

## Original Research Article

# A Comparative Study of the Drawings of the Conquest of Khaybar by Imam Ali (AS) in Two Manuscripts of Falnama in the Safavid Period and Paintings By Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani

Majid Mazidi Sharafabadi<sup>1\*</sup>, Khashayar Ghazizadeh<sup>2</sup>

1. Ph.D. Candidate of Comparative and Analytical History of Islamic Art, Faculty of Art,  
Shahed University, Tehran, Iran.

2. Assistant Professor, Faculty of Art, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran.

Received: 17/07/2021 ;

accepted: 31/12/2021 ;

available online: 22/05/2022

## Abstract

**Problem statement:** The conquest of Khaybar is one of the most important historical events in the Islamic world, which has attracted the attention of artists and painters in different periods of the history of Islamic Iranian art. This event is very important to the Shiites because the Jewish castle was conquered by Imam Ali (AS) during this event. The necessity of this study lies in the importance of the conquest of Khaybar, the significant position of Hazrat Amir Momenan(AS).

**Research objective:** The purpose of this study which is understanding the changes and illustrations of this event in the Safavid and contemporary periods. The present study seeks to answer these questions: How did the painters in the paintings related to the conquest of Khaybar in the two Manuscripts of the Safavid period's Falnama and the paintings of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani represent this event? In the Safavid and contemporary historical periods, what changes can be seen in depicting the event of the conquest of Khaybar? and In what cases should the causes of changes and differences in the type of representation of the Khaybar event of the conquest of Khaybar be sought in the drawings of Falnama in the Safavid period and the works of coffee house paintings?

**Research method:** In this research, library, documentary, and visual data were analyzed in a descriptive-analytical manner using a comparative approach and the subject of the conquest of Khaybar by Hazrat Amir Mo'menan(AS) in two drawings of two Manuscripts of Safavid's Falnama and two samples of paintings by contemporary artists including Mohammad Modabber and Hussein Hamedani were compared and analyzed.

**Conclusion:** The results show that in illustrating the event of the conquest of Khaybar, the degree of adherence to the narrations in the drawings of the two Manuscripts of Safavid's Falnama is much higher than the coffee house paintings of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani, and in the Safavid period, the miraculous aspect of Imam Ali's(AS) action was more important than the contemporary period.

**Keywords :** *Conquest of Khaybar ,Falnama ,Safavid Painting ,Mohammad Modabber, Hossein Hamedani ,Coffee house Painting.*

\* Corresponding Author: majid.mazidi@shahed.ac.ir , +989136082212

## Introduction

The importance of representing religious events in the creation of works of art shows the direct connection between religion and art. "The Almighty God, to guide man and improve his soul and spirit, has sent a collection of statements and instructions in the form of a heavenly book to man that people can use according to their individual abilities and merits." (Faez, Nowruzi & Sadeghi, 2015, 8) In the main expression, religion is a way to discover the truth in human life. "Art is also one of the types of intellectual efforts that are made to understand and receive the truth. The difference between art and other intellectual societies is that art does not discover The truth through logical-philosophical reasoning and research; therefore, the goal of art is to discover the truth and present truth beautifully relates to religion, which seeks to express and introduce truth... Art has a religious character in its various manifestations as well, including literature, music, and architecture. Songs and prayers in all religions have an artistic character" (Mousavilar & Yaghouti, 2014, 9). "Religion leads art to create works that can elevate the human soul and keep his body in a constant state and subject to his soul without stimulation." (Moradi & Setayeshi, 2016, 6). Therefore, art finds a special effect by paying attention to religious issues, historical events, and important religious figures. The personality of Imam Ali (AS) and the event of the conquest of Khaybar is one of the most important issues in Iranian art. The importance of this subject - the conquest of Khaybar- was received in two Manuscripts of the Safavid period's castle preserved in the libraries of Chester Beatty Dublin and Sachsink University in Dresden, Germany, and the Coffee house Painting of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani.

- 1- How did the painters represent this event in the paintings related to the conquest of Khaybar in the two Manuscripts of Safavid's Fahnama and the paintings of Mohammad Modaber and Hossein Hamedani?
- 2- In the Safavid and contemporary historical periods, what changes can be seen in depicting the event of the conquest of Khaybar?
- 3- In what cases should the causes of changes and

differences in the type of representation of the Khaybar event of the conquest of Khaybar be sought in the drawings of Safavid's Fahnama and the works of coffee house paintings?

The questions raised to identify how the event of the conquest of Khaybar is represented in the two Manuscripts of the Tahmasebi's Fahnama and the paintings of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani and to recognize the course of changes and illustrations of this event in the Safavid and contemporary periods have been designed and researched.

## Research background

Research on the background of this research indicates that studies have been conducted in the field of study and analysis of Khaybar conquest paintings in Iranian painting.

The illustrations of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) and the Shiite Imams(AS) in the manuscript of Habib ul-Sir with the focus on Baharalanvar, the result of the studies of Nouranian, Delbari & Baghestani Koozegar (2020), In this research, a sample painting on the subject of the conquest of Khaybar from the Manuscripts of Habib ul-Seer has been studied by the authors.

In Enayati (2019) have also been analyzed on the subject of the conquest of Khaybar by Amir al-Mu'minin. An article on the influence of Shiite texts on the iconography of Imam Ali (AS) in the drawings of Tahmasebi's authored by Shaqlanipour, Ghazizadeh & Hasili (2018), which was published in the Journal of Islamic Art Studies Tahmasebi has been studied.

Mehdizadeh (2016) has been studied Analysis of Shiite themed paintings related to the patriarchal, Timurid, and Turkmen periods based on Shiite discourse (Twelve Imams), the study samples to 3 paintings of the conquest of Khaybar in the general Manuscripts of the Timurid period, Khavarannameh Turkomanan and Fahnama Tahmasebi ,along with other examples of manuscripts such as Asar ul-Baqiyah in his article.

Mehdizadeh (2015) has examined in detail the three drawings of the conquest of Khaybar in the Manuscripts of the historical generalities of the

Timurid period, the Turkmen's Oriental Letter, and the Tahmasebi's Fālnama in his article entitled Analysis of the Conquest of Khaybar Drawings of the Timurid, Turkmen and the Safavid periods.

The innovation of the present study can be explained in the study of some more diverse paintings on the subject of the conquest of Khaybar by Hazrat Amir Mo'menan (AS). In the researches, only some of these drawings have been dealt with, but in the present research, two of the drawings of the conquest of Khaybar related to two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's fortune with two examples of contemporary works of artists Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani have been compared. This is the difference between the present study and the existing background.

