ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF DIWAN OF HAFIZ PRODUCED DURING THE SAFAVID PERIOD (1501-1722)

by

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Supervisor: Professor Anthony Welch

ABSTRACT

Shams al-Din Muhammad, commonly known as Khwajeh Hafiz-i-Shirazi, was born in the early fourteenth century, lived a relatively turbulent life, and died in the city of Shiraz near the end of the century. Like many of his Iranian contemporaries, Hafiz was a Muslim mystic or sufi. His book of poems or Diwan with its allegorical poems and verses is clear proof of his adherence to this branch of Islam. Unlike many of his fellow poets, however, Hafiz was against pretentious religious practices. He voiced his opinion boldly through the medium of his poetry. Religious leaders did not appreciate his forwardness and condemned his poems as heretical. The Diwan of Hafiz did not enjoy the same popularity as works by his fellow poets, nor was it extensively illustrated until the sixteenth century when the advent of the Safavid dynasty brought about a shift in political and religious policies.

The Safavid dynasty ruled Iran for more than two centuries and established (Ithna 'Ashari) Shi'ism as the state religion. The Safavid shahs regarded themselves (and were regarded by the Shi'a populace) as the representatives on earth of the Twelfth Imam, who had disappeared in 878 A. D., who, though in occulation, was believed to be still alive, and who expected to return at the Last Judgement as the Mahdi to institute perfect government. Accordingly, the shah was often referred to theologically as the (Murshid-i Kamil) or (Perfect Guide) of the people. The shahs claimed that their House was descended from the seventh Shi'a Imam, Musa al-Kazim, and through him from 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and the

first Shi'a Imam. They also asserted that the third Imam, al-Husayn, (defeated in battle and killed at Kerbala by the 'Umayyad caliph Yazid in 680 A. D., a martyrdom that is to this day a focal point of Shi'a piety), had married the daughter of the last Sasanid king, Yazdigird III, and the concept of "kingly glory" was combined with that of religious sanctity and martrydom. The three major Safavid Shahs, Shah Isma'il I (1501-24), Shah Tahmasp (1524-76), and Shah 'Abbas I (1588-1629), were competent rulers who not only expanded Iran's frontiers, helped its economy to flourish, and increased its foreign power, but also promoted art and literature.

It was during this period that the Diwan of Hafiz gained and enjoyed relative popularity and support. However, with the exception of the manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz produced around 1527 for Sam Mirza, Shah Tahmasp's brother, no other copies of the Diwan were officially produced by the court atelier. It was in lesser art centers, like Mashhad and Shiraz, and through the support of humbler patrons that the Diwan of Hafiz was appreciated and copied. Six unpublished manuscripts chosen from the Topkapi Museum for this thesis are ample proof of this fact.

Examiners:

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PREFACE

A few years ago, I had a meeting with my supervisor Dr. Anthony Welch, in which we discussed various possibilities for my M. A. thesis. Of all the suggested topics, the problem of illustrating manuscripts of the Diwan of Hafiz attracted me the most. During the initial period of my research I found out that despite Hafiz's enormous literary and religious importance his Diwan was seldom illustrated in comparison to the works of Firdawsi, Sa'di, or Nizami. Consequently the first objective of my thesis was to explore the cause or causes for this neglect. The main goal of the thesis was, however, to study the miniature painting which were inspired by the poems of Hafiz. This analysis would obviously have to deal with the stylistic development and with problems of attributions and provenance.

I decided to limit my research to the years between 1501-1722, when the Safavid dynasty ruled Iran. This period was chosen for two reasons: firstly, because of the relative abundance of surviving manuscripts in this period; and secondly, because the Safavid rulers are well known for their patronage of art and architecture, and a wealth of information concerning this patronage exists.

While the problem of Hafiz illustration is intriguing and while I was determined to uncover new, primary source material, I also had to impose limitations appropriate to a Master's thesis. Accordingly, when I had the opportunity to travel to Istanbul in 1983 and was able to gain access to the unparallelled collection of Iranian manuscipts in the Topkapi Seray Library, I decided to concentrate on unpublished Hafiz manuscripts there. Thus while I have discussed at some length other Hafiz manuscripts, like the great c. 1527 Diwan for Sam Mirza (the illustrations of which are divided between

two private collections) as central to the problem of Hafiz illustration, I have chosen to focus my analysis on unpublished material. As a result, I hope that this study will not only shed light on a textual and iconographic problem important to the understanding of the complex process of illustrating Iranian manuscripts but will also bring to scholarly attention significant new works of art.

This thesis consists of three major chapters: an initial chapter presenting basic information about Hafiz; a second chapter offering an outline of Safavid history in order to facilitate an understanding of the milieu in which these paintings were created; and a third chapter examining the paintings and drawings and analyzing them in the light of the poetry and Safavid history. The system of transliteration of Arabic characters used in this thesis is based on the system employed in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

CHAPTER ONE

HAFIZ: HIS LIFE AND TEACHING

A) Hafiz and his times

Shams al-Din Muhammad, commonly known as Khwajeh Hafiz Shirazi, is one of the most famous, respected and loved Iranian poets. There are, however, obstacles that make it difficult to establish solid facts about his life and beliefs. Contemporary or near-contemporary biographical sources of medieval Persian poets are rare, and it is unlikely that more informative texts will be discovered about Hafiz. The poet's own work is similarly problematic; a universally accepted, complete and authentic text of Hafiz's poems does not exist. Consequently one has to rely on later copies of Hafiz's work as a source of information about historical events related to his life.

According to Muhammad Qasim Ghani, the Iranian scholar whose compilation of the Diwan[1] of Hafiz is the most recent (1941) and the most reliable, Khwajeh Hafiz was born in 1317 and died in 1389-90 in Shiraz, a city in southwestern Iran.[2] Some sources dispute this date. The Encyclopaedia of Islam gives the date of Hafiz's birth as late as 1325-26.[3] Like many of his Iranian contemporaries, Hafiz was a Muslim mystic (sufi). His allegorical poems and verses are a clear proof of his adherence to this branch of Islam. In order to shed some light on the mystical nature of Hafiz' poetry and the intrinsic difficulties of illustration, sufism in general, and Hafiz's sufism in particular, will be dealt with in subsequent pages.

According to Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Hafiz was the son of a baker living

in Shiraz.[4] The Encyclopedia of Islam identifies Hafiz's father as Baha' al -Din or Kamal al-Din who migrated from Isfahan to Shiraz and died when Hafiz was still an infant.[5] "As a young man Hafiz was one of the followers of Shaikh Mahmud 'Attar who was one of the learned men of Shiraz." [6] Hafiz received comprehensive training and education in his youth in Qur'anic study, Islamic sciences and Persian literature. The title Hafiz (one who had memorized the Qur'an) was given to him in his youth because of his ability to recite Qur'anic verses so eloquently .

Hafiz's genius in composing poetical and mystical lyrics came to the surface while he was in his late twenties. " To judge in particular by the dedication of certain poems to Kiwam al-Din Hasan, sometime vizier to Shah Abu Ishaq Inju, he was into his poetic stride as a panegyrist before the age of thirty."[7]

Iran in the mid-fourteenth century was a country of unrest and instability. Different families were ruling various parts of Iran, and their rule and power were under constant threat from their rivals. Shiraz, capital of the southern province of Fars, was a city with a prospering cultural tradition, but a center which suffered many violent political changes during the century. The house of Inju, descended from the last Il-Khanid governor,[8] ruled Shiraz from 1335 to 1353, when the Muzaffarid dynasty conquered Shiraz and overthrew them. The Muzaffarid rulers expanded their domain over all of southwestern Iran until they were in turn ousted by Timur in 1393. Both the last Inju ruler, Abu Ishaq, and the Muzaffarid, Shah Shuja, were patrons of Hafiz .

Abu Ishaq Inju was a poet and a friend of poets. Like many other Iranian

rulers, he was a pleasure-loving, mellow man who most of the time neglected the affairs of state. Tradition has it that when he was warned of the threat of the Muzaffarid dynasty, he composed the following verses to ward off the fear.

Come, let us make merry just for this one night,
And let us deal tomorrow with tomorrow's business.[9]

Hafiz was much in favour of this easy-going Inju ruler ,and we see him praising his virtues and his short reign saying,

In truth the turquoise ring of Abu Ishaq
Flashed finely, but it was a transitory prosperity.[10]

In contrast to Abu Ishaq, Mubariz al-Din Muhammad (r. 1353-58), the first ruler of the Muzzaffarid dynasty, who overthrow Abu Ishaq in 1353, was a fastidious, ascetic and devout Muslim who forced strict religious rules on his people. During the short rule of Shah Muhammad, Hafiz bitterly opposed the Shah's rigid religious regulations regarding alcohol and was not afraid to voice his opinion.

Though wine gives delight and the wind distills the perfume of the rose,
Drink not wine to the strains of the harp, for the constable is alert.
Hide the goblet in the sleeve of the patch-work cloak,
For the time, like the eye of the decanter, pours forth blood.
Wash your dervish-cloak from the wine-stain with tears,
For it is the season of piety and the time of abstinence.[11]

Sultan Muhammad had been in power for only five years, when he was blinded and deposed in 1358 by his trusted and beloved son Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja was a more competent ruler who controlled his domain with a strong hand. During his long reign (1358-1384) some measure of political stability was brought to the region. One of the first rules that he relaxed was the restriction on alcohol, a legal change that Hafiz welcomed.

At early dawn good tidings reached my ear from the Unseen Voice;
It is the era of Shah Shuja: drink wine boldly!
That time is gone when men of insight went apart
With a thousand words in the mouth but their lips silent.
To the sound of the harp we will tell those stories
At the hearing of which the cauldron of our bosoms boiled.
Princes (alone) know the secrets of their kingdom;
O Hafiz, thou art a beggerly recluse; hold thy peace![12]

In spite of many verses in praise of Shah Shuja, Hafiz was periodically at odds with the Shah about his political and domestic policies. It is generally believed that Shah Shuja, a poet himself, was jealous of Hafiz's talent and popularity among the populace and that consequently Hafiz was in disfavor for a period of ten years from 1366-76. During this time Hafiz spent a few years in the neighbouring cities of Yazd and Isfahan. In the last years of his reign, however, Shah Shuja changed his opinion. This new attitude could have been due either to a change in Hafiz's carefree manner or to a more mature attitude on the Shah's part towards the poet's ideas. Whatever the reason, Hafiz regained some of his original status, though never to the same extent .

The relationship between Hafiz and different sultans and rulers was

unsteady. We see him praising Shah Abu Ishaq Inju, a relatively incompetent and mild-mannered ruler, who was merely occupied with court protocol and worldly matters. There is evidence to show that Hafiz was against the strategies of Shah Muhammad Muzaffar in observing strict religious rules, and yet it is believed that Hafiz was appointed a teacher of Qur'anic studies in one of the madrasas (theological seminaries) in Shiraz.[13] In the beginning of his reign, Shah Shuja Muzaffar favoured Hafiz, but later he changed his opinion and became hostile. Hafiz was invited by other sovereigns to visit their courts , but he refused to leave Shiraz, his beloved city, even if it meant losing the favour of the inviting ruler. Sultan Ahmad ibn Uways al-Jala'ir, the ruler of Baghdad, repeatedly tried to convince Hafiz to visit his court, but the poet declined saying,

> The zephyr-breeze of Musalla and the stream of Ruknabad
> Do not permit traveling or wandering afield. [14]

Two contemporary kings of India also tried hard to persuade Hafiz to visit their courts. One of the two, Mahmud Shah of the Deccan, a patron of poets, went as far as sending a sum of money for the poet's travel expenses. There is no evidence suggesting that Hafiz had personally asked for the monetary gift. Mahmud Shah of the Deccan must have, wrongly, presumed the lack of funds as the main reason for Hafiz's unwillingness to leave Shiraz. Unlike many contemporary panegyrists, Hafiz seldom changed his manner or conduct to please any specific person. Hafiz spent a considerable amount of this gift upon receipt, and the rest he gave to a needy friend. Consequently he did not leave Shiraz. There is no obvious explanation why Hafiz did not return the money.

Hafiz like many other poets of the time was a sufi. Sufism is the name given to the mystical movement within Islam; a sufi is a Muslim who dedicates herself or himself to the quest for mystical union (or, better said, reunion) with the creator.[15] Mysticism is a constant yearning of the human spirit for personal communication with God. The ways and means for the spirit to communicate or get closer to God, however, vary in different religions. "It may be said, truly enough, that all mystical experiences ultimately meet in a single point; but that point assumes widely different aspects according to the mystic's religion, race, and temperament, while the converging lines of approach admit of almost infinite variety."[16] No religious movement can come into being or develop without having contact with other established faiths which are bound to leave their influence upon the new revelation.[17] Therefore, it is more accurate to study mysticism not only with regard to its original faith but also with reference to the other religions of the time.[18] To talk about the diverse religious influences on Muslim mysticism is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to mention that, according to Reynold Nicholson in The Mystics of Islam, sufism at its inception was influenced by the prevailing religions and their practices. Not only did the idea of love of God come from Christianity, but other doctrines of emanation, illumination, and ecstasy came from Neoplatonism. As well, the doctrine of the soul existing and progressing before birth, came from gnostic ideology, and the doctrines of ascetic meditation and intellectual abstraction practiced in sufism owe a great deal to Buddhism. [19]

According to most scholars, the word sufi is Arabic in origin and is derived from the word suf meaning wool, a reference to the type of simple robe that the early Muslim mystics wore. The Muslim mystics made their

clothes from wool in imitation of the dress of the early Christians who once used to live in the Syrian and Egyptian deserts and other places in the Near East. It was not the material itself that was of importance. It was the simple style and simple wool-weaving technique that was imitated by the mystics. The unpretentious robe was a sign of patience and rejection of worldly vanities.[20]

Asceticism in outlook and practice was, and still is, the prerequisite for becoming a mystic. According to the Traditions of the Prophet, a source of faith for Muslims second only to the Qur'an,[21] Muhammad and his companions used to wear simple robes and practice an ascetic life. During the ensuing years of formation of the Muslim state the conquest of ancient kingdoms brought enormous wealth to the Arabs. No longer Bedouins, they were more and more occupied with ceremonial state affairs. Towards the end of the seventh century some of those who were faithful to the old ways of living gathered and formed a group who wore simple wool robes.[22] These groups were called by different names such as the Kindreds (Ahl al-Bayt), The Virtuous (Mutagh'iun) and The Near Ones (As'hab al-Safa). It was in the tenth century that the word sufi became current in the Near East and North Africa.

In the core of Islamic teaching there are three concepts-- God, Prophet, and the Qur'an-- that distinguish this Faith clearly from other religions, such as Christianity. Muslims believe that God is One, that He has no partner or equal. Islam recognizes no incarnate God; no Saviour; there is a direct relationship between Allah, the One Lord (Rabb), and man, His Creature ('Abd). For the sufis this relation is of vital importance, for it is said in the Qur'an. "If My servants enquire of thee concerning Me, lo, I am near, nearer than his own jugular vein."[23] "In the Qur'an God refers to

Himself as the Outward (al-Zahir) and the Inward (al-Batin). In as much as this world and all that is in it are reflections and theosophanies of the Names and Qualities of God, all the realities of this world also pass through an outward and an inward aspect. The outward face of things is not sheer illusion; it has a reality on its own level...To live in the outward is to possess already the blessing of existence, to be more than nothing. But to remain satisfied solely with the outward is to betray the very nature of man, whose profoundest reason for existence is precisely to journey from the outward to the inward,... and in so doing to return creation to its origin". [24] Therefore according to sufis , sufism is a way to accomplish this task. God has made the journey possible through His revelation which contains both the inward and the outward dimensions. In Islam, according to the sufis, the inward or esoteric dimension corresponds to sufism. It is through sufism that man passes beyond all his human attributes (fana) and becomes one with God, whereby he achieves the eternal spiritual life (baqa) in Him.

The second core of Islamic teachings is the concept of the Prophet. God has sent from time to time, from Adam to Muhammad, a prophet or a chosen one whose duty has been to call mankind to Him, the One true God. The prophets are the vehicles through which the Divine Message reaches humanity. Other than that, the prophets are ordinary men , except that God has willed them to be the recipients of His special Grace and Favour. The prophet is certainly not to be worshipped, for this would be polytheism (shirk), though he is to be revered and imitated, since he has been spoken to by God. Thus it becomes the ardent desire of the sufis to know how it came about that the Founder of their Faith, Muhammad, was chosen by God to be His Messenger. According to Islam, Muhammad was not just a prophet

(nabi)--as were Moses and Jesus-- but also a Messenger (rasul). He is the last of the prophets and the only rasul. Consequently, the life of Muhammad (Sira), his code of conduct (Sunna), and his sayings (Hadith) are all studied by the sufis.

The third core of Islamic teaching is the existence of their Holy Book or Qur'an. For the Muslims, God's message is wholly contained in the Qur'an, a volume of revelations sent down to the Prophet Muhammad. The Qur'an does not annul any of the previous Holy Scriptures; it rather confirms the Divine messages which have been preserved during centuries, albeit in a corrupt and distorted fashion. The Qur'an, therefore, is the supreme authority to which all Muslims look for guidance. The manner in which the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad is of great importance to sufis, for it is a visible proof that God speaks to Man. Consequently, guided by the word of God ,the Quran, the Muslim mystic studies the life of Muhammad and his sayings (Hadith) in the hope of hearing the voice of God and winning a glimpse of immortality during his mortal life.

The development of sufism from its inception to its zenith can be divided into four distinct periods. a) The Apostolic age; b) Asceticism; c) Mysticism combined with Divine Love; d) Mystical orders.

The period from the advent of Islam to the death of the Prophet Muhammad is called the Apostolic age. Muhammad was considered by the sufis as not only the Prophet but also the first sufi Shaykh, and thus, his sayings and conduct were studied by all the sufis. After the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., the Islamic state was ruled by four caliphs-- Abu Bakr (632-634), 'Umar (634-644), 'Uthman (644-656), and 'Ali (656-661).[25] For

Sunni sufis these four Caliphs embody all the virtues of a true Muslim, devotion, humility, generosity, and piety. Shi'as consider the first three caliphs as usurpers; in their view the first caliph should have been 'Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and the succession to the caliphate should therefore have remained in the Prophet's family. For Shi'a mystics, it is 'Ali and his immediate family who embody ideal human virtues. In 661A.D. the first 'Umayyad Caliph came to power. The 'Umayyads ruled the Muslims and Muslim territories until 750A.D. The early 'Umayyad Caliphs were bright and aggressive rulers who expanded the Muslim territories, but they lacked the spiritual or religious conviction to satisfy the 'Ulama (theologians). There was a lack of piety in the court of the 'Umayyads and an increase in preoccupation with worldly affairs.[26] Thus, a select group of religious men withdrew from society and formed an ascetic group who disagreed with the Caliphate's policy and who strove to preserve the purity of thought and conduct which they believed had prevailed during the Apostolic age. In this period the ascetics were concerned with knowing God through the Prophet, with abstaining from all unlawful worldly affairs, remaining as pure and free as possible, and not pursuing material wealth, for poverty was honored and practiced by the Prophet himself.

In sufism the doctrine of Divine Love is generally associated with the name of Rabiah al-Adwaiyyah, a woman from Basra who combined great personal beauty with a longing for the Divine. She was offered several times the choice of marriage to a number of pious men which she declined declaring

> The contract of marriage is for those who have a phenomenal existence. But in my case, there is no such existence, for I have ceased to exist and

have passed out of self. I exist in God and am altogether His.[27]

Rabiah's prayers and poems are famous for portraying the emerging sufi thinking of her era, as in

> O God! If I worship Thee in fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine Everlasting Beauty.[28]

The following short poem is another one of her prayers which is often quoted in sufi literature.

> Two ways I love Thee; selfishly,
> And next, as worthy is of Thee.
> 'Tis selfish love that I so naught
> Save think on Thee with every thought.
> 'Tis purest love when Thou dost raise
> The veil to my adoring gaze.
> Not mine the praise in that or this:
> Thine is the praise in both , I wis.[29]

From Basra and Kufa the ascetic movement spread to all parts of the Islamic world, notably to Khurasan, a province in northeastern Iran, which during the second half of the eight century became an important focus of political and religious activity; it was in Khorasan that the plot was hatched which in 750 A.D. overthrew the 'Umayyads and established the 'Abbasid caliphate.[30]

The introduction of the element of Love changed asceticism into mysticism (ninth century). Asceticism for its own sake was a rather joyless and cold phenomenon, whereas when embued with Love it became spiritually ignited--a delightful, yet painful experience, for when there is Love, one can not avoid pain. One of the well-known sufi authors whose writings influenced the subsequent sufi concept of Love, along with other subjects, was al-Harith ibn-i-Asad al-Muhasibi. He was born in Basra in 165/781 and was brought up in Baghdad, where he spent most of his life and died in 243/837. The bulk of al-Muhasibi's writing is concerned with self-discipline: his name derives from the word self-examination (muhasaba). In one of his treaties on Love (Resalah al-Muhaba), only known through quotations, he gives an imaginative and artistic account of Love as understood by the sufis.

> What is the Original Love?
> The love of Faith. The light of yearning is the Light of Love. Love is yearning, because one does not yearn except for a beloved. There is no distinction between Love and Yearning. It is said likewise that Love is known by its evidence upon the bodies of the Lovers, and in their speech. When God befriends someone, He bestows his favors upon him; and when these favors become manifest, he is known for his Love of God.
> Love itself has no manifesting shape or form. It is the lover who will manifest God's favors.[31]

In the period of mysticism, the doctrine of passing away from self (fana) and living in God (baqa) was established. By passing away from self the mystic does not cease to exist, but he loses the individuality that has alienated him from God. He becomes perfected and eternalized through God

and in God. Yet man is always apart and veiled from God and thus the return to continued existence is the greatest affliction (bala). It is in this period, the ninth century, that some mystics took the extreme and claimed to be one with God. The first so-called intoxicated sufi was the Iranian Abu Yazid Bastami(d.261/875), who scandalized othr mystics by claiming "Glory to Me, How great is My Majesty." [32] Later his writings were interpreted as innocent blasphemy. Abu Yazid was the first to take the Prophet's Ascension (mi'raj) as a theme to express his own mystical experience:

> I saw that my spirit was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no heed, though Paradise and Hell were displayed to it, for it was freed of phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of Oneness and whose wings were of Everlastingness, and I continued to fly in the air of the Absolute, until I passed into the sphere of Purification, and gazed upon the field of Eternity and beheld there the tree of Oneness. When I looked, I myself was all those. I cried: 'O Lord, with my egoism I cannot attain to Thee, and I cannot escape from my selfhood. What am I to do?' God spoke: 'O Abu Yazid, thou must win release from thy thou-ness by following my Beloved(Muhammad). Smear thine eyes with the dust of his feet and follow him continually. [33]

There were others like Abu Yazid Bastami throughout the caliphate who were not as lucky when they either claimed or were thought to have claimed to be God Incarnate. One of these sufis, al-Hallaj, was put to death in 309/922 for saying "I am the Truth" (ana'l-haqq). Al-Haqq is one of the ninety-nine names of God, and al-Hallaj's claim therefore was considered blasphemous. Al-Hallaj agreed with his predecessors in seeing in the

mystical experience a reunion with God; but he then went further and asserted that man may be viewed as God incarnate. He took as his example not, as one might suppose, Muhammad, but Jesus.[34] So complete was al-Hallaj's absorption in serving the Will of God, as he conceived it, that he was oblivious to the consequences of his teachings. In the eyes of other sufis al-Hallaj's crucifixion not only made him a martyr but invested him with extraordinary honor and nobility, for he lost his life for the Love of God.[35]

By the 5/11th century sufism was firmly established throughout Islam. Numerous sufi scholars and theorists wrote various books about sufi practice and doctrines . One of the important examples is the 11th century historian Abu Nu'aim al-Isbahani (d.430/1038), whose book of Hilyat al-auliya gives valuable information on sufi biography and individual doctrine. This encyclopaedia, which has been printed in ten volumes, confers 'sainthood' not only on the Companions of Muhammad and their followers and the four 'righteous' caliphs but also on the four founders of the Sunni schools of jurisprudence.[36]

Sufism produced many scholars of importance but one of the most significant "conversions" was when Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ghazali declared himself a sufi. Al-Ghazali was born in 451/1059 at Tus in Khorasan. He lived most of his youth in that northeastern province of Iran. He became an orthodox theologian and lawyer and had established himself as a leading Sunni scholar when he was appointed professor of divinity at the Nizamiya Madrasa, a theological seminary, in Baghdad, in 484/1091. However, this great scholar was dissatisfied with the legalistic approach to religion and felt a yearning for a more personal communion with God. In

488/1095 he gave up his teaching, became a sufi, and lived in retirement. From this time until his death in 505/1111, al-Ghazali lived the life of a mystic. He strived to reconcile sufism with Muslim orthodoxy and to prove that the Muslim life of devotion to the One God could not be lived save by following the sufi way.[37]

The period of asceticism (mid-7th-9th centuries) and mysticism (9th-late 11th century) gave way to the period of various orders in sufism. The period of individual yearning or abandonment to God was replaced by the era of groups or orders working collectively towards the same goals or desires. A close and intimate relationship between the teacher or elder (Pir, Shaykh) and pupil or disciple (Murid, Shagird) was established which necessitated the existence of the Khanigah.[38] A celebrated saint would reside in a Khanigah with his disciples who studied under him and worshipped with him. The initiation ceremony was marked by handing a special frock or Khirqa to the disciple symbolizing acceptance of a tradition of Divine service going back to the Prophet Muhammad. This residency did not imply celibacy on the part of any of the members of the order, for there are no monks in Islam. By the twelfth century these Khaniqahs , dispersed throughout most Muslim countries, were in contact with one another, united in mystical brotherhoods, acknowledging common masters and following common disciplines and rituals.

There were four major sufi Orders during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that attracted a great number of prominent poets , artists and politicians. The oldest order, the Qadiriyah, was founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1078/1166). 'Abd al-Qadir was born in Gilan in Iran and at the age of seventeen migrated to Baghdad to study Hanbali jurisprudence. After

becoming a sufi, in 521/1127, he started preaching regularly. 'Abd al-Qadir attracted many followers because of reports of miracles he was said to perform and the virtue of his conduct and teachings. His followers called themselves Qadiris. The Qadiri Order found many followers in numerous parts of Islam, especially in India. One of the determining factors in the success of this Order was its scrupulous adherence to traditional religious laws and ordinances.

The second great Order, the Suhrawardi, was also named after its founder, Shihab al-Din 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah Suhrawardi (539-632/1144-1234). He studied under his uncle, an authority on Hadith. Shihab al-Din was a moderate orthodox who enjoyed the confidence and patronage of caliphs and princes, while his lectures attracted thousands of admirers. The most fundamental book of this order is his 'Awarif al-ma'arif. His teachings spread to many countries including India. The Iranian poet Sa'di (1112-1292) was one of his followers.

The third Order, the Shadhiliya, owed its inspiration to a scholar of Tunisia, Nur al-Din Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah al-Shadhili (593-656/1196-1258). Al-Shadhili found such a large following in Tunis that the authorities feared his influence, and he fled to Egypt where he promptly achieved astounding success. The Shadhiliya order was widespread in Egypt and in North Africa as well as in Arabia and Syria.

The fourth Order originated in Turkey through the activity of one of the greatest poets and mystics of Iran namely Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273), called Maulana. This order enjoyed enormous popularity in Turkey under the Ottomans. Its Khaniqahs were scattered throughout the Ottoman dominion.

Their most famous characteristic is the Whirling Dance described by many European travellers who saw it first-hand.

The well-organized orders of the sufis had an enormous influence on the structure of Muslim society. Their first and foremost duties were to safeguard spiritual discipline in Muslim countries and to propagate and expand their order in new frontiers. Many Ghazis (fighters for Islam) were sufis, who not only protected the country but also propagated Islam .

Many sufi scholars, politicians, and supporters were often significant instruments of educational development in Islam. Khwajeh Nizam al-Mulk, the Seljuq vizier, next in authority to the sultan, an early patron of the madrasa (theological seminary), was a patron of various sufi Orders. In the field of arts and sciences, too, the sufis contributed enormously. Most of the famous Muslim scholars , poets, musicians and architects belonged to sufi Orders. The famous twentieth century Iranian sufi scholar, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, writes, "In the field of Islamic literature what is most universal belongs to the domain of sufism. It was the spirit of sufism that raised Arabic and Persian literature from local lyric and at most epic verse to didactic and mystical literature on the most universal dimension, enriching Arabic most of all in the prose form and Persian in the poetic." [39]

Tradition associates Hafiz with the sufi order of Naqshbandiyya or "The Designers". "The Masters (khwajagan) of this School have always been marked by their adherence to the outward norms of the community in which they work. They wear its clothes, eat its food and practice its customs, while providing materials to link these factors with that which is higher."[40] Thus we see Hafiz, one of the greatest mystical poet of Iran, composing

simple panegyric poems in praise of different Shahs and rulers who governed Shiraz, mainly to insure his own safety and position. There is not one example to prove that Hafiz strongly opposed or supported any of the ruling class at any time of his life. All through the Diwan the reader finds examples where the poet praises, justly or superficially, rulers of Shiraz. Hafiz's indifference to current political affairs, other than to worry for the safety of his beloved home Shiraz, is best described in a passage by Gertrude Bell:

> To Hafiz modern instances have no value; contemporary history is too small an episode to occupy his thoughts. During his life-time the city which he loved was besieged and taken five or six times; it changed hands even more often. It was drenched with blood by one conqueror, filled with revelry by a second, and subjected to the hard rule of ascetism by a third. One after another Hafiz saw kings and princes rise into power and vanish like snow upon desert's dusty face. Pitiful tragedies, great rejoicing, the fall of kingdoms and the clash of battle--all these he must have seen and heard. But what echo of them is there in his poems? Almost none. An occasional allusion which learned commentators refer to some political event; an exaggerated effusion in praise first of one king, then of another; the celebration of such and such victory and of the prowess of such and such a royal general--just what any self respecting court-poet would feel it incumbent upon himself to write; and no more.[41]

It was in the area of religious practices that Hafiz took a very firm stand and opposed the traditional system of religious law, the Shari'a, and the religious leaders or 'Ulama who tried to suppress any threatening

ideology. The attitude of Hafiz, understandably, met with the opposition of the 'Ulama who considered anything outside the norm as a heretical act. Hafiz was not a poet who would accede to an unreasonable demand. He would voice his opinion.

Preachers who shine so on the pulpit and the chapel
Engage in other activities in private;

I am bewildered. Pray do ask the learned one,
Why do the enjoiners of repentance themselves abstain to repent?

Me-thinks they do not believe in the days of Judgement,
Why else would they so convolute the behest of the Judge.[42]

In response to his friends' and followers' pleas, who warned him of the wrath of the 'Ulama, he answered,

I have no fear of people's admonition. In the Path of Love,
Like unto Mahmud, I offer up kisses at the feet of my Ayaz(beloved);

Hafiz doth not relate his heart's secrets to the ill-wishers,
Naught but the wineglass is worthy of such trust.[43]

Many of his poems were understood by his contemporaries as many-sided mystical yet sometimes erotic , spiritual yet worldly. Not only would he repeatedly object to any pretentious practice of the faith (specifically by the religious establishment) calling such people hypocrites, but he was honest enough to make fun of himself and his own sincerity. An example of

this type is the following verse:

If Islam is that which Hafiz holds,
Alas, if there should be a tomorrow after to-day!

Hafiz ,however, unlike his predecessor al-Hallaj, was not prepared to sacrifice his life for a mere verse. Being warned that this verse was to be used by his enemies to accuse him of heresy and to sentence him to death, he prefixed another verse to change its outward meaning:

How pleasant to me seemed this saying which at early morn
A Christian was reciting at the door of the tavern with tambourine and flute.[44]

After adding this verse, Hafiz claimed that he was not responsible for an opinion which was expressed by a Christian. He had merely recounted what he had heard; he thus succeeded in convincing the ruler, Shah Shuja, of his innocence. A shrewd, tactful, and practical man, Hafiz recognized that he sometimes had to conform to some of his patron's wishes and curtail some of his own opinions. This tact, however, was never appreciated by contemporary theologians who were not fooled by his temporary outward submissiveness and considered him an infidel and a dangerous troublemaker.

A sufi, Hafiz never aggressively proclaimed his allegiance to any of the Muslim sects current in 14th century Iran. His lack of assertive support for any specific dogma not only put him in jeopardy during his lifetime, but caused an even stronger antagonism towards him after his death . This opposition by the 'Ulama was so severe that they almost managed to

interfere with his burial and to deny him a proper Muslim burial. The Sunnis never accepted him as one of their followers, whereas the Shi'as charged him with being sympathetic to Sunni doctrine. Hafiz's disregard for the Shari'a (religious law) and his unsympathetic attitude toward current politics could be seen as determining factors in the neglect of his work by different rulers and art patrons. With the exception of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Iran, when the Diwan of Hafiz became relatively popular, at no other period do we see him or his work fully appreciated by art patrons.

With the advent of the Safavid dynasty, 1501-1722, there was a shift in the religious policies of Iran. With the crucial change from Sunnism to Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism, as the official state religion, came an affinity for certain sufi ideas. The Safavid rulers not only claimed to be the representatives of the Twelve Imam, but also headed the sufi order of the Safaviyyi. Thus, there was a change in the patronage of work of certain poets and writers such as Hafiz.

B) Editions, translations, and critical discussions of Hafiz's Diwan.

So far we have discussed the life history of Hafiz and his ideology based on the information that can be extracted from his Diwan. It is also essential to give an account of the Diwan itself and the most important commentaries written about it. Hafiz is considered the master of the gazal (or ode). The word Diwan, as was mentioned above, means "collection", and, when applied to the work of a poet, it means a collection of his poems arranged in

alphabetical order . Alphabetical order depends on the rhyme of the qazal that ranges in length from ten to sixteen couplets with the same rhyme. This arrangement is convenient for reference but has the disadvantage of making it impossible to date the composition of any given ode, with the exception of rare cases where the date can be surmised from historical or religious allusions.[45] Each qazal contains a new idea and rarely hangs together with what precedes or succeeds it. The first half of each couplet rhymes with the second half, and this same rhyme is retained at the end of every couplet. In the last couplet the poet introduces his own poetical name.

