Space, Gaze and Femineity: Representation of Women in Architectural Spaces in Persian Miniature Painting (Timurid to Safavid eras)

Sareh Abooali

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



School of Architecture and Built Environment
Faculty of Engineering, Computer & Mathematical Sciences (ECMS)

December 2021

Abstract

Architecture can be compared with the veil (or *hijab*) in terms of its visual and spatial functions. While the veil may overtly conceal, it may also define the woman it clothes in the same way that architecture may simultaneously support and represent its function. Both can deny or direct vision, and mediate space. However, whilst the veil has often been invoked in critiques of the cultural construction of women, the agential role of architecture has largely been overlooked. Using architecture as a lens, this art-historical thesis examines the representation of female figures in Persian miniature paintings as a tactic to reveal and interpret the changing place and power of women in pre-modern Persian society and culture.

Architectures of many descriptions, from mobile tents to monumental mosques and palaces, are among the most consistent and recognisable elements with which Persian miniature paintings are composed, and within which the female figures depicted are literally framed. Through a historical comparison of the architectural framing of the female figure in Persian miniature paintings, produced during the transformation of cultural traditions from the Turko-Mongol practices of the Timurid dynasty to the Irano-Islamic cultural norms and pratcices associated with the Safavid dynasty, the research examines how women were placed and defined in these spaces – sedentary and mobile, and public as well as private – to better understand the changes in social status and mobility that they were experiencing over this same period.

Although previous scholars have recognised Persian miniature paintings as a potentially rich alternative source of primary historical evidence where written sources are lacking or silent, the conceptual distance and visual ambiguity of that medium relative to present day artistic practice and perceptual conventions have presented persistent obstacles to interpretation and understanding. Independently, both the representation of *Women*, and the representation of *Architecture* in Persian miniature paintings have been the focus of valuable but unconnected and differently oriented studies by previous scholars. What has not been studied so closely and methodically before is the spatial structure and arrangement of women in relation to the architecture in (and of) these images, and how a rigorous analysis of that relationship might enhance current understanding of women in the socio-historical contexts depicted in Persian miniature paintings.

Methodological experimentation undertaken in this study has sought to enhance how the multifocal perspective characteristic of architectural elements and spaces depicted in Persian miniature paintings could be better understood. This has resulted in a significant extension and refinement of an analytical method suggested by previous scholars, but evidently never developed and applied so thoroughly before. The particular folding and pop-up technique developed here produces three-dimensional paper projections of Persian miniature paintings through which the spatial arrangement and structure of the architectural elements depicted can be decoded. Using this spatially expanded architecture as a lens and apparatus to view and to site the figures of women in these paintings more accurately, the study then examines the vision and visibility of these women and how this mediated their power within physical and social space. Historically and culturally specific theories of vision and the gaze are engaged in the analysis in two ways: first, with respect to specific ways of seeing reflected in the conventions of Persian miniature painting and its visual representation of the outer world; and, second, in terms of the more universal concepts and acts of seeing in Islamic society, culture and religion, and the way these define codes of behaviour concerning veiling and the spatial polarisation of the sexes.

Through this combination of visual and spatial tactics, this research advances the study of the past by enhancing the analytical depth at which we can interpret and better understand historically and culturally distant visual materials, enabling sharper and even novel observations that challenge certain assumptions about the place(s) of women in Islamic societies, cultures, and art. The study indicates further avenues for the extension of such spatially focused visual inquiry in the Art Historical field of Islamic visual arts and miniature painting studies in particular, and in gender and women's studies more generally.

Keywords

Space, Gaze, Femineity, Representation of Women, Architectural Spaces, Persian Miniature Painting, Timurid Era, Safavid Era.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

The author acknowledges that copyright of published works contained within this thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of those works.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time. I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Candidate: Sareh Abooali

Date: December 2021

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my principal supervisor, Associate Professor Peter Scriver, for his unwavering trust in my abilities to handle this PhD project. I am incredibly indebted to him for his patience, profound visions, vast knowledge, constant generosity and genuine academic care. He recognised the idea of the pop-up method in its very early stage and continuously encouraged me to develop the technique even when the road got tough. Without his persistent help, the goal of this project would not have been realised.

I also would like to express my genuine appreciation to my co-supervisor, Dr Manu Sobti, for his immense knowledge, original insights, marvellous recommendations and motivation, which encouraged me to embrace new concepts. Also for his hard questions, which enabled me to strengthen my research from various perspectives. I am sure that the thesis could not have been completed without his sincere support and productive guidance.

I would like to acknowledge the Australian Government for granting me the Australian Postgraduate Award (APA) for three years without which it would have been impossible for me to have been a full-time researcher. I thankfully acknowledge the School of Architecture and Built Environment for providing me with the annual postgraduate allowance and terrific academic support.

The project has also benefitted from the input of various academics, staff members and PhD candidates at the School of Architecture and Built Environment throughout its development. I am sincerely thankful to Dr Katharine Bartsch, Professor Catherine Speck, Ian Florance, Melissa Wilson, and Velice Wennan. In particular, I am grateful to Professor Samer Akkach for enlightening me on gaze as a theory.

I thank my colleagues for stimulating discussions, and for all the fun we have had in the last four years, including Mansoureh Rajabi Tanha, Dr. Zahra Ranjbari, Dr. Armin Mehdipour, and Dr. Martin Larbi. My special thanks to Leo Bassano for her generous support and help in creating part of the pop-up models. She was always keen to know what I was doing and how I was proceeding. My special thanks to Dr. Diane Brown for language and other editing in accordance with the ACGR/IPEd guidelines and the current Australian Standards for Editing Practice.

I would like to acknowledge the National Library of Iran, Reza Abbasi Museum, the Golestan Palace Library of Tehran, assisting me in conducting data collection in Iran. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Mrs Nasrin Marjani, the principle of the Manuscript Department of Golestan Palace Library, for facilitating access to some unpublished illustrated manuscripts and folios hosted by this library.

Last but not least, I wish to extend my deepest gratitude to my family. I am indebted to my mother for her unconditional love and support, to my father for planting the passion for Persian art, history and literature in my heart, and to my sisters Gelareh and Bahareh who paved my way to study Visual Arts. I also owe special thanks to Hamed Tavakoli, for being a motivating and supportive colleague and a husband with absolute love and patience throughout this scholarly journey.

Table of Contents

List of Figures……..x
List of Tables……xix
List of Abbreviations……xix

Introduction ……1
Overview……..2
Aim and Background……..4
Research questions…….....9
Theory and method……...9
Significance and contribution to knowledge…….....11
Thesis structure……...14

PART I: BACKGROUND: WOMEN IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Chapter 1. Sociocultural Transformation from Timurid to Safavid Eras and Changing Women's Roles ……..17

1.1 Introduction……..18
1.2 Women in the Timurid cultural era (1370 –1507) ……...…22
1.3 Women in the early Safavid dynasty (sixteenth century): the synthesis of Turko-Mongol and Irano-Islamic traditions ……24
1.4 Women in the late Safavid dynasty (seventeenth century): the emergence of a new political theory…26
1.5 Summary…….....28

Chapter 2. Timurid and Safavid Women in Royal, Urban, Rural and Nomadic Societies: The Case of Gender Segregation and the Veil…….29

2.1 Introduction……..30
2.2 Gender seclusion, the veil and rise of urban life ……31
2.3 Timurid royal women…… ….32
2.4 Timurid urban women……..35
2.5 Safavid royal women…….....37
2.6 Safavid urban women……...43
2.7 Iranian women in rural and nomadic societies……45
2.8 Summary……...51

PART II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY: GAZE AND SPACE

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework: Gaze and Femineity in Islamic Visual Arts…….....53

3.1 Introduction……...54
3.2 *Nazar* in Persian Sufism and literature……56
3.3 Way of seeing in Persian painting……59
3.3.1 Conceptual background*: Alam-i-khayal*, seeing without seeing……..61
3.3.2 Practical methods: Omnipresent transcended gaze……...64
3.4 Summary……..70

Chapter 4. Methodology: Gaze and Space……71

4.1 Introduction……..72
4.2 Architecture in Persian painting as a resource……73
4.3 Architecture as method: Analytical approach ……75
4.4 Potential and limitations of previous analytical techniques ……78
4.5 Reverting the gaze, decoding the space……...80
4.6 Summary……...84

PART III: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: THE CONFLUENCE OF SPACE, GAZE AND FEMINEITY

Chapter 5. Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture I: *Ordu* and *Bāgh*.....…….87

5. 1 Introduction…….88
5.2 The function of the b***ā***gh ……93
5.3 The metaphor of the b***ā***gh ……...94
5.3.1 Gardens as a gendered site……...95
5.3.2 Gardens as an omnipresent form in Islamic art ……...96
5.3.2.1 Security, femineity, and the Quranic garden……...97
5.3.2.2 The Persian garden and the vision of beloved……...102
5.4 Women and mobile furnishings in garden scenes……..106
5.4.1 Women's dignity and mobile furniture…….....109
5.4.2 Women's privacy and garden textile furniture……..114
5.5 Summary……....116

Chapter 6. Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture: II *Sarāpardeh* ……119

6.1 Introduction……...120
6.2 The fabric wall enclosure: *Sarāpardeh*……120
6.2.1 Structure and security of *Sarāpardeh*……...122
6.2.2 Timurid women's enclosures……124
6.3 Feminiety and representation of *Sarāpardeh* in Persian painting ……131
6.4 Women, poetic gaze, and natural enclosures……141
6.4.1 Gazing at women……141
6.4.2 Women gazing……150
6.4 Summary……...159

Chapter 7. Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture III: *Khaymeh and khargāh*……..……161

7.1 Introduction……...162
7.2 Royal tent: function and meaning ……162
7.3 Typological categories of nomadic tents……...165
7.4 Trellis tents of Timur's wives……168
7.5 Representation of women in encampment scenes……172
7.5.1 Women's quarters in royal encampments……...172
7.5.2 *Khaymeh* as royal *iwan*, *khargāh* as *shabistān* ……..177
7.5.3 Women in functional nomadic encampments……183
7.5.4 Women's sphere within the campsite ……190
7.6 Summary……...203

Chapter 8. Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Sedentary Residential Architecture in Persian Painting…….....205

8.1 Introduction……206
8.2 *Ahkām al-Nazar* (Sharia rulings on vision) and Principles of visual privacy in traditional Persian architecture……206
8.3 Gender segregation and privacy: Themes in Persian painting …….....212
8.4 Women behind curtains in Persian painting……...224
8.5 Seclusion in the illustration of feminine stories……227
8.6 Concealed privacy: Discovering and recovering……...232
8.6.1 Secluded by walls……..233
8.6.2 Secluded without walls…….....240
8.7 Building as women's watchtower……..250
8.8 Building as theatrical stage……...258
8.9 Summary……266

Chapter 9. Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Religious Structures in Persian Miniature Painting……..269

9.1 Introduction……270
9.2 Women in school scenes……272
9.3 Women in mosque scenes……...276
9.4 Women in *tekyeh*……285
9.5 Summary……289

Chapter 10. A Setting for Seeing: Vision, Division and Versatile Perspective within a Mosque Scene from *Zafarname of Shah Tahmasp*……...291

10.1 Introduction ……292
10.2 Masjid-i 'Atiq: History and structure…….....293
10.3 The Image: A Scenography of Vision and Division……299
10.4 Summary ……314

Chapter 11: The City and its Night-scape: New Visions Towards Understanding Femineity in a Safavid Urban Scene……..….317

11.1 Introduction ……318
11.2 A review of previous studies……321
11.3 Necessity for a New Method……323
11.4 Pre-analysis discussion……324
11.4.1 Mir Sayyid 'Ali's vision and style……...326
11.4.2 The subject in the absence of text……327
11.5 Iconographical and spatial analysis……330
11.5.1 Phase One: Phase One: two-dimensional iconographical and spatial analysis of the original painting……330
11.5.1.1 Royal Palace……..336
11.5.1.2 Bazaar and the city area…….....341
11.5.1.3 Rural landscape……..347
11.5.1.4 Countryside pavilion……..349
11.5.2 Phase Two: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying the pop-up method…….353
11.5.2.1 Phase Two Stage 1: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying a basic pop-up method……..353

11.5.2.2 Phase Two Stage 2: 3D spatial analysis by applying an advanced pop-up method (detachment of the four defined sections)……356
11.5.2.3 Phase Two Stage 3: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying an advanced Pop-up method (amending and adjustment by demonstrating depth)……...358
11.5.3 Phase Three: Iconographical analysis based on the final three-dimensional model…….365
11.5.3.1 Pre-analysis investigation: Toward enlightening the city…….....365
11.5.3.2 Suggesting a schematic plan……..…...366
11.5.3.3 Tabriz in the early sixteenth century……..370
11.6 Conclusion……...378

Chapter 12. Discussion and Conclusion: Re-gazing and Re-narrating……383

12.1 Introduction……..384
12.2 Past gaze: the painter ……...386
12.3 Present gaze: the observer: ……..387
12.4 Women's gaze within the images…….....388
12.4.1 Knowledge as power…….390
12.4.2 Gaze as power……....392
12.5 Conclusion……....403

Bibliography…….....407

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Enthronement of a Mongol ruler, Diez Album.…… ……..24
Figure 1.2. Women participate in *Ta'ziya* (religious theatre).....…….……..……28
Figure 1.3. Veiled women in front of groups of attendants at a religious gathering....……..28

Figure 2.1 Lūt and his family fleeing the destruction of Sodūm…….....36
Figure 2.2 Ayyub recovering from his afflictions……..36
Figure 2.3 Woman with a veil attributed to Riza Abbasi……...38
Figure 2.4 Safavid woman with headdress and robe open at the front……...38
Figure 2.5 Safavid women with covering and veil……40
Figure 2.6 Female court dress, Safavid Persian the 1600s……..……...40
Figure 2.7 Safavid Armenian woman…….....40
Figure 2.8 Timur welcomes Amirzadeh Jahangir's wife……...43
Figure 2.9 Zulaykha enter the capital of Egypt……..43
Figure 2.10 Qajar Georgian women of Isfahan……..45
Figure 2.11 Kurdish woman……..…45
Figure 2.12 Qajar Georgian/Armenian woman wearing a light veil……..…45
Figure 2.13 Qajar women wearing a Black *Chador* and white veil……...45
Figure 2.14 Qajar Armenian girls in a garden……..…45
Figure 2.15 Semi-veiled Gajar girl……45
Figure 2.16 Qajar village women……...47
Figure 2.17 Two Qajar women carrying clay jugs…….....47
Figure 2.18 Woman nursing her baby in a nomadic encampment……47
Figure 2.19 Woman with two children in the *Andaruni*……....47
Figure 2.20 Woman embroidering……47
Figure 2.21 Qajar woman embroidering……47
Figure 2.22 The spinner woman……48
Figure 2.23 Women spinning……48
Figure 2.24 Qajar women weaving carpet……48
Figure 2.25 Shahsevan nomadic women spinning wool and weaving carpet……48
Figure 2.26 Qashqai tribal woman……49
Figure 2.27 Kurdish tribal women……49
Figure 2.28 Women busy with daily chores in a nomadic encampment……...50

Figure 3.1 Bird's-eye view: Paris in 1850…….....67
Figure 3.2 Depicting bird flight in the Moorfields area……67
Figure 3.3 Multifocal perspective in a folio of Haft Awrang of Jami……68
Figure 3.4 Juxtaposition of interior and exterior, plan and elevation, The Dream of Siyavash……68
Figure 3.5 Haftvad's doubters and the worm……69
Figure 3.6 Photomontage, The Light, Victoria Rick……..69

Figure 4.1. Figure 4.1. Experiment with a folded model that reveals the side surface by Yazar..……80
Figure 4.2. Card model with flat and warped surfaces by Yazar…….....80
Figure 4.3. Applying folding and pop-up techniques to identify the spatial arrangement in a mobile architecture setting. ……..82
Figure 4.4. Applying folding and pop-up techniques to identify the spatial arrangement and architectural structures of a palace scene. ……83
Figure 4.5. The scope of the study……..85
Figure 4.6. Visual illustration of the theoretical framework and methodology……..85

Figure 5.1. Map of Samarqand in the Timurid period (1370–1506)……89
Figure 5.2. Europian Ilchid bring Ottoman Sultan Morad's son to Timur ……...90
Figure 5.3. Timur's enthronement ……90
Figure 5.4. Birth of Mirzadeh Shahrokh ……...90
Figure 5.5. Timur receiving guests at the wedding of his son……90
Figure 5.6. Samarqand gardens……..94
Figure 5.7. Prophets in Paradise……98
Figure 5.8. Timur is granting audience on the occasion of his succession succession……101
Figure 5.9. Woman seated in a tree…… 104
Figure 5.10. Woman with a spray of flowers……..104
Figure 5.11. Humay and Humayun meeting in a garden……104
Figure 5.12. Couple in a landscape……..104
Figure 5.13.Wedding of Khosrow and Shirin……..104
Figure 5.14. Lovers in the garden……104
Figure 5.15. Humay and Humayun feast in a garden……..105
Figure 5.16. Lovers' picnic……...105
Figure 5.17. Zal and Rudabeh celebrating their wedding……105
Figure 5.18. Siyavash and Farangis……105
Figure 5.19. Ulugh Beg with ladies of his haram……107
Figure 5.20. The seating arrangement of women in a folio from Shahnameh Baysonguri ……107
Figure 5.21. Shirin sees Khosrow's portrait……108
Figure 5.22. Alexander recognised by Queen Nushabeh……108
Figure 5.23. Iskandar and Nushabeh……....108
Figure 5.24. Banquet of Fereydoun and sons and daughters of the Yemen King ……..108
Figure 5.25. Schematic diagram of mobile architecture and seating arrangement based on the Clavijo description of Kh*ánzá*deh's feast at Kan-i Gil. A multifocal perspective……112
Figure 5.26. Analysis of the arrangement of the carpets and guests in a banquet scene ……....113
Figure 5.27. Sultan Husayn in an enclosed garden with musicians and attendants……114
Figure 5.28. Readjustment and analyse of the two separate folios of Sultan Husayn in an enclosed garden with musicians and attendants.……115

Figure 6.1. Majnun approaches the camp of Leyli's caravan……..127
Figure 6.2. Shahsevan woman cooking beside the tents……..127
Figure 6.3. Women of a Shahsevan tribe are doing their daily domestic duties beside the trellis tents ….127
Figure 6.4. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Layli's tent……128
Figure 6.5. Black tents belonging to Kermanj nomads of Khorasan……...128
Figure 6.6. Sa'di and youth in a tribal encampment scene……..129
Figure 6.7. Crowd attacks the young man……129
Figure 6.8. Sultan Suleyman before Belgrade in flames……..131
Figure 6.9. Shida in the camp of Key Khosrow……...131
Figure 6.10. Unpublished folio (no. 284) from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708)……...132
Figure 6.11. The location of the great reception tent outside the private enclosure……..…...133
Figure 6.12. The private enclosure concealed by the great reception tent……..……133
Figure 6.13. Timur enthroned……..135
Figure 6.14. Defining spatial arrangements, architectural structure and position of characters in Timur Enthroned (Figure 6.13)……136
Figure 6.15. Reciprocal and one-sided gaze between characters in Timur Enthroned (Figure 6.13)……..137
Figure 6.16. Applying folding and pop-up method to identify the spatial arrangement of the scene and position of characters in relation to architectural structures……140
Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing……..143
Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing……143
Figure 6.19. Comparing Khosrow gazing at Shirin from three different executions……...144
Figure 6.20. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing)……146
Figure 6.21. Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing)……146

Figure 6.22. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing), Shirin encircled by a natural enclosure……147
Figure 6.23 Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing), Shirin encircled by a natural enclosure……...147
Figure 6.24. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing)……148
Figure 6.25. Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing)……148
Figure 6.26. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing)…… ……...149
Figure 6.27. Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing)……149
Figure 6.28. Bizhan meets Manizheh……...150
Figure 6.29. Defining different spatial layers vertically arranged from top to bottom of the page……153
Figure 6.30. Applying the folding and pop-up method to define the spacial arrangement of the scene and Manizeh's encampment position in relation to the garden……154
Figure 6.31. Pop-up models, defining hills as a natural enclosure for Manizeh's encampment……..155
Figure 6.32. Pop-up model, the campsite surrounded by hills……156
Figure 6.33. Looking at Manizheh's encampment from Bizhan's viewpoint……..157
Figure 6.34. Looking at Bizhan from Manizheh's viewpoint……..157
Figure 6.35. Comparison between three landscape images (Figures 6.17, 6.18 and 6.28)……...158

Figure 7.1. Different types of trellis tents as defined by Peter Alford Andrews……..171
Figure 7.2. Figure 7.2. Rostam mourns Sohrab, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp ……173
Figure 7.3. The killing of Iraj, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp ……173
Figure 7.4. Elevated view. Demonstration of depth using overlapping layers ……...174
Figure 7.5. Front view. Women's tents concealed behind the great reception tent ……174
Figure 7.6. Salm and Tur discuss Manuchehr ……176
Figure 7.7. Zal questions Sam's intentions regarding the House of Mihrab ……..176
Figure 7.8. Siyavash seeks counsel from Zangeh and Bahram.....176
Figure 7.9. Discussion with amirs to fight with Amir Bildooz…….....177
Figure 7.10. Shahpur returns to Khusraw ……...177
Figure 7.11. Unpublished folio from Shahnameh of Rashida ……177
Figure 7.12. Applying the pop-up method to define the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and women's residence, Elevated view……178
Figure 7.13. Applying the pop-up method to define the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and women's residence, Front view ……178
Figure 7.14. A luxuriously decorated trellis tent with doors onto a garden, Iraj proposes to meet his brothers ……179
Figure 7.15. The king tests the servant……180
Figure 7.16. Yusuf and Zulaykha……180
Figure 7.17. The flight of the tortoise……..180
Figure 7.18. Comparing the '*khaymeh'* as the royal reception pavilion tent in the encampments scenes and *'iwam'* in the palace……..182
Figure 7.19. Comparing the '*khargāh'* and *'Shabistan'* (chamber). Left: The lovers' meeting. Right: Zahhak kills the father……..182
Figure 7.20. Details from the meeting of the clans (Figure 7.23) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life. ……184
Figure 7.21. Details from a depraved man commits bestiality and is berated by Satan (Figure 7.26) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life……185
Figure 7.22. Details from Qays (Majnun) first glimpses Leyli (Figure 31) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life.…….....185
Figure 7.23. Meeting of the clans……186
Figure 7.24. Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and female residence. Elevated view……187
Figure 7.25. Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and female residence. Full frontal view……187
Figure 7.26. A depraved man commits bestiality and is berated by Satan……..188
Figure 7.27. Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception

pavilion and female residence. Elevated view……189
Figure 7.28. Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and female residence. Full frontal view……189
Figure 7.29. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyla's tent……..190
Figure 7.30. Majnun in chains is led by the old woman to Leyla's tent……..190
Figure 7.31. Qays (Majnun) first glimpses Leyla……191
Figure 7.32. Leyla summons Majnun to her camp……...191
Figure 7.33. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.31)……..192
Figure 7.34. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.32)……...193
Figure 7.35. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyla's tent (Figure 7.29)…… ……....194
Figure 7.36. Defining the distribution of males, females, and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.26)……...195
Figure 7.37. Analysis. Defining the distribution of males, females and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background. Yusuf is rescued from the well ……196
Figure 7.38. Defining the distribution of males, females, and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.23)……...197
Figure 7.39. A nomadic black tent and mountains in the background……199
Figure 7.40. *'Guot'* black tents of Sangsar tribe in Damavand mountain country with hills in the background, 1225 (1940 AD)……..199
Figure 7.41. Schematic plan of encampment setting based on Figure 7.35, women's tents in foreground……..200
Figure 7.42. Schematic plan of encampment setting based on Figure 7.38, women's tents on middle ground……..201
Figure 7.43. Underlining two methods to emphasis the central theme of the text: Depicting Majnun in chains in the foreground with the gaze of the tribe on him to highlight the central theme of the text……..203
Figure 7.44. Underlining two methods to emphasis the central theme of the text: Selecting zoom-in view and close frame to highlight the central theme of the text……203

Figure 8.1. Privacy and introversion *(daroon-garāei)* in Gerami House-Yazd-Iran……211
Figure 8.2. Street (public space) and the entrance door……211
Figure 8.3. *Dalān* (corridor), the transition between public and semi-private parts of the house……211
Figure 8.4. The entrance door with male and female doorknockers……211
Figure 8.5. *Orsi:* glazed glass windows mounted in *Mushhabak* frames, filter the gaze to provide visual privacy……..211
Figure 8.6. Humay in the Chinese court……...213
Figure 8.7. Shah Manuchehr discusses the issue of Zal and Rudabeh with Sam……213
Figure 8.8. The first method of gender separation, Piran visits Siyavashgerd……214
Figure 8.9. The first method of gender separation, Barbad plays to Khusrau ……214
Figure 8.10. The first method of gender separation, Zahhak's nightmare……...215
Figure 8.11. Men's feast with the presence of women as performers and players. Feast at Timur's court, two unpublished images from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708, 1528)…… ……216
Figure 8.12. Male's feast in a garden pavilion, Khusrau enthroned……217
Figure 8.13. The second method of gender separation, Khusrau and Shirin entertained……217
Figure 8.14. The second method of gender separation, Humay and Humayun feast in a garden……218
Figure 8.15. Faridun's sons meet Sarv's daughters……219
Figure 8.16. Mehrab speaks with Rudabeh……..219
Figure 8.17. Mehrab describes Zal for Sindokht and Rudabeh……219
Figure 8.18. The story of Indian female performers……221

Figure 8.19. The eavesdropper……223
Figure 8.20. The master spying on bathing maidens……223
Figure 8.21. Division of males and females by curtain in a congregational prayer room……225
Figure 8.22. The Sultan Alaeddin's royal court demonstrated by a throne and a curtain……226
Figure 8.23. Yusuf is sitting on his royal throne behind the curtain, talking to his brothers who are kneeling in front of him……226
Figure 8.24. Ya'qub's wife and her maid secluded behind the curtain……226
Figure 8.25. Zulaykha with her handmaidens after her second dream of Yusuf……227
Figure 8.26. Yusuf preaches to Zulaykha's maidens in her garden……227
Figure 8.27. Bahram Gur in the black pavilion……229
Figure 8.28. Bahram Gur in the green palace on Monday……229
Figure 8.29. Anushirvan with a princess……229
Figure 8.30. A court scene with Timur and his maiden from Khwarezm……229
Figure 8.31. Siyavash and Soudabeh in Shabistan……229
Figure 8.32. Iskandar marries Rushanak……229
Figure 8.33. Khusraw and Shirin in the marriage bed……230
Figure 8.34.Yusuf and Zulaikha's marriage……230
Figure 8.35.The tale of Ardashir Babakan and Golnar……230
Figure 8.36. Rudaba gives birth to Rostam……231
Figure 8.37. The celebration of the birth of Majnun under Bihzad's supervision ……231
Figure 8.38. The birth of Rostam……231
Figure 8.39. The birth of Rostam……231
Figure 8.40. Three main perspectives from which to examine a residential structure ……233
Figure 8.41. Shirin receives Khosrow at her palace in Armenia……235
Figure 8.42. Iskandar shown his portrait by Nushaba……235
Figure 8.43. The Baysonghor Shahnameh (no.716, Golestan Palace, 1426–1430)……235
Figure 8.44. Khosrow entertains Shirin at his palace in Armenia……235
Figure 8.45. Defining two main sections (inner private quarters and outside private quarters) made by palace barrier. The birth of Zal……237
Figure 8.46. Folding and pop-up model, looking at the palace standing behind the walls where the courtiers are standing……238
Figure 8.47. Applying folding and pop-up method to suggest the 3D model of the space……239
Figure 8.48. Revealing concealed elements, Zahhak kills the father……241
Figure 8.49. Three-storey apartment house, 1901……242
Figure 8.50. Yusuf pursued by Zulaikha, Bustan by Sa'di……242
Figure 8.51. Part of Figure 8.49, section drawing……242
Figure 8.52. Scenic design by juxtaposition of exterior, elevation and section……244
Figure 8.53. The tale of Ardashir and Golnar……244
Figure 8.54. Restoring the privacy of female chamber by fixing the removed wall……244
Figure 8.55. Architectural drawing combining elevation, section and plan: Drawings by Willey Reveley of Jeremy Bentham's proposal for a Panopticon prison, 1791……246
Figure 8.56. Gold coins poured over Humayun……246
Figure 8.57. Dividing the private chamber and royal hall……246
Figure 8.58. Restoring the privacy of female chamber by fixing the removed wall……246
Figure 8.59. Siyavash marries Jarireh……247
Figure 8.60. Division of the space into interior as female private chamber and exterior as courtyard for male feast……248
Figure 8.61. Reconcilement of privacy by restoring the removed wall of women's chamber……248
Figure 8.62. Understanding the combination of section, elevation and plan by applying the folding and pop-up method to suggest a 3D model of the space.……249
Figure 8.63. Comparing the rooftop, balcony and window in Persian painting and the balconies or galleries as more raised seating platforms in the auditorium ……251
Figure 8.64. Humay before the palace of Humayun……253
Figure 8.65. Khosrow at Shirin's palace ……254

Figure 8.66. Zal climbs to reach Rudabeh ……..255
Figure 8.67. Rudabeh lets her hair down to Zal ……..255
Figure 8.68. The first encounter between the Prophet Muhammad and Khadija……257
Figure 8.69. Khadija proposing to Muhammad……...257
Figure 8.70. The Baysonghor Shahnameh, no.716……..257
Figure 8.71. Sultan Sanjar and older woman……..257
Figure 8.72. Idrīs (Enoch) in Paradise……258
Figure 8.73. Weeping and mourning for the death of Alexander……259
Figure 8.74. Mourning a ruler. Illustration of Rashid-ad-Din's Gami' at-tawarih……..259
Figure 8.75. Mourning the death of Iskandar……..259
Figure 8.76. The Iranians mourn Farud and Jarira……260
Figure 8.77. Comparing the choreography and spatial setting of Timur's funeral, and cast on the theatre stage, Timur's funeral……..262
Figure 8.78. It shoulda been you 2017……262
Figure 8.79. Application of the folding and pop-up method to understand the combination of plan, elevation and section……..264
Figure 8.80. Comparing the theatrical setting of Timur's funeral and the three-level stage of the revival of Ragtime ……..264
Figure 8.81. Application of folding and pop-up method based on the juxtaposition of plan, elevation and section……265

Figure 9.1. Masjid-i Jami'-i Yazd …… ……...271
Figure 9.2. Floor plan of Masjid-i Jami'-i Yazd ……....271
Figure 9.3. Shah Mosque, Naqsh-e Jahan Square……..271
Figure 9.4. Chahār Bāgh School (Madreseye Chahār Bāgh)……....271
Figure 9.5. Leyli and Majnun at school……....272
Figure 9.6. Beggar at a mosque……272
Figure 9.7. Leyli and Majnun at school……273
Figure 9.8. The elaborately carved stucco mihrab and two minbars……273
Figure 9.9. Sa'di and the youth of Kashgar……...275
Figure 9.10. School scene……....275
Figure 9.11. Prophet Muhammad delivering his last sermon in Medina Mosque……...277
Figure 9.12. Mohammed and his companions……277
Figure 9.13. Prophet preaching in a mosque……277
Figure 9.14. Sheykh Baha'olvalad lecturing on the pulpit……278
Figure 9.15. Maidān-e Naqsh-e Jahān, plan and elevation with a secret tunnel underneath the Maidan……...279
Figure 9.16. Grand Bazaar of Isfahan……..279
Figure 9.17. The isometric drawing of Maidān-e Naqsh-e Jahān with Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque……..279
Figure 9.18. The Prophet's last sermon……...283
Figure 9.19. The first sermon of Hasan ibn Ali……...283
Figure 9.20. Construction of Samarkand Mosque……...284
Figure 9.21. Painting of Tekyeh Dowlat and its rooms by Kamal-ol-Molk (1848--1940)……286
Figure 9.22. Tekyeh floorplan and section……..286
Figure 9.23. Tekyeh-e Dowlat before being destroyed in 1947……..286
Figure 9.24. Female spectators with black *chādor* and white veil at Tekyeh Dowlat……286
Figure 9.25. Rūmī meets with his followers for the last time……288
Figure 9.26. The funeral of Jalāl Al-Dīn Rūmī……...288

Figure 10.1. A drawing of the Masjid-i 'Atiq of Shiraz……..295
Figure 10.2. The Masjid-i 'Atiq of Shiraz, courtyard view……295
Figure 10.3. The capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz…….295
Figure 10.4. Courtyard view of north *iwān* with tile revetment and turrets……....295
Figure 10.5. The aerial view of the town shows the Masjed-e 'Atiq and the line of bazaars in Shiraz…..297

Figure 10.6. Left: The plan of Masjed-e ‘Atiq in Shiraz, Asia Institute, Shiraz (defunct), Right: *Bāb Hasan* (the gate of Hasan), as the north portal of the Masjed-e ‘Atiq……297
Figure 10.7. Two octagonal *Sangāb* visible in the Atiq Jame’ mosque courtyard ……298
Figure 10.8. Part of the image showing the hexagonal stone-made pool.……....298
Figure 10.9. Defining main architectural elements of the setting……299
Figure 10.10. Analysis of the choreography of male and female figures within outdoor spaces…….301
Figure 10.11. Qutb al-Din Qormi with his hands in fetters *(zāvlāneh)*, and the forked branch (*do -Shākheh*)……302
Figure 10.12. Mowlana Saeid mounting the preaching chair as the accuser……...302
Figure 10.13. An observer may be the Sheykh Darvish-oll*ā*hi……302
Figure 10.14. The analysis of the position of the men and women characters within the semi-open spaces……....303
Figure 10.15. The ultramarine sky behind the woman standing on the balcony shows this is a semi-open area …..304
Figure 10.16. The bearded man and his two attendants, inclined forward to have a better view of the trial scenes from their elevated view on the second level……...304
Figure 10.17. Pop-up model, a revision, from multifocal gaze to single-point perspective……305
Figure 10.18. Four faces of *Khudāy-khāneh* which demonstrate the *iwan* match with East and West face……307
Figure 10.19. Applying the photomontage method to visualize the arrangement of the illustrated scene based on spatial planning of the existing Atiq Jame’ mosque in Shiraz.……....308
Figure 10.20. Analysis of the position of men and women figures within indoor spaces……...309
Figure 10.21. A set of dualities in the spatial division of Iranian architecture defined by Saeid Khaghani……...310
Figure 10.22. The interior of the Masjid-I ‘Atiq *shabistān*……..311
Figure 10.23. A woman in *chādor* enjoying her solitude at the Masjed-e ‘Atiq *shabistān*…….311
Figure 10.24. Arched frames with door and small windows in north *iwān* into the female chamber…….312
Figure 10.25. Courtyard view of Atiq Jame’ mosque, north *iwān* and adjoining halls before restoration……312
Figure 10.26. The arched doorways to the north *shabistān* of Atiq Jame’ mosque ……...312
Figure 10.27. A diagram that matches the “The capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and Bringing him to Atiq Jame’ Mosque in Shiraz” with photos and maps of Shiraz and Atiq Jame’ mosque……...313

Figure 11.1. Night-time in a city……..320
Figure 11.2. Analysing the spatial arrangement of the scene and roles based on Kathrynne Babayan’s Description……322
Figure 11.3. Tabriz, first capital of the Safavids and birthplace of the second Tabriz painting school…...325
Figure 11.4. The story of Ardashir and Haftvand’s worm……331
Figure 11.5. Hakim Sana’i leaves his shoes with butcher boy……331
Figure 11.6. Hakim Sana’i brings goats to the butcher boy……331
Figure 11.7. Analysis of the image based on dividing the space into two main sections……332
Figure 11.8. Defining city barriers between the palace and city, and barriers between the city and countryside……...333
Figure 11.9. Spatial analysis of the image based on the placement of layers from foreground to Background……334
Figure 11.10. Section 1: Spatial analysis of the Royal Palace and Court: political centre……...336
Figure 11.11. *Iwan*, courtyard, and water feature in Borujerdis House……...337
Figure 11.12. Part of Figure 11.1. The *iwan* with a prince……..337
Figure 11.13. Part of ‘Figure 1’. Back door to the balcony and garden with a view to a visible fragment from an elaborately designed elevation of the building……..338
Figure 11.14. Part of Figure 11.1. Part of ‘Figure 1’. Women gaze at the royal party through

The skylight……340
Figure 11.15. The exterior view of skylights on the rooftop of Sultan Amir Ahmad's bathhouse……..340
Figure 11.16. The interior view of the skylight in Borujerdis House, Kashan……340
Figure 11.17. Section 2: Spatial analysis of the bazaar and city area: economic centre……..341
Figure 11.18. Part of Figure 11.1. A lady is filling her water jug from a cistern……342
Figure 11.19. The decorated portal of Haj Kazem cistern……342
Figure 11.20. The portal of Sadr 'Abad cistern, Ardakan……342
Figure 11.21. The section of Sadr 'Abad cistern showing different parts of an urban cistern construction……..342
Figure 11.22. Part of Figure 11.1, the royal court is separated from the public area by a barrier so the women cannot gaze at the courtiers' banquet……..343
Figure 11.23. Part of Figure 11.1. The mosque's script and colourful tiled crenellation, minaret and dome……..344
Figure 11.24. Part of Figure 11.1. The older man and youth at the mosque doorway……....344
Figure 11.25. Part of Figure 11.1 showing the Safavid guard, woodcutter, the young man with a shaved head……..345
Figure 11.26. The portal to the Vakil *hamām*……..346
Figure 11.27. The tile and *muqarnas* decoration of the domed ceiling and the interior space of the Ch*ā*h*ā*r-fasl *hamām* ……346
Figure 11.28. Section 3: Spatial analysis of the rural landscape……..347
Figure 11.29. One of the eight gates of Tabriz with mosque visible, drawing by Eugène Flandin, 1851...348
Figure 11.30. Section 4: Spatial analysis of the countryside pavilion (top left)……..349
Figure 11.31. Mehrab speaks with Rudabeh……350
Figure 11.32. Yusuf o Zulaykha, Quintet of Nezami……...350
Figure 11.33. Siyavash Marries Jarireh, daughter of Piran……..350
Figure 11.34. Part of Figure 11.1. Woman leaning on the balcony with her eyes closed……352
Figure 11.35. Detecting the horizontal lines between plan and elevation……354
Figure 11.36. Basic pop-up model by folding the original folio on the first horizontal line between 'the plan and elevation of the Royal Palace'……..……..355
Figure 11.37. Basic pop-up model by folding the original folio on the second horizontal line between 'elevation and rooftop of the Royal Palace' and the third line between 'plan and elevation of the countryside pavilion'……355
Figure 11.38. Detachment and pop-up of the Royal Palace……356
Figure 11.39. Reassembling of the four popped-up models……357
Figure 11.40. Adding depth to the Royal Palace……359
Figure 11.41. Adding depth to the country house……359
Figure 11.42. Modifying the model by adding depth to the Royal Palace and country house……359
Figure 11.43. Revealing the hidden structures based on available clues……360
Figure 11.44. Re-composition of the pop-up model by adding the pavilion behind the Royal Palace……361
Figure 11.45. Modifying the mosque structure by mirroring existing half of the elevation……362
Figure 11.46. Repositioning modified elements……..362
Figure 11.47. The arrangement of shops in a traditional bazaar: Timcheh Mozaffarieh in the Grand Bazaar of Tabriz……..363
Figure 11.48. The arrangement of shops along the main path of the bazaar……363
Figure 11.49. The advanced schematic 3D model of the cityscape painting……...364
Figure 11.50. Shirin receives Khosrow at her palace in Armenia……367
Figure 11.51. The townsman robs the villager's orchard……367
Figure 11.52. A folio from Shahnama Baysonquri……..367
Figure 11.53. Proposing a schematic plan based on the advanced three-dimensional model……368
Figure 11.54. The schematic plan with structures and urban features……369
Figure 11.55. Map of Tabriz by Matrakçı Nasuh, sixteenth century……...371
Figure 11.56. S*ā*hib Ābād square located in north--south direction……373
Figure 11.57. Sāheb ol-Amr Mosque (red balloon) marked on the current map of Tabriz……374
Figure 11.58. Defining old Tabriz on the contemporary urban plan of Tabriz……374

Figure 11.59. Written on the photo: "The portal façade of the Saheb Abad garden toward the private quarter *(andaroun)*, 1277 H.Sh (1898)"……...376
Figure 11.60. Ii'tezadiyah Palace……376
Figure 11.61. Nayeb-al Saltaneh Palace…….....376
Figure 11.62. Written on the photo: "The portal façade of the Saheb Abad garden toward the private quarter *(andaroun)*, 1277 H.Sh (1898)"…….376
Figure 11.63. Defining the structures described by the Venetian merchant in the Matrakçı miniature…..376
Figure 11.64. Defining and matching the structures described by the Venetian merchant and the Matrakçı's miniature in two schematic three-dimensional models……...377
Figure 11.65. Comparisons on a macro scale: detecting and defining similarities between spatial arrangements of the proposed urban plan and the Matrakçı miniature of Tabriz……..379
Figure 11.66 (a, b, c, d). Comparisons on a micro scale: buildings and details……..380

Figure 12.1 Identification of male and female characters in relation to architectural spaces……..389
Figure 12.2. View of *midan* from the royal palace……..394
Figure 12.3. Women on the rooftop with a view towards the royal feast and cityscape……394
Figure 12.4. Women's view to the royal feast via the rooftop……394
Figure 12.5. Women's view to the royal feast via the skylight. Entertainers, including musicians and dancers, are visible……..394
Figure 12.6. Parts of images from different manuscripts depicting women on the balcony as semi-private spaces to observe.……396
Figure 12.7. Parts of images from different manuscripts, women behind semi-opened doors, windows and curtains as private spaces to behold.……..396
Figure 12.8. The crazed old Shaykh of San'an……397
Figure 12.9. Barbad playing music to Khosrow……..397
Figure 12.10. Ferdowsi proves his literary talent at the court of Sultan Mohammad of Ghazna……397
Figure 12.11. The feast of 'Id begins……...397
Figure 12.12. Women on the rooftop with an elevated perspective to the cityscape……..398
Figure 12.13 Women on roof top to observe, Qajar era……..398
Figure 12.14 Comparing the pop-up model on the right and the original folio demonstrates the position of women's tents behind the reception pavilion and layers of rocks, which have no visual access to the foreground…….399
Figure 12.15 part of Figure 10.3, which shows the women of Shiraz with veil behind the small windows, looking at the capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque…...401
Figure 12.16 Four Isfahani women in the Naqsh-e Jahan Square with long black *chador* and veil looking at the camera via their veil visors, Qajar era……..401

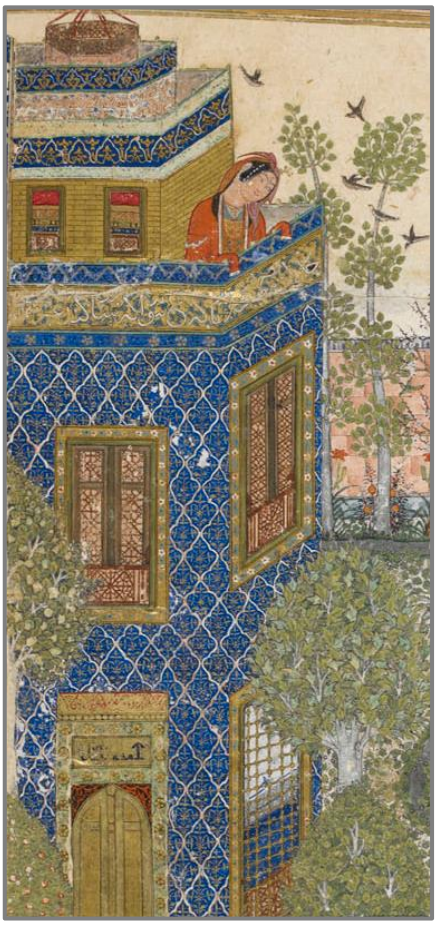
List of Tables

Table 7.1. Distribution of figures when women are in the foreground……198
Table 7.2. Distribution of figures when women occupy the middle ground and background…….198
Table 12.1. Distribution of male and female figures in four spatial layers……...390

List of Abbreviations

d.: Died
AD.: Anno Domini
BC.: Before Christ
AH.: Anno Hegirae

Introduction



Part of figure 8.64.

Overview

This art-historical thesis examines the representation of female figures in Persian miniature paintings[1] using architecture as a lens to reveal the changing place and power of women in Persian society and culture between the Timurid and late Safavid dynasties.[2]

Contrary to popular present-day misconceptions about Islamic cultural practices and beliefs, figurative representations of women were ubiquitous in the art of medieval and pre-modern Persia. Consider, for example, the following descriptions of some of the typical painterly scenes to be examined: In an illustration from *Zafarnameh Timuri*, the epic chronicle of emperor Timur's life, a row of women in white wearing veils are depicted standing behind small windows inside the chamber in the 'Atiq Mosque of Shiraz. The focus of their gaze is the scene of a historically significant trial taking place in the middle of a courtyard occupied by courtiers and male inhabitants of Shiraz. Another example is 'Shirin bathing', a famous scene from Nizami's *Khosrow and Shirin*, which illustrates the moment when the lover Khosrow unexpectedly discovers the beloved Shirin bathing in a meadow spring. Half-naked, Shirin is sitting in the spring, unaware of Khosrow's gaze. Consider also an early Safavid cityscape depicted by Mir Sayyid Ali, in which women appear in both private and public spaces. In the bazaar, a young girl is fetching water from a cistern and an older woman is visible in the main passageway. In the Royal Palace, women are standing on the rooftop, observing the banquet of the men below through a skylight. In the garden pavilion, a young woman, sitting on the terrace, is conversing with a mullah, while another young woman is relaxing on the balcony.

Similar to the tropes of classic Persian literature – that Khosrow only has meaning beside Shirin, for instance, or Vis beside Ramin, or Majnun beside Leyli – Persian paintings of palaces, pavilions, gardens and encampments would be meaningless as well as lifeless without female figures. In the palace scenes, women sit upon the royal throne beside the

[1] Iranian scholars preferably use the term "Persian painting" or "Negārgari" instead of "miniature". Throughout the current theseis the term "Persian painting" is adopted to refer to Persian miniature paintings. According to Pakbaz Persian painting is a delicate and miniature (small sized) pictorial art that has a decorative quality and has long been common in different ways in the East. See Ruyin Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art*, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Farhang-e Ma'aser, 1381/2002), 575. As noted by Grabar, "when we speak of "Persian painting," we generally think of miniatures, the manuscript illustrations that we can visualize in their small format, little festivals of colour in images separated from each other by pages of text." See Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 2.

[2] Whilst the term "Persian" will generally be used in this thesis to refer to pre-modern cultural and historical dvelopments in the region associated since 1935 with the modern "Iranian" monarchy and nation state, both terms have been used interchangably in subsequent literature, as they will be here when citing or dicussiing such sources.

king in iwan, or appear behind windows and curtains, or on rooftops and balconies. Taking part in garden festivities, they sit on mobile thrones under awnings or enjoy sightseeing, accompanied by their beloved or female entourage. In the encampment scenes, they appear inside tents or can be seen actively doing various chores.

The portrayal of women from various strata of society and in different architectural spaces in Persian painting is not commensurate, moreoever, with passive and submissive stereotyped images of women from medieval Islamic lands. Embracing deeper layers of meaning which go far beyond the story, these images not only recount the tales of famous literary characters but they also offer a contemporary snapshot of women's socio-historical and cultural circumstance of that time. Therefore, while the non-expert observer of Persian paintings seeks the correlation between the story and written materials, scholars deliberate about how these paintings can be regarded and interpreted as a primary historical source for the study of women in Persian medieval society. A number of recent studies in this field have focused on contemporary meanings identified through detailed analysis of the illustration, iconography and context of each manuscript. But what has not been studied so closely is the spatial structure and arrangement of these images, and how a rigorous analysis of this might enhance our understanding of women in the socio-historical contexts depicted in Persian painting. The present study seeks, therefore, to determine what further unseen evidence can be revealed through a spatial reconstruction and decoding of these images – which represent women in both sedentary and mobile architectures, and in public as well as private spaces – that might enhance our understanding about the changing place, roles and relative power of the women observed.

In Persian painting there has been enduring attention paid to the depiction of different types of architectural structure, mobile as well as sedentary, in which human figures are often placed or framed, and through which their social activities and roles may be discerned. During the Timurid era, towards the end of the fourteenth century, and through the Safavid dynasty that followed, architectural spaces representated in Persian paintings expanded and the built environment became a spacious framework to show the human story within the images. The arrangement of structures and spaces became more complex and the artistry of painters in the portrayal of human figures within architectural space surpassed the narration.

Through an investigation into the visual representation of women in different architectural spaces in Persian paintings produced during this artistically and architecturally rich period

of change in Persian cultural hisory, this study seeks to interpret the social and cultural inferences of such imagery. Drawing upon culture-specific concepts of gaze and space as these were applied in the evolving traditions of Persian visual arts, architecture, and literature, as well as Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)*, between the medieval and pre-modern eras, the study attempts to reconstruct operations of observation and seclusion, and the display and disguise of women in different contexts and moments in this particular Islamic cultural history, to better understand their place and power within a changing social order.

Aim and Background

The cultural construction of women, and of gender more broadly, is a perennial and compelling issue in the cultural and social politics of the present, and a major focus of scholarship in many disciplines, including various branches of historical inquiry. The overarching aim of this Art-historical study is to enhance understanding of the construction of women – their roles, place and power – in historical Islamic cultures, and the representation of women in the specific artistic genre of Persian paintings in particular. As a study that has emerged in the context of a PhD program in architectural history, it also approaches these visual cultural constructions from a particular point of view in which the significance of architectural representations in the spatial construction of these images is also readily apparent.

To interpret, therefore, how both 'gaze' and 'space' contributed to the construction of women in these paintings is the essential strategy of the study that follows. Before outlining the particular scope and tactics of the research design, however, it will be instructive first to underscore the critical relationships between 'gaze', 'space' and 'femineity' that are invoked by even such an elementary space and gaze mediating device as the humble 'veil', and the tradition of 'veiling' in Mediterranean and Persian-Mesopotamian regions that pre-dated later Islamic cultural practices.[3]

Gaze can imply diverse concepts from different backgrounds and disciplines. The discourse on the notion of gaze as 'the act of seeing' in Islamic cultural context is not possible without talking about the 'veil' or '*hijab'*. The veil in the Oxford Dictionary of Islam is defined as the traditional Muslim women's head, face, or body covering, of

[3] Fadwa El Guindi, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1999), 13-22.

numerous varieties across time and space; a symbol of modesty, privacy, and morality.[4] Gaze and veil are two often interrelated terms in Islamic religious texts, in particular the Quran:

> "Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals; for that is purer for them. God knoweth what they do (Quran 24: 30). And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals, and not reveal their beauty, except what does show, and to draw their khimar over their bosoms, and not to reveal their beauty... (Quran 24: 31)."

Although evidence shows that the veil is rooted outside Arab culture years before Islam, in general the veil is linked with Muslim women.[5] Fadwa El Guindi in her study on social aspects of the veil discerns five distinctive patterns based on different cultural traditions rather than religious faith in which the veil had different functions and meanings. These five patterns are: "complementary as in Sumeria; exclusionary and privileging as in the Persian–Mesopotamian case; egalitarian as in Egypt; hierarchical as in Hellenic culture; and seclusionary as in Byzantine culture".[6]

The veil, within the Persian–Mesopotamian context, signified exclusivity, status, privilege and privacy. Thus Byzantine culture is also significant because of its historical interaction with Persians in the region that is now the Middle East. Such encounters established traditions that resulted in developing the Islamic civilisation.[7]

Fatima Mernissi defines three dimensions or forms of the veil, which often tend to blend with one another. The first dimension is "a visual one which hides something from sight".[8] Such a material aspect includes specific codes of clothing to cover the body and conceal the ornament.[9] The second dimension is "spatial which separate, mark border, and establish a threshold". Such spatial sense identifies the veil as a screen dividing gender

---

[4] 'Hijab,' in The Oxford Dictionary of Islam, ed. John L. Esposito, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, accessed Oct 23, 2019, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e839 ; Being different from the Western notion, 'privacy' in the Arab and Islamic contexts does not imply the individual or secret space. It concerns two primary domains of women and the family. El Guindi recognises privacy as a right and an exclusive privilege for women. Reflected in dress, space, architecture and proxemic behaviour, privacy in Islamic societies is considered a sacred notion which should be carefully guarded, see El Guindi, *Veil*, 77, 82.
[5] El Guindi, *Veil*, 6.
[6] Ibid, 13.
[7] Ibid, 19.
[8] Fatima Mernissi, *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Enquiry*. Trans. Mary Jo Lakeland, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 93.
[9] Quran (33:59), Quran (24:31), Quran (33:55).

physically. The third dimension is "ethical" belonging to "the realm of [what is] forbidden." [10]

Mernissi highlights two categories of *hijab*: the "tangible sort which exists in the realm of reality of the senses" with reference to visual and spatial aspects, and "abstract reality in the realm of idea" denoting ethical aspects.[11] Thus the *hijab* suggests a spatial dimension by marking a threshold between two areas, and it can conceal something from view.[12] Accordingly, the main idea of the 'veil' or *'hijab'* either 'visual' or 'spatial' [13] deals with the notion of 'gaze' or 'concealing' and 'invisibility'.

The link between space and gender and the paradigm of public and private is an established approach in women's studies.[14] Edward Hall observes that "space speaks."[15] Shirley Ardener states that "space is not a simple concept." She discerns a connection between cultural notions of 'space' and 'social life' where "behaviour and space are mutually dependent."[16] Ardener, in her study of *Women and Space* illuminates the social maps through which "people define space", and "space defines the people in it".[17] Building on such spatial insights, the present study emphasises the intersection of spatial and sexual variables.

The practice of seclusion in Muslim societies is mirrored in social and religious customs such as separate women's living quarters, veiling, self-effacing mannerisms, and separating men and women in public places. Before being reinforced in Islamic scripture and law, seclusion was well established in pre-Islamic societies in the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia and Persia.[18] However, at the same time as there was no continually instituted model of Islamic social, political and cultural forms,[19] Persian and other women

[10] Mernissi, *Women and Islam*, 93.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid, 95.
[13] To read more on the origins of the veil and hijab see Chapter 5 in Mernissi, *Women and Islam*, 85-101.
[14] El Guindi, *Veil*,79.
[15] Edward Twitchell Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1959).
[16] Shirley Ardener and the University of Oxford Women's Studies Committee, *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (Oxford Women's Series; 5. London: Croom Helm in Association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981), 12.
[17] Ibid, 12, 13. See also Karen L. Field, review of *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* by Shirley Ardener, *American Anthropologist* 84, no. 4 (1982): 928
[18] "Seclusion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* , ed. John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2128 (accessed 23-Oct-2019).
[19] Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge University Press, 2005), 216. As several scholars of Islamic history have demonstrated, even what is known as Classical Islam (elaborated by Prophet Muhammad and his immediate successors) is conditioned by local practices, traditions and histories. Ibid.

did not comprise a monolithic group. Therefore codes of behaviour, including the veil and seclusion, are diverse based on their era, location, culture and socioeconomic class.[20]

Despite such diversity, Nancy Tapper critiques existing impressions of Middle Eastern Muslim women derived from stereotypes, which she believes lies in the Western context and prevents our understanding of the social life of Middle Eastern Muslim women.[21] Susan Wright exemplifies some studies which attempt to simplify assumptions generalising women's role and status in societies where the separate worlds of gender and seclusion of women are reinforced. Some of these studies question Western assumptions about women in Middle Eastern societies and investigate whether the seclusion of women means exclusion from public life.[22]

In her review of *Women and Space*, Karen L. Field notes that many scholars have studied gender roles and characteristics through dichotomous spatial metaphors. She points to "De Beauvoir's immanence and transcendence, Erikson's inner and outer space, Zaretsky's private and public life". She believes all these approaches promote the existence of a "spatial polarity between the sexes, whereby women are associated with the internal and circumscribed, and men with the external and expansive".[23] However it is important that such concepts be discussed concerning the complexity and variability of Islamic social worlds. To do so and given that historical studies offer distance to observe change and complexities over time, the three-century period of transformational social and cultural changes that occurred between the Timurid and late-Safavid eras in Persian history have been selected as the historical scope of this research to explore the intersection of spatial and sexual variables.

In eastern Iran, during the Golden Age of the Timurid period in Herat (late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries CE), the court was located in gardens outside the city. The Timurid harem was not a restricted and guarded place enclosed by high walls, but composed of

[20] Guity Nashat, "Introduction." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 1-10 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 4.
[21] Nancy Starr Self Tapper, "Mysteries of the Harem? An Anthropological Perspective on Recent Studies of Women of the Muslim Middle East," *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1979): 481-87.
[22] Susan Wright, "Place and Face of Women in Doshman Ziari, Iran," in *Women and Space : Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener, Oxford Women's Series ; 5 (London: Croom Helm in Association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981),136; Nancy Starr Self Tapper, "The Role of Women in Selected Pastoral Islamic Societies" (unpublished MPhil thesis, SOAS University of London, 1967); G. Reza Fazel, "Social and Political Status of Women among Pastoral Nomads: The Boyr Ahmad of Southwest Iran," *Anthropological Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1977): 77-89; Cynthia Nelson, "Women and Power in Nomadic Societies of the Middle East." In *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society*, ed. Cynthia Nelson (Berkeley: University of California Press,1973); Cynthia Nelson, "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 3 (1974): 551-63.
[23] Field, review of *Women and Space*, 928.

tents and pavilions set in gardens or campsites. The harem moved from one garden to another following the Timurid sultans and amirs.[24] The Safavids (1501–1736) are the successors of both the Aq Quyunlu tribal state and the Timurid empire, combining Iranian, Turkic and Islamic cultural traditions, political systems and administration practices. Traces of the Turko-Mongol (Timurid) pattern, not a hermetically sealed harem, was still observable during the mid-sixteenth century in the Safavid court in Qazvin. Women of the Safavid elites in this era were more socially active and visible than in the later period. However, women lived in closed quarters and were free to enter and leave the harem with companions and maids. Thus, they were not removed from society outside the harem.[25]

Safavid society turned more and more toward Irano-Islamic traditions, which revised the situation of royal and elite women. The royal harem as an interior authority organisation under the increasing power of eunuchs would consider and direct state matters from behind closed doors.[26] All these changes in the social status of women, as will be more comprehensively discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, were an important dimension of the broader transition of Persian society, between the Timurid and early Safavid eras, from the cultural norms and practices of the privileged classes and the 'moveable royal camp'[27] of Turko-Mongol origin, towards a more 'restricted sedentary, urban-based organization' by the end of the Safavid Empire[28], when women exercised their political power from behind harem walls.[29]

Therefore, examining the representation of women in a sufficiently broad sample of paintings produced between the Timurid and Safavid eras, and from different layers of society instead of exclusively the upper-classes will allow us to explore such diversity by examining how the accessibility and outreach of women may have differed from the private to the public realm, from mobile architecture to sedentary, and from commoner to noble.

---

[24] Maria Szuppe, "Status Knowledge and Politics Women in Sixteenth century Safavid Iran." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 140-69 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003), 142.
[25] Ibid, 144.
[26] Ibid, 145.
[27] Also see Monika Gronke, "The Persian Court between Palace and Tent: From Timur to 'Abbas I." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 19-27 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).
[28] Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?" In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120. (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 99.
[29] Szuppe, "Status Knowledge,"144.

Research questions

Vision and space are foregrounded in this study, to answer one overarching research question:

> What were the places and roles of women in pre-modern Persian society that can be deduced from Persian (miniature) paintings, and how does the architectural construction of these images enhance their explanatory power as primary historical evidence?

This primary question will be approached and addressed through three specific sub-questions:

(1) What evidence of significant socio-cultural changes, particulalry with respect to women, is obervable in the changing content and representational conventions of Persian paintings produced during the relevant hisrorical period of study – between the Timurid (1370 – 1507) and late Safavid (1501– 1736) eras?
(2) How is space depicted architecturally in Persian paintings, and how are different types of architectural spaces and structures employed to place and frame/filter figures of women in these images?
(3) What are the culturally and spatially/architecturally situated functions of vision/veiling (the 'gaze') in Persian paintings in defining and differentiating the social roles and status of the women depicted, as historical and/or literary subjects?

Theory and method

Contemporary stereotypes about Middle Eastern women reflect flawed assumptions about life in present day Muslim societies that have even less relevance to the historical past. By referring to Persian painting as a resource to study social history, and by adopting context-specific concepts of vision as a theoretical framework, and space as an analytical tool, the current study aims to re-examine the roles and social experience of Timurid and Safavid women within and in relation to their historically particular living environments and architectural spaces. Such an approach, by challenging the stereotypes and re-constructing the imaging and viewing of women in Persian painting, contributes to a better understanding of their social status, power, accessibility and contribution to social life.

This study engages theories of vision and the gaze in two ways: first, as a culturally and historically specific way of seeing, reflected in the visual representation of the outer world in Persian and Islamic Art, and second, the act of seeing in Islamic society, culture and religion, and the way it defines codes of behaviour concerning veiling and spatial polarisation of the sexes.

Veil and seclusion, as cultural concepts of respect and privacy in Persian society, and interrelated to 'vision', can be attained by codes of dressing or spatial and gender segregation. The current study mainly deliberates on such notions regarding space rather than patterns of clothing. By adopting gaze as a theoretical tool to examine the representation of women in Persian painting, these concepts will be observed beyond their stereotyped inference to *harem* and *hijab*, therefore gaining new insights about the more varied and changeable social roles of Persian women in history.

Recognising that architecture can be both a generator and a reflection of social structures and cultural practices, the specific approach taken in this study examines the representation of women within and in relation to architectural spaces, with respect to the notion of gaze. Through a historical comparison of the architectural framing of the female figure in Persian paintings produced during the transformation of cultural traditions from the Turko-Mongol practices of the Timurid dynasty to the Irano-Islamic cultural norms and pratcices associated with the Safavid dynasty, the research examines how women were placed and defined in these spaces, to better understand their changing social status in medieval and pre-modern Persia.

How the accessibility, patronage and outreach of women may have differed from the private to the public realm, and from commoner to noble, is examined by comparing the representation of women in different types of architectural space conventionally depicted in Persian painting. How these constraints and behaviours changed over time is examined through a historical comparison of the architectural framing of the female figure depicted in Persian paintings from the Timurid era to the Safavid era. The images include but are not limited to illustrations of literary texts such as *Zafarnameh* as a historical manuscript, *Shahnameh*, *Quintet* of Nizami and *Haft Awrang* of Jami.

These images will be categorised and analysed based on the typology of architectural structures represented in the paintings. The architectural structures, in general, have been divided into two groups: mobile and sedentary. Mobile architecture mainly includes

khargāh (trellis tent), *khaymeh* (guyed tent), *sāyabān* (awning), and *sarāpardeh* (enclosure) set in the landscape or gardens. The sedentary architecture includes secular and religious architecture such as the palace, mosque *(masjid),* (school) *madrasa*, *bazaar* and urbanscape. Military architecture, such as a citadel, is beyond the scope of this research.

To understand the spatial arrangement of Persian paintings, experts suggest that the observer make certain visual and mental readjustments to a different and highly sophisticated way of seeing. Despite valuable discourse addressing Persian painting's conceptual and technical aspects, it is still difficult to make that readjustment. The current study contributes to this growing area of research by extending and developing a technique which provides a practical tool to test and extend existing theoretical discussions on the vocabulary of Persian painting. This method defines different spatial layers in the two-dimensional picture-plane of the original paintings and delaminates them by cutting and folding printed paper reproductions of those images, creating pop-up three-dimensional models. This method has been applied to the analysis of various architectural settings, mobile as well as sedentary.

Significance and contribution to knowledge

Persian painting is a remarkable corpus of cultural heritage in the field of Islamic art with the potential to be used as a primary reference for social, behavioural and historical studies, including women's studies. Despite such capacity, previous art historical studies have usually restrained their scope to issues of theme, attribution, and dating, rarely focussing on broader subject matter. There is still relatively little work that has been done to date to advance knowledge and understanding of the representation of women in Persian painting. Stereotypical ideas of Middle Eastern women in history still tend to influence previous accounts of their role in Persian painting where female observers behind windows and curtains have frequently been described as 'spying', 'prying' or 'peeking'.[30] Considering the continuing struggle for emancipation of women in modern societies, it is important to understand the changing roles and status of women over time, which can change the way we see ourselves and our world today.

[30] Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 367; Hamid Naficy, "The Averted Gaze in Iranian Postrevolutionary Cinema," *Public Culture* 3, no.2 (May 1991): 32,33; Oleg Grabar, and Mika Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 187.

The primary function of Persian painting to illustrate textual literary works has initiated an affiliation between images of women and literature. Thus, in contrast to written accounts and documentary records of public life in pre-modern Persia, in which women are mostly absent or veiled, the abundant presence of female figures depicted in Persian painting provides remarkable evidence of the social and cultural life of women contemporary with the painting of these images. Also, it is important to study these paintings alongside the texts that they illustrate to gain insights into the story these images are narrating, and to discover more social and cultural information embedded in these images. Most existing scholarly works on Persian manuscript paintings are treated as separate objects from the text. This may be due to lack of knowledge of Persian language or literature as the original language of these texts.

In Persian painting, the translation of the architectural tradition which reflects the principles and values of Irano-Islamic culture, beliefs and thoughts in pictorial terms is a phenomenon.[31] In addition to structural studies, the representation of architecture in Persian painting can be used as a social or cognitive map. It can specifically provide insight into social activities and interaction, and the behaviour of women in these spaces, and concepts such as privacy and personal space that may be factors in the division of space according to gender.

Using Persian paintings as a primary source for historical inquiry in the domain of women's and gender studies, the present research indicates a significant extension of how Persian paintings may be understood and interpreted, whilst continuing to contribute to the study of Islamic art and architecture in their own terms as well. The three-dimensional analytical technique to be applied decodes ambiguous spatial arrangements to advance iconographical analysis of paintings and the historical interpretation of recognisable architectural monuments as well as generic elements of the built environment.

The current study builds on but has strategically combined and tactically extended aspects of the work of others who have previously pursued some of the same aims, or indictaed similar techniques. The characteristics of the architectural language that can be identified in Persian paintings has been the focus of several previous architecturally oriented

[31] Michele A. De Angelis, and Thomas W. Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting:Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* (Cambridge, Mass: Fogg Art Museum in association with the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1982).

studies,[32] some of which have also recognised the benefit of interpreting such paintings to understand the historical functions and qualities of architectural spaces and monuments where historical documents and architectural drawings are lacking.[33] Similarly, women in Perisan paintings have also attracted the attention of several previous scholars. Historians such as Carol Hillenbrand[34] have taken evidence from works of art, along with Seljuq legal and literary works, historical chronicles, biographical dictionaries and monumental inscriptions to examine the lives of women during Persia's Seljuq sultanate (1030–1194). Mahmoud Omidvar,[35] and Fatemeh Keshavarz[36] have examined creative, aesthetic works to explain the image of women in Persian society, and art historian Layla S. Diba[37] has researched Persian paintings to investigate the role of women in history. However, lack of familiarity with the visual language of Persian paintings, and the absence of fully-developed analytical methods to decode their spatial order and logic has presented persistent obstacles to the interpretation of the social content and contexts of such paintings.

The originality and significance of the current study of Persian paintings rests in the strategic convergence of the diverging focal concerns of relevant previous research – women, and architecture, respectively. The social space and power of women in the historically and culturally distant worlds represented in these Persian paintings is examined using architecture as the method, literally reconstructing the architectural spaces and gazes of the women depicted – a technique that, to the best of the author's knowledge, has not previously been so thoroughly developed and applied in the field of Islamic art studies.

---

[32] Asma Serajuddin, "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting during the Timurid and Safavid Periods" (PhD diss., University of London, 1968); Hatice Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature: Representation of Space and Form in Illustrations and Buildings in Timurid Central Asia" (M.S. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991).

[33] Manouchehr Foroutan, "Method of Understanding Iranian Architectural Space from Iranian Paintings (617-1000 Ah /1220-1591 Ad)," (PhD diss., Islamic Azad University, 2009).

[34] Carole Hillenbrand, "Women in the Seljuk Period." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 103-20 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

[35] Mahmoud Omidvar, "Waters and Women, Maiden and Might: The Passage of Royal Authority in Shahnama." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 170-85 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

[36] Fatemeh Keshavarz, "Taming the Unruly King: Nizami's Shirin as Lover and Educator." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 186-205 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

[37] Layla S. Diba, "Lifting the Vail From Face of Depiction: The Representation of Women in Persian Painting." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 206-236 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in three parts. Part I comprises two chapters outlining the historical and critical background to the present research. Chapter 1 reviews key explanations and debates in the existing literature concerning changes in the roles and status of women in pre-modern Persian history, focusing in particular on significant cultural and spatial transition during the Timurid and Safavid eras (ca. 14th to 17th AD). In Chapter 2 current scholarly understanding of Timurid and Safavid women is further surveyed from a social perspective, emphasising gender segregation and veiling, and identifying indicative evidence of significant differences of experience between royal, urban, and rural social contexts.

The two chapters comprising Part II articulate, respectively, the theoretical framework and methodology of the present study. Chapter 3 unpacks the theory of 'gaze' in Persian Sufism and literature, and as the driving inspiration of Persian painting, as well as other genres of Islamic and Persian visual arts. Chapter 4 explains how architectural elements and spaces depicted in Persian paintings have been articulated in this study, through a three-dimensional 'pop-up' technique, to analyse and interpret the placing, accessibility and agency of female subjects in these images with respect to the theory of the gaze.

Part III comprises eight additional chapters through which a series of original analyses of the architectural framing of female space and gaze in Persian paintings are methodically interpreted and discussed. The first three chapters examine gaze and femineity in the representation of mobile architecture: Royal Camp and Garden (Chapter 5), *Sarāparded* (Chapter 6), and Tent (Chapter 7). The next four chapters examine gaze and femineity in the representation of sedentary architecture in Persian paintings. Chapter 8 concerns the secular architecture of palaces and pavilions, and Chapter 9 considers the representation of Religious Structures including *Madrasa*, *Masjid* and *Tekyeh.* Chapters 10 and 11 provide an opportunity to pursue a more painstaking iconographical and iconological analysis by concentrating on one particular folio in each case. Chapter 10 discusses spatial and gender division from the multifocal and versatile perspective of Persian painting in a mosque scene from *Zafarname* of Golestan Palace (no.708) attributed to Kamal-o-Din Behzad (probably 1460-1535 CE). Chapter 11, by employing the pop-up method at an advanced level, scrutinises femineity in a Safavid urban-scape attributed to Mir Sayyid-Ali (sixteenth century) in which multiple different architectural typologies and social classes of women are observed.

Chapter 12 presents a final critical discussion of the findings and overall conclusions of the study and its implications for future research.

Chapter 1.

Sociocultural Transformation from Timurid to Safavid Eras and Changing Women's Roles



Part of the image, A Princely Couple with Courtiers in a Garden, Firdawsi's Shahnama. Western Iran or Iraq; the beginning of the 15th century, the David Khalili Collection.

1.1 Introduction

A critical historical study of women in Persian culture was non-existent until the 1970s, according to key contemporary scholars in the field, and the topic has made significant progress only in the last few decades. A particular focus of this more recent scholarship has been the changing status, power and liberties of women in Persian cultural history. In his essay "From the Battlefield to the Harem", Rudi Matthee explores the question of whether or not women's seclusion increased from early to late Safavid times.[1] He derives two main conclusions. One is that sustaining an enduring custom in the Turko-Mongol tradition of Central Asia, upper-class Safavid women were socially visible and active. Contemporary observations of foreign travellers such as Silvia y Figueroa[2] and Sieur Flis Petis[3] have been cited repeatedly as evidence to support this notion. As Matthee states:

> Elite women inherited land, endowed *vaqf* and had caravanserais built in their names. Their role in governance was substantial, too. In the early seventeenth century we even encounter a woman who served as elder, khan, of a number of villages in the southern province of Fars. The royal court is where their influence was most keenly felt. Although they operated mostly behind the scenes, Safavid court women were heavily involved in the state's decision-making process.[4]

His second conclusion is that the status of women seems to have deteriorated during the two centuries of Safavid rule, or female participation and visibility in the public domain was less evident as they were gradually resigned to the private sphere. Representative of this notion, Matthee refers to Nikki Keddie on women in Iran and the Middle East:

> Early European accounts and indigenous painting suggest that tribal women did not veil. The Safavids in Iran (1501–1722) who made Shi'ism Iran's state religion, came in supported by the military backing of Turkic nomadic tribes, and early Safavid miniatures are full of unveiled women. Italian travellers to Iran in those years wrote

[1] Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?" In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120. (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011).
[2] Don Garcia de Silvia y Figueroa, *Comentarios de Don García de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del rey de España don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia,*Vol.2 (Madrid: La Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles, 1903), 442-43.
[3] Sieur Flis Petis, Extrait du journal du Sieur *Petis, Fils*, in L. *Langlès*, ed., relation de Dourray Efeny ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane auprès du roy de Perse (Paris: 1810), 137.
[4] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 97.

> that women were shockingly exposed! By late Safavid times, the influence of the religious classes had grown, and women were increasingly veiled and secluded.[5]

Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800 is a collection of essays that focus on the roles, activities and images of women in Iran from pre-modern times to the nineteenth century. In her introduction to the book, according to available data, Guity Nashat confirms the existence of a gradual transformation of women's roles, from active participation in communal life to confinement within the household. This transformation included seclusion, the emergence of the veil, and subordination to men.[6]

In relation to elite women of the early Safavid era (sixteenth century), Maria Szuppe states they, "were the most visible and more socially active than in the later period when they exercised their political power from behind harem walls."[7] Focusing on studies of dynastic women in the Middle East, Beatrice Forbes Manz also agrees that variation in women's positions existed. Such differences are often attributed to two different principles of Islamic ideology that initiates seclusion in contrast to Turkic and Mongol customs that tolerated women in quite high and public positions.[8] Therefore as confirmed by Szoppe it seems that the Turko-Mongol nomadic tradition compared with Irano-Islamic customs of settled people, provided more space for women's social and political activities.[9]

In an article entitled *Aqai'd al-Nisa'* (Beliefs of Women) about the world of urban women in seventeenth-century local Isfahani culture[10], Kathryn Babayan debates how the social role and visibility of women deteriorated as the Safavid empire approached its end.[11] She analyses how changes in legitimising traditions that endowed women with an active role in the household affected gender politics within and beyond the court, as the Safavid institution became more sedentary in character and more centralised in administration.[12]

---

[5] Ibid, 99 ; Nikki R. Keddie, "Introduction." In Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron eds., *Women in Middle Eastern History : Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 12.
[6] Guity Nashat, "Introduction." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 1-10 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003), 6.
[7] Maria Szuppe, "Status Knowledge and Politics Women in Sixteenth Century Safavid Iran." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 140-69 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003),144.
[8] Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Women in Timurid Dynastic Politics." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 121-39 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003), 122-23.
[9] Szuppe, "Status", 142.
[10] A social critique of female beliefs probably written during the reign of Shah Sulayman (r. 1666 –1694), by a cleric, Aqa Jamal khwansari (d. 1122/1710); see Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 350.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 351.

Babayan describes how the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258, led to the failure of an ideal universal Sunni caliphate, and evolved to a new era of 'experimentation' and 'synthesis' between Turko-Mongol nomadic steppe traditions and Irano-Islamic ones. In the process of this centralisation, and in rationalising power the Safavids started to rely on a 'legal and religious' origin for their territory, an ability which put *Shari'a* (Islamic law) into effect. The redefined authority in Safavid Iran (907-1501/1135-1722), highlighted facets of 'sedentary Islam', mostly in its '*Imami Shi'I'* beliefs, which were basically patriarchal."[13]

During such a process a unique '*Shari'a*-centered spirit' started to transform attitudes concerning the women and on approved roles in gender politics.[14] By the end of the seventeenth century, 'the *Shari'a*-minded' enforced their control on public instruction, including restraint of women to the seclusion of the *andarun* (harem).[15] This process coincided with the time of 'the hard-line cleric Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (Majlisi II)' as the Shaykh al-Islam (chief religious dignitary) of Isfahan, between 1687 and 1699. It was during this period of the extremely religious and gullible Shah Sultan Husayn who, as Babayan describes, "is known to have ruled under Majlisi's spell."[16]

The crucial moment in this process as Matthee distinguishes was the shah's enthronement in the summer of 1694; a ceremony in which the Shaykh al-Islam officiated by girding the shah with the sword of justice. During this ceremony, answering shah's who asked what Majlisi desired in compensation, Majlisi requested "restrictions on varieties of unIslamic behaviour". His request included a ban on women to go out in inappropriate apparel and not be accompanied by their husbands, prostitution was forbidden, veiling was compulsory, and seeing women walking through gardens was a thing of the past.[17] Based on Babayan's argument, Matthee highlights two factors that led to marginalising women: "the adoption of a patrilineal form of succession by the Safavids" and "a steady increase in the influence of religious orthodoxy during the seventeenth century."[18]

In her discussion of the influence of Muhammad Baqir Majlisi on the social status of women,[19] Shireen Mahdavi goes further than Babayan, in Matthee's view, in assigning the

[13] Ibid, 350-1.
[14] Ibid, 358.
[15] Ibid, 362.
[16] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 98; Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 354.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 98.
[19] Ibid, 98-99; see Shireen Mahdavi, "Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, Family Values, and the Safavids." In *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui, 81-100 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998).

increasing isolation of women towards the end of the Safavid period to Majlisi's ruthless ideas and the power they had over Sultan Husayn's institution.[20] Matthee however counters that view with a more multi-factorial interpretation of these changes, which he believes were the effect of the broad transition of Iran in the Safavid era from a "wild and free steppe dispensation of Turko-Mongol" origin towards a more "restricted sedentary, urban-based organisation" under the influence of Majlisi's stubborn dogmatism.[21]

As Matthee states, the role of women in this situation changed from "relative personal freedom, participation in civil life and decision making, to social marginalisation and the seclusion of the harem." Women in the early Safavid period were "neither veiled nor secluded, rode like men, and took part in military cavalry charges" But by the end of this period their sphere had become limited to the point that they only emerged "concealed with a white veil, [so] that nothing of them is visible but the eyes and nose."[22]

However, as Matthee cautions, the record of Safavid Persia confirms this image "only up to a point". Toward the second half of the Safavid period, he agrees, pressure on women grew, and more restrictions were imposed on them, as society was distanced from its 'tribal roots' and gradually became more 'urban-centered'. The increasing impact of 'clerical forces' also restricted women's aptitude to contribute to public life.[23] But an appropriate assessment of the changing role of Safavid women involves a distinction, as Mathee proposes, between "elite women and common women," and between "urban and rural settings,"[24] which also entails a broader scope of study that must examine women in "layers of society other than the upper classes and the entourage of the court".[25] From this viewpoint, Mathee asserts that observed contrasts in relation to the status of women "was less between the early and later period than between elite women and ordinary women, between Muslim and non-Muslim, and between urban and rural worlds, respectively".[26] Following on from the above discussion, subsequent sections compare the status of women in two distinct traditions within Persian cultural history: the Timurid Turko-Mongol and Safavid Irano-Islamic.

[20] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 99.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid, 98.
[23] Ibid, 99-110.
[24] Ibid, 110.
[25] Ibid, 99.
[26] Ibid, 111.

1.2 Women in the Timurid cultural era (1370 –1507)

The Timurid era was a dynasty of both Persia and Central Asia (771-913/1370-1507), founded by the conqueror Timur Lang, covering Transoxania and much of what is now north-eastern Afghanistan, controlled by the Turco-Mongolian military aristocracy, known as "Čaghatay", faithful to Mongol traditions but Muslim, and living in close contact with the settled population.[27]

A characteristic of Timurid women as noted by Beatrice Forbes Manz was the importance of their public role. Women were essential participants of the group surrounding and advising the ruler, took a public position on ceremonial occasions and were visible in dynastic gatherings, festivals and weddings, and women were also key patrons of architecture.[28] In the official records of delegations sent to meet Imperial members, travels to and from cities, deaths of rulers, and removal of corpses to the capital city, amirs and dynastic women stayed together.[29]

Gawharshad (wife of Shāh Rukh, the Emperor of the Timurid Empire of Herāt), visible in public dynastic events and as a patron of architecture, was an essential part of Shahrukh's closest circle and directly connected to his major amirs.[30] Some scholars attributed such high status partially to the Turco-Mongol legacy of the Timurids.[31] Priscilla Soucek defines some Timurid traditions as closely equivalent to those practised by the Cingizid Mongols, while others echo Islamic traditions existing in the cities of Central Asia. In general, she believes that in the realm of personal life Turko-Mongol customs are most dominant, whereas, in the area of architectural patronage, Islamic attitudes are prominent.[32]

The general roles assigned to women in Timur's family is defined comparable to the responsibilities attributed to women in other nomadic Mongol and Turkic groups of eastern Iran and Central Asia, including managing food production or obtaining food and clothing for the family. Women were in charge of caring for children, and also managed other aspects of family life in the absence of their husbands, fathers, or brothers. Given their broad responsibilities, Soucek assumes it reasonable that such women also enjoyed significant

[27] "Timurids." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Encyclopaedia of Islam, X: 513a: Brill.
[28] Manz, "Women," 122-23.
[29] Ibid, 127-136.
[30] Ibid, 133.
[31] Ibid, 122-23.
[32] Priscilla P Soucek, "Timurid Women: A Cultural Perspective." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly (The New Middle Ages, 199-226. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 199.

personal freedom.[33] As dynastic women, they were associated with Timurid sovereignity. In relation to charisma (of the Chinggisid family) and other positions of power, they had a noticeable official position and several possessed their own garden palaces.[34]

In the Mongol tradition, derived from Cingiz Khan's *Yasa* [35] men were instructed to pursue and respect the advice of their wives. Eminent Mongol women were expected to undertake governmental and military responsibilities when their husbands were absent or dead. They acted as substitutes until a male descendant was elected.[36] Based on literary sources, Soucek informs us that Timur's strong bonds of affection with his female relations demonstrated both his generosity towards them and his intense mourning on the occasion of their deaths. There are also hints that Timur believed in a kind of female charisma when he decided to build tombs over the graves of two of the Prophet's wives, which Timur visited while in Damascus.[37]

The *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to Tamerlane* (AD 1403-6) is a primary source which offers some of the most vivid descriptions of settings for Timurid courtly life and ceremony, and architecture and practice of tentage.[38] Clavijo's reported on the courtly life of Timur's harem, entertained by Temur's principal wife Saray Mulk Khanum and his daughter-in-law Khanzada. The banquets these women arranged were comparable to those of Timur and other members of the Timurid family. They were held in the princesses' tents and included plenty of drinking and eating by both sexes. Szuppe notes however that for the later Timurid period there were no detailed descriptions available, and yet it is apparent that women continued to perform an important ceremonial role.[39]

[33] Ibid, 200.
[34] Manz, "Women," 125.
[35] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 356.
[36] Soucek, "Timurid Women," 201; Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 356.
[37] Soucek, "Timurid Women," 213.
[38] Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6 / Translated, for the First Time, with Notes, a Preface, and an Introductory Life of Timour Beg*, trans. Clements R. Markham, works issued by the Hakluyt Society, no. 26, edited by Clements R. Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859).
[39] Manz, "Women," 125; see Clavijo, *Narrative,* 244, 268.

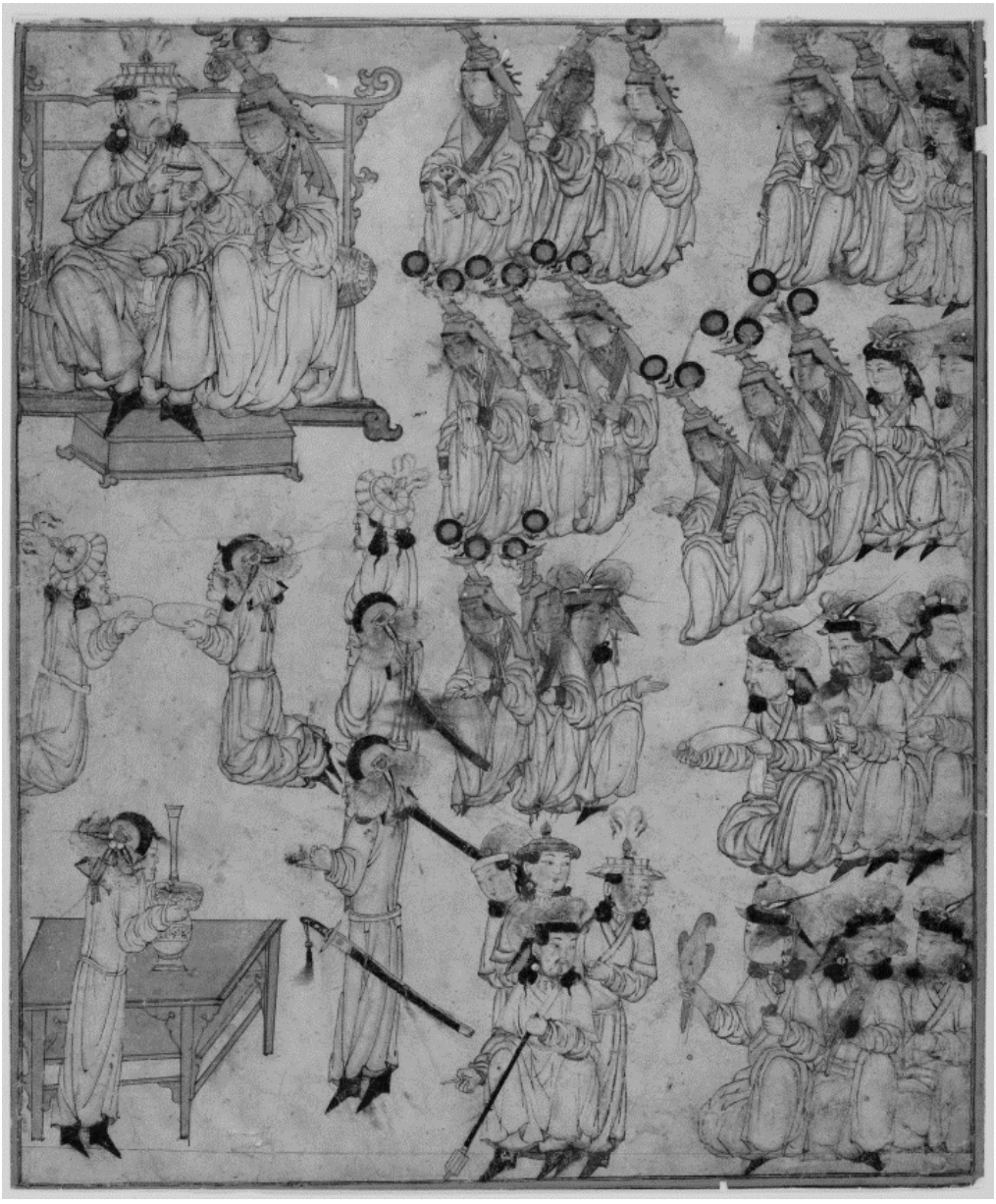


Figure 1.1. Enthronement of a Mongol ruler, Diez Album. Early fourteenth-century copy of Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh by Rashid al-Din, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A fol. 70.[40]

1.3 Women in the early Safavid dynasty (sixteenth century): the synthesis of Turko-Mongol and Irano-Islamic traditions

Szuppe believes that the coexistence of Turkophone military elites and urban Iranophone administrative and religious elites is a key distinguishing feature of early Safavid society. She explains the formation of the Safavid dynasty. At the end of the fifteenth century, the

[40] "Diez-Album, " Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A fol. 70, accessed 31.12.2019 http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000BB2C00000000.

military and logistic support of amirs, as tribal leaders (mostly eastern Anatolian, Azerbaijani Turkman and Kurd origin), empowered the twelve-year-old Shaykh Ismail as the Safavid Sufi order, to engage in political conflicts in Azerbaijan. He seized power in Tabriz in 1501 and became the first shah of the Safavid dynasty and enacted Twelver Shi'i Islam as the official religion of Iran.[41]

By 1510, the Safavid state temporarily extended from Baghdad to the Oxus River. Turkman supporters, known as Qizilbash amirs, who were allowed chief positions at the court and in the provinces, also established new tribal regions in central and eastern Iran. Arriving from Anatolia and Azerbaijan with their people, horses and livestock, Szuppe states that "they brought with them their own customs and ways of life, still remarkably close to their nomadic and not-so-distant Central Asian origin."[42] Accordingly, the Safavids are "direct heirs of both the Aq Quyunlu tribal state and the Timurid empire; two states that were a combination of Iranian, Turkic and Islamic customs, administrative practices and political systems.[43]

A Turko-Mongol conception of political practice, first observed by all of the early modern empires (Timurid, Turkoman, Safavid, Ottoman, Timurid-Mughal and Uzbek), was sharing power in the form of appanages, between the entire dynastic line, men and women. Thus women performed a foundational role at court and in the imperial life of these dynasties.[44] Matthee and Szuppe agree that Turkic and Kurdish tribes as major supporters of the early Safavid had less segregated and veiled women. Matthee states when Shaykh Safi's heirs went to Anatolia and received Turkic tribal rather than urban support, they had to make allowances for effective practices in the area, including a fairly relaxed relationship between men and women, a tolerance that continued for as long as the Safavids depended on tribal armies.[45]

Comparing the courtly harem of Timurids and early Safavids, Szuppe notes that during the Golden Age of the Timurid period in Herat (fifteenth century in eastern Iran), the court lived in gardens outside the city. The Timurid harem was not a restricted place enclosed by high

[41] Szuppe, "Status," 141.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Szuppe, "Status,"144.
[44] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 352.
[45] Matthee, "From the Battlefield,"141; Matthee also argues "countervailing forces in the form of attempts at gender segregation go back all the way to the early days of the Safavids as a mystical order". The founder of the dynasty, Shaykh Safi (1253–1334), keen to counter the freedoms of Mongol and Turkish women, already sought to apply strict Shari'ah codes to gender relations, preventing mixed dancing at Sufi gatherings while avoiding encounters with non-familial women himself." Ibid, 104-5.

walls and was not guarded by walls but was composed of tents and pavilions. The harem relocated from one garden to another following the Timurid sultans and amirs.[46]

Szuppe maintains that in the mid-sixteenth century traces of the Turko-Mongol (Timurid) pattern of a harem that was closed, but not hermetically sealed and cut-off from society, can still be observed at the Safavid court in Qazvin. Here, women lived in their quarters, but their walls were less securely closed in this period (sixteenth century) than in the following century. Women were allowed to enter and leave the harem with companions including their maids.[47]

Szuppe argues that in the sixteenth century it was still essential for the Safavids to dispatch royal women to regional courts of their notable spouses, expecting to continue their activities and preserve Safavid state benefits. Individual women still had the chance to participate in the royal court, and even to launch and lead significant political groups. Safavid society would change more and more to Irano-Islamic traditions, which altered the situation of royal and elite women. The royal harem, as an interior authority organisation under the increasing power of eunuchs, would then consider and direct state matters from behind closed doors.[48]

During the early Safavid era (907-96/1501-88), attitudes concerning gender and gender-differentiated space was affected by very different cultural traditions and beliefs. Babayan suggests that the relative freedom of early Safavid women was a reflection of a more diverse and tolerant dervish culture. She defines this epoch as 'a spirited age' that tolerated not only music and dance in weddings, but mixed women and men gatherings, and the presence of women in gardens, public squares and *bazaars* without their spouses, brothers, fathers, or uncles.[49]

1.4 Women in the late Safavid dynasty (seventeenth century): the emergence of a new political theory

Shah 'Abbas I (1587–1629), with his choice of Isfahan as the new capital of the Safavid empire (1590), initiated a new age regarded as 'centralising'.[50] As Babayan argues, the court became sedentary, and male royal power took on feminine form, so warfaring men were also secluded in the heart of the palace. From such a restructured harem, the shah ruled over

[46] Szuppe, "Status,"142.
[47] Ibid, 144.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 358-359.
[50] Ibid, 360.

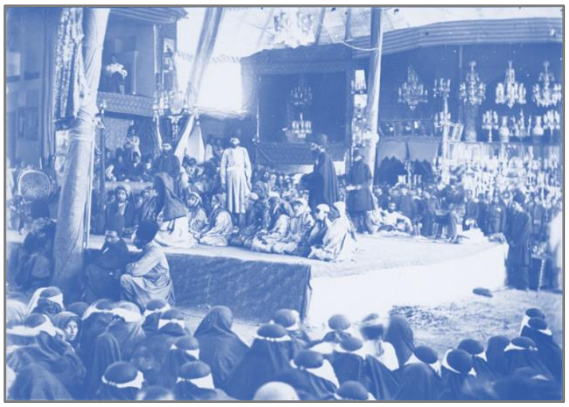
slaves, concubines and eunuchs, and the construction of royal Safavid power increasingly emphasised patrilineality and patriarchy as an Islamic cultural principle. [51]

Shifting away from nomadism in local Isfahani culture is defined by Babayan as the end of the era of dialogue between a diversity of religious tendencies and *Sufi* convents. Clapping, dancing and song were forbidden during religious and secular rituals, and prostitution, both men and women, was banned.[52]As the Safavid era approached its end, Babayan believes the borders between nomadic and sedentary, spiritual and temporal, experiential and rational, and mysticism and theology were reinforced.[53]

A century after the Safavids came to power, at the time of the accession of Shah Safi (r. 1038-52/1629-42),[54] Babayan informs us of a developing new style of political principle by Iskandar Beg (c.1560-c.1632), in substituting the classical Safavid synthesis between Turko-Mongol and Iranian political systems.[55] Since the Safavid ideal of centralisation could not be accomplished within the framework of a tribal political culture, Iranian and Turko-Mongol political legacy was being dominated by a synthesis of Iranian royal and *Imami* temporal legitimacy. This new theory took more than a century to be accepted institutionally.[56]

During the reign of the last effective ruler of the dynasty, Shah Sultan Husayn (r. 1105-35/1694-1722) the *Shari'a*-minded *Imami ulama'* in pursuit of an accurate application of *Shari'a*, launched their dominance in Safavid Iran and initiated their ideals in court and in the madrasa (theological seminary).[57] Babayan states that it was during this era that *Shari'a* was granted a major role in the foundation of social order and approaches toward the females and prescribed roles in gender politics, and restricting women.[58]

[51] Ibid, 361.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid, 362.
[54] The first Safavid to be enthroned in the imperial capital of Isfahan. See Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 356.
[55] Ibid, 356-7.
[56] Ibid, 357.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid, 357,358,362.





Left: Figure 1.2. Women participate in *Ta'ziya* (religious theatre), Qajar era (1794 –1925), being fully covered and observing via a visor in their veils, Antoin Sevruguin (d. 1933).
Right: Figure 1.3. Veiled women in front of groups of attendants at a religious gathering. Sevruguin, Myron Bement Smith Collection of Sevruguin Photographs. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has investigated the changing role of women in the context of socio-cultural transformations that took place in Persian cultural history during the Timurid (1370 –1507), early Safavid (sixteenth century), and late Safavid (seventeenth century) eras.

A review of existing scholarship on this subject shows a general consensus that the nomadic tradition of the Turko-Mongol Timurids compared to the Irano-Islamic culture of settled people that gradually took hold over the course of the Safavid dynasty, provided more opportunity for women's social and political activities. However, diverse interpretations of these cultural and political changes point to a variety of different primary causes for increasing spatial restriction of women and the apparent diminution of their social role. Whilst changes in political policy and religious order were undoubtedly significant factors, the contrast and conflation of differences that transpired over three centuries during this transition between nomadic and sedentary dwelling practices in Persian culture, and its increasingly stratified social structure, indicate other equally significant avenues of exploration.

The next chapter extends and develops the present discussion more specifically by examining dominant theories and identifying evident gaps in current scholarly understanding of the diverse activities and roles of women across four different strata of medieval Persian society and culture – royal, urban, rural and nomadic – with a focus on gender segregation and the veil.

Chapter 2.

Timurid and Safavid Women in Royal, Urban, Rural and Nomadic Societies: The Case of Gender Segregation and the Veil



Part of image, Folio from a Haft awrang by Jami (d.1492), the Aziz and Zulaykha enter the capital of Egypt and the Egyptians come out to greet them, Safavid period.

2.1 Introduction

As recent scholarship has argued, there is no perpetually instituted model of Islamic social, political and cultural form,[1] nor did the women of Persia and neighbourijng regions constitute a monolithic group. They lived diverse lives based on their epoch, location, particular society and culture, socioeconomic class and source of income.[2] Guity Nashat believes that despite prevailing views on how Islamic teachings structured gender roles, several practices and ethics, including the seclusion of women and the veil, are ingrained in the pre-Islamic histories of the occupants of the Iranian plateau and their neighbours in the Nile-to-Oxus region.[3]

Norms defining women's roles advanced over several millennia in Mesopotamia, in the southern part of present-day Iraq, especially during the Sumerian period (3500–2000 B.C.E.). This was where urban life and the foundations of settled society were established. This formation was before the arrival of Iranian (Indo-European) tribes on the plateau.[4] The gradual immigration of rural and nomadic groups into settlements and cities and their introduction to the cultures of the sedentary residents ultimately led to the approval of values of behaviour were first evident in Sumer, the political and social unit, where the first towns in the Nile-to-Oxus area had been shaped.[5]

As long as fundamental ecological and financial situations did not change, Sumerian norms and institutions endured even after the destruction of Sumer (as a particular political and social unit).[6] The groups that followed came to power in Mesopotamia were influenced by these cultural features adapted to suit local preferences. When Indo-European tribes landed on the Iranian plateau, the norms and values first established in Sumer admitted in outlining women's role.[7]

---

[1] Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World: Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization,* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 216.
[2] Guity Nashat, "Introduction." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 1-10 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003), 4.
[3] Nashat, "Women in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Iran." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800* eds. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 11-47 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press,2003), 12.
[4] Nashat, "Women,"12 ; Nashat, "Introduction," 5.
[5] Nashat, "Introduction," 6.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Nashat, "Women," 14.

2.2 Gender seclusion, the veil and rise of urban life

The standard norms that structured and restricted women's activities were most likely established in urban areas. Gradually these values were codified and became the code of conduct for many women. Frequently, during the history of these regions, as tribal and other rural individuals were captured or moved into urban areas, they began to embrace patterns and practices that had been introduced. These factors, such as the rise of urban life, the increase of leisure time along with the region's growing wealth, and the decrease of women's public contribution, are reasons for the changing role and place of women in society.[8]

The social archetype that began about two thousand years before Islam continued: that women should dedicate themselves to motherhood and work inside the home, while men should pursue activities outside the home. With an expansion in agricultural production and in turn food surplus, the human population increased and urban centres developed.[9] A more strict division along gender lines most likely happened gradually, maybe in light of financial and social conditions in an area where the rise of urban life and craft extended incomes.[10]

The growth of population and prosperity and the development of different crafts empowered specialisation and additional division within the workforce. As urban life was on the rise and became more complex, women increasingly produced and raised children, and men focused on external work outside the home.[11] Over hundreds of years, women's absence from public life encouraged the foundation of standards in Mesopotamia that set more noteworthy confinements on the contribution of women in public undertakings. However, it is difficult to determine when seclusion was stated and how widely it was exercised; official texts from the mid-Assyrian period (1132-1115 B.C.E.) reveal that spouses, concubines and even female entourages in the palace lived in separate quarters, strictly watched by eunuchs and guards.[12]

[8] Nashat, "Introduction," 6.
[9] Ibid, 5.
[10] Ibid.
[11] The importance of children in these societies made reproduction a highly valued activity and rewarded women who devoted most of their time to child rearing with social status and greater security in old age. As women became more involved in raising children, they became less concerned about events outside the home. See Nashat, "Women,"12.
[12] Ibid, 13.

2.3 The Timurid royal women

Information about the lives of dynastic Timurid women is cmostly sourced from accounts of the period.[13] Most of the available reports are about Timur's sisters, wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, and granddaughters.[14] Out of Timur's eighteen wives and more than twenty concubines, the activities of his Cingizid wife, Saray Mulk Khānum bint Qazan Khan is chronicled in more detail.[15]

Saray Mulk Khānum's significance in Timur's household was reflected by the size of her compound in the Timurid campsite and her lavishly decorated private tent, and by the extent of her entourage and the ceremony with which she was presented in formal events.[16] Another prestigious Chinggisid princess was Khānzāda who was married first to Jahangir Timur's elder son, and after Jahangir's death to Amiranshah, Timur's third son. Although she fought with Amiranshah and after 801/1399 never again lived with him, she held a place of regard and had been mentioned among the princesses in Timur's family.[17] She was a regular resident in Timur's court in Samarkand and his encampments.[18]

Some of the information about the status of these two women are available from observations and detailed notes of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, ambassador to Henry III of Spain in the court of Timur during 1403-6. He visited the orchards and houses of Timur in Samarqand and several tents and enclosures and dynastic women at the Kan-i Gil pasture in 1404, and he provides colourful portrayals of Timurid courtly life and women's royal position. He also portrays the typology of tent and cloth structures applied by the Timurids.[19]

Clavijo describes Saray Mulk Khanum as "His Highness's chief wife", an outstanding admission to a formal celebration in Samarghand, chaired by Timur, appearing from one of

---

[13] The most important texts are Timur's biographies, the *Zafar-namas,* written by Nizam al-Din Shami and Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, and the comments of foreign observers such as the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, and the Syrian Ibn 'Arabskah; see Priscilla P. Soucek, "Timurid Women: A Cultural Perspective," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly The New Middle Ages, 199-226 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 199.

[14] Ibid, 199.

[15] Ibid, 202.

[16] Ibid, 205.

[17] Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Women in Timurid Dynastic Politics," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 121-39 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 124; Soucek, "Timurid," 210.

[18] Soucek, "Timurid," 211.

[19] David J Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404," in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre Ethnology and Pilgrimage 1250-1700,* ed. Palmira Brummett (Boston: Brill, 2009), 155.
http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/books/10.1163/ej.9789004174986.i-332.17.

the enclosures next to the great pavilion. He notes that she was robed and adorned in an outer sleeveless robe of red silk embroidered with gold. Her attire had no waist, and the skirt was very wide in the lower part with a long train which was carried by up to fifteen women attending behind.[20]

He describes her face as entirely covered with white lead. He compares the effect of such makeup as akin to wearing 'a paper mask'. He explains that such cosmetic custom during summer and winter was to 'protect their faces' from the sun. He observed that all the attendants of her highness and the other dames of the court had this protection. However, in addition, the great Khanum wore a 'thin white veil'.[21] Clavijo continues by describing a 'parasol' or umbrella that was carefully held over the princes' head by a male attendant as she walked. Again, the function of the umbrella was 'to keep the sun off her face'.[22]

Clavijo portrays Saray Mulk Khanum's headdress as a red helmet-like crest adorned with many pearls and precious stones such as balas rubies and turquoise with its borders hanging down in part over her shoulders and embroidered by gold thread around the edge. She wore an attractive pure gold 'garland' decorated by abundant pearls and jewels. Above this crest, three large balas rubies were set and overall, a long white plume about six handspans in height. Thus feathers from this plumage almost covered the eyes and were again garnished by precious stones. This head-gear waved backwards and forwards as she proceeded.[23] Saray Mulk Khanum's hair was mostly not covered. Clavijo goes on to say that "the princess was wearing her hair all loose, hanging down over her shoulders", and her hair was "black in colour". And that black hair was recognised as more beautiful than any other colour, so women dyed their hair black.[24]

Finally, many eunuchs (tartars always had them in charge of their women) preceded Saray Mulk Khanum and her entourage as she entered the pavilion, where Timur was already placed and she sat beside him, a little behind on a low dais.[25] According to Clavijo, Timur's second and third wives also appeared from their separate enclosures and participated in the

[20] Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406,* trans. Guy Le Strange. (Routledge,1928), 258.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid, 259; Clavijo describes the parasol as comprising "a stick which was a pole the size of a lance", and the parasol was "of white silk and round shape like the top of a tent."
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, 259-260.

feast. In general, nine princesses of the royal family came in, and the banquet started after they were all seated.[26]

Timurid dynastic women held prominent royal status, and some had their own garden palaces.[27] Though Saray Mulk Khanum never exercised political power, she went about some activities usually undertaken by dynastic male members in the Islamic world.[28] She often accompanied Timur on campaigns.[29] Clavijo states that she had the largest tent compound among Timur's wives. She administered the reception of foreign ambassadors along with Timur, attended by a splendid group, and sat in front of the other elite women.[30] He indicates that with other eminent Timurid women Saray Mulk Khanum entertained male and female ambassadors at her own receptions and distributed robes of honour to her guests.[31] Khanzada also managed feasts and distributed robes of honour on the occasion of marriages or victory celebrations.[32] The banquets were held in the princesses' tents and involved abundant drinking and eating by both sexes.[33]

Clavijo who was invited and entertained both by Timur's senior wife, Saray Malik Khanum (257-260) and his daughter-in-law Khanzada (244-8), describes their ceremonial protocol in detail. During these festivities, Clavijo was invited to visit Saray Malik Khanum private tent furnished with precious booty collected during Timor's conquests.[34] Clavijo attended a feast on the 9th of October 1404 (807 AH) organised by Khanzada, held in one of the enclosures within the Timurid encampment at Kan-i Gil, with magnificent tents occupied by the princess as her residence. He noticed that she was some forty years of age, with a fair complexion and fat.[35]

According to these observations, it is obvious that Timurid royal women were neither veiled nor secluded. In the later era, as reported by Manz, there are no detailed accounts; however it would seem that women's eminent official role continued. Available reports about Gawharshad, Shahrukh's influential wife, show the contribution of royal women on public occasions.[36] The wedding that Shahrukh organised for Muhammad Juki's Chinggisid bride

[26] Roxburgh, "Ruy González," 148.
[27] Manz, "Women," 124.
[28] Soucek, "Timurid," 205.
[29] Manz, "Women," 124.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Soucek, "Timurid," 205.
[32] Ibid, 211.
[33] Manz, "Women," 124.
[34] Soucek, "Timurid," 205.
[35] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 244-48.
[36] Manz, "Women," 124.

was a magnificent event in which Shahrukh's wife, Gawharshad made an outstanding contribution. She erected a great tent in the Bagh-i Zaghan of Herat with a pavilion for each woman and prince.[37] Also during the festivities arranged by Shahrukh after the death of her son Baysunghur in 837/ 1433, Gawharshad took charge of the preparation for several days' public banquets. [38]

2.4 Timurid urban women

During the Safavid period, , many descriptions of urban and rural women's appearance and codes of behaviour by foreign observers, such as ambassadors or merchants, are discussed in this chapter. Since they almost had no access to the segregated royal women's sphere, such reports about dynastic women are scarce. In the Timurid era, as Clavijo informs, foreign ambassadors visited dynastic women's enclosures by invitation only. Also royal women took part in ceremonial events and festivities, so Clavijo described their appearance, and social and state position. Nevertheless, information about Timurid urban and rural women is scarce. Even in Clavijo's report, there is only a brief account about the women of Tabriz and their appearance following his portrayal of the overall structure of the city. On Wednesday the 11th of June 1404 at the hour of evening prayer, they entered the great city of Tabriz.

> Throughout the city, there are fine roadways with open spaces well laid out and round these are seen many great buildings and houses, each with its main doorway facing the square. Such are the caravanserais and within are constructed separate apartments and shops with offices that are planned for various uses. Leaving these caravanserais you pass into the market streets where goods of all kinds are sold.…thus for instance in certain of the caravanserais those who sell cosmetics and perfumes for women are established and to be met with, the women coming here to these shops to buy the same, for they are wont to use many perfumes and unguents.[39]

He explains that women in the streets covered their body in a 'white sheet' with a 'black mask of horse-hair' before their faces. Therefore, they were entirely concealed so that no

[37] Ibid, 123,4.
[38] Ibid, 124.
[39] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 151-3.

one may recognise them (Figure 2.1).[40] As will be discussed, such appearance more or less would remain the same for Safavid elite and urban women (Figure 2.2).

Manz informs us of the French Dominican Jean of Sultaniyya writing about Timurid women: that when they rode out, they left only their eyes and noses visible. She believes that the evidence provided by the Clavijo on this matter are mixed. Since somewhere he states that Tabriz women in the *bazaar* were almost entirely veiled, and when he writes about the Saray Malik Khanum's costume at the Timurid court, he mentions that her face was covered by a light veil, thus he defines her makeup and the complexion of other Timurid royal women.[41] However, Clavijo's explanations about Saray Malik Khanum's sleeveless robe and uncovered hair indicate that Timurid women did not practise *hijab*. Wearing the light veil and *Chā̄dor* the face while riding a horse, was most probably applied to protect the face from sun and dust, as the white mask and parasol also did.





Left: Figure 2.1 Lūt and his family running away from the destruction of Sodūm. Illustrated manuscript of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', Ms. T-8, Istanbul, Topkapi Sarai Museum, H. 1228.[42]
Right: Figure 2.2 Ayyub recovering from his afflictions. Illustrated manuscript of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', Ms. B. Berlin, Staatsbibliotheck zu Berlin, ms.Diez A Fol.3, 984/1577.[43]

[40] Ibid.
[41] Manz, "Women," 127.
[42] Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā'*, Islamic Art and Architecture Series (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1999).
[43] Ibid.

2.5 Safavid royal women

Most available information about the women of the medieval and pre-modern era concerns the upper levels of society including royal women, the military and administrative elites.[44] To study Safavid royal women, scholars mostly relied on foreign travellers' accounts. Such reports mainly focused on describing women's clothing and appearance. The last description in this study is the Shah Tahmasp's women court in Qazvin. Here such descriptions are detected in a timeline from the early to late Safavid era.

Francesco Romano, an Italian merchant who dwelled in Tabriz and visited the court of Shah Ismail I (r. 1501-24) observed the early-sixteenth-century female citizens of Tabriz who dressed rather provocatively, yet their heads were covered by putting on a men's robe. He indicates that numbers of women in public were fewer than men. They dressed in Persian costumes open at the breast, showing their bosoms and even their bodies, as white as snow, which resembled ivory. Based on the status of the wearer, these robes were of silk, crimson cloth, wool, velvet and gold cloth.[45] Such a provocative style frequently began to appear in Safavid single-page paintings of women, in particular of the Isfahan School (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).

Another traveller Antonio Tenreiro who visited Iran in 1523-24, accompanying the Portuguese ambassador, Balthasar Pessoa, witnessed women in the circus of Shah Ismail I and his entourage, dressed like men and riding horses but with their faces veiled. When Shah Ismail appeared in camp, Tenreiro reports that the wives of servants of the Sufi lined up beside him and behind his wives. Dressing well and not different from the men, they rode on the best horses as skilled as men, with a veiled face and beaded headdress.[46]

In 1540 Michele Membre, a Venetian emissary to Iran, saw Qizilbash women in the streets of Tabriz and while residing as a guest in the Qizilbash amirs' house. He also mentions their

---

[44] Maria Szuppe, "Status Knowledge and Politics Women in Sixteenth century Safavid Iran," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 140-69 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 141; Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 350.

[45] Francesco Romano, "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia" ed. trans. by Charles Grey. In *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteen Centuries*, ed. Charles Grey (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 172; Szuppe, "Status," 143; Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?" In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120 (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 100.

[46] Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem,"100; Ronald Bishop Smith, *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations in Persia (1507-1524)* (Bethesda, MD: Decatur Press, 1970), 75.

high social status and freedom, riding on a horse accompanied by a female entourage with their faces covered by a white kerchief, so impossible to be fully seen.[47]





Left: Figure 2.3 Woman with a veil attributed to Riza Abbasi, (ca. 1565–1635) Iran, Isfahan, ca. 1590–95
Right: Figure 2.4 Safavid women with headdress and robe open at the front, ca. 1595, Iran, Isfahan, Smithsonian Institute.

Sometime after Membre in 1572, another traveller, Vincenzo d'Alessandri describes one of Shah Tahmasp's spouses whom he had seen during his visit in Qazvin, the second Safavid capital. Szuppe names the woman as Zahra Baji, a Georgian wife of the shah:

> The women at times have permission from the King to come out of the palace; those, indeed, who have children, under the pretext of seeing them when they are ill. And I saw the mother of the Sultan Mustafa Mirisce, who was slightly indisposed, come out with her face covered with a black veil, riding like a man, accompanied by four slaves and six men on foot.[48]

[47] Szuppe, "Status," 142; Michele Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542),* trans. A. H. Morton (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 31, 25.
[48] Vincenzo d'Alessandri, "Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri" in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 227; Szuppe, "Status," 143,163 (footnote 8).

