METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 54

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 54

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 54

VOLUME 54 / 2019

THE MET

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
NEW YORK

EDITORIAL BOARD

Niv Allon
Associate Curator, Egyptian Art

Stephanie D'Alessandro
Leonard A. Lauder Curator of Modern Art and Curator in Charge of the Leonard A. Lauder Research Center for Modern Art

Sarah Graff
Associate Curator, Ancient Near Eastern Art

Navina Najat Haidar
Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Acting Curator in Charge, Islamic Art

Melanie Holcomb
Curator, Medieval Art

Marco Leona
David H. Koch Scientist in Charge, Scientific Research

Dorothy Mahon
Conservator, Paintings Conservation

Mark McDonald
Curator, Drawings and Prints

This publication is made possible by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Senior Managing Editor

Editor of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*: Elizabeth L. Block
Edited by Elizabeth L. Block, with Sarah McFadden
Production by Lauren Knighton
Designed and typeset by Tina Henderson, based on original design by Lucinda Hitchcock
Image acquisitions by the authors and Josephine Rodriguez-Massop

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org. Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 6.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu, website: www.journals.uchicago.edu

ISBN 978-0-226-67696-8 (University of Chicago Press)
ISSN 0077-8958 (print)
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-28799

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Publications and Editorial Department.

Photographs of works of art in The Met's collection are by the Imaging Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional illustration credits are on p. 176.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the authors.

Copyright © 2019 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet
Printed on Creator Silk, 150 gsm
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois
Printed by Brizzolis, Madrid, and bound by Ramos, Madrid
Printing and binding coordinated by Ediciones El Viso, Madrid

Front cover illustration: Andrea della Robbia (Italian, 1435–1525). Detail of *Saint Michael the Archangel*, ca. 1475. See fig. 1, p. 48.

Back cover illustration: Iranian (Safavid dynasty, 1501–1722). Tile panel with reclining woman and man in European costume, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste. See fig. 1, p. 63.

Illustration on p. 2: Qian Xuan (Chinese, ca. 1235–before 1307). Detail of *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, late 13th century. See fig. 10, p. 36.

Contents

ARTICLES

Stone Sculpture and Ritual Impersonation in Classic Veracruz
CAITLIN EARLEY, 8

Qian Xuan's Loyalist Revision of Iconic Imagery in *Tao Yuanming Returning Home* and *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*
SHI-YEE LIU, 26

Workshop Practice Revealed by Two Architectural Reliefs by Andrea Della Robbia
WENDY WALKER AND CAROLYN RICCARDELLI, 47

All the City's Courtesans: A Now-Lost Safavid Pavilion and Its Figural Tile Panels
FARSHID EMAMI, 62

Epigraphic and Art Historical Responses to *Presenting the Tripod*, by Wang Xuehao (1803)
MICHAEL J. HATCH, 87

John Singer Sargent Painting Fashion
ANNA REYNOLDS, 106

RESEARCH NOTES

New Research on a Rare Enameled Horse Bit from the Angevin Court at Naples
MARINA VIALLON, 125

Passignano, Not Leoni: A New Attribution for *A Cardinal's Procession*
IAN KENNEDY, 136

Margareta Haverman, *A Vase of Flowers*: An Innovative Artist Reexamined
GERRIT ALBERTSON, SILVIA A. CENTENO, AND ADAM EAKER, 143

The *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque* by Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Newly Identified Sources
THAYER TOLLES, 160

MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM **JOURNAL**

Founded in 1968, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is a double-blind peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its scope encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The *Journal* encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

The *Journal* publishes **Articles** and **Research Notes**. **Articles** contribute extensive and thoroughly argued scholarship. All texts must take works of art in the collection as the point of departure. The maximum length is 8,000 words including endnotes. The recommended limit for illustrations is 10–12 images. **Research Notes** typically present a concise, neatly bounded aspect of ongoing research, such as the presentation of a new acquisition or attribution, or a specific, resonant finding from technical analysis. The maximum length is 4,000 words including endnotes. The recommended limit for illustrations is 4–6 images. Authors may consult previous volumes of the *Journal* as they prepare submissions: www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications. The *Journal* does not accept papers that have been previously published elsewhere, nor does it accept translations of such works. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments, as well as scholars from the broader academic community.

To be considered for the following year's volume, the complete article or research note must be submitted by September 15.

Manuscripts should be submitted as three separate double-spaced Word files in Times New Roman 12-point type with page numbers inserted: (1) a 200-word abstract; (2) manuscript and endnotes (no images should be embedded within the main text); (3) Word document or PDF of low-resolution images with captions and credits underneath. Please anonymize your submission for blind review.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures*, which is available from the Museum's Publications and Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in endnotes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7–10, fig. 23).

The Museum will acquire all high-resolution images and obtain English-language, world rights for print and electronic editions of the *Journal*, at no expense to authors.

Once an article or research note is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in designed pages. Each author receives two copies of the printed *Journal*. The *Journal* appears online at metmuseum.org/art/metpublications; journals.uchicago.edu/toc/met/current; and on JStor.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 54

All the City’s Courtesans: A Now-Lost Safavid Pavilion and Its Figural Tile Panels

FARSHID EMAMI

This article focuses on a set of figural tile panels, three of which are preserved at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Made in Isfahan, Iran, the capital of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1722), the panels depict elegantly attired figures relishing drinks and refreshments in verdant, outdoor settings. Although previous studies have noted the stylistic and thematic uniformity of the panels, as well as their origin as decoration for a royal pavilion, many questions still surround their subject matter, provenance, and contemporary reception. A study of literary and archival documents reveals that the three panels in the Metropolitan Museum and their cognates in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (V&A), once adorned the now-demolished pavilion known as the Jahan-nama.

The tile panels in figures 1–5, 7–9, and 13 are Iranian (Safavid dynasty, 1501–1722).

fig. 1 Tile panel with reclining woman and man in European costume, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste; *cuerda seca* technique, 41 × 74 in. (104.1 × 188 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.9c)

Through a reconstruction of the panels' original context of display, together with a close inspection of their imagery and relevant textual sources, this article offers new insights into the range of messages they conveyed to contemporary viewers.

The largest panel in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 1) represents a gathering set in a lush landscape with a cypress, blooming fruit trees, and blue sky extending above a silhouette of white hills. Leaning against two stacked cushions below colorful foliage, a reclining woman offers a cup to a man draped in a dark cloak who extends a piece of cloth toward her. The woman's bare feet rest on the man's thighs. Her head tilts toward him, but she does not look at him; instead, she looks straight in front of her. The man's gaze is not directed toward the woman, either. He seems absorbed, perhaps more attentive to a youth seated nearby. Before this young man, ceramic wares of different shapes are scattered amid shrubs and flowers, while standing female attendants offer a gourd, a blue-and-white bowl, and a tray stacked with pears and pomegranates.

Executed in thirty-two square glazed tiles, this panel is among the most eye-catching pieces in the Islamic Art galleries at the Metropolitan Museum, where it stands out for its saturated colors, bold figural composition, and sensual subject matter. Installed in the hall dedicated to the art of Safavid Iran—a gallery filled with intricately woven carpets, ceramic vessels, and miniature paintings—the panel and the other works on display with it offer glimpses of the sumptuous life enjoyed by the court and elites, epitomizing the pleasures, sensibilities, and social milieus that seventeenth-century Isfahan nurtured and accommodated.

Descended from a Sufi order based in the city of Ardabil in the northwestern province of Azerbaijan, the Safavids rose to power in the early 1500s. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, with the support of a confederation of Turkmen tribes, they established themselves as shahs of Iran while upholding and propagating Shiʿism as the official state religion. The long and politically turbulent reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) saw the production of some of the most luxurious works of art in the history of Persianate visual culture, including a lavish manuscript of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (*Book of Kings*), of which one-quarter of the illustrated folios are now preserved at the Metropolitan Museum.[1] But it was after the accession of Shah ʿAbbas I (r. 1587–1629), the fifth and mightiest ruler of the dynasty, that architecture became a primary focus of royal patronage. A few years after ascending the throne, Shah ʿAbbas transferred the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan, where a series of building campaigns turned the pre-Safavid town into an expansive city composed of mercantile arcades, tree-lined avenues, and residential quarters. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Isfahan further flourished as a

fig. 2 Tile panel with reclining woman, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste; *cuerda seca* technique, 42 × 89 in. (106.7 × 226 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (139.4-1891)

cosmopolitan metropolis and a hub of early modern global trade. It was a city where various ethnicities mingled and myriad commodities were manufactured and exchanged.[2]

The tile panels discussed here are remnants of the extensive architectural program that was carried out in Isfahan in the early seventeenth century. They were executed in an overglaze technique of polychromatic tile making known as the black-line or *cuerda seca* (literally, "dry cord"), in which areas of different color are outlined with a special substance over an opaque, glazed base.[3] Whether because it contained greasy matter or because of its particulate nature, the black material used for the narrow borders prevented colors from running into one another during the process of firing in the kiln.[4] First used in the late fourteenth century, *cuerda seca* became the common mode of architectural decoration in seventeenth-century Isfahan. Relatively swift to produce and more economical than time-consuming tile mosaics, it allowed for a broader chromatic range and offered a suitable medium for the massive architectural projects of the age of Shah ʿAbbas. The surfaces of the Shah Mosque and the Shaykh Lutfullah Mosque, the monuments that border Isfahan's grand plaza, Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (Image-of-the-World Square), were almost entirely sheathed in overglaze-painted tiles.[5] But unlike the primarily foliate, aniconic decoration of these religious buildings (which followed a long-standing tradition of eschewing the representation of living creatures, particularly human beings), in the Jahan-nama panels *cuerda seca* was employed for bold figural compositions. A vibrant palette of dark and light blues, greens, yellows, blacks, and ochers was harmoniously deployed over the white-glazed base to render landscape elements and various figures in patterned garments. To a large extent, the striking visual effect of the Jahan-nama tile panels stems from this inventive use of *cuerda seca* for representational scenes.

The Met panel with the reclining woman belongs to a set of three works that first entered the Metropolitan Museum in the 1880s as loans before being permanently acquired in 1903 (figs. 1, 3, 4). In terms of format, style, and subject matter, the three pieces are similar to panels now held by the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 2) and the Louvre (fig. 5). A number of smaller fragments dispersed among other museums, including the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, are related to the group.[6] Due to their accessibility, these tile panels have long enjoyed a special measure of renown, as evidenced in their repeated appearance in exhibitions, surveys of Islamic art and architecture, and studies of Safavid Isfahan. Nevertheless, despite their reputation, the panels have not been subject to a comprehensive analysis as a unified corpus.[7] Uncertainties about their original architectural setting, in particular, have led to ambiguities about their subject matter.[8]

Drawing on evidence from an array of primary sources—court chronicles, European travel accounts,

fig. 3 Tile panel with seated woman, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste; *cuerda seca* technique, 45½ × 54⅝ in. (115.6 × 138.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.9a)

fig. 4 Tile panel with poetry contest, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste; *cuerda seca* technique, 35¼ × 61⅜ in. (89.5 × 155.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.9b)

fig. 5 Tile panel with poetry contest, ca. 1600–1610. Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste; *cuerda seca* technique, 46½ × 68⅞ in. (118 × 175 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA3340)

contemporary paintings, late nineteenth-century photographs, and archival documents—this article situates this set of Safavid panels in their original artistic, physical, and social context. A study of the written record and extended visual analysis indicate that the panels in the Metropolitan Museum and those at the Louvre and Victoria and Albert Museum originated from a single ensemble that decorated the Jahan-nama, which once stood at the northern end of the Chaharbagh, the grand tree-lined promenade of Safavid Isfahan. The reconstruction of the panels' physical setting, based on several less-known nineteenth-century photographs, not only elucidates the spatial context in which they were viewed, but also provides clues to the overall illustrative program of the Jahan-nama, including a now-lost figural tile panel that was once installed on the pavilion's facade. It is argued here that while aspects of the panels might have been evocative of paradise and its earthly manifestation in Safavid Isfahan, their main focus—lavishly dressed women in languorous postures—finds its closest analogue in the performative, urban presence of courtesans in Safavid Isfahan.

THE IMAGERY

In terms of technical finesse, chromatic harmony, and expressiveness, the Met panel depicting the reclining woman (fig. 1) is the most salient work of the corpus. The multifigure composition is centered on a recumbent woman who stands out for her voluptuous body, languid posture, and direct gaze. Layers of patterned clothing, consisting of a loose robe, short-sleeved and tight-fitting blouse, black dress, and striped leggings, amplify her visual presence. Her exposed body parts—bare feet, arms, and chest—further distinguish the woman from the other figures, as do the pieces of jewelry that dangle from her wrists, ears, and neck. The kneeling man, too, is distinguished by his European-style (probably Portuguese) costume, which consists of a wide-brimmed hat and a dark cloak worn over colorful, patterned garments. Framed by trees and physically intertwined, the man and woman form the focal unit of the composition. In contrast to the calm poses of the other figures, there is a dynamic, instantaneous quality to their gestures, as if a moment before, the man presented the woman with fabric while she poured wine into the cup that she holds delicately above his arm. Although depicted at some distance from them and visually separated by a tree, the youth wearing a polychrome striped turban and seated on the ground to their right is closely related to the pair. This young man, nevertheless, appears unconcerned with the man and woman; tilting his head downward, he picks a flower with one hand while he gestures or counts with the other (fig. 6). His proximity to the ceramic wares and bottles suggests that he can be identified as the cupbearer (*sāqī*). With braided tresses (*zulf*) dangling from his turban, his depiction complies with established tropes of youthful male beauty.

fig. 6 Detail of tile panel with reclining woman and man in European costume (fig. 1), showing the use of calligraphic line in the face of the cupbearer (*sāqī*)

The key motifs and painterly style of this panel find close parallels in the genre of single-leaf painting, which first emerged as a major focus of artistic production in the second half of the sixteenth century and particularly flourished in seventeenth-century Isfahan.[9] Judging from surviving examples, both the recumbent female figure and male figure in European costume (*ṣūrat-i farangī*, literally, "European portrait") had been popularized as major types by the 1590s.[10] The pairing of a reclining woman with a man wearing European apparel—shown in various degrees of intimacy and nudity—was also a recurrent motif in seventeenth-century single-sheet works.[11] More specifically, the postures, facial features, and garments of the figures in the Met panel recall the style of Riza ʿAbbasi (ca. 1565–1635). The most renowned painter of his time, Riza produced the earliest extant single-figure paintings both of a man in European costume and of a recumbent woman.[12] Likewise, the circulation of gazes among the three figures in the Met panel finds explicit expression in a painting signed by Riza and mounted on an album page dating about 1610 (fig. 7).[13] Here, a male figure wearing an elaborate white turban is shown in the company of a