It is believed that Hafiz edited his collection of poems in 770/1368, twenty years before his death.[46] There is, however, no firm evidence or written document for this belief. The earliest edition of the Diwan compiled after Hafiz's death is allegedly by Muhammad Gulandam who is purported to have been one of the poet's friends and followers. The writer, in the preface of this edition, writes that: "Diligent study of the Qur'an, constant attendance to the King's business,...the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and the appreciation of Arabic poems prevented him (Hafiz) from collecting his verses and odes, or editing and arranging his poems. The writer of these lines, this least of men, Muhammad Gulandam,... used to constantly and repeatedly urge, in the course of conversation, that Hafiz should gather together all these gems in one concatenation and assemble all these lustrous pearls on one string, so that they might become a necklace of great price for his contemporaries or a girdle for the brides of his time. With this request, however, he was unable to comply, alleging lack of appreciation on the part of his contemporaries as an excuse, until he bade farewell to this life...in A.H.791 (A.D. 1389)."[47] Research done by later Iranian scholars like Muhammad Qasim Ghani suggests that the name

Muhammad Gulandam is a later addition to this first edition.[48] Muhammad Ghani states that the oldest manuscript of the Diwan does not give any name as its sole collector, but it is more likely that the first Diwan was compiled after the poet's death by a number of learned men, friends, and disciples, sympathetic to Hafiz.[49] This first edition ,however, did not contain the entirety of Hafiz's poems. The modern Iranian poet, Ahmad Shamlou, in his edition of the Diwan recounts the story that, fearing the 'Ulama who were opposed to Hafiz's poems , the ladies of his house burned the majority of his poems to protect Hafiz's life.[50] This story, if true, could well explain how the first edition of the Diwan contained only the so-called " safe poems" that were given to friends and disciples.

From this earliest edition thousands of later editions were copied, many of which vary not only in the order and number of poems, but also in the order and number of verses of a given poem. The Diwan of Hafiz never enjoyed the same esteem from fellow poets as did the work of Firdausi and Nizami, though serious interest in Hafiz extended from Ottoman Turkey to India and later in the eighteenth century to Europe, returning to Persia in the late ninteenth century. This popularity reached its zenith in the 1930s and 1940s and continues to the present.

The earliest biography, used for many centuries as an authoritative source for Hafiz's life, was by the Turkish scholar, Sudi, who died in 1591 A.D. Sudi, a Sunni himself, at one time was charged with having suppressed one or two poems of Shi'a sympathy, but modern scholarship has exonerated him by failing to find these poems in early manuscripts.[51] There was no further scholarly consideration of Hafiz until 1791, when a new edition of his Diwan, containing 725 poems, was published in Calcutta.[52] This edition

was based on Sudi's work. In 1812-13, a comprehensive German edition was produced by J. von Hammer-Purgstall. This edition was known to Goethe at the time he was writing the East-West Diwan.[53] H.Brockhaus published his three volumes of the Diwan with 692 poems in 1854-61; like its predecessor, it was based on Sudi's work.[54] At the same time, using the same source, V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau brought out another three-volume edition of the Diwan in German translation. The late ninteenth century also witnessed the English editions of Gertrude Bell, H. Bicknall , and H. Wilberforce Clarke.[55] The translation of Hafiz's Diwan had an enormous impact on German and English literature. The German Romantic poet, Friedrich Rueckert, a fine scholar of Turkish and Persian, was strongly influenced by Hafiz whom he elegantly translated. His translations were widely read. Goethe acknowledged his debt to Hafiz in his East-West Diwan and helped popularize the poet in German-speaking countries. English translations of Hafiz similarly had considerable impact in English-speaking countries.

The twentieth century saw a serious rebirth of Hafiz scholarship in Iran with the work of scholars such as 'Abd-al Rahim Khalkhali, Husayn Pizhman, Muhammad Kazvini, and Qasim Ghani.[56] Khalkhali's book is marred by errors, and that of Muhammad Pizhman has many doubtful qazals.[57] The most scientific and reliable edition so far is Muhammad Kazvini and Qasim Ghani's edition which is based on a very early manuscript. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, this edition contains a good introduction but lacks a critical apparatus.[58]

Scholars like E.G. Brown, Idries Shah, and Jan Rypka have each tried to unfold the mystry of this mystical poet. Idries Shah's introduction to

Gertrude Bell's translation, and Jan Rypka's article on Hafiz printed in Collection of Articles on Persian and Tajik Literature [59] represent extreme points of view towards Hafiz. E.G. Brown's chapter on Hafiz in his Literary History of Persia and G. M. Wickens' article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam are preferred by the present author because they take a more reasoned approach.

Idries Shah, a devout sufi scholar, supplies a short introduction to his 1979 republication of the translations made by Gertrude Bell. In this short essay, Idries Shah expounds a view shared by thousands of sufi scholars and followers, to whom Hafiz is more than a simple panegyric poet with some talent in composing mystical poetry. He is even more than a great mystical poet. He is the embodiment of what a true mystic should be. Hafiz is a man who has seen the truth . He is a Master of the Way. " In addition to writing love-poetry equal to the greatest lyrical work of any poet, Hafiz was a Master of the Way, a man who had seen truth and who was a great poet precisely for this reason."[60] Not only is Hafiz a great mystic teacher, but he has, through his work, contributed to the advancement of sufisim in general:

> Hafiz created a monument, in his poetry, among a highly poetic people, which would also contain materials related to the understanding of higher things. The result, in cultures ranging from India to the Near East, was that sufi thought and some establishment of its ability to compete with subjective ideas was reinforced in a way which has hardly happened in the West.[61]

Moreover, Idries Shah considers the station of Hafiz to be as close to God Almighty as any human being can imagine or hope for.

> Hafiz was termed Translator of the Secrets (Tarjuman al-Ghaib) and Tongue of the Hidden (Lisan al-Ghaib) because he rendered things which

exist beyond the ordinary ken into parallels within the conceptual and experimential world of those who wanted to learn about them. But his production of poetry to appeal on its overt level to the ordinary man or woman, while containing those ingredients which enable the soul to perceive itself, means that Hafiz is filling that gap between the profane and Divine. [62]

We encounter a totally different approach to Hafiz and his teachings in the writings of Jan Rypka, a socialist scholar, who claims that Hafiz was one of the first socialists of his time. According to Rypka, Hafiz was a man whose work was for the people alone. There is no trace of mysticism or spirituality in Hafiz's work. He was a poet who devoted his whole life to enlighten people about true joy and love of Man . "In the centre of Hafiz's attention is Man , Man whom Firdausi considers the last link of the development, "the crown of creation", and Khayyam " the goal of all creation", the " precious stone of the Universe." It is this Man that is the centre of all creative consideration of Hafiz."[63]

According to Jan Rypka, Hafiz was a man who tried to free his fellow human from the bondage of religion and to lead them to the happiness which is only found in a socialist milieu. In this commentator's opinion, people living in the middle ages in Iran were such miserable, unhappy, and pessimistic creatures that they could only be saved by Hafiz, and other true humanists like him. " Hafiz no longer wanted to console himself with a dream of a better life in the other world, promised him by his spiritual fathers. He wanted to enjoy real life and real love. Though passively, he proclaimed earthly happiness."[64] Further on he says: " Hafiz takes an active part in teaching Man positively human, fine habits. He grants the human

heart the feeling of happiness and optimism, arousing love for real life, inviting people to beautify earthly life, to see and feel its beauty, to create it and multiply it. .. When the Soviet people, together with the peoples of other socialist countries, lead the nations of the world along the road to genuine happiness, Shamsuddin Muhammad Hafiz Shirazi marches side by side with the great sons of other nations, with his wonderful, truly human songs, towards the epoch of the 'real humanism' -- communism."[65]

The above-mentioned points of views towards Hafiz's teachings not only do not help the neutral researcher reach a reasonable understanding of the poet's teachings, but they confuse the mind and blurr the vision. For someone who is not a sufi (and consequently does not believe in direct communion with God, without any help of the Holy Scriptures) to believe that Hafiz was the mediator between human and Divine is hard to digest. There is no doubt that Hafiz was a great mystical poet and an intelligent, sensitive, and courageous man. He was disgusted with the pretentious conduct of the religious teachers who were continuously preaching poverty and abstinence for the common man in the hope of paradise, while themselves amassing fortunes to satisfy their earthly desires. Hafiz was a man who was against religious institutions and bureaucracy. He was searching for the meaning of life and the reason for our existence on earth. But he believed in God and His supremacy, in His wisdom and His Love . To state that Hafiz was a humanist is not an offence , but to believe that he was not more than a humanist is an insult to Hafiz's spirituality. To consider and interpret the Diwan solely on a material basis, giving it a carnal rather than a spiritual nature is truly inaccurate. There is no doubt that many of the odes are to be taken in a mystical and allegorical sense, as there is no doubt that many others, such as the following, mean exactly

what they say, in the exaltation of wine.

A thousand blessing be on the red wine,
Which hath removed the sallow complexion from my face.[66]

Hafiz's poems are mixed; they are both spiritual and material. After reading commentaries such as those of Jan Rypka and Idries Shah, one becomes indebted to the work of the scholar E.G. Browne whose A Literary History of Persia [67]not only sheds light on a difficult subject but also enlightens the researcher. If one is eager to acquire some relevant information without being brainwashed by a biased writer, one may turn to this classic study published sixty-seven years ago. In his extensive discussion on Hafiz, he gives the historical, social and religious background of Iran in the fourteenth century. For his biographical information he is debted to Shibli Nu'mani's Urdu work on Hafiz. He also relies on Hafiz's poems to extract information about the life and beliefs of the poet. Towards the end of his discussion, E.G. Brown examines other works on Hafiz and compares the different translations by Gertrude Bell with those of Bicknell and Rosenzweig. In my own discussion I have relied heavily on Browne's admirable presentation of the poet and his time.

Likewise the article by G.M. Wickens in the Encyclopaedia of Islam is a valuable source. The article deals with the problem of different editions of the Diwan; it also gives a short biography and offers an account of all the pertinent publications of the Diwan. However, the fact remains that the two basic tasks that any researcher into Persian poetry faces remain unsolved. There is neither a significant biography of Hafiz nor an authoritative edition of the Diwan. . A controversial poet during his life,

Hafiz remains a mystery.

FOOTNOTES

1. Diwan means "collection", and, when applied to the work of a poet, it means a collection of his poems arranged in alphabetical order.
2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition, Vol. III, London, 1971, P.55.
3. Ibid., page 55.
4. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Teachings of Hafiz,London, 1979, page 46.
5. Encyclopaedia of Islam, page 55.
6. Gertrude L. Bell, page 46.
7. Encyclopaedia of Islam, page 55
8. The Ilkhanids were the successors of Jenghis Khan who invaded Persia in about 1220 A.D. The Ilkhanid dynasty united Mesopotamia and Persia after 1258 and ruled until the middle of the 14th century.
9. Edward Granville Brown, A Literary History of Persia, four volumes, Cambridge. Volume III, A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion, (A.D. 1265-1502), 1920, page 275.
10. Ibid., page 275.
11. Ibid., page 277.
12. Ibid., page 279.
13. It is not certain when and with which ruler Hafiz acquired the position of court poet.
14. Edward Granville Brown, A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion, page 284.
15. Farid al-Din Attar, Muslim Saints and Mystics, translated by A. J. Arberry, London,1966, page1.
16. Reynold Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, London,1914,1966,1970, page2.
17. Many Muslims believe that Islam existed eternally and that it was not influenced by other faiths.

18. To talk about Christianity, Judaism, and other major religions would be lengthy and beyond the scope of this thesis.
19. Ibid., pages 10-19.
20. A second view holds that the word sufi is linked with the Greek word for Divine Wisdom (Sophia), or with the Hebrew term Ain Sof meaning the Absolute Infinite. A third view, perhaps the most intriguing , held by some sufi scholars, states that, 'The word sufi has no etymology and that contrary to some scholars' belief, it is not absurd to believe that a word or an idea could exist with 'no etymology'. The sufis regard the sounds expressed in writing by the letters S, U, F(in Arabic ص و ف as significant, in this same order of use, in their effect upon human mentation. In other words the sufis are the people of SSSUUUFFF.' The same sufi scholar also states that 'The human brain, as one is doubtless aware, may be likened to an electronic computer. It responds to impacts or vibrations of sight, sound, touch and so on, in certain predetermined or 'programmed' ways. It is held by some that the sounds roughly represented by the signs S, U, F are among those for reaction to which brain is, or may be, programmed'.

    Idries Shah, Special Problems in the Study of Sufi Ideas, Kent, England, 1966, pages 7,8.
21. Hadith is the record of the traditonal sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, which is revered and received in Islam as a major source of religious law and moral guidance. The development of Hadith was a vital element during the first three centuries of Islamic history, and its study provides a broad index to the mind and ethos of Islam. There are six compilations of Hadith accepted as canonical by Sunnis while others are accepted by Shi'as.

    See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition, London, Volume IV,

1973-74, page 829.

22. A. J. Arberry, Sufism, An Account of the Mystics of Islam, London, 1963, pages 31-32.

23. Ibid., page 17.

24. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Sufi Essays, London, 1972, P. 16.

25. Islam has two main sects, Sunnism and Shi'ism. Sunnis are those Muslims who believe that the four caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali were the legitimate successors to the Prophet Muhammad. Sunnism has four main schools of religious law, Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali, and Shafi'i, each named after its founder. a) The Maliki school of law is based on the teachings of Imam Malik ibn Anas (died 795). Malikis stressed local Medinese community practice (sunnah), preferring personal opinion(ra'y) and analogical reasoning to a strict reliance on Hadith. Hadith, however, was always applied, though often arbitrarily. The Maliki school is currently widespread throughout northern and western Africa, in the Sudan, and in parts of the Persian Gulf. b) The Hanafi school of law developed from the teachings of the theologian Imam Abu Hanifah (700-767). This school became the official system of Islamic legal interpretation for the 'Abbasids, Seljuqs and Ottomans. Hanafis acknowlege the Qur'an and Hadith, as primary sources of law, but they also accept personal opinion in the absence of precedent. c) The Hanbali school is the most dogmatic and purist of the four Sunni schools of law. Based on the teachings of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855), the Hanbali school emphasized virtually complete dependence on the Quran and Hadith and rejected personal opinion. Hanbalis solely rely on the literal readings of these two holy books. This school was popular in Iraq and Syria during the 14th century and currently is the official legal school of Saudi Arabia. d) The Shafi'i school of Islamic law, derived from the teachings

of Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i (767-820), admits the validity of both divine will and human speculation. The Shafi'i school predominates in eastern Africa, parts of Arabia, and Indonesia. See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica,15th edition, Chicago, London, Volume IX, page 101. Volume IV, page 881, 882.

26. A.J Arberry, Sufism, page 31-32. There are divergent opinions about the nature of the 'Umayyad caliphate.
27. A. J. Arberry, Sufism, page 42.
28. Ibid., page 42.
29. Ibid., page 43.
30. Ibid., pages 35-36.
31. Ibid., pages 50-51.
32. Ibid., page 54.
33. Ibid., page 35.
34. Ibid., page 59. Al-Hallaj was crucified because of his high regard for Christ. That high regard was, of course, not only theologically alarming but also politically threatening to the 'Abbasid caliphate, since its chief opponent was the Byzantine empire.
35. Ibid., page 60.
36. Ibid., page 70. See note 24.
37. Ibid., page 80.
38. Khaniqah was a sufi residential, instructional, and devotional center.
39. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Sufi Essays, page 20.
40. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Teachings of Hafiz, page 15.
41. E. G. Brown, A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion, page 293.
42. Ibid., page 12.
43. Muhammad Djafar Mahjub, Diwan Of Khwajeh Shams al-Din

Hafiz-i-Shirazi, Teheran, 1986 (in Persian), page 233.

44. Ibid., page 281.

45.The date can also occasionally be found in the final couplet, if the abdjad system is used by the poet.

46. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III, page 56.

47. E.G. Brown, A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion, page 272.

48. Encyclopaedia of Islam, page 56.

49. Ahmad Shamlou, Hafiz-i-Shirazi, Tehran, 1981, page 33.

50. Ibid., page 33.

51. Encyclopaedia of Islam , Vol III, page 56.

52. Ibid., page 56. Diwan of Hafiz, Upjohn, Calcutta, 1791.

53. Ibid., page 56. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Diwan of Hafiz, 1812-13.

54. Ibid., page 56. H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1854-61.

55. Ibid., page 56.

56. This information comes from The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition, page 56.

57. Ibid., page 56.

58. Ibid., page 56.

59. Gertrude L. Bell, Teachings of Hafiz, The Octagon Press, London, 1979; Yadname-ye Jan Rypka, Collection of Articles on Persian and Tajik Literature, Editor: Sh. M. Shomuhamedov, Paris, 1967.

60. G.L. Bell, Teachings of Hafiz, page 10.

61. Ibid., page 11.

62.Ibid., page 15.

63.Yadname-ye Jan Rypka, page 133.

64. Ibid., page 134.

65. Ibid., page 139.

66. E.G. Brown, A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion , page 273.

67. Ibid., pages 271-320.

CHAPTER TWO
THE SAFAVID DYNASTY

What makes Safavid rule a distinct period in Iranian history? The Safavids have been considered by numerous scholars as the first truly Iranian dynasty since the overthrow of the Sassanid empire by the Arabs in the seventh century. What were the characteristics of this dynasty that set it aside from any previous rule, or for that matter from any succeeding period? Why were the Turkish-speaking Safavids any more "truly national" than the Turkish-speaking Timurids or the Turkish-speaking Seljuqs? It is during the Safavid period that one finds the first sustained interest in the poetry of Hafiz and its illustration. Why were the mystical poems of Hafiz more appreciated during this period? To answer these questions, it is necessary to investigate the political, religious and social structure of Safavid dynasty. This chapter will demonstrate that Safavid state owed much of its origin to mystical traditions of Islam and that it was natural for the Safavids to enjoy Hafiz, one of the foremost exponents of Iranian mystical tradition.

The Safavid dynasty that ruled Iran for over two centuries (1501-1722) had obscure origins. Historically, the Safavids can be traced back to the eleventh century when a wealthy land-owner named Firuzshah Zarinkulah ("of the golden hat") established himself in Ardabil, a town in the eastern part of the province of Azarbayjan in northwestern Iran.

Where did the ancestors of Firuzshah come from? This is a subject still open to discussion and speculation. "Hinz has talked about an alleged migration of Firuzshah to Azarbayjan from Yemen, and has taken this to be

an indication of the Arab origin of the family. Ayalon has claimed that the Safavids were Turks. Kasravi, after a careful examination of the evidence, came to the conclusion that the Safavids were indigenous inhabitants of Iran, and of pure Aryan(i.e., Iranian) stock; yet they spoke Azari, the form of Turkish which was the native language of Azarbayjan. The only point at issue for Kasravi was whether the Safavid family had been life long residents in Azarbayjan, or had migrated from Kurdistan. More recently, Togan re-examined the evidence and suggested that the ancestors of the Safavids may have accompanied the Kurdish Ravadid prince Mamlan b.Vahasudan when the latter conquered the regions of Ardabil, Arran, Muqan and Dar-Bum in 1025."[1]

Although an official genealogical record exists for the Safavid dynasty, the authenticity of this document is in question. Roger Savory warns researchers to be cautious with the document, for this official record is based on an earlier version written about 1357/8 by Ibn Bazzaz which was primarily a hagiography.[2] The Iranian historian Kasravi examined the document in detail, rejected the purported family tree, and concluded that the document was a forgery.[3] It is, however, certain that this genealogy was created in order to assert the descent of the Safavid house from the seventh Shi'a Imam, Musa al-Kazim, and through him from 'Ali himself (the first Shi'a Imam and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad) and thus to justify the Safavid claim to represent the Mahdi, the 12th and last Imam of the Ithna 'Ashari Shi'a, who went into hiding in 878 A.D.[4]

The initial division in Islam occurred in the years immediately after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. There existed a group who were followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (the people of the Household of the Prophet) consisting of

Muhammad's daughter, Fatima, her husband, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (who was also a cousin of the Prophet) and their children. These supporters, who considered 'Ali as the legitimate successor of the Prophet, were called Shi'a 'Ali, or the Partisans of 'Ali, or simply Shi'a. " Muhammad had left neither a will nor any other document to specify a successor but he had mentioned orally that his cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali, should succeed him. 'Ali was young. There were much older men in the ranks of Muslims, prominent, well-tested and experienced, who believed that their age coupled with their services gave them a valid claim. There were also many leading figures among the Muhajirun (those who had migrated with the prophet from Mecca to Medina) and Ansar(those of the Medinans who supported the Prophet and aided him in his campaigns), who, for a variety of reasons, were hostile towards 'Ali. Thus it was that at the gathering assembled on the very day of the Prophet's death, whatever rights 'Ali did possess, were, with no warrant of authority, entirely ignored."[5]

Despite some opposition from the supporters of 'Ali, the succession was awarded to Abu Bakr ibn Quhafah who was one of the first Muslim believers and the Prophet's father-in-law and was respected by both Muhammad and 'Ali. The supporters of Abu Bakr and his successors 'Umar ibn al-Khuttab (634-644) and 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (644-650) became known as Sunnis. The term applies to those who believed that the succession of Abu Bakr was with the agreement of the majority of the Moslems and thus in accordance with the teachings or Sunna of the Prophet.

'Ali, although he had a legitimate claim, recognized the need for a harmonious and united Muslim society, avoided any clash or fight among the believers, and pledged his allegiance to Abu Bakr. " For 'Ali the supreme

necessity of preserving the unity of Islam, of stemming the tide of secession, took precedence over the assertion of his own rights". [6] The supporters of 'Ali, the Shi'a, were not as understanding or forgiving. They believed that succession should have carried through the Prophet's family or Imams. Generally speaking, the word Imam means religious leader or one who leads people in prayers and worship. In Shi'ism, the word Imam also refers to the descendants of 'Ali. The Imams are considered to be divinely inspired, and they have the authority and the knowledge or 'ilm to interpret the Quran. The knowledge is passed from one generation to another through appointment (or Nass). In Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism, there are twelve Imams ,the first of whom is 'Ali. From 'Ali, the Imamate was given to his oldest son al-Hasan (625-670) and after him to the younger son al-Husayn(626-680), in whose line it remained. The twelvth Imam, Muhmmad al-Mahdi, was born in 868 and disappeared in 878 A.D.

The Shi'a believe that the twelvth Imam or Mahdi will reappear at the appointed time with Divine Order to fill the earth with equity and Justice and defeat oppression and tyranny.[7] The Imams are considered "the gate to god (Bab Allah), the road (Sabil) to Him and the guide thereto (dalil). The Imams are the proofs (Hujja) of God on Earth, their words are the words of God, and their commands are the commands of God. Obedience to them is obedience to God, and disobedience to them is disobedience to God. In all their decisions they are inspired by God, and they wield absolute authority."[8]

Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism justifies its claims by referring to several Qur'anic verses and Hadith which establish and reaffirm the absolute authority and infallibility of the Imams. In the absence of Imams, religious authorities ('Ulama) are in charge of guiding the people by means of tafsir (exegesis)

and ta'wil (interpretation) of the Quran. Proclaiming Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism as the state relgion of Iran, the Safavid Shahs claimed descent from 'Ali through the seventh Imam and thus justified their position as the Perfect Teachers .

It is not relevant to this thesis to give a detailed account of the formation of the Safavid house; it suffices to point out only the major events and policies from the time of Firuzshah to the enthronement of Shah Isma'il. According to the official record, Firuzshah was accepted as a Seyyid or descendant of the Prophet, and, due to his piety and sincerity, people residing in the district of Ardabil became his followers or murid. His grandson, Muhammad Hafiz, was an interesting figure, for he was supposedly taken by jinn when he was seven years old and was returned after seven years to guide the people. " Two new, predictive elements have been introduced into the official account at this point: the supernatural element (the abduction by jinn) and the repetition of the socio-religious significant number 7."[9]

Four generations later, we encounter another significant figure in Safavid history. Shaykh Safi al-Din was born in 1252/3. " According to the traditional hagiographical account, signs of future greatness were stamped upon his brow from infancy. He did not mix with other boys, but spent his time in prayer and fasting until God removed the veil from his heart.....the angels would comfort with the assurance that he would reach the state of gnosis and become the focus for the hopes of the world."[10] In his youth, Shaykh Safi was a follower of Shaykh Zahid-i-Gilani, a well-known mystic with a considerable number of followers, residing in the north of Iran in the province of Gilan. The close spiritual bond between the two religious figures

lasted 25 years, and was reinforced with a marriage alliance. Before Shaykh Zahid passed away, he appointed Shaykh Safi-al Din as his successor. In responce to Safi's reluctance to accept this honour, Shaykh Zahid replied:

" Safi, God has shown you to the people, and His command is that you obey His call... I have broken the polo-stick of all your adversaries, and cast the ball before you. Strike it where you will; the field is yours. I have been able to live the life of a recluse, but you cannot . Wherever you are bidden, you must go, to make converts and give instruction. It is God who has given you this task. "[11]

Not only did Shaykh Safi guide the followers of his teacher, but he himself became the founder of a larger religious movement, namely the Safaviyyi order. During Sahykh Safi's spiritual leadership, many powerful Il-Khanid amirs and nobles became the followers of the Safaviyyi order. The Shaykh is said to have indicated that his disciples were twice as numerous as the king's soldiers. The Safavviyi spiritual teaching established followers in eastern Anatolia and Syria, and regular contact was maintained between Ardabil ,the seat of the leader ,and these centers.

It was during the life-time of Shaykh Safi(1252-1334) that the father-son relationship became the most important criterion for appointing successors; thus Shaykh Safi's second son, Sadr al-Din Musa, was appointed by his father as the next leader of the Safaviyyi order. Roger Savory's assumption that keeping the leadership in Shaykh Safi's family was a deliberate act to use the order from an early stage as a stepping-stone to political power is stretching the imagination too far. [12] It is not unheard of in Muslim history for a religious leader to pass the leadership to his

children. The whole sect of Shi'a Moslems base their legitimacy on the blood relation of their Imams to the Prophet Muhammad. The Imamate was transferred from 'Ali to his sons and from them to his grandchildren and so on.

Moreover, to assume that the earliest Safavid genealogy was written twenty-five years after Shaykh Safi's death, with the intention of obtaining political power through religious means , is not sound. Had this idea been initiated by Shaykh Safi, he would have gathered the genealogy himself in his own lifetime. Considering the political instability of Iran in the mid-fourteenth century, when the Il-Khanid dynasty was disintegrating, the condition would have been ideal for Shaykh Safi al-Din to take advantage of the situation and to establish his own principality around Ardabil, had he intended to do so. With the wealth of the family and the land titles which were given to the order and its numerous followers, the attainability of the goal would not have been remote. Why wait two hundred years to reach power?

Il-khanid power was strong until 1345. Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, however, the central government of the Il-khans was in its weakest condition; in the north, Jalayirids and Chubanids took over many cities and established their own principalities, while in the south, the Injus and Muzaffarids were dominating the land. Meanwhile, in Armenia, the strength of the Turcoman tribes known as Qara Quyunlu (those of the Black Sheep) was increasing. Timur invaded Iran in 1380-1, conquering Khurasan, Mazandaran, and Sistan, to the north, and took Armenia and Georgia in 1392-96. The Timurid period, which started with the conquest of Iran at the end of the fourteenth century, lasted untill 1506, with Central Asia,

Afghanistan, and parts of Iran and Iraq under the rule of Timur's successors. The fifteenth century also saw the advent and decline of two Turcoman states as contemporary rivals of the Timurids. These two Turcoman sultanates were named after their tribal emblems. The Qara Quyunlu ruled from 1380-1468, controlling Azerbayjan, Iraq and parts of Iran. They were rivals not only of the Timurids but also of the second Turcoman sultanate called Aq Quyunlu (White Sheep) who ruled Kurdistan, eastern Anatolia, Azerbayjan and parts of Iran from 1378 to 1508.[13] During these years four Safavid leaders, Khwajah 'Ali, Ibrahim, Junayd and Haydar strove to lead their followers and to expand their ideology not only among the Iranian populace, but also in Ottoman territory. It is crucial to mention that the Safavid order was Sunni until about 1399 A.D., when under the leadership of Khwajah 'Ali, their esoteric doctrine first assumed an unequivocally Shi'a character.

It was during the leadership of Junayd, d.1460, Shah Isma'il's grandfather, that the Safavid movement entered a new and more significant political phase. It was Junayd who assumed the title of Sultan, clearly giving indications of his desire for earthly power. It was Junayd who introduced a militant nature to the order's policies and encouraged his followers to start a holy war or Jihad against the infidels. Junayd's policies were challenged by the Qara Quyunlu leader, Jahanshah, who could not tolerate any rebellion within his domain. Therefore, the Safavid leader was driven out of Ardabil to Aq Quyunlu territory in Asia Minor. Later, in 1460, Junayd led an army of 10,000 men into Iran in order to take back his lost power and territory. While passing through Shirvan, a city in northwestern Iran, Junayd was encountered by the Shirvan Shah, and during the ensuing battle in March of 1460 the Safavid ruler lost his life . [14]

The leadership of the Safaviyyi order was transferred to Junayd's son, Haydar, who, following his father's policies, made two expeditions to the Shirvan Shah's territories in 1483 and in 1486. Both times he was ignored by Farrukhyasar, the Shirvani ruler, until in 1487, after sacking the town of Shamakhi, the capital of Shirvan, Farrukhyasar, asked for the help of the Aq Quyunlu leader, Ya'qub, who was not on good terms with Haydar. Perhaps the Aq Quyunlu leader had sensed a serious threat on the part of the Safaviyyi leader. In 1488 Haydar, while passing through Shirvani kingdom with a well-equipped army and devout followers, was attacked not only by Farrukhyasar but also by the army of the Aq Quyunlu. Like his father, Junayd, he was wounded in battle and died in 1488.

The animosity between Ya'qub, the Aq Quyunlu leader, and Haydar was not limited to political and temporal disagreements; it involved a more crucial subject, that of religious ideologies and practice. The Aq Quyunlus were Sunnis, whereas the Safavids had now become Shi'a Moslems believing in the twelve Imams, accepting 'Ali as the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad, and claiming to be the representatives of the Twelfth Imam on earth. Haydar, before his expedition in 1488 to Shirvan ,is said to have seen 'Ali in his dream and was directed by him to wear a twelve gores scarlet headgear, representing the twelve Imams 'Thus, from then on, the followers of the Safavids wore the scarlet headgear and were recognized as "Qizilbash" or red heads. [15]

" This name (qizilbash) used by the Ottomans in a pejorative sense, was adopted as a mark of pride. Strictly speaking, the name qizilbash applied only to those Turcoman tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria,

and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Safavid da'va, or propaganda, and became the disciples of the Safavid Shaykh in Ardabil. Eventually, however, the term came to be applied loosely to certain non-Turcoman supporters of the Safavids."[16] It is said that Ya'qub, the Aq-Quyunlu leader, forbad his subjects to wear the qizilbash headgear and thus increased the animosity between the Aq Quyunlus and the Safavids.

Haydar had many sons, two of whom are historically significant, 'Ali and Isma'il. 'Ali was appointed Haydar's successor and the leader of the Safaviyyi order. He adopted the title padishah (king) for himself. His leadership, however, did not last long, for he and his brothers were arrested on Ya'qub's order and put in prison in the fortress of Istakhr in the province of Fars. In December, 1490, however, Ya'qub Sultan died; subsequently the various Aq-Quyunlu tribes , with the ambition of acquiring power, started a fatal internal war among themselves that weakened the Aq-Quyunlu rule in Iran and prepared the ground for the advent of the Safavid dynasty. [17]

Quoting Idris Bidlisi, the Aq-quyunlu historian, John Woods in his book The Aq-quyunly, Clan, Confederation Empire, writes that the fall of the Aq-quyunlu was due to their irreligious deeds and conduct and to the destruction and injustice that was committed during the clan war: "In the year 1501/906, the Hand of the Unseen smote the napes of that stiff-necked band with the sword of retribution in accordance with the verse 'When you meet the unbelievers, smite their necks,' instantaneously clearing the entire kingdom of those tyrants and uprooting the tree of their wicked rule."[18]

'Ali and his brothers were released from the Aq Quyunlu prison after four and a half years of incarceration by the order of Rustam, Ya'qub's son.

This freedom , however, did not last long, for, due to fear of the increasing Safaviyyi power, Rustam ordered the re-arrest of 'Ali and his brothers. Hearing this news, 'Ali attempted to escape and headed for Ardabil. He was accompanied by a small group of seven qizilbash, later known as Ahl-i-Ikhtilas, or " persons singled out for special duty."[19] (This group played a significant role in later Safavid history in bringing the revolution to a successful end, in guiding the Safavid Shahs, and in exercising power on a smaller scale all around the country.) 'Ali, however, was overtaken by the Aq Quyunlu soldiers and put to death. Before his death, 'Ali appointed Isma'il as his successor, and thus Isma'il became, at the age of seven, the head of the Safaviyyi order.[20]

For the next five years Isma'il was in hiding, in the north of Iran in the province of Gilan, protected against the Aq Quyunlu by his devout qizilbash supporters and the local people. During these five years, Isma'il maintained contact with his followers in eastern Anatolia, Azarbayjan, and the Caucasus. The responsibility for maintaining the momentum of the Safavid revolution and paving the way for Isma'il to emerge as the first Shah of the Safavid dynasty lay with the Ahl-i-Ikhtilas. It was due to the effort and genius of this group that Isma'il, in 1499, at the age of twelve, was able to leave Gilan and to join some 1500 of his supporters on his way to Ardabil. Isma'il spent the winter in Ardabil, and in the spring of 1500A.D., he was joined by 7000 more men from different tribes of Turcomans such as Ustajlus, Shamlus, and Rumulus. Isma'il did not attack the Aq Quyunlus immediately; instead he started a war against the Shirvan Shah. Roger Savory points out that Isma'il had two intentions: the first was to give his troops practice before attacking the strong and experienced army of the Aq Quyunlu; the second was to avenge the death of his grandfather and father at

the hands of the rulers of Shirvan. [21]

In 1499-1500, the Aq Quyunlu clans were in constant confrontation with each other, and their internal strength had decreased tremendously. The Aq Quyunlu territory was divided between two rulers: Alvand controlled northwestern Iran including Azarbayjan and Diyar Bakr, and Murad controlled the centre and the south of the country including Kirman, Fars and Iraq-i-Ajam. Isma'il, after defeating the Shirvan Shah, Farrukhyasar, and capturing Shirvan, proceeded to northwestern Iran. He met Alvand Aq-Quyunlu in Sharur. Having only 7000 men against 30,000 Aq-Quyunlu soldiers would have weakened the morale of any army or its leader; however, through his courage and ingenuity, coupled with his followers' faith in him as their Murshid-i-Kamil (or Perfect Guide) and as God's appointee, Isma'il was able to defeat the Aq Quyunlu and to capture Tabriz, their capital. According to John Woods, Isma'il had met Alvand, the Aq Quyunlu ruler, before the war started in Sharur. In that meeting Isma'il had agreed to acknowledge the blood ties and to avoid any bloodshed among the grandsons of Uzun Hassan, the distinguished Aq Quyunlu leader, providing that Alvand accepted the primacy of Shi'ism. When Alvand refused, Isma'il carried on with the war, and the Qizilbash were successful in defeating the Aq Quyunlu army. [22]

John Woods also suggests that the brutal slaying of the Aq-Quyunlu clan, princes and princesses, young and old, by the Qizilbash, was on Shah Isma'il's order. Further on, he suggests that there was a continuity between the Aq Quyunlu and Safavid period, apparent in their social and foreign policies and administrative practices. The Safavids, however, broke away from the Aq Quyunlus in their new religious ideology which promoted Shi'ism as the true branch of Islam and accepted the Safavid rulers as the representatives of the Mahdi, or the promised one on earth.[23]

In 1501, Isma'il was crowned in Tabriz at the age of 14, and the Safavid revolution, a political revolution with a religious theme, was to change the history of Iran.

