

The Royal and the Popular in Early Safavid Art

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A significant difference between the established academic discourse on European and Persian art history is that while the former generally uses stylistic criteria for creating its chronological framework (e.g., Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque periods), the latter refers to dynasties (e.g., Seljuq, Il-Khanid, Timurid, and Safavid periods) for the same purpose.¹ This clearly indicates that modern Persian art scholarship, as it has developed in Europe, is actually an offshoot of Persian historiography. But how can one describe the style of a period which is delimited merely by the rise and fall of a dynasty? Is it legitimate to attribute stylistic characteristics to the Timurid, Turkoman or Safavid periods by naming the concurrent artistic production as Timurid, Turkoman or Safavid art respectively? Of course these categories cannot be compared to such terms as Renaissance or Baroque art, yet it remains true that dynastic changes often induce shifts in existing cultural norms. From where do they come and why? What was their repository prior to their manifestation? And why do they appear at a given historical moment? These questions are not easy to answer yet they appear regularly, for instance, in Safavid studies, as the takeover of Shah Esmā'īl I in Iran (AD 1501) ushered in several long-lasting innovations. The present paper attempts to discuss some of these problems in the realm of art history.

It is common knowledge that the Safavid state, like hegemonist rulerships in general, sought distinctive religious and cultural features. It was through the inclusion of these into the age-old governmental structure that the new state could present itself as a clear-cut entity. Hence the new formal language of its art was drawn from two main sources: from a native heritage that was brought from the Safavids' ancestral background, and from the royal establishment at Tabrīz, which the Safavids conquered in 1501. Art historians usually accentuate the latter, emphasizing the continuous normative values of court art, thus downplaying the originality of the new period. But then how can one refer to Safavid art, as distinct from the art of the Turkomans and Timurids? While early Safavid art is easily distinguishable from its predecessors, it is not so easy to grasp the essence of differences and even more difficult it is to trace, in a Rieglian way, the origin of stylistic and thematic changes. Nevertheless, one can presume that innovations, necessary for an altered style and outlook, must have come from the non-royal environment of the first Safavids. In other words, the theory is that these elements originated outside the central bureaucracy, possibly in the little-known

vernacular style of the northern Iranian countryside. This paper attempts to offer a glimpse of the pre-Tabriz artistic climate that surrounded the Safavids before their coming into power, show the absorption of this idiom into royal art, and finally, to follow the way of this ennobled visual experience back to the local lore.

The principal achievement of the Safavid Empire was the introduction of Twelver Shi'i Islam in AD 1501 as Persia's state religion. Yet there is little information about the exact character of Shi'a, as it was practised by the Safaviya (the religious order founded by Shaykh Safi al-Din Ardabili in about AH 700 / AD 1300) before this proclamation.² Remaining for long a regional school of mystical thought, the Safaviya was one of the many religious orders that were burgeoning during the Il-Khanid period (1256–1340 AD) and afterwards.³ In the absence of contemporary written sources, these pockets of popular devotion are hardly conceivable now. Nothing certain has been left behind to suggest what their doctrinal basis and rituals were; consequently, the extent to which they were later incorporated into the nascent state religion remains unknown. By the late 9th century AH / 15th century AD, however, the Safaviya had become so deeply entrenched all over north-western Iran that its *pīr* (spiritual leader) gained the upper hand in the political vacuum left by the ailing Aq Qoyūnlū Empire (AH 780–906 / AD 1378–1501). The same moment saw the emergence of Safavid piety into light. Its earlier principles were then carefully rewritten by Safavid historiographers.⁴

The passionate visions of Shah Esmā'il I, penned under the *nom de plume* of *Katā'i*, recall the spiritual ferment that culminated in his victory. Through its symbols and metaphors, the *Divān* of the shah expresses the beliefs prevailing in the Safavid tribal federation. A rare Persian quatrain in the collection connects the lineage of the Safavids with the household of the Prophet Muhammad, stating that

*"The love for 'Alī and his sons embraces me like life –
A servant of the King of Heroes is Esmā'īl, son of Haydar."*⁵

This straightforward and emotive poetry of an exaggerated self-reverence was born outside the Persian literary and theological canons and it was difficult to carry on in the sophisticated environment of Tabriz. It does not come as a surprise, then, that the gradually emerging Shi'i orthodoxy and its literary aspect crystallised along different lines.