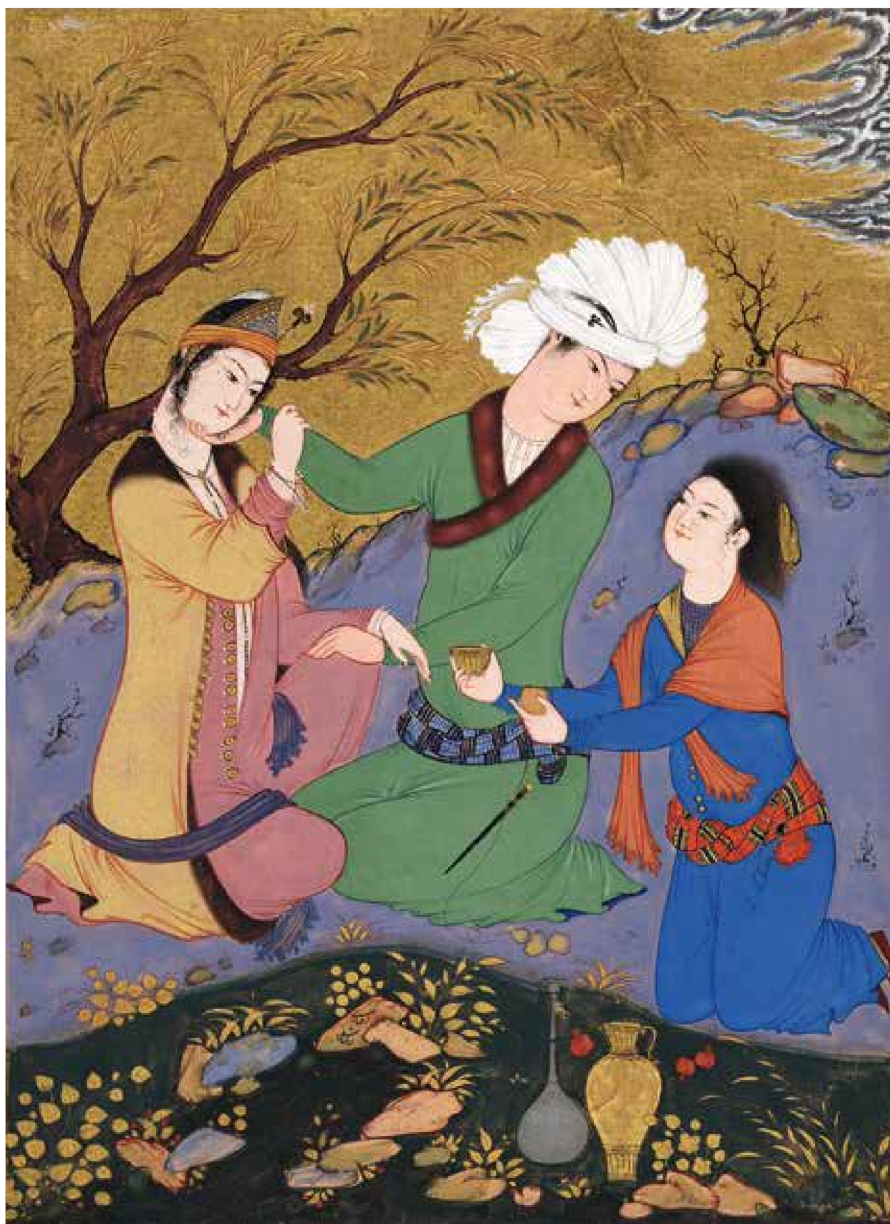


fig. 7 Riza ʿAbbasi (ca. 1565–1635). *Lovers in a Garden*, ca. 1610. Page from an album; opaque watercolor, ink, gold, and silver on paper, painting 7½ × 5½ in. (19 × 14 cm); page 13⁵⁄₁₆ × 8¾ in. (33.8 × 22.3 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Donald E. Frederick (50.111)

woman and a young *sāqī*, who kneels on the ground. While the man is in intimate bodily contact with the woman, his gaze is fixed on the youth's face. These differing modes of engagement—bodily and scopic—point to common notions of beauty and homoerotic desire at the time; the attraction of the youth lies in his face while the allure of the woman (most likely a courtesan) lies in physical intimacy. Similar conceptions of the gaze, beauty, and intimacy underlie the configuration of the three main figures in the Met panel depicting the reclining woman. What is striking and novel in the Met panel is the woman's compositional centrality as well as the way she gazes at the viewer. These features can be better appreciated by considering the original physical context of the panel as well as its likely source of inspiration, as will be discussed below.

In addition to these thematic affinities, the painterly technique used to render the figures in the Met panel, too, is reminiscent of Riza's style: the modulated black lines outlining the facial features and hands of the subjects appear not to have been drawn with a regular brush but rather with a reed pen with an oblique nib, as in calligraphy (fig. 6). The manner in which these lines shrink and expand is akin to the aesthetics of the *nastaʿlīq*, a cursive script first popularized in the fourteenth century.[14] A hallmark of Riza's paintings and drawings, these calligraphic lines were likely directly outlined on the tile surface by a master painter, probably in a single movement of the hand. The delicate pose of the woman's hand and the peculiar expression on the face of the *sāqī* (fig. 6), for example, issue from this exceptional handling of modulated lines. The use of the calligraphic style further ties the panels to the artistic milieu of Isfahan in the early seventeenth century.[15]

With respect to theme and composition, the piece closest to the Met panel with the reclining woman—and the best-preserved work of the entire corpus—is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 2). The number and arrangement of figures in this and in the Met panel are analogous, and considering that the Met panel likely had a border similar to the one in the V&A panel (and that a vertical row of four tiles depicting an attendant on the left in the Met panel is now missing), it seems that originally the overall shape and size of both panels were identical.[16] In the V&A panel, the same trio occupies the center of the composition: a kneeling man offers a piece of cloth to a woman who leans on cushions and displays the soles of her feet, while another young man is shown seated nearby and female servants stand on both sides. In both panels, the *sāqī* and the female servant standing behind him are almost entirely analogous, with only subtle variations in the patterns and hues of their garments. However, despite the similarity of their postures, the reclining women and their suitors bear distinctive differences: the kneeling man in the V&A panel is dressed in more conventional local clothing of the time, and the reclining woman is rendered with a relatively lean body and more delicate facial features. The woman in the V&A panel also wears a peaked cap that is markedly different from the corresponding headgear in the Met panel and her bare feet are dyed in henna.[17] What is more, as compared to the calligraphic outlines used in the Met panel, the facial features rendered in the V&A piece—especially the lips and eyes—appear to be by a different hand and are closer to the style associated with the city of Qazvin, the former Safavid capital under Shah Tahmasp.[18]

Another panel in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 3) shares several features with the V&A panel and the Met panel with the reclining woman. As with the works discussed above, a woman is at the center of the composition. Here, however, she is seated upright on a platform rather than reclined on the ground. Nevertheless, her languid pose holding a goblet mirrors the figures in the panels discussed above.[19] On the right, a man in European costume with a sword attached to his sash holds a goblet in one hand and his hat in the other.[20] Opposite him, another man wearing a European hat carries two large vases. The inclusion of two men in European-style costume suggests that the *ṣūrat-i farangī* was a recurring type across the corpus. Nevertheless, an examination of the panel suggests that it is a composite scene that was probably assembled from elements of at least two distinct panels after they were removed from the pavilion.[21]

Finally, two other panels—one at the Metropolitan Museum and a better-preserved example at the Louvre (figs. 4, 5)—are closely related to the group, though both lack a reclining or seated woman.[22] Each depicts three men and a woman in a garden setting. The standing woman on the right holds a bowl, identifying her as a servant. The standing figure on the left, who appears empty-handed, likely is not a servant but is instead related to the seated group. The two scenes are based on the same design, albeit with subtle variations in textile colors and landscape elements—there are two miniature ponds, for instance, in the foreground of the Met's piece. The cobalt blue sky in the Met panel suggests that it was likely conceived as the nighttime counterpart to the Louvre's version.

In both works, the seated figures appear to be engaged in writing poetry or performing a poetry contest (*mushāʿira*), as they each are shown holding a small-format, oblong notebook known as a *safīna* that was commonly used for personal collections of poetry. The hand gesture and expression of the man seated on the left in both panels suggest that he recites a poem, while the other seated figure dips his pen in an inkpot to write. In the Met piece, the *safīna* held by the seated figure on the right-hand side bears an inscription of the opening couplet (*maṭlaʿ*) from a well-known short lyrical poem (*ghazal*) by the famed fourteenth-century poet Hafiz (ca. 1315–1390):

> O monarch of the beautiful, what a grief loneliness is,
> The heart aches in your absence, it is time for you
> to return.[23]

This inscription ends with the word *ʿamal* (work), a term typically used to mark the signature of an artist or artisan, although no name can be found on the panel as it exists today.

Both thematically and stylistically, the five tile panels in the Met, V&A, and Louvre exhibit a high degree of uniformity, with specific motifs and figure types repeated throughout. The depiction of the seated young man dressed in a yellow garment, for instance, follows the same model in the three Met panels as well as in the Louvre piece; only the hand gestures and objects held by the figures in each panel are different. These affinities and repetitions suggest workshop production.[24] Likely executed after large cartoons drawn on paper, the figures were then combined to make different compositions. The distinctive design of the borders in the Met, V&A, and Louvre panels as well as the fragments at the Museum für Islamische Kunst further supports the assumption that the pieces all originated from the same building, a hypothesis confirmed by photographic, archival, and literary evidence.[25]

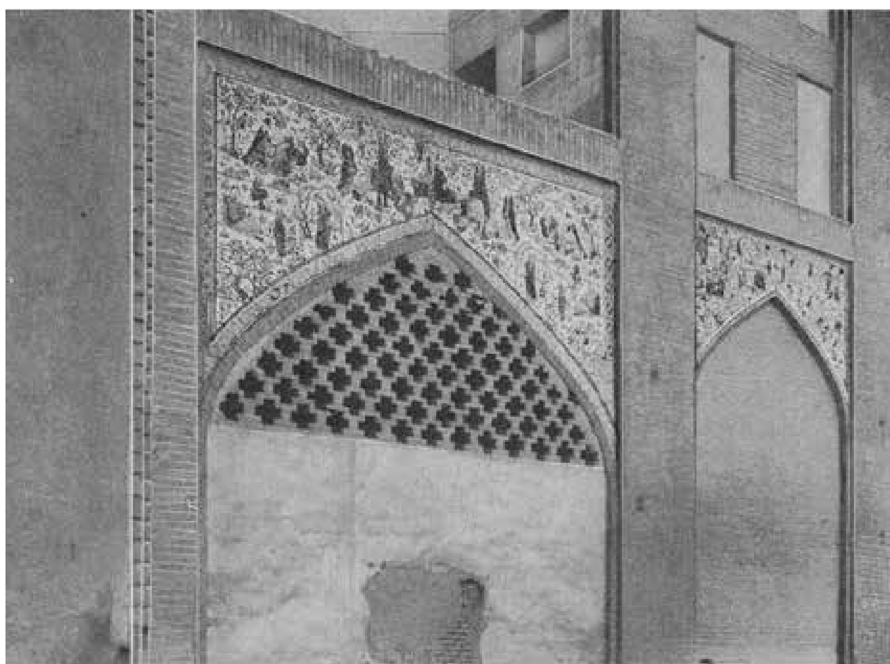


fig. 8 Friedrich Sarre (German, 1865–1954). Tile panel installed on the western facade of the Jahan-nama, ca. 1900. Photograph

THE SETTING: A RECONSTRUCTION

As Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser first noted, the main motif of the largest panel in the Metropolitan Museum collection (fig. 1)—a kneeling man in European costume offering a piece of cloth to a reclining woman—also appeared in the upper corners of a tile scene decorating the facade of the Jahan-nama pavilion.[26] Luschey-Schmeisser's observation was based on a photograph (fig. 8) taken about 1900 by the German archaeologist

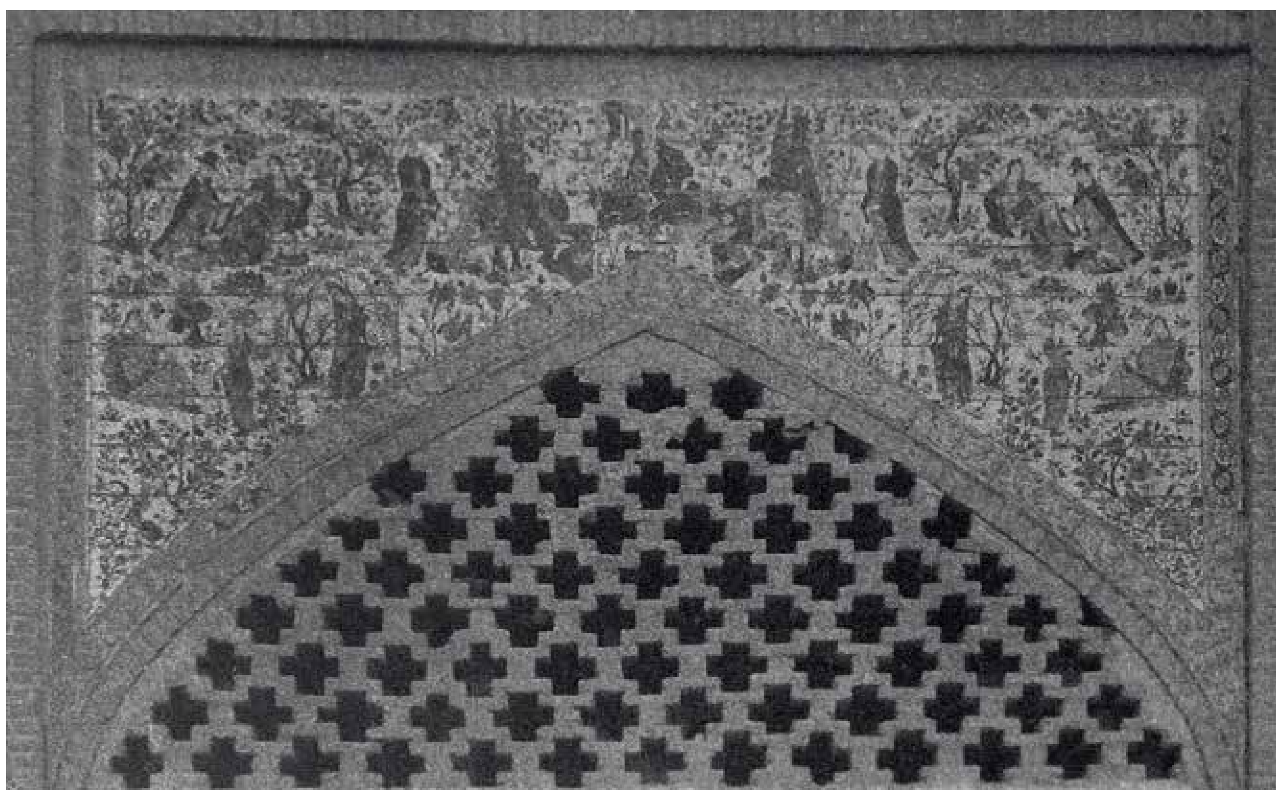


fig. 9 Albert Hotz (Dutch, 1855–1930). Detail from a photograph of a tile panel (now lost) installed on the western facade of the Jahan-nama, 1891. Platinotype print

