Persian Pottery in the First Global Age

Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World

Edited by

Marcus Milwright (*Victoria, Canada*)
Mariam Rosser-Owen (*V&A, London*)
Lorenz Korn (*Bamberg*)

VOLUME 1

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/aaiw*

Persian Pottery in the First Global Age

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

By

Lisa Golombek (Project Director and Editor)
Robert B. Mason
Patricia Proctor
Eileen Reilly

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON

The Royal Ontario Museum gratefully acknowledges the Louise Hawley Stone Charitable Trust for its generous support of this publication.

Cover illustration: Persian underglaze-painted dish with finely drawn dragon inspired by imported Chinese porcelain of the late fourteenth– early fifteenth century. Seal-mark on base imitating Chinese reign marks. Produced in Kirman, Iran, c. 1630. Royal Ontario Museum, 909.25.4. *Photo: Brian Boyle*.

Illustrations facing chapter opening pages:

Introduction: CAT. 88, p. 98; Chapter 1: Fig. 1.2, p. 43; Chapter 2: Fig. 2.43A, p. 86; Chapter 3: Fig. 3.2, p. 126; Chapter 4: Fig. 4.4, p. 176; Chapter 5: CAT. 70, p. 429; Chapter 6: CAT. 20, p. 321; Chapter 7: CAT. 23, p. 333; Chapter 8: CAT. 12, p. 305; Catalogue: CAT. 22, p. 329.

ROM photographs by Brian Boyle.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Golombek, Lisa.
Persian pottery in the first global age : the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries / by Lisa Golombek, Robert Mason, Patricia Proctor, Eileen Reilly.
pages cm. -- (Arts and archaeology of the Islamic world, ISSN 2213-3844 ; volume 1)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-26085-6 (hardback : acid-free paper) -- ISBN 978-90-04-26092-4 (e-book)
1. Pottery, Iranian. 2. Pottery--Social aspects--Iran--History. 3. Ceramic industries--Iran--History. 4. Blue and white ware--Iran--History. 5. Porcelain, Chinese--Iran--History. 6. Iran--History--Safavid dynasty, 1501-1736. 7. Iran--Economic conditions. 8. East India Company--History. 9. Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie--History. 10. Arts and globalization--Iran--History. I. Mason, Robert B., 1958- II. Proctor, Patricia, M.A. III. Reilly, Eileen, M.A. IV. Title.

NK4147.G55 2014
738.0955--dc23

2013043054

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2213-3844
ISBN 978-90-04-26085-6 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-26092-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing and IDC Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Contents

Preface VII
Collections Cited XI
Important Dates XIII
Maps XV
Photo Credits XVIII

Introduction 1

PART I
Safavid Pottery and Society

1 **Safavid Society and the Ceramic Industry** 13
Lisa Golombek and Eileen Reilly
2 **Dominant Fashions and Distinctive Styles** 57
Lisa Golombek
3 **The Measure of Faithfulness: The Chinese Models for Safavid Blue-and-White** 123
Patty Proctor
4 **The "Kubachi Problem" and the Isfahan Workshop** 169
Lisa Golombek
5 **The Safavid Workshops and Petrographic Analysis** 183
Robert B. Mason

PART II
Identifying Safavid Pottery – a Guide

6 **Diagnostic Motifs** 213
Lisa Golombek and Eileen Reilly
7 **Potters' Marks** 245
Lisa Golombek, Robert B. Mason and Eileen Reilly
8 **Shapes Study** 259
Eileen Reilly

PART III
A Catalogue of the Safavid Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum 281

Appendix A 431
Appendix B 435
Bibliography 481
Index 495

Preface

Chinoiserie has dominated Persian ceramics ever since the fifteenth century. Yet, it was not until the seventeenth century that Persian potters attempted to reproduce Chinese porcelains in every respect except for the one they could not control, the porcelain body, as they did not have access to kaolin clay. This study attempts to understand what prompted the sudden demand for such fidelity to the Chinese models, extending even to the addition of simulated Chinese reign marks.

To appreciate the magnitude of this change, one must see it within both diachronic and synchronic contexts. The historical retrospect (diachronic) considers the use of chinoiserie elements in the preceding centuries, beginning with the Timurid period (c. 1370–1505) and continuing through the first Safavid century up to the move of the capital to Isfahan (c. 1600). The early Timurid potters were Syrian expatriates, brought to Samarqand under duress as "booty" from Timur's conquest of Damascus in 1402.[1] They were familiar with Yuan blue-and-white porcelains shipped to Red Sea ports in the late fourteenth century, and had been copying them in Syria for domestic consumption. Subsequently, after the Syrian potters' migration to Central Asia to work for Timur, few of the new ideas coming out of China inspired imitation. However, an exceptional group of potters working at Nishapur during the second half of the fifteenth century produced copies of early Ming designs, even reproducing the "heaped-and-piled" look with great gusto. Their skills and designs moved to Tabriz at the end of the fifteenth century. They continued to make fine ceramics, but rarely sought inspiration from the latest fashions in Chinese exports. Not until late in the sixteenth century did contemporary Chinese models inspire some Persian potters, but the quality of the finished product was so poor that no one would have mistaken it for the real thing.

Pottery of the seventeenth century represents a real break with the past. Of course, Iran was not alone in this adventure. Potters in Vietnam had been producing close copies of Chinese porcelain much earlier, and they continued to do so. The sixteenth-century potters at Iznik also closely reproduced Chinese models for Ottoman society, but only for a brief interlude (c. 1525–1550) and only of a limited number of models,[2] which, like those favoured by the Timurids, dated from the early Ming period. What distinguishes the seventeenth-century Safavid potters from their predecessors is their zest to copy every Chinese vessel they laid eyes on. Between royal and private collections, as well as endowments to the shrine at Ardabil, there was ample opportunity.

Considering the synchronic context requires us to look at what else, other than chinoiserie-style pottery, the Safavid ceramic industry was making. We shall see that new types of pottery (polychrome slip-painting, for example) appeared, and certain older techniques, such as lustre-painting, were revived. Some scholars have suggested a relationship between these and blue-and-white wares, but the links need to be more closely defined.[3] Recent studies of Safavid pottery, admirable as they are for their contributions to the field, tend to isolate

1 Golombek, Mason, and Bailey 1996 (hereafter GMB 1996):127.

2 Atasoy and Raby 1989:121–28; Raby has determined that only eight Chinese designs were adopted, and these represented "antiques," not the wares being exported from China at that time (the 1520s on).

3 Yolande Crowe's catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum's extraordinary collection of Safavid pottery excludes all the slip-painted genres, but the author does suggest links wherever warranted (2002). This volume is indispensable for the study of Persian ceramics, not only for its structuring of a chronology, primarily for the seventeenth century, but also for the depth of information provided (backs of dishes, potters' marks, and multiple views of bowls and bottles).

the chinoiserie production. The timing of the introduction of the more "indigenous" styles is critical to our understanding of the period.

The synchronic context also includes what was going on outside Iran at this time. The seventeenth century was the first great age of globalization, in which the Eastern world made the product and the Western nations delivered it. The Portuguese had begun this venture in the previous century with the capture of the island of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1515 and the establishment of a trading colony at Macao, the gateway to China, in 1557. They were the chief suppliers of Chinese porcelain to the world until ousted from Hormuz by English forces together with those of Shah Abbas in 1622. The English established the East Indies Company in 1600 and were soon joined by the Dutch in 1602 (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC). Iran provided these European companies with silk and wool for export and, at times, even their own luxury ceramics. Porcelain from China thus continued to land on the shores of the Persian Gulf in ever increasing numbers. Trade was now dominated by the English and Dutch companies with stations (factories) placed at strategic points along the maritime route from China—through the Strait of Malacca, to India, the Persian Gulf, and eventually to Amsterdam. Porcelain was only one product in a complex exchange of goods taking place at each of these stations. Thus, central to grasping the significance of the evolution of styles and genres in seventeenth-century Iran is knowledge of the great changes taking place in the ways goods were being moved around. Events within China itself, however, strongly affected this trade. Changes in government and, specifically, the imperial authority's attitude toward porcelain production and international trade determined what eventually was to arrive in Iran.

Understanding the dynamics of ceramic production in Iran during this time, therefore, requires consideration of the state of affairs in China as well as China's relationships with the trading companies. Thus, the periodization that we have proposed for Safavid pottery does not always correspond to political changes in Iran. More significant were events in China. When the production of export porcelain was affected negatively by political turmoil in China (fall of Ming in 1644, for example) or by imposed limitations to the trade, Safavid potters responded to fill the void. We are particularly interested in looking at their response. Equally important is to discover how the Safavid potters reacted when Iran was flooded with Chinese exports, as in the Kangxi period after c. 1680. Did they attempt to compete or did they produce down-market alternatives? The factors relating to the ceramic industry in China appear to have been more influential in determining the fate of the Safavid ceramics industry than regnal changes within Iran. Aside from Shah Abbas I (1587–1629), Safavid rulers do not seem to have dictated or legislated conditions that modified the operation of the ceramic industry. Even Shah Abbas, other than inspiring his supporters, seems to have had only a minimal role.

Our investigation of Safavid pottery began in the same year that our study of the previous period was published (1996). In *Tamerlane's Tableware*,[4] which covered the ceramics industry of the fifteenth century, we included Safavid material from the first half of the sixteenth century, as there appeared to have been little break in the operation of the craft despite political upheaval. In the present study, this early Safavid material has been reexamined and interpreted within the context of Safavid history.

We have been concerned here, as we were in the Timurid study, with questions of provenance and dating, and we have applied the same techniques to this investigation of Safavid pottery. Petrographic analysis by Robert Mason underlies most attributions to specific workshops. The collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) was critical to the acquisition of data for identifying petrofabrics, but wherever possible, other public and private collections contributed samples, including field surveys.

4 GMB 1996.

Dating is based on traditional art-historical methods. Statistical observations were enabled by our database of some 2,000 objects, assembled from worldwide collections. This publication differs from the Timurid study because the greater mass of material available, both objects and data, allows for a more profound understanding of the ceramic industry and its function within society. Part I includes five interpretive chapters discussing the social and economic context of the ceramic industry, a history and typology of Safavid wares, an in-depth study of the use of Chinese models, and the identification of workshops based on petrography. The problems created by the widely used designation "Kubachi" are reviewed in Chapter Four, which also deals with the production of the Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop (where most of the so-called Kubachi wares came from).

Part II includes diagnostic information, such as rim and back motifs that help to assign dates and provenance to individual wares. Potters' marks, commonly used in the seventeenth century to enhance the "Chinese" look of the vessel, are grouped according to type and structure. Where individual marks can with some certainty be assigned a date or provenance, this information is given.

Part III is a catalogue of the collection of Safavid pottery in the ROM. Most vessels entered the collection in the early decades of the last century. Some important pieces were added during the course of the present investigation. While the collection is relatively small compared with those of larger museums, it is the only such collection that has been scientifically documented.

In addition to gathering data from all the major collections of Safavid pottery, I have made several field trips to Iran. During the first, in 1996 with Robert Mason and Rachel Taylor, we visited the potters' village at Shahreza, formerly Qumisheh (the source of our data on the Safavid "Isfahan" workshop), as well as Mashhad and the museums in Tehran. The second and third (2001 and 2003) took me to Kirman to seek evidence for pottery production. Through the assistance of Fariba Kermani of the Iran Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO), and a team consisting of Dr. Sussan Babaie and Dr. Nozhat Ahmedi, we discovered numerous Safavid sherds in the ruins of Qajar houses and building excavations. Samples from these sherds were analysed by Robert Mason and published in the journal *Iran*.[5] The subsequent trip to Iran in 2003 included archaeologist Dr. Kamyar Abdi. More sherds were collected, including wasters. In addition, the offices of the ICHO in Ardabil and Qazvin were most generous in allowing me to view and study sherds collected from their excavations.

Two myths about Safavid pottery were handily dispelled by material gathered from this fieldwork and analysis of sherd collections. The first concerns the arbitrary assignment of vessels to specific workshops based entirely on the palette.[6] In the past the literature on Safavid pottery assumed that all vessels painted with blue but with black outlining were made in Mashhad. Those painted only in blue were attributed to Kirman. The faulty reasoning behind these assumptions will be discussed in Chapter Two. Establishment of the petrographic characteristics of individual workshops, at least six of which can be linked to sites in Iran, nullifies this myth (see Chapter Five). Furthermore, the large quantity of wares with black outlines discovered in Kirman itself argues against it.

The second myth concerns the aggregation of later Persian pottery found in the village of Kubachi in Daghestan in the late nineteenth century. We have already demonstrated that the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pottery found at Kubachi was made in Nishapur, Mashhad, and Tabriz. We can now show that, while Tabriz continued as a production centre until late in the sixteenth century, it was later superceded by Qumisheh, near Isfahan. The practice of attributing seventeenth-century vessels found at Kubachi to Tabriz or "northwestern Iran" should be discontinued, as numerous examples of these wares have proven petrographically to be from the Isfahan region. Thus, the attractive and colourful

5 Golombek 2003; Mason 2003.

6 See Arthur Lane's chapter on Safavid pottery (Lane 1957), which has until now never been questioned.

slip-painted dishes with portraits of the "beautiful people" of the Safavid aristocracy can now be safely placed where they were inspired, in the vibrant Safavid capital, Isfahan (Figs. 2.62 and 2.63). The rationale for these arguments will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Without the cooperation and assistance of many colleagues around the world, our ambitious program could not have been sustained. We are most grateful to museum colleagues and owners of private collections for making their collections accessible: Adel Adamova, Shahriyar Adle, Marthe Bernous-Taylor, Sheila Canby, Stefano Carboni, Yolande Crowe, Edmund de Ungar, Massumeh Farhad, Gisele Helmecke, Renata Holod, Anatoly Ivanov, Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, Edward J. Keall, Linda Komaroff, Tomoko Masuya, Bill Pratt, Karin Rührdanz, Tim Stanley, Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser, Sue Taylor, and Oliver Watson. Many useful suggestions were offered by Sussan Babaie, Wilhem Floor, Hilary Gopnik, Peter Kaellgren, Yves Porter, Karin Rührdanz, Maria Subtelny, and Oliver Watson. Assisting me over the years were a series of bright graduate students and young scholars, who maintained the database and did the groundwork on a number of topics that were incorporated into this volume: Patricia Ferguson, Jennifer Pitman, Rachel Taylor, and Angela Lee. I am particularly indebted to Eileen Reilly, who has served as research assistant since 1998. She did most of the drawings and initial studies of motifs and shapes, and collaborated in the writing of several essays in the book. She also finalized the format of the database and greatly expanded it through trips to collections abroad, recording and photographing material in St. Petersburg, London, Cambridge, and Stoke-on-Trent.

In Iran our work was made possible with the support of the Iran Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO). We would like to thank in particular Dr. Vatandoust of the Conservation Institute in Tehran, Fariba Kermani, and the late Dr. Bagher Shirazi. Dr. Shirazi's dedication to preserving Iran's heritage has been a source of inspiration.

Special thanks is due to Sheeza Sarfraz of the publications department in the ROM, who managed this complex project through to its completion, and to her team of editors. This project has benefited from the support of the Louise Hawley Stone Foundation at the Royal Ontario Museum and from generous grants by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Conventions

The system of transliteration used in this book corresponds to that of the Library of Congress, with minor exceptions intended to enhance readability. Arabic words terminating in a *ta marbutah* (*-ah*) end in "*ah*," but Persian words with the same final syllable are spelled "*eh*." The marks indicating the initial letter *'ayin* and the hamzah are usually omitted. The Persian *izafeh* is simply designated as *-i*, regardless of the letter it follows. The Persian monosyllables normally transliterated as *naw, du,* etc., become *no, do*. Arabic letters *th, dh, ẓ, ḍ* and *w* are usually Persianized as, respectively, *s, z, z, z,* and *v*. The diacritical marks that permit the precise reconstruction of Persian or Arabic words have generally been omitted because of their limited merit for this type of publication.

Ceramic vessels studied by the Safavid Ceramics Project of the Royal Ontario Museum have been assigned unique numbers based on the name of the specific collection (e.g., BRM, British Museum) and a project number. Only those that are mentioned in this volume have been included in the Concordance in Appendix B. Early Safavid vessels that were included in the Timurid study have also been assigned new triliteral project numbers, but the Concordance also provides the previous numbering.

Objects in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum have not been included in the Concordance, as the Catalogue in Part III includes all of the relevant information. Images of the Museum's objects appear throughout the book in context, but the reader is referred to the Catalogue for larger images and details (by Brian Boyle).

Collections Cited

Institutions and collections cited have been designated by three-letter codes, which are used throughout the text with project numbers assigned by the Project. A concordance of Project Numbers and the corresponding collection record numbers appears in Appendix B.

Public Collections

AMS	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
ASH	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
BER	Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
BKN	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
BRM	British Museum, London
CDC	David Samling, Copenhagen
CSI	Chehelsotun Museum, Isfahan
CZA	Czartoryski Museum, Cracow
FMK	Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt
FRE	Freer Gallery of Art / Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
GUL	Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon
HGH	Gemeentemuseum den Haag, The Hague
HON	Honolulu Academy of Arts, Hawaii
HRM	State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia
HVD	Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University
IRB	Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran
KUW	Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyya, Kuwait
LAC	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
LOU	Musée du Louvre, Paris
MAD	Museé des Arts Décoratifs, Paris
MAG	Magdalen College, Oxford
MAK	Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna
MBA	Musée des Beaux Arts, Montreal
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NMS	National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
RZA	Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran
SAM	Seattle Art Museum
SEV	Musée de Sèvres
STK	The Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent
TOK	Middle East Culture Centre, Tokyo
TRM	Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
WAL	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

Private Collections

ANV	Anavian Collection, New York
BCH	Bachstitz Collection
BAR	Barlow Collection, London
CAR	John Carswell Collection, London
CRW	Yolande Crowe Collection, London
ETT	Ettinghausen Collection, Princeton, New Jersey
KEI	Keir Collection, London
KHL	David Khalili Collection, London
MDN	Madina Collection (formerly), New York
MIN	Minassian Collection, New York
SAC	Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, New York
SAK	Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, Geneva
TBG	Tabbagh Collection, Paris
TRO	Troesch Collection, Switzerland
ZZZ	Unknown, items from sales catalogues, etc.

Archaeological Material

ARD	Ardabil excavations (Miras-i Farhangi, Ardabil)
BLG	Bandar-i Lengeh, A. Williamson (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)
BMS	Persian Gulf surveys by Stein, Holdich (British Museum)
DER	Derbent sherds (Institute of Archaeology, Derbent, Daghestan)
HEL	Helmand Valley survey, W. Trousdale (Smithsonian Institution)
ISF	Shahreza village, Iran
KIR	Kirman sherds (Miras-i Farhangi, Tehran)
MDT	Mahidasht survey, Iran, L. Levine (Royal Ontario Museum and Iran Bastan, Tehran)
MSH	Mashhad sherds (Miras-i Farhangi, Mashhad)
NAG	Nagasaki/Dejima excavations
NSA	Nisa excavations, Turkmenistan
PNN	Damghan excavations (University of Pennsylvania)
SMQ	Samarqand excavations (Institute of Archaeology, Samarqand)
SUS	Susa excavations, Iran (Louvre Museum)
QAZ	Qazvin sherds and vessels (Miras-i Farhangi, Qazvin)
YMN	Yemen Expedition, E. J. Keall (Royal Ontario Museum)
YZD	Yazd region (*in situ*), Iran

Important Dates

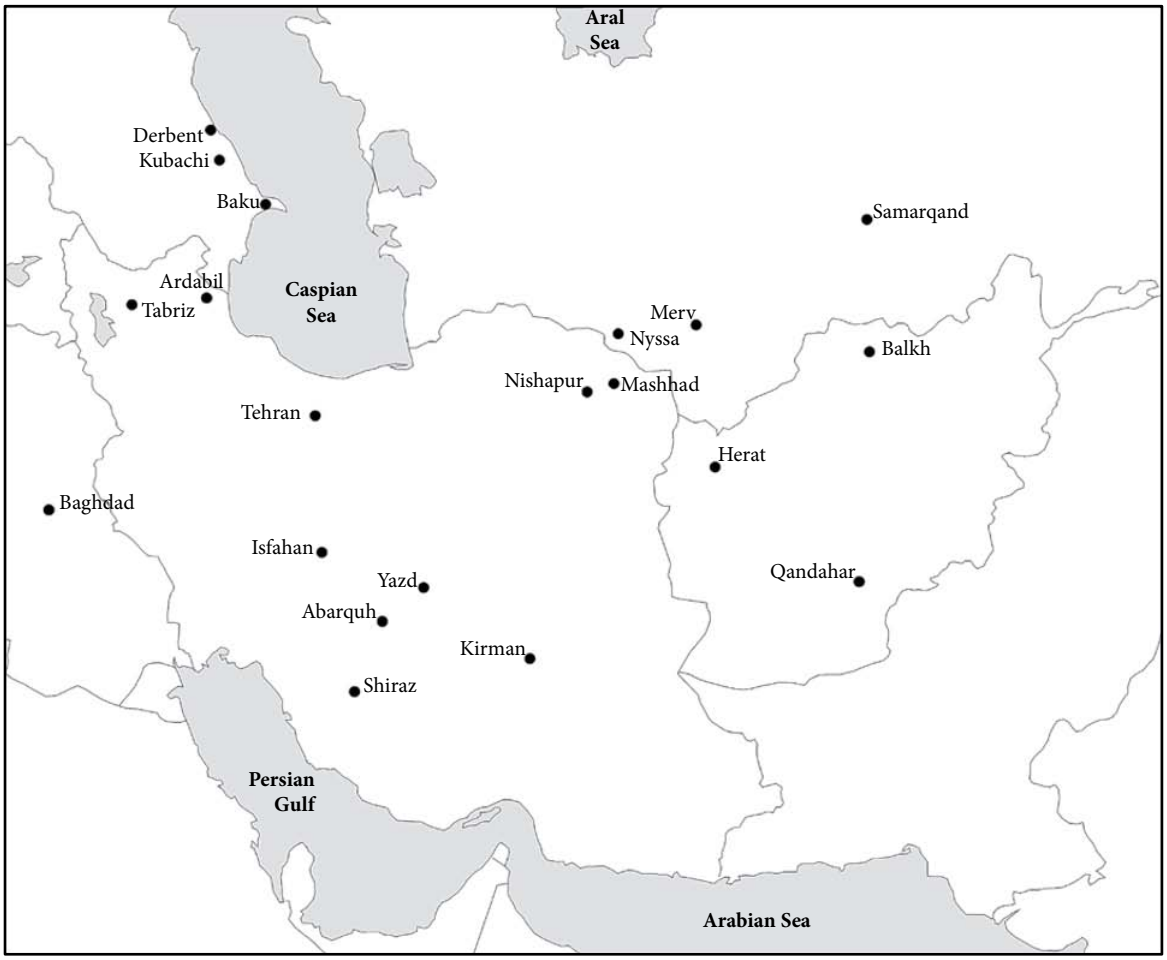
(Events occurring outside Iran are in brackets)

c. 1370–1505	Timurid dynasty
second half of 15th century	Turkman dynasties (capital at Tabriz)

Safavid Dynasty (1501–1722)

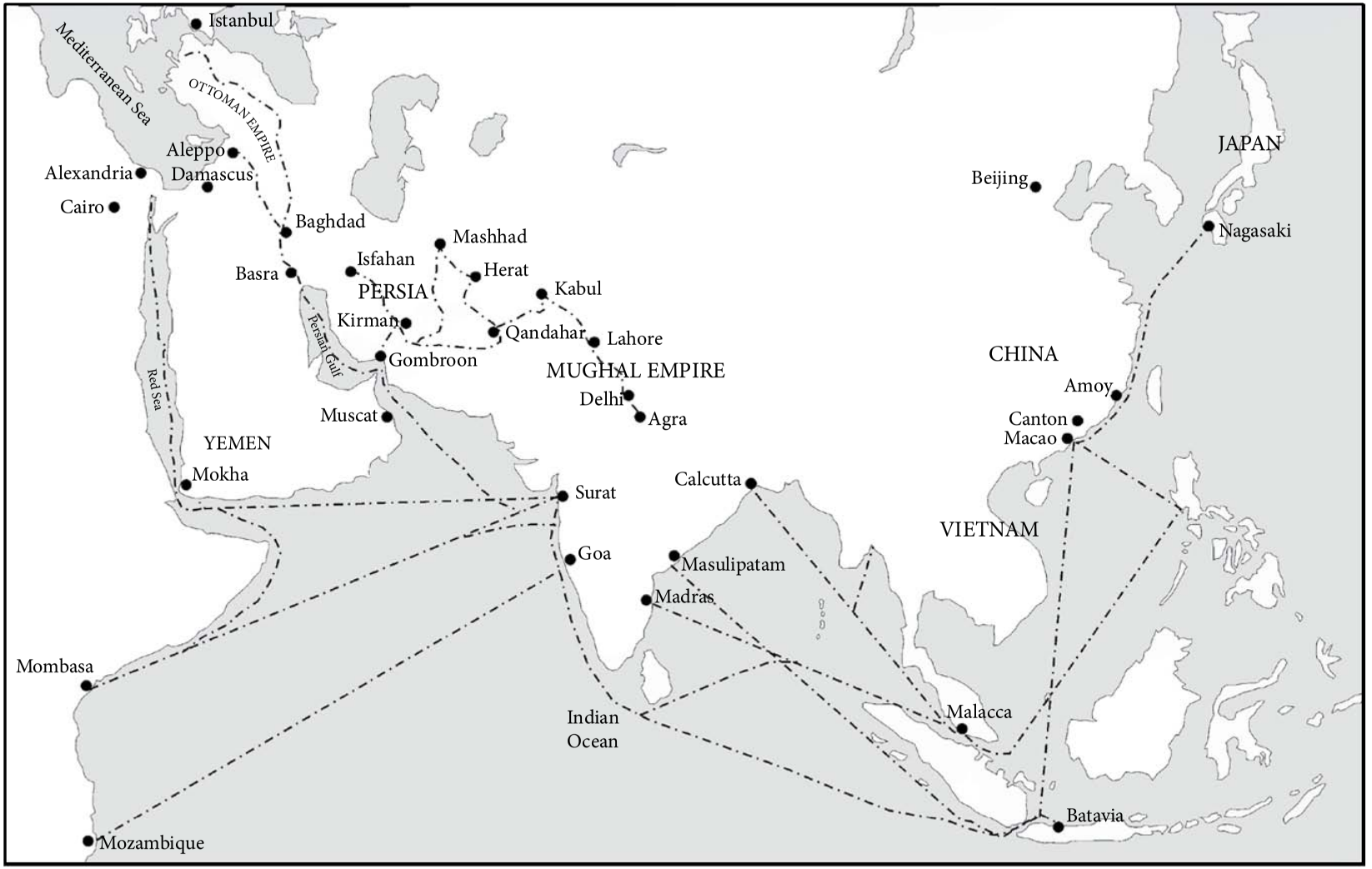
1501–1524	Shah Ismaʿil I (founder of Safavid dynasty; capital at Tabriz)
1524–1576	Shah Tahmasb I
1555–56	capital moves to Qazvin
[1522–1566]	Jiajing Emperor in China
1576–1578	Shah Ismaʿil II
1578–1587	Shah Muhammad Khudabandeh
[1573–1620]	Wanli Emperor in China
1587–1629	Shah Abbas I
1598	capital moves to Isfahan
1602	Dutch East Indies Company established (VOC)
1611	Chinese porcelain collection donated to Ardabil shrine
1622	Portuguese defeated at Hormuz with English assistance
[1628–1657]	Rule of Shah Jahan in India (Taj Mahal 1636)
1629–1642	Shah Safi I
1642–1666	Shah Abbas II
[1644–1911]	Qing dynasty in China; turmoil during first decades
[1662–1722]	Kangxi Emperor in China; order restored
1666–1694	Shah Sulayman I
[1683]	Kilns at Jingdezhen reactivated; trade resumes
1694–1722	Shah Sultan Husayn I
1722	Isfahan falls to Afghans

Maps



MAP 1. *Iran and neighbouring regions.*

MAP 2. *Iran, sites relevant to Safavid pottery industry.*



MAP 3. *Major trade routes in the 17th century. Based on Chaudhuri 1985.*

Photo Credits

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
	Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge (Mass.)		
2.10	Prior to 2006, S.C. Welch Collection on loan to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	352.1983	Photograph courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford		
2.09		1978.1484	ROM project
2.36a&b		X1213	ROM project
2.43a&b; 6.1		1978.2167	museum
2.52; 3.14		1978.1777	ROM project
2.59		1978.2166	ROM project
3.3		1978.1707	ROM project
3.49		1978.2168	museum
4.4		1978.154	museum
6.11		1956.135	ROM project
	The British Museum, London		
1.10		G 337	ROM project
2.32		1902.5-21.1	ROM project
2.33a–c		1950.10-19.1	ROM project
2.73		1970.2-7.1	ROM project
2.77a&b		96.6.26.4	ROM project
2.92a&b		94.2-19.1	ROM project
2.96a&b		1970.2-7.3	ROM project
2.102		78.12-30.606	ROM project
2.107		OA + 739	museum (web)
3.5		78.12-30.620	ROM project
3.21		91.6-17.6	museum
3.23		FB IS.11	ROM project
	Brooklyn, Museum, Brooklyn		
2.66, 9.1–9.3		34.6024	museum
	Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon		
1.7		950	museum
	Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyya, Kuwait		
2.57, 6.3	The al-Sabah Collection	LNS101C	museum

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
	David Samling, Copenhagen		
2.82		4/1986	museum
	Ettinghausen Collection		
2.17	Mrs. Elizabeth Ettinghausen		Richard Ettinghausen
	Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.		
2.2 4a&b	Bequest of Adrienne Minassian	FSC-P-4774	ROM project
	Keir Collection, London		
3.12		C46i	Photograph © A.C. Cooper
3.16		C47	Photograph © A.C. Cooper
3.33		C66c	Photograph © A.C. Cooper
3.56		C70	Photograph © A.C. Cooper
3.57		C74	Photograph © A.C. Cooper
	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles		
2.62	The Nasli M. Heeramaneck collection, gift of Joan Palevsky	M 73.5.380	2009 Museum Associates/ LACMA/Art Resource, NY
	Magdalen College, Oxford		
2.78		H7	Patricia Ferguson
4.7		S3	Patricia Ferguson
4.9		H8	Patricia Ferguson
6.14		none	Patricia Ferguson
6.17		none	Patricia Ferguson
	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York		
2.16a&b	Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1968	68.42	© The Metropolitan Museum of Art
2.22, 3.11	Henry G. Leberthon Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. A. Wallace Chauncey, 1957	57.61.10	© The Metropolitan Museum of Art
2.49, 4.10	Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913	14.40.733	ROM project
2.80	Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891	91.1.129	ROM project
2.81, 3.34	Rogers Fund, 1914	14.64.3	ROM project
3.8	Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1965	65.109.2	ROM project
3.18	Museum Accession (X.33)	X.33	ROM project
3.30	Gift of Nasli Heeramaneck, 1964	64.109	ROM project
3.60	Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1966	66.107.2	ROM project

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
4.5	Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917	17.120.98	© The Metropolitan Museum of Art
4.6	Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917	17.120.89	© The Metropolitan Museum of Art
4.8	Henry G. Leberthon Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. A. Wallace Chauncey, 1957	57.61.9	ROM project
5.2	Rogers Fund, 1940	40.170.628	ROM project
6.7	Museum Accession (X.58)	X.58	ROM project
6.10	Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917	17.120.67	ROM project
	Middle East Culture Centre, Tokyo		
2.06a&b		75	museum
	Minassian Collection, New York (*formerly*)		
3.20			ROM project
4.11			ROM project
	Musée du Louvre, Paris		
1.3		OA 3340	ROM project
	Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt		
2.27		12949	ROM project
3.7		12952	ROM project
3.26		10576	ROM project
3.38		V1	ROM project
3.63		V 455	ROM project
	Osterreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna		
3.32		7500 Or. 790	ROM project
	Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent		
2.44		1950.P.301	ROM project
3.45		1950.P.258	ROM project
	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst		
2.19		I1292	ROM project
2.68		I45/68	ROM project

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
2.85		72.766	ROM project
3.58		86.1137	ROM project
	State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg		
2.02a&b		VG 2650	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.04		VG 2392	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.05		VG 730	ROM project
2.08a&b		VG 763	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.11		VG 2661	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.25a&b		VG 1327	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.26		VG 2098	ROM project
2.31a&b		VG 752	ROM project
2.50a&b		VG 342	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
2.60		VG 2098	ROM project
2.95		VG 441	ROM project
2.98a&b		VG 2608	Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov
3.19		VG 925	ROM project
3.44		VG 2092	ROM project
	Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait		
3.53		CER-628-TSR	museum
	Victoria and Albert Museum, London		
2.14		C11-1952	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.37a&b		599-1889	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
2.40a&b		1140-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.41a&b		243-1884	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.42a&b		237-1884	Yolande Crowe; ROM project
2.48		545-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.55		1273-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.56		1005-1876	ROM project
2.61, 5.13		549-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.63		1454-1904	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.71		890-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.72		616-1889	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.79		420-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.84		467-1874	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
2.93		2864-1876	Yolande Crowe
2.94		1132-1876	Yolande Crowe
3.1		458-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.6		1008-1876	ROM project
3.10		2728-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.13		1155-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.15		1109-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.17a&b		916-1876	ROM project
3.22		608-1889	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.25		2903-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.27		453-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.28a&b		1843-1876	ROM project

Figure no.	Owner/Institution	Collection no.	Photography
3.29		1099-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.31		981-1886	ROM project
3.35		1224-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.36		877-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.40		2904-1876	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.41		244-1884	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.42		999-1883	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.43		452-1878	ROM project
3.46		419-1874	ROM project
3.47		2721-1876	Yolande Crowe
3.48		455-1878	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.51		2902-1876	ROM project
3.52		2811-1876	ROM project
5.22		505-1896	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
6.2a&b		878-1903	© Victoria and Albert Museum, London
	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore		
3.24		48.21	photo © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Introduction

Whether we are dazzled by the gleaming tile domes of Isfahan or the gem-like pages of the Shah Tahmasb *Shahnameh* or the lush silk brocades of Safavid robes, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stand out as one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Persian art. Proportions in architecture are perfected. Painting becomes a medium for conveying the most subtle meanings of Persian poetry. Royal workshops ensured the high quality of textiles and richly piled carpets. The buildings and artifacts reflected the grandeur of the court and the persona of the ruler. Among them were the objects that made daily life possible, the containers for water and wine, the dishes, trays, and cups for serving and eating, and special vessels for floral display and accommodation of the newest pleasure, the smoking of tobacco. And let us not discount the important industries that produced weapons for warfare, for hunting, or simply for ceremonial use. The main difference between the first group of arts (architecture and painting) and works made of ceramics, metalwork, and glass is the portability of the object (textiles are a special case, as we note below). The implications of the portability of objects is that they become the most easily substituted when certain criteria are met. Objects manufactured elsewhere may be more attractive or more economical. The Safavid period was, after all, our first "global age." The first crafts to be affected by the opportunity to tap global markets were the portable arts. Much later, fashion and the enhanced mobility of individuals (architects, painters, businessmen) were to have a strong impact on the arts of building and pictorial expression as well. Europe's economic edge resulting from the industrial revolution dealt the final blow to the craftsman in Iran.

During the Safavid period all the "minor arts" felt the pressure of global imports. This is a story that has yet to be documented. Our input will be limited to the fate of the Persian potter, but a few comments on the other arts may help to establish the context for this part of the tale. Textiles are portable, but during this period domestic production of elite textiles seems to have been spared demise for another hundred years, perhaps because the raw material for luxury textiles was silk, a resource native to Iran and one that was much sought after for export. The Safavid state took great pains to control the trade in silk.[1] It would take another century for Iran to become a major importer of textiles. However, textiles made from less precious threads, particularly cotton, began to enter Iran at high volume from India during the Safavid period. As for metalwork, we have only the baser materials to judge quality by, as the finer objects in gold, silver, and jewelled incrustation have not survived in great number.[2] The manufacture of arms and armour has yet to be understood within the context of the globalization of the steel industry.[3]

The alteration of course in the history of Persian pottery beginning in the fifteenth century has long been noted by scholars. Until the Chinese began to produce blue-and-white porcelain for the Muslim market in China in the early fourteenth century, Iran, as well as the western Islamic world, continuously came up with new fashions and technologies for luxury tablewares, whether this was slip-painting to obscure the iron-rich red bodies, or the creation of white stonepaste (quartz) bodies for underglaze painting, or a technique for simulating gold (known as lustre-ware). As blue-and-white became a mainstream fashion in China and began to be exported, potters in Syria and Egypt adapted their underglaze painting to the new style. They were in the forefront of a trend that was to underlie pottery making throughout the Islamic world for centuries to come. The finely ground

1 Recent literature on the silk trade is extensive (Floor 1996, Herzig 1992, McCabe 1999, Matthee 1999).

2 Melikian-Chirvani 1982.

3 Elgood 1995.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_002

quartz body came close in appearance to porcelain. This body, referred to in medieval texts as "stonepaste" (sometimes called "frit-ware"), consists of 10 parts quartz, one part of an alkaline frit, and one part of a fine white clay.[4] It had replaced earthenware for the making of luxury pottery throughout the Islamic world by the twelfth century. The blue colour adopted by China in the fourteenth century, presumably to suit the taste of the expatriate Muslim population, came from cobalt sources in Iran until sometime later. Middle Eastern potters imitating Chinese blue-and-white painted their pots with cobalt and covered them with a transparent alkaline glaze. Over the next 200 years the bodies became as thinly potted as porcelain, and the skills of the painter closely matched those of the Chinese potter.

Counterbalancing local production was another dynamic: the desire by those who could afford it to procure the genuine article. Thus, we have two intertwined histories that must be unravelled—the availability and stylistic evolution of Chinese exports to the Middle East, and the responses of local potters.

Much is known about the export trade through documents of the various European trading companies (see below), and the dating of Chinese porcelain has been well studied. The course of the ceramic industry in Iran, however, has not been mapped sufficiently to allow us to match it with moments in the Chinese story. The deterrent has been the pottery itself. Much of it bears such close resemblance to Chinese models that, despite the superb quality of the pottery, it has been dismissed as imitative. This is hardly an excuse to ignore what a close examination of the material can reveal. Safavid pottery offers more potential for documentation than most other Islamicate groupings (the exceptions being Saljuq lustre-ware and Ottoman Iznik pottery). There are many dated pieces that will allow us to identify landmarks. Potters' marks painted on the base in imitation of Chinese reign marks can be classified and related to dated and provenanced material (based on field observation and petrography). Some motifs can be identified as diagnostic and are thus helpful in charting the historical course. Written sources, whether documents or texts, both Persian and European, supplement the story.

Once the history of the craft has been sifted out, we can begin to look for explanations of changes. Some of these will be found outside Iran in events in China and the global trading networks. While one of our aims is to improve knowledge about individual Safavid pots, we hope ultimately to arrive at an understanding of the dynamics of the industry. At what moments can we sense the pressure on local artisans to reproduce precise copies of the Chinese models? What happens when this pressure abates? When was this pressure replaced by other demands, for example, demographic changes? What groupings suggest periods when genuine Chinese imports were either unavailable or perhaps too pricey for the middle class?

Compared with the literature on other periods of pottery from the Islamic Middle East, the scholarship focusing on Safavid ceramics is minimal. A dissertation by Marina Whitman dealt with cycles of chinoiserie and combed private as well as public collections of largely unpublished material (1978). Using Chinese models and dated Safavid wares, she assembled groups based on the subject matter of the painting. Also from around the same time Yolande Crowe began writing a series of studies on individual problems relating to Chinese sources. Although she has been primarily alone in this research until recently, her catalogue of the chinoiserie ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) is a milestone (2002). More than 500 pieces are described with views not only of their main face, but also of backs and potters' marks. While she did not demonstrate which diagnostic features she utilized, the rationale is often implicit in the clustering of objects. Her use of Chinese models and European documentary

4 GMB 1996:21; the recipe is given by the Kashan potter Abu'l-Qasim (c. 1300) in his treatise (Allan 1973).

sources has resulted in the establishment of a chronology, which we shall, for the most part, be following. Her periodization, however, is based on changes in Safavid succession, and we have decided to take our cue rather from the turning points suggested by the material itself. Crowe's catalogue also does not include important categories of Safavid production that provide further clues as to what was happening to the industry as a whole (such as Kirman polychrome wares). Nevertheless, it is an indispensable tool for the study of Safavid pottery, and we shall be referring frequently to the objects in Crowe's catalogue.

Several articles on Safavid wares were published by I. Rapoport, including a catalogue of objects in the Hermitage Collection attributed to Kirman (1969). The basis for these attributions is not clear and they are as likely to be incorrect as correct. The article does include drawings of potters' marks.

Publications by the Royal Ontario Museum's Timurid and Safavid Ceramics Projects depart from all of these studies in their use of petrographic analysis as a tool for grouping objects (see below). This information has been integrated with traditional art historical and archaeological methodologies to create a picture of the ceramic industry in Iran through time. The publication of the first volume of the Project (Timurid) included much early Safavid material as well. Over the past decade several major articles on the Safavid period have reported on the correlation of potters' marks with petrographic evidence for provenancing, proposing a revision of the commonly accepted notions about Safavid production centres. Some of our conclusions have been refined or updated in this volume. Two field trips to Iran provided material for articles on Kirman production.

Sources for the Study of Safavid Ceramics

Contemporary Persian Texts

The ceramic industry during the Safavid period is poorly documented in the contemporary historical sources. The rarity of references to either the making or the use of pottery is not unique to this period. With the exception of the potters of Kashan in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, the craft was always considered to be among the lowliest as it combines the use of both a base material (earth or stone) and fire.[5] The potters' premises often lay outside the city gates or in villages where the smoke and ash would not defile the city's residential quarters. In its simplest form, unglazed or decorated in a cursory fashion, pottery was a necessity, affordable to the poorest classes. In its more elaborate form it served as a substitute for more expensive vessels such as those made of precious metal or imported porcelain. Before the eighteenth century few pieces of Persian pottery outside the Kashan phenomenon bear the signatures of potters. Occasional references to individual potters occur primarily in the context of biographies of poets and other distinguished men.[6]

A convenient survey of the sources available on the crafts practiced in the later Safavid period is presented in Mehdi Keyvani's study of the guilds.[7] He notes a paucity of documents relating to the crafts in general, owing to the deliberate destruction of records by the Afghan ruler of Isfahan.[8] While he draws a great deal of information about many of the crafts from the chronicles, local histories, and literary works, comparatively little emerges about the ceramic industry. In the administrative literature potters (*fakhkharan*) are mentioned among the guilds existing in Safavid Isfahan, but no further information is provided.[9]

5 In the seventeenth century the most esteemed trades were medicine, pharmacy, glass-making, gilding, and calligraphy (Keyvani 1982:43), although one would imagine the glass-blowers' workshop to be as noxious as the potters' and therefore equally less esteemed.

6 See Chapter One.

7 Keyvani 1982.

8 Ibid., 5–6.

9 Ibid., 51; Keyvani (ibid., 6–7) also discusses the administrative manuals written for the instruction of the Safavids' successors (see Minorsky 1943).

Another source used by Keyvani is a rare scroll describing the merchandise handled by the various caravanserais in Isfahan during the reign of Shah Sulayman. It mentions two caravanserais that sold pottery to retailers.[10] We discuss this information about potters in Chapter One.

Unfortunately, one of the most tantalizing references to the potters responsible for the production of Safavid luxury wares is, in fact, a falsification of a statement by S. W. Benjamin in his book *Persia and the Persians* (1887). He was the American "minister," appointed to the new Legation in Persia in 1882. This remarkable man, who took great interest in the arts of Iran and evidently gathered information from local sources, says that Shah Abbas brought a painter from China by the name of "Man-oo-har."[11] He mentions this artist in an attempt to explain why the large Safavid pictorial tile panels "bear unmistakable evidence of Chinese inspiration, especially in the types of feminine beauty." However, A. U. Pope, referring to this very page in Benjamin (p. 300), construed these comments as relating to blue-and-white chinoiserie pottery and states that Shah Abbas imported 300 Chinese potters to teach their craft in Iran.[12] Nowhere in Benjamin's book can one find this statement, and I can only conclude that Pope took this figure "300" from the page numbering (the reference to "Man-oo-har" is on page 300).

European Travellers

The richest textual sources on the Safavid ceramic industry are of European origin,[13] both the reports of travellers and the documents of the European trading companies. The travellers cluster around the middle of the seventeenth century, the most important sources being Tavernier,[14] Olearius,[15] Chardin,[16] du Mans,[17] and Kaempfer.[18] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, a Belgian jeweller, made six trips to the East between 1631 and 1665. Adam Olearius, the German envoy sent to initiate silk trade through Russia, reported on the years 1637 and 1638. Jean Chardin, also a jeweller, spent 10 years in Isfahan (1665–1669 and 1671–1677). Raphael du Mans arrived in Isfahan in 1644 as head of the Capuchin mission, submitting his report to the French minister Colbert in 1660. These sources are particularly important for their references to production centres and occasional mention of the display and use of ceramics. Engelbert Kaempfer, a German doctor working for the Dutch East India Company,[19] reports on conditions in Isfahan in 1683 and provides a list of guilds.

Trading Company Documents

The English East India Company (E.I.C.) was founded in 1600 and the Dutch (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, referred to as the VOC) in 1602. Their activities became more significant after 1622 with the elimination of the Portuguese from the Persian Gulf by the combined forces of English ships and the troops of Shah Abbas.[20] The main concerns of these European companies in Iran were the silk trade and the transshipment of spices. However, the lists of cargo shipped into and out of Iran contain references to Chinese

10 Ibid., 236ff.

11 Benjamin 1887:300 ("Man-oo-har" sounds like the name of an Indian painter, Manohar).

12 Pope 1938:1650.

13 See the excellent survey of sources in Keyvani 1982 (pp. 10–15); Arthur Lane translated most of the relevant passages on pottery in the appendix to *Later Islamic Pottery* (1957:119–23).

14 Tavernier 1678.

15 Olearius 1656, 1727.

16 Chardin 1811.

17 Du Mans 1890.

18 Kaempfer 1977.

19 Sussan Babaie has kindly offered this note on Kaempfer: "Kaempfer worked for the Swedish embassy before he joined the VOC fleet as a surgeon. His chronicle relates to the time he was with the embassy which gave him access to the palace and events in ways that would have not been possible had he been in Isfahan under the auspices of the VOC."

20 For a general overview of the European trading companies, see Chaudhuri 1985, chap. 4.

porcelain and Persian pottery.[21] The impact of this trade on local craft industries in Iran is one of the major objectives of this study.

The activities of these companies and of the global maritime trading system in general have been well studied.[22] More recent studies show the importance of other trading groups, non-European, such as Armenians and Indians, in this global system.[23] They ferried goods over land and coordinated trade with diaspora colonies in far-flung corners of the globe. It is not clear whether Persian pottery figured prominently in their trading activities, but the tastes and needs of these groups resident in Iran may have influenced the ceramic industry in some way.

Epigraphical Evidence

Inscribed Safavid ceramics may be divided into two classes: tiles and vessels. Tiles bear dates as a way of recording a significant event, usually the death of the person for whom the tile served as a grave marker. They are very useful for dating styles and techniques, and in one remarkable instance the inscription, announcing the foundation of a mosque in 1532 (Fig. 4.2, ZZZ.431), gives its place of manufacture (Qumisheh, near Isfahan). A large group of sixteenth-century tiles is associated with monuments in the Yazd-Abarquh region. Several seventeenth-century tiles have been noted, but there are probably many more scattered throughout Iran. For a list of dated tiles, see Appendix A.

Of great interest are the 26 vessels bearing dates. Only six date from the sixteenth century. Dates are often found at the end of poetic verses but also on the base of the vessel. They help us to establish a sequence for decorative styles and techniques, particularly for the seventeenth century. We know of no Safavid vessels inscribed with the place of manufacture, with the exception of an early sixteenth-century dish from Nishapur (TOK.01, dated 929/1522–23).[24] A list of dated vessels appears in Appendix A.

Archaeological Evidence

Collections of sherds gathered from Kirman and Makran are presently stored in the British Museum. Col. Thomas H. Holdich worked as a surveyor for the Afghan Boundary Commission (1892–1898) and visited the sites along the coast of Makran (southeastern Iran) in 1891. It is not clear at which sites he collected the Safavid sherds now in the British Museum, but his letter to a Mr. Blundell, dated 14 June 1891, mentions pottery from Tiz and Pasni. His "Notes on the Pottery and glass picked up on the Makran coast" (unpublished document) do not shed any further light on the provenance of the sherds. Most of the sherds are datable stylistically to the second half of the seventeenth century (blue-painted, polychrome, monochrome with slip-painting, carved).

A larger collection was brought back from the surveys of Sir Aurel Stein in the 1930s. Representing much the same range of decorative treatments but also some black-outline wares (i.e., early seventeenth century), these sherds are from the shrine city of Mahan, on the road between Kirman and Bam. This is the road that leads eventually to the Persian Gulf or the Makran shores. The shrine of the Shi'ite Shaykh Ni'matullah Vali Kirmani, erected in 1436,[25] was expanded by Shah Abbas very early in his reign (c. 1590).[26] Stein does not mention Mahan in his survey reports, and it is possible that these sherds were collected by his surveyor, Muhammad Ayub, who undertook

21 On Dutch documents see Volker 1954.

22 Steensgaard 1974; see also challenges to Steensgaard's theory about a decline in overland trade (Rossabi 1990, Klein 1993), and the continuing importance of regional trade (Dale 1994).

23 On the Indian merchants see Dale 1994; on Armenian merchants see McCabe 1999.

24 GMB 1996, Project number TY.1 (Tokyo, Middle East Culture Center, no. 75), pl. 47; Golombek and Mason 1995.

25 Golombek and Wilber 1988:394–95.

26 The mosaic faience inscription over the door to the shrine is dated 998/ 1589–90.

extensive topographical surveys for him.[27] Some sherds gathered from sites further along the maritime route to the west (Yemen and Oman) relate to the material gathered from the Kirman and Makran region. In Vienna there is a small collection of sherds from various sites in "Astarabad" and elsewhere, some of which were brought in by F. Martin, probably in the 1920s.[28]

The most significant archaeological material was gathered during a field trip to Kirman in 2001 and 2003. The largest group came from an area south of the Saljuq mosque (Masjid-i Malik), which, according to texts, was redeveloped during the early seventeenth century.[29] As many of the Qajar houses in the older parts of the city were built from the detritus of the demolished houses in their vicinity, the crumbling walls of ruined houses are rich sources of seventeenth-century pottery. Thus, sherds were gathered from all over the old city by myself and members of the team.[30] Several wasters and pieces of kiln furniture were found. Most of the pots were of the black-outline blue-painted type, as well as blue-and-white, but polychrome and monochrome were also found. These finds are discussed in Chapter Five.

Sherd collections in the Archaeological Service storerooms in Mashhad have also been studied, but little seen by us can be related to the better-known Safavid types. Much was recognizable as Timurid, and some may have been sixteenth century. Some examples of late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century wares were noted but not sampled. The Safavid sherds from Derbent and Samarqand that were studied in the course of research for the Timurid ceramics project have been included in this study. Finds from the Qandahar excavations have not been sampled but clearly represent the same time frame as those from Mashhad.[31] Some of the sherds stored in the Islamic Museum in Tehran are purported to have come from Mashhad. The enormous quantity of Safavid sherds as well as Chinese porcelain and celadon unearthed in the excavations at the shrine at Ardabil have yet to be mined for information.

Collections

Almost every public and private collection of Islamic art includes Safavid pottery. Some of these are more interesting than others as "collections." Some can themselves be considered of "archaeological" significance, although we may not yet have enough information to understand them. The vast holdings of the Victoria and Albert Museum were collected within a span of less than 10 years (1873 to 1883) by Sir Robert Murdoch Smith,[32] who had gone to Iran to work in the Persian telegraph department and became its director in 1863. Murdoch Smith was highly respected for his efficiency and the understanding he demonstrated of the people with whom he worked. In his earlier days he had developed a taste for archaeology, having accompanied Sir Charles Newton to Halicarnassus and undertaken his own dig at Cyrene. He relished travelling around in Iran, and when he witnessed the rich treasures being shipped out of the country to European collectors, he seized the opportunity to build a collection for the new South Kensington Museum. In impassioned letters, he pleaded with the Museum authorities to approve his recommended purchases, implying that representatives of other states had already creamed off the best of the lot. The magnificent collection that resulted came mostly from a single individual, Jules Richard. According to Murdoch Smith, Richard was "a French Mussalman" who had "long been

27 Stein 1936:161.

28 In the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst.

29 Mashizi 1990–91:276.

30 The team in 2001 consisted of: Dr. Sussan Babaie (Courtauld Institute), Fariba Kermani (architect, Iran Cultural Heritage Organization), and Dr. Nozhat Ahmedi (historian, Al-Zahra University, Tehran); in 2003 I was joined by Dr. Kamyar Abdi, Dartmouth College, and Ms Kermani.

31 Crowe 1979a.

32 Scarce 1973.

resident in Tehran."[33] Richard had come to Iran in 1844 as a photographer and was appointed to the Dar al-Funun, where he taught French and English. The sources of his collection are not known, but Richard was on close terms with the ruling Qajar family and may have acquired antiquities through this network. The purchase of his collection by Murdoch Smith apparently prompted others to bring their collections forward for sale.[34] The collection, accumulated by Richard over 30 years, was shipped to London and exhibited in 1876.[35] Following this shipment Murdoch Smith continued to acquire objects until 1885. Another 100 pieces of pottery were purchased in 1883.

The possible archaeological interest in this collection would arise from determining Richard's sources for the initial collection, perhaps a single source. The letters to the South Kensington Museum give no indication of Richard's sources except in the second round, when he began ordering his agents to collect material from Isfahan, Kashan, and elsewhere.[36] Perhaps the culinary interests in the Richard family gave him access to the royal kitchens and tablewares.[37] The Victoria and Albert Museum's pieces are in such good condition that we can imagine they may have come from a well-preserved storehouse rather than from common kitchens or under the ground.

33 Ibid., 74; Fragner (1994:66) refers to Richard as "a French renegade" who entered the service of the Qajar court around 1870, converted to Islam, and received the title "Nasir al-Din Reza Khan." According to Muʿayyir al-Mamalik (1982–83:19, 54), he served as French tutor to the Qajar princes. His son Yusuf Mu'addib al-Mulk collected Persian art and in 1903 published a cookbook; for a discussion of Richard's relations with Murdoch Smith, see Helfgott 1990.

34 Helfgott 1990: 174–75.

35 A catalogue was produced by Murdoch Smith (*Persian Art*, London, 1876), which included artifacts of many different materials, ancient and modern, as well as the Safavid pottery.

36 Scarce 1973:75.

37 See above, note 33.

Another "collection" of great interest is the pottery amassed in the mountain village of Kubachi in Daghestan.[38] Its holdings extend from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. It does not seem to have received much pottery produced in Kirman, but it has a very large component of seventeenth-century Isfahan ware. Understanding how this assemblage came together, when and why, might shed further light on the social and economic aspects of the Safavid ceramic industry.

Ceramic Petrography

Petrography has proven extremely useful in sorting out the provenancing of Islamic ceramics.[39] The technique comes from the earth sciences and involves microscopic examination of rocks and minerals. By applying this techique to the study of pottery, one may characterize the ceramic body, and, if possible, attribute clusters of characteristics to specific production centres. This information, combined with one or more of the other forms of evidence presented here (such as survey material, textual references, inscriptions, stylistic consistency), may allow for the attribution of particular petrographic groups to specific production centres.

Formal Analysis of Decoration and Shape

The painted decoration on Safavid blue-and-white pottery was inspired primarily by Chinese models. Dating Safavid pottery on the basis of these models is not entirely reliable. In many cases the resemblance is close and the date of the copy may well be close to that of the model. However, Persian potters often reverted to earlier Chinese models, sometimes combining motifs from different centuries. Even if the potter's intent were to keep up with the times, we do not know what the time lag between the arrival of the import and its adoption as a fashion would have been.

38 See Chapter Four for full discussion and references.

39 See Chapter Five for description of this technique and bibliography.

Understanding the relationship between the models and their imitations requires some knowledge about how the Chinese porcelain was collected. The most important evidence for identifying which Chinese wares reached Iran is the fabulous collection of Shah Abbas, donated to the Shrine of Ardabil in 1604.[40] It seals the date of the bulk of objects in that collection, although more were added over time. Some 618 blue-and-white porcelains have survived at Ardabil, about half of the original gift, which consisted of 1,162 pieces, according to Jalal al-Din, the astronomer, in his history of the Safavids (*Tarikh-i Abbasi*).[41] J. A. Pope's analysis of the collection identifies some 50 per cent as dating from the sixteenth century while at least a third go back to the early fifteenth century. The presence of so many early pieces suggests that the Safavids acquired collections assembled by their Timurid and Turkman predecessors. We know that many of the Timurid princes and nobility who resided in cities such as Samarqand, Herat, and Shiraz collected porcelain. The fate of these collections is not known, but we may assume that the Turkman successors claimed them as booty. Some of the Turkman treasures were, indeed, captured by the Ottoman invaders of Tabriz and brought back to Istanbul.[42] The fact that so many of the porcelains donated to the Ardabil shrine pre-date the Safavid period by at least a century suggests that Shah Abbas's gift incorporated these collections.

As in the Timurid period, the collecting of porcelain was not limited to the royal family. Among the porcelains surviving at Ardabil are 94 inscribed with the name of an official of the Shah, Qarachaghay. He is well known from Safavid and European sources as one of the Armenian *ghulam,* a slave, conscripted as a young boy and taken to the palace school in Isfahan to be trained. He rose to distinction, eventually governing first Azerbaijan and then Khurasan.[43] Collecting Chinese porcelain was also a hobby of the wealthy bourgeoisie,[44] and there must have been fine collections of Chinese porcelain across the country in the homes of such people.

Another magnet for royal collections was the shrine of the Imam Riza in Mashhad. Less is known about this collection. Shah Tahmasb's daughter, Mahin Banu Sultan, donated her collection to the shrine in 1561.[45] We do not know if it had also absorbed the Timurid collections that were available, or focused on imports contemporary with Shah Tahmasb. We shall see that approximately at this date, the 1560s, Persian potters at Tabriz were to take a renewed interest in the current styles of imports (Jiajing style).

All these collections presented the potter with a wide range of styles to imitate. He could copy a single piece or, as suggested above, draw from several designs. Was he at liberty to make this decision, or did the patron make the choice, perhaps wishing to replace a broken piece or to extend an original set? Did pottery produced for the bazaar reflect the most current Chinese fashions, or was there a time lag? These are questions to which our research may eventually suggest an answer, but without datable evidence we cannot estimate the pace of fashion. For the purpose of sequencing the Safavid pottery, Chinese models can be helpful but must be used with caution. Another aspect of the use of Chinese models was the copying of Chinese shapes, especially in the seventeenth century. Peculiarities in shape may therefore be attributable to the use of the model rather than to the idiosyncrasies of particular workshops, and studies of shapes, with certain exceptions, therefore do not render the kind of information normally derived by archaeologists. For the sixteenth

40 J. A. Pope 1952.

41 Ibid., 8–9.

42 In 1514 Selim I removed 64 porcelain objects from the Hasht Behesht palace and elsewhere at Tabriz (Babaie et al. 2004:124).

43 On the role of this individual and other "slaves" in patronage of the arts during this period, see Babaie et al. 2004:125–27; for further discussion, see Chapter One.

44 See below (p. 31) for the story about a pottery merchant and his friends in Kirman.

45 Babaie et al. 2004:122.

century and for certain production series in the seventeenth century (Isfahan dishes, Phase III Kirman wares), workshops do exhibit a consistency in shapes that may be diagnostic.

Clues to dating may sometimes be derived from correlations with other arts. The figural style of Riza Abbasi and the painters of Shah Abbas's Isfahan are reflected in the polychrome wares from Isfahan/Qumisheh ("Kubachi" wares) and in moulded monochrome wares. Contemporary wall painting and decorative arts such as metalwork[46] may also be used to date the Safavid pottery, which does not depend entirely on the chinoiserie repertory.

Just as we have grouped vessels based on a shared petrofabric, so it is also possible, if caution is exercised, to group them on the basis of stylistic idiosyncrasies. Useful in this respect is the occurrence of similar ornament on the less visible side of the object. Dishes that seem unrelated if one judges by the design on the face may share the same exterior patterns.[47] Motifs used as background filler, such as the encircled curly leaf ("leaf-curl diaper"), seem to be characteristic of a particular workshop, as confirmed through petrographic analysis (in this case, Kirman).[48]

Related to the imitation of Chinese porcelains is the introduction of emblems on the base of vessels. These resemble the marks, called *nianhao* in Chinese, signifying the Chinese emperor's reign, the destination of the vessel, or some other saying related to it. Attempts have been made in the past to classify the marks appearing on Persian pottery, but the assignment of these marks to specific production sites had no scientific basis. More recently these were studied in detail and correlated with the findings of petrographic analysis. Many of the marks can now be assigned to specific sites of production. These are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Almost no work has been done on the shapes of Safavid pottery (or, for that matter, Persian pottery in general), other than to draw parallels with the Chinese models that they copy. In studying the problems of shape, we may observe three lines of investigation. The first relates to the social aspect of the object, its use by Safavid society. Apart from the usual tablewares—dishes, bottles, bowls—an astounding number of new shapes emerged that give rise to questions of origin and purpose. The Iran of Shah Abbas had become "multi-cultural," and this may be reflected in the range of new vessel shapes. Some of the new shapes may be explained by the introduction of new habits, such as smoking, spitting, and drinking coffee. A second approach to studying shapes looks at the evolution of a single shape, such as the bottle, noting changes in its proportions, shape of the aperture, and so forth. Such changes may be generalized and applied to other shapes, such as a tendency to broaden or lower the bulge in the body of a closed form, whether it is a bottle, a vase, or a ewer. The third approach is to look for minor idiosyncrasies that may belie the techniques peculiar to a particular workshop or artisan, as seems to have been the case with large dishes made in the sixteenth-century Tabriz atelier and the seventeenth-century Qumisheh workshops. This kind of study on a broad basis lies beyond our intent, as it demands a large number of scale drawings. While we have incorporated such drawings into our study, we feel that such an investigation should be left for objects originating in an archaeological context.

It is hoped that this volume will spur on the scholar and the amateur to undertake further investigations that eventually will fill the gaps in our understanding of the Safavid ceramic industry. As more historical documents and texts come to light, the picture will be clarified. Most rewarding would be the expansion of archaeological excavations of Safavid sites and making their publication accessible to all who share this interest.

46 See the bottles with scenes of a matchlock hunter (for example, ROM.88/ Cat. no. 21), which relate to engraved metalwork as well as wall paintings and tiles.

47 We shall show that this is especially true of the Kirman workshop in its use of the fan-leaf spray (Pl. 6.3.2–3).

48 See below, p. 107.

PART I

Safavid Pottery and Society

∴

CHAPTER 1

Safavid Society and the Ceramic Industry

Lisa Golombek and Eileen Reilly

The central thesis of this study identifies the chief factors affecting the Safavid ceramic industry as lying beyond the borders of Iran, namely, events in China and the involvement of the global trading networks anchored in Western Europe. These factors will be discussed shortly, but the political context with which they interacted will first be briefly sketched. From the founding of the Safavid dynasty by Isma'il in 1501 to its overturn by the Afghans in 1722, four relevant themes dominate: maintaining the security of Iran's borders with the Ottomans, Uzbeks, and Mughals; modifications to the system of internal administration; the official adoption and propagation of Shi'ism throughout the land; and control of Iran's export trade, particularly of silk and silver.

The Social Context of Safavid Pottery

Lisa Golombek

Iran under the Safavids

The Safavid dynasty began as a Sufi order under Safi al-Din, the eponymous founder, during the fourteenth century. Its centre was at Ardabil in northwestern Iran, where Safi had his khanaqah (Sufi hostel), which became the site of his tomb and shrine. The Safaviyyah order gained popularity over the next hundred years and was transformed into a powerful military force by the end of the fifteenth century. By the middle of the fifteenth century the Sufi order adopted Shi'ite doctrine. Shi'ism recognizes only the direct descendants of Ali (cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet) as the rightful spiritual leaders of the Faith (Imams). Twelve Imams are recognized, the last of whom disappeared and is expected to return. As the Safavids gathered strength they served as allies to the ruling Turkman dynasties (Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu) and formed marital ties with them. However, during the power struggles following the death of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (d. 1478), the movement developed its own political ambitions. Isma'il, the young son of the order's leader Haydar, took refuge in Gilan after his father's death in 1488. Seven years later he gathered his staunch supporters, the tribal Turkman forces from Anatolia and Syria, and set about advancing his cause. The charismatic Isma'il now himself claimed descent from the family of Ali. His troops regarded him as partaking of divinity, the earthly representative of the Twelfth Imam. They adopted the 12-sided (a reference to the Twelve Imams) red cap with tall spike, revealed to Isma'il's father Haydar in a dream, and came to be known as the *qizilbash* ("redheads"). Isma'il defeated the Aqqoyunlu Turkman and took Tabriz, making it the first capital of the new Safavid dynasty in 1501. Over the next 10 years he conquered the rest of Iran and Iraq, but failed to secure a foothold along the eastern borders, losing Qandahar in 1522. Viewing the spread of Shi'ism as a threat to the Ottoman Empire, its ruler Selim (1512–1520) invaded Iran. The Ottomans defeated the Safavids at Chaldiran in 1514 by using firearms, at that time not a regular weapon of the Safavid army. The Ottomans took Tabriz but withdrew without pushing farther into Iran. They remained a prominent threat to the Safavids until the Treaty of Amasya (1555).

The military and civil operation of the Safavid state was shared by two groups: the Qizilbash confederation, ethnic Turks who represented the military power, and the Persian bureaucracy. This arrangement utilized the strengths of the various

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_003

elites but led to weakness when rivalries among the various tribes within the Turkman confederation, as well as between the two ethnic groups, threatened the stability of the state, particularly at times of a new shah's accession.

Silk remained the chief export product of Iran under the Safavids, as it had been before. Although wars with the Ottomans interrupted the flow of raw silk to Europe and the fledgling weaving industry at Ottoman Bursa until the accession of Suleyman (1520),[1] the network of Armenian merchants carried on a flourishing overland trade between Iran and the Mediterranean. Maritime trade through the Persian Gulf, once controlled by the independent principality of Hormuz, passed into Portuguese hands in 1507. The Portuguese consolidated their hold on Indian Ocean trade with the founding of Goa on the west coast of India in 1510 and ensured a gateway to China with the establishment of a settlement in Canton in 1517 (setting up permanently at Macao in 1557). They collected duties on all merchandise making its way from China and India to Iran by sea. Overland trade, also bringing in goods from India, depended on the security of the route through Qandahar, making that city one of the prime concerns of the Safavid administration.

Shah Tahmasb succeeded his father in 1524 and, after internecine wars among the various Qizilbash factions had been resolved, he had an extraordinarily long and prosperous rule (52 years). After five Ottoman invasions of his territory, the main casualty being the loss of Baghdad (1535), Tahmasb signed the Treaty of Amasya in 1555, which held through to the end of his rule (1576). Attempting to protect the seat of government, Tahmasb moved his capital from Tabriz to Qazvin in 1555–56. Tahmasb made significant progress toward reducing the role of the Qizilbash in the administration by bringing in Georgians and Circassian "slaves." These were captives who converted to Islam and owed total allegiance to the Shah.

The Ottoman wars with the Safavids prior to the Treaty of Amasya (1555) had ruined the northern routes of the silk trade, causing exports from Iran to diminish.[2] Goods could now be routed to the Mediterranean through Aleppo, which became the main entrepot of the silk trade for the European trading nations, such as the Venetians, French, and English.[3]

Tahmasb himself underwent a transformation at the age of 20 (1533–34) and several times subsequently. This public "repentance" entailed the prohibition of all forms of pleasure forbidden by Islam, such as alcoholic beverages, gambling, brothels, and even certain forms of music. The repentance of 1555–56 apparently put an end to Tahmasb's magnificent patronage of the arts of the book at Tabriz, where his famous illustrated *Shahnameh* had been produced.[4] Painters moved to the courts of other Safavid princes, where their services were still appreciated.[5] While the palaces at the new capital, Qazvin,[6] were decorated with wall paintings, Tahmasb seems not to have sponsored illustrated manuscripts after this move. We have no information about his interest in collecting porcelain or promoting the local ceramics industry, but the archaeological evidence suggests that a ceramic workshop was founded at Qazvin at this time. It produced tile revetments for his palaces as well as some vessels.[7]

Shah Tahmasb's death in 1576 led to a second "civil war."[8] Tahmasb's successors enjoyed brief, unremarkable reigns, for a period of 11 years (Isma'il II, 1576–77; Muhammad Khudabandeh, 1578–87), during which time the Ottomans returned to invade Tabriz, and Herat fell once

1 Matthee 1999:20.

2 Ibid., 20–21.

3 Ibid., 24.

4 Dickson and Welch 1981; Canby 2003:80–96.

5 Simpson 1997.

6 Babaie 2008, chap. 2.

7 See discussion by Mason, Chapter Five, and Luschey-Schmeisser 1976.

8 The complexity of alliances is discussed by Newman (2009:41–45).

again to the Uzbeks. When the young Abbas came to the throne in 1588, he chose to create his own army from the Georgians and Circassians who had been captured during military campaigns. Converted to Islam, members of this fiercely loyal "slave" class, known as *ghulam*, were assigned high administrative posts throughout the realm to counterbalance the Shah's dependency on the ambitious Qizilbash. The Armenians were given responsibility for managing the silk trade. Greater centralization positioned power in the hands of the ruler. With his army now bearing firearms, Shah Abbas recaptured much of the territory taken by the Ottomans and some of what had been lost to the Uzbeks. In 1612 he signed a peace treaty with the Ottomans.

In 1590 Shah Abbas took steps toward the creation of a new imperial city at Isfahan—the act for which he is most famous. The official move of the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan occurred in 1598. Here, over two decades, he transformed a large section of the old city into palatial grounds adjoining a stunning urban centrepiece, the great Maydan, and a bazaar linking the old public square with the new.[9] The large rectangular "piazza" (seven times the size of San Marco's in Venice) had a major edifice on each side. The bazaar portal on the north faced the entrance to the new congregational mosque. The gate to the palace grounds (Ali Qapu) lay opposite a small royal chapel (mosque of Shaykh Lutfullah), all of these monuments connected by arcades serving as shops. The bazaar sheltered all kinds of wares and craftsmen and gave access to warehouses, caravanserais and coffee shops. Shah Abbas took steps to ensure that daily life conformed to Twelver Shi'ite doctrine[10] and commissioned a manual of codes of conduct embodying this thought.[11]

As part of his centralization policy, Shah Abbas expanded the number of royal workshops at Isfahan and other towns.[12] These workshops produced goods for the royal household but their administrators also controlled related guilds of craftsmen, ensuring that they paid their taxes and conducted affairs legally.[13] Shah Abbas intervened in the economy in many other ways; for example, he promoted cotton cultivation to reduce dependency on imports from India, and banned the export of gold and silver.[14] In 1619 he finally established a monopoly on the export of silk from Iran.[15] To facilitate control over this trade he resettled Armenians and Jews from Georgia, who were familiar with silk cultivation, to oversee the industry in the region of Mazanderan, which had been transformed into crown land.[16] The Armenians of Julfa in Azerbaijan were resettled in New Julfa south of the river in Isfahan where their far-reaching mercantile network enhanced the prosperity of the realm.[17] Although the European trading companies founded during the reign of Shah Abbas tried their utmost to obtain Iran's silk at an economic price for shipment home, it was the Armenians who dominated the silk trade and ensured that Shah Abbas had sufficient silver to maintain his army and the loyalty of his officials.[18]

Relations with Europe are woven into this story in a way far too complex to review here. The activities of the Dutch and English trading companies, founded at this time, are discussed in more detail below. The notable dates are the arrival of the first English ship in the Persian Gulf in 1616 and the wresting of Hormuz from the Portuguese with the help of the English in 1622. The principal imports into Iran were spices, sugar, and textiles.

9 Babaie 2008.

10 Twelver doctrine, the belief that there are 12 legitimate Imams (descendants of the Prophet), remains the official Shi'ite doctrine of Iran. Other interpretations of Shi'ism existed then, as now.

11 Composed by his advisor Shaykh Baha'i (Babaie 2008:230).

12 Matthee 1999:66–67.

13 Keyvani 1982:38–39; guilds will be discussed further below.

14 Matthee 1999:67–68.

15 Ibid., 74.

16 Ibid., 76.

17 Ibid., 84–89; McCabe 1999.

18 Babaie et al. 2004:50, 67, 69.

The European trading companies' chief interests in Iran's goods were raw silk and silk textiles, carpets, and, later, goat wool from Kirman.

Shah Abbas was succeeded by his grandson, Shah Safi (1629–1642) whose reign was marked by losses of territory in 1638 to the Ottomans (Baghdad and the Safavid shrine cities in Iraq) and Mughals (Qandahar). However, the Treaty of Zuhab, signed with the Ottomans in 1639, allowed the revival of the overland trade routes to the Mediterranean and significantly reduced the Safavids' preoccupation with the Ottoman threat. Safi also cancelled Shah Abbas's monopoly on the silk trade, probably at the urging of the *ghulams*.[19] Instead of dealing with the shah's agent, as they had been forced to do by Shah Abbas's monopoly, the European trading companies now had to negotiate with the more powerful (and less compromising) grand vizier Saru Taqi (Mirza Muhammad Taqi), a member of the *ghulam* class.[20] European traders experienced more and more obstacles to their objectives in Iran, and the export of silk in the hands of the maritime trading companies declined.

Shah Abbas II (1642–1666) came to the throne as a child, but at the age of 13, he instituted a purge of a group of powerful officials, including Saru Taqi (in 1645). They were replaced by a succession of strong, experienced viziers. Persian silk exports were re-routed to the Mediterranean as a consequence of improved relations with the Ottomans, thus making relations with the European maritime trading companies even less critical. The English ceased to purchase silk from Iran in 1649. Around 1650 Bengal became a cheaper source for silk.[21]

A renewal of hostilities over Qandahar in the late 1640s drained Safavid resources. The last decade of Shah Abbas II's reign saw a worldwide scarcity of silver, making it difficult for the Shah to finance his administration and projects.[22] The ban on the export of silver, which came into Iran from the silk trade with Europe, was ignored by most of the agencies handling trade, whether European or domestic (Armenians, Jews, Indian expatriates).

A noticeable decline in the strength of the army could be observed at the end of the reign of Shah Abbas II.[23] Nevertheless, the lack of serious major military engagements left his dominions relatively peaceful. A number of architectural projects were designed to project Shah Abbas II's image as supreme ruler and the "Shadow of God," as they provided a setting for Imami Shi'ite ceremonial.[24] In 1644 the Ali Qapu gate to the palace grounds, which opened onto the Maydan at Isfahan, was extended into the Maydan and a porch was erected on its roof. The Shah utilized this columned porch (*talar*) to view official events in the Maydan (parades of visiting embassies, polo games, executions) and to be viewed. A *talar* palace called the Chehel Sutun (Forty Columns) was erected in 1646–47 inside the palace grounds. It was adorned with historical murals celebrating earlier Safavid rulers, who are depicted in the act of extending refuge to fallen monarchs.[25] Shah Abbas II also built bridges (Pul-i Khwaju, 1650) and caravanserais.[26] The rule of this Shah was generally perceived as prosperous, and a recent re-examination of his reign considers it to have been as stable and prosperous as that of Shah Abbas, "if not more so."[27]

Shah Abbas II died in 1666 after a long illness. He was succeeded by Shah Sulayman (d. 1694), whose reign began with a series of unfortunate natural disasters—poor harvests, pestilence, earthquakes. The economic decline and military weakness that characterized Shah Sulayman's reign have been attributed to disinterest in affairs of state and incompetence due to his

19 Matthee 1999:120.
20 Ibid., 129ff.
21 Savory, "Safawids," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 8: 773.
22 Babaie et al. 2004:71.
23 Roemer 1986:290–91.
24 Babaie 2008, chap. 5.
25 Ibid., 192–94.
26 Hillenbrand 1986:801–3.
27 Newman 2009:92.

having been raised in the isolation of the harem (as had been the custom for royal princes since the reign of Shah Abbas I). In fact, attempts were made to rectify the financial crisis, but to no avail.[28]

Nevertheless, Isfahan continued to flourish. Here in 1669, within the harem grounds in the middle of the Garden of the Nightingale, Sulayman erected one of the most stunning palaces of the period, the Hasht Behesht.[29] Extravagance and show were the rule. Conflict with neighbouring states was avoided, creating a (false?) sense of security.

Shah Sulayman's son Shah Sultan Husayn (r. 1694–1722) also did not successfully address the problems facing the country. Not only did the power of the harem officials increase; this period also saw the rise of the orthodox Shi'ite religious leaders and the resurgence of intolerance toward Sufism and minority religious groups. The architectural masterpiece of this era, erected under the Shah's patronage, was the complex on the Chahar Bagh Avenue of Isfahan, consisting of a madrasah, a caravanserai (now a hotel), and a bazaar (begun in 1704–05).[30] Shah Sultan Husayn's distaste for involvement in affairs of state is reflected in his choice of site for a new suburban garden-palace, Farahabad, far outside the boundaries of urban Isfahan.[31] But it was a more distant place that sounded the death knell for the Safavid dynasty. In Afghanistan, a vassal of the Safavids at Qandahar rebelled, leading to the invasion of Iran by the Afghans in 1719. Besieged in his capital, Isfahan, the last independent Safavid Shah, Sultan Husayn, capitulated in 1722.

28 Newman (2009:103) critiques the overdependence of historians on the opinions of the European travellers, which exaggerate, he believes, the Shah's cruelty, dependence on the harem, and indifference to his responsibilities.

29 Babaie 2008:198–206.

30 Hillenbrand 1986:808–11.

31 Babaie 2008:209.

The Dynamics of Supply and Demand

If we are to understand something about the socio-economic context of Safavid pottery, we must look at it through three lenses: the potter, the consumer, and the pottery itself. The potter cannot work alone, so we must consider what ties bind him to his co-workers and others who share his trade. The consumers of luxury pottery range from the top of society, the court, to the upwardly mobile middle class. Each played a part in defining the market for the potters' wares. These wares also have their own story to tell. They served the traditional purposes that pottery always had in Iran, but changes in diet and taste (for example, the increasing preponderance of rice dishes) and the introduction of new social customs (smoking and coffee-drinking) called forth new pottery shapes to suit the new functions.

The Potter

With the exception of architects and calligraphers (and painters in post-Mongol Iran), craftsmen did not enjoy high status in the Islamic world. Among the crafts, pottery-making was probably one of the lesser esteemed because of the lowly origins of its raw material, yet it also held a certain fascination. Its ability to transform something loose, porous, and mundane into an artifact with shape, serving a function, and often beautified through the application of colourful glazes positioned the potter's craft to serve as a metaphor in Islam. Earth is the medium from which Adam was formed.[32] The Creator acted like a potter, causing the earth to take form and embellishing it. But then, like the dish or cup which eventually becomes fractured, the work of the Creator, by His will, is destroyed.

During the Safavid period the poetry found on pottery and in the literature echoes this *topos* of the fragility of pottery. A poem by Umar Khayyam appearing in a modified version on a Safavid dish

32 Qur'an XV: 26; XXXII: 7; XL: 67; XL: 68.

dated 1084/1673–74 (Fig. 2.70, ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22) reads:

> This plate (*qab*), which the intellect applauds and on whose forehead it places a hundred kisses . . . Look! the Master of Eternity makes such an exquisite cup, only to cast it down to the ground again![33]

The poet begins by talking about a beautifully made plate (in the original poem the object was a cup, *jam*), and then metaphorically compares the potter with the Creator. In some editions of Khayyam the Creator is, in fact, spoken of as the Potter of Destiny (*kuzeh-gar-i dahr*).[34] After creating the pot/man, He willfully destroys it.

In a similar vein is a verse by a minor Safavid poet, Aqa Shapur:

> However big and attractive the cup (*kaseh*) may be,
> The cup that has the image of Man on it is [always] smashed.[35]

The message is the same: no matter how great the person, because of his humanity he is bound to be destroyed like pottery.

The guild literature known as *shahr-i ashub* (lit., "city-disturbing"),[36] which focuses on artisans and their trades, includes verses about the potter (*kuzeh-gar*):

> The potter has filled my heart with water,
> My tearful eyes act as the jug.[37]

Here the potter is likely again to be a metaphor for the Creator, who is the cause of the subject's angst, filling him with tears that pour from his eyes as if from a pot (*kuzeh*).

Pottery was a particularly suitable metaphor for the human condition, with its potential for great beauty but with the omnipresent threat of mortality. Compared with the other arts, pottery stood below the arts of the book, which were elevated because of the importance of the Qur'an, and below the artisans working with precious metals. One wonders whether the equating of pottery with human mortality may well have coloured society's attitude toward potters as a group. However, potters were not shackled to their trade, and some left for more lucrative or more satisfying occupations. Five potters who also wrote poetry are noted in the biographies of poets by the late seventeenth-century author Nasrabadi.[38]

The "Workshop"

Potters worked in groups because the making of pottery required a large number of specialized tasks: the gathering of raw materials, the processing of the materials to create the ceramic body (quartz, clay, frit), forming the vessels, turning the leather-hard vessel to form the base, decorating (before or after firing), loading and unloading one or more kilns, and firing the kiln to the appropriate temperature. A division of labour is documented by at least one object. The spouted waterpot in the British Museum (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08), dated 1617–18, was signed by a maker (who calls himself an

33 Translation by Maria Subtelny, pers. comm. For a similar metaphor, see the poem included in the evening prayer service for the Jewish Day of Atonement (P. Birnbaum, *High Holiday Prayer Book,* New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1951:538).

34 These comments were kindly contributed by Yves Porter.

35 Nasrabadi 1938:237 (translated by Maria Subtelny, pers. comm.).

36 Keyvani (1982:197–204) devotes a chapter to the kind of information that can be derived from this literature and translates a selection from Mirza Tahir Vahid's *Divan-i Rizvan* (appendix 2), from which the verse cited above is taken.

37 Ibid., 276.

38 For example, the potter's son Mani Mashhadi, a gifted poet, abandoned the craft of pottery to mingle with court society in late Timurid Herat; and in the Safavid period, Aqa Isma'il, a skilled architect and tile-maker, also the son and grandson of architects, left his craft to pursue poetry. For a discussion of texts relating to Timurid and Safavid potters, see below, pp. 23–4.

architect) and a decorator.[39] This division of labour was observed on our field trip in 1996 to Qumisheh, a small town south of Isfahan noted for the shrine of Shahreza. One atelier that was still making stonepaste (the Bahari family), had specialists who looked after the kilns, while the master formed pots on the wheel and others decorated. Such a group involved in the production of pottery is usually referred to as a "workshop." We must be careful to distinguish between the individual workshop, for which the term "atelier" is preferred, and a major centre of production with numerous workshops. During our visit to Qumisheh, we found at least 13 ateliers in the village. Some specialized (making stonepaste vessels; making large storage containers or wells) while the production of others was not differentiated. When we use the term "workshop," we shall be speaking in a collective sense, referring to all of the ateliers within a production centre, such as "the Kirman workshop."

References to production centres in the Safavid period comes from both Persian and European sources, the latter being more detailed and extensive.[40] The sources from the middle of the seventeenth century cite the following as production centres: Kirman, Mashhad, Shiraz, Yazd, Isfahan, and Zarand (see Map 2). While archaeological evidence indicates that pottery was produced in the heart of the city of Kirman,[41] the pottery said to be from Isfahan was probably produced outside the capital (at Qumisheh).[42] References to Yazd as a pottery centre are also problematic, as there is no archaeological or petrographic evidence for identifying Yazd pottery. Some of the smaller satellite towns around Yazd may have sold their wares as "Yazd" pottery. One of these, Maybud, became a production site in the twentieth century but could have had earlier roots.[43] In Safavid Isfahan there was a caravanserai selling the pottery of Abarquh, also a town near Yazd.[44] Nevertheless, no group has been petrographically distinguishable as Yazd-region pottery. However, if the Yazd potters used the same quartz source as the potters of another workshop, such as Kirman, the two would be indistinguishable. One of the most admired potters of Kirman, Sayyid Ahmadi, made "works that were famous in Kirman *and* Yazd."[45] Pottery from diverse centres was sold in the same depots, which may have confused some visitors. We know that pottery from all over Iran could be obtained in the capital, Isfahan, and that the wares of Mashhad, Kirman, and Abarquh were all available there in the same caravanserai.[46] Thus, we need to be cautious when considering the references to production centres from European sources. In the Persian sources (excluding the list of caravanserais of Isfahan preserved on a scroll in the British Library)[47] only Kirman is mentioned as a production centre.[48] The records of the Dutch East Indies Company (see below) mention exporting pottery from Persia, but only Kirman is named as a specific source.[49] All of the above references concern the production of glazed pottery. Exceptional is Olearius' remark in

39 See below, p. 23.

40 Frequently cited, these sources are transcribed in Lane's *Later Islamic Pottery* (1957, appendix).

41 Golombek 2003, Mason 2003; wasters were found by a team from the ICHO (Iran Cultural Heritage Organization), led by Fariba Kermani, in three different parts of Kirman (unpublished).

42 The town is Qumisheh, also called Shahreza, after its shrine; see the evidence for the identification of the Isfahan production centre as Qumisheh in Chapter Five.

43 Centlivres-Demont 1971.

44 Gaube and Wirth 1978:284 (from the list of caravanserais of Isfahan, MS British Library, Sloane 4094); a tilemaker with a *nisbah* "Abarquhi," possibly indicating his place of origin, signed the tile which was made at Qumisheh (Fig. 4.2, ZZZ.431), dated 1532. Another tilemaker from the Yazd region signed two tiles with the *nisbah* "al-Ardakani" (YZD.03, YZD.01, see Appendix A).

45 Nasrabadi 1938:148.

46 Gaube and Wirth 1978:266 (the Caravanserai of Mahmud Beg, from the list of the caravanserais of Isfahan, MS British Library, Sloane 4094).

47 MS British Library, Sloane 4094; Gaube and Wirth 1978, Section D.

48 See below for a discussion of individual potters named in the sources.

49 Volker 1954:115 (record dates 1675, 1680).

1637 that one of the principal goods sold at Qumm was the pottery known for its ability to conserve fresh water.[50] The vessel that he identifies as *cruche* must have been porous, hence unglazed, for it to have had this property. However, there was some demand even for this type of pottery for export.[51]

All of these references speak of places, that is, towns, known for their production of pottery. It is not clear how many ateliers for pottery existed in each centre, but archaeological and ethnographic evidence suggests that a single town might have a dozen or more ateliers. As mentioned above, in the twentieth century the potters' village of Qumisheh had at least 13, and within Kirman Safavid wasters were recovered from at least three different sites. Within a single atelier the craftsmen tend to be related, and within a single centre the various ateliers may be run by members of an extended family. The factor of kinship binds the potters of a single centre and probably contributed to the sharing of technology and artistic ideas,[52] as was the case in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the city of Kashan. There several related families guarded the secrets of lustreware production and collaborated on larger projects, such as the tiling of the shrine of the Imam Riza in Mashhad.[53] During our field trip to Qumisheh we found that the owners of at least two of the thirteen ateliers were related.

Another factor bonding the ateliers located in the same geographical area is access to the quartz sources required for the making of stonepaste. Once a source has been discovered, it can be used by the potters of the region for several generations. Analysis of two dated Timurid vessels that both had inscriptions naming Mashhad as their place of manufacture proved to share the same petrofabric (mineral composition). The vessels were separated in time by some 30 years.[54] The constancy of the source has made it possible through analysis of the mineral structure of the ceramic body to identify vessels emanating from the same centre or workshop. Petrographic analysis of stonepaste wares, as developed by Robert Mason, has led to the identification of seven distinct "petrofabrics" found in Safavid pottery. Sixteenth-century production at Tabriz and Nishapur was a continuation of fifteenth-century workshops. When the capital moved to Qazvin at mid-sixteenth century, tilemaking and some luxury vessels were made there as well. These three centres ceased production by the end of the century, and new workshops sprang up at Mashhad, Kirman, and Isfahan (Qumisheh). The petrofabrics of Kirman and Isfahan are unique, but two or three different petrofabrics are associated with Mashhad. The close resemblance of one of the Mashhad bodies to the Timurid petrofabric suggests that at least one group of Mashhad potters returned to the Timurid source for quartz. Other Mashhad potters seem to have found a new source for their quartz toward the middle of the seventeenth century, and so the petrofabric has different characteristics. The basis for attributing petrofabrics to specific sites varies. The Qazvin and Kirman evidence is archaeological, while the Isfahan evidence is ethnographic. For Mashhad there is epigraphic evidence as well as distribution. The evidence will be presented more fully in the chapter on petrography (Chapter Five).

Workshops within a single centre tend to produce similar objects. Some workshops specialize in a specific decorative technique, such as moulded relief or incised-line slip-painting (Isfahan/Qumisheh), as will be described later. Idiosyncrasies appear that can be used to identify the origin of a vessel. We have presented as "diagnostic" those idiosyncrasies that occur on vessels sharing the same petrofabric. For example, designs found on the backs of dishes, a position not normally visible when the object is in use, are often unique to a specific workshop within a certain

50 Olearius 1662:681.

51 The VOC records for 1663 indicate a request for 25 large earthenware water vessels (presumably for Southeast Asia) (W. Floor, pers. comm.).

52 Keyvani 1982:88.

53 Blair 2008.

54 GMB 1996:37 (dated 1444 and 1473–74).

time frame. For the sixteenth century there is a set of Tabriz "backs" that allows us to identify a vessel's provenance as well as its relative place within the chronology. These designs do not seem to have been transferable except by the potters themselves. Designs found on the backs of Tabriz wares are not normally found on contemporary Nishapur wares. The few exceptions have other characteristics, suggesting that the potter himself moved from one centre to the other. These designs are often hastily painted, perhaps by an apprentice, and bear no relationship to the more carefully executed designs on the face of the dish. Similarly, rim designs show a hasty or less skilled treatment and may be thought of as "trim." Each centre in the sixteenth century had a standard set of rim designs that it used exclusively. These designs for backs and rims did evolve over the century, but always remained within the individual centre.

The fact that consistency in back design seems to have abated during the first four decades of the seventeenth century calls for an explanation. On the dishes of Kirman and Mashhad the potter followed the Chinese model rather than creating a design of his own for the backs. We shall see that fidelity to the Chinese model, whether contemporary or earlier, became the goal of the Persian potter. At this time the potteries at Jingdezhen created a new scheme for their blue-and-white porcelain wares. The rim and cavetto were occupied by a series of bracketed panels (petal-panels) that framed a pictorial scene—landscapes, birds, deer, and so forth (Fig. 1.1).

These wares are referred to as Wanli period, after the Wanli emperor (1573–1620) or as "Kraak" porcelain, named for the ships or carracks that brought them to Europe, where they were very much admired. Kraak porcelain was highly prized in Iran and inspired copies throughout the seventeenth century, but it was during the first decades that so much care was taken to reproduce the feeling of the Chinese original. Vessels even bore fake Chinese reign marks (*nianhao*) on their bases. Because such careful attention to the painting must have taken more time and skill than before, it

FIG. 1.1. *Chinese "Kraak" ware, late sixteenth–seventeenth century* (*ROM 908.14.3*).

is likely that production of the finer wares at this time was on a smaller scale than in the sixteenth-century Tabriz operation. The term "boutique" workshop seems to fit the ateliers making these luxury copies of Chinese porcelain. The market was probably small. Such vessels were made for discerning patrons who were familiar with the Chinese originals, such as the group of connoisseurs in Kirman invited to judge the quality of the tablewares presented by their host, about whom we shall have more to say below.[55]

Our study of the Chinese models indicates that Persian potters might make "close copies" but that they were also creative in using individual motifs from the Chinese repertory. We shall see that Safavid potters drew inspiration from sources other than Chinese porcelain, but only minimally. Safavid blue-and-white is often referred to as "chinoiserie" but the element of fantasy as found in European chinoiserie, is not always present in the Safavid interpretations of Chinese designs. Chinese porcelain was appreciated in Iran as a fine art, as were most of the Chinese arts, particularly textiles. During the sixteenth century, when close

55 Nasrabadi 1938:148; see below, p. 31.

copies were rare, one could say that the use of selected Chinese motifs constituted a form of chinoiserie, but beginning with the reign of Shah Abbas, close copies abound. The Safavid potter's goal was to make the pottery look as close to the Chinese model as possible, so that the patron who could not access the original might still enjoy its beauty (and its prestige). Patty Proctor's study of the Chinese sources (Chapter Three) helps us to reconstruct the range of Chinese vessels available to Safavid potters.

A notable change took place at mid-century. With the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 and the ensuing turmoil, imperial patronage of the Jingdezhen potteries came to a halt. Although production there continued, it diminished, and the flow of export trade was disturbed. The Safavid potters tried to fill the void in domestic markets in Iran and, to some extent, abroad. Persia's role in the international trade at this time will be discussed below. "Boutique" production came to an end. The Kirman potteries began to mass produce dishes, bottles, bowls, shallow polygonal plates, and *qalyans*. Designs became repetitive. An all-over pattern of leaf-curl scrolls covered large areas (Fig. 2.83, ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24). Most indicative of the new industry was the re-emergence of consistent back patterns. The "hallmark" of Kirman dishes was a distinctive fan-leaf spray design on the back (see Chapter Six, Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.2a). Instead of the fake Chinese reign mark on the base, the Kirman potters developed a wide variety of tassel-shaped marks that were unique to their centre. Reference to selected Chinese motifs was meant to evoke rather than replicate. The pottery of this period is therefore closer to European notions of "chinoiserie" than had been the case in the early seventeenth century. In contrast to the "boutique" phase of Kirman pottery, one can say that the objects made were now considered "commodities" rather than unique works of art. We therefore consider this to have been a period during which production was "commoditized." The pottery was still finely made but not with the careful attention required earlier.

Commoditization of the pottery industry in the second half of the century occurred in other production centres as well. The Isfahan workshops began to use incised lines to speed up the painting of the design, allowing the cobalt to flow into the line rather than painting it freehand. The results fell far short of the quality achieved by Isfahan potters some 20 years earlier. The quality of blue-and-white wares made at other workshops declined, and old designs from the Wanli period were perfunctorily revived.[56]

The Workshop and the Government

In the administrative literature, potters (*fakh-kharan*) are mentioned among the 33 guilds existing in Safavid Isfahan.[57] There were three subdivisions within the potters' guild: the brick-makers (*kureh-pazan*), the earthenware potters (*kuzeh-garan*), and the stonepaste potters (or tile-makers) (*kashi-pazan*).[58] Guilds were important both as a

56 Crowe 2002, nos. 307–18.

57 Keyvani (1982:5–6, 51) discusses the administrative manuals (see Minorsky 1943) written for the instruction of the Safavids' successors.

58 Keyvani 1982; the argument for translating this term as "stonepaste potters" rests on the usage of the term *kashi* in several Safavid texts. The term itself derives from the *nisbah* of potters from Kashan (twelfth–fourteenth century), who produced luxury stonepaste pottery in several varieties—lustre, underglaze, and overglaze. They also were famous for their tilework, which is designated as *kashi-kari*. The Safavid text using the term "*kashi*" is a list of the ten types of "*chini*" in Safavid Iran in 1674–75 (see pp. 26–7), in which most types appear to be real porcelain or, at least, Chinese export wares, but the last is called *nuah*, which "is similar to the *kashi* of Mashhad" (Afshar 1962–63:559). It is unlikely that the author would compare a genre of Chinese porcelain to tilework in Mashhad, which was very colourful and decorated in the *cuerda seca* technique, not underglaze. However, Mashhad was a well-known centre for underglaze painting (blue-and-white) throughout the seventeenth century. See also, below, the famous potter Sayyid Ahmadi, a potter (*kaseh-gar*), whose *kashi* (not likely to have been tilework if compared with Chinese ceramics) surpassed the porcelain of China (see below, pp. 23, 31; Mashizi 1990–91:275).

system that enabled the government to collect tax and also as fraternities with their own social, religious,[59] and economic behaviour. All the workshops within a centre were under the leadership of a *kadkhoda*, whose responsibility was to collect the tax and convey it to the government officials. Kirman almost certainly had a potters' guild, as one of the potters mentioned by Nasrabadi, Amina'i Kirmani, was its *kadkhoda*.[60] Although there is no information about the guild of potters with regard to internal monitoring of quality, prices, competition, and other matters, such were the common concerns of many other craft guilds. Potters' groups are not listed among the royal workshops established by Shah Abbas in Isfahan.[61]

Individual Potters

At least six Safavid potters left their signatures on some of their works.[62] The earliest signed vessel dates to 1616–17 and is unique in its complex construction (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08). It is a water pot with spout and arching handle, based on a metal model. Not only does it have an unusual shape, it is signed by two craftsman. One calls himself an architect (*mi'mar*) and probably put together this complex form. The other is named as the decorator (*naqqash*). No other potters' signatures have survived from works dating before the middle of the century. A dish and a pear-shaped *qalyan* were made by Khvajeh Muhammad around 1675 (V&A. 24 and V&A.174), his signature appearing on the base. Another three potters working in the lustre-technique during the last decades of the century signed their works. One signature is illegible (BRM.52) except for the word "Ustad," which means "Master." Muhammad Riza signed a bowl, and a certain Khatim painted his name in bold strokes on at least five objects.[63] Although the archaeological record is incomplete, it is apparent that, considering the quantity of objects examined in this study, the practice of signing one's pots was not widespread.

Considerably more insight into the potter and his role in society can be gleaned from the literature. Most of these references come from biographies of poets that cite within each biographical note some of the verses composed by the individuals. Many were just "casual" poets, such as six of the seven potters/tile-makers noted here.

Sixteenth Century

1. Hajji Muhammad *naqqash* (decorator): worked in Timurid Herat, known for his attempt to make porcelain.[64] He died during the first decade of the sixteenth century.
2. Mani Mashhadi *kaseh-gar* (potter): also a casual poet, mentioned by Sam Mirza; story of his leaving the craft which had been in the family.[65]

Seventeenth Century

3. Sayyid Ahmadi *kaseh-gar*: worked in Kirman; noted for ability to make perfect copies of Chinese models.[66]
4. Arab Aqa *kaseh-gar*: worked in Kirman; was also a dervish.[67]
5. Aqa Isma'il "Kashif" *mi'mar* (architect): from a family of architects, specializing in tile-making (*kashi-tarashi*).[68]
6. Arif Kirmani "Isma'il": worked in Kirman as book-binder, but also skilled in painting and pottery (*kaseh-gari*).[69]

59 Keyvani 1982, chap. 5.

60 Nasrabadi 1938:382.

61 Keyvani 1982:168–69.

62 Some makers of individual tile objects (grave markers, small mihrabs, etc.) signed their works but have not been the subject of systematic study here. See list of dated tiles in Appendix A.

63 Rapoport 1970; Lane 1957, pl. 85B.

64 Khvandamir, *Habib al-siyar* (translation in Thackston 1989:224); GMB 1996:133.

65 Mentioned by Keyvani 1982:198; Sam Mirza 1936:201.

66 Nasrabadi 1938:148.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., 360; in this case the term is clearly "tile-cutting" and cannot be interpreted as pottery-making.

69 Ibid., 382.

7. Amina'i Kirmani *kaseh-gar*: worked in Kirman and served as head (*kadkhoda*) of the potters' guild .[70]

Noteworthy among these references is the predominance of potters from Kirman. We must bear in mind that this list includes only those potters who wrote poetry and whose poems somehow reached the eyes (or ears) of the authors of biographies of poets. Within this material, however, we do glimpse something of the aura surrounding the successful potter. Sayyid Ahmadi seems to have achieved a certain status based on his ability to replicate Chinese porcelain. Thus, in order to understand what drove the Safavid potter, we have to look at the story of Chinese porcelain in Safavid Iran.

Chinese Porcelain in Safavid Iran

Blue-and-white porcelain first started to arrive in Iran during the early fifteenth century, although it had earlier been shipped to Egypt and Syria through ports on the Red Sea. We know that some reached Samarqand and Herat by way of overland embassies from China,[71] and from 1405 to 1431 seven maritime "tribute" missions left China for the Middle East, no doubt using porcelain vessels as ballast. The Timurids and Turkman had been avid collectors of porcelain, some creating special "museums"(*chini-khaneh*) for the display of their collections.[72] The maritime "tribute" missions trade was halted by the emperor Xuande in 1424 and did not resume until 1450. Long-range trade then flourished from the 1460s until the end of the century.[73] The port of Hormuz, an island in the Persian Gulf, became the chief entrepot for the transshipment of goods between Europe and the Far East. Merchants from the far reaches of the globe resided there—Russians, Chinese, East Africans, Arabs, Turks, and traders from all over the Indian subcontinent.[74] The chief products were spices and textiles, but Chinese porcelain also found its way into the markets of Hormuz, where it was considered "cheap" in the opinion of the Russian merchant Afanasi Nikitin.[75]

In 1501 the Safavids established themselves in Tabriz. The flow of Chinese porcelain into Iran continued without interruption. In 1515 Hormuz was seized by the Portuguese, who exacted heavy tolls on shipping headed toward many of the ports on the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. We do not know how this affected the quantities of porcelain reaching Iran during the sixteenth century, but large shipments did arrive in Spain and Portugal.[76] Certainly, there are a good number of sixteenth-century pieces in the shrine at Ardabil, the site of the tomb of the Safavid's revered ancestor, Shaykh Safi. In 1604[77] Shah Abbas donated his personal collection of 1,162 Chinese porcelains to the shrine as an endowment. Half of it dates to the sixteenth century.[78] A refurbished hall within the shrine, the Chini-khaneh, displayed around 300 to 400 vessels. These were used only for entertainments, according to Olearius, who visited the shrine at Ardabil in 1637.[79] The collection of Shah Tahmasb's daughter, Mahin Banu Sultan, donated to the shrine of the Imam Riza at Mashhad in 1561, was accumulated during the reigns of the early Safavid shahs.[80]

Whether Chinese porcelain was readily available to others outside court circles is not known. We shall see, however, that in the sixteenth century Safavid potters were not stimulated to replicate Chinese models. Instead they picked up general compositions or individual motifs. Nothing

70 Ibid.

71 Ferrier 1986:415.

72 GMB 1996:13.

73 For a summary of relations between Iran and China in the fifteenth century, see Bailey in GMB 1996:7–12.

74 Ferrier 1986:422.

75 Ibid., 423.

76 Rinaldi 1989:62–63.

77 For a discussion of the date of this gift, based on the *waqf* evidence, see McChesney 1981:173.

78 Listed in Jalal al-Din Munajjim's *Tarikh-i Abbasi* (Eng. trans. Pope 1981:8–10).

79 Olearius 1662:179.

80 Babaie et al. 2004:122.

they produced could have passed for Chinese. We may conclude, therefore, that the quantity of porcelain being imported was not sufficiently large or affordable to pose a threat to the local industry.

The Portuguese control of maritime trade with Iran came under pressure from the Venetians, English, and Dutch in the 1580s, as they competed for a share in the silk trade. With the establishment of the East Indies companies by the English (1600) and the Dutch (1602) a new chapter in the history of global trade began. Before this could blossom, Portuguese control of the seas had to be eliminated. In 1622 Shah Abbas ousted the Portuguese from Hormuz with the help of the English.[81] Hormuz was left to decline, while business moved back to the mainland at Gombroon, renamed Bandar Abbas.

These European companies set up agencies, or "factories," at all the major seaports along the route from China, through the Malay Archipelago, to the coasts of India. In terms of porcelain exports, the most active European company was the Dutch, which established its main headquarters first at Bantam and then moved it to Batavia (Jakarta) in 1621. Initially, the Dutch joined the many traders ferrying spices and textiles, but after the first blue-and-white porcelains reached Holland in 1602 (the loot from a captured Portuguese carrack), interest in transporting porcelain grew. Their first orders from China were made in 1605. At first, Chinese junks brought porcelain to Batavia, but after the establishment of a Dutch settlement on Taiwan in 1624, the Dutch dealt directly with the Chinese agents. The numbers of porcelains transported are staggering. For example, in 1636 one ship carried 136,164 vessels to Holland. Between 1604 and 1657 more than three million pieces were carried by the Dutch.[82]

Orders were also taken from the many Dutch agencies in ports around the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea for shipment inland. The entry point for Persia was Bandar Abbas (Gombroon). One record from 1623 reports: "Fine and coarse porcelain may be sold here in substantial quantities."[83] In 1629 some 4,000 pieces of porcelain were loaded into ships bound for Gombroon. Some 4,000–5,000 coffee cups were sent in 1634.[84] Also in 1634, 10 large dishes were sent for the Safavid ruler Safi I, and in 1635 nearly 100,000 coffee cups arrived in Gombroon.[85] An enormous quantity of porcelain arrived in 1638—more than 33,000 pieces.[86] Caravans travelling from India, Central Asia, and Arabia also brought goods, including "China-ware," to Iran, according to Thomas Herbert, who travelled in Iran in the years 1627–1629.[87]

Most of these imports were intended for the open market, but we know from records of the European trading companies, travellers' reports, and some Persian (and Mughal) texts, that some were intended to be used as gifts. Porcelain was so prized by Safavid officials that it was commonly offered by European agents as a sort of bribe to smooth the way for trading deals and concessions. The references are numerous. For example, in 1638 a shipment by the VOC to Iran which included gifts of porcelain for the "grand vizier," experienced much breakage.[88] Chardin reports on presents sent by the VOC to curry favour with the shah:

> The General of Batavia Order'd the Director who was at Bander Abbasi to draw up the Embassador's instructions. This was done, the Presents he made to the King, and to the Ministers, were worth about ten Thousand Crowns. They consisted of two Eliphants, of rare Birds, of Cloaths, Brocards, *China-Ware*,

81 For an overview of European trading companies, see Chaudhuri 1985, chap. 4.

82 Volker 1954:39, 41–42.

83 Dunlop 1930:23; this and following references from the VOC records (Dunlop) were kindly communicated by Willem Floor.

84 Dunlop 1930:313, 480.

85 Volker 1954: 72–73.

86 Dunlop 1930:653.

87 Herbert 1928:225.

88 Dunlop 1930:642–43.

> of Jewels, of Cabinets of Japan, and of Gold Coyn'd a little of each sort.[89]

In 1671, 519 porcelain vessels were presented to the shah by the French ambassador, along with jewels, European paintings, and spices.[90] The French had just established a trading company in 1664.

This late effort by the French notwithstanding, Chinese porcelain available for export by the European trading companies had greatly diminished with the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644. By 1659 it became difficult to fill orders, and the Dutch began to look elsewhere for substitutes. This in turn stimulated the expansion of both the Japanese and the Persian export production. By 1650 Japan became a producer of porcelain for export instead of a consumer. Between 1672 and 1682, large quantities of tea-cups were sent annually from Japan to Iran; some of these were sent on to Basra for sale.[91] We shall see shortly that Persian pottery exports began to appear in the records of the VOC. Volker calls this period (1654–1682) the "Persian Interlude."[92]

During the decades of difficulties in China, production on a smaller scale had continued. In 1674, however, the factories at Jingdezhen burned down. When they were rebuilt and re-opened in 1683, production and export resumed and once again filled the ships moving across the oceans. New designs and shapes displaced old patterns that had been sustained in Japan, Persia, and elsewhere. Chinese porcelain again flooded the markets at affordable prices and stifled local ceramic industries.

The influx of Chinese (and Japanese) porcelain into Iran in the seventeenth century thus falls into three periods following the removal of the Portuguese from the Persian Gulf (1622):

1) 1622–1652 The flow of Chinese porcelain to Iran is continuous.
2) 1654–1682 Iran becomes an exporter of pottery, while imports of porcelain from China are negligible.
3) 1683–1722 China resumes production and export of porcelain throughout the world.

We shall see that the earliest dated vessels from Kirman belong to the first period (our "Phases I and II"). A significant change takes place in Safavid ceramic production around 1650, which coincides with the second period (our "Phase III"). A final shift in pottery styles, workshops, and quality takes place during the third period (our "Phase IV"). The most significant result of our study of Safavid pottery was correlating the availability of the stimulus (i.e., Chinese porcelain) and the Safavid potters' responses. We shall now try to understand these fluctuations in the availability of Chinese porcelain and ensuing changes in Safavid pottery in terms of the markets for whom the local potters' products were intended.

The Markets for Safavid Pottery

According to an anonymous connoisseur living in Safavid Iran during the middle of the seventeenth century, there were 10 types of Chinese porcelain in circulation. The meanings of some of the terms are known, but others can only be surmised. The list is found in an album dated 1085/1674–75, belonging to Dr. Shapur Bakhtiyar and published by Iraj Afshar[93]:

> The names of *chini* vessels . . . which are of ten types:
>
> 1 *Khata'i* (Chinese): [These are] fine and colored: the background is pale (yellowish) and white, the only painted color being blue (*sabz*).
> 2 *Rashidi:* [It is] colored; efforts are middling (i.e., of poor quality).

89 Chardin 1927, I, p. 61; see also p. 94 (gift of "300 pieces of China Ware of different sizes"); for another example, see Roe 1899:459.

90 Du Mans 1890:335–37.

91 Volker 1954:163–71, 183.

92 Ibid., chap. 10.

93 Afshar 1962–63:559; I would like to thank Sussan Babaie for bringing this article to my attention and Maria Subtelny for assisting in the interpretation.

3 *Pay takhti* (base): In its step (base) is a seal; its coloration is like *khata'i.*
4 *Qashqari:* It is of lower quality; around its perimeter is white script, and it is colored.
5 *Parsi:* New *chini.*
6 *Ateshi* (fiery)*:* It is colored, and it has two types [of painting].
7 *Ghuri:* The value of the older ones is great; they are shimmering (*abdar,* lustrous), olive, and *him* (?).
8 *Ghuri:* The new ones are cheaper; the background is blue.
9 *Zamani* (contemporary?): Delicate and attractive; of middling quality.
10 *Nuah:* Similar to the *kashi* of Mashhad.

Some of these types are recognizable, while for others we can only speculate what they might correspond to among the known types of Chinese pottery. The first type (*khata'i* = Chinese) appears to be the fine quality blue-and-white porcelains exported in large quantities during the early seventeenth century. The question then arises, what differentiates the *khata'i* from the *pay takhti*? This term (*paytakht/i*) does, in fact, appear in the records of the VOC and refers to porcelains with Chinese letters or seals on the base.[94] They were highly prized. The term itself means "capital (city)" in Persian, but the term may also allude to the placement of the mark "under the seat" (Persian, *pay-i* = at the foot of, under; *takht* = seat, base, i.e., under the base, which is like a seat supported by the foot-ring). The "new *chini*" pottery may refer to blue-and-whites of the Transitional period (1620–1683).[95]

The two types sharing the name "*ghuri*" can be identified as celadons. The co-existence of "old" and new celadons is confirmed by the VOC records, where they are called "gory" dishes or "martavan." Chinese traders carried these special wares overland to Bahmo in Upper Burma and shipped them down the river to the town of Martaban, which became synonymous with celadon.[96] Dutch records note their presence at Bahmo as late as 1675. What is of particular interest is that the older, presumably sixteenth-century, pieces were still available and deemed to be of great value. John Cunaeus, an envoy of the VOC in 1652, brought six antique "gory" dishes as a gift for Shah Abbas II.[97] They were imitated by Safavid potters in the second half of the seventeenth century (ROM.52/ Cat. no. 61).

Concerning the other terms, we can only speculate. The term *qashqari* (4) refers to the region between Central Asia and China, a key point on the Silk Road but not known for pottery production. Perhaps some type of Chinese pottery was shipped from there. The white script could be Arabic, representing a sixteenth-century class of Chinese porcelain bearing Arabic inscriptions.[98] The author of the list considers these to be inferior, but the basis for this observation is not stated.

His comment on "*zamani,*" which means "of this time," indicates that he found a contemporary ware attractive but judged its quality to be below standard. This term might refer to the non-imperial products made during the period of turmoil in China. Any of the types deemed by the author to be of inferior quality could represent the "coarse" wares (as they are called in the VOC records) that the Dutch exported all over South Asia and the Middle East.

The last term (10) associates the pottery with the production of *kashi* from Mashhad. We have argued above that the term *kashi* can refer to "tiles" but here seems to signify specifically stonepaste pottery (as opposed to earthenware), for which Safavid Mashhad was famous. Perhaps this Chinese genre was made specifically for the Persian market and was inspired by Safavid models, such as some

94 Volker 1954:66–67 (record dates 1605–1612; 1610).
95 Little 1983.
96 Volker 1954:5; Pope 1981:10–11 (32 *martaban* wares are listed in the Ardabil inventory, and Pope remarks that there were actually more celadons at Ardabil than had been recorded in the Safavid inventory).
97 Volker 1954:106.
98 For example, Pope 1981, pl. 138 C–D; 121ff.

Kangxi dishes that appear to reflect Kirman polychrome wares of the same period (Fig. 2.82, CDC.10, dated 1084/1673–74, Fig. 2.80, MMA. 10).[99]

Although these identifications cannot all be confirmed, the anonymous author's comments reveal that he had an extensive knowledge of ceramic production and the market. Perhaps he was a merchant handling the sale of pottery, one who also took an antiquarian's interest in the material. His list shows a keen awareness of a great many different wares and the subtle nuances that differentiate them. This awareness includes subjective judgments as well as observation. Several times he introduces remarks about quality, and in one case states that a certain type though of mediocre quality is still attractive (*zamani*). He has knowledge about the distant past (celadons) as well as the recent past (early seventeenth-century porcelains with seal-marks). His comments raise the questions as to where such "antiques" may have been preserved and who in Safavid society was an "antiquarian."

These questions lead to another that will come up in our discussion of Chinese models. We have learned that during the early seventeenth century Safavid potters used these Chinese models indiscriminately, combining fifteenth-century designs with later borders. Many of the finest Kirman designs from Phase I are built up from motifs and scenes pre-dating the Wanli era. The collection that Shah Abbas gave to the Ardabil shrine contained many pre-Wanli objects. Should we assume that the potters or the consumers could not distinguish the old from the new? Or, like our "antiquarian" author, were they conscious of the liberties that they were taking with the Chinese repertory?

As we have seen, the scale of porcelain production in China was enormous. When we compare the number of pieces travelling in single ships from China and the quantities of Safavid wares exported from Iran, the difference becomes clear. During the first period (early seventeenth century), when Kirman was producing very high quality imitations of porcelain, the Dutch sent ships carrying more than 136,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain to Holland.[100] This amount was not unusual. At that time there would have been no need to supplement the Chinese shipment with perhaps less expensive Persian goods, although this may have been done occasionally (see below). There are no records of Persian pottery exports at this time. During the next period when the Dutch had to substitute Persian pottery for Chinese, the largest shipment of Persian pottery recorded consisted of a mere 6,638 pieces (in 1670).[101] We must conclude that the capacity of Safavid kilns was too limiting to allow competition in the porcelain trade, and while the products of the Safavid workshops might be equally attractive, they were not true porcelain (that is, they were not as in demand as Chinese and Japanese pottery). When Persian exports were competing with Japanese porcelain during the second period, the Japanese sold for five times more than the Persian (at Bengal, 1675).[102] We must, therefore, conclude that the Safavid potters worked primarily for the domestic market. Here they had to deal with the presence in the market of true Chinese porcelain. How did they respond to this competition?

The earliest Safavid wares of the seventeenth century indicate that the influx of fine porcelain drove potters in a new direction. Skilled painters reproduced the Chinese models closely enough so that they could pass as Chinese. The addition of a pseudo-imperial mark to the base of the vessel made it appear more authentic,[103] more like the *paytakht* wares noted by the antiquarian discussed above. It was as if they were working for the export market. Traders looked for these marks when they ordered porcelain from the VOC. Orders from Masulipatam given before 1612 noted:

99 For example, see Volker 1954, pls. 49–50 (both in Leiden, National Museum).

100 Volker 1954:39.

101 Ibid., 115.

102 Ibid., 188.

103 The meaning and wide variety are discussed in Chapter Seven.

"It should be borne in mind that the aforesaid porcelains are most desired when they have a blue mark drawn like a character on the bottom."[104] In a record from 1640 the imperial marks were indeed called *"paytaght"* (= *paytakht*) by the Turkish merchants at Mokha, and wares bearing "Chinese letters" on the bottom were "favoured and in demand above all others."[105] Perhaps the introduction of the potter's mark by the Safavid potters in the early seventeenth century was prompted by the European trading companies themselves. This practice was not limited to the Persian potter. The Dutch agents in Japan demanded of the new pottery workshops catering to the export trade that "six Japanese letters" appear on the foot.[106] Thus, these early Safavid wares were intended for persons with some appreciation of the characteristics of true Chinese porcelain: the court, the elite, and persons of wealth from the middle class.

The Safavid Court

There is no evidence that patronage at the highest level, the Safavid court, ever supported the production of luxury pottery. Nor is there any indication that the preceding dynasty, the Timurids, did, except for its founder, Timur (c. 1370–1405). Timur forcibly brought potters back to his capital, Samarqand, from Damascus after his conquest of that city in 1402.[107] These potters were familiar with the widely sought-after Chinese blue-and-white wares being collected in Syria and were adept at producing imitations. Proof of their involvement in the workshops established by Timur in Samarqand lies in the motifs, which closely resemble Syrian imitations of the Chinese, as well as in the use of sand rather than ground quartz for the body, a practice known from Syria.[108] The Syrian potters and local Samarqand craftsmen working with them supplied the eastern regions of the Islamic world with their first "chinoiserie" pottery. While Timur and his household probably used genuine Chinese porcelain when available, the local imitations would have filled gaps and also offered a prestigious and more affordable alternative for the upper and middle classes. Although Timur's successors may have had a hand in promoting the production of luxury ceramics, there is no evidence to suggest this other than the start-up of workshops in Tabriz under the Turkman. Before Tabriz became the Turkman capital there was negligible, if any, local production of stonepaste wares because this is an igneous region and therefore does not have high-quality sources of quartz, as attested by petrographic analysis of Timurid and Safavid wares from Tabriz. The establishment of potteries at Tabriz was either a direct initiative of the Turkman court or a local response to a perceived need.

The first Safavid shah, Shah Ismaʿil made Tabriz his capital in 1501, and it remained the Safavid capital until Shah Tahmasb established the seat of government at Qazvin in 1556–57. We shall see that the first Safavid rulers did not have an impact on the pottery industry. The major Timurid and Turkman workshops at Tabriz and Nishapur continued operating in the same manner as they had before the change in power. This lack of interest in the industry should be contrasted with the Safavid court's intense involvement with the production of luxury books.[109]

The Safavid Elite

The real support for collecting both genuine porcelains and high-quality local imitations was to be found among the Safavid elite, who served the court as provincial governors, court officials, military officers, and religious leaders.[110] Among these one group stands out as particularly active in supporting the arts during the reign of Shah Abbas. These were the *ghulam*, discussed above, who

104 Volker 1954:66–67 (record dates 1605–12; 1610).

105 Volker 1954:88.

106 Volker 1954:130.

107 GMB 1996:127.

108 Mason in GMB 1996:35.

109 Canby 2003:9–15.

110 For the contributions of this class to patronage of the Safavid arts, see Babaie et al. 2004.

were converted captives from battles in Georgia and elsewhere, or were devotees of the Shah. One such *ghulam*, an Armenian named Qarachaghay, added his own collection of Chinese porcelain to that of Shah Abbas at Ardabil.[111]

The production of superb copies of Chinese porcelain in Kirman coincides with the governorship of another member of this class, Ganj Ali Khan (1596–1622), a Kurd with close bonds to Shah Abbas. Kirman was strategically located at the conjunction of the overland route from India and the maritime route from the Gulf to the interior. Ganj Ali Khan sponsored an architectural complex in the heart of Kirman that was intended to foster commerce. Built along an extension of the bazaar, it mirrored the Maydan of Shah Abbas at Isfahan, with its own maydan, caravanserai, *hammam* (bath), mint, cistern, and other facilities, much of which survives today.[112] Through his connections with the court at Isfahan Ganj Ali Khan was able to attract distinguished artists such as the calligrapher Ali Riza Abbasi to work on his ambitious building projects.

We know from texts that Ganj Ali Khan also undertook massive urban development of the area south of the old Saljuq mosque (Masjid-i Malik).[113] According to the *Tazkirah-yi Safaviyah* of Mashizi, the redeveloped area became so beautiful that it was called "Husnabad" (Beautiful Abode);[114] Mashizi tells us that its prestige was such that people moved from what must have formerly been the desirable quarter, south of the Muzaffarid Friday Mosque, to the newly redeveloped quarter. All Ganj Ali Khan's architectural works are reveted with costly mosaic faience tiles of the highest quality and mural paintings that reflect the Safavid imperial style.

Perhaps it was Shah Abbas's pilgrimage to the shrine of the Eighth Imam at Mashhad in 1601 that was the catalyst for the revival of craft industries in this city, including the potteries.[115] Shah Abbas undertook extensive development of the shrine in 1612 with a view to transforming it into an alternative to Mecca. Massumeh Farhad has suggested that the arrival of the *ghulam* Qarachaghay Khan as governor of Khurasan in 1617 might have stimulated the revival of the Mashhad potteries.[116] Qarachaghay Khan expressed his esteem for Chinese porcelain by adding almost a hundred vessels to Shah Abbas's gift to the shrine at Ardabil. Whether he was a "collector" or had simply amassed this collection instantly (through purchase or confiscation) is not known, but his sons, as Farhad points out, showed great interest in literature and the arts. The date of the first documented Mashhad vessel, 1025/1616–17 (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08), corresponds to Qarachaghay's year of arrival in Mashhad (1616–17). One of the two potters signing this spouted water pot was an architect, and some scholars have remarked that his name, Mahmud al-Yazdi, is the same as the builder of Shah Abbas's new dome at the shrine.[117]

Merchants and Artisans

Connoisseurship was not limited to the inner circles of the shah. Wealthy, educated classes cultivated an interest in Chinese porcelain and must

111 Babaie et al. 2004:123–25.

112 Ibid., 94ff.

113 During a field trip to Kirman in 2001, sherds were collected from a pit that had been excavated for new construction. Almost all the sherds found belonged to the period of Shah Abbas and were of the black-outline type (see Chapter Two).

114 "The people living south of the Friday Mosque (*masjid-i jamiʿ-i muzaffari*) desired to build houses and establish places near the Mazar of Malik Turanshah Saljuqi [which was near the Masjid-i Malik], who is known as 'Malik Adil.' Since the construction of the quarter became so lovely, it was known as Husnabad. Today it is extremely flourishing" (Mashizi 1990–91:276); this quarter was still known as "Shah Adil" in the early twentieth century (Sykes 1902, map facing p. 188). Mashizi mentions several other quarters that were redeveloped during the seventeenth century (on the urban history of Kirman, see Golombek 2008:460–61).

115 Melville 1996.

116 Farhad in Babaie et al. 2004:127.

117 Lane 1957:99; Mayer 1956:86.

have delighted in the beautiful and skilful imitations that were being made in major centres, particularly Kirman. The story about a skilled potter from Kirman confirms this point. A Kirman potter by the name of Sayyidi Ahmad (or Sayyid Ahmadi) is mentioned in both the *Tazkirah-yi Safaviyah-yi Kirman* of Mashizi and the *Tazkirah* of Nasrabadi, written at the end of the seventeenth century.[118] According to Nasrabadi:

> Sayyid Ahmadi, known as "Aqa," was a Turk. In Kirman he was occupied with the making of pottery (*kaseh-gari*). In this profession he reached such a high level that the tongue of Chinese porcelain developed a hair-line crack in praising his pottery. It was such that Hajj Salim, the Porcelain Merchant, brought a small dish of his work as a friendly gesture to Mirza Muhammad Sa'id, the *hakim*. Every time that friends were at his house and porcelain was discussed, he would bring out that small dish together with some porcelain dishes. Every one of the friends who were knowledgeable (in porcelain) took it for Chinese. Now the work of the Aqa is famous in Kirman and Yazd.[119]

Mashizi adds:

> Sayyidi Ahmad Aqa was a famous potter (*kaseh-gar*). In the art of making stonepaste pottery (*kashi*),[120] he obliterated [lit., drew a line of *naskh* script through] the paintings of the Chinese masters. He made the Emperor of China (*faghfur*) [which also means "porcelain"] the picker of clusters from the harvest of his own craft. During the last days of the Year of the Sheep, his cup was full, and he also joined his companions.[121]

Raphael Du Mans (1660) visited the homes of the middle class as well as those of the elite. He reported that in the houses of the bourgeois and artisans there were plaster compartments in the walls (niches) that contained the most beautiful vases, *zerfe* (vessels), *Tchine* (Chinese porcelain), pottery (*kirmeni*) from Kirman, glass, and bottles, etc.[122] Du Mans stated elsewhere that the pottery of Iran surpassed that of his own country, France, and that it was difficult to distinguish the pottery of Kirman from true porcelain (*tchini*).[123]

Among the persons of wealth who might have appreciated fine pottery but who were outside the ruling elite were the merchants involved with both domestic and foreign trade. Hajj Salim, the Porcelain Merchant, was one of these. Nasrabadi's biographies of poets include numerous craftsmen and merchants, as well as *ulama* (the clerical class), who dabbled in poetry as an avocation and may well have had the sophistication to desire and purchase some of the finer products of the Safavid pottery workshops. Their tastes may also have influenced the styles of local pottery.

Contact with the arts of lands to which they travelled as merchants no doubt affected their aesthetic senses. Many of these merchants travelled to India and brought back quantities of goods, such as textiles. For example, Mirza Muqim Jawhari, the son of a goldsmith, became a merchant after his father's death and went to India. He gained entry into the elite circles, using his skills and charm, and assembled a large shipment of goods to bring back to Isfahan; he repeated this several years later.[124] India was overpowering, and some Iranians could not resist the temptation to remain, or to return there after transacting their

118 I am grateful to Abdullah Ghouchani for drawing my attention to these texts and to Maria Subtelny for assisting me in the translation.

119 Nasrabadi 1938:148.

120 The term *kashi* could be translated as "tiles," but this does not seem likely (see above, discussion of the potters' guild, p. 22, n. 58).

121 Mashizi 1990–91:275.

122 Du Mans 1890:98.

123 Du Mans 1890:196–97.

124 Nasrabadi 1938:136; see also p. 237 for the example of Aqa Shapur.

business. Surely, the ornament on the monuments of Delhi and Agra could not have failed to impress them, and the fine textiles and manuscripts that could be carried home bore similar designs. These were, perhaps, the source of one of the most delightful new wares created by the Kirman workshops in Phase III, the polychrome slip-painted vessels. With their colourful slips, "inlaid" or painted on the gleaming white ground, these wares evoked memories of the *pietra dura* panels of the palaces and Taj Mahal at Agra as well as the naturalistic "botanical" plants so common on Mughal textiles (Fig. 2.76, ROM.37/Cat. no. 28).[125] Another group that may have significantly contributed to a demand for these Safavid wares were the large numbers of Indian merchants, who formed a "diaspora" in various centres of Iran.[126] Both of these groups, the Persian merchants familiar with India, and the Indian merchants themselves, may have constituted a market to which Kirman potters were responding.

Important for their internal as well as their external network were the Armenian merchants. With the accession of Shah Abbas, the Armenians came to play a central role in the silk trade.[127] In 1601 Shah Abbas removed almost the entire Armenian community of Julfa, in Azerbaijan, to his new metropolis of Isfahan. Some 10 years later the area south of the river in Isfahan became New Julfa, the Armenian quarter.[128] Chardin reports that on his visit to the house of the well-to-do Sarhat merchants (entertaining the English agent in hopes of doing business) he observed many small niches in the walls that held silver and porcelain vases, filled with flowers. He goes on to describe the various courses of the meal served in vessels of silver and porcelain.[129] We do not know if the "porcelain" vases were Chinese imports or Safavid imitations, but the Armenian interest in collecting luxury objects is evident. Safavid vessels commissioned by Armenians have survived. Armenian monograms are found on blue-and-white wares from the last decades of the seventeenth century, testifying to the existence of a specifically Armenian market. One such vessel, decorated with "cones," bears the monogram of the head of an Armenian trading company, Paron Safraz (d. 1728).[130] A vessel in another style, referred to by Crowe as the "aster style" because it was inspired by the floral motifs on imported Kangxi wares, bears the date 1706 and the name of the head of the Armenian Church, the Catholicos of Ejmiacin, the religious centre of Armenia.[131]

Down-Market

Not all the stonepaste pottery was intended for connoisseurs. Large quantities of vessels with poorly executed designs mimic the finer wares and should be designated as "knock-offs." One major class is comprised of the incised-line blue-and-white wares made at Qumisheh (Isfahan) that go by the erroneous name of "Kubachi" ware.[132] We have attributed them to around 1650, during the time when much of Safavid pottery became commoditized, as discussed earlier.[133] They were inspired by Kraak porcelain designs but executed with minimal effort and skill. Perhaps the best way to understand this production is to think of it as a replacement for the class of Chinese export ware known as "coarse" in the VOC records. During the early seventeenth century the Dutch sent both coarse and fine porcelain to Iran.[134] "Coarse" *gory* (celadon) wares were popular in the Ottoman world. Volker speculates that in this case the orders were for pottery from Fujian on the coast near Taiwan.[135] Elsewhere he suggests that the term

125 Similar textiles were produced in Iran (Canby 2009, fig. 72, silk panel, mid-seventeenth century).

126 Dale 1994; Multan was one of the major sources of the Indian diaspora at Isfahan (Dale 1994:56).

127 McCabe 1999:33.

128 Ibid., 83.

129 Chardin 1811, 8:178–85.

130 Crowe 2002:202.

131 Ibid., 226.

132 The problems posed by the "Kubachi" wares are discussed in Chapter Four.

133 See above, p. 22.

134 Volker 1954:70, 76 (record dates: 1629, 1637).

135 Ibid., 103 (record date: 1646).

refers to inferior pottery from Jingdezhen, perhaps poorly painted or made from a lesser quality clay. Whatever the case, when production and export of porcelain diminished in the second period (1654–1682), not only the fine wares but also the "coarse" wares were unavailable in Iran.

