a closely trimmed moustache and beard (a thin strip of hair markedly adjoins the lower lip with the beard), bears strong physiognomic similarities to portraits of Shah Sulayman (fig. 13).⁹³ Those distinctive features identify the shah in certain late seventeenth-century court scenes compiled in the St. Petersburg Album. Contemporary observers commented upon Sulayman’s light complexion and blond hair, which the monarch was in the habit of dyeing black. The French jeweler Jean Chardin, who was in Iran between 1666 and 1667 and then again between 1672 and 1677, attended both of Sulayman’s coronations and described the young monarch:

Sa taille est haute, dégagée et pleine de grâce; son visage est rond, qui porte dans ses traits un air agréable, un peu marqué de petite vérole; il a les yeux bleus et le poil blond; mais il se le teint en noir, parce que le poil de cette couleur est le plus estimé chez les Perses.... En un mot, on ne remarquoit rien en ce prince qui ne fût alors très-agréable.⁹⁴

The portrayal of ruling figures as protagonists of the historical and literary past garbed in contemporary dress was not uncommon in Persian manuscripts. It has been persuasively argued that certain paintings, and even entire illustrative programs, of classical Persian literature depict individual royal personages and allude to contemporary interests.⁹⁵ In addition to a legitimizing enterprise of associating contemporary rulers with great historical figures, such images served as a mirror for princes, highlighting personal and moral aspects of the ideal ruler.⁹⁶



Fig. 13. *Portrait of Shah Sulayman*. Inscribed “*Shāh Sulaymān*,” ca. 1670 (with later borders). Watercolor and ink on paper pasted on cardboard. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Album 298. © The Chester Beatty Library. (Photo: courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library)

If Shah Sulayman is depicted as Turktazi, it is perhaps not inconsequential that the text facing Muhammad Zaman’s illustration contains the verse “No place for demons, Sheba’s throne; ’tis fit for Solomon alone” (32:242), spoken by Turktazi himself, who believes that only the legendary Sulayman is fit to sit beside Turktaz. The shah took the name Sulayman upon his second accession, in 1668, on the recommendation of his court astrologers.⁹⁷ According to Chardin, at the end of the investiture ceremony and the reading of the khutba, the new name of the shah was announced in a loud voice, and it was wished that “ce prince surpasse la gloire et le bonheur du sage monarque qui porta le premier ce nom” (that is, the Koranic Sulayman [Solomon]).⁹⁸

Chardin and, later, Engelbert Kaempfer, a German doctor who had visited Isfahan, relate that just four hours after the coronation, the royal seal and impression for coinage had been changed, and messengers were dispatched to all the provinces to inform the governors of the shah’s new name.⁹⁹ Although Islamic rulers would frequently draw upon Solomonic references to highlight their reign,¹⁰⁰ in the Iranian monarchical tradition, the name Sulayman was relatively rare.¹⁰¹ This change in appellation was very deliberate and clearly reflects a desire to associate the young shah with the Koranic prophet and monarch, venerated for his just and fair rule.¹⁰²

The associations are clear: Sulayman, a great figure in the Islamic tradition, was known for his discernment and wisdom, and the universality of his kingdom. If we read the image in relation to the written word, Shah Sulayman is portrayed as Turktazi, a Solomonic figure fit to sit beside the Faerie Queen who, in Nizami’s text, is compared to Bilqis (Sheba); in the illustration, she is portrayed as a European queen. Sura 27:20–44 relates how Bilqis, the first to recognize Sulayman as a ruler, was summoned to Islam after she had witnessed his kingdom and wisdom.¹⁰³ This Koranic narrative was highlighted in *Hayat al-qulub* (Lives of the Heart), written in the late seventeenth century and dedicated to Shah Sulayman by the renowned theologian Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, who eventually became the *shaykh al-Islām* of Isfahan, the highest religious dignitary of the city. Therein Muhammad Baqir relates a tradition giving an account of Bilqis’s submission: “Ali ibn Ibrahim narrates that when the messenger of Bilqis returned to her and described the majesty and dignity of Sulayman, she understood that she had not the power of waging a war and therefore obeyed Sulayman and went to him.”¹⁰⁴

By introducing the image of a European queen, or princess, and the portrait of Shah Sulayman, the Safavid artist seems to have been commenting on contemporary Safavid notions of a universal ruling positioning, if not power, as perceived by a queen from afar—in the illustration, from Europe; in the Islamic narrative, from Arabia, understood as a distant land.¹⁰⁵

MUHAMMAD ZAMAN AND PHILIPS ANGEL:
PARALLEL INTERESTS?

“For (many scholars say), a painting is silent poetry and poetry a speaking painting.” So reads the treatise *Lof der schilder-konst* by the artist and theoretician Philips Angel, based on a lecture he gave to an assembly of painters on Saint Luke’s Day in 1641.¹⁰⁶ Lacking a formal education, Angel put forth his theories on painting in a “vernacular tone,” arguing for its supremacy above all other arts.¹⁰⁷ He thus engaged the discourse of *ut pictura poesis* (“as is painting, so is poetry”), a preoccupation of European art theory. Having served as headman of the St. Lucas Guild in Leiden, Angel left behind his life as an artist in Holland for financial reasons and joined the Dutch East India Company. He initially arrived in Iran in 1651–52, with an embassy sent by the Company,¹⁰⁸ and later had a studio built in Isfahan, where he produced paintings for Safavid officials in the early 1650s (ca. 1653–55). Although his time in the empire was brief, Angel was one of the few Dutch artists to move in Persian court circles. Contemporary documentation indicates that his associations included the Grand Vizier, a royal physician, and a court painter by the name of ‘Ali Beg.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, according to Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Angel was one of the Dutch painters who taught Shah ‘Abbas II how to draw.¹¹⁰

After providing a historical account of painting in his *Lof der schilder-konst*, Angel concentrates on the qualities of a successful painting, extolling Gerrit Dou (d. 1675) and other Leiden artists for their precision and accuracy of execution. In effect, Angel singles out the school that was later to be known as the “Leiden fine painters” (*Leidse fijnschilders*).¹¹¹ Highly valued in European circles, the work of these artists is characterized by small-scale formats, clarity of minute details, precision of drawing, and highly polished surfaces. Here I wish to emphasize the fact that these are the same artistic qualities to which historic and modern critics alike refer when praising elements of the Iranian artistic tradition.

“Miniature” in concept, both Muhammad Zaman’s manuscript page and compositions by the Leiden fine painters are intended to be viewed closeup. The immediate visual experience of Muhammad Zaman’s work and that of the *Leidse fijnschilders* is largely defined by

jewel-toned colors, enamel-like finishes, and meticulously rendered details. In many Leiden compositions, as well as in Muhammad Zaman’s *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries*, *Turktaz*, purple, blue, and aqua are set off against a tonal range of brown.¹¹² Following the tradition of court production in the manuscript medium, Muhammad Zaman conceals his brushwork, another feature he shares with his counterparts in Leiden. Muhammad Zaman and the Leiden fine painters delighted in rendering the surfaces of objects and textiles. Like the European artist, Muhammad Zaman employs painterly techniques to convey the illusionistic effects of such material reflecting light. The rendering of the glass baubles in the foreground of the Safavid page—their shape and the way light is reflected on their curves and indentations—may be compared to still-life paintings and still-life details in Dutch and Flemish works, including those by the Leiden artists (fig. 14).