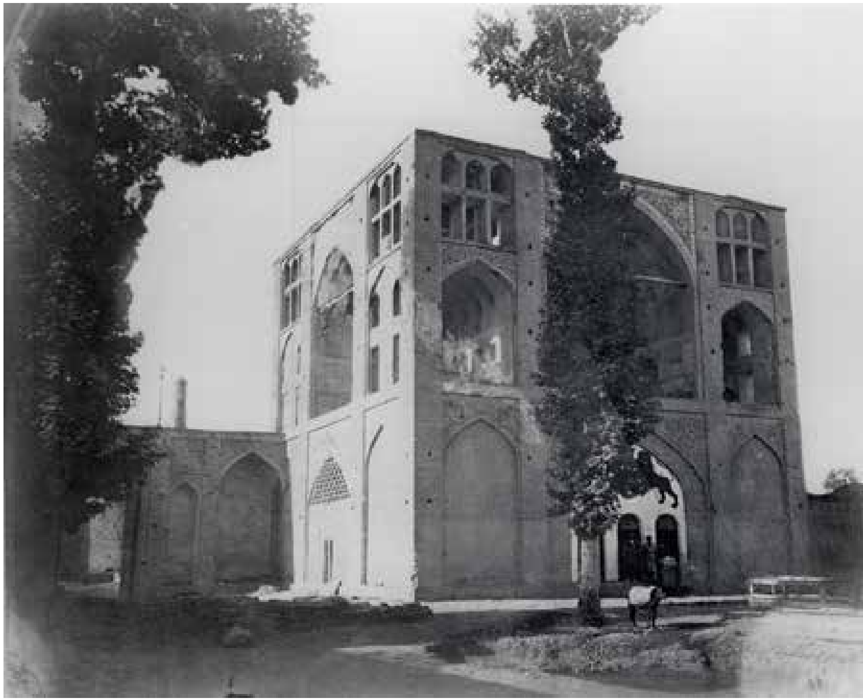
fig. 10 Joseph Papazian (Armenian Iranian, act. ca. 1870–1900). Southwestern view of the Jahan-nama with the Dawlat Gate at left, as seen from within the Chaharbagh, ca. 1880s. Albumen print. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Photo Archive, Album 199, no. 8

fig. 11 Friedrich Sarre. Southeastern view of the Jahan-nama showing the Safavid pavilion with late 19th-century additions. Photogravure

and art historian Friedrich Sarre; in the accompanying caption, Sarre referred to the building as "the pavilion in the north of the Chaharbagh."[27] An earlier close-up photograph, taken in 1891 by the Dutch merchant Albert Hotz, offers a clearer picture of the overall composition of this tile panel, which was installed on the spandrels above an arch on the building's western facade (fig. 9). Hotz's photograph shows two mirror-image scenes composed of seven figures each—four women and three men. Dressed in sumptuous garments, the figures are scattered in a lush setting filled with slender willows, cypresses, and flowering bushes. The three women who recline on the ground are paired with men in different poses, while a fourth woman stands alone under an arching willow tree. A bushy cypress tree flanked by two of the reclining women grows from the apex of the arch and divides the two halves of the composition. As with the Met, V&A, and Louvre panels, the poses and details of this tile panel, such as the arching willow, recall the style of Riza ʿAbbasi; their balanced composition suggests that the scene was specifically designed for the spandrels.

Additional photographs not only give a more tangible picture of the Jahan-nama, they also reveal the exact location of the tile panel in the spandrels. The earliest image, taken within the Chaharbagh from the southwest by the Tehran-based nineteenth-century Armenian photographer Joseph Papazian, is now preserved in the Gulistan Palace Photo Archive in Tehran. It shows a cubical, three-story structure with a double-height iwan (an open-air hall closed on three sides) on the upper story (fig. 10). This photograph, together with another taken by Sarre from the opposite, southeast corner (fig. 11), provides an idea of the overall architecture of the building. Both images show the pavilion with later additions: the whitewashed walls with rounded arches, seen in the middle story in Sarre's image, were added in the late nineteenth century in the decades between when his and Papazian's photographs were taken.[28] Nevertheless, the photographs indicate that the architecture of the original Safavid pavilion was based on the cross-in-square or nine-fold scheme (*chahār ṣuffa*), a common building type in palatial architecture that consisted of a central hall, four axial iwans, and four rooms in the corners.[29]

While there is no direct reference to the Jahan-nama in contemporary Persian-language sources, descriptions of the promenade on which it was built provide clues to the pavilion's approximate date of construction and mode of decoration. Two and a half miles long, the Chaharbagh ran from the Jahan-nama (built adjacent to the Dawlat Gate [*darvāza-yi dawlat*], a major entrance of the pre-Safavid walled town, located west of the palace complex) to the ʿAbbasabad or Hizar-jarib (thousand acres) royal garden in the southern foothills of Isfahan (fig. 12). A ceremonial road and a public



10

11

urban space, the Chaharbagh was lined with coffeehouses, wine taverns, Sufi hostels, and other pavilions of various forms and functions that were built at the entrances to the gardens. Construction was begun in 1596, and by December 1602 work on the main buildings on the north side of the promenade—where the Jahan-nama was located—appears to have been completed.[30] The chronicle of Mulla Jalal al-Din Munajjim Yazdi indicates that "ornate upper-floor rooms" (*bālā-khānahā-yi zarnigār*) were a prominent feature of the Chaharbagh pavilions. In these, he noted, "portraitists (*muṣavvirān*) of the time whose works were innovative, in competition with each other (*bi daʿvā-yi yikdīgar*), painted and designed marvelous paintings and portraits of wondrous figures on the lofty walls and seated assemblies (*majālis*) with effigies of houri-like youths."[31] This passage suggests that figural painting, and particularly multifigure compositions (sing. *majlis*), were part of the decorative programs of the pavilions that lined the Chaharbagh.

Although none of the Safavid-era chronicles mention the pavilion by name, nineteenth-century Persian sources (as well as the captions Papazian and Hotz gave to their photographs) make clear that it was known as the Jahan-nama in this period.[32] The name, which translates as "world-displaying" or "world-revealing," is almost certainly an original Safavid one for which there is precedent in royal architecture.[33] Linked to the palace complex (*dawlat-khāna*) and situated at the northern end of the main axis of the Chaharbagh, the Jahan-nama pavilion was one of the most conspicuous structures of the entire promenade. The lower level of the building may have served as an atrium or vestibule for entering the palace grounds while the *bālā-khāna*—the double-storied loggia with cross-axial iwans on the second floor—might have been used for receptions.[34]

The descriptions of seventeenth-century European travelers shed more light on the functions of the Jahan-nama and its relationship with the walled city and the palace complex. The earliest dated European mention of the pavilion can be found in the account of the Roman nobleman and traveler Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652), who saw the pavilion in 1617, a few years after its completion. He noted that "a freestanding small square building . . . full of balconies and windows, with paintings and other ornaments" was built on the Chaharbagh, which he referred to as the "street that currently lies outside the [walled] city."[35] Likewise, according to the account of Jean Chardin (1643–1713), a French jewel merchant who penned a comprehensive description of Safavid Isfahan based on his sojourns

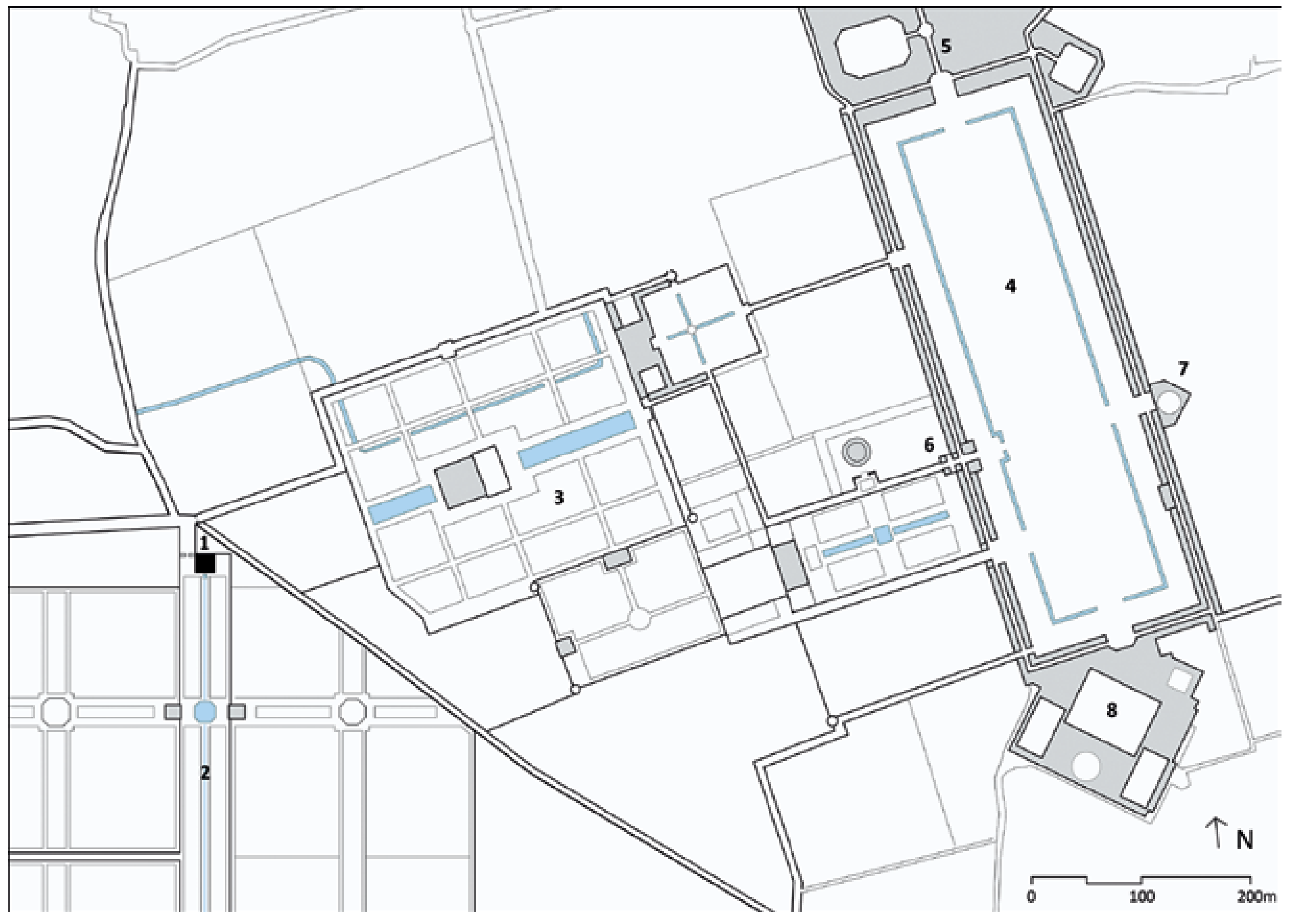


fig. 12 Reconstructed plan of Isfahan about the mid-17th century, showing the location of the Jahan-nama and the main elements of the city around the palace complex: 1) Jahan-nama; 2) Chaharbagh; 3) Palace complex (*dawlat-khāna*); 4) Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan; 5) Qaysariyya Market; 6) ʿAli Qapu; 7) Shaykh Lutfullah Mosque; 8) Shah Mosque

there in 1664–70 and 1671–77, Shah ʿAbbas erected the pavilion so that the women of the harem could view spectacles such as the arrival of ambassadors or watch people strolling on the Chaharbagh.[36] He further noted that there was another entrance to the promenade on the opposite side of the pavilion that led to the harem and was used solely by "women and eunuchs of harem and the king."[37] Chardin's statement is repeated by his fellow jewel merchant and traveler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), who relates that only the shah and his family could enter the Chaharbagh through the pavilion, and that ordinary people had to use the adjoining gate.[38] These contemporary travel accounts, together with the photographic evidence, suggest that the Jahan-nama was originally flanked by two gates—one that served as a public entrance to the city and the other as a private entrance to the palace complex.[39]

Of these two entrances, the Dawlat Gate was the main public access to the Chaharbagh from the pre-Safavid walled city. A closer inspection of the photographic record indicates that the tile scene in the spandrels (figs. 8, 9), which was mounted above the arch filled with honeycomb-patterned brickwork on the pavilion's western side, originally faced this public gateway. The caption to Papazian's photograph (fig. 10), which describes the picture as a representation of the Dawlat Gate *and* the Jahan-nama, further corroborates that the arcaded wall perpendicular to the western facade of the Jahan-nama (an L-shaped recess in the photograph) contained the Dawlat Gate. Hotz likewise confirmed this identification in the caption given to his own photograph (fig. 9), which reads, "ornament above side entrance of Chehan Nameh [*sic*] a side of Darwazeh dohlet [*sic*]." The tile scene in the spandrels was thus visible to anyone who passed through this major city gate. With its palette of bright, saturated colors set against a buff brick background—a visual impression lost in black-and-white photographs—the panel would have caught the eye of any passerby entering or exiting the promenade.[40]

Although the imagery depicted in the spandrels is similar to that of the Met panel with reclining woman, none of the tiles now in the Metropolitan Museum's collection were part of the decoration photographed by Sarre and Hotz. The reclining woman and the man in European costume in the Met panel are identical to the corresponding figures in the photographs (and they are executed in the same scale) but as Luschey-Schmeisser noted, the arrangement of surrounding foliage and figures is different.[41] Moreover, as discussed below, by

the time Sarre took the photograph about 1900, more than a decade had passed since the three Met panels were shipped to New York. The same motif of a reclining woman paired with a man in European costume, in other words, must have appeared at least three times in the decorative program of the building: once in the panel now preserved at the Metropolitan Museum, and twice in the scene in the spandrels.

