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## FOUR SOURCES ON SHAH ‘ABBAS’S BUILDING OF ISFAHAN

Shah ‘Abbas’s additions to the cityscape of Isfahan have elicited awe and admiration for centuries (fig. 1). The great Royal Square (Maydan-i Shah), the Palace District (Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan), the Royal Mosque (Masjid-i Shah), the pleasure complex outside the city (Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad or Hazar Jarib), the long mansion-lined avenue (*khiyābān* or *chahār bāgh*) from the palace complex to the suburban pleasure, and the Bridge of Forty Spans (also known as the Allah Wirdi Khan Bridge and the Bridge of Thirty-Three Spans) have drawn comment, detailed description, and study by Iranians and foreigners alike from the moment of planning and construction down to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

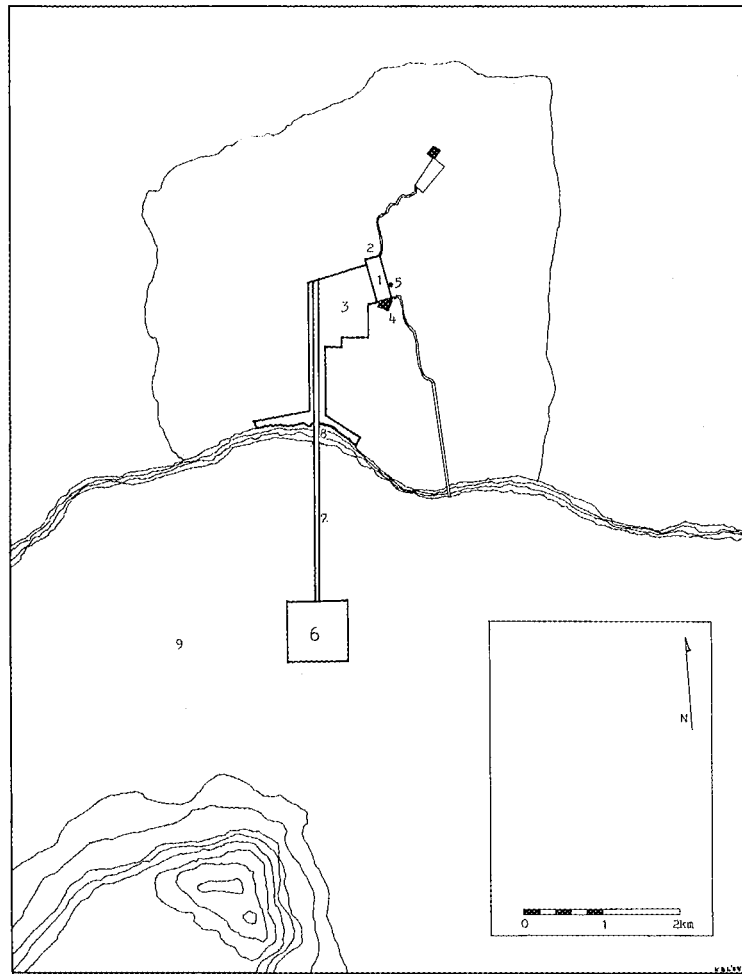
Much of the literary record, especially that produced by Europeans, is fairly widely known. Less well known are materials in Persian, both published and unpublished. It is safe to say that documents and accounts in Persian pertaining to ‘Abbas’s projects exist in far greater numbers than is generally believed.<sup>2</sup> One would certainly expect that construction work on such a scale as that undertaken during his reign (1587-1629) would have left a trail of written evidence. For one thing, it is difficult to imagine that the shah’s memorializers were any less likely to record the splendor of Isfahan than were foreign visitors. For another, it is impossible to imagine the completion of such immense projects without numerous legal transactions, each of which would have left some documentary spoor.

Indeed, as the texts presented here show, property acquisition was an important part of ‘Abbas’s development plans and certainly generated legal documents. In addition, long-term arrangements to ensure services and maintenance for some of the public buildings required the drafting and filing of legal instruments (*waqfnāmas*, e.g.). To what extent the documentary material survives remains an open question. Some epitomes, copies, and citations of documents relating to the buildings of Isfahan have been published.<sup>3</sup> Others,

no doubt, remain filed in mosque and government archives.

Perhaps the most accessible records of the Abbasid period in Isfahan are found in official and semiofficial chronicles of ‘Abbas’s reign,<sup>4</sup> the category into which the four texts translated here fall. Although these four probably do not exhaust all the surviving contemporary Persian accounts of ‘Abbas’s building, they do at least span the “Isfahani” period of his reign (1598-1629). Two of them, the *Nuqāwat al-Āthār* (henceforth *NA*) and *Tārīkh-i ‘Abbāsī* (henceforth *TA*), were written in the first half of this period; the other two, *Tārīkh-i Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī* (henceforth *TAAA*) and *Rawḍat al-Safawiyah* (henceforth *RS*) were written during the second half of the period. The range in time of these four sources is particularly important for understanding the sequence of building, not always clear from the building inscriptions, and therefore for gaining more insight into ‘Abbas’s motives for the kinds of projects he approved.

André Godard appears to have been the first modern European scholar to attempt to set out the motives and vision behind Shah ‘Abbas’s building projects. He concluded that there were two distinct building programs. The first, in his view, began in 1598 with the designation of Isfahan as the capital and lasted until about 1611. It centered, according to him, on “travaux d’installation,” that is, works required by the selection of Isfahan as imperial center—the palace complex, the maydan area, and the royal pleasure. The second program he characterized as “sumptuous,” that is, projects such as the Royal Mosque, designed, in his view, to celebrate the grandeur of the Safavid state under ‘Abbas’s aegis. For the most part, Godard seems to have relied on political history for his demarcation and characterization of these two periods: the first encompassed by the selection of Isfahan as capital, on the one hand, and the victories over the Ottomans, on the other; the second coinciding with the period of peace



1. Isfahan: Shah 'Abbas's major projects, 1590-1611. Legend. 1. Royal Maydan: phase 1, 1590-95; phase 2, 1602 or 1603. 2. Qaysariya, 1591-1603. 3. Palace precincts, 1590. 4. Royal Mosque, 1611-16. 5. Dome mosque, 1603-19. 6. Bagh-i 'Abbasabad, 1596. 7. Khiyaban/boulevard, ca. 1596-ca. 1602. 8. Bridge of "Forty Spans," completed 1602. 9. 'Abbasabad Quarter, 1611. ——— Contours of 'Abbas's major developments. ♦ Mosques. Map after Gaube, 1979.

following those victories (1611-29).<sup>5</sup> But the sources presented here give evidence of other reasons, generally economic and social, for 'Abbas's building plans. Moreover, some of the information, especially that found in *NA* and *TA*, raises questions about Godard's periodization of the two programs of construction. In the commentary I will return to this point.

#### THE SOURCES

The earliest of the works from which information on Isfahan has been excerpted and translated is the *NA*. Its

author is Mahmud b. Hidayat Allah from the village of Afushtah near Natanz, hence the nisba, Afushtah-yi Natanzi. A generation older than the other three writers included here, Afushtah-yi Natanzi (henceforth Natanzi) decided to compose his account of the Safavid state in the years 1589-90 when he was already sixty years of age. He gave his work the title *Nuqāwat al-Āthār fī Dhikr al-Akhyār* and completed it, after nine years of work, in 1598. Although there is almost no autobiographical information in the work, Natanzi must have been a bureaucrat of some standing, for he

had access to government documents and royal correspondence.<sup>8</sup> The editor of the published edition of Natanzi's work, Ihsan Ishraqi, contends that the author preferred not to associate with politicians. His assertion is based on his inability to find any mention of Natanzi in other works of that period.<sup>7</sup> However, the latter's use of recent government documents and his sketches of court life suggest that he was a person with an official, perhaps high-ranking, position.

He appears to have been no great admirer of Shah 'Abbas, however, which may partly account for the fact that other writers do not mention him. He apparently thought the young shah both boorish and arrogant. His descriptions of some of the winter journeys to Isfahan, for example, mock the elaborate advance preparations the shah required along his route, and other anecdotes depicting the shah's antic behavior can hardly be interpreted as flattering.<sup>8</sup>

His description of 'Abbas's building at Isfahan is the earliest I have found, and his dating of the design and development of certain projects is extremely important. In addition to his discussion of the work on the Maydan-i Shah and the qaysariya, he provides important information about the famous wall paintings in the maydan area. Perhaps most significant is his dating of some of the maydan construction to the fall and winter of 1590-91, well before the traditional date of 1598 when 'Abbas is generally believed to have made Isfahan his capital.

About thirteen years after Natanzi finished his book, Jalal al-Din Muhammad from the city of Yazd<sup>9</sup> completed work on an annalistically arranged biography of Shah 'Abbas up to ca. 1611. Jalal al-Din (also known as Jalal-i Munajjim) was a court astrologer and sometime ambassador, and his work, which begins with 'Abbas's birth, contains a wealth of detail not found elsewhere. For many years he was very close to court life, and he writes about those years with refreshing clarity, compared to the more formal styles of Natanzi and Iskandar Beg. His book is designated *Tārīkh-i 'Abbāsī* in the Storey/Bregel catalogue, but is called *Rūz-nāmah-yi Mullā Jalāl* in the Milli catalogue. The author himself does not give his work a title. The *TA*, too, is valuable for understanding the sequence of 'Abbas's building projects for it was written at the time several of the projects were underway and gives considerable information on how land was acquired, construction materials gathered, and the work contracted out.

The best known of the sources presented here is the

third in terms of the date of composition. In 1615, Iskandar Beg Munshi completed work on the first section (including the *ṣahīfah-yi awwal* and the *ṣahīfah-yi duvum/maqsad-i awwal*) of his famous history, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. Of the four works under consideration here, it is by and large the only one that has been used by students of Isfahan's architectural history.<sup>10</sup> This is especially true of non-Iranian scholars, but it is generally applicable to Iranian scholars as well. Somewhat by default, therefore, Iskandar Beg's work has come to be seen as authoritative in establishing such points as: (1) the year in which 'Abbas made Isfahan his principal residence (1598), (2) the replanning of the city that accompanied that decision, and (3) the circumstances surrounding the building of the Masjid-i Shah, the only project Iskandar Beg treats in much detail. The recent translation and publication of Iskandar Beg's history by R. M. Savory makes his information even more accessible.<sup>11</sup>

Very shortly after Iskandar Beg completed the first section of the *TAAA*, a colleague, Mirza Beg b. Hasan Junabadi, began work on his *Rawdat al-Ṣafawīyah* (the date of writing is mentioned on fol. 315b as 1026 (1617), but elsewhere 1028 and 1042 are given). Although much of his information about the building of the Maydan-i Shah, the great avenue, and the royal pleasure not surprisingly parallels Iskandar Beg's, Junabadi provides details not found elsewhere about 'Abbas's original plans for commercial redevelopment of the city and about the opposition he encountered which succeeded in thwarting his first plans.

The translations provided here are only a step toward a full compilation of textual materials on Isfahan in the time of Shah 'Abbas. Careful culling of other chronicle and biographical works such as *Fath-nāmah-i 'Abbās-nāmdār* (*Shāh nāmah yi Ṣādiq Beg*<sup>12</sup>) or *Tārīkh-i Haydari*<sup>13</sup> will probably bring more information to light. In addition, such now "lost" works as the fifth volume of Shams al-Din "Asil's" *Miftāḥ al-Qulūb* which was, or was to have been, devoted entirely to Shah 'Abbas,<sup>14</sup> or the third volume of Fadli al-Isfahani's *Afdal al-tawārīkh*,<sup>15</sup> if located, may also provide new information about 'Abbas's great urban design.

Besides the chronicles and biographies there is the potentially invaluable evidence of documentary material—records pertaining to endowments such as those already published in the *Tārīkhchah-yi awqāf-i Isfahān*, court (*maḥkamah*) registers, sale-purchase agreements, and rental contracts like those of the

Safavid period published by Papazian,<sup>16</sup> and official correspondence such as that which Nawaʿi, Thabitiyan, and others have been publishing.<sup>17</sup> Much work remains to be done before one can describe with any assurance the urban policy of Shah ʿAbbas which he carried out in Isfahan.

## TRANSLATIONS

*N.B. Ellipses in the translations signify omission of material not considered essential, such as festival verses and chronograms. All the material is easily available either in the published editions of NA and TAAA or in the relevant texts of the unpublished TA and RS (the latter two are appended to this article).*

1. *Nuqāwat al-Āthār (NA)* by Mahmud b. Hidayat Allah Afushtah-yi Natanzi.

[376] [Describing events of the fourth year of the accession of ʿAbbas, i.e., 14 Jumada I 998–24 Jumada I 999 (21 March 1590–20 March 1591)] In short, the glorious retinue stopped in the City of Worshipers,<sup>18</sup> Yazd, where it occurred to the shah, whose throne is the world, to meet, converse, and learn how things were with ʿAli Sultan<sup>19</sup> and the princes. Then the air of the City of Rule [Isfahan] was sweetened with the musk and ambergris of the dust of the hooves of the World Rulers' steed, and he alighted at the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan. ʿAli Sultan came to present gifts, and he offered much bullion (*nuqud*) and magnificent objects. [The shah] prepared for feasting and entertainment, and an order was issued to that effect.

After convening a banquet and a convivial gathering, the ruler of the spheres, unbeknownst to the guests, betook himself to the citadel. There he met his brothers and brought them to the palace (*dawlatkhāna*). Then, acting under the dictates of anxiety and care which are the necessary adjuncts of world rule and the means of tying together the accoutrements of success, without hesitation or reflection, he did that which was concealed in his royal heart.<sup>20</sup>

When his mind was cleared of this matter, he cast the rays of his attention on the construction and renovation of the buildings of that city whose rank is that of Paradise and, in accordance with "the king undertakes dispensing justice and building," he gave an order to create a qaysariya structure like one that was [once?] located in Tabriz (*bi-ṭarīqī kih dar Tabrīz wāqīʿ būd*). He rebuilt all the old bazaars and designed many shops and *chahār sūqs*. In a short time all were completed. The

craft guilds (*aṣnāf-i muhtariḡa*), following each other's example (*bi-taqlīd-i yakdiḡar*), adorned the shops with a vast variety of goods. Isfahan became such a "capital city" (*miṣr-i jāmiʿ*) that, next to it, Tabriz, despite its wealth of beauty and its abundance of attractive and decent people, appeared a decidedly provincial town.

For polo (*chūḡān-bāzi*) and horse-racing (*asb-tāzi*),<sup>21</sup> the maydan was leveled, river sand was spread on it, and it [thus] became a colored reflector of the forms of the heavenly bodies....

In the middle of winter 999 [1590-91], the banners were raised toward Qazvin....

[534] In the middle of Muharram 1002 [October 1593] when the victory-consorting retinue returned from a campaign in Luristan, several days were spent in the City of Rule, Qazvin.... Having spent the days of early Safar [November 1593] in relaxation and ease, a yearning to travel to the City of Rule, Isfahan, swept over the heart of the possessor of crown and throne. In accordance with a royal command, the advance party of the felicity-consorting retinue was sent to the City of Kingship of Iraq [i.e., Isfahan].

[535] Since in that propitious time some of the khans of the Chaghatay people, such as the mighty Nur Muhammad, nephew of Din Muhammad Khan, and the powerful Refuge of Government, Hajim Khan, the ruler of Khwarazm,<sup>22</sup> had brought the face of supplication (*irādat*) to this Kaʿba-like threshold and [since] it was the shah's will (*irādat*) that they be brought to see the City of Rule, Isfahan, in the royal victory-related retinue, therefore, before the victory-consorting retinue set forth, the Refuge of Amirhood, Alpan Beg,<sup>23</sup> who stood out among the pillars of the mighty state by virtue of his great ingenuity and superior administrative and executive skills, was ordered to go to Isfahan and build a suitable residence beside the Naqsh-i Jahan palace (*dawlatkhāna*) where Hajim Khan could stay when the royal retinue arrived. The Refuge of Amirhood, Alpan Beg, went to the city and designed a lofty structure to the east of the palace. In a short time, through the felicitous fortune and auspices of the shah, the equal of Alexander, it was completed.

In his efforts to obtain supplies and material for [building] that structure, he used extreme measures in dealing with a number of people who were slow in bringing in bricks and stone, [such as] cutting off the ears and noses of several respected village leaders and local elders.

There was a local athlete (*pahlawān*) named Hasan who, because of his courage and physical strength, was

the boldest and most impetuous man in Iraq. As a result of the assembling [of men] and supplies, he had emerged as one of the leaders [of those supplying goods] and had earned the approbation of the illustrious one who wears the crown, above and beyond his aforementioned talents. One day he arrived late with materials which were his responsibility and [Alpan Beg] ordered him strangled (*bi-ḥalq kushand*). Some leaders immediately intervened and agreed to compensate for his sin with 12 tumans. That same hour they presented the sum, and he escaped being killed.

To sum up, over the course of twenty days, a building containing some 800,000 baked and sun-dried bricks and loads (*kharwārḥā*) of stone, marble, and other materials was begun and completed, and the top of its iwan reached to the highest heaven. Master builders and highly skilled engineers, masters of Euclid, embellished the roof and walls of that solid structure with vaulted arches (*tāgha-yi muqawwas*) and muqarnas forms and made it a clear example in its sublimity and soaring loftiness of the essential meaning of “the pillar-supported Heaven” [Quran 85:1] [Verses omitted.]

(573) At the beginning of the month of Safar [1004/October 1595] ... when the felicity-consorting retinue, having returned from the Khurasan campaign and made the City of Rule, Qazvin, the envy of the climes of the civilized world by the luster of the royal alighting..., a world-obeying order was issued ... that the Refuge of Amirhood, the shah’s intimate, Alpan Beg, should go to the City of Rule, Isfahan, and in accordance with a previous year’s instructions [again] prepare and ready about 15,000 foot soldiers from the region of Isfahan and its districts, towns, and villages, such as Natanz, Ardastan, Na’in, Quhpayah, Khan-sar, Jarpadaqan, and those heaven-showing regions, so that on the day of the arrival of the royal retinue in the territory of the City of Kingship of Iraq [Isfahan], he would present all of them equipped with regalia and banners, in the village of Dawlatabad.

