and destabilising society and governments. At the same time, the religious-political movements strengthen the negative image of Islam all over the world, painting the religion as "intolerant", thus instigating hatred and animosity.

A central issue linked to the socio-political problem is the women's issue: a matter that has often cast a lingering shadow on Islam's global image. I do not think that I am reducing the problem to a pasteurised reduction if I said: If we were to ask the "average person" in the West and in many other regions to tell us what he knows of the Islamic world, he would answer: The oppression of women and violence or terrorism.

It is of no surprise that legal rulings pertaining to women in Islam from the renaissance era to this day caused quarrels and queries in Islamic regions. They are also a constant subject of review, discussion, observation and critique in non-Islamic domains. It is also no secret that the Islamic rulings on women, which I consider to be the compilation of jurisprudential rulings, have been stripped by religious scholars of any relationship with the religious texts and early historical trials. These jurisprudential rulings contribute a series of perceptions, circumstances and rulings covering superficial grounds, lack contemporary humanistic moral values: equality, justice, freedom and human dignity.

However, it is certain that patriarchal culture and traditions, along with the male dominated spectrum of textual interpretation in regards to women, has played a critical role in determining, regulating and directing rulings pertaining to women. Limiting interpretation to male readers and speakers, the negligence of the historical, social and economical contexts of the texts, as well as the misconstrued mishmash of cultural inheritance and interpretation of the text are all key factors to such practices.

Tradition has preserved very little in terms of female testimonial objections against the ruthlessness of men and oppression of women. History bears witness that the Prophet himself practiced a righteous life. He had displayed noble "feminist" tendencies as Fatima Al-Memissi has revealed. However, the inherited authority of the patriarchal movement and the power it possessed demonstrated its strength through the case made by some religious narratives to eliminate the equal and just state of affairs and replace them with the principles of gender distinction and hierarchy.

Prominent Salafi thinkers like Mohammed Rashied Redha took notice of the change in the perception of women immediately. Redha observed that one of the virtues of the European modern age lies in the fact that it alerted us to the chain of values and ideals which it believes are prevalent in the religious Islamic texts. Modernity cast our awareness towards it, and so it became of greater worth to us. We even attribute to ourselves the initiative for implementing it first.

The truth is that the revival of these values is specifically credited to a group of Muslim thinkers, women who travelled to the West and emulated its sciences, culture and ideals. They were able to— from a Qur'anic perspective—recognize that the Qur'an is clear in its establishment of "ontological equality" between the two genders. Therefore, it is important to "re-read" the "disturbing" religious texts and to interpret them to support a new image of the Muslim woman and of Islam in the present time and in the future.

The aforementioned women were able to work towards their goal in a manner that lies in contrast with, "The Refuznik Women", the assemblage of women who gained their prominence in realms of globalization for unduly criticizing Islam and its prophet. They claimed that Islam in its essence and spirit oppress women.

I have resolved this matter in my latest book (Khanjar as-Sirb: Outside the Herd?) (ed. 2012). I can go as far as saying that on the surface, interpretive reading of the texts pertaining to women suggests the pre-eminence of hierarchical customs and the lack of equality between man and woman. However, when a different approach is taken while conducting the reading, one realises that the text actually dispels the notions that Islam oppresses women and strips them of their human dignity. This is exactly what "The Interpretive Feminists" has done. Ameenah Waqar, Asma Barlas, Rifat Hassan, Fatima Al-Memissi and others were able to draw from the Qur'anic perspective of "ontological equality" a series of values and rulings which establish the feminist case for the principles of equality, justice, freedom and human dignity.

Thus, as history, it tells the story of the Persian Empire from the early origins of human society to the collapse of the Sassanian dynasty and the Muslim Arab conquest in the time of caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthman. Much of this history is taken up with the interaction of Iran and the nomads of Inner Asia, identified as the 'Turks' or 'Turanians' in the Shahnama, and later with the Byzantines and the Arab lands of the Byzantine Empire – mainly in the Levant, but also echoing earlier connections with the Yemen. In other words, on the political level, it addresses Iran's place in the world vis-a-vis its neighbours, and provides a living memorial of Iran's pre-Islamic imperial glory.