Where, then, were the Met, V&A, and Louvre panels installed in the Jahan-nama? Late nineteenth-century sources suggest that they decorated the pavilion's upper-story halls. The main account of this comes from the French adventurer and archaeologist Jane Dieulafoy, who was in Isfahan in 1881. In her travel narrative, Dieulafoy describes a building, which she referred to as the Bala Khaneh, located at the beginning of the Chaharbagh promenade.[42] There, on the upper floor, Dieulafoy saw "around the rooms, faience panels of utmost beauty," which were

> divided into separate tableaus, representing scenes of the harem (anderoun) treated with indispensable merit. Donning brocade robes and wearing turbans or jeweled diadems, the women are seated in gardens and eat sweets or fruits. Their garments are painted in plain, vivid colors, although the figures are not as colorful as the milky white base on which they are drawn.[43]

fig. 13 S. Matthis, after a photograph by Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). Tile panel with reclining woman. Engraving

In the first version of her travel narrative, which appeared in 1883, Dieulafoy published an engraving of "a faience panel in the Bala Khaneh," which is none other than the panel now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 13; see fig. 2). According to the caption, the engraving was based on a photograph that Dieulafoy had taken herself, suggesting that when she was in Isfahan in September 1881, the V&A panel was still in situ at the Jahan-nama.[44]

By late 1884, however, the panel reproduced in Dieulafoy's travelogue was in the possession of Samuel G. W. Benjamin, an American diplomat and author who had served, from January 1883 through May 1885, as the first U.S. minister resident (ambassador) to Iran.[45] According to letters held in the Metropolitan Museum archives, Benjamin had acquired the panel in Tehran from the French musician Alfred Jean-Baptiste Lemaire, who had been an instructor, since 1868, at the Dar al-Funun (Abode of the Sciences), a European-style school for the teaching of military and technical subjects, established in Tehran in 1851.[46] In his earliest correspondence with the Metropolitan Museum, Benjamin explained that he had purchased the panel "on spec," and described it as "representing a princess in a garden waited on by her maidens." He also noted that it was one of a set of three or four pieces "mentioned by Jacquemert [*sic*] among the triumphs of old Persian tile."[47] Benjamin later published a drawing of the panel in his 1887 book *Persia and the Persians*, a narrative of his observations and experiences as ambassador to Iran.[48]

Other documents related to the acquisition of the panels indicate that the three in the Metropolitan Museum's collection were also in Lemaire's possession

fig. 14 ʿAli Muhammad Isfahani (Iranian, act. ca. 1870–1900). Copy of the panel with reclining woman and man in European costume (fig. 1), part of a tile panel commissioned by Alfred Jean-Baptiste Lemaire and installed on a fireplace at Olana, dated 1884–85 (1302 H). Painted and polychrome-glazed stonepaste, 39 × 39 in. (99.1 × 99.1 cm). Olana State Historic Site: The Home of Frederic Edwin Church, Hudson, New York

for a time.[49] In a handwritten note penned in June 1889 in Paris, Lemaire claimed that the panels had been sent to the New York art dealer S. Pruvost—a self-described "Importer of Persian and Oriental Goods"—and noted that they had been "discovered in Isfahan by Madame Dieulavoy [*sic*], who had one reproduced in her description of travels in Persia."[50] Lemaire's involvement in the transfer of the Jahan-nama tile panels is further corroborated by his role in the production of tile copies of at least three of the five panels—the Louvre and Met versions showing the poetry contest and the Met version showing the reclining woman; inscriptions on these scaled-down copies indicate that Lemaire commissioned these in 1884–85 (1302 H).[51] Executed in a Tehran workshop by ʿAli Muhammad Isfahani, a master of ceramic production, three of these copies were eventually acquired by the South Kensington Museum (later Victoria and Albert Museum) in 1889.[52] In addition to the work now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Met panel with the reclining woman was also reproduced in a set of glazed tiles now installed at a fireplace at Olana, the villa built by the American painter Frederic Edwin Church (fig. 14). Bills of sale suggest that Church purchased these fireplace tiles, which were likewise made by ʿAli Muhammad in 1884–85 (1302 H) and commissioned by Lemaire, from Pruvost in March 1887. These tiles were likely shipped directly to the New York–based art dealer together with the three Safavid panels in the Metropolitan Museum.[53]

The archival records thus indicate that sometime between late 1881 and 1884 (most likely after the 1883 publication of Dieulafoy's travel narrative) a set of tile panels adorning the Jahan-nama, consisting of at least five relatively complete scenes, was removed from the pavilion and, either directly or indirectly, came into the possession of Lemaire. In 1884, having sold one of these panels to Benjamin, Lemaire sent three of them to New York. These three panels were sold shortly thereafter and given on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in 1885 or 1886. A prolonged dispute among the heirs of the original owners (who had probably purchased the panels from Pruvost), however, delayed the permanent acquisition of the panels until 1903.[54] In the meantime, Benjamin, whose bids to sell to the Metropolitan Museum were unsuccessful, sold the panel that he had purchased in Tehran to Lindo S. Myers, a London-based art dealer. Myers in turn sold it to the South Kensington Museum in 1891.[55] The remaining panel of the corpus, likely offered for sale by Lemaire at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, was eventually purchased by the Louvre in 1893.

A combination of intertwined local and global circumstances contributed to the dispersal of the Jahan-nama panels, among myriad other architectural pieces taken from monuments across Iran. In Western Europe and North America, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a period of intensified collecting—tiles and ceramics from Islamic west Asia were particularly sought after by dealers, collectors, and connoisseurs.[56] This demand, coupled with dire economic conditions in late Qajar Iran, spurred the removal and transfer of tiles from historical buildings.[57] In Isfahan, meanwhile, the last two decades of the century marked a period of rapid urban transformation, when several Safavid buildings were modified, renovated, or demolished during the governorship of the Qajar prince Masʿud Mirza Zill al-Sultan (in office, 1874–1907).[58] The transformations of the Jahan-nama in the late nineteenth century epitomize these trends: while the pavilion was modified and used in the 1880s (as the photographs by Sarre and Papazian also indicate), it seems to have been abandoned again in the ensuing decade.[59] The writer and historian Hasan Jabiri Ansari (1870–1957) reported that the Jahan-nama was finally torn down in 1896–97 (1314 H) at the request of Qajar princess and Zill al-Sultan's sister Banu ʿUzma.[60] Additional glazed tiles salvaged from the Jahan-nama later appeared on the art market, including a set of ten showing a standing cupbearer in the Hagop Kevorkian collection that was offered for sale at auction in 1927, and was a remnant of the panel in the spandrels captured in the photographs by Hotz and Sarre.[61] Since the late nineteenth century, some observers have attributed the demolition of the Jahan-nama and several other Safavid buildings to

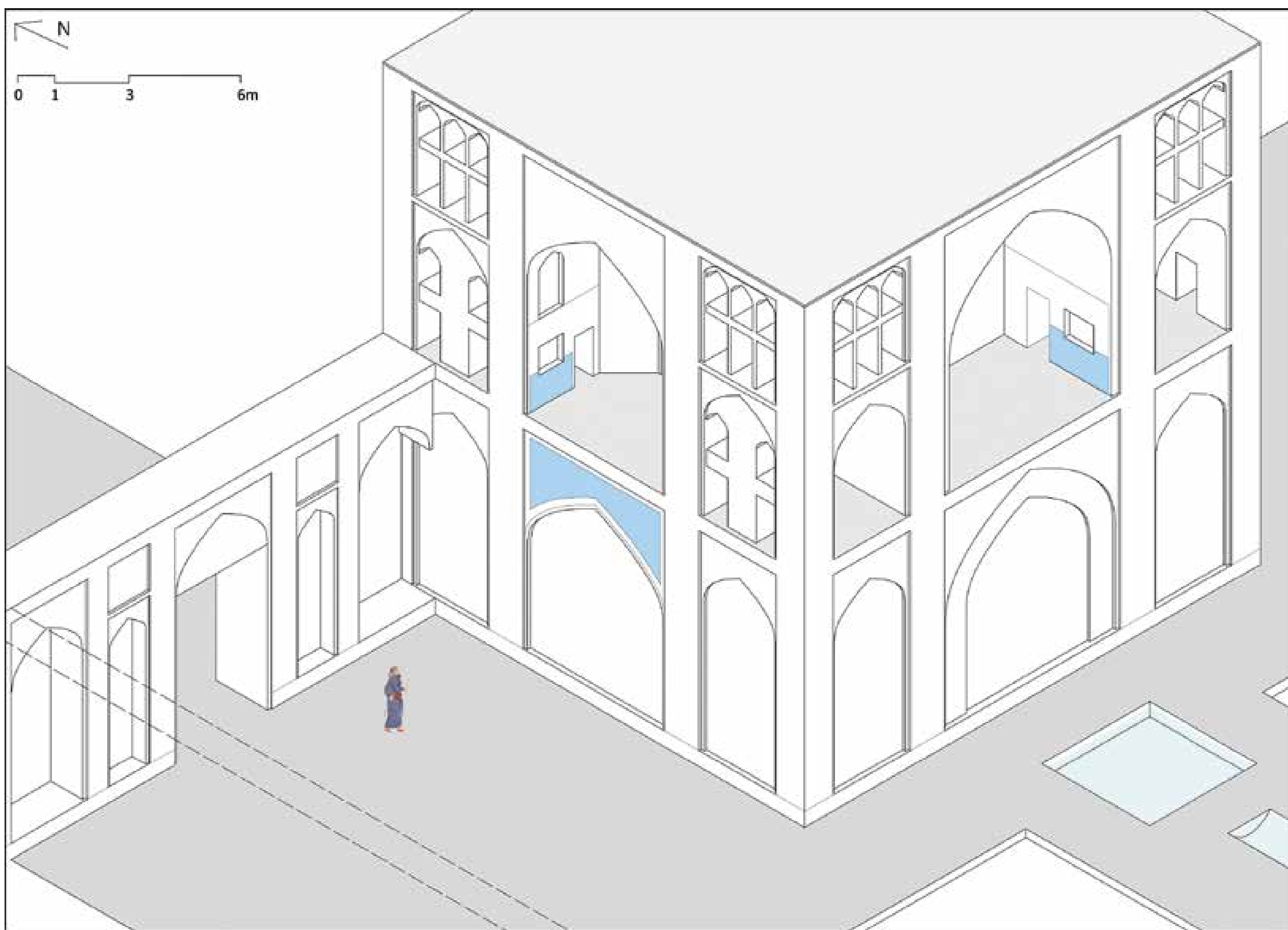


fig. 15 Reconstructed axonometric view of the Dawlat Gate and west/south facades of the Jahan-nama at the northern end of the Chaharbagh, showing the location of the tile panel in the spandrels (figs. 8, 9) and the presumed placement of tile panels in the upper-story dadoes (figs. 1–5)

the "destructive zeal" of Zill al-Sultan or to Qajar envy or enmity toward the Safavids, but a more nuanced explanation points to a complex set of factors, such as urban modernization, which led to the destruction of Safavid monuments.[62]

The archival sources and historical record thus corroborate the argument put forth here, made on the basis of stylistic affinity and photographic evidence, that the corpus of Safavid tile panels discussed above originated from a single ensemble that once graced the walls of the Jahan-nama. The irregular shapes of several of the panels (see figs. 1, 2, 4, 5) indicate that they fitted on dadoes beneath the niches that were recessed into the interior side walls of the pavilion's upper-story iwans (fig. 15).[63] (Originally all the panels had borders similar to the ones that surround the Louvre panel.) These square niches are visible in the photographs by Papazian (see fig. 10, recessed into the interior wall of the southern facade's central bay) and Sarre (see fig. 11, recessed into the interior wall of the eastern facade's central bay, at far right). Anyone seated on the floor on the upper story of the pavilion, as was customary at the time, would have been able to view them intimately, at eye level. One might imagine that the identical Louvre and Met panels evoking day and night (figs. 4, 5) were installed on the interior walls of the smaller iwans on the east and west sides of the building, where they would have been lit at sunrise and sunset. The Met and V&A panels with reclining women (figs. 1, 2), on the other hand, may have been placed on facing walls in the main, central iwan facing the Chaharbagh, where they would have mirrored each other across the hall, their differently colored skies evoking the same day and night contrast. Such positioning is consistent with Munajjim Yazdi's assertion that the pavilions on the Chaharbagh were adorned by painters "in competition with each other."[64] A visual dialogue between panels—similar to the poetry contest

staged between the seated men in the Louvre and Met works—may have occurred in the architectural space.

Moreover, the placement of the panels in the upper-story iwans suggests that, as with the tile scene decorating the spandrels (which was visible to those passing through the gate), the dado panels, too, would have been partially visible to people circulating in the Chaharbagh. Dieulafoy seems to allude to the visibility of the dado panel decoration by describing the experience of being in the Chaharbagh "under the eyes of beautiful ladies (*belles khanoums*) hidden in the Bala Khaneh."[65] Given that the motifs in the dado panels recur in the panel in the spandrels, it is likely that the latter was meant to provide a visual summary of the building's overall decorative program to the passing public.[66] With this arrangement, the public could partake in the visual delights of a royal pavilion.

Women in a range of postures, costumes, and headgear form the key subjects of the pavilion's figural tilework. They stand out against the fairly consistent and repetitious rendering of attendants and landscape elements. The women's bodies and postures differentiate them from one another and from the other figures: compare, for instance, the fairly delicate face and slender body of the recumbent woman in the V&A panel with the voluminous thighs and stomach of the woman in the Met panel depicting the reclining woman. This diversity of figural types and dress was the main characteristic that struck nineteenth-century observers, as when Dieulafoy related seeing multiple women wearing "turbans and jeweled diadems."[67] Interestingly, Jabiri Ansari conveyed a similar impression by describing the Jahan-nama's "tilework (*kāshī-kārī*) [with] portraits of Persian women and girls (*zanān va dukhtarān-i ʿajam*), from Kayani to Sasanian [dynasties], in royal garments (*jāmahā-yi khusravānī*)."[68] A study of the social context of seventeenth-century Isfahan, however, suggests that to contemporary beholders, the reclining women depicted in the panels were considered to be neither women of the harem (as Dieulafoy assumed, based on nineteenth-century Orientalist fantasies) nor Persian princesses (as Jabiri Ansari and Samuel G. W. Benjamin suggested), but rather courtesans of Isfahan.

LANGUOROUS WOMEN AND THEIR BEHOLDERS

Scenes such as those in the Jahan-nama panels that are composed of human figures and landscape or architectural elements—known as *majlis* (literally, "assembly" or "gathering")—have a long pedigree in Persianate painting. As a distinctive format, examples of *majlis* can be found in media ranging from manuscript illustration to tilework and mural painting.[69] In illustrated manuscripts, the inclusion of a double-page, multifigure composition became an established norm in the fifteenth century. An episode from a literary romance or courtly scene was often the subject of such multifigure compositions. With each of its female figures depicted in different garments, the illustrative program of the Jahan-nama is reminiscent of a well-known literary narrative—the tale of the Sasanian king Bahram Gur and his seven brides. As the twelfth-century poet Nizami relates in his *Haft Paykar* (*Seven Portraits*), the portraits of the "princesses of the seven climes" had been painted on the walls of a room in the legendary palace of Khawarnaq. Enamored by the sight of these pictures, Bahram had a palace of seven domes built for the seven princesses, each in a different color and named after a celestial body and its corresponding day of the week.[70]

Despite the likely visual allusion to literary tradition in the Jahan-nama panels, however, their primary message does not lie in Nizami's romance or any other specific narrative. For one, unlike the women in the story of Bahram Gur, here the female figures are not differentiated by color. More importantly, a variety of male figures, including those in European costume, approach them. In the Met panel with the reclining woman, the way in which the erotic gaze of the woman engages the viewer is entirely novel and unprecedented in manuscript illustration, and reflects a new conception of female beauty in figural representation.[71] Indeed, together with the emergence of novel figural types in single-page painting, the seventeenth century also saw the development of new themes in multifigure compositions: the *majlis* now took inspiration from the more mundane world surrounding the artist, rather than from classical Persian literature. Detached from any literary context, painting catered to the tastes and desires of an expanding urban audience as opposed to an exclusively royal clientele.