A similar canonisation took place within the visual arts. The early style of Soltān Mohammad (active in the first third of the 16th century), the master-painter of the Tabriz school, is often and justly called "frenzied"⁶ or "illogical,"⁷ with the additional supposition that these qualities are of Turkoman origin.⁸ In fact, the proper roots of this manner are yet to be revealed. While its formal values are clearly defined by the standards of the Tabriz workshop, these unrestrained elements might well have come from the same environment that produced the first Safavid shah's poetry. Aesthetically, both show maturity in their accomplishment, but if compared to the more aristocratic tone prevalent in the court poetry and painting of later decades, the freshness of popular art becomes discernible under the surface. Illustrations of the *Šāhnāme* (Book of Kings) attributed to Soltān Mohammad, e. g., the *Rostam Sleeping* (ca. AH 921–929 / AD 1515–1522, London, British Library)⁹, the *Combat of Rostam and Kāmūs* (ca. AH 921–929 / AD 1515–1522, formerly Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum)¹⁰ or *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Div* (from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD

1522, private collection),¹¹ interpret Ferdawsi's account in a vividly popular way. This approach differs markedly from the ceremonial narratives that are found in many illustrations from the Timurid and Turkoman periods. Soltān Mohammad's populism must have had its antecedents. It is also likely that these archetypes were more readily available at the traditional locale of the Safavids than in earlier court art, although the existence of a related popular and pro-Alid strain that was already present in some Turkoman examples, like in the copy of the *Kāvarānnāme* of Kūsefi (ca. 1486, possibly Šīrāz), must not be forgotten.¹² Suffering repeatedly from various natural and military disasters, the urban structure and popular life of late-Turkoman Tabrīz disappeared almost without trace.¹³ Fortunately, in the north western provinces of Iran, and particularly in Gilān and Māzandarān, a variety of popular imagery has been preserved, mostly in the wall and ceiling paintings that decorate the wooden architecture of the region (fig. 1).¹⁴ Despite their relatively recent origin, these naïve renderings of tales and magical concepts bear witness to the permanence of the Iranian pictorial tradition.

Three main thematic groups can be discerned in the series of Māzandarāni wall paintings: plants, animals and fantastic creatures, such as solar faces, angels and divs (demons); scenes taken from the legendary history of Iran; and, finally, stories of the Ahl al-Bayt (the Household of the Prophet). A comparison with the innovations that were brought forth by early Safavid painting is instructive. A whole series of murals



Fig. 1. Detail of wooden ceiling, Tavakoli house, Rostamkalā. Nineteenth century AD.
Photo: Iván Szántó



Fig. 2. Esrāfīl, the angel of death, detail of painted wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Nineteenth or early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 28

depicts richly clad angels blowing trumpets, punishing evil beings or simply sitting with outstretched wings (figs. 2). Trifling and pictogram-like, it was nevertheless from such figures that the cheerful yet combative angels in compositions attributable to Soltān Mohammad, including *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Dīv*, might have evolved (fig. 3). Their grotesquely fleeing adversaries, the furry *dīvs*, also draw upon



Fig. 3. Flying angel, detail of *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Dīv*, attributed to Soltān Mohammad, from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 40



Fig. 4. Dīv, detail of *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Dīv*, attributed to Soltān Mohammad, from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I. Ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 41

the same tradition (figs. 4-5). More complex scenes of early Safavid painting, such as *The Death of Zāhhāk* (from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection)¹⁵ have connections both with Timurid archetypes and, in equal measure, with popular imagery (figs. 6-7). These motifs might be referred to as pictorial units, i. e., small constructs of popular imagination, ready to be used in a more complex vocabulary.

