

FROM TENTS TO PAVILIONS: ROYAL MOBILITY AND PERSIAN PALACE DESIGN

By BERNARD O'KANE

FAZL ALLAH KHUNJI, THE LATE-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY biographer of the Aqqoyunlu sultan Ya'qub, gives a list of the qualities which demonstrated the ruler's distinguished origin. One of them reads as follows: "He was not a town dweller affected by dirty habits, as was the case with many rulers of Khurasan, Fars and Kerman, but followed the seasons wandering in open spaces going from summer quarters to winter quarters."¹

The rhythms of pastoral nomadism dominated court life in Iran until the twentieth century. Seasonal migrations were not only a way to provide the grazing lands essential to the nomads' flocks; they also served as a means to escape the extremes of heat and cold which characterize most of the Iranian plateau. The basic necessity of fodder for the tens of thousands of horses, mules, and camels which accompanied the royal armies on campaigns was reflected in peacetime by the choice of routes² and in war by the frequent cessation of hostilities in winter, when snow covered much of the ground and the armies were obliged to retire to winter quarters for pasturage. As an example of the military importance of fodder, one can cite the repeated Mongol withdrawals from Mamluk territory, which have been ascribed to the inadequacy of the pasturelands, especially in southern Syria.³

Apart from these movements which were dictated by necessity, another motive was also important, that which was commended by Fazl Allah Khunji, the preference for life in tents in the open countryside to that of towns. This also permitted the ruler to indulge in the most favored of nomadic recreations, hunting. Already in the 1230s the movements of Ögedei, Chingiz Khan's son, were conditioned by pleasurable pursuits, including hunting, rather than by purely pastoral considerations.⁴ Charles Melville has recently examined in depth the geochronology (movements over time) of Sultan Uljaytu.⁵ The very low number of military expeditions in his reign makes it particularly valuable in determining how much of his movements were due to nomadism. He unfailingly moved each year between summer and winter quarters, spending about one hundred days a year on the migrations.

Despite having built a new town at Sultaniyya, he spent only around forty percent of his time there, which puts it into perspective as his chief seasonal residence, rather than a permanently occupied capital. Unlike Tabriz, the plain around Sultaniyya was sufficiently large to accommodate the encampments of the Mongol hordes, which has led to the suggestion that, far from becoming city dwellers, Uljaytu deliberately picked Sultaniyya to support their nomadic economy.⁶

One might hope that a compilation of geochronologies for other sultans up to the Safavid period would help in determining, firstly, the inclination to nomadism or sedentarism of later rulers, and secondly, whether this had any measurable effect on their policies regarding the building of or residence in palaces. However, the movements of later rulers were more often dictated by military operations, whether combating outside forces or dealing with internal revolts. The influence of individual whim in royal patronage also makes it difficult to assess the importance of this factor versus sedentarism, although we shall see in the case of Shah 'Abbas that, as with Sultan Uljaytu, a semi-nomadic lifestyle could coexist with the erection of palaces in new capitals.

Various accounts exist of the *ordu* (imperial encampment) from the Mongol period onwards, and it was clearly in many respects a mobile city.⁷ An elaborate ceremony accompanied the camp every time it moved; a strict formation based on military rank was observed, with the drummers, trumpeters, and pipers of each unit occupying prominent positions.⁸ Mosques and bazaars were to be found in each encampment, although prices were high because of the difficulties of transport. The ruler and his household formed one camp and each of his wives had a camp of her own, as did the amirs and viziers. The latter, together with their secretaries and officials of the finance department, are described by Ibn Battuta as presenting themselves for duty each afternoon.⁹ On some of the album leaves in the Topkapi Palace Museum, the signatures of Aqqoyunlu calligraphers suggest that they were in the camp, indicating that at least part of the

royal ateliers accompanied the sultan on his travels.¹⁰

The ruler's precinct, defined originally by rows of tents and carts, gradually gained importance as the number of the guard was increased for prestige. The surrounding military camp was well regulated. An enclosure, probably with two or three entrances, had gatekeepers controlling access. This in turn was surrounded by a forbidden zone, an arrangement which reflected earlier practice in Qaraqorum, the Mongol capital.¹¹ The camp permitted the ruler to have the best of both worlds: the freedom of movement and open spaces of the countryside, together with the facilities of urban civilization. A mobile seat of government has obvious advantages in maintaining authority in conquered territories, although Sultan Uljaytu's reasons for movement were usually the less ambitious ones of going hunting or simply setting out for winter or summer quarters.

Just as the camps were mobile cities, the tents which the rulers occupied could be considered mobile palaces. Rashid al-Din mentions a tent of state with a thousand gold pegs and a trellis tent with royal appurtenances which Arghun had ordered and which were made especially light for travel.¹² One of Ögedei's trellis tents¹³ was large enough to accommodate a thousand people and was decorated with gold brocade on the inside and gold studs outside;¹⁴ however, this was so large that it was a permanent fixture at one of his camping grounds in the mountains.¹⁵ An early indication of the association of the tent with palatial structures is given by Rashid al-Din in an account of a garden erected in 1302 by Ghazan Khan at Ujan near Tabriz. A partitioned garden (*chahār bāgh*) was provided with pavilions, towers, and a bath, while its center was occupied by a golden trellis tent (*khargāh*) adjoining a tent of state (*bārgāh*) with awnings (*sāyabān*). The tent, together with a golden throne inlaid with rubies and other jewels, was three years in the making and took one month to erect.¹⁶

Timur's Quriltay

The best evidence that we have of the importance, the variety, and the magnificence of princely tentage comes from the descriptions of the *quriltay*, the assembly of Chaghatai tribes convened by Timur in Samarqand in 1404, to celebrate the marriages of six of his grandsons. Clavijo, the ambassador of the king of Castille,

was present, and his extremely detailed accounts can be verified and supplemented by those of Yazdi and Ibn 'Arabshah.¹⁷

Clavijo first notes that all of the private tents belonging to the royal family were placed within enclosures (*sarāparda*); only the great reception pavilions and awnings were left outside. The enclosures had crenellations on top, were decorated as if made of tilework, had windows and gateways with towers, and were made of silk.¹⁸ Yazdi mentions that four of these enclosures were for Timur's wives, each containing a tent of state (*bārgāh*), a guyed tent (*khayma*), a circular trellis tent (*khargāh*), and awnings (*sāyabān*).¹⁹

Clavijo describes in detail the trellis tent of Saray Mulk Khanum, Timur's principal wife, mentioning costly materials such as colored applique work and a lining of sable. Its height was equivalent to three war lances which, thanks to Peter Andrews's research, can be shown to be equivalent to 10 m.²⁰ Yazdi mentions that one of these tents had two hundred heads, that is, struts, and in comparison with modern examples this enabled Andrews to estimate the diameter of these largest trellis tents as ca. 11 to 13 m, a princely size indeed.²¹ The inner doors had images of saints in enamel on gold and were booty from the treasury of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I. The custom of displaying trophies as symbolic affirmation of conquest has a long history;²² Ibn 'Arabshah reports that a figural textile from Bayezid's treasury was also on display.²³

The furniture inside the tent included a gold cabinet set with jewels and pearls, containing six gold jewel-encrusted flasks and cups. In front of it was a golden table displaying a large emerald, while to one side was a golden tree with bejeweled fruit and golden birds on its branches.²⁴ The furnishings were thus appurtenances of royalty which are unlikely to have been surpassed in any urban palaces of the period. That Clavijo and his retinue—and presumably other ambassadorial parties—were taken on a tour of these quarters shows a blurring of their ostensibly private nature, and indicates how they were calculated to impress.

The trellis tents are representative of the nomadic heritage of the Timurids. Court tentage at the festival was represented outside the enclosures by two great tents with guy ropes of silk, in the form of pavilions in which Timur presided over banquets. The largest was square, one hundred feet²⁵ per side, and again about three lances or 10 m high. Twelve poles supported

the interior, and arcades on the exterior were supported by a further twenty-four poles. Crimson and gold applique work decorated much of the interior and exterior, and four eagles were depicted at the four corners.²⁶ Yazdi writes that a great concourse of tent pitchers took a week to erect it.²⁷ In addition there were smaller, but matching sets of guyed tents. These were linked to one another by a series of corridors, showing that the whole ensemble was conceived as a palace complex.

These royal tents were surrounded by those of Timur's followers, and while they must have been of lesser splendor, Ibn 'Arabshah informs us that their owners engaged in a "rivalry to the utmost limit" to display their wealth, including "unfolding the contents of . . . the volumes of their crimes," i.e., their booty.²⁸

Ibn 'Arabshah was an unwilling guest of Timur, but the considerable space he devotes to this celebration shows that he was well aware that its tents were an expression of political power. Yazdi also gives an unusually long account of the celebrations and descriptions of the tents. In the context of his history, which was an encomium to Timur, this can only mean that the *quriltay* and its artifacts were as important a sign of royalty as the exploits of conquest to which most of his text is devoted. Clavijo's exceptionally detailed descriptions also reflect how such a magnificent display was clearly the most appropriate way for a ruler to underline his majesty.