As an integral part of social life for the court and the elites in Safavid Isfahan, courtesans formed one of the emerging sources of inspiration for the visual arts. According to one account, there were about fourteen thousand registered prostitutes in the city who paid taxes to the government.[72] As early as 1607, an Augustinian missionary reported that prostitutes "could be seen in full view in the streets and in public shops."[73] Unlike other women, who were commonly veiled in public spaces, prostitutes wore more revealing, extravagant costumes. High-class courtesans typically rode on horseback with attendants. The English traveler John Fryer, who visited Isfahan in 1677, noted, "There are costly Whores in this City, who will demand an hundred

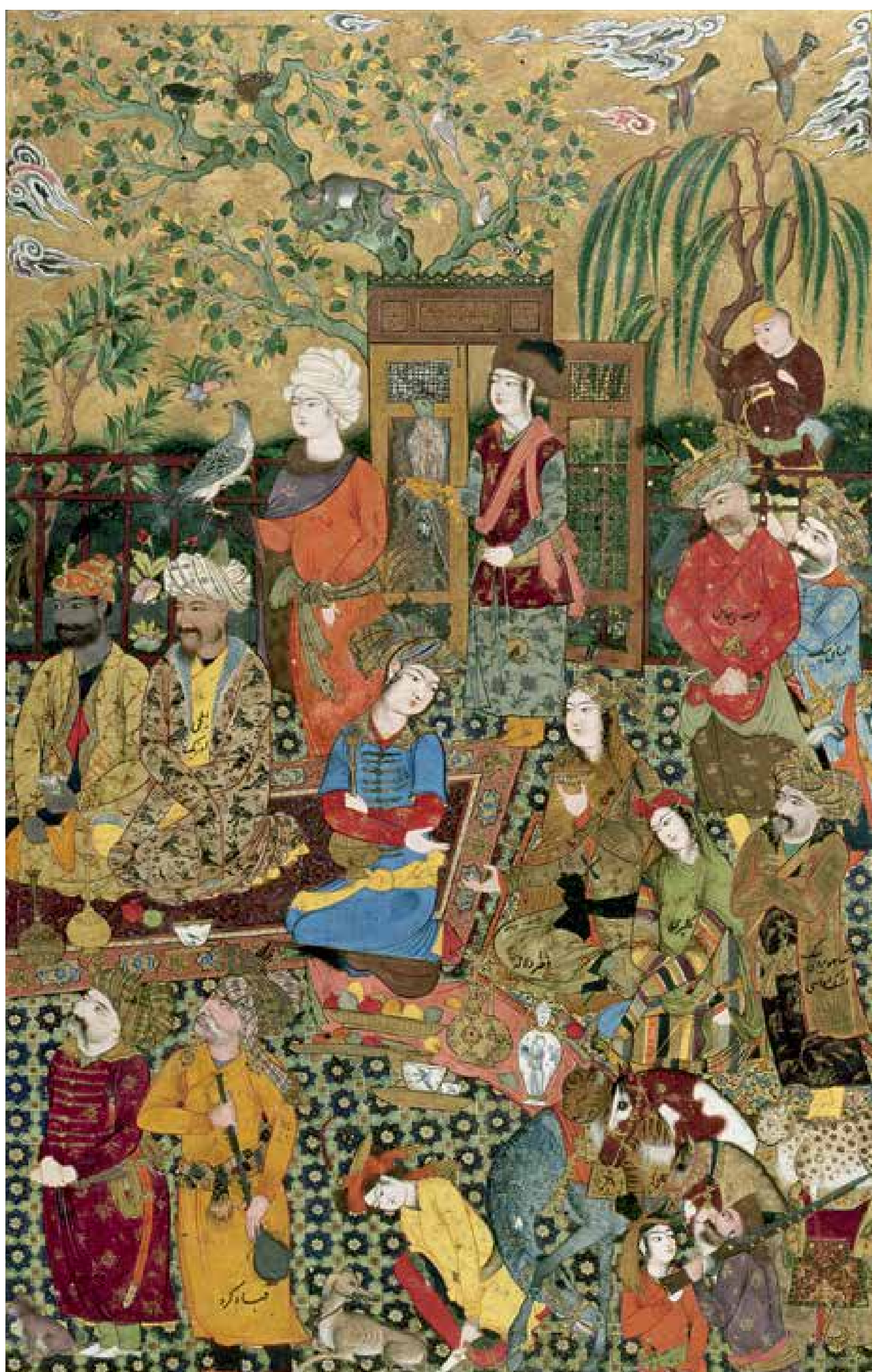


fig. 16 *Royal Gathering in Garden with the Grandees of the Court of Shah ʿAbbas, Foreign Envoys, and Courtesans*, ca. 1600–1608. Pigments, ink, gold, and silver on paper, painting 12 3/16 × 7 13/16 in. (31 × 19.8 cm); page 15 9/16 × 9 1/4 in. (39.5 × 23.5 cm). Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Acquired by Henry Walters (W.691)

Thomans for one Nights Dalliance, and expect a Treat besides of half the price; these while their Wit and Beauty last, outshine the Ladies of the highest Potentate, and brave it through the Town with an Attendance superior to the wealthiest."[74] The role of courtesans in the lives of Isfahan's visitors and inhabitants is also amply recorded in Persian literary sources. In his biographical compendium of poets compiled about 1672–80, Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi, for instance, wrote about a young poet named Mir Ghiyas al-Din Mansur who came to Isfahan, fell in the "trap of the love of a courtesan named Mandigar" (*dām-i muḥabbat-i Mandigār-i fāḥisha*), and lost all his belongings.[75]

Isfahan's famed women of pleasure had close ties with the court as well, and this link was especially conspicuous during royal ceremonies, when the city's courtesans were employed as part of the imperial panoply. One such ceremony took place in 1611–12 (1020 H) to receive Vali Muhammad Khan, a deposed Uzbek ruler who had set off for Isfahan from his hometown in central Asia to take refuge. As the chronicler Fazli Beg Khuzani relates, Shah ʿAbbas arranged a spectacular reception for his Uzbek guest: the pathway that ran from the main northern gate of the city to the ʿAli Qapu (the main entrance of the palace complex on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan) was adorned with velvet carpets and brocades, and good-looking youths were ordered to line up on both sides. "No bearded person," Fazli wrote, "was to remain in shops." Moreover, the shah decreed that the rooms above the shops be allocated to the "city's courtesans" (*favāḥish-i shahr*), that "each room be covered with a carpet, rivaling each other in purity and ornamentation," and that "a good singer be there, and they engage in drinking wine, dancing, and games."[76] This incident reflects the performative role courtesans played in Safavid Isfahan. The decoration of the Jahan-nama, which showed such women in its upper-floor balconies, evoked the same urban pageantry.

A select number of the city's courtesans also attended private courtly assemblies. As Fazli reports, Vali Muhammad Khan was invited, following his urban ceremony, to a nocturnal banquet at the shah's "private assembly hall" (*khalvat-khāna-yi khāṣ*, literally "house of seclusion"), where courtesans who were referred to by their professional names—Lala, Gulpari, Kavuli, and Zarif—were also present.[77] Later that day, Shah ʿAbbas, noticing Vali Muhammad Khan's interest in Gulpari, decreed that the courtesan be in his company at all times.[78]

A painting in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, offers a visual representation of a nocturnal assembly similar to that described by Fazli (fig. 16).[79] This painting, which likely was part of a double-page composition, depicts a garden gathering set on a paved platform. The main figures are identified by label, including several officials of the court of Shah ʿAbbas and an Uzbek envoy (*īlchī-yi uzbak*), who is depicted at center left adjacent to an unnamed dark-skinned figure (most likely another ambassador). On the opposite side of the Uzbek envoy is the *sāqī*, who gestures toward a woman seated cross-legged and holding up a shallow cup (*qadaḥ*). Inscriptions name this woman as a "broker's daughter"

fig. 17 Giacomo Franco (Italian, 1550–1620). Plate 11 from *Habiti delle donne venetiane* (*Dress of Venetian Women*), showing a Venetian courtesan or noblewoman, ca. 1591–1610. Engraving and woodcut, page 11 × 8¼ × 1 in. (28 × 21 × 2.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934 (34.68)

(*dukhtar-i dallāla*) and the younger-looking woman next to her as Gulpari—these appellations reveal that both women are courtesans of Isfahan.[80] That Gulpari's presence is highlighted in visual and textual representations of royal assemblies signals the fame that courtesans enjoyed in the elite and courtly circles of the Safavid capital.

One remarkable aspect of the Walters painting is that it names Gulpari as an individual but, unlike the other figures identified in the scene, represents her as entirely idealized. Similarly, although the idealized women depicted in the Jahan-nama tile panels are unnamed, they might also have been conceived as portraits of individual courtesans (or their public personae) and perceived as such by contemporary beholders. Further evidence for the identification of the women in the Jahan-nama corpus as courtesans can be found in the travel narrative of the Italian nobleman Ambrosio Bembo (1652–1705), who visited Isfahan in the 1670s. In his description of a Safavid pavilion (most likely the Hasht Bihisht, completed in 1669–70), Bembo refers to a painting depicting "a nude woman that they esteem very much." In certain rooms, he also "observed some prints that represented the life of man and the life of courtesans."[81] Although Bembo's observation has to do with a building constructed in the period after the Jahan-nama, his account nevertheless offers an example of the representation of courtesans in a Safavid palace building.

The prints that Bembo mentions in his description were likely taken from European costume books. Since the late sixteenth century, painters active in the Persianate cultural sphere engaged with European prints, which were either directly incorporated into albums or served as a source of inspiration for new figural forms and compositions.[82] In keeping with this trend, aspects of the Met panel depicting the reclining woman might have been modeled on Venetian costume books such as Cesare Vecellio's *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (1590) or the engravings by Giacomo Franco in *Habiti delle donne venetiane* (1591–1610), which contain depictions of Venetian beauties, including courtesans. The bare chest, necklace, sleeves, and direct gaze of the reclining woman in the Met panel find parallels in these engravings (fig. 17). In Safavid Isfahan, such European prints were increasingly available through mercantile and diplomatic interactions. For instance, writing in 1619, Della Valle reported that a Venetian merchant named Alessandro Studendoli ran a shop in the Qaysariyya, the royal market on the north side of Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (no. 5; fig. 12), where he sold Italian artifacts and pictures.[83] Prints were not a rare curiosity in Isfahan; they were readily available in the marketplace.

In the Met panel with the reclining woman, this likely Venetian source of inspiration is fully assimilated into an established repertoire of forms, gestures, and postures: the reclining pose, stacked cushions, and layers of patterned garments turn the subject into a full-fledged Isfahani beauty. In a similar vein, the burn marks—rendered in rows of three, four, and five dots on her forearms and left hand—were familiar signs to local audiences (fig. 18). Textual and visual evidence suggests that inflicting these so-called marks of love was common practice among Sufi mystics as well as lovers in a profane context.[84] Here, though, the burn marks were probably meant to convey a specific message about the subject's identity as a courtesan; Chardin made reference to the practice of inflicting burn marks among men infatuated with courtesans.[85] The burn marks were thus more than mere ornament: they signaled that the subject is an experienced woman of pleasure while also evoking a succession of past lovers.

A similar sense of narrativity derived from contemporary society might have undergirded other themes of the Jahan-nama panels. In the Met panel with reclining woman and man in European costume, for instance, the self-absorbed appearance of the *sāqī*—picking a flower with one hand while counting with the other—seems to suggest that he, too, is desirous of the courtesan, while

fig. 18 Detail of tile panel with reclining woman and man in European costume (fig. 1), showing the burn marks, jewelry, and dress of the woman

his own presence signals homoerotic desire. A similar impression is conveyed by the corresponding seated male figure in the V&A panel, who is depicted in analogous mood and posture. While in the Met panel the seated youth can be identified as the cupbearer, in the V&A panel the figure could also represent a companion or friend of the man who approaches the recumbent courtesan. Themes related to courtesans might have linked the entire corpus of the Jahan-nama tile panels to one another. The panels depicting poetry recitation in the Metropolitan Museum and Louvre collections, for instance, might represent a stage of courtship—a scene before or after the encounter with a female beauty, or a moment of literary reflection on love and loneliness. (The poem by Hafiz, inscribed on the Met version, is evocative of such a mood and sentiment.) The men's elaborate turbans and plumes suggest their high status; according to Chardin, the clientele of high-end courtesans were limited to "men of the sword and the young nobility that operated in the court's orbit."[86] In fact, given the similarities between the two turbaned male figures in the Met and Louvre panels showing poetry recitation and the V&A panel, one might assume that the same personages are represented in both scenes. The recurrence of such themes and motives across the corpus suggests that the panels were likely meant to evoke narratives in the minds of their beholders without referencing literary tradition.

While courtesans of Isfahan appear to have been the primary source of inspiration for the artists who devised the imagery of the Jahan-nama tile panels, it is likely that they were also intended to communicate other messages. Positioned at the main public entrance to the Chaharbagh, the scene in the spandrels photographed by Sarre and Hotz, in particular, was likely meant to visualize the atmosphere of the promenade as an earthly paradise. In his account of the construction of the Chaharbagh, written in 1617 (1026 H), the historian Mirza Beg Junabadi stated that in Isfahan, "paradise is readily available for everyone (*bihisht naqd-i mujūd ast*)," and that in the "edifices and gardens (*ʿimārāt u bāghāt*)" people encountered "paradise, virgins (*ḥūrī*) and youthful servants (*ghilmān*, sing. *ghulām*)."[87] Representing paragons of female and male beauty scattered in a garden setting, the panel installed in the spandrels is somewhat evocative of the Qur'anic description of the garden of paradise. The tree at the apex of the arch might have symbolized the heavenly tree (*ṭūbā*). The panel's location adjacent to the Chaharbagh's public gate further underscored the notion that, as Junabadi stated, in Isfahan paradise was available to the entire populace, not merely to the court.

And yet, if the panel installed in the spandrels was indeed meant to be read in paradisiacal terms, what did contemporary onlookers make of the presence of the men dressed in European costume? After all, according to the Qur'anic description of paradise, residents of the heavenly garden are accompanied by houri (*ḥūrī*) and youthful servants (*ghilmān*), not European men approaching reclining women. The presence of the European figure in the Jahan-nama panels, however, may have been related to transformations in metaphors for beauty. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, fair Europeans (sometimes referred to as *ghulām-i farangī*) were associated with heavenly creatures in the poetic imagination.[88] But this trope was not solely expressed in artistic representation: Isfahan was literally populated with European merchants, adventurers, missionaries, and diplomatic envoys who could be seen in public spaces at an unprecedented rate. By drawing on elements of a globalizing world, the panels encapsulate a new approach to the centuries-old visual metaphor for the heavenly garden.

These allusions to paradise surely constituted a layer of the overall message that the Jahan-nama tile panels, especially in the publicly visible scene installed in the spandrels, were intended to communicate. And yet, from a broader perspective, the paradisiacal motifs appear to be nothing more than rhetorical flourishes for a more essential script. As argued in this article, the

core message of the pavilion's illustrative program lay in its social context—the tastes, sensibilities, and habits of contemporary urban society—rather than metaphors for the garden of paradise. Seen in this light, the Jahan-nama tile panels functioned as metonyms for the modes and resources of pleasure in Safavid Isfahan. Even to ordinary passersby, the imagery of the panels was more evocative of the social practices of the city's elite denizens and those who aspired to their lifestyle: the female figures embodied the sumptuously dressed courtesans who passed through the Chaharbagh, while the youthful male figures were likely seen as idealized representations of the desirable coffee-servers and cup-bearers of Isfahan's coffeehouses and taverns.