Who constituted the consumers of these "down-market" goods? We can only speculate, but at least one possible market can be suggested by the following record of the VOC at Deshima (Japan): "3500 various porcelains and, moreover, 7000 pieces of coarse porcelain for the table of the saloons of the Company ships."[136] Certainly, the coffee-houses of Isfahan would likewise have required tablewares. Possibly, the lower echelons of the royal household or minor court households needed attractive but not expensive pottery. Perhaps the Isfahan wares with their requisite "hang-holes" belonged to the Armenian community, familiar with the European custom of drilling holes in pottery for display.[137]

Foreign Markets

At one time or another Safavid pottery travelled to four areas outside Iran: Europe, South Asia, Arabia, and the Far East. Evidence consists of archaeological finds, travellers' reports, inventories, and documents of trading companies.

Europe

The English East Indies Company recorded importing pottery from Kirman in 1673 and 1684.[138] The Chinese did export a shape known as the "Persian bottle," but this was merely a form that had come to China much earlier and was being made in porcelain for export. Such references in European inventories should not be taken as evidence of Persian imports. It may be, however, that genuine Safavid pottery in European inventories has been mislabelled as "Chinese" and has yet to be discovered.

There are several reports about Safavid pottery from European travellers visiting Iran, all dating from the middle of the seventeenth century. The most famous comment is by Chardin, the French jeweller, discussing one of the caravanserais of Isfahan:

> On y vend de la porcelaine de Kirman et de Metched (Mashhad), deux grandes villes de la Perse, où l'on fait de la porcelaine si fine, qu'elle peut passer pour être du Japon et de la Chine; car la matière en est d'émail dedans comme dehors: aussi, les Hollandais, à ce qu'on assure, la mêlent et la font passer avec de la porcelaine de la Chine, qu'ils débitent en Europe.[139]

Chardin says that Safavid copies of the Chinese vessels were so skilfully executed that the Dutch mixed them with the Chinese and passed them off as porcelain in European markets. His comments pose a difficult question. The only Safavid wares that would have passed this test were actually produced much earlier than Chardin's visit. They replicate Kraak porcelain and belong to the production of the Kirman "boutique" atelier, dating to 1620–1640 (discussed in Chapter Two). Close copies of the "Transition Wares" made in Kirman would also qualify, but this production ended before Chardin arrived in Iran. On the other hand, Chardin's remarks make sense considering that at the time of his visit (c. 1670) the European trading

136 Ibid., 155.

137 Volker (1954:61) notes that it was customary in Holland to drill a hole in the foot-ring or rim of dishes for hanging.

138 Kindly communicated by Willem Floor, pers. comm.; some Kirman pottery from Phase III has been excavated at the site of Lloyd's Registry of Shipping, 68–71 Fenchurch Street, in London (J. Pearce and J. Martin, 2002–2003, p. 104), and Persian pottery (a cobalt-blue monochrome dish with slip-carving) was included in the inventory of 1690 at Burghley House, in Stamford, Lincolnshire (I am grateful to Patricia Ferguson for drawing my attention to the inventory, see P. F. Ferguson 2008–2009, p. 123).

139 Chardin 1811, 4:403; for other similar citations, see Lane (1957, appendix).

companies were indeed substituting Persian pottery for Chinese because of the shortfall in production in China after the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644. During the early decades of the new Qing dynasty, porcelain production for export was minimal, and the European trading companies had to supplement the trickle from China with acceptable imitations or substitutes from elsewhere. By mixing Persian (and Japanese[140]) copies of the Chinese with the short supply of Chinese, the Dutch traders could satisfy the non-discerning buyers in Holland. Persian exports of this period would not, however, have deceived European buyers and were probably intended to fill orders in India. We shall discuss the export of Safavid wares to India shortly. It is, of course, possible, that both interpretations are correct. Persian pottery was being mixed in with Chinese and Japanese wares but, regarding the faithfulness of the Safavid copies of Chinese porcelain, Chardin may have been repeating a story that went back several decades.[141]

European traders did not have to travel very far in Iran to purchase Safavid pottery. They could buy the wares of Kirman, Mashhad, and Abarquh right in the caravanserais of Isfahan. The most prominent of these, that of Mahmud Beg, lay behind the houses of the English East India Company.[142] A variety of shapes is mentioned in the description of this caravanserai and will be discussed below. Notable is the inclusion of "celadons" (*martaban*). The earthenware products from Abarquh were sold in their own depot, where the chief item was the famous *kuzeh* (water bottle) of the Abarquh workshop.[143]

South Asia

The evidence for Persian pottery exports to the Indian subcontinent is both textual and archaeological. Pottery seems to have been among the goods exported to India around the middle of the seventeenth century.[144] Chardin lists "Persian Ware" along with tobacco, dried and pickled fruit such as dates, marmalade, wine, horses, feathers, and leather, which were also exported to Russia and Europe.[145] Records of the VOC mention large quantities of Persian pottery ordered annually from 1654 to 1682.[146] In several cases the destination is indicated. All the ports lie in South Asia (Ceylon, Cochin, Malabar). Orders for Persian pottery in 1680 and 1681 were headed for Batavia.[147] The archaeological evidence consists of sherd collections from surveys along the maritime routes, particularly the surveys of Sir Aurel Stein and others on both sides of the Persian Gulf. These sherds are datable mostly to Phase III (c. 1650–1680).[148] No sherds from the first half of the seventeenth century have been found at these sites, thus confirming that the Safavid potters did not produce for export along maritime routes until the wars in China.

Arabia

The VOC had an office in Mokha as did many other traders, catering to the needs and tastes of the

140 Crowe (2002:167) mentions orders for some 16,000 pieces of porcelain from Deshima in 1670.

141 In much the same words the story is told by Du Mans (1890:196).

142 Gaube and Wirth 1978:266. This information comes from a scroll listing the caravanserais of Isfahan in the British Library, referred to above; see facsimile and translation in Gaube and Wirth (1978:23), who date the scroll to c. 1670, although the present scroll may be a later copy; this is the same caravanserai mentioned by Chardin in the passage cited above, but in another passage he gives more detail, again saying that in the caravanserai were the vendors of the "porcelain of Kirman and Mashhad" (Chardin 1811, 7:403); he calls it the Caravanserai of the King, but according to the Persian scroll cited above, this building housed the luxury goods from Tabriz and Ardabil, such as silk and gold (Gaube and Wirth 1978:262).

143 Ibid., 284.

144 Chardin (1811, 4:128–30) notes that no pottery is made in India but is supplied by Persia, Japan, and China.

145 Ibid., 1927, 2:282.

146 Volker 1954:107, 113, 114–16 (the Kirman wares are specifically noted).

147 Crowe 2002:170.

148 For a discussion of these surveys, see the Introduction, pp. 5–6 and Chapter Five (petrographic analysis) by R. Mason.

Ottoman world. The company records do not mention Persian pottery specifically, but the archaeological record suggests that Safavid pottery did figure in trade with Arabian ports. Safavid sherds have been collected from the Yemen (Mokha, Wadi Sanha), Bahrain, and Bandar-e Lengeh.[149] All were imported from Kirman, as testified by their petrofabric. They do not appear to be among the finer wares produced there, and stylistically they can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. Perhaps they represent the tablewares of the Persian merchants.

The Far East

We have no records of shipments of Safavid pottery to the Far East, but "Persian porcelain" was included with Chinese porcelain among the goods forbidden to be imported into Japan by the sumptuary laws of 1668.[150] These laws would not have included Persian pottery had there not already been a significant volume of such arriving in Japan, so we must postulate that Iran began shipping its domestic production to Japan some time before 1668. Indeed, Safavid sherds datable to c. 1670 were excavated at Nagasaki at the site of the Japanese porcelain manufactory.[151] Perhaps these were brought in as models, or they may represent the tablewares of Persian merchants working in Japan. These proved to have a Kirman petrofabric.

The conclusion that must be drawn from information about the export trade of Safavid pottery is that it was never the driving force behind production. Persian potters could not compete with the trade in Chinese porcelain, nor could Iran cover the shortfall in Chinese exports. Production in Iran was on a small scale compared with the Chinese. In China the large "dragon" kilns, snaking down the hillside, could fire hundreds of pots, while the Persian kilns were vertical cylinders with the fire-chamber directly below. Iran also lacked the type of clay necessary to make porcelain (kaolin). Even though the potters did their best to create pots with very thin walls and a brilliant white ground, the vessels were not translucent like porcelain. What motivated the Safavid potter was the desire not to compete internationally, but to maintain market share at home. Only when there was a shortfall of Chinese porcelain was the Persian pottery substituted in international markets. Such a shortfall occurred at two moments in the seventeenth century. Early on, when the demand from Europe was greater than could be satisfied, we see Safavid potters producing precise copies of "Kraak" porcelain. This may have been the moment when the Dutch began to "water down" the shipments of Chinese porcelain by adding good Persian imitations. The second shortfall is well documented. It occurred during the period of turmoil in China that Volker has called the "Persian Interlude (1654–1682)." [152]

The Safavid Potter and the First "Global Age"

Beginning with the Portuguese domination of intercontinental trade in the early sixteenth century, the Persian potter was caught in a maelstrom. He was no longer competing only with potters from other centres at home, but he had somehow to cope with the entry into the supply chain of countless numbers of imported wares, of a quality that he could not dream of duplicating. The appearance of these imports was made possible not through the enterprise of the supplier, China, but through the agency of third parties, the European trading companies. First the Portuguese, then the English and Dutch, and finally the French ferried shipments of goods from the Far East to ports in the Middle East and South Asia. From there goods were assembled to sell in Iran or to ship farther west. Most of the trade with Iran was not a direct exchange; that is, the Europeans were not bringing their own goods to Iran in exchange for Iran's silk. Instead, they brought textiles and

149 See Chapter Five (petrographic analysis) by R. Mason.

150 Volker 1954:156.

151 Sherds were kindly sent to us for sampling by Tomoko Masuya of the University of Tokyo.

152 Volker 1954, chap. 10.

spices from India and South Asia, as well as goods from China and Japan, to Iran for sale. This is the sense of Sir Thomas Roe's comment (1618):

> But the meanes to furnish this trade will not arise from England, neyther by our Cloth nor any other comoditie. It is folly to deceive you with hopes that will fayle. Of these some may yearly be vented by Contract with the Shaw, and some Tynne will sell well, quicksilver and vermilion; but not to Compasse a tenth Part of that by you aymed at. By spices you may well assist your selves; they give as goode profitt as in England within 30 per Cent, as I am enformed. China ware is in good request, and from India great profitt to bee made by Sugars, Cloth, Steele and other Comodities.[153]

From this moment in history Europeans came to dominate intercontinental maritime trade, previously in the hands of Arab, Persian, and Indian seafarers. The trading network stretched not only to Europe, but also, through the European conquests of the Americas, to the New World, the source of the much sought-after silver. From the far reaches of this new global trading network goods entered Iran. From the Far East (China and Japan) came porcelain, but also lacquer and textiles. From India the most desired goods were the textiles and spices, and from South Asia, the spices. Europe supplied luxury fabrics and English broadcloth, but the most treasured of goods presented to the shahs were the fine weapons—pistols, arquebuses, swords, and knives. Optical instruments and clocks also were welcome gifts. Of these "imports," one of the most threatening to local industry was the porcelain from China. We shall see how Chinese porcelain adversely affected the Safavid potter in the seventeenth century. But globalized trade was not all bad news. From the New World came tobacco, which was immediately taken up by Persian society. The widespread demand for ceramic water-pipes (*qalyan*) must have given business a boost. Likewise, the arrival of coffee (from the Yemen) and Shah Abbas's patronage of the coffee-house as a social institution extended the repertory of shapes further (although coffee cups were commonly found on lists of imported porcelain). We shall now turn to the objects themselves, discussing the range of shapes and their functions.

153 Roe 1899, 2:475; I am grateful to Colin Mitchell for drawing my attention to this passage.

The Object: Shapes and Functions of Safavid Pottery

Lisa Golombek and Eileen Reilly

Introduction

Discussions of vessel shapes generally follow categories relating to the purported function of the vessel, which might be storage, food preparation, serving, or other (such as smoking, as we shall see below). Changes in vessel shapes owe something to the evolution of style and fashion, but are also responses to changes in functions, that is, in what is required of the vessels. The introduction of new foods, new cooking methods, and new serving customs may precipitate the invention of new vessel shapes or modifications of old ones. During the two centuries of Safavid rule both sources of impetus for change affected pottery shapes. Function and fashion are the major variables, to which must be added the idiosyncratic techniques of individual workshops and potters. This section will deal primarily with the major factors. As most Safavid pottery follows Chinese shapes, the identification and significance of the idiosyncratic aspects of shaping the vessel are difficult to pinpoint. However, the scale drawings in Chapter Eight occasionally do suggest linkages between particular workshops and shaping habits. These will be noted in that discussion.

This study has intentionally focused on glazed pottery, thereby omitting pottery with certain functions, such as cooking and water storage. Most

of the pottery in the database was intended for show and must be considered "luxury" ware, probably made more for special occasions than for everyday use. The quality of the painting ranges widely from extremely fine to slapdash, suggesting that luxury-style pottery was desired by everyone and selected according to the capacity of one's wallet. Painted pottery, regardless of the quality of the workmanship, would still have been beyond the reach of the lower classes, who depended on earthenware produced in their localities.

We do not have much information about the use of vessels by the middle class for whom much of our material was intended. European sources do describe feasts held by the court and aristocracy although these are likely to have been served on genuine Chinese porcelain. Considering the tendency of the middle class to emulate those above, however, these descriptions may shed light on practices of the middle class as well. Chardin described such a feast, noting that the meal began with numerous appetizers, consisting of stews, served on "fifteen or twenty little plates."[154] It is precisely at this moment in the seventeenth century (c. 1660) that Kirman produced a plethora of small dishes of angular shape.[155] Chardin notes that "large porcelain or gold bowls" containing sherbet were served with the "little plates." Toward the end of the meal, a large variety of rice and meat dishes appeared on large platters (presumably ceramic).

Safavid painting and painted tile panels are other potential sources of information about the use of pottery. We emphasize "potential" because most of the representations of pottery are highly stylized. Large pouring vessels of the type popular with Riza Abbasi are not matched in surviving material.[156] Representations of bottle shapes are insufficiently precise to use as a template. One group of paintings deserves special mention. These show a large number of dervishes, recognizable by their distinctive garments, preparing a liquid concoction (perhaps opium or hashish) in deep bowls painted with chinoiserie motifs (Fig. 1.2). There are also tall storage vessels. Babayan suggests that these dervishes are partaking of both wine and *bang* (a liquid form of hashish).[157] A single painting seems to have served as the model for the group, some of which then spawned a large number of copies and copies of copies. Focusing on the pottery, we note a range of decorative treatments, including fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Chinese scroll designs, and thematic scenes of birds on branches and deer among foliage. Evidently, painters felt at liberty to reflect current fashions or to use their own imaginations. What all the paintings have in common, however, is the question they pose. How could dervishes afford such luxuries, and, given their rejection of material goods, how could the juxtaposition here be justified? There seems to be a contradiction. The large quantity of prized porcelains or even Safavid imitations of Chinese porcelain depicted seems at odds with the alleged character of the company. Canby proposes that the precious vessels are the property of the Ardabil shrine, to which Shah Abbas gave his porcelain collection.[158] As these objects were taken out for use on special occasions, one could speculate that even dervishes were entitled to enjoy these riches. Indeed, enormous quantities of Chinese and Safavid sherds have been excavated at Ardabil, but few have been published.[159] If we view the model for this series of paintings as originating in the late sixteenth century with a painter such as Muhammadi, it would fit with the story of the Nuqtavi dervishes. Their ideology was very popular among artisan classes but much despised by orthodox Shi'ism. Among other heresies to which they subscribed was millenarianism. They predicted that the fall of the Safavid dynasty would take place in Muharrem

154 This feast is described by Sussan Babaie (2008:232), who emphasizes the ritual aspect of the Shah's feast.

155 Crowe 2002:128–38.

156 Golombek 2002; tile panel no. 139-1891, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

157 Babayan 2002, fig. 9 (caption).

158 Canby 2009:166–67.

159 Mousavi 2002.

1002 (1593) and that the shah would be replaced by the leader of the Sufi order.[160] This painting might represent a satirical commentary on the sect, perhaps the celebration of this apocalyptic event (which, of course, did not come to pass).

As for the pottery, the problem remains whether actual Chinese pieces, Safavid imitations, or imaginary confections are depicted. Other pictorial sources will be mentioned as relevant to specific shapes discussed below.

Most of the shapes occurring in Safavid pottery follow Chinese models. Because the relationship between the Safavid craftsman and his model underwent significant changes toward the end of the sixteenth century, we shall deal with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries separately. The discussion will be organized first by general vessel shape (open or closed) and then by distinctive shapes within these categories.

The Sixteenth Century

With few exceptions only dishes and bowls have survived from the sixteenth century. Very few closed-shape vessels have come to our attention (V&A.468, dated 930/1523–24; Fig. 2.30, IRB.09, Pl. 8.2b, dated 970/1562–63). Certainly bottles were produced, but until someone sifts through the sherds from excavations (such as those at Ardabil or Borujird) the bottle shapes will remain unknown.

The differences in profile that developed in the various workshops over time cannot really be distinguished without producing a considerable number of scale drawings, which was not possible for this study. Even with a larger corpus of such drawings than we were able to produce, however, the differences between Safavid workshops may not be significant, as most shapes were based on early Ming models. Workshops did not develop their own distinctive shapes, but designs found on the backs of dishes *are* diagnostic, as we shall see in the next chapter. We have used the notation system developed for these distinctive designs to demonstrate that shapes did not seem to vary much among workshops (Pl. 8.1).

Some general observations can be made. The shapes of dishes have been correlated with motifs of exteriors (discussed in Chapter Six). Most stylistic groups include dishes with a wide foot-ring, having a diameter approximately two-thirds that of the dish. The exceptions are the back B group (comma-series) of Tabriz, with a foot-ring a third the diameter of the dish, and some minor groups (back H), with insufficient numbers of examples to generalize. The diameter of the dish does seem to have diminished during the first half of the century, with dishes of the earliest wide-foot-ring groups (backs A, C) averaging a diameter around 41–42 cm, but with several examples (including back E) of smaller dimensions (36.5, 37–39 cm). The Tabriz and Nishapur workshops both adhered to these standards. Dish diameter of the contemporary Tabriz back B group with small foot-ring is highly consistent at 34.5–35.5 cm.

During the later phase of the Nishapur workshop (back A) smaller pieces appear (30–31 cm), and the Tabriz workshop also reduced the average diameter slightly to around 33 cm, ranging up to 34 cm (backs F, G). The one example in our database certainly produced by the Qazvin workshop (back H) has a diameter of 32.3 cm and a small foot-ring. The final phase of the Tabriz workshop (backs I–L) continued with the 33-cm diameter, but within the back J group, examples could range from 27.4 cm to as large as 38.5 cm in diameter.

With the exception of several rimless dishes, especially from the second phase of the Nishapur workshop (back A) but also from Tabriz (HRM.126, back G), dishes had an everted rim. The curve from foot-ring to rim might be continuous or curve outward slightly to join the rim. Several deep bowls (diameter 30 cm, depth 11 cm) from the Tabriz workshop of the second phase (Pl. 8.2a) have survived. The deep bowls have a slightly everted rim,

160 Babayan (2002) writes extensively on the Nuqtavis.

and the walls decline steeply before curving in to meet the wide base (HRM.107).

As mentioned above, only a few examples of closed shapes from the sixteenth century have come to our attention. The earliest one is a blue-and-white canteen-shaped flask on a splayed foot (V&A.468), bearing a Persian poem and the date 930/1523–24. The poem suggests that the flask was used for wine.[161] The flask is stylistically attributable to the Nishapur workshop. Another closed shape (Fig. 2.30, IRB.09), a large blue-and-white baluster vase (height 29 cm, diameter 20 cm), is also dated by an inscription (970/1562–63). It incorporates many Chinese motifs that do not appear on other Persian vessels of the sixteenth century.[162]

The Seventeenth Century

The range of shapes surviving from the seventeenth century is extensive and includes many examples of closed shapes (bottles, ewers, jars) as well as open (dishes and bowls). Potters followed the Chinese models closely, and shapes are often more a reflection of the current fashion in Chinese imports than of local workshop habits (with the possible exception of the Isfahan workshop). A convenient discussion of the Chinese shapes contemporary with the later Safavid period can be found in Rinaldi's publication on Kraak porcelain (see below, Pl. 8.3).[163] In addition to replicating the Chinese shapes, Safavid potters adapted them to new needs, such as smoking and coffee-drinking. We will discuss shapes by function category, beginning with open shapes.

The reader is referred to two sets of drawings. The first consists of charts showing variations on major categories within a particular form (Pls. 1.1–6). Limited access to collections and time limits have not allowed all the variations shown in these charts to be drawn to scale. Most of the objects were drawn from photographs, using published information about dimensions. These charts are included in this chapter. The second group of shapes consists primarily of measured drawings and can be found in Chapter Eight.[164]

Open Shapes

Dishes (Pls. 1.1, 8.4–8.10)

The most common shape for Safavid dishes throughout the seventeenth century is based on Rinaldi's form "c" (Pl. 8.3): "a flat rim linked with the cavetto by a soft curve" ranging in diameter from 20 to 50 cm.[165] The form varies within Safavid production in terms of the width of the flange (everted rim), the curvature of the cavetto walls (rounded or gradually curving), and the ratio of height to diameter. When the everted rim also has a rounded profile, there is an indentation where it rises from the cavetto. The foot-ring tends to be wide compared with the diameter, normally just under half the width of the dish.

Rare in the first half of the seventeenth century but common in the second half, especially for smaller dishes, are Rinaldi's forms "b" and "c" (Pl. 8.3). The first has a straight rim (no flange), and the second has a minimal flange (very rare). It is not clear why Safavid potters chose the dish with everted rim over the rimless dish, as both models were available in the early seventeenth century.

Diameters range from 20 to 50 cm, the same as the Chinese models. Large dishes predominate in the early period, but some very large dishes also survive from the late seventeenth century. Smaller dishes occur in large numbers from the second half of the century, particularly in the lustre-painted category. A specialty of the Kirman workshop around mid-century was the production of small rectilinear dishes (averaging 19 cm in width):

161 For the full transcription and translation, see Crowe 2002:50.

162 Compare with Krahl 1986, nos. 793, 827.

163 Rinaldi 1989; references to drawings will appear in the relevant context below.

164 Additional measured drawings by John Carswell can be found in Crowe (2002).

165 Ibid., 72, pl. 44.

elongated octagons, regular octagons, and squares.[166] We have suggested that these reflect an innovation in dining customs, the serving of numerous appetizers at the beginning of the meal, as described by Chardin.

Consistency within a workshop is particularly evident only in the Isfahan group, which shares other technical idiosyncrasies (Pl. 8.8). Most Isfahan dishes measure 34 to 35 cm in diameter. A few somewhat smaller dishes are known (20 to 27 cm in diameter), but the few larger ones (40 cm) are exceptional in other ways and possibly not to be considered within this class. The foot-ring of most dishes from the Isfahan workshop was formed by cutting away a wedge-shaped section, which left a thin wall standing for the ring. A tool was also used to remove a circle of material from the centre of the base, forming a depression. In most cases the base is unglazed. Several of the Isfahan dishes datable to the late seventeenth century lack the everted rim (ROM.57/ Cat. no. 42, ROM.01/ Cat. no. 45, ROM.16/ Cat. no. 43).

Bowls (Pls. 1.2, 8.11–8.15)

The most common bowl shape is the spheri-conical deep bowl with short foot-ring. The lower half is curved and then opens outward toward the flaring rim (Pl. 8.3d). This shape reflects the Chinese model drawn by Rinaldi as Shape II.[167] Other variations in the walls of the bowl are a gentle or "straight" curve, an angular curve from the base to the rise of the wall, and a rounding of the curved wall (Pl. 1.2). The Safavid bowls range in diameter from about 10 to 45 cm (with several somewhat larger), but the median is around 21 cm, thus putting it within the same size category as the Chinese model (diameter 10–22 cm). Rinaldi dates this shape to c. 1585–1645. Within this shape the rims vary. A few are everted. Many are bracketed. The bowl takes on a polygonal form in the second half of the century, particularly for Kirman polychrome wares. The median depth of the bowls is 40 per cent of the diameter, but there are some shallow bowls (30 per cent of the diameter), as well as some exceeding the median depth. These are few but can have a depth equal to the diameter (V&A.118, V&A.132; V&A.452), particularly Kirman bowls from the mid-seventeenth century. The shallow bowls cluster within later wares, such as lustre-painted, slip-painted monochromes, and incised white wares.

Cups

Small cups begin to appear in large quantities only in the second half of the century. They are typically 4–4.5 cm high and average 6.8 cm in diameter. As Crowe notes, the popularity of coffee-drinking at this time stimulated local production of suitable vessels.[168] Coffee originated in lands bordering the Red Sea and first spread throughout the Ottoman Empire from Yemen.[169] By 1638 coffee was sold in Venice. First used for medicinal purposes and then as a mystical stimulant by Sufis, coffee became a widely traded commodity in the late sixteenth century. Coffee-houses began to appear in lands bordering the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and in Iran, specifically, by 1597.[170] Around 1600 the Maydan of Shah Abbas at Isfahan boasted several popular coffee-houses. In the middle of the seventeenth century the keenly observant Chardin described these institutions and the role they played within Safavid society: "These houses, which are big spacious and elevated halls, of various shapes, are generally the most beautiful places in the cities, since these are the locales where the people meet and seek entertainment."[171] Demand for coffee in Iran continued to increase, but beginning around 1680 the new lucrative markets for coffee in Europe, as well as insecurity of the shipping lanes to Iran, diverted trade, and sup-

166 Crowe 2002:128–38; drawing, p. 105, no. 179.

167 Rinaldi 1989, pl. 155, p. 138.

168 Crowe 2002:263.

169 This summary of the history of coffee consumption is based on Matthee (2005, chap. 6).

170 Matthee 2005:148 (citing Fazli Khuzani Isfahani's history of Shah Abbas, the *Afzal al-Tavarikh*).

171 Chardin, cited and translated by Matthee 2005:162.

plies of coffee in Iran dwindled. Nevertheless, coffee and coffee-houses remained in great demand until supplanted by the fashion for drinking tea in the post-Safavid era.

Production of small cups for coffee-drinking by Safavid potters appears to have been a late phenomenon. Almost all the cups recorded in our database are lustre-wares, which date from the fourth quarter of the century. The paucity of Safavid cups painted in blue-and-white may be explained by the availability of Chinese imports that satisfied this demand. In 1636 records of the VOC comment that Iran could absorb an annual total of 200,000 coffee cups, and it actually shipped 268,998 cups to Iran in 1644–1645.[172] Perhaps a shortfall in the arrival of Far Eastern imports around 1680 accounts for the surge in the production of lustre-ware coffee cups.

Closed Shapes

Closed shapes performed a wide range of functions: containers for liquids, pouring of liquids (bottles, ewers), drinking (flasks), vases, and adaptations for smoking (*qalyan*). In section, closed shapes are either circular, ovoid (flattened), or rectilinear. In the first, the object is completely formed on the wheel. In the second, the thrown object may be removed and the base cut out so that the sides can be beaten flat. A base is then attached to fit the ovoid section. This type could also be formed by pressing the clay into a two-part mould, which was often carved out with relief decoration. Vessels with a rectilinear section are generally built from slabs. Bottles, ewers, and vases vary not only in body shape but also in the shape and length of the neck and the form of the mouth. All these forms could be used as *qalyans*, some with minimal adaptation.

Pouring Vessels: Bottles, Flasks, Ewers (Pls. 1.3–1.4, 8.16)

Bottles may be classified by their body shapes as round, flattened round, or rectilinear (Pl. 1.3). Further distinctions can be made with regard to the neck, the aperture, and the base. The pear-shaped round bottle was the most common bottle shape (Pls. 1.3, 8.16b–c, f). The globular body appears less frequently (Pl. 8.16a), and most Safavid paintings showing this form make it clear that the material is glass (the liquid inside is visible).[173]

Many bottles have lost their original mouth or neck, but of those that have preserved their full height, height ranges from about 15 to 38 cm. Most are tall (height more than 25 cm). The shape and length of the neck vary depending on the function (tapering toward the top, flaring, and short). Bottles for pouring generally have long necks, while smaller containers used as flasks have short necks with a small mouth. The terminus may be designed to pour from (Pl. 8.16f–h), to drink from (Pl. 8.16j), or, in the case of the *qalyan,* discussed below, to hold a tube. A common terminus is the garlic-shaped bulb[174] (Pl. 8.16d), especially for tall necks. Partway up the neck a thin moulding or ring may appear. A funnel was used to transfer liquids from large storage vessels into narrow-mouth vessels.[175]

The VOC records mention two types of bottles exported from China, the "Persian flask," which predominates, and the "pear-shaped bottle."[176] We have already noted that these are Chinese vessels, based on earlier Persian shapes. The distinction between them is not clear. Perhaps the "Persian flask" refers to bottles with the bulbous body. The pear-shaped bottle appears in pre-Islamic metalwork and was a favourite form for translation into

172 Matthee 2005:153, n. 38.

173 A globular bottle with tall splayed foot from the third quarter of the seventeenth century is among the objects drawn by Carswell in Crowe (2002:45, no. 83).

174 Crowe 2002:106, no. 233.

175 For a drawing dated 1639 showing a liquid (wine?) being poured from a large storage vessel into a narrow-necked bottle through a funnel, see Canby 1996 (appendix III, 66, fig. 4, inv. 53.28).

176 Volker (1954:38–39, 63) refers to a 1635 order to agents to procure "Persian flasks" from China, and to 1636 orders for "pear-shaped flasks" (p. 41).

pottery during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[177] It was absorbed into the Chinese repertory at least by the fourteenth century.[178] Early Kraak examples tend to have a rounder body with an elongated neck, while later pieces have a true pear-shape and a shorter neck, terminating with either a straight or a bulb-shaped mouth.[179] Both the Chinese and the Safavid pear-shaped bottles have collar rings around the neck. Both may be moulded with panels along the body. The close resemblance between the Chinese and Safavid pear-shaped bottles in the seventeenth century may be a result of orders based on Safavid models to satisfy the demand of Muslim communities in South Asia. The profiles of the Safavid pear-shaped bottles vary considerably, and a future detailed study of the variations might lead to conclusions about the sequencing of the differences. For the purposes of this discussion the observation may be made that most of these bottles belong to the second half of the seventeenth century.

Built forms of bottles, mostly made in moulds, are usually missing their upper parts. Most common was the flattened round bottle, the shape chosen for the large series of black-line bottles with scenes of the matchlock hunt (mid-seventeenth century) (ROM.88/ Cat. no. 21). It had a garlic-bulb mouth. A small group of rectilinear bottles with short necks seem to have served as flasks (black-line wares, monochrome relief wares). The base is square or rectangular, depending on the section (BRM.13, Pl. 8.16j; FMK.05, HRM.12, V&A.226). When the body is circular, the bottle takes on the appearance of the canteen or "pilgrim's flask" (BRM.11, Pl. 8.16k). The neck is short and collared with a ring-moulding and the lip is flaring. Some examples have two handles attached to the neck and shoulders, and the terminus of the neck is bulb-shaped (Fig. 2.33, BRM.09; FZW.03; GUL.03; V&A.66; ZZZ.183). This shape originated in the Middle East and was exported to China probably in the thirteenth century (Egyptian and Persian unglazed canteens). During the Ming dynasty, however, the shape was reproduced in blue-and-white for the Persian market, and it was this model that inspired the Safavid examples.

Like bottles, ewers were round or flattened. They are also of two shapes: globular and pear-shaped (Pl. 1.4). Only the foreign form (the tankard) may be considered rectilinear. For most ewers the neck is shorter than the necks of bottles, and the mouth is generally wide, taking the form of a cup or ovoid (boat-shaped) shell (BRM.151). The ewer has a reversing curved handle attached to the shoulder and mouth. The spout is attached to the shoulder of the body and rises sharply before taking a short curve. Below the cup-like mouth there may be a series of ring mouldings. The globular ewer can have a wide, short neck and slightly everted rim (V&A.217). Its handle is L-shaped and attached to the shoulder and rim. The spout is generally straight, tapering to a small aperture. This type of ewer has been found in Muslim areas of China and is considered to have been used for ritual ablutions. Another form of globular ewer has the large cup-shaped mouth found also on the pear-shaped ewer (HRM.06). Most of the ewers that survive date from the late Safavid period and are lustre-ware, monochrome incised ware, and opaque glazed ware.

Storage Vessels: Storage Jars, Vases and Small Jars (Pl. 8.17)

This category comprises large vessels for storage, vases with single and multiple apertures, and jars. The large storage vessel has been a staple of the potter's shop since ancient times both for water and for dry goods such as grains. The large jar swelling toward the shoulder, with wide, short, tapered neck, was common in Syria and Iran during the fourteenth century.[180] Only a few very large, storage jars have survived from the seventeenth century (ZZZ.362; V&A.13, 17, 28). The

177 See, for example, Watson 2004:311 (cat. L.8).

178 Lion-Goldschmidt 1978:30.

179 Rinaldi 1989:166.

180 Lane 1957, pls. 1, 7–8, 10–11.

FIG. 1.2. *Dervish gathering, tinted drawing fragment mounted on card (ROM 937.50).*

FIG. 1.3. *LOU.07, large tile panel painted in* cuerda seca *technique, c. 1650, detail showing ceramic bowl covered with metal dome.*

height ranges from approximately 30 to 53 cm, and the width varies from 27 to 43 cm. They all have a wide mouth and base, and the walls bulge about mid-way down to the foot, where the walls taper slightly inward (Pl. 8.17b). In one the walls have a simple curve with hardly any reversal at neck or base (Pl. 8.17c). Although these jars are large, they most probably served as containers for liquids that were to be distributed in an elegant setting, as all of them are finely painted. The more mundane function of storage would have been served by cruder, probably hand-built earthenware pots of much larger dimensions. Such pots have not been recorded and can only emerge from scientific excavations. That they existed is confirmed by Safavid paintings, such as the gathering of the dervishes discussed above (Fig. 1.2). A large storage vessel with short narrow neck was often depicted by the Safavid painter Riza Abbasi.[181] Riza's vessels are all shown with a handle and lip that seem to be attached. Nothing of this sort has survived from the Safavid period. Only two vessels complete with narrow neck and handle that might meet this description are known to the authors, and these are difficult to date stylistically.[182] They are also quite crude and may even be made of earthenware, not stonepaste. Another possibility is that the vessels depicted in Riza's paintings are Chinese imports, adapted by adding a handle in metal.

The more common shape of surviving container vessel was the "baluster" vase, as developed in

181 Golombek 2002.

182 These two vessels (present location unknown) were formerly in the collection Dr. Maan Madina, to whom we are grateful for allowing access to his collection.

China. In this new shape the walls swell outward abruptly to form bulging shoulders and then descend inward in an S-shaped curve to a narrow base (Pl. 8.17a).[183] The same shape was used for capitals and bases of columns and originally takes its name from the flower of the wild pomegranate. Height ranges between 20 and 35 cm. The profile of the curvature varies considerably. Other profiles coexisted with this one, such as the ovoid (BER.09). All these containers are relatively small and most probably were used as vases for cut flowers.

Small Jars (Pl. 8.17j–k)

The small jar (7–8 cm diameter) must have had a variety of different functions, some of which required holding the vessel in one hand. Crowe has suggested that jars shaped like the spittoons described below were used as sandpots for calligraphers, the sand being sprinkled to serve as a blotting agent.[184] Another shape was inspired by a Chinese prototype. The bulbous body rests on a wide foot-ring, its profile swelling at the shoulders (V&A.100–102, 202; Pl. 8.17j–k). The neck is short and tapered with little or no rim. There is a Timurid prototype for pots of this shape, which probably functioned as inkpots.[185] The Yuan version of this pot (a miniature *guan*) has a wide mouth and no articulated foot-ring.[186] The larger jars reflect a common Ming prototype.[187] These differ from the tall baluster jars described above in having a diameter about equal to the height. Another type of small jar, perhaps more of a carafe, depending on its function, is a bulbous shape with short narrow neck and flaring rim. Two examples in white monochrome are inscribed in black, "Waqf of the Masjid-i Abbasi of the capital [*dar al-sultanah*] Isfahan" (i.e., endowment of the Mosque of [Shah] Abbas on the Maydan of Isfahan) (Fig. 1.4, CSI.01).[188] The inscription suggests that this small vessel had a ritual function associated with the mosque, possibly a vessel used in ablutions for pouring water over the body.

The Multi-nozzle Vase ("Tulip Vase") (Pl. 8.17d, f)

The multi-nozzle vase, sometimes called a "tulip vase," was a particular favourite for the display of cut flowers. The body of the vase assumes a baluster or ovoid form, but the neck is high and the mouth is splayed. Three or more short nozzles, terminating in a wide flat rim, are attached to the shoulder (Fig. 1.5, ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24).

The use of vases with multiple nozzles for the display of cut flowers is a very ancient tradition in the Middle East, illustrated in Egyptian wall paintings and testified to by surviving examples of such

FIG. 1.4. *CSI.01, small jar inscribed "Waqf of the Masjid-i Abbasi of the capital Isfahan."*

183 Crowe 2002, nos. 91–101.

184 Crowe 2002:156.

185 The Timurid prototype is a jar dated 848/1444–45, painted in green, made in Mashhad (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh 1888.570); see GMB 1996, pl. 55, col. pl. XII).

186 Carswell 1985, no. 9.

187 Honey 1954, no. 89.

188 These two inscribed jars are located in the Chehel Sutun museum, Isfahan (Golombek 2002, fig. 17.2).

FIG. 1.5. *ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24, multi-nozzle vase.*

vases.[189] From the Islamic period multiple-nozzled vases appear in Saljuq Iran during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Examples exist in a variety of decorative media: carved and incised monochrome wares, minai-painted, and lustre-painted. One extraordinary lustre-painted vase is in the form of a camel with a multi-nozzled vase as its cargo.[190]

No examples of the multi-nozzled vase survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the type is depicted in paintings from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[191] In these illustrations the vase appears to be undecorated, perhaps a simple earthenware pot, the porosity of which would keep the water from evaporating.

The type of flower used in the multi-nozzle vase in Iran does not appear to have been the tulip. The paintings show a pale or white flower with a well-defined centre (*corona*) surrounded by petals. The leaves are blade-like. Most likely the flowers are some variety of narcissus (white jonquil?). In Europe, however, vases like this produced at Delft became known as "tulip vases."

The vase with multiple nozzles appears in Europe first at Delft around 1680.[192] Cut flowers for placement in such vases did not become available in large quantities in Holland until the middle of the century.[193] Arrangements of cut flowers facilitated by a vase with pierced holes to support the stems are illustrated in the garden book of Ferrari, *Flora ouero Cultura di Fiori* (Rome, 1638).[194] These pierced vases do not have individual spouts or nozzles like those that would soon be produced at Delft, but they do demonstrate a demand for floral arrangement that could be achieved through the structuring of the container.

There seems to be some question about whether any of these vases was used for bulbs as well as cut flowers. Arthur Lane asserted that the multi-nozzle vase was intended for bulbs,[195] but Doing (Museum de Zwarte Tulp) considers this use "very improbable." Other sources, however, suggest that perhaps at a later time such vases held bulbs as well. For example, a Wedgwood catalogue

189 Berrall 1966:10–11.

190 Wilkinson 1963, pl. 38, monochrome incised; Watson 1985, fig. 85, lustre-painted; Piotrovsky 1999, cat. no. 220, lustre-painted camel with multiple-nozzle vase on back.

191 Examples of paintings in which the vase is depicted: Nizami, *Khamseh*, British Library, Or. 6810, fol. 93v, dated 1494 (Bahari 1997, fig. 78); Nizami, *Khamseh*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.228.7, fol. 104v, dated 1525 (Bahari 1997, fig. 113); Sa'di, *Bustan*, Art and History Trust, fol. 72b, c. 1525 (Soudavar 1992, no. 73b).

192 Brouwer 1993:25.; Patricia Ferguson kindly shared with us her research for her article on hyacinth pots (P. F. Ferguson 1997).

193 We would like to thank Reg Doing, Curator of the Museum de Zwarte Tulp, Lisse, for information about Delft and the use of cut flowers. The vases were produced in the factory of Adriaen Kocks and marked with the monogram AK.

194 Berrall 1969, figs. 22–23.

195 Lane 1949:21 ("vases for bulb-growing were made in Persia during the 17th c., and this was probably the source whence Dutch potters got the idea"). I am grateful to Patricia Ferguson for this reference.

mentioned flower holders "both for roots and the dressing with flowers."[196]

Nevertheless, it is certainly the Persian model that inspired the initial creation of multi-nozzled vases in Europe around the middle of the seventeenth century. How the transfer of this idea occurred is problematic. No examples of Safavid "tulip vases" have as yet been noted in European inventories of that period, although these resources have not been explored with this question in mind. What is more puzzling is that none of the multi-nozzled vases made at Delft are of the baluster vase type characteristic of Safavid pottery. They tend to be towers (pagodas), flat canteen-like vessels, or urns. It is unlikely that the idea of the nozzles was transmitted through paintings, for seventeenth-century painters do not seem to have depicted this type of vase as had been done in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (as noted above). Mughal artists did, however, depict vases with flowering narcissus on the walls of mosques and tombs. Some of those painted in the niches of the tomb of I'timad al-Dawla in Agra (c. 1621) appear to be of the multi-nozzled type. Europeans at the Mughal court might have had access to drawings of such vases and brought them home. Alternatively, the notion of using multiple nozzles could have been exported verbally, in which case the actual shape of the vase would not have been known.

Qalyan (Water-pipes) (Pl. 1.5)

The part of the apparatus for tobacco-smoking that forms the receptacle for the water figures prominently among the products of the Safavid potter's workshop. These receptacles are decorated in a wide range of techniques. As smoking was a social activity, objects of beauty enhanced the pleasure and lent status to the host. To understand the context of these objects, we must look into the history of smoking in Iran as well as the origins of the water-pipe.

Tobacco was brought back from the New World in 1493 but did not become popular in the Muslim world until the late sixteenth century. The Ottomans first showed an interest in it, and tobacco-smoking spread widely wherever armies and sailors roamed. The arrival of tobacco in Iran is generally dated to around 1600, and there are cogent reasons for believing that the commodity first came from India where it was traded by the Portuguese.[197] Matthee takes note particularly of the rapid spread of tobacco-smoking and its appeal to all classes of Safavid society: "Everyone smoked, male and female, rich and poor."[198] The main difference lay in the paraphernalia of smoking. As the Persians always preferred inhaling their smoke through the cooling water of a *qalyan*, the dry pipe did not figure as a significant alternative. The poor could always use a gourd (see Fig. 1.2, lower right, man smoking from a gourd) or coconut as the receptacle for the water, while the rich employed lavishly decorated glass and ceramic vessels.

The water-pipe apparatus consists of a tube inserted into the mouth of a water container below the water surface, and a reed or flexible pipe inserted into the air space above the water. The smoke is generated by the burning of coals atop the tube. When the smoker inhales, the smoke rushes down into the water, is cooled, and moves up the reed, entering the smoker's mouth. Originally, a coconut was used to hold the water: the word *nargilah*, another name for *qalyan*, means "coconut" in Sanskrit. For this reason scholars attribute the origin of the water-pipe to the Indian subcontinent. The earliest illustration of the apparatus is a Dutch engraving from a treatise on tobacco (*Tabacologia,* by Johann Neander, 1622).[199] While the mechanism is quite elaborate, the vessel holding the water has only one orifice into which both of the tubes are inserted. The vessel looks like a pear-shaped bottle, but it lacks the small orifice on the shoulder that the Safavid *qalyan* eventually acquired. All but one of the representations of

196 Berrall 1966:76.

197 Matthee 2005:123.

198 Ibid., 143.

199 Cited by Matthee 2005:125.

people smoking water-pipes in the drawings of Riza Abbasi and his contemporaries show the water receptacle as a simple gourd.[200]

Probably around the middle of the century Safavid potters began to produce a variety of attractive containers purpose-built for smoking. This new type of vessel always had two orifices, one to hold the tube and a smaller one into which the reed or pipe could be inserted (Fig. 1.6, ROM.91/ Cat. no. 15). Exactly when this started is difficult to determine because the earliest shape to be used as a two-orifice water-pipe was a very old shape that had a different purpose, the *kendi*.

By the early seventeenth century *kendi*s were being produced in China for export to South Asia as drinking vessels. They were also sent to Iran, where they inspired copies by Safavid potters. At some moment it occurred to someone that this vessel also lent itself for use as a water-pipe. Little adaptation was necessary.

The original South Asian *kendi* is characterized by the presence of two spouted orifices, one for pouring in the liquid, the other for pouring the liquid into the mouth. It has existed in South Asia from prehistoric times.[201] It was designed to minimize contamination if vessels were to be shared among individuals of different strata of Hindu society. Typically, it has no handle. It is grasped by the neck. The term "*kendi*" is believed to derive from "*kundi/kundika*," the Sanskrit word for a water vessel.[202] Such vessels are depicted in both Hindu and Buddhist art.[203] Adhyatman, who devoted a monograph to this object, points out that the *kundika* differed from the *kendi* in that the liquid was poured into the spout/funnel and poured out of the vessel's mouth. *Kendi*s pour out of the spout. Both are designed to produce a stream of water so that the vessel does not touch the mouth of the drinker. However, by the fourteenth century, when Islam came to dominate in South Asia, the *kundika* as a metal or earthenware Hindu and Buddhist ritual vessel must have disappeared, while the *kendi* survived. According to Sullivan, by that time the word *kendi* had been absorbed into the Malay language (*kendi* or *kundi* in Malaya, *gendi* in Java).[204]

Vessels made for this purpose have taken a wide variety of forms and were produced in clay, metal, and stone. In places along major trade routes such vessels were imported as well as locally made. The coastal towns of South China exported *kendi*s to South Asia from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Within the Malay Archipelago, *kendi*s were widely circulated. Since the tenth century Thai unglazed *kendi*s had been arriving in Indonesia. Vietnamese kilns supplied substitutes for Chinese blue-and-white when these ceased to be exported for several decades around the middle of the fifteenth century, but exports had begun earlier and continued afterward. The form of the *kendi*

FIG. 1.6. *ROM.91/ Cat. no. 15,* kendi-*shaped* qalyan.

200 Keall 1993, figs. 4–5, 8.

201 For a comprehensive history of this form, see Adhyatman 1987; this topic was researched for the ROM Safavid Ceramics Project by Angela Lee, who served as a research assistant in 1999–2000; we have incorporated some of her comments in the text.

202 Adhyatman 1987:5.

203 Coomaraswamy and Kershaw (1928–29) examine the *kundika* in detail.

204 Sullivan 1957:40.

resembled the squat bulbous ewer with a short neck and a straight spout but lacked a handle. The manner of drinking from the spout is illustrated in a late fifteenth-century Persian painting preserved in the Topkapi Albums. It shows a nomadic man with his mouth on the spout of a squat blue-and-white Chinese porcelain vessel, which, however, has a handle.[205] In this context, the *kendi* is no longer a ritual vessel but merely a fancy canteen to which a handle has been added.

Only in the Ming period (late fifteenth to early sixteenth century) did the porcelain *kendi* acquire the features that eventually became the model for the Safavid *qalyan*, with its squat bulbous body, tall flaring neck, flange-mouth, and spout shaped like a mammary organ. From the late sixteenth century on, China exported large quantities of porcelain *kendi*s to Indonesia and Malaysia. By this time the range of shapes had expanded to include animal forms, which were also copied by the Safavid potters.

Crowe believes that a base sherd with the date 1037/1627 (V&A.117) belonged to a *kendi* and argues convincingly that the Safavids were making such *kendi*s already in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.[206] The next dated *kendi* (V&A.56, dated 1641–42) belongs to our second phase (1640–1650) but closely emulates Chinese models. There is no way of knowing whether these *kendi*s were intended for use as water-pipes. The Safavid *kendi* shape seems to have evolved over the seventeenth century, with the mammary spout becoming smaller and situated higher up on the shoulder and the neck becoming taller, these changes presumably being accommodations to its use as a *qalyan*.[207] The neck springs abruptly from the shoulder.[208] The body becomes less globular and more like the pear-shaped bottle. Some of these *kendi*s are probably not much later than the dated one of 1641–42 (V&A.56) because they have square seal-marks typical of the earlier period and show no sign of the transformation in style that was to take place in Kirman around the middle of the century. At least one *kendi* has a saucer-like mouth (V&A.113). Several other examples are executed in the blue-and-white palette characteristic of the second half of the century and bear the Kirman tassel-mark of this period (SEV.14–15, STK.63). These were certainly designed to serve as water pipes, not drinking vessels. A most extraordinary *kendi* has three mammary spouts to accommodate three smokers simultaneously (Fig. 1.7, GUL.01).

FIG. 1.7. *GUL.01,* kendi-*shaped* qalyan *with three mammary spouts.*

205 Rogers et al. 1986, no. 79, p. 119 (Topkapi Saray Museum, H.2153, fol. 130a); in fact, the Safavid monochrome ewers with incised decoration (with a handle; see Pl. 1.4, "squat, globular ewer") closely resemble those made in Fujian in the Yuan period, when this region was settled by communities of Muslim traders from all over western Asia. Such *kendi*s may have returned to Iran with the merchants and could have inspired the Safavid potters . This form was not, however, used as a *qalyan* in Safavid Iran.

206 Crowe 2002:98.

207 From the Kangxi period onward, the *kendi*s produced by Japan and China frequently have a reduced spout placed higher on the body, which itself became more globular (Sullivan 1957:52).

208 Crowe 2002, nos. 116–18.

The image of a man smoking on the shoulder of this vessel leaves no doubt about this curious object's function.

Another early type of *qalyan* was fashioned from the rectilinear flask (Fig. 2.50, HRM.21). A small hole was pierced in the shoulder for the insertion of the reed. This appears to be what "Nashmi the Archer," painted by Riza Abbasi in 1630, is using as a *qalyan*.[209] It has a green ground painted or carved with the face of a young man who gazes at Nashmi. None of the rectilinear moulded monochrome flasks in our database have a second aperture for the insertion of the reed, but several black-line rectilinear bottles do (BER.06, BRM.13, V&A.107). The felines, frogs, and elephant shapes manufactured as *kendi*s by the Chinese were reproduced in Iran for use as *qalyan*s. The elephants have a tall neck projecting from the back and a small opening in between the tusks (MMA.06). The other animals have holes in the head and chest (V&A.70).

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the potteries at Kirman began to produce new shapes that could be used as *qalyan*s: the square "gin" bottle with two apertures (Fig. 2.76, ROM.37/ Cat. no. 28), the sphere, and the pear-shaped bottle. These forms derive from Chinese porcelain models, the gin bottle having been originally designed for the European market.[210] The extent to which the habit of smoking and its paraphernalia had become integrated into the culture of leisure and hospitality is illustrated in an amusing story recounted by Nasrabadi. A certain young poet going by the name of "Salim" was noted for his "inappropriate jokes." Mirza Abu'l-Hasan took him to the Imam Quli-khan at Shiraz, who asked him to bring a *qalyan*, despite the embargo on tobacco at that time (before 1057/1647–48). "That porcelain [*chini*, probably here referring to fine Safavid pottery] *qalyan* had a wide girth [*juththat*]. Salim said to him, 'In this house everything resembles its master!' Since the Khan had a large belly (i.e., was fat), he took offence at these words."[211] No doubt, the *qalyan* was of the pear-shaped type (Fig. 1.8, ROM.90/ Cat. no. 19).

FIG. 1.8. *ROM.90/ Cat. no. 19, pear-shaped* qalyan.

Many of these pear-shaped *qalyan*s are decorated in the new techniques developed at Kirman: painting in colourful slips on a white ground and coloured slip-painting over a blue monochrome slip. The one dated *qalyan* from this phase is a slip-painted monochrome (Fig. 2.72, V&A.57; dated 1069/1658–59 or 1049/1639–40[212]). *Qalyans* continued to be produced through the end of the century to suit a wide range of taste.

209 Canby 1996, cat. 126, p. 177.

210 For an interesting history of this shape, see Crowe 2002:164.

211 Nasrabadi 1938:227 (I am grateful to Maria Subtelny for assistance in interpreting this passage).

212 Canby (2009:77) cites a new reading by Miriam Rosser-Owen of the date on this object as 1049/1639–40, but concedes that the questionable digit "4" could still be a "6."

FIG. 1.9. *ROM.66/ Cat. no. 14, spittoon-shaped container, possibly a* qalyan.

Spittoons (Pls. 1.6, 8.18)

Before discussing the evolution and function of the spittoon, a related type of object should be mentioned. It is a larger version of what became the spittoon. Four examples are found in our database, all of which are black-line in type (Fig. 1.9, ROM.66/ Cat. no. 14; ASH.07, ZZZ.390–361). They share similar dimensions: largest diameter 17–19 cm, height 12–15 cm. From a raised narrow base the walls bulge outward, but as they begin the inward curve, they turn abruptly vertical. Above this short vertical collar protrudes a lip which then curves gently to form a dome. In the centre of the dome is a small opening with a low vertical rim. These sharply carinated (ridged) elements have suggested to some scholars that the origin of this vessel was metalwork.[213] The dome would have been a detachable domical lid that projected slightly beyond the diameter of the rim of the bowl or jar. On the ceramic object the knob on the domical lid would have then been transformed into a funnel-like opening. In fact, it is not necessary to postulate a metal prototype for the whole object, as such a shape could have been derived in the same manner from a porcelain base with metal or lacquer lid, a common combination found in Ming China.[214] This object could not comfortably be used as a personal spittoon. It would be too clumsy to lift with one hand. More likely, it served as the base for a water-pipe (*qalyan*) for which the entire apparatus, including the reed, was attached to the vertical stack.

The earliest examples of the spittoon are similar in shape to this object, but there is no protrusion of the "lid" as in the larger pieces. The shoulder or "dome" above the vertical rise is set back about half a centimetre. All the spittoons with pronounced carination can be dated stylistically to the first half of the seventeenth century. They have black square seal-marks and all share the vocabulary of sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese porcelains. The group, which seems to originate in Kirman (based on petrographic analysis of ASH.13, Pl. 8.18c), shares many decorative details. Because the Ashmolean piece is dated to 1624–25, this group should be dated to the first phase of production in the seventeenth century.[215]

In the second half of the seventeenth century (Pl. 8.18d–i), Safavid potters gradually abandoned the carination, leaving only the break in the curve of the walls to recall the origins of this shape (Fig. 1.10, BRM.202). Lustre-painting and monochrome glazing seem to have overtaken the black-line style for decorating spittoons. Of 80 spittoons in the database, 45 are lustre-wares.

The majority of the spittoons are roughly the same size (if we exclude the few large objects with a diameter of 17–18 cm that have a similar shape, as noted earlier), with a diameter of 12–13 cm and a height of 10–14 cm, the median height being 12–13 cm. These dimensions, which vary so little, suggest that the object's function restricted its size. The object can be very comfortably grasped

213 Allan 1991:54.

214 See example in Christie's sale, London, 7 March 2007, lot 197. Metal covers (*sarpush*) set on top of porcelain bowls are illustrated in Safavid paintings, such as the tile panel in the Louvre (LOU.07; see Fig. 1.3, above).

215 This group includes BRM.17, HRM.56–57, V&A.355–56.

FIG. 1.10. *BRM.202, spittoon.*

with the thumb and two fingers curled around its neck. The function of these objects has been questioned. Crowe suggests that these are "sand sprinklers" used by calligraphers.[216] It is true that the shape does not match the spittoons in wide use throughout South Asia and China, which have a distinctively large flange. That type of spittoon belonged to the equipment of betel-chewing, which was a popular communal activity like smoking and has a long history in South Asia. The betel was expelled from the mouth into the communal spittoon. Betel-chewing seems not to have been a widespread practice in Safavid Iran; it may have been carried on by South Asian merchants operating in Iran, but communal spittoons lie outside the repertory of Safavid potters.

One looks in vain outside Iran for a spittoon intended for the individual. There is an example in brass from Cambodia in the Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens in Paris.[217] It is not exactly the same shape as the Safavid, but its dimensions are comparable (height 9.2 cm, diameter 11.7 cm). There is also an engraved tinned copper version of the Safavid ceramic model, complete with the carinations, dating to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.[218]

The evidence for the identification of this object as a spittoon comes from both textual and pictorial sources. John Fryer (1672) reports: "The Rooms are spread with Carpets as in India, and they have Pigdans [Persian, *pikdan*], or Spitting Pots of the Earth of this Place, which is valued next to that of China, to void their Spittle in."[219] Paintings by Europeanizing artists of the late seventeenth century often show the object set in front of the Safavid monarch or other dignitary. It is normally found in the company of vessels associated with entertainment, such as glass wine bottles, cups, and fruit-laden dishes. The earliest datable occurrence of the spittoon in a Safavid painting is found in one of the large murals in the Chehel Sutun Palace at Isfahan (1647).[220] The scene shows Shah Tahmasb receiving the Mughal ruler Humayun, who has come to his court seeking refuge. The two monarchs sit on a carpet facing one another, surrounded by courtiers and entertained by dancers and musicians. Between them are a bottle, a ewer, a plate of fruit, and pieces of fruit strewn about. In addition, in front of each is a spittoon. The fact that two are shown suggests that this was, indeed, a personal item. An illustration to Nizami's *Khamsah,* added by the Isfahan painter Muhammad-i Zaman in 1675, shows no fewer than three spittoons in front of the courtiers seated on a carpet before prince Bahram Gur.[221] The absence of representations of the spittoon from paintings by Riza Abbasi and his followers suggests that the spittoon became a status symbol only beginning with the reign of Shah Abbas II (1642–1666). Personal spittoons are

216 Crowe 2002:156.

217 Thierry 1969.

218 Maslenitsyna 1975, pl. 66.

219 Fryer 1698, 2:163.

220 The dating of the Europeanizing murals of the Chehel Sutun close to its founding has been convincingly argued by Babaie (1994).

221 Blair and Bloom 1994, fig. 213 (British Library Or. 2265, fol. 213).

particularly prominent in portraits of royalty by the Europeanizing painters noted above.[222]

Another object that may be confused with the spittoon is the small jar, and some "spittoons" may well have been used as inkpots or jars.[223] Typically, the small jar lacks a foot and a flaring neck.

Conclusions on Shapes and Functions of Objects

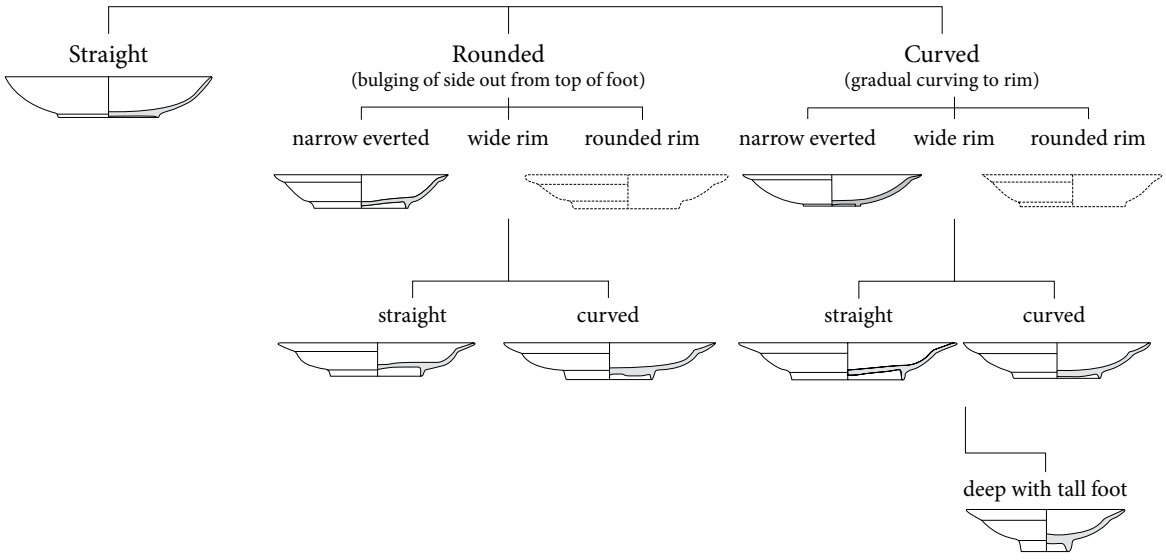
During the sixteenth century no new shapes seem to have emerged. Potters reproduced earlier models of Chinese porcelain. Over the next hundred years, however, new functions as well as fashions originating in China led to a wide variety of new shapes. The new functions relate primarily to hospitality and personal pleasures. A plethora of small dishes reflects the attention given to small, individual "appetizers" at convivial gatherings. The tablewares associated with coffee-drinking arose from the introduction of a new "food" (coffee), promoted through international trade, together with the creation of a network of establishments (coffee-houses) dedicated to socializing around the drinking of this new beverage. The arrival of tobacco in Iran with its demand for luxury water-pipes (*qalyans*) gave rise to a new market for the pottery industry. Like coffee-drinking, this niche was also created through the long reach of global trade.

Old forms were adapted and new ones conceived. What the potter could not throw on his wheel he constructed from slabs and created moulds to reproduce them. Across the boundaries of shape stretched the powerful arm of fashion. Bottles, ewers, and water-pipes might all have the same terminus, the garlic-bulb. Ovoid bodies were popular in all types of "round" closed forms at the same moment in time. Attenuation swept through most closed forms toward the end of the seventeenth century, brushing aside traditionally squat forms, like the *kendi*. Spittoons abandoned ridge-like carination for elegant gentle curves. Fashion prevailed over function.

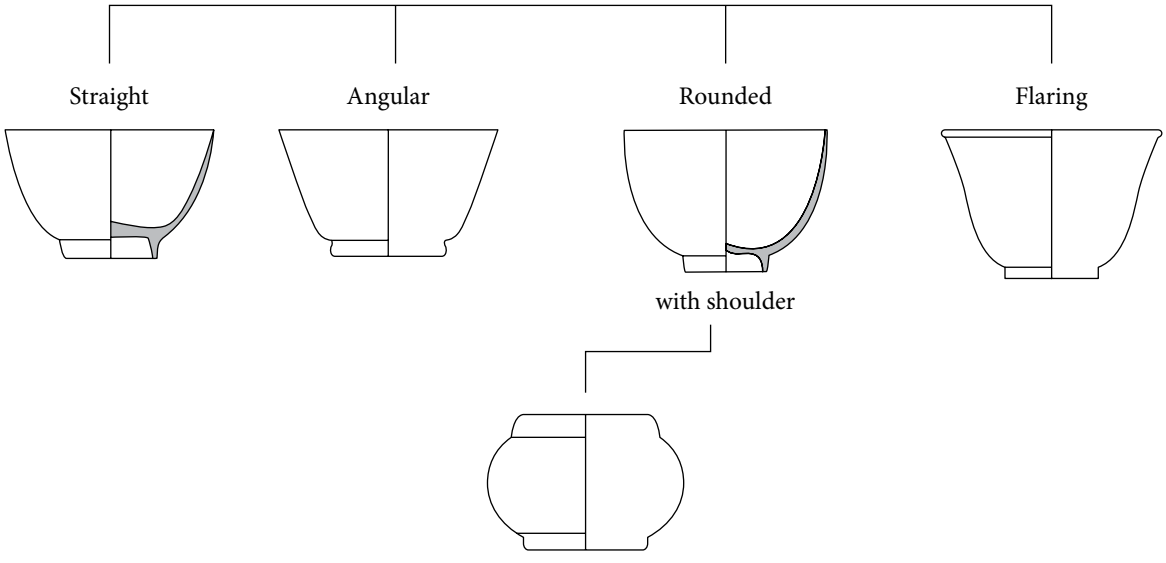
Safavid potters during the second Safavid century showed boundless creativity in accommodating the tastes of the market but also in making their services indispensable to the wealthy elite who competed for a place in the shah's coterie. We shall see in the next chapter how this creativity brought forth new approaches to making the surfaces of these shapes vibrant with colour and pattern.

222 Safavid paintings in which spittoons are illustrated:
1) Kneeling noble youth with shield, sword, food and drink, c. 1666, attributed to Shaykh Abbasi; Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan (M.189); see Canby 1998:90–91, cat. 63.
2) Lovers caressing with food, drink, water-pipe, *pikdan,* set before them, 1673–74, attributed to Muhammad-i Zaman (inscribed *Ya sahib al-Zaman* and dated); Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan (M.189); see Canby 1998:90–91, cat. 63.
3) Malikshah Rustam before Shah Isma'il, c. 1688, school of Mu'in Musavvir; *Tarikh-i 'alamara-yi Shah Isma'il* (Art and History Trust); see Soudavar 1992:290, cat. 115.
4) Grand Vizier Shah-quli Khan granting audience, 1694, Muhammad-i Zaman; Leningrad Album, fol. 92 (St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies); see Soudavar 1992:378, fig. 52.
5) Portrait of a courtier, c. 1697–98, Muhammad Sultani; *Muraqqa*, no. 51 (St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, D-181); see Petrosyan 1994:273.

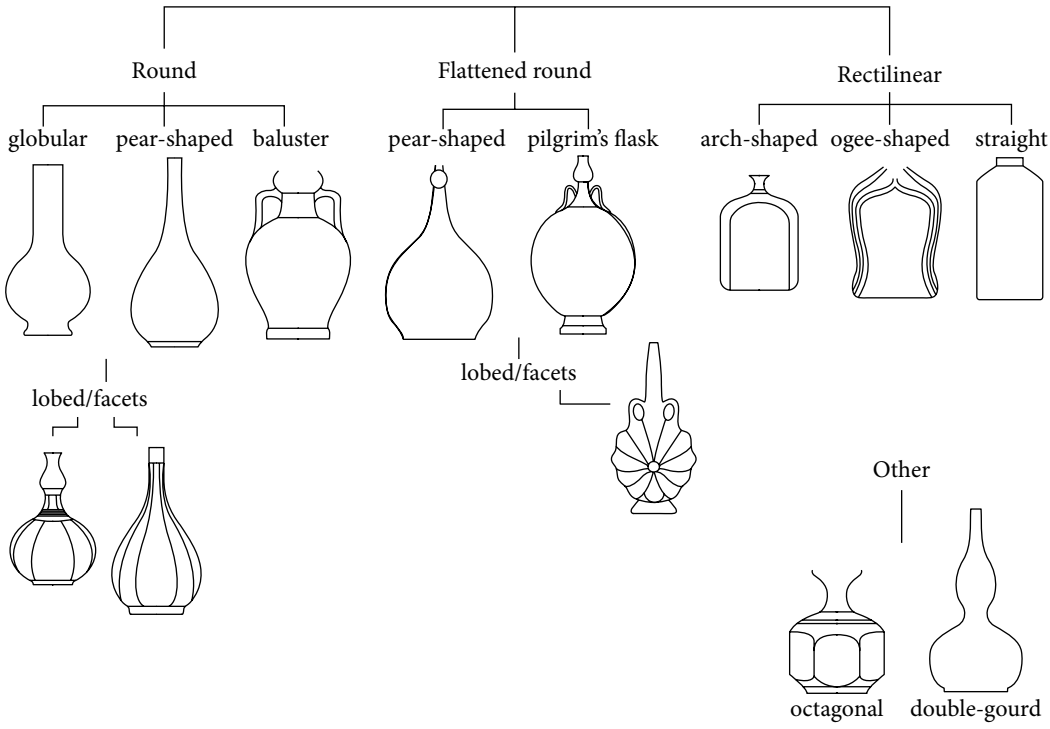
223 Crowe 2002, nos. 256–57.



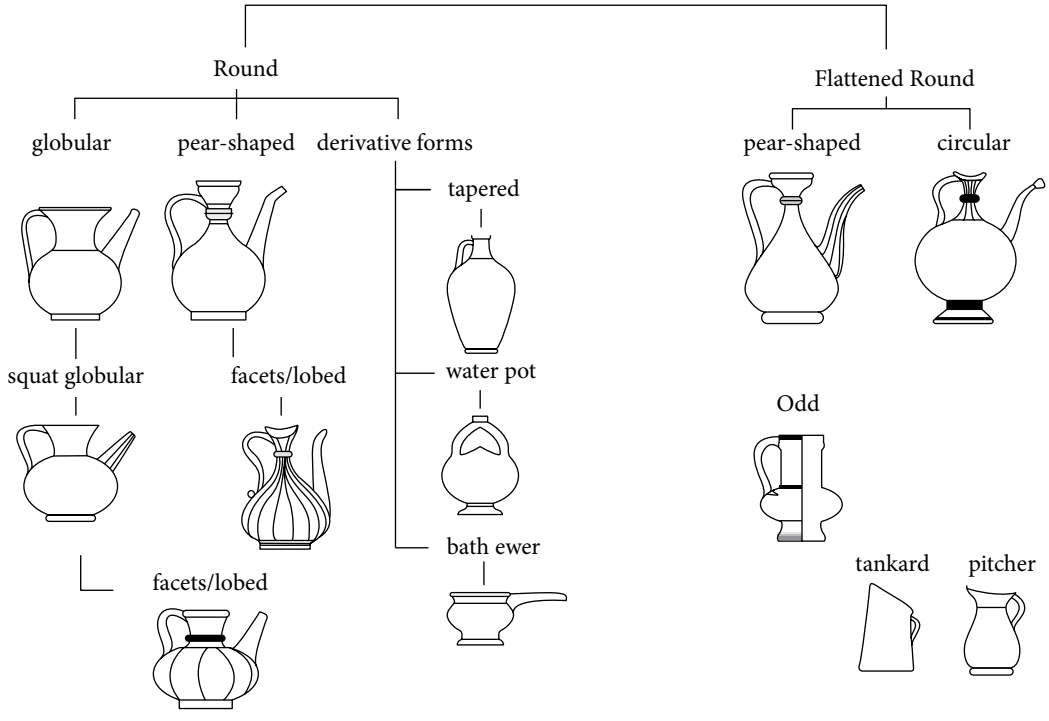
PL. 1.1. *Dish shapes.*



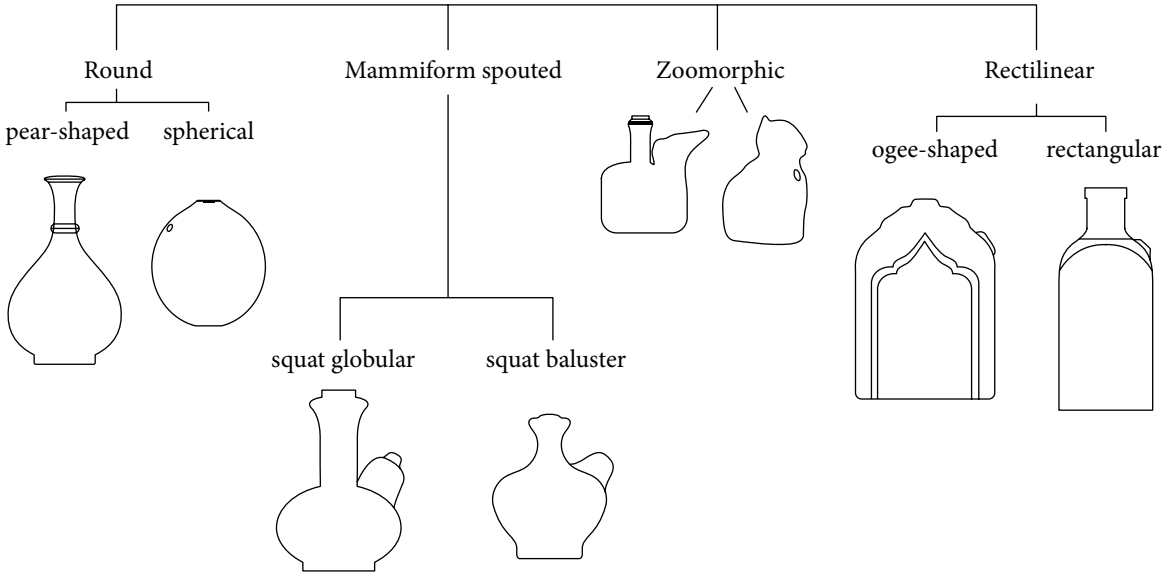
PL. 1.2. *Bowl shapes.*



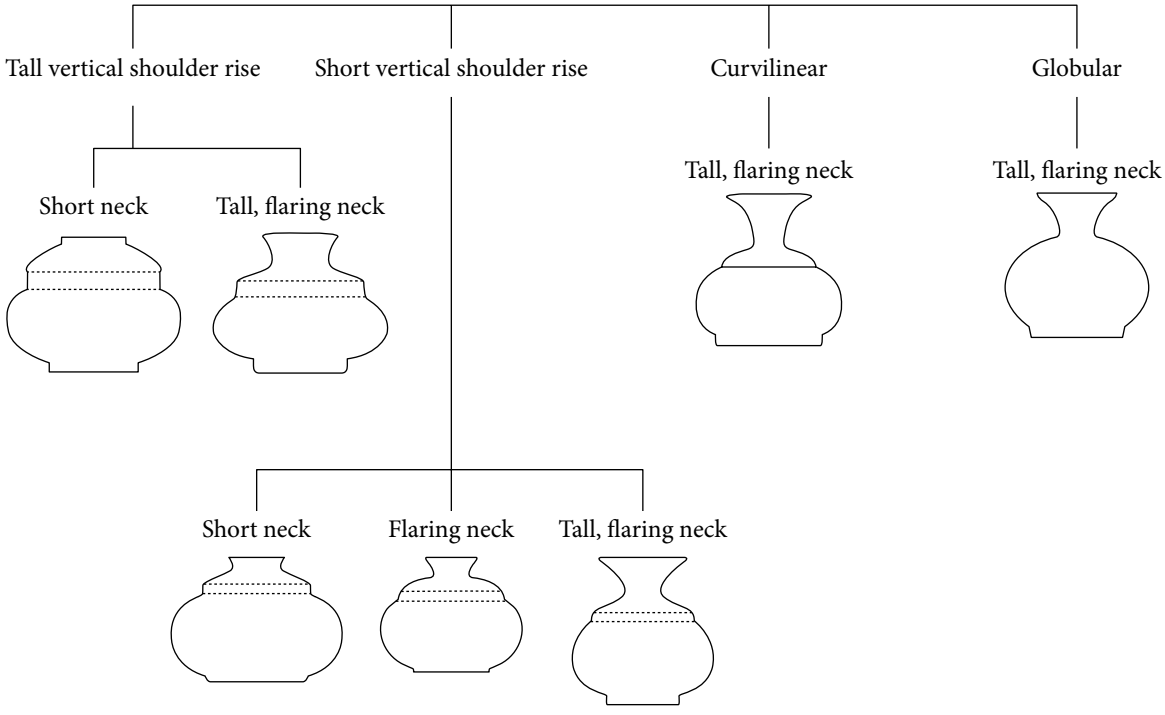
PL. 1.3. *Bottle shapes.*



PL. 1.4. *Ewer shapes.*



PL. 1.5. *Qalyan* (*water-pipe*) *shapes.*



PL. 1.6. *Spittoon shapes.*

CHAPTER 2

Dominant Fashions and Distinctive Styles

Lisa Golombek

Telling the story of the decorative arts involves at least two major dimensions: the dictates of fashion and the individual idiosyncrasies of style. Fashion tends to overtake all manufacturers of a given type of object within a limited range of time. Some ateliers will produce superbly crafted and designed objects on the dominant theme, while others are less successful. Nevertheless, the theme is still apparent and allows us to juxtapose the various expressions chronologically. For example, in the early seventeenth century one of the more popular themes was the fabulous beast (dragon, *qilin*, winged horse) depicted against a dense ground of fiery clouds or foliage in the centre of blue-and-white dishes (Fig. 2.1; ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8).

This theme was superbly executed by the potters of both Kirman and Mashhad (ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11) such that to the untrained eye the products of these two major production centres were not distinguishable. Yet Kirman in south-central Iran was separated by some 800 largely desert, kilometres from Mashhad in the country's northeast corner. There were also many lesser-quality renderings of this theme from the same period. The closeness in style of the elite ateliers (at Kirman and Mashhad) probably had something to do with their commitment to faithful copying of Chinese models, whereas the lesser renditions may be understood as inferior copies, or even copies of the Safavid copies. The intent of ateliers producing superior wares diverged from the others, as quality was determined by the market targeted. Different ateliers, or craftsmen within an atelier, catered to different levels of society. While the main objective of this chapter is to establish a chronology and provenance for as many different types of Safavid pottery as the data permits, another is to tease from this information a sense of the relative social status (quality) of the different wares.

FIG. 2.1. *ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8, dish, face.*

China at the Door: The Sixteenth Century

The ascent of a new dynasty rarely serves as the opening of a new chapter in the history of style. Not until the dynasty consolidates its hold and puts into place its own mode of operation can the changes, if any, be sensed. Certainly, this is the case with the downfall of the Turkman dynasty, overcome by the Safavids in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The Safavid dynasty, established by Isma'il, the charismatic leader of the Sufi order founded in the fourteenth century at Ardabil and now linked with Shi'ite messianism, conquered most of the lands controlled by the Turkman and Timurid dynasties. In the first part of this chapter, one of our chief concerns is to assess the extent to

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_004

which the ceramics industry was affected by political change, both at the onset of the new dynasty and with the move of the capital, Tabriz, to Qazvin in 1555–56. Did the centres of production active during the late fifteenth century continue, and, if so, for how long? Can we detect a migration of artisans from one centre to another (to the new capital)? What accounts for changes in style, and what impact did the arrival of Chinese export porcelain have on local potters?

Safavid pottery from the first century of the dynasty, the sixteenth century, has been largely ignored despite that an enormous quantity survives. Because most of it was discovered in the late nineteenth century in Kubachi, a small village in the Caucasus, it has generally been dismissed as "Kubachi" ware, although no one today believes it was made there. The problems that this nomenclature has caused are dealt with in detail in Chapter Four. The proximity of the village to the first Safavid capital, Tabriz, led scholars to attribute all the pottery found in Kubachi to "northwestern Iran" without much concern for establishing a chronology. This is most unfortunate in that we are looking at a full century of pottery production during which time great changes took place within Persian society. Surely it should be possible to see an evolution in the pottery as well. This period has been overshadowed by the next, which excels in the beauty of its imitations of Chinese export porcelain and so poses its own set of questions.

The first task will be to arrange the material in groups based on the seriation of diagnostic motifs. As the dish is the shape that has survived in greatest quantity, we shall look at those areas of the dish that change the least over time. These are the rim and the exterior. Our study of Timurid pottery has demonstrated that certain rims and backs were associated with particular workshops.[1] In that this approach to identifying workshops remains valid for the study of the sixteenth century, it is testimony to the continuation of workshop practices from the fifteenth through the sixteenth century. The grouping of vessels by workshop has been confirmed through petrographic analysis (see Chapter Five).

A full description and charts of the diagnostic motifs on backs and rims can be found in Part II. Nevertheless, it will be useful to repeat some of this discussion here because these motifs, however mundane they may appear, are the key to our chronology. Since detailed arguments about changes in motifs can be tedious at times, I have been judicious in selecting only the points that support the chronology.

The following section has been subdivided into significant "moments," as indicated by dramatic changes in style or workshop location. Where these seemed tied to political or social events, we have suggested a linkage. An attempt has been made to provide a rough range of dates for these stages, but the chronology should be seen as more "relative" than absolute. It is hoped that new data will eventually emerge to allow a firmer dating.

We shall begin by first reviewing the state of the ceramics industry in the late fifteenth century, before the advent of the Safavids.

The Ceramics Industry in the Late Fifteenth Century

The Turkman court of the Aqqoyunlu ("White Sheep"; 1467–1508) at Tabriz in northwestern Iran owed its prosperity to the traffic in silk between China and Europe.[2] This wealth afforded its rulers the opportunity to indulge their taste for elegant palaces, expansive gardens, and luxurious furnishings, which were described by visiting Venetian merchants. The Aqqoyunlu rulers sponsored an avant-garde school of painters that laid the foundations for succeeding generations. Artists and architects were plucked from other domains, attracted by the

1 GMB 1996.

2 The Turkman dynasty came into prominence with the ascent of Uzun Hasan in 1467; he also extended his rule into the defeated Timurid lands in the east and central Iran (Woods 1976).

lucrative posts awaiting them in Tabriz. The one craft that could not transfer easily was the manufacture of fine stonepaste pottery because the igneous geology of Tabriz does not readily yield the quartz required for these wares. One could bring the potters, as we shall see, but the quality of the ceramic body would never match up to that of regions with easily mined sources of quartz.

Sometime during the last two decades of the fifteenth century a group of potters from Nishapur and Mashhad, the two major workshops serving the Timurid court at Herat in the second half of the fifteenth century, migrated west and set up shop in the Tabriz region. The exact location of the workshop is not known, but sherds with the petrofabric of vessels that we attribute to this workshop have been recovered from the Turkman capital of Tabriz and the nearby shrine at Ardabil. We shall refer to this workshop simply as "Tabriz" with the assumption being that the general area of the Safavid capital is implied. The actual site of the potteries may lie at some distance from the city. In the Timurid ceramics study this uncertainty was indicated by adding a question mark to the attribution, i.e., Tabriz(?).

We date the beginnings of the Tabriz workshop to the last years of Turkman rule (and not earlier) on the basis of stylistic affinities with Timurid Nishapur and Mashhad wares of this period. We also find that the Tabriz workshop continued into the Safavid period and reached its apogee during the first half of the sixteenth century. A review of some of the observations made in the Timurid ceramics study will clarify these points. The Mashhad style of the late fifteenth century has been identified on the basis of a dish with an inscription that names its place of manufacture and gives the date 1473–74 (Fig. 2.2, HRM.129).[3]

On its face is a design harking back to early Ming porcelains from the first quarter of the century. Three full-face flowers, looking perhaps like cornflowers, float among vines with smaller blossoms and leaves derived from the lotus of the Chinese model. Highly stylized, it may be following the stylized flowers and symmetrical arrangement on models such as those found at Ardabil.[4] The rim design (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T3: caterpillar 1) is a reductive version of the Chinese cresting wave, as found on many imported early Ming vessels.[5]

The Persian inscription on the Mashhad dish is written in the cavetto (interior walls) and begins with a quatrain. The exterior is painted with a group of discrete motifs, beginning with three short vertical lines, followed by a trefoil of comma-shaped scrolls, and diminishing to a point formed by the tip of a lotus leaf. This rim and exterior are found on many other dishes that we have attributed to Mashhad.[6]

The new Tabriz workshop used Mashhad models for some of its earlier wares. It distinguished its products from those of Mashhad by reducing the exterior motif traditionally found on Mashhad wares to a series of comma-like lines diminishing in size (Pl. 6.2, Back B: comma-series). This observation may appear trivial, but we have to bear in mind that potters regarded the motifs painted on the exterior as a sort of hallmark. Exteriors might remain unchanged over decades while the style on the face evolved. A workshop could use two or three exteriors simultaneously, but these would be distinctive and associated uniquely with the one workshop. Exceptions to this call for explanation, and we shall note such an occasion shortly. If we are correct in postulating that actual potters from Mashhad were responsible for transferring designs to Tabriz, the comma-series back can be seen as a conscious allusion to the potters' origins, but sufficiently modified to establish the hallmark of the new workshop. Other motifs characteristic of Timurid Mashhad wares also appear on Tabriz pottery.

A key motif on Timurid Mashhad dishes was the caterpillar-rim (Rim T3), mentioned above. This transformation of the Chinese cresting wave

3 Ivanov 1980.

4 Pope 1981, no. 29.113, pl. 36.

5 Ibid., no. 29.88, pl. 34.

6 GMB 1996, pls. 56–59.

FIG. 2.2A. *HRM.129, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.2B. *HRM.129, back.*

is so idiosyncratic that it could not have emerged independently in two different centres. It was not common on the new Tabriz wares, but it does occur on a dish with comma-series back that has a proven Tabriz provenance (HRM.94).[7] On the face is a magnificent pheasant with its tail curving back over its body. This dish has all the characteristics of the new workshop, but its rim design betrays the Mashhad origin of its potter. In Tabriz this rim was soon abandoned, to be replaced by a host of others (Pl. 6.1.2, centipede 1 and centipede 2; Pl. 6.1.3, dotted volutes and dot-cartouches). The narrow base was retained as well as the comma-series back; no alternate back competed with it at this stage in the life of the new Tabriz workshop.

While Mashhad seems to have supplied a wealth of designs, if not potters, to the incipient Tabriz workshop, models and, perhaps, potters came also from Nishapur. Nishapur, situated not far from Mashhad in northeastern Iran, was the major centre for luxury ceramic production in the late Timurid period (last quarter of the fifteenth century). The Timurid Nishapur workshop has been identified from sherds excavated at Nishapur by the Metropolitan Museum and from samples taken from vessels.[8] Nishapur wares are distinguished by their painterly style. Like the Mashhad dish, a significant group of Nishapur dishes bears floral designs based on Chinese prototypes, but the Nishapur style of painting more closely resembles the "heaped-and-piled" technique of the Xuande period (1426–1435). Some areas of the painting have raised spots of cobalt which give an illusion of depth.[9] The large, fleshy blossoms resemble peonies, and so we have designated the group of vessels executed in this style as "peony style," even though subjects painted include animals and birds. Mashhad tried to emulate Nishapur, and so the dated Mashhad dish described above, representing a commoditized version of the finer ware, is useful for dating this ware. None of the blue-and-white Nishapur wares is dated, but several bowls painted in black under turquoise have dates between 1468 and 1495.[10] One of these has a proven Nishapur petrofabric.[11]

7 Ibid., pl. 70.

8 Ibid., 38.

9 Ibid., pl. 42.

10 Ibid., 118, 134.

11 Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 48.1031 (GMB 1996, pl. 50; dated 885/1480–81).

Nishapur rims display a version of the Chinese cresting wave (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T1) that is closer to the Chinese original than the Mashhad caterpillar-rim (Rim T3). The crest is usually simplified and alternates with (normally) three "mounds." In a presumably later version the crest is reduced to a scalloped mound (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 2) or to a whorl (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T2; Fig. 2.3a). Some of these Nishapur transformations (e.g., Pl. 6.1.2, Rims 1 and 5) will serve as models for early sixteenth-century Tabriz wares (Fig. 2.3, ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1).

The typical Nishapur back has an undulating vine from which numerous small curling tendrils grow (Pl. 6.2, Back A: double-scroll; Fig. 2.3b, ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1). At intervals a motif consisting of one or two lozenges occurs. In another common version the scroll appears as a straight line, sprouting curling tendrils or "scrolls" on either side, giving the name "double-scroll" to this motif. This back was never adopted by the Tabriz workshop, perhaps because the Nishapur atelier continued to function and to use the back, well into the Safavid period. Even though some of its talent was drawn off by Tabriz, the Nishapur pottery survived. A unique blue-and-white dish, naming Nishapur as its source and giving the date 1522–23 (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01), testifies to the vitality of this workshop. This remarkable dish does not have a double-scroll back, but other vessels painted in the same style ("scale-fill") do have this back (Fig. 2.7b, ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2). We shall discuss the early Safavid pottery of Nishapur below. The Mashhad potters would seem to have moved *en masse* to Tabriz, in that there is no petrographic or other evidence for the continuation of this workshop until its revival in the early seventeenth century.

The Post-Timurid Style: The Reign of Shah Ismaʿil (1501–1524)

With the triumph of the Safavids over the Turkman in the west and the toppling of the Timurids by the Uzbeks in the east in 1505, the two major sponsors of the luxury arts, the Timurids at Herat and the Aqqoyunlu at Tabriz, disappeared. Other courts opened their doors and welcomed Persian artists and craftsmen. The Mughals of India, the Uzbeks at Bukhara, and the Ottomans in Istanbul benefited from this upheaval, but, as we have seen, the migration had already begun toward the end of the fifteenth century.

FIG. 2.3A. *ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.3B. *ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1, back.*

The impact on Iran of the change in regime, particularly the imposition of Shi'ism as the official cult, has long been a subject of inquiry. I have dealt briefly with some of these issues in Chapter One. On the subject of the immediate impact on the arts, more progress has been made on the arts of the book than in other areas.[12] Scholars view the early Safavid period as a synthesis of two great schools of painting—the Turkman and the Timurid. Little attention has been paid to the other arts. That they continued to thrive is evident, but we have yet to understand whether the change in regime affected these arts to the extent that it did the arts of the book. When we look into the ceramic industry, we see little that might be considered significant change.

The workshops at Tabriz and Nishapur continued to respond to the demand for high quality goods. Two stylistic trends appear in both places; one was an extension of the Timurid tradition of floral and animal subjects, while the other followed contemporary Chinese models. A remarkable group designated in the Timurid ceramics study as the Precise group belongs to the first stylistic trend. This group is characterized by dishes with a wide diameter (38 cm) that have a base with a wide diameter (23 cm), and by the precision of the painted decoration. These features set the Precise group apart from the Back B group (smaller diameter, 33–34 cm; narrow base diameter, 11 cm), which has the Tabriz petrofabric. In the Timurid ceramics study the Precise group was attributed to Tabriz on the basis of its having served as model for many of the Back B dishes.[13] As an example, one may study the "Pisces" theme on a Back B dish (Fig. 2.4, HRM.124) and on a Precise dish (Fig. 2.5, HRM.117, Back C).

Bailey points out that the Chinese model would have had a single fish or a pair swimming in the same direction.[14] Here the astrological symbol of

FIG. 2.4. *HRM.124, dish, face* (*Back B*).

FIG. 2.5. *HRM.117, dish, face* (*Back C*).

Pisces, widely known to Iranians from zodiac cycles particularly on metalwork, replaces the Chinese model. The decision to modify the Chinese original in this way is unlikely to have been made by two different potters independently. Therefore, one of these dishes (or a similar dish) was likely the model for the other. We assume that the higher-quality piece was the source of the Iranian transformation of the Chinese design

12 On the state of scholarship on the arts of this period, see Thompson and Canby 2003.

13 GMB 1996, 137.

14 Ibid., 104.

because other elements integral to the Precise (higher quality) model were misunderstood by the potter of the Back B dish and reconfigured as independent ornament. For example, the water weeds in the centre of the Precise dish are transformed into a Chinese cloud motif on the Back B dish. The undulating lotus leaves of the Precise model are turned into grassy mounds, attached to the tondo frame of the Back B dish. With the exception of rim and back, the Back B dish is closely modelled on the Precise dish, and this kind of relationship supports our attribution of the Precise class also to Tabriz. These two ateliers appear to have coexisted at Tabriz, perhaps serving different markets.

A distinctive permutation of the Chinese cresting wave is the typical rim of the Precise group (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 1: precise crest). The hatching or striation of the rim creates a blue ground in which the cresting-wave motifs are drawn in reserve. The motifs are broken up into groups of paired or single scalloped crests, separated by whorls. The crests alternately attach to the outside or inside of the rim border. In this version there are no "hills," but in another version the cresting-wave border is derived from the Timurid wave-and-crest (Rim 2: scalloped crest; Fig. 2.10, HVD.01; HRM.118). The scalloped crest is semi-circular, and there are usually three hills between crests. The hills have radiating spokes as well as concentric filler.

The Precise group can be easily identified by the presence of the rosette-scroll back (Pl. 6.2, Back C). The rosette-scroll consists of a very regular undulating vine from which sprout lotus leaves with long undulating points. However, one exception to the "exclusivity" of backs and specific workshops may provide significant information about the movement of ideas and craftsmen. The rosette-scroll back appears on a dish with an inscription giving its source as Nishapur and the date 1522–23 (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01). In fact, in all other respects this dish resembles Nishapur wares with petrographically attested provenance.

It does not resemble the Precise group in any way other than the shared back motif. Its rim design may be related, perhaps even derived from, Rim 1 (precise crest), common to the Precise group, but the broken crest rim has become "scrawny" (Rim 3: scrawny crest). On the Nishapur dish the rich cobalt painting typical of Precise wares gives way to a regular scale-like fill. What we see here is probably a chronological sequencing, suggesting that the Precise group pre-dates the

FIG. 2.6A. *TOK.01, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.6B. *TOK.01, back.*

inscribed Nishapur dish by a few years to c. 1520. If we assume that the Precise group comes from a Tabriz atelier (not the same one as the Back B vessels), we have to explain why two distinct production centres (i.e., Nishapur and Tabriz) are using the same exterior motif, as this was generally not done. Perhaps the appearance of the rosette-scroll back in Nishapur resulted from the migration of potters from Tabriz to Nishapur during the turmoil of the Ottoman invasions (1514). Another consequence of these invasions for the Iranian pottery industry was the movement of some potters to the Ottoman realms, as can be inferred from the occurrence of the rosette-scroll back on a dish with Iznik petrofabric (Fig. 2.9, ASH.29).

Although other Nishapur dishes bearing dates from this period have not come to light, a considerable number of pieces can be attributed to the early Safavid Nishapur workshop. The dated dish may be studied for other characteristics useful in identifying these wares (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01). On the face two nightingales stand on branches of a plant sprouting large spiky-petalled roses. The bodies of the birds are filled with scale-like hatching. The inscription occupies the cavetto and is broken up into verses occupying elongated cartouches with three nicks in each side and cloud-point termini. Between the cartouches are quatrefoil medallions containing four trefoil leaves set on the points of a diamond. The background is striated. The usual rim design (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 3) actually sits below the rim, as the dish does not have an everted lip. Consequently, the dish is smaller (diameter 33.5 cm) than those of the contemporary Precise group, but it also has a wide base like Timurid Nishapur dishes.

A dish with identical scheme featuring two waterfowl in a landscape also had a poetic inscription (undated) in cartouches below the scrawny-crest rim (Rim 3), and scale-like fill within the trees.[15] Unlike the nightingale dish, however, it has the classic Nishapur back, as known from many Timurid examples (Pl. 6.2, Back A, double-scroll). A flask in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A.468), dated 930/1523–24,[16] just a year after the nightingale dish (TOK.01), has an almost identical image of nightingale-in-rosebush, but there is only one bird, and its body is also scale-filled. The Nishapur origin of a dish in the Royal Ontario Museum with Rim 3, scale-fill blossom, and double-scroll back (Fig. 2.7, ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2) was confirmed through petrographic analysis, as was another with the same rim, cavetto, and back in the Khalili collection (KHL.02). It has the same shape as the dated nightingale dish (lacking the everted rim so characteristic of Safavid dishes). This cluster of fine ceramics made at Nishapur testifies that Nishapur continued to be a very active centre for luxury pottery production in the first decades of Safavid rule.

Although the three workshops active during this period each had their distinctive set of motifs used for backs and rims, they tended to share the major design themes. One of the most popular subjects during the first half of the sixteenth century in all of the workshops was the large peony blossom, encircled by a "wreath" of leaves attached to tendrils emerging from the flower. Gauvin Bailey has identified the model as Annamese from the mid-fifteenth century.[17] The Precise group version reproduces the fleshy character of the central design, but does not attempt to replicate the model in full (Fig. 2.8, HRM.100).

This composition also occurs in a more stylized version (V&A.469), but this dish has the same rim and back as HRM.100. The Nishapur version reduces the fleshy quality to an allover pattern of tiny scales (Fig. 2.7, ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2).

One dish, which originally looked as if it belonged to the Precise group (Fig. 2.9, ASH.29), proved to have a petrofabric similar to that of

15 The current location of this dish, formerly in the Anavian Collection, is unknown.

16 Crowe 2003, fig. 10.2.

17 GMB 1996:87; for the Annamese model, see Pope 1981, pl. 57.

FIG. 2.7A. *ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.7B. *ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2, dish, back.*

FIG. 2.8A. *HRM.100, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.8B. *HRM.100, dish, back.*

Ottoman Isnik wares, according to Robert Mason. The drawing is unusually fine.

This dish has a cloud-point frame in the centre enclosing a large chrysanthemum blossom in a "wreath." It is similar to the dish with eight-pointed star frame from the Precise group (V&A.469), but the rim design is not typical. The precise-crest rim (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 1) is reduced to a series of discrete elements, an S-shaped scalloped crest, and a simple whorl. The rosette-scroll appears on the exterior. Closer inspection of the painting does indeed suggest affinities with the "Baba Naqqash" style of the Iznik workshop of around 1515–1520.[18] The trefoil florets recall the small floral elements of

18 Atasoy and Raby 1989:90–100; GMB 1996:120.

FIG. 2.9. *ASH.29, dish, face; Iznik petrofabric.*

Iznik blue-and-white from around 1520.[19] Most likely the model was a Precise dish removed from Tabriz by craftsmen brought back by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I after 1514. The head of the tile-makers under Selim, by at least 1523, was an Iranian potter named Habib of Tabriz.[20] His speciality was *cuerda seca* (polychrome) tile-making, but he and some of the 38 master craftsmen bought from Tabriz by Selim may have carried with them Timurid and Safavid pottery that could have inspired the Iznik potters. The Persian model for the Ottoman dish must have existed by 1514 (Battle of Chaldiran and Ottoman capture of Tabriz), or somewhat thereafter, if it was brought to Istanbul by an emigrating potter. Thus, the date of the model would be close to that of the dated Nishapur nightingale dish, which shares the rosette-scroll back (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01, dated 1522–23). The Ottoman dish is important because it helps to establish the date of the Precise group and confirms the elevated status of this group as a source of appropriate models for imitation abroad. The group also inspired the next generation of Tabriz potters making narrow-base dishes (CDC.15, HRM.105), which will be discussed later on.

19 Ibid., figs. 97, 101; describing the Baba Naqqash style, the authors state: "each flower leaf was accented by a dark central stroke, which was shaped like the eye of a needle"(p. 90).

20 Ibid., 96.

New Directions (1525–1550)

The Tabriz Workshop

The Precise atelier continued to produce fine wares, never abandoning the signature lavish use of cobalt while introducing scale-fill in some areas, such as the bodies of the birds. Gradually, motifs and designs reflecting the new styles of porcelain from the Jiajing era (1522–1566) made their appearance. A Jiajing blue-and-white bowl with eight cranes circling a four-tongued cloud, with scattered clouds in the background, may have inspired a Persian dish that shows seven birds around a phoenix (Fig. 2.10, HVD.01).[21]

Instead of discrete plants in the cavetto as was the usual practice at this time, more birds embedded in cloud scrolls form the discrete units.

FIG. 2.10. *HVD.01, dish, face.*

21 For an example of the Chinese model, see Pope 1981, pl. 88.

The multiplicity and variety of birds on this dish may allude to the very popular Sufi work, Attar's "Conversation of the Birds." This mystical work concerns the journey of 30 birds (who represent the soul), guided by the hoopoe, in their search for the king of the birds, the *simurgh,* the fabulous bird that appears in Persian literature from its beginnings. The arduous journey ends when they realize that they themselves are the *simurgh*, which in Persian can be read as "30 birds" (*si* = 30; *murgh* = bird). In the centre the heraldic phoenix represents the *simurgh*. The phoenix was the most common bird appearing on Chinese porcelain and other portable arts and had entered the Persian repertory during the Mongol period (c. 1220–1350), when cultural exchange between China and Iran was at its peak. This adaptation of a Chinese motif to indigenous themes has already been observed in the transformation of the single fish design into the more recognizable astrological symbol of Pisces.

This dish looks backward as well as forward. While it bears the characteristic rosette-scroll exterior (Pl. 6.2, Back C), its rim (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 2) harks back to the Timurid wave-and-crest border (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T1), perhaps a salute to the Nishapur potters who had moved to Tabriz. Rim 2 kept the Timurid spirit alive and saw it perpetuated in new transformations (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 5: whorl-crest 2) well into the middle of the century.

New styles evolved gradually. A sign of transformation is the emergence of new exterior motifs. A Precise dish with paired ducks and a large peony similar to the Nishapur dish described earlier has the same rim as the phoenix dish (Fig. 2.10, HVD.01), but now the rosettes have disappeared from the exterior, leaving a foliate meander (HRM.118). In the next phase this back will become the weedback-meander (Pl. 6.2, Back F), which leads to Back G, the weedback petal-panel, the most widely known exterior found on sixteenth-century Persian pottery. But before that occurred, there was a period of transition or "indecision." A series of different backs appear and rapidly disappear (such as Backs D and E).

FIG. 2.11. *HRM.123, dish, face.*

The classic-scroll rim (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 8) comes back (Fig. 2.11, HRM.123), its revival reflected on new Chinese imports (see below), but falls quickly out of favour.

All the themes we have described, except for the "Conversation of the Birds," came from fifteenth-century Chinese and Annamese imports. A new style of floral composition developed in China in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century. The gleaming bare white ground of early Ming porcelain became filled up with tiny leaves in both the tondo and cavetto. Themes include large blossoms symmetrically arranged in both the tondo and cavetto. Some renditions of the blossoms are quite stylized,[22] while others are done in a light blue wash with outlined petals.[23] Classic-scroll rims reappeared.[24] Many examples of the Ming tiny-leaf style feature a tall jagged rock.[25] A dish with a series of spiky lotus blossoms around the cavetto and three lotus blossoms forming a triangle in the middle, all against a busy ground of

22 Krahl 1986, no. 727.
23 Ibid., no. 728.
24 Ibid., nos. 727, 728; Pope 1981, pl. 78, no. 29.132.
25 Ibid., no. 725.

tiny leaves and vines (Fig. 2.11, HRM.123), closely follows the Chinese model.

The Safavid version of the classic-scroll rim (Rim 8) confirms the dependence of this dish on the Chinese model. Another favourite theme repeated this composition but substituted chrysanthemums.[26] This composition became very popular for the mid-sixteenth-century phase of Tabriz wares. Another Annamese-inspired dish with the chrysanthemum theme shows a guilloche band separating the five large flowers of the tondo from the similar flowers of the cavetto (HRM.119), following a practice seen on many Chinese models, where spirals or scrolls form the band.[27] Some dishes in this group replace the central vegetal design with animals, such as the two birds in a landscape, one appearing to attack the other (V&A.470). The rim also shows a classic scroll. The small leaves in the dense foliage eventually became small dots on circling vines, as we see on a chrysanthemum dish with centipede 2 rim (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 7; Fig. 2.12, ROM.18/ Cat. no. 3).

FIG. 2.12. *ROM.18/ Cat. no. 3, dish, face.*

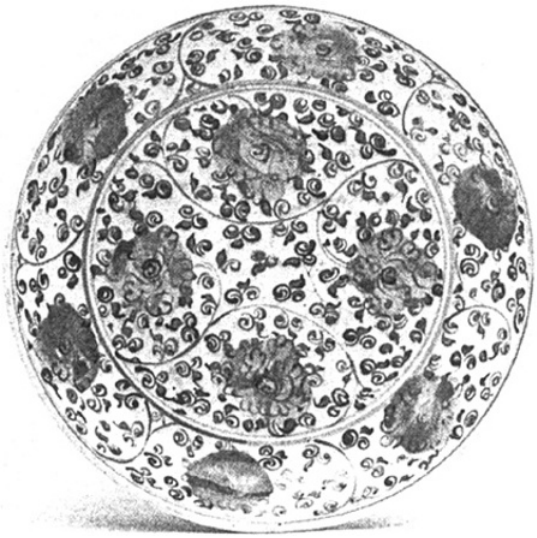


FIG. 2.13. *Chinese model for dense foliage style (Topkapi Saray Museum, from Krahl 1986, no. 728).*

The Safavid imitations of the Chinese dense foliage style form a group only by virtue of the design on the face, which reflects the style of current imports. Despite the fact that some vessels of this group came from the same workshop (Tabriz), as attested by the shared petrofabric, their exteriors vary. The backs include variations of scrolls, meanders, and abstractions. Normally a single workshop shares one or two common backs. On the back of the dish with multiple lotus blossoms (Fig. 2.11, HRM.123) is a unique form of the foliate meander. The vine undulates with perfect regularity, sending forth a feathery curving leaf (*saz*), from which extends a lotus leaf. On the back of a chrysanthemum dish with a single encircled blossom in the centre (MMA.74), the potter seems to have reduced the *saz*-meander to an abstract design, using contrasting tones of blue, a technique normally reserved for the face. Circling scrolls (Back E) are painted on the back of a dish that features an animal (V&A.470).[28]

26 Compare Krahl 1986, no.728, and MMA.74.

27 Krahl 1986, nos. 725, 727.

28 This motif appears on ceramic dishes in the illustrated manuscript of the *Shahnameh*, made for the ruler of Gilan in 1493–94 (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Vever Collection, Smithsonian Institution, no. S86.0172; for Sultan-Ali Mirza, AH 899; illustrated: GMB 1996, pl. 85).

We have therefore attributed the dense foliage group to around 1525, making some of it contemporary with the rosette-scroll back group. The style seems to have persisted for some time, as one rim, the early button-scroll (Pl. 6.1.4, Rim 16), is datable by its Chinese model[29] to the middle of the century (HRM.119). This diversity in exterior designs within a single stylistic group suggests a transitional, experimental period prior to the establishment of the Tabriz Weedback canon around 1540. Clay-bodied imitations of this style of Tabriz wares have been excavated at Susa (SUS.04; unpublished).[30]

In contrast to this group with diverse backs, the Tabriz atelier producing dishes with a narrow base persisted in using the comma-series back (Pl. 6.2, Back B), while the themes painted on its face echo changes occurring in other ateliers. Taking its cue from the Precise-style atelier, the narrow-base potters produced multiple examples of the peony encircled by the lotus wreath (CKI.01). Rim designs unique to the narrow-base atelier were applied, such as the dotted volutes[31] (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 9; CKI.01) and dot-cartouche (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 10; HRM.105). Multiple imitations of the Precise-style design with the two fish are known, some possibly as late as the middle of the sixteenth century (HRM.124; Pl. 6.1.4, Rim 16).[32] The dense foliage style also enjoyed great popularity at the narrow-base atelier, as did both the chrysanthemum theme (HRM.103) and the bird-among-flowers theme (BRM.213). The narrow-base pottery seems to have had a lengthy lifespan, perhaps as much as 50 years, from c. 1490 to c. 1540, its productivity unaffected by the advent of the Safavids in 1504. It was sustained by a market that did not demand or could not obtain the finer chinoiserie pottery produced by the Precise atelier at Tabriz or the fine tablewares of Nishapur. Perhaps it catered to the Qizilbash, a newly ascendant but not yet culturally sophisticated elite on whom Shah Ismaʿil depended for military support and loyalty.

The Nishapur Workshop

Close in date to the nightingales dish from Nishapur (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01) were other dishes characterized by the use of scale-fill (e.g., Fig. 2.7, ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2). While the nightingales dish had a rosette-scroll back (Back C), the others bear lotus scrolls or double-scroll motifs that hark back to the Timurid period. A new phase of the Nishapur workshop began about the same time as the fashion for dense foliage scenes arose. What distinguished the Nishapur workshop at this stage was the introduction of black outlines into the blue-on-white scheme. One unique piece uses copper green and manganese purple as well (Fig. 2.14, V&A.01).

This dish has the double-scroll back (Pl. 6.2, Back A), although in distinction from the fifteenth-century examples, the scrolls now overlap. The dish shows a man kneeling while playing the *setar* (three-string wooden instrument) for a woman

FIG. 2.14. *V&A.01, dish, face.*

29 Krahl 1986, no. 976.

30 I am grateful to Dr. Marthe Bernus-Taylor for allowing me access to this little-known collection of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century sherds from the Susa excavations (publication in preparation).

31 GMB 1996, pl. 71.

32 Ibid., pl. 68.

dancing with castanets among flowering plants. The man wears a tall turban with the Safavid baton protruding. The figure style equates with that of Tabriz during the reign of Shah Tahmasb. It should therefore be datable to around 1535–1540. Its rim design (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 13, foliate crest) allows us to group with it a number of other dishes. The rim is yet another version of the cresting wave in which the elements break apart to form a series of lozenges alternating with amorphous "crests" painted in reserve. Two other dishes with latter-day versions of the double-scroll back share similar rims. The one with the rim closest to that of the musicians dish (Fig. 2.14, V&A.01) has a large crane in flight against a background of very small leaves sprouting from scrolling vines (ASH.40).[33] This background must be seen as yet another response to the Ming dense foliage style as imitated by the Tabriz workshops. A similar dish with slightly modified rim shows a striding peacock and two deer (ASH.42). The rim elements have all been reduced to fish-like leaves painted in reserve (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 14). The crane dish has a confirmed Nishapur provenance.

Although unsampled, a small group of bowls and dishes with narrow bases appear to be linked with this Nishapur workshop through the use of black outlines and a rim with motifs related to the fish-like leaves of the peacock dish mentioned above (ASH.42). A bird in a bush (BER.40) and a crane in flight (KEI.61) are executed in black lines or outlining, as in the Nishapur group. The signature double-scroll back of Nishapur is, however, missing, which suggests that we may be dealing with a different workshop. One possibility is suggested by the next series of dishes.

Khurasan may have proved too volatile a region for the Nishapur potters as it was constantly under seige by the Uzbeks. Once production ceased there, as it seems to have done around 1550, it did not revive as a pottery centre until the later Safavid period.

33 Ibid., pl. 49.

FIG. 2.15. *ROM.93/ Cat. no. 6, dish, face.*

The Qazvin Workshop (1550–1570)

Three dishes with narrow bases, painted with black outlines, may represent the sequel to this group. A new design appears on the exterior, consisting of several discrete large volutes with knobs (Pl. 6.2; Back H: knobby volutes). The theme of an animal in a landscape, common on dishes from the Tabriz and Nishapur workshops, continues. On one dish a blue lion, striding to the left with its mouth open, is outlined in black (Fig. 2.15, ROM.93/ Cat. no. 6).

The background is filled with small leafy foliage on black stems. The faintly moulded (?) cavetto is blank. The rim design shows a series of trefoil leaves pointing in one direction, alternating with a round bud that grows from the same stem (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 15: small leaf). The same rim, cavetto, and back appear on a dish with a six-pronged plant in the middle of scrolling foliage (ANV.03), and a dish with a stag amidst foliage has the same back but a zig-zag design on the rim (BER.41). These range in diameter from 30 to 32 cm. Petrographic analysis revealed that the lion dish was from Qazvin rather than Nishapur. It is likely that the Qazvin workshop was founded after Shah Tahmasb's move of the capital to that city

FIG. 2.16A. *MMA.67, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.16B. *MMA.67, back with date 975/1567–68.*

in 1555–56, although Shah Tahmasb had already begun construction there in 1544–45.[34] This dating of the Qazvin dish is supported by comparison with an inscribed dish in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 2.16, MMA.67).

Its rim design, a debased version of the "scrawny crest" (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 3), recalls the dated Nishapur dish with nightingales (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01) from 929/1522–23, but the date found on its exterior is much later, 975/1567–68. The beribboned medallions with Chinese trigrams in the cavetto are borrowed from the new Jiajing repertory (1522–1566) and rarely appear on Safavid pottery of this period. We might consider it *avant garde* for its time. The quality of the drawing is higher than that of the sampled dish, and black outlines are missing. A third dish with a striding lion is known to us now only from its base (Fig. 2.17, ETT.01).

The lion walks to the left but looks backward toward a dragon's head, perhaps an extension of the lion's tail which has disappeared. Like the Qazvin dish, it is painted with black outlines. The lions on these three dishes are not identical but each shares some characteristics with one or the other. The similarities are insufficient to consider them products of the same atelier, but certainly they can be viewed as reflections of a contemporary fashion. The Nishapur-type rim of the dated dish suggests that around 1570 the potters of Qazvin and the potters of Nishapur shared the same models, or perhaps that the Nishapur potters had moved c. 1550 to the new capital of the realm, Qazvin. We have witnessed the migration of potters to new sources of patronage in the late fifteenth century (from Nishapur to Tabriz) and in the early sixteenth century (from Tabriz to Istanbul and possibly back to Nishapur).

FIG. 2.17. *ETT.01, sherd, base of dish.*

34 Babaie 2008:50.

Qazvin was, indeed, a magnet for other artists and artisans, particularly for those working on the new royal complex initiated by Shah Tahmasb.[35] Within these palaces and pleasure pavilions painted tiles adorned the walls. As noted above, work on the buildings was actually started some 10 years before the move.[36] A group of hexagonal tiles, painted with figures of animals and angels, made up the dado of a secular structure in the palace complex of Shah Tahmasb.[37] Some tiles from this group found their way into the V&A and the Berlin Museum (V&A.185, BER.20). Others that were collected in Qazvin are now in the private collection of Dr. Luschey-Schmeisser, who kindly allowed Robert Mason to sample them (Fig. 2.18, QAZ.13). Luschey-Schmeisser has studied these tiles extensively and dated them to the period of Shah Tahmasb's residence at Qazvin. Analogies with the ubiquitous angels on Safavid textiles and in the arts of the book from this time support the dating and demonstrate the popularity of the motif at this time.[38] These tiles have thus served to establish the characteristics of the Qazvin petrofabric.

FIG. 2.18. *QAZ.13, tile with seated angel, found at Qazvin.*

FIG. 2.19. *BER.31, disc with zodiac signs, dated 971/1563–64.*

Another possible product of this factory is the large thick disc painted with signs of the zodiac and dated to 971/1563–64 (Fig. 2.19, BER.31). This zodiac disc is an extraordinary object, made as a circular slab 41 cm in diameter with its edges crimped to form points. The centre is pierced by a hole, through which a metal shaft was inserted. The bottom of the disc has two concentric "footrings," one smaller in diameter than the other. Together they form walls, which would have kept the disc from moving if set onto a wooden or plaster ring. The purpose of this disc is unclear. The zodiac signs are carefully painted in blue with black outlines. Perhaps it was a decorative mount for a celestial globe or other instrument. The maker signed his name on both the face and the base: Abd al-Wahid. The figure style relates it to the hexagonal tiles from Qazvin, and suggests that

35 On the buildings of Shah Tahmasb at Qazvin, see Babaie 2003: 41ff.; on the paintings, see Echraqi 1996.

36 Babaie 2003:41–42; ibid. 2008:50.

37 Luschey-Schmeisser 1976.

38 See Thompson and Canby 2003 for a silk tapestry with angels seated on octagonal thrones in the central medallion and in the border (fig. 12.24), and for bookbindings (figs. 6.13b, 7.1).

it was made there, but this is not necessarily the case. The use of black outlines also relates it to the Nishapur dense foliage group discussed above. Although its provenance cannot be determined without petrographic analysis, the disc does give us a date for the polychrome hexagonal tiles, c. 1565, about the same date as the lion dishes.

The Qazvin workshop continued to make figural tiles into the seventeenth century,[39] as evidenced by another group of tiles also published by Luschey-Schmeisser with figures that reflect the style of Riza Abbasi. Their Qazvin provenance is confirmed by analysis of the petrofabric. The tiles may have come from the later additions to the Safavid palaces there as they were found near the Chehel Sutun palace at Qazvin (Fig. 5.27, QAZ.03; Fig. 5.28, QAZ.05).

The Qumisheh/Isfahan Workshop (c. 1530–1600)

This workshop seems to have produced only tile artifacts, such as grave markers and miniature mihrabs, in the sixteenth century. One miniature mihrab (Fig. 4.2, ZZZ.431) is particularly useful to our study as it names its place of manufacture, "Qumisheh." Dated 939/1532 (5 Rabiʿ II), this tile is rectangular with a straight arch on the upper side. None of the other tiles in the series gives its place of manufacture, but the epigraphic and stylistic evidence strongly suggests a link with the Qumisheh mihrab tile. All of the tiles are painted with blue decoration and black script. Early in the seventeenth century the Qumisheh workshop introduced coloured slips, and eventually produced the well-known vessels and tiles with polychrome figural imagery (erroneously called "Kubachi" wares).[40] The Qumisheh tiles range in date from 1550 to 1560 and will be discussed in Chapter Four.

39 Luschey-Schmeisser 1995–96.

40 The seventeenth-century wares are discussed below, and the "Kubachi problem" is discussed in Chapter Four.

Monopoly and Mass Production at Tabriz (1540–1600)

The Weedback Style at Tabriz (1540–1570)

In terms of the surviving evidence, the Tabriz workshop's output during the period of the Weedback style was enormous. The bulk of material found at Kubachi, hanging on the walls in these mountain villagers' dwellings, came from this generation of Tabriz potters. Today every public collection of Islamic art that was assembled in the first decades of the twentieth century includes multitudes of this production. For the sixteenth century two palettes predominate: blue-on-white, and turquoise/green over black. This is a very introverted art with little cognition of changes taking place in the porcelain wares shipped from the Far East. It draws inspiration from its own past. Not only does the potter fail to create new designs, but quality of painting seems not to have been a priority: precision has been lost, and the painting appears to have been executed rapidly. Pottery manufacture at Tabriz in this period, the middle decades of the sixteenth century, had become commoditized.

The "weedback" name refers to the "weedy" appearance of foliate motifs resulting from the rapid movement of the brush. The foliate meander that resulted from dropping the rosette from the rosette-scroll (Back C) becomes an undulating wave (Pl. 6.2, Back F2: weedback-meander). The pointy lotus leaf turns into a ribbon-like weed, oscillating as if moved by water. It is as if the potter assigned to painting exteriors was required to work speedily, covering as many backs as he could within a given period of time. The results are more calligraphic than painterly.

While the weedback-meander back remained in use, potters developed an alternative design for the exterior (Pl. 6.2, Back G: weedback petal-panel; Fig. 2.22b, MMA.26). It consists of repetitions of sickle-shaped grass blades, which normally touch one another, forming a petal-panel, as commonly found on blue-and-white Chinese porcelains. The sickle-shaped blade often sprouts

other undulating tendrils, which tie it stylistically to the weedback-meander (Back F2). Extended the full height of the exterior walls of a bowl, the weedback petal-panel could be transformed into a dynamic vegetal motif (HRM.111).

A series of new rims was used exclusively by this workshop. Some are found on both exteriors F2 and G (Pls. 6.1.2–4: Rims 5, 11, 12, 21), while others were not. The cresting-wave rim that occurs on earlier works of this phase (Rim 5: whorl-crest 2) is a permutation of the Precise Rim 2 (scalloped-crest). Now the whorl replaces the scalloped wave (Fig. 2.20, ROM.24/ Cat. no. 4; LOU.19). Somewhat later, small scroll designs came into favour. In Rim 11 the scrolls look like "bubbles," randomly floating on a striated ground. In Rim 12 the scrolls are linked but "punctuated" by pairs of dots (colon-scroll; Fig. 2.21, ROM.26/ Cat. no. 5).

A large class of Weedback dishes known only with Back G, painted in black and covered with a green or turquoise transparent glaze, uses the reserve-diaper rim (Pl. 6.1.4, Rim 20; Fig. 2.22a, MMA.26), which is not found on the contemporary blue-and-white wares. The diamond-diaper rim (Rim 21) was common on Jiajing pottery but occurs infrequently on Tabriz Weedback dishes (see KEI.62). It would become very popular in the last phase of the Tabriz workshop (Pl. 6.2, Backs J and K) when interest in the current fashions of Chinese imports revived.

FIG. 2.20. *ROM.24/ Cat. no. 4, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.21. *ROM.26/ Cat. no. 5, dish, face.*

The dependence of the mid-century workshop on earlier Tabriz models, as we have demonstrated for rims and backs, is further confirmed through their repetition of major themes. We see permutations of Ming floral compositions as transposed by early Safavid potters; animals in scrolls; and geometric designs with stellate or cloud-point medallions. Persian inscriptions offering up banal verses are common. No dated pieces are known.

The black-painted wares that are glazed green or turquoise appear to come at the end of the Weedback phase as they lead into the next development (Fig. 2.22a–b, MMA.26).

The clue to this relative dating of the black and green/turquoise wares is found under the rims of a number of pieces. A series of short wavy lines, or "squiggles," are painted in emulation of cloud scrolls, which appeared under the rims of late fifteenth-century Chinese porcelains.[41] For some reason they were not adopted by Persian potters until this time. The squiggle may also have been inspired by the Jiajing floral scroll that replaced

41 Pope 1981, pl. 73.

FIG. 2.22A. *MMA.26, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.22B. *MMA.26, back.*

the cloud scroll around the middle of the sixteenth century.[42]

The Blank Cavetto Style (*1570–1600*)

Around 1570 the aesthetics of the interior design change considerably. In the reserve-painted Weedback style the entire object was covered in a transparent green or turquoise glaze while the design was painted as a black silhouette. The new reserve style used cobalt blue rather than black for the silhouette under a clear glaze (Fig. 2.23, ROM.94/ Cat. no. 7). The cavetto was normally left white as was common on Chinese porcelains of the late sixteenth century. The rim might also be painted in reserve but not always. The new style carries forward from the blue-and-white Weedback style, adding some motifs borrowed from the current Chinese fashions. The diamond-diaper rim (Pl. 6.1.4, Rim 21) was particularly popular.

Two exterior designs occur, and they accompany both treatments of the face. The button-scroll back (Pl. 6.2: Back J) is made up of tangent repeats of a button-shaped flower attached to a circular vine, inside of which springs a trefoil leaf. Smaller leaves dot the vine, and a curving leaf is repeated along the base line of the design. In many examples this design is so blurry it cannot be made out. The origin of this motif must be sought in local transformations of the Chinese lotus or peony scroll rather than in contemporary Chinese models. Two dishes with this back are of confirmed Tabriz provenance (Fig. 2.24, FRE.20; Fig. 2.23, ROM.94/ Cat. no. 7), as well as a sherd excavated at Ardabil (ARD.12).

The second exterior design consists of discrete peach blossom plants (Pl. 6.2, Back K; Fig. 2.25b,

FIG. 2.23. *ROM.94/ Cat. no. 7, dish, face.*

42 Ibid., pl. 81.

FIG. 2.24A. *FRE.20, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.24B. *FRE.20, back.*

FIG. 2.25A. *HRM.22, dish, face.*

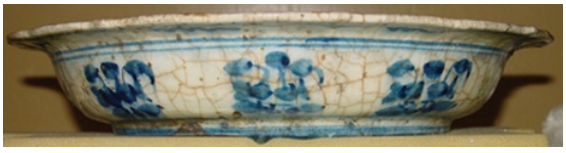


FIG. 2.25B. *HRM.22, exterior walls.*

HRM.22). Two large abutting fruits sprout antenna-like leaves above. Two-pronged tendrils expand to either side. This grouping is repeated at intervals around the exterior walls of the dish. The peach blossom plant had occurred much earlier in the cavetto of the Weedback group (ROM.26/ Cat. no. 5, HRM.20), and floral sprays were frequently used in the cavetto of earlier sixteenth-century wares. The peach blossom is ubiquitous on Chinese porcelains going back to the fifteenth century. However, it had never been used on Chinese wares as a motif for the exterior.

The button-scroll rims (Pl. 6.1.4, Rims 16–19) complement the button-scroll back (Pl. 6.2, Back J). Rim 17 consists of button-like whorls alternating with trefoil leaves, linked by circular vines. An earlier, more detailed version of this rim (Rim 16), following Chinese models (TKS 978–9), appeared on some Tabriz dishes, most of which are painted in the dense foliage style from the first half of the sixteenth century (HRM.103, 119, 124). Both back and rim design stress the rhythmic quality obtained through the linking of the curving leaves. Related designs that incorporate more "buttons" and plant elements (Rims 18–19) lack this rhythm (Fig. 2.25a, HRM.22).

Geometric designs were also popular for rims of this phase. A common rim for the blue-painted wares is the diamond-diaper (Rim 21), found on Chinese imports of the early to mid-sixteenth

century (TKS 781, 785, 788, 804–05). Thick lines demarcate the Safavid diamond grid, and each diamond is populated by one to four dots. On reserve-painted vessels the complementary rim design was often a "zig-zag" composed of elongated lozenges in reserve with lightly incised "mountains" in the triangular areas (Rim 22). The use of this rim on a reserve-painted Weedback dish (HRM.122) demonstrates the gradual adoption of new fashions by the Tabriz workshop. This dish has "squiggles" under the rim, like many in the later phase of the Tabriz workshop.

The reserve-painted dishes are both conventional and innovative. Some of the older subjects rendered in black under turquoise or green, such as the large flower (Fig. 2.22, MMA.26), reappear in the new blue-and-white mode, (Fig. 2.26, HRM.20).

Others seem to draw from previously unexploited sources. The central design of a dish in Frankfurt is a cruciform pond in reserve with waterfowl swimming among weeds (Fig. 2.27, FMK.09).

The corners are painted in reserve with part of a large flower and small blossoms. The design recalls garden carpets and is finely executed. In the same vein is the reserve-painted dish in the ROM (Fig. 2.23, ROM.94/ Cat. no. 7). Four lobed ogee medallions surround a motif composed of two rotated squares with the corners transformed into lobes. Like the half-blossoms of the Frankfurt composition, four ogee medallions cut in half by the edge of the tondo suggest a continuation of the design beyond the tondo. They are like the corner medallions of carpets.

FIG. 2.26. *HRM.20, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.27. *FMK.09, dish, face.*

The blue-painted group shows an even wider range of new themes than the reserve-painted group. Some are borrowed directly from Chinese imports although not necessarily contemporary ones. A dish with a proven Tabriz provenance (Fig. 2.24, FRE.20) shows a tall thin rock with a bird perched atop, and plants growing from the rock. Chinese models with this type of rock but lacking the bird date from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century (TKS 725; HRM. 27 shows the rock alone). The Persian potter may have copied an early sixteenth-century model but he followed the contemporary practice of leaving the cavetto blank. Another group shows a scattering of small elements, such as flowers, spiky leaves, and cloud scrolls, around or flanking a larger plant (HRM.30, MDN.15, ZZZ.167). An array of animals appears. Peacocks, alone, or in pairs flanking a plant or entwining necks, were a favourite (Fig. 2.28, MAD.16; HGH.02, HRM.24–25).

The peacock was a popular motif for mosaic faience tile decoration during the sixteenth century. Examples are preserved both *in situ* and in

FIG. 2.28. *MAD.16, dish, face.*

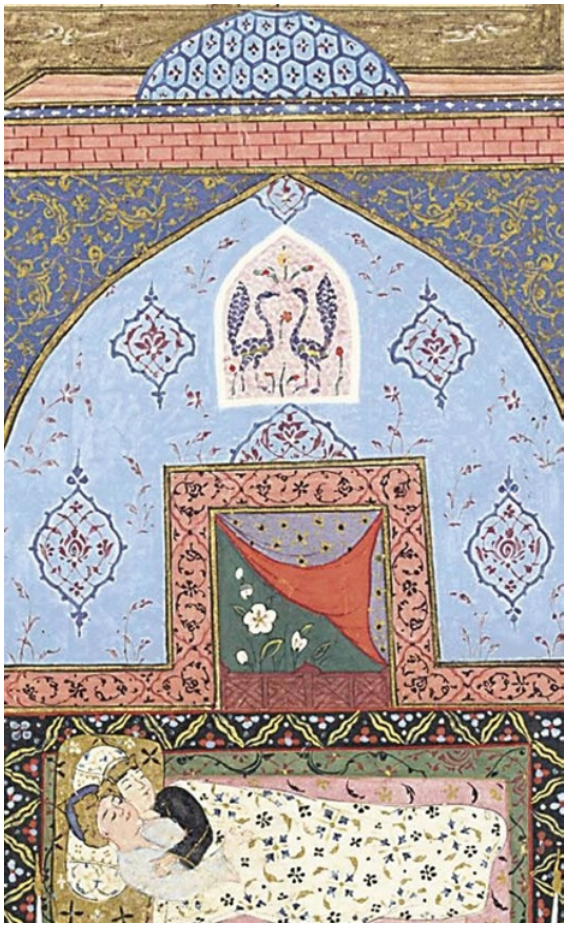


FIG. 2.29. *Tile panel (?) with confronted peacocks in the bedroom of Khusraw and Shirin (from a manuscript of Nizami's* Khamsah*, Shiraz, late sixteenth century).*

museums.[43] Peacocks in a secular context appear in a mid-sixteenth-century Shiraz manuscript of Nizami's *Khamseh* (Fig. 2.29).[44] Khusraw and Shirin are shown in bed within the *eyvan* of a garden pavilion. Above the window in an arch-shaped panel are two confronted peacocks. Other decorative elements found in this painting relate to Tabriz ceramics. The "zig-zag" border of the carpet, made up of elongated lozenges, with "mountains" between, might be derived from the same source as Rim 22 (Pl. 6.1.4). Other details, such as the lobed medallions on the wall and the scrollwork framing the window, fit stylistically with the pottery, reinforcing a dating of the pottery to the late sixteenth century.