The descriptions of great tents in the Persian sources from the Mongol period onwards are usually couched in literary terms designed to show how they corresponded to a concept of royalty, using similes describing them in paradisaic terms, or as being like the zenith of the celestial sphere.²⁹ A particularly revealing passage in this respect is one by the Mongol historian Vassaf, who compares the trellis tent to the sphere of the heavens, made in the image of paradise, and the sultan seated on his throne within it to the sun of the empire.³⁰

The value of tents can also be gauged from the way in which they were considered to be parts of treasuries.³¹ They were included in the dowry of one of Timur's wives, and on campaign Timur occasionally gave presents of tents to captured royalty or to generals who had distinguished themselves.³² A relatively insignificant event, reported by Khvandamir in 1491, may be taken as indicative of the continuing importance of this tradition in the late Timurid period. A rebel,

Darvish 'Ali, was persuaded to submit to Husayn Bayqara, and cemented his new alliance with presents of multicolored trellis tents, guyed tents, tents of state, and assembly tents, in addition to silk carpets, china, and gold and silver vessels.³³ The carpets and vessels were not so much separate presents as the expected appurtenances of a princely tent.³⁴ There are numerous other instances in the late Timurid and Safavid period of tents being given as presents to superiors and of their forming parts of treasuries.³⁵

Just before Clavijo departed from Samarqand he visited Timur in what he called the "palace" opposite the mosque, describing how Timur emerged from a tent which was pitched in the courtyard and then presided over a feast there.³⁶ This "palace" must in fact have been the madrasa of Saray Mulk Khanum. One does not usually conceive of a madrasa as being the equivalent of a palace, but such seems to have been its transformation by Timur's tents. Other evidence from this practice comes from Babur, the Mughal emperor, who on his visit to Herat in 1506 was invited to a meal in a madrasa where the tents of Khadija Begum, Sultan Husayn's widow, had been set up.³⁷ Again, in 1581, amirs of the Safavid Sultan Muhammad's army camped in the madrasa of Sultan Husayn Bayqara in Herat.³⁸

Evidently, any building, even an ostensibly religious one, could be transformed into a palace by the addition of tents. More importantly, greater luxury and a more obvious sign of royalty were to be had from accommodation in tents than from living in the buildings—hence, presumably, the frequent juxtaposition in miniatures of tents and garden pavilions.³⁹ Before discussing this combination further, it may be as well to review briefly, since it is a better known subject, extant Timurid palaces and pavilions.

Timurid Palaces and Pavilions in Miniatures and in Reality

The most impressive remains of a Timurid palace are those of the Aqsaray at Shahr-i Sabz (1379–96). The quality of its tilework, consisting of both *cuerda seca* and tile mosaic,⁴⁰ is unsurpassed (fig. 1). Clavijo's lengthy description of the interior is difficult to interpret, although it is clear that it had a central courtyard 300 feet wide and that the whole was surrounded by an orchard. Although we cannot be sure of the exact internal arrangements of this building, it is most

likely that it was a palace on older models, a massive, self-contained building designed to impress from the exterior.⁴¹

Two Timurid garden pavilions have survived, at Afushta and Gazurgah. That at Afushta is unfortunately less well known, having been published as a *khanāqah*.⁴² Its small size, its exquisite decoration, and its plan, identical on two stories, of a square room leading to axial iwans with octagonal rooms in the corners⁴³ is much more consonant with a garden pavilion than a *khanāqah*⁴⁴ (figs. 2–3). The *Namakdan* at Gazurgah is unlikely to be typical in its twelve-sided plan, although its general layout corresponds closely to the description of an octagonal pavilion in Herat by Babur.⁴⁵

The Çinili or Tiled Kiosk in Istanbul is often cited as an example of a Timurid palace.⁴⁶ Its foreignness to the traditions of Ottoman architecture is not in dispute, but although tileworkers from Khurasan are known to have completed a pavilion in the Topkapi Palace,⁴⁷ the decoration of the Tiled Kiosk is closer to Tabriz than to Herat, indicating Aqqoyunlu as much as Timurid links. The palette of the *suls* inscription in tile mosaic on the entrance portal (fig. 4) is largely blue and white, with some brown, but has none of the green and black which would be expected in contemporary Herat tilework. The same color scheme is found on the inscription at the entrance to the Blue Mosque in Tabriz (fig. 5), which also shares with the Tiled Kiosk a feature unknown in Timurid inscriptions from Khurasan: an upper smaller inscription in *suls* instead of the usual Kufic. The small underglaze-painted blue and white squares in the *bannāʿī* tilework of the Tiled Pavilion (fig. 6) are also closest to those of the Blue Mosque (fig. 7).⁴⁸ The gold stenciling of the interior dado is on dark blue monochrome tiles (fig. 8), like the qibla dome chamber of the Blue Mosque (fig. 9), rather than the dark green of Timurid examples.⁴⁹

The plan, too, can be related to central and northwest Iranian examples: it is an enlarged version of the Afushta pavilion, while the villa at Nardaran⁵⁰ is of the same family. The vanished *Hasht Bihisht* palace of Sultan Yaʿqub at Tabriz, although later (begun 1483–84, finished 1486), may have provided the closest parallel.⁵¹ However, although on the above evidence an Aqqoyunlu tile workshop is the most likely to have contributed to the Tiled Kiosk, to insist on Aqqoyunlu rather than Timurid parallels is in some ways to make a distinction without a difference. Both

were heirs to the traditions of Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, and Muzaffarid architecture. The differences between them are based more on regional than on dynastic characteristics, as the seamless transition from Timurid to Qaraqoyunlu architecture in such cities as Isfahan and Yazd shows. The corollary of this, however, is that on the grounds of geographical proximity Turkmen rather than Timurid antecedents are more likely to have provided the immediate models.

Both miniatures and literary sources can provide a useful guide to much that has been destroyed, although the miniatures in particular must be used with caution. It would be impossible to reconstruct the plan or elevation of Timur's congregational mosque in Samarqand (the mosque of Bibi Khanum) from Bihzad's illustration of it,⁵² even though the details of the craftsmen and their work shown in it are likely to be accurate. On a smaller scale, however, for example from Shiraz-school illustrations of the *bayt al-muṣḥaf* in the courtyard of the Shiraz Masjid-i ʿAtiq, façades could be drawn accurately (figs. 10–11). Since most garden pavilions are small structures, one can expect a high degree of verisimilitude from the painter. The frontispiece of the Cairo *Būstān*, showing Sultan Husayn Bayqara presiding over a celebration, may be taken as representative (fig. 12).⁵³ A tiled entrance portal leads into a paved court. At one side is a two-story octagonal pavilion, the lower walls decorated with tiles and an exquisite inlaid door, the upper with wooden grilles and a projecting balcony through which a variety of jugs in arched recesses are visible. A grilled skylight sits in the center of the roof, around whose edges is a tile mosaic inscription topped by crenellations. Sultan Husayn is seated on a carpet spread in front of a tall trellis tent with a magnificently embroidered dome and awning. The depiction of luxurious interiors varied little from those of the Jalayirid *mathnavīs* of Khvajū Kirmani,⁵⁴ which give an idea of the varieties of textiles mentioned by Clavijo, and also display elaborate tiled dadoes and windows of colored glass set in stucco frames of geometric, vegetal, or figural patterns.

Although they are not shown in miniatures, the sources mention murals which can be divided into two kinds, both with many Islamic and pre-Islamic antecedents. The first showed rulers triumphing over their enemies, a parallel to the display of captured booty at Timur's *quriltay* at Samarqand. The second was the princely cycle, including erotic scenes.⁵⁵

Timur's Gardens

After building the Aqsaray, all the subsequent residences which Timur erected—and there was an exceptionally large number—were gardens studded with one or more pavilions. Having competed successfully on traditional terms, he may have felt free to command subsequent examples to be built to nomadic taste, being more suitable for the erection of tents and more flexible in their accommodation. They emphasize the garden at the expense of built architecture, bringing the delights of the meadows of the summer and winter quarters closer to the city. From descriptions of Timur's gardens in Samarqand by Clavijo and Yazdi it has been possible to attempt reconstructions.⁵⁶ However, less attention has been focused on the way in which Timur used gardens, or rather, how he used the city of Samarqand and the surrounding countryside to transform an urban agglomeration into a country estate.

This can be seen from his itineraries on his return in 1404 from campaigning. He entered Samarqand in early August and stayed in the Bagh-i Chinar, making a visit to the madrasa of Muhammad Sultan to order a mausoleum to be built. His principal wife Saray Mulk Khanum joined him there. Meanwhile his wife Tuman Agha had been making her way back to Samarqand and had camped in the Bagh-i Bihisht, where he now joined her. Next, several days were spent in the Bagh-i Shumal, followed by supervision of the building of the tomb of Muhammad Sultan, i.e., the Gur-i Mir, including the construction of a small garden around it. From there he moved to the madrasa of Saray Mulk Khanum, where, as we have seen,⁵⁷ he resided in tents in its courtyard to oversee the building of the Friday mosque. He then went in turn to the Bagh-i Chinar, the Bagh-i Dilgusha, and the Bagh-i Shumal. Timur decided to add a pavilion to the south end of the latter, bigger and more magnificent than those of his other gardens in Samarqand, and when this was finished a feast was held there.