Ultimately, the Jahan-nama tile panels present a visual proclamation—disguised as paradise—of the celebration of corporeal and sensuous pleasures in early modern Isfahan, reflecting the desires and fantasies of the privileged men of the Safavid capital.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I began my research on the Jahan-nama tile panels as part of my dissertation project at Harvard University, but it was during my time as an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow at The Metropolitan Museum of Art that I substantially developed my brief discussion of these tile panels into the present essay. I would like to thank Sheila Canby, former Patti Cadby Birch Curator in Charge, Maryam Ekhtiar, Curator, Navina Najat Haidar, Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Acting Curator in Charge, and all the members of the departments of Islamic Art and Education at the Metropolitan Museum for their support, feedback, and encouragement. I am indebted to Elizabeth Benjamin, whose extensive and perceptive comments and editorial suggestions helped me clarify my argument.

NOTE TO THE READER

In transliterating Persian, this article follows the system adopted in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES). For names of persons and places, diacritical marks are omitted except for *ʿayn* (ʿ) and *hamza* (ʾ). The Persian silent *h* is transliterated as *a*, not *ih* or *eh* (e.g., *khāna*), and the *iżāfa* is rendered as *-i* (or *-yi* in words ending in silent *h* or a vowel). Names of figures are fully transliterated except when another form is common (e.g., scholars who publish in Persian). The Islamic *hijri* calendar begins in 622 C.E., the date of the *hijra* (migration) of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. Since *hijri* is a lunar calendar, it often corresponds to two Gregorian years. In this article the *hijri* year is given in parentheses (indicated by the letter H) following the corresponding date(s) in the Common Era.

FARSHID EMAMI
Assistant Professor, Art and Architecture of the Islamic World, Rice University

NOTES

1 MMA 1970.301.1–75. See Canby 2014.
2 For major monographic studies of architecture and urbanism in Safavid Isfahan, see Blake 1999 and Babaie 2008. A useful historical overview is provided in Haneda and Matthee 2006.
3 The Spanish term *cuerda seca* refers to a technique of tile making that first emerged on the Iberian Peninsula. Although the term has been used widely to refer to a similar process that first became common in the late fourteenth century in central Asia, technical analysis has shown that these are unrelated methods that were likely the results of distinct technological developments. See Soustiel and Porter 2003, pp. 215–17; and, more recently, O'Kane 2011, where it is suggested that in western and central Asia the technique developed from earlier experiments in the production of polychromatic ceramics (*mīnāʾī* and *lajvardīna*). In later Persian sources, the *cuerda seca* technique is referred to as *haft-rangī* (literally, "seven colors").
4 A technical analysis of late fourteenth-century *cuerda seca* tiles conducted by Bernard O'Kane reveals that the colors used for the outlines contained "much less silica content than the other glazes, being made mostly of iron and manganese oxide respectively. Their inhomogeneous, particulate nature helps to prevent the spread of colors beyond their borders; unlike the other overglaze colors, they contain little silica and do not penetrate into the base glaze." Based on this finding, O'Kane questions whether a wax-resist component would have been necessary to prevent colors from spreading, although he also notes that the "greasy substance" is not detectable in later analysis because it evaporates in the process of firing. See O'Kane 2011, pp. 185–86. A technical analysis of seventeenth-century tilework in Safavid Iran supports O'Kane's conclusions. See Holakooei et al. 2014.
5 The monuments surrounding the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan underwent extensive restoration in the 1930s. The tilework on the facade and dome of the Shaykh Lutfullah Mosque, for instance, was largely created in the 1920s and 1930s. See Overton 2012 and Overton 2016, especially pp. 345–55.
6 Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, Ident.Nr. I. 3923–24.
7 The recent literature on the panels is limited to brief entries in exhibition catalogues. For an early note on the V&A panel, see Migeon 1927, vol. 2, pp. 207–8, where based on Dieulafoy's travel narrative (discussed in detail below) it is attributed to a

pavilion on the Chaharbagh. Sophie Makariou (2008) gives the most detailed discussion of the corpus, with a focus on the Louvre panel, and briefly alludes to the group's possible architectural origin in the Jahan-nama pavilion. Makariou suggests that the panels likely convey "different moments in the garden banquet." She nonetheless concludes that they probably originate from different buildings. On the Louvre panel, also see Fellinger 2012. For a brief discussion of the Metropolitan Museum's panels, see Teece 2011.

8 During the renovations undertaken in the 1960s, for instance, a copy of the V&A panel was erroneously installed in the main hall at the Chihil Sutun pavilion in the Safavid palace complex. See Luschey-Schmeisser 1978, p. 187.

9 On late sixteenth-century transformations in Safavid visual culture, see Welch 1976. For major studies of seventeenth-century single-page paintings, see Farhad 1987 and Canby 1996.

10 According to the Safavid chronicler Iskandar Beg Munshi, the *ṣūrat-i farangī* was invented by painter Shaykh Muhammad Sabzivari (d. 1590). Shaykh Muhammad's life and works are discussed in Dickson and Welch 1981, vol. 1, pp. 165–77. The phrase *ṣūrat-i farangī* is often taken as a reference to the "Europeanizing mode" (*farangī-sāzī*) of painting as it emerged in the latter half of the seventeenth century, when a group of artists known as *farangī-sāz* adopted post-Renaissance techniques of modeling and perspective. Few of these traits can be discerned in works signed by Shaykh Muhammad or attributed to him. Considering the rapid rise and popularity of the European figure as a type from the 1590s onward, it is plausible that there was precedent in the work of Shaykh Muhammad, as Iskandar Beg tells us, although no examples have survived.

11 For a study of this kind of painting, see Babaie 2009, who interprets these images as visual commentaries on the European practice of celibacy. Almost all other surviving works that show a man in European costume together with a reclining woman have a more explicitly erotic character. Considering that this pairing was an established trope, the subtle eroticism of the scene depicted in the Met panel probably conveyed a more directly erotic message to contemporary viewers.

12 For a comprehensive study of Riza and his oeuvre, see Canby 1996.

13 See ibid., pp. 96–97.

14 On calligraphic style in Safavid paintings and drawings, see Soudavar 1992, p. 256, and Roxburgh 2013.

15 This panel is remarkable for how the *cuerda seca* technique was used to render human figures, as evidenced in the combined use of ocher and black in the faces. The extensive use of black also appears to be unprecedented, with no parallel in contemporary tiles featuring vegetal decoration.

16 Originally, the Met panel also consisted of nine square tiles by four square tiles. The missing part contained the depiction of an attendant on the left, and is visible in two copies made in the 1880s (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 510-1889; fireplace tiles at Olana [fig. 14]), which are discussed in notes 52 and 53 below.

17 A single-page painting in the Metropolitan Museum dating to the late sixteenth century shows a woman in the process of applying henna to her feet (55.121.21). See Canby 2011, p. 219, no. 146.

18 Sheila Canby (2011) refers to the "peaked cap, delicate facial features, and slender body" as the main characteristics of the Qazvin school of painting. Based on these stylistic affinities, the V&A panel can be tentatively attributed to the painter Sadiqi Beg (ca. 1533–1609), who was the director (*kitābdār*) of the royal atelier under Shah ʿAbbas. On Sadiqi Beg, see Welch 1976, pp. 41–99. Tile fragments of very similar design that are now preserved in the Qazvin Museum might also date from the period of Shah ʿAbbas before the transfer of the capital to Isfahan. For reproductions of the panels in the Qazvin Museum, see Luschey-Schmeisser 1978, pl. XCVIII (figs. 204, 205).

19 Like the reclining woman, the woman seated on a platform was a popular figural type in single-page paintings. The earliest known example dates to 1590–95 and is included in a detached folio from the Gulshan Album. See Weinstein 2015, pp. 128–29. An analogous work depicts a seminude woman wearing a crown and seated on a platform; see *Arts of the Islamic World*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, April 24, 2013, lot 64. This and other examples of seated nudes are discussed in Burns 2016.

20 For a brief note on this panel, see Melikian-Chirvani 2007, p. 359. Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani describes the scene as a princess at a wine-drinking party set in a garden, and refers to the removal of the hat by the figure on the right as a Western custom.

21 Some of the landscape elements do not exactly line up from tile to tile, while the two flanking figures are somewhat larger than the figures at center. Overall, this panel is considerably less well preserved than the other works. Although some areas have been repaired or painted over, stylistic features suggest that the panel consists of original Safavid tiles.

22 On the panel in the Metropolitan Museum, see Carboni and Masuya 1993, p. 40. The Louvre piece is discussed in Makariou 2008, and in Fellinger 2012.

23 For a translation of the full poem, see Hafiz 2002, pp. 581–82. I have modified Reza Saberi's translation.

24 Since these figural tile panels adorned a royal pavilion, they were likely produced by the imperial atelier or the *kitāb-khāna* (literally, "book-house"), which functioned as a library-cum-workshop in Persianate royal contexts. Since at least the fifteenth century, the *kitāb-khāna* was the courtly institution responsible for producing fine illustrated manuscripts as well as designs for a range of media, including architecture. For a discussion of the *kitāb-khāna* in the Safavid period, see Simpson 1993.

25 Another common feature of the panels in the Metropolitan Museum is that the eyes of some of the figures (such as the European man and the *sāqī* in fig. 6) are chiseled out in all the works, an iconoclastic action that likely occurred in the period after the fall of the Safavid dynasty. The removal of the eyes—in these examples only one eye of each figure was targeted—meant that the figures no longer functioned as likenesses of living beings, making their representations permissible. In the theological discourse, the opposition to images and their presumptive imitation of God's creative power was largely justified by sayings (*hadīth*) attributed to the Prophet Muhammad rather than any passage in the Qur'an, which contains no direct injunction against image making. For a recent study of different attitudes toward images and image making in Islamic cultures, see Elias 2012.

26 Luschey-Schmeisser 1978, pp. 186–87 and pl. XCVII (figs. 200, 201).

27 Sarre 1901–10, vol. 1 (1910), p. 90, fig. 117.

28 Based on examples of other Safavid buildings, it appears that originally the upper-story iwans of the Jahan-nama featured wooden balustrades.

29 Parts of the Jahan-nama's foundation were unearthed during excavations carried out in 2015. For a summary, see Shojaee Esfahani et al. 2017. At the time of printing, the present author has not had access to the excavation report but, as much of the building's foundation is still buried beneath the modern-day street, the limited archaeological data do not contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the building's architecture and

decoration. A recent study published in conjunction with the excavations has looked at some of the photographic and textual sources examined in this article but does not discuss the figural tile panels. See Shojaee Esfahani 2017.

30 According to a short passage in the chronicle of Munajjim Yazdi, Shah ʿAbbas celebrated the completion of the Chaharbagh, together with its adjoining gardens and edifices, on December 26, 1602 (12 Rajab 1011 H). The accuracy of this date is further confirmed by a chronogram in a poem quoted by Munajjim, which yields the year 1011 H (1602) for the completion of the Sufi lodges on the Chaharbagh. Although Munajjim makes no direct reference to the Jahan-nama, his description implies that the coffeehouses bordering the Chaharbagh south of the Jahan-nama had also been completed by this date. See Munajjim Yazdi 1987, pp. 236–38. For a reconstructed plan of the Chaharbagh showing the location of the coffeehouses and Sufi convents, see Emami 2016, pp. 180–90.

31 My translation is modified after McChesney 1988, p. 109. For the original Persian text, see Munajjim Yazdi 1987, p. 238.

32 See, for example, Tahvildar Isfahani 1963, p. 26; and Muhammad Mahdi 1961, p. 41.

33 Several royal pavilions named Jahan-nama are recorded in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources. A poetic description of sixteenth-century Qazvin, for instance, refers to a pavilion called Jahan-nama that provided a panoramic view of the entire palace complex and the Maydan-i Asb (Hippodrome). However, to my knowledge, the only textual reference to the name Jahan-nama in Isfahan can be found in the *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī*, a chronicle of the reign of Shah ʿAbbas II (r. 1642–66), in which the author refers to the establishment in 1646–47 (1056 H) of a new audience hall or *divānkhāna* (meaning the Chihil Sutun pavilion) "in the Jahan-nama garden" (*bāgh-i dilgushā-yi Jahān-namā*). See Shamlu 1992–95, vol. 1, p. 304. As Lutfullah Hunarfar has noted (1965, p. 570), this reference to Jahan-nama suggests that a garden of this name existed under Shah ʿAbbas I in the location where the Chihil Sutun pavilion was subsequently built, under Shah ʿAbbas II, in the mid-seventeenth century. In the reconstruction of the seventeenth-century palace compound given here (fig. 12), the Jahan-nama pavilion was located on the main axis of the Chihil Sutun garden.

34 As Sussan Babaie (2008, p. 79) also notes, in terms of its overall architectural form, urban location, and function, the Jahan-nama is particularly similar to the ʿAli Qapu, a five-story tower that marked the main gateway of the palace complex on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (fig. 12, no. 6). In its initial stage of construction (before the addition in the 1640s of the semi-open hall with wood pillars, or *tālār*, and its substructure), the ʿAli Qapu was also a multistory cubical building that marked the primary entrance to the palace complex. The construction history and architecture of the ʿAli Qapu are discussed in Galdieri 1979.

35 Della Valle 1843, vol. 1, p. 450. Thanks to Martina Guidetti for her help with the translation from the Italian.

36 Chardin 1811, vol. 8, pp. 23–24.

37 Ibid.

38 Tavernier 1677, p. 155.

39 By the time of Sarre's photograph, however, the built structure of the Jahan-nama had been altered. The architectural style of the low wood structure visible on the right suggests that a later Qajar-period addition was built in a space that was vacant in the Safavid period.

40 Judging by the surviving photographs, of all the tile panels installed on the exterior of the building, only this example appears to have featured a figural scene; other panels in the spandrels have only non-figural and vegetal decoration.

41 Luschey-Schmeisser 1978, p. 187.

42 *Bālā-khāna* (literally, "upper house") is a generic term referring to an upper-story room in a building. Dieulafoy took it to be the name of the building.

43 See Dieulafoy 1883, p. 140. The same account was later republished in Dieulafoy 1887, p. 254.

44 The engraving was first published in Dieulafoy 1883, p. 129; it later appeared in Dieulafoy's book (1887, p. 239), but the caption was shortened and the reference to the Bala Khaneh was omitted. This ambiguity was probably the reason for the misattribution of the V&A panel to the Chihil Sutun pavilion.

45 Letter, Samuel G. W. Benjamin to Luigi Palma di Cesnola, January 16, 1885, folder "Purchases - Authorized - Ceramic tiles - Chardon (1886–1895), 1885–1890, 1893–1895, 1901," Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. This is the earliest document in a series of letters from Benjamin, dated between 1885 and 1889, that shows his attempts to sell the work to the Metropolitan Museum.

46 On the life and career of Alfred Lemaire, see Ekhtiar 2002, especially pp. 56–64. Lemaire is not particularly known as an art dealer, but his compatriot and colleague at the Dar al-Funun, Jules Richard (1816–1891), possessed a large collection of antique objects, including tile panels, and was the main supplier of works of art to the European art market. See Carey 2017, pp. 97–108, and Wills 1891, p. 37. At the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, Lemaire was active, along with Richard, in the sale of art objects at the fair's Iranian pavilion.