Alpan Beg, having set forth to dispose of the aforementioned matter, His Exalted Highness, since he had spent the entire month of Safar in the City of Rule, Qazvin, as had been his wont, on the first of the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1004 [4 November 1595] raised the banner of sun-rank in the direction of the City of Believers, Kashan. In accordance with the way things had been done in past years, they decorated the alleys, streets, gates, and citadel of that paradise-like city as was customary and fitting, so that the minds of the devisers of artful productions (*muhandisīn-i ṣanā‘i‘-i*

*pīshah*) and the comprehension of the inventors of innovative thought, in reviewing and perceiving those miracle-marked sights, were confounded and stupefied...

On the seventh of the aforementioned month, the shadow of the heaven-like umbrella was cast over the paradise-scented ground of that town and the leading figures and the common folk, the nobles and high-born, came forward presenting [574] gifts and offerings. His Exalted Highness made a sign to spread the carpets of success and cheer and to prepare glad and joyous parties. [Verses omitted.]

[576] In those same most delightful days, when the obeyed order was issued to assemble the above-mentioned foot soldiers [in Isfahan], the sublime indication having been signaled with regard to the provision of equipment (*asbāb*), instruments (*ālāt*), and apparatus (*adawāt*) for the [planned] festival of lights, [577] over the course of two or three months masters of the arts (*arbāb-i ḥirfat*), artisan masters (*aṣḥāb-i ṣan‘at*), artists of pure creativity (*hunarmandān-i ḥakīzah fiṭnat*), and devisers of sublime disposition (*muhandisān-i ‘ālī fiṭrat*) were assembled in the City of Kingship of Iraq [Isfahan] from all parts of Iraq and Fars. Whatever their gifted minds and wise-natured wills suggested was splendidly executed on manifestation’s stage. Through the power of the fingertips of the portrait painting [one] and the capability of the world-embellishing [one], the veil was lifted from the cheek of the examples of these inventions which had been concealed to an extreme degree in the seclusion of hiding and had not been apparent to the sight of the mind’s eye of [even] the perfect master of this magical art.

All the upper and lower surfaces of the walls and buildings which surrounded (*bar ḥawāshī*) the maydan were all smoothed (*past wa buland-i ān-rā musāwī sākhtah*). [Then] the painters (*naqqāshān*) of Bihzad-like pen and portraitists of Mani-like line painted pictures on those [walls] of all the wondrous creatures and marvelous creations. Thus every one of the surfaces became like a copy of the *‘Ajā‘ib al-makhlūqāt*.<sup>24</sup>

Among all these wonder-exciting novelties and mind-boggling creations, twelve wheels were built, and on each were fixed nearly one thousand lamps in such a way that by lighting one lamp and then turning the wheel all the lamps on that wheel could be lit (*az rawshan kardan-i yak chirāgh wa gardish-i charkh tamāmī chirāgh-hā bar ān charkh rawshan mī gasht*).

In addition, at each of the four corners (*zāwiya*) of the maydan a garden (*bāgh*) was laid out. Whatever living

things there [usually] were in gardens and whatever orchards and flowerbeds required in the way of blossoms, roses, tulips, and other sweet-smelling flowers like violets, narcissus, lilies, and so on, and of fruit-bearing and other trees like willows, lindens, cypress, pinon pines, etc., were [all] planted therein. The leaves and blossoms of silken colors were arrayed and the wax-like fruits made their display in such a way that the like of the meaning of "many unforbidden and uncut fruits" (Quran 54:32-33) was proved true because of their delicacy. And owing to the multitude of smooth-cheeked youths who ambled about the grounds of that field, the truth of "Their young boys amble about them as if they were hidden pearls" (Quran 52:24) is appropriate as a description for them.

When the ruler, the possessor of the stirrup of the sun, was inclined to alight because of the white-heat of the world traveler [the sun], he [578] established the foundation of residence in the nightchamber (*shabistān*) of the west. [Then when] the padshah of the black-garbed night raised the banner of night vigilance in the [black] raiment of the Abbasids, the master of pyrotechnics (*ātishbār*) and the deft practitioners of prestidigitation began the fireworks display. Whatever this wondrous art necessitated, the cleverness of the innovators of the art could effect. They produced, as was the way (*dastūr*) of the masters of this craft, all these effects: rockets, starbursts, lindens, pineapples, the peacock's fan, halos, the magic narcissus, the yellow moon-burst, the lily flower, the purple burst, the gold sprinkler, the centfoil, the Indian rose, and the pinwheel, as well as the ringlet, the shooting arrow, the sun, the water lily, the bannered heavens, the flower sprinkler, the seven-colored narcissus, the salamander flower, and other effects.

After that, they constructed four battlements (*chahār qal'a*) at the four sides of the maydan. On each *qal'a* about one hundred effigies (*sūrat*) of Qizilbash and Uzbek warriors, all in purple and red dress with all the equipment of war, were erected. [These figures] were set up on the towers and parapets of those *qal'as*. At first, as is the custom and protocol of military men, envoys (*ilchiyān*) were [depicted] going back and forth attempting to make peace. Then, when peace did not materialize, they began to fight, the roar of cannon and musket mounting to the summit of the citadel of the sky (*hiṣār-i nilrang*). Such thick dark smoke and dust arose that the faces of the planets and stars were obscured and another heaven was brought into being by this smoke and dust, the stars of which were the sparks.

Then they set fire to those *qal'as* and [the flames] rose so violently to the sky that it nearly happened that the *qal'a* of heaven's silver color became with Mars the color of ashes. And despite all the torches, lamps, candles, and lanterns which were raised around the maydan, the air became so dark and the maydan area so obscured that no one could see a thing.

In short, not since the architect of fate (*mi'mār-i qaḍā*) designed the *qal'a* of heaven and the maydan of the earth [579] had the eye or ear of the person of creation seen or heard such a gathering or festival. And former padshahs, notwithstanding vast territories, opportune good fortune, and a plenitude of the means of life and leisure, have never brought their acute imaginations even to the fringes of conceiving such innovation and artistry.

It has been learned from the auditors (*mushrifān*) and officials (*sarkārān*) of this marvelous celebration that the sum of four hundred tuman was spent on the four *qal'as* and the fireworks. The expenses for the lamps, equipment, and materials, and for constructing those wonders and marvels which were brought to manifestation's stage in that maydan, as well as the wages (*ujrat*) of the master craftsmen and the emoluments (*ri'āyat*) for the engineers and the creative people (*mukhtari'ān*) was recorded at two thousand three hundred tuman. [Then there was] the cost of the fifteen thousand foot soldiers, each of whom was given one tuman cash for equipment and uniform, so that the total amounted to nearly twenty thousand tuman.

2. *Tārīkh-i 'Abbāsī (TA)* by Jalal al-Din Muhammad, Munajjim-i Yazdi.

[fol. 95a] Events of the Year [A.H.] 1000 [October 1591–October 1592]

On Tuesday, the fourth of Muharram of this year [22 October 1591], [the shah] came from Qazwin to Isfahan. On the 19th of the month [6 November], he alighted at Kashan, the City of the Believers. On the 25th [12 November] he entered Isfahan. He stayed there fifteen days. After some relaxation and revelry, he addressed himself to the needs of the old and the poor and to righting oppression. In the first days of Safar [mid-November] of this year, he drew up plans for the building of the maydan, the bazaar of Isfahan, and the qaysariya. On the date of the building of this structure, the following *qit'a* was composed. [Verses omitted.]

[fol. 121a] In the first part of Safar [1005/late

November 1596], [the shah] set out for Isfahan with his courtiers. In Savah, he sent Alpan Beg, who was one of his intimates, to the *qal'ā* of Alamut because of some deficiency in his service. At the end of Safar [late December], he entered Isfahan. In this year a *miṣrā'* was composed which contains a chronogram for the date of the designing (*tarḥ*) of the *chahār-bāgh* park. It was composed by a person of great taste said to be one of the pillars of the state. [Verses omitted.]

[fol. 128a] In the middle of Rajab of this year [1006/mid-February 1598], most of the courtiers went to Isfahan. Isfahan became the capital (*maqarr*) of the state because of the Uzbek conquests. Every day they would raid the region of Yazd and pillage in the vicinity of Kashan as far as Arran and Bidgūl....

[fol. 129a] In this year [1006/1598], a large waterway (*nahr*) was diverted from the Zayandah Rud. It was brought to the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad and from there flowed to all the [other] parks....

At the end of Sha'ban of this year [1006/early April 1598], [the shah] ordered the building of a large cistern (*hawḍkhāna*) which had four iwans (*chahār ṣuffa*), four chambers (*chahār hujra*), and a large water tank in the center. On each of the *ṣuffas* was a *tūqūz* [?] and a *kān* [?]. The water tank was for the preparation of drinks. At the edge of the [four] *ṣuffas* was a tall screen [*panjara*] on a terrace [?*tākhta*] which overlooked the park. [The shah] ordered sublime and beautifully decorated buildings to be erected around the cistern. When it was completed in Dhu'l Hijja of this year [July 1598], [the shah] himself composed a few bayts yielding the date and delivered them in darbar. [Verses omitted.]

[fol. 190a] The Dog of 'Ali's Threshold [Shah 'Abbas] had an engineer [*muhandisī*]. He was perceptive, was an unconventional (? *bī sayrat*) designer (*tarrāh*), and possessed a talent for designing resplendent buildings which engineers from the studio of art (*sarkūchah-yi hunarmandī*), artists (*muṣawwirān*) from the atelier of painting, and famous architects of innovative line in drafting have all failed to match. In this year [1011/1602-3], certain construction projects were completed, the like of which had never been built since the day of creation and the plans [for which] had been ordered by the engineer of lofty concerns. Among these was a maydan at the entrance to the palace (*dar dar-i dawlatkhānah*) and around it a great canal lined with lindens and willows. For the relaxing stroller, there is a public pathway and places to sit side by side and facing each other. Outside that ring, there is a two-sided (*dū rīyah*) bazaar with spacious shops and a lofty roof

(fig. 4). As for traffic, (*rāhrawā*), two camels carrying palanquins can pass without difficulty.

[Likewise] the coffeehouses, the qaysariya, an enormous caravanserai, and the many small warehouses (*tims*) which were planned for, as well as the bathhouses and other caravanserais on the edges of the bazaar, all were completed [in this year].

At the propitious time and [fol. 190b] the felicitous hour, that is to say on Thursday, the 27th of Jumada II [1011/December 12, 1602], the marketfolk moved from the old maydan [the Harun Wilayat Maydan] and came to this locale.

The shah made this place waqf on behalf of the infallible imams—on them be God's prayers and peace—along with the gardens, cisterns, avenues, and *chahār-bāgh* parks. He erected a new bridge over the waters of the Zayandah Rud. It contained many lofty arches. On both ends of the bridge were porticos (*ayvān*) facing east and west and overlooking the bridge. He [the shah] ordered that the rest of the parks on the far side of the bridge be diligently brought to completion. On the 12th of Rajab of this year [26 December 1602], it was completed. The Dog of 'Ali's Threshold [Shah 'Abbas] on that night composed a chronogram celebrating the completion of [all] this. [Verses omitted.]

[fol. 191a] [Another of the buildings which the aforementioned engineer constructed] was a *chahār-ṣuffa* building. It was next to the haram and contained three cisterns with fountains (*fawāra*). One of these cisterns was in the exact center [of the *chahār ṣuffa*]. Another was on the western side and had a stand (*dukkān*) where there were varieties of delicious foods and types of appetite-whetting baked goods which far surpass what the sweep of the imagination can comprehend. [Verses omitted.]

Another [of the cisterns] is on the left side [of the *chahār ṣuffa*] and has a stand to which are brought all kinds of sweets, confections, preserves, and rich pastries [?*muthaqqalāt*] prepared by master confectioners.

[Another of these structures was] the upper gilded galleries (*bālā khāna-hā-yi zarnigār*) in which portraitists of the time whose sketches were innovative—or so they claim to each other (*bi-da'wā-yi yakdīgar*)—painted and sketched marvelous paintings and portraits of wondrous figures on the lofty walls and seated assemblies with effigies of houri-like youths.

[fol. 329b] On Friday, the fifteenth of Safar [1020/29 April 1611], the shah gave the master of building,

stone-cutting, and stone-carrying [trades] 2,000 tuman for the equipment, tools, and materials for the construction of the new mosque which they were to build in Isfahan. It was decided that all the materials should be in hand when work began on the building.

They purchased the premises (*khānahā*) of the genius of the age, Mawlana Mir ʿAli Thani, whose name corresponds (*muwāfiq ast*) with that of the calligraphic master of the city, I mean Mulla ʿAli.<sup>25</sup> The price was three hundred tuman. Since the shah had commanded that they should build the congregational mosque once they bought the premises of the above-mentioned *mawlānā*, when they [now] began drafting plans, [they found] the house of a certain old man (*pīr zālī*) was located in the middle of the [proposed] mosque. His house was the place where camels were brought [for slaughter] on the ʿId-i Qurban. [The old man] stubbornly refused to sell his house, and however much they tempted him with gold and fine garments, he was not swayed. Finally, the genius of the age, the master (*ustād*) Badiʿ al-Zaman, who came from Tun but was born in Yazd (*tūnī al-aṣl yazdī al-mawlid*) and who was working for the shah as an architect (*miʿmār*) explained the situation surrounding the design of the maṣjid and the house of the old man to the shah. [The latter] said, “Calm [the old man], but don’t lay a finger on the house without his consent.”

When the aforementioned *ustād* [fol. 330a] was unable to persuade the old man, either with gold or garments, it occurred to him that he might persuade him by the use of artful stratagems. So he went and enclosed a piece of land outside the maṣjid [area] equal to [the size of] the domicile of the old man. He built rooms, a kitchen, and a cistern, and provided it with running water (*āb-i rawān āwurd*). He planted a small garden with fruit trees and flowers that went well together. Then, on the pretext of neighborliness, he invited the old man to come with his son to visit. When the old man entered the house, as all was spick-and-span there and it made him envious, he said, “Would to God this were my house! Mine doesn’t have running water.” Thereupon the architect gave him the place as a gift. When the story reached the shah, he gave [the old man] the value of the old house and presented him and his son with ceremonial garments (*khilʿat*). The cost of the house to the aforementioned *ustād*, he also gave [to the *ustād*] along with a reward.

On the 23rd of Safar [7 May 1611], at the most auspicious hour, they began work on the congregational mosque on the edge of the new maydan of

Isfahan. ʿAbbas the Poet (ʿAbbas-i Shāʿir), wrote a chronogram on that occasion. [Verses omitted.]

[fol. 330b]... On the last day of this month [Safar 1020/13 May 1611], the shah established the location for the houses of the people from Tabriz. It was on the edge of the Zayandah Rud [and laid out] in such a way that four large canals flow through the quarters and between the houses. Originally, this place was the Bagh-i Jannat [and was] acquired from Mawlana ʿAli Rida for a market (*chahār-sū*), a mosque, a bath, a small *tim*, and a small bazaar for the Tabrizis. The remainder [fol. 331a] was divided into four quarters (*maḥalla*) for residences. Because the Tabrizis had no means of support, [the shah] bought one thousand two jaribs of land for three thousand tuman from the people of Isfahan (*az ruʿyā wa jamāʿat-i Isfahān*). It was decided, because of the scarcity of housing, that five hundred houses would be built with the shah’s money under the supervision of Lalah Beg. The shah would provide for the beneficiaries [of his largesse] one thousand tuman as aid in the form of interest-free loans (*gard-i hasanah*) for whatever was wanted, which they would repay over a period of five years.

3. *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (TAAA) by Iskandar Beg Munshi.

[544] [Events of the Eleventh Accession Year, Takhaquy Yil 1005–6/March 1597–March 1598]

Isfahan is half the world they say,  
But by so saying, they only go half-way.

Having gone there often, the special qualities of that paradisiacal city, the suitability of its location, and the waters of the Zayandah Rud as well as the Kawthar-like channels which branch off the aforementioned river and flow in every direction, [all these things] lodged in the resplendent heart [of the shah]. The mind of the noble one had long been attached to the idea that, having made that illustrious city his abode, he would engage his mind in planning and building it. Thus in this year, which corresponds to A.H. 1006 [1597-98], the world-adorning view settled on making that aforementioned City of Rule the capital (*maqarr*) of the eternal fortune (*dawlat*) and on designing sublime structures [for it]. With this sincere intent and appropriate aim, he traveled there and passed the winter in good living and good cheer at the blessed Naqsh-i Jahan palace, spending most of the time sporting and hunting. In the evenings he would organize heaven-like



assemblies and would spread the carpet of festivity. In the spring, having [already] designed sublime buildings for the Naqsh-i Jahan, architects and engineers (*mi<sup>c</sup>mārān wa muhandisān*) strove to bring them to completion. Among the gates (*durūb*) of the city is a gate (*darwāza*) called the Dawlat Gate located in the precincts (*harīm bāgh*) of the Naqsh-i Jahan. From there to the edge of the Zayandah Rud they laid out an avenue flanked on both sides by *chahār-bāgh* parks. At the entrance to each of these parks, sublime structures were designed. From the [other] bank of the river, the avenue ran to the foot of the mountains south of the city. The land along the sides [of the avenue] was divided among the amirs and notables of the all-powerful state, each of whom was to erect (*tartīb dahand*) at the entrance (*dargāh*) of his park a suitably royal structure consisting of an entry gate (*dargāh*), a lofty roofed passage (*sābāt-i rafī<sup>c</sup>*), an iwan, second-story galleries (*bālā khāna-hā*), and belvederes (*manzara-hā*) beautifully decorated with paintings in gold and blue (*naqqāshī-hā-yi bi-ṭilā wa lājaward*). At the end of the avenue, an extensive park terraced in nine levels was designed for the shah himself and given the name Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad. A sublime bridge, consisting of forty vaulted arches of a special type that would open so that in time of floods [545] the water would pass through each one of the arches, having been built to span the Zayanda Rud, each one of the avenues would join the other and run as one to ‘Abbasabad, approximately one canonical (*shar<sup>c</sup>i*) farsakh. On both sides of the avenue, water channels would run and cypress, linden, juniper, and pine trees would be planted. A stone-lined canal would be built down the middle of the avenue so that water would also flow [there]. Facing each (*chahār-bāgh*) park complex (*‘imārat*) a large cistern, like a lake, would be constructed.