The *quriltay* at Kan-i Gil followed. Timur then moved back to the madrasa of Saray Mulk Khanum, and finally, to the Gök Saray, a four-storied pavilion which he had built in the citadel, where trophies, including a throne, captured from the defeated Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, were also displayed.⁵⁸ This was his last stop before setting out on campaign once again on 27 November.⁵⁹ In the space of four months he had changed his place of residence over a dozen times. He resided

mostly in different gardens, and in one long case in an encampment, an extraordinary testament to his ability to re-create a nomadic environment in the microcosm of a city and its surroundings.

Another motive for these frequent changes of residence should be kept in mind. They are likely to have been accompanied by an elaborate ceremonial, such as the orchestral heralds and processions of troops and imperial guard which was described by Ibn Battuta at the camp of Abu Sa'ïd.⁶⁰ Timur had planted an avenue of poplars leading from the Bagh-i Dilgusha to the city walls of Samarqand,⁶¹ perhaps to emphasize one of the grand ceremonial axes of the city. The Fatimids and the Ottomans, to name just two dynasties, recognized the value of the imperial prestige conferred by the pomp of regular public appearances of the ruler.⁶²

Craft-Guild Displays

Another way of enhancing the ruler's prestige was by having his subjects perform for him at festivals. The best known of these events, thanks to its voluminous illustrations, is that commemorated in the *Sûrnâme*,⁶³ the book of the festival given by the Ottoman sultan Murad III for his son's circumcision in 1582, when the guilds held a procession of moving floats with models of their craft (fig. 13). It has not been realized how close this was to Timurid practice. All three major sources, Ibn 'Arabshah, Yazdi, and Clavijo, give substantial descriptions of the guilds' extravagant constructions which were paraded around the area where Timur's *quriltay* was celebrated.⁶⁴

The earliest mention of the practice among his successors is in 815 (1412–13), when Shahrukh ordered that the bazaar and town be decorated and that each craft be visible in its utmost artifice in its appropriate shop.⁶⁵ In 852 (1448–49), 'Ala' al-Dawla ordered celebrations in the Bagh-i Zaghan in Herat for the circumcision of his son Ibrahim, which were adorned with "every craft and art of the craftsmen of the seven climes in every fashion that you might wish."⁶⁶ While these accounts may seem somewhat circumstantial, a subsequent description of a joint birth and circumcision festival ordered by Abu Sa'ïd in 870 (1465–66) is more specific:

The masters of various crafts caused wonders of marvelous power and discerning elegance to appear, with the utmost ingenuity and skill, in a suitable place to be

viewed; artists from around the world were present and all showed strange things and wonders to their utmost effort; amongst them was Khvaja 'Ali Ardagar Isfahani who showed in a rosewater bottle thirty-two types of trades of the workshops of the world with each trade engaged in its own speciality. Thirty-two shops and workshops were opened [to view], and every craftsman was engaged in his own special trade, and those which necessitated movement in the plying of their trades, such as tailors, cotton pressers, carpenters, and iron-workers, were seen to be moving.⁶⁷

This contraption, to which the more familiar ships in bottles must be pale shadows, suitably awed Sultan Abu Sa'id and his retinue.

Khvandamir's accounts of three of Sultan Husayn's feasts indicate similar guild participation. The first, in early 892 (1487), was for the circumcision of Muzaffar Husayn Mirza: "Engineers of every trade and clever craftsmen caused various kinds of strange and wonderful artefacts to appear; every group produced rare images and awe-inspiring models of their trade."⁶⁸ Having given this explicit description, his next two mentions are progressively shorter. In 895 (1490) the "leaders of the craftsmen caused various kinds of wonders to appear" for a wedding procession,⁶⁹ and in 901 (1495–96), to welcome Sultan Husayn back to Herat, "temporary booths were erected and various arrangements were on display."⁷⁰

It is likely that this tradition was continued by the Safavids. The description by Natanzi of the decoration of Kashan for the passage of Shah 'Abbas in 1595 recalls those of the Timurid celebrations:

In accordance with the way things had been done in past years, they decorated the alleys, streets, gates, and citadel of that paradise-like city as was customary and fitting, so that the minds of the devisers of artful productions (*muhandisī n-i sanā'ī-i pīsha*) and the comprehension of the inventors of innovative thought, in reviewing and perceiving those miracle-marked sights, were confounded and stupified.⁷¹

Immediately after this, a festival of lights was ordered in the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan in Isfahan in which leaders of the crafts (*arbāb-i hīrfa*) and artisan masters (*aṣḥāb-i san'at*) participated. While they may have been principally involved in making the fireworks, light displays, and mock forresses which formed the main entertainment, it should not be ruled out that they also displayed samples of their various specialities.⁷²

The Timurids in Herat

Shahrukh, Timur's successor, was much less ambitious in his building programs.⁷³ While he built a *chahār bāgh* and palace (*sarāy*) in Mashhad for his use on pilgrimages there,⁷⁴ in Herat he is only known to have restored the Bagh-i Safid, erecting new pavilions within it. The Bagh-i Zaghan, another pre-Timurid garden in Herat, also figures largely within Timurid history. A kiosk in it is described as a *chihil sutūn*⁷⁵ (a many-columned pavilion), one of the earliest mentions of this type of structure, although Babur mentions one in Samarqand of stone columns which was built by Ulugh Beg and would therefore have been contemporary.⁷⁶

Shahrukh made three campaigns against the Qaraqoyunlu in western Iran, and several others against, and on behalf of, his various sons, which makes his proclivities towards nomadism much more difficult to gauge than that of Uljaytu. His favorite summer quarters were Badghis, north of Herat, but he is also known to have wintered in Hilmand. Abu Sa'id spent several winters in Marv, although one of these followed on from a summer quarters in Badghis, where he had gone for the very practical reason of escaping the plague which was then raging in Herat.⁷⁷

Husayn Bayqara's reign was also punctuated by numerous campaigns against his rebellious sons, which lessens the value of a geochronology in determining his nomadic bent. He wintered twice in Marv and once in Balkh.⁷⁸ On the latter occasion he was encamped on the outskirts of the city in the *chahār bāgh* of Amir Mazid Arghun. Further confirmation that it was the normal practice by this time to make his winter quarters in a garden can be found in the reports of the year 910 (1504–5), when Sultan Husayn moved his winter quarters from the Bagh-i Jahan Ara (on the northern edge of the city) to the Bagh-i Safid (beside the citadel), as he had received reports that the Uzbeks were advancing into his territory, and obviously feared a lightning attack.⁷⁹ There seem to be no reports of his spending his summers away from Herat, other than on campaign. This evidence of a more sedentary disposition could be taken as the reason for his construction of the Bagh-i Jahan Ara in Herat, although his infirmities, which necessitated his being carried on a litter for the last twenty years of his life, must obviously have curtailed his desire to move around.

The extent to which tents would regularly have

been erected in the major gardens when the ruler was present is difficult to gauge.⁸⁰ They are most frequently mentioned in connection with the festivities which took place for weddings and circumcisions. These mention all the kinds of tents which were used to describe Timur's *quriltay* at Kan-i Gil—trellis tents,⁸¹ guyed tents, enclosures, tents of state, and finally *chahār tāqs*,⁸² booths or small pavilions—and couch them in terms of the same epithets of height and celestial imagery that were used to describe earlier royal tents.⁸³ The importance of these ceremonies in the tradition of kingly behavior is shown by a letter of Husayn Bayqara to Sultan Yaq'ub describing a feast which he held for the circumcision of his son in the Bagh-i Zaghan, and by the fact that Fazl Allah Khunji thought it worthwhile to reproduce it in his history.⁸⁴

The opportunity which these celebrations offered for processions should not be overlooked. The importance of such ceremonial occasions for advertising the wealth of the state was discussed above in relation to Timur, and the lesson was not lost on his descendants. The ceremony of *istiqbāl* (going out to meet an incoming dignitary) was regularly observed on the arrival of members of the royal family and important visitors at the capital. The descriptions of the festivities on the marriage of Muhammad Ma'sum to a daughter of Ulugh Beg b. Abu Sa'id in 895 (1490) may be indicative of the expense lavished on comparable occasions. Sultan Husayn ordered the town and the streets to be decorated appropriately, and the amirs and government ministers set about their tasks accordingly. The Bagh-i Jahan Ara was duly made ready, and the leaders of the craftsmen caused various kinds of wonders to appear; from the Pul-i Malan to the Bagh-i Jahan Ara (a distance of about nine kilometers) all the streets and bazaars were decorated. Booths were set up and all the walls and shops were adorned with multi-colored Chinese brocade, Frankish velvet, and Chinese silk,⁸⁵ and with various images which beggar description. When the party was met at the Pul-i Malan, such an amount of largesse of gold and jewels was distributed as to open the doors of riches on the poor. All along the route, on both sides, the sound of sweet voices in song and lutes and cymbals was to be heard.⁸⁶ The festivities can be better imagined with the help of two contemporary miniatures, one of which shows Timur being entertained in front of a trellis tent by dancers (fig. 14), the other, Sultan Husayn in

an enclosed garden with musicians and attendants (fig. 15).