The phoenix also appears frequently. A hieratic rendering of the phoenix is surrounded by a cavetto in which two phoenixes with long intertwining tail-feathers are integrated into a lotus scroll (MMA.73). The phoenix among cloud scrolls was a popular theme for this group (Fig. 2.31a, HRM.23; HRM.125). The rather limp vegetation on these wares, particularly the phoenix dish in the Hermitage (HRM.23), recalls the painting on the large blue-and-white baluster vase with inscription dating to 970/1562–63 (Fig. 2.30, IRB.09).[45]

This style closes the first Safavid century. With the accession of Shah Abbas and the move of the capital to Isfahan the ceramics industry was propelled by a new dynamic. Much closer attention will be paid to the Chinese models, whether current or antique. The quality of the painting

43 A pair of peacocks is depicted in mosaic faience above the portal of the Harun-i Vilayat mausoleum in Isfahan (1512–13); a mosaic faience panel in the Louvre Museum, Paris (MAO 1189) also shows the paired peacocks, but the provenance of this panel is not known.

44 Christie's, London, April 26, 2005, Lot 133, "Shiraz, late sixteenth century."

45 The date has been variously read (as AH 870), but the style could not be Timurid. The inscription as read by Godard (1937:335): "J'étais hier dans l'atelier d'un potier. J'y vis deux mille pots parlant et se taisant. Soudain, d'entre eux sortit une plainte: Où sont le potier, l'acheteur, le vendeur?"

FIG. 2.30. *IRB.09, vase, dated 970/1562–63.*

FIG. 2.31A. *HRM.23, dish, face.*

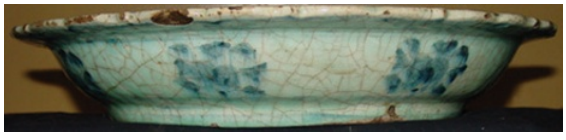


FIG. 2.31B. *HRM.23, exterior walls.*

improves. The practice of employing a "hallmark" exterior and a set of rims exclusive to a single workshop is abolished. In the following section we will see how this happened and discuss the reasons for and the implications of the changes.

China in the House: The Seventeenth Century

With the ascension of Shah Abbas to the throne in 1588, the craft industries of Iran underwent dramatic change. Local ceramic production during his reign exhibited a new trend that was sustained throughout the century. Whereas potters in the previous century merely emulated Chinese models, the objective during the first decades of the seventeenth century was to produce exact *copies* of imported porcelains. Some of the changes that took place in all the arts were responses to the growing involvement of the European trading companies in the economy of Iran. For the pottery industry their activities seem to have been *the* critical catalyst. As thousands of new porcelain vessels arrived on the Gulf shores in European ships, fine Chinese tablewares became more accessible to Iranians who could afford them. Local potters did their best to compete, producing passable copies, either at lower cost or to fill gaps in the supply chain. Some European reports claimed that Persian copies were passed off in Europe as Chinese originals.[46] The addition of potters' marks to the base of a vessel, in imitation of Chinese reign marks, enhanced the authentic look, and hence the value, of the Safavid imitations.

The second Safavid century can be divided into four unequal periods or phases reflecting significant transformations of the ceramics industry. Although major centres operated at Kirman, Mashhad, Isfahan, and possibly other towns, general trends affected the industry as a whole. The vagaries of the marketplace impacted on all the centres, moulding taste and moderating demand.

46 Chardin 1811, 4:403.

Phase I (c. 1615–1640)

The Beginnings at Mashhad and Kirman

Mashhad

The earliest dated vessel from the seventeenth century is the unusual blue-and-white "teapot" in the British Museum (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08). Its inscription gives the date 1025/1616–17, and names two craftsmen. One formed it and the other decorated it. The forming of the pot, which is based on a bronze vessel shape,[47] is a *tour de force*. The squat globular body with spout and hoop handle stands on a high splayed foot. The handle is hollow and square in profile, and has an opening at the top to fill the pot. The potter has, in fact, signed himself as a builder (*miʿmar*), with the *nisbah* al-Yazdi (from the city of Yazd). That the pot was actually made in Mashhad has been demonstrated by Mason as its petrofabric is identical to that of the Timurid Mashhad group (Mashhad I petrofabric).[48] Arthur Lane suggested that the builder is the same person who constructed the dome for the shrine of Imam Riza.[49] Was potting his "sideline," or did he view making a copy of a brass shape in ceramics a challenge equal to building a dome? The inscriptions appear on the projecting orifice and on the base. The body of the pot is divided into panels, in the manner of "Kraak" porcelain, and decorated with images of birds, deer, and vegetation from the Chinese repertory. The piece reflects contemporary Chinese exports to Iran. Notable is the limitation of the palette to blue on white. All subsequent vessels from Mashhad from this period have black outlines, as did their Timurid predecessors. The brush style of this piece is also exceptional and is not replicated in any known pieces of contemporary pottery.

The next dated vessel is a canteen, painted in blue with black outlines (Fig. 2.33, BRM.09). A new analysis of the petrofabric suggests an

FIG. 2.32. *BRM.08, water pot, dated 1025/1616–17.*

FIG. 2.33A. *BRM.09, canteen, dated 1036/1626–27.*

47 For the likely model in bronze, see Melikian-Chirvani 1982:146–48, no. 147, dated 1602–3.

48 Golombek 2002:97.

49 Lane 1957:99, n. 2; Mayer 1956:86, citing Saniʿ al-Dawlah: "Work of Kamal al-Din Mahmud al-Yazdi in 1015 (1606–07)."

FIG. 2.33B. *BRM.09, detail.*

FIG. 2.33C. *BRM.09, potter's mark.*

FIG. 2.34A. *ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11, dish, face.*

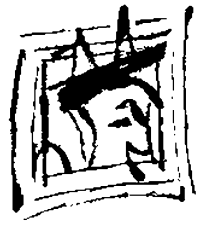


FIG. 2.34B. *ROM.81, potter's mark.*

attribution of this vessel also to Mashhad.[50] The date in numerals appears inside the well of the base above a unique potter's mark (1036/1626–27), which looks like Chinese cursive writing.[51] This type of mark may have been the ancestor of the "tassel-mark" which was to become the hallmark of the Kirman workshop in Phase III.

Like the pouring vessel (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08), it is a rare shape and was constructed in several stages. The body was formed in a two-part mould. The neck and handles (replaced) as well as the splayed foot were made separately and attached. The painting is executed with great care; even the leaves, which would ordinarily be rendered in a cursory manner, are shown with detailed vein systems.

One of the more popular themes of Phase I vessels, in both Mashhad and Kirman, was the animal on a bed of flaming clouds or foliage. A dish with *qilin* on flaming clouds (Fig. 2.34, ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11) has a petrofabric identical to that of the Timurid Mashhad workshop (Mashhad I petrofabric). Like the canteen (BRM.09), this dish is painted with black outlines by a highly skilled artisan. A scroll diaper decorates the rim. The multiplicity of internal flourishes inside the square seal-mark is the distinguishing characteristic of this type of potter's mark (Pl. 7.1, S7).[52]

This composition seems to have been inspired not by contemporary Chinese imports but by collections of porcelains acquired during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, like that of Shah Abbas, which was donated to the shrine at Ardabil. An early fifteenth-century porcelain donated to the Ardabil shrine by the Armenian *ghulam*-convert Qarachaghay Khan, a high-ranking official in the court of Shah Abbas, shows a dragon in reserve against a ground of breaking waves.[53] As he was governor of Mashhad (c. 1617–1623), the bulk of his porcelain holdings must have remained there, possibly a source of inspiration for the Safavid potters residing nearby. No doubt other such collections existed at minor courts, such as that of Ganj Ali Khan at Kirman (1594–1625).

Mashhad also produced a unique group of closely related dishes, characterized by a blank cavetto with lightly carved design. The central tondo bears a design derived from Chinese sixteenth-century models, such as waterfowl in a landscape or the animal on foliage or flames (Fig. 2.35, ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13). This design is framed by a scroll diaper, and the cavetto and rim are left blank. The white ground is lightly carved

50 An early reading of the petrofabric, prior to the assembling of a large database, suggested a Kirman origin (Golombek 2002:98).

51 An example of this use of Chinese cursive writing can be seen on a Hongzhi dish from the second half of the sixteenth century (Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001:210, table 1, no. b.1).

52 For a description of the potters' marks, see Chapter Seven.

53 Pope 1981, pl. 45.

FIG. 2.35A. *ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13, dish, face.*

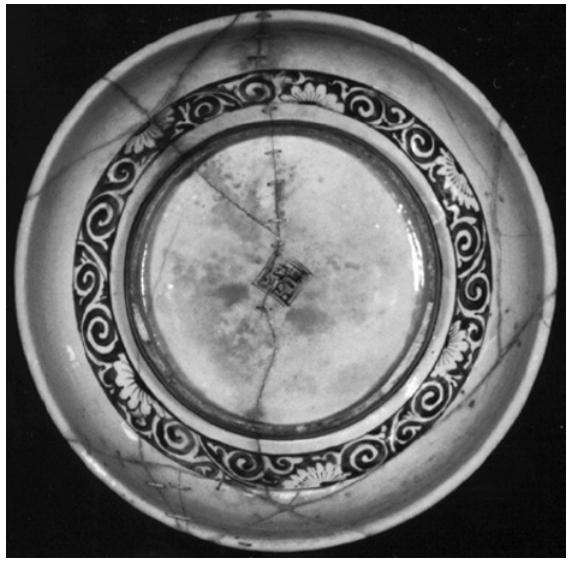


FIG. 2.35B. *ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13, back.*

with lappets or some other repeating design. The exterior walls are blank except for a wide band with fungus scroll in reserve. The potter's mark is consistently of the S6 type (Pl. 7.1). The petrofabric is either the Mashhad II or Mashhad III type.

Kirman

The earliest dated vessel (1034/1624–25) from Kirman is a small jar, commonly referred to as a "spittoon" (Fig. 2.36, ASH.13). The function of this vessel shape has been discussed in the previous chapter.

FIG. 2.36A. *ASH.13, jar, dated 1034/1624–25.*

Rather clumsily painted and slightly warped, this piece compares poorly with its Mashhad contemporaries. Petrographic analysis places this vessel in Kirman. While the shape does not have a Chinese model, the use of Chinese emblems within panels inspired by Kraak porcelain points to its source of inspiration. Notable is the use, albeit sparse, of black outlines. On the base beside the inscribed date is a black square seal-mark, making this the earliest dated vessel with a potter's mark (Pl. 7.1, S2). While there are numerous pieces with the same mark, such as V&A.124 (Fig. 2.37), none of them is dated. This dish is probably contemporary with the Mashhad *qilin* dish described above (Fig. 2.34, ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11), as they share the same theme, in this case the sinuous beast in fiery clouds. The rim design harks back to early Ming

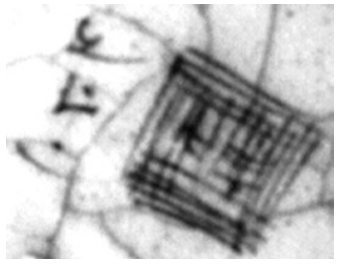


FIG. 2.36B. *ASH.13, potter's mark and date.*

FIG. 2.37A. *V&A.124, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.37B. *V&A.124, potter's mark.*

prototypes (squirrel-and-leaf). Our study of seal-marks suggests that the S2 seal-mark belonged to one of several Kirman ateliers producing high-quality copies of Chinese porcelain.

Among its products were fine copies of contemporary porcelain in the Wanli style, such as a "crow bowl" in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.38, ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10). The central tondo shows a bird on a rock. The inner walls are painted with blades of grass arching out from a leafy plant and with a pair of prunus branches beneath the rock. The grass blades create a canopy for the bird, and the branching prunus serves as a stabilizing pedestal. The vertical lines denoting Kraak panels are ignored by the grass blades and branches. The composition is very successful. The square seal-mark belongs to the same group as described above (S2).

A second bowl in the Royal Ontario Museum appears almost identical except that the bird faces in the other direction and stands on a slightly different rocky outcrop (Fig. 2.39, ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9). Bamboo replaces the blades of grass. Most significant, however, is that the potter's mark (Pl. 7.1, S4; Fig. 2.39b) differs from that of the other crow bowl (Pl. 7.1, S2; Fig. 2.38b). If both bowls are the work of a single potter, we must conclude that individuals did not consistently use a unique mark. Another possibility is that someone else in the workshop applied the marks. If the two bowls were made by different potters working in proximity (hence, the resemblance), we may suggest that the marks denote specific individuals, and that each workshop might then produce vessels bearing a variety of different marks. Neither of the bowls has been sampled as they are both in pristine condition. However, S2 marks have been found on sherds collected in Kirman and sampled for petrographic analysis (Fig. 5.18, KIR.18).

The Kirman "Boutique" Workshop

This group stands out for its extraordinary quality and faithfulness to the contemporary Chinese models. The darker blues are rendered as black outlines and accents. Some painters did depart from the models but did so with aplomb (Fig. 2.1, ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8; Fig. 2.43, ASH.10). They employed a distinctive version of the square seal-mark (Pl. 7.1, S1), characterized by its large scale, the clarity of its elements, the symmetry of their disposition, and often the use of an asterisk-shaped element with dotted ends. Two similar large dishes in the V&A (V&A.29, 74) recall Yuan reserve-painted models based on the medallion surrounded by cloud points.[54] The drawing of leaves and blossoms is executed with the dynamism of a skilled calligrapher or manuscript illuminator who evidently appreciated and did his best to evoke the aesthetics of the Yuan model, but did not copy slavishly.

54 For an example of a Yuan model, see Pope 1981, pl. 17.

FIG. 2.38A. *ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10, bowl, interior.*

FIG.2.38B, *ROM.21, potter's mark.*

FIG. 2.39A. *ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9, bowl, interior.*

FIG.2.39B. *ROM.20, potter's mark.*

This workshop was in production by at least the third decade of the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the date on a waisted bowl (BER.01) inscribed with a verse mentioning dining and salt (thus, sometimes referred to as a salt-container, or *namakdan*). Following the Persian verses comes the date 1037/1627–28, or three years after the Kirman spittoon (Fig. 2.36, ASH.13). Although its shape does not copy a Chinese model, the exterior is decorated with Kraak panels. Some of the vessels bearing the S1 seal-mark assigned to this group may pre-date the salt-container. The Kirman provenance of this group was confirmed through petrographic analysis (ROM.54, ASH.10). This atelier appears to be contemporary with the artisans using the S2 and S4 marks.

A considerable number of dishes copying Wanli models have survived (Fig.2.41, V&A.83).

FIG. 2.40A. *V&A.74, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.40B. *V&A.74, potter's mark.*

FIG. 2.41A. *V&A.83, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.41B. *V&A.83, potter's mark.*

Typically, they have a tondo with a Chinese landscape featuring waterfowl, deer, insects, or other life, framed by a scroll diaper in segments separated by fungi. The cavetto and rim follow one of the schemes defined by Rinaldi in her analysis of Kraak porcelain.[55] The painting is very fine. The gradation of blues is subtle, following the Chinese model closely.

The workshop also produced bowls with carefully copied Wanli-period designs (Fig. 2.42, V&A.264).

The creativity and skill of the masters of this workshop are best revealed, however, through works that extrapolate from earlier Chinese models but create something new. The finest is,

55 Rinaldi 1989:70, pl. 43.

FIG. 2.42A. *V&A.264, bowl.*

FIG. 2.42B. *V&A.264, potter's mark.*

FIG. 2.43A. *ASH.10, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.43B. *ASH.10, potter's mark.*

no doubt, the pair of horses galloping on a bed of winged clouds (Fig. 2.43, ASH.10).[56] The drawing is lively but the hand is very confident. Although the peony scroll of the rim could have been done in a routine manner, it is treated as a living organism, bending and twisting as if alive.

Somewhat less imbued with life but nonetheless skilfully done is the large dragon dish in the ROM (Fig.2.1, ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8). The dragon's body is transformed into a rigid circle to conform to the shape of the tondo, but the naturalistic treatment of the reptile's skin animates the dragon, recalling the dramatic renderings of dragons in foliage in the marginal illuminations of Persian books.

56 A close copy of this dish was published by Kűhnel (1925, Abb. 86), but its current location is unknown.

Unidentified Workshops

A seal-mark exhibiting great variation but sharing in common the inclusion of nested curves (S3) occurs on many vessels painted with black outlines that belong stylistically to this phase, such as the *kendi* with phoenix (Fig. 2.44, STK.01). One fragmentary vessel, probably also a *kendi,* has the date 1037/1627–28 inscribed on its base alongside a partially preserved seal-mark of this type (V&A.117). The *kendi* in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.45, ROM.91/ Cat. no. 15) lacks a potter's mark but belongs in Phase I because of its shape. Later versions show an elongation of the neck.

***Isfahan* (*Qumisheh*)**

The workshops that had produced rather lacklustre tomb markers during the sixteenth century began to make vessels copying Chinese porcelain,

FIG. 2.44. *STK.01*, kendi.

FIG. 2.46. *ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.45. *ROM.91/ Cat. no. 15*, kendi.

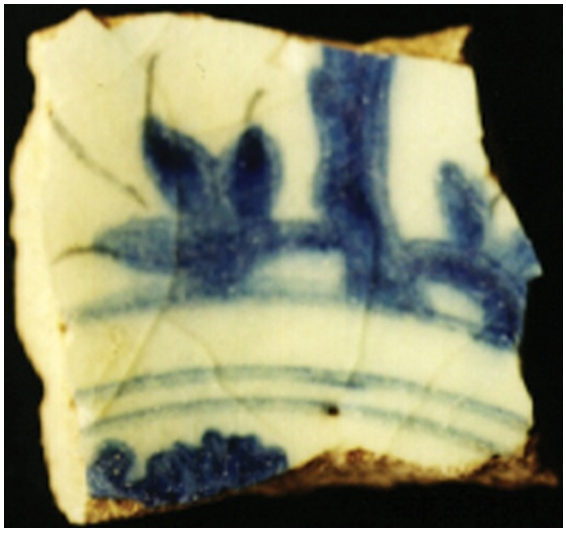


FIG. 2.47. *KIR.75, sherd, Isfahan petrofabric, found in Kirman.*

similar, but inferior, to those of Kirman and Mashhad (Fig. 2.46, ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16).

The workshop may have started already in Phase I to produce the beautiful polychrome dishes bearing figures and landscapes. A tomb marker painted in polychrome slips bears the name of a certain Mahdi-quli bin *ghulam* Ali Mafnabadi, who died in 1037/1627–1628 (Fig. 2.48, V&A.51). This individual hailed from the same town as those mentioned on the blue-and-white tiles in the Qumisheh series beginning in 1009/1601 (V&A.54).[57]

57 See the discussion of these tiles in Chapter Four.

FIG. 2.48. *V&A.51, tile grave marker, dated 1037/1627.*

FIG. 2.49. *MMA.03, dish with male portrait.*

It is difficult to know whether the workshop was already making the polychrome vessels with figural paintings in the style of Riza Abbasi. This style continued to be popular well into Phase II, as paintings in the Chehel Sutun palace attest. We shall leave that discussion for Phase II.

Moulded Monochrome Wares

This group was well defined by Arthur Lane, who noted the high quality of the "rather elaborately moulded pictorial designs."[58] He related the style and images to the school of Riza Abbasi at Isfahan, corresponding roughly to the reign of Shah Abbas I (1587–1629). The objects are all closed forms, either bottles, or flasks, or jars (height 10 cm). At least one bottle is lyre-shaped (KFB.01). The monochrome glaze is predominately apple green, but examples exist in brown, amber, and turquoise. The shapes of the flasks are modified rectangles, with the short sides articulated as lobed. They tend to be small, their size confirming their use as personal drinking flasks (20–23 cm). Most of the flasks have lost their original short neck, which has often been replaced with a metal one. The main subjects occupy the wider sides within an arch-shaped frame. The bottles (average height 36 cm) have a flattened pear-shaped body with a long tapering neck, a collar, and a garlic-bulb top. Subjects depicted on the moulded wares include a camel and zebu fighting, a man reining in a lion, two men entertained by a musician, *qilins*, a dragon, a lion attacking a gazelle, a seated male with a female dancer, an intimate couple, and a European (?) holding a cup (KFB.01). There are also flasks with arabesque designs. Multiple copies survive from some of the moulds, the largest number of copies being of the seated male with a female dancer (four copies). However, the size of this group of wares as a whole is very small compared with others of the seventeenth century, numbering only some 25 pieces in our database. Perhaps this type of ware was produced for a very limited period of time in a single workshop, most likely Isfahan. Possibly related to this group is the very small number of polychrome moulded bottles and flasks. Compared with Ming "cloisonné" by Arthur Lane, these wares have not been examined in detail in this study.[59]

The dating of this group is based on the figure style, which is associated with the Isfahan painter

58 Lane 1957:109; Rapoport 1972.

59 See Lane 1957:107–9.

FIG. 2.50A. *HRM.21, flask, side A, dancer and musician.*

FIG. 2.50B. *HRM.21, flask, side B, seated woman with tambourine.*

Riza Abbasi and his school. The seated woman with tambourine on the Hermitage flask (Fig. 2.50b, HRM.21) recalls Riza's painting of the "Woman counting on her fingers."[60] His painting of Nashmi, the archer, is a sardonic caricature of this deformed man and shows him holding a *qalyan* in the shape of a rectilinear flask.[61] The *qalyan* has a man's head depicted on it in shades of green, suggesting a carved image. The painter may be making the point that the depraved condition of Nashmi was due to overindulgence in smoking (most likely, opium). The date of the painting, 1630, suggests an attribution of this group to Phase I. The likely source would be Isfahan, possibly Qumisheh. This group has not been sampled for petrographic analysis.

Conclusions on Phase I

During this period, from about 1615 to 1640, two major centres undertook to supply the local elite with fine pottery closely resembling Chinese porcelain imports. Mashhad had been a centre of production during the fifteenth century but seems not to have been active after the fall of the Timurids. Nearby Nishapur had continued to operate well into the sixteenth century, but also disappeared before the reign of Shah Abbas. The revival of the Mashhad pottery was probably instigated by the *ghulam* governor Qarachaghay Khan shortly after Shah Abbas made his pilgrimage to Mashhad (1601) and subsequently ordered renovation and expansion of the shrine of the Imam Riza (1612). Qarachaghay Khan was a patron of the arts and himself a collector of Chinese porcelain.[62]

Kirman had ceased to produce fine pottery before the Timurid period. The city declined during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and revived only with the arrival of Ganj Ali Khan, who was appointed governor by Shah Abbas in 1596. He is credited with transforming Kirman into a major centre of trade and culture. Some of the Kirman "boutique" pottery may have been produced for export,[63] but more likely it was intended

60 Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. Pers. 1572, fol. 5 (Robinson 1965, pl. 52).

61 Canby 1996:177, cat. no. 126.

62 See Chapter One.

63 Persian potters could not produce the volume necessary for a viable export trade as their kilns were relatively small when compared with the great "dragon" kilns of China.

for local consumption, perhaps even the entourage of the governor. Some of the artists brought from Isfahan to work on his buildings may have influenced the style and quality of this extraordinary pottery.

The role of the potteries near Isfahan is not clear. Initially they seem to have accepted a secondary role to Kirman and Mashhad, attempting to supply less competent copies of Chinese imports. However, some of these workshops were later engaged in producing wares to suit a different taste that demanded pictures of the "beautiful people" as portrayed by the court painters of Shah Abbas. These potters painted "portraits" and charming paradisial landscapes in full colour (see Phase II), and they may well also have been the source of the monochrome relief wares with pictorial imagery in the Safavid style.

Phase II (c. 1640–1650)

Toward the end of Phase I we begin to see significant changes in the ways that the Safavid workshops operated. Some of these changes relate to internal events but all were to some extent responses to variables in the manufacture and trade of Chinese porcelain. Noteworthy are the shift in palette from black outlining to the exclusive use of blue, the replacement of the square seal-mark by character-marks and then by tassel-marks, and the standardization of secondary motifs, such as those that decorate the backs of dishes. It was also at this time that the new style of Chinese porcelain painting, known as the "Transitional" style, with its large figures in floating landscapes, inspired by woodblock-print illustrations, entered the repertory of the Safavid potter.[64] Several substantial changes took place within this period, while others began during the last decade of Phase II and continued into Phase III. We shall now look at each of these changes in turn.

64 Little 1983.

The Major Changes: Potters' Marks and Palette

While the most significant change was the abandonment of black outlines by the Kirman workshops in favour of the blue palette, this transition will be discussed last as the complexity of the issue requires a documentation of the other changes. Studying first the changes in potters' marks will provide a baseline for dating the palette change. A series of *kendis* painted with black outlines, one of which is dated 1051/1641–42 (V&A.56), still have black square seal-marks (except the dated one, which lacks a potter's mark). This series demonstrates that the use of black outlining and the black seal-mark continued as late as the dated example, that is, the first years of Phase II.

Shortly thereafter, but before the major stylistic evolution of Phase III (c. 1650), alternatives to the square seal-mark began to appear. What Arthur Lane first called the "character-mark" assumes many different variations, some of which belong to this period while others evolved much later (see Chapter Seven). The character-mark typically consists of small illegible but similar characters, usually in multiples, arranged symmetrically in a cluster. A Mashhad dish in the Royal Ontario Museum has a five-element character-mark on the base, each element consisting of a loop intersected by lines (Pl. 7.3, C2; Fig. 2.51b, ROM.53/ Cat. no. 12). The centre of this black-line dish is occupied by a densely packed landscape with birds, framed by a scroll diaper, a narrow cavetto band with alternating lozenges and double scrolls, and a band of trefoil grassy mounds sprouting ribbons along the flange. The branching peach tree with bird on the exterior (Pl. 6.3.1, Back I.3) places this object close to Phase I, but the use of the character-mark suggests that it heralds the beginning of the transitional phase (Phase II).

Some of the Kirman workshops also seem to have introduced character-marks at this time (Pl. 7.3, C1). We find an example on a dish that bears what was soon to become the distinctive Kirman back, the fruit-bearing spray (V&A.121; Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.1a). Another related character-mark

FIG. 2.51A. *ROM.53/ Cat. no. 12, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.51B. *ROM.53, potter's mark.*

appears on a deep Kirman bowl decorated with small dragon medallions, following a popular Chinese prototype (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18). In this case, however, the numerous versions of this bowl appear to be downscale copies of an earlier Kirman "boutique" model (Fig. 2.52, ASH.19).[65] These vessels with early character-marks bridge Phases I and II. Toward the end of Phase II Kirman favoured a new type of mark, the "tassel," as we shall see below.

FIG. 2.52. *ASH.19, detail of bowl exterior.*

FIG. 2.53. *ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18, bowl, exterior.*

The Phase II imitation (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18) preserves all the motifs but is rendered in a more cursory, rapid fashion, foreshadowing the mass production that was about to take over in Kirman ateliers. This period also saw the formation of a background motif, the "leaf-curl," which was to become one of the hallmarks of commoditized Kirman pottery in Phase III (after 1650). Because the changes from relatively small-scale production to the commoditization of the ceramic industry took place over one or two decades, Phase II can be considered transitional.

We turn now to the question of change in palette at Kirman (noting that Mashhad did not shift to the blue palette until Phase IV). We have seen that Kirman potters copied earlier Kirman vessels and preserved the black outlining. However, during this period several of the Kirman "boutique" designs inspired copies in the medium of blue-on-white, omitting the black outlines.

One of the most popular Chinese designs was the early Ming lotus bouquet. A copy of this dish, of which there were numerous examples in the Ardabil collection,[66] was beautifully rendered by a Kirman potter during Phase I (Fig. 2.54, RZA.02.). The lotus bouquet consists of lotus blossoms in full-front as well as side views. The large blossom in the centre is supported by a series of parallel lines forming the stems of the bouquet which is tied by an undulating ribbon. The cavetto is

65 See discussion of Cat. no. 18.

66 Pope 1981, pls. 30–31.

FIG. 2.54. *RZA.02, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.55. *V&A.163, dish, face.*

painted with a lotus scroll, also drawn from the early Ming repertory. The rim design appears to be based on the cresting wave pattern, but the background has been transformed into wicker-work. One of the waves appears as an elongated leaf. The exterior is painted with a lotus scroll (Pl. 6.3.1, Back II.1). The black seal-mark seems to be a cross between S1 and S3 (see Pl. 7.1). Two more versions of this design occur in blue-and-white with no black outlines. Both of these have blue tassel-marks (Fig. 2.55, V&A.163; HRM.79). That they are copies of a Kirman model rather than of an original Chinese dish is evident from the fact that the details of the design (number, placement, and rendering of the blossoms) are closer to the Kirman dish than to any of the known Chinese models.

One of these copies has the older back design of the lotus scroll (HRM.79), while the other, which in some ways is more faithful to the earlier Kirman model, breaks away by using the newer exteriors featuring a variation on the floral spray, the fruit-bearing spray with haloed peach (V&A.163; Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.1b). A third version of the lotus-bouquet design simplifies all of the details and uses the fan-leaf spray back (Back III.2), which was to become the most common back found on Phase III Kirman wares (ASH.17). The dating of the two close copies of the Kirman dish to Phase II is based on the absence of motifs such as the leaf-curl and the fan-leaf spray back.

The same process of transition can be observed if we look at copies of the Kirman "boutique" dishes modelled on the Yuan cloud-point design, which we described earlier (Fig. 2.40, V&A.74; V&A.29). A large dish painted only in blue (Fig. 2.56, V&A.73) reproduces the earlier cloud-point design but transforms the cresting-wave rim into a wicker ground like that found on the Kirman lotus-bouquet dishes (Fig. 2.54, RZA.02). The

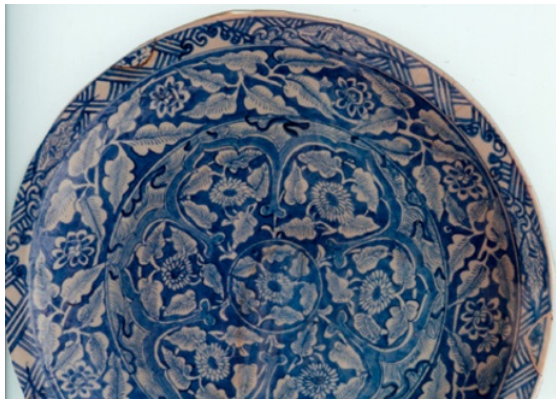


FIG. 2.56. *V&A.73, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.57. *KUW.01, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.58. *ROM.92 / Cat. no. 20, dish, face.*

square seal-mark on the base is now painted in blue rather than black. The exterior is decorated with a floret-spray (Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.3), which comes into favour only toward the end of Phase II. Another dish inspired by the same "boutique" copy of the Yuan cloud-point design (Fig. 2.57, KUW.01) also has a blue seal-mark on the base (Pl. 7.1, S8). Much of the detail carried over in the first copy has been omitted in this one. Probably the changes took place gradually and were not synchronized.

Kraak themes remained popular and were still carefully executed by a Kirman atelier using the new blue palette. A simple blue tassel-mark appears on the base of a very large charger (diameter 51 cm) in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.58, ROM.92/ Cat. no. 20).

However, during this phase new themes did make their appearance on Safavid pottery. These were themes inspired by Chinese "unofficial" wares that were not produced under imperial patronage. The "Transitional" style, as it is called by scholars of seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain, derived from stories that had never before been depicted on ceramics. This style displaced the typical Wanli designs when the potteries of Jingdezhen were no longer under Imperial control.[67] The new themes appearing on Chinese imports are emblazoned across large Safavid dishes without regard to fitting the design to the shape (Fig. 2.59, ASH.15). The rim and cavetto

FIG. 2.59. *ASH.15, dish, face.*

67 Scholars refer to the interlude between the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 and the revival of imperial patronage of the Jingdezhen kilns under the Kangxi emperor (Qing dynasty) in 1683 as the Transitional

became a wide field for the interplay of large figures and sweeping hills. The palette was restricted to blue, and the tassel-mark was now used exclusively in Kirman. This style does not seem to have been embraced by the Mashhad potters.

Already in this period one can see the beginnings of the leaf-curl diaper that was to become another hallmark of Kirman pottery by the middle of the century. A copy of the lotus-bouquet dish discussed above shows all the elements present in the Phase II series from Kirman, including the blue-and-white palette and the tassel-mark, but shows the lotus scroll of the cavetto undergoing transformation into the leaf-curl diaper (Fig. 2.60, HRM.79). The vines form regular circles containing spiky leaves. These leaves have yet to assume the curled shape that they will in the final version of this motif (see below).

Isfahan (Qumisheh)

The precise dating of Isfahan polychrome wares that until recently went under the erroneous designation "Kubachi" is difficult to ascertain. The dated grave marker cited earlier shows that

FIG. 2.60. *HRM.79, dish, face.*

period. Some view the Transitional period as beginning somewhat earlier (Little 1983).

FIG. 2.61. *V&A.249, tile with female portrait.*

by 1627 the technique already existed on tilework (Fig. 2.48, V&A.51). Numerous tiles with portraits of men and women in a wide variety of hair styles and headgear were made for the walls of bathhouses and palaces. Some are extremely fine, while others show less care. Sampled tiles confirm the Isfahan provenance (Fig. 2.61, V&A.249).

Whether the polychrome technique was practised simultaneously by potters and tile-painters or became the subject matter for pottery only later is difficult to say. Certainly, the portraits on tiles are more varied, and the large pictorial panels decorating Safavid courtly buildings indicate that tile tableaux constituted a major art form (LOU.07).[68]

The palette consists of cobalt, chromium (black), and copper (green or turquoise), applied as oxides, and slips containing a red and a tan-to-ochre pigment. Occasionally, pigments are mixed

68 The three major panels, all depicting men and women picnicking in the countryside, each measuring about two metres long, are in three different museums (the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris). They are said to have come from a pavilion that once stood on the Chahar Bagh Avenue (Blair and Bloom 1994:196).

to obtain a flesh tone, as in a fragmentary dish with a large sunface in the centre (FZW.07). Many of the designs are geometric compositions using elements from Kraak-style porcelain.

A more detailed discussion of these wares is warranted as the quantity surviving in museum collections around the world is so impressive, and their widely accepted attribution to Tabriz is unfounded (see Chapter Four).

The same potteries simultaneously produced underglaze-painted wares, with black painting under a transparent turquoise or green glaze. Many of the motifs hark back to the Tabriz Weedback production of the mid-sixteenth century. The shapes tend to conform more closely to seventeenth-century fashions. The turquoise and black dish in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.65, ROM.28/ Cat. no. 32) lacks a flange and

FIG. 2.62. *LAC.01, dish with female portrait.*

FIG. 2.64. *ROM.08/ Cat. no. 33, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.63. *V&A.02, dish with male portrait.*

FIG. 2.65. *ROM.28/ Cat. no. 32, dish, face.*

was inspired by the lotus bouquet designs so popular in Phase II in Kirman, discussed above. Around its cavetto, however, runs a motif with undulating stems and lotus leaves, recalling the sixteenth-century weedback petal-panel motif (Pl. 6.2, Back G).

Both the underglaze-painted and the slip-painted wares continued into Phase III with no remarkable change in style. The Isfahan workshop would then shift its production to low-market blue-and-white copies of Kraak to make up for the shortfall in Chinese imports during the period of turmoil in China.

The Matchlock Bottles

Although the database of Safavid ceramics exceeds 2,000 objects, the survival of duplicates is infrequent. In view of this fact the survival of some two dozen moulded and painted bottles showing a Persian hunter with matchlock gun is extraordinary. This series was the subject of a detailed study which will be summarized here.[69] The bottles are all made in two-part moulds which provide the relief design forming the basis for the painting. The bottle is a flattened pear-shape with garlic-bulb terminal above a moderately tall tapering neck. On one side the hunter aims his gun at deer and birds amid foliage. On the other kneels a woman, preparing food and drink. Facing her is the large figure of a European carrying the quarry over his shoulders. The deer's antlers are suspended from his belt.

This is the only complex scene of its kind depicted on painted Safavid pottery although comparable scenes do appear on some of the moulded monochrome relief vessels (see above). The hunting scene seems to have been inspired by paintings from the middle of the seventeenth century, possibly by an actual scene from the Chehel Sutun Palace at Isfahan (after 1647).

All the bottles are painted in reserve on a cobalt ground, with black outlining. There is great variation in small details. The many copies of this bottle can be grouped into two major families based on idiosyncrasies in the image, such as the treatment of the constant landscape features. Petrographic analysis allows us to assign these groups respectively to Mashhad and Kirman. The finer, more accurate, and possibly earlier versions are attributed to Mashhad.

The reasons for the popularity of this bottle and the survival of so many copies await future research. It is evident that at this time (mid-seventeenth century) the use of firearms for hunting had become acceptable and was gaining popularity. The presence of Europeans in royal or aristocratic hunting parties has also been testified to in other pictorial sources. Perhaps such bottles were actually used in the hunt or in celebration upon returning.

In terms of its role in the history of Safavid ceramics, this series of bottles represents demand for an object that depicted something personal to the consumer rather than an imitation of Chinese porcelain. In the next phase we shall see the potter depart even further from Chinese models.

Phase III (c. 1650–1680)

Kirman appears to take the lead at this time. While Mashhad and perhaps some smaller centres continued to churn out repetitive copies of Kraak wares of relatively small dimensions, Kirman bolted in new directions. New types of wares were created, featuring plays on the monochrome-celadon theme. Potters were reaching out to appeal to new markets at home and abroad. New shapes in dishes include small polygonal trays, probably formed on moulds, imitating Chinese forms. Sherds from pottery of this period have been found all along the maritime route. As demand for Safavid pottery increased, the designs appear ever more simplified for rapid production. Motifs such as the leaf-curl diaper (see below) were created that could be repeated easily to cover the surface. Favourite subjects recur in almost identical form, such as the segmented dragon on a ground of leaf-curls. The Isfahan workshop

69 Golombek 2011.

FIG. 2.66. *BKN.05, bottle: a. matchlock hunter, b. woman and European with prey, c. side.*

FIG. 2.67. *ROM.88/ Cat. no. 88, bottle with matchlock hunter.*

developed its own approach to speeding up the rate of production. This was the age of the commoditization of Persian pottery.

In Chapter One the expansion of the pottery industry in Iran has been attributed to the shortfall of porcelain exports from China. The following discussion will indicate what directions this expansion took. The specific changes in technique and decorative vocabulary, as well as the forms and functions of the objects, reflect the new markets to which Safavid potters now catered.

Kirman: New Fashions in Design

Despite the fact that the widespread use of simplified designs speeded up production, the quality of the pottery remained high. The cobalt pigment sparkled against the brilliant white ground, now free of black outlining. New compositions evolved, some utilizing chinoiserie motifs or other ideas from the past while others represented totally new concepts.

This period appears to have been a moment of great activity and creativity in Kirman. Around the middle of the century the Muzaffarid Friday Mosque, built in the fourteenth century, received a facelift.[70] The facade of the sanctuary was covered with tiles of two types. Panels of polychrome *haft-rangi* (*cuerda seca*) alternate with panels painted in blue on a white ground. Both groups of panels follow the same designs, but the effect is very different because of the contrasting palettes. Few blue-and-white vessels from Kirman are painted in a similar style, so the source of the designs could not have been the contemporary pottery production. Rather, the designs appear to have been inspired by carpets. Several large jars do reflect this "carpet style," but it was not mainstream (e.g., V&A.17, 28). What is remarkable, however, is that the contrast arising from a juxtaposition of a polychrome and a chinoiserie palette in the mosque facade is precisely what lies behind the Kirman polychrome style, to be discussed below.

Black-Band Dishes

This is an important group because many of the inscriptions occurring in the "black-band" are followed by dates. Such inscription bands have a long history in Persian pottery, going back at least to Kashan lustre-wares of the twelfth to thirteenth century and, closer in date, to the late fifteenth-century turquoise-and-black wares of Nishapur.[71] As in those forerunners, the Safavid vessels have Persian verses scratched through a black or grey slip (or painted on first with a wax resistant to the slip).

Determining the lifespan of this style is made difficult by the problems presented by the dates written at the ends of the inscriptions. These dates are always in Arabic numerals. What is presumed to be the earliest dated black-band dish places the beginnings of the style around 1655 (ZZZ.30, dated 1065/1654–55). This early date presents a problem because the next dated piece in the series of seven comes more than 10 years later (V&A.55), and the subsequent dated dishes of the group form a cluster spanning only 11 years. Stylistically, the allegedly

70 Golombek 2003.

71 GMB 1996:134.

earlier dish (ZZZ.30) belongs entirely within this group and shows no indication of earlier development. The date as currently read appears to be too early for this group. It seems to fall stylistically in the middle of the group. The author was unable to obtain a clear detail of the date to check the original reading as the dish recently sold at auction[72] and the new owner is not known. A reading of 1085/1674–75 would seem more probable (the digit "8" perhaps having been misread as "6"). Until this reading can be verified, however, we shall assume that the earlier date (1065) is correct.

The problems presented by what would seem to be the last two dishes in the series arise from interpretation rather than a reading of the recorded numerals. For the seventeenth century, there are normally four digits in the date, the first two giving the century (i.e., 10). However, on two of the seven dishes in this dated group, the date has been recorded in only three digits (BER.04 and BRM.02). It was a common practice in the dating of documents to omit a digit if the writer could safely assume that the reader understood the convention (as we often omit the century dates, e.g., '96 for 1996). For the inscriptions on the dishes, the question becomes which of the digits is actually missing. Taking the example of documents from the twelfth century AH, scholars have assumed that the missing digit on these two dishes is a "1," thus 108 (BER.04) was read as 1108, or 1696–97, and 109 (BRM.02) was read as 1697–98. In other words, the digits indicating the century were the same ("11") and, thus, elided. I am suggesting that the fourth, not the second, digit has been omitted, and that the two dates be read as 1080/1669–70 and 1090/1679–80, respectively. The arguments favouring this interpretation of the dating, which place the two dishes closer in date to the others, arise from the stylistic homogeneity of the group.

The firmly dated dishes, clustering within little more than a decade (or two, depending on how you date ZZZ.30), have many features in common: decorative motifs (the leaf-curl), exterior designs, tassel-marks, and poetic verses. The inscriptions vary but most name the vessel as a *qab* (tray). The two questionable dates fall far outside the suggested range for the series (c. 1655–1680).[73]

The group, including the two with "late" dates, share motifs that had actually disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century, such as the fan-leaf spray back (Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.2a; Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.2b). Furthermore, if the two "late" dishes were to date from the very end of the seventeenth century, they would likely show more stylistic affinity with wares that we know to belong to this period (see below, Phase IV). Missing from the entire group are the motifs inspired by Kangxi porcelain. Given the evidence of the decorative repertory of the group as consistent with Kirman style c. 1655–1680, I have chosen to view the three digits in the dates of the two dishes as consecutive (108+, 109+), and the missing digit as the final one (which should be a cipher). The cipher, which appears in Arabic numerals as a dot, is either omitted by convention or is assumed to be represented by the dot over the letter "nun" of *sannat* ("[in] the year"), which precedes the date. The black-band group thus ranges from around 1655 to 1680, fading out just as Kangxi exports brought dramatic changes to the Kirman potteries.

A range of different decorative techniques can be found on this series. One of the earliest (1077/1666–67; V&A.55) is a large platter with an incised design in the centre. This technique imitates the Chinese *an-hua* style, "secret" or "hidden" decoration, which goes back to the early fifteenth

72 Sotheby's, London, October 10, 1978, no. 130.

73 The new readings are set in bold. The rejected readings appear within square brackets.

1065/1654-55	(ZZZ.30)
1077/1666-67	(V&A.55)
1080/1669-70	(BER.04)
1084/1673-74	(CDC.10)
1084/1673-74	(ROM.89)
1088/1677-78	(BRM.06)
1090/1679-80	(BRM.02)
[1108/1696-97	BER.04]
[1109/1697-98	BRM.02]

FIG. 2.68. *BER.04, dish, dated 1080/1669–70.*

FIG. 2.69. *ROM.83/ Cat. no. 25, dish, face.*

century.[74] The design is difficult to see, but the drawing by Whitman shows it to be a flowering plant with large lotus and other blossoms.[75] These flowering plants are also found painted in blue on a black-band dish dated 1080/1669–70 (Fig. 2.68, BER.04). The similarity between this dish and the previous one suggests closeness in date and thus further supports our rejection of reading its date as almost 30 years later. An undated dish in the Royal Ontario Museum bears comparison with the Berlin dish (Fig. 2.69, ROM.83/ Cat. no. 25).

The black-band fashion also appears in designs that include black outlines, such as the dish made by Khvajeh Muhammad (V&A.24) and a smaller one with similar design in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.70, ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22). This dish (ROM.89), painted with two reflected pairs of deer in the same style as found on the signed dish (V&A.24), is dated 1084/1673–74. The necks of the female deer form a reverse S-shaped line, thus transforming the animals into elements of a dynamic design.[76] The inscription bands on these dishes are painted with a greenish-grey ground, resembling celadon.

Incised, Moulded, and Painted Dishes

Incised and moulded decoration characterizes a group of dishes with distinctive decoration in the form of stellate designs painted in blue. The backgrounds are filled with low-relief decoration, such as scale patterns. The exterior is almost always painted in a solid colour, usually blue. No vessels in this group are dated, but many bear tassel-marks, ensuring their attribution to Kirman.

Related to this group is a series of large dishes with carved designs (the Chinese "hidden" style, *an-hua*). Some of these also belong to the black-band group. Similar to the dated dish with inscription mentioned earlier (V&A.55; 1077/1666–67), but lacking the black band, is a large dish in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM.100/ Cat. no. 23). A large floral composition occupies the entire white surface of the interior, while the exterior is

74 Crowe 2002:124; Crowe discusses this dish in detail and includes a transcription and translation of the poem (p. 274), suggesting that the date may celebrate the accession of Shah Sulayman I.

75 Whitman, published by Crowe 2002, fig. 274.

76 The same potter's name appears on the base of a *qalyan*, also decorated with pairs of deer (V&A.174).

FIG. 2.70A. *ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22, dish, face, dated 1084/1673–74.*

FIG. 2.70B. *ROM.89, detail.*

solid blue. Another with incised lotus plant has a fluted cavetto, also with a blue back.[77]

Slip-painted and Excised Monochrome Wares

The re-discovery of the beauty of monochrome glaze is fully exploited in the next group.

FIG. 2.71. *V&A.301, dish, face.*

Two distinct techniques exploit to the fullest the beauty of cobalt blue as a solid background for delicate spare decoration. In the first, the designs are carved through the blue-tinted slip and (excised) into the leather-hard body before being covered with a transparent glaze (ZZZ.216). Brown excised monochrome wares appear to be somewhat later in date as their decorative vocabulary relates to Kangxi-influenced blue-and-white wares (V&A.225). The second technique calls for the application of a white slip over the tinted slip-painted body, with occasional accents in ochre and red. The body colour is most often blue, but a celadon-like olive green was also popular. The transparent glaze is applied last.

The Safavid slip-painted wares include one dated piece, a blue *qalyan* with flowering plants, birds, and clouds (Fig. 2.72, V&A.57; dated 1049/1639–40 or 1069/1658–59).

Potters' marks that appear to be complex variations on the Kirman tassel-mark occur on 10 of the 51 excised and slip-painted monochrome wares in our database.[78]

These two techniques were especially favoured for pear-shaped *qalyans*, and several examples of globular *qalyans* were similarly decorated.

77 Crowe 2002:124–27 (V&A no. 2805-1876); P. F. Ferguson 2008–2009.

78 For a most unusual tassel-mark with "lotus-petals" on its lower tier, see the monochrome blue dish with lustre-painting in Lyon (Crowe 2008, no. 5).

FIG. 2.72. *V&A.57,* qalyan*, dated 1049/1639–40 or 1069/1658–59.*

A considerable number of dishes of medium (25 cm) and large (40–50 cm) diameter were done in both monochrome techniques. Bowls average 25 cm in diameter with a depth of 10–14 cm. Only one larger monochrome incised bowl is known (ZZZ.216, 38 cm), and it is exceptional for other reasons (see below).

Some of the shapes found in monochrome were also common for Kirman polychrome wares, such as the pear-shaped *qalyan,* the globular *qalyan,* and the lobed bowl (V&A.221). Several bottles and at least one with four nozzles suggest that the monochrome techniques tended to be used for the larger vessels, perhaps because they required less time and skill to apply the single colour and yet the effect was quite stunning. Monochrome-glazed backs were common on all types of Kirman wares in Phase III.

The two monochrome techniques, excising and slip-painting, appear to be contemporary, but the excised wares were more labour intensive and perhaps higher on the luxury scale. If one compares dishes done in the two techniques, it can be seen that on the excised dish the motifs are carefully cut into the flange of the dish (the S-shaped floret; for example, Fig. 2.73, BRM.23), but the same motifs appear to be executed in a cursory fashion on the slip-painted dish (V&A.220).

Perhaps slip-painting of designs on monochrome wares was simply more economical. Another possibility is that the excised wares are somewhat earlier and inspired the slip-painting. A deep bowl with excised S-shaped florets around the walls of the blue exterior (Fig. 2.74, ZZZ.216) has Kraak-derived designs of high quality painted in blue on the interior. This unusual combination

FIG. 2.73. *BRM.23, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.74. *ZZZ.216, dish, face.*

of old and new styles (the blue-and-white Kraak-style painting with monochrome excised decoration) is also found in the Kirman polychrome wares discussed below (Fig. 2.77, BRM.05). The odd juxtaposition may be more a matter of taste (patron's or potter's) than a chronological indicator.

The slip-painted decoration has a limited repertoire: the large flowering plant with corn-flowers or carnations (also seen on Kirman polychrome), cypress trees, gazelles and other animals; arabesques forming medallions; fern-like plants; and bands of floral sprays. Some designs are shared with lustre-wares: split-palmette interlace (STK.40, V&A.219; compare with lustre BER.14, signed by Khatim); cypress trees; cornflower or carnation plants.

The production period seems to range from around 1650 to 1680. The source of inspiration was probably the monochrome slip-painted wares of Dehua (Fujian) made at the end of the sixteenth century for export to South Asia. Two pear-shaped bottles with white slip-painting, one blue, the other brown, were found in Indonesia.[79] Slip-painted monochrome wares were again produced in China when the porcelain industry revived during the Kangxi period, perhaps in response to their popularity in South Asia.

Some of the excised wares with medallion compositions (e.g., V&A.225) comparable to late Mashhad blue-and-white ("luscious flower" style, Phase IV) may belong to the last decades of the period. These have brown backgrounds rather than blue. The main production centre appears to be Kirman, as evidenced by petrographic analysis of sherds from Kirman, the presence of tassel-marks, the use of monochrome exteriors on other Kirman wares, and a decorative vocabulary shared with Kirman polychrome (see below). However, other centres may have been inspired to imitate these attractive wares.

79 See Harrisson 1995, colour plates 9a–b. Both bottles are in the Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands.

FIG. 2.75. *ROM.52/ Cat. no. 61, dish, face.*

Pseudo-celadons

The revival of monochrome wares is certainly linked with a fondness for celadon, which had been exported to the Middle East for centuries and which appears in orders from the Dutch East Indies Company.[80] Sherds from Chinese celadons have been excavated at Ardabil and elsewhere. Many of the Persian pseudo-celadons are painted in an opaque olive glaze and, like true celadons, lack any decoration except carved fluting of the cavetto (Fig. 2.75, ROM. 52/ Cat. no. 61). Sampled dishes of this ware have an Isfahan petrofabric.

Polychrome Slips with Blue-and-white Chinoiserie

The black-band style extended to another new decorative technique, spectacular for its brilliant colouring. Coloured slips are inlaid in the body or painted over a white ground. The earliest dated Kirman polychrome (with slip inlay) is a dish with five sun disks in the centre of a lobed square filled with flowering plants, inlaid as coloured slips (Fig. 2.82, CDC.10). Its black-band inscription, scratched through the black slip in cartouches bordering the cavetto, ends with the date 1084/

80 See Chapter One, pp. 27, 32.

FIG. 2.76A. *ROM.37/ Cat. no. 28,* qalyan*, side A.*

FIG. 2.76B. *ROM.37, side B.*

1673–74. What distinguishes Kirman polychrome from Isfahan polychrome is the distinctive aesthetics of the Kirman wares. There are actually two different palettes in play on a single vessel. A pattern derived usually from Chinese porcelain is rendered in blue on a white ground or in reserve. The polychrome design, generally floral, is worked in a style more reminiscent of Mughal *pietra dura*, such as is found in Shah Jahan's palaces at Agra and Shahjahanabad (Delhi). On a four-sided bottle in the Royal Ontario Museum two sides bear a figure holding a vessel, painted in blue, and two sides have polychrome slips that appear to be inlaid in a white ground (Fig. 2.76, ROM.37/ Cat. no. 28).

This style may have been particularly appealing to expatriate Indian merchants living in Iran.[81] Sometimes the Chinese design dominates the entire interior of a bowl and resembles earlier black-line vessels from Phase I (compare Fig. 2.39a, ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9 and Fig. 2.77a, BRM.05), but much of the detail is now lost. The new polychrome slip-painted technique with its own repertory of floral, arabesque, and leaf-curl diaper (see below) covers the exterior (Fig. 2.77b, BRM.05; ZZZ.271). That these wares were intended to appeal to the South Asian market is suggested by Kangxi wares that seem to imitate Kirman products. Dishes similar to the type with stellate design surrounded by the black-band were made in China during this period and shipped to Indonesia (compare Fig. 2.80, MMA.10, with Kangxi polychrome wares[82]).

Large as well as small dishes were painted in this manner. Many of the larger dishes have a black band around the rim with either an inscription or a scrolling motif scratched through the black slip. Two of these, included in the discussion above, bear dates: 1084/1673–74 (CDC.10) and 1088/1677–78 (BRM.06). Another two with decorative black bands have interior designs closely related to the stellate patterns of the incised group

81 Dale 1994.

82 Harrisson 1995, pls. 66–67, collected in Indonesia; Volker 1954, pls. 27–28, figs. 49–50; Krahl 1986, no. 2844.

FIG. 2.77A. *BRM.05, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 2.77B. *BRM.05, exterior.*

(Fig. 2.80, MMA.10; V&A.27). They are unusual in that black outlining is used extensively. All the dishes with polychrome slip-painting have the fan-leaf spray back (Pl. 6.3.2–3, III.2a and III.2b), and many bear tassel-marks of various types (Pl. 7.2). Sampled vessels and sherds painted in this technique all prove to have the Kirman petrofabric. The motifs and the petrographic evidence tie this group to Kirman. The dating seems to fall within the decade 1670–1680, as suggested by the two dated dishes.

This technique seems to have been very popular for closed shapes, such as bottles and *qalyans*. Globular shapes were treated in a variety of ways. One popular approach was to isolate the patterns in lobed medallions like those found on bookbindings (Fig. 2.77, BRM.05; Fig. 2.78, MAG.10; MDN.19). Another was to apply ornament as if designing for a tiled dome. The medallions become reciprocal (ZZZ.235), or the large palmette leaves of a vine become medallions (V&A.194, ZZZ.198). The polychrome floral designs may also be floated

FIG. 2.78. *MAG. 10,* qalyan.

FIG. 2.79. *V&A.12,* qalyan.

FIG. 2.80. *MMA.10, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.81. *MMA.11, bottle.*

FIG. 2.82. *CDC.10, dish, face, dated 1084/1673–74.*

on a white ground, framed or unframed, and contrasted with Chinese landscape vignettes (Fig. 2.79, V&A.12; ZZZ.234).

A pair of unique pear-shaped bottles in the Metropolitan Museum, painted with yellow slip and cobalt, is exceptional for the extensive use of yellow and the insertion of delicate low-relief designs (Fig. 2.81, MMA.11; MMA.07).

Leaf-curl patterns frequently appear on the Kirman polychrome wares. A short digression on this motif is warranted.

The Leaf-Curl Diaper

Around the middle of the seventeenth century potters in Kirman began to replace classic scrolls, fiery clouds, and other Chinese-derived background motifs with a grid of curling vines, each curl containing a curving spiky leaf. Crowe calls this motif "scrolling leaves" and notes: "This motif appears to be a further Persian transformation of Chinese leaves starting with the spiky leaf of the late Yuan period, then using the lotus and leaf scroll of the early sixteenth century, and finally adopting a simplified outline to produce a scrolling repeat, a mechanical pattern distinguishing it from a specific Chinese model."[83] To avoid confusing this pattern with other motifs referred to as "scrolls," we have chosen the term "leaf-curl diaper."

Popular scenes, such as the dragon on a ground of leaf-curls, were repeated endlessly.[84] Wherever

83 Crowe 2002:117.

84 Ibid., nos. 155–59.

lotus scrolls had once covered large areas, the leaf-curl diaper would appear. It cloaks the shoulders of a blue-and-white multi-nozzle flower vase in the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2.83, ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24).

Unlike many of the motifs found on Safavid pottery, the leaf-curl diaper is specific to a place (Kirman) and a time range. It can therefore be used diagnostically. The provenance has been established through petrographic analysis of sherds and vessels bearing leaf-curl patterns. Furthermore, many such vessels have a tassel-mark, which was the exclusive mark of Kirman potters.

We can attempt to date its beginnings by first determining how long the Ming lotus-leaf scroll survived. The lotus scroll was still in use on a series of closely related *kendis*, one of which is dated 1051/1641–42 (V&A.56).[85] On these vessels the lotus vines have not yet formed a pattern of circles, but a penchant for scrolling vines that sprout lotus-like leaves can be sensed. Somewhat more advanced in this direction are the scrolls with curling leaves on an undated ewer (Fig. 2.84, V&A.145).

The large lotus blossoms that migrated from the Ming model are still integral to the design. However, the tendency of the vines to encircle the spiky leaves is already in play. Crowe notes that "guiding dots," which aided the painter to create this pattern, appear on this ewer as well as on other vessels representing the early stage of the leaf-curl pattern.[86]

The next datable stage shows the leaf-curl motif used on the flange of dishes, as it occurs on the black-band dish mentioned above (1065/1654–55; ZZZ.30). The vine curls are roughly the same size and ovoid shape, and the elongated lobed leaf, slightly curling itself, almost fills the spaces. The leaf-curls line up neatly in two rows. Six-petalled flowers are inserted into the scrolls around the rim, one opposite the midpoint of each of the six inscription cartouches. In the tondo is a sketchy rendition of a Chinese landscape with water and islands. This border, consisting of two rows of leaf curls interspersed with florets, is encountered

FIG. 2.83. *ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24, multi-nozzle vase ("tulip vase").*

FIG. 2.84. *V&A.145, ewer, detail.*

85 Ibid., 98.

86 Ibid., no. 83 (tassel-mark).

frequently (e.g., V&A.292). It also occurs as a single row (Fig. 2.82, CDC.10, dated 1084/1673–74).

The range of dated dishes with leaf-curl diaper extends to 1090/1679–80 (BRM.02).[87] Thus, assuming a somewhat longer life than is suggested by the earliest and latest dated evidence, the range of this motif would be 1650 to 1685. It would have fallen out of use when Safavid potters adopted models from the renewed shipments of Chinese porcelain (after 1683).

A minor style that appears in Kirman at this time creates the design in outline form (Fig. 2.85, BER.32; HRM.78), referred to here as "pencil style." It is datable to c. 1088/1677–78 on the basis of its use on a funerary tile from Yazd (YZD.07). The leaf-scroll diaper is also rendered in this style.

Vestiges of Kraak-style Chinoiserie

Numerous vessels painted in both the blue-and-white and black-outline style were produced for mass consumption during this period. Crowe has identified the stylistic groups in an aptly entitled section in her catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection "Echoes of Kraak"[88] and in the pages following. We shall deal only with one group that is not strongly represented in that collection, the so-called Kubachi blue-and-white wares.

This is probably the largest group of Safavid pottery found in the Daghestan villagers' homes. They are almost all based on Kraak porcelain designs, but they are distinctive for two reasons. The technique is unique to the Isfahan workshop. First the design was etched into the unfired clay. Then the cobalt pigment was painted over the lines, seeping in to form the deeper shades. Larger areas were covered in a diluted wash of cobalt, and the vessel was then coated with a transparent glaze. This method permitted rapid execution but sacrificed fine detail. The bulk of the dishes painted in this manner appear carelessly done, and often the compositions are greatly simplified compared with the Chinese models, or even with earlier Safavid copies (compare Fig. 2.38, ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10, with Fig. 2.86, ROM.59/ Cat. no. 35).

FIG. 2.85. *BER.32, bottle.*

FIG. 2.86. *ROM.59/ Cat. no. 35, bowl, interior.*

87 See above, p. 99, for a discussion of this reading as 1090 rather than 1109.

88 Crowe 2002:108–16; we feel that some of the vessels included here may be earlier, but in the main the grouping is convincing.

FIG. 2.87. *ROM.17/ Cat. no. 36, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.88A. *ROM.57/ Cat. no. 42, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.88B. *ROM.57, back.*

Isfahan potters developed a predictable repertory of borders (see Chapter Six: "Isfahan Workshop: Rims on Mid-Seventeenth-Century Wares"), such as the trellis or the peach-spray within Kraak panels. Although there is no clear evidence for attributing this group to Phase III, it has been assigned to this period because of the Kraak revival in other centres. We believe that this renewal of interest came about as a result of the decline or hiatus in imports from China between the fall of Ming (1644) and the re-opening of the kilns at Jingdezhen in 1683, as discussed in Chapter One. Some of the vessels from the Isfahan workshops do show greater care and closer attention to detail, such as the unusual portrait dish, combining the portrait found on Isfahan polychrome wares with the zig-zag border from contemporary Kirman (Fig. 2.88, ROM.57/ Cat. no. 42). The oddity of this dish extends to its exterior design of tangent *ruyi* (cloud-point) motifs and its very unusual potter's mark, a sort of medallion.

Conclusions on Phase III

The increase in production and the explosion of creativity witnessed during the three or four decades around the middle of the seventeenth century are closely tied to events in China. During the early decades of the new Qing dynasty, porcelain production for export was minimal, and the European trading companies had to supplement the trickle from China with acceptable imitations or substitutes from elsewhere. Japan became the major supplier, but Iran also contributed.[89]

89 See Chapter One.

The new decorative techniques created during this period appear to have been partly in response to an expansion of trade with South Asia.

With the ascension of the Kangxi emperor, China's interest in the production of export porcelain revived. In 1683 the potteries of Jingdezhen reopened. Thousands of porcelains painted in distinctively new styles as well as copies of much earlier models flooded the markets of South Asia and Iran. Persian potters reacted immediately to this threat by abandoning the new techniques formulated during Phase III and developing their own versions of the Kangxi patterns.

Phase IV (1680–1722)

Despite the decline in the economy of the Safavid state, demand for Chinese porcelain reignited with the reopening of the kilns at Jingdezhen under official supervision in 1683. Many new types of superb porcelain reached Iran, compelling local potters to compete by reproducing the new fashions or by creating something even more spectacular. They did both.

Underglaze-Painted Wares

Underglaze painting continued in this period as a prominent decorative technique. The various styles have been described by Crowe (2002) and will be reviewed briefly here. A grey palette was favoured for several styles, and even the blues are muted. One class is characterized by its strange landscapes, dominated by thick trunks or roots that wind their way through the scene (Crowe calls these "strange roots").[90] The dishes have square seal-marks, although at least one does have a tassel-mark (V&A.401). Some of the dishes are quite large (V&A.399, diameter 45.6 cm). Another group depends heavily on "Kraak" designs from the early seventeenth century but introduces other features, such as a band of blossoms and vines framing the tondo (V&A.198). These wares tend to have character-marks. The dishes are relatively small.

Probably somewhat later are two styles that have associations with the Armenian community: a reserve background made up of "tight scrolls,"[91] and a geometric design of palmette leaves and four-lobed medallions or florets appearing in white (Fig. 2.89, ROM.25/ Cat. no. 49).

One dish is inscribed: "transfer to the drink storage" (Crowe 2002, no. 346). Bowls painted in this style have been excavated at Nyssa and are displayed in the museums at Ashgabad. However, it is not evident that these are imports from Iran. They may be local imitations of a fashionable import (from Iran).

No vessels painted in this style bear Armenian monograms, but the ground of spirals was used for filler on another type of ware that has such markings.[92] This style employs a motif that appears on Kangxi porcelain, the "cone," which is a tear-drop shaped medallion, generally arranged in groups of four, radiating out from a central medallion. Not all compositions based on the cone use the tight spiral filler. Others create a network of

FIG. 2.89. *ROM.25/ Cat. no. 49, dish, face.*

90 Crowe 2002:197.

91 Ibid., 202ff.

92 Crowe makes this point and cites the references for the identification of the Armenian monogram (2002:202).

tiny leaves as filler (Fig. 2.90, ROM.82/ Cat. no. 52). A sandpot with the cone motif bears the monogram of the head of an Armenian trading company, Paron Safraz (d. 1728) (Crowe 2002, no. 355). Notable also is the occurrence of this monogram on a dish that has lightly carved petals around the cavetto (Crowe 2002, no. 354).

Toward the end of the century, according to Crowe, two more styles appear. The "luscious flower" style is named for a ubiquitous bloom that is characterized by multiple rows of small round petals, like a chrysanthemum (Fig. 2.91, ROM.99/ Cat. no. 46). She believes that these were influenced by both Qing and Japanese designs.[93] The large platters in this style often have a cartouche or a cross-shaped or other medallion spreading out over the surface, and standing out against a background of dense foliage with hardly any white surface showing. Within the cartouche the "luscious flowers," accompanied by leaves and occasionally an animal, are painted in reserve. The design on the back is borrowed from Kangxi dishes (Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.4). Sherds from two of the vessels in this category were sampled and proved to have a Mashhad provenance (HRM.35–36).

FIG. 2.90. *ROM.82/ Cat. no. 52, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.91. *ROM.99/ Cat. no. 46, dish, face.*

The second style, designated by Crowe as "aster flower," is directly copied from Kangxi imports. This group also has associations with the Armenian community of Isfahan. Crowe cites a letter from the Catholicos of Ejmiacin dated 1707, acknowledging the receipt of a large amount of "china." His name (Alexander) and the date 1706 actually appear on a Persian aster-style dish, cited by Crowe.[94]

Many of the dishes from Phase IV have a brown rim, imitating Chinese imports of this period.

Lustre-Wares

The most remarkable phenomenon in this period was the re-discovery or re-invention of lustre-painting. This technique had produced some of the most extraordinary works of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in the city of Kashan.[95] The lustrous effect is obtained by painting a pigment with a metallic oxide, such as silver or copper, on a fired glazed surface and then firing the vessel again in a kiln

93 Crowe 2002:225–26.

94 Ibid., 226 (shown in the exhibition "Armenian Ceramic Art" in New York, 1982).

95 On the history of lustre-ware, see Watson 1985 and Mason 2004; the technique of making lustre-wares is discussed in a treatise (c. 1300) by Abu'l-Qasim of Kashan (see Allan 1973).

deprived of oxygen (a reducing kiln). The metallic substance is deposited on the surface and refracts light, giving the illusion of being a precious metal. The production of lustre-wares during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries was enormous, but fifteenth-century lustre-wares are rare. It is not until the late seventeenth century that lustre-ware production is fully in evidence again. The lack of surviving lustre-wares in the period between the mid-fourteenth and late seventeenth centuries is considered to be a hiatus. Either the potters with the specialized skills and knowledge for making lustre-ware moved elsewhere, or tastes simply changed. Why and how this technique was revived by the Safavid potters are questions whose answers still elude us. Nevertheless, the enormous quantity of surviving Safavid lustre-wares the beauty of the coloration, and the general quality of the designs call for special attention. The *Survey of Persian Art* used the word "opulence."[96] Unfortunately, little scholarly attention has been focused on this genre within Safavid pottery.[97] Even a cursory study of the vast number of objects suggests that the production of lustre pottery was an industry unto itself. The quality of the potting (very finely ground quartz, hard, white body), the limited dimensions of the dishes and bowls (perhaps dictated by the constraints of the special kilns), the large number of cups and pouring vessels, and the style and subject matter of the painting all point to a highly specialized atelier or group of ateliers, dedicated to lustre-ware production.

Because so little attention has been given to Safavid lustre, we shall raise some of the issues that have become apparent through our study of a large number of them. They have been found to have close links with some of the underglaze-painted groups described above.

Dating Lustre Production

While cobalt was widely used on lustre-painted wares in the Safavid period, it usually served as the background on which copper-coloured lustre was painted rather than as a medium for painting the design, as on blue-and-white pottery. Several unusual objects for which Kraak or other typical blue-and-white themes were chosen do, however, have the subject matter itself painted in cobalt (Fig. 2.92, BRM.52). We can date them by comparing them with blue-and-white objects of known date.

The lustre-painted dish has a landscape border sprawling over cavetto and flange and containing sinuous trees like those in Crowe's "strange roots"

FIG. 2.92A. *BRM.52, dish, face.*

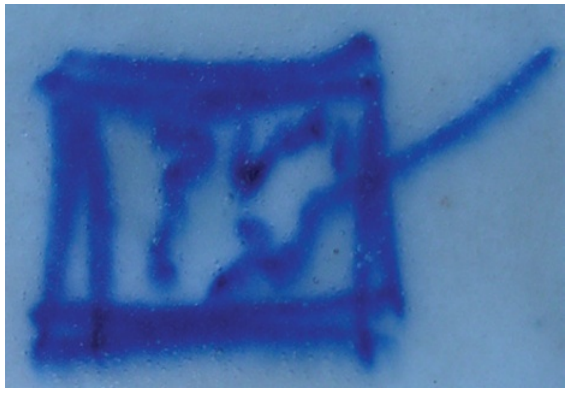


FIG. 2.92B. *BRM.52, potter's mark with signature: Ustad-i . . .* [*Master...?*].

96 Pope 1938:1657–58.

97 Watson 1985:163–69.

group, which she relates to lustre-wares (Fig. 2.93, V&A.404).[98] The underside is decorated with Kraak panels painted in blue outlines but with lustre-painted floral motifs covering the white ground between the panels.

Another group attributed by Crowe to the end of the century is possibly related to Safavid lustre-wares. It favours a grisaille shade of blue for Kraak-style decoration (Fig. 2.94, V&A.380; Fig. 2.95, HRM.71).[99] Three or four spur marks, pointing to the use of three-legged trivets in the kiln, appear on many of the lustre-wares as well as on the grisaille group.[100]

FIG. 2.93. *V&A.404, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.94. *V&A.380, dish, face.*

FIG. 2.95. *HRM.71, dish, face.*

What links these greyish-blue Kraak-style dishes, the "strange roots" group, and the lustre-painted dish with cobalt detail mentioned above (BRM.52) is the potters' mark. A similar mark appears on all three (Fig. 2.92b, BRM.52; Fig. 2.94, V&A.380; Fig. 2.95, HRM.71) It is clearly a signature although it is not very legible. The first word seems to be "*Ustad*" (Master). The second possibly reads (see the lustre dish, Fig. 2.92b): "*shuʿara*'" (poets), thus a possible reading being "Ustad-i shu'ara'" (Master of the Poets). The potters' mark on the other two vessels (HRM.71, V&A.380) could be read in a similar fashion. Whatever the reading, it is evident that all three are related through the type of potters' mark as well as through style. This comparison helps to establish a date for the lustre-ware of the last two decades of the seventeenth century, following the revival of the pottery industry in China.

While this argument seems logical, there is another lustre-painted object bearing the same

98 Crowe 2002:197.

99 Ibid., no. 309; on the group see Crowe 2002:187; Rogers 1983:138 (no. 180, painted in grisaille and lustre).

100 Crowe 2002:187.

potters' mark as well as a date (1084/1673–74). It is a bottle with lustre-painting on a blue ground. However, the bottle's present location is unknown, so the inscription cannot be checked. It is published as a drawing by Watson, who copied it from its first publication, and it accompanies a photograph of the missing bottle.[101] He himself had not seen the object. If this date has been transcribed and read correctly, the onset of lustre production would fall within the later years of Phase III. This seems unlikely as the style of the vessels bearing the same mark appears to follow Chinese models post-dating the revival of the porcelain trade (that is, after 1683). Some motifs found on lustre-wares are shared with blue-and-white dishes modelled on Kangxi imports, such as the artemisia leaf (BRM.123, LOU.03), indicating a date after 1680. Perhaps a new reading of the inscription might render the digit "8" as a "9," which fits better with the style of the painting on the dish. Yet we should bear in mind that the lustre-painted vessels that relate to the grisaille family are very different from the bulk of lustre production. Perhaps they do represent an earlier phase.

Another object in the British Museum provides the link between all of these late seventeenth-century groups. A large deep bowl with slightly everted rim (Fig. 2.96, BRM.50, diameter 21 cm) is painted on the exterior with the typical Safavid lustre imagery of a *paysage* consisting of a river, trees, and filaments on a blue ground. The interior, however, harks back to Kraak models. Around the walls six panels separated by narrow panels as in Wanli porcelain are filled, not with the Chinese emblems, but with vignettes from the "strange roots" vocabulary. In the centre is the bird-on-rock theme. The decorative borders are painted in lustre on the white ground, while the scenes in the panels and in the centre appear in brightly painted cobalt.

FIG. 2.96A. *BRM.50, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 2.96B. *BRM.50, exterior.*

Potters' marks are extremely rare on lustre-wares. On the base of this bowl is a tassel-mark, suggesting that Kirman might have been the centre of production. The Kirman repertory of motifs from Phase III (carnations, palmette meander, and leaf-curl diaper) does, in fact, occur on some lustre-wares (see interior of ROM.70/ Cat. no. 63; Fig. 2.98, HRM.91; Fig. 2.102, BRM.136). However, a Mashhad provenance has been suggested by all the sampled lustre dishes, and lustre-wares have not been found in sherded areas of Kirman (or the Gulf coast). Perhaps lustre-painting was revived in Kirman late in Phase III, as suggested by the dated bottle mentioned above (1673–74), but most of the surviving lustre-wares were made in Mashhad. A recently published blue monochrome *qalyan* was painted with lustre and has a tassel-mark typical of Kirman monochrome slip-painted wares from Phase III.[102]

101 Watson 1985:166, fig. 136 (according to Watson, it was published by Wallis in 1893).

102 Crowe 2008, no. 6.

Another strange mark is the running hare on the base of a lustre-painted dish (diameter 21 cm) with a *paysage* scene (KEI.43). The dish and its painted decoration are not exceptional, so it is difficult to explain why this mark occurs. Parallels for the mark have not yet come to light. Two dishes have square seal-marks on the *interior*, one of which is repeated on the base (BRM.55, HRM.92). The two dishes bear the same border on the flange and similar designs in the centre (see below, "Decoration").

Two other potters' names are recorded on lustre-painted vessels: Muhammad Riza (bowl, BRM.82) and Khatim (spouted jars with loop handles and other objects).[103] Khatim took the liberty of using his signature as a form of decoration. In the interior of a small bowl the words "Work of Khatim" are transformed into a calligraphic design (BER.12). Occasionally, inscriptions wishing blessings on the user do appear ("A healthy existence!" on BRM.85; "Perpetual nourishment!" on BRM.78).

Shapes of Lustre-Painted Wares

The shapes of the lustre-painted wares show a pattern of survival different from other Safavid wares. They include far more closed shapes. Certain other shapes, such as the small cup, proliferate. Of the 255 lustre-painted objects in our database, 18 per cent are bottles, while the largest number of open shapes consists of bowls (20 per cent). The survival rate of the bottles is remarkable, considering that it is much lower in other categories of decorative technique. Another closed shape with surprising survival rate is the "spittoon,"[104] representing 16.8 per cent of the objects, while cups (for coffee) also survive in large quantities (16 per cent). More unusual shapes, such as ewer, jar, and multi-nozzle vase, and the spouted pot with three handles, make up altogether only about 10 per cent of the surviving lustre-painted objects.

The large quantity of bowls is particularly notable. Small bowls range in diameter from 11 cm to 15 cm and are shallow to medium in depth (ratio of diameter to height of 2–3:1). The medium bowls range from 18 to 19 cm in diameter and are all of medium depth (2–3:1). The larger bowls range from 20 cm to 24 cm in diameter and tend to be shallow (3:1).

Decoration on Lustre-Painted Wares

The potter used the brilliant white ground to paint the subject matter in a copper-coloured lustre. Cobalt blue or copper (turquoise) also occur as background colours for the lustre-painting, but the potter often chose to contrast the white ground with a coloured one, usually cobalt. Frequently, the interior and exterior of an open shape were contrasted in this way. Cobalt sometimes appears alongside the lustre as painted detail (BRM.123). Other colours joined the palette occasionally (yellow, red: BRM.58, 97,171), but it is not clear whether the use of this extended palette signifies a different atelier. Copper lustre is used for outlining the opaque yellow. Certainly, the style of the painting differs from that of the potters who used a system of contrasting backgrounds.

One of the most attractive and common themes found on these wares is the *paysage* scene. Usually there is a meandering stream, a rectangular pool (*hawz*), a pair of cypresses, other assorted trees, and animals such as a peacock or a fox. The background is filled with small plants and flowers, resembling the floral decoration of Kirman slip-painted polychromes. Exteriors of bowls with *paysage* scenes, although charming, are repetitive.

One lustre bowl has the peacock scene but adds to it an L-shaped object with a finial, perhaps the headstone of a tomb (Fig. 2.98, HRM.91). The prominence of the peacock on these wares may have religious (mystical) significance (Fig. 2.99, ROM.31/ Cat. no. 67).

The escutcheon is a common motif, perhaps derived from Safavid metalwork, where it was used in conjunction with elongated cartouches.

103 Watson 1985:182; Rapoport (1970), reports five objects with the signature of Khatim: three bowls (Hermitage and Kiev), one small plate (Kiev), and the British Museum's "teapot" (Lane 1957, pl. 85B).

104 The function of this shape is discussed in Chapter One.

FIG. 2.97A. *ROM.70/ Cat. no. 63, bowl, exterior.*

FIG. 2.97B. *ROM.70, base and exterior.*

FIG. 2.98A. *HRM.91, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 2.98B. *HRM.91, exterior.*

Another common motif is the palmette interlace, sometimes with as many as three overlapping palmettes (Fig. 2.98b, HRM.91, exterior; BRM.56). The palmette interlace border was also common on the Isfahan polychrome wares and some Isfahan blue-and-whites (Fig. 2.88, ROM.57/ Cat. no. 42). The forms of the plants and the narrow border designs constitute a repertory that varies little even though different painters were involved. The underside of dishes often bears a simple standardized border design. Vessels with this treatment of the back often have designs featuring large plant elements rather than the delicate floral life found on the *paysage* scenes (Fig. 2.101a, ROM.67/ Cat. no. 66). Perhaps different ateliers account for the variation.

Some of the pieces are clearly more elaborate, such as the three-handled spouted pots (sometimes referred to as "teapot" or "posset pot"), while others, particularly cups, are less ambitious in their decoration. Absent from all but one example is the contemporary background of Kirman wares, the leaf-curl. I have come across it only once in lustre-painted wares, on the exterior of a cup (Fig. 2.102, BRM.136).

Notable on Safavid lustre-wares is the effort made to decorate all the surfaces that the user could enjoy, such as the turned out lip of a

FIG. 2.99. *ROM.31/ Cat. no. 67, bowl, base and exterior.*

FIG. 2.100A. *ROM.62/ Cat. no. 68, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 2.100B. *ROM.62, base and exterior.*

spittoon, flask, or vase, on which the artist has continued the design found on the exterior (BRM.155, 179, 181). Sometimes this impulse even spread to the base (bottle, BRM.188).

Monochrome Wares

White Wares

Persian potters had been imitating Chinese white wares as far back as the Song period, and each generation in Iran seems to have produced some kind of white ware reminiscent of the Chinese prototype.[105] White wares with delicately incised floral designs entered the princely collections of the Muslim world in the early fifteenth century, as examples exist in the Topkapi[106] and Ardabil collections.[107] Small Safavid bowls copy the *lien-tzu* shape of early fifteenth-century incised white porcelains.[108] Carved celadons, well represented in the Ardabil collection, might have inspired some of the decoration, but we do not know why the incised monochrome whites became so popular with Safavid potters in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were not a major Kangxi export.

Different techniques of decorating distinguish the various phases of Safavid white-ware production. During the seventeenth century the earliest luxury white wares were made in the same ateliers as painted pottery. Kirman was certainly a major producer of white monochromes with

105 For a late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century prototype, see Krahl 1986, no. 1675.

106 Krahl 1986, no. 629.

107 Pope 1981, pl. 112.

108 Ibid., pl. 113 (29.717).

FIG. 2.101A. *ROM.67/ Cat. no. 66, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 2.101B. *ROM.67, base and exterior.*

incised decoration (Fig. 2.103, ROM.100/ Cat. no. 23). This phase of Kirman ware is datable to around 1665 by the dish with black-band inscription mentioned above (V&A.55, dated 1077/1666–67).[109] The dated dish also has small motifs painted in blue around the rim and the typical Kirman fan-leaf spray back as well as a blue tassel-mark denoting Kirman manufacture.

FIG. 2.102. *BRM.136, cup.*

FIG. 2.103. *ROM.100/ Cat. no. 23, dish, face.*

Characteristic of the incised designs on this class of white wares are the large lotus blossoms, as can be seen also in series around the exterior (MMA.68) or cavetto (V&A.218).

A second Safavid white ware is distinguished by its use of deeply carved lines in conjunction with lightly incised patterns. The carved lines delineate the framing patterns while the etching is used for the filler design. Among the common shapes for

109 For full description, including the poetic inscription, see Crowe 2002:176, no. 274.

FIG. 2.104. *ROM.05/ Cat. no. 55, bowl, exterior.*

FIG. 2.105. *ROM.06/ Cat. no. 53, spittoon.*

this technique are ablution ewers[110] (BRM.48, V&A.217), globular bottles with long neck tapering outward toward the opening (FRE.14, ZZZ.59), and spittoons (LOU.14). The spittoons (curvilinear type) resemble lustre-painted wares and so are datable to the last phase of Safavid pottery production (after 1680).

Open shapes may have the recess in the centre of the base, which is also typical of lustre-wares.[111] However, some open shapes lack this feature and have a partially glazed or unglazed base (Fig. 2.104, ROM.05/ Cat. no. 55; ROM.29/ Cat. no. 54; ROM.33/ Cat. no. 56). The base with recess suggests Mashhad manufacture (similar to Mashhad lustre), while the flat base may point to a different centre, perhaps Kirman.

FIG. 2.106. *ROM.41/ Cat. no. 58, bowl.*

Included here but possibly post-Safavid is the fenestrated group ("Gombroon wares").[112] The walls of the dishes are very thin and are pierced through with small holes forming a pattern (Fig. 2.106, ROM.41/ Cat. no. 58). Closer study of this group might reveal whether the holes (short lines, short curves, dots) were executed as groups using some kind of flexible metal band or cut individually. Most of these objects also have sparse painted decoration in black or blue or both.

Opaque Moulded Wares

Three further categories of late Persian wares using some form of carving, moulding, or stamping to form the shape and often the decoration are mentioned here but have not been the subject of systematic study. In the first two the glazes tend to

110 This shape was also produced in China (Dehua) during Southern Song (1127–1279) (Fung Ping Shan Museum 1990, nos. 46–47).

111 See Crowe 2002:235, no. 408 (this example also has painted decoration in the centre and around the back).

112 These wares are so named for the port of Gombroon, which became Bandar Abbas (Lane 1957:110).

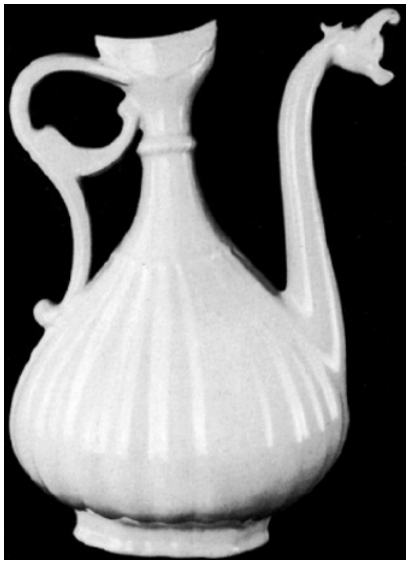


FIG. 2.107. *BRM.47, ewer.*

be opacified by the addition of tin. The opaque monochrome wares include ewers with tall spouts ascending from the globular waist of the body and terminating in a dragon's head (Fig. 2.107, BRM.47; V&A.208).

The mouth is oval-shaped, enabling it to be filled easily from a larger vessel. The inspiration for this ewer shape goes back to early Ming porcelain. Such ewers often appear in Safavid paintings.[113] The opaque monochromes may have been inspired by the contemporary imports of Qing monochromes in exotic opaque colours (mirror black, "*sang-de-boeuf,*" violet-blue, etc.).[114]

In the second type of opaque moulded ware the decoration consists either of mouldings or of a tear-shaped filigree medallion. Bottles, ewers, and other containers were made in this style. The medallion is decorated with a design defined by raised lines, forming compartments as in cloisonné, and the spaces are filled with glazes of contrasting colours. Arthur Lane liked to imagine this ware as belonging to an Orientalist's vision of the harem.[115] No sherds of these wares were found in the surveys of the Kirman area or in the sherds excavated in the Caucasus that have come to our attention. It is therefore not possible at this time to attribute these wares to a workshop or even to date them with certainty to the Safavid period.

Stamped Monochrome Wares

The second group of monochrome wares appears much coarser than the others and reminds one of the turquoise yogourt bowls used in the countryside in Iran. The potting is heavy (Fig. 2.108, ROM.43/ Cat. no. 59). The decoration consists of stamped ornament, such as small rosettes, applied to the hardened body or pressed into a moulding around the rim. Simple carved flutes add further texture. The group may be referred to as stamped monochrome wares. A Safavid dating is not confirmed.

Conclusions on Phase IV

The re-opening of the kilns at Jingdezhen (1683) and resumption of the porcelain trade impelled Safavid potters to strike out in new directions, as they could not compete with the onslaught of affordable imports. Attempts were made to copy Kangxi imports, but the copies were uninspired. Instead, new techniques were developed, or older ones, such as lustre-ware and monochrome carved wares, were revived. Lustre-wares offered a luxurious alternative to blue-and-white. They were

FIG. 2.108. *ROM.43/ Cat. no. 59, bowl, exterior.*

113 Scene of a prince washing his hands at a tank in Istanbul, from Qazvini, *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*, dated 1632, Isfahan style (John Rylands Library, Ryl Pers 3; Robinson 1980:311, no. 1298). The ewer appears to be a blue-and-white porcelain.

114 Beurdeley and Raindre 1987, chap. 8.

115 Lane 1957:108–9; Watson (2004:477) draws attention to this quaintly judgmental remark of Lane's.

highly vitrified and relatively small compared to the production earlier in the century. Lustre-wares and white-wares take on shapes that had never before appeared in the repertory (such as small goblets, stemmed cups with attached saucer,[116] egg-cups, a wide variety of ewers, and spittoons). With the fall of the Safavids in 1722 the patronage for these luxury wares seems to have faded, and the pottery industry no longer had the incentive to supply this market. Thereafter, the major Safavid workshops lost their skilled artisans and disbanded or turned their efforts to making utilitarian wares for the broad populace. Within a short period of time the market for luxury goods was supplied by Europe as well as by the Far East.

116 The collections of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum deserve a special study of shapes alone (see V&A no. 2573-1876 for the cup with attached saucer).

CHAPTER 3

The Measure of Faithfulness: The Chinese Models for Safavid Blue-and-White

Patty Proctor

Our research on some 600 Safavid wares has demonstrated that the full range of export wares from China was available in the Middle East from the late fourteenth century on. Examples of almost all the Chinese models on which the Safavid wares were based are found in Middle Eastern collections, primarily the Topkapi Saray Museum and the Ardabil Shrine. Some of these had already entered the decorative vocabulary of the early Timurid potters at Samarqand during the first decades of the fifteenth century. Early fifteenth-century Chinese porcelains served as models for the superlative products of the Nishapur atelier in the second half of the century.

The fall of the Timurids in 1505 did not occasion a major change in the operations of local potteries, either at Nishapur or in the Tabriz region. However, although contemporary Chinese porcelains continued to arrive in Iran, very little notice was taken of them, with a few exceptions. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that Persian potters looked again for inspiration to the newest arrivals from China.

We may postulate that in the second half of the sixteenth century the quantity of Chinese porcelain arriving in Iran must have been staggering, as Safavid potters throughout the seventeenth century made extensive use of compositions and individual motifs from this period. Even when decorative bands, such as the "reserved scroll-and-*ruyi* frame,"[1] were borrowed from contemporary Chinese imports, potters often reverted to sixteenth-century models for the central medallion. The sixteenth-century Chinese landscape rim reappears on Safavid dishes throughout the seventeenth century. The motifs discussed in the section "Sixteenth-Century Motifs of Enduring Popularity" remained popular over a relatively long period of time in China and so continued to appear on freshly made porcelains imported into Iran over the span of the Safavid period. It is not surprising, then, to find that these motifs are roughly equally popular on Safavid pottery in the first half and the second half of the seventeenth century, although the dates of the models used may have differed.

The replication of Chinese imports began in earnest during the reign of Shah Abbas I. While contemporary imports inspired many copies, potters showed renewed interest in the earliest porcelains, which they could access in private collections. We do not know why they reached back to Yuan and early Ming models, such as the cloud-point central medallion or the lotus bouquet, as well as looking to contemporary porcelains. Even if potters were not aware of the date of the early models, these models clearly did not represent the latest fashion. Perhaps the choice was made by the patron, who may have been knowledgeable about the antique status of these dishes, or may have found the aesthetics particularly appealing. The Safavid potters' infatuation with early Chinese blue-and-white was limited to Phase I, the first decades of the seventeenth century. However, their fine copies of the Yuan and early Ming Chinese designs, particularly the magnificent renditions made by the Kirman "boutique" workshop, continued to inspire other Safavid potters throughout the century.

The new style of Ming porcelain known as "Kraak" exerted by far the greatest influence on

1 See below, p. 152.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_005

Safavid potters. Kraak porcelains were of the Wanli period (1573–1619) and were unquestionably the most influential of the Chinese wares ever to reach Iran. They provided inspiration to Iranian potters throughout the seventeenth century, albeit somewhat more frequently during the first half. Complete decorative schemes as well as select little details were lovingly copied.

Safavid copies of Chinese porcelains from the Wanli period far outnumber those from the last two Ming reigns, Tianqi (1621–1627) and Chongzhen (1628–1644). The copies that these later Ming wares did inspire date primarily to the later years of the Safavid period.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, as imports from China waned in response to internal turmoil, Safavid potters reverted to earlier models, often of their own making, or developed new decorative techniques and styles (such as the polychrome slip-painted wares and lustre-wares). With the resumption of Chinese production and trade in the 1680s, Safavid potters turned to the new styles of Kangxi wares for models, and even copied the brown rims of these imports. However, the easy availability of Chinese imports threatened the local industry, and the manufacture of fine vessels in Iran had plunged into decline by the end of the Safavid period.

The Chinese Models for Safavid Pottery

A detailed cataloguing of the Chinese motifs used by Safavid potters over two centuries reveals much about how foreign objects impact local industries. If the imports constitute a threat to local craftsmen, they may attempt to replicate the objects and undercut the price. In this scenario the threatened potters would attempt to make close imitations of the foreign object. They might also produce objects that bear sufficient resemblance to the foreign object to be considered "in the Chinese manner." These "knock-offs" would never pass for Chinese porcelain but would be acceptable to persons unable to afford the real thing. Of course, the genuine Chinese porcelain might not have been available at certain times at any price, such as the mid-fifteenth century or the mid-seventeenth century, when for various reasons the manufacture of and/or the trade in porcelains diminished. These periods could occasion a reversion to old practices by the Safavid potters (as happened in the mid-sixteenth century), or inspire experimentation and creativity (as occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century).

In order to study these questions, some 600 Safavid pots were analysed with regard to their use of the Chinese decorative vocabulary. One of the objectives of this chapter was to provide a system and terminology for discussing borrowed Chinese motifs. The discussion is organized chronologically to follow the development of blue-and-white porcelain, as studied by such eminent scholars as Regina Krahl. Her 1986 catalogue of the collection in the Topkapi Saray Museum provides the largest number of surviving export porcelains to reach the Middle East. Objects referred to in Krahl's catalogue will be cited below as "TKS" with the figure number found in the publication. The other great collection of Chinese porcelain in the Middle East is at Ardabil in northwestern Iran. It was bequeathed to the shrine of the Shaykh Safi by his descendants, the Safavids and their court. The catalogue was published by John Alexander Pope,[2] and references in the text to this collection will be cited as "Ardabil" with the illustration and/or collection number found in the catalogue.

Within each chronological division we consider the motifs in the same order, beginning with objects that in their entirety copy a Chinese model ("close copies"). Some Safavid ceramics are clearly conscious copies of Chinese vessels, based on a specific vessel from a particular period. They are so similar to the Chinese in the motifs used and in their layout that one could imagine that the Safavid painter had the Chinese piece sitting right

2 Pope 1981 (originally published 1956; both the original and the 1981 reprint version have been utilized in this volume).

in front of him; otherwise, he must have had a very powerful and accurate recollection of having once seen it. To qualify as a close copy, a certain amount of mixing and matching of elements of the design is, of course, countenanced, but the elements should all be drawn from roughly the same period of time. In other words, the piece should bring readily to the mind of someone familiar with Chinese ceramics a particular era and style of Chinese ceramic decoration.

Sometimes these Iranian imitations (close copies) are slavish and successful, if somewhat stilted; others are whimsical and fun. In some instances, attempts to reproduce motifs specific to the Chinese cultural milieu resulted in amusing (to us) misunderstandings. While it is sometimes possible to pair exactly a Chinese model and its Safavid copy, often it is not. Perhaps the model exists somewhere or existed at one time, as many extant dishes have never been published and countless Chinese porcelains have been broken and lost over the centuries.

Following the identification of close copies, we turn to the basic fields of decoration, beginning with the "Borders and Secondary Bands" and moving through "Principal Bands," which include the cavetto (inner wall of dishes), walls of deep bowls, and walls of closed objects (bottles, vases, etc.). Next we consider the "Central Medallion," which refers to the tondo (centre) of the dish. A discussion of "Exteriors" precedes mention of a range of decorative motifs that appear in various zones of the vessel. Exteriors are treated in greater depth in Chapter Six. Most of the sixteenth-century motifs confined to specific zones of the vessel (i.e., cavetto, tondo) are identified with a limited time range within the sixteenth century. However, others appear throughout the century and are discussed in a separate section as "Motifs of Enduring Popularity." As most Safavid chinoiserie ceramics follow the same layout, this system seems to work well for comparison. It is therefore possible to compare rim to rim, band to band, and medallion to medallion.

These Chinese bands and medallions were copied or slightly modified for use in equivalent positions on Safavid pieces but not necessarily in conjunction with other elements from the same period of time. Bands and central medallions were an intrinsic part of Yuan and Ming blue-and-white decoration with regard to both the layout and the particulars of design. The Chinese themselves practiced "mix and match" in combining rim patterns, principal decorative bands, and central medallions when painting, for example, Yuan blue-and-white dishes.

In China each field of decoration had its own repertory within specific periods, but nothing stood in the way of the Safavid potter's mixing and matching these fields himself. For the painters of such pieces, historical veracity or faithfulness was apparently of no significance whatsoever. A pleasing band for the rim of the dish was pinched from here, an attractive band to decorate the well (tondo) plucked from there, a favourite medallion borrowed from elsewhere, *et voilà*, a lovely new and original Safavid dish! After a motif had thus entered the Safavid vocabulary, it no longer qualified as a signifier of intent to replicate the foreign import. It can, however, still indicate the potter's attempt to create something that would appeal to the Persian taste for chinoiserie.

We shall find that certain classes of Safavid wares do follow Chinese fashion and that this dynamic explains changes in Safavid style. We shall see, as well, that a shortfall in Chinese imports affected aesthetic decisions of Safavid potters, but we shall also discover the unexpected. Some of the most highly qualified painters of Safavid vessels did not feel compelled to reproduce contemporary imports but instead looked at the whole range of Chinese porcelain stored in the princely and aristocratic collections of Iran.

Mid-Fourteenth-Century Models

Close Copies

Two carefully painted dishes (Fig. 3.1, V&A.29; Fig. 2.40, V&A.74) are both close copies of Yuan

FIG. 3.1. *V&A.29, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.2. *Chinese dish, face, Yuan period (Royal Ontario Museum no. 994.38.1).*

dishes. They are best compared with a dish in the Topkapi Saray collection (TKS 554)[3] with its wave-border rim, well decoration of a floral scroll reserved on a dark ground, and central decoration of ogival panels containing chrysanthemums radiating from a central floral medallion reserved on a ground of breaking waves.[4] A Yuan dish in the Royal Ontario Museum also provides examples of the typical fourteenth-century wave-border rim and chrysanthemum scroll in the cavetto (Fig. 3.2). To complete the parallel, the exterior on both Victoria and Albert Museum dishes is ornamented with a floral scroll of Yuan type. Both dishes are decorated in the black-line technique. They have been attributed to the Kirman "boutique" workshop to c. 1630.

Borders and Secondary Bands

Breaking Waves

The most striking of the fourteenth-century Chinese rim bands consists of the tumultuous breaking waves so typical of Yuan ceramic (Fig. 3.2).[5] Somewhat surprisingly, however, its impact on seventeenth-century Safavid ceramics was slight. The truest copy of the motif appears on a later blue-and-white dish with tassel-mark that otherwise includes no reference to the Yuan decorative repertoire (V&A.151). A formal band consisting of alternating groups of curved hatched lines, sometimes referred to as a segmented-wave border, is to be found ringing the central medallion of Yuan dishes (TKS 558). It occurs in an identical position on two copies of early fifteenth-century lotus dishes (Fig. 2.55, V&A.163; Fig. 2.54, RZA.02), and again as the border of the saddle blanket of an elephant *qalyan* (ZZZ.65).

3 Krahl 1986, II, fig. 554. It is tempting to think that a piece very much like this one inspired the two Safavid dishes. Note that the petals of the lotus blossoms at 5 o'clock on V&A.74 (Fig. 2.40) and at 12 o'clock on V&A.29 (Fig. 3.1) are detailed with a central rib in the fashion of the chrysanthemums in the central medallion on the Chinese dish.

4 TKS 554 has only four radiating panels, but other dishes have more. For example, 29.48 in the Ardabil Shrine (Pope 1981) has six panels, as does V&A.74 (Fig. 2.40); and a dish in the Musée National de Céramique in Sèvres, France, has eight, as does V&A.29 (Fig. 3.1). For the dish in the Musée National de Céramique, see Ryoichi and Gakuji 1975, fig. 215.

5 Royal Ontario Museum 1992, no. 30.

Classic Scroll

Close copies of the classic scroll, so common on Yuan and Ming porcelains, appear, but only rarely, on Safavid pieces. A dated example is found on a jar made in 1562–63 (Fig. 2.30, IRB.09). The situation, however, is reversed when it comes to the sturdy version of the classic scroll depicted in white on a blue ground (Fig. 2.57, KUW.01). The motif is rare on Chinese porcelain, but it was much loved by Safavid potters and it appears frequently on their handiwork, not only on pieces with a Yuan flavour but on many others as well. It occurs on at least 35 pieces examined for this study.

Classic scroll is particularly common on pieces executed in the black-line technique from the early seventeenth century (Fig. 3.3, ASH.21), but it also ornaments the rim of a blue-and-white/polychrome dish dated to 1677–78 (BRM.06). An elaboration of this scroll through the addition of half-florets, alternately positioned upright and pendant, is seen on a further half-dozen black-line pieces dating to the first half of the seventeenth century (e.g., V&A.39, 104), but also on somewhat later pieces (e.g., V&A.24, with black tassel-mark).

FIG. 3.3. *ASH.21, multi-nozzle vase.*

Principal Bands

If Yuan rim patterns were not popular in Iran, Yuan floral scrolls with their undulating stems punctuated by alternate pendant and upright blossoms certainly were (Fig. 3.4).

Mention has already been made of the meticulously painted floral scroll reserved on a dark ground of V&A.29 and V&A.74 (Figs. 3.1, 2.40). This scroll appears again on numerous Persian pieces. As in China, both lotus (Ardabil 16-29.45, V&A.121) and peony (TKS 554; Fig. 3.5, BRM.14) scrolls occur. Safavid potters detailed all their plant leaves with careful veining whereas the Chinese did not embellish lotus leaves to the same extent as they did those of the peony. This careful veining is a feature of all Safavid floral decoration reserved on a dark ground. Most of the reserved scrolls occur on dishes with completely dark grounds and a strong Yuan flavour, but occasionally one appears on a Safavid piece (e.g., IMA.03; Fig. 3.6, V&A.21) that owes nothing to mid-fourteenth-century Chinese porcelain decoration. Lotus scrolls on a white

FIG. 3.4. *Chinese dish, back, Yuan period (Royal Ontario Museum, no. 994.38.1).*

FIG. 3.5. *BRM.14, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.6. *V&A.21, dish, face, detail.*

ground were also admired in Iran and occur on a number of dishes. Although the combination of a light scroll on the cavetto and a dark central medallion is not often, if ever, found on Yuan dishes, it is not at all uncommon on Safavid ceramics. Many of the Persian dishes so decorated have a Yuan flavour stemming from their dark central medallions with reserved animals (Fig. 2.34, ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11; Fig. 3.38, FMK.07; both have seal-marks dating them to c. 1630).[6]

Central Medallions (*Tondo Designs*)

The floral medallions with fleshy, meticulously veined leaves that appear in the tondo of dishes such as V&A.29 and V&A.74 (Figs. 3.1, 2.40) are also to be seen in the centre of Chinese bowls.[7] Floral medallions in the Yuan style occur in the centre of some Safavid examples that are not close copies but draw exclusively on the Yuan vocabulary (V&A.126). In others the potter has mixed Yuan motifs (the sturdy light classic scroll and the Yuan lotus scroll reserved on a dark ground) with mid-sixteenth-century Ming detail (V&A.240, interior).

There is a large group of Safavid ceramics with dark central medallions with reserved decoration. This decorative approach is commonly encountered on the large dishes of the Yuan dynasty. In China, while a dark medallion with a single decorative field is sometimes seen (TKS 559, 560), more often the medallion is subdivided through the use of panels and concentric rings (TKS 553). These more complex patterns are not so frequently found in Iran, where the single unified decorative field was preferred, but there are some exceptions, such as V&A.29 and V&A.74 (Figs. 3.1, 2.40).

The simpler unified dark medallions preferred by Safavid potters make numerous references to Chinese decoration: the prowling lion (V&A.121), the long-necked crested phoenix (V&A.60), the flying crane (V&A.67), dragons (V&A.49; Fig. 2.1, ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8), and even the *ruyi* heads and

6 Animals and plants in reserve continue to occur on porcelain in China after the fall of the Yuan dynasty but not with the same frequency (e.g., TKS 641, 715, 872, 1274, 1426, Ardabil 45-29.37).

7 Smart 1977, pl. 76c.

emblems with flaming tendrils scattered about the ground (ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8); however, parallels with specific Chinese medallions are not so easily identified (TKS 560). While it is certainly conceivable that the medallion, indeed, the overall design, of some dragon dishes (Fig. 2.37, V&A.124) was taken from a Yuan dish, whole medallions were not meticulously copied from Chinese models on a routine basis. Safavid potters borrowed the Chinese concept of the simple dark medallion densely packed with reserved decoration and used it to create their own original medallions, albeit imbued with a strong Chinese flavour.

Exteriors

The Yuan lotus scroll on a light ground that appears in the cavetto of some Safavid dishes occurs also on the exterior of many of the dishes already discussed (Fig. 3.1, V&A.29; Fig. 2.40, V&A.74). This scroll is commonly found on the backs of Yuan dynasty dishes (Ardabil 21-29.48). Most of the Safavid dishes on which the scroll appears are executed in black-line technique, and many have seal-marks indicating an early seventeenth-century date.

On at least three of the Safavid dishes on which the scroll appears (Fig. 2.37, V&A.124; Fig. 3.38, FMK.07; Fig. 3.6, V&A.21), the scroll is used in combination with a floret with leaf-tipped tendrils, a device popular in China and found under the flattened rim of a number of sixteenth-century dishes (TKS 890, to be discussed below), but the floret with leaf-tipped tendrils is never found as an accompaniment to the Yuan lotus scroll. Safavid potters loved to conflate the favourite motifs of disparate periods.

A variant of the Yuan peony scroll, one embellished with additional scrolling elements, occurs both in the cavetto and on the exterior of a dragon dish (Fig. 2.1, ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8). This variation can be compared with a peony scroll painted on a Chinese vase in the Ardabil Shrine collection (Ardabil 27-29.510).

The sturdy light classic scroll with additional half-florets discussed briefly above also occurs just above the foot, low on the exterior sides of a number of black-line dishes, some of which have been identified by our study as products of the early seventeenth-century Mashhad workshop (Fig. 2.35, ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13). Most have dark central medallions with dense reserved decoration patterned on a Yuan model.

Early Fifteenth-Century Models

Close Copies

The early fifteenth-century Chinese repertory served as a model for Persian potters for three centuries. A favourite subject from this repertory was picked up by the Timurid potters in the late fifteenth century and continued into the early Safavid period (Fig. 2.3, ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1). The Timurid dishes, made at Nishapur, are close copies of Chinese pieces (Ardabil 34-29.88), with their wave borders on the rim, floral scrolls in the cavetto, and rotating peonies in the central medallion. Notable is the absence of this popular subject from Safavid pottery of the seventeenth century. A late Timurid bowl with caterpillar rim (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T3), probably from Mashhad, copies a Chinese dish decorated with lotus scroll and a band of key-fret at the rim (Fig. 3.7, FMK.13; Ardabil 49-29.336).

The Safavid potters of Tabriz during the sixteenth century drew on early fifteenth-century Chinese models, such as the revolving peony spray

FIG. 3.7. *FMK.13, dish, face.*

surrounded by a cavetto with floral scroll, and classic scroll on the rim (V&A.469, Ardabil 32-19.65 and 32-19.68).

The narrow lotus petals that radiate from the foot of a typical Chinese *lianzi* (lotus) bowl have been used to ornament a Safavid vessel cover dated to 1571 (STK.74), an imaginative but faithful transfer of the decorative scheme of an early fifteenth-century Chinese bowl to a different ceramic form.

The early fifteenth-century subject of the lotus-bouquet medallion ringed by a floral scroll in the well and framed by breaking waves on the rim (Ardabil 31-29.33) appears in two close copies from the early seventeenth-century Kirman "boutique" workshop (Fig. 2.54, RZA.02; Fig. 2.55, V&A.163). This subject became a favourite among Safavid potters, particularly those of Kirman, and was repeated with different rims over several decades from c. 1630 to c. 1670.

Another Kirman dish captures the essence of its early Ming model but with a Safavid twist (Fig. 3.8, MMA.14). The rim and well are decorated with the regimented breaking waves and the undulating lotus scroll of the early fifteenth century, and the central medallion features a dragon motif on a ground of waves. The Chinese version (Ardabil 45-29.37) employs a single rampant dragon disposed with a pleasing balance. The Safavid potter made the triangular composition of the Chinese model more explicit through the use of two dragons, one light and one dark, entwined to form a rigidly symmetrical composition based on the six-pointed star.

FIG. 3.8. *MMA.14, dish, face.*

Borders and Secondary Bands

Breaking Waves

The boisterous breaking waves of Yuan borders became formalized in early Ming. Timurid potters were already looking to the early Ming models in the late fifteenth century. Although versions of this rim occur on early Safavid dishes of the Precise group, the motif underwent its own evolution in the hands of the Safavid Tabriz potters. Not until the early seventeenth century did potters confront the actual early Ming models again. A Ming rim band (like that of Ardabil 31-29.31) with its neatly striated billows tidily separating the breaking crests, in all likelihood provided the model for the wave border of the dish with dragon triangle discussed above (Fig. 3.8, MMA.14). On this dragon dish, however, the striated billows become a pattern of groupings of criss-crossing parallel lines. On two other early seventeenth-century dishes (Fig. 2.55, V&A.163; Fig. 2.54, RZA.02) the breaking waves acquire leaf extensions, perhaps conflating this motif with the squirrel-and-grapes border (see below). The groupings of criss-crossing parallel lines are accentuated by dark bordering lines (RZA.02).

Principal Bands

The early Ming version of the floral scroll occurring in the cavetto differs little from its Yuan predecessor except that in the Ming version the flower heads do not alternate in their orientation. They all face outward toward the rim (Ardabil 31). This seems to be the version adopted by the Kirman potters who copied the Chinese lotus-bouquet theme (Fig. 2.54, RZA.02; Fig. 2.55, V&A.163; ASH.17).

Another common band used for the cavetto on early fifteenth-century porcelain consisted of discrete fruit and flower sprays (Ardabil 37-29.55).

This band occurred frequently on sixteenth-century Safavid dishes from Tabriz, both in faithful copies (HRM.104) and in derivative versions (ROM.26/ Cat. no. 5). This band does not seem to have found favour with the seventeenth-century potters.

Lotus scrolls were also used in early fifteenth-century China to decorate the sides of closed forms, and this usage was adopted by Safavid potters. The meticulously painted scroll that rings a large black-line storage jar (Fig. 3.9, ZZZ.362) is comparable to that painted on a Chinese jar of similar shape (Ardabil 52-29.454).

Marked bowls of the Xuande period (1426–1435)[8] no doubt provided the model for the phoenix flying through lotuses with its long forked tail streaming out behind that decorates a jar of Chinese shape (V&A.160).

Central Medallions (*Tondo Designs*)

A gracefully curving peony spray derived from early Ming compositions (Ardabil 32-29.65, 32-29.64 and 32-29.68) decorates the centre of a few Safavid dishes. This subject was frequently copied by Tabriz potters in the early sixteenth century (V&A.469), and occasionally by early seventeenth-century potters.

Three close copies of early fifteenth-century Chinese lotus-bouquet dishes were discussed above. This subject enjoyed great popularity in Iran in the seventeenth century and occurred with a wide range of bands drawn from models of various periods (ROM.16/ Cat. no. 43, ZZZ.122). Of all the early Ming subjects adopted by Safavid potters, the mighty dragon probably had the greatest appeal. Medallions featuring a single vigorous dragon swooping down with tail held high above its head became current for the first time in the Xuande period (1426–1435) in China.[9] This regal beast, icon of imperial majesty, was transformed to suit Persian aesthetics. A group of later Safavid dishes with central medallions featuring descending dragons on a ground of tightly revolving leaf scrolls presents a nice case study of the transformation of a Chinese motif on Safavid blue-and-white ceramics. By the middle of the seventeenth century the dragon's body becomes horizontally segmented and its tail acquires two fin-like projections that are further elaborated (Fig. 3.10, V&A.171).

FIG. 3.9. *ZZZ.362, storage vessel.*

FIG. 3.10. *V&A.171, dish, face.*

8 See Ryoichi and Gakuji 1976, pl. 23.

9 Ibid., pls. 33, 152.

Perhaps this transformation of an imperial icon into a comic cartoon was not due solely to the whims of Safavid potters. The scrolling tails of Chinese dragons of another variety probably had a role to play. *Kui* dragons with branching, scrolling tails, snouts reminiscent of an elephant's trunk, and lotus sprays issuing from their mouths first appeared on Chinese blue-and-whites of the Xuande period (1426–1435). They continued to be depicted throughout the fifteenth century (Ardabil 62-29.43, late fifteenth century) and sporadically thereafter. Variations of the depiction of the dragon on Safavid pottery (KEI.52) may have roots in later Chinese exports (TKS 1302, late fifteenth century). Other Chinese models are closer in date to the Safavid vessels bearing the "segmented" dragon (TKS 1525, early to mid-seventeenth century; TKS 2095, late seventeenth century).[10]

Late Fifteenth- to Early Sixteenth-Century Models

Close Copies

Not many Safavid pieces draw upon Chinese porcelains from the turn of the fifteenth century for artistic inspiration but, when they do, they mimic closely. A group of late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Chinese blue-and-whites infuse the lotus scroll with a plethora of tiny leaves (TKS 725–728). Sometimes the leaves are so plentiful they lose their individuality and become "wallpaper" in the background. This effect was simulated by Tabriz potters for a brief period of time in the early sixteenth century (Fig. 2.12, ROM.18/ Cat. no. 3). Almost two centuries later a similar look appears on a group of Safavid dishes. While this characteristic look cannot be attributed to the influence of Kangxi exports, some of the other detail can (such as the brown-painted rims,[11] to be discussed later), which permits a dating of this group to the last decades of Safavid rule. The style has been labelled "luscious flower" by Crowe because of the ubiquity of a blossom with a profusion of large round petals.[12] This motif could be related to the earlier Chinese models, and these late seventeenth-century Safavid wares do appear to be close in feeling to them (compare ZZZ.100 with TKS 679, 728, 729). However, the Chinese models do not account for the complexity of the more elaborate examples (Fig. 2.91, ROM.99/ Cat. no. 46). It is difficult to explain why this style, which saw little success in Persia when it first arrived and evaded emulation during the early seventeenth century, was suddenly resurrected at the end of the century. Perhaps the resemblance is coincidental.

Borders and Secondary Bands

Blank Cavetto, Zig-Zag Rim Border

A group of sixteenth-century Tabriz dishes ("blank cavetto style," see Chapter Two) with central medallions, blank cavetto, and bracket-lobed everted rims borrows the composition and rim design from early sixteenth-century Chinese models. The rims of some of these dishes, are decorated with a zig-zagging pattern (Pl. 6.1.4, Rims 21–22) borrowed from early sixteenth-century Chinese dishes (TKS 781, 789). Some also have a fluted cavetto like the Chinese models (MAD.11). The combination of a smooth well and a bracket-lobed flattened rim is found on Chinese dishes (TKS 789). It is interesting to observe that the central medallions of most of the early Safavid (sixteenth-century) dishes show little trace of Chinese influence.

10 For Xuande (1426–1435) and Chenghua (1465–1487) examples, see Joseph 1971 (no. 33 and pl. 81). Another sixteenth-century piece from the Topkapi Saray, TKS 930, has a Xuande mark but is archaistic and is dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

11 This treatment, seen occasionally on earlier seventeenth-century Chinese pieces in the Topkapi Saray Museum (e.g., TKS 1543, early to mid-seventeenth century), is much more common among late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Chinese porcelains in the Topkapi Saray collection.

12 Crowe 2002:228.

Central Medallions (*Tondo Designs*)

The central floral spray, a favoured subject of early fifteenth-century porcelains, typically had more than one blossom. In the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century the motif became formalized with pairs of leaves radiating from a single central blossom. The central peony, with stamens detailed, grows on a double stem from a portion of woody branch. The mid-sixteenth-century version, produced at Tabriz (Fig. 3.11, MMA.26), emphasizes the centrality of the single blossom and reduces the branch to wispy tendrils encircling it.

The theme reappears in the repertory of the Isfahan potters in the mid-seventeenth century (BMA.01, TRM.01, HRM.10, HRM.20). The shading of the petals on some of these suggests the influence of Annamese (Vietnamese) copies of the Chinese model (HRM.10).[13] Although few in number, Annamese vessels are found in both the Topkapi and the Ardabil collections.

FIG. 3.11. *MMA.26, dish, face.*

13 See Richards 1995:154, pl. 115; this peony spray was a very popular pattern beyond China's borders. It was copied not only in Vietnam and in Iran, but also in Ottoman Turkey; for a blue-and-white Iznik bowl, see Atasoy and Raby 1989, fig. 375; and for a dish, see Ribeiro 1996:145, no. 30.

Mid-Sixteenth-Century Models

Close Copies

A sixteenth-century Tabriz dish with blank cavetto (Fig. 3.12, KEI.03) appears to follow the contemporary Chinese model fairly closely. Its flattened rim is decorated with a proficient rendition of the Chinese beribboned-emblem and peach-spray motif. The medallion, however, is depicted with greater licence. On the Chinese model (TKS 887), a peony flanked by a cock and hen grows from rocks in a garden with balustrade. On the Tabriz rendition the blossoms of the central peony do not reproduce the Y-shaped composition of the Chinese dish but are arranged on a strictly vertical axis. The balustrade has been eliminated. The birds no longer forage on the ground but are perched symmetrically in the branches of the peony. Mid-sixteenth-century models were very popular among the next generation of Safavid potters. Dating to the early seventeenth century, three closely related black-line medallion bowls present a more complex illustration of replication (Fig. 3.13, V&A.240; Fig. 3.14, ASH.19; V&A.246). The Ashmolean bowl (Fig. 3.14) is an almost perfect copy of a Chinese bowl (TKS 993).

FIG. 3.12. *KEI.03, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.13. *V&A.240, bowl, exterior.*

FIG. 3.14. *ASH.19, bowl, interior.*

The other two close copies of the deep Chinese bowls share a principal band of reserved dragon medallions separated by paired cloud heads, bordered at the rim by a reserved squirrel-and-grape band (Fig. 3.13, V&A.240; ASH.19). Above the foot is a reserved petal band. All that is lacking from the Persian bowls is a band of scroll on the foot. The interior rims of both bowls are decorated with a band of flying bird panels reserved on a geometric ground of X-shaped motifs.

The central medallion of the Chinese piece (TKS 993) contains a *qilin* with flames under a pine tree, a good description of the medallion on the Ashmolean bowl (Fig. 3.14).[14] The other two bowls, which are almost identical to the first on the outside, are decorated differently on the interior. The central medallion of one (V&A.246) does contain a *qilin* in a landscape in the manner of the Ashmolean bowl, but the central medallion of the other (V&A.240), a fleshy formal floral spray reserved on blue, is a throwback to Yuan decoration, and the band below the rim of the bowl appears to be a Safavid invention assembled from various Chinese parts. It consists of panels containing alternate pairs of birds and single beribboned emblems reserved on a scroll ground. In China, a light scroll reserved on blue occurs as an overall ground pattern (TKS 1304, dated to about 1600)[15] and in panels (TKS 1324, dated to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century), but the author is not aware of an instance of its occurrence in a band as a ground for reserved panels. The same holds true for the rim band on the interior of the V&A.246 bowl. It is a *lingzhi* (fungus) scroll reserved on a blue ground. Scrolls of this type occur on Chinese dishes from the second half of the sixteenth century but in reverse (in blue on a white ground). The addition of the little florets to the scroll is a Safavid flourish particular to this bowl and never seen in China.

This model continued to enjoy popularity among Kirman potters of the mid-seventeenth century. One example retains the squirrel-and-grape rim border of the other three bowls and the fungus scroll, but the petal-panel band above the foot is not in reserve (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18). Rather it is of a type seen in the late fifteenth century in China (Ardabil 70-29.437). The medallions on the exterior present dragons of a different type, however. These dragons are curled in a neat circle and have very long, flowing manes. Although dragons of this type were most popular in the latter part of the Ming dynasty,[16] they do occur

14 A *qilin* medallion is illustrated for TKS 992, a bowl identical to TKS 993 except for the phoenix medallions that replace the dragon medallions on the exterior.

15 A vase identical to TKS 1304 was recovered from a shipwreck, the *San Diego,* which sank on December 14, 1600. The San Diego was built as a trading ship but was converted into a warship. When engaged by the Dutch in the Philippines, it attempted to prepare its cannons for firing, but the ship was not built for this purpose and tilted, allowing water to enter the portholes. The wreck was discovered in 1992 by Franck Goddio. (Mulligan 1996:14).

16 Xiong and Ziang 1995–1996, vol. 2, p. 23, nos. 1–4.

earlier. A fragment of a bowl bearing a six-character Jiajing mark (1522–1566), excavated from a kiln site in Jingdezhen, is decorated with such dragons.[17] The medallions of the seventeenth-century Safavid bowl (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18) are separated by formal double-headed scrolls, a configuration without Chinese precedent.[18]

Drawing on models from the Jiajing period as well is an early seventeenth-century bowl with fish swimming amid lotuses and small water plants (V&A.108).[19] Another contemporary Safavid bowl (Fig. 3.15, V&A.89) owes much to a dish in the Topkapi Saray collection (TKS 923) marked to the Jiajing period (1522–1566), which displays skinny dragons striding around the rim and a fussy ground pattern of small-leaf floral scroll.

FIG. 3.15. *V&A.89, dish, face.*

In the central medallion the Topkapi dish depicts a rampant single dragon while the Safavid copy has an ascending dragon paired with a descending phoenix. This addition is not surprising as the phoenix was a common Chinese motif (TKS 931). The dragon and phoenix were also paired frequently in Timurid and Safavid decorative arts.

While pairs of dragons, one ascending and one descending, are common on imperial porcelains of certain periods,[20] and they do exist on export pieces in West Asia (TKS 863 with a mark of the Xuande period but dating from the mid-sixteenth century; TKS 924 with a Jiajing mark), they were depicted much less frequently in Iran (V&A.99).

Borders and Secondary Bands

Squirrel-and-Grape; Beribboned Emblems

Although principal bands, central medallions, and motifs that ornament the exterior sides were all influential to some extent, the border and secondary band patterns were the most popular elements of mid-sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain decoration to be adopted by Safavid potters. Two of these have been mentioned above. The squirrel-and-grape border was used for Safavid copies of the dragon medallion bowls (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18). Less common was the band of beribboned emblems alternating with floral sprays (Fig. 3.12, KEI.03). In an Iranian variation of this band, the emblems occur alone on a blue-and-white dish dated to 1567–1568 with a Persian-style striding lion in the tondo (Fig. 2.16, MMA.67).

Reserved-Sprig Petal-Panel

The band of petal panels, each with a white sprig reserved on blue, that rings the lower sides of the three dragon-medallion bowls (Fig. 3.13, V&A.240;

17 Shanghai 1983, vol. 19, fig. 124.

18 Somewhat simplified dragon-with-mane medallions decorate the sides of a small black-line jar (V&A.100). Dragons with long manes are often found coiled into a ring on the top of small boxes or in the bottom of bowls made in the private kilns of Jingdezhen for domestic and export use. Two boxes in the ROM decorated with these creatures were collected in the Makassar area of Sulawesi, Indonesia.

19 Fu Yang, ed., 1957, no. 69.

20 See Xiong and Ziang 1995–1996, vol. 2, p. 2, no. 3, and p. 11, no. 1, for mid-fourteenth- and late fifteenth-century examples. The motif was particularly popular on Wanli period (1573–1619) enamelled porcelain made for imperial use (e.g., Royal Ontario Museum, no. 993.65.1).

ASH.19, V&A.246) is closely copied from mid-sixteenth-century Chinese medallion bowls (TKS 992). This same band is found on a wide variety of Safavid pieces, not all of which are so closely related to mid-sixteenth-century prototypes (V&A.169). Of the 14 pieces with the reserved-sprig petal-panel band in this study, all but two are decorated in the black-line technique. One of the two exceptions is the ewer dated to 1616-17 (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08). This band appears to have been popular during the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Diaper Bands

The Chinese diaper bands of the mid-sixteenth century were very popular in Safavid Persia. The rim band with flying birds in quatrefoil panels reserved on a cash-diaper ground (TKS 992) was copied on Persian versions of the dragon-medallion bowl (Fig. 3.14, ASH.19), but it also occurs on Safavid pieces that are not careful copies of Chinese vessels. A band of simple florets in panels reserved on a cash-diaper ground frames a blue-and-white tile dated to 1601 (V&A.54). This pattern is taken from the reserved floral-spray panels of Chinese dishes (TKS 859). More common on Safavid pieces, however, is the uninterrupted cash-diaper band. It was frequently used in different contexts throughout the seventeenth century.

The scale-diaper was already used by Timurid potters, but in China and on Safavid copies it was more commonly found in combination with other diapers. It alternates with the cash-diaper and interlocking Y-lattice diaper on dishes of the mid-sixteenth century (TKS 849). On Safavid pottery the scale-diaper alternates with the interlocking Y-lattice alone (BER.01, dated 1627–28), and with cash-diaper alone (Fig. 3.16, KEI.05). The two most popular usages of the scale-diaper in Persia, the solid scale band and the band with panels filled with scale-diaper reserved on a plain ground, are extremely rare if not completely unknown on Chinese porcelain. Among the Safavid wares this usage is found predominantly in the polychrome slip-painted wares from Isfahan, some of which

FIG. 3.16. *KEI.05, dish, face.*

(Fig. 3.16, KEI.05) show strong influence from Iznik wares of Ottoman Turkey. The impact of Iznik wares on this Safavid group is discussed elsewhere, but the question arises as to whether certain motifs of Chinese origin, such as the scale-diaper, found their way to Iran directly from Chinese models or through their transformation on Ottoman pottery. It is tempting to speculate that the panels of scale-diaper that are set on a plain ground resulted from a Persian attempt to simplify a Turkish pattern whose derivation the potters did not understand. This pattern was the Iznik version of the Chinese cresting-wave as depicted on the rims of large dishes.[21]

Cranes in Clouds

Bands of cranes flying against a ground of small reserved clouds inspired by rim bands like that of the mid-sixteenth-century medallion bowl (TKS 997) were also very popular in Iran. They are discussed below in the section on specific motifs.

Ruyi Heads

A series of linked *ruyi* heads ringing the tondo medallion occurs on Chinese models of this period

21 Atasoy and Raby 1989, fig. 316.

FIG. 3.17A. *V&A.127, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 3.17B. *V&A.127, exterior.*

(TKS 894). This scheme was followed on a series of blue-and-white Kirman wares from the middle of the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.17a, V&A.127; BRM.10).

Principal Bands

Bands of medallions separated by pairs of clouds were rather common in mid-sixteenth-century China, particularly on bowls (TKS 993).[22] This composition found its way into the Safavid vocabulary in the early seventeenth century and continued through the middle of the century (Fig. 3.13, V&A.240). Cloud heads separate roundels with reserved decoration of naked boys amid flowers, a fertility motif dating back to the Song dynasty and occasionally found on Ming pottery (Fig. 3.17b, V&A.127).[23] Sometimes motifs other than cloud heads alternate with the roundels, such as the double-headed scroll (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18). Almost all the vessels with bands of this type—roundels separated by paired elements—are datable to Phases I and II, with occasional reappearance on later wares (FZW.05, attributed to Phase III).

***Central Medallions* (*Tondo Designs*)**

The lion-with-ball medallion (TKS 878) was copied by a mid-seventeenth-century potter (Fig. 3.18, MMA.20), who failed to transmit some of the original detail. The ball in the centre has become a daisy-like flower and is joined by others on a ground of fine scrolling lines that in no way are intended to portray ribbons.

Medallions with riverscapes featuring pagodas and island peaks topped with oversized willows became a popular motif towards the middle of the sixteenth century in China (TKS 865), and the pattern found favour during the early seventeenth century in Safavid Iran. The two closest copies (Fig. 3.46, V&A.76; Fig. 3.19, HRM.58) both bear seal-marks suggesting that they were made in the Kirman "boutique" workshop, possibly by the same hand. Rims and cavettos are decorated with Kraak panels borrowed from c. 1600 models, but the tondos with a tall central pagoda and twin peaks rising from the water in the foreground,

22 This decorative convention was revived from time to time, and examples found their way to West Asia. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, a delicate scrolling device became a popular divider (e.g., TKS 982). Simplified versions of both patterns occur on the early seventeenth-century bowls TKS 1539 (clouds) and TKS 1536 (scrolls), and cloud heads so wispy that they have virtually become a scroll can be seen on a mid- to late seventeenth-century covered bowl, TKS 2395.

23 Naked boys playing in vines was a motif popular in China in the Song dynasty.

FIG. 3.18. *MMA.20, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.20. *MIN.02, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.19. *HRM.58, dish, face.*

smaller pagodas receding into the middle distance, and a triple-ridged mountain range rising through a bank of clouds in the background, were taken from mid-sixteenth-century models.

Two birds figure prominently in variations of the riverscape to be seen on blue-and-white Isfahan dishes from Phase III. The birds flank an incongruously small pagoda that follows the curve of their bodies (Fig. 3.20, MIN.02; TKS 851).

Exteriors

Chinese dishes in the mid-sixteenth century commonly bear two sets of motifs on the underside. Below the flange is a series of formal floral elements consisting of a central floret flanked by leaf-tipped tendrils (referred to elsewhere in this volume as the S-shaped motif). Around the walls of the exterior are birds perched on leafy branches. This back was very popular among potters working during the first three or four decades of the seventeenth century (Pl. 6.3.1, Backs I.1–3). The tendrilled floret also occurs on Safavid dishes in the company of other back motifs (Fig. 2.37, V&A.124).

On the later Safavid dishes painted in only blue without black outlines the little floret is consistently depicted as four-petalled, and as having two additional shorter tendrils. The Chinese motifs that provided the inspiration for the Safavid four-petalled floret motif are the four-petalled floret scroll, which is discussed later in the context of motifs that date broadly from the sixteenth century, and the tendril-flanked floret element that appears on the underside of the rims of Chinese dishes (TKS 878). This little formal floret element occurs on Chinese dishes dated as early as the second quarter of the sixteenth century (TKS 890)

and as late as the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.[24] The Persian potters must have been particularly fond of it. Not only did they use it on a variety of types of Safavid ceramics, but they also moved it from its inconspicuous position on the reverse of the dish to the front to decorate the rim, a location in which it is never found in China. Such is the case with a monochrome blue dish with incised decoration (CDC.02), and with numerous blue-and-white Kirman vessels from Phase III (Fig. 2.69, ROM.83/ Cat. no. 25; V&A.206).