SHAH ISMA'IL I (1501-1524)

The most decisive action of Shah Isma'il , when he first came to power, was to proclaim Ithna 'Ashari (Twelver) Shi'ism as the official religion of the country. By doing so he made a great distinction between his government and that of neighbouring countries, particularly the Ottoman Empire, which accepted and practiced Sunnism as the true and orthodox branch of Islam. As Roger Savory states, there were many benefits derived from Isma'il's action. First, it harnessed the driving power of a dynamic religious ideology in the service of the new state, and thus gave the latter the strength to surmount its initial problems, and the momentum to carry it through the serious crises which faced the state after the death of Shah Isma'il in 1524. Second, it clearly differentiated the Safavid state from the Sunni Ottoman empire, the major power in the Islamic world in the sixteenth century, and thus gave it territorial and political identity. [24]

The promulgation of Shi'ism as the state religion was not without challenges from the populace and other religious leaders. There was a threat of opposition on the part of the 'Ulama. Two-thirds of the Persian populace, were Sunnis, if only in name, and thus strongly against the Shi'a doctrine which considered the first three Caliphs , Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman, as usurpers and accepted 'Ali and his descendants as the true successors of the Prophet Muhammad. Isma'il, however, was determined not only to propagate

Shi'ism, but to convert the whole Persian populace. Thus, any opposition met with death. This policy was very effective: those who argued did not live long, and those who did not dare to oppose the state , but were against it , had to leave the country. " The ritual cursing of these persons (the three caliphs) has always been a proper duty of Shiis, although the emphasis placed on it varied from time to time. In the early days of the Safavid state, when revoulutionary fervour was still strong, great emphasis was placed on this ritual cursing. Safavid supporters known as tabarra'iyan (those who have pledged themselves body and soul to the shah), walked through the streets and bazaars cursing not only the three " rightly-guided" caliphs mentioned above, but also all enemies of 'Ali and other Imams, and Sunnis in general. Anyone who failed to respond without delay, "May it (the cursing) be more and not less !, "was liable to be put to death on the spot."[25]

After the declaration of Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism as the official religion of the country, there was a need for more Shi'a scriptures and religious instruction. Consequently, a copy of an ancient manual on the fundamentals of the Shi'a Islam was produced and distributed among the religious leaders.

Moreover, there was a shortage of 'Ulama, and Isma'il was forced to bring some of the Syrian Shi'a teachers to Iran.[26] Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism was the most important element in bringing the Safavid revolution to a successful conclusion, but there were other factors involved, too. The Safavid rulers declared that Ali's son, Husayn, had married the daughter of Yazdigird III, the last of the Sasanid kings, and thus the divine right of the Iranian kings had been transferred to the family of 'Ali and consequently to them. Moreover the Safavid leaders, including Shah Isma'il, were the leaders of the sufi order of the Safavi, and as such the perfect spiritual director,

murshid-i-kamil, of thousands of their spiritual followers.

The position of murshid-i-kamil was the second base of Shah Isma'il's power. It was through Safavi propaganda that thousands of Turcoman soldiers had converted to Shi'ism and had sworn allegiance to Shah Isma'il. During the initiation of revolution and also during the establishment and expansion of the dynasty, these Turcoman soldiers, Qizilbash, played a significant role in weaving the social structure and bringing Safavid ideals into reality. The religious dynamic force would not have been instrumental in achieving the revolution without the cooperation and military strength of the Qizilbash. It was the Qizilbash who formed the first Safavid army. It was with the effort of the Ahl-i- Ikhtilas that Isma'il's life was saved and protected against the Aq Quyunlu. It was the Qizilbash who, with the power of their sword and the zeal of their faith, helped to convert the Iranians to Shi'ism, and later assisted the Shah in all his conquests. The Shah was as conscious of this fact as were the Qizilbash themselves. Thus the Qizilbash expected and demanded the principal political offices of the state after the accession of Shah Isma'il, and the majority of the principal offices were held by the Turcoman subjects including the office of Vakil-i-nafs-i-nafis-i-humayun, vice-regent of the Shah, to represent the Shah, both in temporal and spiritual aspects, in his absence. The first vicegerent was chosen from the Ahl-i-Ikhtilas. The creation of this office was a deliberate act on the part of the Shah to make a bridge between a theocratic form of government and a bureaucratic one.[28] The second office held by the Qizilbash was that of commander-in-chief of the army or amir al-umara. This office was the highest rank in the army and was expected by the Qizilbash to be theirs. The third important office held by this group was that of the Qurchibashi whose responsibility later superceded that of Amir al-umara .[29]

Of the five significant positions in the Safavid court , three were held by the Qizilbsh, and the other two, which dealt with bureaucracy, were held by Tajiks (or Persian-speaking Iranians). The Iranians were considered as men of the pen (or intellectuals and literati). They were to run the administration and to look after the accounts. The two posts given to them were that of Vazir, a post which was subordinate to that of Vakil, and the post of Sadr, or the leader of the religious class. The position of Sadr carried with it some political power too, again to decrease the gap between the religious 'Ulama and political institutions. This division of power between the Qizilbash and the Iranians worked well, until the system was changed by Shah Tahmasp and Shah 'Abbas I.

When in 1501, Shah Isma'il was crowned in Tabriz as the first Safavid Shah, he only controlled Azarbayjan. It did not, however, take him more than ten years to conquer the whole country and to establish a relatively stable government with its seat in Tabriz. In 1503 Isma'il conquered Hamadan and defeated the remaining Aq Quyunlu forces. In 1504, the provinces of Gilan, Mazandaran, and Gurgan in the north of Iran were included in his domain. The province of Diyar-Bakr and the other western provinces were conquered in 1505-7. Baghdad was captured in 1508 but did not stay under Safavid rule for long. The province of Khurasan, in northeastern Iran , with its centers of Herat and Mashhad, was subjugated in 1510. All these victories involved hard and sometimes brutal fighting. Most of Isma'il's wars against the Aq Quyunlu were fought mercilessly; moreover, the provinces with Shi'a majorities, or a Shi'a leader, such as the province of Mazandaran, experienced devastating destruction. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Isma'il considered other Shi'a rulers a stronger threat than the neighbouring

Sunni states.

During the first thirteen years of Shah Isma'il's reign, he governed with an iron hand . He was a Shah with absolute power , a generous ruler and a ruthless man. He would attack and put down any uprising within his kingdom. He enjoyed enormous trust and faithfulness from his subjects, who considered him infallible. This belief, however, did not last long. In 1514, the first serious Ottoman threat to Iran was instigated under the leadership of Sultan Salim I (1512-20). The Ottomans, concerned about the Safavid Shi'a propaganda in Ottoman territories and the success of Shah Isma'il in conquering city after city, decided on an offensive attack to secure their own borders. In 1514, Sultan Salim, with an army consisting of 100,000 men and heavy artillery (including 200 cannons and 100 mortars), started his march towards Iran.[30] Due to lack of modern artillery, the Safavid army, under the leadership of Shah Isma'il, suffered a great defeat that not only terminally affected the optimistic attitude and behaviour of the young Safavid Shah, but also temporarily hindered the progress of Safavid expansion. The immediate result of the Safavid defeat at Chaldiran was the loss of the province of Diyar-Bakr in 1516/17 to the Ottoman Empire. But, as mentioned earlier, the more serious consequence of this defeat was the change in Shah Isma'il's psychological behaviour and the loss of unquestionable faith from his Turcoman followers.

Up to that date, Shah Isma'il had been successful in all his war campaigns. From the day he came out of hiding, at the age of 12 in 1499, he had never experienced a defeat. Not only was he loved by his soldiers and worshipped by his followers, but he believed himself to be invincible. He was the representative of the Twelve Imams, the leader of the Safaviyyi order, believed to be assisted and protected by God Almighty. With the

defeat at Chaldiran, all those beliefs were shattered and the Shah lost confidence in himself. According to the Iranian historian, Nasr Allah Falsafi, Isma'il went into mourning after his defeat. He wore black robes and a black turban; the military standards were dyed black, and were emblazoned with the inscription al-qisas (retribution). [31] In the ensuing years Shah Isma'il never seriously occupied himself with affairs of the state. The progress and expansion of his territory were not of importance to him any more. As Iskandar Munshi puts it, the Shah was devoting his time to merry-making and life at the court.[32] Isma'il, for the remaining years of his life, never again led his troops into war in person. He was mostly amused by young girls in his court and by the joy of hunting and drinking. The impact of this psychological change can be better appreciated, if reference is made to the religious ideologies of Shah Isma'il.

Shah Isma'il and his successors, Shah Tahmasp and Shah Abbas I enjoyed enormous power as heads of state and believed they were appointed by God. The Shah was the living emanation of the godhead, the Shadow of God upon earth, the representative of the Mahdi, closer to the source of absolute Truth than any other man.[33] Therefore, the Shah enjoyed absolute trust and faith from his citizens. Shah Isma'il, however, had gone one step further than this and claimed to be the Absolute Truth himself. A brief analysis of the poetry of Shah Isma'il justifies this statement. According to Iskandar Beg Munshi, the well-known Safavid historian, the author of Tarikh-i-Alam-ara-yi 'Abbasi, Shah Isma'il composed poetry under the nickname Khata'i.[34] There are a number of poems attributed to Khata'i compiled as the Diwan of Khata'i (Bibliotheque National, Sup. turc 1307) . Vladimir Minorsky has translated some of these poems into English, and his work shed some light on the study of Isma'il's personality before the defeat at

Chaldiran. Although Shah Isma'il was bilingual, conversing fluently in both Turkish and Persian, the Diwan is almost exclusively in Turkish. [35] This is not surprising considering the populace for whom the poems were composed, namely the Turkish inhabitants of Eastern Anatolia and Armenia; specifically the qizilbash.

The contents of the Diwan of Khata'i are divided into three parts by Minorski: 1) authobiographical poems in which Isma'il presents his sorrow on the death of his father at the hands of the Aq Quyunlu and his desire for revenge for his father's blood; 2) ordinary lyrics with a Sufi flavour; 3) poems with a passionate religious character. It is this part of the Diwan that lays the foundation for the assumption that Shah Isma'il believed himself to be not only the representative of God on Earth but maybe God himself. This heretical belief found thousands of followers among the Turcoman soldiers but was abandoned after the defeat in Chaldiran when the Qizilbash were disillusioned. I will examine three poems in order to present Isma'il's personal religious doctrines.

I.

Lo, my truly Beloved is now Sultan in the world. If my friend
accept my soul, today is his sacrifice.

O man, if thou hast brains, give not thy heart to the world;
he who does so, shows his ignorance on the path.

Those who do not recognize 'Ali as Truth (or God) are absolute
unbelievers. They have no creed, no faith, and are not Muslims.[36]

In this poem, Isma'il considers 'Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, as Truth or God, giving him a station higher than that of Muhammad. Islam regards Muhammad not just as a prophet--as were Sulayman and Jesus--but also a rasul or Messenger. He is the last of the prophets (nabi) and the only rasul. According to Isma'il, 'Ali is the manifestation of God. Moreover, not only are those who do not believe in the supremacy of 'Ali, namely the Sunnis, not Muslims, but they have no faith. Further on, Isma'il claims that he himself has been with God, but now he has appeared to guide the people.

II.

I am the one intoxicated with beauty who has come to-day.
I am always with God, (but) today I have come (here).

Beware, do not take me for a stranger. I am that very Ravisher of hearts (whom you know).

To-day I am the God-sent calamity to smite with a sword the soul of the hypocrite. [37]

Notice that Isma'il claims he has been sent by God to defend the true faith ,Shi'ism, and punish the hypocrites and the unfaithful, the Ottomans and all other Sunnis. On another occasion, the Shah states that all the ancient pre-Islamic Shahs and heroes of Persia are one with him, and that he is the Absolute Truth or God.

III.

To day I have come to the world as a Master. Know truly that I am Haydar's son.

I am Faridun, Khosrau, Jamshid, and Zohhak. I am Zal's son (Rustam) and Alexander.

The mystery of Ana-l-Haqq is hidden in this my heart. I am the Absolute Truth(God) and what I say is Truth.[38]

One may infer that the Shah's claim of infallibility and divinity was not favoured by the truly devout Shi'a who, due to lack of power and fear of the wrath of the Shah, did not dare to voice their unhappiness about his religious ideologies.

Considering the virtues and the station that Shah Isma'il gave himself, one may imagine how disheartening and shattering the defeat of Chaldiran was to the ruler and his followers. The mystical bond that linked the Qizilbash to their leader was torn asunder and was never to be mended. "Although the Qizilbash continued to accord their leader the title of murshid, (spiritual guide), the title had become meaningless except for ritualistic purposes... The Qizilbash began to behave like the medieval feudal barons whom they, in some respects, resembled...This view is supported by the fact that, only two years after Chaldiran, the Qizilbash Governor-General of Khurasan made a powerful challenge to Isma'il's authority.[39]

Iskandar Munshi writes: "Without a doubt God, in His most excellent wisdom, had decreed that Shah Isma'il should suffer a reverse at the battle of Chaldiran, for had he been victorious in this battle too, there would have been a danger that the belief of the unsophisticated Qizilbash in the

authority of the Shah would have reached such heights that their feet might have strayed from the straight path of religious faith and belief, and they might have fallen into serious error. "[40] The loosening of the power of the Shah on the governing of the country gave some officials, including the Iranians, the opportunity to increase their own power. This, however, was not tolerated by the hot-blooded Qizilbash . An example of this intolerance was the assassination of Mirza Shah Husayn Isfahani, an Iranian Vazir, who had acquired much influence and power in vital decision-making. The Qizilbash, in fear of losing their grip on the Shah, assassinated the Vazir in 1523. The animosity and rivalry among the Turkish Iranian subjects were to increase in the ensuing years, forcing the Safavid Shahs to change their policy of dividing the power and to introduce a third factor to Iranian society, which we will deal with later.

Shah Isma'il I died on May 23 ,1524, at a place called Manqutay, near Sarab, a district of Tabriz, and was buried in the family mausoleum in Ardabil. As Iskandar Munshi says, the epitaph read: "May his resting place be peaceful, Defender of the Faith, and the Shadow of God upon Earth".[41]

A charismatic leader, Isma'il came to power at the age of 14, when Iran was threatened with division by internal wars among the Aq Quyunlu clans and by the aggressive neighboring Sunni states. The Shah was able to consolidate his country within the traditional Iranian boundaries. He succeeded in promoting Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism as the state religion, and thus a homogenous religious milieu was formed to defend the country against the Sunni invaders. He temporarily reconciled the Turkoman soldiers, who were elemental in bringing him to power, with the Iranian elite who not only controlled the religious posts, but were also running the bureacracy. Shah

Isma'il attempted to incorporate the Safavid order, a Sufi organization of which he was the leader, into the administrative system of the new state. [42]

Isma'il was a brilliant statesman who laid the foundation for future Safavid triumphs. He left four sons, Tahmasp Mirza, Bahram Mirza, Alqas Mirza, and Sam Mirza, all of whom were young children. Tahmasp Mirza, Isma'il's eldest son, born on the 22nd of February 1514, was appointed his successor and was thus only 10 years old when he came to power.

SHAH TAHMASP (1524-1576)

During the first ten years of Tahmasp's reign, the internal situation of Iran resembled a feudal system more than a centralized government. The Qizilbash clans, taking advantage of the Shah's youth and the instability of the central government, started an internal war in order to obtain power for themselves, a struggle which eventually weakened the Safavid position in protecting its territory and maintaining peace in the country. The two major clans who took control of the state and influenced the Shah's decision-making were respectively the Takkalus and the Shamlus. The Takkalu clan with Chuha Sultan as their leader was in authority as Vakil-i-nafs-i-nafis-i- humayuni (state regent) from 1526-1530, and Husayn Khan, as the leader of the Shamlus, occupied this post for the three years from 1530-1533. Both men, next in power after the Shah, enjoyed enormous authority and prestige. The administrative order, however, was in disarray, for both men made the mistake of appointing their own clan members to office, in preference to capable men from other tribes. This consequently provoked the enmity of other Qizilbash. Furthermore, both Husayn Khan and Chuha Sultan made the error of underestimating Tahmasp's

character and did not allow the Shah to have any part in the business of governing. This policy was fatal to both Chuha Sultan and Husayn Khan. Chuha Sultan was mortally wounded in an uproar instigated by his men in 1527, and his tribe was slaughtered by the order of the young Shah Tahmasp. Husayn Khan, head of the Shamlu tribe, was put to death after arousing the Shah's suspicion about a plan to overthrow the government.

During the first nine years after the death of Shah Isma'il, his successor Tahmasp, due to his youth, was not able to rule the country with an iron hand as his father had at the beginning of his reign. Tahmasp, however, proved to be resilient and sharp in making final and vital decisions in the aforementioned incidents--the execution of Husayn Khan and the uproar of the Takkalus. Although Tahmasp's position was only that of a figure-head and the Qizilbash chiefs were the true rulers of Iran during this period, the condition of the state did not deteriorate markedly. During these nine years Iran was under constant attack by either the Ozbegs or the Ottomans. In 1533-34 Shah Tahmasp took full control of the government and with his tactfullness and ruthlessness was able to hold Iran together against these two strong enemies.

Between 1524 and 1538, Iran was under constant attack from the east by the Ozbegs. The Ozbegs, led by their energetic leader, 'Ubayd Allah Khan, took advantage of the internal instability and invaded Iran repeatedly. In 1528, Herat was lost to the Ozbegs in the battle of Jam. The province of Khurasan changed hands several times between the Ozbegs and the Safavids during this period.

These skirmishes lasted till 1540, when 'Ubayd Allah Khan died, and the

frequency of the invasions decreased. While Shah Tahmasp was involved in the east with the Ozbegs, the Ottomans, in the west, under the direction and supervision of their leader, Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, had found the time ripe to invade Iran and to expand their territory at the cost of Iranian lives.

The Ottomans, like the Ozbegs, tempted and encouraged by the internal strife in Iran and the pre-occupation of Shah Tahmasp with protecting the country against other enemies, invaded Iran four times: in 1522, 1535, 1548, and 1553. In all of these invasions, with the exception of the last one, the Ottoman army was assisted by some Qizilbash chiefs who had fled Iran during the Takkalu revolt and by Shah Tahmasp's traitorous brother Alqas Mirza. Alqas Mirza had presumed that with the help of the Ottomans he would be able to overthrow and replace the Shah on the throne. Shah Tahmasp, although involved with the Ozbegs, and possessing only a relatively small number of soldiers and inferior artillary, was successful in holding the frontier and resisting the Ottoman attacks. In 1553, when the Ottomans initiated their last invasion, Tahmasp, instead of waiting for the arrival of the enemy, took the offensive and ordered his army to meet the Ottomans in their own territory. The enemy's army was defeated and withdrew, and a peace treaty was signed at Amasya in 1555. Consequently "Iran obtained a much needed respite from Ottoman attack which lasted for thirty years." [43] In the treaty of Amasya, Iran did not lose much of its territory, for the position of Shah Tahmasp was not that of a defeated monarch. As Savory indicates, had Tahmasp agreed on a peace treaty earlier, Iran would have lost much more territory, including Tabriz, but as it was, both sides made concessions and the peace remained unbroken till the end of Shah Tahmasp's reign. [44]

During Shah Isma'il's reign and the early part of Shah Tahmasp's rule, two groups, Iranians and Turcomans, dominated the sensitive and important positions in Iranian society. Between 1540 -1553, however, Shah Tahmasp gradually introduced a third force into the Iranian milieu, that of Georgians, Armenians and Circassians. During these thirteen years Shah Tahmasp waged four successful campaigns into those areas and was able to bring thousands of prisoners, mostly women and children, back to Iran. The introduction and injection of these ethnic groups into Iranian society caused a tremendous problem in later years but temporarily eased the tension between the Qizilbash and Iranians.

Roger Savory suggests that the reason for Shah Tahmasp's incursion into the Caucasus was mainly to obtain booty and to give his army exercise to maintain their proficiency . As for introducing and interjecting the third group into Iranian society, he concludes that it was a deliberate choice to ease the tension between the Iranian and the Turcoman populace. Furthermore, the Shah wanted to distribute the power evenly and not to depend on either group, Qizilbash or Iranian, for their loyalty or experties.[45] Consequently by the end of Shah Tahmasp's reign, this third force, the Circassians, Armenians, and Georgians, had started to threaten the position of the Qizilbash in the military and that of the Iranians in bureaucratic circles. This threat was to reach its peak and materialize during Shah 'Abbas's reign when the prisoners became the jailers.

Shah Tahmasp's character has always been a controversial subject, prone to long and exhaustive discussions with no satisfactory result. Until recently Shah Tahmasp was considered, not only by Western scholars but by

Iranian elites too, as a very fanatic, close-minded, conservative ruler who would oppose and suppress any idea which seemingly was against the Shari'at. Until twenty years ago, students of Iranian history were never informed about Shah Tahmasp's achievements and accomplishments. The emphasis was always on Shah Isma'il as the brave and young Safavid ruler and Shah 'Abbas I as the charismatic and ingenious Shah who reconstructed Iran's history. Shah Tahmasp was represented as an obscure figure with no talent and foresight for politics or the state's affairs. He was presented as a man who was mainly concerned with religious dogmas. Western scholars like E.G. Brown, along with Iranian historians like Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini, condemned Shah Tahmasp for supressing all artistic talent, and they asserted that the Safavid period in general saw a decline in Persian literature, especially poetry and philosophical treatises. Brown writes: "During the seventy stormy years of Timur's life there were at least eight or ten poets, besides the great Hafiz, who outshone them all, whose names no writer on Persian literature could ignore; while during the two hundred and twenty years of Safawi rule there was in Persia , so far as I have been able to ascertain, hardly one of conspicuous merit or originality."[46] When Brown asked the attitude of the famous Persian scholar Mirza Muhammd Qazvini in this regard he wrote back: "There is at any rate no doubt that during the Safawi period literature and poetry in Persian had sunk to a very low ebb, and that not one single poet of the first rank can be reckoned as representing this epoch." [47] Lack of royal patronage and the propagation of Shi'a Ithna 'Ashari in Iran were considered the main reasons for this decline.

This negative attitude toward the Safavid era was supported by both Western and Eastern scholars until recently, when in 1974 Ehsan Yar Shater published his seminal paper, "Safavid Literature: Progress or Decline". It

was then that the harsh views by previous researchers were objectively denied, and a new foundation for appraisal of literature in that era was laid. The best way to make a judgement is to look at Iskandar Beg Munshi's book to find out what the policy of Shah Tahmasp was towards literature and art. " Early in his reign, Shah Tahmasp gave special consideration to the class of poets, and for a time Mirza Sharaf Jahan and Mawlana Hayrati were companions at the Shah's table and other social gatherings. During the latter part of his life, however, when the Shah took more seriously the Quranic prescription to ' do what is right and eschew evil', he no longer considered poets to be pious and upright men, because of the known addiction of many of them to the bottle, and he ceased to regard them with favour, and refused to allow them to present to him occasional pieces and eulogistic odes. On one occasion, Mawlana Muhtasham Kashi had written an ode in praise of the Shah, and another euologizing Pari Khan Khanum(the Shah's sister), and had sent them from Kashan. Pari Khan Khanum had presented the former to Tahmasp, who remarked: 'I am not willing to allow poets to pollute their tongues with praises of me; let them write eulogies of 'Ali and the other infallible Imams. Tell him to look first for his reward to the holy spirits of the Imams, and after that to hope for a reward from me. He has used far-fetched metaphors and profound images, and attributed them, most inappropriately, to kings; whereas, had he applied these metaphors and images to the holy Imams, it would have been impossible to use expressions too extravagent to describe their exalted rank.' In short, Mawlana Muhtasham did not receive any reward for his ode. When the Mawlana received the Shah's reply, he dispatched to him a work by the late Mawlana Hassan Kashi on Imam 'Ali, which he had put into verse in the form of a haft-band -a really inspired piece of work- and in reward for this he received a fitting present. At once all the poets at court set to work, madly

writing haft-band, and fifty or sixty poems rained down on the Shah, and their authors were all rewarded. " [48]

From this passage, one may infer that Shah Tahmasp was a friend of poets and artists in the early years of his reign and that even some of his companions were of that class. In later years, however, he had become more occupied with religious ceremonies and Islamic law. Due to the conduct of some poets, the Shah was against associating with them; nevertheless, he encouraged the court poets to write eulogies in praise of the Twelve Imams. One may surmise that panegyric poems were not favoured by Shah Tahmasp, but he rewarded the poets whose poems embodied the virtues of the Imams, who in Shah Tahmasp's opinion were the true leaders.

As a patron, Shah Tahmasp's contributions were mostly decorative arts, rather than great architectural monuments. The arts of precious books and carpets, manuscripts and textiles were highly prized and promoted in the first half of his reign. Shah Tahmasp, who had been educated in Herat and was familiar with Timurid paintings, closely followed the work of his court's artists. As a result, a considerable amount of the state's money was spent for the Shah's private art collection. Architecture did not truly flourish in Shah Tahmasp's reign, and no great building exists today that can be related to Shah Tahmasp.

Shah Tahmasp has often been accused of not running the state as aggressively as his father Shah Isma'il had, or as ingeniously as his grandson Shah 'Abbas I. One has to bear in mind that Shah Isma'il was a young ruler whose aims and ambitions, in the early period of his rule, were to expand his terrtory and to establish his power as the sole ruler of Persia.

Shah Tahmasp's role was to consolidate the vast territory that his father had left him. Considering his youth when he came to power and the animosity and rivalry of the Qizilbash, the Shah was very successful in maintaining peace and tranquility throughout the country. Although Tahmasp was not as pragmatic or aggressive as his grandson 'Abbas, he definitely was a shrewd, bright, and sometimes cunning man who was able to take advantage of situations and to establish his authority as the only ruler of Iran. A good example of this is the way Shah Tahmasp was able to deal with the two strong Qizilbash tribes, the Takkalu and the Shamlu, in the early years of his reign when he was merely a teenager and thus to strengthen his power and authority among his followers. In many ways, Shah Tahmasp was far more successful than Isma'il had ever been in moving toward the establishment of a centralized state. This goal was achieved through the suppression of feudal nobles, the subjugation of some of the more extreme sufi groups and avoidance of rivalry among the Qizilbash chiefs.

One of the faults that one might find with Shah Tahmasp's character was that he was influenced by his friends and close courtiers. Sometimes this worked to his benefit and at other times the results were less than satisfactory. One may mention how Shah Tahmasp imprisoned his only competent and able son, the only natural successor, Isma'il, for over twenty years solely on suspicion of treason. The idea was put into the Shah's head by one of his powerful officials, Ma'sum Beg Safavi, who was the guardian of the Shah's third son, Haydar, whose mother was a Georgian slave. This imprisonment proved to be fatal for the immediate future of Iran, for after Shah Tahmasp's death, Isma'il was crowned as Shah Isma'il II. He had lost his sanity during the long incarceration and for a period of one year, while he was in power, Iran was under his terrible paranoia. Shah Isma'il

systematically killed or blinded any prince of royal blood to prevent any conspiracy against him.

Shah Tahmasp has also been accused of having extreme religious views and being close-minded. There is some evidence to support this opinion. The incident which occurred between the Shah and Anthony Jenkins, an English trader and envoy, who was received by Tahmasp in 1562, is often used to demonstrate this perception. Anthony Jenkins arrived in Shiraz in 1562, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth I for Shah Tahmasp, that contained a treaty of friendship and a request for free passage of their merchants and people . [49] Shah Tahmasp received Anthony Jenkins warmly and had almost accepted the contents of the letter when he was informed that Jenkins was not a Muslim but a Christian. The English messenger was driven out of the court while a servant followed him with a bassinet of sand, sifting all the way to the door.[50] To state that Shah Tahmasp was not previously aware of the religious affiliations of the British envoy is not acceptable. Either Shah Tahmasp was an ignorant fool who did not know that the Europeans did not adhere to Islam, or he was a cunning politician who, after reading the message, which he found unacceptable, used the excuse of religious differences to get rid of the envoy in a respectable manner. In short, Shah Tahmasp was a controversial but clever ruler.

Shah Tahmasp reigned for fifty-two years (1524-1576). In 1574 Shah Tahmasp became ill for two months. During this period and until his death in 1576, Qizilbash chiefs on one side and the Circassians, Armenians, and Georgians on the other side schemed to secure power for their proteges. Shah Tahmasp had nine sons of whom only two had Turcoman mothers. The others were all from Circassian or Armenian mothers. Of the two with

Turcoman blood, Muhammad Khudabandeh was the eldest, but he was considered to be too mild-mannered. The second son Isma'il had been in prison for twenty years when his father passed away. Following his father's death his supporters released him from prison and had him crowned as the legitimate successor of the Safavid dynasty. Isma'il was crowned in Qazvin as Shah Isma'il II on the 22nd of August 1576 at the age of forty. As mentioned above, Shah Isma'il had lost his sanity in prison. During his short lived reign (1576-77) and between the time of his release from prison to his enthronement, the Shah systematically killed, imprisoned or blinded all of his relatives and close associates. The Qizilbash, frightened and disgusted by the Shah's conduct, poisoned him on the 24th of November 1577. Of all of his relatives only his brother Muhammad Khudabandeh and Muhammad's three sons Hamza, Abu Talib, and 'Abbas were alive.

Muhammad replaced his brother on the throne, but he was a weak monarch whose country was governed first by his aunt Pari Khan Khanum and later by his wife Mahd-i-Ulya. He tried to obtain the trust of his servants with extravagant gifts and honours. This policy drained the Royal Treasury quickly and made the civilian populace dissatisfied with the lack of just governorship and internal security. The Qizilbash chiefs again took advantage of the Shah's weakness and were constantly asking for more favours. To the Qizilbash, everything was there for the taking. The attitude of the Qizilbash after so many years of city dwelling had not changed much. They were still feudal tribes each trying to establish their own power and supremacy over the other. There was no sense of nationalism alive in them. There was no allegiance to the country but only obedience to the person of the Shah. The two major enemies of Iran, the Ozbegs and the Ottomans, again were ready to take advantage of the situation in Iran. The Ozbegs attacked

Khurasan in the east and the Ottomans challenged the Safavids' defence in the west in Azarbayjan. The long term peace with the Ottomans was definitely broken when Sultan Murad sent an army of 100,000 men to take over Azarbayjan in 1578. The Safavid army suffered defeat after defeat. In 1585, the Ottomans occupied Tabriz and kept that city for over twenty years. In 1587 the Ozbegs attacked Khurasan again , conquered Herat in 1589, and rampaged over the rest of the province.

Muhammad Shah's incompetence in dealing with his wife's interference in the state's affairs and failure to both subdue the Qizilbash chiefs and maintain peace and security, a peace and security that his father Shah Tahmasp had strived for, caused the country to fall into disarray. Not only was Iran threatened and invaded by the Ottomans and the Ozbegs, but the Qizilbash chiefs were in constant feuds among themselves. Some clans supported Hamza Mirza, the Shah's eldest son, while others, such as the Ustajlus and the Shamlus, were in favour of the youngest son, 'Abbas Mirza, who was in his teens and living in Khurasan in the northeast of Iran. A detailed description of the rivalry between the Qizilbash chiefs to put their own protege in power is presented in Roger Savory's book Iran Under the Safavids. It suffices to mention that 'Abbas Mirza, the third son of Muhammad Shah, with the help of the Ustajlus, was announced the new ruler of Iran, on October 1588 in Qazvin.

SHAH 'ABBAS (1588-1629)

'Abbas was not chosen as the Shah of Iran without difficulty. His brother Hamza Mirza who was about ninteen years old had proved to " lack maturity of judgment and political experience required by such turbulent times".[51]

Hamza Mirza had been chosen by his father to help him in the day-to-day affairs of state. He was an impulsive and hot-tempered young man who in a short time had made enemies. The young prince was murdered under mysterious circumstances on the 6th of December, 1586. Two years later Muhammad Shah abdicated and handed over his kingship to his son 'Abbas.

When Shah 'Abbas came to power in 1588 at the age of seventeen, Iran was in the worst condition imaginable. The Ottomans had taken almost all the provinces bordering on their country in Iran's northwest. The Ozbegs had taken control of half of the province of Khurasan in the northeast, and the central government had almost disappeared with the Qizilbash leaders taking charge of different provinces. 'Abbas, as Savory explains, had to set priorities. " 'Abbas at once displayed the strong sense of pragmatism which was one of his dominant characteristics. His order of priorities was to be: first, the restoration of internal security and law and order, reorganisation of the army and reform of the financial system; second, expulsion of the Ozbegs from Khurasan; third, recovery of territory occupied by the Ottoman."[52] In order to restore the internal law and order in the country, Shah 'Abbas had first to secure its borders. Consequently, he decided to sign a temporary peace treaty with the Ottomans in 1589/90. According to this peace treaty, Iran lost some of its most important and richest provinces in the northwest, namely Azarbayjan, Shirvan, Luristan and Kurdistan . This treaty could have been considered a sign of weakness by the enemies of Iran, but Shah 'Abbas had higher hopes and in order to reach those goals, he made temporary concessions.

The next step in his long-term plan was to reorganize the army and to deal with the problem of the Qizilbash; but at the same time, Shah 'Abbas

had to deal with the Ozbegs who were still threatening the eastern provinces. The Ozbegs had overrun most of the provinces of Khurasan, and they had started to expand their battles into the neighboring province of Sistan, south of Khurasan. Although 'Abbas took an army to the east to face the Ozbegs , he avoided an immediate battle with them . He was a conservative and cautious man who knew his army's weakness and the enemy's strength. It was in 1598, ten years after his accession, when the famous Ozbeg leader, 'Abd Allah II, passed away, causing dynastic struggle among the Ozbegs, that Shah 'Abbas decisively started an offensive against them which resulted in the expulsion of the Ozbegs from the eastern provinces and the securing of peace in that area. 'Abbas was able to recapture Herat and to stablilize the northeastern provinces through signing treaties with the local Ozbeg chiefs. It was then, in 1602, almost fifteen years after his accession, that Shah 'Abbas felt his army was strong enough and his own position secure enough to start a series of campaigns against the Ottomans in the west..