Shah 'Abbas I and Isfahan

Shah 'Abbas I was born and brought up in Herat, and one can imagine what an impression the multitude of gardens in the city which were available for his leisure would have made on him. His development of the Naqsh-i Jahan maydan and palace complex in Isfahan, together with the *chahār bāgh* avenue leading to the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad south of the river, at first sight looks to be of a very different nature to the Timurid examples (see Necipoğlu, figs. 10a–b, 11). Before looking at it in greater detail, however, Shah 'Abbas's geochronology should be considered.⁸⁷ Like Isma'īl I and Tahmasp before him, he regularly moved, allowing for campaigns, from summer to winter quarters. It is difficult to determine the exact beginning of the palatial complex in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan,⁸⁸ but it is likely that it was begun shortly before 1596–97, when Shah 'Abbas spent the winter there. He wintered there in most subsequent years until September 1603, leaving on campaigns in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia from which he did not return until November 1607.

In the winter of 1612–13 he commenced the building of the palaces at Ashraf and Farahabad in Mazandaran to facilitate his greatest love, hunting. They are described as capitals by contemporary historians,⁸⁹ and their eclipse of Isfahan in this respect is underlined by the amount of time which he spent there. He was totally absent from Isfahan for three years, up to June 1619. Between the time he left Isfahan for winter quarters in Mazandaran in autumn 1624 and his death in early 1629, despite the peace which reigned in his kingdom, he did not return to the city, never traveling far from Mazandaran where his obsession with hunting could be indulged. His average time in the capital has been calculated as 58, 77, and 46 days each year for the three parts of his reign when Qazvin, Isfahan, and Farahabad respectively were the capitals.⁹⁰ Even considering the much greater time which Shah 'Abbas spent campaigning than Uljaytu, it still reveals him as a monarch very much in the same nomadic tradition.

Shah 'Abbas's first major development in Isfahan was the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, which was

laid out in 1590 as a space for polo and horse racing.⁹¹ In 1594 he had ordered a celebration in the Maydan-i Sa'adatabad in Qazvin, where the shops had been provided with arcades on which lamps were hung, and where he watched and engaged in polo and shooting contests.⁹² The greater space which the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan afforded for these entertainments was exploited to the full in a major festival there in 1595⁹³ and, given Shah 'Abbas's love of riding, may even have been a minor factor in the move of the court to Isfahan.⁹⁴ The Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan alongside the maydan was large enough to create the variety which in Herat and Samarqand was provided by separate gardens. With its different pavilions situated in various gardens in the precincts, one may be reminded of the Timurid garden ensembles, brought together within a tighter framework than the more formal aspects of the Mughal Red Forts and Fatehpur Sikri. The participation of the sultan in receptions within the pavilions again recalls Timurid models rather than the static role which the Ottoman sultan played in the more clearly defined boundaries of the Topkapi Palace.⁹⁵ Just as the pavilions in these gardens have been celebrated for their merging of garden and architectural space, so one should keep in mind the degree to which Timurid and Safavid palaces represent an interpenetration of the princely traditions of urban and nomadic ideals.

The main difference in the Naqsh-i Jahan palace and Timurid models would seem to be in the provision of permanent and substantial quarters for the harem.⁹⁶ This reflects the differing status of women under the Safavids. At Timur's *quriltay* his wives were unveiled, and women were permitted to host feasts themselves.⁹⁷ Gawhar Shad was a major political figure, as well as the most important architectural patron of her time.⁹⁸ Even if later women never quite attained her power, they aspired to it: Sultan Husayn's wife Khadija Begum and Sultan Ya'qub's mother were notorious for their influence.⁹⁹ Even at the twilight of the Timurid dynasty Babur was still entertained at a feast hosted by Khadija Begum.¹⁰⁰ While women wielded considerable political power at the Safavid court, they operated from inside the harem¹⁰¹ and were never patrons of architecture or other arts on anything approaching the scale of the Timurids.¹⁰² Although members of Shah 'Abbas's harem were to be seen on his

hunting trips,¹⁰³ they seem to have been completely secluded while in residence at any one of his capitals.¹⁰⁴ Despite the evidence cited above for Shah 'Abbas's nomadism, the position of women at his court shows the increasing influence of the sedentary Irano-Islamic tradition on the Safavids,¹⁰⁵ which in turn is reflected in the appearance of the harem as a separate building in Safavid palaces.¹⁰⁶

In conclusion, we should emphasize one feature of the residential architecture of the dynasties we have considered which highlights their nomadic legacy and sets them apart from their Mamluk, Ottoman, and Mughal contemporaries. This is its autonomy from citadels. The Mamluk sultan's residence was the citadel of Cairo, and his deputies in Damascus and Aleppo lived in the citadels of those towns (see Rabbat, fig. 1; Tabbaa, fig 6). The walls of the Red Forts of Delhi and Agra encompassed the principal palaces of the Mughal emperors (see Necipoğlu, figs. 21–22). The Topkapi Palace was set within the well-fortified Byzantine walls of Istanbul, and its defenses were further assured by the walls of its concentric courts, the outermost being known as the imperial fortress (see Necipoğlu, fig. 1). Pre-Mongol citadels already existed in the towns we have considered: Tabriz, Samarqand, Herat, and Isfahan,¹⁰⁷ but it is not difficult to understand how life in them would be anathema to those of nomadic heritage. Even the palace complex of Isfahan which, with its sprawling permanent constructions, is closest to the Topkapi, did not have strongly fortified boundaries. It might be objected that Isfahan's central location precluded the necessity of strong defensive constructions, but even in Qazvin, closer to the Ottoman front, the palace constructed by Shah Tahmasp was in a garden outside the citadel.¹⁰⁸

The garden complexes with pavilions, verdure, numerous canals, and open spaces with the flexibility to accommodate a multitude and variety of tents represented the ideal compromise between nomadic and urban life. Even though the gardens were vulnerable to attack,¹⁰⁹ a nomadic dynasty retained its ability to move the court and its entourage quickly out of danger. Faced with the alternative of the claustrophobic quarters of a citadel, for an even semi-nomadic ruler this was a sacrifice worth making.

Notes

1. Fazlallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi Amīnī*, trans. V. Minorsky as *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490* (London, 1957), 20. On p. 107 he explains how the army had regular summer (Mt. Sarhand) and winter (Tabriz or Qarabagh) quarters. For an overview of the nomadic tendencies of the Timurids, see Monike Gronke, “The Persian Court between Palace and Tent,” in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1992), 18–22.
2. See J. Aubin, “Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier: les grand’routes du Khurassan à l’époque mongole,” *Le Monde iranien et l’Islam* 1 (1971): 105–30.
3. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1976), 157.
4. J. A. Boyle, “The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 16 (1972): 125–31; Peter Alford Andrews, “The Felt Tent in Middle Asia: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage,” Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 1980, 524.
5. “The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16,” *Iran* 28 (1990): 55–70.
6. Melville, “Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü,” 60; A. K. S. Lampton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia* (Albany, N.Y., 1988), 184. The area was also used as summer quarters by Shah Tahmasp and Shah ‘Abbas: Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*, trans. R. M. Savory as *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great*, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colo., 1978), 1:154; 2:1248, 1281. It also was used by Shah ‘Abbas as a mustering ground for troops.
7. E.g., *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 2:342–44, 481–87; *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, trans. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderly, Hakluyt Society, vol. 49 (London, 1873), 130–35, and the sources discussed in Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 534–36. The accounts of Timur’s *quriltay* outside Samarqand, discussed in detail below, are also relevant.
8. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Travels*, 2:342–43, describing Abu Sa‘id’s camp.
9. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Travels*, 2:343, again describing Abu Sa‘id’s camp.
10. H.2153, fol. 6a, Shaykh Maḥmūd, 871 H., *fi buldayi Sāva*; fol. 20a, Yūsif b. Jahānshāh, 871 H., *bi ḥavāli-yi Darjazān*; fol. 110a, Shaykh Maḥmūd Haravī, 871 H., *fi ḥavāli-yi Darjazān*; fol. 116b, Shaykh Maḥmūd, 871 H., *fi navāḥi-yi Hamadān*.
11. Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 468. These successive zones of security are reflected in the Ottoman imperial encampments, which in turn underlie the plan of the Topkapi Palace; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1991), 31.
12. Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 502.
13. The Persian sources consistently use *khargāh* for a trellis tent; see Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 472 ff. I am indebted to Peter Andrews’s magisterial work for most of my information on tents; according to the author (“The Generous Heart or the Mass of Clouds: The Court Tents of Shah Jahan,” *Muqarnas* 4 [1987]: n. 1) it was to have been published in 1987, but to my knowledge it has not yet appeared.
14. One of the illustrations of the Diez albums shows a Mongol tent of state decorated with what might be gold studs: M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez’sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pl. 8.
15. Boyle, “Residences,” 127; Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 480–83.
16. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh*, ed. K. Jahn as *Geschichte Gāzān-Ḥān’s* (London, 1940), 137–38, discussed in Andrews, “Felt Tent,” 485–86, and in Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton, 1988), 181–82, where awnings, *sāyabān*, are misread as parasols, *sāya*. When this garden was restored and extended by Sultan Ya‘qub in spring 895 H., tents, pavilions (*kandalān*), and awnings (*sāyabān*) figured amongst the accommodation for its inauguration; Khunjī, *Persia*, 100.
17. The translations of Andrews in “Felt Tent,” 544 ff., partially reproduced in P. A. Andrews, “The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltay at Samarqand, 1404,” in *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands*, ed. P. Denwood (London, 1978), 143–81, are to be preferred to those of the standard account in English, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, trans. Guy Le Strange as *Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlane* (London, 1928). The other sources are Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1336 A.S.H.), 2:422–45, trans. W. M. Thackston in *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 91–100;