Proto-Safavid and early-Safavid book paintings that survive from the same area, notably from Astarābād (Gorgān) and Lāhīgān, show that housing in the period was akin to later Māzandarānī architecture; even palatial constructions employed similar forms and decorative techniques.¹⁶ Thus, supposedly, the wooden poles and beams of contemporary architecture carried a similar imagery. A unique group of early-Safavid wooden mosques, centred around Marāḡa, Bonāb and Šīrlū (ʿAḡabšīr) preserves a rich, if heavily



Fig. 5. Dīv, detail of wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Nineteenth or early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 39



Fig. 6. The Death of Zahhāk, detail. Illustration from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I. Ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 45

reworked, floral and geometrical ornamentation in painting. Unfortunately, the only surviving secular structure dating back to the same period, the so-called Čehel Sotūn palace in Qazvīn, has retained only faint traces of its decoration.¹⁷ Built by Shah Tahmāsp I after AH 963 / AD 1555, this pavilion is a refined adjustment of the traditional *tālār*, or terraced hall, which is commonly seen in the Iranian countryside. The fragmentary murals inside, made about fifty years after the beginning of the Safavid period, are far detached from the popular mode, and represent a further step in the construction of a new vocabulary.

The narrow and fertile belt of the Caspian littoral, stretching between Lāhīgān and Astarābād (Gorgān), was the only Iranian region, outside Tabrīz and Šīrāz, where significant illustrated copies of the *Šāhnāme* were made in the last decades of Timurid and Turkoman domination and the early years of the Safavids.¹⁸ Containing the best depictions of architecture, the most famous of these was commissioned by Soltān Mirzā ‘Alī Karkiyā, the governor of Gilān and mentor of the infant Shah Esmā‘īl.¹⁹ In the revival of Ferdawsī’s epic during the reigns of the first Safavid kings, these local dynasts certainly had a role. The long line of the Karkiyānids, for instance, bridged the time-span that separated pre-Mongol Iran and the Safavids physically. Although

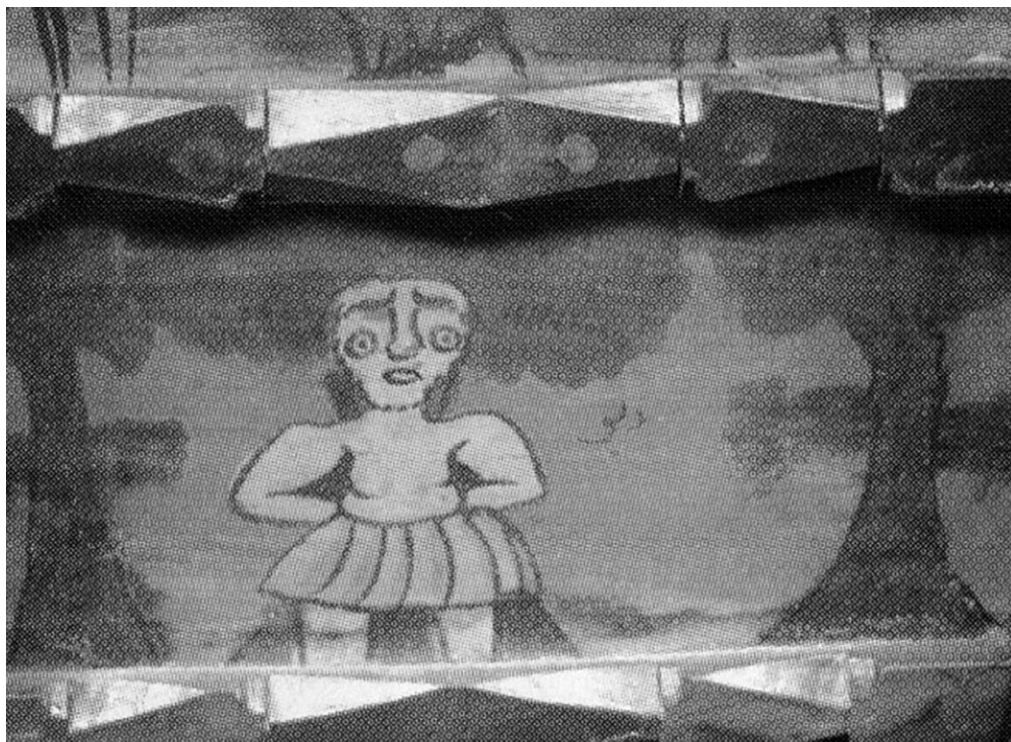


Fig. 7. Fettered div, detail of wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 46