Culturally speaking, Firdausi's poem promotes the values of adab, of courtly politeness, respect for authority and religion, knowledge (dindesh) and learning, and faithfulness (wafa) in one's dealings. In terms of political ethics, the Shahnama focuses on the qualities needed for kingship, which, apart from the God-given grace or charisma (farr) and royal descent of pure Iranian lineage, requires above all the qualities of wisdom (kherad) and justice (adil), both of which involve suppressing greed, hastiness and rash decisions, and consulting with the wise, be they scholars or priests. The Shahnama is also celebrated for its use of the Persian language and for playing a major role in the emergence of New Persian as a literary language – although the use of Arabic words, including some key terms (as already noted), is more widespread than is generally mentioned. It can also hardly be irrelevant that the poet was writing almost 400 years after the coming of Islam: whatever his personal religious persuasion – which remains ambiguous – it is likely that the values of his contemporary society also permeated his work, whether consciously or not, so that his poetry and his ethics all perfectly comfortably with Muslim belief.

In its own time, the full significance of Firdausi's work was nevertheless unappreciated. We can identify the evaluation of the text both as a symbol of "Iranianness", and as a preferred subject for
copying and illustration, starting in the Il-Khānīd period in Iran.

Following the Mongol conquests and fall of the Abbāsid caliphate in 1258, Iran’s new rulers first became at least partly acclimatized to Persian culture, and ultimately also converted to Islam. The earliest surviving manuscripts of the Shāhānma date from 1217 and 1276; the last coincides with the construction of the Il-Khānīd palaces at Takht-i-Suleyman with their superb glazed tiles bearing quotations from the poem. These texts and another recently discovered from around the same time are not illustrated – but this situation suddenly changes, apparently coinciding with the conversion of Ghazan Khan to Islam (in 1294), so that by the mid-13th century more than a dozen illustrated copies have been identified. From this time, the popularity of the text has hardly faltered, and hundreds of manuscripts of the Shāhānma have been illustrated, reaching a peak in the mid-17th century in the late Safavid period.

If one looks at representative and outstanding examples of these illustrated manuscripts, he can see some of the subjects most frequently chosen and popular with the artists and their patrons. Among these were the murder of Ḫor (165 examples found so recorded by the Shāhānma Project), the death of Suhrāb (over 240) and of Sīyavūsh (over 400 for his fire ordeal and later murder, combined); the transfer of power from Darā (Darius III) to Iskandar (132); and Rustam’s archetypal confrontation with the White Div, by far the most popular of all (274). Other popular scenes are Bīzān’s rescue from the pit (189) and the death of Isfandiyar (227). The comparison of the treatment of these subjects allows us to appreciate the changing style and iconography developed by the Persian artists over a long period.

The succession of manuscripts of the highest quality produced at the royal ateliers (Kotobkhānas), starts with the Great Mongol or ‘Demotte’ Shāhānma (c. 1335), in which there is a strong emphasis on the cycle of Alexander or Iskandar (at least in the paintings that have survived the brutal dismemberment of the manuscript). Thus, echoing the point made earlier about the Mongols’ exposure to the culture of their subjects, we find a truly imperial depiction of the ruler as an aloof being, seemingly detached from the events around him, whereas later depictions of the prince enthroned tend to see him engaging at some levels with the courtiers clustering around the throne. In the Great Mongol Shāhānma there is also some focus on the story of Ḫor and his murder, which as mentioned, became one of the most frequently depicted scenes: explaining, as it does, the initiation of the vendetta between the Iranians and the Turanians, the resolution of which dominates the whole first ‘legendary’ portion of the poem. The story of Ḫor also provides an early paradigm of the martyred innocent, which is reinforced in the later story of Sīyavūsh and chimes so sympathetically with Iranian Šī‘ī religious sentiment. In terms of artistic expression, the ‘Demotte’ Shāhānma is a one-off, few later copies coming close to matching its emotional power.

A group of three almost exactly contemporary copies, made for the three grandsons of Timur, between c. 1425 and 1440, are also remarkable for their inventiveness and the high quality of their execution – as much for the illuminations as the pictures themselves. Ibrahim-Sultan’s copy was first, made in Shiraz, pioneering powerful, minimalist compositions that reduced the scenes to their essentials. In contrast, the copies made for his brothers Baysonghor (1430) and Muḥammad Juki (1440) in Herat contain a high degree of abstraction, in that the emphasis seems to be as much on the surface brilliance of the execution as on the narrative moment.