Szuppe notes that some of the royal women had their own houses outside the harem walls, where they resided. This case is valid for many of the Safavid princesses from a royal family in Qazvin in the second half of the sixteenth century.[49]

Veiling continued to be practised as a norm for elite and respectable urban women all through the seventeenth century. In the early seventeenthcentury Portuguese travellers such as De Orta Rebello and Gaspar de S. Benardino, who visited Iran in 1605-06, repeat many former accounts that women and men dressed the same, and the only difference was that women put on a white garment as a veil, that exposed only their eyes, which made them unrecognisable even to their husbands.[50]

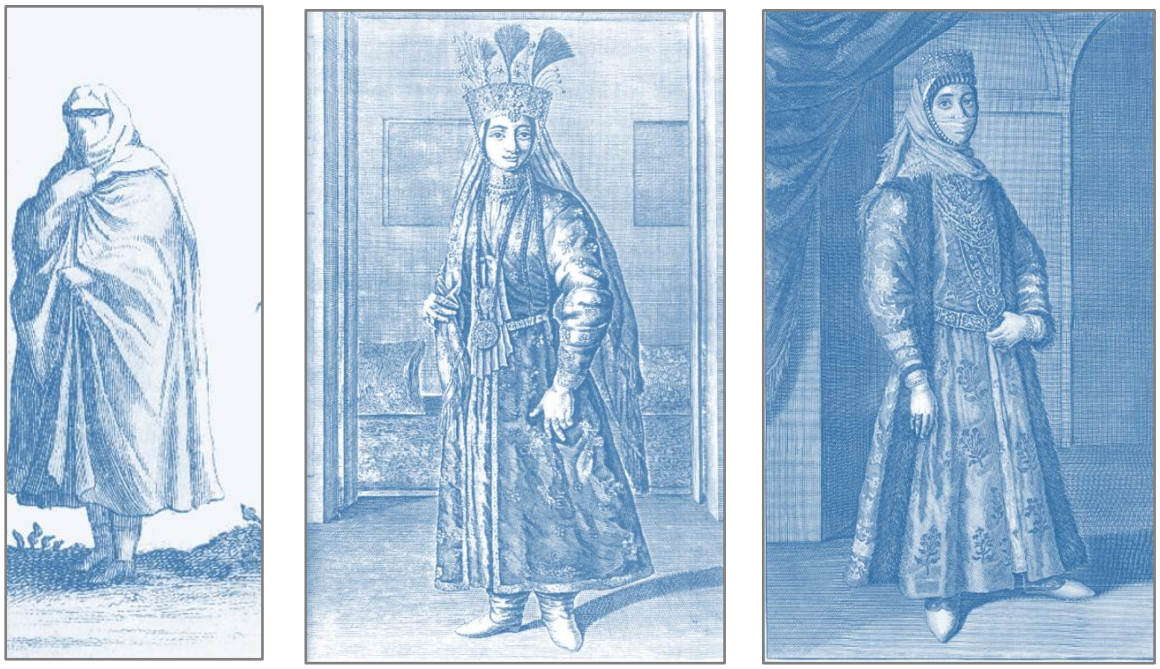
An English traveller and historian, Thomas Herbert who visited Iran in the 1620s, towards the end of Shah 'Abbas l's reign, states that "The women here, as of old in other parts of Asia, veil their faces in public".[51] Manuel Godinho, writing around 1663, a contemporary to the final years of Shah 'Abbas l's reign, echoes the same description by saying that women never go outside the house with their faces exposed, but they cover it using a "veil or a mask of horse silk", and cover their body using "a sort of white sheet of cotton material" which made them unrecognisable.[52] A more detailed portrayal of the women's outfit is described by Jean de Thevenot who was in Iran in the 1660s:

> …when they are abroad in the Streets, all both rich and poor, are covered with a great veil or sheet of very fine white Cloth, of which one half like a forehead Cloth comes down to the Eyes, and going over the head, reaches down to their heels, and the other half muffles up their face below the Eyes, and being fastened with a Pin to their left side of the head, falls down to their very shoes, even covering their hands, with which they hold that Cloth by the two sides.[53]

In the later Safavid era, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[54] and Jean Chardin (1643–1713) visited Iran at almost the same time. Their writing concurs with former authors. Tavernier states that the women of Persia did not show themselves to anyone except for their husbands. The low-status women who did not have bathing facilities in their own home, when going to the

[49] Szuppe, "Status," 143.
[50] Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem," 105.
[51] Ibid. See Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 1627 1629, ed. Sir William Foster (London:Routledge,1928).
[52] Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem," 105; Manuel Godinho, *Intrepid Itinerant: Manuel Godinho and His Journey from India to Portugal in 1663*, ed. John Correia-Afonso, trans. Vitalio Lobo and John Correia-Afonso (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1990), 104-05.
[53] Matthee, Op.cit.; Jean de Thevenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, in three parts (London: H. C1ark, 1687), pt. 3, Persia, 93.
[54] Tavernier made six voyages to Persia and India between 1630 and 1668.

bathhouse, covered themselves with a large veil from head to toe, with only two holes left open for their eyes (Figure 2.5).[55] Chardin insists that the higher the rank of a woman the less she would go outside.[56]



Left: Figure 2.5 Safavid women with covering *(chādor)* and veil, Safavid Persian the 1600s.[57]
Middle: Figure 2.6 Women court dress, Safavid Persian the 1600s.[58]
Right: Figure 2.7 Safavid Armenian woman.[59]

These explanations which are often cited as evidence for high women's status and freedom in early Safavid times, Matthee warns "concerns not women at large, but women of rank". Accordingly, he says that the women who have been described are royal women and not ordinary. These elite women who allowed to be present in public were independent in their travels by riding horses and were dressed slightly provocatively, however being partially veiled.[60] He compares such status with the later Safavid times when royal women were "no

[55] Matthee, "From the Battlefield" 106; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turqttie, en Perse, et aux Indes, vo1. 1 (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1676), 635.
[56] Matthee, Op.cit.; Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, L. Langles, l0 vols. and atlas (Paris: Le Normand, 1810-11), vol.4, 10-11-30.
[57] Jean Chardin, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire*. Trans. R.W. Ferrier. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.
[58] Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[59] Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie* (Amsterdam: R. en G. Wetstein, J. Oosterwyk [en] H. van dc Gaete, 1714).
[60] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 101.

longer visible to any men and only went out under cover of *quruq." Quruq* was the men restriction in the late seventeenth century that was declared whenever the shah went out riding with his female entourage.[61]

Matthee argues that except for some reports about women riding horses and attending the royal retinue, the accounts about veiling and seclusion stated by early Europeans are as frequent as later Safavid accounts. Therefore he concludes that upper-class and urban women were veiled in public in the early Safavid era as much as the later era.[62]

Nashat notes that despite the gender division, Iranian women in neighbouring regions performed key roles in many activities, which paved the way for future generations in urban societies.[63] It appears that education was available to elite women and on a far lesser level for other social strata. Women of the Safavid dynasty could receive education, have financial independence, and act as patrons of art, architecture and charitable foundations.[64]

Chardin informs us that a woman physician under Shah Abbas I used her art in the harem.[65] The mixed *maktab* (elementary schools) had been identified in Iran since the tenth or eleventh century and in many, female teachers were active.[66] Shahzada Sultanum, the favourite sister of Shah Tahmasp, was educated in grammar rules and the Persian language by Nur al-Din Kashi. A religious scholar, Mawlana Imad al-Din Ali Astarabadi taught her Quranic sciences. Her third teacher was the celebrated master, Dust-Muhammad of Herat, a calligrapher, illuminator, and most likely painter who was active in the royal scriptorium (*kitabkhana*).[67]

The princess Pari-Khan Khanum II (1548-78), daughter of Shah Tahmasp, who after his father's death was a major political figure and led a political party of Qizilbash and court dignitaries, succeeded in bringing to power Shah Ismail II (r. 1576-77).[68] Khayr al-Nisa Begum, wife of Shah Muhammad Khudabanda (1578–1587), ruled the state from February 1578 to July 1579 when Qizilbash amirs killed her, her mother and a group of her

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid,104.
[63] Nashat, "Introduction," 6.
[64] Szuppe, "Status," 161.
[65] Ibid,151.
[66] Ibid,149-50.
[67] Ibid,150.
[68] Ibid,156.

Mazandarani devotees. During that period, she officiated at events beside the Shah and her eldest son, Sultan-Hamza Mirza.[69]

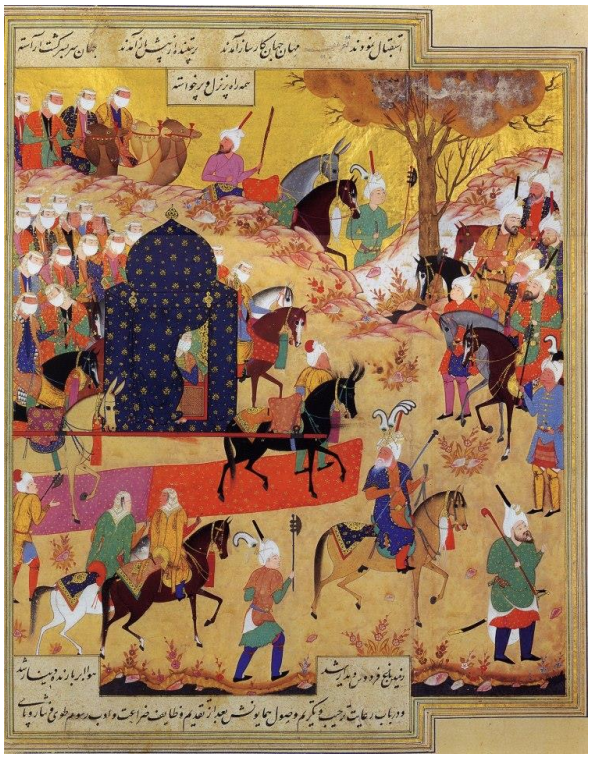
Both princesses have been recognised as the most famous female politicians of the Safavid era by Szuppe.[70] She explains that Khayr al-Nisa Begum was regularly informed about state affairs as were the shah and the prince, Sultan-Hamza Mirza. Amirs and civil dignitaries acknowledged her high position and received their daily instructions from her quarters every day.[71]

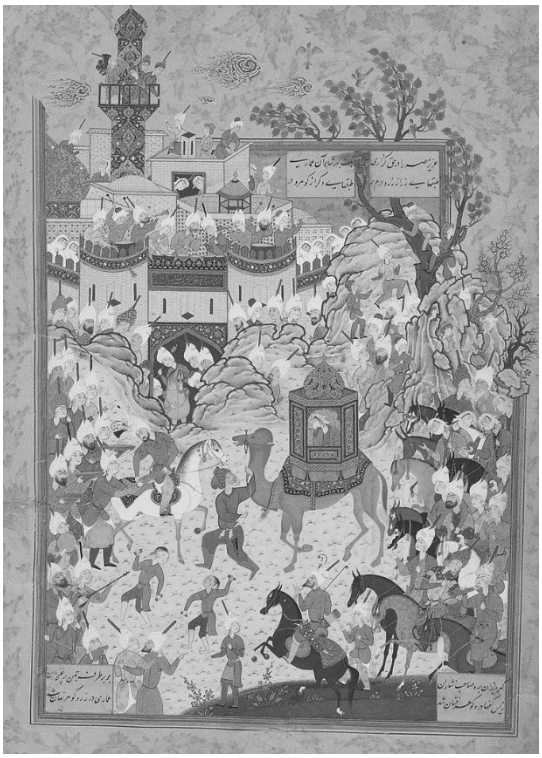
It was socially tolerated for princesses to participate in hunting festivities, military missions and state affairs.[72] Therefore, horse riding was also an important part of women education in the sixteenth century, and it was the main way of transporting goods and travelling. In 1540, Michele Membre referred to Qizilbash women riders in Tabriz during the habitual movement of the royal camp, as those who ride like men ad even sometimes made their horses jump and performed many other skilful tricks.[73] Emperor Humayun of the Great Moghuls of India reported that Shahzada Sultanum accompanied Shah Tahmasp on horseback during hunting expeditions.[74]

It seems that during the Shah Abbas I period, women continued to hunt on horseback but since that time gender segregation strictly applied. Hence, by the seventeenth century, the closed litters *(Kajaveh)* secured on the backs of camels would become the main way of transport for dynastic women to travel unseen (Figures 2.8 and 2.9).[75] However, in some formal events, such as the ceremonial entry of Shah Abbas to Isfahan in 1618, elite Safavid women headed by the chief woman of the harem, and aged Zaynab Begum, the paternal aunt of the shah, mounted on horses, accompanied the shah carrying arms and riding with their veils lifted.[76]

---

[69] Ibid,158.
[70] Ibid,160.
[71] Ibid,159; Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Khulasat al-tavarikh*, ed. I. Ishraqi (Tehran: Danishkada-yi Tehran 1980-84), 2:693.
[72] Szuppe, "Status," 161.
[73] Ibid,151; Michele Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia* (1539–1542), trans. A. H. Morton (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 31, 25.
[74] Szuppe, "Status,"151; Gulbadan Begum, *The History of Humayun*, ed. Annette Beveridge (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902), 69,169-70.
[75] Szuppe, "Status," 151. It remains unclear when the practice of elite women travelling in litters became common. Matthee doubts whether it goes back to the early Safavid era, see Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 104.
[76] Szuppe, "Status," 151.





Left: Figure 2.8 Timur welcomes Amirzadeh Jahangir's wife, attributed to Kamal od-din Behzad Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), 1528, Courtesy of Golestan Palace.
Right: Figure 2.9 Zulaykha enter the capital of Egypt, Haft Awrang by Jami (d.1492).

2.6 Safavid urban women

Regarding social status and activities of the urban Iranian female population, Szuppe denotes there is little or no information available and that sources hardly discuss female poets, artists, or religious scholars. She warns that we should not be misled by this conventional style of writing and approach of historiographers of the period. Though little primary source information can be found, it appears that women could participate in literary, artistic, and to a degree, religious fields.[77] Non-elite urban women's groups as defined by Mattee cover a wide range:

> The female inhabitants of Isfahan and other major towns, for the most part, consisted of ordinary women, but the urban centres were also home to a disproportionately large number of marginal females, unmarried ones, and divorced women who had been rejected by their husbands and who thus were forced to fend for themselves.

[77] Szuppe, "Status," 161.

> Many of those survived as prostitutes, whose number is said to have been a staggering 12,000 in Isfahan alone in the mid-seventeenth century.[78]

In terms of costume, he refers to women of three different religions: first, Muslim women which he states not only covered their faces but also were "the most heavily veiled ones".[79] Relying on remarks by foreign travellers about the attire of Zoroastrian women he informs that their clothing and hairstyles left their faces uncovered, without, however, showing the hair or the neck.[80] Armenian women dressed between full veiling and non-veiling. Their faces were neither entirely exposed like Zoroastrian women nor covered entirely like Muslim women (Figure 2.7).[81] Unmarried Armenian women were reported to appear in public unveiled and those who were married, instead of the usual white veil, put on the *yazmag*, a cloth that covered the tip of the nose, the mouth and the chin, and secured at the back of the head.[82] Figures 2.10 to 2.15 show diversity in women's attire in different social rankings and religions during Qajar ear Iran (1796–1925).

In general, it can be said that the separation between men and women, seclusion and the veil, applied mostly to well-to-do people in urban areas. One reason was the importance of purity of their descendants for prosperous men, while there was a high risk of contact between women and male strangers in urban societies with the possibility of maintaining anonymity.[83] However, seclusion did not avert women of the royal household from undertaking indirect political influence and attaining massive property and wealth.[84]

[78] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 59.
[79] Ibid, 107.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid, 107-108.
[83] Nashat, "Introduction," 6.
[84] Ibid.





Left: Figure 2.10 Qajar Georgian women of Isfahan, photographer Antoin Sevruguin (died 1933).
Middle: Figure 2.11 Kurdish woman, Sevruguin, National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands.
Right: Figure 2.12 Qajar Georgian/Armenian woman with a light veil, Sevruguin.





Left: Figure 2.13 Qajar women wearing a black *Chador* and white veil, Sevruguin.
Middle: Figure 2.14 Qajar Armenian girls in a garden, Sevruguin.
Right: Figure 2.15 Semi-veiled Gajar girl, lower class, Sevruguin.

2.7 Iranian women in rural and nomadic societies

The information about women in lower social strata is inadequate. Poor women seem to have a less secluded lifestyle, as they had to go to the *bazaar* for their needs and usually had to work outside their homes. They took jobs in the workforce as servants, shop and tavern keepers, textile workers, bath attendants, midwives, scribes and temple workers. Breeding children were non-elite women's major contribution.[85] Nashat denotes that in rural areas,

[85] Nashat, "Women," 13.

gender division was not as strict as urban regions because of a higher degree of trust. Within these smaller societies, people either were connected by familial ties or acquainted since youthful.[86]

The Nile-to-Oxus region relied on an agricultural economy where most of the people lived in rural areas or as pastoralists. Daily activities for rural women included helping with the harvest and vegetable gardens, caring for and milking animals, and making dairy products such as butter and cheese. Nashat enumerates "they baked bread, cooked meals, fetched wood and water, spun wool, wove cloth and sewed clothing" (Figures 2.16 to 2.25). She notes that since these chores partly made them interact with men outside their immediate family; it is improbable that rural women practised urban standards for chastity.[87]

According to available reports by foreign travellers, Matthee was convinced that women in rural areas habitually went outside unveiled and that it seems that this situation remained from the beginning to the end of the Safavid era. One observer who visited the countryside of Shirvan in the early seventeenth century signified that women went about in public with their faces uncovered. The latter who passed through Fars and travelled in the Yazdikhast area, reports that the nomadic women of the region covered their heads with a piece of cloth that left their faces bare.[88]

Several travellers such as Olearius (1599–1671) witnessed rural and tribal women who were economically active, reporting that they came with women in the countryside selling goods and food to travellers.[89] John Fryer echoes this by saying that his travelling party was stopped by "country women bringing in cheese, and butter made before our eyes".[90] De Bruyn, who travelled through Iran from Talish near the Caspian Sea in the north to Fars in the south, writes that he frequently encountered women who sold fresh butter, milk, eggs and chickens.[91]

[86] Nashat,"Introduction," 6.
[87] Nashat, "Women," 13.
[88] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 109-110.
[89] Ibid, 110.
[90] John A. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being 9 Years' Travels, 1672–1681*, ed. W. Crooke, 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1909), 15.
[91] Matthee, Op.cit., 116.




Left: Figure 2.16 Qajar village women, Antoin Sevruguin (died 1933).
Right: Figure 2.17 Two Qajar women carrying clay jugs, Sevruguin.




Left: Figure 2.18 Woman nursing her baby in a nomadic encampment,Tabriz c. 1540.
Right: Figure 2.19 Woman with two children in the *Andaruni*, Sevruguin.




Left: Figure 2.20 Woman embroidering, Flight of the Tortoise, Haft awrang by Jami (d.1492).
Right: Figure 2.21 Qajar woman embroidering.



Top left: Figure 2.22 The spinner woman, Neo-Elamite period (8th cen. BC- mid. Sixth century B.C.), Susa.[92]
Top right: Figure 2.23 Women spinning, The story of Ardashir and Haftvand's Worm, mid-tenthcentury.
Bottom left: Figure 2.24 Qajar women weaving carpet, Sevruguin (died 1933).
Bottom right: Figure 2.25 Shahsevan nomad women spinning wool and weaving carpet, Moghan, Azerbaijan, Iran.

Until the nineteenth century, Nashat states that Iran and the rest of the Nile-to-Oxus region had a large pastoralist tribal population, often nomadic. The observations of classical authors such as Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.E., historians of pre-Islamic Arabia, and Muslim travellers such as Ibn Battutah specify that women pastoralists were not secluded as much as urban or rural women. Women took part in many activities of public life, sometimes including war.[93]

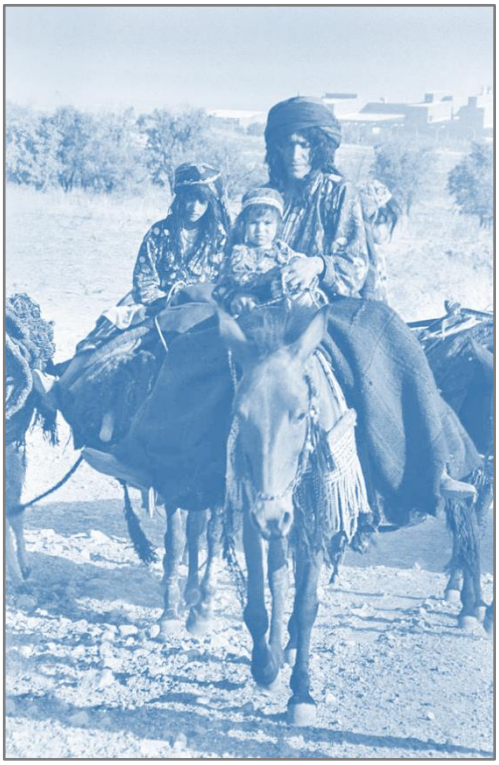
Pastoralists depended on seasonal migration and were more self-sufficient and isolated so their life required more daily contributions from women (Figure 2.28). Also, to look after daily house chores such as making food and clothing, the women also performed heavy jobs,

[92] Bas-relief fragment, called "The Spinner" © 2010 RMN / Franck Raux https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/spinner
[93] Nashat, "Introduction," 6; Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad Ibn Battitah, Rihlat Ibn Battutah (Travels of Ibn Battutah), 2 vols., ed.Ali al-Kattani (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risalah, 1395/1977), 1:365; 2:777.

such as pitching tents and carrying children, heavy objects, and small animals during seasonal migration (Figures 2.26 and 2.27).[94]

The nomadic way of life required men to be absent occasionally, so women looked after all tribal undertakings when men were not present. Nashat indicates that tribal women did not breed as many children as rural women because young children would constrain them during seasonal migration, thus in pastoral society women were more socially active than many urban or rural women.[95] Due to the various responsibilities nomadic women carried out, seclusion and the veil for them were impractical. Whenever pastoralist groups came to power in the Nile-to-Oxus region, Nashat insists that women in the ruling dynasties had far more public visibility than women in urban centres over whom the pastoralists ruled.[96]





Left: Figure 2.26 Qashqai tribal woman, Photograph by Loic Beck, 1986.
Right: Figure 2.27 Kurdish tribal women, photo by Nasrollah Kasraian, contemporary.

[94] Nashat, "Women," 13.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

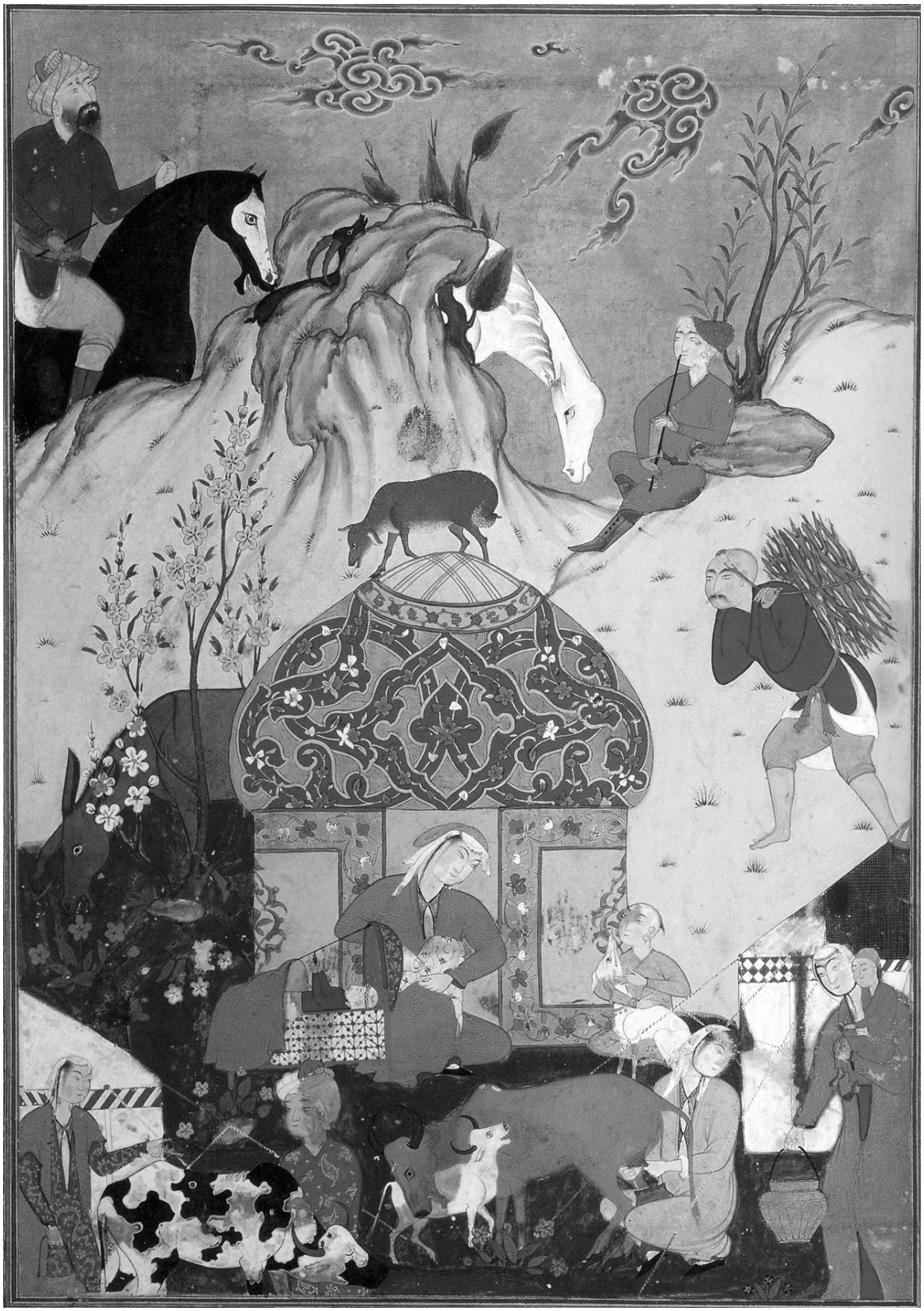


Figure 2.28 Women busy with daily chores in a nomadic encampment, *Leyli and Majnun*, Quintet *(Panj Ganj)* bu Nezami, Mozaffar Ali, 1521, Golestan Palace Library, No 709. Tehran, Iran.

2.8 Summary

The development of norms for women's role in Iran, which structured seclusion, the veil and restricted women's activities, most likely was established in urban areas. The expansion of urban life made women more devoted to produce and raise children, and men focused on work outside the home. Since there is no fixed model of Islamic social, political and cultural forms, medieval Iranian women's role should be based on their time, place, culture and socioeconomic class.

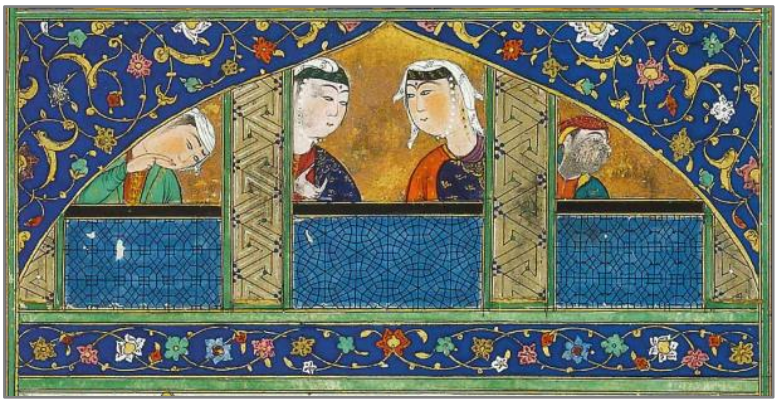
Timurid royal women were neither veiled nor secluded, while available reports on Timurid urban women in the Tabriz *bazaar* describe them as being covered in a white sheet and a black mask of horse-hair. The same description is echoed by foreign travellers' reports about Safavid royal and urban women from the early to late Safavid era, describing them as always veiled. Also, in general, the higher the rank of woman the less she would exit home or the *harem*. Therefore the royal women only occasionally and under circumstances such as *quruq* went outside. However, the historical evidence shows that the gender division which assigned women mainly to private domains did not deprive Safavid women of performing key roles in social and political activities, receiving education, and financial independence.

Women in rural and nomadic areas usually went outside unveiled, and gender division was not as strict as in urban regions. This situation has remained the same from the beginning to the end of the Safavid era. Poor women had to go to the *bazaar* and work outside their homes. In pastoral society, women were more socially active than many urban or rural women.

Following the current scholarly understanding of Timurid and Safavid women surveyed from a social perspective, emphasising practices of gender segregation and veiling in different social strata, Part II articulates the theoretical framework 'gaze' (Chapter 3) and methodology 'space'(Chapter 4) adopted by this study. Next chapter (Chapter 3) discourse the theory of the 'gaze' in Persian Sufism and literature as the driving inspiration of Persian painting, to describe the way of seeing in Persian Painting.

Chapter 3.

Theoretical Framework: Gaze and Femineity in Islamic Visual Arts



Part of image, Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp.

3.1 Introduction

> "Indeed, Allah knows the unseen of the Heavens and the earth. And Allah is seeing of what you do." (Quran, 49:18)

Discourse on vision and visuality in Islamic visual arts is a focus of interest among international scholars that has received considerable attention. The current chapter, by reviewing such studies, ranges from technical aspects to philosophy and meaning, attempting to understand a way of seeing in Persian miniature painting. Such insights will help us decode spatial and architectural imageries in Persian painting and examine representation of women in relation to these spaces. Bearing in mind that the veil and seclusion as cultural concepts of respect and privacy for women, which can be attained by codes of dressing or spatial and gender segregation in Iranian society, are also closely interrelated to 'vision' or '*nazar*'.

Nazar is a significant term in Islamic philosophy, Sufism, jurisprudence and visual arts that embraces diverse concepts in each discipline. In the Persian language *Nazar* literally means to see *(didan, ro'yat, and negāh-kardan).*[1] Islamic texts generally elevate two of the five 'outer senses', that is, sight and hearing. And in some cases, sight predominates hearing.[2]

Gülru Necipoğlu introduces early examples of discourse on the eye. Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873); the Nestorian Iraqi court physician, maintains that "vision is unique among the senses, the noblest of them and the most superior in quality." Two Cordoban scholars, Ibn Hazm (d. 1064) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), state that vision is superior to audition. The Brethren also affirms hearing and sight as "the best and noblest of the five senses," referring to the Quran's declaration that God endowed humans with the gift of "hearing, sight and hearts."[3] On various occasions, the Quran refers to 'sight' as *nazar, basar and ra'y.*[4]

---

[1] Farhange Loghat-e Dehkhoda (Online Dehkhoda Dictionary).
[2] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, 32 (October 2015): 23.
[3] Ibid, 31-2.
[4] [23:78] It is He who produced for you hearing, and eyes, and hearts; little thanks you show;
[2:50] And when We divided for you the sea and delivered you, and drowned Pharaohs folk while you were beholding; [47:20] Those who believe say, Why has a sura not been sent down? Then, when a clear sura is sent down, and therein fighting is mentioned, thou seest those in whose hearts is sickness looking at thee as one who swoons of death; but better for them would be; [37:88] And he cast a glance at the stars;
[59:18] O believers, fear God. Let every soul consider what it has forwarded for the morrow. And fear God; God is aware of the things you do; [47:18] Are they looking for aught but the Hour, that it shall come upon them suddenly? Already its tokens have come; so, when it has come to them, how shall they have their Reminder?; [27:27] Said he, Now We will see whether thou hast spoken truly, or whether thou art amongst those that lie; [10:20] They say, Why has a sign not been sent down upon him from his Lord? Say: The Unseen belongs only to God. Then watch and wait; I shall be with you watching and waiting; [75:23] gazing upon

Hans Belting compares gaze in Renaissance Europe and the Islamic Middle East.[5] He questions whether one can speak of gaze in a positive sense in Arab culture at all. He asserts "the many social and religious limitations imposed on the gaze suggest the opposite."[6] Gülru Necipoğlu, however, believes that diversified visual cultures of Islamic domains were shaped to varying degrees by restrictions imposed on gaze. Such stipulations were mainly articulated in hadith literature and texts on jurisprudence (*fiqh*).[7] These included constraints imposed on figural representation, on conspicuous consumption of luxury materials such as gold, silver, silk, and the acceptability of ornaments or inscriptions in specific building types and objects. Necipoğlu debates since such constraints had been open to negotiation, a broad spectrum of varying interpretations are available. Therefore there is little justification for theorising a typical Islamic 'mindset' on modalities of gaze.[8] She declares the preference for abstraction in the pictorial arts may have responded in part to religious constraints; however, this tendency was mostly speculated as a matter of aesthetic preference in early modern literature on the visual arts, where the power of the abstractive inner gaze was dominant.[9]

Engaging with Belting's arguments at various points in her essay, Necipoğlu discusses primary written sources on the visual arts to produce a more complex and accurate understanding of gaze in both cultures.[10] She suggests that the coexistence of different modalities of gaze, which also included scientific gaze, speaks against a monolithic Islamic way of seeing or mindset. She believes that the aesthetic, emotive and cognitive dimensions of seeing, along with the humanism of Sufi discourses on the power of vision advance a reciprocal gaze between God and humans. Retaining such special visionary

---

their Lord;

[5] Hans Belting, *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011). Belting represents a comparison between perspectives as a visual theory based on geometrical abstraction in the Middle East and a pictorial theory in Europe. The primary focus of Belting's book in the field of Islamic art is on the geometrical gaze as the representational form in the Arab culture. However part of the second chapter discusses the perspective as represented in the Persian miniature painting.

Note: "Middle East" as a geographical unit is not a precise term for the geographical boundaries discussed by the current thesis. A large portion of the area under study, such as Herat and Samarqand, which were active centres of art production under the Timurids do not fall into the category of the Middle East. Apart from instances where other authors, such as Belting, have used the term, I have attempted to be more specific in this study and referred to "ways of seeing" in specific contexts or genres such as "Islamic art" or "Persian miniature painting".

[6] Ibid, 30.

[7] Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze," 23.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

ability enabled them to perceive the reflexivity of macrocosm and microcosm.[11]

As suggested by scholars, mysticism and poetry are the primary sources of inspiration for Persian painting. It is believed that the Persian painter is either himself a Sufi or mystic, or his intellectual background is linked to ancient Persian wisdom and Islamic mysticism through his connection to Persian poetry.[12] Also, in terms of themes, Persian painting was closely linked with Persian literature, mainly inspired by the epics and their lyrics. The imagery of Persian poetry and Persian painting are consistent. Painters gradually made a list of conventional motifs based on epic and lyric literary themes and have used them with slight modifications over the years.[13]

To comprehend gaze in Persian painting, it is essential to distinguish how 'seeing' has been defined in Sufism and Persian literature. Accordingly, in the following sections, first *Nazar* in Persian poetry and Sufism as the main inspiration for the Persian painting will be identified. This will be followed by a discussion on defining the conceptual background and practical methods by which perspective and *Nazar* in Persian painting can be understood.

3.2 *Nazar* in Persian Sufism and literature

Nazar in Sufism implies a broad spectrum of meanings such as 'looking and observing', 'spiritual looking', 'discerning and contemplation', and 'divine looking and gazing'.[14] It is defined as contemplating the essence and truth of creatures or 'the divine courtesy for a mystic disciple'.[15] *Nazarbāzi* 'looking at fair face' (mainly men's) is also one of the most well-known mystic terms that have been widely reflected in Persian classical literature and poetry. *Nazarbāzi* had its own required skills and rituals that Hafez, a famous poet of the fourteenth century, called *Ilm-i Nazar* (the skill of looking).

However, *Nazarbāzi* had some opposition among scholars, the *Ashʿaris* , for example, believe that looking at terrestrial beauty is a prerequisite for seeing divine beauty. In this regard, they refer to a hadith by Prophet Mohammad that, 'looking at a beautiful face for the sake of lesson and admonition *('Ibrat)* will be considered as an act of worship, but if it is

[11] Ibid, 53.
[12] Ruyin Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art,* 3rd ed. (Tehran: Farhang-e Maʿaser, 1381/2002), 559.
[13] Ibid, 559-600.
[14] Samer Akkach, "The Eye of Reflection: Al-Nabulusi's Spatial Interpretation of Ibn ʿarabi's Tomb," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015), 79.
[15] Seyyed-Ja'far Sajjadi, *Farhang-E Estelahat Va Ta'birat-E Erfani / A Dictionary of Sufism Terminology)* 10th ed. (Tehran: Tahouri 1393/2014), 762-3.

lustful it will be equal to forty thousand sins'.[16] While Quran and hadith literature imposed strict restrictions on gaze, specifically looking at *na-mahram*[17], this is a question of how looking at a fair face can be equated to worshipping God? While we may not find the answer in the texts on jurisprudence *(fiqh),* it has been answered by Sufism. Love of God is defined as one of the primary principles adopted and developed by Sufis from Neo-platonic philosophy. The path of love is considered to be the basis of mysticism in Iran.[18]

Iqbal Lahouri states that followers of aesthetics such as Hallaj, Bayazid, Mowlana Rumi, and Mir Seyed Sharif Ali Jorjani took advantage of neo-platonic ideas of Creation. From an aesthetic point of view, the ultimate truth is nothing but 'eternal beauty'. Thus 'eternal beauty' deals with seeing itself mirrored in the world. Therefore, the world is the image of 'eternal beauty'. The manifestation of beauty is the reason for creation, love is the first thing to be created, and it is love that realises 'eternal beauty'.[19]

Persian Sufis, particularly those after Ibn Arabi, like all Plato's followers, consider love as a means of achieving beauty and regard carnal or natural love as a path to enter the world of real love.[20] Those notable Sufis who find metaphorical love as a bridge to cross over the world beyond metaphors, see nothing but a manifestation of inward reality in the face of the good-looking.[21] In this way, some Sufis refer to the Hadith, "Allah is beautiful and he loves beauties,[22] and recommends love for aesthetic symbols.[23]

Aesthetics has deep roots in mysticism. Abu Helman Dameshghi, who apparently lived in the third century, seems to have Iranian ancestry as the leader of this group. His followers were called Helmanieh, who were talented, sociable people. Following their leader, whenever they saw a good-looking person, they would openly and thoughtlessly lie on the ground and prostrate themselves.[24]

---

[16] 'النظر بالعبرة الى وجوه الحسان عبادة و من نظر الى وجه حسن بالشهود كتب عليه اربعون الف ذنب'
Sirous Shamisa, *Shahed-Bazi in Persian Literature* (Tehran:Ferdows, 1381), 140-41.

[17] Quran, Arberry, [24:30] Say to the believers, that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts; that is purer for them. God is aware of the things they work; [24:31] And say to the believing women, that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts, and reveal not their adornment save such as is outward; and let them cast their veils over their bosoms.

[18] Jalal Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh / Mystical Love,* 6th ed. (Tehran: Markaz Publication ,2010), 104.

[19] Mohammad Iqbal Lahouri, *An Overview of Philosophy in Iran,* trans. Amir-Hossein Aryanpour (Tehran: The Institute of Regional and Cultural Studies, 1347/1968), 73.

[20] Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh*, 120, 122; Qasim Ghani, The *History of Mysticism in Islam*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Zavvar, 2002), 141.

[21] Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh*, 174-7.

[22] "ان الله جميل و يحب الجمال", Hadith by Prophet Muhammad, in; Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh*, 179.

[23] Badiozzaman Foruzanfar, "Saadi and Suhrawardi," in *Saadi Nameh,* ed.Habib Yaghmaei, 687-706 (Tehran: Ta'lim and Tarbiyat Journal 1937), 83-4; Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh*, 179.

[24]Badiozzaman Foruzanfar, *Sharh-E Masnavi-Ye Sharif: A Commentary on Masnavi Sharif* 1st ed. 3 vols.

Sheikh Rouzbahan Baghli Shirazi (532-606 AH / 1029-1128 AD) is illustrious for his mystical mode of love. In his mystical treatise, based upon love, he tries to show that it is impossible for one to achieve true love, that is, God's unity without metaphorical love.[25] He was deeply in love with beautiful forms and elegant garments. In his view, angels are like women with braided hair and halos. They also wear earrings, and pearls and their legs are adorned by nymphs.[26]

Ibn Arabi (560-638 AH), father of the Islamic unity of existence, based upon the belief that there is no truth or reality except God, believes in the manifestation of truth in the form of human symbols and considers human beings as the mirror of truth. However, in his view, women better than men or any other creature, enjoy this capability and aptitude, as if their faces were on the ground and their bodies were in a place higher than wayfarers' thoughts. Thus one shall ascend to Heaven through women.[27]

Ibn Arabi openly states that women are the best manifestation of God. Marriage equals unity with God since men like women are similar to God liking humans. The sight *'ro'ya'* of God in women is perfect truth since one shall not abstractly watch God.[28]

In Persian mystical poems, the devotee is always involved in the quest for a beloved's glance. A mystical implication of such desire is that a glance from a beloved is, in fact, a sign of divine beloved's attention and kindness to a lover. Such a concept frequently is exemplified in Rumi's *Diwan-e Shams*, celebrated mystical poetry: "A glance from beloved' is like a miracle which makes lover alive:"[29]

من در عجب افتادم از آن قطب یگانه
کز یک نظرش جمله وجودم همه جان کرد

And by one glance of beloved all swords will turn to armour, ruins will turn to flower orchards, and all universes will become luminous:" [30]

شمشیرها جوشن شود ویرانه‌ها گلشن شود
چشم جهان روشن شود چون از تو آید یک نظر

vol 1 (Tehran: University of Tehran Publication, 1989), 30,31.
[25] Abdolhossein Zarrinkoob, *Persian Sufism in Its Historical Background* (Tehran: Amir Kabir Publication 2007), 223.
[26] Rouzbahan Baghli Shirazi, *Abhar Al-Asheghin* (Tehran: French Institute of Persian Studies, 1981), 61.
[27] Sattari, *Eshgh-e Sufianeh*, 226, 234, 236.
[28] Sattari.
[29] Jalaluddin Mohammad Balkhi, *Kulliyat-e Shams*, ed. Badiu'zzaman Foruzanfar Ed. 3 (Tehran: Amir Kabir Publication, 1984).
[30] Balkhi, *Kulliyat-e Shams*

One glance of eminent beloved makes lover clear-sighted and blissful in both his worldly and otherworldly life":[31]

تویی ز کون گزیده تویی گشایش دیده

به یک نظر تو ببخشی سعادت دوجهانی

3.3 Way of seeing in Persian painting

Islamic painting primarily refers to the illustration of books.[32] Manuscript production was a major preoccupation of the ruling classes, as the main patrons of art. The subjects illustrated range from historical works such as the Shahnama (the national epic of Iran) to poetical works of outstanding Iranian literary figures including Nezami (d. A.D. 1203), Hafiz (d. A.D. 1389) and Sa'di (d. circa 1292), and even religious subjects were painted.[33]

According to Oleg Grabar, the major themes of Persian painting are history, religion, animals, the epic, lyric romanticism, realism and ornaments.[34] The fourteenth century is known as the formative period of Persian painting.[35] The illustration of books had been dramatically developing in Iran and surrounding lands from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.[36] Painting is believed to reach its peak during the late medieval period in mostly Iranian culture of eastern Islam.[37]

The word 'perspective' was commonly used in the Middle Ages by scientists before being presented in the realm of art during the Renaissance.[38] Albrecht Dürer explains the concept of *perspectiva* as a Latin word which means 'seeing through'.[39] Today perspective merely exists as a technical term in art history, which as defined by Hans Belting "refers to the first theory to calculate images as the projections of a viewer."[40] Articulating different spatial

---

31 Ibid

32 Michele A. De Angelis, and Thomas W. Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting; Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts in association with The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture 1982), 8.

33 Ibid.

34 Oleg Grabar, Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 83-121.

35 Angelis, and Lentz, *Architecture in*, 7.

36 Margaret Graves, "Inside and Outside, Picture and Page: The Architectural Spaces of Miniature Painting." In *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 295-303 (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 295.

37 Angelis, and Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Arts*, 8.

38 Belting, *Florence*, 1.

39 Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 27.

40 Belting, *Florence*, 1-2.

systems in different historical cultures, Panofsky denotes: "the Renaissance would interpret the meaning of perspective entirely differently from the Baroque, and Italy entirely differently from the North: in the former cases, speaking quite generally, its objective significance was felt to be more essential, in the latter cases its subjective significance." He explains "the perspective view, whether it is evaluated and interpreted more in the sense of rationality and the objective, or more in the sense of contingency and the subjective, rests on the will to construct pictorial space."[41]

Hatice Yazar in her thesis on the Architecture in Miniature with a focus on the representation of space and form in illustrations and buildings in Timurid Central Asia, suggests two definitions of perspective. The first is " a distinctive impression of distance or depth, [which represents] the appearance to the eye of objects in respect to their relative distance and positions." [42]

The suggestion of distance could refer to a variety of methods including size, scale, foreground-background, foreshortening and converging lines. Linear perspective is one method that Yazar introduces as the second definition of perspective: "the technique of representing the spatial relation of objects on a plane or curved surface as they might appear to the eye." In this construction of space, the object appeared to the eye from one point as if it were real. Such a concept is known by Yazar as the product of the Renaissance presenting the virtues of a scientific and realistic method of representation.[43]

The use of linear perspective in Renaissance painting is known as a revolution in the history of seeing. However, many of the conventions applied in Persian paintings to depict space, including perspective, significantly differs from those methods applied in Western painting, whether medieval or post-medieval. Therefore to understand the spatial arrangement of Persian painting, some scholars, including Robert Hillenbrand, suggest that the observer is required to make some visual and mental readjustments.[44] The following section attempts to give insight to perspective and ways of seeing in Islamic art with the focus on Persian painting.

---

[41] Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, 69, 71.
[42] Hatice Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature:Representation of Space and Form in Illustrations and Buildings in Timurid Central Asia," (M.S. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991), 22-3.
[43] Ibid, 22-3.
[44] Robert Hillenbrand, "The Use of Space in Timurid Painting." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 76-101 (Leiden, New York, Koln: E.J. Brill, 1992), 76.

3.3.1 Conceptual background*: Ālam-i-khayāl*, seeing without seeing

As John Berger states, "today we see the art of the past as nobody saw it before. We actually perceive it in a different way. This difference can be illustrated in terms of what *was* thought of as perspective."[45] The laws of scientific perspective used in European painting were not known to the Persian painter.[46] It must be assumed, therefore, that linear perspective as we know it today was never a conscious aim. Explanations for what appears to be perspective-like practices of illustration were evidently based primarily on the culturally determined perceptions and intentions of Persian painters, specifically in their efforts to explore visuality and the gaze.

Such a difference, as Belting states, includes not only art but also mindset and relationship to the world.[47] He believes that the contrast between Arab and Western pictorial theory existed for cultural rather than scientific reasons. In Middle Eastern culture, he asserts making pictures in the Western sense was regarded as 'taboo', while in the West it was 'celebrated as the royal road to knowledge'.[48]

Nevertheless, Necipoğlu's study of Safavid and Ottoman texts as early modern primary sources offers a less dichotomous understanding of gaze in Christian Europe and Islamic lands. She asserts that both Islamic and Christian visual cultures were based on the combination of the same kind of classical textual sources on visual aesthetics. These concepts are mainly Neoplatonic in their 'distrust of the eye,' and Aristotelian in the sense that they recognised the mental dimension of visual perception mediated by distinctly human faculties in the brain, known as the 'inner senses'.[49]

Seyyed Hossein Nasr maintains that Persian painting is a way of seeing that does not betray the eye by contrast to the way that Renaissance perspective represents a two-dimensional image as if it was three dimensional. Instead, the plane surfaces of Persian miniatures demonstrate different grades of reality, from the horizon of material existence and mundane consciousness to a higher state of being and consciousness.[50] Following Persian Islamic philosophers, he defines this state of being as the 'imaginal world' or *'alam-i-khayal'*.

---

[45] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing: Based on the BBC Television Series with John Berger* (London: Harmondsworth: British Broadcasting Corporation; Penguin, 1972), 16.
[46] Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art,* 599-602.
[47] Belting, *Florence*, 90.
[48] Ibid, 28.
[49] Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze," 29.
[50] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, In an address to the Iranologist Congress, sixteenth century, May 1968.

Imaginal world is an 'intermediate world' featuring its own visual quality including space, time, movement, colours and forms. Such a pictorial method is known to Nasr as 'natural perspective'. Natural perspective conforms with 'realism' of the Islamic view, which demonstrates events occurring in a real but not necessarily physical manner.[51]

Considering the subject of gaze, Necipoğlu has defined two main elements in medieval Islamic sources. First, the intimate connection between sight *(bināei)* and insight *(binesh)* which places 'inner vision' above outer vision, and second, the creative imagination of the artist.[52] In Alhazen's view, image originates in the imagination located in the realm of the inner senses, not in the eye.[53] Thus while perspective space is created only by looking, in the Middle Eastern way of thinking a visual image meant a mental image with which one sees, and not that which is before one's eyes.[54] Accordingly 'visual perception' *(al-idrāk)* as defined by Samer Akkach is a meaning *(ma'nā)* that God creates in the eye according to what the viewer anticipates they will see of visible things. And unlike *ibsār* (seeing), *ru'ya* (vision) does not necessarily require sight. Akkach affirms "it is believed among Sunni scholars that vision is possible without proximity or visual contact".[55]

The same perception has been echoed by Orhan Pamuk. While blindness was a fear for all miniaturist painters, master Mirek, a Herat miniaturist and character in Pamuk's novel, *My name is red*, promotes this idea that blindness is not a calamity, but a reward from Allah upon the devoted illuminator. The painting is the miniaturist's search for Allah's vision of the earthly realm. Such a unique perspective could only be attained through recollection after blindness descended, and only after a lifetime of hard work.[56] While Alhazen believes that the product of the imagination could not be represented in pictures that address the external senses,[57] Master Mirek suggests that Allah's vision of his world can become manifest but only through the memory of blind miniaturists. When he sees the world as Allah sees it, through the darkness of memory and blindness, the blind miniaturist can transfer this revelation to the page by his trained hand.[58]

---

[51] Nasr, 1968.
[52] Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing," 30-45.
[53] Belting, *Florence*, 29-30.
[54] Belting, 15, 29, 30.
[55] Akkach, "The Eye of Reflection," 79.
[56] Orhan Pamuk, *My Name Is Red*, trans. Erdağ Göknar (London: Faber, 2002), 97.
[57] Belting, *Florence*, 29-30.
[58] Pamuk, *My Name*, 97.

Based on the hierarchy of universal existence, mystics believed in the trinity of the world of 'intelligible' (*ālam-e mahsous)*, 'sensible' (*ālam-e ma'ghoul),* and 'analogies' (*ālam-e mesal)*. The intelligible world is the place of the soul, and the sensible world is the place of the material. The world of analogies is between the intelligible and sensible worlds which does not feature physical reality but represents intermediate forms *(sovar-e moa'llagheh)*; a reflection of Heaven and Hell.[59]

In Persian miniature painting, the painter tries to draw features of the world of analogies. The world of analogies has material and immaterial (spiritual) properties. Immateriality and spiritual properties of forms and objects, and their weightlessness and intangibility in the world of analogies refer to the intelligible world and their materiality and visibility refer to the material and sensible world. To show the world of analogies, the painter had to depart from the material world. Thus, physical manifestations of light, shadow and place are removed in his paintings.[60]

The different methods through which two dimensional elements can be combined to create three dimensional effects of space, motion, depth and impression are defined as 'illusionary' by Yazar. She believes that the quality and ambiguity of this illusion depends on the level of manipulation for the representation of objects, which creates alternative insights. She considered the miniature as a complete product that demonstrates any or all three hierarchies of space, motion and depth.[61]

The abstractive faculty of creative imagination can foreground the agency of the artist and beholder,[62] through which the Persian miniature transforms the plane surface to an image, depicting grades of reality from the horizon of material existence to a higher state of being and consciousness. Based on mystical knowledge, the Persian painter never intended to represent nature; rather they attempted to gain insight into the origin and essence of natural forms. Thus, in their paintings, neither a specific time or place nor the presence of physical quantity are evident. The natural rules of the earthly world are not applicable. The mountains, trees, humans and birds depicted are more archetypal forms than imitations of nature.[63]

Employing this conceptual framework for understanding the way of seeing in Islamic visual culture, the next section introduces the practical methods and spatial arrangements with

[59] Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art,* 599-602.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Yazar, "Architecture in", 19-24.
[62] Necipoğlu, *The Scrutinizing Gaze*, 45.
[63] Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art*, 599-602.

which Persian paintings demonstrate the visual qualities of an 'intermediate world' and assist the beholder to adjust their mind to perceive it.

3.3.2 Practical methods: Omnipresent transcended gaze

In *Florence and Baghdad* Belting compares perspective to a visual theory based on geometrical abstraction in the Arab World and pictorial theory in Europe.[64] A linear perspective in the field of art, as Belting highlights, was based on a theory of optics that originated in Baghdad, conceived by the eleventh-century mathematician Ibn al Haitham, known in the West as Alhazen (965-1040 CE).[65] Later, in the fifteenth century, the theory of vision was transformed into a technique called perspective to create pictures by Renaissance artists.

Belting believes that by adopting the human gaze as their focal point, Renaissance artists aimed to develop 'analogue images' and view via perspective a 'virtual facsimile of our natural manner of seeing'.[66] By using perspective in Renaissance art, the painter depicts the world from an 'observer's point of view'; therefore the picture is 'linked to a spectator'. The observer is positioned before the painting, embodying both the painter and viewer. In this way, the space that the gaze passes through is reduced to a 'single point'.[67] Belting proposes that the picture plane in perspective art is a metaphor for the presence of an observer, created for the purpose of the picture.[68]

The pictorial form of the Renaissance was based on perspective, but in the Islamic world as the land of origin of this theory, the science of perspective did not become the basis for Islamic art. In Arab culture, geometry was the representational form;[69] thus, the major focus of Belting's book in the field of Islamic art is on geometrical gaze. Nevertheless, he admits that the image in Islamic culture was not banned in all the areas and eras, so in addition to calligraphy and imaginative geometrical design, he discusses Persian painting as a notable legacy of the Islamic world.[70]

Belting's critical interpretation of perspective as represented in Persian painting is conveyed most tellingly in a chapter labelled "Under the gaze of Allah: pictures as narrative" in which

[64] Belting, *Florence*, 2011.
[65] Ibid, 90.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, 9.
[68] Ibid, 15, 29, 30.
[69] Ibid, 31.
[70] Ibid, 78.

he also addresses ways of seeing in Islamic culture and religion more broadly, including the prohibition of images.[71] Here, in contrast to the "spectator's point of view" applied by Renaissance artists, he suggests that Persian miniature paintings offer a "bird's-eye perspective". Such a view, he explains, provides a panoramic view of the world that was neither the viewer's nor the painter's; "instead it enabled everyone to read the world in the same way from a standpoint that transcended the personal."[72]

An Ottoman miniature painter in Orhan Pamuk's novel, while walking through a hippodrome he had previously illustrated, imagines that this place was one of his paintings into which he had stepped. He draws a comparison: "in a Farankish painting, this would result in our stepping outside both the frame and the painting; in a painting made following the examples of the great masters of Herat, it would bring us to the place from which Allah looks upon us…" so "the Persian way of seeing is looking at the world from above."[73]According to Islam, God is transcendent and unknowable beyond matter, space and time. At the same time, there is a belief in the Abrahamic religions, primarily Judaism, Christianity and Islam, that the throne of God as his reigning centre resides beyond the Seventh Heaven. Known as Araboth in Judaism, and al-'Arsh in Islam, it is believed to be a raised position.

The Ottoman manuscript illuminator in Pamuk's novel states that the living power of an Islamic picture stems from the way it depicts the world from an elevated God-like position attained by drawing a horizon at the top of a painting. Then it shows the view that Allah has when he looks at his world.[74] A good miniaturist is one who united with the vision and landscape of Allah's immortal time.[75]

However, the general idea of looking from above in paintings is acceptable, but it seems that a 'bird's-eye perspective' is not a precise term for describing the method of perspective applied in the Persian miniature. The bird's-eye view shows a scene from a single standpoint, from which the more distant features and vertical plans such as a building's elevation are foreshortened. Thus, standing objects such as figures, trees and buildings appear short and squat. As predicted, horizontal planes such as rooftops and courtyards, from this vantage point, are always visible.

---

[71] Ibid, 78-84.
[72] Ibid, 83.
[73] Pamuk, *My Name*, 303,284.
[74] Belting, *Florence*, 84.
[75] Pamuk, *My Name*, 98.

Looking from a high standpoint, there is another method of drawing that Ralph Agas (c. 1540--1621), an English land surveyor and cartographer, devised for his detailed plan of Oxford. This production, as explained by Herbert Hurst in *Oxford Topography*, was neither a plan nor a bird's-eye view. Instead of vanishing points, Agas uses parallel lines only. Hurst defines this method by the old-fashioned term "bird's-flight view", a plan viewed in isometric projection, but more concise. [76]

Based on the features of this method of drawing the current study suggests that the perspective effect observed in Persian painting is more comparable to the 'bird's-flight view', particularly when it combines a vertical plan of ground-level elements with views of buildings and other standing features, all presented at almost the same scale and not being foreshortened.[77] While the courtyards of Persian miniature paintings are always presented in top view, the rooftops are preferably shown in isometric projection: a plan that serves its purpose best when the object is viewed from an angle, not directly in front. In the case that the building has been depicted from front view, the rooftop surface is either omitted or shown from above.

The spectator's vantage point in Persian miniature painting, like the bird's-flight view, is low enough to provide a distinct view of the scene below.[78] The appearance of landscape from this perspective has been likened to that of the viewer passing over it in a balloon.[79]

The key criterion that distinguishes the view in Persian painting is that it is not attached to a single vantage point by a single observer. Rather, it offers a multifocal perspective that includes views from above as well as from the front, generated by a transcendent and omnipresent observer. This transcendent moving vision creates an image that may, therefore, be full of detail (Figure 3.3).

[76] Herbert Hurst, *Oxford Topography: An Essay*, 39 (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1899), 4-5.
[77] To read more on the difference between bird's-eye view and bird's-flight view, see William Ravenhill, "Bird's-eye view & bird's-flight view," *The Map Collector*, no. 35 (1986): 36-7.
[78] Hurst, *Oxford Topography*, 4.
[79] Ibid, 4-5.



Figure 3.1 Bird's-eye view, Paris in 1850, Charles Fichot, available from the United States Library of Congress Prints and Photographs division under the digital ID ppmsca.31565.

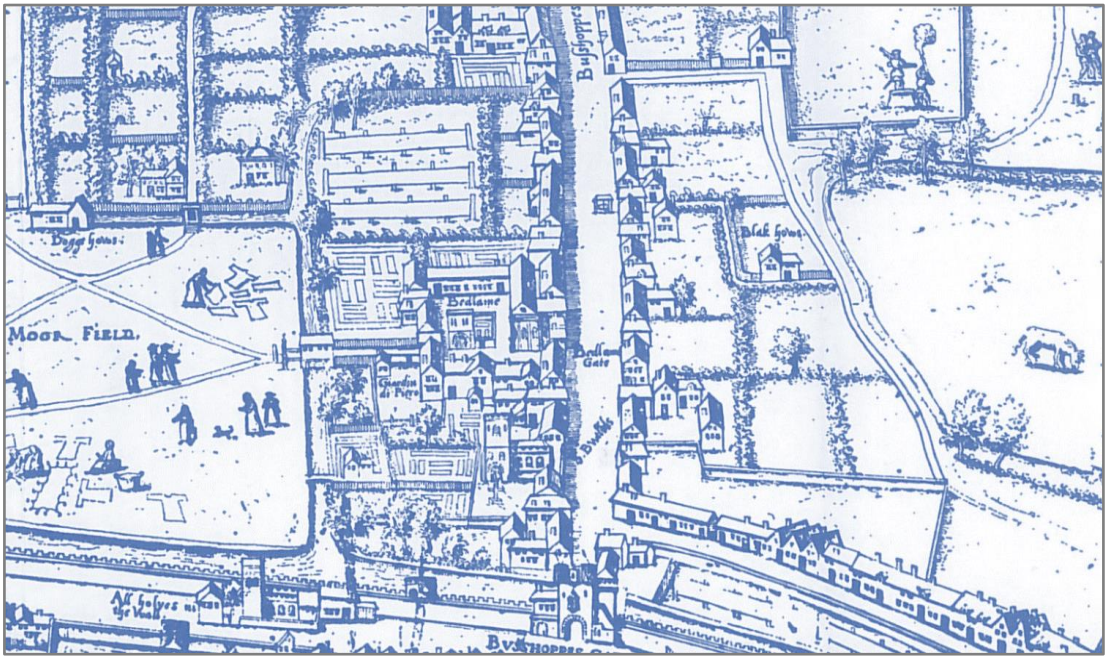
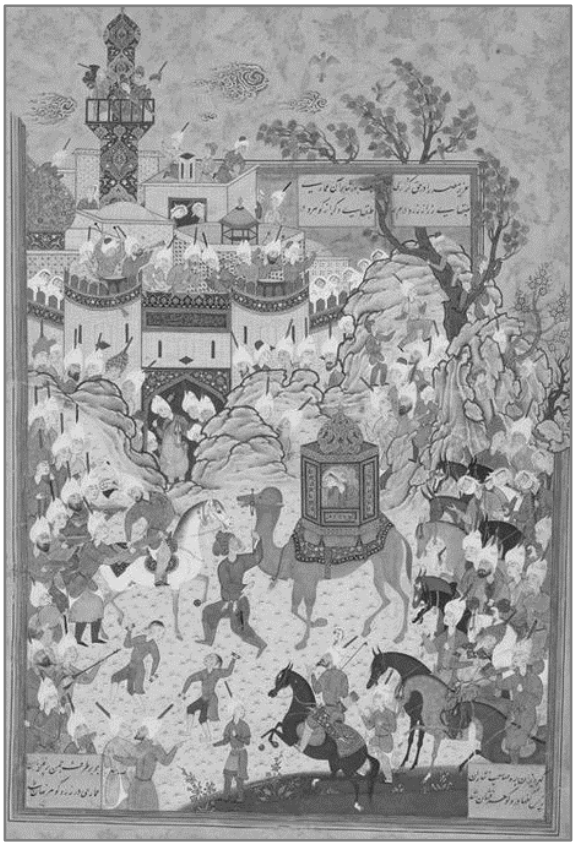
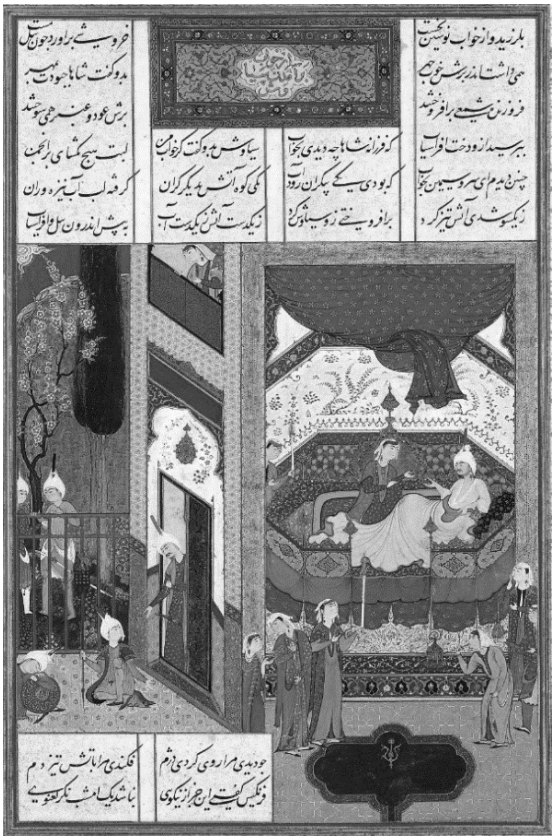


Figure 3.2 Depicting bird's-flight in the Moorfields area, part of the "Copperplate" map of London, surveyed between 1553 and 1559 (M.R. Holmes (ed.) Moorfields in 1559 (London Museum, 1963).





Left: Figure 3.3 Multifocal perspective in a folio from Haft Awrang of Jami. Aziz and Zulaykha enter the capital of Egypt and Egyptians come out to greet them, 963-72/1556-65, Iran, FGA 46.12, folio Ioob.
Right: Figure 3.4 Juxtaposition of interior and exterior, plan and elevation, The Dream of Siyavash, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp [80] Farangis and Siyavash in the bedroom *(khābgāh)* with curtain (*pardeh)* partly raised to allow the viewer to see inside the bedroom.

Ibn al-Haytham, a celebrated scholar who contributed to the Aristotelian model of visual perception, believes in the significance of 'eye movement' for observing the visible world. Such vision, as Necipoğlu affirms, in contrast with the Renaissance 'single-point' perspective, "reduces the beholder to an immobile and disembodied eye", manifested in Persian miniature painting.[81] Multifocal images of the Persian miniature created by a mobile eye in some ways could also be compared to those produced by photomontage (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

A beholder of a Persian miniature can imagine that the painter, in search of the best standpoint, repositioned his view. Thereby he attained the best snapshots from a single scene

[80] Mohammad-'Ali Rajabi and others, ed. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010), 210.
[81] Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze," 34.

or different scenes of a story. These multiple photographs are then assembled into a single composition, harmoniously and seamlessly. Every object has been represented from its complete angle and best status with no spotlight or shadows indicating a specific time in the physical world. Thus, a single frame of a Persian painting may represent different spaces and even times simultaneously. This arrangement provides an ultimate exposure of elements in such a way that different levels do not obscure the layers behind. However, the objects and figures are depicted from the frontal view. In the representation of buildings, there is usually a multiplicity of vantage points; both exteriors and interiors of buildings are juxtaposed[82], and the plan and elevation are displayed at the same time (Figure 3.4).[83] On some occasions, even different sequences of a story have been depicted in one frame.





Comparing the visual effect of photomontage in photography and multifocal transcendent perspectives in Persian miniature painting:
Left: Figure 3.5 Haftvad's Douters and the Worm, page from the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp Iran, Tabriz, circa 1520, painting attributed to Dost Muhammad (active: 1531-69 AD).[84]
Right: Figure 3.6 Photomontage, "The Light," Victoria Rick, accessed 5.8.2018, https://www.victoriarick.co.uk/photomontage.

[82] Asma Serajuddin, "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting during the Timurid and Safavid Periods" (PhD diss., University of London, 1968), 240.
[83] Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature," 26.
[84] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh.*

3.4 Summary

This chapter consisted of two main parts: conceptual background on the *Nazar* (gaze) in Persian Sufism and culture as the main source of inspiration for Persian painting; and the actual way of seeing that can be discerned from the practical methods by which Persian painting demonstrates the visual qualities of an intermediate imaginal world.

Persian painting, as one of the precious legacies of the Islamic world, represents a different pictorial mode. It offers a visual description of the world, as experienced and imagined through time and space, rather than an objective snapshot.[85] This pictorial mode is distinct from linear perspective that, following the Italian Renaissance, became widely accepted as the standard model for the artistic portrayal of the outer world. From a conceptual point of view, the spatial arrangement of Persian painting consists of different plane surfaces. These are meant to demonstrate different grades of reality from the horizon of material existence to a higher state of consciousness known as the 'imaginal world' or *'ālam-i-khayāl'*. These conceptual features can be described as "seeing without seeing".

Such an ideal is attained by practical approaches which result in a complex vision by merging multiple viewpoints within a single image, juxtaposing the plan, elevation and section, and representing the interior and exterior space simultaneously to maximise the conveyance of information. Such a vision can be defined as an 'omnipresent transcendent gaze'.

The next chapter will focus further and more specifically on the typical uses of architectural elements and space in the composition of Persian paintings. It will consider how such architecture may be used in turn as an analytical tool to unpack the 'omnipresent transcendent gaze' inherent in these paintings, and how this tool will be applied in the third part of this study to better understand the place and the power of the women depicted in these paintings.

[85] Graves, "Inside and Outside," 299.

Chapter 4.

Methodology: Image as a Resource, Architecture as a Method



Part of image, Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp.

4.1 Introduction

> "Seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words." John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 1972, 7.

In addition to aesthetic pleasure, as Charles Melville notes, illustrations can clarify the meaning of a text, increase the memorability of specific sections, or subvert their meaning to contribute understanding of the texts or create certain emphases that may decode messages.[1] Melville is one of many scholars from diverse disciplines who affirm the broader reseach value of Persian painting, especially historical illustrations, as visual evidence of contemporary society, architecture, costume, armour, interior decoration, and so on.[2] By examining illustrations of women as depicted in different architectural spaces in medieval and pre-modern Persian paintings, the present study seeks specifically to articulate those spatial frameworks and structures as a form of lens through which the observer may better 'see' and thereby enhance understanding of the evolving roles and agency of these women in their changing social settings.

Following-on from the previous chapter's discussion of the culture-specific theories of 'vision' and 'the gaze' that informed the original making and interpretation of Persian paintings, the present chapter focuses on the architectural content of these painted images as a resource for historical scholarship today, and the methodological obstacles that have limited previous efforts to interpret them. Specifically, it explains how the 'spatial structure' of these images, as revealed through their architectural content, could be engaged more rigorously as a tool of analysis in the critical interpretation of these paintings.

---

[1] Charles Melville, "The Illustration of History in Safavid Manuscript Painting." In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, Iranian Studies: Book 8, 163-97 (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 165.

[2] Ibid; Hatice Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature: Representation of Space and Form in Illustrations and Buildings in Timurid Central Asia," (M.S. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991), 6,85; also see Guity Nashat, and L. Beck, *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003). This book focuses on women's roles and activities in the premodern period. Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, edited by Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 90; for more examples see the Introduction, Gap in the knowledge, in the current study.

4.2 Architecture in Persian painting as a resource

The representation of architecture in Persian painting is a significant phenomenon. Few architectural structures belonging to the medieval era are still standing today, and still fewer examples survive of the primary design documentation (such as original architectural drawings) for the historic architecture of Iran. Yet Persian paintings, especially from the Timurid and Safavid eras, feature a rich variety of architectural elements and spaces that evidently reflect the buildings and urban fabric of their time. To visualise the architectural contexts and settings described in the texts that their paintings served to illutsrate, the artists turned to their contemporary built environments for reference and inspiration.[3] In the absence of such buildings, therefore, it has been suggested that these historic painted images may be used as a primary visual source to study Iranian medieval architecture.[4]

In the context of the present research, however, it is the relative abundance of images of women as well as architecture in these paintings of these historically distant eras – especially images of women within that architecture – that is of most relevance and interest. As discussed previously, exclusion from the formal written accounts of officially recorded history poses significant obstacles to the study of women in Iran's cultural history.[5] As with architecture, however, the abundant representation of women in Persian paintings offers a valuable alternative resource of a visual nature. Examined in conjunction with the architecture of these paintings, moreover, the value of that resource is further demonstrated by its capacity to support social and cultural inquiry into the changing roles and status of women over time.

While architecture may represent or mirror the social structures that it supports, such firm and physical built structures can also shape or constrain the cultural practices performed within them. Exploring the relationship between architecture and women in Persian paintings from the fifteenth through to the seventeenth centuries (CE) may provide a better understanding of the changing social roles of women over this period. But careful analysis

---

[3] Michele A. De Angelis, and Thomas W. Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting; Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts in association with The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture 1982), 7.

[4] Manouchehr Foroutan, "Architectural Language of Persian Paintings: Survey of Persian Paintings as Historical Documents of Iranian Islamic Architecture," *Hoviyate Shahr* 6 (spring and summer 2010): 130-41; Asma Serajuddin, "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting during the Timurid and Safavid Periods" (PhD diss., University of London, 1968); Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature."

[5] Abdol-Rasool Kheirandish, "Seyr-i dar Doshvariha-ye Motaleat-e Tarikhi Raje be Zanan dar Tarikh-e Iran: A Course in Difficulties of Women's Historical Studies," *History and Geography Book of the Month*, 6, no. 1 (20,1, 2003): 3-5; Abbasgholi Ghaffari Fard, *Women in Safavid Historiography*. 1st ed. (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 2006), 8,9.

of the modes and conventions of architectural representation in Persian paintings and their chnages over this same period also has the potential, like a cognitive map, to examine and review human interaction, and the activities and behaviour of women in particular, in different architectural spaces, and with regard to different culture-specific concepts such as the division of space according to gender, seclusion, observation, and power.

The conventional and idealised representation of space and architectural structures, as a two-dimensional device to display, define and frame human figures has always been part of Persian painting themes. Imagery conventions for the depiction of architecture advanced along with developments in the visual medium.[6] Different types of architectural structure, including mobile and sedentary (tent, palace, mosque, fortress and so on), were depicted.[7]

Gradual alteration of picture layout from horizontal'[8] to vertical'[9] that emerged towards the end of the fourteenth century raised the horizon and increased the sense of depth. Such modification allowed figures and buildings to move away from the baseline of the frame and into the picture space.[10] The transition of the image into a vertical format, enriching the arrangement of visual elements in turn increased spatial complexity of full-page compositions to a more detailed visual composition. Margaret Graves asserts that the expansion of architectural space in this method made the built environment a predominant part of the human story within painting. The artistry of painters in the portrayal of humans within architectural space eventually surpassed the narrative requirements of the manuscript.[11]

Despite fundamental stylistic and compositional differences, Il-Khanid manuscripts such as the *Shahmama* and *Jami' al-tawarikh* shared the role of architecture as a stage or background for human action, amplified by the ever-present hanging or draped curtain.[12] While architecture in earlier paintings of Islamic Iran had been devised as a backdrop for human action,[13] Timurid painting established architecture as a context.[14] Early Safavid painters

6 Graves, "Inside and Outside, Picture and Page," 298.
7 Ibid, 299.
8 Of the best examples of using a horizontal frame in the fourteenth century is the Khalili manuscript of Rashid al-Din's illustrated history of the world; "Jami' al-tawarikh", Tabriz, Iran dated 714 AH (1314–15 AD).
9 Many scholars agree that composing visual elements in a vertical frame and representation of architectural spaces reached its zenith in some of the illustrated folios of Shahnameh by Shah Tahmasb, circa 1525-35 AD.
10 Graves, "Inside and Outside," 298.
11 Ibid, 299.
12 Angelis, and Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting*, 8.
13 Ibid, 10.
14 Ibid, 11.

working in the sixteenth century in Tabriz were looking for a new style of architectural expression that elaborated and refined Timurid expression.[15]

Later image-making conventions evident in Safavid painting enhanced the representation of architecture and brought it more in line with human scale. Nonetheless, a distinctive feature of Safavid painting is its ability to include a large number of figures and objects in a two-dimensional space. In a mode where all elements appear on the surface of the painting, architecture often facilitates the distribution of figures by operating as a recessional device.[16] Following the visual tradition, Persian painters did not use scale to distinguish distance between items. Thus all objects were the same size. Overlapping planes of architectural and natural layers such as walls, domes, *iwan*, hills and mountains from the foreground at the bottom to the background at the top, gave the impression of depth.[17]

4.3 Architecture as method: Analytical approach

With respect to the notion of gaze, this study examines the representation of women within and in relation to different architectural spaces, as represented in Persian paintings between the Timurid and Safavid eras. However, the architecture of these paintings is not the primary object of the research. Rather, by articulating the architectural content and the impiied spatial structure of the images, architecture as medium and 'gaze' as theory will together comprise a method to explore and analyse the changing place, status and agency of the women depicted in these paintings.

To conduct such a survey, women figures in different architectural spaces, displayed in specific manuscripts and folios illustrated between the early Timurid to late Safavid eras, will be examined. The architectural spaces are divided into two main categories, mobile and sedentary, following the changing socio-cultural tradition of Iranian society from Turku-Moghol during the Timurid era and Irano-Islamic in the Safavid era.

To examine selected manuscripts, this study adopts three levels of iconographic/iconological analysis as defined by Erwin Panofsky.[18] He describes iconography as "a branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as

15 Ibid, 12.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 51-54.

opposed to their form".[19] He suggests layers of meaning that can be attained by applying three levels of iconographic/iconological analysis from form to subject matter.[20]

The first layer of meaning is 'primary or natural subject matter'.[21] In the current study, this layer would be identified by observing the images that can be recognised visually without reference to outside sources. This basic analysis raises questions that identify types of architectural space and their function, the representation of women, their gestures, apparel, and the position and mutual relation of women's figures in architectural spaces, etc. On this level, 'enumeration' of these motifs as 'pure forms'[22] would result in 'pre-iconographic' analysis of the images.

The second layer of meaning is 'secondary or conventional subject matter' that is recognisable by employing iconographic analysis. To identify this layer, the current study observes the images as known stories or allegories and views the figures as recognisable characters by using the text that the image is illustrating as a reference.

The third and final layer of meaning is 'intrinsic meaning or content'. Panofsky proposes that the content of a particular artwork should be understood by specifying a general approach to a realm, era, religious or philosophical persuasion of the artist, etc. To explore and interpret this 'symbolical' value, Panofsky emphasises that an 'iconological' analysis approach is necessary.[23]

To distinguish iconology from iconography, he denotes that the suffix 'graphy' originates from the Greek verb graphein 'to write' and signifies something 'descriptive'. Whereas the suffix 'logy' comes from logos, which means 'thought' or 'reason' and denotes something 'interpretive'. Thus the three levels of iconographical analysis suggested by Panofsky are 'pre-iconographical' description, 'iconographic' analysis, and 'iconological' interpretation. In the current study, the latter level (iconological interpretation) has been understood by considering the cognitive faculties of vision as an essential concept in Islamic culture and art.

---

[19] Ibid, 22.
[20] Ibid, 53.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid, 54.
[23] To distinguish iconology from iconography, Panofsky describes that the suffix 'graphy' originates from the Greek verb graphein 'to write' and signifies something 'descriptive'. Whereas the suffix 'logy' comes from logos, which means 'thought' or 'reason' and denote something 'interpretive'. Thus the three levels of iconographical analysis that Panofsky suggested are 'pre-iconographical' description, 'iconographic' analysis, and 'iconological' interpretation.

The notion of gaze has become instrumental in defining the inherent meaning and content of the images in three general ways: first, in understanding the visual language of Persian painting as a reflection of a different way of seeing; second, in decoding the spatial structure of the various architectural frameworks in which the figures of women are represented and positioned in the paintings; third, and finally, in recognising the cultural and religious stipulations imposed on gaze as essential contextual background to understand medieval Persian women's role, through Persian art and architecture. In this case, the proposed method accounts for moving beyond purely visual analysis.

To perform 'iconological interpretation' of the representation of women in paintings based on the theory of gaze, the current study has reviewed written documents with the following breakdown. Chapter 1 and 2 have identified and discussed relevant literature that defines gaze and women's changing role in Timurid and Safavid socio-cultural history, with a focus on gender segregation and the veil. Chapters 3 and 4 have discussed gaze in Persian painting with regards to Sufism, and literature as its primary source of inspiration, which contributes to understanding the way of seeing in this pictorial culture and establishes gaze as the theoretical framework to be adopted in the later chapters of the study. The final group of documents contribute to these analytical chapters (5 to 11) considering gaze and femineity through the painterly representations of particular spatial settings and different architectural structures, from mobile to sedentary, from religious to secular and from public to private between the Timurid and Safavid eras.

When the narrative and subject of the painting are unknown, and in the absence of text that the image is illustrating, the enhanced folding and pop-up technique developed for the current study, (section 4.5) has been applied to provide a more precise iconography. When required, this exploration takes into consideration the artist's vision and style; such as that of Kamal-ol din Behzad and Mir Sayyid Ali in Chapters 10 and 11. Where possible, comparative examination has been attempted of a group of paintings featuring the same theme with similar or contrasting qualities, to provide a more holistic understanding of the subject.

Gülru Necipoğlu addresses the Islamic tradition of figural representation in diverse media including architecture emphasizing the notion of gaze. Engaging with the subject of gaze and aesthetics, she proposes that the subjectivity of gaze and its engagement with human experience could incorporate the body, affecting sensation and memory, thus elevating the

status of 'the visual arts' and 'architecture' as 'potential sites of knowledge'.[24] To benefit from such potentiality in Persian painting first its visual language should be understood. Such understanding comes not only from visual observations but also from the historical and literary texts that the illustrated folios narrate. Therefore the observer of Persian miniature painting might confront two barriers; visual language of the paintings and written language of the text. Even when the latter one is not a limitation, the former can be a gap between the beholder and the visual information the image aims to convey. The next two sections attempt to define such a problem and suggest a practical technique to bridge the gap between gaze as the theoretical framework, Persian painting as visual document and architecture as the method adopted in the current study.

4.4 Potential and limitations of previous analytical techniques

To comprehend the spatial arrangement of Persian paintings, experts suggest that the observer make certain visual and mental readjustments to a different and highly sophisticated way of seeing. However, it would seem that the lack of familiarity with the visual language of the Persian painting and absence of an analytical method are obstacles for decoding spatial settings in such paintings.[25] To explore women's role in the built environment, first the spatial arrangements and architectural structure should be understood. However, the question is how to decode architectural spaces which are depicted based on a complex multifocal vision.

Following two generations of study on Persian painting, scholars more recently began to explore how Persian painters illustrated their architectural environment within their paintings.[26] Hatice Yazar, in her thesis on the Architecture in Miniature, focuses on the representation of space and form in illustrations and buildings in Timurid Central Asia.[27] She confirms that there are consistent similarities between architecture and miniature painting in building elements and typologies. [28]

[24] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire." In *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 32 (October 2015), 53.
[25] Manouchehr Foroutan, "Method of Understanding Iranian Architectural Space from Iranian Paintings (617-1000 Ah /1220-1591 Ad," (Islamic Azad University, 2009).
[26] Angelis, and Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting*, 7-8.
[27] Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature," 22-3.
[28] Ibid, 89-91.

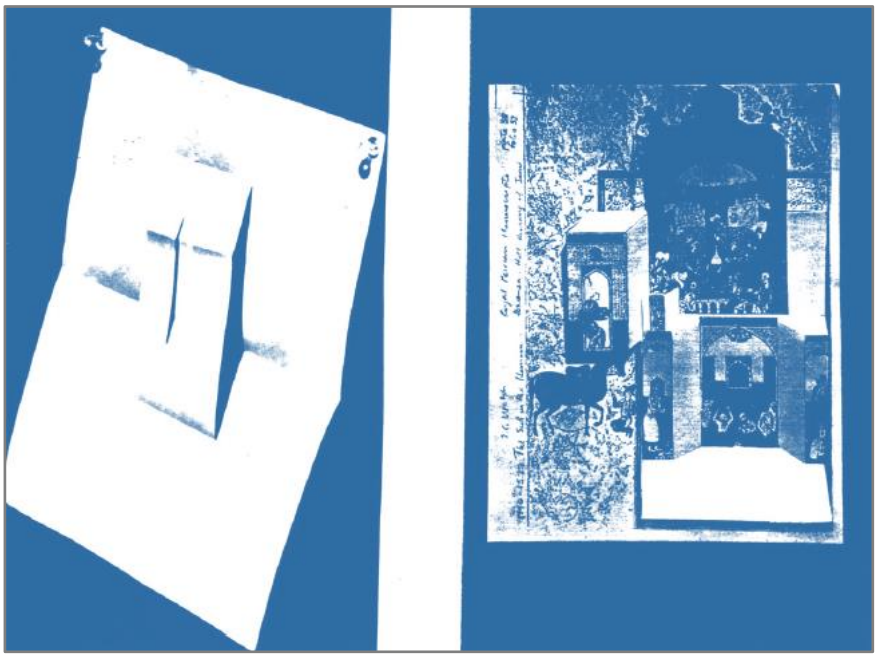
Yazar has also devised a way of three-dimensional modelling.[29]In search of a technique that would be most revealing and would perhaps correspond to the sense of depth in the miniature painting, Yazar employed three experimental stages. One of these stages includes the idea of cutting and folding paper to give the impression of a contained space or a built enclosure. To do so, she cut strips in a piece of paper and folded the paper "so that the strips would stand out from the original surface and give the impression of a cube or a building when the paper was folded at right angles."[30]

Yazar's intended application of this technique to suggest a three-dimensional spatial model of the building, given its potential, remained in its early stages (Figures 4.1 to 4.2).[31] Therefore, despite a valuable experiment towards addressing conceptual and technical aspects of Persian paintings (in this case, those from Timurid Central Asia), the beholder's understanding of the visual language and spatial arrangement within the painted 'space' remain incomplete.

However different methods of analysis that Yazar employed to interpret or construct a possible language of architectural space in the miniature painting, suggested the similarities between the expression of form and space in the miniature painting and experience of space in the building. Therefore, she disputes the description of miniatures "as a vision of an idealized art form unrelated to the world of built form and the suggestion that their artists did not exchange ideas with contemporary architects." Instead, she proposes that investigating miniatures as primary historical documents can offer conceptual insight into qualities that were incorporated in the design of the buildings.[32]

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, see figures 43-46.

[32] Ibid, 99.



Left: Figure 4.1. Experiment with a folded model that reveals the side surface by Yazar.[33]
Right: Figure 4.2. Card model with flat and warped surfaces by Yazar.[34]

4.5 Reverting the gaze, decoding the space

Building upon Yazar's understanding of the visual language of Persian painting, and substantially extending and refining a methodology that was implied but evidently not developed beyond the indicative initial experiments illustrated above, the current study proposes and applies a practical technique for enhancing and articulating the spatial structure of these images to surpass previous limitations to their visual and theoretical interpretation. Using this enhanced pop-up and folding technique, both conceptual and conventional features of Persian miniature painting, as discussed in Chapter 3, are brought into clearer focus for careful analysis and interpretation by effectively translating the planar image into three dimensions. To create the pop-up models, Persian miniature pictorial conventions such as the juxtaposition of plan and elevation, previously a limitation, are applied. This method distinguishes, cuts, delaminates and pops up the plane surfaces that make the hierarchical and stratified spaces of the Persian painting. In addition to recognisable architectural elements and plans, these include natural elements such as rocks, hills, and vegetation as well as animals and human figures. The result is a pop-up three-dimensional image (or model) that has been deciphered visually from the multifocal

[33] Yazar, "Architecture in Miniature," fig. 45, p.91.
[34] Ibid, fig. 46, p.91

ambiguity of the two-dimensional original in which different viewpoints are juxtaposed in a single frame (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).

Contemporary buildings and their decoration were the starting point for the process of translating a three-dimensional form onto the two-dimensional surface of the paper. By reverting the gaze back to the three-dimensional version of the scene, this pop-up technique articulates the spatial arrangement of levels and elements in a way that is easier to perceive, understand, and interpret. Thus, such a three-dimensional version of the image is more easily used as a primary resource to study architecture and its social implications.

While perspective space is created only by looking, the Persian painter's way of thinking and illustrating meant that a visual image was a mental image with which the painter saw. Thus, a reverted gaze created a window toward the artist's vision and imagination. It displayed that stage of imagery which was before transference of the three-dimensional outer world into the multifocal two-dimensional plane surfaces of the Persian painting.

Based on such quality, three-dimensional models offer a view of the artist's mental image by revealing aspects that have been devised and inserted in the painting, but they are not apparent in the original image. Such hidden aspects are more easily distinguished when the iconological analysis process interacts with both three-dimensional models and the text that the image illustrates. Such interaction reveals the aspects that are revealed by the text but are unseen in the original image.

The concealment of such features is a result of manipulating different methods through which Persian painting combines two-dimensional elements to create an illusion of three-dimensional effects of space, motion, depth and perspective. This includes the visual information suggested by the text, implemented by the painter, and existing in the image. However, they are concealed in the process of creating such illusion and then revealed by this method.

Therefore another contribution is providing a link between the illustration, the illustrated text, and the artist/painter's mental image. Yet, if there is an absence of any script in association with the illustrations, this method increases the accuracy of visual analysis and prevents a misreading of the image, particularly in terms of spatial elements. Therefore the pop-up method, by the subjective act of viewing from an unfocused lens, aims to revision multifocal spaces in Persian painting and reconstruct our understanding of these spaces.

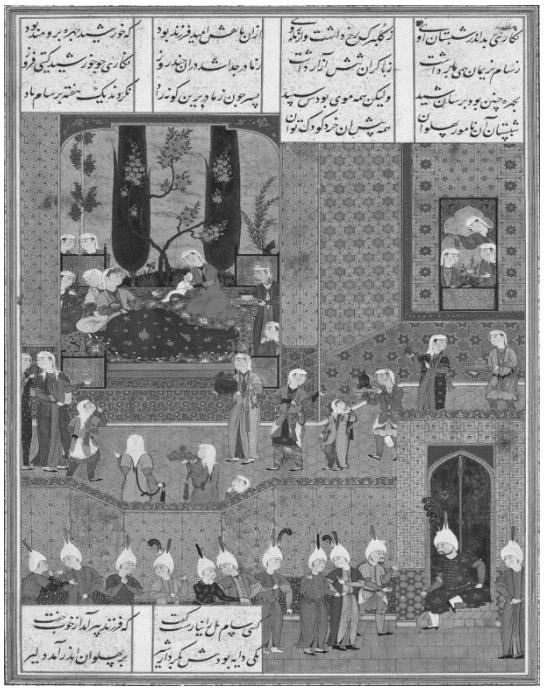


Figures 4.3. Applying folding and pop-up techniques to identify the spatial arrangement in a mobile architecture setting.

Top: Multifocal view (juxtaposition of front view and top view) in a Nomadic Encampment The meeting of the clans, previously attributed to Mir Sayyid ‘Ali, Persian (sixteenth century), probably a folio from a manuscript of Leyli and Majnun of Jami, date c. 1540, Middle East, Iran, Tabriz, Safavid period. Courtesy of the Harvard Art Museum /Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of John Goelet, formerly in the collection of Louis J. Cartier, Copyright: Photograph ©President and Fellows of Harvard College. Accessed 23.11.2018,https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/216252.

Middle: The elevated view of the pop-up model which shows different spaces of the encampment being arranged from front to the rear.

Bottom: The front view of the pop-up model which shows the encampment scene from a single point perspective. In contrast to the original folio the rear structures and figures are not visible.







Figures 4.4. Applying folding and pop-up techniques to identify the spatial arrangement and architectural structures of a palace scene.
Top: Multifocal view (juxtaposition of front view, top view, interior and exterior) in The Birth of Zal, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s--1530s), Safavid, Iran.
Middle: The elevated view of the pop-up model which distinct interior and exterior spaces.
Bottom: The front view of the pop-up model which shows the palace from a single point perspective. In contrast to the original folio the interior spaces and figures are not visible.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has considered how architectural spaces nested pictorially within Persian paintings may be re-examined through a series of practical operations and extrapolations that bring these spaces more clearly and tangibly into view for the purposes of analysis and interpretation. In effect supporting a holistic conception of three-dimensional space, the proposed technique will allow us in turn to reflect on artistic and observer gaze directed at feminine actors within these scenes. The chapter has also therefore been concerned with how the archive of paintings that have been identified as potentially rich sources of critical insight into the gendered choreographies of the social spaces depicted could be approached with more methodical precision and rigor to address such questions.

Figure 4.5 below indicates the delimited scope of the study, with its focus on architectural space in Persian paintings as an efficient strategy of approach, while Figure 4.6 offers a further visual representation of the methodology of the study where the dynamic relationships between the architectural space of the paintings and the culturally and historically specific theories of vision operative within them will be articulated and explored using the enhanced pop-up technique (outlined above) as the primary analytical tool.

In the third and final part of the thesis that follows (chapters 5-12), this methodology will be applied as we return to the broader question of the place and agency of women in pre-modern Iranian societies, and how these may be better understood from the distance of the historical and cultural present.

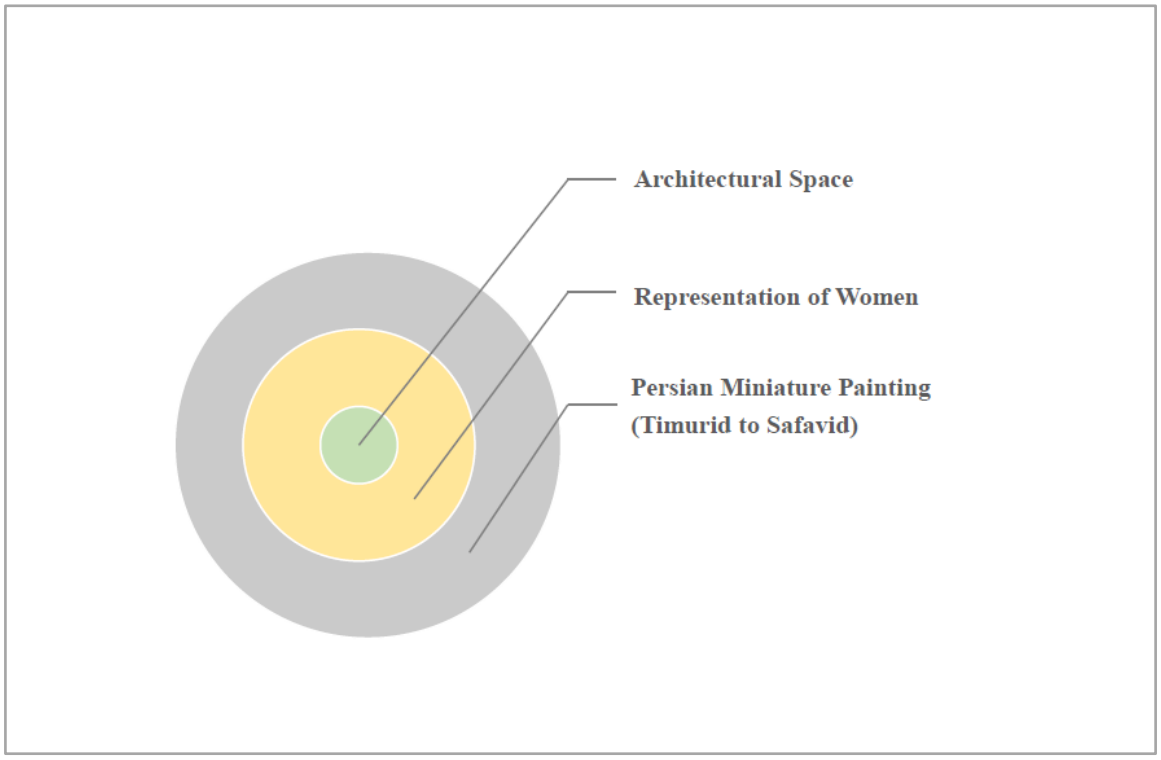


Figure 4.5. The scope of the study

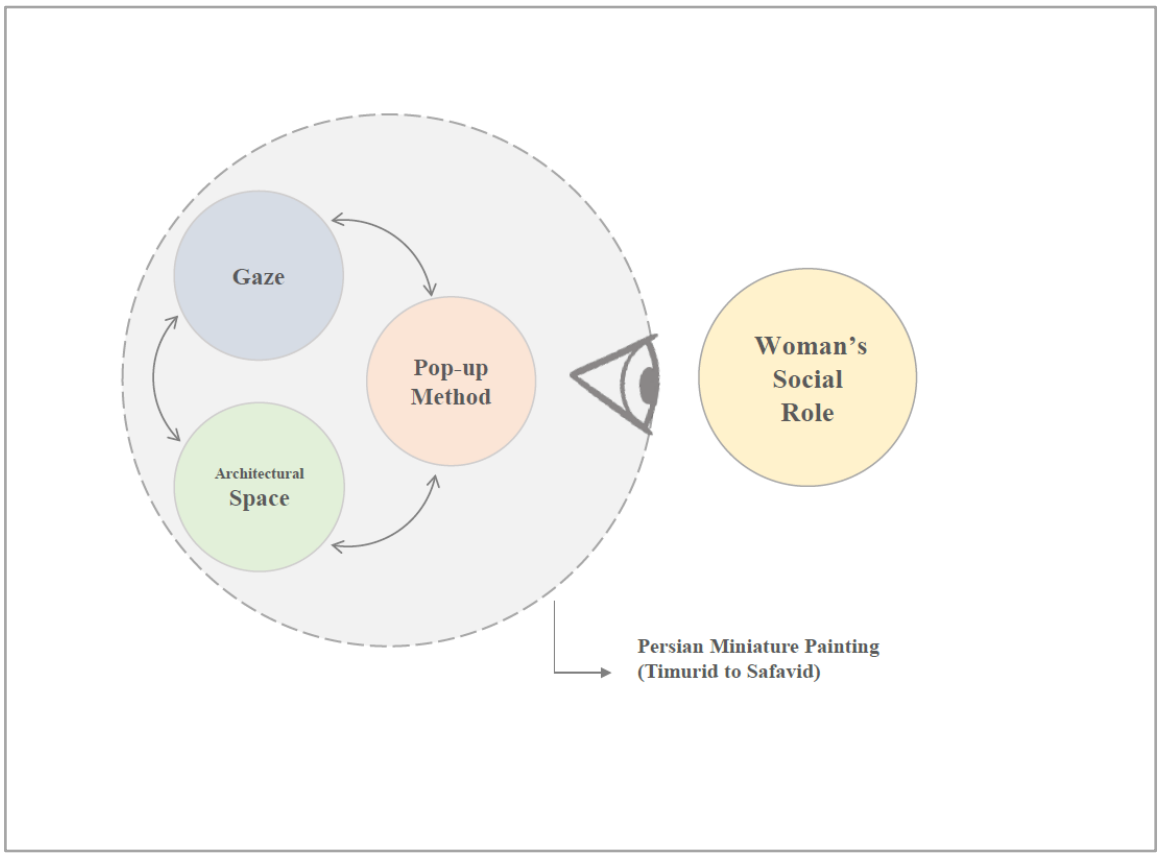
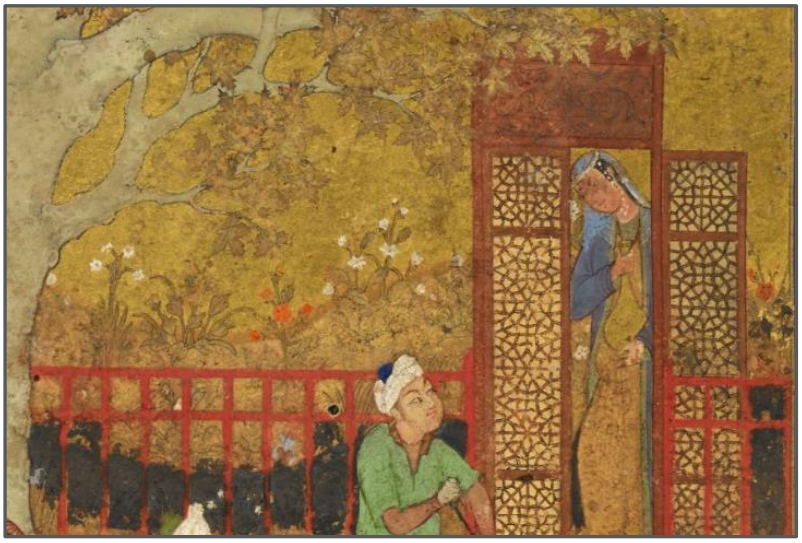


Figure 4.6. Visual illustration of the theoretical framework and methodology

Chapter 5.

Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture I: *Ordu* and *Bāgh*



Part of Figure 5.28

5. 1 Introduction

Throughout the fifteenth century, whilst cultural organisations such as the well-known painting schools of Herat and Shiraz were located, grew and flourished within the city walls, political and military power resided in the royal camp beside the capital.[1] For the Timurids, it was not the capital but the royal camp *(ordu-yi humāyuni)*, where the sovereign ruled moving from place to place. Timur himslef belonged to the Turkish tribe of Barlas and was nurtured based on the customs of nomadic tribal life, and he spent his early life as a tribal combatant.[2] Gronke notes that Timur was a ruler in transition between nomadic and sedentary ways of living. He was neither a total nomadic ruler because he did have a capital, nor was he an entirely sedentarised ruler because he did not always live in his capital. However, Gronke elucidates that life in tent and garden, rather than palace and city, clearly points to a nomadic heritage.[3] The camp provided the ruler with both liberty of movement in open countryside and the convenience of urban civilisation. The mobile throne of the ruler also had noticeable benefits in sustaining authority in occupied lands.[4]

Even though Timur had selected Samarqand as his capital, he never relinquished his royal camp (Figure 5.1). Whenever he went to Samarqand or other cities in his empire, instead of staying within the urban core, he remained in his royal camp. It was in the encampment that he made political and military decisions, received foreign emissaries, conducted public activities and celebrations, and performed public displays that amazed foreign envoys.[5]

Persian paintings reflect these traditions, particularly in the various illustrated copies of the Timurid Zafarnameh.[6] For instance, in a scene depicted in the Timurid Zafarnameh copy at the Golestan Palace (no.708, 1528 CE), Timur is shown receiving a European envoy escorting Ottoman Sultan Morad's son (see Figure 5.2). Two additional and still unpublished folios from the same manuscript (nos 116 & 360) represent 'Timur's enthronement' (Figure

---

[1] Monika Gronke, "The Persian Court between Palace and Tent: From Timur to 'Abbas I." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 19-27 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 21.
[2] Ibid, 18.
[3] Ibid, 19.
[4] Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," 249-68, *Ars Orientalis 23* (1993): p.250.
[5] Gronke, "The Persian Court," 19.
[6] The Zafarnama (Book of Victory) is a biography of Timur written by different historians.The most famous one is aouthord by Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi (completed in 1425 CE) based on a previous Zafarnameh by Nizam ad-Din Shami (completed in 1404). For more, see John E. Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987): 81-108.

5.3) and 'celebration of Timur's son, Shahrokh Mirza's birthday' (Figure 5.4), following the same encampment setting. Another illustrated folio from Shiraz Zafarnama (1436 CE) shows Timur sitting on his throne in front of his tent receiving guests at the celebration of his son's wedding (Figure 5.5).

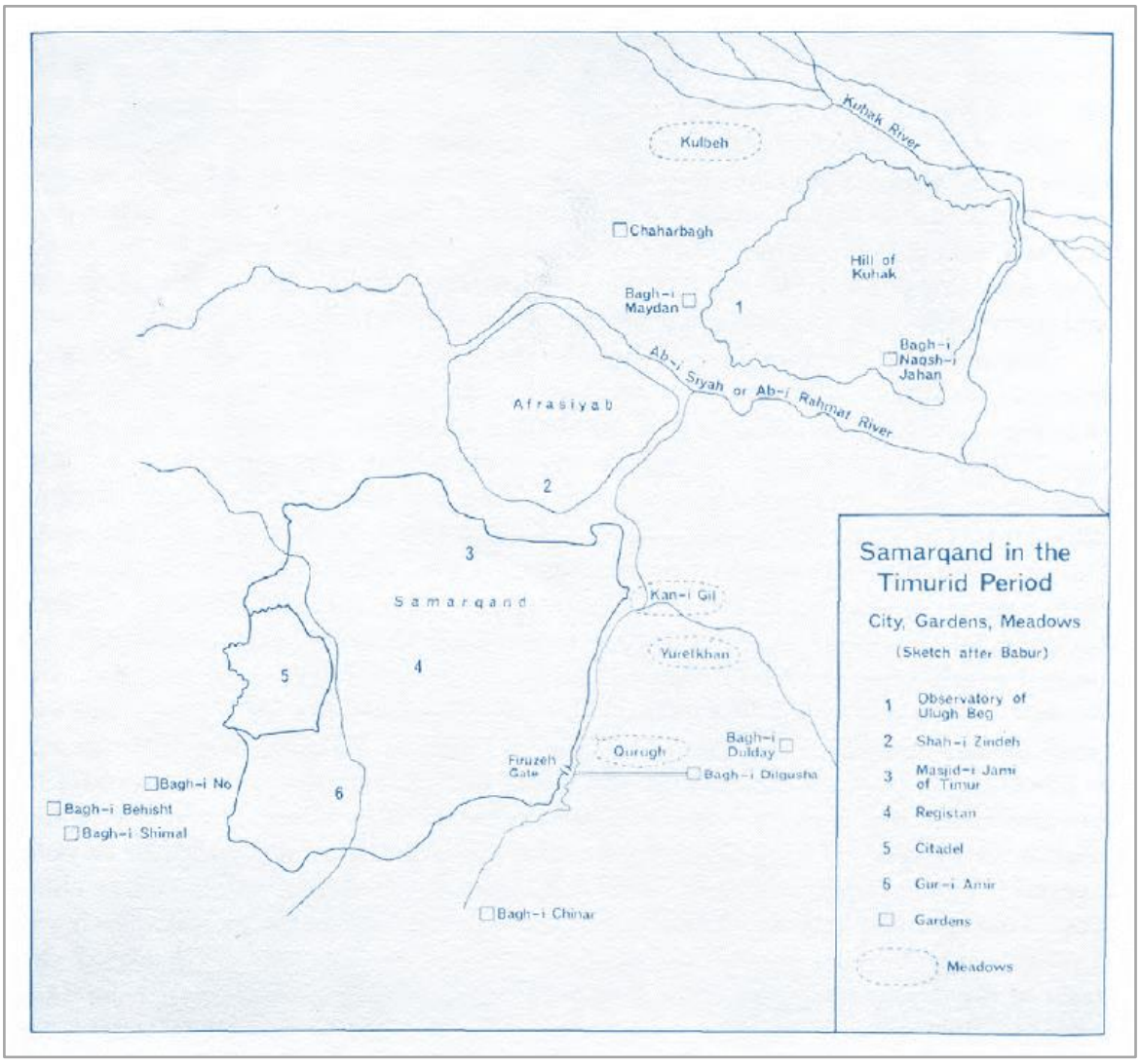
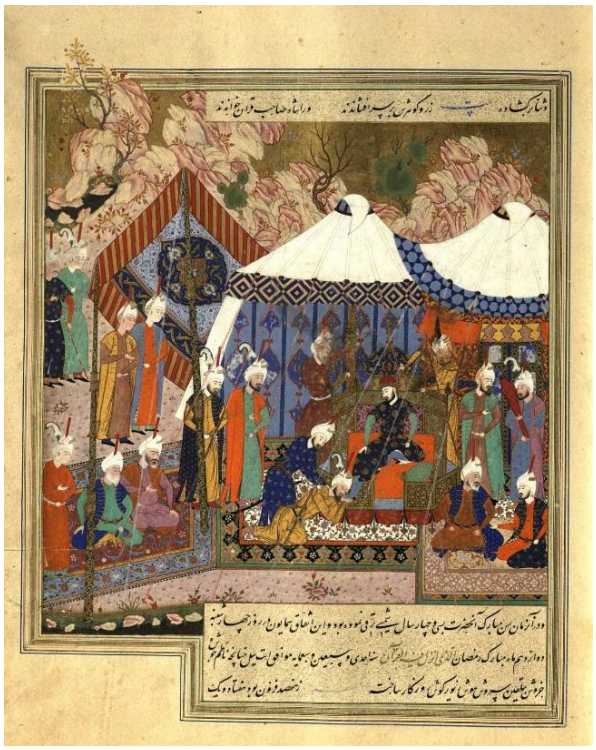


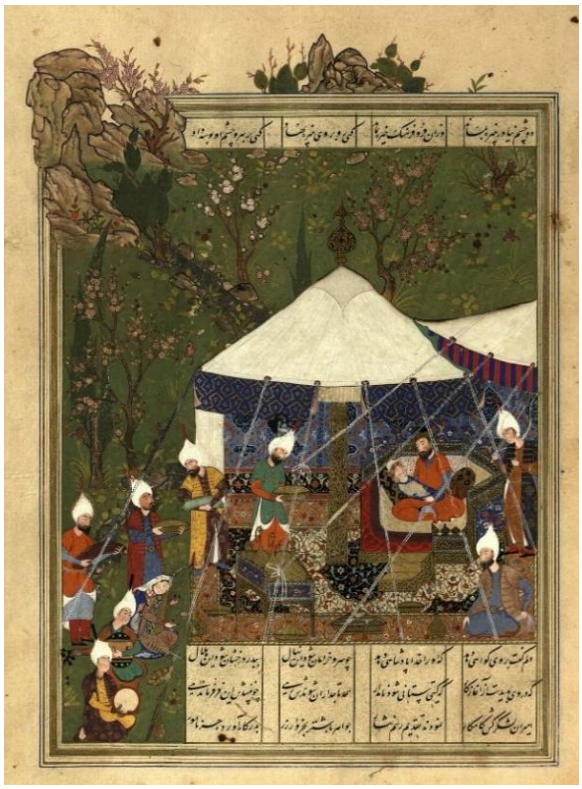
Figure 5.1. Map of Samarqand in the Timurid period (1370–1506), photo: L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton, 1988.[7]

[7] T.W. Lentz, "The Other World: Memory and Ideology in the Timurid Garden." In *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture: Mughal Gardens, Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, 31-58 (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, May 1992), 35.





Left: Figure 5.2. Europian Ilchid bring Ottoman Sultan Morad's son to Timur, attributed to Kamal od-din Behzad, Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), 1528, courtesy of Golestan Palace, Iran.
Right: Figure 5.3. Timur's enthronement, unpublished folio (no. 116) from Timurid Zafarnameh (no. 708), 1528, Courtesy of Golestan Palace, Iran.





Left: Figure 5.4. Birth of Mirzadeh Shahrokh, unpublished folio (no. 360) from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), 1528, Courtesy of Golestan Palace, Iran.
Right: Figure 5.5. Timur receiving guests at the wedding of his son, Zafarnama by Yazdi, Iran, Shiraz, Timurid period, 1436. Photo: Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Florence.

Various accounts exist of the *Ordu* (i.e. royal camp) since the Mongol period, clearly showing the imperial encampment in many respects as a mobile city.[8] Mosques and bazaars were established at each campsite. The ruler and his extended household possessed one camp, and each among his female entourage had a camp of their own. Amirs and viziers also had their own camps and were described by Ibn Battuta as presenting themselves for duty each afternoon.[9]

Among the detailed traveler accounts of Timur's superb tents, Clavijo Gonzalez details a stay at the camp for several weeks. Clavijo describes the ceremonial *qurultay* or assembly held in the autumn of 1404 CE just outside Samarqand on the meadow known as Kan-i Gil (i.e. claypit) located to the north-east of the city, near the site of the Shah i-Zinda. Additional celebrations marked the weddings of six of Timur's grandsons on his victorious return to the capital.[10] Clavijo reports on the magnitude of the camp stating that there were forty or fifty thousand tents of many kinds – a marvellous sight to behold. On every side of this royal camp *(ordu)*, extravagant tents and *sarāpardeh* (enclosures) were visible, including those occupied by his Majesty, his associates and Amirs.[11] The camp was relocated every week and tents and pavilions were pitched for the ruler and his retinue, as well as foreign guests and ambassadors. Visitors reported they had to pass through whole streets of tents before finally reachingTimur's tent, and new tent enclosures were set up as needed.[12] In effect, the encampment *(ordu)* appears to have been hierarchically organised, with layers of privacy emdorsed in the contrast between periphery and centre.

Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi (d. 1454 CE) the fifteenth-century Persian scholar, in Zafarnameh, provides useful comparative material about the official history of Timur's life based on records and eye-witness accounts between 1421–1425 CE. Yazdi's descriptions of the same celebrations that Clavijo accounted confirm those of Clavijo. The reports of two authors

[8] O'Kane describes: "An elaborate ceremony accompanied the camp every time it moved; a strict formation based on military rank was observed, with the drummers, trumpeters, and pipers of each unit occupying prominent positions". For more, see O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions," 249.
[9] O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions," 250.
[10] Gronke, "The Persian Court," 19; Peter Alford Andrews, "The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltay at Samaroand, 1404," In *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands: Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, No. 7, ed. Denwood Philip (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978), 145; Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange from the Spanish. The Broadway Travellers, eds. Sir E. Denison Ross and Elleen Power (London: Routledge, 1928), 237-56.
[11] Peter Alford Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage*, vol. 1 (London: Melisende, 1999), 709.
[12] Gronke, "The Persian Court,"19 ; Andrews, "The Tents of Timur,"145.

indicate that the extravagant tents portrayed in verse and miniature paintings of the period matched the reality.[13]

Timur lived predominantly in the encampment. The several spaces of the encampment were used for social and state events. There were 'layers' of space. The lavish tentage comprising the *ordu* generally comprised fabric enclosure screens or *"sarāpardeh"*, trellis tents or *"khargāh"*, guyed tents or *"khaymeh"*, and awnings or *"sāybān"*[14] as evident from Yazdi's description of the *qurultay* of 1404 CE that Gonzalez also visited and offers the same general picture as Yazdi.[15] Clavijo declares that the temporary enclosures in the Kan-i Gil, the orchards (gardens) and houses around Samarqand, provided various contexts regarding Timur's entitlements associated with his status as a ruler. By "orchards" he meant "Persian *bagh*". These orchards were set up with pavilions, tents and equipment, including awnings and textiles, thus transforming them from a garden to the royal court.[16]

The *ordu,* for example the Kan-i Gil, was set up outside the city walls on the open plains. However, the royal camp was most often established inside the fabulous gardens laid out near Samarqand. Therefore the primary elements of Timurid architecture could be defined as 'garden', 'fabric enclosure', and 'tent'. Each of these essential features had its own specific structure, meaning and function, each of which will first be so defined before examining their representation in pictorial images, in the later sections of this chapter and the follwing two. The current chapter will therefore continue by examinng the garden (*bāgh*) more closely, and the representation of women in that spatial context, while Chapter 6 and 7 focous on fabric enclosure (*sarāpardeh*) and tent (*khaymeh* and *khargāh*) respectively.

[13] Andrews states that Taj al-Salmani gives little help, but Ibn Arabshah, in spite of his preoccupation with rhyming prose, adds some useful details based on his own experience as Timur's prisoner. See Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," 143; Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Zendegani Shegeft Avar-e Timur (Original Title in the Arabic: Aja'ib Al-Maqdur Fi Nawa'ib Al-Taymur (the Wonders of Destiny of the Ravages of Timur),* trans. Mohammad Ali Nejati (Tehran: Bongah-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab, 1356/1977).

[14] These elements belonged to the Central Asian tradition that had already existed in Mongolia at least two hundred years before. See Gronke, "The Persian Court,"19; Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," 145.

[15] O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions," 731.

[16] David J. Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404." In *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre Ethnology and Pilgrimage 1250–1700,* ed. Palmira Brummett (Boston: Brill, 2009), 151.

5.2 The function of the b*ā*gh

Timur's successors, who occasionally dwelled in their palaces in the city, also continued the tradition of a moveable royal camp.[17] The institution of court life in tents, outside cities located in massive gardens that reflected a nomadic heritage, was continued by Safavid rulers as Timurid successors.[18] The royal camp often was laid out in the gardens near Samarqand, following the traditional Persian garden with fruit trees, shaded pathways, wells and watercourses enclosed by a wall. These Timurid gardens were much larger than the typical Persian garden, to accommodate the entire royal camp.[19] Their features, as described in several contemporary accounts, included 'walled enclosures', 'high gateways', 'waterworks', 'artificial hills', 'multi-storeyed structures' and 'lavish decorations'.[20]

Timur's grandson Ulugh Beg, after his grandfather's death, chose Samarqand as his capital, and following nomadic tradition camped in gardens outside the city, and held banquets and festivals. Ulugh Beg's son 'Abd al-Latif, probably also lived in gardens outside the city. Similarly Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh, Timur's grandson, usually resided in a palace north of the city of Shiraz, in a grand garden. Timur's son Shahrukh had initially established his residence in the Bagh-i Shahr in Herat. A few years later (between 1409 and 1411) he moved to the Bagh-i Zaghan outside the city walls north of Herat.[21] Behind the walls of these secluded gardens, there were permanent and temporary structures that served various purposes such as residences, state buildings or pleasure kiosks. For instance, Shahrukh's Bagh-i Zaghan was not only the royal residence and administration seat, but also the focus of noble activities during events.[22]

[17] For more about the moveable royal camp under Timur's successors, see Gronke, "The Persian Court," 19-21.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid, 19.
[20] Lentz, "The Other World," 35; Clavijo describes the *Gulbagh* (flower garden) near Samarqand, Ibid, 36.
[21] Gronke, "The Persian Court," 19-20.
[22] Lentz, "The Other World," 41-2.