## Research method

In this research, library information, documents, and images were analyzed in a descriptive-analytical manner. A comparative approach was used to compare the conquest of Khaybar by Hazrat Amir Mo'menan (AS) in 2 drawings of two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's fortune and 2 examples of coffee house school paintings by contemporary artists including Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani. These samples were selected because the pertinent literature shows that in the Safavid period, Shiite discourse and religious beliefs were most reflected in the art of painting in the Safavid period. It has not been taken and also the reflection of Shiite beliefs in Safavid art as a symbol of Shiite art has characteristic features that contemporary art and coffee house painting seem to lack.

## Narration of the conquest of Khaybar in historical documents and texts

The narration of the conquest of Khaybar has been as follows: In Sha'ban of the sixth year, when the Prophet heard that the tribe of Bani Sa'd ibn Bakr, one of the Arab neighbors of Khaybar, had gathered to help the Jews of Khaybar, he sent Imam Ali (AS) with a group to them (Ibn Hussham, 1936, V. 3,

286). The first castle of Khaybar that the Prophet (PBUH) conquered was Na'im and that day the Prophet (PBUH) gave his white flag to two emigrants (according to Ibn Ishaq: Abu Bakr and Umar) and then a man from the Ansar gave, but they returned one after another, without doing anything. Majlisi quotes that the Prophet (PBUH) in Khaybar said: I will give the flag to someone who loves God and the Prophet, and God and the Prophet love him, and God opens this castle in his hands. He is a man who never turns his back on the enemy and does not run away from the battlefield "(Majlisi, 1984, V. 21, 21) When Imam Ali (AS) heard the words of the Messenger of God (PBUH), he said: "O God, there is no forgiver for what you have forbidden and no one can forbid what you have given. "(ibid.) elsewhere in Baharalanvar narrates the story of the battle of Khaybar Sheikh Saduq in the book of Amali, Ali (AS) attacked them until he approached the door. So he bent his leg and angrily sat down on the stump and removed it and threw it forty cubits (about 20 meters) behind him. After that, forty men tried to move it, but could not. (ibid., 23)

Tabarsi has narrated from Abi Rifa:

"We were with Ali (AS) when the Prophet (PBUH) sent him to the Kheybar castle. .... A Jewish man hit his shield, the shield fell from his Imam, Ali (AS) had to remove the door of the castle, and he put it as his shield and this door was still in the hand of that Imam and he fought until the castle was conquered by him... (Tabarsi, 2006, V. 9, 183-182) In these narrations of the Khaybar War, the aspects of extraordinariness and courage and power beyond the human limit of Imam Ali (AS) have been emphasized. This incident has also been narrated by Sunnis. However, in the narration presented by the Shiites, much emphasis is placed on the miraculous aspects of Imam Ali (AS). (Zolfi, Delbari & Asadbeigi, 2019, 332). Regarding the killing of Marhab, the head of the castle, and his brother Harith, it is said that when Harith, the brother of Marhab (the head of the castle), fought with a group, the Muslims dispersed, but Imam Ali (AS) stood up and killed Harith and Harith's

companions went to the fort. They fled and closed the door (Waqedi, 1966, V. 2, 654). Numerous narrations indicate that Imam Ali (AS) defeated Marhab in a hand-to-hand fight and this blow was so effective that after that the fort was conquered (Sheikh Mofid, n.d., V. 2, 13-12). Some prominent Sunni historians have considered the latter to be correct (Halabi, 2002, V. 3, 55). The Prophet gave the flag of conquest to Imam Ali (AS) and Ali (AS) conquered this castle by killing Marhab, who was also called by this name (Bakri, 1983, V. 2, 522). The fateful conquest of Khaybar to the hand of Ali (AS) is one of the goodness and virtues of that Imam on which the narrators agree (Ibn Babavieh, 1983, V. 2, 369).

### Introducing Falnama and its function

Falnama, as its name implies, had the function of divination and divination. Omen and divination have been practiced in various forms from the past to the present, and people turned to it in times of doubt and hesitation, distress, worry, and helplessness (Akhavani & Mahmoudi, 2018, 40). Whatever they interpret it is prophesy and divination, and in fact, divination is a science or technique by which they predict some future events (Alizadeh Barzi, 2014, 1021). The oldest examples of divination are Buddha divination in India, Etching in China, tarot cards in Europe, divination of numbers and letters of the alphabet in Iran, and other types of divination such as divination with tea, peas, coffee, or dice divination, also known as Raml. (Sipak, 2005, 94). Prediction includes not only the prediction of events that would occur in the future but also a series of rules and dos and don'ts about the misfortunes of different days and times of the day and important life events such as marriage - in those times it happened - it also included (Bagheri Hassan Kiadeh & Heshmati, 2015, 4). The first is called Glabtin, which is the invention of backgammon baldness... The constellation and some others are the parables of the prophets and their imams. This collection

is the sand of the Iranians, who study the science of Daniel, and their Simia is the same. "(Chardin, 1952, 252-251) has taken.

### Picture of the conquest of Khaybar in the orthographic Manuscript of the Safavid period of Chester Beatty Library in Dublin

The painting of the conquest of Khaybar is the subject of one of the paintings of the Safavid period's Falnama. One of the first existing Manuscripts of Qazvin school is Falnama, which was illustrated under the support of Shah Tahmaseb and by his order (Akhavani & Mahmoudi, 2019, 54; Akhavani & Mahmoudi, 2018, 43). The quality of their design and color is at a high level, but the variety of styles can be identified. None of these paintings have numbers, but some of them can be attributed to Aghamirk and Abdul Aziz (Azhand, 2016, 522).

The text of this Falnama was written in Nasta'liq script by the famous Qazvini calligrapher "Malik Dailami" (Farhad, Bagci, 2009, 46). The production of this version probably started in 947 AH / 1540 AD and was completed in 957 AH / 1550 AD. So far, 28 paintings of this edition have been identified and are scattered in various collections abroad, such as the Sackler Gallery in Washington, the Berlin Museum, the Chester Beatty Dublin Library, the Metropolitan Museum, and the Louvre Museum in Paris (Mehdizadeh, 2016, 108).