This tendency to technical perfection reached its peak in the work done for the Shah Tahmasp (‘Houghton’) Shāhānma, probably started for Shah Isma‘il I (d. 1524) but completed for Tahmasp by c. 1540 and employing the most celebrated artists of the Timurid court in Herat. This magnificent, heavily illustrated copy, has made most subsequent efforts seem rather second-rate, although some important manuscripts were copied at royal command for the short-reigned Shah Isma‘il II (1576-77) and later Shah ‘Abbas (d. 1629). An interesting group of manuscripts was illustrated in the 1640s, and artists of the renown of Mu‘in Mu‘aṣṣīr produced several copies in the following decades; the influence of western painting and the adoption of mannerist poses, pale pastel hues and a sense of perspective all show the Iranian artists’ continuing adaptability and inventiveness to endow well-worn subjects with a new liveliness.

So much for the Shāhānma itself – clearly it is a work of enormous significance in Iranian culture. We can observe various measures of the impact of the work on later generations. First, the literary impact; second, the visual influence of Shāhānma illustrations on other works; and third, what might be called the reciprocal impact of the iconography of scenes in other literary works being re-imported back into Shāhānma illustrations. We are especially concerned here with the last two points, as they relate to the arts of the book, but in reality all three elements are to some degree inter-related.

From the literary perspective, later poets attempted to fill out some of the stories from the so-called ‘Sīstan’ cycles of narratives of the house of Rustam that were left incomplete or ignored altogether by Firdausī. The most significant of these were Asadī Tusi’s Garahaspnama, the Barzunama, which followed the fortunes of Suhrāb’s son, who narrowly avoided being killed by Rustam as his father had been, thanks to the timely intervention of his mother (figure 1); and the Bahmannama,
recounting the revenge of Isfandiyar’s son on the house of Rustam. Occasionally, these narratives were reproduced in their own right, but from 1425 or so, they were frequently introduced or interpolated into copies of the Shahnama itself, thus almost becoming part of the work. Scenes from these interpolations were often illustrated along with scenes from the main text.

Later epic poets such as Nizami of Ganja (d. 1209), Amir Khusrav Dihlavi (c. 1300) and Jami (d. 1494) also refer to Firdausi’s poem in their retelling and ‘improving’ of his versions of the stories, such as Bahram Gur (and the slave-girl Fīna, Azada or Dilaram), Khusrav and Shīrin, or Iskandar. These works too were illustrated and could be indistinguishable from Shahnama paintings in the absence of the text.

Rather different is the appearance of characters from the Shahnama appearing in prose works such as Books of Marvels (‘Aja‘īb al-makhluqat), with illustrations that are directly influenced by Shahnama iconography, such as Bīzhan being rescued from the pit by Rustam (in connection with the pit of Aklīn Diw), or the fire ordeal of Sīyavush (in connection with an entry on ‘fire’), or, once more, stories concerning Iskandar. Stories of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiya), recounting the career of Joseph (Yusuf) frequently contain pictures of him being drawn out of the well where he had been thrown by his jealous brothers, in images again reminiscent of the Shahnama.

The visual impact of Shahnama iconography can also be seen in the religious epic by Ibn Husam (15th c.), the Khvārāmnama – in which, while referring to the inspiration of the poet Firdausi, the author transfers much of the legendary prowess of the hero Rustam onto the Shī‘ī Muslim hero, ‘Alī b. Abī Talib, and this is also reflected in much of the illustration of this work by the artist Faḥād, e.g. modelled on the death of Isfandiyar (figure 2), or the execution of Afrasiyab.

Finally, we may note that the illustration of history, in a small but significant selection of historical chronicles in both verse and prose, became barely distinguishable from the illustration of the ancient epic, with its focus on similar scenes and subject matter reflecting the life of the king and the court. Indeed, the relative lack of illustration of historical texts can in large part be attributed to the fact that the Shahnama at all, but is involved in other versions of the story, notably by Nizami (figure 3).