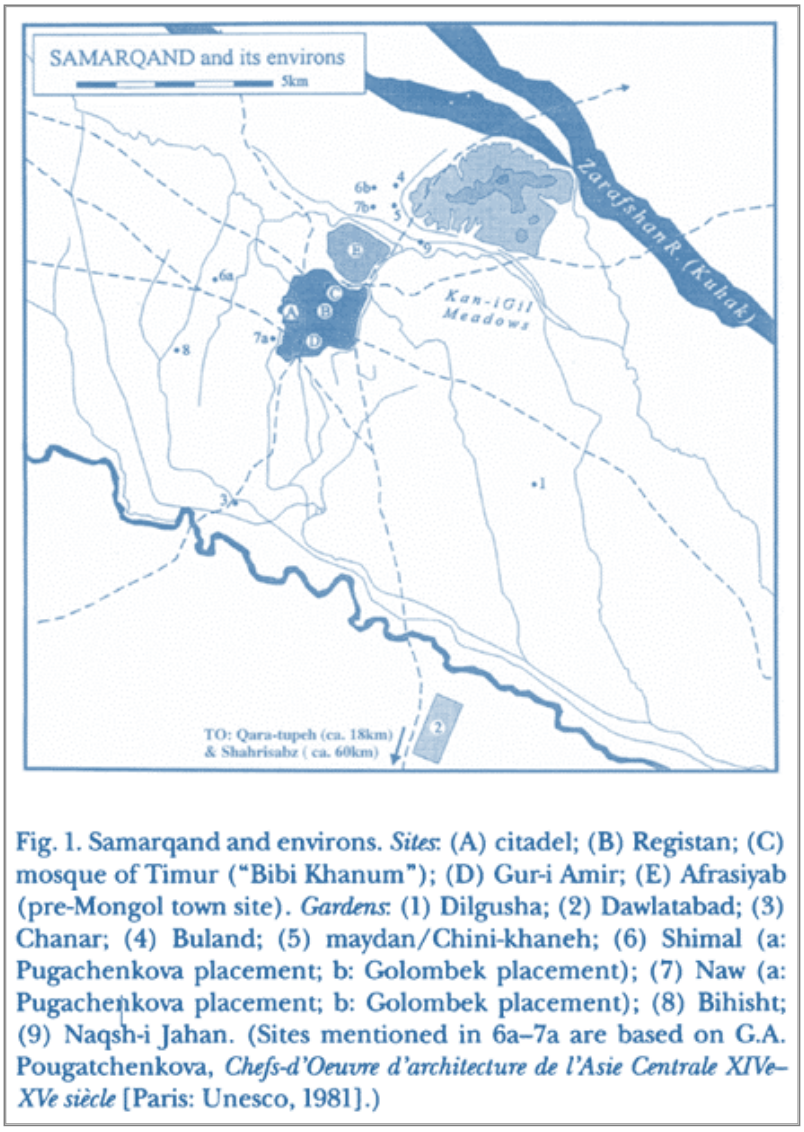


Fig. 1. Samarqand and environs. *Sites*: (A) citadel; (B) Registan; (C) mosque of Timur ("Bibi Khanum"); (D) Gur-i Amir; (E) Afrasiyab (pre-Mongol town site). *Gardens*: (1) Dilgusha; (2) Dawlatabad; (3) Chanar; (4) Buland; (5) maydan/Chini-khaneh; (6) Shimal (a: Pugachenkova placement; b: Golombek placement); (7) Naw (a: Pugachenkova placement; b: Golombek placement); (8) Bihisht; (9) Naqsh-i Jahan. (Sites mentioned in 6a–7a are based on G.A. Pougatchenkova, *Chefs-d'Oeuvre d'architecture de l'Asie Centrale XIVe–XVe siècle* [Paris: Unesco, 1981].)

Figure 5.6. Samarqand gardens.[23]

5.3 The metaphor of the b*ā*gh

Lentz (as paraphrased by Golombek) marvels at Timur's "ability to re-create a nomadic environment in the microcosm of the city and its surroundings."[24] This fertile orbit was a material projection of emerging Timurid imperial ideology and appears to have functioned as a symbolic display of war spoils. Instead of erecting a victory monument based on the Islamic architectural tradition, he followed the tradition of earlier Mongol khans to express his power through the garden and its moveable architecture, and not the urban forms of

[23] Lisa Golombek,"The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," 137-47, *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 138.
[24] Ibid, 141.

Islam.[25] Lentz describes this as a "theatrical, transformative celebration through which Timur established for his descendants an outlining manifestation of their identity that was tied to the garden."[26] In addition to such a notion which introduces gardens as proclaiming Timurid's power, two different concepts suggested by scholars will be discussed in the following sub-sections. First 'gardens as a gendered site' and second 'gardens as an omnipresent art form in the Muslim world'.

5.3.1 Gardens as a gendered site

Concerning the semiotics of the Timurid garden, Lentz suggests that we must look at the history of Timur's garden building activity. She suggests that Timur built gardens on the occasion of marriages, mostly his, but also that of his grandson. Each of his consorts would have her own garden.[27] A chain of nine gardens encircling Samarqand is evident in the redrawn maps of Timurid Samarqand, in addition to additional gardens, between the capital and Shahrisabz- Timur's birthplace and second capital.[28]

Returning to Samarqand in 1404 CE Timur sent emissaries to his wives, directing them to return as fast as possible to Samarqand. When he reached the *Bagh-i Chanar*, the others were still coming from Firuzkuh. Once they arrived in Samarqand, Tuman Agha went to the *Bagh-i Bihisht* and Saray Malik Khanum to the *Bagh-i Chanar*. Saray Malik Khanum, Timur's principal wife, reportedly met Timur at this garden, so Golombek proposes that this garden was hers. Accordingly, it seems that in 1399 three of Timur's wives – Saray Malik Khanum, Tuman Agha , and Tukal Kh*ā*num – had individual gardens in addition to splendid residences in the the Bagh-i Chanar, the Bagh-i Bihisht, and the Bagh-i Dilgusha respectively.[29]

Golombek suggests that probably the *Naqsh-I Jahan* or *Bagh-I Buland* belonged to Chulpan Agha, who is mentioned in events of 1391 CE and was witnessed by Clavijo in 1403 CE. And the last garden *(Bagh-i Naw)* might have been made for Timur's marriage to Munduz Agha or Jawhar Agha. A palace in a garden *(the Bagh-i Shimal)* was built for Timur's

[25] As he did with his great Friday Mosque at Samarqand that celebrated the 1398 conquest of India. See Lentz, "The Other World," 36.
[26] Ibid, 38.
[27] Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur," 142.
[28] Ibid, 140.
[29] Ibid, 142,144.

granddaughter Bikisi Sultan (the daughter of his son Miranshah), on the occasion of her marriage to Timur's grandson Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh.

Therefore she infers that the account of Timur's garden and garden building seems to have been closely associated with the history of his wives and marital agreements: "Gardens were built at the onset of the marriage, and, as the woman aged, so did Timur's interest in her garden wane."[30] Golombek concludes that the garden estate in Timur's time became a 'gendered' site, and Timur could use the gardens as the need arose. Thus when Timur went to the *Bagh-i Bihisht*, he was, in fact, going to stay with Tuman Agha, and when the historical text states that he was at the *Bagh-i Chanar*, he spent time with Saray Malik Khanum, and finally when he builds a new garden, perhaps a royal wedding is in the offing.[31]

5.3.2 Gardens as an omnipresent form in Islamic art

Richard Ettinghausen argues that the garden was a ubiquitous art form in the Muslim world, both socially and geographically extensive. He suggests three reasons to explain this tendency. First, the idea of paradise as a reward for the faithful Muslim.This fundamental concept was developed by Muhammad from the beginning of his apostolic mission in Mecca and became more than an abstract vision of future bliss, since the Prophet made many specific statements as to the garden's topography, its nature and its inhabitants. Such descriptions since then have played an essential part in Muslim cosmography and religious beliefs.[32] The second reason was the tradition of the royal pleasure garden sustained from the pre-Islamic era in the Near East, specifically in Iran. Therefore the garden in Islam offers both a sacred visionary and a secular epicurean tradition that strongly connected metaphors reflected in poetry.[33] To answer what nurtured the first and second reasons Ettinghausen comes to the third factor: "the response to the ecological condition". A massive part of the area Ettinghausen is considering [Iran, Spain, India] is arid and often life-denying.

> "Man then went beyond this natural phenomenon and with special water installations created the garden, and especially the formal garden, as a higher form of relief from this formless and hostile environment. Each garden was meant to be a little paradise

[30] Ibid, 143-144; A comment by Yazdi in the Zafarnama in relation to Timur's building of the Bagh-i Dilgusha for Tukal Khanum in 1397 is used by Golombek as evidence for her above suggestion, Ibid, 144.
[31] Ibid, 145.
[32] Richard Ettinghausen, "Introduction," in *Islamic Garden*, ed. Macdougall and Ettinghausen, 3-10 (Washington, District of Columbia: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976), 6.
[33] Ibid, 6, 7.

> on earth for the happy owner, and it was therefore carefully sheltered by a wall from the hustle-bustle and odors of the city or, when located in the suburbs or country, from the wilderness beyond. Of course the walls also kept out uninvited guests".[34]

Therefore three main attitudes towards garden in Persian and Islamic World are 'sacred visionary', 'pleasure-seeking' and 'oasis', each in some way related to the concept of 'Paradise'. Rooted in such insight the next two subsections are going to first discuss the notions of security and femininity in Quranic garden and second observe the image of 'the beloved' in Persian gardens. As we will see, whereas 'security' is an inherent feature of both Quranic and Persian earthly gardens, women as 'beloved' and '*houris'* are main characters related to these concepts.

5.3.2.1 Security, femininity, and the Quranic garden

As Gharipour has discerned, Quranic imaginary paradise was evidently built on three major traditional concepts that existed in pre-Islamic texts: Heaven as the final destination, the garden of *Eden* as Adam and Eve's home, and the sacredness of nature and its components 'rivers', 'trees' and 'plants'. Such imaginary concepts were further developed in the Quran, in such a way that the '*ferdows'* not only represents both Heaven and the Garden of Eden, but is promised as a reward to the righteous people.[35] The image of this garden was no longer conceptual, but instead described as a material space with detailed essentials including 'shaded areas', 'running water' and 'evergreen trees'. Gharipour remarks that the Quran was the first sacred text in this region that mentioned that 'buildings and thrones' existed in Paradise, from which people could have a pleasurable view towards the garden.[36]

A double-page folio as the endpiece of an illustrated manuscript of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' (Stories of the Prophets) shows the prophets sitting on carpets in the middle of a Paradise garden with a halo around their heads. A narrow river *(nahr)* flows in front of them and angels hover above. Each page has a pavilion on three floors. The one on the left, tiled in red, has a blue balcony and the other on the right, tiled in blue, has a red balcony. Both have a window on the second floor and a balcony on the third level with a pleasant view of the garden, from

---

[34] Ibid, 7.
[35] Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2013), 23 ; to read more on the Persian/Islamic gardens see William Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature," in *Islamic Garden*, ed. Macdougall and Ettinghausen, 41-67 (Washington, District of Columbia: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976).
[36] Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 23.

behind which male and female attendants are beholding the scene, conversing and offering trays of heavenly fruits.

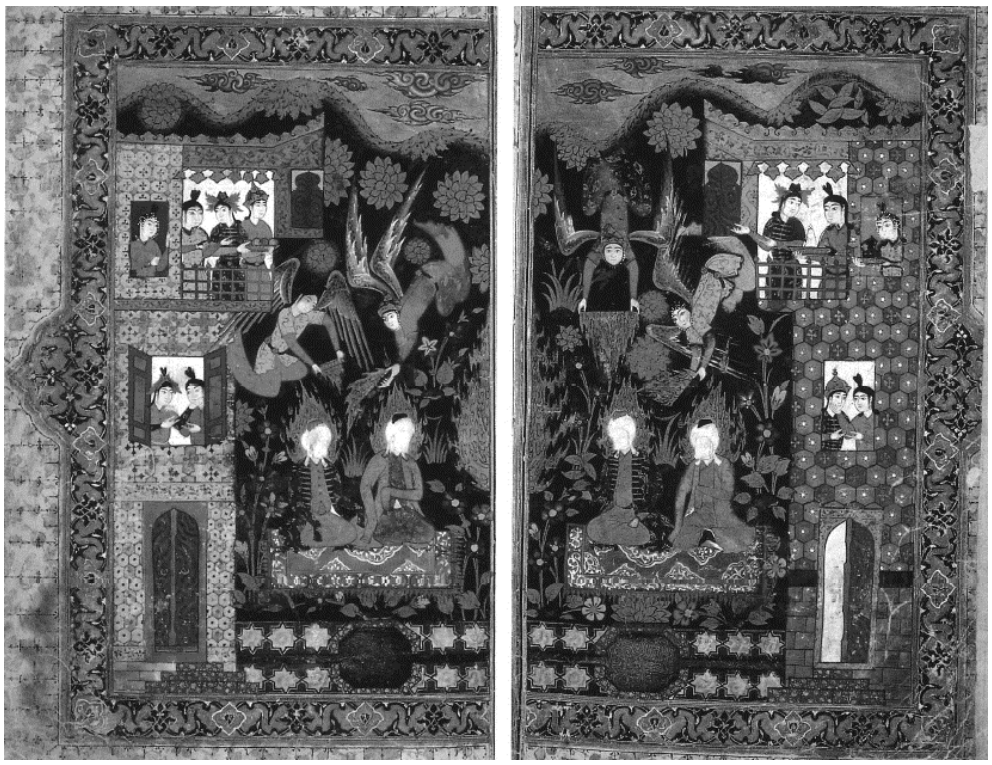


Figure 5.7. Prophets in Paradise, an illustrated manuscript of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', XIX. Ms. N-2, New York Public Library, Spencer, Pers. Ms. 46. [37]

Similar to earthly gardens, the Quranic garden has clear boundaries, main entrances and gates through which only select people can enter. Religious men are told:

> "Enter ye the Garden ye and your wives in (beauty and) rejoicing."[38] In "gardens of perpetual bliss, they shall enter there as well as the righteous among their fathers, their spouses and their offspring, and angels shall enter unto them from every gate *(kollen babe)*!"[39] "And those who feared their Lord will be led to the Garden in crowds, until behold they arrive there; its gates will be opened *(fatehat abvāboha)*, and its keepers will say: Peace be upon you! Well have ye done! Enter ye here to dwell therein."[40]

[37] Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', Islamic Art and Architecture Series* (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1999) 259.
[38] Quran, 43:70.
[39] Quran, 13:23.
[40] Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 23; Quran 39:73

The gardens of Quran are enclosed and gates protect the people inside: "As to the righteous (they will be) in a position of security."[41] "…and they [one who has believed and done righteousness] will be in the upper chambers [of Paradise], safe [and secure]".[42] The borders of Paradise are carefully defined by Lote trees: "Near the Lote-tree beyond which none may pass. Near it is the Garden of Abode."[43] In the Quran the term used most frequently for Paradise is *janna*. Although most commonly used (over eighty times), *janna* is not the only word in the Quran that conveys Paradise. Its plural form, *jannāt,* appears over forty times, of which about half occur in combination with other terms.

This variety of names underlies the numerous traditions presented in the exegetical literature concerning the different facets of Paradise. Among these are some terms that introduce Paradise as a peaceful and secure place; *Jannat / Jannāt al-ma'wā*, "garden /s of the refuge".[44] *Dār al-salām*[45], "the abode (*dār*) of everlasting security and soundness" similar to the term *maqām amīn*[46] , presented as the future dwelling of the righteous and interpreted to mean the eternal world of security and immunity from fear and death. It is noteworthy that Paradise will be the eternal and unchanging abode of believers. *Jannat al-khuld* [47] and *dār al-muqāma* mean Paradise: both strive for eternal existence.[48] Muqātil defines the latter as *dār al-khulūd*, the place where people stay forever.[49] This quality may imply that the gardens of Paradise are not withered by summer heat or winter cold.[50]

Leah Kinberg divides the bliss bestowed upon dwellers of Paradise into two types: sensual pleasures and spiritual ones. The most frequently mentioned reward (over fifty times) focuses on rivers flowing beneath gardens.[51] Other rewards that await one in Heaven are palaces[52], shade[53], pleasant weather, sofas to lean against (*surur , furush, al-arāik*; *rafraf*),

---

[41] Quran, 44:5.
[42] Quran, 34:37.
[43] Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 24.
[44] Quran 53: 15; Leah Kinberg, "Paradise." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān: Volume Four P-Sh*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 12-19 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 14.
[45] Quran, 6:127; 10:25; Kinberg, "Paradise," 14.
[46] Quran, 44:51; Kinberg, "Paradise," 14.
[47] Mentioned in Quran 25:15.
[48] *Dār al-khuld* mentioned in Quran 41:28, is in the meaning of hell, whereas *jannat al-khuld* mentioned in Quran, 25:15, means paradise, both striving for eternal existence; see Kinberg, "Paradise," 14.
[49] Muqātil ibn Sulaymān al-Balkhī,Tafsīr; Muslim, iii, 558.
[50] Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth," 45.
[51] Quran, 47:15 describes four different kinds of rivers flowing in paradise. The idea of the four rivers which flow through Paradise may have helped late architects to conceive the canals as they flow through the gardens of Iran and Mughal India, to read more see Kinberg, "Paradise," 17-18, Annemarie Schimmel,"The Celestial Garden in Islam," in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, 11-40 (Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks,Trustees for Harvard University, 1976), 15.
[52] Quran, 25:10.
[53] Quran, 4:57; 36:56; 56:30; 76:14; 77:41.

green garments of silk and brocade, gold and silver bracelets, vessels of silver and goblets of crystal, plates and trays of gold, fruit (*thamara, fākiha, fawākih*), wine that does not intoxicate (*khamr, ka's, sharāb*), and young boys serving wine (*wildān mukhalladūn, ghilmān*).[54]

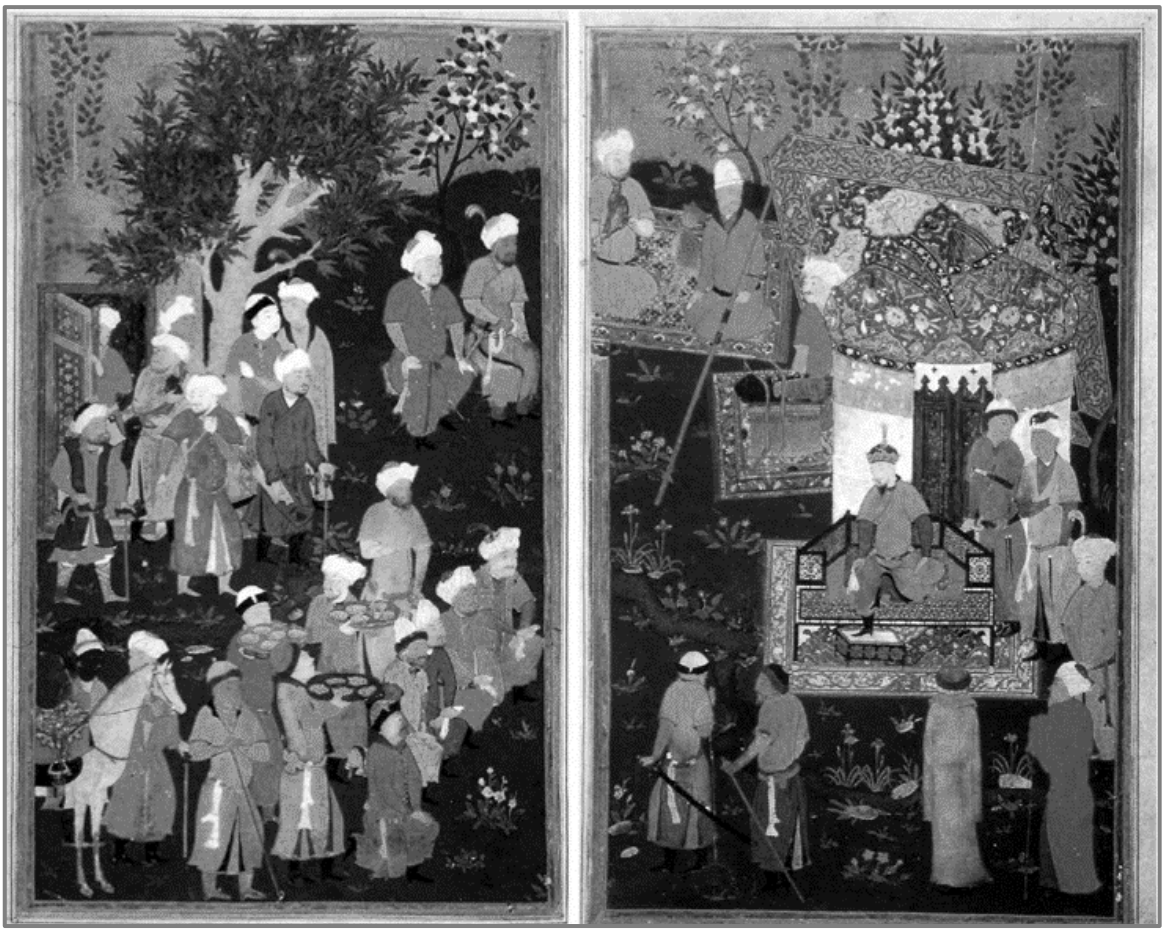
Here, evidently particular physical features of Paradise are highlighted such as trees and branches, shade, water spouts, flowing streams, fruits and refreshing pavilions. There will be couches for believers to rest on, while elegantly dressed and bejewelled with gold. There shall be lovely and virginal *houris* for pleasure. Hanaway suggests that such imagery echoes the Paradise of desert people, considering that a significant part of Persia is desert.[55] Yazdi also in Zafarnameh, describing the preparation of the *quriltay* 1404 CE in Kan-i Gil as the place for the lavish marriage feast, mentions the gardens of Paradise as a place of 'pleasure' and 'prosperity'. [56]

The magnificent nature of the Quranic image is manifested in Persian painting scenes depicting royal feasts in the gardens. The Quran illustrates:

> "those – theirs shall be Gardens of Eden, underneath which rivers flow; therein they shall be adorned with bracelets of gold, and they shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade, therein reclining upon couches – O, how excellent a reward! And O, how fair a resting-place!"[57]

Some Persian paintings conventionally depict Timur in a green robe (Figure 5.8). Also, a double-paged folio in Marqa'-e Golshan shows Sultan Husayn in a green gown among his female attendants at a garden feast (see Figure 5.30). There is a variety of well decorated and finely made mobile furniture in the scene. The Shah is resting on his royal throne, leaning back on silk cushions. Young boys are ready to serve the Shah and Amirs who are sitting under the pleasant shadow of richly decorated awnings by golden flagons of wine and trays of fruits. All this suggests the royalty, prosperity and resting place that the Quran promised.

[54] Quran, 56:17; 76:19, and 52:24.
[55] Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth," 45.
[56] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 732-3.
[57] Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 18:31.



Left and Right: Figure 5.8., from the Zafarnameh of the Sharaf al-Din Yazdi, dated 1469, paintings c. 1490. Courtesy of the John Work Garrett Collection, Special Collection Division, the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, fol.82v.[58]

Another sensual celestial reward granted to those who are faithful in the Quranic Paradise are 'women'. Kinberg believes that compared to the carnal, sensuous, and highly detailed descriptions of women awaiting the righteous given in hadith literature, the Quranic text is restrained by mentioning purified women (*azwāj muahhara*),[59] wide-eyed *houris* (*hūr'īn*),[60] maidens with swelling breasts, equal in age (*kawā'ib atrāban*),[61] and amorous virgins equal in age (*abkār'uruban atrāban*).[62] The Quran mentions two gardens awaiting those who fear God.[63] The commentators offer several ways to distinguish one garden from another. In the explanation cited by Al-Qurtubī, the second garden is known as belonging to the wives of

[58] Golombek, "The draped universe of Islam," 39.
[59] Quran, 2:25; 3:15; 4:57.
[60] Quran, 44:54; 52:20; 56:22.
[61] Quran, 78:33.
[62] Quran, 56:36; Leah Kinberg, "Paradise," 18.
[63] Surah Ar-Rahman, verse 46: "But such as fears the Station of his Lord, for them shall be two gardens", see Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

the residents of Paradise: "one garden was created especially for the individual, the other was inherited; one garden is for the destined, the other for his wives".[64] The fair females (*houris),* that the Quran promised as one of the Lord's bounties, restrained in pavilions (*Khiyam,* the plural for *Khaymeh,* meaning tent).[65] Resided in the Quranic gardens; the abode of everlasting security, the tents seclude *houris*, so they are "untouched before them by any man or jinn."[66]

5.3.2.2 The Persian garden and the vision of beloved

The lyrical concept of the physical appearance of the earthly garden has its roots in the archetypical garden of Paradise, as described in the Quran.[67] The concept of the garden as Paradise resulted in a cultural fusion in which 'gardens' and 'pavilions' played an important role for both a refurbishment dwelling in the barren climate of the region and also an imitation for celestial Heaven. These two factors influenced Persian literature, particularly poetry, in two layers of real and metaphorical meaning.[68] Thus, the archetypal garden of Paradise forms the poetic notion of the worldly garden.[69] The earthly garden is often described as being far from the harshness of winter and the north wind. This ideal quality makes it a timeless place, protected and safe by the wall. Inside the wall are flowers, fruit, shade, water and life. Outside, the desert signifies aridity, death and the reality of the rigours of life on the Iranian plateau.[70]

Descriptions of the Persian garden as earthly Paradise are often connected with the arrival of spring and the happiness of *Nowroz* (new day) that calls for celebration in the garden.[71] Spring and pleasure unsurprisingly lead to thoughts of love, the beloved and beautiful women. The image of the beautiful beloved is one of the richest clusters growing out of the garden.[72] Apart from explanations about landscape, pavilions, furnishing and vegetation, the key element to complete the image of Quranic Paradise as a model for the poetic Persian garden, which in turn is a source of inspiration for Persian painting, is the presence of *houris*. They are beautiful virgin young women in Quranic Paradise and beloved in the poetic

[64] Kinberg, "Paradise," 12-19.
[65] Arberry, 55:72: "Ĥūrun Maqṣūrātun Fī Al-Khiyāmi".
[66] Arberry, 55:74.
[67] Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth," 43.
[68] Gharipour, *Persian Gardens,* 23.
[69] Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth," 62-3.
[70] Ibid, 63.
[71] Ibid, 51.
[72] For more on using garden imagery to describe the beloved, see Ibid, 52-3.

garden. It seems that Paradise, the garden and the splendid vegetation are all present to describe and adore the beloved.[73]

The image of Paradise tightly intertwined with femineity in the Persian painting is a recurrent theme, both in illustrated manuscripts and single-paged paintings. One of the significant transformations that occurred in the artistic style of the Safavid and Isfahan painting school was the emergence of single-paged paintings.[74] A major theme of these paintings depicts single young men, women or lovers in the middle of a garden or outdoor space. Charming women or couples are freely sightseeing, leaning on colourful cushions and drinking wine (Figures 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11). While sometimes there is a pavilion, usually, there is no architectural structure in these paintings.

The architectural structures in Persian painting usually provide private spaces to accommodate and conceal women. It seems that the garden is the only outdoor place that inherently has the quality of being private and veiled from the gaze of *agyārs* (strangers). The gardens of Persian paintings are an abode for lovers to meet. Women and lovers of the Persian painting freely stroll around the gardens, make love, or daydream while holding a delicate twig of a flower bud.

It is noteworthy that when depicting lovers in the garden, they appear more intimate and even in sensual positions, which is not frequent in Persian painting. It seems that gardens in Persian paintings, in conformity with Persian literature, have been understood as a space for pleasure and love, so there was a tolerance for the depiction of sensual scenes if it occured in a garden (Figures 5.12–5.18). There is a presentation of the wedding of Khosrow and Shirin that, unlike other versions, is not taking place in a private chamber. Here, the painter displays them in a garden making love (Figure 5.13). In the absence of walls, draperies and privacy of chamber the rows of trees around them with mountains at the backgrounds appeared as barriers. More examples show the meeting of famous literary lovers, Humay and Humayun, Zal and Rudabeh, and Siyavash and Farangis, in garden feasts (Figures 5.15–5.18).

[73] Ibid.

[74] For more on the emergence of single-paged miniature paintings, see Parisa Shad Qazvini, "A Change in the Style of Painting in Shah Abbas I of Persia: Decadence or Innovation?" In *Congress of Isfahan School:The Collection of Essays on Painting*, edited by V. Kavoussi, 15-43 (Tehran: Farhangestan-e Honar Publisher, 2007).





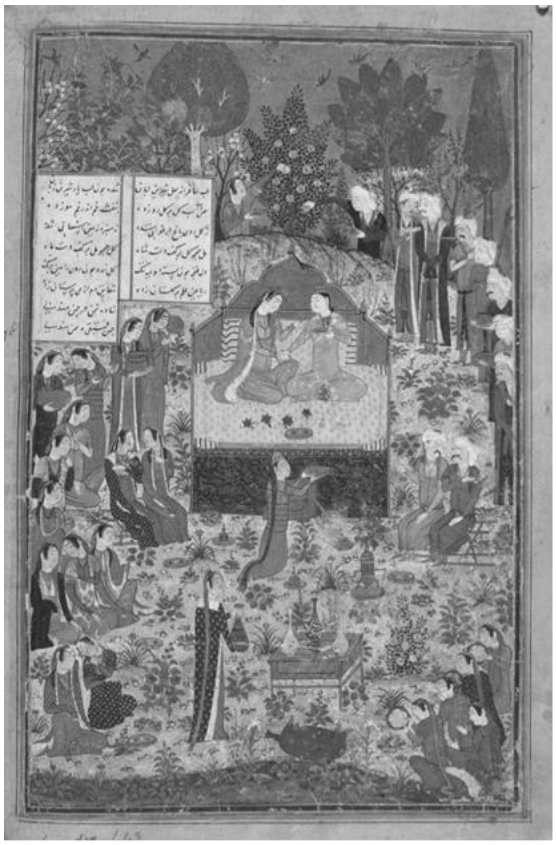
Left: Figure 5.9. Woman seated in a tree, 1616 AD, Reza Abbasi, Gouache on paper.[75]
Middle: Figure 5.10. Woman with a spray of flowers, Iran, Safavid, 1575 AD. The Freer Gallery of Art.
Right: Figure 5.11. Humay and Humayun meeting in a garden, Circa1425 AD.[76]



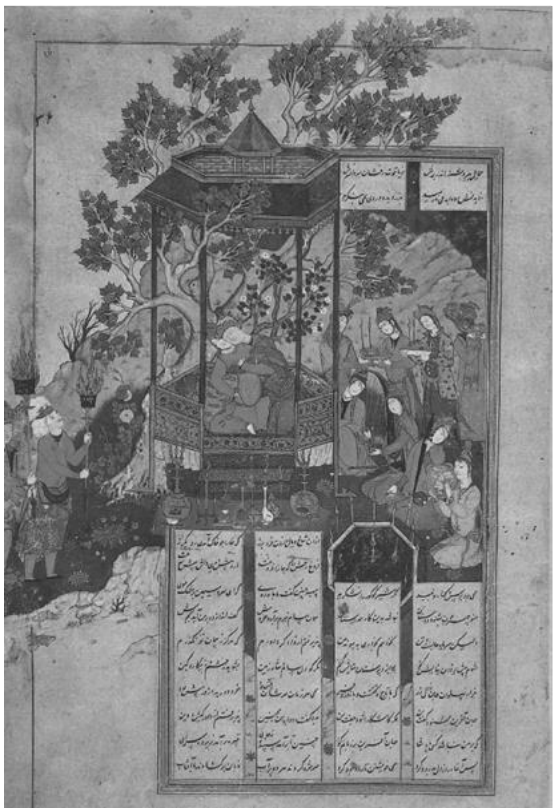


Left: Figure 5.12. Couple in a landscape, Iran, Herat?, 1610-15 AD, The Freer Gallery of Art: The Smithsonian's Museum of Asian Art.
Middle: Figure 5.13.Wedding of Khosrow and Shirin, Khamseh of Nezami, School of Safavid, 1620-24, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF).
Right: Figure 5.14. Lovers in the garden, Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, Turkmen period, late 15th century, Shiraz, Iran, late 15th century, repainted in India, https://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1907.275, accessed 06.03.2018.

[75] Sheila R. Canby. *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-Yi Abbasi of Isfahan*. (Art Books Intl Ltd, 1996).
[76] Oleg Grabar. *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (New Jersey:Princeton University Press, 2000).









Top left: Figure 5.15. Humay and Humayun feast in a garden, the Divan by Khvaju Kirmani, British Library, London, Add 18113 folio: 40v, Baghdad, c. 1396
Top right: Figure 5.16. Lovers' picnic, the Diwab by Hafez, attributed to Sultan Muhammad, Tabriz,1526-27.
Bottom left: Figure 5.17. Zal and Rudabeh celebrating their wedding, the Shahnameh, Herat or Isfahan, 1602.
Bottom right: Figure 5.18. Siyavash and Farangis, unpublished folio from Shahnameh of Rashidā, 2239, Safavid (17th century), Iran, courtesy of Golestan Palace.

5.4 Women and mobile furnishings in garden scenes

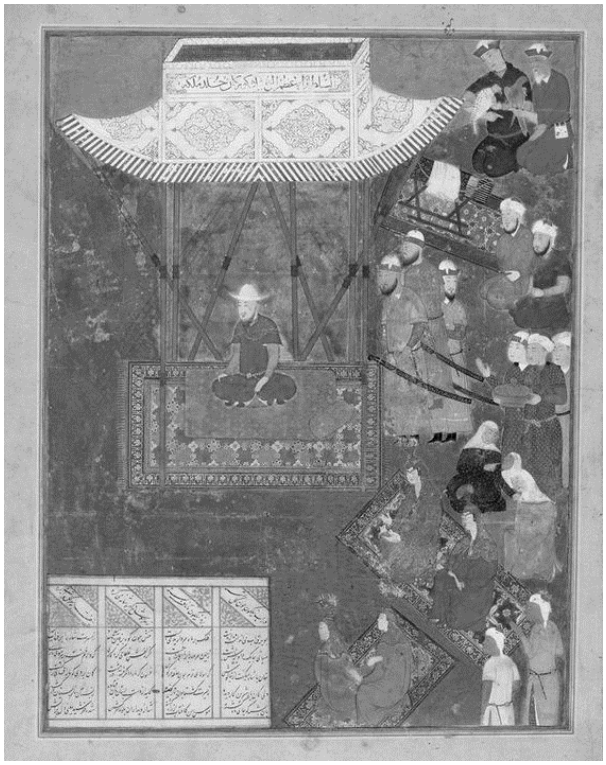
Persian paintings depicting the inside of buildings such as palaces and pavilions, demonstrate distinct 'spatial layerings' that separate indoor, outdoor, private and public. The social status of human figures can also be understood by their position within and in relation to these spatial layers. For instance the royal figures are often positioned at *iwan* while guests are placed in the courtyard. In the absence of partitions that create hierarchical spaces the current section aims to discern mobile furnishings in garden scenes represented in Persian painting to answer two questions: how can women's social status be understood by the selection of floor coverings and seating arrangements in Persian painting garden scenes? And, how can women's privacy be provided by draperies in the gardens?

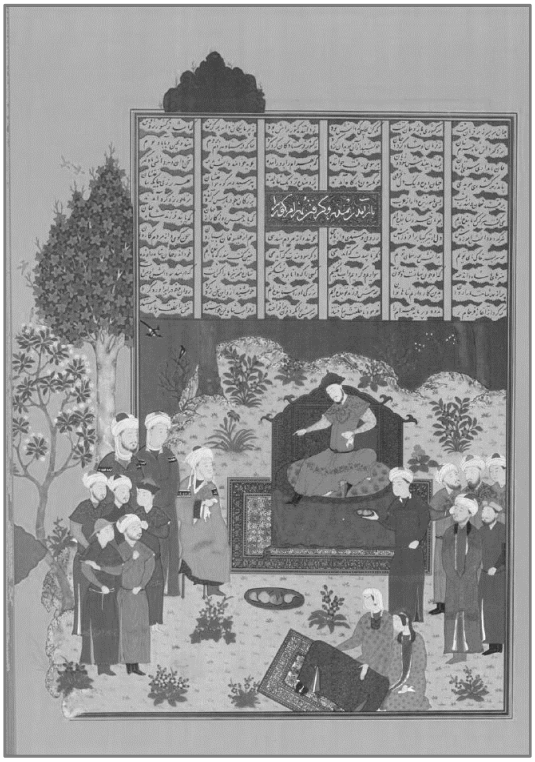
While women in Persian painting usually are known as being framed behind windows and secluded in private chambers, their presence in garden feasts as the main outdoor venue for public gatherings are often neglected. Answering the aforementioned questions could suggest women's position and privacy within layers of spaces that mobile furnishings, however amorphously, create. So here mobile furnishings are inspected with respect to two different meanings: first as a reflection of social status and second as temporary dividers to create privacy.

Golombek in her study "The Draped Universe of Islam", argues that textile in Islamic society achieved far more than the usual functions expected in other cultures; [77] 'textile mentality' was responsible for the development of certain characteristic idioms in Islamic art.[78] She discusses the overstated role of steppe architecture textiles in Timurid gardens, tied to the dynasty's social values and codes of behaviour in an unstable political and social context. Accordingly, the selection of wall hangings, floor coverings, and the seating arrangement for guests revealed the host's assessment of his invitees.[79] The estrades and daises were usually used by the nobility. When the emissaries were taken to visit Prince Jahangir, they found him seated on a flat estrade inside a guyed tent, while his courtiers remained standing.[80]

[77] Golombek, "The Draped Universe," 25.
[78] Ibid, 34.
[79] Ibid, 32.
[80] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, vol. 1, 699,700.

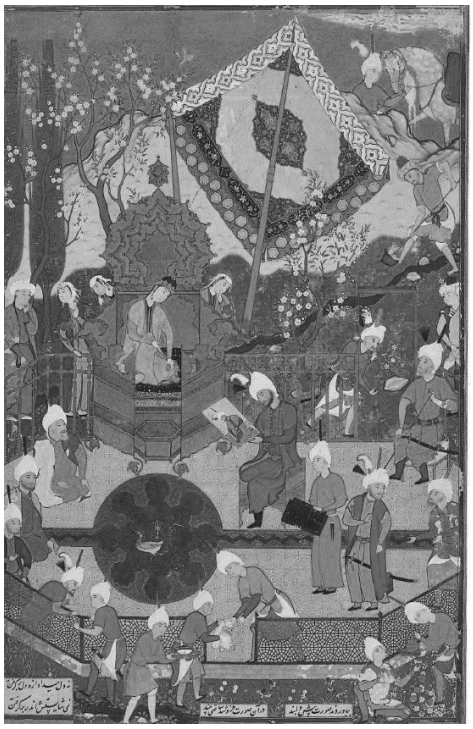
Based firmly within the Islamic Iranian tradition, Persian paintings, particularly those that illustrate Timurid historiography, gardens and encampment scenes, reflect such attitudes (Figures 5.19 – 5.24). These images illustrating mobile textile furnishings and draperies serve primarily as mobile thrones or dividers where needed. There are hanging curtains on doorways that transform open arcades into a private residence. In a folio from a manuscript of the Khamseh by Nezami, Shirin is depicted in her garden, seated on her opulent throne under an awning, while Shahpour is sitting on a low dais in front of her, offering Khosrow's portrait. Others are either sitting on the floor or standing (Figure 5.21). In 'Iskander (Alexander) is recognised by Queen Nushabeh' from the Khamseh by Nezami, the Queen Nushabeh is depicted seated on a low dais covered by carpet in a garden, while Alexander appears on a low dais before her. Again here, others are sitting on the floor or remain standing (Figure 5.22).

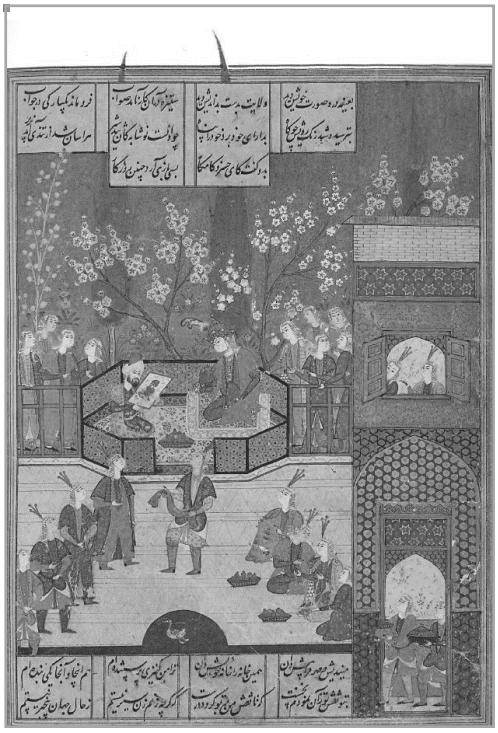




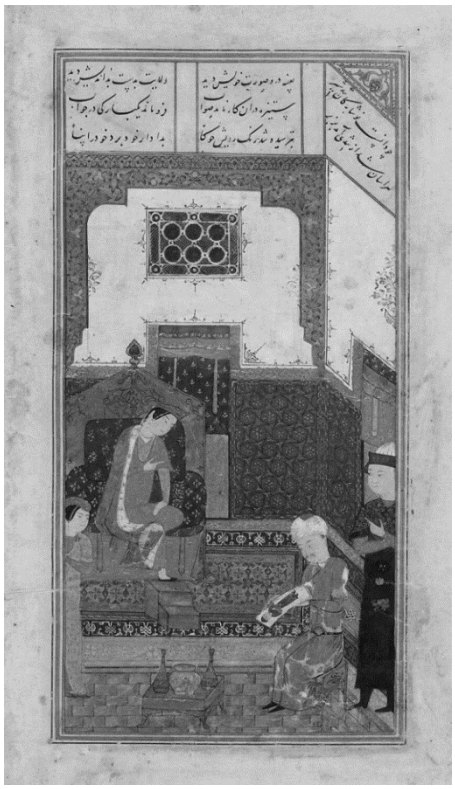
Left: Figure 5.19. Ulugh Beg with Ladies of his Haram.[81]
Right: Figure 5.20. The seating arrangement of women in a folio from Shahnameh Baysonguri, 1426-30, Timurid, Museum of Golestan Palace, Iran.

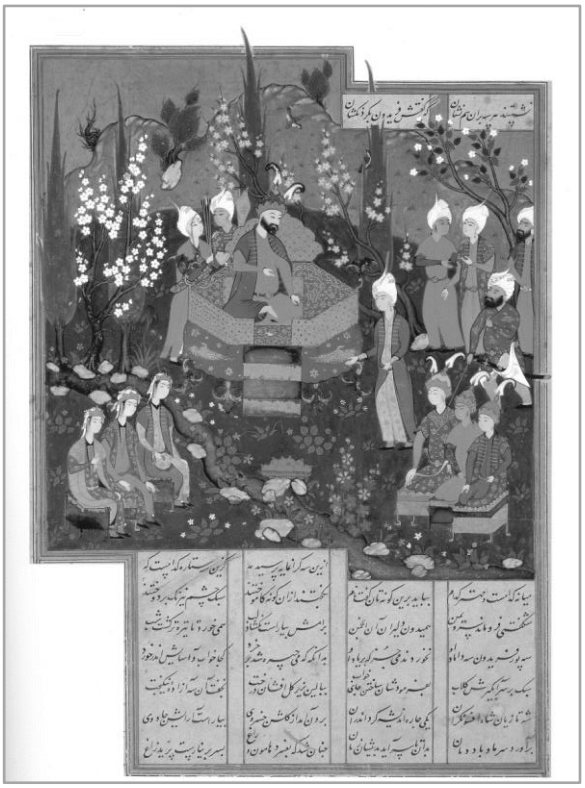
[81] Gharipour, *Persian Gardens,* fig. 72.





Left: Figure 5.21. Shirin sees Khosrow's portrait, the Khamseh by Nezami,1539-43.
Right: Figure 5.22. Alexander is recognised by Queen Nushabeh, the Khamseh by Nezami, Shiraz, 1549.





Left: Figure 5.23. Iskandar and Nushabeh, The Khamseh by Nezami, Herat, Iran, 1431, Timurid Dynasty. https://www.arthermitage.org/The-Khamsa-by-Nizami/Iskandar-and-Nushabeh.html accessed 15.08.2019.
Right: Figure 5.24. Banquet of Fereydoun and sons and daughters of the Yemen King, unknown artist, Shahnameh of Shah Ismail, 1579, Reza Abbasi Museum.[82]

[82] Abdolmajid Hosseini-Rad, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005), 310.

5.4.1 Women's dignity and mobile furniture

In the Timurid social and political hierarchy, textiles served as key delineators of rank, social status and position.[83] Functional and social aspects of furnishings in the Islamic world have been treated in great detail by J. Sadan.[84] He has demonstrated how the placement of a mat, and size and quality of cushions assigned to guests indicated their social rank in relation to other persons present at a royal ceremony.[85] As cited by Golombek, Sadan suggests that the Islamic world developed a set of behavioural patterns concerning "sitting and reclining", taking place on or close to the floor. In addition to hard furnishings such as dais, chairs, tables and beds, there were always soft furnishings such as cushions, pillows, spreads and carpets.[86]

The dais can be recognised as the continuance of a Mongol practice, together with their grading of levels.[87] Entering Timur's pavilion, Clavijo illustrates the arrangement of three daises and quality supplements such as carpets and mattresses:

> "Inside within the pavilion there is set a dais, in one part, it is flat and covered over with a carpet on which have been placed three or four mattresses, one above the other. This is the seat where his Highness [Timur] takes his place giving audience. To the left, as you face this, is the second dais, also flat and covered with carpet; it is at some distance apart from the main dais, and beyond it again is a third dais which is lower than the others."[88]

On the occasion of a reception, Clavijo recounts the formal admission of Timur's eight wives and one of his grandson's wives to the pavilion. He relates how each queen entered in succession and took their place at the assigned dais, placed in relation to Timur's seat. The first one was the Great Khanum and her female retinue:

> "The procession advanced entering the Pavilion where Timur was already seated. The Great Khanum now took her place beside his Highness but slightly behind on a low dais, before which had been piled a number of small mattresses one over the other for her to lean over; while the dames who were accompanying her took their

[83] Golombek, "The Draped Universe," 30.
[84] J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient medieval*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976).
[85] Golombek, "The Draped Universe," 30.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Andrews, *Felt Tents,*vol. 1, 699,700.
[88] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 239.

> places in the background outside beyond the pavilion. Three of her ladies, however, came in and sat beside her…"[89]

Just after the Great Lady the Second Lady, Kuchik Khanum another of Timurs's wives proceeded to enter the Pavilion to take her seat in the presence of his Highness on a dais, slightly further back than the one where the Great Lady sat. Then the third wife took her seat within the Pavilion, but on a somewhat lower dais and at the back. In the same way the nine princesses of the royal house appeared and took their allocated place on their respective seats in the presence of Timur.[90]

Remarking that the principal wife sat near Timur, but a little withdrawn, Andrews deduces that Timurid court maintained the Mongol tradition of giving a prominent position to women.[91] Some banquets, also reported by Clavijo, were held by one of the Timurid royal women. On such occasion, the most dignified seat belonged to that woman. On Thursday, the 9th of October, Princess Khānzādeh, the wife of Mirān Shah, Timur's eldest surviving son, made a great feast that Clavijo was invited to. The feast was held in one of the many enclosures in Timur's encampment with magnificent tents which the princess occupied as her abode.[92] The seats were arranged outside the tents under an awning.

Based on Clavijo's account on the seating arrangement, five groups of people from different social status are distinguishable. The most eminent place was designated to Princess Khānzādeh herself, seated on a low dais before the door of an enormous tent under an awning. In front of her seat, three or four small mattresses were piled one above the other, over which she could lean forward.[93] These supplicatory mattresses were only provided for Khānzādeh. A second group consisted of many guests and other ladies in attendance of the princess were sitting on the same dais as Khānzādeh.[94]

The third place was prepared for Calvijo and those who accompanied him. When they arrived, Khánzádeh commanded them to be brought before her, and after being presented, they were placed on a low dais under an awning that faced her seat. The fourth place was near the princess where many of the relatives of her highness, and some lords were sitting in

[89] Ibid, 259-60.
[90] Ibid, 260.
[91] Andrews, *Felt Tents,*vol. 1, 699,700.
[92] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy,* 244-5.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.

attendance. The last group were ballad singers and players who stood in the tent with their musical instruments.”[95]

When depicting Timurid garden feasts and encampments, Persian painting often shows royal men such as Timur, Shahrukh Mirza, and Baysonqor sitting on their mobile thrones, in front of a tent and under the awning. There is no painting available to suggest what the seating arrangements would look like when the party is hosted by royal women. Figure 5.25 is a schematic diagram of the mobile architecture and seating arrangements of Kh$\bar{a}$nz$\bar{a}$deh’s feast at Kan-i Gil, based on Clavijo’s description. The plan suggested by the current study is based on the multifocal perspective offered in similar themes in Persian painting. A comparison of this plot with different examples of paintings which depict Timurid outdoor banquets demonstrates the same seating arrangements. Kh$\bar{a}$nz$\bar{a}$deh takes her place in front of the magnificent royal tent under an awning while other guests are distributed around her, based on their social status and political position.

[95] Ibid.

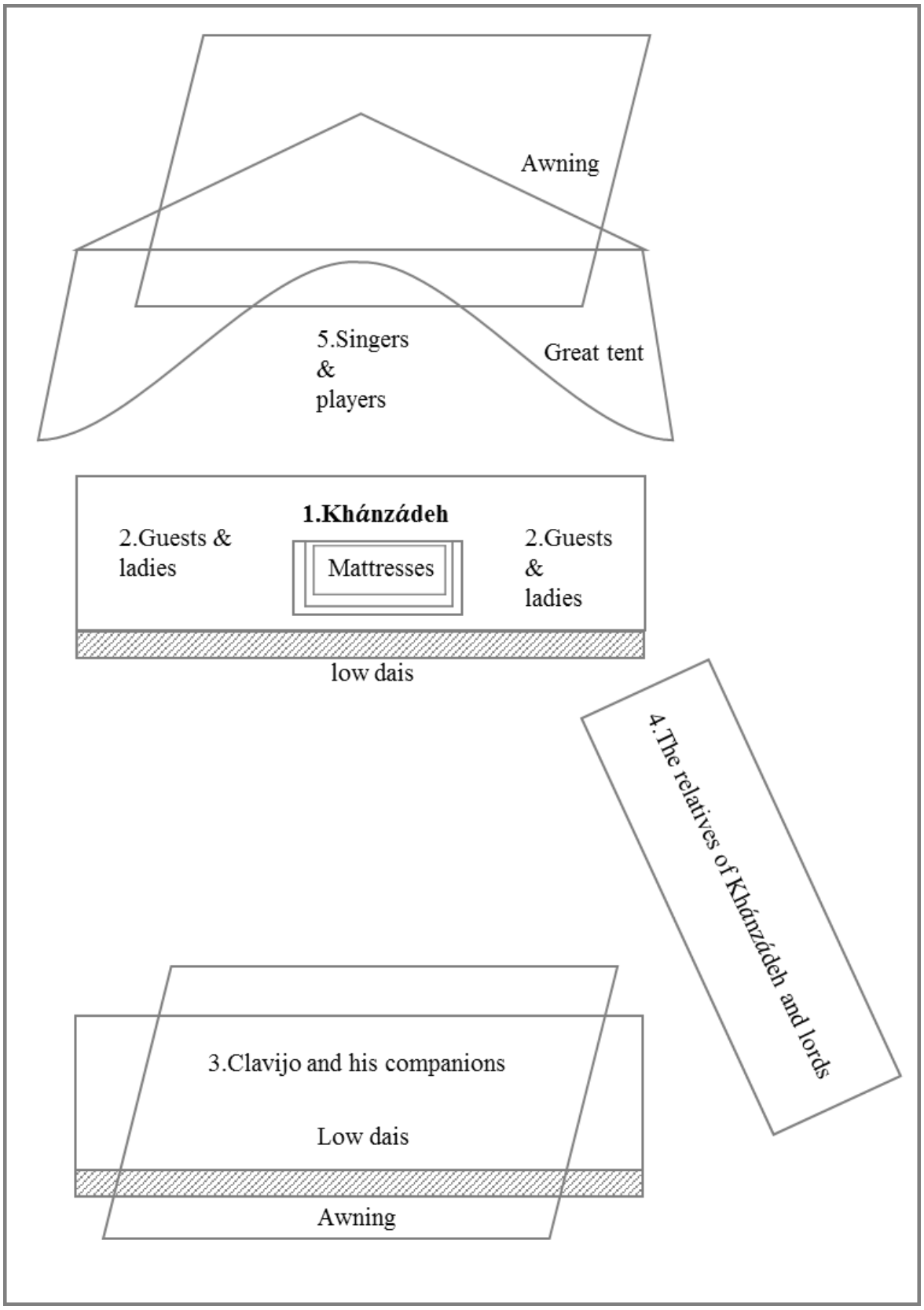


Figure 5.25. Schematic diagram of mobile architecture and seating arrangements based on Clavijo's description of Kh*á*nz*á*deh's feast at Kan-i Gil. A multifocal perspective.

A double frontispiece, from a copy of Shahnameh created in Shiraz around 1444, shows a banquet scene taking place in a garden with a flowing river, trees and blossoms (Figure 5.26). The carpet throne is extended under an ornamented conical awning, where a couple sit. The female entourage is seated on the left, the same side as the princess, and the men are standing on the right, following the prince. Other than this carpet, there are three mats of different sizes. The biggest mat is laid beside the main royal carpet, on which five men are sitting. The second and third mats of medium and smaller size are located some distance from the awning and the main carpet. Trays set on stools carry vessels containing food and drink.



Figure 5.26. Analysis of the arrangement of the carpets and guests in a banquet scene, Shahnameh, Shiraz, c.1444. A double frontispiece. **Left:** No. 56.10 John L. Severance Collection, **Right:** No. 46.169, J.H. Wade Collection, Cleveland Museum of Art.[96]

1. The royal carpet throne, the largest
   - 1.1 The royal couple seated
   - 1.2 The female entourage seated
   - 1.3 The male entourage standing
2. The first guests' mat, the second largest, and closest to the carpet throne
   Five male guests seated
3. The second guests' mat, smaller and less close than the second mat
   Three male guests seated
4. The third guests' mat, the smallest and furthest from the carpet throne
   Three male guests seated
5. The awning
6. Trays of foods and drinks set on stools

[96] Basil Gray, *Persian Painting (Treasures of Asia)* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

5.4.2 Women's privacy and garden textile furniture

As previously mentioned, the wall hangings suspended above entrances transformed open spaces into private quarters so that strangers could not look inside. These hangings also adjusted the light. In today's mosques and religious places of Iran, curtains are still used to separate female quarters from the domain of men (Figure 8.21 in Chapter 8). "Sultan Husayn in an Enclosed Garden" is a double-page folio that demonstrates a garden feast (Figure 5.27). It seems that these two allied pages have been divided and framed in different colours and patterns, and mounted separately in the Marqa-e Golshan: the left folio on page 55 and the right folio on page 62. To analyse this painting, the two separate folios have been joined together; however, a minor readjustment was necessary to align the walls (Figure 5.28).



Figure 5.27. Sultan Husayn in an enclosed garden with musicians and attendants, recto: page 55 of Marqa-e Golshan, verso: page 62 of Marqa-e Golshan

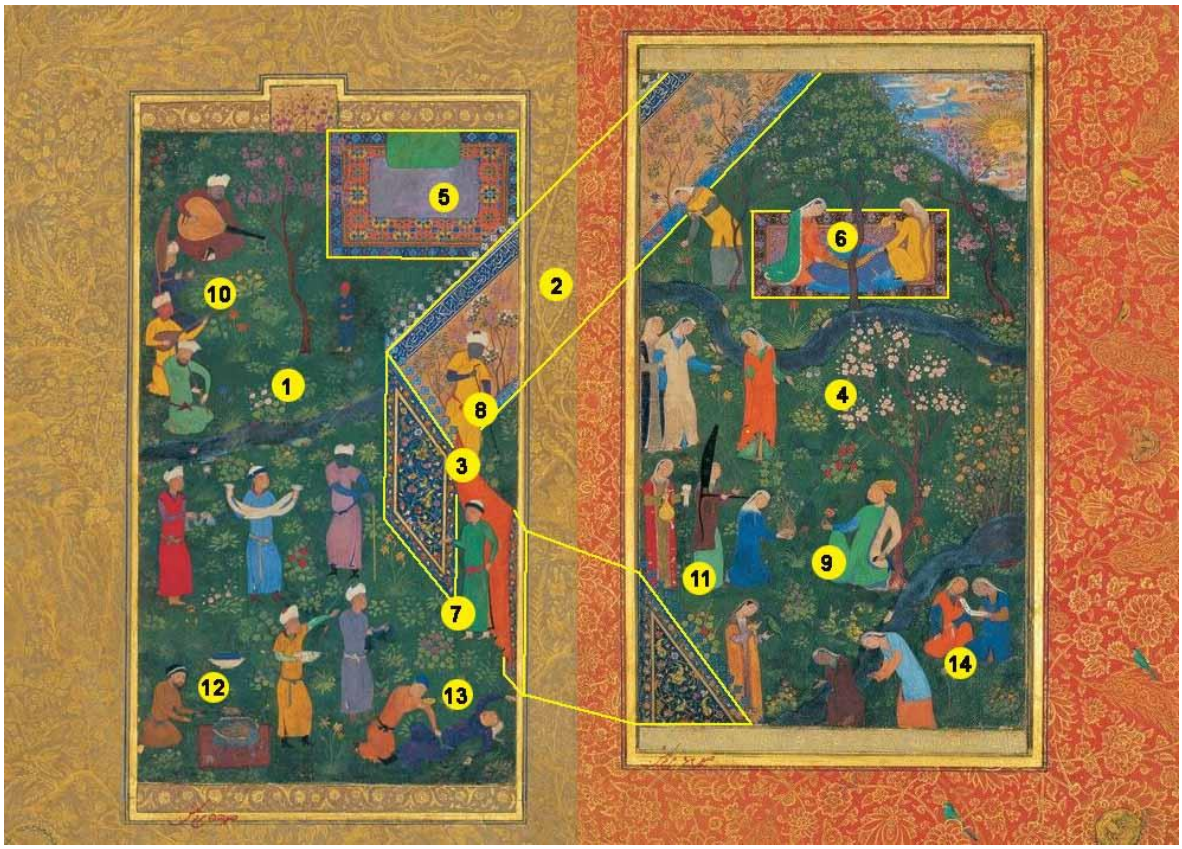


Figure 5.28. Readjustment and analyse of the two separate folios of Sultan Husayn in an enclosed garden with musicians and attendants.

1. The garden area outside the enclosure
2. The enclosure (*sarāpardeh)*
3. The curtain (*pardeh)* as a textile door to make the garden private
4. The enclosed part of the garden
5. Sultan Husayn's carpet throne
6. The second carpet in the female domain of the garden
7. A man guarding female seclusion and security in the private domain
8. A man standing with stick in hand
9. Sultan Husayn
10. The male musicians
11. A lady playing the lyre
12. The attendant barbequing and preparing food
13. Two drunken men
14. Two ladies reading a book, maybe a *Diwan*

The walls in this painting are not easy to decipher as to whether a built wall was intended, or a fabric screen resembling a wall, decorated by colourful tiles and merlons. Such ambiguity is evident in other examples of garden scenes with walls, where ropes to guy the fabric walls are often omitted.[97] In the current case, it can be suggested that the wall is a

[97] This issue also has been raised by Andrews. He explains that even in Clavijo's report on the enclosures erected in Timur's encampment at Kan-i Gil, his description of the screens are treated somewhat

fabric temporary divider, because there is no further construction around the wall and even the doorway is covered by a hanging curtain.The garden or meadow area is divided into two main sections: outside the enclosure (left page) and inside (right page). Outside, several male attendants are barbequing and preparing food, male musicians are playing, and guests are drinking and enjoying themselves. A red curtain *(pardeh)* as a textile door is hanged to create a private campsite inside the fabric wall for women. A man in a green robe is standing beside the curtain guarding the doorway. The only male person present inside the enclosure, except for Sultan Husayn, is the one who is standing close to the doorway with stick in hand. A recurrent character in Persian painting, he is usually shown observing and supervising royal banquets.

Two carpets can be seen here. The first carpet is spread outside the enclosure and supplemented by a green cushion to support the back and elbows. This carpet throne as essential movable furniture of garden feasts probably belongs to Sultan Husayn. Sultan Husayn, who has left his carpet throne to join the princess and royal ladies in the private section, is now kneeling and leaning against a tree in blossom, in a green robe. The second carpet, laid beside a narrow river shaded by three trees in blossom, is located in the female domain. While musicians consisting of three players and one singer perform outside the fabric wall, their female counterpart is playing the lyre inside, to indulge Sultan Husayn and his female associates. While two drunken men pictured in the lower right corner of the left folio are shown enjoying themselves, two ladies are reading a *bayāz* in the right folio, probably a *Diwan* (poetry collection), or a letter from a beloved.

5.5 Summary

The Eight analytical chapters that constitute the third part of this study are generally divided into two main categories in terms of architectural space: mobile architecture and sedentary architecture. This chapter was the first of the three chapters that examine gaze and femineity in and through the representation of mobile architecture in Persian painting. The three main elements of this mobile architecture, associated in particular with the Timurid era, were defined in this chapter as ‘garden’, ‘fabric enclosure’ and ‘tent’.

Here, the garden, its function and meaning for Timurids and successors were discussed. One of its main functions was to act as a campsite which, in accordance with the Timurid

inappropriately, as though it were architecture. He believes that the merlons along the top, for instance, could not be made without some special stiffening treatment, see Andrews, “The Tents of Timur,” 145-6.

institution of court life in tents outside cities and in gardens, housed the entire royal camp. The main concepts associated with Timurid gardens discussed here was ‘garden as a gendered site’ as representative of one of his wives or royal women.

While deliberating on gardens as an omnipresent art form in the Muslim world, the notion of ‘security and femininity’ in the Quranic Garden of Paradise, and ‘the Persian garden and the vision of beloved’ were addressed. The third subject discussed was women and mobile furnishings in garden scenes. This section, by considering seating arrangements and type of carpets selected for women in some Persian paintings, revealed their prominent and dignified position in the royal household. Finally, this chapter considered a garden feast to analyse the way textile furniture in the absence of partitions and walls can provide privacy for women in open space.

The next chapter will investigate the subject of gaze and femineity in relation to *‘sarāpardeh’* (‘fabric enclosure’), as represented in Persian painting.

Chapter 6.

Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture II: *Sarāpardeh*



Part of Figure 6.13.

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered existing scholarship on mobile architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries across the Persian world, as an inseparable component of the nomadic tribal life of the Timurid dynasty and their successors. Three main elements of the mobile architecture were identified – the 'garden', the 'fabric enclosure', and the 'tent'. Within this context of Timurid mobilities, the chapter also reflected on the functions and meanings of the garden environment, as an omnipresent art form across the Islamic world broadly, and its relationship to the representations of femineity within this setting more specifically.

The current chapter, by observing the function and structure of 'fabric enclosure or *'sarāpardeh*' in Timurid encampments, will continue to examine femineity in the representation of mobile architecture in Persian painting. Analysis with respect to the notion of gaze will discern the position of women in relation to *sarāpardeh,* and thereby investigate how their seclusion or participation and visual access or limitation emhances our underestanding of their actual activities and socail status in that era of IRanina cultural history.

6.2 The fabric wall enclosure: *Sarāpardeh*

The gradations of privacy within the *ordu* environment was facilitated by physical sub-divisions of tents by *sarāpardeh*. In fact, the *sarāpardeh*, appear to have been used in the sense of enclosure for several centuries prior to the Timurids. Ferdowsi (c. 940–1020 AH) mentions the *sarāpardeh* in his *Shahnameh.* [1] *Sarāpardeh* in *Farhang-i Shahnameh (Dictionary of Shahnameh)* has been elaborated variously as the *Khaymeh* (guyed tent), the *Bārgāh* (a royal court or palace), and the *Istirāhatgāh-i movaghat-i Shāhāneh* (a temporary, splendid recreation place).[2] The royal tentage and enclosures as an apparatus of kingship were necessarily splendidly made. Ferdowsi writes:[3]

"Sarāparda -ye dibah-e haft-rang

[1] Peter Alford Andrews, "The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltay at Samaroand, 1404." In *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands: Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 7, ed. Denwood Philip (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978), 145.
[2] Ali Ravaghi, *Farhang-I Shahnameh*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1390/2011), 1469.
[3] Abul-Qasem Ferdowsi, Shahnameh, Fereydoon, section 12.

Bedoo andaroon khaymeh-hāye palang"

"A seven-coloured silk enclosure
Inside which there are many tents in leopard pattern"

As previously mentioned, the illustrative evidence of the importance, variety, and magnificence of princely tentage comes from descriptions of the *quriltay* (the assembly of Chaghatai tribes), arranged by Timur in Samarqand in 1404 CE. Ruy González De Clavijo, ambassador of the king of Castille, who was present at this event, and has provided detailed accounts that are supplemented by those of Yazdi and Ibn 'Arabshah.[4]

Clavijo's narrative begins by noting that Timur ordered tents to be erected for him and his wives in the Kan-i Gil. Timur also directed 'all the entourage' to come in from the orchards and various areas where it was stationed to assemble at Kan-i Gil. Members of his entourage came with their wives and set up their tents. It is noteworthy that the tents were arranged not in an arbitrary fashion, but according to the status of their occupants.[5] Clavijo ends this description by identifying a circular component known as "*calaparada*"; a curtain or enclosing wall made of cloth. These walls were fashioned from fabric that functioned as barriers to divide inner from outer spaces.[6] Inside the *calaparada (Persian sarāpardeh)* at the Kan-i Gil, in addition to the main pavilion, there were many tents and awnings of various types.[7]

In the *Zafarnameh* by Yazdi, there is a section that describes the story of "Timur demands in marriage for himself the daughter of Keser (*khidr*) Khawjeh Khan", and celebration of the nuptials of the Amir-Zadeh Iskandar with the princess Bikisi Sultan. Timur ordered preparations to be made for a magnificent banquet, at which everyone from members of the administration to the amirs and princess were present.[8] Yazdi's report, in spite of his panegyric style, gives us a detailed image of the scene. He describes how spectacular the enclosures and tents were in number:

"Jahān por sarāpardeh o Bārgāh
Gozashteh sar-e khargāh az Oj-e Māh

[4] Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," 249-68, *Ars Orientalis 23* (1993): 250.
[5] David J. Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404," in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre Ethnology and Pilgrimage 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Boston: Brill, 2009),137.
[6] Andrews, "The Tents of Timur", 141.
[7] Roxburgh, "Ruy González," 240.
[8] Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnameh Timuri*, eds. Abdolhossein Navai and Seyed Saeid Mir Mohammad Sadegh (Markaz-e Tahqigat-e Rayaneh-i Ghaemiyeh Isfahan), 576-7.

Ze bas Khaymeh-o khargāh-o Sāybān
Zamin Kardeh az seman rou Nahān."

"The world full of the enclosures and royal tents
The head of the trellis tents surpassed from the moon's apogee
The many tents and trellis tents and awnings
Covered the earth from the sky."

The guests were from elite families and presented in their luxurious outfits.[9] To complete the enjoyment, musicians played and sang.[10] Clearly these enclosures and tents had been erected for several months: "the feast lasted three months, during which the princess Bikisi Sultan was there married to the Mirza Iskandar, according to the laws of Shari'ah."[11]

6.2.1 Structure and security of *sarāpardeh*

Andrews describes the construction of Timurid enclosures as that used among the Khitan in the seventh century: "that is of cloth stretched between vertical poles set at intervals, steadied by pairs of guy-ropes".[12] He informs that Yazdi refers to headquarters as *daur* (circle), and *pirāmun* (circuit) as regular terms, thus accordingly the circular plan seems to have been the standard design for enclosures.[13]

Within such a circle fabric wall, different types of tents were set up not only to adjust to different functions but also to withstand the weather.[14] Three enclosures are described as having windows, and one of them belonged to Timur's wife, Tukal Khanum (Kuchik Khānum):

> "Nearby was another Enclosure like the first, and as large in extent, shut in by an encircling wall of silk stuff, woven to look as though it were a pattern on a tile. In this wall, there were opened at intervals window frames with shutters, but these window openings could not be passed through from without by anyone, for each was guarded by a netting of thin silk tape."[15]

---

[9] Yazdi, *Zafarnameh*, 578.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Peter Alford Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage*, vol. 1 (London: Melisende, 1999), 670.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403--1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange from the Spanish. The Broadway Travellers, eds. Sir E. Denison Ross and Elleen Power (London: Routledge, 1928), 252.

> The Timurid military camp and enclosures were well controlled, probably with two or three entrances with gatekeepers who controlled access. This area also was encircled by a forbidden zone.[16] On the occasion of a celebration, Gonzalez describes the security in the camp:
>
> "They took the ambassadors this day to an awning which they pitched far from the great pavilion where previously they had been accustomed to place them. And the plain which was around the tents of His Majesty and the pavilion was surrounded by jars of wine which were placed at intervals, one in front of the other, as far as a man might throw a stone, which enclosed the whole plain for a circuit of as much as half a league. And no man dared pass forward from these jars towards the great pavilion, for some men went on horse-back as guards, who carried their bows and arrows, with maces in their hands, and if anyone passed forward from the jars they shot him with arrows, and gave him such blows with those maces that they carried that they cast out some of them at the doors for dead, and this they do to whoever it may be; and there stood very many people throughout the plain, waiting for His Majesty to come out and enter the great pavilion."[17]

From an account by Ahmad ibn Arabshah on the celebration of princes at Kan-i Gil (1404 CE), two concepts can be understood in relation to the erection of the gateway into the enclosures. First, to 'impress' the beholders and second, to prevent 'chaos'. While giving a detail description of the assembly of a *sarāpardeh* for Ulugh Beg's wedding ceremony (1404 CE), Arabshah explains:[18]

> "Therefore he [Timur] command to set his enclosure at the centre of that selected location and made the centre of that the sky orbit, and enclosed it by a wall that surrounded all the tents *(khayme-ha)* and trellis tents *(khargāh-ha)*, and established a great gateway through which they enter into a long passage *(dālān)* passing through all adjoining tents and abodes. There were an enormous two lofty horns being fixed over the gate, so the observer felt such a fear that [they] forgot all about himself, watching that."

[16] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250.
[17] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 700.
[18] Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Zendegani Shegeft Avar-e Timur (the Original Title in the Arabic: Aja'ib Al-Maqdur Fi Nawa'ib Al-Taymur (the Wonders of Destiny of the Ravages of Timur)*, trans. from Arabic Mohammad Ali Nejati, trans. (Tehran: Bongah-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab, 1356/1977), 217.

At this point, he mentions that the gate was called "*Dhul-Qarnayn".*This title seems to be not only fortuitous. *Dhul-Qarnayn*, "he of the two horns" or figuratively "he of the two ages", appears in Surah 18 verses 83-101 of the Quran as a figure empowered by Allah to erect a wall between humankind and Gog and Magog *(Yajuj and Majuj)*, the demonstration of chaos.[19]

Andrews confirms that however the royal camp was carefully controlled through the strict rule of security, and it is noteworthy that the gateways and height of the enclosure (as high as a man on horseback)[20] were established to enhance that security, rather than for seclusion of women, who appeared in public unveiled.[21] Such descriptions together define an exclusionary and privileging function for *sarāpardeh,* which by encircling various groups of tents whithin the encampment, provided different grades of security and dignity rather than seclusion for the royal male and female houshold.

6.2.2 Timurid women's enclosures

O'Kane believes, contrary to the Mughals and Ottomans, that Timur never constructed a large palace *(saray-i zanāna)* inside the city, or even in one of the gardens, to accommodate the harem and its entourage. Golombek suggests that this phenomenon is probably due to the high esteem enjoyed by Timur's wives, associated with their right, unlike the slaves taken to the Ottoman harem. Also Timur gained the right to call himself 'son-in-low' *(gurgān)* of the Mongol khan, only through his marriages.[22]

Timurids continued the Central Asian nomadic practice of assigning a separate tent to each wife when circumstances allowed. Andrews suggests that the tent without guy ropes, that is the trellis tent *(khargāh)* covered in red material, remarked by Gonzalez in all of eleven enclosures was symbolic of that wife's place in the household.[23] Three enclosures at the Kān-i Gil with their tents are assigned to particular owners by Gonzalez, besides those of Timur himself. Of these, two belonged to Timur's first wife, Saray-Mulk Khanum, the daughter of Khan Qazan, and the other tent to Tukal Khanum (Kuchik Khānum), daughter

[19] Ian Richard Netton, *A Popular Dictionary of Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 72-3; translation from Persian to English by the author.
[20] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 239-240.
[21] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 670.
[22] Lisa Golombek,"The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," 137-47, *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 144.
[23] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 669-670.

of the Mongol khan Khizr Khwaja.[24] In this sence the discription of the tent arrangements, the luxury of their material, splendour of their structure and decoration and the gradiants of privacy and dignity provided by the enclosoures could symbolically reflect the wife's place within the household. They were in many ways representative of their 'social structure', a notion that can also be investigated in paintings of these enclosures.

Clavijo has recorded that all of the private tents belonging to the royal family were placed within enclosures *(sarāpardeh)* made of silk. Only the great reception pavilions and awnings were left outside. The enclosures had crenellations on top, were decorated in tilework patterns, and had windows and gateways with towers.[25] Yazdi declares that four of these enclosures were for Timur's wives: "For the private apartments four *sarāpardeh* were set up to encircle the plain, and a trellis tent of two hundred heads, *khargāhi duvīst sar*ī".[26] "And each of the peerless princes and lords independently had set up enclosures (*sarāpardeh*) and tents of state (*bārgāh*) and guyed tents (*khayma*) and trellis tents (*khargāh*) in magnificence and splendour. And awnings (*sayabān*) had been pitched against the sky."[27]

While reporting on the setting of enclosures erected on the bank beside the Zarafsh*ā*n river,Clavijo tells us about two great enclosures with many tents inside. The first enclosure belonged to the chief wife of Timur, known as 'the Great Kh*ā*num' while the second one belonged to his second wife, 'Kuchik Kh*ā*num'. Alongside these enclosures, a third enclosure is described by Clavijo as being with canvas walls of a different make, and with many tents and awnings pitched within the enclosure circuit. Within all these enclosures, he reports, there is a main tent, quite high, similar in fashion to those already described.[28]

Further, Clavijo notices many other enclosures "beyond and about" known as "*sarápardeh*" and these were a total of eleven. Each enclosure has its own colour and design, and within each, one great tent secure without ropes (trellis tent), and each enclosure having red tapestry walls. He defines the distance between these eleven enclosures as "standing so near one to the other that between outer walls, from the one to the next, the space was only sufficient for the width of a roadway."[29] Clavijo indicates that "all these enclosures were occupied either

[24] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 681.
[25] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250; Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 545-47.
[26] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250.
[27] Ibid. See Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 732-3
[28] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 237-242.
[29] Ibid, 242-3.

by the wives of Timur, or by the wives of his grandsons, and these princes and princesses have their abode therein, as does his Highness likewise, both summer and winter."[30]

There were also tents that served as a bathhouse with iron baths filled with water, set among the campsite.[31] The complete household, however, was identified by the *ojāq*, on which food was prepared. This hearth was shared and was therefore placed outside the enclousure of individual wives. Andrews remarks that allocation of a separate tent to each wife was still practiced among Turkmen in Anatolia in the last century, and this practice can still be observed among Shahsevan tribal groups in Iran.[32] Andrews suggests that such practice may have been a specific application of the *ordu*, as established by the Khitan and Mongols. Not only did each wife direct a specific *ordu*, but it represented her own hearth, *ojāq*.[33] On the marriage of Muhammad Jahangir b. Mirza Muhammad Sultan in 816 (1413-14) a kitchen *(matbakh)* and cistern *(abkhana)* are mentioned among other tented structures.[34]

A folio from Haft Awrang of Jami shows Majnun approaching the camp of Leyli's tribe (1556-65). Among the tents, pictured on the bottom left corner of the folio, there is a tent seemingly functioning as a kitchen. Inside an old bearded man and two young boys are preparing food in a stone pot (Figure 6.1).

Figures 6.2 and 6.3 show the trellis tents of the Shahsevan nomads, beside which women are doing their daily chores. Such traditions can be recognised in many examples of Persian painting which depict tribal encampments. "Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyli's tent" is a folio from an early Safavid copy of the Khamseh by Nezami. This tribal encampment scene consists of five tents, one of which is allocated as the hearth, where four women are contributing to food preparation (Figure 6.4). This is a black tent, similar to Bakhtyari's and Qashghaei's, made of goat hair. Figures 6.6 and 6.8, both from Golestan by Sa'di, show women busy cooking on the hearth, seated in tent doorways, while men feed the animals and bring wood.

[30] Ibid, 243 ; Andrews, *Felt tent*, 669.
[31] Roxburgh, "Ruy González," 137.
[32] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 670; Shahsevan, name of a number of tribal groups in various parts of northwestern Iran, notably in the Moḡān and Ardabil districts of eastern Azerbaijan, and in the Karaqān and Kamsa districts between Zanjān and Qazvin. The Shahsevan traditionally pursued a nomadic, pastoral way of life. For more see: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/shahsevan
[33] Andrews, *Felt Tents*,774.
[34] O'Kane, "From Tents," note 81; 'Abd al-Razzaq, *Matla' al-sa'dayn*, 244.

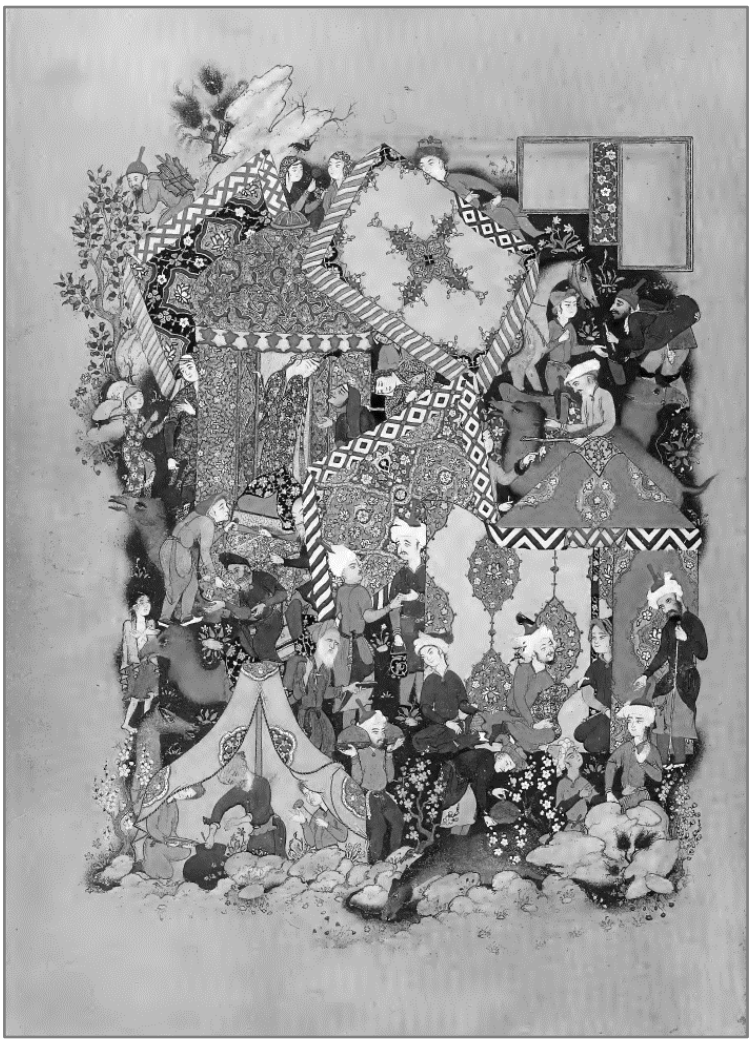


Figure 6.1. Majnun approaches the camp of Leyli's caravan, Haft Awrang of Jami, 963-72/1556-65, Iran.[35]





Left: Figure 6.2. Shahsevan woman cooking beside the tents, photographer unknown, accessed 15.12.2019, http://showoon.com/?page_id=57
Right: Figure 6.3. Women of a Shahsevan tribe are doing their daily domestic duties beside the trellis tents, Photographer unknown.

[35] Marianna Shreve Simpson, and Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Yale University Press, 1997).

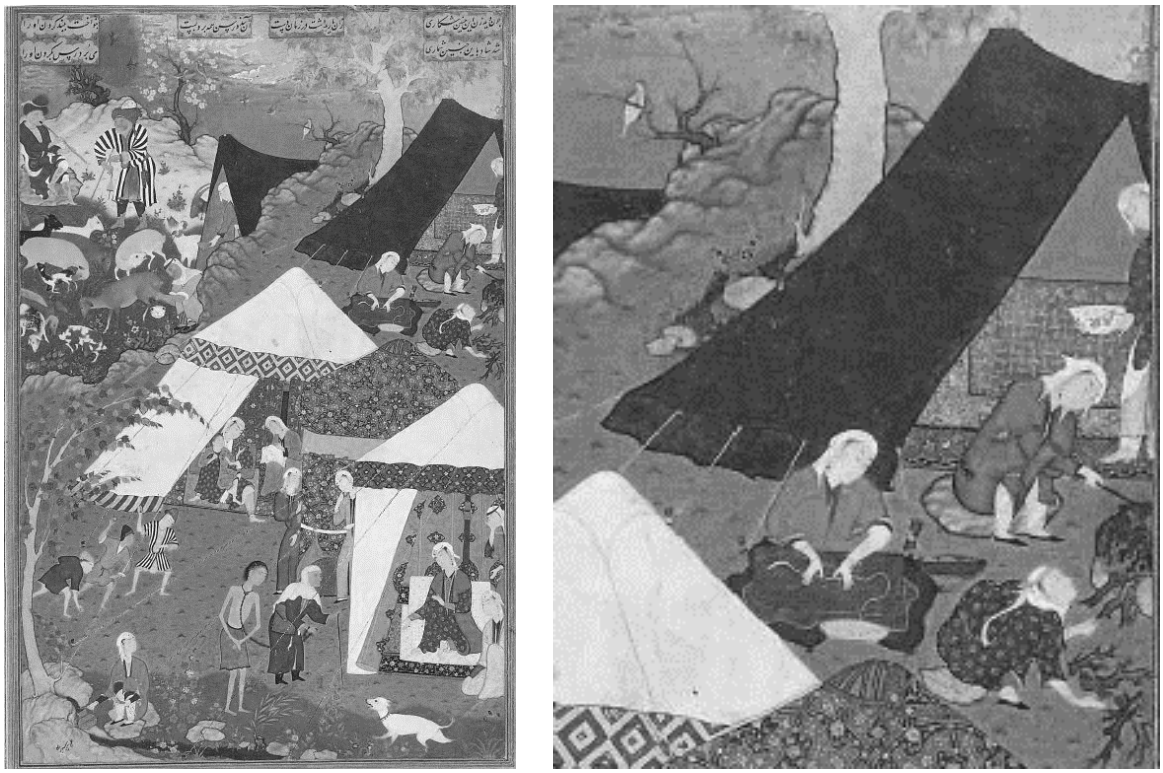
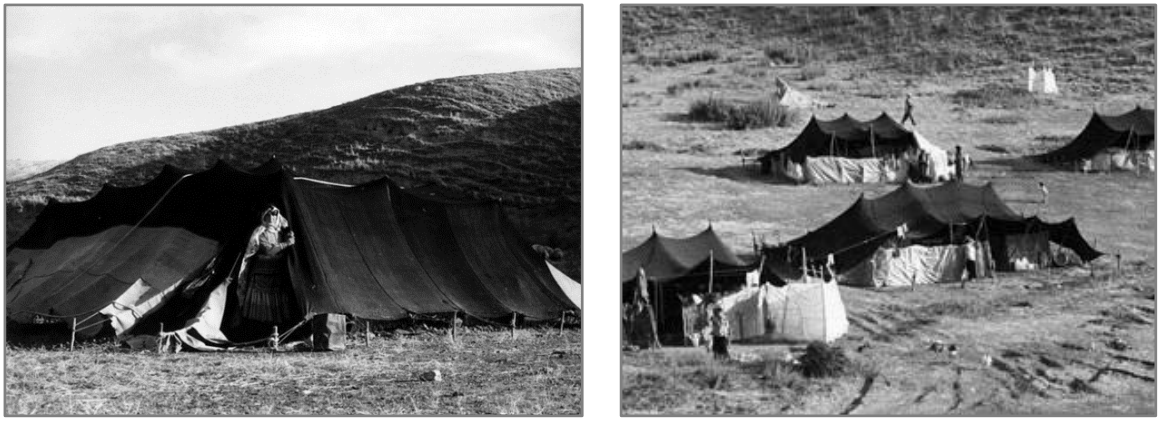
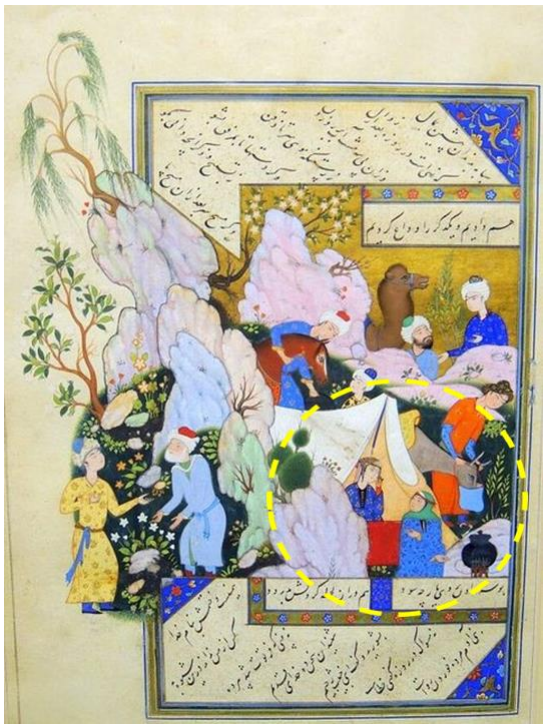


Figure 6.4. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyli's tent, from the Khamseh by Nezami,1539-43.[36]

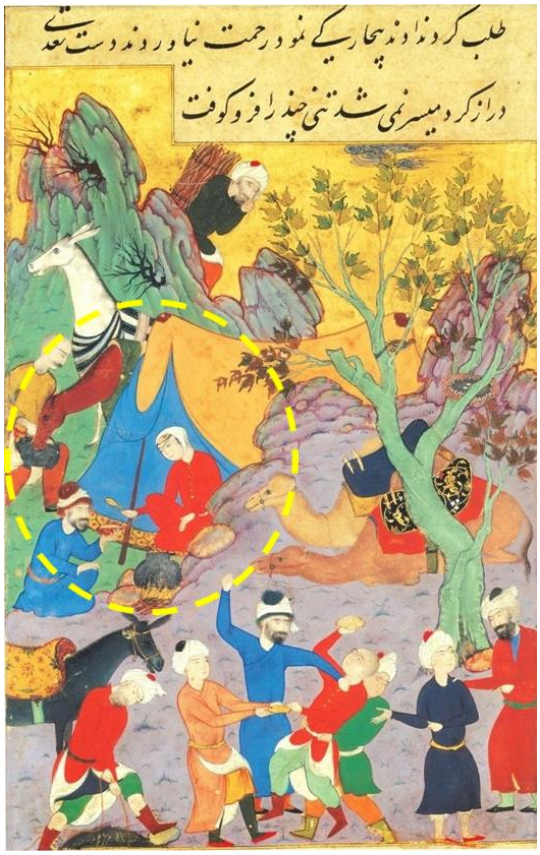


Left and Right: Figure 6.5. Black tents belong to Kermanj nomads of Khorasan, Iran, Nomads Affairs Organisation of Iran, accessed 08.07.2019, http://ashayer.ir/index.aspx?pageid=126&newsview=1625.

[36] Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2013), 151.









Women busy cooking on the hearth, seated in tent doorways.
Top Left: Figure 6.6. Sa'di and youth in a tribal encampment scene, a folio from Gulestan of Sa'di, Reza Abbasi. Museum of Tehran, Iran. Photo courtesy of German Vogel.
Bottom Right: Figure 6.7. Crowd attacks the young man, unknown artist, Sa'di's Golestan (2161), sixteenth century, Golestan Palace.[37]

[37] Abdolmajid Hosseini-Rad, *Shāhkārhā-ye Negārgarī-ye Iran (Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting).* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005).

To describe Saray Mulk Khānum's *sarāpardeh* Clavijo tells us that the enclosures were prepared with a gateway that resembled a town wall:[38]

> "Round and about the pavilion on the ground outside is erected a wall of cloth, as might be otherwise the wall of town or castle, and the cloth is of many-coloured silks in diverse patterns. Along the wall top are battlements, and it is stayed without and within by ropes stretching up from the ground, and on the inner side stand poles which support the same. This encircling canvas wall goes around a space of ground measuring across, maybe, some 300 paces and the wall itself is as high as a man on horseback may reach up to."

This fabric wall had "an arched gateway to it, with canvas double doors without and within", and "above the gateway rose a square tower of canvas with battlements. This entrance gate was very high and capable of being barred and locked.[39] He declares that this structure went by the name of the *sarāpardeh* which forms the great enclosure surrounding and shutting in the pavilion, and within its circuit stand many other tents and awnings were pitched diversely at intervals.[40]

From Clavijo's report, it is evident that these enclosures belonged to Timur's wives and the female household was not closed to visitors. He states that in a feast set by Saray Mulk Khānum, which took place in her enclosure, numerous guests including all the 'foreign countries ambassadors', 'the lords and ladies of the court', and an 'immense concourse of folk privileged' were invited to attend.[41] A comparison of the current description and available accounts by foreign travellers to the later Safavid court demonstrates that while visitors were not welcome to enter Safavids' harems, the Timurid women's private quarters was open for guests to visit.[42] Therefore the Timurid encampments, hierarchically divided by several *sarāpardeh* encircling various splendid tents and awnings, in addition to a military site provide women with an abode with security, dignity and liberty of participation in social and royal activities.

---

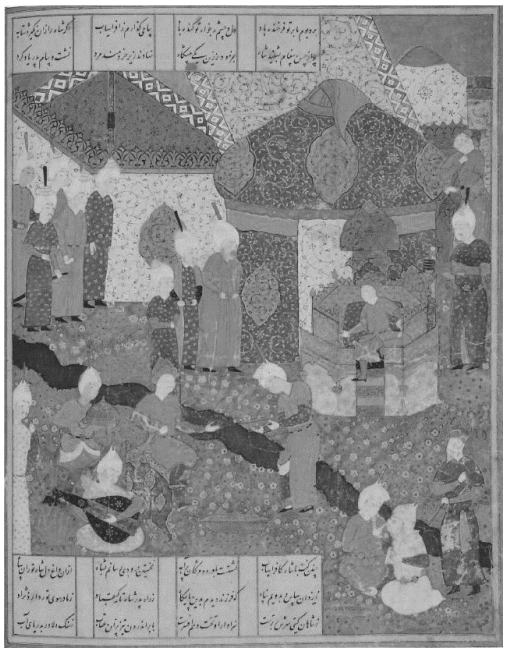
[38] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 239-240.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid, 268. This enclosure has been described as beset with many opulent tents, outer walls made of white cloth with coloured insets, supplemented by ribbons and inscriptions and embroidery of diverse design.
[42] Chapter 2, section 2.5; O'Kane belives the fact that Clavijo, his entourage, and ambassadors of other countries were taken on a tour of these residences, in addition to Timurid's private quarters, shows how they were intended to impress visitors. See O'Kane, "From Tents," 250.

6.3 Feminiety and representation of *sarāpardeh* in Persian painting

Depictions of fabric enclosures in Persian paintings is not recurrent. The current study has identified four folios that, in addition to tentage, awnings and various textile furniture, display '*sarāpardeh'*. All these paintings illustrate the royal encampment with a fabric wall in the background. Such composition reminds us of Clavijo's description of the royal family's private tents. All were placed within enclosures, and only the great reception pavilions and awnings were left outside. [43]

An unpublished folio (no. 284) from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708) represents a feast taking place in a royal encampment. The private trellis tents belonging to the royal family are erected inside an enclosure behind the great reception pavilions of the guyed tents *(khaymah)* and awnings. While the only females presented are two dancers, behind the fabric walls, some women are visible looking out at the party. However, the pop-up model (Figure 6.11) shows that the setting of tents and awnings blocks the enclosure and women's view. While the fabric walls do not have any windows or gateways with towers, their decoration resembles Clavijo's account when describing the crenellations on top of the enclosures with tilework pattern decoration.[44]





Left: Figure 6.8. Sultan Suleyman before Belgrade in flames, Suleymanname by 'Arifi, Topkapi Sarayi Museum (Istanbul), MS. H. 1517, ff.108v-109r.
Right: Figure 6.9. Shida in the camp of Key Khosrow, from the Shahnameh, Shiraz, 1535, Gharipour, fig. 60.

[43] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250; Andrews, *Felt Tent*, 545-47.
[44] Ibid.



Figure 6.10. Unpublished folio (no. 284) from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), 1528, courtesy of Golestan Palace, Iran.





Applying folding and the pop-up method to identify the spatial arrangement of the scene, the position of the private enclosure, the reception tent and characters.
Top: Figure 6.11. The location of the great reception tent outside the private enclosure, elevated front view.
Bottom: Figure 6.12. The private enclosure concealed by the great reception tent, front view.

"Tiymur Enthroned" (Figure 6.13) is a folio from a Zafarnāme manuscript of Istanbul attributed to Mirak (1520--1576), Safavid painter of the Tabriz school. This royal encampment scene demonstrates how private tents belonging to the royal family were placed within enclosures while the great reception pavilions and awnings were left outside where a feast is taking place.[45]

Observing the *Shah Tahmasp Shahnameh* reveals that women were apparent in some royal banquet scenes, but not on enthronement occasions, for example, "Faridun ascends the throne", "accession of Afrasiyab to the Iranian throne", and "Kay Khosrow ascends the royal throne".[46] In the current folio the only women who are presented outside the enclosure to the feast, are neither from the royal household nor Timur's wife. They are entertaining the audience by playing music and dancing. Two of the six musicians and both dancers are female. It appears that the presence of female performers in intellectuals' gatherings was important. However, although historians usually avoided recording the names of female players, dancers and singers of those times, their presence in paintings is proof of their dynamic role in cultural and artistic activities.

There is a short letter available from Sultan Ali Mashhadi, a celebrated calligrapher of the late Timurid, to Sultan Hossein Bayqara inviting him to the Nura Garden that perhaps was his personal property. In this letter, the names of a group of musicians and artists, including the names of some female performers invited to the event have been mentioned. Among them are "Hur-Nezhad Shah Khānum-e Mehr Tal'at", "Shah Naz Khatun Naghme-Saray", "Hāvva Māri Sāheb Sowt" and "Khorshid Khānum Bazm Ārāy".[47] It seems that a player such as Khorshid Khānum Bazm Ārāy enjoyed a prominent position. Also, a lady named "Chaker Changi Moghniyah" has been mentioned who was one of the leading lute players of the time.[48]

In Timur's enthronement, in addition to female players and dancers performing in the feast area, another group of females are depicted behind the walls of the enclosure. The walls, according to reports by Clavijo, should be "as high as a man on horseback", therefore the

[45] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 670.
[46] See "Faridun ascends the throne", "Accession of Afrasiyab to the Iranian throne" and "Kay Khosrow ascends the royal throne". In Mohammad-'Ali Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010), 68, 148, 232.
[47] Valiallah Kavusi, *Tigh-O Tanbur; Honare Doreh Teymurian Be Revayat-E Motun* (Tehran: Farhangestan-e Honar, 2010), 69; the literal translation of their title in English would be Shah Naz Khānum, singer of the melody, Hāvva Māri owner of the good voice, and Khorshid Khānum, adorning the feast.
[48] Ibid.

women would be cloaked entirely behind the walls. Nonetheless, painter of the folio has insisted on displaying at least their heads to inform us that it is a private tent belonging to a royal woman of Timur.In total there are five ladies recognisable there. Two pairs are talking together and seem to be set apart from the event happening outside the enclosure. The other lady is standing near the right end of the wall beside the gateway, exchanging glances with a man guarding the entrance. None of them seems to be from the royal household; possibly they are maids who are busy with their duties. The question is whose private abode does this enclosure belong to, and which of Timur's wives are these trellis tents representative of ?

To answer these questions first the main elements of the scene will be defined, then the story of Timur's enthronmnt – as narrated in *Zafarnameh* by Yazdi, the text that this folio is illustrating – will be detected.

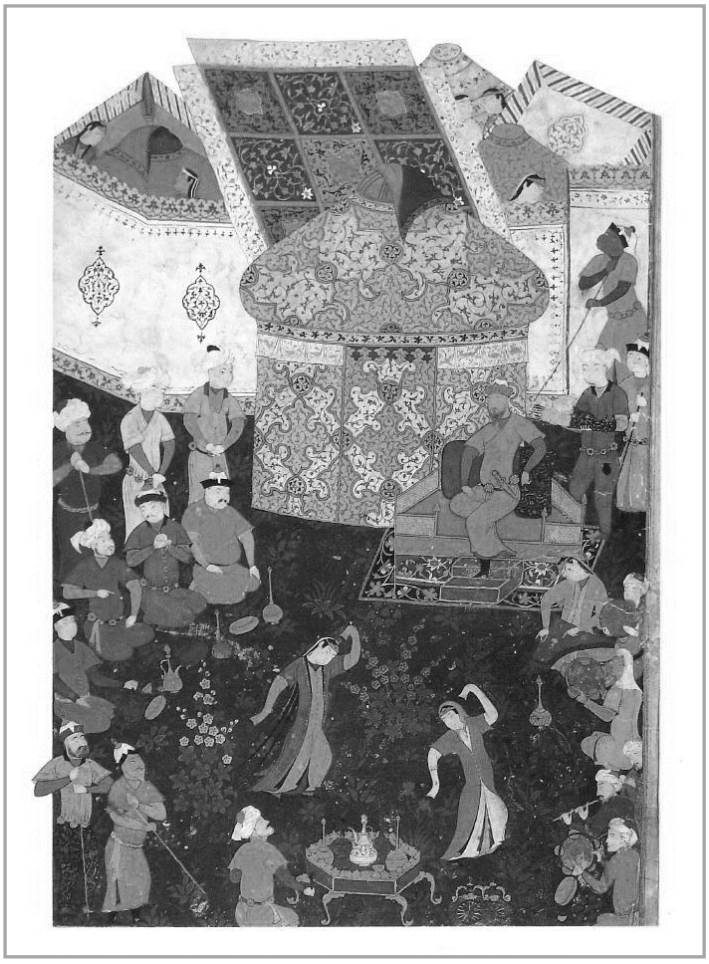
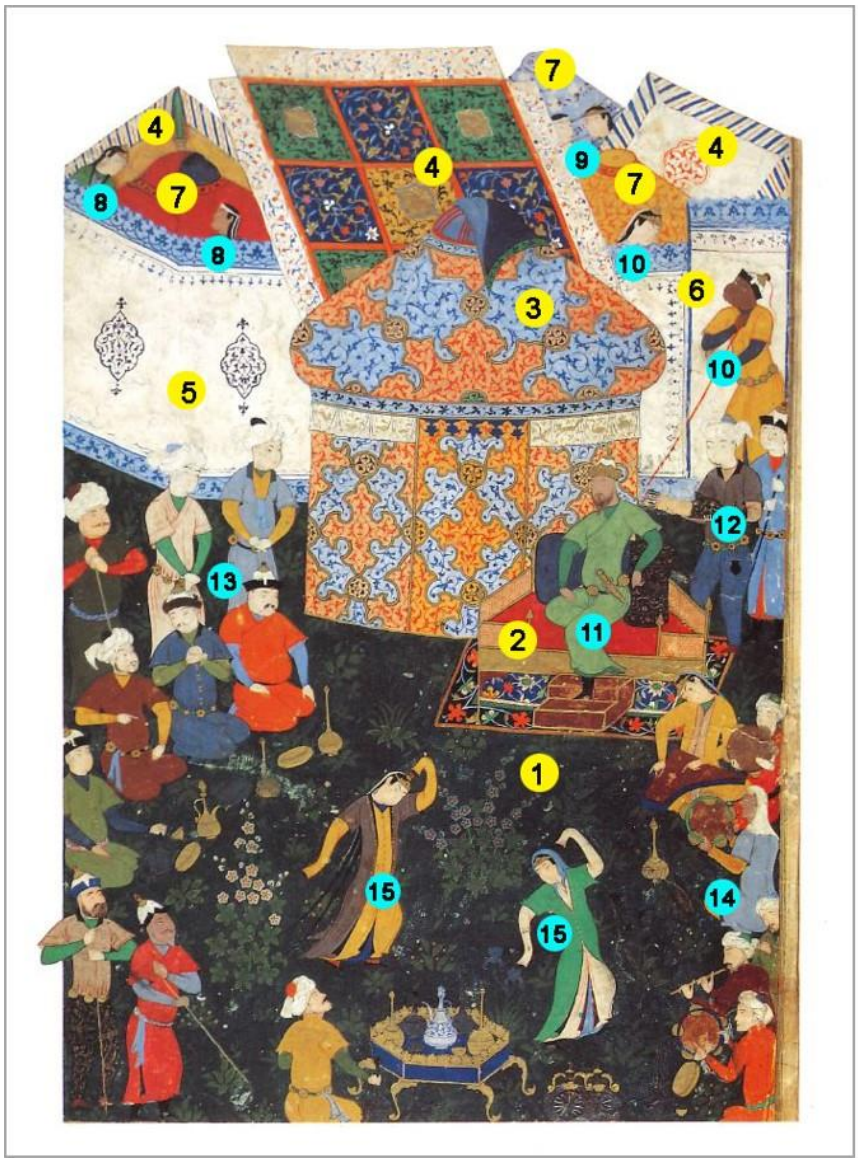


Figure 6.13. Timur Enthroned, attributed to Mirak, from a *Zafarnāme.*
Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul $(T.1964, fol.97a)$. [49]

[49] Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 111.

In the foreground of the folio in front of a splendid trellis tent, a royal feast has been set for the occasion of Timur's enthronement. The event is taking place in front of an enclosure, inside which some colourful decorated trellis tents and awnings have been pitched. The tents are entirely encircled by a round wall of well-decorated white fabric, so only the tops of tents in different colours are evident. To the right of the fabric wall, there is a gateway guarded by a *quālm* (slave man).

Outside the enclosure, there is a great reception trellis tent and awning, both richly decorated. Timur is conventionally shown in a green robe, seated upon his mobile throne supported by cushions. While in the outdoor banquets usually some carpets are spread out on the ground for visitors here the only carpet is that laid out beneath Timur's throne. Amirs and viziers are either standing or seated on bare ground.



Spaces and mobile architectural structures:
1. The feast area
2. Timur's royal throne
3. The great reception trellis tent
4. Awnings
5. The fabric enclosure
6. The enclosure gateway
7. The household trellis tents

Characters:
8. Two maids
9. Two maids talking
10. A lady and a guard
11. Timur sitting on his throne
12. Attendants standing
13. Emirs and elite members of the tribe
14. Male and female players
15. Two female dancers

Figure 6.14. Defining spatial arrangements, architectural structure and position of characters in Timur Enthroned (Figure 6.13).



Figure 6.15. Reciprocal and one-sided gaze between characters in Timur Enthroned (Figure 6.13).

This painting refers to the story of the establishment of Timur on the throne of the empire of Chagatai. As Yazdi recounts it: "Nevertheless they waited for the proper season to perform the ceremonies of his coronation, and as soon as that time came on, spring, the best time of the year, Timur ascended the throne." [50] The golden royal crown placed on his head was

[50] Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *The History of Timur-Bec: Known by the Name of Tamerlain the Great, Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars: Being an Historical Journal of His Conquests in Asia and Europe*, trans. J. Darby, vol. 1 (London: 1723), 130-3. Published online: https://archive.org/details/TheHistoryOfTimurBec_201409.
; see " Goftar dar Jolous-i Hazrat-i sahib gharani bar takht-I saltanat va jahanbani." In Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnameh Timuri*, eds. Abdolhossein Navai and Seyed Saeid Mir Mohammad Sadegh (Markaz-e Tahqigat-e Rayaneh-i Ghaemiyeh Isfahan), 297-9.

adorned with jewels of honour and glory, and girded with the imperial belt, Timur was enthroned in the year of the Dog (‘it ‘il), the eleventh of twelve years of the Mongol calendar. At this time he was thirty-four years old, being born in the year 1336 CE. On this occasion none of the female members of the royal household are mentioned by Yazdi as being presented at the banquet:

> “After the taking of the city of Balkh, all the amirs (*omarā),* and Princes (*nuyinan*) of the *Chagatai,* tribe and other commanders of the army and the great descendants of the prophet *(Sadat)* of that time assembled in this city, and with unanimous consent chose Timur to fill the imperial seat of *Chagatai*….”[51] “The amirs, who all kneeled before him, and having wished him prosperity, made him sumptuous presents, sprinkled handfuls of gold and precious stones upon his head according to the custom, and gave him the title of *“Saheb Qarān”,* which words signify the emperor of the age and conqueror of the world; and from that time all the country was subject to his laws.”[52]

However, according to Clavijo, we know that women had been invited and presented at Timur’s royal feasts:

> “On Monday the 6th of October Timur gave orders for a grand feast to be made at his camp in the Horde, and this same is known as the royal camp. To this feast, his Highness invited all his wives and members of his family, namely his sons and grandsons, at that time resident with him together with their wives.”[53]

Yazdi’s speech in Timur’s enthronement section in *the Zafarnameh* does not provide us with any information or clues to answer the previously discussed questions.[54] But according to historical records, this occasion happened after Timur defeated Amir Hussein, the grandson of Kazgan and brother of Timur’s deceased wife, Aljai Turkanaga.[55] Thus, we may find some clues in this story narrated in one section before Timur’s enthronement:

> “After the death of Amir Hussein, they brought to Timur the ladies and domestics of Hussein, as also all the treasure and riches he had amassed….Among the ladies of this prince seraglio, Timur kept for himself the princess Saray Mulk Kh*ā*num

[51] Yazdi, *The History of Timur-Be*, 130-3; Yazdi, *Zafarnameh Timuri*, 297-9.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 237.
[54] I.e. whose private abode does this enclosure belong to? And whose Timur’s wife is these trellis tents representative of ?
[55] Yazdi, *Zafarnameh Timuri*, 296; Yazdi, *The History of,* vol. 1,117-129.

> daughter of Qazan Khan ibn Yasaur, Islam Aga daughter of Khidr Yesouri, Olous Aga daughter of Beyan Selduz, and Togi Turcan Khatun."[56]

We know that Timurid households usually contained numerous wives of which a number of them were daughters of principal amirs from Transoxiana. Timur is known to have had eighteen wives and more than twenty concubines, but particular importance was attached to Saray Mulk Khānum who, as a leading power in family life, was differently by the entire household. While only a few of Timur's wives are discussed in historical accounts, the activities of his Cingizid wife, Saray Mulk Khānum bint Qazan Khan, are recorded in more detail.[57] About the marriage of Timur and Saray Mulk Khānum after his triumph, Clavijo reports:

> "Returning now to Samarqand Timur entered and possessed the city, taking to himself the wife of the late Sultan, whom he married, and to the present day she still is his chief wife, known as the Great Khānum, a title which may be taken to signify the Great Queen or the Great Empress."[58]

As Soucek declares, the fact that Saray Mulk Khānum entered Timer's life as booty, did not only reduce her prestige, but the coincidence of their marriage with Timur's designation as the ruler of Transoxiana reinforced and legitimised his triumph. Since, as a descendant of Cengiz Khān's son Caghatāy and the daughter of the last active ruler of that line, Qazan Khan (d. 747/1346-47), Saray Mulk Khānum gave Timur elevated respect and authorised him to use the special Mongol title *guregen* [son-in-law].[59] Therefore it might be suggested that the *sarāpardeh* represented on this illustrated page of Zafarnameh with all its trellis tents belonged to Saray Mulk Khānum. This representation in the background of the great reception tent on the occasion of Timur's enthronement indicates the prominent role of Saray Mulk Khānum in Timur's sovereignty (Figure 6.16).

---

[56] Ibid.
[57] For more, see Priscilla P. Soucek, "Timurid Women: A Cultural Perspective." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 199-226 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 200-202.
[58] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 212,213.
[59] Soucek, "Timurid Women," 199-202.



Figure 6.16. Applying the folding and pop-up method to identify the spatial arrangement of the scene and position of characters in relation to architectural structure.
Top: Front view, **Bottom left:** Elevated view, **Bottom right:** Right-angle view.

6.4 Women, poetic gaze and natural enclosures

Six of seven analytical chapters in this study examine women in a space that is partly or completely enclosed via the use of built elements (walls, partitions, windows, balconies and building wings), or soft elements (fabric enclosure and tents). Women in Persian paintings, appearing in a campsite, garden, mosque, school, palace or urban setting, observing or being observed, always benefit from structured elements such as tent, enclosure, garden pavilion, *iwan*, or chamber as veil or camouflage if they wish. Gaze and veil are two interrelated concepts of such representations, in which architectural elements are prepared to divide space, provide privacy and filter gaze.

However, representation of women in landscapes is also a recurrent theme in Persian painting which, as a valuable visual resource to examine women's status, cannot be neglected. In the present section we will consider the representation of women in two natural landscapes without any built or mobile structure, articulating the spatial dynamics and obstacles to the gaze visualised in these paintings. This investigation considers the notions of gaze and privacy invoked in two different poems by Nezami and Ferdowsi that the paintings serve respectively to illustrate, extendiing understanding of the women's status and how the ideal of their privacy could be attained in a landscape where there was no substantive architectural structure to conceal them.

6.4.1 Gazing at women

In addition to the mystical poems, some of the most splendid love stories in classic Persian poems are based on seeing or *'nazzareh'*. As described by Ghadam-Ali Sarami, a contemporary expert in *Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, there were two ways for Shahnameh's characters to fall in love: by hearing about the beloved or by seeing. When Sohrab took the Gordafarid's bascinet off during their fight, he saw her beautiful face and instantly fell in love. One day Soudabeh saw her son-in-law in the palace by coincidence and fell in love. Golnar the Ardovan's bondwoman and treasurer, saw Ardashir from the rooftop one night and fell in love.[60]

There is a pivotal moment in Khosrow and Shirin, the famous Persian tragic romance by Nezami, which describes Khosrow's first sighting of Shirin, while she bathed in a pool.

[60] Ghadam-Ali Sarami, *Az Rang-e Gol ta Ranje Khar / From the Color of Flower to the Sting of Thorn: The Morphology of the Tales of Shahnameh* (Tehran: Elmi-Farhangi Publications, 1990), 508-10.

This manuscript is an elaborated fictional account of the love of the Sasanian king Khosrow Parviz for the Armenian princess Shirin. Khosrow falls in love with Shirin by hearing Shapur's descriptions of her flawless features. Shapur, Khosrow's close friend and painter travels to Armenia to look for Shirin. Upon finding her, he shows her Khosrow's image, upon which Shirin instantly falls in love with Khosrow and escapes to Khosrow's capital at Mada'in. At the same time, Khosrow escapes his father's rage and leaves for Armenia in search of Shirin. On the way, he passes a meadow *(marghzār)* with a spring, and he finds Shirin naked, bathing and washing her flowing hair:

ز هر سو کرد بر عادت نگاهی
نظر ناگه در افتادش به ماهی

چو لختی دید از آن دیدن خطر دید
که بیش آشفته شد تا بیشتر دید

شه از دیدار آن بلور دلکش
شده خورشید یعنی دل پر آتش

Nezami declares that Shirin at first did not see Khosrow because her sight was blocked by flowers and plants:

سمنبر غافل از نظاره شاه
که سنبل بسته بد بر نرگسش راه

They do not recognise one another since Khosrow was not travelling in king's attire.When Shirin realised that a good-looking man sitting on his horse is gazing at her, she is embarrassed and tries to cover her moon-like body with her black hair:

ز شرم چشم او در چشمه آب
همی لرزی چون در چشمه مهتاب

جز این چاره ندید آن چشمه قند
که گیسو را چو شب بر مه پراکند

When the cultured Khosrow realises Shirin's embarrassment, he averts his gaze and leaves the meadow. This sensual part of Khosrow and Shirin's love story is an attractive scene illustrated in different schools and by various artists. More than fifteen executions of this scene have been identified by the current study, dating from the early thirteenth century to contemporary times.The thesis follows this sensual story's enigma as captured in the imaginations of more than fifteen artists between the early thirteenth century to contemporary times. Focusing on the moment when 'Khosrow spies Shirin bathing' they are usually familiar with Khosrow on his horse standing on a raised platform, such as hills or rocks, gazing at Shirin from his vantage point while Shirin sits in the pool trying to hide

her body with her long hair hanging over her shoulders and down to her waist (Figures 6.17 and 6.18).

Here, two different illustrations of the story are considered. Of these two, the first is attributed to Sultan Muhammad in the first half of the sixteenth century (Figure 6.17). The second is attributed to the late fifteenth century (Figure 6.18). In both cases, the landscapes consist of various overlapping layers of rocks, trees and vegetation, arranged from the bottom of the page to the top, thereby signifying a sense of perspectival depth. Despite such a spatial arrangement, the renditions appear relatively flat. Here there are no architectural elements providing privacy and seclusion to the framed women's figure in each case. Located in the middle of the pool, Shirin is entirely in Khosrow's gaze as well as that of the observer of the painting.



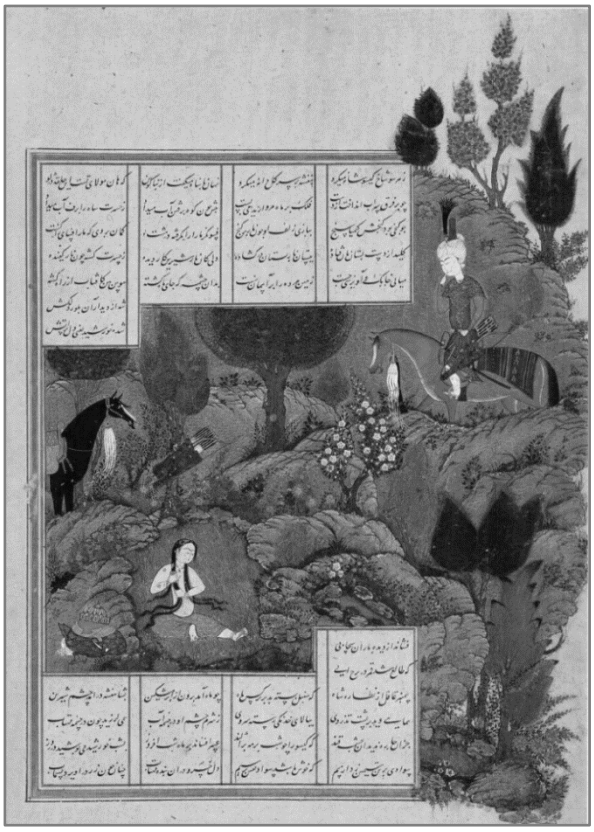


Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing, Khamseh of Nezami, attributed to Sultan Muhammad (active first half of sixteenth century).[61]
Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing, Khamseh (Quintet) of Nezami, Iran, Tabriz, 1481AD.[62]

[61] Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976).
[62] Mazhar S. Ipsiroglu, *Masterpieces from the Topkapi Museum:Paintings and Miniatures*, trans. Adair Mill (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980).

The painters have made less effort to use the rocks and trees to cover the view of Shirin's body. However these landscape elements are set around Shirin, they do not function to conceal her half-naked body. Such presentation is exceptional in the tradition of Persian painting, a visual culture that usually endeavours to maintain a buffer between men and women's characters, while filtering their gaze towards each other via architectural elements and textile hangings. The Persian painters also generously provide women with semi-closed doors and windows, or curtains to stand behind for privacy.