In the painting of the conquest of Khaybar, in the Manuscript of the Safavid period Falnama book in the Chester Beatty Dublin Library Fig. 1 and Table 1, as its name suggests, the event of the conquest of Khaybar is discussed. In this work, the painter depicts the moment when the door of the castle was dug by Imam Ali (AS). The image has a rectangular frame in which the attack of Hazrat Amir Mo'menan is depicted from right to left. It seems that the painter has emphasized the concept of the victory of truth over falsehood and the companions of the right and the north in the Holy Qur'an. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) is watching this event on the right side of the picture. Imam Ali (AS) stands on the hands of



Fig. 1. Digging the Gate of Khaybar by Hazrat Ali (AS), Safavid period fortune-telling book, Qazvin, preserved in Chester Beatty Dublin Library. Source :[https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Per/2/2\\_395\\_LOG0000\\_](https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Per/2/2_395_LOG0000_)

angels and raises the door of the castle with one hand on his head. According to the Shiite narration of the conquest of Kheybar, the Prophet said to the Commander of the Faithful (PBUH) on the day of the incident: "Take the flag and go, Gabriel is with you." (Sheikh Mofid, 2009, 112) I destroyed the castle of Khaybar not by physical force, but by the power of mercy and divinity. " In general, the placement of Imam Ali's (AS) feet on the hands of an angel evokes the miraculous aspect of his power and courage. In one part of the picture, a person in a long red robe is standing in front of the Prophet (PBUH) and talking to the Messenger of God, and another person is holding a green flag, which is decorated with a red ribbon, and is tied vertically to it. The troops watch this scene behind the Blue Mountains and hold smaller flags than the flag of Amir Mo'menan. There is also a picture of a woman at the top of the castle who Safia is the daughter of Hayy Ibn Akhtab and the Prophet (PBUH) later chose her as his wife.

They have similar and similarly illustrated figures and there is a lot of similarity between the two characters, and this is due to the importance of Shiite thought in the context of Safavid society. In Shiite discourse, the position and status of Imam Ali (AS) is considered equal to the position and position of the Prophet (PBUH). (Mahdizadeh, 2015, 103) He is not illustrated. In this painting, the painter has sanctified these two people by placing a halo around the heads of Imam Ali (AS) and the Prophet (PBUH) and not depicting their faces. Imam Ali (AS) also has a halo of light on his horse. In this work, the impenetrable castle is illustrated and the attack of Imam Ali (AS) on the castle shows his courage and influence in conquering the castle. Also, the presence of a small number of soldiers from the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and their shelter behind the hill, shows the central importance of Imam Ali (AS) in this event. In the lower part of the picture and in front of Imam Ali (AS), a person has fallen on the ground and his eyes are closed and his hat can be seen on the ground and he is in a defeated state and it seems that he has been killed. This person may be the head of the castle, that is, Marhab, who, according to the narrations, was killed by Amir al-Mu'minin in this incident.

### Picture of the conquest of Khaybar in the orthographic version of the Safavid period of the library of Sachsink University in Dresden ,Germany

Fig 2 .on the subject of the conquest of Khaybar is in the version of the Safavid's Falsnama in the library of the University of Sachsink in Dresden ,Germany. According to an inscription on its first leaf ,this edition is dated L 1718 in Vienna by Johannes Christopher Rimbecki; the royal translator of foreign languages was obtained at the court of Hashburg. This version has 51 drawings and their dimensions vary from 36. 5 × 48 to 48 × 66. 5 cm and they are considered to be the largest leaf of the available Falsnama. (A k havani, Mahmoudi, 2018, 45) The subjects of the paintings in this version are also

Table 1. Characteristics of the Conquest of Khaybar in the Safavid's Fālnama Manuscript preserved in the Chester Beat Dublin Library. Source: Authors.

Features of this painting	
Hazrat Ali (AS)	Having a statue similar to the Prophet (PBUH) - No sword - Having a halo around the head - Face details are not illustrated - The statue is moving
Prophet (PBUH)	It has a statue similar to Imam Ali (AS) - with a halo around the head - the details of the face are not illustrated
Angels	An angel is at the foot of Imam Ali (AS) as if she had lifted her from the ground.
Flag	A person behind the horse of Imam Ali (AS) is holding a flag that probably belongs to Imam Ali.
Soldiers of Islam	Some soldiers are motionless on the scene and the rest are hiding behind the hill.
Enemy soldiers	All the enemy soldiers can be seen on top of the castle towers and holding swords.
The castle and its towers	The castle in this picture is full of enemy people and shows the importance of capturing it.
The door of the castle	The castle was dug by Imam Ali (AS) with one hand and the way was opened to capture the castle.
Putting a shield on the castle door	Yes
The castle commander was killed	Probably, he is the person who was killed in front of the stage.
The miraculous act of Hazrat Ali due to the presence of angels	Yes
Composition of space	The atmosphere of the scene is crowded with enemy people on the roof of the castle and the companions of the Prophet (PBUH) are scattered on the scene.

adapted from other fortunes, but this Manuscript also includes some new religious and literary subjects. (Farhad & Bagci, 2009, 46)

Fig. 2 shows the scene of the conquest of Khaybar from a close angle when Imam Ali (AS) attacked from the right to the left, i.e. the enemies. This direction governing the image refers to the concept of truth and falsehood and the companions of the right and the north in the Holy Qur'an. In this painting, Imam Ali (AS) is depicted with a larger figure than the others with a halo of light around his head and without details of his face and in the center of the enemy's attention - without a sword. Hazrat's clothes are azure blue, and his body is also dynamic and has lifted one of the enemy troops from the ground, and it seems that this person is the head of the castle, that is, Marhab. Imam Ali (AS) has dug the door of the castle with his other hand and it seems that the material of the door is wooden. An angel can be seen at the foot of Imam Ali (AS) who has spread his wings under his feet. The Prophet (PBUH) can be seen in the upper corner of the painting and on the right side. In this painting, the painter has tried to sanctify these two people by placing a round halo on the heads of Imam Ali (AS) and the Prophet (PBUH) and also not depicting the details of his face. The presence of an angel emphasizes the miraculous and

transcendental aspect of the event. In this picture, a soldier from the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps is not seen, only a person holding a flag in the back



Fig. 2. Digging the Gate of Khaybar by Imam Ali (AS), the book of the Safavid period, 17th and 18th century AD, preserved in the library of the University of Sachsen in Dresden, Germany. Source: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/en/workview/dlf/102391/7>

of the hills next to the Prophet (PBUH) and looks at him and does not interfere in the war and it seems that the flag entrusted to the Prophet (PBUH) to Imam Ali (AS) has kept for them. Another person has kept Imam Ali's horse. But four enemy soldiers can be seen at a very close distance to Imam Ali (AS). They have targeted him with bows, guns, and stones and are shooting. The absence of the soldiers of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps shows the central importance of Imam Ali (AS) in this event. The type of space and the composition of this painting show the dangerous atmosphere of war and the courage of Imam Ali (AS) well. The remarkable point in this picture is the use of a rifle by one of the enemy soldiers, which the painter allegedly brought intending to associate the Jews with more powerful weapons, which did not exist at the time of the war. On the other hand, with this kind of visual expression, the painter has tried to represent the breaking of the door of Khaybar with the divine will and mercy of God according to the narrations. Table 2 provides details of the information:

### The art of coffee house painting

Coffee house painting is one of the four parallel currents in contemporary Iranian painting: academic painting, modern painting, coffee house painting, and modern painting (Pakbaz, 2001, 186). This trend has started in earnest from the constitutional period and its peak period is related to the rule of the first Pahlavi. However, the history of its formation dates back to the Safavid period (Chelipa, Goodarzi & Shirazi, 2011, 72). Pakbaz also believes that the coffee house painting, with the constitutional movement based on the traditions of folk and religious art, influenced by the traditional naturalism of that time, appears by scholarly artists and appears in the most prominent manifestation. Scholars date the history of popular religious painting in Iran to the Safavid era when Shi'ism became widespread (Pakbaz, 2001, 201). "The term coffee house painting was probably first used by Marco Grigorian for folk painting and not folk painting." It is a mirror, etc. Obviously, in addition to the coffee house, such paintings have been seen in other public places, such

Table 2. Features of the painting of the conquest of Manuscript in the version of the Safavid period's archive preserved in the library of the University of Sachsen in Dresden, Germany. Source: Authors.

Features of this painting	
Hazrat Ali (AS)	It has a larger stature than the others and is in the center of the enemy's attention - without a sword - with a halo around the head - the details of the face are not depicted - the statue is mobile and has lifted one of the enemy troops from the ground.
Prophet (PBUH)	The Prophet (PBUH) is seen in the upper corner of the painting and on the right - he has a halo around his head - the details of his face are not illustrated - he is dressed in white
Angels	An angel can be seen at the foot of Imam Ali (AS) who has spread her wings under her feet.
Flag	It seems that the flag in the hand of the person standing next to the Prophet belongs to Imam Ali (AS) and he kept the flag for him.
Soldiers of Islam	There is no soldier from the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, only a person with a flag in his hand stands behind the Prophet (PBUH) next to the Prophet (PBUH) and looks at him and does not interfere in the war, and another person holds Imam Ali (AS) from his horse.
Enemy soldiers	Four enemy soldiers can be seen at a very close distance to Imam Ali (AS) aiming at him with bows, guns, and stones.
The castle and its towers	The proximity of the enemy to Imam Ali (AS) shows the great protection of the castle and its difficult capture.
The door of the castle	It has been dug in the castle by Imam Ali (AS) with one hand and the way has been opened to capture the castle - it looks like a wooden
Putting a shield on the castle door	Yes
The castle commander was killed	Probably a person raised from the ground by Imam Ali (AS), But he has not been killed yet.
The miraculous act of Hazrat Ali due to the presence of angels	Yes
Composition of space	The scene shows people close to each other and shows Imam Ali (AS) in danger.

as Tekkiyeh and, Hosseiniyeh, Zurkhaneh, bath, etc, and the subject of the work was the determining place of its installation” (Hoshyar & Eftekhari Rad, 2016, 85).

Considering that the painting style of coffee houses arose from the masses and was not considered courtly art; Its roots can be traced to the political and social atmosphere of the Qajar era. (Hosseiniabadi & Mohammadpour, 2016, 70) In this period, They had turned it into courtly art, and on the other hand, some simple-minded artists rose from among the people and rescued the painting from the walls of the palaces and brought it among the people and used it to awaken the people and bring them out from the burden of oppression and tyranny. It was here that coffee house paintings penetrated the people and society, overshadowed their social and cultural identities, and strengthened their national identity. It had a great influence on the painting of this period and made the coffee house painters use their art in the service of the people who have been repeatedly attacked by external and internal factors throughout history “(ibid., 71).

Most of the audience and fans of these paintings were the people of the street and the bazaar, the common people, the illiterate and the illiterate, and public places such as coffee houses and Takaya were known as the main places for displaying and exhibiting paintings of this style. And they were the owners of coffee houses (Ghafourian Masoudzadeh & Ali Mohammadi Ardakani, 2014, 10). Regarding the division of coffee house paintings, two types of classifications have been presented by researchers. One is in terms of the general theme and the other is in terms of the content of the works. Coffee house paintings are generally divided into two categories: “Religious paintings” including a collection of figures of leaders, religious leaders and scenes from the famous battles and battles of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS) and the events of Karbala and large non-religious paintings “Iranian martial and military stories that are divided into legendary, epic, historical events and figures of kings and heroes of Shahnameh and scenes from battlefields and arenas

of love and affection of heroes and heroes of kings”. Some people divide this type of painting into three general groups in terms of content:

- 1- National: Taken from the national literature and epics of Iran
- 2- Indigenous and traditional: taken from the common national customs of Iran among the Iranian people and ethnic groups
- 3- Religious: This is a reflection of Islamic narrations, hadiths, stories, and epics (Chelipa, Goodarzi & Shirazi, 2011, 73).

Coffee house painting with artists such as Hossein Qollar Aghasi and Mohammad Modabber reached its peak and also influenced contemporary art. They raised disciples who followed in their footsteps. Abbas Blokifar is one of the most skilled students of Hossein Qollar Aghasi. Hassan Ismailzadeh (Chelipa) is also one of the students of Master Mohammad Modabber (ibid., 71). Among the famous painters of coffee houses can be Seyed Hassan Arab Tabrizi, Mirza Mehdi Shirazi, Hossein Qollar Aghasi, Mohammad Modabber, Ali Alvandi Hamedani, Ali Rahmani, Hossein Hamedani, Mohammad Khalili, Ahmad Khalili, Ahmad Khalili Fathullah named Qollar Aghasi, Hassan Ismailzadeh and Ali Ladani (Groyani & Zargham, 2014, 8). The students of this group of painters continued and kept alive the style and method of work of these two masters in religious and non-religious paintings on canva (Chelipa, Goodarzi & Shirazi, 2011, 72). The subject of the conquest of Khaybar is a religious theme that has been considered by painters such as Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani.