Muhammad Zaman mined northern European sources rather than drawing upon conventionalized compositional motifs anticipated by the Safavid viewer. The kneeling woman feeding the torch on the right side of the Safavid painting, for example, finds parallels in the work of—and prints after—Dou, Jan Lievens (d. 1674), and Godfried Schalken (d. 1703), all of whom often employed the formula of a leaning figure holding a candle in the right hand. The fact that the individual in Muhammad Zaman’s work initiates the action with her left hand—that is the reverse of the Western formula—suggests that the image may have been pounced from a European print or preparatory drawing. The European-derived female figure in Muhammad Zaman’s composition stands in lieu of a stock figure in Persian manuscript painting, often found in the lower foreground, who either holds a candle or feeds a flame, as seen in *Khusraw and Shirin Listening to Stories Told by Shirin’s Maidens* (fig. 3), which was bound in Shah Tahmasp’s *Khamsa* (fol. 66b). Another example is the figure with loose, uncovered hair playing a lute with her back to the viewer in the left foreground of *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries*, *Turktaz*. This recognizably Western musician, perhaps an angel with a lute, stands in place of a seated figure with his or her back to the viewer in Persian painting; the latter is generally found in the lower left foreground, as seen in *Mourning for Layla’s Husband*, from a fifteenth-century copy of the



Fig. 14. Detail of the so-called *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess*, identified here as *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries*, *Turktaz* (see fig. 1).

Khamsa dated 1494.¹¹³ Such borrowings can be understood as a nod to the rich tradition of Persian manuscript painting.

There is a tendency to explain the incorporation of foreign elements into Persian painting as blind imitation guided by the painters' and patrons' willful eclecticism. While the dialogue between Mughal artists and patrons and European art and artists is granted intellectual merit, exchanges between Safavid and European artists are often portrayed as instances of the passive acceptance of foreign influence and thereby denied a historical and conceptual understanding. Such scholars as Ebba Koch and Gauvin Bailey have paid great attention to the channels through which European visual culture was mediated in South Asia, demonstrating the sophisticated ways in which European pictorial devices and iconography adapted in Mughal painting resonated in the Mughal imperial milieu.¹¹⁴

The artistic ambitions that the *Leidse fijnschilders* shared with their Isfahani counterparts, as reflected in their painting, would have drawn the attention of the Safavid court. Angel's focus on the rhetorical debate over the nature and attributes of painting and poetry—the "Sister Arts"—may be considered in relation to Muhammad Zaman's exploration of a painting's possibilities (or possibility) of conveying complex allegory and metaphor, as demonstrated in this essay. Since both

Angel and Muhammad Zaman emerged from artistic traditions that emphasized intersections between painting and poetry, it is not difficult to imagine that Angel's interest and initiative in relating theoretical principles concerning the Sister Arts in a simplified manner reverberated in certain Safavid circles. A full discussion of this point is beyond the scope of the present essay. Suffice it here to point out that Angel was active in Iran at a turning point in the history of Persian painting: Safavid artists and viewers were experimenting with different styles and seem to have had evolving expectations of the image.¹¹⁵ Angel, a bold and enthusiastic spokesman for the art of painting, who was in contact with Safavid officials and at least one court painter, would have been in a good position to communicate his artistic interests, ones that he shared with Safavid painters and their patrons.

Not long after his arrival, Angel presented Shah 'Abbas II with five paintings, including the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, which were executed in the studio he had built at Isfahan. It is conceivable that these works remained in the royal treasury (as did the portraits of Charles I, Henrietta Maria and their offspring, discussed earlier), and were later studied by Muhammad Zaman. Angel and Muhammad Zaman may have even directly interacted with one another. Angel was reportedly commissioned to execute murals in the residence of the

Chief of the Royal Slaves (*Qūllar āghāsi bāshī*), as well as in a room in one of the Shah's palaces.¹¹⁶ Although we have no documented dated evidence that Muhammad Zaman was active in the 1650s when Angel was in Iran, it is indeed possible that the Safavid painter, who had a natural talent for working in a variety of artistic idioms, began his career in the medium of mural painting, where the Europeanized style seems to have first been developed, as early as the mid-1600s. Architectural campaigns such as the Chehel Sutun (ca. 1650) brought together painters schooled in different traditions (European, Armenian, and Persian), allowing for the mastery of new techniques.¹¹⁷ Muhammad Zaman and Philips Angel may have thus crossed paths while working on such projects. Alternatively, if the aforementioned court painter 'Ali Beg, with whom Angel was in contact, can be identified as the known imperial artist 'Ali Quli Jabbahdar, whose activity during Shah 'Abbas II's reign is documented, it is also possible to suggest an indirect line of transmission from Angel to 'Ali Quli to Muhammad Zaman.

CONCLUSIONS

Over a century after Shah Tahmasp's *Khamasa* was made in the workshops of Tabriz, it was refurbished by royal order in 1675, during the reign of Shah Sulayman. At this time, Muhammad Zaman, the leading practitioner of *farangī-sāzī*, added at least three paintings to the manuscript. These had to match, if not surpass, the legendary achievements of the previous century. The imperial painter rose to the occasion, interweaving features of European art into Persian manuscript painting. More interesting still was that Muhammad Zaman drew upon European representational strategies to relate a classical Persian text of complex imagery and symbolism.

My examination of text and iconography suggested that in the painting long identified as *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* Muhammad Zaman portrayed not the oft-depicted pavilion reception scene between those two figures, but rather the tale within the tale told by the Indian Princess—the story of King Turktazi in the magical garden of the Queen of the Faeries. This new identification was supported by comparing the image

with the facing text, i.e., the tale told by the Indian Princess. The painting was also subject to a detailed iconographic analysis. The new identification offered here is not so important as an end in itself but rather for the light it sheds on the painter and the world of images he inhabited.

Inventing new compositions for Shah Tahmasp's illustrious *Khamasa*, Muhammad Zaman was in a lively dialogue with the great medieval poet Nizami Ganjavi. The principal aim of this essay was to explore the dynamic relationship between painter and poet. I thus wished to underline artistic agency and qualify notions of influence as found in the traditional scholarship, according to which the "actor," Muhammad Zaman, is seen as a passive recipient of European models. I hope to have also demonstrated that Muhammad Zaman's introduction of occidental motifs and techniques was not appreciated merely as "exotica" by the Safavid viewer. By 1675, such "novelties" had become part of a local visual language that could not only be read but inspired additional images in the mind of the Safavid viewer. This was demonstrated by looking at Muhammad Zaman's iconography in association with other "Europeanized" works. By the final third of the seventeenth century, Safavid artists used *farangī-sāzī* to express core cultural elements of a highly visually literate society that was versed in a variety of artistic idioms.