In short (*al-qīssa*), every amir, notable, and official (*sarkār*) began work on the buildings with the help (*bi-wuqūf-i*) of architects and engineers and strove to bring them to completion. From then until now, which is A.H. 1025 [1616] and the time in which this noble book is being written, those pleasant buildings and admirable parks have become manifest in such a way that the outcome of the produced work was made in accordance with the plan fixed in the blessed heart of the eminent one and they were brought to completion in perfect subtlety and the *n*th degree of exquisiteness. The trees raised their crowns to the heavens and the fruit-bearing trees, you might say, were a graft from the Tuba tree of Paradise. In sum, every garden would command the

envy of the garden of Paradise. Of its lofty buildings, adorned with wondrous gilded and decorated inscriptions and with the paintings of gifted artists, one could say Sadir and Khwarnaq are only tokens next to them. Indeed, over all the face of the earth, the like and rival [of these structures] can only be found in the mind and imagination.

After that, the city (*shahr*) of ‘Abbasabad also was designed and completed on the west side of the (*chahār-bāgh*) park as a dwelling place for the people of Tabriz, as will be recounted in the proper place.

In short, the royal one of architectural inclination, the Shadow of God, spent several years planning and adorning joy-increasing Isfahan. He made that splendid city a capital city (*mišr-i jāmi<sup>c</sup>*) by virtue of the many buildings, parks, pleasant and desirable residences, arcades, joy-increasing belvederes, the qaysariya, the (*chahār-bāzār*), mosques, baths, and large khans.

[831] At the beginning of this joyful and auspiciously commencing year [1020/1611], an altruistic intention, through the astrolabe of the mind, inclined and disposed that royal personage, whose consort is felicitously triumphant victory, to build a lofty mosque in the vicinity of the Naqsh-i Jahan of Isfahan the like of whose structure could not be found in the land of Iran, nay, in the entire civilized world. Since he had transformed the City of Kingship, Isfahan, into [a place of] lofty buildings, delightful and admirable residences, gardens whose ambergris scents lift the soul, canals, and gardens which are a model of Paradise, yet, though he had built a sublime mosque and a madrasa on the eastern and northern sides of the maydan of the Naqsh-i Jahan,<sup>26</sup> still his mind was troubled by, and his heart dwelled on, the thought that just as that paradise-like city was the envy of the country due to its lofty buildings, gardens, the qaysariya, houses, and markets and was proof of “Eram, the possessor of sturdy buildings the like of which have never been created in the land” (Quran 88:8-9), so that noble presence wanted the sublime mosque, the madrasas and the holy spots to be the finest of mosques and spots of Iran and to resemble in beauty and purity the Bayt al-Ma‘mur and the Masjid al-Aqsa.

After surveying the edges of the maydan of the Naqsh-i Jahan, he chose the southern side where a large khan had been erected. The khan was torn down, and, at the auspicious hour determined from the royal horoscope by the astrologers, skilled architects and exact engineers, each of whom in the fields of architecture and precision work, like the center of the compass

of pride, hit [the point of] singularity and uniqueness, designed the mosque and the maqsura and highly skilled masters set to work with blessed grace and felicity.

One of the marvelous circumstances and rare occurrences was the discovery of a marble quarry in the vicinity of Isfahan which no one had ever before noticed. Surely those stones had been deposited there by the powerful eternal hand which had hidden them from the eyes of man for the purpose of beautifying and adorning this noble place of worship and which now had revealed them as a result of the sublime beneficent fortune and the distinguished intention of this felicitous caesar. From this, one can infer that this discovery is a clear sign from God and a manifest token of the veracity of the intention and pious devotion of the builder as well as the power and status of this constructor in the court of the World-Adorning Creator, for He made these stones for the adornment of that second Bayt al-Maʿmur in blocks of a length and width and of striated colors the like of which could not be found in the civilized world. [Verses omitted.]

[1110] Of that which [Shah ʿAbbas] built in Sifahan:

First: a sublime congregational mosque located on the south side of the Naqsh-i Jahan maydan, the vault (*tāq*) of whose inner sanctum is like the dome of the Haruman fortress and is a twin of the nine-arched vault of heaven. Travelers the world over have not found evidence of the like of the quantity of marble which makes of its walls a second Bayt al-Maʿmur. In short, that paradise-like place of worship is the envy of the Masjid-i Aqsa in elegance, beauty, and breath-takingness.

Others: Another mosque of surpassing elegance and purity opposite the entrance (*dargāh*) to the palace, a madrasa, a hospital, baths, a qaysariya, a marketplace around the maydan with apartments above, sublime caravanserais, [1111] a five-story entrance (*dargāh*) to the palace, gilded private apartments (*khalwatkhāna-hā*) called Sarwistan (the cypress grove), Nigaristan (the picture gallery), and Guldastah (the rose bouquet), the five-story building, cisterns (*hawḍkhāna*), the one-farsakh-long avenue called Chahar Bagh, the parks and gardens built on either side of the avenue, and the sublime buildings which were erected in each park and which are beyond number. Midway along the aforementioned avenue, a sublime bridge of forty vaulted arches was made to span the Zayandah Rud, whose like travelers over the face of the earth have seen in no [other] region. The city of ʿAbbasabad, built to

the west outside the city of Sifahan as a residential area for the people from Tabriz, is the envy of the Garden of Paradise and is renowned throughout the world for its pleasantness, delightfulness, and felicity and for its watercourses (*jadawil*).

4. *Rawḍat al-Safawiyah* (RS) by Mirza Beg b. Hasan Junabadi (BM, Or. 3338)

[fol. 314a] ... When the Padshah of the World, Shah ʿAbbas-i Safawi—May God make eternal his rule and sway—returned in felicity and prosperity from the Balkh campaign under the wing of protection and preservation of the Kingdom-giver and [when] the City of Rule, Isfahan, because of the luster (*farr*) of the sanctified essence, began to provoke the jealousy of the fourth heaven, the innately good and pure essence of [this] caesar, having singled out this fine city from among all the cities of Iraq as the royal City of Kingship, began to take all steps to make it a truly throne-worthy place.

Therefore a requisite decree from the noble source was conjoined to fulfillment and execution. [It decreed] that the [old] markets (*aswāq*) and old maydan and the former caravanserais and bath[s], which were characterized by narrowness, crookedness, and gloominess, should be widened, straightened, and brightened, and every effort should be made to clean, freshen up, and make those places more pleasant. But the managers (*mutaʿarrifān*) and owners (*ṣāhibān*) of these markets and commercial establishments (*mustaghillāt*), like Mirza Muhammad Amin, the *naqīb* of Isfahan, and Mir Qutb al-Din Muhammad, the nephew of Mir Shujaʿ al-Din Mahmud, and other leading people (*az aʿyān*) of Isfahan, had gotten the wrong idea and thought that the Padshah of the World wanted to gain possession of their commercial establishments by this device [of renovating them]. When the Lord of the Age became aware of their misconstruing (*irāda-yi kādhiba-yi ʿishān*), he withdrew his hand from rebuilding and renovating the [old] markets and old maydan.

[fol. 314b] [Instead] a *farmān* was issued saying that a spacious maydan should be designed for the area located outside the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan and the palace of the Padshah of Time. It was to be 300 Isfahani jaribs in area. Around the maydan would be laid out a *chahār-bāzār* market with shops, a caravanserai, a hot bath, mosques, and madrasas—all delightful, lofty, and well-wrought of baked bricks and dressed stone. In accordance with the obligatory *far-*

*mān*, skillful engineers and capable artisans, having selected the appropriate moment, laid out a rectangular (*murabba<sup>c</sup> mustafīl*) maydan of the aforementioned size in the year 1012 [1603-4]. Along the sides of the maydan [were constructed] a *chahār-bāzār* containing shops, a cloth-house (*bazzāz khān*), a caravanserai, delightful hot baths, and excellent mosques and madrasas. Thus, on one of its sides (*rukn*) a spacious and very tall congregational mosque [was built] of such subtlety as had not appeared in any building of the civilized world. On another side, opposite the mosque, they erected as high as heaven's zenith a cloth-house which would be the equal of that congregational mosque in its structure and solidity. Similarly, opposite another side [of the maydan] where the gate to the palace precincts and the entrance to the Bagh-i Maqsh-i Jahan are located, they constructed a great dome (*qubba-yi 'azīm*) for another mosque. Between these four lofty and distinguished buildings—the royal palace, the congregational mosque, the cloth-house, and the domed mosque—excellent large shops were built of brick and stucco in such a way that in terms of their delicacy and strength no person of authority (*sāhib-i miknati*) in the kingdom of Iraq had ever brought such buildings to completion. On the upper levels (*bar sutūh-i*) of these buildings and the *chahār-bāzār* market, pleasant white-washed apartments were built as residences and lodgings for merchants (*tujjār*) and artisans (*ahl-i hīrfa*). Most of the floors of these [apartments] were laid with marble and alabaster. The walls were faced with colored tile (*kāshī alwān*) and cut stone.

A large canal flowed through the maydan plaza, and nice coffeeshops were built along it of marble, brick, and stucco. In these coffeeshops, tulip-faced and rosy-cheeked ones would symbolize the dark place where the fountain of youth is found when they brought the coffee round. It was as if the tongue of the world (*zabān-i rūzegār*) were singing the qualities of that paradisaical place in this way. [Verses omitted.]

When the penetrating mind of the ruler was satisfied with the market buildings and the shops as outlined, he issued a *farmān* for the construction of gardens, parks, an avenue, a bridge, and lofty buildings in the parks. [fol. 315a] The world-obeying order was issued saying that they would dig a large canal from the Zayanda Rud to the foot of the mountain known as Takht-i Rustam so that it would traverse all the land of the Isfahan plain. Since that canal, [after traveling] a distance of one *farsakh*, terminated [at a point] opposite the Dawlatkhana Gate, which is one of the gates of

Isfahan, they created a *chahār-bāgh* park at the foot of that same mountain. [It consisted] of 1,000 Isfahani jaribs made up of nine terraced levels such that each level was two canonical cubits [*dhar<sup>c</sup>-i shar<sup>c</sup>i*] above the one below. The great canal divided and descended down the *chahār-bāgh* [terraces] in five channels. Outside the park, they converged and flowed the length of the avenue, watering other parks which were constructed by the great amirs in accord with the obeyed *farmān*.

When it had been completed according to the royal will, this *chahār-bāgh* park was named 'Abbasabad. Then a fifty-cubit-wide avenue was laid out from 'Abbasabad as far as the Dawlat Gate, a distance of one *farsakh*. According to the world-obeying order, the khans, great amirs, viziers, sadrs, and noble *'amīls* who held official rank at that time, whether they were people who lived at the foot of the caliphal throne or held grants (*iqṭā'āt*) in the country (*mamālik-i mahrūsa*), [all] erected fine *chahār-bāgh* parks each to his own taste and opposite one another along both sides of the avenue beginning at 'Abbasabad. At the entrance to each park they built lofty structures of brick and stucco, the walls and roofs of which were faced with colored tilework. Some were decorated with delightful portraits (*taṣāwir-i dīlpadhīr*) and colorfully exotic paintings (*nuqūsh-i gharā'ib nigār az rang-i āthār*). On the avenue in front of each [of these structures] they built large cisterns in a variety of forms. Inside [each] park, they took great pains to follow the architectural canon (*qānūn-i ṭarrāḥī*). They [also] planted a variety of fruit trees.

Since precisely half-way along the avenue, the Zandah Rud intersects it, outstanding engineers and practiced craftsmen, at the command of the Padshah of the Age, built a lofty and very solid bridge across the Zandah Rud. The task of construction was entrusted to the Pillar of the State, Allah Wirdi Khan, the *qūllar āqāsī* and governor (*wālī*) of Fars. In three years that solid structure was completed in such a way that as long as wheeling stars of the sky above circle this world, the like of that building will never come before their gaze. The truth is that no ruler in any age has ever brought such a structure as that from the corner of hiding into full view nor has produced its like out of the lair of nonexistence into the arena of existence....

[fol. 315b] In brief, that peerless bridge had forty vaulted arches (*chashma*) resembling Kawthar and Salsabil. Between each two *chashma* [in the space] inside the transverse columns (*dar jawf-i sutūnhā-yi 'arīd*), a square room with lattices (*khāna-yi murabba<sup>c</sup> mushabbak*)

was built. At the time of low water in July (Tammuz), traveling friends and friendly travelers (*mu'ashirān sāyir bā sāyirān-i mu'ashir*) can find refuge in this comfortable place from the exhausting heat of the sun and take pleasure in the breeze which wafts from the surface of the water.

Along the entire length of the avenue run canals and water channels and along the banks of those water-courses pinon pines and lindens, like the Tuba tree, consort and make merry with the celestial sphere.

Along the avenue, toward the Dawlat Gate, a Kawthar-like cistern was brought to completion at the entrance to each *chahār-bāgh* park. Bars (*maykhānahā*) and coffeeshops were set up along the avenue for wine-drinking and opium-consuming companions (*jihat-i mu'ashirān maykhwāra wa afyūniyān*). For poor folk and for carefree qalandars (*qalandarān-i bī parwā*), hostels (*langar-hā*) and zawiyas were built. Thanks to the beneficence of the padshah, Paradise, for the people of the world, is the coin of account in the city of Isfahan (*bi-dawlat-i pādshāh-i jahān 'alamiyān-ra dar baladah-yi Isfahān bihist naqd-i mawjūd ast*).

At the time this book is being written—in the year 1026 [1617]—the sublime buildings of the *chahār-bāgh* parks, the avenue, and the bridge have been completed. In those buildings and parks, the people of Isfahan encounter “Paradise, the houris, and the young pages” and the [true] meaning of “Paradise, beneath which flow the eternal waters” (Quran 13:35).

In the city proper (*dar aṣl-i balada*), the great amirs, the notables of the shah, the pillars of the state, and the officials (*mutaṣaddiyān*) of the [royal] workshops and industries (*karkhānajāt wa buyūtāt*) built fine residences and lush gardens. Many shops and caravanserais have [also] been built so that now they call former Isfahan (*Isfahān-i sābiq*) the “old city” and these places and residences the “new city.”

By virtue of the propitious fortune of the padshah and through the circumstance of these sublime buildings, the City of Rule, Isfahan, is one of the mothers of cities (*ummahāt-i bilād*) of the civilized world and its equal and like in the seven climes does not exist.

Every year from these commercial establishments, parks, shops, caravanserais, and hot baths a substantial sum of money (*mablagh-i khaṭīr*) is deposited in the public treasury (*khizāna-yi 'āmira*)....

#### COMMENTARY

*The Royal Maydan (Maydān-i Naqsh-i Jahān,*<sup>27</sup> *Maydān-i Shāh, or Maydān-i Naw)* (fig. 2). From the translated

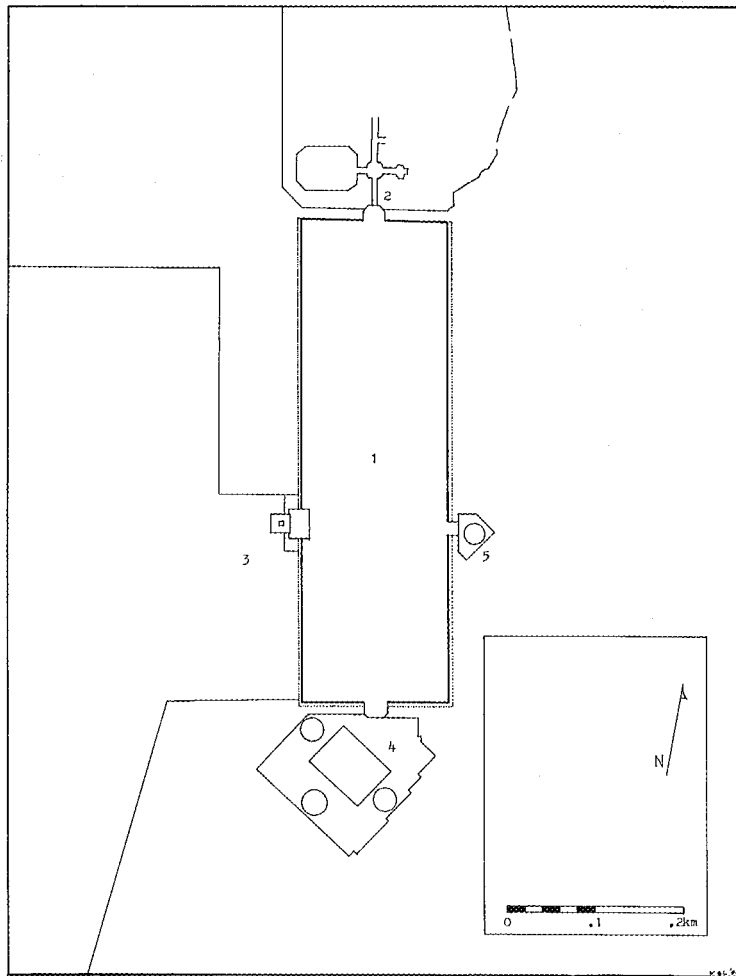
works (*NA*, pp. 376, 577; *TA*, fols. 95a, 190 a-b; *TAAA*, pp. 1110-11; *RS*, fols. 314a-b), it is clear that the Royal Maydan, along with its adjacent markets, was the central feature of Shah 'Abbas's plans for developing Isfahan and the first major project to which he turned his attention.<sup>28</sup> A great deal of information is available about the maydan, for it was described by many foreign visitors during the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (see Hunarfarr, pp. 395-401). It is only very recently, however, that the nature of the development of the maydan has begun to come to light, and here the four sources are especially valuable.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, Eugenio Galdieri recently concluded that the maydan was developed in two distinct phases.<sup>29</sup> In the first, the perimeter wall of the maydan was erected to a height of one story. It had shops attached to the outside façade opening into the bazaar beyond the maydan. The inside of the wall was blank. Later, in a second phase of development, shops opening onto the maydan were added to the inside of the wall. Chardin speaks of two hundred such shops. At the same time the shops were added, the height of the wall was increased to two stories, and apartments (*bālākhāna*) were added above the new shops (fig. 3). Galdieri tentatively dates the original maydan development to 1600-5 and the second phase to a time prior to della Valle's visit in 1617-19.<sup>30</sup>

The four translated sources provide clear corroboration of the archaeological evidence. They show that there were indeed two phases to the development of the maydan during 'Abbas's regime. In addition, by comparing the evidence given in the texts a more precise dating is made possible, and the reasons for the two phases of development become clear.

