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Shāhnāmeh 733 AH and Samak-e Ayyār Illustrated Manuscripts
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Original Research Article

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Character Design in Al-Inju School of Persian Miniature Painting in the Eighth Century (Study Samples: Shāhnāmeh 733 AH and Samak-e Ayyār Illustrated Manuscripts*

Abstract

Problem Definition: Among the schools of miniature paintings, those paintings left from the Shiraz school of the eighth century AH are significant and unique due to the preservation of the artistic traditions of ancient Iran and their expressive approach. Considering that the composition of the paintings based on the arrangement of the figures was one of the main features of the Shiraz school of miniature painting in the Al-Inju period, this study aimed to study and compare the method of characterization in the paintings of two illustrated manuscripts left from the Shiraz school, namely Samak-e Ayyār with 80 images and the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH with 52 images. In addition, it provides explanations about the characterization and design of the figures in Al-Inju miniature paintings and addresses the similarities and differences between the images of these two illustrated manuscripts.

Objective: The present study aimed to identify and investigate the characterization of the Shiraz school of miniature painting through the visual analysis of the two illustrated manuscripts of Shāhnāmeh 733 (St. Petersburg) and Samak-e Ayyār (Oxford).

Research Method: This research is qualitative in terms of the nature of data and is fundamental considering the purpose. Data collection is a library-based approach, and various instruments such as observation and checklist have been used in compiling the data and writing the research results.

Results: The characters in the studied paintings can be divided into six groups based on their social status: kings, court women, non-court women, female Ayyār, servants, and warriors. The results of this study indicate that each of these six groups differs in following the visual conventions in terms of the type of costume and their physical placement mode in the paintings; the style and position of the characters in the two versions of paintings show their personality traits and social status in each story. In this way, the appearance and design of human characters are the same in both manuscripts, but the way the painter deals with the characters in each version is different. The painter of the Samak-e Ayyār illustrated manuscript has provided more painting space for high-ranking characters, including kings. He portrayed kings, both good and evil, sitting on thrones while the painter of Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript has considered the throne as a place to show royal oppression; the kings were not depicted seated on the throne in Shāhnāmeh manuscript unless they were on the side of evil.

Keywords

Illustration, Persian Miniature Painting, Shiraz School, Al-Inju, Samak-e Ayyār, Shāhnāmeh 733

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Introduction

From the first Mongol invasion of Iran in 616 AH until the end of the domination of the last Mongol Empire of Iran, namely 736 AH, Shiraz experienced many ups and downs. Battle and incursion were developing across cities; meanwhile, discrepancies within the Mongol dynasty over the power added to the chaos. One of the most important disparities and fluctuations in this period was the strange and rapid religious changes that followed many ideological debates among rulers, ministers, and the like. These fluctuations led to changes in the Mongol king's decisions about dismissing one group and empowering another (Zenhari, 2007, p. 133). However, the Mongol domination in Iran is a turning point in the history of Persian miniature painting and is a new approach of adaptations and innovations that began in the late seventh century AH. While different dynasties ruled Iran during the eighth to tenth centuries AH, artists throughout Iran were engaged in illustrating books in the royal workshops of these rulers. In line with the development of book illustration in the courts, although a limit to the social function of painting emerged, instead, the presentation of themes and artistic expression became more widespread, and painting in this era flourished due to its association with Persian poetry (Pakbaz, 2005, p. 59). The Atabegs of Fars (the Salghurids), who ruled Shiraz from 543 to 686 AH, always tried to develop and improve the city. During Mongol invasions and enjoying expert, discreet, and art-lover rulers, Shiraz was protected against slaughter and plunder. This type of safety, which was the result of the rulers' policy, made Shiraz a safe place for many artists and scientists to gather and bring them together in that city (Shāyestehfar, 2002, p. 116). The Atābegs of Fars were very diligent in continuing and maintaining the characteristics of Shiraz book designing. Some members of this dynasty were famous for their literature and art interests. The flourishing of Shiraz book-designing art in the Al-Inju era happened as the result of The Atābegs of Fars' contribution and support(Azhand, 2008, p.32). Since Shiraz was the illustrious center of Iranian culture and the Persian language, the best miniature paintings and the most beautiful calligraphies were presented in this city, and many everlasting poems were composed over several decades (Limbert, 2007, p. 149). In the eighth century, the most notable feature in the Al-Inju school of miniature painting is the large-size human figures that have occupied remarkable spaces in these illustrated manuscripts. Architectural elements, plant elements, and even limited animal characters were added to the miniature paintings only as a necessity and to the extent of introducing the space symbolically. This approach causes the audience to focus only on the central theme of the miniature paintings, which are narrated with large-size human figures. The present study aims to identify and investigate the characterization of the Shiraz school of miniature painting within the Al-Inju era through the visual analysis of the two illustrated manuscripts of Shāhnāmeh 733 (Preserved in St. Petersburg Museum) and Samak-e Ayyār (Preserved in Bodleian Library at Oxford University). In addition, the similarities and differences between the miniature paintings of the manuscripts mentioned above are examined from the perspective of characterization and design of human figures. In this study, first, the Shiraz miniature painting style is introduced. Then the characterization of the kings, court women, non-court women, Ayyār women, servants, and warriors in terms of the design, coloring, and figure's state is examined, and the similarities and differences between characterization in the paintings of these two versions considering Shiraz school of miniature painting are analyzed.