47 See the letter cited in note 45 above, Benjamin to di Cesnola, January 16, 1885, and also a letter dated to December 1886, folder "Purchases - Authorized - Ceramic tiles - Chardon (1886–1895), 1885–1890, 1893–1895, 1901," Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. Albert Jacquemart (1808–1875) was a French writer and the author of *History of the Ceramic Art*, published in 1873.

48 See Benjamin 1887, p. 301, where the drawing is reproduced and labeled as "Old Mural Painting of Tiles from Palace of Shah Abbass [*sic*]." On the facing page (p. 300) Benjamin alludes to the fact that the panel was in his possession.

49 One of these documents is a handwritten note by Benjamin that reads, "It gives the undersigned pleasure to state that in compliance with the request of Mr [Louis] Chardon that the three Persian painted panels each in several sections, now at the Metropolitan Museum are the same that were in the possession of Mr. Lemaire of Tehran together with one purchased by the undersigned from him are rare genuine works of Persia of about the Shah Abbas Period." Note, signed by S. G. W. Benjamin, October 22, 1888; folder "Purchases - Authorized - Ceramic tiles - Chardon (1886–), 1896–1897, 1899, 1903," Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. Louis Chardon appears to have been an heir or relative of the deceased owner of the three panels that were on loan to the Metropolitan Museum at the time.

50 On Pruvost, see Wilcoxen 1990, p. 52. Note, signed by A. Lemaire, June 12, 1889; folder "Ceramic Tiles - Purchased Chardon (1896–)," Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. These notes by Lemaire and Benjamin were prepared at Chardon's request in an attempt to persuade the Metropolitan Museum of the value and authenticity of the panels. At the end of his note,

Lemaire adds that he could better sell the panel to the Louvre or to the South Kensington Museum (later Victoria and Albert Museum). The date of Lemaire's letter suggests that it was written during the 1889 Exposition Universelle (May 3–October 31), when he and Richard were present at Iran's pavilion. It is likely that this was about the same time that the Louvre panel was sold.

51 Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 510 to 512–1889.

52 The copies commissioned by Lemaire were sold to the South Kensington Museum by Jules Richard, indicating that the two French expatriates were close collaborators. See Scarce 1976, p. 286. According to Makariou (2008, p. 222), there exists another nineteenth-century panel in the collection of the Royal Scottish Museum (now National Museums Scotland), presumably made by ʿAli Muhammad, that replicates the Met panel with the seated woman (fig. 3). Makariou mentions additional copies of panels in an unspecified collection in Salamanca, Spain, as well as in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (1995–46). See also Fellinger 2012, n. 4. It is possible that ʿAli Muhammad Isfahani had moved from his hometown of Isfahan to Tehran, in part, in response to the commissions from European dealers and collectors such as Lemaire and Robert Murdoch Smith (1835–1900), a Scottish engineer and diplomat who purchased art objects for the South Kensington Museum. Smith and his peers particularly appreciated ʿAli Muhammad's ability in imitating ancient styles (see Floor 2003, p. 78, which attributes ʿAli Muhammad's relocation to a royal order). For a discussion of ʿAli Muhammad's works accrued by Smith, see Carey 2017, especially pp. 159–67. The tiles that reproduced the scenes of the Jahan-nama panels were likely made in ʿAli Muhammad's workshop after photographs provided by Lemaire, rather than from direct observation, a common practice in the late Qajar era that was used for other works signed by ʿAli Muhammad. For more on tiles produced by the Isfahani potter, see Reiche and Voigt 2012. ʿAli Muhammad's signed works in Tehran are discussed in Makkinejad 2008.

53 The fireplace tiles are now preserved at Olana State Historic Site: The Home of Frederic Edwin Church in Hudson, New York. Thanks to Ida Brier, who kindly provided the information about fireplace tiles at Olana. For more on objects from Iran kept at Olana, see Wilcoxen 1990. Since Church was one of the founders of the Metropolitan Museum and a member of the board of trustees at the time, he was likely aware that the scene on his fireplace tiles replicated the Safavid tile panel on loan to the Metropolitan Museum. In 1888, Church bought another set of tiles from Pruvost. In addition to the two sets at Olana, there is another set of fireplace tiles made by ʿAli Muhammad in the Victoria and Albert Museum (522: 1 to 10–1889), which was purchased at the 1889 Exposition Universelle. See Carey 2017, pp. 170–71. For yet another set, see *Islamic Art and Indian Miniatures, and Rugs and Carpets*, sale cat., Christie's, London, April 23, 1996, lot 120; and Ekhtiar 2002, p. 64. These works feature inscriptions similar to the tiles discussed above, indicating that they were also commissioned by Lemaire in 1884–85 (1302 H). Lemaire probably ordered the copies to make the most profit of the more precious Safavid tiles in his possession before selling them off.

54 The dispute among the descendants is recorded in several letters in the MMA Archives. The original owner appears to have been a certain Alexandre Aubry with connections to the Consulate of Paraguay in New York. The final transaction was executed by Louis Chardon, who managed to establish his ownership of the tile panels.

55 Myers purchased the bulk of the art objects offered by Richard and Lemaire at the 1889 Exposition Universelle. See Carey 2017, pp. 168–71.

56 See ibid., pp. 68–117.

57 In a geographic study of Isfahan completed in 1891, for example, Mirza Husayn Khan Tahvildar Isfahani, a local bureaucrat hired by the British Indo-European Telegraph Department, referred to thieves (*duzdān*) who "gradually steal tiles" from abandoned mosques and madrasas of Isfahan to sell them to Russian merchants. See Tahvildar Isfahani 1963, pp. 94–95. Moya Carey (2017, p. 252) surmises that this is an oblique reference to Tahvildar's British employers rather than Russian merchants.

58 Zill al-Sultan was the eldest son of the Qajar monarch Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96). For a comprehensive study, see Walcher 2008. It is likely that Lemaire visited Isfahan in order to form a military band for Zill al-Sultan's army.

59 Brief references to the Jahan-nama in the *Farhang*, a newspaper published in Isfahan in the late nineteenth century, indicate how the building was used at the time. A report published on August 6, 1885 (24 Shawwal 1302 H), for instance, suggests that the headquarters of the newspaper had been moved to the Jahan-nama pavilion, and that the lower floor was repaired and used as the printing shop. In 1887, the building was used as the office of a state official (*amīn al-raʿāyā*). See Rajaei 2004, pp. 30, 123–24. The panels now in museum collections were removed shortly before these renovations, when the pavilion appears to have been unoccupied.

60 See Jabiri Ansari 1999, p. 161.

61 See Kevorkian sale 1927, p. 97. The current location of these tiles is yet to be determined. They were presented together with a group of tile panels said to have come from the palace of Haft Dast. A single tile, now in the British Museum, London (OA+.10821), also belonged to the panel in the spandrels or to one of its counterparts in the Jahan-nama. Other reports confirm that by at least the late nineteenth century, the Jahan-nama was the only building on the Chaharbagh with a noticeable program of figural scenes. For instance, the British physician and traveler Charles James Wills, who visited Isfahan in 1883, refers only to tile decoration in the gateway at the end of the Chaharbagh (most likely a reference to the scene in the spandrels on the western facade of the Jahan-nama); other buildings bordering the Chaharbagh, he noted, were "of brick, ornamented with barbarous designs on plaster in flaring colours." See Wills 1891, pp. 196–98 (quotation on p. 196).

62 For a study of the urban transformations in Isfahan in the late nineteenth century, see Walcher 2000–2001. The phrase "destructive zeal" appears in Makariou 2008.

63 This type of wall articulation is typical of Safavid palace buildings, as is evident in extant structures such as the ʿAli Qapu, where the niches and arched recesses above the dadoes feature mural paintings. For an overview, see Grube 1974. It is likely that, in addition to the tile panels, mural paintings covered the walls of the Jahan-nama, too. What seems to be unique to the Jahan-nama, however, is the inclusion of elaborate figural scenes in the dado decoration, which was perhaps done to make the scenes visible to people on the promenade below.

64 Munajjim Yazdi 1987, p. 238.

65 Dieulafoy 1883, p. 140.

66 In addition to the motif of the reclining woman paired with a European man being repeated in the dadoes and on the spandrels, it is likely that other motifs from the now-lost scenes

inside the building were included on the panel in the spandrels as well.

67 Dieulafoy 1883, p. 140; Dieulafoy 1887, p. 254.

68 See Jabiri Ansari 1999, p. 161.

69 On the term *majlis* and its meaning in pictorial art, see Porter 1994, pp. 107–8.

70 See Nizami 1995, pp. 51–53, 96–105.

71 It is likely that some of the now-lost scenes at the Jahan-nama depicted women wearing a crown or diadem, which appeared to Jabiri Ansari (1999, p. 161) like the *tāj-i kayānī*, or Kayanid Crown associated with the legendary dynasty of kings in pre-Islamic Iran.

72 See Chardin 1811, vol. 2, pp. 211–12. For other estimates, see Matthee 2000, pp. 126–27.

73 A letter from Diego di Santa Ana, Isfahan, to Pope Clement VIII, December 7, 1607, cited in Matthee 2000, p. 125.

74 Fryer 1698, p. 395.

75 Nasrabadi 1999, vol. 1, pp. 142–43.

76 Fazli 2015, vol. 2, p. 584. The term *favāḥish* is the plural form of the Arabic term *fāḥisha*, or prostitute. While Persian-language sources make no linguistic distinction among different classes of prostitutes, both European and Persian accounts suggest that a hierarchy did exist in Safavid Isfahan.

77 Ibid., p. 586.

78 See ibid., p. 588; Junabadi 1999, pp. 832–33, who also refers to Muhammad Khan's infatuation with Gulpari and the order by Shah ʿAbbas.

79 The painting has been discussed in Schmitz 1984 and Canby 2009, pp. 132–33, although both authors focused more on the other figures represented. The work likely depicts an event that occurred before 1608—Alpan Beg, the steward of private royal ceremonies (*yasāvul-bāshī*) who is identified by label in the painting, was executed in 1608 or 1609 (1017 H). Interestingly, his downfall also involved a courtesan: according to Fazli, he was executed for having shown affection to an "Arab courtesan" (*ʿArab-i fāḥisha*) present at the shah's assembly (*majlis-i shāh*). See Fazli 2015, vol. 1, p. 494.

80 In Safavid times, prostitutes were often managed by an older woman known as a *dallāla*, a term of Arabic origin denoting the feminine form of broker (*dallāl*). For references, see Matthee 2000, pp. 138, 142.

81 Bembo 2007, p. 350. There is some confusion in Bembo's description of the pavilion. The caption to a drawing in this part of the account refers to the building as the Ayina-khana (Palace of Mirrors), but a close reading of the text suggests that Bembo describes the Hasht Bihisht pavilion, which was located in the Nightingale Garden (Bagh-i Bulbul; misspelled Bab-i Bulbul by Bembo [ibid., p. 348]). Bembo's description of this pavilion is also discussed in Landau 2013, p. 110.

82 The most famous examples are two female nudes by Riza, datable to 1590–92. As Canby (1996, p. 32) has shown, these were based on Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of *Cleopatra*.

83 Della Valle 1843, vol. 2, pp. 9, 26; discussed in Farhad 1987, p. 231.

84 For examples of other Safavid paintings showing burn marks and for a discussion of relevant sources, see Farhad 1987, pp. 94–97.

85 Chardin 1811, vol. 2, p. 213; cited in Farhad 1987, p. 95.

86 Cited in Matthee 2000, p. 134.

87 Junabadi 1999, p. 762. For a full translation of the passage, see McChesney 1988, p. 114. For an interpretation of Safavid images such as these as allusions to a "paradise-like court," see Necipoğlu 1993, pp. 308, 322n28. Earlier scholarship interpreted these paintings as representations of dandies and well-dressed ladies who were part of the contemporary society. See, for instance, Grube 1974, p. 515, where the paintings in the Chihil Sutun pavilion are described as representations of the "elegant society" of Isfahan.

88 Schimmel 1992, p. 143.

REFERENCES

Babaie, Sussan

2008 *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shiʿism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

2009 "Visual Vestiges of Travel: Persian Windows on European Weaknesses." *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, pp. 105–36.

Bembo, Ambrosio

2007 *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*. Translated by Clara Bargellini; edited and annotated by Anthony Welch. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Benjamin, S[amuel] G. W.

1887 *Persia and the Persians*. London: John Murray.

Blake, Stephen P.

1999 *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722*. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda.

Burns, Ashley Mayeri

2016 "The Development of the Seated Female Nude in Seventeenth-Century Safavid Painting." MA diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Canby, Sheila R.

1996 *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan*. London: Azimuth Editions.

2009 as ed. *Shah ʿAbbas: The Remaking of Iran*. Exh. cat., British Museum, London. London: British Museum Press.

2011 "Lady Applying Henna." In Ekhtiar et al. 2011, p. 219, no. 146.

2014 *The "Shahnama" of Shah Tahmasp: The Persian Book of Kings*. New York: MMA.

Carboni, Stefano, and Tomoko Masuya

1993 *Persian Tiles*. Exh. cat. New York: MMA.

Carey, Moya

2017 *Persian Art: Collecting the Arts of Iran for the V&A*. London: V&A Publishing.

Chardin, Jean

1811 *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*. New ed. Edited by L. Langlès. 10 vols. Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Libraire.

Della Valle, Pietro

1843 *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il pellegrino*. Edited by G. Gancia. 2 vols. Brighton, England: Gancia.

Dickson, Martin Bernard, and Stuart Cary Welch

1981 *The Houghton Shāhnāmeh*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Fogg Art Museum.

Dieulafoy, Jane

1883 "La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane," chaps. 9–17. *Le tour du monde: Nouveau journal des voyages* 46, pp. 81–160.

1887 *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane: Relation de voyage*. Paris: Hachette.

Ekhtiar, Maryam D.

2002 “Harmony or Cacophony: Music Instruction at the Dar al-Fonun.” In *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, edited by Elton L. Daniel, pp. 45–67. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda.

Ekhtiar, Maryam D., Priscilla P. Soucek, Sheila R. Canby, and Navina Najat Haidar, eds.

2011 *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA.

Elias, Jamal J.

2012 *Aisha’s Cushion: Religious Art, Perception, and Practice in Islam*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Emami, Farshid

2016 “Coffeehouses, Urban Spaces, and the Formation of a Public Sphere in Safavid Isfahan.” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 33, pp. 177–220.

Farhad, Massumeh

1987 “Safavid Single Page Painting, 1629–1666.” PhD diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani

2015 *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah ʿAbbas*. Edited by Kioumars Ghereghlou. 2 vols. Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust.

Fellinger, Gwenaëlle

2012 “Une scène au jardin et les pavillons royaux d’Ispahan.” In *Les arts de l’Islam: Au Musée du Louvre*, edited by Sophie Makariou, pp. 344–46. Paris: Louvre.

Floor, Willem

2003 *Traditional Crafts in Qajar Iran (1800–1925)*. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda.

Franco, Giacomo

1591–1610 *Habiti delle donne venetiane; intagliate in rame nuovamente*. [Venice]: N.p.

Fryer, John

1698 *A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters; Being Nine Years Travels, Begun 1672, and Finished 1681*. London: N.p.

Galdieri, Eugenio

1979 *Eṣfahān, ʿAlī Qāpū: An Architectural Survey*. Restorations 5. Rome: IsMEO.