Figure 6.19 compares two executions of the story (Figures 6.17 and 6.18) with a third image, which is a Qajar style naturalist illustration from a nineteenth-century unfinished manuscript of Nezami's *Khamseh*. The first two images (6.17 and 6.18) show that despite the distant position of Khosrow from Shirin and the existence of natural elements between them, there is no barrier for Khosrow's sight towards Shirin or vice-versa. Not faithful to the text, the third image shows Khosrow on horseback, standing beside Shirin at the pool edge, gazing directly at her. Shirin is turning his head towards Khosrow with less effort to cover her body. Some distant hills and mountains are visible in the background.



Figure 6.19. Comparing Khosrow gazing at Shirin in three different executions.
Left: Figure 6.17. **Middle:** Figure 6.18. **Right:** Unfinished manuscript of Nezami's Khamseh, Persia, dated 1261 AH/1845 AD.

Apart from their different narrative styles, the question here is what differentiates the first two compositions (fiftheenth and sixteenth centuries) with the third folio (nintheenth century) in terms of visualising gaze, as articulated by the text? In the search for describing the representations of gaze, privacy and women in these two natural landscapes, and to answer the above question, the pop-up method has been applied for a more in-depth examination.

To create the op-up models, first, different layers including rocks, trees, figures and animals have been defined and cut out. By folding these layers, the models which signify the three-dimensional version of the images are prepared. Figures 6.20 and 6.21 present the pop-up models from an elevated view, from which stratified spaces from foreground to background are perceptible. A remarkable feature of these landscape settings, which are only revealed through observing the three dimensional models, is how trees, plants and rocks like a natural enclosure are encircling Shirin (Figures 6.22 and 6.23).





Figure 6.20. **Top:** Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing).
Figure 6.21. **Bottom:** Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing).





Top: Figure 6.22. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing), Shirin encircled by a natural enclosure.
Bottom: Figure 6.23 Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing), Shirin encircled by a natural enclosure.

The opportunity provided by the three dimensional models to observe the scene from different viewpoints reveal more hidden aspects of poetic texts. Figures 6.24 and 6.25 focus on Khosrow from Shirin's perspective, while also synchronising the observer's view of the image to that of Shirin, who looks at where Khosrow is standing behind the bushes. These images demonstrate the verse in the poem which denotes:

"Shirin was not aware of Khosrow's gaze
That flowers were veiling her sight"

سمنبر غافل از نظاره شاه
که سنبل بسته بد بر نرگسش راه

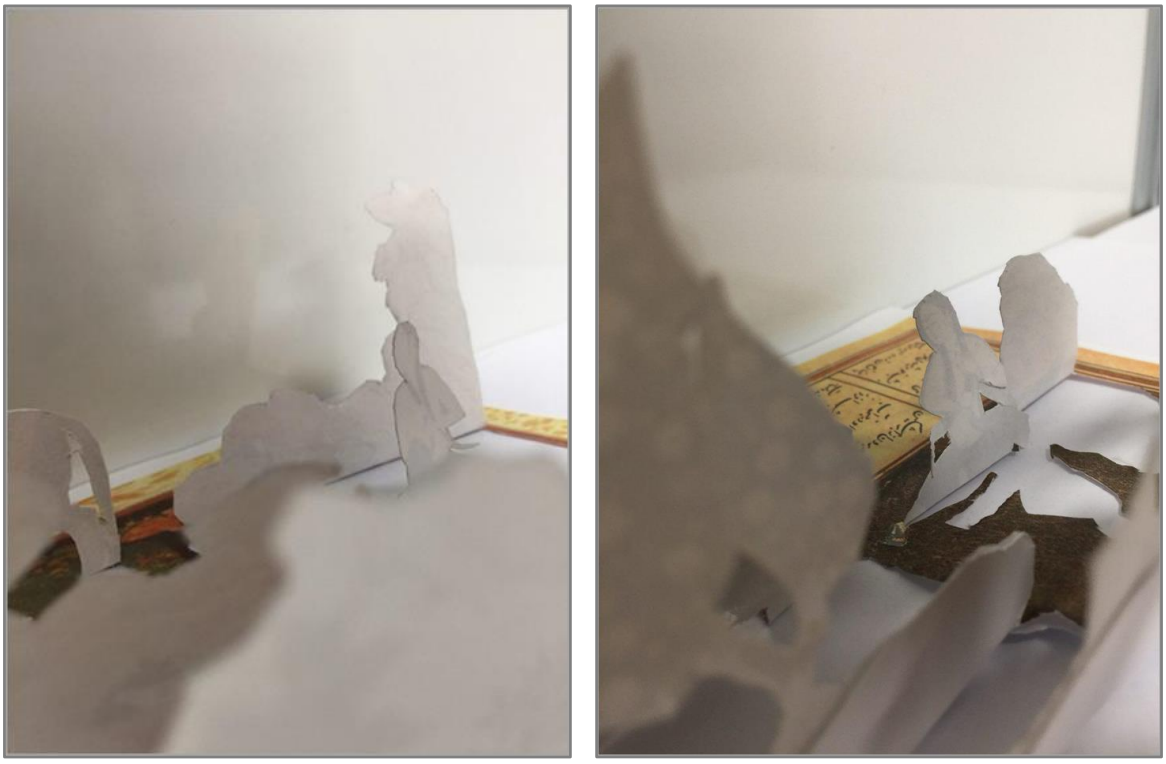




Looking at Khosrow from Shirin's perspective.
Top: Figure 6.24. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing).
Bottom: Figure 6.25. Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing).

Figures 6.26 and 6.27 gaze at Shirin from Khosrow's viewpoint. Here the perspective of the observer of the image accords to that of Khosrow looking at Shirin. These images visualise the description of the moment Khosrow is sightseeing in the meadow and habitually casts around and, in amazement, sees Shirin bathing in the spring:

ز هر سو کرد بر عادت نگاهی
نظر ناگه در افتادش به ماهی



Looking at Shirin from Khosrow's perspective:
Left: Figure 6.26. Pop-up model (Figure 6.17. Shirin bathing).
Right: Figure 6.27. Pop-up model (Figure 6.18. Khosrow surprises Shirin bathing).

All three versions of 'Shirin in the spring' introduced here, show her framed in the landscape without any obstruction against the strangers' gaze. However, the pop-up models reveal that the idea of privacy and gaze, as articulated in the poem, has been embedded in fifteenth and sixteenth century versions of the illustration. The multifocal perspective of these two folios based on the Persian painting way of seeing tends to reveal elements as much as possible. For example, elements that display the pool from the above and plants and rocks arranged around it, but not in a way that covers Shirin. The painter wants the observer to see Shirin from Khosrow's perspective and to feel the same astonishment Khosrow experienced. Such a desire was only possible by producing a multifocal two-dimensional image. Unpacking the space compressed within the origonal planar image by 'popping-up' the third dimension

reveals that vegetation and rocks circle the pool like a natural enclosure, providing a sight barrier for Shirin in the spring and camouflaging Khosrow's gaze towards Shirin.

6.4.2 Women gazing

The 'Bizhen and Manizheh' (Figure 6.28), a folio from the *Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp*, represents a beautiful garden resort in Turan, where Manizheh, Afrasiyab's daughter, is sitting under an awning on a carpet. The image shows the moment when Bizhan, a famous hero of the Shahnameh and son of Giv, arrives at the garden. He is wearing golden head gear, a golden necklace, Giv's armband, and a Rumi brocade garment. The poem declares that Manizheh saw Bizhan, without indicating that Bizhan also saw Manizheh. Recognising 'seeing' as one of the two ways for Shahnameh's characters to fall in love, as described by Sarami, [63] here Manizhe sees Bizhan and she is trapped in his love at first sight. The intent of the current analysis is to observe the visualisation of such 'gaze' and its relation to 'landscape setting' as articulated by the poem.

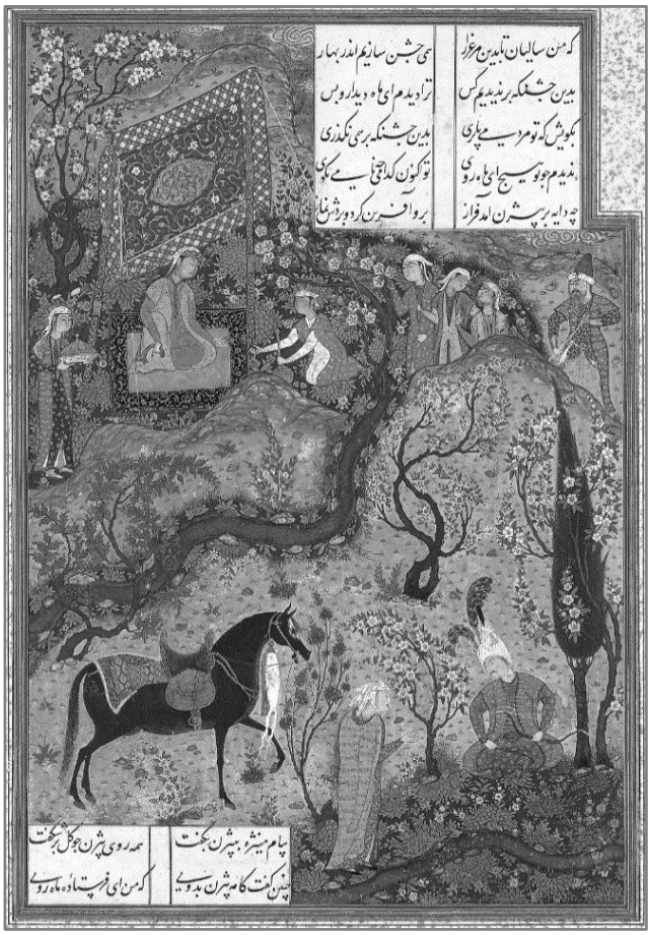


Figure 6.28. Bizhan meets Manizheh, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid.

[63] Sarami, *Az Rang-e Gol*, 508-10.

The poem declares that Manizheh is sitting in her tent *(khaymah).* The images however show her under an awning when she notices Bizhan, who is sitting under a tall cypress tree, not far from Manizheh's camp. She immediately dispatches her maid to find out who the moon-face young man is. The maid approaches Bizhan, gives honour and passes on Manizheh's query:

"Go 'neath the bought of yonder lofty cypress,
And find out who he is-yon moonlike one." [64]

The flat space between Manizheh and Bizhan, a result of multifocal perspective, does not help to define one-way visual access of Manizheh located at the campsite, toward Bizhan sitting in the garden. To describe the composition of the image concerning the notion of gaze, first, we refer to the text to gain information about the occasion and campsite.

As declared by the verses scripted on the folio, this meadow is a celebratory place or the '*Jashngah.'* a venue for the women to gather every year at Spring and celebrate the custom of '*Mardgiran.*' This event, which literary means 'electing a man', is an ancient celebration believed to be the same as '*sepandarmazgan',* an Iranian ancient day for celebrating love . In his study on historical background and quiddity of such celebrations, Jalal Khaleghi Motlagh, examines different written documents such as *Al'asar al-Baghiyah* (The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries)[65], *Al-Tafhim* (Understanding Astrology)[66], Qanun-i Mas'udi[67] by Al-Biruni, and *Zayn al-Akhbar* by Gardezi.[68] He informs that during the ancient Persia there was a spring-time celebration exclusively for women to enjoy their time in freedom. During this celebration, unmarried girls were encouraged to elect their husbands. That is the reason why they call it '*Mardgiran*' (selecting a man).[69] Later in the story, Manizheh invites Bizhan to her tent, where they make love and indulge themselves.

To create the pop-up model first different elements and layers from the bottom to the top of the page will be defined. Then in order to convert the multifocal view of the image to a single

[64] Mohammad-'Ali Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010), 296.
[65] The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries (Arabic الآثار الباقية عن القرون الخالية) – a comparative study of calendars of cultures and civilizations (including several chapters on Christian cults) with mathematical, astronomical, and historical information. See David Pingree, "Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān vi. History and Chronology" in Encyclopaedia Iranica (accessed February 2018).
[66] Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology (*Kitab al-tafhim li-awa'il sina'at al-tanjim*).
[67] The Mas'udi Canon, an extensive encyclopedia on astronomy, geography and engineering, named after Mas'ud, son of Mahmud of Ghazni, to whom it is dedicated.
[68] "Gardizi," in W. Barthold, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 2, 978.
[69] Jalal Khaleghi Motlagh, "Mardgiran; Jashn-e Bahari-ye Zanan / Mardgiran; The Women's Spring-time Festivity", *Iranboom*, accessed 8.2.218, http://www.iranboom.ir/jashnha/68-esfandgan/10971-mard-giran.html.

point view the folding and pop-up method will be utilized. When re-examined using this criteria the first layer is a hill background at the rear of the campsite. The second level is the campsite in the middleground. The third level in foreground is another chain of hills in front of the camp. Therefore, the '*Jashngah'* where Manizheh's camp is located in a meadow between two highlands. Here Manizheh is sitting under an awning on a carpet surrounded by her maids. A river stream which is originated from the mountains meandered gently through the hillside reaching to a meadow and then the garden at which Bizhan is sitting under a tall cypress (Figure 6.29).

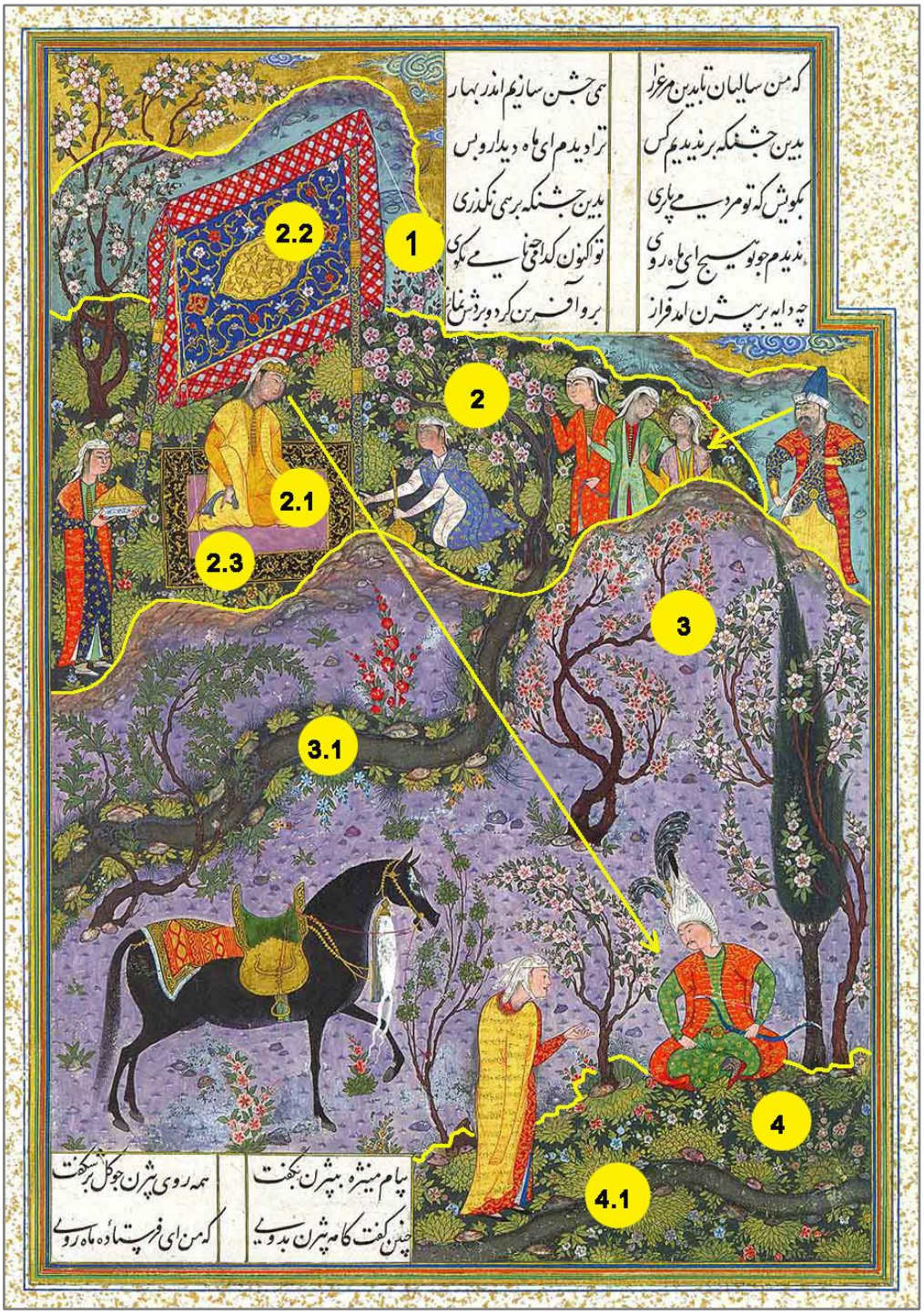


Figure 6.29. Defining different spatial layers vertically arranged from top to bottom of the page.

1. The hill at the rear of the campsite
2. The campsite (*Jashngah*) between two highlands
   2.1 Manizheh seatedunder an awning on a carpet
   2.2 The awning
   2.3 The carpet
3. Hills in front of the campsite
   3.1 A river originates from the highlands
4. The garden at the foot of the hills
   4.1 Bizhan seated under the tall cypress
   4.2 The river meandered gently through a meadow and reached the garden


a.


b.


c.

Figure 6.30. Applying the folding and pop-up method to define the spacial arrangements of the scene and Manizeh's encampment position in relation to the garden.
a. Front view, **b.** Slightly elevated view, **c.** Elevated view

Following the Persian painting pictorial tradition, the various elements and spacial layers defined above are displayed based on a multifocal perspective. The hills, campsite meadow, garden, river, awning and carpet are presented from top view, while other elements, such as figures, horse, and trees, are depicted from a frontal view. Such perspective sets these layers hierarchically, one on the top of the other, with minimum overlaps and serving as a corrective to the foreshortening. Therefore, even sections that should be hidden behind the front layers are revealed as the result of a multifocal view.

The pop-up model suggests a three dimensional model of this landscape which helps to define the spacial arrangements of the scene and Manizeh's encampment position in relation to the garden. Figure 6.30 shows various frontal and elevated views of scenery. Figure 6.31 is looking at the image standing somewhere in the meadow.



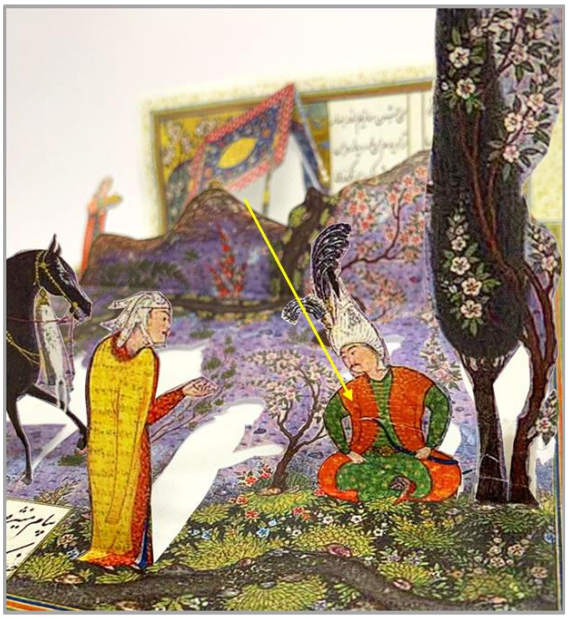
Figure 6.31. Pop-up model defining hills as a natural enclosure for Manizeh's encampment: front view.

From the poem, it is evident that this celebratory meadow is not barricaded or restricted, so Bizhan was able to enter without being detained. However, Figure 6.32 of the three dimensional model demonstrates how, in the absence of a barrier, the hills surround the campsite and function as a natural enclosure to make Manizheh's encampment and her female entourage secluded.



Figure 6.32. Pop-up model, the campsite surrounded by hills.

The three dimensional model also enables us to compare the visual access of Manizheh from her location to Bizhan and vice-versa. Figure 6.33 is looking at Manizheh's camp from Bizhan's viewpoint. This model also reveals that from his position, the hills blocked Bizhan's sight. Figure 6.34 by gazing at Bizhan's encampment from Manizheh's perspective, declares how such an elevated position has provided a natural watchtower for Manizheh to see Bizhan without being seen.





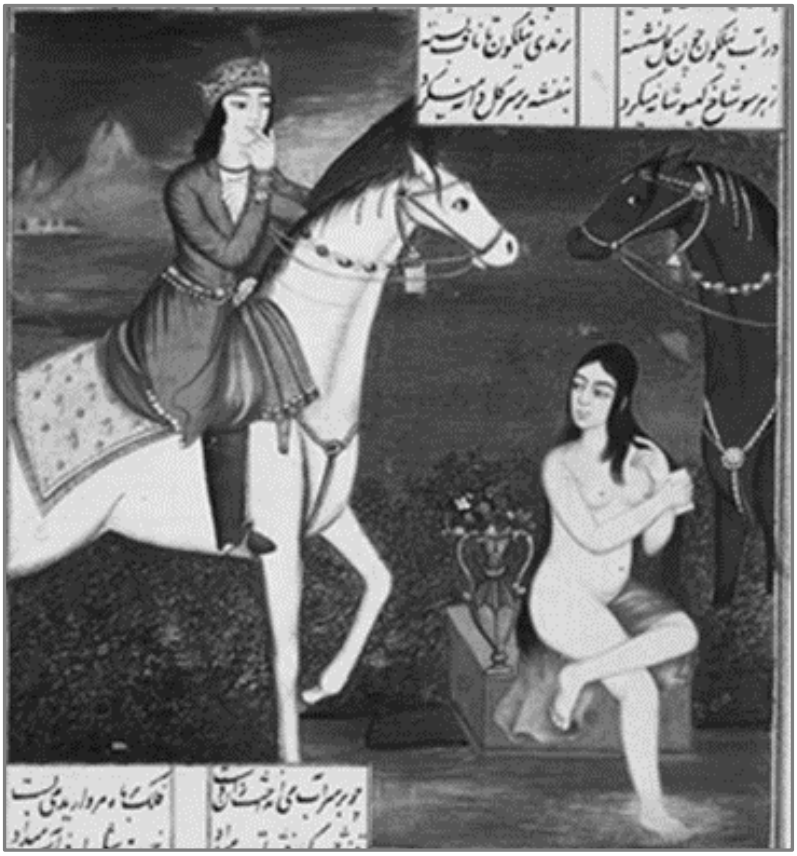
Comparing the visual access of Manizheh to Bizhan and vice-versa:
Left: Figure 6.33. Looking at Manizheh's encampment from Bizhan's viewpoint; the hills serve as a natural sight barrier to Bizhan.
Right: Figure 6.34. Looking at Bizhan from Manizheh's viewpoint; the elevated position of hills serve as a natural watchtower for Manizheh.

Figure 6.35 compares the representation of women concerning the notion of gaze and privacy in all three landscape images in Figures 6.17, 6.18, 6.28. The photos in the second row, by displaying three dimensional pop-up models from the side view, reveal the orientation of the land. The general topography of these areas, including hills, hillside, river and vegetation are key features of the images, thereby influencing the visualisation of gaze. Such topography succeded to imbed the quality of privacy in these landscapes.

The elevated position of hills serve as a natural watchtower. The characters positioned on the hilltops benefit from a somehow private space in addition to a raised viewpoint, allowing them to gaze around without being seen. Therefore, in the first two images, Khosrow gazes at Shirin while in the third image Manizheh gazes at Bizhan. What distinguishes the fifteenth and sixteenth century executions of Shirin bathing in the spring (Figures 6.17, 6.18) from the nineteenth century (Figure 6.19-Right) version is the way the first two paintings have employed the slope of land, rocks and vegetation, to visualise, or better to say, to embed the notions of gaze and privacy as articulated by the text.



Figure 6.35. Comparison of three landscape images (Figures. 6.17, 6.18, 6.28).



Part of the Figure 6.19-Right.

6.4 Summary

This chapter examined the notions of gaze and femineity by considering *'sarāpardeh'* as depicted in Persian painting. The notion of *sarāpardeh* as either a complete or partial enclosure was recognised as a convemtional feature of Persian paintings occuring in two forms: first, 'fabric wall enclosures' which encircle a group of tents in an *ordu*, and second, 'natural elements' such as rocks and vegetation that are 'positioned' by the artist in the absence of built or mobile architectural structures to function as spatial and/or visual enclosure.

In addition to analysing the original folios, the folding and pop-up technique was applied to produce anlytical models that could decode the multifocal spatial arrangements embedded in the original images by translating them into three-dimensions. This method facilitates a more precise examination of the *sarāpardeh* as an essential, soft architectural element in mobile architecture. Such examination offered new insight into the primary topic of women's status, privacy and gaze in encampment scenes.

In section 6.3, the analysis of *sarāpardeh* representations in Persian painting revealed substantial similarities between these imageries and descriptions in written accounts such as Clavijo's. In addition to offering insight into the structure of *sarāpardeh*, such representations were employed to examine the social role and status of women in Timurid society by focusing on an image from *Timurid Zafarnameh.* An iconographical analysis of visual elements and iconological examination of *Yazdi's Zafarnameh* text to investigate the social role and status of women represented inside the *sarāpardeh* behind Timur's reception pavilion suggusted that that *sarāpardeh* belonged to Saray Mulk Kh*ā*num. Such interpretation confirmed the prominent role of royal women under Timur's sovereignty.

Section 6.4, by referring to the text of two well-known poems and applying the pop-up method to their painterly illustrations, investigated how the poetic gaze was reflected in these images, and also how natural elements such as rocks and plants provided privacy when hills functioned as a watchtower. Such an examination revealed the spatial structure of the landscapes depicted and the significant positionality of the figures within them, challenging assumpitions about visual access and dominance with respect to women as represented by the conventions of these Timurid era paintings. While Shirin bathing in the spring was the objective of Khosrow's gaze, she still enjoyed her status as a dignified princess both in the Nezami's text and in the image. Manizheh, on the other hand, was a dominant observer

located at a hilltop, who possessed the right of selecting her beloved and inviting him to her campsite.

The third and final chapter to focus on mobile architecture will consider how women's social roles were mediated by the tent and how we may better understand this by closely examining the representation of these ephemeral structures in paintings.

Chapter 7.

Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Mobile Architecture III: *Khaymeh and khargāh*



Part of Figure 7.23.

7.1 Introduction

Tents, for Timur, were more than merely tents. Rather, as Andrews argues, these were a means of promoting the splendour, power and wealth of his realms.[1] Timur's mobile centre of operations was designed to 'impress and astonish'.[2] Lentz agrees, suggesting that among Turkic peoples in sedentary settings the powerful memory of the steppe and its traditions awarded tents, garden pavilions, and possibly the garden with notions of power and authority.[3] As the garden was transformed into a venue for important ceremonies by setting up royal tents, these richly decorated architectural structures were transformed into palaces.[4]

Golombek suggests that in both the literal and figurative sense, the Timurid garden reflected the feminine, figuratively associated with female elements, through the notion of growth and flowering, and contextually, through their dedication to women. While in this sense she believes that to the Timurid garden, the tent brings concepts associated with the masculine principle, war, aggressicon, mobility and power,[5] this chapter observes representation of women in encampment scenes and in relation to tents, their typology and setting to examine their role and activities within this mobile domicile. To comprehend how gaze and femineity were part of this 'mobile environment', first, the function and meaning of tents will be examined.

7.2 Royal tent: function and meaning

Pastoral nomadic life continued in Iran until the twentieth century. Seasonal migration was important, not only to provide essential pasture for the nomads' herds, but also to escape extreme temperatures (hot and cold) which characterise most of the Iranian plateau.[6] Beyond

[1] Display of this kind was to be expected, for fine tentage had long been part of the apparatus of kingship in the Middle East. It had already been adopted into the nomadic tradition of Central Asia by the time of Ogedey Qa'an (1186--1241) in the early thirteenth century, and Timur's descendants were to give it great importance in India until the 1750s. See Peter Alford Andrews, "The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltay at Samaroand, 1404." In *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands: Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 7, ed. Denwood Philip (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978), 143.
[2] Peter Alford Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage*. Vol. 1 (London: Melisende, 1999), 667.
[3] T.W. Lentz, "The Other World: Memory and Ideology in the Timurid Garden." In *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture: Mughal Gardens; Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, 31-58 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, May 1992), 36.
[4] Lisa Golombek,"The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," 137-47, *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 145.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design." *Ars Orientalis, 23* (1993), 249.

this natural necessity for mobility, another essential motive for living in tents, acclaimed by Fazl Allah Khunji as cited by O'Kane, appears to have been "the preference for life in tents in the open countryside to that of towns." Such a lifestyle also allowed the ruler to enjoy the pleasure of hunting as the preferred nomadic recreation.[7] Therefore, for nomads, tents had great practical and symbolic importance. These were not only the primary domicile, which effectively protected against the harsh climatic conditions of the steppe, but at the same time, the directional orientation and internal spaces of the tents had specific cosmological meanings.[8]

For nomadic peoples who formed states, elaborate tents were extensively used to display the magnificence and wealth of the ruler and his court.[9] While the royal encampment *(ordu)* formed mobile cities, the tents that rulers occupied could be considered mobile palaces. As cited by O'Kane, Rashid al-Din mentions a tent of state with a thousand gold pegs and a trellis tent with royal paraphernalia which Arghun had ordered as specifically suitable for travel. Also, one of Ogedei's trellis tents was large enough to accommodate a thousand people and was decorated with gold brocade inside and gold studs outside; however, this was so large that it was a permanent fixture at one of his camping grounds in the mountains.[10]

Andrews believes that the tents of Timur deserve scholar's specific attention, not only because of the splendour of these structures, but because these were the focus of an inclusive and detailed explanation by Clavijo. These accounts in turn also can be compared to paintings done at about the same time. Andrews suggests that these materials supplemented with passages in the *Zafarnāma* of Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi,[11] Taj al-Salman and Ibn 'Arabshah[12] show that the extravagant tents portrayed in paintings of the period matched reality.[13] The imagery of great tents in Persian sources from the Mongol period onwards are usually embedded in literary language which conveys a concept of royalty, by using similes which refer to them in "paradisial terms," or as "being like the zenith of the celestial

[7] Ibid. In the 1230s the movements of Ogedei, Chingiz Khan's son, were already conditioned by pleasurable pursuits, including hunting, rather than by purely pastoral considerations. See John Andrews Boyle, "The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei," *Central Asiatic Journal 16*, no. 2 (1972), 125-31.

[8] Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 74.

[9] Ibid.

[10] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250; Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 502.

[11] Andrews declares that, compiled from previous records and eye-witness accounts between 1419 and 1425 and despite the floridity of Yazdi's style, he uses tent terms consistently in what appears to be accurate rather than purely conventional usage, see Andrews, "The Tents of Timur,"143.

[12] Andrews informs that Tāj al-Salmānī gives little help, but Ibn Arabshah, in spite of his preoccupation with rhyming prose, adds some useful details based on his own experience as a prisoner of Timur; see Andrews, "The Tents of Timur,"143.

[13] Ibid.

sphere'.[14] A good example is by the Mongol historian Vassafi, who compares Sultan Tegüder trellis tent to the sphere of the heavens, made in the image of paradise, and the Sultan placed on his throne within it to the sun of this empire.[15]

Roxburgh believes that Clavijo's text declares the custom of tentage under Timur's rule was more than a reminiscence of the nomadic practice of seasonal migration. Rather, it was continuing cultural tradition:

> "Timur continued to live in tents and to use their visual language to project his image as Turco-Mongolian ruler, but these tents were cloaked with all the opulent trappings and furnishings of the Islamic palace and moreover simulated features of permanent architecture".[16]

In Andrews view, both the nomadic and princely traditions shared imagery in which the tent was seen as a replica of the sky, and its occupant as exalted by association. For example, the Achaemenids called royal tents and courts of round awnings 'Heavens'.[17] Based on the earliest evidence from nomadic sources, Andrews states that the tribal tent had a sacred character, and the trellis tent was regarded as a microcosm.[18] The tribal tentage continued to function as a corporal manifestation of the divine right of kings: a pre-Islamic notion that endured and was dominant in Persian court culture.[19] Likewise, the imagery established at the Shāh Jahān's court, Andrews illustrates, was the sovereign, appointed by Heaven and protected by a heavenly canopy surrounded by a court of satellites. Thus the monarch appears here like a sun in his own constellation.[20] Andrews believes that if the nomads 'tentage' was a symbol of identity and an image of monarc domicile in the world, to signify celestial authority and just rule, the 'camp' was a manifestation of potential and actual power.[21]

While these cosmological and conceptual meanings attached to royal tents have tended to be interpreted as further manifestations of the wealth, power and heavenly right of the ruler and royal court, the relation between tentage and women's role and place within the campsites

---

[14] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250-1; Sharaf al-Din 'All Yazdi, *Zafar-nama: Tdrikh-i 'umumi-i mufassil-i Iran dar daura-i Timurlydn*, ed. Muhammad 'AbbasI (Tehran: Amir Kablr, 1336/1957), vol. 2, 425.
[15] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250-1; Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 472.
[16] David J Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404." In *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre Ethnology and Pilgrimage 1250--1700,* ed. Palmira Brummett (Boston: Brill, 2009), 155.
[17] See Andrews, *Felt Tents,* vol. 1, xxxii-xxxiii.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, xxxiv.

has been less identified. We know that Timur never constructed a palace *(saray-i zanāneh)* inside the city, or even in one of the gardens, to accommodate the harem and its entourage.[22] Therefore mobile encampments not only functioned as the mobile royal thrones but were also the primary domicile of royal women, wherein separate tents were assigned to each wife when possible.[23] The next section examines the typology of tents as a clue to define the relation between women's role, activities, and life in tents in the mobile encampment environment as depicted in the Persian paintings.

7.3 Typological categories of nomadic tents

There are two traditions of tentage as defined by Andrews – 'nomadic' and 'princely'. The 'nomadic tradition' is that of the Turkic and Mongol peoples of Central Asia and 'princely' is Middle Eastern, going back to the Achaemenids and beyond. He declares that the tents of Timur's encampment are nomadic forms dressed up in expensive alien materials, in keeping with the nomadic context.[24] To avoid mixing Timurid nomadic tents with those used by the nomadic tribes of Persia, this study refers to the second tradition as functional nomadic tents. Given that the tribal nomads, who still exist in present day Iran, rely on pastoralism, the tent is more 'practical' than 'conceptual.' For the purposes of this thesis, we could therefore refer to Timurid tents as 'royal nomadic' and those used by pastoral tribes as 'functional nomadic'.

The tentage used by 'nomads' includes two different typological categories as defined by Thomas Allsen. The native yurt (Mongolian *ger*), the integrity of which was founded on an internal trellis structure supporting the walls,[25] has been identified by Yazdi as '*khargāh*' and by Clavijo as the 'trellis tent' (Figure 7.1). The stability of the second type – the pavilions of West Asian provenance – was based on external guy ropes. [26] This category has been identified as '*khaymeh'* by Yazdi and 'guyed tent', or tent retained with ropes by Clavijo. As Allsen states, it is not always easy to differentiate the two categories in literary portrayals of such tentage, since both types exhibit similar features – being great in size and elaborate

[22] Golombek,"The Gardens of Timur," 144.
[23] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 669-670.
[24] Parallels were apparent in the nomadic world until recently. Chiefs of the Shahsevan of Azarbijan, for example, used to line their felt tents with silks and velvets of different colours, see Andrews, "The Tents of", 144.
[25] Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 74.
[26] Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 74.

ornamentation.[27] As an adjunct to the trellis tent, Gonzalez explains the use of awnings, which he calls *sombra*: "In front of the doorway of this tent there stood an awning of coloured silk cloth. This shades in front of the door and prevents the sun from shining on anyone at the place of entrance. Further, this awning can be moved about to face this way or that, and so keep the sun's rays from falling within the tent."[28]

On Monday the 6th of October Timur gave orders for a grand feast to be made at his camp, to which Timur had invited all his wives and family members, mainly his sons and grandsons, who at that time resided there with their wives.[29] Before attending the feast Clavijo had an opportunity to glimpse the tents at a place where Timur was in residence in the royal camp, erected in two different enclosures, which were later identified as belonging to the first and second wives of Timur.[30] He observed the structure and decoration of different types of tents supplemented by awnings erected at Timur's great camp and gave a detailed description.[31]

He states that a number of tents were erected, all marvellously fine and beautiful to see, mostly set beside the river Zarafsh*ā*n.[32] Clavijo details the typology of tented and cloth structures utilised by the Timurids. There were *khargāh* (trellis tent), *khaymeh* (tent stayed with ropes), *sayabān* (pavilion or awning), and *sarāpardeh* (enclosure); however, only enclosure is identified by its Persian term in Clavijo's narrative.[33] In terms of typology, Clavijo's account can be divided into two parts, which will be described in the following sections. The first type refers to two great pavilions mentioned by Gonzalez, which he calls *pavellon*: a word which he reserves, as Andrews confirms, only for the 'guyed tents'. The second type, he remarks, are two different lofty circular 'trellis tents' pitched in the enclosures of Timur's first and second wives that Clavijo clearly defines "are not stayed with rope".[34]

On the day of feast Clavijo and ambassadors toured the great camp, where they came upon numerous, astounding luxurious tents. Near Timur's residence in the royal tents, they were

[27] Ibid.
[28] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, vol.1, 707; Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange from the Spanish, The Broadway Travellers, eds. Sir E. Denison Ross and Elleen Power (London: Routledge, 1928), 242.
[29] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 237-43.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Roxburgh, "Ruy González," 151.
[34] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, vol. 1, 687.

able to rest in the shade under a spacious awning made of white linen embellished with colourful embroidery. The awning rested on wooden poles and maintained its tautness by means of ropes. There were similar awnings erected in many other parts of the camp fashioned to be open to sun and to catch the breeze'.[35] Near the awning where they were seated stood a guyed tent or *khaymeh* that Clavijo describes as great pavilion:

> "A very large high pavilion, in fact, a very huge tent, and it was four square in shape […]. The ceiling of the pavilion was made circular to form a dome […]. Round outside the four walls of the main tent of the pavilion there are low galleries like porticoes […] join on to the tent wall of the pavilion. The outer tent walls of these four porticoes […] are supported on twenty-four small wooden masts […] as tick as the twelve poles of the inner pavilion, the whole number of these poles and masts together being thirty-six, which serve to raise up and support the great structure, which is stayed by upwards of five hundred ropes, and these are coloured red."[36]

The interior of the trellis tent was designed with various precious draperies.[37] Clavijo was astonished by the magnitude of tents and uniformity of the camp, which from a distance appeared to be a castle; "a wonder to behold, and magnificent beyond description."[38] The existing accounts of the pavilion (guyed tent or *khaymeh*) confirm that it was used by Timur as a venue for splendid banquets.[39] Also, as mentioned in chapter 6 section 6.2.2 Andrews suggests that trellis tent *(khargāh)* covered in red material which Gonzalez mentioned in all of eleven enclosures that he visited was symbolic of one of the Timur's wife's place in the household.[40] Based on such division in the typology of nomadic tents, their function and meaning the next section review the existing historical accounts on the structure of Trellis tents belonging to Timur's wives. Such examination then will be applied to inspect the representation of women in encampment scenes and the socio-cultural context of these spaces as pertaining to feminine gaze.

---

[35] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 237.
[36] Ibid, 238.
[37] "The inner walls of the pavilion are lined with crimson tapestry very beautifully woven in patterns of diverse designs, further it is hung with silk stuff of many colours in places worked over with embroidery of gold thread. The ceiling of the pavilion is its mark of greatest beauty for at the four corners are figured four eagles sitting with their wings closed…" see Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*,238-239; Ibn Arabshah gave the same description of the hight decorated tents erected at the wedding of Ulugh Beg, see Ahmad ibn Arabshah, *Zendegani Shegeft Avar-E Teymur (the Original Title in the Arabic: Aja'ib Al-Maqdur Fi Nawa'ib Al-Taymur (the Wonders of Destiny of the Ravages of Timur))*, trans. Mohammad Ali Nejati (Tehran: Bongah-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab (1356/1977), 217-18.
[38] Ibid, 239; In speaking of the trellis tents in each of the eleven enclosures, he states that they were "all covered in the red material in the same way" and every trellis tent he described was red, see Ibid, 240, 242;
[39] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 688.
[40] Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 669-670.

7.4 Trellis tents of Timur's wives

Assigning a separate tent to each wife when conditions allowed, was a Central Asian nomadic practice continued by Timurids. It is probable that the presence of trellis tents – which Andrews believes were the nomadic elements in the camp –[41] in Timurid enclosures was symbolic of that wife's stature in the household.[42] Following his visit to the royal camp, Clavijo is taken to view two different enclosures belonging to Timur's first and second wives. He provides details on the structure and decoration of two pitched trellis tents belonging to Saray Mulk Khanum, Timur's principal wife, and Kuchik Khanum, Timur's second wife.

Saray Mulk Khanum's enclosure is reported to be located near the grand pavilion or guyed tent as the venue for Timur's banquet, that Clavijo described when visiting the great camp on Monday the 6th of October. Clavijo noted a very lofty circular tent of 'another kind', which he clearly states 'does not stay with ropes'. Rather, its walls were sustained by poles. This trellis tent was built out of costly materials such as coloured applique work and a lining of sable. The tent had a high entrance, 'shut by doors' made of red tapestry stretched over a framework of small canes:[43]

> "Above this walls [sic] is made of crimson tapestry, but below the material of the wall is strengthened by a cotton stuffing like that of a coverlet, this being added [so] that the heat of the sun's rays may not pass through. The walls of these tents we are now describing are not ornamented with any pattern work of figures as elsewhere may be seen, their only ornament being bands of white which go all around the back up to about half way of the height, thus engirdling the walls outside. But further, these bands are ornamented with spangles of silver gilt, each of the size of an open hand, and in these have been set jewel stones of diverse sorts."[44]

He describes that this tent with its small loose pleats at the back, resembled "the facings of a woman's gown", "embroidered with a pattern in gold thread; and as the wind blows these loose pleats set on the linen band wave to and fro in a manner pleasing to see."[45] This highly

[41] Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," 144.
[42] Ibid, 152.
[43] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 240-241.
[44] Ibid, 240-241.
[45] Ibid.

decorated trellis tent inside Saray Mulk Khanum's enclosure attracted the gaze in the same manner that her attire did when admitting to a formal celebration. In her theatrical admission to a formal celebration in Samarghand, she was robed in a red silk dress embroidered with gold, while its long train was carried up by fifteen women attending behind. Her mighty red head-dress was ornamented by abundant pearls and jewels, and feathers garnished by precious stones.[46]

During another occasion on Friday seventeenth of October 1404, Saray Mulk Khanum, gave a feast to which Clavijo and his companions were invited. This occasion took place in an elegant enclosure with many opulent tents that Clavijo confirms were her possessions. As soon as they had dined the Great Khanum ordered they be taken for a tour. After describing the enclosure and tents, he describes the interiors and furniture inside that included a gold cabinet richly ornamented with jewels and pearls that reached a man's breast in height. The cabinet was entirely encrusted with jewels and pearls of a large size. Near this cabinet were six gold flasks and cups set with jewels. In front was a golden table with two golden palms trees ornamented with precious stones and big pearls and many more that Clavijo has mentioned in detail.[47] O'Kane believes that such furnishings were "appurtenances of royalty which are unlikely to have been surpassed in any urban palaces of the period".[48]

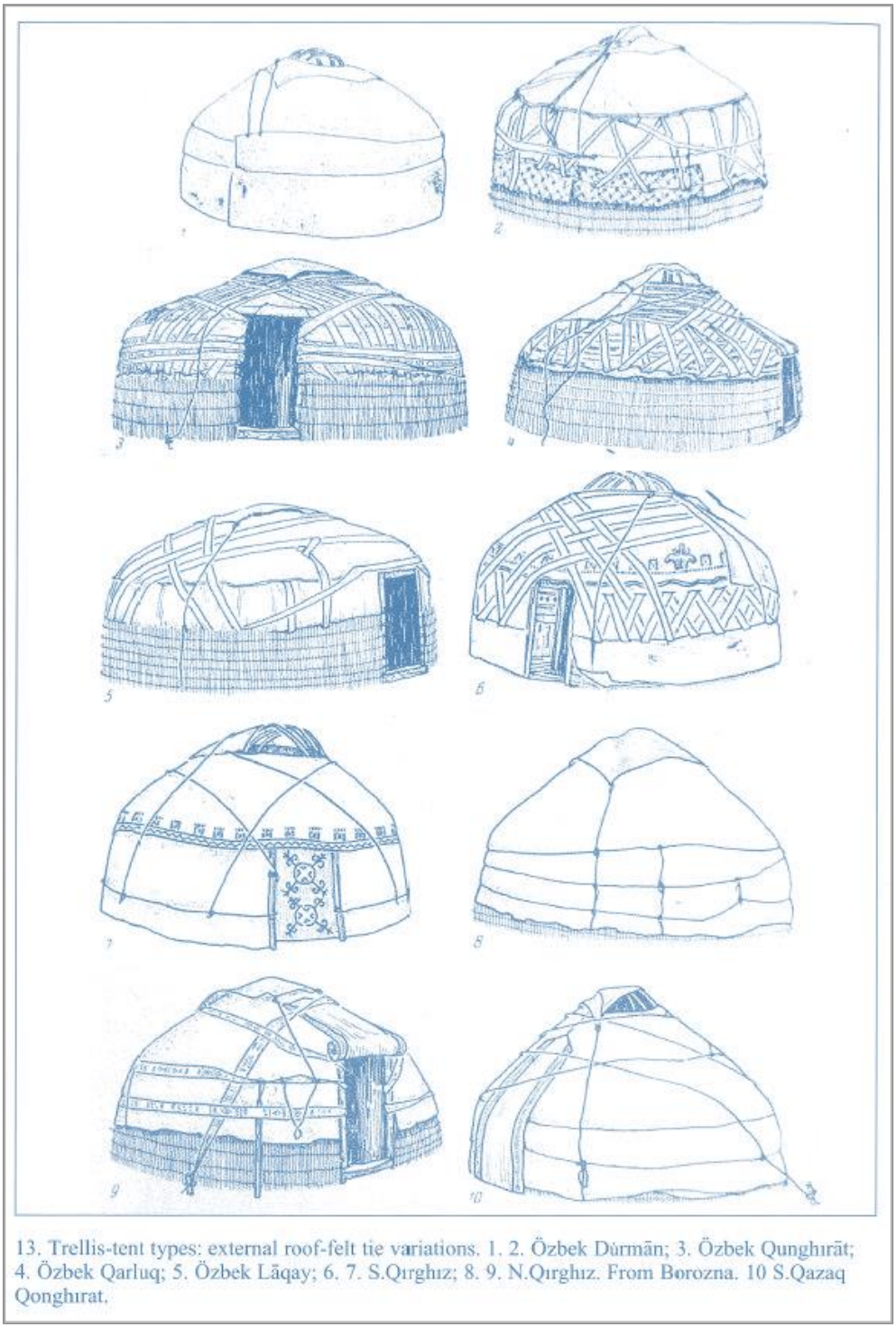
Clavijo's account confirms that the trellis tent was not the only kind pitched in Saray Mulk Khanum's enclosure. Nearby stood another tent "of the kind stayed with ropes" (guyed tent) that Clavijo describes as "very richly made" with "a red tapestry-like shag-velvet."[49] This opulence was certainly not unique and also described by Clavijo for a second enclosure, not far from the first and also large, enclosed by silk walls and woven in a tile pattern. It belonged to Tukal Khanum (Kuchik Khanum), and had windows. In the middle of this enclosure, stood a tent that Clavijo reports was very high and similarly described, made of red cloth and ornamented with spangles of silver.[50] All these tents are reported to be very tall, rising to the height of three war lances, which in Andrews' research, measured it to be equivalent to ten meters.[51]

---

[46] Ibid, 258-9.
[47] Ibid, 269-70.
[48] O'Kane, "From Tents," 250.
[49] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 241; However, Andrews disagrees on the terms used for the word tapete, see Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," 153-54.
[50] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 241.
[51] Ibid; Andrews, "The Tents of Timur," 150-1.

These descriptions suggest that there was no attempt to conceal women's quarter from the view or notice of others within the campsite. Women's enclosures were open for close inspection by ambassadors. Also, it seems that silk walls provided security and privacy rather than isolation. In the same manner that women's splendour outfit and jewelled headgears signified their status and pomp in the public ceremonies,[52] the magnitude and lavish decorations of women's tentage were as a means to emphasis their status in the Timurid household. Both the tents' splendour and women's attire were evidently designed to fascinate the eyes and impress the beholder.

[52] On an occasion of marriage celebration Yazdi reported that Timurid empresses had jewelled headgears, embroidered vests enriched with precious stones, appeared at the feast with an extraordinary splendour and pomp positioned on their royal seats; see Sharaf AL-din Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnameh Timuri*. edited by Abdolhossein Navai and Seyed Saeid Mir Mohammad Sadegh: Markaz-e Tahqigat-e Rayaneh-i Ghaemiyeh Isfahan, 578.



13. Trellis-tent types: external roof-felt tie variations. 1. 2. Özbek Dürmān; 3. Özbek Qunghırāt; 4. Özbek Qarluq; 5. Özbek Lāqay; 6. 7. S.Qırghız; 8. 9. N.Qırghız. From Borozna. 10 S.Qazaq Qonghırat.

Figure 7.1. Different types of trellis tents as defined by Peter Alford Andrews.[53]

[53] *Felt Tent*, vol 2, p.13.

7.5 Representation of women in encampment scenes

The vibrant illustration of nomadic encampments with details of tentage and tribal life depicted in the illustrated pages of Persian manuscripts are significant sources for studying women's activities and social roles. Examples of this theme are visible on two fronts - royal encampment scenes versus those detailing the nomadic life of tribes. Of these, the royal encampment scenes represented the campsite of a princess or ruler, such as that related to Timur, his successors, and kings of the Shahnameh. The second group is folios which illustrate the nomadic life of tribes, such as Leyli and Majnun.

The following sections examine and compare the representation of women in these two main themes of encampment scenes – royal encampments and functional nomadic encampments – to inspect their social activities and role, and participation or seclusion in relation to their mobile domicile. Sections 7.5.1 and 7.5.2 consider the spatial arrangement of royal encampments and distribution of gender within them, and then define the functionality of *'Khaymeh'* and *'Khargāh'* in relation to gender, public and private domains. Sections 7.5.3 and 7.5.4. observe the spatial arrangement and distribution of women and men and their status in different pastoral nomadic encampments.

7.5.1 Women's quarters in royal encampments

One of the richest visual sources in Persian miniature painting for studying mobile architecture is the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp. By examining some examples from Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp paintings the focus of this section will be to discern and define how public and private areas are arranged within the mobile environment of royal encampments. Two encampment scenes from this manuscript illustrate dramatic moments of death: 'Rostam mourns over his son Sohrab' and the 'Killing of Iraj' (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). The mobile architectural structures include guyed tents, trellis tents and awnings, all of which are elaborately ornamented in different colours and decorations. The guyed tents are steadied by precisely illustrated stout ropes, and awnings are raised by thick poles. The spatial composition of these images can be divided into three sections – the foreground, the middle ground, and the background. The main reception pavilions are established in the foreground, hills and rocks are visible in the middle ground, and the women's tents are erected in the background. Therefore, the women's residences are pitched behind the reception pavilions, not encircled by fabric walls, and separated from the foreground by

rocks and hills. Both groups of tents in the foreground and background – for the men and the women – are surrounded by those of the courtiers and military. In the chaos which has happened in the royal camp, women have remained inside their tents, crying and mourning, while witnessing the scene through the tent door.



Representation of women in the royal encampment scene as observers of dramatic events.

Top left and Bottom left: Figure 7.2. Rostam mourns Sohrab, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp.[54]
Top right and Bottom right Figure 7.3. The killing of Iraj, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp. [55]

[54] Mohammad-ʻAli Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010), 178.
[55] Ibid, 84.





Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and women's residence.
Left: Figure 7.4. Elevated view. Demonstration of depth using overlapping layers.
Right: Figure 7.5. Front view. Women's tents concealed behind the great reception tent.

The pop-up reproduction of 'Rostam mourns Sohrab' is created based on three stratified spaces as defined (Figures 7.4 and 7.5). By suggesting the three-dimensional description of the original painting, these study models demonstrate how, by viewing the scene frontally, the women's quarters are concealed by the foreground and middle ground. Therefore women located inside their tents at the background do not have visual access to what is happening at the grant pavilion at the foreground. However, it seems that those in the 'spatial background' including women and courtiers could have seen and heard what was happening out front, where the main subject of the story was depicted.

Three other folios from this particular Shahnameh depict royal encampment scenes of routine daily life (Figures 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8). Contrary to the two previous images, everything in these campsites seems to be in order. Narrow streams flow peacefully, the king and his guests converse while seated inside pavilions, and women are visible as they sightsee besides the river. Similar to the first two examples discussed above (Figures 7.2 and 7.3), here, the foreground is allocated to the main reception tents intended for the king and his visitors, while the women's tents are pitched in the background. Analysis of the representation of women in both groups has been restricted to a limited area inside or beside their tents.

Following this background on the general arrangement of public and private sections and location of women's quarters within those sections in the royal encampments depicted in the five paintings discussed above (Figures 7.2, 7.3, 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8), the next section observes the public area in the foreground and the private area in the background more closely, to examine the typology of tents and their functionality in relation to genders and their social activities within these areas.



Representation of women in the royal encampment scene in their routine daily life.

Top left: Figure 7.6. Salm and Tur discuss Manuchehr, the Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp.[56]
Top right: Figure 7.7. Zal questions Sam's intentions regarding the House of Mihrab, the Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp, folio 81v.[57]
Bottom left: Figure 7.8. Siyavash seeks counsel from Zangeh and Bahram, the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp.[58]
(Bottom right: Details of figures 7.6, 7.7, and 7.8)

[56] Ibid, 96.
[57] Sheila Canby, *The Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp: The Persian Book of Kings* (Yale University Press, 2014), 129.
[58] Rajabi and others, *The Shahnameh of,* 194.

7.5.2 *Khaymeh* as royal *iwan, khargāh* as *shabistān*

The reception pavilions in the five paintings discussed in the previous section and in multiple other examples consist of guyed tents shaded by awnings (Figures 7.9, 7.10 and 7.11). Inside these pavilions the floors are usually covered with mats and rugs and in some cases, additional carpets and pillows which are allocated to the king. Such receptions are essential elements signifying royal encampments, usually surrounded by courtiers and horsemen.



Guyed tents as reception pavilion represented in three different manuscripts from the early to late Safavid era.
Left: Figure 7.9. Discussion with amirs to fight with Amir Bildooz, from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), 1528, Golestan Palace, Iran.
Middle: Figure 7.10. Shahpur returns to Khusraw, Khamseh by Nezami, Tabriz, c. 1539, British Library, London, Or 2265, 57v.
Right: Figure 7.11. Unpublished folio from Shahnameh of Rashida, the first half of the seventeenth century, Isfahan School, Courtesy of Golestan Palace.

The three dimensional pop-up model of Manuchehr's encampment (Figures 7.12 and 7.13) demonstrates such a composition and shows how the trellis tent, located in the foreground, functioned as a porch to welcome visitors. Female residences, similar to the palace harem, are concealed behind the great reception tent. Such a repeated pattern of tent arrangement on campsites in Persian miniature painting signifies the same practice of tent arrangement amongst tribes and will be examined in depth in further studies.





Applying the pop-up method to define the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and women's residence.
Left: Figure 7.12. Elevated view.
Right: Figure 7.13. Front view, women's tents concealed behind the great reception tent.

Except for guyed tents *(khaymeh)*, some trellis tents *(khargāh)* were pitched at the campsites discussed above – the first beside Iraj's tent (Figure 7.3), the second red tent with arabesque ornamentation in Manuchehr's encampment (Figure 7.6), and the third tent beside Sām's pavilion (Figure 7.7). These imageries reminds us of Clavijo's description of the structure of trellis tents at Timur's camp, usually set at women's enclosures which could be closed by a door.[59] All the current examples of *khargāh* and many others displayed in Persian miniature painting have doors that could be appropriately locked to increase privacy and ensure security (Figure 7.14).



Figure 7.14. A luxuriously decorated trellis tent with doors onto a garden, Iraj proposes to meet his brothers, The Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp.[60]

In this sense, the *'khargāh'* functioned similar to the *'private quarter'* in the palace, around and inside which usually women were illustrated in these miniatures (Figures 7.15, 7.16 and 7.17). On the other hand, the guyed tents with adjustable 'skirts' create a semi-closed space similar to an *iwan*, suitable for public functions and gatherings. Within the 'space' of the miniature painting, both the '*khaymeh'* and '*iwan'* were characterised as a platform, where the Shah sat on his carpet or mobile throne and received visitors. The visitors were usually men unless the story requiresd women characters.

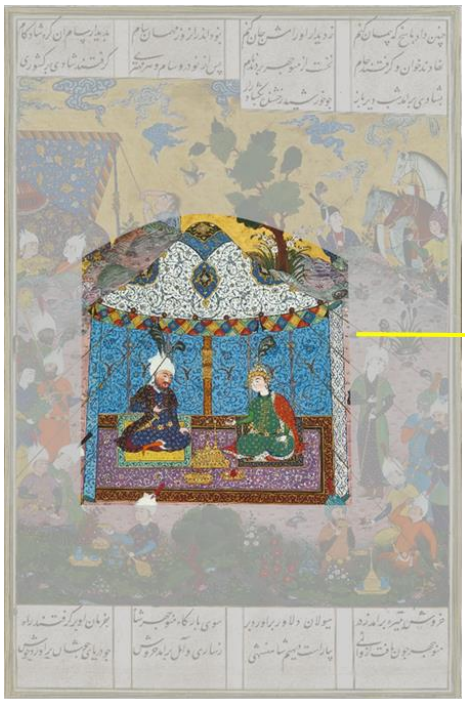
[59] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 240-241.
[60] Ibid, 96.

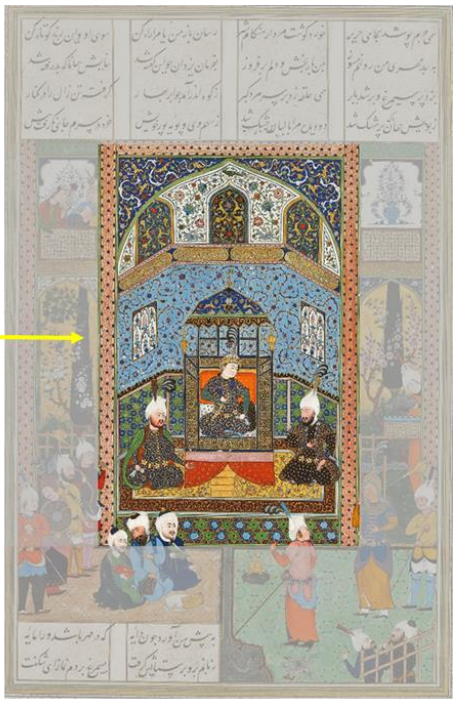


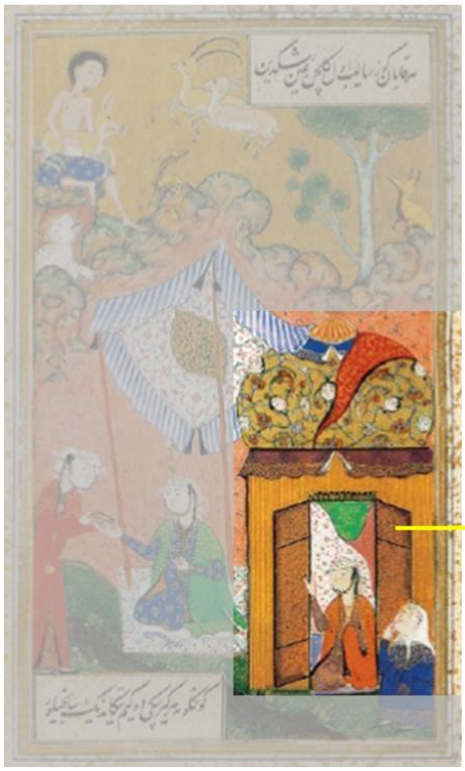
Top: Figure 7.15. The king tests the servant, unknown artist, Jmi's Selselat-oz-Zahab 1569, Gostan Palace.[61]
Middle: Figure 7.16. Yusuf and Zulaykha, Haft Awrang, Iran, 1560 AD, The Freer Gallery of Art: The Smithsonian Museum of Asian Art.
Bottom: Figure 7.17. The flight of the tortoise, Haft Awrang of Jami 963-72/1556-65, Iran, FGA 46.12, folio 215b.[62]

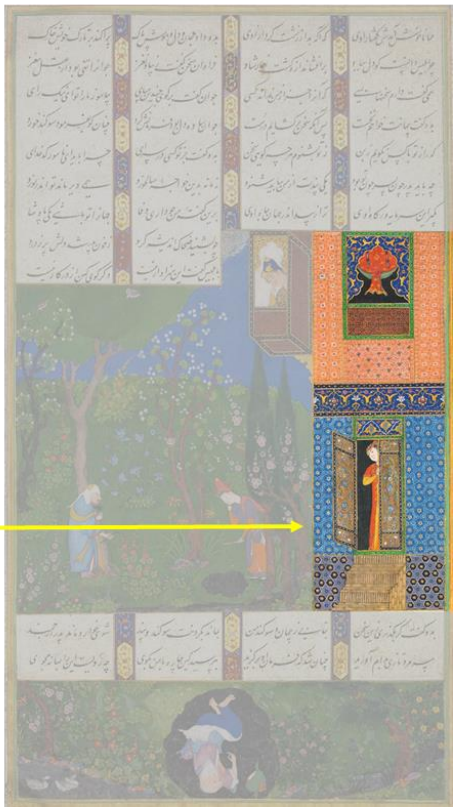
[61]Abdolmajid Hosseini-Rad, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005), 202.
[62] Marianna Shreve Simpson, and Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Yale University Press, 1997).

Figure 7.18 compares the structure and function of *'khaymeh'* as the royal reception pavilion tent in the encampments scenes and *'iwam'* in the palace depicted in two folios from Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp. Figure 7.19 then compares the structure and function of the '*khargāh'* and *'shabistān'*. These comparisons show how the structure of *'khaymeh'* made it possible to function as a public venue and how the structure of '*khargāh'* made it appropriate to function as a private chamber in the mobile setting of a tribal encampment. These two different typologies and functionalities then led to dissimilar social activities within and around *'khaymeh'* and '*khargāh'*. Men mostly appeared in the foreground gathering in *'khaymeh'*, while '*khargāh'* were more frequently located in the background or behind reception pavilion *(khaymeh)* and occupied by women.









Top: Figure 7.18. Comparing the '*khaymeh'* as the royal reception pavilion tent in the encampments scenes and *'iwam'* in the palace, two folios from Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp.[63]
Bottom: Figure 7.19. Comparing the '*khargāh'* and *'Shabistān'* (chamber).
Left: The lovers' meeting, c. 1520--1530. Diwan of Sultan Hussain Bayqara. Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. Inv. no. V 284, f.20a.[64]
Right: Zahhak Kills the Father, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp.[65]

[63] Rajabi and others, *The Shahnameh of.*
[64] Vladimir Lukonin, and Anatoly Ivanov, *Persian Art* (New York: Parkstone International, 2012), accessed December 17, 2018, ProQuest Ebook Central, 117g.
[65] Rajabi and others, *The Shahnameh of,* 45.

7.5.3 Women in functional nomadic encampments

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, until the nineteenth century, Iran and the rest of the Nile-to-Oxus region had a large tribally organized, pastoralist, often nomadic, population. Nashat argues that women pastoralists were not secluded as much as urban or other rural women.[66] She defines that pastoralist's isolation due to their seasonal migration required more self-sufficiency and greater participation by women.[67] Many rural women participated in agriculture and animal husbandry and were responsible for preparing food and clothing.[68] Due to various responsibilities that nomadic women carried out, gender division, seclusion and the veil were impractical for them; thus they had far more public visibility than women in urban centres.[69]

However, given that information about women in the lower social strata, and rural and nomadic societies, is inadequate,[70] their presence in encampment scenes of pastoral tribes illustrated in Persian miniature painting is significant. In effect, images of tribal campsites are the best devices to gain insights into the social and daily activities of women, versus their conventional image in royal sedentary or mobile architectural settings. Literary works facilitated the best chance for painters to devote attention to the details of camp life. The most significant work is the story of the legendary lovers 'Leyli-o Majnun' who belonged to two different Arab tribes. The most recognised version of this story is the one by Nezami (1141–1209 CE.) in Khamseh, and later re-narrated by others such as Amir Khusrow Dehlavi (1253–1325 CE.) in the Samaniyeh Khusravi, and by Jami (1414–1492 CE.) in the Haft Awrang.

Several of the paintings in this classic narrative depict nomadic life and mobile architecture in general and women's role within the encampment in particular:

'Leyli summons Majnun to her camp' from Khamseh of Nezami (Figure 7.32), 'Qays first glimpses Leyli' from Haft Awrang by Jami (Figure 7.31), 'Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyli's tent' from the Khamseh by Nezami (Figure 7.29), 'Nomadic encampment or meeting of the clans,' probably a folio from a manuscript of Leyli and

[66] Guity Nashat, "Introduction," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 1-10 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois press 2003), 5.
[67] Guity Nashat, "Women in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Iran," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 11-47 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois press 2003), 14.
[68] Nashat, "Introduction, 5; Nashat, "Women in Pre-Islamic,14.
[69] Nashat, "Introduction, 6; Nashat, "Women in Pre-Islamic, 14.
[70] Nashat, "Women in," 13.

Majnun of Jami (Figure 7.23), and ‘A depraved man commits bestiality and is berated by Satan’ from Haft Awrang of Jami (Figure 7.26). Selected details in these paintings display the representations of the daily chores of tribal women set in nomadic encampment scenes (Figures 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22). A diversity of activities, including animal husbandry, cooking activities, spinning and sewing, washing clothes and tending children, were clearly performed by women. Figures 7.20 to 7.22 are details selected from different paintings which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life.

Men also contributed to fetching wood, occasionally food preparation, and pasturing animals while playing the *ney choupāni* (shepherd’s flute) for the herd. Their busy lives also included some leisure time in which women are shown chatting, meeting a beloved and observing the scene. Men, if not attending official meetings at the reception pavilion, were shown being entertained by performers, leaning on the grass, reading a book and gathering with friends. The number of children and youngsters playing in tribal scenes is depicted more than any other theme in Persian miniature painting.

Despite their frequent absence from official historical documents, these images represent how women played vital roles in their families and tribal communities. Although an amorphous gender division within the campsite can be detected, with women occupying predominantly the middle ground and background domains and men foreground ones, both men and women are actively contributing to perform a variety of tasks together.



Figure 7.20. Details from the meeting of the clans (Figure 7.23) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life.



Figure 7.21. Details from a depraved man commits bestiality and is berated by Satan (Figure 7.26) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life.



Figure 7.22. Details from Qays (Majnun) first glimpses Leyli (Figure 31) which demonstrate the active role of nomadic women in pastoral life.

Among the encampment scenes mentioned above, 'The meeting of the clans', attributed to Mir Sayyid 'Ali (sixteenth century) has been praised by scholars due to its meticulously observed and recorded scene (Figure 7.23). The detailed execution of tentage and the lively representation of nomadic life makes this painting an exceptional visual resource to study mobile architecture, nomadic life and women's role. A second folio from the Silsilat al-dhahab in the Haft Awrang by Jami, despite its placement of the depraved man in the foreground as the main subject, attracts the observer by demonstrating tribal life activity

(Figure 7.26). The pop-up models of these two folios (Figures 7.24, 7.25, 7.27 and 7.28) more clearly show different layers of space that have been arranged from the bottom to the top of the page. Within these overlapping layers, people, animals and tents were distributed.



Figure 7.23. The meeting of the clans, previously attributed to Mir Sayyid ʻAli, Persian (sixteenth century), probably a folio from a manuscript of Leyli and Majnun of Jami, date c. 1540, Middle East, Iran, Tabriz, Safavid period. Courtesy of the Harvard Art Museum /Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of John Goelet, formerly in the collection of Louis J. Cartier, Copyright: Photograph ©President and Fellows of Harvard College. Accessed 23.11.2018, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/216252.





Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene, including reception pavilion and women's residence:
Top. Figure 7.24. Elevated view. Demonstration of depth by overlapping layers from the bottom to the top of the page. **Bottom.** Figure 7.25. Front view, women's tents concealed behind the great reception tent.



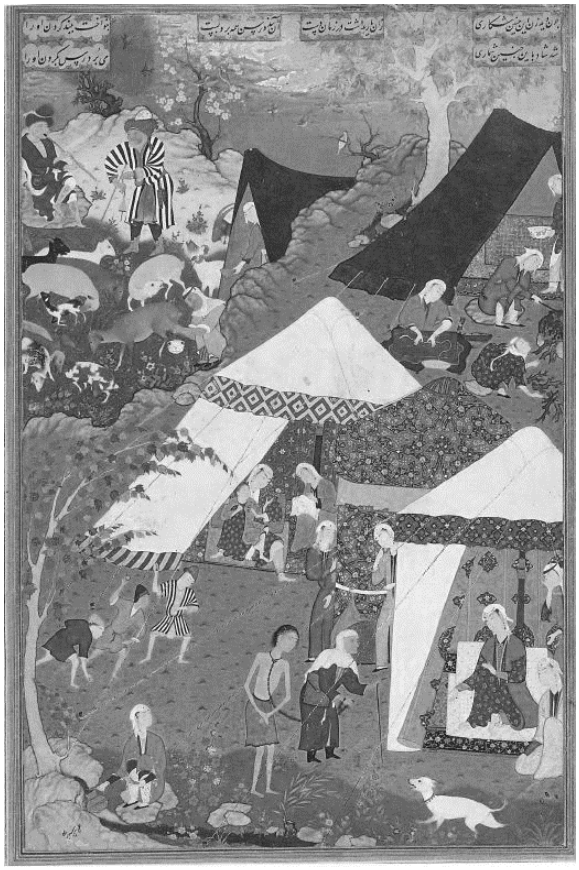
Figure 7.26. A depraved man commits bestiality and is berated by Satan, folio from the Silsilat al-dhahab (Chain of gold) in the Haft Awrang (Seven thrones) by Jami (d. 1492), 963-72/1556-65, Iran, FGA 46.12, folio 3oa, accessed 24.07.2019, https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1946.12.30/#object-content.

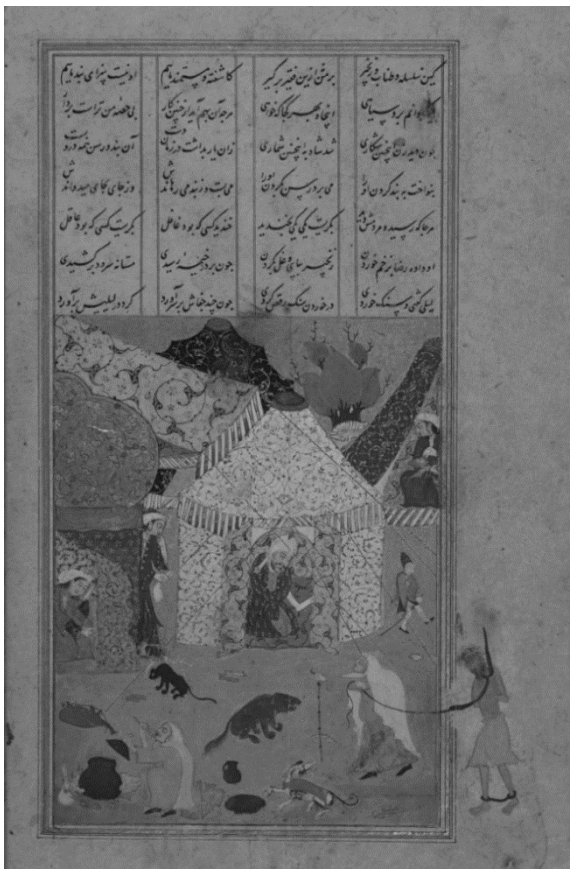


Defining the spatial arrangement of the royal encampment scene including reception pavilion and women's residence. **Top.** Figure 7.27. Elevated view. **Bottom.** Figure 7.28. Front view.

7.5.4 Women's sphere within the campsite

Royal and tribal encampment scenes represented in Persian miniature painting, usually display the women's tents as being established in the middle and background, while the foreground is allocated to the reception pavilion. However, in some situations, the women's tents are displayed at the front. The best examples are illustrated folios from the narrative poem of Leyli and Majnun, including Majnun brought in chains (Figure 7.29), Leyli summons Majnun to her camp (Figure 7.32), and Qays first glimpses Leyli (Figure 7.31).





Left: Figure 7.29. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyla's tent, the Khamseh by Nezami,1539-43. Tabriz 1539--1543. Illustrated by Mir Sayyid Ali. [71]
Right: Figure 7.30. Majnun in chains is led by the old woman to Leili's tent, a folio from Leyli o Majnun by Nezami, scribed by Yar Muhammad al-Haravi (active ca. 922 AH/AD 1516), painting by 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn 'Abd al-Fattah ibn 'Ali (active ca. 922 AH/AD 1516), India, Walters manuscript W.609, folio 149B, accessed 24.07.2019 https://art.thewalters.org/detail/81272/majnun-in-chains-is-led-by-the-old-woman-to-layls-tent/

[71] Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2013), 151.





Left: Figure 7.31. Qays (Majnun) first glimpses Leyli, Haft Awrang by Jami(d. 1492), Iran, Mashhad, 1556-65 AD, (f. 231a), The Freer Gallery of Art, accessed 27.07.2019
https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1946.12.231/
Right: Figure 7.32. Leyli summons Majnun to her camp, Khamseh (Quintet) of Nezami, by Siyavush the Georgian and his workshop, Iran, Qazvin, c.1579 AD, The Morgan Library and Museum: Treasures of Islamic Manuscript Painting.

In general, Persian painting conventionally employ the foreground to depict the main subject of the narration. In all three paintings, the story occurs beside Leyli's tent; therefore, instead of a 'conventional' reception pavilion, her tent as part of the women's dwelling has been located in the composition foreground. Therefore, we know that in functional encampment scenes women could be present in the foreground of the painting, following the narration. To better understand the features of such a setting and contrast it with typical encampment scenes, a comparison between two groups of paintings has been made. Each group, as shown below, consists of three paintings: while the first group shows women in the foreground (Figures 7.33, 7.34, 7.35) and the second shows women in the middle ground and in the background (Figures 7.36, 7.37, 7.38).

Comparing the distribution of men, women, and children in two spatial setting groups:

Group 1. Women in the foreground:



Figure 7.33. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.31).



Figure 7.34. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.32).

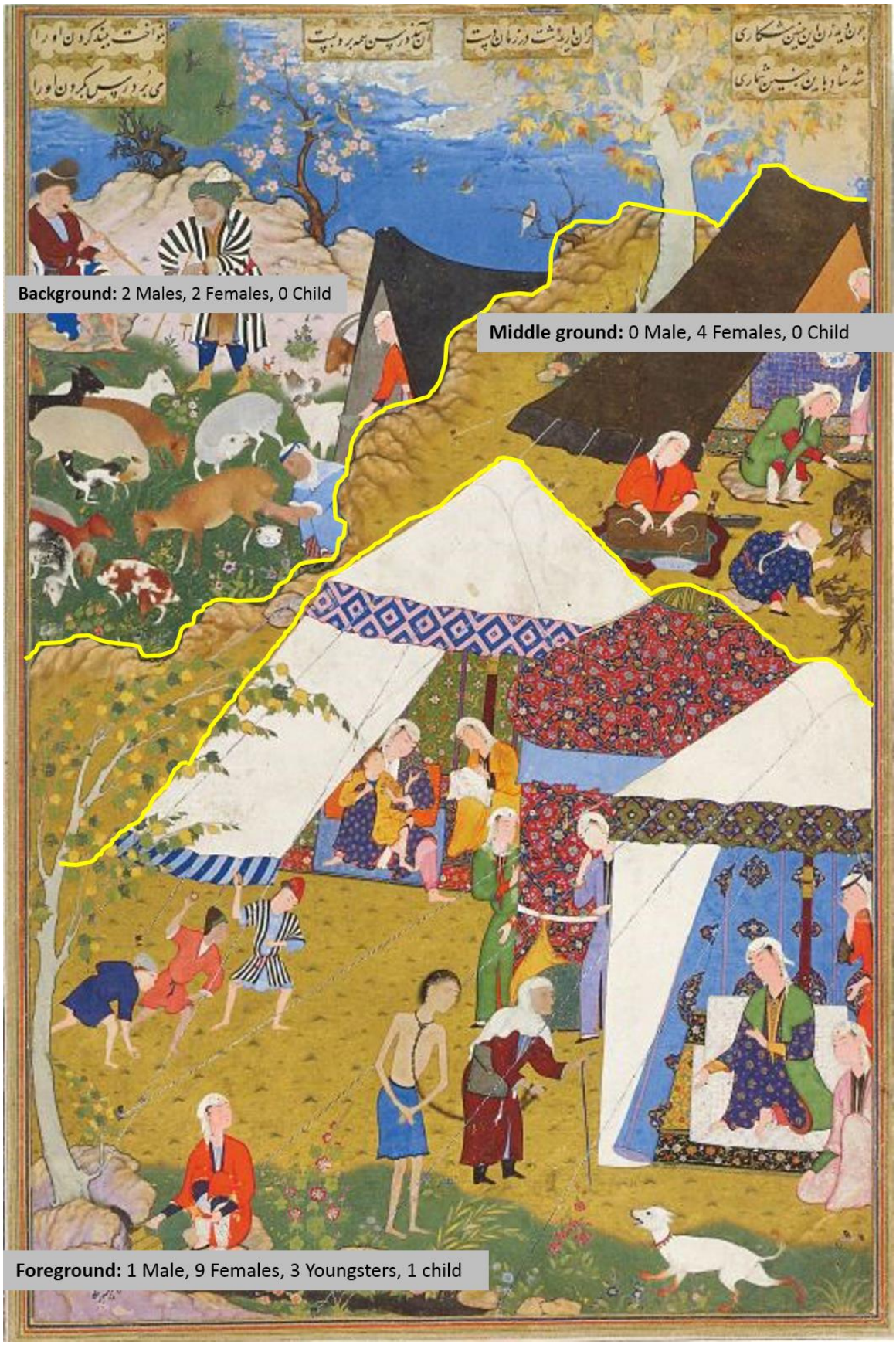


Figure 7.35. Defining the placement of women's tents and their activities zone within different spatial layers from foreground to background. Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyla's tent (Figure 7.29).

Group 2. Women within the middle ground and in the background:



Figure 7.36. Defining the distribution of males, females and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.26).



Figure 7.37. Analysis. Defining the distribution of males, females and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background. Yusuf is rescued from the well, folio from a Haft Awrang (Seven thrones) by Jami (d.1492), Freer Gallery of Art, accessed 25.07.2019, https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1946.12.105/



Figure 7.38. Defining the distribution of males, females and children based on the different spatial layers from foreground to background (Figure 7.23).

To analyse the distribution of figures based on gender in these two different settings, first, the spatial layers of each painting which consist of foreground, middle ground and background have been defined (Figures 7.33–7.38). The analysis of spatial layers of illustrated folios demonstrate that in general, the spatial configuration of tribal encampments consisted of intricate layers. Some compositions had two or three figures in the middle ground. Different typologies of tents, awnings, animals and human figures were displayed within these layers. The number of women and children compared to the royal campsite scenes were larger. Accordingly, the number of men, women, youngsters and children in each layer of paintings is recorded in two separate tables, as below. (Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

Table 7.1. Distribution of figures when women were depicted in the foreground

Number of Figures	**Spatial Layers**		
	Foreground	Middle ground	Background
Men	5	**6**	**9**
Women	**16**	5	3
Youngsters & children	**4**	2	0

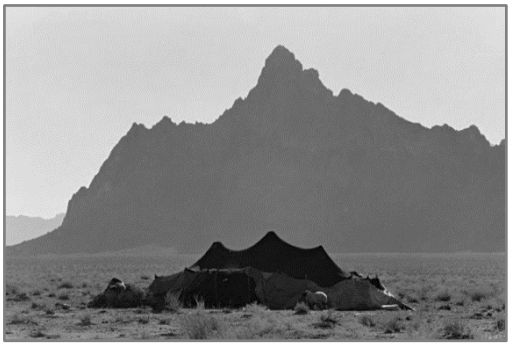
Table 7.2. Distribution of figures when women were depicted in the middle ground and background

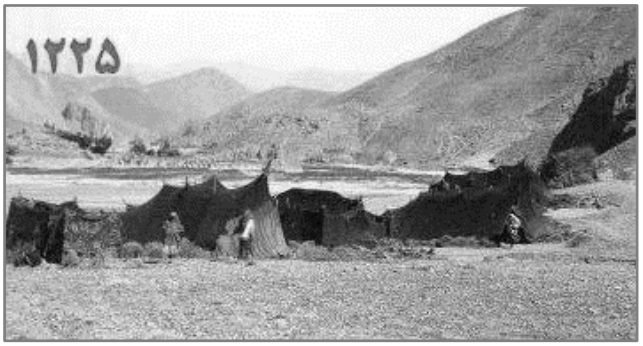
Number of Figures	**Spatial Layers**		
	Foreground	Middle ground	Background
Men	**18**	**24**	3
Women	0	**17**	0
Youngsters & children	0	**13**	2

Table 7.1 shows that when the foreground was allocated to the women as the main characters of the story, it turned out to be a female domain such that the men were relegated to the middle ground and background. However, while men still occupied the foreground, but their numbers were significantly fewer than the women. Table 7.2 shows that not only is the foreground (i.e. the second group) occupied by men, but they are still dominant in the middle ground, which was the only section that women were present. In examining these two tables, the presentation of children and youngsters is dependent on the presence of women. They are depicted around the women's dwelling, where there are more women. Therefore in the

first group, women are significantly visible in the foreground, and in the second group, children follow the women on the middle ground.

The schematic drawings below are based on two selected encampment settings. Of these two, the first (Figure 7.41.) is based on the spatial layers in 'Figure 7.35' (Majnun brought in chains by the old woman to Leyla's tent). This setting demonstrates the arrangement of a campsite where women tents are displayed in the foreground. The second (Figure 7.42) is based on the spatial divisions of Figure 7.38 (the meeting of the clans) showing a typical campsite where the reception pavilion, as a public section, is located in the foreground and women' dwellings are relatively separated behind. In drawing these plans, the mountains have been highlighted. Observation of several examples of encampment scenes demonstrates the importance of highlands and hills in the formation of campsite settings. Figure 7.39 and 7.40 show the adjacent nomadic black tent and mountains, which is a contemporary example of such a pattern in the setting of tents beside or close to highlands and hills. Thus it can be suggested that in the absence of enclosures, cliffs and rocks are seen to act as natural dividers and buffer spaces between compositional spatial zones. And by separating the campsite into smaller segments, these 'prop-like' devices, therefore, add to the seclusion and security of the site.





Left: Figure 7.39. A nomadic black tent and mountains in the background. Photo by Nasrollah Kasraeiyan.
Right: Figure 7.40. *"Guot"* the black tents of the Sangsar tribe in Damavand mountain country with hills in the background, 1225 (1940 AD).

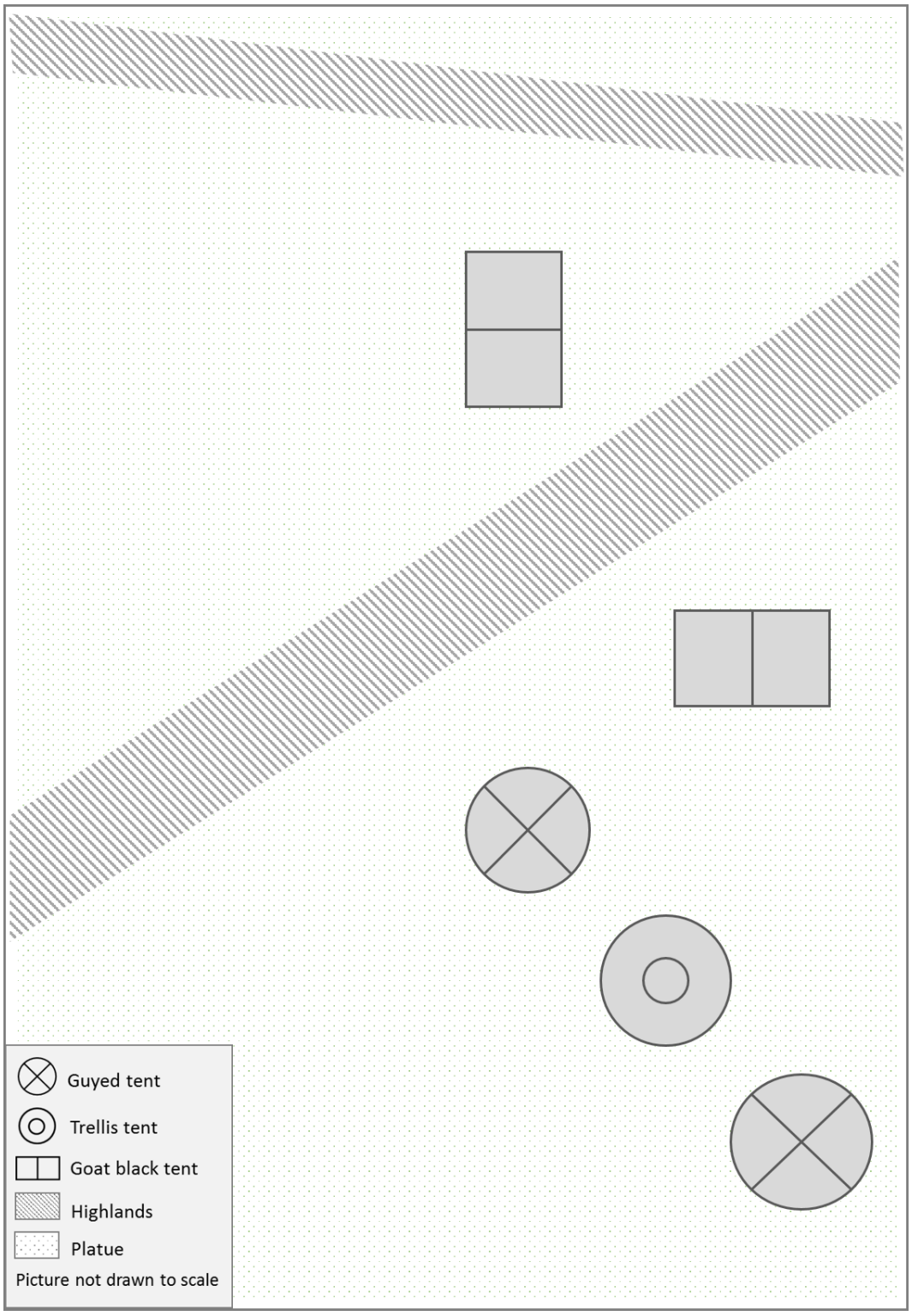


Figure 7.41. Schematic plan of encampment setting based on Figure 7.35, women's tents in foreground.

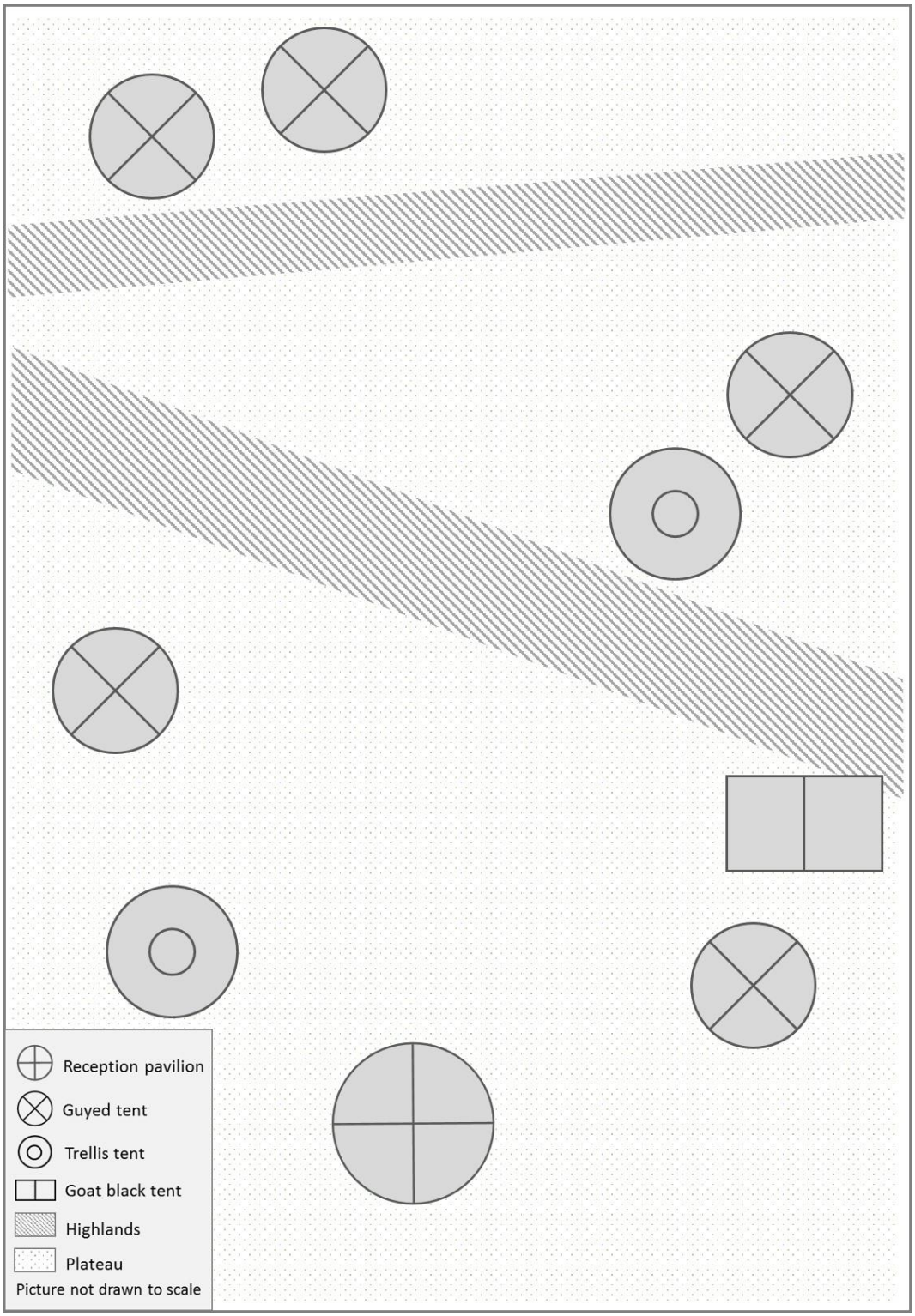


Figure 7.42. Schematic plan of encampment setting based on Figure 7.38, women's tents on middle ground.

The question is, do these schematic diagrams refer to two different encampment settings that the painter has seen in reality, or is the proposed diagram in Figure 7.41 only the result of a different visual frame that the painter has selected from the same setting, as shown in Figure 7.42? To answer these questions, we need to review 'the Majnun brought in chains' (Figure 7.26). This sixteenth-century folio is a manuscript of Nezami's Khamseh by Mir Sayyid Ali devoted to details of camp life. The painter has assigned the foreground to illustrate the main theme, where Majnun is standing in front of Leyli's tent. The odd presence of Majnun in chains in front of his beloved tent has been emphasised by the tribes' gaze on him. Not only do Leyli and her maids gaze at Majnun, but also a woman who is fetching water turns her head to look at him, and three young boys chase him and fling stones (Figure 7.44).

Since the central theme of the text is focused on the women's section of the camp, it could be suggested that it is not the women's tent that has been located in the foreground, but rather the painter has zoomed-in to select a close-up frame with a focus on the central theme (Figure 7.44). According to this assumption, Figure 7.44 proposes an expanded version of the scene based on existing architectural and natural structures. The drawing then adds a reception pavilion in the foreground to re-create a zoom-out view of the site. The result is an arrangement based on the schematic diagram (Figure 7.42), which a typical encampment setting is represented, wherein women's tents are located behind the reception pavilion.

This analysis suggests that the representation of women and the positional hierarchy of their dwelling in the foreground of encampments is a result of a change in the painter's viewpoint and not a change in the camp setting. Also, the frequent representation of women behind the reception pavilions as the men's gathering and meeting venue in Persian miniature painting is because of a narrative necessity and not a subordinated social role for women. Images of women as depicted in functional nomadic encampments – a society that delineates fewer borders between men and women than urban areas – is an evidence of their prominent status and dynamic role within the tribal household.



Underlining two methods to emphasis the central theme of the text:
Left: Figure 7.43. Depicting Majnun in chain in the foreground and directing the gaze of the tribe on him to highlight the central theme of the text.
Right: Figure 7.48. Selecting zoom-in-view and close-up frame to highlight the central theme of the text.

7.6 Summary

This chapter, as the third and final chapter to discuss gaze and femineity in mobile architectures, considered the 'tent' as the focus and spatial framwork in discussion. While chapter five discussed the royal encampment *(ordu)* as mobile cities, and chapter six recognised the *Sarāpardeh* as fabric walls creating security and privacy for a group of tents in the *ordu*, here Timurid royal tents were examined and interpreted as mobile palaces.

The spatial examination of encampment scenes, categorised typologically between royal and functional nomadic tents, outlined some patterns based on spatial hierarchies, from public to private, which were facilitated by specific methods. First, as discussed in section 7.5.2, the types of tent usually used were *khaymeh* (public venue) and *khargāh* (private domain).

Second, as revealed in section 7.5.3, natural elements such as rocks were used to maintain buffer zones between and around tents. And finally, the camp arrangement, which located women's tents behind the reception pavilion were thus provided with privacy (section 7.5.4).

While women in the royal encampment were presented marginally in the paintings, and as onlookers, in functional nomadic camps they appeared as the active members of the clan. These tribal encampment scenes, therefore, provided the best opportunity to observe women going about their daily activities rather than idealised according to conventional roles.

The next four chapters will investigate the role of women and their power relationships in space by observing their representation within examples of secular and religious sedentary architecture. The following chapter will consider the depiction of women in residential buildings – mainly the palace and pavilion – towards exploring the relationship between women's role, space, visual access towards their 'compositional locations' and emanating outwards, Sharia' discussions on vision, and way of seeing in Persian miniature painting.

Chapter 8.

Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Sedentary Residential Architecture in Persian Painting



Part of Figure 8.35

8.1 Introduction

Codes of modesty and veiling promoted gender segregation and spatial privacy in traditional Persian architecture, particularly in familial residential settings. This chapter examines the reflection of these conventions in Persian painting focusing specifically on the representations of women to pose three questions: First, how were gender segregation and privacy reflected in the spatial settings of Persian painting and, if this were the case at all, what were the methods by which these nuances were recorded in the images so-produced? Second, how were these methods affected by way of prevalent conventions of seeing and perspectival viewing in Persian painting? Third, how was the visual access of women towards the outer world and their social participation conditioned and controlled by such segregation?

The current examination considers a representative selection of folios within different manuscripts dating from the Timurid to the late Safavid eras. The architectural spaces under discussion will be examined hierarchically from gradations of private to public. Thus, residential structures such as the pavilion and palace, as spaces which provide private quarters such as *harem* and *khābgāh* (bedroom) and semi-private areas such as *iwan*, courtyard and gathering halls will be analyzed accordingly. To have a better understanding of the representation of women in different spaces, the subject matter of the images as narrated in the associated texts will also be carefully considered, since available information from these texts allows us to execute a more accurate classificatory and iconographic analysis. Before the examination of paintings, the principles of visual privacy in traditional Persian architecture, as deliberated by the Quran and Hadith, will also be reviewed.

8.2 *Ahkām al-Nazar* (Sharia rulings on vision) and Principles of visual privacy in traditional Persian architecture

An important part of *Ahkam al-Nazar* (Islamic Sharia' ruling on vision) concerns housing, especially in relation to female residents. The Prophet's *sunnah* stresses the importance of the privacy of the home by defining a guideline which has been recorded in *hadith*. The Prophet said: "It is not permissible for a Muslim to look inside any house until he has been given permission."[1] The Prophet goes further by instructing his followers that a man should not enter his own house unexpectedly. He should in some way notify the residences that he

[1] Narrated by al-Bukhaari in *al-Adab al-Mufrad* (1093); classed as saheeh by al-Albaani.

is coming inside, so that he may not see his mother, sister or daughter in a condition in which they would not like to be seen, nor one in which he would not like to see them.[2] Clearly, the emphasis here is on respecting the privacy of female members of the household. According to the hadith, the 'right of privacy' was not only limited to the question of entry. An essential part of privacy also highlighted in Islam is 'visual privacy'. It is forbidden to peer into a house or glance from outside, without permission.[3]

The Islamic principle of house privacy is an affiliation of codes that calls a Muslim to separate his or her secluded private life from public intercourse. Meanwhile, it is a part of the Islamic system of gender segregation. As this system aims to protect the family and close those avenues that lead to prohibited illicit sex, or even indiscriminate contact between sexes in society, it prescribes significant rules for the relationship, dressing, modes of behavior and contact between women and men.[4] In general, Islam disapproves of free mixing between unrelated members of opposite sexes and regards this as conflicting with the role it assigns to the family in society.[5] Islam specifies the degree of relationship between men and women in what is known as a '*mahram'*. *Mahram* defines the relationship between male and female either by marriage or close blood ties. Any person outside this circle is thus regarded as a stranger (*nā mahram*).[6]

In Iran, different spatial forms of architecture in distinct places represent diverse spatial structures associated with gender and social orders. The geographical, ethnic, socio-economic, and cultural diversity of the population in Iran has generated various types of spatial arrangements. Introvert and extrovert are two main forms of the built environment and residential settlements,[7] which are distinctive in their spatial arrangements including

[2] Hisham Mortada, *Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment* (Abingdon, Oxon, United States: Routledge, 2003), 95.
[3] The jurists have included 'hearing' also under 'glancing'. For instance, if a blind man enters a house without permission, he will not be able to see anybody, but he will certainly be able to hear whatever is going on in the house. This also amounts to violation of the other person's right of privacy.
[4] Mortada, *Traditional Islamic*, 95-6.
[5] Ibid.
[6] God clarifies the limits of relationship between the strange men and women in an indication of who is the *mahram*: 'O Prophet! tell thy wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested' (Quran, 33:59).
[7] Rahmat Mohammadzadeh , and Ahad Nejad Ebrahimi, "Introversion and its Role in Iranian Architecture and Urbanism genesis and development," International Research Journal of Applied and Basic Sciences, Vol, 7(8) (2013): 462-73; Gholamhosein Memarian, *Iranian residential architecture, "extrovert" type [In Persian]* (Tehran : University of Science and Technology, 1992); Mohammadreza Bemanian , Hamidreza Saremi , Mehran Ahmadnejad and Hamid Rezai Ghadi, "Visual Privacy Patterns Recognition in extroverted Houses (Case Study: Sari)," Current World Environment 30, no. 48 (January 01,2016): 510-22.

private spaces and public structures.[8] In Iran extrovert spatial settings are mainly represented in two dominant forms: "either in the form of buildings with yards that are located on the plains of the Caspian Coast or as houses built on the terraced slopes of the hills or mountains."[9] In both types of the extrovert spatial organization, windows, doors, and balconies, connect the private space of the house to the outdoors, public passages or pathways.[10] The yard in extrovert buildings is not necessarily a walled space, being enclosed by tall walls. In this case, the yard might be surrounded by a short wall, or a transparent fence, or it might entirely lack any kind of enclosure.[11] Pirniya emphasises that "even when there is a yard around the building, it is still extrovert". He compares the extrovert buildings to an enclosure with a view towards the outside world. He believes most of the houses, both in West and East Asia, such as Japan, are extrovert; a type of building that he identifies as the "*pavillon*" in France and "*kushk*" in Iran.[12]

Privacy for women in traditional Persian architecture is best achieved through certain principles imposed on planning in introvert spaces; '*daroon-garaei*' (introversion), '*mahramiyat*' (privacy), and '*selseleh marāteb'* (hierarchy of space). In introvert spatial form, architects cut direct connections between the inside and outside. The interior spaces of the building are connected to the outside by a courtyard in the centre of the building which as a buffer zone link the indoors to the outdoors.[13] The introvert buildings, especially, the houses have no openings to the outside, all the doors and windows opening into the courtyard, whether directly or indirectly.[14]

'Daroon-garaei' and 'visual privacy' is one of the most essential notions in planning Iranian-Islamic traditional houses. Based on their studies of Achaemenid and Sasanid Sarvestan palaces, scholars such as Pirniya suggest that Iranians have always tended to live in inward-oriented houses.[15] Influential factors on the development of pre-Islamic Iranian cities and residences based on introversion principles were climate circumstances of the Iranian plateau, security and socio-cultural traditions. After the emergence of Islam, introversion

[8] Minoosh Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure and Spatial Organization:Iranian Traditional Spaces," *SAGE Open* 3, no. 4 (2013), 2.
[9] Ibid, 7.
[10] Memarian, *Iranian Residential Architecture*, 5; Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure," 7.
[11] Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure," 7.
[12] Mohammad-karim Pirniya and Gholamhosein Memarian, *Sabkshenasi-Ye Memari-Ye Irani / Stylistic of Iranian Architecture*, 18 ed. (Tehran: Gholamhosein Memarian, 1395/2016), 37-8.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Memarian, *Iranian Residential Architecture, 7;* Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure,"4.
[15] Mohammad-Karim Pirniya, *Ashnaei ba Memari Eslami Iran* (Tehran: Iran University of Science & Technology, 1379/2000), 24.

and privacy, as an essential value, entered into their new phase influenced by Islamic thoughts reflected in the Quran and *sunnah*.[16]

'Mahramiyat' literally means 'being confident and intimate'. As applied to Islamic architecture and urbanism, it has been defined as follows: 'to shape a building in a way that conveys a sense of peace, safety and privacy.'[17] Maintaining the sacred privacy of families from the male stranger's gaze *(negah-e na-mahram*) is a fundamental socio-cultural factor in making introversive *(daroon-gara)* residentials.[18] Therefore interior spaces (private and semi-private) do not have direct visual access to exterior spaces (public). *Daroon-garaei* in traditional Iranian architecture is defined by organizing all building spaces around one or more courtyards. In this case, *Hashti* (a small enclosed transitional space) as an in-between space connects internals to the outer world.[19]

In general, there are three main architectural elements wherein the erroneous design could result in the unintended visual access to the layout of the house, including the entrance door, the windows and balcony, and the porch *(iwan).*[20] Within a residential neighbourhood, the neighbour's entrance door should ideally not be situated in front of another neighbour's door. Besides, the corridor from the entrance door to the courtyard was usually designed with at least one curve, so the stranger's gaze toward female residents would be blocked.[21] Based on Islamic acts, windows should not be placed facing other houses to avoid accessing vision and thus violating privacy. Windows were categorised as upper and lower level. Upper level windows provide a high risk of being spied on by strangers so their outlook should be designed carefully. Lower level windows should be above the human sight line. Balconies and rooftops similarly were designed so that visual access was minimal. A roof was surrounded by visually defensive parapets which also promoted safety.[22]

'*Selseleh marāteb'* was another principle applied in Persian architecture to implement *mahramiyat* by facilitating different layers of privacy including public, semi-public, semi-

[16] Mohammad-Kazem Seyfiyan, and Mohammad-reza Mahmoudi, "Mahramiyat Dar Me'mari Sonati Iran /Privacy in the Iranian Traditional Architecture," *Hoviyat-i Shahr 1* (1386/2007): 3-14.
[17] Hasan Hashemi Zarj Abad, Abed Taqavi, and Zabiholah Masoudi, "Daroun-Garaei Va Baztab-E Asle Mahramiyat Dar Memari Iran: Khanehay-E Tarikhi-Ye Birjand," *Motaleat Farhangi Ejtemaei Khorasan* 9, no. 2 (2015): 123-46.
[18] Mortada, *Traditional Islamic Principles*, 67.
[19] Pirniya and Memarian, *Sabkshenasi*, 37-8; Masoud Nari-Ghomi, "Motale-E Ma'na Shenakhti Dar Bab-E Mafhom Daroon Garaei Dar Shahr-E Eslami," *Honar-Ha-Ye-Ziba;Memari-Va-Shahrsazi*, vol. 2, no. 43 (1389/2010), 70.
[20] Mortada, *Traditional Islamic*, 85.
[21] Pirniya, *Ashnaei ba*, 160.
[22] Mortada, *Traditional Islamic*, 90.

private and private. The house domain was considered as the private space for residents, thus strangers are not allowed to look inside or enter without permission. The existence of two different door knockers by the entrance of the house differentiated women and men guests to the house, one with a ring and the other with a hammer that could be knocked on a metal plate.[23] The traditional Persian dwelling in the past and even today consisted of a door, entrance and *hashtī* (vestibule), *dālān* (corridor), shared between the entrance door and the guest room, and the central court surrounded by several rooms. Building the guest room close to the entrance, so strangers could not have visual access to private quarters, was an essential requirement of Iranian-Islamic architecture.[24]

In the case of houses of the wealthy or the elite, the architectural separation of the private space in each house has often been developed into a rich composition of two housing sections placed in one house. One, the *andarooni*, meaning 'the inside,' is inhabited mainly by the women, and the other, the *birooni*, meaning 'the outside,' is used by the family men and their male visitors.[25] In this type of gender and spatial organization, the division between men and women, and private and public spaces influence on the structural development of the urban and rural complexes. Hence, there is a "hierarchical," gradual trend from private-space houses to semi-private/semi-public space of the neighbourhood, further extending to the most public spaces of the villages or cities.[26] Considering that such spatial organisation reflects the gender structure and women's role within that particular built environment, the following sections first try to explore the relevant spatial setting based on private/public, and female/male in Persian painting, and then to examine the women's social role within and in relation to each of these spaces.

[23] Ibid, 62.
[24] Mohammad-Reza Bemanian, and Ma'soumeh Amini, *Me'mari Ejtemaei:Khaneh Irani/ Social Architecture: Iranian Houses* (Tehran: Aval-o Akher, 1395/2016), 66.
[25] Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure,"5.
[26] Ibid.

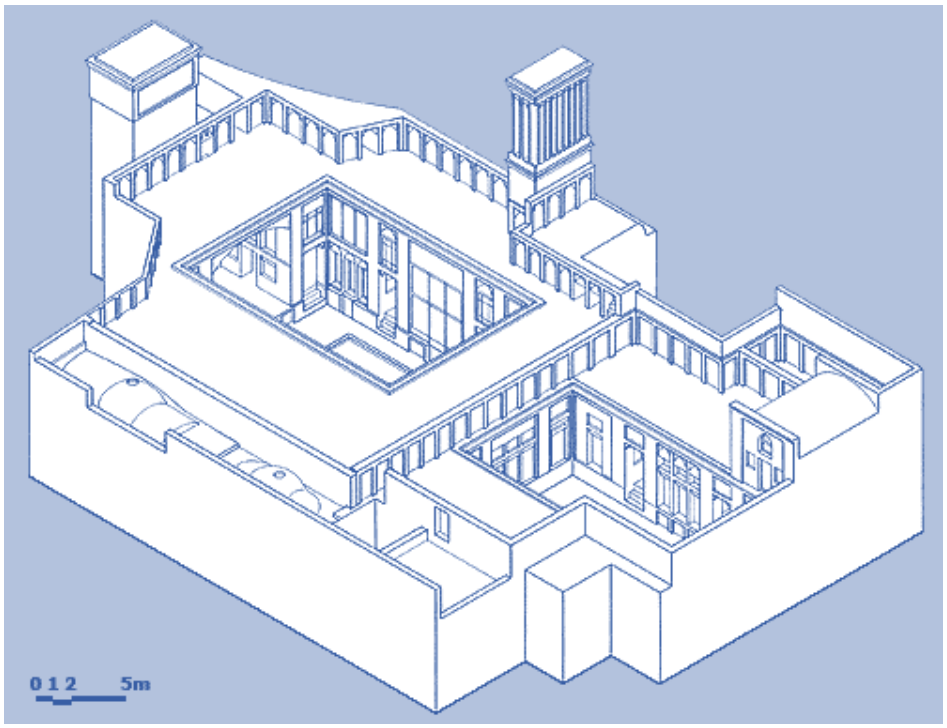
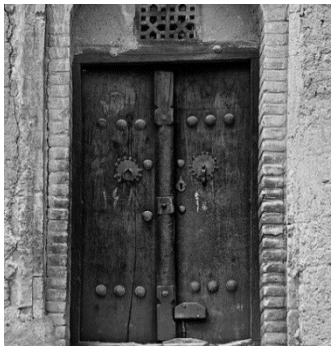


Figure 8.1. Privacy and introversion *(daroon-garāei)* in Gerami House, Yazd, Iran.





Left: Figure 8.2. Street (public space) and the entrance door.
Right: Figure 8.3. *Dalān* (corridor), transition between public and semi-private part of the house.



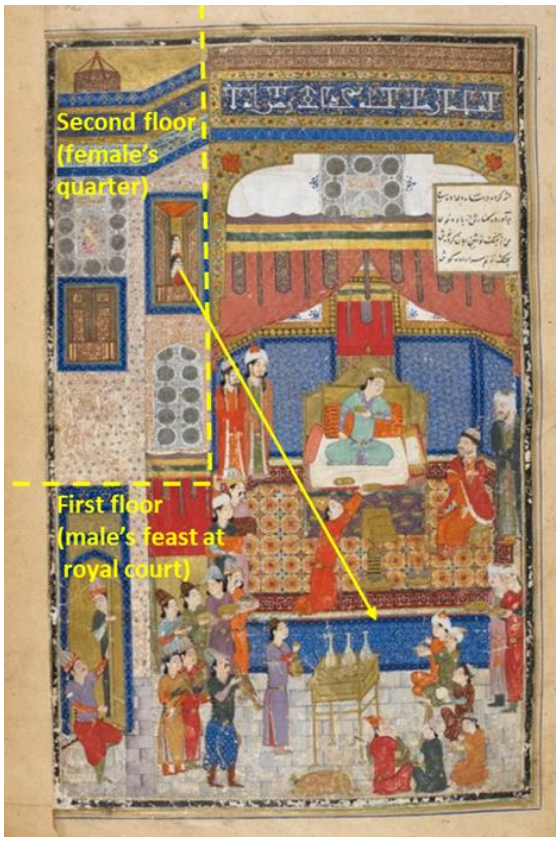


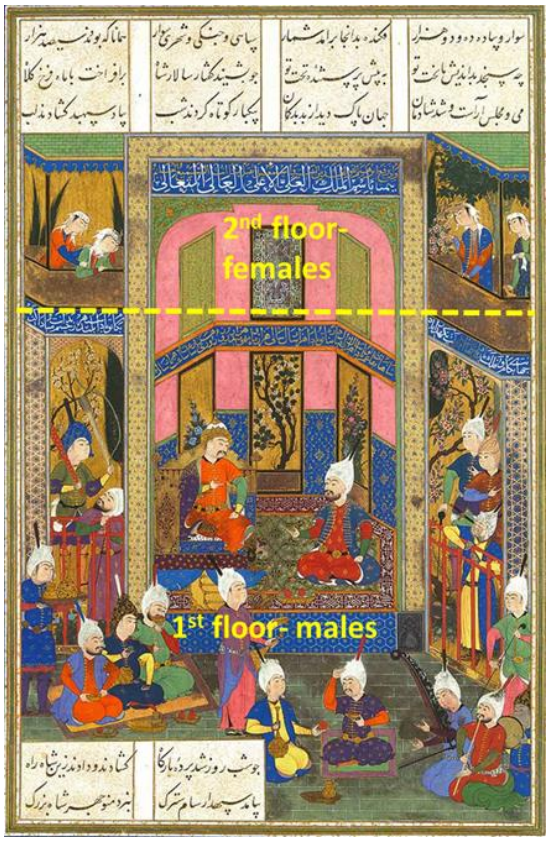
Left: Figure 8.4. The entrance door with men and women knockers.
Right: Figure 8.5. *Orsi*, glazed glass windows mounted in *Mushhabak* frames, filter gaze to provide visual privacy.

8.3 Gender segregation and privacy: Themes in Persian painting

Observing the spatial settings of Persian paintings produced between the Timurid and Safavid eras it is readily apparent that these images primarily represent extrovert structures. Pavilions *(kushk)* and palaces predominate, among other royal residential buildings. In their spatial layouts these images are also comparable to the spatial arrangements of elite and governmental buildings of these types (such as Chehel Sotoun of Isfahan and Qazvin, pavilions of Baghi Shomal of Tabriz, and the mansion of Shazdeh Mahan Garden) which are usually located in the middle of walled gardens or in landscapes with no barriers, so that interior spaces are directly connected to exteriors. But, despite such extroverted layouts, these images also appear to indicate the existence of a boundary or veil, however amorphous, separating the domain of men from that of women. As the analyses that follow will articulate more clearly, Persian painters seemed to have preferred to avoid gender mixing; devising general pictorial conventions and methods to separate men and women and create privacy.

The first of such methods of spatial division consists of accommodating women and men on different floors of the same residence. This is frequently observed in various folios of the Timurid and Safavid eras such as 'Humay at the Chinese court (c. 1396)', 'Shah Manuchehr discusses the issue of Zal and Rudabeh with S$\bar{a}$m (1520s–1530s)' (Figures 8.6 and 8.7). Men primarily occupied the first floor, appearing on the porch, or in the courtyard or garden. Women, accommodate the upper levels, appearing on the balcony, behind the window, or on the rooftop.