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Research Method

The present study aims to identify and investigate the characterization of the Shiraz school of miniature painting through the visual examination of the two illustrated manuscripts of Shāhnāmeh 733 (St. Petersburg) and Samak-e Ayyār (Oxford). This research is qualitative in terms of the nature of data and is fundamental considering the purpose. Data collection is done by observing visual works, reading books, articles, dissertations, written documents, and websites using a various library and online archival sources. Different instruments such as observation and checklist are used in compiling the data and writing the research results. The present study has analyzed the data in a descriptive-analytical manner based on the comparative methodology. The comparison of features like face frame, figures' placement in paintings, and costumes have been addressed through a general categorization in terms of the social class and gender, including female characters (court women, non-court women, female Ayyār s) and male characters (Kings, servants, warriors) and common features as components of iconography in Shiraz school in the eighth century are presented in the conclusion section. The miniature paintings were obtained from Adamova (Book) through the digital archives of the Bodleian Library.

Research Background

Numerous dissertations have been written about the Shiraz school of miniature painting and manipulated manuscripts in this school, including those conducted by Hashemipour (2018) entitled "The Impact of Manichaean Art on Seljuk Paintings with an Iconological Approach (A Case Study of Samak-e Ayyār Miniature Paintings), "Rais Giglou (2016) entitled "Study and Comparison of Al-Jalyer (Tabriz) and Al-Inju (Shiraz) School of Miniature Painting, "Zare (2015) entitled "The Impact of Mysticism on the Life and Works of Painters of the First School of Shiraz (Al-Inju) by focusing on Shāhnāmeh 733 and Qavām al-ddin Hassan", and Jamshahriāri (2012) entitled "Comparative Study of Shāhnāmeh 731 and 733". In addition to the dissertations mentioned above, the following studies can be added: Abachi, Fahimifar, and Tāvousi (2017) entitled "Comparative Study of Paintings of the oldest Shāhnāmeh in the world with the Shāhnāmehs of the Shiraz Al-Inju school (725-758 AH)" and Marathi (2012) entitled "Explaining How to Combine Writing and Painting and Its Origin in Miniature Paintings of the Shiraz Al-Inju School." In these studies, more attention has been focused on the factors affecting the Shiraz school of miniature painting. Two dissertations of Roxana Zenhāri in the master's degree (2005) and the doctoral degree (2014) are among the important sources regarding the visual features of the paintings of Samak-e Ayyār and Shāhnāmeh 733 AH. The results of the thesis have been published as an article (2007) entitled "Critiques on Painting of the St. Petersburg Shāhnāmeh," and the dissertation was published as a book on the paintings of the Samak-e Ayyār illustrated manuscript (2014). In these two sources, the miniature paintings of these two manuscripts are based on a narrative. While some research on the painting art in Shiraz Al-Inju school has been done before, no comparative study has been conducted on the miniature paintings of the two under-study illustrated manuscripts from their characterization perspective as addressed in the present research.