Drawing upon a wide range of European material, Muhammad Zaman communicated symbolic aspects of one of the great works of classical Persian literature, the *Haft paykar*. Muhammad Zaman's manuscript page clearly demonstrates the power of a painting to relay substantial parts of the narrative and to translate allegorical and metaphorical understandings of the penned word into visual terms. In addition to giving an intellectual and poetic depiction of a complex text, Muhammad Zaman's 1675 painting offers a commentary on seventeenth-century attitudes towards feminine beauty, foreignness, and universal kingship. Using the written word as my guide, I explored how the Safavid artist recreated the Persian poet's nature imagery and light-dark symbolism by incorporating European elements. I then analyzed Muhammad Zaman's adaptation of European female types to represent Nizami's Queen of the Faeries, and interpreted his artistic choice by referring to contemporary notions of the European

woman as expressed in visual and written sources. Late seventeenth-century views of Solomonic kingship were addressed to gain a better appreciation of the intersections between the text and the artist's portrayal of Shah Sulayman as King Turktazi. Arguably, Muhammad Zaman was drawn to the tale of the Indian Princess because it offered him a particularly rich opportunity to exhibit the magical qualities of *farangī-sāzī*. A hypothesis to be examined in future research is that Muhammad Zaman's enterprise was part of a larger cultural process, in which the visual medium was being mined for its narrative possibilities as never before. This, of course, would be part of the broader, global phenomenon of the enhanced status of the pictorial arts.

So far, scholars have focused on the appeal of the "exotic" or the "unfamiliar" in discussions of the Europeanized mode of Safavid painting. Here I suggest that there was an equally strong attraction to the familiar. An artist like Philips Angel would have been well received in Iran precisely because the visual tradition he represented was in important respects similar to that of Persian manuscript painting, as practiced in the courtly milieu. By comparing Muhammad Zaman's painting to the work of the *Leidse fijnschilders*, of which Angel was an outspoken proponent, it is possible to appreciate the overlapping aesthetics in two cosmopolitan cities, Isfahan and Leiden, of an increasingly interconnected world. Indeed, it becomes more and more difficult to sustain the constructed binary opposition between "Eastern" and "Western" modes of representation in discussions of early modern painting.

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NOTES

Author's note: This article, drawn from my doctoral thesis, is based on two papers: "Visual Narrative in 17th-Century *Shahnama* and *Khamsa* Illustrations," presented at the conference Visual Art as Contact Zones: Europe and the Three Empires of Islam in the Early Modern Period (Ashmolean Museum, 1999), and "Muhammad Zaman's European Style and the Reception of a Queen's Image," presented at the Third Biennial Conference on Iranian Studies (Bethesda, Md., 2000). I am grateful to Sussan Babaie, Massumeh Farhad, Oleg Grabar, Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, Julian Raby, David Roxburgh, and the two anonymous read-

ers, who all made invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this article. Needless to say, the errors that remain are my own.

1. London, British Library (henceforth BL), *Khamsa*, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 221b. In the inscription on the tambourine (see fig. 2), the Persian *bandagān* may be rendered into English as "slaves" or "servants." I have chosen the latter translation, in the sense of "servants of the court," since the connotations of the English word "servant" are historically accurate and thus suitable. In this way, I also avoid the term "slave," with its modern associations. It is possible that the phrase *ḥasb al-amr al-a'lā* (in accordance with the most high order) in the upper left corner of the tambourine was inscribed at a later point in the manuscript's history.
2. For two studies dedicated to this painter, see Eleanor Sims, "Towards a Monograph on the 17th-Century Iranian Painter Muhammad Zamān ibn Hāji Yūsuf," *Islamic Art* 5 (2001): 183–99, and Amy Landau, "Farangī-Sāzī at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muhammad Zaman, The Armenians of New Julfa and Shah Sulayman (1666–1694)" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2009).
3. London, BL, *Khamsa*, Ms. Or. 2265. For catalogue descriptions of this manuscript, see Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1879–83), 3:1072–73, and Norah Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and British Museum* (London, 1977), 139. Also see such works as Laurence Binyon, *The Poems of Nizami* (London, 1928); Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits safavis de 1502 à 1587* (Paris, 1959), 69–75; B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles* (London, 1967), 55, cat. no. 39; Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), esp. 134; and Sims "Towards a Monograph on the 17th-Century Iranian Painter."
4. The *Khamsa* is alternatively referred to as *Panj ganj* (Five Treasures). Nizami is the pen name of Abu Muhammad Ilyas ibn Yusuf ibn Zaki Mu'ayyad of Ganja: see Nizāmī Ganjavī, *The Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*, ed. and trans. Julie Scott Meisami (Oxford, 1995), esp. vi–xxiv, and P. Chelkowski, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2004), s.v. "Nizāmī Gandjavī," including bibliography therein.
5. For a thorough account of the life and oeuvre of Shah Mahmud Nishapuri, see Marianna Shreve Simpson and Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven, 1997), 254–69 and 385–406.
6. The names inscribed on the sixteenth-century paintings are Agha Mirak, Muzaffar 'Ali, Sultan Muhammad, Mirza 'Ali, and Mir Sayyid 'Ali. These attributions are likely to be later. See n. 10 below.
7. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (henceforth TSK), Bahram Mirza Album, Ms. H. 2154. For the Persian and English text, see Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Pref-*