- and Ahmad ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Aja'ib al-maqdūr fi nawā'ib Timūr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo, 1399 H.), trans. J. H. Sanders as *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir* (London, 1936), 214–22.
18. Andrews, "Felt Tent," 545–47.
 19. *Zafarnāma*, ed. 'Abbāsī, 2:424–25.
 20. Andrews, "Felt Tent," 1018–20.
 21. Andrews, "Tents of Timur," 151.
 22. See, for instance, Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 72–73.
 23. Trans. Sanders, 216.
 24. Trans. Le Strange, 269–71.
 25. Clavijo has paces, which Andrews has irrefutably shown must refer to feet, as it can be checked against Clavijo's measurements of Hagia Sophia, "Felt Tent," 1020–21.
 26. Andrews, "Felt Tent," 561–62.
 27. *Zafarnāma*, ed. 'Abbāsī, 2:424.
 28. Trans. Sanders, 216.
 29. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. 'Abbāsī, 2:425.
 30. Describing the tent of Sultan Tegüder, quoted in Andrews, "Felt Tent," 472.
 31. Donations of tents in the Mongol period are mentioned in Andrews, "Felt Tent," 497–98. Court ateliers were also closely involved with the decoration of tents, as the petition from the head of Baysunghur's library staff shows; Andrews, "Tents of Timur," 167–68. Gülru Necipoğlu has recently referred to unpublished Ottoman records which show that court designers also drew patterns on paper for royal tents; "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 167 n. 25.
 32. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. 'Abbāsī, 1:184 (dowry of Khānzāda), 2:316 (trellis tent of Bayezid), 1:433 (reward for Aq Bugha); these and other examples are discussed at greater length in Andrews, "Felt Tent," 595–96.
 33. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1333 A.S.H.), 4:190.
 34. Gold and silver vessels accompanied gifts of tents by Juvayni's father to Kōrgūz and by the governor of Khurasan, Amir Arghun, to Hulagu; 'Ala' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i jahān gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, 3 vols. (Leiden and London, 1937), 2:237, 3:101; Andrews, "Felt Tent," 498, 502–3. Babur reported that gold and silver vessels were used in the trellis tent of Badi' al-Zaman Mirza in Herat; *Bāburnāma*, trans. Thackston, *Century of Princes*, 271. For additional sources on silver and gold plate, see A.-S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Silver in Islamic Iran: The Evidence from Literature and Epigraphy," in *Pots and Pans*, ed. M. Vickers, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 3 (Oxford, 1986), 95–100.
 35. In 902 (1496–97) Khusraw Shah, the ruler of Qunduz, gave presents of tents (*khayma*), trellis tents (*khargāh*), enclosures (*sarāparda*), and tents of state (*bārgāh*) to Sultan Husayn's son Badi' al-Zaman; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:211; eight years later, his presents again included tents and trellis tents, together with vessels of gold and silver which, as we have seen (n. 32), frequently accompanied such gifts; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:307. Sultan Husayn's disgraced vizier Majd al-Din's treasure included tents (*khayma*); Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:197. His successor Nizam al-Mulk's treasure consisted, in addition to gold, jewels, and books, of tents (*khayma*), trellis tents (*khargāh*), enclosures (*sarāparda*), and tents of state (*bārgāh*), together with their furnishings: silk *zīlūs* and Egyptian, Anatolian, European, and Chinese carpets; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:219. After Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda's accession to the Safavid throne in 1577 he set out for Isfahan where he was presented with *khayma*, *khargāh*, *sarāparda*, and *bārgāh* by Husayn Quli Sultan Shamlu; Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, ed. and trans. C. N. Seddon (Baroda, 1931–34), text 500, trans. 212.
 36. Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 281. Elsewhere (p. 234) he mistakenly ascribes the same building to Saray Mulk Khanum's mother.
 37. *Bāburnāma*, trans. Thackston, *Century of Princes*, 273.
 38. Munshī, trans. Savory, 1:416.
 39. For a discussion of representations of trellis tents in miniatures, see Andrews, "Tents of Timur," 159–66.
 40. The underglaze tiles on the frames of the panels of the socles mentioned by Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:272, are rather *cuerta seca*.
 41. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:274, argue for a series of detached or semi-detached

- structures, but this would hardly have been in harmony with the massive portal which, as its rear shows, was attached to rooms at the third-story level. Clavijo's account, trans. Terry Allen, is given in Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:273–74. They may have been misled by the mistranslation of *pašo* as pace instead of foot (see n. 25 above).
42. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:359, and M. Ferrante and E. Galdieri, "Architettura persiana poco nota: alcuni monumenti timuridi ad Afshat, presso Natanz," *Palladio* 23 (1972): 164–66, figs. 7–16. For an analysis of the stucco see Bernard O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco Decoration," *Annales Islamologiques* 20 (1984): 81–82.
 43. One of them, now destroyed, must have contained a staircase. Just enough tiling remains on the floor of the upper story to show that it was similar to the lower.
 44. Its identification as the khanaqah of a local saint is based solely on hearsay.
 45. Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1987), cat. no. 42, also containing Babur's description.
 46. "The exterior glazed bricks are very much in the tradition of Central Asia," Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), 137; "The plan . . . is a Timurid conception borrowed from Central Asian palace and tomb structures," Walter Denny, "Points of Stylistic Contact in the Architecture of Islamic Iran and Anatolia," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 33.
 47. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı*, 214. On pp. 213–14 she also discusses possible Aqqoyunlu and Karamanid prototypes.
 48. For those on the Blue Mosque, see Bernard O'Kane, "Täybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting," *Iran* 17 (1979): pl. IIIc.
 49. For the Timurid examples, see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 67.
 50. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, fig. 133.
 51. The comparison is also made in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı*, 213. The most complete description is in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, trans. and ed. C. Grey (London, 1873), 173–78. The anonymous Italian traveler attributes the palace to Uzun Hasan, but the Persian sources unanimously say it was the work of Ya'qub; see, for instance, Khunji, *Persia*, 53; and the references in J. E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1976), 281 n. 47. There is no evidence that I know of for equating the palace described in Tabriz by Barbaro in 1474 (Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, trans. William Thomas and S. A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley [London, 1873], 52–55) with the Hasht Bihisht.
 52. See Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, 1989), 289.
 53. Lentz and Lowry, *Princely Vision*, 260–61.
 54. Illustrated in Lentz and Lowry, *Princely Vision*, 55. For further discussion of the evidence from miniatures, see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 12–13.
 55. Ibn 'Arabshāh, trans. Sanders, 309–19; Babur, *Bāburnāma*, trans. A. S. Beveridge (London, 1922), 78, 302. The earlier references are to Timur; the last is to a pavilion of Abu Sa'īd in Herat which depicted his wars and battles. Ya'qub's Hasht Bihisht in Tabriz had murals of battles, embassies, and hunting; *Narrative*, trans. Grey, 175. Erotic murals were added to a palace in Herat by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994–1040* (Beirut, 1973), 140; the Safavid examples of the Chihil Sutun are the best known.
 56. E.g., Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (Washington, D.C., 1979), fig. 15. The most accurate summary of the sources on Timur's gardens is Roya Marefat, "Beyond the Architecture of Death: The Shrine of the Shah-i Zinda in Samarkand," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991, 44–52.
 57. See n. 36 above.
 58. A. Vambéry, "Beschreibung von Samarkand," *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann* (1865), 226–27; Marefat, "Shrine," 43–44.
 59. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. 'Abbāsī, 2:419–49.
 60. See n. 8 above.
 61. Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, trans. Beveridge, 78.
 62. For the Fatimids and the Ottomans, see P. A. Sanders and Ö. Nutku, "Mawākib," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:849–51, 858–65.

63. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1344; see N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974), 39–42, and Nutku, “Mawākib,” 860–61.
64. Yazdī mentions jewelers, drapers, musicians and singers, fruitsellers, butchers, tentmakers, cotton-dressers, leatherworkers, and acrobats; Thackston, *Century of Princes*, 93–95; Clavijo adds cooks, bakers, tailors, and shoemakers; trans. Le Strange, 248–49; and Ibn ‘Arabshāh, linen weavers, ironworkers, and bowmakers; trans. Sanders, 217–18.
65. Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn va majma‘ al-baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī‘ (Lahore, 1941–49), 219: *farmān-i humayūn niḥāz yāft ki shahr va bāzārḥā āyīn bandand va har ṣan‘at dar kamāl-i hunar zāhir kardā, dukān-i khudrā ārāyad*.
66. Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 930: *har ṣan‘at va hunar ki pīshavarān-i haft kishvar dāshtand bi-har ṭarīq ki khāstand āyīn bastand*.
67. Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 1304: *va arbāb-i ṣan‘ā‘i‘ anvā‘-i badā‘ī‘ bi-quvvat-i tabī‘at va laḥāfat-i fiṭnat istikhraj va istinbāt namūdand, va dar ghāyat-i ḥazāqat va kamāl-i mahārat dar mahall-i munāsib bāz dāshta būdand, chi hunarmandān-i aṭrāfi ‘ālam bitakhṣīṣ-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa bar dargāh-i mu‘azzam ḥāzīr būdand, va hama bi-quvvat-i zihni-khud gharā‘ib va ‘ajā‘ib namūdand. Az ān jumla Khvāja ‘Alī Ardagar Isfahānī dar shīsha-yi gulābdānī sī u du jamā‘at-i muḥtarifa-rā ki dar kārkhāna-yi ‘ālam dar hisāband namūda būd, chunāncha har pīshavar bi-ṣan‘at-i makḥṣūṣ-i khud ishtighāl namūdand, va sī u du dukān va kārkhāna kushūda, va har kas bi-ḥirfa-yi khāṣṣ-i khīsh qiyām namūda, ba‘zī ki dar ṣan‘at bi-ḥarakat ihfāyāj dāshtand misl-i khayyāt va naddāf va najjār va ḥaddād bi-ṣūratī junbish va harakat-i ānrā nigāh dāshta būd. For shortened versions of this account which also mention the participation of the craftsmen, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:84, and Mu‘īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawzat al-jannāt fi awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāzīm Imām (Tehran, 1338 A.S.H.), 2:274.*
68. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:178: *muhandisān-i har pīsha va ṣunā‘-i naykū andīsha anvā‘-i tabī‘hā-yi gharīb va aṣnāfi umūr-i ‘ajīb bi-‘arṣa-yi zuhūr rasānidand va har ṭā‘ifa munāsib-i ḥirfa-yi khud ṣūratī-yi nādīr va paykarī-yi badī‘ ma‘āsīr zāhir gardānidand*.
69. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:185: *arbāb-i ṣan‘ā‘i‘ aṣnāfi badā‘i‘ bi-zuhūr āvarda*.
70. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:206: *chahār ṭāghā sākhṭa shuda va tabī‘hā bi-‘arṣa-yi zuhūr āmada*. The temporary booths are often mentioned in connection with craftsmen. The connection is clear when compared with Khvāndamīr’s laconic description of the guilds’ displays at Timur’s great feast: *ṣunā‘ va pīshavarān-i Īrān va Tūrān va Miṣr va Shām va az ān chahār ṭāghā basta ta‘biyāhā-yi gūnāgūn sākhṭand* (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 3: 528). For the use of *chahār ṭāgh* at a New Year’s celebration of Shah ‘Abbas, see Munshī, trans. Savory, 2:977.
71. *Nuqūwat al-āthār*, trans. R. D. McChesney, “Four Sources on Shah ‘Abbas’s Building of Isfahan,” *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 107. Admittedly this is not a very explicit reference to guilds’ displays, but it uses imagery similar to Khvāndamīr’s descriptions (see n. 70).
72. McChesney, “Isfahan,” 107.
73. The most complete information on Timurid gardens is in Terry Allen, *A Catalogue of the Toponyms and Monuments of Timurid Herat* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 192–224.
74. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 379.
75. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 1425.
76. Babur, *Bāburnāma*, trans. Beveridge, 80.
77. In 868 (1464): ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 1280. Similar reasons kept Sultan Ya‘qub from wintering in Tabriz on two occasions; Khunjī, *Persia*, 123. But one of these was a ruse by the inhabitants, who disliked Ya‘qub, to keep him away; Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 154.
78. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:152, 179, 190.
79. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:315.
80. The fact that one section of the petition of Baysunghur’s library staff is devoted to a *khargāh* (see n. 31 above) is good reason to believe that they were fairly permanent fixtures.
81. At the same feast as that referred to in n. 65, Sultan Husayn is described as being seated on the auspicious throne in the heavenly trellis tent of the feast (*dar khārgāh-i sipīhr ishtibāh-i tūykhāna bar takht-i bakhṭ*); Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:185. On the occasion of the marriage of Muhammad Jahangir b. Mirza Muhammad Sultan in 816 (1413–14) a kitchen (*maṭbakh*) and cistern (*ābkhāna*) are mentioned among the other tented structures; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, 244.
82. While these were usually modest structures in which, for instance, craftsmen were accommodated, occasionally they were more luxurious, as were those erected in the Bagh-i Zaghan in 892 (1486–

- 87) for the circumcision of Muzaffar Husayn Mirza. That of Sultan Husayn (*chahār šāq-i khāṣṣa-yi humāyūn*) was decorated with gold and lapis lazuli, and each of the amirs and princes were also assigned *chahār šāqs*; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:178.
83. See the references in Allen, *Toponyms*, under the respective gardens.
84. Khunjī, *Persia*, 59.
85. The festivities recall the occasion when the city of Bukhara was bedecked with textiles for the visit of the sovereign of Ferghana; for this and other occasions when a display of textiles was used to impress visitors, see Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park, Penna., and London, 1988), 31.
86. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4:185.
87. The most complete information is to be found in Charles Melville, "From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas I (995–1038/1587–1629)" (in press). I am most grateful to the author for sending me a copy of his manuscript.
88. The garden itself already existed, having been used by Seljuq, Timurid, and early Safavid rulers; M. Haneda, "Maydān et bāg: reflexion à propos de l'urbanisme du Šāh 'Abbās," in *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. A. Haneda (Kyoto, 1990), 93 (I am grateful to Charles Melville for sending me a copy).
89. Melville, "Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas," n. 65
90. Melville, "Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas," table 5; Haneda, "Maydān et bāg," also draws attention to Isfahan's status as merely a winter capital.
91. McChesney, "Isfahan," 106, quoting Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat al-āthār*.
92. Munshī, trans. Savory, 2:673–74.
93. See n. 71 above.
94. The major factor was the Uzbek incursion into central Iran; Melville, "Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas," n. 20.
95. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı*, 15–22; see also the paper by Necipoğlu in this volume.
96. The most detailed accounts of these are E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates Exoticarum Politico-Physico-Medicarum*, trans. W. Hinz as *Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs, 1684–1685* (Tübingen and Basel, 1977), 227–35, and J. Chardin, *Voyages . . . en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès (Paris, 1811), 7:381–88.
97. Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 244 ff., describing a feast hosted by Khanzada, Timur's niece.
98. O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 83–84.
99. Khadija Begum, in order to strengthen the position of her son Muzaffar Husayn, tricked Sultan Husayn into executing his grandson Muhammad Mu'min, and on the death of Sultan Husayn managed to have her son made joint ruler; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia. III: Mir'Alī Shīr*, trans. V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1962), 57; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, text 89, trans. 39. Khunjī, *Persia*, 108, gives an obituary notice of Sultan Ya'qub's mother, showing her powerful status.
100. *Bāburnāma*, trans. Beveridge, 301.
101. On Shah Isma'il II's death in 1577 the main power struggle was between Sultan Tahmasp's daughter Pari Khan Khanum and Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda's wife Mahd-i 'Ulya Fakhr al-Nisa Begum; Munshī, trans. Savory, 327–37; both were murdered for their interference.
102. For female Timurid patrons, see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 82–84.
103. M. Membré, *Relazione di Persia*, ed. G. Scarcia (Naples, 1968), ch. 3, mentions the "maidens" who were visible when Shah Tahmasp's *ordu* moved (in 1539): "They ride like men and dress like men, except that on their heads they do not wear caps, but white cloths." Pietro della Valle writes that the women of the harem traveled by night with the eunuchs, but went unveiled on horseback when with the shah; *Lettere dalla Persia*, vol. 1, ed. F. Gaeta and L. Lockhart, Il Nuovo Ramusio 6 (Rome, 1972), 280. I am most grateful to Charles Melville for both of these references; see also his "Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas," n. 102. The scene described by Rashid al-Din where Ghazan Khan and his wife watched a hunt together from a temporary wooden pavilion (*Geschichte Gāzān-Ḥān's*, ed. Jahn, 137) must still have been far from Safavid sensibilities.
104. The extent to which this was true in the late Timurid period is difficult to gauge from the sources; it is a question which was usually commented on only by visiting Europeans, and there

- were none for Herat at this time. However, the evidence from fig. 14, which shows Sultan Husayn's harem screened off from all the male retinue apart from a black eunuch, suggests that the trend may have been well established by then.
105. On the competing strains of the Turko-Mongol nomadic and the sedentary Irano-Islamic traditions in late Timurid and early Shibanid society, see Maria E. Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983): 121–48.
106. The royal palace at Qazvin also had a separate harem; Munshī, trans. Savory, 1:288–89.
107. The strength of the Tabriz citadel can be gauged by the difficulties of Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda's troop in retaking it from the Ottoman forces in 1585–86; Munshī, trans. Savory, 1:451–54, 480–81. The Samarqand citadel was rebuilt by Timur, even though he rarely occupied the pavilion which he built inside it; *Bāburnāma*, trans. Beveridge, 77. The Herat citadel was still of such military importance in 1885 as to be the cause of the destruction of the Gawhar Shad Mosque; O. Caroe, "The Gauhar Shad Musalla (Mosque) in Herat," *Asian Affairs* 60 (1973): 295–98. Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York, 1979), 79, suggests that even in the early medieval period the citadel of Isfahan was not of great importance; for its location, see Gaube, *Iranian Cities*, fig. 50. Like the Herat citadel, it was used as a place of imprisonment; Shah 'Abbas's brothers were incarcerated there before they were blinded (see McChesney, "Isfahan," 106 and n. 20).
108. Haneda, "Maydān et bağ," 97.
109. When attack was threatened, Sultan Husayn still preferred to move to a garden near the citadel rather than into the citadel itself; see n. 79 above.