Miniature Painting in Shiraz School

While analyzing the miniature paintings of the Shiraz school, the powerful artistic and cultural background of the Fars region and the reputation of Shiraz as the center and origin of ancient and long-lasting Iranian art should not be overlooked. The background and

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foundations of this school can be observed in pre-Islamic Iran(Azhand, 2008, p. 9). What is evident in all the works representing Shiraz art is the fact that the Shiraz artist, relying on traditions and being loyal to the artistic features of the past, has created unique works that have originated a new artistic style (Gray, 1990, p. 54). One of the most important features of miniature painting in Shiraz school is that the art of painting in this era has been the least influenced by the art of modern nations. Although in Shiraz school paintings, traces of Chinese art and elements indicating the influences from China can be rarely seen, the Iranian characteristics are much more impressive, and it can be said that the art of miniature painting in this era experienced the minor influences from China and the Mongols (Stchoukine, 1936, p. 93). In some cases, such as details on clouds and plants, Al-Inju paintings illustrate little Chinese art influence, most likely inspired by porcelains and silk fabrics imported from China to Shiraz(Titely, 1983, p. 39). But the main aspects of the paintings, such as composition, color, costume design, and plants shape, especially in smallsize Shāhnāmehs, are different from Chinese works, and this point confirms the independence of Shiraz artists (Binyon, Wilkinson, & Gray, 1988, p. 103). In a general view, the process of manuscript illustration in Shiraz school enjoys several features; The first is the transformation of the elements towards simplicity and abstraction, the second is the symmetrical compositions that have been adjusted as carefully as possible, and the third is the little embellishments and the subtle and bright color palette (Wright, 2013, pp. 153-157). On the other hand, Shiraz paintings in the Al-Inju era include low-perspective images and large figures with bright colors in the background. The foregrounds are painted red, ochre, and gold, and the architectural elements are limited to brick walls with trapezoidal ceilings. The vegetation is presented in the form of streaky sharp mountains, and in some paintings, the empty spaces of the image are filled with large lotus flowers. On the one hand, stair compositions lead to a symmetrical visual structure and, on the other hand, cause the characters to be placed in the image based on their status (Wright, 2013, pp. 162-164).

Manuscripts (Shāhnāmeh 733 AH and Samak-e Ayyār)

Several illustrated manuscripts remained from the Shiraz first school in the Al-Inju era, including Shāhnāmeh 731 AH or Topkapi Shāhnāmeh (Topkapi palace of Istanbul), Shāhnāmeh 741 AH or Shāhnāmeh of Qawām al-din al-Hassan (Spread in European and American collections), Mons al-Ahrār 742 AH (Scattered in American and Kuwait collections), and Shāhnāmeh 799 AH (Cairo Royal Library). One of the oldest Shāhnāmeh manuscripts is the 733 AH version which is believed to have been created in the Shiraz workshop during the Al-Inju era and is now preserved in the St. Petersburg State Library. In illustrating this version of Shāhnāmeh, historical and epic scenes are emphasized, and no romantic scenes are included(Pakbaz, 2000, p. 65). "Mirzā Abolghāsemi" considers the view of the rulers of Al-Inju in the protection of the ancient heritage of the Iranians and the confrontation with the Mongols as the reason for choosing the historical and epic sections for illustration(Mirzā Abolghāsemi, 2008, p. 64). This version of Shāhnāmeh was depicted in the era of Amir Sharaf al-din Mahmoud Inju (ruler of Fars, Kerman, Yazd, Isfahan, and southern islands and coasts, 728-734 AH) in Shiraz (Adamoa, 1992, p. 67). Its text is written in large and legible Naskh (script) in 33 lines of four columns. In this Shāhnāmeh, although the participation of the painter and the scribe is evident, their names are not noticeable, and part of the calligrapher's name has been erased, and another part has been hidden under the mark of a large round seal, and only the words of Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ah ... are readable. The current version has 52 miniature paintings, and the painter has created new works by