little is known about their mindset, the chivalrous culture of the *Šāhnāme* must have been one of its constituent parts, just as the many pre-Islamic symbols were. Soltān Mohammad's rendering of the heroic Rostam, complete with the fabulous forest of Māzandarān, clearly points to the sources of the revival.

In addition to their deep experience of ancient Iran, the Karkīyānids were devout Shi'ites, another regional mark that was shared with the Safavids.²⁰ The major themes featuring side-by-side in the wooden *tālārs* of northern Iran are likewise taken from pre-Islamic and Shi'i mythologies. The earliest traceable signs of this twofold predilection of Iranian popular art, reaching as far as modern-day coffeehouse painting, date back to this time. Early Safavid book art declared the creed of its commissioners as clearly as any of its precedents. The inclusion of the *tāġ-e Haydarī* (the red turban rod of the Safavid confederation) in virtually every illustration conveys the image of tribal affiliation that converges in a spiritual alliance. True, religious orientation denoted by clothing has examples from earlier periods as well. The *Kitāb al-Āġānī* frontispieces, to take just one example, make an evident distinction between the turbaned men of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph, and Badr al-Dīn Lūlū, the atābeg of Mōsel, wearing a woollen cap, who commissioned the manuscripts in AH 616 / AD 1219.²¹ But dress codes were perhaps never before as meaningful as throughout the reigns of Shahs Esmāʿīl I and Tahmāsp I.²² A steel belt plaque, supposedly made for Shah Esmāʿīl I (dated AH 913/AD 1507–1508, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, displays in a roundel the mounted figure of a Safavid hunter

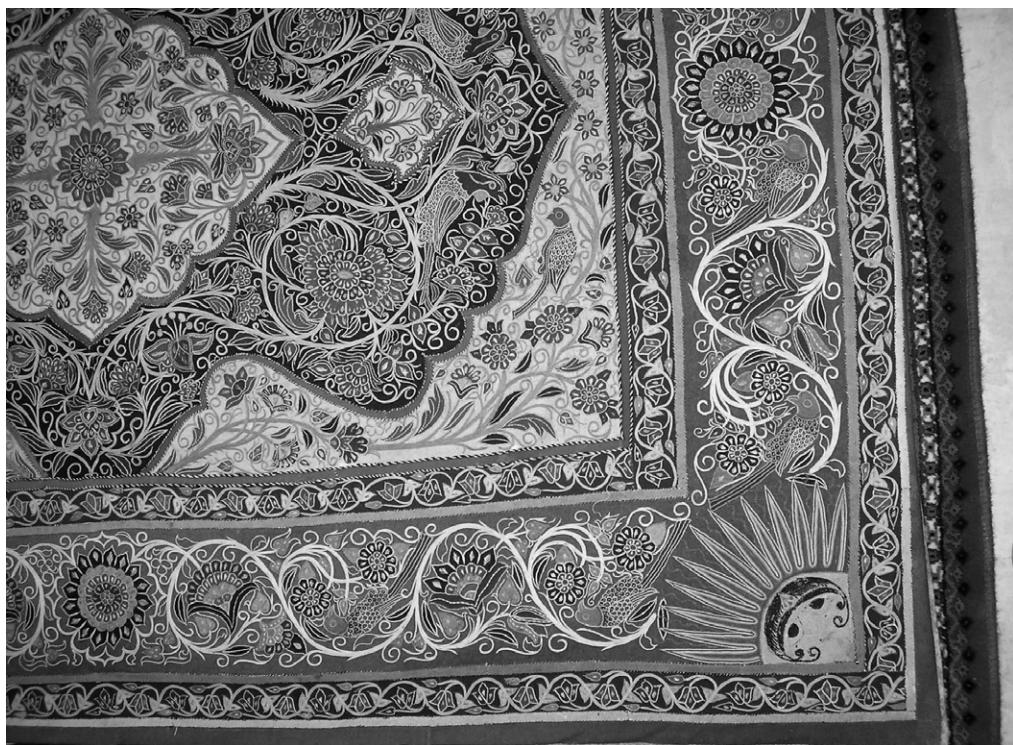


Fig. 8. Detail of embroidery, Rašt (?). First half of nineteenth century AD. Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts, Esfahān. Photo by the author, by courtesy of the Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts

with a page as its sole figural ornament.²³ Expressing a compelling visual statement, the figure represents the real wearer of the belt in a diminutive scale. This rare object says much about the degree to which the motif was identified with the Shi'i belief and the readiness to fight for its cause. The figure poses here like another simple pictorial unit, but in this case it was not an ancient popular image but a recent Safavid creation.

The *tālārs* of northern Iran are not the only preserves of popular motifs that were taken on by the court artists of Tabriz. Another set of quasi-popular artefacts, which originate from the same background and display a similar imagery, are the textile arts of Gilān province, collectively known as *Rašt-kārī*, named after Rašt, their principal manufacturing centre and trading entrepôt. Using a variety of techniques, such as embroidery (*golābdūzī*) or appliqué work (*tekke-dūzī*), these objects likewise feature motifs and techniques that are more ancient than the textiles themselves. The extant pieces date back to the early Qāghār period (ca. AH 1200–1265 / AD 1785–1848). On some of the finest examples we encounter a similar, although more limited, range of patterns to those seen on wooden structures. Solar faces are among their most common motifs. A remarkable piece of needlework, supposedly made in Rašt (Esfahān, Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts, inv. no. 24.7) includes four solar faces in the corners, with their rays pointing towards the central field, in which a densely floriated medallion has been sewn (fig. 8).²⁴ The arrangement, along with the red-dominated colour scheme,

resembles early and mid-period Qāḡār wooden ceiling panels, such as the one from a Šīrāz house (Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, D 1181)²⁵ and another in the house of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm Qarīb in Garakān, near Āštīān.

Like wooden *tālārs*, *Rašt-kārī* has still visible links with the Safavid period. Michele Membré, the Venetian envoy to Shah Tahmāsp I, made references to this craft in his *Relazione*.²⁶ The most outstanding example for such a technique dating back to the Safavids is the large appliqué work from the Esterházy collection (Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, fig. 9).²⁷ Two sets of solar faces decorate its outer and inner borders. The inner faces belong to that heraldic type, assuming a fully frontal position, which also characterises the more recent Esfahān versions. A comparison with the floral pattern structure of the Esfahān embroidery is even more rewarding. On the Qāḡār textile two types of sewn-on stripes are seen. The thin yellow bands along the two lesser perimeters meander around evenly placed rosettes in a similar way to that in which they occur in the outer section of the Budapest object. In Esfahān the middle border contains dense bunches of light-hued vines, conceived either as vegetal motifs or as purely ornamental elements. Fabrics of the same format also appear on the Safavid piece. For instance, the elaborately twisting tail feathers of the *šimorg*, the mythical bird of Iran, in combat with a dragon, adopt this form.

No matter how captivating the border zone of the Esterházy appliqué is, its crowning glory is the middle field, with its boisterous royal feast. Centred on the enthroned figure of a king, the scene follows the style that is epitomised by Soltān Moḥammad.²⁸



Fig. 9. Detail of the so-called Esterházy appliqué, North-West Iran. Second quarter of sixteenth century AD. Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, The Esterházy Collection. Photo by Ágnes Kolozs © Museum of Applied Arts

The central field and the marginal segments, if taken together, create a mixture of the Tabriz style and popular art. The joyful gathering of Safavid youths in the centre, bordered with solar faces and undulating scrollwork, is like a small-scale replica of royal Tabriz and its rural hinterland. Nowhere else can the duality of the popular and the urbane be as clearly observed as here. The Budapest appliqué demonstrates how the pictorial units of popular art were subsequently attached to the vocabulary of the court.