Natanzi, who had completed his work before the second phase of development began, gives us the clearest picture of the original project and the reasons that lay behind it. At first, the maydan was not viewed as a commercial center, according to Natanzi's description of it. He speaks of 'Abbas's commercial interests and investments, but does not link them to the building of the maydan. Rather, the maydan was designed as a place for royal sports and entertainments (especially equestrian sports, reviews, and firework displays) and was constructed accordingly. (Tavernier, who visited Isfahan many years after 'Abbas's death in 1629, describes some of the sports that took place on the maydan.<sup>31</sup>) In 1590-91, the maydan was leveled and covered with a sand surface, according to Natanzi.

Natanzi next describes work on the maydan after



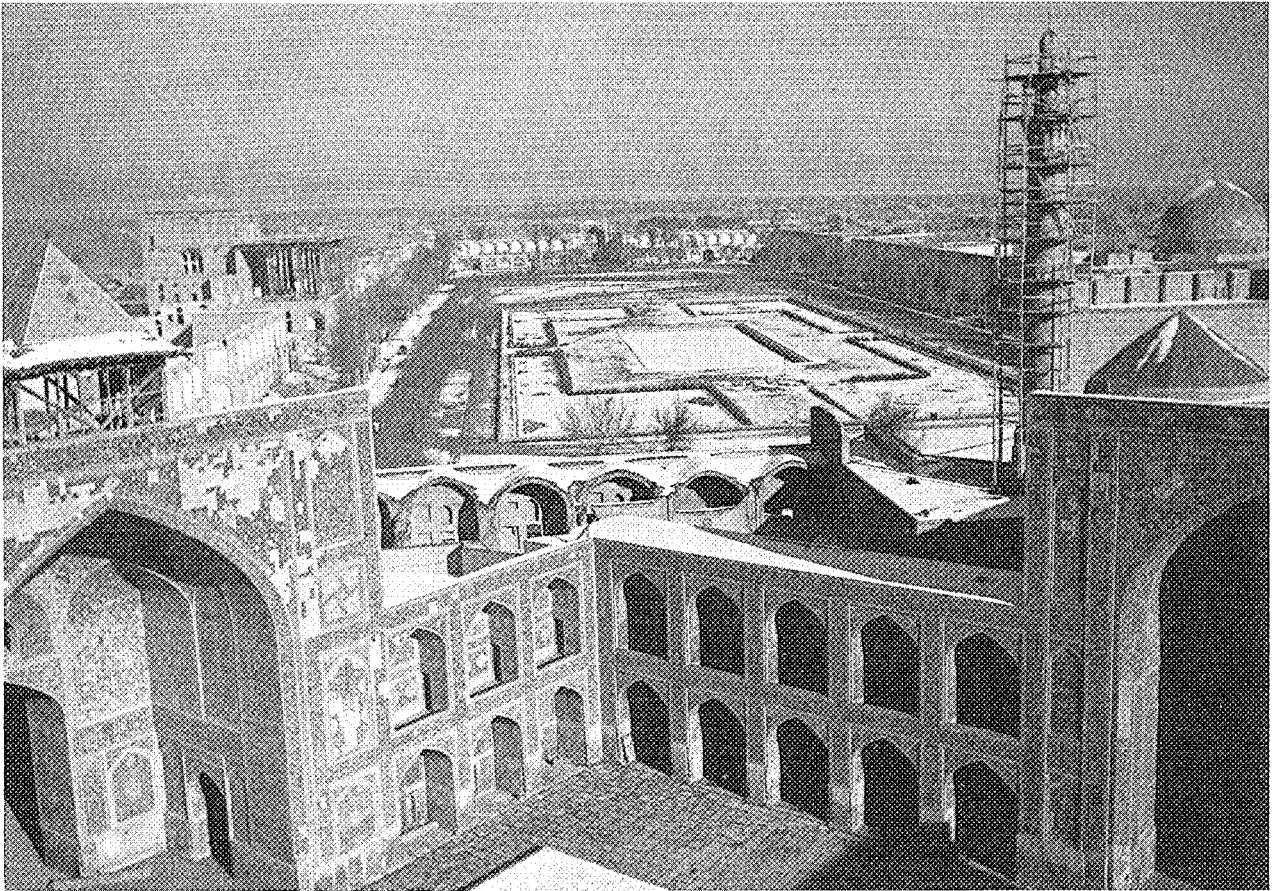
2. Isfahan: The development of the Royal Maydan (Maydan-i Shah), 1590-1602/3. Legend. 1. Royal Maydan. 2. Qaysariya. 3. Palace precincts. 4. Royal Mosque. 5. Dome mosque. ----- Contour of maydan, first stage. ——— Contour of maydan, second stage. Wall alignment after Galdieri, 1970.

Shah 'Abbas's arrival from Qazwin on November 10, 1595. At this time gardens were laid out at the four corners of the maydan. It is clear that the maydan was at least partially enclosed by then, for reference is made to the "smoothing" (plastering?), whitewashing, and decoration of its walls with painted scenes and portraits. Based on *NA*, there would seem to be sufficient evidence to advance Galdieri's *terminus a quo* for the first phase of maydan development from 1600-5 to 1590-95.

Jalal-i Munajjim, in *TA*, confirms Natanzi's information of 'Abbas's original work on the maydan, but he dates commencement of the work a year later, that

is in Safar 1000 (November 1591). By the time Iskandar Beg and Mirza Beg Junabadi wrote, this first phase of maydan development had been overshadowed by the second phase, and neither makes what could be considered an unambiguous reference to the earlier development.

By 1600 at the latest, the maydan appears to have been developed in the following sequence. The area in front of the entrance to the palace grounds had been enclosed and surfaced with sand. Galdieri found that the dimensions of the maydan were six meters longer and four wider in the first phase of development (they



3. Maydan-i Shah (Royal Maydan). View to north-northwest (photo taken in 1930's). Courtesy Myron Bement Smith Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

averaged about 163 meters wide by 530 meters long in the first phase; 159 meters by 524 meters in the second). The purpose of the maydan in this first phase is clear from its vast space, its surface, and what *NA* tells us of the military reviews, fireworks, and other royal entertainments held there.

The second phase of development dates to 1011 (1602; *TA*, fol. 190a) or 1012 (1603-4; *RS*, fol. 314a).<sup>32</sup> In contrast to earlier development, the new work on the maydan had a strongly commercial character, although public amenities (a canal, plantings, and walkways) were also an important feature. The decision to make Isfahan the principal royal residence or capital (*maqarr*), was made after the first phase of development was completed and before the second began. What effect, if any, this decision had on the second phase of development

is not readily apparent. It is clear, however, that perhaps as a result of the decision to make Isfahan the royal center, Shah 'Abbas began to take a much more active interest in the condition of the markets of Isfahan and in regulating their operation. The intriguing reference to local opposition to 'Abbas's economic development plans given by *RS* points to an activist economic policy originating at court.

The redesign of the maydan is attributed by *TA* to an unnamed engineer (*muhandis*) who also designed some of the structures within the palace area including the "upper gilded galleries" mentioned by Jalal-i Munajjim (fol. 329a). It may also have been the same *muhandis* to whom should be credited the second story over the interior shops built on the inside of the maydan wall, the apartments which Junabadi said were built "on the

roofs" of the shops opening into the maydan and over the *chahār-bazār* market shops (i.e., those on the outside of the wall opening onto the surrounding streets).

*The Qaysariya/Bazzāz Khān.* Closely connected to the commercial development of the maydan was the building of the qaysariya or *bazzāz khān*. Recently, H. Gaube and E. Wirth have thoroughly mapped and described the historical evolution of the Isfahan bazaar area—particularly the market district which stretches along a generally north-east/south-west line and links the Royal Maydan with the "old maydan" (Maydan-i Harun Wilayat).<sup>33</sup> It is beyond the scope of the present study to attempt to summarize those findings. But as the authors may have been unaware of the material contained in three of the four sources translated here (viz., *NA*, *TA*, and *RS*), it is useful to comment on that material where it supplements or amends their conclusions.

Gaube and Wirth describe the qaysariya as "without question the most impressive part of the bazaar of Isfahan."<sup>34</sup> Its southern entrance opens onto the Maydan-i Shah, the Royal Maydan. Attached to it on the west is a large caravanserai and on the east another smaller caravanserai or *tīmchah*. The main flow of commercial traffic to or from the Royal Maydan passed through the qaysariya, by virtue of its location.<sup>35</sup>

On the evidence provided by a late-seventeenth-century source, the *Qiṣaṣ al-Khāqānī* of Wali Quli Shamlu, and on waqf evidence, Gaube and Wirth propose a date for the structure of no later than A.H. 1015 (1605).<sup>36</sup> *NA* and *TA* establish a date fifteen years earlier, either 999 (*NA*) or 1000 (*TA*). In both these sources, the qaysariya is portrayed as one of the first major construction projects undertaken at 'Abbas's order and was begun, along with work on the maydan, about four years after the shah's enthronement at Qazwin in late 1587.

Junabadi in *RS* is the only one of our sources to refer to this structure as a *bazzāz khān*, or cloth-house; he does not use the word qaysariya at all. His discussion of the building seems to place its construction *after* that of the congregational mosque, the Masjīd-i Shah. It is possible that work on the iwan entrance from the maydan to the qaysariya was done after completion of the Masjīd-i Shah in order to harmonize the façades of the two buildings which anchored the north and south ends of the maydan. However, the textual evidence shows that the qaysariya predated the congregational mosque by some twenty years.

The accounts of *NA*, *TA*, and *RS* about the qaysariya

tell a good deal about the social and political consequences of the shah's involvement in commercial investment. Originally, 'Abbas seems to have had in mind modernization of the existing markets in the old maydan, the Maydan-i Harun Wilayat, located beside the Seljuq Masjīd-i Jum'a. Natanzi tells us that along with building the qaysariya and leveling the maydan, the shah called for the reconstruction of the old markets. He further notes "in a short time all was brought to completion." Junabadi's account suggests that this was more a rhetorical flourish on Natanzi's part than an accurate reflection of events. Instead of renovation of the old market area, the shah was rebuffed by locally powerful property owners. It was this opposition, according to Junabadi, which decided the shah on a large-scale commercial redevelopment of the Maydan-i Shah as a rival and possible replacement of the old market district.

The opposition came from very powerful figures in Isfahan, or so Junabadi implies, and he names two of those who rejected Shah 'Abbas's plans for modernizing the old market area. One was Mirza Muhammad Amin, the naqib of Isfahan. His father was Mir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, Mir-i Miran, "the owner of lands and income properties in Isfahan." Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad had served as *naqib al-nuqabā'* and then as *ṣadr* under Shah Tahmasp.<sup>37</sup> Natanzi, who makes no allusion to any confrontation between Shah 'Abbas and the Isfahan establishment and apparently finished his book before it took place, does mention the high regard in which the shah held Mirza Muhammad Amin. "Mirza Muhammad Amin is the most important [of the sayyids and shaykhs] of Isfahan and sits above [takes precedence over] all others at majlis, even Shaykh Khalil Allah b. Amir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad Mir-i Miran-i Yazdi<sup>38</sup> whose ancestors had always been preeminent. In fact at this time, Mirza Muhammad Amin has superseded Shah Khalil Allah in the shah's favor."<sup>39</sup>

The connection between the office of naqib and the commerce of Isfahan is suggested by two Safavid administrative handbooks of the early eighteenth century, the *Dastur al-muluk* and the *Tadhkirat al-muluk*,<sup>40</sup> although it is yet to be proved that the office had exactly the same responsibilities in the early seventeenth century. For example, Minorsky, in his commentary on the *TM*, calls the naqib the *kalāntar*'s assistant.<sup>41</sup> However, it is difficult to believe that either Mirza Muhammad Amin or his father, Mir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, were anyone's assistant, judging by the way in

which they are described. It is possible, though, that some of the duties the administrative guides ascribe to the naqib were being exercised in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These included regulation of trade organizations (*aṣnāf-i muḥtarifah*) and the licensing of street peddlers and performers. Besides fee assessment and collection, the eighteenth-century manuals ascribe to the naqib the power to confirm the appointment of trade masters (*ustādān*), local district leaders (*kadkhudāyān-i maḥallāt*), and the heads (*rīsh safīdān*) of the dervish groups, street performers, and the like. The naqib, according to the handbooks, was chosen by local district leaders and guild heads from among the leading figures of the community.<sup>42</sup> But since we know that Mirza Muhammad Amin was naqib after his father, there was clearly some preselection as well, based on family connections, career, and public expectation. Although we have no certain way of assessing Mirza Muhammad Amin's actual power in Isfahan in the year 1602, we at least have some idea of the ingredients of that authority—an influential family, civic recognition, and formal control of aspects of the city's commercial and artisanal life. More telling in a way, is the fact that Junabadi names him as one of those who opposed the shah's plans, a means of conveying to Junabadi's readership just how highly placed the opposition was.

The second figure, named Mir Qutb al-Din Mahmud, was equally well connected, although he may have been less well known. I have found no direct reference to him in other sources, and even Junabadi must have known that his readers might not immediately recognize the name, for he identifies Mir Qutb al-Din Mahmud as the nephew of the very well-known Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Din Mahmud. Iskandar Beg describes Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Din Mahmud as one of the greatest scholars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>43</sup> He was descended from a prominent Mazandarani family, one of whose members had settled long before in Isfahan. There the family came to be known as the Khalifa Sayyids. Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Din's son, Mirza Rafi<sup>c</sup> al-Din, was appointed *ṣadr* by Shah 'Abbas and married into the shah's family. One of his sons, Khalifa Sultan, became *wazīr-i divān-i a'lā* in 1623-24. The family was very wealthy with substantial investments in both land and commercial real estate. In the absence of contradictory information, we may assume that Mir Qutb al-Din was speaking for the family's commercial interests when he opposed the shah's plans for renovating the old market district.

The power of the opposition represented by these two men is shown by the speed with which 'Abbas abandoned his scheme once resistance appeared. From the information available, it is clear that these two men represented the intertwined interests of the well-to-do intellectual/religious and commercial classes. Even more precisely, they represented an urban group with close ties to the religious establishment and deep roots in commerce and real estate. To some extent, too, Mirza Muhammad Amin as the naqib may have been voicing the fears of the artisans and petty merchants about 'Abbas's development plans.

Despite the opposition, it is clear from Junabadi's account and from indications in *TA*'s circumspect references to his confrontation that Shah 'Abbas was not at all deterred from carrying out his plans for commercial development in Isfahan. Junabadi directly links the shah's decision to redevelop the new maydan for commercial purposes to the resistance to his renovation plans for the Harun Wilayat market district. The building of shops and related facilities perhaps began in 1601 and went on right through 1602. Jalal-i Munajjim gives the date of 27 Jumada II 1011 (12 December 1602) as the moment at which shopkeepers and other market people moved from the old market area to the new. This date should probably be understood as the official opening date for the Maydan-i Shah as a shopping center, now in competition with the Harun Wilayat area.

In 'Abbas's commercial policies in Isfahan we can detect certain parallels with his administrative and political policies. His well-known efforts to reduce independence in the administrative ranks of Iran by replacing Qizilbash amirs with presumably more loyal supporters from the ranks of the *qūllar* are somewhat analogous to his approach to the clearly independent merchants and businessmen of Isfahan. By building a competing market area and by patronizing a rival group of merchants (the Armenians, like the *qūllar*, presumably more vulnerable to the shah's control) 'Abbas appears to have been determined to acquire some control over the marketplace.

In pursuit of his commercial goals, Shah 'Abbas had, and used, a number of formidable weapons. One of these was access to capital for purchasing property, for construction, and for long-term subsidies of the facilities. In the absence of specific information it may be assumed that the capital requirements were met from his own personal wealth and by a kind of lien against state income in the form of waqf endowments.



There is no doubt that in the economic plans of the shah and in the formation of capital to execute those plans the institution of waqf played a significant role.

Elsewhere I have discussed in some detail Shah 'Abbas's use of waqfs to achieve certain public-policy goals.<sup>44</sup> Of particular interest here are those waqfs directly connected with the commercial redevelopment of the maydan. *TA* relates that, once built, the entire maydan market area was made waqf by the shah "on behalf of the infallible imams." Elsewhere, the same author (fols. 267b-269b) provides a detailed list of 'Abbas's waqf grants on behalf of the Fourteen Infallibles (the Twelve Imams plus the Prophet Muhammad and his daughter Fatima) which adds to the commercial properties many agricultural waqfs as well as waqfs of state revenue from agricultural lands.<sup>45</sup> Iskandar Beg also makes reference to the endowment of the maydan market complex as waqf.<sup>46</sup> It is clear from the account of these waqfs given by the late-seventeenth-century author Wali Quli Khan Shamlu—the only source apparently based on documentary evidence—that the revenues from all these waqf sources, whether commercial or agricultural, whether the shah's own private property or state revenues, were first dedicated to the maintenance and reinvestment needs of the commercial facilities before any income was distributed to the named beneficiaries.<sup>47</sup>

This use of waqf as a major economic support for the commercial development of the maydan area was an economic tool which the shah employed to make the new shopping district attractive to those who would rent space in it, and, more importantly, to give the district a competitive advantage over the commercial property in the Harun Wilayat market. Waqf management of the maydan market also had a potential advantage over privately owned commercial property. As waqf, the maydan-market facilities—the shops, *tīms*, caravanserais, etc.—were not subject to the disintegrative effect of inheritance law. Privately owned property was divided and distributed among the heirs at the demise of its owner; waqf property was not. The relative stability of waqf property, from the standpoint of its management, was probably influential in attracting commercial tenants. Furthermore, in this specific case, Shah 'Abbas drew up his waqf deed with the stipulation that future shahs would be responsible for the appointment of the waqf administrator, the *mutawallī*. To link the reigning monarch so directly to the efficient operation of the maydan market was prob-

ably also further assurance to tenants that their interests would be supervised at the highest level of government.