Another more striking example is the episode of Shah Kay Kavus’s flight into the heavens in a light construction powered by four hungry eagles. Although in Firdausi’s narrative, the Shah went into the sky with his bow and arrow in order to conquer the heavens, there is no mention of any such action and in the end he crashes down to earth when the eagles get exhausted. Nevertheless, in several depictions of this in manuscripts dating from the 16th century, the Shah is shown shooting at an angel, who is holding a fish, as described in the Stories of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiya) concerning Nebuchadnezzar, and in other religious texts, such as the 10th-century Persian translation of the Ta’arīf by al-Tabarī – and illustrated as such in them, until this rendering of the scene acquired an independent life of its own. Independent, that is, of the text. As recently shown in an interesting article by Firuz Abdullaeva, there is a parallel tradition of the depicting the king’s flight of Iskandar in medieval European manuscripts.

Finally, I would like to present the work of the Cambridge Shahnama Project, which began in 1999 and is still working to complete the collection and analysis of the whole corpus of miniature paintings in Shahnama manuscripts. The underlying rationale of the project is to relate the paintings to the text, not just in the sense of which stories are chosen for illustration, but exactly where they are placed in the text itself and so, by extension, how accurately or closely they follow the words of the poem. Some of the applications of this have already been noted in what I have said earlier.

Each painting is ‘fixed’ in the text with reference to the verses of the poem that come before and after it, numbered according to one of the standard editions of the Shahnama. From this it can be seen that there is a high correlation between the physical placement of the picture and the lines of poetry that encapsulate or ‘trigger’ the image: these verses are called the break-line verse by Dr Farhad Mehran, who first attempted a statistical analysis of the text-image relationship. He has taken this a step further by the idea of ‘mapping’ pages of text with reference to a standard edition, which has aided the analysis of various ways in which the text of the poem can be manipulated, particularly around a painting, in order to accommodate it in its proper position – by the use of lines added or omitted, of the device of diagonal script, which can extend the space taken up by the text on the page.

I have recently discussed this question at some length in an article published in the journal Persica 23 (2009-10), with reference to the story of the Davazdah Rūkh or ‘Twelve Champions’. To the examples described there must now be added a new one, which I was fortunate to be able to see yesterday in the Al-Sabah Collection. LNS 233 MS includes pictures of all the single combats, organised in an interesting way on the page, although unfortunately the pictures themselves were not carried out and the spaces for them are left blank.

Once the underlying principle has been developed, of examining different copies of the same work, to compare the choice of illustrations (and so the preference for certain subjects), their placement in the text, and the relationships between the verbal and visual narratives, there is every reason to apply the method to a variety of works. At the moment, the Shahnama Project website (http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk) is focused on the Shahnama, but it is my hope and ambition to extend and develop it to cover other works, such as the epics of Nizami, and especially a range of historical texts. Developing the educational potential of the database, in providing examples of calligraphy, illumination and other elements of the arts of the book, will bring these masterpieces of Islamic culture to a wider audience, and facilitate further comparisons of the iconography of manuscript miniature paintings across a whole range of literary and historical works.
الشامانية و «فنون الكتاب» الفارسية

تتلهم هذه الصورة التذكارية للشامانية، الشيخ المصور الأنيق. تحت الشجرة الأزليات، يقف الشارع، ينظر إلى الشاب، ويحتفل بالطبيعة. ما الذي يثبت أن الشامانية ليس لها شكل موجب، بل هي موجبة للفكر والفنون.

 במסط عرب، ووجدها في البداية، حتى

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هناك شعورًا بالبهجة والفرح، وكثيرًا من

البراءة، وفرحتهم، وابنهم، واقتضاء

وينتهي إلى النهاية في النهاية، وينتهي إلى

ويتضح هنا أن الشامانية ليس لها شكل موجب، بل هي موجبة للفكر والفنون.

في الأساطير الفارسية، تحت النشط الحيزة الأولى منها، والتي تقول

في حوالي 1300، حتى أتاحتها في منحة الالوان التاسع عشر، Iran و сохранة الهمزة.

الإسلام: أما في الإيرانية، الاسم يشير إلى

هناك شعورًا بالبهجة والفرح، وكثيرًا من

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