Shah 'Abbas's first aim was to recover the two important provinces of Azarbayjan and Shirvan. His tactics were to confuse the Ottomans. He spread the rumor that he was going on a hunting trip to the northern province of Mazandiran and left the capital on September 14th, 1603, for that purpose. 'Abbas's main intention was to surprise the Ottomans, and thus he changed his route to Tabriz which was in the hands of the Ottomans. The citizens of Tabriz greeted the Shah warmly and declared their support of the Safavid ruler. The city itself was in a desolate and poor state. Much damage had been done by the Ottomans during their twenty-year occupation. The Ottoman garrison in the city surrendered without much fighting. Even some of the Turkish soldiers entered the Safavid army. After capturing Tabriz, Shah

'Abbas marched to the neighboring cities of Nakhjavan and then Irvan, which surrendered to the Safavid army after a year of siege in June, 1604. A year passed in attacks and counter-attacks. In 1605, the decisive battle of Sufiyan, near Tabriz, was won by the Shah's army with the help of his commander-in-chief, Allah-Verdi Khan. By 1607, less than five years after his initial attack on the Ottomans , the last invading soldier was expelled from Iranian territory as defined by the treaty of Amasya in 1555. In that year, a temporary peace treaty was signed with the Ottomans, each side keeping the territory actually in their posession. The Ottomans, however, were not ready to accept the defeat. There were many border fights between the two arch enemies until 1613, when another short term peace treaty was signed which lasted till 1623. In that year, Shah 'Abbas took advantage of the Ottomans' internal weakness and attacked the city of Baghdad and captured it the same year.[53]

After the capture of Baghdad by the Safavids, the neighboring forts of Mosul, Kirkuk, and Shahrazur also fell into their hands. At this time, Shah Abbas, joyous from his victories, was able to visit the Holy shrines of Karbila, Najaf, Kazimayn and Samarra that had been controlled by the Ottomans. To be able to visit these holy shrines was not only a sign of political victory, but also a proof of the supremacy of Shi'ism against Sunnism. Iran, as it was in the seventeenth century, did not contain any religious city accepted as holy by both Sunnis and Shi'as. The city of Mashhad, in the province of Khurasan, where the eighth Imam, 'Ali al-Reza (765-817), is buried, was and still is the holiest religious site in the whole country. This city was ,however, never as significant as the religious sites in Karbala, Najaf or Mecca. For Shah 'Abbas, conquering these areas and visiting the Holy shrines was of vital importance. It was to justify and

prove the station of his family and himself as the devout defender of the true faith, Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism. Once more, he issued the statement that the Safavid rulers were the representatives of the twelfth Imam or Mahdi on earth, and as such the rightful protectors of the holiest shrines.

The Ottomans were discontent with the loss of Baghdad; so on the orders of Sultan Mustafa, the Ottoman's Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief, Hafiz Ahmad Pash, marched to Baghdad to recapture the city. Shah 'Abbas reinforced the Safavid army in the garrison and marched to defend it himself. The city had been under a blockade by the Ottomans for seven months when Shah 'Abbas and his army reached the area. The Shah ordered a blockade of the Ottoman troops, so that no food, provision or armament could reach them. Hafiz Ahmad Pasha, after months of endurance, was forced into a pitched battle with the Shah's army. The Safavid army drove the Ottomans behind their defence lines. Not only were the Ottomans in need of supplies and food, but sickness had also broken out in their camp. On July 4th 1626, the Ottomans were forced to withdraw. Once again Shah 'Abbas had shown his mastery in the tactics of war.[54]

Throughout the Safavid dynasty, the rulers, Shah Isma'il, Shah Tahmasp, and Shah 'Abbas had to deal with the problem of assimilation of the Qizilbash who had been essential in forming the dynasty and in expanding its power. The Iranian milieu was a mixture of these Turcoman groups and the Tajiks (Persian-speaking Iranians).[55] "During the reign of Shah Isma'il, the various branches of government, religious, political and military, were not rigidly separated compartments. There was considerable overlapping of authority, and the relative importance of the chief offices varied from time to time." [56] Due to this flexibility, between 1501-1508, the Tajiks and the

Qizilbash were able to co-exist without much treachery and internal fighting. In 1508, the first Vakil, Husayn Beg lala Shamlu, one of the first members of the group, Ahl-i-Ikhtilas, was dismissed from his post, and in his place an Iranian, Amir Najm, was appointed as the Vakil. Although the Qizilbash did not approve of this appointment Shah Isma'il did not change his policy and after the death of Amir Najm, another Iranian was appointed in his place. Between 1508-1524, Shah Isma'il appointed five Vakils all of whom were of Iranian blood. The second, Amir Ahmad Isfahani, was killed in 1512 by the Ozbegs, the third was killed in a battle in 1514, the fourth, Mirza Shah Husayn Isfahani, due to the increase of his power, was murdered by the Qizilbash in 1523. [57]

What little balance that existed during Shah Isma'il's reign between the Tajiks and the Qizilbash, was completly disrupted during the first years of Shah Tahmasp's reign. Shah Tahmasp distrusted the Qizilbash with good reason, for not only had they tried to assasinate him in one of their revolts (during which two arrows actually struck him) but in 1533, they plotted to overthrow him and put his brother, Sam Mirza, on the throne. This caused the Shah to introduce the third party into the Iranian power structure.

As Roger Savory points out, the introduction and assimilation of this third force into Iranian society was a deliberate act on the part of Shah Tahmasp and later Shah 'Abbas to offset the power of the Qizilbash and to maintain a relatively stable equilibrium between the Tajiks and the Qizilbash.[58] The position of Vakil and Amir al-Umara fell into abeyance during Shah Tahmasp's rule; consequently, the power of the head of the bureaucracy or Vizier increased tremendously, and the Qurchibashi emerged as the chief military official of the state.[59]

After his accession Shah 'Abbas was always distrustful of the Qizibash and aware of their threat to his power. Having personally experienced how the Qizilbash worked to overthrow an unsatisfactory government, as they had in the case of his father, Muhammad Shah, 'Abbas doubted the sincerity and faithfulness of his soldiers. The first victim of this doubt and distrust was Murshid Quli Khan Ustajlu, the kingmaker, who was elemental in putting 'Abbas in power. Murshid Quli Khan was an arrogant man who assumed the title of Vakil-i-Shah or Vakil-i-Saltana, Vicegerent of the Shah or Vicegerent of the state. This was a clear imitation of the post of Vakil-i-nafs-i-nafisi Humayn, in both his spiritual and temporal capacity.[60] Shah 'Abbas, dissatisfied with the Vakil's increase of power, took advantage of a suitable occasion and had him assassinated on July 23rd 1589.

'Abbas had recognized that the Qizilbash's attitude and relationship toward the person of the Shah had changed during the years. They no longer considered the Shah as their Murshid-i-Kamil or their perfect spiritual leader. They nevertheless were the only existing group on whom the Shah could depend to protect the country in time of crisis. To reduce this dependancy , Shah Abbas decided to organize a standing army consisting of Georgians, Circassians, and Armenians. These newcomers were called Ghulam (slaves) and were converted to Islam even if this conversion was only nominal. This group was trained for service either in the army or in the administration of the Royal court. By creating these Ghulam regiments, faithful only to the Shah and the State, 'Abbas could deal quickly with any future Qizilbash scheme or upheaval.

In order to deal with the expenses of this new standing army, a careful

system of taxation, which was controlled by the central government and the Shah himself was set up for the entire country. Before Shah 'Abbas, the governors of the provinces, mostly Qizilbash chiefs, were free to use a great amount of their revenue for their provinces, providing that a sufficient number of troops was always ready to be sent to the capital on the bidding of the Shah. These provinces were called Mamalik, or state provinces. Only a very small amount of revenue of the Mamalik was sent to the central government in the form of gifts. There were also crown lands whose total revenues were sent to the Shah for his expenses. This revenue was not enough to maintain Shah 'Abbas's standing army of 40,000 men. Shah 'Abbas made the policy of changing some of the Mamalik, state provinces, into Khassa, crown provinces; thus, new income started to pour into the treasury. This policy resolved the Shah's problem temporarily, but as a long- term policy, it was detrimental to the welfare of the country. In later years, during the reign of Shah 'Abbas's successors, Shah Safi (1629-1642), and Shah 'Abbas II (1642-1666), almost all of the state provinces were turned into crown provinces. Consequently, the governors were under constant pressure to show a higher revenue. This resulted in higher taxes on people and a decrease in the level of both prosperity and contentment. Moreover, this policy, in the long run, weakened the state militarily, for although the standing army was loyal to the Shah, they lacked the fighting spirit that existed in the Qizilbash .

As Roger Savory points out: "An additional point is that the ghulam troops, although they performed creditably enough in campaigns against the Ottomans and elsewhere, and although some outstanding military commanders emerged from their rank, did not in the last analysis possess that irresistable fighting elan, based on a strong tribal esprit de corp,

which had made the Qizilbash the only troops in the Middle East to win the grudging admiration of the Ottoman janissaries. The Qizilbash, in fact, despised the ghulams, whom they dubbed qara-oghlu, or sons of black slaves.[61]

Shah 'Abbas, however, had other plans to weaken the power of the Qizilbash. He transferred many Qizilbash leaders away from their clans and placed them in charge of a totally different tribe. He moved or transferred a group of Qizilbash from one tribe to another. This was a deliberate attempt to weaken the tribal amity that existed among the Qizilbash. Sometimes, the Shah would even place a ghulam in charge of a tribe to act as a chief. With these policies, the Georgians, Armenians, and Circassians held very important positions in both the administrative and political spheres in a very short time. One of these fortunate men was Allah-verdi Khan, a Georgian, who by 1595, had become one of the most powerful men in the Safavid state.[62] He was the same man who assisted the Shah in defeating the Ottomans in the decisive battle of Sufiyan in 1605.

In 1597, Shah 'Abbas, in order to protect his capital against future Ottoman attacks as well as to conduct campaigns against the Ozbegs in the northeast of Iran, moved his capital from Qazvin to the more centrally located city of Isfahan. By changing the capital to Isfahan, the troops could be moved to any part of the country more quickly and efficently than ever before. Moreover, the Shah was able to keep track of trade affairs in the Persian Gulf.

Due to 'Abass's efforts and vision Isfahan became one of the most beautiful cities in Iran. The architectural plan of the city, embracing many

mosques, palaces, public buildings, baths, bazaars, roads, avenues, bridges, gardens, and carvansaries is one of genius and originality. Although the roads do not exist any more, the scattered carvansaries in Isfahan and in other parts of Iran are proof of 'Abbas's desire to have a reliable system of communication. The Shah was assisted by a remarkable and gifted man named Shaykh Baha al-Din Muhammad Amili, known as Shaykh Baha'i. "Shakh Baha'i the eminent theologian, philosopher, Quran commentator, jurisprudent, astronomer, teacher, poet, and engineer was the very epitome of Safavid society during the time of Shah 'Abbas the Great: urbane, sophisticated, learned and pious."[63]

Shah 'Abbas chose to build his "ideal city" apart from the existing center of Isfahan, between the old walled town and the Zayandeh river. The Isfahan of Shah 'Abbas was not the first planned city in Islam. It is, however, one of the few such cities of which much remains today. The Royal square (Meydan-i-Shah), the center of attraction, probably existed as early as 1504-5. The Royal square was surrounded by a two-storied arcade and had one major building on each of its four sides. The Royal Mosque (Masjid-iShah) was located on the south side of the square. This Mosque was regarded as the spiritual center for all the true shi'a believers. As such, it served as a connection between the state and religion. Opposite the Royal Mosque on the north side, was the entrance to the great complex of bazars and carvansaries, both of which served as the commercial center of the new city. To the east, was the Shah's private mosque, the Shaykh Lutfullah Mosque. This mosque served as a symbol of 'Abbas's power, his position, and his authority in the Persian society; his divinely ordered position was protected by God, and no one could question or doubt the legitimacy of his reign. Across from it, on the west side, was the Shah's palace, the Ali Qapu,

or the seat of government. It was the heart of the administration and the seat of the bureaucracy. [64]

Along with the change of capital, by the order of Shah 'Abbas, people of different races, beliefs, and especially of various trades and occupations were moved to Isfahan. Among these people were Armenians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and even Sunnis. Armenian merchants were the most important of these newcomers, for whom, on Shah 'Abbas's orders, many schools and churches were built in Isfahan's suburb, New Julfa. Through the Christians, Shah 'Abbas intended to make political, commercial and military contacts and alliances with European countries. This policy was mainly to establish an ally against his formidable enemy, the Ottomans. Shah 'Abbas established contacts with European merchants who were in search of commercial agreements. By imposing duties on European products, the Shah was able to fill the treasury, and consequently the state became wealthier .

'Abbas's policy toward art in general and miniature paintings in particular could be summed up as follows: "In general, Abbas would appear to have been more concerned with the arts of official conviction (architecture and city planning) and economic utility (exportable ceramics, textiles, and carpets) than with the far more private and personal art of the precious book" [65] " Nevertheless, 'Abbas I's patronage of artists was on an extensive scale, and he seems to have had a warm human relationship with his artists which was typical of the man. On one occasion, Riza 'Abbasi painted a portrait which moved the Shah so much that he kissed the artist's hand."[66]

Riza 'Abbasi and Sadiqi Beg Afshar , two of the most distinguished

artists of Iran, lived and worked in the court atelier of Shah 'Abbas. Anthony Welch points out that 'Abbas I was an enthusiastic promoter of the arts; however, he was not as elemental as his grandfather Shah Tahmasp was in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century in determining the course of the development of art. [67]

Shah 'Abbas's character was as diverse and unpredictable as was his reign. Shah 'Abbas has been considered the most ingenious, pragmatic, and energetic ruler of the Safavid dynasty. When Shah 'Abbas came to power, Iran was in serious internal and external turmoil. The Ozbegs had already gained ground in the northeast in the provinces of Khurasan and Luristan, and the Ottomans were expanding their territory in the northwest. The internal security of the country was in disarray, with the Qizilbash chiefs each acting as a semi- feudal lord. The central government that Isma'il and Shah Tahmasp had strived for was almost lost, and the treasury was bankrupt. Shah 'Abbas was able, with prudence and tactfullness, bravery and strategy, to regain all the lost territories and to secure the borders. Through the formation of the standing army, 'Abbas kept the Qizilbash under control, and gave an opportunity to both the third group and the Tajiks to advance in both political and administrative positions; thus, a temporary balance of power was established. Through the new tax laws, the Shah succeeded in developing more revenue, and the central treasury was again filled . The art of book illumination and miniature painting progressed tremendously. Textiles such as Persian silk, damasks and brocades became renowned for their quality and brilliance. Most importantly, architecture reached its peak during the reign of Shah 'Abbas. A devout Shi'a, Shah 'Abbas regularly performed his duty as the supreme spiritual leader of the faithful. Whenever in Khurasan, he would visit the shrine of the Eigth Imam and pay his respect

by performing manual work such as sweeping the floor of the shrine. He was loved and respected by his people. " Perhaps Chardin's verdict is the most fitting epitaph for Abbas I: "When this great prince ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper."[68]

The second century of the Safavid dynasty saw four major kings, Shah Safi (1629-1642), Shah 'Abbas II (1642-1666), Shah Sulayman (1666-1694), and Shah Sultan Hussayn (1694-1722). All these monarchs, with the exception of Shah 'Abbas II who has been likened to his great-grandfather Shah 'Abbas I, were incompetent rulers who not only were not able to control and rule the country but with their foolish decisions were elemental in weakening the state. 'Abbas I was succeeded by his grandson Sam Mirza, who was the son of 'Abbas' eldest son Muhammad Baqir, also known as Safi. Sam Mirza took his father's name of Safi when he succeeded to the throne on the17th of February 1629. Like his grandfather 'Abbas and Shah Tahmasp, Shah Safi was faced with the problem of generating revenue for the upkeep of his "third force" or standing army. Following Shah 'Abbas I policy, Shah Safi promoted the conversion of the mamalik, or state provinces, into khassa or crown provinces. This policy, as mentioned, was detrimental to the welfare of the State. Shah Safi was a weak monarch who was addicted to opium and, according to some, to alcohol. The combined effect of the dependency on these drugs had made Shah Safi an appealing target for ambitious officials and religious circle to manipulate his power.

It was Safi's successor, Shah 'Abbas II, who carried this policy to dangerous lengths. Upon his order, the provinces of Qazvin, Gilan, Mazandaran, Yazd, Kirman, Khurasan, and Azarbayjan were all converted to

crown provinces except in time of war. Although this conversion was to generate enough revenue to support the "third force" and to help to solve the immediate problem of revenue , in the long term it accelerated the disintegration of the state. 'Abbas II, however, in many ways resembled his great-grandfather. He was very young, only eight and a half, when he came to the throne, but from early years he proved himself to be a competent and powerful ruler. "For example, in 1645, when he was still only twelve years of age, the vazir Saru Taqi was assassinated by a group of Qizilbash chiefs led by the qurchibashi, one of the most powerful officers of state; a few days later, 'Abbas II had all the assassins executed."[69] Like his grandfather, Shah'Abbas II was loved for his sense of justice and tolerance. It is believed that the Shah used to preside over an official tribunal, three times a week, to deal with both military and civil suits. He tolerated Christians who were granted considerable freedom to practice their religion. It was only towards the Jews that the Shah showed disfavour: Jews across the country had to proclaim publicly their conversion to Islam.

Shah 'Abbas II was an ardent promoter of art and architecture. It was during his reign that the Chihil Sutun palace was built at Isfahan. He had the Masjid-i Shah, built by his great-grandfather, and the old Masjid-i Jum'a near the bazaar repaired. A painter himself, 'Abbas II was keenly interested in painting. But his addiction to alcohol was detrimental to his health and he passed away at the age of thirty-two.

The two succeeding monarchs, Shah Sulayman and Shah Sultan Husayn, were incompetent rulers who were concerned with beautiful women and self-indulgence. During the reign of these two Shahs, the central government became weak. Two groups of 'Ulama, religious doctors, and the

women of Harem with the co-operation of vazir, gained enormous power and authority. It is essential to note that the religious group were always under tight control of the early Safavid Shahs. The Safavid monarchs claimed to be the Murshidi-i Kamil, the perfect spiritual leader and the representatives of the Mahdi, the Shi'a messia. During the reigns of Shah Isma'il, Shah Tahmasp, and his grandson 'Abbas I, there were indications of a desire on the part of the religious groups to reassert their authority, but these strong rulers fiercely protected their station and resisted any challenge from the religious leaders. During the reign of Shah Sulayman and Shah Sultan Husayn, however, the 'Ulama and the mujtahids the most eminent Shi'a theologians, reasserted their independence of the political institutions and regained their prerogative to be the representatives of the Twelfth Imam and thus the only legitimate source of authority in a Shi'a state.[70] The mujtahids gradually were able to change and reverse their position of being controlled by the monarch to controlling the Shah. " In other words, the potential danger to the stability of the Safavid state, perceived as a threat by Isma'il I from the inception of that state, had become a reality. The 'ulama pressed forward to obtain a dominant position in the state, heedless of the fact that by so doing they were helping to destroy it." [71]

The second group who took advantage of the Shahs' weakness and incompetence was the women of the harems who exercised political power through controlling princes of the royal blood. The royal princes under the control of the women of the harems were reared in a state of complete ignorance about the outside world. The inability to deal with the state's affairs made these young weak Shahs puppets in the hands of powerful women.

The lack of interest in dealing with the state's affairs had paved the way for the enemies of Iran to start their schemes to overthrow the central government. The increase and expansion of corruption and inefficiency in provincial government, the insecurity on the highways, the growing weakness of the armed forces, the useless expeditions which resulted in a drainage of the central treasury--all had weakened the country. In 1699, the first threat materialized when a band of baluchi tribesman attacked Kirman in southern Iran. In 1709, the old enemies of Iran, the Afghans, under their leader, Mir Vays, succeeded in capturing Qandahar. It was Mahmud, Mir Vays' son , who had ambitions to overthrow the Safavid dynasty. In 1719, Mahmud captured Kirman and entered the city unopposed, but after nine months, had to leave on hearing news of a coup against him in Qandahar. In 1721, he attacked Kirman once more but was repelled by the Governor General. He consequently marched towards the Safavid capital, Isfahan. He began a long seige that lasted six months and is said to have cost 80,000 lives. Shah Sultan Husayn surrendered the city unconditionally to Mahmud on 12 October 1722. "For more than half a century, the political, military and social foundations of the Safavid state had been steadily eroded; its overthrow when it came, needed only a slight push on the part of some 20,000 Afghans."[72]

FOOTNOTES

1. Roger Savory, Iran under the Safavids, (Cambridge, 1980), page 2. Roger Savory's book is the source for my summation of scholarly opinions about the origin of the Safavis.
2. Ibid., page 3.
3. Ibid., page 3.
4. Nuha Naim Nasrallah Khoury, Safawid Epigraphy in Isfahan: The Masjid-i Shah, unpublished M. A.thesis, University of Victoria, 1983, page 3.
5. Muhammad Baluzi, Muhammad and the Course of Islam, Oxford, 1976, page 167.
6. Ibid., page 168. For more information in regard to the Sunnis and the Shi'as, see Sayyid Hossein Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam, London, 1966.
7. Nuha Khoury, Safawid Epigraphy, page 6.
8. Ibid., page 7.
9. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 4.
10. Ibid., page 5.
11. Ibid., page 8.
12. Ibid., page 8-9.
13. Nora Titley, Persian Miniature Painting, Austin, 1983, page 44.
14. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 16-17.
15. Ibid., pages 19-20.
16. Ibid., page 20.
17. John Woods, The Aqquyunlu, Clan, Confederation, Empire, Minneapolis, 1976, page 173-178.
18. Ibid., page 179.
19. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 21.

20. Ibid., page 21.
21. Ibid., pages 22-25.
22. John Woods, The Aqquyunlu, page 181.
23. Ibid., page 181-184.
24. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, pages 29-30.
25. Ibid., pages 27-28.
26. Ibid., page 30.
27. Ibid., page 27.
28. Ibid., page 32.
29. Ibid., page 34.
30. Ibid., page 39-45.
31. Ibid. page 45.
32. Iskandar Munshi, History of Shah Abbas, translated by R.M. Savory, Colorado, 1978, Vol. 1, page 73.
33. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 33.
34. Iskandar Munshi, page 74.
35. Some traces of Persian poetry are found in one Paris manuscript, but with this exception, all known copies of Khata'i's Diwan are entirely in Turkish.
36. Vladimir Minorski, "The Poetry of Ismail'il I", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 386, London, 1942, pages 1046a-1047a.
37. Ibid., page 1048a, No 237.
38. Ibid., page 1047a, No 195.
39. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 46.
40. Iskandar Munshi, History of Shah 'Abbas, page 71-72.
41 Ibid., page 74.
42. Roger Savory, Iran Under the Safavids, page 49.

43. Ibid., page 63.
44. Ibid., page 64.
45. Ibid., pages 65-66.
46. Ibid., page 203.
47. Ibid., page 204.
48. Ibid., page 207
49. Ibid. page 112.
50. Ibid. page 112.
51. Ibid., page 74.
52. Ibid., page 76.
53. Ibid., page 87-88.
54. Ibid., page 90.
55. The term Tajik was given to the Iranians to distinguish them from Turkish-speakers.
56. Ibid., page 35.
57. Ibid., page 36-38.
58. Ibid., page 65.
59. Ibid., page 50.
60. Ibid., page 82.
61. Ibid., page 81.
62. Ibid., page 81.
63. Ibid., page 155.
64. John D. Hoag, Islamic Architecture, New York, 1975-77, page 347.
65. Anthony Welch, "Painting and Patronage Under Shah 'Abbas I", Iranian Studies, Vol. VII, 1974, page 458.
66. Roger Savory, Iran under the Safavids,page 131.
67. Anthony Welch, "Painting and Patronage Under Shah 'Abbas I", pages 490-491.

68. Roger Savory, Iran under the Safavids, page 103.

69. Ibid., page 231.

70. Ibid., page238.

71. Ibid., page 239.

72. Ibid., page 249.

CHAPTER THREE

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF HAFIZ PRODUCED IN THE SAFAVID PERIOD

In Iran poets have always held a special place in society, particularly in the hearts of the populace. Poets are considered the enlightened, the privileged group who have the ability to express and elucidate the most complicated spiritual experience in an eloquent manner for the common people. In other words, poets are considered intermediaries between the spiritual and the physical worlds, a gifted group to whom God through His bounty has been generous. Other artists such as painters, calligraphers, bookbinders, and architects held positions as well, according to their talents and the kind of patronage they enjoyed, in the court of the Iranian kings and in the society at large. Artists came from different social milieu; some were from villages, and some from cities; some were from aristocratic families; and some were gifted laymen who were given the opportunity to become members of one of the most sophisticated courts in the Middle East.[1]

The artists were assembled in a given court through different means. The most common way was when a prince inherited the throne: the artists, notably the painters, who were in the service of his predecessor, would stay in the court as part of his inheritance. The second most common way was through conquest. For example, Shah Isma'il I, after the conquest of Herat, took back to Tabriz all the craftsmen, painters and artists of that city. Occasionally a ruler would accept an artist as a gift from a neighboring country, and sometimes potential masters were recruited from the less

consequential workshops that existed in other cities.

Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the main source of income for the majority of the artists was through the commissions given to them by the court. The royal court produced most of the finest work of art.[2] In the sixteenth century the development of commercial ateliers which occasionally produced paintings of high quality gave the painters the opportunity to have an extra source of income. The artists could work for the court and private patrons at the same time. For example, Iskandar Munshi states that Zayn al-'Abidin, the son of the painter Sultan Muhammad's daughter, enjoyed the patronage of princes, nobles, and grandees while his pupils carried the work of the atelier.[3] The works of the commercial ateliers were generally smaller, less richly and abundantly illustrated than the works produced in the court ateliers. The quality of the work was less fine, and the painters often relied on forms and styles produced in the court; thus fresh ideas were rarely found in commercial work. The commercial ateliers, however, worked as a backup for some court artists. The attention and favoritism of the princes were sometimes unsteady; consequently, the positions held by the artists were not secure. The bazaar's workshops gave an additional income to court artists in case they fell into disfavor with their patrons. And if no work was available locally, the caravans served as a reliable source of information as to which patron in which country was a supporter of artists at the time. During the second phase of Shah Tahmasp's reign , when he looked with disfavor on many of the court artists, many painters, calligraphers and poets, upon hearing that the Mughal rulers of northern India were generous patrons, left the Safavid court to join them. Among these artists one may mention Dust Muhammad , Mir Seyyid 'Ali, 'Abd al-Samad and Mir Musavvir who went to the

court of the Mughal Emperor Humayun (r.1530-40; 1555-1556).

Unlike most of the European artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, who were obsessed with trying to represent the real world in their works of art, the majority of Iranian painters were not concerned or did not attempt to hold a mirror to the real world. Instead they transformed its appearance and spirit into a conventional scheme. Stuart Cary Welch describes the Persian miniature paintings as follows: " In formal terms, they (the artists) reduced the solid , three-dimensional world of appearance to an arbitrary two dimensional scheme. Colors were applied flat, with almost no modeling of either figure or setting."[4]

B.W. Robinson has another attitude and approach to the same subject. He points out that in a tense, confused, cruel world such as ours it is a relief to look at Persian miniature paintings, for they take us into a "calm, sunlit world where everything is bathed in brilliant golden light; the men are all handsome and the girls are all beautiful; the tiled archways and parapets of the buildings resemble the finest jewellery; the rocks are like coral; the trees and plants are always in blossom; the fantastic little spirals of clouds floating in the gold or azure skies could never, one feels, cast a shadow on this fairy landscape."[5] One may surmise from these comments, that while one famous scholar is concerned about the technical problems, another looks at the paintings with an emotional overtone, giving them an idealized nature while being impressed by the bright , lively colors of the paintings. It is clear, however, from both statement that the most important function of the manuscript paintings was to produce a clear and concise message in order to entertain and to instruct the observer.

Iranian painters were strongly influenced by the works of their predecessors. Consequently, apprentices and lesser artists would copy freely from the vast repertoire of paintings kept in the court atelier and library. The tracing was generally not line for line. The lesser painters would trace figures, animals and motives from the earlier manuscripts without much modification, whereas the first class painters would use the old styles and iconography while trying to invent new ones.

Iranian painters under Safavid patronage had inherited from their Timurid and Turcoman predecessors a rich repository of representational techniques. Overlapping was a sign of recession: while distant objects were put towards the top of the painting, closer objects were on the bottom. Gardens, pools, and courtyards were depicted as if seen from the top. People were shown in profile or frontal view. Different colors represented different situations: a palette of red and blue suggested the emotions of lovers or the darkness of night. Night was never shown by black colors but by torches, lighted candles or the moon. A green banner, turban or robe indicated that the owner was either a Seyyid, descended from the family of the Prophet, or had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca. The red baton in early Safavid paintings suggested political affiliations. The gestures in the paintings usually conformed to the ancient traditions; the frequently depicted finger-to-the-mouth conveyed astonishment rather than urging silence; a man holding his hands over his ears signified deep respect, not a sensitivity to noise. The language of love and mysticism was represented by different means; a cypress entwined by flowering vines signified a young hero and his heroine, while drinking wine could have been a representation of acquiring knowledge or wisdom from God.

One of the most important characteristics of Iranian painting is its relation to, dependence on, and interaction with the art of calligraphy. Calligraphy has always been considered the highest art in Islamic culture, while calligraphers held a special status in the society. Since the message of God was conveyed to His servants in written form in the Qur'an, anybody who could reproduce the word of God held enormous prestige and honour. Consequently many painters knew and practiced the art of calligraphy. Knowledge and expertise in the use of the calligraphic brush aided painters in their art. Usually, the writing of texts preceded illustration, as can sometimes be seen from places where the artist's pigments covered the scribe's ink. It was the director of the project who determined the overall design, the size, and spatial requirements of the text.

The director's major job was to act as an intermediary between the patron and the artisans involved in the project. It was up to him to provide all the material used in the project from paper, inks, gold and silver leaf to brushes and coloured pigments. It was the director's duty, in collaboration with the patron, to choose the subject , the text, and the artisans who would undertake the project. In many cases after the major work was completed, the director, sometimes a painter himself, would leave a few pages that he would paint. Single pages of manuscripts were either the work of one single master or the cooperative effort of several painters. Great masters either completed the work themselves or supervised their students and apprentices who would complete the work. As long as the overall look of the painting followed the style and standard of the master, the details were not as important. S. C. Welch points out: "At times we find miniatures designed and largely painted by very distinguished masters, but with parts, such as distant mountain crags or an entire batallion of soldiers, executed by

carefully controlled, almost miraculously discreet followers who were only slightly less senior artists themselves."[6] At the end of the project the manuscript would be presented to the patron for final approval. Patrons like Shah Tahmasp might be involved in the project from its inception, following every improvment or change and some patrons even contributed to the project by including some of their own work.

Overall, the Iranian miniature paintings or manuscripts were not only meant to delight and amuse their patrons, but also to instruct. " The tales of a book such as the Shah Nameh summarize the lore of the civilization in which it was produced. At once a history, political text, religious treatise, it is a compendium of the body and mind, the intuition and intellect , of a culture. The illustrations, in addition, give reliable insight into the appearance and manner of their patron's courts. "[7]

At the time when the Safavid dynasty came to power, two dominant and distinguished styles of paintings existed in Iran: the Timurid style with its center in Herat and the Turkoman style mostly practiced in Tabriz, the capital of the Turkoman tribal federation of the Aq-quyunlu and Qara-quyunlu. The Timurid dynasty was founded by Timur (Tamerlane) and was defeated by the Uzbeks in 1509 who were in turn overcome by the Safavids in 1510. The Timurid dynasty had its capital and artistic center in Herat, and Bihzad, the renowned Iranian miniaturist, worked in that court. Bihzad made his appearance at the court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r.1469-1506), one of the later Timurid rulers, about 1480. He found himself among some of Iran's most talented and gifted artisans, politicians and historians such as the scholar-stateman Mir 'Alishir Nava'i, and the poet Jami. It is in Bihzad's paintings that one can find the best example of a

mature Timurid style. Once Bihzad was accepted in the artistic milieu, he injected a new vitality into the Timurid court style. Many of his innovations tended toward naturalism. His human figures were more individualized than those of his predecessors. The landscape was not as stiff; trees, flowers, birds and animals were presented in a more flexible and naturalistic manner. As S.C. Welch puts it: " Bihzad opened his eyes to nature and transformed what he saw into a vision that is restrained, technically perfect, supremely realistic, and yet all-encompassing."[8] One example of Bihzad's work and consequently of the Timurid style is in the Bustan of Sa'di, produced in Herat in 1488-89, for Sultan Husayn, which is now in the Egyptian National Library, in Cairo. In one of the miniatures, The distillation, consumption, and effects of liquor[9] (plate 1) ,Bihzad strives to portray daily life's work step by step. In the top corner a black man carries water or jugs of drink to his beloved . In the right center workmen are deeply involved in distilling alcohol, while at the left corner a drunk man is helped by his friends . An old man is shown at the far right bottom corner thrashing his servant.

Bihzad's interest in the world around him was a fresh change from previous styles of paintings, but he also used the prevailing idioms to portray his world. Each section of his paintings was meticulously rendered; each character had its own individuality; each mood was presented expertly. In the above-mentioned manuscript one can almost feel the anger of the old man surging out in both his face and gesture. The workers are mindlessly attending their manual work. The drunken youth's obliviousness to his surroundings is presented as a contrast to the worried gesture and feelings of his companions. While the characters are depicted individually, they never outweigh each other, and consequently the paintings have a

harmonious, balanced nature. Bihzad, for the most part, was occupied with technical innovations, such as building up pigments, to suggest rough textures. However, he never lost his poetic feeling for the subject matter. The overall impression of the painting is one of precision and completion, of coherency and throughness, of balance and harmony.

The second style of painting prevalent in the early sixteenth century, when the Safavids came to power, was the Turkoman style, mainly practiced in Tabriz. An example of this style could be seen in the Khamsah of Nizami, written in 1481 at Tabriz for Ya'qub Beg Sultan, now in the Topkapi Seray Museum Library in Istanbul. In one of the miniatures, Bahram Gur in the Yellow Pavillion[10] (plate 2), the observer is forced to enter a fantasy world where immense trees and flowers overpower the human figures. The full vegetation consisting of highly stylized trees and flowers, shows a strong Chinese influence. Although both the Timurid and Turkoman styles of painting reveal Chinese influence , the Turkoman landscape is more intense and condensed; trees are wild and energetic while flowers are huge and overpowering.

The stones and rocks in the shape of dragons and monsters were also a typical Turkoman characteristic. The tendency to portray grotesque figures concealed in the landscape is a strong element in Turkoman paintings. The obsession with the spiritual world and fears of the world of the Unseen were the major determining factor in formulating the natural vocabulary of Turkoman paintings. This preoccupation is even evident in the representation of such household items as cushions or wardrobes which mostly have designs of dragons and birds. In comparison with Timurid paintings, Turkoman miniatures were more vibrant and richer in color.

Although space is not dealt with logically and there is an illogical treatment of people in relation to the landscape, the above-mentioned Turkoman painting is comparable to Bihzad's mature work in richness of color, refinement and subtility .There is, however, a passionately lyrical nature that one cannot feel or see even in the finest examples of Timurid paintings.

With the emergence of the Safavid dynasty there was a shift in the development of art in Iran. Shah Isma'il I was not as vigorous a patron and supporter of the arts as his son Shah Tahmasp. As has been mentioned in Chapter Two, circumstances made Isma'il I concentrate on conquest and the expansion of his territory, rather than on the vigorous promotion of the arts. Considering the short period of Isma'il's reign and some of the manuscripts that are attributed to his period, one may infer that he did not, however, ignore the various artists from different centers who had gathered in his court as the result of his conquests. Brought up in the Qizilbash milieu, Isma'il's taste initially inclined more toward the Turcoman style of Tabriz. Furthermore the vibrant colors and the free and passionate style found in Turkoman paintings suited the wild nature of the young Shah.