Shah 'Abbas's plan for and execution of the commercial development of the Maydan-i Shah stand among his most interesting and perhaps most effective attempts at directing Isfahan's economic life. His first try at intervention in the city's marketplace—the plan to modernize the old market area—appears to have been motivated by the same impulse that led to the first development of the Maydan-i Shah and to the palace and *chahār-bāgh* developments. This was the desire, recorded by all the sources, to make Isfahan a truly capital city and throne-worthy place. The immovable opposition to his announced plan, however, caused him to embark on another course. Rather than bow totally to this challenge, he decided to create another market center that would, he hoped, rival and eventually eclipse the old market district. In so doing he would not only realize his plans for the beautification of Isfahan, but he might also weaken the economic and political power of the established businessmen of Isfahan by undermining the value of their commercial holdings, at the same time increasing his own economic power. It is generally believed now, however, that he failed to make of the Maydan-i Shah the premier commercial center that he envisioned and so failed to break the business interests of the old maydan area. The primary reason for the failure was his inability to restructure the city's traffic patterns to bring the necessary clientele into the new market area.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, even if the plan did not achieve what Shah 'Abbas intended, it nonetheless remains a noteworthy example of urban development in Safavid Iran and illustrates some of the political, social, and economic issues that such developments inevitably entailed.

*The Palace Precincts (Dawlatkhānah, Bāgh-i Naqsh-i Jahān).* Of the three major developments carried out at the Maydan-i Shah by 'Abbas—the maydan itself and its commercial facilities, the congregational mosque (Masjid-i Shah), and the palace precincts—the sources translated here provide the least information about the last. Moreover, what information is found in *NA*, *TA*, and *TAAA* (*RS* is altogether silent on developments in the palace grounds) is quite vague, making identification with buildings described by Chardin, for example, difficult.

The first description of building in the palace precincts under 'Abbas is found in *NA* and dated to

1002 (1593). The building was conceived as a temporary residence for Hajji Muhammad Khan (Hajim Khan), the then-exiled ruler of Khiva. Writing two decades later, Iskandar Beg speaks of two apparently separate buildings, a “five-story entry/palace” (*dargāh-i panj tabaqa*), presumably the ‘Ali Qapu, and a “five-story building” (*‘imārat-i panj tabaqa*).<sup>49</sup> Is the second five-story structure perhaps to be identified with the residence built for Hajim Khan? And is it also the same as the five-story building on the grounds of the Chihil Sutun palace which Chardin mentions?<sup>50</sup>

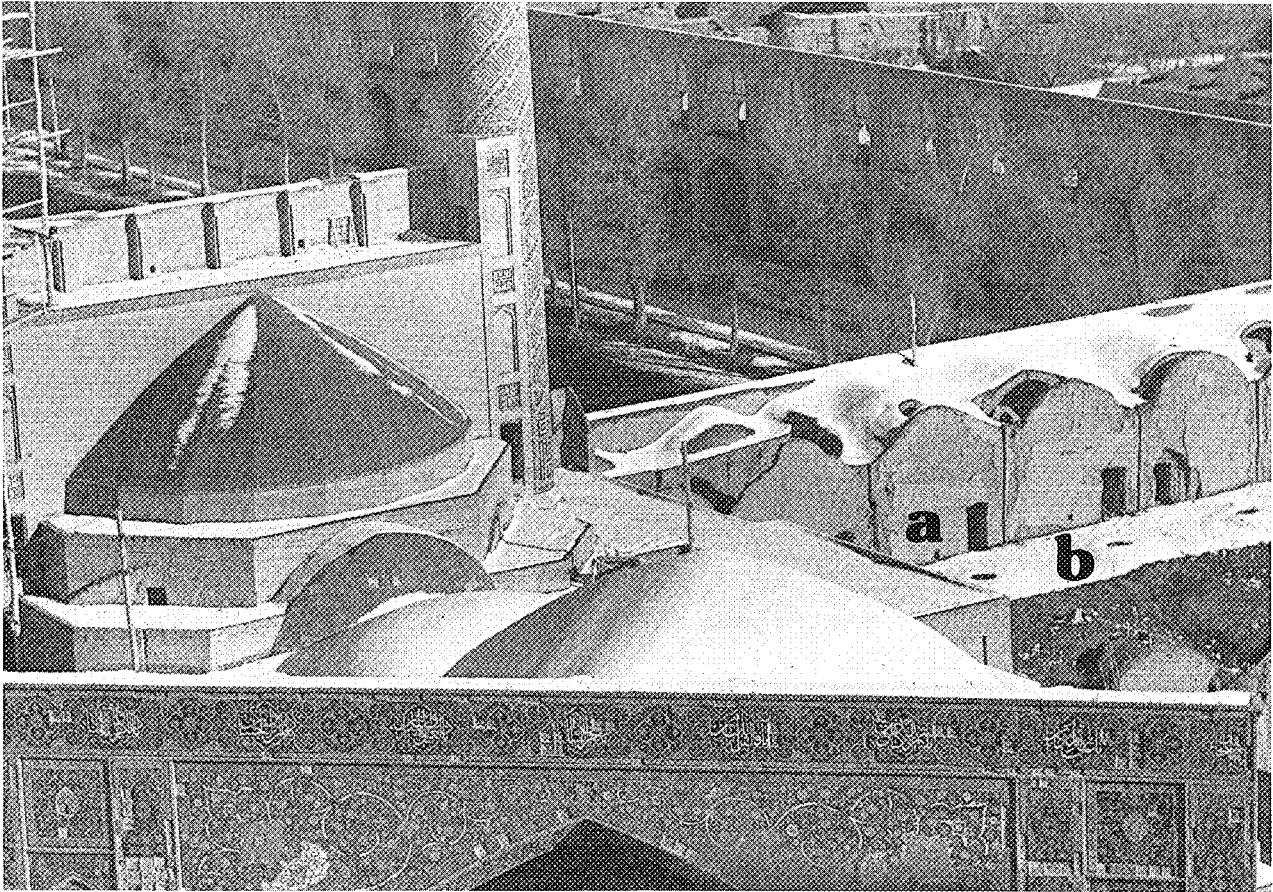
Another equally problematic structure is the *chahār ṣuffa* which Jalal-i Munajjim describes. He includes his description of it under the year 1011 (1602), but it is not certain that he intended to date it to that year. He states that the *chahār ṣuffa* was located next to the haram. He also stresses that it was designed for social activities, especially dining. Superficially, this *chahār ṣuffa* appears to coincide with a complex just to the southwest of the stables (*tālār-i ṭawīla*) behind the ‘Ali Qapu as described by Chardin. By his era (mid-century) the four buildings which comprised the complex were called Mihman-Khana, ‘Imarat-i Firdaws, Diwan-i Ayinah, and ‘Imarat-i Darya-yi Shah. Chardin locates these buildings near the haram with kitchens adjoining them to the east, both features tending to support the hypothesis that they should be identified with the *chahār ṣuffa* of TA.<sup>51</sup>

The texts also mention a feature of the palace precincts which has especially interested later students of the culture of Isfahan under Shah ‘Abbas, the decoration of some of the palace buildings with interior wall paintings. The texts provide conclusive evidence that wallpainting, especially figural painting, was popular with Shah ‘Abbas and probably with his predecessors as well. Natanzi gives us at least a temporary *terminus a quo* of no later than 1004 (winter 1595-96) for this kind of decoration of the maydan and palace area. Whether or not the wall paintings that survive today are to be identified with those described by Natanzi (for example, his “copy of the ‘*Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* with the paintings on the entrance from the maydan to the bazaar”<sup>52</sup>) or by Jalal-i Munajjim (e.g., his “marvelous ... portraits of wondrous figures ... and seated assemblies ... of houri-like youths” with some of the Chihil Sutun and ‘Ali Qapu paintings<sup>53</sup>) is a subject for those better equipped to determine, compare, and date the stylistic elements of the paintings. The information given by Natanzi and Jalal-i Munajjim is important, nonetheless, for adding pieces to the dating puzzle.

An additional bit of information of the wall paintings in the palace complex is perhaps worth repeating here, even though it comes from a late-nineteenth-century work, Tunukabuni’s *Qiṣaṣ al-‘ulamā’*.<sup>54</sup> It has to do with a well-known story<sup>55</sup> about the escape of a lion from the royal zoo and its sudden appearance at a majlis attended by two of the great men of Shah ‘Abbas’s time, the dervish-philosopher Mir Abu’l-Qasim Findariski and the legendary scholar, Shaykh Baha’ al-Din Muhammad al-‘Amili (Shaykh-i Baha’i). The story captured the imagination of seventeenth-century artists, and one rendition of the scene is found on a wall of the shrine (*takiya*) of Mir Findariski in the Takht-i Fulad district of Isfahan.<sup>56</sup> The *Qiṣaṣ al-‘ulamā’* says that another painting of the incident was executed on the walls of the Hasht Bihisht Palace (or Hasht Dar-i Bihisht Palace, as Tunukabuni calls it) in Isfahan.<sup>57</sup>

*The Royal Mosque (Masjid-i Shāh,*<sup>58</sup> *Masjid-i Naw)*. The third great project on the maydan was the construction of a congregational mosque (fig. 4). Ground was broken within seven years of completing the commercial redevelopment of the maydan area. Although the sources, especially TAAA, make much of ‘Abbas’s spiritual and moral motives for undertaking this enormous project, the mosque was an integral part of the commercial redevelopment of the maydan. Opening the new market district and offering incentives to shopkeepers and craftsmen to move their places of business from the Harun Wilayat market did not in any way assure the new market’s success. Its location posed a problem for prospective tenants. In the early seventeenth century, the Maydan-i Shah was on the southwestern edge of the city and far removed from the central business district. Any effort to bring merchants and businessmen from the Harun Wilayat market to the Maydan-i Shah had to be accompanied by some attempt at increasing traffic through the maydan. The focus of the old market district was the Masjid-i Jum‘a, the great congregational mosque whose origins dated to Seljuq times. It was natural that Shah ‘Abbas should attempt to duplicate that focus in the new maydan district. The siting of the mosque at the southern end of the maydan at a point that would require Isfahanis to traverse the market area twice, once approaching and again when departing the mosque, could hardly have been strictly fortuitous. It was clearly part of an overall plan, explicitly stated by the shah,<sup>59</sup> to see the Maydan-i Shah surpass the Harun Wilayat as the city’s central business district.

The sources provide information about two general



4. View from inside the Masjid-i Shah looking north. a. Bala-khanahs. b. Skylights over "du-ruyah" market (photo taken in 1930's).  
 Courtesy Myron Bement Smith Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

aspects of the project: first, the acquisition of land and, second, the design and method of construction. There are at least three traditions about the land on which the Masjid-i Shah was erected. All three make it very clear that the land was not vacant; it was fully developed, and this further supports the contention that the choice of site was deliberate.

The earliest and most detailed tradition is the contemporary, if not eyewitness, account of Jalal-i Munajjim (fols. 329b-330a). From his report, the area was a residential one, probably of low density since only two property owners, Mawlana Mir 'Ali and an unnamed old man, were affected. Jalal-i Munajjim's story is of considerable interest, for it emphasizes the delicate issue of private-property rights and the related issue of land acquisition for urban redevelopment. The shah,

and by extension his government, apparently had no power of eminent domain, and persuading an owner to sell could require careful and complicated negotiations.

It is of no small interest that fifty years later, the French observer Chardin recorded a tradition about the land on which the Masjid-i Shah stood, the details of which differ completely from Jalal-i Munajjim's account, but the substance and structure of which are remarkably similar.<sup>60</sup> In Chardin's version, probably received from an oral source, the land on which the mosque was to be built was occupied by a melon stand (*melonière*) belonging to an old woman whose demands had to be satisfied before she would relinquish her rights. The story, whether containing any factual information or not, does show the sanctity of private property, and, the survival of any story at all for half a cen-

tury to Chardin's time, suggests how strong an impression had been made on public opinion by the conflict between the rights of private owners (in both cases "small" owners) and the development plans of the shah.

The third tradition on the acquisition of land appears at first glance to be at odds with the other two. Writing in 1025 (1615), a few years after Jalal-i Munajjim, Iskandar Beg mentions no clash of private and state interests over the land on which the mosque was to be built. Instead, he says that the mosque site was occupied by a large warehouse (*khān*) which was demolished when the new mosque was built. No mention is made about ownership of the khan nor of any other affected property owners.

The various traditions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is possible that construction of the mosque required taking more than one or two properties: the mosque and its grounds today occupy an area far in excess of any surviving khan of the period.<sup>61</sup> Unless the khan stood alone surrounded by vacant land, adjacent buildings would also have been affected. According to the "Chardin map,"<sup>62</sup> by the middle of the century the area surrounding the Masjid-i Shah was occupied by the residences of important court figures and by service buildings for the court. One of these residences had belonged to Muhibb 'Ali Beg (better known as Lala Beg), who was the main contractor for the construction of the mosque. It is quite possible that far more land than the mosque required was purchased in 1611 and later was developed for other uses, including residential. These possibilities, while speculative, indicate that all three traditions may have been at least partially accurate and may be considered complementary rather than contradictory.

About the actual construction of the mosque the sources are somewhat less forthcoming. Iskandar Beg describes the discovery of a marble quarry near Isfahan about the time of the building of the mosque and attributes the discovery to divine approval of the project. His reference to "stone in blocks of a great length and width in striated colors" is corroborated by the late-nineteenth-century writer Mirza Muhammad Tunukabuni. Tunukabuni describes a minbar of seventeen or eighteen steps carved from a single block of marble and valued at 7,000 tuman. He also mentions porphyry panels (*sang-i sumāq*—perhaps Iskandar Beg's *sang-hā-yi manqūsh alwān*) set into the walls of the mosque. Each panel was one *dhar*<sup>c</sup> (cubit) wide by two *dhar*<sup>c</sup> in length. Tunukabuni attributes two other

features of the mosque to Shah 'Abbas—a gate decorated with silver and gold and a chain on the door of the mosque.<sup>63</sup>

From the few bits of evidence we have, it is possible to piece together a general idea about the organization of the building trades for the construction of the mosque. From the description in *NA* of the erection of the palace for Hajim Khan it is reasonable to assume that in the case of the Masjid-i Shah as well a general supervisor or contractor was chosen, and he then assembled the labor and material needed for the project. In the case of Alpan Beg, contractor for the Hajim Khan palace, the assembling of workers and material was carried out through village and district leaders, who were answerable to Alpan Beg and personally liable for any failure to meet his specifications. We have no information that the same arrangement held true for the construction of the Masjid-i Shah, but it seems likely that it did.

The name of Muhibb 'Ali Beg Lala, son of Muhammad Quli Khan, is inscribed on a panel at the main entrance (*sardar-i*) to the Masjid-i Shah as contractor or supervisor (*mushrif*). Lala Beg was an important figure in Isfahan between 1611 and 1619. When the mosque construction was completed, he was named administrator (*mutawallī*) of its endowment to which he was also a major donor. He served as contractor for the construction of five hundred houses for refugees from Tabriz. Work began on that project a week after it started on the Masjid-i Shah (*TA*, fols. 330a-b). Iskandar Beg also gives him the title *sarkār-i 'imārat-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa-yi Šifāhān* ("supervisor of the royal buildings of Isfahan").<sup>64</sup> Muhibb 'Ali Beg's nickname, Lala Beg, derived from another of his posts, that of chief executive (*lālah*, literally, tutor) of the court pages (*ghilmān*, *ghulamān*). As contractor and factor he was likewise well known. He was chief supervisor for the Kurang River water-diversion project until he was replaced in 1620.<sup>65</sup> During the 1620's he also appears as Shah 'Abbas's chief negotiator with foreigners (principally the English and the Dutch) who were trying to buy silk.<sup>66</sup>

The author of *TA* gives us some idea of the actual mobilization of labor and materials of the great mosque project. He writes that on Friday, the 15th of Safar (April 29, 1611) the shah distributed funds (2,000 tuman) to masters of the carpenter, stone-cutter, hod-carrier and mason trades. Although Jalal-i Munajjim does not explicitly mention Muhibb 'Ali Beg, we may assume that these trade leaders were answerable to him

as *mushrif*. That the Tabrizi housing project and the mosque began more or less simultaneously suggests a possible coordination between the two in the use of labor.

Besides the identity of the contractor, the sources also give us the names of two men involved in the building's design. Jalal-i Munajjim, the earliest source, identifies Badi<sup>c</sup> al-Zaman Tunī. He calls him both master (*ustād*) and architect (*mi<sup>c</sup>mār*) and strongly implies that he was responsible for the design of the building in the early stages, at least. However, more recent scholarship (e.g., the work of Godard and Hunarfarr) has tended to identify <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar Isfahani as the architect, since his name, along with that of Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali Beg, is inscribed on a plaque at the main entrance to the mosque. In the inscription, <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar Isfahani is referred to as master (*ustād*). Although Hunarfarr also calls him the architect (*mi<sup>c</sup>mār*), the inscription does not use that word. After Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali's name comes the phrase; *wa bi-mi<sup>c</sup>māriya man fi'l-<sup>c</sup>amal ka'l-muhandisīn wa huwa al-nādir al-awānī Ustād <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar al-Isfahānī* ("and in architecture, who is like the engineers in execution [of the plan], he is the unique of the age, Ustad <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar al-Isfahani").<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the sense of this inscription is that <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar al-Isfahani should be considered an engineer (*muhandis*) rather than an architect (*mi<sup>c</sup>mār*). The three terms found in our sources for technicians involved in building design and construction are *tarrāh*, *mi<sup>c</sup>mār*, and *muhandis*. From the various contexts, they appear to designate the profession of surveyor-planner, architect, and engineer, respectively. It is not my intent here to prove such a distinction, however, but merely to note the different terms that are used and the contexts in which they appear.<sup>68</sup>

There is reason to believe that the three individuals—Badi<sup>c</sup> al-Zaman Tunī, <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar al-Isfahani, and Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali Beg—were all involved in the design and construction of the mosque as suggested by the sources, Badi<sup>c</sup> al-Zaman prepared the site and building plans; <sup>c</sup>Ali Akbar al-Isfahani provided the engineering work; and Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali Beg did the general contracting work. The only anomaly is the absence of Badi<sup>c</sup> al-Zaman's name from any of the inscriptions on the building. It is possible, though perhaps somewhat idle, to speculate that he had fallen from favor before the project was completed and thus lost the opportunity to be memorialized in stone. There is certainly precedent for such a dismissal. One instance is Alpan Beg's firing for unspecified reasons in Safar 1005 (October

1596),<sup>69</sup> despite his illustrious career as advance man and building supervisor for the shah.