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preserving the previous traditions, and the initiative and creativity in these works are recognizable. In some cases, human and animal figures are entirely erased in the paintings and then clumsily engraved with black ink, or a black beard is drawn for them (Adamova & Giuzal'ian, 1985, pp. 14-15). The Samak-e Ayyār, written by Farāmarz ibn Abdullah Kāteb Arjāni is one of the oldest storytelling samples in Persian. This book is one of the folk tales of Iran that the narrators or storytellers of that time told to the people. The hero's name is Samak, and the narrator is called Sādaqeh. Interestingly, in the history of Sistān, there are two rivals named Samaki and Sedghi, each of whom was one of the two grandchildren of Amr ibn Laith Saffāri(Arjāni, 1983, p. 275). This story cannot be accidental while the story of these two sects is also mentioned in Samak-e Avyār as the story of the Sorkh 'Alamān (Red-Wearing Ones) and Siyāh' Alamān (Black-Wearing Ones) and the battle between them(Hasanābādi, 2007, p. 45). According to Azhand, it would also be possible that the story compiler, having a mental background that differed from the two Ayyār groups, wanted to explain the Samak's chivalry and courage from one of his rivals' point of view to be more acceptable (Azhand, 2008, P. 77). This manuscript has 80 miniature paintings, and its writing date along with the author' and painter's names are unknown. In addition to the first page, pages 19-16 in the first volume and the last 12 pages of the second volume should be considered the pages later added to the book. Since the text in Nastaliq (script) is not only on these few pages, the paper type is also thinner and darker than the other pages. Apart from these adjunct pages, the total number of lines in the book is 27 lines per page. In the first two volumes, the poems and the heroes' names are marked by three red dots in a triangle, which is not observed in the third volume. The general shape of the miniature paintings in the first and second volumes is different from the third volume. The tables in volumes one and two are the same and are light red and blue-gray, but in the third volume, not only is the distance between the two lines of the table more but only the red color is used(Zenhāri, 2014, p. 99). Most of the miniature paintings in the third volume sometimes included a descriptive word or sentence, in the margin of the book, outside the frame, often in Naskh (script), but in a different style and handwriting. These writings are thought to have been added later by another scribe(Zenhāri, 2014, p. 101).

Human Characters in the Studied Manuscripts

The feature which is more evident than anything in the miniature paintings of Samak-e Ayyār and Shāhnāmeh 733 AH is the importance of the human face. In other words, the prominent elements to which the painter pays attention are human figures and faces since none of the paintings in these manuscripts are free of human figures. In the paintings of both manuscripts, the stern masculine faces are repeated similarly and can be distinguished from each other only by slight differences. The head is large compared to the body, and the faces and heads are drawn in a round shape. The faces are generally drawn flat and round, the eyebrows are arched, the eyes are almond-shaped, and the noses are aquiline. The beards are thin and sparse, and the hair is long, either on the back of the head or in the form of two long thin braided hair on either side. These features can be considered a convention for portraiture in the Al-Inju school(See Table 1).

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Table 1. Face shape in the paintings of Samak-e Ayyār and Shāhnāmeh 733 AH. Source: Authors.

	Samak-e Ayyār	Shāhnāmeh	Graphic Design
General face Frame			
Eyes and Eyebrows	F	A STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE	
Nose			66
Lips		No.	\ominus
Beard and Mustache			
Hair		-	FR PA

1. Kings: The kings were the prominent characters in the story of Samak-e Ayyār, and the most important decisions were made in their presence. Therefore, the painter was obliged to differentiate their design from other figures (Zenhāri, 2014, p. 292). Apart from the type of costume and considering a larger space for placing the figure on the page, no arrangements were made in terms of face differences. To show the social hierarchy, the painter has considered differences in the figure's shape or type of sitting. The kings sit crosslegged in the paintings of the Samak-e Ayyār (in such a way that one leg is folded under the body and the other is folded toward the abdomen or stretched out). It means that important and great people in miniature paintings sit cross-legged, placing one hand on the knee and the other hand pointing to one side or placed on the chest. In contrast, ordinary people sit side by side in a row in front of an important character, occupying a small part of the image. This state of sitting is reminiscent of a state of obedience and, at the same time, shows the state of a mass of ordinary people against the monopoly of the position of kings or rulers. The face of the king is no different from the face of the other characters. Some kings are depicted with beards and some without beards. The king's costume consists of a relatively large crown on his head, a long robe with separate sleeves, often white, and triangular black shoes. The king's status in the paintings is depicted separately from the other figures, and since he is sitting on the throne in all the paintings, he is slightly higher than the other characters. Differences such as the design of the costume, the type of beard and crown, and the placement of the king's figure on the page distinguish this character from others (See Table 2 & Figure 1). A group of servants usually accompanies the king. They stand with their hands crossed on their chests as a sign of respect, next to or behind the king. Women are depicted in long robes with sleeves covering up to their arms and headcovers extending over the entire head and half of their face. The servants are pictured with their