One of the most significant early Safavid manuscripts is a copy of Asafi's allegorical romance Dastan-i-Jalal u Jamal (The tale of Beauty and Glory)[11] (plate 3), dated 1502/1503, now in the library of Uppsala University. There are 34 miniatures, of which only one is not attributed to Shah Isma'il's reign . The rest of the miniatures have the typical Safavid headgear, a cap topped with a baton-shaped peak. Some of the miniatures are done by Sultan Muhammad, Shah Isma'il's leading artist, who had a

totally different style from that of Bihzad and the prevailing style of Herat. Space in the miniatures is dealt with less logically, there is no depth in the architecture, the landscape is flat, and faces are round and large. The landscape, however, is lush, condensed and full of vibrant colors while being very expressive rather than naturalistic. The paintings exude the inner energy and creativity which exemplify the spirit of Shah Isma'il's era.

When Bihzad, the talented Timurid painter, moved to Tabriz from Herat with crown prince Tahmasp in 1522, a new and different spirit was generated in the court of Shah Isma'il. Although Bihzad was an elderly man when he reached Tabriz, he brought with him the refinement and logic that could be seen in the Herat style, and consequently he was elemental in the synthesis of the Turkoman and Timurid modes of painting that established the foundation of the Safavid paintings. A good example of Bihzad's influence isseen in the manuscript of the Guy u Chugan , the Ball and the Polo Stick,[12] (plate 4), dated 1523/4, now in Leningrad, which was commissioned by Prince Tahmasp.

This manuscript shows what was admired in the court by the young Prince Tahmasp, who for over twenty years of his reign was an ardent patron of the arts. The style of Bihzad, notably his minutely detailed figures, naturalistic landscapes and balanced spacing, is found throughout the manuscript. Neatly written and illuminated, the book contains 16 miniatures most of which can be attributed to Bihzad on stylistic grounds. Bihzad either supervised them closely or supplied outlines for them. The vitality and movement expressed by the gestures of the players and the playfulness of the stallions all indicate the influence of Bihzad. There were attempts, however, to keep the Tabriz style well and alive, but even Sultan

Muhammad was impressed and influenced by Bihzad.

While in the capital of the Safavid shahs a synthesis of the Turkoman and Timurid styles was taking place, in other centers around the country artists were producing beautiful and artistic masterpieces whose appearance was not similar to the court style. One of these centers was Shiraz which has been eulogized by poets such as Hafiz and Sa'di and is famous for its fruits, flowers, poets and beautiful girls. During medieval times, Shiraz was the capital of the province of Fars,[13] and later it became the seat of dynasties such as the Injus, Muzaffarids, and the Timurid kings and governors. From the mid-fifteenth to seventeenth centuries Shiraz lost its political importance to other centers such as Qazvin , Tabriz, and Isfahan. But Shiraz, like many other centers, drew its strength from its own resources and thus preserved its poetry and artistic refinement. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Shirazi painters of the sixteenth century were still using the compositions and iconography of the Timurid style practiced in that city in the previous century.

Most scholars of Iranian painting recognize the style practiced in Shiraz as a provincial style. There is no doubt that the paintings had specific characteristics and traits that set them aside from the mainstream of Iranian painting of the Safavid period. However, to categorize them as provincial does not do them justice; therefore calling them Shirazi would be better . Shirazi manuscripts have always been famous for their bindings with designs of fighting animals, battle scenes and birds. The first set of paintings that will be discussed in this chapter belong to Shiraz and thus follows the current Shirazi iconography. The books usually open with a double-page frontispiece illuminated with many vibrant colors. There is

usually skillful drawing and illumination combined with charming, vibrant colors. Compositions tend to be neat and orderly and avoid the illusion of three dimensions. Most importantly the early sixteenth century style is very close to its predecessor, 15th century Timurid painting in Shiraz. The landscape, figures of horses, forms of trees, rocks all suggest the work of a conservative school at work that was not influenced by the Tabriz painters of the early Safavid period.

According to many 20th century scholars such as Emmy Wellesz, Kurt Blauensteiner, and G.D. Guest, early Safavid Shirazi artists executed the paintings following a very precise mathematical pattern.[14] The text is primarily contained in an enclosed area at the top and bottom of the composition. The principal scene was in the middle space, while subordinate elements such as architecture, landscape and figures were placed either on the right or left hand side, in the form of a long rectangle. This undefined, long rectangle is generally referred to as 'outer space', while the middle area which contains the principal scene is known as 'inner space'. Later 16th century Shirazi paintings showed a slighty different system of composition. A horizontal division into upper and lower parts at an invisible line no longer divided the composition in half, but was placed at four-tenths of the height of the painting. Above this invisible line landscape or architectural elements, such as balconies or tops of gates, were placed. The principal action, however, always took place below the invisible line.[15]

After studying the Hafiz manuscripts E. H. 1650 and H. 1014 in the Topkapi Museum, it is evident that the studies performed by the above-mentioned scholars have merit and that their theory of an existing sixteenth century Shirazi school is correct. There are also other motives

which distinguish the Shirazi paintings from other contemporary arts, such as small cedar and cypress trees, two-pointed oval-shaped stones, short-necked leaping hares or deer, and women wearing plain or embroidered caps with an extremely high, jewelled aigrette. These characteristics give ample evidence of the existence of a distinct school of painting during the 16th century. This style of painting was well established by 1525 and continued without change, varying only in the quality of individual painting for over a quarter of a century. In the next two decades some new elements, including limited perspective, heavier rocks, and larger trees, were added. In general, however, Shirazi paintings kept their distinctiveness until about 1550 when they became dominated by mainstream Safavid court painting.

The first manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz, discussed in this chapter, is from Shiraz (Topkapi, E. H. 1650), produced in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first miniature is on folio 84b (plate 5), and the poems read as follows:

O, for a mere greeting to bring me joy
From the messenger of peace.

O Lord, ordain that Shirin
May cast a glance of favour upon this Farhad.

The trials in the path of thy love have consumed me.
What else, I pray, hast thou in store for me?

Endure the tests so that thy reward be treasures.

Thy bounty makes a wretched one as me whole again.[16]

The painting depicts Nizami's popular characters of Farhad and Shirin. It is not unusual to use the established iconography of main characters of other famous poems, such as Shirin and Farhad from Nizami's Khamsah, as the basis for illustrating other poems, in this case the poems of Hafiz. In other words, since the poems chosen from the Diwan of Hafiz for this specific painting do not easily lend themselves to illustration, the painter has chosen Nizami's familiar story of Farhad and Shirin and its iconography as the model for his illustration. This manuscript follows the Shirazi canon of outer and inner space with the text organized on the far ends of the painting. The inner area holds the main characters of Shirin and Farhad while Shirin's entourage is placed in the outer space to the right. Two onlookers, conversing while looking at the scene below, are placed in the top right corner behind the range of hills. The women's head-cover, the tree, horses, and shrubbery all have Shiraz characteristics. The main character, Farhad, is seen offering a dish to his beloved Shirin, who is mounted on the horse and is extending her hand to take the dish.

The comparison between this painting and two miniatures published by Guest (see plates 6, 7), proves that the artist was using some of the established iconography of Shirin as executed in Nizami's Khamsah. Although Shirin is dressed differently in the two pictures and her jewelled aigrette in Nizami's Khamsah is more elaborate than that of the Shirin in Hafiz's manuscript, the manner in which Shirin has bent her left arm while extending the right (plate 5) is exactly the same gesture depicted in Shirin, Mounted, carried by Farhad (plate 6). Farhad, the other main character (plate 5) also unmistakably resembles the one in the plate 6, though the Freer

Gallery's Farhad is better dressed. The Freer Gallery paintings suggest a wealthier patron, and our manuscript, with its humbler patron, is as impressive.

The next miniature is on folio 122b (plate 8), and the poem on this page reads:

I detect a sense of improvement in the world;
The flowers bring joy and invigorate the breeze.

The natural enchanters (plants and trees) have all put on ornaments,
While my beloved appears in her God-given beauty.

O bride of art, do not complain of thy fortune;
Prepare the bethrothal chamber, for the bride groom hath arrived.

O Yusuf of Kan'an, deal not harshly with Zolaikha,
For she hath suffered greatly in the path of love.

She draweth out the diamond-studded dagger to take her life;
Take her hand, for it is your love that hath brought this on.[17]

Out of the five verses chosen for this painting, the first two on the top do not relate to the theme of the painting. The other three are used to illustrate the meaning of the poems. The painting follows the established Shirazi canon. The verses, three on the top and two on the bottom, outline the inner space, while the rectangular outer space is to the right, with Yusuf and his companion depicted on the bottom corner entering the

chamber. The main character, Zulaikha, and her entourage are in the center area. At the immediate bottom of the painting the musicians are greeting the bride-groom. Zulaikha is kneeling on her left leg, while the other leg supports her right arm. Her left arm is resting on her left knee. The comparison of this painting and another plate from Guest 's book (plate 9), shows that the way Zulaikha is seated, kneeling on one foot and supporting herself with her left arm placed on the left leg, is very similar in both paintings. The theme, a lyrical scene of bride and groom, is a common one. This painting gives an impression of simplicity and serenity, and it is probable that the same hand that did the painting on folio 84 also did this page.

The third painting of this manuscript is on folio 179a (plate 10). The poems are divided into two sections on the top and bottom of the painting, with each section consisting of two couplets. They read as follows:

Wert thou to brighten my solitude one night,
I would shine upon the horizon of the world at dawn.

Befitting (Mahmud) it will be, were I to lose my head in the end,
In the path for my beloved Ayaz.

I have no fear of people's admonition, in the path of love,
Like unto Mahmud, I offer up kisses at the feet of my Ayaz.

Hafiz doth not relate his heart's secrets to the ill-wishers;
Naught but the wine glass is worthy of such trust.[18]

Technically the illustration follows the Shirazi canon, with its main charcters placed in the inner area, while the outer area to the left contains the subordinate elements. The scene illustrates a party including Sultan Mahmud and Ayaz. Ayaz is giving wine to Mahmud, and a lighted candle (in Iranian poetry a frequent metaphor of the consuming power of love) is between and behind them. The elders in the party are distinguished by their beards and their head-gear. They are bulkier and are seated more prominently. The youths have smaller head-gear, are slimmer and seem less self assured. In the far left corner musicians are playing different instruments. A comparison with the figures and motives in folio 122b, plate 8, makes it evident that all the paintings can be attributed to one person.

The couplets chosen for this painting are not commonly used for illustration. The word Mahmud on the second verse means befitting or well-deserved. The same word in the third couplet refers to Sultan Mahmud who gave his life for his beloved Ayaz. Hafiz as usual has played with the words. Initially, the reader is impressed with the lover's passion for his beloved. Subsequently, the poem's wider spiritual and mystical implications emerge, expressing the soul's yearning for its beloved, God. Hafiz is conversing with his creator, his beloved, God Almighty. Being a devout believer in God's creative power, he pleads for His grace when he states: "Wert thou to brighten my solitude one night, I would shine upon the horizon of the world at dawn". In order to attain this spiritual state, he has no hesitation in losing his life in His path. He has no fear of people's malicious lies and slanders or of their admonitions. Instead he is inviting and challenging his students to follow his footsteps. But in their path, Hafiz warns them of trials and errors; thus they are not to trust anyone or to relate their experience to the undeserving.

The last painting of this manuscript, folio 220 (plate 11), is also by the same master responsible for the other three paintings (plates 5, 8, 10). The lean upper bodies, round shoulders, thicker arms which narrow down around the wrists are all indicative that only one painter contributed to this manuscript. Although plate 11 follows the mathematical order of Shirazi paintings, the overall execution is different. The scene is a garden with eleven men busily conversing, playing instruments, or drinking and embracing. The garden is in full bloom with various flowers and many blooming trees. The composition is busy, and the poems are not divided and placed symmetrically. The first couplet is the last verse of another qazal, presumably the previous qazal, and does not belong to the same poem as the rest. This couplet could have been a later addition to the painting, since it also does not follow the word arrangement of the rest of the couplets. The lines read as follows:

O Hafiz, the mere dream of the locks of her hair enchanted thee;
Beware not to disturb the impossible fortune's twist

Ask for the wine, scatter roses to the wind (be happy); what seekest thou from the world;
Thus bids me the rose at dawn, "What hast thou to say, o nightingale."

Take thou thy seat in the garden, next to the beloved and the Saqi;
Kiss their lips, drink the wine, and inhale the flower's scent.

Stand up and stroll to the rose garden;
Teach the cedar lessons in dignity and enchantment. [19]

"Saqi" in Iranian literature has two different meanings, one allegorical, the other physical. In the first, spiritual form, it refers to the vehicle by which one embraces the wine of the knowledge of God. The temporal meaning is a reference to the wine-giver or the wine-mistress. In either case, to depict Saqi, one usually uses the second meaning, since the first connotation cannot be illustrated. In twentieth century literature "Saqi", meaning the wine mistress, is represented in the form of a beautiful young girl; however, in the Safavid period, as in previous centuries, Saqi was usually depicted in the form of a young handsome man.

In the first two paintings (plates 5 and 8) iconography from different paintings has been used to illustrate Hafiz's poems; consequently the poems are not directly related to the illustrations. The other two paintings (plates 10 and 11) have a more mystical feeling and relate directly to the inner meaning of the poems.

The second manuscript (Topkapi, H. 1014) belongs also to Shiraz. The dimensions for this book are 245 mm by 150 mm. The Turkish catalogue tells us that this 208-page book is dated 989H/ 1581A.D. Shiraz manuscripts are famous for their double-page frontispieces. It is, however, very rare to find double-page frontispieces for Hafiz manuscripts that show a hunting scene as in our manuscript. Generally, hunting scenes are used for manuscripts of the Shahnameh of Firdowsi or for the Khamseh of Nizami. These two pages (plates 12 and 13) are illumined in blue, gold and orange. Although the manuscript is not in good condition, the two pages with their vibrant colors and detailed borders are striking. The hunting scene illustrates huntsmen vigorously chasing animals. Wildflowers are everywhere. The sky is blue with swirling clouds and a large stork flying

near the horizon. There is little sense of proportion or perspective. The first single-page painting for this manuscript is on folio 41b (plate 14), and the poem reads as follows:

Inebriated, I vertured out to the meadow this morn,
Enthralled by your bud-like mouth.

Violets twisted around the locks of the vine,
When the breeze reminded me of your locks.

Hitherto I avoided wine and minstrels,
Beauteous young boys led me to such desires. [20]

The first two couplets on this page have been translated into Turkish. The Turkish translation is inscribed under the Persian script. This secondary writing, however, does not occur anywhere else in the manuscript. Presumably a Turkish owner of the manuscript liked this page so much that he or she had these verses translated into Turkish. The general composition of the painting follows the Shiraz canon but with some modification; there is more of an attempt at perspective through representation of some figures smaller than the others. The scene shows a number of men enjoying themselves outdoors with lots of wine, music and lovers. In the center a young man is seated on his knees reciting to the rest of his companions. In front of him on the carpet there is a jug of wine and a bowl of fruit. To his right another young man is carrying two fresh jugs of wine for the rest. To the left two men, one older with a beard and the other younger, are embracing each other. The bottom left shows another group of men intoxicated to the extent that one has taken his turban off and is asking for

more wine. The upper background is filled with trees full of white flowers. There are white patches on the painting that are either due to too much handling or moisture.

The second painting of this manuscript is shown on folio 81b (plate 15). My translation of the poems varies slightly from that of M.B. Dickson, used by Stuart Cary Welch for the c.1527 Diwan of Hafiz for Sam Mirza, Shah Tahmasp's brother.[21] This poem has been used fairly frequently for illustrations of Hafiz's Diwan, perhaps because it demonstrates the poet's mood, attitude and approach to religious leaders in general. The couplets chosen for this painting read as follows:

Preachers who shine so on the pulpit and the chapel
Engage in other activities in private.

I am bewildered. Pray ask the learned one.
Why do the enjoiners of repentance themselves decline to repent?

Me-thinks they do not believe in the day of Judgement;
Why else would they so convolute the behest of the Judge. [22]

The Diwan of Hafiz for Sam Mirza is the finest Hafiz manuscript of the Safavid period. This book was produced by the order of the sovereign, Shah Tahmasp, as a gift for his brother. Sam Mirza was accused of trying to overthrow the government in 1535 and was put in prison. Two famous painters of the Safavid court, Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh Zadeh, collaborated on this manuscript. The Scandal in a Mosque is the modern name given to the painting accompanying the above poem (plate 16) in the

Sam Mirza manuscript, one of the best examples of Shaykh Zadeh's work. Stuart Cary Welch describes this painting as " a kaleidoscope arrangement of refulgent color designed with the strength of architecture and enriched with some of the most refined and elegant arabesques in all Islamic painting." [23] In contrast to The Scandal in the Mosque , our painting(plate 15) is simple and restrained. There is little sense of perspective. Figures look two dimensional and flat. There is little movement and energy. The seated spectators are depicted as if they are sitting in the air. But in contrast to Shaykh Zadeh's painting (plate 16), our painting portrays a mood of serenity, and the near hysteria of Shaykh Zadeh's painting is conspicuously absent. Men and women worshippers are sitting in rows intently concentrating on what the imam is preaching. Everyone is looking up to the religious leader with the exception of two men, one younger and one older, who are talking to each other. There is a somber mood projected in the faces of all the worshippers. The overall sober tone of this painting corresponds to the generally restrained modes of painting during the reign of Shah Muhammad Khodabandeh(1577-87).

The last painting of the 1014 H. manuscript is on folio 168b (plate17). Again the couplets used for this painting are used in the manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz for Sam Mirza(plate 18). In our painting four couplets of the qazal are used, whereas in the Sam Mirza manuscript only one is used. The translation reads:

Wine drinkers one and all her slaves,
Their head-gears an umbrella to clouds of rain;

The glow from the wine chalice outshines the moon,

The beauteous faces of youthful boys put to shame the sun;

The angel of mercy hath taken up the cup of joy,
Sprinkling a few drops of rose water on the face of the beauteous;

With drunken howls, coy beauties
Have rendered sugar bland, poured the wine and played the robab.[24]

The painting in the Sam Mirza manuscript (plate 18) is done by Sultan Muhammad, the renowned Safavid painter whose Turkoman style of painting was one of the main ingredients in the formation and synthesis of the Safavid style. This painting is named Worldly and Otherworldly Drunkeness. As Stuart Cary Welch writes: " Sultan Muhammad's and Hafiz's Sufism join in a perfect union of spirituality and comedy, the worldly and the heavenly."[25] "In this extraordinary transcendental painting, low comedy and high religion meet. Slapstick comedians achieve sainthood; crazy laughter becomes prayer."[26] This painting is the epitome of Sultan Muhammad's and the young Shah Tahmasp's taste and ability. The color combination, the movement and vitality, and the whole setting are representative of a master at his best.

Our painting (plate 17) follows the Shiraz canon with the couplets divided on the top and bottom of the illustration. The painter has tried to portray a tavern where men and women are engaged in various acts of drinking, dancing, fighting and playing instruments. In this painting , as in the previous one, beautiful young women are included . In the bottom far left corner two men are shown engaged in a fight over a young maiden while a third is trying to stop the fight. Closer to the top two men are holding wine glasses while an attendant is offering them pomegranates. In the far right

corner dancing girls are moving to the music of the musicians, while at their top the door-keeper is greeting a newcomer.

This manuscript provides an opportunity to visualize routine life in the late sixteenth century. It is neither large and impressive nor artistically challenging, and it does not leave an immediate impact on the viewer or stir the imagination, as does the Sam Mirza manuscript; but it offers a more down-to-earth representation of an ordinary tavern scene.

The third manuscript belonging to the Topkapi Museum is not from Shiraz. This large book measures 310 mm by 202 mm and has 210 pages. The style of the script is nasta'liq, and the inscriptions on the colophon states that it was produced in the province of Khorasan in northeastern Iran. The colophon also dates the book to 994H/1586A.D.[27] The book is very impressive and of high quality. The pages are enamelled with gold and are bordered with lines of blue, gold, light blue and red. The paintings are preserved immaculately and are imbued with rich colours of orange, green and blue. The high quality of the paintings testifies to the cooperation of a group of excellent painters, illuminators, gilders and calligraphers who succeeded in producing a manuscript of excellent quality. I attribute the eight paintings in this large manuscript to five different artists whom I call painters A, B, C, D, and E.

PAINTER A (BIHZAD ABU SAMII?)

The poem on the first miniature(folio 21, plate 19), attributable to painter A, reads as follows:

The rose garden of heaven is the Dervish's intimate gathering.
The very essence of majesty is servitude to the Dervishes.

The niche of solitude, which embodies wonderous talismans,
Can be compared to the mercy of the dervishes.

These two odes are from a qazal known as The Dervishes.[28] It is believed that this qazal was composed for the vizier of Shah Shoja, also known as Jalal al-Din, whom Hafiz loved and respected. In this qazal, Hafiz counts the numerous virtues that the Dervishes possess. He proclaims that the searcher for truth and immortal life can attain his goal through serving and following the example of the sufis.

The painting is derived from the first ode, "The rose garden of Heaven is the Dervish's intimate gathering". Painter A has tried to depict the rose garden of Heaven occupied by the sufis, gathered together either discussing, dancing, or playing instruments. The clothing of the figures is in line with late Safavid paintings: men wear loose, voluminous and not very neatly tied headgear. Faces are full of expression. The painting is balanced with the architectural setting occupying the upper left side of the painting and a range of grand mountains reaching for the sky on the right side.

In the background is an enchanting garden filled with heavenly trees and flowers, and the young gardener is busy plowing and planting. In the forefront, an old mystic has lost his turban while dancing to the music performed by two musicians playing different instruments. The idea for this dancing old man comes from the painting titled Scandal in the Mosque done by Shaykh Zadeh in the Sam Mirza manuscript discussed earlier (plate16).

Although the bald, bearded man is not an exact copy of the original, the figure is based on Shaykh Zadeh's concept. In Scandal in the Mosque (plate 16), the bald bearded man is young and full of vital energy. His face is marked with anger and protest against the pretentious preaching of the religious leaders. In our painting (plate 19), the bald man is old; and time has left its mark on his beard, now white, and on his movements, now rigid and lifeless.

To the left of this group, there are two bearded men seated, hands hidden in their garments, heads tilted to one side. The one to the left is gazing at one corner, quietly meditating. The other is in the same position, but his eyebrows are raised and his eyes are wide open, as if something has just disrupted his concentration. At the top, towards the middle of the painting, two other sufis are animatedly engaged in discussion. Facing each other, they are placed in a chamber, forming a coherent separate group. To the far right, a newcomer is entering the garden with one hand holding a cane and the other hand holding his robe. His eyes are fixed on the two seated sufis, while a young attendant boy is standing quietly observing the whole scene in front of him.

To the right, on one of the stones above the young gardener's head, there is a signature that is not very legible. It reads either 'work of Bihzad Abu Habibi' or 'work of Bihzad Abu Samii'.[29] There is no recorded information about this painter. By analyzing this painting (plates 19), attributable to painter A, one can determine the dominant elements that distinguish his works from other artists who contributed to this manuscript. The older bearded men have long bony faces, pointed chins with square jaws, and prominent beaked noses. In this painting (plate19) the older men are looking

animatedly at each other, and there is an interaction among the individuals that is emphasized by a raised eyebrow or a tilted head. The faces of the young, however, are idealized with perfectly bowed eyebrows, delicate short noses and slightly pursed mouths. Painter A must have found it difficult to draw hands with stretched fingers. Note the hands of the two musicians or those of the seated sufi in the chamber in the same painting. They have extraordinarily long fingers that are placed aimlessly either on the dayreh or the flute or on the knee of the seated man. Although painter A has tried to give his painting a logical spatial arrangement, he is not totally successful in his task. For example, he is able to portray the three dimensionality of the court, but he falls short in depicting the gate to the right of the painting as it is too low for a man to go through. In this painting, painter A has put strong emphasis on architectural intricacies. This conscious attention to detail is not seen in any other painting of this manuscript.

This miniature painting (plate 19) is very similar in style to a page from a manuscript of the Sifat al 'Ashiqin (Disposition of Lovers) of Hilali (plate 20), dated 990/1582, previously in the Binney Collection.[30] One of the painters of the manuscript of the Sifat al 'Ashiqin, probably also did a page of the manuscript of the Diwan of Ibrahim Mirza (plate 21) that was completed in the same year in Khorasan.[31] In plate 20, painter A has followed his style in depicting the older men with square jaws, pointed chins and beaked noses or the youngers with their idealized faces. The rock formation in both plates 19, and 20 is very similar. The interaction among the individuals is also evident; note the four older men in the middle of the painting who are animatedly conversing or the numerous women who are engaged in the normal and routine chores of camp life such as milking the

cow. Painter A had clearly studied similar scenes on the 1556-65 Haft Awrang of Jami.

PAINTER B

Unlike the first painter, who signed his painting, other painters for this manuscript did not leave any signatures. It is through stylistic analysis that the following two paintings (folio 54, plate 22), and (folio 170, plate 23) are attributable to painter B. The first miniature attributable to painter B, in excellent condition, is smaller than the other miniatures. The two poems on this painting come from a qazal that is written in admiration and praise of wine and winedrinkers.[32] The translation is as follows:

The recurrent thought of thine hair and beauty
Is an ailment afflicting me day and night.

The wounded heart of the afflicted is burned
By the salt of thy beauty.

The scene accompanying these verses is one of a typical court entertainment with musicians, court attendants, and handsome young men. This imagery is used profusely in Safavid paintings. The necks of some of the men are long and the upper bodies of the characters have become elongated with an outward curve around the stomach. These characteristics resemble those in Mirza 'Ali's paintings (plates 24, 25) in the 1556-65 Haft Awrang of Jami done for Ibrahim Mirza. The famous second generation Safavid painter, Mirza 'Ali is famous for his tall, handsome characters with extended upper bodies with long necks. He is also well-known for his

portrait-like characters who interact and communicate through eyes that knowingly meet.

The second painting attributable to this painter is on folio 170 (plate 23). There are three verses on this page, of which one is on the top and the other two are on the bottom. The translation of the verses reads as follows:

Bring the wine to rid me of sickness,
For wine is the remedy for stupor;

The light is absent from the feast of intimates,
Till the wine of grapes, and the beauty of the beloved is at hand;

Be not proud of the magic of thy dream,
For I have learnt no virtue comes of pride.[33]

This scene is a typical court feast with a prince and his entourage. There are attendants on both sides of the prince, who is kneeling down while drinking a cup of wine. An interesting character here is the bald man who has taken off his headgear, the sign of his rank and status, and has offered it to his master, who is holding one end of it. This is the scene that refers back to the final verse : "Be not proud of the magic of thy dream, For I have learnt no virtue comes of pride."

Another determining factor in painter B's paintings is the zigzag brush-work used for painting trees. It is strong, steady, and angular as can be seen by looking at the stumps of the trees or at the contour of the bodies. By analyzing these two paintings and comparing them to Mirza 'Ali's work in

the 1556-65 Haft Awrang, it is evident that painter B has been influenced by Mirza 'Ali's work.

PAINTER C

There are two paintings (plate 26, folio 35; plate 27, folio 111) that are attributable to painter C. The first painting (plate 26) has three odes of the gazal that presumably was composed by Hafiz on the occasion of Shah Shoja's return to Shiraz after the defeat of Mahmud Shah.[34]

Convey the servitude of wine, say enter,
For our command and perseverance set thee free.

The joy of mercy makers is at thy feet;
Saddened be the heart that does not wish thee happiness.

Thank heaven, for the ravages of autumn
Have left intact thy garden of beauty, thy cedar (figure) and rose (face).

Following the outer meaning of the gazal, the painting is a scene of an outdoor gathering with a multi-sided pool in the middle, while the characters are evenly distributed. The prince is seated in the middle on a rug, with one hand holding what looks like a knife. To the lower right two men play chess, to the lower left two musicians perform, above them two men bring a jug of wine, and to the right two young men talk. The distinctive characteristics of protruding eyelashes, round faces, and pointed noses can be seen in both paintings (Plates 26, 27). Human proportions are normal with a tendency towards accentuating the upper body. The shoulders are broad,

and the upper arms are muscular and thick. The treatment of the wardrobe is also the same. The treatment of the garden and the depiction of the trees and flowers are also indicative that one hand has been responsible for both paintings. Unlike painter A, who had a steady, strong stroke, painter C's stroke is thick and uneven as can be seen in the trees in both plates.

There are two odes accompanying the painting on folio 111(plate 27) whose translation is as follows:

By a brook, beneath the willow shades, the gift of poetry and good company;
My sweet beloved and beauteous wine maiden for a companion.

O my good fortune! hold precious this moment.
May it be all sweetness to thee, such festivity.

Painter C was either influenced by Mirza 'Ali or was trained by him. Similar to Mirza 'Ali's distinctive style, painter C's characters interact and communicate with each other. In plate 26 the standing attendant to the left of the prince, head down and smiling, holding the jug of drink, has his eyes fixed on the prince who is returning his look. In plate 27 the young seated man to the right has lost grip of his bowl; and nobody has noticed it except the musician who has turned back to find out what is happening. Following Mirza 'Ali's later style in the 1556-65 Haft Awrang, human figures have lost their normal form. Bodies are stretched with supple chests, stomachs and hips. Both painter B and painter C were influenced by Mirza 'Ali's style, especifically his work in the Haft Awrang, but each interpreted the master's work according to his own understanding and expertise making the products

of their work quite different.

PAINTER D.

The next two paintings (folios 129 and 156; plates 28 and 29) were executed by a new painter whom we will call painter D. The poems on plate 28 are translated as follows:

O, that my fingers could run through thy hair;
Many a head I would offer up as polo balls to thee.

Thine hair is like unto my long life.
Alas, not a strand have I in my hand.[35]

The style and composition of this painting are totally different from those of the earlier pages. The scene is of a polo game in a field with several horseback riders vying with each other to get hold of the ball. The faces are all round, depicted in three-quarter profile, with short noses, small mouths. The majority of the characters are young with the exception of a few bearded, old men. Spectators are half-hidden behind a range of hills with their backs to an architectural setting. In the left corner, musicians are playing, while in the upper right corner three other men are observing the scene below. There is a feeling of movement and agility; however, the painting does not have the quality of work that we have seen in the previous pages. The scene is crowded with many small flowers on the ground and much emphasis on the details of the costumes as in the representation of buttons or patterned shirts.

The next painting (plate 29) attributable to painter D has the same characteristics as the above painting. The poems on the page are typical Hafizian love lyrics:

Beholding thy (beautiful) body in the garden,
The rose tore off its covering in wild drunkenness.

Thy body in clothes is like unto the wine in a chalice;
The heart in thy chest is as (cold) iron in the rock.[36]

This qazal has eight odes, of which the second and the fifth were used for this painting. Although the two odes on their own do not do justice to Hafiz's qazal and its esoteric nature, they were the most suitable of the eight odes for painting. The style and the composition are in line with what was discussed in the previous painting. The garden is depicted in full bloom, and trees and flowers are everywhere-- in the foreground, between the spectators, behind the canopy, and above the canopy. The emphasis on detail is carried on in the depiction of the wardrobe, covered with buttons and ribbons and embroideries. In this painting, as in the last one, the interaction among the characters is very evident. The prince and his attendant, the two young attendants standing to the left of them, the seated men on both sides, and the young boys offering them fruit all form small groups.

The artist of these pages must have also been influenced by the Haft Awrang of Jami, but through a different painter, namely Qadimi. Qadimi was one of the veterans of the Shah Tahmasp's atelier who contributed to the Shah's Shahnamah and later to the Haft Awrang. His paintings are recognizable through his coquettish horses and fat, middle-aged courtiers.[37]

In my analysis, another identifying characteristic is the round faces and short square noses of most of the characters with extravagant costumes (plate 30). Painter D very diligently copied these characteristics; thus we can conclude that painter D was either a follower or a student of Qadimi.

PAINTER E.

The last miniature (folio 85, plate 31) is also a court entertainment scene. It is, however, different from the previous paintings in the sense that the painting has no relation to the poems chosen. The two verses of this page are from one of Hafiz's shortest qazals. [38]

When my beloved takes (appears with) a jug of wine,
Beauties lose their splendor.

I am in the sea like a fish;
Perchance, my beloved comes to rescue.

With the above verses one can expect a scene representing the lover in the sea of love instead of a typical court gathering. The original qazal, however, ends with the verse:

Fortunate are those who like Hafiz
Will take a cup of immortality.

Although this verse has not been included in the painting, the reader, knowing the qazal, would have immediately related the painting to the last ode and its innate message of spiritual experience. Following the nature of

Hafiz's mystical verse, the scene is only outwardly one of garden entertainment. Inwardly, it could be interpreted as the representation of different stages that a seeker has to go through in order to reach the Unknown. The young boy with the sad and pondering face could be the representation of the seeker who has just realized the difficult path facing him. Youth is the symbol of ignorance, yet also hope. Wine could be taken as the vehicle to reach religious ecstasy or the path to attain the knowledge of God, and thus those fortunate ones who like Hafiz have experienced this spiritual ecstasy have also drunk from the 'Cup of Immortality'. The man who has lost his turban in the right side of the painting could be understood as the one who has lost his self-pride or self-importance. He is gazing longingly to the Unknown, for perhaps he has already passed the stage of total annihilation of the self and reached the sublime.

At first glance, this painting is similar to painter A's work, but with careful observation differences surface. The characters have mostly drawn, gloomy faces, hollow cheeks, and narrow, drooping shoulders. Arms and hands are small and sensitive. Painter E must have strived hard to place his characters firmly on the ground, but he was not totally successful. The standing figure in the top left corner of the painting is hanging in the air with no ground underneath to hold him. Nevertheless, painter D has been successful in reflecting the esoteric nature of the poem.

In general, this manuscript shows a refined taste and workmanship evident in the selection of the poems, the execution of the designs, and the choice of colours; they make this book one of the best and most imaginative copies of the collected works of Hafiz produced in the Safavid period. A group of talented artists surely cooperated to produce a manuscript of such

fine quality, fit for a prince or a wealthy patron. The visual inspiration for this book must have come from the Haft Awrang of Jami, executed for Ibrahim Mirza; consequently, there are similarities in style and execution. Five different artists, with different styles and approach, contributed to this precious manuscript, of whom two, painter B and C, were influenced by Mirza 'Ali, and the third, painter D, by Qadimi. These painters were either trained by or worked as apprentices for the masters who worked on the Haft Awrang. Contrary to the Shirazi manuscripts previously discussed, in which the established iconography of famous characters, such as Shirin and Farhad or Mahmud and Ayaz, from other well-known poems, was used this manuscript represents the most spiritual and esoteric themes by depicting ordinary scenes such as court feasts. With the exception of painter E, whose painting does not outwardly relate to the accompanying poems, the rest of the painters were successful in using simple themes to illustrate the verses.