Individual Motifs

Cranes in Clouds

The tiny clouds that form the backdrop for the rampant dragons in roundels were a very popular ground motif in both China and Persia (Fig. 3.13, V&A.240; V&A.246; ASH.09). It was postulated earlier that Yuan blue-and-white porcelain decoration was the inspiration behind the animals and plant designs painted in reserve on a blue ground, so frequently seen on Safavid ceramics. For example, a magnificent rampant dragon shown on a field of tightly packed little clouds decorates a mid-fourteenth-century Yuan dish (TKS 560). It is not necessarily true, however, that the Persian potters copied directly from early dishes such as this, as later Chinese potters also used the formulation. Reference has already been made to the dragon-on-cloud roundels of a mid-sixteenth-century Chinese bowl (TKS 993), but other animals are also found reserved on a dark cloud ground on Chinese bowls of this period: phoenix (TKS 991), *qilin* (TKS 998), and crane (TKS 994). Cranes were the favourites of Persian potters, and they appear over and over again in bands and collars. Sometimes they fly gracefully like their Chinese counterparts (TKS 1035, a double-gourd vase from the third quarter of the sixteenth century). In other instances, they appear to be short-necked sinister creatures, poised to dive-bomb their prey (Fig. 3.21, BRM.17).

Bands such as this latter one are clearly taken from mid-sixteenth-century bowls such as the medallion bowl TKS 997, which has a band bordering its mouth on the exterior. The band has reserved cranes with long necks doubled back in flight. The majority of the many Iranian pieces with crane bands and collars are decorated in black-line technique and, when marked, bear seals. Thus, they date from the first half of the seventeenth century. Such bands do occur on later pieces, but in the second half of the century cranes tend to occur in panels of all shapes and sizes rather than in bands and collars. In addition, the birds change to become less like their Chinese counterparts. They are somewhat simplified in detail and have curving necks (Fig. 3.22, V&A.34, attributed to Phase III). All the cranes just discussed are reserved on blue and fly through a dense pattern of small clouds. In a much bolder and more open version of the motif, painted in blue on a white ground, large long-legged cranes fly through fewer multi-headed clouds almost as big as the cranes themselves (Fig. 3.23, BRM.15; TKS 871).

FIG. 3.21. *BRM.17, spittoon.*

Double-Headed Scroll

The formal double-headed scroll motif that separates dragon medallions on some Safavid bowls is rarely seen on Chinese porcelains, but it was very popular in Persia (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18; Fig. 3.48, V&A.26). It was particularly favoured for tall tubular forms decorated in black-line technique such as the necks of *qalyan* and bottles and

24 Rinaldi 1989:124, pl. 133.

FIG. 3.22. *V&A.34, dish, face, detail.*

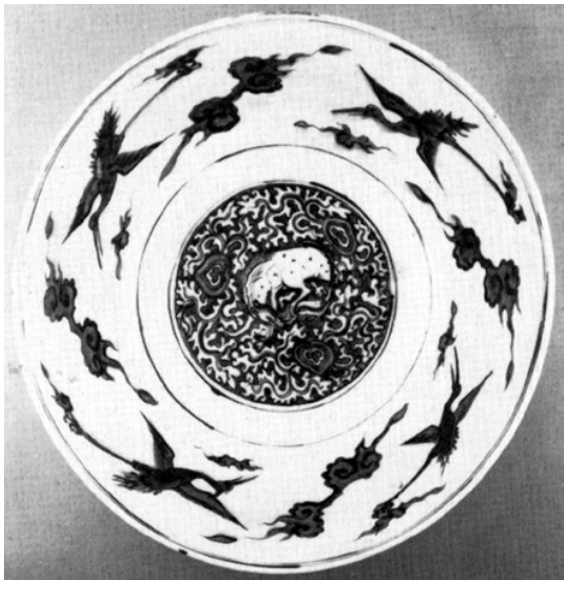


FIG. 3.23. *BRM.15, bowl, interior.*

the projecting tubes of tulip vases. It occurs as an isolated element (V&A.48; TKS 815) as well as in panels. A slightly more elaborate form with a lozenge or a tufted centre inserted at the midpoint of the connecting loop (V&A.87) is common in Iran although it is never seen in China. This tufted variation occurs on many long-necked vessels (Fig. 3.3, ASH.21).

Sinuous Dragon with Mane

Another motif deriving ultimately from the mid-sixteenth century and occurring with some regularity in various positions on Safavid vessels is the sinuous-bodied dragon with mane, appearing against a ground of leafy scrolls (Fig. 3.15, V&A.89; Fig. 3.48, V&A.26; V&A.111; V&A.90), painted predominantly in black-line technique and bridging Phases I and II. This dragon later appears in the blue-and-white Kirman style of Phase III (Fig. 3.49, ASH.11; V&A.149).

Second Half of the Sixteenth Century Models

Close Copies

At least two types of Chinese bowls with a rim band of horses galloping through flames over breaking waves (TKS 1280, 1281) served as models for several Safavid early seventeenth-century bowls (Fig. 3.24, WAL.02; Fig. 3.25, V&A.245), and motifs drawn from this genre were adopted in other contexts by the Safavid potters. The galloping-horse rim accompanied a variety of different motifs on the Chinese bowls, and each of the Safavid imitations incorporates motifs from both models of this genre. The elements are: the horse border itself; a band of stylized hooked waves below the interior rim, or a Chinese landscape band (V&A.116); a garland of flaming Buddhist *chakra* wheels rising on stalks from a scalloped groundline, or a series of peach plants rising from the ground; and a central medallion occupied by either the galloping horse or a Chinese landscape.

The blue-and-white bowl (Fig. 3.24, WAL.02) has the same exterior decoration as the Chinese

FIG. 3.24. *WAL.02, bowl, exterior.*

FIG. 3.25. *V&A.245, bowl, interior.*

FIG. 3.26. *FMK.17, bowl, interior.*

model, a row of formal flower sprays bordered below by a white-rimmed lappet band, and above, by the band of galloping horses. The interior decoration of the two bowls is not the same, but the other Safavid bowl (Fig. 3.25, V&A.245) copies the inner medallion with the galloping horse. Both Safavid bowls employ the band of stylized hooked waves below the rim, although on V&A.245 the waves are inverted. This bowl also has a garland of flaming Buddhist *chakra* wheels rising on stalks from a scalloped groundline modelled on the decorative band on the interior sides of the Chinese bowl TKS 1280. The Safavid bowls, which are all black-line, are datable to Phase I.

Some close copies transfer a scheme from one shape to another. Although FMK.17 (Fig. 3.26) is a bowl and TKS 1116 is a dish and there are no parallels in the exterior decoration of the two blue-and-whites, the similarity in their interior decoration is immediately apparent. The interior of the Safavid bowl is a stripped-down version of the Chinese composition. Although the rim band of FMK.17 is much simpler and less busy than that of TKS 1116, little boats sail between spits of land dotted with willows and pavilions on both pieces. The many pairs of birds and the little squirrels of TKS 1116 do not appear in the central medallion of the Persian bowl, but a multi-storey pavilion sheltered by a rocky cliff, and two gnarled pines growing from a rock that juts from the right margin, constitute the principal elements of the medallions of both pieces. Another Chinese dish from the second half of the sixteenth century with a central medallion featuring a two-storey pavilion in a garden setting (TKS 1119) has a rim band even closer in feeling to that of FMK.17, as it is more open in composition.

There are a number of Persian dishes for which no exact Chinese prototype has been identified but presumably one did exist. Both the layout and the spirit of the decoration of these dishes are clearly modelled on Chinese prototypes from the latter half of the sixteenth century— for example, TKS 1119 or TKS 1128. One such Safavid piece is V&A.98, a black-line dish with a bracket-lobed flattened rim decorated with a riverscape, a plain well, and a large central medallion featuring a deer and a crane in a garden with balustrade—a popular late sixteenth-century subject. Another is ZZZ.220, a blue-and-white incised line dish. The layout of the decoration is the same as for TKS 1119 and TKS 1128, and for many other Chinese

dishes dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. The elaborate landscape scene in the tondo painting found on Chinese dishes of the second half of the sixteenth century (TKS 1116, 1119) appears as the interior medallion of an early seventeenth-century Safavid bowl (Fig. 3.26, FMK.17).

A large group of related dishes have a blank cavetto, a broad, flat rim decorated with a riverscape, and a central medallion framed by a scroll-and-*ruyi* band inspired by late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese Kraak ware. The central medallions of these dishes show strong influence of Chinese dishes of the second half of the sixteenth century. They often sport riverscapes with pagodas (Fig. 3.27, V&A.63; V&A.77; TKS 1125) or deer cavorting in a landscape (HAR.01; TKS 1127). Following Crowe's dating, we attribute this group to Phase II.[25] More unusual was the occasional copying of dishes with a wide landscape band spilling over from the rim into the cavetto (TKS 1181; MAD.03). The tondo design of deer among trees and rocks was a particular favourite among the Isfahan potters, probably working from Safavid copies.

For certain Safavid vessels, while no single Chinese model of this period can always be identified, models for all the elements of the decoration can be found. In such cases we can be almost certain that all the elements once coexisted on a single Chinese bowl from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The general shape and the bracket-lobed rim of a Safavid black-line bowl (Fig. 3.28, V&A.85), as well as the lines that encircle its foot, the theme of a bird standing beneath a pine that decorates one face of it (Side B), and the two birds that fly over lotuses (Fig. 3.28a, Side A) are drawn from Chinese sources of the second half of the sixteenth century. (The model for Side A is TKS 1092.) The clump of lotus and the little round-leafed floating water plants resemble elements found on another

FIG. 3.27. *V&A.63, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.28A. *V&A.85, bowl, exterior, Side A.*

FIG. 3.28B. *V&A.85, bowl, exterior, Side B.*

25 Crowe 2002:108.

similar Chinese bowl (TKS 1099). The bird perched on a rock in the central medallion of the Safavid bowl (Fig. 3.28b, V&A.85) was a very popular theme in the second half of the sixteenth century in China. The black seal-mark (Pl. 7.1, S7) on the Safavid bowl suggests an attribution to Mashhad during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The group of Safavid dishes with unpainted incised cavettos that were made primarily at Mashhad during this period (Fig. 2.35, ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13) seems also to have been inspired by mid-sixteenth-century Chinese models (TKS 1236, 1228). The Safavid dishes are larger than their prototypes, and they generally use the dark fungus scroll or bracket-lobed margin with the scroll-and-*ruyi* frame so common on Safavid copies of Kraak porcelain.

The distinctive vessels with a mammiform spout, commonly known by their Malay name of *kendi,* originated in Southeast Asia. From the earliest years of the Ming dynasty, porcelain *kendi* were made in Jingdezhen and shipped to China's customers abroad. The early Ming vessels have short necks and large tapering spouts angling up from the shoulder,[26] but examples from the latter part of the sixteenth century typically have shorter, plumper spouts with nipple-like openings and much longer necks rising from their broad shoulders (TKS 1299). This is the type that was commonly adopted as a model for the manufacture of *qalyan*, or water-pipes, in Safavid Iran.[27] Safavid potters borrowed not only the shape of these vessels but also the disposition and details of their decoration. On some Iranian *qalyan/kendi* of this type (Fig. 2.45, ROM.91/ Cat. no. 15) the decoration flows continuously around the belly of the vessel, as it does on many Chinese *kendi* (TKS 1043, 1044, 1299). On many others, however, the decoration is divided into separate panels by vertical bars in the fashion of numerous other Chinese examples (V&A.56). Very often on pieces of this latter group, there is a *ruyi* head with knotted ribbons painted below the spout, as is the case with their Chinese prototypes.

China also manufactured porcelain *kendi* in more imaginative shapes. The elephant and frog *kendi* were picked up by the Safavid potters and meticulously copied (Ardabil 97-29.464, TKS 1293, SAF.01). Almost all of the zoomorphic Safavid *qalyan* were executed in black-line technique and therefore date to Phases I and II.

Borders and Secondary Bands

Landscape and Riverscape Rim Bands

These bands, which derive from Chinese models of the second half of the sixteenth century, continued in popularity over a long period of time in Iran and have been described above (Fig. 3.26, FMK.17; Fig. 3.27, V&A.63). They are to be found not only on black-line dishes, but also on later blue-and-white wares from Kirman (ASH.16) and Isfahan.

Egrets and Lotus

The rim band depicting white egrets silhouetted against lotus leaves, alternating with large lotus blossoms, as seen on later Safavid dishes (Fig. 3.29, V&A.62; TKS 1121), is derived from a Chinese variation of the landscape and riverscape rim band, described above.

Fungus Scroll

In China, the fungus scroll is depicted in blue on white (TKS 1138). In Iran it is delineated in white on a blue ground, but the unmistakable three-lobed mushrooms of immortality instantly reveal the scroll's country of origin.

In Iran, the fungus scroll is found on the rims of dishes, framing central medallions of large saucers with incised wells, and constituting the rim band on the interior of bowls (Fig. 2.53, ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18; Fig. 3.30, MMA.21). It also decorates the necks of jars and the bases of bottles (V&A.66).

26 For three early Ming *kendi* decorated in underglaze red and published as dating from the Yuan dynasty, see Lee and Wai-Kam Ho 1968, nos. 177–79.

27 For a discussion of the water-pipe in Iran, see Chapter One, pp. 46ff.

FIG. 3.29. *V&A.62, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.30. *MMA.21, bowl, interior.*

The scroll occurs primarily on black-line pieces, many of which have black seal-marks or black character-marks dating them to the first half of the seventeenth century. It is found occasionally on later blue-and-white vessels (ZZZ.129).

Principal Bands

The riverscape, popular as a decorative band in the second half of the sixteenth century in China, was not always relegated to minor narrow bands at the rims of bowls and dishes. In both China and Iran, it sometimes took on the status of a principal band (ZZZ.64).

Much less common was a band consisting of dark ogival panels with reserved decoration alternating with strings of hanging jewels (Fig. 3.31, V&A.41; BKN.01). These examples date from Phase III and are executed in blue-and-white.

They do not seem to be interdependent and are likely to descend from another source, most probably a Chinese model. One possibility might be the combination of tasseled strings of jewels and large lobed cloud-collar panels filled with reserved scrolling decoration (TKS 1325, a late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century cover). Another model might have been the straight-edged jewel-linked panels on a Chinese basin from the second half of the sixteenth century (TKS 1275). In a location and manner analogous to the Safavid usage, the pointed panels and hanging jewels decorate the cavetto and focus the eye on the medallion in the bottom of this basin. The concept behind the interplay between the cavetto and tondo surfaces again on Isfahan blue-and-white wares (ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44).

Central Medallions (Tondo Designs)

Mention has already been made of the fact that birds in landscape settings became a popular subject for central medallions in the second half of the sixteenth century in China. The motif remained popular throughout the remainder of the Ming

FIG. 3.31. *V&A.41, dish, face, detail.*

dynasty, and some Safavid renditions are closer than others to Chinese prototypes of the second half of the sixteenth century. The mid-century blue-and-white wares from Isfahan particularly favour these models, which are repeated endlessly (MMO.05, HRM.11, MMA.29). Some are even quite close to the Chinese models, although the execution is poor (ZZZ.12, TKS 1278). The question raised by this affinity is whether the potters actually saw Chinese originals or were copying high-quality local reproductions.

Deer, depicted both singly and in small herds, were also a popular motif on Chinese porcelain from the mid-sixteenth century on into the seventeenth century. Some Iranian pieces, like the Kirman blue-and-white octagonal dishes of Phase III, show very generic depictions of deer amid flowering plants (KEI.25). Others show a dependence on Chinese models of the second half of the sixteenth century. A rare Isfahan dish belonging to Phase I (Fig. 2.46, ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16) has a broad landscape band around a tondo in which two deer stand in a landscape of rocks and trees, comparable in both the subject of the central medallion and the treatment of the layout to a Chinese dish (TKS 1180). In the immediate foreground of the Safavid composition, three sets of double concentric circles are contained within a lighter blue scalloped frame that follows their contours. This odd device was copied from a Chinese stylization of one of the rocks so loved by Chinese garden aficionados, rocks eroded into contorted form and pierced through with large holes by the action of water. The stylized Chinese version is to be found on a dish (TKS 1158) with a tondo similar to that of the Safavid dish. The rock is portrayed more realistically on another dish with deer (TKS 1213). A review of all the Safavid dishes with deer themes suggests that potters used a wide range of the accessible models (TKS 1127, 1162, HAR.01).

Exteriors

Many of the finer early Kirman dishes copy the backs of Kraak porcelains as well as the fronts. The division of the back of Kraak dishes into two zones, the underside of the rim and the exterior of the cavetto, was also followed in Safavid wares. The Safavid versions of Chinese backs are further discussed in Chapter Six. In some cases, however, elements drawn from earlier sources were incorporated into the decoration of the back (V&A.38, TKS 1159). The pair of arching branches common on the backs of Safavid dishes of Phase I is modelled on late sixteenth-century Chinese dish exteriors (TKS 1127; Fig. 3.32, MAK.05), classified in Chapter Six as Back I.3 (Pl. 6.3.1). The Chinese model had two birds perched on the branches.

Peach and flower sprays floating in space are also to be found on the backs of Chinese dishes from the second half of the sixteenth century (TKS 903, 1125) and are later copied on Safavid wares (Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.1a; V&A.77). On the backs of some dishes these sprays are simply depicted (V&A.77). On some later dishes peach sprays are more elaborately rendered, and the fruits are haloed with petals. Floating flower and fruit sprays became very popular again during the Kangxi period (1662–1722) as decoration for the exterior walls of Chinese basins and dishes. Sometimes the sprays are simple (TKS 2368), sometimes more elaborate (TKS 2947). It may well be that the haloed fruit sprays of the later Safavid dishes were inspired by these late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century versions of the floating spray (Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.1b).

FIG. 3.32. *MAK.05, dish, exterior.*

Sixteenth-Century Motifs of Enduring Popularity

Some motifs are linked with specific time ranges, but certain motifs are not so limited, having enjoyed special favour throughout the sixteenth century.

Borders and Secondary Bands

Floral Scroll with Lotus and Four-Petal Floret

Floral scrolls have been a favourite of Chinese ceramic decorators since the Song dynasty. Some, like the blackberry-lily scroll of Yuan blue-and-white (Ardabil 14-29.122), were particular to a short period of time, while others lingered longer. The floral scroll in which small lotus blossoms alternate with stylized florets, each with four widely spaced petals disposed in a strictly symmetrical arrangement, surfaces first in the second quarter of the sixteenth century (TKS 865), but continues in popularity (mid-sixteenth century, TKS 949; third quarter of sixteenth century, TKS 901; late sixteenth century, TKS 1277). Indeed, the scroll continues to appear well into the next century (late seventeenth century, TKS 2074). In Iran, the lotus blossom is usually dropped and the distinctive four-petalled floret appears alone throughout the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.33, KEI.28, V&A.93).

FIG. 3.33. *KEI.28, polygonal dish, face.*

Ruyi Collar

The *ruyi* collar was also used extensively over the years in China. Its use as a frame for the central medallion of dishes was discussed in the mid-sixteenth-century portion of this chapter but, in fact, it was employed in China much more frequently on closed forms than it was on dishes. This was true in Iran as well. Both reserve-painted with blue ground (dark-rim) and blue-painted on white ground (light-rim) varieties saw greatest currency from the middle of the sixteenth century into the early seventeenth century (TKS 1499).

In many cases, an obvious parallel in usage exists. A simple dark-rimmed *ruyi* band below a band of tall narrow panels is to be found on the necks of both Chinese and Iranian bottles (TKS 1396; Fig. 3.34, MMA.11; V&A.87).

FIG. 3.34. *MMA.11, bottle.*

The *ruyi* band is often seen on the shoulders of Chinese jars and *kendi* and their Safavid counterparts (TKS 1288; V&A.96, V&A.112). On occasion, however, the Safavid painter added a new twist, attaching short stalks, borrowed from mid-sixteenth-century Chinese dishes on which rings of stemmed *ruyi* were used to frame the central medallion (TKS 887, TRM.06). The Safavid decorator showed his independence in other ways as well, linking the heads with arching lines.

Dotted-Diamond Diaper

This band is very often to be found on the rims of Yuan blue-and-white dishes (Ardabil 9-29.42) and was favoured by the Tabriz workshop in the late sixteenth century. Variations are discussed in Chapter Six (Pl. 6.1.4, Rims 20, 21). Seventeenth-century Safavid versions resemble either the sixteenth-century Chinese renditions of this pattern (TKS 1264; ROM.66/ Cat. no. 14) or those of the early eighteenth century (TKS 2405, V&A.19).

Adjoining Petal-Panels

Petal-panels border the decorative zones of Chinese blue-and-whites from their first appearance in the mid-fourteenth century through all the years of the Ming dynasty. The simple petal-panels of Yuan (TKS 581) and early Ming (TKS 691) are not often seen on sixteenth-century Chinese vessels. The same situation prevails on Safavid ceramics, but simple petal-panels do occasionally appear (V&A.110). Far more popular throughout the sixteenth century in China was a new form of petal-panel band in which the principal panels are divided one from the next by a narrower panel with a central spoke (TKS 664, 827, 986, 1207, 1505). Normally, in China the smaller panel is designed as a single unit, but sometimes a small portion of the upper part of the panel is partitioned off.[28]

The motif evolved in Iran to produce variations undreamed of by the Chinese decorators. On a group of closely related jars the petal-panels are divided one from another not by simple narrow panels but by large panels with triple-lobed tops filled with elaborate floral sprays (Fig. 3.35, V&A.164; V&A.95).

Standing Plantain Blades

Blades forming a band were a popular decorative motif throughout the Ming dynasty and remained so on into the Qing. In continuation of a Song motif, the early Ming blades are packed tightly together with a front row of blades overlapping those behind it (TKS 624). Gradually the blades separate so that by the late fifteenth century the blades overlap only briefly near the base. On late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century pieces, they stand close but separate (TKS 663), sometimes alternating with very slender blades of the same height. This format persisted, and sometimes the blades stand farther apart (TKS 1020, 1298). Occasionally blades alternate tall and short (TKS 1013), but blades of equal or almost equal height were favoured.

FIG. 3.35. *V&A.164, baluster vase.*

28 See Ryoichi and Gakuji 1976, pl. 162, for a blue-and-white jar excavated in Beijing.

In both cultures, the depiction of the blade varied. In China, blades were sometimes portrayed as having rounded shoulders and an open central rib (TKS 669, 1204).

This variant was most popular in Safavid Iran in the first half of the seventeenth century. One Safavid version shows the band drawn twice with the blades of the upper band rising up the neck while, immediately below it, the blades of the lower band descend over the shoulder to the swell of the belly (Fig. 3.36, V&A.109). This format does not seem to occur in China, but it was very popular in Iran. It was a favoured treatment for bands of sharply tapered blades, alternately narrow and wide, derived from Chinese bands from the third quarter of the sixteenth century (TKS 1020). Blades of this type were popular on Safavid ceramics from the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly on Kirman polychrome slip-painted wares (MDN.19, LOU.08).

Petal Bands

Simpler and smaller than blades are the bands of little pointed petals that occur on sixteenth-century Chinese pieces (TKS 1069). Petals may overlap or be tangent. Bands of both free-standing and overlapping petals are found on Persian pieces as well (V&A.117, dated 1627–28; Fig. 3.21, BRM.17). Bands of overlapping petals continued in use on Chinese blue-and-whites through the years and became particularly popular in the Kangxi period (TKS 2164).

A multi-nozzle vase from Phase III has its neck ringed by a tiny petal band of this type (Fig. 3.37, ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24), which may reflect Kangxi influence.

FIG. 3.36. *V&A.109, bottle.*

FIG. 3.37. *ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24, multi-nozzle vase.*

Classic Scroll

The classic scroll was a favourite motif among Yuan and Ming porcelain decorators (TKS 584, Yuan; Ardabil 31-29.21, early fifteenth century; TKS 945, Jiajing period; TKS 2012, mid-seventeenth century). Good copies of the classic scroll appear seldom on Safavid pieces after the sixteenth century. This border used as a rim on Tabriz wares is discussed in Chapter Six (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 8).

Further simplified versions appear on Safavid objects (V&A.123; Fig. 3.38, FMK.07, framing the tondo) and especially on those of Phase III (Fig. 2.80, MMA.10). Whether the process of reduction took place within Iran or reflects simplified Chinese models (TKS 1055) is not clear.

Principal Bands

Revolving Floral Scroll

The distinctive feature of this scroll is the manner in which the flowers are born at the tips of branching stems that circle back upon the undulating principal stem (Fig. 3.39, ZZZ.74). It originates on early fifteenth-century pieces (Ardabil 54-29.428), but retains its popularity through the sixteenth century (TKS.823, 931).

It occurs most frequently as a broad band ringing the dark central medallion with reserved decoration

FIG. 3.38. *FMK.07, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.39. *ZZZ.74, spittoon.*

of either a broad-rimmed dish (V&A.59, V&A.158) or a bowl (ASH.18), all dating to Phases I and II.

Late Sixteenth- to Early Seventeenth-Century Models

Close Copies

Early seventeenth-century Safavid potters made use of sixteenth-century Chinese models, but they also kept abreast of contemporary Chinese imports. Designed with the export market in mind, these imported porcelains introduced entirely new configurations and subject matter. This style was referred to as "Kraak" after the Dutch name for the kind of ship (carrack) that ferried cargo from the Far East to Europe.

The closest copy of such a Chinese piece is a black-line bowl made in imitation of an armorial bowl commissioned for a Portuguese dignitary (Fig. 3.40, V&A.47).[29]

While, on the whole, the artist took great care to make a meticulous copy, minor differences in detail exist. The Latin motto is not accurately copied from the Chinese piece, and the escutcheon is

29 Crowe 2002b.

FIG. 3.40. *V&A.47, bowl, exterior.*

of a different shape and is derived from another model (TKS 1505). The Portuguese armorial theme was copied on several other Safavid pieces with further modifications (V&A.40, V&A.48).

The interiors of two similar bowls in black-line technique are copied from late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese models (Fig. 2.39a, ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9; Fig. 2.38a, ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10). The bird perched on a bare rock in the centre and the paired floral sprays and thorny twigs that break the confines of the panel frames to arch across the interior sides resemble ever so closely the decoration on the interior of a Chinese domical cover (TKS 1362) in the form of a bowl, which, when inverted, served as the cover for a platter or bowl. Even the large butterflies have been incorporated into the Safavid design. These Safavid bowls date from Phase I, but a later Kirman blue-and-white/ polychrome bowl employs virtually the same scheme and motifs on its interior (Fig. 2.77, BRM.05), omitting the vestigial lines of panel frames. The polychrome slip-painted exterior offers a strong contrast in both palette and style.

The interior of another Kirman blue-and-white bowl with tassel-mark has a medallion depicting a white deer with head and neck curled around to its left, standing in front of a stylized decorative rock from which little sprigs of vegetation grow (V&A.414). The single deer standing in front of a rock was commonly used to fill the panels ringing the sides of late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese bowls and to fill their central medallions (TKS 1373).[30]

Certain Safavid dishes, too, take their shape and decoration directly from late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese prototypes (ZZZ.396, TKS 1354). Many more examples can be cited in which the Safavid imitation partially mirrors the Chinese model, but with certain elements modified or exchanged for elements from other Chinese models. Four of the cavetto panels on a Kirman "boutique" dish contain fanned arrays of artemisia leaves, while three others depict a single person standing on a terrace with balustrade (Fig. 3.41, V&A.78). Aside from the number and content of the panels, this dish closely resembles its early seventeenth-century Chinese model (TKS 1472).

Only two contain the routine auspicious object bedecked with ribbons and tassels. It is interesting to note that the Safavid dish has an odd number of panels, a situation that would have been unthinkable in China. The composition in the central medallion is one that is often seen on dishes of Kraak and related type—flowering plants and a

FIG. 3.41. *V&A.78, dish, face.*

30 Rinaldi 1989:141, pl. 160.

rolled scroll-painting placed in a decorated container on a stand made from gnarled tree-roots.

Many Safavid dishes show strong influence of Kraak ware. One can assume that some Safavid pieces were copied directly from Chinese examples that have since been broken or lost. Others may have been copied from Iranian copies of the Chinese, or may be the result of an imaginative process of mixing-and-matching by Safavid potters. There is huge variety within Kraak ware itself, not only in the subject matter of the panels and medallions but also in the details of their framing and the quality of the execution. A multitude of permutations and combinations exist. We shall not attempt to match each Persian dish to a particular Chinese prototype.

FIG. 3.42. *V&A.166, dish, face.*

Borders and Secondary Bands

Swastika Diaper

Several new diaper patterns came into use on late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain. One such pattern, highly popular in both China and Iran, is a lattice diaper based on the *wan* character (swastika), a Chinese symbol for "ten thousand." It appears very commonly on dishes, bowls, and bottles of the Kraak family of wares. In Chinese rim bands, the swastika diaper is sometimes found in combination with other strictly geometric diapers as a ground for small reserved panels (TKS 1480). In Iran the swastika diaper is more often found in conjunction with other more decorative designs in combinations apparently unprecedented in China (Fig. 3.42, V&A.166). The swastika diaper also appears in panelled collars on the shoulders of jars and ewers, both alone and with the reserved scroll-and-floret motif (TKS 1323, 1324; V&A.93). The latter usage was more popular in Iran, as demonstrated by a black-line jar that draws heavily on Chinese models (V&A.169, TKS 1323).

Reserved Scroll-and-Floret Diaper

Panelled collars filled with the reserved scroll-and-floret motif alone are seldom if ever seen in China and are uncommon in Iran, the magnificent large black-line jar being a rare example (V&A.13). However, free-standing ogival panels of reserved scroll are certainly to be found on late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese porcelains. A Chinese jar with large ogival panels of this type was found in the wreck of the *San Diego* (sank in 1600)[31] but, while the panels constitute the principal decorative band, they do not occupy such a prominent position on Safavid pieces. They are found, instead, on the shoulders of some black-line vessels (V&A.120).

Cash Pattern II

Another diaper that was introduced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was an elaborated version of the cash pattern (TKS 1284, 1394; V&A.25). The simple form of the cash pattern was noted earlier (p. 136) in the discussion of mid-sixteenth-century medallions and was very common on Safavid pottery of Phases I and II (Fig. 3.42, V&A.166).

Overlapping Lappets

Another bordering band that continues on from the late sixteenth century (TKS 1280) and becomes very popular in Iran for a long time is the series of

31 Mulligan 1996:15.

overlapping white-rimmed lappets. In China, the band is typically to be found encircling the lower exterior sides of bowls and cups just above the foot. In Iran, in like fashion, this band is usually located low on the sides of a bowl or a jar, but sometimes it is used to mark the top of a principal decorative band. Two pieces dated to 1627–28 serve to represent these different usages (BER.01, V&A.117). On some of the Chinese pieces there is a little indentation in the top of each lappet, an effect mimicked on some Safavid vessels (TKS 1372; Fig. 3.17, V&A.127; Fig. 2.36, ASH.13). It is interesting to note that while the lappets overlap from left to right in China, the opposite situation prevails in Iran, where the panels run from right to left unless inverted on the shoulder.

Diaper-and-*Ruyi* Frame

One of the signature bands on porcelain of the Wanli period is the diaper-and-*ruyi* frame that so commonly rings the central medallion of classic Kraak dishes (Fig. 3.2). Typically, this frame has a bracket-lobed inner margin and is composed of segments of diaper pattern separated one from the next by *ruyi* heads that point inward toward the centre of the dish. The diapers used in this context include the geometric diapers noted earlier as components of mid-sixteenth-century Chinese rim bands: the scale-diaper, the cash-diaper, the interlocking Y-lattice diaper, as well as the later swastika diaper introduced above. Occasionally, however, a maverick non-geometric pattern is incorporated into the medallion frame of a Kraak dish. Although apparently never used in the strictly geometric diaper bands bordering the rims of Chinese bowls and dishes, the scroll-and-floret motif does form part of the medallion frame of some standard Kraak dishes (TKS 1455). It is tempting to speculate that this combination of the geometric and the non-geometric in a single band, an atypical juxtaposition from the Chinese perspective, provided Safavid decorators with the stimulus and licence to create the rich array of multi-diaper bands that adorn Safavid black-line and blue-and-white vessels.

The diaper-and-*ruyi* frame is used on a wide variety of Safavid copies of classic Kraak dishes throughout the seventeenth century. Some accurately copy the Chinese model (Fig. 3.43, V&A.75; V&A.168; Fig. 3.42, V&A.166), while others exhibit a more whimsical approach (SEV.02).

Reserved Scroll-and-*Ruyi* Frame

Far more popular than the diaper-and-*ruyi* medallion frame, however, was a scheme that appears to be the invention of a Safavid decorator, the reserved scroll-and-*ruyi* frame. The remote possibility exists that the inspiration for this motif came from an atypical Kraak dish with a scroll frame,[32] but it is more likely that it was the result of a

FIG. 3.43. *V&A.75, dish, face.*

32 A Kraak ware dish in the Het Princessehof National Museum of Ceramics in Leeuwarden, The Netherlands, has a highly unusual frame containing a reserved scroll. It is punctuated with only half the number of *ruyi* heads that one would normally expect—one between each pair of bracket-lobed segments rather than one per segment (Jörg 1984, no. 1).

Persian reorientation of the *ruyi* heads of the fungus-scroll frame under the influence of the punctuating heads of the Chinese diaper-and-*ruyi* frame (Fig. 2.35, ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13). This frame was used frequently on Safavid copies of Kraak dishes. The majority of these were executed in the black-line technique. Blue-and-white examples are less plentiful and include not only careful copies but also dishes based only partially on Kraak models.

Principal Bands

The panelled band is a hallmark of late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain decoration. The panels vary enormously in shape and content. Their disposition on the surface of a vessel is sometimes simple, sometimes more complex. Rinaldi has formulated a classification for the different shapes and combinations of these panels.[33] One of the plainest formats is a band of panels of equal size simply framed with single lines positioned to ring a central medallion (Rinaldi 1989, Border IV; TKS 1354; V&A.82; Fig. 3.50, ROM.14/ Cat. no. 17). Bands of simple panels are also to be found on Isfahan polychrome slip-wares (ROM.12/ Cat. no. 34).

In comparison with these simpler bands, the standard Kraak panelled rim band is more complex. On a fundamental level, it consists simply of alternating larger principal panels and smaller divider panels. It is the variation in the construction and, more importantly, in the content of these two types of panel that provides the rich array of permutations and combinations that came to exist first in China, and then in Iran. The decorative zone covered comprises both the flange and the cavetto. The principal panel is large and has an internal frame following its contours, which are usually lobed (sometimes called "petal-panel") (Rinaldi 1989, Border VII). The internal frame is blue, and the outer frame is white. Chinese Kraak dishes of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century typically employed the darker blue ground for the panels. This configuration was very popular in Iran and is used on both blue-and-white and black-line Safavid dishes (V&A.75, V&A.168). It is also used on Safavid dishes throughout the seventeenth century that do not closely mimic Chinese Kraak dishes (Fig. 3.46, V&A.76; V&A.180; ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44).

The motifs within the narrower divider panels are sometimes simply bracketed, in both China and Iran, but more frequently they appear with a diaper "patch" that resembles a curtain in the upper part of the narrow panel. The objects within the narrow panel vary, and include strings of pearls, with and without terminal tassels, the decorative knot (TKS 1459, V&A.143), and a motif resembling the lotus leaf (TKS 1435, ZZZ.55). The Safavid dishes with Kraak panelled rim band range over the entire seventeenth century.

The subject matter of the principal petal-panels of Chinese Kraak ware is remarkably varied. This richness is carried over into the Safavid copies. Most popular in Iran were variations on the Chinese floral spray, typically the peony, and renditions of the Chinese fruit spray, the pomegranate or peach (TKS 1426, V&A.38; V&A.75; Fig. 3.44, HRM.59).

FIG. 3.44. *HRM.59, dish, face.*

33 Rinaldi 1989:71ff.

The slender leaves of the peach sprays on some Chinese models (TKS 1479) are arranged in quite a naturalistic fashion, but on other dishes (TKS 1449) the little leaves are regimented. They bristle in tandem straight outward from the stem below, and they radiate above from the fruit to form a halo for it. This more formal, highly patterned approach is employed on Iranian dishes of Phases II–IV. Safavid potters frequently used the double-fruit variation of the peach spray as seen on other Chinese models (TKS 1441, V&A.252).

Other common fillers copied by Safavid potters are groupings of lotus and other water plants (TKS 1452, V&A.65), also with egrets (TKS 1412, V&A.81). A large flying insect was less a common addition on Chinese wares (TKS 1412), but this motif was very popular in Iran, particularly on dishes that feature haloed figures in gardens with balustrades. Most of these are blue-and-white, although one unusual dish is lustre-ware (BRM.45). Sometimes the Chinese origins of an Iranian botanical panel are more difficult to deduce, such as the fanned arrangements of large ripple-edged leaves (TRO.01), probably a product of the Kirman "boutique" workshop. Perhaps they were inspired by hosta panels (TKS 1411) or are misinterpretations of multiple artemisia leaves seen on some Chinese dishes.[34]

The artemisia-leaf panel is but one example of the wide variety of panels containing precious or auspicious objects bedecked with ribbons, tassels, and other ornaments that are so often found on Chinese Kraak ware and copied by Safavid potters (TKS 1427; Fig. 3.45, STK.32, at 4 o'clock).

While the leaf appears with other objects in the Kraak panels of mid-seventeenth-century Safavid dishes, it also occurs alone in panels late in the seventeenth-century (V&A.198).

In Iran, the most popular panel of Kraak derivation was the rolled scroll painting with a decorative cover (TKS 1440). Occasionally in China the scroll is shown without decorative tassels (TKS 1465; Fig. 3.46, V&A.76) or with ribbons alone (TKS 1452).

FIG. 3.45. *STK.32, dish, face, c. 1640.*

Other panels on a Kirman "boutique" dish (Fig. 2.41a, V&A.83) are more difficult to tie to a Chinese model. The square devices that appear in two of its panels may be derived from a portrayal of a rectangular Chinese woodblock-printed book. The double circles could be a rendering of a Chinese double-gourd vase, which is more easily recognizable on other Kirman "boutique" wares (TRO.01; Fig. 3.45, STK.32).[35]

The beribboned emblems and floral sprays, so commonly depicted in the panels of the rim bands of Kraak ware, occur also in panels of a different shape both in China and in Iran (TKS 1472; Fig. 3.41, V&A.78). On both Persian and Chinese examples, the central medallion is encircled by a bracket-lobed diaper-and-*ruyi* frame that, in turn, supports a ring of panels linked by elaborate scrolls (Rinaldi 1989, Border III). Although the series of ovoid panels, or pomegranate-shaped panels as on MAK.05 (Fig. 3.32), occurs on Phase I Safavid dishes (Fig. 3.41, V&A.78), a simplified version was particularly popular among a group of Safavid potters

34 Lion-Goldschmidt 1984:59, fig. 102.

35 Rinaldi 1989:103, pl. 92.

FIG. 3.46. *V&A.76, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.47. *V&A.288, dish, face.*

during the transitional stage and into Phase III (Fig. 3.47, V&A.288; TKS 1473). A Chinese dish with this variation, which was purchased in Iran in the late nineteenth century,[36] bears close comparison with a Safavid octagonal blue-and-white dish (ZZZ.293).

The ovoid panels vary somewhat in shape. Some are more drop-shaped while others are more markedly lobed. The content remains constant. They contain floral sprays in alternation with fan-shaped emblems tied with ribbons and streamers. These same panels occur floating free and unconnected one to the next on a carved scale-pattern ground in the cavetto of a blue-and-white dish with tassel-mark (V&A.172).

An element that occurs both on the Chinese models and on Safavid wares in contexts too diverse to enumerate here are the strings of hanging jewels (Fig. 3.31, V&A.41; Fig. 3.32, MAK.05). The dependence of a blue-and-white Safavid jar (V&A.169) on Wanli models (TKS 1323) for its shape and decorative scheme is apparent in the use of minor decorative motifs, such as the swastika diaper, as well as in the principal decorative band. The Persian jar shows Chinese women seated in front of a screen on a terrace just as they are depicted on late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Chinese cups and jars (Ardabil 108-29.382; TKS 1211; Royal Ontario Museum, no. 923.17.5). The woman seated on a garden terrace was also the subject on a Safavid dish (V&A.206) and a Chinese brush pot (Royal Ontario Museum, no. 923.17.31), painted in the "pencilled" style, inspired by illustrations in late Ming woodblock-printed books. The Chinese brush pot in the Royal Ontario Museum probably dates from the Tianqi period (1621–1627).[37]

36 Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 251-1884. Both dishes have a central medallion featuring a duck standing on a rock.

37 Ferris 1968:87, fig. 7; Royal Ontario Museum 1972, no. 47.

Central Medallions (*Tondo Designs*)

There are many Iranian copies of Chinese Kraak dishes and, as a result, there are many copies of Kraak central medallions. A number of close imitations of the subject matter of these medallions have already been mentioned in passing, but it might be more instructive to focus on one motif and examine its use in Iran. The potted plant on a tree-root stand, seen on many Kraak dishes and Safavid imitations (Fig. 3.41, V&A.78), consists of a wide-bellied container with collared mouth set on a stand made from gnarled tree roots. In China, the container is often a bronze tripod decorated with ogival panels of diaper pattern. In Iran, the neck and belly of the vessel are well understood, but the diaper panel often slips down to become a *ruyi*-shaped foot, and the tree-root stand is interpreted as intrinsic to the pot, as living plant roots growing from it, rather than as a separate entity. On standard Chinese Kraak dishes, the potted plants are usually positioned on a terrace in front of a balustrade. Although two black-line pieces (ZZZ.367 and V&A.37) make eccentric allusion to the balustrade, in Iran it is more often the case that the pot of flowers on its stand floats free without a setting. The pot is depicted in isolation on other types of Chinese dishes of the Wanli period (TKS 1472), and some Safavid renditions are based on such a dish (Fig. 3.41, V&A.78). Sometimes, additional scrolls and emblems are placed in the squat container (TLS 1457, V&A.37) and sometimes not (V&A.65).

A number of Iranian dishes borrow the Kraak potted-plant medallion encircled not with Kraak panels but with decorative motifs drawn from other periods of time. In one example (V&A.39), the scroll-and-*ruyi* framed central medallion with the potted plant is encircled by a Yuan lotus scroll. In an amusing flight of fancy, the Persian painter decided to dispense with the Chinese potted plant and replaced it on the stand with a product of his own imagination. A curly-maned Chinese lion rests, head on paws, atop a rounded boulder flanked by bare-branched saplings.

Other black-line dishes combine the potted-plant medallion with motifs that were popular in China earlier in the sixteenth century, such as the revolving floral scroll found, for example, in the cavetto of one dish (V&A.37), or decorative bands drawn from mid-sixteenth-century China on the rim and in the cavetto, as occurs on others (Fig. 3.48, V&A.26).

A dish with carved blank cavetto has the pot set very much off-centre with only its left side visible in the medallion (V&A.15). The potted-plant medallions continued to be popular through Phase II and appear in blue-and-white with even further liberties taken (V&A.148; Fig. 3.49, ASH.11). In these cases the potter was probably using locally produced models (compare Fig. 3.49, ASH.11 and Fig. 3.48, V&A.26, both of which have the sixteenth-century dragons in scrolls in the cavetto).

Exteriors

As the backs of seventeenth-century Safavid dishes are treated in detail in a special section (Chapter Six, "Exterior Motifs on Sixteenth-Century Dishes"), the information will not be repeated here. All of the motifs chosen by the Safavid potters during Phases I through III are derived from Chinese exteriors of this period.

FIG. 3.48. *V&A.26, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.49. *ASH.11, dish, face.*

These include branches of fruit trees, often with birds, grassy blades, jewels, and a wide range of petal-panels found on the backs of Kraak dishes. However, within each Safavid workshop the original motifs underwent modifications that then became standard for a generation. Such modified motifs act as hallmarks of the workshops and can be used diagnostically.

Individual Motifs

Cloud-Ribbon

Sometimes just one small constituent of a larger Chinese decorative composition caught the fancy of the Safavid decorator. One example is the stylized cloud in the shape of a broad undulating ribbon with curled tip that was popular on Chinese blue-and-white of the Wanli period. The distinctive cloud bands stand out on simpler late sixteenth-century dishes (TKS 1223), and are commonly incorporated into the more complex medallions of Kraak dishes (TKS 1434, 1444, 1146). This motif was very popular in Iran and is to be seen on more than 50 of the pieces included in this study, most of which are executed in black-line technique (MDN.17, V&A.84), although blue-and-white dishes of Phase II also employ the motif (Fig. 2.58, ROM.92/ Cat. no. 20).

Arching Blade

A long blade of water-grass arches over a scene, such as the duck resting on a rock (TKS 1344). This arching blade is not seen widely in the Topkapi collection but it proved popular in Iran.[38] It bends over ducks on black-line dishes (V&A.204, MDN.17; Fig. 3.50, ROM.14/ Cat. no. 17).

Peony Plant ("Kitten's-Paw") Petals and Palmette Leaf

Another distinctive vegetal form seen on Safavid dishes almost exclusively of black-line type is the stubby little palmette leaf adopted from the Wanli peony (TKS 1390). Although, in most cases, the full-flowered ruffle-petalled Chinese peony blossom becomes a broad-petalled daisy-like flower in the hands of the Safavid decorator, the veining of the "kitten's-paw" petals of the peony blossom is retained, and the shape and habit of the plant are clearly derived from a Chinese model (Fig. 3.51, V&A.86).

FIG. 3.50. *ROM.14/ Cat. no. 17, dish, face.*

38 One example, a small unpublished Chinese dish, was purchased in Iran for the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 251-1884).

FIG. 3.51. *V&A.86, bowl, exterior.*

Lance-Shaped Leaves

On both Chinese and Iranian vessels, plants with "kitten's-paw" leaves sometimes occur side by side with plants bearing many simple small lance-shaped leaves (V&A.166, V&A.15). This variety of flowering plant is probably derived either from generic depictions of flowers or from much more detailed renderings of camellias as found on a well-executed piece in the Troesch Collection.[39]

Early to Mid-Seventeenth-Century Models

Close Copies

The early to mid-seventeenth century was a time of transition in Chinese porcelain decoration. Panelled decoration of Wanli type continued in production while at the same time a new fashion began to emerge. Early to mid-seventeenth-century Kraak-panelled bowls and dishes reveal a more light-handed use of blue and a greater tolerance of blank space. The broad plain band that rings the central medallion of a blue-and-white bowl (Fig. 3.53, TRM.05) and the white ground that underlies the Kraak-panelled band of its interior sides mimic Chinese bowls dating from the early to mid-seventeenth century (TKS 1509). Furthermore, in the band that decorates the interior sides of the Safavid bowl, both the content of the panels and the manner of depiction closely resemble the Chinese prototype. The central medallion featuring a bird perched on a rock under a flowering peony tree could well have been inspired by a standard Wanli Kraak dish (TKS 1448), but this composition remained popular throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Many of the dishes recovered by Hatcher from the shipwreck (c. 1643) in the South China Sea carry the same motif.[40]

The Chongzhen period (1628–1644) saw the flowering of the "Transitional" style with its exquisitely painted landscapes peopled with scholars, generals, and beautiful women who are the heroes and heroines from Chinese history, myth, and literature. The dignitary followed by a servant-boy who carries a large rigid fan is a frequent subject in this period (TKS 1610). This motif figures in the central medallions of two large blue-and-white dishes with tassel-marks (V&A.147; Fig. 3.52, V&A.18). These Safavid pieces were clearly made

FIG. 3.52. *V&A.18, dish, face.*

39 Rinaldi 1989:103, pl. 92.

40 The pattern was popular for the medallions of bowls and dishes and is illustrated frequently in the catalogues of the Hatcher sales at Christie's Amsterdam (1984 and 1985). Both lot 18 in the sale of March 14, 1984, and lot 592a in the sale of June 13 of the same year are bowls very similar to TRM.05 (Fig. 3.53).

in close imitation of dishes painted in a style with which Chinese decorators experimented in the 1620s (TKS 1611).[41] Dishes of this group are large and boldly decorated with scenes of people enjoying nature. The rim band is their most distinctive feature. Instead of bearing a continuous and repetitive band of diaper or scroll, or a ring of panels all radiating from the central medallion, the rims of these dishes are decorated in very painterly fashion with a series of vignettes, all oriented in the same direction as the scene in the central medallion.

The principal figures in the medallions of the Safavid dishes carry long slender bundles, as do most of the larger figures in the rim bands. These bundles when held vertically are derived from *hu* tablets, symbols of office carried by scholar-officials (TKS 1608, 1612). The bundle carried horizontally by the servant-boy in one of the Safavid rim vignettes (V&A.147) is not a tablet but his master's zither, carefully wrapped in a cloth (TKS 1614). Boldly painted peopled landscapes were also used to decorate bowls (MMA.70).

Principal Bands

In China, placement of the principal petal-panels on a very pale blue ground is not often encountered during the Wanli period, but it is not unknown (TKS 1467). The pale ground grew in popularity in China with the passage of time, however (TKS 1454, early to mid-seventeenth century), and a silvery blue ground is the norm for the mid-seventeenth-century Kraak dishes salvaged by Hatcher.[42] Predictably, these lighter dishes were copied in Safavid Iran (V&A.38). The divider panels may contain hanging strings of jewels, but the decorative knot was more popular on the lighter-ground Kraak dishes of Iran. Most often the knot is anchored above to a horizontal line or tan ellipse (Fig. 3.53, TRM.05).

FIG. 3.53. *TRM.05, dish, face.*

This type of knot is derived from Chinese examples like those on early to mid-seventeenth-century bowls (TKS 1510, 1511). Sometimes, slender knot- or jewel-panels occur on the exterior of containers. The eccentric divider panels on the dated salt container (1627–28, BER.01) appear to be the result of a misunderstanding of the Chinese knot-panel. Kraak panels on Safavid wares based on earlier Safavid models appear on a group of blue-and-white dishes attributed by Crowe to Phase III (V&A.379).

A second type of panel introduced in the last years of the Ming dynasty depicts figures in a landscape with buildings in the distance.[43] A late seventeenth-century Safavid dish has a central medallion derived from a mid-seventeenth-century Chinese motif (artemisia leaf) and rim panels related to this second landscape panel type (ZZZ.125).

Central Medallions (*Tondo Designs*)

Kraak dishes of the second quarter of the seventeenth century display greater variety in the bands

41 The same use of swaths of white in the depiction of rock and cliff faces seen on dishes such as TKS 1611 appears on a dish with the mark of the Tianqi period (1621–1627) in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (Jörg 1997:73, pl. 61).

42 See the Hatcher sales at Christie's Amsterdam in 1984 and 1985 referred to above.

43 Rinaldi 1989:112, pl. 110.

that frame the central medallion than do those of the Wanli period (1573–1619). A variety of floral scroll frames came into vogue (TKS 1600, 1601). This fashion was echoed in Iran in the blue-and-white dishes of Phase IV (V&A.198). Sometimes, however, the frame is lacking altogether. Although dishes of Phase I in the Kraak style occasionally exclude the frame (Fig. 3.46, V&A.76), this practice became common in Phase IV, reflecting the later Chinese models.[44] The medallions of some Safavid vessels are framed by an undecorated ring of white in the manner of certain Chinese Kraak bowls of the first half of the seventeenth century (TKS 1506). The Safavid examples range over time from Phase II to Phase IV (HRM.18; Fig. 3.53, TRM.05).

The distinctive broad-banded and somewhat stubby clouds popular in the central medallions of Kraak dishes in the Wanli period gave way in the last 25 years of the dynasty to wispier and narrower ribbons of cloud. Such clouds are occasionally to be seen on dishes of Kraak type with petal-panelled rim (TKS 1608), but are more elegantly depicted on dishes of the bold landscape group (TKS 1611), and on vessels painted in mature "Transitional" style (Fig. 3.54, ROM, no. 998.110.1).

Often these trailing bands of cloud cut across (V&A.147), but on other occasions they mask the base of a landscape element (Fig. 3.54, ROM, no. 998.110.1). This latter treatment was very popular in Iran (Fig. 3.55, ROM.90/ Cat. no. 19). Distant peaks, their bases shrouded in cloud, had been an important and recurring part of the Chinese porcelain painter's repertoire since the landscapes of the mid-sixteenth century (TKS 865), but many Iranian blue-and-whites from the second half of the seventeenth century borrow their dreamy quality from the quieter landscapes of post-Wanli Ming China. Such scenes decorate small dishes of hexagonal shape from Kirman and the narrow flattened rims of dishes (KEI.27, V&A.153). These

FIG. 3.54. *Chinese, Rolvagen vase, c. 1630–1645 (Royal Ontario Museum, no. 998.110.1).*

scenes in their tranquillity of mood and in details such as the trailing willows and small pavilions are reminiscent of many *ko-sometsuke* dishes made in China during the Tianqi (1621–1627) and Chongzhen (1628–1644) periods.[45] Although *ko-sometsuke* was made specifically for use in the Japanese tea ceremony, it is tempting to think that some of it must have reached Iran. However, even

44 Ibid., 108, pl. 101.

45 Many such dishes are published in the catalogue for the sale of the Peony Pavilion Collection of Chinese tea wares made for Japan at Christie's London on June 12, 1989. See, for example, lot 275. An enamelled dish in the sale, lot 352, includes the little square pavilions copied on Iranian dishes of this dreamy landscape group. A Chinese blue-and-white example can be seen on a *ko-sometsuke* dish offered for sale by S. Marchant & Son, London, also in June of 1989, and published in *Exhibition of Transitional Wares for the Japanese and Domestic Markets,* no. 30.

FIG. 3.55. *ROM.90/ Cat. no. 19*, qalyan.

if these vessels expressly manufactured for the Japanese market did not travel to Iran, others of the same general type did. Little early seventeenth-century cups with simple tranquil landscapes are included in the collection of the Topkapi Saray Museum (TKS 1579, 1580). It is interesting to note, too, that a brown-washed rim is a feature of many *ko-sometsuke* pieces. While brown-rimmed dishes are much more common among late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Chinese porcelains in the Topkapi Saray Museum, a few earlier pieces are included in the collection (TKS 1543, 1979). Central medallions with oversized figures and floating islands also occur on Iranian blue-and-white dishes that are not so closely modelled on Chinese prototypes of the Tianqi period (ASH.16, KUW.04, MMA.70).

Second Half of the Seventeenth Century Models

Close Copies

A simple Chinese mid-seventeenth-century blue-and-white saucer with a brown rim decorated solely with a plant sprig and a large leaf (TKS 1979) was clearly the inspiration for a blue-and-white Safavid dish of similar size (SAF.02).[46] The large leaf and plant sprig constitute the sole decoration, but the same motif occurs as well with a variety of framing borders. Two related blue-and-white examples (Fig. 3.56, KEI.31; FMK.18) follow the Chinese model quite closely. Others depart quite radically from the prototype (BRM.208).

On another mid-seventeenth-century simple blue-and-white Chinese saucer with a brown rim, a large dentate leaf inscribed with a two-line poem is depicted beside a small ornamental rock.[47] It is likely that a dish such as this inspired a series of Safavid dishes on which the lines of writing were transformed into decorative motifs (STK.50). Comparison can also be drawn between another mid-seventeenth-century Chinese dish and a

FIG. 3.56. *KEI.31, dish, face.*

46 Crowe 1979b.

47 Curtis 1995, no. 49.

Phase IV brown-rimmed Safavid dish (TKS 1977, KEI.17). The layout and approach are striking. Both have a central bird medallion framed by double rings and three boldly depicted floral sprays separated by flying insects.

Borders and Secondary Bands

Striped Panels

A band containing a series of independent M's appears briefly on Chinese porcelains of the mid-seventeenth century (TKS 2011). This band proved popular in Iran for use as a bordering band on closed forms, particularly on blue-and-white and blue-and-white/polychrome pieces (BRM.29, MDN.19; Fig. 2.83, ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24).

Principal Bands

A Safavid blue-and-white bowl with a brown rim bears marked similarity to a mid- to late seventeenth-century Chinese bowl (Fig. 3.57, KEI.33; TKS 2045). The exterior sides of both bowls are decorated with lotus scrolls in which the lotus flowers alternate with buds. Many of the leaves of the scrolls are constituted from hooked elements. A floral medallion decorates the interior well of both vessels. While the lotus scrolls on the interior sides of the bowls are not as similar to each other as are those on the exterior, the leaves of both scrolls are small and rounded.

The floral scroll with little three-lobed leaves seen in the floral medallion of the Chinese bowl (TKS 2045) is found on the rims of many other later Safavid blue-and-white dishes, some bearing an Armenian monogram (ZZZ.112). Floral rim bands with scrolls noted for a plethora of small leaves of various shapes are a significant feature of late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Chinese ceramic decoration and have been noted above. It is possible that the later Iranian pieces under discussion here are copied from these earlier Chinese pieces rather than from those of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Another version of the lotus-flower-and-bud scroll appears on a dish with a brown rim, painted in cobalt blue and turquoise with grey outlining (ZZZ.106). This scroll with its white-rimmed petals and hooked leaves is apparently based on scrolls of the type found on the interior of mid- to late seventeenth-century bowls (TKS 2028). White-tipped petals of the chrysanthemum flowers appear with hooked-leaf scrolls on other Safavid imitations of late seventeenth-century Chinese bowls (TKS 2031; Fig. 3.58, BER.25).

The central medallion of another late Safavid dish (Fig. 3.59, MAD.09) features a circular flower with white-tipped petals, either a chrysanthemum or a peony. It is ringed by a broad band of linked *ruyi* panels that is clearly taken from a Chinese

FIG. 3.57. *KEI.33, bowl.*

FIG. 3.58. *BER.25, dish, face.*

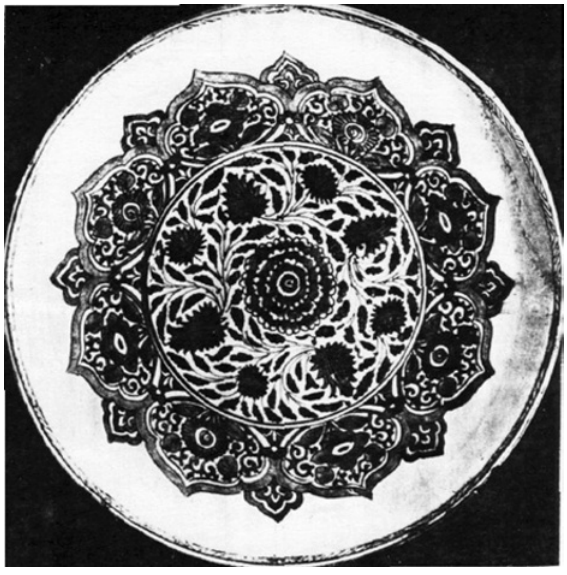


FIG. 3.59. *MAD.09, dish, face.*

FIG. 3.60. *MMA.25, dish, face.*

mid- to late seventeenth-century motif (TKS 2040). Such a band also rings a bowl with the bold six-character mark characteristic of the early years of the Kangxi emperor's reign (Royal Ontario Museum, no. 909.8.19).

***Central Medallions* (*Tondo Designs*)**

Flowers with white-tipped petals are a feature of several central medallions found on mid- to late seventeenth-century Chinese porcelains. They radiate from a central point to form the peony blossom that dominates many dishes (TKS 2019; Fig. 3.60, MMA.25).

Although patterns from late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century designs featuring sprays of leaves radiating from a central white-tipped peony blossom are revived at this time, the leaves of the plant are more generic than on Ming pieces, where they clearly resemble peony leaves.

Exteriors

It was during the second half of the seventeenth century that Chinese potters began to glaze the outside of bowls and dishes with a variety of high-fired coloured glazes. A light lavender-blue glaze was used on some mid- to late seventeenth-century dishes and bowls (TKS 2723, 2725) and a celadon glaze on others (TKS 2670, 2672). A coffee-brown glaze became quite common on the outer walls of bowls, dishes, and cups of the same date. This colour remained popular well into the eighteenth century.

All these colours appear also as monochrome backs on Safavid wares of the second half of the seventeenth century at the same time as monochrome glazed wares with slip-painted detail came into fashion. The earliest dated vessel of this type is a *qalyan*, made in 1639–40 or 1658–59 (Fig. 2.72, V&A.57). Because all the Chinese monochrome exteriors appear to be of the Kangxi period (TKS 2722), this practice may represent an accommodation to foreign taste (Iran, India). The use of brown, however, appears to occur later in Safavid pottery and may have been inspired by Kangxi imports. Of course, celadon had always inspired Persian potters to emulate it, and early Safavid potters also produced copies of imported wares.

Late Seventeenth- to Early Eighteenth-Century Models

Close Copies

A common design for this period consists of four isolated drop-shaped floral panels, radiating from a central formal floral medallion, the whole

bounded by a narrow band of bud motifs at the rim (TKS 2060, V&A.435).[48] The same pattern of central medallion with four drop-shaped panels occurs without the central medallion (Fig. 2.90, ROM.82/ Cat. no. 52). It must be said, however, that while the Chinese dishes may well have provided the models for the Safavid ones, the pattern is not Chinese. Its origins are not clear, but Krahl suggests that it may have been borrowed from India, either from south Indian textiles, which were widely traded at the time, or from inlaid metal *bidri* ware.[49]

Models from somewhat later in the Kangxi period exist for other Safavid pieces (TKS 2358; KEI.34; Fig. 3.61, ZZZ.401), such as the Safavid group identified by Crowe as the "aster family,"[50] datable to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

A central medallion is ringed by a band of radiating pointed panels containing floral sprays reserved on a dark ground and a narrow band of hatching at the rim. Safavid brown-rimmed vessels decorated with an overall lotus scroll bearing small fussy leaves and large open flowers are also derived from late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century Kangxi imports (TKS.2210, ZZZ.99).

FIG. 3.61. *ZZZ.401, dish, face.*

Borders and Secondary Bands

Zig-Zagging Hatched Lines

Narrow bands formed from groupings of hatched lines arranged in a zig-zagging pattern are occasionally seen on earlier Chinese pieces (TKS 645, mid- to late fifteenth century), but they were particularly popular in the Kangxi period (TKS 2358, 2176). The band occurs on Safavid vessels (KEI.34), especially on brown-rimmed bowls (Fig. 3.57, KEI.33; KEI.36) and on blue-and-white dishes with an Armenian monogram (Fig. 3.61, ZZZ.401; Fig. 3.64, ZZZ.236).

Dotted-Diamond Rhomboidal Diaper

The popularity of the dotted-diamond rhomboidal diaper persisted through the centuries in China. Earlier it was generally used as a continuous uninterrupted pattern. It was used thus in the early eighteenth century, but at that time it served more often as the ground for reserved floral panels (TKS 2425). Safavid potters employed it in both ways (BER.21, KEI.53, BER.26).

Spirals

The spiral that was used from time to time in earlier periods (TKS 1221) became very popular for use in bands in the Kangxi period (TKS 2164, 2183). Not so common on Safavid pottery, the band of spirals does occur on late seventeenth-century vessels (ASH.17, KEI.11).

Alternating Half-Florets

Rim bands of little half-florets, alternately rising and pendant, on a hatched ground, are no doubt derived from the half-florets of the "prunus on cracked ice" pattern used on blue-and-white bowls of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (TKS 2324) or from the florets on dotted ground of the type that appears on a *famille verte* Kangxi beaker in the Metropolitan

48 Crowe (2002:244) refers to these motifs as "cones."

49 Krahl 1986, III: 951.

50 Crowe 2002:240.

Museum of Art.[51] Persian brown-rimmed dishes favour this motif (V&A.434; Fig. 3.62, ROM.85/ Cat. no. 51).

Principal Bands

During the Kangxi period, bands of tall narrow panels containing stiff slender-petalled floral sprays radiate from the central medallions of dishes (TKS 2208) or ring the walls of bowls and their covers (TKS 2193), forming the "aster" pattern with its Safavid reformulations (Fig. 3.61, ZZZ.401; KEI.16). The aster pattern may well have served also as model for the stiff, symmetrical floral panels found at the rim of some Persian dishes (V&A.133).

Panels containing more naturalistic floral sprays are often seen on Kangxi blue-and-white porcelains of both open and closed form. On bottles tangent panels with ogival tops (TKS 2169, 2163) may have provided inspiration to Safavid potters (Fig. 3.63, FMK.19), as the little curlicue elements that link the panels above are of the same type as those seen linking panels on Chinese bottles.

More commonly seen, however, are the bands of pointed panels that ring the central medallions of blue-and-white dishes (KEI.34, KEI.36). This band occurs on a dish painted with tan, turquoise, and black pigments, surrounding an Armenian monogram (Fig. 3.64, ZZZ.236). If this dish belongs to the Isfahan polychrome group, its stylistic affinities with Kangxi wares (TKS 2358) would indicate that the Isfahan workshop was active in the late seventeenth century and well into the early eighteenth.[52] The Armenian monogram may be a distorted version of the one found on three vessels in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[53] Although this type of panelled decoration is ultimately derived from Islamic, not Chinese, art, its frequent occurrence on Kangxi export wares may have contributed to its presence on late Safavid ceramics.

FIG. 3.62. *ROM.85/ Cat. no. 51, dish, face.*

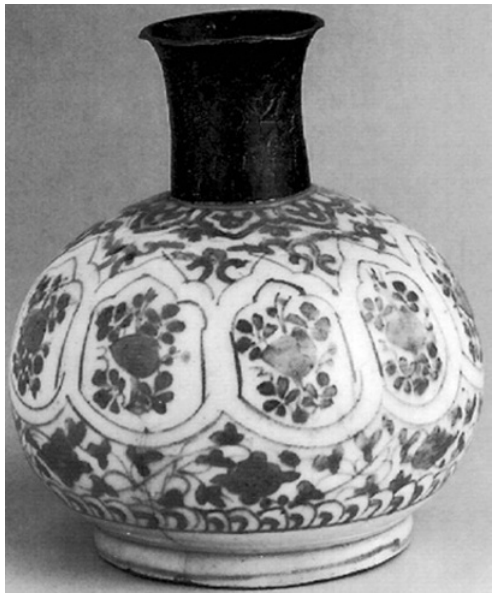


FIG. 3.63. *FMK.19, bottle.*

Exteriors

A common back for late seventeenth-century Safavid dishes consists of four beribboned lozenges

51 Valenstein et al. 1977, pl. 43.

52 Possible links with the polychrome wares of Armenian Kutahya (Turkey) have yet to be explored.

53 The monogram has been identified as that of Paron Safraz (d. 1728), head of the family trading company in Isfahan (Crowe 2002:202, nos. 354–56).

FIG. 3.64. *ZZZ.236, dish with Armenian monogram.*

(see Pl. 6.3.5, Back VI; ROM.82/ Cat. no. 52). The beribboned lozenges are borrowed from Chinese porcelains of the early years of the Kangxi period. On such Safavid dishes four different emblems were used to ornament the exterior sides (TKS 2099). Examples with this exterior often have a channelled foot-ring, a feature taken as indicative of a date in the early decades of the Kangxi period.[54]

Individual Motifs

Blossoms with white-rimmed petals were very popular on later Safavid blue-and-white ceramics. Sometimes the floral heads are abstracted and viewed from above (Fig. 3.60, MMA.25). Sometimes, white-tipped flowers are pictured against a ground of densely leafed scroll (V&A.133); more often, they are portrayed growing as graceful plants in a natural manner (V&A.132). For both of these renderings there are late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century Chinese prototypes (TKS 2213, TKS 2263). A large blue-and-white jar (ROM.23/ Cat. no. 27) is decorated with gently curved floral sprays floating upright on a plain ground, reflecting similar sprays on late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century Chinese bottles (TKS 2178).

54 Lion-Goldschmidt 1984, figs. 117–18.

CHAPTER 4

The "Kubachi Problem" and the Isfahan Workshop

Lisa Golombek

The "Kubachi Problem"

The name "Kubachi" will be familiar to most students of Islamic art as well as to ethnographers dealing with the complex demographics of Daghestan in the Caucasus. The fact that hoards of art pottery were discovered in the homes of mountain villagers in the late nineteenth century has cast a mystique over these wares, clouding our understanding of their significance. Kubachi lies some 60 km southwest of the Caspian town of Derbent in the north Caucasus, in the autonomous republic of Daghestan, formerly within the Soviet Union. Situated above the treeline, the village lands do not offer the possibility of extensive agriculture. Houses make the best possible use of the sloping land. The multi-storey traditional stone houses climb the hillside of Kubachi, their balconies serving as roofs for the houses below. Streets consist of a series of steps winding up the hill between houses. It is difficult to imagine how such a village came to possess large collections of luxury tablewares.

Although some pottery still remains in the homes of the villagers, huge quantities were purchased by European, Armenian, and Russian agents from the 1870s on. The vessels arrived in museum collections toward the end of the century and during the first decade of the twentieth century. Even though their Kubachi origins may not have been recorded, they are easily identified by their having a series of holes drilled in the foot-ring, through which a cord was threaded for hanging in the houses of the village. Many even retain these cords. Safavid pots recovered in Iran itself, such as those purchased by Sir Robert Murdoch Smith for the Victoria and Albert Museum in the late nineteenth century, seem to be devoid of such holes. Most vessels found at Kubachi also show a crackling of the glaze as well as an oily substance or "varnish" on the surface, as observed by Brocklebank in 1931.[1]

All scholars except the very first to see these wares have doubted that the villagers of Kubachi actually produced them or even that they came from a nearby source, such as Derbent. Some of the wares from this site had already been acquired for the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum by 1907. Dikran Khan Kelekian brought back large quantities of objects from Kubachi and mentioned the pottery in his publication of 1909.[2] While accepting a local provenance for all this pottery, he nevertheless warned that it raises many questions that will never be resolved without excavations in Daghestan and Iran. The major questions posed by the ceramic material were set forth by Arthur Lane in the article entitled, "The So-called 'Kubachi' Wares of Persia," in the *Burlington Magazine* (1939). The title itself reveals his opinion about the provenance of the wares, namely, that none of them was made in Kubachi. He pointed out that similar types have been purchased in Iran, and that the figural style was unquestionably that of the court of Shah Abbas of Isfahan of the early seventeenth century. An Iranian source for the pottery was far more likely than a remote mountain village. Lane hypothesized a Tabriz origin for all the wares, including those that did not belong to the polychrome slip-painted group. Since then little interest has been shown in this assemblage despite its preponderance in museum collections and the attractiveness of some of the groups. Only the three or four fifteenth-century pieces that bear dates have

1 Brocklebank 1931:219.

2 Kelekian 1909.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_006

received attention. They are presumed to represent the earliest phase of a single workshop.

On stylistic grounds alone the pottery found at Kubachi ranges from the mid-fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century and possibly later. Petrographic analysis—and occasionally inscriptions—show that the Kubachi aggregation is not the work of a single pottery centre. Most of the Kubachi vessels with dated inscriptions are painted in black under a clear turquoise glaze and range in date from 1468 to 1495.[3] They have a Nishapur petrofabric. A dish painted in blue on white and dated 1473–1474 reveals a Mashhad provenance in its inscription.[4] One of the largest groups found at Kubachi originated in the Turkman and early Safavid workshops at Tabriz (see Chapter Two). Kubachi seems to be the only source for whole vessels from the Tabriz workshop, while vessels with Nishapur and Mashhad petrofabric have been found in Iran. However, sherds with a Tabriz petrofabric have turned up in excavations at Ardabil (unpublished). These are mostly from dishes, painted in cobalt blue under a clear glaze or black under a transparent turquoise or green glaze. Thus, the early Safavid wares from the Kubachi aggregation are diverse, comprising products of Nishapur, Mashhad, and Tabriz.

A new chapter in the Kubachi series begins with polychrome slip-painted wares, featuring vegetal or geometric designs and portrait busts (the mid-seventeenth century, Phases II–III) (Fig. 2.62, LAC.01; Fig. 2.63, V&A.02). Border patterns, such as the palmette interlace, as well as the use of coloured slips relate these wares to Iznik pottery. Other borders are derived from mid-sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain, such as the scale pattern and the honeycomb diaper (Figs. 6.5-12ff).[5] Variations on Kraak panels, often filled with a plant derived from the peach-spray, were popular for dishes on which the rim and cavetto were merged (ROM.12/Cat. no. 34). This border came to predominate in the blue-and-white wares of this workshop (which we have assigned to the seventeenth century, Phase III). It has been customary to attribute all these vessels to Tabriz, as this was the closest large urban centre to the village of Kubachi. Scholars assumed that the villagers would have had access to the pottery of Tabriz. On both historical and art-historical grounds a Tabriz origin cannot be justified, and petrographic evidence points to another centre.

Tabriz had ceased to be the Safavid capital by 1555. The move of the capital does not imply necessarily the movement of artisans, but pottery-making in the Tabriz region had always been problematic. Tabriz lacks the ingredients for a good stonepaste body, as the minerals are largely volcanic. The workshops at Tabriz were most certainly a royal initiative, as no potter would wilfully choose this region as a source for quartz. As Mason noted in his study of Timurid ceramics: "The overwhelming dominance of felsic volcanics in these ceramic bodies, which have every appearance of trying to be a stonepaste, is a severe indictment of the inability of the region to supply the potter's needs."[6] Stylistic indications also argue against a Tabriz origin. The portraits appearing on many vessels, as well as on tiles, are in the distinctive style of Riza Abbasi, who worked for the Safavid court at Isfahan from 1587 until 1635. The style was continued by his successors for another two decades. Tabriz had ceased to be the artistic centre before the middle of the sixteenth century. Artists and craftsmen moved out to other centres and eventually congregated in Isfahan, following the establishment of the capital there around 1590.

In view of these facts it is surprising that this class of pottery is consistently attributed to Tabriz, both by authors of museum- and private-collection catalogues and by auction houses. Arthur Upham Pope had already noted in the *Survey of Persian*

3 GMB 1996:134.

4 First published by Ivanov 1980; see GMB 1996:134.

5 These comments are based on a study by Eileen Reilly (see Krahl 1986, nos. 1069, 1527).

6 GMB 1996:45.

Art (1938) that sherds of similar wares had been found at Qumisheh and Saveh and suggested that Qumisheh may have been the source.[7] Qumisheh is a village 84 km south of Isfahan and is also known as Shahreza.[8] The town of Qumisheh is mentioned as a stopping place along the route to Isfahan taken by Shah Abbas in 1008/1599–1600.[9] We shall see that Qumisheh was, indeed, the source of several types of Safavid wares, among which are the well-known polychrome portrait dishes.

Having clarified the nature of "the Kubachi aggregation," we can now turn to the question of the collecting site. The pottery spans almost 300 years (c. 1450–1720). It comes from at least five workshops located all over Iran (Nishapur, Mashhad, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Kirman), although the bulk comes from Tabriz and Isfahan. No one has counted the number of vessels that the aggregation comprises, but individual museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the State Hermitage have hundreds of such vessels. How and when did they arrive in the village? Reports from the last century say that such vessels formed part of the dowry of the Kubachi brides.

The most commonly accepted theory is that the villagers collected them over the centuries, that they themselves were artisans, trading their metalwork (the name "Kubachi" means "maker of chain mail") for luxury pottery. The proximity to Tabriz would explain why much of the pottery comes from there. One of the problems with this theory is that Bernhard Dorn (1805–1881), the renowned Russian Orientalist who recorded the material culture of Kubachi in 1861, made no mention of pottery. Anatoly Ivanov was the first to make this observation and raise the question about the timing of the arrival of the pottery in Kubachi.[10] He does caution, however, that portions of Dorn's notes were lost, and these may have described the pottery collections. Ivanov nevertheless proposes a second scenario, namely, that the Kubachi villagers were not the primary collectors of the material and that it came from elsewhere late in the nineteenth century, perhaps subsequent to Dorn's visit.

It is inconceivable that all of the wear and tear evident in the numerous hang-holes punched through the foot-rings of the vessels retrieved from Kubachi occurred between 1861, the time of Dorn's visit, and the 1870s, when Kubachi pottery was discovered by the West. It is equally inconceivable that the hang-holes would have been made in pots located in disparate locales and then brought to Kubachi. They appear to be the custom of one collection site or collector. The only scenario that makes sense is that such a collection was put together elsewhere, the holes made, and the treasure stored until it moved en masse to Kubachi. This hypothesis merely moves the collection with all of its questions to another locale, but perhaps one that makes more sense in terms of history.

The "Primary" Collecting Site

Was there one primary collecting site or more? It is difficult to explain why some Safavid wares and not others appear at Kubachi. Conspicuous by their absence are the very fine blue-and-white wares of the early seventeenth century, attributed to Kirman and Mashhad. Few lustre-wares have appeared. Only one late seventeenth-century polychrome Kirman piece can be identified as having passed through Kubachi (as attested by its hang-holes).[11]

7 Pope 1938, II:1648, 1655.

8 Honarfar 1965:734–739 describes the shrine for which the town was renamed "Shahreza," but does not cite any evidence for a pre-Qajar date; no mention is made of the many potteries in the village. He does, however, transcribe an endowment document (*waqf*) of Shah Tahmasb, dated 938/1531–1532, on a stele in the old Mosque of Isfahan, in which Qumisheh is named (Honarfar 1965: 88–89).

9 Melville 1993.

10 A. A. Ivanov (personal communication).

11 Private collection.

A primary site during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries not far from Kubachi would explain the preponderance of Tabriz wares. Distance from Kirman and Mashhad might explain the relative paucity of wares produced there. But then, how can one explain the presence of so many dishes painted in the figural style of Riza Abbasi, which is associated with Isfahan?

Perhaps the assemblage moved about prior to reaching its final resting place in Kubachi. It seems to begin in the Turkman capital at Tabriz and then to move to Isfahan, perhaps halting for several decades in Qazvin while this city served as the Safavid capital. Of course, the royal household itself must have used genuine imported porcelain, but lesser officials may have enjoyed setting their tables with the locally produced wares. The pleasure halls of Shah Abbas were decorated with the "lascivious" paintings described by Europeans as well as tiles bearing portraits of smiling youths, which are mirrored in the Isfahan tablewares that ultimately ended up in Kubachi. Hang-holes would have been pierced through all of the dishes to suspend them from the walls when not in use. They could have served as decorations as well as tablewares in the salons of the aristocracy or even in the royal coffee-houses.

If the movement of the Safavid capital from Tabriz to Isfahan explains the selection of vessels in the aggregation and its original purpose (associates of the court), how did it end up in Kubachi? Here we can only speculate. Perhaps as Iran opened its treasure houses to the West in the late nineteenth century, the lot was carted off to Moscow, or so it was intended. On the way, the wily villagers of Kubachi hijacked the caravan and confiscated its treasure.

The Isfahan/Qumisheh Workshop

Qumisheh Production in the Sixteenth Century

Qumisheh today is, in fact, a village of potteries, and it was the intention of a site visit in 1996 to determine whether there had been continuity between the sixteenth-century industry and the present. Mason took a sample from one of the older pots produced by the Bahari workshop, which was still making stonepaste wares but from imported quartz. Until 30 years prior, however, the quartz came from a local source. It seems that this source was the very one that the Safavid potters had used, for the petrofabric of the sampled pot turned out to be identical to that of the large group of polychrome portrait dishes in the style of Riza Abbasi that Mason had sampled (Fig. 4.1).

The earliest evidence for pottery production at Qumisheh comes from a series of underglaze-painted blue-and-white tiles; most are inscribed as grave markers, but the earliest example bears a foundation inscription for a mosque. The town of Qumisheh is named on this tile as the place of its manufacture (Fig. 4.2, ZZZ.431), and was discussed briefly in Chapter Two.[12] Dated 939/1532 (5 Rabiʿ II), the tile is rectangular with a straight arch on the upper side. It is in the form of a grave marker but is, in fact, a mihrab tile for a mosque. Its inscription states that it was made in Qumisheh by (commission of?) the Ustad Muhammad bin Amir Ghiyath al-Din bin Amir

FIG. 4.1 *Potter in the Bahari workshop in Shahreza village (formerly called Qumisheh, south of Isfahan), 1996.*

12 The present location of this important tile is unknown.

FIG. 4.2 *ZZZ.431, tile, dated 939/1532, made in Qumisheh.*

Sabiq Abarquhi.[13] This tile is thus an important document in that it provides a place of manufacture, a date, a possible place of origin for the maker or commissioner (i.e., Abarquh, lying between Isfahan and Yazd), and some diagnostic decorative motifs. These motifs appear on a series of dated funerary tiles, and the potters named on these tiles have *nisbahs* from the Yazd region (Ardakan);[14] tiles in this series bear the following dates: 957/1550, 959/1551, 960/1553, 967/1560. Although not of high artistic value, these tiles represent the earliest evidence for a workshop in the Isfahan region which was closely linked with the style of the painter Riza Abbasi in the early seventeenth century.

The next series of dated tiles is also undistinguished artistically but can be connected to Qumisheh through technical peculiarities. A grave marker of much simpler pretensions than the sixteenth-century ones, painted in blue on white, was made for a Shaykh Ahmad Mafnabadi (reading uncertain), who died in Ramadan 1009/February–March 1601 (V&A.54). The imagery is rudimentary (the outline of a turban on a folding stand), and the border consists of roundels containing six-petalled flowers, separated by a coin-diaper (a Chinese motif). There might not have been good reason to tie this tile to Qumisheh but for the technique of painting. The use of incised lines into which the pigment bleeds is characteristic of the later Qumisheh/Isfahan blue-and-white wares (see Chapter Two). Also, the next dated piece of evidence is a tombstone made for an individual with the same unusual *nisbah*, "Mafnabadi." This tile, rectangular with rounded top, marks the grave of Mahdi-quli bin *ghulam* Ali Mafnabadi, who died in Safar 1037/1627–1628 (Fig. 2.48, V&A.51). In addition to cobalt blue and black, the palette includes green, red, and tan, painted on in a thick slip, in the same manner as the many vessels for which this workshop became famous. This tile provides the earliest dated evidence for the Isfahan polychrome slip-wares. Although the evidence seems to confirm that Qumisheh was the site of the Isfahan workshop, it is possible that elsewhere in the Isfahan region potters using the same mineral sources as those of Qumisheh were making similar wares. For purposes of this study we will use the designation "Qumisheh" to refer to all ateliers in the Isfahan region producing the wares described here.

Vessel production in the Isfahan region must have started shortly after Shah Abbas moved the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan (c. 1590). Potters in the Isfahan area joined those of Kirman and Mashhad in attempting to make close imitations of imported porcelains, such as ROM.50/Cat. no. 16 (Fig. 2.46). However, the quality of Isfahan production never attained the high level found in the works of the Kirman and Mashhad potteries.

13 This artisan's *nisbah* "Abarquhi" associates his family with the town of Abarquh, which lies west of Yazd and south of Isfahan. Pottery from Abarquh was being sold in a caravanserai in Isfahan in the middle of the seventeenth century (see Chapter One; Gaube and Wirth 1978:284).

14 Afshar (1969–1975, I: 50–53, 60, 170) (includes one missing a date but attributable to c. 1553).

Isfahan (*Qumisheh*) *Wares of the Mid- to Late Seventeenth Century*

While the seventeenth-century production of this workshop was briefly mentioned in Chapter Two, it was felt that a more detailed discussion was justified, if only by reason of the sheer quantity that survives. A closer and more systematic look at the three major types, the underglaze-painted turquoise-and-black wares, the polychrome slip-wares and the (blue-and-white) incised-line wares, will give greater definition to the production. Identification of the major types of compositions and common borders shows the extent to which the groups share commonalities.

Turquoise-and-Black Wares

Sometimes confused with the turquoise-and-black wares produced in Tabriz in the sixteenth century, these Isfahan wares seem to have borrowed some of the Tabriz motifs and perhaps even the spirit of the Tabriz Weedback class. The petal-panel back seen on sixteenth-century blue-and-white and turquoise-and-black Tabriz wares (Pl. 6.2, Back G) now appears on the front in the cavetto in the form of sinuous stems with spiky leaves (Fig. 2.65, ROM.28/Cat. no. 32).

The petal-panel itself becomes a major motif. On many dishes the entire central field is divided into wedges with bracketed tops, or petal-panels (ASH.24, CDC.01, TRM.02). The weedback petal-panel itself may spin around the centre (Fig. 4.3, ROM.32/Cat. no. 31; ZZZ.340). The centre is occupied by a rosette or other device. An enlargement of the undulating vine forms reciprocating trefoils in another popular flange border for this class (ASH.24, KEI.41). Border designs shared with the other two classes of Isfahan wares include the trellis (Fig. 4.3, ROM.32/Cat. no. 31; HON.02, HRM.07) and the floral spray rim (SAM.01).

The central design may also be related to these wares, such as the lotus bouquet or axial plant (BRM.28, HON.02, HRM.07, SAM.01), the landscape (MMA.02), and the reflected landscape (KEI.40).

FIG. 4.3 *ROM.32/Cat. no. 31, dish, face.*

Polychrome Slip-Painted Wares

We have suggested that the polychrome slip-painted technique was adopted, possibly from the Qazvin tile-makers of the late sixteenth century, some time before 1627, the date of a slip-painted tile made for the same "Mafnabadi" family as the earlier blue-and-white tiles (Fig. 2.48, V&A.51).

The palette consists of cobalt, chromium (black), and copper (green or turquoise) applied as oxides, and slips containing a red and a tan to ochre pigment. Occasionally, pigments are mixed to obtain a flesh-tone, as in the fragmentary dish with a large sunface in the centre (FZW.07).

Common themes in this polychrome technique are human figures and animals, naturalistic landscapes, and geometric patterns. These themes fall into 10 groups:

1. Bust in three-quarter view
2. Full figure compositions
3. Landscape compositions
4. Axial plant compositions
5. Reflected plant compositions
6. *Saz*-framed plants
7. Split-palmette design
8. Radial geometric compositions

9. Trellis diaper
10. Kraak imitations

All these groups seem to share a common repertory of borders (see Chapter Six, "Isfahan Workshop: Rims"). Potters used a limited number of decorative borders for the flange or the combined flange and cavetto. Kraak panels and peach-spray panels were shared with the (later) repertory of the blue-and-white incised-line wares of this workshop. Other border designs appear to be unique to the polychrome wares. These are various scale patterns, a floral spray, and interlacing palmette leaves. The only dish in blue-and-white that has the latter border is a portrait dish, modelled on the polychrome type (Fig. 2.88, ROM.57/Cat. no. 42). Whether painting the borders or the central scene, the potter favoured curving lines that emphasized the curves of the dish. Plants bend within the circle to fill the scene. Within the borders elements sway and wriggle as if moved by water, reminding us of the sixteenth-century Tabriz waterweed motif.

1 *The Bust in Three-Quarter View*

Portrait busts in three-quarter view show men and women in a wide variety of headgear and costume. The surrounding space is filled with blossoms and trees. The subjects are, for the most part, drawn from the Persian painter's repertory. The upper torso sways gently backward, and the head tips forward, creating creases in the neck and revealing the large, often double, chin of the "beautiful people" as rendered by the Safavid court painter Riza Abbasi. Side curls of both women and men are sensuously drawn to evoke the poetry associated with the hair of the loved one. Eyebrows form arches meeting between the almond-shaped eyes. The mouth is always discreetly small as if the person's attention were turned inward. In several examples the torso arises behind a stream dotted with rocks and plants (Fig. 2.62, LAC.01; TBG.02, ZZZ.19). The influence of Riza is so evident that it is surprising Isfahan was not widely thought to be the provenance until recently proven by petrographic analysis. The fact that potters went to a pictorial source other than the ceramic tradition, be it local or imported, makes this large assemblage exceptional.

Similar portraits do, however, appear on numerous tiles, none of which are still *in situ* (Fig. 5.12, V&A.248; Fig. 2.61, V&A.249).[15] They were probably made for secular buildings, such as bathhouses and residences, in the same Isfahan workshops as the pots. Tiles that we have sampled have an Isfahan petrofabric although there is some evidence that portrait tiles were also made at Qazvin.[16] The personages depicted on the tiles are varied in their physiognomy and sport a variety of headgear and costumes, including European. This broad range seems to be missing from the dishes, where the dress does not vary greatly, and the personages are youthful. The men on the tiles almost always hold a sprig of blossoms. The women often hold a cup. Some of the dishes appear to be copies of each other, such as three dishes with a woman facing left (Fig. 2.62, LAC.01; MMA.30; ZZZ.19). All three have the same diameter (35 cm), although within the assemblage there is great variation (27–35 cm). The lack of variety on the vessels compared with the tiles may indicate that the tiles inspired the vessels. The costumes on the vessel figures often show a textile with an allover floral pattern ("daisies"). This is also very common on the tiles. No doubt both reflect the monumental tile paintings executed in *haft-rangi*[17] (*cuerda seca*), found throughout the capital, such as the great panels now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 139–1891) that show a large outdoor scene in which a woman reclining on the right is covered with a textile decorated with the daisy-pattern. The idea of putting a portrait on a dish, however, may have come from Italian majolica portrait plates of the

15 Those remaining in the Hammam-i Vazir in Isfahan are in a different style and may be later.

16 A Qazvin petrofabric was identified by Robert Mason (see Chapter Five); for a discussion of the late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Qazvin tiles, see Luschey-Schmeisser (1995–1996:412–413).

17 O'Kane 2011.

sixteenth century, which also had scale patterns in the borders. Italian merchants traded in Iran, but no Italian wares of this period have shown up in Iranian collections.

2 *Full Figure Compositions*

The most common full-figure images on vessels are of a man or a pair of men with hunched-over shoulders, wearing long, flowing robes (ANV.01, LAC.03, MMA.01, MMA.31). The figures may be bald, or the hair may be dishevelled, short, or covered with a conical helmet hat. These figures, perhaps representations of Buddhist monks, are borrowed from late sixteenth-century Chinese porcelains. Several unique dishes belong in this category. A standing man with turban is framed within an eight-pointed star (BCH.01). A bald-headed man with moustache, bare torso, and skirt has a sickle-like object chained (?) to his outstretched arms (SAC.02).

There is at least one image inspired by narrative illustration. A base fragment of a polychrome-painted dish shows a figure with a bare torso sitting with one knee bent and the other leg outstretched (Fig. 4.4, ASH.04). The figure is combing long hair. This could be the scene from Nizami's *Khamsah* in which Khusraw spies Shirin bathing, but the torso has a series of parallel lines drawn on both sides, suggesting ribs or emaciation, and thus possibly the character Majnun from another popular story from Nizami's *Khamsah*, the ill-fated love of Majnun and Layla. Spurned by Layla's family, Majnun wanders in the desert, neglecting his health and appearance. He is often shown wasting away, letting his hair grow. Riza Abbasi's painting of Majnun, dated 1619, may have been the model for the dish.[18] Majnun is depicted on tile paintings from the middle of the seventeenth century.[19]

A series of dishes inspired by Chinese porcelains depicts animals: birds (BAR.06, WAL.01), deer (MIN.08, V&A.05), lion or *qilin* (SEV.01).

FIG. 4.4 *ASH.04, dish, base fragment.*

3 *Landscape Compositions*

In the largest surviving group wispy trees or plants sprout from a groundline and follow the curve of the tondo.[20] The composition is asymmetrical. The fern-like branches have multiple petals. Beneath them grow various blossoms, and there is often a rock or mountain in the scene (BAR.05, MMA.34, MMA.58, ZZZ.174).

Occasionally, waterfowl appear (Fig. 4.5, MMA.57; MMA.29) or a cypress tree is introduced (MMA.32). The depiction of two partridges in a polychrome landscape on some examples (BRM.04) links this group with the blue-and-white incised-line wares. The source of inspiration for these "landscape" compositions is likely to be Iznik wares of the mid- to late sixteenth century.

4 *Axial Plant Compositions*

Also very common were compositions featuring large lotus-like blossoms arranged symmetrically

18 See Canby 1996, no. 95.

19 Luschey-Schmeisser 1981, Abb. 10.

20 Landscapes depicting a thick-bodied tree appear to be aberrations if not repaintings (see KEI.04).

FIG. 4.5 *MMA.57, dish, face.*

FIG. 4.6 *MMA.40, dish, face.*

around a vertical axis. The axis may be formed by a single or a double stem, sprouting from a rock with blades of grass (MAG.07, MMA.47). Occasionally a bird is included (TBG.01, ZZZ.188, KEL.01, MMA.48). A baluster vase replaces the axial tree on a rare dish in the Magdalen collection (MAG.03). Again, Iznik wares may be the source of inspiration. Two dishes actually have a central axial lotus plant flanked by *saz* leaves, so ubiquitous on Ottoman wares (TRM.03, MMA.40; see also "*Saz*-framed Plants," Fig. 4.6).

5 *Reflected Plant Compositions*

The same floral repertory is used for this group, but the design on top mirrors that on the bottom, or that on the left mirrors that on the right of the vertical axis (MMA.43, MMA.51).

6 Saz-*Framed Plants*

From a central rosette or similar device radiate large lotus blossoms. Some grow from vines while others sprout from clumps of grass. Each lotus blossom is partially enclosed by a pair of curving blades. Several examples depict these as serrated blades, which identifies them as *saz* leaves, popular on Iznik tiles and vessels. While they also occur in Persian drawings, they were not commonly found in Safavid decorative arts, and certainly not as a framing device. The composition on the polychrome wares normally is quadripartite (Fig. 4.7, MAG.13; MAG.01, KEI.05), but some examples of six-part compositions are known (ZZZ.175, MMA.33, MBA.01).

This general composition using palmette leaves in combination with arabesque networks was popular among potters of the Tabriz workshop in the sixteenth century (HRM.109). The basis for our seeking its source of inspiration outside Iran is the sudden appearance of the Turkish *saz* leaf, replacing the palmette. Indeed, the palmette leaf frame does occasionally appear on the Safavid polychrome wares (MMA.53), but its use here may reflect its adoption by Iznik potters and subsequent relay in this form (back) to Iran.[21]

A most unusual dish with tripartite composition is painted on a tan (slip-painted) ground and includes white slip-painting (Fig. 4.8, MMA.17).

The *saz* leaves are paired in reverse, which gives them a sense of movement similar to the effect achieved by Iznik potters. The use of a tinted slip-painted background also recalls an Iznik practice

21 Miller 1972:41.

FIG. 4.7 *MAG.13, dish, face.*

FIG. 4.8 *MMA.17, dish, face.*

from the second half of the sixteenth century. No other examples of Isfahan polychrome wares with slip-painted backgrounds are known to us. In fact, the use of white slip for details is known only from one other piece (MIN.08), which has a highly unusual design.

7 *Split-Palmette Design*

The palmette leaf is sometimes referred to as the split-palmette because it represents half of the frontal palmette blossom. Some of the strangest designs found on the polychrome wares feature the bifurcated leaf as a major motif. On a ground of "daisies," painted in reserve, four palmette leaves form arcs attached to the circle of the tondo (MMA.55, MAG.05, MMA.38, ZZZ.184). On another dish the palmette leaves criss-cross and link up with cloud-point medallions (V&A.04). In another example one very large palmette leaf dominates a field of daisies in reserve (Fig. 4.9, MAG.02). The same idea is repeated on a smaller scale where the petal-panels of the cavetto intrude into the tondo (MAG.04).

8 *Radial Geometric Compositions*

A large central flower or rosette dominates the radial geometric design (ROM.12/Cat. no. 34). There may be vines emanating from it (ZZZ.186, FRE.08), linked to floral sprays, or it may be the centre of an arabesque composition (MMA.35).

9 *Trellis Diaper*

A diaper of dotted hexagons or a trellis pattern may fill the entire surface of the interior (RZA.05), or a small area in the centre may be reserved for a rosette (ZZZ.40, STK.12, ZZZ.11). In a variation of this the trellis is enclosed in a petal-panel (Fig. 2.64, ROM.08/Cat. no. 33). This design was also used for a bowl (MAG.14).

10 *Kraak Imitations*

These are more unusual. They copy the central design as well as the border panels of Kraak models (MMA.50, MMA.56).

Dating the Polychrome Slip-Painted Wares

Dated evidence for the start-up of this ware is limited to the tomb tile of 1627–1628 (Fig. 2.48, V&A.51), mentioned above. As we have indicated, this tile belongs to a series of blue-and-white tiles that begins as early as the tile dated 1009/1601 (V&A.54). Stylistically, the wares fit with the date of the polychrome tile. The painter Riza Abbasi had

FIG. 4.9 *MAG.02, dish, face.*

FIG. 4.10 *MMA.03, dish, underside of rim.*

introduced the sway-back full-chinned figure style around 1600, but the style continued on into the middle of the century. Close parallels to the images on the dishes appear in Riza's paintings. The triangular headpiece on the woman (e.g., Fig. 2.62, LAC.01) and her facial features closely resemble Riza's painting of c. 1610.[22] Another dish depicts a male youth with long side-curls and wearing a fur hat, which falls like a beret over the back of his head. His mouth is more expressive on this dish than is usual for vessels. The image is almost identical to Riza's painting dated 1610–1611 (Fig. 2.49, MMA.03).[23] Riza's style was copied by his students and successors. Paintings in the Chehel Sutun Palace of Isfahan, executed around 1647, also show figures with faces and headgear very similar to those on the dishes. A good comparison is found in the side room showing a kneeling woman talking with a swooning aristocratic lady propped up by pillows.[24] However, figural styles were soon to change. Tiles appearing on the Hasht Behesht Palace (1669) attest to a marked change, as do a large series of dispersed tile panels from another Isfahan building of this period.[25] The full chin disappears, and the sway-back stance loses its prominence. The polychrome Isfahan ware should therefore pre-date this change in style.

How much earlier? Let us return to the dish with the beautiful youth (Figs. 2.49, 4.10, MMA.03). The dish has a unique border consisting of four circular medallions, filled with "daisies" in reserve, alternating with four ogival medallions containing Chinese emblems with ribbons. The bust is set within a lobed circle, a framing device commonly found on the tiles. The most extraordinary thing about this dish, however, is the back.

Instead of the usual Isfahan back there is a series of S-stem motifs under the flange.[26] Crowe attributes dishes with this motif to the period of Shah Abbas II (1642–1666), and notes an example on a dish dated 1077/1666.[27] Many of the dishes bearing the motif have a tassel-mark, signifying that they were made in Kirman. Even if this were to be a Kirman dish imitating the Isfahan bust style, it would most likely reflect a contemporary fashion in the treatment of the back of the dish. We are therefore inclined to set this group c. 1640, that is, after Riza's death, as we know that painters continued to work in his style until the middle of the century.

22 Canby 1996, no. 53.

23 Ibid., no. 51.

24 Illustrated in Blair and Bloom 1994, fig. 244.

25 Said to be from the Royal Stables; Luschey-Schmeisser 1981 (includes discussion of two such panels in the Royal Ontario Museum).

26 Crowe (2002:128) describes these as "S-stems with central floret and leaf finials."

27 Crowe 2002:176, no. 274.

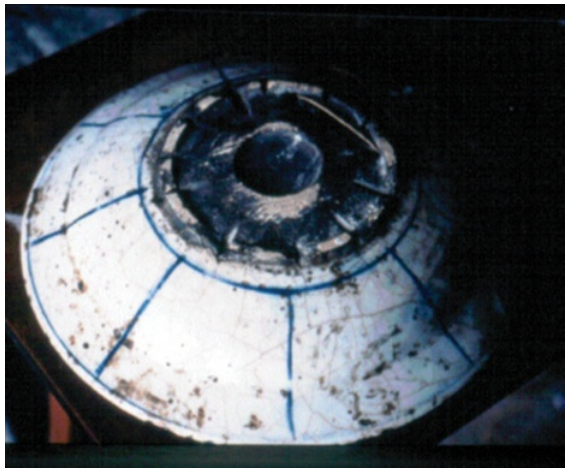


FIG. 4.11 *MIN.05, dish, back.*

FIG. 4.12 *ROM.15/Cat. no. 37, dish, detail of rim border.*

Blue-and-White Incised-Line Wares

Following the trend set by potters of Kirman and Mashhad in the early seventeenth century, Isfahan turned out thousands of dishes bearing some resemblance to "Kraak" porcelains. Many have the panel borders so typical of Kraak wares, and the name by which we sometimes refer to this group, "peach-spray," derives from the peach-blossom plants found on many Kraak dishes. We have identified nine common patterns used for the cavetto and flange. They include some elements drawn from sixteenth-century Tabriz and Nishapur wares, such as the fluted cavetto (CDC.15) and the hexagonal grid (Fig. 2.20, ROM.24/Cat. no. 4; LOU.19). Favourite scenes are the pair of partridges or two deer in a landscape and a variety of geometric designs. Most of the dishes use only cobalt in the palette, but others show sparing use of black lines, olive-green detail, and manganese purple. The ones with purple appear to come late in the series.

In every respect these are hastily executed wares. Only the minimum work necessary to produce a foot-ring is done. On the more upscale pieces from Kirman and Mashhad, all the material within the foot-ring was removed after the dish had been thrown and hardened slightly. On the Isfahan dish a ring was created by carving out a wedge between its inside wall and the centre of the base (Fig. 4.11, MIN.05). Very little material is removed, and the centre of the base is almost as low as the foot-ring. This expedition of forming the foot-ring is complemented by the technique used to execute the painting (Fig. 4.12, ROM.15/Cat. no. 37). The design was first incised into the body and then the cobalt oxide was floated across the incised lines. Where it seeps in, the line looks dark. Elsewhere it appears as a thin wash. Thus, production could be speeded up, but fine detail could not be obtained with this technique.

Why was it necessary to execute these wares so rapidly? Surely, no one would have mistaken them for Chinese originals. They appear to have been made for the open market or for a large undiscriminating group. The fact that they bore some resemblance to the Chinese, and the cobalt colouring, which is quite attractive, would have satisfied this group. The inferior quality of the painting is easily grasped by comparing the Kirman "crow" bowl (Fig. 2.38, ROM.21/Cat. no. 10) with the Isfahan imitation (Fig. 2.86, ROM.59/Cat. no. 35). The dating of this group to Phase III (1650–1680) is based on the fact that some examples share characteristics with chinoiserie vessels produced by other workshops during this period (ROM.55/Cat. no. 44). We have suggested in

Chapter Two that during this Phase Safavid potters mass-produced their works in order to exploit the shortfall in Chinese exports.

Conclusions

While we can no longer consider "Kubachi" a valid designation for a workshop, the aggregation of pottery that accumulated in the village of that name in some as yet unascertained way and moment is of great significance. The bulk of it represents the work of the Isfahan atelier, probably at Qumisheh, initially inspired more by the exciting new and lively arts of the Isfahan painters. The pottery produced during the middle of the century attests to some major changes in the marketplace, as the workshop mass-produced low-quality chinoiserie goods. Possibly other wares came from this source, such as monochrome-relief wares with Riza Abbasi style scenes (see Chapter Two) or celadon imitations, but the evidence has yet to be forthcoming. The questions remain as to who constituted the market for Qumisheh wares, and how these wares ultimately arrived in such large quantities in Kubachi.

K1281 9.08×25.6

CHAPTER 5

The Safavid Workshops and Petrographic Analysis

Robert B. Mason

Introduction

Potters are generally considered to be conservative, as they are reliant upon a technology with a considerable number of variables that must be met before they can successfully produce pottery. As such, ceramic production centres have three basic requirements: the technological knowledge of the potter, the availability of appropriate raw materials, and access to a market.

Raw materials for the type of pottery we are talking about in this volume include the materials for the ceramic body, the glaze, the pigments, and the consumables of production: water and fuel. Clay is a highly variable material, and one resource may perform very differently from another. This is a challenge for any potter, but especially so for someone making glazed wares, as the firing performances of both clay and glaze must match. However, the ceramic body developed for elite pottery since the twelfth century, first in Egypt and then later throughout the Middle East, made primarily of crushed quartz (known as "stonepaste"), allowed for more predictability.[1] Analytical studies and contemporary treatises indicate a mix of 8–10 parts of quartz, one part of clay, and one part of glass to make this body. When potters were constrained or otherwise encouraged to move to a new centre of production, they needed to be able to predict the performance of the raw materials. This could be done because quartz, the primary constituent, will perform exactly the same way wherever it is found. Of the other constituents, the glass is a technologically created material with constant properties wherever it is made, while the small amount of clay, essentially only in the mix to keep the paste together during firing, would be a far less difficult issue to deal with as there is so little of it in the equation compared with a ceramic entirely composed of clay. With regard to the other raw materials, studies have shown that glazes and pigments would have been part of an international trade in this period, and obtaining materials for glazes would simply be a matter of the production centre's being placed in an appropriately developed system of communications. Such centres tend to be situated in a network, given the potter's profound need for a sizable market. Fuel and water would also be significant consumables for the production of pottery, and, given the significant productivity of the ceramic centres of the Islamic world, access to these resources would have been an important issue.

Issues of market would have perhaps been paramount, especially after the development of stonepaste. Ceramic production centres in the Islamic world would have been big installations, with massive output, and with distribution systems that covered the entire Eurasian-African supercontinent (pottery fragments from sites as disparate as South Africa, Norway, and Japan have been proven through petrographic analysis to have originated in the Islamic world).

So it is probably issues of market that primarily dictate where production centres develop in the Middle East. Sometimes they coincide with the site of an administrative centre, but not always, and in many cases it may be a matter of the administrative centre's having been set up at a trade hub in the first place. With earlier Islamic pottery, the massive industry of Basra in the eighth to tenth century was located at one of the world's greatest ports and trade cities at that time, while the

1 Mason 2004:61–90.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_007

production at sites associated with caliphal palaces (Baghdad, Samarra) was negligible.[2] With the exception of the lustre potters of al-Fustat, the industrial suburb of Cairo, the lustre potters generally seemed to avoid political and administrative centres, preferring regional centres such as Kashan and al-Raqqa. The long-lived and significant ceramic production at Damascus, from the early twelfth century until the Ottoman period, might be explained by the importance of this city in trade and industry as much as by its status as an administrative centre. Once significant production centres, such as those at al-Fustat, Damascus, and Kashan, had been established, they continued to make pottery despite political upheaval, such as the invasions of the Mongols and the establishment of the Mamluk sultanate.

What may have altered the primacy of these traditional pottery centres was the development of the use of ceramics as very significant components of architecture under the Timurids (c. 1370–1505). There had always been some use of ceramic tiles, but covering entire buildings with ceramic was a new thing. Although many types of ceramic have been associated with dynasties, there is no evidence that any of these dynasties (e.g., Abbasid, Fatimid, Saljuq) took an active part in sponsoring the ceramic industry. What these people did invest in, however, were grandiose public constructions, particularly mosques, madrasahs, and mausoleums. These public expressions of the power and significance of the dynast ruling that particular piece of turf at that particular time would have required people that could make pottery.

There seems to be no evidence that Hulagu (1256–1265) took part in the apparently traditional Mongol practice of conscripting conquered artisans to participate in production in his capital, Tabriz. Rather, Kashan continued to flourish at that time. However, the evidence of our study on Timurid ceramics does seem to indicate that Timur (c. 1370–1405) persuaded (or forced) the potters of Damascus to go back to his capital, Samarqand, in 1402. Possibly because of problems with raw materials, Samarqand did not survive as a production centre of the first order. This supremacy passed in the 1420s to Nishapur and, to a lesser extent, to Mashhad. What combination of the usual requirements of a pottery production centre, as outlined above, actually gave incentive to the development of these Timurid centres is not known, but they were centrally placed in the wealthy province of Khurasan, and presumably had access to appropriate raw materials. Mashhad had the additional advantage of the pilgrim market because it hosted the shrine of the Eighth Imam. Construction projects at Tabriz, the seat of Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu rule (1378–1508), brought potters there in the 1470s, although the available raw materials were not the best. Had Tabriz lost significance as an administrative centre or as a trade centre, as had happened to Samarqand after the shift of Timurid power to Herat following Timur's death (1405), it might not have lasted as a production centre. However, the first Safavids also chose Tabriz as the capital, and pottery production continued there at least as late as the move of the capital to Qazvin (1555).

Textual and art historical evidence for the centres of production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of Safavid rule has been presented in Chapters One and Two. This chapter focuses on the petrographic evidence. The historical sources seem overwhelmingly to point to Kirman as the most significant site of production, especially for the export market. The role of Zarand, which is named by Chardin as a pottery centre,[3] is uncertain. It is not possible to be certain if the intervening 75 km is sufficiently far to make theoretical "Zarand wares" petrographically distinct without archaeological evidence of Zarand.[4] Hypothetically, it might be possible that any two sites separated by such a distance are using identical sources, essentially the same source, or even

2 Mason 2004:23–60.

3 Chardin 1811, 4:128.

4 A site visit to Zarand yielded no evidence for Safavid pottery production.

that distinct sources can be found at the same site. The sites of Nishapur and Mashhad, for instance, are also only 75 km apart on the map, but a large and barren mountain chain separates the two. Zarand and Kirman, on the other hand, effectively occupy the same valley. It is also possible to hypothesize that wares made in Zarand were marketed as Kirman, and so the bulk of "Kirman" wares referred to in the sources may actually be Zarand products. This hypothesis is prompted by the fact that the recent Maybud pottery was often marketed as products of Yazd, the nearby large city, which is 60 km to the southeast.[5] Alternatively it is possible that if the Zarand products were as fine as Chardin says they were, they may also have been rare and perhaps insignificant in the archaeological record. After Kirman (or Kirman/Zarand), Mashhad seems to have been the centre next in importance, followed by Shiraz, Yazd, and probably Isfahan.

Petrography Methodology

Petrographic analysis entails taking a sample and then grinding one side optically flat. This surface is then fixed to a glass slide and the rest of the sample is ground down so that a section 0.03 mm thick remains.[6] This is a "thin-section," which is thin enough so that most materials are transparent. The thin section is then observed through a microscope fitted with polarizing filters and other optical aids that enable identification of the mineralogy of the rocks and minerals included in the sample. Other observations can be made on the texture and relationships of the inclusions, the degree of roundness or angularity of the grains, the degree of sorting, and the variation in grain sizes.

All pottery in this study has a stonepaste body, a ceramic body developed in the Islamic world.[7] Stonepaste is a translation of the word for the material used by the only potters currently making this type of ceramic body (*shikar-sang*).[8] As noted above, stonepaste comprises 8–10 parts crushed quartz, one part of a crushed glass, and one part of a fine white clay.

Given that quartz is the primary intended ingredient, the properties of this mineral are particularly significant in the distinction between stonepaste petrofabrics. This abundant mineral is commonly found in nature as either macrocrystalline quartz or microcrystalline/cryptocrystalline varieties. Microcrystalline quartz includes some with granular microstructures (e.g., jasper), and others with fibrous microstructures (e.g., chalcedony, agate, and chert).

Greater differentiation between different varieties of quartz has not been common practice among ceramic petrographers, although sedimentologists have recognized certain major divisions,[9] including poly-crystalline quartz grains, which may be fragments of metamorphosed sandstones (quartzite), or may have recrystallized after metamorphic stress (e.g., mylonite). Generally, assumption of genetic origin is avoided in the present study unless the evidence is obvious, and poly-crystalline grains will be described as having equant crystals (quartzite, gneiss) or elongate crystals (schist). Another internal feature of the quartz grains that has been recognized and found to be useful, is the cloudiness arising from the presence of fluid inclusions. The degree of cloudiness due to the presence of fine fluid inclusions is given a four-fold division, from optically clear, through slightly cloudy, to cloudy, and finally very cloudy. This is difficult to represent graphically, or even photographically, but the following criteria enable the author to distinguish between the different groups. It must be emphasized that the

5 Centlivres-Demont 1971.

6 Mason 2004, fig. 2.3.

7 Mason and Tite 1994.

8 See our remarks about the potters of Shahreza in Iran (Chapter Four); Wulff 1966. The term is not to be confused with "stoneware" (a highly fired ceramic) or "fritware" (as it is not composed of frit, crushed glass).

9 Folk 1980:69–81.

ultimate point here is to provide this information to petrographers who are attempting to analyse stonepastes, and may already have thin-sections for comparison.

Clear quartz is completely and entirely devoid of any fluid inclusions whatsoever. Slightly cloudy or sub-cloudy quartz will still tend to have some areas clear with a small area of cloudiness, perhaps caused by a single trail or group of inclusions. Cloudy quartz is evenly cloudy, with all parts of the grain covered by fluid inclusions. The distinction between cloudy and very cloudy is the most problematic. Effectively, very cloudy quartz has such large amounts of inclusions that they interfere with the optical properties of the quartz. The relative abundance of each group is estimated as with other minerals. Table 5.1 shows the relative amounts for each petrofabric, ranging from the predominantly clear petrofabrics, including those attributed to Mashhad and Damascus, down to the cloudy petrofabrics. An important consideration is the degree of magnification. Theoretically, the higher the magnification, the larger the number of fluid inclusions that would be visible. All the data in Table 5.1 were obtained at 100x. It should be recognized that the grain size may have an effect on the degree of cloudiness. For instance, a large sub-cloudy grain could be broken down into a clear grain and a sub-cloudy or cloudy grain.

Although not tabulated, another important characteristic of quartz is its extinction under crossed-polars.[10] As the crystalline structure of the quartz grain is oriented so that the light is propagated in the same direction as that of the polars, the light should become extinguished. However, under certain circumstances the crystal structure becomes strained, and the "extinction" (the light becomes extinguished) appears undulose. In this study the phenomenon is divided into straight extinction, undulose extinction, and strongly undulose extinction. The distinction between undulose and strongly undulose is here considered to be that strongly undulose grains may contain the full range of extinction within a single grain.

Another characteristic noticed in the quartz incorporated into this material is described as "sheared" quartz in Table 5.1. In cross-polarized light (XPL) this appears as isotropic bands running across the grain. In plane-polarized light (PPL) these bands are often a faint green colour (actually an optical effect), and adjustment of magnification indicates that one edge of the band is on the top surface of the section while the other edge is on the bottom surface, effectively indicating a narrow "crack" rather than a broad band. However, a simple crack would not produce the phenomenon noted in XPL. Rarely, the "sheared" band is optically discontinuous, and forms classic mylonite mosaics, which are a clear indication of stress. Examination of the literature has not been conclusive,[11] but whatever its origin, the presence of this characteristic is consistently related to provenance, and not to any other variable, so it would seem to be an important feature to record.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the total amount of quartz given in the cloudiness columns is equal to the total of crystalline quartz. The percentages given for other characteristics (e.g., polycrystalline, "sheared") are generally included under the clear to very cloudy sequence. The "sheared" phenomenon is the one case in which it may be possible to have some quartz not also included under the "degree of cloudiness" columns in Table 5.1, as, although most grains just have a band of the "sheared" appearance, some grains are entirely constituted of "sheared" quartz.

Apart from quartz, other minerals and rock fragments also occur in stonepastes, providing further evidence for characterization. Only a restricted reporting of the diversity of inclusions found in stonepaste ceramics is provided in Table 5.1, but the full petrographic descriptions provided below will include all inclusions found in those petrofabrics. For fuller descriptions of the

10 Folk 1980:65–76.

11 Mason 1995.

petrofabrics in Table 5.1, consult the references cited in the Table.

Comparison charts are used to estimate mineral abundance,[12] degree of sorting,[13] and roundness.[14] Re-analysis is done periodically and precision is found to be well within the variability found for each petrofabric.

The Safavid Petrofabrics and Centres of Production

The main groups of petrofabrics identified are described below.[15] The precise location of the workshops from which they came is known only in two cases, Nishapur and Mashhad (Mashhad I petrofabric). However, other sources of evidence, such as distribution, findspots (in the case of Kirman), and ethnographic evidence (Isfahan/Qumisheh) strongly suggest the location of some workshops. In these cases we have used the name of the likely site in association with the relevant petrofabric group. For example, while we do not know where in the Tabriz region the sixteenth-century workshop was located, we will refer to this group simply as "Tabriz petrofabric."

Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Petrofabrics

Mashhad I Petrofabric (Fifteenth Century)

Thirteen samples of this fifteenth-century petrofabric have been analysed (five from Derbent, one from Kunya Urgench, one from Kubachi, the remainder unknown). Attribution of this petrofabric is based upon inclusion of two objects with inscriptions saying they were made in Mashhad. This petrofabric seems not to occur in pottery of the sixteenth-century at all. It is included in this discussion because it reappears in the seventeenth century (see below).[16]

The petrographic description is of a stonepaste body comprising angular predominantly quartz grains fused together by filamentous glass. The body comprises more than sixty percent quartz, including about 60% clear, 2–8% slightly cloudy, up to trace cloudy quartz; it has straight extinctions, well-sorted medium silt, and a maximum grainsize diameter of 0.30 mm.[17] The predominance of entirely clear quartz and the lack of any other inclusion sets this apart from most other petrofabrics. It contains a higher proportion of clear quartz than Rayy petrofabric and could be confused only with the products of Damascus, which invariably also contain rounded grains.[18]

Nishapur Petrofabric (Fifteenth – Sixteenth Centuries)

Forty-four samples of this petrofabric have been analysed (seven from Nishapur, two from Kunya Urgench, six from Sistan, two from Derbent, one from Samarqand, the remainder from unknown findspots). The Nishapur petrofabric is defined by analysis of late fifteenth-century wasters collected by Charles Wilkinson at the site and currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[19] Nishapur was an important production centre during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,[20] but to date no pottery of this period has been made available for analysis. After resumption of production in the 1420s or so, Nishapur was perhaps the pre-eminent centre in Iran until petering out toward the end of the third quarter of

12 Terry and Chillingar 1955.

13 Mason 2004, fig. 2.6, modified from Pettijohn et al. 1987, fig. A-1.

14 Ibid., fig. 2.4, modified from Pettijohn et al. 1987, fig. A-2.

15 The authors would like to thank the following for providing samples: James Allan (Ashmolean Museum), Sheila Canby (British Museum), Yolande Crowe, Gusein Dibirov, Renata Holod (University Museum, Philadelphia), Ed Keall (Royal Ontario Museum), Jamal Mirza-Ahmedov (Samarqand Archaeological Institute), and Michael Roaf.

16 GMB 1996:37.

17 Micrograph in GMB 1996, fig. 3.4.

18 Mason 2004, app. B.

19 GMB 1996.

20 Wilkinson 1973.

TABLE 5.1. *Data ranges for stonepaste ceramic groups in order of quartz clarity.*

Petrofabric Bibliographic references in ( ), see below	Date (century) CE	Number of samples	Quartz						
			Cloudiness (= 100% of total quartz)						
			Clear	Slightly cloudy	Cloudy	Very cloudy	Polycrys-talline	Sheared	Chert
Ottoman (1)	16th	6	60–65	10–15	0–2	0	tr–1	0–tr	0
Mashhad (1),(2)	15th	13	60	2–8	0–tr	0	0–tr	0–tr	0
Damascus (2)	12th–17th	57	40–50	1–7	0–1	0–tr	0–tr	0–1	0–tr
Mashhad I	17th	2	30–40	8–10	1–3	0	0	0	0
Mashhad II	17th–18th	19	30–40	5–10	0–5	0–1	0	0	0
Fustat Mamluk (2)	14th	10	40	10–20	0–6	0–1	tr–2	5–12	1–2
Fustat Fatimid (2)	11th–12th	11	5–35	15–40	1–10	0–2	0–3	0–2	0–tr
Mashhad (?) III	17th	8	20–30	15–25	2–10	0–1	0–1	0–tr	0
"Raqqa–1" (2)	12th	4	20–25	10–15	3–5	0–tr	0–2	20–25	0
Rayy (2)	12th	2	25–40	15–25	2–10	0–2	2–5	0–1	0
Ma'arrat (2)	12th	25	3–15	15–20	1–15	0–8	tr–2	2–15	0–1
"Rayy 3" (2)	12th–13th	9	5–20	15–30	5–15	0–5	0–tr	0–2	0
Kirman	17th	60	5–15	25–35	3–20	0–5	0–2	0	0
Zahidan (1)	14th	7	8–12	10	5–8	1–2	10–12	15–20	0–tr
Indian Ocean (1)	15th	10	5–10	2–4	1–2	1–2	20–30	5–10	5–11
"Swamp" (1)	15th	2	5–8	4–6	2–3	tr–2	1–2	30	0–tr
Kashan (2)	12th–14th	55	1–5	2–8	tr–5	0–2	0–2	0–1	45–50
Tabriz (1)	15th–16th	20	3–10	tr–12	0–5	0–1	0–1	0–2	0–2
Samarqand (1),(2)	15th	34	10–25	10–25	1–10	0–5	0–3	1–20	0–4
Nishapur (1),(2)	15th–16th	44	10–20	20–40	2–10	0–5	1–4	0–3	tr–4
Tell Minis (2)	11th–12th	4	2–15	20–25	10–20	1–10	tr–1	tr–1	tr–5
Maybud (1),(2)	20th	1	5	10	20	10	1	10	3
Raqqa–2 (2)	12th	18	2–8	10–20	10–20	3–10	tr–4	tr–10	0–tr
Dragon (1)	15th	23	1–4	10–15	20–25	5–12	tr–2	2–10	4–6
Isfahan	16th–17th	17	0–5	5–15	20–40	5–15	1–20	0–3	0–tr

Column headings: Petrofabric is as defined in text or in (1) Mason, GMB 1996, (2) Mason 2004. Date is in AD or Common Era (CE). Number of samples may not include some recent analyses. Numbers underneath each inclusion represent percentage of total petrofabric body (tr = trace amount, or less than 1%). Total of quartz in cloudiness columns equals total of quartz in body (other than cryptocrystalline varieties), of which some is poly-crystalline and/or "sheared" (for which see Mason, GMB 1996). Chert refers to any variety of cryptocrystalline quartz. Only a selection of more common inclusions other than quartz is included; for full descriptions see text. Grainsize data include the mode or most commonly occurring grain size, the maximum or largest grain diameter, and the average diameter of the rounded grain population.

Non–quartz inclusions				Grain size (diam. in mm)		
Feldspar	**Amphibole**	**Carbonate**	**Volcanic**	**Mode**	**Maximum**	**Rounded**
0	0	0	0	0.01	0.4	–
0	0	0	0	0.02	0.3	–
0–tr	0	0	0	0.04	0.4	.30
0–tr	0	0	0	0.02	0.1	
0	0	0	2–10	0.03	0.2	–
tr–2	0	1–3	0	0.05	0.9	0.9
tr–1	0	0–1	0	0.02	0.6	–
tr–1	0	0	tr–4	0.04	0.3	–
0	0	0	0	0.02	0.6	–
0–tr	0–tr	0–1	0	0.04	0.7	0.7
1–3	0	0	0	0.04	0.6	–
0–1	0	0	0	0.01	0.1	–
tr–3	0	0	tr–5	0.05	0.4	–
0–tr	0	0	0	0.04	0.7	–
0–1	0	0	0	0.04	0.5	–
2	tr	0	0	0.01	0.3	–
0–2	0–2	0	0	0.04	0.4	–
tr–3	0–1	0	5–30	0.04	0.4	.4
1–2	0–2	0	0–tr	0.02/0.04	0.5	.50
tr–4	0–1	0	0	0.01/0.02	0.4	–
0–tr	0	0	0	0.01	0.2	–
2	–	–	–	0.04	0.5	–
0–tr	0	0	0	0.02	0.3	–
0–tr	0	0	0–tr	0.04	0.4	–
0–2	0	0	0–2	0.05	0.5	–

sixteenth-century. Evidence for Safavid production at Nishapur is confirmed by the inscription on a blue-and-white dish dated 1522–23 (TOK.01).[21]

The petrographic description is of a stonepaste body comprising angular predominantly quartz grains fused together by filamentous glass. The body includes about fifty percent quartz, which comprises 10–20% clear, 20–40% slightly cloudy, 2–10% cloudy, 0–5% very cloudy quartz; includes 1–4% poly-crystalline and 0–3% "sheared" quartz; and has strongly undulose or straight extinction. Other inclusions comprise trace to 2% clear untwinned feldspar, trace to 1% clear plagioclase with sharp twin boundaries and zoning, up to trace clear microcline, and up to 4% volcanics.[22] There are two grainsize profiles, the numerically predominant one of medium silt, and a less common variant with fine silt-grade inclusions; both have a maximum diameter of 0.4 mm. The closest to this petrofabric is the fifteenth-century Samarqand petrofabric, but the Nishapur petrofabric is generally cloudier, with a distinctly higher population of polycrystalline quartz and generally less "sheared" quartz. Further, the Samarqand pottery generally contains sub-rounded grains among the largest grain sizes (about 0.5 mm diameter) and the feldspar is commonly cloudy, whereas the Nishapur pottery lacks rounded grains and the feldspars are generally clear and include microcline and zoned plagioclase.

Tabriz Petrofabric (Fifteenth – Sixteenth Centuries)

Locally collected samples for this group comprise four clay-bodied tiles, three ceramic fragments from Tabriz, and three fragments from Derbent. The remainder of samples were taken from a large number of fragments in the Hermitage mostly acquired in Kubachi.[23] This petrofabric was first attributed to Tabriz on the basis of the overwhelming dominance within it of felsic volcanic rocks and the scarcity of quartz, indicating an area so totally overwhelmed by felsic volcanics that there was no source of quartz for a considerable distance. Within the eastern Islamic world technically and artistically capable of producing this material (i.e., Syria, Turkey, Caucasus, Iran, Central Asia), the only region fitting this geological model is the area of Tabriz. To support this attribution, material from Tabriz was obtained, including tiles from the Blue Mosque (1465) and one from the Ilkhanid Shanb-i Ghazan (early fourteenth century). Although these are all clay-bodied, they contain essentially the same raw materials as the stonepaste Tabriz petrofabric. Production at Tabriz appears to have started in the 1460s or 1470s, and ended late in the sixteenth century.

The Tabriz petrofabric comprises rounded sand with grain diameter of about 0.3–0.4 mm, which in turn consists mostly of sub-cloudy and clear quartz, with up to 50% of felsic volcanics and associated feldspars. The cloudiness of the quartz is due to strings of visible fluid inclusions, and may also indicate a volcanic origin. As previously mentioned, Tabriz is in a region entirely dominated by felsic volcanics and volcano-sedimentary rocks (volcanic rocks reworked into sediments). The stonepaste Tabriz petrofabric is highly unusual, having a very low quartz content, and cannot be confused with any other.

Isfahan (Qumisheh[24]) Petrofabric (Sixteenth Century)

This petrofabric is discussed below within the seventeenth-century groups because no vessels from the sixteenth century with this petrofabric have been sampled. However, a blue-and-white tile dated 939/1532, made for a mosque, according to its inscription was produced in Qumisheh (Fig. 4.2, ZZZ.431).[25] The workshop continued to produce blue-and-white tiles (mostly grave markers) throughout the sixteenth century and continuing

21 Golombek and Mason 1995.

22 Micrograph, see GMB 1996, fig. 3.8.

23 GMB 1996, Table 3.8.

24 Qumisheh was re-named Shahreza in the early twentieth century, although "Qumisheh" remained in use.

25 Discussed in Chapter Four.

into the seventeenth century. Production of vessels by this workshop carried on throughout the seventeenth century although the quality of the workmanship was poor (see below).

Qazvin Petrofabric (Sixteenth Century): Table 5.5; Fig. 5.7

This petrofabric is defined by analysis of five tiles from Qazvin in the collection of Dr. Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser, which are postulated to have been locally produced. The tiles are of two types, one of which is stylistically datable to c. 1570 (Fig. 5.7, QAZ.13). The others will be mentioned under seventeenth-century production centres. The petrofabric comprises predominantly slightly cloudy quartz (2–5% clear, 10–25% slightly cloudy, 8–20% cloudy and 1–10% very cloudy) of undulose extinction; with trace to 1% felsic volcanic rock, up to 2% feldspar and clinopyroxene; and it collectively has a mode of 0.05 and a maximum grainsize of 1 mm. This is quite a coarse fabric, but that may be because the samples are all tiles. Apart from the grain size, the general description is quite similar to a number of stonepaste petrofabrics, although the only one from Iran is a single sample of the recent production at Maybud, near Yazd, which lacks anything that might be even confused with the felsic volcanics of this petrofabric.

Seventeenth-Century Petrofabrics

Initial analysis of available seventeenth-century wares identified four distinct petrographically defined fabric groups (petrofabrics), which were ordered by quartz cloudiness into Safavid Groups One to Four. The geographical distribution of the pieces with known findspot suggested that Group Three should with certainty be considered to be from Kirman (overwhelmingly dominant in pottery from Kirman region, and the only petrofabric found in seventeenth-century Safavid wares collected from trade sites in Bahrain, Yemen, etc.). Group One was probably Mashhad (distribution predominance in northeast Iran), while Groups Two and Four had no obvious association. Attributions found in the work of Lane and others could not be substantiated and were therefore put aside. Only attributions arising from collection sites, such as Lane may have been privy to through the material sent back to Iran by Sir Robert Murdoch Smith for the nascent Victoria and Albert Museum, were considered.[26] Art-historical evidence has also aided in attribution. It was hypothesized that Safavid petrofabric Group Four could be associated with Isfahan, due to the apparent influence of the figural style of Isfahan painter Riza Abbasi on sampled tiles with polychrome slip-painting.

Subsequent analysis of Safavid seventeenth-century ceramics involved field reconnaissance intended to obtain physical evidence of manufacture. Evidence of production was recovered in both the Kirman and the Isfahan areas, confirming attribution of Groups Three and Four to those sites, respectively. Pursuit of specific samples enabled the definition of a fifth petrofabric found in seventeenth-century Safavid ceramics, which was labelled "Group Five," although it was not in the sequence determined by quartz cloudiness. This last group, in fact, was sufficiently identical to the fifteenth-century Mashhad petrofabric to be accredited with production at the site. In all, at least six stonepaste petrofabrics from the seventeenth-century have been identified: Kirman, Mashhad I (formerly Group Five), Mashhad II (formerly Group One), Mashhad (?) III (formerly Group Two), Isfahan (Qumisheh/Shahreza), and Qazvin.[27]

For comparative purposes, the principal data for the Safavid wares has been tabulated along with other major stonepaste petrofabric groups (see Table 5.1), grainsize-distribution histograms in Figures 5.29–5.34, and images of representative samples in Figures 5.2–5.28. A map indicates sites from which samples were collected (Fig. 5.1), and a

26 See Introduction for a discussion of the work of Murdoch Smith; Scarce 1973.

27 Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001: 209.