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hands clasped together, wearing simple caps in light colors like white and long robes. These people are mostly present in volumes one and two of this manuscript, and in the third volume, they are replaced by the guard soldiers who guard behind or beside the king with swords and spears. In addition to the differences between the servants, the illustration type of the king is also slightly different from volumes one and two with volume three. "Zenhari" points out that these differences are not significant and presented in minor details. For example, one of these differences is the pattern on the kings' robes, which in volumes one and two are usually golden plant motifs on a dark red background or small golden clouds on the same background. But this color combination in volume three is replaced by plant motifs on a green background. The different decorative designs on the back panel of the king's throne and the fabric on the throne are other differences between volume three and the first two volumes (Zenhari, 2014, p. 293). The throne did not belong exclusively to the kings and is not a symbol for recognizing the king: In some paintings, it shows the status of story heroes. The important point in distinguishing the character of kings and other characters sitting on the throne is that only kings have crowns, and other characters do not wear crowns(See Table 2 & Figure 2). Unlike the paintings of Samak-e Ayyār, in Shāhnāmeh 733 AH, only two kings, namely Anoushirvān and Salm, Fereydoun's son, are depicted on the throne; because the throne in the epic era is a symbol of conspiracy. (Zenhāri, 2005, p. 225). Anoushirvān, the king who ordered Mazdak to be killed in a battle against the hierarchical system, and Salm, the assassin of Iraj, the king of Iran, sit on the throne metaphorically as two oppressive kings. The general state of the paintings of these kings corresponds exactly to the conventional state of the kings sitting on the throne in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript; The legs are crossed, one hand is on the knee, and the other one is raised either pointing to something or on the knee like the other hand. Kings wear golden crowns, and their long robes are often blue-purple, embellished with floral motifs or clouds. Under the robe, they are wearing long-sleeved clothes, the sleeves of which are visible from under the top cover. (See Table 2 & Figure 1) In the paintings of Shāhnāmeh, in the very first pages, the royal glory is displayed, and the importance of the role of the king is shown. The first two paintings in this manuscript, one of which is a coronation ceremony and the other a recreation of a hunting ceremony, with the king centered on the throne, validate this claim. Many courtiers around him symmetrically surround the king and confirm his status. In these two paintings and other paintings, the image of the king is depicted in relatively larger dimensions than other figures. This method completely follows the previous common traditions, which are represented in Samak-e Ayyār and Shāhnāmeh 731 AH illustrated manuscripts. In the first and second paintings, which appear after the first two paintings, the kingdoms of Fereydoun and Kaykhosrow are shown. Fereydoun is neither sitting on a throne nor wearing a crown, but he ends Zahhak's thousand-year rule as a hero with his helmet and wand. We also see Kaykhosrow wearing armor like Fereydoun, holding a cow-head wand, and riding a horse. What is generally common in the manuscripts in depicting battles is the emphasis on the king's leadership and the conduct of battles by the hero. However, the existence of the king-hero myth in the Shāhnāmeh and this manuscript, in general, makes most of the paintings, which depicted the kings in a traditional state in the Al-Inju school, different (Zenhāri, 2005, p. 164). Kaykhosrow, one of the kings of the epic section, went to fight the enemy without a horse, making him a myth of a king-hero. For this reason, the paintings of Kaykhosrow in Shāhnāmeh conflict with the conventional paintings of kings who sit on the throne (See Table 2 & Figure 3).

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Table 2. Kings' images: (1) Kings in volumes one and two of Samak-e Ayyār; (2) Kings in volume three of Samak-e Ayyār; (3) King-Hero in Shāhnāmeh 733 AH; (4) Kings in Shāhnāmeh 733 AH. Source: Authors.



Women: In the story of Samak-e Ayyār, there are women and heroines who, like Gordāfarid, the Gazhdaham's daughter, an Iranian border guard during the time of Kikāvous Shah, go to the battlefield in Shāhnāmeh and swear allegiance to the ritual of Ayyār. In this story, there are thoughtful and determined women who men respect for their intelligence and expressive opinions, and they trust in their power so that sometimes they are in charge of the army, and sometimes they even consider their intellect superior to men. For example, in one part of the story, Samak confesses to Rouzafzoun that "the things you have done in the world, no brave hero can do. You overtook me, and one hundred Ayyār had better be your follower. I am your trainee in this craft." In the story of Samak-e Ayyār, some women reign, such as Cheglumah, the ruler of Saffron Island, a brave woman who fights Farrokhrouz on the battlefield(Karami & Hesāmpour, 2005, p. 127). Women in the book Samak-e Ayyār are divided into three groups: 1. Court women, 2. Non-court women, and 3. Female Ayyār. The presence of women in history, such as the Turkān, Abash, and Shah Khātun, who were the rulers of the Persian region during the Al-Inju era, showed the support that the Mongol Empire provided to women. The support, as well as the relative freedom that resulted from this support, enabled women to engage in important governmental affairs during this era(Zenhāri, 2007, p. 187). The painter has announced the presence of women in the first painting of this Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript. The categorization of women in Shāhnāmeh is slightly different due to the distinction between the main story and that of Samak-e Ayyār, both in terms of the number of women, which is minor and the role of women in the narratives. In general, the presence of women in Shāhnāmeh can be divided into two main categories: Court women and 2. Non-court women. In addition to this classification, two important characters in Shāhnāmeh, which is related to the story of Rostam's Seven Labours, have been introduced as female characters. One is a witchery woman depicted in the third labour, and the other is a dragon in the painting "Bahram Gor's battle with the female dragon," which is displayed in a feminine form. These two characters