Grube, Ernst

1974 “Wall Paintings in the Seventeenth Century Monuments of Isfahan.” In “Studies on Isfahan: Proceedings of the Isfahan Colloquium, Part II,” *Iranian Studies* 7, no. 3–4, pp. 511–42.

Hafiz, Shams al-Din Muhammad

2002 *The Divan of Hafez: A Bilingual Text, Persian-English*. Translated by Reza Saberi. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Haneda, Masashi, and Rudi Matthee

2006 “Isfahan, vii. Safavid Period.” In *Encyclopedia Iranica* 13, no. 6, pp. 650–57. Available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/isfahan-vii-safavid-period, last updated March 30, 2012.

Holakooei, Parviz, Flavia Tisato, Carmela Vaccaro, and Ferruccio Carlo Petrucci

2014 “*Haft rang* or *cuerda seca*? Spectroscopic Approaches to the Study of Overglaze Polychrome Tiles from Seventeenth Century Persia.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 41 (January), pp. 447–60.

Hotz, Albert

[1891] “A Collection of Photographs Taken in Persia, Turkey, and the Caucasus, during a Seven Months’ Journey in 1891.” Hotz Album 10. Leiden University Library.

Hunarfar, Lutfullah

1965 *Ganjīna-i āsār-i tārīkhī-yi Iṣfahān*. Isfahan: Saqafi.

Jabiri Ansari, Haj Mirza Hasan Khan

1999 *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān*. Edited by Jamshid Mazaheri. Isfahan: Muʾassasa-yi intisharati-yi mashʿal.

Jacquemart, Albert

1873 *History of the Ceramic Art: A Descriptive and Philosophical Study of the Pottery of All Ages and All Nations*. Translated by Mrs. Bury Palliser. London: Low.

Junabadi, Mirza Beg

1999 *Rawżat al-Ṣafavīyya*. Edited by Ghulam Riza Tabatabaʾi Majd. Tehran: Bunyad-i Mawqufat-i Duktur Mahmud Afshar.

Kevorkian sale

1927 *The H. Kevorkian Collection of Near & Far Eastern Art*. Sale cat., Anderson Galleries, New York, January 7–8.

Landau, Amy S.

2013 “Visibly Foreign, Visibly Female: The Eroticization of the *Zan-i Farangī* in Seventeenth-Century Persian Painting.” In *Eros and Sexuality in Islamic Art*, edited by Francesca Leoni and Mika Natif, pp. 99–130. Farnham, Surrey, England, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.

Luschey-Schmeisser, Ingeborg

1978 *The Pictorial Tile Cycle of Hašt Behešt in Iṣfahān and Its Iconographic Tradition*. Reports and Memoirs 14. Rome: IsMEO.

Makariou, Sophie

2008 “Meeting in a Garden.” In *3 Capitals of Islamic Art, Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi: Masterpieces from the Louvre Collection*, pp. 221–22, no. 97. Exh. cat. Istanbul: Sakip Sabanci Müzesi.

Makkinejad, Mahdi

2008 “Kāshī-kārān-i gumnām-i dawra-yi Qājāriya (1): Ustād ʿAli Muḥammad Iṣfahānī.” *Gulistān-i Hunar* 13, pp. 105–12.

Matthee, Rudi

2000 “Prostitutes, Courtesans and Dancing Girls: Women Entertainers in Safavid Iran.” In *Iran and Beyond: Essays in Middle Eastern History in Honor of Nikki R. Keddie*, edited by Rudi Matthee and Beth Baron, pp. 121–50. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda.

McChesney, Robert D.

1988 “Four Sources on Shah ʿAbbas’s Building of Isfahan.” *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* 5, pp. 103–34.

Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren

2007 *Le chant du monde, l’art de l’Iran safavide: 1501–1736*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée du Louvre éditions.

Migeon, Gaston

1927 *Manuel d’art musulman: Arts plastiques et industriels*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Paris: Auguste Picard.

Muhammad Mahdi b. Muhammad Riza al-Isfahani

1961 *Niṣf-i jahān fī taʿrīf al-Iṣfahān*. Edited by Manuchihr Sutuda. Isfahan: Taʾyīd.

Munajjim Yazdi, Mulla Jalal al-Din

1987 *Tārīkh-i ʿAbbāsī yā rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl*. Edited by Sayf Allah Vahidniya. Tehran: Vahid.

Nasrabadi, Muhammad Tahir

1999 *Tazkira-yi Nasrābādī. Tazkirat al-Shuʿarā*. Edited by Muhsin Naji Nasrabadi. 2 vols. Tehran: Asatir.

Necipoğlu, Gülru

1993 “Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces.” In “Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces,” edited by Gülru Necipoğlu, *Ars Orientalis* 23, pp. 303–42.

Nizami Ganjavi

1995 *The Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*. Translated and edited by Julie Scott Meisami. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O’Kane, Bernard

2011 “Tiles of Many Hues: The Development of Iranian *Cuerda Seca* Tiles and the Transfer of Tilework Technology.” In *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, edited by Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, pp. 177–200; with appendix by M. S. Tite and C. Salter, pp. 200–203. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Overton, Keelan

2012 “From Pahlavi Isfahan to Pacific Shangri La: Reviving, Restoring, and Reinventing Safavid Aesthetics, ca. 1920–40.” *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 19, no. 1, pp. 61–87.

2016 “Filming, Photographing and Purveying in ‘The New Iran’: The Legacy of Stephen H. Nyman, ca. 1937–42.” In *Arthur Upham Pope and a New Survey of Persian Art*, edited by Yuka Kadoi, pp. 326–70. Leiden: Brill.

Porter, Yves

1994 *Painters, Paintings, and Books: An Essay on Indo-Persian Technical Literature, 12–19th Centuries*. Translated by S. Butani. New Delhi: Centre for Human Sciences.

Rajaei, Abdol Mahdi

2004 *Tārīkh-i ijtimāʿī-i Iṣfahān dar ʿaṣr-i Ẓill al-Sulṭān: Az nigāh-i rūznāmah-i Farhang-i Iṣfahān*. Isfahan: Danishgah-i Isfahan.

Reiche, Ina, and Friederike Voigt

2012 “Technology of Production: The Master Potter ‘Ali Muhammad Isfahani: Insights into the Production of Decorative Underglaze Painted Tiles in 19th Century Iran.” In *Analytical Archaeometry: Selected Topics*, edited by Howell Edwards and Peter Vandenabeele, pp. 502–31. Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry.

Roxburgh, David J.

2013 “Beyond Books: The Art and Practice of the Single-Page Drawing in Safavid Iran.” In *In Harmony: The Norma Jean Calderwood Collection of Islamic Art*, edited by Mary McWilliams, pp. 135–45. Exh. cat., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Art Museums.

Sarre, Friedrich Paul Theodor

1901–10 *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst: Geschichtliche Untersuchung und Aufnahme muhammedanischer Backsteinbauten in Vorderasien und Persien*. 2 vols. Berlin: E. Wasmuth.

Scarce, Jennifer M.

1976 “Ali Mohammad Isfahani, Tilemaker of Tehran.” *Oriental Art* 22, no. 3 (Autumn), pp. 278–88.

Schimmel, Annemarie

1992 *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Schmitz, Barbara

1984 “On a Special Hat Introduced during the Reign of Shāh ʿAbbās the Great.” *Iran* 22, pp. 103–12.

Shamlu, Vali Quli b. Davud Quli

1992–95 *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī*. Edited by Hasan Sadat Nasiri. 2 vols. Tehran: Vizārat-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī.

Shojaee Esfahani, Ali

2017 “Kākh-i Jahān-namā va madkhal-i vurūd bih Chahārbāgh dar asnād-i taṣvīrī va nivishtārī-yi dawrān-i Ṣafavī ta Pahlavī.” *Pazhūhishhā-yi Īrānshināsī* 7, no. 1, pp. 29–48.

Shojaee Esfahani, Ali, Ali Aarab, Elham Abdolmohammad Arab, Shadi Kalantar, Zeinab Hadi, and Fatemeh Hashemi

2017 “Excavations at the Jahānnamā Complex: Urban Archaeology at Isfahan, Iran.” *Antiquities* 91, no. 355 (February), pp. 1–6. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2016.230.

Simpson, Marianna Shreve

1993 “The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the *Kitab-khana* in Safavid Iran.” In “The Artist’s Workshop,” edited by Peter M. Lukehart, *Studies in the History of Art* 38, pp. 104–21.

Soudavar, Abolala

1992 *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*. New York: Rizzoli.

Soustiel, Jean, and Yves Porter

2003 *Tombs of Paradise: The Shah-e Zende in Samarkand and Architectural Ceramics of Central Asia*. Translated from French by Damien Janos. Saint-Rémy-en-l’Eau: Monelle Hayot.

Tahvildar Isfahani, Mirza Husayn Khan

1963 *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān: Jughrāfiyā-yi ṭabīʿī va insānī va āmār-i aṣnāf-i shahr*. Edited by Manuchihr Sutuda. Tehran: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Tehran.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste

1677 *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier . . . through Turky, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the Space of Forty Years*. Translated by J[ohn] P[hillips]. London: William Godbid.

Teece, Denise-Marie

2011 “Tile Panel.” In Ekhtiar et al. 2011, pp. 235–36, no. 162.

Vecellio, Cesare

1590 *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*. Venice: Damian Zenaro.

Walcher, Heidi A.

2000–2001 “Face of the Seven Spheres: Urban Morphology and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Isfahan,” parts 1–2. *Iranian Studies* 33, no. 3–4, pp. 327–47; 34, no. 1–4, pp. 117–39.

2008 *In the Shadow of the King: Zill al-Sultan and Isfahan under the Qajars*. London: I. B. Tauris; in association with the Iran Heritage Foundation.

Weinstein, Laura

2015 *Ink, Silk & Gold: Islamic Art from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston: MFA Publications.

Welch, Anthony

1976 *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wilcoxen, Charlotte

1990 “A Group of Persian Pottery in a Classic Tradition.” *Ars Ceramica*, no. 7, pp. 48–53.

Wills, C[harles] J[ames]

1891 *In the Land of the Lion and Sun; or Modern Persia. Being Experiences of Life in Persia from 1866 to 1881*. London: Ward, Lock.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Stone Sculpture and Ritual Impersonation in Classic Veracruz: age fotostock / Alamy Stock Photo, photo by Ignacio Guevara: fig. 18; Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, photo by John Bigelow Taylor: fig. 8; Archivo Digital de las Colecciones del Museo Nacional de Antropología. INAH-CANON: figs. 7, 17; Courtesy of Caitlin Earley: fig. 10; Drawing by Ian Graham. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology: fig. 13; Photo by Justin Kerr: figs. 11, 14; From Koontz 2009a, pp. 39, 53, 57, 67, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: figs. 9, 15a, c, 19; From Ladrón de Guevara 1999, p. 76, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 16; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 3, 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Joseph Coscia Jr.: figs. 1, 5, 6; From Proskouriakoff 1954, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 15b; Drawing by Linda Schele © David Schele. Photo courtesy of Ancient Americas at Los Angeles County Museum of Art: fig. 12; Courtesy of Cherra Wylie: fig. 10

Qian Xuan's Loyalist Revision of Iconic Imagery in *Tao Yuanming Returning Home* and *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution: fig. 3; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 6, 10, 13, 14; Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: fig. 15; Courtesy of Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art: fig. 5; Palace Museum, Beijing: figs. 2, 16

Workshop Practice Revealed by Two Architectural Reliefs by Andrea Della Robbia: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1–17

All the City's Courtesans: A Now-Lost Safavid Pavilion and Its Figural Tile Panels: From Dieulafoy 1883, p. 129, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 13; Digital library of the The Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Jacques Doucet collections: fig. 9; Courtesy of Farshid Emami: figs. 12, 15; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 17, 18; National Heritage Organization, Isfahan: fig. 10; © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY, photo by Raphaël Chipault: fig. 5; From Sarre 1901–10, vol. 1, p. 90 and vol. 2, pl. [4], Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: figs. 8,11; Seattle Art Museum, photo by Paul Macapia: fig. 7; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London: fig. 2; Walters Art Museum: fig. 16

Epigraphic and Art Historical Responses to *Presenting the Tripod*, by Wang Xuehao (1803): Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Oi-Cheong Lee: figs. 1–4; Palace Museum, Beijing: fig. 10; Ruan Yuan, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi*, vol. 4, pp. 6–7, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 11; From Ruan Yuan, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi*, 1804, vol. 9, pp. 6b–7b, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 12

John Singer Sargent Painting Fashion: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: fig. 10; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14; © National Trust Images / John Hammon: fig. 3; © Tate, London 2019: fig. 12

New Research on a Rare Enameled Horse Bit from the Angevin Court at Naples: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Bruce Schwarz: figs. 1, 4; Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo–Torino, Musei Reali–Armeria Reale: figs. 6, 7; Lorenzo Morigi, Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, Napoli: fig. 10; RMN-Grand Palais (Musée de Cluny - Musée National du Moyen-Âge) / Michel Urtado: figs. 5, 8; RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle: fig. 9

Passignano, Not Leoni: A New Attribution for *A Cardinal's Procession*: © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Reproduced by the kind permission of Downing College, Cambridge: fig. 4; Gallerie degli Uffizi: fig. 3; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 1; National Gallery of Canada: fig. 5; © 2019 Photo Scala, Florence: fig. 2

Margareta Haverman, *A Vase of Flowers*: An Innovative Artist Reexamined: Photo by Jon Albertson: fig. 2; © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Reproduced with the kind permission of The Fitzwilliam Museum and the Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge: fig. 12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 5, 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Evan Read: fig. 6; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: fig. 15; Photo by SMK Photo / Jacob Schou-Hansen: fig. 13; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen: fig. 3

The *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque* by Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Newly Identified Sources: Dalton Alves / NPS: fig. 15, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1–4, 8–11, 13, 14; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: fig. 16

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
JOURNAL 54

ARTICLES

Stone Sculpture and Ritual Impersonation in Classic Veracruz
Caitlin Earley

Qian Xuan's Loyalist Revision of Iconic Imagery in *Tao Yuanming Returning Home* and *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*
Shi-yee Liu

Workshop Practice Revealed by Two Architectural Reliefs by Andrea Della Robbia
Wendy Walker and Carolyn Riccardelli

All the City's Courtesans: A Now-Lost Safavid Pavilion and Its Figural Tile Panels
Farshid Emami

Epigraphic and Art Historical Responses to *Presenting the Tripod*, by Wang Xuehao (1803)
Michael J. Hatch

John Singer Sargent Painting Fashion
Anna Reynolds

RESEARCH NOTES

New Research on a Rare Enameled Horse Bit from the Angevin Court at Naples
Marina Viallon

Passignano, Not Leoni: A New Attribution for *A Cardinal's Procession*
Ian Kennedy

Margareta Haverman, *A Vase of Flowers*: An Innovative Artist Reexamined
Gerrit Albertson, Silvia A. Centeno, and Adam Eaker

The *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque* by Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Newly Identified Sources
Thayer Tolles

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-67696-8
ISBN-10: 0-226-67696-X
PRINTED IN SPAIN