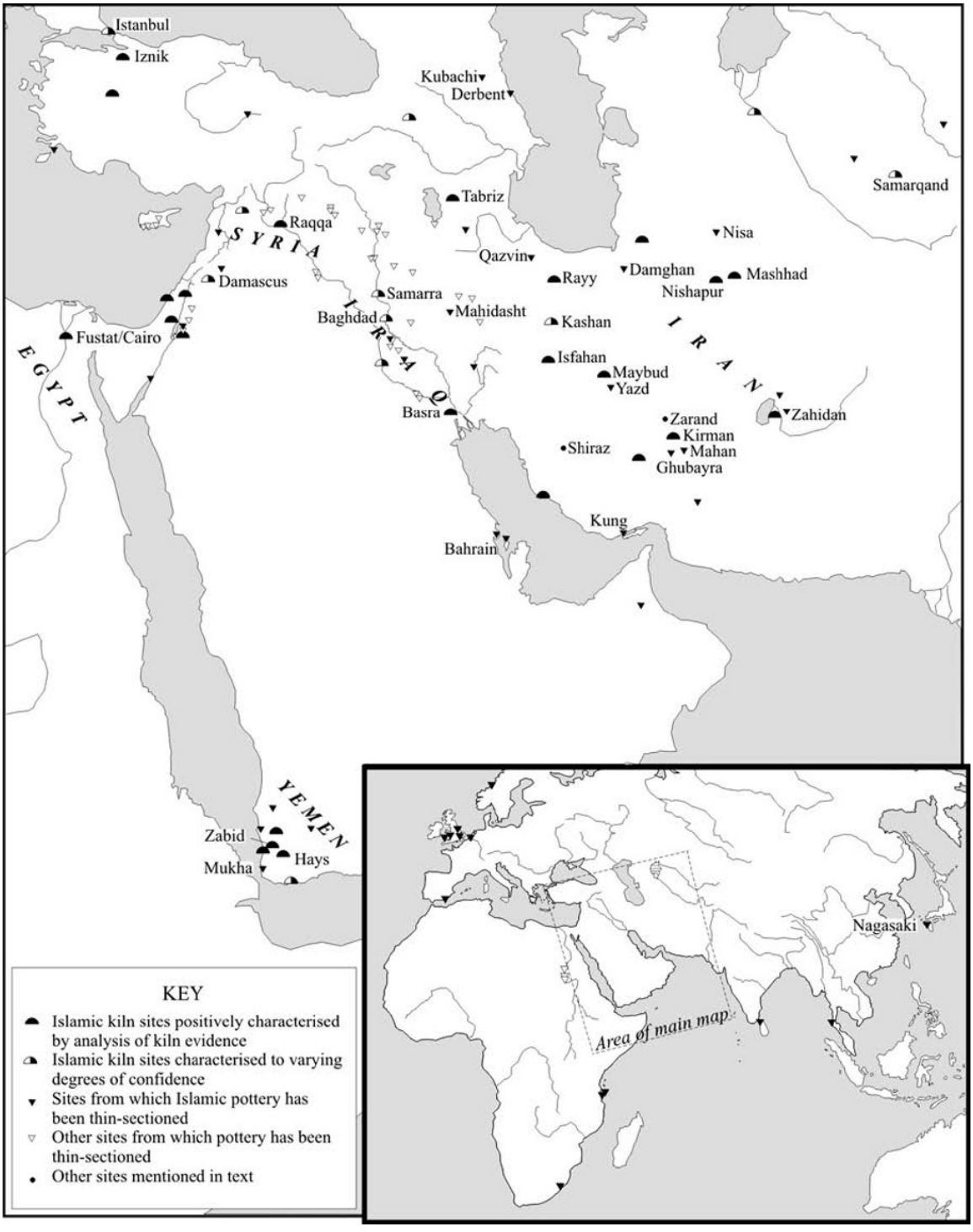


FIG. 5.1. *Map of Iran showing sites relevant to petrography of Islamic ceramics.*

FIG. 5.2. *MMA.71, Mashhad II petrofabric sample from Nishapur, Iran.*

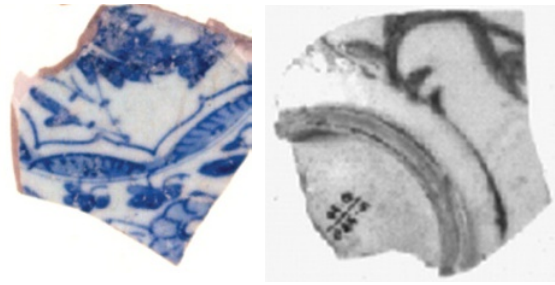


FIG. 5.5. *DER.19, Mashhad II petrofabric sample from Derbent, Daghestan.*

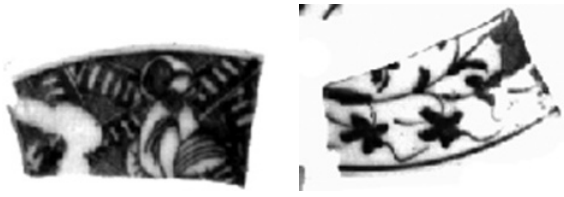


FIG. 5.6. *DER.20, Mashhad II petrofabric sample from Derbent, Daghestan.*

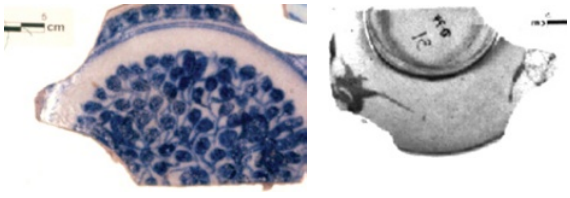


FIG. 5.3. *DER.04, Mashhad II petrofabric sample from Derbent, Daghestan.*

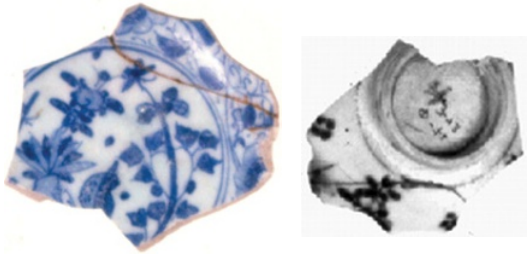


FIG. 5.4. *DER.09, Mashhad II petrofabric sample from Derbent, Daghestan.*

FIG. 5.7. *QAZ.13, tile with angel, Qazvin petrofabric sample from Qazvin, Iran.*

FIG. 5.8. ROM.92G, *Kirman petrofabric sample from Ghubayra excavations.*

FIG. 5.9. *YMN.02, Kirman petrofabric sample from Mokha, Tihama Survey, Yemen.*

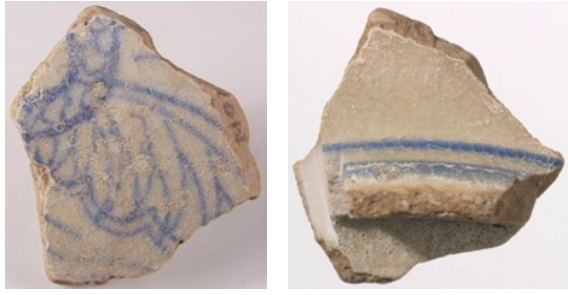


FIG. 5.10. *YMN.01, Kirman petrofabric sample from Wadi Sanha, Tihama Survey, Yemen.*

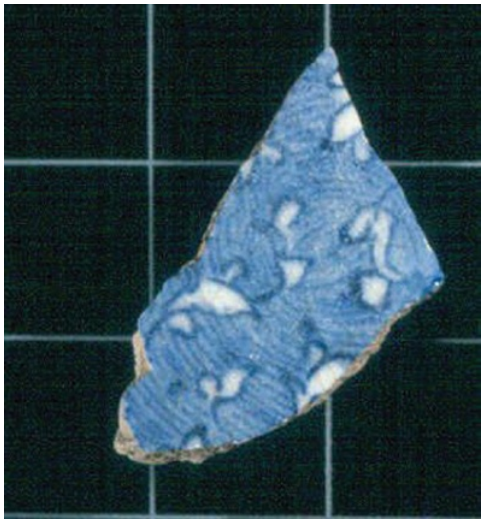


FIG. 5.11. *YMN.03, Kirman petrofabric sample from Wadi Sanha, Tihama Survey, Yemen.*

FIG. 5.12. *V&A.248, tile fragment, polychrome slip-painted, Isfahan petrofabric.*

FIG. 5.13. *V&A.249, hexagonal tile, polychrome slip-painted, Isfahan petrofabric.*

FIG. 5.14. *KIR.500, waster found in Kirman, Kirman petrofabric.*

FIG. 5.15. *KIR.352, clay trivet from Kirman.*

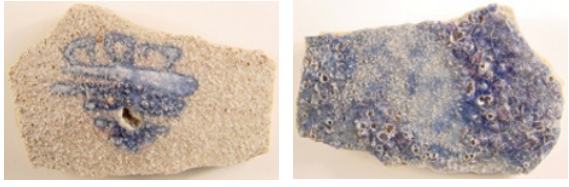


FIG. 5.16. *KIR.509, monochrome, slip-painted base, with tassel-mark, possibly a waster, Kirman petrofabric, from Kirman.*

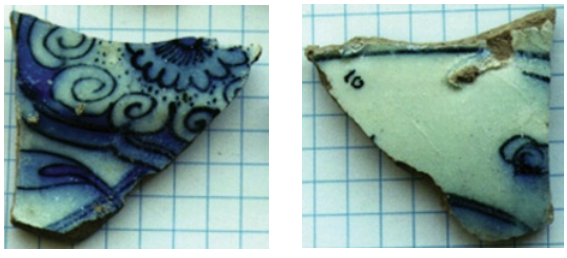


FIG. 5.17. *KIR.10, underglaze-painted sherd from Kirman, Kirman petrofabric.*

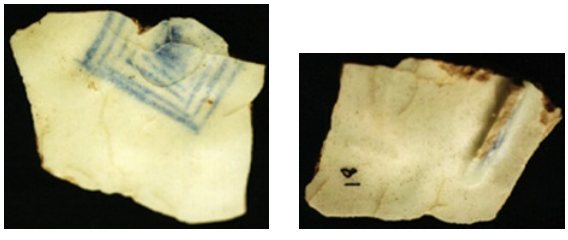


FIG. 5.18. *KIR.18, base with blue seal-mark, a "second" or a waster from Kirman, Kirman petrofabric.*

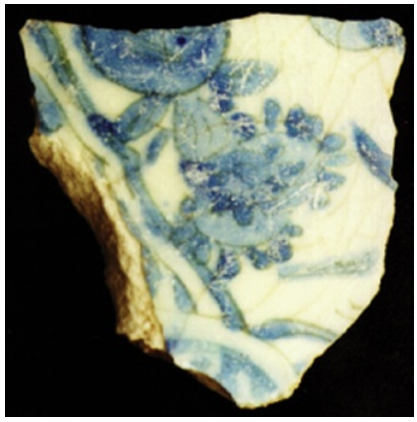


FIG. 5.19. *KIR.60, underglaze-painted base sherd from Kirman, Kirman petrofabric.*

FIG. 5.20. *KIR.80, underglaze-painted base sherd from Kirman, Kirman petrofabric.*

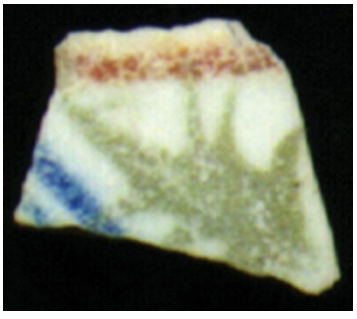


FIG. 5.21. *KIR.31, unsampled "Kirman-style" blue-and-white/polychrome ware, from Kirman.*

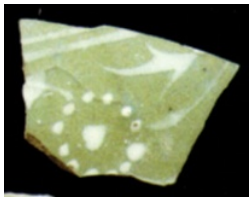
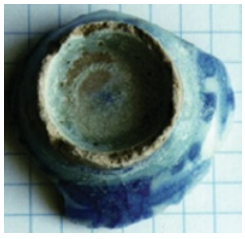


FIG. 5.22. *KIR.27, unsampled monochrome slip-painted ware, from Kirman.*

FIG. 5.23. *KIR.270, tile fragment, Kirman clay petrofabric, from Kirman.*



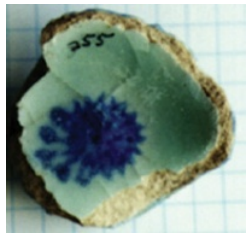


FIG. 5.24. *KIR.355, coffee cup base with blue character mark, Kirman petrofabric, from Kirman.*

FIG. 5.25. *KIR.75, black-line sherd with Isfahan petrofabric, from Kirman.*

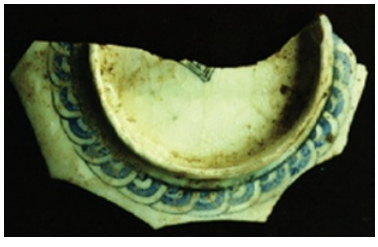


FIG. 5.26. *KIR.36, black-line base of dish with black seal-mark, Mashhad II petrofabric, from Kirman.*

FIG. 5.27. *QAZ.03, tile, polychrome slip-painted, Qazvin petrofabric from Qazvin.*

FIG. 5.28. *QAZ.05, tile, polychrome slip-painted, Qazvin petrofabric from Qazvin.*

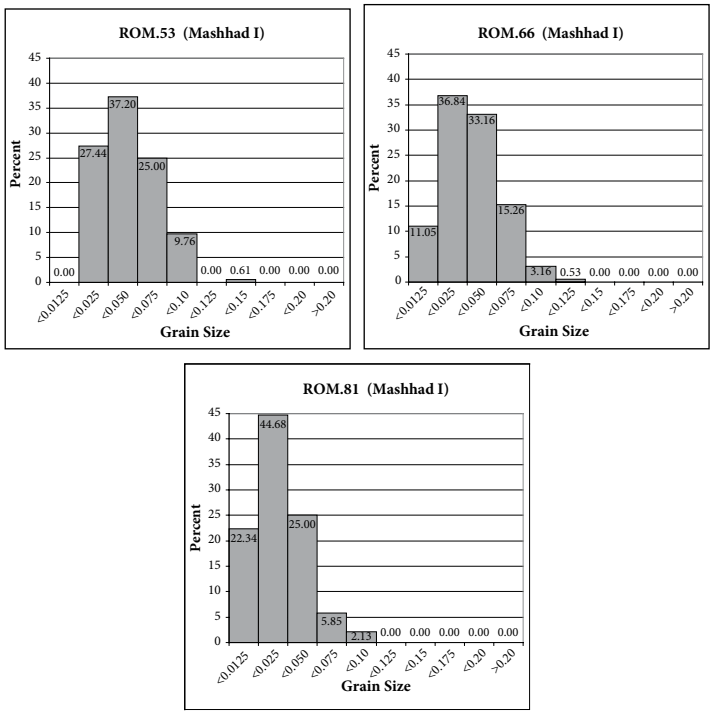


FIG. 5.29. *Histogram: Mashhad I Petrofabric.*

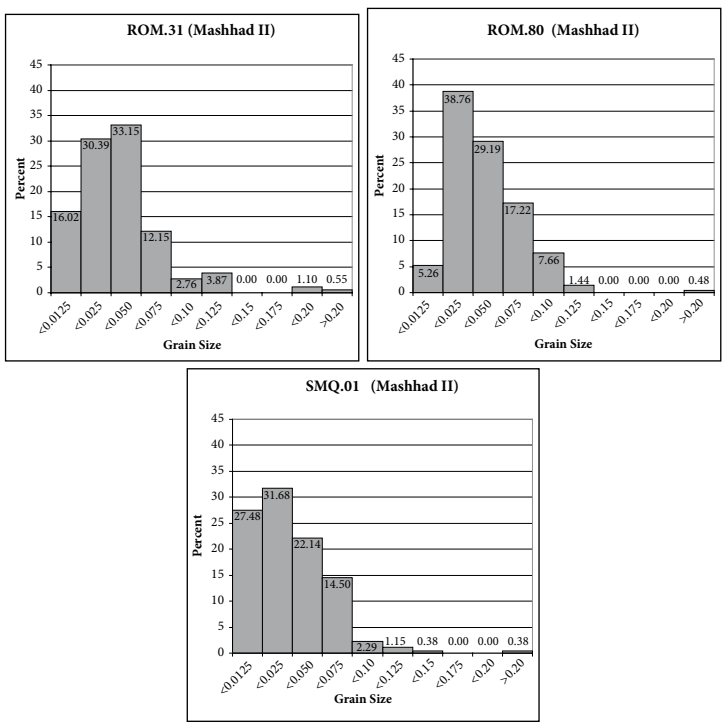


FIG. 5.30. *Histogram: Mashhad II Petrofabric.*

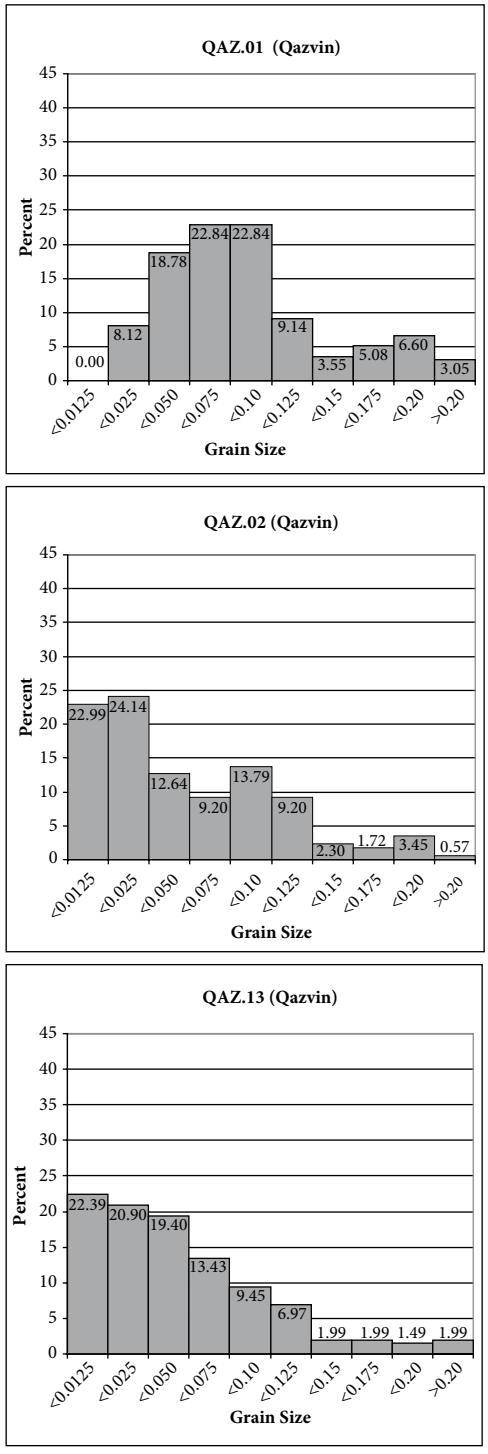


FIG. 5.31. *Histogram: Qazvin Petrofabric.*

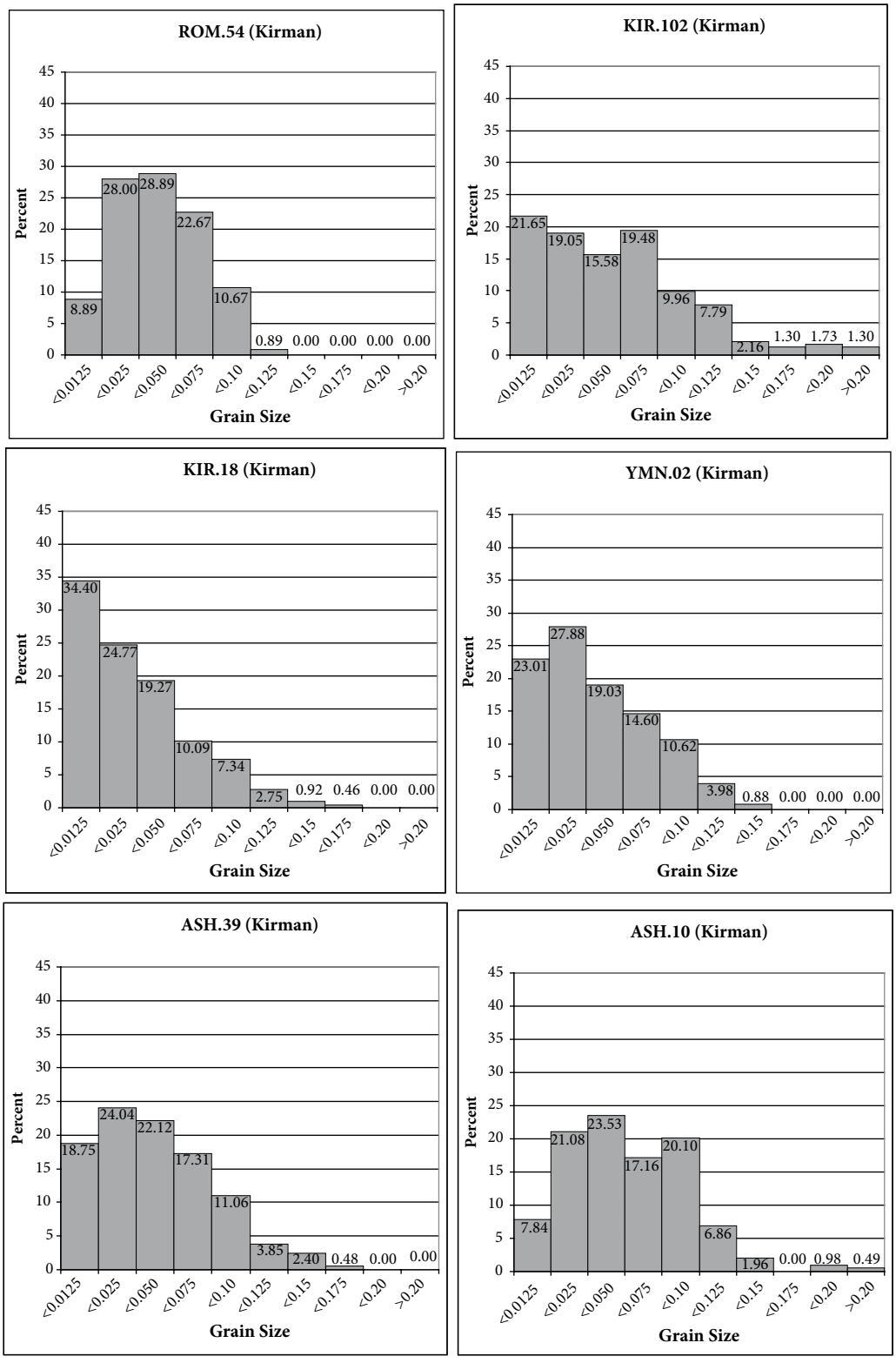


FIG. 5.32. *Histogram: Kirman Petrofabric* (part 1).

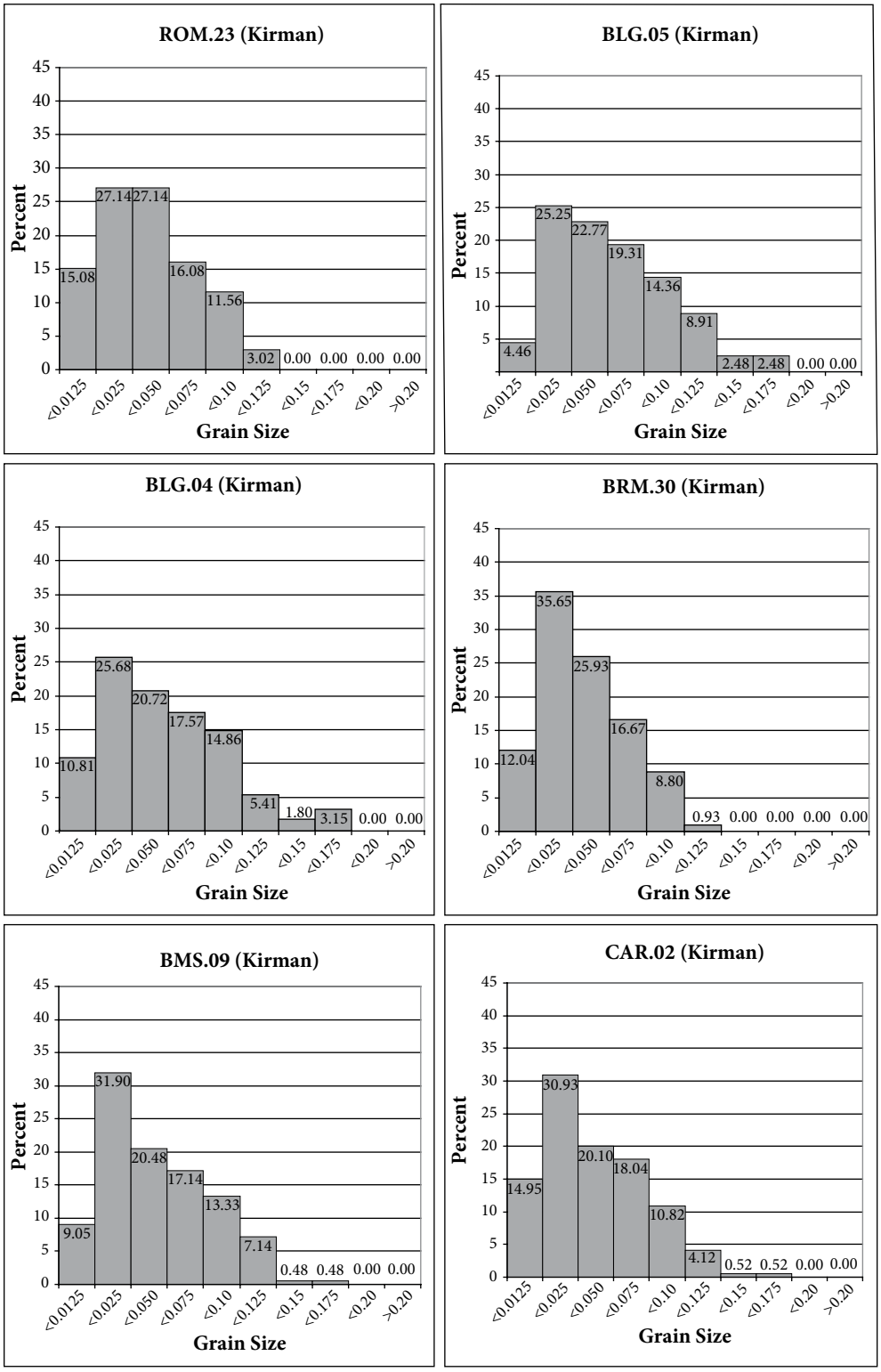


FIG. 5.33. *Histogram: Kirman Petrofabric* (part 2).

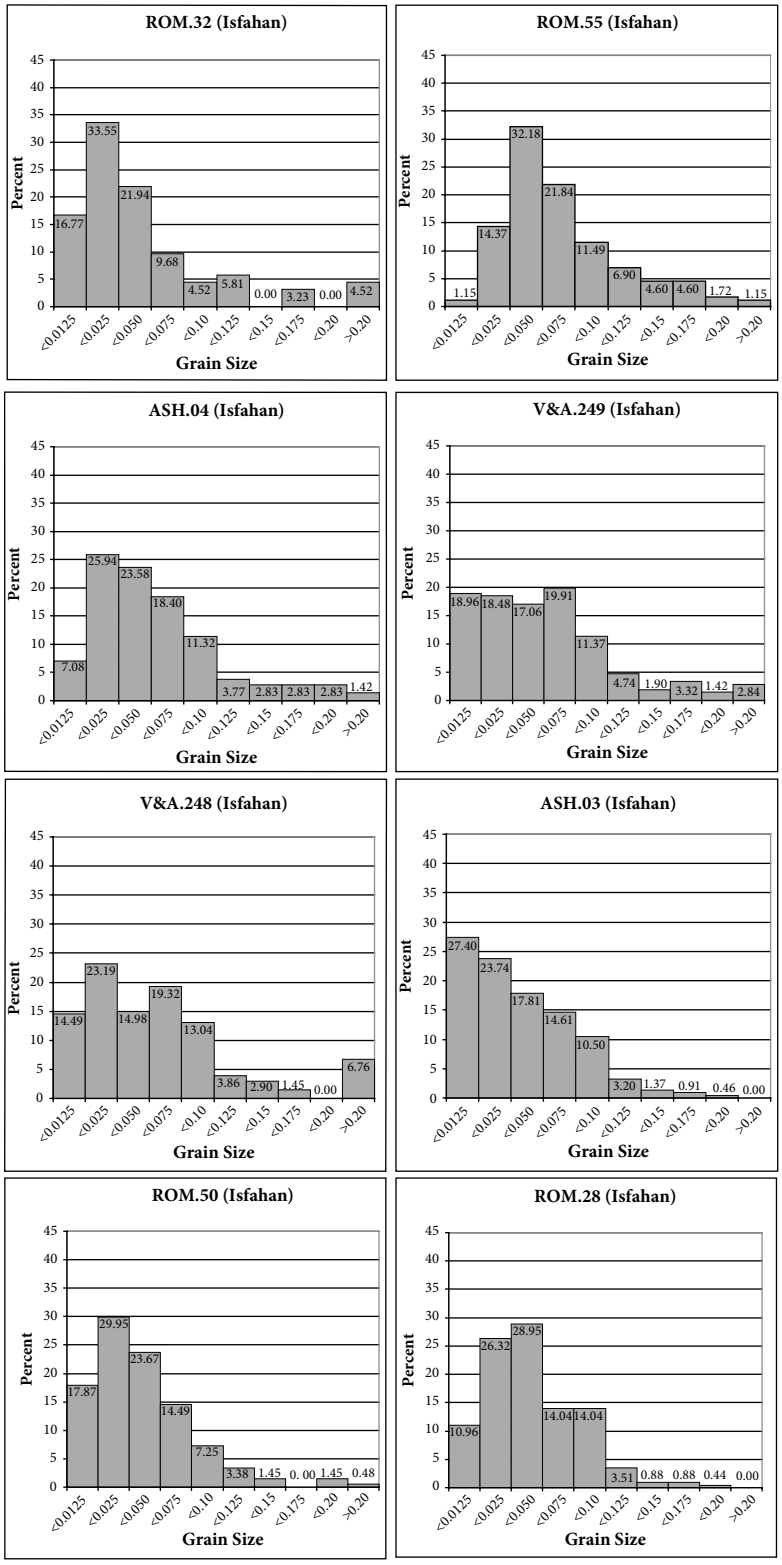


FIG. 5.34. *Histogram: Isfahan Petrofabric.*

series of photomicrographs provide some idea of what the petrographer sees in a slide.

Mashhad I Petrofabric: Table 5.2; Fig. 5.29; Cat. no. 11/ ROM.81

This group comprises predominantly clear quartz (30–40%) with some slightly cloudy (8–10%) and some occasional cloudy quartz (1–3%); it has mostly straight but some undulose extinctions, up to trace amounts clear untwinned feldspars (most probably orthoclase), and very well sorted angular grains with a mean diameter of 0.02 mm and a maximum of 0.1 mm—essentially identical to the petrofabric defined for the fifteenth-century production (see above). Like Safavid Petrofabric Mashhad II, the grainsize distribution histograms are of consistently fine fabrics (Fig. 5.29).

Production at Mashhad seems to have stopped by 1500 and started again in the early seventeenth century. The earliest actual evidence of renewed production comes not from this petrographic group, which has its roots in the fifteenth century, but from another quartz source (Mashhad II, see below). It is the blue-and-white water pot dated to 1025/1616–17 (Fig. 2.32, BRM.08). Evidence for the continuation of the use of the Timurid source (Mashhad I) comes a decade later in a canteen dated to 1036/1626–27 (Fig. 2.33, BRM.09). One would have thought that the source of quartz used by the Timurid potters in the fifteenth century would be the earlier source for the seventeenth-century potters but the dates on these two vessels indicate that a new source, as well as the earlier one, were in use simultaneously. Thus, we cannot hypothesize that the new source should be explained as a substitution for the exhausted original source. Perhaps access to the first source was limited to a particular group of potters, and others had to find their own source of quartz. It might be speculated that there had been some production at Mashhad in the intervening century, with a

TABLE 5.2. *Mashhad I petrofabric.*

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non-quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
ASH.22	20	20	10	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	–	un	w	an	0.03	0.2
ARD.06	40	2	–	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	–	un	w	an	0.05	0.4
ARD.11	40	10	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	w	an	0.03	0.1
DER.06	25	20	2	–	0.5	–	0.5	–	–	–	–		w	an	0.05	0.3
ROM.81	40	12	2	0.5	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	stu	vw/w	an	0.03	0.1
ROM.66	40	10	3	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	–	stu	vw	an	0.02	0.1
ROM.53	40	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	w	an	0.02	0.1
ASH.21	25	10	5	0.5	1.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	–	un	vw	an	0.03	0.1
ASH.20	25	10	2	–	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	w	an	0.03	0.1
KIR.210	30	6	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		w	an	0.05	0.8

Note: Abbreviations for all Tables of Safavid petrofabrics: Quartz cloudiness: CL = clear quartz, SC = slightly cloudy quartz, CY = cloudy quartz, VC = very cloudy quartz; PXQ = poly-crystalline quartz; Non-quartz inclusions: Fsp = total feldspars, Cpx = clinopyroxenes, Amp = amphibole (typically hornblende), CaCO = carbonates, FV = felsic volcanic rock; Texture: QX = quartz extinction (strt = straight, un or u = undulose, slu = slightly undulose, stu = strongly undulose), Srtd = sortedness (w = well, vw = very well, m or mod = moderately, p = poorly), Rnd = roundedness (an = angular, sr = slightly rounded); Grain size: Mode = most commonly occurring grain size (F = fine < 0.0125, C = coarse < 0.025, VC = very coarse < 0.050), Max = maximum typical grain size.

production insufficient to make an impact on the archaeological record.[28]

Mashhad II Petrofabric: Table 5.3; Figs. 5.2–5.6, 5.26, 5.30

This group comprises predominantly clear quartz (30–40%) with some slightly cloudy (5–10%); it has mostly straight but some undulose extinctions, contains 2–10% of a felsic to intermediate volcanic rock of a cherty texture with cloudy feldspar phenocrysts, and has well-sorted angular grains with a mode of 0.03 mm and a maximum grain diameter of 0.2 mm. The abundance of felsic volcanic inclusions makes this petrofabric easily distinguished from other petrofabrics with this range of quartz cloudiness. It is a consistently fine fabric, differing from the more variable Kirman petrofabric and the consistently coarser Isfahan petrofabric.

This group comprises 21 samples and includes all sampled Safavid-period lustre-painted wares and a number of blue-and-white samples. Archaeological samples indicate that this group represents the predominant centre of origin for

TABLE 5.3. *Mashhad II petrofabric.*

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non-quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
ROM.31	35	20	3	0.5	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
KIR.295	40	10	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.02	0.1
ROM.80	35	10	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
DER.02	45	10	2	0.5	0.5	6	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
DER.09	50	5	1	–	–	12	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
DER.04	40	10	0.5	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
DER.19	50	10	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
ROM.07	30	20	5	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
DER.15	40	10	0.5	0.5	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
MDT.04	35	10	2	1.0	–	12	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
NSA.03	30	5	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.2
NSA.01	30	10	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.3
MDT.05	35	10	1	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.2
MDT.06	35	10	2	0.5	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
NSA.04	35	5	–	–	–	2	0.5	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.2
NSA.06	30	10	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.3
MDT.13	30	15	1	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.05	0.3
MMA.71	45	15	2	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
DER.20	45	8	1	0.5	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
SMQ.01	45	10	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1
DER.16	45	10	1	–	–	12	–	–	–	–	–	strt	well	an	0.03	0.1

28 Compare with the almost negligible production at Kashan between the initial Mongol invasions in 1221 and the solidification of the Il Khanid rule in the 1260s (Mason 2004:128–29 and 165).

sherds from sites in the northeast and along the main east–west land trade routes. Given the importance of this petrofabric and the documentary evidence of the importance of Mashhad, it is the most likely hypothesis that this is the predominant petrofabric for the seventeenth-century production at Mashhad. Given that it is a stonepaste petrofabric primarily made up of clear quartz, which is also true of the other petrofabric that is more reliably attributed to Mashhad (which is Mashhad I), yet with the presumably naturally added inclusion of felsic volcanic rock fragments, it is a petrographically acceptable hypothesis.

Mashhad (?) III Petrofabric: Table 5.4

This group comprises predominantly clear quartz (20–30%) with some slightly cloudy (15–25%) and occasional cloudy quartz (2–10%); it has mostly straight but some undulose extinctions and well-sorted angular grains with a mean diameter of 0.04 mm and a maximum of 0.3 mm. It also contains trace to 4% of a felsic to intermediate volcanic rock of a cherty texture with cloudy feldspar phenocrysts and fine opaques, and up to 1% feldspars. This group assumes a different degree of quartz cloudiness than does the Mashhad II petrofabric, even though it also contains the felsic volcanic and feldspar. The latter distinguishes it from most others with this range of cloudiness, which are mostly from much earlier pottery from Egypt or Syria, except for the Rayy petrofabric which is from near Tehran, but is produced by crushing rounded sand grains which often are found in the section.

Samples predominantly comprise eight fragments from archaeological fieldwork, generally undistinctive blue-and-white wares. The distribution of the finds is thinly dispersed across western and central Iran.

Kirman Petrofabric: Tables 5.6–5.7; Figs. 5.14–5.24, 5.32, 5.33

This group comprises predominantly slightly cloudy quartz (25–35%) with some clear (5–15%) and some cloudy (3–20%); it has mostly undulose but some straight and strongly undulose extinctions, and moderate to well-sorted angular grains with a mean diameter of 0.05 mm and a maximum typically of 0.2 mm but occasionally up to 0.4 mm. It also contains trace to 5% of a felsic to intermediate volcanic rock including a cherty-textured type, another comprising feldspar microlites and opaques, and volcanic glass; trace to 3% feldspars, including cloudy potassic feldspars and clear plagioclase feldspars, both often exhibiting zoning and both often exhibiting alteration of the grain

TABLE 5.4. *Mashhad (?) III petrofabric.*

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non-quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
MDT.12	20	20	10	1.0	–	0.5	1.0	–	–	–	–				0.02	0.3
DER.13	25	25	5	0.5	1	2.0	0.5	–	–	–	0				0.02	0.3
MDT.01	20	15	5	1.0	–	5.0	–	–	–	–	–				0.02	0.3
KIR.41	15	15	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				0.02	0.15
DER.10	30	15	2	0.5	1	3.0	0.5	–	–	–	–				0.02	0.3
PNN.01	25	10	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0			sr	0.02	0.4
CRW.01	30	20	4	0.5	1	1.0	0.5	–	–	–	0.5			sr	0.02	0.3
KIR.244	20	15	2	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5				0.05	0.1
DER.03	30	20	5	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.5	–	–	–	–			sr	0.02	0.2

TABLE 5.5. *Qazvin petrofabric.*

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non–quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
QAZ.03	2	20	10	2	–	–	–	1	–	2	1.0	und	mod	an	0.05	0.5
BER.17	2	20	10	2	0.5	–	1.0	–	–	2	1.0	und	mod	an	0.05	0.3
QAZ.02	3	25	10	1	2.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	1.0	und	mod	an	0.05	0.5
QAZ.04	2	10	20	10	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	und	mod	an	0.05	1.0
QAZ.05	5	20	10	2	–	–	1.0	1	–	2	1.0	und	mod	an	0.05	1.0
QAZ.01	3	25	8	1	–	–	1.0	–	0.5	2	1.0	und	mod	an	0.05	0.3
ROM.93	3	18	10	2	2	–	1.0	–	tr	–	1.0	und	poor	an	0.05	0.8

TABLE 5.6. *Kirman petrofabric* (part 1).

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non–quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
ROM.54	5	25	10	2.0	2.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	an	0.05	0.2
HEL.02	5	20	10	5.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.03	0.2
KIR.215	5	20	10	3.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.1
KIR.62	2	15	10	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
CRW.04	5	30	20	5.0	0.5	–	2.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		F	0.3
KIR.355	3	20	10	3.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
ASH.10	10	20	10	2.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	5.0	un	w/m	an	0.05	0.4
KIR.270	2	20	10	2.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	3.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.5
KIR.247	7	20	5	1.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.06	0.2
KIR.502	10	30	5	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	w/m	an	0.02	0.1
FRE.19	10	30	5	1.0	1	–	3.0	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
KIR.500	10	20	5	–	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m	an	0.05	0.3
HEL.01	10	20	5	2.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m	sr	0.02	0.2
KIR.245	2	20	15	3.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.03	0.1
DER.05	15	30	10	5.0	1.0	–	3.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		F	0.3
KIR.240	5	25	10	3.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.06	0.3
KIR.80	10	25	10	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.02	0.1
KIR.235	8	25	5	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.2
KIR.350	5	25	5	1.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
KIR.287	5	20	10	2.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
KIR.351	3	20	10	2.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.06	0.3
CRW.03	20	30	5	0.5	0.5	–	5.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3

(*Continued*)

TABLE 5.6 (*Continued*)

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non–quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
ASH.39	10	25	15	2.0	0.5	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m	sr	C	0.2
KIR.102	2	25	8	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	3	un	w/m		0.05	0.5
KIR.243	2	20	10	2.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	2	un	w/m		0.08	0.7
BMS.22	10	20	10	–	–	0.5	1.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.05	0.4
KIR.18	2	25	10	1.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	2	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
BAH.593	10	25	5	0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		F	0.3
BAH.929	5	30	15	1.0	1	–	0.5	–	–	–	3	un	w/m	sr	F	0.2
BAH.944	5	30	10	–	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		F	0.3
KIR.12	5	20	15	2.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
KIR.10	5	20	10	1.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
KIR.07	5	20	5	1.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
KIR.05	8	20	5	0.5	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
KIR.29	5	20	5	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.05	0.2
ROM.92G	10	25	10	0.5	–	–	3.0	–	–	–	2	un	w/m	sr	C	0.2
NAG.06	7	25	10	1.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m			
BMS.08	10	20	5	1.0	–	0.5	1.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.05	0.2
BMS.09	5	25	10	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.03	0.2
BMS.10	5	25	10	–	–	0.5	1.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.05	0.2
BMS.11	5	15	15	5.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	w/m		0.03	0.2
CRL.02	15	30	5	–	–	–	3.0	–	–	–	1	un	w/m		0.03	0.2

TABLE 5.7. *Kirman petrofabric* (part 2).

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non-quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
DER.08	5	30	20	10.0	2.0	–	2.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.03	0.3
KIR.B53	5	25	7	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m	an	0.60	0.4
NAG.03	10	25	10	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	an	0.05	0.2
ROM.83	10	30	5	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	3.0	un	w/m		F	0.2
KIR.516	10	25	5	–	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m			
KIR.348	6	20	5	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
BRM.30	5	20	10	–	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	–	un	w/m		0.02	0.1
KIR.271	5	15	10	3.0	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
KIR.60	3	20	10	2.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.04	0.2

(*Continued*)

TABLE 5.7 (*Continued*)

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non-quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
ROM.23	10	25	10	2.0	–	–	2.0	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
CRW.05	10	35	5	0.5	1.0	–	3.0	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
YMN.03	5	30	15	1.0	2.0	–	5.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
KIR.19	10	20	5	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.2
YMN.02	10	30	10	2.0	1.0	–	3.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
KIR.37	3	20	5	0.5	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
NAG.07	5	30	10	2.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m		0.05	0.3
BLG.05	15	25	5	0.5	0.5	–	1.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
BLG.04	15	30	3	-	0.5	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		F	0.3
KIR.33	2	20	15	2.0	–	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	un	w/m		0.04	0.4
BLG.02	10	30	5	–	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	3.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
BLG.01	10	35	5	–	0.5	–	1.0	–	–	–	2.0	un	w/m	sr	F	0.3
YMN.01	15	35	5	0.5	–	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	un	w/m		F	0.3
ROM.22	10	20	5	1.0		–	0.5	–	–	–	–	un	w/m	an	0.05	0.3
ASH.13	15	15	10	–		–	0.5	–	–	–	–	un	w/m			

margins; and trace zircon. The "typical" maximum grain diameter appears to represent the grain size of the source material. Occasionally these larger grains exhibit overgrowth textures typical of sandstones. The zoned nature of the alteration of most feldspars would also suggest alteration of grains of comparable size. That this alteration is not related to processes in the creation of the pottery (such as firing affects) is indicated by the absence of this marginal alteration in other feldspars. Zircons can also be indicative of a detrital source. The occasional coarser maximum-size grains may be attributed to contamination by grinding equipment on the basis of their anomalous mineralogical properties. This petrofabric may be distinguished from others with a similar range of quartz cloudiness by the presence of volcanic rock fragments, while the most similar petrofabrics, those for Zahidan in Afghanistan and the "Indian Ocean" group of unknown (but probably Iranian, origin), both have high contents of polycrystalline quartz.

There is a very large sample size with this group, due to the availability of material from the Kirman region and material collected outside Iran. Distribution strongly concentrates in the region of Kirman and at port and trade sites outside of Iran. In fact, all Safavid wares found outside Iran, including Japan, are of this petrofabric. More than 500 sherds dating stylistically to the seventeenth century were recently collected from open pits throughout the old city of Kirman.[29]

Wares include all the sampled examples of the blue-and-white/polychrome floral slip-painted type (Fig. 5.21) and a sizable proportion of the slip-painted monochrome wares (Fig. 5.22). Most of the blue-and-white sherds collected from Kirman itself are painted with black outlines, datable stylistically to the first half of the seventeenth century. These finds give the lie to the traditional

29 Golombek 2003; Mason 2003.

attribution of black-outlined blue-and-white wares to Mashhad.

Kirman Clay Petrofabric: Figs. 5.15, 5.23

Although no kiln evidence with a stonepaste body was recovered from Kirman, two samples of objects that are often taken as evidence of local manufacture were sampled and found to have clay bodies. These are a trivet-shaped piece of kiln furniture (Fig. 5.15, KIR.352) found near the Masjid i-Malik and a glazed tile (Fig. 5.23, KIR.270). Kiln furniture refers to ceramic objects used in the firing process, made by the potter, and assumed never to have been traded any distance from their place of manufacture; they are key sources for samples used in the characterization of any centre of manufacture. In addition, a completely vitrified waster was collected from the site where most of the sherds were exposed (Fig. 5.14, KIR.500). Tiles were also found, which we assume were made close by, as plain glazed tiles are generally thought to have been made on site (unlike elite architectural ceramics such as lustre-painted tiles). This idea is supported by all analysis of tiles to date, such as those from the Blue Mosque of Tabriz discussed above.[30]

Both clay-bodied objects (the trivet and the tile) are of the same petrofabric. In the case of clay-bodied ceramics the rock and mineral grains are called aplastics to distinguish them from the plastic clay minerals, which comprise the bulk of the body. Aplastics may be present for various reasons; they either may be naturally occurring or have been added deliberately.[31] It is the aplastic minerals that are identified and characterized in petrographic analysis. The petrofabric of these clay-bodied ceramics, which is hereby defined as Kirman clay petrofabric, comprises a moderately sorted coarse silt (mode of 0.05 mm diameter and maximum grain diameter of 0.2 mm) consisting of 5–6% mostly undulose quartz; 3% clear plagioclase, some of which is zoned; about 2% each of biotite, felsic volcanics, and opaques; 1% each of a pale yellowish green clinopyroxene and a cloudy potassic feldspar; and up to trace of a red-pleochroic amphibole, which is either an oxidized hornblende or possibly an oxyhornblende given the dominance of volcanic sources. The volcanic rock inclusions are of various textures including vesicular volcanic glass, feldspar phenocrysts in a cherty ground-mass, and fine trachytic texture in glassy ground-mass.

Although not strictly comparable to stonepaste ceramic petrofabrics, clay-bodied and stonepaste-bodied ceramics must be geologically compatible with each other if a hypothesis of a common origin is to be sustained. In this case the content of felsic volcanics is particularly important. Both the clay- and stonepaste-bodied petrofabrics contain identical inclusions of these extrusive rocks. In the case of the stonepaste wares, it would be assumed that the source of quartz is vein material from the volcanic rock formations, weathered out of the host or country rock and then collected together into a poorly indurated sandstone source. The sand used in the clay body is considerably less quartzose, but appears to be sufficiently similar to argue for a common source for the clay body and the stonepaste.

Isfahan (Qumisheh) Petrofabric: Table 5.8; Figs. 5.12–5.13, 5.25, 5.34

This group comprises predominantly cloudy quartz (20–40%) with some slightly cloudy (5–15%) and very cloudy quartz and occasional clear quartz (up to 5%). It includes up to 20% polycrystalline grains, has mostly strongly undulose but some undulose extinctions, and has poorly to moderately sorted angular grains with a mode of 0.05 mm and maximum grainsize of 0.5 mm. Also, it has up to 2% of a felsic to intermediate volcanic rock of a cherty texture; and up to 2% feldspars, predominantly clear plagioclase feldspars with fuzzy twin boundaries. This petrofabric can be distinguished from others with this range of quartz cloudiness by the unusually high content of polycrystalline quartz and the practical absence of chert, which is present in such fabrics as the Timurid "Dragon" petrofabric (of unknown origin

30 GMB 1996.

31 Mason and Cooper 1999.

TABLE 5.8. *Isfahan petrofabric.*

Project number	Quartz cloudiness				PXQ	Chert	Non–quartz inclusions					Texture			Grain size	
	CL	SC	CY	VC			Fsp	Cpx	Amp	CaCO	FV	QX	Srtd	Rnd	Mode	Max
BER.23	1.0	10	25	10	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	0.5	–	slu	w	an	0.05	0.5
QAZ.06	2.0	25	10	3	2.0	–	1.0	–	0.5	2.0	1.0	slu	w/m	an	0.05	0.7
BER.22	1.0	10	25	10	0.5	–	0.5	–	–	0.5	0.5	un	w	an	0.06	0.4
ROM.55	2.0	10	25	10	4.0	–	–	–	–	–	2.0			Sr	C	0.3
DER.11	5.0	15	30	10	10.0	0.5	–	–	–	–	–				F	0.2
QAZ.12	1.0	10	25	10	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	–	slu	m	an	0.05	0.4
HRM.00	2.0	10	40	5	3.0	–	2.0	–	–	–	2.0				F	0.4
SMQ.02	1.0	4	30	10	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	–			sr	F	0.2
ROM.32	4.0	15	25	7	7.0	0.5	0.5	–	–	–	0.5				C	0.3
ROM.30	1.0	15	30	10	5.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5			sr	C	0.3
ROM.28	0.5	10	25	10	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	stu	p	an	0.05	0.2
V&A.244	1.0	10	25	5	1.0	–	0.5	–	–	0.5	0.5	un	m/w	an	0.05	0.8
ROM.17	0.5	7	25	15	2.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	u/stu	m/w	sr	C	0.4
ROM.16	0.5	8	25	15	7.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0	stu	m/p	an	0.05	0.3
ROM.08	5.0	10	20	5	2.0	–	–	–	–	–	0.5			sr	C	0.4
ROM.50	0.5	15	25	10	5.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	1.0	un	p	an	0.05	0.4
ROM.01	3.0	15	20	5	1.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0				C	0.3
V&A.249	1.0	15	25	2	1.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	0.5	stu	m/w	an	0.5	0.4
V&A.248	5.0	20	15	2	1.0	–	2.0	–	–	1.0	–	un	m	an	0.5	0.5
KIR.75	1.0	10	20	10	3.0	–	1.0	–	–	–	–				0.05	0.3
ASH.03	5.0	15	20	10	1.0	0.5	–	–	–	–	2.0				C	0.2
CRW.02	5.0	15	25	10	0.5	0.5	0.5	–	–	–	–				F	0.2
ASH.04	0.5	8	25	20	2.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	2.0	stu		sr	0.05	0.3
ROM.56	0.5	10	40	15	20.0	–	0.5	–	–	–	1.0			sr	VC	0.5
FRE.18	1.0	10	20	10	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	un	p		0.05	0.5
ISF.01	3.0	10	20	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.5	un	m	an	0.05	0.3

but certainly Iranian) and Maybud petrofabric (Iran).

This group includes 26 samples, of which only a few are archaeological, and these are widely dispersed. However, the remainder show signs of hanging on the wall, a practice apparently largely unknown in the Middle East but being characteristic of utilization at the site of Kubachi in the Caucasus where they were collected from households in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter Four). These include the important polychrome figural and other slip-painted "Kubachi wares" chiefly of the early seventeenth century. Figural slip-painted tiles of a very similar style are well-known from sites in Isfahan, and so attribution of this group to Isfahan on art-historical grounds had already been made. Evidence of production is available for the vicinity of this site, but it is not of the Safavid period. During 1996 Mason and Golombek visited a number of current centres of pottery production, including that at Shahreza located 84 km south of Isfahan. Shahreza is a relatively recent

name for a village known in the Safavid sources as Qumisheh, a name which is still in use locally. The workshop of the Bahari brothers (founded by their grandfather Djava Bahari) at the time of our visit was making pottery using "modern" imported materials, but only twenty years earlier had made stonepaste wares using quartz from a "local" source (they were unsure or evasive about exactly how local). An example of these earlier stonepaste wares was made available for sampling, and analysis put this sample within this group. As a single sample, it is unsatisfactory, but it enables some degree of association of this group with the Isfahan region. Still unresolved is whether the Safavid pottery attributed to Isfahan on the basis of the petrography was actually made at Qumisheh or somewhere else in the region by other potters. These potters would have had access to the same resources used by the current Qumisheh potters (until recently). Hans Wulff, who studied Iranian stonepaste potters in the 1960s, said that the "most suitable type of clay" for stonepaste is named after Qumisheh because there was a very large deposit of it there.[32]

Qazvin Petrofabric: Table 5.5; Figs. 5.27–5.28, 5.31

Potters continued to produce tiles at Qazvin to the end of the sixteenth century and into the first decades of the seventeenth century. The later tiles reflect the figural style of Riza Abbasi, but they share the same petrofabric as the sixteenth-century "angel" tile (see above; Fig. 5.7, QAZ.13).

Conclusions on Seventeenth-Century Centres of Production

Petrographic analysis has characterized six groups within the available samples of seventeenth-century Safavid ceramics. Some of these are attributable to specific sites of production at varying levels of confidence. What certainly appears to come out of this research is the importance of Kirman as the pre-eminent export-oriented production centre. Significant problems remain, however, in the reliable attribution of pottery to specific centres and with regard to the Kirman/Zarand and Isfahan/Qumisheh issues. For art-historical purposes these may not appear severe, as the tentative attributions appear sufficient and the precise differences between a major centre and associated satellites may be irrelevant. For scientific purposes, however, it would be more satisfactory to see whether it is possible to distinguish Zarand from Kirman, whether the products of Isfahan really are the products of Qumisheh or otherwise, and whether the tentative attributions are reliable. These questions can be answered only with further field work in the region.

Previous to this study, attribution of specific styles of Safavid ceramics to places of manufacture had seen no advances since the work of Lane (1957). Some of Lane's conclusions were based on the distribution of sherds collected in Iran, for instance, his assignment of sherds from the Persian Gulf to Kirman, and thus the tassel-mark which appeared as the potter's mark on some of them. Other claims were not substantiated scientifically. Claims such as the attribution of wares to centres on the basis of palette (for example, black outlines to Mashhad and blue-only to Kirman) or the presence of a square seal-mark (which Lane linked with Mashhad), and the assignment of all wares found at Kubachi to "northwest Iran" (Tabriz) have prejudiced scholarship. Petrographic analysis has supported some of Lane's observations, such as the identification of the tassel-mark as an exclusively Kirman practice, the distinctive style of polychrome slip-painted ware, and particular decorative motifs. All sampled sherds with these characteristics belong to the group attributed to Kirman (the few exceptions are easily distinguished by their poor quality). No longer tenable, however, is the attribution of all those wares with chromium-black outlining of the cobalt-blue design or with a square seal-mark to the site of Mashhad. These features are found on many of the wares produced during the first four decades of the seventeenth century at all workshops—Mashhad, Kirman, and even Isfahan.

32 Wulff 1966:165.

PART II

Identifying Safavid Pottery—a Guide

∵

CHAPTER 6

Diagnostic Motifs

Lisa Golombek and Eileen Reilly

Certain types of motifs can be used to assist in the dating and provenancing of Safavid pottery while others cannot. This chapter identifies a series of motif types that have been studied within our very large database, allowing us to infer information from dated or (petrographically) provenanced vessels that share these motifs with undated and unprovenanced objects. The motifs fall into two major categories, although there is at least one (the "leaf-curl") that appears as a stylistic idiosyncrasy. The two major categories are rim and exterior borders (Chapter Six) and the three types of potters' marks (Chapter Seven).

Rims and exteriors are usually the least-laboured parts of a Safavid dish. During the sixteenth century the repertory of rims changed from decade to decade. Sometimes the succeeding generation developed its own version of a rim design, but at other times an altogether new concept would emerge. More stable than the rim designs were the borders used on the underside (exterior or back) of the dish. Being less visible, the underside was often done with less care than the rim and tondo (face of the dish). Back designs tended to linger for several generations. We have identified, described, and assigned names and numbers to the major rim and back designs used during the sixteenth century. While some of these designs make reference to Chinese models, there is very little immediate impact from the contemporary Chinese imports. Rims and backs were often associated with specific workshops.

All of this dynamic changed with the accession of Shah Abbas I at the turn of the century. Rims now tended to reflect the current Chinese fashions. Backs also came to depend heavily on Chinese models although these were not necessarily contemporary; back designs could also be taken from earlier Chinese imports that had been collected over the centuries in Iran. Workshops of the earliest decades of the seventeenth century cannot be identified by back designs, but as the century progressed, certain backs tended to be favoured, particularly by the Kirman workshops. A possible explanation is that, like the potters working during the middle of the sixteenth century, the Kirman potters were engaged in mass production to meet high demand. For the seventeenth century only the backs (not the rims) have been identified and numbered. An attempt has been made to establish tentative date ranges and, where warranted, provenance.

The only decorative motif that seems to work as a diagnostic feature is the "leaf-curl," described in Chapter Two. It is a stylistic feature that evolved from Chinese leafy scrolls to become a diaper pattern found in almost any location on Kirman wares of all shapes, beginning around 1650 and disappearing around 1680 when it was displaced by an influx of new Chinese motifs. Almost all other motifs found on seventeenth-century Safavid chinoiserie wares derive from Chinese models and their occurrence cannot with certainty be dated more precisely. Many of these motifs are discussed in the chapter on Chinese sources (Chapter Three), which provide *terminus a quo* dating for the Safavid copies and the points of departure for adopted motifs.

Rims on Sixteenth-Century Dishes (Pls. 6.1.1–4)

Rims occur in a larger variety than backs, indicating that workshops varied rim design more frequently than they altered the back design.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_008

However, it does not seem that rims were shared among contemporary workshops. What follows is a description of the rims found on late fifteenth- through sixteenth-century wares, with petrofabric, if known. Many of these designs were described and drawn by G. A. Bailey in *Tamerlane's Tableware*. References to Bailey's drawings in that volume ("GMB") follow the motif names in brackets [ ]. References to Chinese models in the Topkapi Museum are designated "TKS" with the numbers assigned by Krahl in her catalogue (1986).

Rim T1: Timurid Cresting Wave
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B2(I)1*] (*Pl. 6.1.1*)
The Timurid versions of the early Ming "wave-and-crest" border are described in detail by Bailey (GMB, p. 63, under B2 derivatives). Although each is slightly different, all have two parts that alternate: a crest with two or three S-shaped scalloped lobes, and a series of "hills" (usually three) marked by a heavy contour and filled with diagonal striations. Sampled wares have a Nishapur petrofabric.

Rim T2: Whorl-Crest 1
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B2(II)1/2*] (*Pl. 6.1.1*)
This rim is a simplification of Rim T1. The crest is reduced to a whorl, but the hills remain unchanged. As it occurs with Timurid Nishapur backs (see "Exterior Motifs on Sixteenth-Century Dishes," below), it is considered to indicate a Nishapur provenance (ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1).

Rim T3: Caterpillar 1
[*GMB, fig 4.1/B3(I)2*] (*Pl. 6.1.1*)
In this version of the Ming wave-and-crest border the elements are schematized, such that the crest looks like the body of a caterpillar, hence the name. The "caterpillar" is followed by a large swirl, the curve of which is echoed in a series of parallel lines and then followed by a series of horizontal lines. This rim occurs on a dish which is inscribed with its date and place of manufacture: Mashhad, 1473–74 (Fig. 2.2, HRM.129).

Rim 1: Precise Crest
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B3(I)1 and 1/1*] (*Pl. 6.1.2*)
The crests look like curling fingers with scalloped backs, and the "hills" characteristic of Rim T1 are absent. Each crest is bracketed by whorls, and the crests attach themselves alternately to the upper and lower edges of the rim. The background is striated.

Rim 2: Scalloped Crest
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B2(I)3 and 4*] (*Pl. 6.1.2*)
The crest assumes a snail-like form, and the "fingers" of the Chinese wave become regular scallops. The "hills" occur but may have radial striation in the outermost contour. Various forms of this rim occur with diverse exterior (back) motifs, all of which seem to date from the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Rim 3: Scrawny Crest
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B3(III)1/1/2*] (*Pl. 6.1.2*)
This appears to be a reduction of the precise crest, retaining the alternation of motifs but transforming the crest into a thin "scrawny" S-shaped finger against a diagonally striated ground. It is found on a dish inscribed with the date and place of manufacture: Nishapur, 1522–23 (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01).

Rim 4: Caterpillar 2
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B3(I)3*] (*Pl. 6.1.2*)
Very similar to Rim T3, this version of the waves consists of parallel bracketed curved lines. The fact that it is accompanied by Back B (Pl. 6.2) suggests that it should be considered as a further (later) development of Rim T3. Both Rim T3 and Back B originated on Mashhad Timurid wares. The sampled Safavid dish has a Tabriz petrofabric. The presence of this rim in Tabriz suggests the movement of either models or potters from Khurasan to Tabriz in the late fifteenth century.

***Rim 5: Whorl-Crest 2* (*with "Spokes"*)**
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/B2(III)4/1/1*] (*Pl. 6.1.2*)
Very similar to Rim T2, but the number of "hills" are reduced to two, and the striations within the hills follow the curving hill contours. Also, like

some examples of Rim 2, there are "spokes" in the outermost contour of the hills. Sampled wares with this rim have a Tabriz petrofabric.

Rim 6: Centipede 1
[***GMB, fig. 4.9/F22(IV)7/1/1/1***] (***Pl. 6.1.2***)
The earliest versions seem to consist of a slightly undulating vine sprouting short comma-like leaves, like the double-scroll back (Back A). These "centipedes" alternate with a single whorl. The source of this design is obscure. Bailey sees it as a derivative of the lotus scroll, possibly as it was transformed by earlier Timurid and Safavid potters. In feeling the design reflects new Chinese models characterized by dense foliage consisting of tiny curled leaves (TKS 685, 728) which date to the late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. This rim is attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 7: Centipede 2
[***GMB, fig. 4.9/F22(IV)7/1/1/2***] (***Pl. 6.1.2***)
Very similar to Rim 6, this represents a further reduction in which the vine becomes a straight line and the leaves become dots. Sampled wares have a Tabriz petrofabric.

Rim 8: Classic Scroll
[***GMB, fig. 4.3/C5, C6***] (***Pl. 6.1.2***)
While the "classic scroll" was common in the early Timurid period, it occurs rarely in the sixteenth century and only during the transitional period of the second quarter of the century. It is associated with the "tiny-leaf" style (see Rim 6 description). The scroll shows complex convolutions alternating on the sides of an undulating vine (Fig. 2.11, HRM.123).

Rim 9: Dotted Volutes (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
This design consists of a series of contiguous circular scrolls with multiple dots. Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 10: Dot-Cartouche
[***GMB, fig. 4.9/F22(V)7/1/1/1/1***] (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
This rim consists of a series of round-ended cartouches, filled with a central whorl on a background of dots. The cartouches are separated by blank spaces, often containing a small plant. Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 11: Bubbles
[***GMB, fig. 4.1/B3(IV)1/1/1/1 and similar***]
(***Pl. 6.1.3***)
Possibly derived from the later versions of the wave-and-crest rim, these have a diagonally striated ground on which irregular whorls appear to float like "bubbles." Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 12: Colon-Scroll
[***GMB, fig. 4.3/C5(I)8***] (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
The Yuan "classic scroll" has been reduced to a single scrolling line. Volutes coil alternately clockwise and counter-clockwise. Between them are pairs of dots resembling a colon, hence the name. A sampled dish has the Tabriz petrofabric.

Rim 13: Foliate Crest (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
This is a version of the wave-and-crest because it alternates two different groups of motifs. The crest now looks like two fleshy leaves on their sides, and the hills have been broken up into six irregular ovoid shapes, looking like pebbles. The background is darkened through striation. A sampled dish with this rim had the Nishapur petrofabric.

Rim 14: Fish-Leaf (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
Closely related to Rim 13, this design consists of a series of right-pointing elongated leaves resembling fish, hence the name. Attributed to Nishapur.

Rim 15: Small Leaf (***Pl. 6.1.3***)
This rim contains a series of trefoil leaves pointing in one direction, alternating with a short plant which grows from the inside of the rim. One sampled dish has a Qazvin petrofabric.

Rim 16: Button-Scroll 1 (***Pl. 6.1.4***)
This is probably the earliest version of the "button-scroll" series as it occurs on a dish with Back B (HRM.124). An undulating vine alternates button-like blossoms with a pair of trefoil leaves sprouting from the vine. Attributed to Tabriz.

***Rim 17: Button-Scroll 2* (*Pl. 6.1.4*)**
In this version the vine disappears, and the "buttons" are loosely joined by wispy curving lines. A triangular "leaf" occurs between the "buttons" and alternately points to the inside and outside of the rim. The painting has become quite sketchy. Attributed to Tabriz.

***Rim 18: Button-Plant* (*Pl. 6.1.4*)**
Four "buttons" alternate with a "plant." This system may ultimately go back to the wave-and-crest, but its closest stylistic affinity is with the "button" series. Attributed to Tabriz.

***Rim 19: Button-Scroll 3* (*Pl. 6.1.4*)**
The ground is filled with tiny vines and leaves. Two "objects" alternate: a "button" and an almond shape edged with a light cobalt wash. This almond shape sometimes leans to one side. Details are difficult to see as the painting is of low quality. Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 20: Reserve Diaper
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/A1(III)1/2/1*] (*Pl. 6.1.4*)
Diamonds or rosettes with dotted centres appear in white against a cobalt ground or in turquoise/green against a black ground. The elements are often connected by thin reserve-painted lines. Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 21: Diamond Diaper
[*GMB, fig. 4.1/A3(I)1*] (*Pl. 6.1.4*)
A thick line forms a series of tangent diamonds, filled with four dots in the diamonds and one or two dots in the triangles. This rim was common on Jiajing imports from the mid-sixteenth century.[1] Attributed to Tabriz.

Rim 22: Zig-Zag
[*GMB, fig. 4.3/D3(II)1/1*] (*Pl. 6.1.4*)
The zig-zag line is made up of grain-like lozenges in reserve and lightly incised "mountains" or curving lines in the triangular areas. Sampled dishes with this rim have the Tabriz petrofabric.

Exterior Motifs on Sixteenth-Century Dishes (Pl. 6.2)

Studies of Persian ceramics have demonstrated that the motifs used for the less visible face of the vessel, usually the underside or back, have high diagnostic value.[2] Contemporary workshops may share themes used for the face of the vessel, but normally they had distinctive "hallmark" motifs reserved for the backs. Petrographic analysis of examples from each of the backs described below confirms this hypothesis. The following discussion describes each back motif, suggesting its source, and assigning it a name (not always related to its source). Discussion also includes the types of wares on which it is found, whether blue-on-white or black under a coloured transparent glaze, and whether the design was painted or revealed through reserve-painting. The characteristic dimensions and shape (narrow or wide foot-ring) are included, and the petrofabric is mentioned when samples were available. More information about the petrography of Safavid ceramics and the designations assigned is found in Chapter Five. Although the precise location of the workshops is not always known, the major urban centre to which they relate is used here to identify the workshop. For example, vessels produced by what is called here the "Tabriz" workshop may have been made in a nearby village, as was the case for "Isfahan" wares, some of which were probably made at Qumisheh, 84 km south of Isfahan. Reference will often be made to *Tamerlane's Tableware* (GMB 1996) hereafter, as it includes examples and drawings of many sixteenth-century motifs.

1 Pope 1981, pl. 87 (29.377).

2 This observation was made in our study of Timurid ceramics (see "Stylistic Groups and Their Production Centres," in GMB 1996:109–11).

Back A: Double-Scroll

This motif made its debut around the middle of the fifteenth century (ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1). It appeared in a number of variations, from more explicit floral scrolls[3] to the most simplified.[4] It carried forward into the Safavid period on the backs of dishes with scale-fill style painting (ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2), which can be dated to around 1525 on the basis of a dated Nishapur dish with Back C (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01).The double-scroll back occurs on a group of dishes that are not uniform in terms of their profile and width of foot-ring but which do share several features. One of these is the introduction of black outlines into the blue-and-white scheme. A unique piece with a figural scene uses copper green and manganese purple as well (Fig. 2.14, V&A.01). This dish has the double-scroll back, although the scrolls now overlap. The figure style equates with that of Tabriz during the reign of Shah Tahmasb. It should therefore be datable to around 1535–1540. Several of these dishes have a proven Nishapur provenance.

Back B: Comma-Series

Each series begins at the left with a large version of the Arabic letter "*waw*" (here described as a "comma"). This shape is repeated to the right in diminishing size four to six times and ends with a calligraphic flourish. The design was probably executed with the dish inverted, resting on the painter's knees, so that the brush moved from right to left, following the natural direction of writing Arabic. This series of characters is repeated six or seven times around the exterior of the dish.

The origin of the design is not to be found in Chinese models directly but rather in Timurid derivatives that had developed during the late fifteenth century. Pottery made at Mashhad characteristically bore a stylized version of the floral spray. This floral spray appears on a blue-and-white dish, inscribed with the date 878/1473–74 and name of its place of manufacture, Mashhad (Fig. 2.2b, HRM.129). The spray begins to the left with three short vertical strokes and then transforms into comma-like motifs to suggest floral elements, ending to the right with a spiky elongated leaf. This terminus became the "flourish" at the end of the comma-series in the next phase.

Sampled dishes with this back have a Tabriz petrofabric. Dimensions and shape are remarkably consistent (diameter 35 cm). Typically, they have a "narrow" foot-ring (average diameter 11 cm).

Back C: Rosette-Scroll

The rosette-scroll consists of a very regular undulating vine from which sprout lotus leaves with long undulating points. Six-petal rosettes occur at regular intervals. Evidence suggests that potters from both Nishapur and Tabriz utilized this design, with minor differences. The earliest dated occurrence is on a blue-and-white dish with a poetic inscription, followed by the statement that it was made in Nishapur in 929/1522–23 (Fig. 2.6, TOK.01). The rosettes in the scroll on the back alternate with round "button" buds.

On the group attributed to Tabriz, which was labelled the Precise group in our study of Timurid pottery (GMB 1996), the scrolls lack these buds. The attribution of this group to Tabriz is based on stylistic affinities with the Back B group, but the one piece that was sampled proved to be of "Ottoman" petrofabric (Fig. 2.9, ASH.29). This oddity can perhaps be explained through the transfer of artistic ideas or even craftsmen from Tabriz to the Ottoman realms in the early sixteenth century. The sharing of a back design among two Iranian workshops is quite unusual and may also be explained through the movement of potters.

The dimensions of the Precise group are relatively large (approximately 38 cm), and the painting is carefully executed. The foot-ring is always wide (average diameter 23 cm).

Back D: Floral Meander

The rosette-scroll was reduced to several variations before becoming standardized as the weedback-meander (see below). A wide-base dish

3 GMB 1996, pls. 35, 38.

4 Ibid., pl. 45.

(diameter 35.4 cm) with chrysanthemum blossoms has a meandering version of the rosette-scroll in which the rosette appears as a circle with cobalt wash fill (ROM.18/ Cat. no. 3). The transformed rosette alternates with a small lozenge, and the leaves and tendrils turn into comma-shaped brushstrokes. This back is known from only one example, but it is included here because of its transitional nature. It has a Tabriz petrofabric.

Back E: Circle-Scroll

Another derivation of the rosette-scroll consists of vines forming circles around the leaves (V&A.470). A vessel with similar back is depicted in a painting from Gilan dated 1493–94.[5] This petrofabric has not been identified.

Back F: Weedback-Meander

The rosette-scroll loses its flower and becomes more schematic (HRM.118). This seems to be the last stage before the Tabriz workshop enters a new phase, characterized by the mass production of similar vessels. In this stage the weedback-meander and a new motif, the weedback petal-panel, become interchangeable within the same workshop. Vessels with this back have a Tabriz petrofabric.

Back G: Weedback Petal-Panel

The petal-panel is named after the Chinese motif of petal-panels that had appeared in early Ming times usually around the base of a vessel or the shoulder of a closed shape. In the Safavid version the aqueous weed curves to one side, forming a sickle shape which often ends in or sprouts an undulating lotus leaf. The palette can be blue on white, or transparent turquoise or green painted over black. Vessels with this back constitute the largest group of vessels surviving from the Tabriz workshops. Most have a diameter of 32–33 cm. A few examples from the black underglaze-painted group have added, under the everted rim, a short wavy line (see below, termed the "squiggle," described with Backs J and K, where it is more frequent).

Back H: Knobby Volutes

The design consists of a small number of large volutes with knobs (ROM.93/ Cat. no. 6; BER.41). On some the palette includes black lines. The one sampled dish has a Qazvin provenance (ROM.93/ Cat. no. 6).

Back I: Tangent Volutes

Large volutes, alternating direction, touch one another, filling the exterior wall. This is not found as commonly as Backs J and K but must have been a contemporary alternative. Squiggles also appear under the rim, and rim designs are shared with Backs J and K. The quality of the painting is generally poor, and the cobalt is applied as a thin greyish wash. This back was adopted for clay-bodied wares at Susa, which also copy Tabriz weedback models (SUS.04).

Back J: Button-Scroll

This design is made up of tangent repeats of a button-shaped flower attached to a circular vine, inside of which springs a trefoil leaf. Smaller leaves dot the vine, and a curving leaf is repeated along the base line of the design. In many examples this design is so blurry it cannot be identified. A dish with this back and a related rim design (Rim 16) is of confirmed Tabriz provenance (FRE.20). Both the back and the rim derive from Chinese models of the third quarter of the sixteenth century (TKS 978, 979). The button-scroll also appears on the backs of dishes painted in reserve (ROM.94/ Cat. no. 7).

This back seems to be contemporary with the later weedback series, as many dishes in the button-scroll group also have the short wavy line under the rim referred to here as the "squiggle." This motif appears to derive from the cloud scrolls occurring under the rims of late fifteenth-century

5 See GMB 1996, pl. 85 (*Shahnameh* made for Sultan-Ali Mirza of Gilan, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Vever Collection, Smithsonian Institution, no. S86.0172).

Chinese porcelains.[6] Alternatively, the practice may have been inspired by the Jiajing floral scroll that replaced the cloud scroll around the middle of the sixteenth century.[7] The Safavid blue-and-white sherd with button-scroll back and a squiggle, found at Ardabil (ARD.12), has a Tabriz petrofabric, as do the other sampled wares from this group.

Back K: Peach Blossom

A grouping of two large abutting fruits, sprouting antenna-like leaves above, is repeated at intervals around the exterior walls of the dish. Two-pronged tendrils expand to either side. The peach plant occurred earlier in the cavetto of Precise wares (Back C), and later on dishes with Backs B and G. The motif is ultimately derived from the Chinese peach blossom of early Ming porcelain.[8] This back design seems to have been interchangeable with Back J, as they share some of the same rims, and the squiggle also appears frequently. Sampled wares with this back have a Tabriz petrofabric.

Back L: Cloud

Only one example (HRM.31) was found in this study but it is included because others may come to light. A Chinese C-shaped cloud scroll "moving" toward the left alternates with a pair of dots. The dots are probably remnants of the T-shaped cloud found on Chinese porcelains from the third quarter of the century (TKS 979). Squiggles appear under the rim. The technical quality is poor. This dish has not been sampled.

Exterior Motifs on Seventeenth-Century Dishes (Pls. 6.3.1–5)

Beginning with the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629) the mission of the potter radically changed. A vast new repertory of designs arrived in shipments of "Kraak" porcelain. While Persian potters during the late sixteenth century garnered designs and individual motifs from contemporary Chinese imports, potters now strove to replicate these models in their entirety as closely as their skills permitted. The potter was to copy not only the face of a dish but also its exterior. This meant that no single workshop could lay claim to an exterior design that would become its hallmark over long periods of time as had been the practice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rather, the exterior design tended to follow the particular configuration of motifs found on the Chinese model. With one or two possible exceptions exterior designs were shared by all contemporary Safavid workshops. In other words, the designs on the outer walls of the dish were indicative of time (fashion) rather than place of origin. Certainly the execution varied, but one can generally not use the exterior design as a diagnostic tool for distinguishing workshops. Only when the execution within a large group of vessels is very close can one posit a single source for the group. While the back designs may not often be useful for determining provenance, those that are derived from contemporary Chinese exports can be used as a guide to dating. This methodology is more beneficial for the last three decades of the Safavid period than for the earlier period when inspiration was often drawn from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Chinese porcelains as well as current imports.

In this study the exteriors have been divided into seven decorative themes with variations. While those examples exhibiting similar variations may also share other characteristics (such as similar potters' marks) and may constitute a workshop grouping, in most cases it can be shown that a range of different potters' marks occurs on dishes sharing the same exterior type. This point is one of the main conclusions of this study. A second point is made through comparison with the Chinese models. The fact that the resemblance is often very close and the model is more or less contemporary with the Safavid imitation suggests that the Persian copies were indeed intended

6 Pope 1981, pl. 73.

7 Ibid., pl. 81.

8 Ibid., pl. 56 (29.496); GMB 1996, fig. 4.10, F28.

to be substitutes for the Chinese imports. No sixteenth-century Safavid pot would qualify for that claim.

The exclusions to these statements emanate from pottery groups that wilfully departed from the intention to replicate the contemporary Chinese model. Two groups with very different objectives did not imitate current Chinese models closely. The first is the "boutique" class of Kirman wares, dating to c. 1630. This workshop produced very close copies of Wanli porcelain (contemporary imports) but also did not shy away from using much earlier models, particularly Yuan and early Ming. The second group, also from Kirman, represents the commoditization of chinoiserie ceramics in late seventeenth-century Iran (Phase III). Surviving in large numbers, these wares may look "Chinese" with their dragons and landscapes in blue-and-white, but no one would confuse them with the original. They have a distinctive back (III.2: fan-leaf spray, described below), which does not seem to occur on dishes made elsewhere, a conclusion born out by petrographic analysis. The use of this exterior by the later Kirman workshop, therefore, more closely resembles the practice of sixteenth-century potters at Tabriz and Nishapur, whose production also represented a commoditization of the industry.

Back I: Branching Pair of Plants (Pl. 6.3.1)

In most of the examples bearing this motif the underside of the dish is divided into two zones: the border under the everted rim and the exterior of the cavetto. The one exception is an extraordinary piece and is discussed below (ASH.10).

Back I.1: Grassy Plants (*Pl. 6.3.1*)

The underside of the cavetto is decorated with two large plants. In one variation the key components involve arching grasses, particularly iris- or prunus-flowered grasses, sprouting from the baseline in opposite directions. In a few examples the blade of grass twists back at an angle across the other strands of grass (V&A.49, 99, 115, 280), following the Chinese model (TKS 844, 845).

On all of the dishes within this group the grassy plants mirror each other on either side of the dish exterior with bird or insect motifs in between. Landscape elements, suggesting rock formations or fungus motifs, appear along the baseline of the border.[9]

Generally, the underside of the rim is decorated with Chinese jewel motifs set within separate panels defined by vertical lines. Variations include the insertion of one or two Chinese motifs in alternating panels in between which are narrow panels containing *lingzhi* (HRM.80).[10]

Back I.2: Tree Branches (*Pl. 6.3.1*)

Closely related in composition to Back I.1, this design also places two similar forms of foliage on either side of the underside of the dish's cavetto region. However, grass foliage is replaced by vine-like branches usually with a bird sitting on them (V&A.38, 98). This was a common exterior design for Chinese porcelain dishes of the late sixteenth century.[11] Like the grassy plants, the branches arch to either side of an axis, but there is no central stalk. Instead there are one or two thin vertical stalks, also knobby like the arching branches. The knobbiness of the branches is stressed, and the branches tend to undulate like a vine. The Persian examples closely follow the Chinese and normally do not insert additional landscape details. If such details do appear, they are much more scaled down in form than in the "grassy plant" design and appear as odd "bumps" along the baseline. A few have distinctly insect-like motifs in between the

9 An odd variation occurs on a dish from the Victoria and Albert collection (Fig. 3.46, V&A.76). A blue-washed, bifurcated form springs up from the baseline. This motif is probably a rather elaborate misinterpretation of a rock found on Chinese models of the same variety.

10 *Lingzhi* are the sacred fungus. In these narrow panels they are usually elongated and sometimes delineated as a simple brushstroke.

11 Rinaldi 1989, pls. 52, 67.

areas of sprouting vines. Others have more generic, less carefully executed, forms as seen elsewhere and may be derived from insects or birds. Two Chinese examples from the Ardabil Shrine show that the Chinese painter sometimes chose either the bird or the insect motif.

***Back I.3: Peach Branches* (*Pl. 6.3.1*)**

Another version of the branching plants shows the branches flowering with peaches (MAK.05). It is based on late sixteenth-century Chinese design for the underside of dishes (TKS 1127) although the face of the Safavid dish was modelled on contemporary Kraak porcelain, including the pomegranate border and the typical Kraak diaper frame surrounding the tondo. The Safavid copy is quite faithful but omits a second bird. Even the design under the rim is the same as used for the Chinese model, the formal flower. The faithfulness of the back design to the Chinese model is typical of Kirman "boutique" production, and it may well have served as a model for the next, more common, variant of this motif.

This variant of the bird-on-peach branch shows the branch flowering but the fruit can barely be distinguished from the leaves. Sometimes the bird itself is omitted. The branch is reduced to an undulating line (ROM.53/ Cat. no. 12; V&A.91, 97, STK.37). This group would seem to post-date the use of the motif by the Kirman "boutique" workshop (MAK.05).

What conclusions can be drawn about the provenance and dating of vessels with the three related backs (Backs I.1, I.2, I.3)? A review of the potters' marks[12] found on these vessels will provide further insight. Some of the finer dishes have the black seal-mark of the Kirman "boutique" workshop (Fig. 2.43 ASH.10; V&A.76, 79; MAK.05). Others bear a character-mark (C2) (V&A.99, 283) and are less precise renditions of the Chinese original. The blank cavetto is common for this group, suggesting that they come from the same workshop.[13] That this exterior motif was used in different workshops across the country is confirmed by the diversity of diagnostic potters' marks: character-marks (ROM.53/ Cat. no.12, Mashhad petrofabric), square seal-marks (either Mashhad or Kirman petrofabric), and at least one tassel-mark, which is a sure sign of Kirman work (V&A.282). Because most of the dishes bearing variants of Back I share composition and style we consider them roughly contemporary and place them prior to the date when Kirman potters abandoned the use of the square potters' mark (c. 1640). Two anomalies are worthy of mention.

The extraordinary dish with the pair of horses against fiery clouds (Fig. 2.43, ASH.10), remarkable for the quality of its painting and colour, has a back that seems to be a compromise between the grassy plant and the bird-on-branch (Fig. 6.1, ASH.10).

A knobby branch grows from the middle of the grassy plant, arching outward to support the bird, but then turning into a delicate vine-like tendril. This design spreads over the entire underside,

FIG. 6.1. *ASH.10, dish, back I.3.*

12 See Chapter Seven for descriptions and interpretations of these marks.

13 A group of dishes with blank cavetto and other shared characteristics but lacking the flowering branch back has been attributed to Mashhad on the basis of petrography (see ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13).

combining the rim and cavetto. The seal-mark identifies it as Kirman "boutique" ware, and its petrofabric confirms the Kirman origin. No other examples of this combination of the two designs (grassy plant and bird-on-branch) is known to the authors.

In a category of its own is the very Chinese-like dish V&A.201 (Fig. 6.2). The peach branch with birds covers the entire exterior wall, as there seems to be little or no out-turned rim. Here the two birds rest on pendant prunus branches. The design appears inverted as the branches hang from the rim of the dish rather than springing from the baseline as in all of the other examples of this back. However, there are parallels in Chinese examples (TKS 1176).[14]

FIG. 6.2A. *V&A.201a, dish, face.*

FIG. 6.2B. *V&A.201b, dish, back and detail of seal-mark.*

Back II: Continuous Lotus Scrolls (Pls. 6.3.1–2)

Early examples of the lotus scroll closely follow the Yuan models.[15] Two remarkable large dishes with similar Yuan-derived cloud-collar designs on the front have a superb rendering of the lotus scroll on both back and front (V&A.29; Fig. 2.40, V&A.74). From the undulating stem of the vine grow lotus blossoms with pointed petals and large-lobed leaves in the form of elongated triangles with points. The fine detail of the lotus scroll is typical of Kirman "boutique" production around 1630.

Execution of the lotus scroll back, which was often used on the cavetto of the interior as well, is less precise on other dishes. The lotus blossom was often outlined in black with only the centre and underside of the petals done in a cobalt wash (ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8; RZA.02, STK.36).

14 Even the potter's mark on V&A.201 is exceptional (Fig. 6.2b; Crowe 2002, no. 138, p. 113), as it attempts to re-create a real Chinese reign mark. It recalls the other unique potter's mark imitating Chinese cursive script on a flask, dated to 1626–27, and made in Mashhad (Fig. 2.33, BRM.09). The design on the face of the dish, an egret standing on a rock, is very close to a Chinese dish in which the "rock" is actually a lotus leaf with stalks appearing behind it (TKS 1214, second half of sixeenth century). To the Persian potter the leaf was seen as the surface of a rock and the stalks appeared to be vertical crevasses. The spiky lotus blossom is also reproduced but further stylized and repeated for symmetry. This kind of adaptation is typical of the Kirman "boutique" workshop.

15 Pope 1981, pl. 21, no. 29.48.

An alternative to the spare use of wash was the articulation of the petal's centre-fold as a short line, giving the petal a sense of shape (Fig. 3.6, V&A.21). In a variant (possibly later) the flower is executed entirely as an outline, and the lotus blossom structure is unrecognizable (BRM.14, ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11). We refer to this version as the "open daisy" lotus scroll. The leaves remain elongated, but the inward curling of the lower lobes is stressed.

***Back II.1: Spiky Leaf* (*Pl. 6.3.1*)**

Lotus scroll designs derived from this prototype vary according to the representation of the lotus leaf. In the lotus scroll on the back of a dish with *qilin* in fiery clouds (ASH.14), the leaves lose much of the organic quality displayed in the two Yuan-inspired cloud-collar dishes (V&A.29; Fig. 2.40, V&A.74). The petals of the lotus blossom also lose their sharp points. The lotus scroll was particularly favoured for dishes with the animal on a ground of dense foliage/clouds/waves (Fig. 3.38, FMK.07; ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11; Fig. 2.37, V&A.124), as well as other fifteenth-century Chinese models which would have used the lotus scroll (RZA.02).

The dishes sharing this back, whether finely executed or more cursorily drawn, also share other design features. Quite a few pair the formal floret under the rim with the lotus-scroll back (FMK.07; Fig. 3.6, V&A.21; V&A.124; STK.36; Fig. 2.60, HRM.79). The sources for the design of the front on all these dishes are primarily Yuan-period dishes, the most common being the animal (dragon, *qilin*, horse) on a field of fiery clouds or foliage. All are black-outline wares except one (HRM.79). Usually zones done in reserve are contrasted with those done in outline. The potter's mark is predominately a black seal-mark except for the blue-and-white dish copying the early Ming lotus bouquet (HRM.79), which has a blue tassel-mark. The lotus-scroll back seems to have been used by both the Kirman and Mashhad workshops although one example of the "open daisy" lotus scroll has a Mashhad petrofabric (ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11). Until more evidence is found, the use of the lotus-scroll back will be considered indicative only of chronology, not provenance. Its period of flourishing seems to have been c. 1620–1630, although it continued to be reproduced in copies of pieces from this period, such as a Kirman blue-and-white dish (Fig. 2.60, HRM.79), which was inspired by earlier Safavid models (such as RZA.02, Fig. 2.54).

***Back II.2: Club Leaf* (*Pl. 6.3.2*)**

If the vine tends to circle, the space left for the leaves contracts, forcing the leaves to diminish in length (ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8; V&A.37, 59). The leaf assumes a club-like form.

***Back II.3: Coneflower* (*Fig. 6.3*)**

The leaves retain their original form and are relatively large compared with the flowers, which assume the shape and appearance of a pine-cone (Fig. 6.3, KUW.01). This type of lotus scroll is also found on bowls and bottles.

FIG. 6.3. *KUW.01, dish, exterior walls (Back II.3), showing "coneflower" motif.*

Back III: Floral Sprays (Pls. 6.3.2–3)

In contrast to the continuous lotus scroll, the floral spray is a discrete plant motif. A series of identical floral sprays (three or more) are placed around the exterior walls. While there is great variation in the detail in the versions presented here, generally they share the same characteristics. The plant stretches out horizontally (parallel to the rim and base). It grows from a branch on the left and undulates as it scrolls to the right. The branch is usually vine-like and sprouts curving, twisting stems that bear small leaves. Around the midpoint of the branch is a blossom or fruits. The source of this motif is a late sixteenth-century Chinese exterior design (TKS 1116, 1118, 1125).

Back III.1: Fruit-Bearing Floral Spray (*Pl. 6.3.2.*)

Back III.1a: Close Copies of Fruit-Bearing Floral Spray (Pl. 6.3.2)

The fruit-bearing spray seems to have entered into the Safavid repertory at a time when Kirman potters were attempting to copy the entire Chinese model, back and front. Proctor draws attention to a finely executed copy of a water scene with pagodas and rocky islands (V&A.77; compare with TKS 1125). Only the Kraak frame distinguishes it from its Chinese model. On the exterior walls of the Chinese model are unconnected peach or prunus sprays with fleshy fruits and short, round-ended leaves. On the Safavid dish the spray still has a peach-like fruit with the leaves peeking out from behind it. The back of a similar Safavid dish (Fig. 3.27, V&A.63) has sprays with two peaches or plums.

An important rendering of the fruit-bearing spray (V&A.296) seems to derive from another variant of the Chinese model.[16] The undulating vine grows from a short branch at the left, forming an angle, and sprouts clusters of three small round-ended leaves. Small leaves show up from behind and in front of an elongated fruit. The vine then emerges, sprouting two more clusters of three leaves before disappearing in a diminishing line. This version gave rise to another "family" of fruit-bearing sprays that later became the fan-leaf spray (Back III.2a).

All these dishes have black outlining and black seal-marks of the type associated with the Kirman "boutique" workshop (Pl. 7.1, S1). Together with the marks and black outlines, the faithfulness of the Safavid renditions to the Chinese models, and the quality of the drawing point to the Kirman "boutique" workshop as the source in its pre-tassel-mark period (before 1640).

Back III.1b: Haloed Peach-Spray (Pl. 6.3.2)

The next group of dishes shows the transformation of the fruit-bearing spray into an easily reproduced design. The peach becomes "haloed" with petals, to use Proctor's phrase, and the spray turns into a sinuous vine. On the beautiful blue-and-white copy (Fig. 2.55, V&A.163) of an earlier Kirman lotus bouquet dish (such as RZA.02, Fig. 2.54), the angular branch on the left of the spray that had appeared earlier (V&A.296) now takes on a wishbone shape, the lower part of which turns into a trilobial leaf. This branch is joined to the fruit which is now completely surrounded by short petals. The vine continues beyond the peach as a very thin wavy line, rather than an angular one as in the Chinese model. The two round buds appearing on opposite sides of the branch in the Chinese model have been transformed into small multi-petalled flowers. The three almond-shaped leaves that sprout along the vine in the model are collapsed into a trilobial leaf (V&A.298, 300). This is the form in which the motif most frequently appears. One more stage in the transformation affects the terminus of the vine. It is elongated, eventually becoming a grassy shoot (Fig. 3.47, V&A.288; V&A.147, 171, 295). This final stage seems to take place around 1640–1650. It provides the support for a new type of floral element, the fan-leaf (Back III.2), and must have co-existed with it for a short period of time.

All the dishes with this exterior motif have tassel-marks except for the two early pieces mentioned above and several late seventeenth-century dishes (V&A.372, 374, 375). This version of the motif is therefore diagnostic for the middle of the seventeenth century and can be used to identify Kirman wares. Rare examples show that the Mashhad workshop reproduced a Kirman model during the earliest phase of this motif, in which case the potter's mark is a character-mark (Pl. 7.3, C1) (V&A.121).

Back III.2: Fan-Leaf Spray (*Pls. 6.3.2–3*)

Back III.2a: Fan-Leaf Spray: Initial Stage (Pl. 6.3.2)

The precise origin of this motif is elusive, but we shall try to suggest a source. While the "spray" seems inspired by the fruit-bearing floral spray motif developed at Kirman at mid-century (Back III.1a), the shape of the leaves is different, and a fan-like

16 Lion-Goldschmidt 1984, fig. 35 (before 1550).

plant element replaces the fruit. Proctor suggests that the fan-leaf is borrowed from the early Ming lotus bouquet and is a large, floppy, lotus leaf "viewed from the side."[17] Confirming this derivation is the occurrence of the fan-shaped leaf in a Safavid copy of the lotus-bouquet composition in which the "fan" appears in the tondo as well as in the floral spray on the exterior (ASH.17). On the face of the dish the lotus bouquet shows a large fleshy-petalled lotus in the centre springing from multiple stems, three similar flowers poised symmetrically around it, attached by undulating stems, and two fan-shaped leaves between them. This peculiar leaf has a foliated semi-circular edge. Its bottom, to which the stem is attached, has multiple striations ending just below a curving line. It is almost in this exact form that the leaf appears in the floral spray on the back. It lacks only the curving line separating the foliated edge and the striations. This dish probably represents one of the earliest versions of the fan-leaf spray in that its smaller leaves resemble the spiky lotus leaves found in the lotus scrolls. Several other dishes with recognizable fan-leaf motifs on the exterior show the reduction of the spiky leaf into a trefoil with "antennae" extending in opposite directions (V&A.196, 258, 291). Ultimately, the leaves come to look like flying insects.

Several modifications can be noted, although it is difficult to say whether the changes represent chronological developments or simply idiosyncrasies of different painters. In some examples the fan itself loses any internal articulation—the short parallel lines derived from petal demarcation (Fig. 2.80, MMA.10). The shape sometimes appears bell-like and other times more elliptical (MMA.10, V&A.23). At what seems to be a much later stage, the leaves line up in a regular pattern on either side of the vine, which tends to become a continuous line (HRM.70). The insect or bird motifs used as space fillers become V-shaped notations or disappear.

Several pieces with fan-leaf spray backs that have inscribed dates ranging between 1666 and 1680[18] demonstrate that this motif was popular for a long period of time. The dated pieces relate stylistically to many undated wares, most of which bear the Kirman tassel-marks. The fan-leaf spray back is therefore a good indication of Kirman provenance.

Back III.2b: Outline-Style Fan-Leaf Spray (Pl. 6.3.3)

One variant of the fan-leaf spray, however, does appear to represent a simplification in most respects (Fig. 2.80, MMA.10; V&A.23). The fan-leaf is painted in a washy outline in the form of an ellipse with pointed ends. The bottom of the fan-leaf remains slightly curved. All the elements in the design are cursorily executed in wash or wash outline. While tassel-marks predominate in the major group, this group displays either simpler forms of the tassel (STK.29, 30) or character-marks (Fig. 2.80, MMA.10; V&A.23, BRM.06). The style of the painting on the face of these dishes suggests a dating toward the end of the Safavid period. One example of Kirman polychrome ware with this back is dated 1088/1677–78 (BRM.06).

Back III.3: Floret-Spray (Pl. 6.3.3)

The fan-shaped blossom was occasionally replaced by an elliptical multi-petalled flower (ROM.83/Cat. no. 25; V&A.73, BKN.02). In these cases the use of the cobalt seal-mark (V&A.73) and the division of the underside into rim border and curving wall are signs of an earlier phase of this back motif. These dishes would seem to be contemporary with the early peach-spray-back vessels (Back III.1a) (V&A.77).

Back III.4: Blade-Spray (Pl. 6.3.3)

Although there may be some resemblance to the branching-plants motifs, this clump of vegetation was inspired by Kangxi designs,[19] dating to the

17 See examples in Pope 1981, pl. 32, no. 29.65; pl. 31, no. 29.21; see also Lion-Goldschmidt 1984, fig. 34.

18 See discussion of dating BRM.02, reading it as 1090 rather than 1109 on p. 99, above.

19 Crowe 2002:228.

middle of the seventeenth century (HRM.40, 48, 49, STK.06, V&A.425, 427, 435). In composition it belongs in the discrete-motifs category, characterized by the even distribution of isolated, generally repetitive, motifs around the exterior walls of the dish.

Some of the flowers resemble iris-like blades. Others appear more like images of water plants used on interiors of some dishes. They usually occur four to a dish, dividing the dish into equal parts, with some exceptions (HRM.40, 48). The motif of bird/insect is used as filler between sprays although the space is sometimes left blank (HRM.49, 51). Only three dishes with this back in our database are blue-and-white (HRM.40, 48, STK.06). The rest are black-line.

The designs on the faces of these dishes all reflect Chinese models of the late seventeenth century, as well as those from Japan, as observed by Crowe. Kraak panels are found on only one dish with this back, but its tondo reflects another style current at this time ("precious flower" style; HRM.49). There are generally six to eight spur marks encircling a recessed well in the centre of the base. When potters' marks are present, character-marks predominate. This group appears consistent in its technical and stylistic characteristics and may well represent the output of a single workshop. The blade-spray back may therefore be considered diagnostic, but the workshop has not been identified. Some sherds excavated at Derbent share motifs with this group but lack the spur marks on the base. Mason has attributed the Derbent sherds to the Mashhad region (Mashhad II and III petrofabrics; DER.19).

Back IV: Kraak-Panel Designs (Pls. 6.3.3–4)

Chinese porcelains of the Wanli period show a wide range of interior border designs featuring division into panels.[20] Most involve the alternation of narrow panels and broader panels. This design appears on the underside in simplified form and was adopted by the Safavid potters for both fronts and backs of many seventeenth-century dishes. The backs are based primarily on Rinaldi's Border VII.1.[21] Within the broader panels an ogival frame encloses a motif, such as a peach blossom. The earlier versions seem to retain the shield-like shape of the ogival frame (V&A.106). The later examples appear trilobial at the top, with the lateral lobes often extending to the sides (V&A.198). Somewhat rare are backs inspired by a Kraak border normally found on the inside of the Chinese dishes. It is distinguished by its lack of independent ogival frames (Rinaldi's Border V; V&A.260, 289). In Kraak-inspired designs the floral spray within the broad panel normally has a round flower or fruit in the centre, with tendrils bearing small rounded leaves (Fig. 3.43, V&A.75; V&A.143, 168). The narrow panels may be very slim with no filler or they may have an arched roof over a *lingzhi* (fungus) motif. A scalloped line is painted along the rim of the dish, mirroring the scalloped Kraak panels below and the (normally) bracketed rim. The exterior decoration occupies the whole of the cavetto and rim region on the underside of these dishes.

Five of the most common variations of backs on Safavid dishes related to Kraak models are described here.

Back IV.1: Kraak Panel: Close Copies (Pl. 6.3.3)

The earliest imitations of Kraak wares were quite faithful to the models (Fig. 6.4, TRO.01; Fig. 3.41, V&A.78; Fig. 2.41, V&A.83). The design on the back consists of narrow panels and independent ogival frames, occupied by auspicious Chinese symbols (T-shaped motifs) and dots. On some Kraak porcelains this motif alternates with the peach spray in the ogival frames.[22] The rather cursory form of the ogival frames on the Safavid wares is not a sign of failure to reproduce the original. On the

20 See classification by Rinaldi 1989.

21 Rinaldi 1989, pl. 83.

22 Rinaldi 1989, pl. 85, fig. 14.

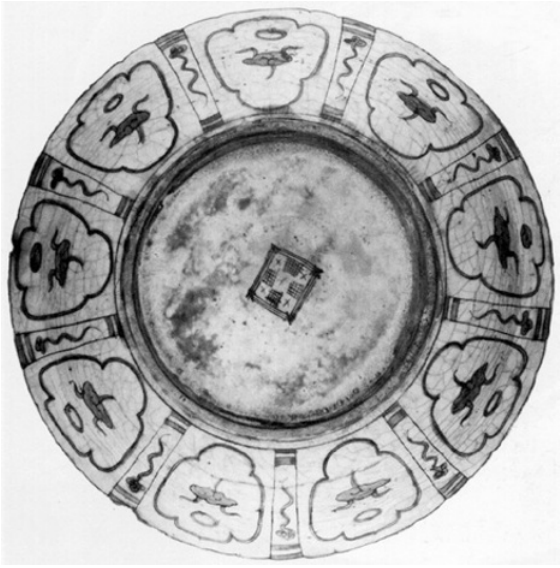


FIG. 6.4. *TRO.01, dish, back* (*Back IV.1*)

contrary, the potter was so faithful to the model that he copied the cursory form of the ogival frame present in the model (Rinaldi's Border VII.2).[23] The narrow panels have upper and lower demarcations, unlike those of the majority of Kraak-derived backs. This group is distinguished in general by its fine painting and its faithfulness to the Chinese models. One even utilizes the Kraak border with round medallions (Rinaldi's Border VIII), which is rarely found in Safavid pottery (V&A.78). The identifying mark of this group is the black seal-mark characterized by the symmetry of its internal elements (Pl. 7.1, S1), which we have attributed to the Kirman "boutique" workshop. This variation on the Kraak-panel back was used in other workshops that do not share characteristics of the early Kirman atelier, but in all of these cases the works appear to be derivative (based on Safavid rather than Chinese models) (V&A.252, STK.34, V&A.253).

Back IV.2: Kraak Panel: Peach-Spray Filler (*Pl. 6.3.4*)

The largest Kraak-panel group seems to follow the same model as the Kirman "boutique" workshop, but the design becomes standardized. The narrow panel lacks the lower demarcation. The filler within the ogival frame is a single vertical plant with a large round peach in the centre, which we designate as the vertical peach spray (Fig. 3.43, V&A.75; Fig. 3.44, HRM.59; V&A.143, 168). Less commonly followed was the Kraak pattern which lacked the independent ogival frame (Rinaldi's Border V) (V&A.260, 289) or which also did not have the narrow panel (Rinaldi's Border IV) (V&A.259). The predominant potter's mark for this back is the Kirman tassel-mark, although some examples of the square seal-mark are found on black-line dishes (HRM.59). Absent from all the dishes with Kraak-panel backs of this type is the leaf-curl diaper found on Kirman wares after around 1660. Although the choice of Chinese models may account for this absence, it is more likely that the group pre-dates the appearance of the leaf-curl diaper. One indication of an early date is the use of the solitary tassel-mark.

Back IV.3: Kraak Panel: Antennae-Plant Filler (*Pl. 6.3.4*)

Further variations occur in the motif used as filler for the broad Kraak panel or ogival frame. In many examples the peach spray has a pair of petals that spring from the top and stretch out symmetrically, like antennae (HRM.54, 56; V&A.106, 167), making the plant resemble the *lingzhi* of the earlier Kirman group (Fig. 3.41, V&A.78). In a rare variation this motif alternates with "jewels" (ROM.92/ Cat. no. 20). The same alternation of motifs within the broad panel occurs on a black-outline dish, which, however, lacks independent ogival frames (ROM.14/ Cat. no. 17). This dish (ROM.14) lacks a potter's mark, but a similar dish (V&A.259) with close stylistic traits has a tassel-mark, suggesting that the unmarked dish (ROM.14) is also from Kirman. This back appears to be simply a variant of the previous back (Back IV.2), perhaps slightly later in date.

The antennae plant also appears in the ogival frame of a black-outline Isfahan dish (ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16), but the narrow panel was replaced

23 Rinaldi 1989, pl. 83.

with "jewels." Possibly also from Isfahan, as suggested by its shape, is a black-outline dish with the antennae plant in independent ogival frames but with the broad panels separated only by single lines (Fig. 3.19, HRM.58). Isfahan dishes with these backs show a variety of different derivative potter's marks. They would seem to be contemporary with Back IV.2, because they draw inspiration from the Kirman/Mashhad black-outline style of the 1630s. As such they pre-date the more common blue-and-white Isfahan dishes erroneously called "Kubachi" ware. These later Isfahan dishes, despite their remote connections with Kraak models, mostly lack painted decoration on the underside or employ simple lines suggestive of Kraak panels (see Chapter Four).

Back IV.4: Kraak Panel: Jewels Filler (Pl. 6.3.4)

Forming a homogeneous group are dishes with a back that lacks the independent medallion and replaces the floral motif with "jewels" (V&A.206, 362). These variations may have been inspired by Chinese models such as dishes found in the Santos Palace collection dating to c. 1585–1605.[24] The jewels form a cross made up of small circles and dots with a larger circle in the centre of the cross. The tassel-mark seems to predominate, suggesting that this back is diagnostic for Kirman wares. The exception would be imitations of Kirman wares, particularly by the Isfahan workshop (ROM.16/ Cat. no. 43). The "outline" style of one of these dishes (V&A.206) can be dated to around 1675 on the basis of a tile painted in that style.[25]

Back IV.5: Kraak Panel: Ring Filler (Pl. 6.3.4)

Another homogeneous group with a distinct Kraak-derived back has independent ogival frames, drawn in a cursory manner, with or without the narrow panel. The frames contain a ring with striations filling the centre (V&A.378, 384, 393). All the potters' marks are character-marks composed of short parallel strokes or a sickle-shaped curve (V&A.387). Most have the brown rim and grisaille tone characteristic of the late seventeenth century.[26]

Back V: Foot-Ring Border (Pl. 6.3.5)

A scroll based on the Chinese classic scroll fills a broad band, reserved in white against a cobalt ground, situated just above the wide foot-ring. Alternating on the inner and outer borders of the band are half-flowers. Black lines depict detail within the flower. The placement of this scroll band above the foot-ring as the sole decoration of the exterior is not a practice drawn from Chinese models.

This group also shares many other features, including many with a large diameter (37.5–47 cm) and shallow rim.[27] All the examples are executed with black outlines. The unpainted cavetto inside is lightly carved. This area is usually set off from the tondo by a scroll-and-*ruyi* frame, similar to that found on Kraak-panel dishes. The predominant potter's mark is the black seal-mark (Pl. 7.1, S2), and only one dish of this type with a tassel-mark was found (V&A.255). The one sampled dish (ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13) has a Mashhad II petrofabric. Because this is a fairly homogeneous group, we suggest that most were products of a single workshop, probably Mashhad, from around 1630–1640. The single dish with a tassel-mark suggests that this genre was occasionally imitated in Kirman.

Back VI: Lozenges (Precious Object) (Pl. 6.3.5)

Four diamond-shaped lozenges appear under the cavetto/rim of these dishes.[28] The lozenge shape derives from the eight Chinese Precious

24 Rinaldi 1989, pl. 74.

25 The tile is dated 1088/1677–78 (YZD.07).

26 Crowe 2002:187.

27 V&A.159, with a diameter of 30.4 cm, is the smallest dish in this group.

28 Crowe identifies this object as a "fan" (2002:234).

Objects and is seen on later Kangxi-period objects (1662–1722).[29] While the Chinese examples tend to use more than one symbol, the most that the Islamic ceramic painter uses is two. A variation has the elongated diamond-shaped motif alternating with a rounded pearl symbol (BRM.16).[30] Many pieces with this back do not have potters' marks, and those that do have character-marks.

The decoration of the face of the dish is less dense than on earlier Persian chinoiserie vessels, thus reflecting a trend in later Chinese models.[31] The dishes tend to have brown rims. The favoured interior themes are a stylized floral design or an abstraction of a Chinese landscape. Occasional exceptions include animals and birds (HRM.44, swirling dragon; ROM.11/ Cat. no. 48, parrot). Dishes with this back tend to be relatively small. Chinese models for many of these date from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century (TKS 2060–2061). A dish with cone shapes similar to those on a sandpot datable by its Armenian monogram to 1706 has this back.[32]

Back VII: Sickle-Leaf (Pl. 6.3.5)

This design consists of one or more rows of unconnected sickle-shaped motifs (V&A.399, 401, 402, STK.13). The motif itself appears to be a brushstroke which begins wide and narrows as it makes the curve. At the wide end are two tiny joined trilobial leaves, and another sometimes rests inside the curve. Additional leaves may appear along the rim-line or above the base. There seems to be no Chinese model for this design. The designs found on the interior are remotely based on Kraak models, but the new style characterized by "strange roots" has transformed these traditional themes.[33] Crowe dates this style to the end of the seventeenth century. The marks are mostly simplified seal-marks (S16). One tassel-mark does occur on a dish with the sickle-leaf back (V&A.401).

Isfahan Workshop: Rims on Mid-Seventeenth-Century Wares (Phases II–III)

This section of Chapter Six is devoted to the rims of Isfahan ("Kubachi") wares of the seventeenth century because they appear exclusively on wares of this workshop. The most common rim patterns are described (Isf = Isfahan) and, where possible, their models are identified. The purpose of this section is to suggest a consistent system for classifying and naming these motifs.

Rim Isf 1: Scale Pattern

A series of scalloped lines forms a scale-like pattern. Each row of scales is painted with a double black line, and the lower part of each scale is coloured in. The prototype is probably the scale diaper pattern found between floral panels on the borders of mid-sixteenth-century Chinese wares (Fig. 6.5, TKS 849).

The typical Safavid examples appear in at least three variations.

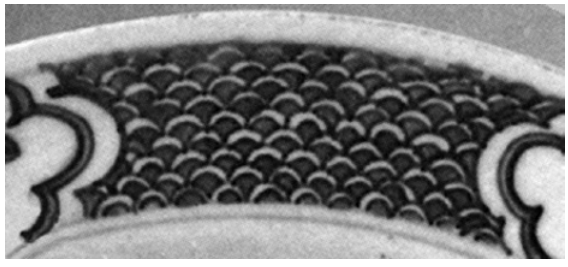


FIG. 6.5. *Chinese prototype for Rim Isf 1 (TKS 849).*

Rim Isf 1.1 (Fig. 6.6)

The scale pattern appears as a continuous band around the rim of the dish (Fig. 6.6, SAK.01; KEL.01, MMA.17, 32, 33, SEV.01)

29 Lion-Goldschmidt 1984, pls. 117–18 (Santos Palace collection, Inv. no. 161; before 1683).

30 On V&A.129 the lozenge is more of a scroll motif.

31 List includes: BKN.03; BRM.16, 207, 208; ROM.82/Cat. no. 52; STK.71, 72; V&A.134, 135.

32 Crowe 2002:226 (nos. 355, 352).

33 Crowe 2002:197–201.

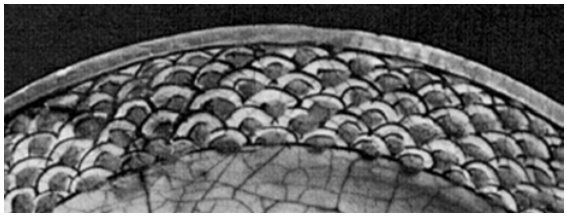


FIG. 6.6. *SAK.01, dish with Rim Isf 1.1.*

Rim Isf 1.2 (Fig. 6.7)

The scale pattern appears in either green, red, or yellow within ovoid panels around the rim (Fig. 6.7, MMA.31). The solid area in between the cartouches is painted blue (BAR.02, CIN.01, MMA.34, 35, 36, 37, 38).

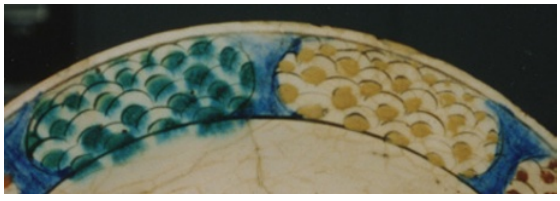


FIG. 6.7. *MMA.31, dish with Rim Isf 1.2.*

Rim Isf 2: Honeycomb Pattern

A series of hexagonal cells, outlined in single, double, or triple lines, form a honeycomb pattern. This rim is found on both polychrome slipwares and blue-and-white incised-line wares. Each of the cells may contain a pattern of dots (a flower-like arrangement of five or six dots around a central dot), or the central dots may be connected to one another with straight lines that form another less obvious grid underneath the honeycomb pattern.

A probable prototype may be the honeycomb-diaper band appearing below the rim on the exterior of Chinese bowls from around 1550–1575 (Fig. 6.8, TKS 1069). The five-petal, white florets establish the pattern for the Safavid six-dot version. The edges of the blue ground create a sort of border around the cell outlines not unlike the double outline of some of the Safavid examples.

A Chinese bowl dating from the early 1600s has a similar honeycomb rim border with white florets

FIG. 6.8. *Chinese prototype for Rim Isf 2 (TKS 1069).*

on a blue ground (Fig. 6.9, TKS 1527). In this case the radiating petals may relate to the lines that interconnect the central dots on some Safavid pieces.

FIG. 6.9. *Chinese prototype for Rim Isf 2 (TKS 1527).*

Two variations of the honeycomb pattern are common on Safavid dishes.

Rim Isf 2.1 (Fig. 6.10)

The triple outlines of the honeycomb pattern are painted in black and the six or seven dots arranged in a floral pattern within each "cell" are painted in various colours (Fig. 6.10, MMA.39).

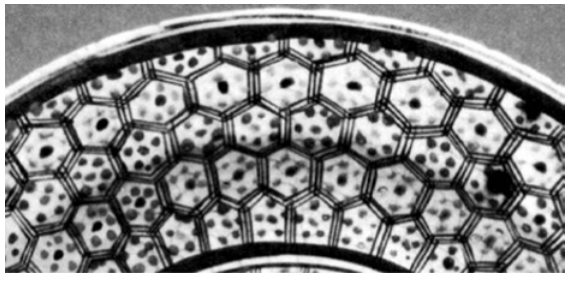


FIG. 6.10. *MMA.39, rim and cavetto of dish with honeycomb pattern (Rim Isf 2.1).*

Rim Isf 2.2 (Fig. 6.11)

On blue-and-white incised-line dishes the honeycomb pattern is painted in blue, but an olive-black

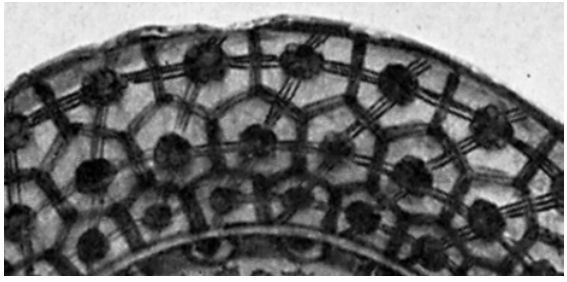


FIG. 6.11. *ASH.01, rim and cavetto of dish with honeycomb pattern in blue and olive-black (Rim Isf 2.2).*

is introduced for the large central dots and the underlying grid of double lines that connects them (Fig. 6.11, ASH.01).

Rim Isf 3: Trellis Pattern (Fig. 6.12)

The trellis pattern refers to a diaper pattern consisting of a grid of diamond shapes, each of which may contain a single dot, a pattern of dots, or floral motifs. In the most sophisticated versions, the diamond shapes become carefully articulated ogee medallions. The trellis pattern is closely related to the honeycomb pattern in that it has a grid-like structure forming closed shapes that contain dots or patterns of dots. The trellis pattern appears predominantly on the blue-and-white incised-line wares, often painted in olive-green underglaze.

FIG. 6.12. *ROM.27/ Cat. no. 41, rim and cavetto with trellis pattern (Rim Isf 3).*

Rim Isf 4: Palmette Interlace

The palmette interlace is used to decorate polychrome slip-painted wares. On the cavetto it appears as an openwork band of two interlaced strands of palmette leaves. As a rim decoration the interlace is formed of fleshier stems and leaves and can be either an intertwining of two strands or a series of single leaves. The palmette interlace is always oriented in a clockwise direction. Iznik wares of the sixteenth century provide the closest prototype although no evidence for the export of Ottoman wares to Safavid Iran has come to light. An Iznik dish from c. 1525–1535 exhibits an interlaced band of palmette-like leaves around the rim (Fig. 6.13).[34] This corresponds to the Safavid version Rim Isf 4.2, which also makes use of a dark background. A jar from around 1520 has a simplified version of this band encircling the neck.[35]

FIG. 6.13. *Palmette interlace on rim of Iznik dish.*

The palmette interlace does occur on one blue-and-white incised-line dish (ROM.57/ Cat. no. 42), which features a carefully painted version on the cavetto (see below, Rim Isf 4.2). This seems to be an exceptional case in which polychrome slip-painted designs have been adapted to the blue-and-white scheme, since the tondo and rim designs are also culled from the polychrome repertory.

Rim Isf 4.1 (Fig. 6.14)

One version of this design uses a double strand of palmette leaves in a variety of colours against a light-coloured background, sometimes on the cavetto rather than along the rim (Fig. 6.14, MAG.07; BAR.02; MMA.38, 40).

Rim Isf 4.2 (Figs. 6.15–16)

In this version the double strand of palmette leaves is executed in outline and the interstices between the leaves are filled in with a variety of

34 Atasoy and Raby 1989, no. 168.

35 Ibid., no. 520.

FIG. 6.14. *MAG.07, rim of dish with interlacing palmette leaves (Rim Isf 4.1).*

FIG. 6.15. *MBA.01, rim of dish with Rim Isf 4.2.*

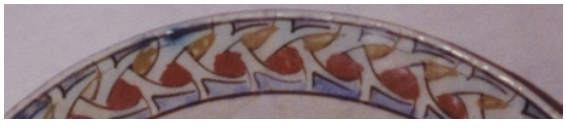


FIG. 6.16. *MDN.16, rim of dish with Rim Isf 4.2.*

colours (Fig. 6.15, MBA.01; Fig. 6.16, MDN.16; BAR.05, MMA.45, V&A.04).

Rim Isf 4.3 (6.17–18)

In this variation the palmette leaves are arranged as a single, unidirectional series, outlined in black and set against a polychromatic background (Fig. 6.17, MAG.03). On some pieces the individual leaves degenerate into loosely-drawn curved shapes, barely discernible as leaves. In order to fill the wider border (rim plus cavetto) on certain dishes (Fig. 6.18, BAR.04), the individual leaves are larger and heavier and may even contain a smaller painted leaf within each reserved leaf-shape (ROM.08/ Cat. no. 33; MAG.05, MMA.41–44).

FIG. 6.17. *MAG.03, rim of dish with Rim Isf 4.3.*

FIG. 6.18. *BAR.04, rim and cavetto of Dish with Rim Isf 4.3.*

Rim Isf 5: Kraak Panels

Rim Isf 5.1 (Fig. 6.19)

Panels occupying the cavetto and rim are in the form of Kraak lotus petals (petal-panels). The panels usually contain variations on the peach-spray. Some examples include insects and other motifs found on Kraak porcelains (Fig. 6.19, ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44). Details are rendered in a sketchy manner, suggesting rapid execution. This border, which covers rim and cavetto, is found in both polychrome slip-painted and blue-and-white incised-line Isfahan wares.

FIG. 6.19. *ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44, rim and cavetto of dish with Kraak panels (Rim Isf 5.1)*

Rim Isf 5.2 (Fig. 6.20)

Panels occupying the cavetto and rim are indicated by simple lines. Within the panels are "antennae-plants," also found on Back IV.3 (Pl. 6.3.4), sprouting fern-like branches to either side of a large "peach" on a grassy stalk. The plant springs from a clump of finger-like leaves. The stalk is

FIG. 6.20. *ROM.12/ Cat. no.34, rim and cavetto of dish with linear Kraak panels (Rim Isf 5.2).*

flanked by arching blades that, when visually linked, create an "arcade" around the walls of the dish.

A variation of this design has the peach-spray swaying from one panel to the next (on the right) (ROM.15, 48, 58/ Cat. nos. 37, 39, 38). Sometimes the stalk is thickened to resemble a tree stump or mountain (ROM.58/ Cat. no. 38).

Rim Isf 5.3

Instead of wide panels, knotted stalks support a border of reciprocal trefoils from which "jewels" are suspended (ROM.17/ Cat. no. 36, see Catalogue illustration).

Rim Isf 6 (Fig. 6.21): Floral Vine-Scroll

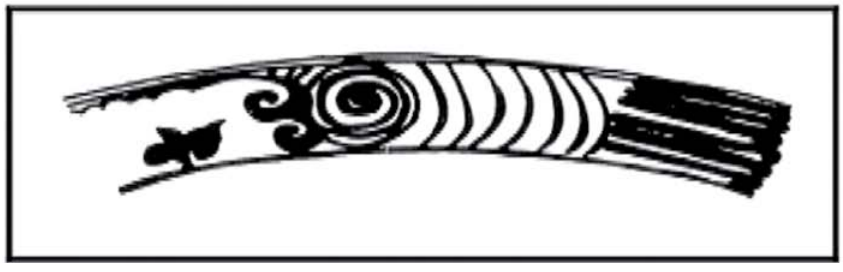
Floral elements alternate with tendrils (Fig. 6.21, LAC.01; MMA.46). The S-shape of the tendrils is a prominent element of the design, This rim is found only on Isfahan polychrome wares.

FIG. 6.21. *LAC.01, rim of dish with floral vine-scroll (Rim Isf 6).*

Rim T1: Timurid cresting wave

Rim T2: whorl-crest 1

Rim T3: caterpillar 1



PL. 6.1.1. *Rims on late Timurid pottery* (*end of fifteenth century*).

Rim 1: precise crest

Rim 2: scalloped crest

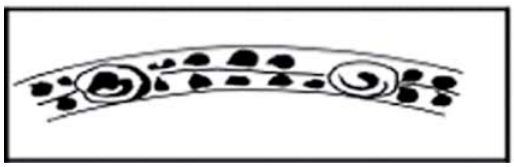
Rim 3: scrawny crest

Rim 4: caterpillar 2

Rim 5: whorl-crest 2

Rim 6: centipede 1

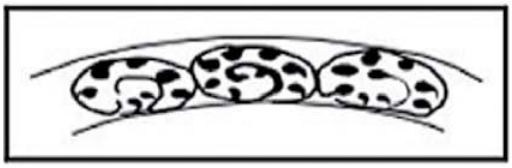
Rim 7: centipede 2



Rim 8: classic scroll

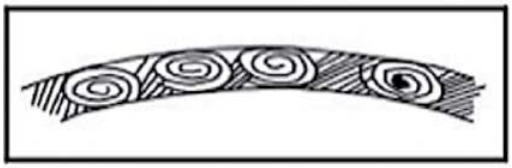
PL. 6.1.2. *Sixteenth-century rims* (*1–8*).

Rim 9: dotted volutes



Rim 10: dot-cartouche

Rim 11: bubbles

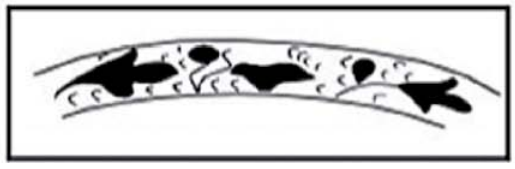


Rim 12: colon-scroll

Rim 13: foliate crest

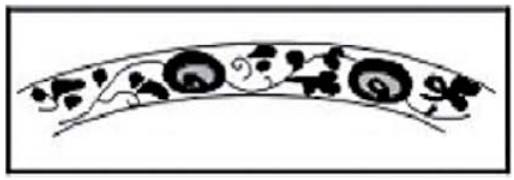
Rim 14: fish-leaf

Rim 15: small leaf



PL. 6.1.3. *Sixteenth-century rims* (*9–15*).

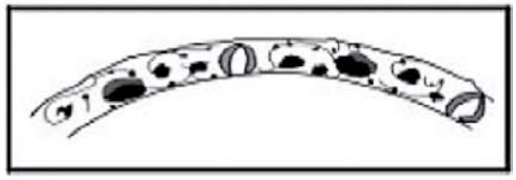
Rim 16: button-scroll 1



Rim 17: button-scroll 2

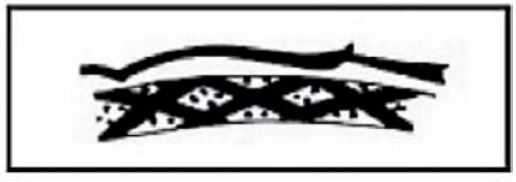
Rim 18: button-plant

Rim 19: button-scroll 3



Rim 20: reserve diaper

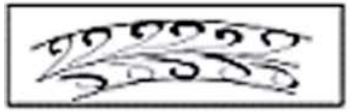
Rim 21: diamond diaper



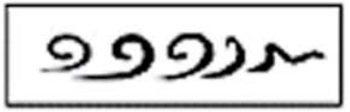
Rim 22: zig-zag

PL. 6.1.4. *Sixteenth-century rims* (*16–22*).