The next two Hafiz manuscripts are neither as large nor as impressive as the rest of the manuscripts from the Topkapi Museum discussed in this thesis. The first is catalogued as H. 1009, and the scribe is identified as Fakir al-Hakir al-Rah Kavam ibn Muhammad Shirazi. In this manuscript, there are only two miniatures at the opening of the book and two on the last two pages. There are no other illustrations between the double-page frontispiece and double-page endpiece. The book is 267 mm by 165 mm and has 231 pages. Judging from the style of the paintings, one may suggest the year 1580-85 as the possible date of production, and since the scribe calls himself Shirazi, the center of production could be Shiraz.

The first two paintings on folios 1b and 2a (plates 32, 33) depict a

scene of food preparation for an upcoming feast, shown on the last pages of the manuscript. On folio 1b(plate 32), on the right half of the double-page, a group of guests is being welcomed and greeted by the musicians. At the bottom, five dervishes, some with headgear and some without, are dancing to the tune being played by the musicians. In the left half (plate 33), the servants are busy cutting the meat and vegetables, cooking the meals, and preparing the pastry dough, while some courtiers in the upper part of the painting are playing backgammon or reading poetry. Although double-page feast scenes were commonly used as frontispieces, it was rare to use them for Hafiz's Diwan. The final double page (folios 230b and 231a; plates 34, 35) depicts the second stage of the court entertainment with the same musicians busy playing joyful tunes to which a dancer is performing. The prince and his entourage are sitting in a delightful garden and are being served the dishes and delicacies which were prepared on the first page. They are accompanied by another group who are carrying jugs of drinks.

In all the paintings of this manuscript, men, with the exception of a few in plate 32 who have lost their turbans while dancing, wear neatly tied turbans. Upper bodies have become elongated and lower bodies are shorter than normal. Hands are extraordinarily long while faces are mostly idealized. Pointed oval shaped stones surrounded with flowers are scattered on the ground while declicate willowlike trees mixed with cedars fill the background. Stylistic analysis strengthens the idea that Shiraz must have been the center of production with only one painter responsible for all the paintings. Considering the esoteric nature of Hafiz's qazals, one may suggest that the themes of the paintings could be taken as a metaphor for the spiritual experience that the reader will attain through reading,

contemplating and 'consuming' the poems of Hafiz.

The fifth Hafiz manuscript from the Topkapi Museum is catalogued as H. 1012. The book is 150 mm by 220 mm, 174 pages and has a gold-plated cover. The scribe is identified as Ahmad al-Hosseini al-Mashhadi. This manuscript also has four miniatures, two at the front and two at the back. All four paintings are in excellent condition. The first two miniatures (folios 2b and 3a; plates 36, 37) show a party or entertainment scene. Five musicians on the left, plate 37 (two men and three women) are busy performing, while a beautiful girl is dancing. On the right, plate 36, the ruler or the patron is seated on a throne while an attendant offers him a cup of drink. Two seated men in the far right corner are busy conversing. Men and women conform to the long-established Iranian ideal of beauty--round faces, eyebrows meeting over the nose, almond-shaped eyes, and small mouths. Human bodies have lost their natural proportions; the upper body has become elongated in the manner of late Qazvin period painting. Necks, however, are short and natural. Both men and women have round, broad shoulders with thick upper arms that gradually narrow. The artist was an expert in depicting small, sensitive hands in different positions. The hands of the dancing girl are a good example of this. The movement and agility shown in the hands of the dancing girl are also seen in the movement of the trees that are swaying back and forth. Costumes are plain and simple with no elaborate detail. It was unusual in this period to depict male and female musicians, playing together, which makes this book an important testimony to what could have been a contemporary practice.

The last two miniatures, of which I was unfortunately able to acquire only one (folio 174a; plate 38), depict a hunting scene. The upper part of the

paintings is in gold, while vivid colors of blue, yellow, green, grey, orange, and gold are used for the rest of the paintings. The faces are all rendered in three-quarter profile with the same facial characteristics as the previous miniatures. The long and lean upper bodies make a contrast to the thick and heavy legs that support them. The landscape is a typical Safavid scene with a lion being attacked by a huntsman while a dog is pursuing a rabbit, and a deer is running away. A bear is about to be shot by a courtier. Horses show the movement and agility that are expected of well-trained animals. One painter has been responsible for both the double-page frontispiece and the endpiece. The overall style of these paintings places them around the late sixteenth century in Khorasan.

The last of the Topkapi Museum manuscripts is an unusual book that deserves a large separate monograph since it contains an astonishing 555 miniatures, making it one of the most profusely illustrated manuscripts in the history of Islamic art. The manuscript is a large book measuring 264 mm by 150 mm. It has 578 pages and was produced in the middle of the seventeenth century, tentatively about 1660 in Isfahan. Contrary to what we have seen and studied so far, the pages of the manuscript do not combine paintings and poems. On the right-hand side, there are poems organized in two columns, while the left page contains the painting. This is repeated throughout the book with the exception of page 402, where one ode of a qazal is included at the top of the painting.

I sought wisdom's council who replied "Drink up, Hafiz".
O winemaiden, pour out the wine at the behest of the trusted counsel.

The illustrations are almost entirely in the form of tinted drawings, a

very popular medium at the time. They are partially colored, mainly in gold or blue, giving prominence to certain areas such as the trunk of the trees, the crown of a prince, the shoes of a beggar, the hair of a dancing girl, or a jug of wine. This quality of partial coloring gives the paintings an effective and impressive appearance. As one approaches the end of the manuscript, the miniatures become more sophisticated, more colorful and more elaborate in detail. The content of the poems on the right page generally is related to the theme of the paintings to the left. Of all the 555 paintings, only two are signed. One of the paintings is done by Muhamad Yusuf, folio 79 a (plate 39) and the other is by Muhammad 'Ali, folio 365a (plate 40). Since it was generally accepted in the seventeenth century for artists to inscribe their names on their work, one can suggest that either only two artists of calibre participated in this huge manuscript or that the entire body of illustrations was the work of Muhammad 'Ali and Muhammad Yusuf. I suggest that only these two artists, Muhammad 'Ali and Muhammad Yusuf, contributed all the illustrations in this manuscript. In addition to the large number of paintings in this manuscript, a testimony in itself to the competence of the artists, the pages portray movement, feelings, and different expressions, all testifying to the mastery of the two painters. The paintings that will be analyzed here, with the exception of the two signed pages, were chosen at random to show that only two hands contributed to this precious manuscript.

Not much is known about either Muhamad 'Ali or Muhamad Yusuf. The only source that gives some pertinent information about these two artists is Ivan Stchoukine, who gives a brief account of the two artists in his book Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier á la fin des Safavis.[39] According to Stchoukine, Muhammad 'Ali was the son of Malik Hossein Isfahani ,

himself a painter. Muhammad 'Ali's activity was during the second half of the seventeenth century . Stchoukine points out that according to Sakisian, another art historian, Muhammad 'Ali was not as talented as his father. He also mentions that Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray believed that Muhammad 'Ali's work was very similar to Muhammad Qasim, another seventeenth century artist.[40] According to Stchoukine, these scholars did not understand or appreciate the individuality of the work of Muhammad 'Ali and Muhammad Qasim. Muhammad 'Ali's work, according to Stchoukine, has both charm and merit; thus, one has to include him among the major artists of the period.[41] Muhammad 'Ali, like many other artists of the seventeenth century, was influenced by Riza. His characters are dynamic; however, they lack expression. The characters resemble gracious mannequins without feeling.

The second artist whose signature appears in this manuscript is Muhammad Yusuf about whom there is more published information. Muhammad Yusuf's work was concentrated mostly during the time of Shah 'Abbas II (1642-1666), and the second artist was also a follower of Riza 'Abbasi.[42] His figures are curved and animated. Muhammad Yusuf is much admired by Stchoukine for his vigorous brush and attention to minute details.[43] According to him, Muhammad Yusuf was a painter of great talent and ingenuity. He had the ability to represent versatile characters with ease and expertise.[44] He was able to portray totally different individuals. Some characters were calm, with no expression, projecting a quiet attitude. On the other hand the artist was also able to portray animated, vigorous individuals with penetrating eyes. Muhammad Yusuf was as concerned with the depiction of the most minute detail in the decorative motives as he was with the animation of his subjects. This quality sets Muhammad Yusuf's work aside from the work of his contemporaries.[45]

Of the 555 paintings in this manuscript, only five will be discussed here. Two of these pages have the signature of their artists, and the other three were chosen to further our study of this manuscript and its artists. Since the text is not included in the painting itself, with the exception of one page, the earlier close relationship between illustration and text no longer exists. The illustration exists as a separate image, complementing but not explicating the text, and it can be studied as an image alone, without text.

The first drawing analyzed here (plate 39) bears the signature of Muhammad Yusuf on a jug of wine in the lower left corner of the page. Five young men , three with and two without mustaches, are seated below a large tree: they are drinking wine and enjoying themselves, while an old man with a staff is standing above them. Muhammad Yusuf emphasizes different moods and feelings. The two men sitting to the left, one putting his hand on the shoulder of the other while offering a cup of wine to his companion, demonstrate a feeling of love and caring in their gestures, looks, and motions. In the second group to the right, a man noisily swallows wine from a jug while two more converse and drink. In contrast to these men who are young and full of life, an old man is depicted standing up and leaning on his staff with his head bent forward as if life has been drawn out of him, looking sadly at the youth in front of him. The contrast of moods and characters is even evident in the treatment of wardrobes. While the old man's turban is neatly tied around his head and a shawl is around his neck, two young men wear sloppily tied, voluminous turbans. In the background, an overwhelming, large tree, with its leaves reaching for the sky, occupies almost half of the painting. Muhammad Yusuf's treatment of the tree and the flower bushes in the foreground of the painting should be noted: the leaves

and flowers are not attached to any central stem. His brush strokes are strong and smooth.

The second painting, stylistically attributable to Muhammad Yusuf, is on folio 402a (plate 41). This is the only painting in the manuscript that has the ode of a qazal incorporated into its composition. The painting portrays three young men in a garden with two seated and the third carrying a dish of fruits. One of the seated men, with legs crossed, is leaning on a pillow, holding a cup in one hand, and asking for some more wine, while the other is shown in a squatting position holding a jug of wine. The most unusual of the three characters is the third one who is carrying the fruit dish. The artist has depicted only the upper body of the man. There are many instances in Iranian painting, from the 14th century on, of cut-off figures, but they are usually cut off by the building in which they are standing. Thus, a common cut-off figure is the upper torso of someone looking out of a window, as in plate 9. In plate 41 the artist has used the same sort of device but has placed the servant at the front of the picture space, an unusual and innovative device implying that we are looking through a window at only a part of a much larger world.

Let us compare this painting with a signed painting of Muhammad Yusuf. In plate 42 a man sits with his right arm stretched out holding a cup and his left arm covering the top of a jug. The round face, narrow eyes, connected eyebrows, small lips (holding a quiet smile) and short pointy nose, all exemplify the ideal beauty of the time that Muhammad Yusuf is famous for portraying. The same face is repeated in the page from the Topkapi Manuscript (plate 41) where a young man is seated to the right holding a jug. The treatment of the eyes, the round, broad shoulders, narrow waist,

bulky stomach, and thick thighs indicate that Muhammad Yusuf was also responsible for this painting.

The next painting of this manuscript (folio 177, plate 43) can also be attributed to Muhammad Yusuf. We see the same hand at work in visualizing curves of the body with masterly, smooth, and strong brush work. The woman, with her crown and her feminine dress covered with a bejewelled coat and topped by a fur collar, is a princess or a woman of high status. The older man, judging from both the hat in his left hand, and his outfit, is either a commoner or a soldier. The two are occupied in serious discussion. The same type of almond-shaped eyes are seen in both characters. The expertise and versatality of Muhammad Yusuf in portraying different characters are visible when this painting is compared to plate 39. In plate 43 the princess has a calm , tranquil attitude. She is standing quietly, talking to her companion. There is nothing in her gesture or her facial expression, no frown or smile, that would betray her true feeling towards her humbler companion. The artist understood well the social etiquette that existed among the different classes and presented it expertly. The treatment of the tree in the middle, and the flower bushes in the foreground of the painting is another determining factor in attributing this painting to Muhammad Yusuf. The artist has drawn his impression of the tree and the flowers, rather than the actual form, using the strong, free strokes which we saw in his first painting (plate 39).

Folio 365 (plate 40) is signed by Muhammad 'Ali, the colleague of Muhammad Yusuf. The signature reads: servant of his court, Muhammad 'Ali. Muhammad 'Ali was a relatively talented artist. With the exception of this manuscript, not much of his work is known. Either the painter did not have

the support of a local merchant or a statesman, who would promote his paintings or help him to advance to the court circle, or he was undeservedly ignored by them. And yet he was asked to contribute to this relatively prestigious Diwan. It is through this manuscript that one is able to observe and demonstrate that Muhammad 'Ali was a relatively imaginative and gifted painter whose work has not been sufficiently studied and given the attention it deserves.[46]

This page depicts another outing with two older men seated on their knees while a young attendant is offering wine; another young man is standing behind them. The painting is an excellent document for the study of the different clothes, headcovers and the various dishes which were used by ordinary people. In total, there are four different headcovers used in this painting. Furthermore, the four men share three different costumes, with the casual robe repeated twice in the old man who is accepting the drink and the young man standing above them. Equal attention has been given to the carefully composed flower bushes, the range of mountains, and the tree in the background. Unlike Muhammad Yusuf's flowers, Muhammad 'Ali's bushes are meticulously organized. The contour separating the mountain and the trees behind it is well defined. His stroke is firm, but it does not have the freedom seen in Muhammad Yusuf's. Muhammad 'Ali was methodically concerned with detail and the actual form of his subject matter, rather than his impression of it.

Stylistically this painting, however, does not match the work of Muhammad Yusuf. Contrary to the energy, vitality, movement and moods in Muhammad Yusuf's work, this painting is static. There is little interaction among the characters. The faces do not show any emotion; lips are closed,

eyes are fixed, movement is slow. Although Muhammad 'Ali has tried to balance his work by putting two characters on the right and two to the left with the dishes and cups in the middle, and by filling the upper third of the painting with a prominent tree and an impressive mountain, the painting lacks the psychological effect that Muhamad Yusuf's work had.

Based on style and treatment of subject matter the next painting (foilo 275a, plate 44) is attributable to Muhammad 'Ali. The painting portrays a man and a young woman dressed in expensive clothes and conversing with each other in a garden. In line with Muhammad Ali's style, the artist has succeeded in depicting the smallest detail of the robes, jewellery and surroundings. The same facial features seen in the previous painting are also in these characters: round faces, connected eyebrows crowning almond-shaped eyes, short and slightly wide noses, and small lips. As mentioned, Muhammad 'Ali drew forceful, clear lines delineating the figures of his characters, their facial features, and the landscape. He succeeds in drawing ideal figures through his crisp, clean lines combined with meticulous attention to details. If we compare plate 44 with another painting, attributable to Muhammad 'Ali (plate 45) the similarity of the styles becomes more obvious. In plate 45 Muhammad 'Ali's crisp lines outlining the figure of a pageboy have been reduced to the most essential. The pageboy's wardrobe is defined with clear defined areas of green, orange, and yellow. In line with Muhammad 'Ali's style, the flower bushes are carefully composed on both sides of the young boy.

In plate 44 not only has Muhammad 'Ali used all his established style, but he has outdone himself and added new elements to his painting. The result is an impressive work of art. Contrary to the previous painting (plate 40) that

was static, Muhamad 'Ali has succeeded in portraying movement and dynamism. The young woman is shown walking away from the man who is calling her back. Her face is turned back to the left, with right arm bent, while her feet are still pointing away from the young lover. Her movement and agility are expertly shown, not only through her gestures, but also through the treatment of the curves of her dress and her sash which are pointed to the right emphasizing the motion. The young man with both hands stretched forward is either supplicating her to return or begging forgiveness. This painting is, without doubt, one of the best works of Muhammad Ali in this manuscript.

With its 555 miniature drawings this manuscript gives us an excellent opportunity to study the style of the two seventeenth century painters, Muhammad Yusuf and Muhammad 'Ali, who have otherwise been relatively ignored. It offers us a view of seventeenth century customs, clothing, and social etiquette. Muhammad 'Ali, a relatively talented artist whose mannequin-like characters usually lack realism proved to have spurts of genius which may have astonished the artist himself. Muhamad Yusuf, the more talented of the two, was one of the best students of Riza 'Abbasi. A versatile painter, he was capable of portraying different characters and moods with ease and expertise. Muhammad Yusuf was an acute observer and a prudent painter who respected the established etiquette. As mentioned, this manuscript deserves a separate and thorough study to do justice to the painters who contributed to it.

Footnotes

1. The Ottomans and the Mughals of India had the other sophisticated courts in the Middle East.
2. There were some paintings, for instance in Shiraz, that were done for less exalted patrones.
3. Stuart Cary Welch, A King Book of Kings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1972, page 22.
4. Ibid., page 28.
5. B. W. Robinson, Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th century, Shorewood Publishers, New York, 1965, page 13.
6. Stuart Cary Welch, A King Book of Kings, page 25.
7. Ibid., page 32.
8. Ibid., page 34.
9. Ibid., page 35.
10. Ibid., page 36.
11. Ibid., page 45.
12. Ibid., page 52.
13. Shiraz is still the capital of the province of Fars.
14. G. D. Guest, Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies, No. 4, Washington, D. C. 1949, page 25.
15. Ibid., page 26 and 27.
16. The translation for the Diwan of Hafiz for this study has been done with the collaboration of Mr. Ehsan Erfanifar. The complete qazal for this page can be found on page 126, Diwan of Khawjeh Shams-u- Din Hafiz-i-Shirazi, edited by Muhammad Djafar Mahjub, 1986 (in Persian).
17. M. Mahjub, Diwan of Khwajeh Shams-u- Din Hafiz-i-Shirazi, page 115.

Mahjub does not include the last two odes used in this painting. However, another older Diwan edited by Masud Attai includes the second to last ode. (Masud Attai, Diwan of Hafiz, 1969, page 239.) According to Attai, this qazal was not included in al-Sudi's copy of the Diwan. But Ahmad Pezhman attributes it with some changes to Amir Khusraw Dehlavi. This discrepency is a good example of how unreliable the sources can be.

18. Mahjub, Page 223. Attai, page 398 Both copies are missing the third ode used in this painting: "I have no fear of People's admonition..."

19. Mahjub, page 332- 333. Attai, page 543.

20. Mahjub, 132-133. Attai page 262.

21. The Diwan of Hafiz for Sam Mirza belongs to S.C. Welch with the exception of the illustration of the Feast of the 'Id which is in another private collection. M.B. Dickson's translation is as follows:

> Pious and proud in their prayer arches and pulpits,
> In private they make work of quite another kind.
>
> Why do those who order pentinence of others
> Make pentinence so seldom themselves?

Stuart Cary Welch, Royal Persian Manuscripts, Thames and Hudson, London, 1976, Page 65

22. Mahjub, page 12. Attai, page 101.

23. Ibid., Page 20.

24. Mahjub, page 280. This book does not include the second ode. Attai's book, page 475, has all the odes.

25. Stuart Cary Welch, Royal Persian Manuscripts, Page 69.

26. Ibid., page 21.

27. According to the Turkish catalogue, this book was produced in

989H/1581 A.D.

28. Muhammad Mahjub, page 33.

29. The signature in Farsi reads as follows: عمل بهزاد ابو صبیی

30. Toby Falk, Treasures of Islam, Philip Wilson Publishers, Geneva and London, 1985, page 110.

31. The illustrations of the Diwan of Ibrahim Mirza in turn were derived from the Haft Awrang, the greatest achievement of Ibrahim's patronage. Anthony Welch and Stuart Cary Welch, Arts of the Islamic Book, The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1982, page 98.

32. Muhammad Mahjub, page 78.

33. Masud Attai, page 506.

34. Ibid. page 103.

35. Muhammad Mahjub, page 223.

36. Ibid., page 259.

37. Treasures of Islam, page 79.

38. Muhammad Mahjub, page 98.

39. Ivan Stchoukine, Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier a la fin des Safavids, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1964, page 51. B. W. Robinson gives a very brief account of these two painters in his book Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1967, page 69, 70.

40. L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, B. Gray, Persian Miniature Painting, Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931, London, 1933.

41. Ivan Stchoukine, Les peintures des Manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier a la fin des Safavids, page 51-52.

42. Ibid., page 201.

43. Ibid., page 201-202.

44 "Le Vieillard au turban (Martin, II, pl. 166b) nous permet de juger Mohammad Yusuf en sa qualité de portraitise. On y voit un homme qui presente une individualité definie, nous fixant de son regard. L'oeil froid et penetrant; le nez gros et busque; les sourcils fins; les lèvres minces; la barbe grisonnante, mais la moustache encore noir; l'oreille aux volutes bien indiquées; l'air hautain et grave. La variete du trait est remarquable, passant, par une serie de lignes intermediaires, des courbes épaisses et lourdes de la robe aux traits á peine visibles de la barbe." Ivan Stchoukine, Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier á la fin des Safavids, page 202.

45." La maniere de cet artiste apparait sous une forme differente dans les Deux adolescent á genoux devant une jeune femme (Martin, vol. II, pl. 152). Les attitudes, ici statiques, sont calmes et grave, de même que les courbes majestueuses qui dessinent leurs silhouettes. Toute expression est absent de leurs faces poupines. Les motifs decoratifs des robes sont executes avec beaucoup de minutie. Ces figures nous montrent que Mohammad Yusuf, impressionniste dans ses esquisses, savait aussi revenir au 'classicisime' dans ses tableaux." Ivan Stchoukine, Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier á la fin des Safavids, page 202.

46. A number of single-page drawings by Muhammad 'Ali that have been published in the sources cited above.

CONCLUSION

During the 16th and 17th centuries in Iran, there was a shift in the country's political, social, and religious policies. With the change in official state religion from Sunnism to Ithna 'Ashari Shi'ism came an affinity for certain sufi ideas. The Safavid rulers claimed to be the representatives of the Mahdi, the Shi'a Messiah, and as the leader of the sufi order of Safaviyyi, they each also claimed to be the Murshid-i-Kamil, or the perfect spiritual leader.[1] This change in policy caused a change in the patronage of work of certain poets like Hafiz.

Khwajeh Hafiz Shirazi was born in 1317 and died in 1389-90 in Shiraz. During his lifetime Iran was going through a turbulent time when different dynasties ruled in various parts of the country. Shiraz, where Hafiz lived most of his life, was a city with a rich cultural tradition, but it suffered many violent political changes during this century. The house of Inju ruled Shiraz from 1335 until 1353, when they were overthrown by the Muzaffarids who were in turn ousted by Timur in 1393. Although Hafiz's relationship with the different rulers of these two dynasties varied considerably, he never strongly opposed or supported any of the rulers. He enjoyed the favour of Shah Abu Ishaq Inju, an incompetent ruler, but he also praised the Muzaffarid rulers who overthrew the Injus. Hafiz is accepted as a panegyrist, but unlike his contemporaries, he composed simple panegyric poems in praise of the different Shahs who governed Shiraz, mainly to ensure his own safety and position.

It was in the area of religious practice that Hafiz took a firm stand and opposed the traditional system of religious law, the Shari'a, and the religious leaders or 'Ulama who tried to suppress any threatening ideology.

triumphs. Although the promotion of art and architecture was not his main concern, Isma'il did not ignore the various artists from different centers who had gathered in his court as the result of his conquests. Of the two dominant styles of painting, the Timurid and the Turkoman styles, Isma'il's taste leaned more toward the latter. Of the six manuscripts that were studied in this thesis, none belongs to Shah Isma'il's reign.

It was during the first half of Shah Tahmasp's reign (r.1524-76) that the arts of calligraphy and painting were most highly prized and most vigorously promoted. As a patron, Shah Tahmasp's contributions were mostly in the form of decorative arts. The monarch's taste leaned more toward the Timurid style, since he was educated in Herat. It was in 1527 that the finest copy of Hafiz's Diwan was produced by the order of the sovereign as a gift for his brother Sam Mirza. This manuscript is the only copy of the Diwan of Hafiz that was unquestionably produced in the Safavid royal atelier on the order of a monarch. In this project two of the most talented Safavid painters, Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh Zadeh, participated in producing the finest copy of the Diwan, an artistic triumph unmatched by any other copy of the Diwan produced in subsequent years. Not only were the visual idiom and the subject matter imitated by other artists, but also the poems chosen to accompany the paintings were used many times over in various other manuscripts.

One painting of the Topkapi manuscript H. 1014 (plates 15) contains the same odes that were used for the painting executed by Shaykh Zadeh (plate16). These poems demonstrate Hafiz's pessimistic attitude toward religious leaders in general. It was because of qazals such as these that Hafiz was not appreciated by the religious hierarchy. However, the qazals are used in Sam Mirza's manuscript, a state-commissioned project. In other

words, although these odes could be considered by some clerics or orthodox Muslims as heretical, they were acceptable during the Safavid period. Another painting from the same manuscript (Topkapi, H. 1014, plate 17) contains the odes used for the painting executed by Sultan Muhammad (plate 18). Presumably the director of this later project knew the earlier copy, for he chose two of the same subjects for illustration.

Another manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz which is also attributable to the first half of Shah Tahmasp's reign is Topkapi, E. H. 1650, which was produced not in the capital, but in Shiraz. Following the established Shirazi style, the paintings are simple and less refined, yet they provide a worthy complement to the poems. Judging by the quality of the paintings, it is reasonable to say that this manuscript was produced for a patron less wealthy than the Shah.

During the second half of his reign, Shah Tahmasp changed his attitude toward religion and religious policies. He became more of a devout Muslim with a tendency toward fanaticism. He adhered strictly to religious ceremonies and Islamic law as prescribed by Shi'a doctrine. Thus, fewer paintings were produced during this period than during the first twenty years of his reign.

During the twelve years (1576-88) after Shah Tahmasp's death, Iran was governed by two incompetent monarchs, Isma'il II and Muhammad Khudabandah. Shah Isma'il II, who had lost his sanity during twenty years of incarceration, systematically killed, imprisoned or blinded his relatives and close associates. He was poisoned by the Qizilbash and replaced by his brother Muhammad Khudabandeh in 1577. Muhammad Shah was a weak monarch whose country was run first by his wife and then by the qizilbash

chiefs. Muhammad Shah's incompetence in dealing with his wife's interference and his failure both to subdue the Qizilbash chiefs and to maintain peace and security caused the country to fall into disarray, until 'Abbas Mirza, Tahmasp's grandson, was announced the new ruler of Iran, in October of 1588 in Qazvin. Muhammad Shah's policy toward the arts matched his view toward religion. A fanatical Muslim, he did not favour the so-called heretical paintings. However, in centers such as Shiraz and Mashad, where royal power was either less assertive or less effective, there were patrons who promoted the Diwan of Hafiz.

Thus one of the best copies of the Diwan of Hafiz (Topkapi, H. 986), second only to the Sam Mirza manuscript, was produced in Mashad, in 1586. An impressive book with gold-enamelled pages, this manuscript shows a refined taste and workmanship evident in the selection of the poems, the execution of the design, and the choice of colours. Five less recognized painters of the Safavid period cooperated to produce a manuscript of fine quality, fit for a wealthy patron. The visual inspiration for this manuscript came from the Haft Awrang of Jami produced for Ibrahim Mirza, as well as from two other manuscripts of royal quality.

Shah 'Abbas I (1588-1629), came to power when Iran was in a terrible state. The central government had almost disappeared with the qizilbash leaders taking charge of different provinces. The Ottomans had seized almost all the provinces bordering their country in Iran's northwest. The Ozbegs had taken control of half of the province of Khurasan in the northeast. Shah 'Abbas was able, with prudence and tact, bravery and strategy, to recover all the lost territories and to secure the borders. He was successful in keeping the qizilbash chieftains under his control and in securing the internal peace. During his reign architecture reached its peak.

Although Shah 'Abbas was an enthusiastic promoter of art, he was not as vigorous as his grandfather in determining the course of its development.[2] None of the manuscripts of the Diwan of Hafiz studied in this thesis was produced during his reign.

From the death of Shah 'Abbas I to the disintegration of the Safavid empire in 1722 four Shahs ruled Iran of whom only Shah 'Abbas II is worth mentioning. 'Abbas II was only eight and a half when he came to power. In many ways he resembled his grandfather, 'Abbas I. A competent and powerful ruler, Shah 'Abbas II was an ardent supporter of art and architecture. Not only the Chihil Sutun palace was built during his reign, but the older building, the Masjid-i-Shah, built by his grandfather, was also repaired. A painter himself, he was keenly interested in the arts. The last manuscript studied here (Topkapi, H. 1010) was produced during his reign.

It has been the general belief that the Diwan of Hafiz was infrequently illustrated because his mystical poems, lacking in narrative or overtly descriptive content, were inherently difficult to illustrate. This view has merit, for as we saw in plates 5 and 8, the more established iconography of other poems had to be used to produce illustrations for some gazals of the Diwan. However, it has been demonstrated in this thesis that Hafiz's disregard for the Shari'a and his unsympathetic attitude toward current politics were the determining factors in the neglect of his work by different rulers and patrons. Political-religious considerations were therefore the main elements in the deliberate neglect of Hafiz's Diwan. It was the Safavid revolution that was elemental in the resurrection of the Diwan of Hafiz. Although the Diwan of Hafiz could not be used as an effective means to propagate a certain political ideology, it was an appropriate vehicle by which the most profound mystical experiences could

be defined. Consequently, in the Safavid revolution when the heads of the state claimed to be the representatives of God on Earth and the perfect spiritual leaders, not only were the mystical qazals of Hafiz considered unthreatening, but they strongly appealed to Safavid ideologues. As a result, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Diwan of Hafiz was copied and admired by art patrons who were from both the ruling and the middle class.

In general, the manuscripts of the Diwan of Hafiz studied in this thesis were either produced in Shiraz or Mashhad from mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. The theme of these paintings fall into three categories:

a) Those that relate directly to the outer meaning of the poems depicting either a garden gathering (plates 11, 14, 26), a polo game (plate 28), or a hunting scene (plate12, 13).

b) Those that have a more profound meaning and message and do not immediately relate to the outward meaning of the poems. These paintings sometimes used the more established iconography of famous poems, other than those of Hafiz to produce illustrations for the Diwan (plates 5, 8).

c) The third category neither tried to use the established iconography nor immediately related to the outer meaning of the poems. They, however, have a more profound message befitting the mystical nature of Hafiz's poems (plates 10,15,19, 31).

Traditionally, hunting scenes or outing scenes are used for double- page frontispieces of copies of the Shahnameh of Firdawsi or the Khamsah of

Nizami. It is unusual to have double-page frontispiece hunting scenes for copies of the Diwan of Hafiz before the sixteenth century. During this period, however, the use of hunting scenes increased for the Diwan of Hafiz. Three of the six manuscripts (Topkapi, H.1014, H.1009, H. 1012) studied in this thesis have double-page hunting scene or outing scene.

Much has been said and written about the Diwan of Hafiz produced for Sam Mirza in 1527 A.D., chiefly through the publications of S.C. Welch, the foremost specialist on early Safavid painting. The other six manuscripts discussed in this thesis have not been so fortunate. Left almost unnoticed on the shelves of the Topkapi Museum for hundreds of years, they are eminently worthy of careful scrutiny. Two of them (H. 986 and H. 1010) approach the level of workmanship and refinement seen in the Sam Mirza Diwan of Hafiz; in addition, H. 1010 with its 555 drawings is one of the most abundantly illustrated manuscripts in the history of Islamic art and also offers a superb opportunity to examine in detail the styles of two major seventeenth century artists, Muhammad 'Ali and Muhammad Yusuf. Thus, this thesis, begun as an analysis of the relationship between text and illustration, has also led to the uncovering of significant manuscripts. It is the author's hope that her work, though clearly only a first step in the study of a complex problem, sheds some light on the ways in which Safavid patrons on the art of the Islamic book wished Hafiz's poetry to be understood. If in this process significant new documents for the history of Iranian painting have been brought to scholarly attention, the author has found unexpected rewards.

FOOTNOTES

1. During the reign of Shah Sulayman and Shah Sultan Husayn the Shi'a theologians reasserted their independence of political institutions.

2. Anthony Welch, "Painting and Patronage Under Shah 'Abbas I",Studies on Isfahan, Iranian Studies, Volume VII, 1974, page 490-491.

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PLATE 1. The distillation, consumption, and effects of liquor, by Bihzad, from a Bustan of Sa'di, 1488/89, Egyptian National Library, Cairo.

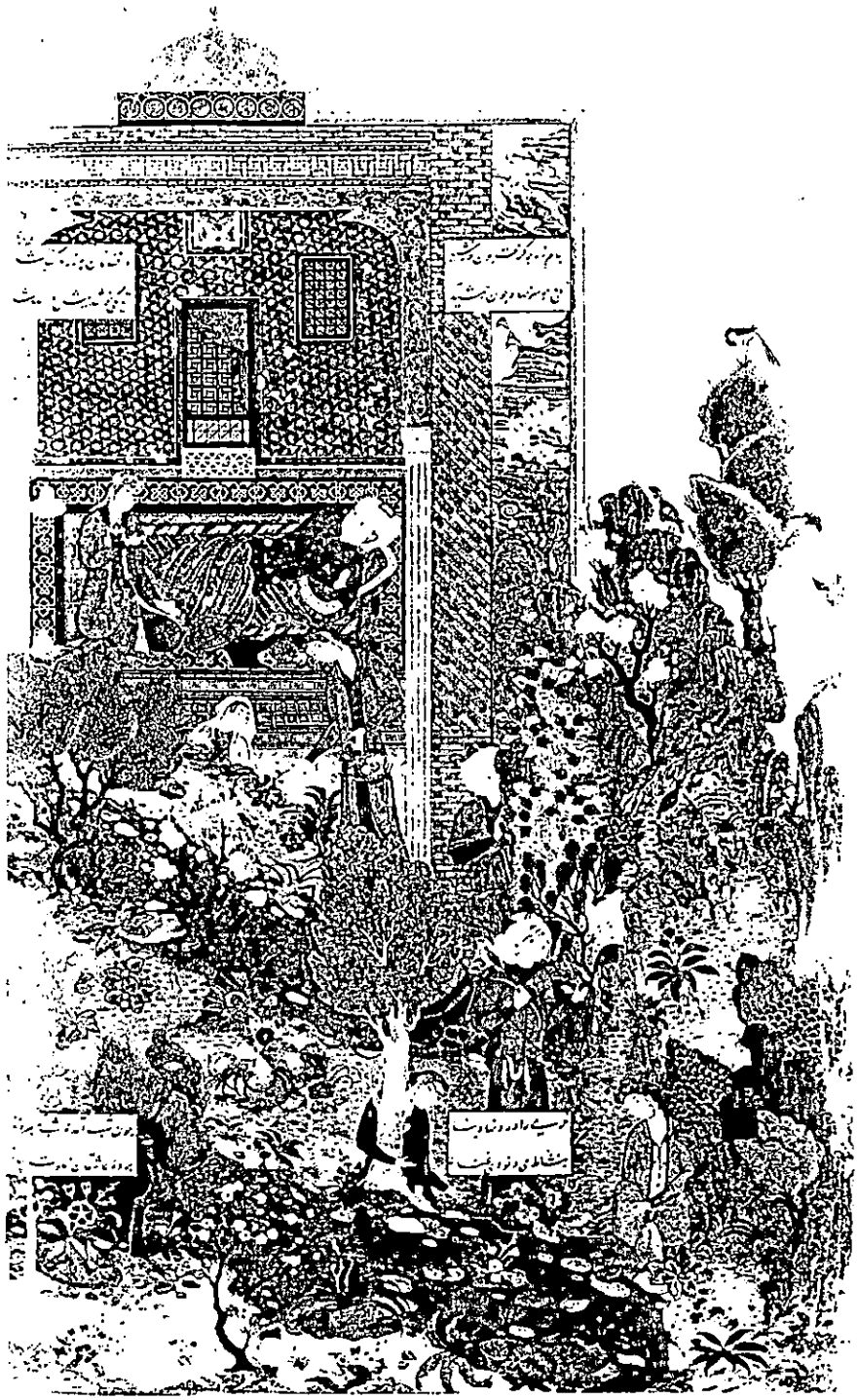

PLATE 2. Bahram Gur in the Yellow Pavilion, from a Khamsah of Nizami, c. 1481, Topkapi Seray Museum Library.