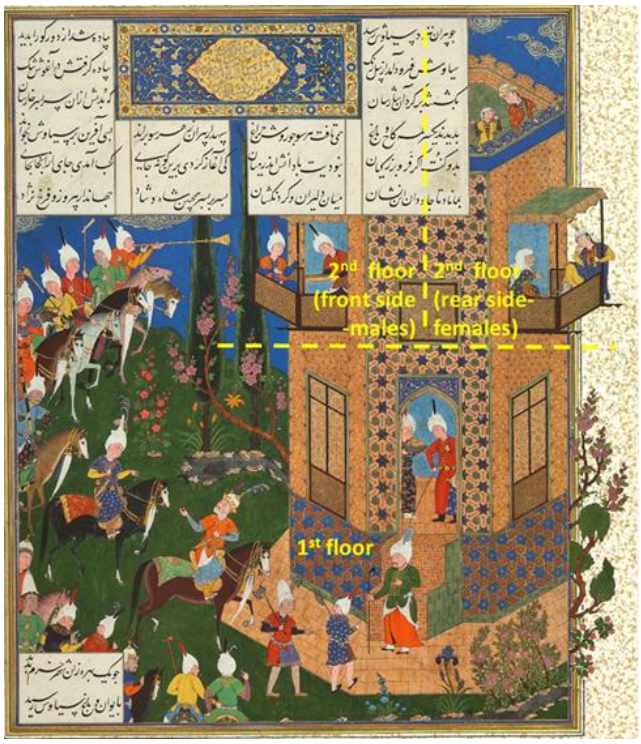


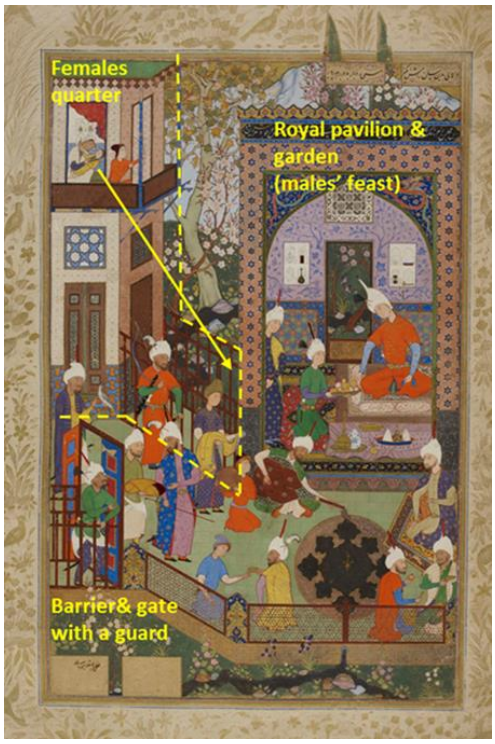


Left: Figure 8.6. Humay at the Chinese court, Humay and Humayun by Khwaju Kermani, British Library, London, Add 18113 folio: 12r, Baghdad, c. 1396. The yellow arrow denotes the visual access of women via the window on the second floor toward the banquet below. [27]
Right: Figure 8.7. Shah Manuchehr discusses the issue of Zal and Rudabeh with Sām, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s–1530s).[28]

Other examples, such as 'Piran visits Siyavashgerd' (Figure 8.8), place both men and women on the same floor, but on two different balconies. The picture depicts Farangis' hexagonal palace built by her husband, Siyavash. Honoured general Piran and Siyavash are approach the setting while Farangis stands on the rooftop, waiting to welcome them. In the left-side balcony at front, are two young men, while on the right-side balcony at rear stands a young lady and her maid.

[27] The yellow lines/annotations throughout the current chapter denote the spatial setting of the scene based on the public/private spatial arrangement and men/women representation and/or segregation. The yellow arrows also indicate the visual access of women towards men or men towards women.
[28] Mohammad-Ali Rajabi and others, ed. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010.





Left: Figure 8.8. The first method of gender separation, Piran visits Siyavashgerd, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s–1530s).[29]
Right: Figure 8.9. The first method of gender separation, Barbad plays to Khusrau, British Library, London, Or 2265, folio 77v, Tabriz, c. 1539, (Nezami Ganjavi; Khamseh). The yellow arrow denotes the visual access of women from balcony towards banquet.

On some occasions such as 'Barbad plays to Khusrau' from Nizami's Khamseh (Figure 8.9), the women's quarter is next to the main royal palace but completely detached by barriers. The whole royal residential complex is carefully secured by a fence and a gate watched by a guard. The second example of this with a more complicated arrangement is 'Zahhak's Nightmare' from Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh. Zahhak's nightmare from the Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh (Figure 8.10) represents an odd spatial arrangement to convey the unpleasant atmosphere caused by Zahhak's nightmare. In this composition, there are two buildings on two floors. The central *iwan* – the place of princes and kings – is now remains empty of the sitting king which is an established pattern in Persian painting. Zhhak, when awakened by his dreadful nightmare, is shown in his bed chamber on the second floor and above the *iwan*. Both adjoining buildings are connected to the second floor by a bridge. The restless royal women and maids are present on the second floor in Zahhak's chamber, on the bridge, within the smaller building, and on the balcony, while biting their finger as a sign of astonishment. There is no male figure present beside Zahhak or on the second floor of both

[29] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnamehof*, 204.

buildings, which seems to be the royal harem. However, a significant number of couriers, guards, and male entourage are on the first floor, in the garden, courtyard, *iwan*, backyard, or rooftop.

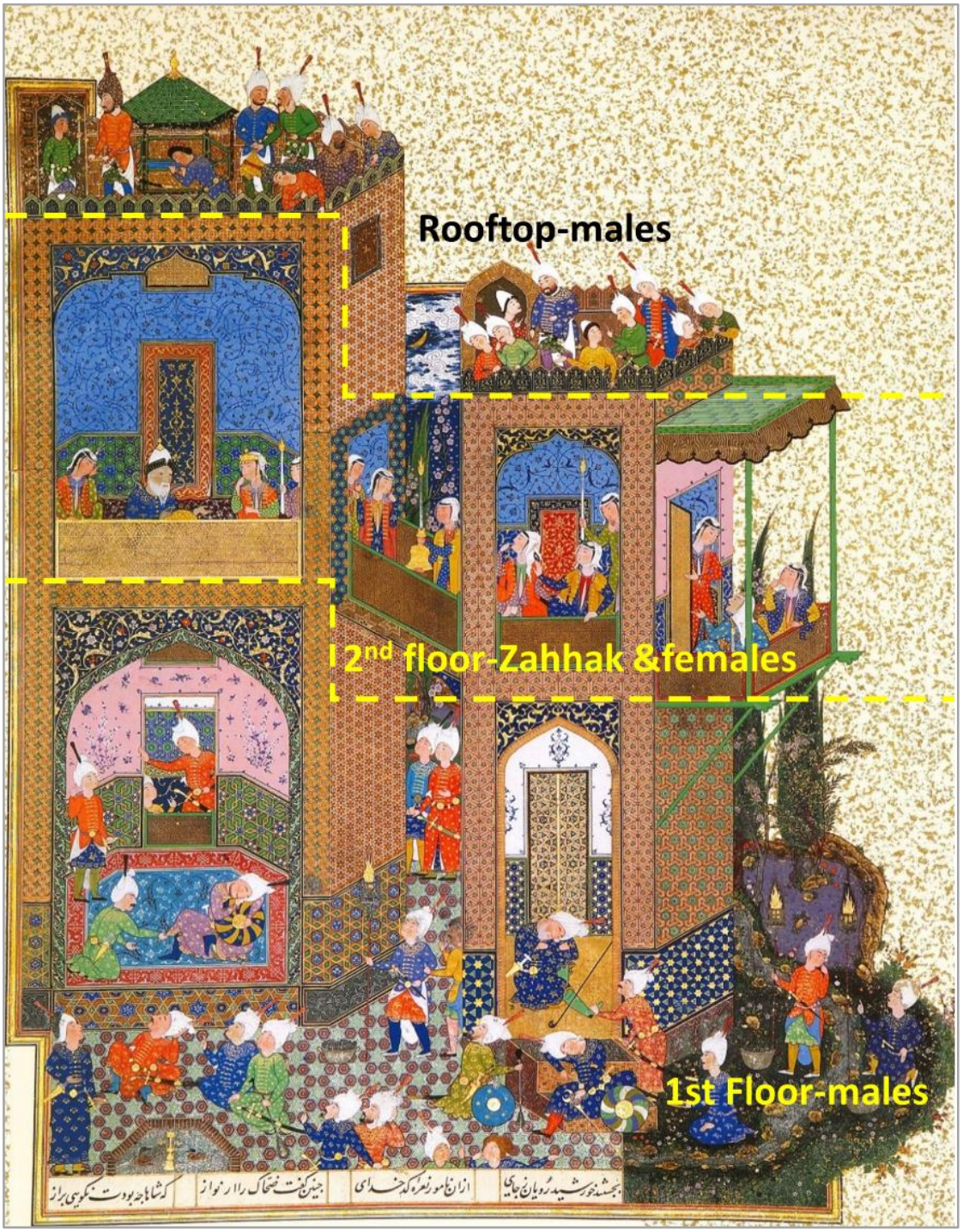


Figure 8.10. The first method of gender separation, Zahhak's nightmare, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s– 530s).

Upon closer observation, women in Persian painting manuscripts such as the Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh are mostly depicted as observers (*Nāzer*) of events. Onlooker women

usually appear in stories in which they are not the main characters, nor are they a central component of the narrative. For example when folios represent official meetings in the royal court – such as 'Faridun divides his dominion', 'The first meeting between Faridun's emissary and the king of Yemen', 'Consultation of Zahhak with dream interpreter'– they are visible, eavesdropping or observing. Such approach indicates that royal women within the space of the Persian painting, despite their spatial separation from the *iwan* and throne, attempted to stay aware of state affairs. Of course, when serving as the main characters in the narrative, such as in 'Shirin and Khosrow', 'Sudabeh and Siyavush', 'Farangis and Siyavash', 'Haftwand daughters' and 'Ardashir and Golnar', their presence remains dominant, and their performance extended to the public area. They might appear on the *iwan*, in the courtyard, on the balcony, rooftop, or behind a window.

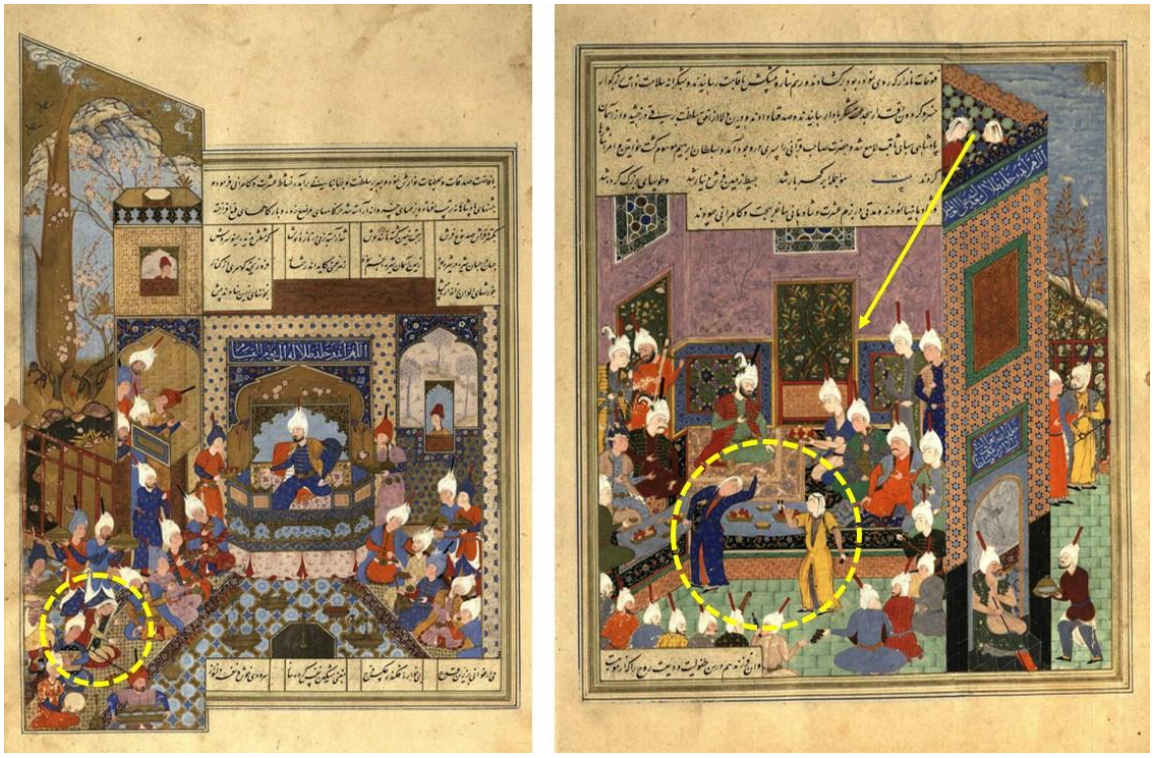
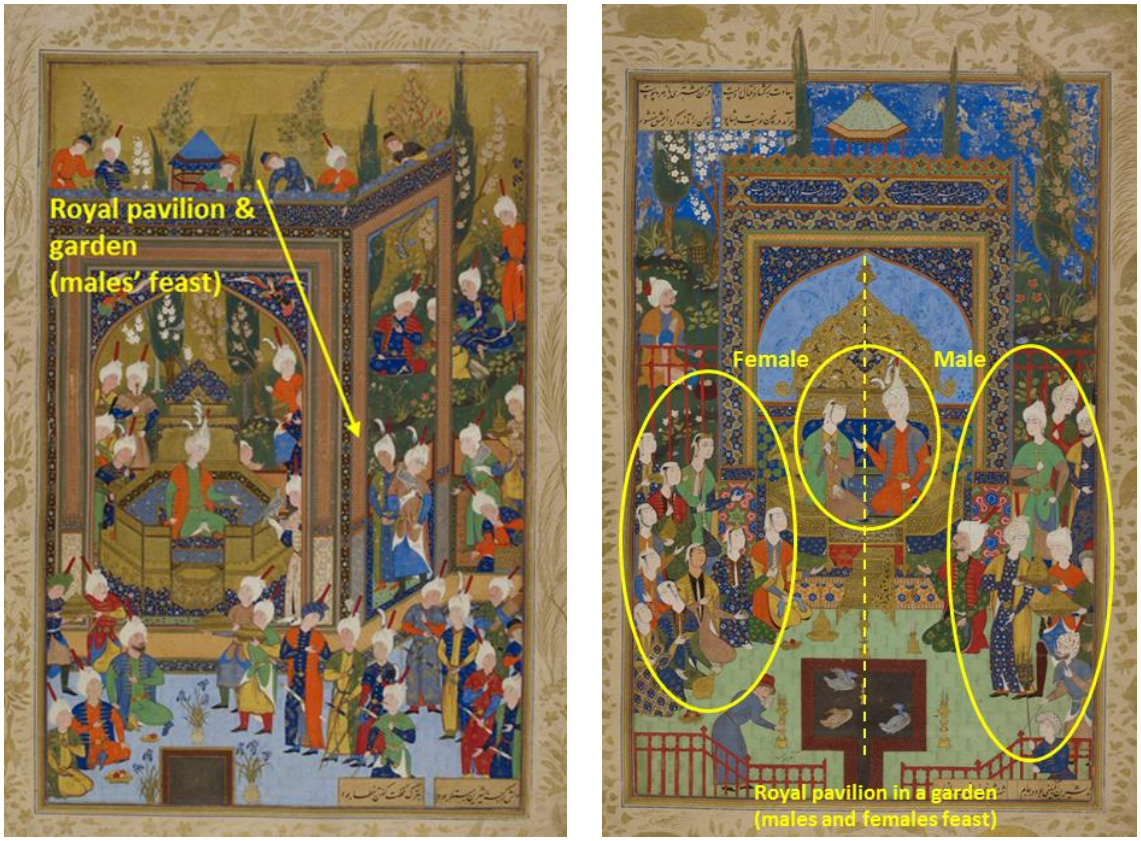


Figure 8.11. Men's feast with the presence of women as performers and players. Feast at Timur's court, two unpublished images from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708, 1528), courtesy of Golestan Palace Library.
The yellow arrow denotes the visual access of women from rooftop toward banquet.

The second method for separating men and women is definable through an inspection of images illustrating stories with both women and men characters. These folios best represent women and men sharing the same space. However, the choreography of the juxtaposition varied based on the story line and the event. It could have been a formal royal feast or meeting, a family gathering, or else a feminine and intimate occasion such as the meeting of lovers, marriage, and giving birth. When it is a royal feast or a political gathering, usually

only the men were present, such as in 'Khusrau enthroned' (Figure 8.12). On such occasions, the women were visible as the entertainers. Two unpublished images from Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708, 1528) show royal feasts at Timur's court with young ladies playing and dancing (Figure 8.11).

The second method for separating women and men in the spatial composition of these images is when the women are part of the gathering, but are divided from men – even amorphously – by sitting them on a different side of the porch or throne. 'Khusrau and Shirin entertained' (Figure 8.13) shows famous lovers of Khamseh by Nizami, seated on a lavishly designed throne at a garden pavilion. To separate men and women, the folio has been vertically divided into two equal parts. Shirin and her female entourages seated on the left, whereas Khosrow and his male attendants are on the right side. Despite such separation both groups are cherished and dignified equally. A similar scheme is implemented to divide the companions of Humay and Humayun seated together on a throne during a garden feast (Figure 8.14). However, in this feast the majority of space is allocated to Humayun's female entourage sitting or standing.



Left: Figure 8.12. Men's feast in a garden pavilion, Khusrau enthroned, Khamseh by Nizami, British Library, London, Or 2265 folio 60v Tabriz, c. 1539 (Nizami Ganjavi; Khamseh). The yellow arrow denotes the visual access of men from rooftop toward banquet.

Right: Figure 8.13. The second method of gender separation, Khosrow and Shirin entertained, Khamseh by Nezami, British Library, London, Or 2265 folio: 66v, Tabriz, c. 1539 Khamseh by Nezami.



Figure 8.14. The second method of gender separation. Humay and Humayun feast in a garden, Khwaju Kermani; Divan, British Library, London, Baghdad, c. 1396, Add 18113 folio: 40v.

An exception to the second method is 'Faridun's sons meet Sarv's daughters' from Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh (Figure 8.15) which depicts a formal meeting in which women are not separated from men. In the narrative of the associated text, the daughters of Sarv, King of Yemen, have been selected to marry King Faridun's three sons. The three brothers set off to Yemen, where they are invited to rest in a palace of gold and silver, rich with treasures. This image shows the moment Sarv summons his three daughters from his harem *(shabestān)* and has them sit close beside Faridun's sons (Figure 8.15).

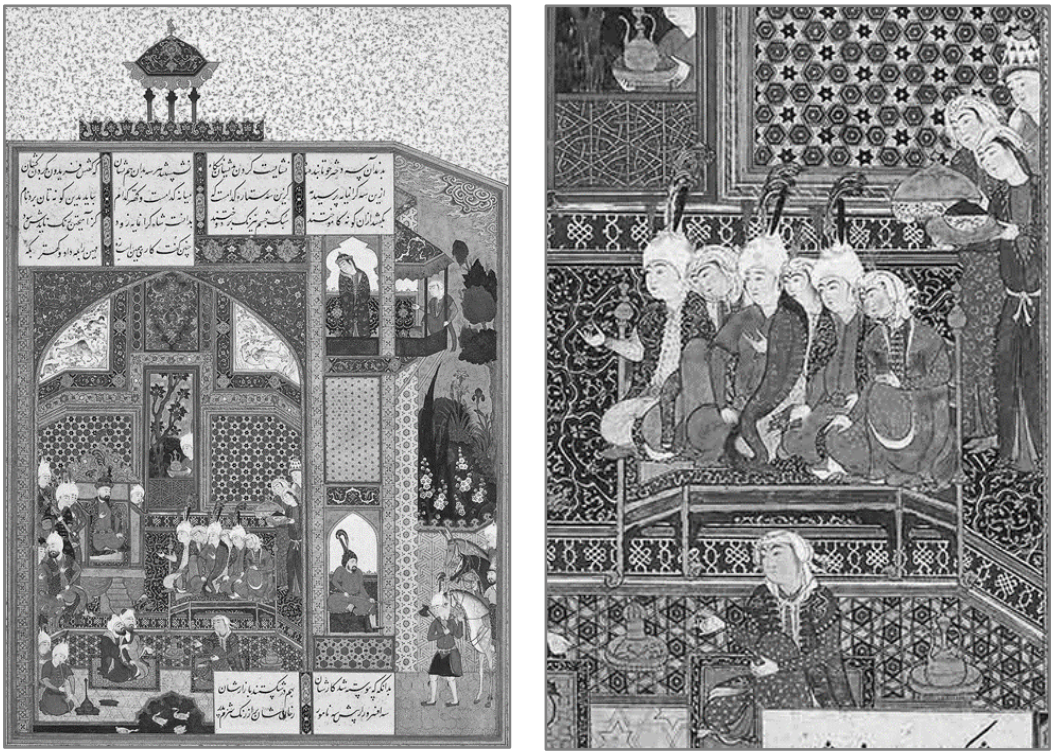
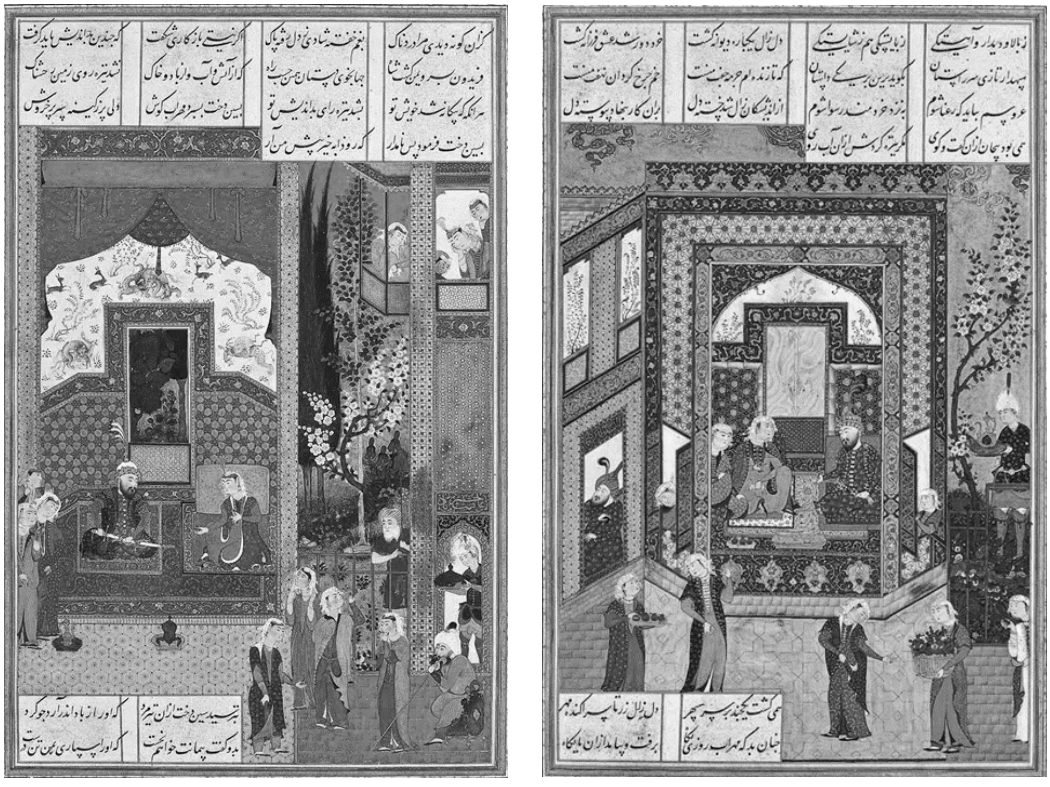


Figure 8.15. Faridun's sons meet Sarv's daughters, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s–1530s)



Left: Figure 8.16. Mehrab speaks with Rudabeh, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s–1530s). [30]

Right: Figure 8.17. Mehrab describes Zal for Sindokht and Rudabeh, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s–1530s).[31]

[30] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of*, 126.
[31] Ibid.

In two folios; ‘Mehrab speaks with Rudabeh’, and ‘Mehrab describes Zal for Sindokht and Rudabeh’ (Figures 8.16 and 8.17), King Mehrab’s family, including his wife (Sindokht) and their daughter (Rudabeh), are shown sitting in the *iwan.* These include Mehrab conversing with Rudabeh, and subsequently with Sindokht and Rudabeh (Figures 8.16 and 8.17). While male servants are marginally present, bringing food, guarding, or eavesdropping, maidens are serving food and drink. Here a pattern is suggested in painterly space, wherein women are presented at the royal court or *iwan*. It this situation usually all or some of the servants who serve food and drink, and the entourage are women. Also when the meeting is held in the private quarter and harem, usually just female maids are present to increse the privacy.

Persian illustrated manuscripts are replete with court feasts or garden banquets wherein young courtiers amuse themselves, while they engage in drinking and casual conversation, musicians and dancers entertain them. However, there are some exceptional scenes which depict women’s parties. To describe the third method of of separating women and men to create spatial privacy, two paintings which illustrate women at outdoor gatherings are observed.

The first folio is from a manuscript of Qiran us-Sa’dain (Meeting of the two auspicious stars, 1289); Amir Khusro of Delhi’s first masnavi (Figure 6.18). This details the historic meeting of Bughra Khan and his son Muiz ud-Din Qaiqabad after a long enmity. However, this image does not contain any script, but according to the subject, can be referred to the chapter on the story of ‘Indian female performers’. When Qaiqabad gets to Delhi, the poet, Amir Khusro, describes the city, climate, monuments and people from his point of view. This image illustrates the moment when Qaiqabad sees a group of beautiful Indian women in colourful dress and with long black hair, playing and dancing passionately.

In the middle of the dancers’ circle stands an old, bearded man playing a musical instrument. Outside the circle, maidens and slaves are watching the scene in amazement. Another group of players and observers are placed on a specious second-floor terrace. The painter (attributed to Shah Muzaffar) has depicted Shah Sultan Hussein Mirza’s portrait (1470–1506) – instead of the Qaiqabad – sitting on the terrace observing the entertainers.[32] With the exception of the Sultan, the only men present at this women’s gathering are the old bearded player and the slave. So this illustration is one out of few folios which depict a

[32] Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzâd of Herât (1465–1535),* (Flammarion, 2004), 144.

gathering held by women, wherein all guests, servants and performers are female (except for Sultan, slave and old bearded player).

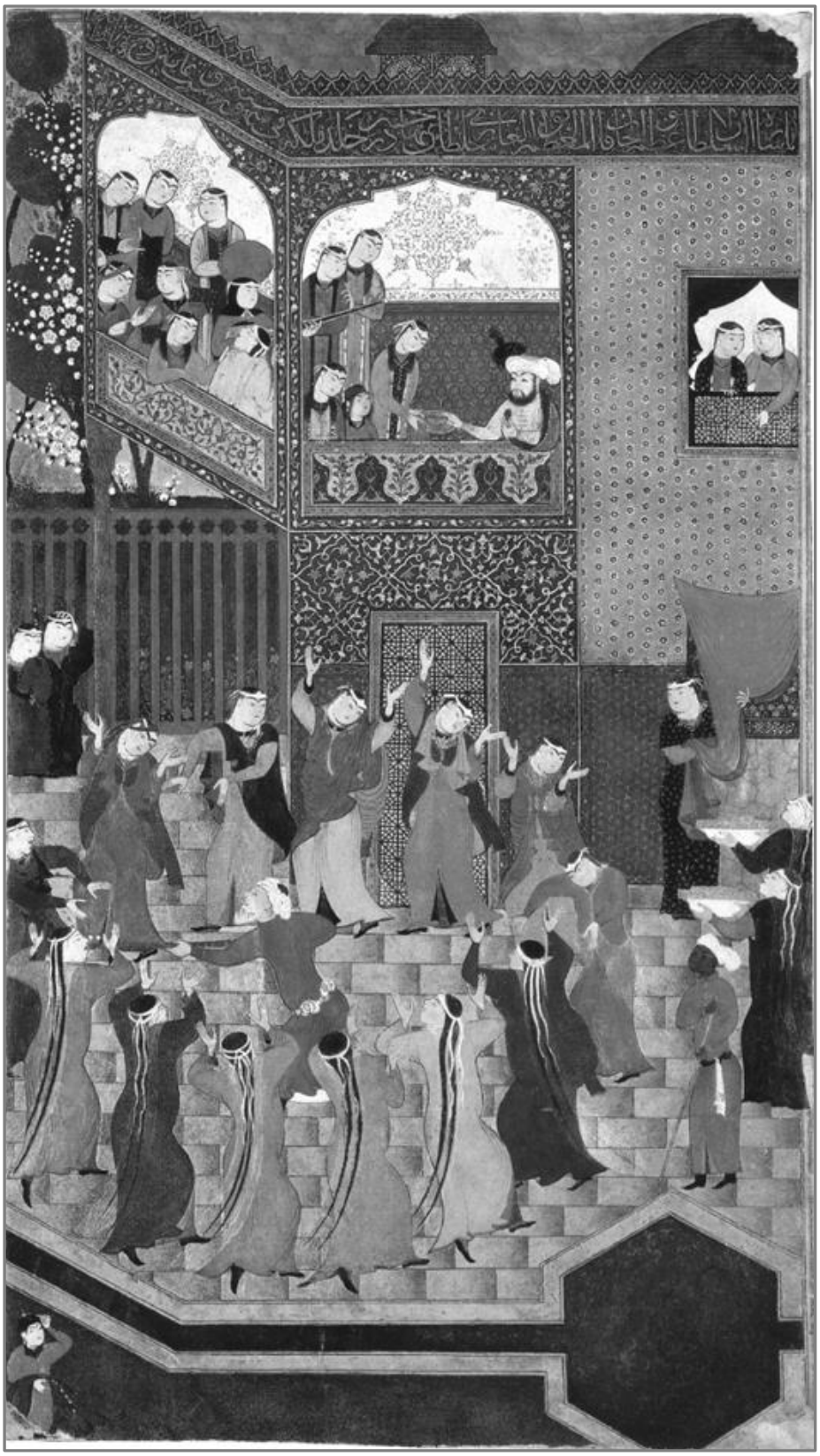


Figure 8.18. The story of Indian female performers. Illustration attributed to Shah Muzaffar by A. Soudavar, private collection of Amir Khusro of Delhi. Herat, 1481. Soudavar collection on loan to the Sackler Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

While Persian paintings are filled with examples of women who are located inside their homes and palaces, gazing or eavesdropping from behind windows, curtains or doors, there are occasions when men inside a building peer at women located outside. 'The master spying bathing maidens' from Nizami's Haft Paikar (Seven Portraits) is a famous scene in Persian literature executed by different painters. The story of the Seven Portraits involves a series of sensual but moralising tales, as told to the Persian hero, Bahram Gur by seven princesses. Executed by different artists, this dynamic scene illustrates the story of a youth and garden owner who spy upon young ladies swimming in a garden pool bathed in moonlight (Figures 8.19 and 8.20).

Here two folios are compared – one from an unknown painter (ca. 1430) and the other attributed to Bihzad (1494). Both exemplars depict a women's garden party in which the maidens enjoy themselves and are swimming playfully. Such a theme, which shows nudity in a garden pool setting, is quite innovative in the realm of Persian painting. Seemingly, men were not supposed to be privy to this garden feast. Only a keen-eyed observer notices a man who is stealthy, gazing at the maidens from the *mashrabiyah* (window). The voyeur is barely visible here, both for the observer of the image and the playful bathers. The garden is fenced by a railing, not a brick wall, and therefore exposed to passers-by. The door is also open without any guard while a eunuch, seemingly supposed to watch the women's area, is squatting at the pool's edge.

These two images (Figures 8.19 and 8.20) and the previous one (Figure 8.18) are unique examples in which the space has been occupied entirely by women. Functioning as a venue for women's gathering these garden pavilions have been spatially redefined by women. Contrary to the typical settings in Persian painting, in Figures 8.19 and 8.20 the outdoor space is entirely occupied by women instead of men and the person who is prying behind the window is a man and not a woman. In Figure 8.18 the indoor and outdoor spaces; the pavilion, balcony and garden, seems to be entirely conquered by women. Instead of their convention position behind windows and curtains, here women are present in outdoor spaces passionately dancing, and amusing themselves swimming and playing.

Following the above discussion on the visual methods by which gender segregation and the notion of privacy have been reflected in Timurid and Safavid Persian painting, the next section will discuss gaze and privacy in residential architectural space by looking at the subject from different points of view.

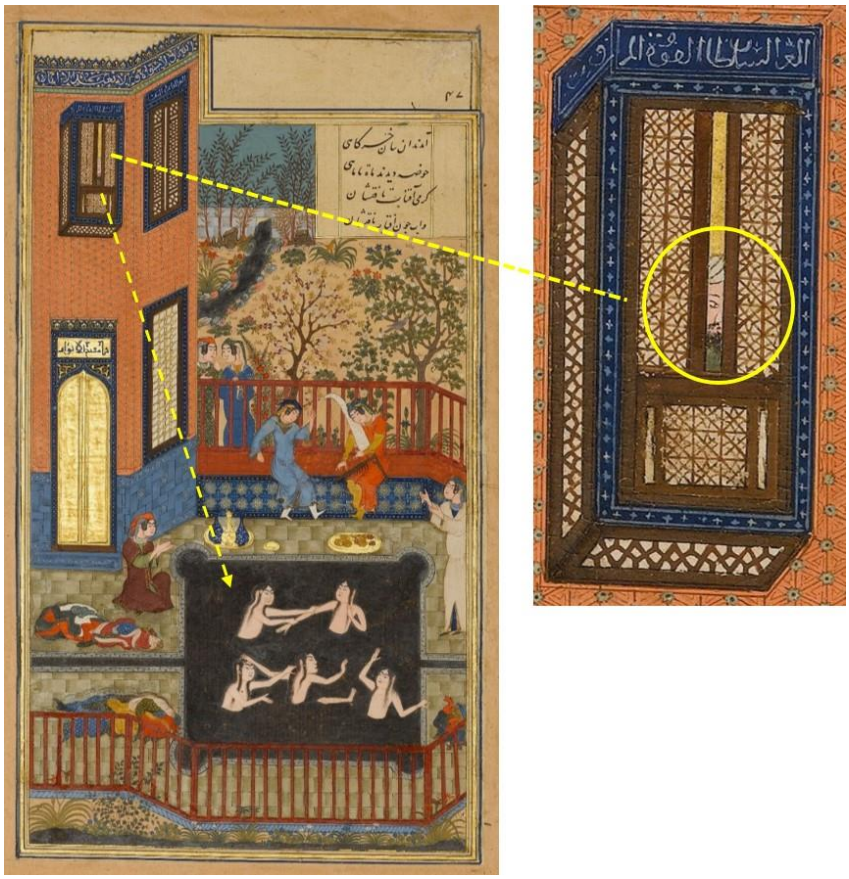


Figure 8.19. The eavesdropper, folio 47r from a Haft Paikar (Seven Portraits) of the Khamseh by Nezami (1141–1209), calligrapher, Maulana Azhar (d. 1475/76), ca. 1430, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/455059.



Figure 8.20. The master spying bathing maidens, attributed to Bihzad, from Khamseh by Nezami, 1494: f.190r, c 20xI4cm. BL, Or. 6810, The British Library.

8.4 Women behind curtains

Curtains as essential parts of textile furnishings have symbolic as well as practical functions that reflect social values and codes of behaviour.[33] Golombek informs us that in the Byzantine world, the ruler would have been aloof from his people. Such an ideal was physically practised by inserting a curtain between them. Such curtains similarly cloaked the thrones of the Umayyed, Abbasid and Fatimid caliphs.[34] Curtains were placed around the *mihrab* in the mosque and in an exceptional custom, a black brocade cloth '*kiswah'* was adorned over the Ka'bah at Mecca to protect and honour the most sacred shrine of Islām.[35]

Hanna Papanek in her article "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter", integral to genders' social role and status allocation, defines Purdah as the word most frequently used for the system of secluding women and imposing high standards of female modesty in many South Asia societies, including both Muslim and Hindu.[36] *Pardeh* (*purdah* in Hindu) in Persian vernacular in addition to its primary meaning (curtain) is associated with femininity, veil and seclusion. It is a synonym for *hijab* and *setr* (veil), as well as the *harem* and *andarouni* (secluded female quarters). It is also a synonym for *chador* (which means both women's outer garment and tent), *khaymeh* (tent), *khargah* (trellis tent) and *sarāparda* (enclosure).[37]

In Persian Sufism literature, *pardeh-neshini or pardegi* (veiled and secluded woman or *mastour*) refers to a woman who practises *pardeh-neshini* by which the pious man or woman *(pārsa)* will acquire or be aware of divine mysteries *(mahram-i asrar-i Elahi). Pardeh-neshini*, in particular, is a predominant spiritual and social practice of women seclusion among some Muslim and Hindu communities.[38] Women covered their bodies and hair. At another level, it required the physical segregation of sexes within buildings which could be attained by prudent use of walls, curtains, and patterned screens and windows (*mushabak* in Persian and *mashrabiya* in Arabic) lined with stained glass.

---

[33] Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980, planned and organised by Carol Manson Bier*, edited by Priscilla Parsons Soucek, 25-50 (College Art Association of America, 1988), 28.
[34] Ibid, 32.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3 (1973): 289-325.
[37] Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, *Farhangi Dehkhoda*, Pardeh.
[38] Clare M. Weber Wilkinson, *Embroidering Lives: Women's Work and Skill in the Lucknow Embroidery Industry*, SUNY Press (25 March 1999): 74.

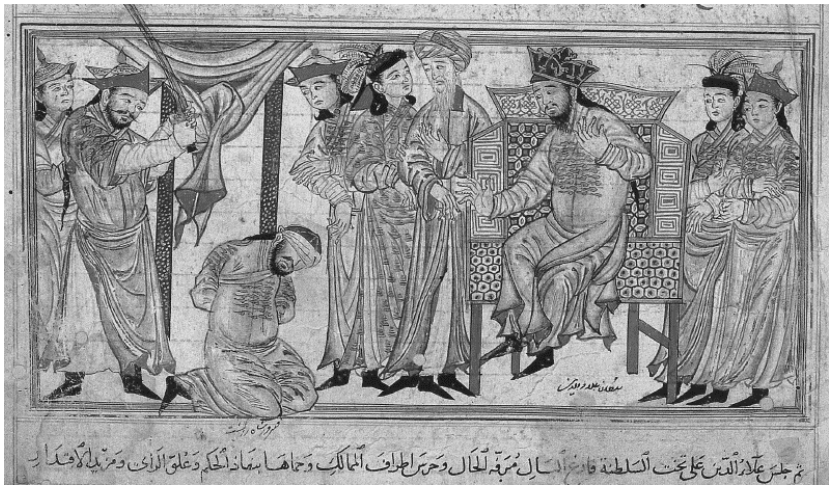


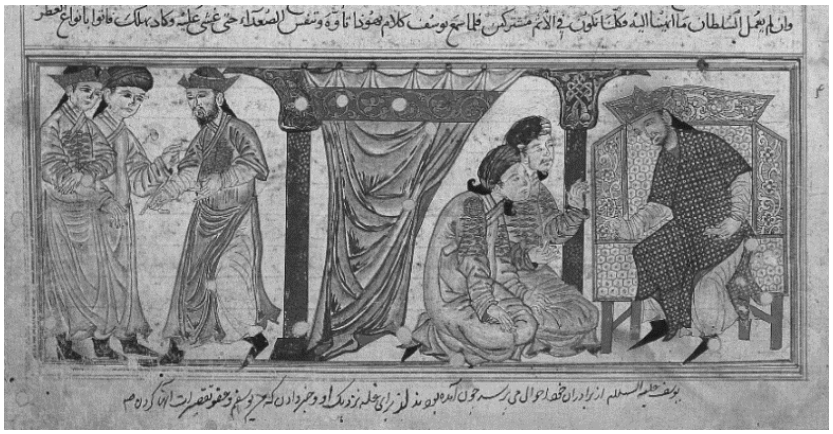
Figure 8.21. Division of men and women by curtain in a congregational prayer, Jamkaran Mosque, Qom, Iran. Source: Hoshdar News, 1.3.1395(2006).

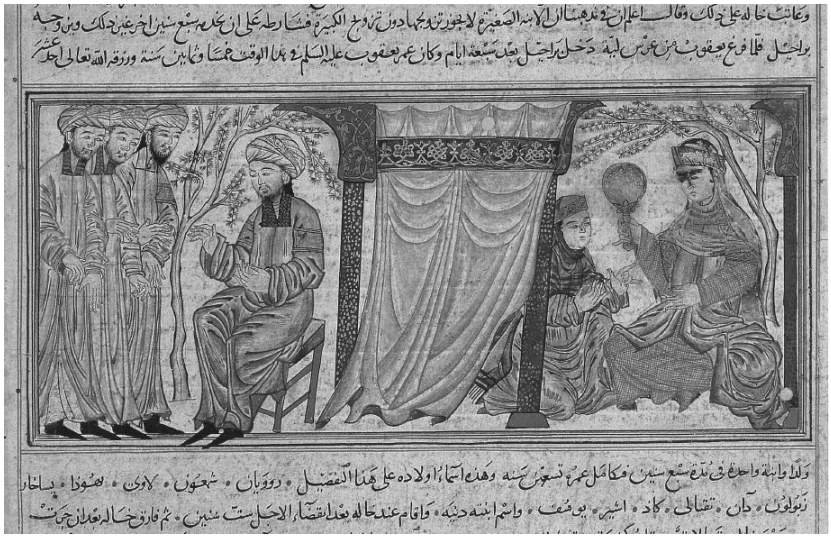
In Persian painting (see Chapter 5, section 5.4), curtains were mainly hung on doorways, in front of windows, or served as temporary dividers to create chambers beside the *iwan* or to create privacy in the main hall (Figures 8.33, 8.56, 8.59). Curtains also filtered the light. In today's mosques and religious places in Iran, curtains are still used to separate women from men's spaces (Figure 8.21). Curtains in Persian painting could be hung or knotted and were usually drawn aside by women who observed an event taking place inside the building, in the main hall or royal *iwan* or outside in the courtyard.

In Abraham's tent, illustrated in the Rashid al-Din manuscript of 1314 CE, a curtain conceals Abraham's wife in the chamber from the view of the guests.[39] In the Khalili manuscript of the Rashid al-Din's *Illustrated History of the World*; "Jami' al-tawarikh" (Compendium of Chronicles)[40] the royal court is depicted by a throne positioned in front of a curtain. The curtain is fixed between two columns (Figure 8.22) or hangs to make the venue private (Figure 8.23). Curtains hanging between two columns are also used to show the enclosure of Ya'qub's wife who is separated from the outside where Ya'qub is seated, conversing with three male visitors (Figure 8.24).

[39] Golombek, "The Draped," 30-1.
[40] Shiela S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid Al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, vol. 27, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (I.B.Tauris, 2005).







Top: Figure 8.22. The Sultan Alaeddin's royal court depicted by a throne and a curtain, folio.267a, The Khalili manuscript of the Rashid al-Din's *Illustrated History of the World*; "Jami' al-tawarikh", Tabriz, Iran, dated 714 AH (1314–15 AD).

Middle: Figure 8.23. Yusuf seated on his royal throne behind the curtain, conversing with his brothers who are kneeling in front of him, folio 289a, The Khalili manuscript of the Rashid al-Din's *Illustrated History of the World*; "Jami' al-tawarikh", Tabriz, Iran, dated 714 AH (1314–15 AD).

Bottom: Figure 8.24. Ya'qub's wife and her maid secluded behind the curtain, folio 287b, The Khalili manuscript of the Rashid al-Din's illustrated history of the World; "Jami' al-tawarikh", Tabriz, Iran dated 714 AH (1314–15 AD).

8.5 Seclusion in the illustration of feminine stories

In classic Persian literature, there are famous stories in which women play significant roles. These narratives are as part of the Persian romances by Nizami and Jami, and epics by Ferdowsi. As the story continues, there are dominant feminine themes and scenes of intimacy, which take place in a secluded and secure space. For example, meetings between lovers, marriage scenes and birthing. These events usually occur in private chambers separated by a door or curtain, with a guard standing by the entrance (Figures 8.25–8.39). Another common feature in these subjects is that all or the majority of attendants and entertainers are women.

On some occasions, the palace belongs to a female character. Figure 8.25 shows Zulaykha with twenty-five maids at her palace. Another example shows Yusuf's discourse with Zulaykha's maidens in her garden (Figure 8.26), surrounded by an all-female entourage. In such themes, the main *iwan* where the king sits on his throne is assigned to Zulaykha, Shirin or the central female character with young ladies in attendance. Other women appear on the second floor, balcony or garden which occupies the whole space.





Left: Figure 8.25. Zulaykha with her handmaidens after her second dream of Yusuf, Yusuf and Zulaykha, sixteenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed 17.04.2019, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/446596?rpp=90&pg=51&ft=iran&pos=4574
Right: Figure 8.26. Yusuf preaches to Zulaykha's maidens in her garden, Iran, 1560 AD, The Freer Gallery of Art: The Smithsonian Museum of Asian Art.[41]

[41] Illustration attributed to Shaykh-Muhammad by S.C. Welch, Jami's romance Joseph and Zulaykha. Mashhad manuscript, 1556-6 5.Fol. 114v, see Barry, *Figurative Art*, 221.

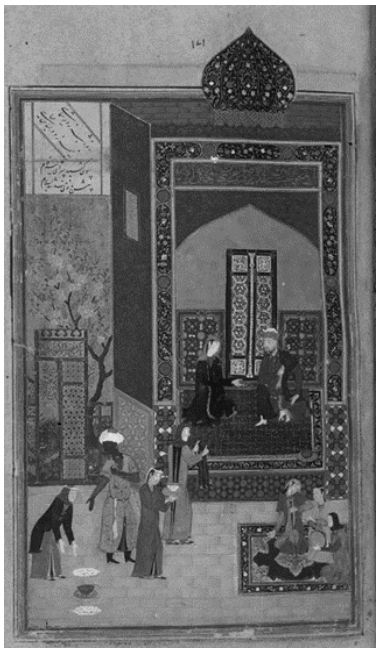
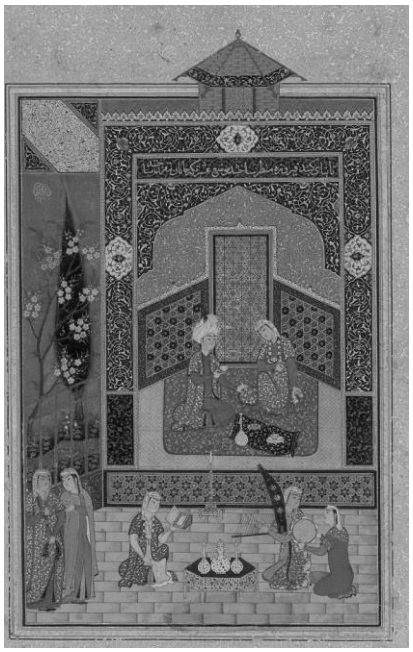
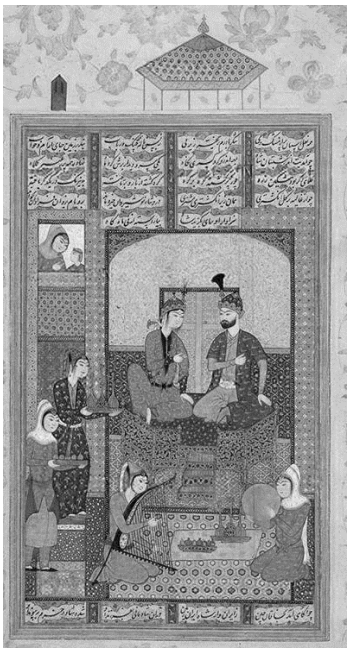
The meeting of famous lovers in Persian literature is one of the most popular and recurring illustrated themes in Persian painting. Haft Peykar 'Seven portraits of seven beauties' is a romantic epic by Nizami, as part of the Khamseh. It describes the legendary history of the Sasanian king, Bahram Gur, who as a great lover and hunter married seven princesses from seven world regions.

The princesses resided in splendid pavilions, adorned with the colour associated with the climate and planet of their occupants. Bahram visited each in her own pavilion on successive nights of the week (Figures 8.27 and 8.28). These highly sensual meetings, during which each princess tells a story, provided one of the best settings for Persian painters. Bahram and a princess were usually illustrated seated in the *iwan* or in the private chamber while entertained by female players and served by young ladies. In some examples, such as 'Bahram Gur in the black pavilion' (Figure 8.27), a slave man and older woman help prepare food.

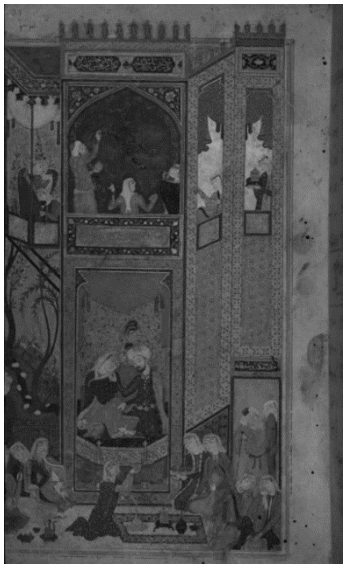
The same is applied when portraying romantic scenes in different manuscripts, such as Ferdowsi's Shahnameh (Figures 8.29, 8.31, 8.32), and manuscripts illustrated in the late Safavid period. Shahnameh Ferdowsi's 'Anushirvan with a princess' depicts an indoor chamber to convey even more privacy. Here, all attendants are young women. The actors in love scenes are not only literary characters of romantic poets but historical characters. A folio from a manuscript by Hatifi[42] (probably Timur-n*ā*meh) shows a court scene with Timur and his maiden from Khwarezm (Figure 8.30).

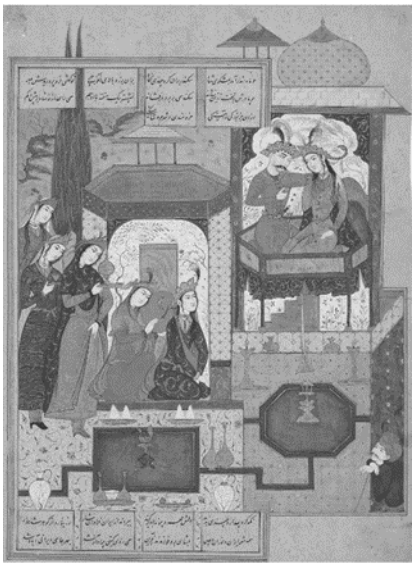
'Siyavash and Soudabeh in Shabistan' is a folio from an unpublished and less known late Safavid Shahnameh of 'Rashidā' (Figure 8.31). The spatial arrangement is mainly based on decorated panels, rather than an architectural structure. The panels of *orosi* with geometrical wood design (*moshabak)* and stained glass windows are set in an abstract way to signify the private chamber *(shabestan)* of Soudabeh. Siyavash is sitting on a throne while Soudabeh and her maidens are kneeling and standing before him. In the background where a door leads into the back garden, a monochrome mural painting of a gazelle being chased by a hunting dog is depicted; this is a metaphor denoting Soudabeh's desire to entice her beloved Siyavash. The painting is framed by a draped curtain.

[42] 'Abd-Allah Hatefi was a Persian poet (1454–1521) and nephew of Abdul Rahman Jami.

Left: Figure 8.27. Bahram Gur in the black pavilion, Khamseh by Nezami, Herat, c. 1493, lateTimurid style, 173r.
Middle: Figure 8.28. Bahram Gur in the green palace on Monday, Khamseh by Nezami Shaikh Zadeh, Herat,1524–25 AD, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Right: Figure 8.29. Anushirvan with a princess, Ferdowsi's Shahnameh, Iran, Qazvin, circa 1590-95, The British Library, London.

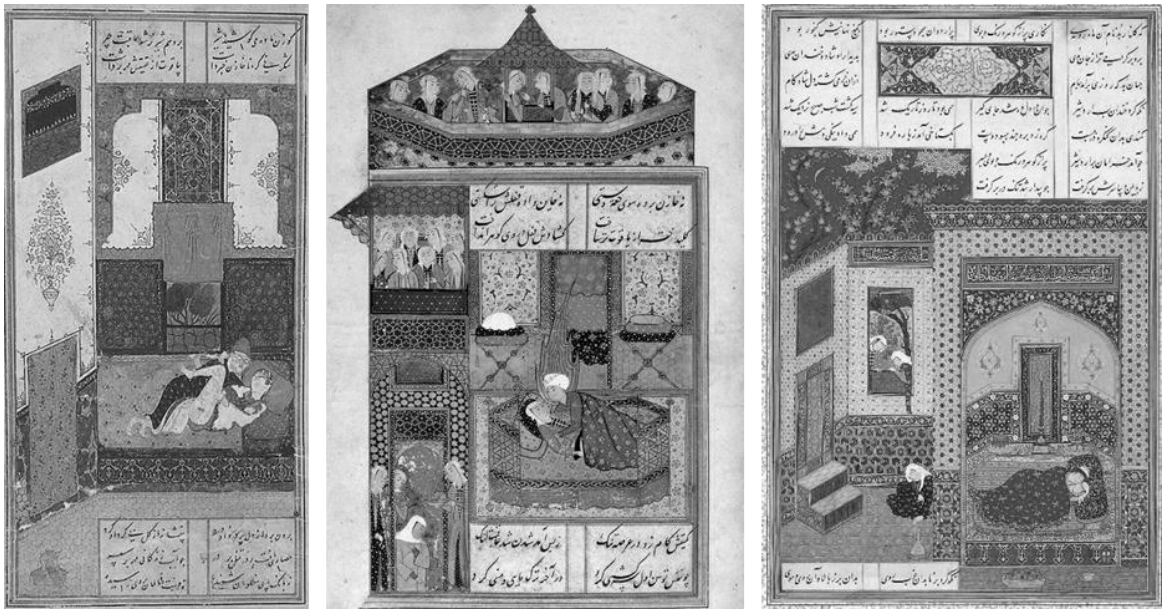




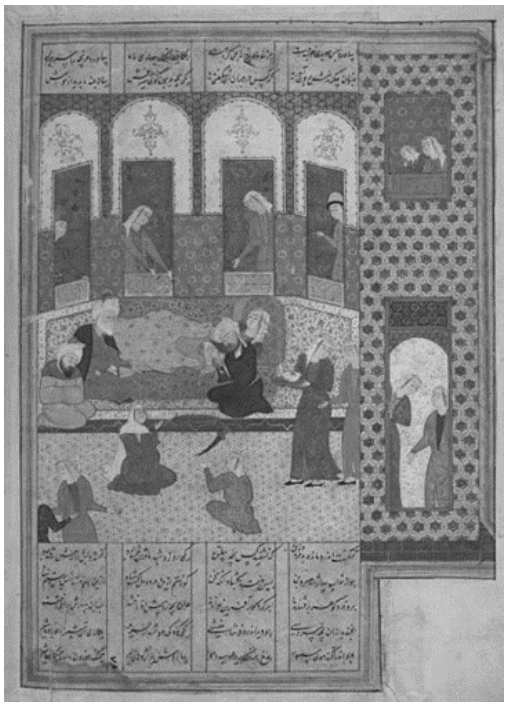
Left: Figure 8.30. A court scene with Timur and his maiden from Khwarezm, author Hatifi (d. 927 AH/AD 1520), scribe Pir 'Ali al-Jami (active in sixteenth century), tenth century AH/AD sixteenth century (Safavid), Iran, folio from Walters manuscript W.648.37A, accessed 23.04.2019. http://art.thewalters.org/detail/81301/a-court-scene-with-timur-and-his-maiden-from-khwarezm/
Middle: Figure 8.31. Siyavash and Soudabeh in Shabistan, unpublished Shahnameh of Rashidā 2239, painter probably Muhammad Yusuf (probably the first half of tenth century AH/ AD seventeenth century), Iran, Isfahan School, courtesy of Golestan Palace.
Left: Figure 8.32. Iskandar marries Rushanak, from the Shahnama by Firdausi, Per 270.66, Mu'in Musavvir, Isfahan, 1655/1066 AH, Chester Beatty Digital Collection, accessed 24.04.2019 https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Per_270_66/1/LOG_0000/.

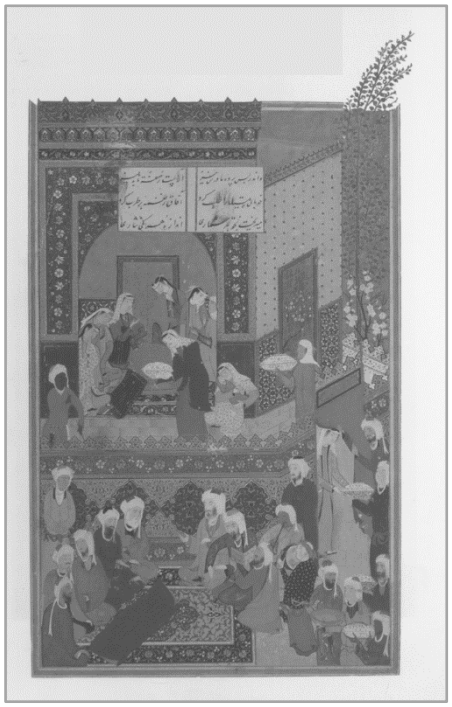
However, not a recurrent theme, lovers are also depicted in their marriage bed. The union of devotees usually happens as a celebration following many ups and downs, hardships and separation. Using metaphorical instead of sensual language, poets generally describe this moment passionately and in detail. Such a brilliant scene, as the culmination of the romance, cannot be ignored by artists. Some well-known marriages depicted in Persian literature and miniature painting are: 'Khosrow and Shirin', 'Yusuf and Zulaikha', 'Humay and Humayun', 'Ardashir and Golnar' and 'Zal and Rudabeh'.

Figures 8.33, 8.34 and 8.35 show the marriage bed placed indoors in a *shabistān* (chamber). Khosrow and Shirin in the marriage bed (Figure 8.33) from a Timurid Khamseh by Nezami, happens in a room with a half-covered window overlooking the garden. The entrance door, however, is entirely concealed by a curtain. Thus there is no one at the *shabistān* but Khosrow and Shirin. The second marriage scene depicts Ardashir and Golnar enjoying intimacy together in the silence of the night (Figure 8.35). While they are resting in their colourful bed inside the chamber, three maids in attendance have fallen asleep.

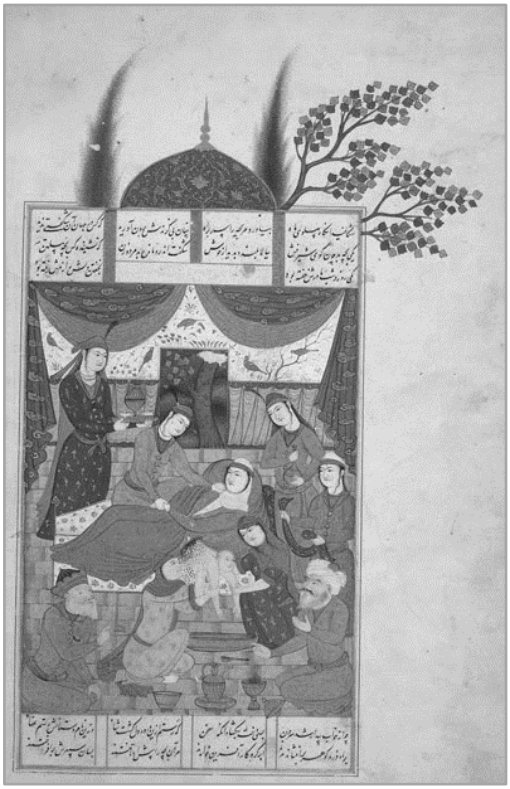


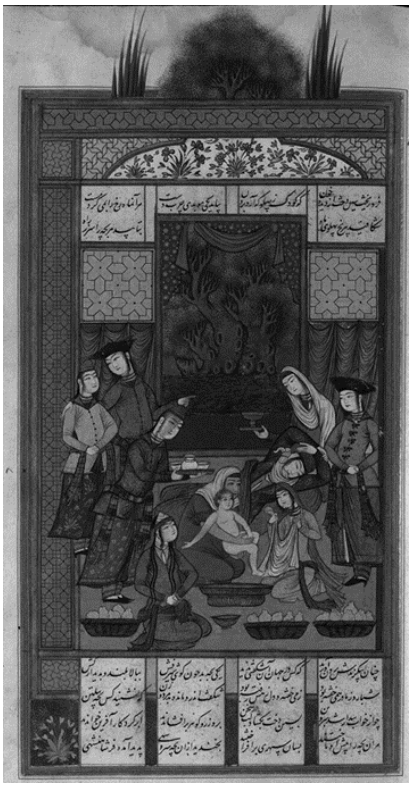
Left*:* Figure 8.33. Khosrow and Shirin in the marriage bed, The Khamseh by Nezami, Iran, 1431– 1431, Timurid Dynasty, accessed 27.04.2019, https://www.arthermitage.org/The-Khamsa-by-Nizami/Khusrow-and-Shirin-in-the-Marriage-Bed.html.
Middle: Figure 8.34.Yusuf and Zulaikha's marriage, Yusuf and Zulaikha by Jami (1414– 1492), anonymous painter, Iran, sixteenth century, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (MNW).
Right: Figure 8.35.The tale of Ardashir Babakan and Golnar, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s–1530s).





Left: Figure 8.36. Rudaba gives birth to Rostam, Timurid era.
Right: Figure 8.37. The celebration of the birth of Majnun under Bihzad's supervision, from Leyli u Majnun of Amir Khosrow Dihlavi, 1485, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. 163, f. 104v.[43]





Left: Figure 8.38. The birth of Rostam, I.O.Islamic 1256, 1630 (to 40), Isfahan, f.52v, The British Library, accessed 25.04.2019 https://www.bl.uk/learning/cult/inside/shahnamestories/storyfour/birthofrostam.html.
Right: Figure 8.39. The birth of Rostam, unpublished Shahnameh of Rashidā, 2239 (seventeenth century), courtesy of Golestan Palace.

[43] Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad:Master of Persian Painting* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 1996), 66.

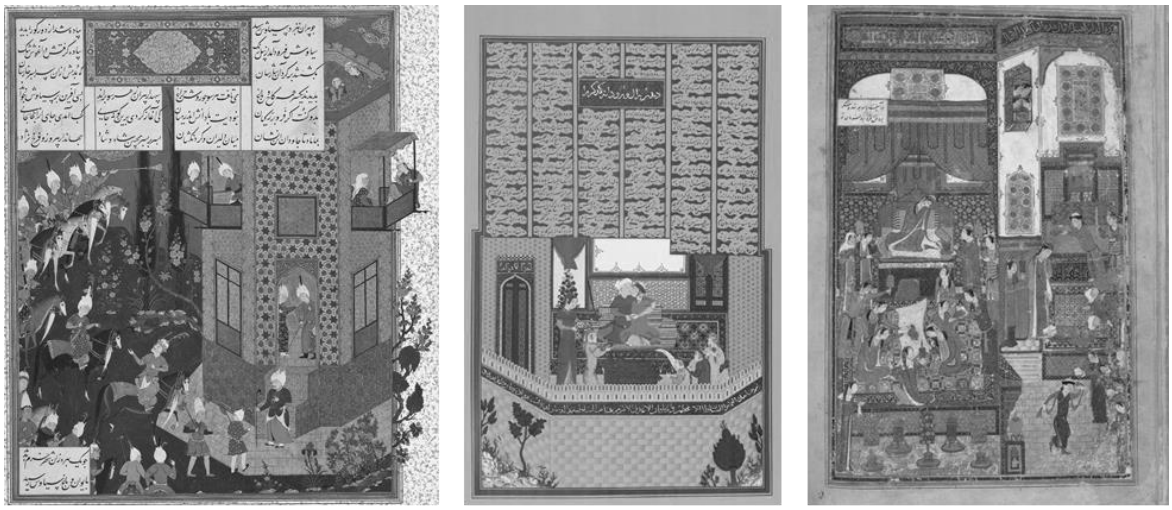
Considering the above examples, a question comes to mind. While matrimonial union as depicted in the paintings requires a private space, why do these images depict the chamber as a semi-open space with only three walls? The question will be addressed in the next section; 'Discovering and recovering privacy.' However, before turning to this discussion, 'giving birth,' as the last theme of the current category which occurred in a private chamber, will be examined (Figures 36, 37, 38 and 39). One of the most famous labour scenes in Persian literature is the birth of Rostam, the celebrated legendary hero in the Shahnameh. In Persian mythology, Rudaba's delivery of Rostam was prolonged due to the extraordinary size of her baby, and finally, the Simurgh appeared and instructed Zal, her lover and husband, to perform a *'Rostamzad'* (Persian equivalent for caesarean section) with the help of a physician. Thus Rudaba saved the child. Three of four folios with different executions show Rudaba reclining, surrounded by her maids, and Zal and a physician seated or standing (Figures 36, 38, 39).

8.6 Concealed privacy: Discovering and recovering

The examination of the spatial arrangement of several folios with feminine themes, which should have taken place in a private space, reveals that the representation of these places is not completely secluded. Such a discovery raises questions. Why were the areas which are meant to be secluded exposed? How could such compositional arrangements described in Persian paintings be seen as a way of seeing and as a method of presentation?

In order to answer these questions, we need to define three different perspectival viewpoints employed in Persian paintings (Figure 8.40). The first perspective setup represents the building's elevation and its exterior, wherein, the observer is standing not far from the building, somewhere in the landscape, looking at the edifice. In this case, the interior spaces remain out of the observer's sight. The figures usually appear standing at the doorway, on the balcony, behind the window, or on the rooftop (Figure 8.40a). From the second perspective, the observer stands behind the wall that surrounds the palace. However, in this situation, while the wall block's the observer's sight, the courtyard, *iwan* or private chamber are still visible (Figure 8.40b). In the third the observer stands inside the exterior space of a palace, in the courtyard or in the garden, looking at the elevation (Figure 8.40c). In this case, the compositional frame is vertically divided into two main sections. One section depicts the private space (usually the bedroom), entirely visible and juxtaposed with a second section which usually is a semi-private space, such as the *iwan* or hall, where a gathering is held.

In general, settings b and c are the situations by which secluded spaces can be exposed. The following sections attempt to answer the question concerning the method of seeing and representation in Persian painting, as previously discussed in Chapter 4. Section 8.6.1 'Secluded by a wall' examines women, gaze and privacy in select folios based on perspective b, and section 8.6.2 'Secluded without wall' examines women, gaze and privacy in select folios based on perspective c.



a. b. c.

Figure 8.40. Three main perspectives from which to examine a residential structure

a. Piran visits Siyavashgerd, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s–1530s).[44]
b. Zal and Roudabeh meet each other, The Baysonghor Shahnameh (no.716, Golestan Palace, 1426– 1430).
c. Gold coins poured over Humayun (wedding of Humay and Humayun), Khamseh by Khwaju Kermani, British Library, London, Add 18113 folio: 45v, Baghdad, c. 1396.

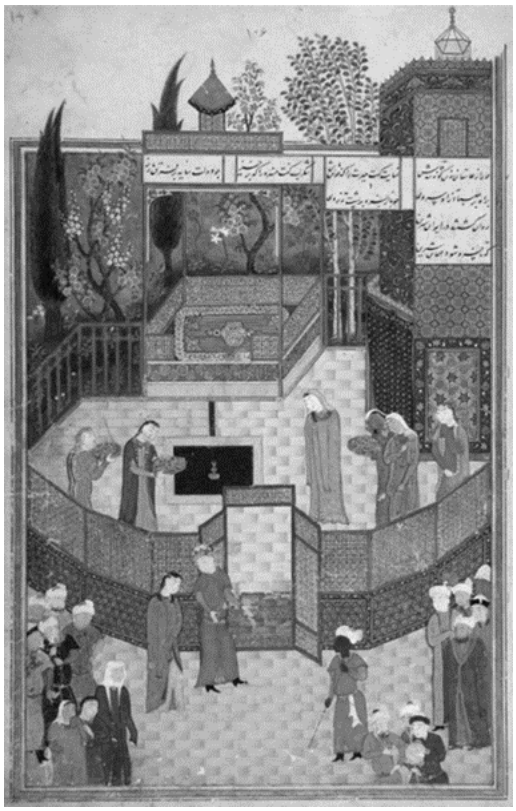
8.6.1 Secluded by walls

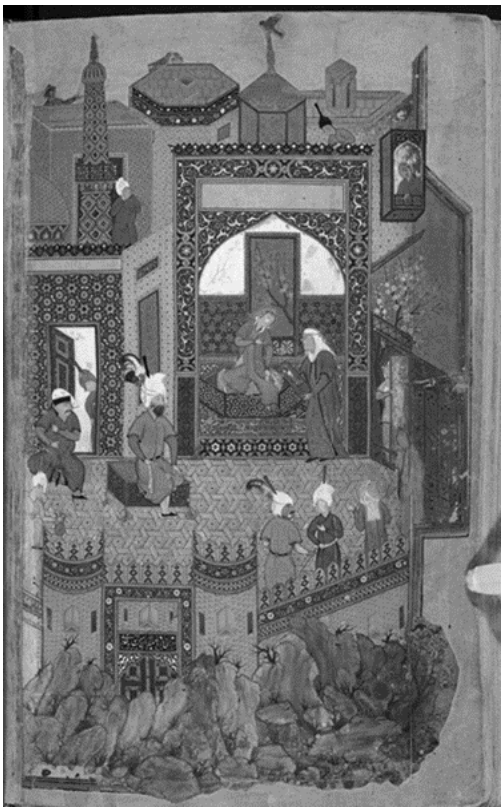
Within the Persian paintings being examined, barriers which enclose dwellings not only define the boundaries of these residential domains but also make them functionally secure and private. One or more gates control the entrance. When the residential structure/palace belongs to a female character, the existence of such security and seclusion is essential (Figures 8.41, 8.42, 8.43, 8.44). As illustration, two palaces – one owned by Shirin and the other belonging to Nushaba – will be observed. In an image from the Khamseh of Amir Khosrow*;* 'Shirin receives Khosrow at her palace in Armenia' (Figure 8.41), Shirin's palace is depicted as a garden with a kiosk pavilion and pool surrounded by a wall, possibly constructed of brick with tile decorations at its lower half and a door toward the inner

[44] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnamehof*, 204.

courtyard. The wall seems high enough to block the sight of passers-by gazing into the palace. The barrier on the other side of the courtyard is a rail fence with a view towards the landscape behind the building, which indicate it is a secluded garden attached to Shirin's pavilion. Shirin and his maids are standing in the courtyard, waiting for Khosrow to enter. Khosrow and his entourage have arrived behind the wall, where some of Shirin's maidens welcome and guide visitors inside. Here, the wall separates these two groups, inside and outside of the wall. However, while they are unable to see each other; the privileged onlooker can see both groups, from an elevated viewpoint.

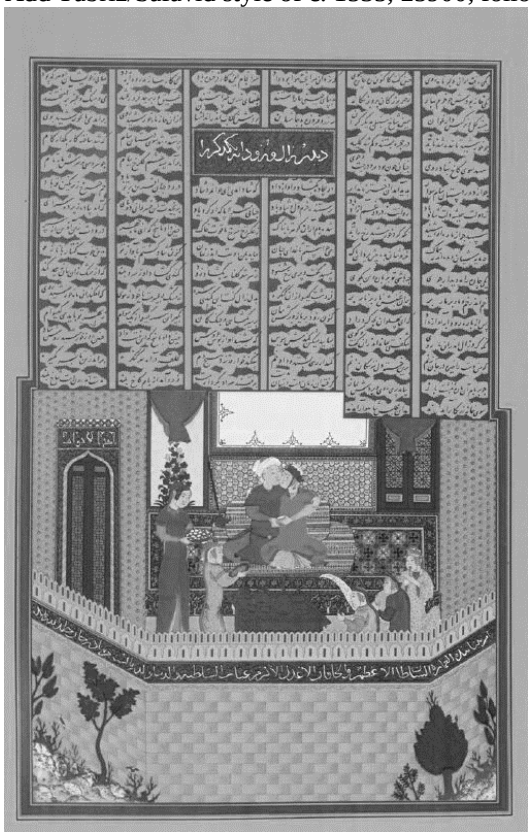
The second folio, from an early Safavid manuscript of Khamseh by Nezami, shows Nushaba sitting in the *iwan*. Shahpour sits on a dais in the courtyard before her (Figure 8.42). Instead of a typical landscape, the background depicts an urbanscape, including a mosque, houses with people and pigeons on rooftops, skylights and wind-catchers. On the right side of the page, a rail fence with a half-open door to the countryside is visible. A young woman, seemingly one of the palace associates, stands at the doorway looking inside. Nushaba palace is strictly secured by its fortification and a massive gate, the rocks in front of the high barrier and wall suggesting that this fortress is impenetrable. And, while suggesting enclosure in both examples, the barriers do not block our sight as onlookers to gaze inside the palace.





Left: Figure 8.41. Shirin receives Khosrow at her palace in Armenia, Khamseh of Amir Khosrow, Herat, c.1485 AD, The Chester Beatty Library Collection, source: Filigranes and Fiber.

Right: Figure 8.42. Iskandar shown his portrait by Nushaba, Khamseh by Nezami, British Library, London, Add Tabriz/Safavid style of c. 1535, 25900, folio: 245v.





Left*:* Figure 8.43. The Baysonghor Shahnameh (no.716, Golestan Palace, 1426– 1430).
Middle: Figure 8.44. Khosrow entertains Shirin at his palace in Armenia, Khamseh of Amir Khosrow, Herat, c.1485 AD, The Chester Beatty Library Collection, source: Filigranes and Fibers.

Towards extending this understanding of the 'wall-partition' as a spatial enclosing device employed in the painting-composition, a folio from the Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh based on perspective b (as discussed in the current chapter, section 8.6) will be analysed. The folding and pop-up method (as discussed in chapter 4, section 4.5) will be employed.This particular image depicts the birth of Z*ā*l; son of S*ā*m and father of Rostam (Figure 8.45). The setting has been horizontally divided in two by a brick wall. The upper part represents S*ā*m's harem where his wife gave birth to his first child, Z*ā*l. As the exclusive women's domain within this space. S*ā*m's wife (described by Ferdowsi as S*ā*m's beautiful beloved) is shown resting on a luxurious bed while she leans on her *dāyah* (nursemaid). Another nurse shows a white-haired child (Z*ā*l) to her.

In the lower part, located outside the women's quarters, a number of curious courtiers are shown standing along the brick wall while they gossip amongst themselves. A man with his *Taj-i Haydari*, probably S*ā*m, sits on the tiled stairs.



Figure 8.45. Defining two main sections (private quarter and outside of the private quarter) made by palace barrier. The birth of Zal, Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s –1530s).[45]

[45] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of,* 107.

The busy composition consisting of maids and female entourage in the courtyard, inside the pavilion and visible behind the window, gives the impression that an important but strange event has occurred. After years of anticipating the birth of Sām's first child, instead of cheerful faces, an air of uncertainty seems apparent. Maids are serving fruit, drinks and food while whispering to each other nervously, because the newborn baby's hair is completely white and no one dares to inform Sām. The compositional space of this painting is examined by applying the folding and pop-up method which thereby enables us to look at the palace behind the walls where the courtiers stand (Figure 8.46). This view is based on a single perspective. However, the viewpoint from which the scene has been displayed, is a combination of front view (elevation), top view (plan), and elevated view from outside of the palace barriers. Such a raised perspective enables us to simultaneously view both the inside and outside of the palace.



Figure 8.46. Folding and pop-up model, looking at the palace behind the walls where the courtiers are standing.



Figure 8.47. Applying folding and pop-up method to suggest a 3D model of the space.
Top: Front view. **Bottom left:** Slightly elevated front view. **Bottom right:** Angled elevated view.

8.6.2 Secluded without walls

As revealed in the previous discussion, within the compositional space of the Persian painting, the idea of gender segregation and privacy is communicated through the application of various methods. Among these methods, spatial arrangements based on the 'perspective type c' (that represents an interior view of the space vertically divided into a private and a semi private section, Figure 8.40c), are exceptional in the way it exposes the most private moments of women's lives, usually being juxtaposed with events such as public gatherings and royal celebrations. This section aims to elucidate such an occurrence with regards to the visual and pictorial language of Persian painting.

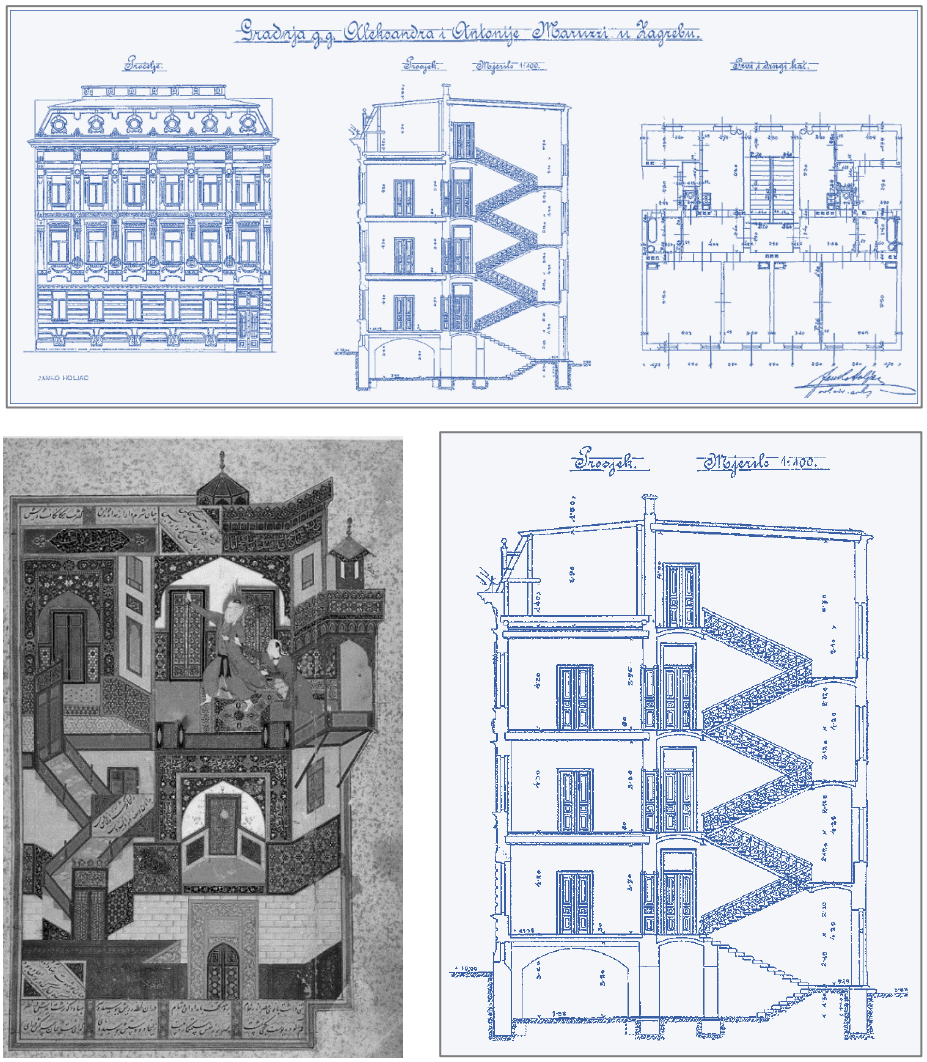
In general, Persian painting tends to reveal rather than conceal. The painter attempts to provide the maximum pictorial information in a single frame. He even shows the elements which logically the observer would be otherwise unable to see through 'bent' or 'distorted' or deliberately 'exaggerated' perspectives and lines of sight. The image titled Zahhak kills the father; *Merdas* (Figure 8.48), from the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, depicts Merdas' garden with *Eblis* (Satan) appearing as an older man leaning against a tree. Zahhak looks down into the pit, into which the pious Merdas has fallen. The painter reveals what Zahhak sees in the pit. Such an idea in different images has been attained by employing various visual methods that agree with the requirements of the narration. Such definition and understanding is an essential means to decode complex spatial arrangements as represented by the sophisticated visual language of Persian paintings. Based on this analysis, a technique which has been devised to maximise the representational aptitude of the image will now be introduced and discussed.



Figure 8.48. Revealing the concealed elements, Zahhak kills the father, the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s–1530s).[46]

While the juxtaposition of plan and elevation has already been defined and discussed by scholars, this study now proposes another type of perspective applied in the Persian painting, one that simultaneously displays elevation, section and floorplan in a single image. This method is comparable to the orthographic technique of architectural drawing that has been a relatively ubiquitous tool of representation for design professionals and builders for centuries (Figures 8.49 and 8.50). In such a method, a cross-sectional drawing represents a vertical plan by cutting through the elevation. In contemporary architecture, the purpose of section drawing is to describe the relationship between different levels of a building and structures that would be difficult to otherwise understand from plans alone (Figure 8.51). But in Persian painting, the function of sectional imagery is to reveal the activities and events which were happening inside that enclosed space (or spaces). Accordingly, the section functions as a scenic stage of sorts for the players to represent and act within (Figure 8.50).

[46] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of*, 45.



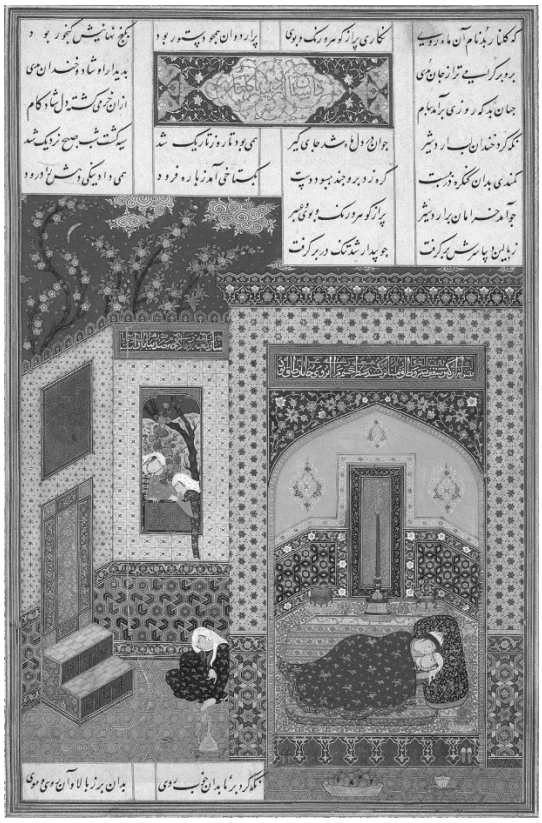
Comparison of section representation in a Persian painting and architectural drawing:
Top: Figure 8.49. Three-storey apartment house, 1901, elevation, section and second/third-storey floor plan, by Janko Holjac.[47]
Bottom left: Figure 8.50. Yusuf pursued by Zulaikha, Bustan by Sa'di, the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, Behzād, 1488, late Timurid period, Herat.
Bottom right: Figure 8.51, part of Figure 8.49, section drawing.

The comparison below demonstrates a similar application of section in a theatrical scene and a Persian painting (Figures 8.52 and 8.53). Figure 8.53 is a folio from the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp that demonstrate the tale of Ardashir and Golnar. Golnar, a beautiful slave-girl and favourite of Ardavan Shah, saw Ardashir and fell in love with him. She started to meet Ardshir secretly at night-time till they flee together. The tall space on the right of the page, where they are sleeping, is similar to an *iwan.* However based on the story their stealthy

[47] Darko Kahle, "Multi-Story Attached Houses in Zagreb between 1850 and 1927." *Prostor* 22 (2014): 175-87.

meetings should happen in a private chamber hidden from the Ardavan's guards and not in an open space such as an *iwan.* So it seems that, Persian paintings such as this particular one and other examples in Figures 8.50, 8.56 and 8.59, consciously highlight the interiors of spaces and the activities enacted in these spaces by incorporating compositional arrangements that distort perspective gaze. If we accept that Ardashir and Golnar's meeting happen in a chamber and not an *iwan*, the arrangement of the scene in both cases (Figures 8.52 and 8.53) includes exterior areas, elevation and section. In both, the chamber wall is omitted to allow the beholder to see the private spaces inside the house. However, for the Persian painting such methods usually create ambiguity, whereas the theatre observer is familiar with the structure of the building and its applied modifications. To help the observer readjust and envisage such modifications, the front wall of the chamber has been restored in Figure 8.53. Such a method helps the observer to understand how the space looked before the section was implemented (Figure 8.53).



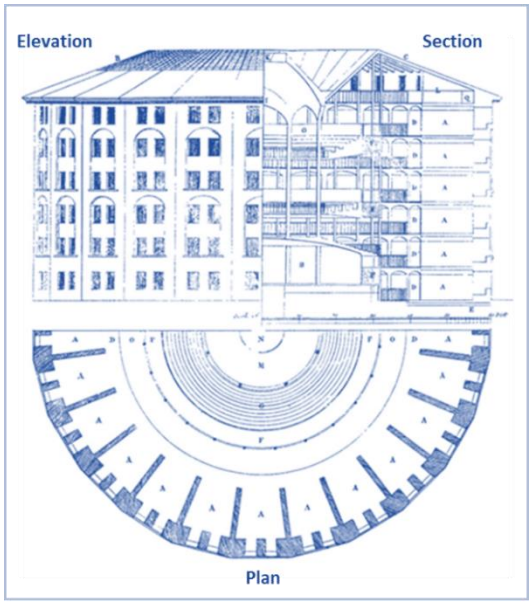


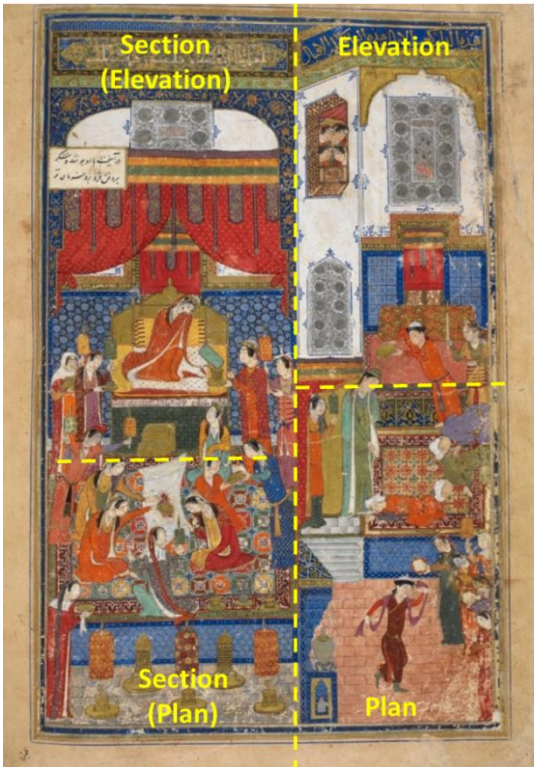


Comparison between the section in scenography and Persian painting:
Top: Figure 8.52. Scene design achieved by the juxtaposition of exterior, elevation and section; Boleros for the disenchanted by Alexander Dodge, Huntington Theatre Company.
Bottom left: Figure 8.53. The tale of Ardashir and Golnar, The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp (1520s– 1530s).
Bottom right: Figure 8.54. Restoring privacy of women's chamber by fixing the removed wall.

Figures 8.55–8.58, similarly compare, analyse and demonstrate how the spatial setting in a Persian painting combines elevation, section and floorplan in a single frame. Figure 8.59 from the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp illustrates the wedding of Jarireh and Siyavash. The newly married couple converse amorously while the groom holds the bride's hand. The interior space is allocated to the lovers and Jarireh's female entourage, while the only man present is Siyavash. The exterior, Piran's royal residence, is dedicated to the typical activities of the men's domain – feasting, drinking and music. The women, inside the building, glance at these festivities through first and second floor windows and balcony. The private wedding chamber is segregated so the chamber is invisible to male guests enjoying the celebration in the palace courtyard. Gazing towards the interior where the central theme of the image, the marriage of Siyavash and Jarireh, is a privilege to the observer as shown by the imagery (Figures 8.60 and 8.61).

This representation or disclosure in Persian painting is recurrently applied to juxtapose the interior and exterior spaces by vertically cutting out the interior space façade and/or by employing compositional angles that highlight concurrent activities in these spaces. Consequently, by removing the front walls of these private sectors or adjusting gaze, the painter effectively unblocks the observers' sight to let them gaze inside the private sectors. However, the section in Persian painting does not negate the idea of privacy *(mahramiyat)* practised in Islamic architecture. Similar to Islamic architecture and urbanism, the building plan should provide peace, safety and privacy; in Persian painting the privacy of female residents is provided by hierarchical spatial setting. Different layers of privacy, including public, semi-public, private and semi-private, can be defined in the images. The residential domains are considered as private space, so strangers cannot look inside or enter without permission; curtains, walls and guarded gates demonstrate such a notion. Privacy in Persian painting is achieved by various visual means and spatial compositions. The section method, however, can be described as 'exposed in *zāher* (form) while 'private in *m'ana* (meaning)'.









Comparison of the spatial setting in a Persian painting and architectural drawing by combining elevation, section and plan:

Top left: Figure 8.55. Architectural drawing combining elevation, section and plan: drawings by Willey Reveley of Jeremy Bentham's proposal for a Panopticon prison, 1791. The works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. iv, 172-3.

Top right: Figure 8.56. Gold coins poured over Humayun (wedding of Humay and Humayun), Khamseh by Khwaju Kermani, British Library, London, Add 18113 folio: 45v, Baghdad, c. 1396.

Bottom left: Figure 8.57. Dividing the private chamber and royal hall.

Bottom right: Figure 8.58. Restoring privacy of the women's chamber by fixing the removed wall.

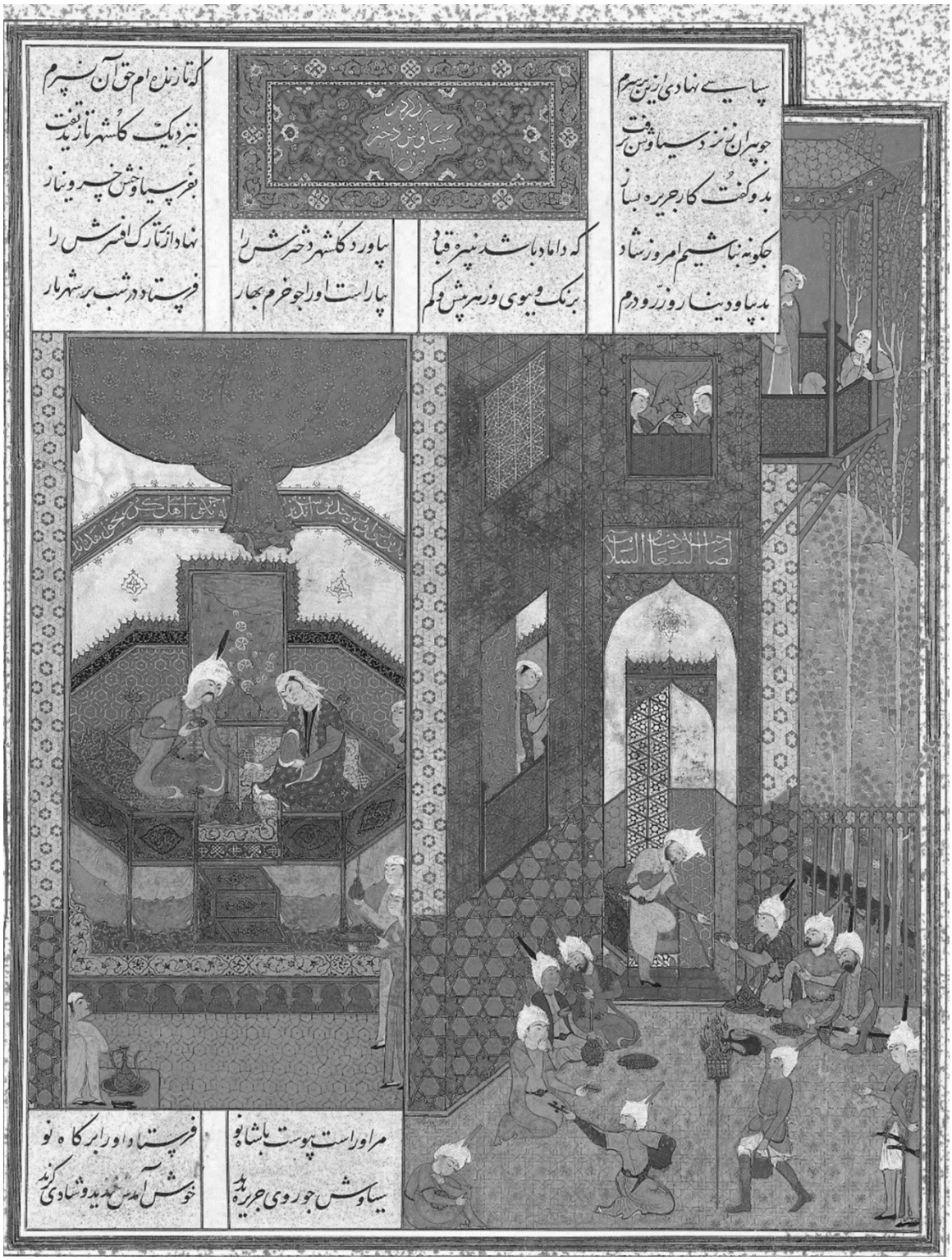
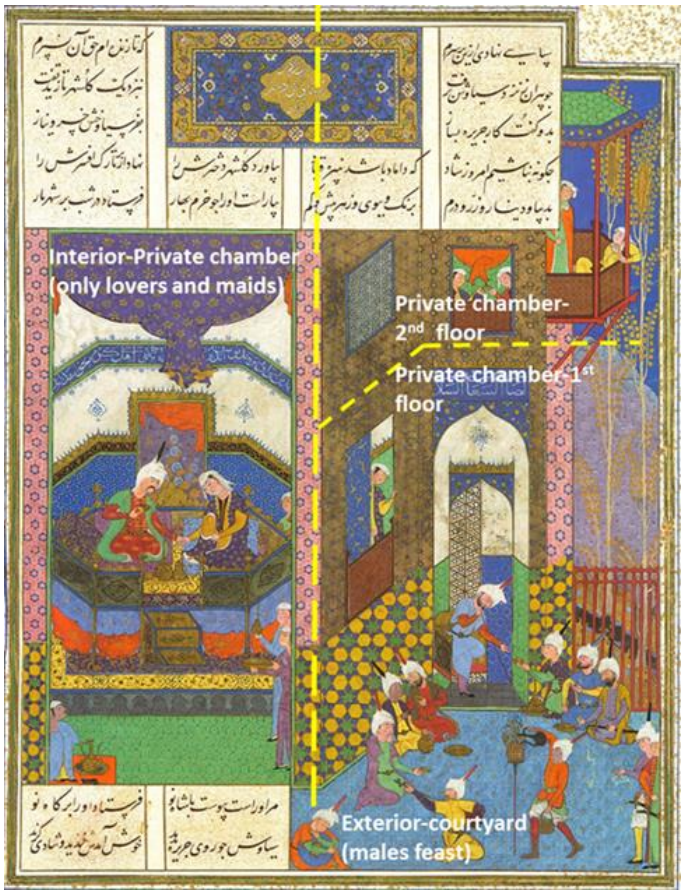
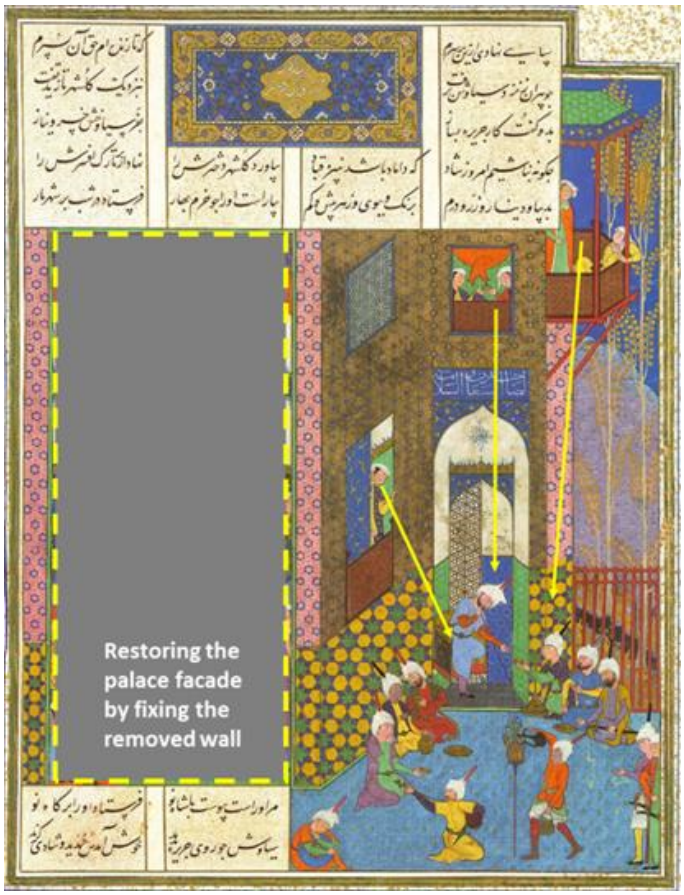


Figure 8.59. Siyavash marries Jarireh, daughter of Piran, the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s–1530s).[48]

[48] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of* , 202.





Top: Figure 8.60. Division of space: interior as women's private chamber and exterior as courtyard for male's feast. **Bottom:** Figure 8.61. Reconcilement of privacy by restoring the removed wall of women's chamber.



Figure 8.62. Understanding the combination of section, elevation and plan by applying the folding and pop-up method to suggest a 3D model of the space.

8.7 Building as women's watchtower

Within the built environment of the Islamic world, the usage of the window as a spatial element is more on its ability to provide light and fresh air, rather than encourage visual access. Therefore, geometrically decorated window frames of *mashrabya, orosi* (sash), and *moshabak* (lattice) with colourful glass not only filter the sunlight and heat but also prevent direct gaze into the interiors. Belting believes that "windows offer symbolic occasions for gazing at the world". In the West, "mirrors and windows awakened an impulse in individuals to keep tabs on the world with their own gaze."[49] Meiss von Pierre also refers to the window as a "sign of human life, wink to the passerby." He describes a window as the "eye of the building allowing one to gaze at the outside world without being seen".[50]

Within Islamic law, the window, as well as the balcony and rooftop, were designed carefully with limited visual access. In Persian painting these elements enabled female residents to gaze at the world. Window screens of the *mashrabya,* described by Belting as barriers to gaze,[51] windows with geometrical design and stained glass windows serve a different purpose to filtering or limiting gaze in Persian paintings. These elements appeared as safe watchtowers for observers, mainly secluded women *(pardeh-neshin).* Women present on balconies and rooftops, camouflaged by geometrically designed window screens, could look down without being seen. Such elevated location also provided panoramic views which allowed them to see things before other occupants on lower levels. Such enhanced views were comparable to raised seating platforms on balconies or galleries of the theatre auditorium. Figure 8.63 compares the spatial setting of an image in Persian painting with a theatre hall. In this image from The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, the stage is where the Siyavash passes through the trial by fire to prove his integrity. Sitting on balcony seats in the auditorium (the palace balcony) is Sudabeh and her maids, observing the scene. Their raised lookout lets them have a complete view of the scene and surroundings, while Sudabeh also enjoys her privacy.

---

[49] Hans Belting, *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 262.
[50] Meiss von Pierre, *Elements of Architecture: From Form to Place* (Abingdon,Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 3.
[51] "Barriers to gaze by dividing indoors and outdoors so strictly that only light can pass through", see Belting, *Florence and Baghdad,* 265.



Figure 8.63. Comparing the rooftop, balcony and window in Persian painting and the balconies or galleries as more raised seating platforms in the auditorium:
Left: Siyavash passes through the trial by fire, the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, Safavid (1520s-1530s).[52]
Right: Balcony seats in the auditorium of York's Grand Opera House, photo by John Robinson https://www.flickr.com/photos/robbophotos/4338454781/in/album-72157594581322977/

In Persian poetry the rooftop is also a place where the beholder can observe without being seen. In the romantic story of Leyli o Majnun[53] who belonged to a paternal Arabic tribal society, it was socially unacceptable for Leyli to choose her husband. She would ascend to the rooftop secretly, gazing from morning to night, in case she might see her forbidden beloved – Majnun – or hear about him by chance:

می‌رفت نهفته بر سر بام
نظاره‌کنان ز صبح تا شام
تا مجنون را چگونه بیند
با او نفسی کجا نشیند
او را به کدام دیده جوید
با او غم دل چگونه گوید
هرکس که گذشت زیر بامش
می‌داد به بیتکی پیامش

[52] Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of*, 184.
[53] The third of Nizami's five long narrative poems.

Unlike Leyli who was seeking to see Majnun, Majnun could not see Leyli. One day when Majnun was passing by Leyli's tent, he suddenly saw Leyli through the tent. Seeing his beloved made him restless and impatient. To avoid being disgraced because of this love, Leyli's family decided to block Majnun's sight toward Leyli.[54]

In employing the story of Leyli-Majnun as a precedent, when awaiting a devotee, women in Persian poetry ascend to the rooftops to see any sign of him before his arrival. In two different stories by Khwaju Kermani and Nizami, the female characters – Humayun and Shirin– make their way to the roof when they hear that their beloveds, Humay and Khosrow, are coming to see them in their palace (Figures 8.64 and 8.65). Humay was fortunate to see Humayun on the rooftop. The script on the cypress tree behind Humayun's palace says:

"when the king (Humay) saw Humayun, like a moon over the roof,
Saw her with her black curls around her face, like the dark night around the moon."
چو مه را ملك بر لب بام دید
مسلسل به گرد مهش شام دید

Figure 8.6 shows Humayun behind Humay's palace gate reciprocating a gaze which culminates in their union in Humayun's *shabistān.*

[54] Abdulhossein Zarrinkoub, *Pir-e Ganjeh dar Jostojooye Nakoja Abad: Darbareh Asar, Zendegi va Andishe-ye Nezami* (Tehran:Sokhan, 1372), 118.



Figure 8.64. **Left:** Humay before the palace of Humayun. **Right, top and bottom:** Humay and Humayun by Khwaju Kermani, British Library, London, Add 18113 folio: 18v, c. 1396.

However Khusrow was not as lucky as Humay. Shirin heard that Khusrow was riding to her palace drunken, looking for her love. Concerned for her reputation and decency, she ordered her palace gates to be closed and assigned guards behind it (Figure 8.65).

حصار خویش را در داد بستن
رقیبی چند را بر در نشستن

She decided not to accept Khusrow inside her *vosāq* (dwelling), but being impatient to see him, she instead went to the rooftop *(bām)* to see him approaching:

به بام قصر بر شد چون یکی ماه
نهاده گوش بر در دیده بر راه

The image portrays the moment Khusrow arrives to the iron gate, confounded and with a broken heart, when he finds the door impenetrable like a stone:

ملک بر فرش دیباهای گلرنگ
جنیبت راند و سوی قصر شد تنگ
دری دید آهنین چون سنگ بسته
ز حیرت ماند بر در دل شکسته

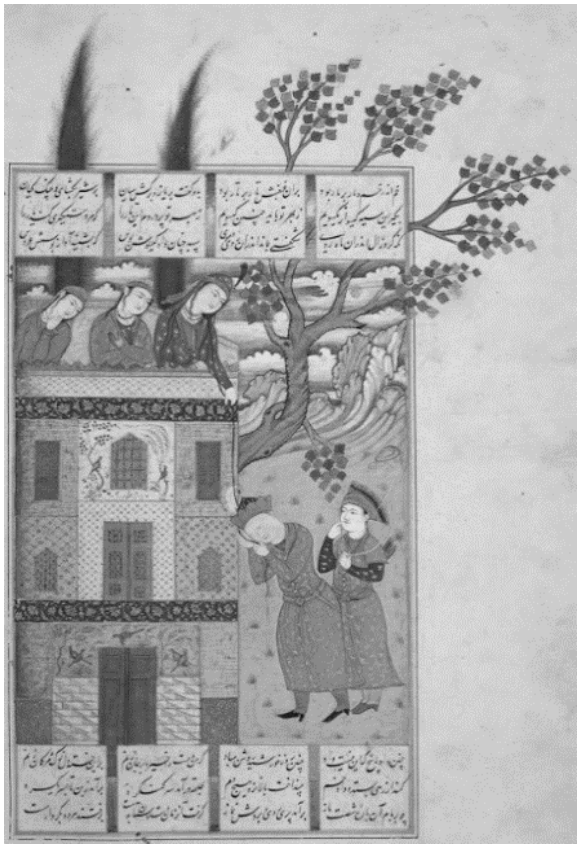
The image elegantly reflects the text's meaning by showing Shirin's and Khosrow's sight direction; Shirin is looking at Khosrow while Khosrow is looking at the closed iron gate as highlighted by yellow arrows in Figure 8.65. Positioning herself on the rooftop – depicted here as a balcony – allowed Shirin to gaze at Khosrow while concealed behind high walls (Figure 8.65).



Figure 8.65. Khosrow at Shirin's palace, c. 1490, Herat, late Timurid style, 77v. A servant laying a carpet before Khosrow's horse as he arrives at Shirin's palace. The inscription gives the date Rajab 898 and a quatrain.

Some legendary heroes such as Zal dare to climb walls to reach their beloved (Figures 8.66 and 8.67). As with other legendary lovers mentioned in Persian poems, Zal and Rudabeh fell in love before meeting. Rudabeh's maidens suggested to Zal that he should climb the walls of Rudabeh's palace. Rudabeh appears on the rooftop, unleashes her long hair to help Zal mount the wall and join her. Zal kisses her braids of hair and uses his lasso instead to climb. Rudabeh entertains him in her pavilion.



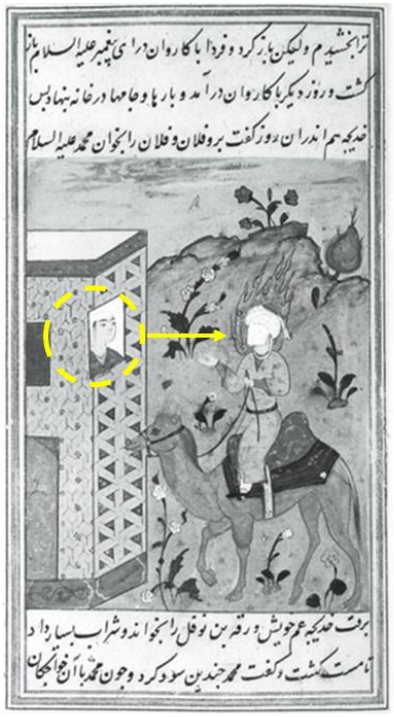


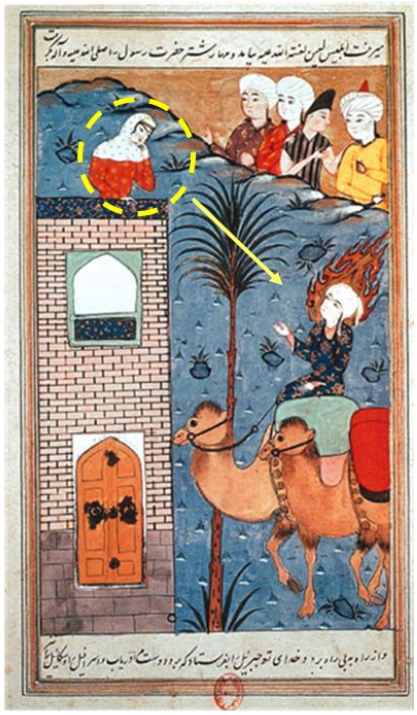
Left: Figure 8.66. Zal climbs to reach Rudabeh, Shahnama by Firdawsi (d. 1020), Timurid period, mid-fifteenth century, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr Arthur M. Sackler, accessed 25.04.2019 https://www.freersackler.si.edu/women-in-persian-manuscripts/
Middle: Figure 8.67. Rudabeh lets her hair down to Zal, Shahnama by Firdawsi, Safavid, Isfahan style, 1630s, London, British Library, MS I. O. Islamic 1256, fol. 42v, accessed 09.05.2019 https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/shahnameh/vgallery/section444d0.html?p=81

Such a pattern is not limited to the illustration of romance and lyrical scenes in poetic manuscripts (Figures 8.70 and 8.71). Two folios from sixteenth-century Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' (Stories of the Prophets) represent Khadijah, the Prophet Muhammad's honoured wife, gazing at the prophet from the window on their first encounter (Figure 8.68), and then from

the rooftop, proposing to Muhammad (Figure 8.69). In both instances, the Prophet Mohammad is seated on a camel with a nimbus of flames over his head signifying his sacred eminence. His face is white-veiled in the first image but he is illustrated as a young man in the second. Another folio from the same text shows angels *(Malak)* in a paradise dwelling's balcony while watching the *Idrīs* (Enoch) sitting on a carpet beside paradise trees (Figure 8.72).

Such thematic examples of 'spatially-removed' individuals, in the Persian painting are embodied in 'compositionally-removed' spaces. These two insights are effectively merged to suggest the theme of 'separation,' exaggerated by certain spatial elements such as impregnable gates, high walls, elevated balconies, and unreachable rooftops. In these cases women's privileges are provided not only because of their physical position in an elevated place, but also because of their visual access to the outer world and surrounding, which allows them to be the person who decides either to be seen or concealed.









Top left: Figure 8.68. The first encounter between Prophet Muhammad and Khadija. Miniature from Ishaq an-Nisapurai, Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', c.1560.[55]
Top right: Figure 8.69. Khadija proposing to Muhammad, illustrated manuscript of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā', Ms. P-1, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, supple. Pers.54, dated 989/1581.[56]
Bottom left: Figure 8.70. The Baysonghor Shahnameh, no.716, Golestan Palace, 1426–1430.
Bottom right: Figure 8.71. Sultan Sanjar and older woman, Iran, 1541. The Khamseh by Nezami, purchased from V.R. Gardin, 1945. Literature.

[55] David A. Bailey, and Gilane Tawadros, *Veil: Veiling, Representation, and Contemporary Art* (London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2003), 163.
[56] Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā'*, Islamic Art and Architecture Series (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1999), Colour Plates.



Figure 8.72. Idrīs (Enoch) in Paradies, Nīšāpūrī, Isḥāq Ibn-Ibrāhīm: Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ , 15XX, [46]-20v, Staatsbibliotheck zu Berlin, Digitalisierte Sammlungen, accessed 17.04.2019, https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN615574084&DMDID=DMDLOG_0005&PHYSID=PHYS_0046

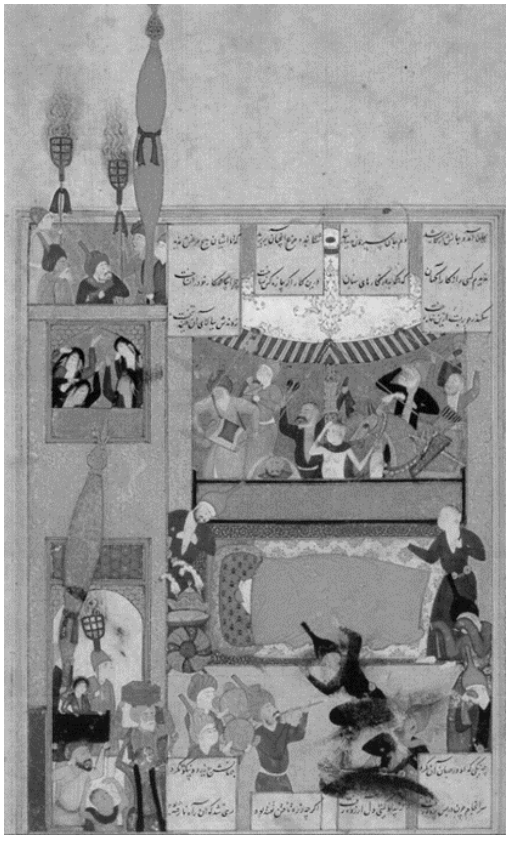
8.8 Building as theatrical stage

The deaths of poetic and historical heroes and heroines are among the tragic themes and intense dramas that Persian paintings commonly illustrate. Women, as the main characters in such scenes, are usually presented beside the coffin (Figures 8.73 and 8.74), or behind the windows in the background or in the *iwan* weeping and mourning (Figure 8.75). A section from Khamseh 'Mourning the death of Iskandar' (Figures 8.73 and 8.75), and stories from Shah Tahmasp's Shahnameh such as 'Rostam mourns Sohrab' (Figure 7.5) and 'The Iranians mourn Farud and Jarira' (Figure 8.76) show emotional scenes. All examples depict women inside the palace, framed by windows, pulling their hair out and crying. The courtiers are presented outside, in the *iwan*, in the courtyard or garden, beating their heads in misery, while their faces express intense compassion. 'Timur's funeral', however, is an exception in terms of the choreography of figures, particularly female characters, and spatial arrangement (Figure 8.77),





Left: Figure 8.73. Weeping and mourning the death of Alexander, mid-eighth century, an illustration from the Great Mongol Shahnama.
Right: Figure 8.74. Mourning a ruler. Illustration of Rashid-ad-Din's Gami' at-tawarih, Tabriz ? First quarter of the fourteenth century. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Orientabteilung, Diez A fol. 71.



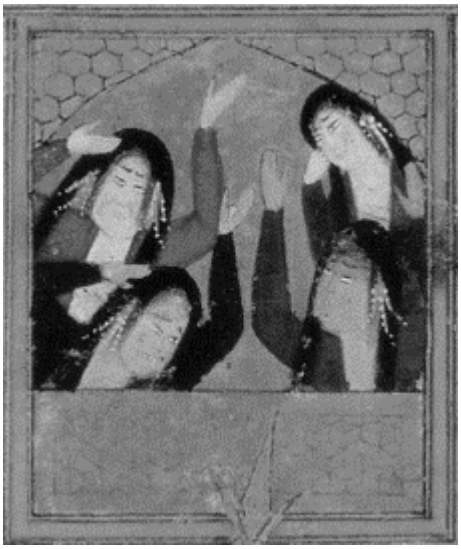


Figure 8.75. Mourning the death of Iskandar, Khamseh of Nizami, Iskandar-nameh

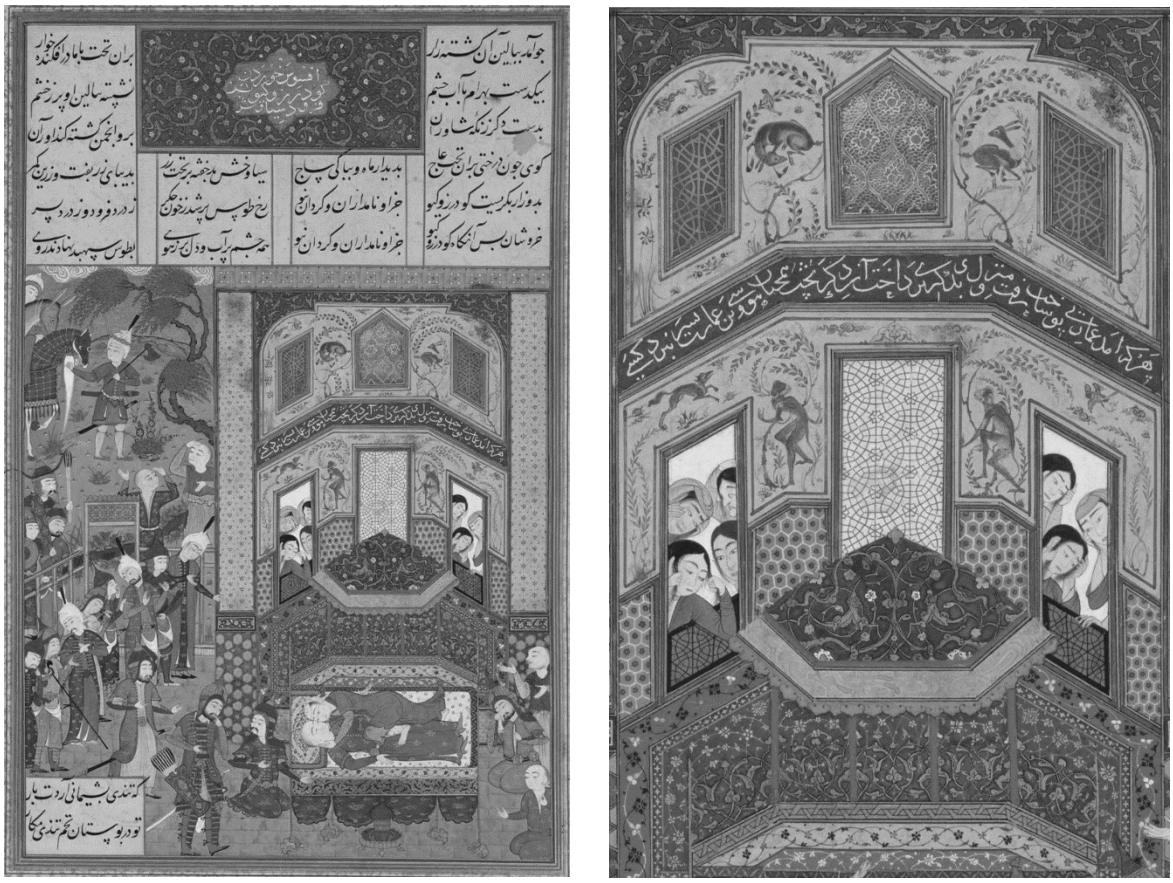


Figure 8.76. The Iranians mourn Farud and Jarira, folio 236r from the Shahnama of Shah Tahmaspca, 1525–30, Iran, Tabriz.