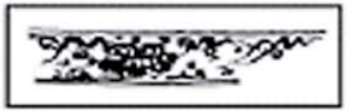
Back A: Double-scroll



Back B: Comma-series



Back C: Rosette-scroll

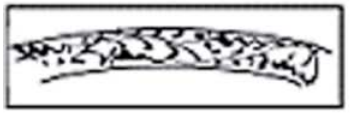


Back D: Floral meander

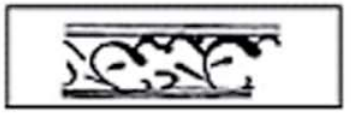
Back E: Circle-scroll

Back F(1): Weedback-meander

Back F(2): Weedback-meander

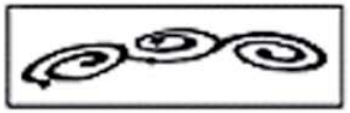


Back G: Weedback petal-panel



Back H: Knobby volutes

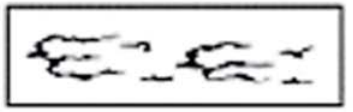
Back I: Tangent volutes



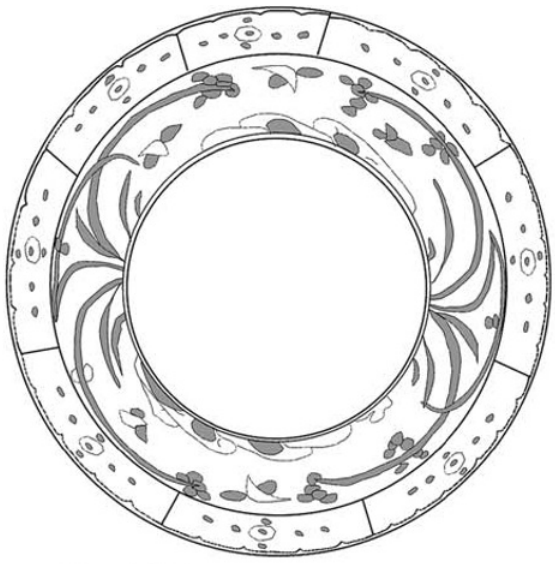
Back J: Button-scroll

Back K: Peach blossom

Back L: Cloud

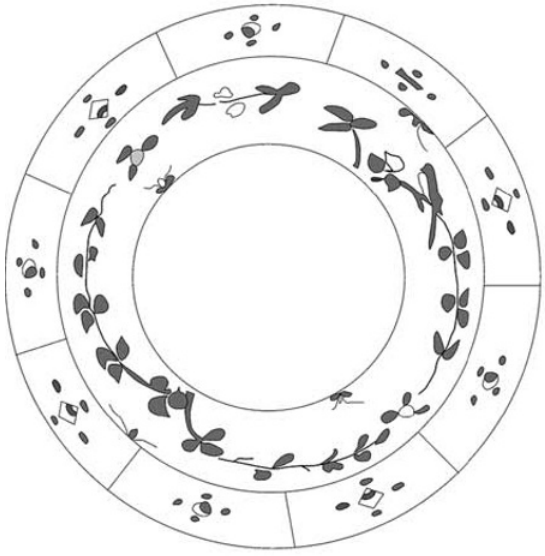


PL. 6.2. *Back motifs on sixteenth-century pottery.*

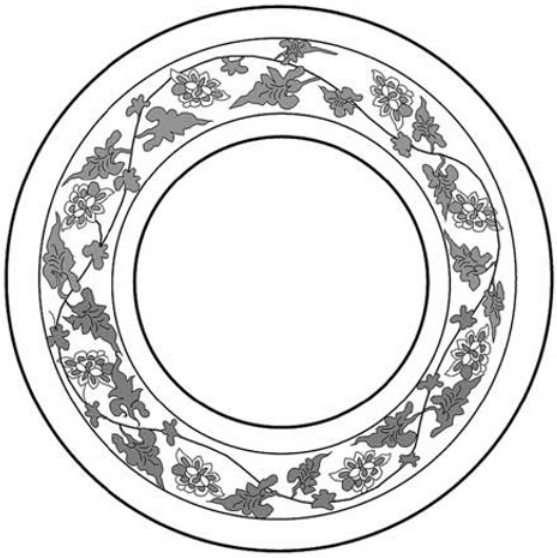


Back I.1

Back I.2



Back I.3



Back II.1

PL. 6.3.1. *Seventeenth-century backs: I.1 grassy plants; I.2 tree branches; I.3 peach branches; II.1 spiky leaf.*

Back II.2

Back III.1a

Back III.1b

Back III.2a

PL. 6.3.2. *Seventeenth-century backs: II.2 club leaf; III.1a fruit-bearing floral spray—close copies; III.1b haloed peach-spray; III.2a fan-leaf spray—initial stage.*

Back III.2b

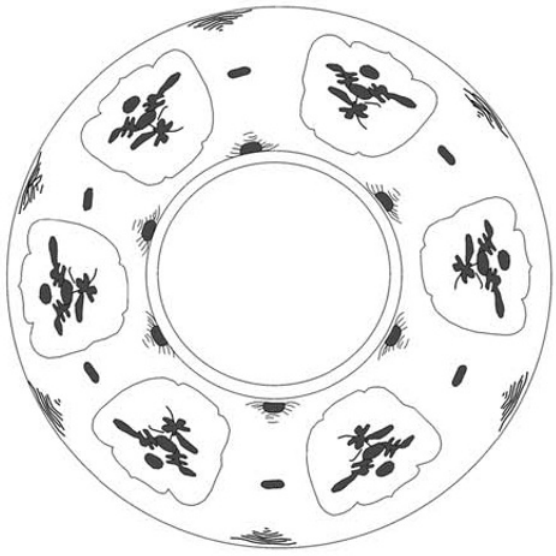
Back III.3

Back III.4

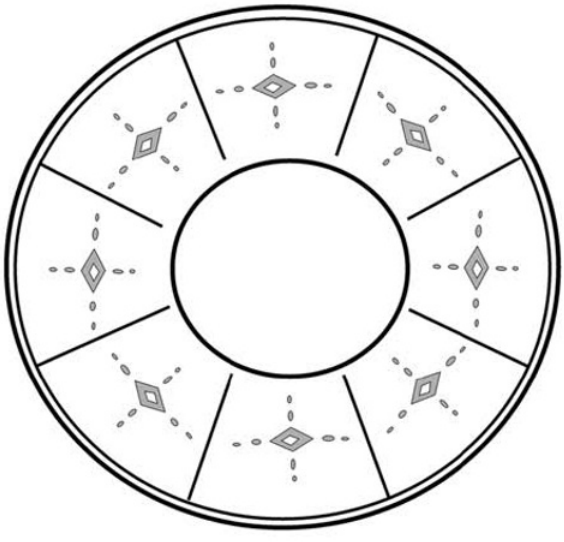
Back IV.1

PL. 6.3.3. *Seventeenth-century backs: III.2b outline-style fan-leaf spray; III.3 floret-spray; III.4 blade-spray; IV.1 Kraak panel—close copies.*

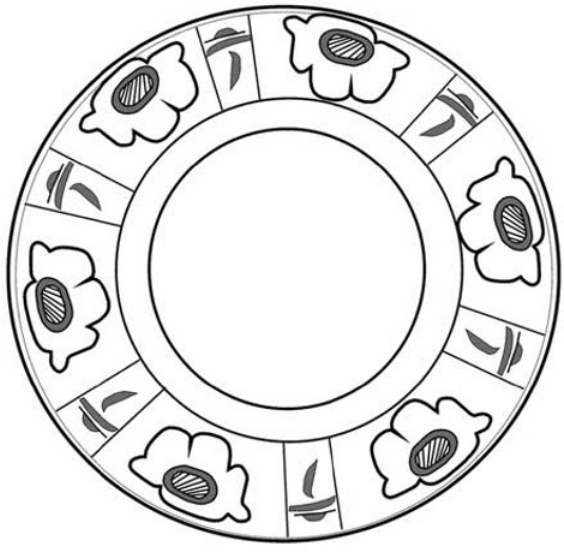
Back IV.2



Back IV.3

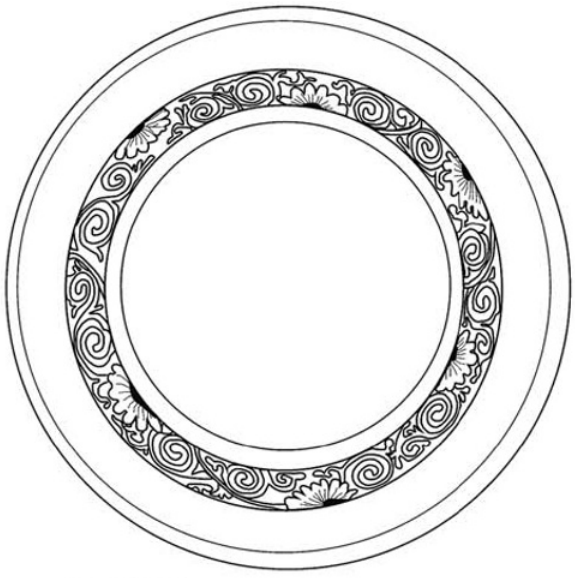


Back IV.4

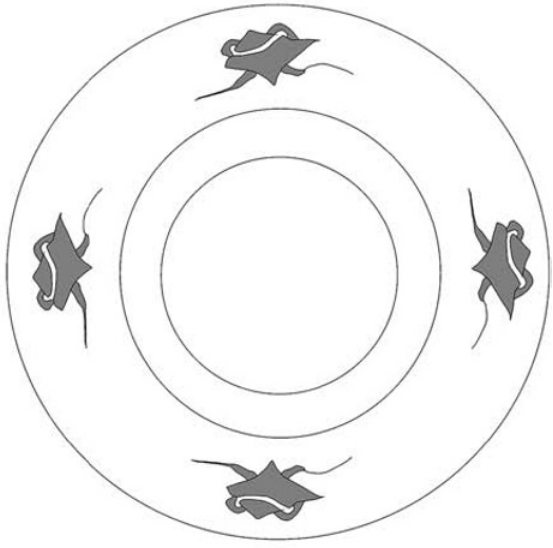


Back IV.5

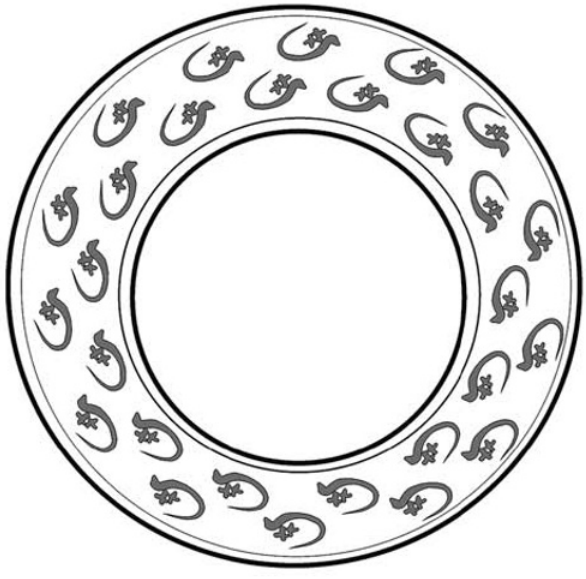
PL. 6.3.4. *Seventeenth-century backs: IV.2 Kraak panel—peach-spray filler; IV.4 Kraak panel—antennae-plant filler; IV.5 Kraak panel—jewels filler.*



Back V



Back VI



Back VII

PL. 6.3.5. *Seventeenth-century backs: V foot-ring border; VI lozenges; VII sickle-leaf.*

CHAPTER 7

Potters' Marks

Lisa Golombek, Robert B. Mason and Eileen Reilly

Diagnostic motifs fall into two major categories relating to their location on the pottery: borders of rims and exteriors, which were described in Chapter Six, and potters' marks, which are found on the base and are detailed here in Chapter Seven. Potters' marks are found only on seventeenth-century Safavid wares, and only a small proportion of surviving vessels bear such marks. We understand these marks as attempts by the Safavid potters to simulate Chinese porcelain imports, which were often painted with marks (*nianhao*) designating the reign, destination, or expression of wishes. Safavid potters' marks do not seem to have been intended to convey a message, at least none that is apparent. We have followed Arthur Lane's classification of them by shape: square seal-marks, pyramidal tassel-marks, and character-marks.[1] Within each category there is wide variation. Occasionally, it is possible to assign dates and provenance to specific forms of these marks. We have tried to bracket the range of time for the appearance of each variation based on the style of the vessels represented. For a general discussion of potters' marks and their significance, see Chapter Two (seventeenth century). For illustrations of objects cited in this chapter, reference can be made to the relevant data in the Concordance, found in Appendix B. All objects cited from the Royal Ontario Museum are illustrated in the Catalogue in Part III.

7.1 Seal-Marks (Pl. 7.1)

Of the three types of potters' marks found on Safavid wares, only the variations found in seal-marks can be assigned to specific workshops and phases. The reason for this is that the data available for vessels bearing seal-marks is more extensive. Most of the dated wares from the first half of the seventeenth century have seal-marks, thus providing a chronological sequence for these marks. Moreover, petrographic analysis of both the dated and the undated vessels with seal-marks has allowed us to attribute certain variations in the seal-mark to specific workshops. Other indications of date, such as Chinese models and diagnostic features (Chapter Six), of course, have aided in the sequencing of the seal-marked vessels. We shall see that the dating of variations in the other types of potters' marks is more elusive. The description of the major types of seal-marks has been arranged according to Phases (I–IV) and, where possible, to workshops.

The square seal-mark normally consists of a square formed of single strokes that tend to overlap. Within the outer square there are usually one or more inner squares. The blank space inside the square is normally filled with various characters, remotely based on the Chinese characters found in the reign names or other expressions making up the *nianhao* on Chinese porcelain. These characters may be symmetrically disposed or not. Marks can be grouped on the basis of the composition and nature of the internal elements, as we shall suggest. Nevertheless, square seal-marks are rarely identical in all detail.

Potters' marks noted below are designated "S" for seal-mark, "T" for tassel-mark, and "C" for character-mark.

Phase I (1615–1640)

S1 Kirman "Boutique"

The squares are generally large and have elements symmetrically disposed. Grids have orthogonal lines or parallel lines with oblique lines passing through. Many have an H-shaped or asterisk-like

1 Lane 1957: 112–18.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_009

element. The vessels are remarkable for their masterly painting. Two have been sampled, and their Kirman origin has been confirmed (ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8; ASH.10). The bowl with a dated inscription mentioning "salt" (BER.01, dated 1037/1627–28), provides a fixed point for this group.

S2 Ascending Lines

Four or five frames make this mark very dense. Within the square is a row of parallel vertical lines gradually ascending in height. A character is written over this element, using loops and calligraphic flourishes. The earliest dated spittoon bears this mark (ASH.13), placing the group with this mark to around 1034/1624–25. All the vessels (except one, V&A.124) are black-outline and belong stylistically to this period. Some of the pieces are very fine, such as the bowl with very thin walls (ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10) imitating closely a Wanli crow bowl. However, the workshop that used this mark must also have used others, as there is a second bowl that closely resembles ROM.21 but it has a different seal-mark (S4, ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9). The dated spittoon has a confirmed Kirman petrofabric. A base sherd picked up in Kirman bears this seal-mark painted in blue and seems to be a waster (Fig. 5.18, KIR.18) as there is a kiln scar on the interior face.

S3 Nested Curves and Other Elements

A large group of vessels have square marks containing one or two elements consisting of nested curves. These generally begin in the corners and expand toward the centre of the square. In one group pairs of nested curves are situated in opposite corners (STK.01, V&A.94, 275). The other corners are occupied by orthogonal grids or other straight-line elements. In one example the nested curves actually enclose an orthogonal grid (V&A.77). Where only one set of nested curves is used, it figures prominently. Because there is so much variation in this group, distinguishing workshops is not possible without petrographic analysis. All but two of the vessels in this group have black seal-marks and are black-outline wares. Stylistically they can be dated to before 1645. None are decorated with motifs that we have associated with the third phase of the seventeenth century, such as the leaf-curl diaper. The base of a *kendi* with this mark bears an inscription with the date 1037/1627 (V&A.117). This mark may be assigned to Phase I and early Phase II.

S4 Four Elements in a Framing Square

This variation is distinguished by the wide space between the outer frame and the multiple inner frames. There are two types of internal elements, a grid of crossing lines and a series of parallel lines. The two elements are placed in opposing corners (ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9; V&A.59, 90, HRM.84). These are all black-outline, but one has a blue seal-mark (HRM.84). The painting and potting of vessels with this mark are quite fine. They should be assigned to Phase I (possibly Kirman), c. 1635. The group appears to come from the same workshop as vessels bearing the S2 mark.

S5 Four Disparate Elements

Contained within three nested square frames are four differing elements, separated by relatively large spaces. Some of the pieces are unusual (such as V&A.81). This mark should date to c. 1635.

S6 Box in Corner Plus Numerous Elements

This complex composition appears in almost identical form on several pieces, and with its major elements on others. Typically, the large frame consists of three nested squares. Inside, there is a small square tucked into the corner. The other elements are disposed more or less sequentially as follows (clockwise): an elongated loop or rectangle, jutting out from the frame and often passing through the inner frame; in the next corner, a grid element (V&A.64) or nested curves emanating from the corner (ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13); grid elements in one or more of the remaining corners. The space between these elements is occupied by curvilinear characters, sometimes looking like the character-marks that appear later. It is not surprising that

there is such consistency in the potters' marks of this group, as they are found on the very uniform carved cavetto group attributed to Mashhad (Mashhad II petrofabric) (ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13). The group is finely painted and dates to c. 1635.

S7 M-Shaped Element in a Square

These seal-marks contain many ill-defined elements scattered about, among which is an M-shaped squiggle or series of pointed shapes (ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11; ASH.09, 18; V&A.48, 85). One of these has a confirmed Mashhad petrofabric (ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11; Mashhad I). The quality of the painting is very fine. This group dates to c. 1635.

S8 Framing Square, One Grid

This mark has the same type of frame as found in the four-element seal (S4), but here the lines making up the elements form a series of parallel lines or grids, widely spaced, seeming to merge as a single element (V&A.271). Vessels with this mark are contemporary with the four-element version of this mark (S4), c. 1635.

***Phase II* (*1640–1650*)**

S9 Nested Squares

The seal-mark is black or blue. It consists generally of five nested squares with only enough space in the centre for a short stroke. Because it is found on Kirman polychrome wares we are assigning it to Kirman (HRM.73). The cursory quality of the drawing of the mark also compares with marks found on some Kirman sherds. The dating should be in Phase II, representing a transitional stage (that is, before the tassel-mark replaced the square seal-mark).

S10 Nested Squares, Incomplete

Lines defining the squares are broken, and the central square has only three lines. At least one example has an Isfahan petrofabric (ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16). Wares with this mark are contemporary with certain four-character marks (C2, V&A.99). All the seal-marks of this type are painted in black and should date to c. 1640.

***Phase III* (*1650–1680*)**

S11 Nested Curves and Grid

The entire square is occupied by a single set of nested curves and a large grid. There are few or no other elements. These marks are usually executed in cobalt on blue-and-white wares. The Kirman origin of these vessels is recognizable stylistically. Some are polygonal dishes (V&A.205, 324); the polygonal shape is firmly associated with Kirman through numerous examples that bear the tassel-mark. The S11 seal-mark seems to appear in the early transitional years of Phase III, as it occurs on one exceptionally fine dish, recalling the high quality of the Kirman "boutique" workshop (MAK.05). The mass-produced wares, which probably represent the next stage when Kirman came to favour the blue-and-white palette (rejecting the black-outline style), do not seem to show the later Kirman motifs (the leaf-curl diaper) and may, therefore, be placed within the earlier years of Phase III (1650–1660).

S12 Grid-Fill

The centre of the multiple-framed square is entirely filled with a grid. Only two examples have been found, but they are finely executed pieces. One dish (KUW.01) appears to be a reductive version of the Kirman "boutique" black-outline dish with cloud-collar composition based on Yuan models (V&A.74). As a blue-and-white dish it represents a later stage of the Kirman workshop than the black-outline "boutique" model that it emulates. Black-outline sherds painted in the style of the Kuwait dish were found in Kirman and sampled (Fig. 5.17, KIR.10; Fig. 5.20, KIR.80).

S13 Opposing Grids

The frame consists of three nested squares. The organizing principle is the placement of two pairs of distinguishable elements in opposing corners. One element is a grid with wide spacing of the lines. The other is a character also composed of lines at right angles or curving lines, but not arranged as a regular grid (V&A.119). Stylistically

the wares are datable to c. 1640 (compare V&A.119 with V&A.56, dated 1051/1641–42).

Phase IV (1680–1722)

S14 White X Group

Inside the framing square are four pie-shaped elements consisting of diminishing parallel lines. They appear to be nested squares with sections cut out to form a negative "X" (BER.26, V&A.398). All but two (STK.58, V&A.350) are blue-and-white wares and relate to styles of the second half of seventeenth century (c. 1680), such as those described by Crowe as "strange roots" or revivals of Kraak designs.[2] However, none of the motifs that became popular during the last two decades of the seventeenth century, such as the artemisia leaf, are present.

S15 Nested Squares, Thick Central Line

The seal-mark contains nested squares but in the central square are one or two parallel lines, one of which is thicker (V&A.403). The styles and motifs found in the painting of the vessels allow a dating toward the end of the century (c. 1690). Indications of date include Back VII (sickle-leaf), the artemisia leaf, "strange roots" motifs, and the coneflower.[3]

S16 "Door" Element or Flourish in Square

The three or four square frames leave little space in the centre of the mark. Most have a rectangle resting on one side of the central square that we have called a "door," but other marks have unidentifiable flourishes inside the square. What little space remains is filled with single lines or dots. In some marks the framing squares are drawn as L-shaped blocks (V&A.405). All vessels with this mark belong to the end of the Safavid period (V&A.281, 404–6). All but one (V&A.281) are blue-and-white wares.

2 Crowe 2002:197.

3 These motifs have been identified by Yolande Crowe with production from the end of the seventeenth century (Crowe 2002:197–201, 226, 231, 235).

7.2 Tassel-Marks (Pl. 7.2)

The tassel-mark was exclusive to Kirman. The precise moment of its appearance is difficult to determine, but it seems to have replaced the square seal-mark some time during Phase II (1640–1650). During this time some Kirman workshops employed a version of the character-mark, but for most of Phases III (1650–1680) and IV (1680–1722) the tassel-mark predominated at Kirman. Character-marks may also have been used by Kirman workshops in Phase IV.

While the tassel-mark is diagnostic of Kirman work, there are great variations in its structure and execution. An attempt was made earlier to distinguish the marks based on variations in the quantity of crenellations and in the treatment of the lower member ("tail").[4] However, the publication of the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum by Yolande Crowe has made so many more examples of potters' marks accessible that the question of the significance of these marks needs to be revisited. The purpose of the following discussion will be to establish a vocabulary for describing the different structures and to explore the significance, if any, of this range of variation. Differences might be explained synchronically, as Kirman was home to many pottery workshops during the seventeenth century. Wasters have been found in at least four locations by Fariba Kermani, in her survey (unpublished) of Kirman under the auspices of the Iran Cultural Heritage Organization. Differences in the tassel-mark might also be explained in chronological terms. The Kirman workshops operated over a long period of time, at least a century, experiencing several major stylistic changes. We shall indicate to which Phase a particular variation seems to belong. Finally, the variations may have been determined by the idiosyncrasies of individual potters (STK.53, V&A.171, 293). We shall discover several instances where different tassel-marks were used apparently by a single potter. On a single vessel with

4 Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001:222–27.

multiple tassel-marks a range of variations may also appear.

The tassel-mark is always executed in blue except when the palette of the painted vessel includes black outlines or a black band, in which case the mark is usually painted in black (ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22).

The following categories describe the structure of the mark and are generally not diagnostic of either individual workshops or masters. Within each category, however, the execution of the mark may have been done in so similar a fashion by potters of several vessels that this version of the mark can be considered diagnostic of a specific source or moment of time.

Tassel-marks vary according to the treatment of the basic components: a "body," which is normally one or two inverted "pyramids" composed of diminishing parallel lines; a terminus, which simulates a Chinese character and may be bipedal, unipedal, or spheric (dot); and one or more rows of crenellations (teeth) resting on the top of the inverted pyramid/s. Below are described the most common renderings of the mark. There are many other versions that exist only as unique variations in our records, but these have been omitted because no conclusions can as yet be drawn from them. The marks are grouped according to form rather than chronology.

Body Variations

T1 Single Inverted Pyramid

The bipedal variation of the single pyramid has an average of three teeth. The bowls and dishes with this simple mark belong mostly to Phase IV (V&A.440, 442). Some designs are revivals, such as the dish copying a Phase I black-outline Mashhad type but executed in blue-and-white (V&A.255). The polygonal dishes with this mark may belong to Phase III (V&A.155).

T2 Two Unconnected Pyramids

The two pyramids are approximately the same size and are not connected by a stem (V&A.258, 370, 361, 414). The number of teeth ranges from two to four, the most common being two. Three dishes with this mark are stylistically related (V&A.359–361), suggesting that this form of mark may designate an individual potter. The three share the incised black band, which can be dated to c. 1675 (ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22, which has a slightly different tassel-mark). This mark ranges over Phase III and early Phase IV.

T3 Hourglass

The two pyramidal elements touch at their apices. The position of the lower one is unusual because it is generally inverted, mirroring the upper one although often smaller. The two most similar examples have two square teeth resting on the upper inverted pyramid (V&A.305, 331).[5] One has teeth on the lower element as well as the upper (HRM.09). In all cases the number of teeth is small (two or three). There is a dot beneath the base of the lower pyramid (V&A.305, 331). Two other examples have a lower element smaller than the upper (STK.41, V&A.151). An indication of date for this mark is a dish with a dragon painted against a ground of curling leaves (V&A.151). It has a wave-and-crest border, popular on early seventeenth-century copies of Yuan and Ming wares, suggesting a date closer to Phase II, the transitional period. All examples are blue-and-white, with the exception of an octagonal dish in "pencil" style with two elements, the central bird and butterfly, outlined in black.

Dentillation Variations

T4 Line-and-Box Teeth

Most marks with this form of dentillation have a body consisting of two inverted pyramids. There

5 One of these belongs to a dish with unusual features (V&A.305). It has a white background into which medallions are carved, but the scale design of the ground has large elements (scales) rather than small ones, as found on most examples of this genre. The exterior treatment is even more unusual for dishes with a carved scale diaper. It consists of a band of overlapping petals encircling the foot-ring.

are two vertical strokes on the left side of the line of crenellations, followed by two rectangular teeth (box shape) with slightly curving sides. Variations are bipedal (polychrome: MAG.15), unipedal (STK.30), and spheric/jewel (V&A.40). A curving vertical stem (or two) runs through the body. Most vessels with this mark belong to Phase III (V&A.40 may be earlier). One lustre-painted vessel bears a single-pyramid version of this mark (BRM.50). It is a very unusual lustre dish as the model for it was a Kraak porcelain, and it has substantial blue-painting on a white ground. Because the convention used for the dentillation is shared with incontestably Kirman pieces (STK.30, MAG.15), this dish (BRM.50) is strong evidence for attributing some of the lustre production to Kirman. Stylistically it differs from the more common lustre-wares produced at Mashhad (ROM.72/ Cat. no. 65, ROM.31/ Cat. no. 67).

T5 Rounded Teeth

This mark also has a body consisting of two inverted pyramids but there is a pronounced vertical stem running through them (HRM.36; V&A.200, 300, 311). Stylistically these vessels date to Phases II and III.

T6 Continuous-Line Teeth

Three examples have only one inverted pyramid. Along the top is a zig-zag line instead of the usual square teeth. One example is a dish painted in the transitional style (V&A.18) that falls within Phase II. Two are in Kirman polychrome style (Phase III): a bottle (MAD.08) and a spittoon (STK.10). One faceted bowl uses this form of dentillation with a body consisting of three pyramids of diminishing size (V&A.341), datable to Phase III.

T7 Multiple Teeth

The upper support for the row of numerous teeth may be quite complex and may consist of curving strokes (V&A.197, 298) or box-like forms (V&A.287). There is a horizontal bar suggesting a second inverted pyramid, but it is not fully rendered. The teeth are often executed as C-shaped strokes. Close resemblance in the marks (but not in the painting of the vessels) can be seen in a number of pieces (V&A.197, 272, 313). Perhaps the earliest is a dish painted in the transitional style of Phase II (V&A.147). The others all seem to date from Phase III.

T8 Dot-Tooth

While all but one of the marks on the twelve vessels bearing this type of mark are two-tiered, there is great variation in the detail. The common feature is the transformation of the teeth into dots (V&A.177). Frequently there are multiple marks on the base (seven on the dated dish in the British Museum, BRM.02, dated 1679–80[6]). These tassel-marks occur on Kirman polychrome and blue-and-white wares from Phase III but also on grey- and black-painted wares in styles attributed by Crowe to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. Two vessels are executed in the "pencil-style" (V&A.284, 32), found on a tile from Yazd dated 1677–78 (YZD.07). The exceptional dish with large Isnik-like polychrome flowers has a three-tiered tassel with multiple short strokes serving as crenellations (AMS.01).

Terminal Variations

T9 Jewel-Foot

One of the largest groups with two pyramids has dentillations on both tiers. This tassel-mark has two relatively similar inverted pyramids with box-like teeth on both levels. The upper level usually has more teeth than the lower one. There is no stem running through the two pyramids, and the terminus is usually a dot (spheric), a series of diminishing dots (jewels; BER.32) (V&A.270, 294, 329),[7] or a dot with a bipedal flourish (V&A.330). Most are blue-and-white, but at least one is polychrome (HRM.93). All vessels date from Phase III.

The number of teeth seems to fall into two groups, although no conclusion can be drawn from

6 Revised reading of date (see p. 99, above).

7 The close resemblance of the potters' marks on these three vessels suggests that they may have originated in a single workshop, and are possibly the work of a single potter.

these groupings. One small group has numerous teeth on the upper level and fewer below (V&A.164, 294). More common are the tassel-marks with three teeth above and two below (V&A.152, 270, 329). Two dishes with this mark have designs reflecting the late Ming "Transitional" style and may therefore belong to Phase II (ASH.15–16). An odd variation has a truncated upper pyramid (STK.35); the exterior of this dish is a solid blue, which puts it into Phase III of the Kirman workshop.

T10 Bipedal Foot

The two inverted pyramids have box-like dentillation, usually on the upper tier alone (V&A.321). The tassel terminates with two curving lines, the left one rising higher, as if it were part of a Chinese character. All vessels with this mark belong to Phase III, and one is dated 1666–67 (V&A.55).

T11 Tail-Flourish

These marks have rounded teeth drawn as a continuous line and a tail that terminates in a flourish (BRM.210, V&A.306). Although only three have come to our attention, one is dated 1673–74 (ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22) and therefore worthy of noting. This mark belongs to Phase III.

T12 Filet-Stem

Only two examples were found but they are so close that they would appear to be the work of a single artisan (BRM.29, V&A.337). There are five box-like teeth on a single inverted pyramid. From its apex falls a "bow" formed of three loops, the two ends of which hang below. Both vessels have paintings in the (Chinese) "Transitional" style datable to c. 1640 (Phase II).

Internal Variations

T13 Eyebrow Dentillation

The dentillation is transformed into two broad curves resembling eyebrows (HRM.68, V&A.259, 309). The lower pyramid is all but absorbed into the upper one. The position of the feet is similar to that of the bipedal mark. All of these belong to Phase III with the possible exception of a black-outline dish that follows a Kraak model (V&A.259).

T14 Eyelid Tassel

This mark can take various forms (bipedal, jewel-foot, single or double tier), but it stands out because of its use of two broad curves that hang below the line of dentillation (V&A.143, 172). The two curves resemble closed eyelids. In one case the mark resembles a lion's face (V&A.24). This dish is datable to c. 1675. All the vessels with this tassel-mark belong to Phase III, although there is one black-outline dish modelled on Kraak porcelain bearing a black tassel-mark (V&A.143) that could be earlier.

T15 Tri-Tier Tassel

The mark has three distinct pyramidal forms connected by an undulating stem. Most have short strokes as teeth rather than box-like dentillation. The foot varies. Three very similar dishes with dragons on a ground of leaf-curls have this tassel with a jewel-foot (STK.53, V&A.171, 293). A faceted bowl also bears this version (V&A.420). Several vessels with deer in landscape, sharing the same painting style, have a less calligraphic rendering of this tassel, with either bipedal or jewel-foot (V&A.215, 316, 303). A multi-nozzle vase is included in this group, which seems to be the work of a single atelier, if not of a specific individual (ROM.97/ Cat. no. 24). All vessels in this group belong to the early years of Phase III.

T16 C-Stem Tassel

This is an elongated two-tier mark characterized by its prominent stem, which is formed by short curving lines drawn horizontally and stacked like vertebrae. The upper pyramid looks more like a series of parallel lines of equal length rather than the graduated lines of a pyramid. The rendition of the teeth (on the upper tier only) is unique to this mark. Like the "vertebrae" of the stem, the teeth also look like a "C" but facing to the right. This small group, which includes a bowl, a multi-nozzle vase, and a dish, was probably the work of a single artisan active during the "Transitional" phase

(c. 1640) (V&A.288, 357, 415). All vessels with this mark have a blue-and-white palette.

T17 Minimalist
This tassel consists primarily of the parallel lines forming the upper pyramid. Some have no dentillation (MMA.07), while others limit this to one or more dots or strokes. There is no connective stem. All vessels belong to Phase III and include Kirman polychrome (KIR.114, MMA.07) as well as blue-and-white (STK.07, 33) and black-band (BER.04).

T18 Complex Stem
These tassels have additional elements within the body of the mark. Some have a pseudo-Chinese character at the apex of the upper pyramid (V&A.75, 113, 168, 174, 289). Two of these are black-outline (V&A.75, 113) and are probably some of the earliest examples of the tassel-mark. The blue-and-white dish is very close in style to the black-outline dish (compare V&A.75 and V&A.168). A baluster vase inspired by late Ming "Transitional"-style painting shows the pseudo-Chinese character transformed into a pedestal (V&A.354). A *kendi* with similar painting shows both pyramids with complex stem (STK.63). This mark should therefore be placed toward the end of Phase I and continuing through Phase II. Belonging to the latter period is an extraordinary dish with the face divided into light (white) and dark halves (field of leaf-curls in reserve on blue) (V&A.174). Dragons stride across the fields. Unique complex tassel-marks are found on two unusual monochrome slip-painted vessels, a *qalyan* dated 1669–70 (Fig. 2.72, V&A.57) and a blue dish with lustre-painting.[8]

7.3 Character-Marks (Pl. 7.3)

Character-marks are difficult to describe because they vary so greatly in their execution. We have tried to distinguish several types based on how the characters were formed. In very few cases can the mark be said to be diagnostic of a workshop, as the petrographic information is lacking. It is apparent that individual workshops used various character types on their products as evidenced by wares that seem stylistically related but bear different marks.

The majority of vessels with character-marks belong to Phase IV (1680–1722) although, as indicated in the discussion below, use of character-marks began much earlier on a limited basis (see first two types).

C1 Cross-Strokes and Dots
Four characters form a square with a fifth in the centre. Between the four corners are dots. Each character consists of one to three parallel strokes crossed by shorter strokes, which are sometimes connected to form a zig-zagging line. The distinctive feature of this mark is the presence of the dots, while the cross-stroke characters may resemble those found in other marks. This mark is found on a large black-outline bowl with dragon medallions and a Kirman petrofabric (ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18). A bowl of similar shape and style of painting also has this mark (MMA.21). All the vessels bearing this mark appear to belong to Phase II (HRM.57, 80; FZW.08, V&A.158).

C2 Strokes and loop
Two or three short parallel strokes are encircled by an oval loop. The two most similar examples have two of these side-by-side, a third above and the fourth below (V&A.99, 283). Both are black-outline painted and have a blank cavetto. The exteriors of both bear the grassy plants design (Pl. 6.3.1, Back I.1), characteristic of dishes from c. 1625–1640. Another black-outline dish with this mark has the haloed peach-spray exterior (Pl. 6.3.2, Back III.1b), datable to c. 1640. The back motifs found on these dishes are identified with Kirman production as they also appear on vessels with the distinctive Kirman tassel-mark. Somewhat different are the looped strokes found on a Mashhad dish (ROM.53/ Cat. no. 12), as well as the disposition of these characters. There are five of them, four in

8 Crowe 2008, no. 5.

opposite corners and one in the middle, like the characters in the "cross-strokes and dots" mark, described above. The exterior of this Mashhad dish belongs to the earlier versions of the peach branches, in which the bird from the Chinese model is retained (Pl. 6.3.1, Back I.3). The dish has been attributed to Phase I.

C3 Rectilinear Grid

This motif may appear alone or in a group of four, and in black or in blue. Most of the vessels bearing these marks belong to Phase IV. However, some may be earlier (Phase III), such as STK.46, a *kendi* with a globular body and a neck rising abruptly from the shoulder (V&A.108, 378). A bowl with four of these marks is probably from Phase II (V&A.266) as is a spittoon with four of these marks (STK.02). A cluster of four rectilinear grids was used once again in Phase IV, but the motifs lack the additional strokes that frame the grid (MMA.25, V&A.198). Some of these later examples are lustre-painted wares and are odd in that they also bear the mark as a motif on the interior (HRM.92). These unusual lustre-painted vessels appear to be more closely related in their use of borders to Kraak porcelain models (blue-and-white) than most other lustre-wares.

C4 Cross Motifs

Clusters of three to five cross-shaped motifs with one or more crossbars seem to occur only on late Phase III and Phase IV vessels (MSH.07, MMA.20,V&A.237). One shallow bowl with this mark is a fenestrated white ware (V&A.237)

C5 Striped Square

A square is filled with a series of parallel lines (V&A.425, 433). Some of the vessels are painted in the "luscious flower" style[9] with large cartouche fields. Sampled sherds in this style have a Mashhad petrofabric (HRM.36)

C6 Pine-Tree Motif

An A-shaped character is crossed by diminishing parallel strokes. The motif often occurs in multiples and belongs to Phase III of the Kirman workshops that produced blue-and-white wares with and without polychrome painting (BER.15; ROM.83/ Cat. no. 25; V&A.325). This mark carried on into the last phase, when it appears on black-outline wares but with fewer cross-strokes. One pottery centre seems to have specialized in making crenellated "goblets" (V&A.466) and ovoid wine bowls with bird-head finials (STK.03, HRM.50, V&A.461).

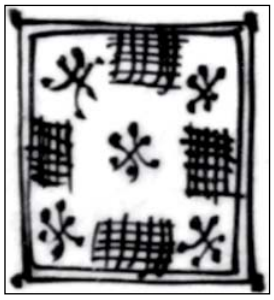
C7 Chinese Character

This motif is similar to the pine-tree motif (C6), but the right leg of the "A" curves outward, giving the appearance of a Chinese character. This mark appears on a wide variety of wares: lustre-painted (BRM.129), black-outline (V&A.412), and blue-and-white (V&A.382). Some are related to each other stylistically (HRM.41–43, V&A.69). The "luscious flower" style (V&A.426) as well as other styles attributable to Phase IV can be found on a number of wares with this mark.

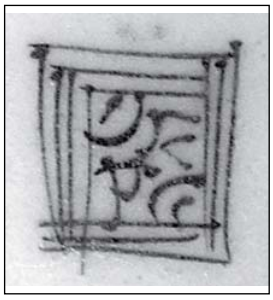
C8 Mountain Motif

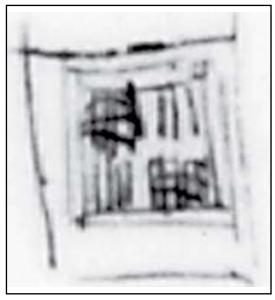
Instead of a single peak forming the "A" or the Chinese character, this motif has multiple peaks, sometimes looking like an "M" crossed by horizontal lines. It is found in multiples of four on Kirman carved-ground blue-and-white wares (V&A.304) and on black-outline wares (V&A.65). Stylistically some of these date from the early years of Phase III. Others have characteristics of Phase IV, such as the sickle-leaf back (Pl. 6.3.5, Back VII; V&A.402), or are executed in outline style (HRM.78).

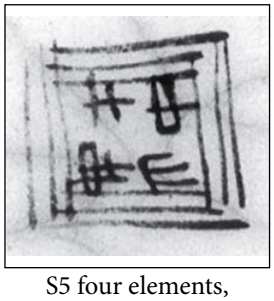
9 Crowe 2002:228–33.

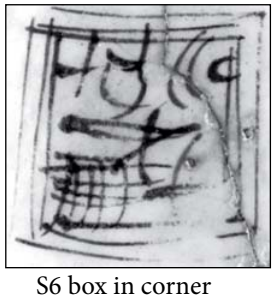

S1 Kirman "boutique"
(ASH.10)

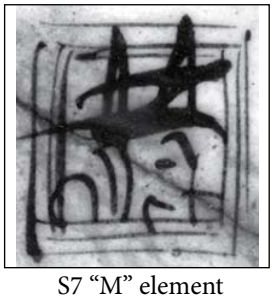
S2 ascending lines
(ROM.21/Cat. no. 10)

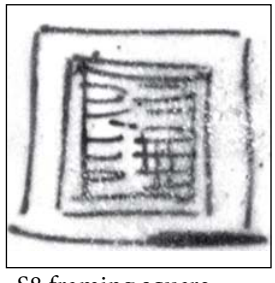

S3 nested curves
(STK.01)

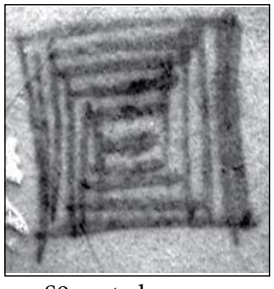

S4 four elements,
framing square
(ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9)

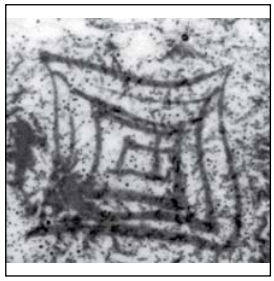

S5 four elements,
disparate
(V&A.81)

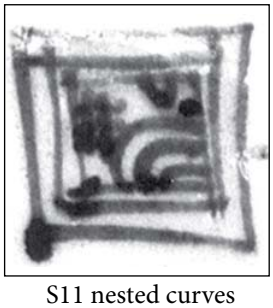

S6 box in corner
(ROM.80/ Cat. no. 13)

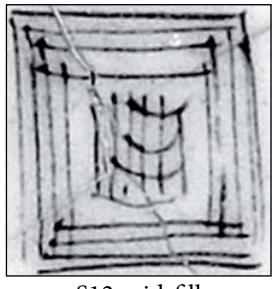

S7 "M" element
(ROM.81/ Cat. no. 11)

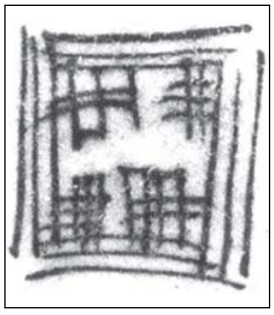

S8 framing square,
one grid
(V&A.271)

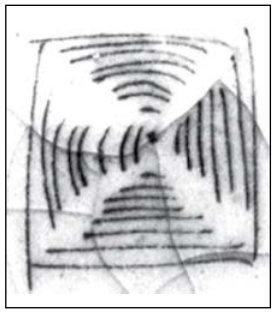

S9 nested squares
(HRM.73)

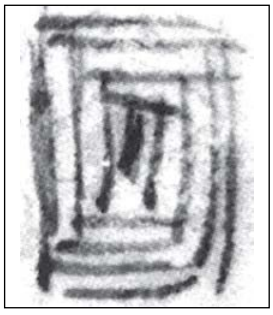

S10 nested squares
incomplete
(ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16)

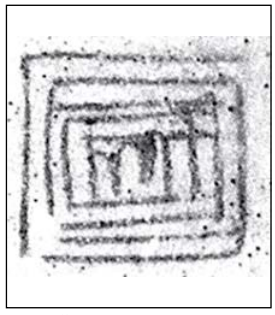

S11 nested curves
and grid
(V&A.324)


S12 grid-fill
(KUW.01)


S13 opposing grids
(V&A.119)

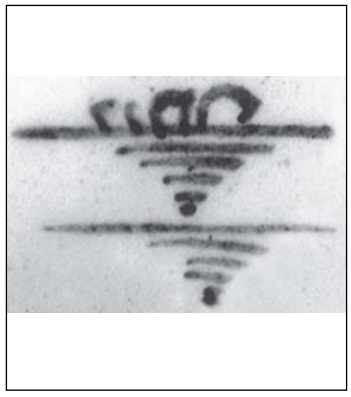

S14 white X group
(V&A.398)


S15 nested squares,
thick central line
(V&A.403)


S16 "door" element
(V&A.404)

PL. 7.1. *Seal-marks.*

T1 single inverted pyramid
(V&A.442)


T2 two unconnected pyramids
(V&A.414)

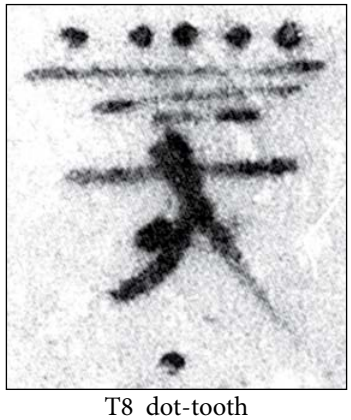
T3 hourglass
(V&A.305)

T4 line-and-box teeth
(MAG.15)

T5 rounded teeth
(V&A.300)

T6 continuous-line teeth
(V&A.310)

T7 multiple teeth
(V&A.313)

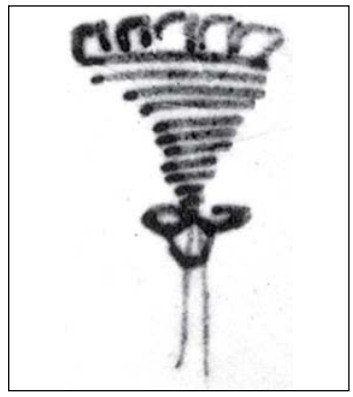

T8 dot-tooth
(V&A.177)

T9 jewel-foot
(BER.32)

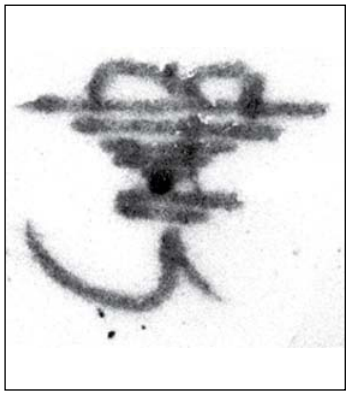
PL. 7.2. *Tassel-marks.*

T10 bipedal
(V&A.321)

T11 tail-flourish
(ROM.89/ Cat. no. 22)

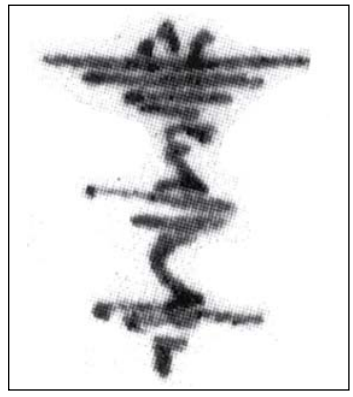


T12 filet-stem
(V&A.337)



T13 eyebrow dentillation
(V&A.259)

T14 eyelid tassel
(V&A.24)



T15 tri-tier tassel
(V&A.171)

T16 C-stem tassel
(V&A.288)

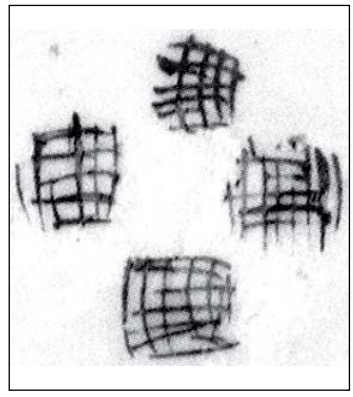
T17 minimalist
(MMA.07)

T18 complex stem
(V&A.75)

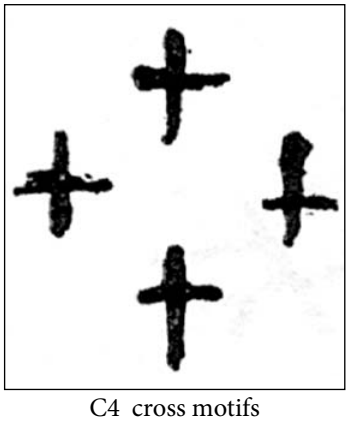
PL. 7.2. (*Continued*).

C1 cross-strokes and dots
(ROM.22/ Cat. no. 18)

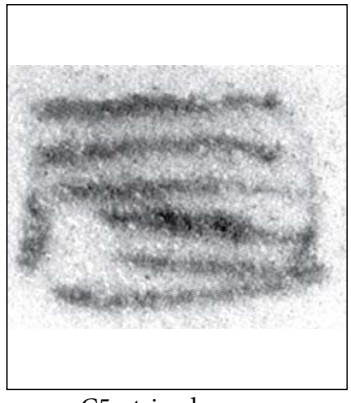
C2 strokes and loop
(V&A.99)



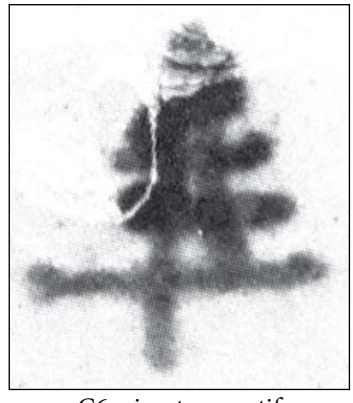
C3 rectilinear grid
(V&A.266)



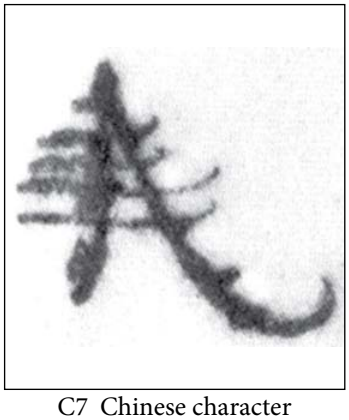
C4 cross motifs
(V&A.237)



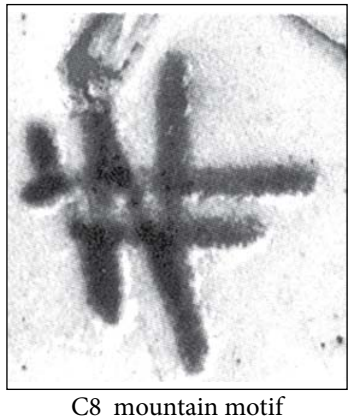
C5 striped square
(V&A.425)



C6 pine-tree motif
(V&A.325)



C7 Chinese character
(V&A.382)



C8 mountain motif
(V&A.304)

PL. 7.3. *Character-marks.*

CHAPTER 8

Shapes Study

Eileen Reilly

In the course of this project objects that were accessible have been drawn to scale. For the sixteenth century the idiosyncrasies of the shapes of dishes seem related to particular workshops and, possibly, to sequence, even though the models were Chinese. The drawings have been chosen in accordance with the motifs on the exterior, which do correspond to "hallmarks" of individual workshops, as discussed in Chapter Two. The motifs are described in detail in Chapter Six.

For most of the seventeenth century, however, we found that because Safavid potters followed their Chinese models so faithfully, workshops did not develop shapes or idiosyncrasies in form, unique to themselves, that could be used diagnostically. Furthermore, within individual workshops (in cases where we can be certain) there is much variation in the rendering of the base and other elements that would normally be uniform within a single workshop. The one exception are the Isfahan dishes, which have a distinctive base (see Chapter Four). Thus, the dishes and bowls for the seventeenth century up until the last quarter are presented with dating based only on stylistic characteristics. The drawings are presented without an attempt to suggest sequences. During the last quarter of the century through to the end of Safavid rule, new shapes emerge within workshops producing lustre and monochrome wares, and the bases of these often have features that distinguish them. It has not been possible, however, to link these features exclusively with specific workshops.

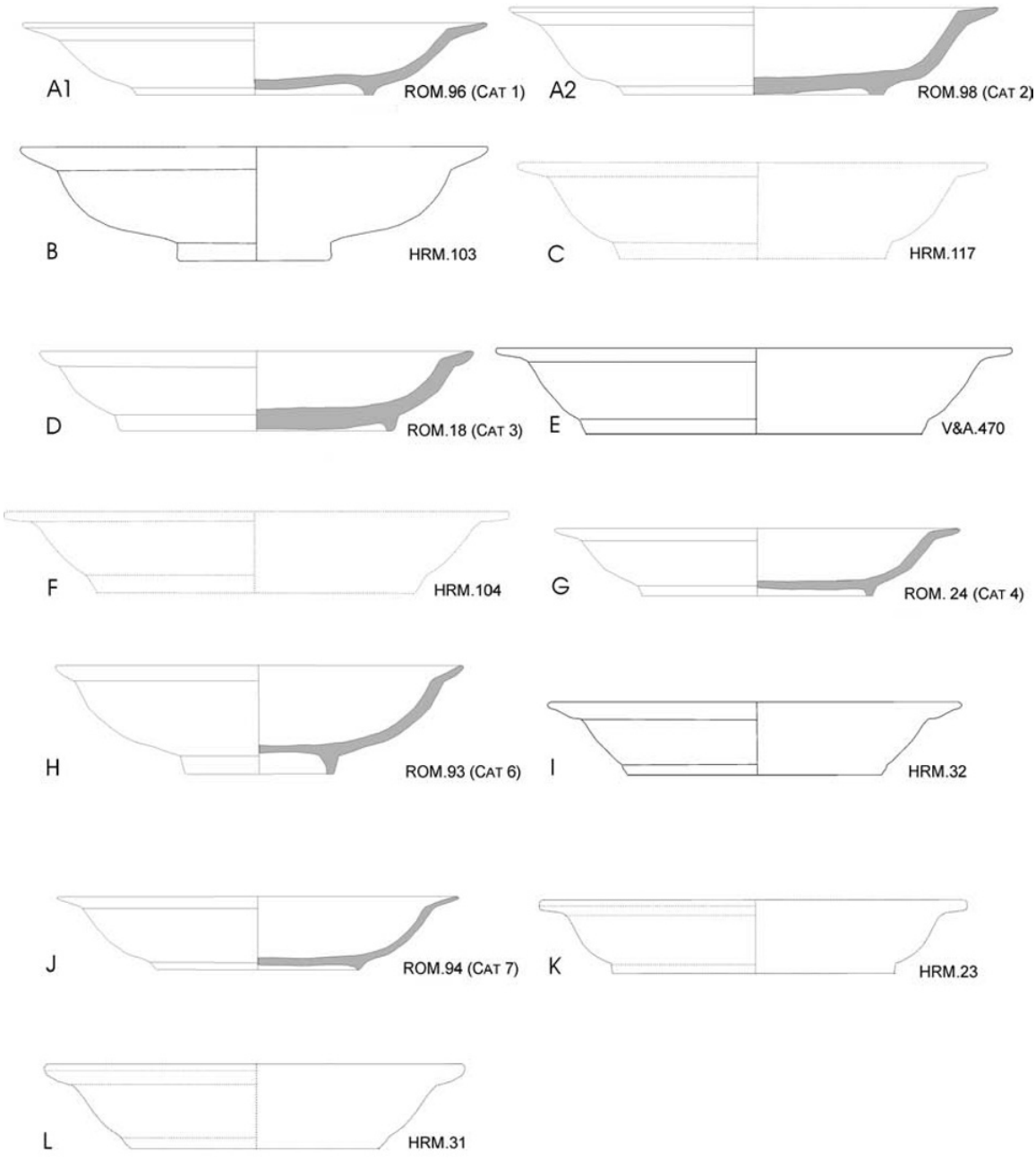
For closed shapes the situation is obscured by the fact that the survival of these forms varies greatly over the two hundred years of Safavid rule. Bottles abound from the last decades of the seventeenth century, while few can be found from the early seventeenth century, and they are hardly known from the sixteenth century. Drawings of some of the lustre-painted bottles are presented here, along with sketches based on photographs. The data is insufficient to say, for example, whether the curvature of the pear-shaped body is diagnostic of a particular workshop or decade. The drawings may, however, help us distinguish Safavid bottles from those of other periods. Where possible we indicate to which Phase of the seventeenth century the drawn object has been attributed. We will use the same approach in presenting the drawings of vases, jars, *qalyans*, and spittoons. It is hoped that these will inspire more detailed studies of shapes.

Conventions Used in the Plates Illustrating Shapes

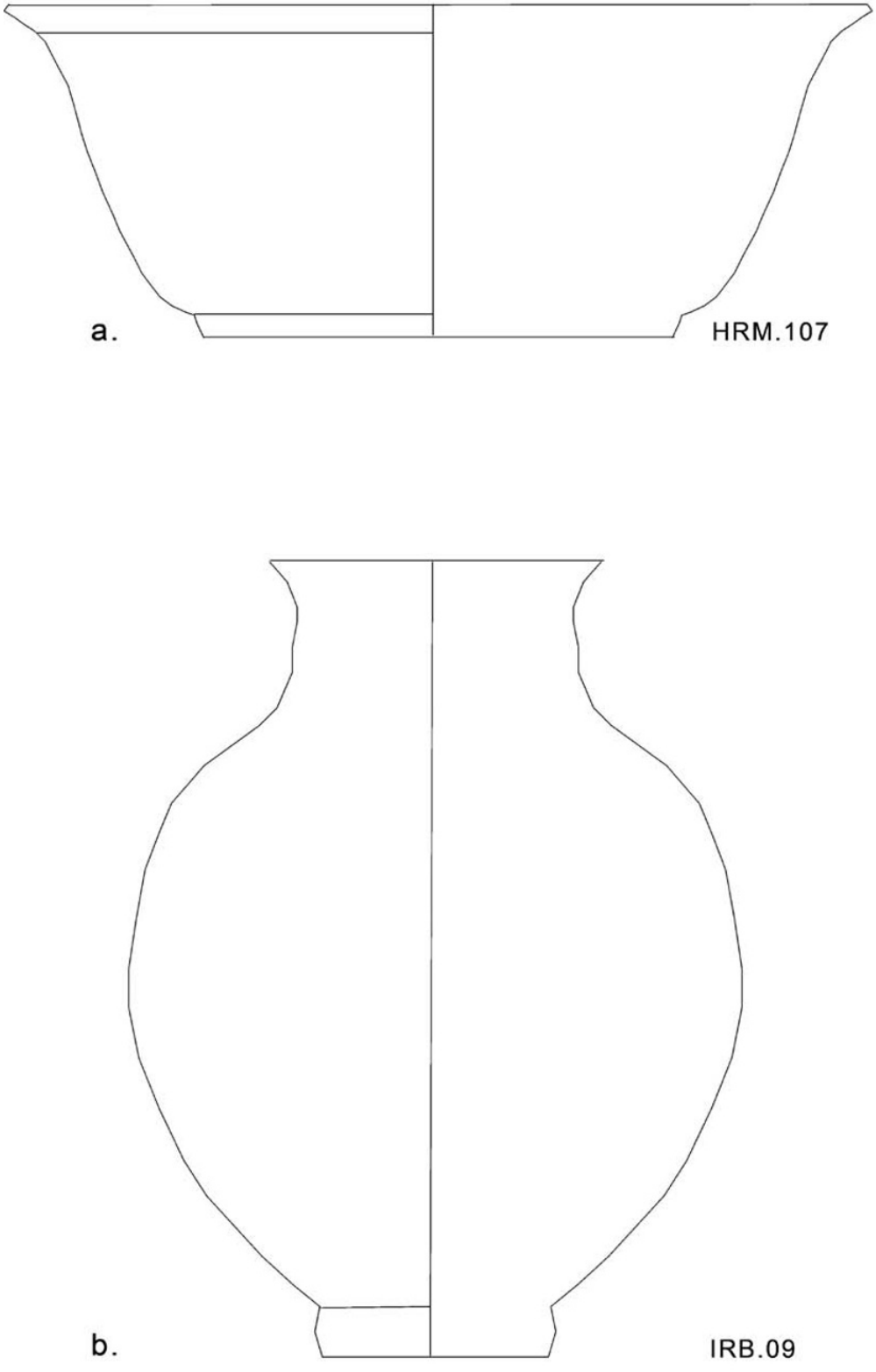
Decorative techniques are abbreviated as follows:

black-line: black-outline
B&W: blue-and-white
T&B: turquoise-and-black

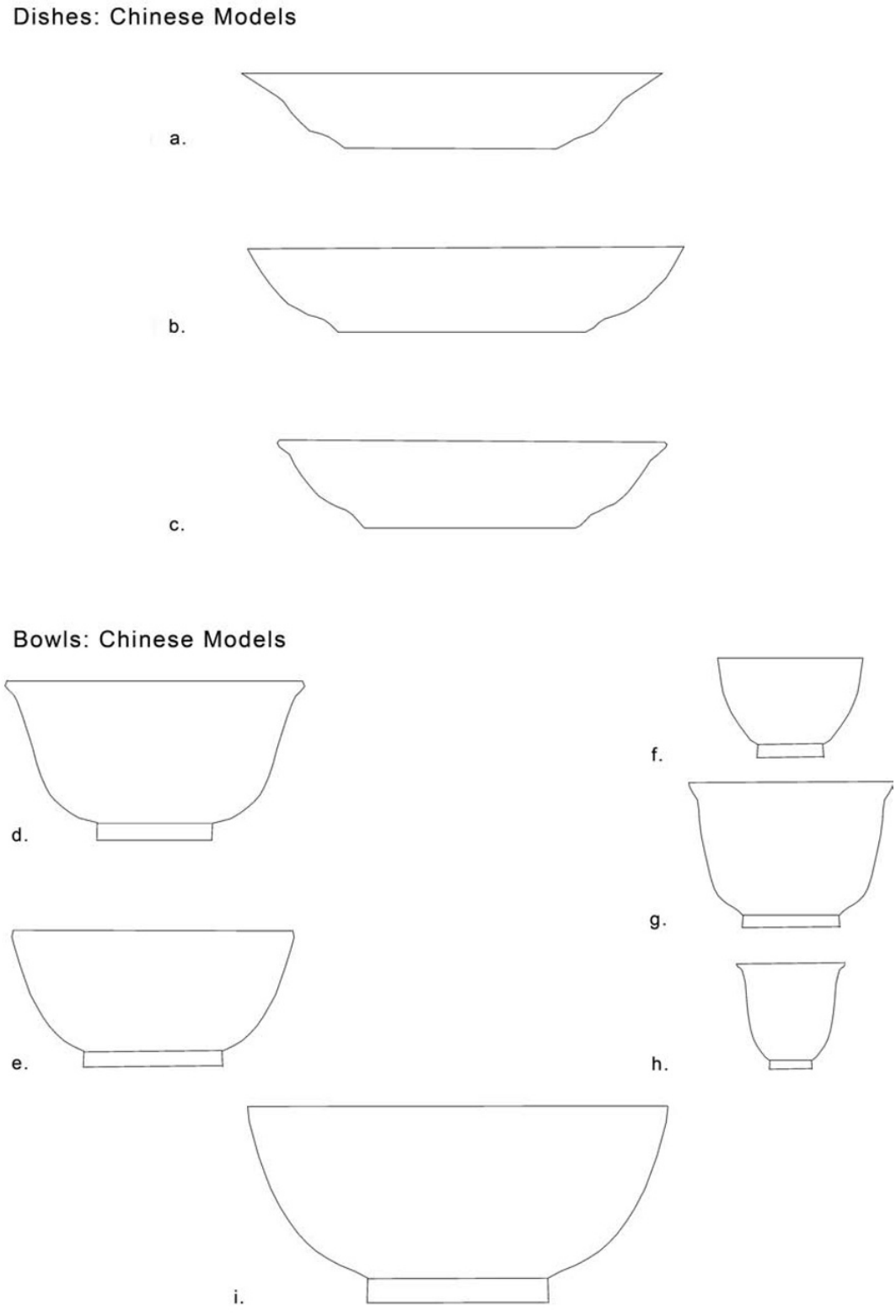
© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_010



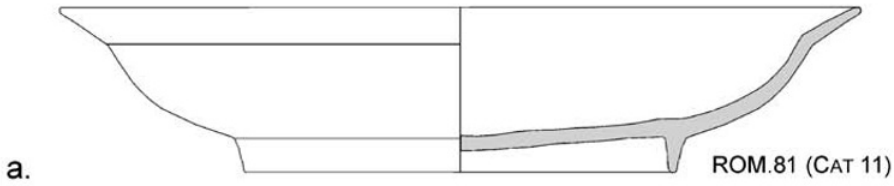
PL. 8.1. *Sixteenth-century dishes: arranged in relative chronological order based on dating of back designs "A1" through "L" (refer to Chapter 6, pl. 6.2). A1–A2 Nishapur; B Tabriz; C Nishapur and Tabriz; D–G Tabriz; H Isfahan; I unknown; J–K Tabriz; L unknown.*



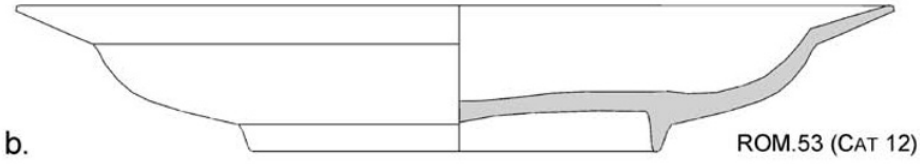
PL. 8.2. *Other sixteenth-century vessels.*



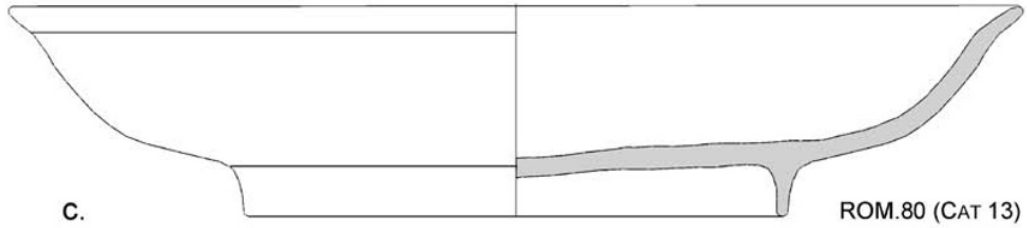
PL. 8.3. *Chinese prototypes copied in seventeenth-century Iran* (*based on Rinaldi 1989*).



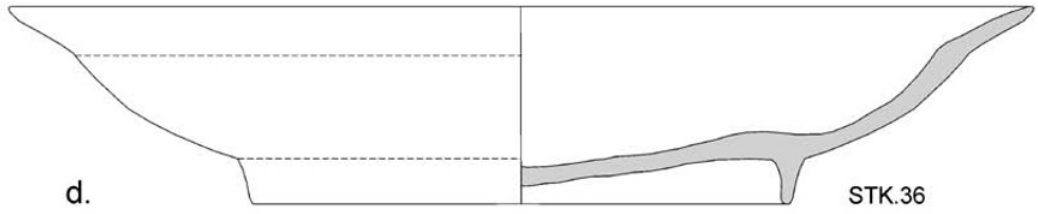
Black-line. h: 8.7, d: 42.5, b: 22.4. Mashhad petrofabric.



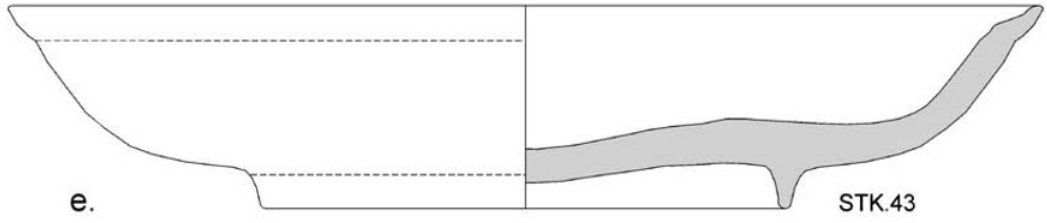
Black-line. h: 6.9, d: 40.5, b: 17.7. Mashhad petrofabric.



Black-line. h: 8.7, d: 47, b: 24.5. Mashhad petrofabric.

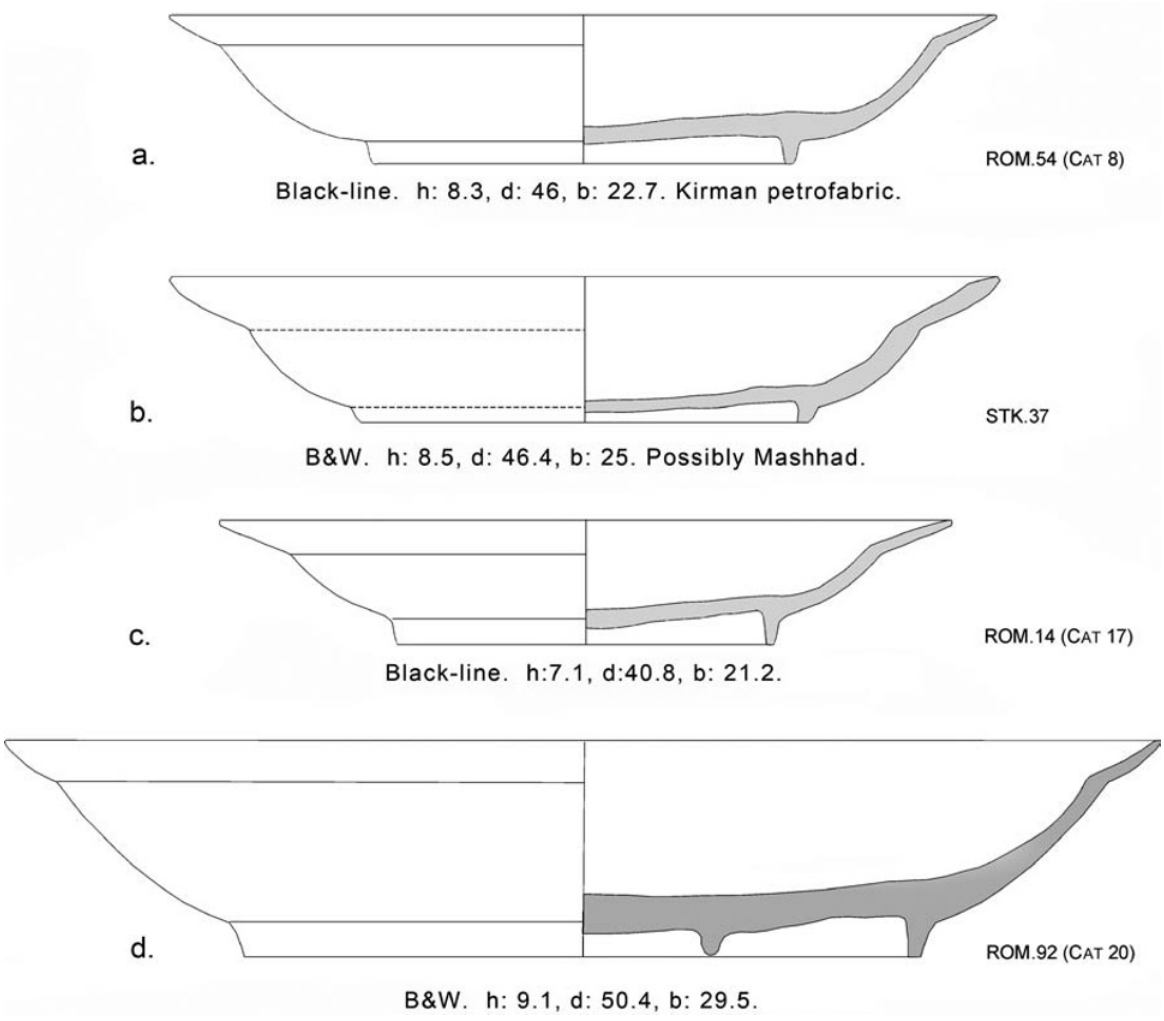


Black-line. h: 9, d: 46.5, b: 24.9.

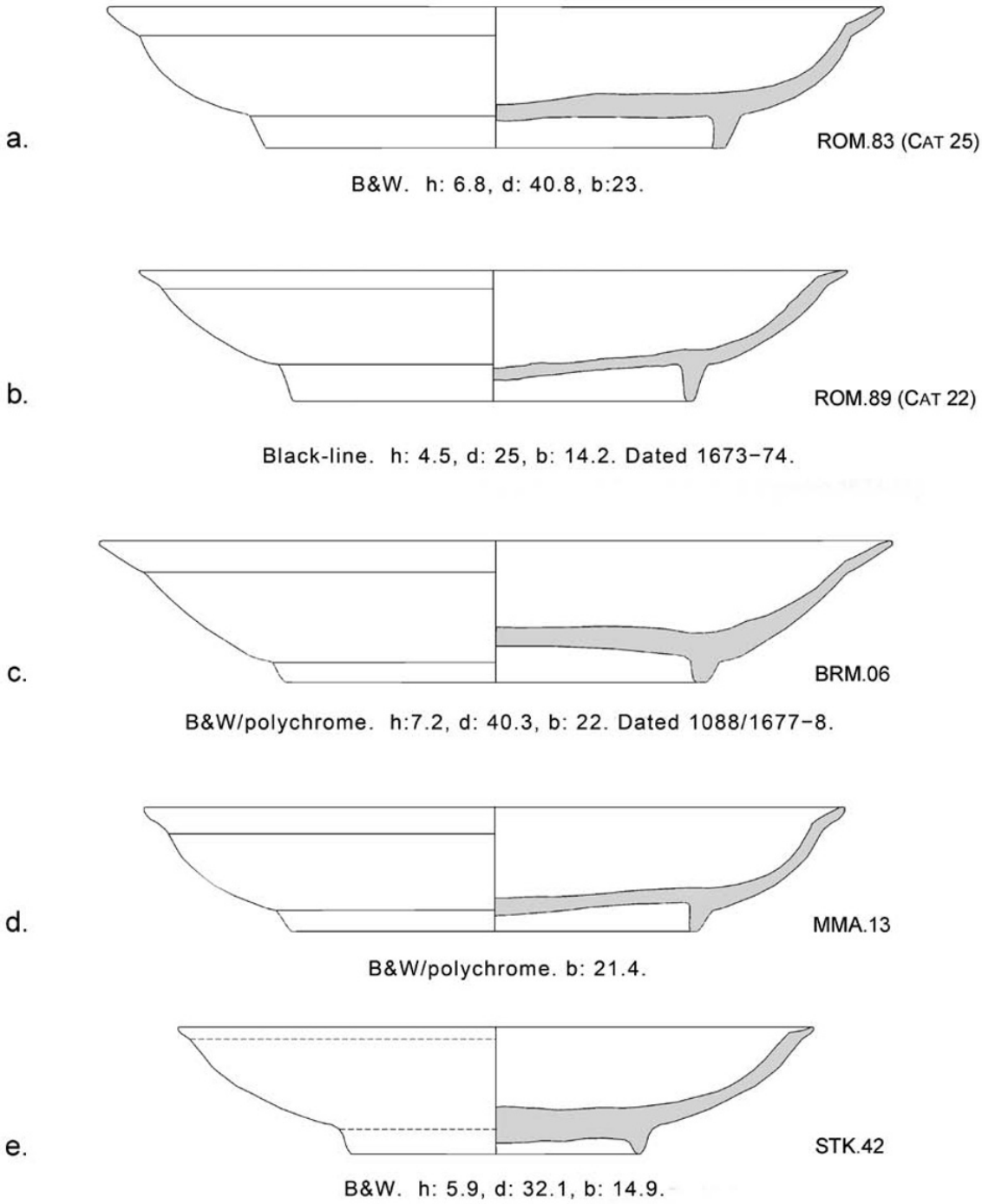


Black-line. h: 9.1, d: 46.9, b: 24.4.

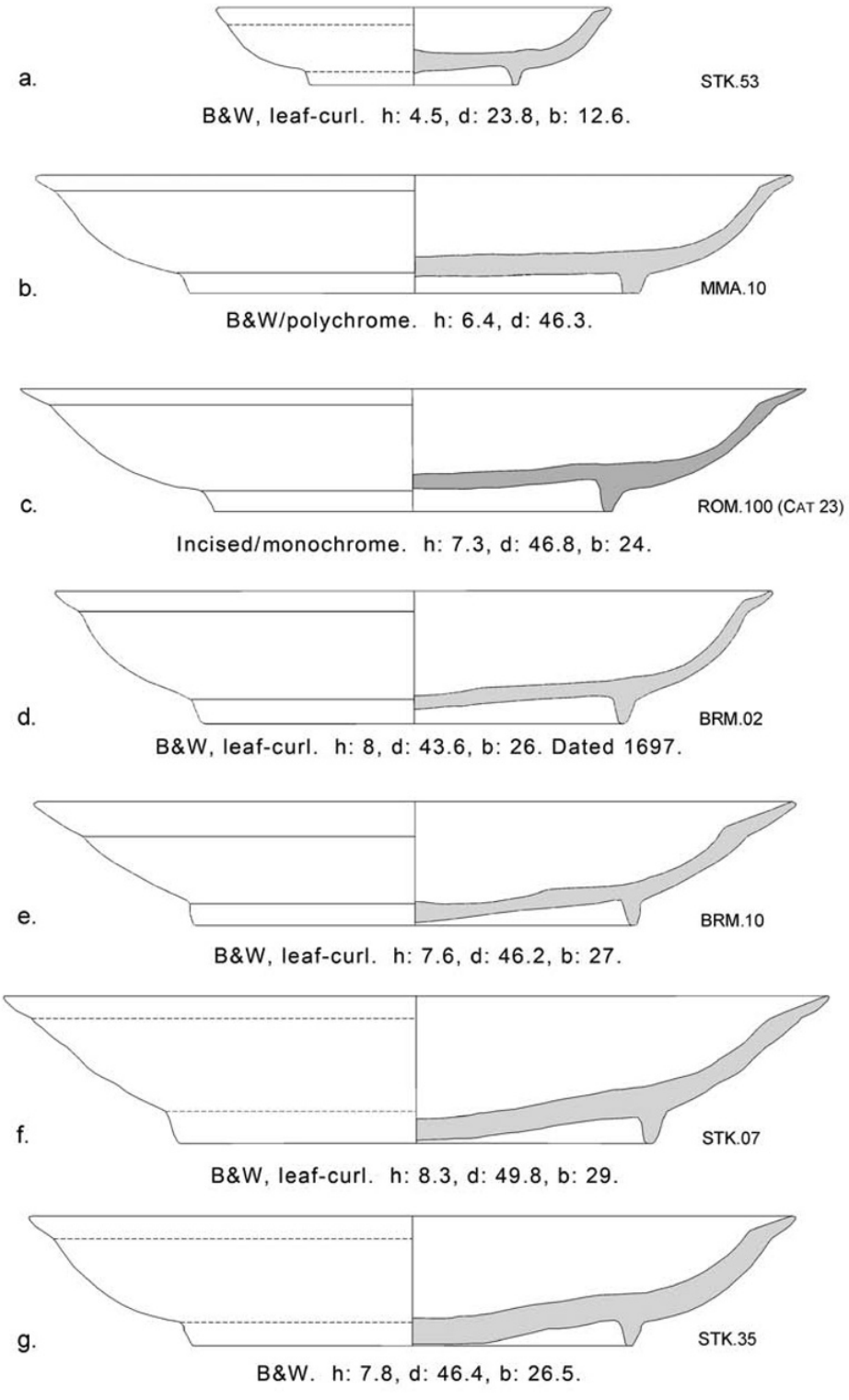
PL. 8.4. *Dishes datable to Phase I (c. 1615–1640), attributed to Mashhad: Back motifs (refer to pl. 6.3) – a. II.1; b. I.3; c. V; d. II.1; e. V. Seal-marks (pl. 7.1) – a. S7; c. S6; d. S7; e. S6. Character-marks (pl. 7.3) – b. C2.*



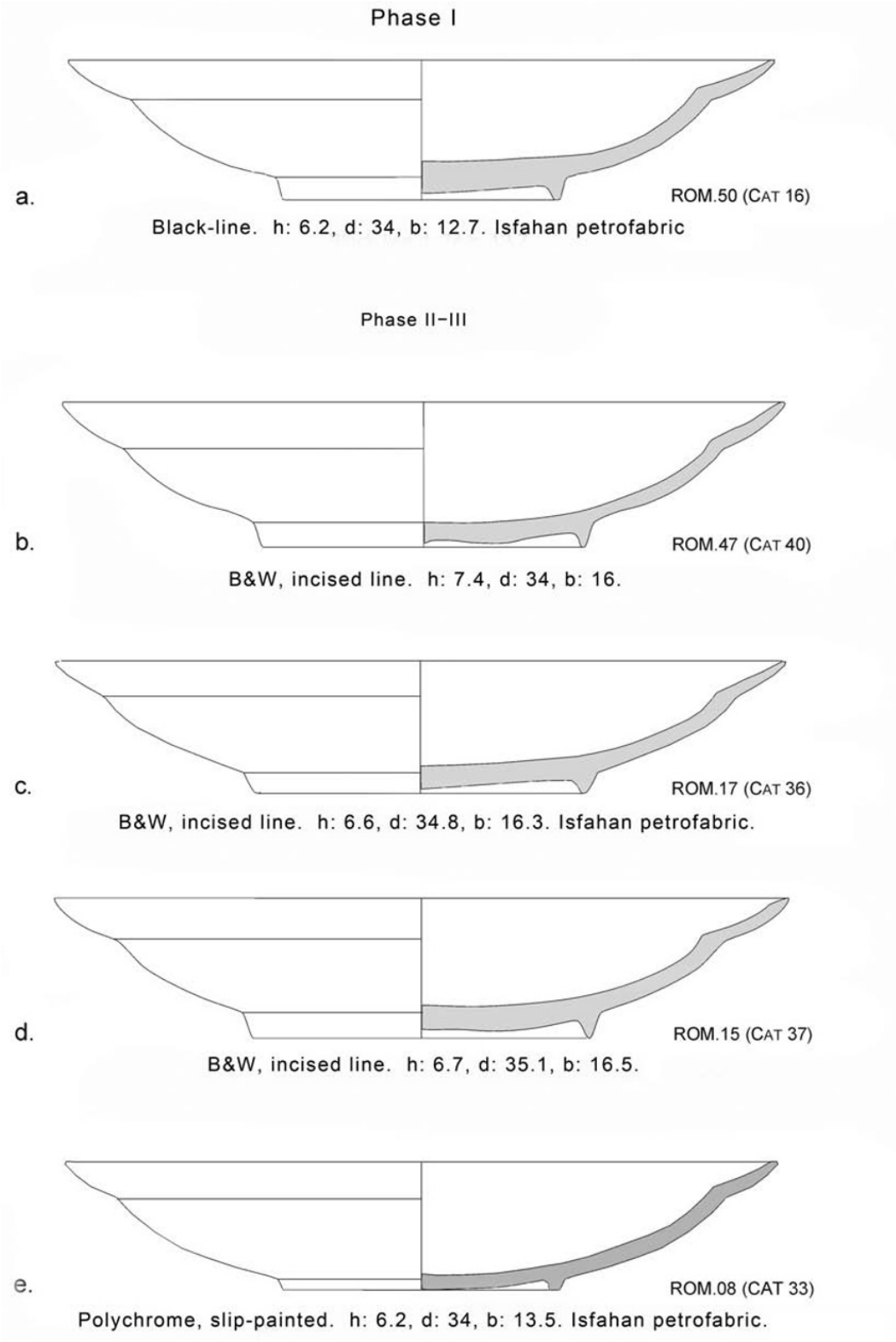
PL. 8.5. *Dishes datable to Phases I and II (c. 1615–1650), attributed to Kirman: Back motifs (refer to pl. 6.3) – a. II.2; b. I.3; c. IV.3–4; d. IV.3–4. Seal-marks (pl. 7.1) – a. S1; b. S13. Tassel-marks (pl. 7.2) – d. T4 and T6. Phase I: a.–c. Phase II (c. 1640): d.*



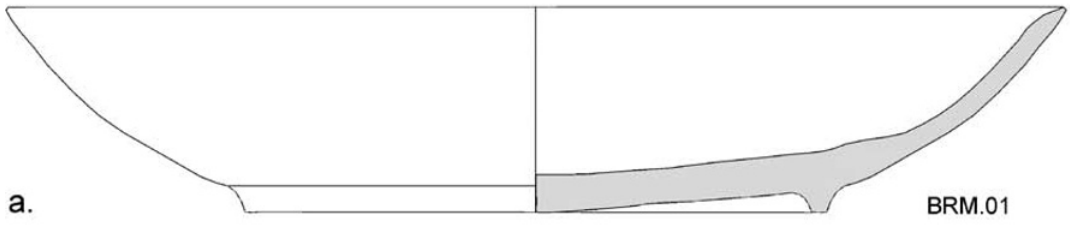
PL. 8.6. *Kirman "black-band" dishes, datable to Phase III (c. 1650–1680): Back motifs (refer to pl.6.3) – a. III.3; b. III.2b; c. III.2b; d. III.2a; e. III.2a. Tassel-marks (pl. 7.2) – b. T11; d. T8. Character-marks (pl. 7.3) – a. C6; c. C1 (?); e. C7 (?).*



PL. 8.7. *Kirman blue-and-white dishes datable to Phase III (c. 1650–1680), with leaf-curl diaper and/or polychrome slip-painting: Back motifs (refer to pl. 6.3) – a. III.1b; b. III.2b; c. monochrome; d. III.2a; e. III.2a; f. III.2a; g. monochrome. Seal-marks (pl. 7.1) – c. S9. Tassel-marks (pl. 7.2) – a. T15; d. T8; e. T(?); f. T17. Character-marks (pl. 7.3) – b. C(?).*



PL. 8.8. *Isfahan dishes from Phases I–III (c. 1615–1680): Back motifs (refer to pl. 6.3) – a. IV.3 (odd). Seal-marks (pl. 7.1) – a. S10.*

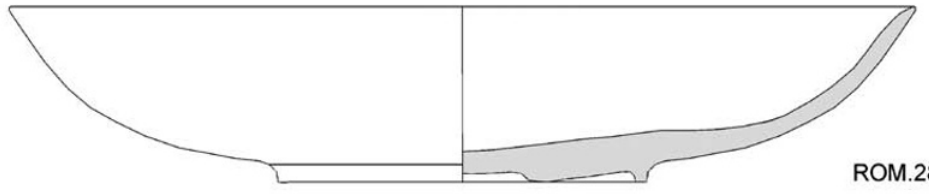


a. BRM.01

B&W, incised line. h: 6.2, d: 40, b: 22.

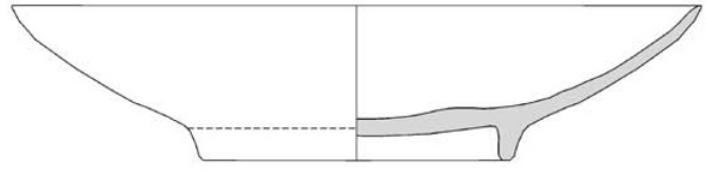
b. ROM.01 (CAT 45)

B&W, incised line. h: 6.9, d: 33.9, b: 16.6. Isfahan petrofabric.



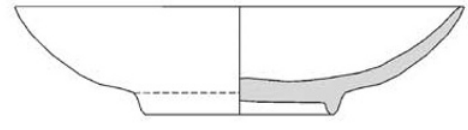
c. ROM.28 (CAT 32)

T&B. h: 6.6, d: 33.1, b: 13.6. Isfahan petrofabric.



d. STK.39

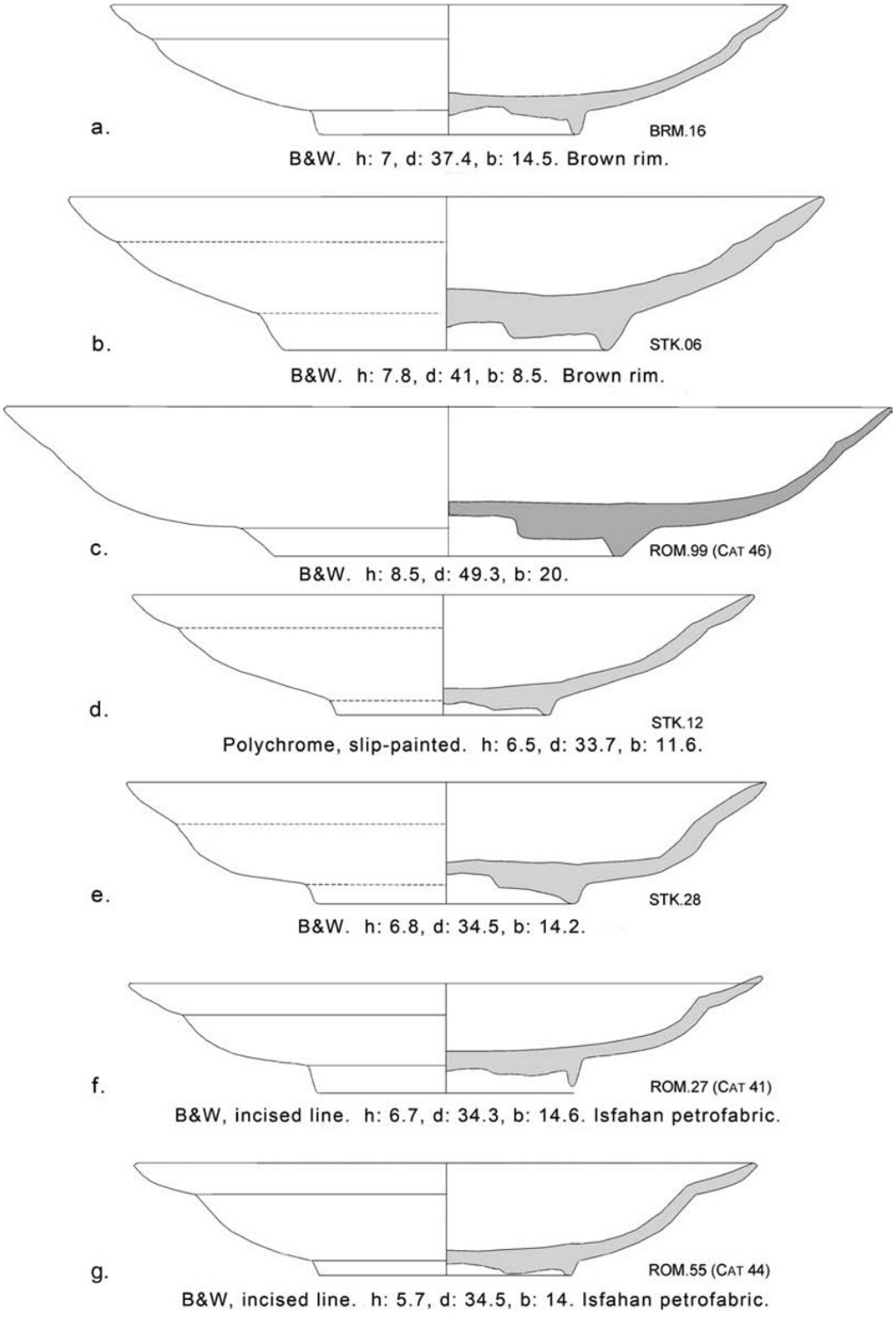
Black-line. h: 5.5, d: 24.9, b: 11.5.



e. BRM.56

Lustre-painted. h: 3.8, d: 16.4, b: 7.1.

PL. 8.9. *Rimless dishes from Phases III–IV (c. 1650–1720).*



PL. 8.10. *Dishes from Phase IV (c. 1680–1720): Back motifs (refer to pl. 6.3) – a. VI; b. III.4; c. III.4; e. III.2a; i. VI. Tassel-marks (pl. 7.2) – e. T1 (?). Isfahan petrofabric: f., g., h. Attributed to Isfahan: d.*

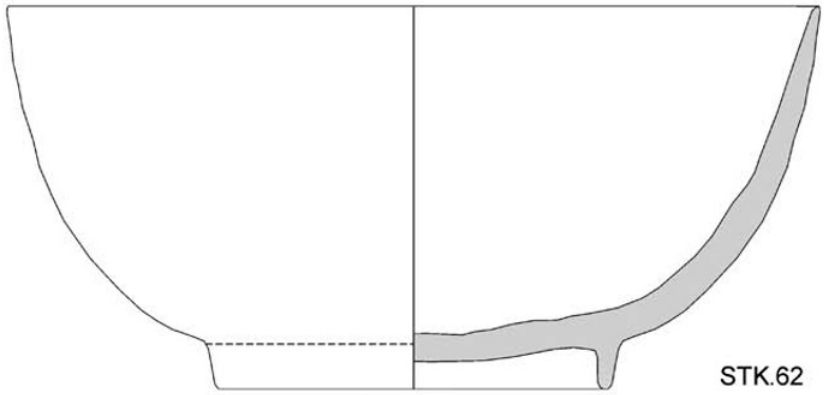
h. ROM.58 (Cat 38)

B&W, incised line. h: 6.5, d: 32.5, b: 14. Isfahan petrofabric.

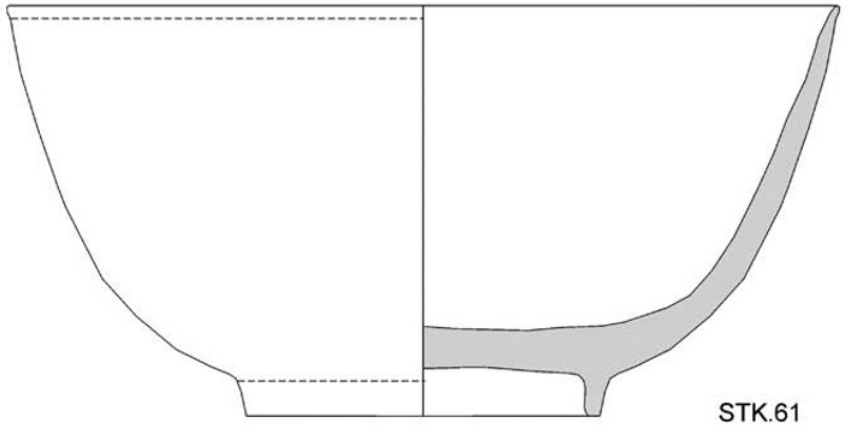
i. ROM. 11 (CAT 48)

B&W, leaf-curl. h: 4.7. d: 23.2, b: 10

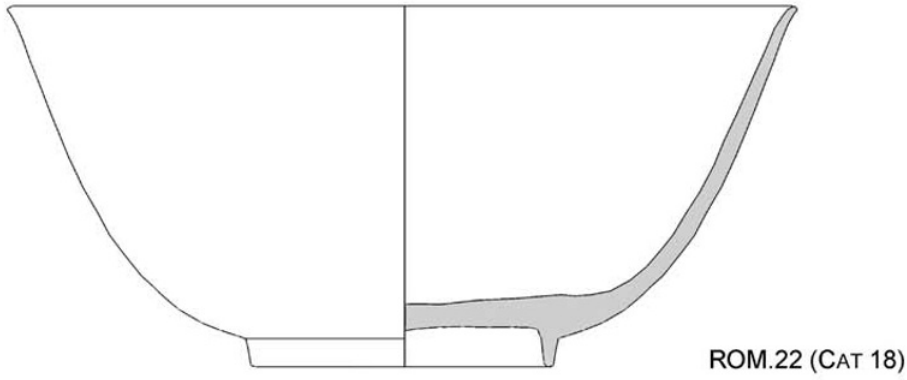
PL. 8.10. (*Continued*)



Black-line. h: 17, d: 36, b: 17.5.

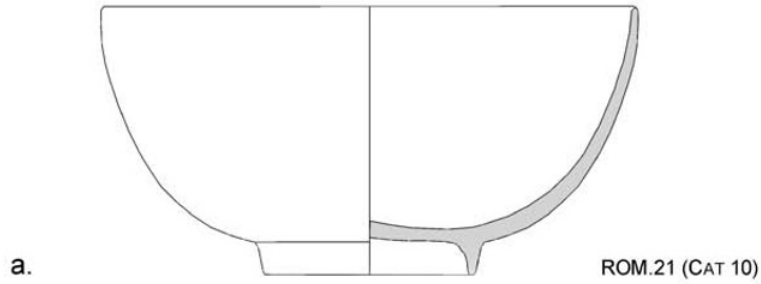


Black-line. h: 18.2, d: 38.4, b: 16.5.

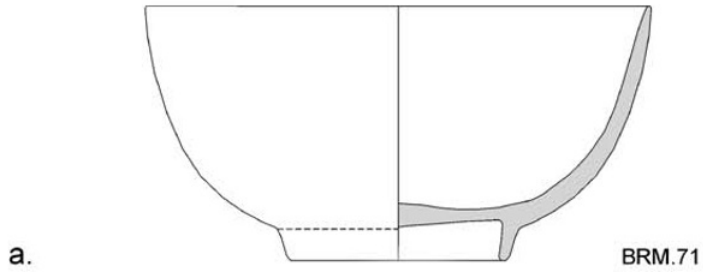


Black-line. h: 16.3, d: 34.6, b: 14.

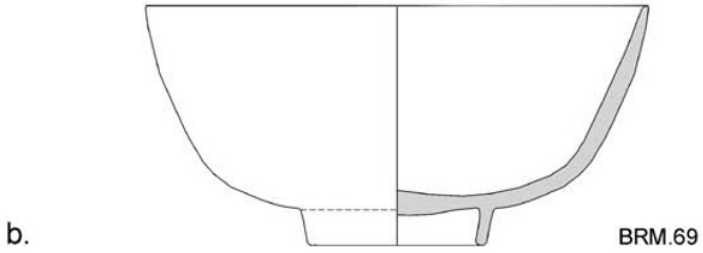
PL. 8.11. *Deep bowls of large diameter from Phases I–II (c. 1615–1650): Seal-marks (refer to pl. 7.1) – a. S2; b. S2 (? Partially preserved). Character-marks (pl. 7.3) – c. C1.*



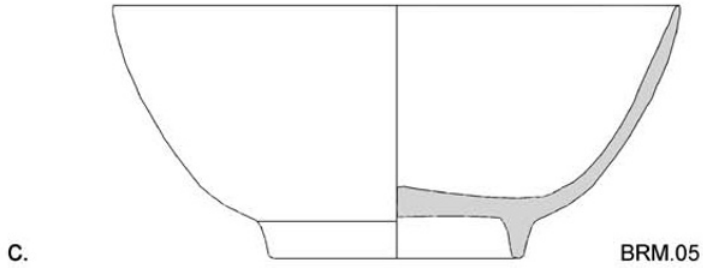
PL. 8.12. *Deep bowls of medium diameter from Phases I–II (c. 1615-1650): Seal–marks (refer to pl. 7.1) – a. S2; b. S4; c. S14.*



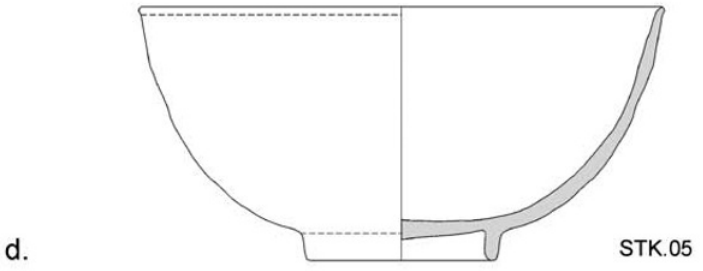
B&W, slip-carved. h: 9.4, d: 19.2, b: 8.3.



B&W, slip-carved. h: 9.2, d: 19, b: 6.8.

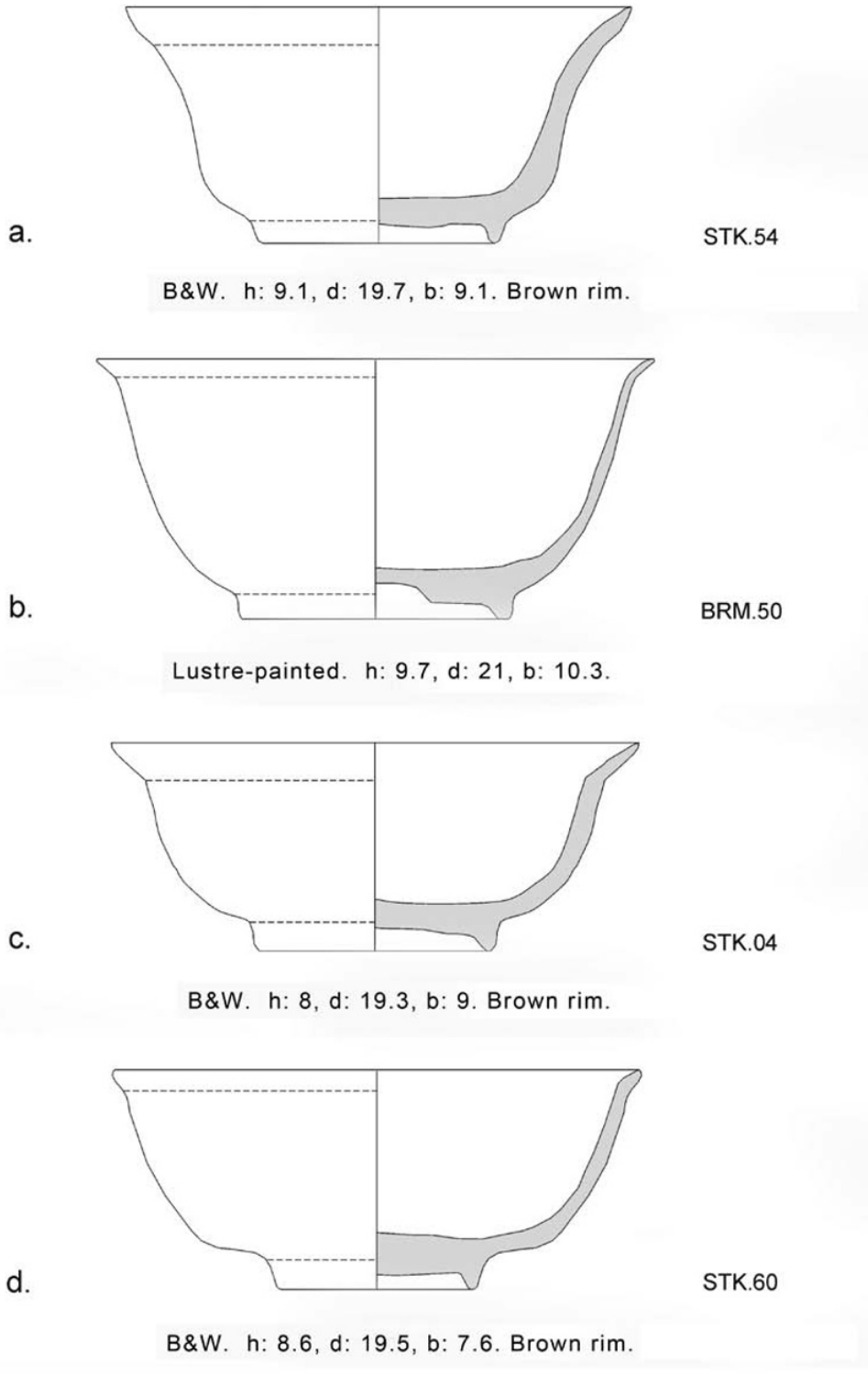


B&W/polychrome. h: 11, d: 23.1, b: 10.

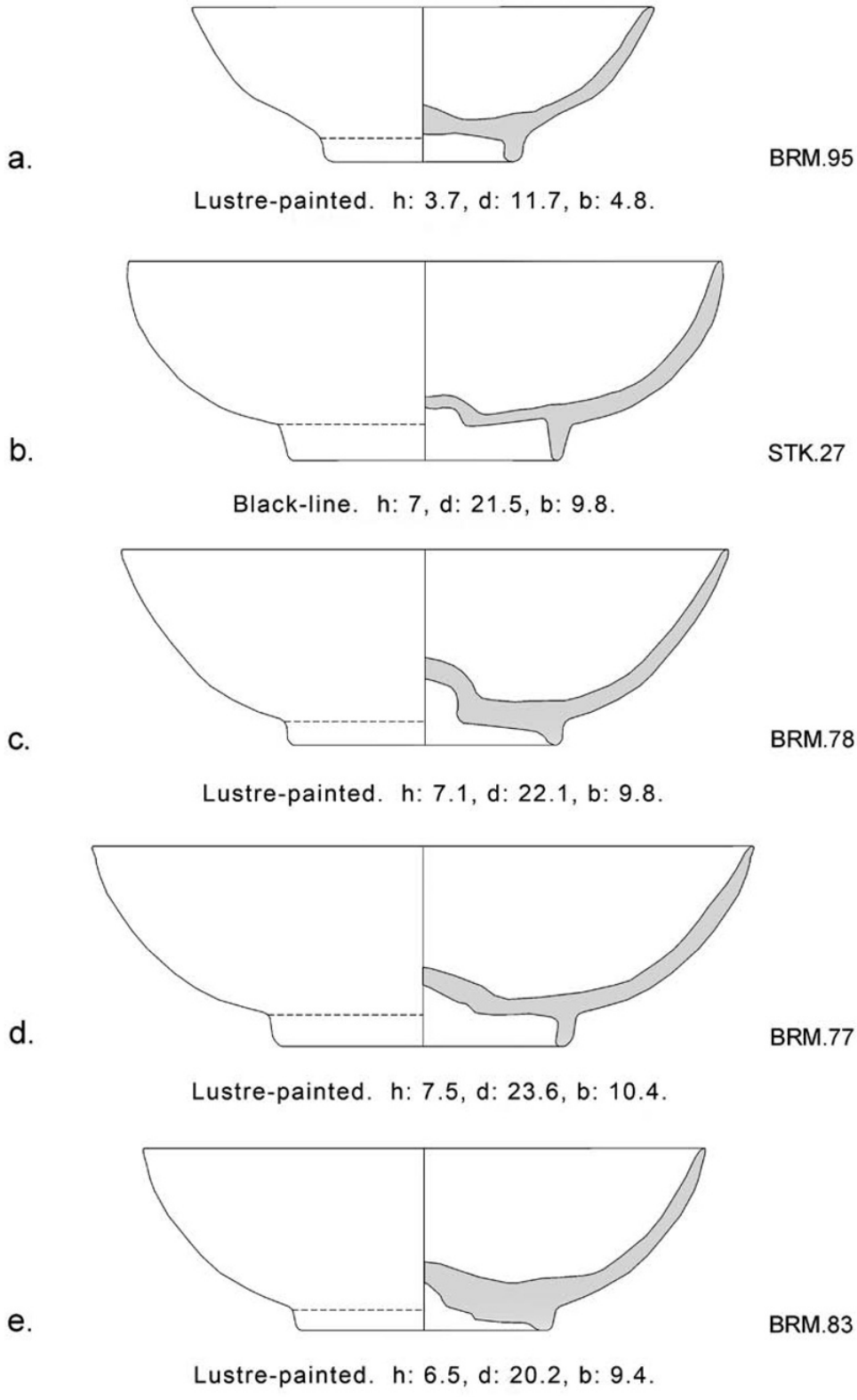


B&W. h: 10, d: 19.5, b: 7.3.

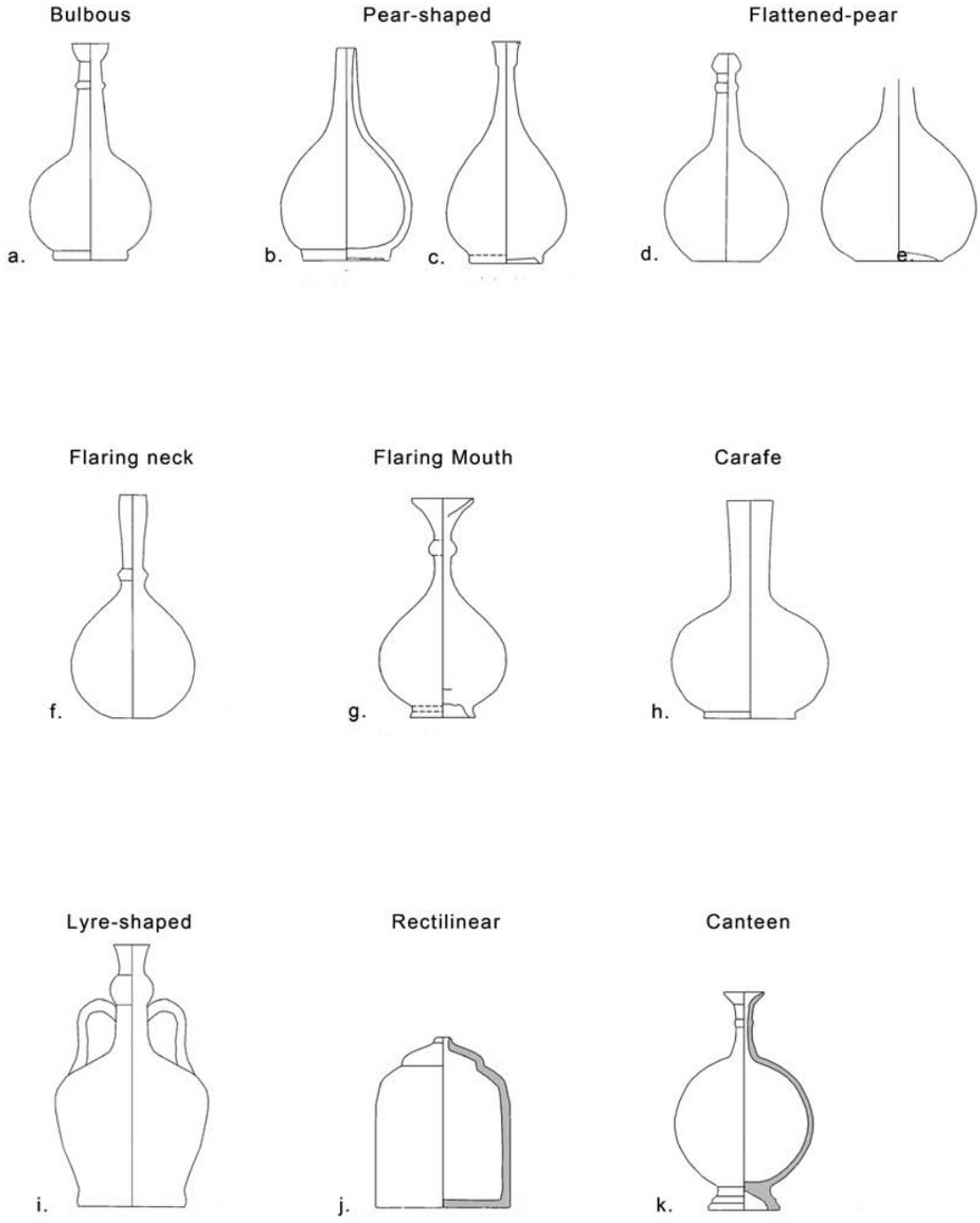
PL. 8.13. *Deep bowls of medium diameter from Phases III–IV (c. 1650–1720): Seal-marks (refer to pl. 7.1) – d. S16. Tassel-marks (pl. 7.2) – c. T2/T11.*



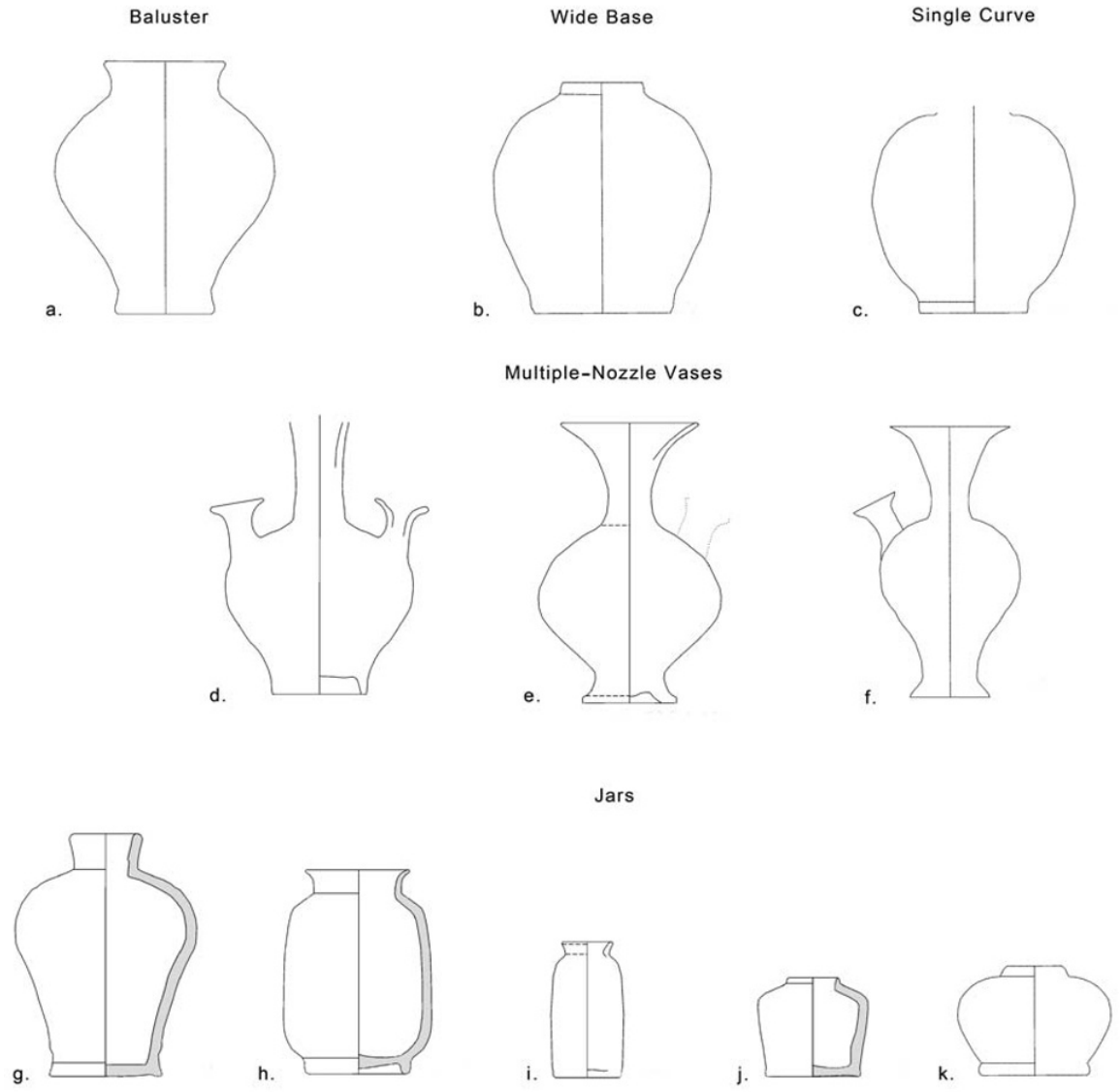
PL. 8.14. *Deep bowls of medium diameter from Phase IV (c. 1680–1720): Tassel-marks (refer to pl. 7.2) – b. T4. Character-marks (pl. 7.3) – a. C3/C6.*



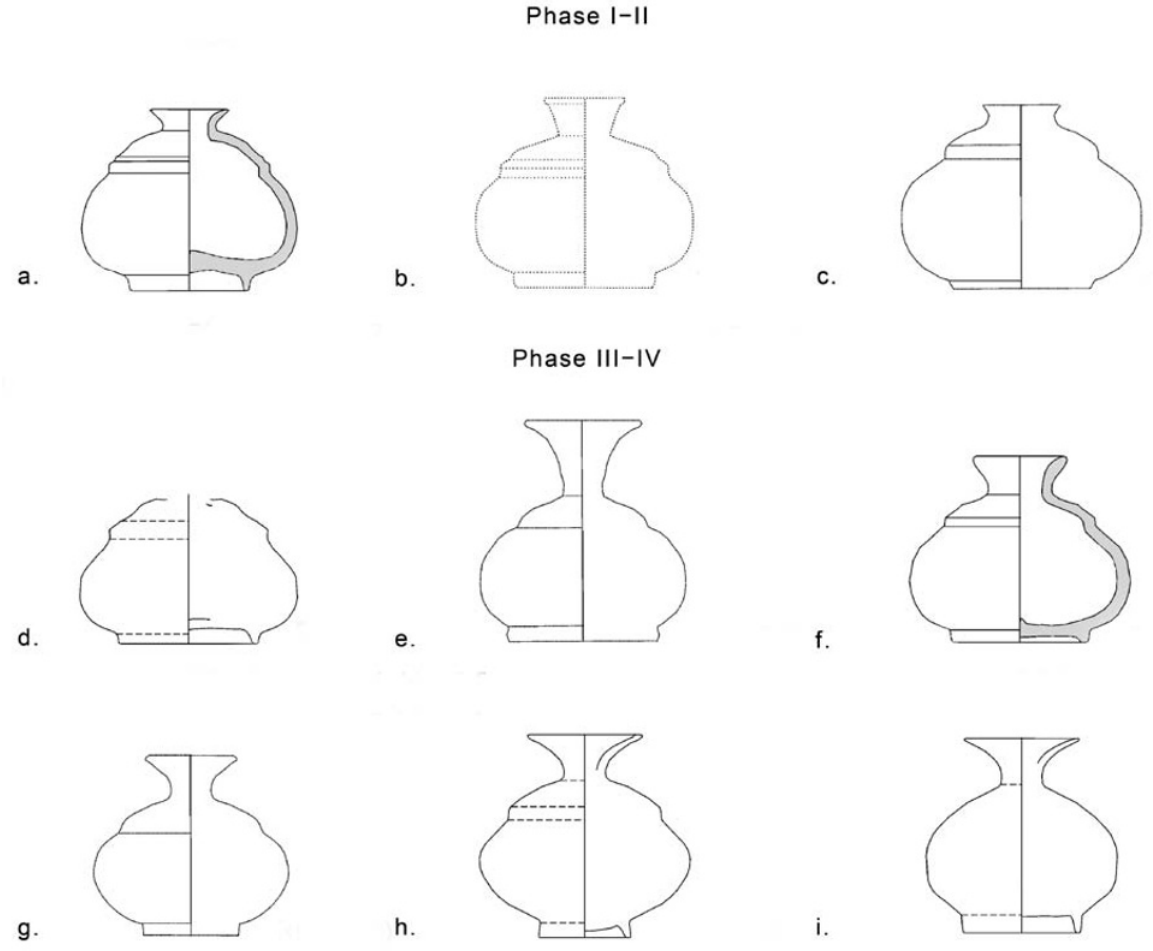
PL. 8.15. *Shallow bowls from Phase IV (c. 1680–1720), lustre-painted and other.*



PL. 8.16. *Bottle shapes from the 17th century: a. FRE.12 (Monochrome h: 32.1 d: 18); b. BRM.24 (Lustre-painted h: 23 d: 14 b: 8.5); c. BRM.42 (Lustre-painted h: 27 d:14.2 b:9); d. WAL.04 (Monochrome moulded h: 36.5); e. ROM.88 (CAT 21 Black-line h: 23.3 d: 20.3 b: 12); f. FRE.14 (Monochrome incised h: 25.3 d: 14.4); g. BRM.188 (Lustre-painted h: 15 d: 8.6 b: 4.7); h. HRM.15 (B&W/Polychrome h:26.4); i. SEV.04 (Green ware h: 29.5); j. BRM.13 (Black-line h: 14.6 w: 10.4); k. BRM.11 (Black-line h:28 d: 18 b: 9.1).*



PL. 8.17. *Vases and jars from the 17th century: a. V&A.96 (Black-line h: 13.5 d: 11.8 b: 5.4); b. V&A.13 (Black-line h: 29.5 d: 26.7 b: 16.5); c. V&A.28 (Polychrome h: 42 d: 39.5 b: 13.2); d. ROM.97 (CAT 24 B&W h: 27 d: 19 b: 9.4); e. BRM.156 (Lustre-painted h: 29, d: 12 b: 6.6); f. V&A.247 (B&W/Polychrome h: 24.3 d: 12 b: 7.2); g. ROM.36 (CAT 26 B&W Moulded h: 20 d: 15.6 b: 8.1); h. ROM.56 (CAT 47 B&W h: 17.2 d: 12 b: 9); i. BRM.147 (Lustre-painted h: 11 b: 5.9); j. BRM.18 (B&W h: 8.4 d: 9.6 b: 8); k. V&A 202 (B&W h: 6.3).*



PL. 8.18. *Spittoons from the 17th century: a. BRM.17 (Black-line h: 11 d: 13 b: 7.2); b. HRM.56 (Black-line h: 10 d: 13 b: 8); c. ASH.13 (Black-line h: 13.2 d: 16.0); d. STK.10 (B&W/Polychrome h: 12.5 d: 14 b: 8.5); e. BRM.202 (Lustre-painted h: 12.4 d: 12.5 b: 5.8); f. ROM.09 (CAT 50 B&W h: 11.3 d: 13 b: 8.2); g. ROM.06 (CAT 53 Monochrome h: 10.8 d: 11.4 b: 5.5); h. MMA.09 (B&W/Polychrome h: 15.2 d: 13); i. BRM.176 (Lustre-painted h: 13 d: 12.4 b: 7.9).*

PART III

A Catalogue of the Safavid Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum

∵

The Safavid pottery selected for this catalogue represents about 90% of the Museum's pottery attributed to Safavid Iran. Most of the objects entered the collections at three moments of time. Some 40 arrived in shipments along with ancient Near Eastern material between about 1907 (or slightly earlier) and 1910. These were provided by dealers in Cairo (Dimitri Andalaft, Kalebdjian Frères, M. Casira), London (S. M. Franck and Company), and Paris (R. and M. Stora).

Between 1928 (when three items were purchased from T. Sutton) and 1950, no new acquisitions of Safavid pottery occurred. In 1950, when Miss Alice Norton of Montreal began gifting her collection to various museums, the Royal Ontario Museum was the recipient of a large number of Persian ceramic objects, including eight Safavid pieces.

With the initiation of the Timurid Ceramics Project in 1988 the Museum began to purchase significant objects from the fifteenth century, and this pursuit continued with the onset of the Safavid Ceramics Project. Some 14 important Safavid vessels were purchased primarily through auction houses in London. Another two major acquisitions were the gift of Ann and Murray Bell of Toronto, who were avid collectors of Far Eastern porcelain.

While the collection presented here does not compare with those of larger museums (such as the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum) in terms of quantity of spectacular objects and dated pieces, the ROM's collection is important because it has been documented through scientific analysis and systematic study. The findings can, therefore, be a starting point for further exploration of the larger collections.

Conventions Used in the Catalogue

The objects are listed within their chronological Phase, as defined in Chapter Two. Each object has been assigned a catalogue number ("Cat. no."), followed by the project number within the database of the Safavid Ceramics Project. The Royal Ontario Museum's own catalogue number is listed as the Acquisition number ("Acc. no.").

The naming of motifs found on rims and backs is further discussed in Chapter Six, and the terms used for variations on potters' marks are explained in Chapter Seven. Illustrations within this volume of the motifs identified are listed in each catalogue entry as "Illustration in text." Scale drawings of the shapes of many of the Museum's pieces appear in Chapter Eight. References to publications mentioning or illustrating the Museum's objects are listed under "Literature."

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_011

Cat. no. 1
ROM.96

Acc. no. 2004.101.1
Purchased through the Louise Hawley Stone Strategic Acquisitions Fund

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Nishapur, Iran
c. 1500

Height: 7 cm
Diameter: 37 cm
Diameter of base: 19.3 cm

Source: Sotheby's, London, Oct. 13, 2004, lot 116
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.3; Pl. 8.1, A1 (section drawing)
Related object: HRM.128 (Nishapur petrofabric, GMB 1996, pl. 39)
Chinese models: TKS 15/1378; Art Institute of Chicago, 54.463 (Carswell 1985, fig. 22)

This dish belongs to an elite group of late Timurid to early Safavid pottery that faithfully reproduces, both in its grand format and through its painterly style, the highly sought-after porcelains of the early Ming period. These were collected by princes and the Persian aristocracy and displayed in special chambers known as the *chini-khaneh* ("Porcelain House"). Such collections were built up through diplomatic exchanges as well as through commercial trade.

Inspired by these collections, the Persian potter tried to capture their spirit as well as copy the designs. His brushstrokes closely simulate the "heaped and piled" look of early Ming blue-and-white porcelain. The central design follows the Chinese model with its pair of large peony-like blossoms sprouting from delicate vines. Fleshy oblong leaves with their pointy terminus suggest a counter-clockwise movement around the blossoms. A Chinese lotus scroll with its spiky leaves also oriented in this direction reinforces the movement. The bright white ground of the centre and cavetto contrasts sharply with the rim. Striations create a blue ground against which the "waves and rocks" stand out. This motif is based on the dynamic Chinese cresting wave border, but here it has been reduced to three or four static mounds alternating with a tightly wound whorl (Pl. 6.1.1, Rim T2, whorl-crest 1). This version of the Chinese original helps to date the dish to the latter phase of "peony style" (as described in our study of Timurid pottery), which evolved in the Nishapur workshop.[1]

On the outer walls the signature motif of this workshop, the double-scroll, has four isolated "leaves" imposed on it (Pl. 6.2, Back A). Earlier versions of this motif show that it derives from a vegetal scroll with lotus-like leaves.

All the sampled wares with the double-scroll back and with peony-style decoration have the Nishapur petrofabric (see HRM.128 for an almost identical piece), including sherds taken from Nishapur itself. A later dish (TOK.01) with designs related to Nishapur pieces, such as ROM.98/ Cat. no. 2, bears an inscription naming Nishapur as its place of manufacture with the date 929/1522–23.[2]

The foot-ring has three pairs of hang-holes and a single hole, which confirm that it once hung on the walls of a house in the Daghestan mountain village of Kubachi. No dishes found in Iran itself have hang-holes in the foot-ring. How this dish got there, along with hundreds of other Persian ceramics, is a mystery waiting to be solved. The pots range in date from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. This dish would have been one of the earlier ones. One theory is that the dishes were accumulated somewhere else, perhaps in a shrine or in a palace household, and then shipped north of the Caucasus where the mountain villagers of Kubachi acquired them. The problem is elaborated in more detail in Chapter Four.

1 The group which we have designated earlier as "peony style," as well as the Nishapur workshop and its use of the "double-scroll" back, are discussed in the volume on Timurid ceramics (GMB 1996:133–34).

2 First published in Golombek and Mason 1995.

CAT 1 (*ROM.96*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 2
ROM.98

Acc. no. 992.117.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Nishapur petrofabric, Iran
c. 1525

Height: 8 cm
Diameter: 39 cm
Diameter of base: 20.6 cm

Source: Sotheby's (Colonnade), London, April 29, 1992, lot no. 61

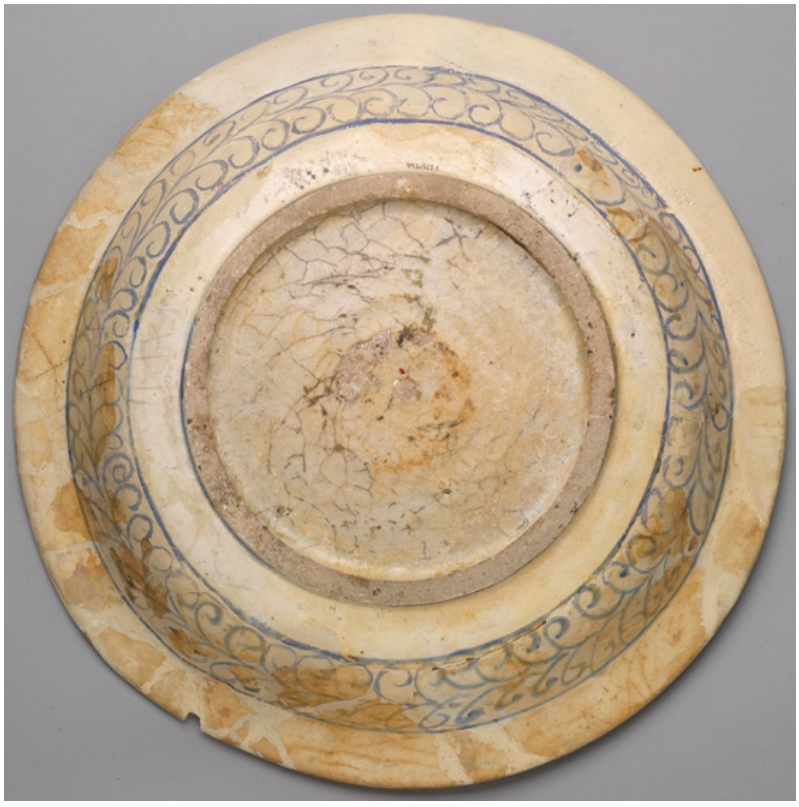
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.7; Pl. 8.1, A2 (section drawing)
Literature: GMB 1996, pl. 46
Related objects: TOK.01
Chinese models: TKS no. 15/1679, Ardabil (Pope 1956, no. 29.143)

The transparent glaze has all but vanished from this dish through deterioration resulting from burial in the ground, creating a matte surface. A few spots retaining their glaze demonstrate how beautiful the dish once was with the brilliant cobalt paint shimmering in the light. In the tondo is a large peony blossom with six lobes and a six-petalled rosette at its centre. The blossom is surrounded by swaying vines sprouting spiky lotus leaves, lotus blossoms, and rosettes. The large central blossom is filled with rows of tiny scales, a type of fill that is characteristic of Nishapur pottery dating to around 1522 (compare with the dated nightingale dish in Tokyo, TOK.01).

This design enjoyed great popularity in Iran during the sixteenth century. It is derived from either late fifteenth-century Ming or from Annamese (Vietnamese) copies of the Chinese.

The scrawny crest rim (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 3) derives from variations of the Chinese cresting wave that had already evolved in Iran during the fifteenth century. This version of the cresting wave is typical of Nishapur dishes at this time, including the dated nightingale dish. The cavetto contains six isolated clumps of plants, also derived from Chinese early Ming porcelain.

On the outer walls is the typical Nishapur motif of the double-scroll (Pl. 6.2, Back A). The dish was sampled and its Nishapur provenance confirmed. The foot-ring does not seem to have hang-holes, and the deterioration of the glaze suggests that this dish did not come from the houses of Kubachi (see ROM.96/ Cat. no. 1).



CAT 2 (*ROM.98*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 3
ROM.18

Acc. no. 909.25.8

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Tabriz petrofabric, Iran
early 16th century

Height: 6.5 cm
Diameter: 35.4 cm
Diameter of base: 21.9 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.12; Pl. 8.1, D (section drawing)
Literature: GMB 1996, pl. 72, colour plate XV
Related objects: MMA.74, HRM.119
Chinese models: TKS 727, 728

It is the brilliant cobalt colour and the high gloss of the transparent glaze that makes this dish attractive rather than the composition and drawing. Although the architecture of the dish suggests three distinct zones—a central tondo, the curving walls of the cavetto, and the flat everted rim—the potter has treated the entire surface as a continuous plane. Large round blossoms float on a ground of tiny dots. Even the rim is composed of small whorls connected by dotted vines, giving the appearance of a centipede. The composition in the tondo consists of six blossoms around a central blossom of the same size. The blossoms are edged by a ring of small multiple petals, enclosing a large swirl. They look like chrysanthemums, but their Chinese model may have been the lotus or peony. Another eight blossoms surround the well around the interior walls. A linear vine circles the blossoms, connecting them, and the white ground is covered with dots. The rim is bracketed, following Chinese models.

This design featuring large plump blossoms against vines with tiny leaves derives from late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Chinese blue-and-white porcelain. Some examples even show similar drawing of the blossoms and suggest that the Persian potter tried to keep in step with changes in the Chinese repertory. This design was very popular in Tabriz, as the number of copies that survive demonstrates. Many found their way to the mountain village of Kubachi in Daghestan and eventually into the Hermitage Collection in St. Petersburg (see Chapter Four).

The rim motif (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 7, centipede 2) is common on a wide range of Tabriz wares. The floral meander (Pl. 6.2, Back D) on the exterior walls is quite unusual, however, and seems to represent a transitional phase between the rosette scrolls of the finer Tabriz wares and the mass-produced "weedback" wares of the second half of the sixteenth century. What began as a floral scroll with vine-like tendrils and recognizable blossoms has been reduced to vines with whorls. Two other related dishes, likewise derived from the small-leaf genre of early sixteenth-century Chinese blue-and-white, also show idiosyncratic scroll designs on their exteriors (MMA.74, HRM.119). All these dishes have a wide base, in contrast to another group of Tabriz dishes characterized by a small base.[3]

3 No examples of this type are in the ROM collection; see GMB 1996:137.

CAT 3 (*ROM.18*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 4
ROM.24

Acc. no. 909.26.44

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt, copper (turquoise)
Tabriz petrofabric, Iran
mid-16th century

Height: 6.2 cm
Diameter: 33 cm
Diameter of base: 19 cm

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustrations in text:
Fig. 2.20; Pl. 8.1, G (section drawing)
Literature: GMB 1996, pl. 74, colour plate XVII
Related objects: HRM.120, 121

The central design of four chrysanthemum-like blossoms and swirling vines is obscured by a series of large turquoise drops, simulating the Chinese practice of dabbing coloured oxides sparingly onto the surface. These drops have spread into each other and possibly are responsible for the bluish coloration of the transparent glaze.

A honeycomb diaper of hexagonal cells containing three dots fills the inner walls. The cresting wave rim consists of pairs of mounds alternating with a whorl (Pl. 6.1.2, Rim 5, whorl-crest 2). The mounds are striated, in contrast to the non-striated forms on late Timurid and earlier Safavid rims.