PLATE 3. Jamal before the Turqoise Dome, from a Dastan-i-Jamal U Jalal, c. 1504/05, Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

PLATE 4. A Polo Match, by Sultan Muhammad, from a Guy U Chawgan, c. 1523/24, Leningrad Public Library, D. N.

PLATE 5. Shirin and Farhad, Diwan of Hafiz, first half of sixteenth century, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library.

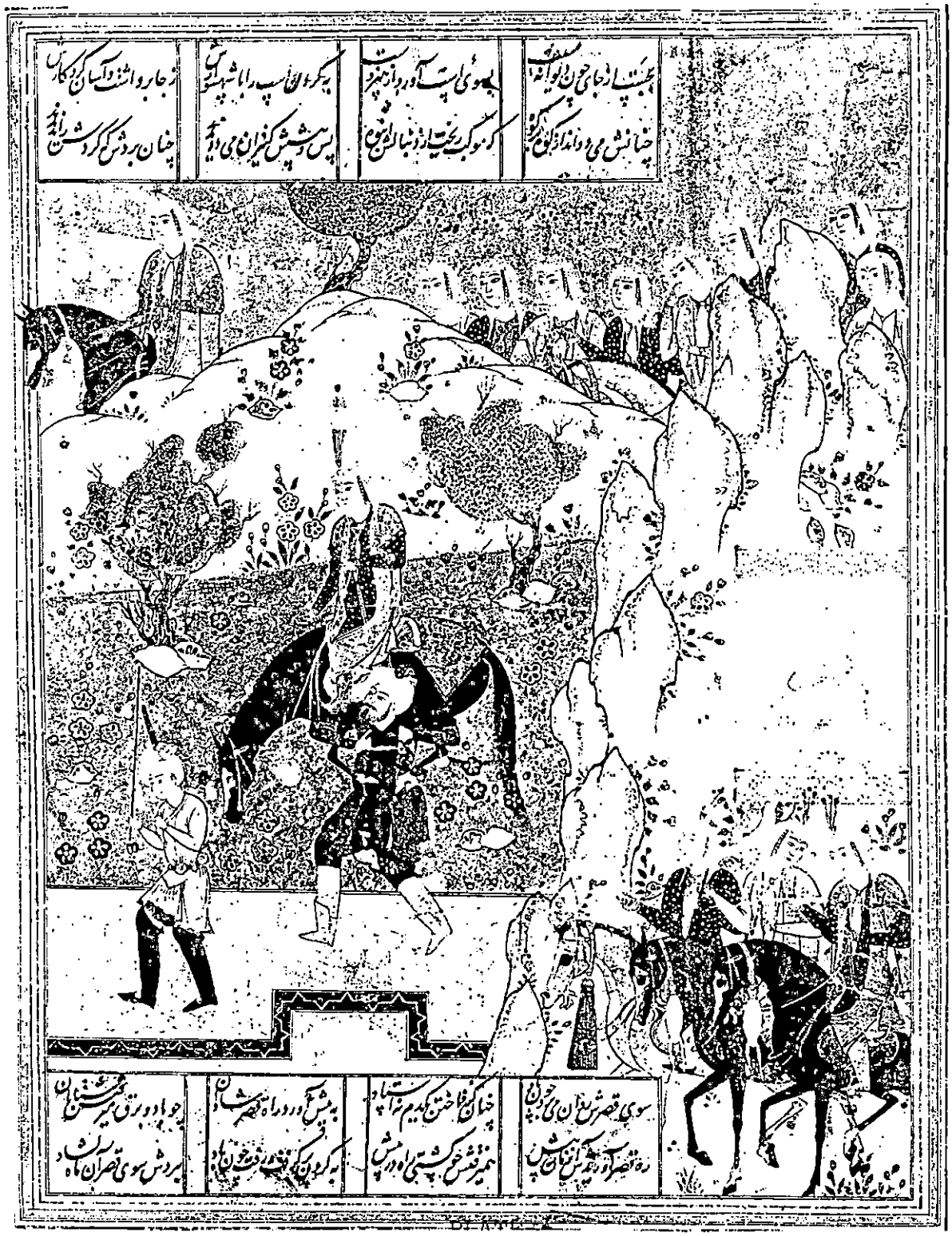

PLATE 6. Shirin, mounted, carried by Farhad, Khamsah of Nizami, sixteenth century.

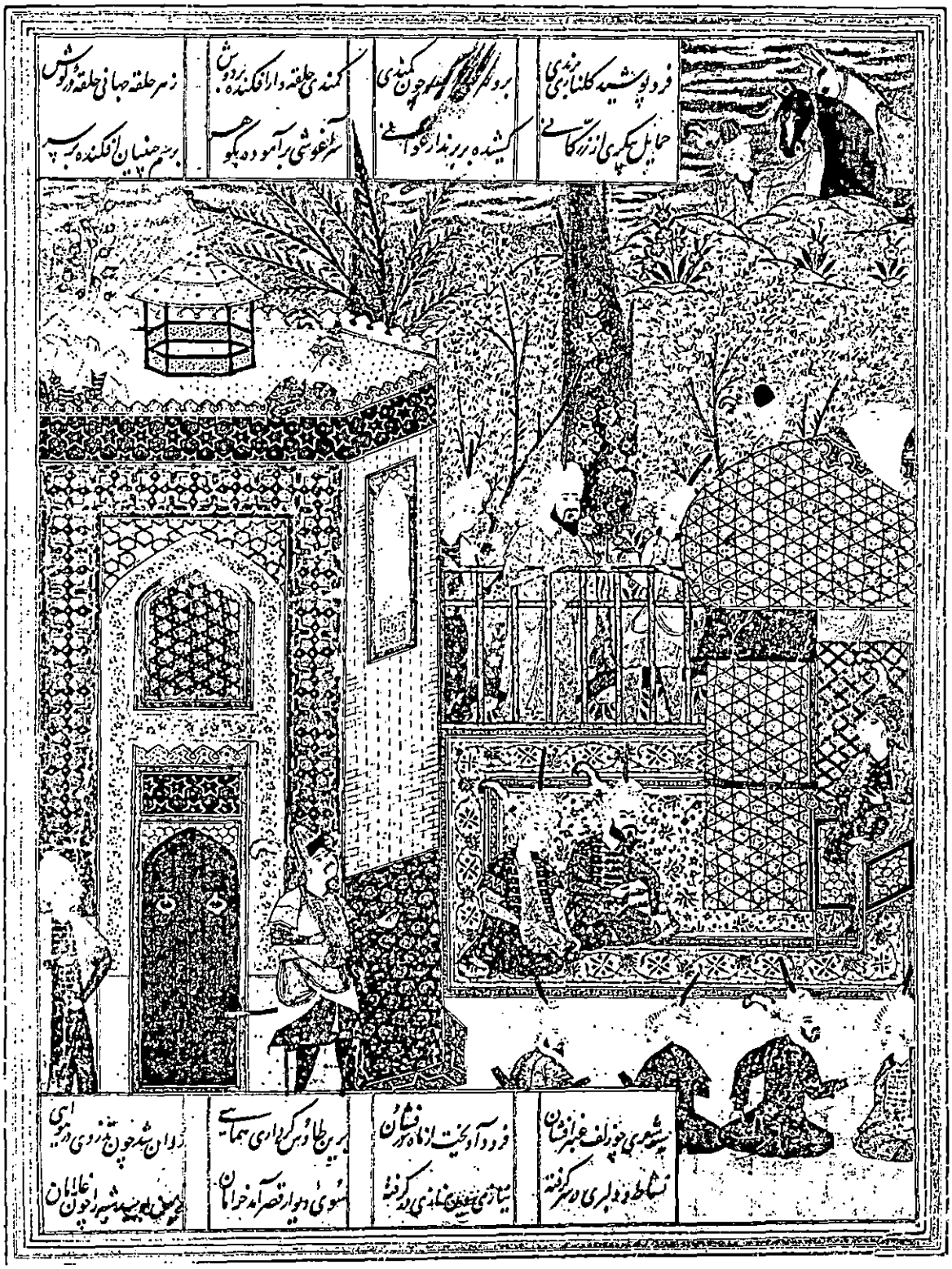

PLATE 7. Shirin grants an audience to Khusraw, Khamsah of Nizami, sixteenth century.

PLATE 8. Yusuf and Zulaikha, Diwan of Hafiz, first half of sixteenth century, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

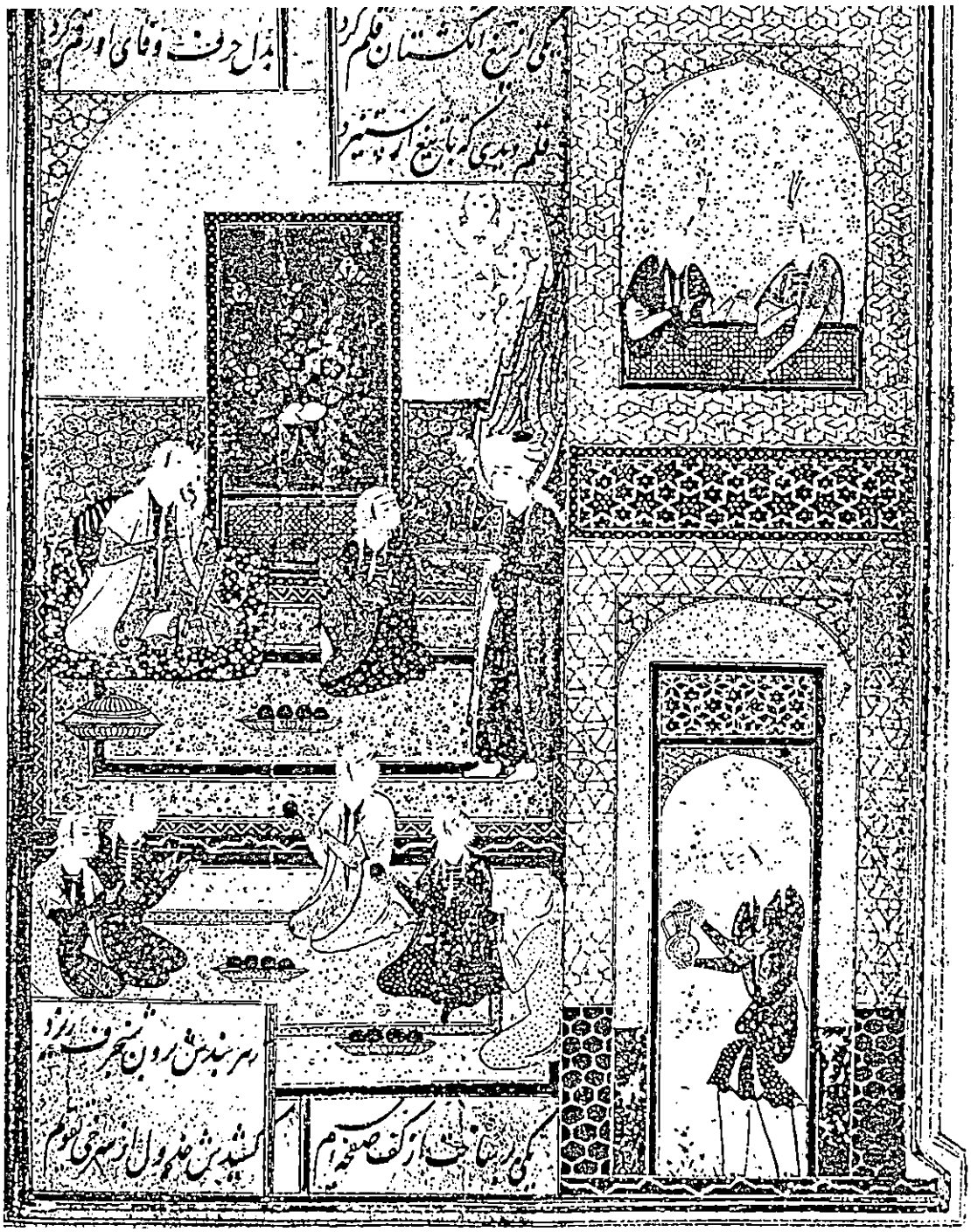

PLATE 9. Yusuf astonishes the companion of Zulaikha, Khamsah of Nizami, sixteenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NewYork.

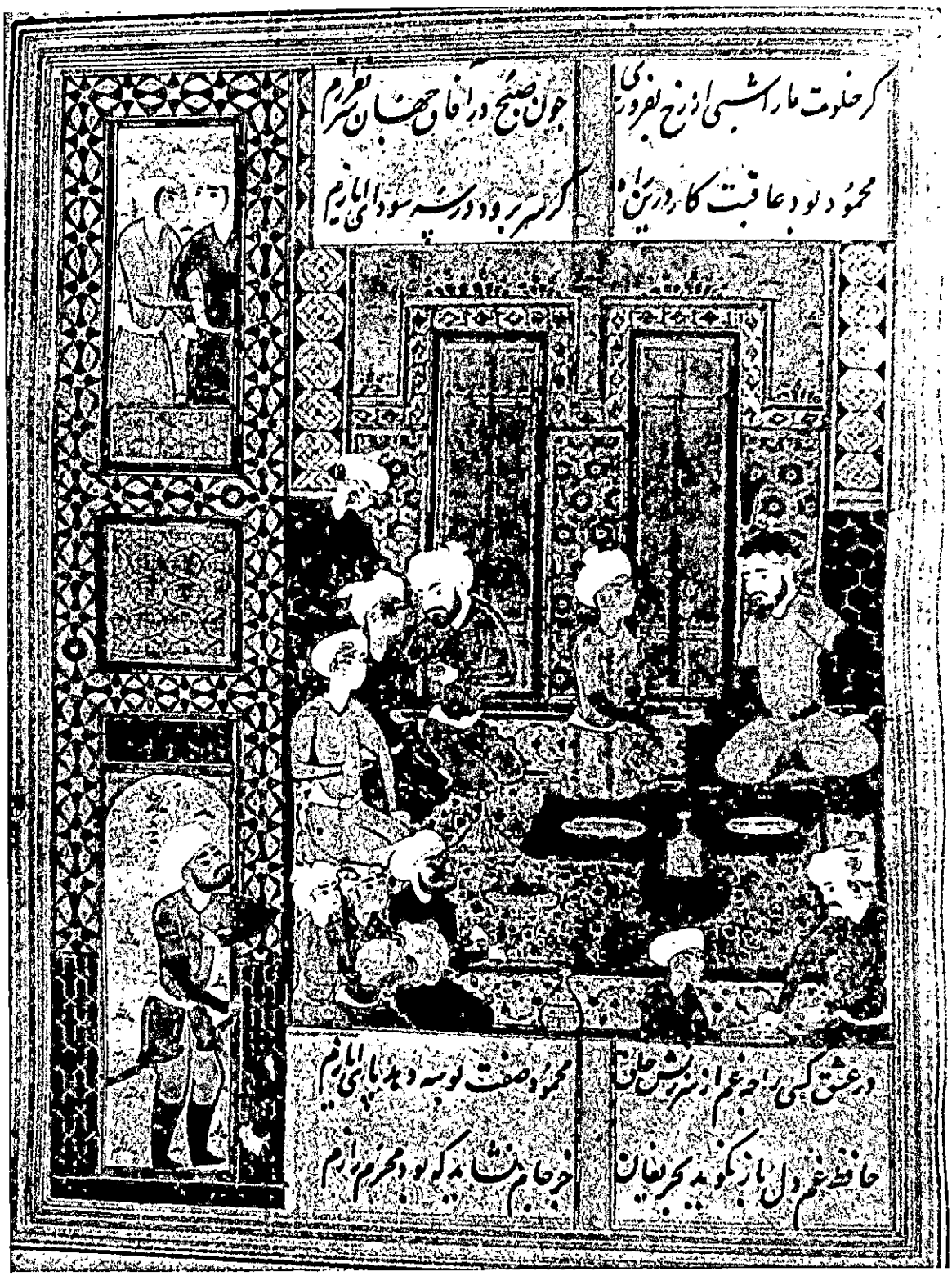

PLATE 10. Mahmud and Ayaz, Diwan of Hafiz, first half of sixteenth century, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum, Istanbul.

PLATE 11. A Garden Scene, Diwan of Hafiz, first half of sixteenth century, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum, Istanbul.

PLATE 12. A Hunting Scene, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1581, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 13. A Hunting Scene, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1581, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE14. A Garden Party, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1581, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 15. Worshippers in the Mosque, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1581, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

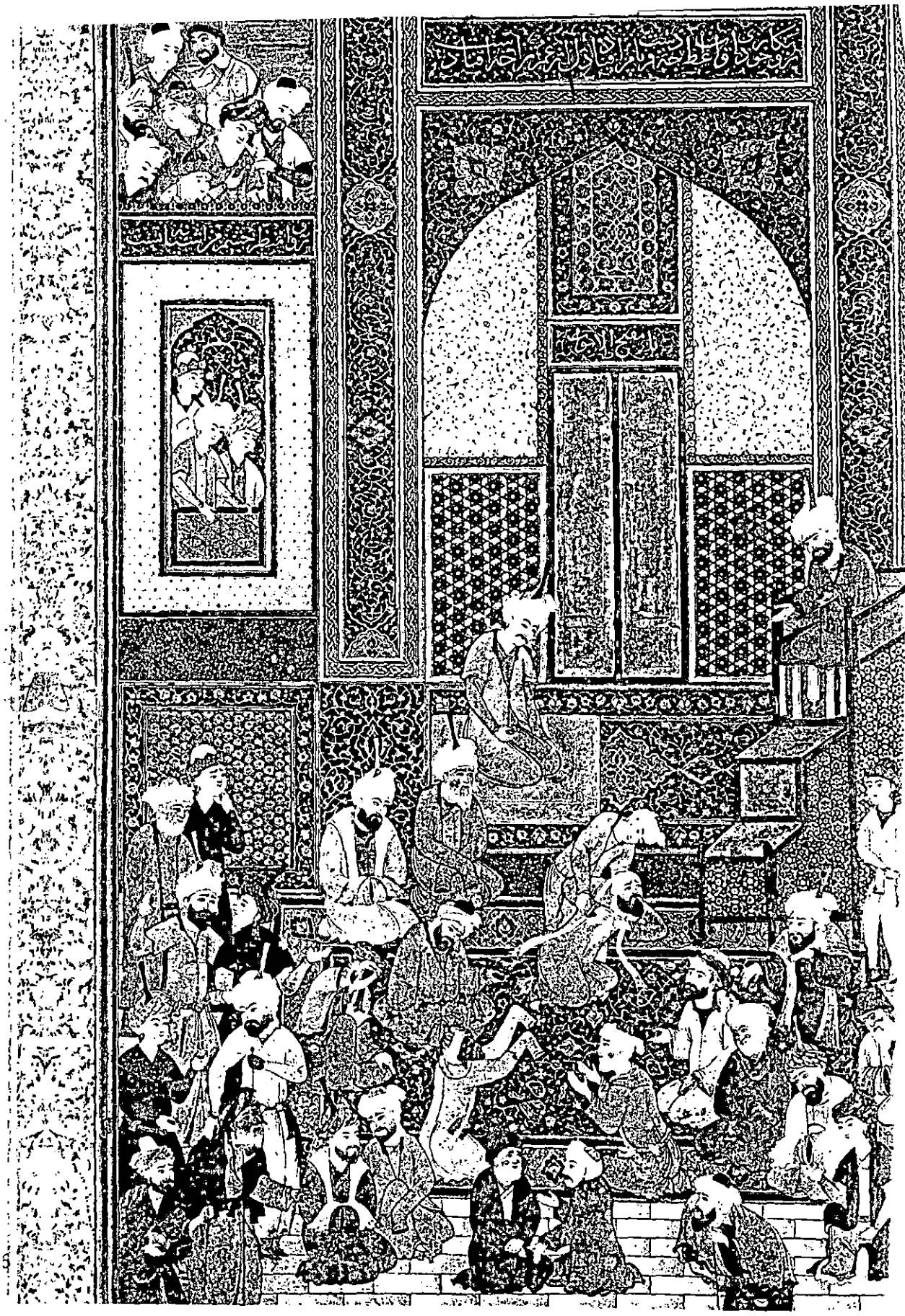

PLATE 16. The Scandal in the Mosque, by Shaykh Zadeh, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1527, private collection.

PLATE 17. A Tavern, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1581, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 18. Worldly and Otherworldly Drunkeness, by Sultan Muhammad, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1527, private collection.

PLATE 19. Dervish's Gathering, by Bihzad Abu Samii, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 20. A page from Sifat al-Ashiqin of Hilali, c. 1582, Previously in the Binney Collection.

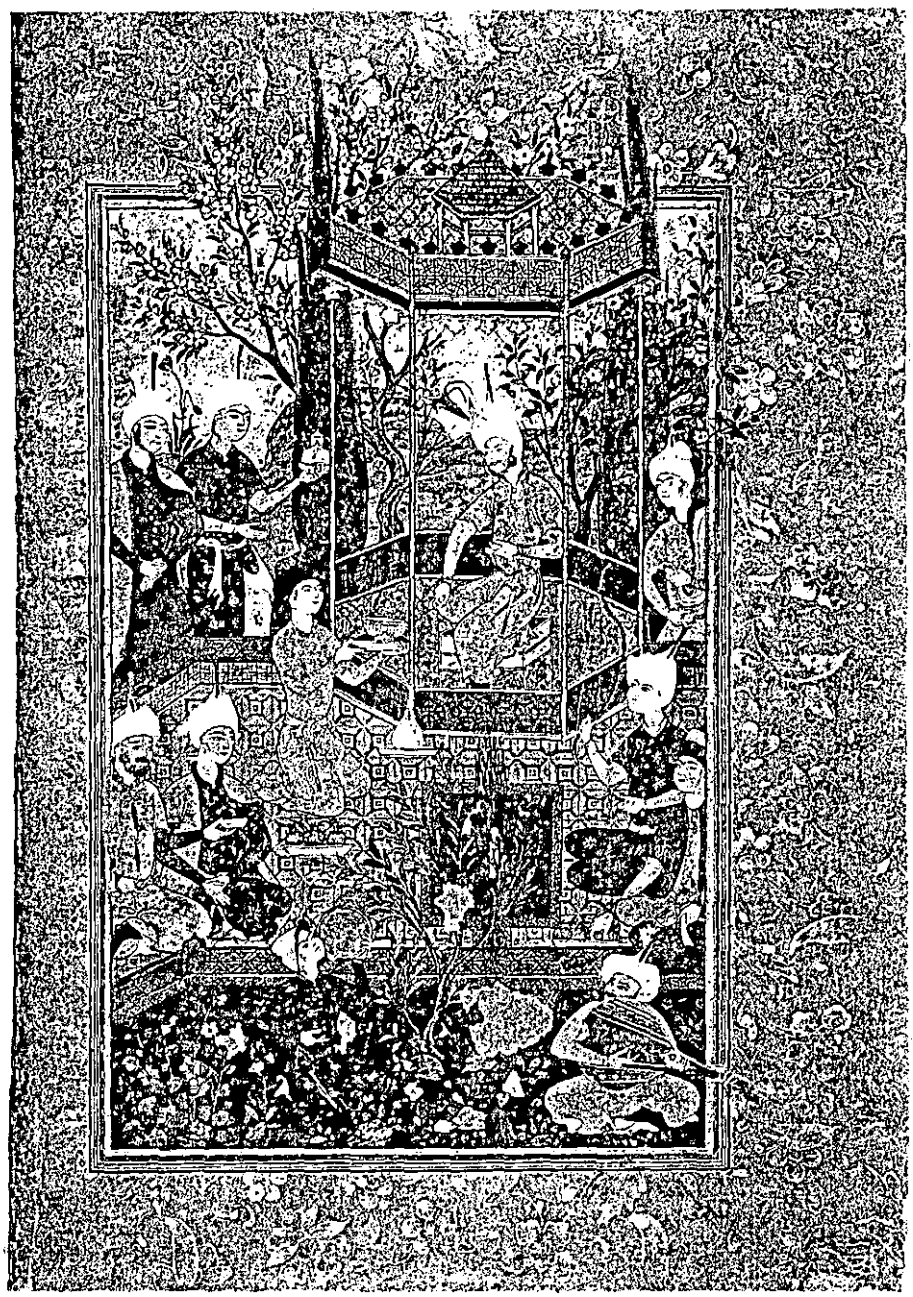

PLATE 21. Ibrahim Mirza's garden party, Diwan of Ibrahim Mirza, c. 1582, The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan.

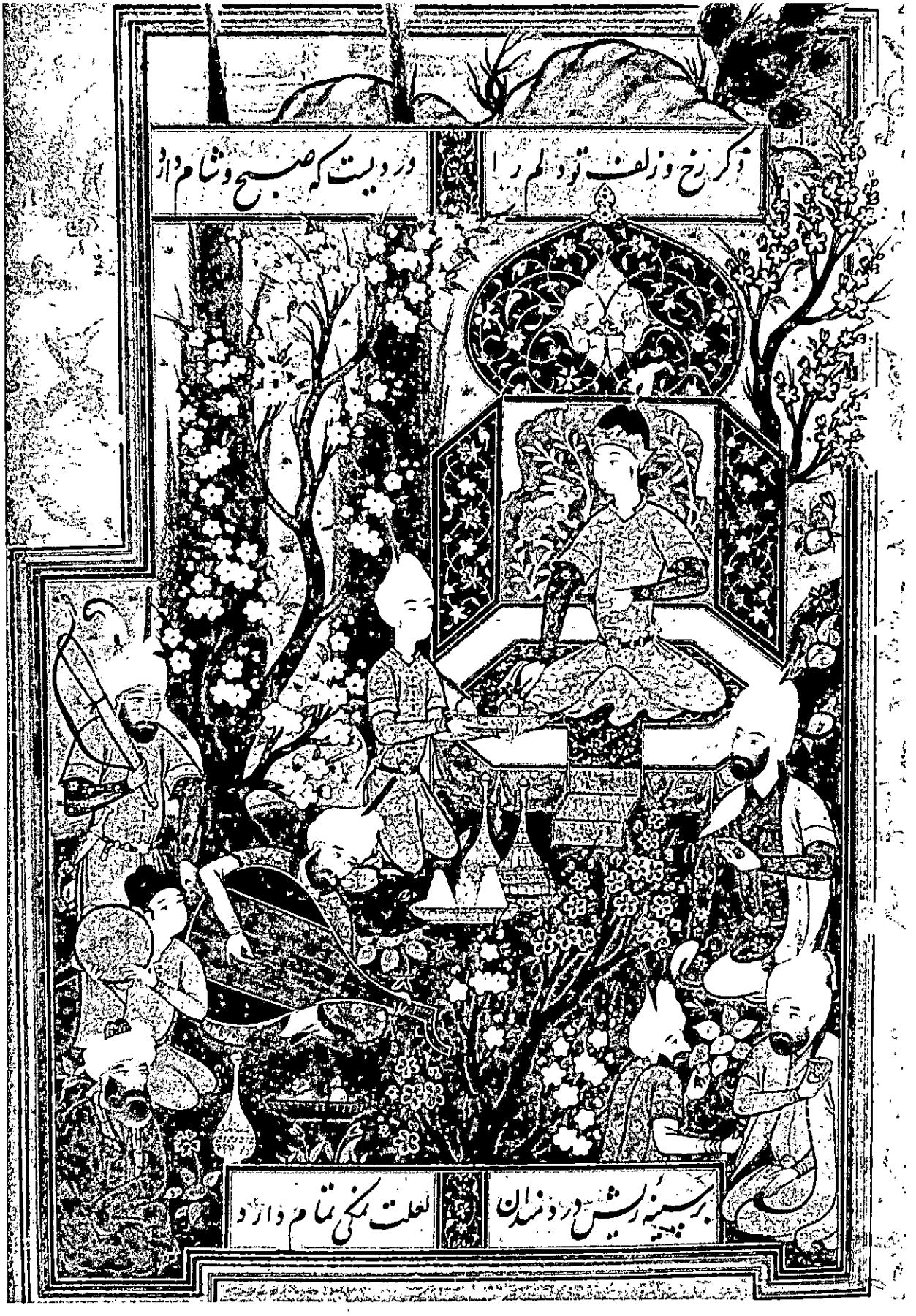

PLATE 22. A court Entertainment, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 23. A Court Entertainment, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

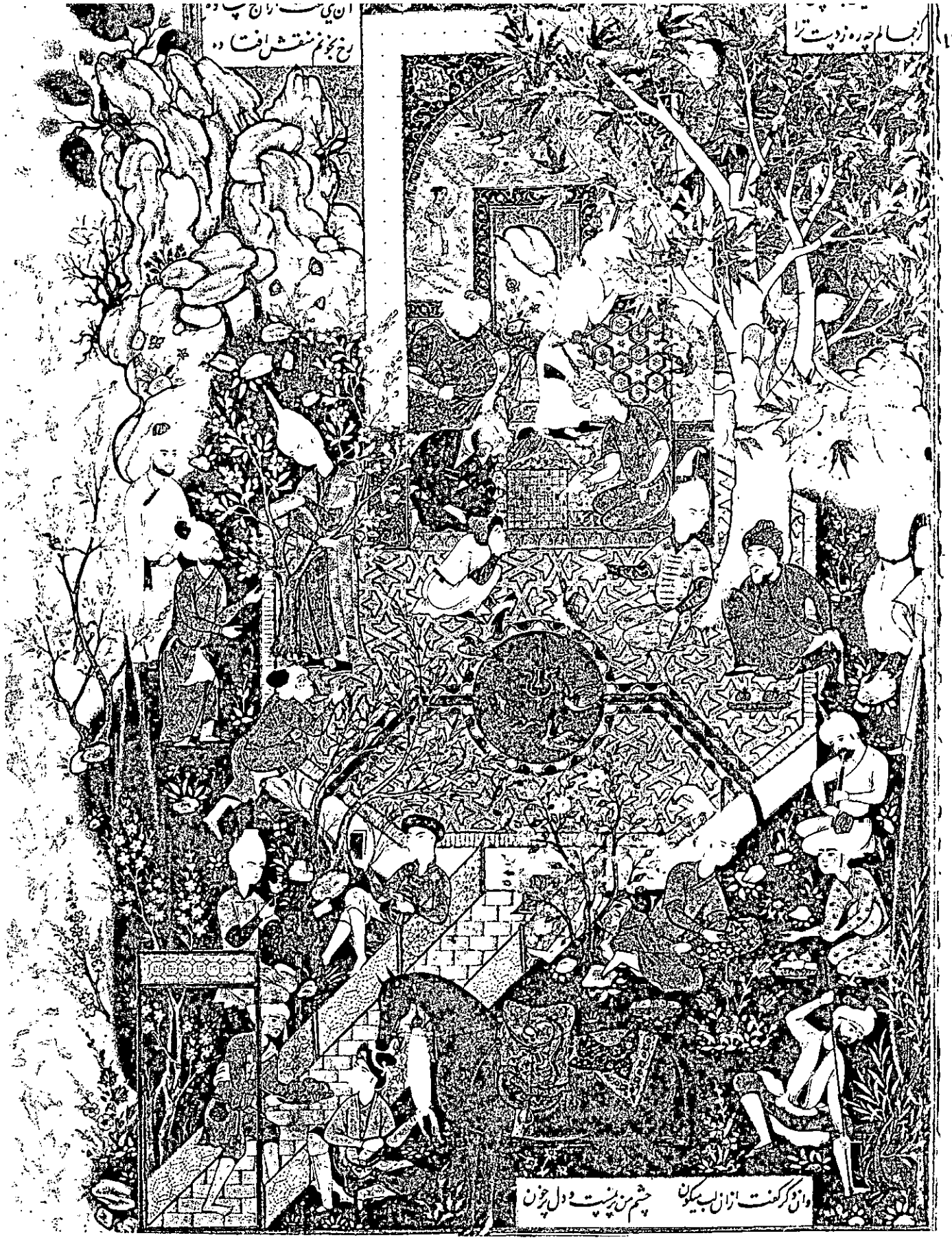

PLATE 24. A page from Haft Awrang of Jami, attributable to Mirza 'Ali, c. 1556-65, Khorasan.

PLATE 25. A page from Haft Awrang of Jami, attributable to Mirza 'Ali, c. 1556-65, Khorasan.