*Endowments for the Masjid-i Shah.* Although the four sources translated here do not speak specifically of endowments for the Masjid-i Shah, a few words about the character and extent of those endowments would not be out of place.<sup>70</sup> Sipanta's *Tārīkhcha-yi Awqāf-i Isfahān* reproduces a summary copy (*rūnawisht*) of the endowments as of 1023 (1614). The summary was compiled by Shaykh-i Baha<sup>ṣ</sup>i (Baha<sup>ṣ</sup> al-Din al-<sup>c</sup>Amili) two years before the mosque construction was completed.<sup>71</sup> It lists forty-eight separate properties or rights to revenue located either in the city (khans, shops, a *tīmcha*, a kitchen, and houses) or in the surrounding countryside (e.g., fifteen properties or sources of revenue in Alanjan). In the summary's preface, Shah <sup>c</sup>Abbas is called the endower (*wāqif*), but fourteen of the properties are described in the body of the document as waqfs donated by Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali Lala Beg. We may assume, therefore, that the other thirty-four were donated by the shah. Muhibb <sup>c</sup>Ali's sizable contribution to the endowments may have been the reason he was named *mutawallī* of the entire waqf. The long-term importance of his administration and that of his descendants (the *rūnawisht* includes the standard legalese that at his death he was to be succeeded by his male offspring; if none, then his female) is outside the scope of this discussion. Although the terms of the waqf endowments were inscribed on a panel inside the Masjid-i Shah, at some point the inscription was obliterated, leaving only the record of the *rūnawisht*.<sup>72</sup>

*The Great Dome Mosque (Shaykh Lutf Allah Mosque).* The last great building of the maydan project was the mosque-madrassa built opposite the palace entrance on the eastern side of the Maydan-i Shah. The building is now named for Shaykh Lutf Allah Maysi al-<sup>c</sup>Amili, a distinguished teacher and scholar from Syria. The shaykh studied in Mashhad under <sup>c</sup>Abd Allah Shushtari, but when the Shibanid/Uzbek armies occupied the Khurasanian city in 1589, Shaykh Lutf Allah fled to Qazwin. Later, at Shah <sup>c</sup>Abbas's request, he took up residence in Isfahan at the mosque now bearing his name.<sup>73</sup> Hunarfarr, apparently relying on the TAAA account, asserts that the mosque-madrassa was built as a place for Shaykh Lutf Allah to teach and lead worship, although this is not at all clear from the TAAA text itself.<sup>74</sup> Neither of the sources that mention the mosque (*RS* and *TAAA*) speak of Shaykh Lutf Allah

in connection with its construction. Iskandar Beg says only that the shaykh took up residence in the mosque and taught there. From the two accounts, it would appear that it was only some time after the shaykh's death in (1622-23) that the mosque came to be called after him. Iskandar Beg at least twice refers to it only as "a mosque opposite the entrance to the palace."<sup>75</sup> Junabadi refers to it in much the same way, but emphasizes its dome.<sup>76</sup>

Inscriptions date the beginning of construction to 1012 (1603-4) and completion to 1028 (1618).<sup>77</sup> That Jalal-i Munajjim does not mention the building suggests that most of the actual construction work took place nearer the latter date than the former.

*The suburban development of the Royal Pleasance (Bagh-i 'Abbasabad), the Grand Boulevard (Khiyaban), the Allah Wirdi Khan Bridge, and the Tabrizi District.* The sources point to a somewhat different sequence of development for the ambitious and large-scale project which Godard subsumes under the general rubric *chahār bāgh*<sup>78</sup> than has hitherto been thought to have been the case. Godard shows some confusion about the character, sequence, and dates of development when he writes, "Le Cahar Bagh, à la vérité, fut conçu plutôt à la façon d'un jardin que d'avenue, dont la circulation de l'époque n'avait pas besoin."<sup>79</sup> Part of the misunderstanding rests in his reliance on the hindsight of Iskandar Beg and Pietro della Valle. By comparing Iskandar Beg's very complete description with Jalal-i Munajjim's, it is possible to conclude that the development took place in this sequence: (1) in October 1596 the Bāgh-i 'Abbasabad (or Bagh-i Hazar Jarib<sup>80</sup>), the royal pleasance proper on the slopes of the Takht-i Rustam, was designed; (2) in 1597-98, a canal to water the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad was dug from the Zayandah Rud to the park,<sup>81</sup> the water was divided into a number of channels through the park, then converged again in a canal bisecting what would be the Grand Boulevard;<sup>82</sup> (3) also in 1597-98 work was begun on a *hawdkhāna* at the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad;<sup>83</sup> (4) in 1602,<sup>84</sup> the Allah Wirdi Khan Bridge was completed, and we may assume that development on both upper and lower sections of the Grand Boulevard progressed during these five years; (5) finally in 1611, work on the Tabrizi quarter (also called 'Abbasabad and Tabrizabad) began.<sup>85</sup> Again, one may assume that development along the *khiyābān* continued throughout the five years between the building of the bridge and the building of the Tabrizi quarter.

We thus have a picture of the *chahār bāgh/khiyaban* development beginning in 1596 with plans for the project and work commencing at both termini of the *khiyaban*/boulevard, i.e., the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad end, one *farsakh* (three miles) south of the palace complex, and the palace end. Convenient, if not definitive, dates for the conclusion of the main construction work on this great suburban project are 1611 or 1614.

The beginning of the pleasance development coincided with the first phase of the development of the maydan and reflects the same vision—Isfahan as a place for royal entertaining and relaxation—that appears in the first maydan phase. The later stages of the suburban development, i.e., the building of the 'Abbasabad and New Julfa quarter, had commercial overtones as did the second phase of the maydan development.

*Bagh-i 'Abbasabad (Bagh-i Hazar Jarib, Chahar Bagh).* There is little to be found in our translated sources which is not already well known (from Iskandar Beg) about the design and construction of this royal park. The earliest writer<sup>86</sup> to mention it, Jalal-i Munajjim, adds to the more complete account in Iskandar Beg that a rather elaborate *hawdkhāna* complex was built in the park and completed in Dhu'l-Hijja 1006 (July 1598). Both Iskandar Beg and Junabadi describe the park as comprising nine terraces, each terrace two cubits (*dhar*) higher than the one below.<sup>87</sup> Junabadi adds that the total area of the park was 1,000 Isfahani jaribs, which would make it more than three times larger than the Maydan-i Shah, whose area he states as 300 jaribs. Information on the large canal (*nahr*) which was excavated for the new park and the boulevard is again fairly uniform from source to source. Iskandar Beg says the canal was stone-lined along the boulevard; Junabadi tells how the canal was divided into five branches where it entered the park and then reconverged to flow in a single water course along the boulevard.

*The khiyaban boulevard.* Fifty canonical cubits in width, according to Junabadi, the *khiyābān*, a grand allee, was intersected by the Zayandah Rud. The upper (*bālā*) and lower (*pā'īn*) sections were linked by the "forty-span" (actually thirty-three-span) bridge, whose construction was supervised by Allah Wirdi Khan, *qūllar āqāsī* and *wālī* of Fars. The aristocracy of Isfahan built private parks along the *khiyaban*, and Junabadi suggests that development began at the 'Abbasabad (southern) end and moved in toward the city. One assumes there were

incentives to build close to the royal park. Each of the park estates appears to have been constructed according to certain standards. At the entrance to each estate, a two-story *dargāh* had to be erected.<sup>88</sup> Junabadi also states that cisterns were built on the *khiyābān* opposite each of these buildings. Although the styles of the *dargāhs* varied (each of the *chahār bāgh* parks was built according to individual taste, says the author of *RS*), a master plan was adhered to so that the overall development would have an aesthetic unity.

Since Jalal-i Munajjim, who describes the Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad project, the canal, and the bridge, says almost nothing about the *khiyābān* development, one assumes that most of the development of these park estates occurred after he had finished his book in 1611 and before Junabadi wrote this section of his work in 1619.

*The Bridge of Forty Spans (Allah Wirdi Khan Bridge, Bridge of Thirty-Three Spans, Julfa Bridge).* This bridge has been thoroughly described by every traveler and art historian to write on Isfahan, as Godard notes.<sup>89</sup> To the information provided in those works, we would draw attention to the date of completion given by Jalal-i Munajjim, namely 12 Rajab 1011 (26 December 1602)<sup>90</sup> and the extensive description of it offered by Junabadi, whose information shows clearly the architectural sophistication that could incorporate the refrigerating properties of the river into the bridge design.<sup>91</sup>

*The ‘Abbasabad quarter or Tabrizi quarter.* Iskandar Beg twice makes tantalizing references to the building of the ‘Abbasabad quarter.<sup>92</sup> In his enumeration of ‘Abbas’s public works, he writes that ‘Abbas built “the city (*shahr*) of ‘Abbasabad to the west and outside of the city of Isfahan as a residential area for the Tabrizis.” Then, in his description of the events of Takhaquy Yil 1005-6 (1596-97) changing his description somewhat, he writes, “After that [the building of the *chahār bāgh*], the city of ‘Abbasabad was designed and completed on the west side of the [great] *chahār bāgh* park as a dwelling place for the people of Tabriz, as will be related in its proper place.” Unfortunately, the “proper place” was apparently never found, and this is all we ever learn from Iskandar Beg about ‘Abbasabad.

Jalal-i Munajjim gives a good deal more information, but still leaves questions unanswered. The quarter was a planned development to house refugee and apparently destitute Tabrizis. Besides residences, the

quarter also included a market center and the two requisites of any quarter—a mosque and a public bath. If the information in the *TA* is accurate, the quarter was a fairly sizable one, with 500 houses on some 1,000 jaribs of land. Construction of the quarter was supervised by Muhibb ‘Ali Beg, general contractor for the Masjid-i Shah, and financial terms (five-year interest-free loans) were arranged to meet the needs of the people who were to live there. According to Jalal-i Munajjim, building began at the end of Safar 1020 (early May 1611).

Two questions that arise are, who were these Tabrizis, and why were so many of them coming to Isfahan at this time? These were not the Armenians of New Julfa fame, most of whom had arrived in the six years before 1611.<sup>93</sup> Rather it is clear that these refugees were Muslims and that they had been uprooted by the fighting around Tabriz between Ottoman and Safavid forces in 1610.<sup>94</sup> Although Iskandar Beg portrays this campaign as a victory from beginning to end, not as the near debacle (from the Safavid standpoint) that it was, there are indications here and there of the widespread displacement of the population. Iskandar Beg says that after the Ottoman army withdrew, ‘Abbas made efforts to return the residents to their homes, The design and construction of the Tabrizi quarter at the beginning of the next year is an obvious sign that these efforts were not entirely successful, that some areas were perhaps rendered temporarily uninhabitable by the effects of the Ottoman-Safavid wars. One of the most illustrious literary figures of the seventeenth century was among these refugees. Mirza Muhammad ‘Ali, better known by the pen-name Šā’ib, was brought by his father to Isfahan from Tabriz and grew up in ‘Abbasabad.<sup>95</sup>

According to Hunarfar, the ‘Abbasabad quarter disappeared in the wake of the Afghan conquest of Isfahan in 1722 and only in the twentieth century again became a residential area.<sup>96</sup>

The preceding discussion, based mainly on four sources contemporary with the redevelopment of Isfahan at the beginning of the seventeenth century, suggests the kind of new information that even a relatively cursory examination of the unpublished sources for the history of Safavid Iran can produce. Much remains to be learned about the economic motives and results of the kind of planned development of which Abbasid Isfahan is a striking example. Not only the manuscript sources mentioned above in this paper, but also, and most important, the documentary

record should significantly revise our present knowledge of the public policies of governments and how they were implemented in early-modern Iran.<sup>97</sup>

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## NOTES

- Among the more useful reference works on Shah 'Abbas's Isfahan are Luṭf Allāh Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārīkh-i Isfahān*, (Isfahan, 1350/1971), pp. 392-514; Muḥammad Mahdī ibn Muḥammad Riḍā Isfahānī, *Nisf-i Jahān Dar Ta'rif-i Isfahān*, ed. M. Sutūdah (Tehran, 1340/1961); 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sīpantā, *Tārīkhcha-yi Awoqāf-i Isfahān* (Isfahan, 1346/1967); André Godard, "Isfahan," *Āthār-e Irān* 2, fasc. 1 (Paris-Haarlem, 1937), pp. 80-122; Arthur Upham Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (London, 1939), vol. 2, pp. 1179-1201, 1406-10; Renata Holod, ed., *Studies on Isfahan (Iranian Studies 7)* (Boston, 1974); Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Die Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden, 1978); R. M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), Chap. 7, and Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1980).
- See, for instance, Lisa Golombek's remarks in "Urban Patterns in pre-Safavid Isfahan," *Studies on Isfahan*, p. 19, "To some extent the lack of material from post-Seljuq times is compensated by Chardin's description of the city in the seventeenth century." It is probably more fruitful (in light of the bureaucratic values of Iranian society) to assume that material does exist and to search it out. The difficulties posed by reliance on European sources are apparent in the entry "Isfahan" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., where with no clear idea of the dates or sequence of construction in the Isfahan of 'Abbas, the article is only able to offer a tentative and superficial interpretation of his planning.
- Sīpantā, *Tārīkhcha-yi Awoqāf*, passim; references to documents are also found, among other places, in *TAAA* 2:760-62.
- Other semi-official reports not cited here, such as Bidlisi's *Sharafnāma* and Qāḍī Aḥmad's *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, provide little, if any, information on 'Abbas's building and thus have been omitted.
- Godard, "Isfahan," p. 89.
- See, for example, *NA*, pp. 415 ff., for a very full reproduction of the 'Abbas-'Abd al-Muḥ'min correspondence of 1592.
- NA*, Introduction, p. 24; the editor presents what is known of Natanzi's life on pp. 22-24.
- His hilarious description of 'Abbas's repeated ceremonial entries into Isfahan in late autumn 1002 (1593), pp. 537-40, could hardly have pleased the shah.
- Natanzi was acquainted with Jalal al-Din Muhammad of Yazd whom he identifies (p. 492) as head astronomer and astrologer (*sar āmad-i arbāb-i raṣad wa tanjīm wa mulādh-i aṣhāb-i istikhraj wa taqwīm*) for 'Abbas by 1592-93.
- It was Godard's principal source and is extensively used by Hunarfarr both directly and indirectly through Falsafi's use of it in *Zindagāni-yi Shāh 'Abbās Awwal*.
- Iskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, R. M. Savory, trans. (Persian Heritage Series, Boulder, Colorado 1978), 2 vols. (henceforth Monshi/Savory).
- C. A. Storey, *Persidskaia Literatura*, edited, translated and reworked by I. E. Bregel, 3 vols., Moscow, 1972 (henceforth Bregel/Storey) p. 898.
- See Bregel/Storey, p. 247.
- Shams al-Din "Asil," *Miftah al-Qulub*, vol. 3, fol. 547b Cambridge University ms., ref. E. G. Browne, *A Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts ... in the Libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1922), ms. 1227.
- See Bregel/Storey, pp. 869-70.
- A. D. Papazian, *Persidskie Dokumenty Matenadarana*, vol. 1: *Ukuzy*, pt. 1, XV-XVI vv. (Erevan, 1956); pt. 2 1600-1650 gg. (Erevan, 1959); vol. 2, *Kupchie* (Erevan, 1968).
- 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, *Shāh 'Abbās: Majmū'ah-yi Asnād wa Mukātabāt-i Tārīkhī Hamrah Bā Yaddāshthā-yi Tafsilī*, 2 vols. (Tehran S.1352-53), and Dhabīh Thābitiyyān, *Asnād wa Nāmah-lā-yi Tārīkhī Dawrah-yi Safaviya* (Tehran, S.1343).
- In translating the epithets commonly given the major cities of Iran, I have followed Qadi Ahmad Qummi, *Gulistan-i Hunar*, ed. and trans. V. Minorsky under the title *Calligraphers and Painters* (henceforth cited thus) (Washington, D.C., 1959), with a few exceptions. Rather than translate *dar* as "town," I have rendered it a "city"; *dār al-saltana* as "city of rule" rather than capital, and *dār al-mulk* as "city of kingship" rather than "royal city." The term or phrase that most closely approximates the word "capital" is *maqarr-i saltanat* or *maqarr-i dawlat*, etc).
- This is 'Ali Sultan ibn Ahmad Sultan Giranpa (or Girampa, according to *TAAA*, p. 438; Monshi/Savory, p. 612). According to the same source, it was the father, Ahmad Sultan, who had custody of the royal family members. Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Die Chronik Hulasat at-Tawarih des Qazi Ahmad Qumi*, ed. and trans. Hans Muller [Wiesbaden, 1964], text p. 64; trans. p. 72) likewise calls Ahmad Sultan the guardian. He calls 'Ali Beg (Sultan) Ahmad's uncle and *darugha*, presumably of Isfahan. The royal princes included 'Abbas's brothers, Abu Talib, Tahmasp, and Isma'il; his father, Muhammad Khudabandah; and his uncle, Sultan 'Ali.
- That is, he blinded his father and brothers (his uncle had previously been blinded by Isma'il II, according to *TAAA*, p. 210; Monshi/Savory, pp. 217-18) and sent them to Alamut where they were incarcerated (Monshi/Savory, p. 612).
- Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārīkh-i Isfahān*, pp. 396-97, where Tavernier's description of *asptāzī* is cited.
- Members of the Yadgarid/Shibanid line of Gengis Khan's descendants (see Abu'l-Ghazi, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tartares* ed. and trans. Petr I. Desmaisons [St. Petersburg, 1871-74; reprinted Amsterdam, 1970], genealogical table facing p. 1). At this time, their main rivals in Central Asia, the Abu'l-Khayrid/Shibanids of Bukhara and Balkh, had expelled them from Merv and the lower Amu Darya region.
- See *TAAA*, pp. 492, 499; Monshi/Savory, pp. 667, 673. He was a Qajar amir and aide-de-camp (*yasāwul-i suhbat*) according to Iskandar Beg, and had performed similar services at Qazvin (p. 499). He was dismissed from 'Abbas's service in late 1596 (see my translation, p. 000). For other information on Alpan Beg, see *TA*, fol. 105b, where his fall from favor is already presaged in 1594.
- The author is apparently referring to al-Qazvini's famous cosmography *Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*, a work often, one might say necessarily, illustrated.
- Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, p. 167, calls Mir 'Imad the "second Mir 'Ali." The "master calligrapher" here referred to