FIG. 1. Shahr-i Sabz. Aq Saray. Detail of tilework.

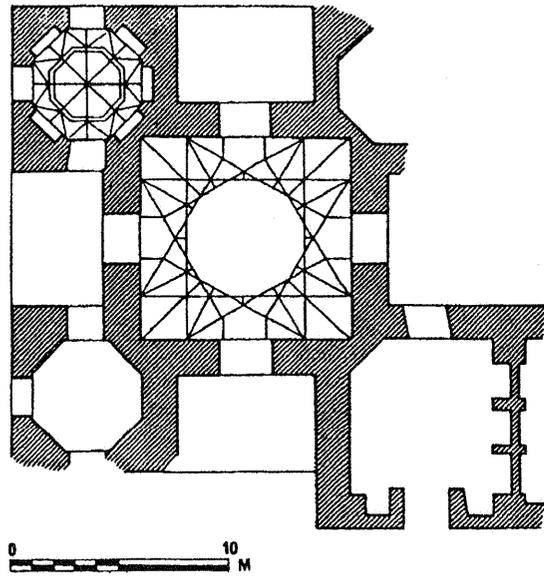


FIG. 2. Afushta. Pavilion. Ground plan.
After M. Ferrante and E. Galdieri, "Architettura persiana poco nota," *Palladio* 23 (1972).



FIG. 3. Afushta. Pavilion. Central dome chamber.

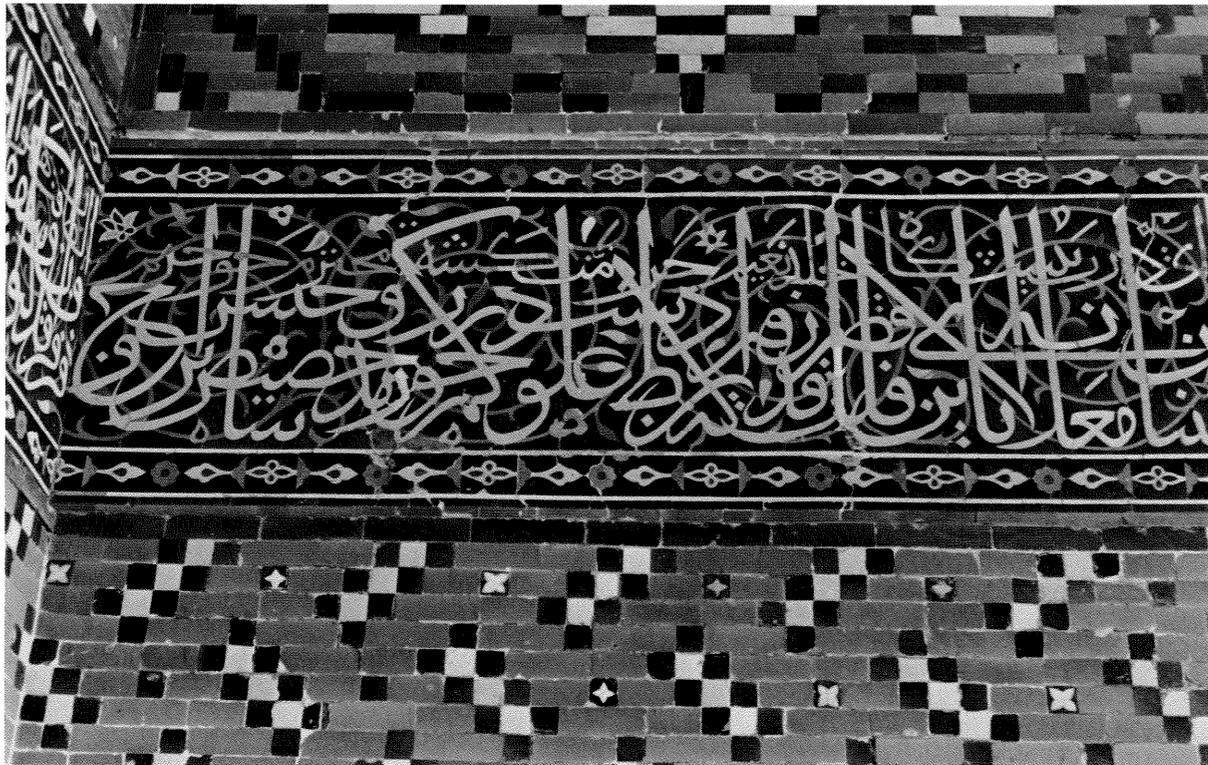


FIG. 4. Istanbul. Tiled Kiosk. Inscription on entrance portal.



FIG. 5. Tabriz. Blue Mosque. Inscription on entrance portal.



FIG. 6. Istanbul. Tiled Kiosk. Rear façade, showing underglaze-painted tiles.

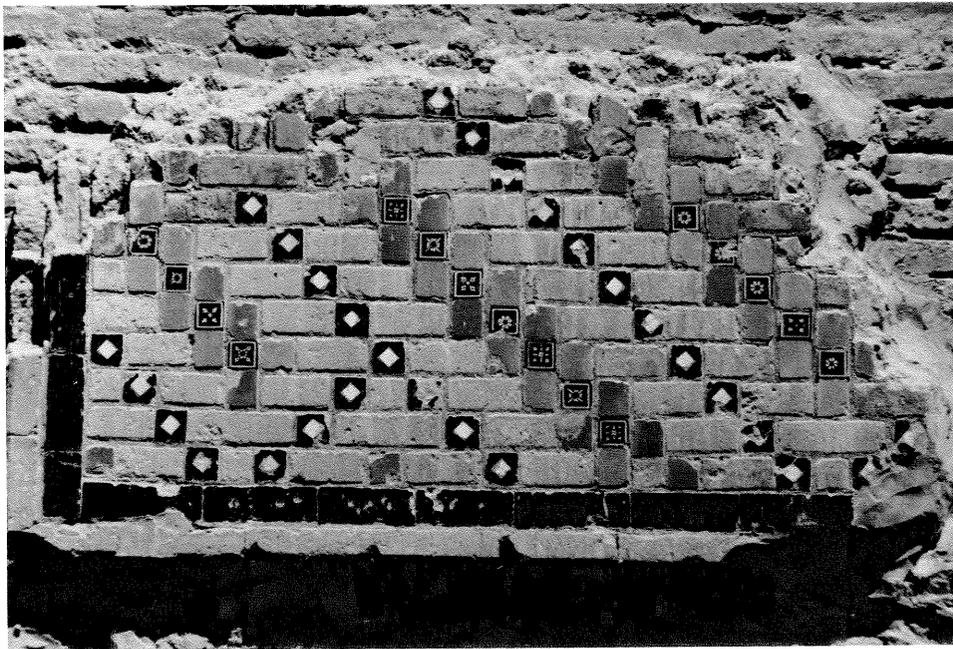


FIG. 7. Tabriz. Blue Mosque. Exterior wall, showing underglaze-painted tiles.

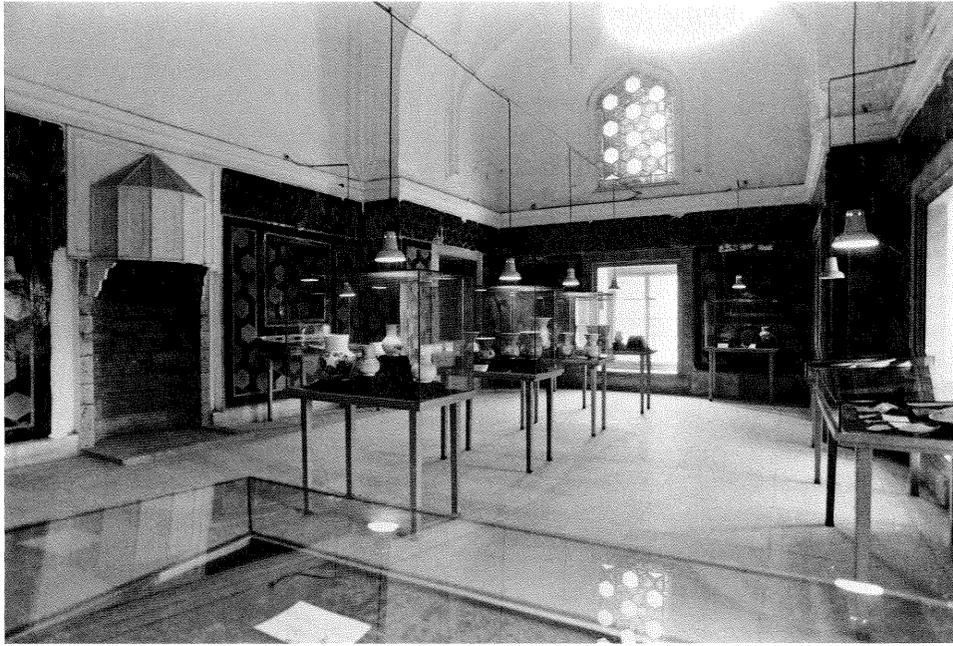


FIG. 8. Istanbul. Tiled Kiosk. Interior.