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are different from the common characters in Samak-e Ayyār because, in this manuscript, strange creatures are not depicted in the form of women. This difference is due to the distinction between the stories of these two manuscripts and, in some cases, the personal choice of the painter, which is formed by being influenced by the legends of that era.

2. Court Women: If we take a brief look at women's faces in the miniature paintings, we might not notice the depiction of a woman's face at first glance. What distinguishes them from men in the characterization of women in this manuscript is not the shape of the face and the form of the components of the face, but details such as the shape of the hair and additional embellishments like ornaments hanging from the crowns of upper social class women and also matching the content with the painting to identify the characters. The sitting of court women and queens is precisely the same as the king's characterization (crossed form). This state is a kind of conventional form for people with high social class. The women's hands are pointed to one side as if they are speaking. They wear a long robe with a collar covering their shoulders separately in a different color from the robe. (See Table 3 & Figure 1) In only two paintings are court women depicted informally; One is the scene of Khorshid Shāh embracing Mahpari, and the other is the painting of Abāndokht, Roozafzoon, and Samaneh in the bathhouse. The first painting in Shāhnāmeh 733 AH, where we observe women's images, introduces two court women, Arnavaz and Shahrnaz, two sisters of Jamshid and Zahhāk's wife. Two women are sitting on the throne and watching the battle of Fereydoun and Zahhāk. They are the ones who married Fereydoun after his victory. Although these features are not explicitly mentioned in the text of this Shāhnāmeh, Shahrnāz, the mother of Salm and Tour, and Arnavāz, the Iraj's mother, are depicted by the painter on the throne women portrayed in the stories as impostors(See Table 3, & Figure 2). The conventional type of sitting that was also seen in Samak-e Ayyār is fully observed in these paintings. The crowns of both court women perfectly follow the general pattern of the lozenge form of the crowns in the paintings of the Al-Inju school. The robe of both is long, one of which is embellished with golden ornaments on a green background. The white sleeves with black lines, which indicate creases under the main mantle, perfectly match the pattern of the sleeves in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript. In Arnavāz's character depiction, the sleeves are colored in dark, but the dark lines showing the crease of the fabric are still depicted. The black triangular footwear, which is common to all male and female characters in the paintings, both court, and non-court, are also shown in the painting of the two sisters. The hands' mode is also designed in the conventional way of the Al Inju School. Arnayaz has white lace on his head, and two strands of her brown hair are visible from both sides (See Figure 2, Image 2). In this manuscript, the following image of a woman is Manijeh in the painting "Bijan and Manijeh" and the Āzādeh's image in "Bahrām and Āzādeh." Although these two women might be considered in the category of court women, the way in which these two are portrayed is slightly different from the usual way in which court women are depicted in the Al-Inju school's manuscripts. The costumes are no different from the general design and color of the clothes in this manuscript. Manijeh, in a long white robe covered with the same color as her face, peeping out from the corner of one of the paintings, and a small part of her body is visible. In the image of Bahrām fighting, Āzādeh is depicted at the bottom of the page, under the camel on which Bahrām is riding. Her face is shown as if he is suffering from something. This Azadeh image contrasts what we have seen in most of these two characters' paintings (See Figure 2, Image 3).

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Table 3. Court Women: (1) In the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript; (2) & (3) In Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript. Source: Authors.