On the back the procession of sickle-leaf plants is a classic example of the mid-sixteenth-century "weedback" phase of the Tabriz workshop (Pl. 6.2: Back G, weedback petal-panel).

There are three spur marks in the well of the dish, and the wide foot-ring is pierced by two hang-holes, testifying to its Kubachi provenance (see Chapter Four).

The central design of this dish can be found on numerous examples of "weedback" wares. The inferior quality of the painting and the derivative nature of the Chinese motifs and designs found on these wares suggest mass production.

CAT 4 (*ROM.24*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 5
ROM.26

Acc. no. 909.29.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Tabriz petrofabric, Iran
mid-16th century

Height: 6 cm
Diameter: 32.7 cm
Diameter of base: 20.5 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.21
Literature: GMB 1996, pl. 73, colour plate XVI
Chinese model: Ardabil (Pope 1956, no. 29.55, pl. 37)

Five petals joined at the centre form the radii of a pentagon. The sides are constituted from Persianized Chinese cloud-scrolls with thin stems anchored in the centre of the pentagon. A wide ring of X-shaped motifs in reserve surrounds the well. The inner walls carry seven Chinese peach blossom plants with antenna-like leaves. The peach blossom plant was a common motif on early Ming porcelain (early fifteenth century), and appeared on early Safavid Precise wares (HRM.100, 117) from the early sixteenth century. However, the reduction of the peach branch to a highly stylized symmetrical motif is typical of the simplification found in the designs of the Weedback class of the Tabriz workshop.

The classic scroll found on Chinese wares has also been reduced to a simple dotted scroll motif (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 12, colon-scroll) and the back is decorated with the weedback petal-panel design (Pl. 6.2, Back G). Sickle-shaped leaves with trailing vines form panels resembling the Chinese lotus petal border.

There are three spur marks in the well, and the wide foot-ring has been pierced by six hang-holes, testifying to the Kubachi provenance of the dish.

CAT 5 (*ROM.26*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 6
ROM.93

Acc. no. 998.40.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and black
Qazvin petrofabric, Iran
c. 1570

Height: 9.3 cm
Diameter: 32.3 cm
Diameter of base: 11.8 cm

Source: Christie's, London (S. Kensington), April 30, 1998, lot 402 (formerly Farhadi and Anavian)
Illustrations in text: Fig. 8.1, H (section drawing)
Related object: MMA.67 (dated 1567–68)

The deterioration of the glaze on this dish masks the liveliness of the lion, striding to the left, painted in blue with black outlines. His jaws are open, revealing his tongue, and the hair on his neck bristles. A wispy tree at the right follows the curve of his back, and vines with small leaves fill the remaining space. The interior walls are fluted and undecorated, like many Chinese porcelains of the late sixteenth century. The rim is decorated with a series of trefoil leaves pointing to the right with stems anchored to the inner edge (Pl. 6.1.3, Rim 15). The spaces are filled with tiny comma-shaped marks. The design on the back consists of five knobby volutes each with nine knots at intervals (Pl. 6.2, Back H). The foot-ring is very narrow compared with contemporary wares from other workshops. There are blue lines below the rim and the border of volutes, as well as around the foot-ring.

This dish can be dated on the basis of comparison with a similar lion dish in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 2.16, MMA.67, dated 1567–68). Several other lion dishes are known but have not been sampled.

While the lion was a commonly depicted animal in Persian art, its occurrence on a ceramic vessel may have been inspired by Chinese porcelains with animals in a landscape, such as the deer or the mythological *qilin*.

CAT 6 (*ROM.93*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 7
ROM.94

Acc. no. 998.40.2

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Tabriz petrofabric, Iran
c. 1570

Height: 7 cm
Diameter: 33.3 cm
Diameter of base: 17.3 cm

Source: Christie's, London (S. Kensington), April 30, 1998, lot no. 411
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.23; Pl. 8.1, J (section drawing)
Related object: FRE.20

During the last decades of the sixteenth century a new aesthetic issued in a departure from the time-worn designs that had been mass-produced by the Tabriz workshops. The new look is reflected in dishes with a blank cavetto, inspired by the contemporary imports of Chinese porcelain. A taste for reserve-painted designs resurfaced, with some of the detail left white while linear motifs were scratched through the cobalt ground, recalling late fifteenth-century Nishapur wares.

In the well of this dish four lobed ogee medallions surround a motif composed of two rotated squares with the corners transformed into lobes. Another four ogee medallions cut in half by the edge of the well suggest a continuation of the design beyond, like the corner medallions of carpets. The rim appears as a zig-zag in reserve with trefoil designs etched in the voids (Pl. 6.1.4, Rim 22). On the back is one of the signature motifs for the Tabriz workshop at this time, the button-scroll (Pl. 6.2, Back J). A circling vine is punctuated by small whorls and sprouts short tendrils with trefoil leaves. There are two concentric cobalt lines under the rim.

The surface appears very glossy, but the paint on the exterior has run, creating a streaky effect. There are two pairs of hang-holes opposite each other in the foot-ring. Unlike the holes in earlier Tabriz dishes that were suspended in the houses of Kubachi, the holes here have no breaks. The potter's technique of loading the kiln may also have changed, as there are no spur marks in the centre of the interior as found on earlier Tabriz dishes.

Much of the rim has been replaced with plaster, and holes drilled in it suggest preparation for staples (not present).

CAT 7 (*ROM.94*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 8
ROM.54

Acc. no. 909.25.4

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Kirman petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 8.3 cm
Diameter: 46 cm
Diameter of base: 22.7 cm
Potter's mark: black seal-mark

Source: R. and M. Stora and Company, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.1; Pl. 8.5, a (section drawing)
Literature: Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler 1973:356, pl. 350 (incorrect dating); Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, figs. 8–9; Golombek 2003, fig. 13
Related objects: FMK.07, SAC.01, V&A.124, LOU.12
Chinese models: Ardabil (Pope 1956, pl. 45)

Although the dragon was a common motif on Chinese porcelain as well as in other media, such as textiles, it never takes on the appearance of the dragon as depicted on this dish. This rendition shows how a highly skilled artist transformed the Chinese model to suit Persian taste. The head, normally elongated if frontal or turned to the side in the Chinese models, faces front, as it appears in ornament on furniture in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century paintings.[4] The two eyes stare out at us, and the mouth seems to curl up at the corners in a smile. In the hands of the Persian artist the sinuous Chinese dragon's body with its long tail surrenders to the circular shape of the tondo. The wings attached to the shoulder and hind leg curve in opposite directions, forming an axis that passes through the head. The dragon's body is enlivened by the calligraphic outlines, moving from thin to thick and back again. The striations, speckles, and "warts" drawn on the body give the appearance of flesh. This combination of reduction to geometric shapes with naturalistic texture, animated through a dynamic line, is typical of Safavid painting in the early seventeenth century, as seen in the work of Riza Abbasi. The drawing on this dish is of the highest quality, and the square seal-mark (Pl. 7.1, S1) on the base identifies it as a product of the Kirman "boutique" workshop, which produced some of the finest blue-and-white pottery of the Safavid period.

The dragon is painted in reserve against a blue ground with fiery clouds and emblems also in reserve. Examples of this kind of composition exist in Chinese porcelains from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Animals shown on a ground of dense clouds or vegetation was a very popular subject in Safavid pottery throughout the seventeenth century.

The inner walls and rim of the dish are treated as one surface, covered by a lotus scroll with pointy leaves and eight large blossoms (Pl. 6.3.2, Back II.2). Frontal and profile views of the blossoms alternate. The model for this scroll, like the design of the tondo, was also a fourteenth-century Chinese porcelain. A similar scroll decorates the outer walls, but the profile blossoms are not completely filled in with a cobalt wash.

4 For a close parallel to the dragon's head see ornament depicted above the throne in a painting from the Shahnameh of Sultan Ali Mirza, dated 1494 (Museum for Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul 1978, A22).

CAT 8 (*ROM.54*) *Interior*

CAT 8 (*ROM.54*) *Profile*

CAT 8 (*ROM.54*) *Exterior and Seal mark*

Cat. no. 9
ROM.20

Acc. no. 909.26.31

Bowl
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
probably Kirman, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 11.4 cm
Diameter: 21.3 cm
Diameter of base: 8.7 cm
Potter's mark: black seal-mark

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.39; Pl. 7.1, S4; Pl. 8.12, b (section drawing)
Related objects: ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10
Chinese models: TKS 1361

The very thin potting of this bowl and the next (ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10) simulates Chinese porcelain so closely that, at a glance, only the expert can distinguish the Persian copy from its model. The shape is also derived from the Chinese model. It has a narrow base, swells slightly at the bottom, and then rises steeply with nearly straight sides. The rim is bracketed.

The main features of the design come from late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century porcelain. The bird sitting on a rock was a very popular Chinese theme. Here a crow perches on an irregular rocky outgrowth. A flowering plant springs from the point, and a bamboo tree rises behind the bird. A winged insect hovers above him at the edge of the central medallion.

The interior walls of the bowl are divided into bracketed panels, broad and narrow, but these are ignored by the plants, birds, and insects in the landscape. This practice can also be found on Chinese bowls of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. One large plant motif has jagged branches to either side of a central stalk. The other consists of a sinuous vine along which unfurls a continuous line of small seven-petalled flowers (prunus?). Below and above the bird the spaces between the two plants are filled with rocks and grassy outgrowths. In the air fly two birds and a winged insect.

On the exterior the panel-defining lines are repeated. Here the landscape develops in two tiers, with clouds dropping from the rim and birds in flight.

The only other bowl with similar composition and style is ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10. These two bowls are remarkably similar, but bear different variations on the square seal-mark.

CAT 9 (*ROM.20*) *Interior*

CAT 9 (ROM.20) *Exterior*

CAT 9 (*ROM.20*) *Bottom and Potter's mark*

Cat. no. 10
ROM.21

Acc. no. 909.26.32

Bowl
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
probably Kirman, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 11.4 cm
Diameter: 21.6 cm
Diameter of base: 9.2 cm
Potter's mark: black seal-mark

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.38; Pl. 8.12, a (section drawing)
Related object: ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9
Chinese model: TKS 1361

This bowl is almost exactly the same dimensions as ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9 and the composition and style are close enough for them to be considered works of the same potter. However, the seal-marks are not identical. This bowl has a mark with ascending lines (Pl. 7.1, S2). In the well of this bowl the bird's legs are bent and it faces left rather than right. The rock configuration is slightly different, being a large clump sprouting short plants. The walls are also divided into bracketed panels (here, five rather than six), and the landscape motifs ignore this division. We also find the same two types of vegetation on opposite sides of the bird, the symmetrical arching blades above its head (although here the plant lacks barbs), and the sinuous branch with small flowers beneath the rock. There are no birds in flight, only a winged insect. In addition we find floating in the air a Y-shaped motif that appears on many other Safavid seventeenth-century wares. This is not present on the matching bowl, ROM.20/ Cat. no. 9.

The landscape on the exterior walls also overrides the panel lines. The chinoiserie motifs include birds on rocks, plants, clouds, and distant landscape vignettes. The Y-shaped motif also occurs on the exterior.

The painting is skilfully done, and the potting is extremely thin. The rim is bracketed. Although the two bowls have not been sampled (they are in pristine condition), their high quality suggests a Kirman provenance.

CAT 10 (*ROM.21*) *Interior and Seal-mark*

CAT 10 (*ROM.21*) *Exterior Side A*

CAT 10 (*ROM.21*) *Exterior Side B*

Cat. no. 11
ROM.81

Acc. no. 995.155.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Mashhad I petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 8.7 cm
Diameter: 42.5 cm
Diameter of base: 22.4 cm
Potter's mark: blue seal-mark

Source: Sotheby's (Colonnade), London, Oct. 20, 1995, lot 270
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.34; Pl. 8.4, a (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, figs. 14–15
Related objects: FMK.07
Chinese models: TKS 560, 841, 843, 1129

In the centre of this large dish an animated *qilin* turns its head back over its sinuous body. The brush-like tail reflects the leonine shape of the head. The sense of action is enhanced through the painter's calligraphic brush strokes, and the energy of the animal sends vibrations through the swirling ribbons of flame coming from three disks. Like its mid-sixteenth-century Chinese model, this central design is surrounded by a lotus scroll with large elongated spiky leaves, reflecting the earlier Yuan style of this motif. The same border is repeated on the back, but the blossoms are not coloured in (Pl. 6.3.1, Back II.1). The elaborate classic scroll with floret on the rim also draws on Chinese designs from the second half of the sixteenth century.

This dish is certainly contemporary with the Kirman "boutique" version represented in the ROM's own dragon dish (ROM.54/ Cat. no. 8), which also features an animated mythical creature on a ground of flames, surrounded by lotus scrolls. However, its potter's mark does not resemble those of Kirman vessels (Pl. 7.1, S7).

CAT 11 (*ROM.81*) *Interior and Profile*

CAT 11 (*ROM.81*) *Exterior and Seal-mark*

CAT 11 (*ROM.81*) *Detail*

Cat. no. 12
ROM.53

Acc. no. 909.25.2

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Mashhad I petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 6.9 cm
Diameter: 40.5 cm
Diameter of base: 17.7 cm
Potter's mark: 5 black character-marks

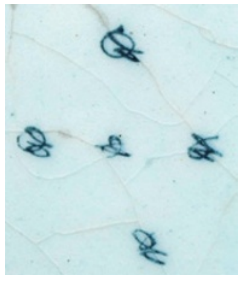
Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.51; Pl. 8.4, b (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, fig. 28
Chinese models: Rinaldi, 1989, pl. 63; TKS 1127b

The dish combines elements from late sixteenth-century Chinese imports with Wanli-style framing of the central scene. Two birds, one standing, one in flight, face each other in a rocky landscape that crawls up the left side of the central medallion, with a plant continuing the curve. A large bulb-like blossom sprouts from the middle of the plant. Clouds assemble on the opposite side. This scene is framed by a classic scroll diaper, forming brackets. There are two further framing bands. The inner one has diamond-shaped cartouches alternating with a pair of scrolls, one on top of the other. The outer band alternates trefoil objects, based on Chinese emblems. One has a grassy fringe while the other sprouts ribbons.

The exterior is divided into two zones. The underside of the rim is divided into panels containing Wanli "jewels" designs (four dots forming a square around another square or circle). The outer walls also follow these models, with a bird on spreading peach branches (Pl. 6.3.1, Back I.3).

The execution of the painting is fine and demonstrates that the Mashhad painters were among the most highly skilled. They also used their sources creatively. The potter's mark is one of the earliest to be composed of characters (four objects resembling the letter "M," surrounding a fifth).

CAT 12 (*ROM.53*) *Interior*



CAT 12 (*ROM.53*) *Profile and Character-mark*

CAT 12 (*ROM.53*) *Exterior and Detail of Exterior*

Cat. no. 13
ROM.80

Acc. no. 995.143.1
Gift of Mr. R. Murray Bell

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Mashhad II petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 8.7 cm
Diameter: 47 cm
Diameter of base: 24.5 cm
Potter's mark: black seal-mark

Source: unknown
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.35; Pl. 8.4, c (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, figs. 10–12
Related objects: V&A.14
Chinese models: TKS 974

This beautifully painted chinoiserie landscape of waterfowl occupies the tondo of a large dish that belongs to a fairly numerous group. The group is characterized by a lightly carved unpainted cavetto. The central design is framed by a reserved diaper scroll, borrowed from Kraak porcelain c. 1600. A scroll with half-blossoms encircles the lower wall of the dish just above the foot-ring (Pl. 6.3.5, Back V). Many of the dishes in this group, all of which have black outlining, bear the black seal-mark on the base (Pl. 7.1, S6). Because this dish has been proven to come from the Mashhad area, the group has been attributed to Mashhad.

Two long-necked egrets with long sharp beaks, outlined in black with spotted backs, dominate the lower section representing the pond. In the air fly two cranes amidst vegetation. Three of the ferns have fiery fingers. The drawing is very carefully done, and the liveliness is close in feeling to the Chinese originals from the late sixteenth century.

The dish had been broken into several pieces and was repaired with metal staples, probably in the nineteenth century.

CAT 13 (*ROM.80*) *Interior*

CAT 13 (*ROM.80*) *Profile*

CAT 13 (*ROM.80*) *Exterior and Seal-mark*

Cat. no. 14
ROM.66

Acc. no. 940.90.1

Domed Jar
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Mashhad I petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 14.6 cm
Diameter: 18.8 cm
Diameter of base: 9.9 cm

Source: Gift of G. D. Hornblower
Illustrations in text: Fig. 1.9
Related objects: ZZZ.390, ASH.07
Chinese models: TKS 1117, 1190a

The shape of this large container challenges the imagination. The lower section is globular and rises from a narrow foot. A short vertical rise begins at the shoulder and ends abruptly with the ledge of what looks like a domical lid. However, this section is one with the body and at its apex is a narrow aperture. The model for this shape was undoubtedly a lidded vessel.[5] One possible use may have been as a salt container, closed by a cork-like plug to keep out the moisture. The lower section is very close in shape to the dated salt-container (BER.01, dated 1627–28). Another possible use might have been as the water container for a *qalyan,* into which the complete smoking tube apparatus would have been inserted, including the reed. A reduced version of this form became popular for use as a spittoon.

The ROM vessel is divided into three zones delineated by borders drawn from sixteenth-century porcelain models (*ruyi* collar, dotted lozenges). The Chinese landscapes dominated by "islands" of rock clusters, alternating with ferns, bees, and birds, also derive from sixteenth-century porcelain, more specifically, from the rim borders of dishes. Two vessels of the same shape and size share many of the same painted motifs (ZZZ.390, ASH.07).

5 See discussion of this form in Chapter One ("Spittoons").

CAT 14 (*ROM.66*) *Exterior Side A*

CAT 14 (*ROM.66*) *Exterior Side B*

CAT 14 (*ROM.66*) *Detail*

Cat. no. 15
ROM.91

Acc. no. 2001.151.2
Purchased with funds from the ROM Foundation and the Iranian Community of Toronto

Kendi
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
probably Kirman, Iran
1630–1645

Height: 17 cm
Diameter: 15.5 cm
Diameter of base: 10 cm

Source: O. Forge and B. Lynch, Ltd., London
Illustrations in text: Figs. 1.6, 2.45
Related objects: V&A.56 (dated 1051/1641–42); STK.01
Chinese models: Ardabil (Pope 1981, pl. 97)

Vessels with two apertures were easily adapted to the new habit of smoking tobacco that reached Iran early in the seventeenth century. Although originally based on a traditional South Asian water-pouring/drinking vessel with ritual associations, the *kendi* had already lost this meaning by the time it was transformed into a luxury object in China. The porcelain *kendis* were painted with the same motifs found on contemporary Chinese dishes and vases. The Safavid *kendi* is based on the late sixteenth-century Ming model.

This *kendi* has a wide base. Its body follows a reversing curve and swells outward before sloping from the shoulder to the hourglass shaped neck. The neck flares out to form a narrow ledge. Set high up on the shoulder is the cup-like spout with diminutive hole, resembling a breast (hence, the name "mammiform" spout).

The body is painted with branches of leaf clusters, numbering seven leaves each. Small dots appear between the leaves. The branches undulate across the body, but pairs of vertical lines suggest a division into panels similar to those found on Kraak wares. Just above the base is a row of overlapping petals, and two decorative borders separate the body from the neck. Here we find the ubiquitous elaborate classic scroll with florets. The theme of leaves on branches continues around the neck. The mammiform spout has a more delicate design of stems with tiny lobed leaves.

Vessels of this general form vary with regard to the shape of the body, the shape and length of the neck, and the position of the mammiform spout. Several share the hourglass neck, which may be earlier in date than the taller one, as found on the dated piece (V&A.56). Crowe suggests that the base fragment dated 1627 (V&A.117) belonged to a *kendi*, which would make it the earliest dated example. The broad base seems to indicate an early date as well.

CAT 15 (*ROM.91*) Kendi, *Side A*

CAT 15 (*ROM.91*) Kendi, *Side B*

Cat. no. 16
ROM.50

Acc. no. 908.22.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
c. 1630

Height: 6.2 cm
Diameter: 34 cm
Diameter of base: 12.7 cm
Potter's mark: black seal-mark

Source: Sam G. Fenton, London
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.46, Pl. 8.8, a (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, fig. 21
Chinese models: Ardabil (Pope 1956, pl. 92); Lion-Goldschmidt 1984, fig. 68; Rinaldi 1989, pl. 262g; TKS 1158

A pair of deer in a landscape with trees, rocks, and clouds was a very common theme on Kraak porcelain. The deer with spotted back on the right looks to the left, lifting its right foreleg. The other deer's body also faces left but its head turns back toward its mate. In the foreground, hugging the edge of the tondo is a three-lobed rock with round openings or disks. A sinuous tree hovers to the left, and a cloud lines the upper right edge of the tondo.

The design on the cavetto and rim is continuous. Birds and bees fly above clumps of layered rocks and umbrella-like plants. There is one large clump of rocks forming a second tier just outside the cloud in the central landscape, probably inspired by the river scenes of late sixteenth-century porcelain.

The exterior is decorated with Kraak panels, occupied by a peach spray with branches spread out like antennae (Pl. 6.3.4, Back IV.3). This peach-spray motif was to play a major role in the next phase of the Isfahan workshop, when the cobalt was floated in incised lines to speed up production. At this earlier stage in the life of the workshop the use of a skilled potter's brush is in evidence, as is black outlining, which was later abandoned. This dish demonstrates that the Isfahan workshop was able to achieve relatively fine simulations of Chinese porcelain to compete with Kirman and Mashhad in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The black seal-mark (Pl. 7.1, S10) consists of diminishing squares rather than pseudo-Chinese characters, as found on the wares of the major centres, Kirman and Mashhad.

CAT 16 (*ROM.50*) *Interior*

CAT 16 (*ROM.50*) *Profile and Seal-mark*

CAT 16 (*ROM.50*) *Exterior and Detail*

Cat. no. 17
ROM.14

Acc. no. 909.25.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
probably Kirman, Iran
1635–1645

Height: 7.1 cm
Diameter: 40.8 cm
Diameter of base: 21.2 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 3.50, Pl. 8.5, c (section drawing)
Related objects: V&A.259
Chinese models: Rinaldi 1989, pl. 74; TKS 1342, 1353

A bird spreading its wings stands on a rock sheltered by arching blades and a flowering bush in the tondo of the dish. The cavetto and rim are covered with eight panels alternating peach garlands and a crane in flight. A large cloud peers out from the edge of the central medallion. The panels are divided from each other by a thin blue line. The rim is bracketed. The quality of the painting is quite fine and very faithful to the Chinese model. The Chinese model for this composition has been discussed by Crowe[6] and is datable to the late sixteenth century, as it occurs on dishes from the wreck of the *San Diego* (sunk in 1600).

The exterior is divided into eight panels containing two motifs which alternate top and bottom: a beribboned three-lobed figure (*ruyi* head?) and four dots around a dotted circle (jewels?) (Pl. 6.3.4, Backs IV.3 and IV.4).

This dish does not bear a potter's mark, but a very similar dish (V&A.259) has a tassel-mark, indicating Kirman provenance as well as a dating to Phase II or III. The dating of this dish to Phase II is also supported by its use of alternation in the placement of motifs on the exterior, as was done on another ROM dish clearly belonging to Phase II (ROM.92/ Cat. no. 20).

6 Crowe 2002:73.

CAT 17 (*ROM.14*) *Interior and Detail*

CAT 17 (*ROM.14*) *Exterior*

Cat. no. 18
ROM.22

Acc. no. 909.26.33

Bowl
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and black outlines
Kirman petrofabric, Iran
1640–1650

Height: 16.3 cm
Diameter: 34.6 cm
Diameter of base: 14 cm
Potter's mark: black character-mark

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.53; Pl. 8.11, c (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, fig. 29
Related objects: ASH.09, 19
Chinese models: Carswell 1985:102; TKS 991, 993

Many copies of the mid-sixteenth-century Chinese deep bowl (TKS 991, 993) were made in the first half of the seventeenth century in Iran. Some were very fine, like the ones in the Ashmolean Museum (ASH.09, ASH.19). The general scheme consists of a series of isolated roundels on the exterior, alternating with opposing T-shaped vines. There is a wide border on either side of the rim. The interior is generally blank except for the centre, which has another roundel, often repeating the motif from the exterior.

This bowl has seven roundels with curling dragons in reserve that have the "mop-hair" mane found on early Wanli wares. The exterior rim border adapts the Chinese squirrel and elongated leaf device (the "squirrel-in-grape" border found on mid-sixteenth-century porcelains). Around the foot-ring is a border of petal-panels. The interior rim border uses the more common Kraak scrolls. The central roundel repeats the curling dragon and is surrounded by a circle of breaking waves.

The tone of the cobalt paint is muted. The same character-mark (Pl. 7.3, C1) is found on several vessels, including a bowl in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA.21), which shares the internal border. It may have been painted by the same hand.

CAT 18 (*ROM.22*) *Exterior*

CAT 18 (*ROM.22*) *Detail of Exterior and Character-mark*

CAT 18 (*ROM.22*) *Interior*

Cat. no. 19
ROM.90

Acc. no. 2001.151.1
Purchased with funds from the ROM Foundation and the Iranian Community of Toronto

Qalyan
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and black outlines
probably Kirman, Iran
1640–1650

Height: 18.6 cm
Diameter: 13 cm
Diameter of base: 7.4 cm

Source: O. Forge and B. Lynch, Ltd., London
Illustrations in text: Figs. 1.8, 3.55
Related objects: ZZZ.30
Chinese models: TKS 1006, 1571

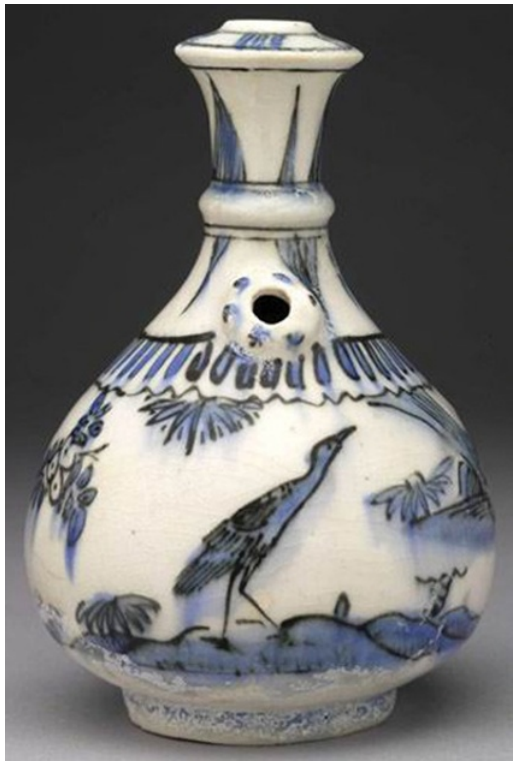
The pear-shaped *qalyan* has a collar halfway up the hourglass neck. A small "blister" surrounds the opening for the smoking reed. This traditional Persian bottle shape was easily adapted for smoking purposes and became the most common form of *qalyan* for the remainder of the seventeenth century. It was decorated in all the different techniques developed during this period.

The body is divided into two zones at the shoulder by a debased border of lotus petals.[7] Reciprocal plantain leaves are painted on the neck with the collar forming the division. This motif is typical for this shape.[8] Around the body spread two planes of mountain and water vignettes with a crane, recalling the free-floating landscapes of Transitional wares.[9] Such "dreamy landscapes" are found on a dated Safavid dish of 1654–55 (ZZZ.30). The painting on the *qalyan* is brisk, lacking any careful rendering of the detail. This style occurs on a number of sherds collected from Kirman (KIR.02, 241, 342, 343).

7 Compare Crowe 2002, no. 263.
8 Ibid., nos. 240–41.
9 Compare composition with Crowe 2002, no. 120.

CAT 19 (*ROM.90*) *Side A*

CAT 19 (*ROM.90*) *Side B*



CAT 19 (*ROM.90*) *Front*

Cat. no. 20
ROM.92G

Acc. no. 2003.58.1
Purchased through the Louise Hawley Stone Charitable Trust

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Kirman, Iran
1640–1650

Height: 9.1 cm
Diameter: 50.4 cm
Diameter of base: 29.5
Potter's mark: 4 blue tassel-marks

Source: Sotheby's, London, April 25, 1996, lot no. 150
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.58; Pl. 8.5: d (section drawing)
Related objects: HRM.59, V&A.143, 167
Chinese models: Rinaldi 1989, pl. 83, 97 (Border VII-3; attributed by Rinaldi to 1640–1645)

This large platter is a later rendering of a theme popular among Safavid potters in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Following its Kraak model, the tondo shows a robed male figure, sitting cross-legged on a rock with his right leg bared. An irregularly shaped dotted (tufted?) object appears to rest over his shoulder, and a long-necked bottle sits on this object. He wears a hat (with upturned brim?) on the back of his head. In front of the rock a stream is represented by diagonal lines. To the right are elements that appear to represent a bridge. On the left a pine tree rises towards clouds. Surrounding the tondo, is a wide border of petal-shaped panels on a cobalt blue ground. It is separated from the central medallion by a segmented band with cloud-shaped dividers and coin-diaper filler. The panels are filled with Chinese symbols (quiver and arrows) and a peach plant that has a branch with multiple leaves bending upward on the right (like a backwards "J").[10] Between the panels are suspended jewels.

Three related dishes clarify the chronological position of this dish. The earliest is painted with cobalt and black outlines (Fig. 3.44, HRM.59). Its Kraak panels include the quiver and arrows as well as the peach plant with multiple leaves although the dividers have ribbons rather than jewels. The figure in the centre sits on a rock beside water with his left leg thrust out from under his robe. His right leg is tucked under him. His left hand holds a long-necked bottle pointed toward the right. His right arm, with sleeve pulled up, rests over his chest. His waist is tied with a sash. He wears a hat with upturned brim. Behind him rises the same peculiar object as shown on the ROM dish, but its identification by Crowe as a "two-legged table"[11] seems credible. A servant, drawn in profile, enters from the left. The potter's mark on the base is a black seal-mark (Pl.7.1, S5), datable to c. 1635. It is probably a late product of the Kirman "boutique" workshop.

The next dish may have been copied from this model (V&A.143). Most of the elements are similar except for the elimination of the Chinese emblems in the Kraak panels. The significant feature, however, is the replacement of the black seal-mark with a black tassel-mark (Pl. 7.2, T14). The next stage is represented by the ROM dish and by another from the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A.167). In the ROM example the bared leg is in the same position as the bared right arm was in the Chinese model and close Safavid copies, like HRM.59. There is no bared left leg. The male servant has been omitted. The V&A dish has further omissions, but its relationship to the ROM dish is very strong. The details are less clear and the bared left leg is gone. The tree has been placed to the right. The Kraak panels now contain only peach plants with birds or bees. Between the larger panels are hanging jewels, just as in the ROM example. The potter's mark on the back was smudged but

10 See Chinese models, TKS 1509, 1512 (early to mid-seventeenth century).

11 Crowe 2002:63, no. 27.

CAT 20 (*ROM.92*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

was probably a single tassel-mark. This dish appears to have lost some of the detail that has been preserved in the ROM dish. This series illustrates how the Kirman potters slowly introduced changes during a "transitional" phase, gradually replacing the black outlines with deeper shades of blue and replacing the seal-mark with the tassel-mark.

The underside is painted with Kraak panels, each filled with an "antennae plant" and four jewels around a circle (Pl. 6.3.4, Backs IV.3 and IV.4). The position of these two elements alternates. This is a most unusual arrangement and has been seen only on one other dish (ROM.14/ Cat. no. 17). Another peculiarity of this dish is the construction of the base. There is a smaller "foot-ring" at the centre of the base, perhaps in imitation of the Chinese "channelled" foot-ring that allowed a dish to be set on the circular ring of a table for stability.

CAT 20 (*ROM.92*) *Base with Tassel-marks and Channelled Foot-ring*

CAT 20 (*ROM.92*) *Detail*

Cat. no. 21
ROM.88

Acc. no. 999.85.1
Purchased through the Etta Taube Sherman Acquisitions Fund

Bottle
stonepaste body
moulded and underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Iran
1650–1670

Height: 23.3 cm
Diameter: 20.3 cm
Diameter (length) of base: 12.0 cm

Source: O. Forge and B. Lynch, Ltd., London (formerly Csaki collection)

Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.67; Pl. 8.16, e (section drawing)
Literature: Rapoport 1975; Golombek 2011
Related objects: ASH.20, BKN.05 (Figs. 2.66a–c), CZA.01

The bottle is pear-shaped but with flattened sides, rendering it ovoid in section. The upper stem of the neck broke off at some time in the past and the stump was capped by a copper collar and detached lid. The copper sheet is lightly engraved in the style of the Qajar period (1779–1924). The bottle was moulded in two parts, and much of the painted detail follows a low-relief design. The subjects are rendered in reserve on a blue ground and are outlined in black.

On the obverse a mustachioed man kneels on one foot, aiming a rifle at a fleeing deer and egret. Large flowering plants suggest the open meadows of the hunting grounds. On the other side of the bottle are two figures, a man in voluminous breeches carrying a deer over his shoulders (see below) and a kneeling woman preparing food and drink for the hunters.

A study of two dozen similar bottles allows us to place this bottle late in the production of the genre. They can be grouped according to two models (A and B).[12] The identification of some of the detail in the ROM bottle has been clarified by looking at the earlier models (e.g., Figs. 2.66a–c, BKN.05; CZA.01). The original scene showed the hunter with one knee up and one on the ground (Fig. 2.66a, BKN.05). In the ROM example, the painter shows the upper knee as a bulge that does not make any sense. The hunter has a powder horn hanging from his belt, but the original model also had a pentagonal purse for the gun pellets. The hunter has his right index finger on the trigger of the matchlock gun, and his left hand is raised up near his face. This position suggests that he has just lit the powder in the firing pan, ready for the shot. On all of the bottles studied, the details of the clothing differ slightly. All show the hunter wearing the domical felt cap, as shown in the ROM example.

The vegetation appearing on the ROM bottle shows a large plant with an extended calyx, which, together with the flower, gives the appearance of a double blossom. This version of the plant associates the ROM bottle with the bottles from the second phase of Model B, one of which proved to be of Mashhad petrofabric (ASH.20).

The male figure on the opposite side with the "bag" behind his head is actually a European wearing a hat and carrying a deer over his shoulders (see Fig. 2.66b, BKN.05). His identification as a European is suggested by his costume, occasionally including a collar-ruff, and comparisons with paintings of Europeans by Riza Abbasi from the first decades of the seventeenth century. The "European" grasps in front of him the four legs of the quarry. On the ROM bottle the hat and the deer were conflated, and the deer's legs have disappeared although the man still has his hands in the correct position to hold them. Below the flounce of his jacket protrudes a three-pronged object. This is actually the antlers that have been removed from the quarry and suspended from the European's belt, as shown in the earlier versions.

12 Golombek 2011.

CAT 21 (*ROM.88*) *Obverse* (*Hunter*)

CAT 21 (*ROM.88*) *Reverse* (*Woman and European*)

CAT 21 (*ROM.88*) *Right Side*

Left Side

The woman kneels at the left. She has long strands of hair and a suggestion of head-covering. She raises her right arm to place an unidentifiable object on a pyramid of fruits resting in a bowl. Below is a vase or bottle shape. Behind her are curving grasses resembling those found in a marsh in paintings of the hunt. The earlier bottles show the fruits as pomegranates, and the woman is raising a stemmed cup (Fig. 2.66b, BKN.05). Below her is a long-necked bottle (for filling the cup).

The upper part of the ROM bottle's neck is lost, but other versions show that it had a long neck, culminating in a garlic bulb opening. All that remains of the ROM bottle's neck is the border at the base. It consists of elongated petal panels, like the border found on another bottle also belonging to a late phase of the Model B group (LOU.02). Both show the hunter sporting a moustache, which became fashionable toward the middle of the century, as shown in paintings by the Isfahan master Mu'in.

Despite its provincial character the ROM hunting bottle is impressive in the brilliance of its cobalt colouring and the complexity of the scene. The group as a whole raises significant questions, as it is rare that a single model should generate so many copies, all executed in the same two-stage technique (i.e., moulded design, painted detail). The subject matter, the use of firearms in hunting, is also important because it testifies to the acceptance of firearms for this purpose by the second quarter of the seventeenth century.[13] The group is exceptional in its choice of subject matter as it owes very little to Chinese models. The inspiration for the original models in this group may have been mural paintings such as appear in the Chehel Sutun palace in Isfahan (built in 1647).

13 Golombek 2011.

CAT 21 (*ROM.88*) *Details: Obverse and Reverse*

Cat. no. 22
ROM.89

Acc. no. 2000.48.1
Purchased with funds from the ROM Foundation and the Louise Hawley Stone Strategic Acquisitions Fund

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and green and chromium black outlines
Kirman, Iran
dated 1673–74 (AH 1084)

Height: 4.5 cm
Diameter: 25 cm
Diameter of base: 14.2 cm
Potter's mark: black tassel-mark
Inscription: "This plate (*qab*), which the intellect applauds and on whose forehead it places a hundred kisses … Look! The Master of Eternity makes such an exquisite cup, only to cast it down to the ground again!" (Umar Khayyam; translation M. Subtelny).

Source: Bonham's, London, Oct. 11, 2000, lot 697

Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.70; Pl. 8.6, b (section drawing)
Literature: Golombek, Mason, and Proctor 2001, fig. 25; Golombek 2003, figs. 15–16.
Related objects: V&A.24, 173

Two pairs of deer are situated on opposite sides of the centre of this small dish. The choice of subject matter, pairs of deer, was very common in Safavid chinoiserie pottery. However, the style of the painting and the composition are very unlike the more popular Chinese models. Here the potter has extended the curving necks of the female deer so that they meet in the centre of the dish, forming a continuous reversed S-shaped line. Their heads are turned back so that they face the same direction as the stag. Their bodies are speckled, while the stags have hairy spines. The stags lie in front of the does, their bodies turned in the opposite direction. Between the pairs of deer are two large flowers with spiky veined leaves. These also form an axis, crossing that of the females' necks.

This dish appears to be part of a set from which two other pieces have survived: a larger dish (V&A.24) and a *qalyan* (V&A.173). They are all decorated with the same pairs of deer (male and female), painted in reserve on a blue ground. Concentric black circles, barely visible, are painted on the blue ground. These lines are found on all three vessels. The two dishes both have black bands circling the rim, although the smaller dish has cartouches painted in a greenish-grey "celadon," standing out against the black ground and inscribed with Persian verses by Umar Khayyam. The date 1084/1673–74 follows in numerals. The celadon colour appears on the larger dish only in the decorative bands. The larger dish has a half-palmette scroll scratched through the black ground. While the smaller dish bears a date at the end of the poetic verses, the other two (undated) objects are both inscribed on the base with the potter's name: "work of Khvajeh Muhammad."

Although it is fairly certain that all three vessels were made by the same potter, the tassel-mark used is not consistent (Pl. 7.2, T11). Our study of tassel-marks indicates that, while consistency is sometimes found on pots that appear to be executed by the same hand, this is not always the case. At times different tassel-marks may even occur on the same piece. The presence of any tassel-mark, however, indicates a Kirman origin, as does the use of the fan-leaf spray back, which occurs here (Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.2b).

CAT 22 (*ROM.89*) *Interior*

CAT 22 (*ROM.89*) *Detail of Interior and Tassel-mark*

CAT 22 (*ROM.89*) *Exterior and Profile*

Cat. no. 23
ROM.100

Acc. no. 998.54.1
Gift of Mr. R. Murray Bell

Dish
stonepaste body
incised and underglaze-painted with cobalt
Kirman, Iran
c. 1670

Height: 7.3 cm
Diameter: 46.8 cm
Diameter of base: 24.0 cm
Potter's mark: blue seal-mark

Source: Mr. R. Murray Bell
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.103; Pl. 8.7, c (section drawing)
Related objects: V&A, acc. no. 2805-1876; V&A.55
Chinese models: Ardabil (Pope 1956, pl. 110), TKS 2110

This large platter has an incised design on the front, covered in clear glaze with a blue-green tint, and an opaque blue glaze on the back. The base is glazed white with a large blue potter's mark of nested squares within a frame (Pl. 7.1, S9).

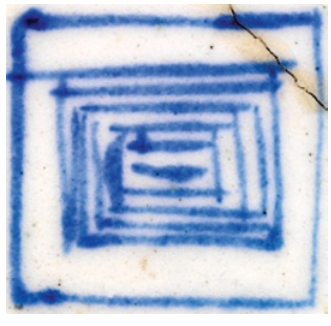
The design on the front consists of a large flowering plant with wide blade-like leaves near the base. Small spiky lotus leaves appear further along. There are four large blossoms, possibly lotus. The plant extends up the walls of the cavetto. A thin strip of blue is carried over onto the rim from the painting of the underside.

The dish has been broken in half and repaired. Two hang-holes are pierced through the foot-ring, and a string remains threaded through them. Such holes suggest that the dish once hung in the village of Kubachi, as this feature is characteristic of hundreds of dishes found there. The products of Kirman did not reach Kubachi in large numbers, so this dish represents somewhat of an exception.

The technique and the style of the decoration relate this dish closely to two others. Both have incised drawings of the plant under a clear glaze with blue-green tint (V&A.55; V&A, acc. no. 2805-1876).[14] Both feature large blossoms in a unidirectional composition. One also has a blue underside but its cavetto is fluted (V&A, acc. no. 2805-1876). This dish is almost the very same size as ROM.100 (46 cm in diameter). The other example (V&A.55) is very important as it bears a Persian inscription etched in a black band. The inscription is dated 1077/1666–67. The dated dish bears a blue tassel-mark on its base, a sure sign of Kirman origin. The dating of the ROM dish to c. 1670 is based on its resemblance to the dated dish.

14 Both dishes are described by Crowe 2002:176.

CAT 23 (*ROM.100*) *Interior and Section*



CAT 23 (*ROM.100*) *Exterior and Seal-mark*

Cat. no. 24
ROM.97

Acc. no. 2004.102.2
Purchased through the Louise Hawley Stone Strategic Acquisitions Fund

Multi-nozzle vase ("tulip vase")
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Kirman, Iran
c. 1650

Height: 27 cm
Diameter: 19 cm
Diameter of base: 9.4 cm
Potter's mark: blue tassel-mark

Source: Christie's, London, Oct. 12, 2004, lot 123
Illustrations in text: Figs. 1.5, 2.83, 3.37; Pl. 8.17, d (section drawing)
Literature: Crowe 2002:162–63 (on multi-nozzle vases)
Chinese models: TKS 2011, 2164

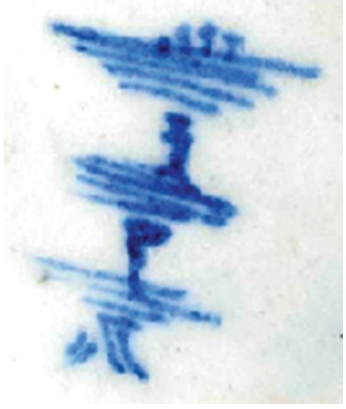
This vase has three nozzles set in the shoulder and a tall flaring neck. The vessel shape is designed to display cut flowers and has a long history in Persian ceramics.[15] The body is of baluster form. The painted decoration in cobalt is divided into two zones. The shoulder is entirely covered by the leaf-curl diaper, in which three large lotus blossoms are enmeshed. The open white ground of the bulging part of the body contrasts sharply with the density of the shoulder. Four scenes form the hilly landscape: a white stag on a rock, a large-leafed branching plant (prunus?), a pair of blue deer, and a pair of bamboo stalks. The rendering of the plants is relatively naturalistic and, as such, is unusual in contemporary wares. Bands of striped panels ("M" motif) encircle the base of the neck and the tapering walls above the foot. A band of overlapping petals runs along the bottom of the landscape scene. The neck and nozzles are decorated with vertical plants, like the real cut flowers intended to be placed inside them. Short pointy blades form a border above the "M" panel border on the neck. All of the decorative borders on this vase are derived from contemporary Chinese models.

The tri-tier tassel-mark (Pl. 7.2, T15) and the leaf-curl allow a secure attribution to Kirman and a date early within Phase III.

15 The history of this form is discussed in Chapter One (multi-nozzle vases).

CAT 24 (*ROM.97*) *Side A*

CAT 24 (*ROM.97*) *Sides B and C*



CAT 24 (*ROM.97*) *Detail and Tassel-mark*

Cat. no. 25
ROM.83

Acc. no. 994.183.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt; chromium black band with sgraffiato
Kirman petrofabric, Iran
c. 1670

Height: 6.8 cm
Diameter: 40.8 cm
Diameter of base: 23 cm
Potter's mark: blue character-mark

Source: Sotheby's (Colonnade), London, Oct. 21, 1994, lot 359
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.69; Pl. 8.6, a (section drawing)
Related objects: BER.04 (dated 1080/1669–70); V&A.73

The large tondo is filled by a unidirectional composition featuring a plant. It has two major stems and several minor ones with seven large lotus blossoms and many spiky leaves. The Chinese origin of this design was probably the lotus bouquet, popular with Safavid potters during the early seventeenth century and still being copied in Phase II. Here the plant sprouts from a grassy clump rather than a bouquet. The blossoms are painted with a blue wash with their petals accented in a deeper blue. The tondo is framed by a black band through which tangent spirals have been etched. The rim is blank except for discrete pairs of palmette leaves,[16] interspersed with cross-shaped motifs ("insects"). The exterior is painted with the characteristic Phase III Kirman fan/floret-spray pattern (Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.3). The single character-mark (Pl. 7.3, C6) found on the base was more often used in multiples by Kirman potters.

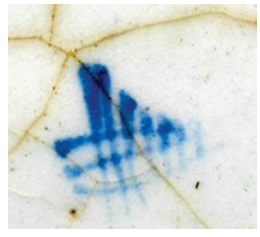
The dish closely resembles another dish with similar plant and blossoms, which is framed by two black bands, both bearing inscriptions (BER.04). The date "108" occurs in the outer band, opposite the right side of the plant. This date has been interpreted as "1(1)08", with reference to the common practice of omitting the century digit. However, because other dated vessels with this style of painting and the blackband congregate in Phase III,[17] we have determined that the potters' practice on some occasions was to omit the final digit when it was 0.

The dish had lost parts of its rim and has recently been restored.

16 For possible source see TKS 1484 (early seventeenth century).

17 For a fuller discussion of this problem, see Chapter Two.

CAT 25 (*ROM.83*) *Interior*



CAT 25 (*ROM.83*) *Profile and Character-mark*

CAT 25 (*ROM.83*) *Exterior*

Cat. no. 26
ROM.36

Acc. no. 928.22.2

Lyre-shaped bottle
stonepaste body
moulded and underglaze-painted with cobalt
Kirman, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 20.0 cm
Diameter: 15.6 cm
Diameter of base: 8.1 cm

Source: T. Sutton, London
Illustrations in text: Pl. 8.17, g (section drawing)
Chinese model: TKS 2011

The bottle has a moulded body made of two flat lyre-shaped panels, moulded sides that follow its curves, and, originally, a tall neck. The neck has been reconstructed in plaster much shorter than the original would have been. Tall necks on similar bodies appear on earlier vessels painted with blue and black outlines (Crowe 2002, no. 270) and on the later "cloisonné" vessels.[18] The bottle was probably made in two pieces with the neck added after the body was formed.

The wide panels have a large lobed medallion carved in the upper two-thirds of the panel, containing an arabesque pattern similar to what is found on many of the Kirman polychrome vessels (for example, BRM.05). The medallion is embedded in a ground of scrolling vines, also in low relief. The lyre-shaped panels are framed by painted zig-zig borders, commonly found on Phase III Kirman polygonal dishes. Along the narrow sides the moulded vine-scroll pattern continues but is interrupted by three lobed medallions containing lotus blossoms painted in reserve on a blue ground, arranged in a vertical line. The painting style is typical of Kirman Phase III vegetal ornament. Surrounding the base is a border of striped panels executed in outline style ("M" motif). Low-relief decoration on vessels of this period is rare and seems to be reserved for constructed vessels (such as the earlier monochrome series), as moulds were already required for the forming itself.

18 Lane 1957, pl. 92A.

CAT 26 (*ROM.36*) *Front and Side*

Cat. no. 27
ROM.23

Acc. no. 909.26.36

Jar or vase
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Kirman petrofabric, Iran
1670–1690

Height: 29.3 cm
Diameter: 23.9 cm
Diameter of base: 11.5 cm
Potter's mark: blue tassel-mark

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Chinese models: TKS 1499, 2178

This baluster-shaped jar or vase is missing its wide-mouthed neck. Most of the body has been left white, decorated only with four diagonally orientated floral sprays. The shoulder has a border of petal panels containing blossoms. A *ruyi*-collar (linked Chinese cloud motifs) and a row of striped panels ("M" motif) encircle the body above the base. This vessel has a proven Kirman petrofabric. The amount of white space is quite unusual for large jars of this period. The blossoms depicted on the large floral sprays resemble those of the "luscious flower" style, attributed by Crowe to the late seventeenth century.[19] The use of a tassel-mark (Pl. 7.2, T15), however, suggests that this vase still belongs to Phase III, albeit toward the end of the period.

19 Crowe 2002:228.

CAT 27 (*ROM.23*) *Exterior and Tassel-mark*

Cat. no. 28
ROM.37

Acc. no. 928.22.3

Qalyan
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and coloured slips
Kirman, Iran
1660–1680

Height: 20.0 cm
Width of base: 8.2 cm

Source: T. Sutton, London
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.76
Chinese models: Harrison-Hall 2001, no. 11:10–13 (c. 1590–1610)

The square shape of this vessel is derived from a European bottle designed for compact shipping. The immediate model would have been Chinese porcelain bottles based on the European bottle, possibly commissioned by one of the European trading companies. Examples show that the round arch shape of the sides, with the domed shoulder curving to fit, is taken from the Chinese model. The Safavid potter has transformed the square bottle into a *qalyan* through the creation of a small blister hole on the shoulder. The original neck was replaced with brass probably in the nineteenth century.

The decoration of the vessel follows the scheme established for Kirman polychrome wares. Distinctive parts of the vessel are reserved for the two very different techniques: blue underglaze painting and polychrome slip-painting. The leaf-curl diaper on the shoulder is executed in blue on white, as are the figures in Chinese style on opposite sides of the vessel. The figures wear robes tied with a sash. The bodice is tight-fitting with billowing sleeves. One figure holds in the right hand a glass bottle with dots indicating the presence of the liquid. A second bottle is held behind the back. The figure in the opposite panel is similarly dressed but has a scarf around its shoulders, grasping it below with both hands. Perhaps this is a dancer.

The other two panels are painted with red and olive-green slips as well as cobalt. The surface is very smooth, giving the impression that the slips are inlaid like cut stone (*pietra dura*). The panels both show plants growing from a grassy base, drawn in the style of botanical studies, like the flowering plants seen in Mughal architectural decoration. The flowers include carnations and long feathery leaves.

CAT 28 (*ROM.37*) *Sides A and B; Side A*

CAT 28 (*ROM.37*) *Sides B and D*

Cat. no. 29
ROM.65

Acc. no. 928.22.1

Bottle
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and coloured slips
Kirman, Iran
1670–1690

Height: 29.2 cm
Diameter: 16.5cm
Diameter of base: 10.6 cm
Potter's mark: not clear, possibly a tassel-mark

Source: T. Sutton, London
Related objects: V&A.348, BRM.20, NMS.01

This pear-shaped bottle has a cylindrical neck, tapering slightly to the mouth. It stands on a splayed foot. Two horsemen are depicted riding. The horses wear elaborate tasselled blankets and ornaments hang from the reins. The riders wear a loose robe or pants. The figures are not rendered in precise detail. The space around the riders is filled with vegetal motifs, related to others found on Kirman pottery. A tall cypress tree stands between the two riders on one side, and two gazelles divide the two on the other. The horsemen are painted with coloured slips (red, tan, brown, olive green), and the vegetal ornament is painted in blue. The quality of the drawing and the polychrome slips is poor. Although certainly Kirman work, it is not from one of the premier ateliers.

A bottle of similar shape, painted only in blue on white, also uses the cypress as a divider (V&A.348). This bottle has a tassel-mark (Pl. 7.2, T8) datable to the late years of Phase III and early Phase IV. Three other vessels (*qalyans*) have equestrian scenes and are painted in the dual palette of the ROM bottle (BRM.20, NMS.01, ZZZ.222).

CAT 29 (*ROM.65*) *Bottle with equestrian figure*

Cat. no. 30
ROM.10

Acc. no. 908x25.41

Bottle
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt and chromium black outlines
Iran
c. 1640–1680

Height: 26.7 cm
Diameter: 13.8 cm
Diameter of base: 8.3 cm

Source: unknown

The flattened pear-shaped bottle rises on a high foot and has a straight neck with flaring mouth. Unlike most bottles of the seventeenth century it lacks a bulge ("collar") in the neck. The decoration is also unusual. A series of *chakra* wheels (Buddhist flaming wheel) form a diaper pattern over the entire surface. They contain an insect or an eight-petalled rosette. On the white ground in between the motifs are flowers. No parallels to this type of decoration have come to our attention. Insects were common on Wanli porcelains and often used by Safavid potters during the earlier decades of the seventeenth century (ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10). There are no distinctive borders.

CAT 30 (*ROM.10*) *Vase*

Cat. no. 31
ROM.32

Acc. no. 910.116.5

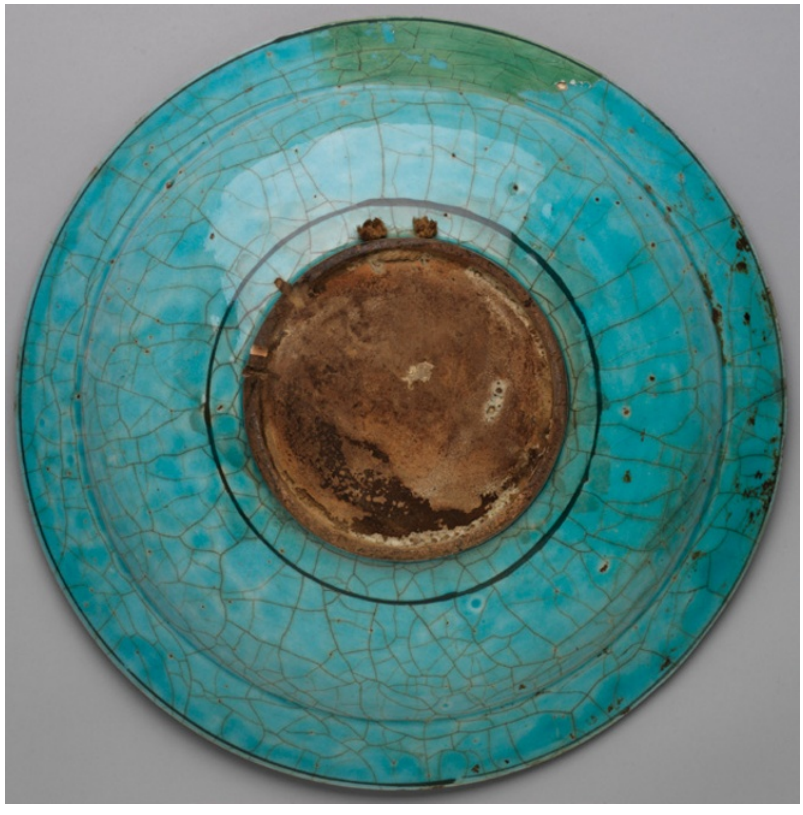
Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with chromium black under clear turquoise (copper) glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1640–1680

Height: 7 cm
Diameter: 33.8 cm
Diameter of base: 13.5 cm

Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo
Illustration in text: Fig. 4.3

A wide trellis pattern covering the rim (Fig. 6.12, Rim ISF 3) and cavetto is painted in black outlines under the clear turquoise glaze. The tondo has a central rosette with wispy stems radiating outward and terminating in spiky lotus leaves pointing clockwise. Secondary stems follow the rhythm, creating a sense of movement around the centre. This design exists in numerous examples of surviving Isfahan wares, which probably were inspired by sixteenth-century Tabriz models.

The exterior is blank except for black lines below the rim and above the foot-ring. There are three spur-marks inside and six hang-holes in the foot-ring.



CAT 31 (*ROM.32*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 32
ROM.28

Acc. no. 909.29.5

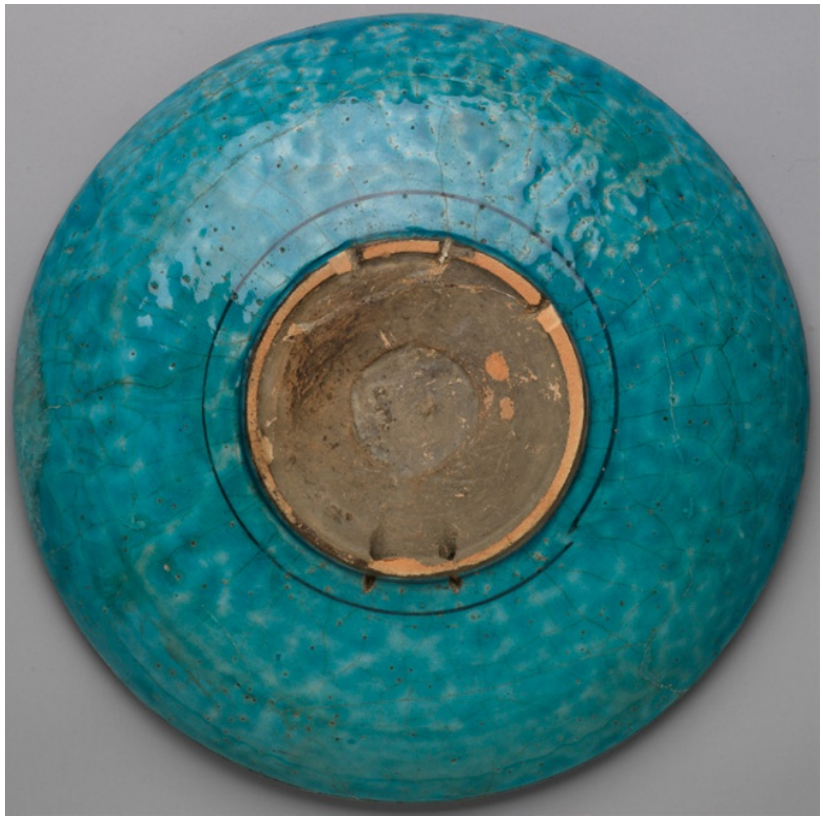
Dish
stonepaste body
painted with chromium black under clear turquoise (copper) glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1640–1680

Height: 6.6 cm
Diameter: 33.1 cm
Diameter of base: 13.6 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.65; Pl. 8.9, c (section drawing)

The design is painted in black silhouette under a clear turquoise glaze. Although the dish does not have an everted rim like most Isfahan dishes, the surface is still divided into (two) zones. The cavetto is decorated with wispy stems terminating in the spiky lotus leaf pointed to the right which ends with an undulating tendril. Between these are clumps of grass sprouting a shorter blossom which has a knotted tendril growing from it. This design appears to derive from the Tabriz weedback motif of the mid-sixteenth century (Pl.6.2, Back G). In the centre is a simplified version of the popular lotus bouquet design found on many contemporary works from Kirman.

The exterior is blank except for black lines below the rim and above the foot-ring. There are three spur-marks inside and five hang-holes in the foot-ring.



CAT 32 (*ROM.28*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 33
ROM.08

Acc. no. 908x25.10

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with black, turquoise, and slips tinted tan and red
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1640–1680

Height: 6.2 cm
Diameter: 34.0 cm
Diameter of base: 13.5 cm

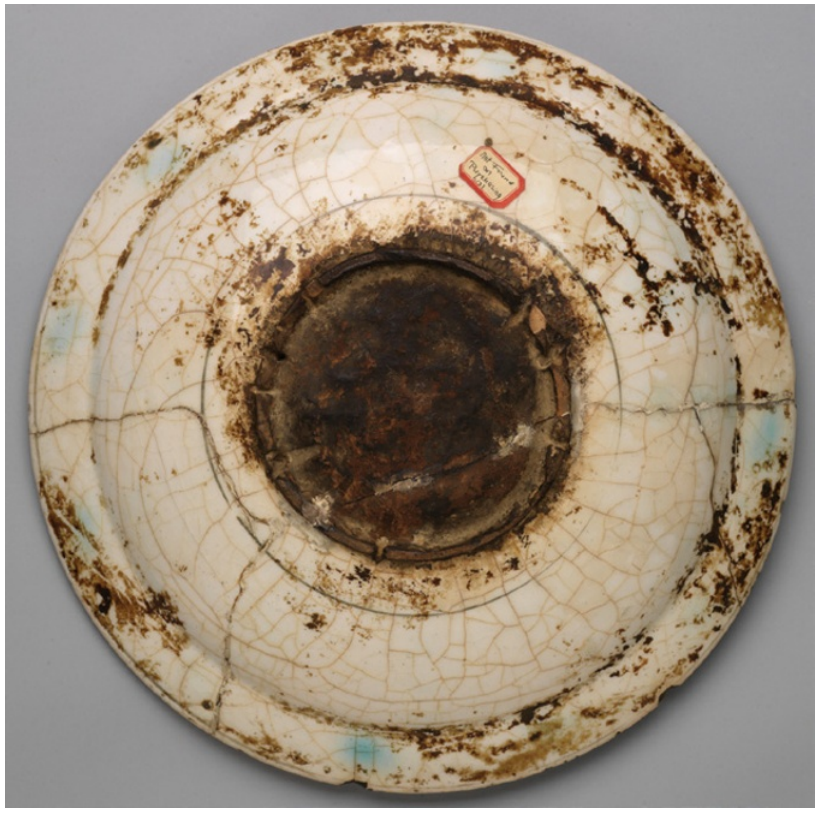
Source: unknown
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.64; Pl. 8.8, e (section drawing)

This is a fairly common design in the Isfahan repertory. Its attractiveness lies in the contrast between the white ground and the brilliance of the raised coloured slips of red and tan. The central design is of the geometric type. Four petal-panels alternate with a line of small arabesque medallions and dots (Kraak-type jewels). The petal-panels are filled with trellis containing four dots of red or tan slip in each compartment. In the centre is a ten-petalled rosette. A double strand of interlaced palmette leaves decorates the rim (Fig. 6.17–18, Rim ISF 4.3). The leaves are outlined in black. The background is coloured with a turquoise wash.

The exterior is plain except for a black line under the rim and another on the walls near the foot-ring. There are three spur-marks inside and nine hang-holes in the foot-ring.

This group is difficult to date as the technique of slip-painting was already in use by the Isfahan workshop during Phase I. All the motifs reassembled here came from models of that period and earlier (Iznik rims, Wanli Kraak panels and "jewel" motifs). The organizing principle, however, with panels arranged around a central rosette, was particularly popular for blue-and-white wares from the late seventeenth century.[20]

20 Crowe 2002, nos. 422ff.



CAT 33 (*ROM.08*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 34
ROM.12

Acc. no. 908x25.54

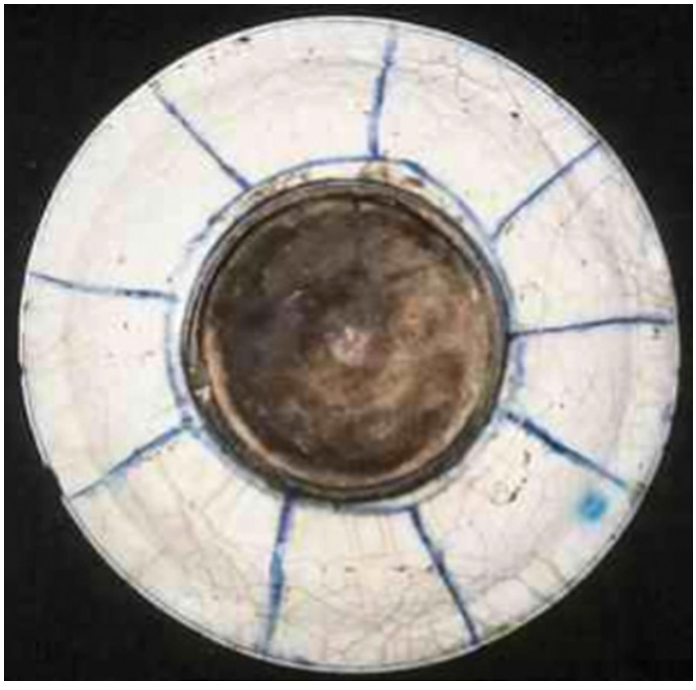
Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with black, blue, turquoise, and green paints, and slips tinted tan and red
Isfahan, Iran
1640–1680

Height: 6.8 cm
Diameter: 28.1 cm
Diameter of base: 6.9 cm

Source: unknown
Illustration in text: Fig. 6.20

This mid-size dish combines rim and cavetto with a Kraak-derived pattern of panels divided by simple lines (Fig. 6.20, Rim ISF 5.2). Each panel contains a peach blossom with fern-like branches projecting from either side. The pair of curving grassy blades also flanking the stem form a pattern of their own around the walls of the dish. It was characteristic of this workshop to modify Chinese motifs to form continuous rhythmic patterns. In the centre is a large 12-petalled rosette.

The exterior is blank except for a black line under the rim and another near the foot-ring. A large irregular area surrounding the base, as well as the base, is unglazed due to the potter's failure to dip the entire bowl into the glaze as he was grasping it, inverted, by the foot-ring. There are three spur-marks inside and two hang-holes in the foot-ring.



CAT 34 (*ROM.12*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 35
ROM.59

Acc. no. 909.29.13

Bowl
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 11.7 cm
Diameter: 24.8 cm
Diameter of base: 9.5 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.86; Pl. 8.12, d (section drawing)
Related object: ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10
Chinese model: TKS 1361

Bowl shapes from the Isfahan workshop are relatively rare. This one copies the shape and painted designs of Kirman bowls based on Wanli models, such as ROM.21/ Cat. no. 10. The painting is greatly simplified. The bird perched on a rock within a landscape appears in the well. Instead of an elaborate scene of birds and plantings the potter has drawn four simple peach sprays. For the exterior a large plant capturing some of the spirit of the sweeping curved blades of the model occupies one side, while other plants and insects are scattered about. There is a line below the rim on both interior and exterior, as well as one just above the foot-ring. The base is glazed. There are two hang-holes in the foot-ring.

CAT 35 (*ROM.59*) *Side View, Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 36
ROM.17

Acc. no. 909.25.7

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 6.6 cm
Diameter: 34.8 cm
Diameter of base: 16.3 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.87; Pl. 8.8, c (section drawing)
Related objects: Crowe 2002, no. 6; ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16
Chinese model: TKS 1339

This dish copies a common Kraak model featuring two deer in a landscape. It appears in many Safavid copies from the early seventeenth century, including one from the same workshop (ROM.50/ Cat. no. 16).). Here much of the detail is lost because the technique of floating the colour into the incised lines resulted in blurring. The deer scene usually has one deer facing front but turning its head backward. The other deer, standing on its left, looks on. There is an array of rocks and plants in the foreground. In the upper left a bending tree spawns a cloud-like expanse of foliage. On this dish the scene has been reversed (compare with the Chinese model, TKS 1339).

The border is one of the less common ones (Rim ISF 5.3). Knotted stems divide the border into numerous panels containing "jewels," over which rides a scroll of reciprocal lobed arches.

The exterior is blank except for nine vertical lines painted between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are no spurs inside the dish, unlike many Isfahan wares. The foot-ring has two hang-holes.

CAT 36 (*ROM.17*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 37
ROM.15

Acc. no. 909.25.3

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 6.7 cm
Diameter: 35.1 cm
Diameter of base: 16.5 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 4.12; Pl. 8.8, d (section drawing)
Related objects: ROM.47/ Cat. no. 40, ROM.48/ Cat. no. 39

The rim and cavetto are occupied by ten panels containing peach trees and delineated by vertical lines with one "knot" (Fig. 6.20, Rim ISF 5.2). It is almost identical to that of ROM.48/ Cat. no. 39. A landscape with waterfowl, based on late sixteenth-century Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, is painted in a cursory manner in the centre, using the incised-line technique characteristic of Isfahan work. Two birds, facing right, rest on branches below. Above is a large lotus-like plant surrounded by ripples of water and floating pads. This scene was very popular within the Isfahan workshop producing the blue-and-white "down-market" wares at mid-century. A closer copy of the Chinese model appears on ROM.47/ Cat. no. 40, although much finer copies were made earlier at Kirman.

The exterior is blank except for ten vertical lines painted between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are no spurs inside the dish, unlike many Isfahan wares. The foot-ring has two hang-holes. The base is glazed.

CAT 37 (*ROM.15*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 38
ROM.58

Acc. no. 909.29.3

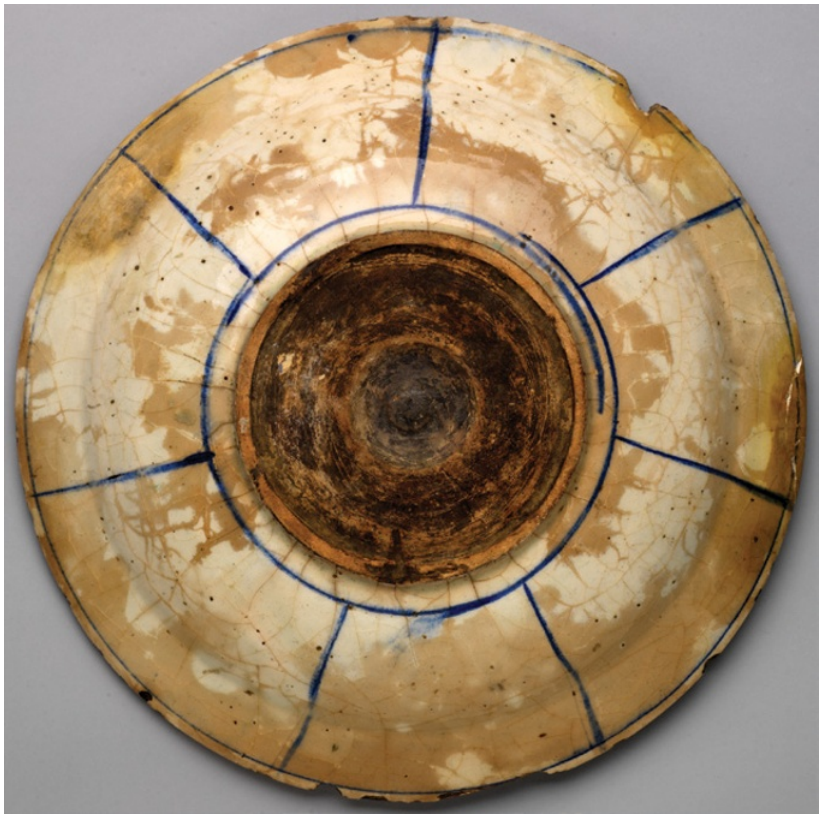
Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 6.5 cm
Diameter: 32.5 cm
Diameter of base: 14 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustration in text: Pl. 8.10, h (section drawing)

The rim and cavetto are occupied by eight panels containing peach trees similar to ROM.15/ Cat. no. 37 (Fig. 6.20, Rim ISF 5.2). Here the simple vertical line delineating the panels has been transformed into a landscape element, perhaps a mountain, and the base of the panels has become rolling hillocks. The central design includes four simply drawn birds, all facing right, arranged in a vertical line except for one. Trees and plants fill the rest of the space. The design is only remotely related to Chinese models.

The exterior is blank except for seven vertical lines painted between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are three spurs inside the dish, and the foot-ring has one hang-hole. There is a recess in the centre of the base.



CAT 38 (*ROM.58*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 39
ROM.48

Acc. no. 907.9.4

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, black, and cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 7.1 cm
Diameter: 34.5 cm
Diameter of base: 14 cm

Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo

The rim (Fig. 6.20, Rim ISF 5.2) and cavetto are occupied by panels containing peach trees and delineated by vertical lines with two "knots." Each peach tree grows from one panel and swerves into the one adjoining on the right. This modification of the original Kraak design in which the plant is contained within the panel is typical of this workshop's impulse to "activate" motifs, setting up centrifugal movement. Contrasting with this is the stability of the radial design in the tondo. The same stems found in the border continue into the centre and meet at the central rosette (seven-petalled). Two peach plants stacked one above the other occupy each wedge-shaped panel. Some small details, such as the grass and curving leaves, are painted in black.

The technique of using incised lines to create the blue painted design was done for economical purposes. All of the wares painted in this technique are of low quality compared with contemporary products from Kirman. Nevertheless, they would have served well as "down-market" blue-and-white wares, substituting for unavailable Chinese imports or the more expensive Kirman and Mashhad wares.

The exterior is blank except for eight vertical lines painted in blue over black between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are three spurs inside the dish and four hang-holes in the foot-ring.

CAT 39 (*ROM.48*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 40
ROM.47

Acc. no. 907.9.3

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash and olive-brown under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 7.4 cm
Diameter: 34.0 cm
Diameter of base: 16 cm

Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo
Illustrations in text: Pl. 8.8, b (section drawing)
Related object: ROM.15/ Cat. no. 37
Chinese model: TKS 851

A trellis pattern painted in olive-brown with blue square insets similar to ROM.27/ Cat. no. 41 occupies the rim and cavetto (Fig. 6.12, Rim ISF 3). The central design shows two waterfowl, facing one another, resting on rocks, surrounded by islands with plant life. Above is an island composed of large rocks and lobed plants. The scene is based on a sixteenth-century Chinese prototype but the potter probably used a local (Kirman?) version as his model. This dish seems to be a more detailed version of the model than ROM.15/ Cat. no. 37.

The exterior is blank except for nine vertical lines painted between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are three spurs inside the dish, and the foot-ring has three hang-holes. There is a recess in the centre of the base.

CAT 40 (*ROM.47*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 41
ROM.27

Acc. no. 909.29.4

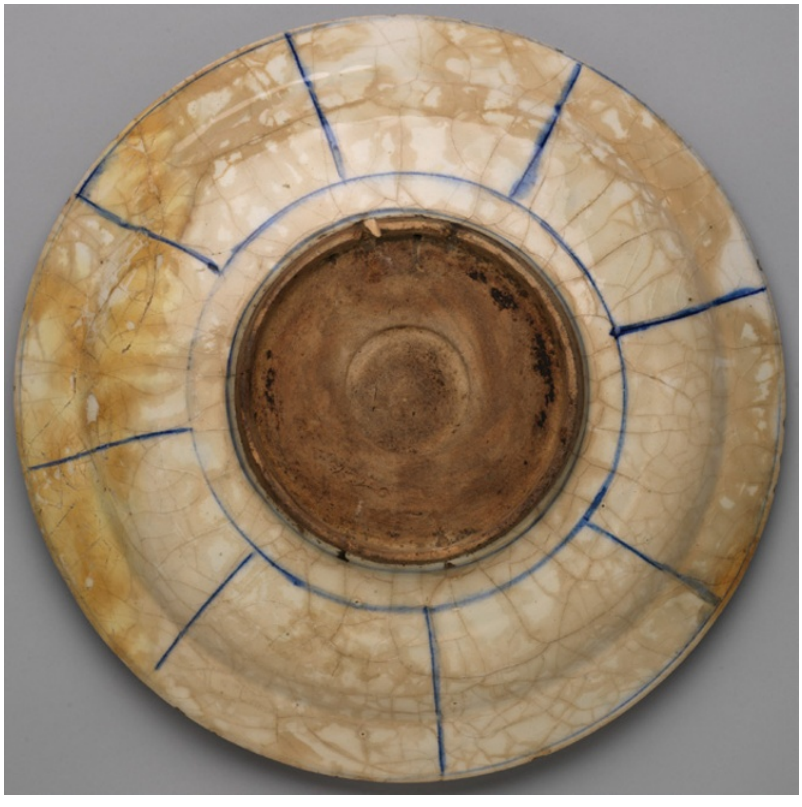
Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, cobalt wash and olive-brown under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
1650–1680

Height: 6.7 cm
Diameter: 34.3 cm
Diameter of base: 14.6 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 6.12; Pl. 8.10, f (section drawing)

A trellis pattern painted in olive-brown with blue trefoil insets occupies the rim and cavetto (Fig. 6.12, Rim ISF 3). The central design shows two birds (partridges?) standing on outcrops and facing right. A tree with wide trunk grows from a ground line through the middle of the dish, its foliage merging with the frame of the tondo. Two clouds painted as concentric rings hang from the frame flanking the tree.

The exterior is blank except for eight vertical lines painted between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are three spurs inside the dish, and the foot-ring has six hang-holes. There is a recess in the centre of the base.



Cat 41 (*ROM.27*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 42
ROM.57

Acc. no. 909.29.2

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, and cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan, Iran
c. 1680

Height: 7 cm
Diameter: 32.3 cm
Diameter of base: 18 cm
Potter's mark: blue medallion (unique)

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.88
Related object: STK.50

This portrait of a man wearing a turban rendered in the technique typical of the Isfahan workshop is exceptional. Similar portraits were produced in the same workshop using polychrome slips around the middle of the seventeenth century (Phases II–III). This figure is painted in a very different style, not recalling the school of Riza Abbasi, as did the polychrome series. The man's neck is very thick. His right hand pokes out from under a robe. He does not appear to be holding anything. The turban is unusually flat. The figure is painted in reserve on a dense ground of flowers and plants, also in reserve.

The tondo is framed by a cavetto border of interlaced palmettes, a motif that is found on many of the Isfahan polychrome wares, as well as on lustre-wares of Phase IV (Fig. 6.14, Rim ISF 4.1). The narrow zig-zag border at the rim, however, is more common on Kirman wares of Phase III.

The treatment of the exterior is also unusual. The walls are decorated with a frieze of tangent *ruyi* motifs. The potter's mark is unique in its form and relatively large scale. It is an irregular elongated quatrefoil with a diamond mark in the centre, crossed by two lines. The shape of the dish is exceptional because it has a wide foot-ring compared with other wares of this workshop, and the walls follow a simple curve, lacking an everted flange.

The dish has not been sampled, but technically (use of incised lines to float the cobalt) it appears to belong to the Isfahan workshop. It has two hang-holes, and the base is glazed.

While the portrait is not the work of a major Safavid painter, the production of this vessel would seem to have been occasioned by unique circumstances. Everything about it, and the care taken in the execution, suggests it was not one of the mass-produced pieces of this workshop.

CAT 42 (*ROM.57*) *Interior*

CAT 42 (*ROM.57*) *Profile*

CAT 42 (*ROM.57*) *Exterior*

Cat. no. 43
ROM.16

Acc. no. 909.25.5

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with greyish-blue wash and black outlines
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1650–1675

Height: 6.1 cm
Diameter: 33.2 cm
Diameter of base: 10.5 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Related objects: HRM.96, ZZZ.356
Chinese models: Ardabil (Pope 1956, pl. 30); Rinaldi 1989, pl. 108 (back)

This is the Isfahan version of the well-loved lotus plant which first arrived on porcelains from the early Ming period. It was copied by Kirman potters during the early seventeenth century and repeated many times through the transitions of the Kirman workshop. The central blossom stands above multiple stalks tied with a ribbon. Three or more blossoms arise from secondary shoots, some drawn in profile, as suggested by the two shown here at the upper right and left. The potter has even tried to simulate the variations in colour achieved by the Kirman potters by dabbing more paint in dots in each petal. His work falls far short of the Chinese, or even the Kirman, model.

The design is framed by a Kraak scroll diaper border. The cavetto is left blank, and the rim is encircled by a narrow band of tangent ovoid "beads" or leaves, connected to each other by a vine. This rim appears on at least two other dishes in our database that resemble this dish in its use of the garbled Kraak frame, the blank cavetto, and the dimensions (HRM.96; ZZZ.356). Both use black outlines.

The exterior has one black line below the rim and two above the foot-ring. Seven linear Kraak panels contain "jewels" (Pl. 6.3.4, Back IV.4). There are three spur marks inside the dish and four hang-holes in the foot-ring.

This dish appears to belong to a different group than most Isfahan blue-and-white wares. It uses black outlines instead of incised lines painted with cobalt alone. The group is possibly earlier, as one example (HRM.96) is technically well drawn despite a muddled Kraak diaper frame, suggesting a date closer to Phase I. The narrow everted rim also distinguishes this shape from most other Isfahan dishes.

CAT 43 (*ROM.16*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 44
ROM.55

Acc. no. 909.25.6

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with cobalt, and cobalt wash under clear glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
c. 1680

Height: 5.7 cm
Diameter: 34.5 cm
Diameter of base: 14 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Illustrations in text: Fig. 6.19; Pl. 8.10, g (section drawing)
Related objects: ROM.01/ Cat. no. 45, ROM.25/ Cat. no. 49

The rim and cavetto are occupied by six Kraak petal-panels containing medallions filled with landscape elements (Fig. 6.19, Rim ISF 5.1). Between the panels are narrower panels, following the pattern found on Kraak porcelain. The tondo has a six-pointed star delineated by six trilobial "hills" attached to the frame. In the centre is an eight-petalled rosette. Clusters of "jewels" occupy the points of the star. The use of spiral filler in the "hills" suggests a date around 1680, as this was common on imported porcelain of the period (see ROM.25/ Cat. no. 49).

The exterior is white with eight outlined Kraak panels separated by vertical lines painted between lines circling the rim and foot-ring. This is a simplified version of the Safavid seventeenth-century Back IV (see Pl. 6.3.4). There is a recess in the base and three hang-holes in the foot-ring.

CAT 44 (*ROM.55*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 45
ROM.01

Acc. no. 907.9.1

Dish
stonepaste body
incised lines painted with greyish-blue (cobalt) and black, greyish-blue wash under clear glaze
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
c. 1680

Height: 6.9 cm
Diameter: 33.9 cm
Diameter of base: 16.6 cm

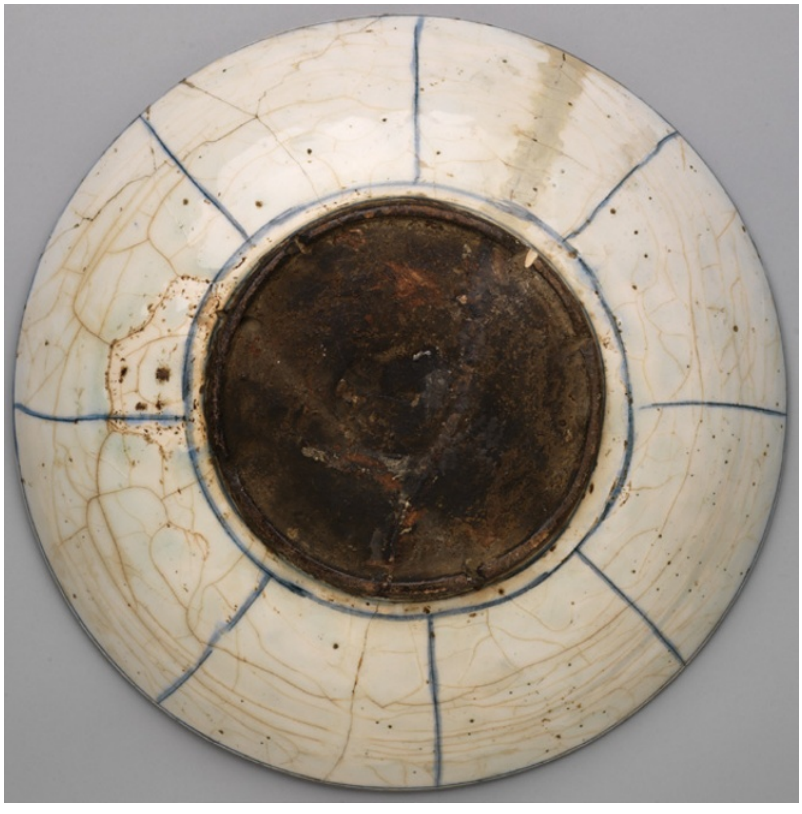
Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo
Illustration in text: Pl. 8.9, b (section drawing)
Related objects: ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44; HRM.26

The dish is divided into quarters by four large petal-panel frames, painted in a greyish-blue wash and filled with spirals. The frames contain petal-shaped medallions in which a single flowering plant is depicted. In the centre of the dish a square, lobed medallion contains a crane with landscape motifs.

The rim follows a simple curve and is not everted to form a flange, as with many dishes of this workshop. The grisaille palette is also unusual and suggests a date close to the group attributed by Crowe to a period corresponding to our late Phase III.[21] Cranes in medallions occur on various vessels of this time, including bowls, bottles, and ewers (V&A.145). The original inspiration for this design was probably a late sixteenth-century Jiajing porcelain, much imitated by the sixteenth-century potters of Tabriz (see HRM.26). The use of spiral filler on the grisaille dish also suggests a date close to the resumption of exports under the Kangxi emperor (ROM.55/ Cat. no. 44).[22]

The exterior is blank except for eight vertical lines painted in blue over black between the rim and a line just above the foot-ring. There are six hang-holes in the foot-ring.

21 Crowe 2002:187.
22 Ibid., p. 202.



CAT 45 (*ROM.01*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 46
ROM.99

Acc. no. 2006.20.1

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
probably Mashhad, Iran
c. 1700

Height: 8.5 cm
Diameter: 49.3 cm
Diameter of base: 20 cm

Source: Sotheby's, London, April 5, 2006, lot 133
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.91; Pl. 8.10, c (section drawing)
Related objects: HRM.36; Crowe 2002, nos. 391–92

This dish, painted in two shades of cobalt on a brilliant white body, is much larger than most of the pottery produced in Iran in the late seventeenth century. It is rather deep and has a slightly everted rim. At first glance the design appears odd. One sees a very dense display of foliage, and every space appears to be filled. Looking more closely, one can see that the design is organized within medallions, painted in reserve. The central medallion is an elongated cartouche, while the other two are pomegranate-like shapes growing from the midpoint on each side of the cartouche. In each quadrant, hanging from the brown rim, are four lobed cloud-point medallions. The blossoms of triangular shape place this dish within the "luscious flower" group, described by Crowe and traced to Kangxi decorative arts.[23] The flower has short rounded petals and a darker calyx, also with small petals. The diaper design filling the "pomegranates" is derived from Kangxi porcelain (after the 1680s) and is known as "cracked ice." The design is composed of short branches connecting multipetal rosettes. The spaces between the large medallions are rendered as blue on white and are densely packed with all sorts of floral elements as well as balustrades, animals, and birds.

The decoration on the underside consists of five plants, each growing from a cluster of three rocks and attached to a ground of grass blades by thin wispy stems (Pl. 6.3.3, Back III.4). The "luscious flower" dominates the foliage. Between the plants are flying star-shaped "insects." There are eight spur marks around the base, which also has a small recess in the centre.

The aesthetics of this dish represent a complete change from what had preceded. It demonstrates the strength of the impact of imported goods on the local industry. The brown rim was also inspired by the imported wares. However, no single export vessel could have served as a model for this dish and others in this series. The series is so distinctive that it must be the creation of a single potter or a group of potters working together.

Petrographic analysis of a base fragment (HRM.36) with similar decoration suggests Mashhad as the pottery manufactory. The sampled base shares technical characteristics with the ROM dish and others of the group. Like the underside of the ROM dish, the sampled fragment has a recess of 8.0 cm in diameter and eight spur marks.

23 Crowe 2002:228.

CAT 46 (*ROM.99*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 47
ROM.56

Acc. no. 909.26.38

Jar
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Isfahan petrofabric, Iran
1670–1690

Height: 17.2 cm
Diameter: 12 cm
Diameter of base: 9 cm
Potter's mark: blue character-mark

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustration in text: Pl. 8.17, h (section drawing)
Related object: Crowe 2002, no. 510

This cylindrical jar rises from a narrower foot-ring and has a short neck and wide flaring mouth. The shape is relatively rare in surviving jar types from this period. The jar has borders above and below the striped design decorating its walls. The lower border consists of overlapping petals ("lappets"), a motif common in both Chinese porcelains and their Safavid imitations.[24] The upper border, situated on the lower part of the shoulder, is made up of narrow petals. The rest of the shoulder is blank, and the vertical stripes around the neck continue the upward movement of the general design.

The blue washed stripes on the body alternate with narrow white bands that have a blue line down the middle. Four overlapping lobed leaves are reserved in the blue wash and outlined in a darker blue. They are oriented with stems down. The stem appears to be thick, and numerous thin veins branch out from it. The lateral lobes of the leaf are small and irregular, and the terminal lobe is larger. This particular manner of depicting leaves is unusual. Somewhat similar leaves were incorporated into the foliage of the "precious flower" wares from Mashhad, Phase IV.[25] Cylindrical bodies of goblets from this period also have striped designs with plant elements in reserve.[26] Closest in style to this jar is a shorter jar lacking a foot-ring but sharing the same borders, dated by Crowe to Phase IV.[27]

The base is glazed and painted with a blue character-mark in the form of a single loop. It does not correspond to any of the commonly used types although it is perhaps remotely related to C7 (Pl. 7.3).

24 Crowe 2002, no. 510.

25 Ibid., no. 394.
26 Ibid., nos. 517–19.
27 Ibid., no. 510.

CAT 47 (*ROM.56*) *General View*

Cat. no. 48
ROM.11

Acc. no. 908x25.53

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 4.7 cm
Diameter: 23.2 cm
Diameter of base: 10 cm

Source: unknown
Illustration in text: Pl. 8.10, i (section drawing)
Related objects: Crowe 2002, nos. 410, 413, 420
Chinese models: TKS 2372 (back), TKS 2056 (rim)

A large parrot with his head turned to the left stands in the middle of this small dish. Its body is painted blue with large lobed leaves and florets in reserve. The feathers of the wing and tail are drawn in a darker blue. The legs consist of little more than lines linking the claws with the body and appearing unable to support the great weight of this large bird. The background was left bare except for a suggestion of landscape hugging the frame on either side of the parrot. The tufts of grass, which this landscape motif represents, are often more clearly rendered, as on a dish with Kraak panels, featuring an artemisia leaf in the centre.[28]

The rim is bracketed, and the outline of its border mimics the bracketing. The border design consists of seven florets with elongated petals on a ground of loosely drawn scrolls sprouting trilobial leaves. This border is found on a series of dishes of similar size and shape with Chinese-inspired landscapes.[29] Scrolls with trefoil leaves and florets appear commonly on late seventeenth-century Chinese blue-and-white wares (TKS 2065). The related Safavid group also shares a common back design, four beribboned lozenges (Pl. 6.3.5, Back VI). Another dish painted with the image of a large bird, also reserve-painted with flowers, lacks a rim.[30] Crowe dates this group to the last decade of the seventeenth century.[31]

The single hang-hole in the foot-ring is indicative of the dish's having come from the Kubachi aggregation (see Chapter Four).

28 Crowe 2002, no. 410.
29 Ibid., nos. 413–16 (all bracketed rims).
30 Ibid., no. 420.
31 Ibid., p. 234.

CAT 48 (*ROM.n*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 49
ROM.25

Acc. no. 909.27.3

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with chromium black under clear turquoise glaze
probably Mashhad, Iran
c. 1700

Height: 4.9 cm
Diameter: 22.5 cm
Diameter of base: 9.8 cm

Source: G. Kalebdjian, Paris
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.89
Related objects: Crowe 2002, nos. 346–51
Chinese models: TKS 2059–2062

Tight spiralling scrolls form the background for black-line reserve-painted designs made up chiefly of large half-palmette leaves linking up with four-petal rosettes. The central design consists of three leaves and rosettes forming a triangle. The same motifs are linked to form a scroll covering the rim and cavetto, which is separated from the centre by a band of wickerwork. A thin band of parallel diagonal lines encircles the rim. The exterior is decorated with a band similar to the design on the rim.

A similar dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum was made for the "beverage storehouse," according to its inscription.[32] Vessels with this style of decoration have been found at Nyssa and are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Ashgabad. Thus, a Mashhad or other northeastern provenance has been suggested. The background of tightly wound spirals may have been inspired by borders on Iznik dishes.[33]

The base is glazed but the foot-ring is not. The single hang-hole in the foot-ring is indicative of the dish's having come from Kubachi (see Chapter Four).

32 Persian inscription: "*Tahvil-i sharbat-khaneh*" (Crowe 2002:202, no. 346).

33 Watson 2004, Cat T.22 (c. 1585); Atasoy and Raby 1989, nos. 492–500, 767.

CAT 49 (*ROM.25*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 50
ROM.09

Acc. no. 908x25.12

Spittoon
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted in greyish-blue
Iran
c. 1680

Height: 11.3 cm
Diameter: 13.0 cm
Diameter of base: 8.2 cm

Source: unknown
Illustration in text: Pl. 8.18, f (section drawing)
Related objects: Crowe 2002, nos. 327, 511

This vessel, which is usually referred to as a spittoon, has a squat bulbous body, a carinated shoulder, and a short flaring neck (old restoration). The argument for accepting the generally agreed-to function of this vessel is presented in Chapter One. Such vessels begin to appear in Safavid depictions of the aristocracy banqueting, along with other vessels for eating and drinking. Unlike the South Asian spittoon, which was a large communal basin associated with betel chewing, this small object was undoubtedly meant for personal use. Why it should suddenly have gained popularity in the seventeenth century is difficult to explain, as betel chewing was never a common habit in Iran. Perhaps the chewing of tobacco may lie behind the currency of this curious object. Many were produced in a wide range of decorative techniques particularly during the second half of the seventeenth century.

This example is painted in the grisaille style of the end of the century. Chinese landscapes are suggested through shaded wash. Trees and balustrades appear with little detail. The comb-like wave or cloud also common in this period makes its appearance.[34]

The landscape painting occupies the globular body while the shoulder is painted with scrolls sprouting large lotus leaves and florets. A band of lappets encircles the area above the foot-ring. The upper section of the flaring neck has been repaired. A spittoon in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a similar scene and is roughly of the same dimensions, but its style suggests it was painted by another hand (Crowe 2002, no. 511) Its scrolls are more comparable to Kangxi motifs. Both spittoons have three spur marks on the base, suggesting a common firing technology.

34 See also grisaille dishes, such as Crowe 2002, no. 327.

CAT 50 (*ROM.09*) *View A*

CAT 50 (*ROM.09*) *View B*

Cat. no. 51
ROM.85

Acc. no. 994.183.2

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt, grey wash, and chromium black outlines
Iran
c. 1675

Height: 3.2cm
Diameter: 23 cm
Diameter of base: 13 cm
Potter's mark: black character-mark

Source: Sotheby's (Colonnade), London, Oct. 21, 1994, lot 359
Illustration in text: Fig. 3.62
Chinese models: TKS 2324 (border)

This small dish appears to have been modelled on Kirman designs from Phase III, such as the segmented dragon on a ground of "waves" (Crowe 2002, no. 160). The rim design of a zig-zag line with reciprocal half-crosses, very common on Kirman Phase III wares, shows up on this dish as reciprocal half-florets similar to the border of ROM.82/ Cat. no. 52. This design was popular on Kangxi wares of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.

The central roundel is unframed and features a crane in flight against a ground of comb-like waves. Waves (or clouds) rendered in this way appear on some of the late Phase III wares, such as a Kraak-panelled dish with the jewel filler pattern on the underside (Pl. 6.3.4, Back IV.4; V&A.364). The comb-like motif also occurs on the grisaille-painted spittoon in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM.09/Cat. no. 50). The cavetto is blank. The painting is done in bright blue, but some of the elements, such as the bird's wings, are given a grey wash.

The design on the back consists of panels formed by vertical lines containing clusters of four circles. A single black character-mark appears on the base (Pl. 7.3, C7).

CAT 51 (*ROM.85*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 52
ROM.82

Acc. no. 909.26.6

Dish
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with cobalt
Iran
c. 1700

Height: 4.7cm
Diameter: 22.56 cm
Diameter of base: 9 cm

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.90
Related object: Crowe 2002, no. 435
Chinese models: TKS 2060, 2324

The design of four tear-drop shapes on a white ground was popular in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. Parallels exist in the Qing repertoire (TKS 2060). How the motif (designated by Crowe as a "cone") was rendered by the Persian potter varied greatly. In this example the cone is composed of tiny leaves and delicate vines. Another dish with four cones and a central roundel uses a diaper of spirals to fill the cones.[35] The same device was used on a "sandpot" that bears an Armenian monogram believed to belong to Paron Safra (d. 1728).[36]

The dish has no flange. Below the rim the border reads as a zig-zag line although composed of leaves. Similar borders on Kangxi bowls ("prunus on cracked ice") may have inspired the Safavid potter (TKS 2324). The beribboned lozenges on the back suggest a date contemporary with ROM.11/ Cat. no. 48 (Pl. 6.3.5, Back VI).

35 Crowe 2002, no. 352.

36 Ibid., p. 205 (no. 355); see also Crowe 2002:226 for discussion on Armenian monograms in Safavid pottery.

CAT 52 (*ROM.82*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 53
ROM.06

Acc. no. 908.20.2

Spittoon
stonepaste body
monochrome glaze (white)
Iran 1680–1700

Height: 10.8 cm
Diameter: 11.4 cm
Diameter of base: 5.5 cm

Source: Dmitri Andalaft, Cairo
Illustrations in text: Fig. 2.105; Pl. 8.18, g (section drawing)

White monochrome wares were popular during the second half of the seventeenth century. The spittoon shape appeared also in most other contemporary techniques: slip-painted monochromes and polychrome blue-and-white, lustre, and underglaze-painted. There is little variation in size as this object was designed to perform a specific function. The identification of this function has been discussed in Chapter One. As observed in that discussion, pictorial evidence suggests that this shape was a personal item found among other vessels associated with eating and drinking. It was not a communal item such as existed in India for use in the chewing of betel leaves.

Cat. no. 54
ROM.29

Acc. no. 909.29.12

Bowl
stonepaste body
monochrome glaze (white), carved
Iran late 17th to early 18th century

Height: 10.8 cm
Diameter: 11.4 cm
Diameter of base: 5.5 cm

Source: R. and M. Stora, Paris
Chinese model: TKS 1675

The exterior of this small white monochrome bowl has a lightly carved lotus scroll. This genre may have been inspired by late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century carved bowls from China (TKS 1675). The base is glazed.

CAT 53 (*ROM.06*) *General View*

CAT 54 (*ROM.29*) *General View*

Cat. no. 55
ROM.05

Acc. no. 908.20.1

Bowl
stonepaste body
monochrome glaze (white), carved
Iran late 17th to early 18th century

Height: 5.7 cm
Diameter: 13.6 cm
Diameter of base: 4.5 cm

Source: Dimitri Andalaft, Cairo
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.104
Related object: ROM.29/ Cat. no. 54

The exterior of this shallow white monochrome bowl has deeply cut ogee-shaped tangent medallions on the exterior and incised ornament inside and around the medallions. The base and foot-ring are entirely glazed.

Cat. no. 56
ROM.33

Text and images on pages 406–407.

Cat. no. 57
ROM.40

Acc. no. 959.187.19

Bowl
stonepaste body
monochrome glaze (white), pierced ("fenestrated")
Iran early 18th century

Height: 8.2 cm
Diameter: 18.6 cm
Diameter of base: 8.3 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton

This white monochrome bowl has piercings in the form of diamond-shaped clusters of cross-shaped motifs. Three clusters of nine crosses alternate with three smaller clusters of four crosses. The base is glazed.

These "fenestrated" wares are commonly referred to as "Gombroon ware," but their precise provenance and dating have not been determined.[37] Consensus suggests a post-Safavid date in the early eighteenth century.

37 Lane 1957:110.

CAT 55 (*ROM.05*) *General View*

CAT 57 (*ROM.40*) *General View*

Cat. no. 56
ROM.33

Acc. no. 910.117.6

Dish
stonepaste body
monochrome glaze (white), incised
Iran late 17th to early 18th century

Height: 5.6 cm
Diameter: 23.0 cm
Diameter of base: 9.3 cm

Source: Michel Casira, Cairo
Related object: ROM.29/ Cat. no. 54

The dish is divided into zones of incised decoration. The rim has an incised band of reciprocal trefoils. Overlapping the rim and occupying the cavetto is an incised band of parallel V-shaped lines. The tondo is framed by a zig-zag border. The exterior is undecorated. The glaze forms puddles on the interior, giving it a mottled look. The base and part of the inside and outside of the foot-ring are glazed.

CAT 56 (*ROM.33*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 58
ROM.41

Acc. no. 959.187.20

Bowl with omphalos
stonepaste body
underglaze-painted with black (chromium); pierced ("fenestrated")
Iran early 18th century

Height: 7.1 cm
Diameter: 18.2 cm
Diameter of base: 6.3 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.106
Related object: ROM.40/ Cat. no. 57

The bowl has a small dome (omphalos) in the centre, common on lustre-wares of the late seventeenth century as well as on fenestrated wares. Most of the bowl is white except for the area around the dome. Four elongated veined leaves alternate with four straight stalks, that terminate in three shoots. Around the walls is a pierced ("fenestrated") design based on reciprocal trefoils. The base is glazed, and in the centre is a recess below the omphalos. The rim and foot-ring of this bowl have been encased with silver trim. This type of ware was thought to be what one report (1698) described as "total vitrification" referred to as Gombroon ware. Arthur Lane believed this fenestrated ware to be later.[38]

38 Lane 1957:110.

CAT 58 (*ROM.41*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 59
ROM.43

Acc. no. 959.187.28

Bowl
stonepaste body
monochrome, stamped or moulded ornament, carved
Iran
late 17th century (?)

Height: 8.9 cm
Diameter: 23.7 cm
Diameter of base: 10.8 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.108
Related objects: ROM.64/ Cat. no. 60; Soustiel 1985, pl. 300

This heavy bowl is covered with a clear turquoise glaze. All the ornament is in relief. Below the narrow rim is a band of tiny rosettes, possibly made by rolling a mould into the clay. Below are larger single flowers, moulded in place or applied. The lower half of the bowl is decorated with a series of deeply carved diagonal lines.

Below this carved frieze the bowl is unglazed. The base is cut near the edge to create a low but wide foot-ring in which there is one hang-hole. There are three spur marks inside the unornamented interior of the bowl.

Cat. no. 60
ROM.64

Acc. no. 910.123.1

Bowl
stonepaste body
monochrome, stamped or moulded ornament, carved
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 12.5 cm
Diameter: 30.0 cm
Diameter of base: 14.5 cm

Source: S. M. Franck and Company, London
Related object: ROM.43/ Cat. no. 59; Soustiel 1985, pl. 300

This turquoise bowl with moulded and carved decoration is identical to ROM.43/ Cat. no. 59 except that it is larger.

CAT 59 (*ROM.43*) *Exterior and Bottom*

CAT 60 (*ROM.64*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 61
ROM.52

Acc. no. 908x25.40

Dish
stonepaste body
monochrome carved (cobalt and copper)
Isfahan (?), Iran
2nd half of 17th century (?)

Height: 7.8 cm
Diameter: 41.3 cm
Diameter of base: 20.3 cm

Source: unknown
Related object: ROM.03/ Cat. no. 62

This large carved monochrome dish with fluted cavetto, covered by an opaque pale green glaze, was inspired by Chinese celadon and is similar to ROM.03/ Cat. no. 62. On the glazed base is an unglazed coarse ring, which emulates the "ring of exposed biscuit" found on Chinese celadons.[39] Orders for celadons, both contemporary and antique, can be found in the records of the Dutch East Indies Company and in an anonymous Persian seventeenth-century list of Chinese ceramics circulating in Safavid Iran (see Chapter One). As imitation celadons were made in Iran at different periods, the Safavid dating of this dish is based on a peculiarity found only in Safavid period "celadons" such as Cat. no. 62 (ROM.03). The interior and exterior are glazed in contrasting monochrome colours. This is a practice found in other Safavid wares, such as Kirman blue-and-white dishes and lustre-painted bowls (e.g., ROM.70/ Cat. no. 63) from the second half of the seventeenth century, which often have a back or exterior glazed in monochrome blue.

39 Pope 1981:155 (referred to as "red ring base").

CAT 61 (*ROM.52*) *Interior, Profile and Exterior*

Cat. no. 62
ROM.03

Acc. no. 907.9.6

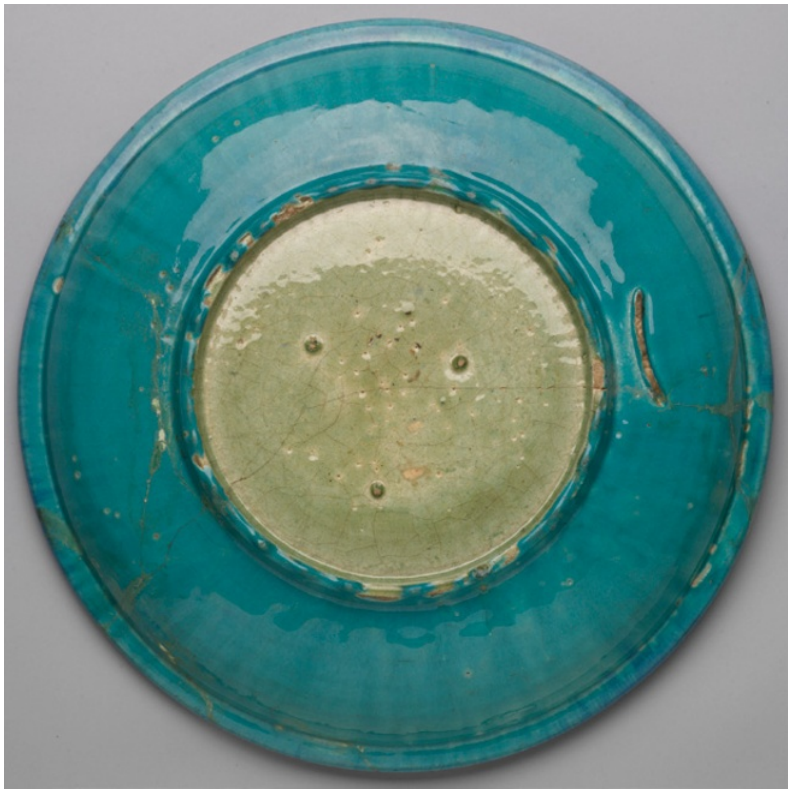
Dish
stonepaste body
monochrome carved
Isfahan (?), Iran
2nd half of 17th century (?)

Height: 7.6 cm
Diameter: 40.5 cm
Diameter of base: 22 cm

Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo
Related object: ROM.52/ Cat. no. 61

Large dishes with carved fluted cavetto painted in monochrome were made at different times from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Like the Chinese celadon that they imitate, they tend to be heavier than the Safavid blue-and-white dishes. The interior of this dish is covered with an opaque blue while the exterior is turquoise. The glaze drips toward the base, giving the dish a coarse appearance. The base is covered with a pale green transparent glaze and has three spur marks.

For the dating of this dish, see the discussion in the previous entry (ROM.52/ Cat. no. 61).



CAT 62 (*ROM.03*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 63
ROM.70

Acc. no. 950.157.114

Bowl
stonepaste body
lustre-painted with cobalt
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 7.0 cm
Diameter: 14.3 cm
Diameter of base: 21.9

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.97

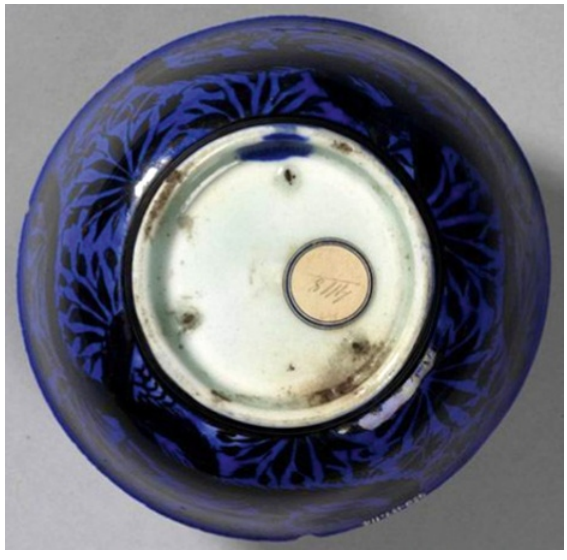
The interior of the bowl is white with copper-coloured lustre painting. Two cypress trees stand beside a stream among other plants, including a large carnation. The walls of the bowl surrounding the central *paysage* scene bear five lobed blank escutcheons alternating with vases of cut flowers (carnations). The vases have a high splayed and fluted foot and seem to be boat-shaped with dragon-headed finials extending from the ends.

This bowl is painted with a contrasting exterior. On the outside, painted on a cobalt ground, a thick branch winding from the base to the rim divides flowering sprays.

The base has three spur marks. A small puddle of cobalt has dripped down the inside of the foot-ring.

CAT 63 (*ROM.70*) *Side A*

CAT 63 (*ROM.70*) *Side B*



CAT 63 (*ROM.70*) *Interior and Base*

Cat. no. 64
ROM.71

Acc. no. 959.187.21

Bowl with omphalos
stonepaste body
lustre-painted
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 6.5 cm
Diameter: 19.8 cm
Diameter of base: 9 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton

This shallow bowl has a domical rise in the centre, often referred to as an omphalos shape, suggesting cosmic associations ("navel/centre of the world"). It is a fairly common shape in lustre-wares, as well as for some other genres for this period (such as the fenestrated bowl, ROM.41/ Cat. no. 58). It was also used for brass bowls with magical notations dating from this period,[40] and these may have inspired the ceramic shapes.

The dome is surrounded by a band of narrow petals painted in lustre on a blue ground. Four escutcheons alternate with four plants around the inner walls. The escutcheons are lustre-painted in a solid colour, with no detail. They are framed by a line following their curves. The exterior, also lustre-painted on a blue ground, is covered with dense foliage emanating from two grassy plants.

The base has a small recess in the centre and three spur marks.

40 Savage-Smith 2003.

CAT 64 (*ROM.71*) *Interior, Side View, Bottom View*

Cat. no. 65
ROM.72

Acc. no. 959.205.1

Dish
stonepaste body
lustre-painted and cobalt
Mashhad petrofabric, Iran
late 17th century

Height: 5.1 cm
Diameter: 20.3 cm
Diameter of base: 8.8 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton

A large tree with three major trunks is painted in a copper lustre on a blue ground, occupying the whole of the interior except for a chain-border. The outer trunks have spreading clumps stacked up like the pine-tree foliage seen on Chinese porcelain. The tree grows from a rounded hill sprouting grassy plants.

The white exterior contrasts with the blue interior. It is painted with a zig-zagging design composed of elongated ovoid leaves or "hills" sprouting similar grassy plants. This design appears to be the more elaborate version of the reciprocal border found on ROM.67/ Cat. no. 66. The base has a small recess and three spur marks.

CAT 65 (*ROM.72*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 66
ROM.67

Acc. no. 950.157.112

Dish
stonepaste body
lustre-painted
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 4.8 cm
Diameter: 22.8 cm
Diameter of base: 10.2 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.101
Related objects: BRM.89; ROM.72/ Cat. no. 65

A single composition fills the face of the dish, and is framed by a simple chain-band. It is painted with copper lustre on a white ground. The design appears to be an adaptation of the lotus bouquet or large plant popular in Kirman during Phase III. Here the base of the plant is a round element with short spikes growing out of it. Three major stalks emerge, spawning three large blossoms. The ground is densely filled with leaves, ferns, and smaller blossoms. The style of this dish is characterized by the use of large elements in contrast to the style using delicate, smaller elements (see ROM.70 /Cat. no. 63; ROM.71/ Cat. no. 64). The white exterior is painted with "hearts" in a reciprocal design, a reductive version of the back design on ROM.72/ Cat. no. 65. The base has a small recess in the centre. One hang-hole has been drilled into the foot-ring, which suggests that this vessel came from the Kubachi houses in Daghestan.

CAT 66 (*ROM.67*) *Interior and Exterior*

Cat. no. 67
ROM.31

Acc. no. 910.116.2

Bowl with omphalos
stonepaste body
lustre-painted
Mashhad II petrofabric, Iran
late 17th century

Height: 7.4 cm
Diameter: 22.8 cm
Diameter of base: 9 cm

Source: Kalebdjian Frères, Cairo
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.99

This shallow bowl with omphalos (see ROM.71/ Cat. no. 64) has a geometric composition painted in copper lustre on the white interior. A band of leaves forming a zig-zagging line surrounds the omphalos, which lies in the centre of an eight-pointed star. Between the points are deltoid-shaped escutcheons sprouting pairs of cross-hatched leaves. Below the rim is a chain-border. The white exterior is decorated with two long-tailed peacocks separated by mushroom-like pine trees that recall Chinese landscape motifs. The intervening spaces are filled with floral sprays. The base has a small recess in the centre and three spur marks. There are two hang-holes in the foot-ring.

CAT 67 (*ROM.31*) *Interior, Bottom and Side View*

Cat. no. 68
ROM.62

Acc. no. 910.115.3

Bowl
stonepaste body
lustre-painted and cobalt
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 7 cm
Diameter: 18.3 cm
Diameter of base: 8 cm

Source: S. and M. Franck, London
Illustration in text: Fig. 2.100
Related objects: BRM.72

The background of the interior is cobalt, contrasting with the white ground of the exterior. The centre of the bowl has an abstract design based on foliate forms, painted in reserve and reflected in reverse on either side of an axis. Around the inner walls of the bowl is an array of grassy plants filling the space framed by four joined cloud-points. Between these shapes are lustre-painted escutcheons sprouting pairs of cross-hatched leaves (as on ROM.31/ Cat. no. 67). The exterior is decorated with four triblobial escutcheons alternating with half-escutcheons that are suspended from the rim. The intervening space is filled with grassy flowering plants. The painting of this bowl lacks the detail that other lustre-painted bowls show, as none of the floral elements is identifiable. The base has a small recess in the centre and three spur marks. There is one hang-hole in the foot-ring.

CAT 68 (*ROM.62*) *Interior, Side View and Bottom*

Cat. no. 69
ROM.69

Acc. no. 950.157.132

Cup
stonepaste body
lustre-painted
Iran
late 17th century

Height: 4 cm
Diameter: 7.6 cm

Source: Gift of Miss Helen Norton

Throughout the seventeenth century Iran imported thousands of small cups for the newly adopted pastime of coffee-drinking. Late in the century local production of these cups increased, and lustre-painting was a favoured form of decoration. Because of the small size, the painting lacks detail. Inside the cup is a winged palmette motif. The exterior is painted with a palmette meander and chain-band. There are three spur marks on the base.

Cat. no. 70
ROM.07

Acc. no. 908x25.6

Vase
stonepaste body
lustre-painted
Mashhad II petrofabric, Iran
late 17th century

Height: 17 cm
Diameter: 12.4 cm
Diameter of base: 8.8 cm

Source: unknown

This vase has undergone considerable repair to the neck and base. The foot-ring appears to have been shaved off, leaving the base uneven. The original neck has been replaced in plaster.

The high quality of the lustre-painting on this vase is most unusual, and no parallels have been identified. Several large plants grow from a line just above the base. They fill the entire surface and include a multi-petal blossom (rose or chrysanthemum) and a tree with multiple small leaves attached in pairs along bowing branches (willow or bamboo). There is some yellow painting, but it is not clear whether this was intentional or accidental. One variety of Safavid lustre-ware has motifs painted in bright yellow along with lustre (for example, BRM.100, 171).

CAT 69 (*ROM.69*) *General View*

CAT 70 (*ROM.07*) *General view*

Appendix A

Dated Vessels

Date	Object	Project no.	Type	Comment
929 (1522–3)	dish	TOK.01	B&W	inscribed: "made in Nishapur"
930 (1523–4)	canteen	V&A.468	B&W	
970 (1562–3)	jar	IRB.09	B&W	
971 (1563–4)	disc, astrological	BER.31	black-line	zodiac signs; for mounting on ring
975 (1567–8)	dish	MMA.67	B&W	lion, wave-crest rim stripes
979 (1571–2)	cover	Stoke (283P50)	B&W	
1025 (1616–7)	water pot	BRM.08	B&W	potter's name signed: "Yazdi"
1034 (1624–5)	spittoon	ASH.13	black-line	Kirman petrofabric
1034 (1624–5)	dish, base	Qandahar	black-line	
1036 (1626–7)	bottle	BRM.09	black-line	Mashhad petrofabric
1037 (1627–8)	salt-jar	BER.01	black-line	verses mentioning *namakdan* (salt-container)
1037 (1627–8)	kendi, base	V&A.117	black-line	
1051 (1641–2)	kendi	V&A.56	black-line	
1065? (1654–5)	dish	ZZZ.30[1]	incised black band	
1069 (1658–9) or 1049 (1639–40)	qalyan	V&A.57	slip-painted monochrome	
1077 (1666–7)	dish	V&A.55	incised black band and carved design	
1080 (1669–70)[2]	dish	BER.04	incised black band	
1084 (1673–4)	dish	MAD.02	incised black band	
1084 (1673–4)	bottle	unknown[3]	lustre-painted	
1084 (1673–4)	dish	CDC.10	Kirman polychrome, black band	
1084 (1673–4)	dish	ROM.89	incised black (grey) band	

(*Continued*)

1 Present whereabouts unknown; unable to verify dating.

2 Also read as 1108 (?), but see Chapter Two for rationale behind reading of the numerals ("108") as "1080"; see also note 4 below.

3 Drawing of inscription in Wallis 1893, copied by Watson 1985, fig. 136; date may be incorrect as this is quite early for lustre-ware (see discussion in Chapter Two, suggesting a reading of 1094/1682–3).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_012

(*Continued*)

Date	Object	Project no.	Type	Comment
1088 (1677–8)	dish	BRM.06	Kirman polychrome, black band	
1090 (1679–80)[4]	dish	BRM.02	black incised band	
1109 (1697–8)	tankard	British Museum	B&W	
1121 (1709–10)	bowl	Gulbenkian Museum (Durham)[5]		
1134 (1722)	bowl	Kunstgewerbe Museum, Hamburg[6]		

4 Also read as 1109 (1697–8), but see Chapter Two for rationale behind reading of the numerals ("109") as "1090."

5 Crowe 2002:292.

6 Fehervari 1970: 140 (in list of dated pottery, no. 16, citing the catalogue of the Munich Exhibition, 1910, cat. No. 1367, *Ausstellung muhammedanischer Kunst*).

Dated Tiles

Date	Project no.	Dec. type	Site	Inscription	Imagery
939 (1532)	ZZZ.431	black-line		made in the place (mawdiʿah) Qumisheh by ustad Muhammad b. Amir Ghiyath al-Din b. Amir Sabiq Abarquhi, 5 Rabiʿ II, 939	two pairs of cypress flank a tree beneath a trilobial arch
957 (1550)	YZD.06	black-line	Hamaneh	verses	
959 (1551)	YZD.03	black-line	portal of bath, Ardakan	work of Haydar b. Husayn al-Ardakani	pair of peacocks flanking a lobed medallion inside a polylobed arch, flanked by two pairs of cypress; interlacing palmette borders
960 (1553)	YZD.01	black-line	Masjid-i Jamiʿ of Haftador	tomb of Mawlana Shah Husayn Haftadori; Twelve Imams; Qur'anic verses and Hadith; work of Haydar b. Husayn al-Ardakani	mosque lamp under polylobed arch, flanked by two pairs of cypress
c. 960 (c.1553)	YZD.02	black-line	Masjid-i Jamiʿ of Haftador	Twelve Imams (scribe & date missing); Qur'an IV:78	mosque lamp under polylobed arch
967 (1560)	YZD.05	black-line	shrine, Hamaneh	waqf of Fatimah Sultan	two pairs of cypress flank a tree
1009 Ramadan (Feb.-Mar. 1601)	V&A.54	B&W		tomb of Shaykh Ahmad Mafnabadi	turban (Mar. 1601), Qur'an stand, pencase
1028 (1619)	BER.02	B&W		tomb of ra'is Murshid Quli b. Shaykh Ahmad Mafnabadi	deer in mountains
1037 (1627)	V&A.51	polychrome slips		tomb of Mahdi-quli b. ghulam Ali Mafnabadi	sun with face; two square mats (?)
1032 (1623)	IRB.18	black-line		tomb of ʿAla' al-Din b. Yaʿqub	(top missing) arabesque scrolls
1050 (1641)	IMA.01	black-line		tomb of Husayn Khan b. Dhu'l-Faqar Bek Shamlu	turban, Qur'an stand, weapons
1052 (1643)	V&A.53	black-line		tomb of Malik son of Husayn	turban, Qur'an stand, sinuous tree, unidentified instruments (scissors?)

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Date	Project no.	Dec. type	Site	Inscription	Imagery
1083 (1672–3)	V&A.52	black-line		tomb of? (Khunra…son of the ra'is Murtaza?)	comb, brush, pins, flowering plant
1085 (1674–5)	YZD.04	black-line?	shrine of Zayn al-Din Ali Khamush, Nadushan	tomb of Salih	youth seated on cushion among flowers
1088 (1677–8)	YZD.07	B&W?	shrine of Shahzadeh Qasim, Saghand	tomb of Muhammad Taqi	man in turban seated on cushion amid flowers (painted in outline style)

Appendix B

Concordance: Safavid Ceramics Project Numbers

Note: Full information about "Collection" references will be found in the list of "Collections Studied by the Safavid Ceramics Project at the Royal Ontario Museum" in the formatter of this book.

ROM project numbers refer to objects in the Catalogue of this book and are omitted from this Concordance, with the exception of sherds.

"References" refers the reader to illustrations found in the works cited in the Bibliography. Figures in Bold appear in this volume.