- aces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden, 2001), 4–18, esp. 16. For a thorough analysis of this preface in its cultural and historical contexts, see David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden, 2001), esp. 160–208.
8. The full extent and circumstances of the 1675 refurbishment of Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa* have yet to be defined. A systematic codicological study of the manuscript is necessary for a clearer understanding of the resources, both physical and financial, that the project demanded. The forthcoming study of Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa* by Priscilla Soucek and Muhammad Isa Waley will undoubtedly clarify the complex history of this codex. At this stage, we may say that after production in the ateliers of Tabriz, the manuscript was revisited on at least two occasions: one was the 1675 refurbishment, of which Muhammad Zaman's additions were a part; another was during the Qajar period (1785–1925), when a new lacquer binding was attached: see n. 10 below. It is possible that folios, perhaps even paintings by Muhammad Zaman, were removed in the nineteenth century. At some point, perhaps after the 1675 refurbishing, the codex suffered water damage. The other manuscript to which Muhammad Zaman's 1675 paintings are adjoined is a late sixteenth-century copy of the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), preserved in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (henceforth CBL), as Ms. 277. On the basis of the quality of the illumination and the illustration of this manuscript, Arthur John Arberry, Basil William Robinson, Edgar Blochet, and James Vere Stewart Wilkinson suggested that it was an accession copy for Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629); see Arthur John Arberry et al., *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1959–62), 3:49–50. Although there is no codicological study to confirm that the manuscript was produced in the royal ateliers for the court of 'Abbas I, the quality of the illustrations and the authorship of the illumination do indeed suggest that it was a commission of the highest order. The fourteen unsigned sixteenth-century paintings are associated with 'Abbas I's court painters Riza 'Abbasi and Sadiqi Beg, as well as a third, unidentified artist: see Sheila Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi 'Abbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1996), esp. 34–38 and 181, cats. 9–12. Further, the manuscript's illumination is linked with the painter, calligrapher, and illuminator Zayn al-'Abidin Tabrizi (fl. 1570–1602), whose signature is found on folio 1b; he is believed to have worked exclusively for royal and noble patrons. For a discussion of this artist, see Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven, 1976), 212–13. It is my hope to one day carry out a codicological study of this manuscript.
 9. For example, see Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 74, for a description of the *Khamsa* produced at Herat in 1442 (BL, Ms. Add. 25900), to which paintings in the late fifteenth-century Timurid style, the celebrated "Bihzadian" mode, were added. The manuscript was later taken to Tabriz, where paintings in the court style of that metropolitan center were adjoined (ca. 1535). Another well-known instance is studied by Marie Lukens Swietochowski, "The Historical Background and Illustrative Character of the Metropolitan Museum's *Mantiq al-Tayr* of 1483," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), 39–72. That 1483 copy of Farid al-Din 'Attar's *Mantiq al-Tayr* (The Language of the Birds), the work of the celebrated calligrapher Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi, was refurbished at the court of 'Abbas I and presented to the family shrine of Shaykh Safi at Ardabil. For the addition of paintings in an Ottoman context, see Zeren Tanımdı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 147–61.
 10. Scribal notes included attributions to well-known artists. The names of early Safavid artists found on the sixteenth-century paintings in Shah Tahmasp's *Khamsa* were likely inscribed at a later point in the manuscript's history, perhaps during the seventeenth-century refurbishments, or in the nineteenth century, when the manuscript was rebound at the court of the Qajar ruler Fath 'Ali Shah (r. 1798–1834). The lacquer covers (ca. late 1820s) are adorned with scenes of that Qajar ruler hunting. These book covers have been discussed in the following studies: Basil William Robinson, "A Pair of Royal Book-Covers," *Oriental Art* 10, 1 (Spring 1964): 3–7; Basil William Robinson, "Painting in the Post-Safavid Period," in *The Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier (New Haven, 1989), 225–31; Basil William Robinson, "The Court Painters of Fath 'Ali Shah," *Eretz Israel* 7, L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume (Jerusalem, 1963): 94–105. On folio 348b, there is an inscription dated 1243 (1827–28), documenting that the shah ordered this manuscript to be placed in the palace of a certain Qajar princess: see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3:1073. John Seyller has several systematic studies on scribal notations in Mughal manuscripts: see John Seyller, "The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library," *Artibus Asiae* 57, 3–4 (1997): 243–349; John Seyller, "A Mughal Code of Connoisseurship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 178–203; and John Seyller, "Scribal Notes on Mughal Manuscript Illustrations," *Artibus Asiae* 48, 3–4 (1987): 247–77.
 11. A full exploration of this point awaits further study.
 12. *Farangī-sāzī* is a compound word consisting of two elements: a) the adjectival form of *farang* (Europe), *farangī*, which denotes an individual from any region of Europe, or Western Christendom, and is often translated as "Frankish," or "European"; and b) a form based on the present stem of the verb *sākhtan* (to make), which may be rendered into English as "making." See 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, comp. Muḥammad Mu'in and Sayyid Ja'far Shahidī, 15 vols. (Tehran, 1372–73 [1993–94]), s.v. "*farangī-sāzī*," where *farangī-sāzī* is defined both as an individual who works in a European manner and as a work made in a European style. For an expanded discussion on the

- definition and the development of *farangī-sāzī* in different media, see Landau, “*Farangī-sāzī* at Isfahan,” esp. 31–35, 44–51, and 238–41, where the importance of architectural decorative campaigns for the formation of *farangī-sāzī* is emphasized. Also see the work of Layla Diba, who has highlighted the importance of the medium of lacquer for the introduction of what she terms the “Perso-European” mode: Layla Diba, “Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia and Its Relationship to Persian Painting” (PhD diss., New York University, 1994); Layla Diba, *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925* (London and New York, 1998). Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), 365, sees a progression toward a Europeanized mode in a contemporary school indebted to Indian models. He reasons that the Indian style, with its inherent Westernization, “had prepared the ground for the introduction of a limited realism” under the influence of European painting. For a thorough treatment of the development and definition of this style, also see Sheila Canby, “Farangi Saz: The Impact of Europe on Safavid Painting,” in *Silk and Stone: The Art of Asia*, Third Hali Annual (London, 1996), 46–59.
13. Evidence suggests that the Persian court and wealthy Armenian merchants residing in New Julfa largely defined the patron base for this mode of representation.
 14. The most detailed studies of the missionary presence in Iran are by Francis Richard: see, for example, Francis Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite au ‘Grand Siècle’ autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVIIe s.,” *Euntes Docete* 33, 3 (1980): 339–403; Francis Richard, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London, 1982–), s.v. “Capuchins”; and Francis Richard, *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1995).
 15. For activities of the English and Dutch East India Companies, see John Emerson, “Ex Occidente Lux: Some European Sources on the Economic Structure of Persia between about 1630 and 1690” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1969); R. W. Ferrier, “British–Persian Relations in the Seventeenth Century” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1970); Willem Floor, “The Dutch and the Persian Silk Trade,” in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (Cambridge, 1996), 323–69.
 16. For the Jesuits, see Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite,” 339–403.
 17. John Carswell, “Eastern and Western Influence on Art of the Seventeenth Century in Iran,” in *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, 11th–18th April 1968*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1972), 2:277–82.
 18. Laurence Binyon, James Vere Stewart Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January–March, 1931* (Oxford, 1933), 7.
 19. Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 5. This is quoted and thoroughly analyzed in David Roxburgh, “The Study of Painting and the Arts of the Book,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 1–16, esp. 9.
 20. As is borne out in F. R. Martin’s comparison of European miniaturists with the late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century Persian master Bihzad and his successor, Agha Mirak: “How does the work of Bihzad and Mirak stand in comparison with the great contemporary miniatures in Europe ... The Eastern artists are superior in the fineness of the lines, in the decorative sense, in the richness of the colours; the Europeans have more feeling in their faces, more religious sentiment, are more developed in their landscapes. Perhaps the Eastern [*sic*] better understood what a miniature required, as their pictures belong more to the books they illustrate.” See F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century* (London, 1912), 49.
 21. See Willem Floor, “Dutch Painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th Century,” *Persica* 8 (1979): 145–61.
 22. Here it is appropriate to quote Michael Baxandall: “‘Influence’ is a curse of art criticism primarily because of its wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient: it seems to reverse the active/passive relation which the historical actor experiences and the inferential beholder will wish to take into account. If one says that X influenced Y it does seem that one is saying that X did something to Y rather than that Y did something to X. But in the consideration of good pictures and painters the second is always the more lively reality.” Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1985), 58–59. The importance of Baxandall’s “Excursus against Influence” (pp. 58–59) for the study of *farangī-sāzī* is discussed in Landau, “*Farangī-sāzī* at Isfahan,” esp. 35–43. I wish to thank Sussan Babaie, who first pointed me to Baxandall’s work and repeatedly underscored its importance for my study of late Safavid painting. My views of artistic agency are also informed by the work of Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (New York, 1998).
 23. This point is discussed by Roxburgh in “Study of Painting and Arts of the Book,” esp. 3.
 24. Here I am making reference to *tāza-gūī* (speaking the new), a term employed by the Safavid and Mughal audience in reference to the literary arts. Paul Losensky has brilliantly analyzed novelty and tradition in Safavid poetry in *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid–Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1998).
 25. As discussed by Chelkowski, *EI2*, s.v. “Nizāmī Gandjavī.” For example, the greatest Persian-writing poet of medieval India, Amir Khusraw Dihlavi (d. 1325), based his own *Khamsa* on Nizami’s work. For focused discussions on illustrated copies of Dihlavi’s *Khamsa*, see John Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot of India: The Walters Art Museum Khamsa of Amīr Khusraw of Delhi* (Baltimore, 2001), and Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amīr Khusrau’s Khamsah* (London and New York, 2003).
 26. Such scholars as Christoph Bürgel, Priscilla Soucek, and Oleg Grabar have eloquently discussed these points. See Johann Christoph Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh: The “Licit Magic” of the Arts in Medieval Islam* (New York, 1988); Priscilla Soucek, “Nizami on Painters and Paintings,” in

- Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 9–21; and Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).
27. See, for example, Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1911), 466; Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 139; J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design 1500–1700* (London, 1983), 66–67; Diba, “Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia,” 313; and Eleanor G. Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London, 2002), 206–7.
 28. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.609, fol. 213b. This copy of Nizami’s *Khamsa* contains thirty-five illustrations that were repainted in India sometime in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
 29. Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, *Khamsa*, Ms. D-212, fol. 198b. This manuscript has been attributed to the Shiraz school. See Yuri A. Petrosyan et al., *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Lugano, 1995), 245.
 30. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, *Khamsa*, Ms. W.611, fol. 148a. This copy, likely produced in Isfahan, is dated 8 Sha’ban 1059 (August 17, 1649).
 31. The principle of the “breakline” is adopted from recent research on illustrated *Shāhnāma* texts. Breaklines are the verses immediately before and after the painting: see the work of Farhad Mehran and Shreve Simpson in the Cambridge *Shāhnāma* project and its related publications, including *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Aldershot, 2004). Different breaklines appear before the illustration *Bahram Gur and the Indian Princess* in the following manuscripts: Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.609, fol. 213b, 32:3; Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Ms. D-212, fol. 198b, 32:3; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.611, fol. 148a, 32:1; and Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.608, fol. 187b, 32:4.
 32. For the first five verses of the Persian text, see Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Heft Peiker: Ein Romantisches Epos des Nizāmī Genǧe’ī*, ed. Hellmut Ritter and Jan Rypka (Prague, 1934), 120; for an English translation, see Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 105–6.
 33. In the following copies of the *Khamsa*, one or more episodes from the tales are depicted. In BL, Ms. Add. 25900, one finds “Mahan Confronted by Divs” (fol. 188a), from the story told by the Princess of the Turquoise Pavilion; the manuscript is dated 846 (1442) and contains four later sixteenth-century illustrations: see Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 137. Another example is BL, Ms. Or. 6810; this fifteenth-century manuscript was studied by Ivan Stchoukine, “Les peintures de la Khamseh de Nizami du British Museum, Or. 6810,” *Syria* 27 (1950): 301–13. A Mughal example is BL, Ms. Or. 12208, known as Akbar’s *Khamsa*, dated 1004 (1595), where three episodes from the tales are illustrated: “The Man Carried Away by the Simurgh” (fol. 195a), from the story by the Indian Princess; “The Princess Who Painted a Self-Portrait” (fol. 206a), from the story by the Russian Princess; and “The Owner of the Garden Discovering Maidens Bathing in a Pool” (fol. 220a), from the story of the Greek Princess. The last is discussed in Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar’s Khamsa of Nizāmī* (London, 1995). In such manuscripts of Akbar’s *Khamsa*, depictions of these stories replace portrayals of pavilion receptions between Bahram and the respective welcoming Princess.
 34. BL, Ms. Or. 13297: see Norah Titley, “A Fourteenth-Century Khamsa of Nizami,” *British Museum Quarterly*, 36: 8–11. Another example from the British Library is the double-page *Turktazi and the Queen of the Faeries, Turktaz*, from a *Khamsa* dated 823 (1420): BL, Ms. Or. 12087, fols. 153b–154a. This manuscript also has an illustration of *The Owner of the Garden Discovering Maidens Bathing in a Pool* (fol. 173a), from the story told by the Greek Princess: see Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 142. In her index, Larisa Nazarovna Dodkhudoeva cites instances of the relatively infrequent appearance of illustrations of the tale of the Indian Princess: see the list of examples under the heading “The King in the Garden of the Fey,” in Larisa Nazarovna Dodkhudoeva, *Poémy Nizami v Srednevekovoi Miniatiurnoi Zhivopisi* (Moscow, 1985), esp. 225–26. These include BL, Ms. Or. 13297 (dated 1386–88); BL, Ms. Add. 27261 (dated 1410–11); BL, Ms. Or. 12087 (dated 1420); Uppsala University Library, Ms. Vet 82 (dated 1439); TSK, Ms. H. 753 (fifteenth century); John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester, Ms. Pers 36 (dated 1444–45); TSK, Ms. H. 768 (dated 1485); TSK, Ms. H. 785 (dated 1527); TSK, Ms. H. 765 (dated 1538); TSK, Ms. H. 755 (dated 1540); TSK, Ms. H. 764 (ca. 1540). I wish to thank Oleg Grabar and Nefali Papoutsakis for assisting me with reading this work. For examples housed in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, also refer to Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la “Khamseh” de Nizāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d’Istanbul* (Paris, 1977).
 35. CBL, Ms. 141, fol. 205a, in Arberry et al., *Chester Beatty Library*.
 36. Or, for that matter, at details of the poet’s text, as discussed by Jerome W. Clinton, “Ferdowsi and the Illustration of the *Shahnameh*,” in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 57–74, esp. 58.
 37. As discussed in Landau, “*Farangī-sāzī* at Isfahan,” esp. chap. 3.
 38. Nizami makes reference to the maidens’ ability to fly immediately after the King lands in the garden and is subsequently found by a faerie, who brings him by flight before the Faerie Queen.
 39. The text facing the illustration (fol. 222a) begins with line 32:223: “She sat a moment, then removed her veil, and bent to doff her shoes,” and ends with line 32:264 “I, strong with