Moreover, the artefact also bears witness to the intrusion of book painting into the domain of rural textile arts. The central field reminds us of the finest Safavid manuscript illustrations: princes, servants and musicians feasting in a sloping landscape. With its adaptation to the appliqué, Safavid art updated a traditional craft and brought it under the aegis of the new style. This move was essential in deploying a new visual language, which was constructed of innovative pictorial units. At least some of these new motifs must have already existed in popular crafts, until Safavid artists incorporated them into the visual culture of the royal court. At the same time, the reverse tide carried court idioms to the provinces. As often happens, physical vestiges of popular arts are more recent than the well-kept treasures of royal courts, yet the former may preserve archaic characteristics that could originally have served as archetypes for the royal workshops. Thus, in the same way that one can postulate a two-way relationship between 16th-century book art and 19th-20th-century rural architectural decoration, the expansion of the Tabriz vocabulary to textiles and beyond can also be traced. While the driving force behind the building of the new image was the Tabriz library-atelier, all figurative media were actively involved in this subtle interpenetration. Right after royal Safavid painting began to use previously unfamiliar motifs, it was ready to spread these into other genres as well. There is little doubt that there was also a reciprocate influence whereby royal imagery affected popular arts. Eventually, a unified profile of early Safavid art was born from the fusion of old and recent pictorial units. Of course, this procedure is not unparalleled in Persian art. Recent scholarship produced significant studies in intermediality during the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods.²⁹ In every case, the process led to an assimilation of different genres and crafts, until it reached the degree of what we now understand as Il-Khanid, Timurid and Safavid arts.

The task of the Tabriz *ketābkāne* in the absorption of these old or unfamiliar pictorial units was to reinvigorate them as themes. Thus, in the art of Soltān Mohammad, Mīr Mosavver, and their contemporaries the small constructs of Iranian popular thought were drawn into an active interplay with the established courtly stage. In this manner, a new formal language emerged, which in time penetrated into all existing genres and created new genres as well. The Budapest appliqué, the lacquer bookbindings with figural representations on their pasteboard grounds, and the album paintings and drawings mark the directions in which early Safavid painters ventured from their original sphere of manuscript illustration. As time passed, the original meaningfulness of the new themes began to fade. Soon after the apogee of early Safavid art an increasing number of textiles, carpets and ceramics were made using angels, drinking couples and *simorgs* as mere decorative patterns. By that time these Safavid themes were no longer novelties, but provided the new pictorial units instead. Simplified into iconic formulae, they returned to the vernacular, where they remained carefully hidden until a new artistic synthesis disinterred them once more at the turn of the 19th century, in the Qāğār epoch.