- 3. Non-Court Women: Ordinary, rural, and non-court women are often depicted in long robes and headcovers. The headcovers of these women are not decorative, and their hair is not visible, except in a few paintings in which the thin freed hair protrudes from the sides and the bottom of their headcover. These women's costumes are very simple and, therefore, are very different from those of court women. A simple floral pattern can be seen only in a small part of their clothes, such as their skirts. In the painting where Samak appears in a woman's dress in front of Behzād, the characteristics of non-court women's costumes can be clearly observed. The common feature associated with the type of costume worn by these women is the white headcover, which is the same in depicting all of these women characters (See Figure 3, Image 1). In the paintings of Shāhnāmeh 733 AH, in only one painting, namely the "Meeting of Bijan and Manijeh," non-court women are depicted as servants. Two women are standing in the right corner of the image with other male servants, surrounding the king sitting on the throne. Their costumes are like Manijeh's clothes, except that one is dyed red and this one in ochre. Their one-piece robe, which is the same color as their headcover, as if it is even attached to the headcover, covered their whole body except for their eyes. The sleeve of this robe is so long that it reaches the characters' knees. There are differences in the costume types of these women and those in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript, such as not using decorative patterns in clothes, uniformity of costumes, and differences in the shape of the sleeves. But the scarce presence of women in this Shāhnāmeh compared to Samak-e Ayyār is one of the most apparent differences in women's characterization (Figure 3, Image 2).
- **4. Female Ayyārs:** This part of the classification belongs only to the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript, and there is no role of women as heroines or Ayyār in the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript. As mentioned earlier, the role of women in the story of Samak-e Ayyār is as strong as men, and sometimes these women even overtake the lead men. Among these

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heroines in the story of Samak-e Ayyār, we can mention MardānDokht, NikiJahesh, Rouzafzoun, and Sorkhverd, while the description of MardānDokht's courage has appeared more than the others. Then, Rouzafzoun is one of the most important characters in this story, who has accompanied Samak in many missions and has countless abilities. Her picture is included in a total of thirteen paintings from the collection of this manuscripts' paintings (Figure 3, Image 3). In the paintings of Ayyār women in battles, there is no specific characteristic for realizing their gender and feminine characteristics. These women's costumes along with their armor and helmet prevents them from recognizing their character.

Table 4. Figures of non-court women: (1) Non-court woman in Samak-e Ayyār manuscript; (2) Non-court woman in Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript; (3) Ayyār woman in Samak-e Ayyār manuscript. Source: Authors.

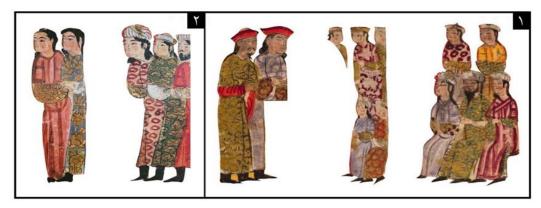


5. Servants: In most of the paintings depicted in the royal court, some people are standing behind, in front, or around the king. In the manuscripts examined, these characters are often male, but in a few cases, the presence of women is also observed as a servant and companions of the king or queen. The type of placement of these characters in the paintings follows a general pattern. They usually stand side by side in a row and on one side of the image. Since in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript, many paintings are dedicated to showing the attendance of characters in front of royal dignity, the presence of the servants in this manuscript is more prominent than in the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH. In the third volume of the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript, the servants present around the royal dignity are depicted with weapons, and they are significantly different from those depicted in the first and second volumes. (See Table 5 & Figure 1). The most important feature that distinguishes the servants from other characters in the paintings is the type of their headcover, which is depicted as a red and white trapezoid. Their robes are long and are usually embellished with geometric patterns. If the robe is simple with no decorative design, these embellishments are depicted on the characters' sleeves. Their hands are either pointing somewhere or drawn on the chest to symbolize being at service. In depicting the servants, the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript is similar to the Samak-e Ayyār. On the first page of the manuscript, which

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begins with two paintings as a full-page introduction, many servants are depicted in the "King's coronation ceremony" painting to emphasize the king's glory. In the following pages, due to the lack of scenes related to the attendance in front of royal dignity, the presence of the servants has become less; however, still, the attendance of these characters can be observed in some paintings. The arrangement of the servants in the paintings is similar to that of Samak-e Ayyār, these characters are depicted around the king in the corner of the image, and usually, two or three people in a row are slightly bent forward with their hand drawn on the chest. Their headcover is in the form of a white turban, or in some paintings, a headcover is not drawn for them. The costumes of these characters are quite similar to those of the servants in the Samak-e Ayyār; long robes with decorative patterns or sleeves that are drawn in a different color from the robe(See Table 5 & Figure 2). The painter has allocated less space to these characters than the others and usually draws them on the sides of the frame so that in almost all the paintings in which they are present, half of their body is removed from the frame, and half is left.