- love, with wine's excuse, behaved as one who's drunk too much"; for the English translation, see Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 117–19; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 133–35.
40. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, p. 115, 32:181.
 41. The same approach is exemplified by some of Muhammad Zaman's other 1675 additions: see Landau, "Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan," esp. chap. 3.
 42. The interpretation offered here of the literary aspects of Nizami's nature imagery is wholly indebted to Julie Scott Meisami, "Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition: Nezami, Rumi, Hafez," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (1985): 229–60, and Julie Scott Meisami, "The Body as Garden: Nature and Sexuality in Persian Poetry," *Edebiyat* 6 (1995): 245–74.
 43. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, p. 115, 32:190; Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 131.
 44. Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature; Being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged and Entirely Reconstructed* (first ed. London, 1892; new impress. Beirut, 1970), s.v. "Bisheh."
 45. 1604, Vaduz, Sammlung Liechtenstein. Published in color in Martin Papenbrock, *Landschaften des Exils: Gillis van Coninxloo und die Frankenthaler Maler* (Cologne, 2001), pl. 43. The work of Gillis van Coninxloo has been cited and discussed as a possible source for an anonymous Mughal painting dated to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, now housed in the British Museum, 1942.1-24.03. For discussions of that Mughal work, see Robert Skelton, "Landscape in Indian Painting," in *Landscape Style in Asia: A Colloquy Held 25–27 June 1979*, ed. William Watson, *Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia* 9 (London, 1980), 158; J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (New York, 1993), esp. 86, where the author also cites the Dutch painter Jacob Savery (d. 1602); Milo C. Beach, "Characteristics of the St. Petersburg Album," *Orientalia* 26, 1 (1995): 66–79; Ebba Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1998), 35; Ebba Koch, "Netherlandish Naturalism in Imperial Mughal Painting," *Apollo* 152, 465 (2000): 29–37, esp. 35–36, where Koch also refers to the wooded landscapes of Jan Breughel the Elder.
 46. Examples by the Flemish painter Alexander Keirincx include *Wooded Landscape with Deer* and *A View over the River with Trees in the Foreground*, which are both oil on panel and in the Frick Collection, New York. Keirincx frequently employed the compositional formula of setting mythical or religious figures against wooded backgrounds, as seen in *The Temptation of Christ* (1635). Muhammad Zaman's painting, in which the protagonists are dwarfed by the vitality of the landscape, is somewhat comparable. For the work of Keirincx, see Yvonne Thiéry, *Le paysage flamand au XVIIe siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1953), 82–83.
 47. For Savery at the court of Rudolf II, see the following: Eliška Fučíková, ed., *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City* (Prague, London, and New York, 1997); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago and London, 1988). Also see Joaneath Ann Spicer-Durham, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979). I wish to express my gratitude to Joaneath Spicer for her assistance in looking at Muhammad Zaman's painting in relation to Savery's work.
 48. See Spicer-Durham, "Drawings of Roelandt Savery," 82.
 49. BL, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 203b. This composition has been compared to the work of the Dutch Italianates (artists who either worked in Italy or were inspired by those who did, and who painted views of the Roman Campagna), prominently represented by artists working in seventeenth-century Utrecht and Amsterdam, such as Bartholomeus Breenbergh (d. 1657), Cornelis van Poelenburch (d. 1667), and Jan Asselyn (d. 1652). Layla Diba was the first to draw a comparison between the work of the late Safavid artist and that of the Dutch Italianates: see Layla Diba, "Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia." The craggy hills with architectural elements and trees on the right side of the Safavid composition are comparable to those in the work of the Dutch painter Herman Saftleven (fl. 1609–85): see Wolfgang Schulz, *Herman Saftleven (1609–1685): Leben und Werke, mit einem kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Berlin, 1982). The strong recessive diagonal is a characteristic of compositions by, for example, Aelbert Cuyp (d. 1691) and Aert van der Neer (d. 1677). For a discussion of these artists, see Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1996).
 50. Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, inv. no. 1973-11; for color illustration and discussion of this single page, see Vladimir Loukonine and Anatoli Ivanov, *Persian Art: Lost Treasures* (London, 2003), cat. 235, p. 208.
 51. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 117; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 132.
 52. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 117; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 132.
 53. See Meisami, "Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition"; Meisami "Body as Garden," 245–74.
 54. See Julie Scott Meisami, "The Theme of the Journey in Nizami's *Haft Paykar*," *Edebiyat* 4 (1993): 155–72.
 55. See Meisami, "Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition," 232.
 56. *Ibid.*, 233.
 57. It is tempting to suggest that this hillock may allude to the mountain at the core of the universe in cosmological descriptions, evoking the image of the garden as a symbolic center, as described by Meisami, "Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition," 231. See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 99; Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: *Bāgh* and *Chahār Bāgh*," in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976), 71–85.

58. I first suggested the work of these artists as sources of inspiration for the Safavid painting in Landau, "Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan," 109. I wish to thank Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, who has confirmed this possibility. Personal communication, January 2010.
59. See Keith Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer: Paintings, Drawings, Prints* (New York, 1977).
60. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 119, 32:268; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 135.
61. A thorough examination of tenebrism is offered by Maria Rzepińska, "Tenebrism in Baroque Painting and Its Ideological Background," *Artibus et Historiae* 13 (1986): 91–112.
62. Meisami, "Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition," 234.
63. See Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Chapel Hill and London, 1992), 198–99; for the use of this motif in a Mughal context, see Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais*, 27.
64. H. Ziai, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Suhrawardi," 782–84; also see Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, xxxi.
65. Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1971–72), vol. 2, *Sohrawardi et les platoniciens de Perse*, 219.
66. *Ibid.*, 274.
67. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 4, *L'école d'Ispahan, l'école shaykhie, Le Douzième Imâm*, 170–74.
68. *Khamasa*, BL, Ms. Or. 2265, fol. 195a. For a detailed study on the Ascension of Muhammad, see Christiane Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (*Mi'raj*) in Islamic Art and Literature, 1300–1600" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005); Christiane Gruber, *The Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale* (London and New York, 2010). Also see Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, esp. 91–93, and Sims, *Peerless Images*, esp. 151–52.
69. Rzepińska, "Tenebrism in Baroque Painting," esp. 99–102.
70. *Khamasa*, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 469. See Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1997), 49–58. According to Schmitz, these paintings were "randomly attributed" to Muhammad Zaman and Haji Muhammad and date to ca. 1700–1715. Her argument that the compositions were made after the dates inscribed on them revolves around the suggestion that their compositions are based on the royal additions of 1675, as well as on Muhammad Zaman's religious painting *Mary and Elizabeth* of 1678 and a lacquer pen case of 1712 signed by Haji Muhammad. This view presupposes that the latter two works represent the origin of their iconography, but there is no solid evidence of this. They are simply the earliest attestations known to us; such iconography could have been circulating earlier in various forms. For a discussion of the authorship and dating of the Pierpont Morgan Library *Khamasa*, see Landau, "Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan," esp. 73–74 and 169–83.
71. This painting is inscribed "raqam-i kamtarīn-i bandagān Muḥammad Zamān 1087" (signed by the humblest of servants, Muhammad Zaman, 1676). See Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings*, 56.
72. Inscribed "Muḥammad Zamān 1086." *Ibid.*, 57–58.
73. See, for example, *Holy Men*, ca. 1650–55. Calcutta, Indian Museum, inv. no. 13031, illustrated in *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Bombay, 1991), cat. 13, and *Officers and Wise Men*, illustrated in Edward Binney, *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd: An Exhibition at the Portland Art Museum, December 2, 1973–January 20, 1974; The Mughal and Deccani Schools with Some Related Sultanate Material* (Portland, Ore., 1973), no. 59, 84. Robert Skelton proposed that these works date to the end of Payag's career (i.e., the 1650s), during the reign of Shah Jahan: Robert W. Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," in *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (London, 1976), 261–62. Muhammad Zaman's application of tenebrist principles in the royal addition differs from Payag's. First, Muhammad Zaman positions the central candle behind objects in the foreground to give the impression of spatial recession. Second, his figures are not hidden in murky shadows, as they are in Payag's nocturnes and in the Davis Album. Third, Muhammad Zaman demonstrates a greater interest and skill in showing the effects of light hitting glass vessels, as seen in European paintings.
74. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Davis Album, 30.95.174, fol. 2. Skelton discussed these nocturnes in an unpublished paper delivered at the VIth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1972. His ideas were recapitulated in Eleanor Sims, "Late Safavid Painting: The Chehel Sutun, the Armenian Houses, the Oil Paintings," in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (Berlin, 1979), 408–18, esp. 410. Skelton was the first to note the comet and that it occurred in the year 1085 (1674–75). There are a few nocturnes in the St. Petersburg Album inscribed with 'Ali Quli's name: see Oleg F. Akimushkin et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa': Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of the 16th–18th Centuries and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy of 'Imād al-Ḥasanī* (Milan, 1996), 63. Comets were also documented by such European artists as Adam Elsheimer in 1609.
75. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Davis Album, 30.95.174, fol. 1. Parts of this composition seem to have been repainted. Similar in both style and theme is a nocturnal camp scene, inscribed as the work of Agha Zaman and *Yā Ṣāhib al-Zamān* (O Master of the Age [an allusion to both Muhammad Zaman and the Twelfth Imam]) in the Louvre, Paris, MAO 1226; for an expert and thorough investigation of this painting, see Sophie Makariou, "Hypothèse autour de *La Halte nocturne*, un don des Amis du Louvre," *La Revue des Musées de France: Revue du Louvre* 3 (2006): 36–45.
76. I made this observation in the paper "Visual Narratives in 17th-Century *Shahnama* and *Khamasa* Illustrations," presented at the conference Visual Art as Contact Zones: Europe and the Three Empires of Islam in the Early Mod-