Attributed to Kamal od-din Behzad, this folio belongs to Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708), depicted in the first half of the sixteenth century and now preserved in Golestan Palace Museum. The tragic theme of this image is represented in a theatrical setting with women as essential performers. The painter has tried to remain faithful to the text. Yazdi in Zafarnameh reports that Timur's death happened at night, between the evening prayer and bed-time. Here Timur's palace, on two-levels, is located in the middle of a garden. The dark blue sky and the man standing with a burning torch in the courtyard suggest it is night. The role of women in both text and image is significant. Yazdi stated that before Timur's death the ladies *(khavātin)* and some of the princes *(shāhzadegān)* of the royal household gathered to observe the course of his illness and hear his last words. On hearing his testament, they all lost their patience and became restless. When Timur passed away, Yazdi reports:

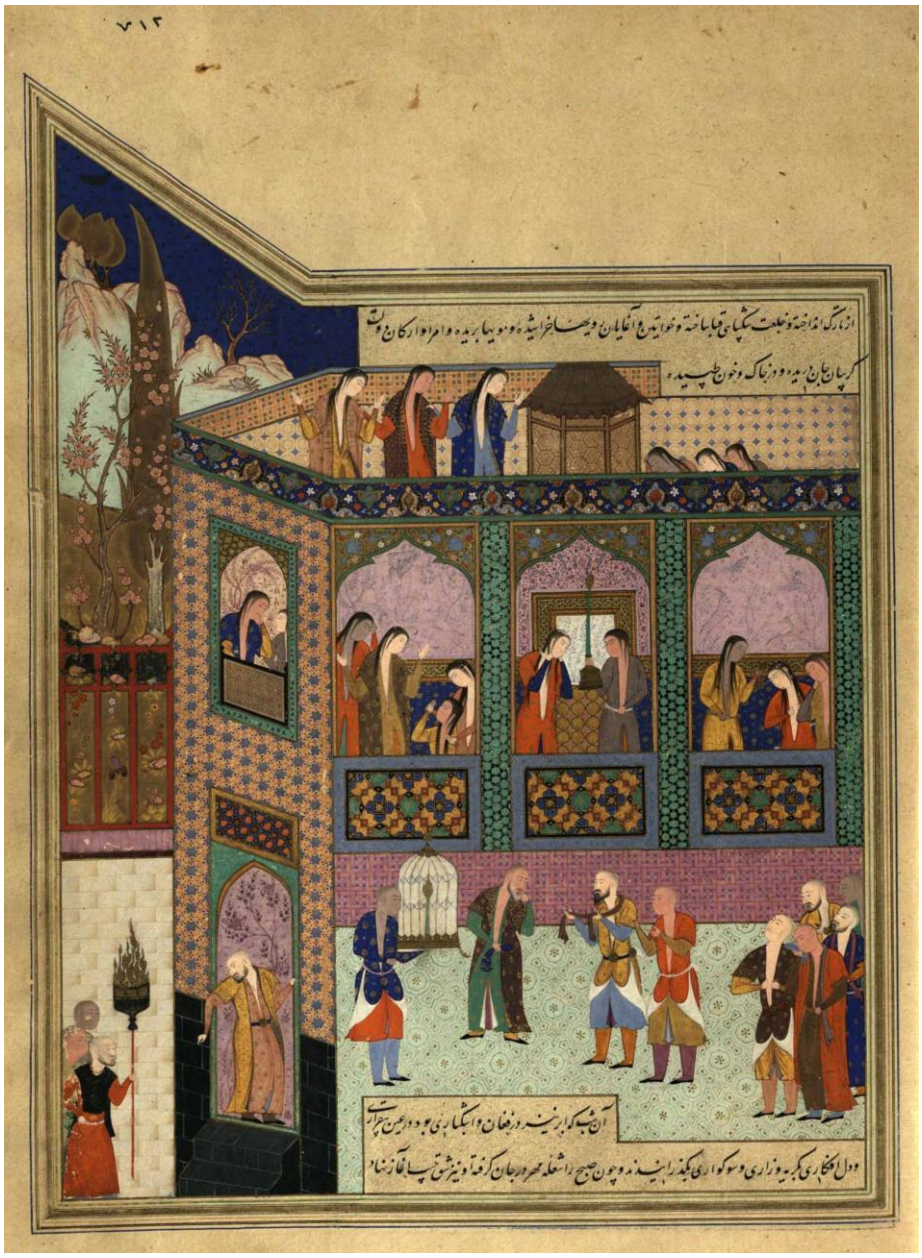
> "the princess of blood cast their crowns upon the earth, the empresses and ladies tore their faces and their hair, the amirs and principal persons rent their robes, and slinging themselves upon the ground, passed that dismal night in grief."[57]

Being faithful to the text the painter showed the men's figures without headgear. The noteworthy point is that the characters have not appeared dressed in black as the funeral ceremony outfit. Yazdi has declared the reason:

> "to prevent chaos, they kept Timur's death concealed and prevented the ladies changing their outfits, and of showing any exterior sighs of grief, that the enemy might not have present advice of it."[58]

A critical action taken by the amirs to deal with the political crisis after Timur's death was meeting the empresses *(āqāyan)* and holding council concerning required actions at that conjuncture.[59] Yazdi's account also indicates the important role of women in the administration of the Timurid organisation. This is indicated pictorially in the 'Timur's funeral' folio by the way that women's gestures and emotions are interpreted, and by the overall numbers of women represented as dominant characters at the scene.

[57] Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *The History of Timur-Bec: Known by the Name of Tamerlain the Great, Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars: Being an Historical Journal of His Conquests in Asia and Europe*, trans. J. Darby. Vol. 2 (London: 1723), 381-89. Published online by Internet Archive, accessed 20.05.2019 https://archive.org/details/TheHistoryOfTimurBec_201409.
[58] Ibid, 381-89.
[59] Ibid.



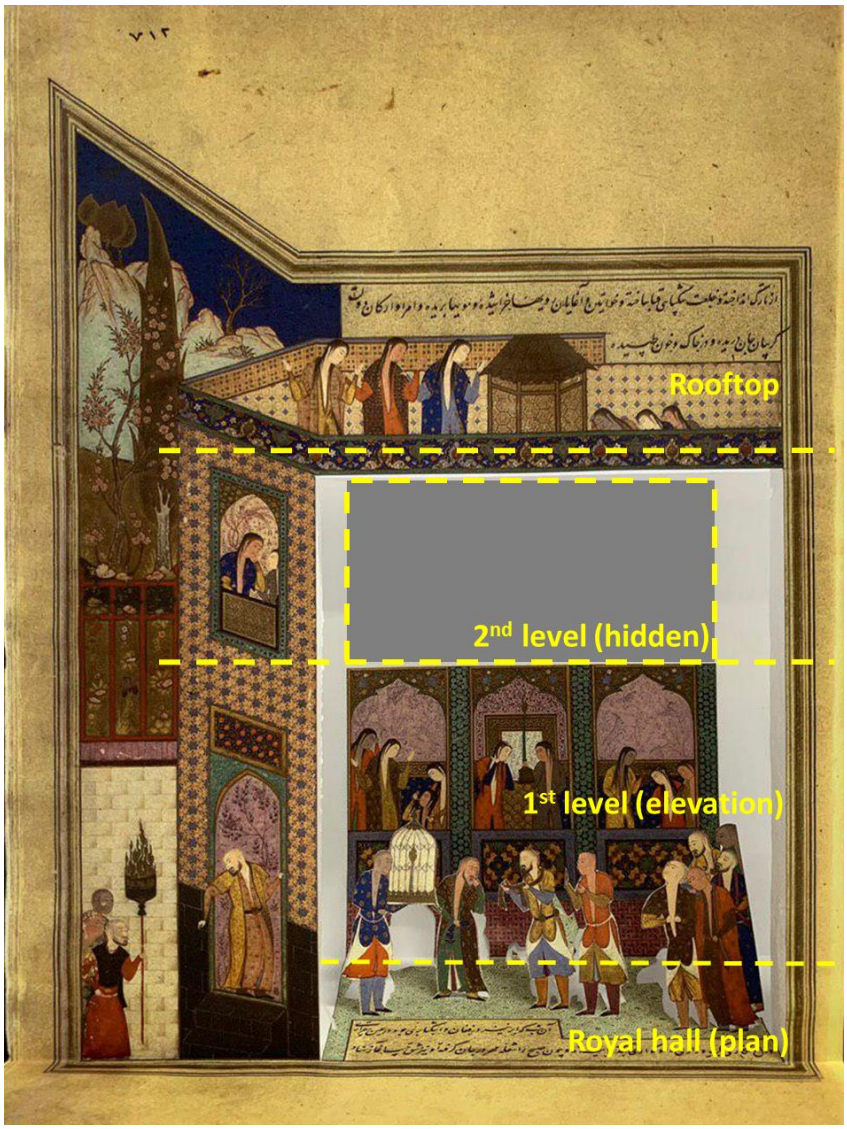


Comparing the choreography and spatial setting of Timur's funeral, and cast on the theatre stage.
Top: Figure 8.77. Timur's funeral, attributed to Kamal od-din Behzad, Timurid Zafarnameh (no.708),1528, Courtesy of Golestan Palace.
Bottom: Figure 8.78, It shoulda been you 2017, photo by George Schiavone.

The current historical episode is set in a hexagonal building on two floors. In addition to the rooftop, three platforms are available (Figure 8.79). The compositional arrangement combines the information of the plan, section and elevation, thereby allowing the observer to see the interiors and exteriors simultaneously. The palace is surrounded by a rail fence, with a garden in the background. The gloomy landscape lacks any signs of spirit and life.

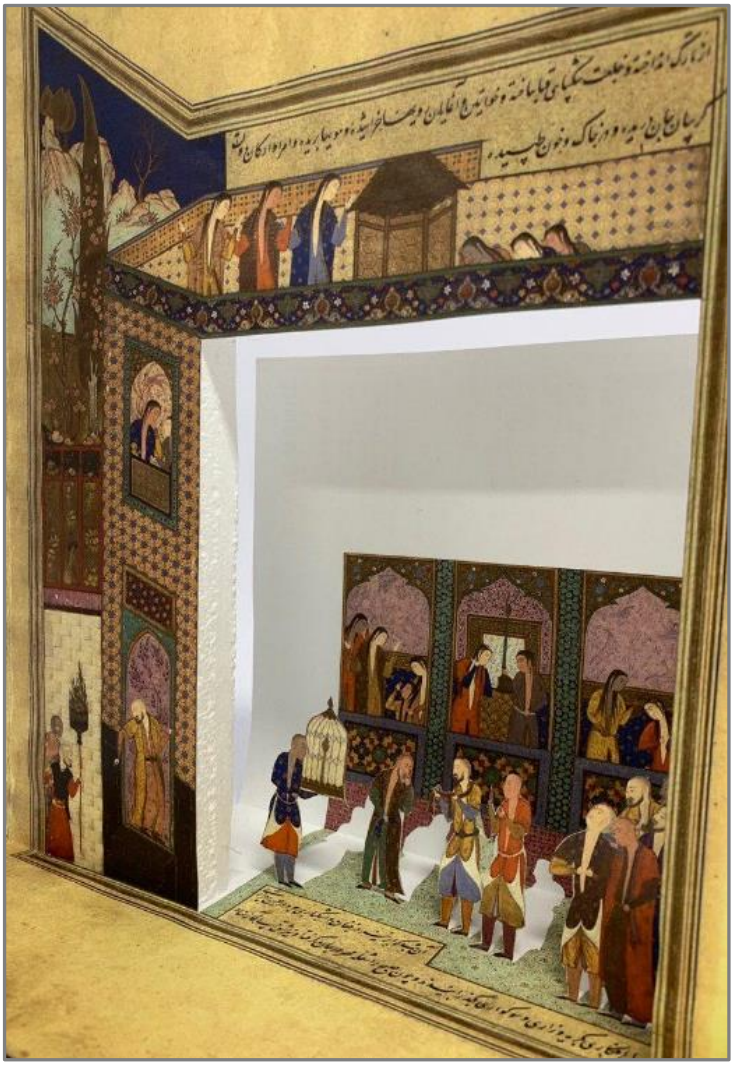
The elevation for the first stage includes the entrance door from the courtyard into Timur's palace and a balcony on the second floor. The section reveals the interior space, a front view of three arched porches juxtaposed with a floor covering designed in a tile pattern. The overall composition, which represents the palace hall has been depicted from a top view following the Persian painting multifocal perspective. Accordingly, in the section area, there is only enough space to fit the second floor. However, based on the elevation, where the entrance door and balcony are located, we know this is a two-storey structure. The third level of this stage is the rooftop with a skylight in the middle.

Figures 8.79 and 8.81 show the application of the folding and pop-up method to reproduce a less complicated version of the hexagonal building. In this model, by folding the plan, the length of the hall has been foreshortened. Therefore there is enough space to draw the second floor of the section in a grey colour. The three dimensional model clearly shows that the hall, as the first level of the stage, is allocated to display mourning courtiers and amirs. Framed by the arches of the first level of the chamber located at the end of the hall, and at the roof, women are displayed performing dramatic gestures.However, based on the women who are visible behind the window on the second floor, we can suggest that more royal women are present on the second-floor balcony grieving. In general, women in this image appear as key players in the current dramatised historical scene, following their highlighted role in Yazdi's account of the death of Timur.





Top: Figure 8.79. Application of the folding and pop-up method to understand the combination of plan, elevation and section.
Bottom: Figure 8.80. Comparing the theatrical setting of Timur's funeral and the three-level stage of the revival of Ragtime, photo by Joan Marcus, 2009.



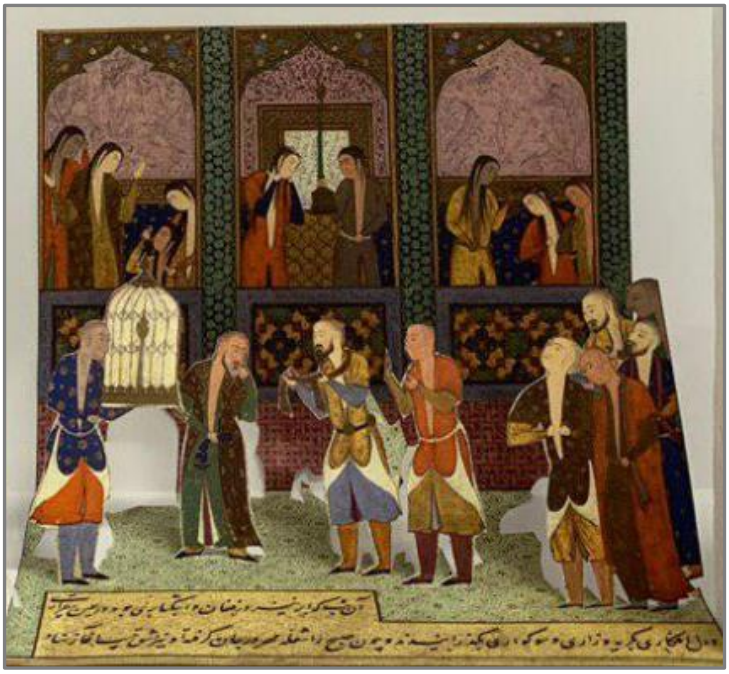


Figure 8.81. Application of the folding and pop-up method based on the juxtaposition of plan, elevation and section.

8.9 Summary

While chapters 5, 6, and 7 examined gaze and femineity in the representation of mobile architecture in Persian painting, the current chapter has been the first of four (including chapters 9, 10, and 11 to follow) that inspect gaze and femineity in the imagery of sedentary buildings. This chapter has focused on the representation of women in sedentary residential architecture – primarily palaces and pavilions – examining the women/space relationships from interior to exterior and from public to private, as indices of women's evolving social status and power in Persian society as it was becoming increasingly embedded in a more sedentary and permanently constructed built environment under Safavid rule.

Concerning the importance of *Ahkam al-Nazar* on housing and female residents, first, such rules have been discussed, and the principles by which visual and spatial privacy in traditional Persian architecture is implemented were explained (sections 8.2). To explore women's role in relation to their living environment in Persian painting, first the introvert and extrovert architectures as two different forms of the built environment and residential settlements in the context of their social and gender organizations has been defined. These two spatial settings generally allocate the private space of the house to women and the public spaces to men. An introvert setting, as we have seen, separates the private areas and women's quarters from public spaces, and tends to conceal familial life and especially women's activities inside the buildings and houses to increase the privacy of the household. The extrovert arrangement, however, provides a less strict separation between private/public, and women/men, and does not withhold from showing women's activities inside or outside the house.

Representation of the residential buildings such as pavilions and palaces in Persian paintings, display extrovert setting. In such spatial configuration, however physical and/or amorphous boundaries between women and men is evident, women are not entirely restricted to the private spaces, but may also be involved in the outdoor activities in the public realm depending on their role in the narration. To investigate the reflection of gender segregation and privacy in Persian painting, general methods to depict such concepts were defined (section 8.3).This was followed by further discussion on the recurrent theme of women behind curtains in Persian painting, and seclusion in the illustration of feminine stories (sections 8.4 and 8.5). Such examination resulted in exploring some paradoxes between the concept of visual privacy and its representation in some of the most private scenes in Persian

poems; where the areas which were meant to be secluded were actually exposed (section 8.6). The questions defined in this section have been answered in two sub-sections; secluded by a wall and secluded without a wall (8.6.1 and 8.6.2), where the reason for supposing such paradoxes was elucidated through understanding way of seeing and methods of presentation in Persian painting. This examination revealed that by removing the front walls of these private sectors, the painter unblocks the privileged observers' sight to let them gaze inside the private sectors. Therefore such disclosures in Persian painting do not negate the idea of privacy *(mahramiyat)* practised in Islamic architecture.

Two further key ideas arising from the spatial analysis of the paintings that were explored in this chapter were, first, the conception of buildings as watchtowers or lookouts for female residents – mainly secluded – to gaze at the outer world and be aware of what is happening outside the women's sphere. The second was the notion of buildings as theatrical stages; platforms that displayed and emphasised the presence and roles of women in their social worlds (sections 8.7 and 8.8).

The next chapter will continue to investigate gaze and femineity by inspecting the representation of women in religious structures in Persian painting.

Chapter 9.

Gaze and Femineity in the Representation of Religious Structures in Persian Miniature Painting



Part of Figure 9.5.

9.1 Introduction

The mosque *(masjid)* is the primary liturgical structure of Islamic cities, functioning not only for Muslim prayer *(salāt)* but also serving as a space for communal activities.[1] Whilst Wilber identifies the *madreseh* (the school), and the *maqbareh* (the mausoleum) as the two other most significant religious building types,[2] Khaghani argues that the *tekyeh* or *hosseyniyeh*, a congregation hall used for the Muharram ceremonies of the Shia sect, is another primary religious place in Iranian cities [3] The standard plan for early Iranian mosques is thought to have emerged in the Seljuq period and was established by the end of the fourteenth century (Figures 9.1 and 9.2).[4] Wilber defines the features as follows:

> "At the beginning of a longitudinal axis, an *iwan* portal leads into an open court, arcades surrounding the court are interrupted by four *iwans*, with prayer halls in back of the arcades. The major *iwan*, on the longitudinal axis and across the court from the entrance *iwan*, opens into a square sanctuary chamber crowned by a dome and with a *mehrab*[5], or prayer niche, in the rear wall of the chamber at the endpoint of the longitudinal axis."[6]

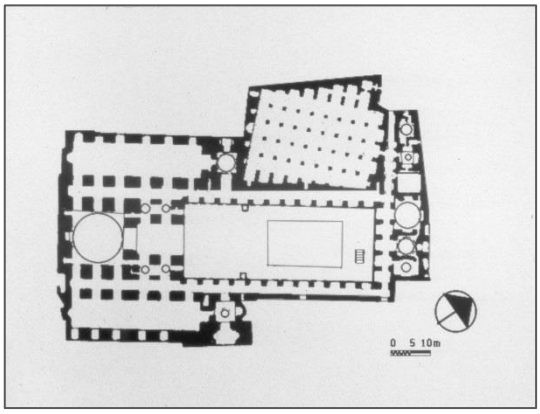
The standard plan of the *madreseh*, religious schools in Islam, is similar to that of the mosque. Thus in spite of the different purpose of these structures, the Iranian school plan has been called the *masjed-madreseh* and both these building typologies have the four-*iwan* plan layout.[7] One of the primary functions of the large mosque was teaching. Eminent scholars in various branches of religious science held the position of 'chair' in these great mosques.[8] Figures 9.3 and 9.4 compare the Shah Mosque and Chahār Bāgh School of Safavid Isfahan. Both structures share elements such as *gonbad* (dome), *minaret* (tower),

---

[1] Wilber, *The Architecture of*, 36.
[2] Donald Newton Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khanid Period*. Princeton monographs in Art and Archaeology (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 36.
[3] Saeid Khaghani, *Islamic Architecture in Iran: Post Structural Theory and the Architectural History of Iranian Mosques* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 110.
[4] Ibid, 35; John Hoag claims that the standard mosque plan comes from the Prophet's house and was well established by around 850 CE. John D. Hoag, Islamic *Architecture: History of World Architecture*. Phaidon Press, 2004.
[5] "Quranic revelations transmitted to Muhammad prescribed Mecca as the direction of prayer for Islam, and accordingly, early in Islam, a directional axis (*Qibla*) oriented toward Mecca became a standard feature of the mosque. The *Qibla* wall of the mosque (the wall facing Mecca) is indicated by the directional niche called a mehrab." See Michele A. De Angelis, and Thomas W. Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting: Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts in association with The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1982), 18.
[6] Wilber, *The Architecture of*, 35.
[7] Ibid, 36.
[8] Lisa Golombek, and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 32,45.

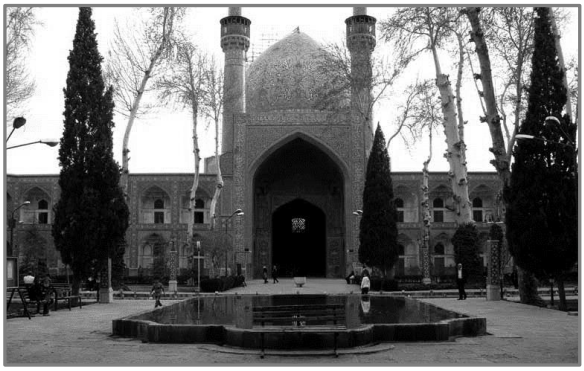
and *iwan* (porch). Also, a similar association is possible between *madreseh* and *masjed* structure in Persian paintings. (Figures 9.5 and 9.6). This is evident, for example, in Figure 9.5, a folio from Khamseh of Nezami, which shows Leyli and Majnun at school (1524–25 CE), and Figure 9.6, from Bustan of Saadi, representing a beggar at a mosque (1488 CE).





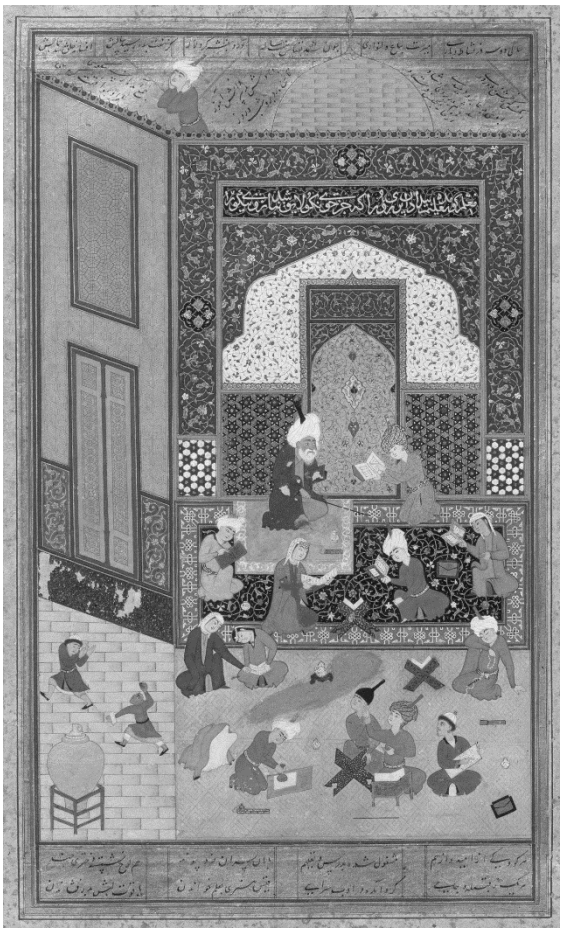
Left: Figure 9.1 Masjid-i Jami'-i Yazd, developed 1324-1470 CE, Photo courtesy of Hamed Tavakoli, 2017.[9]
Right: Figure 9.2. Floor plan of Masjid-i Jami'-i Yazd, Keith Turner after George Michell, MIT Libraries, Aga Khan Documentation Center, http://hdl.handle.net/1721.3/50293.

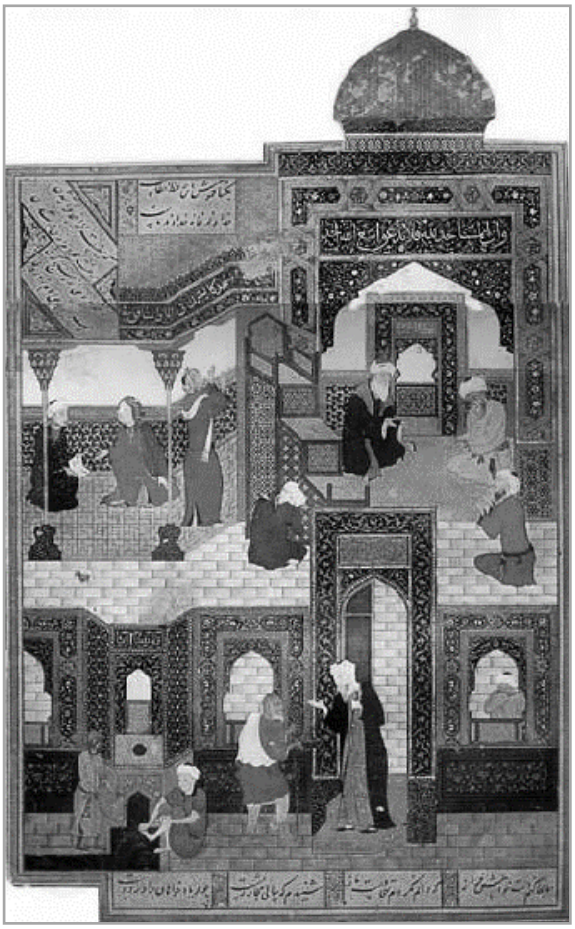




Comparing the similarity between the structures and elements of a *madreseh* and a *masjed* in Safavid Isfahan:
Left: Figure 9.3. Shah mosque, Naqsh-e Jahan Square, Isfahan, Iran, Safavid era.
Right: Figure 9.4. Chahār Bāgh School (Madreseye Chahār Bāgh), seventeenth to eighteenth century, Isfahan, Iran.

[9] Babak Khoram, Mehdi Sabounian Yazd, and others, *Ganj-Nameh: Farhang-E Asar-E Me'mari-Ye Eslami-Ye Iran: Masajed-E Jame'/Encyclopaedia of Islamic Architecture of Iran: Jame' Mosques*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Rozaneh, 1383/2004), 23.



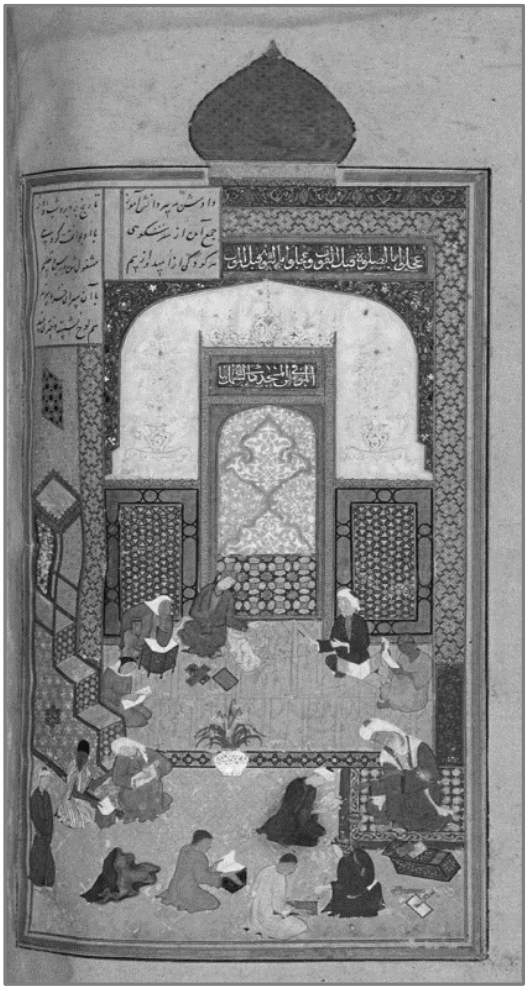


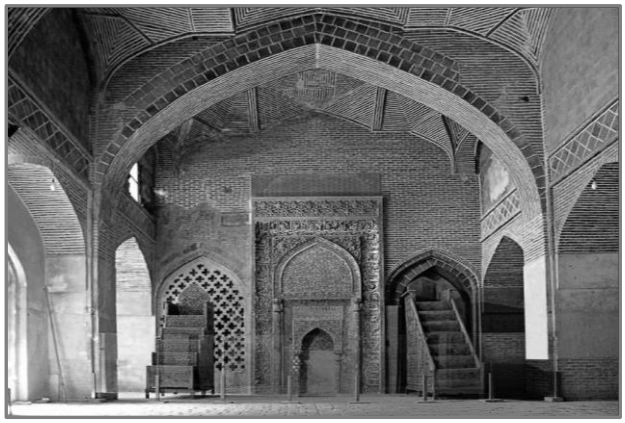
Comparing the similarity between the structures and elements of a *madreseh* and a *masjed* in two Persian painting:
Left: Figure 9.5. Leyli and Majnun at school, folio 129 from a Khamseh of Nezami, A.H. 931/A.D. 1524–25, painting by Shaikh Zada, Herat, accessed 17.05.2019, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/446603
Right: Figure 9.6. Beggar at a mosque, signed by Behzad, Bustan of Saadi, 1488; General Egyptian, Cairo, Arab Farsi 908.

9.2 Women in school scenes

Besides structures such as palaces and garden pavilions, the mosque and *madreseh* are locations chosen by Iranian artists when narratives were required to contextualise painted subject matter. While both building types are depicted similarly, in general, it is the illustrated theme rather than the building and its decoration that makes it possible to differentiate between the mosque and the *madreseh*. While the mosque in Persian painting can be identified by external features such as the minaret, dome, arches, inscriptions, and/or interior furnishings, the *madreseh* is also signified by these features (Figures 9.7 and 9.8).

One among the famous stories of Nezami's Khamseh is that of the lovers Leyli and Majnun. The scene which illustrates their meeting at the *madreseh*, where they fall in love at first sight, is one among the most celebrated and frequently depicted scenes in Persian painting (Figures 9.5, 9.7, 9.10). In some versions of 'Leyli and Majnun at School', such as that held in the British Library and illustrated in Timurid Herat (c. 1490), the school has an elaborate *mehrab* (prayer niche) and a wooden *menbar* (pulpit) thereby suggesting a *masjed-madreseh* (Figure 9.7).





Left: Figure 9.7. Leyli and Majnun at school, British Library, London, Add 25900 folio: 110v, Herat late-Timurid style, c. 1490.
Right: Figure 9.8. Elaborately carved stucco *mehrab* and two *menbars*, Jame' Mosque of Isfahan, commissioned in 1310 by Mongol ruler Oljaytu, continual construction from c. 771 to the end of the twentieth century, photo by youngrobv.

When depicting a school as a setting, usually in the Leyli and Majnun story, both sexes as young students are presented with no spatial distinction. The elements of the story which

initially take place among Arabic tribes are presented in Persian style. The same setting is applied for the illustration of other texts with a school setting such as 'Saadi and the youth of Kashgar' (Figure 9.9), a painting from an early Safavid illustrated manuscript of the Golestan by Saadi, ascribed to painter Behzad. However, even though the story is about the renowned poet Saadi, with youth in the city of Kashgar, the emphasis is on a vibrant school-mosque scene. Even the well-known Leyli and Majnun in familiar school scenes are always present, seated in the background in front of the *mehrab*.

The school scenes, including this image, usually depict boys and girls engaged in their school activities, typical of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, practising their handwriting and reading, or being disciplined. According to Szuppe's study on the status, knowledge and politics of Safavid women, it appears that education was available to elite women and occasionally to other social strata.[10] This education would be imparted in the mixed-gendered *maktab* (elementary schools) recognised in Iran since the tenth and eleventh centuries. In many of these schools, female teachers were also active.[11]

In the school scene depicted in the painting (Figure 9.9) five boys and two girls are shown engaged in reading and writing. The bearded teacher *(mulla)* in a white turban, appears to discipline an unfortunate student ready for punishment. A remarkable figure here is a young woman in a long white scarf, who sits close to the entrance door, appealing for her son, who is receiving the bastinado as per the *mulla'*s ordered. Within the bigger picture of the *maktab* and its activities, this signifies the important parental role of mothers in fifteenth and sixteenth century Iran.

Meanwhile, the folio signed by Mir Sayyid Ali (ca.1540) (Figure 9.10) represents a male only *maktab*. Inside the building, some schoolboys are shown busy with their academic activities and the *mulla* punishing one of them. Outside, in the schoolyard, the remainder of the students are scattered, busy with cooking, washing cloth, and performing ablutions for prayer. A man on the rooftop *(muezzin)* stands next to the dome, and gives the *azaan (adhan)* to the faithful. This scene recalls the *'Hawza 'Ilmiyya'* religious seminaries which still exist today, in which the *tollāb* (students in religious science) study, residing there day and night, and doing their daily chores.

[10] Maria Szuppe , "Status, Knowledge and Politics: Women in Sixteenth Century Safavid Iran." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800* edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 140-69 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003),161.
[11] Ibid, 149-50.

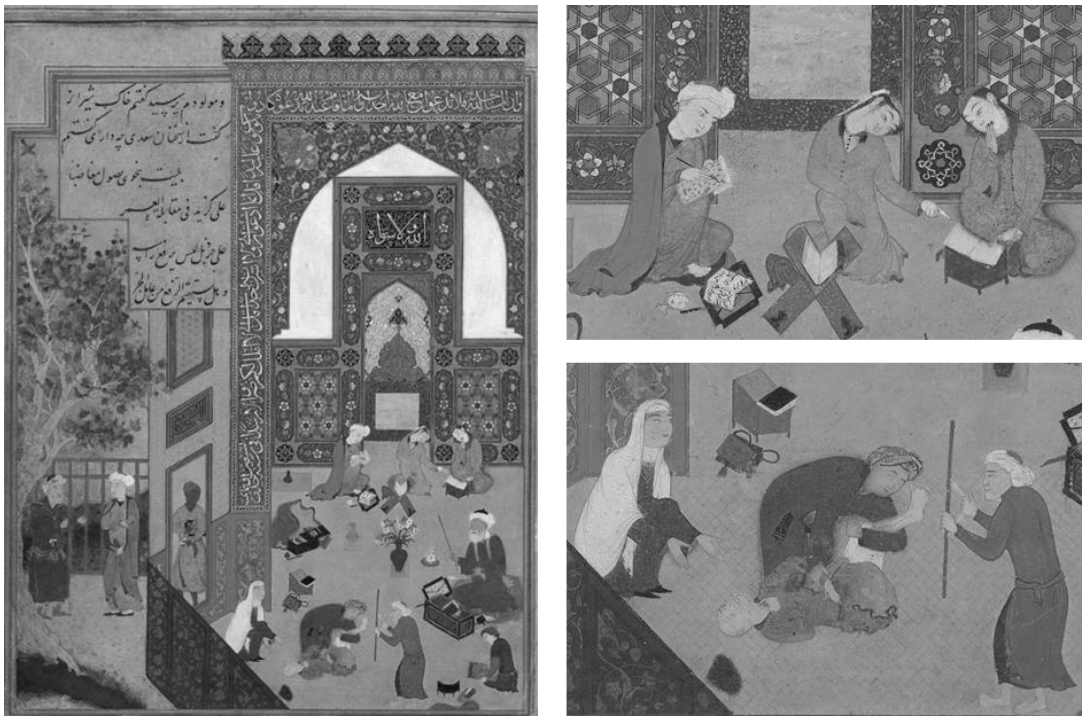


Figure 9.9. Saadi and the youth of Kashgar, folio from a Golestan by Saadi (d. 1292), ascribed to Behzad (ca. 1467–1535), historic Iran (present-day Afghanistan), Herat, Timurid dynasty, dated AH 891/1486 CE.

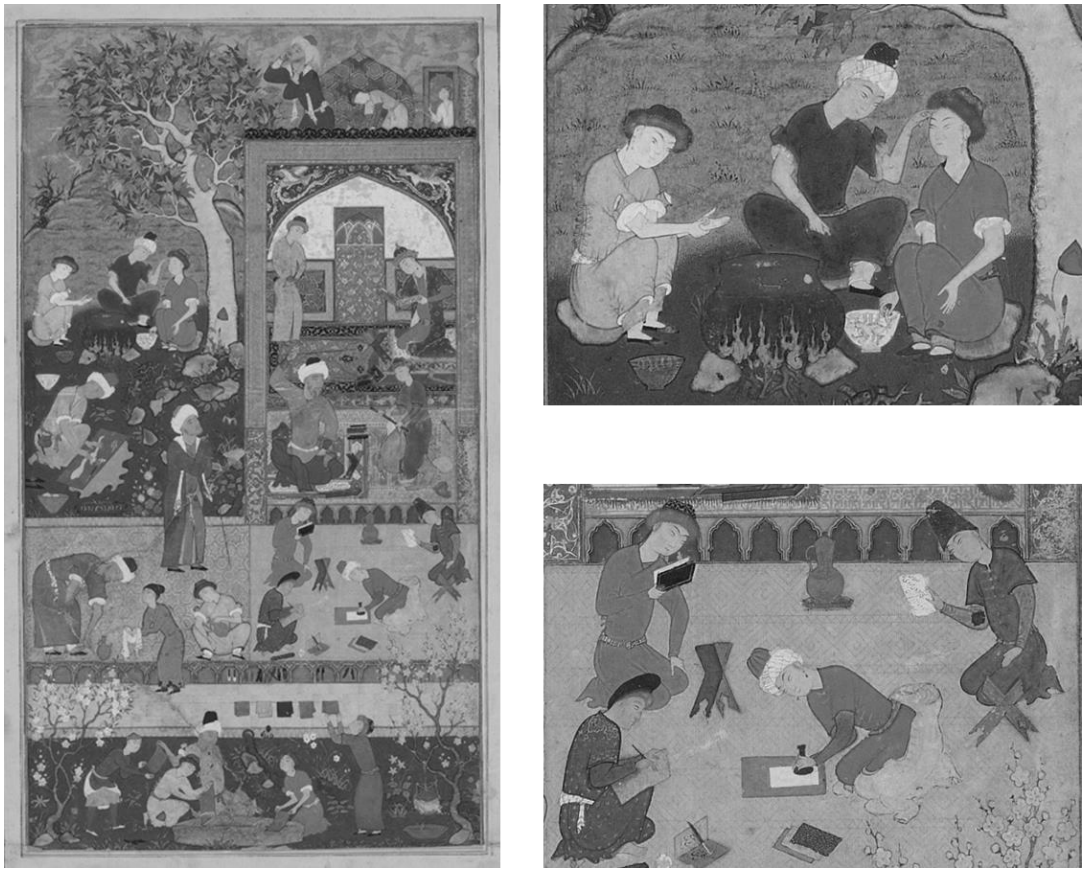


Figure 9.10. School scene, signed by Mir Sayyid Ali, patron Shah Tahmasp, 1524–1576, Safavid, ca.1540, Iran, Tabriz, Henri Vever collection, accession number S1986.221, accessed 19/11/2018, https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/S1986.221/.

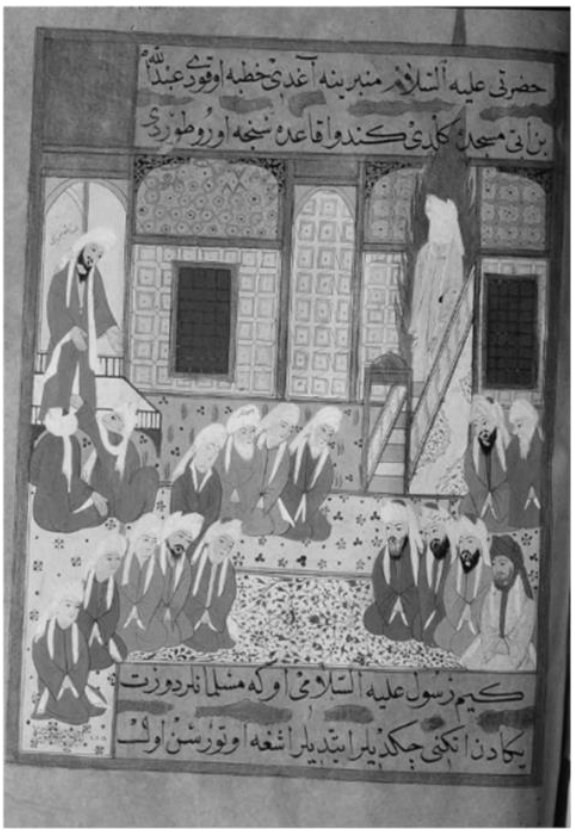
9.3 Women in mosque scenes

Since the emergence of Islam, the presence of women in the prayer spaces of the mosque and within the congregational prayer *(namaz-i jamaat)* was an accepted and praised act. The Prophet Mohammad did not oppose the presence of women in mosques but supported them in different ways. For example, he is said to have allocated a door for women in the Masjed al Nabi (Al-Masjed al-Nabawi or the Prophet's Mosque) in Medina to facilitate their entry and exit. This arched portal still exists today, now known as the *Bab al Nesa'* or the 'women's door'.[12]

While during the Prophet's time, women took part in the congregational prayer led by the Prophet in the morning, during the rule of the First Caliph (Abu Bakr, r. 632-34 CE), they were prohibited from entering the Mosques. Such a policy by the Rashidun Caliphs and their successors, was overturned by the Twelver Imams and consequently Shia scholars continued to support the presence of women in the mosque space. Over time, such a policy resulted in the allowance of a section for women's prayer in the Shia mosques.[13] Based on existing evidence from very early mosques, it is apparent that the separation of men and women was constructed in sections made by simple materials such as fabric and wood. Also, sometimes the women's section was situated on the upper level *(ushkoub*) or balcony *(kamar-poush).*[14]

Three images from different illustrated Ottoman manuscripts including, the *Siyar-i Nabi* (Life of the Prophet) (Figures 9.11, seventeenth century), an unknown Turkish manuscript (Figures 9.12) , and the *Qisas al-Anbiya* (Tales of the Prophets) (Figures 9.13, seventeenth century) represent the Prophet at the mosque. Women are not observed in the first two miniatures; however, the third folio shows them witnessing the Prophet preaching in the mosque space. This seventeenth-century Ottoman miniature based on the *Qisas al-Anbiya* depicts women in white *chādor,* observing the scene from the second floor arched balcony while two women hold their children in their arms. In Sheykh Baha'olvalad's lecturing in a mosque (Figure 9.14) from a Turkish manuscript of *Jame'al-Siyar*, women in the same outfit appeared on a second floor arched balcony, behind Baha'olvalad's.

[12] Reyhaneh Hashemi, and Rasoul Ja'farian, "Seyr-e Tahavolāt-e Tārikhi-ye Hozour-e Zanān dar Masājed va Amāken-e Eslāmi va Ta'sir-e ān Bar Me'māri-ye Masājed /The Historical Trend of Women's Presence in Mosques and Islamic Religious Places and Its Influence on the Structure of Mosques," Shia Shenasi 12, no. 45 (2014),181-2.
[13] Ibid. 188.
[14] Ibid, 190,196.





Left: Figure 9.11. Prophet Muhammad delivering his last sermon in Medina Mosque, Siyar-i Nabi or Life of the prophet, composed by Mustafa Darir of Erzerum (completed around 1388 CE), Ottoman Turkish manuscript, Istanbul, seventeenth century.
Right: Figure 9.12. Mohammed and his companions, a Turkish miniature, Unknown source.

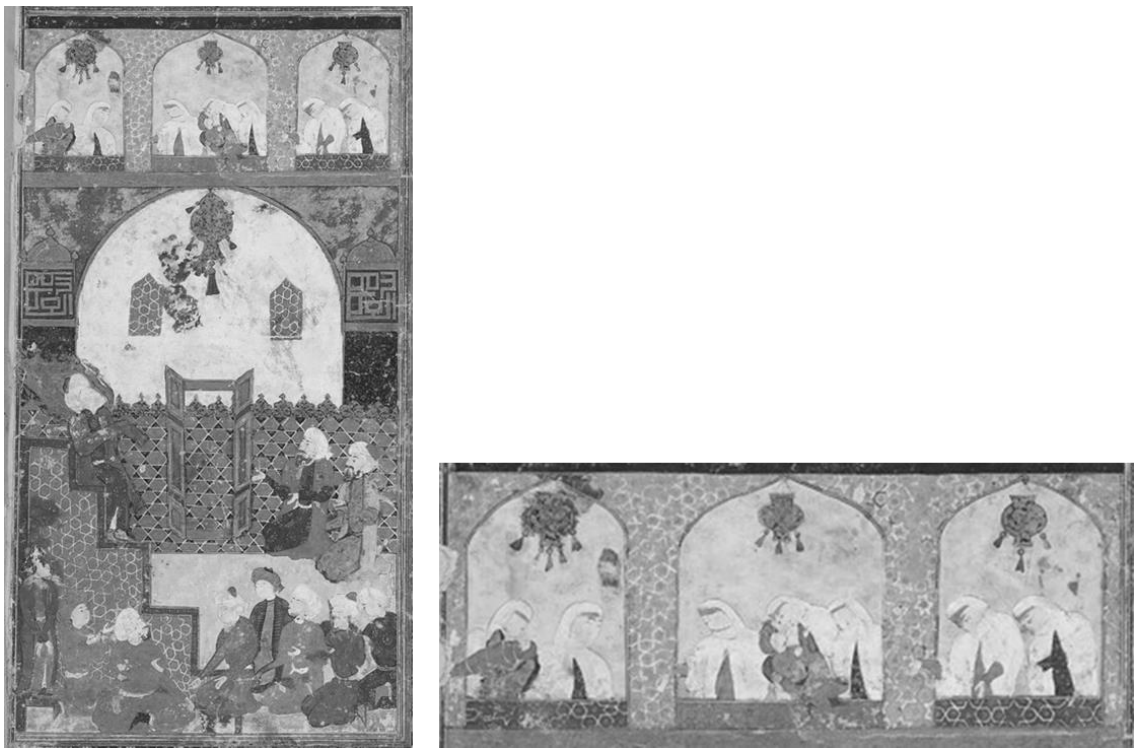


Figure 9.13. Prophet preaching in a mosque, folio 5 from a manuscript of the Qisas al-Anbiya of Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Nayshaburi (composed 12th century), seventeenth century, Ottoman, The Harvard Art Museum, accessed 17.04.2019, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/146290?position=1.

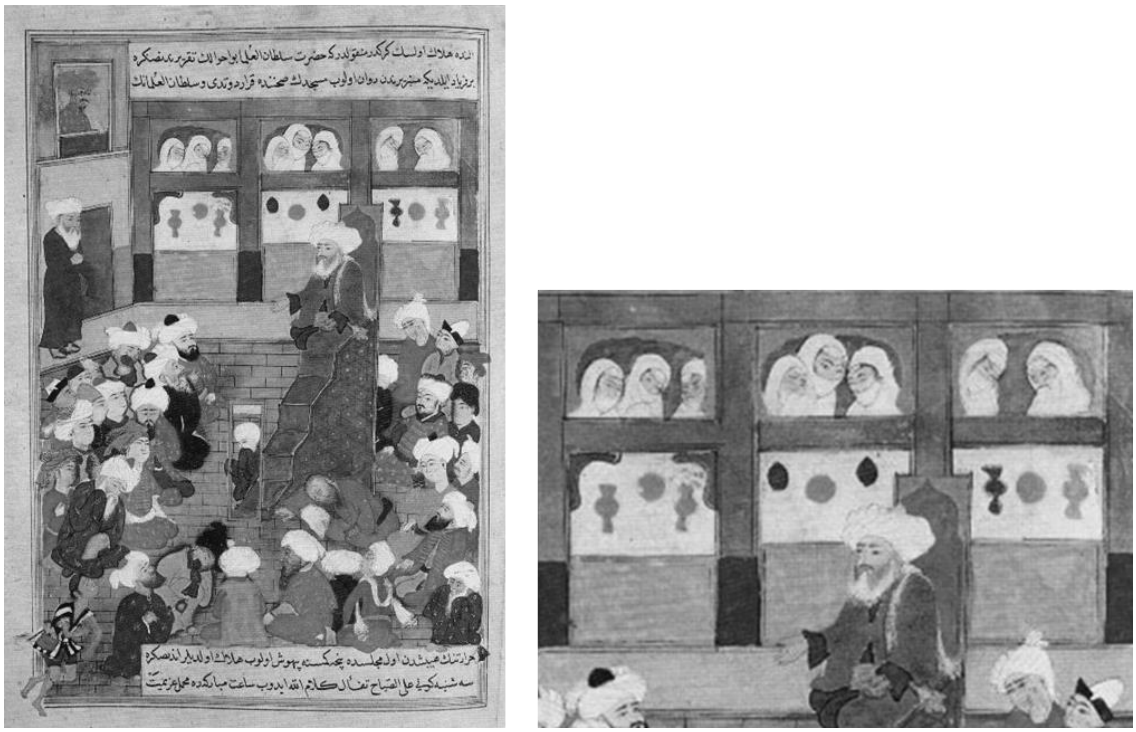


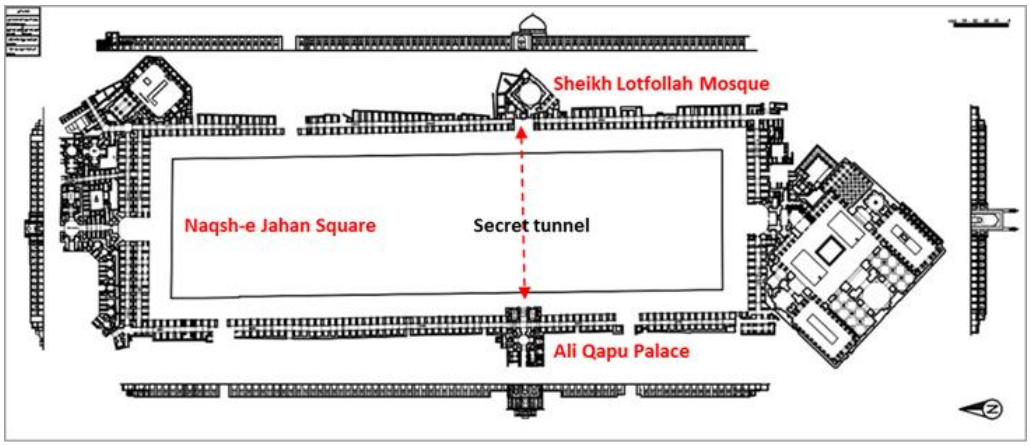
Figure 9.14. Sheykh Baha'olvalad lecturing at the pulpit, Balkh, Jame' al-Siyar, Turkish manuscript, Topkapi Sarayi, Istanbul.

The Safavids, as the first official Shia sovereigns, attempted to allocate a female section in their mosques in different ways. Mosques with two sections (men and women) sometimes had two chambers *(shabestān).* The Hakim Mosque in Isfahan (1067 AH), for instance, had a balcony for women, while the Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque (1011–1028), had a separate porch *(revāgh)* allocated for the use of women.[15]

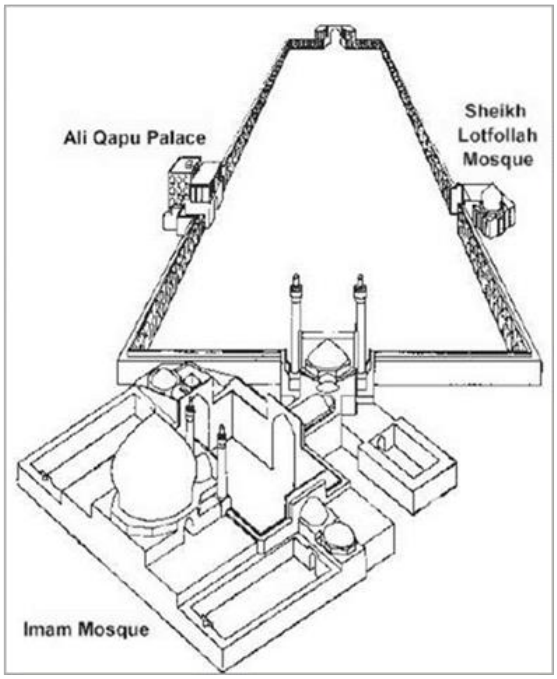
The Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque stands on the eastern side of the Naghsh-i Jahan Square in the Isfahan, the third Safavid capital. The European traveller, Ferrier, who travelled to Iran fifty years after Shah Abbas, wrote that unlike the Shah mosque, which was meant for the public, the Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque was built for private prayer by the members of the royal court.[16] This mosque does not have any minaret and instead of a *shabestān* (nave designed for winter) has a *shavādan* (an underground chamber designed for summer). It is said that the Shah's family used this space for private worship, or that it functioned as an exclusive women's sanctuary[17].

[15] Ibid,199-200.
[16]Jean Chardin, and R.W Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1996), 53,143.
[17] "Masjed-i Shaykh Lutfallah," Archnet, accessed 05.03.2018, https://archnet.org/sites/1623.

This *shavādan* has a *chārtāgh* (four-arched ceiling) called a *chādor* (covering). However, this study could not find any scholarly source to confirm this. It is also believed that Shah Abbas had a tunnel built spanning the square from the Ali Qapu Palace to the mosque, so that his *harem* would not have to walk across the square to the mosque (Figure 9.15). Guards stood at the main entrance to the mosque and the doors of the building were kept closed at all times to protect the women of the royal household from the gaze of strangers. There were also secret entrances to the north, south and towards the *bazaar*.[18]







Top: Figure 9.15. Maidān-e Naqsh-e Jahān, plan and elevation with a secret tunnel that spanned underneath the Maidan, from the Ali Qapu Palace to the Lotfollah Mosque.
Left: Figure 9.16. Grand Bazaar of Isfahan, 1703, drawing by G. Hofsted van Essen, Leiden University Library.
Right: Figure 9.17. The isometric drawing of Maidān-e Naqsh-e Jahān with Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque.

[18] "Masjed-i Shaykh Lutfallah," Isfahan-I Emrooz, accessed 05.03.2018, http://esfahanemrooz.ir/?newsid=2040.

An anonymous foreign observer of Safavid Persia states that women of high rank hardly ever went to the mosques or to see anyone, except their relatives. In effect, the limitations for women to leave home or the mosque were mainly imposed on women from the upper classes. Therefore, respectable women are rarely seen on the streets of Isfahan.[19] In *Isfahan: Pearl of Persia*, Wilfrid Blunt talks about life in the city of Isfahan as the third and last capital of Safavid (1598–1736). He states that since the women of Isfahan preferably remained at home, probably the most eventful moments of the week would be visits to the mosque and the *hammām* (public bath).[20]

The Safavid social scenario appears to have had similarities with the Timurid realms. A folio from an illustrated copy of Timurid *Zafar Nameh* (no. 2178) (Figure 9.20), depicted in the first half of the sixteenth century, shows Timur present at the Samarkand Mosque (or Bibi-Khanum Mosque) after completion of its construction at 1404 CE. The focus of the composition is on Timur in the courtyard gracing the architects and craftsmen *(ostādān o sarkārān o me'mārān)* with a *khala't* (luxurious silk robe). Here the depiction of the mosque structure is perhaps not as skilful as the figures. The script on the image remarks that four *minārets* were raised on each of the four corners of the mosque. Here all four *minarets* are depicted towering over a semi-hexagonal wall, over which four women in white *chādor*, their faces half-veiled, observe the scene. While the social status of these women is not easy to be determined based of their attire, this scene perhaps can be viewed as the rare opportunity for women of the royal household to witness a relatively public event, outside of the prescribed visits to the mosque and bath-house.

A similar instance of a 'chance' viewing of an event is also observed in two early Safavid folios from an illustrated copy of the 'Ahsan al-Kibar of Muhammad al-Husaini'[21] which depicts the Prophet Muhammad's last sermon followed by the first sermon of his grandson, Hasan ibn Ali, within a mosque, presumably the mosque courtyards with a frontal view towards the two-storey *iwans*.

[19] Anon. (ed), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia: The Safavids and the Papal Mission of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939), vol.1, 30.
[20] Wilfrid Blunt, and photos by Wim Swaan, *Isfahan: Pearl of Persia* (London: P. Elek, 1966), 89.
[21] The miniatures in this manuscript were executed over ninety years after the copy had been completed. There are thirty-nine miniatures in the manuscript, four of them added later, possibly in the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries. A sixteenth-century miniature bears the signature of Qasim-i Ali, i.e. Qasim ibn Ali. This artist was a contemporary of Behzad's and not inferior to him in his artistry. Very little is known of his life, but judging by the less vivid palette of this copy's miniature, in comparison with those of Tabriz in the 1520s, one can assume that Qasim-i Ali worked in Herat and was still alive in the mid-1520s. See Vladimir Lukonin, and Anatoly Ivanov, *Persian Miniatures* (New York, America: Parkstone International, 2014), 214.

The *iwan* elevations is adorned with elaborately tiled decoration with *muqarnas* vaulting prayer niche (*mihrāb)* observed in the crowned by Quranic script in fine *Sols* (*Thuluth)* calligraphy. In both images, the Prophet and Hasan ibn Ali are mounted on *menbar* in front of the *mehrab,* surrounded by a crowd of standing men who carefully hear the sermons. Clearly not part of the main event, the women in the arched galleries on the second level look down at these activities. They seem to be of different ages, wearing white or colourful *chādors* and veils as they take turns to occupy their voyeuristic viewpoints.

In the first image, the Prophet's last sermon, older women are sitting in the front rows with their faces unveiled. To represent these ageing characters, Persian paintings depicts their faces in profile, wrinkled and with characteristically aquiline noses. The second image shows youthful boys on the women's balcony, wrestling or looking down at the people. Here, similar to depictions of nomadic campsites (as discussed in Chapter 7), children are present around and close to the women's section.

Women in all mosque scenes exemplified thus far – either belonging to stories of the Ottoman manuscripts or Safavid images – are positioned in a separate section on the second level covered and /or veiled, usually depicted in white. In discussing the social norms for non-elite female populations in Safavid society, Matthee refers to Fryer, who informs that working-class women went out covered in white sheets, with holes for their eyes and nose.[22] Raphael du Mans, who as Matthee cited resided in Isfahan for many decades and became knowledgeable about urban Safavid society, noted that:

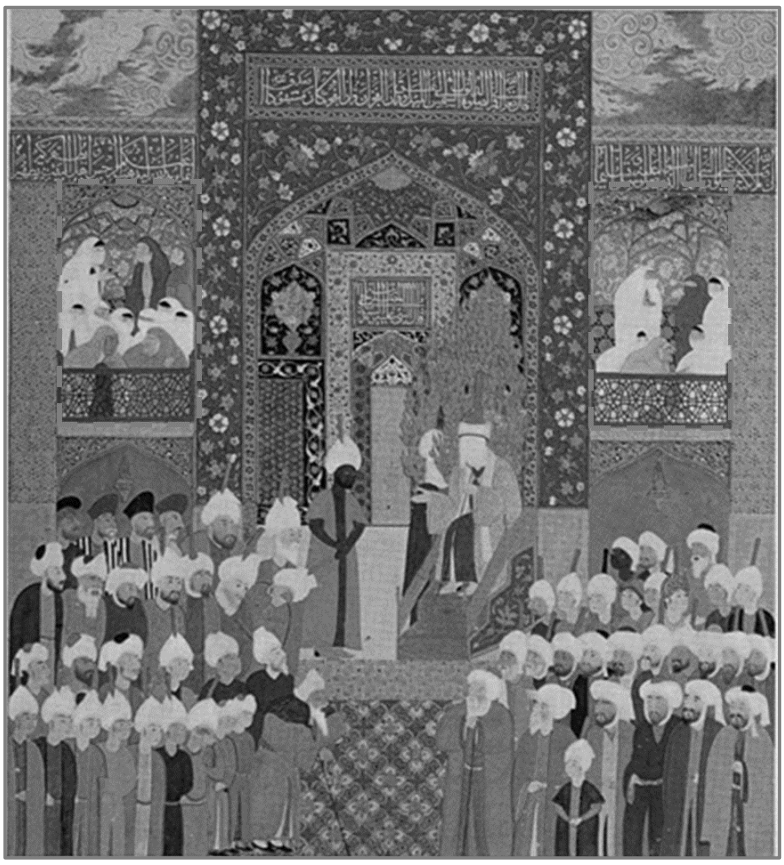
> "low-class urban women went about the streets by themselves, dressed in a large white piece of cloth covering them from head to toe, leaving only a small visor, behind which they would, however, look at the world "with wide-open eyes, without shame." [23]

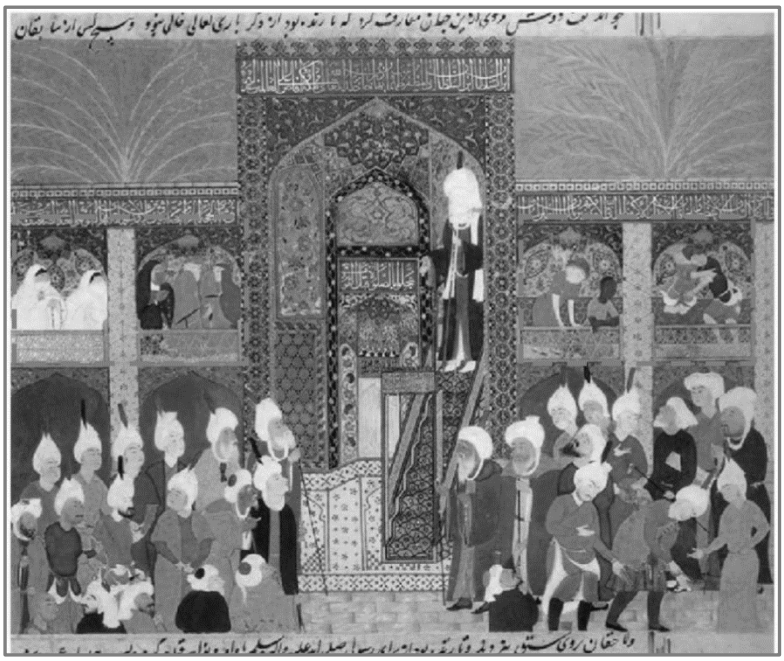
Although all these reports refer to Safavid women, it seems that wearing white *chādor* existed from earlier times. Clavijo, who visited Tabriz on his way to Timur's camp in the autumn of 1404 CE, saw women dressed in white on the streets of Tabriz and in the city's grand *bazaar*. His description paints a vivid picture of feminine's attire in the market streets and shops that sold cosmetics and perfumes: "they go covered in a white sheet, and they

[22] Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?" In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120. (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 106.
[23] Ibid, 109.

wear over their faces a black mask of horse-hair, and thus they are concealed completely so that none may know them."[24]

[24] Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange from the Spanish. The Broadway Travellers. eds. Sir E. Denison Ross and Elleen Power (London: Routledge, 1928), 151-3.





Top: Figure 9.18. The prophet's last sermon by Qasim ibn 'Ali, Tabriz school, Ahsan al-Kibar of Muhammad al-Husaini al-Varamini, 1521, The National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. Inv. Dorn 312, f. 217v.[25]
Bottom: Figure 9.19. The first sermon of Hasan ibn Ali, by Qasim ibn Ali, 932 AH (1526 CE). Manuscript: Ahsan al-Kibar of Muhammad al-Husaini al-Varamini. Calligrapher: Khizr-shah. Date of completion of copy: 837/1433. The National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. Inv. No. Dorn 312, f. 373b.[26]

[25] Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, *Iranian Miniatures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: The Saltykov-Shchedr in Public Library Collection* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1973).
[26] Vladimir Lukonin, and Ivanov, Anatoly, *The Lost Treasure: Persian Art* (New York: Parkstone International, 2012), accessed December 17, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central, 126.

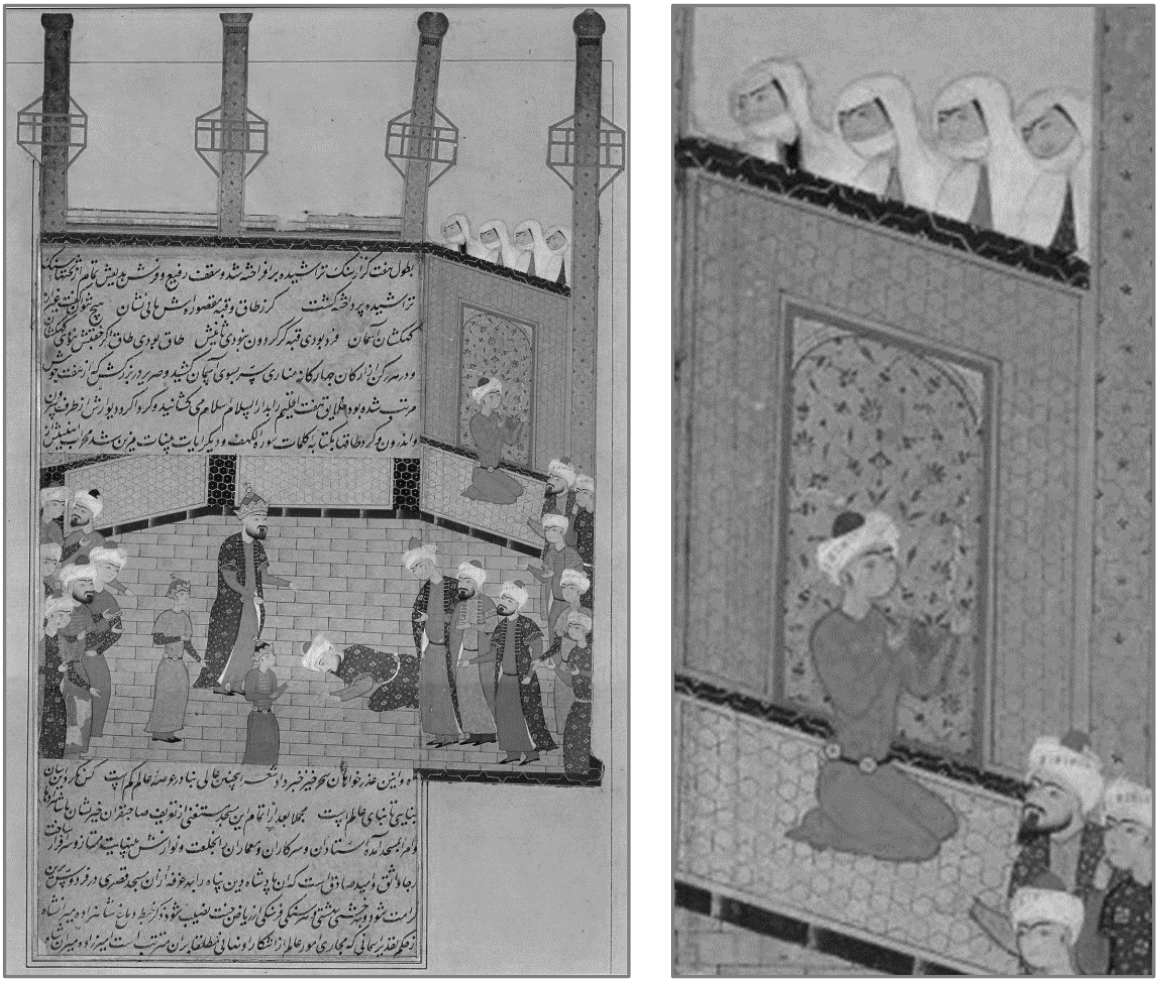


Figure 9.20. Construction of Samarkand Mosque, unknown artist, Timurid Zafar Nameh (no. 2178), first half of sixteenth century, Golestan Palace.

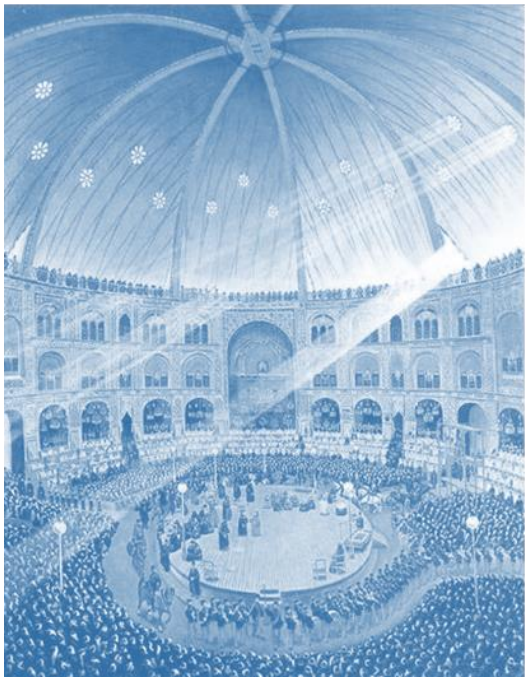
9.4 Women in *tekyeh*

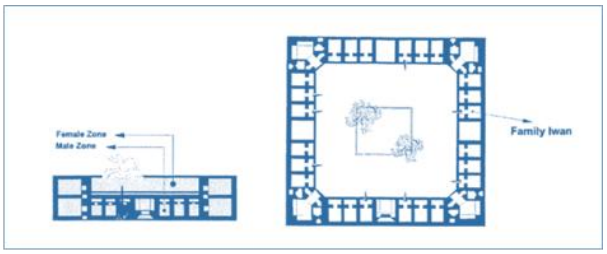
Beyond the palace, mosque, bath house and bazaar, the *tekyeh* or *hosseyniyeh*, also known as *ashurkhāna* and *imāmbārgāh*, was another acceptable religious setting for women to permissively gather. During the first ten days of the *Muharram and Ashura* mourning, there was a nightly gathering for men and women in the *tekyeh* to commemorate the martyrdom of Husayn ibn Ali, the grandson of Muhammad and Imam of the Shia.[27] In a socially-ordered separation by gender, the typical *tekyeh* contained various rooms each dedicated to one of the families of the neighbourhood *(mahallah)*. The men's section was depicted on the lower level with the upper level reserved for the women (Figure 9.22). Khaghani states that this spatial arrangement reflected the gender division of Iranian cities and paternal basis of families.[28]

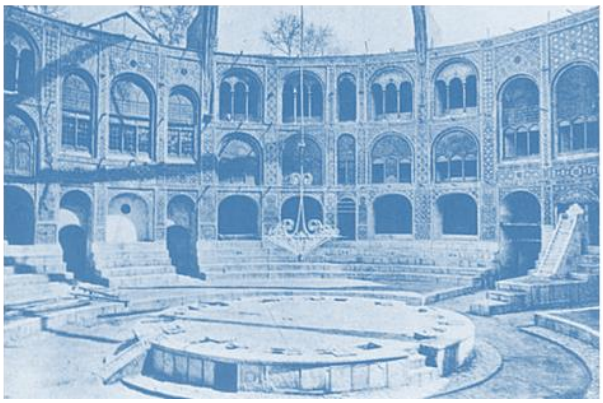
There were also other religious rituals held during the year in the *tekyeh* or *hosseyniyeh*. Such rituals only became popular after the Qajar, as they were not reflected in Persian paintings from the Timurid and Safavid eras. However, existing photos from the Qajar epoch vividly show that women were fervent fans of the *ta'zieh*, condolence theatre or passion play, performed in the *tekyeh*. There is a photograph available of the Tekyeh Dowlat (Figure 9.24), the most famous *ta'zieh* performance space in Iran, constructed in 1868 by Naser al-Din Shah Qajar. An abundant number of female spectators are shown seated. Woman dressed in black *chādor* and white veils observe the play through visors on their veils as they occupy rooms and platforms around the central stage.

The Tekyeh Dowlat may have presumably had space for more than a thousand women. In addition, the rooms *(ghorfeh)* with *orosi* (sash window) on the second floor of the building were designed for women from the royal harem, enabling each of them to individually sit with guests from the noble families.[29] Furthermore, the Tekyeh Dowlat also had a female entrance designed on the west side, clearly differentiated from two other entries for men and the shah.[30]

[27] Khaghani, *Islamic Architecture*, 110.
[28] Ibid, 111.
[29] Mohsen Mansouri-Fard, "Tekyeh Dowlat" (Majmoueh Maghalat-e Kongereh-e Tarikh-e Memari va Shahr Sazi Iran: Esfand, 1374), 574.
[30] Ibid, 571, 572, 574.







Left: Figure 9.21. Painting of Tekyeh Dowlat and its rooms by Kamal-ol-Molk (1848–1940), Qajar.
Right top: Figure 9.22. *Tekyeh* floorplan and section, Sidah, Isfahan.[31]
Right bottom: Figure 9.23. Tekyeh Dowlat before being destroyed in 1947.

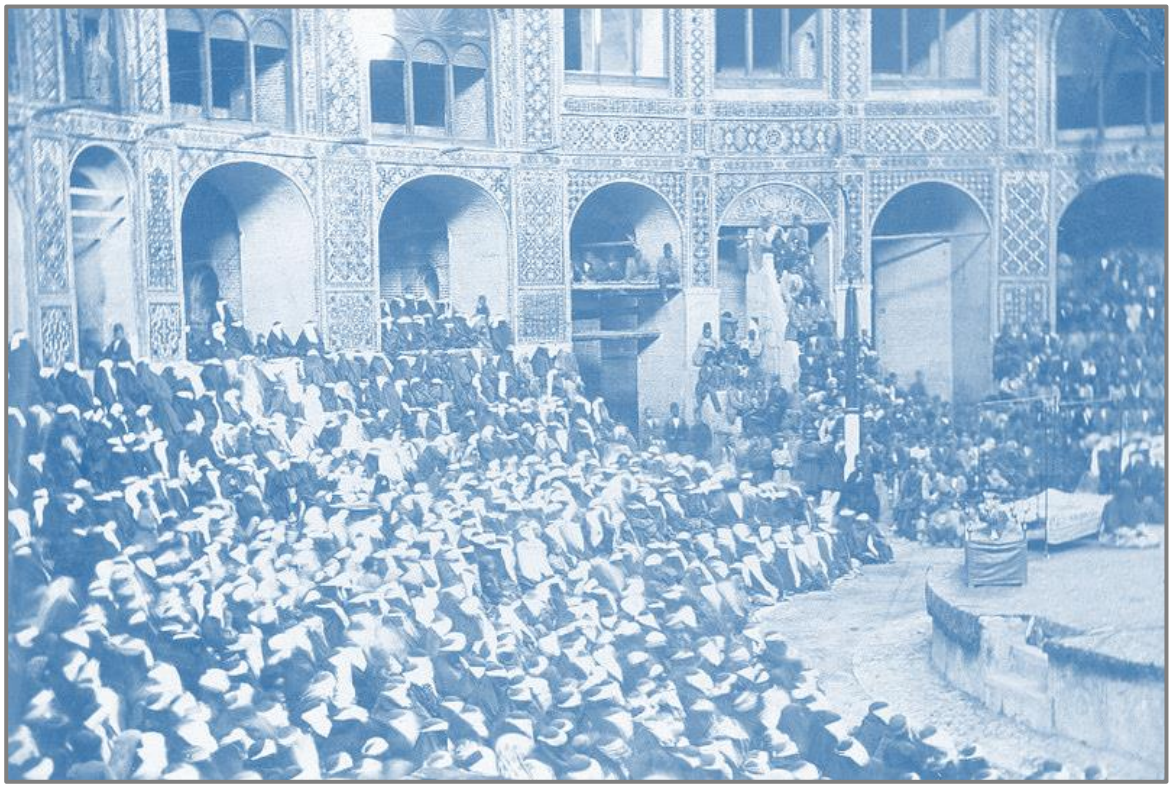


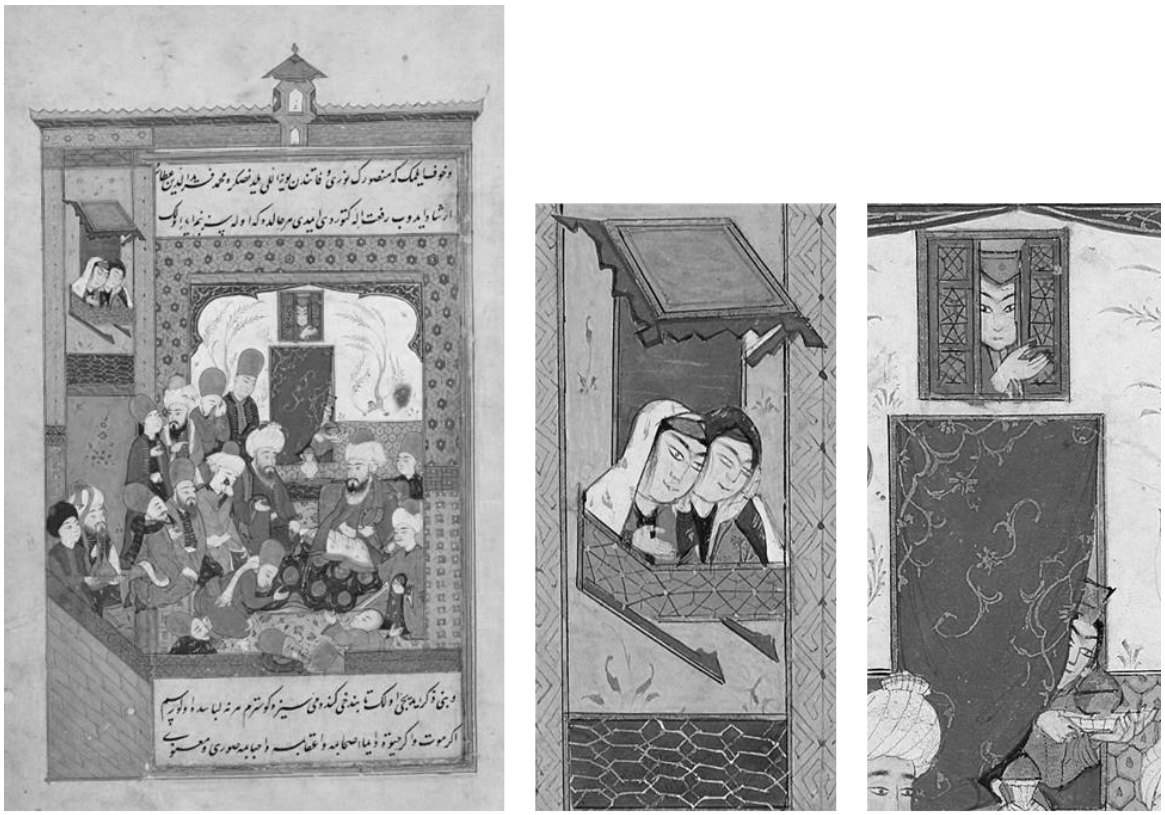
Figure 9.24. Female spectators with black *chādor* and white veil at Tekyeh Dowlat, Tehran, Iran, Qajar era, late nineteenth century.

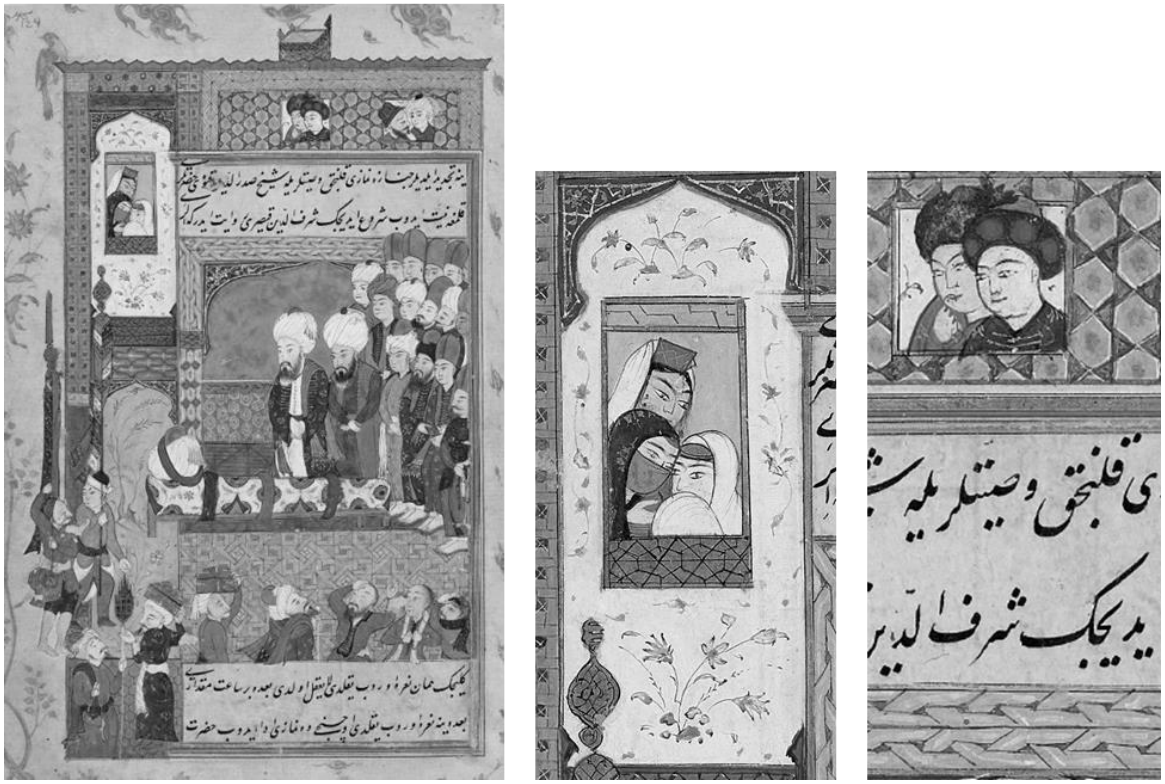
[31] Ibid,11.

The *tekyeh* in Iran had a broad range of applications other than those established during the Qajar era. Before the Qajar, this word also referred to the place where Sufis congregated or rested during their travel, and to the tomb of Sufi Sheikhs. In the Qajar period with the popularity of the *ta'ziya*, *tekyehs* as places for ceremonies that mourned Imam Husayn became so popular that Sufi residents were hardly known as *tekyehs*, and this is still the familiar notion of *Tekyeh* for Iranians today.[32] In Safavid Isfahan, there were entirely Sufistic *tekyehs,* recognised as dervish monasteries by Chardin.[33]

The representation of women in a Sufi congregation place can be traced to two miniature paintings from a sixteenth-century manuscript (Figure 9.25 and 9.26), which concern the life and miracles of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Balkhi (also known as Rumi in the West): Persia's greatest Sufi mystic, poet, Islamic scholar and theologian of the thirteenth century. Tarjuma-i Thawāqib-i manāqib (A Translation of Stars of the Legend), was a Turkish translation ordered in 1590 by Sultan Murad III (r. 1574 – 95) from the Persian abridgement of Aflaki.[34] Originating in Baghdad, it dates to the 1590s and included twenty-nine miniatures. Among these, is a miniature painting titled Rumi addressing his followers for the last time (Figure 9.25). Here Rumi is surrounded by his adherents who hear his last words in deep grief. Three women are watch from windows inside the building, while the fourth remains visible behind a curtain, serving food. Figure 9.26 depicts three female followers of Rumi present at his funeral. They appear at the window, toward an exterior area where Rumi's body, wrapped in a white burial garment rests, with his turban placed on it. One of the women wears the usual scarf that women of Persian painting use in secular places. Two of them have semi-veiled faces, an appearance that women used to be present at religious sites such as mosques.

[32] Afsaneh Monfared,"Takyeh". In *Encyclopedia of the World of Islam*, vol viii, 1394/2014, accessed 22.05.2019, http://rch.ac.ir/article/Details?id=10408&&searchText=
[33] Ibid. Chardin, Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia,* vol. 1, 473.
[34] It was written by the dervish Shams al-Din Aḥmad, called Aflaki (d. 1360). In 1590, three and a half centuries after Aflaki wrote his life of Rumi -the Ottoman, Sultan Murad III ordered a Turkish translation of a 1540 abridged version of Aflaki's text. The translator was Dervish, Mahmud Mesnevi Khan of Konya. Two illustrated copies of the Murad translation, both made in Baghdad, survive. One, dated 1599, is held by Topkapi Palace, Istanbul, and has twenty-two miniatures. The other, richer manuscript is held by the Morgan Library and Museum. It dates to the 1590s and includes twenty-nine miniatures. See "Rumi, Persian Mystic and Poet," The Morgan Library and Museum, accessed 05.15.2019, https://www.themorgan.org/collection/treasures-of-islamic-manuscript-painting/50.





Top: Figure 9.25. Rumi meets with his followers for the last time, Iraq, Baghdad, 1590s, f. 116v.[35]
Bottom: Figure 9.26. The funeral of Jalal Al-Din Rumi, Iraq, Baghdad, 1590s, f. 124r.[36]

[35] Tarjuma-i Thawāqib-i manāqib (A Translation of Stars of the Legend) in Turkish. "Rumi, Persian Mystic and Poet." The translation was ordered in 1590 by Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95) from the Persian abridgement of Aflākī. Iraq, Baghdad, the 1590s, purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1911, MS M.466, The Morgan Library and Museum.
[36] Ibid.

9.5 Summary

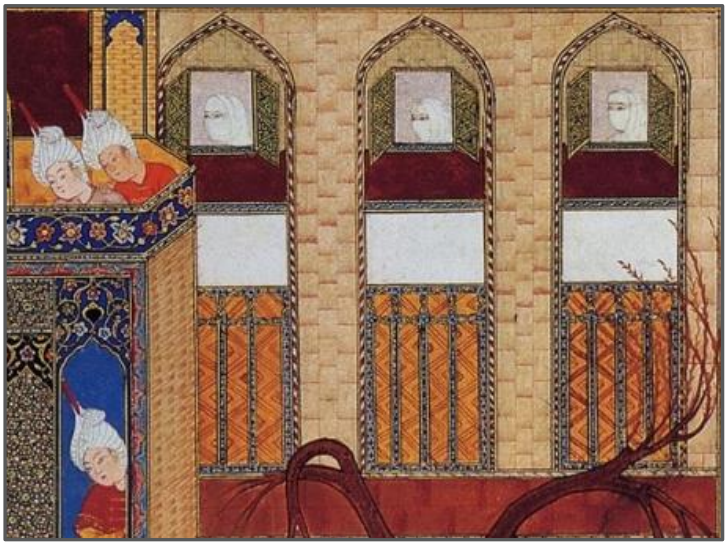
To investigate the notion of gaze and femineity in the representation of religious structures in Persian painting, this chapter reflected on the *madreseh* and the *masjed* as recurrent illustrated scenes in Persian painting. In the same way that the mosque and *madreseh* spatial typologies remain comparable in Persian architecture, their depiction appears quite similar in Persian painting. While the *makhtab* scenes provide an opportunity to investigate how medieval Iranian women accessed educational facilities, the mosque scenes show women in one of the most significant social activities for Shia Muslim women, whereby they participated in religious ceremonies at the mosque.

Another acceptable social activity for women was going to *tekyeh* during *Muharram*. Such religious ritual was established during the Qajar era, a period not within the scope of the current research. However, due to its importance, it has been briefly discussed in this chapter based on archival photographs. The representation of women in the *tekyeh* in its Safavid meaning as a Sufi monastery, were examined in two illustrated sixteenth-century folios on the life of Rumi. Women in both the *masjed* and *tekyeh* were represented observing the scene intently, however, seated in separated sections and veiled.

While this chapter considered various illustrations as examples of the representation of women in religious structures, the next chapter will observe a particular folio to provide a more in-depth examination on the subject of femineity, gaze and space with regards to ways of seeing in a mosque scene.

Chapter 10.

A Setting for Seeing: Vision, Division and Versatile Perspective within a Mosque Scene from *Zafarname of Shah Tahmasp*



Part of Figure 10.3

10.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter considered various illustrations to investigate the notion of gaze and femineity in the representation of women in religious structures (the *madreseh*, the *masjed*, and the *tekyeh*) in Persian painting, this chapter observes a particular folio to provide a more in-depth examination on the subject of femineity, gaze and space with regards to ways of seeing in a mosque setting. The folio from Timurid *Zafarname by Yazdi* (no.708) shows men and women in Jame' Mosque in Shiraz.[1] This manuscript is an illustrated biography of Timur (1370–1405), compiled by a man of pen and scholar in the fifteenth century and renowned historian, Sharaf od-Din Ali Yazdi (d. 1454).[2] This copy of *Zafarname Timuri*, produced in Herat in 1529, hosted by the Golestan Palace Library of Tehran, is significant due to its attribution to Bihzad.[3]

The folio, 'Capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and Bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz,' represents a punishment scene condemned by Timur to Qutb al-Din Qormi who was accused of overtaxing the inhabitants of Fars three hundred thousand Dinars Copeghi, under

[1] Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 1996), 209; Abdolmajid Hosseini-Rad, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005), 85.

[2] The written prose on Zafarname by Yazdi started in the city of Shiraz by the order of Ibrahim Sultan (1394 – 1435 AD), Timur's grandson, and was compiled in four years (828 AH). Yazdi relied heavily on another biography of Timur, also called Zafarname, completed by Nizam ad-Din Shami in 1404. For more, see John E. Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987): 81-108.

[3] As Bahari reports, Zafarname (no. 708) contains many illustrations and a colophon that states: 'Copied in 935H/1529AD by Sultan Muhammad-i Nur, illuminated by Mir Azod and illustrated by Bihzad'. It measures 35 x 21cm, has plain borders, and is written in fine nastal'iq script by Sultan Muhammad-i Nur. See Bahari, *Bihzad*, 209; The artistic features of Kamal-o-Din Bihzad, the Iranian painter (probably 1460/865-1535/942), has always been recognized by specialists and lovers of Eastern Art. Bihzad is acknowledged as an outstanding figure in the evolution of miniature painting over two hundred years. He is known as an innovative artist with great mastery whose fame was initiating a new path in Iranian painting as well as the influence his works had on future painters in Iran, India, Turkey and Middle Asia. Bihzad, genius of the Eastern Miniature is called 'the Persian Raphael' by Ernst Kühnel. According to David Roxburgh, comparisons between Bihzad and European artists were prevalent in the early twentieth century, since from the beginning of twentieth century art, scholars began to admire Bihzad. For instance, F. R. Martin compares Bihzad's portraits to those of Memling, Holbein and Raphael, and Ali Ahmad Naimi compares Bihzad to J. Fouquet (French painter and illuminator, c.1420-1480) and F. Clouet (court painter of French kings, c. 1510-1572). See Ruyin Pakbaz, *Encyclopedia of Art*, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Farhang-e Maaser, 2002), 423-24; M. M. Ashrafi, *Bihzad and the Establishment of Bukhara Painting School in Sixteenth Century*, trans. Nasrin Zandi (Tehran: Farhangestan-e Honar, 2003); M. M. Ashrafi, *From Bihzad to Riza Abbasi: The Evolution of Persian Painting in the 16th and Early 17th Century*, trans. Nasrin Zandi (Tehran Farhangestan-e Honar, 2009), 13; Ernst Kühnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, trans. K. Watson (London G. Bell & Sons, 1970), 52; David J Roxburge, "Kamal Al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119-149.

the pretence of offering to Timur.[4] Qormi's oppression highly offended Timur so he immediately ordered his trusted Mowlana Saied to return to Shiraz, to declare to the inhabitants of Fars, that what Qutb al-Din had done was not by his order. Timur commanded to tie Qurmi's hands and to place a forked branch around his neck and send him to Shiraz with the sum he had extorted from the inhabitants to be returned to those who had paid it. The painting represents the moment when he was exposed to the congregation by his accuser, Mawlana Saeid, at Friday prayers in the Shiraz mosque, also known as Masjed-e 'Atiq or Masjed-e Jami'.

10. 2 Masjed-e 'Atiq: History and structure

One of the significant features in Bihzad's painting is the spatial setting of its enactment within a mosque space. This mosque – identified as the Masjed-e 'Atiq, still exists in Shiraz today and remains an important historical marker.[5] Besides the 'Atiq mosque, only a few extant remains of medieval buildings are visible today. Therefore, as an invaluable primary visual resource, this folio in comparison with the existing building of the Masjed-e 'Atiq, has exceptional potential for the study of Iranian medieval architecture and its socio-cultural connotations. Before starting to investigate how the painting's reference to the architecture of the Masjed-e 'Atiq sets up a rich setting within which 'social viewing' and 'viewership' occur, some background on the history, emergence and changes in certain physical qualities of the mosque is necessary to enable us to relate back to the building when examining Bihzad's painting.

Moreover, this image from *Zafarname* is an excellent case to study the imagery and methods of seeing in Persian painting. Comparison of the painting with the surviving structure of Masjed-e 'Atiq and available photographs of buildings from the first Pahlavi era (1925-1941) (as will be discussed in the next section) reveals how and why the spatial arrangement of the actual site has been transformed by the painter in accord with the visual language of Persian painting. Access to the building in its present state and earlier photographs of it is additionally helpful in undertaking the visual and spatial analysis of the folio with respect to the distribution and division of women and men, and their visual access within the setting.

[4] This account is reported in Zafarname, chapter on "what happened during the building of Bilaqan and Arrival of the Mirza Omar from Samarqand," Yazdi tells us how Timur concerned for justice. See Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *Zafarname Timuri*, ed. Abdolhossein Navai and Seyed Saeid Mir Mohammad Sadegh (Markaz-e Tahqigat-e Rayaneh-i Ghaemiyeh Isfahan), 172.

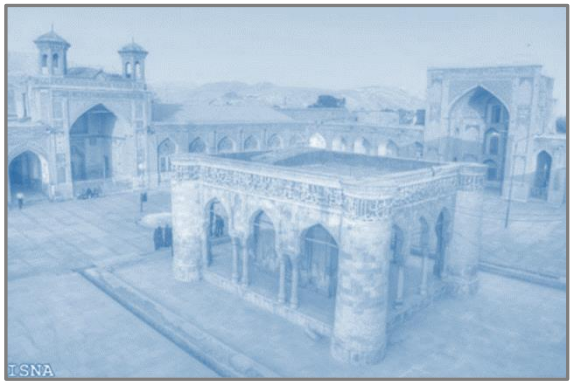
[5] Located to the south of Iran in the Fars province.

Before becoming the provincial capital of the Timurids, Shiraz, located to the south of Iran in the Fars province, had been the seat of the Muzaffarid government (1314-93).[6] Masjed-e ʻAtiq was among the main religious building of the city, large enough to accommodate all its male inhabitants for their Friday prayers. Golombek and Wilber declare that as a public forum, it was the best vantage to publicise government actions and declarations.[7] This function has been adopted and depicted in the current image of *Zafarname* of the Golestan Palace (no.708).

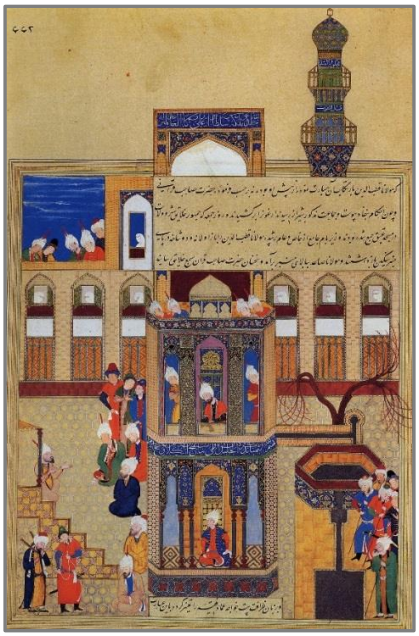
The Masjed-e ʻAtiq, first built in 875 CE during the reign of Saffārid ruler Amr b. al-Layth (878-900 AH), was rebuilt, restored and expanded via multiple iterations. Also following damage by numerous earthquakes, it was repaired and restored extensively after 1935.[8] Donald Wilber surveyed the mosque during the time of Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign (1925–1941). Most of the photographs that have been reproduced in his book date from the period before World War II (1939–1945).[9] The Masjed-e ʻAtiq has been reconstructed since Wilber's survey.[10] Therefore Bihzad's painting, dating back to 935H/1529 CE, about four centuries before major restoration, has also great potential as a reference to survey the structure of Masjed-e ʻAtiq in its early Safavid condition. This is mainly because the current study has revealed that the painting matched the real structure in detail. Therefore, this image by celebrated painter Bihzad, is an outstanding folio among Persian paintings, in the field of illustrated historical texts, Medieval Architecture studies, and Gender and Women's studies.

[6] Lisa Golombek, and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. Vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 32, 45.
[7] Golombek, and Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture*, vol. 1, 32, 45.
[8] "Masjed-e Jami', Archnet, accessed 13.09.2018, https://archnet.org/sites/1665.
[9] Donald Newton Wilber (1907–1997) was a staff member of the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archeology and predecessor of the Asia Institute.
[10] Richard N. Frye, "Preface," in Donald N. Wilber, *The Masjed-e ʻAtiq of Shiraz* (Shiraz: Pahlavi University, Asia Institute, 1972).





Left: Figure 10.1. A drawing of the Masjed-e ʻAtiq in Shiraz, probably damaged after an earthquake, 1255/ 1876 CE
Right: Figure 10.2. The Masjed-e ʻAtiq in Shiraz, courtyard view, northern *iwān* on the left and eastern *iwān* on the right with Khuda Khane at the centre, photo by Amir Hossain Zolfaghari, ISNA





Left: Figure 10.3. The capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz, attributed to Kamal od-din Bihzad,Timurid, The Zafarname of Shah Tahmasp (no.708, Herat or Tabriz,1528), Courtesy of Golestan Palace, Iran.
Right: Figure 10.4. Courtyard view of north *iwān* with tile revetment and turrets, photo courtesy of Saeideh Setayesh, 2018.

The present-day structure of the Masjed-e ‘Atiq *or* Atiq Jame’ mosque is a four- *iwān* courtyard mosque that mostly dates from the seventeenth century.[11] Wilber believes that the urban layout of Shiraz reflects a fundamental feature of the development of towns in Islamic Iran, that is, the locational relationships between the royal palace, the *bazaar* and the mosque within the urban topography.[12] The western side of the Masjed-e ‘Atiq accesses the Shāh Cherāgh mausoleum. The northern portal, where the women’s chamber in Bihzad’s painting is located, also connects the Masjed-i ‘Atiq to the *bazaar* (Figure 10.5). As cited by Wilber, the earliest account on the structure of the Masjed-e ‘Atiq in Shiraz is by al-Muqaddasi who visited the mosque in 380/990, about five centuries before the creation of Bihzad’s painting. Muqaddasi reports:

> “They have a congregational mosque whose equal is not to be found in the eight regions of the earth; on Fridays, it is covered over. The town is equal to Damascus in circumference and the crowding of the houses. The great mosque lies in the markets; on one side it is bordered by the market of the merchants of Byssus.”[13]

Ibn Battuta, the great Arab traveller and geographer, came to Shiraz while the Inju Ruler Abu Ishaq (ruled from 743/1335)[14] was on the throne (almost two centuries before the creation of the current painting). He writes:

> “The principal mosque of Shiraz is called the Masjed-e ‘Atiq: it is one of the largest and best built that one might see. Its court is vast and paved with marble: during the summer it is washed each night. The leading people of the town meet there every evening and conduct the prayers of the setting sun *[maghrib]* and of the night *[isha]* there. At the north of this mosque is a door called *Bāb Hasan* [Figure 10.6] which opens onto the fruit market: it is one of the most admirable markets that it is possible to see and I confess that it surpasses that of the door of the post (office) at Damascus.”[15]

---

[11] The structure at the centre of the courtyard is referring to the the Khuda Khane (House of God). Commissioned by Inju‘id ruler Mahmud Shah (1325-1336) in 1351 for the storage of Qurans, this small kiosk is also known as Bayt al-Mashaf (House of Qurans, or House of Books). Both the mosque and Khuda Khane are aligned with qibla slightly east of south. Khuda Khane consists of a rectangular core, with a loggia of three arched bays on each side, with solid circular towers projecting at the outer corners. The ensemble is raised on a marble platform. Only the towers, the platform and ruined inner walls were remaining of the original structure in the early twentieth century. It was rebuilt between 1937 and 1954 by the Archaeological Service of Iran based on the original design, see “Masjed-i Jami’,” Archnet.

[12] Wilber, *The Masjed-e ‘Atiq*,1.

[13] Ibid, 2.

[14] Jamal al-Din Abu Ishaq, the most noteworthy figure of the Inju family, who held Shiraz from 725/1325 until 754/1353. He was the patron of famed poet of Shiraz, Hafez. Wilber, *The Masjed-e'Atiq*, 3.

[15] Wilber, *The Masjed-e ‘Atiq*, 3.

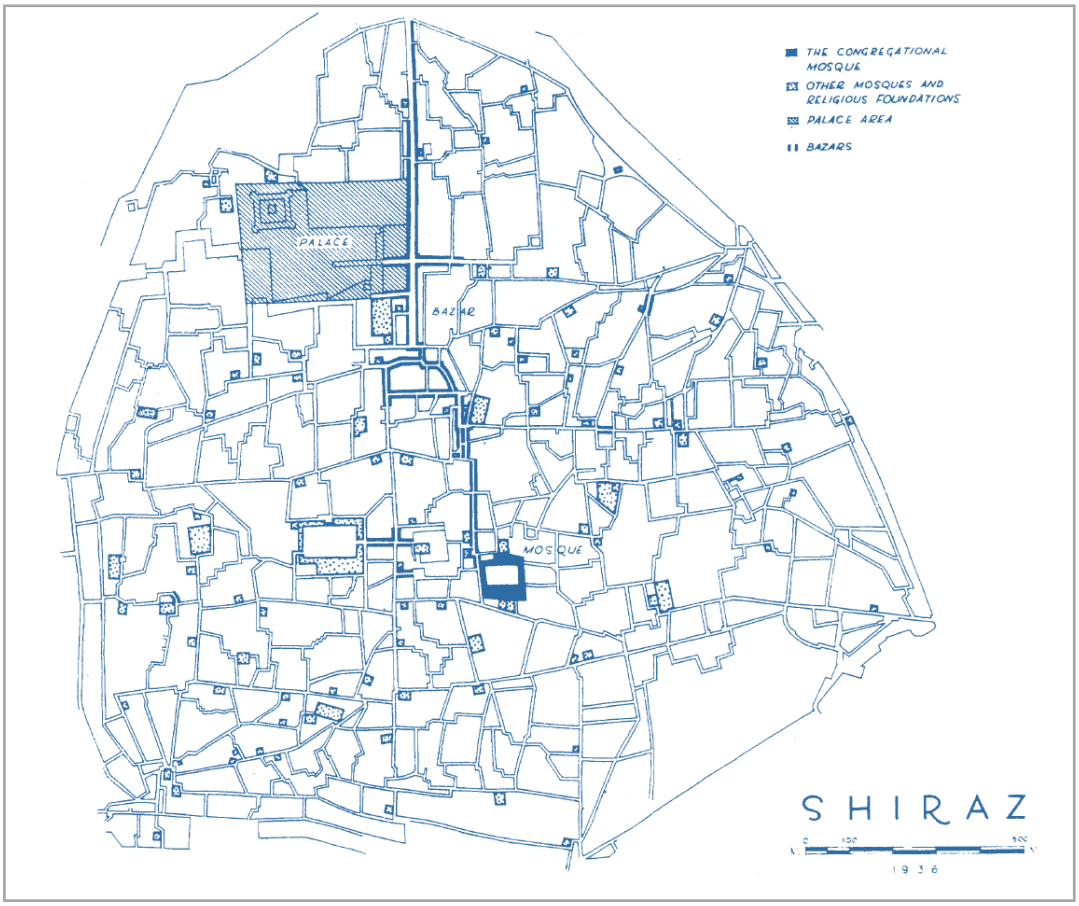


Figure 10.5 The aerial view of the town shows the Masjed-e ʿAtiq and the line of bazaars in Shiraz, the north gate to the bazaar, the west gate to the Shah Cheraq shrine and surrounds.[16]

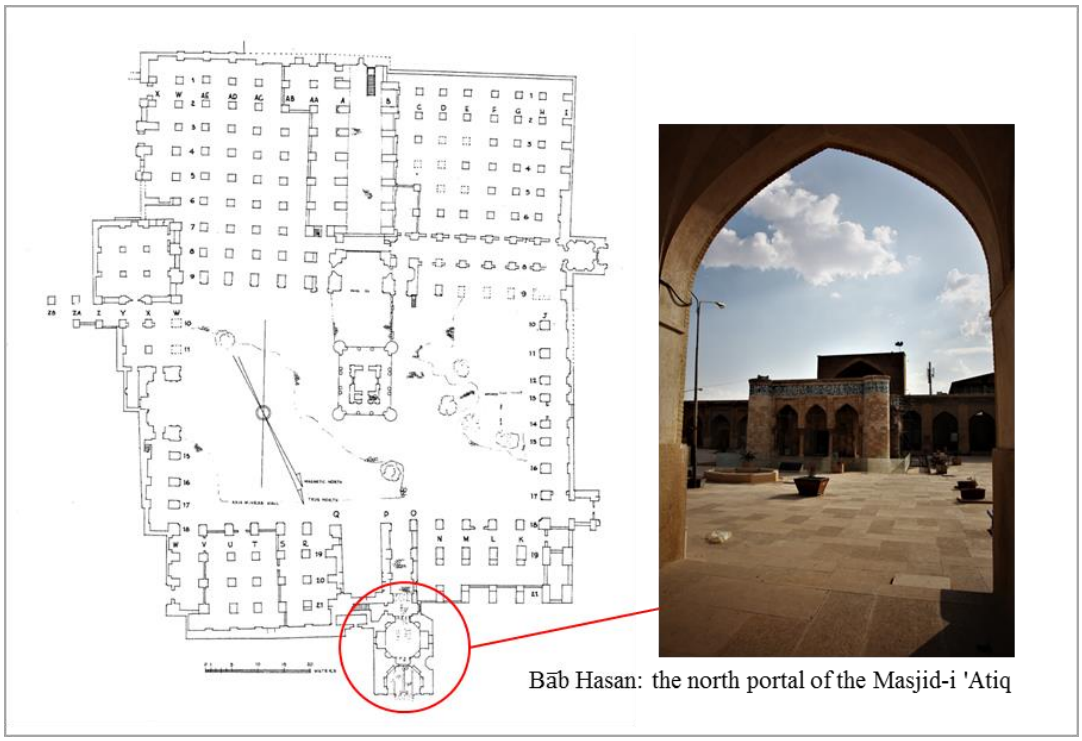


Figure 10.6 **Left**: The plan of Masjed-e ʿAtiq in Shiraz, Asia Institute, Shiraz (defunct) / Courtesy of Richard N. Frye, 1972, **Right:** *Bāb Hasan* (the gate of Hasan), as the north portal of the Masjed-e ʿAtiq, which connects the *bazaar* and mosque, photo courtesy of Saeideh Setayesh, 2018.

[16] Ibid, 67.

The main structural features reflected in the skilful setting of the image as defined in Figure 10.9 includes the mosque courtyard *(sahn)* displayed in top view (Figure 10.9, no 5), the elevation of north iwān (porch) (Figure 10.9, no 1) with one *minār*et (prayer tower) over it (Figure 10.9, no 2), and a two-storey cubic structure located in the middle of the courtyard known as the *khudāy-khāneh* (the house of God) (Figure 10.9, no 7). Known also as *dār-ol mosahif* (the place for making Quran manuscripts), the *khudāy-khāneh* has been had a heightened status in local folklore. A hexagonal stone-made pool with some water channels are devised on the right side of the image (Figure 10.9, no 6). It is reported that there were eight pools in the real structure of the mosque known as *Sangāb* to provide enough water for ablutions before prayers (Figure 10.7). [17] Located on the left side of the image is a preaching-chair made of stone *(menbar-i sangin)*.

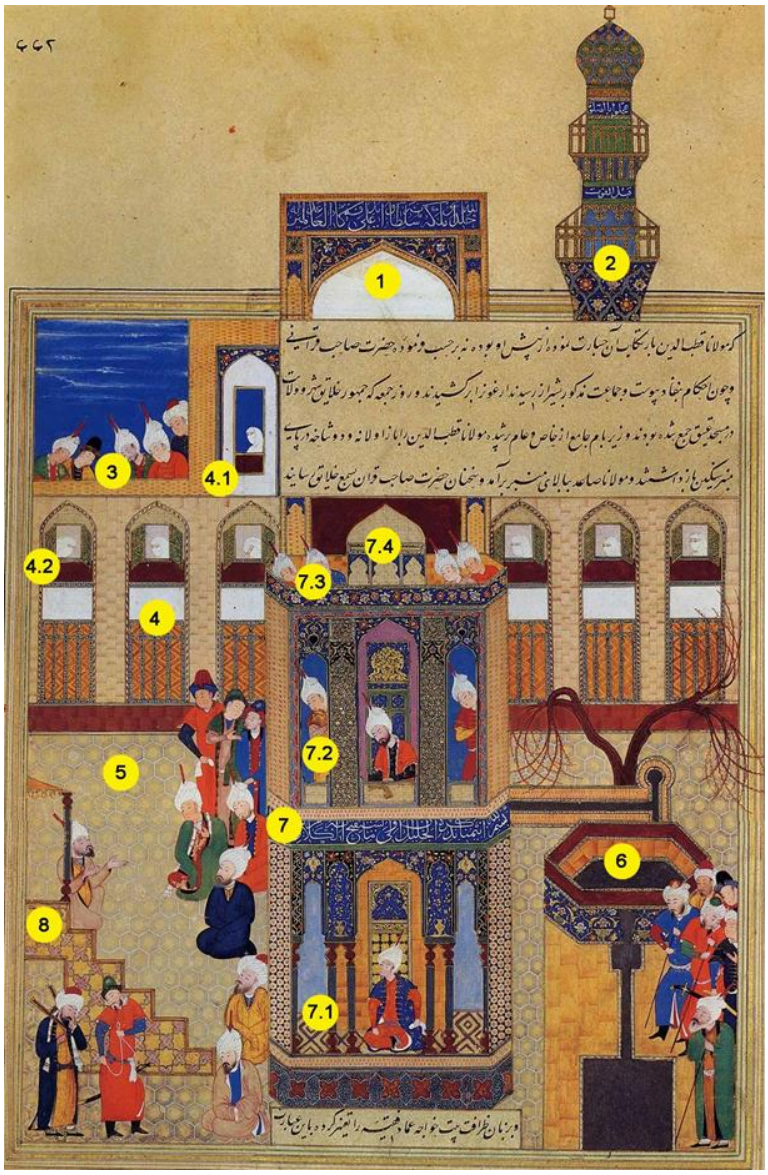
The next section describes the event of 'The capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz', as narrated by Yazdi and illustrated by Bihzad, to examine the choreography and enactment of figures within the structural setting of Masjed-e 'Atiq and with regards to the notion of vision, gender division and social viewing.





Left: Figure 10.7 Two octagonal *Sangāb* visible in the Atiq Jame' mosque courtyard, southern view, photo courtesy of Saeideh Setayesh, 2018.
Right: Figure 10.8 Part of the image showing the hexagonal stone-made pool.

[17] Ibid, 67.