Abbreviations:

B&W	blue-and-white
BK	black
CB	cobalt blue
SMPK	Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
T&Bp	turquoise-and-black painting

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
AMS.01	Rijksmuseum		dish	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Lane 1957, pl.66
ANV.01	Anavian		dish	Polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, Dec 9, 1977, no. 88
ANV.03	Anavian	#72	dish	B&W/ black-line	none	
ARD.06	Site museum		sherd	B&W	Mashhad I petrofabric	
ARD.11	Site museum		sherd	black-line	BK seal/ Mashhad Ipetrofabric	
ARD.12	Site museum	"38"	sherd	B&W	Tabriz (fine) petrofabric	
ASH.01	Ashmolean	1956.135	dish	B&W incised	unknown	**Fig. 6.11;** Fehérvári 1973, no.186
ASH.03	Ashmolean	1978.2292	dish base	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_013

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
ASH.04	Ashmolean	1978.1540	dish	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahanpetrofabric	**Fig. 4.4;** Ashmolean 1981, no. 340
ASH.07	Ashmolean	1978.1722	spit-toon	black-line	none	Ashmolean 1981, no. 344
ASH.09	Ashmolean	1978.1778	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Ashmolean 1981, no. 346
ASH.10	Ashmolean	1978.2167	dish	black-line	BK seal/Kirman petrofabric	**Figs. 2.43a&b, 6.1**; Ashmolean 1981, no. 347
ASH.11	Ashmolean	1978.2168	dish	B&W	CB tassel (3)	**Fig. 3.49;** Ashmolean 1981, no. 348
ASH.13	Ashmolean	X1213	spit-toon?	black-line	BK seal/Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 2.36a&b**; Whitman 1978, fig.202
ASH.14	Ashmolean	1978.1784	dish	black-line	BK seal	Whitman 1978, fig. 251
ASH.15	Ashmolean	1978.2166	dish	B&W	CB tassel (3)	**Fig. 2.59**
ASH.16	Ashmolean	Barnett loan	dish	B&W	CB tassel (3)	
ASH.17	Ashmolean	1978.2265	dish	B&W	CB tassels	
ASH.18	Ashmolean	X 3071	bowl	black-line	BK seal	
ASH.19	Ashmolean	1978.1777	bowl	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 2.52, 3.14**
ASH.20	Ashmolean	1978.1695	bottle	black-line	none/ Mashhad I petrofabric	Golombek 2011, fig. 8.10
ASH.21	Ashmolean	1978.1707	tulip vase	black-line	BK seal/ Mashhad I petrofabric	**Fig. 3.3**
ASH.22	Ashmolean	1978.1696	bottle	black-line	Mashhad I petrofabric	
ASH.24	Ashmolean	1956.53	dish	T&Bp		Fehérvári 1973, no.169
ASH.29	Ashmolean	1978.1484	dish	B&W	unknown	**Fig. 2.09**; Allan 1991, pl.31; GMB 1996, #OA.2, pl. 26
ASH.39	Ashmolean	1978.1709	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	Kirman petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
ASH.40	Ashmolean	1978.1605	dish	B&W, black-line		GMB 1996, #OA.6, pl. 49
ASH.42	Ashmolean	1978.1604	dish	B&W, black-line		GMB 1996, #OA.5
BAH.593	Michael Roaf		sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.3**
BAH.929	Michael Roaf		sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
BAH.944	Michael Roaf		sherd	B&W/ polychrome	Kirman petrofabric	**Figs. 5.5, 5.6**
BAR.02	E. Barlow		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Fehérvári 1973, no. 175
BAR.04	T. Barlow		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Fehérvári 1973, no. 178
BAR.05	Lady Barlow		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Fehérvári 1973, no. 177
BAR.06	D. Barlow		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Fehérvári 1973, no. 176
BCH.01	Bachstitz		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 792A .
BER.01	Staatliche:B	I.4231	salt-dish	black-line	BK seal	Lane 1957, pl. 78A
BER.04	Staatliche:D	I.45/68	dish	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel (3)	**Fig. 2.68**; SMPK 1979, no. 624
BER.06	Staatliche:D	I.4194	qalyan	black-line		SMPK 1979, no. 619
BER.09	Staatliche:D	I.95/63	jar	black-line	unknown	SMPK 1986, no. 297
BER.12	Staatliche:D	I.4205	bowl	lustre-painted	none	SMPK 1979, no. 606
BER.14	Staatliche:D	I.4192	dish	lustre-painted	CB character	
BER.15	Staatliche:D	I.89.118	bowl	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel (4)	SMPK 1979, no. 607.
BER.17	Staatliche:B	I.2/67a	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
BER.20	Staatliche:D	I.4587	tile	B&W/ polychrome		
BER.21	Staatliche:B	I.7637	dish	B&W	unknown	
BER.22	Staatliche:B	I.5539	tile	B&W	Isfahan petrofabric	
BER.23	Staatliche:B	I.5883b	tile	B&W	Isfahan petrofabric	
BER.25	Staatliche:B	86.1137	bowl	B&W	none	**Fig. 3.58**
BER.26	Staatliche:B	I4210	dish	B&W	CB seal	SMPK 1986, no. 291
BER.31	Staatliche:B	I1292	base stand	black-line		**Fig. 2.19;** Lane 1957, pl. 53A; Ferrier 1989, p.266; Canby 1999, fig.66
BER.32	Staatliche:B	72.766	bottle	B&W	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.85**
BER.40	Staatliche B	I.5688	bowl	B&W, black-line		Grube 1974, fig. 17; GMB 1996, #BI.4
BER.41	Staatliche B	I.5690	bowl	B&W, black-line		GMB1996, #BI.5
BKN.02	Brooklyn	11.33	dish	B&W leaf-curl	unknown	
BKN.03	Brooklyn	70.98.3	dish	B&W	none	
BKN.05	Brooklyn	34.6024	bottle	black-line	unknown	**Figs. 2.66, 9.1–3**
BLG.01	Bandar-e Lengeh (Ashmolean)	Williamson, A.18.2	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.18**
BLG.02	Bandar-e Lengeh (Ashmolean)	Williamson, A.7	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.19**
BLG.04	Bandar-e Lengeh (Ashmolean)	Williamson, A.18.3	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.20**
BLG.05	Bandar-e Lengeh (Ashmolean)	Williamson, A.18.1	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.21**
BMS.08	British M.	Holdich survey	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
BMS.09	British M.	Holdich survey	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
BMS.10	British M.	Holdich survey	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
BMS.11	British M.	Holdich survey	sherd	B&W/ polychrome	Kirman petrofabric	
BMS.22	Holdich (British M.)	Holdich survey	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	
BRM.02	British M.	96.6-26.5	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassels	Lane 1957, pl. 72B; Crowe 1978b, pl.5d; Canby 1999, fig. 162
BRM.05	British M.	96.6.26.4	bowl	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.77a&b**
BRM.06	British M.	1983.308	dish	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Lane 1957, pl.60B; Canby 1999, fig. 147
BRM.07	British M.	G297	bowl	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	
BRM.08	British M.	1902.5-21.1	water pot	B&W	unknown	**Fig. 2.32;** Pope 1938, pl 785A; Canby 1999, fig. 105
BRM.09	British M.	1950.10-19.1	bottle	black-line	BK character (3)	**Fig. 2.33a–c;** Rogers 1983, no.154; Canby 1999, fig. 106
BRM.10	British M.	FB IS.10	dish	B&W curly-leaf	CB tassel	Fehervari 1968, no. 269
BRM.11	British M.	78.12-30.619	bottle	black-line	none	Rogers 1983, no. 155
BRM.12	British M.	78.12-30.618	bottle	black-line	CB tassel	Canby 1999, fig. 149
BRM.13	British M.	1910.5-11.2	qalyan	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl. 76B; Canby 1999, fig. 107

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
BRM.14	British M	78.12-30.620	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 1979-80, figs. 6 - 7
BRM.15	British M.	FB IS.11	bowl	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.23**; Lane 1957, pl. 74B; Rogers 1983, no. 159
BRM.16	British M.	1951.7-21.1	dish	B&W		Canby 1999, fig. 117
BRM.17	British M.	91.6-17.6	spit-toon	black-line	BK seal	
BRM.18	British M.	1950.5-22.1	jar	B&W	none	
BRM.20	British M.	90.5-17.13	qalyan	B&W/ polychrome		Hobson 1932, fig. 89; Fehérvári 1968, fig.293; Cooper, p.80; Canby 1999, fig. 134
BRM.23	British M.	1970.2-7.1	dish	slip-carved	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.73;** Rogers 1983, fig. 172, p. 134; Hayward 1976, no.399; Canby 1999, fig. 132
BRM.24	British M.	78.12-30.596	bottle	lustre-painted	none	Hobson 1932, fig.78, pl. XXIII
BRM.28	British M.	1904.6-30.1	dish	T&Bp		Hobson 1932, fig. 91, p. 76; Canby 1999, fig. 104
BRM.29	British M.	96.6-26.1	bottle	B&W	CB tassel	
BRM.42	British M.	G 352	bottle	lustre-painted	none	Pope 1938, pl.797E
BRM.30	British M.	78.12-60.616	bottle	B&W	none/Kirman petrofabric	
BRM.45	British M.	1970.2-72	dish	lustre-painted	none	Rogers 1983, no.180

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
BRM.47	British M.	OA + 739	ewer	monochrome incised	unknown	**Fig. 2.107;** Rogers 1983, no.174
BRM.48	British M.	87-6-17.1	ewer	monochrome incised	unknown	Rogers 1983, no.178
BRM.50	British M.	1970.2-7.3	bowl	lustre-painted	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.96a&b;** Canby 1999, fig. 163
BRM.52	British M.	94.2-19.1	dish	lustre-painted	CB seal w/ signature	**Fig. 2.92a&b**
BRM.55	British M.	G 366	dish	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.56	British M.	G 404	dish	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.58	British M.	1970.-7.23	dish	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.69	British M.	G 299	bowl	B&W/ slip-carved	none?	
BRM.71	British M.	78.12-30.625	bowl	B&W/ Slip-carved	none	
BRM.72	British M.	G 401	bowl	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.78	British M.	G 405	bowl	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.82	British M.	G 402	bowl	lustre-painted	leaf w/inscription	
BRM.85	British M.	G 383	por-inger	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.89	British M.	G 424	dish	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.95	British M.	G 434	bowl	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.97	British M.	G363	bowl	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.123	British M.	78.12-30.603	cup	lustre-painted	none	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
BRM.129	British M.	G 429	cup	lustre-painted	CB character	
BRM.136	British M.	78.12-30.606	cup	lustre-painted	none	**Fig. 2.102**
BRM.147	British M.	1970.2-7.32	jar	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.151	British M.	1970.2-7.29	ewer	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.155	British M.	G 345	tulip vase	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.156	British M.	FB Is.18	tulip vase	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.171	British M.	G440	spit-toon	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.176	British M.	G 386	spit-toon	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.179	British M.	1970.2-7.9	spit-toon	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.181	British M.	G 388	spit-toon	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.188	British M.	G 343	bottle	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.202	British M.	G 337	spit-toon	lustre-painted	none	
BRM.208	British M.	87.6-17.5	dish	B&W	CB character	
BRM.210	British M.	1942.4-14.3	dish	black-line	BK tassel	
BRM.212	British Muse	1965 7-29, 1	dish	B&W		GMB 1996, pl. 35
BRM.213	British Muse	1964.10-13,1	dish	B&W		Fehérvári 1968, pl. 266
CDC.01	C.L David	Isl.3	dish	T&Bp	unknown	Von Folsach 1990, fig. 168
CDC.10	C.L. David	4/1986	dish	B&W/ polychrome	unknown	**Fig. 2.82;** Von Folsach 1990, fig. 177; Von Folsach 2001, fig. 252

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
CKI.01	Kunstindustrimu-seet, Copenhagen	A 70/1908	dish	B&W		Whitman 1978, fig. 46; GMB 1996, #CK.1
CRL.02	Carswell		vase	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
CRW.01	Crowe	Isfahan survey	sherd	B&W	Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
CRW.02	Crowe	Isfahan survey	sherd	black-line	Isfahan petrofabric	
CRW.03	Crowe	Isfahan survey	sherd	Blk&W	Kirman petrofabric	
CRW.04	Crowe	Isfahan survey	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.4**
CRW.05	Crowe	Isfahan survey	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
CSI.01	Chehelsotun	67	bottle	black-painted	none	
CZA.01	Czartoryski	XIII-1685	bottle	Black-line	none	Gasiorowski 1964
DER.02	Derbent	D72-111	sherd	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	
DER.03	Derbent	D80-141	sherd	B&W	character?/ Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
DER.04	Derbent	D77-789	sherd	B&W	character?/ Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.8**
DER.05	Derbent	D73-20	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
DER.06	Derbent	D86-35	sherd	B&W	Mashhad I petrofabric	
DER.08	Derbent	D75-717	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
DER.09	Derbent	D79-31	sherd, base	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.9**
DER.10	Derbent	D75-700	sherd, bowl	B&W	Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
DER.11	Derbent	D74-88	sherd	B&W	Isfahan petrofabric	
DER.15	Derbent	D80-356	sherd	B&W	CB seal/ Mashhad II petrofabric	
DER.16	Derbent	D75-237	sherd	B&W	CB seal/ Mashhad II petrofabric	
DER.19	Derbent	D74-789	sherd	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.10**

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
DER.20	Derbent	D79-41	sherd	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.11**
ETT.01	Ettinghausen		dish sherd	B&W, black-line		**Fig. 2.17**
FMK.05	Frankfurt	13135	flask	monochrome moulded	unknown	Muller-Wiener 1996, no. 96
FMK.07	Frankfurt	V1	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.38;** Rogers 1983, fig. 17; Ferrier 1989, fig. 24; Muller-Wiener 1996, no. 87
FMK.09	Frankfurt	12949	dish	B&W		**Fig. 2.27;** Muller-Wiener 1996, no. 78
FMK.13	Frankfurt	12952	bowl	B&W		**Fig. 3.7**
FMK.17	Frankfurt	10576	bowl	B&W		**Fig. 3.26;** Muller-Wiener 1996, no. 90
FMK.18	Frankfurt	H. St. 15	dish	B&W		Muller-Wiener 1996, no. 91
FMK.19	Frankfurt	V 455	bottle	B&W	unknown	**Fig. 3.63;** Muller-Wiener 1996, no.93
FRE.08	Freer	03.229	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Atil 1973, pl. 89
FRE.12	Freer	06.14	bottle	monochrome	unknown	Atil 1973, pl.92
FRE.14	Freer	03.196	bottle	monochrome incised	unknown	Atil 1973, pl.96
FRE.18	Freer	SCT-10	sherd	Blk&W	Isfahan petrofabric	
FRE.19	Freer	SCT-11	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
FRE.20	Freer	FSC-P-4774	dish	B&W	Tabriz petrofabric	**Fig. 2.24a&b**

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
FZW.03	Fitzwilliam	C.485-1991	bottle	black-line	unknown	Sotheby's, London, Oct 15, 1986, no.178
FZW.07	Fitzwilliam	C.499-1991	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
FZW.08	Fitzwilliam	C.481-1991	dish	black-line	BK character (4)	
GUL.01	Gulbenkian	950	qalyan	black-line	mark (unknown)	**Fig. 1.7;** Gulbenkian 1972, no. 12
GUL.03	Gulbenkian	896	bottle	black-line	unknown	
HEL.01	Trousdale	Helmand survey TRK 66	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
HEL.02	Trousdale	Helmand survey	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
HGH.02	Haags	OCJ 10-1930	dish	B&W	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl. 297; GMB 1996, #HG.1
HON.02	Honolulu		dish	T&Bp	unknown	Honolulu 1974, no.85
HRM.06	Hermitage	VG 428	ewer	black-line	unknown	Atil 1990, no.99
HRM.07	Hermitage	VG 329	dish	T&Bp	unknown	Atil 1990, no.89
HRM.09	Hermitage	VG 2093	dish	B&W	CB tassels (4)	Atil 1990, no.97
HRM.12	Hermitage	VG 2354	bottle	monochrome moulded	unknown	Loukonine1996, no. 225; Rapoport 1972, fig.2
HRM.15	Hermitage	VG 345	bottle	B&W/ Polychrome	unknown	Loukonine 1996, no.229; Kverfel'dt 1947, pl.107, pl. XXI
HRM.18	Hermitage	VG 2316	dish	black-line?	unknown	State Hermitage Museum 1990, no.102
HRM.20	Hermitage	VG 2098	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.26;** GMB 1996, #PH.48, incorrectly cited as VG3698

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
HRM.21	Hermitage	VG 342	flask	monochrome moulded	none	**Fig. 2.50a&b**
HRM.22	Hermitage	VG 1327	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.25a&b**
HRM.23	Hermitage	VG 752	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.31a&b**
HRM.24	Hermitage	VG 751	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.15
HRM.25	Hermitage	VG 2100	dish sherd	B&W	none	
HRM.26	Hermitage	VG 2099	dish sherd	B&W	none	
HRM.27	Hermitage	VG 738	dish	B&W	none	Whitman 1978, fig. 133; GMB 1996, #PH.10
HRM.30	Hermitage	VG 755	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.31	Hermitage	VG 767	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.32	Hermitage	VG 782	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.35	Hermitage	VG 1094	dish	black-line	BK character	
HRM.36	Hermitage	VG 1062	dish sherd	B&W	CB character	
HRM.40	Hermitage	VG 474	dish	B&W	CB character	
HRM.41	Hermitage	VG 2176	dish	B&W	CB character	
HRM.42	Hermitage	VG 481	dish	B&W	CB tassel	
HRM.43	Hermitage	VG 2174	dish	B&W	CB character	
HRM.44	Hermitage	VG 419	dish	B&W leaf-curl	none	
HRM.48	Hermitage	VG 1093	dish	B&W	CB character	
HRM.49	Hermitage	VG 922	dish	black-line	BK character	
HRM.50	Hermitage	VG 946	qashqul	black-line	BK character	
HRM.51	Hermitage	VG 1058	dish	black-line	none	
HRM.54	Hermitage	VG 1967	dish	black-line	faint BK seal	
HRM.56	Hermitage	VG 1014	spit-toon	black-line	BK seal	
HRM.57	Hermitage	VG 425	spit-toon	black-line	characters	
HRM.58	Hermitage	VG 925	dish	black-line	BK characters (4)	**Fig. 3.19**
HRM.59	Hermitage	VG 2092	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.44**
HRM.68	Hermitage	VG 1077	dish sherd	B&W	CB tassel	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
HRM.71	Hermitage	VG 441	dish	B&W	CB seal	**Fig. 2.95**
HRM.73	Hermitage	VG 1020	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	CB seal	
HRM.78	Hermitage	VG 2310	dish	B&W	CB characters (4)	
HRM.79	Hermitage	VG 2089	dish	B&W	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.60**
HRM.80	Hermitage	VG 1962	dish	black-line	BK characters (9)	
HRM.84	Hermitage	VG 390	qalyan	black-line	CB seal	
HRM.91	Hermitage	VG 2608	bowl	lustre-painted	none	**Fig. 2.98a&b**
HRM.92	Hermitage	VG 1041	dish	lustre-painted	4 characters	
HRM.93	Hermitage	VG 351(?)	qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	
HRM.94	Hermitage	VG 352	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	
HRM.96	Hermitage	VG 561	dish	B&W incised	unknown	
HRM.100	Hermitage	VG 763	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.08a&b;** GMB 1996, #PH.18, pl. 65
HRM.103	Hermitage	VG 772	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.22
HRM.105	Hermitage	VG 778	dish	B&W	none	Whitman 1978, fig. 44; GMB 1996, #PH.24
HRM.106	Hermitage	VG 1061	sherd, base	B&W	Tabriz petrofabric	GMB 1996, #28
HRM.107	Hermitage	VG 2654	bowl	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.38, pl. 75
HRM.111	Hermitage	VG 787	bowl	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.26, pl. 45
HRM.117	Hermitage	VG 730	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.05;** GMB 1996, #PH.8, pl. 64

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
HRM.118	Hermitage	VG 726	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.7
HRM.119	Hermitage	VG 758	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.16
HRM.120	Hermitage	VG 769	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.121	Hermitage	VG 765	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.122	Hermitage	unrecorded	dish	T&Bp	none	GMB 1996, #PH.2
HRM.123	Hermitage	VG 2661	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.11**
HRM.124	Hermitage	VG 2392	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.04;** GMB 1996, #PH.35, pl. 68
HRM.125	Hermitage	VG 742	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.126	Hermitage	VG 749	dish	B&W	none	
HRM.128	Hermitage	VG 2286	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #PH.49, pl. 39
HRM.129	Hermitage	VG.2650	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 2.02a&b;** GMB 1996, #PH.37, pl. 56, col. pl. II
HRM.135	Hermitage	VG 2286	dish	B&W	Nishapur petrofabric	GMB 1996, #PH.32, pl. 39
HVD.01	Harvard/Sackler	352.1983	dish	B&W		**Fig. 2.10**
IRB.09	Iran Bastan	4365	vase	B&W	none	Godard 1937, fig. 153; Fehérvári 1970, p.140
ISF.01	Qumisheh (Isfahan)	Bahar workshop	vase	T&Bp	Isfahan petrofabric	
KEI.03	Keir	C46i	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 3.12;** Robinson 1988, no. C46i
KEI.04	Keir	C48i	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	Robinson 1988, no. C48i
KEI.05	Keir	C47	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 3.16;** Robinson 1988, no. C47
KEI.11	Keir	C68ia	spit-toon	black-line	none	Robinson 1988, no. C68ia

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
KEI.16	Keir	C73	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Robinson 1988, no. C73
KEI.17	Keir	C71	dish	black-line	none	Robinson 1988, no. C71
KEI.27	Keir	C66B	dish	B&W	tassel	Robinson 1988, no. C66B
KEI.28	Keir	C66c	dish	B&W	tassel	**Fig. 3.33**; Robinson 1988, no. C66c
KEI.31	Keir	C70	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 3.56**; Robinson 1988, no. C70
KEI.33	Keir	C74	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 3.57**; Robinson 1988, no. C74
KEI.36	Keir	C76B	dish	B&W	none	Robinson 1988, no. C76B
KEI.40	Keir	C50	dish	T&Bp	none	Robinson 1988, no. C50
KEI.41	Keir	C49	dish	T&Bp	none	Robinson 1988, no. C49;
KEI.43	Keir	C83ii	dish	lustre-painted	leaping hare	Robinson 1988, no. C83ii
KEI.53	Keir	C46iii	dish	B&W	none	Robinson 1988, no. C46iii
KEI.61	Keir		bowl	B&W, black-line	none	
KEI.62	Keir	C44i	dish	B&W	none	Robinson 1988, no. C44i; GMB 1996, #KL.7
KEL.01	Kelekian		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 793B
KHL.02	Khalili	POT.934	dish		none	GMB 1996, #KH.20
KHL.04	Khalili	POT.906	dish	B&W	none	GMB 1996, #KH.5
KIR.B53	ROM	Kirman	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
KIR.05	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.07	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.10	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	waster?	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.27**
KIR.12	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.18	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W/ waster?	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.28**
KIR.19	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W	CB tassel/ Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.27	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	monochrome slip-painted		**Fig. 5.32**
KIR.29	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	monochrome slip-painted	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.31	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W/ polychrome		**Fig. 5.31**
KIR.33	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.37	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.36	ROM	Kirman, *ab anbar*	sherd, base	black-line	BK seal/ Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.36**
KIR.41	ROM	Kirman B	sherd	B&W	CB seal/ Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.60	ROM	Kirman F	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.29**
KIR.62	ROM	Kirman F	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.75	ROM	Kirman D	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.35**
KIR.80	ROM	Kirman E	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.30**
KIR.102	ROM	Kirman J	sherd	B&W	CB tassel?/Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.210	ROM	Kirman I	sherd	T&Bp	Mashhad I petrofabric	
KIR.215	ROM	Kirman I	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.235	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.240	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	B&W incised	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.243	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
KIR.244	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	B&W	Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
KIR.245	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.247	ROM	Kirman L	sherd	B&W/ polychrome	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.270	ROM	Kirman M	tile	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.33**
KIR.271	ROM	Kirman M	sherd	polychrome (?)	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.287	ROM	Kirman O	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.295	ROM	Kirman C	sherd, base	black-line	Mashhad II petrofabric	
KIR.348	ROM	Kirman N	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.350	ROM	Kirman N	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.351	ROM	Kirman N	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.352	ROM	Kirman D	clay trivet			**Fig. 5.25**
KIR.355	ROM	Kirman N	sherd	B&W	CB character/Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.34**
KIR.500	ROM	Kirman D	sherd	waster	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.24**
KIR.502	ROM	Kirman D	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.509	ROM	Kirman	sherd, waster (?)	monochrome	CB tassel	**Fig. 5.26**
KIR.516	ROM	Kirman	base of bowl	B&W	CB seal or character/ Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.	ROM	Kirman	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.	ROM	Kirman	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.	ROM	Kirman	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	
KIR.	ROM	Kirman	sherd		Kirman petrofabric	
KUW.01	Kuwait	LNS101C	dish	black-line	CB tassel (4)	**Fig. 2.57, 6.3**; Atil 1990, no. 87

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
KUW.04	Kuwait	LNS 369c	dish	B&W	unknown	Atil 1991, no.86
LAC.01	LACMA	M 73.5.380	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 2.62;** Pal 1973, no. 114 .
LAC.03	LACMA	M73.5.244	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
LOU.03	Louvre	3868-1895	dish	lustre-painted	unknown	Grand Palais 1977, no.618; Soustiel 1985, no.332
LOU.07	Louvre	3340-1893	tile	polychrome-painted	unknown	**Fig. 1.3;** Grand Palais 1977, no.616
LOU.12	Louvre		dish	black-line	none	
LOU.14	Louvre		spit-toon	monochrome incised	unknown	
LOU.19	Louvre	MAO 710	dish	B&W	none	Soustiel 1985, pl. 280; GMB 1996, #PL.1
MAD.08	M. des A.D.	8181-1895	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Grand Palais 1977, no.646
MAD.09	M. des A.D.		dish	B&W	unknown	Pope 1938, pl.799B
MAD.16	M. des A.D.	D 27.890	dish	B&W	unknown	Orangerie 1971, no.115
MAG.01	Magdalen	H15	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
MAG.02	Magdalen	H7	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 4.9**
MAG.03	Magdalen	None	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 6.17**
MAG.04	Magdalen	H9	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
MAG.05	Magdalen	H16	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
MAG.07	Magdalen	None	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 6.14**

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
MAG.10	Magdalen	S3	qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	**Fig. 2.78**
MAG.13	Magdalen	H8	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 4.7**
MAG.14	Magdalen	E22	bowl	polychrome slip-painted	none	
MAG.15	Magdalen	S8	dish	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	
MAK.05	Austria	7500 Or .790	dish	black-line	CB seal	**Fig. 3.32**
MBA.01	Montreal	939.Dp22	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Salam-Liebich 1983, no. 31
MDN.15	Madina	C0343	dish	B&W	none	
MDN.16	Madina	C0183	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MDN.19	Madina	C0312	qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	
MDN.17	Madina	C0281	dish	black-line	BK characters	
MDT.01	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd	B&W	Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
MDT.04	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd, base	black-line	Mashhad II petrofabric	
MDT.05	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd	black-line	Mashhad II petrofabric	
MDT.06	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd	black-line	Mashhad II petrofabric	
MDT.12	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd	black-line	Mashhad II petrofabric	
MDT.13	ROM	Mahidasht survey	sherd	Blk&W/ polychrome	Mashhad II petrofabric	
MIN.02	Minassian		dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 3.20**
MIN.05	Minassian		dish	B&W Incised	none	**Fig. 4.11**
MIN.08	Minassian		dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
MMA.01	MMA	17.120.60	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
MMA.02	MMA	30.95.170	dish	T&Bp	none	*MMA Bulletin* 26, 1931:31, fig. 6
MMA.03	MMA	14.40.733	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Figs. 2.49, 4.10**
MMA.07	MMA	14.64.2	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Wilkinson 1963, pl.86
MMA.10	MMA	91.1.129	dish	B&W/ polychrome	BK characters (3)	**Fig. 2.80**; Pope 1938, pl. 800B
MMA.11	MMA	14.64.3	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	**Figs. 2.81, 3.34**
MMA.13	MMA	91.1.92	dish	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Jenkins 1983, no.56; Sotheby's, London, Apr. 24, 1991, no.955
MMA.14	MMA	65.109.2	dish	B&W	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.8**
MMA.17	MMA	57.61.9	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	**Fig. 4.8**; Collection Homberg, Sale Catalogue, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 11-16 May, 1908, no. 252.
MMA.20	MMA	X.33	dish	black-line	BK characters	**Fig. 3.18**
MMA.21	MMA	64.109	bowl	black-line	BK characters	**Fig. 3.30;** Grube 1965, figs 34-35
MMA.25	MMA	66.107.2	dish	B&W	CB characters	**Fig. 3.60**
MMA.26	MMA	57.61.10	dish	T&Bp	none	**Figs. 2.22a&b, 3.11;** Dimand 1931, no.111
MMA.29	MMA		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 794A
MMA.30	MMA	17.120.56	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Jenkins 1983, no. 54
MMA.31	MMA	X.58	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 6.7**; Wilkinson 1963, pl. 81

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
MMA.32	MMA	17.120.77	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.33	MMA	17.120.83	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.34	MMA	17.120.59	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.37	MMA	17.120.93	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.38	MMA	17.120.64	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.39	MMA	17.120.67	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 6.10**
MMA.40	MMA	17.120.89	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 4.6**
MMA.41	MMA	17.120.51	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.42	MMA	17.120.69	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.43	MMA	17.120.111	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.44	MMA	20.120.150	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.45	MMA	17.120.68	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.46	MMA	17.120.97	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.47	MMA	17.120.62	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.48	MMA	17.120.91	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.50	MMA	17.120.94	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.51	MMA	17.120.78	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.53	MMA	57.61.3	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
MMA.55	MMA	17.120.112	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.56	MMA	17.120.57	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.57	MMA	17.120.98	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 4.5**
MMA.58	MMA	17.120.79	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	
MMA.67	MMA	68.42	dish	B&W	unknown	**Fig. 2.16a&b;** Jenkins 1983, no.52
MMA.68	MMA	11.137.1	bowl	monochrome incised	CB seal	Wilkinson 1963, pl.98
MMA.70	MMA	1967.67.108	bowl	B&W	CB seal	Carswell 1985, fig. 83
MMA.71	MMA	40.170.628	sherd	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.7**
MMA.73	MMA	30.95.27	dish	B&W	none	
MMA.74	MMA	08.157.3	dish	B&W	none	Whitman 1978, fig. 49; GMB 1996, #NM.1
MSH.07	Miras-i Farhangi, Mashhad	XVIB	sherd	black-line	BK characters	
NAG.03	University of Tokyo	Nagasaki, Dejima excavations	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
NAG.06	University of Tokyo	Nagasaki, Dejima excavations	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	
NAG.07	University of Tokyo	Nagasaki, Dejima excavations	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	
NMS.01	National Museum of Scotland		bottle	B&W/ polychrome	unknown	Scarce 1996:71
NSA.01	ROM	Nisa excavations	sherd		Mashhad II petrofabric	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
NSA.03	ROM	Nisa excavations	sherd		Mashhad II petrofabric	
NSA.04	ROM	Nisa excavations	sherd		Mashhad II petrofabric	
NSA.06	ROM	Nisa excavations	sherd		Mashhad II petrofabric	
PNN.01	University of Pennsylvania, Museum	Damghan, DG.7.47	sherd	B&W	Mashhad (?) III petrofabric	
QAZ.01	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	
QAZ.02	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	
QAZ.03	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin		polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	**Fig. 5.37**
QAZ.04	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin		polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	
QAZ.05	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin		polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	**Fig. 5.38**
QAZ.06	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin		polychrome slip-painted	Qazvin petrofabric	
QAZ.12	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin	cup	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	
QAZ.13	Lushey-Schmeisser	Qazvin		polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	**Fig. 13**
ROM Nos.	See Catalogue of the Royal Ontario Museum in Part III					
ROM.92G	ROM	Ghubayra excavations	sherd	black-line	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 14**
RZA.01	Reza Abbasi		dish	B&W	CB rabbit	
RZA.02	Reza Abbasi		dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 2.55**
RZA.05	Reza Abbasi		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, May 4, 1974, no.96
SAC.01	Sackler	75.7.24	dish	black-line	none	Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, Mar. 14, 1975, no. 146

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
SAC.02	Sackler	75.7.23	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, March 14, 1975, no. 141
SAF.02	Safani		dish	B&W	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl.329; Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, Dec. 18, 1970, no.151 (ex-Kevorkian Collection)
SAM.01	Seattle	38.149	dish	T&Bp	unknown	Seattle 1977, fig.41
SEV.01	Sevres	22693	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl. 289
SEV.02	Sevres	8388	dish	B&W	CB seal	Soustiel 1985, pl. 307
SEV.04	Sevres	5354	bottle	green ware	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl. 306
SEV.14	Sevres	MNC 7824	qalyan	B&W	unknown	
SEV.15	Sevres	MNC 5598	kendi	B&W	unknown	
SMQ.01	Samarqand Institute of Archaeology		sherd, base	B&W	Mashhad II petrofabric	**Fig. 5.12**
SMQ.02			sherd	lustre-painted	Isfahan	
STK.01	Stoke	1950.P.301	qalyan	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 2.44**; Savage, et.al., 1974:151
STK.02	Stoke	1932.P.24	spit-toon	black-line	BK characters (4)	
STK.03	Stoke	1956.P.39	kashk-oul	black-line	BK character	
STK.04	Stoke	1950.P.278	bowl	B&W	double CB circles	
STK.05	Stoke	1935.P.383	bowl	B&W	CB seal	
STK.06	Stoke	1935.P.371	dish	B&W	none	
STK.07	Stoke	1935.P.385	dish	B&W/leaf-curl	CB tassels (3)	
STK.10	Stoke	1950.P.289	spit-toon	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
STK.12	Stoke	1953.P.26	dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	
STK.13	Stoke	1950.P.267	dish	B&W	BK seal	
STK.27	Stoke	1950.P.282	bowl	black-line	none	
STK.28	Stoke	1950.P.272	dish	B&W	CB tassel	
STK.29	Stoke	1950.P.259	dish	black-line	BK tassels (3)	
STK.30	Stoke	1950.P.271	dish	B&W	CB tassel	
STK.32	Stoke	1950.P.258	dish	B&W	none	**Fig. 3.45**
STK.33	Stoke	1950.P.285	dish	B&W	CB tassel	
STK.34	Stoke	1950.P.260	dish	B&W	none	
STK.35	Stoke	1950.P.262	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Whitman 1988, fig. 30
STK.36	Stoke	1950.P.265	dish	black-line	BK seal	
STK.37	Stoke	1950.P.264	dish	B&W	CB seal	
STK.39	Stoke	1935.P.384	dish	black-line	none	
STK.40	Stoke	1950.P.280	dish	slip-painted	CB tassel	
STK.42	Stoke	1950.P.274	dish	B&W	CB character	
STK.43	Stoke	1950.P.261	dish	black-line	BK seal	
STK.46	Stoke	1943.P.575	qalyan	black-line	BK character (?)	
STK.50	Stoke	1935.P.381	dish	B&W	CB characters (4)	
STK.53	Stoke	1935.P.380	dish	B&W/ leaf-curl	CB tassel	
STK.54	Stoke	1950.P.277	bowl	B&W	CB character	
STK.58	Stoke	1950.P.276	bowl	black-line	BK seal	
STK.60	Stoke	1935.P.377	bowl	B&W	none	
STK.61	Stoke	1935.P.373	bowl	black-line	BK seal	
STK.62	Stoke	1935.P.382	bowl	black-line	BK seal	
STK.63	Stoke	1950.P.300	qalyan	B&W	CB tassel	
STK.71	Stoke	1950.P.269	dish	B&W/ polychrome	none	
STK.72	Stoke	1950.P.270	dish	B&W/ polychrome	none	
SUS.04	Louvre	Susa excavations	dish	B&W	none	
TBG.01	Tabbagh		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 793A

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
TBG.02	Tabbagh		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 789
TOK.01	Tokyo, M.E.C.	75	dish	B&W	none; dated by inscription	**Fig. 2.06a&b;** Golombek and Mason 1995; GMB 1996, #TY.1, pl. 47
TRM.02	Tareq Rajab	CER-628-TSR	dish	T&Bp	unknown	Fehérvári 1998, p. 75, no. 63
TRM.03	Tareq Rajab	CER-629-TSR	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Fehérvári 1998, p.75, no.64
TRM.05	Tareq Rajab	CER-765-TSR	bowl	B&W	unknown	**Fig. 3.53;** Fehérvári 1998, p.79, no.66
TRO.01	Troesch		dish	black-line	BK seal	Sotheby's, London, Oct. 12, 1981, no. 176; Rinaldi 1989, no. 271
V&A.01	V&A	C11-1952	dish	polychrome painted	unknown	**Fig. 2.14;** Lane 1957, pl. 53B; Cooper 1988, p.79
V&A.02	V&A	1454-1904	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 2.63;** Lane 1957, pl. 55A
V&A.04	V&A	819-1909	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Pope 1938, pl. 794B
V&A.05	V&A	818-1904	dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Lane 1957, pl. 54B ; Fehérvári 1998, p.98, fig.289
V&A.12	V&A	420-1878	qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	unknown	**Fig. 2.79;** Lane1957, colouir pl. D
V&A.13	V&A	1544-1903	jar	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl.80A ; Crowe 2002, fig. 89

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.14	V&A	1152-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Lane 1957, pl. 80B; Rinaldi 1989, pl. 270; Crowe 1979-80, no.18; Crowe 2002, fig. 43
V&A.15	V&A	1151-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Lane 1957, pl.79B; Crowe 2002, fig. 40
V&A.17	V&A	692-1902	jar	carpet flower	none	Lane 1957, pl.68; Crowe 2002, fig. 248
V&A.18	V&A	2811-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	**Fig. 3.52**; Crowe 1979-80, pl. 9,10; Crowe 2002, fig. 146
V&A.19	V&A	891-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassels (4)	Crowe 1979-80, p. 28, no. 20; Crowe 2002, fig. 166
V&A.21	V&A	1008-1876	dish	black-line	BK square	**Fig. 3.6**; Rogers 1983, no.157; Crowe 2002, fig. 12
V&A.23	V&A	2815-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 280
V&A.24	V&A	C1974.1910	dish	black-line	BK tassels (3)	Rogers 1983, no.164; Lane 1957, pl.81B; Crowe 2002, fig. 279
V&A.25	V&A	618-1889	spouted pot	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl.75A; Crowe 2002, fig. 78

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.26	V&A	455-1878	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.48**; Crowe, 1979–80, p. 23, no.15; Crowe 2002, fig. 62
V&A.27	V&A	447-1878	dish	B&W/ polychrome	BK character	Lane 1957, pl. 61B, colour pl. D
V&A.28	V&A	1223&A-1876	jar	carpet flower	none	Lane 1957, pl.67; Crowe 2002, fig. 516
V&A.29	V&A	458-1878	dish	black-line	CB seal	**Fig. 3.1;** Crowe 2002, fig. 10
V&A.34	V&A	608-1889	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 168
V&A.32	V&A	978-1886	bottle	lustre-painted	unknown	
V&A.37	V&A	2810-1876	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 15
V&A.38	V&A	1136-1876	dish	black-line	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 21
V&A.39	V&A	1012-1876	dish	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 13
V&A.40	V&A	2911-1876	bowl	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 63
V&A.41	V&A	981-1886	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	**Fig. 3.31;** Crowe 2002, fig. 150
V&A.47	V&A	2904-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.40;** Lane 1957, pl.81A; Crowe 2002, fig. 64
V&A.48	V&A	1082-1883	tulip vase	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 106
V&A.49	V&A	438-1887	dish	black-line	BK seal	Rogers 1983, no.165; Crowe 2002, fig. 139
V&A.51	V&A	545-1878	tile	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 2.48**

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.52	V&A	513-1888	tile	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 390
V&A.53	V&A	1822-1876	tile	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 273B
V&A.54	V&A	544-1878	tile	B&W Incised	unknown	
V&A.55	V&A	931-1886	dish	black-line	CB tassels (3)	Ettinghausen 1935, fig.16; Crowe (Enquiry) 1978, pl. 4d,e; Crowe 2002, fig. 274
V&A.56	V&A	C.592-1889	kendi	vlack-line	none	Lane 1957, pl.79; Rinaldi 1989, fig. 272; Crowe 2002, fig. 111
V&A.57	V&A	616-1889	qalyan	monochrome slip-painted	unknown	**Fig. 2.72;** Lane 1957, pl.88B; Crowe 2002, fig. 104
V&A.59	V&A	2800-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Rogers 1983, no. 162; Crowe 2002, fig. 17
V&A.60	V&A	2897-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Rogers,1983, no. 166A (photo nos. are reversed); Crowe 2002, fig. 45
V&A.62	V&A	1099-1876	dish	B&W	CB characters (4)	**Fig. 3.29;** Lane 1957, pl.69B
V&A.63	V&A	453-1878	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.27;** Lane 1957, pl. 77B; Crowe 2002, fig. 123
V&A.64	V&A	666-1889	dish	black-line	seal	Lane 1957, pl. 76C; Crowe 2002, fig. 37

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.65	V&A	1006-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters (4)	Lane, 1957, pl. 78B; Crowe 2002, fig. 31
V&A.66	V&A	991-1876	bottle	black-line	none	Rogers 1983, no. 153; Crowe 2002, fig. 80
V&A.67	V&A	2898-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Rogers 1983, no. 160; Crowe 2002, fig. 77
V&A.69	V&A	2769-1876	dish	black-line	BK character	Lane 1957, pl. 82B; Crowe 2002, fig. 297
V&A.70	V&A	1225-1876	qalyan	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl. 76A; Crowe 2002, fig. 247
V&A.73	V&A	1005-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	**Fig. 2.56;** Crowe 1978, figs. 2c, 2f, 3a; Crowe 2002, fig. 11
V&A.74	V&A	1140-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Rogers 1983: no. 158; Crowe 1978, fig. 2e; Crowe 2002, fig. 9
V&A.75	V&A	452-1878	dish	black-line	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.43**; Whitman 1978, fig. 18; Crowe 2002, fig. 28
V&A.76	V&A	419-1874	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.46**; Crowe 2002, fig. 23
V&A.77	V&A	454-1878	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 122
V&A.78	V&A	244-1884	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.41**; Crowe 2002, fig. 35
V&A.79	V&A	245-1884	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 22
V&A.81	V&A	1141-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 36

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.82	V&A	2804-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 54
V&A.83	V&A	243-1884	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 24
V&A.84	V&A	1451-1876	bowl	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 73
V&A.85	V&A	1843-1876	bowl	black-line	seal	**Fig. 3.28a&b;** Crowe 2002, fig. 210
V&A.86	V&A	2902-1876	bowl	black-line	seal	**Fig. 3.51**; Crowe 2002, fig. 74
V&A.87	V&A	1476-1904	bottle	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 376
V&A.89	V&A	1109-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.15;** Crowe 1979-80, Fig. 12; Crowe 2002, fig. 129
V&A.90	V&A	992-1876	jar	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 249
V&A.91	V&A	2793-1876	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 131
V&A.93	V&A	881-1876	qalyan	black-line	BK characters (2)	Crowe 2002, fig. 246
V&A.94	V&A	998-1876	qalyan	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 113
V&A.95	V&A	1842-1876	jar	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 91
V&A.96	V&A	912-1876	jar	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 99
V&A.97	V&A	201-1884	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 57
V&A.98	V&A	482-1878	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 136
V&A.99	V&A	1107-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters	Crowe 2002, fig. 137
V&A.100	V&A	629-1889	jar	Black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 263

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.101	V&A	1113-1876	jar	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 102
V&A.102	V&A	628-1889	jar	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 103
V&A.104	V&A	c1971-1910	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 14
V&A.106	V&A	483-1878	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 30
V&A.107	V&A	880-1876	bottle	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 269
V&A.108	V&A	886-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 222
V&A.109	V&A	877-1876	bottle	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.35;** Crowe 2002, fig. 377
V&A.110	V&A	646-1889	jar	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 101
V&A.111	V&A	2892-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 218
V&A.112	V&A	c.1958-1910	qalyan	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 116
V&A.113	V&A	429-1878	qalyan	black-line	BK tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 119
V&A.115	V&A	1465-1876	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 130
V&A.116	V&A	2845-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 70
V&A.117	V&A	460-1888	sherd	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 121
V&A.118	V&A	2830-1876	bowl	black-line	BK character	Crowe 2002, fig. 365
V&A.119	V&A	1000-1876	qalyan	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 1995, fig. 4, p. 26; Crowe 2002, fig. 114
V&A.120	V&A	727-1888	tulip vase	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 108

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.121	V&A	1004-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters (4)	Crowe 1995, fig. 2; Crowe 2000, fig. 19; Crowe 2002, fig. 254
V&A.122	V&A	749-1900	bottle	black-line	BK motif (?)	Crowe 2002, fig. 270
V&A.123	V&A	235-1884	jar	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 96
V&A.124	V&A	599-1889	dish	B&W	CB seal	**Figs. 2.37a&b;** Crowe 2002, fig. 18
V&A.126	V&A	1112-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 363
V&A.127	V&A	916-1876	bowl	B&W	CB seal	**Figs. 3.17a&b;** Crowe 2002, fig. 220
V&A.129	V&A	1251-1876	dish	B&W	CB character	Crowe 2002, fig. 413
V&A.130	V&A	2692F-1876	dish	B&W	CB character	Crowe 2002, fig. 416
V&A.132	V&A	1303-1876	bowl	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 471
V&A.133	V&A	1118-1876	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 402
V&A.134	V&A	C.1969-1910	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 409
V&A.136	V&A	425-1874	dish	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 397
V&A.141	V&A	622-1889	vase/ goblet	black-line	character?	Crowe 2002, fig. 517
V&A.143	V&A	451-1878	dish	black-line	BK tassel	Whitman 1988, fig 27 (drawing of tondo); Lane 1957, mark no. 45; Crowe (2002), fig. 27

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.145	V&A	467-1874	ewer	B&W leaf-curl	none	**Fig. 2.**84; Crowe 2002, fig. 79
V&A.147	V&A	443-1878	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 147
V&A.148	V&A	1154-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe (2002) fig. 51
V&A.149	V&A	1474-1876	bowl	B&W leaf-curl	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 149
V&A.151	V&A	2809-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 155
V&A.152	V&A	1222-1876	tulip vase	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 110
V&A.153	V&A	1188-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 179
V&A.155	V&A	2653-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 178
V&A.158	V&A	408-1874	dish	black-line	BK characters	Crowe 2002, fig. 16
V&A.159	V&A	887-1876	dish	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 41
V&A.160	V&A	1619-1876	jar	B&W	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 255
V&A.163	V&A	1273-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	**Fig. 2.55;** Rogers 1983, no. 156; Crowe 1979-80, p.29, no.8; Crowe 2002, fig. 154
V&A.164	V&A	1224-1876	vase	B&W	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.35;** Crowe 2002, fig. 94
V&A.166	V&A	999-1883	dish	black-line	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.42**; Crowe 2002, fig. 61
V&A.167	V&A	1088-1876	dish	B&W	CB (reign mark?)	Crowe 2002, fig. 29
V&A.168	V&A	1103-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 26

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.169	V&A	2446-1876	jar	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl.82; Crowe 2002, fig. 90
V&A.171	V&A	2728-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.10;** Crowe 2002, fig. 156
V&A.172	V&A	12-1897	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 175
V&A.173	V&A	437-1887	qalyan	black-line	inscription	Crowe 2002, fig. 381
V&A.174	V&A	1272-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 153
V&A.177	V&A	407-1874	dish	BK&W	BK tassel	Rogers 1983, no.190; Crowe 2002, fig. 345
V&A.180	V&A	1967-1910	dish	black-line	none	Lane 1957, pl.83B; Crowe 2002, fig. 410
V&A.185	V&A	221–227-1923	tile	polychrome slip-painted	none	Lane 1960, pl. 10A
V&A.194	V&A	613-1889	bottle	B&W/ polychrome	unknown	Pope, 1938, pl. 801B
V&A.196	V&A	2719-1876	dish	B&W	tassel	Crowe 1995 p.25 fig.7l; Crowe 2002, fig. 133
V&A.197	V&A	2782-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 1979-80, fig.13; Crowe 2002, fig. 288
V&A.198	V&A	167-1884	dish	B&W	CB character marks (4)	Crowe 1979-80, pl.14; Crowe 2002, fig. 308
V&A.200	V&A	1031-1883	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Rogers 1983, no.168; Crowe 2002, fig. 151
V&A.201	V&A	878-1903	dish	B&W	CB seal	**Figs. 6.2a&b**; Lane 1957, pl.65B; Crowe 2002, fig. 138

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.202	V&A	1173-1876	jar	B&W	none	Lane 1957, pl.65c
V&A.204	V&A	1417-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Lane 1957, pl.70A; Crowe 2002, fig. 183
V&A.205	V&A	595-1889	dish	B&W	CB seal	Lane 1957, pl.71A; Crowe 2002, fig. 204
V&A.206	V&A	213-1884	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Lane 1957, pl.71B; Crowe 2002, fig. 53
V&A.208	V&A	1292-1876	ewer	monochrome incised	unknown	Rogers 1983, no. 175
V&A.215	V&A	1300-1876	Jug	monochrome moulded	none	Lane 1957, pl. 93C
V&A.217	V&A	2597-1876	Jug	monochrome incised	none	Lane 1957, pl. 98A
V&A.218	V&A		Dish	monochrome incised	none	Lane 1957, pl. 99A
V&A.219	V&A	678-1889	qalyan	monochrome slip-painted	none	Lane 1957, pl. 87A
V&A.220	V&A	1335-1876	dish	monochrome slip-painted	none	Lane 1957, pl. 87B; Soustiel 1985, pl. 335
V&A.221	V&A	1314-1876	bowl	monochrome slip-painted	none	Lane 1957, pl. 88A
V&A.225	V&A	78-1953	dish	slip-carved	CB seal	Lane 1957, pl. 90B
V&A.226	V&A		jar	monochrome moulded	none	Lane 1957, pl. 97B
V&A.237	V&A	1383-1876	bowl	fenestrated	CB cross (4)	Lane 1957, pl. 98B
V&A.240	V&A	1155-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.13;** Crowe 2002, fig. 67
V&A.244	V&A	549A-1878	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	
V&A.245	V&A	2903-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	**Fig. 3.25;** Crowe 2002, fig. 69

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.246	V&A	1468-1876	bowl	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 68
V&A.248	V&A	505-1896	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	**Fig. 5.22**
V&A.249	V&A	549-1878	tile	polychrome slip-painted	Isfahan petrofabric	**Fig. 5.23**
V&A.252	V&A	1111-1876	dish	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 32
V&A.253	V&A	932-1886	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 34
V&A.255	V&A	1000-1883	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 42
V&A.258	V&A	1096-1883	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 52
V&A.259	V&A	64-1971	dish	black-line	tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 55
V&A.260	V&A	2795-1876	dish	black-line	BK character marks (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 56
V&A.264	V&A	237-1884	bowl	black-line	seal	**Figs. 2.42a&b;** Crowe 2002, fig. 65
V&A.266	V&A	2899-1876	bowl	black-line	characters? (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 76
V&A.270	V&A	184-1884	jar	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 92
V&A.271	V&A	2451-1876	jar	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 97
V&A.272	V&A	2452-1876	jar	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 98
V&A.275	V&A	999-1876	qalyan	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 112
V&A.280	V&A	1106-1876	dish	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 125
V&A.281	V&A	1258-1876	dish	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 126
V&A.282	V&A	484-1878	dish	black-line	tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 127

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.283	V&A	1108-1876	dish	black-line	BK characters? (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 128
V&A.284	V&A	968-1886	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 132
V&A.287	V&A	2722-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 142
V&A.288	V&A	2721-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	**Fig. 3.47**; Crowe 2002, fig. 143
V&A.289	V&A	1064-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 144
V&A.291	V&A	445-1878	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassels (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 148
V&A.292	V&A	448-1878	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 152
V&A.293	V&A	185-1884	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 157
V&A.294	V&A	1219-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 158
V&A.295	V&A	1237-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 159
V&A.296	V&A	457-1878	dish	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 161
V&A.298	V&A	2732-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 163
V&A.300	V&A	2794-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 165
V&A.301	V&A	890-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	red cross, not mark	**Fig. 2.71;** Crowe 2002, fig. 169
V&A.303	V&A	1153-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 171
V&A.304	V&A	929-1886	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB characters (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 174
V&A.305	V&A	1070-1883	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 176
V&A.306	V&A	1200-1876	dish	black-line	tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 180

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.309	V&A	2667-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 184
V&A.310	V&A	1199-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 185
V&A.311	V&A	998-1883	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 186
V&A.313	V&A	1189-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 189
V&A.316	V&A	1191-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 192
V&A.321	V&A	2660-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 197
V&A.324	V&A	2663-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 200
V&A.325	V&A	2655-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 201
V&A.329	V&A	2659-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 206
V&A.330	V&A	189-1884	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 207
V&A.331	V&A	965-1886	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 208
V&A.337	V&A	471-1878	bowl	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 217
V&A.341	V&A	1227-1876	bowl	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 224
V&A.346	V&A	2499-1876	bottle	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 232
V&A.347	V&A	1125-1876	bottle	black-line	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 234
V&A.348	V&A	249-1876	bottle	black-line	BK tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 235
V&A.350	V&A	435-1878	ewer	black-line	seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 239
V&A.354	V&A	2458-1876	jar	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 252

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.355	V&A	1125-1883	spit-toon	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 259
V&A.356	V&A	2614-1876	spit-toon	black-line	BK seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 261
V&A.357	V&A	457-1874	tulip vase	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 265
V&A.359	V&A	2733-1876	dish	black-line	BK? tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 281
V&A.360	V&A	2726-1876	dish	black-line	BK? tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 282
V&A.361	V&A	869-1876	dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 283
V&A.362	V&A	2711-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 285
V&A.364	V&A	2718-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 287
V&A.370	V&A	2688c-1876	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 295
V&A.372	V&A	1253-1876	dish	B&W	CB characters (4)	Crowe 2002, fig. 298
V&A.374	V&A	166-1884	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 300
V&A.375	V&A	491-1878	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 301
V&A.378	V&A	1003-1883	dish	B&W	seal?	Crowe 2002, fig. 306
V&A.379	V&A	2706-1876	dish	B&W	seal?	Crowe 2002, fig. 307
V&A.380	V&A	1132-1876	dish	B&W	seal?	**Fig. 2.94;** Crowe 2002, fig. 309
V&A.382	V&A	1260-1876	dish	B&W	CB character?	Crowe 2002, fig. 311
V&A.384	V&A	202-1884	dish	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 313
V&A.387	V&A	2691d-1876	dish	B&W	CB character	Crowe 2002, fig. 318

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.398	V&A	466-1878	bowl	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 333
V&A.399	V&A	459-1878	dish	B&W	none	Crowe 2002, fig. 335
V&A.401	V&A	173-1884	dish	B&W	CB tassels (3)	Crowe 2002, fig. 338
V&A.402	V&A	2819-1876	dish	black-line	tassel?	Crowe 2002, fig. 339
V&A.403	V&A	1034-1883	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 340
V&A.404	V&A	2864-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	**Fig. 2.93;** Crowe 2002, fig. 341
V&A.405	V&A	2705-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 342
V&A.406	V&A	197-1884	bowl	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 343
V&A.412	V&A	183-1883	bowl	black-line	BK character	Crowe 2002, fig. 358
V&A.414	V&A	2868-1876	bowl	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 360
V&A.415	V&A	472-1878	bowl	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 361
V&A.420	V&A	2878-1876	bowl	B&W	CB tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 368
V&A.425	V&A	2750-1876	dish	black-line	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 394
V&A.426	V&A	2757-1876	dish	B&W	CB character	Crowe 2002, fig. 398
V&A.427	V&A	212-1884	dish	black-line	BK character	Crowe 2002, fig. 403
V&A.433	V&A	2713-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal?	Crowe 2002, fig. 433
V&A.434	V&A	2766-1876	dish	B&W	CB seal	Crowe 2002, fig. 435
V&A.435	V&A	2767-1876	dish	black-line	BK character	Crowe 2002, fig. 436

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
V&A.440	V&A	1125-1876	bowl	black-line	? tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 451
V&A.442	V&A	1027-1876	bowl	black-line?	? tassel	Crowe 2002, fig. 453
V&A.452	V&A	1015-1883	bowl	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel?	Crowe 2002, fig. 467
V&A.461	V&A	873-1876B	kashkul	black-line	? character	Crowe 2002, fig. 505
V&A.466	V&A	1119-1876	goblet	black-line	? character	Crowe 2002, fig. 518
V&A.468	V&A	C.1973.1910	flask	B&W	none	GMB 1996, pl. 48; Crowe 2002, fig. 2
V&A.469	V&A	562-1905	dish	B&W	unknown	GMB 1996, pl. 63
V&A.470	V&A	C.30-1960	dish	B&W	none	Crowe 2002, |fig. 3; GMB 1996, pl. 66
VIG.03	A. Vigna		dish	T&Bp	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl.292
WAL.01	Walters		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Wilkinson 1963, pl. 80
WAL.02	Walters	48.21	bowl	B&W	CB fawn	**Fig. 3.24**; Wilkinson 1963, pl. 85
WAL.04	Walters		bottle	monochrome moulded	none	Wilkinson 1963, pl. 91
YMN.01	ROM	Yemen Expedition, Wadi Sanha (982.187.117)	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.16**
YMN.02	ROM	Yemen Expedition, Mokha (982.187.55)	sherd	B&W	Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.15**
YMN.03	ROM	Yemen Expedition, Wadi Sanha (982.187.105)	sherd	B&W	CB tassel/ Kirman petrofabric	**Fig. 5.17**

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
YZD.01	Haftador		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.18/3, pp. 50–3, 471 right
YZD.02	Haftador		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.18/1, pp. 50–2, 471 left
YZD.03	Ardakan		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.25, p. 60, 476
YZD.04	Nadushan		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.89/7, pp.152–3, 514
YZD.05	Hamaneh		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.105/1, pp.170–1, 526
YZD.06	Hamaneh		tile	black-line	none	Afshar 1970–75, no.105/1, pp.171–2
YZD.07	Yazd		tile	B&W?	none	Afshar 1970–75, nos. 111/2, pp.180–2, 528
ZZZ.09	auction house		dish	B&W Incised	unknown	Habsburg Feldman NY, June 19, 1990, no. 178
ZZZ.11	auction house		bowl	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Karimi and Kiani 1985, pl. 86, no. 3613
ZZZ.19	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Soustiel 1985, pl. 287
ZZZ.30	auction house		dish	B&W leaf-curl	CB tassel	Sotheby's, London, Oct 10, 1978, no.130
ZZZ.40	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's, London, 15 Oct, 1985, no. 307
ZZZ.55	auction house		dish	black-line	none	Sotheby's London, Oct. 10, 1978, no. 147

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
ZZZ.59	auction house		bottle	monochrome incised	unknown	Sotheby's, London, April 25, 2002, no. 96
ZZZ.74	auction house		spit-toon	black-line	BK seal	Sotheby's, London, no. 190
ZZZ.99	auction house		dish	B&W	none	Sotheby's, London, Oct. 22–23, 1992, no. 191
ZZZ.106	auction house		dish	B&W/ polychrome	BK seal	Sotheby's, London, April 26, 1982, no. 217
ZZZ.112	auction house		dish	B&W	Armenian monogram	Sotheby's, London, April 30, 1992, no. 116
ZZZ.125	auction house		dish	B&W	BK seal	Sotheby's, London, Oct. 23, 1992, no. 199
ZZZ.167	auction house		dish	B&W	unknown	Sotheby's, London, April 25, 1996 no.146
ZZZ.174	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's, Parke-Bernet, NY, May 31, 1997, no. 212
ZZZ.175	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	unknown	Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, NY, May 31, 1997, no. 213
ZZZ.183	auction house		flask	black-line	? seal	Sotheby's, London, Apr. 30, 1998, no.8
ZZZ.184	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	Christies, London, Apr. 28, 1998, no.413

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
ZZZ.186	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	Christies, London, Apr. 28, 1998, no. 415, ex-Anavian Coll.
ZZZ.188	auction house		dish	polychrome slip-painted	none	Christies, London, Apr. 28, 1998, no.417
ZZZ.216	auction house		bowl	slip-carved	unknown	Sotheby's, London, Oct. 15, 1998, no. 105
ZZZ.222	auction house		qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Sotheby's, London, Oct.10, 1978, no.117
ZZZ.234	auction house		qalyan	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Christies, London, Oct. 9, 1990, no.199; Christies, London, Oct. 12, 1999, no. 351
ZZZ.235	auction house		bottle	B&W/ polychrome	unknown	Sotheby's, London, Apr. 16, 1985, no.323
ZZZ.236	auction house		dish	polychrome-painted		
ZZZ.271	auction house		bowl	B&W/ polychrome	CB tassel	Sotheby's, London, Apr. 20, 1983, no.118
ZZZ.293	auction house		dish	B&W	seal	Sotheby's, London (Colonnade), May 6, 1993, no.811
ZZZ.340	auction house		dish	T&Bp	unknown	Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, Mar. 21,1996, no.194

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

Project number	Collection or current location	Accession number and other identifying data	Object	Decorative technique type	Potters' marks/ petrofabric if known	References (figure references in bold refer to this text)
ZZZ.356	auction house		dish	black-line	unknown	Christies, London, Oct. 15, 1998, no.410
ZZZ.361	auction house		spit-toon	black-line?	unknown	Christies, London, Oct. 15, 1998, no.422
ZZZ.362	sale		jar	black-line	none	Fig. 3.9 O. Forge and B. Lynch (pers. comm. 1999)
ZZZ.390	auction house		spit-toon	B&W	unknown	Christie's, S. Kensington, April 13, 2000, no. 440
ZZZ.396	auction house		dish	black-line		Christie's, S. Kensington, Oct. 12, 2000, no. 477
ZZZ.401	auction house		dish	B&W	unknown	Christie's, London, Oct. 12, 1999, no. 388
ZZZ.431	auction house		tile	B&W	none	Christies, London, 18 Oct. 1994, lot 314

Bibliography

Aanavi, D. 1974. *Islamic Arts*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Honolulu Academy of Arts.

Adhyatman, S. 1987. *Kendi, wadah air minum tradisional* (*Keni, traditional water container*). Jakarta: Himpunan Keramik Indonesia: Yayasan Nusantara Jaya.

Afshar, I. 1962–63. "Anva'-i chini dar ahd-i Safaviyah" (Types of Chinese wares in the Safavid era). *Yaghma* 12 (50): 559. AH 1341.

____. 1969–75. *Yadgar-ha-yi Yazd*. 3 vols. in 2. Anjuman-i athar-i Melli, no. 116. Tehran. Publication of the Dept. of National Monuments.

_____. 1993. "Le Tazkera-ye Nasrabadi: Ses données socio-économiques et culturelles." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, 1–12. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

Ali Mohamed. 1904. "On the Manufacture of Modern Kashi Earthenware Tiles and Vases in Imitation of the Ancient." In *Leadless Decorative Tiles, Faience, and Mosaic*, ed. W. J. Furnival, 215–23. Stone, Staffordshire: W. J. Furnival.

Allan, J. 1973. "Abu'l-Qasim's Treatise on Ceramics." *Iran* 11:111–20.

____. 1981. "Islamic Ceramics." In *Eastern Ceramics and Other Works from the Collection of Gerald Reitlinger: Catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

Allan, J. W. 1991. *Islamic Ceramics*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

Ashmolean Museum. 1981. *Eastern Ceramics and Other Works of Art from the Collections of Gerald Reitlinger: Catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

Atasoy, N., and J. Raby. 1989. *Iznik: the Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*. London: Alexandria Press in association with Thames and Hudson.

Atil, E. 1973. *Ceramics From the World of Islam*. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art.

____, ed. 1990. *Islamic Art and Patronage: Treasures from Kuwait*. New York: Rizzoli.

Babaie, S. 1994. "Shah 'Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar, the Chihil Sutun, and Its Wall Paintings." *Muqarnas* 11:125–42.

____. 2003. "Building on the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501–1576." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, eds. J. Thompson and S. R. Canby, 27–47. New York: Asia Society; Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli and Skira Editore.

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

Babaie, S., K. Babayan, I. Baghdiantz-McCabe, and M. Farhad. 2004. *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites in Safavid Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Babayan, K. 2002. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bahari, E. 1996. *Bihzad, Master of Persian Painting*. London: I. B. Taurus.

Barbaro, Josafa, and Ambrogio Contarini. 1873. *Travels to Tana and Persia by Barbaro and Contarini: A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*. New York: Burt Franklin.

Benjamin, S. W. 1887. *Persia and the Persians*, Boston.

Berlin, Museum of Islamic Art—*see* Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Berrall, J. S. 1966. *The Garden: An Illustrated History*. New York: Viking.

Beurdeley, M., and G. Raindre. 1987. *Qing Porcelain: Famille Verte, Famille Rose*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Bier, C., ed. 1987. *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran* (*16th–19th Centuries*). Washington, DC: The Textile Museum.

Blair, S. 2008. "A Brief Biography of Abu Zayd." *Muqarnas* 25:155–76.

Blair, S., and J. Bloom. 1994. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bretschneider, E. 1876–77. "Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia in the Fifteenth Century." *The China Review* 5 (1–4): 13–40; 109–32; 165–82; 227–41.

Brocklebank, R. H. R. 1931. "Kubatcha Faience." *Burlington Magazine* 59:219–20.

Brouwer, R. 1993. "Turkish Tulips and Delft Flowerpots." In *The Tulip: A Symbol of Two Nations* (catalogue of

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260924_014

an exhibition in Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, 18 May–28 June 1993), ed. M. Roding, 25–42. Utrecht: M. Th. Houtsma Stichting.

Brunhammer, Y. 1956–57. "Céramiques dites de Koubatchi." *Cahiers de la céramique et des arts du feu* 5:24–34.

Bruyn, C. de. 1737. *Travels in Muscovy, Persia, and part of the East Indies*. London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, et al.

Burlington Fine Arts Club. 1931. *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London*. London: Hudson and Kearns.

Cambridge History of Iran, The. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Canby, S. R. 1996. *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan*. London: Azimuth.

____. 1998. *Princes, Poets, and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan*. London: British Museum Press.

____. 1999. *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501–1722*. London: British Museum Press.

____, ed. 2002. *Safavid Art and Architecture*. London: British Museum Press.

_____. 2003. Chapters 1, 4, 5 in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, eds. J. Thompson and S. R. Canby, 3–25, 73–133, 135–53. New York: Asia Society; Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli and Skira Editore.

____. 2009. *Shah ʿAbbas: The Remaking of Isfahan*. London: British Museum Press.

Carswell, J. 1972. *Kuthaya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

____. 1975–77. "China and Islam in the Maldive Islands." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 41:121–99.

____. 1985. *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World*. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Gallery, University of Chicago Press.

Centlivres-Demont, M. 1971. *Une communauté de potiers en Iran*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Chardin, J. 1811. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*. ed. L. Langlès, Paris.

____. 1927. *Travels in Persia 1673–1677; with an Introduction by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes*. London: Argonaut Press.

Chaudhuri, K. N. 1965. *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600–1640*. London: F. Cass.

____. 1985. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen Da-Sheng. 1992. "Sources from Fujian on Trade Between China and Hurmuz in the Fifteenth Century." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, Supplement to *Muqarnas*, vol. 6, ed. L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, 191–94. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Chenciner, R., and M. Magomedkhanov. 1992. "Persian Exports to Russia from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century." *Iran* 30:123–30.

Churchill, A., and J. Churchill. 1704. *A collection of voyages and travels: some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English: in 6 volumes with a general preface giving an account of the progress of navigation from its beginning*. London: Printed by Messrs. Churchill for John Walthoe et al.

Coomaraswamy, A. K., and F. S. Kershaw. 1928–29. "A Chinese Buddhist Water Vessel and Its Indian Prototype." *Artibus Asiae* 3 (2–3): 122–41.

Cooper, E. 1988. *A History of World Pottery*. London: B. T. Batsford.

Cora, G., and A. Fanfani. 1986. *La Porcellana dei Medici*. Milano: Fabbri.

Crowe, Y. 1978. "A Preliminary Enquiry into Underglaze Decoration of Safavid Wares." In *Decorative Techniques and Styles in Asian Ceramics: A Colloquy*, ed. M. Medley, 104–25. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. London: University of London.

____. 1979a. "The 1975 Qandahar Finds and the Dating of a Group of Blue and White Wares." *Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archaeologie, Munich, 1976*, 380–86.

____. 1979b. "Persian Variations on a Chinese Motif." *Faenza* 65:390–98.

____. 1979–80. "Aspects of Persian Blue & White and China in the Seventeenth Century." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 44:15–30.

____. 1995. "Once Upon a Time: The Story of Blue and White as Seen from Persia." In *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar, London 16–19 June 1995*, ed. B. Haughton and A. Haughton, 20–27. Oxford: Nuffield Press.

____. 1996. "Glazed Ceramics." In *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 & 1975*, ed. A. McNicoll and W. Ball, 313–64. British Archaeological Reports, no. S641. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.

____. 2000. "Transformations de motifs chinois dans la céramique Persane du 17ème siècle." *Taoci* 1: 59–65.

____. 2002. *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501–1738*. London: La Borie, and Thames and Hudson.

____. 2002a. "The Use of Grey in Ceramics of the World of Islam." In *Cairo to Kabul: Afghan and Islamic Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, ed. W. Ball and L. Harrow, 33–38. London: Melisende.

____. 2002b. "Safavid Blue and White Bowls and the Chinese Connection." *Iran* 40:257–63.

____. 2003. "Sixteenth-century Persian Ceramics." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, eds. J. Thompson and S. R. Canby, 248–55. New York: Asia Society; Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli and Skira Editore.

____. 2008. "La Collection persane de céramiques safavides (1501–1722) au Musée des Beaux-arts de Lyon." *Cahiers* du Musée des Beaux-arts de Lyon (2002–2006): 16–27.

Curtis, J. B. 1995. *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholars' Motifs and Narratives*. New York and Seattle: China Institute Gallery and University of Washington Press.

Dale, S. F. 1994. *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dana, J. D., and E. S. Dana. 1962. "Silica Minerals." In *The System of Mineralogy*, eds. J. D. Dana, E. S. Dana, C. Palache, H. M. Berman, and C. Frondel, 3:120–329 New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Daulier des Landes, A. 1673. *Les Beautez de la Perse; ou, la description de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans ce royaume, enrichie de la carte du païs, & de plusieurs estampes dessignées sur les lieux. Par le sieur A.D.D.V. Avec une relation de quelques avantures maritimes de L.M.P.R.D.G.D.F.* [*i.e. Louis Marot, pilote réal des galères de France*]. Paris: G. Clouzier.

Davison, G. 1987. *A Guide to Marks on Chinese Porcelain*. London: Bamboo Publishing.

Day, P. M. 1989. "Technology and Ethnography in Petrographic Studies of Ceramics." In *Archaeometry: Proceedings of the 25th International Symposium*, ed. Y. Maniatis, 139–48. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Degeorge, G., and Y. Porter. 2002. *The Art of the Islamic Tile*. Paris: Flammarion.

Denny, W. B. 1974. "Blue-and-White Islamic Pottery on Chinese Themes." *Boston Museum Bulletin* 72:76–99.

Dickson, M., and C. S. Welch, eds. 1981. *The Houghton Shahnameh*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Dickson, W. K. 1901. *The Life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*. London: W. Blackwood and Sons.

Dimand, M. S. 1931. *Loan Exhibition of Ceramic Art of the Near East: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, May 12*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

____. 1944. *Handbook of Muhammadan Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Du Mans, R. 1890. *Estat de la Perse en 1660*. Annotated by C. Schefer. Paris: E. Leroux.

Ducket, G. 1885. "Further observations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those Parts." In *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, collected by Richard Hakluyt, ed. Edmund Goldsmid. Reprinted in 16 vols. Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, [1589] 1885–1890, 1907. 2:126–33.

Dunlop, H. 1930. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische compagnie in Perzië*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

East India Company. 1896–1902. *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the east. 6 vols*. London.

Echraqi, E. 1996. "Le Dar al-Saltana de Qazvin, deuxième capitale des Safavides." In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed.

C. Melville, 105–15. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

Elgood, R. 1995. *Firearms of the Islamic World*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Esterhuizen, L. V. 2000. "Chinese Ming Blue and White Porcelain Recovered from 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Shipwrecks on the South African Coast." *Taoci* 1:93–99.

Ettinghausen, R. 1935. "Important Pieces of Persian Pottery in London Collections." *Ars Islamica* 2:45–64.

Falk, T., ed. 1986. *Treasures of Islam*. London: Sotheby Publications.

Fehérvári, G. 1968. "The Lands of Islam." In *World Ceramics*, ed. R. J. Charleston, 69–99. Middlesex, UK: Hamlyn Publishing.

_____. 1970. "An Early Eighteenth-Century Persian Blue and White." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Studies in Honour of Sir Mortimer Wheeler), 137–41.

____. 1973. *Islamic Pottery: A Comprehensive Study Based on the Barlow Collection*. London: Faber and Faber.

____. 1998. *Pottery of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum*. Hawally: Tareq Rajab Museum.

Ferguson, P. F. 1997. "The Eighteenth-century Mania for Hyacinths." *Antiques*, 151/6: 845–51.

____. 2008–2009. "Safavid Monochrome-Glazed Pottery from Kirman: Decoration and Dating." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 73: 121–9.

Ferrier, R. 1986. "Trade from the Mid-fourteenth Century to the End of the Safavid Period." In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. P. Jackson, 412–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferrier, R. W., ed. 1989. *The Arts of Persia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

____, trans. and ed. 1996. *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Ferris, A. M. 1968. "Seventeenth-century Transitional Porcelains—The Development of Landscape Painting." *Oriental Art* 14 (3): 184–93.

Fletcher, J. F. 1968. "China and Central Asia 1368–1884." In *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, ed. J. K. Fairbank, 206–24, 337–68. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Floor, W. 1987. "Economy and Society." In *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran (16th–19th Centuries)*, ed. C. Bier, 20–32. Washington, DC: The Textile Museum.

_____. 1996. "The Dutch and the Persian Silk Trade." In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. C. Melville, 323–65. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

Folk, R. L. 1980. *Petrology of Sedimentary Rocks*. Austin, TX: Hemphill's.

Fontein, J., and Wu Tang. 1978. *Museum of Arts, Boston*. Vol. 11. *Oriental Ceramics: The World's Great Collections*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd.

Foster, W. 1906–27. *The English Factories in India 1618–1621: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Fragner, B. 1984. "Zur Erforschung der kulinarischen Kultur Irans." *Welt des Islams* 23–24:320–60.

____. 1994. "Social Reality and Culinary Fiction: The Perspective of Cookbooks from Iran and Central Asia." In *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, ed. S. Zubaida and R. Tapper, 63–71. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk. 1974. *Museum für Kunsthandwerk: Neuerwerbungen 1956–1974*. Frankfurt: Museum für Kunsthandwerk.

Freestone, I. C. 1991. "Extending Ceramic Petrology." In *Recent Developments in Ceramic Petrology*, ed. A. Middleton and I. C. Freestone, 399–410. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 81. London: British Museum.

Fryer, J. 1698. *A new account of East-India and Persia, in five letters. Being nine years of travels 1672–1681, edited with notes and introduction by William Crooke*. London. Reprint. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967.

Fu Yang, ed. 1957. *Ming dai min jian qing hua ci qi* (*Decoration on blue-and-white folk ceramics of the Ming Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhongguo gu dian yi shu chu ban she, no. 69.

Fundação, Calouste Gulbenkian. 1972. *Persian Art: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Fung Ping Shan Museum. 1990. *Dehua Wares*. Hong Kong: Fung Ping Shan Museum.

Garner, Sir H. 1956. "The Use of Imported and Native Cobalt in Chinese Blue and White." *Oriental Art* 2:48–50.

Gasiorowski, S. J. 1964. "Céramique orientale au Musée Czartoryski à Cracovie: I. sur un vase persan." *Folia Orientalia* 5:183–92.

Gaube, H., and E. Wirth. 1978. *Der Bazar von Isfahan*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Geneva Musée d'art et d'histoire. 1985. *Treasures of Islam*. Secaucus, NJ: Wellfleet Press.

GMB 1996—*see* Golombek, Mason, and Bailey, 1996.

Godard, Y. A. 1937. "Pieces datées de céramique de Kashan." *Athar e-Iran* 2 (2): 309–37.

Goddio, F. 1994. *Le mystère de San Diego: Histoire et découverte d'un trésor englouti en mer de Chine*. Paris: R. Laffont.

Golombek, L. 2002. "Riza Abbasi's Wine Pot and other Problems of Safavid Ceramics." In *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. S. R. Canby, 95–100. London: British Museum Press.

____. 2003. "The Safavid Ceramic Industry at Kirman." *Iran* 41:253–70.

_____. 2008. "The 'Citadel, Town, Suburbs' Model and Medieval Kirman." In *The City in the Islamic World*, 2 vols., ed. S. K. Jayyusi, 1:445–63. Leiden: Brill.

____. 2011. "A Safavid Bottle with Matchlock Hunt in the Royal Ontario Museum." In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 123–49. New York: Routledge.

Golombek, L., and R. Mason. 1995. "New Evidence for Safavid Ceramic Production at Nishapur." *Apollo* 142 (40): 33–36.

Golombek, L., and D. Wilber. 1988. *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Golombek, L., R. Mason, and G. Bailey. 1996. *Tamerlane's Tableware: A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda.

Golombek, L., R. Mason, and P. Proctor. 2001. "Safavid Potters' Marks and the Question of Provenance." *Iran* 39:207–36.

Gonçalves, C.-M. D. A. 1996. *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon*. London and Lisbon: Philip Wilson and Instituo Português de Museus.

Goodall, J. A. 1979. *Heaven and Earth: Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopedia: San-ts'ai t'u-hui, 1610*. Boulder , CO: Shambhala.

Grand Palais. 1977. *L'Islam dans les collections nationales*. Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux.

Gray, B. 1948–49. "Blue-and-White Vessels in Persian Miniatures of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 24:23–30.

____. 1960. "A Chinese Blue and White Bowl with Western Emblems." *British Museum Quarterly* 22 (3/4): 81–83.

____. 1975–77. "The Export of Chinese Porcelain to the Islamic World: Some Reflections on the Significance of Chinese Ceramics for Islam before 1400." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 41:231–63.

____, ed. 1979. *Arts of the Book in Central Asia*. London: Serindia Publications. UNESCO.

____. 1981. "The Chinoiserie Elements in the Paintings in the Istanbul Albums." *Islamic Art* 1:85–89.

Grube, E. 1965. "The Art of Islamic Pottery." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23:209–28.

____. 1974. "Notes on the Decorative Arts of the Timurid Period." In *Gururajamanjarika Studi in Onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, vol. 1, ed. A. Forte et al., 233–80. Naples: Istituto Universitario orientale.

____. 1976. *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection*. London: Faber and Faber.

____. 1988–89. "Notes on the Decorative Arts of the Timurid Period II." *Islamic Art* 3:175–208.

Gyllensvard, B. 1973. "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat." (Pt.1). *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 45:91–119.

____. 1975. "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat." (Pt.2). *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 47:93–117.

Haags Gemeentemuseum. 1976. *Chinese ceramiek*. The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum.

Habib, I. 1990. "Merchant Communities in Precolonial India." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. J. D. Tracy, 371–99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haneda, M. 1996. "The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period." In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. C. Melville, 369–87. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

Hansman, J. 1985. *Julfar, an Arabian Port: Its Settlement and Far Eastern Ceramic Trade from the 14th to the 18th Centuries*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

Harrison-Hall, J. 2001. *Catalogue of late Yuan and Ming ceramics in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.

Harrisson, B. 1979. *Swatow in het Princessehof: The Analysis of a Museum Collection of Chinese Trade Wares from Indonesia*. Leeuwarden, The Netherlands: Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof.

____. 1995. *Later Ceramics in South-East Asia: Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawkins, W. 1905–7. "Relations of the Occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the country of the Great Mogoll, and of his departure from thence; written to the Company." In *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrimes; Contayning a History of the World Sea Voyages and Lande Travels by Englishmen and others*, ed. S. Purchas. Reprinted in 20 vols. Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1905–7. 3:1–53.

Hayward Gallery. 1976. *The Arts of Islam*. London: The Arts Council of Great Britain.

Henderson, J., and J. Raby. 1989. "The Technology of Sixteenth-century Turkish Tiles: An Interim Statement on the Origins of the Iznik Industry." *World Archaeology* 21:115–32.

Helfgott, L. 1990. "Carpet Collecting in Iran, 1873–1883: Robert Murdoch Smith and the Formation of the Modern Persian Carpet Industry." *Muqarnas* 7:171–81.

Herbert, T. 1928. *Travels in Persia, 1627–1629*, ed. W. Foster. London: George Routledge and Sons.

Herzig, E. M. 1992. "The Volume of Iranian Raw Silk Exports in the Safavid Period." *Iranian Studies* 25 (1–2): 61–79.

____. 1996. "The Rise of the Julfa Merchants in the Late Sixteenth Century." In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. C. Melville, 305–22. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

Hillenbrand, R. 1986. "Safavid Architecture." In *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. P. Jackson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobson, R. L. 1932. *British Museum: A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*. London: British Museum.

Honarfar, Lutfallah. 1965. *Ganjineh-i athar-i tarikhi-i Isfahan* (*Treasures of the Historical Remains of Isfahan*). Isfahan.

Honey, W. B. 1954. *The Ceramic Art of China and Other Countries of the Far East*. New York: Beechhurst Press.

Impey, O. R. 1977. *Chinoiserie:The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

l'Institut du Monde Arab, Paris. 1987. *Musée de l'Institut du Monde Arab*. Paris: Éditions Pierre Anglade.

Ivanov, A. A. 1980. "Faiansovoe bliudo XV veka iz Mashhada" (A faience dish of the fifteenth century from Mashhad). *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 45:64–66.

Jahangir. 1968. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge. 2 vols. Reprint of 1909–14 edition. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Jenkins, M. 1983. *Islamic Pottery: A Brief History*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Jenyns, S. 1988. *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber.

Jörg, C. J. A. 1984. *Interaction in Ceramics: Oriental Porcelain and Delftware*. Hong Kong: The Council.

____. 1997. *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: The Ming and Qing Dynasties*. London: Philip Wilson.

____. 1999. "The Inter-Asiatic Dutch Porcelain Trade." *Oriental Art* 45 (1): 71–79.

____. 2002. "The Porcelain of the Vung Tau Junk." *Taoci* 2: 117–22.

Joseph, A. M. 1971. *Ming Porcelains: Their Origin and Development*. London: Bibelot.

Kaempfer, Engelbert. 1977. *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs 1684–85*, ed. W. Hinz. Tübingen: H. Erdmann.

Kahle, P. 1940–41. "Chinese Porcelain in the Lands of Islam." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 18:27–42.

Karimi, F., and M. Y. Kiani. 1985. *Iranian Pottery of the Islamic Period*. Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research.

Keall, E. 1993. "One Man's Mede is Another Man's Persian; One Man's Coconut is Another Man's Grenade." *Muqarnas* 10:275–85.

Kelekian, D. K. 1909. *The Potteries of Persia*. Paris: Herbert Clarke.

Kerr, R., and I. Thomas. 1986. *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty, 1644–1911*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

Keyvani, M. 1982. *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period: Contributions to the Social-Economic History of Persia*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.

Khan, Inayat. 1990. *Shahjahan nama*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kilburn, R. S. 1981. *Transitional Wares and Their Forerunners: An Exhibition Presented by the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong and the Urban Council*. Hong Kong: The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong.

Klein, R. 1993. "Caravan Trade in Safavid Iran (First Half of the 17th Century)." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, 305–18. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

Klose, J. 2001. "Oriental Ceramics Retrieved from Three Dutch East India Company Ships Wrecked off the Coast of Southern Africa: The Oosterland (1697), the Bennebroek (1713) and the Brederode (1785)." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 64:63–81.

Koch, E. 1988. *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration*. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.

____. 1998. *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Koechlin, R. 1928. *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*. Paris: E. Leroux.

Krahl, R. 1986. *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul*. In collaboration with Nurdan Erbahar. London: Philip Wilson for Sotheby's Publications.

Kroell, A. 1993. "Bandar ʿAbbâs à la fin du regne des Safavides." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, 319–41. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

Kühnel, E. 1925. *Islamische Kleinkunst*. Berlin: Schmidt and Co.

Kurdian, H. 1975. "A Note on Persian Blue and White Wares with Armenian Monograms in the Victoria and Albert Museum." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 54–56.

Kverfel'dt, E. K. 1947. *Keramika blizhnogo vostoka* (*Ceramics of the Near East*). Leningrad: The State Hermitage Museum.

Lal, K. 1990. *Bidri Ware: National Museum Collection, New Delhi*. New Delhi: National Museum.

Lane, A. 1939. "The So-called 'Kubachi' Wares of Persia." *Burlington Magazine* 75:156–62.

____. 1947. *Early Islamic Pottery: Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia*. London: Faber and Faber.

_____. 1949. *Daniel Marot: Designer of Delft Vases and of Gardens at Hampton Court. The Connoisseur*, 123–4:19–24.

____. 1950. "Chinese Porcelain of the 17th Century." *Antiques Review* 1 (6): 25–28.

____. 1957. *Later Islamic Pottery: Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey*. London: Faber and Faber.

____. 1960. *A Guide to the Collection of Tiles*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

LeBonheur, A., and D. Lion-Goldschmidt, et al. 1981. *Musée Guimet, Paris*. Vol. 7. *Oriental Ceramics: The World's Great Collections*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd.

Lee, S. E., and Wai-kam Ho. 1968. *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Lentz, T. W., and G. D. Lowry. 1989. *Timur and the Princely Vision*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum.

Lion-Goldschmidt, D. 1978. *Ming Porcelain*. London: Thames and Hudson.

____. 1984. "Les porcelaines chinoises du palais de Santos." *Arts Asiatiques* 39:5–72.

Little, S. 1983. *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period, 1620–1683*. New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America.

____. 1996. "Economic Change in Seventeenth-Century China and Innovations at the Jingdezhen Kilns." *Ars Orientalis* 26:47–54.

Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark. 1987. *Art from the World of Islam, 8th-18th Century*. *Louisiana Revy* 27 (3). Humlebæk, Denmark: Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 1987.

Loukonine, V., and A. Ivanov. 1996. *Lost Treasures of Persia: Persian Art in the Hermitage Museum*. Washington, DC: Mage Publishers.

Luschey-Schmeisser, I. 1976. "Engel aus Qazvin, frühsafavidische Kachelbilder." *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 9:299–311.

____. 1978. *The Pictorial Tile Cycle of Hašt Behešt in Iṣfahān and its Iconographic Tradition*. Rome: IsMEO.

____. 1981. "A Safavid Tile Spandrel with Hunting Scene in the Brooklyn Museum." In *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, 109–11; pls. 1–7. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.

____. 1995–96. "Eine noch unbekannte kleine Gruppe von Büsten-Kacheln und ihre zeitliche Stellung im letzten Viertel des 16. Jhs." *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 28:407–33.

Mashizi, Mir Muhammad Sa'id. 1990–91. *Tazkirah-yi Safaviyyah-yi Kirman*, ed. M. I. Bastani-Parizi. Tehran: Nashr-i Ilm, HS 1369.

Maslenitsyna, S. 1975. *Persian Art in the Collection of the Museum of Oriental Art*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.

Mason, R. B. 1991. "Petrography of Islamic Ceramics." In *Recent Developments in Ceramic Petrology*, ed. A. Middleton and I. Freestone, 185–210. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 81. London: British Museum.

____. 1995. "Defining Syrian Stonepaste Ceramics: Petrographic Analysis of Pottery from Ma'arrat al-Nu'man." In *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. J. Allan, 1–18. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford.

____. 1995a. "Criteria for the Petrographic Characterization of Stonepaste Ceramics." *Archaeometry* 37: 307–22.

____. 1995b. "New Looks at Old Pots: Results of Recent Multidisciplinary Studies of Pottery from the Islamic World." *Muqarnas* 12:1–10.

____. 2003. "Petrography of Pottery from Kirman." *Iran* 41:271–78.

____. 2004. *To Shine Like the Sun: Lustre-Painted and Associated Pottery from the Early Islamic World*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda.

Mason, R. B. and L. Cooper. 1999 "Grog, Petrology, and Early Transcaucasians at Godin Tepe." *Iran* 37:25–31.

Mason, R. B., and L. Golombek. 1990. "Differentiating Early Chinese-Influenced Blue and White Ceramics of Egypt, Syria and Iran." *Archaeometry '90, Proceedings of the 27th International Archaeometry Symposium*, ed. E. Pernicka and G. A. Wagner, 465–74. Basel and Boston: Birkhauser Verlag.

Mason, R. B., and E. J. Keall. 1988. "Provenance of Local Ceramic Industry and the Characterization of Imports: Petrography of Pottery from Medieval Yemen." *Antiquity* 62:452–63.

____. 1990. "Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat." *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 27:165–84.

_____. 1991. "The Abbasid Glazed Wares of Siraf and the Basra Connection: Petrographic Analysis." *Iran* 29:51–66.

Mason, R. B., and M. S. Tite. 1994. "The Beginnings of Islamic Stonepaste Technology." *Archaeometry* 36:77–91.

Mathew, G. 1956. "Chinese Porcelain in East Africa and on the Coast of South Arabia." *Oriental Art* (n.s.) 11 (2): 50–55.

Matthee, R. 1993. "The East India Company Trade in Kerman Wool, 1658–1730." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, 343–83. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

____. 1996. "Unwalled Cities and Restless Nomads: Firearms and Artillery in Safavid Iran." In *Safavid*

Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society, ed. C. Melville, 389–416. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

____. 1999. *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver 1600–1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

____. 2005. *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mayer, L. 1956. *Islamic Architects and Their Works*. Geneva: A. Kundig.

McCabe, I. B. 1999. *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530–1750)*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

McChesney, R. D. 1981. "Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shah Abbas, 1011–1023/1602–1614." *Asian and African Studies* 15:165–90.

McNicoll, A., and W. Ball. 1996. *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975: The First Two Seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) Conducted by the British Institute of Afghan Studies*. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.

Medley, M. 1964. *A Handbook of Chinese Art for Collectors and Students*. London: G. Bell.

____. 1966. "Ching-te Chen and the Problem of the Imperial Kilns." *School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) Bulletin* 29 (pt. 2): 326–38.

____. 1972. "Chinese Ceramics and Islamic Design." In *The Westward Influence of the Chinese Arts*, ed. W. Watson, 1–10. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

____. 1976. *The Chinese Potter: A Practical History of Chinese Ceramics*. Oxford: Phaidon.

Melikian-Chirvani, A. S. 1973. *Le bronze iranien*. Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs.

____. 1982. *Islamic Metalwork From the Iranian World, 8th–18th Centuries, Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

____. 1993. "Le kashkul safavide, vaisseau à vin de l'initiation mystique." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

____. 2002. Of Prayers and Poems on Safavid Bronzes." In *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. S. R. Canby, 86–94. London: British Museum Press.

Melville, C. 1993. "From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah ʿAbbas I (995–1038/1587–1629)." In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, 195–224. Paris: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Bibliothèque Iranienne.

____. 1996. *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*. London: I. B. Tauris.

____. 1996. "Shah ʿAbbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad." In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. C. Melville, 191–229. Pembroke Persian Papers, vol. 4. London: I. B. Tauris.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1931. *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26.

Middleton, A. P., I. C. Freestone, and M. N. Leese. 1985. "Textural Analysis of Ceramic Thin Sections: Evaluation of Grain Sampling Procedures." *Archaeometry* 27:64–74.

Mikami, T. 1966. *Perusha Toki No Bi (Beauty in Persian Ceramics)*. Tokyo: Idemitsu Art Museum.

____. 1982. "China and Egypt: Fustat." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society (1980–81)* 45:67–89.

Miller, Yuri. 1972. *Khudozhestvennaia keramika Turtsii (Artistic Ceramics of Turkey)*. St. Petersburg: Aurora Press.

Mino, Y. 1981. *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960–1600 AD*. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art; Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Minorsky, V. 1943. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration (circa 1137/1725)* (Persian text in facsimile, B.M. Or. 9496). London: Luzac.

Mirsky, J. 1977. *Sir Aurel Stein: Archaeological Explorer*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Misugi, T. 1972. *Chinese Porcelain Collection of Ardebil Shrine*. Tehran: Iran Bastan Museum.

Monroe, B. I. 1982. *Chinese Ceramics from Chicago Collections*. Evanston, IL: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery.

Moorhouse, S. 1987. "A Note on the Terminology of Pottery Making Sites." *Medieval Ceramics* 11:25–30.

Moulierac, J. 1999. *Céramiques du monde musulman: Collections de l'Institut du monde arabe et de J. P. et F. Croisier*. Paris: Institut du monde arabe.

Mousavi, M. 2002. "Excavations in the Western Part of the Monumental Complex of Shaykh Safi, Ardabil."

In *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. S. R. Canby, 16–19. London: British Museum Press.

Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik, Dust ali Khan. 1982–83. *Rijal-i asr-i Nasiri*. Tehran, AH 1361.

Muller-Wiener, M. 1996. *Islamische Keramik*. Frankfurt: Museum fűr Kunsthandwerk.

Mulligan, T. 1996. "Treasures of the *San Diego*." *France Magazine*, no. 40.

Munshi, Iskandar Beg. 1986. *The History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, trans. R. M. Savory. 3 vols. Boulder: Westview Press, 1978–86; New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986.

Murdoch Smith, M. R. 1876. *Persian Art*. London: Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Chapman and Hall.

Museum for Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul. 1978. *Palace of Gold and Light: Treasures from the Topkapi, Istanbul*. Exhibition Catalogue, Washington, DC.

Nasrabadi, Muhammad Tahir. 1938. *Tazkirah-i Nasrabadi*, ed. Vahid Dastgirdi. Tehran: Armaghan, AH 1317.

Necipoğlu, G. 1990. "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles." *Muqarnas* 7:136–70.

Newman, A. J. 2009. *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*. London: I. B. Tauris.

O'Kane, B. 2011. "The Development of Iranian *Cuerda Seca* and the Transfer of Tilework Technology." In *And Diverse Are Their Hues*, eds. S. Blair and J. Bloom: 174–203. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Olearius, A. 1656. *Relation du voyage en Muscovie, Tartary et Perse, fait à l'occasion d'une ambassade envoyée au Grand-Duc de Moscovie et au Roi de Perse, par le Duc de Holstein, depuis l'an 1633 jusques en l'an 1639*. Paris: G. Clouzier.

____. 1662. *The voyages and travels of the ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein, to the Great-Duke of Muscovy and the king of Persia. Begun in the year 1633 and finished in 1639. Containing a complete history of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and other adjacent countries.* Trans. John Davies. London: 1662.

____. 1727. *Voyages très curieux et renommez faits en Muscovie, Tartarie, et Perse* Dans les quel on trouve une description curieuse et la situation exacte des pays et etats, par où il a passé.... Amsterdam.

Orangerie des Tuileries. 1971. *Arts de l'Islam des origines à 1700 dans les collections publiques françaises*. Paris: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Pal, P., ed. 1973. *Islamic Art: The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

____. 1989. *Romance of the Taj Mahal*. New York: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Pastoureau, M. 2000. *Bleu: Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Peacock, D. P. S., and D. F. Williams. 1986. *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*. London and New York: Longman.

Pearce, J. and J. Martin. 2002–2003. "Oriental Blue and White Porcelain found at Archeological Excavations in London: Research in Progress." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*, 67:99–109.

Petrosyan, Y. A., ed. 1994. *De Bagdad à Ispahan: manuscrits islamiques de la Filiale de Saint-Pétersbourg de l'Institut d'études orientales, Russian Academy of Sciences*. Exhibition catalogue (14 October 1994 – 8 January 1995), Musée du Petit-Palais. Paris: Fondation ARCH.

Pettijohn, F. J., P. E. Potter, and R. Siever. 1987. *Sand and Sandstone*. New York: Springer.

Phillips, C. R. 1990. "The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450–1750." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. J. D. Tracy, 34–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pijl-Ketel, C. L. Van der, ed. 1982. *The Ceramic Load of the "Witte Leeuw" (1613)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.

Piotrovsky, M. 1999. *Earthly Beauty, Heavenly Art: The Art of Islam*. London: Lund Humphries.

Pope, A. U. 1938. *A Survey of Persian Art*. London: Oxford University Press.

Pope, J. A. 1952. *Fourteenth-century Blue and White: A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul*. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art.

____. 1956 (Reprint 1981). *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*. London: Philip Wilson. Reprinted for Sotheby Parke-Bernet Publications.

Porter, Y. 1985. "Un traité de Simi Neysapuri (IX/XVe s.), artiste et polygraphe." *Studia Iranica* 14 (2): 179–98.

Purchas, S., ed. 1625. *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrimes; Contayning a History of the World Sea Voyages and Lande Travels by Englishmen and others*. 4 vols. London, 1625. Reprinted in 20 vols. Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1905–7.

Raby, J., and U. Yucel. 1986. "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court." In *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum*, ed. R. Krahl, 27–54. London: Sotheby's.

Rackham, B. 1959. *Islamic Pottery and Italian Maiolica*. London: Faber and Faber.

Rapoport, I. 1969. "Kermanskaia Keramika s rospisiia kobaltom XVI-XVIII vv. v sobrannii Ermitazha" (Kirman ceramics with cobalt painting, 16–18 c. in the collection of the Hermitage). *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 10:168–85.

____. 1970. "K voprosu o pozdneĭ liustrovoĭ keramike Irana (On the question of later luster ceramics of Iran)." State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, *Soobshcheniia* 31:54–56.

____. 1972. "Monokhromnaia keramika Irana XVI–XVII vv. s rel'elfnymi izobrazheniiami. O cviazi keramiki s miniatiurnoĭ zhivopis'iu (Monochrome ceramics 16–17 c. with relief images. On relations of the ceramics with miniature painting)." In *Sredniaia Aziia i Iran: sbornik stateĭ*, 149–56. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg: Aurora Press.

____. 1975. "On One Group of Iranian Faience Bottles." *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* (Bulletins of the State Hermitage Museum) 40:50–53.

Rawson, J. 1984. *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon*. London: British Museum.

Reid, A. 1985. "From Betel Chewing to Tobacco-Smoking in Indonesia." *Journal of Asian Studies*: 529–47.

Ribeiro, M. Q. 1996. *Louças Iznik Pottery*. Lisbon: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian.

Richard, F. 1995. *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Société d'histoire de l'Orient, L'Harmattan.

Richards, R. J. 1995. *South-East Asian Ceramics: Thai, Vietnamese and Khmer: From the Collection of the Art Gallery of South Australia*. Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press.

Riddell, S. 1979. *Dated Chinese Antiquities, 600–1650*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber.

Rinaldi, M. 1989. *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*. London: Bamboo Publishing.

Robinson, B. W. 1965. *Drawings of the Masters: Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century*. New York: Shorewood.

____. 1980. *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue*. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet.

____, ed. 1988. *Islamic Art in the Keir Collection*. London: Faber and Faber.

Roe, T. 1899. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogol, 1615–1619*. London. Reprint. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967.

Roemer, H. R. 1986. Chapters 1–6 of *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, ed. P. Jackson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rogers, J. M. 1983. *Cslamic Art and Design: 1500–1700*. London: British Museum.

____. 1989. Ceramics. In *The Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier, 255–70. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rogers, J. M., F. Çağman, and Z. Tanindi. 1986. *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Rossabi, M. 1990. "The 'Decline' of the Central Asian Caravan Trade." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350–1750*, ed. J. D. Tracy, 351–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rougelle, A. 2000. "Porcelaines chinoises des ports du Hadhramaout (Yemen)." *Taoci* 1:67–71.

Royal Ontario Museum. 1992. *Homage to Heaven, Homage to Earth: Chinese Treasures of the Royal Ontario Museum*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

Royal Ontario Museum, Far Eastern Department, 1972. *Chinese Art in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

Ryoichi, F., and H. Gakuji. 1975. *Sekai toji zenshu* (*Ceramic Art of the World*). Vol. 13. Tokyo: Shogakukan.

____. 1976. *Sekai toji zenshu* (*Ceramic Art of the World*). Vol. 14. Tokyo: Shogakukan.

Rye, O. S. 1981. *Pottery Technology: Principles and Reconstruction*. Washington, DC: Taraxacum.

Rye, O. S., and C. Evans. 1976. *Traditional Pottery Techniques of Pakistan*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Salam-Liebich, H. 1983. *Islamic Art: Objects for Daily Use*. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Sām Mīrzā, Humāyūnfarrukh, Rukn al-Dīn. 1936. *Tazkirah-i tuhfah-i Sami*. Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahami-i chap va intisharat-i kutub-i Iran.

Savage, G., H. Newman, and J. P. Cushion. 1974. *An Illustrated Dictionary of Ceramics*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Savage-Smith, E. 2003. "Safavid Magic Bowls." In *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, eds. J. Thompson and S. R. Canby, 240–7. New York and Milan: Asia Society, Museo Poldi Pezzoli and Skira Editore.

Savory, R. 1980. *Iran under the Safavids*. Cambridge: Cambridge Universiity Press.

____. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Safawids." 8:765–74.

Scarce, J. 1973. "Travels with Telegraph and Tiles in Persia: From the Private Papers of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith." *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*: 3:70–81.

____. 1996. *Domestic Culture in the Middle East*. Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland.

____. 2002. "Style from Top to Toe: How to Dress in Isfahan." In *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. S. R. Canby, 72–76. London: British Museum Press.

Schnyder, R. 1969. Ziegler-Teppiche, ein Beitrag zum Thema: Europa und der Orientteppich. *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*. Instanbul: Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi: 209–23.

Scott, R. E., and R. Kerr. 1994. *Ceramic Evolution in the Middle Ming Period*. Singapore: Sun Tree Publishers.

Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, ed. 1983. *Zhongguo taoci quanji* (*Compendium of Chinese Ceramics*), vol. 19. *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi* (*Folk blue-and-white porcelains from Jingdezhen*). Shanghai.

Sheaf, C., and R. S. Kilburn. 1988. *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record*. Oxford: Phaidon.

Sherley, A. 1589. "A briefe compendium of the historie of Sir Anthony Sherley's travels into Persia." In *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrimes; Contayning a History of the World Sea Voyages and Lande Travels by Englishmen and others*, ed. S. Purchas. Reprinted in 20 vols. Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1905–7. 8:375–449.

Simpson, M. S. 1997. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang. New Haven: Yale University Press; Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art.

Smart, E. S. 1977. "Fourteenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from a Tughlaq Palace in Delhi." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 41:199–230.

Smith, D. H. 1958. "Zaytun's Five Centuries of Sino-foreign Trade." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1958:3–4.

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

Sourdel-Thomine, J. and B. Spüler. 1973. *Die Kunst des Islam*. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag.

Soustiel, J. 1985. *La Céramique islamique*. Paris: Office du Livre.

Spry, A. 1974. *Metamorphic Textures*. Oxford: Oxford Pergamon Press.

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. 1967. *Islamische Kunst Ausstellung des Museums für Islamische Kunst*. Berlin: Schloss Charlottenburg (Langhansban).

____. 1979. *Museen für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, Katalog 1979*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

____. 1986. *Islamische Kunst Verborgene Schatze*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

State Hermitage Museum. 1990. *Masterpieces of Islamic Art in the Hermitage Museum*. Kuwait: Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah.

Statens Historiska Museum Stockholm. 1985. *Islam: Art & Culture*. Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum.

Stchoukine, I. 1954. *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides*. Paris: P. Geuthner.

Steensgaard, N. 1974. *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Stein, Sir A. 1936. *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-western India and South-eastern Iran*. London: Macmillan and Co.

Struys, J. J. 1681. *Les voyages de Jan Struys en Muscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes et plusiers autres pais etrangers par M. Glanius*. Amsterdam: Veuve de J. Van Meurs.

Subtelny, M. 1991. "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlasiyya Complex of ʿAli Shir Nava'i in 15th-century Herat and its Endowment." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1): 38–61.

____. 1991. "The Vaqfiya of Mir ʿAli Shir Nava'i as Apologia." *Journal of Turkish Studies* (*Festschrift for Fahir Iz*) 15:257–86.

Sullivan, M. 1957. "Kendi." *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 11:40–58.

Sweetman, J. 1983. *The Spouted Ewer and its Relatives in the Far East*. Brighton: University of Sussex.

Sykes, P. M. 1902. *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia or Eight Years in Iran*. London: John Murray.

Tavernier, J.-B. 1678. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies. Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, 1605–1689*. London.

Terry, R. D., and G. V. Chillingar. 1955. "Summary of 'Concerning Some Additional Aids in Studying Sedimentary Formations' by M. S. Shvetsov." *Journal of Sedimentary Petrology* 25:229–34.

Thackston, W. M. 1989. *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture.

Theunissen, H., A. Abelmann, and W. Meulenkamp. 1990. *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600*. Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw.

Thevenot, J. de. 1687. *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant. In three parts: I, Turkey; II Persia; III The East Indies Newly done out of French*. London: Printed by H. Clark for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes & T. Newborough.

Thierry, S. 1969. *Le Bétel: I. L'Inde et Asie du Sud-Est, Revue du Musée de l'Homme*, supp. to IX, 3, Catalogues du Musée de l'homme. Paris: C.N.R.S.

Thompson, J., and S. R. Canby, eds. 2003. *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*. New York and Milan: Asia Society, Museo Poldi Pezzoli and Skira Editore.

Tichane, R. 1983. *Ching-te-Chen: Views of a Porcelain City*. New York: The New York State Institute for Glaze Research.

Tite, M. S. 1989. "Iznik Pottery: An Investigation of the Methods of Production." *Archaeometry* 31:115–32.

Tracy, J. D., ed. 1990. *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Upton, J. M. 1931. "The Near Eastern Decorative Arts." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26:31–35.

Valenstein, S., J. Meech-pekarik, and M. Jenkins. 1977. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Vol. 12, *Oriental Ceramics: The World's Great Collections*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd.

Van der Wee, H. 1990. "Structural Changes in European Long-distance Trade, and Particularly in the Re-export Trade from South to North, 1350–1750." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. J. D. Tracy, 14–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vaziri Kirmani, Ahmad Ali Khan. 1961. *Tarikh-i Kirman* (*"Salariyah"*), ed. M. I. Bastani-Parizi. Tehran: University of Tehran, AH 1340.

Vernoit, S. 2000. "Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting c. 1850–1950." In *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850–1950*, ed. S. Vernoit, 1–61. London: I. B. Tauris.

Victoria and Albert Museum. 1980. *Far Eastern Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet.

Vince, A. 1982. "Medieval and Post-Medieval Spanish Pottery from the City of London." In *Current Research in Ceramics: Thin-Section Studies*, eds. I. Freestone, C. Johns, and T. Potter, 135–44. British Museum Occasional Paper no. 32. London: British Museum.

Volker, T. 1954. *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima, and Other Contemporary Papers, 1602–1682*. Leiden: Brill.

Von Folsach, K. 1990. *Islamic Art: The David Collection*. Copenhagen: Davids Samling.

____. 2001. *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection*. Copenhagen: F. Hendriksens Eftf.

Wallis, H., and F. D. Godman. 1894. *Persian Ceramic Art: Belonging to Mr. F. DuCane Godman, F.R.S.; With Examples from Other Collections: The Thirteenth Century Lustred Wall-Tiles*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Watson, O. 1985. *Persian Lustre Ware*. London: Faber and Faber.

____. 1987. "Islamic Pots in Chinese Style." *Burlington Magazine* 1987:304–6.

____. 1988. "Ceramics." In *Islamic Art in the Keir Collection*, ed. B. W. Robinson, 139–286. London: Faber and Faber.

____. 2004. *Ceramics from Islamic Lands: Kuwait National Collection, the Al-Sabah Collection*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

Welch, A. 1972. *Collection of Islamic Art*. Geneva: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.

____. 1973. *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan*. New York: The Asia Society.

Welch, S. C. 1972. *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Werz, B. E. J. S., and J. E. Klose. 1994. "Ceramic Analysis from the VOC Ship Oosterland 1687." *South African Journal of Science* 90:522–26.

Whitman, M. D. 1978. *Persian Blue-and-White Ceramics: Cycles of Chinoiserie*. New York: New York University.

____. 1988. "The Scholar, the Drinker and the Ceramic Pot-Painter." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. P. Soucek, 255–77. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association of America.

Wilkinson, C. 1963. *Iranian Ceramics*. New York: Asia House Gallery Publications.

____. 1973. *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic Period*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Willets, W. 1971. *Ceramic Art of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: University of Singapore Art Museum.

Williams, D. F. 1983. "Petrology of Ceramics." In *The Petrology of Archaeological Artefacts*, eds. D. R. C. Kempe and A. P. Harvey, 301–29. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press.

Woods, J. E. 1976. *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica.

Wulff, H. E. 1966. *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.

Xiong, Liao, and Ziang, Wei. 1995–1996. *Zhongguo li dai qing hua hua dian* (*A Pictorial Dictionary of Blue-and-White through the Years*). Vol. 2. Hangzhou: Zhongguo mei shu xue yuan chu ban she.

Index

Abarquh workshop 19, 34
Abbas I, Shah
  military and government viii, 4
  patronage of arts 4, 23, 29, 90
  shrines and 5, 24, 28, 30
Abbas II, Shah 16, 27, 51
Abd al-Wahid (craftsman) 72
Afghans/Afghanistan 3, 17, 207
agencies, European viii, 25
Ali Riza Abbasi (artist) 30
Amina'i Kirmani (potter) 23, 24
animal motifs 131–132, 135, 137, 140, 145
Annamese (Vietnamese) pottery vii, 47, 64, 67, 68, 133
antiquarians 28
Aqa Isma'il "Kashif" (potter) 23
Aqa Shapur (potter) 18
Aqqoyunlu dynasty 13, 58–59, 61, 184
Arab Aqa (potter) 23
archaeological evidence 5–6, 20, 34
architects/architecture 16, 17, 23, 30, 184
Ardabil shrine
  endowments to vii, 8, 24, 28, 30
  sherds 6, 37, 59
Arif Kirmani "Isma'il" (potter) 23
Armenians
  monograms 32, 110–111, 162, 164–166
  pottery and 30, 32, 33
  silk trade and 14, 15, 16, 32
"aster flower" style 111
ateliers 19–20, 33, 57, 62, 63, 64, 66
Azerbaijan 8, 32

backs *See* exterior motifs *entries*
Bahari atelier, Shahreza 19, 172, 210
base marks 21, 22, 27, 28
  See also potters' marks
Basra 183
bazaars 8, 15, 17, 30
Benjamin, S.W., 4
beribboned motifs 135
bird motifs 64, 66–67, 77–78, 136, 138, 139, 143, 144–145
black-band dishes 98–100
blade motifs 147–148, 157
blank cavetto style 75–79
blue-and-white Chinese wares
  European trading companies and 25
  production vii, 1, 21, 27, 93
  Transitional 27, 33, 90, 93, 158, 160
  See also Chinese models
Blue Mosque, Tabriz 190
book arts 14, 18, 23, 29, 62
bottles
  decoration 96
  production 22
  shapes of 33, 34, 37, 41–42, 54
"boutique" production (Kirman workshop) 21, 22, 33, 83–86, 89
bowls 22, 38–39, 40, 53, 115, 271–275
busts 170, 175–176, 179
button-scroll rims 76

Cairo 185
calligraphers 17, 30, 51
caravanserais
  European trading companies and 34
  Isfahan and 4, 19, 33–34
  Kirman and 30, 33
  production centres and 19, 34
carracks 21, 25
cash pattern motifs 151
caterpillar-rims 59
celadons 27, 28, 34, 103
character-marks 90–91, 252–253, 257
Chardin, Jean 4, 33, 34, 37, 40
Chehel Sutun Palace 16, 96, 179
Chinese cresting wave motifs 59, 61, 63
Chinese models 122–166
  departure from 96, 220
  market forces for imitation of 28–29, 33–34, 79
  overview 123–125
  replication of 24
  Syrian pottery and 29
  See also Chinese motifs, central medallions; Chinese motifs, close copies; Chinese motifs, principal bands; exterior motifs *entries*
Chinese motifs, central medallions
  dark 128–129
  definition 125
  dragon 131–132
  floral 128, 131, 133, 163
  Kraak 156, 159–160
  landscape/riverscape 137–138, 144–145, 160–161
Chinese motifs, close copies
  overview 21–22
  mid-fourteenth-century 125–126
  early fifteenth-century 129–130
  late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century 132
  mid-sixteenth-century 133–135
  second half of sixteenth century 140–143
  late sixteenth- to early seventeenth century 149–151
  early to mid-seventeenth-century 158–159
  mid-seventeenth-century 161–162
  late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century 163–164
  Kraak panel 226–227
Chinese motifs, principal bands
  figures in landscape 158–159
  floral scrolls 127–128, 130–131, 149, 162–163
  medallion and cloud 137
  pale ground 159
  panelled 153–155, 165
  riverscape 144
Chinese porcelain exports
  demand in Iran for 21–22, 24, 28
  dynasties and viii, 22, 24, 26, 34, 35
  periodization 26
  "Persian bottle" 33
  Persian potters' response to 2
  reign marks 2, 9
  trade volume 35–36
chini-khaneh 24
chinoiserie
  commoditization 181, 220
  dating and 2, 9, 180, 213
  decorative types and motifs 37, 69, 98, 103–109, 125, 213, 220, 229
  imitative degree of 21–22, 220
  overview vii–viii
  Syrian-made 29
Chongzhen period 124, 158, 160
chrysanthemum motifs 68
classic scroll 127, 149
cloud motifs 136, 137, 139, 157, 160–161
"coarse" wares 25, 27, 32–33
cobalt 2, 22, 66, 112
  See also palettes

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1136/9789004260856_015

coffee cups / coffee-houses 9, 25, 33, 36, 40, 52, 115
collectors/collections 6–7, 8, 24, 30
See also Ardabil shrine; Kubachi
comma-series backs 59
commoditization
designs and 97–98
down-market wares and 22, 32
substitution and 15, 26, 28
weedback style and 73
connoisseurs
evidence from 26–28
poetry and 31
potter's mark and 29
tablewares 21
cotton 1, 15
crane motifs 136, 139
Crowe, Yolande 2–3
cuerda seca technique 22*n*58, 67, 98
Cunaeus, John 27
cups 26, 40–41, 112
See also coffee cups

Daghestan 108, 169
Damascus 29, 184
dating
by decoration and shape 7–9
by inscriptions 98–99, 431–434
Kubachi aggregation 32, 58, 170
lustre-wares 112–115
vessels and tiles listed 431–434
decorative types 58–121
function and 52
Aqqoyunlu Turkman court (1467–1508) 58–61
Shah Isma'il period (1501–1524), 61–66
Jiajing influence (1525–1550) 66–73
mass-production (1540–1600) 73–79
See also decorative types, second Safavid century
decorative types, second Safavid century (1587–1722) 79–121
periodization 26, 79
second Safavid century (1587–1722), Phase I (c. 1615–1640) 80–90
Phase II (c. 1640–1650) 90–96
Phase III (c. 1659–1680) 96–110
Phase IV (1680–1722) 110–121
deer motifs 145
Dehua (Fujian) potteries 103
dervishes 23, 37, 43
diagnostic motifs 20–21, 58, 213
See also exterior motifs *entries*; rims
diamond diaper rims 76–77
diaper motifs 9, 76–77, 94, 106–108, 136, 147, 151, 152, 164
dishes
celadon 27, 32
decorative types 98–101
production 22
shapes of 38, 39–40, 53, 260, 262, 263–270
See also exterior motifs *entries*; rims
Dorn, Bernhard 171
dotted-diamond motifs 147, 164
double-scroll motifs 61
down-market goods 32–33
dragon motifs 131–132, 135, 140
du Mans, Raphael 4, 31

earthenware 2, 22, 34, 37, 43, 45, 47
East India Company viii, 4, 25, 33, 34
egret motifs 143
England
global trade 16, 35–36
naval power viii, 25
epigraphic evidence 5, 20
ethnographic evidence 20
European trading companies viii, 4, 15–16, 25–29, 33–36, 109
European travellers 4, 31, 33
evidence
from connoisseurs 26–28
overview 3–7
about pottery exports from Iran 19, 26, 28, 33, 34
about workshops 19–20
ewers 42, 54, 80, 107, 120
excised monochrome wares 101–103
exports
of pottery from Iran 19, 26, 28, 33, 34
See also Chinese porcelain exports; silk; trade
exterior motifs
consistency in 21, 22
decorative types and 59, 63, 73
Safavid before Shah Abbas 216–219, 238
See also exterior motifs, Chinese; exterior motifs, Safavid since Shah Abbas
exterior motifs, Chinese
beribboned lozenges 165–166
birds and sprays 145
high-fired coloured glazes 163
Kraak dishes 156–157
S-shaped motifs 138–139
Yuan scroll 129
exterior motifs, Safavid since Shah Abbas
branching pair of plants 220–222, 239
continuous lotus scrolls 222–223, 239–240
floral sprays 223–226, 240–241
foot-ring border 228, 243
Kraak-panel designs 226–228, 241–242
lozenges 228–229, 243
sickle-leaf 229, 243

"factories" (agencies) viii, 25
fakhkharan 3, 22
fan-leaf spray design 22
firearms 15, 96
flasks 39, 41–42, 49, 88–89
floral motifs
central medallions 128, 131, 133, 163
chrysanthemum 68
floret 146, 151, 164–165
peach-blossom 75–76
peony 131, 157
petals 135–136, 147, 148, 157, 163
scrolls 127–128, 130–131, 146, 149, 162–163
sprays 223–226, 240–241
foot-rings 38, 169, 171, 180, 216–217, 228, 243
France 26, 31, 35–36
frit-ware 2
fruit-bearing spray 224–240
Fujian potteries 32, 103
fungus motifs 143–144
al-Fustat, Cairo 184

galloping horse motifs 140
Ganj Ali Khan (governor) 30, 89–90
geometric motifs 76–77, 147, 151, 162, 164
Georgia 14–15, 29–30
ghulams 8, 15, 16, 29–30, 89
gifts 25–26, 27, 36
"gory" (celadon) dishes 27, 32
grape motifs 135
guilds 15, 18, 22–23

Hajj Salim (merchant) 31
Hajji Muhammad (potter) 23
hammam 30

hang-holes 33, 171–172
hatched line motifs 164
Herat 14–15, 24, 184
Herbert, Thomas 25
Hormuz viii, 14, 15, 24, 25
horse motifs 140
hospitality and pottery 49, 52
Hulagu (Mongol ruler) 184

illustrated manuscripts 14
imitations
  of Chinese porcelain 21, 22, 33, 39, 219–220
  of Japanese porcelain 111, 160–161, 226
  market-driven 28–29, 33–34, 79
  of Persian pottery 28, 104
incised decoration 22, 32, 100–101
India
  aesthetic influence 31–32
  trade with 25, 34, 35–36
Indian diaspora 16, 32
individual motifs (Chinese models) 139–140, 157–158, 166
inscriptions
  about ritual function 44
  Arabic 27
  on black-band dishes 98–100, 103, 104, 118
  decorative types and 59, 63, 64, 78, 80, 107, 114, 115
  as epigraphic evidence 5, 431–434
  expressive 64, 74, 115, 217
  Kubachi aggregation and 170, 172
  petrography and 20, 170, 187, 190
  potters' marks and 246
  potters named in 23–24
  shapes dated by 39
  workshops and 5
Iran, maps xiv, xv, 192
Isfahan
  guilds 4, 22
  Safavid court vii, x, 1, 8–9, 15–17, 32–33, 40, 44
  trade and travellers 4, 19, 33–34
  See also Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop
Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop 172–181
  decorative types and 73, 86–89, 94–96, 104, 108–109, 116
  dishes 40, 267–270
  field trip ix, 19, 172
  founding of 20
  incised-line wares 20, 22, 32, 180–181
  Isfahan petrofabric 20, 190–191, 194, 196, 201, 208–210
  Kubachi aggregation and ix–x, 7, 9, 32, 73, 94, 169, 170–171, 172, 181
  patronage of 15
  polychrome wares 9, 87–88, 94–96, 104, 174–179
  shapes of wares from 39–40
  tiles 5, 73, 172–173
  turquoise-and-black wares 174
Isma'il I, Shah 13, 29, 61–62
Iznik workshop
  copying of Chinese models vii
  Iznik petrofabric 64
  stylistic influence 65–66, 136, 170, 176–178, 231
  well-documented nature of 2

Japan
  in global trade 26, 35–36
  Persian pottery in 35, 183, 207
Japanese porcelain
  imitating Chinese features 26, 29, 34
  imitations of 111, 160–161, 226
  production and trade 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 109
jars 42–44, 52
jewellers 33
Jiajing style 8, 66, 74, 135
Jingdezhen potteries 21, 22, 26, 32–33, 110, 120
Julfa, Azerbaijan 15, 32

kadkhoda 23, 24
Kaempfer, Engelbert 4
Kangxi period
  Chinese imitation of Kirman 28, 104
  Persian potter's response to viii, 32, 110
kaolin clay vii, 35
kaseh 18
kaseh-gar/i 23, 24, 31
Kashan 20, 184
Kashan pottery 3
kashi 27
kashi-tarashi 23
Kelekian, Dikran Khan (collector) 169
kendis 47–49, 86, 90, 143
khata'i 26, 27
Khatim (potter) 23, 115
Khurasan 8, 30, 70, 184
Khvajeh Muhammad (potter) 23, 100

kilns
  artifacts from 6, 135, 208
  capacity of 28, 35, 89*n*63, 112
  in China 35, 109, 110, 120, 135
  in Iran 28, 35
  labour and techniques and 18–19, 111–112, 113
  in Vietnam 47
kinship, workshops and 20
Kirman
  author's archeological trip 6
  connoisseurs 21
  East India Company and 33, 34
  sherds 5–6, 96
Kirman workshop
  boutique production 21, 22, 33, 83–86, 89
  bowls 40
  dated vessels 26
  founding of 20
  imitative works from 21, 33
  Kangxi imitation of 28, 104
  Kirman clay petrofabric 195, 196, 208
  Kirman petrofabric 194–196, 199–200, 204–208
  lustre-ware 250
  mass production 22
  palette analysis ix
  Phase I 82–86
  Phase II 90–94
  Phase III 98–110
  polychrome 104
  potters 19, 24
  seal-marks 245–246
  sherd dispersal 35
  sources on 19
  tassel-marks 91, 248–252
"kitten's-paw" motifs 157
knock-offs 32–33
Kraak-style porcelain
  imitations of, Phases I and II 80, 82–85, 93, 95, 96
  imitations of, Phases III and IV 102–103, 108–109, 110, 112–114
  motifs from 149–151, 156–157, 159–160, 226–228, 241–242
  shapes and 21, 32, 33, 35, 39, 42
Kubachi
  aggregation, composition of 7, 73, 108, 169, 171–172, 181
  commoditization and 32, 181
  dating and 32, 58, 94, 170
  misconceptions about pottery found at ix, 58, 170–171

Tabriz workshops and 73, 169, 170–171
See also Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop
Kurds 30
kureh-pazan 22
kuzeh 18, 34
kuzeh-garan 22

lance-shaped leaf motifs 158
landscape motifs 143, 144–145, 158–159, 160–161
Lane, Arthur 45, 80, 88, 90, 120, 169, 191, 210
lappet motifs 151–152
leaf-curl diaper
commoditization and 94, 96
dating and diagnosis 9, 99, 107–108, 213, 247
Kirman Phase III hallmark 91, 107, 227
leaf-curl scroll versus 106
on lustre-wares 114, 116
on polychrome wares 104, 106–108
leaf-curl scrolls 22, 106
leaf motifs 22, 157, 158, 229, 243
See also leaf-curl diaper
lion motifs 137
lotus blossom design 91–92, 131
lotus motifs 143, 146, 222–223, 239–240
lozenge motifs 165–166, 228–229, 243
Luschey-Schmeisser, Ingeborg 72, 73, 191
"luscious flower" style 111
lustre-wares
dating 112–115
decoration 115–117
documentation on 2
shapes of 41, 50, 115
workshops and 20, 250
luxury fabrics 36
luxury vessels 20, 36–37

Mahin Banu Sultan (Shah Tahmasb's daughter) 8, 24
Mahmud al-Yazdi (potter) 30
Mahmud Beg caravanserai 34
Mamluk sultanate 184
Man-oo-har (painter) 4
Mani Mashhadi (potter) 23
maritime trade routes xvi, 34
marks *See* potters' marks
"martavan"/*martaban* (celadon) 27, 34
Mashhad
sherds from 6
shrine of Imam Riza (Eighth Imam) 8, 13, 16, 20, 24, 30, 80, 89, 184
Mashhad workshop
character-marks 253
Chinese models and 21
founding and revival of 20, 30
Mashhad I petrofabric 197, 202–203
Mashhad II petrofabric 193, 196, 197, 203–204
Mashhad (?) III petrofabric 204
Phase I 80–82, 89
seal-marks 246–247, 247
stonepaste 27–28
Tabriz workshop and 59
Mashizi (author) 30–31
Masulipatam 28–29
matchlock bottles 96
Maybud workshop 19, 185
Maydans 15, 16, 30
Mazanderan (region) 15
Ming dynasty vii, viii, 22, 26, 34, 59
Mirza Muhammad Taqi (grand vizier) 16
Mirza Muqim Jawhari (merchant) 31
Mokha 29, 34, 35
Mongols 184
monochrome wares 88–89, 101–103, 117–120, 119–120
mosaic faience tiles 30
motifs *See* Chinese motifs *entries*; exterior motifs *entries*; *individual motifs by name*; individual motifs (Chinese models); rims
moulded decoration 100
moulded monochrome wares 88–89, 119–120
Mughals 16, 32, 46, 51, 61, 104
Muhammad-i Zaman (painter 17th century) 51
Muhammad Riza (potter) 23, 115
Muhammadi (painter 16th century) 37
multi-nozzle vases 44–46, 107, 115, 127, 148
Murdoch Smith, Sir Robert 6–7, 169, 191

Nasrabadi (author) 18, 19, 31, 49
The Netherlands viii, 4, 25–29, 32–36
New Julfa, Isfahan 15, 32
nianhao 9, 21, 245
Ni'matullah Vali Kirmani, Shah 5
Nishapur 70
Nishapur workshop
Chinese models and vii, 60, 62, 123, 129
continuity under change in rulers 20, 29, 123
dating and 5, 59, 60
decorative types of 21, 61, 63, 63–64, 69–70
diagnostic motifs and 214, 215, 217, 220
Nishapur petrofabric 60, 170, 187, 190
Qazvin workshop and 70–71
shapes of objects from 38–39
Tabriz workshop and vii, 59, 60, 61, 64, 67
Timurid period 60, 62, 64
Nuqtavi dervishes 37, 43

Olearius, Adam 4, 19–20, 24
Ottomans
"coarse" wares imported from China 32
invasion of Iran 15, 16
Iznik pottery vii, 2
Tabriz and 14
VOC trade with 34–35

painters/paintings 14, 17, 23
See also Riza Abbasi
palettes
decorative types and models 48, 73, 80, 90–96, 98, 104, 110, 115, 150
Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop 173, 174, 180
misconceptions about ix, 210
palmette leaf motifs 157
Paron Safraz (Armenian trader) 32, 111
patronage 4, 14, 15, 23, 29, 62, 90, 121
peach-blossom motifs 75–76
peacock motifs 77–78
peony motifs 131, 157
periodization
Chinese exports 26
Safavid pottery viii, 2–3, 26, 79
Persia and the Persians (Benjamin) 4
"Persian bottle" 33
"Persian Interlude" 26, 35
petal motifs 135–136, 147, 148, 157, 163

petrography 183–210
definitions 7, 20
Isfahan petrofabric 20, 190–191, 194, 196, 201, 208–210
Iznik petrofabric 64
Kirman clay petrofabric 195, 196, 208
Kirman petrofabric 194–196, 199–200, 204–208
market for pottery and 183–185
Mashhad I petrofabric 197, 202–203
Mashhad II petrofabric 193, 196, 197, 203–204
Mashhad (?) III petrofabric 204
methodology 185–187
Nishapur petrofabric 60, 170, 187, 190
Qazvin petrofabric 20, 196, 198, 205, 210
raw materials and 183
Tabriz petrofabric 59, 170, 187, 190, 208, 210
phoenix motifs 78
pietra dura, 32, 104
plant motifs 147–148, 157, 220–222, 239
See also floral motifs; leaf motifs
plantain motifs 147–148
poetry
potter-poets 23, 24
pottery as metaphor for fragility 17–18
polychrome wares
Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop 9, 87–88, 94–96, 104, 174–179
Kangxi imitation of 28, 104
slip-painting vii, 103–108
polygonal plates 22
Pope, Arthur Upham 4, 170–171
Pope, John Alexander 8, 124
Portuguese 15, 24, 25, 35–36
potters
known from texts and inscriptions 23–24
significance and status 17–18
potters' guilds 22, 23
potters' marks 245–257
base marks 21, 22, 27, 28
character-marks 90–91, 252–253, 257
Chinese reign marks 2, 9
dating and 2
decorative types and 79, 90–91, 101, 113–115, 118
diagnostic motifs and 219, 221, 226, 228, 229
seal-marks 28, 245–248, 254
tassel-marks 248–252, 255–256
pottery sites
map xv, 192
See also workshops *by name*
Precise atelier (Tabriz) 62, 63, 64, 66
production
centres of xv, 19
and competition with imports 26–29, 79
for domestic market 28, 34, 35
See also workshops
pseudo-celadons 103

qalyans 22, 36, 46–49, 55
Qandahar 13, 16, 17
Qarachaghay Khan 8, 30, 89
Qaraqoyunlu 184
Qazvin, as capital 14, 15, 20, 29, 58, 184
Qazvin workshop
decorative types and 70–73
founding of 14
object types 38
Qazvin petrofabric 20, 196, 198, 205, 210
Qing dynasty 34, 109
qizilbash 13, 14, 15, 69
quartz 20, 29, 59, 185–187
See also petrography
Qumisheh (now named Shahreza)
field trip to ix, 19
See also Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop

al-Raqqa 184
reserved scroll motifs 151, 152–153
reserved sprig motifs 135–136
rhomboidal motifs 164
ribbon motifs 157
rims
late Timurid 234
Safavid before Shah Abbas 213–216, 235–237
context and shapes 21, 38–39
decorative types 59, 61, 63, 71, 74, 76–77, 214, 235
Isfahan workshop 229–233
riverscape motifs 137–138, 143, 144
Riza Abbasi (painter) and works in his style
ample chin in figures 175, 178–179
dating of pottery 51, 88–89, 210
evidence about shape and use of pottery 37, 43, 46–47, 49, 51
figural tiles 73, 170, 173, 191, 210
vessels with figural paintings 9, 88, 170, 172, 176, 181
Roe, Sir Thomas 36
rosette-scroll backs 63
ruyi motifs 136–137, 146–147, 152–153

Safavid court
history xiii, 13–17
and periodization of pottery viii, 2–3, 26, 79
Safaviyyah order 13
Safi al-Din 13
Safi I, Shah 16
Safi, Shaykh, tomb *See* Ardabil shrine
Saljuq 2, 30, 45, 184
Sam Mirza 23
Samarqand vii, 24, 29, 184
sand, as raw material 29, 190, 208
Sarhat merchants 32
Saru Taqi (grand vizier) 16
Sayyid Ahmadi (potter) 19, 23, 24, 31
scrawny crest rims 63, 71, 214, 235
scroll motifs
button 76
classic 127, 149
double 61
double-headed 139–140
floral 127–128, 130–131, 146, 149, 162–163
fungus 143–144
leaf-curl 22, 106
lotus 222–223, 239–240
reserved 151, 152–153
rosette 63
Yuan 129
seal-marks
context and shapes and 27, 28, 48, 50
decorative types 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 90, 92, 93
potters' marks 245–248, 254
Shahnameh 1, 14
shahr-i ashub 18
Shahreza (formerly Qumisheh) ix, 19, 171, 172, 190, 209–210
See also Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop
shahs *See by forename*
Shanb-i Ghazan 190
shapes 36–55
diagnostic 8–9
evolution of 9, 26, 36

functions and fashions 52–55
open 39–41, 53, 260–275
overview of 36–39
See also shapes, closed; shapes, diagnostic
shapes, closed 41–52
pouring vessels 41–42, 54, 276
qalyan (water-pipes) 36, 46–49, 55
spittoons 50–52, 55, 278
storage vessels 42–46, 261, 277
shapes, diagnostic 259–278
Chinese 26, 262
Safavid, before Shah Abbas 260–261
Safavid, Phase I 263, 264, 267
Safavid, Phase II 264, 267
Safavid, Phase III 265, 266, 267, 268
Safavid, Phase IV 268, 269–270
Shaykh Lutfullah, mosque of 15
sherds 5–6, 34, 35, 37, 59, 96
Shi'ism 13, 15, 17, 37, 57, 62
Shiraz workshop 19
sickle-leaf motifs 229, 243
signatures, on pottery 23
silk
Armenians and 15, 32
competition from Bengal 16
European envoys 4
European trading companies viii, 4, 15, 16, 35
state control of trade 1, 13, 14, 15, 16, 58
textiles 16
trade routes 14, 16, 27
silver 15, 16, 36
slip-painting 1, 49, 96, 101–103
social context of Safavid pottery 13–36
Chinese import competition 24–26
foreign markets 33–35
global trade 35–36
markets in Iran 26–33
Safavid court 13–17
supply and demand 17–24
See also patronage
sources, scholarly *See* evidence
South Asia 27, 34–36, 47, 51, 103, 104, 110
spiral motifs 164
spittoons 50–52, 55
squirrel motifs 135
Stein, Sir Aurel 5, 34
stonepaste
Chinese genre comparable to 27–28
local geology and 29
petrography of 2, 20, 183
potters' guild 22
production 1, 2, 19, 20
"strange roots" motifs 110, 112–113, 114, 229, 248
striped motifs 162
Sufism 13, 17, 38, 40, 57, 67
Sulayman I, Shah 4, 16–17
Suleyman (Ottoman ruler) 14
Sultan Husayn I, Shah 17
swastika motifs 151
Syria, potters from vii, 29

tablewares 1, 32, 33, 35
Tabriz
book arts in 14, 29, 61–62
as capital 13, 14, 29, 58, 170, 172, 184
Ottoman invasion 8, 13, 14, 66
Tabriz workshop
Chinese models and 8, 24, 70, 129, 131, 132, 133, 147, 149
dating and 21, 59
decorative types 21, 61, 62, 66–69, 70, 73–79, 95
diagnostic motifs 214–220
Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop and 174, 175, 177, 180
Kubachi aggregation and ix, 58, 73, 95, 169, 170–171, 210
Mashhad workshop and 59–60, 61
Nishapur workshop and vii, 59, 60, 61, 64, 67
patronage and 29, 61–62, 170, 184
Precise atelier 62, 63, 64, 66
production scale 21, 73
shapes of objects from 38
Tabriz petrofabric 59, 170, 187, 190, 208, 210
Turkman period 20
Tahmasb I, Shah 1, 14, 29, 72
tassel-marks
decorative types and 81, 90, 91, 92, 94, 99, 100, 101, 103
potters' marks 22, 248–252, 255–256
Tavernier, Jean Baptiste 4
textiles 1, 15, 24, 35–36
Tianqi period 124, 155, 160
tiles
dated 433–434
evidence from 5, 37
production 19, 20, 22, 23, 73, 172–173
use of 20, 30, 72, 73, 98
Timurid
inscriptions and petrofabric 20
Nishapur workshop 60, 62, 64
patronage and 24, 29, 61, 184
pottery production vii
tobacco-smoking paraphernalia 36, 46–49
trade
Chinese "tribute" missions to Iran 24
competition with Chinese or Japanese pottery 26–29, 79
domestic market 28, 34, 35
global viii, 35–36
import quantities 25, 28
maritime xvi, 34
overland xvi, 16, 24
records of 4, 26
spices 4, 15, 24, 35–36
trade routes xvi
Transitional wares (China) 27, 33, 90, 93, 158, 160
transliteration of Arabic and Persian x
Turkman 8, 13, 24, 29, 58–59

Umar Khayyam (poet) 17–18
underglaze painting 1, 95, 96, 110–111, 172, 174
unglazed pottery 3, 20, 40, 42, 47
Uzbeks 14–15, 90
Uzun Hasan (Turkman ruler) 13

vases 39, 41, 42–46
See also multi-nozzle vases
Venice 25, 40
Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) viii, 4, 25–29, 32–36
Vietnamese pottery *See* Annamese (Vietnamese) pottery
VOC *See* Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

Wadi Sanha, Yemen 35, 194
Wanli period 21, 124
See also Kraak-style porcelain
wasters ix, 6, 20, 187, 208, 248
water bottles 34
water-pipes 36
See also kendis; *qalyans*
wave motifs 126, 130

weapons 1, 36, 96
weedback style 73–75
workshops 5, 18–23, 34, 86, 172, 210
See also Isfahan/Qumisheh workshop; Iznik workshop; Kirman workshop; Mashhad workshop; Nishapur workshop; Qazvin workshop; Tabriz workshop

Xuande period 24, 60

Yazd-Abarquh 5
Yazd putative workshop 19
the Yemen 35, 36
Yuan porcelain vii, 125–126

Zarand as production centre 19, 184–185, 210
zig-zag motifs 164
zodiac motifs 62, 72