- ern Period, held at the Ashmolean Museum in 1999. Eleanor Sims also points to images of Henrietta Maria in her article "Towards a Monograph on the 17th-Century Iranian Painter," esp. 183. For images of Queen Henrietta Maria, see, for example, Christopher Brown, Hans Vlieghe et al., *Van Dyck, 1599–1641: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 15 May–15 August 1999, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 11 September–10 December 1999* (New York, 1999), 240–43, 246–47.
77. I.O., E/3/16/1631, April 21, 1638, cited in R. W. Ferrier, "Charles I and the Antiquities of Persia: The Mission of Nicholas Wilford," *Iran* 8 (1970): 51–56, esp. 54–55.
 78. For a color reproduction, see Hôtel Drouot, *Art islamique: Inde, Perse, Turquie* (auction catalogue), Paris, June 23, 1982, lot 35. The inscription mentions "Abbas," i.e., Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–66). For European paintings of the offspring of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, see, for example, Brown, Vlieghe, et al., *Van Dyck, 1599–1641*, 296–97.
 79. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, A Noble Man of France now living, through Turkey into Persia and the East-Indies, finished in the year 1670* (London, 1678), 182–83; previously cited in Diba, "Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia," 253.
 80. The metallic polka-dotted fabric, however, is certainly not European, nor is it Safavid. Amy Walsh has suggested that the fabric may be Indian chintz. Personal communication, June 2004.
 81. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 119, 32:271; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 135.
 82. On the Turk in art and literature, see, for example, Annemarie Schimmel, "Turk and Hindu: A Literary Symbol," *Acta Iranica* 3 (1974): 243–48; Julie Scott Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For the most recent discussion of the Turk in Persian literature, see the excellent article by Dominic Parviz Brookshaw, "To Be Feared and Desired: Turks in the Collected Works of 'Ubayd-i Zākānī," *Iranian Studies* 42, 5 (December 2009): 725–44.
 83. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 117 and 291; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 133.
 84. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 120; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 136.
 85. Nizāmī, *The Haft Paykar*, trans. Meisami, 123; for the Persian text, see Nizāmī, *Heft Peiker*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, 139.
 86. Notable exceptions include Gabriele Berrer-Wallbrecht, "Antimontopf, Nadel und Langhalsflasche als erotische Symbole im Islam," *Pantheon* 37 (1979): 275–82; Anthony Welch, "Worldly and Otherworldly Love in Safavi Painting," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London and New York, 2000), 301–17; and Sussan Babaie, "Visual Vestiges of Travel: Persian Windows on European Weaknesses," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, 2–3 (2009): 105–36. I wish to thank Sussan Babaie, for sharing with me a copy of her paper before its publication, and Julian Raby, for leading me to Gabriele Berrer-Wallbrecht's article. See also Francesca Leoni and Mika Natif, eds., *Images of Desire: On the Sensual and the Erotic in Islamic Art* (Ashgate Publications, forthcoming 2012).
 87. See Amy S. Landau, "Visibly Foreign, Visibly Female: The Eroticization of *Zan-i Farangī* in Seventeenth-Century Iranian Painting," in Leoni and Natif, *Images of Desire* (forthcoming). While scholars have expertly analyzed the European woman as an erotic object in Iranian visual and textual documents from the eighteenth century and later, sensual portrayals of Western women in earlier seventeenth-century works have been interpreted as little more than an exotic novelty. For sophisticated interpretations of the European woman in Iranian art and literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Reading Gender through Qajar Painting," in *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925*, ed. Layla Diba and Maryam Ekhtiari (New York, 1998), 76–85; Mohamad Tavakoli Targhi, "Women of the West Imagined: The Farangī Other and the Emergence of the Women Question in Iran," in *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*, ed. Valentine Moghadam (Boulder, Colo., 1994), 98–120.
 88. For vessels as erotic iconography, see Berrer-Wallbrecht, "Antimontopf, Nadel und Langhalsflasche."
 89. According to Meisami, the name Turktaç (Turkish Raider) "signifies the assault of beauty on the senses, which awakens the concupiscent faculty." Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 228 n. 55.
 90. Schimmel, *A Two-Coloured Brocade*, 143.
 91. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdi (Tehran, 1361 [1982]), 300. I wish to thank Manouchehr Kasheff and Paul Losensky for their very insightful comments on my translation. A translation and full analysis of this poem in relation to the visual evidence will be offered in Landau, "Visibly Foreign, Visibly Female" (forthcoming).
 92. That such prints reached Iran is suggested by a related example bound in an album of Persian and Indian paintings in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W. 771.
 93. The identification "Shah Sulayman" is written in Persian on the right side of the portrait in the Chester Beatty Library. The work was executed either in India, where portraits of Persian and Uzbek noblemen were popular and included in albums, or in Iran, by an artist such as Shaykh 'Abbasi, who worked in an "Indianizing" style. A similarly styled beard and moustache, which were popular with Indian artists, especially in the Deccan, are found in two Indian portraits of Shah Sulayman, in which his facial characteristics were rendered with heavier shading. One that bears the name "Shah Sulayman" in various languages on the back is published in Hermann Goetz, *The Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings in the Rijks-prentenkabinet (Rijksmuseum)* (Amsterdam, 1958), 44, pl. 20; the other is published in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 355, cat. 140.