The main elements of the setting:

1. The north iwān (porch) elevation
2. *Minār*et (prayer tower)
3. Roof top
4. North *shabistān* (chamber)
   4.1 The second floor of north *shabistān*
   4.2 Open windows of the *shabistān* toward courtyard
5. *Sahn* (courtyard)
6. *Sangāb* (stone-made pool
7. The east/west elevation of *Khudāy-khāneh*
   7.1.The first floor: iwān
   7.2. The Second floor: the balcony
   7.3. The roof top
   7.4 Skylight
8. The stone-made preaching-chair

Figure 10.9. Defining the main architectural elements of the setting

10.3 The Image: A Scenography of Vision and Division

Bihzad's painting displays Friday prayer being conducted in (Jumādā al-'Awwal 806 AH/1403 CE) when a significant number of inhabitants in Shiraz and neighbourhoods [18] (*jumhur-e khalayegh-e shahr o velaya*t) had assembled in the Masjed-e 'Atiq (the old mosque). In his narrative Yazdi explains that "the ground and roof of masjed was occupied by people of noble and ordinary *(khāss o'āmm).*" On this Friday morning, the painting depicts dynamic figures in the courtyard, the *khudāy-khāneh,* and on the mosque rooftop, in addition to women in white *chādor* visible behind the small windows of a chamber in the

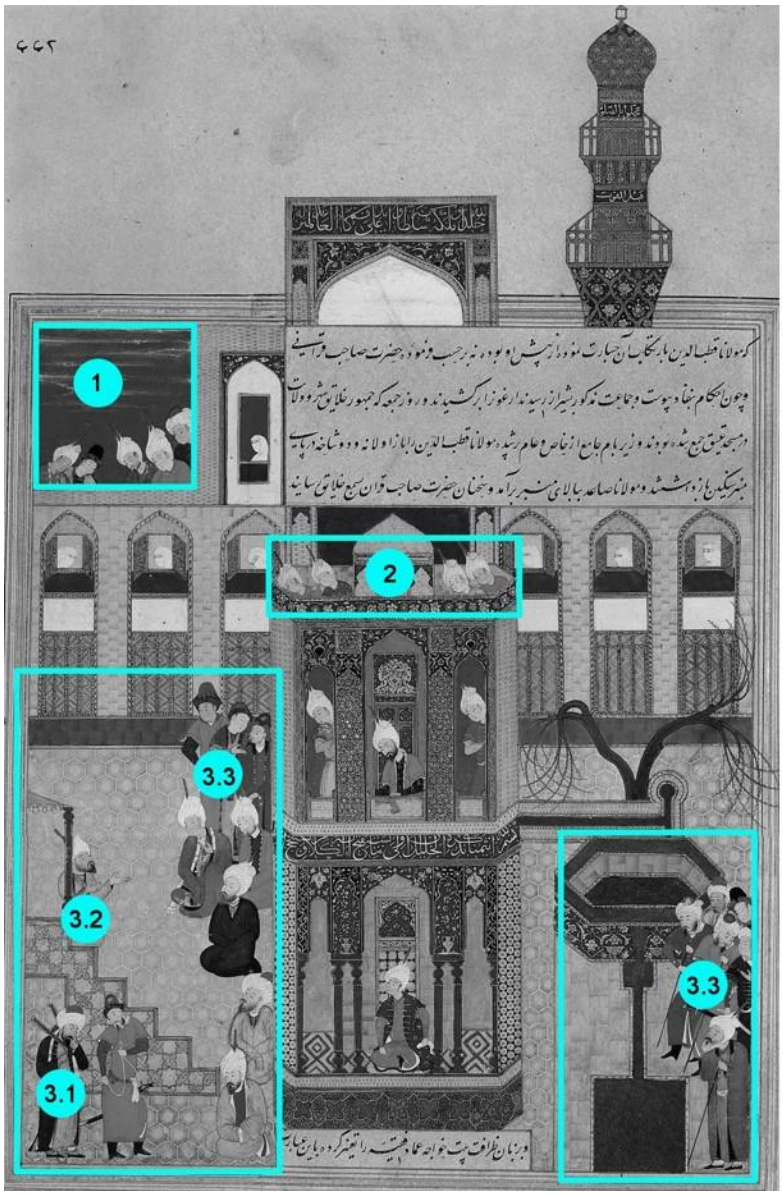
[18] جمهور خلایق شهر و ولایت (in Persian); see Yazdi, *Zafarname,* 172.

background. As described in the text, Mowlana Qutb al-Din Qormi is shown paraded as a prisoner in public with his hands in chains *(zāvlāneh)*, and the forked branch (*do -shākheh*) restraining his neck, at the foot of the *menbar-i sangin*. Mowlana Saeid is seated on the *menbar*, while announcing to the public Timur's declaration, and alluding to the words of Khwaje Emad Faqih: "If this kingdom, has been ruined, don't impute it to the emperor; for Qutb al-Din is only in fault." "All the people applauded to what he said," states Yazdi, and "praised Timur, for the mosque echoed out their acclamations."[19]

Besides the arrangement of the figures and the activities described, Bihzad's painting can also be used to analyse the distribution of figures in this architectural setting to answer the following questions. First, how is gender division reflected in the representation of this religious structure? Second, how have methods of perspective in Persian painting affected the arrangement of structural elements and composition of figures? And finally, how is composition associated with theme in narration?

The position of men and women figures within the mosque setting could be examined at three spatial levels. First, 'the outdoor spaces' of the mosque such as courtyard and *iwān* which as a public section mostly functioned as the exclusive men's domain (Figure 10.10). Second, 'the semi-open areas', including the balcony (Figure 10.14), and third is 'the indoor spaces' such as the *shabistān* (chamber) which can be used by both men and women (Figure 10.20).

[19] Yazdi, *Zafarname*, 172; Sharaf Al-din Ali Yazdi, *The History of Timur-Bec: Known by the Name of Tamerlain the Great, Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars: Being an Historical Journal of His Conquests in Asia and Europe*, trans. J. Darby, vol. 1 (London, 1723), 327.



a. The exterior spaces, public, male domain

1. The roof top of North chamber: male audience
2. The roof top of Khudāy-khāneh: male audience
3. Courtyard area:
   3.1 Qutb al-Din Qormi,
   3.2 Moulana Saeid
   3.3 Male observers

Figure 10.10. Analysis of the position of men and women's figures within the outdoor spaces.

In effect, the exterior spaces of this mosque setting include the rooftop of the north chamber, the rooftop of *Khudāy-khāneh*, and the courtyard (Figure 10.10). In the courtyard, the male audience consists of those who reside in Shiraz and surroundings, besides noblemen and ordinary peoples who have gathered to witness the trial scene.[20] In the lower-left corner of the image stands the accused – Qutb al-Din Qormi – the black-bearded man whose head is restrained with forked branch stands gazing down, ashamed, and biting his finger (a sign of

[20] Yazdi, *Zafarname*, 172.

amazement or bewilderment). His other hand is placed inside his robe indicating his distress (Figure 10.11).

Authoritatively perched on the *menbar* is Mowlana Saeid, the accuser. His hand gesture signifies he is deeply engrossed in cross-examining the case (Figure 10.12). The person escorting Qutb al-Din in chains seems to be a guard. Sheykh Darvish ol-l*ā*hi was ordered by Timur to bind Qutb al-Din Qormi's hands and place the forked branch about his neck.[21] However, the *Zafarname* text does not mention whether he left Bilaq*ā*n escorting Qutb-ol din to Shiraz, perhaps he could be the older man with a long beard leaning on his stick in the right lower corner of the folio (Figure 10.13).

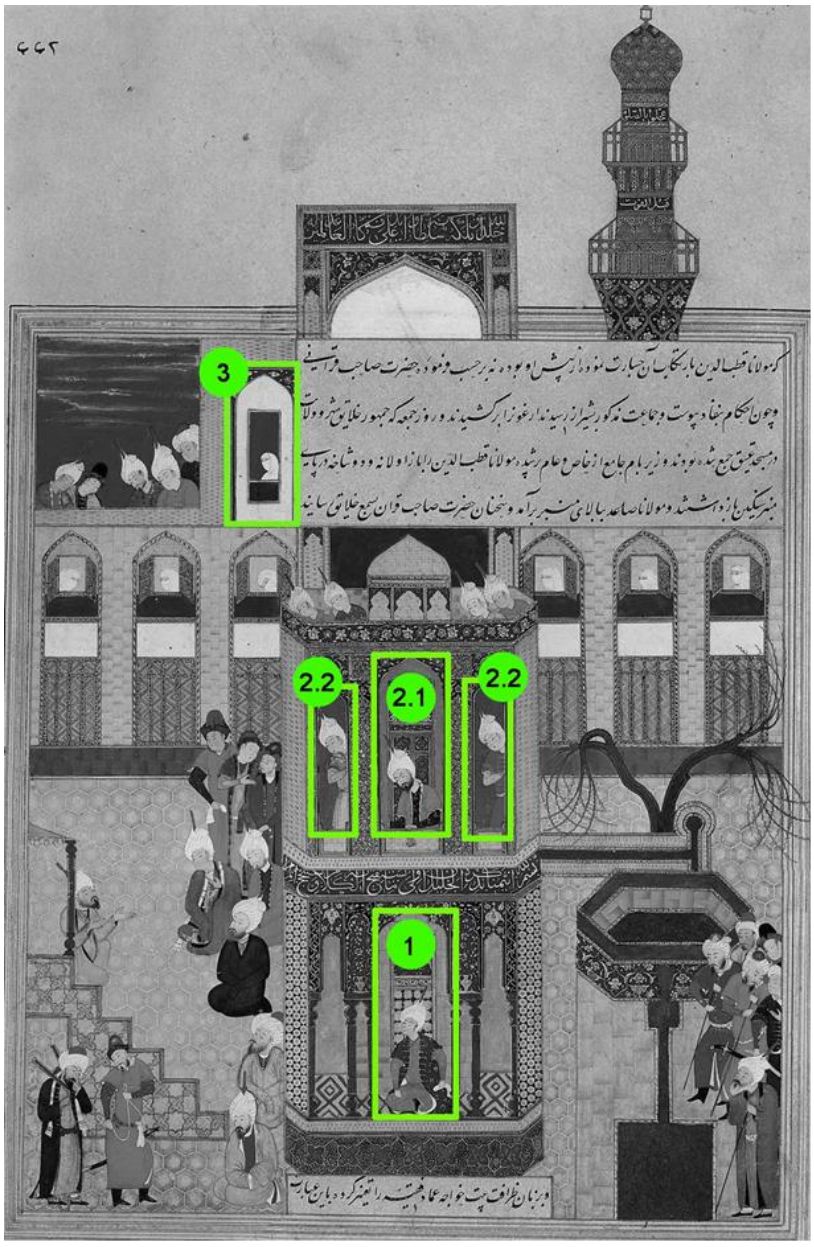






Left: Figure 10.11. Qutb al-Din Qormi with his hands in chains *(zāvlāneh)*, and the forked branch (*do - Shākheh*).
Middle: Figure 10.12. Mowlana Saeid mounting the preaching-chair as the accuser.
Right: Figure 10.13. An observer who could be the Sheykh Darvish-oll*ā*hi.

[21] Yazdi, *Zafarname*, 172; Yazdi, *The History of*, 327.



b. The semi-open spaces, semi-public, male and female domain

1. Iwan of Khudāy-khāneh: a young noble man, probably Prince Sam Mirza
2. Balcony of Khudāy-khāneh:
   2.1 A beared noble man
   2.2 Two young man
3. Balcony of the north chamber: a woman in white veil

Figure 10.14. The analysis of the position of the men and women characters within the semi-open spaces.

The semi-open spaces in the painting comprise the main *iwān* and balcony of the *Khudāy-khāneh*, in addition to a balcony on the second floor of the north *iwān*, which appears to accommodate both male and female observers (Figure 10.14). Interestingly, the only female character present outside the chamber appears on the north *iwān* balcony on the second floor. Here, foregrounded distinctly against the ultramarine sky, the woman appears to be standing in a semi-open area (Figure 10.15). Fully veiled in a *chādor*, with only her sharp eyes visible, she appears to survey a scene playing out in the mosque *sahn*. One wonders if this unidentified female character really inhabited the scene as effectively captured by the

painter, or was her secretive looking into the activities occurring below, indicative of a more gendered landscape that Bihzad intended to communicate via his composition.





Left: Figure 10.15. The ultramarine sky behind the woman standing on the balcony shows this is a semi-open area.
Right: Figure 10.16. The bearded man and his two attendants, inclined forward to have a better view of the trial scenes from their elevated position on the second level.

In the *sahn* of the mosque below, a socially elite, bearded man with two attendants appears seated on the second floor of the *Khudāy-khāneh,* apparently leaning forward to gain a better view (Figure 10.16). Yet another young man is also shown in the foreground sitting under the covered terrace on the *Khudāy-khāneh iwān*. Bahari suggests that this young man was a nobleman, most likely portrayed by Bihzad as the governor of Herat - Prince Sam Mirza.[22] However, he provides no further explanation of his identity.[23] Nevertheless, in terms of the spatial arrangement, the prince's vantage perch – at the *Khudāy-khāneh iwān* - is equivalent to the royal palace *iwān*. In Persian painting, the *iwān* is traditionally regarded as the central part of the spatial setting and serves as a place for kings and princes, also on some occasions for the royal harem to observe events or receive visitors. Within the context of the rendered scene, such a position would have provided the best view of the *sahn* activities – towards the respected Mowlana mounted on the *menbar* and Qutb al-Din standing gloomily in chains. Figure 10.17 is the pop-up projection of Bihzad's painting which by rendering the image from the multifocal perspective into the single point perspective, helps the observer to better understand the structural setting and distribution of the figures within the scene.

[22] Governor of Herat's first period, 928-35H/1522-9 and second period of rule, 940-2H/1533-5.
[23] Bahari, *Bihzad*, 210.



Figure 10.17. Pop-up model, a revision, from multifocal gaze to single-point perspective.
Top: Front view. **Bottom left:** Left-angled view. **Bottom right:** Right-angled view.

The earlier introduced pop-up model of Bihzad's painting (Figure 10.17) reveals that the *menbar* - as the main stage of performance - was set in front of the western elevation of the *Khudāy-khāneh* pavilion, while the prince was placed on the southern *iwān* therefore obtaining a poor view of the scene. Such a composition, which clearly enabled two viewing vantages, remains an unusual setting in Persian painting which conventionally arranges the main royal *iwān* as visually dominant to the event. To avoid such an arrangement, the painter appears to have had exercised another option. This was withdrawing the *Khudāy-khāneh* from the foreground to the middle ground of the composition, in effect making the structure appear somewhat shorter, and thereby allowing enough compositional space to accommodate the *menbar* in the foreground, in front of the prince's seat on the south veranda of *Khudāy-khāneh*. Consequently, this structure would have covered part of the north *iwān* when viewed perspectivally. However, making the *Khudāy-khāneh* shorter was not the painter's preference, because he intended to depict this structure in all its glory (and as the place where the scene was being enacted).

To nuance a more appropriate answer for such an exceptional setting, we must look at all four sides of the *Khudāy-khāneh.* Figure 10.18 reveals that while its north and south porches have two single columns, the arches to the east and west are slightly wider, separated by rectangular panels resting on two pairs of double columns at the centre. Surprisingly, the *iwān* with the seated prince match the west and east elevation, not the south elevation. The main elements of the event, including the accuser on the *menbar* and the Qormi on the chain, are set on the western side of the mosque *sahn*. Therefore, the west face of the *Khudāy-khāneh* is the seat for dignitaries privileged with a full view of the scene. Established as two-storey structure, it has a wide veranda with a stone plinth for the prince to sit on. However, based on one-point perspective, the observer of the image would only see the south face of the *Khudāy-khāneh*, and not the west side with the seated prince. Therefore, a multi-focal, and somewhat distorted, semi-perspectival view was the painter's solution to way of seeing in Persian painting.



Figure 10.18. The four faces of *Khudāy-khāneh* which show the *iwān* matches the East and West face.
Top left: North face, south *iwān* is partially visible behind.[24]
Topp right: South elevation showing wide loggia, step stone and door, 1984.[25]
Bottom left: East face, 1984.[26]
Bottom middle: West face, 1984.[27]
Bottom right: The *iwān* with a double column.

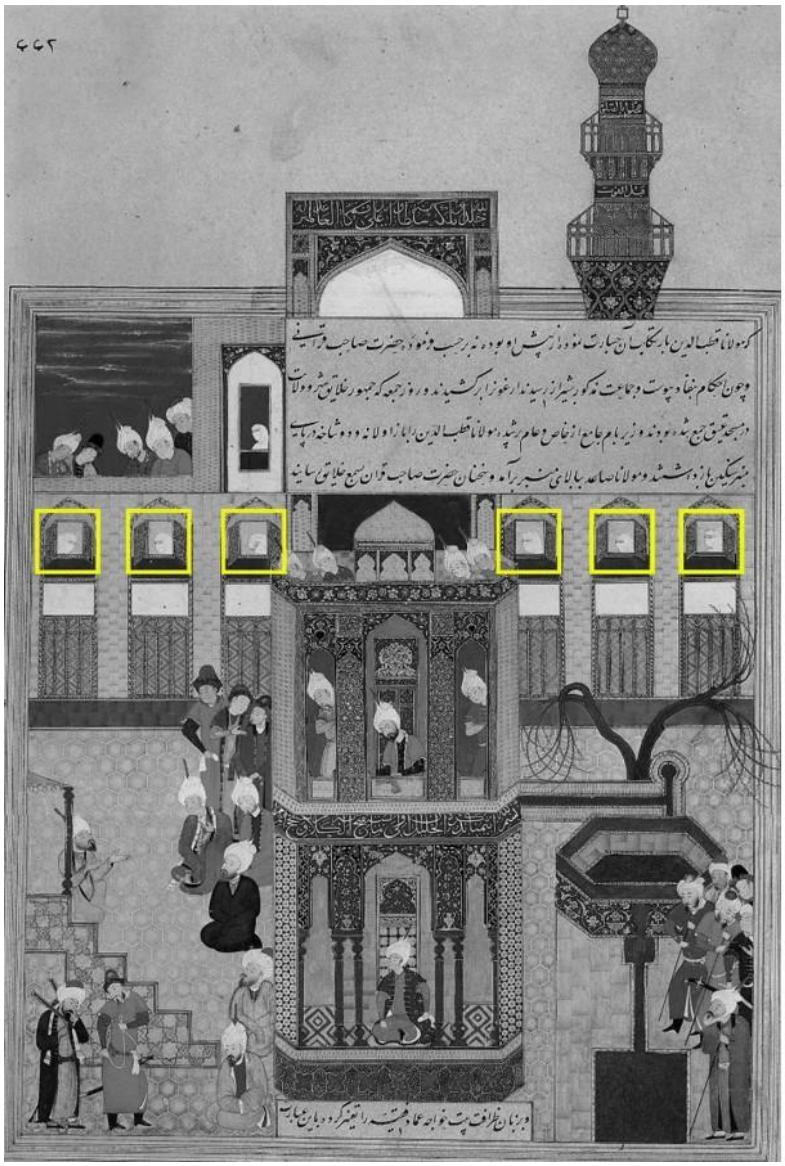
Such an examination also indicates two significant points about the painter - first, that Bihzad had an insider's knowledge about the structural details of the Atiq Jame' Mosque; and second, that based on this awareness, he concluded that the west *iwān* had the best view of the trial scene and of the seated prince. Therefore, he turned the west *iwān* forty-five degrees to the south, thereby enabling the observer to fully see the west face of *Khudāy-khāneh*. Such a method in Persian painting synthesises various viewpoints into a single image, maximising the communication of visual information. The arches, columns and details of the veranda that Bihzad depicted amazingly match contemporary structure. Because Bihzad resided in Herat and then Tabriz, but not in Shiraz, the question remains: how did he know that the east and west faces of *Khudāy-khāneh* had a pair of double columns separating three

[24] "Masjed-e Jami'," Archnet.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

arches? Considering the fact that the Atiq mosque possessed significant status among religious structures at the time, it is possible there were some sketches and drawings as a reference for painters by Shirazi artists, or those who had visited the site in person may have come to him. The photomontage technique devised in Figure 10.19, rearranges a multifocal perspective image created by Bihzad to a composition based on a single-point perspective. This demonstrates what the real setting looked like before being visually transformed into a view processed by the painters' imagination.



Figure 10.19. Applying the photomontage method to visualize the arrangement of the illustrated scene based on spatial planning of the existing Atiq Jame' mosque in Shiraz.



Interior space, private, female domain:
The north side chamber *(Shabistān)*

Figure 10.20. Analysis of the position of men and women figures within indoor spaces

The only interior space in the setting is the *shabistān* - allocated to women - on the north side of the mosque with its small windows facing the mosque courtyard. The *shabistān* is described by Khaghani as a feminine and private area which provided intimacy, veil and protection. In contrast, the *iwān* is known as a masculine, public outdoor space that functioned as a stage for representation (Figure 10.21). Figures 10.22 and 10.23 show the interior of the Masjed-e ʻAtiq *shabistān* today. In Figure 10.23 a woman in *chādor* enjoys her solitude at the *shabistān*. Six women in *chādor* and veil, who have attended Friday prayer, now appear behind windows to watch the trial scene. Women dressed in similar outfits can also be seen in other examples of mosque scenes in Persian and Ottoman miniatures, as discussed in Chapter 9. While their bodies are entirely concealed, only their

eyes are exposed to see the outer world. For them, the small rectangular windows at the top of arched panels, which adorn the north elevation of the mosque courtyard, are visors from indoor to outdoor space. On the other hand, these raised windows are higher than a man's height, so the visual access from the mosque's courtyard towards the chamber in turn would not have been possible.

In addition to those mentioned between the *Khudāy-khāneh* veranda displayed in the image and the existing structure, the similarity between the small windows in the arched panel of the chamber in the image (Figure 10.24), and an old photo of the building, dated pre-World War II (Figure 10.25) is noteworthy. The available picture by Wilber shows the courtyard with a view toward the north *iwān* and adjoining halls before major restoration (Figure 10.25). The square windows at the top of arched panels are similar to those represented in the painting. The second image (Figure 10.26) shows the present situation after various restorations. There were a row of arched doorways to the north *shabistān* decorated by *moshabak* windows and no small square windows appear at the top. To have direct access into the *shabistān* women can enter from the B*ā*b Hasan gate which connects the Masjed-e ʻAtiq to the *bazaar* in the north, or from the western entrance to the Shāh Cherāgh mausoleum. This is so women who went to shop at the *bazaar* or those who went to Shāh Cherāgh for *ziyārat* (pilgrimage) had convenient access to the mosque.

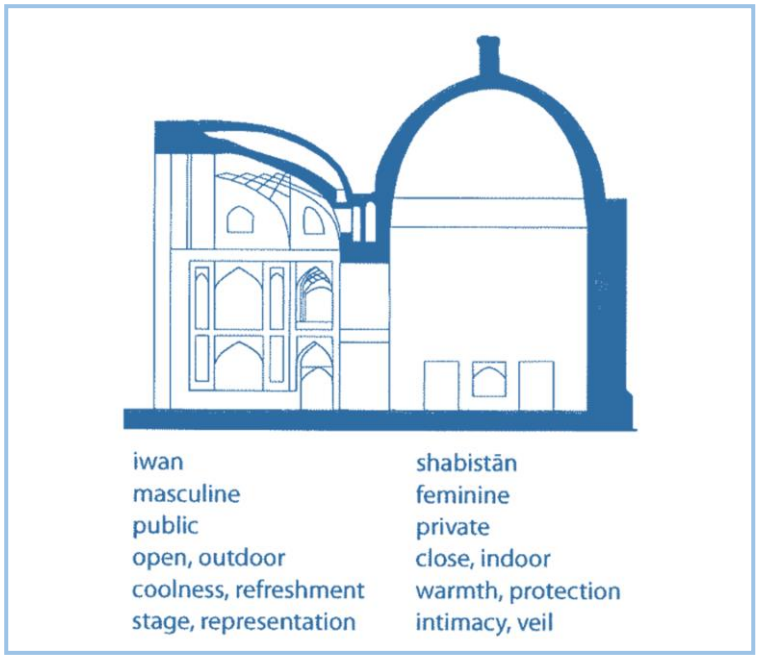


Figure 10.21. A set of dualities in the spatial division of Iranian architecture as defined by Saeid Khaghani.[28]

[28] Saeid Khaghani, *Islamic Architecture in Iran: Post Structural Theory and the Architectural History of Iranian Mosques* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 86.



Figure 10.22. The interior of the Masjed-e ʻAtiq *shabistān*, photo courtesy of Saeideh Setayesh, 2018.



Figure 10.23. A woman in *chādor* enjoying her solitude at the Masjed-e ʻAtiq *shabistān*, photo courtesy of Saeideh Setayesh, 2018.



Top: Figure 10.24. Arched frames with door and small windows in north *iwān* into the female chamber. The elevated windows are higher than a man's usual height, so visual access from the court in the mosque toward the chamber has been blocked.
Bottom left: Figure 10.25. Courtyard view of Atiq Jame' mosque, north *iwān* and adjoining halls before restoration, the same square windows at the top of arches, as represented in the painting, remain visible.[29]
Bottom right: Figure 10.26. The arched doorways to the north *shabistān* of Atiq Jame' mosque, decorated by *moshabak* windows and with no small square windows at the top, after restoration, photo by Zahra Naraqi.[30]

[29] Wilber, *The Masjed-e 'Atiq*, plate 43, 62.
[30] "Masjed-e Jami' 'Atiq," Hamshahri Ostanha Website, accessed 30.05.2018, http://ostani.hamshahrilinks.org/ArchiveAlbum/Detail?id=322410.

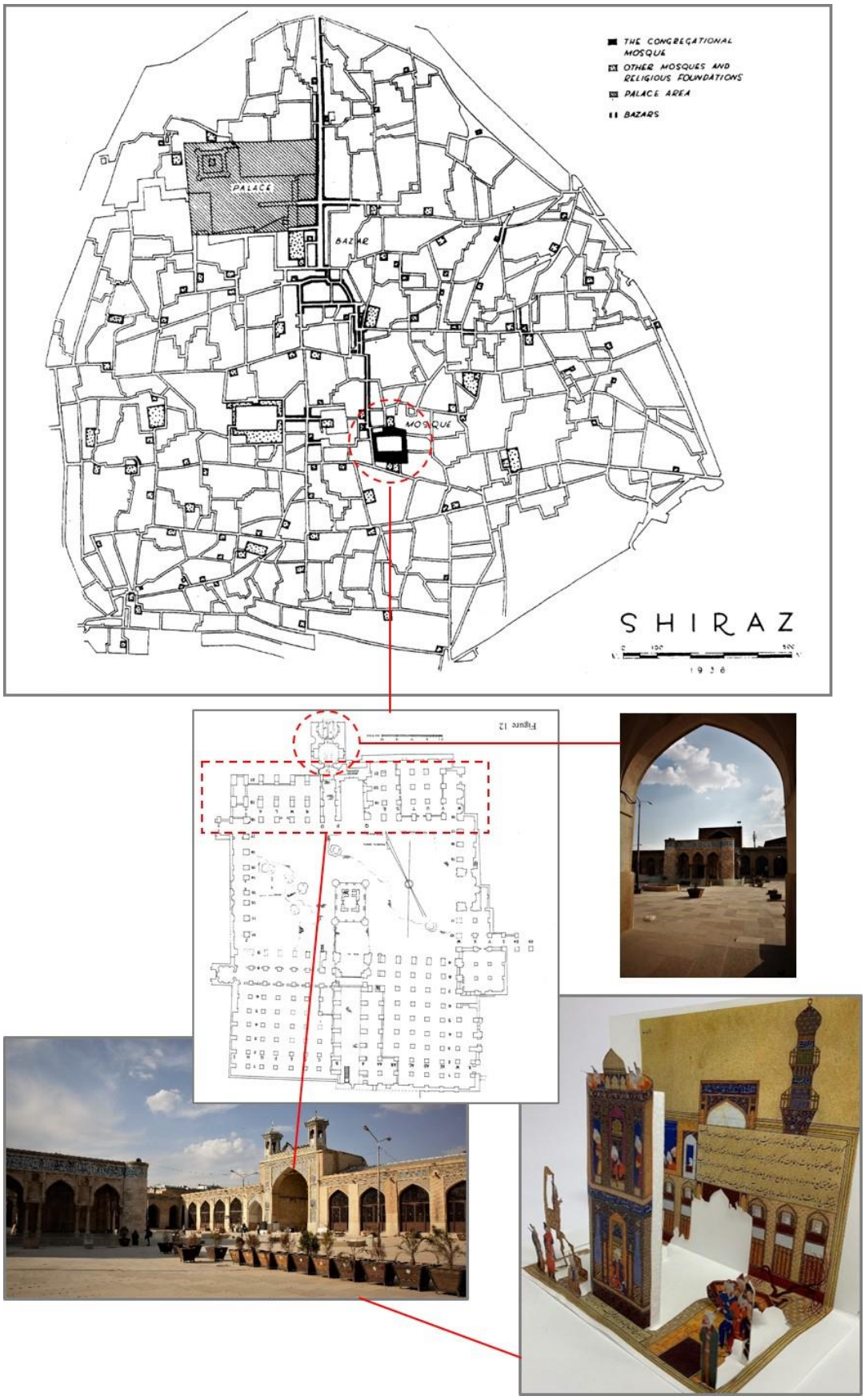


Figure 10.27. A diagram that matches the "The capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and Bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz" with photos and maps of Shiraz and Atiq Jame' mosque.

10.4 Summery and Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how a versatile method of perspective employed by the painter of a mosque scene from *Zafarname* of Golestan Palace (no.708) provided priveleged views for participant observers and onlookers within the setting of the painting, while also providing privacy for women, and dividing the space based on gender and social hierarchy. The examination of the image revealed some significant similarities between the illustration of Masjed-e ʻAtiq and the surviving structure of the historc mosque today. Supplemented by historical photographs, access to such substnative and accurate evidence of the actual object of the painter's representation enabled a more in-depth examination of the illustrated structure of the mosque, and how it evidently served to stage the performance, division and vision of the figures depicted within the painted scene.

'Capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque in Shiraz' represents a trial scene, a theme in which the presence of the audience to observe the occasion is fundamental. The event is happening on a Friday and at the time of prayer; the busiest time for a *Jame'* mosque which is said to be the main religious building in Shiraz and a public forum for official announcements. Clear lines of observation are therefore important. The analysis of the scene on three spatial levels – the exterior, interior and semi-open spaces – revealed a distinct division of men and women. While the outdoor spaces have been occupied by men as a public area, women exclusively occupy the *shabistān* as an indoor, private, intimate and veiled space. The semi-open spaces are used by both men and women. Despite such division, however, the perspective of all observers in these three spatial settings (the exterior, interior and semi-open spaces) toward the scene have been carefully devised to be equally optimal.

The 'observers' in addition to the inhabitants in Shiraz who as participating witnesses gathered in the mosque courtyard, on the rooftop, and in the chamber beholding the scene, included another group; the contemporary onlooker who is scrutinising the painting. The painter committed himself to providing the best perspective for both groups. While a number of people are gathered in the courtyard, a group of men and one woman are positioned on the rooftop of the northern chamber to enjoy an elevated view. Women's view inside the chamber has been framed by two windows: the opening on their veil and the small visors of the building. These openings that enable them to gaze at the scene, link interior to exterior, private to public and seclusion to inclusion.

It may be concluded that Bihzad's painting is a scene constructed both to 'observe' and to 'see'. The painter has innovatively applied a perspective to adjust the best vantage point for participant observers – women and men – to view the trial scene and receive Timur's declaration, and for the onlooker to gaze at the occasion from different angles composed in a single frame. Such a way of seeing and of representing also relied on the painter's imagination and insight.

While the text associated with the illustration in this chapter is available to be used together with the pop-up method for iconological analysis of the folio, the next chapter, in the absence of text and story, will benefit from the folding and pop-up method to enhance the accuracy in examining an early Safavid urban scene in which women are observed and engaged in a richly interwoven architecture of private and public space, and landscapes within and beyond the city itself.

Chapter 11.

The City and its Night-scape: New Visions Towards Understanding Femineity in a Safavid Urban Scene



Part of Figure 11.1

11.1 Introduction

Earlier chapters of this thesis have discussed and demonstrated how the culturally particular ways of seeing and projecting space architecturally in Persian miniature paintings can be engaged as a method to study questions of social power and agency with respect to women in the cultural history of Iran. Through this culture-grounded and combined visual/spatial approach it is also becoming ever more apparent how the representation of architecture and the gaze in Persian painting may also be interpreted as a mode of 'cognitive mapping' through which underlying values, social codes and cultural knowledge mediating complex human interactions have been recorded in these distinctive painterly depictions of lived space. Applied here to extend and thicken the description and interpretation of the activities and behaviours of the histiorically distant women of Timurid and Safavid Iran, this methodology has also offered such 'spatial interpretations' as bridges to complete narrative descriptions,[1] and even make these paintings speak in the absence of narratives – as shall be attempted in the final analysis that follows.

In this penultimate chapter of the thesis, the aim is to draw together the various threads of earlier discussion on the formal and spatial aspects of Persian 'painterly vision' together with the findings of the typologically-focused analyses of the preceding five chapters, to look very closely at one last, exceptionally rich and multi-facetted example of women, architecture and the gaze in Persian miniature painting. Attempting systematically to unpack the multiple layers of this exemplar and add these extended interpretations to past scholarly studies of the image, it will also discuss the 'additional' information effectively uncovered in the process, incorporating cartographies of still-extant building and urban landscapes.

We start with Kathryn Babayan's provocative analysis in her "The Aqa'id Al-Nisa: A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture" (1998). As a scholar with unique expertise in the medieval and early modern history of the Persianate world with a focus on the study of women, gender and sexuality history, Babayan has been a pioneer in examining the images of women in Persian paintings as a source for investigating social and cultural factors associated with such imagery. Babayan discusses the world of urban women in Isfahan in the Aqai'd Al-Nisa – a seventeenth-century text by Jamal al-Din Khwansari, critical of woman's behaviour in public space and their permissive roles – employing the

[1] Manouchehr Foroutan, "Architectural Language of Persian Paintings:Survey of Persian Paintings as Historical Documents of Iranian Islamic Architecture," *Hoviyate Shahr* 6 (spring and summer, 2010), 140.

illustrations of women in a sixteenth-century painting to support her claims.[2] Using Babayan's earlier study as a base on which to build and extend understanding using the three-dimensional analytical technique developed and applied in the present study, this chapter aims to further examine the representation of women in the same painting, specifically illustrating how women are represented within and in relation to, architectural spaces and spatial elements. The painting is examined in three phases: first, as a two-dimensional iconographic and spatial analysis of the original folio; second, a three-dimensional extrapolation via a pop-up model; and thirdly, via the comparative analysis of the three-dimensional model thereby achieved with existing textual and visual primary sources.

[2] Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 367.



Figure 11.1. "Night-time in a City", probably a folio from an illustrated manuscript, attributed to Mir Sayyid ʻAli, Persian (sixteenth century), Iran, Tabriz, Safavid period, c. 1540. Courtesy of the Harvard Art Museum /Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of John Goelet, formerly in the collection of Louis J. Cartier Copyright: Photo: ©President and Fellows of Harvard College, accessed 23.11.2018, http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/303390?position=2

11.2 A review of previous studies

The painting in Babayan's study has been referred to as "The Night-time in a Palace". Currently in the collection of the Harvard University Art Museum and attributed to Mir Sayyid 'Ali, – a skilled artist who flourished at the Safavid and Mughal courts around 1550-1574 CE – this folio is detached from its original manuscript, nor does it include any extracts from verse or script to provide clues to the narrative. To identify the title and further information about this painting, Babayan relies on the *Houghton Shahnameh* by Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, published in 1981. Here the painting has been introduced as the "Nocturnal Palace Scene or Night-time in a Palace", probably from Shah Tahmasp's Khamseh of Nezami painted by Mir Sayyid 'Ali.[3] The folio is mentioned as a companion piece to an 'encampment scene' (Figure 7.26), also inscribed by Mir Sayyid 'Ali, almost certainly belonging to the copy of Khamseh by Nezami held in the British Library.[4] Besides its superlative artistic virtuosity, these two works are important for the wealth of social detail contained, which illuminate the nuances of urban and rural life, and, indeed, some of the purposes of secular art in Muslim society.

Babayan interprets the'nocturnal' painting as a scene showing "women attendants wearing white headscarves working with men in two separate kitchens".[5] Based on Babayan's description Figure 11.2 analyses the spatial arrangement of the scene and the roles of the many characters within this everyday environment. The Men's kitchen is marked as 1 and the females' kitchen marked as 2. Therefore, the woman in the yellow dress inside the female kitchen and the woman in the pale blue dress near close to the wall are assumed as workers "who are performing the same nightly routine of dining and wining the royal household".[6] The woman in the pale blue dress with a white headscarf, holding a white bowl, is defined as an attendant, close enough to the courtiers' banquet and gaze down on it.[7] The boisterous (and possibly noisy) banquet was, in all probability, an exclusive men's domain. Located in the middle ground of the composition, it seemed spatially separated from the other activities of the complex. The *iwan* framed this setting, while a dado of blue tiles defined the dining areas, and musicians entertained the dinner party in the foreground.

[3] Martin Bernard Dickson, and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1981), 184,188.
[4] Ibid, 182,183,188.
[5] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 367.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

Upon examining the secluded space with eminent women depicted on the upper left of the folio, the correct identification of the area as a private space ensures a precise explanation of women's social status and role. Babayan suggests that "an old *mullah* is evident in deep conversation with one of the royal women."[8] However, given the lack of text, it is not possible to identify the role of either the older man or the woman. Babayan interprets that possibly this depiction represents female members of the Safavid royal family receiving their education in the religious sciences and Islamic arts. She concludes that "within their private space, women seem to have had access to things men enjoyed in public."[9] She also asserts that in Persian miniatures, women are depicted as informed and active participants of court life.[10]



Figure 11.2. Analysing the spatial arrangement of the scene and the roles based on Kathryn Babayan's description: 1. Male kitchen (male attendants), 2. Female kitchen (female attendants), 3. Secluded place (eminent women).

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

11.3 Necessity for a New Method

The detailed execution of this folio and its complex spatial arrangement enables us to look more closely for distinctive architectural spaces and elements embedded in this image. In fact, more appropriately, the painting represents an interconnected cityscape or an ensemble of flowing spaces, versus a single building. To support such an assumption, we could refer to the Harvard Art Museum that hosts this painting and has displayed it on its website as "Night-time in a city". Additionally, Anthony Welch in "The Worldly Vision of Mir Sayyid 'Ali" (published 1990), despite using "Night-time in a palace" as the caption, describes the work as "the most intricate and elaborate cityscape in Islamic art".[11] Of course, Welch's study offers a detailed portrayal of the characters, while remaining ambiguous about the identification of the spaces, their functions, and association with human activities.

While the women in Persian painting were usually from the upper strata of society and the royal family, this unique folio offers a glimpse of life of ordinary urban women as they appear inside royal palaces, gardens and pavilions as well as in the bazaar, busy with their daily activities. This unusual deviation in subject choices within the gamut of the Persian painting is unexplained and confusing, given the narratives normally invested in similar works and their usual (royal or elite) patronage. After all, why would the artist depict a scene with seemingly 'generic' individuals and 'by-standers' whose identities were neither recognised nor critical? Also, to deviate from the conventional 'setting' of place or spot as a frame for the painterly composition, to depicting a 'cropped' network of space (or spaces) within the city, adjoining the palace enclave, or on the urban outskirts appears to wholly unexplained in the sources and the scholarship.Yet scholars still have not benefited from the opportunity provided by this particular folio. Also, the misreading of the architectural spaces, versus considering these as an interconnected network, has resulted in an erroneous identification of characters' roles, their activities and social status.

In effect, as long as we lack a full understanding and familiarity with the deliberately manipulated (and suggested), arrangements of spaces in Persian painting and the artist's peculiar inclination for distorted and compressed perspectives, the mistakes in perceiving the adjacency of buildings, the placement of figures, their visual access and social roles will be inevitable. Towards strategically avoiding such misperceptions, we need to bear in mind that the arrangement of spaces and their inter-relationships in Persian paintings was not

[11] Anthony Welch, "The Worldly Vision of Mir Sayyid 'Ali." In *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, 85-98 (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), 95.

based on realistic or topological representations of structure. The artist instead aimed to benefit from maximising the capacity of the frame space to display all the necessary elements as a 'editorial and stylistic' tool within the Persian painting that provoked and enhanced the story. This 'visual compression' was perspectivally problematic, setting up an obvious comparison with the 'precise' perspectival frames of the Renaissance. In this regard, the role of such 'visual compression' as a 'editorial and stylistic' tool within the Persian painting needs more detailed examination.

In order so achieve the desired frame, the artist would understandably remove part of the 'logical' structure to make space for other aspects of the narrative, thereby presenting the frame as a 'complete' story or episode. It is this difference in way of seeing and presentation in Persian paintings that make them a complex visual resource. Therefore, in the following section, by applying this understanding of 'architecture as method'and its rendition within the painting space, the representation of women in relation to their position within a phyical setting, specifically a cityscape will be studied. In the absence of text, such a method will be supplemented by pop-up models that could dramatically improve the way we observe and understand spatial arrangements, structural elements, human activities and social roles.

11.4 Pre-analysis discussion

The Houghton Shahnameh by Dickson and Welch discussed the artists who were involved in the creation of the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp as one among the most prominent illustrated manuscripts of this lengthy epic poem.[12] Canby has endorsed their study as the most thorough in identifying the artists in Shah Tahmasp's court (r. 1524-76) and towards defining and differentiating their style.[13] Mir Sayyid 'Ali (the son of Mir Musavvir)[14] is one among the artists introduced, based on three Safavid biographical resources, including Qutb ud-Din's 1556-57 Treatise, Qazi Ahmad's account, Sadigi Bek, and Mughal sources such as Bayazid's eyewitness memoir on the court of Humayun in exile (1540 –1555).[15]

Dickson and Welch declare that Mir Sayyid 'Ali was raised and resided in Tabriz.[16] His career fell into two phases: his years in Tabriz at the Safavid court and his Mughal period,

[12] Dickson, and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 178-191.
[13] Sheila R. Canby, "Introduction." In *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, vi-viii (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990).
[14] Acording to Dickson and Welch, Mir Sayyid-'Ali contributed two miniatures to the Houghton Shahnameh: Rostam and the seven champions hunt in Turan (Plate 96), and Bahram-I Gur pins the coupling onagers (Plate 230), see Dickson, and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 187.
[15] Ibid, 178.
[16] Ibid, 179.

when he worked for Emperor Humayun and Akbar. Qazi Ahmad reports that following Humayun's request to Shah Tahmasp for the painter's father (during Humayun's 1544 visit to Safavid court), Mir Musavvir, both went to India in the late 1540s, where they died.[17] Mir Sayyid 'Ali has been acclaimed as a "matchless painter", and "highly distinguished…a new Mani in India…Each page of his painting is a masterpiece".[18]

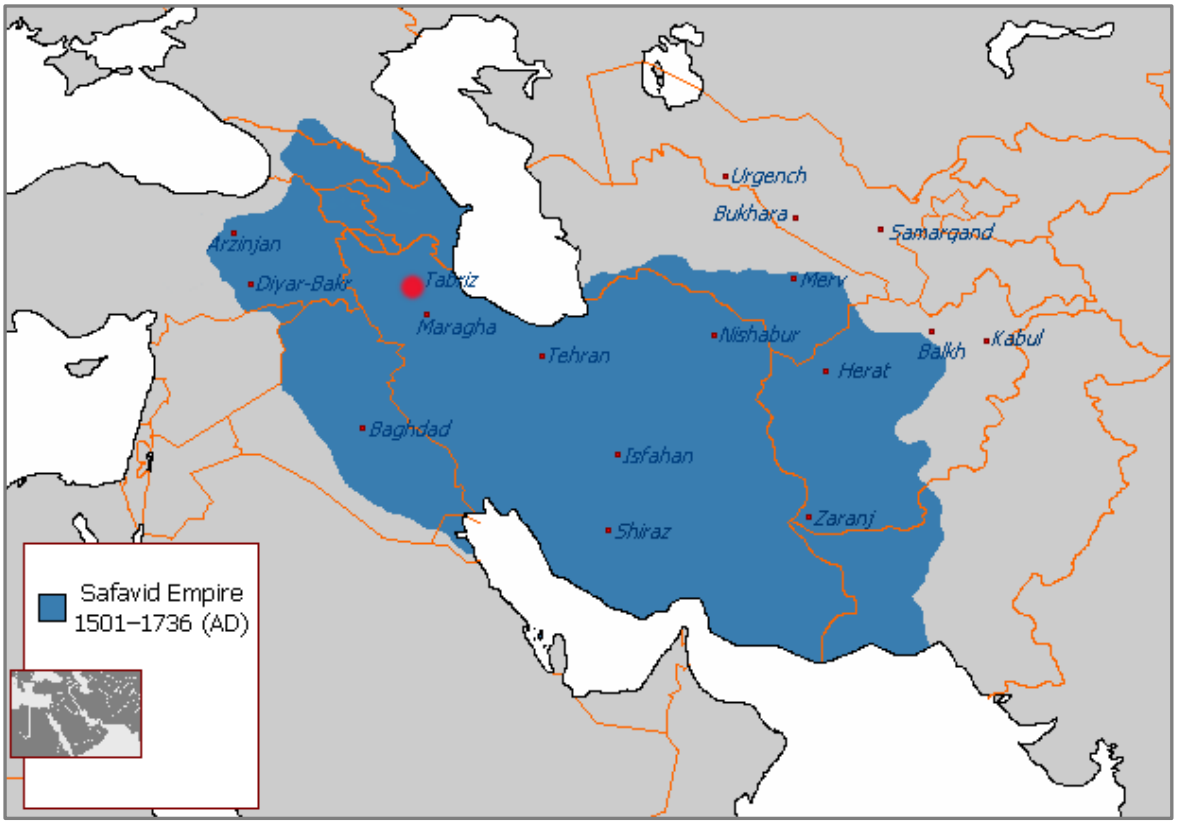


Figure 11.3. Tabriz, the first capital of Safavids and the birthplace of the second Tabriz School of painting, The maximum extent of the Safavid Empire under Shah Abbas I (r. 1588 –1629).[19]

11.4.1 Mir Sayyid 'Ali's vision and style

Oleg Grabar and Mika Natif object to the attribution of the current folio to Mir Sayyid 'Ali. They believe that "the attribution was made arbitrarily for the camp scene and extended unnecessarily to the palace one."[20] They explain that Mir Sayyid 'Ali's work has often been described as "preoccupied with minute details, sensitive to textures, with elegant human

[17] Ibid, 178.
[18] Ibid, 179.
[19] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Safavid_Empire_1501_1722_AD.png
[20] Oleg Grabar, and Mika Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 194, 96.

figures who have "fan- like" fingers and eyelashes and are psychologically trapped inside themselves."[21] However, Grabar and Natif believe that these characteristics not only feature in Mir Sayyid 'Ali's paintings, but could also be related to the works of a group of important contemporary artists at the Safavid court. Among the most prominent painters in this group were Aqa Mirak, Mir Mussavir (Mir Sayyid 'Ali's father), Abd al-Samad, Mirza 'Ali and Sultan Muhammad (under whom Mir Sayyid 'Ali had trained and with whom he collaborated on numerous projects).[22]

The book entitled *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* discusses nine Persian painters active during a time that spanned more than five centuries (i.e. fourteenth to nineteenth centuries).[23] Among them is Mir Sayyid 'Ali, whose artistic career, style and content have been discussed by Welch. He debates the painter's vision and manner as "maturely fascinated with the observation and exact rendering of the material world."[24]

By examining Mir Sayyid 'Ali's three contributions to the 1539-43 Khamseh for Shah Tahmasp ('Majnun brought to Leyli's camp in chains'[25], 'The meeting of the clans'[26], and 'Night-time in a palace'[27]), Welch proposes that his detailed paintings could be our principal source of knowledge on how minutia in the world looked and worked in Safavid Iran:[28]

> "It was his overriding goal to show things as they were, rather than as they could or should be. [...] His ambition centred on the daily world, and he observed it minutely and recorded it methodically and with loving care."[29]

Thus A. Welch suggests that Mir Sayyid 'Ali's paintings are essential to the development of still life studies in both late Safavid and Mughal painting.[30] He also declares that similar concerns with the way things looked and worked was evident in "Night-time in a city." At this point, it could be proposed that despite existing debates on the validity of the attribution of the current folio to Mir Sayyid 'Ali, this painting has been illustrated based on meticulous observations by the painter of his immediate living environment and the world beyond. We also know that the possible painter of this folio, belonging to the group of major

[21] Ibid, 196.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Sheila R. Canby, ed. *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990).
[24] Anthony Welch, "The Worldly Vision," 96.
[25] Ibid, 90.
[26] Ibid, 92.
[27] Ibid, 94.
[28] Ibid, 96.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, 97.

contemporary artists at the Safavid court, had initially resided in Tabriz (with the exception of Abd al-Samad who came from Shiraz). Given these circumstances, could the miniature, "Night-time in a city" be considered as the representation of Tabriz in Shah Tahmasp's time and a result of the painter's verbatim observation of his hometown? If the answer to this question is positive, then this could help us gain insights into the socio-cultural status of Tabrizi women in Shah Tahmasp's time. Yet before embarking on this investigation, we need to justify such the possibility that a painting could indeed be used as evidence to reconstruct the history of the city. The current study hopes to answer this question in the following sections as one among the big steps towards defining the subject of the painting in the absence of a narrative text; an issue to be discussed in the next section.

11.4.2 The subject in the absence of text

According to Panofsky, as discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3, in iconographic analysis which concerns both the subject matter and meaning in works of art, the layers of meaning can be grasped by applying three levels of iconographic/iconological analysis ranging from form to subject matter: pre-iconographic description, followed by its iconographic analysis and iconological interpretation. By using the text that the image illustrates as a source, the image will be observed as known stories or allegories and the figures will be supposedly recognisable characters, so that the second layer of meaning (iconographic analysis) which is related to the subject may be identified.[31] However, to realize the meaning, subject and charectors in the current folio, the absence of text and an identifiable story had been a problem. The most comprehensive study to elucidate the subject matter of this folio together with another painting, known as 'A Camp Scene', is by Grabar and Natif (published 2001).[32] Herein, they also mention that the current folio has been provided with many titles, including the romantic 'Night-time in a Palace.' In the absence of the text that this folio illustrated – if there is any at all – Grabar and Natif provided comprehensive iconographic analysis to explore the subject matter of the paintings through the examination of basic components such as characters, spaces and objects.[33] The authors propose four logical methodologies for investigation of the subject matter.[34]

[31] Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 51-3.
[32] Grabar, and Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings," 194.
[33] Ibid, 180.
[34] Ibid, 176-7.

The first hypothesis is that these paintings illustrate a narrative which cannot be directly understood, because we cannot identify key performers in each image and no well-known story or narrative patterns come to mind as we examine them. The second hypothesis is that these two images could be illustrations of nomadic life (the camp scene) and/or an 'ideal of a peaceful city' as a symbol of good government, depicted for the 'edification' or 'glorification' of a noble patron or other ideological or personal purpose.[35] The third hypothesis is that these paintings could be 'atelier exercises', functioning as contemporary portfolios assembling a large number of independent visual units to exhibit the artfulness of a painter.[36] The fourth and final hypothesis seems to be not applicable in this case because they are 'forgeries' which selected some motifs from sixteenth-century painting and rendered an imitation.[37]

To examine any of the abovementioned possibilities (narrative, allegory, collage and forgery), the authors first attempt to detect what the observer could see in the paintings. As Grabar and Natif declare themselves, their method for identification is similar to the contemporary approach of art criticism, which involves the beholder in the interpretation of the work of art, corresponding to what one 'sees' with what one 'understands'. Grabar and Natif raise an important point in this regard:

> "The original intention of a work of art confronted with the limitations of its contemporary observer. […] We have to assume that any work of art meant something to its patron and creator and that therefore it was conveyed in a language that they shared, but that we probably no longer share with them."[38]

Based on this statement we may deduce that the main challenge for the contemporary observer to 'understand' what they 'see' when looking at a fifteenth or sixteenth century Persian painting would be the difference in the paintings pictorial languages. Such dissimilarity could be emerge from two fronts: first, the diverse method of living during the painter's epoch to that of the contemporary observer, that will provide different experience and understanding towards the living environment. Therefore the images that the painter and contemporary observer record in their mind based on observations of their living environment, architectural spaces, still life, clothing, customs, and so on, would be dissimilar. Such diversity would be more complicated by a second reason: when the visual

[35] Ibid, 176.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid, 177.
[38] Ibid.

language that the Persian painter applies to depict his perception was markedly different from what a contemporary observer would practice. Accordingly, returning to the Grabar and Natif discussion – regarding the limitations of the contemporary observer to understand the original meaning of a work of art– a problem they highlight is bridging such a gap caused by the difference between the paintings and the contemporary observer's pictorial languages in an acceptable way.[39] By applying such an approach at the end, they conclude that 'Night-time in a palace' is a portfolio with possible allegorical and genre implications.[40]

This is first to potentially bridge the gap between the visual language of the painter and the contemporary observer towards decoding the illustration of spatial and architectural arrangements. Second, as a tool to guide viewers and readers on the details of paintings with a focus on architectural and spatial arrangments and placement of figures in relation to and within them. Third, to find additional evidence to justify any of the four hypotheses by Grabar and Natif, and therefore identify the subject matter of the painting as a source for precise iconographic analysis, including the representation of women. Finally, by fulfilling all these requirements, this study hopes to offer a systematic method to leverage the current 'city-scape' as a visual document, to examine and review social and cultural activities and women's behaviour within their living environment.

11.5 Iconographical and spatial analysis

11.5.1 Phase One: two-dimensional iconographical and spatial analysis of the original painting

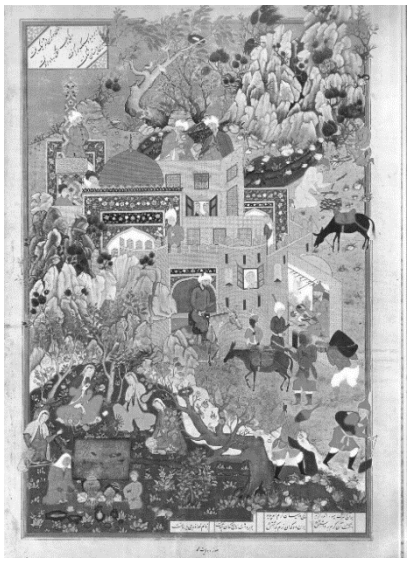
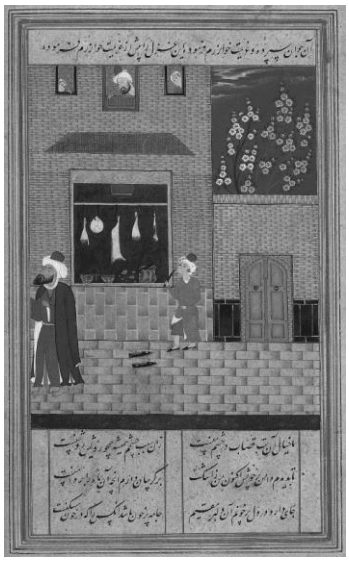
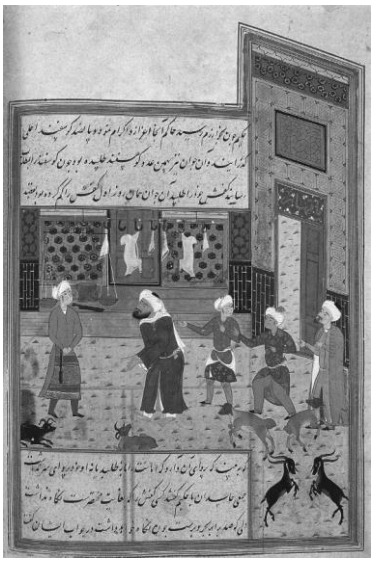
While depiction of shops and *bazaar* in Persian painting is not frequent, one of the unigue features of 'Night-time in a city' is how it represents the social activities of people within the bazaar setting. One among few examples in Persian painting to depict shops is 'the story of Ardashir and Haftvand's worm' (Figure 11.4) from Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp, which depicts an urban landscape within a fortified city. The only element shown outside the city gate is a shop face to an open area in which people are going about their daily activities. The building surfaces are largely rectangular, but we can clearly discern the *iwan*, turret-tower, city gate, and space outside. What is striking here is the somewhat 'disconnected' nature of human activity and their placement within the scene – this is where it differs from 'Night-time in the City'. It can be suggested that 'Night-time in a City' is an exemplar where the

[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid, 197.

two aspects of 'complex landscape' with interconnected (compressed) spaces and human choreographies were exaggerated.

Also, different copies of Majalis al-'Ushshaq (Meeting of Lovers),[41] as mentioned by Lâle Uluç are important due to their urban settings that depict episodes from the lives of famous mystics.[42] Two folios from two different copies of this text represent stages from the story of Hakim Sana'i who was besotted with a charming butcher boy (Figures 11.5 and 11.6). In both folios, the butchery shop is shown in a close-up front view, so it doesn't provide any insights into the *bazaar* setting and/or residential areas. Yet in both paintings, there is the 'introduction' of the 'perspectival fore-shortening' adapted for use in communicating the story – in 11.5 the overhanging awning of the butcher shop is drawn so as to suggest 'depth', while in 11.6 the 'building front' on the frame's right border inclines towards the observer, thereby suggesting a street space with characters. In both paintings, the shop interiors are signified by dark tones (black in 11.5 & brown in 11.6). Finally, both examples employ 'text to communicate narrative' as they effectively 'zoom-into' a space.

[41] *Majalis al-'Ushshaq* (Meeting of Lovers) was completed in 908/1502-3 by Kamal al-Din Gazurgahi. The author was writing in Herat in the circle of 'Alishir Nava'i'; the patron of this text was Shah Sultan-Husain Bayqara (reg. 1469-1506). Copies of this text were systematically illustrated in Shiraz from the second half of the sixteenthcentury onward. For more, see Charles Melville, "Gazurgahi's Majalis Al-'Ushshaq, Amir Khusrau Dihlavi and Fakhr Al-Din 'Iraqi." In *Sufistic Literature in Persian: Tradition and Dimensions*, ed. Azarmi Dukht Safavi, 28-37 (Aligarh: Institute of Persian Research, Aligarh Muslim University, 2014), 28;
[42] Lâle Uluç, "Meetings of Lovers: The Bodleian Majalis al-'Ushshaq, Ms. Ouseley, Add. 24." In *Love and Devotion: From Persia and Beyond*, ed. Susan Scollay, 83-89 (Oxford: Macmillan Art Publishing, 2012).

Examples of the representation of cityscape and shops in Persian painting:
Left: Figure 11.4. The story of Ardashir and Haftvand's worm, Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp, attributed to Doust Mohammad, painter and calligrapher of the mid-tenth century.[43]
Middle: Figure 11.5. Hakim Sana'i leaves his shoes with the butcher boy. From a manuscript of a work attributed to Gazurgahi, *Majalis al-'Ushshaq* , dated 959/1552. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Ouseley Add. 24, fol. 44v.[44]
Right: Figure 11.6. Hakim Sana'i brings goats to the butcher boy. From a manuscript of a work attributed to Gazurgahi, *Majalis al-'Ushshaq* , c. 1580. Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.829, fol. 50v.[45]

In comparison to the above examples, 'Night-time in a city' is a unique folio in representing a traditional Iranian city with people in their daily activities in public and private areas. In addition to the quality and visual artistry, the current image represents several human figures, including women, interacting with their residential and public spaces. The variety of social groups, their activities and ages is exceptional, ranging from princes, royal women, courtiers, performers, servants, merchants, the woodcutter, the *mullah*, young and old men, women, and children. All these groups are definable by their activities and clothing, which differ based on their social status.

A particular part of the image, most difficult to understand and describe, is in the upper left of the frame where an older man and a lady are seated. The challenge stems from the point that usually it has been considered as an adjoining section to the rooftop of the palace. Accordingly, Grabar and Natif have assumed two general parts for this image; 'the palace' and 'the city' (Figure 11.7), and structured their analysis into three parts consisting of 'the palace', 'city street', and 'the upper-left'.[46] However, upon re-examination of the

[43] Mohammad-'Ali Rajabi and others, eds. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010).
[44] Uluç, "Meetings of Lovers", 86.
[45] Ibid, 87.
[46] Grabar, and Natif , "Two Safavid Paintings."

composition, Figure 11.8 highlights the fortification barriers between the palace and city, indicating that the upper-left section is not really a part of the palace within the city, but located well outside of the gate.



Figure 11.7. Analysis of the image based on dividing the space into two main sections.
Left: Royal Palace and Court
Right: Public area including the Bazaar and rural area

Building on this, the study suggests four main sections in the arrangement of this cityscape; first, the royal palace in the foreground; second, the public area including the mosque, bazaar, shops and cistern on the middle ground; third, the background as rural landscape that surrounds the city; and fourth, the countryside house located outside the city walls in the rural area. Figure 11.9 highlights each of these four sections based on the understanding that two different royal residences are distinguishable; one in the foreground and the other in the top left corner of the folio. In effect, the painting clearly wishes to define 'spatial distinction' of two different places within the same frame – attesting to the skills of the artist to compress the cityscape within the same frame via stylised cropping.



Figure 11.8. Defining city barriers between palace and city, and barriers between city and countryside.



Figure 11.9. Spatial analysis of the image based on the placement of layers from foreground to background (from left to right):

1. Foreground: the Royal Palace
2. Middle ground: *Bazaar* and city area
3. Background: the rural area.
4. Background: the countryside house

Given these elaborate compositional techniques, it appears that the central theme of this image is not easily defined nor is there an overt 'narrative' that transmits easy readability. In each section, different activities are shown in progress. In fact, this 'space-time compression' is quite remarkable given that despite the seemingly simultaneous representation of different spaces, 'time' appears to be united in all sections. 'Night-time' has been emphasised by the distribution of eleven candles, torches and oil lamps in the hands of the figures, attached to the walls, or in candlesticks. However, based on the Persian painting's visual convention of narrative, in effect, there is no dimness or shadow, and every angle of the image is as bright and visible as it could be during the day.

The irony in relation to time is further exaggerated by the way the 'season' has been depicted. In the Persian painting tradition, the season is usually suggested by the inclusion of specific plants and vegetation. Almost all of the trees in the described miniature, including the two that are blossoming, one in the middle of the city and another behind the city walls, suggest spring, when nature is revitalised and brings hope and refreshment – the ideal season for poets and painters. It is a time for love, pleasure, the New Year (Nowruz) celebration and royal banquets held in the garden.Only a plane tree in the background suggests autumn. Was this an inadvertent error by an ever-cautious and painstaking painter like Mirr Sayyid Ali? Should we consider it as a fault at all? Or could it perhaps imply a metaphor or symbol that relates to the unknown story behind this folio? In this painting, the vegetation – while resplendent and symbolic of the season, is somewhat peripheral to the scene itself. In effect,

it appears to have been employed as a ‘spatial device’, being suggestively revealed or partially hidden to exaggerate the complex overlap of spaces. Even the character, while being in proximity to the vegetation, have little interaction with these. Perhaps this was owing to the process of painting itself, whereby multiple individuals from Mir Sayyid Ali’s atelier may have contributed to the completion of the work. Following the above general description on the spatial setting of the image, in the next sub-sections (11.5.1.1 – 11.5.1.4) each of the four defined spatial layers will be thoroughly examined and analysed.

11.5.1.1 Royal Palace

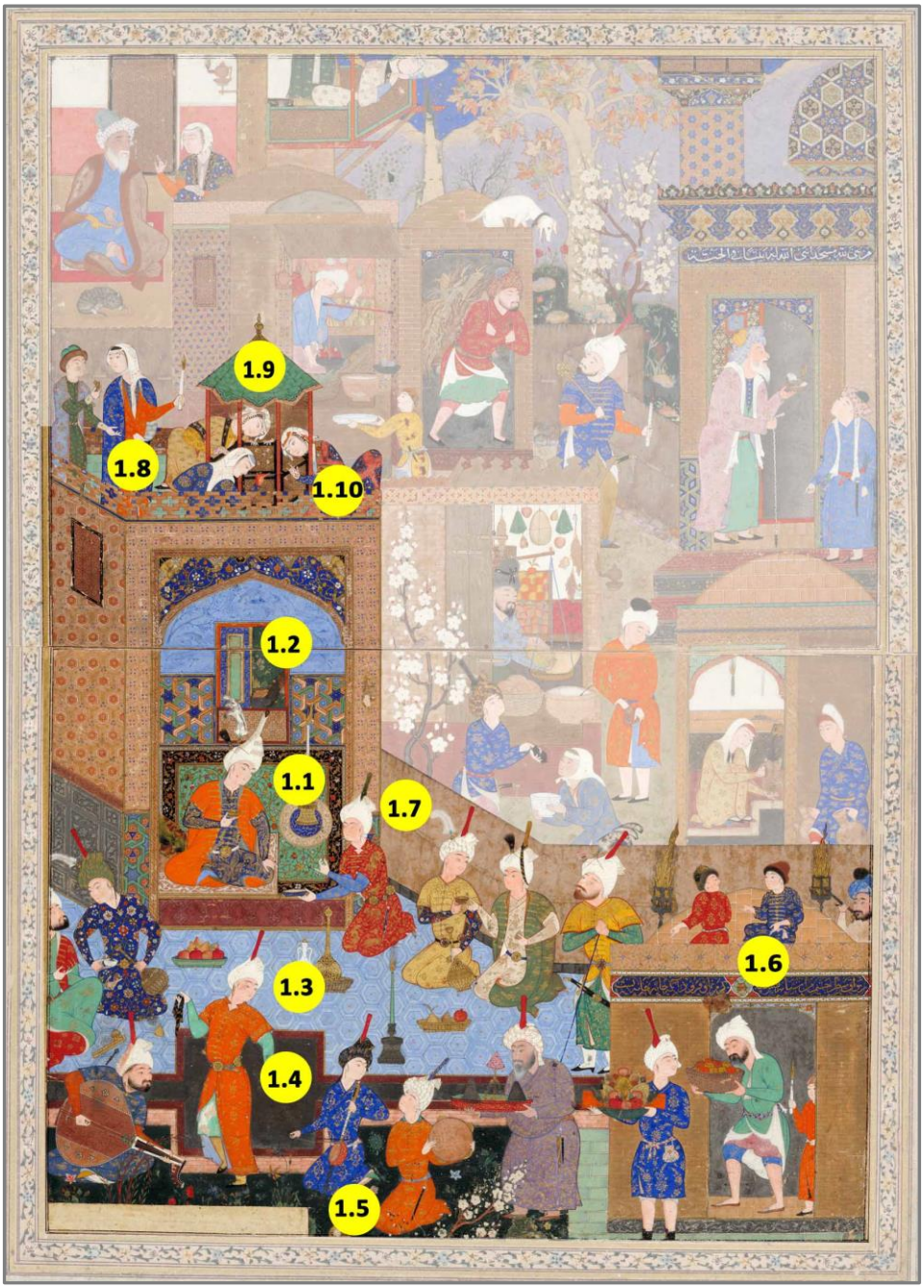


Figure 11.10. Section 1: Spatial analysis of the Royal Palace and Court: political centre.

Ground level: Men's domain

1.1 Porch *(iwan)*
1.2 Back door to the balcony and garden
1.3 Courtyard
1.4 Water feature
1.5 Garden
1.6 Kitchen
1.7 Barrier of the palace

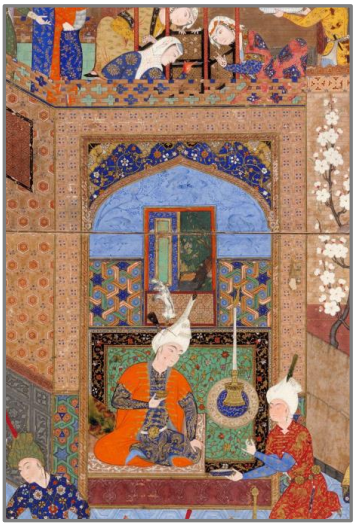
Rooftop: Women's domain

1.8 Rooftop: a summit from which to observe surrounds
1.9 Skylight: an aperture to the masculine sphere
1.10 Rooftop brick crenellation

The first spatial layer as defined in the previous section is the 'Royal Palace' in the foreground. This building consists of a single-storey pavilion in extrovert design, opening to a space that appears to be a courtyard, which is in turn fronted by a royal kitchen. A youthful prince and his companions appear to be enjoying what appears to be a grand banquet of sorts. The princess' headdress is a well-designed version of *taj-i hayddri* (the famous headgear of Safavids) covered by a white turban.The setting of the courtyard denotes a royal feast as the main theme happening in the palace. Drinks are being distributed, trays of fruits and pitchers are placed in front of guests, cups of wine in the hands of people, musicians are playing, and a performer with two *dastmāl* (scarf) in hands is dancing. Two tall candles in candlesticks, one at the *iwan* and the second in the courtyard, and two torches behind the kitchen are burning to indicate night-time. Courtiers are enjoying the banquet by drinking, conversing and being entertained by the performers, composing three male players and one dancer.

While women appear on the rooftop behind the protective balustades, the ground level seems to be a men's domain. There is a well-decorated hight porch *(iwan)* covered by carpet, where a young prince is seated on a smaller mat, holding a *piyaleh* (small wine cup). Figures 11.11 and 11.12 compare the *iwan* in the painting with a Qajar house. This essential element in traditional Persian architecture and miniature paintings, is specifically designated so the princes can sit and behold events. When the story requires, female royal characters also appear on the *iwan*.





Left: Figure 11.11. *Iwan*, courtyard, and water feature at Borujerdis House, Kashan, the Qajar era (1794-1925).
Right: Figure 11.12. Part of 'Figure 1'. The *iwan* with a prince.

The *iwan* that frames the prince shows considerable 'spatial depth' even though perspectival foreshortening is somewhat imprecise. Set at the centre of the rear wall of the *iwan* is a back

door to what appears to be a balcony with *moshabbak* fencing (Figure 11.13) with a view of the garden behind the palace. Also, a fragment from an elaborately designed elevation of possibly another pavilion, is noticeable. This degree of detail within the painting and its many elements makes it tempting to suggest that this was indeed a real setting that the artist was recording on his canvas. And while it is likely that some degree of graphic and compositional stylisation certainly occur, there was an overarching connection to the real world and its characters.

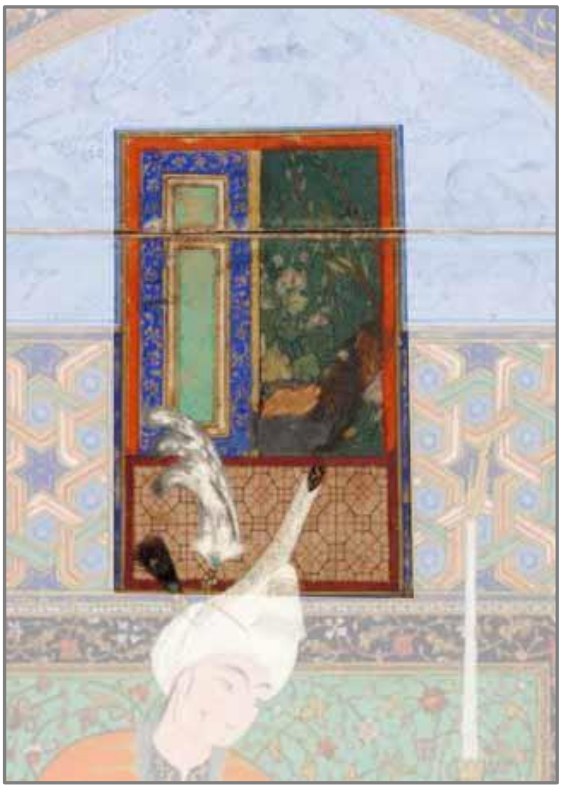


Figure 11.13. Part of 'Figure 1'. Back door to the balcony and garden with a view to a visible fragment from an elaborately designed elevation of the building.

Within the compositional foreground, a water feature divides the blue-tiled floor courtyard from the garden *(bāghcheh)* area planted with blossom trees and flowers. The water feature separates the space into the tiled part occupied by the courtiers and the garden where the performers are located. Both groups are dressed elaborately in colourful brocade robes, Safavid conical turbans, golden buckle belts, and waist shawls with elegant daggers hanging. In the palace area, eighteen men, including the prince on the *iwan*, musicians, guests, attendants and young boys on the kitchen rooftop are shown. On the palace rooftop, however, only one young man, probably from the harem page *(Ghulām)*, is seen. The dome kitchen is

located on a light green floor on the bottom right of the image. Two male attendants in front of the kitchen doorway approach to serve fruit of all kinds. Inside the kitchen, a young boy holds a candle. There is also a stout grey-bearded man ~~is~~ carrying a red tray of *astrolabe* (astronomy) tools to the feast. It seems like he is trying to find his way to the other side of the courtyard, where a black-bearded man in red short-sleeved *qabā* and a green robe is seated with a pen box and a key in front. A young man seated beside him and serving wine seems to be fascinated by his discourse. By having a pen box and a key in front, two unusual elements in a feast, he possibly is an astronomer lecturing on the mysteries of an astrolabe for his young companion. Sitting on the kitchen rooftop, two youngsters are amusing themselves by prying on the banquet. Behind the kitchen and in front of a wall barrier that has enclosed the palace sector, a man appears to fire a torch.

Above the decorated high *iwan* there is a rooftop, tiled in light green, surrounded by a brick crenellation, and hexagonal green skylight with a view to the *iwan*. Only this section of the palace appears to be a women's domain: at least as long as the feast is going on and the ground floor is occupied by visitors. Four elaborately dressed ladies with patterned white headscarfs and a young boy are visible. One of them, standing on the left side, is in conversation with a youth who seems to be a servant. She is looking at the boy directly while grabbing her robe hem with her right hand and holding a candle with her left hand.

Three ladies are seated around the skylight, slightly bending forward to glance into the *iwan*, where the prince is seated. Their hands are decorated with henna. Such decoration has also been recognised on hands of rural women in the encampment scenes (Chapter 7). At the same time that the rooftop provides privacy for women, the skylight seems to function as an aperture to gaze at the banquet (Figure 11.14). Therefore, they can peer into the masculine sphere without being seen by the guests who are present at the royal event. Figures 11.15 and 11.16 represent skylights from the rooftop and interior view to demonstrate how the royal women of Persian painting have visual access to the masculine world through the aperture this element provides.





Left: Figure 11.14. Part of 'Figure 1'. Women gaze at the royal party through the skylight.
Middle: Figure 11.15. The exterior view of skylights on the rooftop of Sultan Amir Ahmad's bathhouse, Kashan, Iran. Constructed in the sixteenth century, Safavid era, renovated during the Qajar era. Picture by the author.
Right: Figure 11.16. The interior view of the skylight in Borujerdis House, Kashan, the Qajar era.

11.5.1.2 Bazaar and the city area

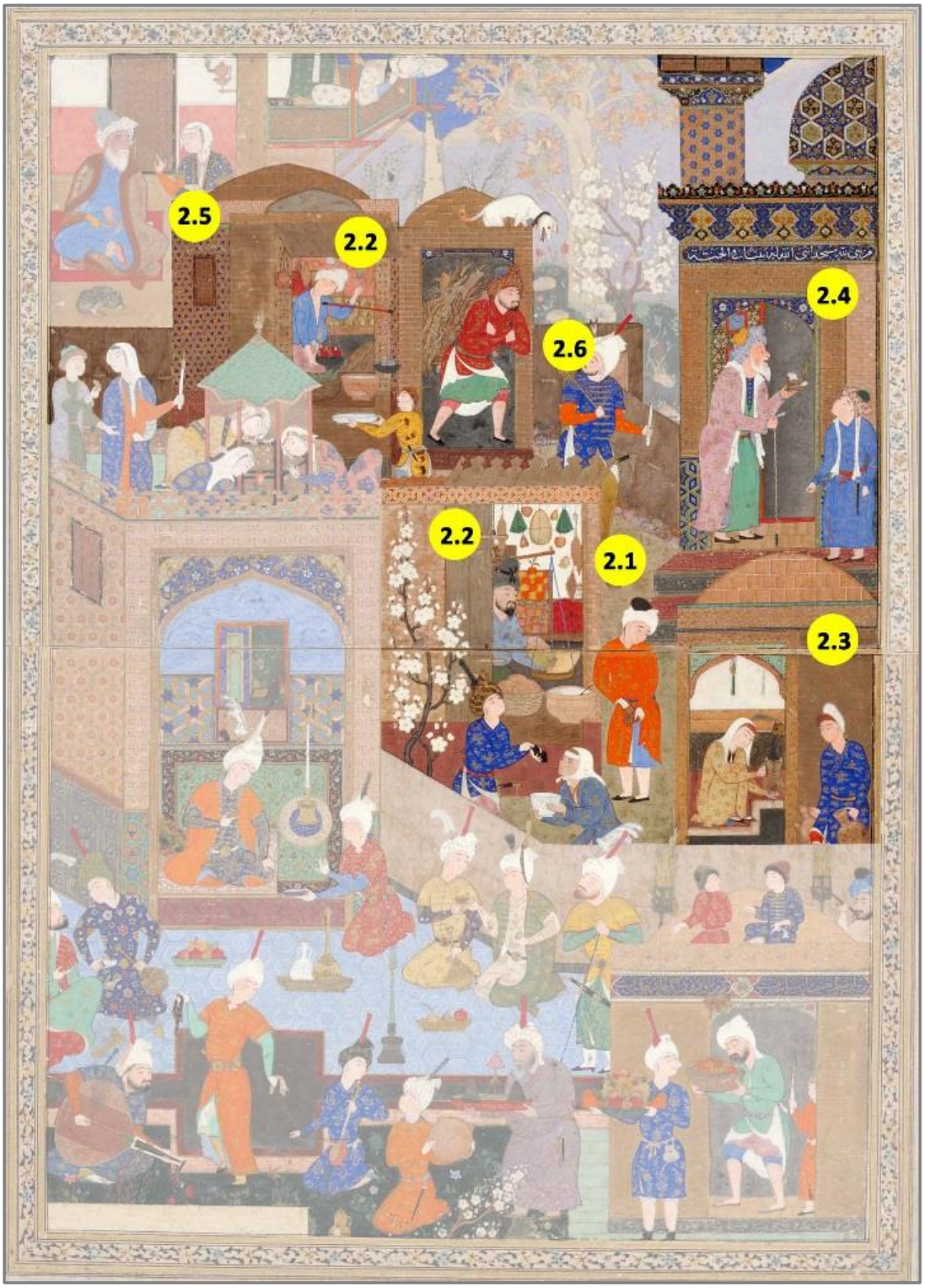
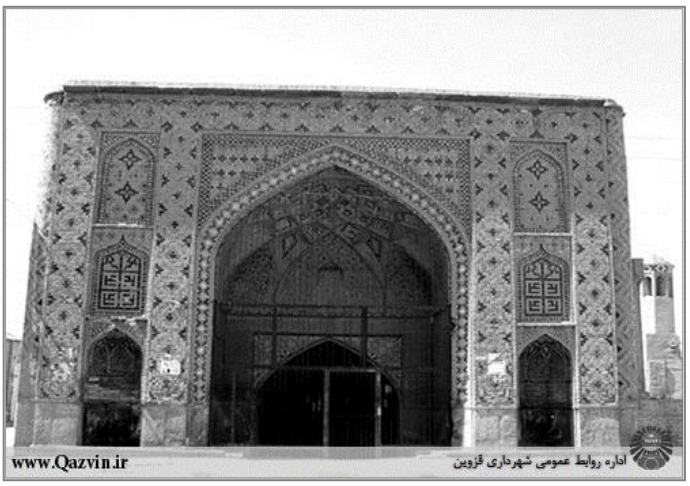


Figure 11.17. Section 2: Spatial analysis of the bazaar and city area: economic centre.

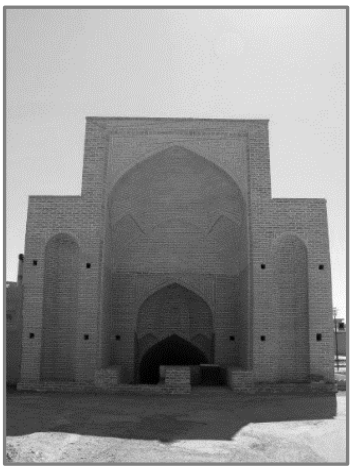
2.1 *Rasteh*: the main transport route of the city towards the main gate of the town
2.2 *Hojreh:* shops
2.3 Cistern: with a lion head spigot, providing water for the neighbourhood
2.4 Jame' mosque: socio-cultural centre of the city
2.5 *Hammam:* public bathhouse
2.6 Barrier to the city.

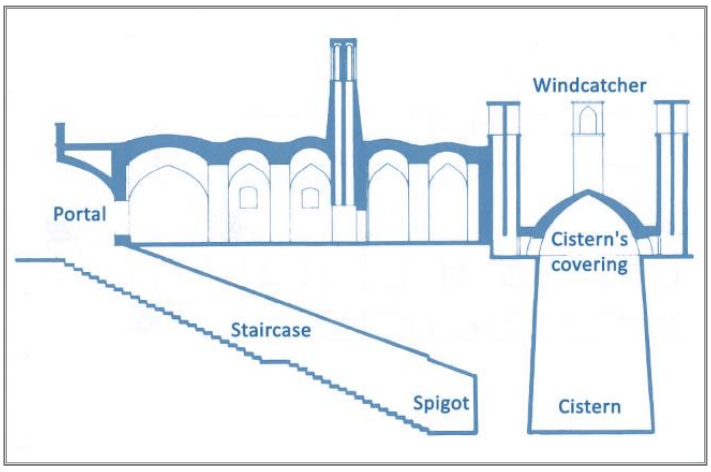
The ‘Royal Palace’ in the foreground then flows onto the the second spatial layer consists of ‘*bazaar* and the city’, which as the public area is located in the middle ground. The *bazaar* as the backbone and economic heart of the city embraces the main transport route, usually passing through the *bazaar* towards the main city gate. This route, known as *‘Rasteh’,* includes open and closed spaces, indoor and outdoor spaces, beautiful arches, skylights and *kārbandies* along the fixed axis or multiple branches.[47] In the current painting, several public structures and facilities, including *hojreh* (shop)*, masjed Jame’* (grand mosque), and cistern are located along the main street.





Left: Figure 11.18. Part of Figure 11.1. A lady is filling her water jug from a cistern.
Right: Figure 11.19. The decorated portal of the Haj Kazem Cistern, Qazvin, 1256 AH.





Left: Figure 11.20. The Portal of Sadr ‘Abad cistern, Ardakan, Yazd, Iran, photo by Mohammad Kamali. accessed 29.11.2018, https://mapsights.com/ardakan/photo/8374780.
Right: Figure 11.21. The section of Sadr ‘Abad cistern showing different parts of an urban cistern construction.[48]

[47] A. Rajabi, and A. Sefahan, “Iranian Markets: Embodies the Ideas of Sustainable Development,” *Geography* 11, 2009, 113-127.
[48] Mohammad-karim Pir-niya, *Ashanei ba Me’mari Eslami Iran*, ed. Gholam-hossein Me’mariyan (Elm-o San‘at publication,1381/2002), 226.

In the *bazaar* and the city area (Figure 11.17) the first structure located on the right side of the street is a brick-built cistern, minimally decorated, with light green tiles above its entry arch, providing water for the neighbourhood. The flowing water from the fountain is pouring into a water feature. However, only a quarter of the cistern is visible, resembling the cistern in the palace courtyard. A young woman with a small red hat and a white headscarf falling over her shoulders is squatting by the cistern, filling a jar from the lion head spigot. There is a candle fixed to the wall inside the cistern. A man with folded pants approaches from the right side carrying two empty jars.

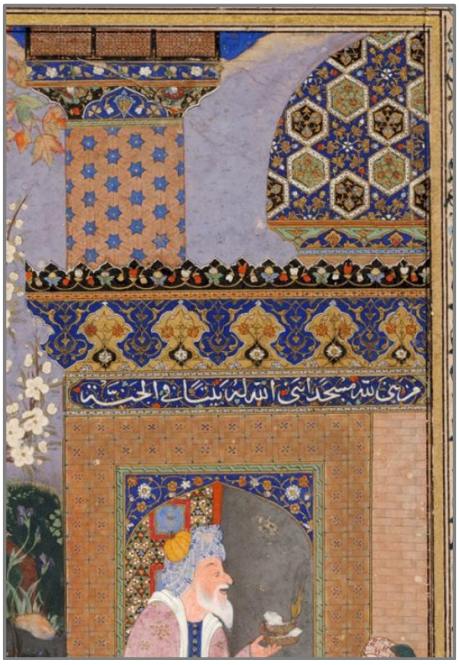
Next to the cistern on the left is a shop, selling loaves of bread and fruits. It has wooden shutters, and a wooden structure resembles a small awning. An oil lamp is fixed to the wall. Using a hanging scale, the seller weighs a melon for a customer waiting outside. The customer who turns his head and raises his eyebrows is staring at an unknown spot to his right, while taking money from his small bag. Standing in the open space in front of the shop, are a youth courtier and an aged urban woman wearing a white scarf and headband. The man appears in conical headgear and turban with a sword strapped to his waist. Seemingly he is buying a product that the woman offers in the bowl. He is looking up while taking money from his leather bag (Figure 11.22).



Figure 11.22. Part of Figure 11.1, the royal court is separated from the public area by a barrier so the woman cannot gaze into the courtiers' banquet.

Behind the cistern, a mosque, the sociocultural and the religious centre of the city, is founded. The front elevation with an arched portal is decorated with tiles and fine arabesque. The pair of entrance doors which are closed reveal its intricate *Khātam* (marquetry) adornment. Overhead there is an inscription that cites a renowned hadith, "He who builds a mosque for God, God will build for him a dwelling in Paradise". Above, there is colourful tiled crenellation, a minaret and dome (Figure 11.23).

In front of the building in the space between the portal arch and the half-open *Khātam* door an old man is standing with a white beard, leaning on inlaid cane and carrying an oil lamp. Based on the Persian painting convention, the painter only depicts a face in profile when the character is aged. By drawing the old man in profile view, the painter also succeeded in emphasising his curved nose. He wears a turban around his hat, and his half-open mouth denotes that he is talking to the youth. The boy is holding a string of prayer beads *(tasbīh)*, with a scarf over his shoulders and wearing a turban around his cap (Figure 11.24).





Left: Figure 11.23. Part of Figure 11.1. The mosque's script and colourful tiled crenellation, minaret and dome.
Right: Figure 11.24. Part of Figure 11.1. The older man and youth at the mosque doorway.

To the left of the mosque, a bearded man, possibly a Safavid guard, is making his way to the *bazaar* with a heavy mace on his shoulder and a candle in hand. He has a sword with a tassel hanging from it. He turns to look back towards a woodcutter or the white dog bending over the rooftop. He possibly is on his routine night patrol. The woodcutter is approaching through a doorway, probably a domed shed, with a load of fuel strapped on his back (Figure 11.25).

There is another shop very similar to the one next to the cistern. However, this one is domed and has a wide awning. An oil lamp is hanging by ropes in front. Using a hanging scale, the shop-keeper weighs some pomegranate. A young man with a shaven head covered by a hat and a narrow braid of hair brings a big metal tray *(majma'eh)* forward to take some pomegranates. Probably he produces pomegranate paste; as his robe has red spots which perhaps denote to his job (Figure 11.25).



Figure 11.25. Part of Figure 11.1, showing the Safavid guard, woodcutter, the young man with a shaved head.

The last building in the city area is a relatively domed-structure with walls constructed of elaborate brickwork and a *mushabak* window. While there is no clue to indicate the function of this building, in terms of its size and decoration, it appears to be a public bath. Thus the firewood the wood-seller carries might be fuel for the bathhouse. Recognised as an essential public facility, bathhouses or '*hammāms'*, mostly located near bazaars, were elaborately built (Figures 11.26, 11.27). These structures used to be not only for bathing and cleaning, but also known as a meeting and gathering place for women to meet friends and family members. However, given some cities had separate bathhouses for men and women, there were also bathhouses used by men and women at different times during the day.

The last element of the city is a street that appears fenced by a zigzag wall. Passing from the back of the mosque it turns behind the last rows of shops to separate the city from the natural setting in the background.





Left: Figure 11.26. The portal to the Vakil *hammām,* Shiraz, Iran, completed late 1760.
Right: Figure 11.27. The tiles and *muqarnas* decoration of the domed ceiling and interior space of the Ch*ā*h*ā*r-fasl *hamām* (Four-season bathhouse), Arak, Iran, the late Qajar period.

11.5.1.3 Rural landscape



Figure 11.28. Section 3: Spatial analysis of rural landscape

3.1 Meadow with flowers and trees
3.2 Mountain
3.3 Stream.

Behind the zigzag wall at the very end of the bazaar's main route, in the background, is located the landscape as the third spatial layer of the setting. This area includes different flowers, a blossoming tree, and two delicate birds resting on the branches which suggest

spring. Also, there is a tall *chenar* (plane tree) with orange autumn leaves, a cypress, and two saplings of *tabrizi* (poplar) and *bid* (willow). A narrow stream, possibly originating from the mountains, meanders along the verdant meadow. In the far background, there is a pale coloured mountain, and its rocky edges have been highlighted by the dark blue sky.



Figure 11.29. One of the eight gates of Tabriz with mosque visible, drawing by Eugène Flandin, 1851.

11.5.1.4 Countryside pavilion



Figure 11.30. Section 4: Spatial analysis of the countryside pavilion (top left).

4.1 Terrace *(iwan)*
4.2 Door into the women's quarter *(harem)*
4.3 Balcony: an aperture to social life.

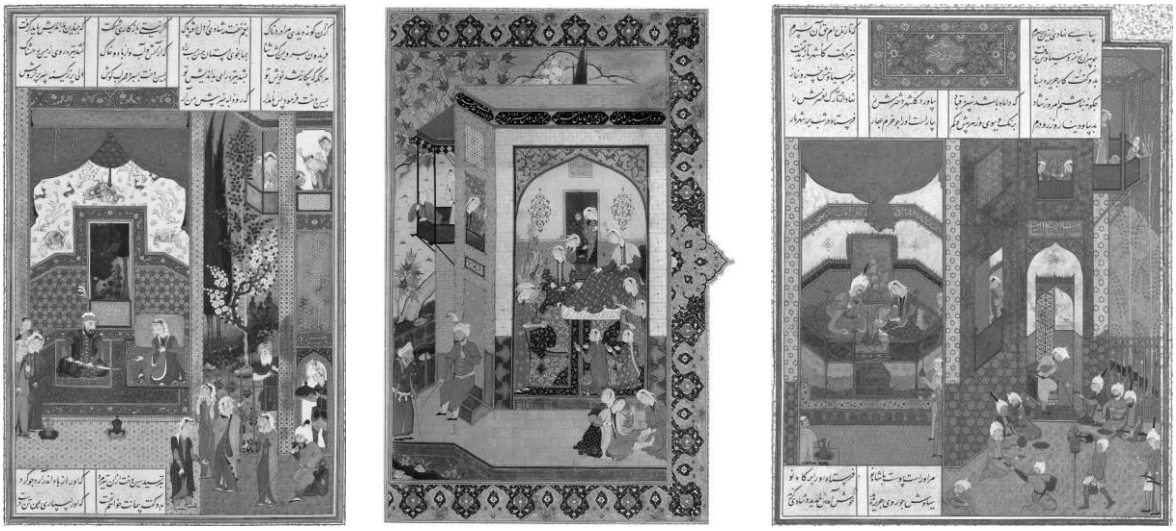
The last spatial layer located at the left top corner of the page, is part of a countryside pavilion. The demonstration of a fragment of architectural structure is not unusual in Persian painting. Depiction of this pavilion situated outside the city walls in the rural area, is based on such a scheme. The unique position of this pavilion behind a set of shops, *bazaar* and the city wall has made it difficult to comprehend its structure.This section is the most difficult to understand and describe for scholars as well as for Grabar and Natif, as they declared.[49] Even to the trained eye, it is not easy to identify how the zigzag city wall appears to pass behind the mosque and shops to separate this section from the city. Therefore, the countryside house in this painting is located in the gardens behind the city walls. Such clarification helps to gain a more precise understanding from the image itself which will be deliberated in the next sections and about the position of women in this urban setting which will be discussed in the next chapter.

However, a major part of this countryside pavilion has been concealed behind the front spatial layers of the settinf, which may suggest that this is at least a double-story royal house, because it has a balcony and *iwan* (terrace). Thus these elements could be located on the second level. In Persian paintings, the upper levels were most often allocated to the harem. Sitting on the terrace is a noblewoman in elaborate clothing in conversation with a *mullah*. Maybe she is receiving education, as Babayan suggested.[50] Detached from where she is sitting on the terrace, the woman's empty gaze is directed at the older man. She seems to be in deep contemplation about what she has heard or learnt from the *mullah*. The older man appears to be more mindful while looking at the woman's face. The woman's hands are entirely adorned by henna, one resting on her knee and the other gesturing as in dialogue. The sole of the older man's foot is also painted in henna.

The lower part of the woman's figure is concealed behind the front building, which has covered half of the terrace. The older man is fully visible, seated on a small rug with a cat resting beside him. Behind them, there is a wall painted half pink and half white and a decorated door. The door seems to be an entrance to the women's quarter. This door can be used by the women on the balcony to join the woman and the *mullah*, but in the painting it is closed. Persian miniature artists usually placed interior alongside exterior spaces when depicting the palace and pavilions. There are numerous illustrated examples of the private chambers juxtaposed with banquets or royal meetings taking place outside (Figures 11.31,

[49]Grabar, and Natif , "Two Safavid Paintings," 192.
[50] Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id," 367.

11.32, 11.33). However, in the current painting, there is no visual access to interior spaces. Also, these paintings tend to keep the doors and windows facing the interior spaces partially open with women standing at the doorway or behind folded curtains glancing outward. Yet here the painter appears to have decided to keep this door closed. Was it because the young lady and the older man preferred their privacy while meeting? Considering this is the only closed-door depicted in this scene, could it be possible to see it as a key element in the unknown story of the image? Searching for an explanation, Grabar and Natif examine Nizami's Leyli and Majnun and other stories, like those of Khusraw, Yusuf and Iskandar, but neither in the literature nor through comparison with other paintings do they succeed.[51]



The juxtaposition of interior and exterior spaces in Persian painting:
Left: Figure 11.31. Mehrab speaks with Rudabeh.[52]
Middle: Figure 11.32. Yusuf o Zulaykha, Quintet of Nezami, 928 AH. Source: Islam Oriente
Right: Figure 11.33. Siyavash marries Jarireh, daughter of Piran.[53]

At thye right side of the countryside pavilion, A young lady leans over the balcony with decorated walls, while a second woman rests her henna decorated hand on her right shoulder. Grabar and Natif have assumed that the woman is looking out over the city.[54] However, on closer observation of the woman's face, we notice that her eyes are closed (Figure 11.34). Has she indeed fallen asleep while leaning on the balcony walls? Is the balcony located close enough to the city to have a view of the bazaar? Or is it closer to the palace banquet so the

[51] Grabar, Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings," 193.
[52] Rajabi and others. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp.*
[53] Ibid.
[54] Grabar, Natif, 192.

woman can hear and enjoy the delightful music of the *oud*, *kamancheh* and *daf* with her closed eyes? Perhaps her companion, standing behind her, is trying to wake the woman gently by touching her shoulder.



Figure 11.34. Part of Figure 11.1. Woman leaning on the balcony with her eyes closed.

Whatever the story behind this scene might be, we could clearly say that the balcony has the same function as the rooftop and skylight in the Royal Palace, serving as an aperture enabling women to have visual access to the world outside their secluded quarter. Thus the view from the balcony could be a natural landscape including the garden with blossomed trees, flowers, birds, stream and mountains in the background, daily activity of rural people, or it could be an urban landscape with its busy life.

To decide on these possibilities, we need to investigate how each architectural structure is positioned in relation to the adjacent buildings, and how the figures are positioned and distributed in relation to the architectural setting. These questions can not be answered by simply viewing the painting and 'reading' its content. Therefore the second phase of the study aims to find relevant clues by investigating the three-dimensional model of the painting produced by the pop-up method as elaborated in chapter 4 section 4.6.

11.5.2 Phase Two: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying the pop-up method

The following subsections (11.5.2.1–11.5.2.3) suggest an approach to reveal the spatial arrangements depicted in Persian painting by applying the pop-up method in the basic stage and then amending the position of different structures based on the way of seeing in Islamic art, as discussed in Chapter 4 of this study. Thus the pop-up method enables us to conduct a more in-depth three-dimensional exploration of the unique spatial layout which Mir Sayyid-'Ali offers. The transformation of the original two-dimensional images into a three-dimensional model will be accomplished in three stages from a basic pop-up method to an advanced three-dimensional model. This model will then be deliberated on to identify the locations and adjacencies of different structures and figures represented in this cityscape, and to adjust the three-dimensional model by relocating defined structures in accordance with a single rather than multifocal perspective.

11.5.2.1 Phase Two Stage 1: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying a basic pop-up method

Applying a combination of orthographic projections, such as the juxtaposition of plan and elevation, is one of the visual features in Persian paintings which create a puzzling spatial composition.This juxtaposition in the current folio can be recognised in the depiction of the 'Royal Palace' and 'countryside pavilion' as highlighted in Figure 11.35. In both depictions, plans have been presented in top view and elevations in front view. The *bazaar* area, however, is based on the front view and a slightly elevated view of the plan. A basic three-dimensional model of this folio can be made by folding the original printed image, according to the three highlighted horizontal lines (Figures 11. 36 and 11. 37). The first fold shows 'the courtyard and elevation of the Royal Palace' (Figure 11. 36). The second fold shows 'the rooftop of the Royal Palace' and 'the terrace of the countryside pavilion'. And finally, the third fold reveals 'the elevation of the countryside pavilion' (Figure 11.37).

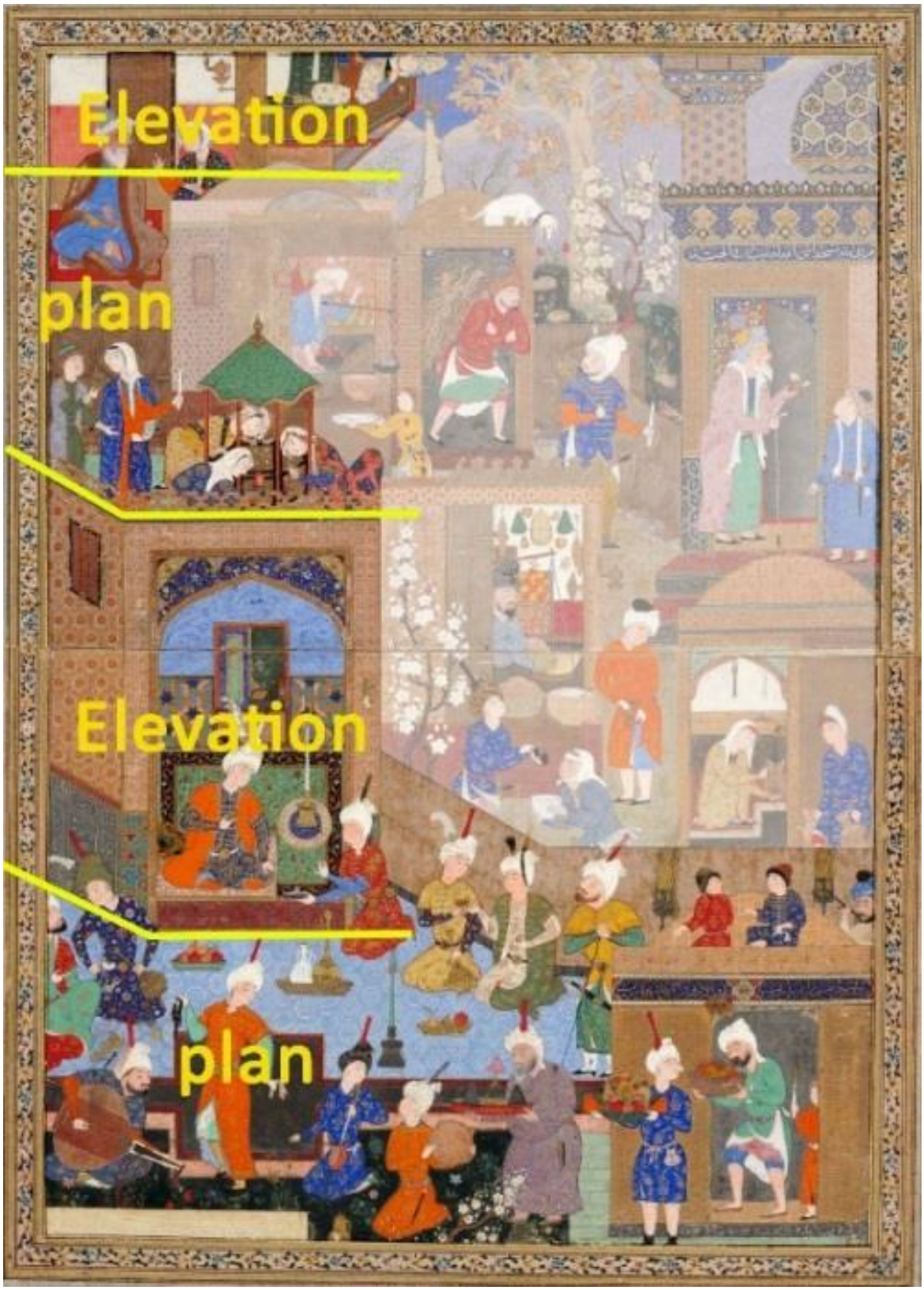


Figure 11.35. Detecting the horizontal lines between plan view and elevation view.



Figure 11.36. Basic pop-up model created by folding the original folio on the first horizontal line between 'the plan and elevation of the Royal Palace'. **Left:** Front view**, Right:** Isometric view.



Figure 11.37. Basic pop-up model created by folding the original folio on the second horizontal line between 'elevation and rooftop of the Royal Palace' and the third line between 'plan and elevation of the countryside pavilion'. **Left:** Front view. **Right:** Isometric view.

11.5.2.2 Phase Two Stage 2: three-dimensional spatial analysis by applying an advanced pop-up method (detachment of the four defined sections)

As mentioned above the juxtaposition of plan and elevation is not applied in the representation of the bazaar area. Different structures depicted here are represented only via the frontal view. However, the view towards the *bazaar* implies that the observer is standing on a raised place. Therefore, the observer sees part of the main path of the *bazaar* and the elevation of the buildings but not the rooftops or courtyards of the buildings within the bazaar. To further elaborate the three-dimensional model we need to differentiate between the perspective applied to depict *bazaar* area and the perspective of the rest of setting as defined in (Figure 11.35). In remaking a more detailed three dimensional pop-up model, first the four distinct spatial zones revealed before (the royal palace, bazaar, the rural area, and the countryside house)[55] will be detached. Then each section will be popped-up independently concerning its unique perspective (Figure 11.38). And finally, the four pop-up models will be reassembled to make a three-dimensional model of the complete image (Figure 11.39).



a. b. c. d.

Figure 11.38. Detachment and pop-up of the royal palace (a.), *bazaar* (b.), the country house (c.), and the rural area (d.).

[55] Section 11.5.1, Figure 11.9.

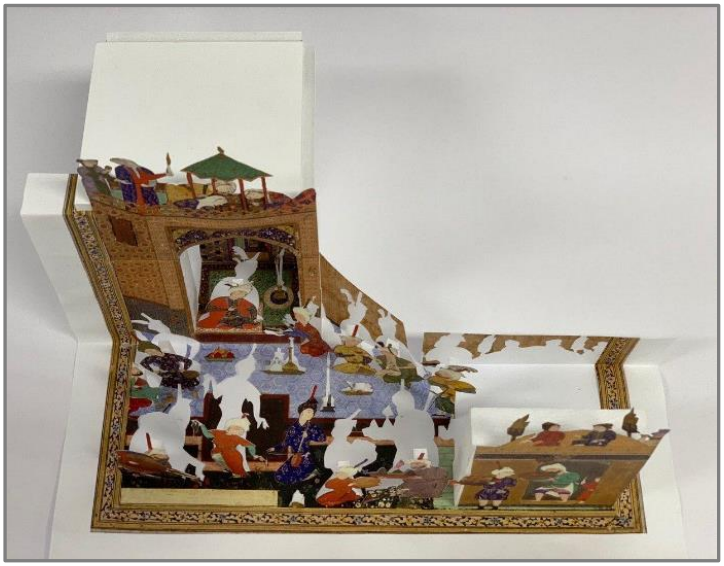


Figure 11.39. Reassembling the four pop-up models. **Top:** Front view. **Bottom:** Elevated view.

11.5.2.3 Phase Two Stage 3: three-dimensional Spatial analysis by applying an advanced Pop-up method (amending and adjustment by demonstrating depth)

Towards 'suggesting' perspective and distance between objects, Mir Sayyid 'Ali appears to compose and place the elements one against the other, with distant objects appearing higher on the page in the background. Structures are depicted flat and with no depth although the 'planes' fold into and out of the picture plane. Accordingly, the current subsection focuses on adjusting each structure, by adding cubic modeling foamboards to their flat elevation to suggest their three-dimentional volume schematically.

To illustrate the country house, only a fragment of the pavilion has been shown including the terrace and wooden balcony. These sections should have been located on at least the second floor of the building. Therefore the height of the cube is almost as high as a two-storey building. As mentioned in the iconographic analysis of the royal palace (section 11.5.1.1), by looking through the backdoor behind the seated prince, one can observe a fragment from an elaborately designed elevation of the building. It means that in addition to the palace there are more pavilions in this royal garden that the painter has not depicted. This could be due to the limitation of available space for adding more elements. Thus the painter only gives a hint to the sharp-eyed observer. Therefore, sequentially there are a set of interconnected spaces, some residing in front of the *iwan*, others accessed through the door and behind it. It is essential to reveal this hidden structure and add it to the model, since it affects the general spatial arrangement of scenes, the distance between elements, and privacy and social interaction (Figure 11.43). Figure 11.44 is the pop-up model including the pavilion revealed behind the royal palace.





Left: Figure 11.40. Adding depth to the royal palace.
Right: Figure 11.41. Adding depth to the country house.





Figure 11.42. Modifying the model by adding depth to the royal palace and country house.
Left: Front elevated view. **Right:** Top view.



Figure 11.43. Revealing hidden structures based on available clues.



Figure 11.44. Re-composition of the pop-up model by adding the pavilion behind the Royal Palace. **Top:** Elevated view. **Bottom:** Angled view.

Behind the palace area walls and in the public area, the buildings whithin the *bazaar* also need to be adjusted to demonstrate their depth. One of the main elements of the *bazaar* is the mosque. The adjustment on the mosque in addition to adding volume includes mirroring the existing half of the elevation to make the structure complete. Therefore we can have a better understanding of its size in comparison to other elements of the city (Figure 11.45). To define and separate the royal palace and garden area, the existing barrier has been extended to enclose the royal palace. Since the structures are not flat; to rearrange the whole city using the modified elements, it is necessary to increase the distance between them (Figure 11.46).

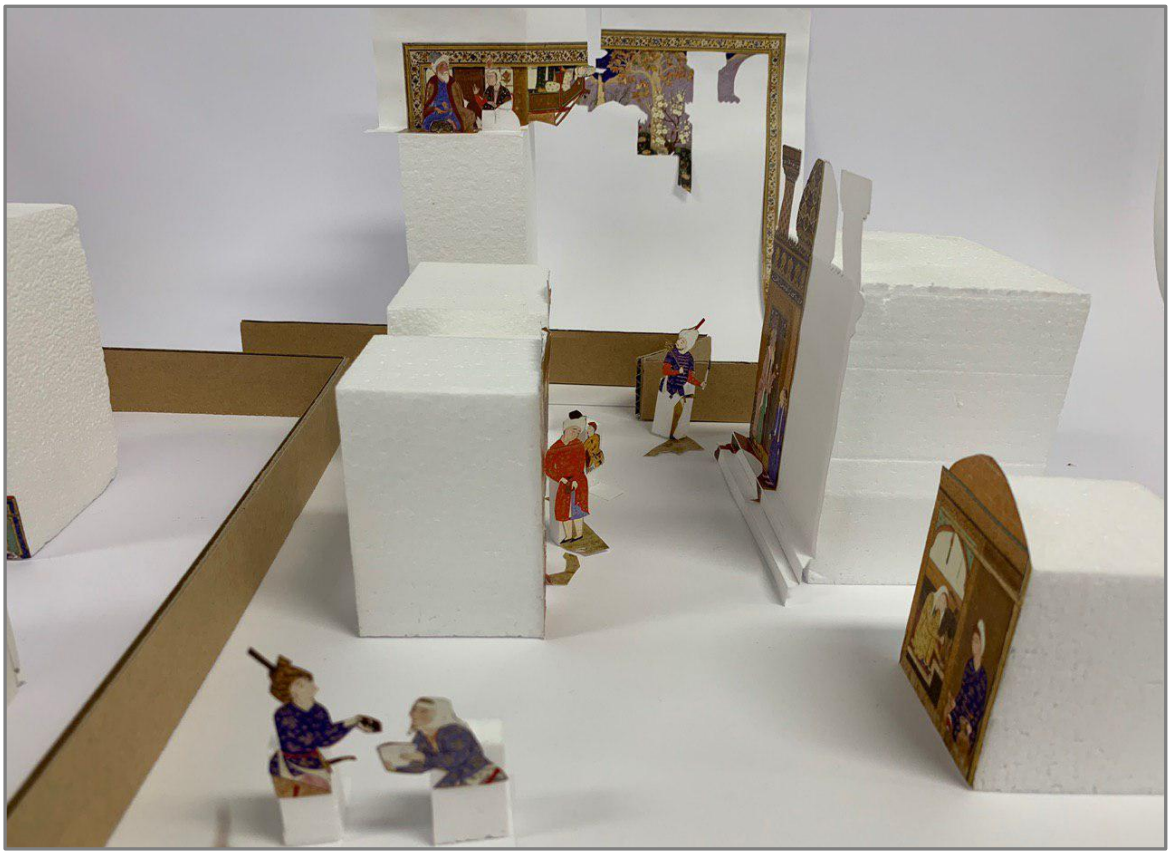




Left: Figure 11.45. Modifying the mosque structure by mirroring the existing half of the elevation
Right: Figure 11.46. Repositioning the modified elements.

In the illustration of the bazaar, all the shops have been positioned in a way that the elevated side with entrance door is directly in front of the observer's view. So the shop- keeper, part of the interior space and belongings, and the activities in front of that commercial unit would be visible. By applying such a method, the Persian painter depicts the elements to reveal more details to convey further information. Accordingly, he may show the south elevation but, at the same time, depict the north elevation of other structures, as previously discussed in Chapter 10. In this case, we know that the position of shops and other buildings in the traditional bazaars is along the main path and face each other (Figure 11.47). Therefore, the last stage of adjustment sets the *bazaar* elements along the main path (Figures 11.48, 11.49).





Top: Figure 11.47. The arrangement of shops in a traditional bazaar. Timcheh Mozaffarieh in the Grand Bazaar of Tabriz in the north-western Iranian city of Tabriz.[56]
Bottom: Figure 11.48. The arrangement of shops along the main path of the bazaar, and based on the traditional setting of the *bazaar* as demonstrated in (Figure 11.47).

[56] Arghavan Shamsara, "Tabriz Bazaar world's largest roofed traditional market," PressTv, accessed 17.02.2019, https://www.presstv.com/Detail/2018/07/11/567782/iran-tabriz-bazaar.



Figure 11.49. The advanced schematic three-dimensional model of the cityscape painting.
Up: Elevated angled view. **Down:** Front view.

11.5.3 Phase Three: Iconographical analysis based on the final three-dimensional model

The current section reexamines the iconographical analysis of the painting, base on the advanced three-dimensional model (Figure 11.49). First, the subject matter in the absence of text has been defined as a gap that needs to be redressed. As discussed in section 11.4.2. Grabar and Natif, however, imagine an allegorical meaning for the painting, but they could not recognise any similar place in an urban context which could be understood as an evocation of something like good government, or perhaps, an illustration of themes of urban life.[57]

Therefore in light of further historical evidence and the advanced three-dimensional model, we hope to contribute to the Grabar and Natif study by enlightening this cityscape. In the process of iconological analysis and the absence of text, it enables us to observe the image as a recognised story or allegory and to identify the characters.

11.5.3.1 Pre-analysis investigation: Towards enlightening the city

Contemporary events often found their way into the great themes of Persian painting.[58] As cited by Charles Melville, Sheila S. Blair noted that even the Iranian "mythification of the past" chose the "historical" scenes for a depiction that had counterparts in the life of these times.[59] Also, changes in outfit styles, headdress, armour, and other details were echoed in the paintings so that even past histories was illustrated in contemporary appearance. Thus, the illustration has contemporary implications and could be used as a resource to explain those events. Accordingly, it can be deduced that to represent architectural spaces painters naturally turn to their living environment.

Based on this notion, the question is whether the urban setting that Mir Sayyid 'Ali has depicted could be imagined as a representation of Tabriz as his hometown in the early Safavid epoch. Antony Welch explains that Mir Sayyid 'Ali's paintings are meticulously

---

[57] Grabar and Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings," 196-7.
[58] Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 90.
[59] Charles Melville, "The Illustration of History in Safavid Manuscript Painting." In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell. Iranian Studies (Book 8), 163-97 (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 181; Sheila S. Blair, "The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 266-74.

observed and recorded, in a way that "one can assume either he was constantly sketching the details of his surroundings or that he was gifted with an extraordinary visual memory."[60] Therefore probably he has characterised a cityscape by looking at the Tabriz of his time, thus social activities demonstrate the real, ordinary life of men and women in early Safavid time.

In effect, towards investigating such a hypothesis, could a schematic plan developed on the basis of the painting, be compared to an urban layout in the Safavid era? To answer this question, first a schematic plan based on the top view of the advance three-dimensional model will be suggested, second the urban features of Tabriz in the early sixteenth century based on existing visual and textual evidence will be discussed, and finally, to find possible correlations a comparison between the plan and old Tabriz will be made.

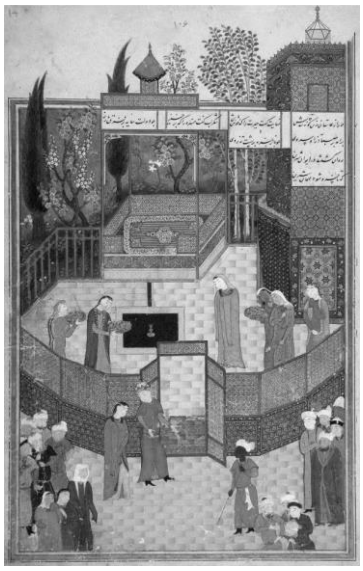
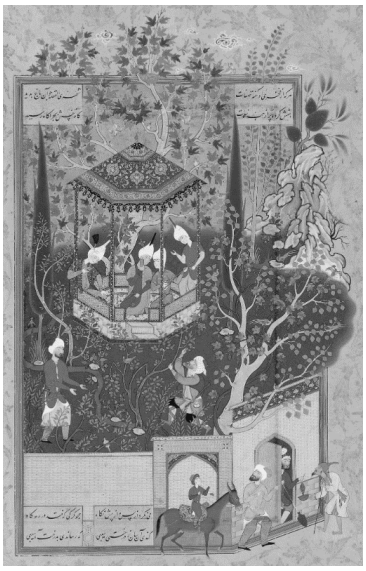
11.5.3.2 Suggesting a schematic plan

As previously discussed, the most ambitious structure of this cityscape was the countryside pavilion located behind the city walls. The available clues within the painting to recreate the whole structure are only part of the terrace, the elevation of private quarters, and the wooden balcony located on the second floor. As discussed in chapter 8 section 8.2, while traditional Iranian architecture is best known for its 'introvert planning' with a central court, it also includes 'extrovert planning' which have direct access to exterior spaces.[61] In extrovert spatial organizations, either in the form of buildings surrounded by yards or as houses with no yard, the private space of the house is in connection to the outdoor spaces, through windows, doors, and especially balconies, which open to the outdoors, either directly or indirectly.[62] It appears that the countryside pavilion and the royal palace are designed based on the 'extrovert planning' which positions the building in the middle of a garden, surrounded by a barrier, as suggested in the plan (Figures 11.53, 11.54).