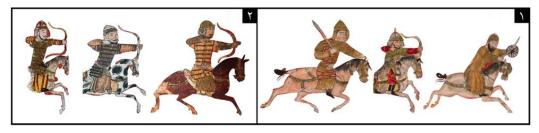
Table 5. Servants: (1) In the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript; (2) In the Shāhnāmeh manuscript. Source: Authors



6. Warriors: Battle scenes are one of the most frequent scenes observed in both manuscripts. For this reason, one of the most important characters repeated many times in the paintings of these two manuscripts is the warriors. Warriors in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript are often riding a horse. The feature that distinguishes these characters from others is their helmet in ochre, light blue, or a mixture of these two colors. The warriors wear a long garment that protrudes from the bottom and sleeves of the top robe, and the foot-covers are triangular-shaped boots in black. In some scenes, in addition to this costume, they wear gray-blue armor with thin black flake-like stripes drawn on it, and in their hands are instruments, such as bows and arrows, spears, swords, and shields, for the battle(See Table 6 & Figure 1). Their sitting position on the horse is such that the head of these characters is inclined forward, and with the horse's movement ahead, it is reminiscent of an attack during the battle. Most of the colors intended for these characters are gold, blue-gray and red. What is observed as a warrior character in the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript does not contradict the figure of the warriors in the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript. There are only a few differences in the details of the characterization, including the way the helmet is drawn in this manuscript is different from that of the Samak-e Ayyar. The use of colors such as yellow and orange in depicting the costumes of these characters can also be observed. In this manuscript, almost all warriors wear armor with horizontal, vertical, black checkered lines drawn on a gold or gray monochrome(See Table 6 & Figure 2).

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Table 5. Warriors: (1) In the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript; (2) In the Shāhnāmeh manuscript. Source: Authors.



Conclusion

The portraiture in the paintings of both studied manuscripts is quite similar and shows the predominant style of portrait miniature in the Shiraz school during the Al-Inju era. Faces are rough, mood less, and masculine. Characters have round faces, arched eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, aquiline noses, and small bud-like lips. Distinguishing women from men is not easy, and it is possible only by knowing the story. The figures have a conventional state based on their role in each painting. The kings sitting on the throne are depicted with crossed legs, one hand on the knee and the other pointing at something or holding hands on the chest. The servants stand in a row in front of the king, hands on the chest in obedient mode, and the warriors are depicted riding horses, leaning forward to induce a sense of movement and fighting. The appearance and design of human characters are the same in both manuscripts, but the painter's approach to the characters is different. The painter of the Samak-e Ayyār manuscript has provided more space in the painting for high-ranking characters, including kings. He portrayed kings, both good and evil, sitting on thrones, while the painter of the Shāhnāmeh 733 AH manuscript considered the throne a place to show royal oppression. The kings did not sit on the throne in this manuscript unless they were on the side of evil. The view of female characters is also different in the paintings of the studied manuscripts. In the story of Samak-e Ayyār, alongside men, women take part in battles, rule lands, and are often admired by the men. The representation of the paintings made by the painter in this manuscript is not contrary to the general narration of the story, and the painter is entirely faithful to the story in recreating the woman's role. But this is not the case in Shāhnāmeh's 733 AH manuscript paintings. However, the painter of the Shāhnāmeh, in only a few paintings that depict women's characters according to the story, has a distinctly different view on the role of women in the story. On the other hand, no positive female characters are depicted in these paintings, and even evil characters such as dragons are displayed with a feminine figure. As mentioned before, the visual structure of the images of the first school of Shiraz is based on the arrangement of large figures, and knowing the way the characters are represented in the paintings of this school paves the way for a better and more understanding of the characteristics of the desired style. The way the figures are depicted, on the one hand, follows the visual conventions and painting traditions of the past and, on the other hand, is influenced by the social position and function of the characters in the story. In addition, the painters have tried to reflect society's personal beliefs and attitudes towards the story with signs in the paintings. Examining and comparing the images of other manuscripts illustrated in this school, and investigating the different approaches of painters, can be a suggestion for future research.

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