94. John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols. (Paris, 1811), 9:511.
95. See Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago, 1980); for a different view of the text, see A. Soudavar, "The Saga of Abu-Sa'id Bahador Khan: The Abu-Sa'idname," in *The Court of the Il-Khans, 1290–1340*, ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (Oxford, 1996). A programmatic intent has also been suggested regarding the *Shāhnāma* for the Timurid Prince Baysunghur dated 1430 (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. 61); see Basil Gray, *An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations from the Baysongori Manuscript of the Shahnameh of Ferdowsi* (Tehran, 1971). For a Safavid example, Robert Hillenbrand has cogently argued that the scenes illustrating the *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp reflect the preoccupations of that monarch: see his "The Iconography of the *Shāh-nāma-yi Shāhī*," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville, *Pembroke Persian Papers* 4 (1996), 53–78. See also Hillenbrand, *Shahnama*, with bibliography. It is important to note here that in "Rewriting the History of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*," in Hillenbrand, *Shahnama*, 35–50, Sheila Blair has modified her earlier interpretation of the illustrated program of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, (as well as of other illustrated programs) as representing contemporary events: "I would add that in general I am less convinced now than I was 26 years ago by the whole reading of epic images as contemporary history, for the argument skips the question of intended audience. Who would have seen the manuscript and appreciated its visual references?" (p. 47).
96. For these aspects in a literary context, see Julie Scott Meisami, "The Past in Service of the Present: Two Views of History in Medieval Persia," *Poetics Today* 14, 2, *Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Summer 1993): 247–75.
97. Here we may remind ourselves that the earliest known work linking the patronage of Shah Sulayman with the artist Muhammad Zaman is a pen case dated 1673 and executed by order of that shah (*bi-amr-i Sulaymān*); it bears an inscription that makes reference to the "Sulayman of the time" (*Sulaymān-i zamān*) and "Muhammad (of the) Zaman (time)." On the top of this pen case, a prince is depicted consulting a sage, a recluse before a grotto. Both image and inscription play upon the theme of the archetypal wise and just ruler. For discussions of this work, consult Yaḥyā Zūkā, "Muḥammad Zamān, nakhustin nigārgar-i Īrānī ki bi-Urūpā firistāda shud" ("Muhammad Zaman, the First Iranian Painter to be Sent to Europe"), in *Nigāhī bi-nigārgarī-yi Īrān dar suddahā-yi davāzdahum va sizdahum* (collection catalogue) (Tehran, 1354 [1975]), 39–79, esp. 46–47; and Diba, "Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia," cat. 65. Diba fully discusses and interprets this work in *Persian Royal Paintings*, 116–18.
98. Chardin, *Voyages*, 10:94.
99. Kaempfer, who was not in Iran until 1684–85, gets much of his information from Chardin. See E. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs (1684–1685)* (Tübingen, 1977), 61, as well as John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1735), 4:308–9.
100. The following are excellent studies in which Solomonic references are examined in an Islamic context: Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," in *Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Art*, ed. Joseph Gutman (Ann Arbor, 1976), 73–124; Ebba Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall-Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore," in *India and the West: Proceedings of a Seminar Dedicated to the Memory of Hermann Goetz*, ed. Joachim Deppert, *South Asian Studies* 15 (New Delhi, 1983); Ebba Koch *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz, 1988); Priscilla Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?" *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 109–34; and Teresa Fitzherbert, "Bal'ami's Tabari: An Illustrated Manuscript of Bal'ami's *Tarjama-yi Tarikh-i Tabari* in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (F59.16, 47.19 and 30.21)" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2001).
101. I thank Willem Floor for pointing out that the only other shah in Iran named Sulayman was an Ilkhanid ruler (r. 1339–46). Personal communication, June 2004.
102. This name change and the shah's two coronations are discussed more fully in Landau, "*Farangī-sāzī* at Isfahan," esp. 52–59.
103. This sura is quoted on oval cusped medallions with pierced inscriptions dated 1105 (1693–94). James Allan and Brian Gilmour, *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection* (Oxford, 2000), 300–301, have suggested that these medallions most likely belonged to royal doors.
104. Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Kitāb-i Mustatāb-i Ḥayāt al-qulūb*, 3 vols. (Tehran, n.d.), 1:365–66; for this English translation, see Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* (Stories of the Prophets, Characteristics and Circumstances of the Prophets and Their Successors), trans. Athar Husain S. H. Rizvi, 3 vols. (Qum, 2003), 1:474–75.
105. One might suggest that Muhammad Zaman's portrayal of the shah and a European princess as Turktazi and Turktaz would stand as a mirror for princes: as the protagonist Turktazi, Shah Sulayman would thus learn the important lessons of patience and contentment, thereafter to rule justly and wisely a kingdom that would be universally recognized.
106. Michael Hoyle and Hessel Miedema, "Philips Angel, *Praise of Painting*, Translated by Michael Hoyle, With an Introduction and Commentary by Hessel Miedema," in "Ten Essays for a Friend: E. de Jongh 65," special issue, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, 2–3 (1996): 227–58, esp. 239–40.

107. Hoyle and Miedema, "Philips Angel," 227; H. Perry Chapman, "A *Hollandse Pictura*: Observations on the Title Page of Philips Angel's *Lof der schilder-konst*," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16, 4 (1986): 233–48, esp. 234.
108. Floor, "Dutch Painters in Iran," esp. 150–55. Therein the artist is referred to as "Philips van Angel."
109. Ibid. I am presently investigating the possibility that this was the well-known Safavid painter 'Ali Quli Beg Jabbar, who was active at the courts of 'Abbas II and Sulayman.
110. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers & curieux* (Amsterdam?, 1679), 153.
111. According to Hessel Miedema, "... Angel's *Lof der schilder-konst* came to be regarded as a document enshrining the artistic ideals of the Leiden *fijnschilders*." Miedema and Hoyle, "Philips Angel," 227–58, esp. 227. For studies on the Leiden "fine painters," see Eric J. Sluijter et al., *Leidse Fijnschilders: Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630–1760* (Leiden, 1988); Franklin W. Robinson, "Gerard Dou and his Circle of Influence," in *Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age* (New York, 1974), 89–97; and Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia, 1984).
112. This palette is fairly unusual for Safavid painting, and begs the question of a transfer of knowledge as far as pigments are concerned. I am presently researching this possibility.
113. BL, Ms. Or. 6810. For a color reproduction, see Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, fig. 75, p. 143.
114. See Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, ed. Christian W. Troll (New Delhi, 1982), 14–32; Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels"; Ebba Koch, "Pietre Dure and Other Artistic Affinities between the Court of the Mughals and That of the Medici," in *A Mirror of Princes: The Mughals and the Medici*, ed. Dalu Jones (Bombay, 1987), 29–56; Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*; Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais*; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Counter-Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting," *Art Journal* 57, 2 (Spring 1998): 24–30; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Lahore *Mirat al-Quds* and the Impact of Jesuit Theater on Mughal Painting," *South Asian Studies* 13, 1 (1997): 95–108. Important work in this area is also represented by the studies of Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), and Robert Skelton, "Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla Soucek (London, 1988), 177–87.
115. Massumeh Farhad was the first to discuss the rich narratives of Safavid single-page paintings and drawings. See Massumeh Farhad, "Safavid Single Page Painting, 1629–1666" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987). For the compilation of single pages in albums before mid-century, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven and London, 2005).
116. Previously mentioned in Floor, "Dutch Painters in Iran," 152, citing Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier: En Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, pendant l'espace de quarante ans*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1678), 1:562.
117. Landau, "Farangi-sāzi at Isfahan," esp. 31–35, 44–51, and 238–41. For a detailed study of the Chehel Sutun, see Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh, 2008).