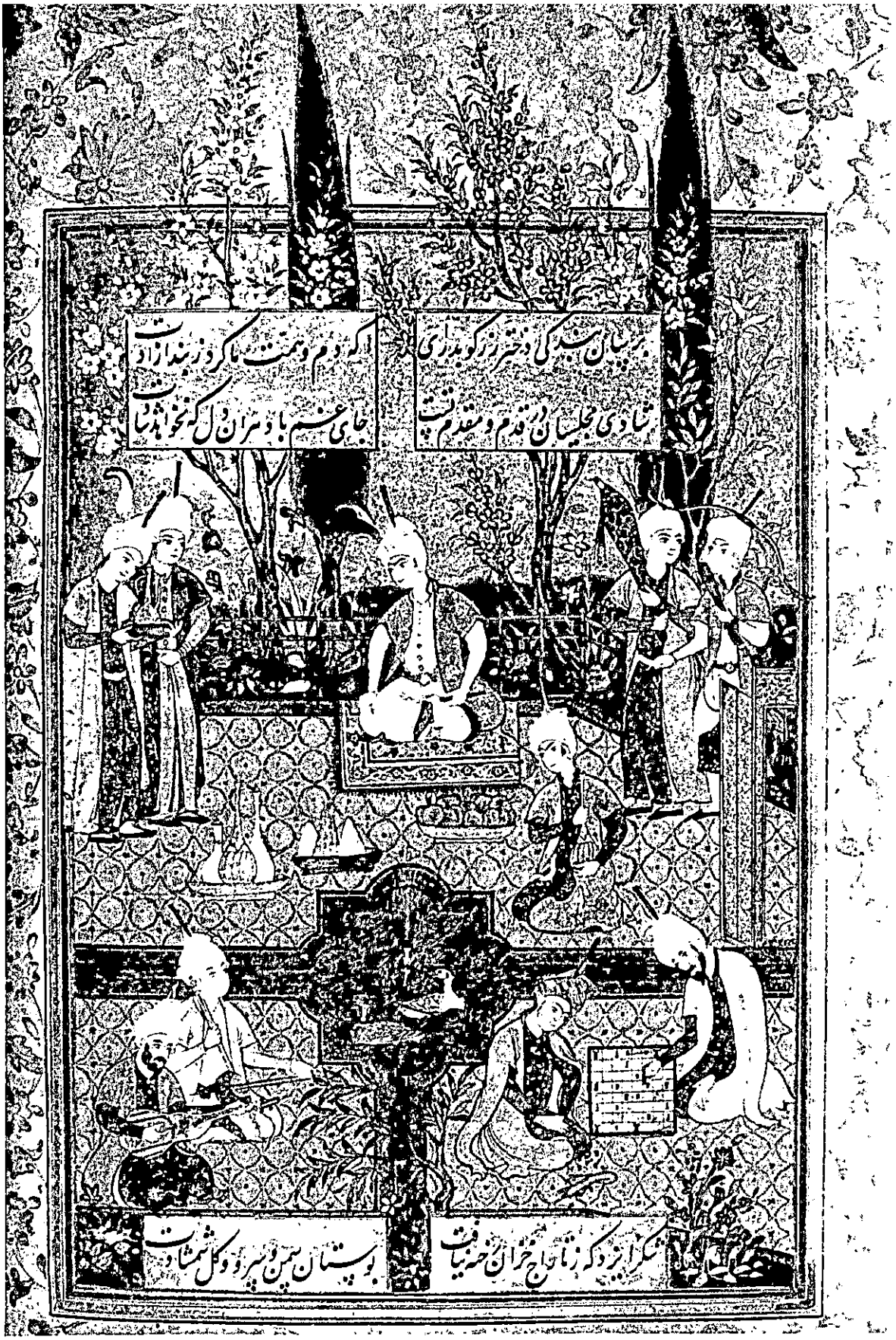

PLATE 26. An Outdoor Gathering, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

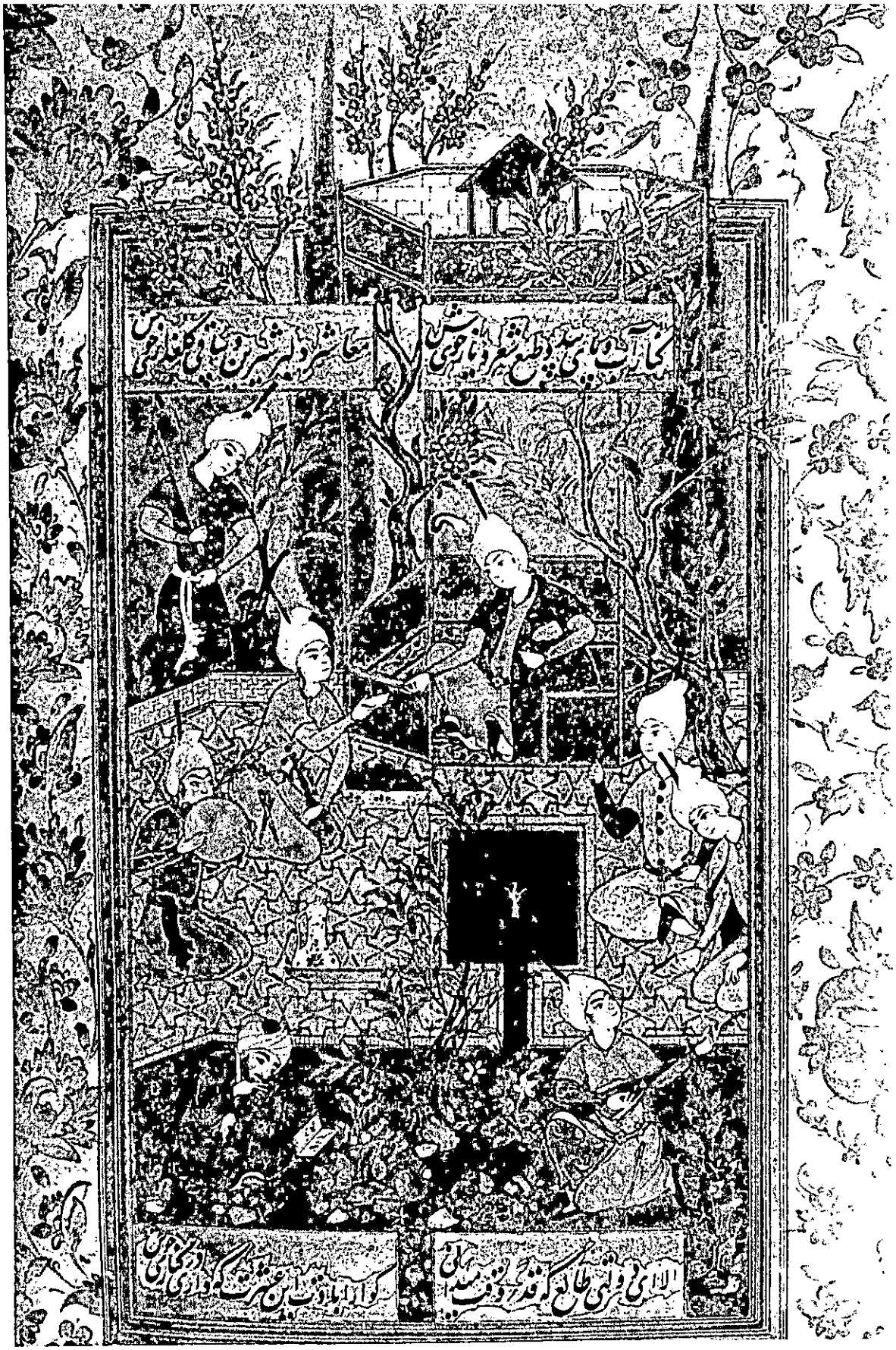

PLATE 27. By a Brook, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 28. A Polo Game, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

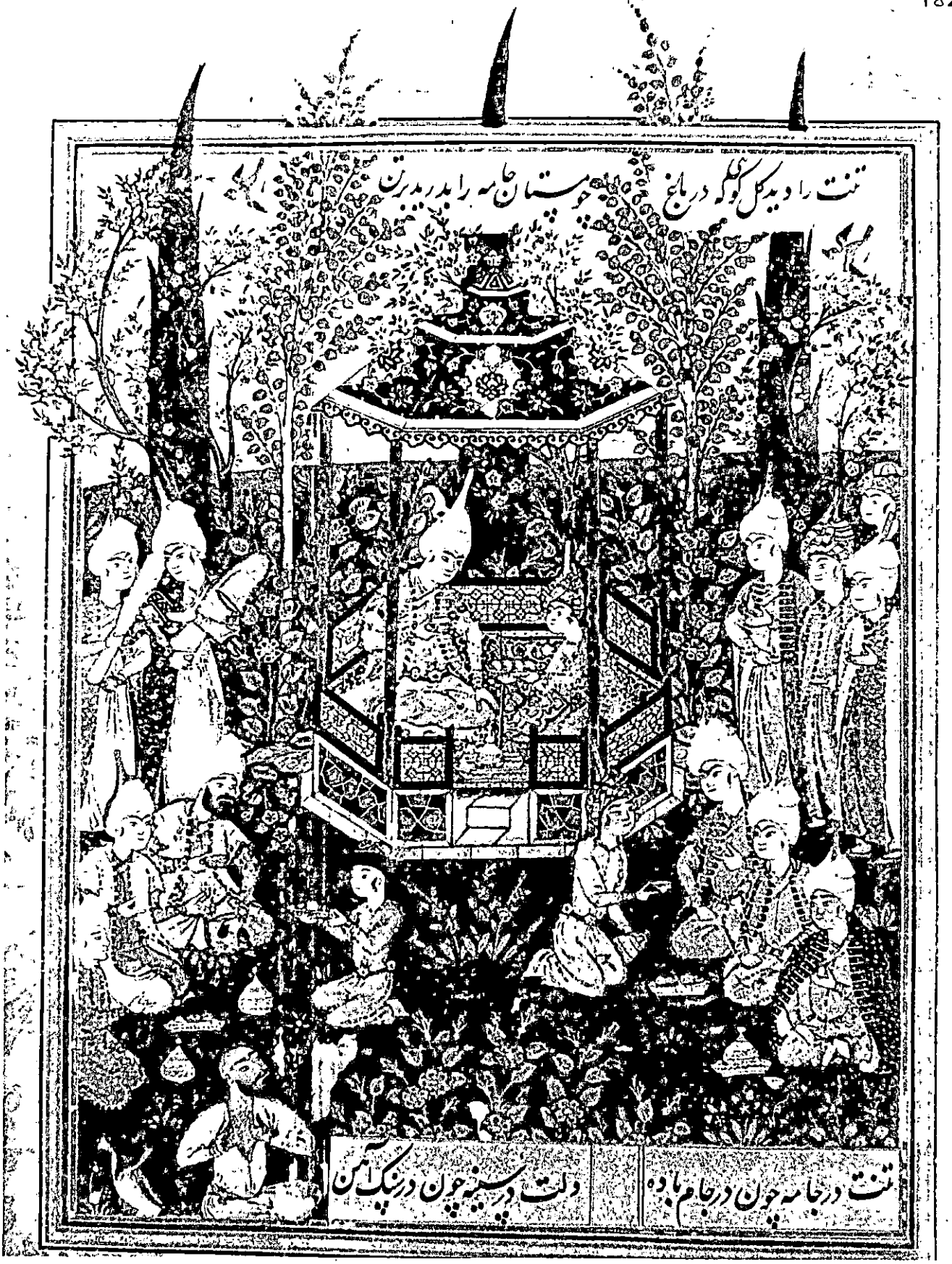

PLATE 29. A Garden Gathering, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

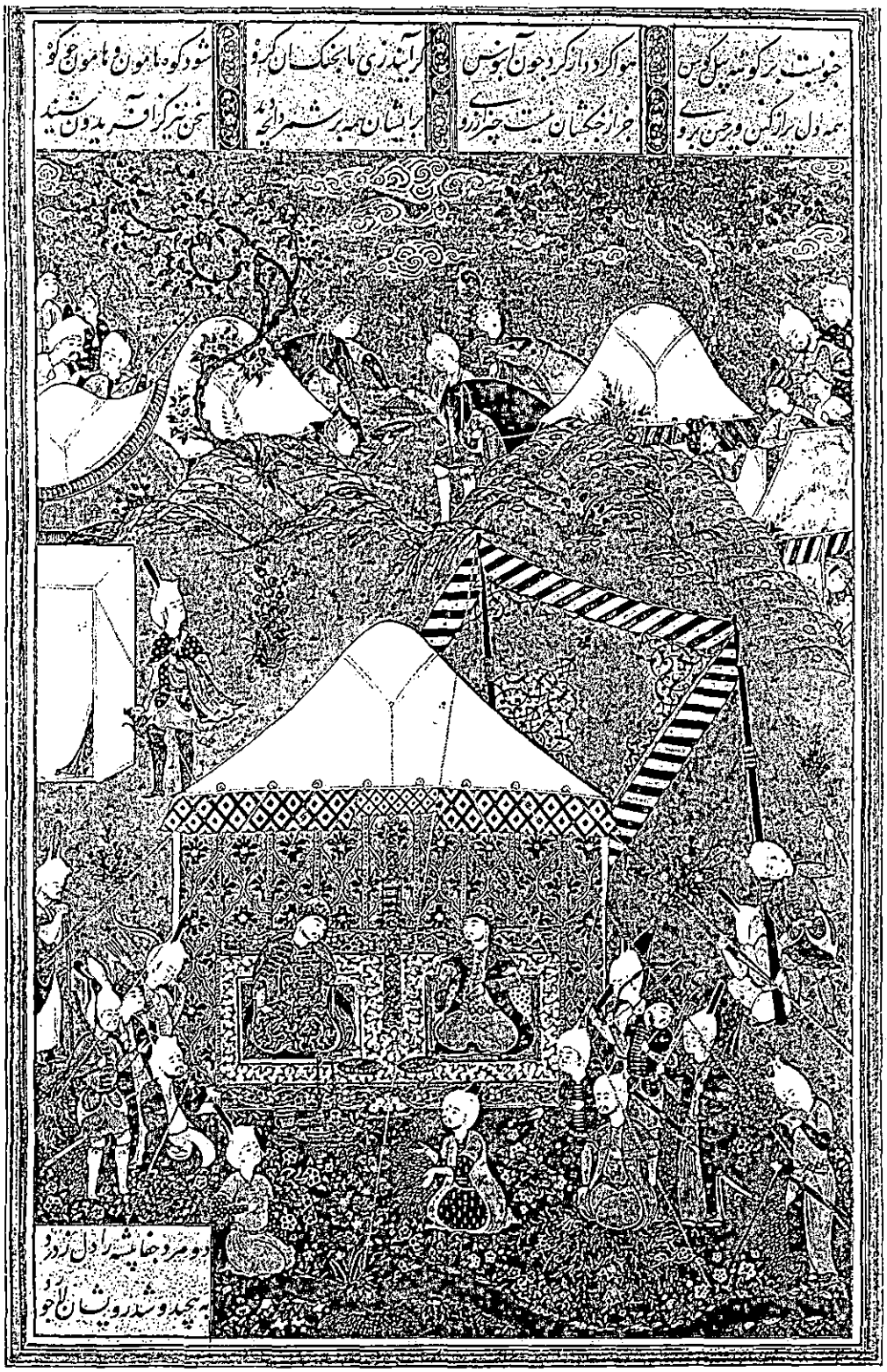

PLATE 30. A Camping Scene, attributable to Qadimi.

PLATE 31. A Court Entertainment, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1586, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 32. A Feast, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1580-85, Shraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

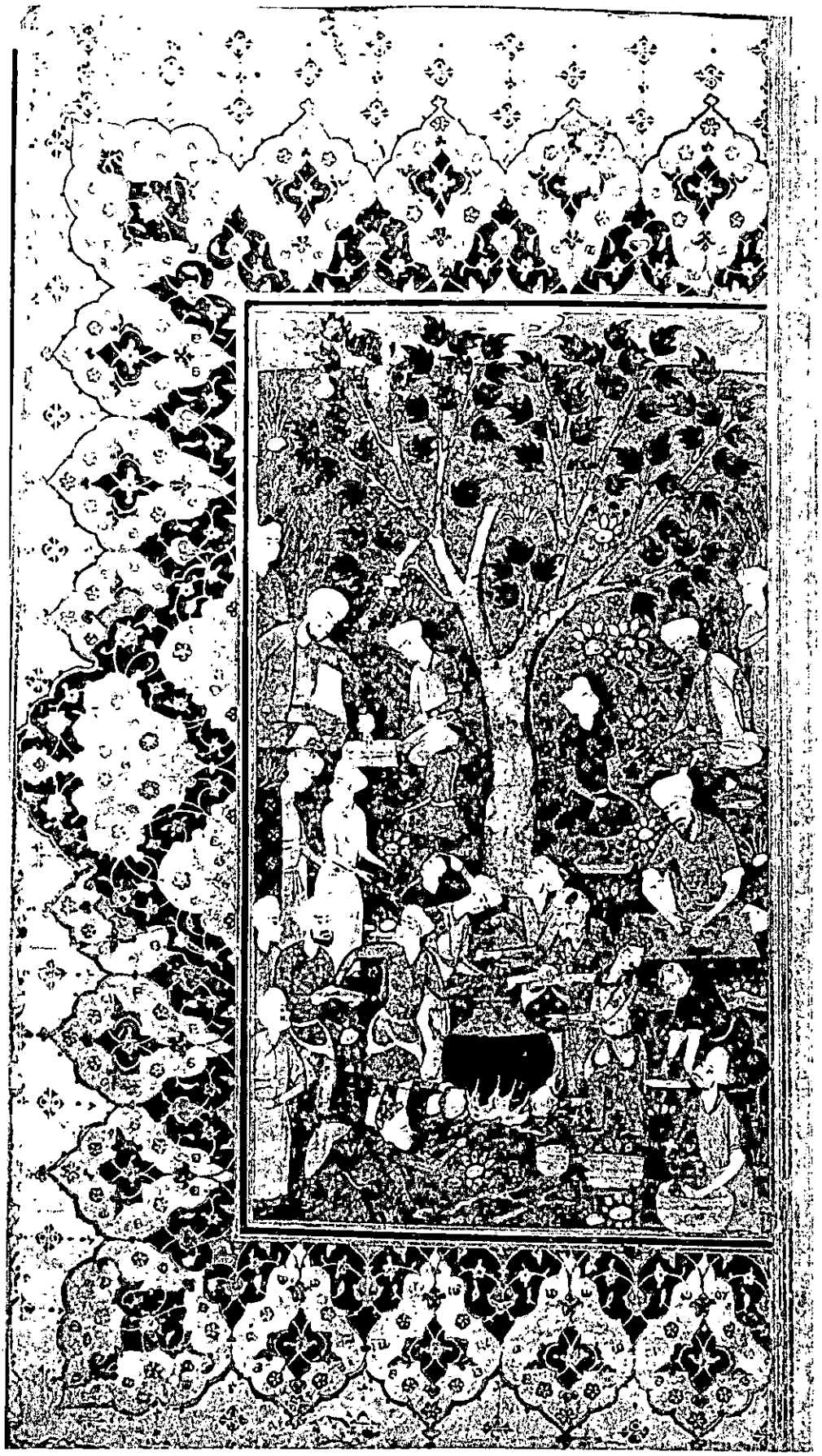

PLATE 33. A Feast, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1580-85, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library , Istanbul.

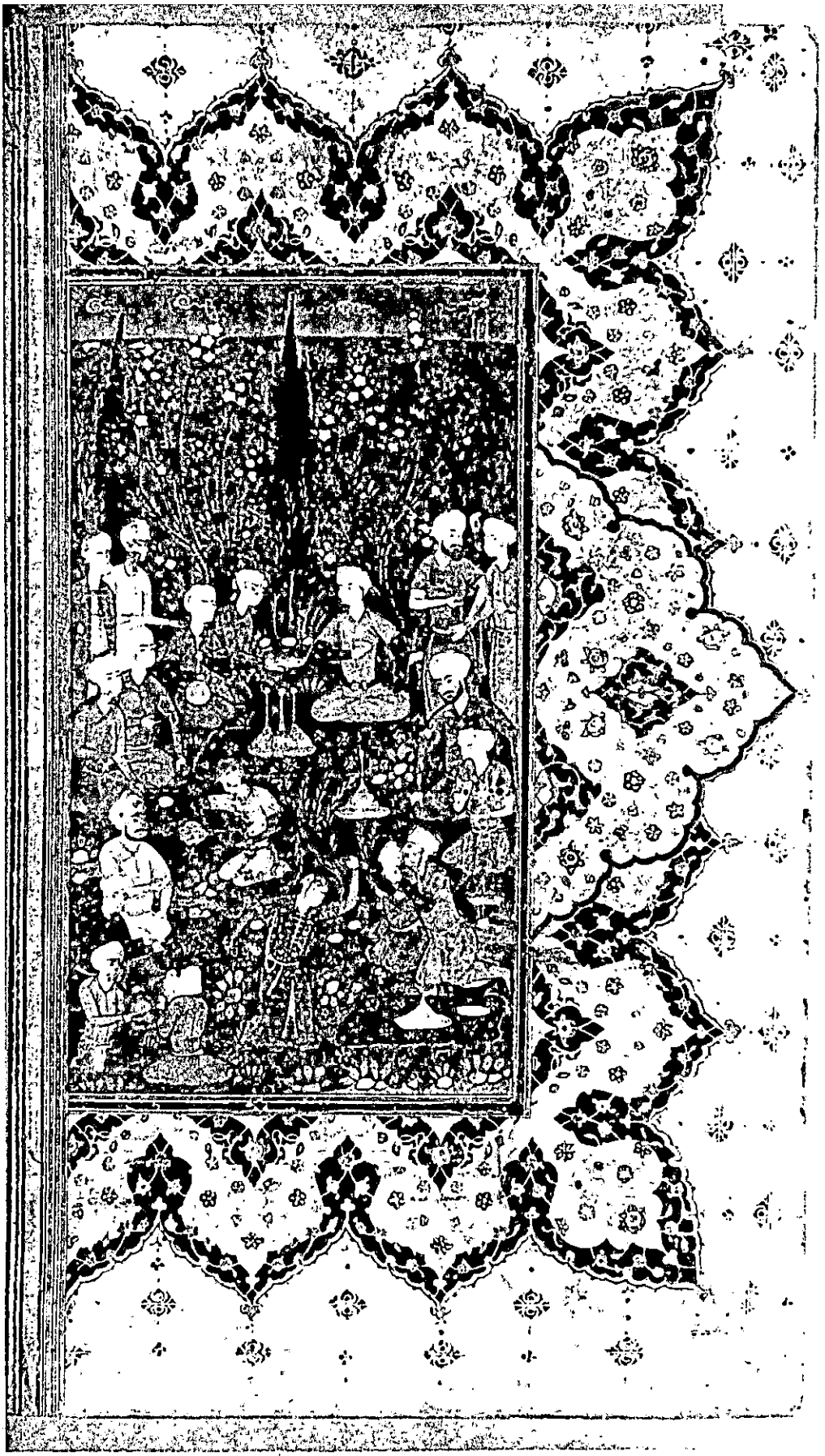

PLATE 34. A Feast, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1580-85, Shiraz, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

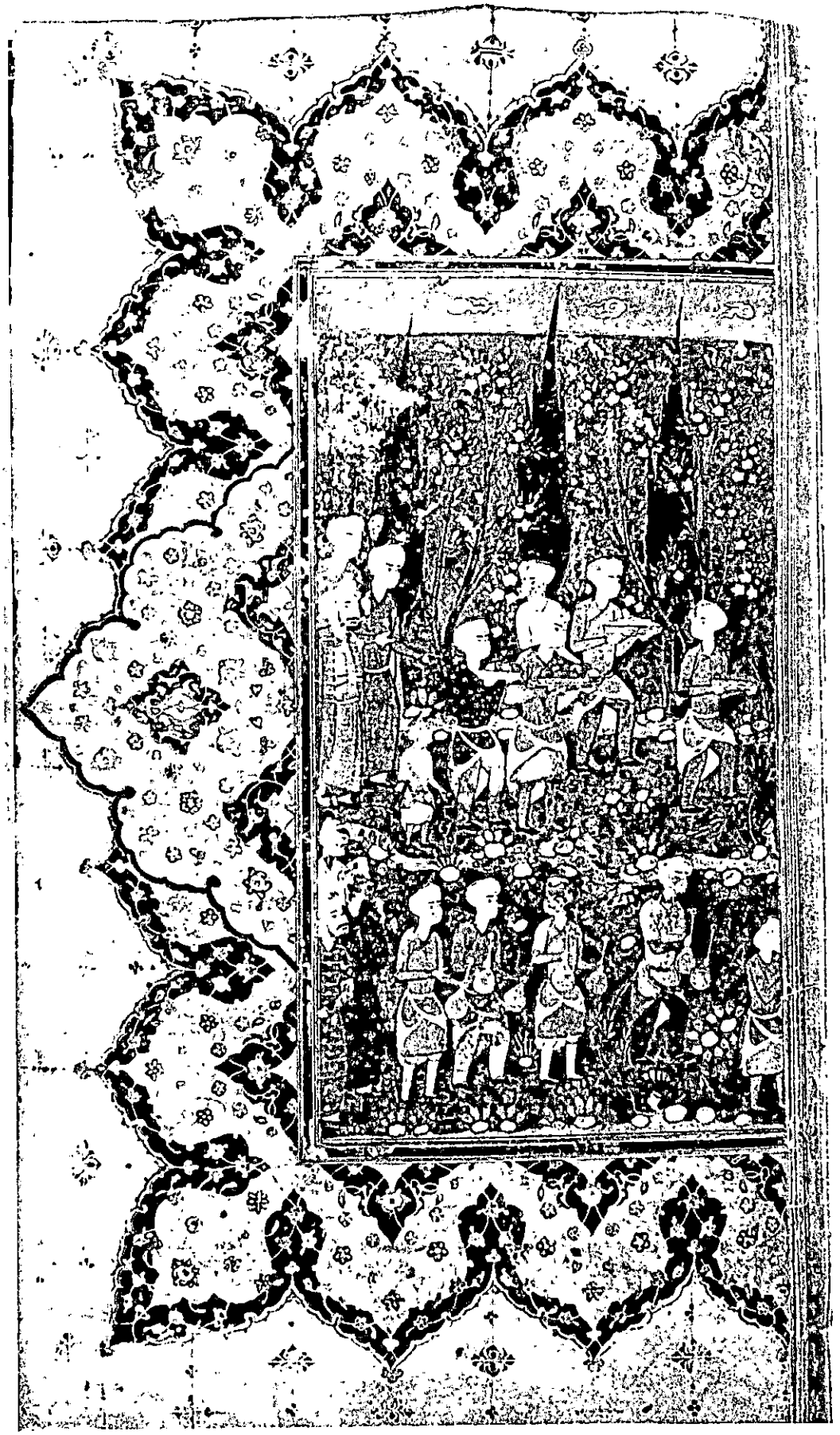

PLATE 35. A Fest, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1580-85, Shiraz, Topokapi Seray Museum library, Istanbul.

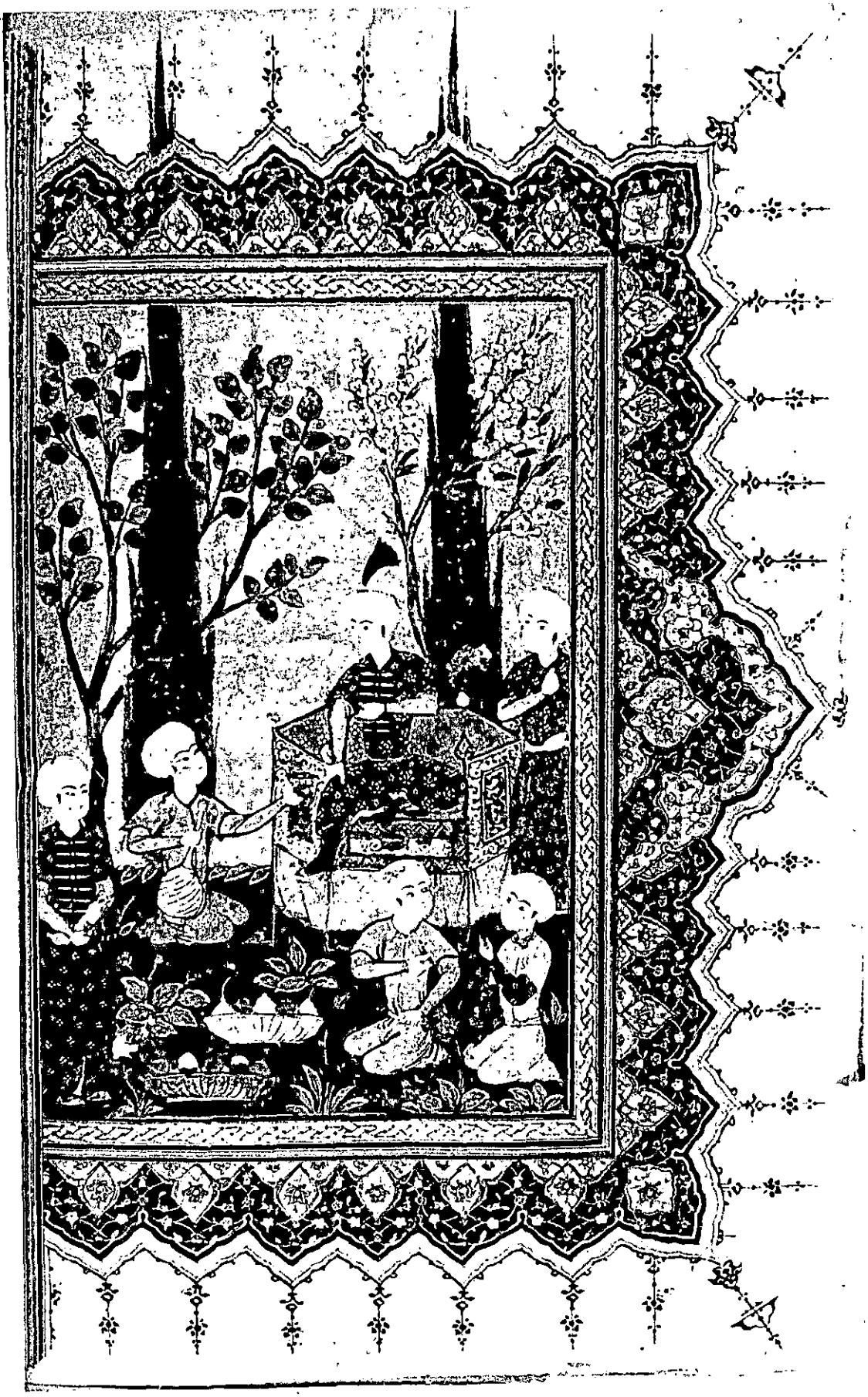

PLATE 36. An Entertainment, Diwan of Hafiz, late sixteenth century, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

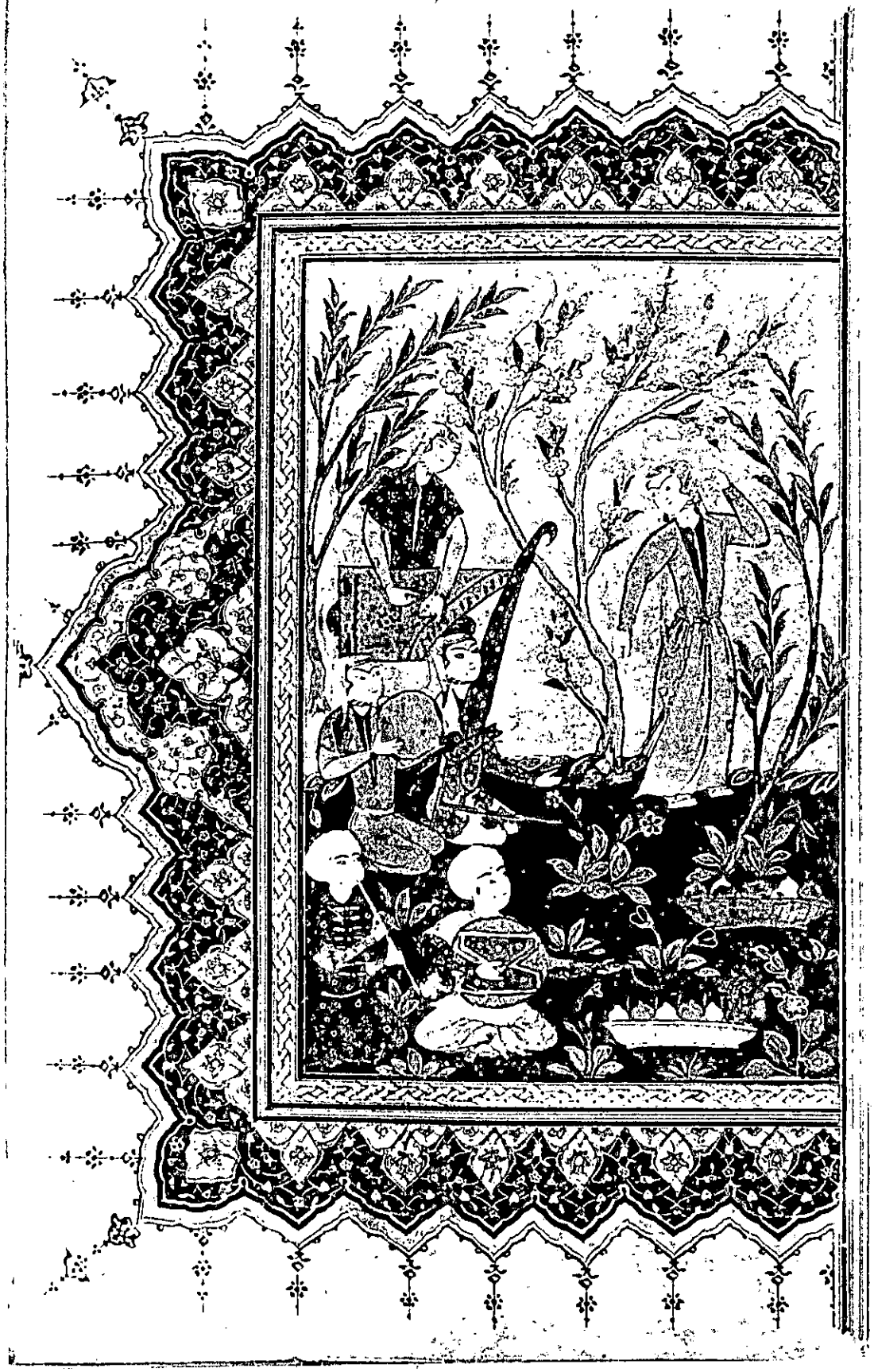

PLATE 37. An Entertainment, Diwan of Hafiz, late sixteenth century, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 38. A Hunting Scene, Diwan of Hafiz, late sixteenth century, Khorasan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 39. An Outing, by Muhammad Yusuf, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1660, Isfahan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 40. An Outing, by Muhammad 'Ali, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1660, Isfahan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 41. A Garden Scene, attributable to Muhammad Yusuf, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1660, Isfahan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 42. Echanson assis dans un Site Rocailleux, attributable to Muhammad Yusuf, c. 1650-60, Hermitage Museum.

PLATE 43. A Princess and her Companion, attributable to Muhammad Yusuf, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1660, Isfahan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 44. Two Lovers, attributable to Muhammad 'Ali, Diwan of Hafiz, c. 1660, Isfahan, Topkapi Seray Museum Library, Istanbul.

PLATE 45. A Pageboy, attributable to Muhammad 'Ali, late seventeenth century, Isfahan.

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Publications:

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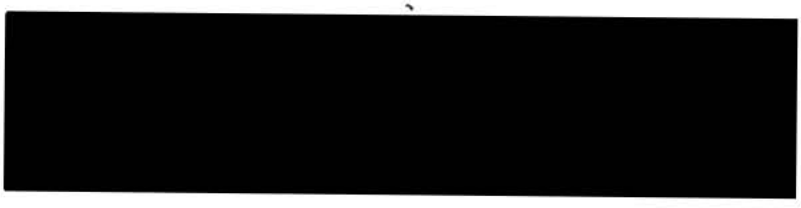
Title of Thesis

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF DIWAN OF HAFIZ PRODUCED DURING THE SAFAVID PERIOD (1501-1722)

Author 

NASRIN ROHANI NEYESTANI

NOVEMBER 15TH, 1987