Notes

- 1 This study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian National Research Fund (OTKA no. 83166). A shorter, unpublished, version was read in Tabriz, Iran, at the *International Congress on Sultan Muhammad, Miniaturist of the Tabriz School*, on 12 May, 2005, organised by the Iranian Academy of Arts (Tehran, Iran). I owe a particularly great debt of gratitude to Yā'qūb Āžand (University of Tehran, Department of Fine Arts) and Sayyed Abd ol-Mağīd Šarifzāde (Cultural Heritage Organisation of Iran) for their useful comments.
- 2 Jean Aubin, *L'avènement des Safavides réconsidéré*, Études safavides III. (Paris-Tehrān: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1988), 28–48.
- 3 Leonard Lewisohn, "Iranian Islam and Persianate Sufism," in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. by Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 11–43.
- 4 For an analysis of the *Safvat ol-safā*, a genealogical work containing the fundamentals of Safavid ideology, see Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 147–152.
- 5 *Kolliyāt-e Dīvān, Nasihatnāme, Dehnāme, gūšmālār, fārsḡā š'erlar*, ed. by Mīrzā Rasūl Esmā'īlzāde (Tehrān: Alhodā, 1382/2004), 513.
- 6 *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501-1722*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: Abrams, 1999), 31.
- 7 Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian Painting, Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), 42.
- 8 See, for instance, Welch, 1976, 15–17; Priscilla Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: Painter at the Safavid Court," in *Persian Masters. Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay: Marg, 1990), 55–58; Soudavar, 1992, 159, sqq.; Yā'qūb Āžand, *Simā-ye Soltān Mohammad Naqqāš* (Tehrān: Farhangestān-e honar, 1384/2005a), 136–137; Yā'qūb Āžand, *Maktab-e Negārgeri-ye Tabriz va Qazvin-Mašhad* (Tehrān: Farhangestān-e honar, 1384/2005b), 42–47.
- 9 *Hunt for Paradise. Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, eds. Sheila R. Canby and Jon Thompson (Milan – New York: Skira, 2003), Cat. no. 4.4.
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- 11 Welch, 1976, 40–45.
- 12 Sa'īd Anvārī, *Kāvarānnāme-ye ebn Hosām-e Kūsefī Birḡandī* (Tehrān: Vezārāt-e Farhang va Eršād-e Eslāmī, 1381/2002); Raya Shani, *Again on Ibn Husām's Khāvarannāma and its earliest extant illustrated copy in the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran* (Ms. 5750). Paper read at the 7th European Conference of Iranian Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, 7–10 September, 2011 (forthcoming).
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- 14 Ma'sūme Rahīmzāde, *Saqqātālārḡā-ye Māzandarān. Mantaqe-ye Bābol* (Tehrān: Enteshārāt-e Mirās-e farhangī, 1382/2004); Sussan Babaie, "Building for the Shah: the role of Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī (Sārū Taqī) in Safavid royal patronage and ar-

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 - 16 Canby, 1999, 12–14.
 - 17 Seyyed Abdolmağid Šarīfzāde: *Dīvārnegārī dar Īrān. Zand o Qāğār dar Šīrāz* (Tehrān: Entešārāt-e Mīrās-e Farhangī, 1381/2003), 101–105; Ehsan Ešrāqī, “Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Šāh Tahmāsp à Qazvin,” in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris – Tehrān: Institut Français d’Iranologie de Téhéran, 1982), 117–126.
 - 18 Robinson, 1983, 291–292; Canby, 1999, 14, 20.
 - 19 Canby, 1999, 14, 20.
 - 20 Aubin, 1988, 4–7.
 - 21 Samuel Miklos Stern, “A New Volume of the Illustrated Aghani Manuscript,” *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957): 501–503, fig. 2.
 - 22 Jennifer M. Scarce, “Through a Glass Darkly? Glimpses of Safavid Fashions of the Sixteenth Century,” in Canby and Thompson, 2003, 319–325.
 - 23 Canby and Thompson, 2003, Cat. no. 8. 1; James W. Allan, *Persian Steel. The Tanavoli Collection* (Tehrān: Yassavoli, 2000), 20–21.
 - 24 Unpublished. For similar objects, see Esfandiyār Sabā, *Negaraši bar ravand-e sūzandūzihā-ye sonnatī-ye Īrān* (Tehrān: Sabā, 1379/2001), 132, 162.
 - 25 Layla S. Diba, *Royal Persian Painting: the Qajar Epoch 1785–1925* (New York – London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), Cat. no. 65.
 - 26 Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, intr., transl. and notes Andrew H. Morton (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1993), 20.
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 - 28 Earlier scholarship went on to argue for Soltān Mohammad as being the inventor of the appliqué; see Károly Gombos, “Ein persischer Wandteppich aus dem 16. Jahrhundert,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 19–28; for a more recent discussion of the same issue, see Rasim Efendi, *Azerbaijan Decoration* (Bakı: British Petroleum Company, 2002), 42–44. On modern Azerbaijani attempts to link the aretifact to Caucasian popular arts: Iván Szántó, “Egy azerbajdzsáni motívum az Esterházy-kárpiton,” (An Azerbaijani Motive on the Esterházy Tapestry) in *Azerbajdzsán-Magyarország: a kultúrák közeledése (Azerbaijan-Hungary: the Rapprochement of Cultures)* Vol. 2. (Budapest: L’Harmattan – Azerbajdzsáni Köztársaság Nagykövetsége, 2008), 182–191.
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