### **The subject of the conquest of Khaybar in the works of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani**

Fig. 3 shows the painting of Mohammad Modabber, in which the artist deals with the conquest of Khaybar in the form of five narrative scenes. In this painting, the painter assigns the focus of the scenes to the character of Imam Ali (AS), and by drawing a faint halo around his head and the ray of light that shines

from the sky, he has given him a state of sanctity. In the battle scenes, Imam Ali (AS) is portrayed as a leader and brave man with a sword, and this shows his strength. This person seems to be the same. In the scene of digging in the castle, Imam Ali (AS) is seen alone and the Imam is drawn in the castle with one hand and the door is made of wood and in large dimensions and looks heavy. In this way, the painter has emphasized the physical strength and power of Hazrat Amir al-Mo'menan. It looks very big and heavy in the castle. Here, it seems that Imam Ali (AS) placed the door on the ditch so that the troops could cross the ditch and enter the castle. Here, the painter has tried to show the fighting spirit and courage of Imam Ali (AS) in the battle of Khaybar, and he has used his imagination in this field and has distanced himself from historical narrations. The character of Imam Ali (AS) is depicted with a more prominent figure than the others with details of his face, a green handkerchief and armed with a sword, and his statue has mobility and dynamism. The Prophet (PBUH) is depicted riding a camel in the scene above the image on the right and a ray of light shining from the sky on them and they are praying for the Islamic Army. There is also a flag above the head of Imam Ali (AS) with the words "My victory in God and imminent victory" on it, but it does not belong to Imam Ali (AS). Many soldiers of the Islamic Army under the command of Imam Ali (AS) are present on the scene. Also, the castle and its towers are drawn in the picture, large and complete, but it seems uninhabited. A noteworthy point in this painting compared to the previous drawings is the attack of the Islamic Army from the left side of the image to the right. In Table 3 and Fig. 4 the details of the characteristics of Mohammad Modabber's work can be seen:

Fig. 5 shows the work of Hossein Hamedani, in which the painter has assigned the focus of the scene to Imam Ali (AS). The character of Imam Ali (AS) has a larger body than the others and is depicted with a round aura and detailed face. The round halo has sanctified his head. His body is moving and



Fig. 3. Digging the gate of Khaybar by Hazrat Ali (AS), by Mohammad Modabber, contemporary. Source: <https://fa.wikipedia.org>.

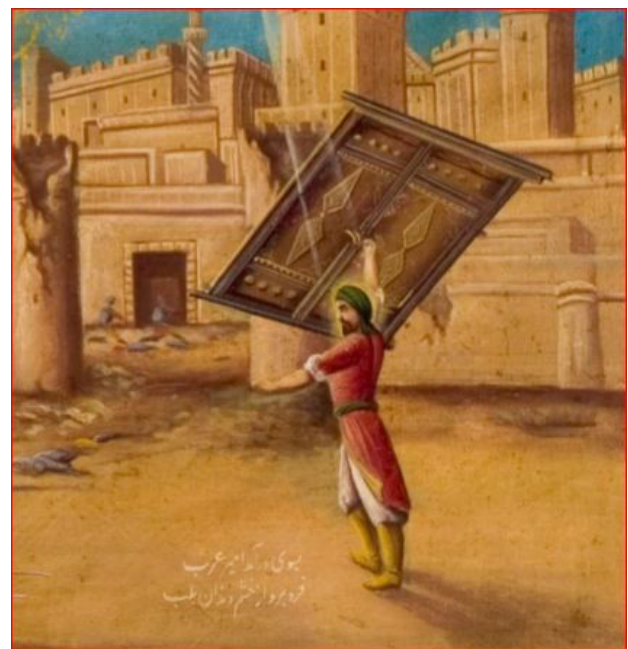


Fig. 4. details of the painting of the Khaybar Gate by Hazrat Ali (AS), by Mohammad Modabber, contemporary. Source: <https://fa.wikipedia.org>.

dynamic and is depicted with a green handkerchief. The horse of Hazrat is painted white and bigger than other horses. In the battle scene, Imam Ali (AS) is leading and brave and is depicted in the center and is cutting a person in half with his sword. It seems that the defeated person is the head of the castle, that is, Marhab. Contrary to the narrations, the painter did not depict the scene and the moment of breaking down the castle door and tried to show the fighting spirit and courage of Imam Ali (AS) in the battle of Khaybar and emphasized his strength and physical

Table 3. Characteristics of the Conquest of Khaybar by Mohammad Modaber. Source: Authors.

Features of this painting	
Hazrat Ali (AS)	The figure is more prominent than others. It has a sword and a halo around the head. The details of the face are illustrated. The statue is moving. A ray of light shines from the sky on them. It has a green handkerchief.
Prophet (PBUH)	The Prophet (PBUH) is in the scene above the picture on the right riding a camel and a ray of light from the sky shines on him. The Prophet is praying for the Islamic Army
Angels	There is no angel on the scene.
Flag	A flag can be seen above the head of Imam Ali (AS) with the words. «نصر من الله وفتح قريب» "My victory in God and imminent victory" on it, but it does not belong to Imam Ali (AS).
Soldiers of Islam	Many soldiers of the Islamic Army are present under the command of Imam Ali (AS).
Enemy soldiers	An outstanding enemy soldier in front of the stage is splitting in half with the sword of Imam Ali (AS). No archer can be seen on the roof of the castle.
The castle and its towers	The castle is large and well-drawn here, but it looks uninhabited.
The door of the castle	The castle was dug by Imam Ali (AS) with one hand and the way was opened to capture the castle. It is made of wood and has dimensions much larger than the human body.
Putting a shield on the castle door	---
The castle commander was killed	Probably a person who is being torn in two by the blow of Imam Ali's (AS) sword.
The miraculous act of Hazrat Ali due to the presence of angels	No
Composition of space	Five narrative scenes are depicted here.



Fig. 5. Khaybar War painting, by Hossein Hamedani, contemporary.  
Source: <https://i.pinimg.com>.

strength. In this scene, due to the name of Khaybar castle, which is written above the entrance of the castle, the Khaybar incident can be recognized here. Flags are seen on the scene, but it does not belong to Imam Ali (AS). The character of the Prophet (PBUH) in the scene above the picture, is depicted riding a camel on the right side and is seen with a round aura and is praying for the Islamic army. The round auras of the head and the prayer of the Prophet (PBUH) for his troops show the companionship of God in this scene with Imam Ali (AS). The painter depicts a crowded scene where a large number of

Islamic soldiers and Jews are fighting each other. A noteworthy point in this painting compared to other older paintings is the attack of the Islamic Army from the left side of the image to the right; Also at the bottom of the image is a red flag with the symbol of the Star of David that has fallen to the ground and is torn, indicating the victory of the Islamic Army over Jewish enemies. The painting also depicts Jewish castles and towers in a large and complete form, but they seem uninhabited. Table 4 provides the information described in full:

#### A comparison of the drawings of the conquest of Khaybar in two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's *Falnama* and the works of Mohammad Modaber and Hossein Hamedani

In all 4 works, A comparison of the samples shows that Imam Ali (AS) has a characteristic of holiness due to the halo of light around his head. In all the paintings, the character of the Prophet (PBUH) is depicted and his characteristic of holiness is also indicated by a round halo. Also, the character of the Prophet (PBUH) has been emphasized more in older works and the role of the Prophet (PBUH) has become less prominent in coffee house paintings. The important point is that the adherence to the narrations

Table .4 Characteristics of the Conquest of Khaybar by Hossein Hamedani .Source :Authors.