- is undoubtedly Mawlana Nizam al-Din 'Ali Rida Tabrizi (see *ibid.*, pp. 171-12). He was in 'Abbas's employ by 1606. The "first" Mir 'Ali Tabrizi is, of course, the one to whom invention of the nastaliq style of writing is attributed and who probably lived at the end of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 100 n.). The text seems to suggest that the owner of the residence in question was another person altogether, although it is not entirely unambiguous (*khānah-hū-yi nādir al-'asrī Mawlānā Mir 'Alī thānī ānkah ismash ba khūsh nawīs-i shahr muwāfiq ast a'ni Mulla 'Alī...*).
26. Iskandar Beg seems to be confused here. Although the shah had at this time begun to build a mosque-madrasa on the east side of the maydan (the Shaykh Lutf Allah or Great Dome mosque-madrasa) as far as we know he did not build either type of building along the northern side of the maydan where the qaysariya was built.
  27. The name Naqsh-i Jahan may be said to refer generally to the palace grounds-maydan area. The name Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan refers to the palace precincts proper, and the name Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan to the rectangular plaza outside the main entrance to the palace precincts, i.e., the Maydan-i Shah.
  28. The remarks of Godard ("Isfahan," p. 103) regarding both the nature of the development and the dates for it must be now be considered superseded. In addition, his citation of Iskandar Beg ("Selon Iskandar Munshi, Shah 'Abbas consacre une somme importante à l'embellissement de cette place durant les années 1020 et 1021...") is misleading. Iskandar Beg was not referring to the maydan, but to the Masjid-i Shah.
  29. E. Galdieri, "Two Building Phases of the Time of Šah 'Abbas I in the Maydan-i Šah of Isfahan, Preliminary Note," *East and West*, N.S. 20, nos. 1-2 (1970): 60-69, and 16 figures on six unnumbered pages.
  30. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
  31. Hunarfar, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, pp. 396-97 gives Tavernier's description of some of the sports played on the maydan. Tavernier visited Isfahan a few years after 'Abbas's death in 1629 on the first of his six trips there.
  32. *Ibid.*, p. 396, cites the work of Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Khātunābādī, *Tārikh-i Waqāyī' al-Sinīn wa'l-'A'wām*, who dates the building of the maydan to 1011, i.e., to the second development phase. Khatunabadi was born in 1629 and died in 1694.
  33. Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Die Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden, 1978).
  34. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
  35. Identifying the qaysariya in Tabriz that Natanzi regards as the model for the Isfahan qaysariya is difficult. The fact that 'Abbas deliberately and publicly singled out the Tabriz qaysariya is evidence that (1) it was probably a well-known and preeminent example of qaysariya architecture, and (2) it was likely built under royal patronage or was associated with a king. In all this, as Natanzi's remarks make clear, there is a strong desire to eclipse Tabriz's popular image as the "capital" (a view that went back to Ilkhanid times). I have as yet found no conclusive evidence of the model qaysariya, although there are some hints in other works. On the basis of what we know about Tabriz's history, the era of Ghazan Khan (r. 1295-1304) and Uljaitu (r. 1304-16) would seem to be a likely time to which to attribute such a structure. Rashid al-Din documents the former's buildings in Tabriz (*Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, vol. 3, ed. A. A. Alizade and A. K. Arends [Baku, 1957], pp. 414-15 [Persian text], p. 235 [Russian translation]), but there is nothing there that leads one to identify a particular qaysariya with these Ilkhanids. An intriguing reference to what might have been 'Abbas's prototype is in L. S. Bretanitskii, *Zodchestvo Azerbaidzhanu XII-XV v.* (Moscow, 1966), p. 413: "The written sources also mention [in Tabriz] the Nasriya and Maqsudiya madrasas; a fine covered market Qaysariya [emphasis mine], and a great ensemble of public buildings, the Hasht Bihisht," he writes. Unfortunately, Bretanitskii cites only "A Narrative of Italian Travels in the XV and XVI centuries; the narrative of the anonymous merchant in Iran from 1511-1520..." (i.e., Charles Grey, trans., "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia in *A Narrative of Italian Travels...* [Hakluyt Society, vol. 49] [London, 1873]). The anonymous merchant does indeed describe the Hasht Bihisht as well as other buildings, but mentions no qaysariya nor anything to be identified as one. One must assume that Bretanitskii did have a source for his statement, but simply neglected to note it.
  36. Gaube and Wirth, *Die Bazar von Isfahan*, p. 174.
  37. *TAAA*, p. 144; Monshi/Savory, p. 231.
  38. Natanzi, *NA*, p. 457, may have here confused Amir Ghiyath al-Din Mir-i Miran, the Husayni sayyid of Isfahan and father of Mirza Muhammad (see *TAAA*, p. 144; Monshi/Savory, p. 232) with Mir-i Miran-i Yazdi, the son of Shah Ni'mat Allah (*TAAA*, p. 145; Monshi/Savory, p. 232).
  39. *NA*, pp. 456-57.
  40. Mirza Rafi'a, *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, ed. M. Danishpazhuh (Tehran, n.d.); *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, ed. and trans. V. M. Minorsky (London 1943). According to Danishpazhuh, the author of *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* was a certain Mirza Sami'a.
  41. *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, p. 148.
  42. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 83, 148; *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, pp. 93-94, 121.
  43. For information about Shuja' al-Din and his family, see *TAAA*, pp. 928, 1013, 1040, 1090.
  44. "Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shah 'Abbas, 1011/1602-1023/1614", *Asian and African Studies*, 15, no. 2 (1981): 165-90.
  45. Sipantā, *Tārikhcha-yi Awqāf-i Isfahan*, pp. 44-45, and Falsafi, *Zindagānī-yi Shah 'Abbas-i Awwal*, 3: 21, 24-25. Both cite Jalal-i Munajjim's *Tārikh-i 'Abbāsi* for most of their material on his waqf donations. The citations they give correspond to fols. 240b, 267b, 269b-270b, 305b, 340a-341a (with an inventory of the porcelain given to the Ardabil shrine), of the British Library ms. OR. 27, 241.
  46. *TAAA*, pp. 760-62; Monshi/Savory, pp. 953-56 (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London, 1969), p. 112, also cites the *TAAA* passage.
  47. Sipanta, *Tārikhcha-yi Awqāf-i Isfahan*, pp. 64-72.
  48. Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York, 1979), p. 92.
  49. *TAAA*, p. 1111; Monshi/Savory, p. 536.
  50. Cited by Donald Wilber, "Aspects of the Safavid Ensemble at Isfahan", *Studies on Isfahan*, p. 408.
  51. For a recent discussion of the term *chahar yuffah* meaning a structure built on a four-iwan plan, see Sheila Blair, "Ilkhanid Architecture and Society: An Analysis of the Endowment Deed of the Rab-i Rashidi," *Iran* 22 (1984): 69.
  52. Ernst Grube, "Wall Paintings in the Seventeenth-Century Monuments of Isfahan", *Studies on Isfahan*, p. 154.
  53. *Ibid.*, pp. 533, 535, 537 (figs. 2, 4, 6).
  54. Mirzā Muḥammad Tunukābunī, *Qisas al-'Ulamā'* (Tehran, n.d.), 465 pp.
  55. See Hunarfar, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, e.g., pp. 545-46.

56. Ibid.
57. Mīrzā Muḥammad Tunukābunī, *Qışaş al-ʿUlamā*, p. 237: “*wa şūrat-i ān majlis wa şūr-rā dar ʿimārat-i hasht dar-i bishisht dar Isfahan bih haman kayfiyat-i wuqūʿ yafīah būd dar dīwār kashūdand.*”
58. In the waqf epitome of 1023, the mosque is called *masjid-i ʿatīq-i jadīd-i sultānī* and *masjid-i jadīd-i sultānī*. The former is clearly a slip, either by Shaykh-i Bahaʿi himself or by the editor of the *Tārikhchah*. The *masjid-i jāmiʿ* of Seljuq provenance was the *masjid-i jāmiʿ-i ʿatīq* (see Isfahānī, *Nisf-i Jahān*, p. 60).
59. Gaube, *Iranian Cities*, p. 95.
60. Cited by Wilber, “Aspects of the Safavid Ensemble,” p. 407.
61. Map 1 in Gaube and Wirth, *Die Bazar von Isfahan*.
62. Wilber, “Aspects of the Safavid Ensemble,” p. 412.
63. Mīrzā Muḥammad Tunukābunī, *Qışaş al-ʿUlamā*, p. 235.
64. TAAA, pp. 949-50; *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, pp. 127-28. Minorsky in *Tadhkirat*, using TAAA as his source (pp. 949-50), omits a relative pronoun and alters the meaning of the phrase, “*Muhibb ʿAli Beg lālah-yi ghulamān kih sarkār-i ʿimārat-i khāsshah-yi sharīfah Şifāhān ast.*” The word *sarkar*—which here means “official” and Minorsky takes as an “office” (i.e., “Muhibb ʿAli Beg, *lalah* of the ghulams of the royal household [*sarkar*],” not “*lalah* of the ghulams who was supervisor of royal buildings in Isfahan”)—could mean either the one or the other depending on the context. The word *dīwān* was used in the same way in Mawarānahr at the time.
65. TAAA, pp. 949-50.
66. For more information on the Muhibb ʿAli Beg’s role as silk broker, see Linda K. Steinmann, “Shah ʿAbbas and the Royal Silk Trade,” Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986, pp. 87-95.
67. Godard’s and Hunarfarr’s readings of the same panel differ at various points (compare Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, p. 429, with Godard, “Isfahan,” pp. 109, 111). In the segment quoted, I have followed Hunarfarr.
68. See, in addition, Raphael du Man’s definition of *maamar* cited by Giuseppe Zander, “Observations sur l’architecture civile d’Isfahan,” *Studies on Isfahan*, p. 306.
69. TA, fol. 121a.
70. For a more detailed discussion of these endowments, see citation in note 44.
71. Monshi/Savory, p. 959, also has Shaykh Bahaʿ al-Din al-ʿAmili as the drafter of a *waqfiyāna* for the shah.
72. Sipantā, *Tārikhchah-yi Awqāf-i Isfahān* pp. 49-50.
73. TAAA, pp. 157, 859, 1007.
74. Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, p. 404.
75. TAAA, pp. 157, 1007.
76. See my translation of fol. 341a, p. 000.
77. Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, pp. 401-2.
78. Godard, “Isfahan,” pp. 88-94.
79. Ibid., p. 91.
80. Hunarfarr so designates it, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, p. 487.
81. TA, fols. 121a, 129a.
82. RS, fol. 315a.
83. TA, fol. 129a.
84. Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, p. 487; TA gives the date 12 Rajab 1011.
85. TAAA, p. 545, Monshi/Savory, p. 725; Godard, “Isfahan,” p. 91, cites Pietro della Valle as his source; TA, fol. 330b.
86. Although the plans for the park had been drawn up by the time Natanzi completed work on his history in 1598, he does not mention the project.
87. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, Appendix II.
88. For an example of a *dargāh*, see photograph in Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, p. 483.
89. Godard, “Isfahan,” bibliographic note on p. 94; see also Isfahani, *Nisf-i Jahān*, p. 108.
90. TA, fol. 110b; Hunarfarr says (p. 487) only that it was completed in 1011.
91. RS, fol. 315a-b; TAAA, pp. 545, 1111; Monshi/Savory, pp. 725, 536. The supervisor, Allah Wirdi Khan, had at least one other major hydraulic project to his credit, the construction of a dam at Shiraz in 1600 (TA, fol. 168a).
92. TAAA, pp. 726, 728. Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, pp. 727-28 lists ʿAbbasabad as one of the 24 *mahallat* of the city built during the Safavid period (compared to the sixteen existing at the beginning of the era).
93. V. A. Bayburtian, *Armianskaia Koloniia Novoi Dzhul'fy v XVII veke* (Erevan, 1969), chap. 1; Arakel of Tabriz, *Livres d'histoire* in M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens* (original ed., St. Petersburg, 1874-76; rpt. Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 341-42, writing much later, in the 1660’s, tells of a loan arrangement between Shah ʿAbbas and the Armenians transported from Azerbaijan to Isfahan that was similar in many respects to the loan described by Jalal-i Munajjim and offered to the Tabrizis.
94. See TAAA, pp. 817-25; Monshi/Savory, pp. 1022-32.
95. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 4, pp. 265-266, citing the *Atash-kadah*, gives two different answers to the question of Şaʿib’s birthplace. Compare note 3, p. 265, where he states that the poet was born in Tabriz, but raised in Isfahan, with p. 266, lines 2-3, where he writes that Şaʿib was born in ʿAbbasabad where his family had been transported from Tabriz by Shah ʿAbbas. In either case, his association with ʿAbbasabad and ʿAbbasabad’s being inhabited by Muslims displaced by the wars in the north seem well attested. The almost exclusive interest by later writers in the transportation of Armenian communities out of Azerbaijan has obscured the fact that Muslims suffered a similar fate because of the bitter fighting and scorched-earth policies that marked the Ottoman-Safavid wars of the first decade of the seventeenth century.
96. Hunarfarr, *Ganjīnah-yi Āthār-i Tārikh-i Isfahān*, pp. 727-28.
97. I would like to acknowledge the generous support of the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies of New York University and the Hagop Kevorkian Fund in the preparation of this article for publication.

# PERSIAN TEXTS

## TĀRĪKH-I ʿABBĀSĪ

[fol. 95a] ذکر وقایع سال هزار از هجریه در روز سه شنبه چهارم محرم الحرام این سال از قزوین متوجه دار السلطنه صفهان شدند و در نوزدهم ماه مذکور نزول اجلال در دار المومنین کاشان واقع شد و در بیست و پنجم داخل صفهان شدند و پانزده روز رحل اقامت انداختند و بعد از عیش و عشرت بعوز عجزه و مساکین رسیدند و در دفع ظلمه کوشیدند و در اوایل صفر این سال طرح عمارت میدان و بازار صفهان و قیصریه نمودند و بجهت تاریخ بنای این عمارت این قطعه برقم آمد (بیت) شاه عباس حسینی کامل / پیشوای صاحب الامر از خدا // عرصه میدان عالم هست ازو / پاک چون آئینه کیتی نما // با کتافت بود میدان عراق / از صفای طبع او شد با هوا // یافت چون زیب و صفا تاریخ شد / یافته میدان اصفهان صفا // و بجهت پناه قیصریه نیز تاریخی گفته آورده شد (بیت) شاه عباس که از دولت اوست / تا ابد

[fol. 95b] عالم امکان معمور // وز کمال اثر معدلتش / تا قیامت شده دوران معمور // کهنه ویرانه عالم از وی / شده چون روضه رضوان معمور // بانی امن و امان کشته او ست / خانه ملت و ایمان معمور // شده ز و بتکده شرک خراب / کعبهای دل ویران معمور // در عراق از اثر همت او / قیصریه شده ز انسان معمور // که در ایام نبوت کشته / بیت مقدس ز سلیمان معمور // چون شد این قیصریه ز بنای قضا / چون سرای دل انسان معمور // من ز معمار خرد پرسیدم / گاهی ز تعمیر تو ارکان معمور // قیصریه بصفهان تا شد / همچو ویرانه میدان معمور // گفت تاریخ محلی است که شد / قیصریه بصفهان معمور //

[fol. 121a] و در اوایل صفر این سال نواب همایون با خاصان متوجه اصفهان شدند و در ساوه الپان بیک که از جمله مهربان بود بسبب تقصیر خدمت گرفته بقلعه الموت فرستادند و در آواخر صفر داخل شهر اصفهان شدند در این سال خجسته مال مصرعی که مشتملست بر تاریخ جهة طرح چهارباغ یکی از ارباب طبیعت کوش زد ارکان دولت نمود (مصراع) نهالش بکام دل شه بر آید [fol. 128a] و در اواسط رجب این سال کوچ اکثر ملازمان شاهی باصفهان رفتند و مقرر سلطنت صفهان شد بسبب استیلای ازبکیه که هر روزه تاخت بالکاء یزد می بردند و بحوالی کاشان تا آران و بیدکل تاخت ایشان رسید.

[fol. 129a] و درین سال نهری عظیم از زاینده رود جدا کردند و بیاب عباس آباد آوردند و از آنجا بکل باغها جاری ساختند و

تاریخی بجهت این گفته شده بود برقم آمد (بیت) دوش عظم کفت آب کوثری / در بهشتی از شهی آمد پدید // شاه عباس آنکه آب زندگی / باغ عمرش را کل شادی دمید // با خرد کفتم که آب باغ را / سال تاریخش نکو کفت ای رشید // تا بحکم شاه آب آمد بیاب / آب باغ از بهر تاریخش رسید // و در اواخر شعبان این سال بساختن حوض خانه مشتمل بر چهار صفا و چهار حجره و حوض بزرگی در میان و در یکصفا یک طوقوز و یک کان و حوض بجهت طبخ اشربه و نهایت صفها به پنجره بزرگ عالی که بر تختی که بیاب ناظر بود و بالای حوض خانها عمارت عالیه مصور خوش طرح امر فرمودند و چون در ذی حجه این سال با تمام رسید بجهت تاریخ آن چند بیت بنطق در بار خود فرمودند (بیت) کلبه را که من شدم بانی / مطلب تکیه سکان علیست // زان سبب (؟) فیض یافتم زاله / که مرا مهر باعلی ازلیست // خانه دلکشنا شدش تاریخ /

[fol. 129b] چون که از کلب آستان علیست // ...