FIG. 9. Tabriz. Blue Mosque. Interior.

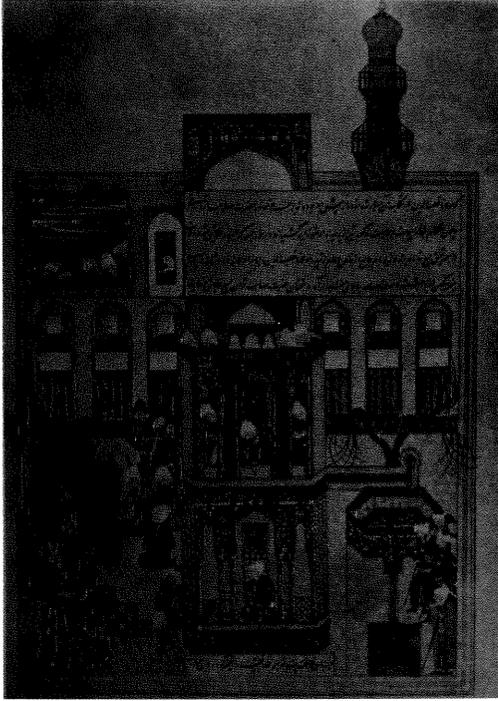


FIG. 10. "Judgment in the mosque of Shiraz," Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, Shiraz School, 1529. Gulistan Library, Tehran. From L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933).

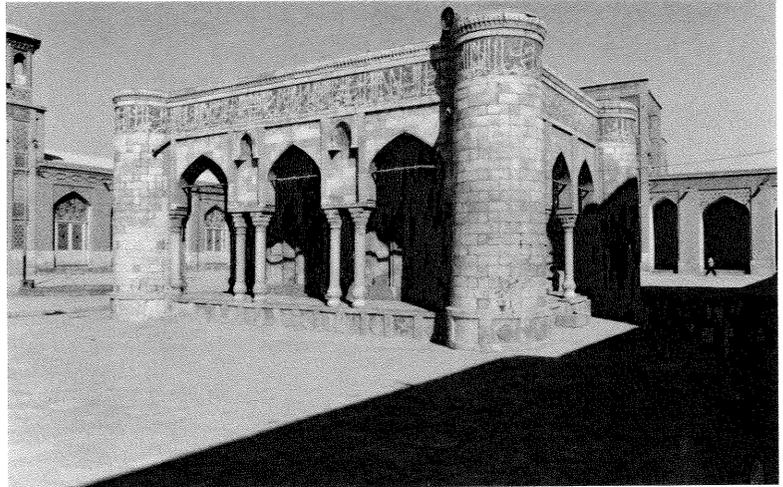


FIG. 11. Shiraz. Masjed-i 'Atiq. Muṣḥafkhāna.



FIG. 12. Frontispiece., Sa'di, *Būstān*. Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, Adab Farsi 908, fol. 2a, detail. From T. Lentz and G. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Washington, D.C., 1989).



FIG. 13. "Parade of the sherbet sellers," *Sūrnāma* of Murad III. Istanbul. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1344, fol. 174. From I. V. Stchoukine, *Le peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés* (Paris, 1966-71).

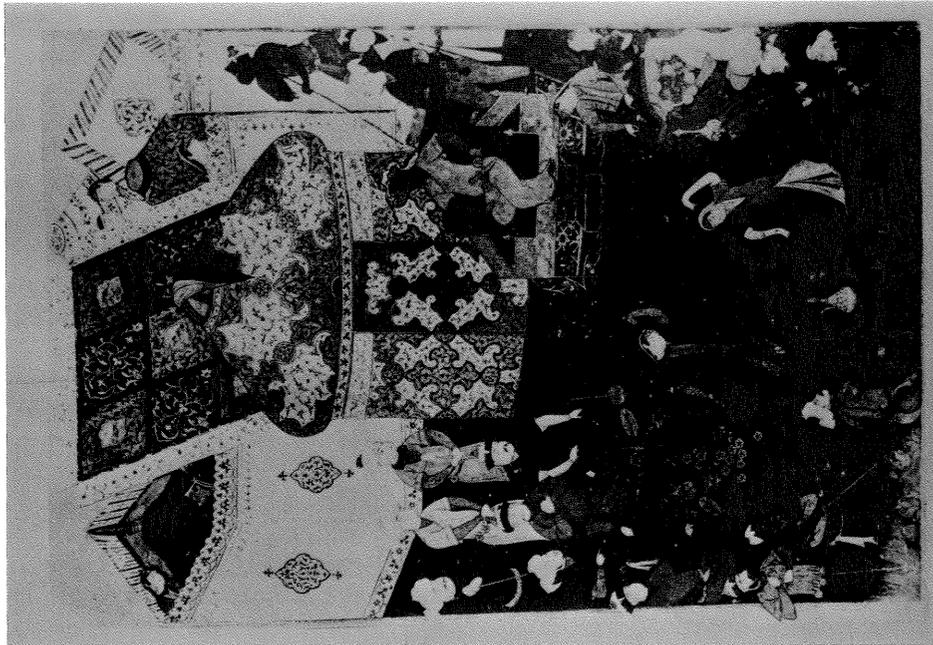
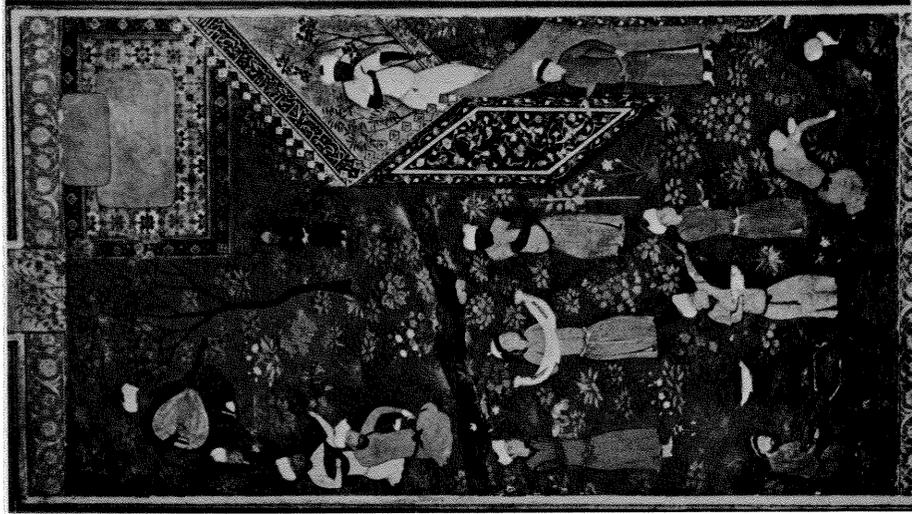
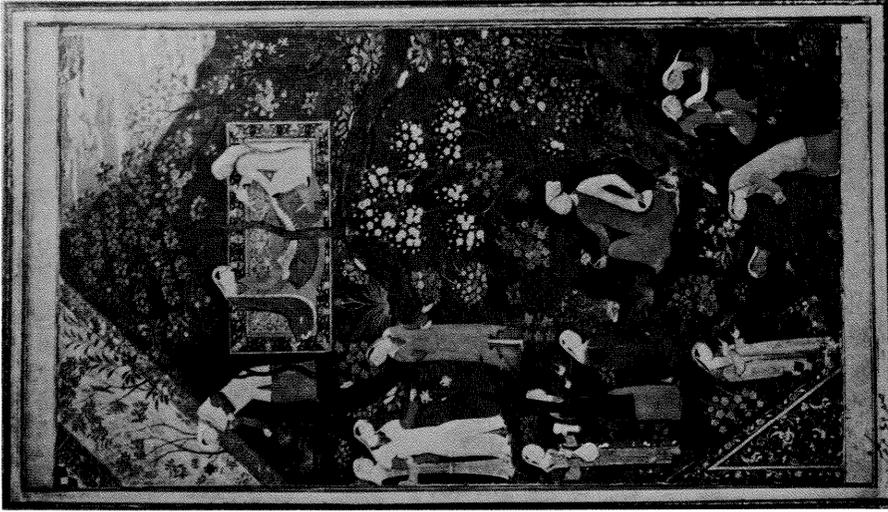


FIG. 15. "Sultan Husayn in a garden." Tehran, Cullistan Library, album leaf.
From L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933).

FIG. 14. "Timur being entertained," Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, 1486.
Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. From Armenag Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929).