Features of this painting	
Hazrat Ali (AS)	It has a larger body than the others. It has a white horse and is bigger than other horses. It has a sword - it has a halo around its head. The details of the face are illustrated. The statue is moving. It has a green handle.
Prophet (PBUH)	The Prophet (PBUH) is pictured on the top right of a camel with a halo around his head. The Prophet is praying for the Islamic Army.
Angels	There is no angel on the scene.
Flag	Flags are seen on the scene, but it does not belong to Imam Ali (AS)
Soldiers of Islam	A large number of soldiers are fighting.
Enemy soldiers	A large number of soldiers are fighting. An enemy soldier in front of the stage with the sword of Imam Ali (AS) is splitting in half. Archery can not be seen on the roof of the castle.
The castle and its towers	The castle is large and well-drawn here, but it looks deserted.
The door of the castle	It was opened in the castle during the war and there is no scene of it being opened by Imam Ali (AS).
Putting a shield on the castle door	---
The castle commander was killed	Probably a person who is being torn in two by the blow of Imam Ali's(AS) sword.
The miraculous act of Hazrat Ali due to the presence of angels	No
Composition of space	The atmosphere of the scene is crowded and shows the uproar and difficult warfare.

in Safavid's works is much more than the examples of coffee houses. For example, during the incident, the Prophet (PBUH) asked Imam Ali (AS) to take the flag and attack the enemy, and Gabriel was with him. In the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Falsnama, the role of the angel and his companion with Imam Ali (AS) is depicted, thus emphasizing the miraculous aspect of Imam Ali's (AS) action, and the painter has assigned a special flag for Imam Ali (AS) in these examples. While Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani have not drawn angels and flags in their works. It should be noted that Hossein Hamedani, unlike other examples, did not depict the moment of being dug in the castle and was content to draw a crowded and noisy scene from the war. While in the other three examples, the moment of digging the door of the castle by Amir Mo'menan and also raising the door of the castle above his head has been considered by other artists. In the Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Falsnama, he used the castle as his shield against the enemies' fire, and in two examples of coffee houses, this situation is not depicted. The assassination of the head of the Jewish castle, Marhab, is especially depicted in all distances. For example, in a painting preserved in the Chester Beat Dublin Library, Marhab was killed and fell to the ground. In the example preserved in the library of the University of Sachsink in Dresden,

Germany, Imam Ali (AS) raised the greetings with one hand, and the greetings are depicted in a defeated and captive state in the hands of the Commanders of the Faithful. In the works of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani, the beloved artists are depicted in the state of being halved by Imam Ali (AS), and the fighting spirit and strength of Imam Ali (AS) is emphasized. Interestingly, in all the examples, a strong castle with tall towers is drawn. But in the examples of Tahmasebi's fortune teller, archers are depicted in the towers of the castle and shooting at Imam Ali (AS), and this is not seen in the examples of coffee houses. Also, Safia, the daughter of Hayy Ibn Akhtab, is illustrated only in the specimen preserved in the Chester Beat Dublin Library and does not exist in other specimens. Table 5, the application of the characteristics of the event of the conquest of Khaybar in the drawings of the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Falsnama and the works of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani, is fully described and expanded:

He sought the reasons for the changes and differences in the type of representation of the Khaybar event in the drawings of Safavid's Falsnamas and the coffee house paintings with the cultural and political atmosphere prevailing in the Safavid and contemporary periods. The most important development of Safavid's

Table 5. Comparison the characteristics of the conquest of Khaybar in the drawings of the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Fahnama and the works of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani. Source: Authors.

Characteristics		Comparison		
Version / Work name	Tahmasebi's archive preserved in the Chester Beatty Dublin Library	Tahmasebi's castle preserved in the library of the University of Sachsen, Dresden, Germany	Khaybar Historical War Picture	Khaybar Historical War Picture
Version Date / Work Date	Safavi	Safavi	Contemporary	Contemporary
Painter	...	...	Mohammad Modabber	Hossein Hamadani
Work image				
The presence of Hazrat Ali (AS)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Drawing the face of Imam Ali (AS)	×	×	✓	✓
Sanctity of Hazrat Ali (AS)	✓	✓	✓	✓
The presence of the Prophet (PBUH)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Drawing the face of the Prophet (PBUH)	×	×	✓	✓
The holiness of the Prophet (PBUH)	✓	✓	✓	✓
The importance of the Prophet on the scene	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Existence of a flag belonging to Imam Ali (AS)	✓	✓	×	×
The presence of angels	✓	✓	×	×
Strong castle with tall towers	✓	✓	✓	✓
The presence of an archer in the towers of the castle	✓	✓	×	×
The presence of enemy soldiers	✓	✓	✓	✓
The presence of Imam Ali (AS) in front of the castle	✓	✓	✓	×
Digging in the castle by Imam Ali (AS)	✓	✓	✓	×
Shielding the door of the castle by Imam Ali (AS)	✓	✓	×	×
Imam Ali (AS) killed the commander of the castle	✓	✓	✓	✓
The presence of Safia, the daughter of Hayy Ibn Akhtab	✓	×	×	×
The central importance of Imam Ali (AS) in this scene	✓	✓	✓	✓

Rest of Table 5.

Characteristics	Comparison			
The miraculous act of Hazrat Ali due to the presence of angels in the scene of this war	✓	✓	×	×
Emphasis on the strength and physical strength of Imam Ali (AS)	×	×	✓	✓

painting should be considered in the independence of painting from writing. Before Safavid, Iranian painting served Iranian literature and writing (Karimian & Jayez, 2007, 78). Fahnama is the result of the efforts of court artists and was illustrated under the personal support of Shah Tahmaseb and in his court. When choosing a theme to illustrate the manuscripts, Shah probably spent hours watching the manuscripts to come up with an idea for ordering the manuscripts (Shayestehfar, 2005, 53). "This statement is very acceptable considering the content of most surviving Manuscripts of the Safavid era." Because of the paintings and images in it, along with some materials and poems, while depicting court life, in any way possible, try to show and highlight the glory, power and financial and military power of the Safavid statesmen" (Hassanshahi, 2016, 55). Therefore, the accuracy of the supervision in the court on the one hand and the connection of literary, cultural, and religious texts with painting, on the other hand, is the main reason for the adherence of Khaybar conquest drawings in the Safavid period's script Manuscripts. While Shah Tahmaseb, after two decades of supporting painting and painters, completely turned away from art and art education, and this issue put the painters of the royal workshop in a difficult situation and the artists either gave up their activities, migrated or became monographs, or engaged in miscellaneous work (Karimian & Jayez, 2007, 79-78).