[fol. 190a] ... نواب کلب آستانعلی را مهندسی بود صاحب بصیرت و طراحی بی سیرت و مهارت در طرح عمارت مرتبه داشت که مهندسان سرکوجه هنرمندی و مصوران کارخانه نقشبندی و معماران نامدار در طرح نقوش بدائع نکارش اقرار بعجز مینمودند و درین سال که معمار همت عالی نهشتش طرح عمارتی فرموده بودند که تا بنای عالمست هیچ بنا مثل آن نشده بود از جمله میدانی که در دولتخانه است و دورش نهری عظیم بود موشح بچنار و بید و بسیار بصفنا چنانچه سیرکاه خلاق و نشیمن گاه مخالف و موافق است و در دور آن دورویه بازاری مشتمل بر دکاکین وسیع با سقف و (sic) بسیار رفیع و راه روی که دو شتر کجاوه بار دار از هم گذرند که آسیب بهم نرسانند و قهوهخاها و قیصریه و کاروانسرای بسیار بزرگ و تیمچهها بس بطرح و حمامات و دیگر کاروانسراها در اطراف بازار با تمام رسیده و در اسعد ساعات و

[fol. 190b] احسن اوقات یعنی پنجشنبه بیست و هفتم جمادی الثانی اهل بازار میدان هارون ولایت نقل نموده بدین محال آمدند محال مذکوره را وقف حضرات ائمه معصومین صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم فرمودند و باغات و خیابانها و حوضها و چهارباغها و پل مجدد برباب زاینده رود بستند مشتمل بر چشمه بسیار عالی از طرفین پل ایوانها شرقی و غربی که ناظر بود و سایر باغات آنطرف

پل حکم باصمام تمام در اتمام آن فرمودند در دوازدهم رجب این سال با تمام رسید و نواب کلب آستان علی در شب مذکور تاریخ اتمام آن یافته بقید نظم در آوردند (شعر) کلبه را که من شوم بانی / که مرا مهر با علی ازلیست // زان سبب مهر یافتم زاله / مطلبم تکیه سکان علیست // خانه دلکش شدش تاریخ چونکه از کلب آستان علیست //

[fol. 191a] ... و از جمله چهار صفة در جنب حرم ساختند مشتمل بر سه حوض فواره دار یکی در وسط حقیقی و دیگر در جانب غرب مشتمل بدکانی که انواع اطعمه لذیذ و اقسام مطبوخات اشتها انگیز زیاده از آنچه در حوصله خیال کنجد قاصره بود (شعر) چه دکانی که کان نعمتی بود / برای رزق عالم دیده بکشود // و دیگر در چپ بر دکانی که انواع حلویات و اقسام مریبات و اصناف مثقلات استادان شیرین کار بصحن روز کار می آوردند و بالا خانهای زرنکار که مصوران روز کار بدایع نکار بدعوای یکدیگر در دیوار رفیع مقدارش نقشهای غریب و صورتهای شبیه عجیب منقش و مصور ساخته مجالس نرمش بتمثال جوانان حور مثال ساخته.

[fol. 329b] و جمعه پانزدهم صفر ختم بالخیر و الظفر بجهت اسباب و آلات و مصالح بناء مسجد جدید که در صفهان میساختند استادان بنا و سنگ تراش و سنگ بر دو هزار تومان دادند و مقرر شد که چون شروع به بنا شود مصالح حاضر باشد و خانهای نادر العصری مولانا میر علی ثانی آنکه اسمش با خوشنویس شهر موافق است اعنی ملا علی بمبلغ سیصد تومان خریدند چون حکم جهاتمطاع عالم مطیع شد که خانهای مولانای مذکور خریده مسجد جامع بسازند چون طرح مسجد کشیده شد خانه پر (sic) زالی که در روز عید قربان شتری که قربان میکردند بخانه او میرفتند در میان مسجد واقع شد و در نفروختن خانه بسیار مجد بود و هر چند تمتع او بزر و خلعت کردند راضی نشد آخر الامر نادر العصر و الزمان استاد بدیع الزمان تونی الاصل یزدی المولد که در خدمت اشرف بامر معماری مشغول بود حقیقت طرح مسجد و خانه پرزال بعرض اشرف رسانید نواب کلب آستانعلی فرمودند که او را تسلی کنید و بیرضای او دست بخانه او نکنید چون استاد مذکور

[fol. 330a] بزر و خلعت آن پرزال را راضی نتوانست ساخت بخاطر قرار داد که بلطایف الحیل او را راضی سازد و رفت وزمینی از بیرون مسجد بقدر خانه پرزال حصار کرد و خانها و مطبخ و حوض ساخت و آب روان آورد و جاری ساخت و باغچه را بدرختهای میوه دار و کلهای موزون آراست و به بهانه همسایگی پرزال را با پسرش بضیافت در آنخانها طلب نمود چون پرزال با آنخانها داخل شد چون بسیار بصفا بود و دل نشین او نشد ذکر کرد که کاش این خانها از من بود که خانه من آب روان ندارد فی الحال استاد مشار الیه خانها پیشکش پرزال کرد در عوض خانه پرزال فروخت چون حقیقت بعرض اشرف رسانید قیمت خانها کهنه پرزال داد و خلعت پرزال و پسرش و قیمت خانهای استاد مومی الیه داد با جایزه آن ویست و سیم صفر باحسن اوقات و اسعد ساعات بناء مسجد جامع در کنار میدان جدید صفهان نمودند و تاریخی که عباس شاعر گفته نوشته شد (قطعه) از پرتو عنایت شاه جهان عراق شع سرای فیض و جهان ضیا شده / آن پادشاه مسند تمکین که عدل او /

[fol. 330b] کم کشتکان بادیه را رهنا شده / آن شهسوار ملک عدالت که از شرف / فرق سهر در قدمش توتیا شده / کرد ابتدا عمارتی اندر ره خدا / کرفخر زیب مسجد اهل صفا شده / خاگ درش که بهر صفا هست مرورا / نام ارشد ست کعبه ثانی بجا شده / تاریخ ابتدایش جو حشم (sic) ز پر عقل / کفتا بکو که کعبه ثانی بنا شده / و دیگران نیز گفته اند بمصراعی اکتفا شده / عدیل کعبه بنا شد در اصفهان جدید / بچو سال بنای مسجد از غیب / - ... و در سلخ اینماه (صفر ۱۰۲۰) تعیین مکان خانها تبریزیان نمودند در کنار آب زنده رود چنانچه در میان محلها و خانهای ایشان چهار نهر عظیم کذراست واصل باغ جنت از مولانا علی رضا گرفتند که چهار سو و مسجد و حمام و تیمچه و بازارچه تبریزیان باشد و باقی بچهار

[fol. 331a] محله خانها بسازند و بسبب بی موتی تبریزیان بیکهزار و دو جریب زمین بسه هزار تومان خریدند از رعایا و جماعت صفهانی و مقرر شد که بسرکاری لله بیک پانصد خانه بزر شاه بسازند بجهت ناداران و بمنعمان هر کس هرچه خواهد یکصد هزار تن (sic) برسم مساعده و قرض حسنه بدهند که در عرض پنج سال ادا نمایند

## RAWDAT AL-SAFAWIYAH

[fol. 314a]

چون باو شاه جهان شاه عباس صفوی صلوات الله علیه و آله  
 در کشف حفظ و حمایت ملک ممان از یورش پنج بدولت و اقبال سعادت فرمودند و در السلطنة  
 اصفهان از فرزندان قدسی ستمت غیرت افزای سپهر چهارم گردیدند طبیعت فطوری بر طبیعت  
 پاکیزه طبیعت خردانه جهان معاضی گردید که از جمله بلاد عراق حوالین بلده و طینه مغزیه بار الملک  
 شنفت هی گردیده هر آنینه استعداد آن داشته باشد که عمل توایم سیر بر پیش نظیر ضلالت  
 کرد و لهذا فرمان لازم از مصدر حلال انجام و انفا و مقرون گردید که اسواق و میدان قدم و کاروان  
 سرا با و حمام سابقه اصفهان را که بصفقت تضیق و اعوجاج و تیرگی هوا متصف بود سمت  
 استقامت و نمینا بخشیده در صفا و طلاوت و نرات آن سعی و اجتهاد مبدول از نرد چون  
 مستقران و صاحبان این اسواق و مستغلات را چون میرزا محمد امین نقیب اصفهان و میر  
 قطب الدین محمد برادر زاده میر شیخ الدین محمود و غیره با از اعیان دار السلطنة اصفهان کمان غلطی  
 ز قوه مظنه آن داشتند که باد شاه چهار اوس تصرف مستغلات ایشان بدین کار بار داشته  
 از او گاذبه ایشان معلوم دارای زمان گردیده دست از تیر و تکیه با اسواق و میدان قدیم کشیده

[fol. 314b]

زمان مطالعه بغداد معنون کرده اند که بر فضایی که بر طایفه باغ نقش جهان بود و لکن نه با دست زبان  
 و اوقات میدانی وسیع طرح اندازند نه سیصد و بیست و سه لایت اصفهان و بر محیط میدان  
 چهار بازاری مشتمل بر دکانین و کاروان سرا و کبابه و ساجد و مدارس مرغوب و رفوع و مطبوع  
 از پشت بخته و اجازت فرستاده نیز تک کشند و حسب زمان لازم نمودن آن قاور و  
 استادان با هر روز مشهور سنه اثنی عشر و الف ساعتی نیکو خستیار فرموده میدانی مربع  
 مستطیل بسا و همین نیز تک زرد و بر اطراف آن میدان چهار بازاری مشتمل بر دکانین  
 و بازار خان و کاروان سرا و کبابه های خوش هوا و ساجد و مدارس مرغوب چنانکه بر  
 یک گوشه جامع وسیع در رعایت ارتفاع که در ربع سکون با آن لطافت و مسامتت بنا می هر صمه  
 ظهور می آید و بر دیگر گوشه طواف مستطیلش بازار خان که در عمارت و رحمت قرین آن جامع  
 تواند بود بدزوه سپهر بر افراشته و همچنین در مقابل رکنی دیگر که در ب دولتی نه هایون و  
 باغ جهانت و قبه عظیم در رعایت ارتفاع همه مسجدی دیگر احداث نمودند و با این این چهار  
 عمارت عالی مرتبه که در دولتی نه هایون و جامع و بازار خان و قبه مسجد است و دکانین و مرغوب  
 بلند هوا از آجر و گچ ریزب یافته نوعی که در لطافت و رحمت در مملکت عراق بدان نوع  
 بنایی از هیچ صاحب مکتبی با تمام فرستاده و بر سطح این انبیه و چهار بازار منازل مطبوع و خوب  
 بعضی منقوش ریزب یافته همه سکنی و اقامت تجار و اهل حرفه و اکثر فروش این مبان از آجر  
 رخام و مرمر قرار یافته چهار گوشه ایوان و اجازت برداشته نیمی عظیم در مساحت میدان و میان  
 یافته رطافت آن ندرت صوره خانه های مطبوع از رخام و آجر و گچ برداشته لاله زویان کز حصار  
 در آن منازل مندل تموه از ظلمات و آب حیوان نشان میدادند که یا زبان روزگار در و  
 آن مبان بهشت آثار بدین معال مترجم گوی و ملبسوده منظم زهی خجسته بیایی کایز و معال  
 نوزگار بنا و دوش بر ز کار مثال که گرفته روی زمین از وجود او زینت چنانکه جبهه لاله رخام از نقطه  
 حال در نیکویی و لطافت بهشت راست قرین که ز فرخی و ز امانت سپهر است مثال بی برای همه  
 قصا بر این ایوان که با مساحت زده از آفتاب و در تمام یکو چون خطاط خیزه هایون از عمارت اساق  
 و دکانین بر پنج مسطور ذراقت یافت برداشتن با این و باغات و خیابان و قطره و عمارت عالی

[fol. 315a]

در باغات امرها منقطع بنفاد مقنون گردید و فرمان مطاعه صادر گشت که در زمین کوتهی که  
 تجلیست مشهور است از زنده رود نهری عظیم حفر نمایند چنانکه مشرف بر جمع زمین عظیم  
 اصفهان باشد و چون آن نهر بسا فیه یکفرسخ در مقابل ارب دو لی می نه که از دروب دار السلطنه  
 اصفهان است منتهی گردید در زمین همان کوه چهار باغی بمقدار هزار جوید معمول و لایم یا صفت  
 مشتمل بر نه مرتبه احداث نمودند چنانکه هر مرتبه بر دیگری بدو ذراع شرعی متفاوت دارد  
 و آن نهر عظیم بر پنج جدول تقسیم یافته جدول نخست بر عرض چهار مانع محدود میگردد و در خارج  
 باغ باز هم سوخته بر امتداد چنان جریان می یافت و شرب باغات دیگر که بر حسب فرمان  
 مطاعه امرای عظام بر داخته بودند میگردد و این چهار مانع چون از آن فرمان قطعا جریان بر تیب  
 یافته بود مسمی عباس آباد گردید پس از آن از عباس آباد ابتدا نمودند چنانی به عرض چهار ذراع  
 دولت که قریب یکفرسخ مسافت است طرح انداخته بر حسب احوال منقطع خوانین و اعیان عظام و دوزار  
 و صد و دو مال کرام که در آن زمان مشغول بودند چه کنی که در پایه بر خلاف قائم داشتند  
 و چه کنی که در مالک محروسه با قطعاعات خویش عامل بودند از طریق چنان مقابل دیگر ابتدا  
 از عباس نموده چهار باغات مرغوب فراختر استعدا بطایع خویش احداث فرمودند و در باب  
 هر باغ عمارتی رفیع از اجود و کج ترتیب داده مقفوف و جدا از یکدیگر باشی الواج برداخته نوعی مشابه  
 دلپذیر و نفوس غریب نگار از رنگ آمار عریض گردانیدند و در پیش هر طارت در ساختن  
 حیاض عظیم باشکال مختلفه برداخته در داخل باغ مرغیای تکلف بقانون طراح عمل آمده منال  
 انما رشوعه غرس یافته و چون نهر زنده رود در وسط حقیقی این چنان واقع است بامر پادشاه  
 زمان مهندسان دوره کار و اوستادان مهندسان آن نقطه را قطع بلند مقدار در نهایت رفعت  
 بقدر عرض چنان بر نهر زنده رود کشیدند و اتمام ساختن آن مسجد رکن الدوله الله ووردی  
 خان قوللر آقاسی والی فارس نمودند و در عرض سه سال آن بنای استوار تمام یافته نوعی که تا  
 سیاحتان بهر بوقلمون گردانیدند چنانکه در سیرت بدین مشابه بنایی در نظر بهیر نشان در  
 نیامده است در هیچ زمانی از زمانه و آنچه صاحب اقتداری ذی فرمان آن قسم بنایی از او  
 کمون است بر ذره نموده و از لقم عدم منبصه وجود جلوه نموده باقیال پادشاه صاحب

[fol. 315b]

اقبال فنظره چون مطلقه الروح از وصفت اندر اس مضمون و چون صراط مستقیم رهرو از انجابت  
عدن مضمون کی استونی با جهل استون بدو لک و خاک کشیده یا قافی بر مطلقه سپهر  
چون جو بار مجوه که داشته سفین بی عدد بر نظری از اقطار همچون متجانس یکدیگر قرار گرفته با همونه  
پس میل میگرد بر عرض جاده از جواد عریض استقامت در ریزه باطله ان فنظره بی نظیر و عدیل شستل رحیل  
چشمه چون کوشه سبیل ما بین هر دو چشمه در جوف ستونهای عریض خانه مربع مشکک اهدا است  
یا قیقه که هنگام قلت آب در نوز ساشتران سار با سایر اشعار از باب عمارت اقیانوس بدان  
لطافت ماب مکان گرفته استیمی که از سطح آب میوزد انتفاع میمانند و در امتداد خیابان امار  
و جد اول جریان یافته بر اطراف آن امار استیغاب استیغاب و چنان طولی کردار با سپهر برین دستار  
و هم آواز بود و در خیابان طرف در ب دولت بر هر باب چهار باغ حوضی چون کوشه تمام یافته میمانند  
و قنوه خانه ها همه ساشتران بخواره و ایونیان بی مرایم در آن خیابان میمانند و در جهت مردمان بی پروا  
و قلندران بی پروا انکر با و ز او با ترتیب یافته بدولت داشت و جهان عالیها از در طبعه اصفهان  
بهشت نقد موجود است و اما که حالت بجز این نسجه بود در شهر مست و عریض و الفان  
عمارات عالی از چهار باغات و خیابان و قنوه تمام یافته اصفهان میمانند در آن عمارات و باغات  
ملاقات بهشت و حور و عثمان و مضمون عمارت بجز می من حکما الا امار خالیدین بهشت حاصل بود و در اصل  
بلده ارامی عظیم و اعیان حضرت و ارکان دولت و مسفد مان کار خجانت و بیومات  
منازل مرغوبه و ب تین منزه اهدا شده بود و کاکلن و کاروانی سرای بسیار معمول نمود  
کردانیده چنانکه احوال اصفهان سابق را که شهر کنه میمانند و این مواضع و منازل اشرف نورد و دار  
السلطه اصفهان همین دولت بادشاه ارضیت است این ابنیه هر نوعه از اعمات علاوه بر کون  
و در تربت و عظمت از اقالیم سبعة منیره و عدیلش عظیم و هر ساله منصف خیل از حاصل این استقامت  
و باغات و د کاکلین و کاروان سراها و ک ما بنا داخل خوانه عامه میگرد و رجاء اثنی که در حجت قائم  
سبعة ازین تربت این بادشاه سلیمانیه چون دار السلطه اصفهان بر تبه تربت و زینت  
عمور و آبادان کرد و بنه وجوده میان دیگر محال و عمارات عالی از تربت آباد و جلفا و شمس آباد  
و غیره هر یک بوقت اهدا شد بجز خود که باقیات آمده و حده العیز