In Persian painting, the main entrance to the garden in which the pavilion, royal palace or kiosk is located is not usually exposed, unless the exterior area or entrance gate is an essential element in the narrative, for instance in Figures 11.50, 11.51, 11.52. Thus here, the enclosure

[60] Anthony Welch, "The Worldly Vision," 92.
[61] Pierre von Meiss, *Elements of Architecture from Form to Place with Comparative Analysis of Iranian Architecture. Trans. Simon Ayvazian*, 6th ed. (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1392(2013), 263.
[62] Gholamhosein Memarian, *Iranian residential architecture, "extrovert" type [In Persian]* (Tehran : University of Science and Technology, 1992), p.?; Minoosh Sadoughianzadeh, "Gender Structure and Spatial Organization:Iranian Traditional Spaces," *SAGE Open* 3, no. 4 (2013), 7; Mohammad-karim Pirniya, Gholamhosein Memarian, Sabkshenasi-Ye Memari-Ye Irani / Stylistic of Iranian Architecture, 18 ed. (Tehran: Gholamhosein Memarian, 1395/2016), 37-8.

has been added for the countryside pavilion and royal palace. The mosque is expanded with a courtyard and a second *iwan*. The second section of this plan is designed based on the three-dimensional model and the features of the *bazaar* (see sub-section 11.5.1.2 for more discussion).


Examples of pavilion and kiosk enclosed by walls:
Left: Figure 11.50. Shirin receives Khosrow at her palace in Armenia, Khamseh of Amir Khosrow, Herat, c.1485 AD, The Chester Beatty Library Collection, source: Filigranes and Fibers.
Middle: Figure 11.51. The townsman robs the villager's orchard, Haft Awrang Jami, 1556-65, Freer & Sackler Galleries.
Right: Figure 11.52. A folio from Shahnama Baysonquri, Completed in 833 AH, Golestan Palace Library, No.716.

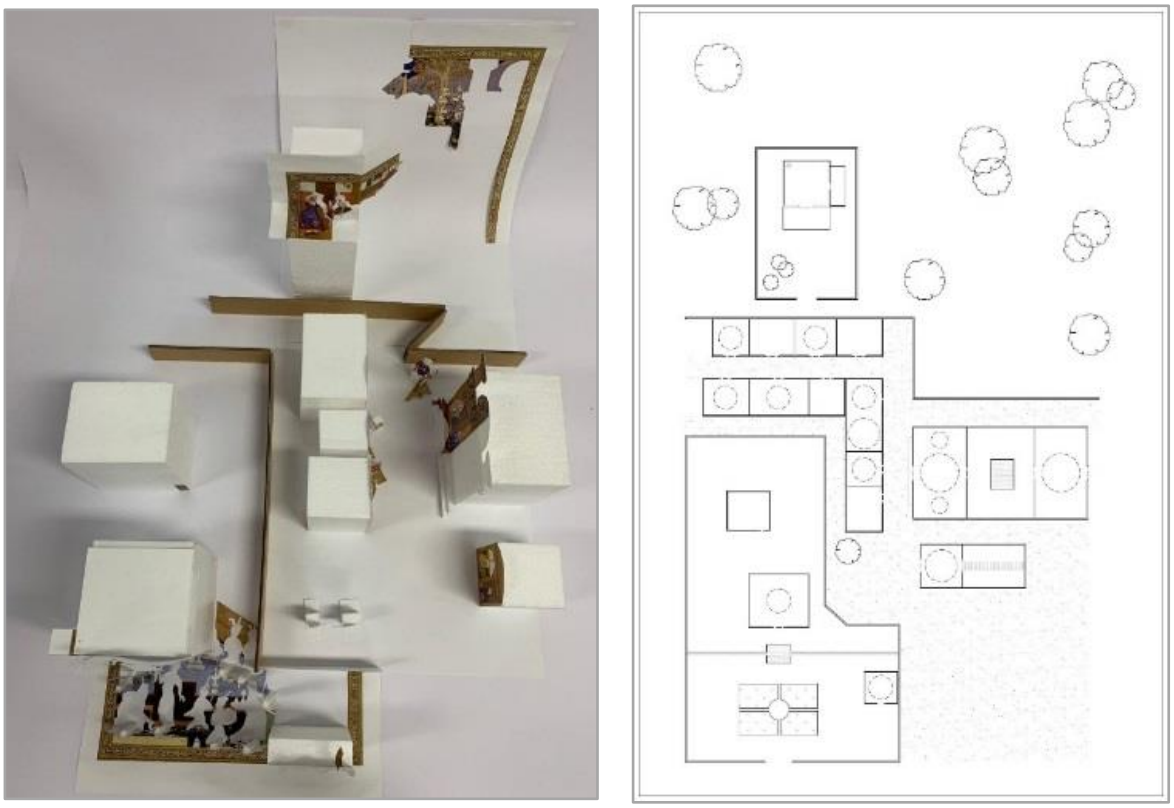


Figure 11.53. Proposing a schematic plan based on the advanced model.
Left: Three-dimensional model, top view. **Right:** The schematic plan.

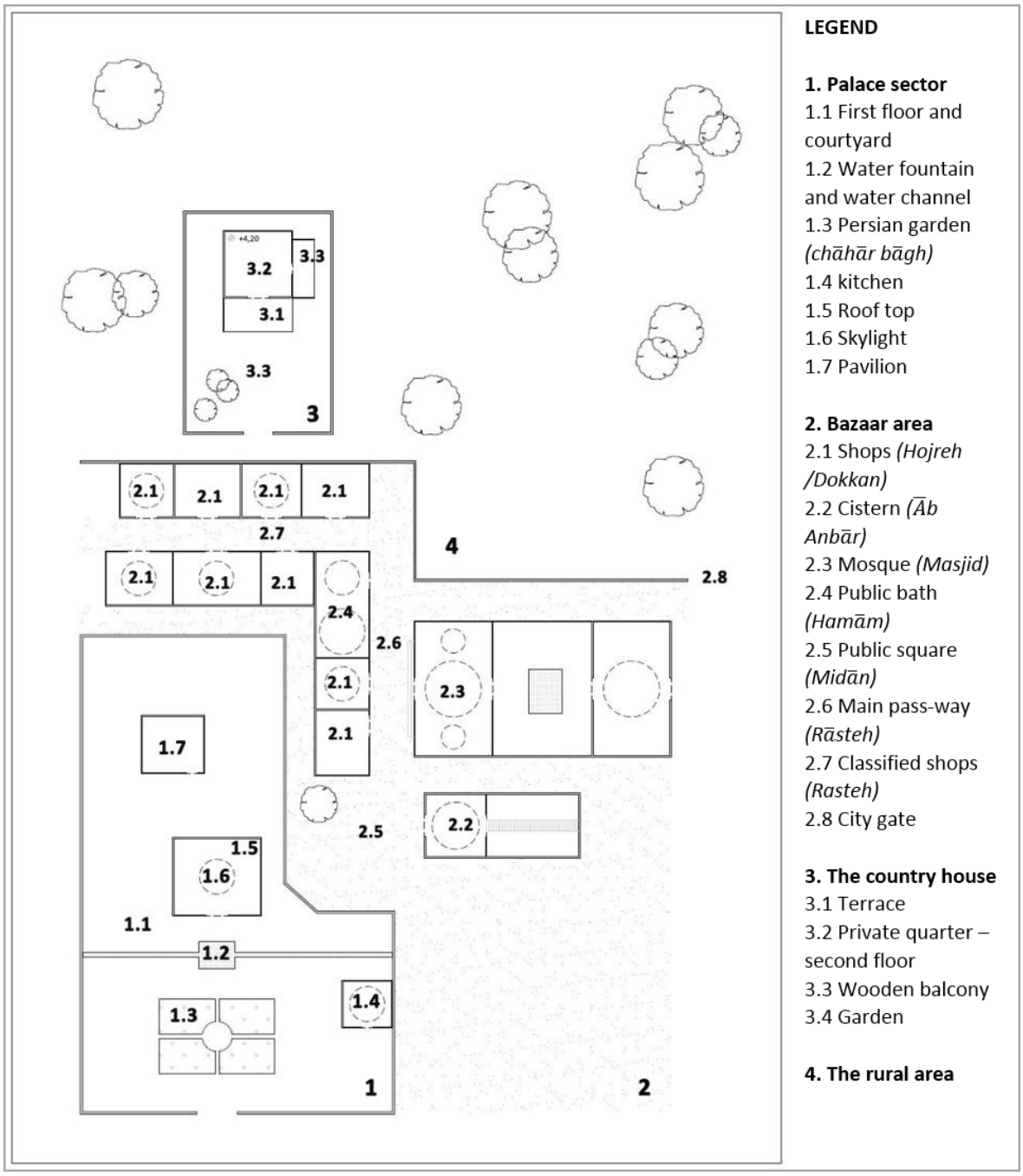


Figure 11.54. The schematic plan with structures and urban features.

11.5.3.3 Tabriz in the early sixteenth century

The evidence on Tabriz sixteenth century urban design is accessible by records of foreign travellers and merchants to Persia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries together with a sixteenth-century cartography miniature of Tabriz completed by Matrakçı Nasuh serving the Ottoman emperor. As the oldest available map of Tabriz (Figure 11.55), Matrakçı's map is one of his exquisite miniatures in *Fetihname-i Karabuğda*, a book which illustrates various landscapes and urban centres of sixteenth-century Persia.[63]

This painting demonstrates the *bazaar* and the S*ā*heb *Ā*b*ā*d Square in Shah Tahmasp's time, contemporary to 'Night-time in a City' and its painter Mir Sayyid Ali. This urban complex had been constructed based on a pre-designed plan and it was the first sample of urban development in Iran on a non-organic basis.[64] For about four centuries the S*ā*heb *Ā*b*ā*d complex had been the administrative and ruling centre of different monarchs such as Jahan Shah (circa 1397--1467) of the Kara Koyunlu, Uzun Hassan (1423–January 6, 1478) of the Aq Qoyunlu, Shah Ismail (1501--1524) and Shah Tahmasp (1524--1576) of Safavid.[65]

[63] Nasuh el-Matrakči is a sixteenth-century Bosnian polymath, mathematician, geographer, cartographer and miniaturist. In addition to his important writings in the field of both mathematics and history, Matrakçı Nasuh is best known for his exquisite miniatures depicting various landscapes and urban centres of sixteenth-century Persia, see "The Maps of Matrakçı Nasuh, Ottoman Polymath," The Public Domain Review, accessed 19/11/2018, https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/the-maps-of-matrakci-nasuh-16th-century-polymath/.

[64] For more, see Masoud Amirbani, "Bagh-e Saheb Abad-e Tabriz /Tabriz Saheb-Abad Garden," *Bagh-e Nazar*, no. 4 (1384):3-12; Pirouz Hanachi, and Ahad Ebrahimi Sar-doroud, "Bazkhani-Ye Midan-E Saheb Abad-E Tabriz Az Rooye Tasavir-E Chardin Va Matrakçı Bar Asase Motoun-E Tarikhi Az Shekl-Giri Ta Doreh Safaviyeh /Reconstruction of Sahib Abad Square Based on Historical Texts, Chardin Drawings and Matrakçı Plans," *Honarhaye Ziba* 25 (1385/2007), 35-44; Ma'soumeh Mirzaei, Seyyed Rasoul Mousavi Haji, 'Aabed Taghavi, and Amin Moradi, "Bazshenasi-ye Form-e Memari-ye Kakh-e Hasht Hehesht-e Tabriz / Recognition of the Architectural Form of Tabriz Hasht-Behesht Palace," *Baghe Nazar*, no.44 (1395/2017),77-88; Behrooz Omrani, and Mohammad Aminian, "Gomaneh Zani dar Midan-E Saheb Abad va Majmo'eh Hasan Padeshah / Speculation on the Saheb-Abad Square and Hasan Padishah Complex," *Majaleh Elmi Pazhoheshi Daneshgadeh Adabiyat va Ulum Ensani.* no.50 (1386/2008): 91-118; Sheila Blair, Jonathan Bloom, and Richard Ettinghausen, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250--1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

[65] Pirooz Hanachi, and Solmaz Yadollahi, "Tabriz Historical Bazaar in the Context of Change." In *17th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium 'Heritage, driver of development'*, 1028-39 (Paris, 2011), 1031-2; Hanachi, and Ebrahimi Sar-doroud, "Bazkhani-Ye Midan," 35-40.



Figure 11.55. Map of Tabriz by Matrakçı Nasuh Showing the Sahib Abad Squer and The Bazaar, sixteenth century.

Surrounded by palaces and monuments of the Aq-Qoyunlu and Safavid dynasties the S*ā*heb *Ā*b*ā*d square used to include structures such as the Jami' mosque, royal palace, schools, hospitals, caravanserais, a mint, the court, well-designed commercial centres (such as Gheisarie, bazaars), a shrine and a church. The Sāhib-ābād gardens were constructed near the *bazaar* in Uzun Hasan's time.[66] By the sixteenth century, the S*ā*heb-'*Ā*b*ā*d *bazaar* had attained functional and social development, serving as a centre of political, social and commercial activities for a diverse group of people. During the dominant period of Uzun Hasan (the broad-minded Aq-Quyunlu and regional governor of Azerbaijan) the city achieved a cultural and economic power owing to concord between the international communities. In his time the Tabriz *bazaar* was the governmental centre of the city and Azerbaijan region.[67]

[66] Behruz Omrani, and Mohamad, Aminan, "Excavation in Sahib-Al-Amr Square and Hasan Padshah Complex, " *Journal of Humanities*, 50: 91-118 (1971); Hanachi, and Yadollahi, "Tabriz Historical Bazaar,"1031.
[67] Hanachi, and Yadollahi, "Tabriz Historical Bazaar,"1031.

The Matrakçi plan of Tabriz (1533–1536) shows the urban core with the Bagh-i Sāheb Ābād (known to be built by Uzun Hasan), bazaars and mosques located to the north of the Mehran River (Figure 11.56). To the north-west of the river is the Sāheb Ābād garden in which stood Hasht Behesht (Eight Heavens) with the ultramarine octagonal dome palace built by Yaqub bin Uzun Hasan (888 H).[68]

The garden was accessed through a *maydān* by the Sāheb Ābād mosque and hospital. In 1501, Ismail the founder of the Safavid dynasty defeated Uzun Hasan's son, and it was in the Hasht Behesht palace that he had been crowned.[69] Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-Yi Safavī reports that he played polo *(chawgān)* in the maydān in front of the garden.[70] The poles for playing polo can be seen in the miniature by Matrakçi. An anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Persia and Tabriz during Shah Ismail I's reign gives a firsthand detailed account of the city of Tabriz "where the kings of Persia have their residence:"[71]

> "The great and noble city of Tauris (Tabriz) […] in it there are immense palaces, as memorials of the kings who have ruled over Persia […]. There are many splendid houses […]. The numerous palaces of former kings are wonderfully decorated within and covered with gold on the outside, and of different colours; and each palace has its mosque and bath, which are equally overlaid, and worked with minute and beautiful designs."

[68] Hanachi, and Ebrahimi Sar-doroud, "Bazkhani-Ye Midan," 41.
[69] The palace was destroyed in 1045 AH/1636 by the Ottomans. In the Qajar period (1785–1924), the maydān was turned into a vegetable bazaar, see "Bagh-i Sahibabad", Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, accessed 27.02.2019 https://www.doaks.org/resources/middle-east-garden-traditions/catalogue/C160
[70] Yadullah Shukri, ed., *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-Yi Safavī* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1971).
[71] Charles Grey, ed., *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fiteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: B. Franklin, 1873), 164-78; for more, see Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Tabriz Under Ottoman Rule (1725--1730)", Ph.D diss. (University of Chicago, Department of History, 1991); Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Cross-Cultural Contacts in Eurasia: Persianate Art in Ottoman Istanbul,"; Judith Pfeiffer, and Sholeh A.Quinn in collaboration with Ernest Tucker, eds. *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 533-4.

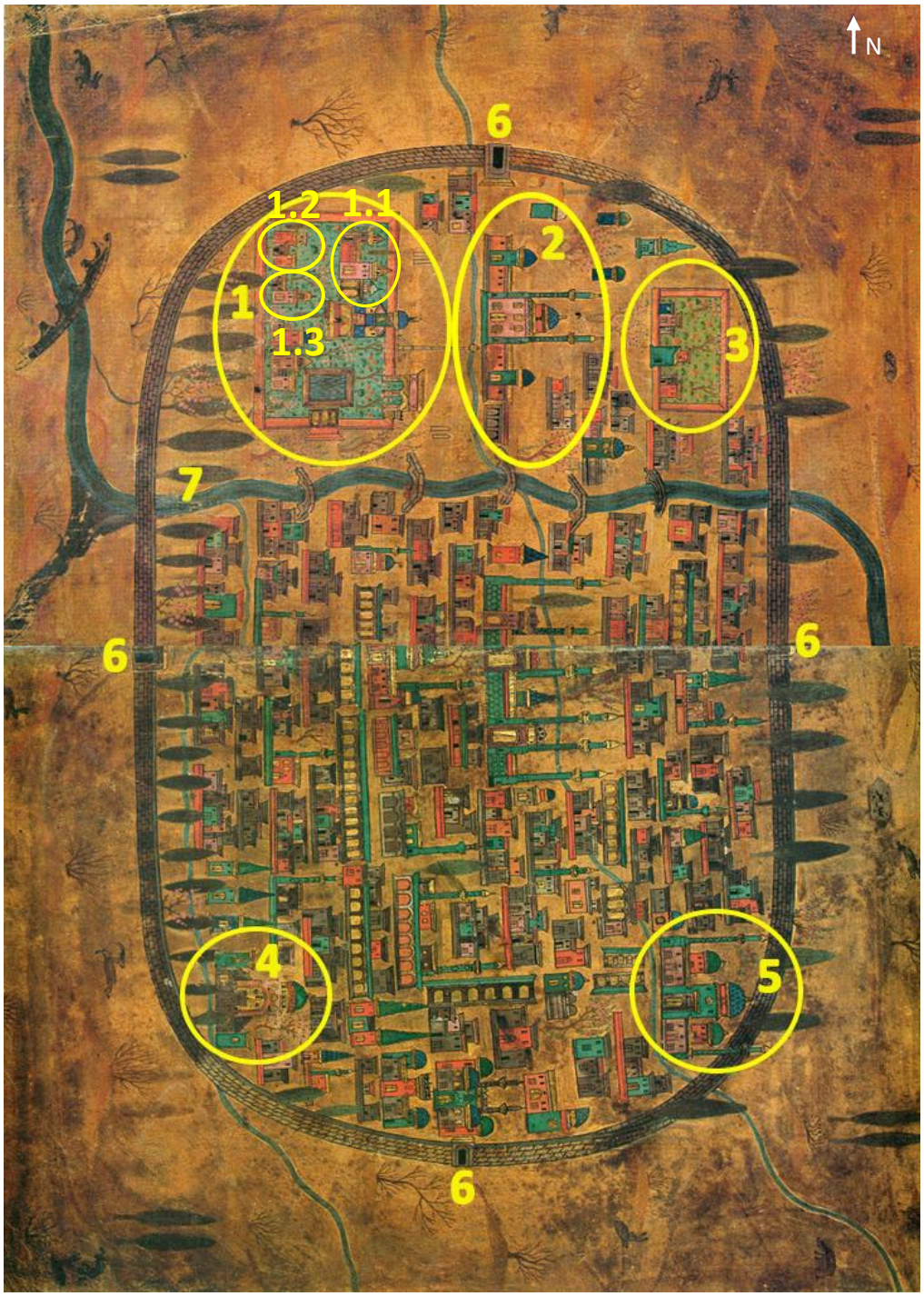
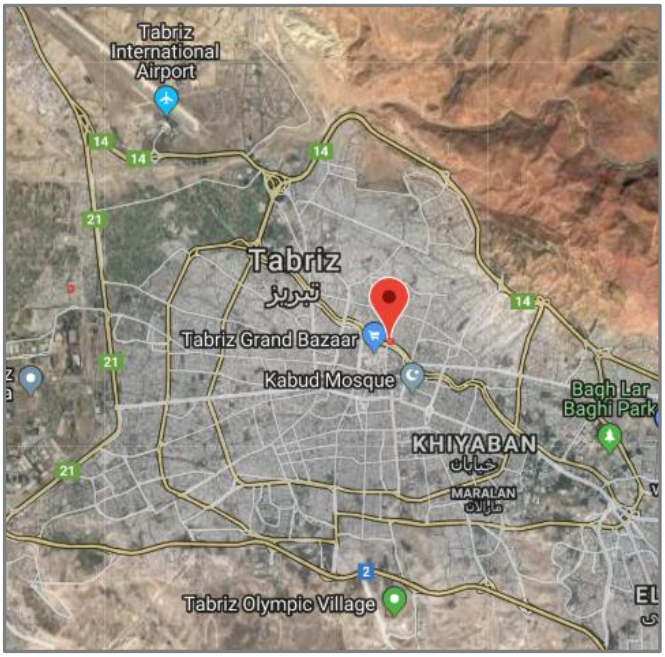


Figure 11.56. Sāhib Ābād square of Tabriz, located in a north–south direction.

1. Northwest: Sāhib Ābād garden, or Baghi Shomal (North Garden) including Hasht Behesht's palace in Azure dom, standing in the middle, Aq Qoyunlu and Safavid, built by Yaqub bin Uzun Hasan (888 H): 1.1. The large edifice, 1.2. Harem, 1.3. Queen's residence.
2. Northwest middle: Nasriyah complex including Masjed Jame' Hasan Padishah, school, hospital or *darol masakin.*
3. Northeast: Rab'-e Rashidi.
4. Southwest: Masjed Jame' Alishah.
5. Kabud mosque (southeast).
6. City gates.
7. Mehran River.





Left: Figure 11.57. The Sāheb ol-Amr mosque (red balloon) marked on the current map of Tabriz located between mountains. Source: Google Earth, accessed 6.12.2018.
Right: Figure 11.58. Defining old Tabriz on the contemporary urban plan of Tabriz.[72]

The most detailed description of the Sāheb Ābād garden and palaces is given by the anonymous Venetian merchant.[73] The following seems to be a description of Hasht Behesht palace:

> "The palace is built in the centre of a large and beautiful garden, close to the city, with only a stream dividing them to the north, and in the same circumference, a fine mosque is built with a rich and useful hospital attached […]. This palace, as I have already said, is situated in the centre of the garden, and is built on a terrace…there is a channel of a streamlet paved and skilfully worked out in marble. This streamlet is four fingers broad and four deep and flows all round in the form of a vine or a snake […]. On the floor of the hall is spread a magnificent carpet, apparently of silk […]. This is the palace where Assambei (Uzun Hassan) used to give audience."

About a bowshot from this palace, the Venetian merchant reports a female's quarter:

> "a harem of one storey, so large that a thousand women might conveniently live there in different rooms. On one side of this harem is a summer-house four yards square,

[72] Peyman Nasirinia, and Isa Hojat, "A Contemplation on Tabriz's Contemporary Structural Changes and Their Effects on City's Identity," *Memari va Shahrsazi*, 21 (2016): 41-54.
[73] Grey, ed. *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 173-77.

> beautifully decorated with enamel, gold, and ultramarine blue, in patterns a wonder to see. Here the queen stays with her maidens to do needlework, according to their custom […] the palace and the harem, which is in the same garden, and has three entrances, one to the south, another to the north, and the third to the east."[74]

He also tells us about a door at the east edge of the garden facing an immense maidan or piazza (Saheb Abad square), and a large edifice with many rooms with a covered hall: one side is looking over the garden and the other side towards the maidan. The door of this particular edifice was further than the others from the royal palace (Hasht Behesht). He explains: "Into this building, Assambei (Uzun Hassan) used to retire with many lords whenever a feast was made on this midan [squer], and frequently when ambassadors came they used to put them up here".[75]

The Venetian merchant's report clarifies why this mansion functioned as the residence on the occasion of the feast at the maidan. First, because "it was a fine place and had many apartments", and second, because it had a "splendid view of the maidan, on which are the mosque and the hospital."[76]

This mosque seems to be the Sāheb ol-Amr mosque (Masjed-e Sāheb ol-Amr) or King Tahmasp's mosque (figure) located on the east side of the Saheb Abad square and probably the same structure the Venetian merchant had called *"Imareth alegeat'*, a very large mosque in the middle of the city".[77] Here he highlights that the mosque "can be seen from the whole country round about and even at the distance of a mile" and "before the principal door of the mosque is a stream flowing under stone arches" (Figure 11.63, 1.3).[78]

By comparing detailed descriptions by the Venetian merchant of the structures located in both the Saheb Abad garden and the miniature of Tabriz by Matrakçı, we can suggest that the mansion with the green skylight, near the east side of the garden in Matrakçı's map, refers to the large edifice that Merchant described (1.1). It's west view is toward the harem (1.2) and the queen's residence (1.3) located on one side of the harem. The pictures below represent the Sāheb Ābād palaces in the Qajar period.

---

[74] Ibid, 175-76.
[75] Ibid, 177.
[76] Ibid.
[77] In the text in Persian 'Imareth alegeat' is translated as 'Ālī Qāpū', the footnote in Grey's text; also see Manouchehr Amiri, *Safarnameh-haye Veniziyan dar Iran* (Kharazmi:Tehran, 1381), 408.
[78] Grey, ed., *A Narrative of Italian*, 167-8.



Saheb Abad palaces in the Qajar period. Saheb Abad garden (or Baghi Shomal), Tabriz.[79]
Top left: Figure 11.59. Written on the photo: "The portal façade of the Saheb Abad garden toward the private quarter *(andaroun)*, 1277 H.Sh (1898)."
Top right: Figure 11.60. Ii'tezadiyah Palace.
Bottom left: Figure 11.61. Nayeb-al Saltaneh Palace.
Bottom right: Figure 11.62. Written on the photo: "The portal façade of the Saheb Abad garden toward the private quarter *(andaroun)*, 1277 H.Sh (1898)."



Figure 11.63. Defining the structures described by the Venetian merchant in Matrakçı's miniature:
1.1.The large edifice, 1.2. Harem and Queen's residence, 1.3 Water feature
1.4 A door at the east edge of the garden toward an immense maidan or piazza (Saheb Abad square)

[79] "Kakhha va Emarat-e Bagh-e Shomal-e Tabriz," Tabriz Trip, last updated Monday 21th Esfand 1396 Shamsi. https://tabriztrip.com/discover/shazda-baghi.

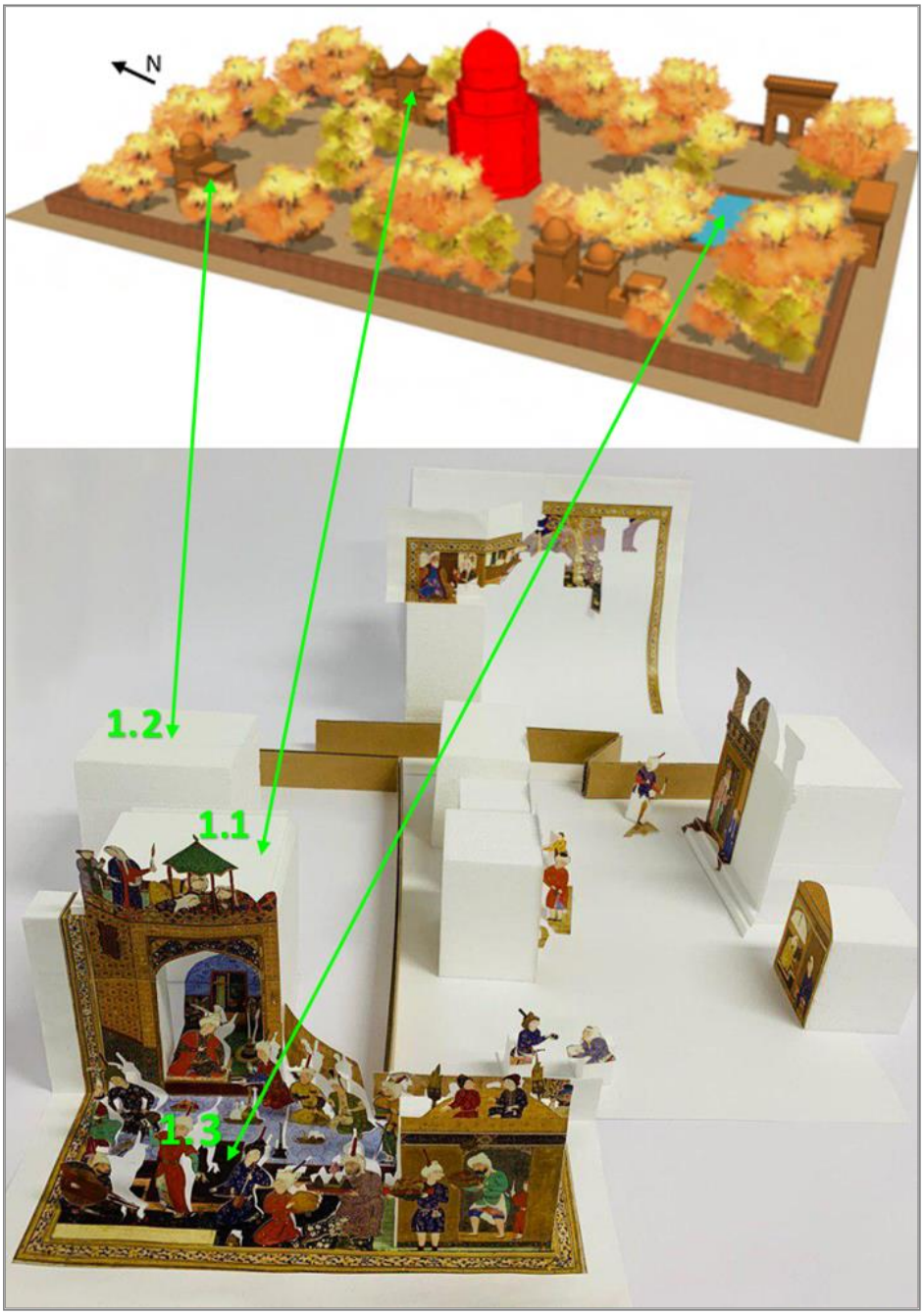


Figure 11.64. Defining and matching the structures described by the Venetian merchant and the Matrakçı's miniature in two schematic three-dimensional models: 1.1. The large edifice, 1.2. Harem and Queen's residence, 1.3 Water feature.
Top: Three-dimensional model of Sāheb Ābād garden with Hasht Behesht palace (in red) and other buildings, suggested based on Matrakçı's miniature and recorded accounts by an anonymous Venetian merchant.[80]
Bottom: The schematic three-dimensional model, elevated view.

[80] Mirzaei, Mousavi Haji, Taghavi, and Moradi, "Bazshenasi-ye Form-e".

11.6 Conclusion

By comparing the suggested three-dimensional model based on Mir Sayyid Ali's painting and the Matrakçı miniature, and investigating available scholarly material on the urban features of Tabriz in the early Safavid period, some spatial and structural similarities on a micro and macro scale are proposed. Figure 11.65 demonstrates how the suggested plan on a macro scale is comparable to the Matrakçı miniature in terms of spatial arrangement and position of primary structures. Both plans are divided into four sections: royal palace, *bazaar* and mosque in a maidan, a structure behind the maidan, and landscape.

On the micro scale, some similarities with buildings and their details are noticeable. The structure 1.1 in the Matrakçı miniature, defined as the large edifice, has three skylights, one which closely resembles the skylight on the rooftop of Mir Sayyid 'Ali's royal palace (Figure 11.66, a). Both are structured in a green colour, cone-shaped, with a rod on top. Both, with almost the same proportion to the building, are located above the arched *iwans* with access to the back garden. For both, there is visual access from the porch toward the buildings in the rear garden which has been suggested as the women's harem (Figures 11.66, b and c).

Also, by comparing the Eugène Flandin's drawing of the Sāheb ol-Amr Mosque in Tabriz (1809–1889), the contemporary picture of the same mosque, and the mosque in Mir Sayyid Ali's painting, there are arguabnle similarities in structure and geographical location. All have the same scenery, with mountains in the background. Located in the northwest of Iran, Tabriz is surrounded by mountains, mainly Eynali and Sahand. Moreover, the mosque in Mir Sayyid Ali's painting has the same dome as the one in the Flandin drawing and the contemporary structure. The minarets in the Flandin drawing and the painting are also comparable (Figure 11.66, d).

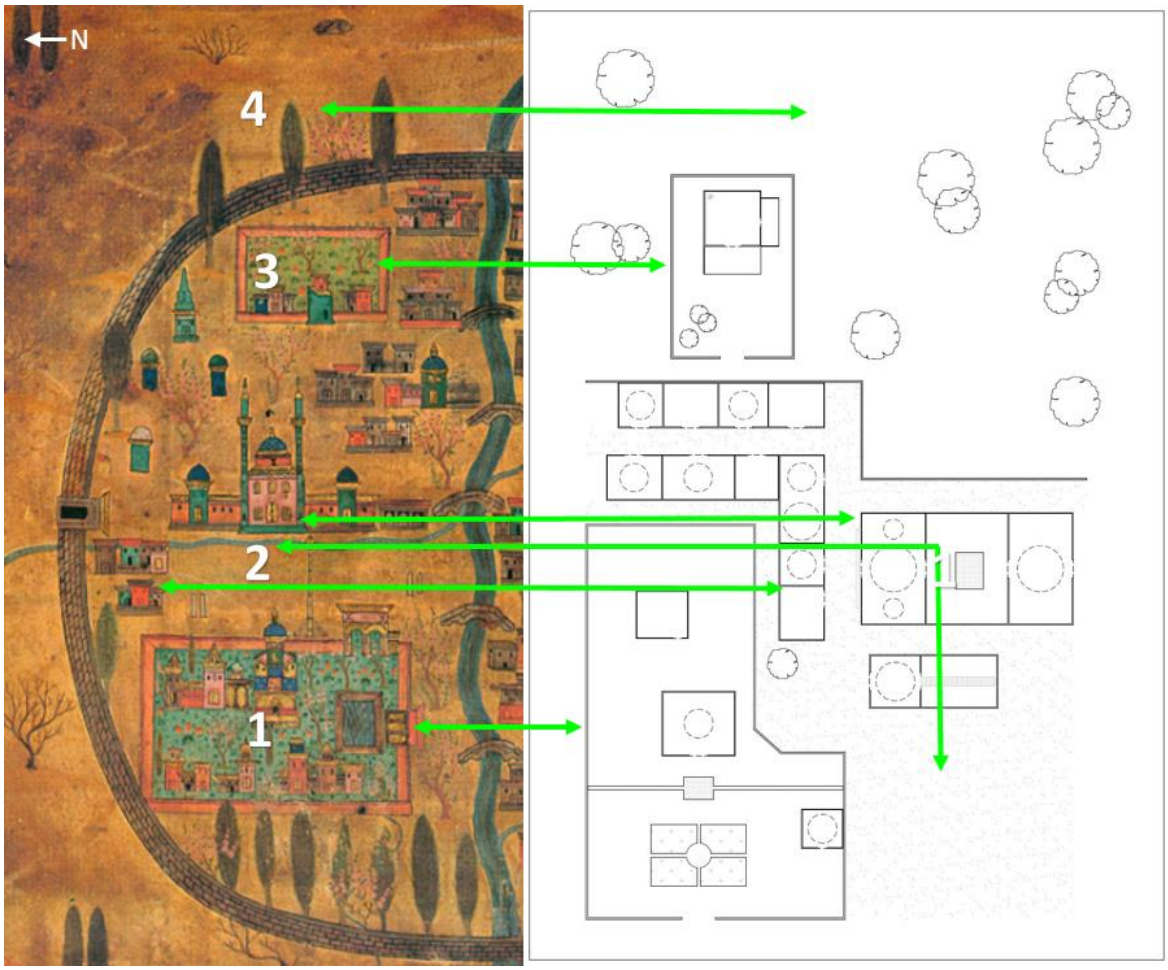
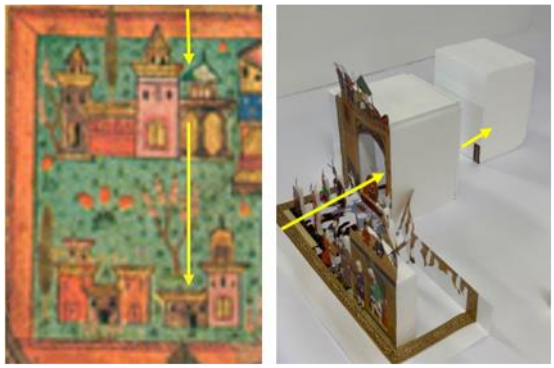


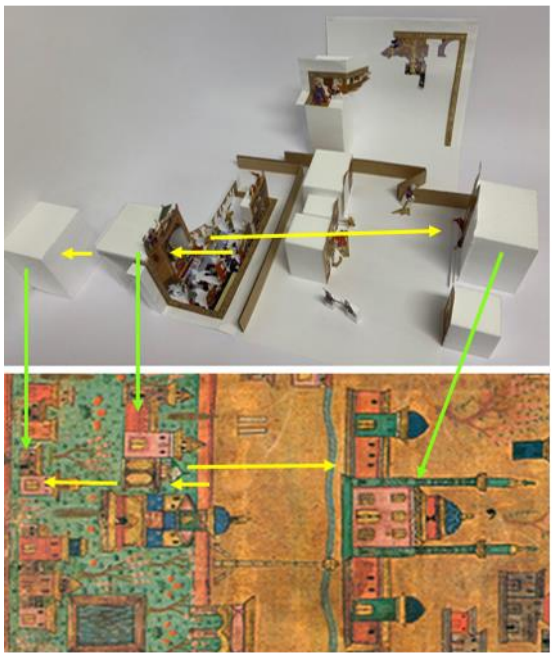
Figure 11.65. Comparisons on a macro scale, detecting and defining the similarities between the spatial arrangement of the proposed urban plan and the Matrakçı miniature of Tabriz.



a. The similarity between the structure and colour of skylight and arched iwan toward the back garden in Matrakçı miniature and Mir Sayyid Ali's painting.



b. The similarity between the visual access from the palace courtyard toward the building at the back garden.



c. The similarity between the visual access from the palace to the mosque via its east façade and to the building at the back garden (probably the harem) from west façade.



d. The Similarity between the form and geographical situation of the mosque in the Mir Sayyid Ali's painting, Chardin Drawing and the contemporary situation of the Sāheb ol Amr Mosque.
Left: Sahand mountains at the background of the Sāheb ol Amr Mosque, photo by Mehrdad Tadjdini, contemporary.
Middle: The Sāheb ol Amr Mosque and mountains at the background by Eugène Flandin (1809–1889), Tabriz, Voyage en Perse, avec Flandin, éd. Gide et Baudry, 1851.
Right: The Mosque and the mountain in the Mir Sayyid Ali Ali's folio.

Figure 11.66 (a, b, c, d). Comparisons on a micro scale: buildings and details.

Such comparisons have their limitations, of course, and are only considered here, at the end of the present study, as a potential further tactic to "see" through and interpret such medieval visual materials more richly. Additional study would be required to investigate how accurate and useful further comparisons of such visual materials may be. To determine, for example, how faithfully Persian paintings and cartography do (or do not) reflect "the real world" that they depicted, a further comparative triangulation with present-day satellite imagery may have been instructive. However, this was beyond the scope of the present study.

The current chapter has attempted to revisit the aforementioned materials together with other scholarly investigations and resources on the urban features of Tabriz in the early Safavid period, to examine if a new way of seeing and interpretation is possible. By comparing Matrakçı's cartographic miniature of Tabriz with the plan derived from Mir Sayid's miniature painiting it can at least be argued that this cityscape characterises a city in Mir Sayyid Ali's time that was very much like Tabriz. This is useful, regardless of painterly inaccuracies, because it also assures us that the painting is a reasonably faithful representation of contemporary urban form and life more broadly that can be used to study the social dynamics of men and women in the early Safavid period, and the implications of their urbanising environment and its emerging spatial structure for their changing social status and mobility. This will be discussed more comprehensively and conclusively in the final chapter that follows.

Chapter 12.

Discussion and Conclusion: Re-gazing and Re-narrating



Part of figure 12.2

12.1 Introduction

Drawing upon various aspects of vision and space, and by analysis of the representation of women in different architectural spaces in Persian paintings in the Timurid and late Safavid eras, this study has clarified some neglected aspects of gaze within two main contexts.

First, we have examined 'gaze' as a culturally and historically specific way of seeing and how gaze is reflected in the visual representation of the outer world in Persian and Islamic Art. An attempt to enhance our understanding of the multifocal perspective characteristic of Persian painting resulted in a significant extension and refinement of an analytical technique suggested by previous scholars, but evidently never developed and applied so thoroughly. This folding and pop-up method produced three-dimensional paper reproductions of Persian paintings that proved to be instrumental in this study in decoding the spatial arrangement and structure of the architectural elements depicted in selected paintings. In turn, this volumetrically enhanced articulation of the spatial structure and depth of the paintings has enabled close and precise analysis of the placement of women within these images and the activities that they are performing. This has further illuminated understanding of the diverse roles and places of women in this particular cultural and historical context and, importantly, how these women also exercised a degree of agency in defining and exploring the social space around them.

The second aspect of gaze examined in some depth in this study is the act of seeing in Islamic society, culture and religion, and the cultural theory and criticism that arises from it particularly as this has defined codes of behaviour concerning veiling, and spatial polarisation of gender. Considering 'gaze' in the discussion about gendering and veiling behaviours invokes dichotomous concepts such as outer and inner, public and private, participation and seclusion, display and disguise, and empowerment and restriction. Such dichotomous spatial metaphors, which have reinforced stereotyped assumptions regarding women's social and cultural roles, have also tended to influence and limit how women in Persian painting have been understood previously. As long as the act of 'seeing' by women depicted in these paintings – behind windows and curtains, and from balconies and rooftops – is described in derogatory terms, such as 'prying' and 'spying', the power to observe and to witness, and thereby perceive and participate in social and political life will continue to be denied.

The spatial structures of these paintings, as decoded from the ambiguous multifocal perspective-effects of the original two-dimensional images through three-dimensional pop-up models, has revealed a more precise relationship between space and gender, accessibility to the various areas depicted, division and proximity in accordance with public and private spheres, and visual access. Spatial and iconographical analysis of images has, to some degree, reconstructed previous understandings about the spatial structure and socio-cultural implications of these paintings, including women's participation and power in social space.

Every image produced by a painter embodies three distinct visions and associated 'ways of seeing': (1) the vision of the painter and the way they saw the objects they depicted; (2) the vision and assumed ways of seeing of the participant characters inside the image; and (3) the vision of the contemporary onlooker, and particular and potentially quite different ways of seeing by which they perceive or appreciate an image. The influential art critic and theorist, John Berger, believed that "images are more precise and richer than literature".[1] No other historical artefact or text can offer such loyal evidence "about the world which surrounded other people at other times".[2] Yet, treating the image as documentary evidence in this sense, Berger argued, does not negate the expressive or imaginative quality of art:

> "the more imaginative the work, the more profoundly it allows us to share the artist's experience of the visible …. Images were first made to conjure up the appearances of something that was absent. And gradually it became evident that an image could outlast what it represented."[3]

It is these qualities of images in general, and Persian paintings in particular, that make them such valuable primary resources to study the past.

Underscoring the overarching summation of key findings from this study as outlined concisely above, the following sections will extend and develop the discussion through three alternative re-narrations of what these paintings can tell us from three discrete points of view, articulated here as: past gaze (the painter), present gaze (the observer), and women's gaze (within the images).

---

[1] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing: Based on the BBC Television Series with John Berger* (London: Harmondsworth: British Broadcasting Corporation; Penguin, 1972), 10.
[2] Ibid, 10.
[3] Ibid.

12.2 Past gaze: the painter

Berger recognises that an image is also a record of how the painter, or in general the image-maker, had seen something in their time. Therefore the specific vision of the image-maker is part of the history of the past: "An image is a sight which has narrations from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved – for a few moments or a few centuries."[4] The painter's way of seeing, he states "is reconstituted by the marks he makes on the canvas or paper".[5] And, in the case of Persian painting, we may propose, 'by the perspective he adopted'. Thus, to understand the specific time and place in the past in which an image is recorded requires us to decode the painter's way of seeing, to appreciate that the painter was an observer in their own right.

To understand Persian painting, it is essential to adopt the Persian painters' gaze, which helps us to review and re-evaluate the information that we receive from the images. Based on the Sufi distinction between form and spirit, Anthony Welch describes the art of Mir Sayyid 'Ali as single-mindedly focused on 'form'. Imaginative constructions were beyond the painter, Welch believes, as he had no gift for fantasy (see Chapter 11).[6] But, Mir Sayyid Ali's city (Figure 11.1) reveals the acute vision of its painter to devise a puzzle-like masterpiece. The city of Mir Sayyid Ali is a record of time and space in which a sharp-sighted beholder can penetrate the layers of form *(surat)* and perceive the spirit *(ma'nā).* Here, as Welch states, Mir Sayyid Ali's ambition "centred on the daily world, and he observed it minutely and recorded it methodically".[7] However, as it is discussed in the current study Mir Sayyid Ali allows enough space for the observer's imagination and re-narration.

Accordingly, the description proposed by this study would be that "Night-time in a city" is a representation of the painter's hometown: Tabriz, or more specifically Mid*ā*n-i Sāhib Ābā*d*, as it was known in the early sixteenth century. Within its adroit composition of architectural spaces, arranged in four spatial layers, this cityscape displays the daily activities of early Safavid people, both men and women, from nobility to commoners, and from young to old. Mir Sayyid Ali has provided a rare glimpse of both elite and common women in an urban setting, in order to study women's roles and activities from different classes in society rather than focusing on the upper class. Featuring both reality and myth, Mir Sayyid Ali's

[4] Ibid, 9-10.
[5] Ibid, 10.
[6] Anthony Welch, "The Worldly Vision of Mir Sayyid 'Ali." In *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, 85-98 (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), 96-7.
[7] Ibid.

folio (Figure 11.1) is opulently illustrated, based on meticulous observation and immense imagination, to evoke urban and courtly life in Shah Tahmasp's time. Based on such a notion it is possible to suggest that the young prince seated on the royal *iwan* is indeed Shah Tahmasp with his *taj-e heydari* on his head, giving an impression of power.

Here, the Persian miniature painter has pushed the image to its utmost capacity, as the most advanced form of visual media of the day. He has optimised visibility by avoiding shadows, so the image is bright, even at night-time. In addition, by applying a multifocal perspective he has not limited the observer to a single point of view. In Chapter 10, as we saw, the painter applied a similarly versatile perspective that offered the best vantage point for the inhabitants of Shiraz to view the trial scene and receive Timur's declaration, and for the observer to look at the occasion from different points of view offered in a single frame.

12.3 Present gaze: the observer

While every image embodies a way of seeing, Berger remarks, the perception or the appreciation of an image also depends upon the observer's way of seeing,[8] and the way one sees things is affected by what they know or believe.[9] When discussing haptic space and abstract line in Islamic Art, Laura Marks considers the later optics of Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen, d. ca. 1040) in which the intromission theory of vision syndicates with the non-focusing lens to grant a great deal of visual freedom and responsibility with the viewer in a subjective act of looking. "When space has multiple access points," she posits, "vision has a great deal of choice."[10]

To use the Persian painting as a primary resource for social studies, besides understanding the Persian painter's vision we need to adopt today's gaze to respond to contemporary enquiries. Such an approach enables us to understand what a Timurid or Safavid painter perceived, and to then interpret the painting by present-day knowledge derived from iconographical, historical and archival studies. Marks takes a phenomenological approach which allows a beholder of our time to come up with an embodied approximation of how historical Islamic artworks may have appealed to their contemporary beholders.[11] However,

[8] Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 10.
[9] Ibid, 8.
[10] Laura U. Marks, "The Taming of the Haptic Space, from Málaga to Valencia to Florence," Muqarnas Online 32 (08/27 2015), 258.
[11] Ibid.

as Marks notes – having tried herself to reconstruct others' experience of Islamic artworks from such an approach – we should be aware that "no single embodied response is normative."[12]

Berger declares that "when we see a landscape, we situate ourselves in it. If we saw the art of the past, we would situate ourselves in 'history'. When we are prevented from seeing it, we are being deprived of the history which belongs to us."[13] Addressing this concern, the pop-up method advanced in this study has facilitated the onlooker to see and, arguably, to immerse themselves more tangibly, to some degree, in medieval history through the lens of the architectural structures represented in Persian paintings. As we have seen, the onlooker may also thereby be able to look at the world from the viewpoint of the medieval women depicted.

While there is no precedent or counterpart for the city that Mir Sayyid Ali depicted, his painting, Night-time in a city, is a unique image that provides a rare glimpse of street life in early Safavid Tabriz. Accordingly, as a visual source, this painting could be used to further investigate the urban arrangement and social implications of Tabriz at a time when the city was flourishing in the early Safavid era. Such potential is only applicable if the observer, who is unfamiliar with the visual language of Persian painting, succeeds in uncovering different spatial layers and decoding visual elements.

Accordingly, in Chapter 11, by applying an advanced pop-up method, the proposed three-dimensional model and floorplan were developed to facilitate in-depth exploration not possible before. Extending the technique to enhance its spatial and analytical resolution enabled more precise 'social maps' to be derived with which the hierarchical patterns and systems of women's space could be better described and studied. Figure 12.1 demonstrates the placement of male and female characters within and in relation to architectural spaces and the opposite gender, as defined in the schematic plan. Red crosses represent women and green dots men. Such a method can also be used to study social and behavioural relationships and proximity, by examining the spatial placement of individuals.

Table 12.1 (based on Figure 12.1) shows that the number of men represented in this crowded arrangement is twenty-nine, and women are nine. While the majority of these men appear in public and semi-public areas, females are predominantly positioned in semi-private sections,

[12] Ibid.
[13] Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 11.

with two women shown in public, in the bazaar. As previously discussed in Chapter 11 this image does not include indoor and private quarters such as chambers and bedrooms.

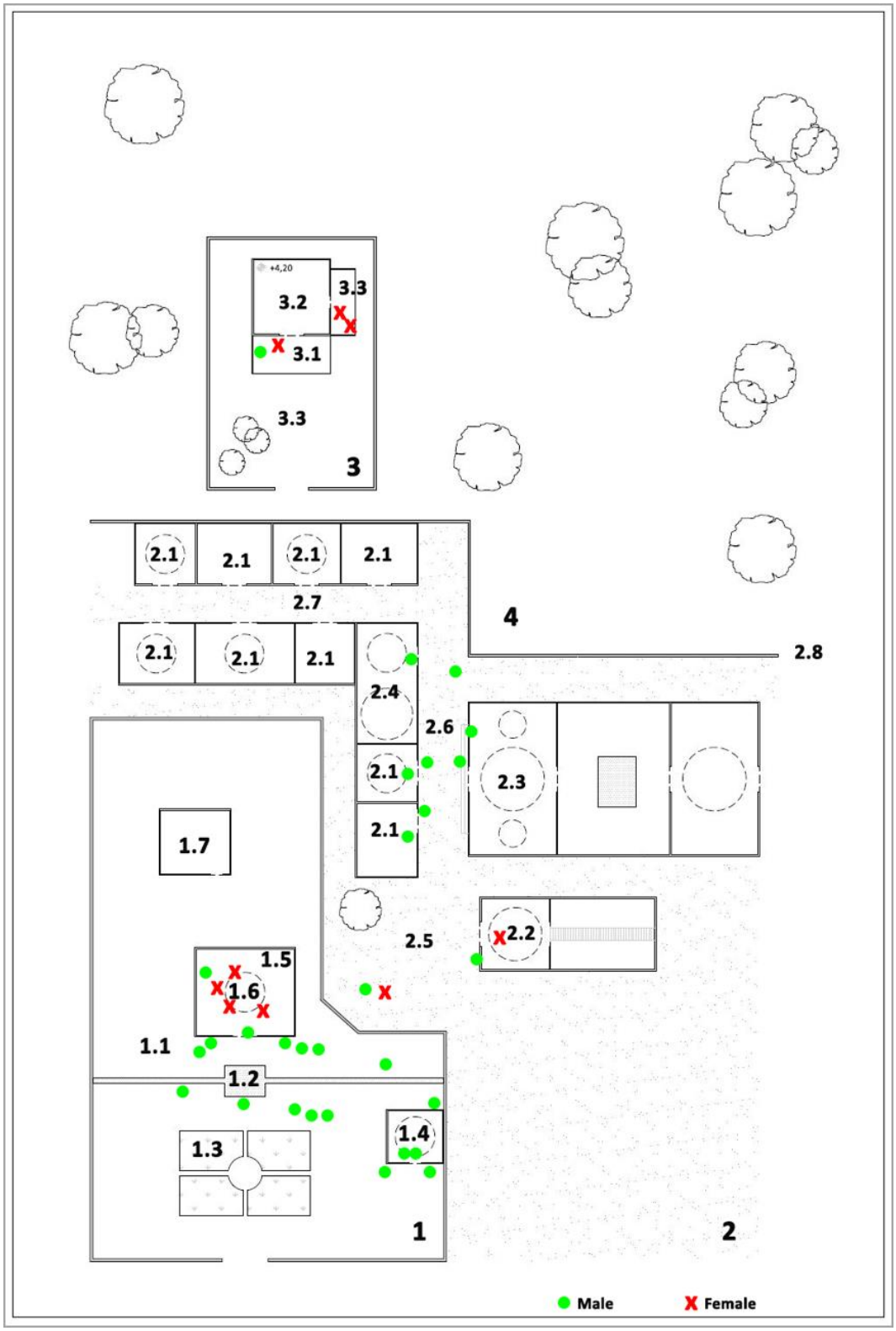


Figure 12.1 Identification of male and female characters in relation to architectural spaces

Table 12.1. Distribution of male and female figures across four spatial layers

	Male Figures				Female Figures			
Identified Spaces	Public	Semi-public	Semi-private	Private	Public	Semi-public	Semi-privae	Privae
1. Palace sector – extrovert design	-	18	-	-	-	-	4	-
2.*Bazaar* area	10	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
3. Country house – extrovert design	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-
4. The countryside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**29**				**9**			

12.4 Women's gaze within the images

12.4.1 Knowledge as power

Timurid dynastic women were neither veiled nor secluded. They held a prominent royal status and contributed to public occasions. In the same way that the gateways and enclosures were established to enhance Timurid royal camp security, rather than for the seclusion of women[14], covering their faces with a thin white veil or applying a white substance was to protect their faces from the sun and not to veil their face or make them unrecognisable.[15]

When admitted to formal celebrations in Samarghand chaired by Timur, they took their place at the assigned dais, beside or behind Timur's seat. The ceremonial prestige of Saray Mulk Khanum (Timurs's chief wife) and Khanzadeh (Timur's daughter-in-law), and in the later era Gawharshad, Shahrukh's influential wife, are recorded in available accounts of that time.[16] Figure 5.25 (Chapter 5, section 5.4.1), which is a schematic diagram of the mobile architecture and seating arrangements of Khanzadeh's feast at Kan-i Gil based on Clavijo's description, demonstrates Khanzadeh in front of the magnificent royal tent under an awning as the host of the royal banquet. Here Khanzadeh is positioned at the same place as a male ruler seated on such occasions, thus observing the event from the same viewpoint.

Towards the second half of the Safavid period, pressure on women grew and more restrictions were imposed on them, in such a way that women became more constrained to

[14] Peter Alford Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage*, vol. 1 (London: Melisende, 1999), 669.
[15] Ruy González de Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange. (London: Routledge, 1928), 258.
[16] See Chapter 2, section 2.3, Chapter 5, section 5.4.1, Chapter 6, section 6.2.2 and Chapter 7, section 7.3.2.

participate in public life.[17] As cited by Rudi Matthee, describing Safavid society in the 1670s, Chardin informs us that whenever men found themselves in the same location as women, in a military camp or a caravanserai, they were banned from passing in front of the female quarters.[18] About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Villotte noted that women were not seen in the *bazaar* of Isfahan, and both selling and buying were done exclusively by men.[19]

While women in Persian paintings are more defined as bystanders rather than main actors, in Mir Sayid Ali's city (Figure 11.1) only three out of nine women are gazing at the banquet via the skylight. Others appear as active players in the scene. Women appearing in the public area; one in the cistern and the other in the middle of the bazaar, from common status, are busy with their everyday activities. Elite women are neither presented in public spaces, nor in an entirely secluded and private area (Figures 12.6, 12.7).[20]

We know that princesses of the Safavid royal family in Qazvin in the second half of the sixteenth century occupied their private residence outside the harem walls.[21] Such a trend may have been the same in early Safavid Tabriz. The countryside pavilion in which a lady is conversing with a Mulla, as one of the eccentric parts of this cityscape, possibly is a representation of such a tendency. Except for the old man, there is no male figure visible here. Babayan suggests that perhaps in this context female members of Safavid household such as Shahzadeh Sultanum (d. 969/1562) received their education in the religious sciences and Islamic arts.[22]

Shahzadeh Sultanum was one of the distinguished women in Shah Tahmasp's household, and also his beloved sister. The princess was known for her acumen and for passing her time in scholarly discussion. Nur al-Din Kashi taught her the rules of grammar and the Persian language. She also learned Quranic sciences from a religious scholar, Mawlana 'Imad al-Din Ali Astarabadi. Being an important mentor, the Mawlana 'Imad was in the princess's

[17] Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?" In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120 (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 104,105,110,111.
[18] Ibid, 103-4.
[19] Ibid.
[20] The bearded man leaning on a thin stick is observing the scene. Grabar suggest such personages who appear frequently in court scenes are probably identified as hajibs or major domos supervising and controlling proper conduct at the feast, see Oleg Grabar, and Mika Natif, "Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001),188.
[21] Szuppe, "Status Knowledge and Politics," 143.
[22] Kathryn Babayan, "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture." In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 367.

entourage and was amongst people cited in her will.[23] Shahzadeh Sultanum was also a pupil of the famous master Dust-Muhammad, a calligrapher, illuminator and painter belonging to the royal scriptorium *(ketabkhaneh)* of Bahram Mirza (923-57/1517-49) in Herat, followed by Shah Isma'il (892-930/1487-1524) in Ardabil, and eventually Shah Tahmasp (892-955 /1514-1576) in Tabriz before leaving for India. Active from about 1510 to 1564, Dust-Muhammad was a contemporary and colleague of Mir Sayyid Ali in Shah Tahmasp's royal workshop in Tabriz.[24] In addition to the fact that Shahzadeh Sultanum should have been a renowned figure of the royal family herself, Mir Sayyid Ali could have also heard about her from Dust-Muhammad.

Based on this premise, perhaps the two characters in question are Princess Shahzadeh Sultanum and her teacher Mawlana 'Imad, who appear in Mir Sayyid 'Ali's image, seated on a pavilion terrace outside the city's barriers, busy with scholarly debates, representative of women's social status in the early sixteenth century. When ordinary women were part of urban life in the *bazaar*, elite women, although veiled and partly separated, were attempting to position themselves beyond and above the boundaries, to gaze at the masculine world with wide-open eyes and from an elevated perspective.

12.4.2 Gaze as power

While women in both history and Persian paintings are associated with the internal (secluded, passive and restricted) and men with the external (public, power), Lidia Sciama as cited by Fadwa El Guindi believes that "neither 'public' nor 'private' can be used as fixed analytical terms or readily be associated with negative or positive values".[25] Rudi Matthee also warns that the veiling should not be confused and associated with an inferior position or restriction. Referring to Du Mans's that states "veiled women looked at the world with wide-open eyes, without shame", he makes more examples based on the observations of other foreigners which echo the same idea. Referring to the account of Silva y Figueroa's stay in Qum, Matthee indicates how "even in Qum, where a visit by foreign envoys would force women into *quruq*, the rules might be broken." The story articulates:

---

[23] Szuppe, "Status Knowledge and Politics," 51.
[24] Both contributed to the famous illustration of Shahnameh Shah Tahmasp. See *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1981.
[25] Fadwa El Guindi, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1999), 79. Lidia Sciama, "The Problem of Privacy in Mediterranean Anthropology." In *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, edited by Shirley Ardener. Oxford Women's Series 89-110 (London: Croom Helm in Association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981), 110.

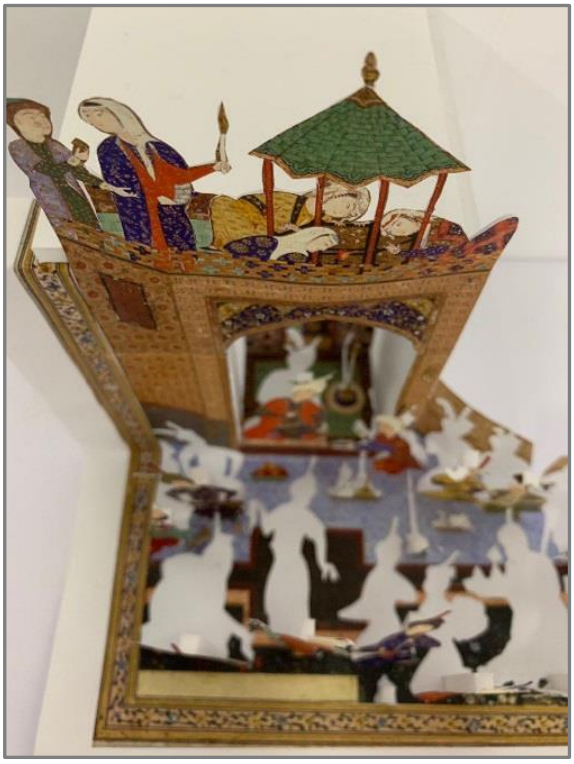
> "how, in spite of the official lack of female presence, the wife of the town's governor managed to contact the Spanish ambassador and came over to his residence with a number of curious girls and women who slipped through a breach in the garden wall."[26]

Also, Matthee highlights that increased gender segregation from early to late Safavid times, which resulted in more seclusion, does not mean that women stopped to participate in public life, such as demonstrations for legal justice or in bread riots.[27] If, based on the anonymous Venetian merchant's account (see subsection 11.5.3.3 in Chapter 11), we accept that the building behind the royal palace (the large edifice) is the harem and Queen's residential quarters (Figure 11.63), it can be suggested that women on the rooftop of the royal residence of the Shah Tahmasp harem, have come over to the edifice to observe the royal feast. On not being accepted to participate in the banquet officially, they stand on the rooftop to gaze at the event in privacy, without being seen by guests.

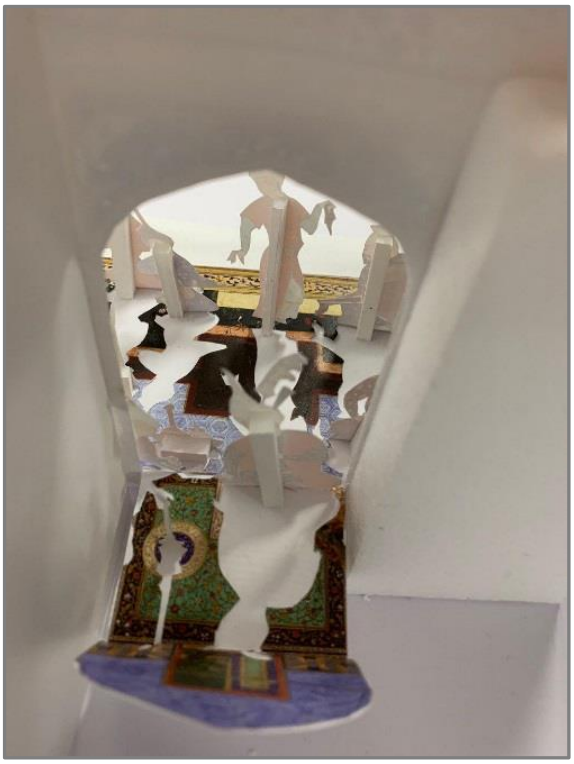
From here, in addition to a panoramic view of the cityscape (Figure 12.2), they gaze at ongoing activities through the skylight at the top of the main veranda and perhaps via the rooftop crenellation (Figures 12.3, 12.5). Observing from this aperture, they can see the entertainers including players and dancers framed by the *iwan*'s arch, the king seated on the carpet, and guests (Figure 12.4).

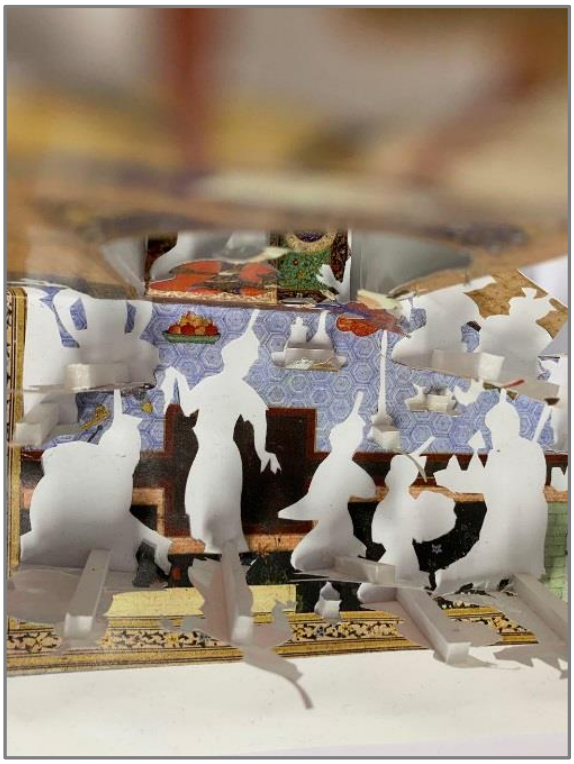
[26] Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 111.
[27] Ibid, 77-79.





Left : Figure 12.2. View of *midan* from the royal palace.
Right: Figure 12.3. Women on the rooftop with a view towards the royal feast and cityscape.





Left : Figure 12.4. Women's view to the royal feast via the rooftop.
Right: Figure 12.5. Women's view to the royal feast via the skylight. Entertainers, including musicians and dancers, are visible.

The fourth beholding woman is the lady leaning over the country pavilion balcony, either sleeping or daydreaming (Figure 11.34). We can imagine that she had been observing activities below before closing her eyes. With regards to the three-dimensional model, it is now possible to answer the question raised in subsection 11.5.1.4 in the previous chapter: what is the balcony viewpoint? The balcony, as part of the pavilion in the middle of the garden located outside of the city barriers, is neither close enough to the city to have visual access to the bazaar, nor to the banquet scene. Thus, the outlook is towards the garden and landscape.

Mohammad Gharipour in his comprehensive study on Persian gardens and pavilions defines gardens as areas for "relaxation, meditation and restoration". He connects such psychological benefits to three major activities related to the garden and pavilion: "walking, beholding and sleeping".[28] Among them, it seems that "beholding" has a prominent position, as in "sight" in Islamic texts.

The Quran assimilates the notion of paradise as a garden and discusses pavilions in the *ferdows* (paradise garden) as places from which righteous people could have a "pleasant view" of the garden.[29] The woman lounging on the balcony with her eyes closed could be the manifestation of such an idea attached to the garden. The moment the painter has depicted her is when she has already attained the spiritual benefits of gazing to the garden. She is relaxed and meditating, not only in *surat* (form) but also *ma'na* (spirit).

By considering miniature paintings which portray figures looking at orchards from a building, Gharipour suggests three architectural elements tied to the concept of outlook between building and garden.[30] They are iwan, balcony and roof. Also, as frequently depicted in Persian paintings, openings such as doors and windows can be added. The iwan, as a central point situated on the ground floor, is usually a place for the king to sit on a throne or carpet surrounded by courtiers from which to watch the garden, festivities and other social activities. Whereas the balcony or roof, as a high point that provides a panoramic view of the garden and activities in the courtyard, remains hidden from the visitors: a place to 'see' without being 'seen'.

[28] Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts* (London: New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 33.
[29] Ibid, 37.
[30] Ibid.

The rooftop is often a place for female spectators (Figures 12.10, 12.12, 12.13); however, on some occasions the rooftop is used by men as well (Figure 12.11). The balcony is usually a female domain (Figure 12.6, 12.8, 12.9).[31] The most private space for women to observe, outside of the female sphere, is through window frames, half-closed doors, and semi-folded curtains (Figure 12.7). In the current image, there is only one door into the harem which is closed. All the female characters are presented outside the buildings: royal women in semi-public and semi-private spaces and ordinary women in public spaces.

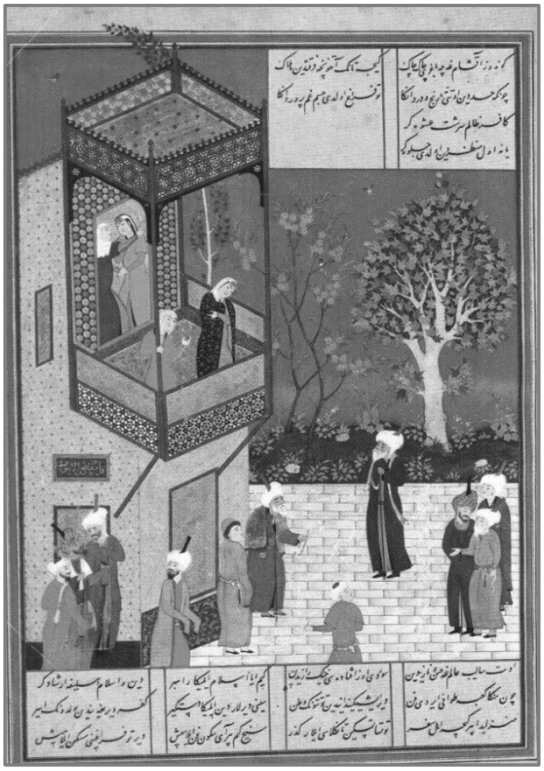


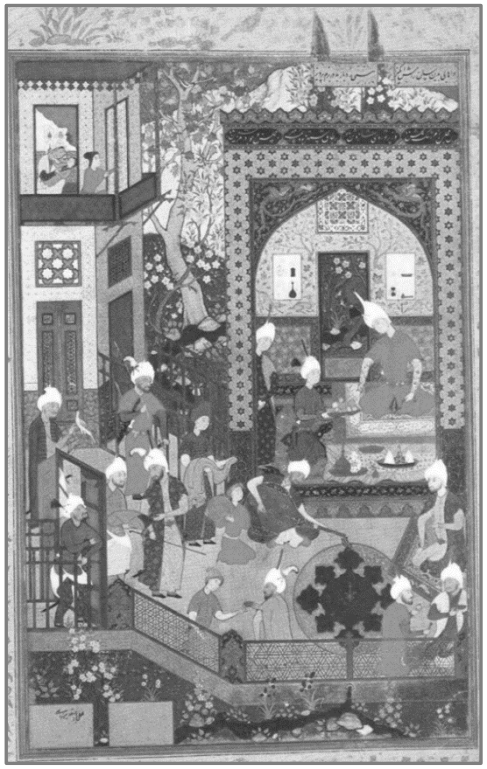
Figure 12.6. Parts of images from different manuscripts depicting women on the balcony as semi-private spaces to observe.



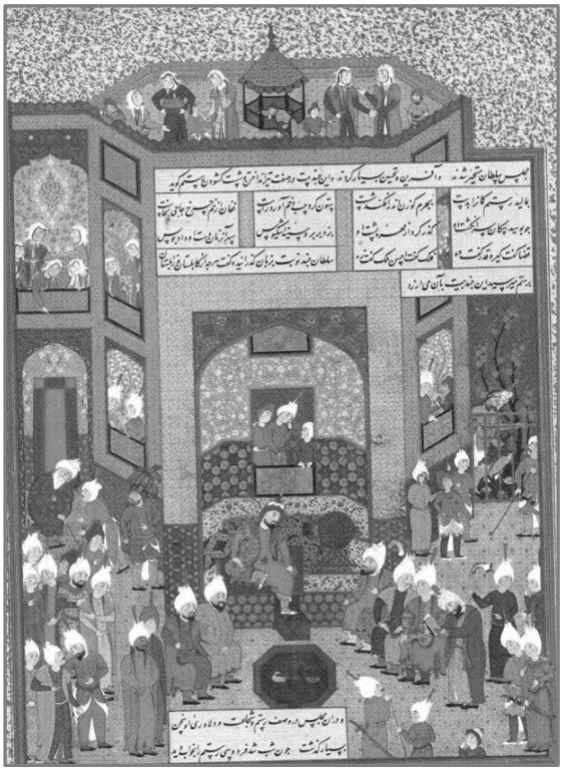
Figure 12.7. Parts of images from different manuscripts, women behind semi-opened doors, windows and curtains as private spaces to behold.

[31] Ibid, 57.





Examples of the balcony as a place for women to behold:
Left: Figure 12.8. The crazed old Shaykh of San‘an, attributed to Shaykh Sadeh, collected works of Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa‘i Timurid.
Right: Figure 12.9. Barbad playing music to Khosrow, Khamseh of Nezami, attributed to Mirza ‘Ali.





Examples of the rooftop and window as places for women to behold:
Left: Figure 12.10. Ferdowsi proves his literary talent at the court of Sultan Mohammad of Ghazna, attributed to Mir Musavvir, Shahnameh manuscript illustrated for Baisunqur, Timurid.
Right: Figure 12.11. The feast of ‘Id begins, Sultan Muhammad, Diwan of Hafez.



Figure 12.12. Women on the rooftop with an elevated perspective to the cityscape.



Figure 12.13. Women on roof top to observe, Qajar era, gathering of a large crowd (probably a Muharram procession) at the Maydan-e Tupkhaneh, Tehran (Iran), Antoin Sevruguin (d. 1933). Glass plate negative taken before 1896. Myron Bement Smith Collection of Sevruguin photographs. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. (FSA A.4 2.12.GN.50.05).

The idea of interpreting buildings as women's watchtowers has been discussed in Chapter 8 (see section 8.8). The raised view from mosques, palaces and pavilions, compared to theatre balconies or galleries, in landscape and the absence of built structures (such as those figures discussed in Chapter 6 section 6.4.1 and 6.4.2) can be attained from highlands and hills. Positioned on such platforms, the onlooker enjoys the privilege of 'seeing' without 'being seen' unless she/he decides to appear, as Humayun did (see Figure 8.63, Chapter 8).

However, three-dimensional spatial examination of the pop-up models from a group of encampment scenes in Chapter 7 (see section 7.5.1, Figures 7.5–7.8) reveal that to be aware of what is happening in the masculine world, women do not necessarily need to ascend rooftops or balconies to witness events. The position of women's tents behind the reception pavilion and layers of rocks makes it unlikely they have visual access to what is happening in the foreground (Figure 12.14). But their gestures depict them as being aware of an unfolding tragedy. It implicates that state of 'awareness' is not tied to the act of 'physical seeing'.



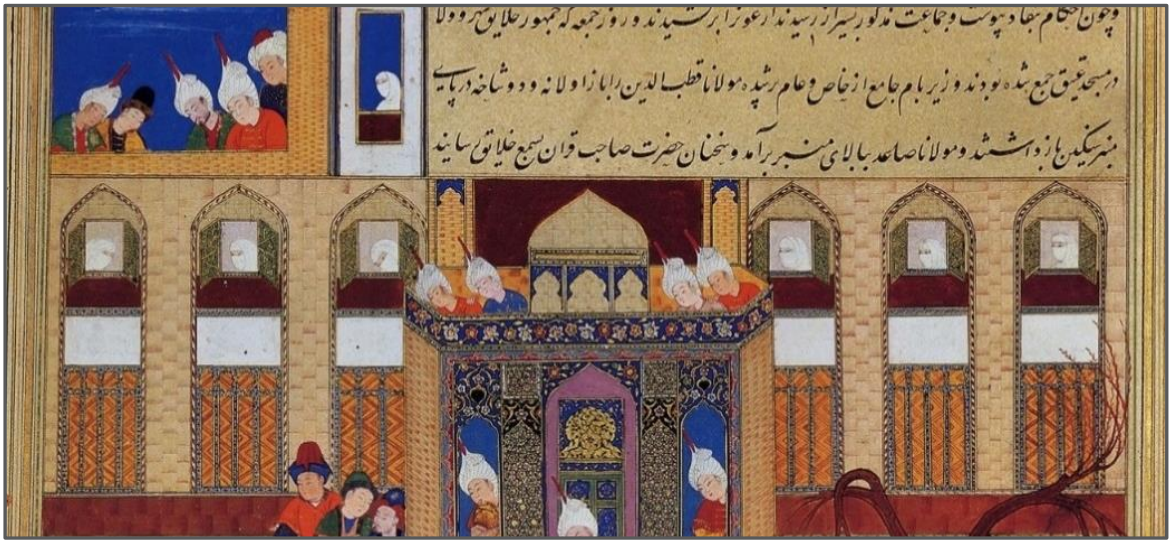
Figure 12.14. Comparing the pop-up model on the right and the original folio demonstrates the position of women's tents behind the reception pavilion and layers of rocks, which have no visual access to the foreground.

Even a glance at most of the images examined in Chapters 5 to 10, shows the existence of a boundary or veil – however amorphous – separating men and women. There are private

quarters *(harem)* and chambers *(shabestan)* where the family hides from the strangers' gaze. Similar to the *hijab* and veil which covers the woman's body, curtains and high walls separate and conceal private space from the public, and in general interior from exterior spaces. However, such seclusion does not necessarily mean to exclude women from the scene or block their view to the world outside their enclosed quarter.

The accounts by foreign travellers on the Safavid women's appearance in public frequently indicate that they were entirely veiled, leaving only 'the eyes open' so no one could 'recognise' them.[32] However, women who presented in public places, remained 'unrecognised', which means they were not 'seen', whilst observing from their veil visor. Windows in buildings in Persian painting are comparable to screens on women's veils. The windows of the Persian paintings function as a visor to allow women to view the world "with wide-open eyes and without shame" (Figures 12.15, 12.16).[33]

[32] Clavijo, *Clavijo Embassy*, 151-3; Matthee, "From the Battlefield," 105.
[33] Matthee, Ibid, 77-79.





Top: Figure 12.15. part of Figure 10.3, which shows the women of Shiraz with veil behind the small windows, looking at the capture of Qotb od-din Qormi and bringing him to Atiq Jame' Mosque.
Bottom: Figure 12.16. Four Isfahani women in the Naqsh-e Jahan Square with long black *chador a*nd veil looking at the camera via their veil visors, Qajar era.

Berger identifies the reciprocal nature of vision as more fundamental than that of verbal dialogue. He goes further by saying that often dialogue is an attempt to verbalise how interlocutors see things.[34] In the absence or scarcity of verbalised dialogue, deciphering 'gaze' in Persian painting is a way to discern dialogue in terms other than 'feminine, interior and private' and 'masculine, exterior and public' worlds they depict. It seems, however, that the women in these pictures attempt to minimise the reciprocity of gaze in favour of a one-way gaze from inside their designated sphere, or from behind their veils, toward the masculine world. Women in Persian paintings remain 'invisible' and even 'unrecognisable' while still observing. Such status is facilitated by various mobile and sedentary architectural elements and furniture including walls, fabric enclosures, curtains, windows, chambers, rooftops and balconies. While viewers of Persian paintings have often observed and understood women's figures as passive subjects, it is evident that we might now be able to revise such presumptions.

In the well-known discussion of 'Panopticism' in his work *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault interprets eighteenth-century English philosopher Jeremy Bentham's 'Panopticon' – a theoretically ideal design for a model prison – as a paradigmatic tool to understand power in modern (Western) social history that enabled the surveillance, fragmentation and management of bodies as essential functions. The panoptic structure arranges the inmates' cells in tiers of identical spatial units encircling a central surveillance tower that makes it possible for the observer-guard to see all the inmates, but not be seen. As the present study has revealed, architectural structures and spaces compressed within the picture plane of Persian painting often operate in a comparably panoptic fashion. Unlike Bentham's inmates, however, with whom one might have imagined the women within these paintings could be compared, it is the women who are enabled to see from their 'panoptic towers' and parapets, whilst not being seen. They are not regarded as objects of information, but rather as subjects in communication.[35] Here 'vision' is power, whilst 'visibility' is entrapment.[36]

Scholars and champions of women's studies have long recognised the significance of space and visibility in the metaphors they choose to describe the struggle for social empowerment and conceptual emancipation. As Shirley Ardener remarks:

---

[34] Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 9.
[35] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 200.
[36] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 200, 201.

> "societies have generated their own rules, culturally determined, for making boundaries on the ground, and have divided the society into spheres, levels and territories with invisible fences and platforms to be scaled by 'abstract ladders' and crossed by 'intangible bridges' with as much trepidation or exultation as on a plank over a raging torrent.[37]

In view of such descriptions, the gaze of women we have observed in Persian painting can be recognised as a means by which to cross physical boundaries imposed by spatial segregation, including walls, curtains, and enclosures, to eventually overcome social restrictions in the light of awareness.

12.5 Conclusion

This study aimed to enhance and potentially re-assess some aspects of existing understanding of the social status and power of medieval Persian women. To date, scholarship on this question has been relatively conjectural and far from conclusive due to the relative lack of written records and historical discourse recording the voices and stories of women. Although previous scholars have recognised Persian paintings as a potentially rich alternative source of primary historical evidence, the conceptual distance and visual ambiguity of that medium relative to present day artistic practice have also presented additional barriers to understanding.

Recognising that elements of designed and constructed cultural landscapes in which medieval Persian societies thrived – from mobile tents to monumental mosques and palaces – are among the most consistent and recognisable elements with which these painted images are composed, and the women within them literally framed, both spatially and visually; architecture has emerged as a tactical frame of analysis through which it has proved to be possible to assess the spatial placement of women in these images and their visual accessibility more rigorously.

Through the extensive and reiterative process of uncovering the complex matrix of architectural space, artistic vision and visual conventions encoded in the various examples

[37] Shirley Ardener, and University of Oxford Women's Studies Committee, *Women and Space : Ground Rules and Social Maps* (Oxford Women's Series ; 5. London: Croom Helm in Association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981), 11,12.

of Persian paintings that have been examined, the objective has been to reveal the gaze of the women within them and thereby potentially re-narrate their stories from their own perspectives. By means of this approach, the study has also explored consistencies and differences in spatial and visual behaviours of women depicted in different types of architectural spaces and structures employed in Persian painting, and in different times and contexts. To do this, the study has intentionally compared evidence from paintings produced over the two centuries between the Timurid and late Safavid dynasties, a period that experienced some of the most significant socio-cultural transformations in Persian cultural and architectural history.

The review of historical accounts and scholarly studies shows that as Persian society was distanced from its tribal roots in the Timurid and first half of the Safavid eras, and became more sedentary and urban-centred by the second half of the Safavid era, and due to the increasing impact of religious forces, the capacity of women to participate in public life became more restricted. To assess the changing role of women during this time, distinctions between urban and rural settings and between elite women and commoners were examined, enabling this study to observe and interpret placing and agency of women in different layers of society.

Accordingly, the current study does not allow us to draw a simple linear conclusion about the transformation in women's roles from the Timurid to late Safavid eras. Yet, examining women's social role in different types of architectural spaces and structures, from mobile to sedentary, from religious to secular, and from public to private as represented in Persian painting, made it possible to study gaze and femineity in various layers of society, not only the upper class, and in spaces other than royal garden and palace scenes alone.

The survey and analysis of multiple examples of illustrated folios from the Timurid to the late Safavid eras with respect to the representation of women and architectural form and space in Persian painting did not provide as clear and unequivocal evidence as had been anticipated of signifciant social and cultural change over that historical period. What was more evident, however, and conistent with the arguments of key scholers such as Rudi Matthee, was the primary and continuing contrast that these analyses revealed between the spatial experiences and 'outlooks' of elite and ordinary women, and urban and rural worlds.

Respecting such diversity in examining women's representation in society and different architectural structures and spaces in Persian painting, contributed to revising stereotypical assumptions about Medieval Persian women, their social roles and status. The results of this

investigation show that although women are not omnipresent in Persian painting, their presence in public spaces such as bazaar, mosque and school is noteworthy. Given the scarcity of official documents, the application of 'gaze' and architecture as an analytical lens, enhanced by the 'folding and pop-up' technique, has facilitated a more in-depth investigation which reveals concealed layers of such images as a valuable visual reference to study femineity and space.

While court chronicles and indigenous sources in general mostly pay attention to upper-class women and are mostly silent about the lives of women of lower social ranking, and rural and nomadic societies, the representation of women in functional encampment scenes offered the best opportunity to study ordinary women and their dynamic role in the clan. Also, despite the conventional representation of women in royal sedentary and royal mobile architectural settings, the pop-up method made it possible to re-narrate such images through decoding and unfolding spatial configurations as well as the notion of gaze.

The approach suggested by the current study is only one means to revise and rethink our past, which "does not exist independently from the present"[38], to reposition ourselves in the present and future. If such re-narration has succeeded in making us feel uncertain, even uncomfortable, about what we 'see' and what we 'assume', and if it has made us re-gaze and re-understand what we have accepted as reality, this study has achieved its aim.

The approach adopted by the current study in general permits greater refinement of the theory of gaze and space which contributes to the development of qualitative methods of analysis to study social history. It advances the study of the past by presenting analytical materials which challenge current assumptions about women's place in society, culture and art, and suggests avenues for future inquiry in the field of gender and women's studies. The findings of the current study provide the following insights for future research:

a. Regarding the historical scope of the study from the Timurid to Safavid eras, it was not possible to focus on paintings produced by a particular painter, manuscript, workshop, patron or school of art. A further study with a focus on each of the suggested options could assess the effects of artistic vision and style, patron's taste, and socio-cultural and political context on the imagery of space and its implications.

[38] "The past does not exist independently from the present." See Michel-Rolph Author Trouillot, and Carby, Hazel V Contributor, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015).

b. While the current research mainly focused on how space defines people, further studies could consider how people define space.

c. While the current research mainly focused on the social implications of architectural imageries, the method and techniques developed in this study could be applied to pursue a more systematic structural analysis of the architectural descriptions offered in Persian painting. Such an investigation could be conducted by focusing on a particular city, era, rulership, or architectural type in terms of function or style.

Bibliography

Akkach, Samer. "The Eye of Reflection: Al-Nabulusi's Spatial Interpretation of Ibn ʿarabi's Tomb." *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 79-95.

Alhesabi, Mehran Ali, and Abulfazl Ghorbani. "Reviewing the Characteristics of the Entrance as an Articulation and Visual Privacy in Adjacent Public Spaces - Case Study; Lāft Port." *Quarterly for Islamic Architecture Researches* 5 (Winter 2015): 87-106.

Allsen, Thomas T. *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Andrews, P.A. "The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltay at Samarqand, 1404." In *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands: Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, No. 7*, edited by Denwood Philip. London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978.

Andrews, Peter Alford. *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage*. 2 vols. London: Melisende, 1999.

Andrews, Peter Alford. "The Tents of Timur: An Examination of Reports on the Quriltai at Samarqand,1404." In *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands: A Colloquy Held 27-29 June 1977*, edited by Philip Denwood, 143-87. London: University of London School of Oriental and African Art, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1978.

Angelis, Michele A De, and Thomas W Lentz. *Architecture in Islamic Painting: Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* [in English]. Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum in association with the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1982.

Anon. "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia " Translated by Charles Grey. In *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteen Centuries*, edited by Charles Grey. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.

Anon.(ed). *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the Xviith and Xviiith Centuries*. Vol. 2, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939.

Amiri, Manouchehr. *Safarnameh-haye Veniziyan dar Iran*. Kharazmi:Tehran, 1381.

Arabshah, Ahmad ibn. *Zendegani Shegeft Avar-E Teymur (the Original Title in the Arabic: Aja'ib Al-Maqdur Fi Nawa'ib Al-Taymur/ in English: the Wonders of Destiny of the Ravages of Timur)*. Translated by Mohammad Ali Nejati. Tehran: Bongah-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab, 1356/1977.

Arberry, Arthur J. *The Koran Interpreted*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Ardener, Shirley, and University of Oxford Women's Studies Committee, ed. *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, Oxford Women's Series; vol. 5. London: Croom Helm in association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981.

Ashrafi, M. M. *Bihzad and the Establishment of Bukhara Painting School in Sixteenth Century*. Translated by Nasrin Zandi. Tehran: Farhangestan-e Honar, 2003.

Ashrafi, M. M. *From Bihzad to Riza Abbasi: The Evolotion of Persian Painting in the 16th and Early 17th Century*. Translated by Nasrin Zandi. Tehran Farhangestan-e Honar, 2009.

Asma, Serajuddin. "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting During the Timurid and Safavid Periods." PhD diss., University of London, 1968.

Assari, Ali, T. M. Mahesh, and Erfan Assari. "Conservation of Historic Urban Core in Traditional Islamic Culture: Case Study of Isfahan City." *Indian Journal of Science and Technology* (Jan 2012): 1970-76.

Babayan, Kathryn. "The 'Aqa'id Al-Nisa': A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture ". In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, edited by Gavin R.G. Hambly, 349-81. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Baghli Shirazi, Rouzbahan. *Abhar Al-Asheghin*. Tehran: French Institute of Persian Studies, 1981.

Bahari, Ebadollah. *Bihzad:Master of Persian Painting*. London, Newyork: I.B.Tauris Publisher, 1996.

Bailey, David A., and Gilane Tawadros. *Veil: Veiling, Representation, and Contemporary Art*. London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2003.

Balkhi, Jalaluddin Mohammad. *Kulliyat-e Shams*, ed. Badiu'zzaman Foruzanfar, ed. 3.Tehran: Amir Kabir Publication,1984.

Barbaro, Giosafat, and Ambrogio Contarini. *Travels to Tana and Persia*. Translated by William Thomas. London: Hakluyt Soc., 1873.

Barry, Michael. *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzâd of Herât (1465-1535)*. Flammarion, 2004.

Behrooz, Omrani, and Aminian, Mohammad. "Gomaneh Zani Dr Midan-E Saheb Abad Va Majmo'eh Hasan Padeshah / Speculation on the Saheb-Abad Square and Hasan Padishah Complex." *Majaleh Elmi Pazhoheshi Daneshgadeh Adabiyat va Ulum Ensani* 50 (1386/2008): 91-118.

Belting, Hans. *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science*. Translated by Deborah Lucas Schneider. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.

Bemanian, Mohammad-Reza, and Ma'soumeh Amini. *Me'mari Ejtemaei:Khaneh Irani/ Social Architecture:Iranian Houses.* Tehran: Aval-o Akher, 1395/2016.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing: Based on the Bbc Television Series with John Berger*. New York: Penguin Books, 1973.

Blair, Sheila, Jonathan Bloom, and Richard Ettinghausen. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale UP, 1995.

Blair, Sheila S. *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid Al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*. Volume 27 of the Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. I.B.Tauris, 2005.

Blair, Sheila S. "The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran." *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 266-74.

Blunt, Wilfrid, and photos by Wim Swaan. *Isfahan: Pearl of Persia*. London P. Elek, 1966.

Boyle, John Andrew. "The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei." *Central Asiatic Journal* 16, no. 2 (1972): 125-31.

Bruyn, Cornelis de. *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie*. Amsterdam: R. en G. Wetstein, J. Oosterwyk [en] H. van dc Gaete, 1714.

Bulliet, Richard W. "Women and the Urban Religious Elite in the Premongol Period." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 68-79. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Canby, Sheila. *The Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp: The Persian Book of Kings*. Yale University Press, 2014.

Canby, Sheila R., ed. *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990.

Chardin, Jean. *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire*. Translated by R.W. Ferrier. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.

Chardin, Jean. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, L. Langles, l0 vols and atlas, Paris: Le Normand, 1810-11.

Choksy, Jamsheed K. "Women During the Transition from Sasanian to Early Islamic Times." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 48-67. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6 / Translated, for the First Time, with Notes, a Preface, and an Introductory Life of Timour Beg, by Clements R. Markham*. Translated by Clements R. Markham. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society ; [No. 26], edited by Clements R. Markham London: Hakluyt Society, 1859.

Clavijo, Ruy González de. *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406*. Translated by Guy Le Strange from the Spanish, The Broadway Travellers, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Elleen Power. London: Routledge, 1928.

d'Alessandri, Vincenzo. "Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri." In *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.

D'Alleva, A. *Methods and Theories of Art History*. Laurence King Publishing, 2005.

Daʿadli, Tawfiq. *Esoteric Images: Decoding the Late Herat School of Painting*. Brill, 2019.

De Angelis, Michele A., Thomas W. Lentz. *Architecture in Islamic Painting: Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* [in English]. Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum in association with the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1982.

Dickson, Martin Bernard, and Stuart Cary Welch. *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1981.

El Guindi, Fadwa. *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance*. New York: Berg Publishers, 1999.

Ettinghausen, Richard. "Introduction." In *Islamic Garden*, edited by Macdougall and Ettinghausen, 1-10. Washington, District of Columbia: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976.

Fakari Tehrani, Farhad. *Reinterpreting Historic Maps of Tabriz*. Tehran: Urban Development and Revitalization Organization (UDRO) press, 2008.

Fallah, Siyamak Nayyeri, Akram Khalili, and Mohammad Tajuddin Bin Mohamad Rasdi. "Privacy Layers in Traditional Iranian Houses, Symbol of Religious Thought in Family Life Pattern." In *The 1st International Congress on Religious Culture and Thought*, (April 2014): 1040-49.

Fazel, G. Reza. "Social and Political Status of Women among Pastoral Nomads: The Boyr Ahmad of Southwest Iran." *Anthropological Quarterly 50*, no. 2 (1977): 77-89.

Figueroa, Don Garcia de Silvia y. *Comentarios de Don García de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del rey de España don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia,*Vol.2. Madrid: La Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles,1903.

Foroutan, Manouchehr. "Architectural Language of Persian Paintings; Survey of Persian Paintings as Historical Documents of Iranian Islamic Architecture." *Hoviyate Shahr* 6 (spring and summer 2010): 130-41.

Foroutan, Manouchehr. "Method of Understanding Iranian Architectural Space from Iranian Paintings (617-1000 Ah /1220-1591 Ad)." PhD diss., Islamic Azad University, 2009.

Foruzanfar, Badiozzaman. "Saadi and Suhrawardi." In *Saadi Nameh*, ed.Habib Yaghmaei, 687-706 .Tehran: Ta'lim and Tarbiyat Journal 1937.

Foruzanfar, Badiozzaman. *Sharh-E Masnavi-Ye Sharif: A Commentary on Masnavi Sharif* 1st ed. 3 vols. Vol 1.Tehran: University of Tehran Publication, 1989.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin Book Ltd, 1995.

Fryer, John A. *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being 9 Years' Travels, 1672-1681*, edited by W. Crooke, 3 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1909.

Frye, Richard N. "Preface." In *The Masjid-I 'Atiq of Shiraz*, edited by Donald Wilber. Shiraz: Pahlavi University, Asia Institute, 1972.

Ghaffari Fard, Abbasgholi. *Women in Safavid Historiography*. 1st ed. Tehran: Amir Kabir, 2006.

Ghani, Qasim. *The History of Mysticism in Islam*, 2 vols. Vol. 1.Tehran: Zavvar, 2002.

Chardin, Jean, and R.W Ferrier. *A Journey to Persia: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire.* Bloomsbury Academic, 1996.

Gharipour, Mohammad. *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts.* London-New York I.B.Tauris, 2013.

Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. Harvard University Press, 1967.

Godinho, Manuel. *Intrepid Itinerant: Manuel Godinho and His Journey from India to Portugal in 1663*, edited by John Correia-Afonso. Translated by Vitalio Lobo and John Correia-Afonso. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Golombek, Lisa. "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives." *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 137-47.

Golombek, Lisa, and Donald Wilber. *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6.* Translated, for the First Time, with Notes, a Preface, and an Introductory Life of Timour Beg, by Clements R. Markham. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society ; [No. 26], edited by Clements R. Markham. London: Hakluyt Society, 1859.

Grabar, Oleg. *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Grabar, Oleg, and Mika Natif." Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation." *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 173-202.

Graves, Margaret."Inside and Outside, Picture and Page: The Architectural Spaces of Miniature Painting." In *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 295-303. Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011.

Grey, Charles, ed. *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. London: B. Franklin, 1873.

Grimshaw, Anna. *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Gronke, Monika. "The Persian Court between Palace and Tent: From Timur to 'Abbas I." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 19-21. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

Grube, Ernst J., and George Michell. *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning, with a Complete Survey of Key Monuments*. Morrow, 1978.

Hall, Edward Twitchell. *The Silent Language*. New York: Doubleday & Company, INC, 1959.

Hanachi, Pirooz, and Solmaz Yadollahi. "Tabriz Historical Bazaar in the Context of Change." In *17th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium: 'Heritage, driver of development'*, 1028-39. Paris, 2011.

Hanachi, Pirouz, and Ahad Ebrahimi Sar-doroud. "Bazkhani-Ye Midan-E Saheb Abad-E Tabriz Az Rooye Tasavir-E Chardin Va Matrakçı Bar Asase Motoun-E Tarikhi Az Shekl-Giri Ta Doreh Safaviyeh /Reconstruction of Sahib Abad Square Based on Historical Texts, Chardin Drawings and Matrakçı Plans." *Honarhaye Ziba* 25 (1385/2007): 35-44.

Hanaway, William. "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature." In *Islamic Garden*, edited by Macdougall and Ettinghausen, 41-67. Washington, District of Columbia: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976.

Hashemi, Reyhaneh, and Jafarian, Rasoul, "Seyr-E Tahavolat-E Tarikhi-Ye Hozour-E Zanan Dar Masajed Va Amaken-E Eslami Va Ta'sir-E ān Bar Me'mari-Ye Masajed /The Historical Trend of Women's Presence in Mosques and Islamic Religious Places and Its Influence on the Architecture of Mosques," Shia Shenasi 12, no. 45 (2014): 177-210.

Herbert, Thomas. *Travels in Persia*, 1627 1629, ed. Sir William Foster. London: Routledge,1928.

Herdeg, Klaus. *Formal Structure in Islamic Architecture of Iran and Turkistan*. Rizzoli, 1990.

Hurst, Herbert. *Oxford Topography: an essay, Oxford Historical Society, 39*. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society,1899.

Hillenbrand, Carole. "Women in the Seljuq Period." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 103-20. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003.

Hillenbrand, Robert. "The Use of Space in Timurid Painting." In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 76-101. Leiden, New York, Koln: E.J. Brill, 1992.

Hosseini-Rad, Abdolmajid. *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005.

Ibn Battitah, Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad. *Rihlat Ibn Battutah /Travels of Ibn Battutah*, 2 vol., edited by .Ali al-Kattani. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risalah, 1395/1977.

Janson, H.W., and A.F. Janson. *History of Art: The Western Tradition*. Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2003.

Kahle, Darko. "Multi-Story Attached Houses in Zagreb between 1850 and 1927." *Prostor* 22 (2014): 175-87.

Kavusi, Valiallah. *Tigh-O Tanbur; Honare Doreh Teymurian Be Revayat-E Motun*. Tehran: Farhangestan-e Honar, 2010.

Keddie, Nikki R. *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*. New Haven, United States: Yale University Press, 2008.

Keshavarz, Fatemeh. "Taming the Unruly King Nizami's Shirin as Lover and Educator." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 186-205. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Khaghani, Saeid. *Islamic Architecture in Iran: Post Structural Theory and the Architectural History of Iranian Mosques*. London.New York: I.B.Tauris, 2012.

Khatami, Najme. "Persian Painting: A Visual Window into a Genderless Language ". *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies* 20, no. 1 (2013): 73-86.

Kheirandish, Abdol-Rasool. "Seyr-i dar Doshvariha-ye Motaleat-e Tarikhi Raje be Zanan dar Tarikh-e Iran: A Course in Difficulties of Women's Historical Studies," *History and Geography Book of the Month* 6, no. 1 (20,1, 2003).

Khoram, Babak, Mehdi Sabounian Yazd, and others. *Ganj-Nameh: Farhang-E Asar-E Me'mari-Ye Eslami-Ye Iran: Masajed-E Jame' /Encyclopaedia of Islamic Architecture of Iran: Jame' Mosques*. Vol. 2, Tehran: Rozaneh, 1383/2004.

Kinberg, Leah. "Paradise." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān: Volume Four P-Sh*, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 12-19. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004.

Kulsūm, Nah′nah, and J. Atkinson. *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia and Their Domestic Superstitions*. Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland; sold, 1832.

Kühnel, Ernst. *Islamic Art and Architecture.* Translated by K. Watson. London: G. Bell& Sons, 1970.

Lahouri, Mohammad Iqbal, *An Overview of Philosophy in Iran.* Translated by Amir-Hossein Aryanpour .Tehran: The Institute of Regional and Cultural Studies, 1347/1968.

Lal, Ruby. *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Landes, David S. and Charles Tilly (eds.), "History as Social Science (Excerpts from the report of the History Panel of the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey)." *SSRC's Items & Issues, vol. 25, no. 1 (March 19, 1971).*

Lentz, T.W. "The Other World: Memory and Ideology in the Timurid Garden." In *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture: Mughal gardens; sources, places, representations, and prospects*, 31-58. Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, May 1992.

Lentz, Thomas W., and Glenn D. Lowry. *Timur & Princely Vision*. Los Angeles: Smithsonian, 1989.

Library, Saltykov-Shchedrin Public. *Iranian Miniatures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: The Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library Collection*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1973.

Lukonin, Vladimir, and Anatoly Ivanov. *The Lost Treasure: Persian Art*. Parkstone International, 2015.

Lukonin, Vladimir and Anatoly Ivanov. *Persian Miniatures*. New York, United States: Parkstone International, 2014.

L. Field, Karen. Review of *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*" by Shirley Ardener, *American Anthropologist* 84, no. 4 (1982).

Mirzaei, Ma'soumeh, Seyyed Rasoul Mousavi Haji, 'Aabed Taghavi, and Amin Moradi. "Bazshenasi-Ye Form-E Memari-Ye Kakh-E Hasht Hehesht-E Tabriz /Recognition of the Architectural Form of Tabriz Hasht-Behesht Palace." *Baghe Nazar* 44 (1395/2017): 77-88.

Mahdavi, Shireen. "Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, Family Values, and the Safavids." In *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, edited by Michel M. Mazzaoui, 81-100. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998.

Manz, Beatrice Forbes. "Women in Timurid Dynastic Politics." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 121-39. Urbana And Chicago: University Of Illinois Press, 2003.

Marks, Laura U. "The Taming of the Haptic Space, from Málaga to Valencia to Florence." *Muqarnas Online* 32 (08/27 2015): 253-78.

Masoud, Amirbani. "Bagh-E Saheb Abad-E Tabriz /Tabriz Saheb-Abad Garden." *Bagh-e Nazar*, no. 4 (1384): 3-12.

Mansouri-Fard, Mohsen. "Tekyeh Dowlat." Majmoueh Maghalat-e Kongereh-e Tarikh-e Memari va Shahr Sazi Iran: Esfand, 1374.

Matthee, Rudi. "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times? " In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, edited by Colin P. Mitchell, 97-120. London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011.

Meisami, Julie Scott. "Eleventh-Century Women Evidence from Bayhaqis History." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 80-102. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Meiss, Pierre von. *Elements of Architecture from Form to Place with Comparative Analysis of Iranian Architecture*. Translated by Simon Ayvazian. 6 ed. Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1392 / 2013.

Meiss, Pierre von. *Elements of Architecture: From Form to Place*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011.

Melville, Charles. "Gazurgahi's Majalis Al-'Ushshaq, Amir Khusrau Dihlavi and Fakhr Al-Din 'Iraqi." In *Sufistic Literature in Persian: Tradition and Dimensions*, edited by Azarmi Dukht Safavi, 28-37. Aligarh: Institute of Persian Research, Aligarh Muslim University, 2014.

Melville, Charles. "The Illustration of History in Safavid Manuscript Painting." In *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, edited by Colin P. Mitchell. Iranian Studies (Book 8), 163-97. London and Newyork: Taylor & Francis, 2011.

Melville, Charles. "Gazurgahi's Majalis Al-'Ushshaq, Amir Khusrau Dihlavi and Fakhr Al-Din 'Iraqi." In *Sufistic Literature in Persian: Tradition and Dimensions*, edited by Azarmi Dukht Safavi, 28-37. Aligarh: Institute of Persian Research, Aligarh Muslim University, 2014.

Mernissi, Fatima. *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Enquiry*. Translated by Mary Jo Lakeland. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

Michell, George, ed. *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning, with a Complete Survey of Key Monuments*. Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Milstein, Rachel, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz. *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā'*. Islamic Art and Architecture Series. Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1999.

Mitchell, Colin P. *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*. Taylor & Francis, 2011.

Monfared, Afsaneh. "Takyeh", in *Encyclopedia of the World of Islam*, vol viii, 1394/2014, accessed 22.05.2019, http://rch.ac.ir/article/Details?id=10408&&searchText=

Mortada, Hisham. *Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment*. Abingdon, Oxon, United States: Routledge, 2003.

Munajjim, Mulla Jalal al-Din. *Tarikh-I 'Abbasi Ya Ruznamah-I Mulla Jalal. Ed. Fayf Allah Vahid Niya*. Tehran: Vahid, 1366/1987.

Naficy, Hamid. "The Averted Gaze in Iranian Postrevolutionary Cinema." *Public Culture* 3, no.2 (1 May 1991): 29–40.

Nari-Ghomi, Masoud. "Motale-E Ma'na Shenakhti Dar Bab-E Mafhom Daroon Garaei Dar Shahr-E Eslami," *Honar-Ha-Ye-Ziba;Memari-Va-Shahrsazi* 2, no. 43 (1389/2010).

Nashat, Guity, and L. Beck. *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*. University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Nashat, Guity. "Women in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Iran ". In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 11-47. Urbana And Chicago: University Of Illinois Press, 2003.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. In Address to the Iranologist Congress, sixteenth-century, May 1968.

Nasirinia, Peyman, and Isa Hojat, "A Contemplation on Tabriz's Contemporary Structural Changes and Their Effects on City's Identity." *Memari va Shahrsazi*, 21 (2016).

Natif, Mika. "The "Zafarnama" [Book of Conquest] of Sultan Husayn Mirza." In *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 211-28. Princeton University Press, 2002.

Nelson, Cynthia. "Women and Power in Nomadic Societies of the Middle East." In *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society*, edited by Cynthia Nelson. Berkeley: University of California Press,1973.

Nelson, Cynthia. "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 3 (1974): 551-63.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire." *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 32 (October 2015): 23-61.

Netton, Ian Richard. *A Popular Dictionary of Islam*. Psychology Press, 1997.

O'Kane, B. *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*. Mazdâ Publishers, 1987.

O'Kane, Bernard. "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design." *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 249-68.

O'Kane, Bernard. *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*. Volume 3 of Islamic Art and Architecture. Mazdâ Publishers, 1987.

Omidsalar, Mahmoud. "Waters and Women Maidens and Might the Passage of Royal Authority in the Shahnama." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 170-85. Urbana And Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Rajabi, A. and A. Sefahan. "Iranian Markets: Embodies the Ideas of Sustainable Development." In *Geography* 11, 2009, 113-127.

Rajabi, Mohammad-'Ali and others, ed. *The Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp*. Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1392/2010.

Pakbaz, Ruyin. Encyclopedia of Art, 3rd ed. Tehran: Farhang-e Ma'aser, 1381/2002.

Pamuk, Orhan. *My Name Is Red*. Translated by Erdağ Göknar. London: Faber, 2002.

Papanek, Hanna. "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3 (1973): 289-325.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

Panofsky, Erwin *Perspective as Symbolic Form*. Translated by Christopher S. Wood. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

Petis, Sieur Flis. Extrait du journal du Sieur *Petis, Fils*, in L. Langlès, ed., relation de Dourray Efeny ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane auprès du roy de Perse. Paris: 1810.

Pfeiffer, Judith, Sholeh A.Quinn, and in Collaboration with Ernest Tucker, eds. *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Pourjafar, Mohammadreza, Masoome Amini, Elham Hatami Varzaneh, and Mohammad Javad Mahdavinejad. "Role Of bazaars as a unifying factor in Traditional cities of Iran: The Isfahan bazaar." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 3 (2014): 10-19.

Pirniya, Mohammad-Karim. *Āshnaei ba Memari Eslami Iran*. Tehran: Iran University of Science & Technology,1379/2000.

Pirniya, Mohammad-karim, Gholamhosein Memarian, *Sabkshenasi-Ye Memari-Ye Irani/ Stylistic of Iranian Architecture,* 18 ed. Tehran: Gholamhosein Memarian, 1395/2016.

Ravaghi, Ali. *Farhang-I Shahnameh*. 2 vols. Vol. 2, Tehran: Farhangestan-i Honar, 1390/2011.

Ravenhill, William. "Bird's-eye view & bird's-flight view," *The Map Collector*, no. 35 (1986): 36–7.

Romano, Francesco. "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia," edited and translated by Charles Grey, in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteen Centuries*, edited by Charles Grey. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.

Rossabi, Morris. *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*. University of California Press, 1988.

Roxburgh, David J. "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404." In *The'Book' of Travels: Genre Ethnology and Pilgrimage 1250-1700,* edited by Palmira Brummett Boston: Brill, 2009.

Roxburge, David J. "Kamal Al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting." *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119-149.

Sadoughianzadeh, Minoosh. "Gender Structure and Spatial Organization: Iranian Traditional Spaces." *SAGE Open* 3, no. 4 (2013): 1-12.

Sajjadi, Seyyed-Ja'far. *Farhang-E Estelahat Va Ta'birat-E Erfani / Dictionary of Sufism Terminology*, 10 ed. .Tehran: Tahouri, 1393/2014.

Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, *Iranian Miniatures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: The Saltykov- Shchedrin Public Library Collection*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1973.

Sattari, Jalal. *Eshgh-e Sufianeh / Mystical Love*, 6th ed. Tehran: Markaz Publication, 2010.

Savory, Roger. *Iran under the Safavids* .London: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Schimmel, Annemarie. "The Celestial Garden in Islam." In *The Islamic Garden*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, 11-40. Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1976.

S.Diba, Layla. "Lifting the Veil from the Face of Depiction the Representation of Women in Persian Painting." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 206-36. Urbana And Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Semsar, Mohammad Hasan. *Kakh Golestan (Golestan Palace)*. Translated by Karim Emami. Tehran: Simin 1379.

Serajuddin, Asma. "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting during the Timurid and Safavid Periods." PhD diss., University of London, 1968.

Seyfiyan, Mohammad-Kazem and Mohammad-reza Mahmoudi. "Mahramiyat Dar Me'mari Sonati Iran /Privacy in the Traditional Iranian Architecture," *Hoviyat-i Shahr 1* (1386/2007): 3-14.

Shahcheraghi, Azadeh. *Paradigms of Paradise: Recognition and Recreation of the Persian Garden*. Tehran: Tehran Branch of Jahad Daneshgahi, 2011.

Shamisa, Sirous. *Shāhed-Bāzi in Persian literature*.Tehran: Ferdows, 1381.

Shukri, Yadullah, ed., Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-Yi Safavī .Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1971.

Simpson, Marianna Shreve, and Massumeh Farhad. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran*. Yale University Press, 1997.

Sims, Eleanor. "The Garrett Manuscript of the Zafar-Nama: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Timurid Patronage." Ph. D. New York University, 1973.

Smith, Ronald Bishop. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations in Persia (1507-1524)*. Bethesda, MD: Decatur Press, 1970.

Soucek, Priscilla P. "Timurid Women: A Cultural Perspective ". In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, edited by Gavin R.G. Hambly. The New Middle Ages, 199-226. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

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

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700 (1). Boston, NL: Brill, 2009.

Subtelny, Maria Eva. "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia." *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (1983): 121-48.

Szuppe, Maria. "Status Knowledge and Politics Women in Sixteenth-century Safavid Iran." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, 140-69. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Tapper, Nancy Starr Self. "Mysteries of the Harem? An Anthropological Perspective on Recent Studies of Women of the Muslim Middle East." *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1979): 481-87.

Tapper, Nancy Starr Self. "The Role of Women in Selected Pastoral Islamic Societies." Unpublished MPhil Thesis, SOAS University of London, 1967.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste. *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Thvernier en Turqttie, en Perse*, et aux Indes, vo1.1. Paris: G. Clouzier, 1676.

Thevenot, Jean de *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, in 3 parts. London: H. C1ark, 1687. pt.3, Persia.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph Author, and Carby, Hazel V Contributor. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2015.

Twitchell Hall, Edward. *The Silent Language*. New York: Doubleday & Company, INC, 1959.

Uluç, Lâle. "Meetings of Lovers: The Bodleian Majalis Al-Andlsquo; Ushshaq, Ms. Ouseley, Add. 24." In *Love and Devotion: From Persia and Beyond*, edited by Susan Scollay, 83-89. Oxford: Macmillan Art Publishing, 2012.

Weber Wilkinson, Clare M. *Embroidering Lives: Women's Work and Skill in the Lucknow Embroidery Industry*, *SUNY Press* (25 March 1999).

Welch, Anthony. "The Worldly Vision of Mir Sayyid 'Ali." In *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, edited by Sheila R. Canby, 85-98. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990.

Wilber, Donald Newton. *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khanid Period*. Vol. II, New York: Greenwood Press, 1955.

Wilber, Donald Newton. *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khanid Period*. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Woods, John E. "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987): 81-108.

Wright, Susan. "Place and Face: Of Women in Doshman Ziari, Iran." In *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, edited by Shirley Ardener. Oxford Women's Series; 5. London: Croom Helm in association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 1981.

Yazar, Hatice."Architecture in Miniature: Representation of Space and Form in Illustrations and Buildings in Timurid Central Asia." M.S. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991.

Yazdi, Sharaf al-din Ali. *The History of Timur-Bec: Known by the Name of Tamerlane the Great, Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars: Being a Historical Journal of His Conquests in Asia and Europe*. Translated by J. Darby. 2 vols. Vol. 1, London1723.

Yazdi, Sharaf Al-din Ali. *Zafarname Timuri*, edited by Abdolhossein Navai and Seyed Saeid Mir Mohammad Sadegh. Markaz-e Tahqigat-e Rayaneh-i Ghaemiyeh Isfahan.

Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba. "Tabriz Under Ottoman Rule (1725-1730)." PhD diss., University of Chicago, Department of History, 1991.

Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba. "Cross-cultural Contacts in Eurasia: Persianate Art in Ottoman Istanbul," Judith Pfeiffer, Sholeh A.Quinn, and in Collaboration with Ernest Tucker, eds. *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*.Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Zarrinkoob, Abdolhossein. *Persian Sufism in Its Historical Background.* Tehran: Amir Kabir Publication, 2007.

Zarrinkoub, Abdulhossein. *Pir-e Ganjeh dar Jostojooye Nakoja Abad: Darbareh Asar, Zendegi va Andishe-ye Nezami*.Tehran: Sokhan, 1372.

Zarj Abad, Hasan Hashemi, Abed Taqavi, and Zabiholah Masoudi, "Daroun-Garaei Va Baztab-E Asle Mahramiyat Dar Memari Iran: Khanehay-E Tarikhi-Ye Birjand," *Motaleat Farhangi Ejtemaei Khorasan* 9, no. 2 (2015): 123-46.