Many of the painters who painted in the royal libraries only for members of the royal family graduated during the reign of Shah Abbas, and they could sell their works to anyone, domestic or foreign, who could afford it (Canby, 2002, 94). These cases

are the main reason for breaking the link between literary and religious texts with painting. In general, the art of painting in the Safavid period has been formed in religious Manuscripts following Shiite ideas, and therefore the reflection of the position and importance of the Imams, especially Imam Ali (AS), is the focus of most paintings and their characteristic of holiness and purity by depicting the holy halo has been revealed. On the other hand, the art of coffee houses is a popular art that is mostly the result of the emotional, mental, and beliefs of the artist. According to the taste of the popular artist and the aim of establishing as much contact as possible between the audience and the work of art, these portraits were performed. It seems that the factors of change of form in the Qajar period are rooted in the popular origin of coffee house painting artists and therefore their works are the result of the taste and desire of the collective spirit and the artist simply created his heart's will in the form of a work of art. It has been used by ordinary people, while the art of the Safavid period is mostly courtly and based on religious texts, and the painter with sufficient artistic knowledge of aristocracy based on the art of painting and texts and with a political approach and of course the government's religious arrangements to create works customized.

## Conclusion

Findings on the questions of how painters and painters in the paintings related to the conquest of Khaybar in the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Fahnama and the paintings of Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani, represented this event and what changes in the illustrations in Safavid and

contemporary historical periods The event of the conquest of Khaybar can be seen and the reasons for the changes and differences in the type of representation of the event of Khaybar can be sought in the drawings of Safavid's Falmamas and coffee house paintings; it shows:

In the examples of the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Falmama, the moment of being dislodged the door of Khaybar castle by Imam Ali (AS) is depicted, and a great connection between the image and the text of the narrations can be seen. The state of prayer of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) for the Amir al-Mu'minin(AS) and the Islamic Army, as well as the presence of an angel and the help of an angel to Imam Ali (AS) in dislodging the door of the castle and the flag of the Amir al-Mu'minin, are important. In the version of Tahmasebi's Falmama preserved in the Chester Beatty Dublin Library, more details are drawn by the painter than the specimen preserved in the library of the University of Sachsen in Dresden, Germany. In the preserved example in the Chester Beatty Library of Dublin, the head of the Jewish castle is killed and buried in front of Imam Ali (AS) and the Amir is depicted on the hands of angels, while in the preserved example in the library of the University of Sachsen in Dresden, Germany, angels are winged as a carpetsole under the feet of Imam Ali (AS) and he has taken the head of the castle with one hand and lifted it. The presence of an angel in the painting of these two Manuscripts shows the miraculous action of Imam Ali (AS). The painter also depicts in the example of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin Safia, the daughter of Hayy Ibn Akhtab, who marries the Holy Prophet (PBUH) after the conquest of Khaybar and is not seen in the example of the library of the University of Sachsink in Dresden, Germany. In general, the Chester Beatles Dublin Library's sample adherence to the text of the narrative seems to be much higher than that of the Sachsin University Dresden Library's drawing, and much less adherent to the coffee

house paintings. This is due to the courtly nature of the Safavid periodicals and the supervision and precision of the practice that governs the illustration of the manuscripts and the deep connection between literary and religious texts with the painting art of the Safavid era which was created solely based on personal religious views and heartfelt devotion, and sometimes without the necessary literary knowledge and narration. Also, Mohammad Modabber has depicted different scenes of the event in his work, and Hossein Hamedani has drawn only one scene, and that includes the scene of the battle of the armies of Islam with the focus on Imam Ali (AS) against the armies of the enemy. In both coffee house paintings, the beloved artists are depicted in a state of dichotomy by the Amir al-Mu'minin, emphasizing the fighting spirit and strength of Imam Ali (AS). Modabber showed the scene of being ousted in Khaybar by Imam Ali (AS), and Hussein Hamedani did not depict this scene. Also, the character of the Prophet (PBUH) is depicted in all 4 examples, but his centrality and importance in the examples of coffee house paintings are less than the examples of Tahmasebi's Falmama. Interestingly, that the round aura of the head has been drawn for the Prophet (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS) in all the samples. Also, Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani have illustrated the details of the faces of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS) and the painters of the two Manuscripts of Tahmasebi's Falmama have refused to represent the details of the faces of the infallible. It seems that in the Safavid period, there was special importance to preserve as much as possible the sanctity of the infallible by not drawing the details of the face, but over time, the image of the face has replaced the previous approach. Also in the Safavid period, more emphasis has been placed on the miraculous aspect of Imam Ali's(AS) action; While in the coffee house paintings studied in this research, the painters have placed more emphasis on the

fighting spirit and physical strength of Imam Ali (AS).

## Endnote

1. The Holy Qur'an, in Surah Al-Waqi'ah, Al-Ashqaq, Balad and Al-Haqqah, has stated characteristics for the companions of Yamin or the companions of Maimana, and in Surahs Al-Waqi'ah, Muddaththir and Al-Haqqah, it has stated characteristics for the companions of the north or the left..

## Reference list

- Akhavani, S. & Mahmoudi, F. (2018). Visual Strategies in Illustrating and Legitimizing the Rules of Astronomy in Illustrated Safavids of the Safavid Period. *Comparative Studies of Art*, 8 (15), 39-54.
- Akhavani, S. & Mahmoudi, F. (2019). Analysis of semantic layers in Falmama drawings of Tahmasebi Manuscript with the approach of iconology. *Honar-ha-ye Ziba Honar-ha-ye Tajassomi*, 24 (3), 51-64.
- Alizadeh Barzi, M. H. (2014). *Dar Maktab-e Hafez* [In Hafez School]. V. 3. Tehran: Parsia.
- Azhand, Y. (2016). *Iranian Painting*. Tehran: SAMT.
- Bagheri Hassan Kiadeh, M. & Heshmati, M. (2014). Prophecy and astrology in Iranian texts of the Middle Ages. *Culture and Folk Literature*, 2 (13), 1-24.
- Bakri, A. B. A. A. (1983). *Mujam Ma-Astajam Min Asma'i Al-Belad va Mavazi'*. V. 2. Beirut: Mustafa Saqqa Press.
- Chardin, J. (1959). *Chardin's travelogue* (M. Abbasi, Trans.). Tehran: Amirkabir.
- Chelipa, K., Goodarzi, M. & Shirazi, A. A. (2011). Reflections on National and Religious Issues in Coffee House *Painting*. *Nagreh*, 6 (18), 69-81.
- Enayati, R. (2019). *Studying the iconology of Imam Ali's position in the paintings of the conquest of Khaybar (The manuscripts of the Timurid Historical Society, the Turkmen's Oriental Letter, Falmama, the works of Al-Muzaffar, the Al-Safa shrine, Habib ul-Sir, and the stories of the Safavid prophets. (Unpublished master's thesis). Ferdows Higher Education Institute, Mashhad, Iran.*
- Faez, Q., Nowruzi, A. & Sadeghi, E. (2015). Analysis of verses related to the comprehensiveness of the Holy Quran. *Siraj-e Munir*, 6 (21), 7-29.
- Falk, T. (1985). *Treasures of Islam*. Bristol: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers.
- Farhad, M. & Bagci, S. (2009). *Falmama the book of omens*. USA: Thames & Hudson.
- Ghafourian Masoudzadeh, M. & Ali Mohammadi Ardakani, J. (2014). The association of coffee house paintings with the Qajar era folk literature (thematic and structural study of coffee house paintings belonging to Astan Quds Razavi Museum). *Astan-e Honar*, (10), 8-21.
- Groyani, F. & Zargham, A. (2014). The role of good and evil in the characters of Hossein Qollar Aghasi. *Nagreh*, 9 (30), 5-19.
- Halabi, A. I. I. N. (2002). *Al-Sirah Al-Halabiah*. V. 3. Beirut: Published by Abdullah Mohammad Khalili.
- Hassanshahi, M. (2016). *Art and Power in the Safavid Era (1722-1501 / 1135-1907 AH)*. (Unpunished PhD Thesis). Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Tabriz, Iran.
- Hoshyar, M. & Eftekhari Rad, F. (2016). *The imaginative painting*. Tehran: SAMT.
- Hosseinabadi, Z. & Mohammadpour, M. (2016). The effect of coffee house paintings with religious themes on popular beliefs. *Glory of Art*, 8 (2), 69-78.
- Ibn Babavieh. (1983). *Al-Khasal*. V. 2. Qom: published by Ali Akbar Ghaffari.
- Ibn Hisham. (1936). *Al-Sirah Al-Nabawiyyah*. V. 3. Cario: published by Mustafa Saqqa, Ibrahim Abyari and Abdul Hafiz Shalabi.
- Canby, Sh. (2002). *Iranian Painting* (M. Shayestehfar, Trans.). Tehran: Institute of Islamic Art Studies.
- Karimian, H. & Jayez, M. (2007). Developments in Safavid Iran and its manifestation in the art of painting. *Islamic Art Studies*, 4 (7), 65-88.
- Majlisi, M. B. (1984). *Behar-Al-Anvar*. V. 21. Beirut: Al-Wafa Institute.
- Mehdizadeh, A. (2015). Analysis of Khaybar conquest drawings related to the Timurid, Turkmen, and Safavid periods. *Comparative Studies of Art*, 5 (10), 97-108.
- Mehdizadeh, A. (2016). Thematic study of the drawings of the Manuscript of Tahmasebi's Falmama masterpiece of Shiite art of the Safavid era. *History and Culture*, 48 (97), 105- 130.
- Moradi, S. & Setayeshi, Z. (2016). *The Relationship between Art and Religion. The Second Annual Conference on Architectural, Urban Planning and Urban Management Research*. Tehran: Safiran-e Rah-e Mehrazi.
- Mousavilar, A. A. S. & Yaqouti, S. (2014). The Aesthetics of the Revelation of the Holy Quran. *Glory of Art*, 6 (2), 5-19.
- Nouranian, R., Delbari, Sh. & Baghestani Koozegar, M. (2020). The illustrations of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) and the Shiite Imams(AS) in the manuscript of Habib ul-Sir with the focus on Baharalanvar. *Islamic Art Studies*, (37), 319-337.
- Pakbaz, R. (2001). *Naqashi-ye Irani az Dirbaz ta Emruz* [Iranian painting from long ago to today]. Tehran: Zarrin va Simin.
- Shaqlanipour, Z. Ghazizadeh, Kh. & Hasili, P. (2018). A Study of the Influence of Shiite Texts on the Iconography of Imam Ali (AS) in the Paintings of Tahmasebi's Falmama. *Islamic Art*

*Studies*, 14 (32), 131-97.

- Shayestehfar, M. (2005). *Shiah artistic elements in the Timurid and Safavid era*. Tehran: Institute of Islamic Art Studies.
- Sheikh Mofid, M. I. M. (n.d.). *Al-Irshad* (Rasooli Mahallati, Trans.). V. 2. Tehran: Islamia.
- Sheikh Mofid. (2009). *Ershad, Sire-ye A'eme-ye Athar* (S. H. Mousavi Mojab, Trans.). Tehran: Sarvar Publishing.
- Sipak, Y. (2005). *Die Iranische volksdich tung* (persian folk literature). (M. Akhgari, Trans.). Tehran: Soroush.

- Tabarsi, A. A. F. I. H. (2006). *Majma 'al-Bayan Fi Tafsir al-Quran* (S. H. Rasooli Mahallati & S. F. Yazdi Tabatabai, Eds.). Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa.
- Waqedi, M. I. U. (1966). *Al-Maghazi*. London: Marsden Jones Press.
- Zolfi, S., Delbari, Sh. & Asadbeigi, A. (2019). Shiite manifestations in Qazvin with emphasis on illustrated historical sources. *Islamic Art Studies*, (35), 346-319.

#### COPYRIGHTS

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with publication rights granted to the Bagh-e Nazar Journal. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).



#### HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Mazidi Sharafabadi, M. & Ghazizadeh, Kh. (2022). A Comparative Study of the Drawings of the Conquest of Khaybar by Imam Ali (AS) in Two Manuscripts of Falmama in the Safavid Period and Paintings By Mohammad Modabber and Hossein Hamedani. *Bagh-e Nazar*, 19(108), 47-62.

DOI: 10.22034/BAGH.2022.295587.4946

URL: [http://www.bagh-sj.com/article\\_145707.html?lang=en](http://www.bagh-sj.com/article_145707.html?lang=en)

